# Music in Goethe's Faust



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Goethe's Faust in Music

Edited by Lorraine Byrne Bodley

THE BOYDELL PRESS

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Jo Tudor (BA London, PhD Dunelm) focused on German literary studies from 1750 to the present, alongside early interest and study in music. Until her retirement she was lecturer in the Department of German at Durham University. Her publications include articles on metaphor as a form of thought and writing in the work of Goethe and Günter Grass and on Lutheran culture in eighteenth-century Wismar and Rostock. She has also, with H. Tudor, published translated letters and articles from the Revisionist Debate among nineteenth-century German Socialists. Her study Sound and Sense: Music and Musical Metaphor in the Thought and Writing of Goethe and his Age appeared in 2011 in the series British and Irish Studies in German Language and Literature.

## Acknowledgements

This book has its roots in an interdisciplinary conference, 'Music in Goethe's Faust: Goethe's Faust in Music', which was held in the Department of Music of Maynooth University in association with the School of Modern Languages, Literatures and Cultures on 20–22 April 2012. The conference sought to re-examine the musical origins of Goethe's Faust, explore the musical dimensions of its legacy and consider why his polemical text was so resonant for generations of composers. The event was organised as a tribute to Nicholas Boyle's extraordinary contribution to Goethean scholarship. The song cycle Gretchen. Lieder aus Goethes Faust 1, which Seóirse Bodley composed for the conference and which he premiered with Sylvia O'Brien (soprano), Imelda Drumm (mezzo) and The Mornington Singers conducted by Orla Flanagan, is dedicated to Nicholas Boyle and is published in A Community of the Imagination: Seóirse Bodley's Goethe Settings (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2013), edited by Lorraine Byrne Bodley. Lectures at the conference were illustrated with professional performances by Sylvia O'Brien (soprano) and Seóirse Bodley (piano), who premiered unknown settings of Gretchen songs by Hans von Bülow, Carl Loewe, Giacomo Meyerbeer and Hugo Wolf, from the Faust-Archiv in Knittlingen, Germany. The Lieder duo, Claus Temps (baritone) and Heike Bleckmann (piano), travelled over from Germany to illustrate lectures on Faust settings by Bettina von Arnim, Beethoven, Boito, Busoni, Gounod, Kreutzer, Margarete Schweikert, Wagner and Zelter. I express my gratitude to all scholars and musicians who contributed to the conference and to the present collection for their commitment and their professionalism.

Following the success of the conference, scholars were invited to expand and develop their papers to become essays in a substantial book. Every one of these essays has undergone revisions in order to adapt material from the original occasion to the context of this book. Glenn Stanley's essay on Wagner's engagement with Faust was specially written for this volume; I am very grateful for this welcome addition. An earlier version of Nicholas Boyle's essay has previously appeared in the *Internationales Jahrbuch des deutschen Idealismus* 7 (2009) and is republished here with the kind permission of de Gruyter Verlag and Sally Sedgwick and Dina Emundts, editors of the journal. Dan Farrelly's translation of essays by Ursula Kramer and Waltraud Maierhofer made a real difference to the book's progress. I am immensely grateful to Michael Middeke, Editorial Director for Music and History at Boydell & Brewer, for his interest in my work in general and his belief in this book in particular, and to my desk editor, Megan Milan, for her generous support. I wish to acknowledge too the generosity of Laura

Monch at Dutch National Opera, also Petra Petrovsky and Morena Romano, the Amsterdam-based photography duo, for their permission to use the cover image from the DNO production of Gounod's *Faust* directed by Alex Ollé in May 2014.

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Somerset Maugham once said, 'To acquire the habit of reading is to construct for yourself a refuge from almost all the miseries of life'. Rather than concede to Maugham that what we are engaged in here is some form of escapism or diversion from life's difficulties, I want to borrow his words to reflect on the contribution to our lives made by those musicologists and Germanists whose gift with words and readings can enthrall us, educate us, engage us, challenge us and, importantly, reassure us that in each generation we encounter outstanding scholars of national and international distinction, by whose reflected glory, recognition and respect we are inspired. It is in that spirit that this book is dedicated to Nicholas Boyle, who has been unbelievably generous to me over the years: he wrote the preface for *Goethe and Schubert: Across the Divide* in 2002; he gave two very memorable keynote lectures at symposia I organised in Maynooth on 'Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst' in 2004 and on Goethe and Eberwein's melodrama *Proserpina* in 2007. Indeed my memory of his presence at the performance of my edition of *Proserpina* by the National Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Gerhard Markson in the National Concert Hall and his generosity in launching my *Goethe and Zelter:Musical Dialogues* (2010) have become symbolic to me of the support he has given me. All of this has been granted in the course of his own monumental contribution to Goethean scholarship.

Although this book is in Goethean studies rather than Schubert scholarship, I must also remember Professor Susan Youens, to whom I owe more than I can say.

All students of Schubertian song owe an immense debt of gratitude to her. Her acuity as a musicologist has changed everything within the discipline: we comprehend Schubert's Lieder differently through what she has written. But she is much loved in the Schubert community – and throughout the world – as a musicologist and a person of humour, humanity, empathy and endurance. Like Nicholas Boyle, she exemplifies a way of being where success and keeping your feet on the ground are not mutually exclusive, where hope is not artificially inflated with hubris, where to encourage the talent of others is as important as the unfolding of one's own gifts, where the glass is always half full rather than half empty.

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Lorraine Byrne Bodley

#### Abbreviations used in the notes

- BA Berliner Ausgabe: J.W. von Goethe: Werke, 22 vols, ed. Siegfried Seidel, 3rd edn (Berlin, Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag 1970–81)
  FA Frankfurter Ausgabe. J.W. von Goethe: Werke, Briefe, Tagebücher und Gespräche,
- 40 vols (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1994–99)
- GA Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche, 24 vols, ed. Ernst Beutler (Zurich and Stuttgart: Artemis 1949ff)
   HA Hamburger Ausgabe. Goethes Werke, ed. Erich Trunz, 14 vols (Hamburg: Christian Wegner Verlag, 1948–60). Re-released Munich: C.H. Beck: October 1981).
   MA Münchner Ausgabe. J.W. von Goethe Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines
- Schaffens, ed. Karl Richter et al., 21 vols (Munich: Hanser, 1985–98)
- Weimarer Ausgabe. Goethes Werke, ed. Gustav von Loeper, Erich Schmidt et al., 143 vols (Weimar: Herman Böhlau, 1887–1919)

#### Introduction

### Rhapsody and Rebuke: Goethe's Faust in Music

### Lorraine Byrne Bodley

The Faust myth has been deeply engrained in the collective European consciousness since the early Middle Ages and has invited widely different interpretations. Hundreds of literary images of the Faust myth exist, from Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593) to Gotthold Lessing (1729–91), from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) to Thomas Mann (1875–1955), from Paul Valéry (1871–1945) to Michel Butor (1926–2016), all of which brilliantly illuminate the personal and cultural codes of the artists. From Anton Radziwill (1775–1833) to Conradin Kreutzer (1780–1849), from Franz Schubert (1797–1828) to Robert Schumann (1810–56), from Carl Loewe (1796–1869) to Hugo Wolf (1860–1903), from Hector Berlioz (1803–69) to Guiseppe Verdi (1813–1901), from Franz Liszt (1811–86) to Gustav Mahler (1806–1911), from Charles Gounod (1818–93) to Henri Pousseur (1929–2009): their retelling of the Faust myth always involves personal choices, variations of a theme that the composer chooses based on his or her circumstances. Part of the reality of these readings is the way the myth becomes charged with new meanings and absorbs new interpretations that open it up to new dimensions of reality yet to be discovered or re-explored. So why has the Faust figure been so persistent in music history? What do we know about Goethe's analogue to the Faust tale? Why was he preoccupied with it over a period of sixty years? What ethics inspired it? What elements in his handling of the myth inspired its long musical history? What is the modern meaning of this mythical tale?

The motif of a 'pact' with the devil, which Goethe's Faust drama explores, can be traced back to the Early Middle Ages, when the myth emerged as a moral parable aimed to demonstrate a Christian's constant danger of being tempted off the path of moral righteousness and adherence to divine command, and his susceptibility to seek power and reward from other sources. The trade between man and the devil would normally imply forfeiting eternal life for gratification in the temporal and material world and thus serve as a reminder that ambitions reaching beyond man's allocated place can be achieved only at a price. Such stories of devils' pacts were cautionary tales that ended in either remorse or punishment. Conversely, anyone suspected of possessing unusual

and inexplicable powers or engaging in lurid activities could stand accused of being in league with the Antichrist, deriving his or her power and success from an evil source. In this light, the assumption of a devil's pact might have fulfilled the function of providing an explanation for the inexplicable, especially for those incomprehensible dimensions of human existence that were not addressed by Christian beliefs. The myth explores a fundamental dichotomy in the human condition that is defined by a profound awareness of impotence but is concurrently disposed to seek omnipotence. The devil's pact is one metaphor for Christianity's cardinal sin, the sin of *superbia*, of hubris, of overreaching and

transgressing.

The potential of challenging the god-given order by overstepping the limitations imposed on humankind by the conditions of temporality and materiality, and the expanding human reach and capability arising out of the assumed human capacity to exercise free will and make moral choices was first outlined in the late fourth century by Augustine of Hippo in his treatise *De libero arbitrio*. At the core of this problematic lies the dual conviction that evil is integral to the world and that human nature is open to temptation. An epistemic conundrum arises from the question as to whether evil seeks out humans so as to seduce them, or whether humans seek out evil in a bid to shed their constraints. But is the force that motivates and facilitates transgression inevitably evil? And are the boundaries set by belief systems, by religion, or by the materiality and temporality of human existence immovable? In a secularized age, where limitations imposed by a deity are no longer universally accepted, transgression can assume a positive meaning: it can signify striving for betterment and the expansion of the possibilities of self-determination. However, even if the acquisition of knowledge is no longer banished as a sinful, egotistical act, the moral dilemma inherent in reaching beyond the confines of the known and the familiar, the danger of unleashing uncontrollable forces still holds human relevance. The metaphorical significance of the devil's pact may have changed post-Enlightenment, yet the myth still raises poignant questions about the human capacity and desire to commit and unleash evil, about the conditions and consequences of human agency.

From the earliest written reference to a Georg Faust of Knittlingen (c1480–1540) in 1507¹ to half dozen references up to 1576 of a charlatan, a trickster, a wandering scholar of dubious reputation who studied medicine and magic,²

 This reference to a Georgius Sabellicus, also known as Faustus junior is in a letter from Johannes Trithemius to Johann Virdun on 20 August 1507. See William Rose (ed.), *Doctor John Faustus* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1963), 3.

2. 7 October 1513: Mutianus Rufus writes about a chiromancer in Erfurt named Georgius Faustus; 1516: Abbot Entenfuss claims Faust is residing in an asylum in Maulbronn monastery; 12 February 1520: the Bishop of Bamberg mentions Doctor Faustus in correspondence; 1528: resolutions of the Town Council in Ingolstadt record a 'Dr Jörg Faustus of Heidelberg'; 1539: Philipp Bergadi of Worms lists Faust in *Index Sanitatis*;

to the anonymous *Volksbuch* of 1587, an elaborate *Faust* tale emerged over a period of some eighty years.<sup>3</sup> Since the publication in September 1587 of the anonymous chapbook *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* by Johann Spies (1540–1623) of Frankfurt am Main, the name of Doctor Johann Faust has become almost synonymous with a person who surrenders his soul to the devil. The chapbook tale already contains a detailed rendition of the Doctor's negotiations with the spirit Mephistopheles and the terms of the writ, thus establishing a scenario and configuration that would determine almost all later versions of the Faust legend. In the preface to *Historia*, which was signed by Spies himself, there is an acknowledgement that the Faust legend had made its way into mainstream consciousness thanks to the oral tradition of a necromancer who indulged in 'devilish arts'.<sup>4</sup> This Doctor Faustus is a magician, a man of learning who is tempted to go beyond the frontiers of knowledge into forbidden areas, beyond man's place in a theological world. Unlike myths the Faust fable has a distinct starting point, an acknowledged invariant model. It is also more historically compact than most other myths, as its founding text is still only five centuries old. As with any mythic protagonist, various precursors can be found: from the sixth-century cleric Theophilus of Adana<sup>5</sup> and the Medieval Cyprian of Antioch<sup>6</sup> – both of whom made pacts with the devil – to Simon Magus, a scholar and magician from the Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament' and legendary figure of early Church literature in the fourteenth-century.<sup>8</sup> That Doctor Faustus was considered to be the sixteenth-century equivalent of Simon Magus is evident from an extract in *Explicationes Melanchthoniae* (1594) by Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560).<sup>9</sup> It is also evident in letters from the Benedictine abbot Johannes Trithemius (1452–1516) to the German humanist Mutianus Rufus (1470–1526) in which he suggests that Georg Faust fashioned himself as a Simon Magus figure in his

1566: Martin Luther's tabletalk records a Doctor Faustus; 1566: Count Froben Christoph von Zimmern notes Faust's death in Staufen im Breisgau; 1568: reference to Faust in *De Praestigiis Daemonum* by Johannes Wierus (1515–88); 1572: the first literary mention of Faust in *Of Ghostes and Spirites* by Ludwig Lavater (1527–86); 1575: Christoph Rosshirt – a teacher in Nuremberg – compiles anecdotes on Faust and other magicians; 1576: reference to a Georg Faust in Wolffgang Bütner's *Epitome Historiarum*; for further details see Rose, *Doctor John Faustus*, 3–33.

- 3. Contexts and details in Osman Durrani, Faust. Icon of Modern Culture (Robertsbridge, Sussex: Helm, 2004).
- 4. Rose, Doctor John Faustus, 24.
- 5. Moshe Lazar, 'Theophilus: Servant of Two Masters. The Pre-Faustian Theme of Despair and Revolt', *Modern Language Notes* 87/6 (1972), 31–50.
- 6. George Santayana, *Three Philosophical Poets: Lucretius, Dante and Goethe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1910), 149.
- 7. Erich Kahler, 'Doctor Faustus from Adam to Sartre', *Comparative Drama* 1 (1967), 75–92, boro 79
- 8. E.A. Bucchianieri, *Faust: My Soul be Damned for the World* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2008) 81
- 2008), 81. 9. Ibid., 79.
- 10. Ibid., 82.

That Simon Magus went by the surname Faustus<sup>11</sup> – derived from the Latin word favustus meaning 'the favoured one' - and is mentioned in chapter fiftytwo of the Faust chapbook suggests its author was aware of the parallels. 12 That the *Volksbuch*, released in September 1587, received four reprints, a new original edition and a new edition with eight additional chapters by the end of the year<sup>13</sup> affirms the level of public attention.<sup>14</sup> Marguerite de Huszar Allen describes *Historia* as a literary reflection of the re-evaluation of religious values that took place in the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>15</sup> The legend, which captures a spirit illustrative of the period of Humanism, concurrently gives expression to fears and anxieties regarding the incomprehensibility of the universe, Luther's belief in the physical existence of the devil and the dangers of attempting the acquisition of knowledge unbecoming to mere mortals. In post-Reformation Germany, when morality plays were on the wane, a more secular Faust carried on the drama.

In his 1604 and 1616 versions of the *Tragical History of Dr Faustus*, written on the cusp between morality plays and Jacobean Renaissance drama, Christopher Marlowe takes the legend further into academic learning and gives Faust a psychology as well as a narrative. In his hands Faust becomes a tragic hero who defies God's ordinance, God's providence, yet in the final scene, as he waits for the devil, we cannot but empathize with him. Written in a period when the individual is beginning to be discovered, Marlowe's Faust is a character that challenges the boundaries of his own nature, pushes his personality to the point where it falls apart. Put on stage, with an eye to investigating his personality, he becomes 'a puppet' in the hands of higher powers and it is interesting that this drama was performed as a puppet play across Europe, a form of theatre that was not subject to censorship laws.

Almost two centuries later Gotthold Lessing (1729–1791) reappropriated Faust into German culture.<sup>17</sup> In a letter to George August von Breitenbauch on 12 December 1755 he mentions working on a Faust drama<sup>18</sup> and three years later he writes to Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719-1803) that he plans to stage Doctor Faustus in Berlin. Like Goethe, Lessing spent much of his life

- 11. Lorna Fitzsimmons (ed.), Goethe's Faust and Cultural Memory: Comparatist Interfaces (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2012).
- 12. Durrani, Icon, 42.
- 13. It was followed by the appearance of an English translation by 'P.F. Gent' within five years; see Durrani, *Icon*, 193–4. 14. Rose, *Doctor John Faustus*, 3–33.
- 15. Marguerite de Huszar Allen, 'The Reception of the Historia von D. Johann Fausten', *The German Quarterly* 59/4 (1986), 582–94, here 590.
- 16. Peter Boerner and Sidney Johnson, Faust Through Four Centuries (Tübingen: Niemeyer,
- 17. See Wolfgang Milde, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing 'D. Faust' Fragmente und Berichte. Mit einem vollständigen Faksimile der Fausthandschrift (Berlin: Berliner Bibliophilen-Abend, 1988).
- 18. Hugh Barr Nisbet, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: His Life, Works and Thought (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 406-7

working intermittently on the Faust material, <sup>19</sup> though the result was a series of fragments<sup>20</sup> of which there is no performance record. <sup>21</sup> His engagement with the legend is nonetheless important. By 1770 it was common knowledge that Lessing was working on the Faust material, and he inspired other writers' curiosity in the legend. <sup>22</sup> Lessing's fragments also contain important innovations, such as his endorsement of striving for knowledge, an exploration of the limits of intellectual curiosity<sup>23</sup> and the salvation of Faust, <sup>24</sup> all of which made it possible for Goethe's *Faust* to be redeemed.

When writing his earliest versions, *Urfaust*, in the first half of the 1770s and *Faust*. *Ein Fragment* (completed 1788, published 1790), Goethe was at the forefront of the campaign to invigorate German culture, liberate it from foreign, notably French, influences and make German literature relevant to the entire nation. The subject was tailor-made for the purpose of articulating German cultural sensibilities in a way that would appeal to the tastes and intellectual preoccupations of the emerging educated middle classes and contribute to a sense of cultural identity which, in the absence of a unified nation state, would find expression primarily in the cultural sphere. Yet over a period of sixty years in which he was preoccupied with the legend, the poet's attitudes changed from nationalist to internationalist – a trajectory which is mirrored in his drama. In contrast to Marlowe's *Dr Faustus*, Goethe's Faust moves in an enlightened world where questioning one's limitations was not only accepted, but expected. The two parts of Goethe's drama *Faust* (1808 and 1832) represent perhaps the most elaborate, ambitious and poignant attempt to articulate the problematics contained in the pact motif as expressions of modern, post-Enlightenment thought. As Boyle highlights in the opening section of this volume, Goethe exchanges the pact for a wager which Durrani traces back to the Book of Job in the Old Testament, be where the Lord forges and wins a wager with Satan by permitting the devil to corrupt Job's soul in the belief that good will ultimately prevail over evil. The introduction of this motif in the 'Prologue in Heaven' scene in *Faust I* creates an expectancy that good will prevail over evil. Through this change Goethe opens up a paradigmatic investigation of European notions of autonomy and contingency, of ambition and failure, of morality and agency. But the piece is not only a philosophical treatise: it is also a powerful and multifarious theatrical spectacle that creates, in the first part, a love story as

- 19. Barbara Fischer and Thomas C. Fox (eds), A Companion to the Works of Gotthold Ephraim
- Lessing (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2005), 25.
  20. Klaus L. Berghahn, 'Transformations of the Faust Theme', in Lives of Faust: The Faust Theme in Literature and Music, ed. Lorna Fitzsimmons (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 160–69.
- 21. Fischer and Fox, A Companion, 25.
- 22. Nisbet, Lessing, 407.
- 23. Fischer and Fox, A Companion, 25.
- Philip Mason Palmer and Robert Pattison More, Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 274.
- 25. Durrani, Icon, 42.

a challenger, commentator and, in some respects, *Doppelgänger* of Faust himself. In the second part then, it integrates Christian and antique mythologies into a comprehensive cosmology and, concurrently, employs notions of medieval universality and modern ambitions of colonization, namely the human faculty to master the natural environment and push the boundaries of human endeavour.<sup>26</sup> When part one of Goethe's *Faust* appeared in 1808 it was on the threshold

of an intellectual era when the limitations of Enlightenment thought became visible and were articulated forcefully by a younger generation of writers and musicians. New generations of composers brought new interests to bear on their engagement with the Faust figure in general and with Goethe's take on the subject matter in particular. While the representatives of German literary Romanticism might have had their difficulties with Goethe's *Faust*, composers latched onto the atmospheric dimension of the subject matter, the metaphysical and unsettling undercurrents undoubtedly present in the text, thereby uncovering new meanings and modes of aesthetic reimaginings and quite generally initiating a wave of reception that is unparalleled in its richness and diversity. So what was it in Goethe's handling of the myth that attracted composers to it? What elements inspired its long musical history?

It has long been acknowledged that *Faust's* unique dramatic structure draws on a plethora of influences and models from the *Bürgerliches Trauerspiel* (as paradigmatically defined by Lessing), to *Sturm und Drang* surges – the motif of corrupted innocence, present in Goethe's *Urfaust*, was a popular subject in the 1770s<sup>27</sup> – from medieval mystery plays to farce and utopia. It is less widely acknowledged, at least in musicological literature, that Goethe also absorbed a variety of musical traditions and forms. The formal richness of the play – encompassing a multitude of verse forms, strophic organization and metric patterns stretching from antique models to medieval, early modern and contemporary European provenance – lends the play an immensely diverse musical quality that led Albrecht Schöne (1994) to compare it to an orchestral score with a diverse range of tones and dynamics, pitches, rhythms, colourings, tempi and instrumentations.<sup>28</sup> In recent studies Hans Joachim Kreutzer (2003) has observed that the musical rhetoric of *Faust I* and *II* is organic and central to its form,<sup>29</sup> and Tina Hartmann's analysis of Goethe's Singspiele and opera (2004) traces how *Faust* emerged from a wonderfully intricate web of musico-theatrical forms.<sup>30</sup>

26. See Michael Jaeger, Fausts Kolonie. Goethes kritische Phänomenologie der Moderne (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004).

27. See, for example, Heinrich Leopold Wagner, *Die Kindsmörderin* (1776) and Schiller's poem 'Die Kindsmörderin' (1781); for discussion of this theme see Matthias Luserke, '*Die Kindermörderin' in Dramen des Sturm und Drang* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1997), 161–93.

Kindermörderin'in Dramen des Sturm und Drang (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1997), 161–93.
28. Albrecht Schöne, 'Vorbemerkungen zu Goethes Faust-Dichtung', FA 7, vol. 2: Faust. Kommentare, 9–62, here 16.

29. Hans Joachim Kreutzer, *Faust. Mythos und Musik* (Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 2003).

30. Tina Hartmann, Goethes Musiktheater. Singspiele, Opern, Festspiele, Faust (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004).

The rich musicality of Goethe' *Faust* bears testimony to the poet's early interest in developing German music theatre to a level commensurate with Italian opera. During the years 1773 to 1784 Goethe produced six ballad opera libretti<sup>31</sup> and four fragmentary operatic libretti including a sequel to *Die Zauberflöte*. (1795). From the time of his appointment of Director of the Weimar *Hoftheater* in 1791 to his resignation in 1817 Goethe's discernment is evident in his programming, <sup>32</sup> his criticism of the text for *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*<sup>33</sup> and his unfavourable reception of Weber's *Euryanthe*. <sup>34</sup> In conversation with Eckermann Goethe admits that he can enjoy an opera only 'wenn das Sujet ebenso vollkommen ist wie die Musik, so daß beide miteinander gleichen Schritt gehen' [when the text attains the same perfection as the music, so that both can keep pace with each other], <sup>35</sup> and he continually recognizes the importance of writing a good libretto for a composer. <sup>36</sup> His ambitions are realized not only in the musicality of his text but through ideas that captured the cultural imagination. What has not been widely recognized in the musicological reception of *Faust* 1 is that it is at once an independent theatrical work and a text intended for musical performance. While Goethe longed to have *Faust* set to music and collaborated with many musicians – Carl Eberwein and Prince Anton Heinrich Radziwill, for example, – by the end of his life he considered only Mozart and perhaps Meyerbeer as being equal to the task and had abandoned hope that he would live to witness such a musical setting. In conversation with Eckermann in 1829 he intimated that he found the task of supplying suitable music for his work 'ganz unmöglich' [quite impossible], since the repulsive, frightening and abhorrent character of his play were 'der Zeit zuwider' [in contradiction to the (mood of the) times] – which probably indicated his realization that, in spite of airing very modern and timely concerns, the general atmosphere in

- 31. Hermann Abert, Goethe und die Musik (Stuttgart: J. Engelhorns Nachf., 1922).
- 32. See, for example, Goethe's promotion and knowledge of Mozart's works: Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche*, ed. Heinrich Hubert Houben (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1911), 11 March 1828, 510; 11 October 1828, 225; 6 December 1829, 284; 14 February 1831, 242, and 11 March 1832, 584. See also Goethe's conversation with Christian Lobe in November 1821, in Gustav Woldemar von Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche: Eine Sammlung zeitgenössischer Berichte aus seinem Umgang Aufgrund der Ausgabe und des Nachlasses von Flodoard Freiherrn von Biedermann* (Munich: Dtv, 1998), 23, 190.
- Biedermann (Munich: Dtv, 1998), 23, 190.
  33. Goethe to Kayser, 22 December 1785, Briefe an Goethe, ed. Karl Robert Mandelkow, 4 vols (Hamburg: Wegner, 1969), vol. 1, letter no. 393, 493. See also Italienische Reise, MA, vol. 15, 437 (letter of November 1787).
- 34. Goethe to Eckermann, Gespräche, 20 April 1825, 163.
- 35. Gespräche, 9 October 1828, 220.
- 36. See, for example, Goethe's letter to Zelter, 19 May 1812, in which he writes 'Der Operntext soll ein Karton sein, kein fertiges Bild' [the libretto should be a pasteboard, not a complete picture]. Goethe Briefwechsel mit Zelter, ed. Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Edith Zehm, MA 20, vol. 3, 279. See also his correspondence with Kayser on 20 January 1780 (Goethe Briefe 1, letter no. 222, 293); 20 June 1785 (Goethe Briefe 1, letter no. 379, 477–8); 23 January 1786 (Goethe Briefe 1, letter no. 396, 499–500); 5 May 1786 (Goethe Briefe 1, letter no. 402, 509); and 14 August 1787, in Goethes Werke, ed. Gustav von Loeper, Erich Schmidt et al., WA IV, vol. 8, letter no. 2601, 244–5.

other preoccupations, or the unsettling character of his play ran counter to

contemporary taste in German music theatre.

Goethe's *Faust*, nonetheless, offered particularly rich incentives to composers – ranging from intimate scenes between Gretchen and Faust to gigantic panoramas – and suggested a variety of ways in which to re-imagine certain aspects of the play in music. These can be divided into three categories. Firstly, in accordance with contemporary and later performance practice, the play offered a rewarding opportunity to supply incidental music, scores that could set the scenes atmospherically, capture moods or provide an accompaniment to the action on stage. Secondly, Goethe's multitude of music-related formal devices – songs, choruses of various composition and strength, rhythmical speech and chanting, different scenic configurations, from monologue and dialogue to crowd scenes, settings from private to public, from realiztic to mythological, from historical to contemporary and timeless, from comical and tragic moments – all lent themselves to implementation in a variety of genres of vocal music, from opera and oratorio to song and song cycle. Thirdly, the fundamental, abstract concepts in the play and the powerful emotions it generates suggested recreation in abstract or programmatic non-vocal music. All of these forms demanded not only transposition into a different medium, or the complementation of the textual idiom with a musical one, but also active interpretation, sometimes re-imagination of the existing material. This engagement could stretch from a mere selection of an excerpt for musical setting, a song or chorus for example, to a fundamental refashioning, even rewriting, of entire scenes and larger sections of the drama, or an attempt to capture musically the piece in its essence. An operatic setting to music of the entire drama, or even of one of its parts, has never been attempted, though attempts to complement the spoken text in its entirety with incidental music abound.<sup>37</sup>

But the thematic substance, too, so intimately entwined with the formal presentation, offered scope for unique, and often controversial, appropriation. In its richness and complexity, Goethe's *Faust* contained canvasses for many different collective and individual tastes and inclinations. The demonic quest of a driven genius, a bored polymath, forever searching and forever lacking final gratification, was by many throughout the nineteenth century and beyond deemed to embody specifically German characteristics – which facilitated the adoption of Faust for the construction of a national self-image.<sup>38</sup> The moral dimension of the play – or rather the attempt to assert morality in an intellectual atmosphere of profound secularism by reconciling transcendental justice with physical human existence – and the acknowledgement of the symbolic truth of religion could offer points of departure for the metaphysically or religiously

<sup>37.</sup> The earliest complete setting of *Faust I* – without a recitative setting of the dialogue – was composed by Conradin Kreutzer. Although Radziwill was the first to attempt this, his setting remained incomplete.

<sup>38.</sup> F.J. Lamport, German Classical Drama: Theatre, Humanity and Nation 1750–1870 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 152.

inclined, but similarly for their detractors.<sup>39</sup> Read invariably as an example of the perfectibility of man, and as evidence how aberration and guilt bestow tragic 'greatness', these traits were appropriated in the German nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as specifically 'German'; the reading that redemption is possible, that beauty can purge and cleanse, was extracted as a specifically artistic message of Goethe's play; particularist and universalist readings coexisted and became dominant under specific historical and cultural conditions. All of these traits, and many more, offered material for identification, controversy, reinterpretation, reimagination and actualization.

At the heart of any engagement with the subject matter lies its potential to invite personal engagement and identification, the perception that the subject matter is meaningful, and that the story of the exemplary figure speaks to the individual. Goethe claimed – on more than one occasion – to feel an affinity with Faust. Long before Thomas Mann's portrayal of Faust as an emblem of the modern artist, Goethe's image of the polarity of the human soul – the inner conflict between physical and spiritual desires, between earthly (temporal) and heavenly (eternal) ambition of which Faust speaks in *Vor dem Tor* – struck accord with artists and became an influential notion bequeathed to European culture.

As with Goethe's prismatic portrayal of Faust, Gretchen makes similar claims on our attention. When tracing Faust's musical afterlives, she steps out of Faust's shadow and fashions a destiny of her own. Like other heroines of Sturm und Drang, Gretchen is portrayed as a girl from the lower social stratum, who is seduced and whose seduction leads to her downfall, yet Goethe's depiction of her grows beyond the stereotype to become one of the most fully realized figures in the drama. Although she shares characteristics with the sentimental woman (Empfindsame) or belle ame (schöne Seele), Gretchen does not conform to this literary norm. Like her 'fallen' sisters in German literature, from Emilia Galotti to Hebbel's Klara, she is religious, yet in the Zwinger scene Goethe parodies the recurring literary picture of a vulnerable virgin, already sacrificed, kneeling before the altar, while her suffering in the *Dom* scene serves as a sharp rebuke to the sentimentalized Roman Catholicism portrayed by many contemporary male authors. While Faust's experiences represent the progress and destiny of man, Gretchen is placed in a social *impasse*. In contrast to Faust, she is part of a pre-Reformation culture: history, society and religion condition her, while Faust has emancipated himself from all three. The insertion of a love story into Faust I dramatizes what Catherine Clément calls the 'undoing of women', and Goethe brings society's treatment of women into question through the suffering Gretchen is forced to endure. And yet, as with Faust's two souls, the old antithesis of Mary and Eve (Ave-Eva) - where women either conform to the ideal or fall to corruption and abjection - takes on a new form in Gretchen. She possesses a moral clarity and acquires a personal freedom that goes beyond any class or hierarchical structure. Her songs, which captured the imagination of composers from Schubert to Wagner, echoed across the drawing rooms and concert halls

<sup>39.</sup> Gert Ueding, Klassik und Romantik: Deutsche Literatur im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution 1789–1815 (Munich: Hanser, 1987), 328–54.

of Europe and North American. The many ways in which Gretchen's life is re-enacted in music provide a litmus test for key cultural values of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

That Goethe's poetry has proved pivotal for the development of the nineteenth century Lied has long been acknowledged. Less acknowledged is the idea of Goethe's *Faust* as a nexus of musical energy, a work which has attracted the attention of composers since the late eighteenth century, inspiring a repertoire that has played a vital role in the evolution of vocal, operatic and instrumental repertoire of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A flood-tide of musical interpretations of Goethe's *Faust* came into existence during his lifetime and posthumously. Hedwig Meier estimates that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries over one hundred different original stage settings were produced,<sup>40</sup> while Beate Schmidt reckons ninety different settings related to various published versions of Goethe's text were composed even before the author's death (obviously excluding Part II, which only came out in the same year).<sup>41</sup> The Faust complex in general gave rise to over 850 compositions; over 220 different authors are known to have written Faust libretti, excluding those composers who supplied their own texts for their compositions.<sup>42</sup>

A broad trajectory of settings can be traced from Zelter's colourful record of the first setting of Goethe's Faust – composed by Prince Radziwill and rehearsed by a royal cast in Berlin in 1816 – to Faust's postmodern afterlives in Peter Stein's millennium production of Faust I and II (2000) Further pathways can be traced in nineteenth-century French afterlives from Hector Berlioz's (1803–69) setting of Gérard de Nerval's translation of Goethe's Faust in Huit scènes de Faust, 1828–29, incorporated into La Dannation de Faust, 1845–46, to Claude Delvincourt (1888–1954) and Lili Boulanger's (1893–1918) settings of Faust et Hélène to a text by Eugène Adenis after Goethe (both 1913). From women composers' engagement with the legend – Bettina von Arnim's 'Aus Faust: O schaudre nicht' to Fanny Mendelssohn's cantata, 'Wenn der Blüten Frühlingsregen' (1843), the first setting of Goethe's Faust II – from song sets by Johann Carl (Gottfried) Loewe (1796–1869), Leopold Lenz (1803–62) and Peter Josef von Lindpainter (1791–1856) to orchestral realisations by Franz Liszt (1811–86), Eine Faust-Symphonie in drei Charakterbildern (1854–7); Anton Rubinstein (1829–94), Faust. Ein musikalisches Characterbild nach Goethe, op. 68, (1864); Paul Höffer (1895–1949), Musik zu 3 Szenen aus Goethes Faust (1936) and the finale of Gustav Mahler's (1860–1911), Symphony no. 8 in E flat major (1906–7): all of

<sup>40.</sup> Hedwig Meier, Die Schaubühne als musikalische Anstalt. Studien zur Geschichte und Theorie der Schauspielmusik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert sowie zu ausgewählten 'Faust'-Kompositionen (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1999).

<sup>41.</sup> Beate Agnes Schmidt, Musik in Goethes 'Faust'. Dramaturgie, Rezeption und Aufführungspraxis (Sinzig: Studio, 2006).

<sup>42.</sup> Andreas Meier, Faustlibretti. Geschichte des Fauststoffes auf der europäischen Musikbühne nebst einer lexikalischen Bibliographie der Faustvertonungen (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1990).

these afterlives propose (sometimes explicitly, but mostly by implication) an

interpretation, a deviation, a correction, an alternative trajectory.

As one would expect with a playwright of Goethe's stature, incidental music to Goethe's *Faust I and II* flowered with extraordinary rapidity across the long nineteenth century. Characteristically, Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) was the first to compose incidental music for *Faust I* (1806); his example was followed by many, including Schubert's Viennese contemporary Ignaz Xaver, Ritter von Seyfried (1776–1841), who composed a *Faust* overture in 1820 followed by incidental music for a performance in 1829. Many composers ambitiously conceived music for both parts, including Carl A. Eberwein (1786–1868) for *Faust I* (1829) and *Faust II* (1852); Eduard Lassen (1830–1904), op. 57 (1876), and Max Zenger (1837–1911) in 1896.<sup>43</sup> Such settings continued into the twentieth century and included incidental music to *Faust I* by Clemens Schmalstich (1880–1960) in 1907 and Georg Kiessig (1885–1945) in 1912. Examples of incidental music to *Faust I & II Faust* are Franz Salmhofer's (1900–75), published in 1928, and more recently Jens-Uwe Günther's (b.1937) realization, performed extensively in Germany, including at the Deutschen Nationaltheater in Weimar (1965, 1967, 1975) and in Chemnitz (1983), all directed by Fritz Bennewitz, and at the Staatsschauspiel Dresden (1989), directed by Wolfgang Engel.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, at the height of Goethe's universal fame, when large proportions of the population in many European countries were exposed to his work during their formative years, the familiarity of the subject matter and the assumed knowledge of audiences with details of plot, characters and even whole sections of text<sup>44</sup> facilitated musical renditions that could work without explicit and overt reminders of Goethe's original; mere allusions or evocations of certain central aspects would suffice to establish a connection with Goethe's work. The popularity of certain songs and scenes in his text invited ever new musical settings that, in indebtedness and demarcation, performed a dialogue not only with the original but also with earlier musical interpretations. As time progressed, the accumulated body of points of reference grew exponentially, the fabric of referentiality became increasingly dense and complex, and the engagement consequently ever more

multidirectional.45

Some of the most inventive musical minds of the nineteenth century created a musical voice for Gretchen, ensuring that her story was heard all over Europe

- 43. 'Max Zenger über seine Faust-Musik', Allgemeine Zeitung 94, 97, 99 (Munich 1896).
- 44. Goethe's Faust was by far the richest single literary source in Georg Büchmann's collection of attributable sayings that have entered German everyday language (only outdone by the Bible in Luther's translation), see Georg Büchmann, Geflügelte Worte. Der Citatenschatz des deutschen Volks (1st edn 1864). Frank Möbus, 'Die Meyrink-Hypothese: Zur aktuellen Verwendung geflügelter Worte das Beispiel "Faust", Muttersprache 3 (1998), 232–51, argues that even incorrect citations from Goethe's Faust triggered memory and contextualisation.
- 45. Carolin Bunke, Zur Faust-Rezeption in der Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts. Goethe's Dichtung und die Kompositionen von Hector Berlioz, Richard Wagner and Franz Liszt (Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach, 2011).

pays homage to Schubert.

and eventually beyond. Some of her songs have received extraordinary attention, such as *Der König von Thule*, where Gretchen's allegory of an illicit love between a king and his mistress condemns her *ab initio* to a similar fate. Since allegory is polysemic, multiple readings of this ballad abound, by Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), Gottfried Wilhelm Fink (1783–1846), Friedrich Christian Grimmer (1798–1850), Christoph Ernst Friedrich Weyse (1774–1842), Philipp Friedrich Silcher (1789–1860), Heinrich August Marschner (1795–1861), Karl Anton Florian Eckert (1820–79), Hans von Bülow (1830–1894), Adolf Jensen (1837–79), Peter Nicolay von Wilm (1834–1911), Alexander Winterberger (1834–1914), Felix August Bernhard Draeseke (1835–1913), Anastazy Wilhelm Dreszer (1845–1904), Bernhard Ernst Scholz (1835–1916), Gustav Jenner (1865–1920) and Otto Klemperer (1885–1973). As this brief listing shows, settings stretch across century, country and genre from Václav Jan Tomásek's (1774–1850) orchestral setting of 1815 to C.V. Festari's *Il re di Thule*, translated by G. Carducci and published in 1865, to Václav Jindérich Veit's (1806–64) setting for male-voice chorus.

The sound of musical memory is everywhere in Gretchen's afterlives, especially in realizations of the scene 'Gretchens Stube' ('Meine Ruh' ist hin'), which erupts with sexual energy. The disquieting advent of sexual desire, so famously realized by Franz Schubert, has been retold by Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka (1804–57); Ludwig Friedrich Hetsch (1806–72); Otto Kraushaar (1812–66); George Alexander Mactarren (1813–87); Gustav Heinrich Graben-Hoffmann (1820–1900); Johann von Haszlinger (1822–98); Hermann Wichmann (1824–1905), Carl Witting (1823–1907) and Seóirse Bodley (b.1933). In the latter, to take one example, the appropriation of the song's title from the stage direction 'Gretchen am Spinnrade allein' and opening musical gesture signal Bodley's homage to Schubert. In contrast to the dual perspective of Schubert's famous six-note figuration, which emulates the spinning wheel and the protagonist's inner turmoil, Bodley's more swiftly-moving four-note figuration only loosely suggests a spinning motif and represents much more the internal workings of Gretchen's mind. In the two poetic and musical climaxes Schubert's presence is also acknowledged in the musical gesture B flat to C flat (bars 136–7), the memory of which interrupts the 'spinning' motif in a sustained A flat minor chord over a dissonant left-hand chord in which a low A flat and G flat are voiced together. As in Schubert's setting, the 'spinning motif' is hesitantly resumed (bars 138–40); the second climax to the Liebestod motif again also

While Goethe's play allowed, even encouraged, a variety of different readings, its heterogeneity – partly explained by an inception period spanning almost Goethe's entire life since he encountered the puppet play in childhood and completed *Faust II* in the year of his death – proved problematic. Later redactors, especially professional artists, who would not enjoy the freedom to produce a text that would take around 20 hours to perform but had to remain mindful of markets and practicalities, necessarily had to select or condense. These acts in themselves represent the first interpretative movements and thereby the nucleus of a new piece of art. A variety of adaptations of Goethe's *Faust* can be traced through the nineteenth century, an example of which is Arrigo Boito's (1842–

1918) Mefistofele (1868), for which he wrote the libretto, something unheard of in Italian opera at the time, but which is largely a translation of Goethe's German to Boito's Italian. His opera is in dialogue not only with the original text but also with Charles Gounod's interpretation, which Boito considered to be a superficial treatment of a profoundly ethical human subject. The failure of Boito's premiere and the subsequent success of the opera across Europe and North America is an example of how not only the score but also the specifics of any given production, including performance, criticism and reception, determined the meaning and impact of any given treatment, be it of Goethe's text in operatic setting or incidental music or independent adaptations.

Such adaptations notably increased in the twentieth century: Friedrich August Bungert's (1845–1915) stage music for the production of Faust 1 und II, op. 58, was adapted by Max Grube for the Goethe Festival (Goethefestspiele) in 1903 in Düsseldorf and Paul A. Hensel's scores for Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau's silent film *Faust* were inspired by Hans Kyser's adaptation (1926). The rapid dissemination of Goethe's drama throughout Europe ensured that readers outside Germany engaged with the text, either in the original form or in translation. Examples are found in André P. Cadou's (1885–1973) realization of Chanson du roi de Thulé and Sérénade de Méphisto (paroles de Louis Forest et Charles Robert Dumas d'après Goethe) in 1925 and work of the Danish composer Niels Viggo Bentzon (1919–2000), whose full-length opera Faust III, op. 144 (1964) was inspired by Goethe's Faust, James Joyce and Franz Kafka, performed in the UA Opernhaus Kiel conducted by Peter Ronnefeld. Twentieth-century French and Danish radio realizations abound, including Emmanuel (Pierre Georges) Bondeville's (1898–1987) *Illustrations pour Faust* (1942) incidental music for radio production, commissioned by Radio France and based on poems by Goethe translated by Pierre Sabatier, André Arnoux's Musique pour Hélène et Faust (after Goethe) set to music by André Jolivet (1905–74) in 1949 and the Danish composer Else Marie Pade (b.1924), Faust I. Elektronische Suite in 6 Teilen (1962), set as an independent work for broadcast on Radio Denmark. Other interesting adaptations include Luca Lombardi's (b.1945) Faust: un travestimento (1986–90) to a libretto by Edoardo Sanguiniti after Goethe's Faust I, which alternates serious and comic elements, unconventional quotation and drama with a mastery of expressive means and remarkable theatrical instinct.

As Goethe's Faust has continually been reinterpreted across the GDR and modern Germany, appropriations continued in Nazi Germany. Examples include incidental music for Goethe's *Faust I* (1908, rev. 1915) written by the controversial composer, Max von Schillings (1868–1933), by Hitler's *Generalmusikdirektor*, Leopold Reichwein (1878–1945), in 1912 and incidental music to *Faust I & II* (1918) by the Nazi musicologist Arnold Schering (1877-1941). As the Romantic Faust became more and more positive in the course of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century was almost universally portrayed as somebody who extended human knowledge, who was brave, who dared to do things others did not venture to do, understandably there was a reaction against this reception in the literature and music of postwar Germany. In contrast to Paul Valéry, whose Faust not only defies the devil from the beginning to the end but overcomes him,

thereby defying a whole tradition,<sup>46</sup> Thomas Mann has his Faust deteriorate; in *Dr Faustus* (1947) he allows him to be diseased, but he also interweaves the legend with politics. The order that you have in Goethe's world is gone; Mann reacts against the Romantic image of Faust, the Nietzschean *Übermensch* who strives beyond good and evil and instead shows us the reality: a composer who is sick, a man who is misguided and destroys himself. Hanns Eisler's (1898–1962), opera libretto *Johannes Faustus*, which was published in 1952, depicted Faust as a renegade and was accused of being 'a slap in the face of German national feeling' and of having 'formalistically deformed one of the greatest works of our German poet Goethe' (Walter Ulbricht).<sup>47</sup> The music was never written. This historical shift is also evident in the conscious move away from Goethe and back to the more directly moralizing sentiment of earlier versions of the Faust legend, where elements of the chapbook and the puppet plays are utilized to give more direct and drastic expression to contemporary concerns (also in the light of twentieth-century (German) history) and to reinject both concrete and allegorical expression of moral concepts into postmodern aesthetics and debate, a trend of which Alfred Schnittke's *Faust* opera (1993) is perhaps the most striking example. An accompanying revival of interest in Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* gave rise to such productions as Mario Nascimbene's (1913–2002) soundtrack for the filmic realization *Dr Faustus* (1967).

Despite this historical shift, the stature and influence of Goethe as an artist and a thinker and the richness of his creation has ensured that after the publication of *Faust I* any new engagement with the issues addressed in this work are somehow inevitably related to the Goethean version – be it explicit or implicit, in an affirmative or demarcatory fashion, by picking up on specific elements or by attempting to capture some of the essence of the model. Even where the moral issues in Goethe's *Faust* are as obtuse as in Josep Maria Sanou *Fausto 5.0* (2001), award-winning fantasy film and third of a trilogy developed for screen by La Fura dels Baus, an experimental group from Barcelona,<sup>48</sup> the comparison

- Paul Valéry, Mon Faust (Paris: Gallimard, 1946), for which Pierre Boulez wrote incidental music (Structures, Book II, 1961). For comparative literature on the reception of Valéry's Mon Faust around this time see Kurt Wais, 'Goethe und Valéry's Faust', in Mélanges de litterature comparée et de philologie offerts à Mieczyslaw Brahmer, ed. Rachmiel Brandwajn, (Warsaw: PWN, 1967), 555ff; Hermann Fähnrich, 'Paul Valéry und Goethe', Neue Folge des Jahrbuchs der Goethe-Gesellschaft 31 (1969), 192ff; Karl Alfred Blüher, Stategie des Geistes, Paul Valérys Faust (Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 1960) = Analecta Romanica, 10; Maurice Bémol, 'Le jeune Valéry et Goethe. Étude de genèse réciproque', Revue de littératur comparée 34 (1960), 5ff. I am grateful to Xavier Hascher for bringing this to my attention.
   Walter Ubricht, 'Das Faust-Proben und die deutsche Geschichte: Bemerkungen aus
- 47. Walter Ubricht, "Das Faust-Proben und die deutsche Geschichte: Bemerkungen aus Anlaß des Erscheinens des Operntextes "Johannes Faustus" von Hanns Eisler', Neues Deutschland 14, 16 May 1953. See also Johanna Rudolf in Neues Deutschland, 28 May 1953, and Alexander Abush, 'Faust Held oder Renograt in der deutschen Nationalliteratur?', Neues Deutschland, 17 May 1953.
- 48. The first two filmic instalments were F@ust 3.0 (originally a play) and *The Damnation of Faust* (originally an opera).

with Goethe is always made.<sup>49</sup> The settings unfold latent possibilities in

Goethe's narrative, even if only by opposition.

As the settings referred to by Otto Klemperer, Seóirse Bodley, Jens-Uwe Günther and Luca Lombardi show, Goethe's Faust has continued to be a major reference point for modern European culture across the twentieth and twentyfirst centuries. One postmodern trend is the return to cantata settings of Faust I and Faust II, originally exemplified in Arno Kleffel's (1840–1913) choral work Schwertertreue (after Faust 1 and II) in 1880; Ervin Lendvai's (1882–1949) comic cantata for mixed chorus, Die Sonne Tönt nach alter Weise; Georg Böttcher's (1889-1963) Goethe Kantata. Neige, neige, du Ohnegleichen (1949) for soprano, clarinet and orchestra; Fritz Büchtger's (1903–78) cantata for mixed choir, Lynkeus' Tower Song, op.11, no.1, to more recent rereadings such as Wilhelm Georg Berger's (1929–93) Faust. Symphonisches Drama nach Goethe (Faust II) for speaker, mixed choir, large orchestra and organ (1981), op. 61. A second recent trend is found in the composition of Goethe's *Urfaust*, where the story of Faust's love for Gretchen is told in fifteen short scenes, as realized in the incidental music by Paul Dessau (1894–1979) and Herbert Trantow (1903–93). A poignant example of Faust and Gretchen as symbols of cultural translation is found in the setting by Frank Schaefer (b.1955) commissioned for a North-South Peace Project in Ireland. 50

The mapping of the field of musical engagements with Goethe's Faust has moved away from a concentration on enduring favourites and acknowledged masterpieces to include versions by less well-known composers and short-lived pieces. The musical reception of Goethe's *Faust* encompasses not only the popular genres of opera and Lied and the magisterial efforts of symphonies, oratorios and tone poems, but all musical styles and forms, including rock and film scores. In the most recent engagements with Goethe's Faust, both contradictory and complementary trends may be observed: on the one hand, ambitious productions of the entire text of both parts of Goethe's Faust are staged, lasting over twenty hours in total, and, reverting to historical practice, supported by specially composed incidental music. On the other hand, highlights and a condensed plot of Goethe's play are set to rock music and presented in a way reminiscent of popular musicals; examples are found in Michael Postweiler's (b.1964), Faust & Fisto (1995), musical theatre to a text by Erik Rastetter loosely based on Goethe, and Rudolf Volz's Faust. Rockoper (1997), where the sentimentality, commercialization and Verkitschung are a modern-day equivalent to the set of Gretchen postcards displayed on the Goethe's Faust loss considerations on the control of th any musical engagements with Goethe's Faust, key considerations are historical determinants and contexts (to which any treatment responds), the conditions of performance, public tastes, market forces and fashions.

<sup>49.</sup> See, for example, Peter Bradshaw's review in *The Guardian*, 6 June 2003.

<sup>50.</sup> The premiere performances took place on 29 and 30 November in University College Dublin and 3 and 4 December 1999 in the University of Ulster, Coleraine, directed by Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Musical Director), Finola Cronin (choreographer) and Dan Farrelly (dramaturg).

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Despite the numerous settings it has inspired, the centrality of Goethe's Faust I and II in German music theatre has remained unexplored in the burgeoning musicological and theoretical literature on nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century repertoire. This volume brings together eighteen essays by Germanists and musicologists, which offer a conspectus of issues in the musical reception of Goethe's Faust and attempts to define why the Faust figure has been so persistent in music history. It offers an interdisciplinary reappraisal of our understanding of Goethe's knowledge of music and experience as formative influences on Faust I and II. The material regarding the musical implications and contexts of Goethe's Faust, more especially the musical responses to this work over two centuries, is too vast to attempt an exhaustive overview. The present volume, therefore, highlights selected aspects, many of which can claim paradigmatic relevance. It opens up an exploration of new avenues of interdisciplinary research not merely by juxtaposing various disciplinary practices in the same volume, but by promoting a deeper and more productive interaction between contributors on issues from the conceptual engagement with Goethe's Faust to performance and production to forays into popular culture. Since 'culture', however the word is defined, is always a set of mutual relations, cultural phenomena can only be understood, and therefore only be studied, comparatively. In any imagined museum of musical works the juxtaposition of the items on display is necessarily critical. How a collection of essays is motivated, the ideological or aesthetic agendas that drive the choice of items and their arrangement, the intellectual procedures by which meanings are derived from them, will, of course, always be an issue. But in all imaginable scenarios it is the collection and not just the single artefact or 'works' or 'texts' that constitute the primary object of cultural knowledge.

In the Faust figure our age-old preoccupation with man's relationship with supernatural powers finds its expression, a theme which in Goethe's drama receives its authoritative articulation as being emblematic of the modern condition. In the opening section, 'Goethe's Faust: Historical, Musical and Cultural Contexts', Nicholas Boyle illuminates some of the characteristics of Goethe's play that make it particularly 'modern' – the apparent post-Christian aporia that any quest is at the same time 'self-fulfilling and self-defeating'. Boyle defines how, in order to make modernity the theme of his play and not just its precondition, Goethe made two fundamental changes to the structure of the myth he inherited: he introduced the love story between Gretchen and Faust, and changed Faust's agreement with the Devil from a pact to a wager. The essays by Cooper, Horton, Ruth, Stanley, Papanikola and Robb show how these changes contributed to the attractiveness for musical engagement and raise important questions about music as medium.

In this opening section on musical context, Martin Swales points to a central paradox in Goethe's *Faust*: that it is a multifarious musical work though the protagonist himself, a man of words and of reflectivity, has virtually no musical numbers. Swales argues that Faust speaks in verse of such unparalleled

flexibility and variety that the sheer virtuosity of the rhyme patterns constantly brings language close to the condition of musicality. His essay unveils how the play invites us to reflect on music as cognate to the Faustian condition. As Schopenhauer saw, music is both visceral and abstract, and that dialectic relates to the 'zwei Seelen' that animate and disquiet Faust. Swales's essay is in dialogue with Lorraine Byrne Bodley's essay, 'The Redress of Goethe's Faust in Music History' which offers a historiographical account of Goethe's reception by musicologists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and offers reasons for scholars' failure to give credence to Goethe's musical acuity. Jo Tudor's incisive essay adopts this strand as she traces the metaphorical nature of Goethe's thinking about music, assessing the ways in which Goethe's use of 'harmony' as a metaphor in Faust instantiates Hellenic and Enlightenment musical concepts. Osman Durrani contextualizes our understanding of Goethe's engagement with the Faust legend through his exploration of the cultural and philosophical instrumentalism of Faust from Johannes Trittheim's epistle in 1507 to popular

depictions in a postmodern age.

In Part Two, 'Legacies: Goethe's Faust in the nineteenth century', some of the most immediate and most enduring musical responses to Goethe's Faust are discussed. John Michael Cooper furnishes a new perspective on nineteenth-century Faust settings, arguing that specific features of Schubert's Faust Lieder suggest that the composer not only acknowledged the larger poetic and dramaturgical contexts of Goethe's texts, but also intuited and responded musically to the telos of the Faust tragedy toward redemption through Gretchen in Faust II, completed four years after Schubert's death. Cooper's essay is in direct dialogue with my opening essay, 'The Redress of Goethe's Faust in Music History', in which particular emphasis is placed on the role of Schubert – 'the first composer to elevate song to a major musical genre' – in disseminating Goethe's poems. Julian Horton and Christopher Ruth both consider aspects of meaning in Schumann's oratorio Szenen aus Goethes Faust. By exploring the formative influence of Carl Gustav Carus's Briefe über Goethes 'Faust' (1835) and his treatise Psyche: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele (1846) on Schumann's musical rendering of Goethe's protagonist, Ruth shows how Schumann's music realizes the philosophical issues at the heart of Goethe's handling of the Faust legend and offers a confessional prism through which Faust's tumultuous search for enlightenment and peace may be viewed. Schumann's recognition of the double weight of history in realizing Goethe's Faust and his knowledge of Eckermann's Gespräche mit Goethe is evident in a letter to Felix Mendelssohn in 1845 where he writes, '[A]ny composer would not only be judged by his treatment of one of the seminal and most widely acclaimed works in German literature, but would also be setting himself to be deeply sensitive to Goethe's 'manifold

<sup>51.</sup> Ann Feeney, 'Scenes from Goethe's Faust', *All Media Guide*, <a href="http://www.allmusic.com/work/c12266">http://www.allmusic.com/work/c12266</a> (accessed 22 March 2016).

musical world'<sup>52</sup> and his work is finally gaining recognition as a pinnacle of his quintessential Romantic concern with the literary potential of musical expression.<sup>53</sup> Horton seeks a way of understanding the genre Schumann employs by a comparison and mediation between the views of John Daverio (the work as a novel) and Nicholas Marston (the work as tableau). Horton's musicological analysis is based on a close and authoritative reading of Schumann's settings of the *Domszene* (Part I), Dr Marianus's aria and *Chorus musticus — Alles Vargängliche ist nu rein Cleichnis* (Part III) which be clearly mysticus - Alles Vergängliche ist nu rein Gleichnis (Part III) which he clearly

contextualises with wide-ranging references to contemporary settings.

Mark Austin and Glenn Stanley both consider the hermeneutics of Wagner's engagement with Goethe's Faust. Austin aims to show how Wagner's conception of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, which held sway amongst performers and audiences for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was itself strongly influenced by his reading of Goethe's Faust, a connection which has not yet been explored. Austen shows how the programmatic description Wagner wrote for the Dresden performances he conducted in 1846 imposes a literary narrative onto Beethoven's music, whereby the emergence of the human voice in the final movement is understood as the endpoint of a Faustian struggle for experience, self-realization and redemption. Wagner's *Programm* thus provides a fascinating insight into the process of artistic interpretation, as he uses *Faust* to explore the boundaries between the elucidation and imposition of meaning. Clann Stanley addresses the historical context of Wagner's teenage of meaning. Glenn Stanley addresses the historical context of Wagner's teenage settings, Seven Compositions to Goethe's Faust, the year the poet died, and the Faust overture of 1839–40, which Wagner acknowledged, marked an important turn in his development. His undertaking and subsequent revision of this work, following his abandonment of a Faust symphony, mirrors the composer's lifelong oscillation between skeptical and ecstatic contemplation of Goethe and his magnum opus.

While Liszt's symphonic setting of the 'Chorus mysticus' at the end of his Faust-Symphonie (1854) and Schumann's 'Fausts Verklärung' from his Scenen aus Goethes Faust present unconventional responses to Goethe's text, it was not Goethes Faust present unconventional responses to Goethe's text, it was not until Gustav Mahler's Eighth Symphony (1906) that the *Schlußszene* from *Faust II* received a monumental orchestral treatment. In her essay on the finale, Eftychia Papanikolaou argues that the protagonist's struggle and the drama's mystical message of redemption resonated with the composer, as revealed in the genesis of the work and the way the music appropriates the drama's religious overtones. Her reading explores how the two parts of Mahler's Symphony no. 8 are unified by a common idea, that of redemption through the power of love a unity conveyed through shared musical themes: Part I being based on love, a unity conveyed through shared musical themes: Part I being based on the ninth-century Latin Pentecost hymn, *Veni creator spiritus*, and Part II on the closing scene from Goethe's *Faust II* – a depiction of an ideal of redemption

<sup>52.</sup> John Daverio: 'Schumann, Robert', in *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <a href="http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com">http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com</a> (accessed 22 March 2016).
53. Brian Schlotel, 'Schumann, Robert (Opera)', *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <a href="http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com">http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com</a> (accessed 22 March 2016).

through eternal womanhood (das Ewig-Weibliche) which has been compared to

Beethoven's Ninth Symphony as a defining human statement for its century.

Part Three: 'Topographies: Staging and Critical Reception' deals in a more focused way with questions of production and performance. Siobhán Donovan and Heather Hadlock both scrutinize aspects of text setting: Donovan considers Ken Russell's production of Gounod's Faust staged at the Viennese State Opera in 1985, reading the libretto in the light of Gerard de Nerval's interlingual translation of Faust I (praised by Goethe) and Michel Carré's boulevard adaptation of his play, Faust et Marguerite (1850). In her reading of La Damnation de Faust (1846) Heather Hadlock traces how Berlioz extended the theatricality de Faust (1846) Heather Hadlock traces how Berlioz extended the theatricality and generic ambiguity of Goethe's play into the domain of musical theatre. Hadlock deals with the first theatrical stagings of *La Damnation de Faust* between 1893 and 1903 and their critical reception: Raoul Gunsbourg's staging (Monte Carlo, 1893), the Carl Rosa Company production (Liverpool, 1894) and the 1903 revival of Gunsbourg's production at the Paris Opéra for the Berlioz centenary celebrations. Whereas Berlioz, like many nineteenth-century composers, was completely under the spell of Goethe's *Faust*, the contribution by Mark Fitzgerald reflects on contemporaneous shifts in the reception history away from Goethe's model towards other versions of the Faust legend. Fitzgerald offers Goethe's model towards other versions of the Faust legend. Fitzgerald offers a comparative analysis of Busoni's libretto with Goethe's Faust and suggests reasons as to why the composer's own vision of the legend seemed to Busoni to be more appropriate than Goethe's version.

The final part of this volume, 'New Directions: Recent Productions and Appropriations', traces new directions in staging Goethe's Faust and examines recent appropriations: Kramer (Reinhardt), Robb (GDR Faust), Guthrie (Stein), and Maîerhofer (rock opera). Ursula Kramer and David Robb unveil the political agendas of postwar productions: Kramer's chapter offers a different perspective – that of the director, Max Reinhardt. Drawing mainly on his *Regiebücher*, the author throws new light on the legendary productions of Reinhardt and Gustav Gründgens and the role that Bernhardt Paumgartner and Mark Lothar's music played in them, and concludes with a subtle ambiguity about the meaning of eclectic versus neo-romantic musical styles. Robb examines the aesthetic and political import of the citations *Faust I* and *II* that framed the polemical performance, *Dahin! Ein Göte-Abend* staged by the *Liedertheater* group for the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of Goethe's death. His essay charts the ways in which East German directors tried to deal with official classical heritage (Erbe) aesthetics of the regime and the subtle means by which they managed to smuggle in critical references through their presentation of Goethe's text. John Guthrie traces Goethe's perception of music as expressive of the aesthetics and meaning of *Faust* through his reading of Peter Stein's millennium production in Hannover, which offered the most complete version of Goethe's text ever staged in Germany. The production was subsequently made into a film and broadcast on television. Just as it can be argued that Goethe's Faust was ahead of its time as a work for the stage, anticipating for example modern filmic techniques, Guthrie argues here that the musical dimension has had to wait until the twenty-first century for its fullest realization. In his Expo production and subsequent filmic

realization Stein placed great importance on conveying the original meaning of the text – 'über das geflügelte Wort hinaus' – by emphasizing its musical qualities. In achieving this he went beyond the text to include a vast range of music, achieving what Guthrie perceives as a new type of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, albeit one that sets itself in opposition to the operatic tradition. An example of how Goethe's *Faust* entered the realm of popular culture is the subject of the concluding chapter, in which Waltraud Meierhofer locates the 'Rock Opera' *Faust I* (1997) and *Faust II* (2010) in the context of so-called 'Event Culture' – as illustrated in Walpurgis night performances on the Brocken mountain or in Auerbach's Keller in Leipzig – and illustrates how Volz's retelling of Goethe's *Faust* has a popular appeal commensurate with that of contemporary musicals. Considering that the Faust figure started its march through centuries of European culture in a *Volksbuch*, reception history comes full circle in this contemporary appropriation.

In conclusion: when tracing the musical afterlives of *Faust* across the centuries, it is important to see how Goethe's text operates within its cultural context, how each setting responds to or exploits a myth, explicitly or implicitly, and participates in its culture's discourse on the significance of Goethe's text in general. Such criticism is not merely historicist, responding to specific historical and cultural contingencies informing each retelling of Goethe's *Faust*, but rather a reassertion of a universal and transcendental value reaffirmed in each

appearance.

# PART I

# Goethe's *Faust*Content and Context



## The Redress of Goethe's Faust in Music History

## Lorraine Byrne Bodley

#### Goethe's influence on music

Anyone who ventures into the vast regions of the nineteenth-century Lied meets a powerful presence almost immediately. Time and again the text is by Goethe, whose lyric imagination left an indomitable imprint on European music history. Even a cursory glance at Friedlaender's *Das deutsche Lied* bears testimony to multiple settings of Goethe's poems: there are, for example, 132 settings of 'Erlkönig',¹ and the range and variety of this abundant repertoire is immediately striking. Ernst Challier's *Großer Lieder-Katalog*² and Willi Schuh's 'Goethe Vertonungen'³ give further evidence of the musicality of Goethe's language and its location of meaning at the cradle of the Lied. Schubert's first masterpiece, *Gretchen am Spinnrade*, was a setting of a dramatic scene from Goethe's *Faust*. The earliest songs of Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Louis Spohr, Carl Loewe, Johannes Brahms, Richard Wagner and Hugo Wolf were to texts by Goethe,⁴ which raises the question as to the reasons for the poet's influence. Yes, Goethe was a supreme lyric poet. The binding force of form and meaning, or rhythm and sense, that characterizes Goethe's lyric poetry – so evident in 'Auf dem See', in the 'galloping' iambic rhythms of 'Willkommen und Abschied', the rhythmic virtuosity of 'Erlkönig', the restless dactyls of 'Rastlose Liebe', the rocking dactylic rhythms of 'Über allen Gipfeln' – offered composers a wealth of material with which to cut their compositional cloth. Goethe was an object of admiration, even veneration, throughout the nineteenth century, and the sheer quantity and variety of music his poetry has inspired bespeaks the huge

- 1. Max Friedlaender, Das deutsche Lied, 2 vols (Stuttgart and Berlin: Cotta, 1902), vol. 2, 212.
- 2. Ernst Challier, *Großer Lieder-Katalog* (Berlin: Ernst Challier's Selbstverlag, 1884).
- 3. Willi Schuh, Goethe Vertonungen: Ein Verzeichnis, GA, vol. 2, 700.
- 4. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Claudine von Villa Bella (1789) and Goethes lyrische Gedichte mit Musik von Reichardt (1794–8); Louis Spohr, 'Gretchen' and 'Zigeunerlied' (1809), op. 25; Carl Loewe, 'Erlkönig', op. 1, no. 3; Johannes Brahms, 13 Kanons für Frauenstimmen, op. 113: no. 1, 'Göttlicher Morpheus, umsonst bewegst du', and no. 2, 'Grausam erweiset sich Amor'; Richard Wagner, 'Sieben Kompositionen aus Goethes Faust' WWV 15 (1832); Hugo Wolf, 'Gretchen vor dem Andachtsbild der Mater dolorosa' (1878).

fascination exerted by his writing and his personality. Yet the steadfastness of his occupancy of the Lied goes beyond these explanations. Deeper currents must explain why Goethe's poetry goes hand in glove in our musical heritage

explain why Goethe's poetry goes hand in glove in our musical heritage.

From the time he burst onto the literary scene with the publication of *Werther* in 1774 until long after his death in 1832, Goethe was a catalyst for many composers, who wanted to challenge what song could be. Musicologists searching for a tuning fork to conjure up a starting note in the history of the Lied usually commence with *Gretchen am Spinnrade*. If Schubert was not the first composer to set Goethe's poems to music – that distinction belongs to Bernhard Theodor Breitkopf (1747–1820)<sup>5</sup> – then he was the first composer to elevate song to a major musical genre by writing with an artistry that demonstrated what an exacting and many-layered medium song could be. Many of the poems selected by him were also chosen by fellow composers: the exuberance and energy of Goethe's youthful lyric poetry (Mailied, 'Willkommen und Abschied'), the poems to Lili Schönemann ('Auf dem See'), the 1797 ballads ('Heidenröslein', 'Der Fischer', 'Erlkönig', 'Der Sänger'), poems from the early Weimar period ('Jägers Abendlied', 'An den Mond', 'Wandrers Nachtlieder'), Mignon and the Harper's songs, the Suleika poems of the *Westöstlicher Divan* prompted a myriad of musical responses. Composers used their predecessors as starting points for their innovative ideas, and this continuity of communal Goethean texts inspired a unique grafting of poetic and musical traditions. In an age of rapid artistic and intellectual change, Goethe provided continuity, an uncontroversial point of departure.

Given the breadth and significance of Goethe's contribution to musical life and letters, it is imperative that we should re-examine the reception history of the poet's engagement with music and identify the origins of common misconceptions. Heine's Janus-faced portrayal of the poet as an old baron living the life of a philistine<sup>6</sup> is mirrored in musicology, where he is portrayed as a traditionalist divorced from the musical life of his time. So where did this reception begin and what has contributed to it?

## Goethe's Reception in Music: A Chronology

The academic study of Goethe and music goes back to the 1830s to Schütz's study, which selected seventeen aphorisms 'Über die Tonkunst' to highlight the integrity of Goethe's musical quest (see Table 1.1).<sup>7</sup>

- Bernhard Theodor Breitkopf, Lieder mit Melodien (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1769).
- 6. Heinrich Heine, *Die romantische Schule*, in *idem, Historisch–kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke* (Düsseldorfer Heine-Ausgabe), ed. Manfred Windfuhr (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1975–97), vol. x, 248.
- 7. Friedrich Carl Julius Schütz, 'Über die Tonkunst', in *Goethes Philosophie*, 6 vols (Hamburg: Nestler, 1826), vol. 4, 69–92.

# the redress of goethe's faust in music history

Table 1.1 Reception of Goethe's Music Aesthetics

	1800-1848	
1826	Friedrich Karl Julius Schütze, 'Über die Tonkunst', in <i>Goethes Philosophie</i> , 6 vols. (Hamburg)	
	1849-1898	
1849	100th anniversary of Goethe's birth	
1868	Heinrich Düntzer, Aus Goethes Freundeskreise. Goethes Tonlehre u. Chr. Heinr. Schlosser (Braunschweig)	
1871	Woldemar von Bock, Goethe in seinem Verhältnisse zur Musik (Berlin)	
1876	100th anniversary of Goethe's arrival in Weimar	
1879	C.A.H. Burkhardt, Goethe und Kayser (Leipzig)	
1880	Goethe-Jahrbuch (1880–)	
	Adolphe Jullien, Goethe et la musique (Paris)	
	Joseph Wilhelm von Wasiliewski, Goethes Verhältnis zur Musik (Leipzig)	
1881	Ernst Niemeyer, Über Goethes Stellung zur Tonkunst (Chemnitz)	
1883	Ferdinand Hiller, Goethes musikalisches Leben (Cologne)	
1885	Opening of the Weimar Archive	
	Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft (1885–)	
1887 <b>-</b> 19	Weimar edition of Goethe's collected works, the first historical and critical edition, 143 vols ( <i>Weimar Ausgabe</i> )	
1896	Max Friedlaender, Goethes Gedichte in der Musik, Goethe Jahrbuch 17	
	1899-1948	
1899	150th anniversary of Goethe's birth	
1904	Siegfried Floch, Goethe und die Musik (Vienna)	
1912	Wilhelm Bode, <i>Die Tonkunst in Goethes Leben</i> , 2 vols (Berlin)	
1912	Goethes Schauspieler und Musik. Erinnerungen von Eberwein und Lobe mit Ergänzungen von Wilhelm Bode (Berlin)	
1913	Anton Hackmann, 'Goethe musikalisches Leben', Bayreuther Blätter 1/33	
1916	Max Friedlaender, 'Goethe und die Musik', Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft 3 (1916)	
1918	Elmar Otto Wooley, 'The Sphere of Music and Musical Terms in Goethe's Lyrical Poems' (Bloomington, IN)	
1922	Hermann Abert, Goethe und die Musik (Stuttgart, repr. Hamburg)	

1928	Hans John, Goethe und die Musik (Langensalza)	
	Edgar Istel, 'Goethe and Music', The Musical Quarterly 14	
1931	Romain Rolland, 'Goethe's Interest in Music', The Musical Quarterly 17	
1932	100th anniversary of Goethe's death	
1932	Hans Joachim Moser, 'Goethes Anschauung vom Wesen der Musik, <i>Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung</i>	
	Andrea Della Corte, Della vita musicale die Goethe (Turin)	
	Eugenio Albini, 'Goethe e la musica', Rivista musicale italiana 39	
	K. Grunsky, 'Goethes tragisches Verhältnis zur Musik', Zeitschrift für Musik 99	
	R. St. Hoffmann, 'Goethe und die Musik', Musikblätter des Anbruchs 5	
	Erich Schramm, Goethes Religiöse Deutung der Musik (Mainz)	

1935	Ferdinand Küchler, Goethes Musikverständnis (Zürich)	
1937	Eberhard Preußner, 'Goethes Anschauungen von der Musik', <i>Die Musikpflege</i> 8/1	
1943	Eduard Crass, Goethes Beziehungen zur Tonkunst und die Tonkünstlern seiner Zeit (Leipzig)	
	1949-98	
1949	200th anniversary of Goethe's birth	
	Friedrich Blume, Goethe und die Musik (Kasel and Basel)	
	Samuel Fisch, Goethe und die Musik (Frauenfeld)	
	Hans Joachim Moser, Goethe und die Musik (Leipzig)	
	H. Pless, 'Goethe und die Musik', Musikerziehung 3	
	Willi Reich, Goethe und die Musik. Aus den Werken, Briefen und Gesprächen dargestellt (Zurich)	
	Alfred Guttmann, <i>Musik in Goethes Wirken und Werken</i> (Berlin-Halensee, Wunsiedel)	
1952	Annemarie M. Sauerlander, 'Goethe's Relation to Music', in <i>Essays on German Language and Literature in Honour of Theodore Brown Hewitt</i> , ed. Alan Pfeffer (Buffalo, NY)	
1954	Frederick Sternfeld, <i>Goethe and Music: A List of Parodies and Goethe's Relationship to Music</i> (New York)	
	Wilhelm Waldstein, 'Goethe und die Musik', in idem, Kunst und Ethos.  Deutungen und Zeitkritik (Salzburg)	
1958	W.C.R. Hicks, 'Was Goethe Musical?', PEGS 27	
1960	Erich Valentin, Goethes Musikanschauung (Olten)	
1975	Willi Tappolet, Begegnungen mit der Musik in Goethes Leben und Werk (Bern)	
1982	150th Anniversary of Goethe's death	
	Herbert Jordan, Aug' um Ohr: Goethes Zugang zur Musik (Berlin)	
	J.M. Tudor, 'Goethe's Conception of Music as Mediator and Element', Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture 11	
1985	Ludwig Harald, Goethe und die Musik (Berlin)	
	Hedwig Walwei-Wiegelmann (ed.), Goethes Gedanken über die Musik. Eine Sammlung aus seinen Werken, Briefen, Gesprächen und Tagebüchern (Frankfurt a. M.)	
1987	Robert Spaethling, Music and Mozart in the Life of Goethe (Columbia, OH)	

1989	Herbert Zeman, 'Goethe und die Musik. Prolegomena zu einem großen Thema', in Wort und Ton im europäischen Raum. Gedenkschrift für Robert Schollum, ed. Hartmut Krones (Vienna)
1993	Hans Joachim Schaefer, Goethe und die Musik. Variationen über ein unterschätzes Thema (Kassel)
	1999-2012
1999	250th anniversary of Goethe's birth
	Claus Canisius, Goethe und die Musik (Munich and Zurich)
	Dieter Borchmeyer, 'Gegenwelt der Töne – Goethes Musikologie', in idem, Der Zeitbürger (Munich and Vienna)
	'Goethes Totaltheater', Die Deutsche Bühne 8

	Günter Schnitzler, 'Götterwert der Töne. Goethes Theorie der Musik', in Ein unteilbares Ganzes. Goethe: Kunst und Wissenschaft, ed. Schnitzler und Gottfried Schramm (Freiburg)		
	Elmar Budde, '"Die Töne verhallen, aber die Harmonie bleibt". Goethe und die Musik', Österreichische Musikzeitschrift 54/12		
1999/20 03	Andreas Ballstädt, Ulrike Kienzle, Adolf Nowak (eds), <i>Music in Goethes Werk: Goethes Werk in der Musik</i> (Schliengen) (Proceedings of the Interdisciplinary Symposium, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang von Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt a. M., 14–17 April 1999)		
2001	Udo Quak, Trost der Töne. Musik und Musiker im Leben Goethes (Berlin)		
2003	Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Schubert's Goethe Settings (Aldershot)		
	Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Goethe and Schubert: Across the Divide (Dublin)		
2004	Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst (Dublin)		
2005	Knut-Olaf Haustein, 'Da schwebt hervor Musik mit Engelsschwingen': Goethes Dichtung in der Musik (Weimar)		
2007	Lorraine Byrne Bodley, <i>Proserpina</i> . Goethes Melodrama with Music by Carl Eberwein (Dublin)		
2009	Norbert Miller, Die ungeheure Gewalt der Musik: Goethe und seine Komponisten (Munich)		
2009	Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues (Aldershot)		
2011	Jo Tudor, Sound and Sense. Music and Musical Metaphor in the Thought and Writing of Goethe and His Age (Oxford, New York, Vienna)		
2012	Walter Hettche and Rolf Selbmann (eds), Goethe und die Musik (Würzburg)		
2015	Anne Holzmüller, Lyrik als Klangkunst. Klanggestaltung in Goethes Nachtliedern und ihren Vertonungen von Reichardt bis Wolf (Freiburg i. Br.)		
2015	Barbara Mühlenhoff, Goethes verkannte Musikalität. Der Dichterfürst und die Musik (Hamburg)		
2016	Janina Franke, Goethes Musikverständnis. Veranschaulicht anhand zweier Gedichtvertonungen (Heidelberg)		

Although the centenary of Goethe's birth in 1849 elicited no further literature on Goethe and music, nineteenth-century music criticism bears the imprint of the Goethe cult, vaunting the master's merits in poetic and nationalistic terms, while assessing compositions of Goethe's works.<sup>8</sup> This focus on the musical reception of Goethe's works reached a highpoint in Max Friedlaender's text-critical edition of 1896,<sup>9</sup> which was coeval with the development of serious scholarship: the opening of the Weimar Archive (1885), the beginning of the Weimar edition of Goethe's collected works (1887–1919), the foundation of the Goethe-Jahrbuch (1880) and Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft (1885). Although this canonical approach and genetic-biographical method of positivism remained the dominant paradigm until the end of the First World War, it was challenged

- See, for example, Woldemar von Bock, Goethe in seinem Verhältnisse zur Musik (Berlin: Schneider, 1871); and Adolphe Jullien, Goethe et la musique (Paris: G. Fischbacher, 1880). Max Friedlaender, Gedichte von Goethe in Kompositionen seiner Zeitgenossen (Weimar: Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1896).

by two studies: Hiller's eighty-six-page monograph, Goethes musikalisches Leben, 10 which endorses Goethe's musicality, his friendship with Mendelssohn and the musical life of Weimar under Hummel's direction, and Wilhelm Bode's study Die Tonkunst in Goethes Leben, which offers scholars a wealth of musical material,<sup>11</sup> though its release before World War I militated against its wider reception. By the centenary of Goethe's death in 1932, there was a profusion of articles (in German and in English) lamenting the poet's lack of musical discernment – the title of Grunsky's article 'Goethes tragisches Verhältnis zur Musik' striking the keynote of that time. 12 The literature that emerges around the 200th anniversary of Goethe's birth, however, reflects the new Goethe cult of the post-war era and the new appreciation of him as a great humanist. Moser's monograph argues for his importance in the history of human culture, his receptiveness to music and his intellectual pursuit of music in the *Tonlehre*, <sup>13</sup> while Blume defines music in relation to the poetic and the lyrical, seeks Goethe's musicality in his works, and wonders how anyone can 'doubt the deep and intrinsic relationship Goethe had to music'. <sup>14</sup> Despite the thoroughness of Blume's and Moser's studies, the contradictions that characterize literature on Goethe's relationship to music continued in the ensuing decades where two camps gradually emerged: those resisting the idea that music was an active force in the poet's life (Tappolet and Harald) and others (notably Tudor and Spaethling) offering a more nuanced reading of music in Goethe's literature and life. With the approach of the 250th anniversary of Goethe's birth, however, two seminal studies appeared: Claus Canisius's reappraisal of the poet's relationship to music, 16 which contextualized Goethe's reflections on music, reinterpreted his work as a contextualized Goethe's reflections on music, reinterpreted his work as a musically informed collector of folksongs and author of opera libretti, and reconsidered his scientific engagement with music in the Tonlehre. The second significant study is the proceedings of the Frankfurt conference in 1999,<sup>17</sup> the closing chapters of which open up a reconsideration of the formative and dramaturgical role of music in Goethe's *Faust*, thereby paving a way for a more complete investigation of this theme. In the early decades of the twentieth century, a plethora of literature re-evaluated the poet's relationship with Schubert, his influence on the 19th-century Lied, his correspondence with Zelter, the role of music and musical

- 10. Ferdinand Hiller, Goethes musikalisches Leben (Cologne: Dumont-Schauberg, 1883).
- 11. Wilhelm Bode, Die Tonkunst in Goethes Leben, 2 vols (Berlin: Mittler, 1912).
- 12. K. Grunsky, 'Goethes tragisches Verhältnis zur Musik', in *Zeitschrift für Musik* 99 (1932), 185–7.
- 13. Hans Joachim Moser, Goethe und die Musik (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, 1949).
- 14. Friedrich Blume, Goethe und die Musik (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1948).
- 15. Willi Tappolet, Begegnungen mit der Musik in Goethes Leben und Werk (Bern: Benteli, 1975); Ludwig Harald, Goethe und die Musik (Berlin: Ludwig, 1985); J.M. Tudor, 'Goethe's Conception of Music as Mediator and Element', Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture 11 (1982), 158–87; Robert Spaethling, Music and Mozart in the Life of Goethe (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1987).
- 16. Claus Canisius, Goethe und die Musik (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1998).
- 17. Andreas Ballstädt, Ulrike Kienzle and Adolf Nowak (eds), *Musik in Goethes Werk: Goethes Werk in der Musik* (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2003).

metaphor in his literary works. 18 Here, as in Hettche and Selbmann's 2012 volume of essays,19 scholars have rarely marshalled new material. If these rereadings make use of familiar documents, what is novel are the connections made, the subtle readings and critical imagination that attempt to free 'an unmusical Goethe' from past prejudices.

While many reasons can be identified for the sour polemics that have surrounded the poet's engagement with music over the years,<sup>20</sup> Goethe's alleged failure to acknowledge Franz Schubert's achievement in setting his own works to music is the most commonly cited in popular and scholarly disquisitions. The potent image of 'poor Schubert', partly borne of the Romantic idea of the 'unrecognized artistic genius, the artist who valiantly struggles for acceptance

18. See, for example, Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Schubert's Goethe Settings (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Sterling Lambert, Re-reading Poetry. Schubert's Multiple Settings of Goethe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009); Lorraine Byrne Bodley (ed.), Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Control (Catholical Control of Catholical Control of Catholical Control of Catholical Control of Catholical Ca Catalyst (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004), and idem (ed.), Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009); Jo Tudor, Sound and Sense. Music and Musical Metaphor in the Thought and Writing of Goethe and His Age (Oxford: Lang, 2011).

19. Walter Hettche and Rolf Selbmann (eds), Goethe und die Musik (Würzburg: Königshausen

& Neumann, 2012). 20. See, for example, Wilhelm Josef Wasiliewski, *Goethes Verhältnis zur Musik* (Leipzig: Sammlung musikalischer Vorträge, 1880); Bode, *Tonkunst*; Hermann J. Abert, *Goethe und die Musik* (Stuttgart: Engelhorn, 1922); Edgar Istel, 'Goethe and Music', *The Musical Quarterly* 14 (1928), 216–54; Romain Rolland, 'Goethe's Interest in Music', *The Musical Quarterly* 17 Hug & Co., 1935); Blume, Goethe und die Musik; M. Heller, 'Goethe and Music', Ihe German Quarterly 22 (1949), 205–8; Louise Levin, 'Goethe and Music', Contemporary Review 176 (1949), 225–30; John Greenhill, 'Goethe's Attitude tLowards Music and Contemporary Composers', Australian Goethe Society Proceedings (1950), 18–26; Guido Kisch, 'Music in Goethe's Life', Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht 42 (1950), 243–51; Hans Pleß, 'Goethe und die Musik', in Musikerziehung 3 (1950), 70–76; Anne-Marie M. Sauerlander, 'Goethe's Relation to Music', in Essays on German Language and Literature in Honor of Theodore B. Hewitt, ed. J. Alan Pfeffer, (Buffalo, NY: The University of Buffalo Press, 1952), 39–55; W.C.R. Hicks, 'Was Goethe Musical?', Proceedings of the English Goethe Society 27 (1958), W.C.R. Flicks, Was Goethe Musical?, Proceedings of the English Goethe Society 27 (1958), 73–139; Susan Sonnet, 'Goethe and Music', in Soundings: Collections of the University Library (Santa Barbara, CA: University of Santa Barbara Library, 1970), 30–33; John L. Miller, 'Goethe and Music', Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies 8 (1972), 42–54; David Dalton, 'Goethe and the Composers of His Time', The Music Review 34 (1973), 157–74; Meredith McClain, 'Goethe and Music: Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt', in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Continuing Vitality, ed. Ulrich Goebel and Wolodymer T. Zyla (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech Press, 1984), 201–77; Ernst-Jürgen Dreyer, Goethes Tonwissenschaft (Berlin: Ullstein, 1985); H. Zeman, 'Goethe und die Musik: Prologomena zu einem großen Thema', in Wort und Ton im europäischen Raum. Gedenkschrift für Robert Schollum, ed. Hartmut Krones (Vienna: Böhlau, 1989), 109–14; Elmar Budde, 'Goethe und die Musik', in Goethe Souren, Ein Lese-Buch zum Konzertmeiekt, ed. Konzerthaus Berlin / die Musik', in Goethe Spuren. Ein Lese-Buch zum Konzertprojekt, ed. Konzerthaus Berlin Schauspielhaus am Gendarmenmark (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998), 15–35.

and yet is inexplicably ignored by the world until after his death',<sup>21</sup> thus set in antithesis with the towering figure of Goethe in German cultural history, has contributed to misconceptions about the relationship between Goethe and Schubert.<sup>22</sup> Goethe's alleged rejection of Schubert's first book of songs was claimed to have been influenced by Zelter, to whom Goethe supposedly sent the songs for advice. Such arguments are clearly unfounded: in the 891 letters exchanged between these artists there is no mention of Schubert's Lieder; on the contrary, the letters prove the dispatch was never sent to Zelter, nor was he in Weimar during the period in which Schubert's first songbook arrived. In their portrayal of a 'neglected Schubert', 23 scholars have overlooked the significance of Goethe's acknowledgement of Schubert's second dedication in his diary as early as 1825: 'Sendung von Schubert aus Wien, von meinen Liedern Kompositionen' [delivery of my song compositions from Schubert of Vienna]. 24 Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Weimar's most eminent musician at the time, and Falix Mendelssohn, friend and musical advisor to Goethe, did not discover Felix Mendelssohn, friend and musical advisor to Goethe, did not discover Schubert until 1827.<sup>25</sup> Whether Goethe's failure to respond to Schubert in a personal letter of thanks was linked to his reticence in encouraging the younger members of the Romantic generation or coloured by the reality that Goethe and Schubert never met,<sup>26</sup> one will never know. What is clear, however, from Metternich's new censorship laws, which were adopted in the entire Deutscher Bund after the Congress of Vienna, is that Schubert could not have published his opus 19 Lieder in Vienna with the

- 21. Christopher Gibbs, "Poor Schubert": images and legends of the composer', in The Cambridge Companion to Schubert, ed. idem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
- 22. See, for example, R. Boehmer, 'Goethe und Schubert', Rheinische Musik- und Theaterzeitung 14 (1913), 486–9; M. Zeiner, 'Goethe und Schubert', Die Quelle 79 (1929), 105; P. Riesenfeld, 'Goethe und Schubert', Signale für die musikalisch Velt 90 (1932), 267; Konrad Huschke, 'Schubert und Goethe', Musica 7 (1953), 580–81; Alexander Witeschnik, 'Goethe und Schubert, Die Goethe und Goethe, siner cinetitier Liele', Lledwort Lie Witeren Gertle Versichen und Schubert: Die Geschichte einer einseitigen Liebe', Jahrbuch des Wiener-Goethe Vereins 67 (1963), 78–85; Joseph Müller-Blattau, 'Franz Schubert, der Sänger Goethes', in idem, *Goethe und die Meister der Musik* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1969), 62–80; Dalton, 'Composers of His Time'; Ronald Taylor, 'Goethe, Schubert and the Art of Song', in Versuche zu Goethe: Festschrift für Erich Heller, ed. Volker Dürr and Géza v. Molnār (Heidelberg: Stiehm, 1976), 141–9; Frederick W. Sternfield, Goethe and Music: A List of Parodies and Goethe's Relationship to Music: A List of References, (New York: The New York Public Library, 1979), vii.

  23. Gibbs, "Poor Schubert", 46–8, traces this image of Schubert in musicology. A good
- example is the review of Newman Flower's book Franz Schubert: The Man and his Circle (New York: Tudor, 1928) in the *New York Times*, 25 November 1928, cited in Robert Winter, 'Whose Schubert?', 19th Century Music 17/1 (1993), 97.

  24. 16 June 1825, WA III, vol. 10, 68–9.
- 25. R. Larry Todd, Mendelssohn: A Life in Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 72.
- 26. On 16 June 1825, the same day as Franz Schubert's letter and manuscript containing the op. 19 settings arrived, Lea Mendelssohn sent an exemplar of Mendelssohn's newly published Piano Quartet no. 3 in B minor from Berlin, for which she had already requested permission to dedicate it to Goethe. Goethe wrote to Mendelssohn, thanking him for the dedication of the quartet, which Mendelssohn had played for him on his third visit to the poet in Weimar. See Karl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (ed.), *Goethe und Mendelssohn* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1872), 50.

dedication to Goethe on the title page of this volume without the poet's written permission.<sup>27</sup> At some point – perhaps the same day that Goethe acknowledged receipt of these songs in his diary – a written missive must have been sent to Vienna to allow these songs to be published with a dedication to the poet. The presumed loss of this letter<sup>28</sup> coupled with the legend of Schubert's neglect and Goethe's 'Olympian aloofness [and] blindness to new writers of talent'<sup>29</sup> have fuelled assumptions surrounding Goethe's 'neglect' of 'Poor Schubert'.<sup>30</sup>

Goethe's association with the Berlin school of composers has been used to label Goethe a musical traditionalist and ascribe to him a preference for past musical styles. From the mid-nineteenth century, new perceptions of historical processes – which emphasized innovation and granted little role to any reference to the past

 portrayed Schubertian song as an evolutionary development, an improvement on Goethe's aesthetic theories of song, and it is only in recent years that scholars have begun to chart the more complex contours of eighteenth-century song.<sup>31</sup> Whereas Reichardt's Goethe settings are remembered, albeit disparagingly, his operas are completely forgotten and with it the legacy he left in declamatory Lieder, which altered the cultural climate into which Schubertian song was born. Similarly, the didactic purpose of Zelter's Goethe settings is disregarded, though these songs exhibit a cogent style of text setting and an idealistic adherence to a dignified simplicity in art as espoused by Winckelmann, which is central to an appreciation of Zelter's achievements as an artist. Such fundamental misunderstandings of the nature of Reichardt and Zelter's musical achievements coupled with the pervasive image of Goethe as a musically conservative poet has promoted the neglect of Goethe's correspondence with both musicians, which was, until recently, one of the few areas in Goethe philology that has been left unexplored.32

The anti-Semitic vilification of Zelter's most significant student, Mendelssohn, meant that one of the most remarkable relationships Goethe enjoyed with a composer was also submerged. In the aftermath of Wagner's tract 'Das Judentum in der Musik', Germanists and musicologists had an insoluble dilemma on their hands: when extolling Goethe as a national icon, they had to account for his acclamation of the prodigious musical gifts of Felix Mendelssohn. One solution was to omit Mendelssohn from music history and cultural studies.<sup>33</sup> Another

- 27. Otto Biba, 'Goethe in the Vienna Music Scene of His Era', in Goethe: Musical Poet, ed. Byrne, 7–40, here 27.
- Ibid.
- 29. Lesley Sharpe (ed.), The Cambridge Companion to Goethe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2.
  30. For further discussion on this theme see Byrne Bodley, *Goethe Settings*, 10–24.
- 31. See, for example, the seminal work of Biba, 'Vienna Music Scene', 7–40, or the pioneering recording by Graham Johnson, *Songs by Schubert's Friends and Contemporaries* (London: The Hyperion Schubert Edition, 2004), CDJ33051/3.
- J.F. Reichardt-J.W.Goethe, Briefwechsel, ed. Volkmar Braunbehrens, Gabriele Busch-Salmen and Walter Salmen (Weimar: Böhlhau, 2002); Byrne Bodley, Goethe and Zelter.
   Richard M. Meyer, Goethe (Berlin: Hofmann, 1895); Ludwig Geiger, Goethe und die Seinen
- (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1908), and Goethe. Sein Leben und Schaffen. Dem deutschen Volke

solution, adopted by Alfred Einstein and Paul Henry Lang, was to lump Mendelssohn, Zelter and Goethe into a triumvirate of the musically ignorant.34

A further omission is found in Germanistics which, until recently, overlooked the significance of Goethe's works for music theatre. The value Goethe placed on his musico-dramatic writings in the early years and the positive reception of these works during his lifetime challenges Hugo von Hofmannsthal's designation of Goethe's music theatre as 'Nebenwerke', works of secondary importance in the poet's creative canon.<sup>35</sup> Yet the ripples from the stone that Hofmannsthal cast in 1913 spread through Goethe scholarship in Gormany and beyond where the 1913 spread through Goethe scholarship in Germany and beyond, where the works have been outside the canon of research almost up to the present day. In recent years this lacuna in Goethe reception has been addressed by Thomas Bauman,<sup>36</sup> Benedikt Holtbend,<sup>37</sup> Markus Waldura,<sup>38</sup> Thomas Frantzke<sup>39</sup> and Tina Hartmann.40

The question of Goethe's musicality has given rise to exaggerated, under-documented accusations that, in turn, invite heated rejections, creating a cycle of polemicized rhetoric. This cycle is evident in the steady trickle of popular literature on the subject whereby the spectre of an unmusical poet keeps re-emerging, thereby making any seriously revised musicological perception of

erzählt (Berlin: Ullstein, 1910); Georg Simmel, Goethe (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1913); Friedrich Gundolf, Goethe (Berlín: Bondi, 1916); Emil Ludwig, Goethe. Geschichte eines Menschen, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1920), trans. Ethel Colburn Mayne as *The History of a Man* (New York and London: Putman, 1928). While Geiger is the only biographer who discusses Jewish issues at any length, he still fails to recognise the formative role Felix Mendelssohn played in Goethe's musical development. Even Richard Friedenthal, *Goethe.* Scip. Library and Country (Musick). Prince 1962).

Sein Leben und seine Zeit (Munich: Piper, 1963), omits Mendelssohn from his biography.

34. Alfred Einstein, A Short History of Music (New York: Knopf, 1937), 196–7; these passages were also included in all editions of the German text, Geschichte der Musik (1918, 1920, 1927, 1934 and 1948). See also Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York: Norton, 1941), 811.

35. J.W. von Goethe, Letzte Dramen, Singspiele, Theaterreden, Maskenziige, ed. and with an Introduction by Ernst Hardt and Hugo von Hofmannsthal (Berlin: Ullstein, 1923), 443. See also Hendrik Birus, 'Bedeutende Situation in einer künstlichen Folge. Goethes und Hofmannsthals Singspiele und Opern', Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts 2002, 270-95; Hartmut Reinhart, *Die kleine und die grosse Welt: von Schäferspiel zur kritischen Analyse der Moderne: Goethes dramatisches Werk* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2008), 97.
36. Thomas Bauman, *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1986).
37. Benedikt Holtbernd, Die dramaturgischen Funktionen der Musik in den Schauspielen Goethes (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1992).

38. Markus Waldura, 'Der Zauberflöte Zweyter Theil. Konzeption einer nicht musikalischen und sozialen Form', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 50 (1993), 259–90, and 'Die Singspiele', in *Goethe Handbuch*, ed. Bernd Witte, Theo Buck, Hans-Dietrich Dahnke, Regine Otto and Peter Schmidt, 4 vols (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996-9), vol. 2, 192-3.

39. Thomas Frantzke, Goethes Schauspiele mit Gesang und Singspiele 1773–82 (Frankfurt a. M.:

Lang, 1998).

40. Tina Hartmann, Goethes Musiktheater: Singspiele, Opern, Festspiele, 'Faust' (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004).

the poet difficult to establish.<sup>41</sup> So while Goethe's collected work and the amount known and written about his life is vast, much of his musical milieu awaits a thorough investigation. While such an inquiry clearly lies beyond the scope of this chapter, it is possible to consider one strand, the role of music and the influence of music theatre in Goethe's *Faust I*.

#### Music in Goethe's Faust

In a letter to Schiller on 27 June 1797 Goethe claimed that Faust was not a unified dramatic conception: it does not simply draw on different dramatic forms but changes the original conception of each form. 42 Fähnrich described Part One as 'einen Wechsel von wort- und musikdramatischen Szenen' [an alternation of text and music dramatic scenes].<sup>43</sup> The extraordinary metrical variety from *Knittel* to madrigal verse is one of the most outstanding characteristics of *Faust* – a phenomenon which not only bears the imprint of music theatre, but renders it unique among Goethe's dramatic works.<sup>44</sup> The result of this symbiosis is a theatrical work which is a drama independent of setting and yet has inspired continual musical engagement.

Oscar Seidlin's thesis that the 'Vorspiel auf dem Theater' was originally the Vorspiel to Goethe's *Der Zauberflöte. Zweiter Teil* is generally conclusive, 45 though it remains a thesis that has not been accepted in musicology. As profiled in the Goethe–Schiller correspondence in 1797, *Faust I* and *Zauberflöte II* are not only contemporary works, but Goethe himself described their converging conceptions. <sup>46</sup> Tina Hartmann has also linked Goethe's prologue with the prologue technique in late Baroque opera, in particular French trăgédie lyrique, and has identified models in Rameau's opera, Hippolyte et Aricie (1733) and Salieri's *Tartare*, the latter of which was performed in Weimar in 1800.<sup>47</sup>

A similar musical eclecticism is at place in the choral settings, many of which have the function of a Greek chorus adopted by Gluck and his student Salieri.

- 41. See, for example, Knut-Olaf Haustein, 'Da schwebt hervor Musik mit Engelsschwingen'. Goethes Dichtung in der Musik (Jena: quartus, 2005), and Norbert Miller, Die ungeheure Gewalt der Musik. Goethe und seine Komponisten (Munich: Hanser, 2009), both of which provide evidence for difficulties in overcoming outdated perceptions.
  42. Manfred Beetz (ed.), Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe, MA, vol. 8.1, 364.
- 43. See Hermann Fähnrich, 'Goethes Musikanschauung in seiner Fausttragödie die Erfüllung und Vollendung seiner Opernreform', Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft 25 (1963), 250–63; see also Robert Petsch, 'Die dramatische Kunstform des Faust', Euphorion 33 (1932), 211-44.
- 44. Calzabigi's libretti for Gluck's reform opera (which Goethe admired) and Opitz's translation of Rinuccini's La Daphne (the first German opera) are both distinguished by their metrical variety
- 45. Oskar Seidlin, 'Goethes Zauberflöte. Ist das Vorspiel auf dem Theater ein Vorspiel zu Faust?', in idem, Von Goethe zu Thomas Mann. Zwölf Versuche (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 56–64. 46. Goethe to Schiller, 9 and 12 May 1798, MA. vol. 8.1, 572–3 and 575–6.
- 47. Hartmann, Musiktheater, 356.

In the 'Nacht' scene, for example, the song of resurrection, sung antiphonally by three choirs of angels, women and disciples, is reminiscent of Italian Passion oratorios.<sup>48</sup> It also recalls the 'geistliche Intermezzi',<sup>49</sup> antiphonally sung scenes of the Holy legends, performed by Italian street singers, though the commentary provided by the choir of angels points more to the Protestant tradition does inherited from Bach's and Handel's oratorios.<sup>50</sup>

This admixture of musical and dramatic forms is regenerated in the solo songs. In 'Vor dem Tor' the songs of the Beggar, Soldiers and Villagers make explicit reference to popular forms employed in the Weisse/Hiller Singspiel through contrasts posited between rural and city life.<sup>51</sup> In 'Auerbachs Keller', Brander's Lied 'Es war eine Ratt' im Kellernest' is modelled on the metrical patterns and strophic form of a Lutheran chorale,<sup>52</sup> a form often parodied in a secular context. Whereas Goethe employed the structure of a buffalibretto in 'Auerbachs Keller', whereby humorous songs evolve out of the dramatic context, the scene transcends the buffoonery of *opera buffa* and the *Volkstümlichkeit* of the north and south German Singspiel. This is most evident in Mephisto's 'Floblied' which combines the Hildsbrondstranks of the heavi in Mephisto's 'Flohlied', which combines the Hildebrandstrophe of the heroic epic – a form commonly used for sociable songs in the Goethezeit – with the critical potential of Beaumarchais' libretti.

Goethe's Faust was also fashioned by the Zauberoper tradition popular at that time: an earlier version of the 'Walpurgisnachtstraum' (1797), the (only) allegorical scene in Faust I, was presumably written under the direct influence of Wranitzky's Zauberoper, Oberon, König der Elfen (performed in Weimar 1796). Goethe was also familiar with Gotter's libretto for Zumsteeg's Geisterinsel from 1797. And as in Beaumarchais/Salieri's Tartare, where the exotic reflects reality, allegory and opera are combined in his Walpurgisnacht

Yet it is not Goethe's musical and dramatic diglossia per se that renders Faust engaging, but the way the poet uses music to delineate character. Faust does not sing but responds to song. When confronted with sociability in 'Auerbach's Keller', he is an onlooker rather than a participant. He does not join in the songs of the tipplers, nor does he serenade Gretchen, let alone express his love to her in song. Mephisto's capacity for song, on the other hand, is an act of fitting in, an aping of human behaviour. This is as valid for the 'Flohlied' in 'Auerbachs Kellêr' as it is for his sinister serenade below Gretchen's window, where he dons

- 48 Ibid., 361.
- 49. Bode, Tonkunst, vol. 1, 150.
- 50. Klaus Langrock, Die sieben Worte Jesu am Kreuz. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Passionskomposition (Essen: Blaue Eule, 1987), 42. 51. Hartmann, Musiktheater, 356.
- 52. Markus Ciupke, Des Geklimpers vielverworrner Töne Rausch: Die metrische Gestaltung in Goethes Faust (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1994).
- 53. Walter Dietze, 'Der "Walpurgisnachtstraum" in Goethes Faust Entwurf, Gestaltung, Funktion', in idem, Erbe und Gegenwart. Aufsätze zur vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau, 1972), 193–218.
- 54. Alfred Orel, Goethe als Operndirektor (Bregenz: Russ, 1949), 185; Hartmann, Musiktheater,

the mantle of seducer with zither whose serenade carries the subtext of Ophelia's song 'Tomorrow is Saint Valentines Day': 'Er läßt Dich ein / Als Mädchen ein, / Als Mädchen nicht zurücke' [You'll enter there / A maid so fair / No maid you'll

be departing].55

In contrast to the delineation of Faust and Mephisto, the Gretchen tragedy combines and promulgates all forms of music theatre such as Lieder, arias, ensembles, choruses, even melodrama. Only the duet is missing, the song form in which harmony between the lovers is expressed. The relation between Faust and Gretchen is a multifaceted ploy in which Faust leaves the girl unclear about his origins and intentions. Such deception renders a seduction impossible: Faust is not a hypocrite and his distance from both Gretchen and Mephisto is

announced through this musical abstention.<sup>56</sup>

Gretchen, on the other hand, is defined by song. Her opening song, Der König in Thule, is sung in an absent-minded manner as she undresses for bed - in the manner of Desdemona's 'Song of the Willows'. The unreflective folksong form of *Der König in Thule*, which shares the archaic metre of the medieval epic poem Das Nibelungenlied and evokes an innocence of archaic times, at once announces Gretchen's virtue and the *Liebestod* motif. Gretchens Stube (*Gretchen am Spinnrade*) is unique within Goethe's Faust. Instead of placing a song in the context of dialogue, recitative or flow of words, the song constitutes the entire scene and carries the greatest weight a song has in Goethe's music theatre in general.<sup>57</sup> Although it is written in regular four-line strophes, it is by no means a simple Lied. Metrically the scene is written in the iambic dimeter lines of a Singspiel with unstressed syllables in every verse with the exception of verses three and ten. The regular stanzaic divisions are displaced by poetic enjambment and irregular cadences. This irregular-regular form of expression of Gretchen's unrest over the basso continuo of the spinning wheel is exquisitely realized in Schubert's scene. Here in the dramatic scene Goethe's virtuosic handling of the refrain symbolizes how Gretchen seeks to alleviate her situation, as if she wants to confine her selfconsciousness within the limits of a strophic song. Her emotions break forth powerfully and the song turns into an aria, as if the spinning song were a vain attempt to dam her unaccustomed emotionality. Through this skilful conflation of forms Goethe makes clear the change in Gretchen's character. In Abend she sang a half self-conscious folksong as a naïve child: at the spinning wheel her desire is given self-expression. Margarete's new personality holds many dangers in a repressive society and the song is as pivotal in Goethe's drama as it is in the evolution of the nineteenth-century Lied.

Goethe, Weimarer Klassik 1798–1806, ed. Victor Lange, MA, vol. 6.1, Faust I, 'Nacht', ll. 3687–9.

<sup>56.</sup> In the additional scenes that Goethe wrote for Radziwill's production Goethe reneged on this and wrote a duet for Faust and Gretchen in his reworking of the Garden scene. See Andreas Maier, Faustlibretti. Geschichte des Fauststoffs auf der europäischen Musikbühne nebst einer lexikalischen Bibliographie der Faustvertonungen (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1990), 136.

<sup>57.</sup> Hartmann, Musiktheater, 372.

Gretchen's other songs exploit Goethe's embrace of musical forms. Although the poet plays upon the 'Stabat mater' to frame the opening and closing lines of the 'Zwinger' scene, once again he shows how Gretchen seeks to give expression to her feelings in a traditional form that fails her. This pattern is also evident in her song of madness in the prison scene. When Gaier categorizes Gretchen's final song as a folksong, <sup>58</sup> he misses the real meaning of this Lied. Firstly, the song is composed in nine lines of free verse with an irregular rhyming scheme, and the balanced phrasing of the first three couplets – 'Meine Mutter...', 'Mein Vater...', 'Mein Schwesterlein klein...' <sup>59</sup> – are structured on semiformal speech rhythms that depend on a sense of pacing and rhythmical improvisation rather than metrical feet of a traditional *Volkslied*. The closing lines are a poignant reminder of Mephisto's description of Gretchen to Faust in the 'Wald und Höhle' scene: 'Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär! so geht ihr Gesang' [were I a little bird, so runs her song]. <sup>60</sup> As is characteristic of Mephisto, nothing is as it seems. Secondly, Gretchen's song of madness has its origins in a folk fable, 'Von dem Machandelboom' [About the Juniperbush], the story of a stepmother who murders her stepson and serves him up as a meal to the father. <sup>61</sup> The dependency of the content on a fairy tale creates an arch to her first song, *Der König in Thule*, and contrasts with her unconscious and pure disposition in that scene. There Gretchen sang as a naïve child; now she is transformed into a second Ophelia whose sorrow is transformed into a perceptive madness. She describes her situation in a defamiliarized way, her loss of reality completing her isolation.

That Goethe was well-attuned to the requirements of music-theatre and throughout his life strove to establish a poetology of the genre is evident in Gretchen's Lieder, in particular, and the central role music plays in Goethe's *Faust* more broadly. The musicality of his language and versatility of musical forms not only inspired a multiplicity of *Faust* settings, but played a central role in the development of the nineteenth-century Lied.

# Schubert's response to Goethe's musico-dramatic scene in *Gretchen am Spinnrade*

It might seem that nothing remains to be said about *Gretchen am Spinnrade* after almost two centuries of commentary, but Schubert, like all great artists, can never be fully understood. The song is still startling, forever capable of conveying an energy and edge that has continued through the decades, and every generation will grapple with its music in new ways. While this song is generally perceived

- 58. Ulrich Gaier, J.W. von Goethe. Faust-Dichtungen, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1999), vol. 2, 518.
- 59. Goethe, Faust I, 'Nacht', Il. 4412, 4414, 4416; MA, vol. 6.1, 668.
- 60. Goethe, Faust I, 'Wald und Höhle', l. 3319, MA, vol. 6.1, 631.
- 61. The fable first appeared on 9 and 12 July in Achim von Arnim's *Zeitung für Einsiedler*, illustrated by the Hamburg writer and painter, Philipp Otto Runge (1777–1810). As early as May 1800 Jakob Grimm had sent a summary to Friedrich Karl von Savigny, the text subsequently appearing as no. 47 in the Grimm brothers' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.

as a 'breakthrough' in Romantic song, one abounding criticism which runs like a red thread from the earliest writings on this song is that Schubert's setting is in disagreement with Goethe's intent.<sup>62</sup> Contrary to received opinion, the dramatic context for the Lied is musically animated in Schubert's setting.<sup>63</sup> Firstly the episodic structure of Schubert's setting (see Table 1.2) delineates Gretchen's inner process which, as Goethe shows through a richness of sound and image, is in contradiction to the principle of a strophic song.

Table 1.2: Schubert's 'Gretchen am Spinnrade'

Goethe, Gretchens Stube (1774/75) Faust I, ll. 3374–413	Schubert, 'Gretchen at the Spinning Wheel' D 118, op.2	
1. Meine Ruh ist hin,	My heart is heavy	D minor
Mein Herz ist schwer,	I have lost my peace of mind	
Ich finde sie nimmer	And I'll never never	
Und nimmermehr.	Find it again.	
		Episode 1: Gretchen's Unrest
1. 2. Wo ich ihn nicht hab,	Every place is my grave	
Ist mir das Grab,	When he isn't there	PAC*: A minor
Die ganze Welt	My whole world	
Ist mir vergällt.	Turns bitter.	PAC: E minor
3. Mein armer Kopf	My poor head	[A minor]
Ist mir verrückt,	Is crazy,	
Mein armer Sinn	My poor mind	
Ist mir zerstückt.	Is all gone to pieces.	F major
4. Meine Ruh ist hin,	My heart is heavy	D minor
Mein Herz ist schwer,	I have lost my peace of mind	
Ich finde sie nimmer	And I'll never never	
Und nimmermehr.	Find it again.	
* Perfect authentic cadence.		

See, for example, Richard Capell, Schubert's Songs, 2nd edn (New York: Macmillan, 1957), 85; Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, Auf den Spuren der Schubert-Lieder. Wesen-Werden-Wirkung, 3rd edn (Basel: Brockhaus, 1979), 95; John Reed, The Schubert Song Companion (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 250–51.
 Marjorie Wing Hirsch classifies Gretchen am Spinnrade as a mixed-genre Lied in Schubert's

Dramatic Lieder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 97.

**Episode 2: Gretchen** recollects Faust

			reconects raust
2. 5. ich	Nach ihm nur schau	It's only for him	A minor
	Zum Fenster hinaus,	I look out the window,	
	Nach ihm nur geh ich	It's only to go to him	
	Aus dem Haus.	I leave the house.	PAC: A minor
6.	Sein hoher Gang,	His tall step	F major posited as new tonic
	Sein' edle Gestalt,	His proud figure	
	Seines Mundes Lächeln,	The smile on his mouth	G minor
	Seiner Augen Gewalt,	The power in his eyes.	A flat Major
7.	Und seiner Rede	And his words	B flat
	Zauberfluss,	Like a stream of magic	
	Sein Händedruck,	The pressure of his hand,	
	Und ach, sein Kuss.	And oh, his kiss.	First Climax
8.	Meine Ruh ist hin,	My heart is heavy	D minor
	Mein Herz ist schwer,	I have lost my peace of mind	
	Ich finde sie nimmer	And I'll never never	
	Und nimmermehr.	Find it again.	
			Episode 3: Gretchen's desire for Faust
3. 9.	Mein Busen drängt	My bosom goes out	E flat
	Sich nach ihm hin.	To him in desire	F major
	Auch dürf ich fassen	Oh, if only I could seize him	G minor
	Und halten ihn,	And hold him	A minor over dominant pedal
10.	Und küssen ihn,	And kiss him	

Vergehen sollt!	Of his kisses.	PAC: D minor
Meine Ruh ist hin,	My heart is heavy	D minor
Mein Herz ist schwer,	I have lost my peace of mind	

So I would die

An seinen Küssen

In the second episode, Gretchen's description of Faust, Schubert turns to F major (bars 51-4) with a cantilena which mounts over two stanzas and is neither in the style of a lyrical melody nor in a declamatory style. $^{64}$  The rise in harmonic tension,

64. For an alternative reading of these episodes see Julian Rushton in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 157.

underscored by harmonic rhythm in the left hand as the Lied moves from F (bar 51) through g minor (bar 56), A flat major (bar 58) and B flat (bar 60), underscores the anaphoric delineation of Faust's features and mirrors the rise in dramatic tension. Contrary to all Lieder conventions, Schubert suddenly breaks off. As Gretchen's song approaches the portrayal of a despairing outburst of emotion in an operatic aria, Schubert's song engenders an operatic move: with a heaving sigh, 'Und ach, sein Kuß', the accumulated tension leads to an interruption of the quaver movement on the second return to the B-flat chord, followed by a diminished seventh of the dominant of the dominant. The music breaks off on a first inversion dominant seventh chord, which becomes a diminished seventh when A is raised to B' (see example 1.1).<sup>65</sup> After the fermata, the bass, which has been left out during that succession, is reinstated (bar 69) to support a dissonant dominant minor ninth as the spinning motif is tentatively reintroduced (see Example 1).

Example 1.1 Schubert, 'Gretchen am Spinnrade, NSA, bars 61-8.



The fissure in the accompaniment as Gretchen's memory of Faust breaks off into fragmentary thoughts (which Schubert isolates in three blocks) is foreign to the language of the Lied. After the *ritornello*, Schubert writes a *stretto* which intimates the tempestuous movement of Goethe's final episode. With operatic emphasis once again, the voice spirals in the last two stanzas over c" d" e flat" e" and f sharp", reaching the apex on a": like a crystalline cry of pain, 'vergehen' is extended and the sacrifice of one's identity in love is musically rendered as a premonition of death (see Example 1.2).

65. I warmly acknowledge Xavier Hascher's generosity with his time and analytical knowledge in helping me to define this passage more clearly.

Example 1.2 Schubert, 'Gretchen am Spinnrade, NSA, bars 84–120.







Here, as in the first climax, Schubert stretches the singer beyond the confines of the Biedermeier Lied through the combined use of the high vocal range, the continuous harmonic movement whereby a lasting tonic is never established and the short vocal phrases that mirror Goethe's poetic depiction of Gretchen's distress.<sup>66</sup> The acceleration in tempo common to many arias and in line with the poetic enjambment is also exquisitely mirrored in the harmonic

rhythm and vocal writing.

That Goethe breaks off the monologue after the third episode without reverting.

That Goethe breaks off the monologue after the third episode without reverting the containing of the containing the contain to the opening ritornello affirms that the Gretchen am Spinnrade is not a song like Der König in Thule: Gretchen cannot turn back; the form is symbolic of her fate. Schubert observes this cessation through the perfect authentic cadence in bars 111–12, which, in Schenkerian terms, marks the song's closure by highlighting Gretchen's fate (see Example 2). Schubert's musical codicil, which re-establishes the tonic as d minor, does not return to the ritornello: after a pause of two bars Gretchen recommences her musical mantra but breaks off with 'Mein Herz ist schwer' in d minor, Schubert's tonality of melancholy. The short postlude, which reestablishes the tonic, has a double character: on the one hand it closes with the same comfortless expression as the opening piano figuration and prophesies her tragic fate. On the other hand, a distance to the end is implied through a musical progression that oppressively augurs the outcome. Schubert creates a Lied that conveys a sense of drama that was on a par with, or even surpassed, operatic works<sup>67</sup> and one in which he attempts to reproduce the dramatic tension that develops over a number of scenes in *Faust*. Through Faust's final words in the 'Wald und Höhle' scene: 'Mag ihr Geschick auf mich zusammenstürzen / Und sie mit mir zugrunde gehen' [May her fate crush me / and I be doomed with her and she with me] <sup>68</sup> and Gretchen's words of devotion, the future action is foreshadowed and Gretchen's tragic fate is appropried. She does not know the foreshadowed and Gretchen's tragic fate is announced. She does not know the final words of Faust's monologue nor does he hear hers. This is brought together in Schubert's setting, and the setting delivers – without help of the dramatic context – the ache of the unspoken generated through Gretchen's monologue. So while Hatten believes 'Goethe was often upset with Schubert's honest attempts to capture aspects of his poems in a music that could nevertheless run roughshod over Goethe's own', and Reed maintains that 'What then distinguishes *Gretchen* from its predecessors is not the principle of faithfulness to the text, as has sometimes been claimed', Schubert's setting responds directly to the poet's play on musical forms. His through-composed setting with its continuous harmonic movement mirrors the irregular stanzaic divisions and irregular cadences through which Goethe depicts Gretchen's unrest. Even the ending of Goethe's scene is harmonically observed with a perfect authentic cadence (111–12), which, in School Region before Schubert reports Gretchen's in Schenkerian terms, marks the scene's close before Schubert repeats Gretchen's opening couplet. It is not just the musicality of Goethe's poetry, but his

<sup>66.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67.</sup> Robert Winter recognises this in relation to Schubert's harmonic language: 'Schubert, Franz', <a href="http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com">http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com</a> (accessed 29 July 2013).

<sup>68.</sup> Goethe, Faust 1, 'Wald und Höhle', ll. 3365–6, MA, vol. 6.1, 633.

understanding of music and music-dramatic forms that explains the centrality of Goethe's poetry in our musical heritage. Without it the musical landscape of the

nineteenth century would be very different.

In conclusion, Goethe's legacy to music drama was undoubtedly *Faust*, which, as far as he was aware, was not set operatically during his lifetime. This he accepted with profound resignation: 'Es ist ganz unmöglich' [it is impossible] that it should now find an effective musical setting: 'das Abstoßende, Widerwärtige, Furchtbare, was sie stellenweise enthalten müßte, ist der Zeit zuwider' [the horrific, sublime and demonic moments it necessarily has to embrace from time to time go against the taste of the times.]<sup>69</sup> By the end of his life Goethe felt isolated and less accepted by German than by European contemporaries and thereby could not have anticipated the profile of Faust in particular and his poetry more generally in the nineteenth-century Lied. Despite his massive presence on the musical scene – like that of a boulder in an otherwise changing musical landscape – the poet has been much maligned in musicology; his understanding of music and the role it played in his literary works has been misunderstood. One example of this is the prevailing belief that Schubert's *Gretchen am Spinnrade* runs counter to Goethe's text. Schubert's first Goethe setting not only affirms an immediate understanding of the poet, but also the dramatic and social context in which the scene was written. Gretchen's songs are an analogue of Goethe's preoccupation with the young woman in society (which was naturally in the preoccupation with the young woman in society (which was naturally in the tradition of opéra comique and North German Singspiel), where the literary roots of the sentimental woman (die Empfindsame) or belle ame (schöne Seele) are bound to the psychological stance of a pseudo-revolutionary bourgeois. If the sharp vicissitudes of fortune that destroyed women were hardly the sole raison d'etre for Gretchen am Spinnrade, it nevertheless runs like a red thread through Schubert's setting, which is located at a crossroads where the poetic and the musical, the social and historical intersect. No song worth its salt is unconcerned with the world it answers for and sometimes answers to. That answering function is what makes a song like *Gretchen am Spinnrade* in the deepest way responsible - capable of offering a response, but a response in its own terms. As the earliest reviews show, everything is different after this Lied, and people comprehend song differently. This is what makes *Gretchen am Spinnrade* ungainsayable and indispensible, making it a happening in and of itself. This is one of many reasons why Goethe's Faust provides a perfect test-case for the ways in which the Lied tradition reflects music history throughout the long nineteenth century.

- 69. Johann Peter Eckermann, Gespräche mit Goethe (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1994), 12 February 1829, 325.
- 70. See, for example, the earliest known review of *Gretchen am Spinnrade*, 'Korrespondenz aus Wien von Anfang Dezember 1820', in the Dresdener *Abendzeitung*, 30 January 1821; Cappi and Diabelli's publication notice in the *Wiener Zeitung*, 30 April 1821; see also in the Vienna *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 19 January 1822; and 'Blick auf Schuberts Lieder', in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, 23 March 1822. The first review of the song in Germany, in the Leipzig *Literarisches Konversations-Blatt* on 18 January 1823, bears similar testimony.

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### Wagering on Modernity

#### Goethe's Eighteenth-Century Faust

#### Nicholas Boyle

The story of Faust has an extraordinary, abiding and increasing appeal, and for that there can be little doubt that Goethe is largely responsible. The story of Faust is a modern myth, and in Goethe's treatment it becomes a myth of modernity. His play is about what it means to be a modern human being: what is the point and value of human life in the modern world. 'Modern' is shown by Goethe in this work to mean, quite explicitly, post-Christian. In order to make modernity the theme of his play, and not just its precondition, Goethe made two fundamental changes to the structure of the myth that he inherited. The first change enabled him to start writing the play in the early 1770s: he introduced the story of Faust's love for Gretchen. The second enabled him, around 1800,¹ to work out how to complete it: he changed Faust's agreement with the Devil from a pact, or contract, to a wager. By comparison with these two adaptations to the core of the myth, Goethe's most notorious change – his allowing, or apparently allowing, Faust to go to Heaven – is little more than a flourish, and not even original to him.² It is through these two distinctively Goethean features, and not through a superficial embellishment of its conclusion, that Goethe's Play asks and answers its deepest questions. The moment when Goethe's Faust shakes hands with the Devil is a moment of the deepest possible seriousness: in this episode *everything* is at issue – life and death, value and emptiness, personality and modernity. If we turn first to the origin, as far as we know, of all versions of the Faust story, the anonymous *Volksbuch*, or chapbook, published in Frankfurt

1. In 1797 Goethe resumed work on *Faust*, which had been partially published in 1790 as *Faust*. *Ein Fragment*. The wager scenes ('Studierzimmer I and II'), which do not appear in *Faust*. *Ein Fragment*, were almost certainly written at this time. After 1801 there is no record of further work on *Faust* until the last adjustments were made to the text in 1806; cf. H.G. Gräf, *Goethe Ueber seine Dichtungen*, vol. II.2 (Frankfurt a. M.: Rütten & Loening, 1904), 114–19.

On the eudaemonist conclusions to the Faust plays of Lessing and Paul Weidmann see
 E.M. Butler, *The Fortunes of Faust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 113–31.

in 1587, we find that the original Dr Faust's agreement with the devil is spread over three conversations with Mephostophiles, as he is here called.<sup>3</sup> In the first conversation Mephostophiles asserts that it is beyond his power to make any agreement with Faust until he has returned to Hell to seek authority from Lucifer, his infernal master (17–19 = 1587, 11–14). In the second, Faust specifies six respects in which he wishes Mephostopheles to be obedient to him, and the devil in turn enumerates his own conditions for an agreement, which include the requirement that Faust should abjure the Christian religion and be an enemy of all Christian people and that the agreement shall be for a limited term after which Dr Faust shall become his property (19–21 = 1587, 15–18). In the third interview this agreement is written down in Faust's own blood and signed by him, and the author of the *Volksbuch* obligingly supplies us with a transcript. After twenty-four years of Mephosto's absolute obedience Dr Faust is to belong to the devil, body and soul (21–23 = 1587, 18–22).

The first known English translation of the 1587 Volksbuch was published in 1592, but by a route which is still obscure. Christopher Marlowe came into possession of the Faust story some time between 1588 and 1593, and on it based his *Tragicall History of D. Faustus.*<sup>4</sup> Marlowe's play was by one channel or another the source of all the dramatic versions of the Faust story known in Germany in the eighteenth century,<sup>5</sup> including the puppet plays, which are the only model Goethe explicitly acknowledges.<sup>6</sup> In Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* the number of convergations between Faustus and Marlowe's produced the number of conversations between Faustus and Mephostophiles is reduced to two. In the first we are told that it is a first step towards an agreement for someone to 'racke [violate] the name of God / Abjure the Scriptures, and his Saviour Christ' (I.iii, II. 47–8), and having already done this Faustus asks Mephostophiles to seek authority from Lucifer for a twenty-four-year contract of which he gives the outlines. In the second conversation Faustus writes out the contract in his blood, and reads it aloud before, in correct legal form, delivering it as his Deed (II.i, ll. 111–12).

Certain features common to both these, as one might say, primordial accounts of Faust's agreement with the devil are important for our consideration of Goethe's play: (a) at least two conversations between Faust and his familiar are needed; (b) either as a prerequisite or as a condition in the agreement, Mephostophiles demands that Faust should have abjured Christianity; (c) the agreement itself is outlined to us twice, once orally, in the form of heads of agreement, on the second occasion in writing, when we are told the precise

S. Füssel and H.J. Kreutzer (eds), Historia von D. Johann Fausten (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1999), 17–27 (= 1587, 10–31). Future references in the text are to this edition, followed by the 1587 pagination. Strictly speaking, there are here four conversations if we include (as the author of the Historia does not) Faust's first, introductory meeting with the 'grey friar' (17 = 1587, 10).

Christopher Marlowe, Doctor Faustus, ed. K. Walker (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1973), 1. Future citations are from this edition, which is based on the B1 text. Butler, *Fortunes*, 69–110.

Goethes Werke, HA, vol. 9, 413.

wording of the document written in blood; (d) the agreement is in the form of a legal contract, with conditions and considerations on both sides, and for a limited term. Faust gets twenty-four years of service from Mephostophiles, and Mephostophiles at the end of the time gets Faust, body and soul. No further condition is included in the agreement: provided Mephosto keeps his side of the bargain and serves Faust faithfully for the agreed term, Faust is condemned to Hell for all eternity.

If now we compare Goethe's version of the story point by point with that of his predecessors, we see both similarities and differences. We see that Goethe is superficially maintaining the traditional structure, but at a more profound level is subverting it altogether.

#### **Two Conversations**

Goethe has preserved the traditional structure according to which two conversations take place between Faust and the devil before the agreement can be signed. For this reason we have the slightly puzzling structural feature in Faust. Part One that two scenes with the same locality, Study, follow one directly on the other, with only a lapse of time and no change of place intervening. In the first *Study* scene Mephistopheles is initially present only as a black dog whose barkings punctuate Faust's work of translating the opening of St John's Gospel. Then Mephistopheles, after a strange series of metamorphoses, appears in human shape and discourses with Faust on a number of metaphysical questions similar to those we find raised both in the chapbook and in Marlowe before and after the definitive agreement.<sup>8</sup> Finally, Faust is lulled to sleep by Mephistopheles' attendant spirits and dreams of total sensual satisfaction. In the second scene, which follows immediately, Faust and Mephistopheles begin an interest discourse of the second scene, which follows immediately, Faust and Mephistopheles begin an interest discourse of the second scene. intense discussion of the value of life, the supreme pleasures of which Faust has

- The standard explanation of this feature is that Goethe 'originally' (whatever that may mean) intended to include between the two 'Studierzimmer' scenes a scene (for which a few notes survive) in which Faust and Mephistopheles would have conducted a public rew notes survive) in which raust and Mephistopheles would have conducted a public academic disputation: see Goethe, Faust, ed. Albrecht Schöne, Goethes Werke, HA, vol. 2, 244; Ulrich Gaier, Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Faust. Der Tragödie Erster Teil. Erläuterungen und Dokumente (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2001), 101. But, whatever his plans may from time to time have been (and it is not certain where the Disputation, had it been written, would have been placed), in the form in which he chose to publish his play Goethe achieved at this point a significant intertextual effect. In the Historia of 1587 the 'third' conversation, in which the definitive agreement is signed, follows immediately on the 'second', in which the terms are first outlined (they are said to take place on consecutive days). Goethe's the terms are first outlined (they are said to take place on consecutive days). Goethe's echoing, and parodying, of the received story, which is the most prominent characteristic of his work on *Faust* between 1797 and 1801, is thus strongly reinforced. Ulrich Maché rightly rejects the standard explanation in favour of literary analysis, but does not recognize that the intertextuality is deliberate, not accidental, and part of the literary structure: Ulrich Maché, 'Zu Goethes "Faust": Studierzimmer I und Geisterchor', in Aufsätze zu Goethes 'Faust I', ed. Werner Keller (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991), 369–79. Historia, ed. Füssel and Kreutzer, 29–43 (= 1587, 35–65), 45–52 (= 1587, 69–82); Marlowe,
- Faustus, Act I, scene 3, ll. 62–82; Act II, scene 1, ll. 113–171.

just experienced in the dream. This discussion culminates in a curse by Faust on all the limitations of the human lot and on the Christian virtues that aim to reconcile us to it. When Mephistopheles professes himself unconvinced by this outburst, Faust bets that he will remain true to his convictions whatever experiences Mephistopheles presents to him. Mephistopheles accepts the bet and the two prepare to embark on a new life together. The arrangement of these two scenes is, I believe, a deliberate allusion by Goethe to the traditional sequence of events, and from this it follows that we must consider the first *Study* scene as being very closely linked to the second; we must see it as an immediate prelude to the wager, a first conversation between Faust and the Devil in which the terms of their agreement are already being hammered out. Indeed, in *Study I* Faust already uses the word 'Pact', and speaks of it as a well-known speciality of devils. However, it soon becomes clear that whatever the traditional pattern may be, the two conversations that this Faust holds with the devil are not going to result in a pact of the kind that has hitherto been usual.

#### **Abjuration of Christianity**

In the original Faust stories an explicit abjuration by Faust of the Christian faith and Christian allegiance precedes his final contract with the devil: in the chapbook the devil makes this a requirement in the opening negotiations (20 = 1587, 17); in Marlowe's play Faustus has already voluntarily taken the step himself (I.iii, Il. 55). In Goethe's play the first scene between Faust and Mephistopheles, *Study I*, also contains an abjuration of Christianity, but in a much modified form. Faust's translating of St John's Gospel may not at first sight look like a repudiation of Christianity but that I believe is what it is. The scene seems at first designed to remind us of the sixteenth-century origins of the Faust story, showing us Faust engaged in the study of the Greek text of the New Testament as if he were a Renaissance humanist, or indeed Martin Luther himself, Germany's greatest translator of the Bible. But Faust soon shows traits more characteristic of eighteenth-century philosophers, theologians and biblical critics than of the age of the Reformation. He seeks not to translate the original but to reinterpret it in accordance with his own beliefs and turn it into a paraphrase of them. In this he is following the example not so much of Luther as of various more and less respectable eighteenth-century figures who endeavoured to reduce Christianity, and the Christian scriptures, to a rational core. We might for example see him

- 9. *Goethes Werke, HA, vol.* 3, 49, Il. 1414–15. Future citations of Goethe's *Faust* are from this edition.
- 10. Among the more respectable, in addition to Kant and Fichte, mention could be made of Semler, Lessing and Eichhorn, on whom, and on their relation to the English deists Chubb and Morgan see J.C. O'Neill, *The Bible's Authority* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 13–27, 39–53, 78–94. Among the others, Bahrdt and Reimarus were certainly known to Goethe, and he may at least have heard of Hölderlin's Tübingen tutor C.I. Diez, a pupil of Bahrdt (H.S. Harris, *Hegel's Development. Towards the Sunlight 1770–1801* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 98–9, and of the German Spinozists, J.C. Dippel, J.G. Wachter and J.C. Edelmann, on

as following in the footsteps of the notorious Lorenz Schmidt, who in 1735 began a translation of the Old Testament under the title The Laws of the Yisraels. The contrast with Luther's version is instructive. Luther translates the opening of Genesis as follows:

Am Anfang schuff Gott Himel vnd Erden. Vnd die Erde war wüst vnd leer, vnd es war finster auff der Tieffe. Vnd der Geist Gottes schwebet auff dem Wasser. Vnd Gott sprach, Es werde Liecht, Und es ward Liecht.<sup>11</sup>

In the beginning God created the Heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.] (King James Version)

But the rationalist Schmidt turns these verses into a natural history lesson in which assertions about God are reduced to a minimum. He translates:

Alle Weltkörper, und unsere Erde selbst, sind anfangs von Gott erschaffen worden. Was insonderheit die Erde betrift, so war dieselbe anfänglich ganz öde: sie war mit einem finstern Nebel umgeben, und rings herum mit Wasser umflossen, über welchem heftige Winde zu wehen anfingen. Es wurde aber bald auf derselben etwas helle, wie es die göttliche Absicht erforderte.<sup>12</sup>

[All the celestial bodies, and our earth itself, were originally created by God. As touching this world in particular, the same was initially wholly desert; it was surrounded by a dark mist and round about by circumfluent water, over which violent winds began to blow. Soon however it grew a little light above the same, in accordance with the requirements of Divine providence.

In 1773 the Gießen theologian C.F. Bahrdt performed a similar act of rationalizing reinterpretation on the New Testament and Goethe (who had recently reviewed for the journal Bahrdt edited) satirized him in a sketch of 1774.<sup>13</sup> In the 1780s and 90s such rational paraphrases of the Scriptures became fashionable. We

whom see David Bell, *Spinoza in Germany from 1670 to the Age of Goethe* (London: Institute of Germanic Studies, 1984), 10–12, 16–21. The topic is dealt with *in extenso* by Hans W. Frei in *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative. A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); see particularly the discussion of Gabler (whom Goethe appointed to his Jena chair) and Keil, 165–6.

11. D. Martin Luther, *Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch. Wittenberg 1545*, ed. Hans Volz (Munich: Rogner & Bernhard, 1972), vol. 1, 25.

12. LL. Schmidt. *Die göttlichen Schriften von den Teiten des Messie Jesus der erste Theil voorinnen* 

12. J.L. Schmidt, Die göttlichen Schriften vor den Zeiten des Messie Jesus der erste Theil worinnen die Gesetze der Jisraelen enthalten sind nach einer freyen Übersetzung welche durch und durch mit Anmerkungen erläutert und bestätiget wird (Wertheim: Nehr, 1735), 3.

13. C.F. Bahrdt, Prolog zu den neusten Offenbarungen Gottes, verdeutscht durch Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdt. Gießen 1774, in Goethes Werke. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Großherzogin Sophie von Sachsen, WA I, vol. 16, 105–10. Goethe's title is a direct allusion to Bahrdt's New Testament

find Kant doing his own version of Genesis in his essay of 1785, Mutmaßlicher Anfang der Menschengeschichte [A Probable Beginning for Human History], and reinterpreting the New Testament wholesale in *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft* [Religion within the Bounds of Reason Alone] (1793). <sup>14</sup> Fichte in 1806 offered his readers a paraphrase of what had previously been called theology under the title of *Anweisung zum seligen Leben* [Direction for a Blessed Life]. <sup>15</sup> The first *Study* scene was written in 1800–01, <sup>16</sup> so it is quite possible that Goethe had an eye on these developments in depicting his Faust's relation to

Goethe's Faust rejects the apparent literal sense of St John's original Greek – In the beginning was the Word. 'Ich kann das Wort so hoch unmöglich schätzen' [I cannot possibly give the *word* so high a value] (l. 1226), he says, and the word 'Word' is emphasized. Equally deserving of emphasis however is the word 'Word' is emphasized. Equally deserving of emphasis however is the word 'I'. Faust is not translating in any normal sense: he is determining what principle he is prepared to accept as ultimate. Similarly Kant in 1795, in Der Streit der Fakultäten [The Conflict of the Faculties], announced that the only meaning the Bible could be allowed to have was rational morality as he had expounded it, 17 and Fichte in 1806 introduced his paraphrase of the opening of St John's Gospel with the words: 'ich würde diese drei Verse in meiner Sprache also ausdrücken' [I would express these three verses in my language thus] (my emphasis). Fichte's formulation, indeed, reads rather as if it had been written by an Idealist Lorenz Schmidt: 'Ebenso ursprünglich als Gottes inneres Seyn ist sein Daseyn, und das letztere ist vom ersten unzertrennlich und ist selber ganz sein Daseyn, und das letztere ist vom ersten unzertrennlich, und ist selber ganz gleich dem ersten: und dieses göttliche Daseyn ist in seiner eigenen Materie nothwendig Wissen [...]' [As original as God's essence is his existence, and the latter is inseparable from the former and is itself wholly equal to the former; and this divine existence is intrinsically, necessarily, knowledge.]18 Goethe's Faust at least shows some respect for the sublime pithiness of the original. After casting around for various terms, he decides that what is most important to him is, as he says, 'the deed', and so he imputes to St John the sentiment 'Im Anfang war die *Tat!*' [In the beginning was the *deed!*] (l. 1327). It is not to Faust's interest in the deed that I want to draw attention here – though it is undoubtedly paralleled in Fichte's

paraphrase Die neusten Offenbarungen Gottes in Briefen und Erzaehlungen verdeutscht von D. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt (Riga: Hartknoch, 1773–4).

- Immanuel Kant, Werke (Theorie-Werkausgabe), ed. W. Weischedel (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1968), vol. 11, 83–102; vol. 8, 645–879.
   Fichte, Werke, ed. I.H. Fichte. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971), vol. 5, 397–580.
- 16. Goethe writes to Schiller on 16 April 1800: 'Der Teufel, den ich beschwöre, gebärdet sich sehr wunderlich [the devil I am summoning is behaving very strangely], which may be an allusion to Mephistopheles' transformations in *Studierzimmer I*. On 18 March 1801 he writes, again to Schiller: 'Da die Philosophen [in Jena] auf diese Arbeit neugierig sind, habe ich mich freilich zusammenzunehmen' [Since this work has attracted the curiosity of the philosophers [in Jena] I must clearly buckle to], and the two *Studierzimmer* scenes are surely the most philosophical. See Gräf, *Goethe Ueber seine Dichtungen*, vol. II.2, 92, 110.

  17. Kant, *Werke*, ed. Weischedel, vol. 11, 336–7.
- 18. Fichte, Werke, ed. Fichte, vol. 5, 481.

thinking of the 1790s,<sup>19</sup> but to his hostility to the word. For 'the Word' is, as the opening of St John's Gospel goes on to tell us, God, and specifically God made flesh in Christ. Faust's rejection of the Word is thus not simply a rejection of book learning, or of the theoretical as opposed to the active life: it is a rejection of the Christian view of what constitutes the involvement of God in human life, a rejection of the property of Christ the Leges the years and flesh <sup>20</sup>

rejection of the person of Christ, the Logos, the word made flesh.<sup>20</sup>

This implication of Faust's translation, which is often overlooked,<sup>21</sup> is confirmed for us by what follows. For the black dog chooses precisely the moment when Faust has rewritten one of Christianity's principal doctrines to begin to change its shape and reveal itself as nothing less than the devil himself. No sooner has Mephistopheles appeared than he alludes to Faust's rejection of the Christian Word. 'Wie nennst du dich?' [What is your name?]. Faust asks, and Mephistopheles replies:

Die Frage scheint mir klein Für einen, der das Wort so sehr verachtet. (ll. 1327–8)

[The question seems a little petty for one who so disdains the word.]

Certainly, if Faust has rejected Christ, the Word, as insignificant, he is unlikely to find Mephistopheles significant either, if Mephistopheles identifies himself

19. 'Thathandlung' (as opposed to 'Thatsache'), Ibid., vol. 1, 91, 465. The connection is noted by Hans Arens, *Kommentar zu 'Faust I'* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1982), 149, but no conclusion is drawn from it

drawn from it.

20. 'The place of the Incarnation [...] is taken by Reason', M.R. Ogden, *The Problem of Christ in the work of Friedrich Hölderlin* (London: Institute of Germanic Studies, 1991), 23. Frederick William II of Prussia thought Socinianism so widespread among his clergy that he included it by name as one of the errors concealed under 'den äußerst gemißbrauchen Namen der "Aufklärung" [the much misused name of 'Enlightenment'] that were to be rooted out by his 'Religionsedikt' of 1793. See Manfred Kühn, *Kant. Eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 2003), 392.

21. Arens recognizes Faust's 'schrankenlose Subjektivität' [unbounded subjectivity] at this point, but not the rejection of Christ, since he thinks Faust has already been shown to be an unbeliever by his reaction to the Easter chorus of angels in the opening scene, 'Nacht'. But Goethe shows Faust *developing* towards his decisive step into a new way of life, and at the beginning of 'Studierzimmer I' Faust is explicitly shown returning to the comfort of the old way of thinking, to 'die Liebe Gottes' (I. 1185) and to the New Testament, which he calls 'heilig' (I. 1222); Arens, *Kommentar*, 147–8. Gaier (*Erläuterungen*, 95), like other commentators, notes that the terms Faust considers are all regarded by philologists and the fathers of the Church as possible translations of *logos*, which is to miss the dramatic point that Faust is not engaged in translation at all; he is 'ganz und gar in eigener Sache dolmetschend; Faust 'isoliert [...] den *logos*-Begriff aus dem christologischen Kontext des Evangeliums [translating solely for his own benefit; Faust detaches the idea of ,logos' from the Christian context of the Gospel] (*Faust*, ed. Schöne, vol. 2, 247). Schöne identifies the crucial issue: Faust 'isoliert [...] den *logos*-Begriff aus dem christologischen Kontext des Evangeliums' (246). But it would be truer to say that Faust fully recognizes the Christological context – as does Mephistopheles.

simply as the devil who in the orthodox scheme of things was Christ's adversary. While Faust in *Study I* appears as an eighteenth-century intellectual who has emancipated himself from Christianity, and specifically from any allegiance to Christ, Mephistopheles is from the start explicitly associated with the Christian religion. This is made clear to us when Faust endeavours to exorcize the rapidly growing and changing black poodle by invoking a power to which the spirit that has possessed this body will acknowledge obedience. Faust first calls upon the spirits of fire, water, air and earth – Salamander, Undene, Sylphe and Kobold – the four elements of which, according to the old science, all nature was composed. The intruding spirit, however, is quite unmoved by this invocation: 'Keines der viere / Steckt in dem Tiere' [the beast has none of these four in it] (Il. 1292–3), Faust concludes. Mephistopheles, in other words, is not a nature spirit; he does not acknowledge the power or significance of the natural world. What he does acknowledge, and what forces him to manifest himself, is the power that Faust now invokes: the crucifix, the sign of the cross,<sup>22</sup> simply as the devil who in the orthodox scheme of things was Christ's adversary. Faust now invokes: the crucifix, the sign of the cross,<sup>22</sup>

> dies Zeichen Dem sie sich beugen, Die schwarzen Scharen (ll. 1300–02)

[this sign at which the black hordes bow]

and in lines 1304–9 Faust refers for magical purposes to the man hanging on the cross, the uncreated Word whose theological significance he has himself rejected:

> Den nie Entsproßnen [...] Freventlich Durchstochnen (Il. 1306, 1309)

[originated outside time<sup>23</sup> [...] the one they wickedly pierced]

22. *Ibid.*, 248–9; *Goethes Werke, HA*, vol. 3, 532. Since the 'Zeichen' of l. 1300 has to be a symbol of Christ (ll. 1301–2 allude to Philippians 2:10 and perhaps James 2:19), and since the crucifixion is explicitly referred to in l. 1309, the reluctance of Schöne and Arens (*Kommentar*, 153–4) to identify the symbol as a crucifix is puzzling. (Gaier is clear that a crucifix is involved, *Erläuterungen*, 95.) Once again, there is a tendency to overlook the parodistic element in Goethe's text and the dialectic it establishes between an eighteenth-century intellectual and material that he and his contemporaries could regard only as (in varying degrees) superstitious. In *Urfaust*, Mephistopheles' aversion to the crucifix has sinister and tragic overtones (*Goethes Werke, HA*, vol. 3, 385); the pagan Goethe of 1801 prefers to introduce the motif in the caricatured form of magic and blasphemy. The exorcism is structured so that it proceeds from Nature to Christ to the Trinity (l. 1319 – a threat that proves unnecessary) – a progression for the older Goethe from truth to ever more absurd error.
23. I take it that l. 1306 is a condensed paraphrase of 'natum ante omnia saecula' [born before all ages]

all ages].

The only power that Mephistopheles will acknowledge and that forces him to manifest himself, is the crucifix, the sign of the cross. Mephistopheles is therefore, if the phrase is not too paradoxical, a Christian devil: he acknowledges the power of Christ, whom he loathes and fears but must obey. Mephistopheles belongs, that is, to a Christian scheme of things and his outlook on life is determined by Christianity in so far as he accepts Christian notions of value in order to invert

them in práctice.

There is therefore a profound difference between Faust and Mephistopheles. Mephistopheles accepts the Christian view of what is evil and what is good – he merely inverts the two and pursues not the good but the evil. Faust, however, is beyond Christianity altogether: he may have a certain respect for the principles of the religion and its founder and those who follow him, but it is all ultimately irrelevant to his own concerns. This difference between the two principal figures of the play in respect of their attitude to Christianity is to some extent already present in the first versions of the Faust story, where it causes some embarrassment.<sup>24</sup> Goethe presses the difference to an extreme in *Study I*: Faust is a free man as the late eighteenth century understood freedom, a man who determines his values for himself.<sup>25</sup> His translation of St John is an assertion of his own power to determine for himself what shall be of ultimate significance to him, an assertion of autonomy, of freedom from all constraints of tradition, authority or history. Mephistopheles is an essentially parasitic being, a by-product of Christianity, a demon subservient to the sign of the cross. One wonders how any agreement between these two will be possible, given that they start from such different premises. The answer of course is that Goethe's two principal figures will *not* conclude an agreement of the traditional kind and it will indeed be explained to us at some length why such an agreement is impossible.

#### Two representations of the agreement

In the earliest forms of the Faust story the agreement between Faust and the devil was outlined to us twice, once in the form of heads of terms and once, in a subsequent conversation, in a contract written in its entirety in Faust's own blood. Overtly, Goethe in *Faust. Part One* more or less keeps to this pattern, though the two formulations of the agreement, oral and written, both occur in the same scene, *Study II*. The spoken wager follows on a vigorous discussion (ll. 1542–1691) and then, after the wager passage itself (ll. 1692–1711), Mephisto asks for 'ein paar Zeilen' [a few lines in writing] (l. 1715), Faust being required to produce only enough blood as is necessary to sign them. A most important difference from the earlier versions is that we do not at any point learn the content of those 'few lines' to which Faust appends his signature.

- 24. Historia, ed. Füssel and Kreutzer, 55 (= 1587, 89); Marlowe, Faustus, Act II, scene 1, 23–4, 30.
- 25. 'Sapere aude! Habe Mut, dich deines *eigenen* Verstandes zu bedienen! ist also der Wahlspruch der Aufklärung' [dare to use your *own* mind is therefore the motto of Enlightenment], Kant, 'Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?', Kant, *Werke*, ed. Weischedel, vol. 11, 53.

Below the superficial level at which Goethe's play is fairly carefully following a traditional pattern, there is so to speak a counter-current flowing which is demonstrating to us the impossibility for a modern Faust, a Faust who has left Christianity behind him, of making the traditional agreement either orally or in writing. In Goethe's Faust play there may still be two representations of Faust's agreement with the Devil but neither is what it appears to be, or what it was in the earlier versions of the story. The problem is not simply or principally the rather abstract problem that this Faust really does not believe in the God or the Christ, the Heaven or Hell or devil, that the traditional Faust in the end rather reluctantly acknowledges. The problem is rather that a Faust who lacks these beliefs must have a quite different notion of what in life is valuable – if indeed he has any such notion at all – from the traditional Faust. The discussion between Goethe's Faust and Mephistopheles about a possible agreement thus becomes a discussion about the possibility of ethics, of value and purpose in life

independent of Christianity.

The first *Study* scene already contributes a first stage to the discussion by means of the dream which provides Goethe's Faust effectively with all the benefits that the earlier Faust received as a result of the pact: every one of his five senses is to be stimulated to the full (II. 1436, 1439–44). But these stimuli are as insubstantial as a dream, and Faust awakens from them deceived and in a vile temper – with a hangover in fact. And in this we glimpse one of the principal obstacles to a modern Faust's making an agreement with the Devil: what is there that a modern Faust could hope or wish to receive in exchange for his soul? What is he prepared to say is of more importance to him than anything else, so that he will sacrifice everything, anything, in order to possess it? Straightforward sensual pleasure might have satisfied a sixteenth-century Faust, but the palate of eighteenth-century man is more sophisticated. What has the devil got to give Faust – and what for that matter has Faust got to give the devil? These questions become explicit in the second *Study* scene, in the discussion that leads up to the wager. Faust disputes whether there is anything that he has to give Mephistopheles in return for his services which he, Faust, regards as of any value at all – Faust is simply not interested in a future life, and an agreement in which he pledged it would be meaningless and tedious to him. Mephistopheles' insidious suggestion (II.1671–2) that if Faust does not believe in a future life he may as well risk it for the sake of what the devil can offer<sup>26</sup> provokes a second and contrary outburst from Faust: Was willst du armer Teufel geben? [What, poor devil, have you got to give?] (I.1675).

What is there on offer? Can someone with so limited, materialistic and sensual a notion of what human beings need as Mephistopheles has hitherto shown himself to possess conceivably for a moment grasp what is important to Faust,

Given this premiss, Faust's wager can be seen as a diabolical inversion of Pascal's. See my discussion in Sacred and Secular Scriptures (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 174–6.

let alone set about providing it? If Mephistopheles knew what Faust wanted, it would seem to him an incomprehensible sequence of paradoxes (ll. 1678–87).<sup>27</sup>

Mephistopheles clearly has met more than he bargained for in this eighteenthcentury Faust, who so resolutely rejects the simple satisfactions of lust and vanity and curiosity for which his sixteenth-century predecessor was content to barter his soul. There cannot be an agreement of the traditional kind between this Faust and this Mephistopheles - if for no other reason, then because Faust believes in the value neither of what Mephistopheles purports to be selling nor of the currency in which Mephistopheles wishes to be paid. But more profoundly than this, no contract at all is possible between Goethe's two parties, no form of agreement in which Faust would bind himself, with all his infinite potential, for the sake of some limited, finite benefit which the devil purports to be able to bestow. Faust, it is true, goes through the motions of signing such an agreement, but he draws attention to the fact that he regards it as an empty form, a *Fratze* (l. 1739). To ask for a written confirmation of what he has done in making that promise is, he says, the act of a pedant (l. 1716): only a pedant is interested in the written formula rather than in the spirit that gives the formula life. And this remark is a warning to us of *how* different this Faust is from his predecessors. We must not think of the relation between Goethe's Faust and Goethe's Mephistopheles as regulated by some mechanical, legal, written formula, we must not think of the so-called wager as just another but more complex, pact, a contract with an extra so-called wager as just another, but more complex, pact, a contract with an extra condition.<sup>28</sup> Not only does Faust dismiss such an interpretation of what he is doing as pedantry, but Goethe implicitly endorses Faust's view by never telling us the words on the document that Faust signs. We do not know what they are or what relation they bear to the several slightly different phrases in which Faust has formulated the agreement orally. One thing at least is certain about the drama of Goethe's Faust and Mephistopheles - that in it the words on that bit of paper are of no significance whatever – while of course in all previous dramatic versions of the Faust story they were so important that they were actually read out to us.

- 27. The difficulty and profundity of these lines has been unfortunately obscured by G. von Molnár's introduction of an issue of punctuation, which, though editorially justified, proves, for the purposes of interpretation, to be a non-issue (Géza von Molnár, 'Die Fragwürdigkeit des Fragezeichens. Einige Überlegungen zur Paktszene', Goethe-Jahrbuch 96 (1979), 270–79). See my discussion in 'An Idealist Faust? Goethe's Wager in the Context of Intellectual History', in History and Literature. Essays in Honor of Karl S. Guthke, ed. William Collins Donahue and Scott Denham (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2000), 29–46, 32–3. Faust, ed. Schöne, vol. 2, 258–9 follows Molnár; Gaier (Erläuterungen, 108) is silent on the matter.
- 28. The older Goethe, in a characteristic act of mystification, described it in just these terms, deliberately concealing his radical alteration of the tradition: 'Faust macht im Anfang dem Teufel eine Bedingung, woraus schon alles folgt' [Faust begins by imposing a condition on the devil, from which everything else follows] (to Sulpiz Boisserée, 3 August 1815; Gräf, Dichtungen vol. II.2, 215).

#### A legal contract or a wager?

And so the fourth respect in which the early versions of the Faust story agree is a respect in which they differ totally from Goethe's version. Whereas in the original versions Faust simply makes a contract of sale by which he exchanges the future life of his soul for twenty-four years of pleasure, Goethe's Faust refuses to accept that he can be bound by a piece of paper – any more than he was bound by the words of the Scriptural text. Instead we have a bet between the two parties about which of them is right: Faust is betting that he can and must live the life of a free man, Mephistopheles that he cannot. To be precise, Faust is betting in order to deny a remark made by Mephistopheles (ll. 1691–2), a remark that expresses Mephistopheles' disbelief in Faust's arguments for the impossibility of a traditional contract (ll. 1660–87). The wager cannot be detached from that discussion. Faust is betting about the three factors that make that traditional contractual agreement impossible: (a) Faust's disbelief in the value of the supposedly good things of this world that the devil claims he can supply; (b) Faust's disbelief in the future life that Mephistopheles is wanting him to pledge in exchange for his services; (c) Faust's disbelief in the power over him of any external authority such as that of the words of a contract.

(a) Firstly, Faust is challenging the devil to show him something that he acknowledges is worth having and keeping, worth retaining for longer than the moment that is necessary to experience it (ll. 1699–1700). If Mephistopheles can do that, Faust will accept that he was wrong and has lost the bet. – And that means he will accept that the Christian scheme of things, the Christian notion of good and evil, which he thought he had transcended, and which is represented in inverted form by Mephistopheles, is right after all. (b) Secondly, therefore, Faust now says, if Mephistopheles can prove him wrong about the principal point of dispute – whether there is anything of lasting value in the world – then he might as well surrender himself into Mephistopheles' power as Mephistopheles had proposed (ll. 1710–11). In saying that, Faust is not, however, retracting, even hypothetically, his disbelief in the afterlife: he is saying that if he loses the wager then his entire understanding of his life, its fundamental principle of motivation, will have been undermined and he is therefore prepared, indeed would wish, to die. His stake, as far as he is concerned, is not his eternal future, as it was in the traditional agreements: his stake is his life, a life which is, he believes, the only thing he has and which, if he is wrong, he is prepared to lose.<sup>29</sup> So Faust is not saying in his wager: if I am wrong I am willing to be damned; there is no reference in his crucial speech to the future fate of his soul. He is saying: if I am wrong I am willing to die, and it is necessarily a matter of indifference to me what happens afterwards, because what happens after death does not, by definition, concern me as I understand myself now. Faust's willingness to die if he is wrong constitutes a willingness to devote everything that he believes he has, 'das Streben meiner ganzen Kraft' [the striving of all my powers] (l. 1742), to

<sup>29.</sup> In Il. 1699–1706 none of the phrases that express the consequence of Faust's losing the wager refers unambiguously to anything other than his death.

living on the presupposition that he is right, without any reservation in respect

of a hypothetical future state.

(c) To understand this point fully we need to look at the third factor standing in the way of a traditional contract of sale: the impossibility of Faust's being bound by any external or verbal formula such as a contract presupposes. Faust is wagering that he cannot be bound by anything, that he really is so free that he can put himself above any constraint because constraints have power over him only in so far as he acknowledges them (ll. 1716–29). If any experience, any object, can so exercise its power over him that he would rather have more of that object than have the next moment of his own existence – then

> Werd' ich zum Augenblicke sagen: Verweile doch! du bist so schön! (ll. 1699–1700)

[If ever to the moment I shall say / Beautiful moment, do not pass away]30

 then he will have ceased to be free. He will have become a slave to that object and will be valuing that object more than himself. He will have become the sort of person who can be bound by powers outside themselves, by lust for objects or by verbal and written contracts, for example.<sup>31</sup>

Faust is wagering therefore on the impossibility of the old form of agreement with the devil, and that means he is wagering on the inapplicability of the old Christian ethical scheme. He is wagering, firstly, that there is nothing good in life; secondly, that there is no future life that could matter to him; and, thirdly, that he is so free that nothing, and certainly no contract, could ever bind him anyway. He is promising to live from now on uninterruptedly and irrevocably in a certain way. In the constant companionship of Mephistopheles he will seek to pass through as many experiences as possible, and to them all he is guaranteeing he will say: no there is nothing of value here, nothing for which it would be worth giving up my freedom, my identity, my priceless but not immortal soul. Let Mephistopheles show him an endless and permanently changing sequence of things that the world has to offer – and by accepting the agreement Mephistopheles undertakes to do this – and Fauet will still say to agreement Mephistopheles undertakes to do this - and Faust will still say to each one: on to the next.

Faust therefore has gained his access to all experience only at a price. That price is not, as it was in the traditional story, a penalty to be exacted in the next world. It is a penalty already exacted in this world, and in the very experience, the very moment of the most intense experience, to which the wager gives Faust access. By his own choice Faust is bound to a power that will always interrupt his most fulfilled moments and detach him from them, a power which is

- 30. Goethe, Faust. Parts One and Two, trans. David Luke (London: Folio Society, 2005), 52.
- 31. And so he will have become what Fichte calls a 'dogmatist' (e.g. Fichte, *Werke*, vol. 1, 426–35) and Schiller a 'realist' (Friedrich Schiller, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. G. Fricke and H.G. Göpfert (Munich: Hanser, 1965), vol. 5, 770) in either case the opposite of an 'idealist'.

embodied in Mephistopheles but is in a sense present in Faust himself from the start, the power of negativity by which he has guaranteed himself to say 'no' to any experience, however seductive and apparently fulfilling. By that power he will continue to assert the supreme value of his own identity and the total lack of value of anything that he will seek to subordinate to himself in the act of enjoyment. Faust's wager really is a pact with the devil, for the refusal ever to say to the moment 'Verweile doch! du bist so schön!' [Tarry, thou art so fair] is a diabolical principle, a principle indistinguishable from the principle in virtue of which Mephistopheles, 'der Geist, der stets verneint' [the spirit of perpetual negation] (l. 1338), says that 'alles, was entsteht, Ist wert, daß es zugrunde geht [all things that exist / deserve to perish] (ll. 1339–40). How then does Mephistopheles see this agreement? Intrinsically it is of little or no interest to Mephistopheles whether or not Faust says to the moment 'Verweile doch! du bist so schön!', because that is a significant thing to say, or refrain from saying, only if one shares Faust's post-Christian view of the nature of life. That Mephistopheles, by his own definition, cannot do, since his existence makes sense only within a Christian context. What matters to Mephistopheles is whether he can make Faust into so corrupt and sinful a being that Divine justice must damn him to Hell for ever. The true tension established by the wager is therefore one of which neither participant is or can be fully aware, but which is fully apparent only to the audience. It is this: Will Faust prove able to lead a life, which he has guaranteed will be the fullest and most demanding human life possible, in independence of the Christian scheme of values from which he claims he has emancipated himself? Will he prove able to live a life beyond good and evil? Or will Mephistopheles succeed in involving him in the moral guilt, the possibility of which Faust denies, so deeply and inextricably that in the end even Faust will have to admit the truth of his situation, so that even Faust will have despairingly to acknowledge that he was wrong, and that no man is so free that he is not subject to a higher moral authority outside himself?

The wager ensures that Faust will live as full a life as possible, but at the cost of regarding all that he experiences as valueless, not worth tarrying one moment for. From Mephistopheles' point of view, the wager is important, not as an agreement that he will now seek to carry out, but as a guarantee that he now has the whole of Faust's life during which, as Faust's servant,<sup>32</sup> he can set traps for him which will ensure his damnation regardless of the agreement. The tension the play puts before us is not who will win the wager, but which of the two characters will succeed in his purposes in the new world, the modern world, which the wager has created. The answer, by the way, and nearly 200 years after publication one is perhaps allowed to spoil the surprise, is neither. Not Mephistopheles, evidently, though he comes a lot closer to proving right than is generally recognized. But not Faust either. For the tragedy of the play – and 'tragedy' is Goethe's subtitle for it – is both that Faust remains true to his

<sup>32.</sup> The words 'Diener', 'Dienst' or 'dienen' (servant, service or to serve), describing the relation between Mephistopheles and Faust, recur at ll. 1648, 1655, 1656, 1689, 1712–3.

wager, and that the wager proves to be a terrible deception.<sup>33</sup> Each part of the play presents this tragedy, each time through Faust's encounter with a woman. Part I and Part II of Goethe's Faust are both carefully structured around a key scene which in each case occurs in the exact centre of the Part: in Part I, the scene in a summerhouse, where Faust and Gretchen exchange kisses; in Part II the scene, possibly located in Mistra near Sparta, where Faust and the resurrected Helen, the spirit of classical beauty, give each other their hands. Both these scenes concentrate on a single moment of union, in which time is annulled within time, and the changing material world – the object of Faust's experience – is reconciled with the free subject's demand for the absolute. This love must last for ever, Faust has cried in Part I (ll. 3193–4) – and in the last scene of the whole play we learn that it does; while in Part II he adjures Helen, who fears she is only a ghost, 'Dasein ist Pflicht, und wär's ein Augenblick' [To be – even if only for a moment – is a matter of duty] (l. 9418). These two peaks of Faust's experience in the entire play reveal to him and to us a good that transcends the wager altogether, for love and beauty have in common with ethical obligation that they render irrelevant all the anxious evaluation<sup>34</sup> that asks 'what is this worth by comparison with something else?' [is this moment worth tarrying for, or is it less valuable than my openness to the next?]. But these moments which reveal a world beyond the wager are also the two moments in which Faust's commitment to the terms of the wager is tested and confirmed. Both are immediately broken off by the intervention of Mephistopheles (Il. 3207, 9419), and to neither interruption does Faust respond by asking the moment to tarry. He passes on to the next, falling under the spell of the wager once again, and forgetting his brief insight into the realms of human living that it has made inaccessible to him.

Faust's fidelity to his wager carries a fearful penalty. In both cases, as the peak of experience passes, the laws of the transient and time-bound world take effect and Faust does nothing to hinder the destructive consequences of the decay of both relationships – poignantly symbolized in both cases by the death of the child who is born to the woman he has loved. Moreover Faust himself declines morally after each of the moments of trial: in Part I Mephistopheles lures him on to further crimes, after he has abandoned Gretchen; in Part II he leaves the fantasy world of classical culture which, though an illusion, is at least harmless, and becomes an unscrupulous and murderous capitalist and social engineer. The agreement that the devil shall become his servant, which provides Faust with the means of attaining the peaks of human experience, is also the mechanism that destroys what he attains: it unites him with Gretchen, but then brings her to despair and death, and it resurrects Helen, but then causes her to evaporate as an insubstantial phantom before the onward march of grimmer

<sup>33.</sup> Which is why Arens, while rightly recognizing that the wager is only an apparent agreement between two parties who have quite different understandings of it (and so a 'Scheinlösung' [only an apparent solution] to the problem of how a modern man can sell his soul to a premodern devil), is none the less wrong to conclude that thereby the tragic element in the play is 'weitgehend getilgt' [largely eliminated] (Kommentar, 185).
34. 'grübeln' [brooding] it is called in l. 9417; cf. 'Sinnen', l. 1828.

and more material powers. That cruel irony, which is fundamental to the play's structure, is as close as anything we find in any modern drama to what the ancient tragedians thought of as Nemesis.

Faust is a modern man in the Nietzschean sense that he has left Christianity behind him. Like Nietzsche he acknowledges only one value: his own capacity to create value for himself.<sup>35</sup> Against the tempter, Mephistopheles, who seeks to insinuate that the good and evil of the old order will never be obsolete, Faust wagers that he can live his life in unwavering fidelity to his belief in his own moral autonomy. His stake in the wager is his life, for if he is wrong he thinks his life is not worth living. This belief in his own absolute freedom liberates Faust for a life of activity and achievement that surpasses anything the old order knew. It also empowers him to do evil of greater depth and extent than anything the old order knew either. But Goethe's Faust is not simply a morality play that shows us the shadow side of emancipated post-Christianity. If it were, it would simply be endorsing Mephistopheles' view of Faust's wager as windy self-deception (Il. 1734, 1801–2, 1830–33). Faust's wager gives him access to any experience he can imagine subject only to the condition that it remain no more than his experience, it even allows him to glimpse for a moment what it would have been like to live by values that were not his own creation and to live by them not for a moment but for a lifetime. But by the terms of the wager he can know this alternative to the wager only for a moment and must then forget it.<sup>36</sup> His life is a quest lived in the belief that it is better to seek than to find and so even what he finds becomes the occasion for further seeking. His quest therefore is both selffulfilling and self-defeating: as his audience we can see that he loses as much as he finds. But as his audience we can also recognize how much of our own condition is reflected in his. Goethe's Faust is not just a morality play for the eighteenth century – it is a tragedy, perhaps the tragedy, of modernity.

36. See Paul Connerton, *How Modernity Forgets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), esp. 88: 'Present time is packed to bursting point; past time is evacuated [...]. *systematic forgetting* [is installed] into the structure of modernity itself'.

<sup>35. &#</sup>x27;Die *christlichen – die vornehmen* Werte: erst wir, wir *freigewordnen* Geister, haben diesen größten Wert-Gegensatz, den es gibt, wiederhergestellt! [*Christian* values *- elite* values: only we, we *self-liberated* spirits have restored this, the greatest antithesis of values that there is] –' Friedrich Nietzsche, *Der Antichrist*, 37, in idem, *Werke in drei Bänden*, ed. K. Schlechta (Munich: Hanser, 1955), vol. 2, 1198.

#### Reflectivity, Music and the Modern Condition

#### Thoughts on Goethe's Faust

#### Martin Swales

For reasons that will be touched on in a moment, the relationship between the Faust figure and music has often been as intimate as it has been problematic. At the risk of seeming wayward, I want to begin by invoking not Goethe's Faust, but another treatment of the Faust legend - Thomas Mann's novel Doktor Faustus. I do so because Mann is as centrally concerned to understand the Faust/music nexus as is Goethe – and because there is an all-important difference between the two works. Mann's narrative of the life of the fictitious composer Adrian Leverkühn invites us time and again to reflect on both the ontology and the history of music. The ontological argument highlights the complex dialectic of music: it is both abstract and visceral. And the historical argument shows us music as deeply implicated in the broad currents and counter-currents of cultural and historical change in the first three decades of the twentieth century. In these terms, then, and in a great many others, Mann's *Doktor Faustus* is about music. But it is not – despite all its stunning coherence of structure and formal patterning – a work sustained by musicology. Whereas its greatest antecedent in the German tradition, Goethe's *Faust*, is precisely that.

In what sense, then, is Goethe's Faust a musical work? It is so in at least three ways. Firstly, it is a work that contains a great many musical numbers. Hans Joachim Kreutzer estimates that almost nineteen per cent of Part I and some twenty-four per cent of Part II are conceived as involving music in one form or another.<sup>2</sup> And Tina Hartmann pushes the analogy with music even further, likening Part I to a *Singspiel*, and suggesting that the seemingly modern form of Part II, with its major scenic blocks, is best understood in the context of the fondness of early music theatre for masques, processions, and so on.<sup>3</sup> Secondly,

- A different view is taken by Theodore Ziolkowski in 'Leverkühn's Compositions and their musical Realizations', *Modern Language Review* 107 (2012), 836–56 (here 837). Hans Joachim Kreutzer, *Faust, Mythos und Musik* (Munich: Beck, 2003), 61.
- Tina Hartmann, Goethes Musiktheater: Singspiele, Opern, Festspiele, 'Faust' (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004), 541–2.

the musical sections that figure in the *Faust* text are integral rather than incidental; they are implicated in the very fabric of the work, which is, by that token, a musical drama rather than a drama with music. Kreutzer writes: 'Die musikalischen Elemente dieser Dichtung leben jedoch organisch im Zentrum der Kunstform und sind von ihm nicht lösbar' [the musical constituents of this poem live organically at the very centre of its aesthetic form and cannot be separated from it].<sup>4</sup> Thirdly, the Faust fable (and Goethe's version in particular) has been set to music more than any other literary work.

Yet to register all this ambient musicality is immediately to confront a paradox. In both parts of Goethe's great drama the protagonist himself has virtually no musical numbers. (The only exceptions are the 'Hexenküche' in Part I, where Faust briefly joins Mephisto in a 'Wechselgesang' (Il. 3870–71),<sup>5</sup> and the Euphorion sequence at the end of Act III of Part II.) But, for the most part, Faust is a man of words rather than notes. And the question poses itself: why should this be so? Why an unmusical protagonist in such a deeply musical work?

this be so? Why an unmusical protagonist in such a deeply musical work?

The essential answer is, I venture to suggest, that Faust is portrayed throughout the drama as an intellectual, as a profoundly discursive spirit, one who lives, moves, and has his being (however much he may resent it) in concepts and ideas. 'In Worten kramen' [fiddling about with words] (I. 385) is how he cynically puts it in the despairing soliloquy that opens the action proper of Part I. This aspect of his being is highlighted most eloquently if one contrasts his soliloquies with those of Gretchen. She comes from humble circumstances. As a young woman, she has not received much education; her life is bound by domestic duties, and by the defining institutions – the family, the small town, the church – that have framed her life prior to her meeting with Faust. Hence, when she falls in love, she needs to find a discourse for her inwardness, without readily having the vocabulary to hand. Goethe's solution to the problem – how to bring her inwardness alive without resorting to false articulacy, without giving her sentimental eloquence – is nothing short of masterly. Two conditions apply to the revelation of her inner life. One is that, when she soliloquizes, she is helped if her hands are active, if she is carrying out familiar practical tasks. On the first occasion she is undressing and getting ready for bed; on the second she is working at the spinning wheel; and on the third she is putting flowers in a vase before the statue of the Virgin Mary in church. And the second condition of her soliloquizing is that she borrows the linguistic form that gives her access to her feelings: there are two songs ('Es war ein König in Thule' [There once was a King in Thule] and 'Meine Ruh ist hin' [My peace has gone]), there is the prayer ('Ach neige' [Ah incline]) and a mad fairy-tale ballad ('Meine Mutter, die Hur' [My mother, the whore]). At least three of these instances of borrowed inwardness are musical. Gretchen's being is, then, intensely bound up

- 4. Kreutzer, Faust, 46. The translations throughout are the author's.
- Quotations from Goethe's works are taken from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe, Gespräche, ed. Ernst Beutler (Zurich: Artemis 1949ff). Faust is to be found in volume 5. Line references are given in brackets after the quotation.

Tina Hartmann stresses Goethe's subtle awareness (which he derived in part from popular taste as regards various forms of musical-dramatic utterance) of the difference between a song and an aria. The song is 'ein repertierbares, "auswendig gelerntes" und damit unterbewusst reflektives Medium' [a repeatable medium of expression, one that has been 'learnt by heart', and is, by that token, expressive of the subconscious], whereas the aria is:

Ein Moment des Stillhaltens innerhalb der sich [...] abspielenden Handlung und gibt dem Helden oder der Heldin Gelegenheit, seine/ihre Emotionen oder Entschlüsse zu besingen. [...] Goethe [...] betont den situativen, emotionalen und originären Charakter der Arie gegenüber dem als reproduzierbares Gemeingut definierten Lied.<sup>6</sup>

[A moment of repose in the midst of the unfolding action which gives the hero or heroine the opportunity to sing of his or her emotions or decisions. Goethe stresses the situative, emotional and originating character of the aria in contrast to the song, which is an instance of reproducible common currency.]

The distinction she makes here is valuable. On 'Es war ein König in Thule' she observes: 'Die Ballade Gretchens folgt Goethes Definition eines auswendig vorgetragenen und ausdrücklich repetitierten Liedes' [Gretchen's ballad follows Goethe's definition of a song that has been performed by heart and is explicitly repeated]. Tentral to the dramatic force of the song is its concern with love and fidelity. It is sung, almost instinctively we feel, in response to the excitement of the first meeting with Faust, and to the erotic charge of undressing and going to bed. The song works, then, with total psychological truthfulness. The same is true of 'Meine Ruh ist hin'. Here we cannot be sure if this is, or at any rate starts out as, a song (perhaps a work song triggered by the rhythm of the spinning wheel), but, as the emotional pressure mounts, the song becomes an eruptive declaration of love (which never gets back to the secure rhythm of the refrain). The final six lines become well-nigh incoherent with pent-up desire. Hartmann is superb on the prayer 'Ach neige', noting that the first three stanzas seem to be close to a piece of chanted or sung liturgy which promises some kind of security and familiarity. But then an all-important change occurs: 'ihr eigener Schmerz bricht sich in freien Versen und mit einer mehrteiligen Arie Raum' [Her own inner pain breaks out into the free verses of an aria consisting of several sections]<sup>8</sup> – before returning helplessly to the established mode of the *Stabat Mater*. And the final song bears witness to her utter disarray; it is a dislocated version of a Grimm fairy tale, with a charge of sexual brutality and destruction. The impact of all of Gretchen's songs is truly shattering. Music is not a set piece added on to the drama; it is, rather, deeply implicated in the sheer pain of the experiential narrative that is put before us.

- 6. Hartmann, Musiktheater, 117.
- 7. *Ibid.*, 372.
- 8. Ibid., 375.

Faust too knows moments of pain and despair and dereliction. But whatever the specificity of his feelings and thoughts, whether they issue from heartbreak or elation, they are anchored within the essential discursivity of the philosopher's language. An example from the beginning of Part II can illustrate this. The scene opens with music – Ariel sings to the accompaniment of Aeolian harps, and is then joined by the Chorus. Faust is sleeping and Ariel and the Chorus celebrate the restorative energies of nature; its pulse and throb is everywhere:

Täler grünen, Hügel schwellen, Buschen sich zu Schattenruh Und in schwanken Silberwellen Wogt die Saat der Ernte zu. (ll. 4654–7)

[Valleys green, and hills swell, Bushes form shaded peace And in floating waves of silver The seeds swell towards the harvest.]

When Faust awakes, he joins in the praise of the natural world. But he does not sing, he speaks. Yet in a sense the music has not stopped; it has simply changed its particular mode, because everything Faust says is charged with the musicality of verse. Take the following lines:

Allein wie herrlich, diesem Sturm ersprießend, Wölbt sich des bunten Bogens Wechseldauer, Bald rein gezeichnet, bald in Luft zerfließend, Umher verbreitend duftig-kühle Schauer! Der spiegelt ab das menschliche Bestreben. Ihm sinne nach, und du begreifst genauer: Am farbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben. (Il. 4721–7)

[But how splendid, emerging from this storm, The constant flux arches of the bright rainbow, Now clearly defined, now evaporating in the air, Spreading around fragrant cool showers! That mirrors our human striving.

Think on it, and you will understand more clearly: In this radiant reflection we find our life expressed.]

Behind these lines one hears the sustaining heartbeat of the iambic pentameter. Sometimes it is heard in full regularity ('Allein wie herrlich, diesem Sturm ersprießend'), but sometimes the heartbeat changes as the stress of the meaning and its attendant natural rhythms of speech move across the iambic pattern. The passage is remarkable for its shifting textures of sound and sense – and they are underpinned by the end rhymes. In this speech we witness a kind of minidrama of the self coming alive. The opening section, taking its cue from Ariel's

song, is all about nature, all about what Dylan Thomas called 'the force that through the green fuse drives the flower'9 – and not only the flower, of course, but also the earth itself. And then comes the sunrise, flooding the landscape and bringing it to full disclosure. But the sun is too bright for the gaze of the human eye. Yet this does not amount to a dwarfing of the human subject's place in the world. The waterfall generates the rainbow, the great symbol of how we know the world. It is a physical phenomenon; it is made by light refracted through water droplets. We see a clear, stable shape – an arc in the sky – but it is made up of ceaseless movement. It is both concrete and insubstantial, both constant and evanescent. Faust registers not just the material phenomenon but also the meanings that are embedded in that materiality. We note the shifting focus that animates the speech – he addresses the earth, mankind in general, the individual self, the sun, and then moves back to the individual instance of humanity ('du begreifst') and the human species in general; it embodies the vital cognition of the reflective, discursive human self. But this is also a self erotically stimulated by the world and the sensations it triggers. The mind that is at work here is not one that is recycling words, messing about with concepts ('in Worten kramen'); this is language at full stretch, both propositional, discursive, analytical, but also radiantly descriptive, seductive – and language that, in its throb and swell, in its shifting rhythms and patterns and rhymed consonance, is constantly adjoining the condition of music.

Faust is a spirit both tormented and energized by the disquiet of the modern condition; he is secular, individualistic, scientific. Hence he is often the pained onlooker at life, unable to merge with the ebb and flow of human experience. Often, from his Archimedean vantage-point, from his stance of meta-awareness, he disparages what the world has to offer (which is why Mephisto can so often get under his skin). Yet often he comes incandescently alive because of the sheer erotic call of life in all its forms. It is this eros that prevents him from becoming a permanently reductive man. And it is the poetry of his speech that links him with the poetry – and by extension musicality – of the whole play. Goethe's *Faust* is breathtaking in the sheer variety of the verse forms and rhyme patterns that it employs. Because of that variety it constantly alerts us to the changing omnipresence of rhythms, pulses, energies. Kreutzer writes:

Die freie Selbstverständlichkeit des Tonfalls in Goethes Dichtungen wirkt stets so, als belebe sie der Atem eines Sprechenden oder Singenden. Dazu zaehlt die unauffaellige Muehelosigkeit der klanglichen Uebergaenge, die Ungezwungenheit des Rhythmus sucht ihresgleichen. 10

[The free casualness of tone in Goethe's poetry always strikes us as though it were energized by the breath of a singer or speaker. Part of that impression derives from the sheer ease of the sound patterns; the naturalness of the rhythms has never been equalled.]

- 9. Dylan Thomas, Collected Poems (New York: New Directions, 1957), 10.
- 10. Kreutzer, Faust, 47-8.

At one point the play actually thematizes the power of rhyme, thereby drawing attention to its own medium. In the Helena Act of Part II, the ancient and

modern worlds meet in the interplay of verse forms; Faust teaches Helena to rhyme. The scene is both sophisticated and intensely erotic, and reminds us of the omnipresent musicality of Goethe's ever-changing rhymed verse.

This sense of music's omnipresence invites us to hear, and to reflect on, the forms of music that quicken our human being in the world. Perhaps the obvious starting point is the closeness of the Faustian condition to the ontology of music. At the heart of the disquiet that both galvanizes and disillusions Faust is the mismatch between the 'zwei Seelen' [two souls] (I. 112) – one needing visceral contact with materiality by means of craying, grasping organs, 'klammernden mismatch between the 'zwei Seelen' [two souls] (l. 112) – one needing visceral contact with materiality by means of craving, grasping organs, 'klammernden Organen' (l. 1115), the other seeking abstraction, reflectivity, discursivity. As Goethe's contemporary Schopenhauer saw, music is (to put the matter most crudely) both pure maths, unreferentiality, abstraction on the one hand, and on the other, pure drive, pulse, visceral energy. Perhaps music is both conditions, held in some blessed coexistence. Musical sound depends on the physics of frequency. As Pythagoras saw, a length of string plucked produces a note; half that length of string will produce a higher note in the ratio of 2 to 1. The resultant octave produces perfect consonance, perfect identity. And the octave, plus the fifth and the fourth provided him with the building blocks for his model of a perfectly harmonious universe. The combination of physics and beauty was at the heart of his notion of the music of the spheres, a music resulting from the relational intervals of the distances between the crystalline orbs to which the planets are attached. That harmony is invoked at the beginning of the 'Prolog planets are attached. That harmony is invoked at the beginning of the 'Prolog im Himmel':

> Die Sonne tönt nach alter Weise In Brudersphären Wettgesang [...]. (ll. 243–4)

The sun in its ancient way sounds Within the competing song of related spheres.]

And the result of this configuration of the universe is not simply an exemplary structure of physical organization; it is also a panorama of sheer sublime beauty. Similarly, the circle of fifths consists of twelve segments like a clock, like our mechanism for representing time. All of which sounds mathematical and

Press, 2009).

<sup>11.</sup> I am not implying here any sustained acquaintance on Goethe's part with Schopenhauer's aesthetics. But it is, I think, suggestive that the link between *Faust* and Schopenhauer's thinking about music can be made long before the philosopher came to the fore (in the 1850s) as a key interpreter of music's expressivity. See Malcolm Budd, *Music and the Emotions* (London: Routledge, 1992), 76–103.

12. Florian R. Levin, *Greek Reflections on the Nature of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

calibratory; but it also plugs into the deepest hard-wiring of our cognitive and emotional being, of the 'zwei Seelen' that dwell in us.<sup>13</sup>

A second overlap between music and the Faustian condition has to do with the issue of time. Music can be defined as sound patterns arranged in time or time articulated by patterns of sound. Music proceeds both melodically (notes arranged in linear sequence) and harmonically (notes sounding in simultaneity). That dual possibility – of coexistent linearity and simultaneity – is central to Faust's aspiration to find a privileged moment, a moment when past, present and future, when the inexorable linearity of chronological experience, the *Nacheinander* of one-thing-after-another would come together in a moment of perfect simultaneity and co-presence. He says in the Studierzimmer II scene to perfect simultaneity and co-presence. He says, in the Studierzimmer II scene, to Mephisto:

> Zeig mir die Frucht, die fault, eh man sie bricht, Und Bäume, die sich täglich neu begrünen! (ll. 1686–7)

[Show me the fruit that rots before one even picks it, And trees that renew their foliage daily!]

Perhaps Faust comes close to that privileged moment in his closing speech in Part II when his vision of a new world of intense human achievement, as anticipation, becomes a present joy, but joy held in the conditional possibility:

Im Vorgefühl von solchem hohen Glück Genieß ich jetzt den höchsten Augenblick. (ll. 11586–7)

In anticipation of such supreme and perfect bliss I now enjoy the highest moment.]

Yet even here Faust is linguistic rather than musical man. And language, too, is necessarily linear. But perhaps poetry can go some way towards countermanding that linearity because poetry, above all rhyme, can allow one statement to echo another, to escape linearity by harking backwards and forwards across the lines of verse.

Part of Faust's complex awareness of temporality has to do with his acute sense of expectation, postponement, fulfilment (or the lack of it). Music, too, works with abundant relational structures of anticipation and arrival, of departure and homecoming (tonic and dominant, consonance and dissonance) and is in this sense cognate with the Faustian temporality. Moreover, Faust, like his creator, is profoundly aware of the dialectical energies of the living process – of expansion and contraction, of the systole and diastole of the heartbeat. Music, like poetry,

13. Carroll C. Pratt, The Meaning of Music (New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1931); Leonard B. Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1956), and *Explaining Music: Essays and Explorations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Deryck Cooke, *The Language of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

works to a great extent with rhythm and pulse. It capitalizes on the ways in which we hear even a sequence of regular, invariable sounds as rhythmically patterned – into twos (the tick-tock of the clock, the left-right of the march) or into threes (the 1-2-3 of dance, particularly the Ländler and the waltz), signals of shifting energy are known to both music and to poetry. Perhaps these pulses are indeed close to being 'was die Welt / Im Innertsen zusammenhält' [what holds the world together at its innermost core] (ll. 382–3). They are universal, part of the shared condition of all living organisms. part of the shared condition of all living organisms.

Faust craves that universality, but he does so with all the energy of a solitary spirit. Hence he oscillates between the need for communality and the need to stand apart. Time and again he is an onlooker, wanting to belong but often unable to. It is noteworthy, for example, that in the great Osterspaziergang [Easter] monologue, which is his deeply felt tribute to the corporate life of the people as they celebrate the coming of spring, he speaks the words of solidarity, but does so in quotation marks. He is quoting their sociability, not expressing his

own identification with it when he says:

Ich höre schon des Dorfs Getümmel, Hier ist des Volkes wahrer Himmel, Zufrieden jauchzet groß und klein: 'Hier bin ich Mensch, hier darf ich's sein!' (ll. 937–40)

[I already can hear the hubub of the village Here is the true Heaven of the people, Contentedly they all rejoice: 'Here I am truly and fully human!']

Music drama is, of course, supremely the form of theatrical statement that can most readily move from solitariness to communality. It can focus on the single voice, the solo line; but it can also blend it into ensembles, whether intimate (duets, trios) or corporate (full choruses).

Thus far the argument has concentrated on the links between the Faustian

condition and the ontology of music. But Goethe's great drama also invites us to reflect on the historicity of music. Four issues are salient, and they have to do with firstly the relationship of words and music, secondly with the musical work as a structure of dynamically unfolding rhythmic energy, thirdly with music as expressive of transitionality, and fourthly with music and irony.

The history of Western music is the story of the interplay of words and notes. Initially art music provides the accompaniment to sacred texts by means of the monophonic underpinning of plainsong. Then music becomes more elaborate

14. For admirable discussions of developments involving beat and metre in the theory and practice of music see Roger Matthew Grant, Beating Time and Measuring Music in the Early Modern Era (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), and Danuta Mirka, Metric Manipulations in Haydn and Mozart: Chamber Music for Strings 1787–1791 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

and multivocal as polyphonic statement emerges. Gradually sacred texts give way to secular drama, to opera, which initially works as recitative statement, then as recitative and aria. And finally music emerges as an artistic utterance in its own right – in the great symphonic achievements of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert, to name four key composers who were active in the years when Goethe was working on *Faust* (from the early 1770s to 1832). Goethe retained an affection for music as the setting of a worded text (and seems to have been more or less unaware of the symphonic writing of his own age). Nevertheless the historical developments in music interlock with the Faust project. Beethoven is a key witness here. His symphonic achievement is famously celebrated by E. T. A. Hoffmann as 'absolute music', music that has managed to free itself from any kind of textual linkage. 15 In his musical vocabulary Beethoven moves away from implicitly sung, as if it were vocal, phrasing, away from the kind of melodic line that is sustained by the breathing of the voice. (Yet, intriguingly, in his final symphony, this master of absolute music takes us back to the worded text in his setting of Schiller's 'Ode to Joy'. That text, sustained by that music, seems close to being Beethoven's expression of the Faustian need to know 'was die Welt / Im Innersten zusammenhält'. However, for the greater part of his symphonic output, Beethoven, in place of the implicitly vocal melodic line, works with brief rhythmic figures, small instances of energy that dynamically become part of the grand architectural design of the symphony. For Beethoven it is supremely that very rhythmic energy that drives the music forward and expands to ever greater, more all-embracing utterance. It is perhaps not fanciful to link Beethoven's symphonic dynamic with two key moments in Faust's experience. One is his desperate yearning at the start of Part I to connect with the world's totality. He finds himself confronted by the compartmentalization of human inquiry, by bits and pieces of inert knowledge, none of which expand dynamically to embrace that greater whole that the questing mind seeks. And the other moment is the scene in the first study scene where he translates the Bible. 'In the beginning was the Word', he reads. But he is too aware of the limitation of words to assent to that proposition. And so he makes various attempts at naming the originating energy from which the world is made – sense, force, deed. Perhaps that trio of concepts is related to Beethoven's ability to derive a great universe of sound from that initial act that is the brief rhythmic figure that expands to become a sustaining heartbeat.

Just two final reflections on the relationship between Goethe's Faust and the music of his time (and subsequently). In Goethe's drama Faust is supremely the restless spirit who believes that he will never manage to find peace and

15. E.T.A. Hoffmann, 'Die fünf Beethoven-Aufsätze', in Musikalische Novellen und Schriften (Weimar: Kiepenheuer, 1961), 151–99. Hoffmann's notion needs to be complemented by the contemporary reception of Beethoven as an heroic figure. Scott Burnham in his Beethoven Hero (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) suggests that Beethoven's celebration of the struggles of the titanic, strenuous self can be linked to Goethean notions of change and becoming.

fulfilment. In this sense he is a man whose very essence is constant movement and transition. And the drama in which he figures is similarly sustained by restlessness and change (of scene, of mode, of verse idiom). It is perhaps not too fanciful to link that protean energy with the ability displayed by both Beethoven and Schubert (for all the profound differences in creative temperament that separate them) to transform passages of transition in their music from being an agreeably economical section, which moves the music from point A to point B, into an elaborate exploration of transition not as a device but as the very essence of music. One might think of the transition in Beethoven's Fifth Symphony from the third to the fourth movement. Or of the first movement of the Seventh, where the grand opening moves into the main subject via an obsessively repeated single note on the flute, which is echoed by the strings. It almost sounds like an orchestra tuning, like music listening to itself. And my final example is the second movement of Schubert's String Quintet in C major, D 956; the E major sections float effortlessly over a gentle pizzicato accompaniment and seem to have everything to do with music's ability to attend to the gradations and transitions of its own sound world.

My final reflection on *Faust* and the historicity of music concerns irony. Time and again Goethe's *Faust* is a work of profound ironies (the presence of Mephisto alone guarantees that). Many of the nineteenth-century settings seek to capture just that quality. One thinks of Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust* and of that not unrelated work, the *Symphonie Fantastique*; of Liszt's *Faust* symphony. And of Mozart's *Così fan Tutte*, a work that is supremely about the disjunction between feeling and expression, and a work that, as Matthew Bell has reminded us, <sup>16</sup> like *Faust* centres upon a wager on the value and truthfulness of human experience. In conclusion, one concerns Goethe's own relationship to music. We know that he esteemed Bach, Handel, Mozart, Mendelssohn. He sketched a kind of *Tonlehre* which related key elements of musical language (consonance and dissonance, tonic and dominant, major and minor) to central beliefs of his about the energies of polarity and *Steigerung* [intensification] in human experience. <sup>17</sup> He was aware of music's ability to speak of sublime, indeed transcendental experience, to provide access to the divinity. <sup>18</sup> And on one occasion he spoke of the perfection of Bach's *Well Tempered Clavier*; it was, he said, 'als wenn die ewige Harmonie sich mit sich selbst unterhielte' [as though eternal harmony were in dialogue with itself]. <sup>19</sup> Yet, in spite of such tributes paid to music, he remained

16. Matthew Bell, 'Gambling on Goodness: Literary Wagers on Humanity around 1800', in *Bejahende Erkenntnis (Festschrift T. J. Reed)*, ed. Kevin Hilliard *et al.* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004), 47–68.

17. GA, vol. 16, 906–11. See the discussion of the Tonlehre in J.M. Tudor, *Sound and Sense: Music and Musical Metaphor in the Thought and Writing of Goethe and His Age* (Oxford: Lang, 2011), 217–19. Tudor offers a magisterial study of the 'metaphorical nature of Goethe's thought on music' (450) – and of the omnipresence of that particular metaphoricity in Goethe's thinking about the human experiential world.

thinking about the human experiential world.

18. See Friedrich Blume, *Goethe und die Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1948), 87.

19. The remark is to be found in an appendix (which was never sent) to a letter to Zelter of 21 June 1827. It is printed only in MA 20, vol. 3, 833. See Tudor, *Sound and Sense*, 63.

very much an *Augenmensch* [visual person]; and, as regards the dominant medium of his own creativity, he was a man of words rather than notes. Even so, however, it is important to stress that he was profoundly fascinated by the relationship between words and music. He was intensely aware of developments in contemporary music theatre, and reflected on the interplay of spoken text, recitative text, songs, arias, ensembles. He wrote the libretti for many *Singspiele*, and they have most recently been sympathetically and splendidly analyzed by Tina Hartmann. He produced an (incomplete) second part to *Die Zauberflöte*. He was aware that music was central to *Faust* – indeed that the play perhaps even needed more music and should move in the direction of opera. It is interesting that he should have had such thoughts; but it is right that *Faust* remains as it is. It is a work that needs, as its central idiom, words, words in their poetic condition. Tina Hartmann comments: 'Die außerordentliche metrische Variabilität gehört zu den herausragenden Merkmalen der Faustdichtung. Ein Phänomen, das die Gattungen des Musiktheaters insbesondere die Oper ebenfalls aufweisen' [Astonishing metrical variety is one of the cardinal features of the Faust poem. A phenomenon which it shares with the various genres of music theatre, and particularly with opera].<sup>20</sup> This is true. But in the last analysis *Faust* is neither an opera nor an oratorio; it is, and remains a drama, a musical drama.

My second closing observation concerns Andrew Bowie's study *Music, Philosophy, Modernity.* Bowie is concerned by the sundering of music and philosophy – and regrets that so few philosophers can hear music as philosophy, as non-propositional philosophy. That definition is one ex negativo. And the question poses itself if Goethe's Faust cannot perhaps get us a little closer to understanding the expressivity of music. Music does not mean in the way that language does. But it can articulate the structuration of our feeling and knowing. Bowie stresses that the period of Goethe's life is one that embraces an extraordinarily rich and creative phase in both music and philosophy. And perhaps there are echoes and crossovers between the two. What Kant's Copernican revolution achieves is the initiation of a process by which philosophy is less a description of a world 'out there', a world viewed from some Archimedean meta-perspective, but instead asks us to register the world as knowable the only way it can be – as brought to disclosure by being enmeshed in the forms, processes, energies of our knowing, feeling, experiencing selves. And that cast of mind and feeling animates Fichte, Hegel and Schopenhauer, and connects with the music of the time, which also offers a profound exploration of the density and inscape of our cognitive being. Of course the differences remain between philosophy and music. Philosophy is necessarily discursive and propositional; music is and remains non-referential. Yet sometimes the non-propositional and non-referential can achieve a great deal where the discursive and propositional mind is helpless. Oliver Sachs writes:

<sup>20.</sup> Hartmann, Musiktheater, 347.

Andrew Bowie, Music, Philosophy, Modernity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

The emotional response to music, it would seem, is widespread and probably not only cortical but sub-cortical, so that, even in a diffuse cortical disease like Alzheimer's, music can still be perceived, enjoyed, and responded to. [...] Music is part of being human, and there is no human culture in which it is not highly developed and esteemed. [...] To those who are lost in dementia, [...] music is no luxury [...], but a necessity, and can have the power beyond anything else, to restore them to themselves, and to others, at least for a while.<sup>22</sup>

Music, then, can have almost magical access to our inwardness, our sense of identity, our thinking and feeling. Language's access is less immediate, less magical. But perhaps literature, and perhaps poetry in particular, can come close to music's power. This is the case with a work such as Goethe's *Faust*. What Goethe does is to embed music into his text (the songs, hymns, choruses) and to surround that music with the amazing ebb and flow of rhymed verse. Faust, like Hamlet, the other supremely discursive protagonist of European drama, is too much of a philosopher ever to renounce language, concepts, the need to find words for things. But both protagonists speak in matchless verse at every turn. The crucial difference is that the *Faust* drama, unlike *Hamlet*, incorporates a profusion of musical numbers within the spoken text, and is full of rhyme. (Shakespeare's verse rhymes only rarely). Faust himself, unlike Gretchen, may not have songs or arias. But he is the protagonist of the greatest worded symphony of modern Europe, one that brings music to discursivity and discursivity to music. The supreme philosophical drama of our culture is also its supreme poetic drama; and that conjoining of philosophy and poetry makes possible an unforgettable exploration of the heartbeat and mindbeat of our being in the world.

# ~ 4

## Music and Metaphorical Thinking in Goethe's Faust The Example of Harmony

I.M. Tudor

As chapters in this section make clear, Goethe's Faust presents a strikingly broad and detailed view of the world and the human condition. We are offered a vivid dramatic present, and also referred both backwards and forwards, to the cultural and historical past and to the emerging future, constantly forced to assess and reassess our perspectives. This chapter is concerned with the nature of Goethe's musical reference in the text. For 'music in Goethe's Faust' covers far more than settings or other performance music, in both content and context of the work. A substantial network of musical allusion within the verbal text cross-refers between episodes where music is played and sung, recalled, varied, repeated, [re]evaluated; thus creating and maintaining both synchronic and diachronic relations in Faust, and also setting up extra-textual points of reference.

Music can function in this way not because of what Goethe thought about music, but how. His comments on music seem inconsistent, even contradictory:

music, but how. His comments on music seem inconsistent, even contradictory;1 but the *nature* of his thinking is remarkably consistent. He thought of music in terms of other things, and often also of other things in terms of music: that is, he thought metaphorically, by analogy. Goethe's musical reference in *Faust* has been puzzled over at least since the study by Helene Herrmann in 1916.<sup>2</sup> But if we focus on his metaphorical thinking (i.e. not individual figures of speech, but the underlying analogies with music that beget figures of speech or figures in

other

Hedwig Walwei-Wiegelman (ed.), Goethes Gedanken über Musik [...]. Mit 48 Abbildungen erläutert von Hartmut Schmidt (Frankfurt a. M: Insel, 1985), compiles these dicta with little assessment, but gives information on Goethe's collaborators. Hermann Abert, in Goethe und die Musik (Stuttgart: Engelhorn, 1922), relates Goethe's views to his era more thoughtfully than some later studies. Claus Canisius, in Goethe und die Musik (Munich: Piper, 1998), offers new insights on Goethe's use of Hermetic lore and on his Tonlehre (esp. 212–26). A full study of the functions of music and musical reference within Goethe's work is offered by J.M. Tudor in Sound and Sense: Music and Musical Metaphor in the Thought and Writing of Goethe and His Age (Oxford: Lang, 2011).
Helene Herrmann, 'Faust, der Tragödie Zweiter Teil: Studien zur inneren Form des Werkes', Tsitslerit für ärhetik und Elemenica Kunstriesmerket 12 (1016–17) 86, 127, 161, 78, 216, 51.

Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft 12 (1916–17), 86–137, 161–78, 316–51.

media), new perspectives emerge on Goethe and on his work, especially on *Faust*.<sup>3</sup> This has become possible through the development of metaphor theory. Currently part of cognitive linguistics, metaphor theory can present daunting terminology. But some of the recent insights it offers, and some of the earlier works on which it draws, reveal a great deal about metaphorical thinking<sup>4</sup> and shift our perspectives on Goethe in very productive ways. Ernst Cassirer and Max Black, for example, stress that such thinking offers not a full picture, but vivid glimpses of perceived similarity between selected aspects of two fields.<sup>5</sup> In this view, Goethe's shifting opinions appear less as contradictions, and more as complementary aspects of music seen from different angles, related to different outside things, and carrying different connotations. This accords well with eighteenth-century perceptions of 'truth' as reached approximately and collectively, via different approaches in different disciplines.<sup>6</sup> Goethe's early mentor Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) envisaged literature's task as keeping all the separate insights in play until humanity could produce 'scientific', universally valid statements on the world and its workings. Goethe agreed, and his *Faust*, with its review of diverse views on human life, seems designed to further this end.<sup>7</sup> So instead of taking 'music' as an undifferentiated whole in approaching *Faust*, we need to be more discriminating. Which aspect of music is involved in a given analogy: harmony melody, rhythm. complementary aspects of music seen from different angles, related to different music is involved in a given analogy: harmony, melody, rhythm,

Of the major editions, Erich Trunz gives fullest consideration to musical episodes and Of the major editions, Erich Trunz gives fullest consideration to musical episodes and reference, albeit in imprecise terms: see *Goethes 'Faust'*. *Der Tragödie erster und zweiter Teil; Urfaust* (Hamburg: Wegner, Sonderausgabe 1963), 483–91, esp. 488f. Recent editions offer little further help. The Münchener Ausgabe, specifically vol. 18.1, *Letzte Jahre 1827–32*, ed. Gisela Henckmann and Dorothea Hölscher-Lohmeyer, notes musical reference and episodes but with minimal comment *passim*). Schöne, in the Frankfurter Ausgabe I, vol. 7, earts 1, and 2 is often dismissive of previous principal episodes as a preparation of 2.587.

parts 1 and 2, is often dismissive of musical episodes, e.g. on Euphorion (cf. 7.2, 587). See e.g. Ernst Cassirer, *Language and Myth*, trans. Susanne Langer (New York: Harper, 1946); *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, vol. 2: *Mythical Thought*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), and 'Goethe und die mathematische Physik', in Ernst Cassirer, *Idee und* Gestalt. Eine erkenntnistheoretische Betrachtung (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), esp. 69; Max Black, Models and Metaphors: Studies in Language and Philosophy (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962); Josef Stern, Metaphor in Context (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000); Antonio Barcelona (ed.), Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2000), 1–15; Mark Turner and Giles Fauconnier, 'Metaphor, Metonymy and Binding', in Barcelona, op. cit., 133–45; Zoltàn Kövecses, Metaphor: A Practical Introduction (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation (Cambridge, Cambridge, Liniversity Press, 2005), and Language, Mind and Culture: A Variation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), and Language, Mind and Culture: A Practical Introduction (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). See also Birgit Recki, 'Cassirer and the problem of Language', in *Cultural Studies and the Symbolic*, ed. Paul Bishop and R.A. Stephenson (Glasgow: Northern Universities Press, 2003), 1–20. See Cassirer, *Language and Myth*, 25, 32, 90; Black, *Models and Metaphors*, 41–4, 236–7.

See Ulrich Gaier, 'Dialektik der Vorstellungensarten als Prinzip in Goethes Faust', in

See Ulrich Galer, 'Dialektik der Vorstellungensarten als Pflinzip in Goethes Fallst', in Interpreting Goethe's 'Faust' Today, ed. Jane K. Brown, Meredith Lee and Thomas P. Saine (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 2007), 158–71, esp. 159–63.

See Herder, Adrastea (1801), in idem, Sämtliche Werke, ed. Bernhard Suphan (Berlin: 1891ff, repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), vol. 23, 244–5, and Goethe's letter to the scientist J.S.C. Schweigger, 25 April 1814, in GA, vol. 19, 732. Cassirer expresses a similar conviction (see Cassirer, Language and Myth, 98–9).

timbre, volume, pitch? Which aspect of another phenomenon is being linked with it? What connotations are being attached? Do these connotations appear consistent, or do they vary? Cassirer also raises another point that is fundamental here. Metaphorical concepts, like others, can be expressed in any medium, and can move from one medium to another if necessary (e.g. to signal shifts of emphasis or perspective). In Faust, this moves attention away from argument on biographical or historical grounds about what should be sung and what spoken, to focus instead on a given idea as it recurs in different media formats. We are thus encouraged to refer back and forth to the modifications made in medium and implications each time a recurrent idea reappears: the self-referential and intertextual character of Goethe's Faust is put firmly at the centre of our attention.9

How do such analogies with music work? Most theorists emphasise that the connections made in metaphorical thinking are established by cultural convention as well as by original individuals, and the same is true of any connotations attached to these links. The insights carried by such analogies may not be scientifically true, but they are widely accepted in a given culture and thus instantly accessible. Re music, these concepts tend to be communal analogies we use to express our experience of music, separate from but interacting with the 'scientific' insights of musicology, music history and aesthetics, musical technique and technology. In Howards End (1910), E.M. Forster could thus differentiate his Schlegel sisters, and comment wryly on their family and culture, by depicting their divergent responses to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. 11 However, there is a problem of historicity (barely considered in metaphor theory before Kövecses' work). Forster's readers were obviously expected to follow his allusions, and we can still register mild and affectionate satire. But cultural fluctuations can render a metaphorical idea obsolete, or retain it with the implications modified. How do we tell what previous epochs meant by their metaphors? In particular, how can we follow eighteenth-century metaphorical thinking, which was based on markedly different cultural assumptions? Must this not be as dubious as trying to explain eighteenth-century jokes?

- Cassirer, Symbolic Forms (vol. 2, chaps 1 and 2, and 'Die mathematische Physik', 69. See also Recki, 'Cassirer', 2-5, 13-16.
- Goethe's ironic interplay of recurring ideas in varied forms is noted e.g. by Erhard Bahr, Die Ironie im Spätwerk Goethes (Berlin: Schmidt, 1972), esp. 18, n. 25. But ideas useful in Die Ironie im Spatwerk Goethes (Berlin: Schmidt, 1972), esp. 18, n. 25. But ideas userui in considering Faust, Wilhelm Meister and Novelle have often tended to appear in studies of modern literature. See e.g. Horst Petri, Literatur und Musik: Form- und Strukturparallelen (Göttingen: sachse & pohl, 1964); Ulla-Britta Lageroth, 'Reading Musicalized Texts as Self-Reflective Texts. Some Aspects of Interart Discourse', in Words and Music Studies: Defining the Field, ed. Walter Bernhart, Steven Paul Scher and Werner Wolf (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 205–20; Brad Bucknell, Literary Modernism and Musical Aesthetics: Pater, Pound, Joyce and Stein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

  10. See Black, Models, 41–4, 236f.; Edward E. Lowinsky, 'Taste, Style and Ideology in Eighteenth-
- Century Music', in *Aspects of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Earl R. Wassermann (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), 163–205. Kövecses's studies reinforce the point. Chapters five to nine.
- 12. See Kövecses, A Practical Introduction, 183–96, Metaphor in Culture, 292–5, Language, 167–78. The common ground between metaphors and jokes was pointed out by Ted Cohen, in

Stern and Kövecses contend that we *can* follow past analogies if we put them in context, by examining as many contemporary instances as possible, in all kinds of writing.<sup>13</sup> This is an arduous procedure, but remarkably productive. It emerges that Goethe used the same fundamental analogies between music and other phenomena as Herder, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78), Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) and others of his age. But he used them far more often; he used a wider range throughout his life; and he allocated a wider range of connotations to them, some of which he developed himself. Unfortunately, our own culture has only one main metaphorical concept in play: music as language, especially of feeling. 14 Very recently indeed, general awareness of the mathematical aspects of music has revived. But to date this has been associated with abstract (nonverbal, nonvisual) qualities or with technical features (scales, counterpoint), so has presented little challenge to the powerful established analogy of music as a language. By contrast, German writers of the later eighteenth century inherited a huge range of analogies with music (from the Greeks, medieval and Hermetic lore, Shakespeare, the French Rationalists, the *Encyclopédistes*, Rousseau), and developed more themselves. So if we try to access all Goethe's musical reference in *Faust* through the one idea of music as language of feeling, we are bound to miss or distort much of his idea of music as language of feeling, we are bound to miss or distort much of his meaning.<sup>17</sup> Instead, we need to be aware of both the broad range and the nuance

'Metaphor and the Cultivation of Intimacy', *Critical Inquiry* 5/1 (1978), 3–12, cited in Sheldon Sacks, *On Metaphor* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 8.

 Stern, Metaphor in Context, 307–8; Kövecses, A Practical Introduction, 69–74, Metaphor in Culture, 67–69, 241–44, 291–3, and Language, 334–36.
 This is a problem e.g. in the survey by Mary-Sue Morrow, German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century: Aesthetic Issues in Instrumental Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), and in Stephen Benson, Writing Music in Contemporary Fiction (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), both of whom confuse familiar metaphor with aesthetic thought. In contrast, Brad Bucknell, in *Literary Modernism*, carefully distinguishes metaphor from aesthetics, while Daniel Barenboim, 'Love, the Hard Wa', in *The Guardian*, 31 August 2001, and Brad Mehldau, 'Blank expressions', in *The Guardian*, 16 September 2011, write critically from a musician's viewpoint on the tendency to equate music with a super-language of feeling.

15. See e.g. John Fauvel, Raymond Flood, Robin Wilson (eds), *Music and Mathematics: From Pythagoras to Fractals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Marcus du Sautoy, 'Listen by numbers', *The Guardian*, 28 June 2011. Attention has also been given to a concept of rhythm in literature and culture; see Michael Cowan, Technology's Pulse: Essays on Rhythm

in German Modernism (London: Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies, 2011).
16. Many of the French concepts were transmitted by Kapellmeister such as Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), who wrote manuals for amateurs, by musician critics such as Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804) in the mid-century cultural weeklies and by Herder, who had read very widely indeed in his research on the origins of language. NB that the fourth of Herder's *Kritische Wälder* (Riga, 1769), containing the fullest discussion of his ideas on musical reference in literature, was not published until 1846. But it was discussed at length with Goethe in the 1770s, and Goethe regarded it as underpinning both his own views and all that Herder published on the topic during his lifetime; see Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*,

vol. 2 (Frankfurt a. M.: Insel, 2000), 10, and *Gedenkausgabe*, vol. 10, 441–54, esp. 448–9.

17. We may also misjudge writers such as Novalis and E.T.A. Hoffmann, who ranged more widely in their musical reference than 'Romantics' are often believed to have done. See e.g. of musical reference, in Goethe's usage and at times in the work of others. A rough summary would be:

Harmony: can denote strict symmetry based on mathematical ratio, or coordinated diversity; can refer to structural relations, tonal relations, or both.

Rhythm: can denote measured duration with connotations of orderly progression, or beat and pulse with connotations of physical sensation and physical movement. Sometimes both may be brought into play at once; and both may bring association with dance, again either as measured and controlled or as vivid sensuality, irrational behaviour and wild movement. Patterns in rise and fall of pitch may be included as an aspect of rhythmic sequence.

Tone: timbre, pitch and volume are all significant indicators. The eighteenth century was an anthropocentric age, and the range of the human voice, speaking or singing, was an important orientation point: whose voice(s), whose playing, is featured? Whose/what kind of voice does an instrument represent or evoke? Acoustic range outside this can be seen as 'unhuman', as for instance in Goethe's hatred of the organ because it 'verbindet sich so gar nicht mit der Menschenstimme' [does not blend at all with the human voice]. 18

Song: can be lyrical, focused on feeling, or a 'voice with a view', focused on an insight. Not all songs are deeply meaningful; they may be part of Shakespeare-style theatrical convention, though most have more than conventional functions. Relations are often suggested to the areas around spoken or sung language (silence, fragmented utterance, glossolalia).

Melody: can denote 'tune' (focused on song or tonal qualities), or structure. This last envisages a sustained 'rhythmic' sequence of contrasting and complementary sections, confusingly also termed 'harmony' (especially by Rousseau, Herder, Schiller).

This is a vast array, and only a few examples can be considered here. But before doing so a further concept is needed, which is new in most fields and which I have called *negative metaphor*. We may think metaphorically not only in terms of

Hoffmann's essay on Beethoven's Fifth Symphony (in c minor), 'Sinfonie [...] par Louis van Beethoven, à Leipsic, chez Breitkopf et Härtel, Oeuvre 67, No. 5 des Symphonies', in idem, Werke in fünfzehn Teilen, ed. G. Ellinger (Berlin and Leipzig: Bong, 1912), sections 13–14: Musikalische Schriften I, 40–56, esp. 43–6; and Novalis's contrasting treatment of language, music and mathematics in his essay 'Monolog' and his novel Heinrich von Ofterdingen. 'Monolog' (1798) in Novalis, Schriften, ed. Paul Kluckhohn (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960), vol. 2, 672; Heinrich von Ofterdingen (1802) in Schriften, vol. 1, 202, 268, 276–7.

See *Italienische Reise* (Rome 7 March 1788), in GA, vol. 11, 581); also letter to Zelter, 15 August 1829, MA, vol. 20.2, 1256).
 This concept is not known in metaphor theory, but it is very similar to a strand of theology

19. This concept is not known in metaphor theory, but it is very similar to a strand of theology known as *apophatic* thought. Best known from Pseudo-Dionysius and Thomas Aquinas, this acknowledges that God can only be spoken of indirectly, via metaphor, and attempts

perceived similarity between selected features of two domains, but also in terms of perceived dissimilarity, especially on meeting a phenomenon which is unlike what we know. Cars were at first termed 'horseless carriages', and are still referred to outside core UK English as automobiles; 'wireless' was used first for a radio and later for a computer connection. These terms define objects not as themselves, but by analogy with earlier apparatus which did have horses/wires. Such usage is likely to disappear one the new phonomenon is understood in its own right. But likely to disappear once the new phenomenon is understood in its own right. But metaphorical thinking has proved tenacious in connection with music: a perception of music as *not* like language still underlies Alex Ross's complaint that 'musical meaning is vague'. <sup>20</sup> In eighteenth-century usage, especially in Goethe's *Faust*, such negative metaphors are particularly important. Reflecting a long tradition of philosophical ambiguity towards music, they were already well established and had varying values attached to them. For instance, Plato, Aristotle, Leibniz and nad varying values attached to them. For instance, Plato, Aristotle, Leibniz and Rameau included *disharmony* within the harmonic system, in the cosmos as in music (by analogy with chordal progression, which needs a dissonant chord in order to progress to a consonant resolution).<sup>21</sup> The opposite of 'harmony' is thus 'cacophony' rather than 'disharmony': as for example the 'satanic' noise of Mephisto's army in Act IV of *Faust II*, challenging the Lord's harmonious cosmic system. But since from Leibniz onwards the value of unmeasurables, misfits and what has been called 'I'homme dissonant' was increasingly appreciated for their capacity to keep a system from becoming fixed and rigid,<sup>22</sup> 'cacophony' may also have positive value: the 'Ungeheures Getöse' [colossal noise] in scene 1 of *Faust II* indicates the vast wider cosmos, outside human apprehension of Faust II indicates the vast wider cosmos, outside human apprehension of harmony but encompassing the natural harmony of the singing Elves. Similarly a perception of music as unlike language is just as important as perceived similarity: from the Greeks onwards, writers struggled to understand and explain this dual nature of music. Vocal music in particular can be seen as heightened language and thus akin to rhetoric; interactions amongst voices, solo instruments and groups can

to approach by saying what God is *not* like. See Diarmid MacCulloch, *Silence: A Christian History* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), index under 'negative theology'; and idem, *A History of Christianity* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 439, and index under 'apophatic Christianity'. I borrowed the term from a more mundane source, Kövecses *Metaphor in Culture*, 262–3 (indexed as 'metaphorical negation'), where, according to Kövecses (personal conversation), it denotes linguistic negation of a metaphor, not the cognitive procedure found in these theological sources and throughout Goethe's musical reference.

20. Alex Ross, *The Rest is Noise* (London: Fourth Estate, 2008), xiii.

- 21. See Andrew Barker (ed.), Greek Musical Writings, vol. 1: The Musician and His Art, 223–5, and vol. 2: Harmonic and Acoustic Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) and 1989), 229–33; Philippe-Joseph Salazar, *La culte de la voix au XVIIième siècle: Formes aesthétiques de la parole à l'âge de l'imprimé* (Paris: Champion, 1995), 29–31, 55–7 and n. 38, 66–8. On Rameau's *Traité de l'harmonie* (1722) see Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical*
- 3. Off Rathlead's Thatte de l'harmonie (1722) see Thomas Christensen, Rameau una vinsical Thought in the Enlightenment (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); for general account see Tudor, Sound and Sense, 78–104.
  22. See Caroline Jacot Grapa, L'homme dissonant au dix-huitième siècle (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1997), 1–7, 17–22, 127–9; and Goethe's notes on and translation [Rameaus Neffe] of Diderot's Le neveu de Rameau in 1805 in GA, vol. 15, 929–1079. On the idea in Leibniz and Shottachuru and Tudor Sand and Canada 20, 200, 280, 286 Shaftesbury, see Tudor, Sound and Sense, 82–90, 380, 386.

be seen in terms of conversation.<sup>23</sup> The eighteenth century was especially aware that music's acoustic range greatly exceeds the human voice/ear; so music may be associated with the sub- or superhuman. Melody may sound like spoken utterance but does not have clear semantic reference, so can be seen as a deceptive semblance of language (as in Mephisto's choruses and the *Hexenküche*).<sup>24</sup> Rhythm involves recurrent patterns, operative in music or emotive speech, but redundant in rational speech; so it can be decried as mere repetition. Throughout *Faust*, Mephisto sets his idea of human life as 'mere repetition' against Faust's and the Lord's idea of human life as a diverse but harmonious

whole, coordinated and maintained by rhythmic cosmic sequence.<sup>25</sup>

Goethe exploits all these possibilities, using aspects of music to explain the world and aspects of the world to explain music; and he does more. As Barcelona and others have suggested, metaphorical ideas can be combined; and can be made to work in both directions at once.<sup>26</sup> 'Harmony' can be used to denote a system of coordinated relations, not necessarily involving musical reference at all.<sup>27</sup> But it can include voice(s), dance, rhythmic movement, and their various connotations: the *Meeresfest* of *Faust II* is one of several all-singing, all-dancing episodes depicting a (provisionally) harmonised world. Throughout Goethe's work, the idea of 'poetry as song' is powerful because it maps language on to music, which is then perceived as meaningful, and simultaneously maps music on to language, which is then perceived as specially sonorous; so poetry is felt as doubly resonant, in sense and in sound. Metaphor's capacity for combination and permutation goes a long way to explain why there is both remarkable variety and remarkable coordination in Goethe's deployment of musical metaphor in *Faust*.

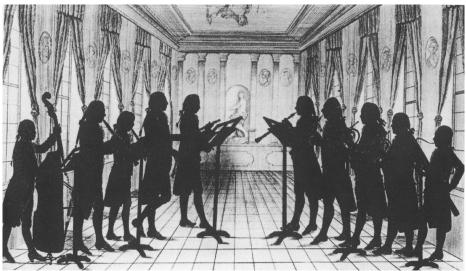
23. Successive versions of these concepts are many and various. See Barker, Greek Musical Writings, vol. I passim, and some current work in music and philosophy, e.g. Andy Hamilton, Aesthetics and Music (London/NY: Continuum, 2007), 114–5, 165–6.

24. Such ideas may often be found within the work of the same writer, sometimes conflicting, sometimes complementary, from Plato and Shakespeare onwards via French Rationalists such as Jean Baptiste Dubos (1670–1742) and Charles Batteux (1713–80), and mid-eighteenth-

century musicians such as Johann Mattheson and Johann Adam Hiller, to Herder, Goethe, and Schiller. See Tudor, *Sound and Sense*, 105–80, 277–363 *passim*. In this respect Descartes's essay Compendium Musicae (1618) and his physiologically based account of human emotion, *Les passions de l'âme* (1649), Mattheson, and later Herder, are especially influential on eighteenth-century thinking. Herder, Goethe and Schiller use the concept extensively, but only Goethe develops the counterpart negative metaphor of repetition (Tudor, *Sound and Sense*, 221–63 *passim*).

26. See Barcelona, *Metaphor and Metonymy*, 7–9, and Turner and Fauconnier, 'Metaphor, Metonymy and Binding', 133–45, in idem.

27. This is the oldest Pythagorean view, influential for centuries. See New Harvard Dictionary of Music, ed. Don Michael Randall (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), under 'Greece': section 3, 'Theory', and under 'Harmony of the spheres'; also Canisius, Goethe und die Musik, 132–3; and Tudor, Sound and Sense, 51–8, 63–4, chapter 5 passim. Faust's first perception of cosmic harmony as a diagram in Nostradamus' book is perhaps closest to this mediaval modal. Schiller used it alongside others, especially in his poem Der Tanz this medieval model; Schiller used it alongside others, especially in his poem Der Tanz (second version).



**Figure 4.1:** The 'Harmonie', or 'wind-band' of the Prince of Oettingen-Wallerstein, ca 1783; silhouette on gold ground, 1793 (Neues Schloss, Wallerstein). Reproduced from *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie (2001), vol.10, 857, by permission of Oxford University Press. This arrangement illustrates perfectly a concept of harmony adapted to encompass diversity. A double bass is included alongside the traditional woodwind and brass instruments. The players are framed within a room laid out and furnished in strict Neoclassical symmetry; but the band members appear as diverse in age, height and weight. See e.g. the stocky horn player second from the right, and the bass player, who looks shorter than most and has higher heels on his shoes.

A closer examination of the concept of harmony in Goethe's *Faust*, and the range of connotations it carries, will help to show how all-pervasive, systematic and original his deployment of metaphorical concepts can be.<sup>28</sup> Both the concept and its connotations expanded during Goethe's era, in ways strikingly summarised in the illustration included here.

The earliest traditional concepts (from the Pythagoreans to the sixteenth century, and in Neoclassical thinking) envisaged harmony as *symmetry*, based on proportion and mathematical ratio. The princely hall in the background of

28. Several studies consider both successive concepts of harmony and the values attached when they were deployed as analogies. See Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, vol. 1 passim; Jamie James, *The Music of the Spheres: Music, Science and the Natural Order of the Universe* (London: Little & Brown/Abacus, 1994); Rolf Christian Zimmermann, *Das Weltbild des jungen Goethe: Studien zur hermetischen Tradition des deutschen 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1: Elemente und Fundamente (Munich: Fink, 1969); John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961; repr. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1993); Arnd Bohm, *Goethe's 'Faust' and European Epic: Forgetting the Future* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2007), esp. 111–31; Aeka Ishihara, *Makarie und das Weltall: Astronomie in Goethes 'Wanderjahren'* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998); and (on Schiller) Margaret C. Ives, *The Analogue of Harmony* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1970; and Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1970).

the picture has been laid out accordingly: windows, pilasters, curtain drapes, are all in proportion to each other and to the room. But especially under the influence of Leibniz and Rameau, rigid symmetry came to seem lifeless; harmony shifted towards an idea of *coordinated diversity*; and it is this which governs the representation of the 'Harmonie' [wind band] musicians in the foreground. The traditional wind and brass now include a double bass, and the silhouettes show players diverse in age, height and weight, yet together forming a harmonious ensemble.

References to harmony and its negative counterparts recur throughout *Faust*, as the following summary shows:

Table 4.1 The Analogy of Cosmic Harmony & its Negative Counterparts in Faust

	Episodes presenting analogy of harmony	Negative counterpart of harmony
447–53	Nostradamus' cosmic harmony	
	(Man excluded)	
135–57	Cosmic harmony based on rhythm	Meaningless repetition seen and
		expressed by Man
243–349	Angels' view of harmonious cosmos	'das alte Liedchen'
	said to be incomplete without Man	
737–807	Easter, Christian cosmic polyphony	'Hexenküche', 'Auerbachs Keller'
	inclusive of Man (Faust opts out)	Choruses offering semblance or
		parody of harmonious cosmos,
		usually with music & song
3775ff	('Dom') Organ, unison	negation of inclusive
		Christian harmony, rejecting
		Gretchen 'Walpurgisnacht',
		'Walpurgisnachtstraum': negation
		and parody of harmonious natural
		world, rejecting Gretchen
4613– 727	Elves: harmonious lesser cosmos	
	of the Ungeheures Getöse of wider	
	cosmos natural world, 'simultanés'	
	and 'successifs'	

7152– 8487	Harmonious life and art in Classical	Sensuous and ethical ambiguity:
9679–	myths adapted by Faust, special	words and their significance
10038	significance enhanced via operatic	obscured by music, song, dance,
	sections	rhetoric, rhyme
11143- 50	Lynkeus, 'durchs Sprachrohr' &	
	song:	
	561.6	
11453– 486	55.16	Sorge: negation
	special voice reasserting	Sorge: negation
486 11288–		Sorge: negation

	Episodes presenting analogy of harmony	Negative counterpart of harmony
11600- 003		Pointless repetition
		'das Ewig-Leere'.
11676– 843	Angelic chorus, offering to include	'Mißtöne [] garstiges Geklimper
	Mephisto, retrieving Faust	
11844– 2103	Leibnizian harmony of 'simultanés'	
	& 'successifs', hierarchy and	
	sequence; Herder's 'Melodie in	
	ihrem weiten Inbegriff' [sequence of	
	contrasts]	
12204–11	Chorus Mysticus – not a grand finale,	
	but depiction of a point beyond	
	which even metaphorical thought	
	cannot reach. Posits continuation	
	via a sequence of contrasts, but	
	without musical reference.	

These ideas of harmony, ancient and modern, are always presented vividly, but with some factor encouraging critical distance. Faust in his antiquated study contemplates the symmetry of the universe presented in Nostradamus' diagram, and rejects it as 'ein Schauspiel' [mere spectacle], not a living cosmos (ll. 446–54). But the audience/readers are ahead of him: they have already seen two versions of cosmic harmony. The *Vorspiel* offers a *Welttheater* held together by the poet's rhythm of verse and scenes, but nonetheless theatrical illusion. The Archangels' praise of Creation (*Prolog im Himmel*) lauds the colossal power and balanced movement of cosmic forces, but does not include, as Mephisto points out, the imperfect and incomplete, what the Lord calls 'das Werdende' (I. 346). So both of these versions, describing or showing worlds of vivid life and movement, are nonetheless declared inadequate (ll. 346–9 and 231–42). When Faust pushes his quest further, the Easter Chorus come back at him with the auditory shock of their sung hymn, celebrating a cosmic harmony created by Christ's death and Resurrection which *does* include Man (although Faust refuses it, ll. 736–807). The series is underway. By continuing to deploy the metaphor of harmony in various contexts and various media combinations, Goethe invites us to consider where each version of harmony (including our own) has come from, how it relates to others, and how adequate they are to describe cosmic relations.<sup>29</sup>

Some of Goethe's cultural cross-references require explanation for modern readers. For instance, we now associate harmony mainly with pleasant *sound*,

whereas in Goethe's epoch it mainly suggested a *structure*. In Leibniz's influential view, 'harmony' was a flexible network based on relations of 'simultanés' and 'successifs', hierarchy and sequence, infinitely sustainable, with the individual

29. Goethe is equally equivocal when he explores the idea via Makarie and her associates in *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*; see Ishihara, *Makarie*.

unit able to move both upwards and forwards.30 A similar idea of cosmic order also featured in Hermetic lore.<sup>31</sup> This idea of structure closely resembles that of musical polyphony, so the connection was widely accessible. This concept provides the structure of the universe depicted in *Faust*, through which Faust as individual unit makes his erratic course onwards and upwards. It also explains the combination of hierarchy (simultanés) and sequence (successifs) into which Faust and Gretchen are integrated at the end of Faust II; and underpins Faust's rejection of Nostradamus, for whom movement in the cosmos is only hierarchical (l. 449). It also explains the otherwise puzzling negative value that Goethe attached to 'unison' as mindless conformity.<sup>32</sup>

Another such idea is partly familiar: we are used to Christmas angels singing from Heaven to announce the reconciliation of God and Man through the newborn Christ (the 'harmony' proclaimed by the Easter Chorus). But as Claus Canisius has pointed out, this is an idea of Hebrew origin persisting in Kabbalistic writings, and carrying more precise connotations. The praise of Creation by angels and by men is seen as complementary;<sup>33</sup> and underpins both the Lord's exhortation to the Archangels in *Prolog im Himmel* (Il. 344–9) and the closing episodes, in which Faust is offered a temporary place in the angelic ranks before moving into relation with Gretchen and other human figures led by the Mater Gloriosa (*Grablegung*, ll. 11778–9, and *Bergschluchten*).

Far less familiar now, but widely influential in eighteenth-century thought, is the contribution of Antony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713). He retains the old idea of cosmic harmony based on mathematical proportion, but also brings something new: the voice of the human individual becomes central to cosmic harmony. Man stands at the centre of the cosmic order, and it is Man's function, not the angels', to perceive and to praise what he sees.<sup>34</sup> In *Faust* this version of cosmic harmony is delivered mainly through the figures of Euphorion and Lynkeus (ll. 11143–5, 11288–90). Goethe brings in two additional metaphorical concepts, music as voice of human feeling and music as special utterance of a special perception, to reinforce the idea of Man as part of the resonant cosmic harmony: both his figures are given special intonation ('durchs Sprachrohr' [through a loud-hailer], ll. 11143) or song through which to present their cosmic perspective and their appraisal (ll. 9678–938 stage direction, 11288–337). However, Shaftesbury's optimistic and rhapsodic versions of cosmic harmony are given an abrupt and violent end in *Faust*, in the cacophony of the Bacchanal (ll. 10030–35), and the blazing catastrophe that Lynkeus is forced to

Leibniz advanced these theories via several works, letters and conversations; see e.g. Zimmermann, *Das Weltbild*, vol. 1, 29; Tudor *Sound and Sense*, 53–8, 376–84, 394–402, 426–8.
 Zimmermann *Das Weltbild*, vol. 1, 29, and *passim*.

<sup>32.</sup> The idea was used by Plato, and developed by Rousseau; see article 'unisson in the latter's Dictionnaire de musique (Amsterdam: Rey, 1768); also Tudor Sound and Sense, 52, 89–90, 100–102. It recurs in Wanderjahre 1, 8, and 3, 1–3.

33. Canisius, Goethe und die Musik, 215–16; also Tudor Sound and Sense, 70–71, 153–4.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, 'The Moralists: A Rhapsody' and 'Advice to an Author', in idem, Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times in Three Volumes, 5th edn (Birmingham: John Baskerville, 1773), vols. 1 and 2.

describe (Il. 11330-37). In Goethe's panoramic survey, metaphors of harmony offer neither escape from nor solutions to the world's mysteries, but only the

partial and provisional insights of any metaphor.

The same applies to the final and for Goethe contemporary idea of harmony brought into *Faust*: harmony as a sustained rhythmic sequence of contrasting and complementary episodes, where the harmonious whole is not evident as such until the end of the sequence. Developed by Rousseau and Herder, this metaphor of harmony has virtually disappeared now, though it has a little in common with the idea of sonata structure borrowed by some modern authors.35 As Herder later observed, the idea was inspiring to poets and useless to musicians.<sup>36</sup> But Rousseau, in his polemics for homophonic music, went to ludicrous lengths to avoid calling harmony harmony, and recast the idea as ludicrous lengths to avoid calling harmony harmony, and recast the idea as a form of melody. Herder followed with enthusiasm, calling such structure 'Melodie [...] in ihrem weiten Inbegriff' [melody in its fullest sense]<sup>37</sup> and, like Schiller, for good measure sometimes referring to it as 'Harmonie'.<sup>38</sup> Goethe found it indispensable in his efforts to find poetic forms elastic but coherent enough to structure complex material, and made constant use of it in *Faust*. Its influence can be seen in what have been called 'revue' scenes,<sup>39</sup> e.g. in the *Klassische Walpurgisnacht* and its climax, where the harmony of many successive contrasting voices, views and figures is brought together in an operatic finale by 'All-Alle' (l. 8484) [*tutt-tutti*]. The idea also underpins the structure of the whole work. By the end, we have seen a coherent sequence of complementary views of how the universe hangs together, or fails to do so. *Faust* closes neither with of how the universe hangs together, or fails to do so. Faust closes neither with a grand finale nor with a projection into the future, but at a point where even metaphorical understanding of the world can go no further (*Chorus Mysticus*).

Why and when do we need to understand Goethe's metaphorical concepts of music? We need them if we are dealing with Goethe's musical reference in a work of any genre (especially Faust, Wilhelm Meister, Novelle); because, unless our musical reference is wider and more precise than is currently usual, much of his internal cross-reference and irony is lost or distorted. For example, Lynkeus' songs are not lyrical outbursts, but special utterances of special perceptions from his tower (of harmonious worlds about to be destroyed). Goethe marks them as such not simply as 'musical', but with sharp changes of timbre, tone, volume and contrasted silence. Gretchen's characteristic voice conveys views as well as lyrically expressed feelings, a trait ratified by her re-emergence as important in the Bergschluchten scene. In a biographical context, a grasp of Goethe's metaphorical reference to music helps to explain why his relations with actors and composers

- 35. See e.g. Horst Petri, Literatur und Musik, 43-51.
- 36. In his Adrastea, in Sämtliche Werke (Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1805–15), vol. 23, 332–3; also Tudor, Sound and Sense, 135, 452.
- 37. See Rousseau's Lettre sur la musique françoise and his concept of 'Unité de mélodie' in his Dictionnaire de la musique; Herder, în the first and fourth of his Kritische Wälder; also Tudor, Sound and Sense, 403–11.
  38. See Ives, Analogue; Tudor, Sound and Sense, 382–4, 455–7.
- 39. For example by Paul Requadt, *Goethes 'Faust I'* (Munich: Fink, 1972), 307–23.

were strained. His theatrical options were constrained by Weimar, not chosen by him,40 but even where he worked with gifted actors his attempts to impose quasi-musical gradations of tone and rhythm produced stress and mixed results. 41 Composers might use musical metaphor in general discussion, but when working they understood music in musical terms – which were incompatible with Goethe's metaphorical thinking unless this could be 'retranslated' into musical terms and structures. Such divergent thinking caused practical problems. Klopstock and Gluck, Schiller and Zelter, met similar difficulties in their collaboration.<sup>42</sup> Goethe wished that Mozart could have provided settings for Faust, but we cannot assess this without knowing how Mozart would have thought of it.43

If, however, the main emphasis is on Goethe's Faust story in later treatments, only his figures (Faust, Mephisto, Gretchen) and their interplay will be needed. A grasp of his metaphorical range will help with appraisal of a modern work if that work uses *only* the idea of music as language of feeling, restricting Goethe to lyrical mode or distorting him into an honorary Romantic.<sup>44</sup> But otherwise Goethe's web of metaphorical reference to music may be drawn aside, leaving the appraiser with a clear field to assess the wealth of skills which later epochs have brought to bear on the Faust story in drama, music, opera, graphics and film. 45

40. See Lesley Sharpe, A National Repertoire: Schiller, Iffland and the German Stage (Oxford: Lang, 2007); see also Ilse-Marie Barth, Literarisches Weimar (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971); Benedikt Holtberndt, Die dramatischen Funktionen der Musik in den Schauspielen Goethes: 'Alles aufs

Bedürfnis der lyrischen Bühne gerichtet' (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1992).
41. Amalie Wolff remarked acidly that if she studied *Proserpina* night and day she might

Amalie Wolff remarked acidly that if she studied *Proserpina* night and day she might eventually work out what Goethe wanted; other professionals were made to repeat songs and readings innumerable times. See Eduard Genast, *Aus dem Tagebuch eines alten Schauspielers* (Leipzig: Voigt & Günther, 1862); Wilhelm Bode, *Goethes Schauspieler und Musiker: Erinnerungen von Eberwein und Lobe* (Berlin: Mittler, 1912), 96.
 Klopstock and Gluck thought in similar metaphorical terms, but produced relatively little; see Katrin Kohl, *Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), 67–8, 165–6. Zelter refused a commission from Schiller, 'weil ich wirklich [...] nicht weis, wie sich diese Idée praktisch realisieren lassen wird' [because I truly don't see how this idea can be realised in practice], Letter to Schiller, 16 March 1803, Schiller, *Werke: Nationalausgabe*, ed. Julius Petersen (Weimar: Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1949ff), vol. 40.1, 35.
 To Eckermann, 12 February 1829 and 6 December 1829 (GA, vol. 24, 313, 374). This comment

43. To Eckermann, 12 February 1829 and 6 December 1829 (GA, vol. 24, 313, 374). This comment was based on Mozart's Don Giovanni. But Goethe's scheme for a sequel to Zauberflöte (1795) includes instructions for a 'bedeutende Folge von Leidenschaften', a 'bedeutende Arie' [a significant sequence of emotions, a significant aria] and his inevitable repetitions (*Der Zauberflöte Zweiter Teil. Fragment*, GA, vol. 6, 1106, 1111, 1114), terms unhelpful to any composer.

44. See Arnd Bohm, 'Goethe and the Romantics', in The Literature of German Romanticism, ed. Dennis F. Mahoney (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004), 35–60.

45. Stuart Jeffries in The Guardian, 2 May 2011, surveyed operatic treatments of Goethe's Stuart Jeffries in *The Guardian*, 2 May 2011, surveyed operatic treatments of Goethe's *Faust* from Berlioz (1829) to Randy Newman (1993) before Terry Gilliam's revival of *La damnation de Faust* (2011). A Romanian production, one of several at Edinburgh in 2009, experimented with a multi-stage production and a female Mephistopheles (see Laura Barnett, in *The Guardian*, 19 August 2009), taking up a theme of Mephisto as seducer from the film and stage versions of Gustav Gründgens's production (1933ff). Nor is Goethe's influence confined to Europe: a puppet show version from Africa toured Europe in 1995 (Handspring Puppet Company; see *Die Zeit* 37 (8 September 1995), 54).

### Faust: The Instrumentalisation of an Icon

#### Osman Durrani

#### **Historical Faustus**

Doctor Faustus emerges in vastly different guises in every age and culture following his appearance in late medieval times. Controversial from the outset, he has changed from villain to hero and, in the eyes of many, back to villain again, not at the mere whim of individual artists' intent on reshaping the original material, but in accordance with the ever shifting values of successive epochs. The object of this chapter is to highlight key stages in the evolution of this extraordinary figure and thereby to convey a necessarily fleeting impression of some of the factors that made him an instrument of successive ideologies. The term 'instrument' is relevant in two senses: it reveals his dependence on each generation's necessarily shifting perspective, while at the same time referring to the playability and playfulness of the underlying theme. It is for this reason that Faustus has proved to be so attractive to the many musicians whose work is the focus of this volume. Their diverse settings and compositions are seen to mirror, complement and in some cases even anticipate literary reworkings of the theme.

Faustus is the product of an age from which few reliable documents have survived, but a lack of evidence has not prevented scholars from attempting to reconstruct elusive or absent data. A recent biography goes so far as to propose a precise date of birth, namely 23 April 1480.¹ Wildly speculative as this suggestion may seem, it derives from a not totally implausible conjecture based on his first name. The given name most frequently associated with Faustus in the earliest sources is not Johann, as the chapbook would have it, and certainly not Heinrich, the alias employed by Goethe's seducer and hurled back at him by his distraught victim moments before her death. The earliest documents speak of Faustus as Jörg, a derivative of Georg or George. In those God-fearing times it was common practice to name children after the saint on whose day they were born; St George's Day is celebrated on 23 April.

 Leo Ruickbie, Faustus: The Life and Times of a Renaissance Magician (Stroud: The History Press, 2009), 21. Despite a wealth of material that has been reviewed in recent biographies such as Ruickbie's, it has proved impossible to separate fact from speculation, and the actual date and place of Faustus' birth cannot be verified. His movements remain uncertain, and several German locations (Staufen, Knittlingen) calling themselves 'Fauststadt' make use of the association mainly in order to whet touristic appetites, witness claims by Staufen to display Mephisto's footprint<sup>2</sup> in a local public building.

The earliest mention of the doctor as a self-aggrandising magician occurs in Johannes Trittheim's epistle to his friend Johannes Virdung of 1507. Here he is referred to as Georg Sabellicus. Trittheim adds that the magician styles himself 'the Younger Faust'. The narrative part of this letter is rather more detailed than many later references to Faustus. Yet there are also gaps and apparent paradoxes, inevitably raising unanswerable questions. Far from being an unbiased report,

inevitably raising unanswerable questions. Far from being an unbiased report, this letter represents the earliest attempt at an instrumentalisation of its subject.<sup>3</sup> Trittheim is not interested in the life story of the man whom he is quick

to brand an upstart hoaxer. He does not know where he was born or how he came by the powers that he claims to possess. Trittheim has not actually met him in person, but has only heard of him at second or possibly third hand. On the evidence of hearsay, he labels Sabellicus, the Younger Faust, an imposter and a loud-mouthed braggart given to committing lewd acts with boys. What is particularly interesting about this perspective is that Trittheim was himself deeply involved in the dark arts and would have been unlikely to dismiss Sabellicus merely on the grounds of a shared interest in magic. Even Franz von Sickingen, who is mentioned in the same letter as a patron of Sabellicus, was involved in speculation and wizardry, as were many other prominent people of the time. It is therefore important to acknowledge that Sabellicus is not vilified on the grounds of his interest in magic as such, but rather for making extravagant claims regarding his powers and achievements. One such power was the ability to recall, from memory, the works of classical antiquity, including those that had been lost, which was hardly a mainstream interest of contemporary magicians, who preferred to direct their attention towards more lucrative goals: casting horoscopes, or attempting the synthesis of gold.

It is difficult for us to appreciate the esteem in which magic was held at this time. Relic-hoarding was widely favoured by those who could afford the high prices demanded for miraculous bones, fragments of clothing and hair, and personal items supposedly owned by the saints of the past. Frederick the Wise, Luther's patron and generally presumed worthy of his sobriquet, owned a collection of some 19,000 such relics from which he expected substantial rewards such as the shortening of time spent in purgatory by over 1.9 million years.<sup>4</sup> Queen Elizabeth I, often commended for her rational disposition, had a team of

- 2. Osman Durrani, Faust. Icon of Modern Culture (Robertsbridge: Helm, 2004), 383.
- 3. This important letter has been analysed by Frank Baron and Richard Auernheimer in *War Dr. Faustus in Kreuznach? Realität und Fiktion im Faust-Bild des Abtes Johannes Trithemius* (Alzey: Verlag der Rheinhessischen Druckwerkstätte, 2003).
- 4. Roland H. Bainton, Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther (Nashville: Abingdon, 1950), 53.

magicians working for her, engaged in tireless endeavours to uncover the recipe for synthesising precious metals,<sup>5</sup> so why not Georg Sabellicus, the younger Faust? Was the problem, in Trittheim's eyes, simply that he went about it in the wrong way? That he bragged about his powers when he should have exercised discretion? That he brought the art of divination and other matters in which Tritheim and Virdung had a shared professional interest into disrepute? We have to conclude that the objection was to the manner in which Faustus went about his business as a conjurer rather than to the dubious value of speculation about his business as a conjuror rather than to the dubious value of speculation. It is not necessarily wrong to pose as a magician, but for Trittheim Faustus is

plainly the wrong kind of magician.

The first person to speak seriously of Doctor Faustus was Martin Luther, whose response, on being informed about the deeds of Faustus, was quite different from Trittheim's. In a conversation dating from the mid-1530s and first published in 1566, Faustus is mentioned by name, whereupon Luther proceeds to talk about his own experiences of the tempter.<sup>6</sup> Luther associated Faustus not with empty bragging but with something much more serious: the experience of a direct association with the devil in his own personal life. Luther was by all accounts obsessed by the devil in all his forms, be they that of a nocturnal visitor in his study or as an originator of inexplicable noises in the attic or unspeakable smells deep in his own bowels,<sup>7</sup> so that any rumours circulating in German lands were grist to his mill, proof that the devil did exist and was able to exert his perpicious influence on ordinary men and women of the time.

pernicious influence on ordinary men and women of the time.

This is a very different position from that of Trittheim, who was vexed and inconvenienced by a loud-mouthed, incompetent rival. Luther welcomed tales about renegade doctors; one could go further and argue that he relied on figures such as Faustus in order to confirm his belief in a personal devil capable of assuming human or near-human form and intervening directly in people's lives. In his view, Faustus demonstrates that encounters with demons are possible. There was thus a remarkable interdependence that bound these two men together. Faustus's story effectively encouraged Luther and his followers to see diabolical operations at work behind ordinary phenomena. By the middle of the sixteenth century the presses were churning out large numbers of books in which devils of many shapes and sizes were envisaged as making contact with people in order to pervert them. These books, some anonymous, others by known authors such as Andreas Musculus, assumed the existence of a diabolical component in most ordinary human activities such as eating, drinking, buying clothes, love-making and other actions affording physical pleasure, so that anyone practising them was at risk of falling into the devil's clutches and forfeiting eternal life.8 Thus

- Glyn Parry, *The Arch-Conjuror of England: John Dee* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 71. Martin Luther, *Tischreden* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1912–22), No. 1059.
- Heiko A. Oberman, Luther: Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel (Berlin: Severin & Siedler,
- See the survey provided by Keith L. Roos, The Devil in Sixteenth-century German Literature: The Teufelbücher (Bern: Lang, 1972).

Faustus and Luther formed a perfect symbiosis; as the former became known and feared to the extent of inspiring anecdotes, cautionary tales and eventually full-length books and dramas, the common people flocked in terror to the churches of the Reformation whose ministers claimed knowledge of how to know and how to deal with the newly emerging peril. Small wonder, then, that the earliest literary Faustus should recant at the end of his days, warning others not to do as he did, addressing his followers in lachrymose fashion and even styling himself 'a good as well as a bad Christian', for having belatedly acquired the insight to distinguish between right and wrong conduct.<sup>9</sup> That one single admission of guilt would have been enough to persuade the likes of John Tetzel to grant him absolution in return for an appropriate fee, but the world had moved on, Protestantism did not accept the validity of deathbed conversions, so Faustus is again pressed into service by the new creed. He may repent, his friends may wish to help him do so, but the last-minute contrition he displays in the *Volksbuch* is not enough to save him. A man's whole life must be a single act of contrition: thus Luther's first Wittenberg thesis. The magician's hideous death proves that Luther was right on this point: eventual self-knowledge and repentance will not improve Faustus's chances of evading the ultimate punishment.

#### **International Faustus**

The story might have ended there, but for the warm welcome extended to the unfortunate Doctor on the other side of the Channel. Faustus was rapidly and enthusiastically absorbed into the cultural life of England for reasons that can be traced back to rather different factors. English writers were not so much repelled by his vices as fascinated by his part-rational, part-irrational and often outlandish behaviour, which made him a tragic figure whose life was rich in dramatic potential. As the home of the Reformation, Germany was seen as a place where religious ideologies clashed with particular fervour but also as a place where dark arts flourished and mysterious things happened. Their literary traditions were not the same. English mystery plays that date from the Middle Ages tend to portray the devil as cunning but weak, easily deprived of his victims by a single act of piety; such demons were decidedly feeble when compared to Mephistopheles.<sup>10</sup>

There was no lack of interest in 'speculation' in Britain, but it had a more practical focus. Astrology, divination and horoscopes attracted interest in the hope that they might be of assistance in the production of precious metals by magic. But contemporary travellers to Germany noted the difference in approach to the black arts, and scholars such as John Dee and humanistically inclined poets such as Marlowe and Shakespeare recoiled against continental-style witch trials, which were becoming more frequent in England under Mary and

<sup>9.</sup> See the *Volksbuch* of 1587, *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, ed. Hans Henning (Halle: Sprache und Literatur, 1963), 132.

Lucy de Bruyn, Woman and the Devil in Sixteenth-century Literature (Tilsbury: Compton Press, 1979), 12.

Elizabeth I.<sup>11</sup> They may have loathed the hocus-pocus which could and did have lethal consequences, but they skilfully employed them to send shivers down the spines of those brave enough to spend hours in sun and rain watching actors on the wooden boards of the Globe and Curtain Theatres. The trial of Gloucester in Shakespeare's *King Lear* is now seen as an oblique reference to the odious practice of putting putative witches on trial.<sup>12</sup>

Shakespeare himself slips an important and rarely acknowledged allusion to the Faust myth into his dramatisation of the tormented Prince of Denmark. In the search for the source of Hamlet's malaise, his self-torment and paralysis, an apparently very minor detail may have a compelling effect: Hamlet's pressing desire to return to his alma mater, the University of Wittenberg in Germany, where he, Horatio, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern have all been students. The choice of university for the young Prince is in itself an odd one. Wittenberg was by no means Europe's foremost university; the Crown Prince of Denmark might more reasonably have chosen Paris, or Prague, or Bologna, or Oxford in preference. Wittenberg was, by contrast, a new and unproven establishment. It had been founded as recently as 1502 in a relative backwater, and became famous principally for employing the founding father of Protestantism. This led producer Trevor Nunn to comment in 1970 that Hamlet has come under Lutheran influence and has returned from Wittenberg with the Protestant idea of individual responsibility uppermost in his mind. of individual responsibility uppermost in his mind.<sup>13</sup>

But of course Martin Luther was not the only authority there; and since Hamlet is Catholic by instinct – hence his reluctance to kill Claudius while he is praying in Act III, scene 3 – there is an interesting possibility that Hamlet should be thought of as having sat at the feet of Doctor Faustus rather than those of the great Reformer. We find him at a loose end at Elsinor, longing to return to his študies. Could it have been a desperate hope that there, in Wittenberg, he would learn how to interpret and deal with the spectre that was haunting him at home? Significant, too, are the strange warnings from Claudius and Gertrude not to go back to College ('For your intent in going back to school in Wittenberg it is most retrograde to our desire'; 'Go not to Wittenberg', Act I, scene 2) when one might have expected the conspiratorial pair to encourage the Prince to bury himself in his books and forget the dark thoughts about his elders' misdeeds. But the newly-wed couple appears to have reasons or believing that Wittenberg was a

bad choice for a young man of nervous disposition.

The Wittenberg effect may also explain one of the most puzzling and controversial scenes in Hamlet, the nunnery scene (Act III, scene 2), in which the hapless Ophelia is sent packing in a way that has outraged many critics: 'If ever the poet deserved Whipping for low and indecent Ribaldry, it was

11. Parry, Arch-Conjuror, 71–80.

12. Stephen Greenblatt, Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance

England (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 94–128.

13. Alan Howard, who played the part of Hamlet in 1970, records Nunn's views on his web page, 'A Pride of Hamlets' <a href="http://www.alanhoward.org.uk/wittenberg.htm">http://www.alanhoward.org.uk/wittenberg.htm</a> (accessed 22 November 2013). for this Passage', thus Lewis Theobald.¹⁴ John Dover Wilson finds the passage 'inexcusable' and goes on to observe that 'there is a savage side to Hamlet'.¹⁵ Without excusing the inexcusable one might at least attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable by referring to the pernicious influence of Hamlet's putative college tutor, himself denied the cosy arrangement of a bourgeois marriage and reliant on succubi and phantoms for his pleasure.¹⁶ In Marlowe the request for a wife is met with a string of courtesans, all of whom turn out to be disguised she- devils. Shakespeare knew what went on in Wittenberg; from Marlowe's Tragicall History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus, from the chapbook, maybe also from John Dee. He even mentions Mephistopheles in one of his plays (The Merry Wives of Windsor, Act I, scene 1). So he must have had a reason to dispatch Hamlet there in preference to any other place of learning; and a further hint at what young Hamlet learned there is provided by the lines 'There are more things in Heaven and earth, Horatio / Than are dreamt of in your philosophy' (Act I, scene 5); this too betokens sympathetic leanings towards the arcane arts and magical practices associated with Doctor Faustus. To this day the town of Wittenberg claims to have Hamlet's house and Faust's house in the same street and in close proximity to one another.¹⁻

We have already mentioned John Dee, a key figure who mediated between English and German scholars, alchemists and magi in the sixteenth century. It seems likely that Dee was the mysterious 'P.F. Gent' who improved on the often crude German chapbook and placed a considerably more polished product before the British reading public, elevating Faust from a base charlatan to a restless, vacillating knowledge-seeker, tormented by uncertainties, torn asunder by conflicting loyalties, as were Dee and Marlowe themselves in their personal lives. Thus it is easy to see how Doktor Johann Faustus became Marlowe's 'tragicall' Doctor Faustus and eventually the Faust of Goethe. One important factor in this transformational process must have been that Dee and Marlowe imagined the sorcerer as someone with slightly more human qualities, and thus treated him as slightly less of an exemplum than the author of the chapbook had done. In Marlowe's case the chosen medium, drama, may also have resulted in a softening of the chapbook's relentlessly condemnatory tone. In order to be effective on stage, the hero requires a human dimension, and in order to arouse pity as well as fear, a gentle touch is required. Marlowe bowed to the traditional requirement of the theatre, where audiences come face to face with the most tragic of heroes. The result was that a new 'Faustus' was born, if not in the

<sup>14.</sup> Cited by Paul Salisbury Conklin in *A History of English Hamlet Criticism 1601–1821* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), 53.

<sup>15.</sup> John Dover Wilson, What happens in Hamlet [1935]. 19th edn (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), 102.

<sup>16.</sup> Historia, ed. Henning, 27–9.

<sup>17.</sup> A literary reimagining of Hamlet's interaction with Faustus and Luther will be found in David Davalos, *Wittenberg* (London: Oberon Books, 2012).

<sup>18.</sup> William Empson, Faustus and the Censor (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 201.

Goethean sense, then at least in line with the sixteenth-century template, which required villains to be plausible in their villainy rather than outright monsters.

#### **Return to Germany**

Two centuries later, Goethe came to the material from a different source: he first encountered the material in the puppet plays that were shown at impromptu venues such as fairs, but also in more or less permanent popular theatres in eighteenth-century Germany. Puppets do not appear the most obvious vehicle for a discussion of man's errant soul, and the combination of serious issues and wooden dolls manipulated by strings strikes many modern minds as incompatible with high tragedy; but besides being cheap to operate, the makeshift puppet theatres had one great advantage over live performances: they ware not subject to consorship. The puppets could act as they wished curse and were not subject to censorship. The puppets could act as they wished, curse and swear to their hearts' content, say what they liked – and the authorities were powerless to intervene. They were, after all, just pieces of wood which, as such, could not be expected to display the moral sensibilities of real human beings. And it was not just puppets who impersonated the doctor. Rudolph Lang, beer brewer from Augsburg, claims to have got a pair of hounds to perform *Doktor Faustus*; his audiences included royalty.<sup>20</sup>

Faust's fortunes in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century were heavily influenced by the rules of censorship as applied at the time. To portray the devil as triumphing in the end was seen not merely as tragic, it was anarchic. One need look no further than Carl Niessen's study of *Faust as Smut and Trash* to appreciate the problems that Goethe faced when he transformed the crude art of the puppeteer into elevated drama.<sup>21</sup> This explains why no one even attempted to produce his text in a public theatre until his eightieth birthday, then and thereafter with numerous omissions and alterations, some of them quite preposterous, when in Faust's monologue his regret about studying theology is changed to one regarding astronomy.<sup>22</sup> changed to one regarding astronomy.22

Faustus's appeal to Goethe must be seen in this light. Here was a figure who could speak out against the establishment with impunity; being in the clutches of the devil, he enjoyed the fool's licence to speak his mind. Eventually Goethe was to discover other uses for Faust. The dramatic figure who had begun his career as a restless titan inveighing against the kind of stale mediocrity that Goethe

- 19. The best-known reconstruction is by Karl Simrock, *Doctor Johannes Faust. Puppenspiel in vier Aufzügen*, ed. Günther Mahal (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1991).
- 20. Rudolph Lang, Kurz-verfasste Reiss-Beschreibung Oder: Offt-beschuldigte aber niemals erwiesene Zauberkunst, so in zwegen künstlichen Hunden bestunde, welche Rudolph Lang, Bürger und Bier-Brauer, dermaßen künstlich abgerichtet, dass auch die grossen Herren nicht begreiffen konnten, wie diese Kunst beschaffen wäre [...] (Augsburg: Andreas Jacob Maschenbauern, 1739), 102.
- 21. Carl Niessen, Faust als Schmutz und Schund: Das Satyrspiel zur Tragödie, mit einem Epilog auf
- bundesdemokratischer Bühne (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1964). 22. Heinrich Brandt, Goethes Faust auf der Kgl. sächsischen Hofbühne zu Dresden. Ein Beitrag zur Theaterwissenschaft (Berlin: Ebering, 1921), 12, n. 27.

attributed in large part to Christianity was to become a devotee of Classical beauty, not without encountering many pitfalls en route. Goethe's inexhaustibly complex play, or dramatic poem, shows a man who is exemplary no less in his failings than in his achievements. But Goethe's employment of Faust as a cipher for many of his personal concerns is perhaps ultimately less interesting than the manner in which this one text has been used and abused for a multitude of purposes by generations of readers, critics and adapters. It has managed to charm believers and sceptics alike, and has been praised and appropriated by representatives of Conservatism and Radicalism, Communism and Fascism, so that there can be no doubt that it will continue to elicit contradictory

interpretations for as long as it is performed.

Turning to modern stage productions, by Gründgens, Dorn and Stein, these three, among very many others, of course, have shown just how much scope there is for variation within individual scenes. Examples may be found in every scene and on every page. And thus we find that modern productions, separated in time by a mere thirty years, can feel as though they were recorded on different planets, or at least in different centuries. Gustaf Gründgens' Hamburg production of 1957/58, released as a film in 1960, and Dieter Dorn's Munich production of 1990 could hardly be further apart in their visual effects and in their ethos. If we contrast just a few minutes from the end of 'Auerbachs Keller' and the beginning of 'Hexenküche', the differences are found to be astounding. All is light in the former, darkness prevails in the latter. Gründgens' Mephisto is a smiling clown, Dorn's a shadowy manipulative sadist. A group of rustic-looking country bumpkins provide company in the former; Dorn's Bierkeller is the haunt of Fascist Burschenschaftler (members of an often ultra-conservative students' fraternity). The words 'Merkt euch, wie der Teufel spaße' [Mark how the Devil jests] (II. 2320–21) lose the easy-going, almost playful quality given them by Gründgens when Dorn's devil has the men wake up to the realisation that they have actually cut off each other's noses in the finale to the scene in the Cellar. The two Witches' Kitchens are equally diverse. Again, the party atmosphere of the former contrasts sharply with the claustrophobic gloom of the latter. Gründgens acts out pantomimes with a group of playfully gambolling performing animals that appear to have walked straight out of a children's birthday party, while Dorn's monstrously disfigured and lecherous beasts would not look out of place in an x-rated movie. The woman who appears to Faust in the mirror is presented by Gründgens as a sterile, statuesque image of classical beauty; Dorn chooses the very opposite type of woman in the form of a lusty wench who seems more than

It is not only the visual effects that differ. The two directors part company in their use of the text itself; while both remain faithful to Goethe, Gründgens tends to cut digressions or asides, such as the obscure dialogue at the beginning of Hexenküche; Dorn respects the text, no matter that it slows the action down to a standstill. Fidelity to the original becomes increasingly important in recent productions of literary texts, and Peter Stein achieved this in regard to Faust

when both parts were performed and filmed uncut in Hannover during 2000, even if this meant extending the production over several days.<sup>23</sup> A reluctance to tamper with the written word in any way may appear to be at variance with the principle of instrumentalisation, but here again we note the effect of a modern approach to the text, which must remain inviolable, though it renders the play unperformable by conventional means. The principle of inclusivity was embraced by Gründgens, who decided, against the widespread practice of the time, to begin his version with the previously ignored 'Prolog auf dem Theater' scene.

Among many other spectres that recent directors have managed to tease out of Goethe's text, Dorn raises that of German Fascism. This may be inevitable in an age in which most things German seem inextricably bound up with the nation's Nazi inheritance, but there are still those who would have us detach Faust's life story from the history of the nation from which he arose. Thus, à propos of a recent London production of Berlioz's Damnation of Faust, we have eminent critics crying out: not again! Simon Jenkins writes in *The Guardian*: 'The curtain rose on Berlioz' The Damnation of Faust [...] and my heart sank. The stage was alive with stormtroopers and jackboots. The banality was crashing.'<sup>24</sup> But it should be borne in mind that long before the rise of Fascism, the material on which this play is based was viewed as resolutely German. Marlowe did not transfer the Doctor from Wittenberg to Cambridge, and most would agree that to view Faust in complete isolation from the history, culture, fate of his original homeland would be a grave error and moreover impossible.<sup>25</sup> Authors including Grabbe and Klinger have stressed the connection between Faust and Germany in various ways. Yet there are, of course, American Fausts (Jabez Stone) and British Fausts and Czech Fausts, and they reflect something of the assumed ethos of their country of origin. Jabez Stone is rescued from the Devil, or Mr Scratch, by Daniel Webster, an epitome of the wholesome US judiciary pre-Guantanamo;<sup>26</sup> the Czech Faustus created by Jan Švankmajer in his 1994 film *Lekce Faust* is a sombre parable of what can be achieved through party patronage, as is evidenced in many scenes, perhaps nowhere more so than in 'Auerbach's Keller'. Here Faust is sitting on his own in a seedy open-air eatery, surrounded by blue-collar workers in their nondescript clothing, drinking flat beer. Everyone is under surveillance; the waiters keep a close eye on their guests and a supposedly blind accordionist who provides the musical accompaniment peeps over his dark glasses from time to time. Faustus is perched uncomfortably on a wooden bench contemplating an unappetising-looking dumpling on his plate.

- 23. This production is discussed below; see John Guthrie, 'Peter Stein's Production of Goethe's Faust', 00.
- 24. Simon Jenkins, 'Britain's Nazi obsession betrays our insecurity it's time we moved on', The Guardian, 23 September 2011, 22.
- 25. Grabbe's Faust actually states: 'I would not be Faust, were I not a German'; Christian Dietrich Grabbe, Don Juan und Faust, Act I, sc. 2, in idem, Werke, ed. Roy C. Cowen (Munich: Hanser, 1975), vol. 1, 424.
- 26. Durrani, Icon, 353-4.

He discovers that it contains a metal key and is instructed by one of the waiters to put it in his pocket. The smirking waiter appears to control the proceedings, providing Faustus with a hand-drill and instructing him to drill a hole in the table. Faustus is slow to agree, but when he starts drilling, a fountain of red wine gushes forth. He may not appear to be privileged, but his status is clearly higher than that of the proletarians, who, once he has had his fill, pounce on the wine in anticipation of something reserved for higher cadres. The comment on privilege and special favours will not be lost on those who remember the way in which the Party looked after its own during the Cold War years. It remains a curious fact that politicians from the extreme right and left claimed Faust as their own, Alfred Rosenberg including him, alongside Bach and Nordic marches, among the pinnacles of German culture, Walter Ulbricht going so far as to envisage the German Democratic Republic, somewhat whimsically, as the realisation of Faust Part III.<sup>28</sup>

#### **Thomas Mann's Faustus**

Having made the transition into the turbulent twentieth century, I wish to conclude by referring to two remarkable attempts to subvert the story for purposes that have both personal and political implications. The first of these is the fictional biography of Adrian Leverkühn that forms the basis of Thomas Mann's novel *Doktor Faustus* (1947). This novel has so many layers that we can hope to identify only a few. No one would call it an easy read; even the genre is elusive: *Musikroman*, *Bildungsroman*, *historischer Roman*, *Zeitroman* and other labels have been put forward.<sup>29</sup> There is at least a consensus that Mann uses the Faust theme to account for a 400-year pact between Germany and the temptations offered by a sinister, demonic force whose overt role in the novel is to corrupt a brilliant but wayward composer. Even this reductive reading does not add up, because Adrian only imagines himself to be visited by the devil, knowingly dramatising a mundane event and forcing it to fit in with what he wants his friend to believe, indeed composing the visitation on music paper as if it were a libretto or actual music. Why – we have to ask – is the protagonist not a villain in the traditional mould, but a positive figure, admired by those who know him, fondly 'loved' by his author no less than by his tearful biographer?<sup>30</sup> Adrian turns out to be a modern man with an international following, not merely un, but actually anti-German in many of his characteristics and actions, the very

- 27. Alfred Rosenberg, Der Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Eine Wertung der seelischgeistigen Gestaltungskämpfe unserer Zeit (Munich: Hoheneichen, 1936), 257–63.
- 28. Walter Ulbricht, 'Rede an die ganze deutsche Nation', Neues Deutschland, 28 March 1962, 5.
- 29. The applicability or otherwise of these terms is discussed in Hans Rudolf Vaget, 'Kaisersaschern als geistige Lebensform. Zur Konzeption der deutschen Geschichte in Thomas Manns "Doktor Faustus", in *Der deutsche Roman und seine historischen und politischen Bedingungen*, ed. Wolfgang Paulsen (Bern: Francke, 1977), 200–35.
- 30. See Thomas Mann's comments in *Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus. Roman eines Romans. Thomas Mann, Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer 1974), vol. 11, 203.

antithesis of a German patriot. He is neither soulful nor serious nor *gemütlich* and has no interest in politics. And while the author, in his brilliantly teasing commentary, subtitled 'Roman eines Romans' [A novel about a novel], mentions influences and circumstances that aided him in writing the novel, nowhere does he acknowledge the single, most blindingly obvious influence: his own son's novel *Mephisto. Roman einer Karriere* of 1936, in which the ambitious artist's quest for fame involves a pact with the infernal forces that are gaining ground in post-Weimar Germany. Verbal and thematic parallels are legion; Klaus Mann's 'schwarze Venus' [black Venus] surfaces as Thomas Mann's 'bleiche Venus' [pale Venus]; Höfgen (the central character in Klaus Mann's novel) and his counterpart Leverkühn are morally and sexually ambivalent; both refuse to heed their friends' warnings; their quest for fame hides their moral decay until they enter a final downward spiral, their own private descent into Hell.<sup>31</sup> Thomas Mann read his son's book and complimented him on it, stating 'It is a proper pact with the devil', but he never acknowledged its influence on his own work, which I would like to see as a kind of dialogue with his son Klaus, the son who was determined to be a great artist, but whom his father saw as soulless, modern, mocking type, drug-dependent and sexually deviant. All of this made Klaus's behaviour deeply questionable in the eyes of Father Thomas. And so, like Zeitblom, he loves him and fears for him, the son whose body he used to admire, the reckless one, who contracted syphilis in 1943, had numerous crises and breakdowns and, by the time his father's novel was completed, was only two years away from his own suicide.<sup>32</sup>

Both father and son turn to Faustus in their responses to the peril of Nazism. Klaus shows that Goethe's Mephisto exerts an influence on actors and politicians alike, while Thomas elaborates on his son's use of the motif by creating an environment that is steeped in Mephistophelian bigotry, the environment of the imaginary city of Kaisersaschern. But the story of Faust's manipulation does not end with the Second World War; references to Faustian pacts abound in contemporary discourse, in serious journalism, satire and cabaret; we shall conclude by looking at one sinisterly prophetic incarnation of the demonic doctor that shows how closely reality can mimic fiction, even in the twenty-first century.

#### Faust and 9/11

As we move, finally, from 1949 to 2001, the year of the terrorist attack on New York's World Trade Center, we encounter what is possibly the strangest, most disturbing and still resonating appearance of the figure of Dr Faustus. His memory is invoked in a little known 'Marvel' comic of 1975, as a larger-than-life 'mad

- 31. Durrani, *Icon*, p. 172–6; see also Fiona Malcolm, '*The Literary Relationship between Klaus and Thomas Mann*', PhD Thesis (University of Kent, 1993), 248–90.
- 32. For further information see Osman Durrani, 'Der Mime triumphiert im Staat der Lügner. Klaus Manns Mephisto im Lichte unserer Erfahrung', in *Literatur als Skandal: Fälle Funktionen Folgen.* ed. Stefan Neuhaus and Johann Holzner (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 2007), 361–7.

scientist' of German extraction, planning to bomb Manhattan aboard a hi-jacked Jumbo Jet identifying itself as Flight number 911.33 Hollywood's debt to German culture is a well known fact, and many of the villains in kids' comics of the 1940s to 1980s turn out to be of German ancestry. Thus there is, in 1942, 'Fausta the Nazi Wonder Woman' struggling against and finally being converted to democracy by her smarter counterpart, the all-American 'Wonder Woman'. No surprise, then, that the names of Doctor Faustus and even Mephistopheles regularly occur in such media, where they provide the evil that provokes heroic responses from the likes of Superman, Spiderman and Captain America. The reasons for the importation of Teutonic elements into Hollywood and House of Hammer films have been investigated by Kracauer and Prawer. Hollywood's view of villainy involves European accents and mannerisms; generations of Americans had felt under threat from, yet comfortably superior to, central European criminals, be they unreconstructed Nazis or grizzly old-school communists, like the one portrayed in 'Captain America and the Falcon'. It is deeply ironical that Doctor Faustus should appear in a children's comic and engage in antics with planes and what are now referred to as 'weapons of mass destruction' as early as 1975. It is tantalising to speculate that this cartoon rendition of an evil Faustus could have ignited ideas in the minds of a very different audience that would go on to develop their own destructive agenda, blind to the warning embedded in the boys' comic of 1975. The Marvel comic looks back to the Middle Ages and forward to 9/11 at the same time, reminding us of the truly timeless lesson that the story has sought to transmit from its earliest versions onwards. The man who seeks power by unconventional means is brought down by the conventional workings of justice. Faustus is damned by a punitive Lutheran theology, while the Marvel cartoon villain is laid low by a boisterous 'Captain America' all too ready to dispens

In his many guises, Faust/Faustus has emerged as the instrument of ideologies as varied in character as are the musical compositions that form the basis of this volume. There can be no doubt that the rapidly changing political climate of the present will provide many opportunities for further reworkings of a theme that has gripped the cultural imagination of the world for more than five centuries. What is abundantly clear is that the optimism of Goethe's reading has not helped to stabilise Faust's image, but appears to have had the opposite effect, leading to parodies and reversals such as those created by the Manns in their attempts to analyse the malaise that affected their country in the last century. We shall await new incarnations of the unquiet Magus with interest, confident that our paradoxical world will continue to provide stimulating challenges for the figure of the restless genius.

- 33. Stan Lee, 'Captain America and the Falcon', Marvel Comics, December 1975.
- 34. Siegfried Kracauer, From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947); S. S. Prawer, Caligari's Children. The Film as Tale of Terror (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).



## PART II

# Legacies Goethe's *Faust* in the Nineteenth Century



## ~ 6 ~

#### Faust's Schubert: Schubert's Faust

### John Michael Cooper

For a brief but extraordinarily consequential period from October 1814 to October 1819, Franz Schubert was captivated by the works of Goethe. During that short time span he penned fifty-four of his eventual seventy-two settings of Goethe's poetry. Although those settings represent a variety of genres and draw on a variety of poetic sources, they collectively reveal Schubert's voracious appetite for the work of the poet whose collected works had been released by Cotta's Vienna presses in 1810. Among them the *Faust* settings have pride of place – not only because they were launched with *Gretchen am Spinnrade* (D 118), the work that is widely considered to have articulated a turning-point in Schubert's approach to song composition and, after it was published in 1821, in the Romantic Lied as a genre, 1 but also because of their deployment of extraordinary musical means to achieve, collectively, unprecedented penetrating psychological and dramatic insight into the work that Friedrich Schelling had described as 'die innerste, reinste Essenz unseres Zeitalters' [the inmost, purest essence of our age].<sup>2</sup> As shown in Table 6.1, between October 1814 and May 1817 Schubert completed four settings of texts from that drama and began a fifth. Those four completed settings are the subject of this essay.

1. The literature concerning Schubert's *Gretchen am Spinnrade* and its significance in the Romantic art song is vast. The most useful concise overview of the song and its relationship to its textual sources is Lorraine Byrne [Bodley], *Schubert's Goethe Settings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 339–45. See also Charles Rosen, 'Schubert's Inflections of Classical Form', in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 72–7; Tobias Lund, 'Winners Write the History: The Reception of Schubert's Goethe Lieder', in *Goethe and Schubert: Across the Divide*, ed. Lorraine Byrne [Bodley] and Dan Farrelly (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2003), 59–70; Kenneth S. Whitton, *Goethe and Schubert: The Unseen Bond* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1999), 156–9.

2. Friedrich Schelling, *Philosophie der Kunst* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft,

1966), 82, 90, quoted and trans. from Karl Robert Mandelkow, 'Wandlungen des Faust-Bildes in Deutschland', in *Interpreting Goethe's 'Faust' Today*, ed. Jane K. Brown, Meredith Lee and Thomas P. Saine (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994), 239–51 (here 240). Published in 1859, Schelling's remarks were given in lectures at the universities in Jena and Würzburg between 1802 and 1804.

Table 6.1 Schubert's Settings of Text from Faust

#### 'Gretchen am Spinnrade', D 118

Text: Faust I, ll. 3374–413 (also in Urfaust, Faust-Fragment) Composed 19 October 1814 Sent to Goethe along with D 367 and thirteen other songs on texts by Goethe, 17 April 1816 Published as op. 2, 1821

#### 'Szene aus *Faust'*, D 126 (NB: Schubert did not set final line of scene)

Text: Faust I, ll. 3776–3833 (also in Urfaust, Faust-Fragment) Two versions: First version:

First autograph complete, dated December 1814; subsequently revised Second aŭtoĝraph incomplete, bears additional annotation at end: 'Skizze zu einer weiteren Ausführung' [sketch for another setting] Second version dated 12 December 1814; autograph now lost Revised version first published posthumously, December 1832

First version published posthumously, 1873 'Der König in Thule', D 367

Text: Faust I, Il. 2759–82 (also in Urfaust, Faust-Fragment\*)
Composed early 1816 (probably March or April; before 16 April)
Sent to Goethe along with D 118 and thirteen other songs on texts by Goethe, 17 April 1816 Published as op. 5, no. 5, 1821

#### 'Chor der Engel', D 440

Text: Faust I, II. 737–41 (NB: not included in Urfaust, Faust-Fragment) Composed June 1816 First published posthumously, 1839, ed. Robert Schumann

#### 'Gretchen im Zwinger' [Gretchens Bitte], D 564 (incomplete)

Text: Faust I, Il. 3587–619 (also included in *Urfaust*, Faust-Fragment) Composed May 1817 (NB: Schubert set only II. 3587-3607) First published posthumously, 1838, with conclusion supplied by unidentified source

Goethe had originally written this poem in 1774 and published it several times previously.

Schubert was of course hardly alone in his fascination with the Faust saga. It had been wildly popular since the mid-sixteenth century, when the deeds of one or both of the historical Fausts were first compiled in manuscript by Christoph Rosshirt ca. 1575 and then published (with additions) in a chapbook published in Frankfurt am Main by Johann Spiess in 1587.3 During the first century and a

The best discussion of Goethe's *Faust* projects against the backdrop of earlier treatments is found in Nicholas Boyle, *Goethe: Faust. Part One* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1–22. See also Jochen Schmidt, *Goethes Faust, erster und zweiter Teil:* 

after the chapbook's appearance Faust's ill repute spread rapidly, quickly losing its original specifically Protestant moral and becoming a pan-denominational craze in Catholic Europe as well. A new twist was added with the versions that appeared during the late Enlightenment, as those recountings, drawing in part on the commonly encountered interminglings of the Faust and Don Juan legends, frequently introduced what might today be termed a 'love interest': now Faust's long-fabled seduction of a conjured Helen of Troy was supplemented or replaced by his reputed wooing of innocent young girls who fell in love beyond their station in life became pregnant, and often recorted to infanticide. In an ago that station in life, became pregnant, and often resorted to infanticide. In an age that was increasingly questioning the proper role of women in society and looking askance at traditional gender hierarchies and their moral underpinnings, tales that enriched the traditional moralizing tone invited by Faust's pact with the devil with additional moral issues born of illicit and socially transgressive sexual

interaction naturally exerted a great hold on the reading public's imagination. Such was the context of which Goethe's lifelong series of engagements with the Faust project were born. Goethe struggled mightily with the task of creating what Nicholas Boyle has termed 'a modern Faust' <sup>4</sup> – i.e. neither a conventional morality tale that concludes with strong authorial approbation of Faust's renunciation of his blood pact with Evil nor a *Sturm und Drang* drama, but a narrative of a very human, multidimensional Faust that resonated with the issues of contemporary society and the dynamics of contemporary life. Along with his replacement of the traditional blood pact with a wager – a replacement that implicitly asserts that Faust's own humanity at least has the potential to best the supernatural forces of Mephistopheles – arguably his most significant step in this direction was his interweaving of the Gretchen tragedy into his drama so that it was no longer a simplistic love interest, but a drama that structurally and dramatically rivals the Faust tragedy with which it is coupled: indeed, the timehonoured Faust tragedy is in many ways driven by the Gretchen tragedy. 5 As in other eighteenth-century versions of the tale, in Part I of Goethe's rendering Gretchen is seduced by Faust, perhaps inadvertently kills her mother while arranging for the tryst, bears Faust's illegitimate child, kills the child in order to avoid the shame of illegitimate childbirth, prays fervently and torments herself for the shame she has brought to her family, and is sentenced to hang for infanticide. At the end of Part I, however, Goethe offered a stroke that was without presentent in ordinary in ordinary in the state when Faust verifice. that was without precedent in earlier versions of the tale: when Faust vainly tries to persuade Gretchen to leave the prison with him and Mephistopheles. Gretchen, having recognized the demon for what he is and comprehended at least something of the nature of the tragedy that has enfolded her, declines – submitting instead to the judgment of Heaven. A voice from above announces

*Grundlagen – Werk – Wirkung*, 3rd edn (Munich: Beck, 2011); E.M. Butler, *The Fortunes of Faust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952). Boyle, *Part One*, 25 and *passim*.

See Nicholas Boyle's essay in this volume, 00.

Aside from the Faust-Fragment (Leipzig, 1790, repr. 1801), only this first part was published during Schubert's lifetime prior to the release of Faust I in 1808.

her salvation, and as Part I ends the hall is resonating with Gretchen's voice calling out to Faust as he leaves with Mephistopheles. For the bulk of Part Two the tragedy returns to Faust himself, but at the end it is Gretchen, personification of *das Ewig-Weibliche*, who offers Faust redemption – an apotheosis that must have boggled the imagination not only of contemporaries who had been weaned on the simple maids who fell victim to Faust's lechery in the eighteenth-century tradition, but also of those who had read the *Faust-Fragment* and *Faust I*.

Of course, the conclusion of Goethe's tragedy would remain neither published nor even written until three and a half years after Schubert's death and nearly thirteen years after his latest completed setting of text from the drama. Nevertheless, by the time it got to Schubert, the story offered any number of themes and angles that had already exerted a powerful hold on the Romantic imagination. Most obviously, there was the historical original: Faust as victim and example of the importance of steadfast faith in God, of resisting the devil, and of the perils and pitfalls of the eternal human quest for knowledge and truth. Alternatively, Schubert might well have portrayed Faust as the personification of humanity caught up in a cosmic struggle between good and evil. And then, of course, there was the obvious and most romantic view of the whole: Faust as a mortal both powerful and learned, but humanly fallible, helpless to control the appetites and impulses that imperil his own soul and lead to tragedy wherever they are manifested. Beethoven, for one, had focused on Mephistopheles, and many other early nineteenth-century musical treatments likewise focused on either Faust or Mephistopheles.<sup>7</sup>

As it turns out, however, none of those angles readily explains Schubert's approach to the Faust saga – for Faust himself appears in none of Schubert's *Faust* settings. Instead, the aspect of Goethe's *Faust* that Schubert seemed to have considered central was Gretchen, the victim of Faust's seduction who, through inner strength and grace, transcends her station in life, and who symbolically embodies all the qualities that Goethe, by the end of Part II, would portray as the redemption of humanity.

Only two of Schubert's *Faust* settings were published during his lifetime: *Der König in Thule* (D 367; op. 5, no. 5) and *Gretchen am Spinnrade* (D 118; op. 2). Both of these songs present Gretchen alone, contemplating the mysterious events in whose midst she is increasingly caught up. The song that occurs first in Goethe's drama, *Der König in Thule*, seems at first blush to be a simple ditty sung by a simple girl, offering a moment's respite from the increasingly convoluted drama of good and evil that is inexorably enfolding her. Goethe probably had no such simple purpose in mind, however; for this unimposing little Lied is anything but simple:

7. See Lorna Fitzsimmons (ed.), *Lives of Faust: The Faust Theme in Literature and Music. A Reader* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008); Dorette Maria Roos, 'The Faust Legend and Its Musical Manifestations: A Historical Overview', MM Thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2010 (http://hdl.handle.net/10019.1/5156); William Edward Grim, *The Faust Legend in Music and Literature*, 2 vols (Lewiston and New York: Edwin Mellen, 1988 and 1992).

## faust's schubert: schubert's faust

275 9	Es war ein König in Thule	There was a King in Thule,
276 0	Gar treu bis an das Grab,	faithful even unto the grave,
276 1	Dem sterbend seine Buhle	to whom his beloved, dying,
276 2	Einen goldnen Becher gab.	gave a golden goblet.
276 3	Es ging ihm nichts darüber,	Nothing was more precious to him:
276 4	Er leert' ihn jeden Schmaus;	he drained it at every feast;
276 5	Die Augen gingen ihm über,	his eyes would fill with tears
276 6	So oft er trank daraus.	whenever he drank from it.
276 7	Und als er kam zu sterben,	And when he neared his death,
276 8	Zählt' er seine Städt' im Reich,	he counted the cities of his realm
276 9	Gönnt' alles seinen Erben,	and left everything to his heirs –
277 0	Den Becher nicht zugleich.	everything except the goblet.
277 1	Er saß beim Königsmahle,	He sat at his royal feast,
277 2	Die Ritter um ihn her,	his knights all around him,
277 3	Auf hohem Vätersaale,	in the lofty hall of [his] ancestors,
277 4	Dort auf dem Schloß am Meer.	there in the castle by the sea.
277 5	Dort stand der alte Zecher,	There the old tippler stood,
277 6	Trank letzte Lebensglut,	took a last draft of life's glowing embers,
277 7	Und warf den heiligen Becher	and hurled the sacred goblet

277 8	Hinunter in die Flut.	down into the waters.
277 9	Er sah ihn stürzen, trinken	He watched it plunge, drink of the sea,
278 0	Und sinken tief ins Meer,	and sink deep into the depths;
278 1	Die Augen täten ihm sinken,	[Then] his eyes closed,
278 2	Trank nie einen Tropfen mehr.	and he never drank another drop.
		[translation: John Michael Cooper]

One readily evident example of its underlying sophistication is its potent symbolism. Most obviously, since the goblet central to the poem is from the king's 'Buhle' [paramour], it is a material symbol of an earthly, implicitly physical love between her and the king that probably transcends social strata. As a vessel that brings sensual pleasure and serves as frequent literary allegory for female genitalia, the goblet also represents much of what Gretchen comes to represent for Faust later in the drama – not only the physical, intensely sexual aspect of their relationship, but also the inviolable, almost sacred intimacy of the connection between the scholar and the humble girl as well as its incomprehensibility to those around them. Perhaps most importantly, through the goblet the king's mistress long remains with him after she is gone, her physical presence symbolically perpetuated through the goblet. That vessel thus enables the lovers to transcend not only social proscriptions of marriage and class, but time and space themselves.

Der König in Thule also teems with allegories that liken this transcendent love to both the lovers' bodies and the timeless sea at the end of the world. Just as the king drinks from the goblet, the goblet drinks of the sea as it plunges to its watery grave. The salt water that fills the goblet as it plunges to its icy grave metaphorically mirrors the salty tears that fill the king's eyes whenever he drinks from it. And finally, as the goblet sinks into the timeless ocean at end of

the world, Goethe has the king's eyes close for all eternity in parallel fashion (l.

28): goblet and sea, king and mistress are united.8

Although Gretchen has rejected Faust's overtures and sings this song while alone, in singing these words she seems to intuit many of the salient issues that will emerge in her relationship with Faust, to grasp something of the timelessness of the saga that will unfold with the two of them at its epicenter, and even to intuit, if only vaguely, the centrality of *das Ewig-Weibliche* to man's redemption. This wisdom and prescience become all the more striking when we consider that in ll. 720–36 of the play, more than 2,000 lines before Gretchen sings this song, Faust had considered ending his life by drinking from a goblet given him years ago. Gretchen knows nothing of that contemplated suicide, of course, but it can hardly be a coincidence that shortly after meeting Faust she sings a song whose imagery and ideas echo so vividly the initiation of the tragedy that will bring about her love for Faust, her own downfall, and her ultimate redemption as well as that of Faust himself.

The understated beauty of Schubert's setting of *Der König in Thule* suggests that he perceived much of this. Most important in this regard is that Schubert evokes the archaic ethos central to the poem by musically recasting Goethe's six stanzas into three pairs of stanzas and sets the second strophe of each pair to new music. As shown in Table 6.2, the result is that each stanza-pair is cast musically in the so-called 'bar form' familiar to German speakers from poetry and music of the Middle Ages onward. Each strophe is cast in two main parts: an *Aufgesang* (introductory song) comprising two lines (*pes* or *Stollen*, sing. *Stoll*) with different text by the same rhyme scheme, and an *Abgesang* (after-song) comprising either one or two pairs of lines; the second of these concludes with a *cauda* that rhymes with the second *Stoll* of the *Aufgesang*. Typically for musical settings in this form, Schubert's setting of *Der König in Thule* musically parallels the *cauda* by closing the *Abgesang* with a musical rhyme of the melody used for the *Stollen*.

But there are also more subtle interpretive gestures: within Goethe's poem, the imagery and affect warm at the beginning of the second, fourth, and final stanzas; Schubert's setting reflects this warming by turning to the major mode near the beginning of the *Abgesang* ('er leert' ihn jeden Schmaus'; see Example 6.1). Moreover, Schubert's strophic setting is keenly attentive to both the psychological state of Gretchen and the song's integral function within the drama

8. Noteworthy here is that in all known versions of this poem Goethe uses *täten* rather than *taten* – the latter preterite being consistent with the verb tenses of the remainder of the song. It is possible that *täten* is an irregular preterite in some dialect of German that was in use in Goethe's day, but repeated efforts to verify this have proved fruitless. Goethe's contemporaries probably would not have overlooked that *täten* normally is not the preterite of *tun*, but the conditional. Since the poem as a whole is set in the past, that use of the conditional would count as the future within the past – i.e., suggesting that as the king hurled the goblet into the see he *imagined* a point in the future at which his eyes would close (i.e., 'his eyes would close'). In such a reading the hurling of the goblet into the sea is not the king's final act, but one that symbolically looks into the future.

Table 6.2: Structural Adaptation to Bar Form in Schubert's setting of 'Der König in Thule'.

Goethe		Schubert		
Strophe	11.	bars / key	section	part
1	2759–60	1–8 (i –V)	A (Stoll 1 / pes)	Aufgesang
	2761–2	9–16 (i –V)	A (Stoll 2 / pes)	
2	2763–6	17–34 (V/V–III–i)	B (cauda)	Abgesang
3	2767–8	1–8 (i –V)	A (Stoll 1 / pes)	Aufgesang
	2769–70	9–16 (i –V)	A (Stoll 2 / pes)	
4	2771–4	17 <b>-</b> 34 (V/V–III–i)	B (cauda)	Abgesang
5	2775–6	1–8 (i –V)	A (Stoll 1 / pes)	Aufgesang
	2777-8	9–16 (i –V)	A (Stoll 2 / pes)	
6	2779–82	17–34 (V/V–III–i)	B (cauda)	Abgesang

as a whole – for Gretchen is here distracted and sings her little ditty absentmindedly, characteristics that are aptly reflected in Schubert's designation of the tempo and character as *etwas langsam* and the dynamic level as *pianissimo*. The setting also responds to the text's imagery in more detailed fashion. Arguably most important among these gestures is the mordent in measure 7, whose textual references progressively trace the development of the elements of the king's life leading up to his final moment of intimacy with the sacred chalice: in 1. 2760 (stanza-pair 1/2) the mordent emphasizes the king's lifelong fidelity ('gar treu bis an das Grab'), in 1. 2768 (stanza-pair 3/4) the vastness of his material domain ('seine Städte im Reich'), and in 1. 2776 (stanza-pair 5/6) his final drink of life's glowing embers ('letzte Lebensglut'). Although Gretchen as yet has no way of knowing how these elements resonate with the personality and deeds of Faust, or with the future development of her relationship with him, the fact that Goethe entrusts the words to her and Schubert musically emphasizes the absentmindedness of her song points to its elemental significance in the unfolding tragedy.

But if Schubert's setting of *Der König in Thule* demonstrates his cognizance that there is more to the humble Gretchen than meets the eye, the deceptiveness of her simplicity becomes even more evident in her next song. Comprising lines 3374–413 of *Faust I*, the scene is headed 'Gretchens Stube' [Gretchen's Room] and provided with the stage direction 'Gretchen, am Spinnrade allein' [Gretchen, alone at the spinning wheel]. It vividly mirrors not only the images and ideas

Example 6.1 Schubert, 'Der König in Thule', bars 13–24.



whose hold on her psyche are already increasing inexplicably and dramatically, but also a great deal of her general character and psychological make-up (see text and translation, 'Gretchens Stube'). Since opening the box left for her by Mephistopheles on Faust's behalf, she has been obsessed with Faust to the point of distraction – yet it is significant that at this point she is still sufficiently in control of her feelings to be aware of and concerned by her emergent obsession with Faust, ruminating that her peace is gone, seemingly forever, no fewer than three times in ton standard. three times in ten stanzas:

Gretchens Stube		Gretchen's room	
GRETCHEN am Spinnrade allein.		GRETCHEN, alone at the spinning wheel.	
337 4	Meine Ruh' ist hin,	My peace is gone,	
337 5	Meine Herz ist schwer;	My heart is heavy,	
337 6	Ich finde sie nimmer	I will find it [my peace] never	
337 7	Und nimmermehr.	and nevermore.	
337 8	Wo ich ihn nicht hab',	Where I do not have him,	
337 9	Ist mir das Grab,	Is [like] the grave to me,	
338 0	Die ganze Welt	The whole world	
338 1	Ist mir vergällt.	Is bitter to me.	
338	Mein armer Kopf	My poor head	

338 3	Ist mir verrückt,	Is crazy to me,
338 4	Mein armer Sinn	My poor mind
338 5	Ist mir zerstückt.	Is in pieces.
338 6	Meine Ruh' ist hin,	My piece is gone,
338 7	Meine Herz ist schwer;	My heart is heavy,
338 8	Ich finde sie nimmer	I will find it [my peace] never
338 9	Und nimmermehr.	and nevermore.

## faust's schubert: schubert's faust

339 0	Nach ihm nur schau' ich	Only for him do I look
339 1	Zum Fenster hinaus,	Out the window
339 2	Nach ihm nur geh' ich	Only for him do I go
339	Aus dem Haus.	Out of the house.
339 4	Sein hoher Gang,	His lofty walk,
339 5	Sein' edle Gestalt,	His noble figure,
339 6	Seines Mundes Lächeln,	His mouth's smile,
339 7	Seiner Augen Gewalt,	The force of his eyes,
339 8	Und seiner Rede	And the magic flow
339 9	Zauberfluß,	of his speech,
340 0	Sein Händedruck,	the clasp of his hands,
340 1	Und ach sein Kuß!	and ah! his kiss!
340 2	Meine Ruh' ist hin,	My piece is gone,
340 3	Meine Herz ist schwer;	My heart is heavy,
340 4	Ich finde sie nimmer	I will find it [my peace] never
340 5	Und nimmermehr.	and nevermore.
340 6	Mein Busen drängt	My bosom urges itself
340 7	Sich nach ihm hin.	toward him.

340 8	Ach dürft' ich fassen	Ah, that I might grasp
340 9	Und halten ihn,	And hold him,
341 0	Und küssen ihn,	And kiss him,
341 1	So wie ich wollt',	As I would wish,
341 2	An seinen Küssen	At his kisses
341 3	Vergehen sollt'!	I should die!

[translation: John Michael Cooper]

This struggle between reason and unreason, between intellect and emotion, is clearly reflected in a conflict between the form and the grammar and syntax of Goethe's poem. On the one hand, the overall form of the poem is symmetrical: the refrain 'Meine Ruh' ist hin' returns to form stanzas four and eight, creating an overall structure of 3+4+3 strophes – an orderliness consistent with the order of Gretchen's modest life as it existed before Faust's appearance. On the other hand, the poem's internal structure reflects the disruptive power of Faust's presence in Gretchen's life and thoughts. For when she contemplates Faust's physical presence and attributes in Strophes 6 and 7 (ll. 3394–401), the orderly, one-thought-per-sentence, one-sentence-per-strophe composure of the poem's opening begins to collapse: in fact, there is no verb in those two stanzas. Gretchen then regains some control with the return of the refrain in l. 3401 – and while the final two strophes do not quite recapture the coherence of the poem's opening, they do offer some semblance of balance in that they express two complementary parts of a single thought (stanza 8 and stanzas 9–10).

As noted already in early reviews, Schubert's setting of this poem responds pictorially to the structural and semantic psychologizing of Goethe's poem. On the one hand, the image of the spinning wheel (which Goethe includes in the stage direction and alludes to in the scene's steady pattern of iambic diameter) is omnipresent in Schubert's music – no doubt because the image of rapid motion revolving around a fixed central point is an apt metaphor for Gretchen's state of mind. Moreover, Schubert's setting vividly parallels the poetic structure of Goethe's poem in showing us Gretchen's struggle to regain her clarity of thought. This struggle is most obvious in his presentation of the refrain 'Meine Ruh' ist hin, mein Herz ist schwer' in a stable d minor and his addition of one final repetition of this motive *after* the close of Goethe's words. By contrast, the intervening material becomes radically unstable as she loses her composure in the central strophes, coming to an initial climax as she is mesmerized by the recollection of Faust's lips kissing her own. The force exerted by that moment on her consciousness is graphically depicted by the song's agonizing delay of the resolution of the dissonant high G on *Kuß* – the highest note in the vocal line up to that point, and a seventh that remains unresolved for four full measures after the fermata (see Example 6.2).

Example 6.2 Schubert, 'Gretchen am Spinnrade', bars 65–73.



Even more important, though, are the ways in which Schubert's setting of *Gretchen am Spinnrade* seems to contravene what Goethe wrote. As noted above, Goethe's Gretchen gradually regains some of her composure in the poem's last three stanzas – yet Schubert actually increases her distraction in these stanzas by repeating obsessively the lines 'Und küssen ihn / so wie ich wollt' / An seinen Küssen / vergehen sollt'!' and musically creating a second, dramatically distended climax on this phrase. Although Gretchen, of course, has no way of

9. See Byrne, Schubert's Goethe Settings, 342.

knowing how tragically prophetic the figure of speech contained in the final lines of her distracted little song will become, by musically contravening her apparently hard-won self-control and obsessing musically on 'at his kisses I should die' – stating that particular phrase three times, in mm. 96–100, 104–8 and 108-12, the last *two* climaxing on  $a^2$ , the highest note in the song – Schubert overrides the literal dramatic context and gives us a musical foreshadowing of Gretchen's death. This musical obsession thus enfranchises Gretchen in an unwitting but nevertheless prefigurative dialogue with those performers and listeners who are aware of the multiple tragedies that will unfold in consequence of that fateful kiss that she so desperately desires.

Of Schubert's *Faust* settings that were not included in the package he sent to Goethe in 1816, the earliest is the Cathedral Scene given as II. 3776–815 of *Faust I* 

('Szene aus Goethes Faust, D. 126):10

Dom		Cathedral
Gre	Orgen und Gesand. – tchen unter vielem Volke. Geist hinter Gretchen.	Service, Organ and Singing. – Gretchen amid many people. Evil Spirit behind Gretchen.
37 76	BÖSER GEIST. Wie anders,	EVIL SPIRIT. How different it was
	war dir's, Gretchen,	for you, Gretchen,
37 77	Als du noch voll Unschuld	when, still full of innocence,
37 78	Hier zum Altar tratst,	you came here to the altar;
37 79	Aus dem vergriffnen Büchelchen	murmuring prayers
37 80	Gebete lalltest,	from your worn and dog-eared little book,
37 81	Halb Kinderspiele,	your heart half-filled with children's
		games,
37 82	Halb Gott im Herzen!	half with God!
37 83	Gretchen!	Gretchen!
37 84	Wo steht dein Kopf?	What's gotten into you?
37 85	In deinem Herzen	Which misdeed [is]
37 86	Welche Missetat?	in your heart?
37 87	Betst du für deiner Mutter	Are you praying for the soul of

	Seele, die	your mother, who
37 88	Durch dich zur langen, langen	because of you overslept
	Peinhinüberschlief?	
37 89	Auf deiner Schwelle wessen	into long, long torment?
	Blut?	
37 90	– Und unter deinem Herzen	On your threshold, whose blood is that?
37 91	Regt sich's nicht quillend schon	– and underneath your heart
37 92	Und ängstet dich und sich	isn't something already swelling up
37 93	Mit ahnungsvoller Gegenwart?	and worrying you and itself,
37 94	GRETCHEN. Weh! Weh!	with its foreboding presence?
37 95	Wär' ich der Gedanken los,	GRETCHEN. Alas! Alas!

<sup>10.</sup> On this scene, see especially Boyle, *Part One*, 93–4, and Byrne, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, 349–56.

3796 Die mir herüber und hinüber	If only I could be free of the thoughts
gehen 3797 Wider mich! 3798 CHOR. Dies irae, dies illa 3799 Solvet saeclum in favilla. (Orgelton.) 3800 BÖSER CEIST Crimm fact dieh	that run around in my mind against me! CHOIR. Day of wrath, day that will reduce the world to burning coals. (Sound of the organ.)
3800 BÖSER GEIST. Grimm faßt dich 3801 Die Posaune tönt!	The trombone sounds!
3802 Die Gräber beben!	The graves tremble!
3803 Und dein Herz,	And you heart,
3804 Aus Aschenruh	stirred up again
3805 Zu Flammenqualenfrom 3806 Wieder aufgeschaffen, 3807 Bebt auf! 3808 GRETCHEN. Wär ich hier weg! 3809 Mir ist, als ob die Orgel mir 3810 Den Atem versetzte	from the peace of ashes to the torment of flames, throbs to life! GRETCHEN. If only I were elsewhere! It seems to me that the organ took my [own] breath away,
3811 Gesang mein Herz 3812 Im Tiefsten löste. 3813 CHOR. Judex ergo cum sedebit,	and extinguished the song from my heart in its depths. CHORUS. Therefore when the judge shall sit,
3814 Quidquid latet adparebit, 3815 Nil inultum remanebit. 3816 GRETCHEN. Mir wird so eng! 3817 Die Mauernpfeiler 3818 Befangen mich!	whatever lay hidden will be revealed; nothing shall remain unavenged. GRETCHEN. It's getting so stifling! The pillars on the walls imprison me!
3819 Das Gewölbe	The vault
3820 Drängt ich! – Luft!	presses down on me! - Air!
3821 BÖSER GEIST. Verbirg dich!	EVIL SPIRIT. Hide yourself! Sin and
	shame
Sünd' und Schande	Sin and shame
3822 Bleibt nicht verborgen. 3823 Luft? Licht? 3824 Weh dir!	will not remain hidden. Air? Light? Woe unto you!
3825 CHOR. Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?	CHORUS. What, then, am I, a wretch, to say?
3826 Quem patronum rogaturus?	To what patron am I to pray?
3827 Cum vix justus sit securus.	when even the just [man] can hardly be secure?
3828 BÖSER GEIST. Ihr Antlitz wenden	EVIL SPIRIT. Those who have been
3829 Verkärte von dir ab. 3830 Die Hände dir zu reichen,	transfigured turn their faces from you. Those who are pure shudder at the thought
3831 Schauert's den Rinen. 3832 Weh!	of extending their hand to you. Woe!

3833 CHOR. Quid sum miser tunc CHORUS. What, then, am I, dicturus?

a wretch, to say? [translation: John Michael Cooper]

This scene's appeal for Schubert was probably of a different sort than that of the previous two songs, for it comes from a considerably darker moment in the tragedy - especially where Gretchen is concerned. Having deceived and inadvertently murdered her mother in order to have her tryst with Faust, she is now pregnant, and her brother Valentin has been killed in his attempt to avenge her honour. Moreover, this scene takes place in a cathedral – a public space, and therefore an indication that the Faust and Gretchen tragedies are no longer strictly private matters. The most important difference between this scene and those that have preceded it, however, is that this scene plays out within Gretchen's mind rather than in objective reality. In effect it is a mortal conflict between three aspects of the traumatized Gretchen's fractured psyche: first an interest first her identified whe towarts Cretchen with her misdeads and 'Evil Spirit', not further identified, who taunts Gretchen with her misdeeds and reminds her that she is powerless to stop the tragic consequences of her actions; second, Gretchen herself, who protests her anguish and begs for some means of escape; and finally a chorus that interrupts with intonations of the *Dies irae* from the scene of Judgment Day in the Latin rite for the dead. The fractured psyche vividly laid out in this scene marks the onset of Gretchen's madness.

Not surprisingly, Schubert once again taps into the intensely psychologizing aspect of Goethe's poetry. The most obvious and pervasive evidence of this is his setting's complex chromaticism, which at times threatens to obscure all sense of tonal center – a musical parallel to the traumatized protagonist's tenuous grip on reality at this point in the drama. More telling than this, however, is that although the piano accompaniment responds synchronously with the images and ideas of the Evil Spirit's words during the first section of the song, in m. 19 it graphically *anticipates* the Spirit's taunt that 'something [is] swelling up inside [Gretchen]' and worrying her with its foreboding presence (Il. 3789 and 3790) (see Example 6.3). By musically depicting Gretchen's response to the Spirit's taunt *before* that taunt is formulated and articulated, Schubert makes clear that this scene unfolds within Gretchen's traumatized psyche. this scene unfolds within Gretchen's traumatized psyche.

Schubert's last completed setting of a Faust text is the brief chorus 'Christ ist erstanden' [Christ is Risen] (D 440) – and this chorus, too, foregrounds the

Example 6.3 Musical anticipation of 'quillend' in text of Schubert, 'Scene aus Faust', bars 17-21.

	[Depiction of "quillend"]		
•			
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Gretchen tragedy, albeit in ways less obvious than the works discussed above. Although the last of Schubert's completed settings of texts from *Faust to be composed*, this chorus actually occurs first in Goethe's play itself – in Il. 737–41 of the scene headed simply 'Nacht'. Faust has returned to his study and, dejected, contemplates suicide – to be accomplished by drinking poison from a crystal goblet – yet just as the goblet touches his lips he hears a choir intoning the joyous strains of Goethe's own trope on the anonymous fourteenth-century Easter hymn 'Christ ist erstanden'. As noted above, there are clear connections between the essential imagery and thematic elements of this scene and those of *Der König in Thule* – and thus by extension also the larger drama that eventually consumes both Faust and Gretchen. For in this scene Faust, like the King of Thule, finds himself contemplating the end of his life and, like the King of Thule, he intends for his drink from the goblet whose contents remind him of his youth to be his last gesture, one that enfolds the distant past and the present into a single moment. Moreover, just as *Der König in Thule* (as Gretchen sings it early in *Faust I*) seems to adumbrate events that she cannot possibly yet grasp, the content of the chorus and versicle that interrupt Faust's suicidal drink points to redemption:

737.	Christ ist erstanden!	Christ is risen!
738.	Freude dem Sterblichen,	Joy unto the mortal
739.	Den die verderblichen,	whom the pernicious,
740.	Schleichenden, erblichen	insidious, inherent
741.	Mängel umwanden.	failings [once] enveloped.
		[translation: John Michael Cooper]

Once again Schubert seems to have responded to this chorus's foreshadowing of the drama's eventual close. One possible indication to this effect is that Schubert labels the chorus 'Chor der Engel' [chorus of angels], even though in the literal context of the plot it is sung not by angels, but by mortals processing within earshot of Faust's study. More concretely, in their literal context these verses have only three conceivable stylistic settings: in Faust's own time they would have been sung either as a Lutheran chorale (probably not an appealing option later, to the Catholic Schubert in Catholic Vienna) or as a monophonic chant delivered responsorially. Alternatively, in Goethe's and Schubert's own time they would have been delivered as a lively chorus, the tempo deriving from the central affection of joy as the faithful celebrate Christ's resurrection. Perhaps tellingly, the words Goethe entrusts to his chorus are not Luther's and do not follow the accepted poetic structure of chorale tunes; rather, they may

11. The German text and tune of the liturgical 'Christ ist erstanden' are derived from the Roman Catholic sequence for Easter Sunday 'Victimae paschali laudes', attributed to Wipo of Burgundy (d. ca. 1050). The earliest German translation dates from around 1100, and a new translation was prepared by Martin Luther for the *Wittenberger Gesangbuch* of 1529. The text as given in *Faust I* contains elements of Luther's version but is mostly of Goethe's own making.

be considered an extremely free trope on Luther's translation of the traditional sequence, one which introduces themes material to the Faust saga. Yet the voice that speaks in Schubert's setting is consistent with none of these: the texture of this chorus is homophonic and homorhythmic rather than monophonic, and the tempo is explicitly designated *langsam* (slow). Not surprisingly, Schubert distances himself from any Protestant connotations by failing to use the tune of the Lutheran chorale.

The question is obvious: if the musical style present in Schubert's setting of 'Christ ist erstanden' is consistent with neither Faust's time, nor Goethe's and Schubert's time or even the literal context of Goethe's drama, whose voice is it that speaks in Schubert's brief but moving chorus? The most likely answer to this question is that here, too, the musical utterance is fundamentally informed by Gretchen, the de facto angel whose embodiment of das Ewig-Weibliche will in fact accomplish Faust's redemption at the end of Faust II. Certainly Gretchen is the only main character in Goethe's tale who unquestioningly accepts, as a matter of faith, the ideas expressed here; and certainly the deeply pious, devout delivery that Schubert here imparts to Goethe's text is more consistent with Gretchen's views than with those of Faust or Goethe himself. Most importantly, the text of Goethe's trope on the traditional hymn emphasizes the intermingling of exalted and meek, cosmic and mundane, sacred and profane that bring Faust and Gretchen together and ultimately facilitate Faust's redemption. In this sense, then, this little chorus concurs with Schubert's other completed settings of texts from *Faust* in suggesting that for him the most important element of the drama indeed, its telos – was neither Faust nor Mephistopheles, but Gretchen herself. It is of course important to recognize these settings as being in many ways representative of broader societal trends of Schubert's own time. Most obviously, the early nineteenth century in Europe, and in the German-speaking countries specifically, was the period in which society first began to address seriously what contemporary discourse widely referred to as 'the woman question' – the issue of finding, articulating, and solidifying more satisfactorily than before the essential and multifarious contributions of women to society and the integral function of women in society as a whole. 12 In a sense, that broader social discourse accounts for Goethe's remarkable elevation of the Gretchen tragedy to one that was in many ways a driving force behind the Faust tragedy. Most of the late eighteenth- century authors concerned with the 'womanizing Faust' portrayed their women only as objects of desire whose dramatic function was strictly defined by their focus on their male counterparts: those women are always domestic, devoted, and Faust-centered; they remain observers to, or passive participants in, the

12. For a review of this discourse see, for example, Karen Offen, European Feminisms, 1700–1950: A Political History (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 27–87, and 'Contextualizing the Theory and Practice of Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Europe', in Becoming Visible: Women in European History, ed. Renate Bridenthal, Susan Moscher Stuard and Merry E. Wiesner, 3rd edn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 327–55; Dena Goodman, 'Women and the Enlightenment', in Becoming Visible, 233–62.

great issues with which Faust grapples.<sup>13</sup> By contrast, Goethe's Gretchen is a voice of morality and strength who frequently questions and analyzes what is happening to her, and who actually rejects Faust at the end of Part I. Goethe thus became the first *Faust* author to fully enfranchise Gretchen in the drama.

happening to her, and who actually rejects Faust at the end of Part I. Goethe thus became the first Faust author to fully enfranchise Gretchen in the drama.

But we must also acknowledge the subsequent influence exerted by the centrality of Gretchen to Schubert's musical responses to the Faust saga. For despite some scattered and enthusiastic lauds in the critical press, Faust I did not begin to gain general acceptance until the late 1820s – that is, about a decade after Schubert's settings were completed. Yet while most of the world regarded Goethe's drama with incomprehension or outright hostility, Schubert read it with extraordinary acuity – recognizing the importance of Gretchen, and devising ways to translate Goethe's dramatic vision of the cosmically entwined dual tragedies of her and Faust into music that seems to adumbrate the entirety of Goethe's Faust narrative, not just its first part. Indeed, Schubert's view of the dramaturgical structure and symbolic meaning of Goethe's text seems to have set the bar for all the myriad settings written since – for not only most other, later composers who engaged with Faust in music, but also we ourselves view Goethe's Faust through the clarifying lens of Schubert's settings. The Faust saga that we come to know through Schubert's music is thus best considered as something that is distinctively, and enduringly, 'Schubert's Faust'.

<sup>13.</sup> See Butler, Fortunes, 131-40.

<sup>14.</sup> See Mandelkow, 'Wandlungen'; John Michael Cooper, Mendelssohn, Goethe, and the Walpurgis Night: The Heathen Muse in European Culture, 1700–1850 (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 167–80.

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## The Musical Novel as Master-genre Schumann's Szenen aus Goethes Faust

## Julian Horton

As their nine-year genesis indicates, Schumann's Szenen aus Goethes Faust proved both the most ambitious and the most recalcitrant of his major works. Begun in 1844 in the wake of the success of Das Paradies und die Peri, their completion was deferred until 1853, during which time intervening projects – from the Piano Concerto and the Second Symphony in 1845 to Der Rose Pilgerfahrt and the revision of the Fourth Symphony in 1851 – came to fruition. The Szenen aus Goethes Faust are consequently summative in various respects. As a statement of Schumann's dramatic aspirations, they assimilate and in a sense sublimate the preceding oratorios and stage works. As a compendium of Schumann's styles, they range across his entire oeuvre, finding resonances in the songs, symphonies, chamber and solo piano music. And, as John Daverio has explored, as an aesthetic statement, they embody on the largest scale a mentality that guided Schumann's entire career.<sup>1</sup>

The work's significance in the context of Schumann's oeuvre is, however, hardly reflected in its reception history. On the contrary, *Faust* is perhaps the largest casualty of the reversal of critical perception that took hold at the turn of the twentieth century, by the terms of which Schumann was reinvented as a miniaturist, whose primary achievement lay in the piano works of the 1830s and song cycles of 1840, but whose facility stalled before the challenge of large-scale form and then decayed under the impact of mental illness. And although the major instrumental works of the 1840s and 1850s have persisted despite critical censure, the choral and dramatic music has, notwithstanding occasional revivals, dropped largely from view.

The reasons for this neglect are manifold. It is in part one product of applying the critical modes of value judgement generated by the late nineteenth-century convergence of *Formenlehre* and canon formation, which increasingly reinforced the apparent inadequacy of post-Beethovenian and especially *Biedermeier* 

 John Daverio, Robert Schumann: Herald of a New Poetic Age (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 364–87. attempts to compose in Beethovenian forms. It is also a by-product of *Faust's* historical proximity to Wagner, and to the polarised musical polemics his music generated. The *Ring* and the concept of music drama that underpins it are coeval with the *Faust Scenes*; but the cultural momentum generated by Wagner's project quickly eclipsed any claim Schumann might have staked to dramatic novelty, which meant in turn that firm foundations on which to base the reception of Schumann's dramatic works never properly materialised. As Laura Tunbridge has explained, notwithstanding similarities between the *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* and *Tannhäuser*, or between *Genoveva* and *Lohengrin*, Schumann 'seems to stand as a kind of Wolfram to Wagner's Tannhäuser – left behind in Germany while Wagner was exiled in Switzerland after the revolutions, Schumann appears more dutiful and, ultimately, less exciting'.<sup>2</sup>

Recent attempts to address these inequities have naturally encompassed Faust. John Daverio has stressed the work's literary dimension.<sup>3</sup> Cutting across traditional divisions in Schumann's oeuvre (especially the tendency to separate the experimental piano music of the 1830s from the more conservative attempts to pursue Beethovenian forms from 1841), Daverio theorises a single overarching concept, the 'notion that music should be imbued with the same intellectual substance as literature', which integrates the entire sequence of works from the Papillons of 1831 to the Szenen aus Goethes Faust.<sup>4</sup> This 'musico-literary sensibility', as Daverio terms it, was trained after 1840 on the major Beethovenian genres, thereby compelling a thirteen-year progression through what Daverio calls the 'system of genres'. As this project advanced, however, its generic affiliations became increasingly diffuse: in the dramatic works especially, the intersection of literary aspiration and inherited genre markers caused the latter to destabilise. For Daverio this ambiguity signified the emergence of a new medium, which he calls the 'musical novel': '[the] Faust scenes bring together an encyclopaedic array of genres: church music, oratorio, horror opera, grand opera, Lied, symphony. The result[...] is not a harmonious unity, but a heterogeneous totality, a system of musico-poetic fragments, a musical novel'.<sup>5</sup> By these terms, the search for a generic context that will give Schumann's 'musico-literary sensibility' appropriate housing culminates in the creation of a work that accommodates the aesthetics of the fragment on the largest scale. Daverio theorises this in part by drawing parallels between Schumann's novelistic aspirations and the structure of Faust itself:

Schumann, ever the sensitive student of world literature, must have realised that at bottom [Goethe's] bipartite 'tragedy' was hardly a drama at all: its outward

See Laura Tunbridge, Schumann's Late Style (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 58.

<sup>3.</sup> On the literary pre-history of Goethe's *Faust* and Goethe's adaptations of the myth, see Nicholas Boyle, 'Wagering on Modernity: Goethe's Eighteenth-Century Faust', this volume, 00.

<sup>4.</sup> Daverio, Robert Schumann, 17.

<sup>5.</sup> Daverio, Robert Schumann, 387.

recourse to the dialogic form [. ] does not conceal a pervasive reflective spirit that has far more to do with the inwardness of the Roman, the novel, than with the teleology of the drama [. ]. [T]he novelistic principle of reflectivity animates not just the part but even more important, the whole of his final literary opera.

The analogy with the novel allows Daverio to recuperate the work's structural integrity whilst also acknowledging its heterogeneity. The design of Schumann's selection from *Faust* parallels *Faust* itself, in that both are founded on a 'dialectic between part and whole': the *Szenen aus Goethes Faust*'s individual elements both resemble 'a series of discrete fragments' and contribute to a whole that dialectically reconstrues those elements as a heterogeneous unity.

In contrast, Nicholas Marston understands Faust's tableau-like design as the realisation in musical form of an analogy with the visual arts. Marston notes Schumann's close interest in Raphael's work and its links to a heritage of artistic attempts to depict Goethe's text.<sup>6</sup> He points especially to Carl Gustav Carus's interpretation of Raphael's 'Sistine' Madonna as an embodiment of the 'eternalfeminine' of Goethe's *Chorus mysticus*, and posits that these connections would have been familiar to Schumann via Carus's links with the composer's Dresden rave been familiar to Schumann via Carus's links with the composer's Dresden circle. Marston therefore contests Daverio's novelistic interpretation, unpicking the latter's pivotal claim that the work encompasses scenes that 'captured the essence of the farflung action' by noting the absence of crucial aspects of the plot, including Faust's wager with Mephistopheles. For Marston, the work's heterogeneity does not instantiate the 'system of fragments' that defines Daverio's 'musical novel', but rather parallels the 'multiple symmetries' that Carus valued in Raphael's Madonna. Thus for Marston it is 'Schumann the viewer' rather than 'Schumann the reader' who is manifest in the *Szenen aus Goethes Faust*:

Rather than seeking to read some highly compressed narrative or dramatic continuity across Schumann's composition, we may do better to approach it from a more spatial and visual perspective. Schumann was far from seeking somehow to distill the essence of Goethe's 'farflung action'; he sought instead what Carus discerned as an overall 'simplicity in the multiplicity of parts', foregrounding first Gretchen and then Faust against the host of characters among whom they move in Goethe's play.8

See Nicholas Marston, 'Entzückt: Schumann, Raphael, Faust', in Rethinking Schumann, ed. Roe Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 109-28.

The relationship between Schumann and Carus, and their shared reception of Goethe, is examined in Christopher Ruth, 'The Psychology of Schumann's Faust: Developing the Human Soul', this volume, 00. Ruth stresses in particular the compatibility between the model of consciousness developed in Carus's *Psyche: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele* (Pforzheim: Flammer und Hoffmann, 1846) and the portrayal of the central characters in both Schumann's Faust and Caragan suggesting that this character stresses in the contraction of the central characters in both Schumann's Faust and Caragan suggesting that this character stresses in the contraction of the central characters in the contracters in the contraction of the central characters in the contracters in the contract both Schumann's Faust and Genoveva, suggesting that this shared psychological conception is underpinned by motivic material common to both works. Marston, 'Entzückt', 118.

The meeting point between Daverio's literary and Marston's pictorial readings is the problem of the work's generic identity: whether we see (or read) Faust as pursuing an analogy with the literary or with the visual arts, the invariant

difficulties are the twin questions of what genre the work inhabits, and of how this is informed by contributory genres.

These matters can be addressed by considering Schumann's Faust as an expression of the widespread inneteenth-century tendency to employ one genre as a platform for the absorption of others, or to devise purposely ambiguous or flexible genres capable of housing contributory generic identities. In either case the result is what can be termed a 'master-genre': that is, a genre that absorbs subgenres, whilst also being more than the sum of its generic parts.

Examples abound in both public and private musical spheres. By far the most influential public instance is the Wagnerian Gesamtkunstwerk, although despite Wagner's diagnosis of its post-Beethovenian demise, the symphony also proved a congenial vehicle for such generic experimentation, thanks precisely to the seminal instance of Beethoven's Ninth. Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* of 1838–9 picked up on the operatic proclivities of Beethoven's Finale, turning symphonic genre markers into a scaffold for a series of operatic scenes. In his Symphony no. 2 of 1840 Mendelssohn enlarged instead upon Beethoven's debt to the oratorio, producing a design that turned the first three movements into a quasi-Handelian oratorio sinfonia, and expanded Beethoven's choral finale into a multi-movement cantata. Berlioz and Mendelssohn furnish antithetical responses to Beethoven, in that they dwell respectively on the Ninth's secular and sacred proclivities. Their obvious late-century successor in this respect is Mahler, in whose symphonies the palette of symphonic subgenres attains its greatest diversity.9

In the domestic sphere Chopin's generic experiments have attracted the most sustained attention. Jeffrey Kallberg has identified something to this effect in the g minor Nocturne, op. 15, no. 3, and the Polonaise-Fantasie, but the Chopinesque examples par excellence are the ballades, which, as Jim Samson has averred, were effectively designed as a basis for generic discourse. 10 Samson's assessment of the ballades' engagement with genre resonates especially strongly with

Schumann's practice.

The encompassing issue here is the pervasive early nineteenth-century dichotomy between a historicist consciousness of the recent past and a compositional present driven by an emergent imperative of originality, which required composers both to acknowledge and to supersede the genres, forms,

On the convergence of vocal and instrumental proclivities in the nineteenth-century symphony, see Mark Evan Bonds, 'Beethoven's Shadow: The Nineteenth Century', and Julian Horton, 'Introduction: Understanding the Symphony', in *The Cambridge* Companion to the Symphony, ed. Horton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 329–43 and 1–12.

Jeffrey Kalberg, 'Chopin's Last Style', Journal of the American Musicological Society 38 (1985), 264–315; 'The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G minor', 19th-Century Music 11/3 (1988), 238–61; Jim Samson, Chopin: The Four Ballades (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 1992).

topics and syntax bequeathed by tradition. On the one hand, the consciousness of tradition necessitated both engagement with and the preservation of classical precedents, which came effectively to guarantee a composer's compositional credentials; on the other hand, fresh genres, topics, syntactic and expressive protocols, and systemic procedures burgeoned. For a composer of persisting classical genres, the challenge lay in understanding how the new styles and the aesthetic justifications underpinning them changed the old forms; composers impelled by generic novelty faced the opposite problem of how to marshal and sublimate conventions within a new generic environment. Schumann's experimentation constitutes a characteristically radical response to these forces, which found its most ambitous manifestation in the Szenen aus Goethes Faust.

The Szenen aus Goethes Faust betray these tendencies in a variety of ways, from the wholesale importing of generic models to localised quotations and material processes. Central to Schumann's technique is a network of dualisms – grounded in conflicts between the sacred and the secular, the public and the private, the symphonic and the theatrical – that plays models off against each other without articulating a clear sense of their ultimate synthesis. A useful way to approach *Faust*, then, is to isolate these binarisms and trace their lineage and structural implications. Four passages are especially rich in this respect: the 'Scene im Dom' Part 1, no. 3; 'Gerettet ist das edle Glied', Part 3, no. 4; Dr Marianus's aria, Part 3, no. 5; and the Charge Mysticus Part 3, no. 7 Part 3, no. 5; and the Chorus Mysticus, Part 3, no. 7.

The 'Scene in the Cathedral' is the closest Schumann comes in Faust to composing an operatic set piece. Its operatic lineage is apparent in a liturgical setting shared with numerous nineteenth- and twentieth-century operas, and in the contrast between Gretchen's interior dialogue with the evil spirit and the public context of the chorus's requiem mass. Daverio notes the debt to horror opera here (he cites Marschner); and, notwithstanding Schumann's suspicion of some of its practictioners, it also has hallmarks of French grand opera, notably the public scenario and disposition of solo voices and chorus. A telling comparison can be made with the Act III baccanale of Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* (1831), which shares with Schumann's scene both demonic participation and an association with the key of d minor. And both of course trace their lineage to Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, the penultimate scene of which established the *locus classicus* of the association between d minor and the operatic supernatural.

Schumann however exposes these precedents to the work's guiding dualist mentality. The intercutting between the chorus and the dialogue of Gretchen and the Evil Spirit is certainly dramatic, pitting the individuals against the crowd, the psychological against the communal; but it is also generic, because the chorus interpret the Diegram in the property of the communal communication. the chorus intones the Dies Irae in the manner of a requiem. The correspondence of key with Mozart's Requiem cannot be accidental; indeed Schumann comes close to the literal quotation of Mozart on several occasions, most obviously that shown in Example 7.1, which is sufficiently close to Mozart's Dies Irae as to

border on parody:

Example 7.1 Comparison of Dies Irae from Mozart's Requiem and Schumann's Szenen aus Goethes Faust, Part I, no. 3.



Although Schumann and Mozart set different stages of the text here, the disposition of the material, harmonic orientation and overall voice-leading design are closely analogous. Mozart arrives at a half cadence on the word

'discussurus', guided by a soprano descent from 4 to \$7 counterpointing a bass ascent through a Neapolitan 6 and \$\psi \text{ii}/V\$. Schumann's setting of 'dies illa, solvet saeclum' mobilises the same soprano voice leading towards V, even to the extent

of retaining Mozart's accented 8 at the cadence, though the harmonisation is plainer in Schumann's case. The remainder of the phrase comprises a harmonic misreading of Mozart's bass-versus-alto/soprano antiphony: Mozart conceives

this as a prolongation of V in which the bass's \$\pm\$4 neighbour note is transferred to the soprano and housed within a diminished triad; Schumann sets up V/vi in the tenor and bass, which is then resolved by the soprano and alto and pulled

back to V of d minor.

The opposition of genres is here formulated as a simultaneity: the requiem as a sacred topic coexists with Gretchen's operatic supernatural dialogue. The overlay is assisted by the mutual affiliation with d minor, which acts as a kind of tonal pivot between generic worlds, which Schumann mediates at the higher

level of the quasi-literary master genre.

Part 3, no. 4, 'Gerettet ist das edle Glied', approaches a similar opposition from a different direction: here symphony and oratorio jostle for position. Schumann constructs the number as a large two-part design, which in outline owes a good deal to the baroque and classical convention, in oratorio and mass, of pairing a slow homophonic introduction with a summatory fugue. Schumann strays from this model after the introduction, with the entry of the 'Jüngerer Engel', but it is revived with the start of the choral fugue comprising the number's finale. In effect, two paths arise from one conventionalised starting point: the first homophonic, the second contrapuntal.

The way Schumann leads into his fugato is rich in associations. It is preceded by a cadential dissolution at the words 'Löset die Flocken los', from which the fugue ensues via a hasty regeneration of the music's impetus (Example 7.2).

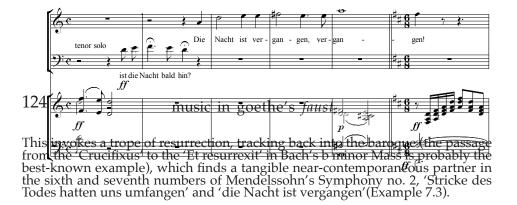


Orch.

Die Viertel wie vorher die Achtel

17 ret - - - tet





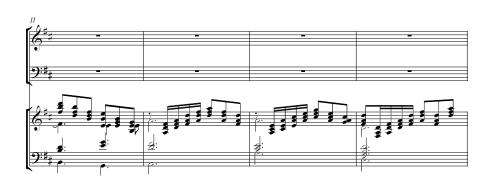
Example 7.3 Mendelssohn, Symphony no. 2, Finale, end of no. 6 and start of no. 7.

Allegro maestoso e molto vivace

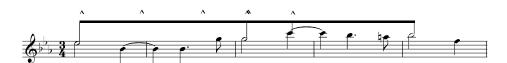
soprano solo

Orch.









## the musical novel as master-genre

Mendelssohn admittedly takes longer to reach his fugue, set eventually to the words 'und ergreifen der Waffen, der Waffen des Lichts' after sixty-five bars, whereas Schumann's subject enters in bar 5.

The symphonic connection is reinforced by the close relationship between Schumann's fugue subject and the first-movement main theme of his Third Symphony (Example 7.4).

Example 7.4 Quotation of Schumann, Symphony no. 3/i in Szenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, no. 4.

# 1. 'Geretet' subject 1 3 6 5 ge - re - tet, ge - re - tet ist das ed - le Glied 2. Symphony No. 3/i, main theme

As the beams in the Example explain, the common ground between the two subjects is the ascending arpeggiation of the tonic triad, embellished with the neighbouring 6. In the Symphony, this figure is cyclical, recurring at a crucial juncture approaching the coda of the Finale. The structural efficacy of the theme resides in its pull away from the tonic: the 6.—5 motion facilitates a movement onto the dominant, which is corrected only as the coda of the Finale approaches. The 'Gerettet' fugue enacts a similar procedure, though here the 6.—5 initiates a descent towards 3 within the subject, which is then pulled back towards V at its conclusion. In the extended cadential passage beginning five bars after letter E Schumann makes considerable rhetorical capital out of prolonging the resolution of 6 the decisive structural cadences articulating the coda; and an elaboration of the same linear progression with, @6 constitutes adistinctive feature of the Schedie of Higher Confession with, within the Schedie of Taust's Verklärung' rather embody a discourse of the public and the private. The former is engendered in Dr Marianus's hymn to the Madonna, 'Hier ist die Aussicht frei', which, as Table 7.1 explains, is conceived in three essential parts: a recitative-like introduction; a continuous, loosely ternary aria centred on a threefold conversation between baritone, oboe and harp ostinato, for which the strings supply harmonic mediation; and a return to the recitative-like texture, which leads into the next section.

The number is structurally open-ended: there is no decisive perfect authentic cadence, but rather a cessation of the ostinato over the tonic minor, in which

*Table 7.1 Schumann*, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, *Part III*, no. 5, *Dr Marianus's aria*, 'Hier ist die Aussicht frei'.

Bars:	1	18	22	25–82	28 <sup>3</sup>	422	46	50–57
Large -scale	Large Recit. Aria							Recit?
functi on:	?	A⇒			contr asting	$A^1$		
Phras e functi ons:		anteced	lent	conse quent	seque ntial	anteced	antecedent	
		antec edent	conti nuati on	antece dent		antec edent	conti nuati on	
Text:	'Hier ist die Aussi cht frei'	'Höc hster Herrs cheri n der Welt'	ʻlass e mic h im Blau	'Dei n Geh eim nis	'Bill ige, was des Ma	'Jun gfra u rein in	'Uns erw ählt e Kön igin'	'Um sie vers chli n- gen'
Tonal struct ure:	$I \rightarrow V^6$ $\leftrightarrow 5$	$\overrightarrow{AC}$ $V^6$	IV→ HC↔	V→IA C	i→V/ iii	ii→V →IA	IV→ HC	I→H C

key the recitative proceeds, finally settling on a half cadence, which the next

number's B flat major opening evades.

Marston explains the aria as an aural mediation of Goethe and Raphael's 'Sistine' Madonna. I want rather to emphasise its generic translocation of Lied characteristics: it is in effect an orchestral song, which realises a typically Schumannesque piano accompaniment in orchestral form. This impression is reinforced by the song's harmonic provisionality: the tendency to emphasise imperfect authentic cadences or to prolong V at the expense of strong cadential resolution recalls the (admittedly more extreme) harmonic indecision of 'Im wunderschönen Monat Mai' from *Dichterliebe*. This feature attains formal significance in bars 27–9, where the initial antecedent phrase's IAC returns, but leads directly into a predominantly sequential middle section; what seems like a leads directly into a predominantly sequential middle section; what seems like a compound period thereby 'becomes' the contrasting middle before the A section acquires formal integrity, as the open-headed arrow in the Table indicates. The juxtaposition with the 'Gerettet' fugue is in one sense textual: Dr Marianus is the most elevated of Goethe's four Anchorite fathers, delivering his hymn to the Mater Gloriosa 'in der höchsten, reinlichsten Zelle'. But it also makes a broader generic point: a very public engagement with choral symphonism is immediately transcended through the agency of a private, domestic genre (the Lied).

At the other end of the social spectrum sits the *Chorus mysticus*, which engineers at least a threefold, and highly public, generic conflation. The severe *stile antico* counterpoint of its first part is pointedly historicist, invoking the archaic sacred genres of mass and motet; but their recontextualisation as the final stage of a large choral work also resonates with the baroque and classical importing of archaic sacred topics into the oratorio. Again these resonances are mediated through early nineteenth-century symphonic precedents, especially Beethoven's Ninth and Mendelssohn's Second. In fact the passage models directly aspects of the 'Seid umschlungen, Millionen' section of Beethoven's Finale. Schumann enacts a kind of Bloomian misprision of this precedent by rearranging Beethoven's distribution of topical characteristics within the same large design. Both passages are bipartite; and in both cases a quasi-archaic first part yields to a *galant* continuation. Reflecting the text's transcendental turn, Beethoven's first part homophonically invokes an antiphonal responsary. The second part secularises this style, but also renders it contrapuntal, by placing the

'Seid umschlungen' *Hauptmotiv* and the Ode to Joy theme in double counterpoint. Schumann preserves Beethoven's stylistic progression, but reverses the homophony-polyphony succession: the *stile-antico* fugue congeals into homophony at its climax; the *lieto-fine* second part tends towards counterpoint, but this is held in check by recursive antiphonal homophony (the intrusion of counterpoint into the *lieto fine*'s second version is more extensive, its entire design hinging on a substantial central fugato). The whole mediates the sacred and the theatrical: the first half mimics the sacred oratorio, the second the late eighteenth-century opera finale.

Model and parody converge at the fugue's climax, which remarkably is also the closest that Schumann comes to quoting Beethoven literally. Beethoven's double fugue reanimates a texture, finding a point of expectant stasis over a



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widely spaced V<sup>b9</sup> chord, itself a backward glance to the famous Schreckensfanfare with which the movement begins (see Example 7.5, boxed area).

Schumann ascends to the same sonority (the minor ninth albeit present as a neighbour-note inflection), which then similarly suspends the material process; but whereas Beethoven deploys this as preparation for counterpoint, Schumann's dominant chord dissolves it (see Example 7.6).

Close scrutiny of the *stile-antico* fugue reveals structural features that reinforce both generic and allusive strategies. Table 7.2 provides a formal overview.

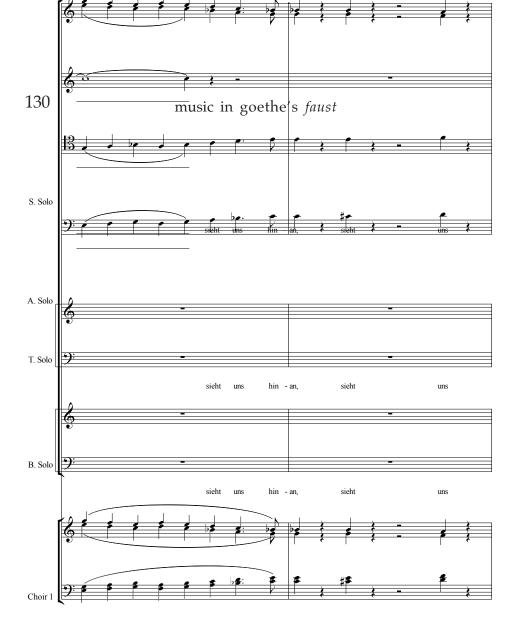
Following the five-bar introduction, the fugue comprises ten entries of the subject in four continuous groups: an exposition, a counter-exposition, a series of

Example 7.5 Beethoven, Symphony no. 9, Finale: 'Seid umschlungen, Millionen', nivotal V

chorus

orch.





Choir 2

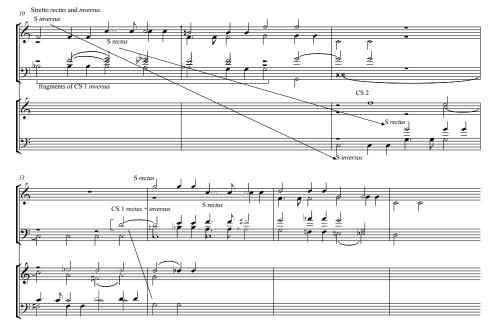
Orch.



Orch.

*Table 7.2 Schumann*, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, *Part III*, *no. 7*, stile-antico *fugue*, *design*.

Bar s:	1	5 <sup>3</sup>	7	8 <sup>3</sup>	10	12	14	16	183	20	22
For m:	Intr o. (S-	Exp o.			Cou nter		Mid dle entr				Fina l entr
Sop					S		S				CS1
Alt.		S		CS2			S		S		S
Ten . 1:		CS2			CS2 (var iant)		CS1	CS1		S inv. (fals e entr y) stret	CS2
Bas s. 1:			S			S inv.	CS1 inv.		S inv. (fals		CS1 inv.
Sop . 2:				S		CS2		stret to		S	CS1 (do ubli ng
Alt.			CS1		s						
Ten . 2:			CS2			s stret		S		S inv. (fals	
Bas s. 2:		CS1		CS1	CS1 inv.			CS1 inv.	S inv. (fals e entr y) stret		
Sub ject pitc h lev	(→ V/ F)	С	F	F	F	С	G	A	С	F	C (sta ndi ng



the musical novel as master-genre

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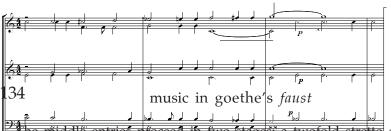
middle entries, and a final entry over a dominant pedal. The exposition consists of subject and two answering entries of a triple invertible contrapuntal complex that remains the core of the subsequent action, comprising the subject and two regular countersubjects (CS1 and CS2; see Example 7.7).

Example 7.7 Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, no. 7, 'Chorus mysticus', stile-antico fugue, subject-answer complexes.



This is immediately juxtaposed with a subject—answer counterexposition, which presents the subject *rectus* and *inversus* in *stretto*, whilst also inverting CS1 (see Example 7.8).

Example 7.8 Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, Part III, no. 7, 'Chorus mysticus', stile-antico fugue, counterexposition.



The middle entries proceed in two stages: a twofold stretto on S rectus is succeeded by a twofold entry of S counterpointed against a stretto on a variant of its inversion. The final entry retrieves the subject's original pitch level, and for the first time places CS1 in soprano, where it ascends to a sustained  $2^{\bullet}$  in the c2 register, underpinned by  $V^{@9}$ . This final entry is significant both textually and structurally. Table 7.3 explains

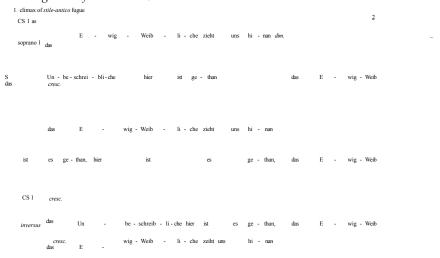
the fugue's distribution of text and material.

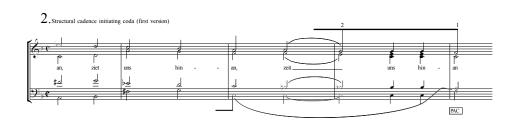
The text is not set in literal succession; rather, the counterpoint of S and CS1 is also a counterpoint of the stanza's first two lines: S takes 'Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis'; CS1 has 'Das Unzulängliche, hier wird's Ereignis'. This division remains consistent until the first middle entry, where the subject takes up line 2. From bar 18 all voices join with line 3, 'Das Unbeschreibliche hier ist getan'; the final entry persists with this, but the transferred CS1 in soprano 1 for the first time takes up line 4, 'das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan', with which it

ascends to the critical 2 (see Example 7.9). The textual significance of this distribution is clear. The counterpoint serves

to obscure rather than clarify textual meaning: the first three lines become lost in the contrapuntal thicket. This changes with the entry of 'das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan': the transferred soprano CS1 leads the text out of its contrapuntal obscurity in a clear musical signification of its meaning ('the eternal-feminine leads us beyond'). The agent of this transcendence (CS1) is of course present from the start, but initially it is concealed in the bass, and has gradually to work its way up through the texture. Once CS1 has cleared the music's textural ceiling, the counterpoint recedes.

Example 7.9 'Chorus mysticus', stile-antico fugue, climax and structural cadence initiating coda (first version).





*Table 7.3 Schumann*, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, *Part III*, no. 7, stile-antico fugue, contrapuntal distribution of text.

Bars:	1	5 <sup>3</sup>	10	12	14
Form:	Intro.	Expo.	Counter-expo.		Middle entries
S:	'Alles Vergängliche'	'Alles Vergängliche'	-	-	'Das Unzulängliche'
S inv.:	-	-	'Alles Vergängliche'	'Das Unzulängliche'	-
S stretto:	1	-	'Alles Vergängliche'	'Alles Vergängliche'	'Das Unzulängliche'
S inv. stret to:	-	-	-	-	-
S inv. variant:	-	-	-	-	-
S inv. variant stretto:	-	-	-	-	-
CS1:	-	'Das Unzulängliche'	-	-	'Das Unzulängliche'
CS1 inv.:	-	-	'Das Unzulängliche'	-	'Das Unzulängliche'
CS2:	-	'Alles, alles'	'Alles, alles'	'Alles, alles'	

Bars:	16	18	20	22	24
Form:				Final entry	Counterpoint ends: V@9
S:	'Das Unzulänglich e'	'Das Unbeschreiblich e'	'Das Unbeschreiblich e'	'Das Unbeschreiblich e'	'Das Ewig- Weibliche'
S inv.:	-	-	-	-	
S stretto:	'Das Unzulänglich e'	-	-	-	
S inv. stret to:	-	-	-	-	

S inv. variant:		'Das Unbeschreiblich e'	'Das Unbeschreiblich e'	-	
S inv. variant stretto:	-	'Das Unbeschreiblich e'	'Das Unbeschreiblich e'	-	
CS1:	'Das Unzulänglich e'	-	-	'Das Ewig-Weibliche'	
CS1 inv.:	'Das Unzulänglich e'	-	-	'Das Unbeschreiblich e'	
CS2:		-	-	-	

The attained 2 here has broader structural significance, as Example 7.9 explains. Although the dominant to which it contributes is resolved at the start of the first version of the *lieto fine*, this is not also a cadential descent of 2 (in fact it pulls upwards to 3 ); such a descent does not occur until the structural perfect authentic cadence prefacing the Finale's coda, which begins at letter F. As a result, the entire musical action of the *lieto fine* is essentially suspended beneath a giant prolongation of 2 . (This is even more pronounced in the second version, where the *Schlußchor* begins over V, and the structural cadence is deferred until nineteen bars from the end.) As Daverio points out, the integration of the *Chorus mysticus*'s two parts is achieved by the leakage of the first part's counterpoint into the second's central episode. <sup>11</sup> But there are also structural forces underpinning this: the apparently clear topical dualism is overriden by the large-scale voice-leading, by which means the two halves of Schumann's final generic opposition are sutured.

\* \* \* \* \*

Whether (with Daverio) we understand the *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* as novelistic, or (with Marston) we regard them as pictorial, it seems clear that generic issues are the key to any substantial accommodation of the work, in the context not only of Schumann's oeuvre, but also of its historical circumstances. Crucial to this is recognition that the strain placed on classical genres by the mediation of innovation and tradition is a governing concern for Schumann's generation in general. The root of the difficulty is the incompatibility of the historicism that anchored composition in inherited models, and the fresh expressive imperatives that evolving public and private musical domains imposed. The literary sensibility that Daverio posits and the complex of musical, literary and artistic factors that Marston identifies are the aesthetic means guiding Schumann's reponse to this problem; the result is a work in which the theatre, the concert hall, the drawing room and the church find a common ground.

By way of conclusion, it is perhaps worth developing the comparison with the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* introduced by Tunbridge. Despite the characteristically Schumannesque absence of direct philosophical special pleading in the *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* (a feature contrasting markedly with Wagner's extensive written defence of music drama), Schumann's solution to the generic dilemmas of his time is in some ways more radical than Wagner's. In music drama, contributory genres ultimately serve dramatic ends. Despite its generic diversity, its social and functional locus remains theatrical, a fact to which the construction of Bayreuth lent stark physicality. But Schumann's *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* has no proper generically defined locus, and so achieves an abstraction that Wagner never attained: it is theatrical, but out of place in the theatre; symphonic, but uncomfortable in the concert hall; sacred, but liturgically homeless; domestic, but impossible to accommodate in the private sphere. Like the allegory of transcendence they set, the *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* constitute a master genre that has no clearly defined functional context.

11. Daverio, Robert Schumann, 386.

# The Psychology of Schumann's Faust

## Developing the Human Soul<sup>1</sup>

## Christopher Ruth

### The Unconscious in Faust

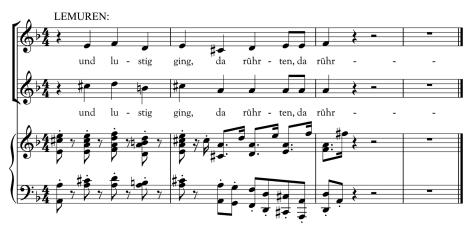
Just before his final monologue in Part II, Act V of Goethe's drama, the now blind Faust hears what he imagines to be the sounds of the construction of his urban utopia. Of course what he is actually hearing are the Lemures of Mephistopheles busily digging his grave. To add irony to the scene, Goethe turned (characteristically, for *Faust*) to a song form. While they work, the Lemures sing a paraphrase of the gravedigger's ditty from *Hamlet*. The song serves to mock Faust's life and predicament, but their words are seemingly inaudible to Faust beneath the din of their spades. Drawn to the musical implications of the scene (and to Faust's deafness toward it), Robert Schumann chose to set this grotesque and foreboding moment to music in Part II of his oratorio *Szenen aus Goethes Faust*. Its significance to the composer can be affirmed by the important motivic reference in the Lemures' chorus that deliberately connects the passage to other key moments in the oratorio both before and after this scene (Example 8.1).

This very motif – a sequence of descending thirds or fourths – can be seen

This very motif – a sequence of descending thirds or fourths – can be seen as embodying a problem that persists in the scholarly reception of Schumann's *Szenen aus Goethes Faust*. Nearly every investigation of the work mentions the motif – for it figures prominently in the overture and in many of the scenes, a few of which are shown in Example 8.2.

Furthermore, some commentators also point out the fact that the same thematic material is heard in Schumann's only opera, *Genoveva*.<sup>2</sup> Yet precisely what the motif represents is a point on which there is little agreement. Anfried

- Portions of this work were presented and published in dissertation form in fulfilment of the requirements for the PhD in Musicology at the University of Pittsburgh. See Christopher Ruth, 'Composing Consciousness: Psychological Design in the Late Dramatic Works of Robert Schumann', PhD Thesis (University of Pittsburgh, 2012). [Surely all of this isn't necessary?]
- 2. See Laura Tunbridge, 'Euphorion Falls: Schumann, Manfred, and Faust', PhD Thesis (Princeton University, 2005); John Daverio, Robert Schumann: Herald of a New Poetic Age



Example 8.1 Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 6, 'Fausts Tod', bars 58–60.



*Example 8.2a Schumann,* Szenen aus Goethes Faust, *Overture, bars 31–3*.

*Example 8.2b Schumann*, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 3, 'Scene im Dom', bars 1–2.



Example 8.2c Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 7 (2), 'Ewiger Wonnebrand', bars 1–3.

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Stephen Billington, 'Robert Schumann's *Genoveva*, a source study', PhD Thesis (New York University, 1987).

Edler associates the motif with fear, while Stephen Billington names it the 'devotion' motif. Eric Sams has suggested that the theme represents love, both happy and hopeless – except for the places where it represents Gretchen, and remorse, and Mephistopheles.<sup>3</sup> The only unifying factor among these views is that the theme must represent or symbolize *something*. In this, the influence of Wagner and his concept of Leitmotif – a musical gesture with a deliberate and concrete association – can clearly be seen. Even the eminent Schumann scholar John Daverio was unable to entirely resist the temptation. After admitting that the critics who had searched for a leitmotivic structure in *Genoveva* were misguided, he nonetheless continued to apply such principles himself, in relating this thematic material to the character of Margaretha, and, by extension, to notions of 'deception, evil, guilt, and lust', before expanding the possibilities even further with reference to *Faust*.<sup>4</sup> The true problem, however, is that the connections suggested by the pervasiveness of this thematic material go unexplored. There is a litany of scholarship that finds only fragmentation in Schumann's *Faust*: Phillip Spitta, Gerald Abraham, Sams and Edler find too little cohesion to consider *Faust* successful as a unified artwork.<sup>5</sup> Even further, the questions that may be raised by the theme's association with *Genoveva* surprisingly go not just unanswered, but even unasked. However, the scene in question – with its subtle yet significant use of this problematic motif – can be seen as a point of departure from which one can explore the connections between Schumann's *Faust* and a source of great importance to understanding much of Schumann's late dramatic music – namely, the psychological writings of his good friend and doctor, Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869).

In December of 1844, months after Robert's colossal mental breakdown (and the same year he began the composition of the *Faust Scenes*), the Schumanns moved to Dresden, in large part to escape the musical establishment of Leipzig, which had caused them much dissatisfaction. Though the trip was intended as a winter getaway, the city became their home for the next five years. Those five years would see more mental fragility, but they would also see the fullest realization of Schumann's goal to be a dramatic composer, yielding some of his most ambitious if not most enduring works. Almost immediately upon arriving in Dresden, the Schumanns sought the professional help of Carl Gustav Carus. Carus was easily the most prominent figure to ever offer medical treatment to him. Appointed as Dresden's court physician in 1827, he had heard Schumann's wife, the prominent pianist Clara Wieck, perform there and extended invitations for the Schumanns to visit him even before they moved to

<sup>3.</sup> See Tunbridge, Euphorion, 125; Billington, Genoveva, 126; and Eric Sams, 'Schumann and Faust', The Musical Times, 113/1552 (1972), 543–6 (here 544).

Daverio, Herald, 353.

Generally similar attitudes are expressed in Phillip Spitta, Ein Lebensbild Robert Schumanns, ed. Paul Graf Waldersee (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1882), 92; Gerald Abraham, 'The Dramatic Music', in Schumann: A Symposium, ed. idem (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), 266; Sams, 'Schumann and Faust', 546; Anfried Edler, Robert Schumann und seine Zeit (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1982), 257.

Dresden.<sup>6</sup> Although he referred Robert to a different doctor for further medical treatment concerning his apparent depression,<sup>7</sup> they nonetheless struck up a significant friendship and Carus became godfather to the Schumanns' next child, Julie, born in March of 1845.<sup>8</sup>

At the beginning of his friendship with the Schumanns, Carus was working on his most important treatise concerning psychology and the unconscious mind, entitled *Psyche*: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele [Psyche: On the Development of the Soul].<sup>9</sup> It is impossible to conclusively determine whether Carus's medical or social meetings with Schumann did indeed include discussions of his theories of psychology yet many of Schumann's late works, which conserved theories of psychology, yet many of Schumann's late works, which concern themselves with concepts of the divided self, growth and redemption, benefit greatly from examinations rooted in Carus's topography of the mind. One work in particular, however, bears the special significance of serving as a literary common ground between the two men, and that is Goethe's Faust.

Though a man of many pursuits, it was in the role of psychologist that Carus tackled *Faust* in the three letters that he published as *Briefe über Goethes Faust* in 1835. The letters, written in 1834 and 1835, were part of a long correspondence that Carus maintained with his friends the poet long footblob Regis (1791–1854). In fact Carus had maintained a fairly regular intellectual correspondence with Goethe himself in the 1820s, and Goethe's writings, both scientific and literary, had a great influence on him, particularly in the field of psychology. While Carus's theories are firmly rooted in Idealism and Natural Philosophy – owing much to such writers as Hegel, Schelling and Kant – it was Goethe who was, as Matthew Bell observed, Carus's main intellectual creditor.<sup>11</sup> It is not difficult to see in the Faust letters the slow formulation of some of Carus's chief psychological ideas that would later be refined and codified in *Psyche*.

First and foremost, Carus approaches the character of Faust as a case study of psychological development. However, we must not think of this approach as a sort of Freudian psychoanalysis, for Carus does not treat Faust as a separate individual. Rather, and importantly, he sees Faust as a symbol representing all of humanity, and treats his story not as merely his own, but a generally,

- Peter Ostwald, Schumann: The Inner Voices of a Musical Genius (Boston: Northeastern
- University Press, 1985), 197.
  This was Dr Carl Helbig (d. 1869), who took on most of the responsibility for Schumann's treatment throughout the five years the composer and his family lived in Dresden. Ostwald, *Voices*, 197.
- Carl Gustav Carus, Psyche: Zur Enwicklungsgeschichte der Seele (Pforzheim: Flammer und Hoffmann, 1846).
- 10. As Julian Horton points out in this volume ('The musical novel as master-genre: Schumann's Szenen aus Goethes Faust, 00), Carus's role as a Romantic painter may have also influenced Schumann's approach to Faust, in line with Nicholas Marston's compelling argument. See Marston, 'Entzükt: Schumann, Raphael, Faust', in Rethinking Schumann, ed. Roe Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press,
- 2011), 109–28.
  11. Matthew Bell, The German Tradition of Psychology in Literature and Thought, 1700–1840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 214

and genuinely, human one.<sup>12</sup> To know the basic idea of Goethe's Faust, Carus writes, one must understand 'das darin ausgesprochene genetische [. ] Princip writes, one must understand 'das darin ausgesprochene genetische [. ] Princip der Seele' [the genetic principle of the soul expressed therein]. <sup>13</sup> As suggested in the subtitle of his treatise (*Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele*), it is this very genetic principle that dominates Carus's theories of psychology. For Faust's soul to progress, as it does in Goethe's drama, his consciousness must continually develop until it reaches what Carus refers to as its 'höchste göttliche Befriedigung' [highest divine fulfilment]. <sup>14</sup> However, as Carus states several times in *Psyche*, 'Der Schlüssel zur Erkenntniß vom Wesen des bewußten Seelenlebens liegt in der Region des Unbewußtseins' [The key to understanding the nature of the conscious life of the soul lies in the realm of the unconscious]. <sup>15</sup>

This plays out in two ways in his reading of Faust First, Carus places great

This plays out in two ways in his reading of Faust. First, Carus places great emphasis on the fact that Faust is initially unconscious of his goals, evidence of

which he provides by quoting the Lord from the Prologue in Heaven:

Wenn er mir jetzt auch nur verworren dient; So werd' ich ihn bald in die Klarheit führen. (ll. 308–9). 16

Though in confusion still he seeks his way, I shall lead him to the light one day.]<sup>17</sup>

Further, as Carus maintains that it is in the unconscious where most mental activity takes place, he sees Faust's progression towards higher consciousness to be drawn forward *un*consciously via 'Tausende von Scheinwesen und Irrsale' [thousands of illusions and errors]. 18 Only in associating these illusions with the unconscious is Carus able to reconcile the work's aesthetic extravagances.19

In his Letters Carus describes the end result of this ultimate psychological fulfillment with a number of different, but similarly derived terms: Gottinnigkeit, das Göttliche, Göttlichkeit and göttliche Befriedigung, among others. He even quotes from Goethe's *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* to shed light on that elusive principle, in this case appropriating the term 'Frommsein':

In unsers Busens Reine wogt ein Streben, Sich einem höhern, reinern, unbekannten, Aus Dankbarkeit freiwillig hinzugeben,

- 12. Carl Gustav Carus, Briefe über Goethes 'Faust' (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1835), 27.
- 13. Ibid., 49. Translation in Bell, Tradition, 220.
- 14. Carus, Briefe, 48. Quoted in Bell, Tradition, 220.
- 15. Carus, Psyche, 1.
- 16. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Faust. Eine Tragödie, in Werke, ed. Erich Schmidt, WA XIV and XV. As quoted in Carus, *Briefe*, 63.
- 17. Translation from Goethe, Faust. The First part of the Tragedy with the Unpublished Scenarios for Walpurgis Night and the Urfaust, trans. John R. Williams (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1999).
- 18. Carus, Briefe, 48.
- 19. Bell, Tradition, 200.

Enträthselnd sich den ewig Ungenannten; Wir heißen's: Frommsein!20

[In the purity of our bosoms surges a striving To devote oneself freely to a higher, purer, unknown Out of gratitude Unraveling the eternal unnamed; We call it: piety!]

He later coined a specific term for this phenomenon in *Psyche*, that of 'Gottbewußtsein' [God-consciousness]. It is indeed this level that sits as the highest form of consciousness, and thus psychological development, in Carus's topography of the human mind. By Carus's observation, only humans can achieve all levels of consciousness. Other organisms, if they can attain consciousness at all, can reach only what he calls 'Weltbewußtsein' [world-consciousness]. Carus connects these levels to his previous argument that individuals can only be represented by the whole; thus while a single human being can attain 'Selbstbewußtsein' [self-awareness], enabled by the existence of society and the percention of a connection with other humans. perception of a connection with other humans, full human consciousness can be attained only by humanity itself.<sup>21</sup> Thus, in drawing terminology from *Psyche*, one can map the development of the human soul as seen in Figure 8.1<sup>22</sup>:

For one to achieve God-consciousness, one must perceive, consciously, the connections and implications of the deepest levels of the Unconscious, which are otherwise inaccessible. Thus instead of a pyramid (which implies a strict hierarchy), Carus's topography of consciousness might best be understood as an epistemic circle where 'das Unbewußte' and 'Gottbewußtsein' overlap, as seen in Figure 8.2:

It is this progression of Faust's soul – as a symbol of the collective human soul – which informs Carus's interpretation of *Faust*; the moment of the hero's death marks his ascension from self-consciousness to full God-consciousness.

This brings us back to the first important point; that Carus sees Faust as representative of humanity. In his earliest psychological publication, the *Vorlesungen über Psychologie* [*Lectures on Psychology*] of 1831, Carus comes to the conclusion that only as part of society, or a collective, can the human soul achieve true consciousness. He writes:

So kommen wir zu dem Erkenntniß, daß nur die Menschheit der wahre Mensch sei, und jeder einzelne Mensch nur ein besonderes Organ dieses höhern Ganzen, daß folglich die einzelne menschliche Seele angesehen werden

20. As quoted in Carus, Briefe, p. 59.

21. This is where Carus aligns himself most closely with Hegel and other Idealist

philosophers. See Murray Stein, Precis of Parts II and III, in Carus, *Psyche: On the Development of the* Soul. trans. Renata Welch, ed. Murray Stein (Dallas, TX: Spring Publications, 1989), 75-85

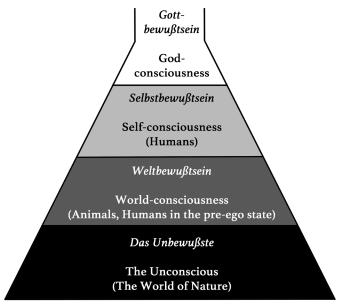


Figure 8. 1 Carus's Levels of Consciousness.

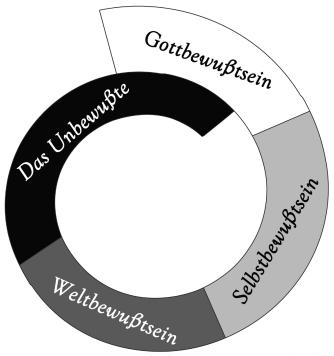


Figure 8.2 Carus's Levels of Consciousness Reconsidered.

müsse als eine der unendlichen im Geiste der Menschheit aufsteigenden und sich verwirklichenden Ideen.<sup>23</sup>

So we arrive at the insight that the true human being is represented only by humanity as a whole, and every individual human is only a particular organ of the higher whole, so that consequently the individual human soul must be seen as one of the infinite ideas that surface and realize themselves in the spirit of humanity.]24

To represent humanity Faust must be given traits that encompass all facets, including extremes, of human experience. Carus uses this point to justify Goethe's endowment of Faust with both positive and negative psychological characteristics: he represents at once both the progressive and the melancholic sides of the human psyche.<sup>25</sup> This also accounts for the *nature* of Faust's progression to God-consciousness: it is not a simple path by which he becomes steadily and increasingly more enlightened, but rather a stormy and dynamic one that regresses at times as well. As the gap between his unconscious and his conscious varies, Faust alternates between ecstatic activity and despair. Remarkably, Carus adopts a musical metaphor to emphasize this point, stating that without 'dissonierende Akkorde' [dissonance-creating chords], no satisfying progression of higher harmonies would be possible in the end.<sup>26</sup>

The musical implications here for Schumann's *Faust* go much further than merely dissonance and consonance. Rather, the analogue process in Schumann's setting that accounts for the gap between Faust's unconscious and conscious hinges on the relationship between Faust's voice and the music of the orchestra. As that gap vacillates, Faust's sung music is integrated more or less with the orchestral music that surrounds it. In other words, Schumann demonstrates Faust's wavering perception of his (and the collective) unconscious by means of thematic and harmonic independence (or dependence) between Faust's lines and his accompaniment.

To illustrate one such important example, let us return to the episode before Faust's final monologue discussed at the outset of this chapter, no. 6, 'Fausts Tod'. Schumann creates a compelling musical realization of Faust's lack of awareness of the actual situation. While the Lemures' chorus is firmly in d minor, ripe with chromatic inflection and ever changing, Faust's own entrance is announced by a striking figure in the horns that alternates back and forth between the minor world of the Lemures and Faust's resolutely major one (bar 83). Faust's music clashes distinctly with the sound world he enters. As Laura Tunbridge points out, the horns' 'modal indecisiveness' foreshadows Faust's

<sup>23.</sup> Carus, Vorlesungen über Psychologie, gehalten im Winter 1829/30 zu Dresden (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1831), 85. 24. Translation in Bell, *Tradition*, 218.

<sup>25.</sup> Ibid., 220.

confusion between his vision and the reality.<sup>27</sup> Tunbridge continues: 'Oblivious to the true situation he holds forth in the major; the clicking of the Lemures' spades is to him the sound of hard work. Mephistopheles' interjections are ignored: Faust remains convinced in his purpose, supported by balanced phrasing, steady harmonies, and motivic constancy.'28 Thus, when translating Faust's blindness into music, Schumann in essence renders him deaf. While the discord in this scene highlights Faust's physical unawareness (as a result of his literal blindness), it also shows another kind of disconnect with the orchestral music Schumann imposes upon him throughout the entire work - that which represents that gap between his unconscious and conscious. Faust's vocal lines frequently move in and out of synch with the orchestra, often vacillating between diatonicism resulting in well-balanced phrases and chromaticism that leads to moments of musical disarray. It is this second, symbolic 'deafness' that plays the more significant role in Schumann's Faust, and the one that accounts for both the presence of the problematic motif in the Lemures' chorus and the music at the end of Faust's aforementioned monologue. As he continues to sing, the dissonance and harmonic ambiguity gradually leave the orchestral music, for which Faust's resolve is clearly responsible. By the end of his speech Faust's vocal line has sufficiently imposed its will so that the orchestra ends up in complete and utter harmony with his voice in his final moment. Although the orchestra still offers chromatic resistance throughout his speech, his elongated dominant G on 'Augenblick' [moment] (drawn out by Schumann over four bars to suggest a moment suspended in time) finally succeeds in unifying his voice in perfect harmony with the orchestra as it resolves to C, though the rhythms of the orchestra seem to resist this unity until the last possible instant (bars 225-9). Although this union lasts indeed only a moment before his voice (and his mortal life) are again swallowed up by dissonance and chromaticism, the moment has occurred, which can be likened to a brief but transformative attainment of higher consciousness. If the orchestra can be said to represent Faust's unconscious, or more specifically, as Carus puts it, the unconscious region of his continuous striving, the analogy becomes clear. As the gap between Faust's consciousness and unconsciousness varies, the relationship of his vocal line to the orchestra exerts seemingly more or less influence.

Further evidence of this changing relationship can be found in Schumann's setting of the famous 'Anmutige Gegend' scene that opens Part II of both Goethe's and Schumann's works. Both this scene and 'Fausts Tod' deal with Faust's blindness, though in very different ways. In this case, Faust's blindness is temporary, caused by the dazzling sun. Thus Schumann's orchestral music here represents light as opposed to darkness; yet as in the later scene, Schumann casts Faust's vocal music as a struggle to perceive it. Faust's line abandons its usual heroic mien to become full of chromatic inflection and enters into a rather delicate counterpoint with the orchestra, whose harmonies and motifs it both predicts and reacts to. However, for all of the contrapuntal subtlety, Faust

27. Tunbridge, Euphorion, 143.

still fails to be in true union with the orchestra. This can be demonstrated by turning our attention now back to the recurring motif, for, once again it makes a conspicuous appearance here. In this case, the motif, slightly embellished, heralds Faust's entrance (Example 8.3):

Example 8.3 Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 4, 'Ariel, Sonnen-Aufgang', bars 280–5.



His ensuing line attempts to recreate the motif, but without success. Nonetheless, this moment represents the closest Faust comes to vocalizing the theme in the entire oratorio – the moment at which his consciousness is most nearly able to perceive the unconscious until his transformative death. It is worth noting, as Martin Swales points out in Chapter Three, that these lines also are among the most musical afforded Faust by Goethe in the entire drama. Pappropriately, this passage provides one of Faust's most profound insights into the dynamic processes of both nature and art. It is in fact the very notion of insight that Carus uses in discussing the concept of 'Gottbewußtsein' in *Psyche*. Yet ultimately, in both scenes, the motif exposes Faust's discord with the music: his 'deafness'. It is important to note here that Schumann doesn't render Faust incapable of responding to musical stimuli entirely. Indeed, Schumann was keenly aware of the effect of music on Faust from his own reading of the tragedy. In his posthumously published *Dichtergarten für Musik* [Poet's Garden for Music], a collection of passages from Schumann's favorite literature that reference music, Goethe's *Faust* is well represented. The first passage Schumann included is from 'Nacht' in Part I, Il. 742–8: the moment at which Faust is drawn

back from the act of self-poisoning by the Easter chorus. Many critics point to the religious reference as Faust's salvation in this scene, yet Schumann makes a special note that simply points to the music itself:

Musik hält Faust, wie er Ostermorgen Glockenklang und Chorgesang hört, ab aus der Giftschale zu trinken.<sup>30</sup>

[Music stops Faust from drinking from the poisoned cup, as he hears the Easter bells ringing and choir singing.]

This observation also recognizes that in Goethe's text, music and musical imagery are primarily external (as opposed to internal) motivators for Faust. Thus, for Schumann, Faust remains deaf to the orchestra in a way that severs it distinctly from his plane of consciousness, and it is the presence of this very motif that constantly reminds us of the nature of the orchestral music as the realm of the unconscious.

The very malleability of the motif is another strike against its acting as a traditional leitmotif; it is capable of assuming unique thematic identities that are nonetheless gesturally recognizable by the listener. This is illustrated by the opening to the scene 'Mitternacht' and the entrance of the Four Grey Women: although quite different in precise intervallic content from other iterations, it is nonetheless unmistakably related. As seen in Example 8.4, the contour and chromatic inflection are retained, even as an extra note interrupts each ascending semitone:

Example 8.4 Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 5, 'Mitternacht', bars 1–12.



<sup>30</sup> Schumann, Dichtergarten für Musik: Eine Anthologie für Freunde der Literatur und Musik, ed. Gerd Nauhaus and Ingrid Bodsch (Frankfurt: Stroemfeld und StadtMuseum Bonn, 2007), 167.

By the end of the introduction of the Four Women, the motif's more deliberate form has been restored, now without any interruption in the pattern (Example 8.5):

Example 8.5 Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 5, 'Mitternacht', bars. 129–36.



Here the motif again carries with it symbolism of Faust's (impending) blindness. As in the scene of Faust's death discussed above, Schumann casts Faust as perilously oblivious to the sound world he enters. The motif still permeates the accompaniment, but Faust's own line avoids any reference to it whatsoever, once again highlighting a discord between Faust and the orchestra, between his conscious and unconscious (Example 8.6):

*Example 8.6 Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 5, 'Mitternacht', bars. 168–71.* 



#### The Unconscious in Genoveva

To further argue for the motif as a signifier of the unconscious, a brief look at its use in *Genoveva* is warranted. The fact that Schumann's most important dramatic compositions, which were composed more or less simultaneously, both employ the same thematic material so consistently is a significant factor in understanding either work. The motivic material in question pervades the opera so thoroughly that it, along with the opening chorale tune from which it is derived, can be said to be the source of a nearly monothematic composition. Although the 'Pater Ecstaticus' music from *Faust*, which uses the motif heavily, was composed before *Genoveva* in 1844, *Genoveva* was certainly the supplier of the motif's relational possibilities for the Faust scenes, since the bulk of Schumann's work on *Faust* took place after the opera's completion.

Nikolaus Harnoncourt rightfully refers to *Genoveva* as a psychological drama in which guilt or morality have no meaning: things simply happen.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, it is not difficult to see the four main characters, who each suffer from a different conspicuous character flaw, merely as facets of a single, complex metacharacter. Thus humanity, while represented by a single character in Schumann's *Faust*, is represented collectively in *Genoveva* – an important distinction between the two works, yet also a powerful thematic connection. Taken alongside the opera's timeless, quasi-medieval setting, its gradual shift in focus from the sacred domain of the Church to the natural realm of the German forest, and the staggeringly single-minded and constant use of two related motivic ideas (the latter being the motif in question), these features lend themselves to an understanding of *Genoveva* as a self-conscious representation of the notion of cultural (and psychological) unity, composed precisely at a time when similar nationalistic ideas pervaded much of German art.

Schumann's pervasive use of the motif in *Genoveva*, which is even more insistent than it is in *Faust*, also has psychological implications of the unconscious, though in this case it serves to inextricably link each of the characters with one another. In the case of *Genoveva*, Schumann provided his own source for the motif in the form of the opera's opening chorale (Example 8.7):

Example 8.7 Schumann, Genoveva, No. 1, opening chorale theme, bars 1–4.



Schumann subtly emphasized this point in the music itself, as the climactic moment of the chorale occurs on the word 'Quelle,' best translated in this instance as 'source' (bar 21). The chorale returns again in full at the end of the opera, but the chief manifestation of its frequent occurrence throughout the work comes in the form of its opening three-note contour. It is this contour that expands into the version of the theme found most often in *Faust*, but also throughout *Genoveva* (Example 8.8):

Example 8.8a Schumann, Genoveva, No. 1, opening chorale theme, bars 1–4 (Version 1).



Example 8.8b Schumann, Genoveva, Overture, bars 61–3 (Version 2).



31 Nikolaus Harnoncourt, 'Reinventing Opera', CD liner notes for *Genoveva*, trans. Monika Mertl (Hamburg: Teldec Classics International, 1997), 20.

Nearly all of the opera's musical material is derived from that motivic germ, and many scenes consist entirely of such thematic exchanges between characters and the orchestra in one form or another, as shown in Example 8.9.

By situating the origin of the motivic idea in the opening religious chorale and its ultimate manifestation in the final triumph of love in the forest glade (No. 21), strong associations can be made with Carus's concept of the unconscious, which was largely formed on the foundations of natural philosophy. For Carus, like Schelling, the unconscious *is* nature, and thus, at the deepest level of the

Example 8.9 Schumann, Genoveva, No. 10, bars 85–96.



unconscious, all beings are connected through nature. Given the connectedness of God-consciousness and the unconscious, spirituality and nature are significant components of Carus's unconscious. Even the use of a chorale itself – the ideal representation of communal singing – carries with it strong (even nationalistic) notions of unity. Thus in *Genoveva*, as all characters communicate with each other through use of this motivic material, they are simply reaffirming their nature as

unconsciously connected, and part of a higher whole.

The difference between the use of the motif in *Genoveva* and *Faust* lies in its relationship to the vocal forces. In addition to the fact that the opening chorale is sung by all voices in octaves and unisons, every individual character in the opera picks up the motif eventually. Margaretha's first use of the theme in the First Act of *Genoveva* can serve as an example. By presenting both forms of the motif (the chorale form and its derivative) in turn in both the orchestra and the voice (No. 7, bars 1–9 and 25–9), Schumann demonstrates the important fact that in *Genoveva* the voices act more as parts of the symphonic fabric of the work than as discrete identities: another point that emphasizes the characters' psychological relatedness. Utterances of the theme, in all permutations, are a constant feature of both the vocal and the orchestral worlds.

In Schumann's Faust, however, the motif appears almost exclusively in the orchestra. Its appearance in the Lemures' chorus is of little consequence, as we already know that the words being sung by Mephistopheles' minions cannot be heard by Faust. The restriction of the theme to the orchestral fabric in *Faust* reminds us of the disparity in the scope of the two works: while the drama of *Genoveva* takes place at the level of the unconscious, showing us multiple characters who act as one, Faust takes place at the intersection between the conscious and the unconscious, with the motif from Genoveva there to remind us of that considerable, if malleable distinction.

The holistic view of the motif as unity in Genoveva also resonates with Schumann's and Carus's identification of Faust as symbolic of humanity. The very rational function that underscores God-consciousness for Carus is the ability to perceive in the seemingly infinite diversity of the world a single underlying unity. The unconscious motif that continually reappears in Schumann's *Faust* serves the purpose of casting all of its diverse functions as interrelated collective experience. Even Schumann's decision to cast his setting as an oratorio as opposed to a staged opera emphasizes this perception. With twenty-eight characters represented in the libretto, all performed by a limited number of soloists, any sense of individuality is obscured, providing a natural connection between all disparate pararetic memorits. connection between all disparate narrative moments.

#### God-consciousness in Faust

In returning to Faust's transfiguration, the motif makes its return soon after his death, to accompany the Pater Ecstaticus as he floats hither and thither while chanting of the enduring nature of love beyond the destruction of the body (not dissimilar to Carus's notion that the unconscious as 'idea' endures after death). The motif here is sparklingly clear – in direct opposition to its obfuscation just

before Faust's final words. In fact, the motif has not been this insistent since its use in Gretchen's scene 'Im Dom' all the way back in Part I (when related to the Böser Geist, the implications of the unconscious in that scene are obvious), a scene for which Faust was not even bodily present. One could argue that, again, Faust is not bodily present for the theme's return in 'Bergesschluchten' [Mountain Gorges], but he is there in spirit, as he is slowly drawn ever upwards toward

salvation by the Eternal-Feminine. Indeed, he is now essentially part of the orchestral fábric in Part III, since his self-conscious voice has been extinguished.

The motif finally appears twice more; once in connection with the Penitent Women, and again during the final chorus, 'Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis', from which Carus and so many others drew their view of the work. Here, for the first (and only) time, the motif appears clearly in the voice as well as the orchestra, emphasizing the location of the action in the realm of the unconscious (or God-consciousness, from Faust's perspective). Now that there are definite words set to the theme, some hint of the theme's true meaning and function is revealed. However, discerning that exact meaning is complicated by the fact that Schumann composed this final chorus in two distinct versions: one in 1844 as he began composing the work, and one in 1847, the same year he began work on *Genoveva*. It is the second of these two choruses that Schumann preterred 32 and his revisions were significant, even in thematic content. It must preferred,<sup>32</sup> and his revisions were significant, even in thematic content. It must be remembered that Schumann composed both versions of the final chorus before setting to work on Parts I or II, and therefore before writing most of the

motif's iterations. His insistence on including the thematic idea so frequently in the earlier scenes then suggests that at least some association between those moments and the words of the 'Chorus Mysticus' was in his mind.

While both versions of the chorus include a vocal reference to the theme, they do so very differently, and on different parts of the text. In the original version, the motif appropriately underscores the word 'Unbeschreibliche' [indescribable], perhaps a warning to those who might try to saddle it with a tangible referential meaning (Example 8.10):

Example 8.10 Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 7, 'Fausts Verklärung' (Version 1), bars 75–7.



The motif in this case is unmistakable, but its implications are deliberately ambiguous. At the very least, it would seem to acknowledge the theme's importance throughout the rest of the work and imply itself as the unconscious source of Faust's striving – the 'indescribable' that has been accomplished. In the second version of the chorus, however, Schumann removed the motif entirely

from the earlier section and instead affixed it to the most famous, and final, couplet of the 'Chorus Mysticus': 'das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan' [the eternal-feminine draws us on] (Example 8.11):

Example 8.11 Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 7, 'Fausts Verklärung' (Version 2), bars 218–21.



In this version, the theme not only has a more tangible identity, but it occurs much later in the final chorus and with far more emphasis and repetition. However, to claim that the theme specifically represents the 'Ewig-Weibliche' would be a simplification. It is hard to hear the theme in its final iteration as anything but a fragment, and while it is given a clear textual association here with the Eternal Feminine, such associations are in accord with the earlier manifestations of the theme when considered more broadly as a part of the process of Faust's salvation. Rather, it fits with the earlier manifestations of the theme when considered more broadly as a part of the process of Faust's salvation. A significant transformation is also apparent, as this final iteration of the motif refuses its defining tendency to descend and occurs repeatedly in higher transpositions, always followed by a rising chromatic line. So, in the end, the two versions of the chorus are sympathetic after all. Both place the motif plainly in the vocal parts of the final chorus, but, after consideration, Schumann apparently wanted the theme to be more prominent and have a more direct allusion to Faust's salvation. Though the earlier version predicts the theme's ambiguousness, pervasiveness, complexity and associative power, both signal a clear shift in psychological planes merely by their association with the voice alone.

This last thematic reference also has an important link to the first. Although the theme is used liberally in the overture, the first time it is heard during the course of the dramatic action is in the opening scene, 'Im Garten' (Example 8.12):

Example 8.12 Schumann, Szenen aus Goethes Faust, No. 1, 'Im Garten', bars 55–8.



This iteration of the theme is most commonly referred to by those who suggest the theme belongs to Mephistopheles, as it heralds his entrance. However, when considering it in light of Faust's line instead, an important textual relationship is revealed. The text that immediately precedes the theme, 'die ewig sein muss' [that must endure eternally], bears a striking resemblance to the final line of the 'Chorus Mysticus'. As Faust is referring to the joy of Gretchen's love that must last forever, the correlation between these two scenes is made all the more powerful. Even Carus's interpretation of the final scene considers a connection that reaches back to this moment. In considering one Dr Marianus's final passages (ll. 11991– 6), Carus remarks on the power of the feminine to awaken in Faust a still higher *inner* bliss, which had yet been missing.<sup>33</sup> He continues to identify this force with Gretchen and calls for a re-examination of her character even in the early part of the drama, noting that even in her earthly life she had a deeper and more certain knowledge than Faust with all of his confused scholarship.<sup>34</sup>

It makes much more sense that Schumann was connecting these two moments thematically rather than using the theme to introduce Mephistopheles. Of course Faust is once again deaf to the significance of the moment, when the very seeds of his salvation have been planted. By the time the theme is again associated with the *Ewig-Weibliche*, however, he has become part of the music itself. That Faust's own voice remains silent throughout his transfiguration signals that he has entered the realm of God-consciousness. As he can now fully perceive his unconscious, his musical 'deafness' is lifted. Thus, in Schumann's treatment of the scene, his silence can be reconsidered anew: for what is left to say when there is suddenly so much to hear?

It is not possible to say for certain to what extent Carus's theories — either those from *Psyche* or the reading contained in the *Briefe* — inspired Schumann in any material way. After all, both Carus's and Schumann's interpretations owe a debt to broader Idealist philosophies that were prevalent in much literary and artistic activity in Germany in the early nineteenth century. What is most remarkable, perhaps, is that either of them devoted so much interpretive energy to *Faust* Part II in the 1830s and 40s, long before it was in vogue to do so. Yet for both men, *Faust* — not the mere story, but Goethe's specific discourse — attracted them as a profound literary manifestation of their own creative focus. For Carus, *Faust* was fundamentally psychological; for Schumann, *Faust* was fundamentally musical. It is one of the many fascinating elements of Goethe's language that it could inspire such disparate disciplines to find such strikingly common ground as Carus and Schumann did. Although Carus's psychology is extremely dated in light of modern scientific advancements in the field, its sympathy with Schumann's often unusual dramatic characterizations, particularly in *Faust*, makes it a useful tool in approaching the composer's late music. However, it is the enormous scope of Goethe's achievement that makes this connection possible: drama as poetry, music and the human mind itself.

<sup>33</sup> Carus, Briefe, 85.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

# A Life with Goethe

# Wagner's Engagement with Faust in Music and in Words

# Glenn Stanley

Goethe's *Faust* was profoundly important for Richard Wagner. He knew of it as a young boy and read it as a teenager; he composed songs, 'Seven Compositions on Goethe's Faust' (1829–30), probably in conjunction with the appearance of his sister, Rosalie, as Gretchen, in the first Leipzig production. Wagner suppressed these student works; they were first published posthumously. Unlike numerous contemporaries, Wagner never attempted an operatic or oratorical setting of the play; his single mature work on Faust, *A Faust Overture*, is seldom performed. Its composition and early reception, however, bear witness to its significance for Wagner as work and as subject matter. Its reception history documents its contribution to the development of programmatic orchestral music and the midcentury debates about it, and its place in the critical discourse on the play. And the many commentaries by Wagner on *Faust* and Goethe express his continuing, not uncritical fascination with the play and its author.

# The Faust Overture: 'Urfaust' (1840) and Revision (1855)

Wagner composed a symphonic movement in d minor in December 1839 to January 1840 in Paris, as the first movement of a planned 'Faust' Symphony.¹ He sketched a 'Gretchen' theme (manuscript entry) for a second movement, but then abandoned the idea of a symphony, writing to Meyerbeer of an 'Ouvertüre, Faust, erster Teil'.² With Meyerbeer's help a performance was arranged in February 1841, but Wagner decided instead on an earlier work, the overture 'Columbus'. Wagner's hope for a rehearsal performance by the Paris conservatory orchestra was not realized.

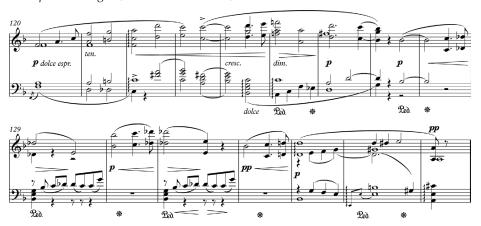
- 1. Wagner described this project in writings, an autobiographical sketch in the *Zeitung für die Elegante Welt* (1843), and later in *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde* (1851) and *Mein Leben* (1866).
- Letter of 18 January 1840. Printed in Richard Wagner, Sämtliche Werke (Mainz: Schott, 1995), vol. 18.2, ed. Egon Voss, dokument no. 81, xxxii.

The movement is in sonata form, with a weighty slow introduction and an extensive coda. The introduction begins by stating a rhetorically weighty rhythmic-melodic 'Grundgestalt' (bars 1–5³) that underlies the initial ideas of both thematic-tonal groups in the sonata movement (bars 34ff and 120ff, respectively) and frequently appears in thematic extensions and developmental sections. Moreover, the incipits of these themes are first stated in the introduction (bars 10–12 and 21–23 respectively), which presents several other important motivics that the second control of the second control o important motivic-rhythmic ideas (e.g. the sixteenth-note groups first heard in bar 5). Despite the close motivic relationships among themes, and also the links between the introduction and the fast movement proper, the motivic integration does not resemble Berlioz's or Liszt's thematic transformations, or anticipate Wagner's own leitmotivic technique. The thematic and harmonic formal dispositions are conventional for their time. The d minor first group presents a turbulent first theme replete with dissonant leaps and octaves, driving sixteenth-note rhythms and extensive melodic and harmonic chromaticism. The first group is tightly constructed; thematic emphasis lies on the combination and development of short motivic ideas rather than on an inherently stable periodic structure. The much longer second group contains two tonal areas, F major and A major; each begins with the same sentimental lyrical theme followed by several motivically related new ideas with much the lyrical theme followed by several motivically related new ideas with much the same character. The first of them (bars 127-35, see Example 9.1) anticipates an important motive in Tristan und Isolde first heard in the cellos in bar 17 of the important motive in *Tristan und Isolde* first heard in the cellos in bar 17 of the Prelude. The conclusion of the second group lacks coherence, as several closing ideas succeed one another, and the development section, in spite of its many loud and dramatic passages, meanders. The recapitulation – marked *feroce* (Wagner used French for the manuscript, in the revision he writes the German 'wild') – is compressed through the elimination of the second statement of the lyrical theme. The first statement is presented in F major instead of the conventional d minor, a Beethovenian strategy that retains the modal contrast of the exposition and preserves the character of the theme. The original coda was revised soon after it was first conceived: a conventional *fortissimo* conclusion gave way to an effective *pianissimo* one that closes the work on a peaceful, sublimated note. Wagner worried that this conclusion might not peaceful, sublimated note. Wagner worried that this conclusion might not please Parisian audiences, and this might have been a factor in his decision not to perform it in 1841. Massive sonorities define much of the piece; the usual wind complement was expanded by piccolo flute, six horns (two of them natural horns), four trumpets and four bassoons, three trombones and serpent (bass tuba). The proliferation of lower-register winds contributes greatly to the dark, turbulent effect of the work. Egon Voss and other writers have detected allusions to Beethoven (*Coriolan Overture*) and Weber.<sup>4</sup> The primary influence is, however,

<sup>3.</sup> The only score that I could find of this first version of the 'Faust' Overture is in the complete critical edition; ibid. The revised version, which I discuss later in this essay, is available in numerous editions; the introductions are very similiar, though the rhythmic values in the revision are reduced by half.

<sup>4.</sup> Egon Voss, *Richard Wagner: Eine Faust-Ouvertüre* (Munich: Fink, 1982), 11. Voss's essay is the most comprehensive discussion of the overture.

*Example 9.1 Wagner, 'A Faust Overture', bars 120–35.* 



Berlioz, especially in Romeo and Juliet, which Wagner heard in Paris in the fall of 1839. Voss demonstrates direct borrowings with respect to thematic material and

developmental techniques, scoring and instrumental technique.

In his autobiography Wagner wrote that the inspiration for *Faust* was a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony by the Paris Conservatory Orchestra at a time when he was composing trivial pieces in the French manner. Composing *Faust* fulfilled 'an intense desire to create something which would give me equivalent inner satisfaction'.<sup>5</sup> But the performance of the Ninth Symphony to which he refers did not take place until April 1840 and Voss calls Wagner's story a self-serving 'mystification'.<sup>6</sup> Voss, John Deathridge and others claim that Wagner wanted to compete with the Berlioz of *Romeo and Juliet; Faust* was his nursly instrumental. German answer to Berlioz's French mixing of was his purely instrumental, German answer to Berlioz's French mixing of genres. Associating himself with Beethoven and Goethe surely served Wagner's self-interest; his narrative might also contain a kernel of self-reflective 'spiritual' truth independent of 'mere' facts: Wagner's identification with Beethoven and Goethe as the greatest models for German art. Indeed, in Paris, with the *Faust* Overture, Wagner established the preference for German national subject matter that predominates in his mature operas and music dramas. He later commented on the importance of *Faust* for his artistic development, without specifying how. The specific stylistic advances – the Faust Overture is a much more interesting piece than the previous overture, but it is certainly not a masterpiece and is only

Richard Wagner, My Life, trans. Mary Whittall, ed. Andrew Gray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 175. Voss, Eine Faust-Ouvertüre, 6.

<sup>6.</sup> 

See for example John Deathridge, Wagner Beyond Good and Evil (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 192, who argues for a national rivalry felt by Wagner in competition with Berlioz.

rarely performed – are less important than the fact that it inaugurated Wagner's

search for profundity.

For the two Dresden performances of 1844 Wagner made minor revisions that affected neither the structure nor the thematic-harmonic content. Now he staked his claim as a composer of symphonic music by placing *Faust* in direct competition with formidable repertory: Mendelssohn's cantata on Goethe's ballade *Die Walpurgisnacht* and Beethoven's 'Pastoral' Symphony. The critical reception was predominantly negative,<sup>8</sup> and Wagner did not perform it again before his flight from Dresden in 1849. He did, however, assert an affinity between Goethe's Faust and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, in his explanatory between Goethe's Faust and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in his explanatory notes preceding a performance of the symphony in 1846.

The history of the Faust Overture might have ended in Dresden, had not Wagner sent Liszt the manuscript, as requested, in 1849. In the accompanying letter, he told Liszt that he did not like the piece and entrusted its fate to him. Liszt did not perform it until May 1852; it was a 'sensation', he reported from Weimar to Wagner. 10 This news regenerated Wagner's interest in his overture. He told Liszt that he might revise it, especially the orchestration with 'too much brass', and try to publish it with Breitkopf & Härtel. Liszt returned the manuscript with several suggestions for revision, the most important one that Wagner either replace or revise the 'unsatisfactory' second theme (see Example 9.1, bars 120ff), the beginning of which he writes into the letter. Lacking 'charm', it is, 'neither fish nor fowl, and does not stand in a proper relation or contrast to what had preceded it and what follows' A tender theme - 'gretchenesque' - would

preceded it and what follows'. A tender theme – 'gretchenesque' – would considerably improve the piece, he suggests. 11 The revisions waited until 1855. In a new manuscript Wagner eliminated many woodwind doublings and entire trombone parts, and he simplified the horn parts. He made minor revisions in voice leading and harmony, introducing more chromaticism. He did not replace or revise the second theme, but rather added several new lyrical ideas to its two statements and, notably, developed further the 'Tristan' material of the first version. Wagner spoke of increased 'meaning' through the new material, but the changes exacerbated the formal problems of the greatly expanded second group. Wagner acknowledged to Liszt that he was right about the second theme: 'it lacks – the woman!',' but argued that a new, very different theme would have created a new, very different piece that he did not want to compose Gretchen.

created a new, very different piece that he did not want to compose. Gretchen was to have been the subject of the second movement of the symphony he had originally planned. The subject of the first movement/overture is the solitary

- See the reviews in Leipzig and Dresden newspapers printed in Richard Wagner, Sämtliche Werke, vol. 18.3, ed. Peter Jos, dokument no. 90, xxxvii.
- Letter of 30 January 1849; my translation, original in ibid., xxxvi.
- Letter from Liszt to Wagner, May 1852; my translation. See also Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt, trans. Francis Hueffer, vol. 1 (New York: Haskell House, 1969), 202.
   Liszt to Wagner, 7 October 1852; my translation. See also Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt, 227, and Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, trans. and ed. Stewart Spencer and Barry Millington (New York: Norton, 1988), 271–2.
- 12. Letter of 9 November 1852; my translation. See also Correspondence, ed. Hueffer, 234–5.

Faust: 'in his yearning, despair and cursed state: the 'feminine' appears to him only as the image of his yearning, but not in its divine reality, and this unsatisfactory image of his yearning is just that which he despairingly destroys'. Liszt would understand, avers Wagner, if the piece were named 'Der einsame Faust (oder: Faust in der Einsamkeit? ein Tongedicht für das Orchester)' ['Faust in Solitude' or 'The Solitary Faust'] which will be the title if and when it is published

as a 'tone poem'.13

This programmatic title refers to Faust's condition just after the prologues to Part 1 when, at night in his home, he reviews his life and contemplates suicide. In the new manuscript (for the revisions) Wagner wrote exactly this, but for the published score he suppressed it, reverting to 'overture' and adding an indefinite article: *Eine Faust-Overtüre*. As if to compensate, he set a 'motto' at the beginning, a death wish, spoken by Faust during his second encounter with Mephistopheles (Part I, verses 1566–71).

> Der Gott, der mir im Busen wohnt, Kann tief mein Innerstes erregen; Der über allen meinen Kräften thront, Er kann nach außen nichts bewegen: Und so ist mit das Dasein eine Last,

Der Tod erwünscht, das Leben mir verhaßt. 15

[The God that dwells within my heart Can stir my depths, I cannot hide – Rules all my powers with relentless art, But cannot move the world outside; And thus existence is for me a weight, Death is my wish, and life I hate.]<sup>16</sup>

The association of the overture with the beginning of the drama found further expression in Wagner's inscription of an excerpt from the first scene (verses 454-9) into a score owned by Heinrich Sczadrowsky, a conductor in St Gallen (Switzerland), where it was performed in November 1856 with Wagner and Liszt attending. Here Faust reads a book by Nostradamus and joyfully contemplates the vitalizing power of nature (personified as a woman), before lapsing again into despair:

- 13. Ibid.
- This title, in particular the modifier, has been interpreted by Voss and other writers as an indication of Wagner's ambivalence about the work itself, his doubts that any work (instrumental or operatic) could do justice to the play, and his more general reservations about the legitimacy and potential of programme music.
   Composed in Paris in January 1840; revised in Zurich 1855.
- 16. Translation (slightly modified) from Goethe's Faust, trans. and ed. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), 175.

Welch Schauspiel! Aber ach! Ein Schauspiel nur! Wo fass ´ich Dich, unendliche Natur? Euch Brüste, wo? Ihr Quellen alles Lebens An denen Himmel und Erde hängt Dahin die welke Brust sich drängt – Ihr quellt, ihr tränkt, und schmacte´ ich so vergebens? (*Faust I*, Il. 454–59)

[How then can I grasp you endless Nature? Where are your breasts that pour out Life entire, To which the Earth and Heavens cling so, Where withered hearts would drink? You flow You nourish, yet I languish so, in vain desire.]<sup>17</sup>

The verses are inscribed in the tacit brass parts at the beginning of the second theme in F major, which as we have seen, is associated with Gretchen; in view of the erotic character of the nature imagery, it does not seem coincidental.

These inscriptions refer to Faust at the beginning of Part I, the Faust who thinks and feels, but does not yet act. Accordingly, the piece has no explicit narrative like that of the *Symphonie fantastique*. Wagner objected to the non-absolute nature of Berlioz's programme music, and his mistrust of programmatic music that is dependent on its programme for coherence still informs his valorizing essay (1857) about Liszt's symphonic poems. <sup>18</sup> In an essay written shortly after the composition of the first version of *Faust*, 'On the Overture' (Paris, *Gazette musicale*, 1841), Wagner articulated his view that an opera overture (Mozart, Gluck, and Beethoven are his focus) should not attempt do 'what music neither can nor should express, [that is] the details and entanglements of the plot itself'. <sup>19</sup> It should treat the ideas of the drama and only exceptionally the characters themselves (e.g. Coriolan, and his own Faust, whom he does not mention). In espousing a conflict of two leading 'motives', Wagner implies a preference for sonata form. The essay presents an absolute-music model for the overture (there is no reason to assume he would have thought differently about a concert overture), a model that he had himself fulfilled with his *Faust* Overture, albeit, in view of its origin as a symphonic movement, coincidentally.

After much negotiation and Liszt's intercession with the initially very reluctant publishers, Breitkopf und Härtel agreed to publish the overture in 1852. After the revisions were completed and the piece was published in 1855, *Faust* was performed frequently and aroused great controversy. August Wilhelm Ambros (Prague, 1855) and Eduard Hanslick (Vienna, 1856) were the most prominent opponents, and Hans von Bülow (who prepared the piano reduction) the most

<sup>17.</sup> Translation by A.S. Kline, <a href="http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/German/Faustl ScenesItoIII.htm">http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/German/Faustl ScenesItoIII.htm</a> (accessed 28 May 2014). This passage is not included in the translation by Kaufmann.

<sup>18. &#</sup>x27;On Franz Liszt's Symphonic Poems', in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, trans. William Ashton Ellis, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893–99), vol. 3: *The Theatre* (1894), 235–54. See Carl Dahlhaus, 'Wagner and Program Music', *Studies in Romanticism* 9 (1970), 3–20.

<sup>19. &#</sup>x27;On the Overture', in Richard Wagner's Prose Works, vol. 7: In Paris and London (1898), 155.

influential advocate. Both sides engaged in fierce polemics, because the overture was part of a larger struggle about absolute versus programme music, the 'music of the future' and the 'New-German School'. The heated climate may well have lent the overture a significance that in a quieter time it would not have received. Ambros's and Hanslick's reviews have much in common; Ambros goes into more detail and contextualizes Wagner's music with observations about some previous compositional attempts at Faust. In the 1840s, as a member of the Prague 'Davidsbündler', a group of musicians and critic-scholars who allied themselves with Robert Schumann, Ambros had enthusiastically supported Wagner, Liszt and Berlioz. But, parallel to Schumann's increasing reservations about the Liszt-Wagner tendency, Ambros (and of course Hanslick) came to share Schumann's position. The review discusses a concert of the 'German Students' Academic Reading Club' of Prague in 1855 that otherwise featured works by Mozart (the Overture to *Titus* and the d minor Piano Concerto).<sup>20</sup> Ambros seized the opportunity to make imaginative and insulting comparisons. Against Mozartian 'Greek temples', each part perfect and beautiful and forming a harmonious whole, 'looms a massive Wagnerian Cyclops' wall of raw blocks hewn from cliffs and 'thrown together'. For him, the overture lacks every aspect of music except sound itself, here reduced to massive, brutal sonorities. Wagner has succumbed to programme music aesthetics, as if he had been motivated to compose by the 'Hexeneinmaleins' [witch's arithmetic] - the scene in Part I in which witches brew a drink restoring Faust's youth while speaking nonsense involving the values of numbers. The 'words without sense' in the play become 'sounds without sense' in the overture. Without indulging in metaphors and analogies, Hanslick negatively compares Faust to works by Schumann that had been on the programme that he reviewed.<sup>22</sup> Hanslick criticizes Wagner for his focus on the despairing Faust; the poeticprogrammatic subject, compelling for the composer, could only have produced a 'desert' of a work without strength, originality and good form: 'There can be no talk of art, of a feeling for beauty. We have arrived at the standpoint of complete barbarism'.23

Ambros acknowledges that Faust is a difficult subject for composers. He dismisses Peter Josef von Lindpainter's *Overture to Goethe's Faust* (1834, with incidental music) as derived from his opera *Der Vampyr* and as treating *Faust* as 'a common comedy about knights and magicians'. The Polish-Prussian Prince Antoni Henryk Radziwiłł, in his overture (1835), tries to do better justice to his subject. Faust is introduced with a fugue, 'a product of the German spirit' that evokes meditative scholarship and religion in the Middle Ages and 'represents,

<sup>20.</sup> Prager Zeitung, 6 December 1855, 4.

<sup>21.</sup> Ibid

<sup>22.</sup> Hanslick's review originally appeared as a 'Musikalischer Brief' in *Die Presse* (18 November 1856). Hanslick later combined it with discussions of other works – Julius Rietz's Konzertouverüre, Robert Schumann's Symphonie in B major, Richard Wagner's Eine Faust-Ouvertüre – and published it in his *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1870), 95ff.

<sup>23.</sup> Ibid.

with its apparently inexhaustible recurring entrances, an image of the infinite, and hence the sublime'. Unfortunately, the composition itself is weak. Ambros is not explicit, but the implied comparison of Radziwiłł's fugue with Wagner's 'barbarism' speaks for itself. Ambros concludes by affirming Hanslick's insistence on formal coherence: 'If someone, who knows nothing about grammar and syntax, wants to speak about the highest things, but rather wants to do it through sheer inarticulate wonders, then it is only right, when someone like Hanslick confronts him with grammar and syntax.' Heinrich Gottwald, a music teacher and writer in Prague, responded to Ambros in the newspaper *Bohemia* (12 December 1855, 786ff). In addition to arguing for the piece, Gottwald criticized Ambros for making Mozart the yardstick to measure music of a different era with different objectives. This meta-criticism illuminates the role of partisan music journalism and the significance of the *Faust* Overture in these years of bitter debate.

Von Bülow published a lengthy, vehement essay, 'An explanatory communication to conductors, performers and listeners of this work', which first appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1856 and was later issued as an independent essay.<sup>26</sup> The two-part essay begins with a tirade against opponents of the work, along with a sketch of its origins in Paris and the revisions and publication supported by Liszt. The second part, a detailed analysis, argues for its formal coherence and the expressiveness of its material. Wagner has written 'purely lyrical instrumental music'; there is no reason to search for 'dramatic truffles'.<sup>27</sup> But he acknowledges that the first motive of the introduction 'apparently' relates to the first scene of the drama ('Faust in Solitude') and, in arguing for its seminal function, he describes the overture as a psychological character study, in which the individual sections correspond to episodes in the life (and death) that Faust contemplates. But these remarks are there only to help illuminate the overture's absolute musical legitimacy and unity. Von Bülow paraphrases parts of Wagner's essays on the overture and Liszt's programme music, without mentioning them. There is no (extant) correspondence about this, but it is hard to imagine that the parallels, which include musings about similarities and differences between the operatic overture, the concert overture and the symphony, are coincidental.

Von Bülow concludes with a thundering endorsement of Wagner that climaxes in the assertion that the *Faust Overture* establishes Wagner as the heir to Beethoven as a composer of instrumental music. What an absurd claim, unworthy of the sharp, critical musical intellect that he possessed! Von Bülow should have known better, and Wagner too, whose ambivalence about the first

- 24. All citations ibid.
- 25. My translation. See Richard Wagner, Sämtliche Werke, vol. 18.3, dokument no. 33, xixxxi.
- 26. 'Über Richard Wagner's Faust-Ouvertüre: Eine Erläuternde Mittheilung an die Dirigenten, Spieler und Hörer dieses Werkes', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 45 (August 1856), nos. 6 and 7. The independent publication, with the same title, was published by C.F. Kahnt in Leipzig in 1860.
- 27. Page 6 of the 1860 publication.

version extended to the second one. Wounded by the negative reviews, in 1855 he expressed regret that it had been published, felt that it was too difficult to be performed well, and criticized Liszt for forcing the issue. But, perhaps buoyed by some well-received performances by von Bülow, Wagner continued to perform it into the 1860s and 1870s at concerts which featured preludes and instrumental excerpts from his music dramas. The overture, apparently, was too meaningful for him to relinquish; Goethe and *Faust* retained a life-long significance for his art and his thought.

# Goethe and Faust in Wagner's Thought

After revising the overture, Wagner wrote no further music based on *Faust*. But the play and its author remained major intellectual preoccupations. The letters and his 'brown-book' diary contain innumerable comments on and citations from the play; Cosima's diaries record a continuing stream of conversations and cited excerpts. In numerous essays Goethe (and Schiller) are presented as the principal exponents of the most highly developed German drama and as the leading figures of a culture superior to his own. However, in *Opera and Drama*, Wagner rejects classic German theatre as a model for modern drama. *Faust* is a great play but it is 'literary', neither conceived nor appropriate for the stage and, therefore, 'impotent'. \*Faust\* is (only) the 'watershed' between the medieval romance and bourgeois tragedy and the truly dramatic theatre of the future. Shakespeare is Wagner's European dramatist par excellence: Shakespeare is the major presence in *The Artwork of the Future*; *Faust* goes unmentioned. In *Opera and Drama* Sophocles' *Antigone* is discussed extensively in an argument about the exemplary role that drama should play in reforming society. The only reference to *Faust* (a citation of a mocking Mephistopheles) is used sarcastically to belittle the Prussian cultural and political elite in attendance at a state-sponsored production of *Antigone* in Potsdam in the 1840s.

Wagner's most extensive discussion of *Faust* was private and brutally negative. In his fateful letter to Mathilde Wesendonck of 7 April 1858, Wagner explains why he had reacted so harshly to the admiration that she had expressed the evening before: 'That the concept of Goethe has been accommodated to the philistine world is fundamentally due to a misunderstanding of the pet conception of the poet.'<sup>29</sup> Wagner mistrusts Goethe's supporters, but Goethe is also to blame.<sup>30</sup> Goethe has degraded Faust by reconciling him with the world of action, a 'philistine' world. Faust's despair derives from his knowledge of a world that he is right to despise; upon leaving his solitude he becomes a 'pitiful'

30. Ibid., 370.

<sup>28. &#</sup>x27;The Play and the Nature of Dramatic Poetry', in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. 2: *Opera and Drama*, part 2 (1893), esp. 139–51; citations 151.

<sup>29.</sup> The Letters of Richard Wagner: The Burrell Collection, ed. John N. Burk (New York: Macmillan, 1950), 368–71. This letter, which declares his love for Wesendonck and contains a draft of the *Tristan* Prelude was intercepted by Minna Wagner and led to the break-up of the Wagner marriage and Wagner's departure from Zurich.

misanthrope who deceives the world while enjoying its admiration. Or, asks Wagner, is he a naïve, 'dreaming scholar', whom Goethe correctly permitted to experience true life? But he should have stopped with Gretchen. Everything that he learned thereafter could have been attained by sheer contemplation. Drawing on Schopenhauer and Feuerbach, Wagner is especially dismissive of the conclusion, which he finds urrelevant and false. Only the Faust who can be truly redeemed, and Gretchen's level in the renounces the external world can be truly redeemed, and Gretchen's love is the only true source of redemption.<sup>31</sup> This, however, would have been intolerable to his reading public and so Goethe reconciles Faust with the world. Wagner angrily rejects the notion that Faust is the 'most meaningful human prototype' in literary history.<sup>32</sup> The solitary Faust of the first scene is Wagner's hero. That Faust is the Faust of the Overture.

Wagner's critique is, in part, a reaction to the canonization of Goethe as national Wagner's critique is, in part, a reaction to the canonization of Goethe as national poet and *Faust* as the supreme embodiment of the German spirit. This process began in 1802, six years before the first part of the play was published, when the *Fragment* (1790, an expanded version of the *Urfaust* of the 1770s) was described by Friedrich Schelling as the 'most inner, purest essence of our epoch'.<sup>33</sup> After Goethe's death, the fixation on Faust's meaning for the nation intensified, despite opposition to *Faust* by left-liberal *Vormärz* intellectuals like Heine, who found Goethe irrelevant and dismissed the conclusion as overly esoteric. Carl Gustav Carus praised Faust as the incarnation of philosophical striving; other authors seized on his spirituality and appreciation for beauty. After 1840 a new emphasis emerges: the celebration of Faust as entrepreneurial activist in Part 2 reflects the emerges: the celebration of Faust as entrepreneurial activist in Part 2 reflects the ideology of the liberal economic movement striving for industrialization and national unity. This 'bourgeois-realistic' reading came to dominate *Faust* interpretation after unification and the establishment of the Second Empire,<sup>34</sup> and was anothema to Wagner, an opponent of capitalism and bourgeois liberalism.

In light of Wagner's opposition to Goethe and the play, why did he bother to revise the overture? The critique, it must be understood, issued from his continuing fascination with the play; the overture and its topic assert both his claim to be an important composer of concert music and the flattering association with Goethe. And, perhaps, it let him have the private satisfaction of creating a critique of and corrective to Goethe's vision of redemption and the philistine accommodating interpretations he despised, while exploiting its cultural prestige.

31. On the Schopenhauerian elements in the letter see Peter Wapnewski, 'Beobachtungen zu Wagners Goethe-Verständnis', Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts 1984, 147–50. 32. Burrell Collection, 370.

33. 'Vorlesung über die Philosophie der Kunst' (Jena: 1802–3), published posthumously as *Philosophie der Kunst* (1859), 83. Cited in Jochen Schmidt, 'Goethes Faust als nationale Identifikationsfigur im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in *idem, Goethes Faust, Erster und Zweiter Teil: Grundlagen – Werk – Wirkung*, 2nd edn (Munich: Beck, 2001), 307.

34. On the German reception of Faust see Karl Robert Mandelkow, 'Wandlungen des Faust-Bildes in Deutschland', in *Interpreting Faust Today*, ed. Jane K. Brown, Meredith Lee and Thomas P. Saine (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994), 239–51, and Schmidt, *Goethes Faust*, 305-14.

Wagner reverses his position in 'Actors and Singers' (1872).<sup>35</sup> Attacking the unnatural, overly pathetic style of German drama and performance (a result of imitating French models!), Wagner valorizes *Faust* as the greatest, most original German play. Goethe transformed traditional *Knittelvers* to a 'supreme ideality' equal to the dramatic poetry of Classical Greece, while never abandoning its popular national style (the 'rugged art' of Hans Sachs). Wagner even makes the entire rebirth of German spoken theatre depending on its ability to present *Faust* 'naturally', which will also help the cause of the play that has suffered some negative criticism.<sup>36</sup> But since German actors cannot properly speak Goethe's lines, Wagner asks: 'Could they sing them, perchance?' With Italian 'bel canto'?'<sup>37</sup> Of course not. German theatre needs a 'language of song' that incorporates the 'ideal naturalism' embodied by *Faust*. The groundwork for it has been laid by Germany's great musicians; it will be found in music as much a 'riddle' to critics as *Faust* has been unclear.<sup>38</sup> That music is, by clear implication, Wagner's. Wagner is the Goethe of his age, writing in the legitimate dramatic medium of his age – the music drama, the highest form.

The diaries of the 1870s reveal continuing self-contradictory opinions about

The diaries of the 1870s reveal continuing self-contradictory opinions about Faust and about Goethe.<sup>39</sup> The entry of 3 September 1874 has Wagner proclaim 'Faust [ ...] and Beethoven's symphonies – those are the only things of which Germany can be proud, for Faust is utterly German, German in a popular sense, yet it embraces the whole world: it is the greatest of masterpieces'. But he reserves his highest praise for Shakespeare, whose plays give 'the truest picture of the world' Faust is a commentary on Shakespeare. Elsewhere Wagner of the world'. Faust is a commentary on Shakespeare. Elsewhere Wagner compares Goethe unfavourably to Dante: Faust displays 'less creative ability' than the *Divine Comedy* (17 October 1876); elsewhere again Wagner traces an arch of literary history that begins with Dante, reaches its apex with Shakespeare and then declines: Goethe is decadent! (21 January 1877).

<sup>35.</sup> Translation by W.A. Ellis in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. 5: *Actors and Singers* (1896),

<sup>36.</sup> Wagner makes Faust the basis for a fanciful accreditation process for actors, who must prove that they can declaim in a natural style. *Ibid.*, 183 . 37. All citations (some revised) ibid., 213.

<sup>38.</sup> Wagner refers negatively to mocking critiques of Faust; in all probability he had a parody of the play in mind, namely Faust. Der Tragödie dritter Theil. Treu im Geiste des zweiten Theils des Goethe schen Faust gedichtet von Deutobold Symbolizetti Allegoriowitsch Mystifizinsky (Tübingen: Verlag der H. Laupp'schen, 1862), written by none other than Friedrich Theodor Vischer, whose earlier criticism might well have influenced Wagner's thinking in his letter to Mathilde Wesendonck. Note the sarcastic author name, which mocks the work

and its interpreters.

39. On 9 May 1880 Cosima recorded a conversation about Part I: 'overwhelmingly beautiful that the poom londs itself as little to being read aloud as to dramatic presentation', a remark that relates back to 'On Actors and Singers' (see note 35). See *Cosima Wagner's Diaries*, vol. 2: *1878–1883*, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. Geoffrey Skelton. (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 475.

These diary entries make fascinating reading, but do they have the authority of published essays? They may well be more candid than published writing but may have issued from a specific mood or incident, as did the letter to Mathilde, to which critics have attributed such importance, rather than expressing thoroughly considered views. The simple fact of the continuing, deep engagement is, arguably, the most important conclusion: Wagner thought and thought about Goethe and his *Faust*; sometimes he seems to have used the poet and the play as a medium through which he expressed his own thoughts. These considerations raise the question of their presence in his operatic music raise the question of their presence in his operatic music.

# Goethe's Faust in Wagner's Operas

Wagner wrote a melodic sketch for Senta (and other ideas for *The Flying Dutchman*) adjacent to the draft of the second-movement 'Gretchen' theme for the Faust symphony project. Their proximity suggests a conceptual as well as chronological association. *Dutchman*, which refines stylistic advances achieved in the overture, was the first of Wagner's 'redemption' operas and, not coincidentally, his first mature opera. The anticipation of *Tristan* music in the 'gretchenesque' second group is, however, the only case of shared material between the overture and an opera. As Christopher Reynolds has shown, a mediated *Faust* presence obtains in borrowings from the beginning of Liszt's *Faust Symphony* for *The Valkyrie*.<sup>40</sup> Dieter Borchmeyer finds poetic correspondences in the poetry of the conclusions of *Faust Part II* and the 'Liebestod'; he does not specify their pature 41 I find commonalities in sublime natural and superpatural imagery, in nature. 41 I find commonalities in sublime natural and supernatural imagery, in Faust it is metaphysical-religious, in *Tristan* secular-transcendental. Common formal elements include the short verse lines in Isolde's text and the frequent free rhymes that correspond, for example, to those of the chorus of angels in the burial scene of Faust:

Tristan und Isolde, Act. 3 'Liebestod'

Faust, Part 2 lines 11726-11734

Immer lichter

Blüten, die seligen,

wie er leuchtet, sternumstrahlet hoch sich hebt? Seht ihr's nicht? Wie das Herz ihm mutig schwillt, voll und hehr

Flammen, die fröhlichen, Liebe verbreiten sie, Herz wie es mag. Worte, die wahren, Äther im Klaren, Ewigen Scharen überall Tag!

im Busen ihm quillt?

Christopher Reynolds, Motives for Allusions: Context and Content in Nineteenth-Century Music (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 57–60.
 Dieter Borchmeyer, 'Wagner über Goethe', in Zweihundert Jahre Goethes Faust. Insel Almanach auf das Jahr 2008, ed. Christian Lux and Hans-Joachim Simm (Frankfurt a. M. and Leipzig: Insel, 2007), 201.

### a life with goethe

Brighter and brighter, How he shines, Illuminated by stars, Rises high? Don't you see it? How his heart Boldly swells

Bliss-scented flowers. With fiery powers, Heavenly love they spread, All hearts they sway. Words of verity In ethr's clarity Bring hosts of charity Infinite day!

Translation: Barbara Pothen, "Aria Database", <a href="http://www.aria-database.com/search.php?">http://www.aria-database.com/search.php?</a> individualAria=989>

Translation: Kaufmann, Goethe's Faust, 479

The angels' poetry in *Faust* mixes trochees and dactyls, whereby the consistently stressed first syllables lend a hypnotic, oracular power to the high rhetoric. Isolde speaks in these (approximate) meters as well, but her lines are shorter and the rhymes are more concentrated; she is, after all, singing her heart out. Wagner's text and music possess a passionate power that Goethe eschewed in the rarified lyrical/epic character of the conclusion of Faust. Let us note that verse such as that in the conclusion to Tristan is exceptional in Wagner's operatic poetry; for all of his praise of Goethe's 'Knittelvers', it could not tangibly contribute to the non-metrical, non-rhyming *Stabreim* that comprises the greater part of his musicdrama librettos.

drama librettos.

Several musical motives and one poetic affinity are not much. Do they exhaust the presence of *Faust* in Wagner's operas? Musicologists have largely avoided the question; literary critics, most of them German, have taken up the challenge. Anticipated by some asides in Nietzsche's writings, 42 the discussion proper begins with Thomas Mann in a review of a long-forgotten novel, 'Das Ewig-Weibliche' (1903). Mann draws on the conclusions of *Faust Part II* and the *Ring* in support of a feminine cultural and artistic ideal that should replace conventional masculine emphases. With a brief, apodictic remark, Mann establishes 'redemption' as a major theme in the Goethe/Wagner discourse: 'The last word of *Faust* and that which the violins sing at the end of *Götterdämmerung* is the same and it is the truth. The Eternal-Feminine draws us on high.' Thomas Grey has expressed similar views, 44 but Borchmeyer and Hans Vaget have have

42. See Friedrich Nietzsche, The Case Of Wagner, Nietzsche Contra Wagner, Selected Aphorisms,

See Friedrich Nietzsche, The Case Of Wagner, Nietzsche Contra Wagner, Selected Aphorisms, 3rd edn, trans. Anthony M. Ludovici (Edinburgh and London: T.N. Foulis, 1911), 8; <a href="http://www.gutenberg.org/files/25012/25012-h/25012-h.html">http://www.gutenberg.org/files/25012/25012-h/25012-h.html</a> (last accessed 12 January 2014).
 My translation, from Borchmeyer, 'Faust und Der Ring des Nibelungen: Der Mythos des 19. Jahrhunderts in zwiefacher Gestalt', in Wege des Mythos in der Moderne. Der Ring des Nibelungen. Eine Münchner Ringvorlesung, ed. idem (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987), 153. In the opera the violins 'sing' the 'redemption' leitmotif.
 Thomas Grey, Wagner's Musical Prose: Texts and Contexts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 96: 'Here at the climax of Brünnhildes perorations, these uplifting

accused Mann of oversimplifications, stressing the fact that Mann did not know of Wagner's letter to Mathilde Wesendonck. Vaget argues that the conclusion of the *Ring* musically embodies his critique of the metaphysical basis for salvation – with its strong Christian associations – in *Faust*: 'Redemption in *The Ring* is secular; Wagner draws on an 'underestimated heritage in his thinking of *Das junge Deutschland* and of the Saint-Simonian philosophy.'<sup>45</sup> The major influence was, for Valet, Friedrich Theodor Vischer, the liberal Hegelian, whom Wagner knew in Zurich. Vischer's essay on *Faust* (1844) attracks the religious nature of the conclusion of Part II. finding it artificial and external to the root of the drama just conclusion of Part II, finding it artificial and external to the rest of the drama just what Wagner wrote in the letter.46

Mann's ideas on mythology in *Faust* and in the *Ring* established another significant theme for later critics. First articulated in a lecture Mann gave in exile in Zurich exile in 1937,<sup>47</sup> they have also been critiqued, notably by Borchmeyer. Myth enabled Wagner to create music drama, which enhanced 'the intellectual Myth enabled Wagner to create music drama, which enhanced 'the intellectual standing and artistic dignity' of the opera as an art form and endowed it 'with a truly German seriousness'. However, his Germanic mythology, with its 'dragons, giants, and dwarfs', was diametrically opposed to Goethe's 'sphinxes, griffins, nymphs' and other creatures from classical antiquity. Goethe's mythology is not 'archetypally German' and is therefore irrelevant for Wagner. Mann critiques, by implication, the pervasive nineteenth-century view that *Faust* established a German national mythology; the play draws too much on antiquity. For Mann, in *Faust*, there is 'no hint of [Wagnerian] pathos or tragedy, instead of celebrating myth, [Goethe] jests with it'. Goethe's 'witty language' suggests 'humour and affectionate parody rather than [Wagnerian] sublimity'. Borchmeyer disagrees: in the *Ring*, Faustian 'Greek myth was always allowed to shine disagrees: in the *Ring*, Faustian 'Greek myth was always allowed to shine through the outer layer of Germanic myth' – and the spirit of Wagner's humour is commensurate with Goethe's.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, *Faust* and the *Ring* present allegories of the nineteenth century in which mythology provides codes of modern experience. Goethe and Wagner were fascinated by the economic and industrial revolutions of their century; the entrepreneurial Faust of Part II affirmatively incorporates this interest. Yet the *Ring* is widely accepted to be a critique of modern capitalism – where is the affinity? Goethe, Borchmeyer argues, also voiced reservations about the modern world: the eroticization of money and power portrayed in the money and power portrayed in the

- sequences seem calculated to evoke thoughts of the most famous of nineteenth-century literary finales, the end of Goethe's Faust.
- 45. Hans Vaget, 'Strategies for Redemption: Der Ring des Nibelungen und Faust' in Wagner in Retrospect: A Centennial Reappraisal, ed. Leroy Robert Shaw, Nancy Rockmore Cirillo and Marion S. Miller (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987), 97.

  46. Friedrich Theodor Vischer, 'Die Literatur über Goethes Faust', in *idem, Kritische Gänge*,
  - vol. 2 (Tübingen: L.F. Fuess, 1844), 65–93.
- 47. Thomas Mann, 'Richard Wagner and Der Ring des Nibelungen', in idem, Pro and Contra Wagner, trans. Allan Blunden (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 171–93. 48. Ibid., 176.
- 49. Ibid., 176.
- 50. Dieter Borchmeyer, 'The Idea of a "Faust Theatre", in idem, Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre, trans. Stewart Spencer (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 44.

Mummenschanz scene in Part II are closely related to the ideology of the *Ring*, and the allegorical character Sorge (anxiety) about maintaining and extending wealth, property and power 'connects the two works like no other [theme]'.<sup>51</sup>

Borchmeyer also claims commonalities in aesthetic perspectives and formal conceptions. Venerated by Wagner, the 'Classical Helena' episode in *Faust Part II* created an essential 'classic-romantic' basis for the music drama: Helena's move from Menelaus's palace to Faust's medieval fortress is analogous to the progression from classical drama to music drama as the 'exemplary modern art form'. <sup>52</sup> The 'musicality' of *Faust*, especially of Part II, with its 'operatic structures' (and the latent music-dramatic character of the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony), have 'key roles in Wagner's aesthetic system'. They mark the 'advent of the music drama'. <sup>53</sup> Borchmeyer supports this argument with a reference to Wagner's remark about the 'barbarism' of these works (and Bach's St Matthew Passion), so utterly different from a Greek tragedy. Goethe himself had described *Faust* as barbaric (letter to Schiller, 26 June 1797), because it offends the 'highest aesthetic requirements', which Borchmeyer locates in the 'conscious departure' from the poetic principles of classical antiquity. <sup>54</sup> How right Ambros was! The large multi-part *Ring* was conceived in light of mixture of forms, lyric, epic and dramatic, in the large multi-part work that is *Faust*.

Borchmeyer's work is extremely valuable, especially in broadening the focus beyond the usual topic of redemption. His views, published in several essays, are not free from enthusiastic, grandly sweeping, sometimes contradictory assertions, particularly in his thinking about the 'classic-romantic' basis for *Faust* and the *Ring* relative to Greek art. His critique of Mann serves his attempt to establish a *positive* identification of the two authors. This, in turn, serves a broader purpose: to defend Wagner from the vigorous post-war opposition that began in the late 1960s. Goethe and his *Faust*, Beethoven and his 'Ninth' are the perfect witnesses. Borchmeyer gives Wagner exactly what Wagner, for almost a

half-century, strove for. Wagner = Goethe = Wagner = good German.

Thomas Mann knew better. Mann wrote on Wagner and Goethe for over thirty years, and his work, marked by changes of course and reversals of positions that are inextricably linked to the personal, political and cultural upheavals that he experienced, avoids the temptation of undifferentiated positive identifications and oversimplifications to which Borchmeyer succumbs. Indeed, Mann more often emphasized differences than commonalities;<sup>55</sup> Goethe is, for Mann, a positive 'other' to Wagner and, concomitantly, to Wagner's status and relevance for Germany. In 1911 Mann wrote briefly on Wagner's contemporary meaning. Acknowledging his love of Wagner's art (which arouses in him longing and

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>52.</sup> Borchmeyer, 'Wagner über Goethe', 196.

<sup>53.</sup> Borchmeyer, 'Faust und Der Ring, 133-4.

<sup>54.</sup> Ibid. 134.

<sup>55.</sup> Mann did not see Goethe as the primary influence on Wagner; he ranks Schopenhauer as the most important thinker, and Beethoven and Shakespeare as the most significant creative influences.

nostalgia), Mann calls for a twentieth-century 'masterpiece' that departs 'radically – and favorably' from Wagner, 'nineteenth century through and through'. 'A new classicism' is needed, 'logical, well-formed and clear'. <sup>56</sup> He does not mention Goethe, but in a letter to the Goethe scholar Julius Bab in which he refers to the essay, Mann compares Wagner very unfavourably to Goethe:

You are absolutely right. Goethe would have been bound to regard Wagner as a thoroughly repugnant phenomenon. [...] As for the Germans, they ought to be made to choose: Goethe or Wagner. [...] But I'm very much afraid they would go for Wagner. Or perhaps not? [...] Goethe is incomparably more deserving of veneration and trust as a national hero than that snuffling gnome from Saxony, with his colossal talent and shabby personality?57

The vehement negativity, as well as the strategy of pitting an imagined Goethe against Wagner, recalls Nietzsche in his pamphlet *The Case against Wagner*, which Mann undoubtedly knew.<sup>58</sup> Yet hardly a decade later, Wagner is a

which Mann undoubtedly knew.<sup>58</sup> Yet hardly a decade later, Wagner is a central, positive figure in Mann's conservative, nationalistic manifesto, 'Reflections of a Non-Political Man' (1918).

In the 'Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner' (1933) Mann compares the mysticism of Tristan and Goethe's 'Selige Sehnsucht' (a poem from the West-östlicher Divan that valorizes love with light and life as opposed to death and darkness). Wagner's operas exemplify 'how much more afflicted the spiritual condition of the West had become in the course of the nineteenth century, compared with the age of Goethe'.<sup>59</sup> Their contrary nature can also be perceived in the reception history of *The Ring*: 'Germans raised in the tradition of Goethe, who knew their *Faust* by heart were moved to angry and contemptuous protest—a respectable protest, the product of their continuing attachment to the cultural – a respectable protest, the product of their continuing attachment to the cultural milieu of German Classicism and humanism.' They laughed at that 'Wagalaweia stuff and all that alliteration, as if it were some barbarous whimsy; if the term Kultur-Bolshevist had existed in Wagner's day they would undoubtedly have applied it to him'.60

<sup>56.</sup> Thomas Mann, Auseinandersetzungen mit Richard Wagner [Coming to Terms with Richard Wagner] was published in the Viennese quarterly magazine Der Merker in autumn 1911.
Cited from Mann: Pro and Contra, 47–8.
57. Letter of 14 September 1911. Cited from Mann, Pro and Contra, 49.

<sup>58.</sup> After some comments on Goethe reception in *The Case of Wagner*, Nietzsche asks 'As to what Goethe would have thought of Wagner? – Goethe once set himself the question, "what danger hangs over all romanticists — the fate of romanticists?" – His answer was: "To choke over the rumination of moral and religious absurdities." In short: *Parsifal*.'

Nietzsche, *The Case of Wagner*, 8.

59. See Mann: *Pro and Contra*, p. 130. This essay was first given as a lecture at the University on the fiftieth anniversary of Wagner's death, 13 February 1933, just two weeks after the national elections that brought Hitler to power. It precipitated the campaign against Mann that forced him to go into exile. It was first published in April 1933 in Die Neue Rundschau (Berlin)

<sup>60. &#</sup>x27;Richard Wagner and Der Ring des Nibelungen', in Mann, Pro and Contra, 178.

In the Zurich lecture on the Ring Mann achieves, in his discussion of myth, a higher-order, dialectical unity: 'Diametrically opposed spheres' – the 'Nordicmusical' and the 'Mediterranean-sculptural' – comprise the 'two mighty and contradictory manifestations of the eclectic German spirit':

the lowering-moralistic versus the sunny-inspired, the primevally folk-based and mythological versus the European, Germany as all powerful feeling and Germany as mind and civilization perfected. For we, of, course, are both: Goethe and Wagner, Germany is both of these. Theirs are the ultimate names for the two souls within our breast, which seek to separate one from the other, but whose clash and conflict we must ever learn to perceive anew as eternally fruitful, as a wellspring of inner richness – the ultimate names for that German duality, that German schism which runs through the hearts and minds of all sensitive, thinking Germans [...].<sup>61</sup>

Here and elsewhere in this essay, one can sense Mann's passion, the urgency of these issues for him personally and for his perception of the German dilemma at this dark time in its history. These moving remarks constitute his last major statement on Wagner.

In 2010 in Berlin, at a Wagner symposium sponsored by the Berlin Staatsoper, Nike Wagner was asked if Wagner will, in a hundred years, still be such a dominant and controversial figure in German culture. 'I'm afraid so', she replied and shrugged her shoulders with resignation. If she is right (and she probably is), Goethe and *Faust* (and Beethoven and the Ninth Symphony) will be there with him – for better or worse.

# 10

# Wagner's Ninth

# Reading Beethoven with Faust

#### Mark Austin

The expression 'Wagner's Ninth' has become commonplace in the reception history of Beethoven's choral symphony. Nicholas Cook devotes an entire section of his *Beethoven: Symphony no. 9* to this concept.¹ A contemporary indication of the regard in which Wagner's interpretation was held by performers during much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is provided by Richard Strauss's handwritten remark at the head of his personal copy of the Eulenburg edition of the score: 'Alles Wesentliche über diese Symphonie ist von Rich. Wagner' [Everything significant on this symphony comes from Richard Wagner].<sup>2</sup>

The main textual evidence for the concept of 'Wagner's Ninth' is Wagner's essay of 1873, Zum Vortrag der neunten Symphonie Beethovens [The Rendering of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony], which offers detailed advice on the issues facing performers of the work. Wagner's approach involves an attempt to discern the composer's intentions in order to approach in a musical interpretation that is not only accurate, but faithful to the spirit that inspired the score. Less well known, however, is the programmatic description Wagner produced in 1846 for the benefit of audiences in Dresden hearing the work for the first time. The essay was printed as a programme note without a title; we will refer to it as the Programm.<sup>3</sup> This essay uses quotations from Goethe's Faust in an attempt to provide verbal illustrations of Beethoven's music and reveals the foundations on which 'Wagner's Ninth' – his interpretation of Beethoven's work – was built.

- Nicholas Cook, Beethoven Symphony no. 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993),
- Cited in Raymond Holden, 'The Iconic Symphony: Performing Beethoven's Ninth Wagner's Way', *Musical Times*, 152/1917 (2011), 3–14 (here 3). Richard Wagner, '[Programmatische Erläuterung zur Neunten Symphonie]', in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 20.1: *Klavierauszug von Ludwig van Beethovens Symphonie Nr. 9 mit einer Dokumentation zu Wagners Beschäftigung mit dem Werk als Bearbeiter und Dirigent*, ed. Christa Jost (Mainz: Schott, 1999), xiv–xvii

It is surprising that the Programm has not received detailed attention. Although there are references to it in many important secondary texts, notably Kropfinger's Wagner and Beethoven, Grey's Wagner's Musical Prose and Dahlhaus's The Idea of Absolute Music, full critical examination of the text itself has been cursory. Grey even describes the Programm as 'relatively obscure'. This lack of critical interest presumably results from contemporary scholarship rejection of poetic association as an acceptable methodology for the elucidation of musical works. However, it is not necessary to accept the validity of Wagner's approach in order to study the impact of this text: the significance of the document lies not in Wagner's investigative strategy, but in the impact which that method had on his own interpretation of Beethoven's music as a conductor. This in turn influenced the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century performing traditions, as evidenced by the fact that the text of Wagner's Programm itself continued to circulate throughout the nineteenth century. It was taken up by many leading conductors, including Hans von Bülow, who reprinted it for his own performances at Meiningen in 1880.6

The common deficiency of previous studies is a failure to recognize the significance of Goethe's *Faust* to Wagner's conception of Beethoven's music, despite our knowledge from Wagner's autobiography that he was already fascinated by *Faust* as a teenager.<sup>7</sup> They do not examine the relation between Wagner's prose commentary and the extracts he selected from Goethe's text. Nor do they consider the relation between the *Faust* extracts and Wagner's early emphasis on the choral element of the symphony, as set out in his 1840 novella Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven [A Pilgrimage to Beethoven]. Although the influence of Beethoven on Wagner's Faust Overture of 1839–40 has been convincingly demonstrated by Kropfinger and more recently Glenn Stanley, Wagner's original conception of this work as part of a complete Faust-themed symphony has not been properly related to the commentary Wagner wrote on Beethoven's Ninth.8

# Wagner's early encounters with Faust and Beethoven's Ninth

Wagner's ability to incorporate Goethe's *Faust* into his reading of Beethoven's symphony derives from early on in his life when he came into contact with both works in the same year. He first heard Beethoven's Ninth in 1830 at the age of sixteen, in rehearsal in the Leipzig Gewandhaus under Christian August Pohlenz. Wagner comments in *Mein Leben* [My Life] that the latter could not meet the challenge of directing the final movement, but he also gives his impressions of

- Klaus Kropfinger, *Wagner and Beethoven*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Thomas S. Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose*, 2.
- Records of the Staatliche Museen Meiningen, cited in Holden, 'Iconic Symphony', 3.
- For a detailed exposition of Goethe's influence on Wagner see Glenn Stanley, 'A Life with Goethe: Wagner's engagement with *Faust* in music and in words' in this volume, 00.
- Kropfinger, Wagner and Beethoven, 34–41; Stanley, 'Life with Goethe'.

the music, which turned out to be disappointing: 'Pohlenz schwitzte Schweiß und Blut, das Rezitativ kam immer nicht zustande, und ich geriet wirklich in bange Zweifel, ob Beethoven in Wahrheit nicht doch Unsinn geschrieben hätte' [Pohlenz was bathed in sweat, the recitative didn't work, and I really began to think that Beethoven might in truth have written nonsense]. It proved a bewildering experience and it seems likely that this may have provided the initial stimulus for Wagner's desire to clarify the meaning of the work in verbal form, a project that would be fully realised only in the Programm more than fifteen years later. Wagner had previously spent hours copying out the score by hand – an act of 'willkürliche Selbsterziehung' [willful self-education] as he called it.<sup>10</sup> He also spotted the lack of a published two-hands piano arrangement of the symphony and, seeking to supplement his income and musical profile, immediately offered to complete one for the publisher B. Schott's Söhne. Writing to them on 6 October 1820, he remarks that has already succeeded in arranging 'don parter and fact 1830, he remarks that he has already succeeded in arranging 'den ersten, und fast schwierigsten Satz mit möglichster Klahrheit und Fülle' [the first, perhaps most difficult movement with the greatest possible clarity and fullness]. Here for the first time is an explicit statement of the approach that would characterise Wagner's future work on Beethoven's score: the desire to achieve the greatest possible clarity of detail, but without detracting from the range and grandeur of the work as a whole. Indeed the quasi-editorial decisions that Wagner took while transcribing Beethoven's music for piano, namely how to reproduce a massive orchestral score Beethoven's music for piano, namely how to reproduce a massive orchestral score for a single instrument, necessarily involve judgement on the relative importance of elements in Beethoven's music. In the same year, the sixteen-year-old Wagner seems to have become obsessed with Goethe's Faust. A contemporary reports how Wagner read Faust in secret at school, hiding the copy under other books in his desk, and apparently went so far as to draft an opera plot based on the episode in the Witches' Kitchen. Wagner's early fascination with Faust marks the beginning of what would be a lifelong, if intermittent, engagement with Goethe's text.

Although Wagner's initial artistic ambitions were poetic, it was undeniably music, and particularly that of Beethoven, which obsessed him most. Heinrich Dorn reported in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, 24 July 1838:

ich zweifle, dass es zu irgend welche Zeit einen jungen Tonkünstler gegeben, der mit Beethoven's Werken vertrauter, als der damals 18-jährige Wagner. Des Meisters Ouvertüren und größere Instrumentalcompositionen besass er größtentheils in eigens abgeschrieben Partituren, mit den Sonaten ging er schlafen und mit den Quartetten stand er auf, die Lieder sang er, die Concerte pfiff er (denn mit dem Spielen wollte es nicht recht vorwärts), kurz es war ein furor teutonicus.<sup>13</sup>

- Richard Wagner, Mein Leben, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich: List, 1976), 65.
- 10. Ibid., 42.
- 11. Cited in Wagner, Sämtliche Werke, vol. 20.1, x.
- 12. Werner Otto (ed.), Richard Wagner: Ein Lebens- und Charakterbild in Dokumenten und zeitgenössischen Darstellungen (Berlin: Der Morgen, 1990), 13.

  13. Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 9 (24 Juli 1838), 29. Cited in Wagner, Sämtliche Werke, vol. 20.1, xi.

[I doubt, whether there has at any time ever been a young musician more intimately acquainted with Beethoven's works, than the 18-year-old Wagner. He owned the Master's overtures and larger instrumental compositions mostly in the form of scores he had copied out himself, he took the sonatas to bed with him and got up with the quartets, he sang the Lieder, he whistled the concertos (since his playing wasn't making much progress), in brief he was utterly obsessed.]

Wagner had to wait until 1840 to hear the Ninth symphony again, this time performed by the Paris Conservatoire orchestra under François Antoine Habeneck. In contrast to the Leipzig rehearsal ten years earlier, this was a fundamentally positive experience, and the well-delivered performance allowed Wagner to appreciate Beethoven's music aurally for the first time, and convinced him of the importance of the conductor in the interpretative process. He describes how

mit einem Schlage das in meiner Jugendschwärmerei von mir geahnte Bild von diesem wunderbaren Werke, nachdem es mir durch die Hinrichtung desselben durch das Leipziger Orchester unter des biedren Pohlenz' Leitung gänzlich verwischt worden war, nun sonnenhell wie mit den Händen greifbar vor mir stand [...].<sup>14</sup>

[the image I had of this wonderful work in the enthusiastic days of my youth now stood before me in brilliant colours, almost tangible, as if it had never been effaced by the Leipzig orchestra who had destroyed it under the incompetent Pohlenz.]

Wagner's renewed encounter with Beethoven's Ninth prompted a typically creative response – this time not a piano arrangement but a novella entitled *Eine Pilgerfährt zu Beethoven*. It describes the hopes of a young musician R. (Wagner's self-portrait) as he travels to meet Beethoven, and eventually narrates the satisfaction of R.'s desire to hear from the composer himself about the significance of his music. The text contains Wagner's first extant attempt to formulate an explanation of the Ninth symphony and reveals the extent to which his approach was based upon the choral element in the final movement. At the climax of the novella, the young musician R. listens to Beethoven discoursing on the symphony's blending of instrument and voice. Despite Wagner's wish to bring clarity, he gives Beethoven the same long-winded diction that would come to characterize the 'tortuous prose' of his own theoretical writings: 15

Man stelle den wilden, in das Unendliche hinausschweifenden Urgefühlen, representiert von den Instrumenten, die klare, bestimmte Empfindung des

- 14. Wagner, Mein Leben, 185.
- 15. R.J. Hollingdale, *Nietzsche: The Man and His Philosophy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), 60.

menschlichen Herzens entgegen, representiert von der Menschenstimme. Das Hinzutreten dieses zweiten Elementes wird wohltuend und schlichtend auf den Kampf der Urgefühle wirken, wird ihrem Strome einen bestimmten, vereinigten Lauf geben; das menschliche Herz selbst aber wird, indem es jene Urempfindungen in sich aufnimmt, unendlich erkräftigt und erweitert, fähig sein, die frühere unbestimmte Ahnung des Höchsten, zum göttlichen Bewusstsein umgewandelt, klar in sich zu fühlen. 16

Let us set the wild, unfettered elemental feelings, represented by the instruments, in contact with the clear and definite emotion of the human heart, as represented by the voice of man. The advent of this second element will calm and smooth the conflict of those primal feelings, will give their waves a definite, united course; whilst the human heart itself, taking up into it those primordial feelings, will be immeasurably reinforced and widened, equipped to feel with perfect clearness its earlier indefinite presage of the Highest, transformed thereby to godlike consciousness.]

Wagner has Beethoven describe a struggle between elemental feelings, resulting in a transition from earthly chaos to divine order achieved via the purity of the human heart. This is little more than an overall trajectory, but already we can see a similarity to Goethe's Faust, which traces a journey from Faust's opening sense of desolation in his own life towards the divine clarity and redemptive power of Gretchen's heart. Is it a coincidence that Wagner perceives the journey of Beethoven's symphony in similar terms to Goethe's drama? At the very least, this may indicate an unconscious reflection of his own desire to compose a Beethovenian symphonic work based on Faust. On 12 January 1840 he had completed the draft of the first movement (which would become the Faust Overture) and had actively sought quotations from Goethe's text to act as inspiration for this process. Wagner originally intended the first movement to represent Faust (an earlier title for the work had been 'Faust in der Einsamkeit' [Faust in lonely isolation]). The epigraph he placed at the head of the work – 'Und so ist mir das Dasein eine Last, / Der Tod erwünscht, das Leben mir verhaßt' [Thus my existence tortured and oppressed / I crave for death Llong for rest [18]. death, I long for rest]<sup>18</sup> – comes from Faust's admission to Mephistopheles in Studierzimmer II (ll. 1570–71). Faust finds himself in the throes of the same wild, elemental feelings that Wagner identifies at the start of Beethoven's symphony.

Wagner's comparative approach to Beethoven's Ninth and Goethe's Faust became public when he arranged to conduct the work himself for the first time in 1846. The symphony was unfamiliar to audiences in Dresden, and Wagner

<sup>16.</sup> Richard Wagner, Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven, Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, vol. 1. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911), 110–???.
17. Hans Joachim Kreutzer, Faust: Mythos und Musik (Munich: Beck, 2003), 123.

<sup>18.</sup> Goethe, Faust, in Sämtliche Werke, FA, vol. 7.1, ed. Albrecht Schöne, 1994, ll. 1570–71. References to extracts from Faust are given by line number to enable the use of other editions.

clearly felt it required elucidation. The Programm thus had two obvious aims: to render the symphony and its challenging sound world more approachable to the first-time listener and to justify the huge expenditure involved in mounting a performance by underlining its artistic merit. Beneath these immediate concerns lay deeper strands of Wagner's creative preoccupations – the relationship between music and text, and the nature of artistic interpretation – which would permeate his theoretical and musical works in the years ahead.

## The Programm

In the preface to the Programm, Wagner explains how his aim is to help listeners struggling with the unfamiliar sounds of Beethoven's Ninth gain 'Erkenntnis der künstlerischen Anordnung' [understanding of the aesthetic structure]. He thus builds upon the description in the 1840 novella of Beethoven's music as a structured journey from instrumental chaos to vocal order. He introduces his own text as an aid to achieve this, but also points out that since the function of instrumental music is to express in sound that which cannot be uttered in words, his own endeavour to explain Beethoven's symphony will achieve at best only partial success. He will overcome this difficulty as far as possible by drawing on the most expressive words available – those of the 'great poet' Goethe, and states that although Goethe's poetry has no direct connection with the 'rein musikalische Schöpfung' [purely musical creation] of Beethoven's Ninth, Wagner believes that its greatness allows it to express 'die ihr zu Grunde liegenden höheren menschlichen Seelen-Stimmungen' [the higher human moods at its core]. The two contrasting elements in this phrase concisely sum up Wagner's view of Beethoven's symphony as he had previously described it in the novella. The phrase 'zu Grunde liegenden' [at its core] describes the fundamental 'Urgefühle' [elemental feelings] of instrumental music, and the 'höhere menschliche Seelen-Stimmungen' [higher human moods] correspond to the 'klare, bestimmte Empfindung des menschlichen Herzens, representiert von der Menschenstimme' [clear and definite emotion of the human heart, as represented by the voice of man].

The main body of the 1846 Programm thus develops the ideas contained within the 1840 novella. Wagner hopes to help the audience understand the need for sung text – the 'zweites Element' described in the novella – and in order to do this, he suggests that the idea of the voice is already latent within the purely instrumental music of the first three movements.

# I: Allegro ma non troppo, un poco maestoso

As in the novella, Wagner in his Programm chooses to portray the first movement as a struggle: 'Ein im großartigsten Sinne aufgefasster Kampf der nach Freude ringenden Seele gegen den Druck jener feindlichen Gewalt, die sich zwischen

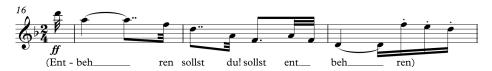
19. Wagner, '[Programm]', in Sämtliche Werke, vol. 20.1, xiv–xvii.

uns und das Glück der Erde stellt' [a titanic struggle of the soul, thirsting for joy against the will of that hostile power that imposes itself between us and earthly happiness]. The avoidance of religious diction and the focus on earthly striving create an obvious parallel with Faust's post-Christian worldview, demonstrated by Nicholas Boyle in his chapter on the modernity of Goethe's text. By positing the notion of the 'nach Freude ringende Seele' [soul thirsting for joy] right at the start, Wagner describes the mood of the opening music in such a way as to imply that an initial craving for earthly joys prepares the way for the emergence of Schiller's more exalted text *An die Freude* [Ode to Joy] in the final movement. This creates a structural framework for the music based on the idea of progression towards the voice.

The line Wagner chooses from Faust to illustrate the mood of the movement's main theme continues this emphasis on vocal utterance despite its apparent absence. In 'Studierzimmer II' Faust, in a state of suicidal depression, gives a poetic voice to the world and imagines what it would say to humanity were it able to speak: 'Entbehren sollst du! Sollst entbehren!' [Do without! do without!].<sup>20</sup> Just as Faust's imagination gives a voice to the desolate world around him, so Beethoven's symphony seeks to give voice to the instrumental music of its first three movements. So this citation from Faust reveals an authorial strategy that goes beyond the mere selection of quotations which approximate to a view of the music's emotional content: it also demonstrates Wagner's project to find structural and rhetorical parallels between Beethoven's symphony and Goethe's Faust. His understanding of the one is inseparable from a reading of the other.

As if to underline the care with which Wagner has integrated his scheme for Beethoven's music, the line that he has chosen displays a close rhythmic similarity to the motif of Beethoven's theme. The exclamatory character and natural metric stress of 'Entbehren sollst du! Sollst entbehren!' coincide with the strong and weak accents of the iambic dotted rhythm in Beethoven's opening theme, when it first appears in bars 16–18 of the first movement.

Example 10.1 Beethoven, Symphony no. 9/i



This alignment of text with a musical theme thus anticipates the passage in the fourth movement (bars 216–36) when the cellos' recitative melody is mirrored in vocal recitative by the solo baritone. The emergence of the voice in the latter moment is explicit, but Wagner hopes to demonstrate that there is already a latent voice in the first movement of Beethoven's symphony, hence his decision to match its first motif to a metrically equivalent line from *Faust*. The chiasmic

structure of Goethe's line – 'Entbehren sollst du! Sollst entbehren!' – further reflects Wagner's desire to highlight structural unity between the beginning and end of the symphony wherever possible. Wagner proceeds to describe the emotional turmoil contained within the development section of Beethoven's first movement and then quotes a later passage from the same speech in 'Studierzimmer II' to describe the desolate mood at the movement's close. He completes his commentary on the first movement with another structural reference to 'Freude', this time identifying it as God's purpose in creating the world. As we shall see, the introduction of this religious dimension prepares the way for his interpretation of the third movement.

#### II: Scherzo: Molto vivace – Presto

Wagner gives voice to the abrupt change of mood at the start of the second movement by citing Faust's instruction to Mephistopheles later on in Studierzimmer II: 'Von Freude sei nicht mehr die Rede / Dem Taumel weih ich mich, dem schmerzlichsten Genuss' [Let there be no more talk of joy / I dedicate myself to the frenzy, to the most painful pleasure]. <sup>21</sup> In Wagner's reading of Beethoven, the concept of 'Freude' temporarily disappears, as the hopeless pessimism of the first movement is contrasted with the 'wilde Lust' of the Scherzo's keenly felt rhythmic impulse. He describes this as 'eine neue Welt, in die wir eintreten, in der wir fortgerissen zum Taumel' [we enter a new world, in which we are swept to the frenzy], consciously echoing Goethe's text. This 'neue Welt' [new world] in Wagner's description of Beethoven's music is derived from Faust's experience, for when Faust utters these lines he has recently concluded his wager with Mephistopheles. Faust's fresh ally in his quest for greater experience transforms his mood with a new sense of purpose and Wagner relates this to the different 'Seelen-Stimmung' he describes in Beethoven's Scherzo. Wagner chooses to portray the contrasting trio section of the second movement as 'eine jener Szenen irdischer Lust und vergnüglichen Behagens: eine gewisse derbe Fröhlichkeit' [one of those scenes of earthly pleasure and self-contented enjoyment: a certain coarse cheerfulness]. In other words, he evokes the kind of short-lived pleasures with which Mephistopheles initially tries to amuse Faust. By identifying the 'neue Welt' of Beethoven's second movement with the entry of Mephistopheles in Goethe's drama, Wagner presents the ABA structure of the scherzo and trio as an interaction between the personalities of Faust and Mephistopheles. The latent voice of the first movement has become a dialogue between two contrasting voices. In choosing to highlight aspects of different characters from Faust in parallel with Beethoven's symphony, Wagner appears to be drawing on his own

# III: Adagio molto e cantabile – Andante moderato

For the lyrical third movement Wagner quotes from Nacht, choosing a passage that comes just after Faust's suicide attempt. Faust has been interrupted by the heavenly chorus, and his renewed optimism as he recalls his youthful religious faith is reflected in Wagner's commentary: 'Es ist als ob uns Erinnerung erwache, Erinnerung an ein früh genossenes, reinstes Glück' [It is as if memory awakens us, memory of the purest happiness from early days]. In Goethe's text, Faust encounters precisely this kind of purity in the person of Gretchen, for whom he experiences genuine love. Wagner's description of Beethoven's music invokes Faust's attraction to Gretchen by interpreting 'Ein unbegreiflich holdes Sehnen' [an indescribably pure longing], the words he quotes from Nacht to illustrate the movement's second theme, as 'das Sehnen der Liebe' [the longing of love]. Wagner then introduces a sexual motif to complete the parallel when he describes the return of the second theme as the moment when 'Liebe und Hoffnung sich umschlingen' [love and hope become entwined]. By invoking aspects of love and religious purity, the commentary on the third movement has thus implicitly added Gretchen and a choir of heavenly angels to the voices that Wagner incorporates in the symphonic structure. Wagner quotes Faust's line 'O tönet fort, ihr süssen Himmelslieder!' [O sweet voices of Heaven, continue your singing!] to conclude his commentary on the third movement, conveying the sense that Beethoven's music is somehow now exhorting its latent voice to reveal itself.

# IV: Presto – Allegro assai

The fourth movement opens with what Wagner describes as a 'greller Aufschrei' [harsh outcry] – the conceptual antecedent to the famous term 'Schreckensfanfare' [horror fanfare] that he coined in his 1873 essay on the symphony. To illustrate this point in the music, Wagner chooses his last quotations from *Faust*. He first cites Studierzimmer I, selecting the moment when Faust expresses his lasting dissatisfaction with life: 'Aber ach! schon fühl ich, bei dem besten Willen, / Befriedigung nicht mehr aus dem Busen quillen' [But now, alas! in spite of my best endeavour / Contentment no longer wells up in my breast].<sup>24</sup> He then jumps backwards in Goethe's text and adds a passage from Nacht, in which Faust responds to his failure to find real significance in the sign of the macrocosmos. The well-known first line of this section normally reads 'Welch Schauspiel! Aber ach! ein Schauspiel nur!' [What a spectacle! But alas no more than a spectacle!].<sup>25</sup> However, Wagner rewrites this line 'Welch 'holder Wahn', – doch ach! ein 'Wähnen' nur!' [What a sweet illusion, – yet alas! only a delusion] before continuing with the rest of Goethe's original text. Where

- 22 Ibid., l. 775.
- 23 Ibid., 1. 783.
- 24 Ibid., ll. 1210-1211.
- 25 Ibid., 1. 554.

do the added words come from? Although Wagner places them in quotation do the added words come from? Although Wagner places them in quotation marks, they are not lifted as a unit from within *Faust*. However, the concepts 'hold' [sweet, pure] and 'Wahn' [illusion, madness] do occur throughout Goethe's text, and this may be what Wagner's use of quotation marks reflects. Goethe uses 'Wahn' in the Zueignung [Dedication] at the very start of the work, as the poet's voice reflects on the illusory and painful world created in art: 'Fühl ich mein Herz noch jenem Wahn geneigt?' [Do I feel my heart inclining once more to that illusion?]<sup>26</sup> 'Hold' picks up on the phrase 'Ein unbegreiflich holdes Sehnen' which Wagner has already used to evoke the character of Gretchen in connection with the second theme of the third movement. The phrase 'ein guter Wahn' [a good act of madness] – very similar to Wagner's altered text – is guter Wahn' [a good act of madness] – very similar to Wagner's altered text – is how Faust describes Gretchen's crime in the Kerker scene.<sup>27</sup> Wagner has thus altered Goethe's line in a way that supports the unity of his own conception and strengthens the intertextual relationship between the Programm and Faust. As the first words of the baritone soloist are heard – 'Ihr Freunde, nicht diese Töne! Sondern lasst uns angenehmere anstimmen und freudenvollere!' [My friends, not sounds like these! Let's sing something more pleasant and cheerful instead!] - the teleological impetus of Wagner's Programm becomes apparent. There is no indication in Beethoven's score as to whose voice this is, but the soloist's address to the audience as his friends is rendered plausible by Wagner's notion of a poetic voice speaking throughout the symphony, and with which we have become comfortable. The achievement of Wagner's intertextual conception is that this moment of transition to the voice is rendered not abrupt and disconnected, but comprehensible as a necessary element of the overall structure.

The presentation of this moment in the Programm was, however, only the first step: the entry is notoriously awkward to render successfully in performance and an observer of Wagner's Dresden rehearsals records that the conductor burst out in rage at the inability of the soloist to deliver the entry as he wanted: 'So out in rage at the inability of the soloist to deliver the entry as he wanted: 'So geht es nicht, wenn Sie es nicht besser können, dann lassen Sie es' [That's not good enough, if you can't do it better, we'll find someone else]. <sup>28</sup> It is clear that Wagner conceived the entry as a pivotal dramatic moment: for his conception of the whole work to be realised convincingly in performance it was necessary that the delivery of the text should correspond precisely to the manner in which he imagined it in the Programm: a natural continuation of the latent voice that had preceded it and a bridge between Goethe and Schiller. As the chorus breaks out into the ode, Wagner's process of elucidation is complete, for the text can now speak for itself.

speak for itself.

We have shown how Goethe's Faust is central to Wagner's understanding of Beethoven's Ninth symphony. What is the broader significance of this? Further study is needed buf it is clear that the Programm is an early indicator

<sup>26.</sup> Ibid., l. 4.

<sup>27.</sup> Ibid., l. 4408.

<sup>28.</sup> Gustav Adolph Kietz, *Richard Wagner in den Jahren 1842–1849 und 1873–1875* (Dresden: Reißner, 1905), 49–52, 55. Cited in Wagner, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 20.1, xiv.

of the important role *Faust* would play in Wagner's lifelong exploration of the relationship between music and text. Wagner's 1870 essay on Beethoven concludes by citing the closing 'Chorus Mysticus' from Faust and it is likely that this reflects an ongoing engagement with Goethe's drama throughout the intervening years. Second, it might be speculated that alongside Beethoven, *Faust* exerted considerable influence, as yet unrecognised, on Wagner's theories of music drama. At the very least, Wagner's attempt to marry language and music in the Programm anticipates the integration he sought to achieve in his stage works, but it is likely that the ideological content of *Faust* played a role too. Finally, it is clear that the Programm is more than just a textual commentary on the symphony. It is also the reflection of a performer's consciousness, that is to say, it was written by Wagner with his own practical conception of how to play Beethoven's music in mind. In his 1873 essay, he makes no attempt to hide the fact that for him the interpretative process involves the imposition of a specific musical vision onto a pre-existing score. The detailed manner in which this is carried out is impossible for a non-musician to comprehend, requiring a degree of technical acumen only attained through experience in performance and rehearsal. But in the Programm Wagner demonstrates this using words alone, allowing readers a rare opportunity to grasp not only the shape of his interpretation but also the process by which he forms it.

# . 11

# **Linking Christian and Faustian Utopias**

# Mahler's Setting of the Schlußszene in his Eighth Symphony

# Eftychia Papanikolaou

Upon its publication, Goethe's Faust II met with perplexing reception as to its generic classification and complex narrative. Writers who boldly proposed generic classification and complex narrative. Writers who boldly proposed an allegorical interpretation also reflected on its resistance to traditional stage presentation. Robert Schumann, who set to music scenes from both Parts I and II of Faust, made Faust the protagonist of his oratorio Szenen aus Goethes Faust (1844–53). Franz Liszt's setting of the 'Chorus mysticus' at the end of his Faust-Symphonie (1854) represented an unconventional response to Goethe's text.¹ But it was not until Gustav Mahler's Eighth Symphony (1906) that the Schlußszene from Faust II received an admittedly monumental treatment. By setting to music the parts of Faust II that were rarely set to music, Mahler made redemption – with all its interpretative baggage – the epicentre and eventual apogee of his work.

Mahler set the First Part of the Eighth Symphony to the Latin Pentecost hymn Veni creator spiritus ('Come Holy Ghost, Creator'),² while the Second Part comprises an exalted melopoiesis of the final scene of Part II of Goethe's Faust. The setting of the sacred hymn Veni creator spiritus abounds in secular musical references (band music and marches, with subtle allusions to sacred music), whereas

Liszt famously eschewed a programmatic illustration of the story of Faust in music. Instead of narrating the plot instrumentally, Liszt opted for a depiction and, subsequently, instead of narrating the plot instrumentally, Liszt opted for a depiction and, subsequently, interpretation of the three main characters of the drama. Each of the three movements (Faust, Gretchen, Mephistopheles) offers a separate musical gloss on the characters and their relationships, through the manipulation of the thematic ideas. Mephistopheles is primarily portrayed through the dislocated and parodied themes associated with Faust, whereas Gretchen's themes remain essentially intact. Liszt emphasized Mephistopheles' powerlessness at the end by ending the Symphony with a true moment of apotheosis: a setting of the Chorus mysticus, sung by a tenor soloist and men's chorus, built primarily on Gretchen's themes from the second movement—after all, she partales of Faust's on Gretchen's themes from the second movement – after all, she partakes of Faust's See detailed discussion in Christian Wildhagen, "The "Greatest" and the "Most Personal":

The Eighth Symphony and *Das Lied von der Erde'*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 128–35.

Goethe's secular text is clothed in music of unmistakably religious character. Goethe's secular text is clothed in music of unmistakably religious character. The protagonist's struggle and the drama's mystical message of redemption seem to have resonated with the composer, as revealed in the genesis of the work and subsequent interpretations gleaned from his correspondence. Like Goethe's *Faust*, the Eighth traverses the genre's boundaries, and its musical ethos defies generic expectations. By sculpting the text in the mould of a symphony, Mahler upholds – and simultaneously critiques – the prevailing tradition of the venerable symphonic genre. At the same time, the Eighth reinforces perceptions of universality and authority appropriate to a setting of *Faust*, while it also offers a musical analogue to its ambivalent and multivalent status as a genre. a musical analogue to its ambivalent and multivalent status as a genre.

#### From Goethe to Mahler

Goethe subtitled *Faust* 'eine Tragödie', but, as Dieter Borchmeyer most recently put it, 'If *Faust* is a tragedy, it is one despite Faust himself'.<sup>3</sup> Bluntly put, *Faust* was no Aristotelian tragedy and the mixing of styles (which alluded to Shakespearean tragedy and also Dante) was amplified by the lack of suffering detected in the protagonist.<sup>4</sup> Jane Brown and others have defended the assertion that Faust is not representative of the tragic hero – he does not suffer. Instead of cathering the draged's conclusion processed executive in the emposite direction as catharsis, the drama's conclusion proceeds exactly in the opposite direction: as a 'Christian drama of salvation'. In the words of Borchmeyer, 'the devil never had a chance to begin with'.5

Earlier in the nineteenth century, before the publication of *Faust II*, few would have foreseen – let alone accepted – the hero's eventual salvation. The widespread image that Faust had acquired among contemporary critics was that of an immoral character. Wolfgang Menzel, Goethe's notoriously vitriolic critic, humorously proclaimed that 'if Faust deserved salvation after destroying Gretchen and her family, then every pig that rolls in a flower-bed deserves to be the gardener'. Faust, at that time, was no hero of the German nation and Faust Urppresented an immoral subversion of the Faust logend'.

II represented an immoral 'subversion of the Faust legend'.<sup>7</sup>

The dramatis personae of the *Schlußszene* – holy Anchorites, church fathers, penitent women and the Mater Gloriosa – make overt allusions to Christianity. It would be misleading, however, either to interpret the last scene on strict

- Dieter Borchmeyer, 'Faust Beyond Tragedy: Hidden Comedy, Covert Opera', in Goethe's
- 'Faust': Theatre of Modernity, ed. Hans Schulte, John Noyes and Pia Kleber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 209–34 (here 210).
  See, among others, Jane K. Brown's thorough treatment in Goethe's 'Faust': The German Tragedy (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986). As Nicholas Boyle suggests in the conclusion of his essay in this volume, Faust may not be a hero, but Goethe's Faust is a 'tragedy, perhaps the tragedy, of modernity'. Nicholas Boyle, 'Wagering on Modernity: Goethe's Eighteenth-Century Faust', 00. Borchmeyer, 'Beyond Tragedy', 211.
- Cited in Faust, Part Two, trans. David Luke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), lxxix; original in Wolfgang Menzel, 'Faustiana', *Literaturblatt* 47 (6 May 1833), 187; also in Wolfgang Leppmann, *The German Image of Goethe* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 60, n. 2.
- Brown, German Tragedy, 256.

theological terms or to read in Goethe's theology any kind of dogmatic approach.8 Goethe was born a Lutheran, but his hostility toward institutional Christianity became a pervasive stance throughout his life and career, as the author's biographer Nicholas Boyle has shown. Numerous explanations have been proposed to explain Faust's redemption. For some, Faust does not seem to desire salvation; it is rather *offered* to him through the mediation of Gretchen, who exemplifies Goethe's notion of 'divine grace'. This concept, that striving will not bring salvation without divine intercession, has puzzled many critics who read in it a quintescentially Catholic theology. Coetho himself wrote the who read in it a quintessentially Catholic theology. Goethe himself wrote the lines 'Wer immer strebend sich bemüht, Den können wir erlösen' in quotation marks in his manuscript and he considered them to be the essence of *Faust*. In an often-quoted conversation that Eckermann reported from 6 June 1831 Goethe noted that

In diesen Versen [...] ist der Schlüssel zu Fausts Rettung enthalten. In Faust selber eine immer höhere und einere Tätigkeit bis ans Ende, und von oben die ihm zu Hilfe kommende ewige Liebe. Es steht dieses mit unserer religiösen Vorstellung durchaus in Harmonie, nach welcher wir nicht bloß durch eigene Kraft selig werden, sondern durch die hinzukommende göttliche Gnade. 10

[In these lines [...] is contained the key to Faust's salvation. In Faust himself there is an activity that becomes constantly higher and purer to the end, and from above there is eternal love coming to his aid. This harmonizes perfectly with our religious views, according to which we can obtain heavenly bliss, not through our own strength alone, but with the assistance of divine grace.]

In other words, Christianity provided Goethe 'a richly resonant and above all a familiar corpus of iconography and doctrine'. <sup>11</sup> It is as such that the religious allegory of *Faust II* has been viewed by scholars and commentators – as a philosophical rather than a theological belief system. <sup>12</sup> After all, religious imagery, as Carl Niekerk has observed, 'functions as a tool and is not to be confused with the message of the text'. <sup>13</sup>

- Goethe's religious outlook is summarized in H.B. Nisbet, 'Religion and Philosophy', in The Cambridge Companion to Goethe, ed. Lesley Sharpe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 219–31. Regarding the religious elements in Faust see Osman Durrani, Faust and the Bible: A Study of Goethe's Use of Scriptural Allusions and Christian Religious Motifs in Faust I and II (Bern: Lang, 1977).

  See Nicholas Boyle, "Thealogy": Gods, Goddesses and Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre in Goethe's Religious Development', in Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst, ed. Lorraine Byrne [Bodley] (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004). 225–41
- Byrne [Bodley] (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2004), 225–41.

  10. Goethe, Gespräche mit Eckermann, ed. Ernst Beutler (Zürich: Artemis, 1948), 504; trans. John Oxenford as *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann* (New York: Da Capo, 1998), 413–14. John R. Williams, *Goethe's Faust* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 36.
- 12. For a recent discussion see Jens Malte Fischer, Gustav Mahler, trans. Stewart Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 405–6.
- 13. Carl Niekerk, 'Mahler's Goethe', The Musical Quarterly 89 (2006), 237–72 (here 251).

Speculation about whether Mahler had Goethe's Faust in mind from the start of the composition has not met with concrete evidence. Mahler arrived at his summer house in Maiernigg early in the summer of 1906, with plans to dedicate the first part of his vacation time to the revision of the Seventh Symphony. His plans changed immediately, however. As he wrote in a letter to Alma four years later, 'the Spiritus creator took hold of me, shaking me and scourging me for eight weeks, until the main part was finished'. The outcome was one of the most idiosyncratic works both in Mahler's output and in symphonic literature. Mahler had used the human voice in three of his previous symphonies – the Second, Third and Fourth – but this time he decided to create the output should symphony second for three decides a children's about create an entirely choral Symphony scored for three choirs, a children's chorus, eight soloists and an orchestra that included celesta, mandolin and organ. He remarked in a now famous letter to the Dutch conductor Willem Mengelberg: 'Es ist das Größte, was ich bis jetzt gemacht. Und so eigenartig in Inhalt und Form, dass sich darüber gar nicht schreiben läßt. Denken Sie sich, daß das Universum zu tönen und zu klingen beginnt. Es sind nicht mehr menschliche Stimmen, sondern Planeten und Sonnen, welche kreisen' [It is the greatest thing I have done so far. And [it is] so peculiar in content and form that it is impossible to write about it. Just imagine that the universe is beginning to sound and to ring. It is no longer human voices, but circling planets and suns]. 16

Goethe had made a translation of the *Veni creator* hymn (in Weimar, dated 10 April 1820),<sup>17</sup> though it is doubtful that Mahler knew of it in 1906. He would have concurred with Goethe's description of the hymn, however, as an 'appeal to the Genius' – an 'Appel an's Genie', as he called it in his 'Maximen und Reflexionen'. Mahler owned a complete edition of Goethe's works, and is known to have memorized several passages of the work. As Henry-Louis de La Grange argues, the choice of the Faust text must have come easily to him, since

Goethe 'had always been one of his literary gods'.19

The image of Mahler being moved and challenged by Goethe's Faust has been problematized recently by Carl Niekerk, whose insightful exploration of the text's political and cultural implications within Mahler's milieu provides

14. Letter of 8 June 1910, cited in Henry-Louis de La Grange, Gustav Mahler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), vol. 3, 426–7

Mahler's Unknown Letters, ed. Herta Blaukopf, trans. Richard Stokes (Boston: Northeastern

University Press, 1986), 54.

16. Gustav Mahler, *Briefe* 1879–1911, ed. Herta Blaukopf (Vienna and Hamburg: Zsolnay, 1982), 360; English translation in Mahler: His Life, Work and World, ed. Kurt and Herte Blaukopf (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 194.

17. For details see La Grange, Gustav Mahler, vol. 3, 892, n. 18. Evidence might show that Mahler was not actually aware of Goethe's translation at the time of the composition.

 Maximen und Reflexionen', in *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1833), vols 49, 50 and 64.
 Henry-Louis de La Grange, 'The Eighth: Exception or Crowning Achievement?' in *A 'Mass' for the Masses: Proceedings of the Mahler VIII Symposium, Amsterdam 1988*, ed. Eveline Nikkels and Robert Becqué (Rijswijk: Nijgh and Van Ditmar Universitair, 1992), 131–44 (here 134).

a new context for the appeal of Goethe's drama for Mahler.20 The reception of Faust changed considerably over the nineteenth century and seemed to coincide with the ambivalent attitude toward Goethe's image.<sup>21</sup> Faust moved from being viewed negatively (and the term 'Faustian' carrying pejorative connotations) to emerging as a tragic character, a demonic figure and even a national hero. Tracing the different aesthetic, political, psychological and other interpretations that the figure of Faust and the term 'Faustian' acquired over time can provide enlightening contextualization.<sup>22</sup> The turning point came after 1871 and, as Niekerk emphasizes, 'Mahler's Eighth participated in a rehabilitation of Goethe that had been set into motion by the unification of a rehabilitation of Goethe that had been set into motion by the unification of Germany, even though the text remained controversial'.<sup>23</sup> Despite his 'striking' choice of text, which for Niekerk denotes the composer's insightful approach as a 'literary and cultural historian', Mahler responded to Goethe's drama in a very personal way.

The drama's mystical message of redemption seems to have resonated with the drama's mystical message of redemption seems to have resonated with the composer since the work's inception. Two preliminary titled outlines Mahler drafted together with some music sketches have survived, though only through secondary sources. <sup>24</sup> These 'programmes' seem to have acted as scaffolding that enabled him to ground his creation; later he withdrew every bit of support and adhered to the two-part scheme of the work. Both confirm, however, Mahler's association of the hymn with Faust and with religious imagery: I. *Hymn Veni Creator*; II. *Scherzo*; III. *Adagio Caritas*; IV. *Hymn: die Geburt des Eros.* The second outline is slightly modified: I. *Veni creator*; II. *Caritas*; III. *Weihnachtsspiele mit dem Kindlein* [Christmas games with the little child]; IV. *Schöpfung durch Eros, Hymne* [Creation through Eros, Hymn] <sup>25</sup> [Creation through Eros, Hymn].<sup>25</sup>

On the now lost second programme he also reportedly noted, according to La Grange: '8th Symphony, August 1906; The first idea [Einfall], kept for my Almschl. Spiritus creator'. 26 The ideas of the hymn's Creator Spirit, Mahler himself as an artist-creator and Alma as the ultimate creator (both sensual, as the object of his Eros, and spiritual, as the Eternal-Feminine exemplified in Goethe's text), intertwine in Mahler's symphonic design and help establish the spiritual unity of the two parts of the Symphony.

- Carl Niekerk, 'Mahler's Goethe', 237–72.
- 21. For a thorough treatment see Leppmann, German Image.
- 22. Hans Schwerte, Faust und das Faustische. Ein Kapitel deutscher Ideologie (Stuttgart: Klett, 1962). 23. Niekerk, 'Mahler's Goethe', 240.
- 24. The first programme is reported by Paul Bekker in his *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1921), 273. For the second programme, which also included the opening twenty-eight measures of the Veni creator music, see La Grange, Gustav Mahler,
- 25. For more on the programmes see Christian Wildhagen, Die Achte Symphonie von Gustav Mahler: Konzeption einer universalen Symphonik (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2000).
- 26. La Grange, Gustav Mahler, vol. 3, 890.

# Schlußszene

The Second Part of the Eighth Symphony is the longest single movement Mahler ever wrote, and – with some notable exceptions – it constitutes a line-by-line melopoiesis of the last 267 lines of *Faust II*. The musical unity that Mahler accomplishes between the two movements of the Eighth compensates for the vastness of this expansive work. One might even say that, both in its concrete materiality (the repetitious and associative use of the thematic material) and temporal vastness (the entire work exceeds eighty minutes in performance time), the Eighth symbolically reflects the duality of the Faustian condition – needing 'visceral contact with materiality' while also seeking 'abstraction, reflectivity, discursivity', as Martin Swales asserts elsewhere in this volume.<sup>27</sup> Numerous instances of intertextuality unite the world of the *Schlußszene* with the invocation of the *creator spiritus* of Part I. The Angels' famous lines,

Gerettet ist das edle Glied Der Geisterwelt vom Bösen, 'Wer immer strebend sich bemüht,

Den können wir erlösen (ll. 11,934–7; bars 384–40228)

[This worthy member of the spirit world is rescued from the devil: 'for him whose striving never ceases we can provide redemption]

do not receive a particularly musical emphasis by Mahler. There is a striking musical connection, however, between the thematic idea of the Angels (Example 11.1) and the theme most prominently used in Part I of the Symphony to highlight the text's invocation of the Holy Spirit: 'accende lumen sensibus, infunde amorem cordibus' [kindle our sense with light, pour Thy love into our hearts] (bars 262ff; Example 11.2). In this instance the music seems to connect Faust's salvation with the life-giving light of the Holy Spirit. In that sense, the imperative nature of the hymn's entreaty ('accende', 'infunde') has been subsumed into the redemptive power of Faust's striving.

Example 11.1 Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part II: Chor der Engel, 'Gerettet', bars 384–9.

#### Allegro deciso (Im Anfang noch nicht eilen)



- 27. Martin Swales, 'Reflectivity, Music and the Modern Condition: Thoughts on Goethe's *Faust'*, 00.
- 28. Bar numbers refer to the first edition of the full score: *Achte Symphonie von Gustav Mahler* (Wien, Leipzig, Universal Edition, 1911).

Example 11.2 Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part II: 'Accende lumen sensibus (chorus I and II, bars 260–65).



Similarly, Gretchen's final supplication to the Mater Dolorosa is replete with echoes from the opening hymn. The ascending motivic idea at 'er ahnet kaum das frische Leben, / so gleicht er schon der heiligen Schar' [but when he senses there is new life here / he soon will be the peer of any angel] (bars 1213–19; Example 11.3) prominently repeats music that formed the second part of the first strophe of *Veni creator spiritus*, 'imple [mentes] superna gratia, quae tu creasti pectora' [fill [our souls] with grace, Thou, that didst create them] (bars 46ff; Example 11.4).

Example 11.3 Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part III: 'Una Poenitentum', 'Neue kaum', bars 1211–1219.



Consequently, the grace that derives from the Holy Spirit and the grace that the Mater Gloriosa is asked to bestow upon Faust's immortal part both intersect musically and correspond semantically. At the culmination of her plea,

Vergönne mir, ihn zu belehren,

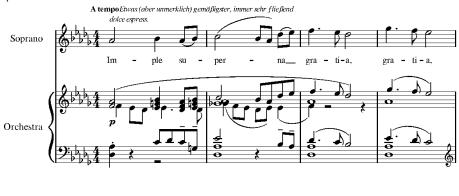
Noch blendet ihn der neue Tag (ll. 12,092–3; bars 1235–43; Example 11.5)

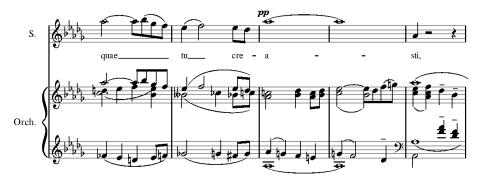
[Grant me permission to instruct him –

he is still dazzled by the strange new light]

Gretchen's agonizing sigh gestures make an overt allusion to the 'superna gratia' choral reiteration of Part I (bars 118–21; Example 6). Whereas in Part I this music culminates in a triumphant E flat major, Gretchen's final cry for salvation

Example 11.4 Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part IV: 'Imple [mentes] superna gratia (solo soprano, bars 46–54).





Example 11.5 Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part II: 'Una Poenitentum', 'Vergönne mir', bars 1235–43.



Example 11.6 Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part II: 'superna gratia' (chorus I and II, soprano, bars 118–21).



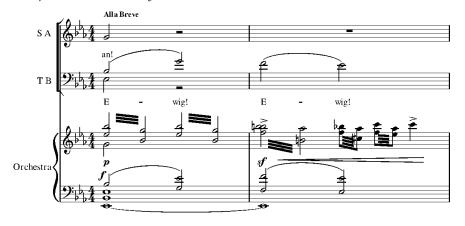
articulates a solitary plea in the dominant, B flat major. The earlier appeal to the Holy Spirit for celestial grace finds a tentative resolution in Gretchen's entreaty. With the entrance of Doctor Marianus, the highest Father in the heavenly hierarchy, the musical setting intensifies the work's aspirations toward theatricality. In a 'rapturous' prayer, Doctor Marianus addresses the Mater Gloriosa, the 'Höchste Herrscherin der Welt' [highest mistress of the firmament] (bars 639ff), who appears for the first time 'floating into view'. Mahler marks her wordless arrival in b. 780 with a four-note theme that anticipates the so-called 'ewig' motif from the 'Chorus mysticus' (Examples 11.7a and 11.7b). This thematic idea is akin to the 'Ewigkeit' motif discussed by Stephen Hefling in the context of Mahler's Symphony no. 2 and Das Lied von der Erde. In Hefling's words, this motif symbolizes 'temporal transcendence, and [...] ascent to a realm of peace and nurturance, such as the sphere of "das Ewig-Weibliche". <sup>29</sup> Thus this instance of motivic appropriation by the orchestra at the sight of the Mater Gloriosa denotes a moment of identification

with the allusive Eternal-Feminine of the drama's peroration.

Shared by chorus and orchestra, the repetition of the 'ewig' motif in the music creates an aural tapestry that amplifies the collective petition for mercy. Gretchen *Example 11.7a Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part II: 'Ewig' motif (violins, bars 780–81)*.



Example 11.7b 'Chorus mysticus' (chorus I and II, bars 1486–7).



29. Stephen E. Hefling, *Mahler: 'Das Lied von der Erde'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 12. See also Henry-Louis de La Grange, 'Music about Music in Mahler: Reminiscences, Allusions, or Quotations?', in *Mahler Studies*, ed. *idem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 143.

Example 11.8 Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part II: 'Una Poenitentum', 'Neige, neige', bars 1104–5.



appears as Una Poenitentum (bars 1206ff), and her intercession on Faust's behalf suggests a Penitent's joyful view of eternity ('Neige, neige', l. 12,069, Example 11.8). The opening musical gesture, however, consists of a transformed echo of the 'ewig' musical idea. Gretchen may be an agent for Faust's salvation, but she speaks in the musical language of the Mater Gloriosa, who is the ultimate source of salvation – and thus of *Ewigkeit*.

Having appeared on high like a *dea ex machina*, the Mater Gloriosa now sings her only two lines in the entire work, accompanied with a halo of instrumental iterations of the 'ewig' motif. In twenty-four measures of shimmering melodic elegance, she grants Gretchen's request:

Komm! Hebe dich zu höhern Sphären! Wenn er dich ahnet, folgt er nach' (ll. 12,094–5; bars 1249–73)

[Come, rise to higher spheres – Sensing your presence, he will follow!].

Doctor Marianus, bowing in adoration, has the last monologue in the drama. His 'Blicket auf', a prayer of gratitude, becomes an urgent exclamation in the voices of the chorus. Indicated as *hymnenartig* on the score, the tone is strongly reminiscent of a Sanctus in its persistent repetition and celebratory treatment. Mahler describes Doctor Marianus's supplication as 'zart aber innig' (b. 1291), a hushed prayer that also carries with it a musical prolepsis of the 'Chorus mysticus' chorale that will follow. The same melody was earlier prefigured in the music that introduced Pater Ecstaticus, culminating in an abbreviated vocal concretization of the theme (bars 227–33). Here orchestra and soloist combine in a nexus of fragmentary motivic exchanges (bars 1305–13) whose profile looks forward to the drama's *denouement*.

exchanges (bars 1305–13) whose profile looks forward to the drama's *dénouement*. In its last communal address, the chorus hails Mater Gloriosa as 'Virgin, Mother, Queen, and Goddess', epithets that encapsulate the multi-faceted female figure that Goethe has explored in its various emanations throughout the drama. The section ends in a serene *pianissimo* B flat major, a suitable dominant for the hushed E flat major that will open the concluding chorus.

# 'Chorus mysticus'

The final eight lines of *Faust* constitute some of the most often discussed, sibylline passages in world literature:

# linking christian and faustian utopias

Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis; das Unzulängliche, hier wird's Ereignis; das Unbeschreibliche, hier ist es getan; das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan.

All that is transitory is but a parable; The unattainable is here attained; The indescribable, here is accomplished; The Eternal-Feminine draws us on high.<sup>30</sup>

In a conversation with Eckermann, Goethe ostensibly admitted that the familiar theological language from the Christian Church served to give his drama 'Form und Festigkeit' [form and substance],<sup>31</sup> rather than a strictly Christian outlook. Thus 'Das Unbeschreibliche' is a luminous locus of completion and realization, replete with religious echoes, irrespective of any particular theological tropes.

Mahler clothes the text of the 'Chorus mysticus' in sounds analogous to the text's transcendental imagery. An invisible chorus of disembodied voices

Mahler clothes the text of the 'Chorus mysticus' in sounds analogous to the text's transcendental imagery. An invisible chorus of disembodied voices pronounces an apostrophe – its message of fulfilment, arrival and accomplishment addresses us while it also reflects back on the drama. The solemnity of the moment cannot be lost on the audience, especially with the musical emphasis on plagal cadences, pianissimo dynamics, the return to the opening's E flat major and the use of chorale topos (Example 11.9). Mahler's setting of the 'Chorus mysticus' as a chorale, first as a hushed prayer and later in a massively exultant, communal assertion, ideally reflects the sense of arrival, and captures the spirit of mysticism and heavenly imagery to which the text alludes. The 'ewig' reiterations disclose more than just their semantic meaning: 'ewig' becomes a metaphor for transcendence. The venerable chorale style ideally intensifies the religioso topos and serves as a fitting peroration of a metaphysical quest where, to paraphrase another writer, Mahler links 'Christian and Faustian Utopias'.<sup>32</sup>

That Mahler considered the religious implications of the text when he composed the second part of the Eighth is not only manifest in the exalted musical setting but also in a number of his writings. Two letters that Mahler wrote to his wife Alma in the summer of 1909 reveal important insights about his vision of *Faust*. In June of 1909 he received a letter from Alma in which she had quoted the last four lines of the 'Chorus mysticus'. Mahler wrote back offering a personal reading of the passage, one that emphasizes the unspeakability and inexpressibility of the words:

The eternal-feminine has drawn us on – we have arrived – we are at rest – we possess what on earth we could only strive and struggle for. Christians call this

<sup>30.</sup> Adapted from Walter Arndt's translation of *Faust*, ed. by Cyrus Hamlin, trans. by Walter Arndt (New York: Norton, 1976), 308.

<sup>31.</sup> Johann Peter Eckermann, Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens, ed. Christoph Michel (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999), 489. Translation in Conversations, 414.

<sup>32.</sup> Phrase by Clytus Gottwald in his 'Mahlers Achte', as cited in La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 3, 907.

Example 11.9 Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part II: 'Chorus mysticus', bars 1449–58.



Although this letter was written three years after the completion of the Eighth, one may read in his analysis a kind of 'programme note' to the second part of the Eighth.<sup>34</sup> In Mahler's mind *Faust* and Christian imagery were interconnected;

- 33. Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters*, ed. Donald Mitchell, trans. Basil Creighton (New York: Viking, 1969), 320–21. Original in Alma Mahler-Werfel and Gustav Mahler, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler: Briefe an Alma Mahler*, ed. Donald Mitchell (Frankfurt a. M.: Ullstein, 1980), 351–3. This passage was written three years after the completion of the Eighth, possibly because the intervening traumatic events in Mahler's life (between 1906 and 1910, the year of the premiere of the Eighth) triggered a re-examination of the Symphony's spiritual message. They should in no way, however, serve as documentation of the *original* inspiration behind the work. They constitute events *ex post facto*, and should be viewed as such.
- 34. Mahler's views on *Faust* were probably shaped early on when, as a student in Vienna, he met the poet and philosopher Siegfried Lipiner (1856–1911). Even though Lipiner's dissertation on *Faust* (*Homunculus: Eine Studie über* Faust *und die Philosophie Goethes*, Vienna, 1894) is now lost, Mahler shared his philosophical ideas and artistic beliefs. See William J. McGrath,

just as in Goethe before, they served as a mythic anchor, a system of symbols and values that transcended beyond themselves.

# A Mass in Symphonic Dress

Mahler's musical setting constitutes an analogue to the uncompromising qualities inherent in Goethe's drama. Faust, a quintessential example of genera mixta, helped lend the Symphony its heterogeneous make-up. The Eighth traverses traditional generic boundaries. It is a Symphony in name only – a 'host' genre whose markers guarantee its communicatory meaning.<sup>35</sup> As such, it betrays a conscious approach on the part of the composer to integrate symphonic principles of tonal and formal organization (both parts may be analyzed as large sonata-form structures). It is also a 'Choral' Symphony, since Mahler uses voices not only sporadically, but throughout. Its combination of a sacred hymn and a quasireligious text has prompted many writers to interpret the Symphony in its entirety as a religious statement. From its unconventional pairing of *Veni creator* entirety as a religious statement. From its unconventional pairing of *Veni creator* spiritus and *Faust* to the use of multiple vocal forces, the work has often been characterized as a motet, a cantata, an oratorio,<sup>36</sup> a religious drama in the tradition of *Parsifal* <sup>37</sup> and even a meta-opera.<sup>38</sup> Carl Dahlhaus includes the second part of the Eighth – together with Felix Mendelssohn's Symphony-Cantata no. 2, the *Lobgesang* (1838–40), Hector Berlioz's Dramatic Symphony *Roméo et Juliette* (1839) and Liszt's *Eine Faust- Symphonie* – in a discrete category he calls 'Symphonische Kantate'. This genre constitutes an amalgamation of two different genres whose characteristics are not merely juxtaposed, but rather fused into one.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, H.F. Redlich associated the Eighth with 'ecclesiastical choral music and with oratorio'. Part I, he contended,

Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974); Caroline A. Kita, 'Jacob Struggling with the Angel: Siegfried Lipiner, Gustav Mahler, and the Search for Aesthetic-Religious Redemption in Fin-de-siècle Vienna', PhD Thesis (Duke University, 2011), 218–20; Stephen Hefling, 'Siegfried Lipiner's On the Elements of a Renewal of Religious Ideas in the Present', in Mahler im Kontext / Contextualizing Mahler, ed. Erich Wolfgang Partsch and Morten Solvik (Vienna: Böhlau, 2011), 91–114.
 35. The term 'host' is used by Jeffrey Kallberg, 'The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G Minor', 19th Century Music 11/3 (1988), 238–61.
 36. La Grange, Gustav Mahler, vol. 3, 890.

Constantin Floros, Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies, trans. Vernon Wicker (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 227.
 Michael P. Steinberg, Austria as Theater and Ideology: The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival

(Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 214.

39. Carl Dahlhaus, 'Zur Problematik der musikalischen Gattungen im 19. Jahrhundert', in Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen, Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade, ed. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn and Hans Oesch (Munich: Francke, 1973), 878; cf. Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 164–5; John Daverio, Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology (New York: Schirmer, 1993), 129–31. Hermann Danuser views the work as a synthesis of oratorio, symphonic form, and dramatic form, in 'Der Goethe-Interpret Mahler: Zur Achten Symphonie als Weltanschauungsmusik', Musiek & Wetenschap: Dutch Journal for Musicology 5 (1995–6), 266–85. 'comes far closer to religious choral music of symphonic proportions, such as Bruckner's Masses and *Te Deum*, than to symphony proper'.<sup>40</sup>

The result is a work whose compositional ethos encodes the Symphony with multiple generic markers, primarily those associated with sacred *topoi*. Mahler himself acknowledged its religious orientation when he reportedly called the Eighth Symphony his 'Mass'. This reference appears in *Die Bildnisse von Gustav Mahler*, a book of pictures with a prologue written by the stage designer Alfred Roller. Mahler had collaborated with Roller on many opera productions that the composer conducted during his tenure as Director of the Court Opera in Vienna. Roller's account implies apprehension on Mahler's part at the prospect of composing music for the Credo of a Mass, perhaps because of its doctrinal implications:

Ich fragte ihn einst, warum er eigentlich keine Messe schreibe. [...] 'Nein, das vermag ich doch nicht.' Aber nach einer Probe der 'Achten' in München rief er mir in Erinnerung an dieses Gespräch fröhlich zu: 'Sehen Sie, das ist meine Messe.'41

[Once I asked him, why he didn't actually write a Mass. [...] 'No, that I can't do'. But, after a rehearsal of the Eighth in Munich, he reminded me of that conversation, calling out cheerfully: 'Look, this is my Mass'.]42

Mahler's 'Mass' transcends dogmas. It treats Bible and literature alike, as mythopoeic repositories of knowledge, culture, philosophy and eschatology.<sup>43</sup> By Mahler's time *Faust* had attained the status of canonical text. Heinrich Heine's famous dictum that Goethe's *Faust* had become 'die weltliche Bibel der Deutschen'<sup>44</sup> [the secular Bible of the Germans] exemplified a duality that continued to persist: secular texts could be revered as highly as any excerpt from the Bible, and thus treated in a manner that would fuse secular interpretation with quasi-religious reverence. *Faust's* universality spoke to Mahler's artistic vision. As Bruno Walter reported,

Nothing was nearer to his heart than this appeal, entreaty, and challenge by humanity, and what joy it was for him that there was an answer such as Goethe's promise [...]. He could not tell me enough about the happiness he had experienced in surrendering himself so entirely to Goethe's words, and in being able so profoundly to identify himself with them. And yet, this is his

- 40. Hans Ferdinand Redlich, Bruckner and Mahler (London: Dent, 1963), 214.
- 41. Alfred Roller, Die Bildnisse von Gustav Mahler (Leipzig: E.P. Tal, 1922), 26.
- 42. Translation adapted from La Grange, Gustav Mahler, vol. 3, 461–2.

This is also the conception of myth and mythology that derives from nineteenth-century German Christian history. See George S. Williamson, *The Longing for Myth in Germany* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004).
 Heinrich Heine, *Die romantische Schule* (Halle a.d. Saale: Otto Hendel, [n.d.]), 36; trans. Helen Mustard in *The Romantic School and Other Essays*, ed. Jost Hermand and Robert C.

Holub (New York: Continuum, 1985), 40.

most 'objective' work. It is not Mahler, but all mankind which sings this hymn and receives the consolation of the second movement.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps Mahler saw Faust as the manifestation of the modern, post-Christian human whose quest 'is both self-fulfilling and self-defeating', as Nicholas Boyle has suggested.46 In that sense, Christian myth transmutes into Kunstreligion and thereby Mahler emerges as a modern man whose art becomes his personal post-Christian 'credo'.<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps in 1906 Mahler did not set out to write a symphony the spirit of which would resemble that of a sacred mass. By 1910, however, the year of its premiere in Munich, he possibly recognized this work as his spiritual testament. The Eighth Symphony is not a statement of metaphysical agony (as was his Second Symphony, 'The Resurrection'), but of affirmation. The optimism unequivocally expressed in several of Mahler's letters and statements is also expressed in the music's monumentality. Adorno's dismissal of the Fighth as the 'mißglückte objektiv monumentality. Adorno's dismissal of the Eighth as the 'mißglückte, objektiv unmögliche Wiederbelebung des kultischen' [aborted, objectively impossible resuscitation of the cultic] speaks more about the philosopher's own apprehension toward glorification of the collective than about Mahler's ineffectiveness.<sup>48</sup>

Social critic and philosopher Ernst Bloch saw Mahler as the embodiment of the spirit of Goethe's poetry, and his setting of *Faust* as the *non plus ultra* of such an artistic endeavour. In his first major work, *Geist der Utopie* [The Spirit of Utopia, 1918; revised in 1923],<sup>49</sup> Bloch lamented the decline of performances of Mahler's symphonic music – a result, in his view, of the audience's lack of ability to comprehend it. Bloch concluded his dithyrambic note on Mahler thus:

niemand ist bisher in der Gewalt seelenvollster, rauschendster, visionärster Musik dem Himmel nähergetragen worden als dieser sehnsuchtsvolle, heilige, hymnenhafte Mann. Das Herz bricht auf vor dem 'Ewig, ewig', vor dem Urlicht tief innen; wie ein ferner Bote kam dieser Künstler in seine leere, matte, skeptische Zeit, erhaben in der Gesinnung, unerhört in der Kraft und männlichen Glut seines Pathos, und wahrhaft nahe daran, das letzte Geheimnis der Musik über Welt und Gräbern zu spenden.50

- 45. Bruno Walter, 'Mahlers Weg, ein Erinnerungsblatt', Der Merker 3 (1911), 166–71; trans. in La Grange, Gustav Mahler, vol. 3, 430.
  46. See Nicholas Boyle, 'Wagering on Modernity', in this volume, 00.
- See Constantin Floros's discussion of the Eighth and the idea of *Kunstreligion* in 'Die "Symphonie der Tausend" als Botschaft an die Menschheit', in *A 'Mass' for the Masses*, 121.
   Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp,
- 1960), 182, and *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 138.
- 49. Although Bloch's philosophy betrays ties to the Marxist camp, at the time of the book's publication he 'was still far from being a dyed-in-the-wool Marxist'; see Benjamin B. Korstvedt, *Listening for Utopia in Ernst Bloch's Musical Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 24.
- 50. Ernst Bloch, Geist der Utopie (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1971), 123.

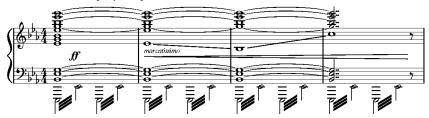
[No one had ever been carried closer to Heaven under the power of soulful, surging, visionary music than this yearning, holy, hymnic man. One's heart bursts at the 'Ewig, ewig', at the primordial light deep inside; like a messenger from afar this artist came into his empty, weary, skeptical age, noble of temperament, unprecedented in the power and virile fervor of his emotion, and truly on the verge of bestowing music's final mystery on the world and over every grave.]

In Bloch's terms there is a utopian impulse in this work that acts as a harbinger of the future. The outcome is a work *sui generis*, Mahler's answer to his relationship with nature and metaphysics, the mundane and the divine, the human and the transcendental. Just as the Eighth opens with a grand invocation to the *dimiourgon* Spirit (bars 1–5, especially the motif E flat–B flat–A flat, Example 11.10), so it ends with the triumphant reiteration of the same theme in the brass. This time, however, it points even higher musically, ascending from A flat to C (E flat–B flat–C, Example 11.11). With this allusive gesture Mahler the artist recognizes in the Creator Spirit the fountain of the work's inspiration. In his quest toward offering a metaphysical vision of Faustian redemption and salvation Mahler proposes an exegesis of *Faust* that simultaneously critiques and acknowledges its agency toward the culmination of his artistic vision.

Example 11.10 Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part I: 'Veni creator spiritus', bars 1–5.



Example 11.11 Mahler, Symphony no. 8, Part II, end, bars 1560–63.



# PART III

# Topographies Stagings and Critical Reception



# ~ 12 ~

# **Operatic Translation and Adaptation**

# Gounod's Faust, with a Tribute to Ken Russell

#### Siobhán Donovan

One of the many hats donned by Goethe's Faust is that of Biblical translator and exegete. After his repudiation of scholarly learning, the chorus's strains of the 'süßen Himmelslieder' [sweet heavenly voices]¹ halt his suicide attempt and reawaken his childhood Christian faith. Irritated by the growling poodle after his Easter walk, he turns to the opening verses of St John's Gospel in the first 'Studierzimmer' [study] scene and attempts to translate the 'sacred original' into German:

Mich drängt's, den Grundtext aufzuschlagen, Mit redlichem Gefühl einmal Das heilige Original In mein geliebtes Deutsch zu übertragen. (ll. 1220–23)

[I am forced to open the source text, And with sincere feeling Translate the sacred original Into my beloved German.]

The result is a Sturm und Drang creative reworking and reinterpretation: 'Im Anfang war die *Tat!*' [In the beginning was the *deed!*] (l. 1237). This inadvertently exorcises the demon, effects Mephistopheles' appearance – and abruptly concludes Fluxe's sole 'scholarly labour' and foray into translation.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most translated works in world literature, Goethe's *Faust*, and especially *Faust I*, has spawned countless adaptations into different genre and

1. Goethes Werke, HA, vol. 3 (8th edn): Faust. Der Tragödie erster Teil, 1. 783. The English translation is my own.

2. Osman Durrani, Faust and the Bible. A Study of Goethe's Use of Scriptural Allusions and Christian Religious Motifs in Faust I and II (Bern: Lang, 1977), 10, 58. See also Durrani's analysis of this scene, 57–62.

media. An early hybrid and intermedial art form, opera is one of adaptation's earliest beneficiaries, and Gounod's Faust one of the most popular in the operatic repertoire. Mephisto's mocking of Faust moments after meeting Gretchen: 'Ihr sprecht schon fast wie ein Franzos' [you are almost talking like a Frenchman'] (l. 2645) was to prove prophetic.

#### Goethe's Faust as Intertext and in Translation

If culture is, as George Steiner proposes, 'the translation and rewording of previous meaning',3 and the text, in the words of Roland Barthes, a 'tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture',4 then Goethe's Faust is an exemplar. Itself an adaptation of the Faust legend from the older chapbooks, it reworks other material, spinning a web of allusions and intertextual relations.<sup>5</sup> Every performance necessitates cuts to the written text – performance being a collaborative, interpretative and 'inherently adaptive art'<sup>6</sup> – yet the early performance and reception history of Goethe's Faust I is particularly distinguished by adaptation. Challenging by virtue of its sheer length, its formal innovativeness and its complex and unsettling subject matter, many parts (for example, the 'Walpurgisnacht') would have alienated contemporary audiences. Offensive religious references (including the St John passage) were thus cut in early performances, and Goethe himself expected. passage)<sup>7</sup> were thus cut in early performances, and Goethe himself expected changes. Writing to Zelter in November 1810, he was incredulous of attempts to stage his work as it was written.<sup>8</sup> The allegedly scatological content was even more unacceptable to English sensibilities, and early translations truncated or deleted controversial

passages.9

The French public was introduced to Goethe's Faust I by Madame de Staël via her loosely translated extracts in *De l'Allemagne* [Of Germany] (1810/1813), where the focus shifted from Faust to Méphisto. The first two more or less complete French translations by Frédéric-Albert-Alexandre Stapfer and Louis-Clair Beaupoil, Comte de Sainte-Aulaire, appeared in 1823. 10 However, the benchmark was the celebrated and complete (albeit not flawless) translation by Gérard de

- George Steiner, After Babel. Aspects of Language and Translation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 437
- Roland Barthes, 'Death of the Author [1968]', in Image Music Text, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill & Wang, 1977), 146.
- Deborah Cartmell sees intertextuality as 'the defining principle of any adaptation'. See her Introduction in *Adaptations*. From Text to Screen, Screen to Text, ed. Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (London: Routledge, 1999), 23–32, here 27. Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 2006), 48.
- Osman Durrani, 'Biblical Borrowings in Goethe's *Faust*: A Historical Survey of Their Interpretation', *The Modern Language Review* 72/4 (1977), 819–44, here 833–4. Ibid., 833.
- The first complete English translation appeared in 1833. See ibid., 835, esp. note 1.
- 10. On Stapfer's translation and Franco-German literary relations see Robert Vilain, 'Faust, Part One and France: Stapfer's Translation, Delacroix's Lithographs, Goethe's Responses', Publications of the English Goethe Society 81/2 (2012), 73–135, esp. 75, 87.

Nerval from 1828,<sup>11</sup> written with the target audience in mind and commended by Goethe. 12 This adaptation trend continued right up to and beyond the first performance of Barbier/Gounod's operatic adaptation in 1859.

# Translation – Rewriting – Adaptation

Despite the underscoring of the plurality of texts by semioticians and post-structuralists and the interrelated and burgeoning disciplines of translation studies, librettology and adaptation studies are often still beset by criticism, their creations considered derivative and often discussed with reference to losses rather than being seen as autonomous works. The evaluation of adaptations from pre-existing literary sources in terms of 'fidelity' can prevail, despite having been overhauled by Translation Studies<sup>13</sup> and questioned by adaptation theorists such as Robert Stam.<sup>14</sup>

Roman Jakobson's seminal essay (1959) makes it clear that translation is bound up with interpretation and change: 'Intralingual translation or rewording bound up with interpretation and change: 'Intralingual translation or *rewording* [...]. Interlingual translation or *translation proper* [...]. Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* [...]'. Gary Schmidgall's cogent designation of libretti adapted from pre-existing art forms as 'operatic translations' or 'musical transformations' clearly picks up on Jakobson, and Steiner too references Jakobson when calling the setting of a text to music an act of translation, as the composer 'is engaged in the same sequence of intuitive and technical motions which obtain in translation proper'. Indeed, Steiner advocates inserting another term between 'translation proper' and 'transmutation': 'partial transformation' or 'derivation'. While the term 'adaptation' is not listed in his examples (numbering paraphrase, imitation, parody, etc.), it is implied. André Lefevere's later concept of translation as

- Cf. Lea Marquart's comprehensive volume, Goethes 'Faust' in Frankreich. Studien zur dramatischen Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert (Heidelberg: Winter, 2009), 85–107. Five revised editions appeared during Nerval's lifetime (Marquart, 97).
   T no longer like reading Faust in German, [...] but in this French translation everything seems very fresh, new and clever again'. Johann Peter Eckermann, Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens, ed. Heinrich Hubert Houben, 8th edn (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1909) 305. My translation 1909), 305. My translation.
- Some key works: Translation, History, Culture, ed. André Lefevere (London: Routledge, 1992), esp. 7–8; 'Introduction: Where are we in translation studies?', in Constructing Cultures. Essays on Literary Translation, ed. Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (Clevedon: Multimedial Matters, 1998), 1–11, here 3.
- 14. Robert A. Stam, 'Beyond Fidelity. The Dialogics of Adaptation', in *Film Adaptation*, ed. James Naremore (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 54–76, here 58. Even Marquart's volume contains fidelity judgements: 'Gounod's *Faust* is a perfect example of a composition that is faithful to the original'. Marquart, '*Faust' in Frankreich*, 335. My translation.
- 15. Roman Jakobson, 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation', in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge: 2000), 113–18, here 114.
  16. Gary Schmidgall, *Literature as Opera* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 4–5.
- 17. Steiner, After Babel, 415-16.
- 18. Ibid., 437.

rewriting or 'refraction' links translation with adaptation,19 while more recent contributions see translation as synonymous with adaptation, change, alteration and reinterpretation: 'Ideas, information, artefacts are not simply adopted but, on the contrary, are adapted to their new cultural environment. They are first decontextualised, and then recontextualised, domesticated or 'localised'. In a word, they are translated.'20

The product of a particular culture and period, no translation is produced in a 'vacuum', 21 but is governed by certain requirements that can also engender creativity. 22 After a brief survey of the cultural and translational context surrounding the reception of German literature in nineteenth-century France, the following considers the constraints and laws governing operatic adaptation in general and Gounod's opera in particular.

#### German Literature in French Translation, 1820–1850

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed an upsurge in translational activity in literary France, especially in prose translations of dramatic works.<sup>23</sup> During the main wave of Germanophilia 1820–50, Goethe and other German authors were widely read in the receiving culture, with Paris the home to many German cultural émigrés fleeing a repressive regime.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, many young French intellectuals such as the poet-translator Gérard de Nerval travelled to and around Germany.

The French tradition of translation from the seventeenth through to the nineteenth century is one of free and dynamic translation ('domestication', i.e. orientation towards the receiving culture) and adaptation. 'Les belles infidèles' was the dominant translation strategy during French Classicism, where texts were radically altered to produce aesthetically beautiful, albeit unfaithful

- 19. André Lefevere, Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame (London and
- New York: Routledge, 1992).

  20. Peter Burke, 'Translating Knowledge. Translating Cultures', in Kultureller Austausch. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung, ed. Michael North (Cologne: Böhlau,
- 2009), 69–77, here 69.
  21. *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (New York: Pinter, 1990) 7.
- 22. See Jean Boase-Beier and Michael Holman, *The Practices of Literary Translation: Constraints and Creativity* (Manchester: St Jerome, 1999), 13. On the 'creative turn' of the noughties, see Manuela Perteghella and Eugenia Loffredo (eds), *Translation and Creativity. Perspectives on* Creative Writing and Translation Studies (London: Continuum, 1996), 1–16, esp. 1–6.
- See José Lambert, 'Théorie de la littérature et théorie de la traduction en France (1800–1850): interprétées à partir de la théorie du polysystème', Poetics Today 2/4 (1981), 161–70; Lambert, Lieven d'Hulst and Katrin van Bragt, 'Translated Literature in France, 1800–1850', in The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation, ed. Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 149–63.
- 24. See Christine Lombez, La traduction de la poésie allemande en français dans la première moitié du XIXe sièce: Réception et interaction poétique (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2009). There were ca. 8,000 exiled Germans in 1831, 60,000 by 1848 (p. 3).

translations.<sup>25</sup> During the nineteenth century this approach was condemned by those French Romantics influenced by German theorists such as Schleiermacher, who advocated a literal or foreignizing approach (i.e. orientation towards the source culture),<sup>26</sup> but many writer-translators nonetheless favoured creativity in translation. Domesticated translations that had 'become French in some way' were assimilated, whereas those seen as 'very German' (i.e. foreignizing) faced difficulties.<sup>27</sup> In 1834 the translator-writer Charles Nodier portrayed his countrymen as a 'secondary people' attracted to imitations.<sup>28</sup>

France thus had a history of modifying original texts and domesticating translation-adaptations. Indeed, collaboration and adaptation from older texts and topoi was common practice amongst nineteenth-century French dramatists,<sup>29</sup> as on operatic stages throughout Europe. This seems an early endorsement of current thinking on adaptation, which moves away from authorial originality towards a 'collaborative and societal understanding of the production of art and [...] meaning'.30

# Boulevard Source for Gounod's Opera: Faust et Marguérite (1850)

Two main waves can be identified in the dynamic French reception of Goethe's Faust I: one occurred in the late 1820s and 1830s (producing many musical adaptations mid-century), and the other at the end of the century.<sup>31</sup> Belonging to the first, Gounod's Faust was probably the third Faust adaptation for the French operatic stage.<sup>32</sup>

While in Rome in 1839–42, Gounod read Nerval's translation of Goethe's Faust and, convinced of its operatic potential, made notes and soon afterwards sketched

- 25. See the article on the 'French Tradition' in the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, ed. Mona Baker (London: Routledge, 1998), 409–13.
  26. Friedrich Schleiermacher, 'Ueber die verschiedenen Methoden des Uebersetzens [1813]' [On the Different Methods of Translating]: 'Either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him', or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him'. Trans. Susan Bernofsky in New York (The Translation Carlot Language 2012) 42. (2) Lawrence Venuti, The Translation Studies Reader (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 43–63, here 49. 27. Lambert, 'Théorie', 165. My translations.
- Charles Nodier, 'Du Mouvement intellectuel dans la littérature et dans les arts sous le Directoire et le Consulat', Revue de Paris 11 (1834), 244–59. Cited in Lambert, 'Théorie', 168.
   Marquart, 'Faust' in Frankreich, 13, n. 5.
- 30. Sanders, Adaptation and Appropriation, 149.
- 31. Marquart, 'Faust' in Frankreich, 386. Besides the many interlingual translations, she counts twenty-three dramatic adaptations and fifteen operas.
- 32. Predating it were *Faust et Marguérite* by Victor Doinet with music by Henry Cohen (published 1828, first performed 1846) and Louise Bertin's Italian-language Fauste (published and performed 1831). See Marquart, 'Faust' in Frankreich, 325–30, 402–3. There was also a *Faust* lyrical drama from 1827 by Matthieu Theaulon de Lambert with incidental music by Philippe Alexis Béancourt. See Marquart, 'Faust' in Frankreich, 397, and Guy Ferchault, Faust: une légende et ses musiciens (Paris: Larousse, 1948), 21.

a setting of the church scene.<sup>33</sup> However, the project was parked until he met the librettist duo of Jules Barbier and Michel Carré in 1856.<sup>34</sup> Gounod worked on the score in 1857–8, but his own input into the libretto seems not inconsiderable.<sup>35</sup> The main source was Michel Carré's boulevard adaptation from 1850, Faust et Marguérite. Drame fantastique en trois actes<sup>36</sup> with incidental music by 'M. Couder'.<sup>37</sup> However, the libretto departs considerably from Carré's tragic-comic adaptation, building in many allusions to Goethe's Faust I in Nerval's translation.

Carré's play was the best-known of the many boulevard adaptations of *Faust*. Full of contrast, exaggeration, theatrical effects and simple and catchy plots, and with minimal discursive complexity, these adaptations have much in common with nineteenth-century opera and its opposing, often larger-than-life characters fond of histrionics, a tendency towards exaggeration and escalation, conflict-driven plots, fast-moving physical and psychological action and love of excess, spectacle and performance.<sup>38</sup> In Carré's three-act 'drame fantastique'<sup>39</sup> the philosophical plot is swiftly dealt with in the first scene, where the tone is set by Faust's sarcastic dismissal of law, medicine and theology as his mistresses.<sup>40</sup> The final scene is a blend of the fantastic and the satirical-moralistic, alluding to Goethe, the chapbooks and Marlowe's Faustus (1604/1616). Marguérite's salvation and apotheosis is made all the more graphic by the deus ex machina conclusion (in line with contemporary taste) in the form of a white-clad angel, while Mephisto claims Faust's soul and drags him down to the blazing flames of eternal damnation.41

The intertextual nature of the final scene is symptomatic of the drama as a whole, which works in earlier elements of the Faust legend and fuses the tragic with the comic, the serious with the parodistic.<sup>42</sup> The plot as a whole

- 33. On the opera's genesis, see Steven Huebner, The Operas of Charles Gounod (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 45–48, 99, and 'Faust (ii)', in The New Grove Dictionary of Opera, ed. Stanley SadieLondon and New York: Macmillan, 1992), vol. 2, 131–5. On the first attempt at a setting, see Huebner, *The Operas*, 45, an 'Faust (ii)', 131.

  34. See Huebner, *The Operas*, 45–7.
- 35. Ibid., 112.
- 36. (Paris: Lévy, 1850), digitised at: <a href="http://books.google.ie/books?">http://books.google.ie/books?</a> id=irQVAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\_ge\_ summary\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Online version also available at: <a href="http://opera.stanford.edu/Gounod/Faust/source.html">http://opera.stanford.edu/Gounod/Faust/source.html</a> (both accessed 23 December 2013).
- 37. Presumably François-Henri-Alexandre Couder (1804–74). No more is known about the incidental music, but Gounod also set some of the songs to music. See Wilhelm Zentner, 'Einleitung', in Charles Gounod, *Margarete. Oper in fünf Akten*, trans. Georg C. Winkler (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1969), 5.
- 38. For an overview of operatic features, see Schmidgall, Literature as Opera, 9–20. Also Léonard Rosmarin, When Literature becomes Opera. Study of a Transformational Process (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999).
- 39. Perhaps an allusion to George Sand's 'Essai sur le drame fantastique Goethe, Byron, Mickiewicz' (1839), Revue des deux mondes 20, 593–645. Faust I, Manfred and Dziady are discussed under the category 'drame metaphysique'.
  40. Michel Carré, Faust et Marguérite (Paris, 1850), 2:
- 41. *Ibid.*, 64. See also Marquart, 'Faust' in Frankreich, 177.
- 42. Marquart, 'Faust' in Frankreich, 177.

radically compressed. The mother is already deceased, Marguérite does not commit infanticide and the only murder is Faust's of Valentin, so the prison scene is superfluous. Other dropped key scenes include 'Vor dem Tor' [Before the Village Gates], the scene between Mephisto and the student, 'Hexenküche' [Witches' Kitchen], the spinning-wheel scene, 'Wald und Höhle' [Forest and Cave], 'Zwinger' [Shrine] and the Walpurgisnacht complex. The multi-purpose sets allow for quick alternation: Faust's laboratory, the tavern and village square with Marguérite's house (Act I), Marguérite's garden containing the pavilion, woods and a view of the church (Act II, in two tableaux), and the open street incorporating the well, Marguérite's house and

the church (Act III).

As in libretto writing, conflation is essential, yet additional secondary characters are necessary to spice up the plot.<sup>43</sup> Thus there is an enlarged tragic-comic role for Siébel, one of the drunken students in 'Auerbachs Keller' [Auerbach's Tavern], Faust's student and rival in love – a conflation of the student dispatched by Mephisto and Faust's famulus, Wagner. The role of Marthe has greater complexity and more responsibility, and Valentin (like Marthe) appears much earlier. The main Gretchen-centred plot is retained, but the addition of the Siébel subplot provides the requisite love triangle, makes Faust's seduction more tragic and affords Méphisto more opportunities for displaying his magical powers, effectively showcasing him as the central figure. The two rival lovers are parodied for their cliché-filled language and blustery behaviour. Siébel's blind loyalty to Marguérite despite her avowals of love for the renegade Faust (complete with a sentimental flashback in Act III, Scene 3, to a remembered scene of familial bliss around the cradle), and heightened by his attempts to save both Faust and Marguérite at the end (thereby renouncing his own chances), abruptly ends when, at the sight of Méphisto, he takes fright and abandons Marguérite to her fate.<sup>44</sup> His behaviour, and especially his treatment by Méphisto, supply a comic, often slapstick, element, such as in the darkened garden scene (Act II, Scene 14) when, in a case of mistaken identity, he assumes Marthe is Marguérite (and Marthe that he is Méphisto) and takes her hand leaving the stage.

In accordance with the French fascination for Méphisto, reflected in contemporary opera and Delacroix's lithographs for Stapfer's revised translation of Goethe's *Faust I* in 1828,<sup>45</sup> Carré's Méphisto is the most active character, present in most scenes, hiding or spying in others and appearing as Marguérite's persecutor in the church in place of Goethe's evil spirit. Without the philosophical plot Méphisto offers no theological or moralistic criticism, but is a sorcerer and practical joker, most evident in his bewitching of Siébel. The resulting one-dimensional boulevard Faust shows little remorse and is an easier target for Méphisto than his German forebear. Carré's Marguérite, whose vision is conjured up by Méphisto already in the pact scene, is certainly less timid or in awe of Faust than Gretchen: the social and intellectual differences between

<sup>43.</sup> Huebner, The Operas, 105.

<sup>44.</sup> Carré, Faust et Marguérite, 64.

<sup>45.</sup> Such as Meyerbeer/Scribe's *Robert le diable* (1831). On Delacroix's lithographs see Vilain, 'Faust, Part One', 93–115.

her and Faust are not foregrounded, and she knows what it is to have a suitor. Like Gretchen, she is devoted to the Blessed Virgin, and her love of singing and her voice are mentioned as pleasing to Siébel and Faust. As was customary for spoken drama at the time, Carré's play contains songs, yet these are more evenly distributed than in Goethe's *Faust*, where Gretchen's solos dominate.

# Libretto Adaptation and Gounod's Opera

Carré's play enjoyed relative success at the Théâtre du Gymnase Dramatique, but when approached about the libretto, Carré was keener to work with Meyerbeer on another project than to recycle his popular *divertissement* for Gounod. Barbier was given the task, and the licence, to plunder Carré's adaptation as needed. 46 However, while the plot contours and character constellation of the boulevard play were retained, the only verbatim sections integrated into the libretto were the König in Thule [King of Thule] song and couplets for Lise in Act IV (cut before the premiere).<sup>47</sup> Barbier's return to Nerval's translation is doubtlessly governed more by operatic pragmatism than a desire to remain faithful to Goethe. 48

As with Goethe's own drama, excision and adaptation would characterise the genesis and early performance history of Gounod's opera. Substantial cuts to Barbier's libretto were made during rehearsals for the premiere at the Théâtre Lyrique on 19 March 1859, more modifications after the first spate of performances, Lyrique on 19 March 1859, more modifications after the first spate of performances, with yet more for the revival of 1862 and for international premieres such as those at La Scala and London (1862 and 1863). There were also additions, most notably Valentin's ever popular cavatina/prayer, 'Avant de quitter ces lieux' [Before leaving this place] in Act II for the first English-language performances in London. For a new production at the Paris Opéra in 1869 recitatives (usually in rhyming verse) replaced the *parlé* passages, and ballet sequences were added. There thus exist several versions of the published libratto and orchestral score, though productions usually draw on the 1869 libretto and orchestral score, though productions usually draw on the 1869 version (whose differences from the 1859 libretto are not substantive).<sup>51</sup>

In the history of opera, evaluation of the libretto has been polarised: ranging from high esteem to criticism for its inferior status. Up to relatively recently

- 46. See Huebner, The Operas, 105.
- 47. Ibid., 107.
- 48. Ibid., 114. Marquart rather simplistically alleges that the libretto's goal was to supply an appropriate translation of the tragedy, with aesthetic changes and romantic shifts in emphasis coming second. Marquart, 'Faust' in Frankreich, 335.

  49. Hueber, The Operas, 119, 126, 128, and 'Faust (ii)', in New Grove, 132.
- 50. Huebner, The Operas, 121.
- 51. This is the 'nouvelle édition' (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1869), digitised at: <a href="http://books.google.ie/books?id=Iq1DAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=faust,+opera+en+cinq+actes&hl=en&sa=X&ei=BTH1UO2tHMLRhAf5-IH4CA&redir\_esc=y>.all subsequent references to the libretto are from this edition. The original libretto (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1859) is digitised at: <a href="http://books.google.ie/books?">http://books.google.ie/books?</a> id = u E 5 N A A A A C A A J & printsec = frontcover& dq = faust, + opera+en+cinq+actes+1859&hl=en&sa=X&ei=tjL1UOLWGIWYhQfHIYCgDg&redir\_esc=y>(both accessed 23 December 2013).

the libretto was often thrown in with the spoken drama and then criticised for violating certain dramaturgical rules. Peter Hack's sarcastic image of the composer as trapeze artist and the libretto as safety net is apposite: 'Das Verdienst an den gelungenen Sprüngen gehört dem Komponisten; bricht er sich den Hals, ist das Libretto schuld' [The successful leaps are to the credit of the composer; but if he breaks his neck, the libretto is at fault].<sup>52</sup> The move away from the simplistic 'faithful/free' binary opposition in translation and adaption theory, alongside an awareness of the constraints underpinning any adaptation, have undoubtedly influenced librettology. Libretti are now evaluated on their own terms and it is recognised that they are governed by different criteria and dramaturgical laws – not to mention other generic, theatrical, financial,

pragmatic or logistic considerations.

The main scenes from Goethe's *Faust I* that were adapted for the libretto are:<sup>53</sup> Faust's suicide attempt in 'Nacht' and his curse soliloquy from 'Studierzimmer 2' (Act I, Scene 1); the crowd scene 'Vor dem Tor' [In front of the town gates] (becoming 'Kermesse' in Act II and, as in Carré's play, coming after Méphisto's entry and the pact); Faust's apostrophe to Marguérite's room in 'Abend' (Act III, Scene 4); a version of the spinning song expressing Marguérite's distress at her abandonment (Act IV, Part 1, Scene 1); Méphisto's mocking song rewriting Ophelia's song of betrayal from *Hamlet* (Act IV, Scene 3); an abridged 'Walpurgisnacht' in Act V presenting Méphisto alongside other supernatural creatures,<sup>54</sup> Marguérite's lower social status and inferiority complex; the prison scene and tragic dénouement (Marguérite's infanticide having been reinstated) with Marguérite's redemption and apotheosis, but closing with the peal of the Easter bells and angelic choir proclaiming Christ's resurrection transposed from the start of Goethe's drama. Integrating these elements and others in accordance with operatic criteria means inevitably abridging aspects unique to Carré's play, such as the comic hue to Siébel's character (a breeches role for mezzo-soprano) or the more complex Marthe.

The additional scenes from Goethe (containing some discursive sections) and the paring down of the Siébel subplot make for an operatic Faust less one-dimensional than Carré's figure, but nonetheless a distant relative of Goethe's Faust. The roles for Méphisto and Marguérite are expanded; the operatic Marguérite is far more sensual and flirtatious (cf. the famous 'Jewel aria' in Act III, Scene 6),<sup>55</sup> but also more responsible for her own fate. Confidently proclaiming at his first entry 'Me voici!' [I am here!]<sup>56</sup> and generally portrayed as a cavalier and hedonist rather than the 'spirit of negation' as with Goethe, Gounod's Méphisto is certainly more modelled on Carré's than on Goethe's

<sup>52.</sup> Peter Hacks, 'Versuch über das Libretto', in idem, *Oper* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1975), 199–306, here 242.

<sup>53.</sup> More detail in Huebner, The Operas, 107–19.

<sup>54.</sup> See Marquart, 'Faust' in Frankreich, 335.

<sup>55. &#</sup>x27;Ah! Je ris de me voir / Si belle en ce miroir!' [Ah! I laugh to see myself / So beautiful in this mirror!]. Faust. Grand Opéra en cinq actes (1869), 23.

<sup>56.</sup> Ibid., 3.

devil. He is a performer and impresario. However, the adoption of key scenes from Goethe's play and the downsizing of Carré's Siébel magnify his destructive

nature and his manipulation of Faust.

The typical operatic scenes, situations and character qualities identified by Herbert Lindenberger (with particular reference to nineteenth-century operas),<sup>57</sup> Gary Schmidgall, Léonard Rosmarin and others, together with Borchmeyer's laws underpinning libretto writing<sup>58</sup> help understand the process of adaptation and synthesis in libretto composition. Specific operatic situations showcasing both orchestral and vocal potential<sup>59</sup> include prayers, pleas, laments, curses, rage, ceremony and performance, crowd scenes, storm scenes and mad scenes, while the operatic character is by consensus passionate, wilful, prone to histrionics and usually 'obsessed by a single emotion'.60 Borchmeyer's laws may be subsumed under the main structuring principle of contrast and change. This includes the opposing and often antagonistic character constellation, temporal and spatial configurations and simultaneous singing (of opposing issues) in ensembles. Contrasts on the level of plot necessitate sudden and often illogical twists and turns, and static tableaux alternate with fast-moving scenes, resulting in what Cécile Prinzenbach (summarising Borchmeyer) terms a 'Stop and Go' dynamic.<sup>61</sup> The compression of the plot leads to verbal polarisation: the summarising nature of the recitatives contrasts with the effective legical redundance in action to produce the legical contrasts. with the effusive, lyrical redundancy in arias to produce the kind of temporal discontinuity that is more epic than dramatic. Finally, as a primarily affective art form and spectacle, the co-presence of the visual and gestural with the acoustic

Many of the operatic scenes instanced by Lindenberger are identifiable in Goethe's Faust and some of these are reinstated into the libretto. The crowd scenes in Goethe's Faust from 'Vor dem Tor' and after Valentin's fatal injury – excised from Carré's adaptation – take the form of onstage choruses of soldiers, burghers and students in the opera. The offstage secular choirs singing of the awakening of love in the first scene are complemented by the invisible choirs of angels, holy women and disciples pronouncing Marguérite's redemption and apotheosis in the final scene. Only Act III (the 'love' act) does not contain significant chorus scenes. The most famous ones of celebration and jubilation in Act II ('Vin ou bière' [Wine or beer], 'Ainsi que la brise legère' [Just as the gentle breeze]) and Act IV ('Gloire immortelle' [Immortal Glory] sung by the returning and distribution and provided in the distribution of the country of the returning and distributions and provided in the country of the returning and distributions are the country of the countr soldiers) counterpoint the duets and arias in the scenes of love, seduction and abandonment. Of course, these three also contribute to the ceremony and spectacle invoked by Lindenberger, which in the opera are supplied primarily by Méphisto, consummate role-player and showman incarnate, the former

60. Ibid., 43.

<sup>57.</sup> Herbert Lindenberger, Opera. The Extravagant Art (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

See Dieter Borchmeyer, Libretto, in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Sachteil, vol. 5, 2nd rev. edn, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), 1116–1251, esp. 1119–23. 59. Lindenberger, *Opera*, 31–41.

<sup>61.</sup> Cécile Prinzbach (ed.), 'Gehorsame Tochter der Musik'. Das Libretto: Dichter und Dichtung der Oper (Munich: Prinzbach, 2003), 95.

particularly evident in Act III, Scene 9, where he takes on the role of narrator, requesting the help of nature to quash Marguérite's qualms, the latter most apparent in the fair scene in Act II with his blasphemous homage to the golden calf. Pleas, laments and curses – many present in Goethe's tragedy – are plentiful, and prayers are spoken by many more characters than in Goethe's Faust I, where it is predominantly Gretchen who prays. In the libretto the enlarged role for Valentin sees him at prayer on two occasions: in his famous cavatina and in his death scene in Act IV, Part III, Scene 4. Prior to that Siébel calls on God to help him protect Marguérite from Valentin's wrath in Act IV, Part III, Scene 2. The angelic chorus in the final scene is an answer to Marguérite's beseeching prayer.

#### Ken Russell's intertextual *Faust* (Vienna, 1985)

Within the context of adaptation, the production staged twenty-one times for the Vienna State Opera (between 15 March 1985 and 29 December 1990) by the eccentric and controversial British film director and adapter of literary works Ken Russell (1927–2011) occupies a unique position. It plays up the structuring principle of contrast and the 'Stop and Go' dynamic so essential to opera, displays intertextual awareness of the opera's German and French literary heritage, and makes playful and satirical allusion to Gounod's own relationship to the Catholic Church. Russell's production of Gounod's *Faust* for the generally conservative Wiener Staatsoper was eagerly anticipated, but the audience did not get the blasphemous interpretation it was half-hoping for, half-dreading.<sup>62</sup> Nonetheless the production more than nods in the direction of Regietheater, containing daring interpretative decisions, an omission of the Walpurgnisnacht, a temporal and geographical relocation of the plot to Napoleonic France – all set against a period backdrop enhanced by additional symbolism and cinematic tricks.

In keeping with his thematic penchant for religion and permissive sensuality, Russell cast his Marguérite as a nun,<sup>63</sup> whose entry into the convent is superimposed during Valentin's aria in Act II, where he asks for God's help in safeguarding his sister during his forthcoming absence. The ghostly vision of her, already proffered by Méphisto in Act I, Scene 2, sporting an ominous head bandage and engaging in a symbolical mime, pre-empts her new role, and also her fate. The interpretation alludes to Gretchen's religiosity, in particular her Marian devotion in Goethe's Faust, but Russell claimed the main reason was to

- 62. See Gerhard R. Koch, 'Faust als Dr Frankenstein: Ken Russell inszeniert Gounod an der Wiener Staatsoper / Am "Skandal" vorbei' [Faust as Dr Frankenstein: Ken Russell stages Gounod at the Viennese State Opera / Anticipated scandal averted], Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 19 March 1985, 25. According to reviewer Gerhard Persché, 'Nebbich. Ken Russell inszenierte Gounods Faust an der Wiener Staatsoper' [Flop: Ken Russell staged Gounod's Faust at the Viennese State Opera], in Opernwelt 5 (1985), 15–17, here 15, Russell had announced on television some weeks before the premiere that his Faust would be the most scandalous thing ever seen in the Viennese State Opera scandalous thing ever seen in the Viennese State Opera.
  63. Perhaps unfairly dismissed by Persché, 'Nebbich', 15, as a gothic novel motif.

magnify Méphisto's function by fuelling his seductive nature.<sup>64</sup> This explains his supernumerary nuns who metamorphose into red-clad, bejewelled, dancing femmes fatales or she-devils during the ballet interludes, further underscoring the theme of hypocrisy, lust and seduction. The sleezy atmosphere and fantasy figures of the missing Walpurgisnacht complex are thus omnipresent, and Méphisto's diabolic reign and role are expanded. For his aria as ironic commentator he appears as the winged satyr of the Witches' Sabbath; and in the church-scene-cum-court-scene, where Marguérite is trapped between the choir stalls holding the accusatory chorus of nuns, Marthe and Siébel, Méphisto assumes the role of mitred celebrant and presiding judge.<sup>65</sup> The crucifix behind the altar disappears and morphs into a guillotine, only to reappear in the prison scene, which dramatically concludes with a shot of the falling blade before commencing the resurrection chorus. This is decidedly at odds with the apotheosis and redemption writ large in both libretto and score,<sup>66</sup> alluding instead perhaps to the end of Goethe's Faust I, where Gretchen has a vision of her execution prior to her salvation.

Death and condemnation dominate Russell's set and staging. All the Marguérite, love and outdoor scenes in the middle act take place at night-time in the darkened village square where a shrine and crucifix take centre stage; later Marguérite and Faust's final embrace to the mocking laughter of Méphisto at the end of Act III is offset by a back projection of a reddish glowing skull. Coffins play a major role. In the framing sequences opening and closing the opera, Faust is seen as an alter ego of Frankenstein, who is brought coffins by his team of grave-desecrators. In the opening sequence he brings the corpse of a young girl temporarily back to life (and dance), and in the final sequence there is another coffin containing a headless corpse in nun's attire, who points her finger at Faust before he is smothered by a mysterious man in black. Russell's end, therefore, is more in keeping with Carré's play, the chapbooks or Marlowe's Faustus, where the devil acquires Faust's soul. Furthermore, the pointing finger from the coffin mirrors the end of Russell's church scene, where the coffin opens to reveal an accusatory Faust clutching a doll.

Russell's Marguérite is older and, despite her nun's attire, much more self-assertive and less tentative than Gretchen, but also than the role prescribed for her in the libretto, and this enables Russell to graphically dramatise the theme of guilt and innocence. The one character holding all the strings is Méphisto – death's ultimate challenger and innocence's bespoiler. His blasphemous ode to

- 64. Peter Blaha cites Russell in an interview: 'The *Faust* libretto now seems rather silly [...]. He loves her, she loves him, so why do they need the devil? That's why I'm trying to make it more realistic, more vivid'. Deutsche Grammophon / ORF, 2006, 8 (English translation). Also available at: <a href="http://www.deutschegrammophon.com/webseries/insights.htms?area">http://www.deutschegrammophon.com/webseries/insights.htms?area</a> ID=webseries&ID=dvd&PRODUCT\_NR=0734129&objRank=152> (accessed 23 December 2013)
- 65. According to Persché, 'Nebbich', 16, the most successful scene in an otherwise
- disappointing production.
  66. Ending with Faust's partial redemption and Heaven's victory over Méphisto. *Faust. Grand Opéra en cinq actes* (1869), 60.

the golden calf in Act II is jubilantly delivered as he stands on the pedestal of an oversized, gold-covered statue of the calf's head that doubles as a giant slot machine: Méphisto as supreme gambler of human destiny. Larger than life and full of artifice, everything associated with him is large and brash, such as the gigantic crucifix in the same scene or the seductive ballet dancer emerging from the large casket of jewels, providing Marguérite with a large and gaudy cross and crown. His role is to bewitch and defile, which he does with alacrity, for example revealing the soldiers' swords in Act II as chocolate ones covered in gold paper, sprinkling magic dust at key moments to freeze Siébel (intertextual reference to Carré's play), pretending his black baton is his guitar in the mocking song beneath Marguérite's window and using the crucifix within the shrine as a hat-stand – even urinating on it.

Despite such provocations, and given that the Viennese audience had braced itself for greater atrocities, the reviewer in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* concluded that Russell held back in this production, yet integrated the heady, even trashy, mix of sex and crime characteristic of the Faust legend. This was, then, an entertaining production of an 'old story' told in quite a new way, where

Russell's roguish streak yet again won out.<sup>67</sup>
Russell's production should be considered perhaps less in terms of its ability to provoke, offend or even disappoint, but instead more as an intertextual rewriting of Gounod's operatic adaptation. Similarly, any adaptation cannot be discussed in terms of losses or comparisons to its source, but as a work in its own wight. right. Reception and translation beget change. Himself a rewriter, Goethe had an open mind on the French translations and adaptations of his Faust that came to his attention, was unwilling to keep a stranglehold on his dramatic creation and had a progressive view of the translator as a prophet and mediator – someone entrusted with the furthering of exchange.<sup>68</sup> Holding that the translator translates not just for his nation, but also for the nation in which the foreignlanguage work originates, he believed that the translation benefits both source and receiving cultures. Such a translation, he concluded, can give new life to a work.69

67. Koch, 'Faust als Dr Frankenstein', 25.

68. Goethe, 'German Romance [1828]', in Goethes Werke, HA, vol. 12, 353; cited also in a letter to Thomas Carlyle of 20 July 1827, in WA IV, vol. 42, 270. On Goethe's idea of free trade as part of 'Weltliteratur' see Vilain, 'Faust, Part One', 129–30.
69. 'der Übersetzer [arbeitet] nicht nur für seine Nation allein [.], sondern auch für die aus

deren Sprache er das Werk herüber genommen' [Ihe translator works not only for his own nation, but also for the nation where the language is spoken from which he has adopted the work]; '[.] wenn ihnen das Eigne durch eine wohlgerathene Übersetzung späterhin wieder als frisch belebt erscheint' [when later, induced by a successful translation, their own appears to them as fresh and vivid]. Letter to Thomas Carlyle of 15 June 1828, WA IV, vol. 44, 140.

# 13

# Adapters, Falsifiers and Profiteers

# Staging La Damnation de Faust in Monte Carlo and Paris, 1893-1903

#### Heather Hadlock

As recently as May 2011 the London newspapers reminded us that Berlioz's La Dannation de Faust 'really isn't an opera at all', but rather an 'unstageable' work, 'never intended for the opera house'.¹ Such cautions and qualifications have followed the work since its first theatrical staging in Monte Carlo in 1893, a popular success that inspired imitations in England, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands during the next decade and which was revived in Paris during the Berlioz centenary celebrations of 1903. At various stages of its composition Berlioz called it a 'drame de concert', an 'opéra de concert' and an 'opéra-légende', finally settling on 'légende dramatique', a designation that raisses more questions than it answers with its contradictory evocations of the private, internal activity of reading and the public, collective activity of drama.² Daniel Albright dubs it a 'semi-opera', reconciling the presence of some operatic features – a libretto divided into scenes, dialogue, stage directions, soloists and choruses giving voice to characters in a discernible story – with the absence of others, such as costumes, sets, stage action and dramatic continuity.³ One may make an analogy between this musical légende dramatique and the literary 'closet drama', a play to be read rather than enacted, seen and heard. Although Berlioz's légende dramatique is performed audibly rather than read silently, and although it takes place in public before a collective audience rather than being consumed

1. Rupert Christiansen, 'The Damnation of Faust, ENO, Coliseum' (review), The Telegraph, 9 May 2011 <a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/opera/8502174/The-Damnation-">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/opera/8502174/The-Damnation-</a> 9 May 2011 <a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/opera/85021/4/The-Dafintation-of-Faust-ENO-Coliseum-review.html">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/opera/85021/4/The-Dafintation-of-Faust-ENO-Coliseum-review.html</a> (accessed 1 October 2012), stage/2011/may/07/the-damnation-of-faust-review> (accessed 1 October 2012). Julian Rushton, 'The Genesis of Berlioz's "La Damnation de Faust'", Music and Letters 56/2 (1975), 129–46, here 131.

Daniel Albright, Berlioz's Semi-Operas: Roméo et Juliette and La Damnation de Faust (Rochester, NV, University of Reskator Press, 2001), 106-22.

NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 106–32.

privately, it similarly evokes action and character in the imagination rather than through picture and gesture. As an unstaged drama for the 'mental theatre', it

claims unique capacities to transcend physical and material limits.<sup>4</sup>
The first Paris staging of *La Damnation de Faust* in 1903, a revival of the production originally created ten years earlier in Monte Carlo by impresario Raoul Gunsbourg, thus raises aesthetic questions about the relationships between music, staging, materiality and embodiment, and also historical questions about the French musical canon and musical identity and Berlioz's place in those systems. But where does the story of Gunsbourg's production and its Paris reception truly begin? In the spirit of Goethe's Faust, I will begin with three brief Prologues to the main action.

# Prologue in the Theatre (1846)

The first prologue must be the premiere of *La Damnation de Faust* on a snowy night in November of 1846 – an artistic and critical failure played to a half-empty hall, a grievous disappointment to the composer and the beginning of a thirty-year period of general neglect and incomprehension. Berlioz recalled in his *Memoirs* that nothing in his career wounded him more deeply than the unexpected indifference of the Parisian public to *La Damnation de Faust*, and the episode became an important emblem for posthumous advocates of the composer and the work, measuring the distance from past rejection to present understanding. Debussy's review of Gunsbourg's staging in 1903 begins with the blunt statement that 'Berlioz n'eut jamais de chance. Il souffrit de l'insuffisance des orchestres et des intelligences de son temps' [Berlioz never had a chance. He suffered from the inadequacies of orchestras and intelligences of his time].6 In light of that initial failure and rejection, Gunsbourg's theatrical staging would appear either as a fulfilment of the work's potential, or as a repetition of the original gap between the work and its realization, between Berlioz and his interpreters.

See Violaine Anger, 'Berlioz's "Roméo au tombeau": Melodrama of the Mind', in Melodramatic Voices: Understanding Music Drama, ed. Sarah Hibberd (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 185–96; Laura Tunbridge, 'Schumann's Manfred in the Mental Theatre', Cambridge Opera Journal 15/2 (2003), 153–83. Inge van Rij in 'Back to (the music of) the future: Aesthetics of technology in Berlioz's Euphonia and Dannation de Faust', Cambridge Opera Journal 22/3 (2010), 257–300, persuasively analyzes La Dannation as a dramatization of modern excitement and application shout technology agency and gender

modern excitement and anxieties about technology, agency and gender. The most detailed description of Gunsbourg's production is in Martine Mari, *L'Opéra de Monte-Carlo 1879–1990* (Paris and Geneva: Champion-Slatkine, 1991), 81–99. T.J. Walsh describes it briefly in his chapter on Gunsbourg's pre-Monte Carlo career and his first season as impresario; see T.J. Walsh, *Monte Carlo Opera 1879–1909* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975), 63–74. A brief but illuminating account is given in Bruno Foucart, L'Opéra de Monte Carlo: Renaissance de la Salle Garnier (Monaco: Le Passage, 2005), 168–73. The 1893 production and 1903 Paris revival are very briefly mentioned in Michael Scott, 'Raoul Gunsbourg and the Monte Carlo Opera', *Opera Quarterly* 3/4 (1985), 72–4. Claude Debussy, 'Berlioz et M. Gunzbourg', *Gil Blas*, 19 May 1903, n.p.

# **Prologue in the Reading Room (1828)**

The story might begin even earlier, with the young Berlioz's encounter with Goethe's Faust (through Gerard de Nerval's translation) and the powerful effect it made on his imagination. In 1828–9 he responded to the text with an eclectic set of Huit scènes de Faust [Eight scenes from Faust], a collection of songs and choruses that may be understood as incidental music for a play staged in his imagination. The Huit scènes, like the most characteristic of Berlioz's works, demand a high level of imaginary participation from their listeners, who must mentally conjure up characters, settings, pictures, gestures, narrative and visual contexts for the Easter Hymn, the Peasants' song, the chorus of Sylphs, the melancholy songs of Marguerite and Mephistopheles' 'Song of the Flea' and ribald Serenade. Like photos in an album or souvenir programme, the Eight Scenes may be savoured in themselves and also summon up connections to a narrative context remembered or imagined. Rushton notes that Berlioz 'quickly withdrew Huit scènes, perceiving their immaturity on a technical level, and he no doubt realized that so miscellaneous a collection of pieces, with different instrumentation, had no public'. Yet despite their short life and mixed reception (winning admiration from Meyerbeer, disgust from Zelter and disappointing silence from Goethe), the Huit scènes remained with Berlioz as an idea and a fund of material for his eventual grand and elaborate légende dramatique. More importantly for the question of the work's suitability for the stage, the Huit scènes planted the seeds of conflict between image, episode and overall drama that would pursue La Damnation de Faust into the next century: should it be understood as a series of scenes, excerpts from a drama staged in the mind? Or is the work itself a drama, able to appear in material, spatial and temporal reality outside the listener's imagination?

# Prologue in the Concert Hall (1877)

If these first two 'prologues' are essentially scenes of disappointment, absence and withdrawal, the third is one of advocacy and gradual acceptance. Léon Kreutzer's defense of *La Damnation* in 1854–5 anticipated the terms for its future acceptance as he argued that, despite its incongruous features, Berlioz had simply built on the picturesque and dramatic achievements of Beethoven's 'Pastoral' symphony.9

- 7. Hector Berlioz, 'Huit scènes de Faust', ed. Julian Rushton, New Edition of the Complete Works, vol. 5. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970). On the relation of the 1829 song cycle to the 1845–6 légende dramatique see Rushton, 'Genesis', 129–46.
- 8. Julian Rushton, *The Music of Berlioz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 25. Andrea Hübener, in 'Stages of Imagination in Hoffmann and Berlioz', in *Music and Literature in German Romanticism*, ed. Siobhán Donovan and Robin Elliott (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004), 126–34, offers a more sympathetic analysis of the 'miscellaneous' *Huit scènes* as an intentionally heterogeneous work, consistent with other important early works of Berlioz and with E.T.A. Hoffmann's strategies of generic hybridity, multiple narrative frames and intertextual citation.
- 9. Léon Kreutzer, 'La Damnation de Faust', *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* 22/2 (14 January 1855), 10. Kreutzer published a series of six articles, of which this is the second, on

Kreutzer asserted a simple line of development or expansion from the birdsongs, rippling water, storm sounds, peasant dances and songs that Beethoven had evoked in the 'Pastoral' Symphony, to Berlioz's similar evocations of nature, landscape and pastoral moods in *La Damnation*. From 1869 to 1877 the French fortunes of *La Damnation* began to turn, thanks to the advocacy of the composer Ernest Reyer and conductors Jules Pasdeloup and Édouard Colonne.<sup>10</sup> The work enjoyed a slow but steady rise in public understanding and appreciation, as conductors programmed increasingly long excerpts: initially the Hungarian March and Ballet of Sylphs, then Part One, then Parts One and Two became familiar. In 1877 both Pasdeloup and Colonne presented the complete work in Paris, and after that time it appeared regularly in concerts and choral festivals. Reviewers took care to educate the public about the work's structure and expressive strategies, and the imaginative participation it expected of listeners. With familiarity and education, the piece formerly regarded as bizarre, tasteless and incomprehensible took its place in the concert canon, and by 1880 critics in Paris, London and New York were calling it the greatest of Berlioz's works. In April 1888, the *Journal des Débats* noted that Colonne would program *La Dannation* for the fiftieth time in the current season of his Concerts du Châtelet: a success he calls 'énorme, c'est prodigieux, c'est à ne pas le croire' [enormous, it's prodigious, it's unbelievable]. 11

The performance history of *La Damnation de Faust* gave it a unique identity as a 'disembodied' musical drama prior to its first staging in 1893. An English critic writing from Paris in February 1876 summarized the prevailing opinion that 'the Damnation de Faust was written rather for the concert-room than the opera, and has no need for scenery or costumes to render it complete'. 12 Although the score of La Damnation de Faust includes detailed stage directions, these were understood not as practical instructions but as guides for the listener's fantasy, like the annotations that describe setting and stage movements in the dramatic symphony *Roméo et Juliette* and even the programme of the *Symphonie Fantastique*. Because operas are normally conceived for the stage and circulate in staged versions, a concert performance of an opera holds a dependent or derivative status. While concert performances of opera were valuable for certain purposes, such as previews of new works, revivals of newly excavated operas from the past, or excerpts performed in singers' benefit concerts, these were understood

La Damnation in the Revue et Gazette musicale from December 1854 to April 1855.

On Colonne's work as a conductor and advocate of Berlioz see Jann Pasler, 'Building a public for orchestral music: Les Concerts Colonne', in *Le Concert et son public: Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe de 1780 à 1914*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker, Patrice Veit and Michael Werner (Paris: Edition de la Maison des Sciences de l'homme, 2002), 209–40; see also Pasler, Writing Through Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 367–72. On Reyer's advocacy, see Stephen Huebner, French Opera at the Fin-de-siécle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 169–70.
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11. Ernest Reyer, 'Revue musicale: Concerts du Châtelet: la Damnation de Faust', in Feuilleton du Journal des Débats, 22 April 1888, 1. Reyer claims that there have been fifty performances in less than a decade, but Colonne first programmed *La Damnation* in 1877.
 Anon., 'Music in Paris. Growing Popularity of Berlioz – Last Quartets of Beethoven',

Dwight's Journal of Music 35/26 (1 April 1876), 202.

as incomplete.<sup>13</sup> La Damnation de Faust, by contrast, was understood as complete in its concert form, and so any project of staging it would need to justify itself as the solution to a previously unacknowledged problem.

#### Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt, Paris, 1903

The previous three decades during which Paris audiences had absorbed La Damnation of Faust as a concert piece inevitably shaped the reception of the production of Falist as a concert piece inevitably snaped the reception of the production staged in 1903. The most positive assessment came from Arthur Pougin, who praises the staging as 'un spectacle curieux, singulier, qui nous montre au vif certaines scènes que l'esprit ne fait qu'envisager en entendant la symphonie' [a fascinating and distinctive spectacle, which vividly shows us certain scenes whose spirit we could only imagine while listening to the symphony]. Yet even he cautioned that 'l'oeil est parfois si occupé que l'oreille s'en ressent, et qu'elle ècoute la musique avec moins d'attention' [the eye is sometimes so busy that the par grows fatigued, and boars the music less sometimes so busy that the ear grows fatigued, and hears the music less attentively]. Jules Combarieu, writing in *La Revue musicale*, generously remarked that the essentially untheatrical series of musical tableaux had now been 'illustrée, ainsi qu'un livre auquel on ajouterait des images très artistiques' [illustrated, like a book to which artistic images have been added]. 15 While he criticized certain choices, he found other effects 'magnifique' and concluded that the staging compensated for what was lacking to make this music into a drama. By contrast Debussy, Fauré and Camille Bellaigue complained that the stage production fell short of the mental images and emotional power of the concert version. Debussy warned those who know the piece that 'la musique' herself 'regimbe' [bridles, pulls back in protest] from this production: this production:

elle a conscience d'être quelquefois de trop, et même completement inutile. Elle est si peu de la musique de théâtre, la pauvre, qu'elle a honte d'être sonore et de participer si maladroitement au mouvement scénique que M. Gunzbourg lui imposa. 16

[she is conscious of being at times *de trop*, and even completely useless. She is to such a small degree music of the theatre, poor thing, that she is ashamed to be heard and to participate so clumsily in the scenic action that M. Gunzbourg has imposed on her.]

- 13. On concert performances as the milieu for revivals of operas by Monteverdi, Lully and Rameau in the second half of the nineteenth century see Katherine Ellis, Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 75–79 and 241–3.
- 14. Arthur Pougin, 'Semaine Théâtrale. Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt La Damnation de Faust', Le
- Ménestrel, 10 May 1903, 147. 15. Jules Combarieu, 'La Damnation de Faust au Théâtre de Monte-Carlo (7 Mars)', La Revue musicale 3/3 (March 1903), 114.
- 16. Debussy, 'Berlioz et Gunzbourg', n.p.

Such reactions to Gunsbourg's staging reflect several interrelated concerns, the first being the nature of La Damnation itself. In what sense was this légende dramatique 'dramatic'? Nineteenth-century critics and audiences regarded Berlioz as an anti-theatrical composer whose indisputably dramatic genius expressed itself most fully in the unstaged genres of symphony, cantata and oratorio. The composer's own writings tended to confirm this, expressing disdain for contemporary staging and performance practices and arguing that such sublime passions as the love of Romeo and Juliet could be fully conveyed only through the power of instrumental music.<sup>17</sup> Like Roméo et Juliette and the Symphonie fantastique, La Damnation was admired for its 'synaesthetic' power to evoke scenes and actions in the listener's imagination. Critics generally agreed that the work was 'lyrical', 'poetic' and 'picturesque' rather than 'dramatic', episodic rather than connected, composed of evocative tableaus rather than a series of actions and consequences. Where a drama should be teleological, with a rising action, climax and denouement built of reversals and resolutions, La Damnation has no such arc. A certain amount of dramatic tension builds between Part Two and Part Three, as Faust's pact with Mephistopheles leads him to Marguerite, and the most 'operatic' action occurs at the end of Part Three when outraged villagers shout threats outside the house while Faust and Marguerite sing of their love. But the seduction plot comprises a relatively brief episode within a piece that otherwise unfolds as a pageant of vivid but loosely connected tableaux. An American critic hearing it for the first time in New York in 1880 called it 'a glowing series of tone-pictures', asserting that 'we must take it as a series of splendid scenes, chosen for their picturesque effects and strong contrasts, rather than with a consistent dramatic purpose'. The dramatic tension unravels in Part Four, whose final scenes resolve Faust's and Marguerite's stories separately in a pair of final tableaux that complement each other spatially and morally – depicting damnation in Hell and salvation in Heaven – yet have no causal connection. As his title *The Damnation of Faust* predicts, Berlioz rejected Goethe's compassionate revision of Faust's fate in favour of the severe, even malicious, morality of the medieval sources. After the Pandemonium chorus of demonic gibberish and trombones ('Ha! Irimiru Karabrao!') celebrates the anti-hero's inescapable punishment, Berlioz elevates Marguerite into the position where Goethe had placed his Faust, called upward by angelic feminine voices toward forgiveness and salvation ('Laus! Hosanna!'). Gounod's librettists would also depart from Goethe in order to craft a strong trajectory toward the ecstatic deathsalvation of Marguerite, but they demote Faust to the status of witness and leave his own fate unresolved. Berlioz's double ending, with its schematic oppositions of ascent and descent, feminine and masculine, purity and corruption, clemency

Peter Bloom (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 123–33.

18. Anon., 'Berlioz's "The Damnation of Faust", *Dwight's Journal of Music* XI/1614 (28 February 1880), 36.

<sup>17.</sup> On Berlioz's advocacy for wordless instrumental music as a vehicle for dramatic emotion see Anger, 'Berlioz's "Roméo au tombeau", 185–96; see also Heather Hadlock, 'Berlioz, Ophelia, and Feminist Hermeneutics', in *Berlioz: Past, Present, Future: bicentenary essays*, ed. Peter Bloom (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 123–33.

and condemnation, redemption and damnation, and Heaven and Hell, resemble

a painted diptych more than a dramatic plot.

A theatrical staging of *La Damnation de Faust*, then, inevitably called into question the proper relationship of music's expressive content and evocative power to the material theatrical world of sets, costumes, stage machinery, bodies and gestures. Kreutzer, in an 1855 essay analyzing and promoting the still little known work to French audiences, had claimed its hybrid genre as a musical adventage: advantage:

le compositeur reste absolument libre de son idée, de ses formes, de ses développements; il n'a aucune concession à faire à qui que ce soit: cantatrices, ou mères, ou protecteurs de cantatrices; danseuses, ou mères ou protecteurs de danseuses; machinistes, maîtres de ballets, décorateurs, habilleuses ou moucheurs de chandelles. 19

[the composer remains absolutely free in his idea, in his forms, in his developments; he need make no concessions to the usual crowd: to the singers, or their mothers or their protectors; to the ballerinas, or their mothers or protectors; to the machinists, the ballet-masters, the designers, the costumers, or the candle snuffers.

Indeed, it is difficult to untangle the criticisms of Gunsbourg's particular staging from criticisms of the idea of staging it at all: for Camille Bellaigue, at least,

Toute adaptation théâtrale, fût-elle plus adroite et moins vulgaire, de la Damnation de Faust, par le fait ou nature même lyrique, pittoresque, mais nullement dramatique du chef-d'oeuvre, n'en sera jamais que la caricature et la profanation.<sup>20</sup>

[Every theatrical adaption, even one more adroitly handled and less vulgar, of The Damnation of Faust, which is by its very nature a lyrical, picturesque, but in no way dramatic masterpiece, would be no more than a caricature and a profanation.]

Gunsbourg presented himself as the composer's amanuesis, and his staging as a fulfilment of ideas that the composer had lacked the resources and support to realize during his lifetime. Indeed, he went so far as to include in the Paris programme a letter from Berlioz to that effect, a document rejected with scorn by the musical press, and subsequently established as a forgery. The success of his staging, which between 1903 and 1906 would be taken up by Toscanini at La Scala and by the Metropolitan Opera in New York, suggests that performers and popular audiences accepted this view. At the same time, composers and serious

- 19. Léon Kreutzer, 'La Damnation de Faust', 10.
- 20. Camille Bellaigue, 'Revue musicale. "La Damnation de Faust" au Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt', *Revue des deux mondes* 5/16 (1 July 1903), 222.

music criticis criticized the theatrical staging as a betrayal of the composer's intentions and of the work's structure, aesthetic value and style.

Gunsbourg's staging was essentially Romantic and naturalistic, with sets and costumes in characteristic German medieval operatic style, yet it relied on avant-garde imagery and technology for several of its most notable effects. His 'Ballet of Sylphs', with dancers spinning in fluttering veils, prompted critic Jules Combarieu to describe the scene as 'mouvements à la Loïe Fuller dans la lumière électrique' [movements à la Loïe Fuller in the electric light]. Fauré also invoked Loïe Fuller, deriding Gunsbourg's Ballet of Sylphs as an 'amusement un peu banal des gentilles "Loïe Fullers" s'envolant jusqu'aux frises' [a slightly banal diversion with genteel 'Loïe Fullers' fluttering up into the scenery]. En le Folies- Bergère in 1892 with her illuminated 'skirt dance', where she used painted gels over modern electrical lights to cast changing colours on her voluminous skirts as she spun against a black backdrop. Admired by Symbolist poets and the painters of Montmartre, Fuller was an au courant inspiration for Mephistopheles' conjuring of feminine allure and eroticism from the 'spirits of earth and air'. In her celebrated 'Serpentine Dance' and 'Fire Dance' the play of light on swirling fabric conjured up images of flowers, fire and butterflies. The 'Ballet des Sylphes' would remain a focus for technologically assisted spectacle in the 1903 Monte Carlo revival, the 1906 Metropolitan Opera premiere and the 1907 Berlin production, all of which featured a Viennese 'aerial ballet' company, the Ballet Aerien-Heidenreich. Propur server appear protocompany appear protocompany appear protocompany.

From the vantage point of today, Gunsbourg's techniques appear protocinematic: for example, the church scenes he introduced in Acts II and IV both aspired toward the filmic techniques of jump cuts or montages with their use of scrims and projected lights to instantly reveal and hide stage spaces. Bruno Foucart notes Gunsbourg's 'preoccupation de l'effet et le soin d'un travail "cinématographique" (juste avant l'invention des frères Lumière) [preoccupation with visual effects and his efforts to create 'cinematographic' effects (just before the invention of the Lumière brothers)]. <sup>24</sup> Gunsbourg staged the *Course à l'Abîme* [Ride to the Abyss] with Faust and Mephistopheles appearing and disappearing in silhouette on wooden horses, behind an elaborate multilevel stage machine with

- 21. Combarieu, 'La Damnation de Faust', 115.
- 22. Gabriel Fauré, Opinions Musicales (Paris: Les Éditions Rieder, 1930), 18.
- 23. The Metropolitan Opera's paybooks record that this company consisted of the choreographer-manager Heidenreich, eight 'flying dancers' and six machinists, who were contracted to travel to New York at \$200 per week during the initial run of *La Damnation de Faust* from 1 December 1906 to 31 January 1907. I am grateful to dance historian George Dorris for sharing this information. For an account of dance at opera institutions in New York at the time of Gunsbourg's *La Damnation*'s Metropolitan Opera premiere, see George Dorris, 'Dance and the New York Opera War, 1906–1912', *Dance Chronicle Studies in Dance and the Related Arts* 32/2 (2009), 195–262.
- 24. Foucart, *L'Opéra de Monte Carlo*, 172. Martine Mari similarly notes that 'Gunsbourg place l'opéra-légende [sic] de Berlioz à l'époque du cinematographe' [Gunsbourg situates Berlioz's opéra-légende in the age of cinematography]; Mari, *Monte-Carlo*, 82.

rotating drums and translucent painted fabric – as well as (if the reviews may be believed) actual torrents of water. The Carl Rosa Company's staging in Liverpool in 1894, using its own adaptation and stage designs inspired by Gunsbourg's the year earlier, also featured wooden horses in the Ride to the Abyss and scrims that rendered the walls of Marguerite's chamber transparent.<sup>25</sup> Finally, Gunsbourg replaced Berlioz's Pandemonium chorus of demonic gibberish ('Ha! Irimiru Karabrao') with a purely visual and sensory special effect, instructing that at the end of the Ride to the Abyss 'Les décors représentant l'Enfer se déroulent avec une rapidité vertigineuse de bas en haut, pendant que la scène est envahie par la vapeur sur toute la largeur du théâtre' [the backdrop representing Hell is unrolled with a dizzying speed from top to bottom, while the stage is obscured by steam that fills the whole space of the theatre].<sup>26</sup> Although the Ride to the Abyss was almost universally derided for its too literal concept and noisy, clunky, water-drenched execution, it employed the new electrical lighting to create protocinematic images of flying silhouettes, and aspired to the phantasmagorical effect that twenty-first-century productions by La Fura dels Baus, Robert Lepage and Terry Gilliam have created with video projections.

Yet if Gunsbourg's techniques were up to date, his vision was old-fashioned, and some of the critical hostility the production encountered may be attributed to the numerous resemblances between his staging and older works in the French operatic canon. While taking the piece 'forward' – from the concert hall into the modern theatre, and to new technologies for making visible what had previously been left to the imagination – his interpretation also drew it 'backward' into the sphere of nineteenth-century French opera. By splitting the second *partie* of the piece into two *actes*, he made Berlioz's four-part *légende dramatique* conform to the traditional five-act structure of French grand opera. These interventions in the structure of the score simplified some of its ideas, as for example in the

25. Cf. 'A Week's Musical Topics: Gossip of Opera House and Concert Hall', New York Times, 18 February 1894; 'Opera in the Provinces', Lute 135 (March 1894), 302; 'Berlioz's "Faust" (From Our Special Correspondent)', Musical Times 35/613 (1894), 171. Reviews credit this adaptation to the stage designer T.H. Friend and conductor Charles Hallé, whose frequent programming of the work had made it familiar to British concert audiences. British press reports of the 1894 Carl Rosa Opera Company's La Damnation were shorter and less polemical than the Paris 1903 reviews, but they reflect a similar range of opinions about the success of specific scenes. Overall, they suggest a higher level of enthusiasm for the idea of staging the piece.
26. La Damnation de Faust, légende dramatique, Musique de Hector Berlioz, Mise à la Scène en

Cing Actes et Dix Tableaux par Raoul Gunsbourg (Paris: Costallat, 1903), 45. Subsequent references to this published libretto, which arranges the acts and scenes according to Gunsbourg's version, with stage directions describing the sets and movements, will be to Libret. As Gundula Kreutzer has recently documented, the theatre technician and director Carl Brandt had introduced steam into opera production at Wagner's first Ring cycle at Bayreuth in 1876, and the technology quickly spread to other European opera houses in the 1880s and 1890s. Its effects were at once magical and disruptive, tending simultaneously to facilitate and undermine the theatrical illusion; see Gundula Kreutzer, 'Wagner-Dampf: Steam in Der Ring des Nibelungen and Operatic Production', Opera Quarterly 27/2–3 (2011), 179–218, esp. 192–8 and 202–3.

crucial transition from Faust's erotic pastoral idyll on the riverbank, where he sees the vision of Marguerite, to the town where he meets her in person. Berlioz's Part Two had concluded the scene by the Elbe with a passing double chorus of soldiers and students singing lustily about their resolve to conquer cities and girls; Faust and Mephistopheles fall in with the young men and follow them back to civilization to seek Marguerite. Katherine Reeve has argued that this double chorus, placed immediately after the vision, frames Faust's infatuation with Marguerite in a narrative frame of masculine aggression and sexual conquest, and proleptically comments on the fatal trajectory of the romance before the lovers even meet.<sup>27</sup> This richness is lost in Gunsbourg's adaptation, where the male chorus is moved to the beginning of Act IV and serves the more conventional purpose of establishing an energetic, bustling atmosphere for the town square. His visual vocabulary drew heavily on the grand-operatic imagery of Meyerbeer and Halévy, as well as the unavoidable Faust of Gounod. His staging of the Hungarian March recalls the iconic Benediction of the Swords from Les Huguenots, as Faust watches soldiers assemble and kneel before a group of clergymen for a benediction:

Les porte-drapeaux se dètachent des rangs et prèsentent leurs insignes aux prêtres qui les embrassent et les bénissent. Toute l'armée est en ce moment à genoux. Après avoir reçu la benediction, les soldats se lèvent en brandissant leurs armes, agitent leurs drapeaux et se remittent en route. (*Livret*, p. 7)

[The colour guard step out of the ranks and present their insignias to the priests, who embrace and bless them. In this moment the whole army is on its knees. Having received a benediction, the soldiers rise, brandishing their swords, raising their banners, and proceed on their way.]

The third act, again following grand-opera convention, became a fantastical erotic ballet in which

Pendant ce choeur ['Voici des roses'] plusieurs roses de droite et de gauche se métamorphosent en danseuses presque nues, couvertes seulement de voiles roses. Elles passent tour à tour devant Faust endormì en prenant des poses voluptueuses. (*Livret*, p. 19)

[During the chorus ['Voici des roses'] numerous roses on the right and left are transformed into nearly nude female dancers, covered only with rose-colored veils. They pass back and forth before the sleeping Faust, striking voluptuous poses.]

27. On the significance of the polytextual double chorus of soldiers and students 'Villes entourées / Jam nox stellata' [Towns encircled / Now the starry night] within the narrative of Faust's seduction and conquest of Marguerite see Katherine Reeve, 'The Damnation of Faust: the perils of heroism in music', in Berlioz Studies, ed. Peter Bloom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 161–3.

This ballet seems as indebted to the Nuns' Ballet of *Robert le diable*, the Venusberg Bacchanale of *Tannhäuser* and the Flower Maidens scene from *Parsifal*, as to the electrified twirlings of Loïe Fuller. In the fourth act Gunsbourg contrived a cathedral scene for Mephistopheles and Marguerite, a confrontation that Berlioz had omitted, but which by 1893 must have been indispensable to audiences raised on Gounod's operatic adaptation. The *Menuet des follets* [Minuet of Will-of-the-wisps], an instrumental interlude that occurs between Mephistopheles' invocation of 'Esprits des flammes inconstantes' [spirits of flickering flame] and his mocking serenade, became in Gunsbourg's staging a pantomime dream sequence for Marguerite, who seemed to rise from the chair where she was sleeping and enter a church to pray before a glowing cross. The published libretto describes in detail how Mephistopheles lures Marguerite with visions of Faust and terrorizes her with brief manifestations of himself until Marguerite 'tombe inanimée surs les marches de l'Eglise' [falls senseless on the steps of the church] (*Livret*, p. 29). Although the music of the *Menuet des follets* is notably restrained and static, Gunsbourg employed it as a soundtrack for a pantomime of sudden shocks and escalating panic, imposing on Berlioz's score the affective trajectory of Gounod's church scene.

Debussy and Fauré both defended Berlioz's music against what they saw as the violation of theatrical staging. Fauré contrasted the 'réalisme' of theatre with 'le rêve individuel, que peut remplir des plus extraordinaires images l'audition, au concert, de *la Damnation de Faust'* [individual fantasy, which a concert performance of *la Damnation* can fill up with the most extraordinary images]. While theatre must be experienced with the eyes open, the melodies, orchestral colours, timbres and rhythms of Berlioz's score give the freest play to imagination when the listener is not distracted by scenery, stage movements and lighting tricks. The supernatural and magical scenes were singled out for particularly harsh criticism, as when Camille Bellaigue accused the set designer and machinist of having destroyed the visions evoked by the scene of Faust's slumber and Mephistopheles' invocation 'Voici des roses':

S'il est un monde à ne pas figurer aux yeux, c'est le monde des Esprits. Ici plus que partout ailleurs il ne faut pas voir; il ne faut qu'entendre et que rêver. Hélas! Le décorateur et le machiniste ont fait plus et pire encore que dissiper notre rêve: il l'ont fausse.

[If there is a world that cannot be depicted to the eyes, it is the world of Spirits. Here more than anywhere else, one must not see; one must only hear and dream. Alas! The designer and the machinist have done more and worse than dispel our dream; they have falsified it.]

René de Casterá, in an essay entitled 'The Damnation of Berlioz by M. Raoul Gunsbourg', assessed the production as harshly as Debussy did, concluding that

28. Gabriel Fauré, review of *La Damnation de Faust*, originally published in *Le Figaro on 9* May 1903, reprinted in *Opinions Musicales*, 17–18.

the spectacle has 'suffocated' the music and robbed the orchestra of its true role as speaker and metteur-en-scène:

la musique peut-elle seule par sa puissance évocatrice nous transporter dans le domaine de l'irréel. C'est pour n'être pas présenté à sa place, dans le milieu que lui destinait Berlioz, que la Damnation perd de sa valeur et de sa signification esthétiques.<sup>29</sup>

[music alone by its evocative power can transport us into the domain of the dreamlike. If it is no longer presented in its proper place, in the setting for which Berlioz designed it, then the *Damnation* loses its aesthetic value and significance.]

This linking of aesthetic significance with a 'proper place' is also mapped onto two pairs of geographic and social spaces in the critical discourse. Several of the Paris critics began with the mocking acknowledgement that this production had suited well the gamblers, tourists and flirts of Monte Carlo, who sought only diversion and background music. But in Paris, presented during a Berlioz celebration and under the aegis of a national society for concert performance (Sociétè des Grandes Auditions Musicales de France), the production failed to serve the higher purposes of aesthetic contemplation and composer affirmation. Its visual tricks dragged the masterpiece down from its proper place in the symphonic canon and into the ranks of popular theatre. Bellaigue's review asserted this hierarchy of the musical over the visual even more strongly with another national antithesis, between a sublimely expressive symphonic music arising from the German landscape and artistic heritage and a trivial, visually oriented French musical theatre:

Ils ont trahi l'idéal particulier et profondément allemand du sublime episode. Tout en est altéré: le sentiment et le paysage qu'est dénaturé le sentiment. Où donc la musique, la musique seule, avait-elle conduit le héros? Sur le bord d'un grand fleuve de son pays, aux eaux puissantes et douces. Là, parmi les fleurs, elle l'avait endormi sur le gazon, à même la terre, cette terre natale dont il est le fils bien-aimé. La seule musique [. ] avait merveilleusement exprimé la prise ou la reprise de l'homme par la nature et la communion profonde où son âme se mêle à celle de l'univers. Sur l'incantation de Méphistophélès, étrangement attendrie et paternelle, sur le choeur mystérieux et bienveillant des Esprits, le grand souffle du panthéisme de Goethe avait passé. Pour le détourner, il a suffi d'asseoir Faust sur un banc d'opéra-comique, sous un clair de lune de romance, parmi des danseuses de féerie; et le genie de l'Allemagne, et celui de Faust, et celui de Goethe, et celui de Berlioz, en un moment se sont évanouis.<sup>30</sup>

René de Casterá, 'La Damnation de Berlioz par M. Raoul Gunsbourg', L'Occident 19 (June 1903), 363.

<sup>30.</sup> Bellaigue, 'Revue musicale, 220-21.

[They have betrayed the particular and profoundly German ideal of this sublime episode. Everything about it is altered: the emotion and the landscape, whose emotion is robbed of its true nature. For where did the music, the music alone, lead the hero? to the bank of a great river of his homeland, with mighty and gentle waters. There, amid the flowers, the music put him to sleep on the bank, on the earth itself, this native land of which he is the beloved son. Music alone marvellously expressed the claiming or the reclaiming of Man by Nature and the deep communion in which his soul is merged with that of the universe. Through the incantation of Mephisto, made strangely tender and fatherly, through the mysterious and benevolent choir of Spirits, passed the great sigh of Goethe's pantheism. To divert its course, it is enough to place Faust on a bank from the *opéra-comique*, under moonlight from some *romance*, amid ballerinas from the fairy-theatre; then the genius of Germany, and that of Faust, and that of Goethe, and that of Berlioz, all vanish in a moment.]

This long passage captures the general image of Goethe and German Romantic culture that animates Bellaigue's negative reaction to Gunsbourg's project. For Bellaigue at least, the *génie* of this French composition is a Germanic spirit, and Goethe, as the author of the *Faust* that inspired *La damnation*, appears as the source of the piece's ideal qualities and its Germanic nature. The 'purely and profoundly German idea' of the Elbe scene is that music leads the alienated Faust back to his German 'country', 'the land of his birth'. When Bellaigue accuses Gunsbourg's staging of having banished 'the spirit of Germany, of Faust, of Goethe, and of Berlioz', he places the composer in a canon of German culture and national identity. His primary goal is to align Berlioz with the Germanic values of symphony and concert music against the cheap effects and triviality of French popular theatre: the *romance* and the *féerie* appear as travesties of sublime love, the supernatural and the deceptive simplicity of folktales and legends, just as the fabricated lawn and moonlight 'falsify' the dream that the Chorus of Sylphs inspires in the listener.<sup>31</sup>

Ironically, the scene Bellaigue celebrates as animated by 'the great sigh of Goethe's pantheism' is Berlioz's invention and not based on Goethe's text. In Goethe's play, Faust had proceeded from Auerbach's Tavern to the Witches' Kitchen, where he saw the vision of Gretchen. Berlioz moved this pivotal moment in the drama to the banks of the Elbe and replaced each grotesque element of Goethe's scene with a beautiful corollary: the smoky kitchen became a rose-scattered lawn, noisy confusion turned to nocturnal languor, and the 'tender and paternal' Mephistopheles with his flower sylphs replaced the manic witch and her companion apes. Berlioz transformed the vision of Marguerite from a delusion induced by poison into an apotheosis of nature's beauty and of humanity's longing for peace and a return to communion with the natural world.

<sup>31</sup> Debussy also mocked Gunsbourg's staging for employing 'the artifices of the fairy theater mingled together with the embellishments offered at the Folies-Bergére', though his more qualified defense of Berlioz otherwise proceeds along different and not at all Germanic lines. Debussy, 'Berlioz et Gunzbourg', n.p.

(Bellaigue does not address the question of whether the sylphs and the vision are only a demonic illusion, or whether the beauty of Nature, like other forces, is subject to manipulation by evil.) *La damnation*'s connection with Goethe's *Faust* allows Bellaigue to attribute this vision of a natural landscape manifesting divine power to 'Goethe's pantheism'. At the same time, his Germanism is more than a geographic or national orientation, for in the course of his description, the landscape loses its specific identity and becomes simply 'nature'. The ideal shifts from a (German) hero revived by contact with his native (German) land to a universal ideal of 'man' merging his soul with the cosmos. Mephistopheles' lullaby ('Dors! Heureux Faust') evokes an affect of security and comfort more

profound than tribal or social belonging.

In attributing to this scene a 'profoundly German ideal' and hearing in it 'the great sigh of Goethe's pantheism', Bellaigue rhetorically Germanisizes Berlioz – a far from original critical move – yet not with the German spirit of 1903 or even of the 1860s. The German ideal that he accused Gunsbourg of trivializing with tawdry 'opéra-comique' imagery and props is not the programmatic orchestral music and mythic opera of the New German School, nor the politically contentious wagnerisme, but rather the early nineteenth-century canon of Beethoven and Schubert. Bellaigue's review ends with a sardonic suggestion that this staged production of La Dannation might open the door to similar theatrical treatments of Beethoven's 'Eroica' and 'Pastoral' symphonies, Schubert's Winterreise and his songs about the Erlkönig and the Trout, and even, eventually, Beethoven's piano sonatas with visually inspiring nicknames: 'le Clair de lune, ou l'Aurore, ou les Adieux, l'Absence et le Retour, seront promues à la dignité de tableaux vivans' [The Moonlight, the Waldstein, or Les Adieux – they will all attain the dignity of tableaux vivants]. This attack inverts the logic of Kreutzer's 1855 defense of Berlioz in La Dannation as having built upon the programmatic intention and techniques of Beethoven's 'Pastoral', for if La Dannation represented a step beyond a picturesque symphony, and if La Dannation can be staged, then why not stage such a symphony itself? And if symphonies with programmatic titles or content could be staged, then why not songs, and so on until finally one arrives at the indefensible idea of staging piano sonatas. Yet Bellaigue's defense of La Dannation as 'music alone' is not free of internal contradictions. He interprets the Elbe scene as a depiction of the power of 'music alone', defined explicitly as 'melodies, harmonies, rhythms, and instruments'. But he articulates his interpretation of the scene, and by extension of the whole piece, in terms of the dramatic situation: the listening and dreaming Faust, led by

Gunsbourg's staging at the Théâtre-Sarah Bernhardt in 1903 offered evidence to multiple sides in contemporary debates about music and its place among the other arts. Advocates could point to the production as an example of how image and gesture could help fulfil music's expressive potential, while for detractors it demonstrated how the crudeness of theatre undermined music's capacity to draw the imagination beyond the limits of visual and gestural representation. Similarly, it reveals the malleability of Berlioz's persona and reputation at the time of his centenary celebration and the ambiguity of his place in the landscape of French music. Bellaigue could uphold Berlioz as a Germanic genius and defend his Goethe-inspired masterwork against the vulgarity of French theatrical clichés, even as Debussy and Adolphe Jullien upheld him as a French composer receiving long-overdue appreciation by his countrymen and in need of defense against the cosmopolitan opportunist Gunsbourg. Gunsbourg positioned himself as a faithful servant of Berlioz and *La Damnation*, justifying his alterations to the score and arrangements for a new medium as support for the masterpiece to communicate its value more fully and effectively. Debussy, Fauré and Laloy saw in the 'arrangement' more dubious motives of appropriation and

self-aggrandizement.

Whether Berlioz was justified within a French musical heritage or a universal-Germanic symphonic tradition, his canonization appears as a sort of Faustian bargain, in which he and his work gain immortality at the expense of becoming vulnerable to the effects and agendas of those who present themselves as helpers, yet may be corrupters and destroyers. Debussy scorned Gunsbourg as one of the 'race innombrable' [innumerable tribe] of 'les commentateurs, les adaptateurs, les tripatouilleurs' [commentators, adapters, falsifiers and profiteers] who inevitably attach themselves to masterworks.<sup>33</sup> 'Commentators' appear as relatively benign parasites on greatness, exploiting the original creative work of genius as a pretext or material for their own derivative discourse. 'Adapters' goes a step beyond the neutral role of 'arranger' that Gunsbourg and his supporters claimed, changing the adapted work in ways that may compromise its integrity regardless of intention. Finally, Debussy's word 'tripatouilleurs' suggests both an unskilful and unauthorized alteration that distorts the artwork's meaning and violates its integrity, and also a sense of financial trickery, falsifying accounts or selling counterfeit or fraudulent goods. To 'falsify' the dreams induced by *La Damnation de Faust*, as Bellaigue and Fauré accused, is to counterfeit them, to offer for sale a worthless imitation of something valuable and, even worse, to render the dream itself false in the sense of empty or deceptive. Although Gunsbourg presented his production as a faithful act of service to Berlioz rather than a critique, his technical interventions unintentionally provoked ironic critical responses by calling attention to themselves and working against illusion and absorption. Responses to his production anticipate controversies in opera staging that are very much alive today: a presumption of fundamental antagonism between a classic work and its modern interpreters; suspicions of interpreters

as scavengers, parasites or vandals, and of staging as a destructive rather than creative act; and a sense of essential competition rather than cooperation among the multiple systems – musical, visual, gestural and material – that constitute a drama in music. The lines between 'inspiration', 'adaptation', 'falsification' and 'vandalism' remain subject to debate in each era and new interpretation. To revise Bellaigue's metaphor of Berlioz's 'music alone' as a benevolent Mephistopheles that draws the listener, like the dreaming Faust, toward an epiphany of beauty and wholeness, Gunsbourg the theatrical arranger appeared to musicians as a modern 'spirit of negation' whose illusions briefly charm the senses in order to counterfeit, profit from and destroy the true soul of Berlioz's music and Goethe's drama of imagination.

# .. 14

### Faust in the Trenches Busoni's Doktor Faust

#### Mark Fitzgerald

The idea of a Faustian project was something that Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924) contemplated throughout his entire career, either directly or via what he considered alternative Faustian figures, such as Leonardo da Vinci or Don Juan; and while the actual composition of the opera *Doktor Faust* occupied him from 1916 until his death, many of his compositions prior to this time are directly related to the Faust project. Doktor Faust not only codifies many aspects of Busoni's theory, but it also stands as a highly individual treatment of the Faust legend deaply rooted in the traumatic era in which it was formed. It is therefore legend deeply rooted in the traumatic era in which it was formed. It is therefore central to any consideration not only of Busoni's music but also of his theoretical ideas and his importance in the transition to modernism in the early twentieth

The early years of the twentieth century saw Busoni rethinking his aesthetic position, outlined in his Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst [Sketch of a new aesthetic of music], the first version of which was published in 1907.<sup>2</sup> The book is indicative of Busoni's new-found freedom from nineteenth-century Germanic musical thinking and marks the first step towards his formulation of what he termed 'Junge Klassizität' [Young Classicism] in contrast to the overripe romanticism of many of his contemporaries. The ideas were developed further for a substantially revised version, published at Rainer Maria Rilke's suggestion in 1916, and continued to be refined in later essays, including his preface to the score of Doktor Faust.<sup>3</sup> Busoni concluded Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik by quoting

Antony Beaumont for example links the Faust idea to projects dating as far back as 1882, when Busoni was sixteen. See Beaumont, Busoni the Composer (London: Faber and Faber,

Ferruccio Busoni, Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst (Trieste: Schmidl, 1907). A revised version in English translation by Theodore Baker was published in 1911. Busoni, Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Insel, 1916), and Entwurf eines Vorwortes zur Partitur des Doktor Faust, enthaltend einige Betrachtungen über die Möglichkeit der Oper (Berlin: J Bard, 1921). The additions to Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik and the Faust preface have been printed in translation along with a number of other papers in Ferruccio

in full section 255 of Nietzsche's *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* [Beyond Good and Evil], which outlines the necessity for rejection of the dominant Wagnerian cultural ideology:

Ein solcher Südländer, nicht der Abkunft, sondern dem *Glauben* nach, muß, falls er von der Zukunft der Musik träumt, auch von einer Erlösung der Musik vom Norden träumen und das Vorspiel einer tieferen, mächtigeren, vielleicht böseren und geheimnissvolleren Musik in seinen Ohren haben, einer überdeutschen Musik, welche vor dem Anblick des blauen wollüstigen Meers und der mittelländischen Himmels-Helle nicht verklingt, vergilbt, verblaßt, wie es alle deutsche Musik thut.<sup>4</sup>

[Such a southerner, not by descent but by *faith*, must, if he dreams of the future of music, also dream of the redemption of music from the north and have in his ears the prelude to a deeper, mightier, perhaps wickeder and more mysterious music, a supra-German music that does not fade, turn yellow, turn pale at the sight of the blue voluptuous sea and the luminous sky of the Mediterranean, as all German music does.]

The appeal of Nietzsche's work to Busoni is unsurprising. Nietzsche's rejection of Christianity, his advocacy of the necessity of self-overcoming and positing of an important elite standing above the cultural and social impoverishment of the day, as well as his problematic relationship with the music of Wagner would all have resonated with Busoni.<sup>5</sup> More specifically Nietzsche's rejection of Wagner's music in key texts such as *Der Fall Wagner* [The Case of Wagner] and *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* pointed the way from the nineteenth century and post-Wagnerian romanticism to a music of greater transparency and objectivity, without Wagner's alleged degeneration of rhythm.<sup>6</sup> The context of the quotation chosen by Busoni is revealing: it forms part of the eighth section of Nietzsche's text, which is framed by criticisms of Wagner's late operas *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* and *Parsifal*. For Busoni the future of music did indeed in a literal sense lie in the south, in a reanimation of his Italian heritage: Rossini, the Verdi of *Falstaff* and *Otello*, and above all the composer of the greatest Italian operas, Mozart.

Busoni, The Essence of Music and Other Papers, trans. Rosamund Ley (London: Rockliff, 1957)

 Friedrich Nietzsche, Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe VI, vol. 2: Jenseits von Gut und Böse (1968), ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967–78), 208–9. Translation from Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, trans. R.J. Hollingdale (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003) 188

Indeed Stuckenschmidt detects Nietzsche's influence in the aphoristic style of Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik and its 'revaluation of all accepted musical values'. H.H. Stuckenschmidt, Ferruccio Busoni, trans. Sandra Morris (New York: St Martin's Press, 1970), 136.
 The phrase Nietzsche uses is 'Entartung des rhythmischen Gefühls'. Nietzsche, Werke, VI,

6. The phrase Nietzsche uses is 'Entartung des rhythmischen Gefühls'. Nietzsche, Werke, VI, vol. 3: Der Fall Wagner (1969), 38. Busoni's one caveat was that Nietzsche should have used Mozart rather than Bizet as his exemplar. Tamara Levitz, Teaching New Classicality. Ferruccio Busoni's Master Class in Composition (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1996), 78–9.

This aesthetic realignment and his ambition to create this 'southern music' led Busoni in the ensuing years to consider the possibility of an opera that would act as a summation of his life's work and would also signal the birth of a new type of stage work which broke decisively from the dominant Wagnerian model, and it was these thoughts that led to the possibility of the opera about Leonardo – albeit a Leonardo in the mould of Goethe's Faust:

Ich dachte, daß er [Leonardo] die gewünschte Figur für meine italienische Oper geben könnte. Der historische Hintergrund mit den Sforzas ist groß und man könnte den Leonardo zu einem ähnlichen Mittelpunkte der Handlung machen, wie Hans Sachs in den 'Meistersingern'. Die Episoden, wie er am Hofe des Sforza die Festlichkeiten arrangiert und manches Kunststück dazu erfindet, erinnern ganz an die Rolle vom Faust beim Herzog von Mantova im Puppenspiel, die auch Goethe im 2. Theil benutzte.<sup>7</sup>

[I thought that Leonardo could provide the required figure for my Italian opera. The historical background of the Sforzas is tremendous, and one could make Leonardo a central figure of the action, like Hans Sachs in *Die Meistersinger*. The episodes when he arranged the festivities at the court of the Sforza and invented many wonderful artefacts for them are quite reminiscent of the role of Faust at the Court of the Duke of Mantua in the puppet play, which Goethe also used in the second part of *Faust*.]

A year later he returned to the topic, this time viewing the project from a more nationalistic standpoint, declaring 'Ich möchte diesem Italien eine Nationaloper geben, wie sie Wagner Deutschland gegeben hat und [wie sie] hier noch nicht ist. Ich fühle, daß ich es kann und daß es mein Lebenswerk werden soll' [I should like to give this Italy a national opera, as Wagner gave Germany one, for as yet the Italians have none. I feel that I can do it and that it should be my life's work].<sup>8</sup> Plans for a national opera were set aside temporarily as he completed his Hoffmann opera *Die Brautwahl*, but they were taken up again in 1910 when Busoni wrote the first significant draft of *Doktor Faust*.<sup>9</sup> At this point Busoni abandoned the project noting in his diary on 9 December 1910: 'F? Literarisch zu schwer, durch Goethe-Vergleich. Oder es müsste etwas ganz Neues sein.' [F? From a literary standpoint too difficult due to the comparison with Goethe. Or it would have to be something entirely new.]<sup>10</sup> A gift of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* from Edward Dent in 1912 suggested to Busoni how something 'new' or at least quite different from Goethe could be created, but he still hesitated, spending considerable time in 1913 trying to persuade Gabriele d'Annunzio (1863–1938) to

- 7. Busoni to Gerda Busoni on 13 September 1908. Ferruccio Busoni, *Briefe an seine Frau*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (Zürich: Rotanfel, 1925), 161
- Friedrich Schnapp (Zürich: Rotapfel, 1935), 161. 8. Busoni to Gerda Busoni, 9 September 1909. Ibid., 159–60.
- 9. Die Brautwahl was composed between 1906 and 1911.
- 10. Cited in Edward J. Dent, Ferruccio Busoni. A Biography (London: Ernst Eulenburg, 1974),

write the libretto for the Leonardo project.<sup>11</sup> By a quirk of fate while searching for his earlier sketches for a Leonardo ópera in December 1914, he instead came across his Faust draft of 1910 and suddenly all his seemingly disconnected fragmentary Faust plans fell into place. <sup>12</sup> In his diary he sketched out his ideas for key moments of the opera beginning with the statement 'G[retchen] gewesen vorausgesetzt' [It is assumed that the Gretchen episode is over / takes place outside the action of the opera]. With this decision he made the most obvious surface change to the work that distances his libretto from Goethe's Faust I and instead moved to a form of the legend that would be easier to mould to his own expressive needs. 13 The first version of the libretto was published in 1918;

further modifications were made as Busoni composed the music.

In his attempt to distance his work from Goethe, Busoni looked to the puppet plays that, as Osman Durrani has pointed out, were ironically also the wellspring for Goethe's drama. The major source for Busoni's libretto was the synthetic form of the traditional puppet play prepared by Karl Simrock. 14 Rather than being a transcription of any one performer's version of the puppet play, Simrock drew from a variety of versions of the play and other fragmentary sources. This preface makes clear that much of the dialogue and overall shaping of the drama is entirely his own work. Simrock provided Busoni with the scaffolding and in some cases the actual text for his opening two scenes, where the three mysterious students from Krakow give Faust a magic book with which he summons the spirits of Hell, before signing his soul to Mephistopheles. Simrock's elaborate Parma scene, where Faust conjures up a series of historical Simrock's elaborate Parma scene, where Faust conjures up a series of historical tableaux - Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Samson and Delilah, Judith and Holofernes, and David

11. For Busoni's acknowledgment of Dent's gift dated 20 May 1912 see Ferruccio Busoni, Selected Letters, ed. and trans. Antony Beaumont (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), 149. For

the attempted collaboration with d'Annunzio see Dent, *Busoni*, 196–204.

12. For a transcription of the relevant entries from Busoni's diary for this period see Nancy O. Chamness, The Libretto as Literature: Doktor Faust by Ferruccio Busoni (New York: Lang,

13. Ibid., 33. Busoni's feeling that the figure of Faust could be used to convey ideas more directly through evasion of the emotional entanglements of Goethe can be seen in his comments in a letter to Gisella Selden-Goth in 1920, in which he notes: 'Have you noticed that, from the moment of his rejuvenation, Faust does nothing except travel around chasing after women? Only "in his dotage" and "blinded" does a thought enter his head again. Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 320. These comments also recall Nietzsche's sarcastic dismissal of the Gretchen plot in Der Wanderer und sein Schatten. See Nietzsche, Werke IV, vol. 3, part

Menschliches, Allzumenschliches, 244.
 Karl Simrock, Doctor Johannes Faust: Puppenspiel in vier Aufzügen (Frankfurt a. M.: Brönner, 1846). For a more recent edition see Simrock, Doctor Johannes Faust: Puppenspiel in vier

Aufzügen, ed. Günther Mahal (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1991).
15. For more on the ways in which Simrock blended original work with the traditional plays see Hedderwick's introduction in Wilhelm von Hamm, The Old German Puppet Play of Doctor Faust turned into English, with an introduction and notes by T.C.H. Hedderwick (London: Kegan Paul Trench, 1887).

16. Chamness, *Libretto*, 77–84, contains a number of textual comparisons of sections of Busoni's

libretto with Simrock's play.

and Goliath, each of whom clearly bears the likeness of either the Duke, the Duchess or Faust – provides the basis of Busoni's first principal scene.<sup>17</sup> The striking image of Faust's picture of the Virgin Mary being transformed into Helen of Troy as he attempts to pray is taken over by Busoni for his final scene where it is the figure of Christ on a crucifix by the church that turns into Helen under the light of the Nightwatchman's lamp.<sup>18</sup>

To this overall framework Busoni added two scenes of his own, the Intermezzo in a cathedral and the tavern scene in Wittenberg. Both of these scenes contain elements that can be linked to previous versions of the Faust legend and perhaps illustrate how the process of disentangling the sources for each element of the opera leads one into a maze where individual threads may seem to refer to multiple sources or carry strange echoes, not all of them from the Faust story. The soldier who is killed in the Intermezzo was originally identified as Gretchen's brother, while the setting and taunting by Mephistopheles may evoke the cathedral scene of Goethe's *Faust I*, which in turn could be seen to be directly referenced in the final scene of the opera where voices are heard from the church singing of the day of judgement.<sup>19</sup> The scene in the tavern recalls any number of scenes in all the Faust stories where Faust discourses with a group of students.<sup>20</sup> The emergence of Helen of Troy from an idealised classical landscape seems to evoke the classical allegory of Goethe's *Faust II*, while the conjuring of her by Mephistopheles suggests something closer to the Helen of Spies and Marlowe. Even the Parma scene, though largely based on Simrock, contains echoes of the conjuring in *Faust II* Act I, but also reverberates Simrock, contains echoes of the conjuring in Faust II Act I, but also reverberates with the entertainments Leonardo da Vinci provided for the court of the Sforzas as reimagined in Dmitri Merezhkovsky's novel Воскресшие боги. Леонардо да Винчи (1901) [literally Resurrected Gods: Leonardo da Vinci, translated into English as Romance of Leonardo da Vinci]. <sup>21</sup> However, the influence of Goethe goes beyond surface plot details.

As a manifesto opera, *Doktor Faust* was to put into practice his ideas about theatre and music, which react quite specifically against Wagner and his disciples on the one hand, but also against the Italian verismo school on the other. From the earliest version of the *Entwurf einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* Busoni had rejected what he saw as the slavish attempts of Wagner and others to recreate in sound the action taking place on stage instead of letting the music focus entirely on the 'soul-states' [den Seelenzustand] of the characters.<sup>22</sup> As Busoni further refined his ideas, he became convinced of the necessity of rejecting the self-sufficient

- 17. Simrock, Faust, Act III, scene 3, 62–5.
- 18. Simrock, Faust, Act IV, scene 4, 94.
- 19. Busoni removed the soldier's identification after a public reading of the libretto in the Goethe House in Weimar prompted comparisons of the work with Goethe. See Beaumont, Composer, 320.
- 20. More elliptically, Mephistopheles' ballad in this scene, 'Dort was ein dummer Herzog', is a reworking of Busoni's earlier setting of 'Es war einmal ein König'.

  21. See Busoni, *Briefe an seine Frau*, 161.
- 22. Busoni, neuen Ästhetik, 2nd edn., 17.

plays preferred by the *verismo* school in favour of a libretto that required music for its completion. The text should be compact with events dealt with swiftly and in abbreviated form, leaving gaps in the plot. It should divide up into short closed musical forms rather than long Wagnerian spans. The models for his new approach were Mozart's Die Zauberflöte, a Singspiel which perhaps not coincidentally held a similar attraction for Goethe, and Goethe's Faust II with its innate demands for music. The ludicrous nature of conventional love duets -'Nichts Schlimmeres zu sehen und zu hören, als ein kleiner Mann und eine große Dame, die einander in Melodien anschwärmen und sich die Hände halten' [There is nothing worse to see and to hear than a small man and a large lady raving together melodiously and holding each other's hands] – is pitted against the operatic Goethe, this time typified in the garden exchanges between Faust and Gretchen; for Busoni eroticism is a concern of life not art.<sup>23</sup> Indeed the very artificiality of opera as a medium demanded a radically different approach to that of the *verismo* school:

aus diesem Konflikt mit Anstand hervorzugehen, wird eine Handlung, in welcher die Personen singend agieren, von Anfang an auf das Unglaubhafte, Unwahre, Unwahrscheinliche gestellt sein müssen, auf daß eine Unmöglichkeit die andere stütze und so beide möglich und annehmbar werden.<sup>24</sup>

To overcome this deadlock with any success a plot would have to be made in which the singers act what is incredible, fictitious and improbable from the very start, so that one impossibility supports the other and both become possible and acceptable.]

By turning to the earlier, cruder puppet plays as his primary source material, Busoni was able to shape a libretto that had the necessary gaps and fragmentary which left space for the music, and also incorporated a high degree of the supernatural and improbable: three mysterious students who disappear after presenting a magic book, key and deed of ownership, the conjuring of multiple spirits, a raven bearing the deed of contract with Lucifer, the entertainments at Parma, the burning of the straw to summon up Helen of Troy and the apparitions that haunt the final scene. By contrast with the lengthy explanatory narratives that flating the liftal scene. By contrast with the lengthy explanatory flatfactives that fill many Wagner operas, the first scene of *Doktor Faust* starts *in medias res* with no attempt to introduce the characters or plot.<sup>25</sup> Busoni inserts a spoken prologue after the opening Sinfonia and a further spoken postlude after the final scene, both of which stress the artificiality of the presentation and address the audience directly. The prologue discusses the lengthy process by which the

- Ferruccio Busoni, Über die Möglichkeiten der Oper und über die Partitur des Doktor Faust (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1926), 22; trans. in Busoni, Essence, 11. Busoni's ideas regarding eroticism need to be viewed in the context of the 'decadent' operas of contemporaries such as Franz Schreker.
   Busoni, Asthetik, 2nd edn, 17–18. Translation from Busoni, Essence, 39.
- 25. For a discussion of *Doktor Faust* as 'open drama' see Chamness, *Libretto*, 117–24.

author decided to select this subject, while the epilogue challenges the audience to continue their engagement with the themes of the opera. Both concepts relate to Busoni's suggestion that:

Es ergibt sich demnach eine kommende Möglichkeit in der Idee des übernatürlichen Stoffes. Und noch eine: in der des absoluten 'Spieles', des unterhaltenden Verkleidungstreibens, der Bühne als offenkundige und angesagte Verstellung, in der Idee des Scherzes und der Unwirklichkeit als Gegensätze zum Ernste und zur Wahrhaftigkeit des Lebens.<sup>26</sup>

[The idea of the supernatural as a theme follows, therefore, as a possibility for the future. And there is yet another: that the stage should be accepted openly as a pretence, as nothing but 'acting' and sustained make-believe; with the idea of jest and unreality being contrasts to the seriousness and veracity of life.]

The other advantage of returning to the puppet plays was that Busoni could fashion a drama that was closer in spirit to his own times. While Busoni was keen to stand apart from the increased warmongering of both his native Italy and his adopted home Germany, his radical theorising meant that he gained the support of, and was often identified with, the Italian Futurist movement led by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876–1944), which had launched itself on the artistic world with a manifesto published in *Le Figaro* in 1909. However, while Busoni greatly admired the work of Umberto Boccioni (1882–1916), this did not extend to endorsing the aesthetic principles or the political beliefs of Marinetti. Busoni certainly seems to have shared that extraordinary sense, prevalent among European intellectuals at the time, that Europe had stagnated, was decaying and needed to be purged. However, he deplored the colonial obsessions and militarism of interventionist groups on both the right and left in Italy. For Busoni the way forward lay in judicious combination of modern ideas with the classical past, whereas Marinetti's Futurist manifesto of 1909 took a radically different approach, declaring 'Nous voulons glorifier la guerre – seul hygiène du monde [...] Nous voulons démolir les musées [et] les bibliothèques' [We want to glorify war, sole hygiene of the world. We want to demolish the museums, the libraries].<sup>27</sup>

By contrast with the bellicose nationalism prevalent in Italian artistic circles typified by Marinetti and Busoni's projected librettist d'Annunzio, which was fed by the experiences of the invasion of Libya in 1911 and the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913, at the outbreak of the First World War Busoni expressed the hope that Italy would not succumb to war fever and would remain aloof from the

 Cited in Caroline Tisdall and Angelo Bozzolla, Futurism (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 6.

<sup>26.</sup> Busoni, *Ästhetik*, 2nd edn, 19. Trans. in Busoni, *Essence*, 40. With such a theoretical grounding it is not surprising that Busoni's pupil Kurt Weill was to collaborate (initially) so successfully with Bertolt Brecht.

cultural destruction that surrounded him in central Europe.<sup>28</sup> D'Annunzio's war enthusiasm was anathema to Busoni, who recorded his initial reaction of horror at the unfolding devastation at the opening of the First World War in a series of diary entries in September 1914. The German army's decision to cause maximum destruction of the enemy's culture, demonstrated by the burning of Louvain in August 1914 and the bombardment of Reims Cathedral in September – a building which combined the roles of cultural, religious and nationalist icon

– weighed particularly heavily on Busoni, as did the harnessing of culture to propagandistic ends.<sup>29</sup> Particularly disturbing to the composer of a Nietzscheinfused opera must have been the fact that so much of the warmongering and arrogant nationalism stemmed from the ambiguities of Nietzsche's performative philosophy, which had fed into the European Zeitgeist. The most famous example of this cultural propaganda is 'An die Kulturwelt' ['Appeal to the world of culture', also known as the Manifesto of 93], in which ninety-three of Germany's leading artists, scientists and scholars aligned themselves with the military and denied the destruction of Louvain and other atrocities in Belgium while also identifying themselves as the heirs of Goethe, Beethoven and Kant.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the economist Werner Sombart's Händler und Helden. Patriotische Besinnungen of 1915 took Zarathustra as the keystone for his paean to militarism and sacrifice:

Militarismus ist der zum kriegerischen Geist hinaufgesteigerte heldische Geist. Er ist Potsdam und Weimar in höchster Vereinigung. Er ist 'Faust' und 'Zarathustra' und Beethoven-Partitur in den Schützengräben. Denn auch die Eroica und die Egmont-Overtüre sind doch wohl echtester Militarismus.<sup>31</sup>

[Militarism is the heroic spirit which has risen up to become the spirit of war. It is the highest unity of Potsdam and Weimar. It is 'Faust' and 'Zarathustra' and Beethoven scores in the trenches. For the Eroica and the Egmont Overture are also truest militarism.]

This nationalist fervour and mindless worship of the cleansing powers of war found its most immediate creative response in Busoni's satirical one-act

- 28. In 1915 d'Annunzio toured Italy making incendiary speeches calling for mobilisation utilising a potent mix of religious imagery and nationalist rhetoric, and after Italy entered the war in May 1915 he engaged in a number of highly publicised political stunts. See Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction. Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 166–7.
- Busoni's diary entries for September and October 1914 are cited in Busoni, Selected Letters, 186–7.
- 30. Glenn Watkins, *Proof through the Night. Music and the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 25–6. 'An die Kulturwelt' first appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt* and was quickly reprinted in translation in other countries.
- 31. Werner Sombart, *Händler und Helden. Patriotische Besinnungen* (Munich and Leipzig: Dunker und Humblot, 1915), 84–5. Translation from Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction*, 186–7. It is interesting to compare this with Rosenberg's comments as noted by Osman Durrani in this volume, 00.

opera Arlecchino, the libretto of which was completed in October 1914. However, Busoni's despair was mixed with a visionary idea of post-war Europe. As Italy was at this point still neutral, he believed that it would play an important role in the restoration of intellectual and cultural advancement in Europe after the war had ended.<sup>32</sup> This mix of despondency and projection of future glory for Italy formed the backdrop for the writing of the first complete draft of the Faust libretto and gave new meaning to his ideas for a national opera. Like Goethe's work, it would be a philosophical traversal of the Faust legend, its surface language saturated with allusions to past traditions.

language saturated with allusions to past traditions.

When one examines Busoni's libretto, the extent of Nietzsche's influence becomes apparent, and indeed William E. Grim has put forward the idea that Nietzsche's influence is the single most important unifying feature of the opera.<sup>33</sup> From Faust's first words we find a character, conscious of the limitations of time to which humans are harnessed, who no longer sees the point in wasting effort engaging with the mass of people who cannot achieve the levels of intellect he has so far attained.<sup>34</sup> In his pact with Mephistopheles he wishes not just for pleasures but, echoing Zarathustra's *Nachtwandler-Lied*, specifically requests: 'gib mir Genie, und gib mir auch sein Leiden, gib sein Leiden mir: auf daß ich glücklich werde wie kein Andrer!' [Give me genius, and give me its sorrows, give me its sorrows so that I may be happier than all ŏthers!]35

The one thing that makes Faust hesitate is the idea of lowering himself to a position of ultimate servitude. Forced onwards by circumstances, Faust declares, as he signs his pact with Mephistopheles: 'Es gibt kein Erbarmen. Es gibt keine Seligkeit, keine Vergeltung, den Himmel nicht und nicht die Höllenschrecken: dem Jenseits trotz' ich!' [There is no mercy. There is no salvation, no retribution, no Heaven and no terrors of Hell. I defy the afterlife!]<sup>36</sup> At this point it is clear that Busoni's philosopher Faust has already moved a considerable distance from Goethe's 'paganism' rooted in Christian morality, but at this point of the opera Faust is no *Übermensch*; he has yet to understand his own position and the power of his will, which becomes the ultimate revelation of the opera. Instead, like

- 32. See for example his letter to Emilio Anzoletti on 17 September 1914, in Busoni, Selected Letters, 185.
- 33. Grim highlights the importance of Nietzsche's concept of 'die ewige Wiederkehr' [the eternal recurrence] for the concluding scene, proposing that the opera traces Faust's path from man to Übermensch. He also suggests that Busoni's use of baroque or classical forms and techniques in sections of the opera is itself a musical equivalent of Nietzsche's concept. William E. Grim, 'Faust as Magician. The Demonic Poet in Busoni's *Doktor Faust'*,

Ars Lyrica 6 (1992), 48–54.

34. See Busoni, Doktor Faust, Vorspiel I [Prologue]. In similar vein, in justifying the murder of them estating 'Er schleppt sein Leben in eitler Gretchen's brother he contrasts the two of them, stating 'Er schleppt sein Leben in eitler Qual, ich bin ein Mann der Tat' [He wastes his life in useless torment; I am a man of deeds]. Busoni, *Doktor Faust*, Intermezzo.

35. Busoni, Doktor Faust, Vorspiel II. See Nietzsche, Werke VI, vol. 1: Also Sprach Zarathustra, 398; trans. and ed. Walter Kaufman as Thus Spoke Zarathustra, in The Portable Nietzsche (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 435.

36. Busoni, Doktor Faust, Vorspiel II.

Marlowe's Faust, once he has signed the pact with Mephistopheles, he indulges in what for Busoni was general time-wasting, his ambitions and abilities diverted or stifled by the passing charms of conjuring and the gratification of his sexual whims. It is only after his attempts to grasp the unobtainable Helen that he begins to discern more clearly his role and its possibilities as he sees a vision of

a virgin land awakening in the future.

When the Duchess appears with the body of their dead child in the final scene, Faust comes to understand the control he can gain over his fate; this begins a process where he confronts representatives of opposing poles of a traditional moral scale in a context where the boundary between good and evil is no longer entirely clear. From the church are heard voices singing of judgement at the hands of a God of vengeance rather than a God of mercy, while the entrance is barred by the ghost of the dead soldier, described as one of Hell's spirits. Mephistopheles, who has been demoted to spectator in the role of Nightwatchman in this scene, intervenes for the last time by using the light of his lantern to turn the figure on a crucifix in the churchyard into that of Helen of Troy, obliterating the words of Faust's childhood prayers from his mind. This alliance of the traditional forces of good and evil to hasten Faust towards damnation causes him to reject both forces and break through to a realm where he can use his will to overcome his own frailties:

Euch zum Trotze, Euch Allen, die ihr euch gut preist, die wir nennen böse, die ihr, um eurer alten Zwistigkeiten willen, Menschen nehmet zum Vorwand und auf sie ladet die Folgen eures Zankes. An dieser hohen Einsicht meiner Reife bricht sich nun eure Bosheit und in der mir errung'nen Freiheit erlischt Gott und Teufel zugleich.<sup>37</sup>

[In defiance of you, of you all, who hold yourselves for good, whom we call evil, who, for the sake of old quarrels take Mankind as a pretext and pile upon him the consequence of your discord. Upon this highest insight of my wisdom is your malice now broken to pieces and in my self-won freedom expire both God and Devil at once.

Faust places the child in a magic circle and accomplishes the transfer of his will, declaring that the child will correct his errors and complete his work. In his 1917 revision of this scene, Busoni altered Faust's final line several times from 'Ich, Faust ein ewiger Begriff' (I, Faust, an eternal concept) to 'ein ewiger Geist' (an eternal spirit) and finally the Nietzschean 'ein ewiger Wille' (an eternal will).<sup>38</sup> By asserting his will Faust completes the act of self-overcoming to reach a higher

37. Busoni, Doktor Faust, Letztes Bild. After Busoni's death Philippe Jarnach completed this scene, omitting this key passage of the libretto, presumably on moral grounds. More recently Antony Beaumont has provided an alternative completion which is musically closer in style to Busoni's intentions and includes this passage. Beaumont, *Composer*, 325.

38. The changes from 'concept' to 'spirit' and finally 'Will' can be seen clearly in the reproduction of this page of the libretto in Plate 40 in ibid.

state; Faust, the disappointed idealist, dies, but his will survives to complete his work in this new realm beyond good and evil, symbolised by the emergence from the dead child of a naked youth with a flowering branch.

It is clear that the vision of an unfarmed land of plenty awaiting in the future as glimpsed by Faust in the penultimate scene is also a representation of the future of a new music that has broken away from the suffocating and repressive culture of nineteenth-century Germany and Italy and found a new form of expression by re-ploughing older musical terrains. It would seem that Busoni's ambition may have been not just to provide a national opera for Italy but also a supranational replacement for Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. Faust was of course a figure central to German literature, and Busoni's fusion of the naive puppet play with complex philosophical concepts echoes Goethe's example. Goethe the classicist, admirer of the south and artist who can synthesise the literary heritage of Europe represented for Busoni the Germany that deserved preservation, and by aligning his work with that of the European Goethe Busoni hoped to supplant the narrowly Germanic Wagner. In musical terms, the Nightwatchman's calls that punctuate the final scene of *Doktor Faust* clearly recall aurally the second act of *Die Meistersinger*. The inn scene contains another German cultural icon: *Ein feste Burg* is sung by one group of students in counterpoint to the 'southern' *Te Deum* bellowed by another group who eventually succeed in routing their Lutheran colleagues. Significantly it is at the conclusion of this act that we hear Faust's vision of the future land of plenty.

However, Busoni's vision of a new world being led to cultural rejuvenation by Italy did not materialise. Instead of maintaining a lofty neutrality, Italy had entered the war in 1915 on the Allied side. At its most direct the imprint of the war can be heard in Busoni's evocation of bells at key points in *Doktor Faust*. During the war bells were often used as symbols of wartime courage and of the cultural destruction of war, because of the importance of the carillon in invaded Belgium, the bombardment of Reims and also because of tales of bells being taken by the enemy and melted down to create weapons of war.<sup>39</sup> They also became associated with armistice. The opera's opening Sinfonia, completed on 13 July 1917, begins with the orchestra evoking the distant tolling of bells in a series of irregular rhythmic entries and this music returns at the close, but on its return the sounds are made by an offstage chorus intoning the word 'Pax'. Actual bells, announcing the Easter celebration of the resurrection, ironically underpin the signing of the contract with Mephistopheles. Finally, at the close of the opera, as an unseen chorus echoes Faust's final words, we again hear the sound of bells tolling in a passage taken from music Busoni first incorporated into his Fourth Sonatina composed at Christmas 1917.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39.</sup> For detailed discussion of the importance of bells in the First World War see the discussion of the issue throughout Watkins, *Proof.* He notes that compositions by a variety of composers from Elgar to Poulenc were entitled after bells or carillons.

composers from Elgar to Poulenc were entitled after bells or carillons.

40. This does not apply to Jarnach's completion of the final scene, which ignores Busoni's planned ending in favour of a more traditionally melodramatic conclusion.

The impact of the war on Busoni's opera was to become more significant in another, more oblique way. Apart from the disruptions of displacement, when the war ended Busoni found himself isolated by the bitter nationalism of a postwar Europe. Hans Pfitzner's racist attack on Busoni's Entwurf einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst during the war had enormous influence on how Busoni was viewed in Berlin where he resettled in 1920.<sup>41</sup> Here Busoni found himself caught up in the political turmoil of post-war Germany, rejected by conservatives as a dangerous internationalist and modernist who did not value tradition, but also completely out of sympathy with the young modernists of the Weimar Republic, who did not understand Busoni's classicism and were more likely to turn to Schoenberg for inspiration. Symptomatically a performance of the Zwei Studien zu Doktor Faust by Furtwängler in February 1923 met with a negative critical response. 42 Italy proved even more hostile: on his return for a series of concerts in Milan in 1920, Busoni found himself accused of abandoning Italy during the war and of being too German; his compositions got poor reviews.<sup>43</sup> Italy was to move further from Busoni's cultural ideal as the twenties progressed, with Mussolini's march on Rome in 1922 marking the beginning of Italy's descent into Fascism.

The score of *Doktor Faust* was to remain incomplete; the penultimate scene breaks off at the moment of Helen of Troy's appearance and resumes after she has disappeared with Faust exclaiming 'Der Mensch ist dem Vollkommenen nicht gewachsen' [Man is not ready for perfection]. The final scene is also unfinished, stopping once again at the apparition of Helen. From the summer of 1922 to his death in July 1924 Busoni composed very little, battling against ill health and an inability or perhaps an unwillingness to conjure up sounds appropriate to the manifestation of perfection; there had been no great cultural rebirth of Europe from the ashes of war but an intensification of petty nationalism.<sup>44</sup> While *Die Meistersinger* was to become ever more central to German cultural life in the years of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, *Doktor Faust*, hampered by its unfinished state and for many puzzling because of its elliptical dramatic its unfinished state and for many puzzling because of its elliptical dramatic style and idiosyncratic musical language, has never become a repertoire opera. It remains, however, an intriguing transferral of Goethe's enlightenment Faust into the age of Nietzsche, while its unfinished state may also be a reflection of the impossibility of idealism in a time of war.

<sup>41.</sup> Hans Pfitzner, Futuristengefahr: Bei Gelegenheit von Busonis Äesthetik (Munich: Verlag der Süddeutschen Monatshefte, 1917). 42. Dent, *Busoni*, 276.

<sup>43.</sup> See Levitz, New Classicality, 47, and Busoni's letter to Arrigo Serato, 27 June 1920, in Busoni: Selected Letters, 312-14.

<sup>44.</sup> For a chronological outline of the composition of *Doktor Faust* see Beaumont, *Composer*, 325-7.



# PART IV

# New Directions Recent Productions and Appropriation



## 15

#### As Goethe intended?

#### Max Reinhardt's Faust Productions and the Aesthetics of Incidental Music in the Early Twentieth Century

#### Ursula Kramer

It was to be Max Reinhardt's last theatre production in Europe: his production of Faust I at the Salzburg Festival was staged in 1937 for the fifth and last time, and its director found himself forced by the annexation of Austria to turn his back on Europe. Up to the present day this production is one of the milestones in the history of the Salzburg Festival. At its premiere in 1933 the accompanying music was given its own separate appraisal – something very unusual in the history of incidental music. The reviewer spoke of music 'that came into the world in shackles', by which he meant the tight and direct amalgamation of the acoustic dimension with the special Salzburg situation.<sup>3</sup> What was seen and evaluated here first and foremost from marketing strategy angles (the impossibility of using the music again for productions elsewhere) can be applied also to the level of aesthetics concerning the work and its production: the linking of specially composed music to a specific performance context is indeed probably the most important characteristic of incidental music which distinguishes it fundamentally from opera. distinguishes it fundamentally from opera.

Reinhardt's Salzburg Faust production with music by Bernhard Paumgartner is a significant example of a type of productive musical engagement with Faust

1. At this time, in 1938, Reinhardt was already in the USA for a guest production. See Max

Reinhardt **[title?]** in *Ich bin nichts als ein Theatermann. Briefe, Reden, Aufsätze, Interviews, Gespräche, Auszüge aus Regiebüchern,* ed. Hugo Fetting (Berlin: Henschel, 1989), 214.

For the context of origin and performance see the detailed documentation by Edda Leisler and Gisela Prossnitz, 'Max Reinhardts "Faust"-Inszenierung in Salzburg 1933–1937', Maske und Kothurn 16 (1970), 105–51.

J.K.: 'Die Musik zu Reinhardts "Faust"-Inszenierung', *Neue Freie Presse*, 22 August 1933,

n.p. (Archiv der Salzburger Festspiele, formerly Max Reinhardt Forschungsstätte). The background to this metaphor is the composer Bernhard Paumgartner's recourse to the old melodies of a sixteenth-century Salzburg musician, Paul Hofhaimer, which he used for certain parts of his Faust music.

which, until a few years ago, was completely ignored by both musicologists and Germanists and only recently emerged in the consciousness of at least those scholars who focus on theatre music: they see the history of *Faust* as a play for the stage, including the music for each production – and often exclusively for that production – as a primary and original strand of reception, which began in Goethe's lifetime, continued after his death and still has currency in the modern period and in the current theatre landscape. Early in the history of theatrical practice this kind of productive updating of the work by way of a new musical interpretation of Faust was often overlooked. On the one hand, in Goethe's lifetime there were no – or hardly any – performances of the work, so that it was received first of all as a reading drama. On the other hand, the text had an inspiring effect on great composers like Berlioz (*La damnation de Faust*), *Schumann (Szenen aus Goethes Faust*), Wagner (*Faust Overture*), Liszt (*Faust Symphony*) and Mahler (Symphony no. 8). They perceived Goethe's drama as a challenge quite apart from the concrete task of creating music for the stage, and in their individual solutions they often left behind well-established genre conventions. Overshadowed by such monumental renditions, the concrete theatrical reality of *Faust* productions, with their contemporary musical realizations, went virtually unnoticed by scholars.<sup>4</sup>

In the remarks that follow a typical example of such stage adaptation of Faust is to be looked at and at the same time some questions about the role of the director are to be posed: how does the new authority of the director – which inserts itself into the production process – affect the concrete performance, change the relationship between text and music, and what consequences does the consequences does this have for Goethe's original intentions with respect to the musical aspects of the Faust drama?

#### General issues regarding incidental music

Given the high percentage of verses that Goethe himself envisaged as being set to music (between eleven and twenty per cent of the whole text of *Faust I* has been set to music or is presumed to be capable of it), the drama occupies a special place amongst dramas of its time, but it is by no means an exceptional case. Contemporary writers such as Schiller and August von Kotzebue consciously, and sometimes on a large scale, envisaged the use of music in their works explicitly demanding this in their stage directions. Furthermore, music was an integral part of contemporary productions in the form of framing compositions (overture, interlude, final curtain music) – even where authors make no mention

It is hardly fifteen years (beginning with Detlef Altenburg's article on 'Schauspielmusik'<sup>5</sup>) since this distinct branch of the history of musical theatre

There is one early study of the significance of music in Goethe's Faust: Rüdiger Bätz, 'Schauspielmusiken zu Goethes *Faust'*, PhD thesis, Leipzig 1924. Musicological research in particular takes up this theme, but only since the late1990s.

Detlef Altenburg, 'Schauspielmusik', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, Sachteil, vol. 8, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), 1035–49, here 1037ff.

became a subject of musicological research; and German literary scholarship is only gradually becoming aware of this broader view of historical performance practices. While the *Goethe-Handbuch* published by Bernd Witte<sup>6</sup> needed the addition of a supplement<sup>7</sup> – in which Goethe's own very varied projects involving theatre music (among them incidental music) were specifically researched – more recent research takes current musicological findings into account.<sup>8</sup> Amongst the most important works published in recent years on the theme of incidențal music from a musicological perspective is Béate Agnes Schmidt's comprehensive Weimar dissertation: impressively and convincingly it develops, for the first time, the reference system for the specific position of Faust in the context of contemporary drama with its musical components and interludes.9 Her analyses are concerned, above all, with those compositions that originated in Goethe's own lifetime. 10 But even after his death in 1832 there were, again and again, new adaptations for individual productions on a whole variety of stages, for which special compositions were created. This phase of *Faust* reception also marks a fundamental lacuna in music and theatre research. Examples include the comprehensive and ambitious composition by Eduard Lassen, created on the occasion of the monumental first Weimar production of both parts of *Faust* in 1876,<sup>12</sup> as well as more run-of-the-mill theatre productions and their attempts at a realization of the musical elements of the text – as, for example, that of the staging of Faust II in the version of the text by Edmund Wollheim de Fonseca with music by Henry Hugh Pierson in 1873 at the Stadttheater Leipzig. And this category includes new initiatives in the early twentieth century which are of special importance insofar as the turn of the century brought with it a radical change in theatre practice through the introduction of fundamental reforms. These not only concerned conventions of set design (with the new tendency to replace naturalism with stylization and abstraction), but also aimed at foregrounding

- Bernd Witte (ed.), Goethe-Handbuch, 6 vols (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996–8).
- 7. Gabriele Busch-Salmen (ed.), Goethe-Handbuch, Supplemente 1 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008).
- See two independent sections entitled 'Musikdramaturgie' by Beate Agnes Schmidt in the volumes *Wallenstein (Schillers Werke)*. Nationalausgabe, vol. 8.3, ed. Norbert Oellers (forthcoming), 746–80, and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans (Schillers Werke)*. Nationalausgabe, vol. 9.2, ed. Winfried Woesler (Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 371–94. Beate Agnes Schmidt, *Musik in Goethes Faust. Dramaturgie, Rezeption und Aufführungspraxis*
- (Sinzig: Studio Verlag, 2006).
- 10. Some of these, such as the versions by Eberwein, Radziwill and Lindpaintner, were composed with Goethe's direct knowledge (or at least with conscious reference to the author); others, however, were independent of Goethe, created as new compositions following the usual practice of incidental music or as new arrangements of an existing composition (Stuntz, Röth, Seyfried).
- 11. A listing of various new compositions of Faust is to be found in the appendices of Bätz, Schauspielmusiken'
- 12. This marked the 100th anniversary of Goethe's arrival in Weimar. Until now Lassen's composition has only been touched on in a few pages of Hedwig Meier's dissertation 'Die Schaubühne als musikalische Anstalt' (Bielefeld. Aisthesis, 1999); there is still no detailed discussion of the music – especially with regard to its interdependence with the version of the text used for the performance.

of directors' interpretative input: they no longer saw themselves in the role of arrangers of the scenes as indicated in the stage directions provided in the text. Instead, they put their own personal and intellectual stamps on the production. What took place was nothing less than a paradigm shift in the theatre reception of *Faust*. Not only did the influence of authorial context and intent diminish increasingly after Goethe's death in 1832, but now, in the person of the director, a new authority actively asserted itself in the theatres and determined the shape and character of productions.

#### Max Reinhardt's engagement with Goethe's Faust

Max Reinhardt can serve as a prominent example of this new development; his role was central in the history of Faust production. Starting out as an actor in 1901, he was responsible as theatre director and stage director for a whole host of productions of Goethe's *Faust* – first on stages in Berlin and later also in Munich, Vienna and Salzburg. His concept of theatre was characterized by opulence and a special visual quality; in this context attention is sometimes drawn to music as part of the overall effect, though this phenomenon has never been taken into account in any appraisal of Reinhardt's work.<sup>13</sup>

In the course of his long professional career as a director, Reinhardt repeatedly engaged with Faust. After three productions in Berlin in 1909 (Faust I, 25 March, Deutsches Theater), 1911 (Faust II, 15 March, Deutsches Theater) and 1920 (Urfaust, 22 October, Deutsches Theater), there followed the monumental project for the Salzburg Festival (Faust I). This was originally meant to be staged there as early as 1926 but was not produced until the summer of 1933. In the following years – until 1937 – it remained on the programme.<sup>14</sup>

From the beginning of Reinhardt's work as a director, music played a substantial role in his productions. During his long period in Berlin musicians contracted by the theatre were regularly part of his close circle of advisors. They regularly took responsibility for the musical shaping of individual productions. Sometimes Reinhardt contracted composers from outside the theatre, such as

- 13. See Peter W. Marx, Max Reinhardt: 'Vom bürgerlichen Theater zur metropolitanen Kultur' (Tübingen: Narr Franke, 2006). Only peripherally and in very few passages does he touch on music in the context of Reinhardt's production ideas.
- he touch on music in the context of Reinhardt's production ideas.
   The performance history of Reinhardt's various productions has already been well covered by older theatre research. For specifically Faust productions see Wilfried Passow, 'Max Reinhardts Faust-Inszenierungen', Faust-Blätter 25 (1973), 782–8; also Wilhelm Russo, Goethes Faust auf den Berliner Bühnen (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1924; Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint 1967). On Reinhardt's guest performance of his 1909 Berlin production in Munich see Ursula Kramer, 'Zwischen Festspielidee und Repertoiretauglichkeit. Die Faust-Kompositionen von August Bungert, Felix Weingartner und Max von Schillings', in Faust im Wandel: Faust-Vertonungen vom 19. bis 21. Jahrhundert, ed. Panja Mücke and Christiane Wiesenfeldt (Marburg: Tectum, 2015), 166–97.
   At the beginning of Reinhardt's activity as director he collaborated with Friedrich Regresson. (From 1002) on Mostorlingk, Pullige, and Milicarda amongst, ethory), from 1001.
- Bermann (from 1903, on Maeterlinck, Pelléas und Mélisande amongst others); from 1901 onwards Einar Nilson wrote a number of compositions for a great variety of plays.

Engelbert Humperdinck. 16 However, music for Reinhardt's productions was not always specially composed; sometimes existing compositions were used.

Music was a part of each of Reinhardt's *Faust* productions. While both of the first productions – 1909 (I) and 1911 (II) – used existing settings, Reinhardt later apparently wanted to exercise more independence. This is shown in the annotated director's scripts ('Regiebücher'), and indicated to a lesser degree by the extant musical material used in the performances. By using the music of Felix Weingartner for his first *Faust* production in 1909, Reinhardt had recourse to a current setting from a contemporary theatrical context. The music had been composed the previous year for a new production in Weimar. Another solution was chosen for his *Faust II* production in 1911: Schumann's *Faust-Szenen* served as a basis – a work which was not originally designed as incidental music. Eduard Künneke, who in the years 1910 and 1911 served as Reinhardt's music director and wrote music for operetta and film, created an adaptation of Schumann's work. In 1920 Klaus Pringsheim, then music director of the Reinhardt theatres, was responsible for providing new music for *Urfaust*. For the production at the Salzburg Festival this role fell to Bernhard Paumgartner, who, like Pringsheim

- 16. For Reinhardt, Humperdinck composed music for Shakespeare's Der Kaufmann von Venedig [The Merchant of Venice] in 1905, Ein Wintermärchen [A Winter's Tale] in 1906, Was Ihr Wollt [As You Like It] in 1907 and Der Sturm [The Tempest] in 1915, as well as for Maeterlinck's Der blaue Vogel [The Blue Bird] in 1912 and Vollmoeller's Das Mirakel [The Miracle] in1914. An overview of the in-house and external musical commissions can be found in Knut Boeser and Renata Vatková (eds), Max Reinhardt in Berlin (Berlin: Hentrich, 1984), 327–47.
- 17. In the preface to his text adaptation of Goethe's Faust Felix Weingartner describes the genesis of his Faust music: Weingartner, Goethes Faust, Bühneneinrichtung und Musik von Felix Weingartner (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1918). It would seem that the Weimar theatre intended to replace Devrient's older Faust text adaptation with a new one. Weingartner was to provide this in collaboration with the Weimar director Carl Weiser. In the course of the work there were disagreements: Weingartner showed his annoyance about subsequent changes made by Weiser and about a lack of accuracy in the rehearsals. The result of all this was that Weiser resigned as director (Preface, 3–4). Weingartner rated the Weimar performance in 1908 a 'missed opportunity' and some years later undertook a new revision of the text, which corresponded to the music step by step. The result was a new edition of both parts of the piano score, and Weingartner tried to withdraw all copies of the first edition from circulation.

  18. See the notice 'Vor den Kulissen' in the Berlin Börsen Courier of 17 March 1911, n.p. 'Die von

18. See the notice 'Vor den Kulissen' in the Berlin *Borsen Courier* of 17 March 1911, n.p. 'Die von Künneke eingerichtete und stellenweise ergänzte Musik war vortrefflich einstudiert und oft von prächtiger Wirkung' [The music adapted by and in places added to by Künneke was excellently prepared and often had a marvellous effect].

was excellently prepared and often had a marvellous effect].

19. Klaus Pringsheim (1883–1972) was a pupil of Ludwig Thuille in Munich and then studied with Mahler in Vienna; after holding posts as a conductor (Geneva, Prague) and opera director (Prague, Breslau) he became, in 1918, musical director of the Reinhardt stages in Berlin. In 1931 he went to Japan; after a vain attempt to settle in the USA he accepted a professorship in Tokyo. His archive is in the library of McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. It contains some music for drama, including an eight-page manuscript on *Urfaust*. This is probably a composition he wrote for Max Reinhardt's 1920 production.

previously in Berlin, was engaged as director of theatre music, and together with whom Reinhardt had already collaborated on a series of productions.<sup>20</sup>

#### Incidental music and transmission

The difficulty lies firstly in the purely functional purpose of incidental music, geared as it is to a specific performance or production. This music is composed for a special context by a theatre's own music director and is normally not intended to be used elsewhere. The highly utilitarian value of such compositions, the immediacy of their consumption – and connected with this their questionable and, at best, temporary status as works of art – meant that such scores were often not kept in archives or libraries. Material is more likely to be found in the musical bequests of composers and musicians. Even there, they are often preserved only in a fragmentary form.

The situation regarding Weingartner's composition seems comparatively favourable, especially since both the full and the vocal scores were published by Breitkopf & Härtel and were quite in demand by other stages throughout Germany. Fundamental differences between Weingartner and the director Carl Weiser, who arranged the text for the Weimar production in 1908, resulted in the composer distancing himself from the first version of his Faust adaptation. Since the score in Weingartner's revision was only published in 1915, Reinhard must have used the original version of the composition for his production at the Deutsches Theater in 1909 – a version which in the meantime had been disowned by the composer.

#### Max Reinhardt's Regiebücher

Reinhardt's directorial notes are an especially interesting and unique source for the study of the musical dimension of his production concept. They consist of copies of Goethe's own text with annotations of differing density, which obviously served to prompt his thinking as he prepared the productions of 1909, 1920 and 1933. He wrote into the text anything that seemed important to him, no matter whether it concerned his interpretation of the text, technical details about staging or, indeed, music.<sup>22</sup>

He occasionally used simple abbreviations such as a treble clef (he did this mainly with unproblematic passages when he was dealing with songs motivated by the scene), but more frequently he wrote more or less extensive commentaries on the text.

- 20. Amongst Bernhard Paumgartner's compositions for plays in the 1920s is music for *Jedermann*, Carl Vollmoeller's *Das Mirakel* (1925) and *Turandot* (1926).
- 21. Extensive correspondence belonging to Breitkopf & Härtel's archive and today kept in the State Archive Leipzig grants an insight into the genesis of Felix Weingartner's Faust composition and into the marketing strategies he used.
- 22. From this it seems that for Reinhardt the 'correct' speech rhythm played a quite decisive role.

an out Balle It had inquelly Mistole, In vous Iroshpin aux Japonasus rua Bry spharoch, charoch, on wife Migraine box (any pato, in autern phantaporty rommer Partieu 3. S. in the Willpurgerswift unapporp ormun unx gland servends

Und wirtet weiter, weil er muß. 3hr wißt, auf unfern beutschen 3 Probiert ein jeber, mas er mag; Drum schonet mir an biefem Cag Profpette nicht und nicht Mafchin Gebraucht bas groß' und fleine S Die Sterne burfet ihr verschwenbe Un Baffer, Feuer, Felfenwänden, Un Tier und Bogeln fehlt es nich Go fcbreitet in bem engen Bretter Den gangen Rreis ber Schöpfung ilnb manbelt, mit bedächt'ger Gchi Bom Simmel burch bie Welt gur Prologim Simmel

Raphael: machwelle Die Sonne tont nach alter Beife In Bruderfphären Wettgefang,

Ind ihre vorgeschriebne Reise Bollenbet fie mit Donnergang. 3hr Unblid gibt ben Engeln Gtat Wenn feiner fie ergrunden mag. Die unbegreiflich boben Werte Gind herrlich, wie am erften Tag.

Gabriel:

Und fchnell und unbegreiflich fchne Dreht fich umber ber Erde Drach Es wechfelt Paradiefes-Selle Mit tiefer ichauervoller Racht; Es fcaumt bas Meer in breiten Um tiefen Grund ber Felfen auf,

Figure 15.1 Page from Regiebuch for the planned Faust Production of 1920 with marginalia in Max Reinhardt's hand.

Reinhardt did make a note of the date when his preparatory work was completed, but the question remains open whether his ideas formed part of a process of dialogue with the composer of the music or whether they were formulated beforehand and independently by Reinhardt. In the case of the *Regiebuch* for his production of 1909 the plan in the beginning was possibly to have new music written specifically for the production. Reinhardt's ideas were obviously noted before the decision was made in favour of Weingartner's music, which was already available, because the ideas developed there diverged considerably from what was included in the music provided by Weingartner's score. This means that, even at this early stage, Reinhardt contemplated using a speaking chorus which would declaim rhythmically but not sing. In 1909 this intention was not practicable, but he came back to it again ten years later. In addition we find a series of indications where 'noise music' might be used. Then, during the preparations for a new production, he notes, in a passage from the 'Prologue in Heaven': 'keine Ouverture! Glocken der Stadt durcheinander, Raphael eventuell zu singen oder Sprechgesang, Musik mit großen Kontrasten.' [No overture! Town bells clashing. Raphael might sing; or *Sprechgesang*, music with great contrasts.] This categorical rejection of a piece of conventional stage music clearly indicates that he was pushing ahead with different, more innovative notions of how to use the musical and acoustical dimension.<sup>23</sup>

A similar Regiebuch exists for the Salzburg production of 1933, which is markedly less instructive – in general terms, but also with respect to music. Entries indicate that there were obviously direct exchanges with Bernhard Paumgartner, so that in this case there was no need to record in the copy any ideas that were mooted. On the blank page before the start of the dramatic text, Reinhardt notes: 'Musikalisches Vorspiel (siehe Anweisungen an Dr. Paumgartner)' [Musical prelude (see instructions given to Dr Paumgartner).]

Two further documents about Faust are kept in the archives of the Salzburg festival. One of these, an anonymous typescript, is entitled 'Notizen zur Musik' [Notes on the music] and could be identical with the instructions referred to by Reinhardt in the Regiebuch. The second document, ten pages in length, was very probably written by the composer, Bernhard Paumgartner. <sup>24</sup> It contains several scene sketches, amongst them a particularly detailed one about the Walpurgis Night, in which essential musical ideas are presented in a cluster. The nature of the text reveals that intensive conversations must have taken place between director and composer. In a newspaper interview Paumgartner spoke quite openly about the subordinate role music had to play in the overall context of this particular production. He felt personally responsible for the adequate realization of the musical part in the production. At the same time Paumgartner himself said that the music was divided into two parts: 'eine Art Ausdrucksund Geräuschmusik [...] und eine Musik, die auf alte Waisen, Volks- und Landsknechtmelodien und

<sup>23. 2</sup>nd Regiebuch *zu Faust*, dated Westerland, July 1919, 13. There is a copy in the Archiv der Salzburger Festspiele, Salzburg, IN/394/66 BU 277.

<sup>24.</sup> This is a further typewritten script in a different font and contains explicit statements about music using technical language, so that Paumgartner is presumed to be the author.

liturgische Gesänge des frühen Mittelalters zurückgeht' [a kind of expressive music including noises, and music that draws on old airs, folk and mercenary tunes, and liturgical songs of the early Middle Ages].<sup>25</sup> The latter concerned all the passages in *Faust* in which Goethe himself, in his stage directions, required music motivated by the scenes and which Reinhardt in this particular production wanted to link clearly to the place of the performance (Salzburg). Accordingly, Paumgartner undertook historical studies; for the religious songs he had recourse to Paul Hofhaimer and he based the secular numbers on traditional minstrels' music.<sup>26</sup>

## Felix Weingartner and Bernhard Paumgartner: Max Reinhardt and his idea of music

The specific character of the two compositions by Felix Weingartner and Bernhard Paumgartner for Reinhardt's *Faust I* productions can, above all, be gleaned from a comparison of those passages that were *not* prescribed by Goethe as stage music, since in those scenes – in the case of both sacred music (Easter Choir, Cathedral) and secular (Auerbach's Cellar) – there was hardly any leeway for musical experimentation. Much more interesting, then, are the sections that, because of the absence of concrete stage directions relating to music, stimulated the imagination of the composer or the director. To this category belong the Prologue in Heaven, the passages about the spirits (in the Study scene), the Witches' Kitchen and the Walpurgis Night.

#### Prologue in Heaven

In his *Regiebuch* of 1909 it seems that Reinhardt had already envisaged a kind of musical treatment for the first scene that differed from a romantic operatic type. He makes the note 'unbestimmtes Klingen und Tönen und Singen' [indeterminate sounds, tones and singing]. Yet Felix Weingartner's musical entrée delivers just the opposite: a melodic D flat major full of arpeggios out of which the song of the three archangels directly develops, first successively, then even as a veritable trio with simultaneous passages (see figure 15.2)

In his later notes on *Faust* in 1919 Reinhardt explicitly stipulated 'no overture' and for the part of Raphael he even envisaged *Sprechgesang* as a possible option. This can be definitely interpreted as a reaction and a negative response to the Weingartner music he had previously used. Reinhardt was presumably

- 25. Bernhard Paumgartner, 'Wie die Musik zum Salzburger "Faust" entstand', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 1933, n.p. (the copy in the Archiv der Salzburger Festspiele does not state the exact date).
- 26. *Ibid*. It is this direct harking back to the town's own musical heritage that made it hardly conceivable to use the music in other places and that led the critic of the *Neue Freie Presse* to coin the phrase 'Musik mit Fußfessel' [music in shackles] (see note 3).
- to coin the phrase 'Musik mit Fußfessel' [music in shackles] (see note 3).

  27. Max Reinhardt, 1st Regiebuch for *Faust I*, 1908, quoted from Wilfried Passow, *Max Reinhardts Regiebuch zu* Faust I, vol. 1 (Munich: Kitzingen, 1971), 20.

not satisfied with its effect in the 1909 production.<sup>28</sup> In Salzburg Reinhardt went further still: he parted company completely with the usual symphonic

introduction employed in traditional incidental music.

Against the special backdrop of the so-called 'Faust town' envisaged by the set designer Clemens Holzmeister which, as an open air Simultanbühne<sup>29</sup> built into the Salzburg Mönchsberg, depicted all of the places featuring in the drama, he wanted the acoustic element to form an appendage to the visible scenery.<sup>30</sup> In his remarks about musical accompaniment, Reinhardt distinguishes three phases in which local colour is introduced by means of sounds (church organ barking of does evening song the sound of trumpets sounds (church organ, barking of dogs, evening song, the sound of trumpets from the tower, bawling of students, the nightwatchman's horn); these then come to a rest, before we see in the stillness the brooding Faust in his study, and out of this darkness the 'Prologue in Heaven' begins: 'Das Ganze wäre eine aus Klängen, Stimmen und Geräuschen geformte neuartige Ouverture zum Faust (in drei Sätzen)' [The whole would be a new Faust overture formed from sounds, voices and noises (in three movements)]<sup>31</sup> His aim was to create a sense of 'visionary' music:

Der Prolog im Himmel [...] [beginnt] mit einem tiefen überirdischen Summen. (In allen drei Phasen sollte die Entwicklung aus tiefen, dunklen chorischen Elementen zu hellen einzelnen Stimmen kommen). Auch oben müsste ein überirdisches Geläut in der Luft erklingen, nicht als reale Glockenschläge mehr erkennbar. Leise langgehaltene Singtöne von Engeln werden hörbar, vereinen sich zu sphärischen Harmonien. Dazu beginnt es in der Höhe über der Bergwand zu schimmern und zu leuchten. Und schließlich zerreisst eine mächtige Posaune vollends das Dunkel und die Stille. – Im überirdischen Licht werden die einzelnen Engel sichtbar und sprechen.<sup>32</sup>

[The Prologue in Heaven begins with a deep ethereal humming. (In all three phases there should be a development from deep, dark, chorus elements to bright individual voices.) And up above there should be an ethereal ringing sound in the air that transcends ordinary bell sounds. Faint sustained angelic singing becomes audible and unites to harmonies of the spheres. And up above, over the mountain face, a shimmering light appears. And finally a mighty trumpet rends the darkness and the silence. In the heavenly light the individual angels become visible and speak.]

29. A stage that is divided into different smaller scenes, showing all the places in the plot at the same time.

<sup>28.</sup> Max Reinhardt, 'Notizen zur Musik zum Faust I im Großen Schauspielhaus' [2nd Regiebuch], copy in the Archiv der Salzburger Festspiele IN 394/66 Bü 277, 13.

<sup>30.</sup> For the reproduction of the décor of the Faust production in Salzburg 1933 see the website of the Salzburger Festspiele: http://www.salzburgerfestspiele.at/geschichte/1933.
31. Anon. [Max Reinhardt?], 'Notizen zur Musik [Faust I]'. Typewritten document in the Max-Reinhardt-Forschungsstätte Salzburg, n.p.

#### Example 15.1 The musical shaping of the Prologue in Heaven:

a: Felix Weingartner (Beginn und Trioteil; piano score (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1907).study purposes (Max Reinhardt, Forschungsstätte Salzburg).

#### Prolog im Himmel.



b: Excerpt from particell for study purposes (Max Reinhardt, Forschungsstätte Salzburg)



## Appearance of spirits in the study scene

As early as 1909 Reinhardt had devised a solution for the entrance of the spirits in the study scene, a solution that was by no means a genuinely musical one: the commentary 'Geflüster' [whispering] and 'canonartig (Könnt ihr im nützen, lasst ihn nicht sitzen)' [like a canon ('If you can be of use to him, Don't leave him sitting there)], or 'Sprechchor unsichtbar geflüstert' [invisible speaking chorus

whispering] clearly aimed at a scenic imagination which was, on the one hand, 'characteristic' and therefore standing out from its surroundings, but was, on the 'characteristic' and therefore standing out from its surroundings, but was, on the other hand, meant to remain within the framework of spoken language and not to end up as sung melodies.<sup>33</sup> But in the course of his work Reinhardt cut the reference to the whispered speaking chorus with which he had probably originally intended to counterbalance Goethe's 'Song of the spirits', and in its place noted down the use of women's and boys' or men's voices: 'Leiser merkwürdiger Gesang, zart, geisterhaft, fast flüsternd, nicht all zuweit vom Sprechton entfernt ohne große Harmonie die Kürze muß bleiben.' [Faint strange song, tender, ghostly, almost whispering, not too far removed from speech tones, without great harmony, brevity must be retained.]<sup>34</sup> Although this was not as completely radical as his first idea, Reinhardt was nonetheless far removed from the version that Felix Weingartner's score envisaged for the scene. In this score the composer drew on the established reservoir of instrumental and compositional draw on the established reservoir of instrumental and compositional possibilities for expressing the supernatural: chromaticism above pedal points; creeping, circling, rolling movement, use of high-pitched piccolos etc.<sup>35</sup> After a melodramatic beginning to the scene there follows a short instrumental transition to a veritable 'chorus' of spirits (2 sopranos, 2 altos), which is finally led back again to give a melodramatic foundation for the dialogue between Faust and Mephisto. Goethe's song of the spirits 'Schwindet ihr dunkeln Wölbungen droben' [Vanish, you dark vaults above] is split up by Weingartner into an alto solo and accompanying choirs of male and female voices. This results in a relatively comprehensive musical scene. And when precisely at this passage relatively comprehensive musical scene. And when, precisely at this passage, Reinhardt notes in his 1920 *Regiebuch*: 'Leiser, sinnlich bethörender Gesang der Geister [...], der nicht wie das sonst immer der Fall ist, wie ein Chor der Engel klingen darf' [Soft captivating song of the spirits that should not, as is usually the case, sound like a choir of angels], this commentary reads like a late reaction against Weingartner's composition. In Salzburg Reinhardt succeeded in convincing Bernard Paumgartner of his ideas in this regard. The extant musical sketch shows use of a speaking chorus in which rhythmicized passages alternate with sections of freely shaped speech<sup>36</sup>.

### Walpurgis Night

From a composer's perspective, to set Walpurgis Night to music had to be the most challenging task of the whole play. It is not surprising that Felix Weingartner's setting of this scene is by far the longest number in the whole score. The definition of the purpose of incidental music provided by the composer in his preface to his own stage version oft the text seems particularly applicable to this scene:

- Max Reinhardt, 'Regiebuch zu Faust I' (refers to Reinhardt's first production of 1909; the entries are dated 1908), in Passow, vol. 1, 117.
   Ibid., 130 and 132.
- 35. The handwritten score is in the Felix Weingartner archive in the University Library Basel.
- The piano scores of both parts were published by Breitkopf & Härtel.

  36. Folder with Paumgartner's handwritten score and sketches for the *Faust* composition is in the Archiv der Salzburger Festspiele.

Dass überall dort Musik einzusetzen hat, wo sie von der Handlung gefordert und von Goethe ausdrücklich verlangt wird, versteht sich von selbst. Aber sie hat noch eine viel verantwortungsvollere Aufgabe zu lösen. Im Wesen der Musik liegt es, daß sie uns aus der Welt des Realen entrückt, daß sie unser Empfindungsleben zum Empfangen des Übersinnlichen verfeinert. [...] Diesen Stimmungswert habe ich ausgenützt. [...] Ebenso glaubte ich, Szenen wie die romantische und die klassische Walpurgisnacht durchwegs mit einer maßvollen klanglichen Unterstützung versehen zu sollen, die weder das Wort noch das Tempo des Schauspielers hemmen darf [...]. Maßhalten war das erste Gebot.<sup>37</sup>

It is self-evident that music has to be introduced wherever the plot requires it and Goethe demands it. But it has a much more responsible task to fulfil. It belongs to the essence of music that it transports us away from the real world, that it refines and prepares our sensitivity to receive the supernatural. I have exploited this. I also believed that I should provide scenes like the romantic and classical Walpurgis Night with a moderate sound support that does not get in the way of the actor's words and tempo. Moderation was the first commandment.]

These ideas match Weingartner's setting particularly well. Correspondingly, an atmospheric foundation is dominant in Weingartner's music: diminished chords, tremoli, chromatic scales and quick movements circling in small steps are the instrumental ingredients, enriched here and there by the singing of the witches, male and female, but from time to time reduced to sustained chords. Yet the moderation demanded by Weingartner did not extend to the orchestral forces: added to the strings were triple woodwind instruments (including instruments such as cor anglais), four horns, three trumpets and three trombones, a tuba, timpani and various other percussion instruments. In addition, Weingartner requires strong forces for stage music, consisting likewise of strings and wind instruments, but also other instruments – for example, valveless trumpets and a harp.

Although Weingartner's composition was in fact concerned with making the Although Weingartner's composition was in fact concerned with making the music play a subordinate, purely supportive role and not making it an end in itself, even this part of the score would not have been what Max Reinhardt had in mind. The first *Regiebuch* for the 1909 *Faust* production already contains a series of indications that the director was opposed to a very strong musical emphasis in this scene. Repeatedly he demanded speaking choruses, 'nicht gesungen, aber stark im Rhythmus sich wiegend' [not sung, but swayed by strong rhythms]. Only in individual passages is the contrast of 'kreischender Gesang, schreiend, gellend' [screeching, shouted song and shrill singing] admissible.<sup>38</sup>

For his Salzhurg production Reinhardt obviously had intensive discussions

For his Salzburg production Reinhardt obviously had intensive discussions with Paumgartner about this scene. The source already mentioned, probably originating from the composer himself, devotes nine pages to detailing how,

<sup>37.</sup> Weingartner, Bühneneinrichtung, 5–6.

<sup>38.</sup> Passow, Regiebuch, vol. 1, 384, 402, 398.

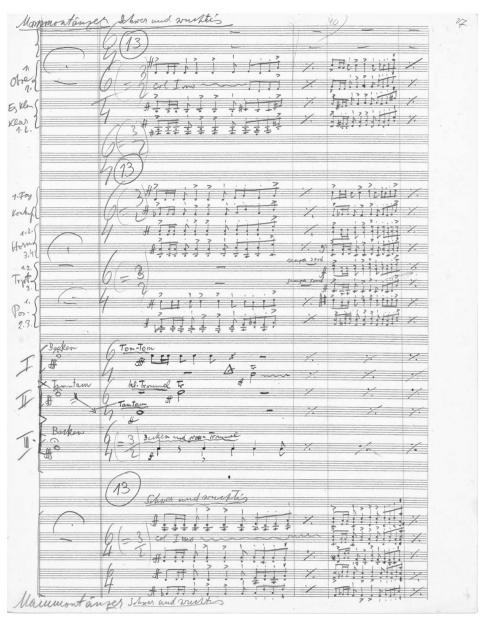


Figure 15.2 Excerpt from Paumgartner's manuscript score for the Walpurgis Night scene.

over the course of this scene, the dramatic function of music is to be achieved.<sup>39</sup> Sounds predominate for long passages. Again and again there are speaking choruses rhythmically punctuated by the orchestra. Special sound effects are created through the introduction of chords hummed by the choir at a low pitch; in addition, as many as twenty different gongs, as well as drums and bells, were used to produce special effects<sup>40</sup> which were further intensified by being electronically amplified and could thereby be manipulated at will. Occasionally Paumgartner went beyond the bounds of 'good taste'. His note on the entry of the different groups of witches was as follows:

Sprechchor im Marschrhythmus, dazu der unsichtbare Singchor im Orchester. Wilde Rhythmen, ordinäre Melodiefetzen, Peitschen, Rasseln, Kastagnetten, gellendes Gelächter [...]. Zweite Gruppe der Hexen [...]: Musik noch ordinärer als früher.<sup>41</sup>

[Speaking chorus in march rhythm, and the invisible singing chorus in the orchestra. Wild rhythms, vulgar snatches of melody, whips, rattles, castanets, shrill laughter. Second group of witches: music even more vulgar than before.]

He had at his disposal large symphonic forces, added to which were a flute, an E flat clarinet, three saxophones, a banjo, an abundance of percussion instruments and, once more, his own unpitched percussion instruments. Here and there in the Walpurgis Night Paumgartner would become a *Zeitmusiker* and the 'impertinences' of jazz music<sup>42</sup> served to provide music for the supernatural witches' sphere. The contrast to the simple melodies drawn from earlier music history and envisaged by Goethe for use in the corresponding scenes could, in 1933, not have been greater.

As can be seen from the examples of the scenes chosen from *Faust I*, music, or more generally, the acoustic dimension of sounds and noises formed an important part of Reinhardt's theatre work, in which the musical/sound dimension went far beyond the material provided by the author Goethe. By developing strong categories of what he approved or rejected musically, he defined a clear hierarchy of those working with a stage text. The composer who contributed to any theatre production was not so much an equal partner as a 'supplier' who was to collaborate in putting Reinhardt's ideas into practice.

The comparison of, on the one hand, Reinhardt's own ideas about handling the music in specific scenes of *Faust* and, on the other hand, Weingartner's existing theatre music – adopted from a different performance context appropriated by Reinhardt for his 1909 production probably for purely pragmatic reasons

- 39. Typewritten, in the Archiv der Salzburger Festspiele.
- 40. Paumgartner, 'Wie die Musik', Neues Wiener Journal, 1933, n.p.
- 41. See footnote 37.
- 42. Neue Freie Presse, 22 August 1933, n.p. (copy in the Archiv der Salzburger Festspiele).

 suggests that the director felt that in some respects this music was not adequate. 43 In his comprehensive review of the premiere Alfred Kerr devoted a whole paragraph to the composition and, with unerring judgement, expressed something that Reinhardt probably had seen as a problem as well:

Endlich Weingartners Musik ... Er ist schon ein Künstler. Aber seine Zutat bildet ein Konzert. Nicht Klänge. Nicht Klänge durch den Raum. Losgelöste. 44

[And then Weingartner's music: He clearly is an artist. But his contribution amounts to a concert. Not sounds. Not sounds pervading the space. Detached.]

In his later years Goethe himself had serious doubts about the possibility of setting his Faust to music – since Mozart was long dead and Meyerbeer's work had developed in a direction that seemed unsuitable for treating the text of his play: 'Das Abstoßende, Widerwärtige, Furchtbare, was sie stellenweise enthalten müsste, ist der Zeit zuwider.' [The repulsive, the repugnant and the dreadful which, in parts, the music would have to express, stands against the times.]<sup>45</sup> Goethe's conclusions about an 'ideal' *Faust* setting may seem surprising. They appear to contradict the views we know from his correspondence with Zelter regarding contemporary settings of his work (other than *Faust*). We may also not necessarily share his views about the musical aesthetics in vogue around 1830. The innovations of the period following the romantic poetics of a Victor Hugo (Hector Berlioz) indicate exactly the path that Goethe had considered the right one to follow for his Faust. It is therefore all the more astounding to realize that especially composers for the theatre who – in contrast to Schumann, Berlioz or Liszt – had no composers for the theatre who – in contrast to Schumann, Berlioz or Liszt – had no independent musical *Faust* settings in mind but 'only' had to accompany any new stage productions, shrank back from 'the repulsive, the repugnant, the dreadful' (in the productions) rather than seeing themselves challenged by Goethe's text. Felix Weingartner was part of this tradition. He saw himself, quite consciously, as entrusted with a classical reading of Goethe's text, and he wrote his *Faust* composition from this perspective. He was clearly concerned not to overdo the discrepancy between simple diegetic music and the sound world symbolizing the supernatural. On the other hand, Bernhard Paumgartner, in the Salzburg production of 1933, went much further when he consciously relinquished a unified, smooth musical language in the manner of the late Romantics and crossed boundaries: i.e. the montage of 'vulgar' jazz sounds. late Romantics and crossed boundaries: i.e. the montage of 'vulgar' jazz sounds, a quintessentially modern music (Zeitmusik) and melodies of a Paul Hofhaimer could no longer be interpreted

- 43. The reference in the contemporary daily newspapers to the fact that only some passages of Weingartner's music were used in Reinhardt's production at the Deutsches Theater can be interpreted against the background of some obvious contradictions. Against this background it is also conceivable that the decision in favour of Schumann's composition is to be seen as a conscious decision taken against Weingartner's music.

  44. Alfred Kerr, 'Gretchen im Deutschen Theater', *Der Tag*, 27 March 1909, Section 3.
- 45. Sämtliche Schriften, ed. Karl Richter, MA, vol. 19, 283-84.
- 46. See his preface to his *Bühneneinrichtung*.

as a musically unified style – but, in today's perspective, this is precisely what constitutes the attraction of his *Faust* music.

That Max Reinhardt – for whom personally the inclusion of music was a driving and constitutive part of his productions – not only 'tolerated' Paumgartner's musical treatment but probably completely approved of it, can be concluded indirectly from an early statement regarding the aesthetic aspect of the Faust production in Munich in 1909. In the *Regiebuch* for his first *Faust* production, Reinhardt had passed judgement on Albert Heine's work as director:

Der Versuch den Faust in der Aufführung in allen Teilen zu stilisieren (Münchner Künstlerth.) ist falsch und sinnwidrig. Auf den Gegensatz von absoluter Realität, engster, kleinbürgerlicher, drückender, massiver Enge und der freien unbegrenzten Phantasie, der geheimnisvollen Welt, die über den Dingen ist, die alltäglich erkennbar sind – auf den Weg, den die Sehnsucht der Besten aus dieser Welt sieht – kommt es an.<sup>47</sup>

[The attempt to give a unified style to the Faust production (Munich Künstlertheater) is wrong and meaningless. What is important is the contrast between absolute reality – narrow, lower middle-class, oppressive, massive restriction – and free, unlimited fantasy, the mysterious world beyond the familiar everyday world. What is important is the path sensed by the yearning of the best people in this world.

According to this, Reinhardt criticizes his colleague's total stylizing as false and meaningless and argues in favour of big contrasts between absolute reality, petit-bourgeois narrowness and free unlimited fantasy. Paumgartner endeavoured to make visible in his music precisely this range and diversity. It was different with Felix Weingartner, who remained imprisoned in the framework of late Romantic musical language and did not try any experiments that would transcend boundaries.<sup>48</sup> Paumgartner's pluralistic mixture of Paul Hofhaimer, speaking choruses and jazz sounds was an exact mirror of this mighty spectrum of life.

In 1933 his Walpurgis Night sounds seemed like a defiant avowal of 'Zeitmusik', which, in other places, was already outlawed. Neither personally (Reinhardt was Jewish) nor in substance (sounds reminiscent of jazz) did the Salzburg Faust production correspond to what was still acceptable in Germany and, shortly after, also in Austria. Thus, ironically, the production of the most German of all dramas marks the end of Reinhardt's theatre work in Europe.<sup>49</sup>

Translated: Dan Farrelly

- 47. Passow, Regiebuch, vol. 1, 86.
- 48. In this, Weingartner the composer of Faust is the same as Weingartner the reader of Faust.
- 49. For a discussion of the problematic cultural and political relationship of Reinhardt's *Faust* production and national socialist reactions to it see the references in Isabella Kesselheim, 'Dichterfürst und Magier. Goethe-Dramen in der Inszenierung von Max Reinhardt. Ein Mosaik', in *Goethe, Vorgabe, Zugänge, Wirkungen*, ed. Wolfgang Stellmacher and László Tarnói (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 2000), 345.

# 16

#### Music and the Rebirth of Faust in the GDR

#### David Robb

Since the foundation of the GDR in 1949 Goethe had been claimed by the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) as the distinguished literary father figure of the state. This stemmed from the GDR's official claim to be the legitimate cultural successor of all progressive and humanist elements in the German tradition. The SED promoted the classical heritage ('Erbe') of Goethe and Schiller on the school curriculum and theatres around the GDR.¹ As Wolfgang Emmerich writes, Goethe was emphasised as '"das Vorbild eines stets arbeitenden Menschen" [...], dessen Wesen "von einem tätigen Humanismus erfüllt" gewesen sei' ['the model of a constantly working person' whose being was fulfilled 'by an active humanism' [2]

By the mid-1950s the SED's claims with regard to the 'Erbe' were to intensify, culminating in the belief that it was the historical mission of the GDR to become the realisation ('Vollstrecker') of the humanist tradition.<sup>3</sup> If, as Nicholas Boyle states in 'Wagering on Modernity' in this volume,<sup>4</sup> Goethe's Faust 'is a modern man in the Nietzschean sense that he has left Christianity behind him', the GDR took this one historical step further, in reinterpreting him as the prophet of a new socialist order.<sup>5</sup> This was illustrated in relation to Faust's vision at the end of Faust II, when he proclaims: 'Solch ein Gewimmel möcht' ich sehn, / Auf freiem Grund mit freiem Volke stehn.' [Such busy, teeming throngs I long to see, / Standing on freedom's soil, a people free]. For the SED the GDR work force could be interpreted as the embodiment of this vision. In March 1962 SED leader Walter Ulbricht asserted that the GDR workers had already begun to write this

- See Wolfgang Emmerich, Kleine Literaturgeschichte der DDR, expanded edn (Leipzig: Kiepenheur, 1997), 84–6. Ibid., 122, quoting from 'Dokumente der SED' (Berlin: ZK der SED, 1952), vol. 2, 230–31.
- Deborah Vietor-Engländer, Faust in der DDR (Frankurt a. M.: Lang, 1987), 23.
- See Melanie Arndt, 'Faustus-Debatte in der SED-Kulturpolitik der 50er Jahre', *Der Freidenker*, <a href="https://freidenker.cc/welchen-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag-leistete-die-faustus-debatte-in-der-sed-beitrag kulturpolitik-der-50er-jahre / 1135> (accessed 15 March 2016).

third part of Faust.<sup>6</sup> As Vietor-Engländer points out, particularly the image of the 'freies Volk auf freiem Grund' was constantly referred to by GDR politicians between 1961 and 1971 and was still invoked during the commemorations of the 150th anniversary of Goethe's death in 1982.<sup>7</sup>

Up until the 1980s any interpretation of Goethe's work in the GDR could not ignore the dictates of the classical 'Erbe' theory. It was linked to the literary ideology of Socialist Realism, as defined by Georg Lukacs, which embraced the totality, proportion and objectivity reflected in the aesthetic norms of classicism. In the early 1950s the 'Erbe' was used by the SED as a bastion against the second of th formalism, which in its eyes was Western and decadent. It was considered necessary to defend national cultural heritage against 'seine Zersetzung durch die amerikanisch-imperialistischen Ideologien und gegen seine Barbarisierung durch die Boogie-woogie "Kultur" [its corrosion by American imperialist ideologies and its barbarization at the hands of the boogie woogie 'culture'].8 Bertolt Brecht and Hanns Eisler were both accused of formalism by the Party, Brecht for his *Urfaust* production in 1952 and Eisler for his opera libretto *Johann Faustus* in 1953. Quoting Walter Ulbricht, Emmerich writes:

Die SED ließ nicht zu, daß Goethe 'formalistisch verunstaltet wird, daß man die großen Ideen in Goethes *Faust* zu einer Karikatur macht, wie [. ] zum Beispiel in dem sogenannten Faust von Eisler und in der Inszenierung des Urfaust'.9

[The SED did not allow Goethe to be 'formalistically disfigured or that the great ideas in Goethe's Faust could be caricatured, as for example in the so-called *Faust* of Eisler or the production of 'Urfaust'.]

As Friederike Wißmann discusses, Eisler was not only criticised for using a montage-based textual approach considered disrespectful towards German classicism, but also because his hero was not depicted positively enough, a precondition for any artistic treatment of Faust in the GDR.<sup>10</sup> The state's official condemnation of Eisler's music-less opera (which was not given its premiere until 1982 in the GDR) discouraged composers from tackling *Faust* on opera stages. <sup>11</sup> Since 1949, however, starting with Paul Dessau's compositions at Max

- Walter Ulbricht, 'An alle Bürger der Deutschen Demokratisachen Republik! An die ganze Water Oblich, Alt alle Butger der Deutschleit Dennokratisacher Republik: Alt die galtze deutsche Nation! Speech at the conference of the National Council (Nationalrat) of the National Front on 25 March 1962', Neues Deutschland, 28 March 1962, 5. Quoted by Vietor-Engländer in Faust in der DDR, 60–61. See also Laura Bradley, Cooperation and Conflict. GDR Theatre Censorship, 1961–1989 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 80–82. Vietor-Engländer, Faust in der DDR, 27.
- 'Aktuelle Fragen unserer Kulturpolitk', Neues Deutschland, 14 June 1950. Quoted in Vietor-Engländer, Faust in der DDR, 20. Walter Ulbricht, quoted in Emmerich, Kleine Literaturgeschichte, 123.
- 10. Friederike Wißmann, 'Faust-Vertonungen in der DDR', in Musik in der DDR: Beiträge zu den Musikverhältnissen eines verschwundenen Staates, ed. Matthias Tischer (Berlin: Ernst Kuhn, 2005), 152-65, here 161.
- 11. Ibid., 162.

Reinhardt's Deutsches Theater, contemporary composers had written music for theatrical *Faust* productions. <sup>12</sup> From the early 1970s, the point in time when the 'Erbe' theory was publically challenged, the debates about the role of music in *Faust* became the subject of media discussion. Two transmissions for Radio DDR in January 1971 give a fascinating insight into music theatrical debates of the time in the GDR.

These radio discussions should be examined in the context of the perception at the time that the formal and thematic harmony inherent in the 'Erbe' theory was failing to reflect either the contradictory aspects of Goethe's work or the political reality of the GDR. Highly significant in this respect had been the *Faust I* production of Adolf Dresen and Wolfgang Heinz at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin in 1968. This was controversial in the way that it broke with the tradition of classical reception.<sup>13</sup> It was staged at a highly sensitive time in the GDR, only shortly after the crushing of the Prague Spring in August 1968. As Laura Bradley writes, Culture Minister Klaus Gysi gave a speech in Weimar on 28 August contrasting the positive virtues of the character Faust with those of Gregor Samsa from Kafka's *Die Verwandlung* [Metamorphosis], whom Gysi identified with the Czechoslovakian counter-revolutionary forces.<sup>14</sup> In this climate Dresen was accused of having 'damaged the humanist substance of the Faust figure', <sup>15</sup> his production slated as 'insufficiently optimistic and insufficiently reverent'. <sup>16</sup> 'Der Walpurgisnachttraum' [Walpurgis Night Dream], which was updated with comical contemporary GDR references, was completely censored and performances were suspended for nineteen days. <sup>17</sup>

The panellists on the radio shows included practitioners from Adolf Dresen's

The panellists on the radio shows included practitioners from Adolf Dresen's Berlin Faust I of 1968 and from Horst Schönemann's Halle Faust I of 1970. Musical treatments of these productions were compared with more traditional Faust compositions by Beethoven, Schumann, Schubert, Berlioz, Liszt, Mussorgsky and Gounod. The main question focused on whether music could be allowed to exist

- 12. Peter Fischer at Deutsches Theater Berlin in 1954; Helmut Wünderlich, Landestheater Altenburg in 1961; Olaf Koch, Meininger Theater in 1964; Uwe Ködderitzsch and Siegfried Tiefensee, Städtisches Theater Leipzig, 1965; Jens-Uwe Günther and Hermann Konrad, Vereinigte Theater Stralsund Greifswald-Putbus, 1966/67; Klaus Fehmel, Berlin, Theater der Freundschaft, 1967. E-mail to author from Sabine Zolchow, Archiv Darstellende Kunst, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 21 November 2012.
- 13. Thomas Irmer and Matthias Schmidt with collaboration from Antje Eisenreich, *Die Bühnenrepublik. Theater in der DDR. Ein kürzer Abriß mit längeren Interviews* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2006), 100.
- 14. Bradley, Cooperation and Conflict, 78.
- 15. Adolf Dresen, 'Er habe die "humanistische Substanz der Faust-Gestalt" beschädigt', DDR und Deutschland Heute, Part IV: Wissenschaftlich-theoretische Grundlagen für den Vergleich, <a href="http://www.eurodiva.de/grundlagen/adolf\_dresen.htm">http://www.eurodiva.de/grundlagen/adolf\_dresen.htm</a> (accessed on 18 August 2014).
- 16. Bradley, Cooperation and Conflict, 82.
- 17. Ibid., 85-9.
- 18. A discussion of the ideological implications of this production in the GDR can be found in Hans-Georg Werner, 'Probleme einer sozialistischen "Faust I"-Aufführung. Gedanken zu Horst Schönemanns Inszenierung in Halle', Weimarer Beiträge: Studien und Mitteilungen zur Theorie und Geschichte der deutschen Literatur 17/4 (1971), 127–60.

independently for its own sake or whether it had to be given a dramaturgical role. Comments by the Halle participants, dramaturge Peter Ulrich, composer Hans-Jürgen Wenzel and Mephisto actor Peter Schroth, reflected the strong influence of Brechtian and Eislerian theories of music in GDR theatre. This was seen in the way that musical treatments of *Faust* by the above classical composers were, with the exception of Schubert, rejected as depoliticised, culinary, 'malende Musik', not possessing a theatrical function, only existing as an art object in itself. This stones esheed on one hand the preletarian music theory of Hanne itself. This stance echoed on one hand the proletarian music theory of Hanns Eisler, which rejected the 'culinary' value of bourgeois music, as well as the Epic Theatre of Bertolt Brecht whereby music was a means of portraying characters, arguments and scenes. An example was provided by Peter Schroth's rendition of 'Flohlied' [Song of the Flea] from the Auerbach's cellar scene. Unlike the classic arrangements of Beethoven and Berlioz, this was now sung and performed in a style akin to the popular West German 'Liedermacher' [political singersongwriters] of the time, such as Franz Josef Degenhardt or the cabaret artist Hanns Dieter Hüsch. The chanson style guitar accompaniment intentionally broken and the fluidity of the capacity of the capac broke up the fluidity of the song, forming a counterpoint that forced attention on certain aspects of the lyrics. Brechtian theory was also evident in the choice of a non classically-trained singer. As Schroth indicated, it was not about creating a virtuoso solo song for Mephisto, but about having a singer / actor who was able to make a song relevant to a contemporary audience. The farcical story of the flea who rises to power and influence within the King's court and ends up stinging the courtiers had been intended by Goethe as a parable of the French Revolution. In the Halle production of *Faust I*, Peter Schröth's interpretation of Mephisto's song had an explicit theatrical function. As he explained, for him the four students in the cellar were not just drunks, but politically subversive characters whom Mephisto wanted to impress and thereby manipulate onto his side. This hidden reference to Stasi tactics could for obvious reasons not be spelled out on radio. One sees here, however, the ambiguous potential of the parable on the GDR stage: how music and performance could be used to provoke associations with taboo subjects of contemporary socialist reality, in this case the highly sensitive subject of new class relationships under Socialism or the possibility of associating Mephisto with a scheming undercover Stasi agent.

The second radio discussion featured Ulrich and Wenzel from the Halle *Faust* alongside Adolf Dresen and composer André Asriel from the Berlin production. In both, music was used to support the respective directorial visions. As the

20. They made an exception with Schubert, whose composition for *Gretchen am Spinnrade* [Gretchen at the Spinning Wheel] was considered as 'a great thing' in the way it exploited musical possibilities to convey Gretchen's agitation in the scene.

<sup>19.</sup> Radio interview: 'Musik als ein Mittel zur Charakterisierung von Gestalten am Beispiel der Inszenierung von Goethes Faust I am Halleschen Landestheater im Januar 1971', [Music as a means of Characterisation] discussion led by Klaus Richter with Thomas Höhle (Germanist), Ursula Werner (Gretchen), Peter Schroth (Mephisto), Hans-Jürgen Wenzel (composer), Peter Ulrich (dramaturg), Rüdiger Schaar (musicologist), Radio DDR, Musikklub, Ein Treffpunkt für Freunde 'ernst' zu nehmender Musik, 23 January 1971. Documentation in the Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv Babelsberg, archive number MG1114.

discussion revealed, these differed from one another, resulting in different compositional treatments of the scenes.<sup>21</sup> For example, the music of 'Dom-Szene' [Cathedral Scene] was classically liturgical in style in both. While in Berlin the frightening effect of the organ chords was intended to support the intimidation inherent in the 'Dies Irae' choral text, in Halle the music was intended to express a more complex dialectic. As Ulrich explained, they used 'friendly' comforting church music to clock with the bareh reality of Cretchen's 'friendly', comforting church music to clash with the harsh reality of Gretchen's situation and thereby reflect how the church was withholding precisely the

help that she sought.

Similarly in the hymn 'Christ ist erstanden' [Christ has arisen], the music of the Halle performance had the more complex role of expressing Faust's inner conflict: the boys' choir evoked the memories of youth, Easter and the church, which, according to Ulrich, held Faust back from fully embracing the cynical which, according to Ulrich, held Faust back from fully embracing the cynical path he had already embarked upon. In comparison, in Dresen's scene the music had a more straightforward intent: to affirm the spirit of youth, spring and reawakening expressed in Faust's line 'Denn sie sind selber auferstanden' [For they themselves are resurrected] on his Easter walk with Wagner. Dresen referred here to the 'Stirb und Werde' [Die and Be Born Again] motif of Goethe's poem 'Selige Sehnsucht' [Blissful Yearning], which, as will be explored later, was latched upon by younger directors as a symbol of the vitality of Goethe's work, which hitherto had been suppressed under the aforementioned constraints of GDR cultural policy. aforementioned constraints of GDR cultural policy.

Further directorial difference was apparent in the respective treatments of 'Hexenküche' [Witches' Kitchen]. The music in Halle – the clattering percussion and screeching discordant strings – had a 'strong illustrative element' intended to reflect the 'crazy hole' in which Faust found himself. In the Berlin production, on the other hand, music did not play a big role, allowing the action to speak for itself. Dubious of the musical approach in Halle, Dresen said it was redundant to have the music 'doubling' what the actors on stage were already doing.

Notwithstanding these differences, the mere fact of music being given a directorial role to express contradictory aspects of Faust's character was indicative of the changing mood. Following Ulbricht's resignation in 1971, cultural minister Kurt Hager gave a speech opening the way for directors and interpreters to grasp this greater ambiguity.<sup>22</sup> This did not entirely mean the end of the 'Vollstrecker' theory but allowed, for example, Ulrich Plenzdorf to publish publish

21. Radio interview: 'Musik zum Faust, Musik auf der Bühne - zur Gestaltungskraft von Bühnenmusik' ['Music for Faust, Music on Stage - On the Creative Power of Stage Music], Buhnenmusik ['Music for Faust, Music on Stage — On the Creative Power of Stage Music], discussion led by Klaus Richter with Waltraud Meienreis (radio listener and cultural studies student), André Asriel (composer), Wolfgang Dresen (director), Hans-Jürgen Wenzel (composer), Peter Ulrich (dramaturg) and Rüdiger Schaar (musicologist), Radio DDR, Musikklub, Ein Treffpunkt für Freunde 'ernst' zu nehmender Musik, 20 February 1971. Documentation in the Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv Babelsberg, archive number MG1148.

22. Kurt Hager, 'Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED', speech at the sixth congress of the ZK der SED on 6 July 1972. (Zentralkomittee der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschland, the Control Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Committee in the

Deutschland. the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, i.e. the ruling Communist party in the GDR.) Quoted in Vietor-Engländer, Faust in der DDR,

his novel *Die neuen Leiden des jungen W.* [The New Sorrows of Young W.] in 1972 based on the model of Goethe's *Werther*. This made a mockery of the concept of 'agency' and individual self-realisation in the GDR by depicting a social drop-

out who commits suicide.

By the end of the decade the contemporising approach towards Goethe was further in evidence in the five-hour version of *Faust I* and *II* at the Mecklenburgisches Staatstheater Schwerin in 1979. Christoph Schroth's production, with dramaturgy by Heiner Maaß and Bärbel Jakisch, became legendary in GDR theatre history. The harmony, balance and clarity of Classicism were replaced by an emphasis on the physical body, cross gender and general ambiguity.<sup>23</sup> For example, Mephisto was played by a female and the various stages of Faust's life were interpreted by four different actors. There was a carnivalesque feel to certain scenes that contrasted with conventional classical treatments.<sup>24</sup> For example, scenes that contrasted with conventional classical treatments.<sup>24</sup> For example, the angels wore white masks and the students in 'Auerbachs Keller' had clown-like traits. They drank copiously (incurring the wrath of the Schwerin 'Stadtrat' for this)<sup>25</sup> and performed slapstick – for example, when one pulled another's trousers down. The students' 'La la la' chorus is repeated – with its almost subversive banality – at the end of Part II by the choir of Lemurs carrying the body of Faust. The 'Walpurgisnacht' is an orgy of screaming, naked bodies simulating fornication. Likewise the Kaiser's 'Saal des Thrones' [The Throne Room] with its cross- dressed courtiers with white painted faces is portrayed as a brothel painted faces is portrayed as a brothel.

Schroth later stated his Schwerin productions were about uncovering the lie of GDR politics.<sup>26</sup> In this respect the sensual dimension can be seen to concord with his attempt to make *Faust* relevant for his contemporary audience. To this end Schroth used traditions from *Volkstheater*, a popular festive form that thrived on a strong relationship between theatre and audience, and allowed conflicts of the present to come to fruition on stage.27 This idea was echoed in writings of that period of GDR philosopher and professor of aesthetics Wolfgang Heise, who in his book Realistik und Utopie wrote about the inadequacy of theatrical interpretations of Goethe which lost sight of parallel contradictions in GDR

realify:

Verliert die Rekonstruktion die Gegenwart aus den Augen, so schneidet sie sich selbst den Zugang zu grundlegenden, auf die Gegenwart verweisenden

- 23. Christoph Schroth, Faust. Der Tragödie erster und zweiter Teil von Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Bühnenfassung des Mecklenburgischen Staatstheaters Schwerin (Fernsehen der DDR, 1981). [Stage Adaptation of the Mecklenburg State Theatre Schwerin (GDR Television)]
  24. There was a growing awareness (also in the GDR) that reception of Goethe had neglected the physical, corporeal aspect inherent in his work. Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin had observed: 'The profound influence of popular festive imagery on Goethe's writings has not as yet been sufficiently appreciated and studied'. Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and his World, transl. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: University of Indiana, 1984), 103. (Original publication Moscow: Khudozhestvennia literature, 1965).
  25. Schweth in intervious with Ismoor in Ismoor and Schwidt. Die Pilkegengewichlik, 116.
- 25. Schroth in interview with Irmer, in Irmer and Schmidt, Die Bühnenrepublik, 116.
- 26. Ibid, 113.
- 27. Ibid., 109-10.

gesetzmäßigen Zusammenhängen ab, ohne dabei zu merken, daß sie dadurch zu dieser Gegenwart dezidiert Stellung bezieht, sich zugleich über die eigenen immanenten Voraussetzungen und um Erkenntnismöglichkeiten betrügt.<sup>28</sup>

[If the reconstruction loses sight of the present it will cut itself off from access to basic legitimate correlations with the present without noticing that it is taking a decided stance towards this present and at the same time deceiving itself about its own intrinsic assumptions and possibilities of recognition.]

The crucial point lay in Heise's observation that the point of reference between performers and audience was always their common experience of the present.<sup>29</sup> The modern music of the Schwerin production, composed by Rainer Böhm, played an important role in making *Faust* contemporary. In 'Auerbachs Keller' the song of the four 'Gesellen' is that of an out-of-tune barbershop quartet. The scene merges into 'Hexenküche', becoming a dark cabaret stage with the long-tailed monkeys ('Meerkatze' and 'Meerkater') played by two cross-gendered men in sparkling diva costumes sensuously dancing to a cancan followed by a tango. The 'Walpurgisnacht' orgy is accompanied by a tribal sounding drum rhythm. In *Faust II* the Arcadia scene features Euphorion swinging upside down on a ladder with dissonant string music reminiscent of a 1960s art film in the background. The 'Trauergesang' [Dirge for Euphorion] sounds Eislerian with its funereal march tempo and wind instrument accompaniment. In all these cases the music, costumes and performance have a defamiliarising function, creating tension with the text and opening up the possibility of contemporary interpretations. Faust's final vision, 'Solch ein Gewimmel möcht' ich sehn, / Auf freiem Grund mit freiem Volke stehn', is performed hesitantly, eschewing any triumphalism. It reflects the perceived irrelevance of the SED 'Vollstrecker' theory by the late 1970s in the GDR. Such perceptions had become particularly acute in the wake of the political crisis caused by the expatriation of outspoken critical singer Wolf Biermann to West Germany in 1976. This had unleashed a furore amongst intellectuals, as a result of which many artists (including Adolf Dresen) had emigrated, thus confirming that the GDR was not the workers' paradise envisaged by the SED.

Alongside his role as dramaturge in Schroth's production of *Faust* in Schwerin, Heiner Maaß was also involved in an ongoing project with the political 'Liedertheater' group Karls Enkel,<sup>30</sup> who in 1982 staged a production of Goethe songs in Berlin entitled 'Dahin! Dahin! Ein Göte-Abend' [Tis There! Tis There! An Evening of Göte Songs]. Formed in 1976 at the Humboldt University in East Berlin, the group's repertoire was originally based on the texts of Hans- Eckardt Wenzel and, after 1978, Steffen Mensching, who were up-and-coming

- 28. Wolfgang Heise, "Der Tag ist angebrochen …" Unser Verhältnis zur Klassik als Verhältnis zur eigenen Geschichte', in *idem*, *Realistik und Utopie* (Berlin/Weimar: Aufbau, 1982), 12.
- 29. Ibid., 19–20.
- 30. The group's name literally means 'Karl's Grandchildren', allegedly an ambiguous reference to either Karl Marx or Karl Valentin.

young GDR poets.<sup>31</sup> With the assistance of Maaß, Karls Enkel subsequently branched out into a new form which became known as 'Liedertheater'. Other groups such as Schicht in Dresden and Brigade Feuerstein in Hoyerswerda had undergone similar theatrical developments in the wake of the Biermann affair, when it had become increasingly difficult for songwriters to express criticism of the state. Karls Enkel particularly developed the use of costumes, masks and clowning slapstick alongside the song performance, which enabled a form of indirect criticism.<sup>32</sup> In 1979 they began rehearsing at the Berlin Volksbühne under Maaß, who was of a critical political disposition: in 1973 he had been fired from the Magdeburg theatre for his controversial direction of Heiner Müller's Mauser.<sup>33</sup> It is important to stress that Karls Enkel, like many of the critically minded artists mentioned above, was not a political dissident who rejected the ideology of the GDR.34 The examples of Dresen and Maaß, however, showed how easy it was for artists to be pushed into the oppositional camp if their artistic approaches clashed with the Party line. The invitation to work with Maaß came at an opportune time for the group, who had just broken up with their official sponsors, the FDJ [Free German Youth] over 'ambiguities' in their song texts.<sup>35</sup> This sensitivity regarding the live performance of critical contemporary lyrics led them to turn their attention to the texts of the so-called 'toten Dichter' [dead poets]. Between 1979 and 1983 their productions were based on the lyrics of poets]. Between 1979 and 1983 their productions were based on the lyrics of celebrated figures from the socialist literary and philosophical heritage: Erich Mühsam,<sup>36</sup> Johannes R. Becher,<sup>37</sup> Goethe<sup>38</sup> and Karl Marx<sup>39</sup> – in search of ways to express their contradictory relationship to the present.<sup>40</sup> The Becher and the Marx productions were both sponsored by the prestigious Kulturbund der DDR,

- 31. See Hans-Eckardt Wenzel, *Lied vom wilden Mohn. Gedichte* (Halle and Leipzig: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1984), and Steffen Mensching, *Erinnerung an eine Milchglasscheibe. Gedichte* (Halle and Leipzig: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1984).
- Karin Hirdina, 'Präzision ohne Pingelichkeit. Wenzel und Mensching im Gespräch mit Karin Hirdina', Temperamente 4 (1984), 35–43 (here 38).
   Neidhardt Schreiber, 'Hoffnungsloser Fall Heiner Müller in Magdeburg', Zitadelle,
- February 1996, 17
- 34. See David Robb, Zwei Clowns im Lande des verlorenen Lachens. Das Liedertheater Wenzel & Mensching (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 1998), 156-65.
- 35. Ministry for State Security, MFS X5/2522/78, report from 9 May 1977, BstU, 103.
- 36. Karls Enkel, 'Von meiner Hoffnung laß ich nicht oder der Pilger Mühsam. Ein Erich-Mühsam-Abend', unpublished manuscript and video recording (Berlin: Akademie der Künste der DDR, 1980).
- 37. Karls Enkel, 'Deutschland meiner Trauer neun Arten einen Becher zu beschreiben. Ein Johannes R. Becher-Abend', unpublished manuscript and video recording (Berlin: Akademie der Künste der DDR, 1981).
  Karls Enkel, 'Dahin! Dahin! Ein Göte Abend', unpublished manuscript and cassette recording (Berlin: Akademie der Künste der DDR, 1982).
  Karls Enkel, 'Die komische Tragödie des 18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte nach Karl
- Marx', unpublished manuscript and video recording (Berlin: Akademie der Künste der DDR, 1983).
- 40. See David Robb, 'Literary Heritage in the "Clowns-Liedertheater" of Wenzel and Mensching', in German Life and Letters 52/3 (1999), 382–97, and "Seid reinlich bei Tage und

a further indication of the group's ambiguous position: politically sanctioned yet still attempting to pursue a critical agenda. This was a precarious balancing act to perform and – as was the case with many GDR artists – never guaranteed of

In 1981, inspired by Heiner Maaß's work on Schroth's Faust, Karls Enkel set out to rediscover Goethe for themselves and their own generation in the GDR. With a broad selection of well-known and lesser known Goethe texts they countered the clean, disciplined image of the poet with an emphasis on the more festive and profane aspects of his writings. This approach was supported by the music. Since embracing 'Liedertheater' their music had been given a theatrical function, influenced by Kurt Weill's and Eisler's montage aesthetic, which used diverse musical styles and their respective associations to relativise the text in a dialectic and often parodistic way. Any form of music could be used in this way, from 'Kampflieder' (battle songs), street ballads and chansons, to 'Schlager', rock, or even operetta. In 'Dahin! Dahin!', Schubertian motifs supporting the conventional 'Schönheit' in Goethe's verse were contrasted with waltz, march and klezmer accompaniments, which underlined the sensual and festive dimension. The group hired the aforementioned Rainer Böhm, who had composed the musical sections of the short of the sensual passage. settings for Schroth's Faust in Schwerin. Schooled in the Eisler and Paul Dessau tradition, Böhm added an artificiality which became apparent, for example, in their anarchical treatments of 'Selige Sehnsucht' [Blissful Yearning] and 'Der Zauberlehrling' [The Magician's Apprentice]. Together with Böhm (but without Heiner Maaß, who was convalescing after a heart attack)<sup>42</sup> they experimented musically and dramatically in an attempt to lend a contemporary interpretation to the orginal lyrics of Goethe. According to Mensching, such was the depth and universality of Goethe's work that they kept finding parallels with their own present-day experience. For example, 'Der Zauberlehrling' [The Magician's Apprentice] was a poem about an attempt to subvert the social class hierarchy that goes comically wrong. As in the 'Flohlied' from the Halle Faust I production, Karls Enkel's musical treatment of 'Zauberlehrling' ironically hints at the SED claim to have toppled the old class system in the socialist GDR. Goethe had originally written the poem as an allegory of the chaos into which the French Revolution had descended. Similarly Wenzel's increasingly excited vocal recitation and the fast and furious musical accompaniment by Böhm aimed recitation and the fast and furious musical accompaniment by Böhm aimed to reflect a process which had run out of control. As Mensching recalled, this was not necessarily intended as subversive on their part, but it did express an awareness of an historical parallel:

[Es war] ein Gefühl, das man teilte, und das man in so einem Stoff wiederfand. Also daß man etwas in Bewegung setzt, und letztendlich zum Objekt der Sache

säuisch bei Nacht": Karls Enkel's "Dahin! Dahin! Ein Göte-Abend", *Goethe Yearbook* 11 (2002), 327–45. 41. Robb, *Zwei Clowns*, 156–65.

<sup>42.</sup> After he recovered Maaß rejoined Karls Enkel to direct their 1983 'Liedertheater' production Die komische Tragödie des 18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte.

wird. Dieses Gefühl hatten wir natürlich in dieser Zeit. Man merkte, daß man nicht mehr Herr dieser Prozesse ist, aber daß man sich immer noch in dem Glauben wähnte, man könnte sie regulieren.<sup>43</sup>

[It was a feeling that people shared and that people saw reflected in that sort of material. Namely that one sets off a process and ultimately becomes the object of that process. We had that feeling of course at that time. One noticed that one was no longer in control of the process, but kept on trying to convince oneself that one could regulate it.]

In the light of the perceived stagnation of the socialist dream, the utopianism in Goethe's poetry was another factor which could be exploited to mischievous ends in 'Dahin! Dahin!'. The potential for having fun at the expense of the cultural functionaries was considerable, particularly when one considers that by the 1980s any expressions of utopianism in the GDR would be perceived ironically. According to Wolfgang Heise, in literature on the epochal transition from feudal to bourgeois society, man was being depicted for the first time as an active subject, shaping his own destiny in a utopian and anticipatory way. The freedom and openness inherent in this image obviously clashed with the restrictions of GDR society. Karls Enkel's treatment of Goethe's early utopian poetry forms an example. Kennst du das Land wo die Zitronen blühn' [Knowest thou where the lemon blossom grows] ironically hints at the western 'utopia', the golden land of milk and honey which could only be seen on television screens. Politically speaking, the West was certainly not Karls Enkel's idea of utopia. But they would have intentionally exploited the ambiguity of this taboo association for humorous effect. Mensching states:

'Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn' war sicher kein Ausreiselied. [. ]

Aber es klingt natürlich mit: eine andere Sehnsucht, ein Harmoniestaat oder eine Utopie wie auch immer. Und da hatten die DDR-Bürger und besonders die, die zu uns kamen, eine hohe Schule. Nicht nur die Künstler hatten diese Kunst entwickelt, zwischen den Zeilen Botschaften zu vermitteln, sondern die Leute auch. Die konnten all das aufschlüsseln.<sup>46</sup>

['Knowest thou where the lemon blossom grows' was certainly not an emigration song. But it did resonate: a different longing, a harmony state or a utopia, whatever. And the GDR citizens – especially those who came to us – were highly educated in this. It wasn't just the artists who had developed this art of being able to convey messages between the lines, it was the people as well. They could decipher all of that.]

- 43. Personal interview with Mensching.
- 44. Heise, Realistik und Utopie, 23.
- 45. In Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, Part 1, Book 3, chapter 1, 3rd edn (Munich: Deutscher Taschbuchverlag, 1970).
- 46. Personal interview with Mensching, 21 February 1994.

Goethe's 'Tisch-Lied' [Table Song] is another poem whose utopian references were mischievously exploited. The antique tradition of the *Tafellied*, as Bakhtin states, combined 'universalism [...] with the material bodily element (wine, food, carnal love), with awareness of the time element (youth, old age, the ephemeral nature of life).<sup>47</sup> In the GDR context this song is highly ironic seen in view of the provinciality of the state's 'Abgrenzung-Politik': the simple idea of brotherhood clashes with the GDR's closed borders to the West:

Wie wir nun zusammen sind Sind zusammen viele Wohl gelingen denn, wie uns, Andern ihre Spiele! Von der Quelle bis ans Meer Mahlet manche Mühle, Und das Wohl der ganzen Welt Ist's worauf ich ziele. [Just as we are gather'd thus, Others are collected; On them, therefore, as on us, Be Fate's smile directed! From the springhead to the sea, Many a mill's revolving, And the world's prosperity Is the task I'm solving.]

It is apparent in 'Tisch-Lied' how Karls Enkel used musical composition to focus attention on the taboo subjects. The spirit of exuberance and well-being that might carry the subject up to the stars is tempered by the more sober line 'Doch ich bleibe lieber hier' [Yet here I'd sooner be]. <sup>48</sup> This is a humorous reference to the taboo theme of fleeing to the West. The rhythm of the line lends it a highly melodic phrasing potential, which the cast exploits to the full. Then they swear as if under oath that they would not commit the dreadful sin of leaving:

Darum schwör ich feierlich Und ohn' alle Fährde Daß ich mich nicht freventlich Wegbegeben werde. [Therefore solemnly I swear, With no reservation, That maliciouly I'll ne'er Leave my present station.]

As in the 'Auerbachs Keller' of Schroth's Schwerin Faust production, the presence of food and drink on stage in 'Dahin! Dahin!' related to Karls Enkel's attempt to create a utopian and festive atmosphere common to the 'Tafellieder' tradition. Like laughter and foul language, food and drink are also related to the material body that degrades and regenerates. <sup>49</sup> This side of Goethe, which had been accentuated in Schroth's Faust, was explored in songs of 'Dahin! Dahin!', where music and a corporeal performance technique created an alienating profanity. For example, the poem 'Christel' was sung like a smutty popular 'Schlager'. As Mensching recalled, form was honed to reflect content:

- 47. Bakhtin, Rabelais, 90.
- 48. Ibid., l. 5.

Im Text war einerseits dieses Derbe, Sinnliche vorhanden. Und durch die ganze Aufführungsweise haben wir versucht, es sehr banal, sehr profan darzustellen. Dazu habe ich kopulierende Bewegungen auf den Brettern gemacht.<sup>50</sup>

[In the text there was on one hand a coarseness and a sensuality there. And through the whole performance we tried to portray (the text) very profanely in a banal way. As well as that I made copulating movements on the stage.]

Another feature that they borrowed from Schroth's *Faust* was the sexual extracts of Goethe's 'Paralipomena' manuscripts which formed part of their own 'Walpurgisnacht'. At one point the cast chant gleefully together:

Seid reinlich bei Tage [Be clean by day time Und säuisch bei Nacht, Be a pig by night, So habt ihr's auf Erden That's the way on earth Am weitesten gebracht.<sup>51</sup> To live your life right.]

In 'Das liebe Wertherische Blut' [The dear Wertherian blood], a coarse parody of the refined sensibilities of Goethe's Werther, the men simulate noises of ejaculation and chant: 'Und hintendrein komme ich bei Nacht / Und vögle sie, daß alles kracht.' [And at night time I come up from behind / and bang her till everything shakes.]<sup>52</sup>

On the subject of the relevance of Goethe's writings for the present day Wenzel and Mensching had been greatly inspired by the aforementioned Wolfgang Heise, who was Professor of Aesthetics at the Humboldt University where they were both students. According to Heise, the realistic value of Goethe's poetry lay in his depiction of the extremes of human experience. Life is viewed as a unity of opposites such as laughter and pain, renewal and stagnation. Heise's ironical subtext is apparent: it was precisely this contradictory unity that the GDR 'Erbe' theory had ignored. The result was 'Versteinerung' [petrification] at the expense of 'Erneuerung' [renewal]. Goethe's 'Stirb und Werde' motif was therefore, for Heise, particularly resonant. It grasped the productive ability of individuals and peoples to renew, which was the alternative to being subservient to the pressure of the prevailing conditions.

Karls Enkel modelled this contradiction by choosing 'Stirb und Werde' as the unifying theme of 'Dahin! Dahin!'. In this way they were able to play on the idea of the self-renewing world – already a facet of the Dresen and Schroth *Faust I* productions – which was implicitly set against the sense of stagnation in the

- 50. Personal interview with Mensching.
- 51. Goethe, 'Paralipomena zum Faust', in BA, Poetische Werke, vol. 8, 574. My translation.
- 52. Goethe, 'Paralipomena zu Hans Wursts Hochzeit', in BA, *Poetische Werke*, vol. 5, 493. My translation.
- 53. Heise, Realistik und Utopie, 18-19.

GDR of the 1980s. From the last word of the prologue the cast begin singing 'Sagt es niemand, nur den Weisen' [Tell this to no one but the wise]. Rhythm guitar, violin and piano accordion join in as the music gathers in speed and momentum emanating an atmosphere of wildness and festivity:

Und solang' du das nicht hast dieses: Stirb und Werde! Bist Du nur ein trüber Gast auf der dunklen Erde. [And so long as you have not attained it, this, 'Die and be reborn!', you will only be a gloomy guest on this dark earth.]

This aspect of the cycle of life and death and the image of the productive, self-renewing world relates to a further theoretical influence in 'Dahin! Dahin!'. In the late 1970s Heise had introduced Wenzel and Mensching to Mikhail Bakhtin's studies on Medieval and Renaissance carnival. The two young artists found inspiration in this model, a world of masks (as they had also seen used in the Schwerin *Faust*) and disguises celebrating the possibility of otherness.<sup>55</sup> In 'Dahin! Dahin!' Karls Enkel destroy the accepted image of Goethe with their grotesque costumes and theatrical devices and simultaneously revive him, inviting the audience to join in the celebration of the possibility of change and renewal. Throughout the production death is portrayed as something to celebrate rather than to fear. According to Bakhtin, in the carnival traditions that survived up until the early period of Enlightenment, death was not seen as the negation of life. The struggle between life and death even in the individual body was rather celebrated as the positive 'crisis of change'.<sup>56</sup> Particularly in the carnival culture of medieval times, fear of death (and of authority), as Bakhtin writes, was counteracted by the weapon of laughter, sometimes expressed in the form of a 'comic monster'.<sup>57</sup> He makes specific reference to this in the 'Dance of Death' paintings of medieval and Renaissance grotesque.<sup>58</sup> Karls Enkel's performance of Goethe's 'Der Totentanz' plays precisely on this comedy. The cast enact the story of the corpses dancing by their gravesides under the light of the moon. There is the sound of creaking joints as the skeletons shake their legs and waggle their hips:

Nun hebt sich der Schenkel, nun wackelt das Bein Gebärden da gibt es vertrackte; Dann klipperts und klapperts mitunter heinein, Als schlüg man das Hölzlein zum Takte. [Now waggles the leg, and now wriggles the thigh as the troop with strange gestures advance And a rattle and clatter anon rises high, As of one beating time to the dance.]

- 55. Bakhtin, Rabelais, 48.
- 56. Ibid., 50.
- 57. *Ibid.*, 90–91.
- 58. Ibid., 50-51.

The group members dance around draped in sheets while Wenzel shouts the poem excitedly. The strings and the harmonium provide a low, driving counterpoint which accentuates the dance and reflects the struggle between life and death. The music rises to a climax as the corpse pursues the watchman into his tower to retrieve his sheet in order that he may return to his grave.

The 'Trauergesang' [Dirge for Euphorion] from Faust II was chosen as the concluding statement to 'Dahin! Dahin!'. As in Schroth's Faust, Karls Enkel used the musical composition of Böhm, which has the air of a funeral march. Having this as their concluding statement rather than Faust's final vision 'Solch ein Gewimmel möchte ich sehn' could have been interpreted as an obituary of the socialist dream in the GDR. The closing verse, however, sums up the basic optimism of the 'Die and Be Reborn' motif. In the face of suppression, creative forces will continually be reborn. New songs will emerge out of the ground, natural human energies will not be kept at bay forever:

Doch erfrischet neue Lieder, Steht nicht länger tief gebeugt; Denn der Boden zeugt sie wieder, Wie von je er sie erzeugt.

[Yet droop not, nor dirges render, Flow of poesie renew, For old earth will songs engender, As she has the ages through.]

For an audience well trained in decoding literary analogies this sentiment clashed with the social and political stagnation which was perceived in the present. It is a fitting close, inviting interpretation as a laying to rest of the stagnant socialism a fitting close, inviting interpretation as a laying to rest of the stagnant socialism in the GDR and anticipating the birth of something new. Karls Enkel's bid to revitalize the public's relationship to Goethe had been greatly influenced by Christoph Schroth's Schwerin production of *Faust*. In both, music was part of an overall dramaturgy that intended to highlight the neglected sensual and festive aspects in Goethe's work. This could be seen as part of a general strategy since the late 1960s, as with the Faust productions in Berlin and Halle of 1968 and 1970, to uncover the ambiguity inherent in the poet's plays and texts that had been glossed over or ignored by the dominant 'Erbe' theory in the GDR.

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## Music, Text and Stage

### Peter Stein's Production of Goethe's Faust

#### John Guthrie

'Aber doch,' sagte Goethe, 'ist alles [im *Faust*] sinnlich und wird, auf dem Theater gedacht, jedem gut in die Augen fallen. Und mehr habe ich nicht gewollt. Wenn es nur so ist, daß die Menge der Zuschauer Freude an der Erscheinung hat; dem Eingeweihten wird zugleich der höhere Sinn nicht entgehen, wie es ja auch bei der *Zauberflöte* und andern Dingen der Fall ist. (Goethe to Eckermann, 29 January 1827).<sup>1</sup>

[But really everything [in *Faust*] is for the senses and, when realized in the theatre, will be easily appreciated by the eye. And that is all I wanted. If the majority of spectators only take pleasure in what they see, at the same time, to the initiated, the higher sense will not be lost, as is indeed the case with the *Magic Flute* and other things.]

Goethe emphasized the importance of spectacle in *Faust* as part of an audience's total sensual ('sinnlich') experience of the work on stage. At the same time, for the initiated, the work's deeper meaning lay beyond what simply meets the eye. As the Director states in 'Vorspiel auf dem Theater' [Prelude at the Theatre], the masses come to the theatre to see spectacle and action, but the Poet reminds him that this must be combined with poetry. Goethe's *Faust* embraces the most diverse kinds of poetry and some of the most lyrical. It is just as much a work for the ear as it is for the eye. In addition to the many sections of the text that call for musical accompaniment or musical interludes, or those that have inspired countless composers to Lieder and opera, the poetry itself embraces all registers of language and creates an unparalleled range of musical effects.

As a work for the stage *Faust* presents great challenges to the director. Peter Stein's production, premiered at EXPO Hannover in 2000, was, it was claimed, the first ever unabridged production of both parts of the play by a professional

 Goethes Gespräche, 10 vols, ed. Woldemar Freiherr von Biedermann (Leipzig: Biedermann, 1889–96), vol. 6, 37–38. All translations are my own. theatre company. The company was specially created, the play was performed in a large warehouse, the stage being modified for different scenes and moved around, like the audience. The effect of this was to enhance the sense of a play-within-a-play which is inherent in the text of the 'Vorspiel auf dem Theater' and which had been used effectively in the Grüngens film version of Faust I of 1960. With the audience close to the action and perambulating between scenes, their sense of participation was increased, if also at the expense of creating an endurance test. The production made extensive use of music and of striking sound effects that were especially created for the production. It transferred to Vienna and Berlin, was made into a film version broadcast on German television and was made commercially available on DVD. The claim that it was the first unabridged production of both parts of Goethe's Faust is not entirely true, for there have been since the beginning of the twentieth century several productions at the Goetheanum in Dornach. However, those productions, which relied a great deal on music and choreography, did so with the intention of conveying an anthroposophical world view. Stein, after a long career as a radical exponent of director's theatre, favoured the notion of 'Werktreue' [faithfulness to the work]. He rejected experimentation and the arbitrary self-imposed critique of a work from within a production. He aimed to allow Goethe's meaning to come to the fore by performing every word. This provoked a reaction in the theatre: five years later Michael Thalheimer staged both parts of Faust at the Deutsches Theater, cutting back the text to its essence to reveal its core, believing that being faithful to the work had nothing to do with being faithful to the text.

Performing a work of the magnitude of Goethe's *Faust* brings to mind the idea of the Gesamtkunstwerk, and indeed the notion is often invoked in discussions of the aesthetic structure of the work. If one does not exaggerate the connection and leaves aside Wagner's own theoretical writings on the subject, then there are some illuminating connections, for example, the fact that both *Faust* and the *Ring* cycle are concerned with explaining the history of the world in aesthetic terms (they can be seen as *Weltspiele* [plays about the world] and make extensive use of myth).<sup>3</sup> Another is the centrality of music, notwithstanding the differences between opera and drama. Stein also expressed the view that the rehearsals and staging led to a bonding experience between the actors themselves and between actors and audience in a way that is not unlike the role played by high culture in the Bayreuth project.<sup>4</sup> Goethe's *Faust* is its own peculiar kind of *Gesamtkunstwerk*,

- See, however, David G. John, who suggests that it is possible to appreciate and profit from this approach without accepting the anthroposophists' comprehensive philosophy; John, 'The Complete Faust on Stage. Peter Stein and the Goetheanum', in Goethe's Faust and Cultural Memory: Comparatist Interfaces, ed. Lorna Fitzsimmons (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2012), 107–28.
   Dieter Borchmeyer, 'Hidden comedy, covert opera', in Goethe's Faust. Theatre of Modernity,
- Dieter Borchmeyer, 'Hidden comedy, covert opera', in Goethe's Faust. Theatre of Modernity, ed. Hans Schulte, John Noyes and Pia Kleber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 225.
- 4. Jonathan Kalb speaks of the performances as 'unifying public occasions' and of 'marathon theatre as a democratic adventure'. Jonathan Kalb, *Great Lengths. Seven Works of Marathon*

and in the following I shall examine more closely what kind of Gesamtkunstwerk it is, with particular regard to the role played by music in Stein's production.

Although Goethe believed that the word was supremely important, he was only too well aware of sound as a signifier,<sup>5</sup> and in some statements he gave music priority. He speaks of 'dem eigentlichen Gesang [...] von der Tonkunst, dem wahren Element woher alle Dichtungen entspringen und wohin sie zurückkehren' [of actual song; of music, the true element from which all forms of poetry spring and to which they return]. <sup>6</sup> In his scheme of creation and belief that all organic movements manifest themselves through diastole and systole, Goethe included music. Under the heading 'Organisch (Subjektiv)' and subheading 'Rhythmik', he notes: 'Der ganze Körper wird angeregt zum Schritt (Marsch), zum Sprung (Tanz und Geberdung)' [The entire body is stimulated to step (march), to leap (dance and gesture)]; and under the heading 'Mechanisch' [Mechanical]<sup>7</sup>: 'Entdeckung anderer Naturverhältnisse der Töne als durch's Monochord' [Discovery of other natural relationships of sounds than through the monochord].<sup>8</sup> In parallel to the way in which the colour theorist Goethe saw light and dark as complementary, he saw major and minor keys as polar manifestations of sound. Music is close to the poetic wellspring of Goethe's Faust. As the poet concludes 'Zueignung' [Dedication], he alludes to the sound of the Aeolian harp that reminds him of the indistinct lisping tones of his own poetry. Music releases a range of emotions: longing and sadness, indistinct own poetry. Music releases a range of emotions: longing and sadness, indistinct feelings from the past that become real again. Music in Faust has moreover much to do with the source of life, water. The Sirens by the Upper Peneios say:

SIRENEN. Plätschernd ziemt es da zu schwimmen, Lied um Lieder anzustimmen, Dem unseligen Volk zugut. Ohne Wasser ist kein Heil. (ll. 7496–99)9

[It's right to splash about and swim and sing a song or two to cheer the unhappy mass. Without water there's no well-being.]

The idea is echoed by the philosopher Thales in *Faust II*: 'Im Feuchten ist Lebendiges erstanden' [Moisture is the source of life] (l. 7856). It is here, in

- Theatre (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 187-8. See also John, 'The Complete Faust'.
- See Jo Tudor, 'Music and Musical metaphor in Goethe's Work, Or: When is Language not a Language?', *Publications of the English Goethe Society* 76 (2007), 69–84. *Tag- und Jähreshefte*, 1805, in WAI, vol. 35, 240.
- Tonlehre of 1810. Goethes Werke, HAII, vol. 11.1, 290.
- Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Faust, ed. Albrecht Schöne (Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1994).

fluid, that poetry and music are born, for in the union of Faust and Helena that follows, modern musical poetry arises. 10 For Wagner too the depths of water were associated with harmony, and on the surface of water there takes place the marriage of poetry with the infinite procreative power of music; in his world poetry yearns for union with music.<sup>11</sup>

Though some directors have taken the view that a stage production of Goethe's Faust ought to use music only where the stage directions demand it,12 others have taken a different view and indeed it is possible to see why, in a modern production of Faust that sets out to present the entire work in the theatre and translate Goethe's intentions onto the stage, music should play such a large role. It would aim beyond incidental music, or atmospheric 'Schauspielmusik' [stage music] that attempted to create a period or character, and achieve more than a mere 'Tonkulisse' [wallpaper music]. It should be near the heart of the work. It should highlight the work's complex, self-conscious and ironical structure.

Before we analyse the role of music in Stein's production, we need to consider the role of the text. Stein placed importance on using all 12,111 lines of it. This is a problematic undertaking on the German stage, not only because of the sheer length of Goethe's text, but because there are so many 'geflügelte Worte' [often quoted phrases]. Stein's aim was to create a new perspective on these well-known phrases and present the text with freshness and naturalness.<sup>13</sup> He accepted the director's words in 'Vorspiel auf dem Theater', 'Wie machen wir's, daß alles frisch und neu / Und mit Bedeutung auch gefällig sei?' [How shall we do it so that everything is fresh and new, has meaning and is entertaining too] (ll. 47–48). He played down any sense of the set piece that might have arisen from famous monologues or lyrical sections of the text.<sup>14</sup> This was particularly relevant to music. The danger of having Gretchen sing a familiar version of Der König in Thule, as in the Gründgens film version, or choose for the watchman Lynkeus one of the

10. Borchmeyer, 'Hidden comedy', 229.

11. Richard Wagner, Oper und Drama (Leipzig: Weber, 1852), 79–80, 245–7.

12. E.g. Ernst Possart (1895). See Bernd Mahl, Goethes Faust auf der Bühne (1806–1998). Fragment E.g. Ellist Fossalt (1695). See Bellit Math, Guelles Faust (ut) the Bunne (1606–1598). Fraging – Ideologiestück – Spieltext (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999), 7.
 See Bruno Ganz, 'Über das geflügelte Wort hinaus' (Interview), in Probezeit. Peter Stein inszeniert Faust (4 DVDs, Berlin 2007), DVD 4.
 Stein achieved the effect of novelty, and enhanced the sense of ensemble acting, by

swapping the main parts and interchanging the parts of the choruses. The part of Mephistopheles was split between two actors, three if one includes Mephistopheles as Phorkyas, played in some sections by a female actor. Faust was split between an older and younger actor (Bruno Ganz, Christian Nickel). This may be compared with the Gründgens production in which Faust was played throughout by Will Quadflieg and Mephisto by Gustaf Gründgens, lending the play unity and cumulative intensity. Stein's use of different actors can be seen as a Brechtian device aimed at deconstructing the notion of a unified character. This was in keeping with the warehouse setting and a degree of audience involvement in the action, though arguably not with the spirit of Goethe's play.

many musical versions of 'Zum Sehen geboren' was averted, since Stein believed that the text had qualities that could be conveyed through musical declamation. Familiar musical settings would have placed the action too firmly in a particular time. Where familiar melodies were used, they were given a modern flavour, as with the townspeople's songs in 'Vor dem Tor' [Before the Town Gate], which combined strong rhythms and dance with playful and

jarring notes.

In contrast to many directors of Goethe's Faust in contemporary Germany, Stein was at pains to avoid deconstruction and parody. He trusted the text, its wit, irony and poetry. 16 He highlighted its lyrical qualities. In statements during rehearsals he compared the poetry to music, agreed with the view that the structure of the work was operatic, 17 stressed the principles of variation and movement, of sounds constantly playing themselves off against each other, changes in pitch, changes of key, the idea of natural sounds and the singability of lines, the colour of sound. 18 Reading the account of rehearsals reminds us of Goethe wielding the conductor's baton as theatre director in Weimar as he attempted to inculcate his *Regeln für Schauspieler* (1803), in which music is a reference point for acting. <sup>19</sup> Such a model was particularly relevant to the sections of the text written for chorus. In Stein's production these were mostly choreographed, highly stylized and used a wide range of declamatory styles: spoken antiphonally, in unison, or with members of the chorus alternating lines. The text was used as a score, a point of departure for declamation that was in itself highly musical.

There were nevertheless exceptions to the principle of faithfulness to the text. Particularly evident was the ignoring of elision and apocope of the original. In Stein's production Mephistopheles says of Gretchen that she is 'ein gar unschuldiges Ding' [a truly innocent thing], rather than 'ein gar unschuldig Ding' as Goethe wrote (2624), and Gretchen of herself: 'Bin doch ein töricht furchtsames Weib' [I really am a silly, timid woman] rather than 'töricht furchtsam Weib' (l. 2758). But the rhythm demands the observation of the colloquial apocope and it is difficult to explain why Stein decided to allow his actors to ignore them. It led to the criticism that the pursuit of faithfulness to the text that he was advocating was a pursuit of faithfulness to a text of his own making rather than Goethe's. There was an element of updating at work here and a concession to contemporary vernacular German, which flatly contradicted Stein's statement that no interference with the text was to be tolerated and his assertion that the enter should always stiglt to the grammar of the original 20

actor should always stick to the grammar of the original.<sup>20</sup>

15. Peter Stein inszeniert Faust. Das Progammbuch. Faust I und II, ed. Roswitha Schieb (Cologne: DuMont, 2000), 172.

16. Klaus Reichert, 'Bin die Verschwendung, bin die Poesie', in Faust in Bildern. Photographien

von Ruth Walz (Cologne: DuMont, 2001), 6–7.
17. 'Directing Faust. An Interview', in Goethe's Faust. Theatre of Modernity, 267–79, here 275.

18. Roswitha Schieb, 'Probenarbeit', in Programmbuch, 99, 103.

19. See Jane K. Brown, 'Der Drang zum Gesang. Zur dramatischen Form bei Goethe', in *Eine Art Symbolik fürs Ohr. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Lyrik und Musik*, ed. Hermann Jung (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2002), 119–29, here 125.

20. Stein, Programmbuch, 153.

Another deviation from the text involved the repetition of key lines at the beginning of the sections into which Stein divided the work in the film version. For example, before 'Anmutige Gegend' [A Pleasant Landscape], which opens Part II, we hear the words 'Am farbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben' [We see life as colourful reflection] (l. 4727) spoken against a background of music, and see a series of brief excerpts from later scenes. The introductory preview, repeated between the acts of Part II, ends with a brief glimpse of the aged Faust surrounded by flames, followed by the appearance of lemurs speaking the words 'Jetzt ist es vorbei' [Now it is finished], to which Mephistopheles responds 'Vorbei! ein dummes Wort' [Finished! A stupid word]. In Goethe's text the words 'Es ist vorbei' are spoken by a chorus. The aim of these previews, transpositions and rearranging of the text was no doubt to counteract the length of the work and enhance aesthetic unity. However, it had the effect of modernizing and of imitating the technique common to television serials of showing us 'what happens next' and prioritizing certain ideas and imposing the director's views. Furthermore, attributing the words 'ist es vorbei' to a group of lemurs rather than a chorus suggested something altogether more menacing and negative as the work's final statement. This may be contrasted with the approach taken by Gründgens in his 1960 production of Faust I, in which some scenes were heavily cut and there was a more economical use of music, which, combined with the swift and emphatic delivery of the text, achieved a concentration and intensity of pathos.

\* \* \* \* \*

Stein's production used music to create character, mood and situation, to build transitions between scenes, to create continuity, underscore key ideas, and to assist the conveyance of the play's complex meaning. Written by the contemporary Italian composer Arturo Annecchino, it was created during rehearsals. Annecchino described the composing of the music in an apt

21. For further criticisms see Gerhard Stadelmaier, 'Ein kleine Nachtkritik', Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 25 July 2000; Sybille Wirsing, 'Eine Anschaffung fürs Leben. Peter Steins "Mammut"-Faust kommt in die entscheidende Phase: Bruno Ganz als Faust – und Faust als Ganz', Theater heute, December 2000; Peter Kümmel, 'Augenblick, beeil dich', Die Zeit, 27 July 2000, <a href="http://www.zeit.de/2000/31/200031.faust\_xml">http://www.zeit.de/2000/31/200031.faust\_xml</a>; Helmut Schödel, 'Glotzt nicht so historsich!', Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 November 2000. More nuanced reactions were those of Gerhard Kaiser, 'Gibt es einen Faust nach Peter Stein?', Goethe-Jahrbuch 118 (2001), 315–21; and Ekkehard Krippendorff, 'Die Moderne auf dem Prüfstand. Im Theater. Peter Steins Inszenierung des ungekürzten Faust in Berlin', Freitag 45, 3 November 2000. The reviews do not discuss the music, apart from Krippendorff, who notes that the unobtrusive, sparingly but effectively employed stage music was worthy of particular praise; Ekkehard Krippendorf, 'Laudatio auf Peter Stein (Berlin)', Goethe-Jahrbuch 118 (2001), 452–4. For a review of the production's reception in the press and a riposte to some of the criticisms, see Hajo Kurzenberger, 'Gegen den Strom', in Im Auftrieb. Grenzüberschreitungen mit Goethes Faust in Inszenierungen der neunziger Jahre, ed. Hanz-Peter Bayerdörfer (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002), 201–19, and David G. John, 'Cooperation and Partnership. Peter Stein's Faust 2000', in Cultural Link. Kanada – Deutschland, ed. Beate Henn-Memmesheimer and David G. John (St. Ingbert: Röhrig, 2003), 307–21.

Goethean metaphor as analogous to alchemy: he experimented in order to find the right mixture of sounds. The mixture involved both real and synthesised instruments and voices, and a range of styles stretching from ancient Greek through to Baroque, Romantic, cabaret and contemporary minimalism. Most of the music was pre-recorded with the exception of some live instruments (guitar, accordion) used on stage. The fact that the music was specially composed for the production was indicative of the attempt to avoid the use of pre-existing music that was clichéed. This allowed more creative freedom: certain aspects of the play could be accentuated or given new emphasis; the director put his own stamp on the work. Stein instructed his actors to speak *against* the music when it began. This created a complex interplay between the spoken word and music. The music was conceived as orienting itself exactly to what was in the text and was thought of, so to speak, as a translation of language into music. The spoken language in turn should support the statement of the music, or in other places contrast with it, but never be allowed to be overpowered by the music. Both spoken language and music were supported by the role of gesture and dance, which was significant throughout.

Stein's production begins with music – thundering organ tones are joined after a few bars by a chorus singing part of the 'dies irae'. The traditional melody of the 'dies irae' – a medieval chant – is given a grand, Verdiesque treatment suggesting the institutionalized power of religion and the power of conscience. The organ is also used between 'Hexenküche' [Witches' Kitchen] and 'Vor dem Tor', in the cathedral scene (as in Goethe's stage direction) and at the conclusion of 'Kerker' [Dungeon], immediately after the voice from above – here a dissonant chorus – pronounces that Gretchen is saved. Its use as introduction and reprise underscores the drama and tragedy of Part I. In Part II the transitional music is wistful and melancholy. After 'Zueignung' and at the conclusion of 'Vorspiel auf dem Theater' we hear tones resembling the Aeolian harp combined with modern metallic sonorities. These become louder and are superseded by an explosion and thunder clap as the stage reveals the opening to Hell and Heaven, represented by a hole in the stage floor and a retracted elliptical spiral supported by aluminium towers. The angels speak against a background of music that hovers between tonal and atonal, combining the sonorities of glass harmonica with metallic sounding strings. The eerie, haunting music merges with the sounds of nature, of sea and wind. It suggests a primeval world, the amorphous qualities of nature, but also, through its minimalism, an element of modern anxiety: autochthonous on the one hand, futuristic on the other. Rather than representing the conventional harmony of the spheres and the Pythagorean concept of the universe alluded to in the Prologue, Stein introduced more unsettling effects. Similar music with different combinations of instrument (woodwind, brass, strings, percussion) returns again and again, giving dramatic coherence. The effect is particularly disturbing when Erdgeist appears to Faust. Menacing tremolo strings

<sup>22.</sup> E-mail correspondence of 13 April 2012 with the composer.

<sup>23.</sup> Stein, Programmbuch, 130.

crescendo and merge with thunder and crackling flames, reaching a climax with the projection of the Erdgeist's face onto the stage. The visual effect is similar to that suggested by Goethe's sketch of the Erdgeist's face appearing in Faust's study. At the same time it creates an atmosphere similar to a modern horror film. The effect of the Erdgeist's visage combines with music and sound to generate a transhistorical effect: the eighteenth-century conception of nature

embodied in the Erdgeist modulates into multimedia spectacle.24

This transhistorical quality is brought out in many of the musical parts of the text. In 'Vor dem Tor' the hurdy-gurdy played by the beggar is combined with the sound of birds and church bells to convey disconcerting undertones beneath the contentment of town life. 'Auerbachs Keller' [Auerback's Cellar] introduces cabaret, developed in 'Walpurgisnachtstraum' [Walpurgis Night dream], where every opportunity for parody is taken. Music supplied by the actors sounds like a village brass band playing out of tune and out of time, and a cabaret musical creating the effect of cacophony and confusion implied and a cabaret musical creating the effect of cacophony and confusion implied by the text. Bagpipes are replaced by a piano accordion playing a Scottish melody. An instrumental tutti is deployed to parallel the effect of Goethe's short declamatory verses:

ORCHESTER TUTTI. Fortissimo. Fliegenschnauz und Mückennas' Mit ihren Anverwandten, Frosch im Laub und Grill im Gras Das sind die Musikanten.

SOLO. Seht, da kommt der Dudelsack! Es ist die Seifenblase. Hört den Schneckeschnickeschnack Durch seine stumpfe Nase. (ll. 4251–4259).

[ORCHESTRAL TUTTI. Fly's snout and gnat's nose with all their relations, frog in the leaves, cricket in the grass - these are the musicians. SOLO. Look, here come the bagpipes, it's like a soap bubble, making an infernal din through its turned-up nose.]

Parody, not of Goethe's text, but of character and situation, is brought out in the music in many scenes. Marthe speaks of her recently deceased husband to the dance-like accompaniment of flute and guitar, with an element of false sentimentality appropriate to the rapid fading of his memory. The beginning of 'Garden', where the two pairs of characters stroll around, has for Faust and Cretchen a melonabolic them played on cells and pione suggesting the and Gretchen a melancholy theme played on cello and piano suggesting the emergence of romance, but faintly in the background are heard whistling glissando sounds that hark back to the eerie supernatural sounds of the

24. These transhistorical effects were also part of Gründgens's production, which used modern music for an eighteenth-century setting, for example a jazz band in the Walpurgisnacht scene.

opening. Thus music fulfils a dual function, creating both an emotional effect

and underscoring the dialogue.

Though *Faust I* has given rise to countless operas, *Faust II* is often described as more operatic in itself.<sup>25</sup> However, Stein resisted any attempt at the 'operafication' of Goethe's text.<sup>26</sup> He emphasized the distinctive nature of Part II by using opening and transitional music that was markedly different from the powerful organ music of Part I. Faust appears on a large plinth, surrounded by the shape of a pyramid with the colours of the rainbow shining down. The atmosphere is enhanced by music and is more contemplative than Part I: a melancholy theme played on bowed strings over a background of gently plucked strings creating the effect of dropping water. However, it is also important to perceive the unity and coherence of the two parts. Stein achieved this by incorporating into 'Annutige Gegend' musical sounds that are familiar from Part I. Ariel, hovering above Faust, speaks to the mellifluous sounds of an Aeolian harp that accentuates the voice, which fluctuates between the playful and a sharp cutting edge; the visually spectacular sunrise is accompanied by high electronic sounds creating 'ungeheures Getöse' [terrible din] (l. 4665); Elves speak alternate lines or in chorus with a regular beat, imposing rhythm on the music of nature; the description of Phoebus's chariot is climactic: fortissimo electronic siren sounds suggest the Aeolian harp out of control. It is a mixture of the melodious and magical with the discordant and threatening. Another example is the carnival masque, which uses contrasting styles of music (a tarantella featuring fiddles and castanets, a minuet with flutes and guitar) to emphasize the contrast between coarse eroticism and the refinement of the court, reminiscent of the interaction of social groups in 'Vor dem Tor' or the ironical interweaving of the pairs of characters in 'Garden'.

The carnival scene music is an intoxicating mixture of different styles, drawn from different periods and cultures, built on contrast rather than set pieces of the kind that Gründgens had used (female gardeners singing to the accompaniment of mandolins, creating a sweetening effect). Flutes and guitars alternate with fiddle and castanets; a note of cabaret is sounded with the mother's song to her daughter accompanied by accordion; a vulgar drinking song with music-hall piano accompaniment is followed by a saxophone solo for the Furies. Indian music (played by sitar and drums) heralds the appearance of Faust and the Boy Charioteer seated on an elephant drawn by horses made of white paper illuminated from within, visually striking against a background of deep blue. Two actors back to back with arms entwined representing a deformed mythological greature speak the lines of Toile Therrites to the deformed mythological creature speak the lines of Zoilo-Thersites to the unsettling sound of screeching strings, while the arrival of Faust as Pluto is accompañied by a grand orchestral tutti reminiscent of a Hollywood movie or

<sup>25.</sup> See, recently, Borchmeyer ('Hidden comedy', 224), who refers to the 'operatic structures' of Part II, and Peter Stein, ('Directing Faust', 275), who states that the whole versification in Part II is tied to music.

<sup>26.</sup> As was characteristic of some late nineteenth-century productions of Goethe's play. See Mahl, Goethe's Faust, 79-80.

operetta, emphasizing the element of pomp and sham. With the arrival of Pan there is rhythmic bacchanalian music reminiscent of the *Walpurgnisnacht* that develops into more formal Renaissance style dance music. The carnival scene culminates in a crescendo of eerie whistling sounds for the conflagration. By contrast, the *'Rape of Helen'*, presented to the Emperor and his court at the end of Act I, is ushered in by ceremonial baroque music modulating into romantic strains played on piano and strings, creating again a transhistorical effect, combining the formality of an earlier epoch with emotionalism characteristic of modernism.

In the 'Klassische Walpurgisnacht' [Classical Walpurgis Night], with its vast array of mythological and allegorical figures, Stein allows the poetry to speak for itself, aided by music. Minimalism is strikingly employed. There is solo woodwind, syrinx-like flute, glass harmonica, ringing glass, glass pipe wind chimes, mechanical springs, wood block or wooden sticks, creating the effect of raw, primeval sounds that are unsettling. By contrast, the electrical buzzing sounds and white noise associated with the Homunculus suggest that we in the modern age. We hear a combination of the ancient and modern, putting into music Chiron's words, 'Den Poeten bindet keine Zeit' [The poet's not bound by time] (l. 7433), a combination of the playful and unsettling, exemplifying Mephistopheles' words 'Absurd ist's hier, absurd im Norden' [It's absurd here and absurd in the North] (l. 7792). The amalgamation of Northern and Southern elements – 'Mummenschanz' [masquerade] with 'Sinnentanz' [dance of the senses] (ll. 7795–960), and of music – monotonous chant with varying dynamics and tempi, harmony ('Holder Sang zieht uns hinan' [Sweet song draws us on], l. 8049) and discord broadens the spectrum of cross-cultural effects. The figure of Chiron is both ancient and modern: his face and body ashen, attached to him is a plastic and metal carriage on which Faust rides as he attempts to gain access to the ancient world. The monotonous clip-clop of his hooves as he circles the stage has a timeless, unsettling quality.

'Klassische Walpurgisnacht' culminates in the attempted actual transformation and destruction of the Homunculus. Its final section, 'Felsbuchten des "Ägäischen Meers"' [Rocky bays of the Aegean Seal, features a series of crescendos and a range of musical and sound effects creating the atmosphere of the maritime and ornithological world (rushing water, human and synthetic humming and droning, woodwind and brass, bells, organ pipes and birdsong) accompanying the constant gliding movement of the sea creatures behind a semicircular plinth (the actors wear invisible skates as they glide along it). Towards the conclusion there is an orchestral tutti, an explosion and fire, as the Homunculus disintegrates. This was no choral cantata of the kind sometimes imagined as the musical style of this scene,<sup>27</sup> but an experiment in synaesthesia that seems closer to us. It combines the emotional effect of harmonious music with cacophony and explosion. Beauty, water, light and sound merge together:

HOMUNKULUS. In dieser holden Feuchte Was ich auch hier beleuchte, Ist alles reizend schön.

PROTEUS. In dieser Lebensfeuchte Erglänzt erst deine Leuchte Mit herrlichem Getön. (ll. 8458–63).

[HOMUNCULUS. In this sweet moisture anything I shine upon is charming and beautiful. PROTEUS. In this, life's moisture your beam begins to shine with splendid sound.]

In Act 3 (Helena's Act), music is used to add atmosphere, increase tension and highlight the climax. Helena's opening monologue is spoken to the sound of female voices suggesting the sounds of nature. The wafting tones evoking lightness of being go hand in hand with the diaphanous costumes and the effect of women dancing in a circle. This contrasts strikingly with the ugly Phorkyas's unaccompanied monologue. The chorus alternates between unison and solo, varying the tempo and dynamics of the verse. Throughout this act the verse is clearly and carefully articulated and enhanced by musical effects. In the build-up to Helena's intended execution there are pan flutes, but the fanfares that accompany the announcement of Faust's approach are not triumphant: again we hear the combination of siren-like sounds, gongs, cymbals and percussion that is reminiscent of the earlier music that underlined the tragic dimension.

The dense texture of the poetry is of supreme importance in this act as we approach the meeting between Faust and Helena and the physical climax of their joining hands. In the meeting of ancient Greek and German, poetry and stage music become one:

Gefällt dir schon die Sprechart unsrer Völker, O so gewiß entzückt auch der Gesang, Befriedigt Ohr und Sinn im tiefsten Grunde. (ll. 9372–74)

[If the way our people speak pleases you, then their song will surely delight you and satisfy your ear and mind at the deepest level.]

After this satisfying moment of harmony, there is a rude awakening created by the sound of marching, military fanfares and explosions that accompany the arrival of Faust's commanders, reminding us of the conflict ahead and the transience of Faust and Helena's union.

In the concluding section of Act 3 stage music punctuates the dialogue and illustrates symbolic development and the demise of Faust and Helena's son Euphorion. His appearance on stage is preceded by Romantic chamber music; strongly rhythmic Spanish dance music reminiscent of the tarantella of Part I accompanies his dance with the chorus as an erotic game develops. Hunting horns, wind and sea, martial music and explosions illustrate his account of

his life. As he rises into the air to cries of 'Icarus Icarus' there is a crescendo of dissonant screeching sounds. The Romantic spirit has overreached itself. Thereafter, Helena's departure to Hades is signalled by the wistful sounds of a solo soprano. Before the chorus is transformed into nymphs and dryads, their leader Panthalis describes the intoxication caused by the confused sounds of music that puzzle the sense of hearing, much more the inner sense (Il. 9964–5). To achieve this effect, there is strongly rhythmic, melodious and harmonious music from a fortissimo chamber orchestra that uses classical and modern instruments tipping over into dissonance and cacophony as the chorus's dance concludes.

War and chaos dominate Act 4, in which martial music predominates. The military music used at first suggests an earlier age: pipes and tabors evoke the medieval period. However, there is also music from military brass bands suggesting the bellicose expansionism of the Age of Imperialism combined with explosions and the roar of aeroplanes hinting at the modern age. The space age is suggested by Faust's Darth Vader mask and the distorted voices of Bagger and Snatcher. Similar anachronistic effects had been used in earlier productions: for example, Gründgens in his 1960 film production famously introduced an atomic explosion into the middle of the *Walpurgisnacht* scene, followed by a brief moment of silence. The use of music and sound effects suggesting different historical epochs underscores the way in which the action is taken out of its historical cotting in order to suggest its relevance to other enochs.

historical setting in order to suggest its relevance to other epochs.

Stein's production uses music to great effect in the final act: menacing cabaret music for Mephistopheles and the Three Mighty Men, gongs for the Four Grey Women merging with eerie strings, voice and strings for Care. As Stein was keen to emphasize, the poetry uttered by the figure of Care exudes forceful music of its own.<sup>28</sup> Mephistopheles' words 'Herbei herbei!' [Come here, come here!] are sung in a monotone, evoking a traditional gravedigger's song, and followed by the Lemurs' chant backed by mischievous satirical trombones. The clock's ticking, the gong's dull sound, the Lemurs' grotesque gibbering, the jaws of Hell opening to the sound of screeching, rapidly descending violins: together they create an image of chaos through ironical juxtaposition of styles. There is no attempt in the final scenes to glorify Faust with choral or operatic music that would hint at the kind of apotheosis we find in Schumann's Faust-Szenen, Liszt's Faust symphony or Mahler's Eighth. The sound of a spacecraft departing as Mephistopheles curses the disappearance of Faust's remains ushers in the final scene, 'Bergschluchten' [Mountain Gorges], in which the vocal parts are intermittently underscored by synthesized strings that blend harmonies with unresolved elements. The retracted spiral representing Heaven in the Prologue descends and evokes 'The Stairway to Heaven'<sup>29</sup> or the dome of Norman Foster's Reichstag. This is a striking visual effect that alludes to the German context at well as enabling Stein to distance himself from earlier parallels that had been drawn between the destiny of Faust's soul and German history, or which

<sup>28.</sup> Stein, Programmbuch, 173.

<sup>29.</sup> William Blake's illustration (1824–27) for Dante's Divine Comedy (see Stein, Programmbuch,

attempted, like most modern productions, to ironize or deconstruct the ending. It is another example of updating that produced a rich and resonant symbol but that allowed Goethe's text to come to the fore. During Dr Marianus's monologue beginning 'Hier ist die Aussicht frei' [Here the view is clear] (l. 11899) birdsong becomes dominant. Birdsong, we may recall, was first heard in 'Vor dem Tor', again in 'Straße' [A Street] and referred to by Gretchen in 'Kerker', thus helping to create a musical leitmotif. After a final burst of acoustic strings to underscore Dr Marianus's final words and the final words of the Chorus Mysticus, the birdsong crescendoes, creating a blend of melody and cacophony that recedes into shimmering metallic sounds. This is the musical coda, at a remove from the purely transfigurative or parodistic. It represents a blend of the sounds of nature and the ideas of transcendence of the drama, of the concrete and the ineffable.

The music of Stein's productions initiated the audience into the complexity of Goethe's work on stage. It was supportive and illustrative of the text while at the same time resisting clear and unambivalent emotive effects by avoiding cliché or tying the action down to a particular historical epoch. By using music and sound effects that evoked different epochs, often anachronistically, Stein was able to create the broad sweep and the transhistorical perspective that both parts of Goethe's work together create, but that is lost in many operatic versions. It allowed the merging of different styles, of the serious and the playful, which Goethe himself, in a famous remark, 30 saw as the essence of *Faust* and which he believed we find in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. Few directors have succeeded in conveying this complex blend of styles and ideas characteristic of different epochs. At a time when opera composers had turned away from Goethe's work as a source of inspiration, Stein returned to the work in its entirety and to the role of music at its core in order to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk* for the twenty-first century.

<sup>30.</sup> Letter of 17 March 1832 to Wilhelm von Humboldt: 'diese sehr ernsten Scherze' [these very serious jokes]. *Goethes Werke, WA* IV, vol. 49, 283.

# . 18

## 'Devilishly good'

## Rudolf Volz's Rock Opera Faust and 'Event Culture'

#### Waltraud Maierhofer

The Musical is the only form of music theatre that consistently attracts audiences to theatres without public subvention. Since the 1980s there has been a global commercial 'musical boom' from which Germany poses no exception. With productions of new musicals (especially those by Andrew Lloyd Webber) it was possible to have venues sold out for years with one and the same piece. Towards the end of the century this boom caught up with Goethe's Faust: the German mathematician turned free-lance composer Rudolf Volz (born 1956 in Ulm) compiled the lyrics and wrote the music for Faust – Die Rockoper [Faust – The Rock Opera]: twenty-five numbers based on text from Goethe's drama. The piece was first performed in 1997 in Ulm by a 'free group of artists from Southern Germany' with experience of rock music and recorded on CD.¹ Opening in 2005, a professional management company (the Berlin 'Event and Management Agency' Manthey Event) brought the show to different theatres. Faust – Die Rockoper is one of several early twenty-first-century musical realizations of Goethe's Faust. It has already attracted some scholarly attention, albeit only among English-language Faust scholarship. In his 2004 article on Faust as rock opera, Paul M. Malone gives an overview of the work, its musical background and compositions.² In another article he places Volz's production within several adaptations of the Faust theme or 'Faustian Rock Musicals'.³ The following will therefore focus on aspects of marketing, performance and reception. It is particularly in these areas aspects of marketing, performance and reception. It is particularly in these areas

Faust: die Rockoper <www.faust-rockoper.de> (last accessed, as for all following websites unless noted otherwise, in April 2012). This page replaced the earlier one: <www.faust.cc>. Michael Wagner was musical director of the Faust project from the beginning (according to <micha-wagner.edu>); on his website he names not only himself, but also Matthias Kohl and Uwe Rublack as co-composers, and for Faust II Uwe Rodi. Paul M. Malone, '"You'll Always Be the One You are". Faust as Rock Opera', in Faust: Icon of Modern Culture, ed. Osman Durrani (London: Helm, 2004), 263–75. Paul M. Malone, 'They Sold Their Soul for Rock 'n' Roll. Faustian Rock Musicals', in International Faust Studies. Adaptation, Reception, Translation, ed. Lorna Fitzsimmons (London and New York: Continuum, 2008), 216–30.

that the way in which national myths are popularized for the benefit of mass audiences is revealed.

The production announcement promises a 'Spektakel zwischen Rockkonzert, Musical und Volkstheater' [spectacle between rock concert, musical and popular theatre].<sup>4</sup> In an attempt to reach a young audience, promotional videos on YouTube were part of the advertising.<sup>5</sup> Faust II – Die Rockoper swiftly followed. It had its premiere at the Landestheater in Marburg in 2003.<sup>6</sup> The music was produced as a set of Audio CDs (Part 1 1997, Part 2 2004, issued together in 2007) and Part I of the show was also released on DVD (2007).<sup>7</sup> Through select 'original' locations and familiar touriet marketing ideas, the Faust performance 'original' locations and familiar tourist marketing ideas, the Faust performance is enhanced and made into a mini vacation: such as on the Brocken with a short train journey up the mountain, especially on Walpurgis night or at Carnival time; in Leipzig's Auerbach's Cellar restaurant, complete with dinner and an additional 'original scene' adapting the play's 'Auerbach's Cellar' drinking and flight on the barrell scene; or as a summer deal with an open air performance in a Neuruppin lakeside resort.<sup>8</sup>

The organizer promotes both parts of the *Faust* rock opera with the slogan 'Das teuflisch gute Event' [the devilishly good event]. The organizers rely on the flair of the location: Auerbach's Cellar advertises packages with lunches and evening meals – including a 'diabolischen "Rocktail" [diabolical 'Rocktail'] – to complement the show, an 'event journey' complete with an overnight stay in an exclusive hotel. The website promises that 'Passend zur Aufführung serviert das Team um Küchenchef Sven Hofmann den Gästen himmlische Coumenfranden' [in tune with the performance the team around head chef Gaumenfreuden' [in tune with the performance, the team around head chef Sven Hofmann serves the guests heavenly joys for the palate].<sup>10</sup> During the railway journey to the top of the mountain on the 'Mephisto Express' (a train of the company HSB Harzer

- Promotional leaflet for the performances of 16–24 July 2010 in Weimar.
- <Youtube.com> 'Faust Die Rockoper auf dem Brocken', uploaded from Mantheyevent, 7 May 2010 <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WpIPUa-kDqs">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WpIPUa-kDqs</a>)>; 'Rockoper Faust / May 2010 <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wpii?Ua-kDqs]">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LWdBjrlhoiE>; 'Faust - Die Rockoper 2018 <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LWdBjrlhoiE>;">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LWdBjrlhoiE>; 'Faust - Die Rockoper 2011 in Auerbachs Keller Leipzig', uploaded from AuerbachsKellerLE, 4 November 2010 <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YF3Hb924aWQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YF3Hb924aWQ</a>>. At the time of this article going to print (Dec. 2016), the rock opera Faust is still going strong with regular performances of both parts. There are now more proportional videos and foreshook rockings available which could not be incorporated. more promotional videos and facebook postings available which could not be incorporated into this article.
- For details on the production history see Malone, 'They Sold Their Soul', 226–7.
- Faust Die Rockoper, CDs. (Hamburg: Whale Songs Communications, 2004; orig. 1997); Faust Die Rockoper Part 2, 2 Audio CDs (Munich: Sony Music Disc, Hamburg, 2004); Faust – *Die Rockoper*, with original texts of Goethe from *Faust I* and *II* (4 CD set, composer Rudolf Volz ([Dornstadt:] Xdra-Production; Membran, 2007)); *Faust – Die Rockoper*, directed by Rudolf Volz, performers Alban Gaya, Falko Illing, Miriam Riemann and Paul Miller, DVD recording of feature film and specials ([Dornstadt:] Xdra Production, 2007). 'Partnerlinks' on the website Faust – die Rockoper.
- Thus in the event announcements <www.nordhausen-tourist.de>.
- 10. Quoted from "Faust Die Rockoper" kommt erneut nach Leipzig', Onlinepresse.info, ÕPI Pressedienst für Pressemitteilungen, 28 June 2010.

Schmalspurbahnen, Wernigerode) the elated mood is enhanced by shots of high-proof 'Mephisto-Tropfen' [Mephisto Drops] and by hostesses dressed as witches. <sup>11</sup> The musician Jürgen Pfeffer suggests in his interview on the bonus DVD that the visitors to these events are enthusiastic as a rule, even without such additional inducements.<sup>12</sup>

Audience participation is encouraged. At one of these events, which I visited in July 2010 in Weimar, the audience, in unison, participated in the scene 'Easter Walk', which is not on the recording: after Faust's words 'Hier bin ich Mensch!' [Here I am human] the audience chanted the completion of the verse 'Hier darf ich's sein!' [Here I can be!]. A Brandenburg tour operator promised for *Faust II* fabulous outfits and effective stage sets and props for a hightened theatrical experience and an even more total sensation than in *Faust I*, and to bring the spectator on Faust's journey into the illusory grand world from antiquity to the middle ages and modernity, between dream and utopia, between war and creativity, and reaching as far as divine redemption. 13

The success of the 'Event' is seen in its continuing performances. In 2010 the first part went on tour throughout Germany. According to its own website, Faust – *Die Rockoper*, there have since been forty to fifty shows per year and a total of nearly 500 performances since the premiere. <sup>14</sup> The texts are available in English, Spanish, Italian, French and Japanese and can be used as surtitles. The DVD, with subtitles in German, English, French, Spanish and Italian, is designed for a broad international audience and can also be used for teaching *Faust* to non-German audiences. The Specials-DVD contains a 'Carnival' scene as a preview of Faust 2 and interviews with the composer and librettist Rudolf Volz and the

main actors and musicians.

The marketing clearly prefers the term 'Rockoper' to that of 'Musical', though catchy pop sounds and lyricism dominate, especially in Margarete's songs. In Mephisto's 'heavy to death metal' rock (according to the product description of Mephisto's heavy to death metal rock (according to the product description of the DVD) the texts are still astoundingly comprehensible. Spoken text (all lines from the play, but most severely edited and rearranged) advances the plot. Website and recordings stress that 'the text and plot are those of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's original', though much abridged. According to the website advertisement, not only is the rock opera *Faust* is 'hochaktuell und die meist gespielte FAUST-Interpretation (mit Goethe-Texten) aller Zeiten' [highly topical and the most performed *Faust* interpretation (with Goethe's own text) of topical and the most performed Faust interpretation (with Goethe's own text) of

11. Reproduced on <a href="https://sep.up.com/sb-wr.de">hsb-wr.de</a>, according to a report by Sabine Kempfer: 'Rauf auf den Berg, um den Brocken zu rocken', Goslarsche Zeitung, 26 February 2010. The train company is a promotional partner of the musical.

12. Statement by Jürgen Pfeffer in *Faust – Die Rockoper*, Bonus DVD.

- 13. Three-day packages combining hotel, train, and show are available on many websites, including the travel agency Ameropa (<a href="https://www.ameropa.de/bahnreisen/bahnerlebnisreisen/in-europa/in-deutschland/faust-die-rockoper-auf-dem-brocken">https://www.ameropa.de/bahnreisen/bahnreisen/in-europa/in-deutschland/faust-die-rockoper-auf-dem-brocken</a>).

  14. Website Faust – die Rockoper (last accessed 13 December 2013). See also the internet page
- of Manthey Event, whose Faust promotional merchandise is advertised: <www.manthey-event.de>. Following on from this success, the company has marketed similar musicals.
- 15. See Malone, 'You'll always be the one', 268–9.

all time], but it also claims to set 'ganz neue Maßstäbe im Bereich der Rock-/Pop-Unterhaltung mit klassisch-literarischen Texten' [completely new standards for rock-pop-entertainment with classical literary texts]. On the pedagogy link the following is addressed to teachers:

FAUST – Die Rockoper ist viel mehr als 'nur' ein historisches Bühnenstück im Rock-Gewand, es ist auch eine Lernhilfe für Schüler, welche den im Original doch sehr schwer verdaulichen Text oft als belastend empfinden. Durch die Rockoper wird ihnen Goethes Klassiker auf vergnügliche Weise mit der für Jugendliche nötigen Unverkrampftheit nahegebracht und trägt somit dazu bei, die im FAUST transportierte Moral und den ewig währenden Konflikt zwischen Gut und Böse zu vermitteln. 16

[FAUST – THE ROCK OPERA is much more than 'just' a historical theatre piece in rock costume; it is also a teaching aid for pupils who often find the text of the original burdensome, difficult to digest. The rock opera communicates Goethe's classic to young audiences in a relaxed fashion and thus contributes to convey the drama's message and the everlasting conflict between good and evil.]

Both DVD and CD recordings contain extensive booklets with complete lyrics as well as short summaries and photos of every scene. In addition, the website offers a didactic guide/compendium and there are excerpts from fan mail testifying to the musical's popularity with the younger generation. The pedagogical impetus behind the project of bringing *Faust* to young people and other types of audience is worthy of recognition. The fact that there are regularly performances for schools suggests that the rock opera does in fact reach young audiences.

#### The Production

The most important fact to consider when evaluating *Faust– Die Rockoper* is that the scale of its production is low-budget, easily transportable, and overall very modest in comparison with many major long-running musicals. The recording is not a high-profile film musical but a recording of the stage production. A look at the set, props, and costumes will show this.

The performers had not been stars before they were hired for the production, and they are still low-key as regards their visibility in the media and on social media pages. The major roles are performed by Alban Gaya (Faust; also the voice of the Lord in the scene 'Prologue in Heaven'), Falko Illing (Mephisto), and Miriam Riemann (Grete, 18 Helena).

- 16. <a href="http://www.faust-rockoper.de/paeda.html">http://www.faust-rockoper.de/paeda.html</a>>.
- 17. See his webpage, <www.falkoilling.de>. He was previously a member of the hard rock bands, Beast (1986) and Wildthinx (1991).
- 18. Listed as such in both DVD and CD booklets, not as 'Margarete' or 'Gretchen'. Likely part of the attempt to modernize.. In the English subtitles, she is called Marguerite.

Several of the other eight ensemble members of Part I perform multiple roles, several of the other eight ensemble members of rart perform multiple foles, such as Conny Schwediwie as the Earth Spirit, the student, the witch in the kitchen, Marthe and a witch in the Walpurgis Night scene. The booklet for part II lists an additional seventeen performers. The band consists of no more than four members (keyboards, Uwe Rodi; guitar, Herb Bucher and Christian Singer (in part II, guitar and bass); Michael Wagner, percussion, Volker Schreiber). The musicians are in full sight on the stage, only a few steps from the action. In most of the production they wear black T-shirts with large Goethe portraits, evoking a rock concert atmosphere. In several scenes, such as the final one, they wear minimalist costumes and fill in as extras. The stage is nearly empty; there are only very few props. By evoking the look of cardboard placeholders they add a humorous, extemporaneous touch. Bold coloured lighting and fog help to create a dramatic atmosphere. Plot and character development are adapted (i.e. severely reduced) to suit the format, as an overview of the scenes and songs of Faust I will illustrate.

Mephisto dominates the production. He wears colours traditionally associated with the devil, namely a long black cloak lined in striking red, and red shoes softening his Heavy Metal look. With his massive mane of dark blonde waves, white face paint with black lips and bat design around the eyes, studded leather pants, and bold skull print on his shirt, he is not only visually reminiscent of the American rock band KISS, in particular Gene Simmons, 'The Demon', 19 but he also gets to sing the most 'skillfully executed hard rock songs based on solid riffs', to cite Paul Malone's description of the compositions. 20

In the recording (as in performances so far), the composer and producer Rudolf Volz appears and, dressed in faintly eighteenth-century fashion so as to indicate that he is meant to represent both the theatre director and the author Goethe, recites a part of the 'Vorspiel auf dem Theater' [Prelude on the Stage], addressing the audience. In the opening scene from 'Prologue in Heaven', Mephisto introduces himself and Faust, fiddling and singing 'Tierischer als jedes Tier' [Beastlier than any beast]<sup>21</sup> while the scene is bathed in red light and fog. Two female dancers dressed in black bikini tops, leggings and boots, adorned with carnevalesque red devil horns and red tripods, perform a devil worship. The costumes convey a sense of self-irony and reflect a playful use of symbolism and cultural iconography. In the following 'Wette' [wager] between Mephisto and the Lord, the spotlight is on Mephisto, while the Lord is only to be heard. In the next scene Faust appears on a bicycle, and his study consists of a few greenish shelves with books, a lab coat, a skull, a desk, and a chair. Lounging in his chair, Faust confesses his despair and his surrender to magic. He wears his long dark hair in a ponytail but otherwise looks mousy and nerdy in his muted

<sup>19.</sup> The reference to KISS was pointed out by Volz himself; see also Malone, 'You'll always be',

<sup>266.</sup> 20. Ibid., 269–70.

<sup>21.</sup> This scene is available in English on YouTube, 'Beastlier than a Beast': <a href="http://www.">http://www.</a> youtube.com/watch?v=Kz-lŎayab4A> (posted 12 November 2008, last accessed 10 December 2013).



**Figure 18.1** Faust in his study with the band in the background.

large, round glasses and comfortable shoes, an aged hippie more than a rocker, though in most of his songs he shares with Mephisto the rock sound with its massive expression of rebelliousness. In 'Mondenschein' ('Weh! Steck ich in dem Kerker noch?') [moonshine (God, how these walls strangle my soul)] he melancholily addresses the moon as his only friend, and the 'slower form of the so-called "heavy ballad"', '[c]ulminating in an orgasmic guitar solo',<sup>22</sup> conveys his deep longing.

When Faust evokes the Earth Spirit on the computer, she appears as a moving

When Faust evokes the Earth Spirit on the computer, she appears as a moving and flickering dancer, wearing a pointed fairy hat with veil, messy hair, glittering light dance top and full skirt, accompanied by three more dancers. Her song 'Erdgeist' ('Wo bist du, Faust, des Stimme...') [Earth Spirit, (Where are you, Faust, whose voice...)] expresses her character with an 'earthy rock boogie'. Rejected by the Earth Spirit, Faust then gives in to despair ('Das Leben mir verhasst' [Damned be Mammon]) and reaches for a large bottle of poison. Death approaches him in the guise of a hooded monk with a skull in place of a face who carries the common attribute of death, a scythe. His miming action is interrupted by the 'Geistergesang' [Song of the Spirits], ('Schwindet, ihr dunklen / Wölbungen droben!' [Now let the blue / Of the ether, gaze in gently!]) Here Mephisto introduces himself as 'Das Böse' [Evil]: ('Ich bin der Geist, der stets verneint!' [I am the spirit which endlessly denies!]), offers his services for a new way of life, and they seal the deal with blood ('Du bleibst doch immer' [You are just what you are]), surrounded again by the dancing demons. The wager itself and its conditions are not fleshed out. An oversized pump with which Mephisto draws blood from Faust creates a humorous effect and is at the same time designed to be visible in a large venue. When Mephisto plays his hoax with the student ('Grau ist alle Theorie' [Grey is all theorizing]) – as well as later when he visits his neighbour Marthe – he exchanges his cape

- 22. Malone, 'You'll always be', 270.
- 23. Ibid., 271.
- 24. See the analysis of this song in ibid., 268–9.

a red jacket and wears a baseball cap, again adapting a relaxed contemporary look. Mephisto takes Faust to the witches' kitchen on the bicycle, over blue light pentagrams swirling on the floor. Set and costumes for the scene are reminiscent of children's book illustrations: the hunchbacked witch with pointed hat and ragged dress and her animal-masked helpers dance around a pot hanging over a stylized open fire as she sings her formula for the magic potion, 'Hexen-Einmaleins' [The Witches, one-by-one]. Faust's transformation happens while the camera is on Mephisto, and it is simple enough: he steps forth with his long hair down, a glittery green jacket and wide-brimmed hat, which signal his regained youthfulness and sense of adventure, and he jumps around uncontrollably so as to show off his energy and rejuvenation. After the witch sings her homage to science, 'Wissenschaft', and the apparition of Helena bathed in bright light, Faust and his servant drive off on a scooter decorated with aluminium foil.

Nearly one hour into the opera (of just over two hours in total) the Margarete plot begins, with the young woman receiving a blessing from a hooded monk, accompanied by organ sounds. (In this scene, the musicians also don hooded cowls.) Her outfit is simple and contemporary. She has braided blonde hair, walks barefoot and wears a simple light blue fitted peasant's blouse and kneelength skirt. On her way home she refutes Faust's attempt at conversing with her, and in her room she sings König in Thule while undressing to a camisole and boxer shorts. A plain wooden shelf and cupboard, an undersized bed with duvet, a Madonna statue and a candle are enough to suggest to the audience her environment. She then finds a small chest with 'treasures' in her cabinet ('Am Golde hängt doch alles' [All you want is ... gold]), oversized fashion accessories that can be seen from a distance. In the next scene Mephisto is lying in a park, daydreaming of Grete; on an oversized, boxy mobile phone he receives a call from Mephisto, who shouts to Faust his anger over jewels lost to the church ('Kein Teufel wär' [... weren't the devil myself]). In the next scene Grete brings the new treasures to her neighbour Marthe, and Mephisto testifies to her husband's death ('Ihr Mann ist tot' [Her husband is dead]). On a park bench under a street light with a few flowers Faust and Grete meet again, the flower oracle convinces the young woman that she is loved by Faust and he joins her in a duet ('Er liebt mich' [He loves me]). Back in her room she continues to think about him ('Meine Ruhe ist hin' [My peace is gone]) and during their next tete-a-tete confronts him about his companion Mephisto ('Heimlich Grauen' [Evil spell]).

Very different from Goethe's play, the rock opera is explicit about the sexual encounter in a mimed scene, a concession to today's consuetudinary exposure in the media, albeit to a modest extent. Volz's adaptation includes Grete giving sleeping drops to her mother; the mother – mimed by a male actor – is shown as very old, wearing a white wig and a stereotypical old woman's vest. She dies – still in the spotlight – while Gretchen goes to bed, where she is joined by Faust under an enormous duvet. The accompaniment repeats the melody of 'Er liebt mich' while intercourse is suggested. The production does not shy away from kitsch elements: here it is the rooster that crows before Faust leaves and Grete

discovers her mother dead in her chair. Again omitting important scenes of the tragedy, Grete's lament, 'Wie wehe' [What woe], and her prayer to the Madonna (both spoken) follow immediately, here in her room rather than in the cathedral, and hooded monks circle her while a distorted voice, seemingly coming from all sides, accuses and terrifies her.

The recording cuts to darkness and dense fog. Faust and Mephisto, flooded in blue light, are making their way up the Brocken ('Zum Brocken' [To the Broken Mountain]), where they are received by a group of witches in fantastic costumes around a firepit with an artificial fire ('Hexenelement' [Witches' element]). While the 'Domina' witch and Mephisto sing the slightly raunchy 'Walpurgisnacht' ('Einst hatt ich einen schönen Traum' [Once I had a lovely dream]), they are at the centre of an erotically charged dance by three young women in bikinis with animal head masks and another one in a shiny lizard or dinosaur costume, observed by a Santa persiflage with long nose and two further extras in a Renaissance costume and a modern business suit respectively.<sup>25</sup> The Walpurgis Night scene is the most swarming one of the production, with the most people on stage, dancing, running and singing; the dance comes to an abrupt end when Grete, now in a ripped striped shirtdress and with her hair down, appears a few steps away in a beam of white light, and Faust reminisces about Grete ('Phantombild Grete' [magic image of Grete]).

In the final scenes a divider with gigantic spiderwebs throwing shadows on the ground indicates the prison, with the gituarists standing in front of it donning hangmen's masks. Only in her spoken lament does Grete, in the same sexy yet fake prison look, mention the infanticide for which she has been or will be condemned to die, before she sings the final

song, 'Meine Mutter hab ich umgebracht' [I sent my mother to her grave], in which the murder of her mother, fond memories of Faust, anticipation and acceptance of the execution dominate.<sup>26</sup>

In his analysis of the pact song Paul Malone has pointed out how Volz has manipulated Goethe's verses to 'adapt the text to the form of the popular song ('Born to be wild'), including abridging lines or repeating sections of lines [...] and transposing or interpolating lines or whole passages'.<sup>27</sup> It is noteworthy that Volz decided not to put the final lines of the play to music, to end not bombastically with a finale, but in a quiet way with spoken words only. The final dialogue is reduced to a bare minimum and rushes to the well-known last words, eliminating Margarete's account of the murder, her insights into her feelings, her guilt and responsibility, her inner conflict, struggle and decisionmaking. It consists of no more than the following few lines (abridged lines are indicated by an asterisk). Faust and Mephisto approach Grete, who is kneeling next to her 'prison wall', and the latter cuts the web with an exaggerated gesture so that Faust can enter (the inserted stage directions are not Goethe's, but related to the performance):

- 25. Malone's description of an earlier performance varies slightly; see ibid., p. 266.
- 26. The translations of song titles/beginnings provided are the ones used in the subtitles.
- 27. Ibid., 268.

Figure 18.2 Screen Shot: Grete in Prison, Mephisto and one of the guards.



FAUST: Still, still. Ich komme, Dich zu befreien.	4424
Komm, folge mir!	4498*
GRETE: Und bist du's denn? Bist du's auch gewiß?	4501
FAUST: Ich bin's. Komm mit.	4470*, 4479*
GRETE wendet sich ab: Fasse mich nicht so mörderisch an!	4577
Sonst hab ich dir ja alles zulieb getan.	4578
FAUST: O, wär ich nie geboren.	4596
MEPHISTO tritt heran: Auf, oder ihr seid verloren.	4597
GRETE: Der! Der! Schick ihn fort!	4601
Was will der an dem heiligen Ort?	4602
Er will mich.	4603
FAUST: Du sollst leben! GRETE ist auf die Knie gefallen, klammert sich an das Netz:	4604
Gericht Gottes! Dir hab ich mich übergeben. MEPHISTO: winkt Faust zu sich	4605
FAUST: Komm! Komm! Ich lasse Dich mit ihr im Stich.	4606
GRETE: Dein bin ich Vater, rette mich!	4607
Ihr Engel, ihr heiligen Scharen,	4608
Lagert euch umher, mich zu bewahren!	4609
Sie blickt noch einmal zu Faust um Heinrich! Mir graut's vor dir. Grete steht auf, geht zu Mephisto, der seinen Umhang über sie legt; sie bricht zusammen und bleibt am Boden liegen. MEPHISTO triumphierend mit Blick zum Himmel: Sie ist gerichtet. 4611 STIMME: Ist gerettet.	4610

[FAUST: Quiet! Quiet! I've come to set you free! Come, follow me!

GRETE: And is it you? Is it you indeed? FAUST: Yes, its I! Come with me! GRETE: With murderous hands don't touch me! After all, I did everything else you asked! FAUST: Oh, if only I had not been born! MEPHISTO: Come on, or you are lost.

GRETE: He! He! Send him away!

What does he want in this holy place?

He wants me. FAUST: You shall live.

GRETE: Judgement of God! I give myself to you!

MEPHISTO: Come! Come! I shall abandon you with her!

GRETE: Oh father, save me, I am yours.

Oh holy angels,

Surround me, protect me. Henry! You frighten me.

MEPHISTO: She is condemned. VOICE: She is redeemed.<sup>28</sup>

Strangely, Grete seems already dead or unconscious, sparing her the deep fear with which she calls after Faust in Goethe's last line ('Heinrich, Heinrich!' 1. 4614). The audience – now eager to applaud and leave – is left not with Faust and Mephisto taking off together, but with a last sleazy smile by Mephisto.

According to Malone, most of the songs by Mephisto and Faust are 'skilfully executed hard rock songs based on solid riffs'. <sup>29</sup> He describes the basics of hard

rock:

[T]he use of keyboards, and particularly the sound of the Hammond organ, in the score of *Faust* recalls Deep Purple, while the electric guitars make use of such well-tried effects as distortion, compression, phasing/flanging, the vibrato unit (also known as the 'tremolo arm' or 'whammy bar'), and the 'wah-wah' pedal (a foot-controlled band pass filter) with its Jimi Hendrix associations, in a manner common to both Deep Purple and Scorpions [...].30

In the first half of *Faust – Die Rockoper* only Mephisto, Faust, the Earth Spirit and the witch have songs in slight variations of this style. In contrast, in the second half Margarete's (here Grete's) innocence and childlikeness are expressed in more formulaic patterns of pop songs. Malone characterizes them as 'folk-rock stylings' combined with 'the dynamics of the heavy ballad' (König in Thule), a 'rather dreary slow rock waltz with a slight country-pop flavour' ('Meine Ruh ist hin'), or a 'slow power ballad' ('Meine Mutter hab' ich umgebracht'), and he posits that select songs are derivativns from a 'Falco disco tune' ('Am Golde he is the black) with a receptively expect off and from a page 4 the highlighter hängt doch alles') with an excessively sweet effect and from one of the highlights of Jesus Christ Superstar ('Er liebt mich').31

- 28. The English translation here follows Volz's subtitles. It is not always accurate.
- 29. Malone, 'You'll always be', 269-70.
- 30. Ibid., 267.
- 31. Ibid., 270-71.

Stylistically the rock opera mixes the *Faust* classical theatre tradition with rock and pop music in the style of the 1970s. The composer Volz does not entirely live up to his own claim of being up to date in his work.<sup>32</sup> The music would appeal mainly to people whose musical taste was formed in the 1970s. Malone also claims that the composition is an odd regression, an essentially nostalgic view of the 1970s and, instead of taking up the musical taste of the youngest generation of *Faust* readers, i.e. instead of being radically contemporary, its music corresponds more to the taste of the parents' and teachers' generation than to that of teenagers.<sup>33</sup> It is probably the parents' and teachers' generation that shares the nostalgia of the composer and makes the whole project lucrative. In addition, there has been a revival of interest in music of the '60s, '70s and '80s which the younger generation shares, and that plays into the musical's success. The rock opera is, by its very nature, much more of a museum piece than Goethe's text ever was.<sup>34</sup> In his DVD interview the composer Volz indeed admits that his *Faust* came 'kulturgeschichtlich 25 Jahre zu spät' [25 years too late in terms of cultural history] but says it still represented a good expression of the spirit of the 1990s.<sup>35</sup> Even the term 'rock opera' is rooted in the 1980s and has since fallen out of fashion.<sup>36</sup>

#### German Eventkultur

Towards the end of the twentieth century in Germany Goethe had already become an *Event*. According to Margit Raders, the 250th birthday of the 'Dichterfürst' [Prince of Poets] was celebrated with

hochkarätigen Staraufführungen seines Werks [. ] – eine Event-Kultur, die mit Peter Steins Mammutinszenierung des *Faust I* und *Faust II* im Jahre 2000 ihren krönenden Abschluß fand

[top-flight star performances of his work – an event culture which, in the year 2000, found its crowning conclusion with Peter Steins's mammoth staging of Faust I and Faust II]. <sup>37</sup>

- 32. On his website the composer and librettist affirms: Faithful to the intention, but an uptodate and comprehensible version'; <rudolf-volz.de. Rudolf Volz>.
- 33. See Malone, 'They Sold Their Soul, 227: 'essentially a nostalgic vision', 'odd musical regression'.[invert?]
- 34. Ibid.: 'already in its conception, his rock opera is more a museum piece than Goethe's original'
- original.' 35. Statement by Dr Rudolf Volz, in *Faust Die Rockoper*. Bonus DVD.
- 36. Elizabeth L. Wollman, *The Theater Will Rock. A History of the Rock Musical. From Hair to Hedwig* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 124.
- 37. Margit Raders, 'Der Titel in der Faust-Tradition. Konventionalität, Marginalität und Intertextualität', in *Titel, Text, Kontext. Randbezirke des Textes. Festschrift für Arnold Rothe*, ed. Arnold Rothe, Jochen Mecke and Susanne Heiler (Berlin: Galda & Wilch, 2000), 73–106, here 73.

The concept of 'Event culture' became established over the first decade of this century in German everyday language and in scholarly discussion. Even the concept of organizing and marketing cultural productions as hip 'events', shows up in media headlines and book titles.<sup>38</sup> The event culture trend is international and has penetrated even religious and relatively private occasions like weddings and birthdays. 'Event' is also a concept aimed at selling history and art and also making religious occasions more attractive.<sup>39</sup> There is a considerable feel-good factor associated with it, which the sociologist Gerhard Schulze has analysed in his study *Streifzüge durch die Eventkultur* [Prowls through Event Culture].<sup>40</sup> Thore are also psychological studies deveted to this trend <sup>41</sup> In the world of There are also psychological studies devoted to this trend.<sup>41</sup> In the world of consultants, event organisers and manuals devoted to staging memorable occasions, the term and concept have become common currency,<sup>42</sup> and even cultural studies go to battle for the arts under this banner.<sup>43</sup> Of course, event culture has also been sharply criticized. The economics journalist Klaus Werle considers a cultural event that is staged and marketed to be a form or extension of economic optimization using the tools of mass culture: one's reality is perceived as imperfect, whereas the 'event's' aesthetically impeccable appearance conveys the illusion of perfection. Any such event must surpass the previous one in order to be perceived as equally convincing and intense.<sup>44</sup>

Musical tourism in particular, promoted by intensive marketing and collaboration with hotels, etc., has been developed into a lucrative industry, in Germany especially since the premiere of *Cats* in Hamburg in 1986. While many bemoan the decline of music culture in favour of commerce, critics such as Günter Bartosch defend the musical as an art form that combines art with commerce. 45 In addition, musicals have not only led to the construction of dedicated venues or to the adaptation of existing buildings (a good example is the *Starlight Express Theater* in Bochum), but they are being increasingly performed in public theatres, filling these houses and thus cross-subsidising other productions. 46 This applies also to Faust – Die Rockoper as discussed above.

- 38. Ronald Hitzler, Eventisierung. Drei Fallstudien zum marketingstrategischen Massenspaß (Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011).
- 39. Julian Blomann, Geschichte verkaufen. Eventkultur als Arbeitsfeld (Saarbrucken: VDM, 2007), and Gerhard Wegner: Kirche und Eventkultur. Wenn Christentum sich exponiert (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2002).
- 40. Gerhard Schulze: Kulissen des Glücks. Streifzüge durch die Eventkultur (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 1999).
- 41. Wolfgang Schmidbauer and Harald Pühl (eds), Eventkultur (Berlin: Leutner, 2007).
- 42. For example, Ulrich Holzbaur, Edwin Jettinger, Bernhard Knauss, Ralf Moser and Markus Zeller, [et al.?] Eventmanagement Veranstaltungen professionell zum Erfolg führen. 3rd edn (Berlin: Springer, 2006).
- 43. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Kristiane Hasselmann and Alma-Elisa Kittner (eds), Kampf der Künste! Kultur im Zeichen von Medienkonkurrenz und Eventstrategien (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012).
- Klaus Werle, 'Die Perfektionierer. Warum der Optimierungswahn uns schadet und wer wirklich davon profitiert' (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2010), 184.
   Günter Bartosch, 'Das ist Musical! Eine Kunstform erobert die Welt' (Bottrop: Pomp, 1997), 7.
- 46. See the chapter on 'Phänomen Musical-Tourismus', in Harald Dettmer, Elisabeth Glück and Thomas Hausmann, *Tourismustypen* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000), esp. 65. See

The psychologist Wolfgang Schmidbauer explains the attractiveness of mass The psychologist Wolfgang Schmidbauer explains the attractiveness or mass cultural events with the fact that they offer light entertainment, an exhilarating atmosphere and a vague sense of belonging. The market expert Klaus Werle emphasizes that this fulfills the individualistic desire to be something special: Gerade weil so viele dabei sind, gibt eine Massenveranstaltung das gute Gefühl, bei der richtigen Sache dabei zu sein. [Precisely because so many people are present, a mass event gives a good feeling of being in the right place.] Especially in a crowded audience, the rock opera experience employs if not overpowers all senses and at the same time meets each member employs if not overpowers all senses and at the same time meets each member where he/she is, be it new to rock music or nostalgic, knowledgeable of Goethe's play or a novice. Successfully staged 'events' – according to the Wolfgang Schmidbauer – engage all the senses and in this way build a close relationship experienced as a kind of bond between the spectator and the performance/ performers: 'sie stiften Geborgenheit, machen sich zur Ganzheit' [they give security, become a totality]. Schmidbauer finds an explanation for the collective hunger for ever new and bigger 'event' experiences in looser real-life social bonds combined with a flood of information and possibilities with the accompanying pressure to stand out. While it may sound contradictory that a rock musical is perceived as assuring, it is the state of presence and absorption that supports a state of familiarity and safety in spite of otherwise dominating experiences of insecurity and safety in spite of otherwise dominating experiences of insecurity and fragmentation. 50 Faust – Die Rockoper as a dinner show with the appeal of the location or as a mini theme park vacation easily overpowers rock music's initial rebellious motivation and impact. The effect is fleeting, though, and thus ironically reflects Faust's unfulfilled striving for the perfect moment.

The event character has thus displaced the existential questions of the drama and the serious implications of the Faustian character and of Margarete's choice. With regard to the combination of the classical Faust with rock music and its repackaging as a major entertainment 'event', it must be remembered that it was indeed rock music that originally made the link between art as commerce and art as protest. Of course, the original impetus that linked musical expression of protest contained in rock to its age, its rebelliousness and abandon, has long lost its urgency and cultural relevance. Sociologist Gerhard Schulze posits that what has remained is the 'Wunsch, einfach ein bisschen Spaß zu haben' [wish just to have a bit of fun] and – especially for those who share the experience of protest – 'nostalgische Erinnerungen' [nostalgic memories].

also Anna Schmittner, Musical-Tourismus im deutschsprachigen Raum. Hintergründe und Perspektiven für den Tourismus- und Freizeitmarkt (Saarbrücken: VDM, 2006). 47. See Schmidbauer, 'Vorwort', in Schmidbauer and Pühl, Eventkultur, 9.

- 48. Werle, 'Die Perfektionierer', 184.
- 49. Wolfgang Schmidbauer, 'Annäherung an den Event', in Schmidbauer and Pühl, Eventkultur, 13–39, here 28–9.
- 50. See ibid., 30.
- 51. Gerhard Schulze, Die Erlebnisgesellschaft. Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart, 8th edn (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 1995), 547.
- 52. Ibid., 547–8.

## **Reception and Assessment**

The pupils' feedback in the form of 'Fanpost' excerpts on the website has clearly been selected for their advertising qualities. They stress positive characteristics of the production such as suspense, atmosphere and relatability. Others point out that they would like to see it again or recommend it as supplement to

reading the play.<sup>53</sup>

There were no reviews of the rock opera *Faust* in any of the major daily and weekly newspapers. This seems to be typical for the genre. On the other hand, weekly newspapers. This seems to be typical for the genre. On the other hand, there are often short reviews in local papers, which generally are half advertising and often repeat material from the promoters' press releases.<sup>54</sup> More in keeping with the event character are personal reports on blogs and in the social media. The 'Fanclub' page on *Facebook* currently has 141 members<sup>55</sup> – which is a small number for a musician or band, even compared to other German musicals such as *Elisabeth*. However, such comments generally do not contain relevant information or analysis of the production. 'Da muss man doch mit dabei sein' [One simply has to have been part of it] reads one typical short commentary on the Facebook page with the appropriement of the production at commentary on the Facebook page with the announcement of the production at the outdoor theatre Spremberg as a 'Public Event' in June 2012.<sup>56</sup> This comment reflects the predominance of the shared experience as described above. According to Schmidbauer and Pühl, 'events' generally lack sustainable engagement, depth and objective analysis.<sup>57</sup> Maybe therein lies the explanation of why the 'high culture' critics and media have ignored the success of Faust— Die Röckoper, while the Stein staging of the play, for example, was extensively discussed in the media and subsequently in Goethe scholarship.

On the German *amazon* website there is only a single reader's evaluation of the DVD, which gives the impression of an authentic, albeit highly naïve, viewer who cites extensively from the text of the DVD advertisement and the website, adding a reference to a 'tolles Live-Erlebnis' [fantastic live experience] and the possibility of humming along.<sup>58</sup> The few reviews of the audio CDs, apart from

- 53. <a href="http://www.faust-rockoper.de/paeda.html">http://www.faust-rockoper.de/paeda.html</a> (accessed 17 December 2013).
- 54. The most comprehensive of them, including negative points of criticism is Julia Hardt, 'Goethes Texte, rockige Töne und tanzende Teufelinnen. Faust Die Rockoper auf Deutschlandtour', blickpunkt musical, 6 (2010), 28–9. A representative newspaper report is Frauke Adrians, 'So schwül. "Faust Die Rockoper" als Mephisto-Musical', TA Thüringer *Allgemeine*, 19 July 2010. 55. <a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/359712304062545">https://www.facebook.com/groups/359712304062545</a>.
- 56. 'Da muss man doch mit dabei sein' [One simply has to be a part of it.], Andreas Bränzel, 'Faust Die Rockoper', Public Event, 1 June 2012 (Facebook post, 8 December 2011). This post is no longer visible on Facebook, though. URL for newer postings is <a href="https://www.facebook.com/faustdierockoper/">https://www.facebook.com/faustdierockoper/</a>.
  57. Schmidbauer and Pühl, *Eventkultur*, cover text.
- 58. Reader's review of Faust Die Rockoper (2 DVDs, 2007): Heidi Zengerling, 'Bücherfreak' (Heyerode) <a href="http://www.amazon.de/review/RUZZ8C6KFS6T4">http://www.amazon.de/review/RUZZ8C6KFS6T4</a>, 9 September 2010.

one very critical one, have very little to add.<sup>59</sup> What testifies to the success of turning *Faust* into a major entertainment event is thus mainly the sheer number of performances and the level of attendance, which, even after six years running, is still high, much higher than for the two millennium productions of the play. Cross-overs into other aspects of the music market have not occurred, but this is

not untypical for musicals in general.

In his book Faust und das Faustische (1962) Hans Schwerte put forward the hypothesis that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the ideology of the 'Faustian German' had grown out of Goethe's tragedy, and that only with this ideology's destruction and retraction in World War II was it possible to regain an uncorrupted 'Blick auf das Dichtwerk und dessen eigene Konturen' [view of the poetic work and its own features]. Octoording to Schwerte, Faust was first a legend, then a poetic work, then an ideology, and only after the destruction of the ideology could it become a work of literature once more. Many performances and interpretations of Faust during the following decades on both sides of the Iron Curtain suggest that ideology did not simply vanish. Literary scholar Willi Jasper, writing precisely at the time of the birth of the Faust musical, warned against the return of the Faustian as a symbol of the Germans' self-image. The political scientist Herfried Münkler points out in his monograph on the Germans and their myths that the Faust myth has remained a 'wichtiger Bezug für Selbstreflexion und Selbstperspektivierung' [an important point of reference for self-reflection and self-positioning]. In conclusion, it is therefore appropriate to ask whether the rock opera contributes in some way to such self-interpretation. Based on Schmidbauer's psychological analysis of 'event' culture, the answer has to be negative. The inherent consumer attitude resists analysis and lasting impact. The Rock opera profits from and upholds the remains of the Faust myth but does not engage with its legacy and ideological implications. Moreover, the playful and self-ironical props and the dance choreography often reminiscent of (1980s) music videos, as well as the encouragement of communal chanting of well-known lines undermine critical analysis and reflexion.

The (young) audience of the Faust musical does not know, for the most part, of the ideologizing of the Germans as 'Faustian'; they don't attend the musical to gain education or to confirm their belonging to an educated social strata, but – if the above students' feedback may be taken as representative – they are open to

- 59. See reader's review of *Faust Die Rockoper* (4 CDs): C. Schade: [translation: I found this "RockOpera" bad and not very entertaining. When I saw the cover I had envisaged an amusing and Rock type approach to opera and Faust. Unfortunately my expectations were dashed. The songs are not at all Rock songs and the voice of the main singer is unsuitable. I can't say much about the plot since, because it was not gripping, I was not fully attentive to it. So: a good idea but badly handled.] <Amazon.de/product-reviews/B000V6UX8C/ref=acr\_search\_hist\_2?ie=UTF8&filterByStar=two\_star&showViewpoints=0> (accessed 26 August 2010).
- 60. Hans Schwerte, 'Faust und das Faustische. Ein Kapitel deutscher Ideologie' (Stuttgart: Klett, 1962), 8–12.
- 61. Willi Jasper, Faust und die Deutschen (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1998).
- 62. Herfried Münkler, Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2009), 137.

being entertained by a radical transformation of a play that is still on schools' reading lists. For this very reason a *Faust* rock opera can attract a mass audience in Germany, even if it does not match international musical imports in terms of star quality and professionality. It transforms prescribed reading and vague mythology into a stylish performance event.

Translated: Dan Farrelly

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