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J.M. Tudor: CONCEPTIONS OF MUSIC IN GOETHE'S TIME AND MUSIC IN
GOETHE'S FAUST

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the nature of Goethe's thought on music, against the background of some attitudes to music current in the eighteenth century; and on this basis offers an interpretation of Goethe's use of music and allusions to music in literature, especially in Faust.

The introduction surveys work done both by musicologists and by literary critics. There is plenty of information on Goethe from both sources; but critical assessment has been hampered by lack of an adequate framework. It is suggested here that we should examine Goethe's work in the light of an eighteenth-century tendency to think of music 'metaphorically' - i.e. by analogy with something else.

The main part of the thesis examines the principal analogies current in Goethe's time; showing how Goethe understood music through each, and how he used the resulting symbolic associations with music in his literary work, especially in Faust. The first section examines some broad general conceptions of music; following sections deal with specific ideas of the structure of music, of its relation to movement and dance, and of its relation to language. The final section examines conceptions of music which appear to combine several of these ideas.

The conclusion suggests that Goethe is most fruitfully compared with Herder and Schiller in his conceptions and use of music. He drew considerably on the structure and forms, on the tonal and rhythmic expressiveness of music as he understood them, to increase the resources of expression and form at his disposal, and to find analogies through which, in Faust as elsewhere, he made some of his most complex statements about man, Nature and art.

CONCEPTIONS OF MUSIC IN GOETHE'S TIME
AND MUSIC IN GOETHE'S FAUST

by

Josephine M. Tudor, B.A.

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Note

For reasons of convenience, Goethe's works are quoted from the Artemis Ausgabe (AA), ed. E. Beutler, Zürich 1949; but references to Faust are quoted from the special edition, vol.101 in the Bücher der Neunzehn series, Hamburg 1963 (= vol.3 of the Hamburger Ausgabe (HA), ed. E. Trunz, Hamburg 1949ff.), since the edition by Trunz is more widely used. Occasional reference is also made to the Weimarer Ausgabe (WA) (= Goethes Werke, hrsg. im Auftrage der Großherzogin Sophie von Sachsen, Weimar 1885ff.).

All quotations, from Goethe and from other authors, have kept the orthography of the edition specified.

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1) The Eighteenth-Century Background

In an essay entitled Taste, Style and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Music,¹ E.E. Lowinsky sets out to investigate why, in an age crowded with outstanding compositions, public opinion in several European countries preferred certain works which were technically inferior. It emerges that these preferences were not simply a result of public ignorance; or of the general tendency for works to be popular because they are unsophisticated and easily understood.² Lowinsky is able to show that eighteenth-century attitudes to music were heavily influenced by what he calls "ideology" - a code of values applied to the world in general. Thus when Rousseau champions Italian operetta against Rameau, he is not simply declaring a preference for melody and homophonic style as against harmony and polyphony. He is defending the status of individual feeling against a view of the world which values universal order; and he therefore defends music which can be interpreted as the voice of feeling, against music with mathematically-based structures which was felt to epitomise symmetry and order.³ Similarly, Lowinsky explains the Leipzig city fathers' preference for Telemann or Chr. Graupner above J.S. Bach as a preference for music with a clearly distinguishable melodic lead, interpretable as the principal 'voice'. And he contrasts it with the previous generation's obsession with canon form (and with fugue) as the epitome of their 'Leibnizian' universe, where every individual part is subordinate to an orderly and proportioned whole.⁴

1) In Aspects of the Eighteenth Century, ed. E.R. Wassermann, Baltimore 1965, pp.163ff.

2) Although he suggests that this played a part in the success of Rousseau's Le Devin du Village (pp.193ff., esp. pp. 200ff.).

3) Ibid., pp.164ff., 194ff.

4) Pp.163f., 179ff.



One may question certain aspects of this interpretation - if only because it too readily implies that all composers had a well-defined cosmology before putting pen to paper. Nevertheless, further inquiry soon shows that Lowinsky is right to stress the importance of such 'ideological' associations in eighteenth-century evaluations of music. Hugo Goldschmidt, in the introduction to his survey of Die Musikästhetik des 18. Jahrhunderts,¹ points out that much of the 'aesthetics' of this age consisted of attempts to generalise from music known to the commentator and interpretable in the light of his particular Weltanschauung. Goldschmidt's concern is to show:

die Beziehungen,
...die zwischen dem allgemeinen Geistesleben jener Zeit und der Schaffensweise der Meister bestanden...

In der alten Zeit waren die Musikästhetiker...Empiriker, und überdies entweder selbst Praktiker, wie Rousseau, Rameau...oder doch mit dem lebendigen Kunstwirken aufs innigste verwachsen, wie Herder, Heinse, Marmontel...Selbst der beschränkte Naturalismus der Altfranzosen, der der lebendigen Kunst am fernsten stand, hat doch überall die Musik nicht so sehr als philosophisches Phänomen vor Augen als die Musik, wie sie ihnen eben vorlag, sei es nun die Oper des Lully, oder die Klaviermusik der Couperin und Rameau...Ja, ein großer und wichtiger Teil dieser Ästhetik knüpft überhaupt an Vorgänge des Musiklebens an, an den Vergleich der französischen mit der italienischen Oper insbesondere...

So kommt es, daß die Literatur der musikästhetischen Schriften uns einen tiefen Blick tun läßt in die Triebfedern des Kunstlebens. Wir erfahren die inneren Vorgänge des musikalischen Produzierens... die Artung des Musikhörens und künstlerischen Genießens...Wir lernen die Ansprüche kennen, die jene Hörer an diese Kunst stellten, was sie geistig und seelisch von ihr erwarteten...

Überall auf dem Wege von Lully bis Beethoven werden wir die Einwirkungen der in der Ästhetik versenkten geistigen Strömungen der Zeit auf der Musik festzustellen haben. 2

Goldschmidt considers that the influence of such "nicht-ästhetische Momente" has been gravely underestimated. And indeed his survey shows, for example, how the aesthetic idea of music as the direct vehicle of feeling was almost inextricable from convictions that music was inferior to language, superior to language, or simply bad for the nerves - shows, that is, how it was

1) Zürich/Leipzig 1915.

2) Goldschmidt, pp. 7ff.

judged according to estimations of the human feeling with which it was associated, rather than according to aesthetic criteria.¹ A survey by Paul Moos, Die Philosophie der Musik von Kant bis Eduard von Hartmann, shows that this habit of interpreting music in the light of extra-musical values continued in the nineteenth century too; and that many eighteenth-century ideas continued to circulate, though usually in modified form.² Smaller-scale studies by other authors also confirm that music was habitually approached in this way throughout the eighteenth century and beyond.³

In view of this background, it is not surprising to find that music began to appear in literary works of the period as a vehicle for certain attitudes to life. Goldschmidt points out that Rousseau took over some of his musico-logical arguments verbatim into La Nouvelle Héloïse (1761);⁴ and both Goldschmidt and Moos refer to the musical criticism to be found passim in Heinse's novel Hildegard von Hohenthal (1795/6).⁵ In some cases, music became a rich source of carefully deployed analogies and symbols. Margaret Atkinson has shown that Tieck, Wackenroder and Brentano took up ideas on music current since Gottsched, and modified them to epitomise in music qualities such as harmonious union (especially of human with divine, of man with man), ordered dynamism, and quintessential expression of feeling.⁶

1) Goldschmidt, pp. 10ff., 40ff., 191ff., 210ff., and passim.

2) First ed. 1901, second ed. Stuttgart 1922. See e.g. his comments on the idea that music was derived from the tonal fluctuations of speech (pp. 16f., 94, 110); or that music has a more direct link with feeling than poetry has (pp. 18f., 25ff., 66ff., 73f.).

3) See e.g. J. Birke, Christian Wolffs Metaphysik und die zeitgenössische Literatur- und Musiktheorie, Berlin 1966; A. Schering, 'Die Musikästhetik der deutschen Aufklärung', Zeitschrift der internationalen Musikgesellschaft, VIII (1907), pp. 263ff., 316ff.; H. Abert, 'Wort und Ton in der Musik des 18. Jhdts.', Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, V (1923), pp. 31ff.; J. Müller-Blattau, 'Zur Musikübung und Musikauffassung der Goethezeit', Euphorion 31 (1930), pp. 427ff. Much useful information is also available in the standard work of reference, Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (hereafter ref. to as MGG), ed. F. Blume, Kassel/Basel 1949ff., under individual authors or ideas (e.g. W. Sierauky's article on the Affektenlehre, I, col. 113f.). For ideas on opera, see esp. W. B. Schwan, Die opernästhetischen Theorien der deutschen klassischen Dichter, Leipzig 1928.

4) Goldschmidt, p. 92.

5) Goldschmidt, pp. 187ff., Moos, pp. 21ff.

6) The Relation of Music and Poetry as Reflected in the Works of Tieck, Wackenroder and Brentano, M.A. thesis, London 1947; see esp. pp. 3ff., 55ff., 94ff., 100ff. Also Goldschmidt, pp. 209ff., Moos, pp. 62ff.

Nor is this literary annexation of music confined to writers of a Romantic stamp. Margaret Ives has shown that Schiller, continuing an ancient tradition, took up the notion of musical harmony as "an analogue of various other processes of combination".¹ And R.M. Longyear has investigated not only Schiller's references to music, but also the points in his dramatic work where musical setting is prescribed.²

2) Goethe: a) Musicological viewpoints i) General

Despite the works mentioned above, there is little reference to the eighteenth-century background in most studies of Goethe's attitudes to music.³ In general, the overriding problem has been that critics have found a wealth of factual detail, but no unifying framework which might explain his own views, or his use of music in his literary work. (Indeed, his personal and fictional statements are usually taken together without distinction). Some musicologists have adopted a comprehensive approach in face of these difficulties. W.Bode has two volumes on Goethe's encounters with music and

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- 1) An Examination of Schiller's Concept of Harmony, M.A. thesis, London 1964; see esp. pp.27,48,62ff.
 - 2) Schiller and Music, Chapel Hill N.C. 1966. Longyear covers music in Schiller's life(pp.7ff.), Schiller's dramatic and literary works(pp.34ff.), and Schiller's "musical philosophy"(pp.94ff.), and he appends a bibliographical essay(pp.167ff.). But the 'philosophy' section consists largely of a record of Schiller's responses to the music he heard; and in general Longyear shows very much less critical sensitivity than Ives.
 - 3) The following list includes most studies published since 1900. For earlier work, see Abert, Goethe und die Musik, p.125; most works cited give further bibliographical information:
 - W. Bode, Die Tonkunst in Goethes Leben, Berlin 1912.
 - M.Friedländer, 'Goethe und die Musik', JGG 3(1916), pp.277ff.
 - H.Abert, Goethe und die Musik, Stuttgart 1922.
 - K.-J.Krüger, 'Die Bedeutung der Musik für Goethes Wortkunst', Goethe I(1936), pp.204ff.
 - E.Staiger, Musik und Dichtung, Zürich 1947.
 - F.Blume, Goethe und die Musik, Kassel 1948.
 - " , 'Goethe', MGG V, cols.432ff.
 - H.-J. Moser, Goethe und die Musik, Leipzig 1949.
 - P. Winter, Goethe erlebt Kirchenmusik in Italien, Hamburg 1949.
 - F.W.Sternfeld, Goethe and Music, New York 1954.
 - L.Ronga, 'Goethe and Music', in The Meeting of Poetry and Music, N.Y.1956, pp.74ff.
 - J.Mittenzwei, Das Musikalische in der Literatur, Halle(Saale)1962.
 - J-Müller-Blattau, Goethe und die Meister der Musik, Stuttgart 1969.
 - I.-M. Barth, Literarisches Weimar, Stuttgart 1971.
 - J.L.Miller, 'Goethe and Music', Seminar VIII(1972), pp.42ff.
 - W.Tappolet, Begegnungen mit der Musik in Goethes Leben und Werk, Bern 1975.

musicians, comments on music, collaboration with composers, etc.; but he relies on chronological order alone to give shape to the account, and leaves the reader with a sense of inchoate complexity. Those seeking a comprehensive collection of data are better served by Tappolet's Begegnungen mit der Musik in Goethes Leben und Werk, the most recent book on the subject; though information should be checked, since the book has some errors.¹ Tappolet adds nothing new; but he arranges the material according to topic (biographical data, genres of works written in collaboration, theories of music, etc.), and greatly eases research by giving detailed references to the Artemis Ausgabe. However, although Tappolet does occasionally mention the background of eighteenth-century attitudes,² he provides no framework which might enable us to assemble a coherent picture of Goethe's understanding and deployment of music. Other critics have rather kept the problem at arm's length; either by dismissing Goethe's views as "nicht frei von Wunderlichkeit"³, or by polemicising against attempts to solve it. The latter reaction is particularly strong in Blume's book:

das alles zusammengekommen bildet ein wunderlich verworrenes, widerspruchreiches Geflecht von Beziehungen. Man kann unternehmen, dieses Geflecht knapp nachzuzeichnen oder in langatmigen Abhandlungen zu verfolgen, entwirren läßt es sich nicht. Das einigende Band ist die Persönlichkeit. 4

And Moser too seems to think that we commit some kind of hybris in trying to understand these things:

[Goethes] Verfahren war subjektive Auslese, nicht Wertung als solche - vielmehr Ansaugen und Einschmelzen des ihm Nötigen in den glühenden Sonnenkern seines Wesens...nicht der Inhalt seines Besitzergreifens oder Verwerfens kann als vorbildlich gelten, wohl aber der herrliche Ernst seiner unablässigen Bemühung, sich durch Lernen zu vervollkommen, und dies...ständig unter dem Gesetz, nach dem er angetreten war,...und das wir schlicht und fromm als gegeben zu verehren haben. 5

1) E.g. wrong date and wrong page ref., p.109; on p.66, for AA 22 p.613f. read

AA 22, p.783.

2) E.g. pp.51ff.

3) Moos, p.107; similar views in Goldschmidt passim.

4) GuM, p.5; see also the 'catechism' on p.66.

5) Moser's book of the same title, p.10.

Fortunately, several other critics both before and since have felt obliged to make the attempt; and have illuminated various single aspects of the subject. F.W. Sternfeld is largely concerned with Goethe's musical sources of inspiration for some lyric poems; but he adds a general guide to critical work available up to 1954.¹ Barth also gives an outline of the subject, in the context of the musical and theatrical life of Weimar.² Krüger, Ronga and Miller have concentrated on Goethe's tendency, as a poet, to judge music as though it were a language; but their findings are for the most part contradictory.³ Sternfeld suggests that Max Friedländer is "still the best scholar in this field" (i.e. in 1954).⁴ Even now Friedländer's article on Goethe gives the clearest picture of Goethe's various experiences with various types of music and musician - especially if taken in conjunction with Friedländer's notes to his anthology of German song,⁵ which explain a great deal about song-form and its connotations in eighteenth-century Germany. But Friedländer is assessing the importance of music in Goethe's life, rather than in his works; here we are still left guessing.

Clearly, a basis for discussion is needed which is broad enough to allow for the fact that Goethe said different things at different times, and which yet avoids the mere recital of dicta. And in fact a further approach has been tentatively suggested which seems much more promising in this respect. It has been pointed out that many of Goethe's comments on music seem to be figurative rather than literal in nature. Ronga suggests at several points that we should look to Goethe's poetic works, rather than to his critical pronouncements, for the fullest articulation of the value which he attributed to music; and adds that some of Goethe's utterances, at least, make better sense as poetic images than as critical statements.⁶ Something of the sort seems to

1) Op.cit., pp.131ff.

2) Op.cit., esp. pp.67ff., 107ff.

3) Krüger suggests that Goethe used music because he despaired of language, & implies that Goethe thought music the superior medium (see esp. pp.205ff.). Ronga and Miller tend to emphasise instances where Goethe set music below language, or had difficulty in finding it meaningful at all.

4) Op.cit., p.131.

5) Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert, Stuttgart/Berlin 1902, vol. I, 1.

6) Ronga, pp.84, 93, 114f.

be implied by Moser in the comments quoted above; and the point is more lucidly made by Staiger and Müller-Blattau, who suggest that Goethe approved of certain composers because their work evoked extra-musical qualities which he valued - e.g. the balance of individual expression with social form in Mozart,¹ or the traditional notion of universal harmony as epitomised in J.S.Bach.² Such an approach has considerable potential - first and foremost, because it can be used not only to illuminate puzzling aspects of Goethe's personal reactions to music, but also to investigate music's role in Goethe's works. If we understand the various symbolic associations which various kinds of music carried for Goethe, we are in a better position to see which of these associations would be useful in the context of a given work, and why. Secondly, this approach accords well with the findings of Goldschmidt, Lowinsky, et al., and with the studies already made of music's function in the work of other eighteenth-century authors.³ If Goethe habitually associated music with qualities from outside its field, so did his contemporaries. And indeed several critics have pointed out that the symbolic values which Goethe attributed to music are not merely his own, but those of his age. W.B. Schwan shows that German Classical writers (Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller) approached opera more as a symbolic medium, as fusion of language and music, than as a genre of theatrical performance.⁴ J. Mittenzwei spends some time considering the values which Rousseau and Herder attached to music; and his subsequent discussion of Goethe's attitudes brings out some striking similarities.⁵

1) Staiger, 'Goethe und Mozart', op.cit., pp.52ff.

2) Müller-Blattau, Goethe und die Meister der Musik, pp.15ff.

3) See p.36 above.

4) Op.cit., esp.p.4.

5) Op.cit., pp.55ff., 62ff., 180ff. Mittenzwei goes on to discuss the specific functions of music in Wilhelm Meister; but although he does so at some length, he produces little more than the idea of evocation of a mood, and the account peters out with a list of references to music in the Wanderjahre and in Novelle(pp.194ff.).

2) Goethe: a) Musicological viewpoints ii) Hermann Abert

By far the most thoughtful discussion in this respect is offered by H. Abert in his Goethe und die Musik (1922). Abert's account of the biographical data has few advantages over others;¹ the difference is that he then goes on to ask:

welche Art von musikalischem Empfinden die ganze Kultur der Goethezeit geschaffen hat,...und...welche Züge davon in Goethes Musikanschauung übergingen und seine schöpferische Teilnahme weckten.²

The age of Goethe, he points out, was a time when both Rationalistic and 'Rousseauistic' Weltanschauungen existed side by side, with their concomitant approaches to music:

das achtzehnte Jahrhundert...[hat] unter Musik etwas erheblich anders verstanden als wir,...es hat sie anders empfunden, andre Ansprüche an sie gestellt und ihr andre Kulturwerte abzugewinnen gesucht. Es stellt außerdem in dieser Hinsicht nicht einmal eine geschlossene Einheit dar, sondern spaltet sich um die Zeit von Goethes Geburt... in zwei annähernd gleiche Hälften, die durch eine geistige Wandlung von ganz besonderer Tiefe von einander getrennt sind. Nicht als wäre dadurch das ältere musikalische Empfinden mit einem Schlage hinweggefegt worden. Es folgten vielmehr einige Jahrzehnte des Übergangs und der Gärung, wo Altes und Neues nach einem Ausgleich streben.

3

The complexity of Goethe's attitudes to music, Abert argues, is due to the fact that he received his formative impressions at this time of transition, and therefore gathered elements from both 'schools':

Gerade in dieser Zeit... hat Goethe seine nachhaltigsten musikalischen Eindrücke empfangen... gerade Goethes Musikanschauung zeigt deutlich, wie fest sich...das Alte neben dem Neuen zu behaupten vermochte.⁴

The Rationalistic attitude, he goes on to point out, attempted to bring music under the control of reason, by subjecting it to the laws of mathematical

1) E.g., Tappolet gives more detailed references; and several of the studies listed above give more detailed information on some points.

2) Abert, p.7.

3) Ibid., p.46.

4) Ibid., pp.46, 53.

proportion, or by associating it with language; the Rousseauistic attitude attempted to express and evoke feeling, both emotional and physical, through sound and rhythm. When we find that Goethe envisaged Bach's music as universal harmony, and yet also connected music with the senses, to the point of linking it both with healing and with depression; or that he mistrusted instrumental music unless explained by a verbal 'programme' or by some visual image, and yet also made his own poetic language uniquely 'musical' in form and sound, and praised music as pure meaning and form, free of subject-matter; we should remember that these varying perspectives are all derived from the two major world-views current in his formative years. ¹

Thereafter, Abert discusses Goethe's contribution to the genres of Lied and opera, and does not pursue this train of thought. But it seems to me that his remarks complement most fruitfully the insights of Goldschmidt, Lowinsky and others cited above; ² and that together they provide us with a working concept which can be applied usefully to Goethe's literary works. For we are now invited to see Goethe as an author approaching music in much the same way as his contemporaries, and guided by similar criteria when he uses music in his works (which is not, of course, to imply that the results would be the same). The crucial difference, observed by many but clearly explained in Abert's account, is that he did so much more diversely, gradually acquiring a very wide range of ideas about music. Some of these ideas stemmed from eighteenth-century Weltanschauungen; some of them from older tradition (e.g. the idea of music as epitomising the harmonious universe). But each could be drawn upon as and when the connotations which it evoked suited Goethe's purpose in a given work. This is a thought-provoking approach; but before pursuing it we must take account of what literary critics may have found to say on the subject.

1) Abert, pp. 47ff., 51ff.; also pp. 107ff.

2) Pp. 2 ff.

2) Goethe: b) Literary-critical Viewpoints, especially on 'Faust'.

i) General

Here we find much the same kind of uncertainty as amongst musicologists; although literary critics do not generally appear to be familiar with musicological work. Even where they are familiar with this aspect of Goethe's interests, the major problem still seems to be the lack of an adequate framework for discussion; and all too often vague enthusiasm or simplistic classifications are made to do duty instead. For example, B.Q. Morgan states that Goethe "employed music as an actor, making it do something of a dramatic nature which words could not have done so well, if at all";¹ but we are left asking what this 'something' was, why Goethe should have thought that words could not do it, and why he should have thought that music would be successful. W.C.R. Hicks assumes that works which require setting are intrinsically different from those which merely mention or evoke music - which sounds reasonable enough until one realises that Goethe thought about music (and about language) in ways too diverse to be accommodated in such a simple formula. Thus although Hicks takes some trouble to inform us about the relation of music and language in song-setting generally, he is unable to shed light on Goethe's use of music in his works.² H. Fähnrich gives much information about the various references to music, interpolations of songs, etc., in both parts of Wilhelm Meister and in the Theatralische Sendung; and he goes further in giving some thought to music's functions there. But he usually refers to Goethe's life, rather than to the literary context, for his explanations;

1) 'Goethe's Dramatic Use of Music', PMLA 72 (1957), pp.104ff.

2) 'Was Goethe Musical?', PEGS NS 27 (1958), esp. pp.131ff. See also G. Rodger's article on the ballad, 'Goethe's "Ur-Ei" in Theory and Practice', MLR 59 (1964), which assumes that Goethe's use of 'cantata' as a poetic form is simply a mistake (p.227).

and his categorisation of music's effects as "individuell", "erzieherisch" and "dämonisch" seems at best crude.¹ Elsewhere, there is a confusing tendency to talk about works which are sonorous and rhythmic, or about works which evoke music vividly, as though they were music - e.g. Blume's article on Novelle,² or Fähnrich's on the West-östlicher Divan.³ By comparison, E.S. Neumann's comments on Götz⁴ are clear and straightforward; but as Neumann shows, the songs here have fairly simple functions. With complex works, we often find more helpful insights in the work of critics who were not initially writing about music at all, but have come upon it whilst pursuing some other theme - e.g. G. Müller's comparison of the Parzenlied with other poems and with Klärchen's songs,⁵ or E.M. Wilkinson's study of catharsis.⁶

The most illuminating remarks, however, have been made with reference to Faust. H. Henning's Faust-Bibliographie lists only three articles and one published dissertation as being specifically on the subject;⁷ but so much comment has been made in other contexts that some account must be taken of it here. It is of course difficult to isolate comments on music from the vast secondary literature on Faust without some distortion, since not all critics show equal interest in this aspect. Nevertheless, their remarks tend to follow fairly well-defined trends.

Most older commentaries have tended to regard the 'musical' episodes of Faust as an offshoot of Goethe's sonorous and rhythmic language - i.e. as

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- 1) 'Goethes Musikanschauung im Wilhelm Meister', Goethe 23(1961), esp. pp. 142ff., 148ff.
 - 2) 'Zu Goethes Novelle', Das Musikleben 2(1949), esp. p. 230f.
 - 3) 'Goethes Musikanschauung im West-östlichen Divan', Goethe 30(1968), esp. pp. 245ff.
 - 4) 'Die Lieder in Goethes Götz von Berlichingen', GQ 46(1973), pp. 334ff.
 - 5) 'Das Parzenlied in Goethes Iphigenie', PEGS NS 22 (1952/3), repr. in Morphologische Poetik, Tübingen 1968; see esp. pp. 513ff., 525ff.
 - 6) 'Goethes Trilogie der Leidenschaft als Beitrag zur Frage der Katharsis', Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Reihe der Vorträge und Schriften, Bd. 18, Frankfurt a.M. 1957. See also A. Langen's article 'Zum Symbol der Äolsharfe in der deutschen Dichtung', in Zum 70. Geburtstag v. Joseph Müller-Blattau, Kassel 1966, esp. p. 176f.
 - 7) Teil II/2, 1: Sekundärliteratur zu Goethes Faust, Berlin/Weimar 1970, p. 292.

moments of heightened lyrical expression. Düntzer defends songs and operatic sections as more than merely decorative, and "nur verwendet, wo die Darstellung sie forderte"; but he gives only the briefest indication of their function, where he comments at all.¹ Witkowski discusses the words of songs, etc., as though they were simply part of the text, treating musical accompaniment or the use of musical forms as part of the sound-effects for a possible (and very unlikely) performance.² With varying degrees of emphasis, a similar approach is adopted by Rickert,³ Buchwald,⁴ Atkins,⁵ and Friedrich/Scheithauer.⁶ A variant of this attitude can be found in the commentary by K. Fischer, who regards music as a real constituent of the play, but as one evoked by the play's language for our imagination only.⁷ In effect, Viëtor⁸ and May⁹ seem to share this standpoint. A similar tendency to take music together with language under the broad heading of 'lyrical' persists in the more recent work of Barker Fairley,¹⁰ Müller-Seidel,¹¹ and B. Coghlan.¹²

1) Düntzers Erläuterungen zu den Klassikern, 20/21. Bdchen., 6th rev. ed. A. Heil, Leipzig 1909; e.g. vol. 21, pp. 50, 199.

2) Faust, 9th rev. ed., Leiden 1936; e.g. vol. 2, pp. 269, 287ff.

3) Goethes Faust. Die dramatische Einheit der Dichtung, Tübingen 1932; e.g.

4) Führer durch Goethes Faustdichtung, 7th ed., Stuttgart 1964; e.g. pp. 118, 139ff., 270.

5) Goethe's Faust. A Literary Analysis, Cambridge (Mass) 1958. Atkins is thus led into some ambiguities (e.g. "songs", p. 11, "cantos", p. 12), and into a very odd translation of "Saitenspiel" (pp. 183, 221). But some discussion of operatic genres and their symbolism is given (e.g. p. 221f.).

6) Kommentar zu Goethes Faust, Stuttgart 1959; which draws attention to the "verschiedentliche Übergänge ins Musikdrama" (p. 150), but takes the view of the armchair theatregoer and considers only "Sprache und... Versmaß" (p. 151).

7) Goethes Faust, 7th ed., Heidelberg 1912ff. See e.g. comments on Walpurgisnacht (vol. 3, pp. 309ff.), and on Anmutige Gegend (vol. 4, p. 3f.).

8) Goethe, Bern 1949. Viëtor is well aware of music's importance to Goethe, in personal life (pp. 176ff.), in his work as a poet (pp. 74, 177, 292), and as a producer (p. 110). But his discussion of Faust makes the role of music elusive, as its functions are usually presented indirectly in Viëtor's own imagery (e.g. p. 346), or by comparison with other works (e.g. p. 203).

9) Faust. II. Teil. In der Sprachform gedeutet, 2nd ed. München 1962, repr. Frankfurt 1972. For a list of shorter versions published, see Henning's Faust-Bibliographie, p. 313, no. 5096. Each scene is considered under the rubric of Metrik and Sprache, since, as May explains, "die vom Dichter mitgehörte Musik ist uns nicht hörbar". (ed. Frankfurt 1972, p. 9).

10) Goethe's Faust. Six Essays, Oxford 1953, e.g. pp. 36ff.

11) 'Lynkeus: Lyrik und Tragik in Goethes Faust', in Sprache und Bekenntnis, (Festschrift Kunisch), Berlin 1971, esp. pp. 89ff.

12) 'The Lyrical Interludes in Faust I', in Festschrift for Ralph Farrell, Bern etc. 1977, esp. pp. 23ff. (This seems in several respects to be a reaction to Barker Fairley (op. cit.), although Fairley is not mentioned).

However, a number of observers have taken the music in Faust seriously as an element of the play not necessarily bound up with the sound-effects of its language. Many of them have tried to approach music in Faust by comparison with Goethe's libretti for Singspiele, Festspiele, fragmentary operas, etc. Rudolf Fischer studies Goethe's use of the Chorus in Faust against the background of eighteenth-century practice, pointing out that eighteenth-century dramatists of all persuasions, as well as Singspiel librettists, used the Chorus symbolically in various ways, especially for the presentation of social or national life.¹ Hofmannsthal, composing Die Frau ohne Schatten, was much inspired by Goethe's conception of opera as "bedeutende Situationen in einer künstlichen Folge";² and later he drew special attention to a feature common both to musical and to literary genres in Goethe's work - the celebration in art of formal patterns discernible in life.³ Both V.Junk⁴ and H.-A. Koch⁵ have pointed out similarities of theme and formal arrangement between Zauberflöte II and Faust II. The most thorough-going effort of this kind is provided by Fähnrich, who attempts to explain the whole of Goethe's use of music in Faust in terms of his preoccupation with opera; and in particular attributes it to Goethe's failure to find a suitable composer-collaborator for his opera libretti.⁶ This seems a negative and inadequate reason for the use of music in a major work. In an earlier study,

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- 1) Der Chor im deutschen Drama von Klopstocks Hermannsschlacht bis Goethes Faust II, (Diss.), München 1917, esp.pp.71ff.
 - 2) Letter to R.Strauss, 20/1/1913, Strauss/Hofmannsthal Briefwechsel, ed. F.& A. Strauss and W. Schuh, Zürich 1952, p.203. Hofmannsthal, we gather from this letter, derived his impressions from H.S.Chamberlain's book on Goethe München 1912 (q.v., esp.pp.543ff.).
 - 3) In his Einleitung zu einem Band von Goethes Werken enthaltend die Opern und Singspiele, (Goethes sämtliche Werke, VIII, Berlin 1923ff.); repr. in H.v. Hofmannsthal, Die Berührung der Sphären, Berlin 1931, esp.pp.286ff., and in H.Mayer(ed), Goethe im XX. Jahrhundert, Hamburg 1967, esp.pp.158ff.
 - 4) 'Zweiter Teil Faust und Zweite Zauberflöte', Neues Mozartjahrbuch, II(1942), (esp.pp.61ff.
 - 5) 'Goethes Fortsetzung der Schikanederschen Zauberflöte', (Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts, (1969), pp.121ff., also notes p.129f. & passim.
 - 6) 'Goethes Musikanschauung in seiner Fausttragödie - die Erfüllung und Vollendung seiner Opernreform', Goethe, NF 25 (1963), pp.250ff.

R. Petsch remarks that comparison with opera tends to reduce Faust to the status of opera libretto;¹ and Fährnich's article seems to illustrate his point. Fährnich's strict division between words, as medium for "die Szenen menschlichen Ringens und Kämpfens, Leidens und Untergangs", and music, as medium for "das Göttliche, Dämonische, Übernatürliche und Zauberhafte"² is much too arbitrary - it fails to allow, for instance, for Gretchen's songs, or for Faust's sober discourse about the supernatural realm of the Mütter. And a firm division between "wortdramatisch" and "musikdramatisch" seems rather pointless when we are told that some of the "wortdramatisch" scenes do in fact require incidental music.³

Whatever their success, however, such investigations have made critics aware of Goethe's use of music as symbolic medium, both in operetta, Festspiele, etc., and in Faust. And this awareness has in turn produced some important insights into music's place in the network of symbols in Faust. Emrich in particular has pointed to Goethe's use of opera as symbolic medium; and to its connections with other symbolism (especially that of the four elements), in Faust and elsewhere.⁴ Subsequently, S.L. Hardy has been able to show that, in later dramatic work, Goethe developed the use of music as symbolic medium, as a means of achieving a stylistic variety which would enable him to depict contrasting Weltanschauungen.⁵

This latter point converges interestingly with some important insights into the nature of the play's structure. As early as 1916, Helene Herrmann suggested that one could perceive Faust II as a coherent whole much more readily if one recognised what she called the 'symphonic' nature of its

1) 'Goethes Faust: Der Tragödie Zweiter Teil', GRM 11(1923), pp.336ff., repr. in Petsch, Faustsage und Faustdichtung, Dortmund 1966, pp.168ff., esp. pp. (175ff.

2) Fährnich, op.cit.p.254.

3) Ibid.

4) Die Symbolik von Faust II, 3rd rev.ed., Frankfurt a.M. 1964, esp. pp.72ff., (82ff., 269ff.

5) Goethe, Calderón und die romantische Theorie des Dramas, Heidelberg 1965, esp. pp.126ff., 149ff., 158ff., 172ff.

structure. Goethe's technique for putting the world on the stage was not the usual "Bauen mit Einzelgestalten", but the construction of several "Lebenskreisen, Weltsphären", or "Weltschichten"; which had bearing upon one another, like the phrases or movements in a musical work, by contrast, prefiguration, and variation of theme and style.¹ Individual 'voices' within these little worlds relativised one another in the same way, whether they belonged to the same 'sphere' or not (e.g. *Homunculus*, *Euphorion*). And these "Weltschichten" taken together, like the movements of a symphony, made up the totality of what the play had to say about the world as a whole.² This musical analogy is of course Herrmann's own, not Goethe's; and some of her terminology tends at times to obscure the fact.³ Nevertheless, having once begun to see the structure of *Faust* in this way, she was able to suggest (albeit by implication rather than statement) that music was important in *Faust* not in absolute terms, but in relation to other media and stylistic devices. A very wide range of stylistic resources was necessary to achieve Goethe's pattern of contrasting "Weltschichten" and *Weltanschauungen*. Parts of the play which specified actual music, borrowed musical forms (such as *Lied*, hymn), or approached music in the sonority and rhythmic pulse of their language, were contrasted with other parts in which a "heller Sprechton" dominated; and both were combined and contrasted in various further ways with the visual and mimetic aspects of the play (i.e. with figures, their movements, grouping, etc.).⁴ Thus, for example, Gretchen's life of feeling emerges very largely through her songs; Helena's significance is made apparent in her

1) 'Faust. Der Tragödie Zweiter Teil: Studien zur inneren Form des Werkes', in *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 12(1916/17), in 3 instalments: pp.86ff., 161ff., 311ff. Comments summarised above are scattered *passim*; but see esp. pp.88ff., p.117, p.114, and specific examples of contrast (p.109), prefiguration (p.89), variation (p.97). Herrmann acknowledges F. Gundolf's concurrent suggestion, (Goethe, Berlin 1916, pp.774 & 782f.) that *Faust* is so structured (H.p.87, note 1); but she develops the idea, and its connection with stylistic variety, independently.

2) Herrmann, pp.321f., 333f., 88.

3) E.g. "Ton", p.88 and *passim*; "tönen", p.91 and *passim*.

4) Pp.88ff., 111ff., and *passim*.

appearance, and in measured word and gesture; whilst the Euphorion scene shows the combination of two worlds through the combination of their characteristic media and styles.¹ Herrmann's approach has been much admired and further developed by R.Petsch;² who allots music a specific place in the structure of Faust II:

mit überlegener Freiheit gestaltet [Goethe] jene Welten aus, die Faust zu durchmessen, mit denen er sich auseinanderzusetzen hat...Er wendet alle Kraft daran, uns die ganz besondere Atmosphäre dieser Welt mit Wort und Bild, mit allerlei Anspielungen und Betrachtungen, mit der Kraft des Reimes und womöglich auch mit dem Zauber der Töne deutlich zu machen...Dies die Gesichtspunkte, unter denen die ganze Formgebung der Dichtung betrachtet werden will. Daher die kühnen Übergriffe vom Drama zur Lyrik und von der Dichtung zur Musik.

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Petsch goes on to suggest that this kind of structure, and this kind of incorporation of musical sections or of musical forms (e.g. revue, oratorio) was typical of Faust from its earliest stages onwards.⁴ Trunz, too, in his commentary to the Hamburger Ausgabe, accepts this view of the form of Faust and of the role of musical sections, contrasting with one another and with the spoken sections:

Die Akte sind locker aneinandergesetzt, sie haben verschiedene Themenkreise, und mit diesen wechseln die Personen...Der reichen Bild-symbolik der Faust-Dichtung entspricht eine nicht minder reiche, einzigartig instrumentierte Klangsymbolik...Das geistige Klima der einzelnen Szenen, die verschiedene innere Haltung findet Ausdruck in den wechselnden Rhythmen...Durch das ganze Werk ziehen sich Chöre und Lieder, jeweilig zu den Sprechversen kontrastierend und zugleich auf sie abgestimmt. Zwischen die antiken Trimeter passen die Chorstrophen wie zwischen die Madrigalverse...die deutschen Liederstrophen. Die Geisterchöre heben sich immer wieder von der Sprache des Faust und Mephistopheles ab...Es ist viel Welt, die Faust sieht; und jedes Stück Welt hat seine Sprache.

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- 1) On Gretchen, pp. 120ff., 169; on Helena, pp. 171ff.; on Euphorion scene, pp. 135ff. also pp. 316ff., 337ff.
 - 2) 'Goethes Faust: Der Tragödie Zweiter Teil', op. cit., pp. 169ff.; and a later article 'Die dramatische Kunstform des Faust', Euph. 33 (1932), where he also acknowledges Herrmann (p. 236, note 26).
 - 3) 'Goethes Faust: Der Tragödie Zweiter Teil', p. 175.
 - 4) 'Die dramatische Kunstform des Faust', pp. 211ff., 219ff., esp. pp. 232ff., (243f.
 - 5) Sonderausgabe der 'Bücher der Neunzehn', Hamburg 1963 (=HA vol. 3), pp. 482f., 488f., citing both Herrmann and Petsch (p. 652f.). See also Paul Friedländer's comments on the "Polyphonie" and "reiche Kontrapunktik" of themes and styles in Anmutige Gegend (Rhythmen und Landschaften im Zweiten Teil des 'Faust'), Weimar 1953, pp. 20, 26).

Other critics have arrived at a similar conception of the play's structure by using the analogy of the leitmotif; and this has led to an appreciation of recurrent features, as well as of contrasting ones. Of specific interest for a study of music in Faust are comments by Walzel¹ and Willoughby² on Gretchen's songs, by Barker Fairley on the multiple allusions of some songs,³ and by P.Requadt on developments in the recurrent motifs of catharsis and cosmic harmony.⁴ A general account of this trend in research is also given by Requadt.⁵ In recent years, this emphasis on the overall structure of Faust, and on music's place within it, has been complemented by a number of articles on individual scenes. Some of these seek to connect music with the symbolic framework of the play;⁶ others seem unaware of it, and therefore limited in their comment.⁷

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- 1) 'Leitmotive in Dichtungen', (1917), in Das Wortkunstwerk, Leipzig 1926, p. 157f., cit. Requadt, p.23.
 - 2) 'Goethe's Faust. A Morphological Approach', in Goethe: Poet and Thinker, London 1962, pp.107ff. (= rev. version of 'Faust als Lebensorganisation', in Goethe und die Wissenschaft, Frankfurt 1951, pp.35ff.). In fact, Willoughby excludes music from Goethe's field of interest, on the grounds that musical impressions were less clear to him than visual ones ('A Study of Goethe's Imagery', op.cit., p.124). This may well have been true; but there seems little reason to take a fictional comment (Aug um Ohr, AA 1, p.494) as typical of Goethe's attitude as a whole, in view of the evidence accumulated here.
 - 3) 'Recurring Themes', Goethe's Faust. Six Essays, esp. pp.100ff.
 - 4) Goethes 'Faust I', München 1972, pp.29ff., 35ff.
 - 5) Ibid., pp.23ff. See also Requadt's adoption of the notion of rhythmic alternation of diastole and systole as the structural principle of Faust I from R.C. Zimmermann, Das Weltbild des jungen Goethe, (Studien zur hermetischen Tradition des deutschen 18. Jahrhunderts), Erster Bd.: Elemente und Fundamente, München 1969; cit. Requadt, pp.16ff.
 - 6) E.g. W. Roß, 'Vorspiel auf dem Theater und Prolog im Himmel', Wirkendes Wort, 12(1962), pp.237ff.; W. Dietze, 'Der Walpurgisnachtstraum in Goethes Faust', PMLA 84 (1969), pp.476ff.; F. Stock, 'Vom Ariel in Shakespeares The Tempest zum Ariel in Goethes Faust II', Arcadia 7 (1972), pp.274ff.
 - 7) E.g. V. Errante, 'Musik und Malerei in Goethes Kunst. Dargestellt an Faust I: Auerbachs Keller', Thema II (1949), pp.39ff. (which seems to make Herrmann's points much more erratically); F.M. Fowler, 'Goethe's Faust and the Medieval Sequence', MLR 71 (1976), pp.838ff. (which seems to assume that common origins, rather than common functions in the play, make Goethe's 'hymns' "unifying factors" in Faust (p.838); A.P. Cottrell, 'The Song of Lynkeus', in Goethe's Faust. Seven Essays, Chapel Hill NC, 1976, pp.39ff. (which assumes a connection between music and catharsis without reference to the context (p.48f.); F.M. Fowler, 'Glockenklang und Chorgesang' - Play or Cantata?', GLL 31 (1977/8), pp.35ff. (which never quite makes clear why the distinction is important in this context).

These various lines of critical approach are clear enough. But when we come to ask what picture emerges of the role of music in Faust, we are faced with overwhelming complexity. There are many instances, it seems, where Goethe uses music as a medium contrasting with speech, in order to depict contrasting Weltanschauungen. Different forms and styles of speech, and different kinds of vocal or instrumental music, may also be used for this purpose (Herrmann, Petsch, Requadt). Yet in some instances music is merely used to create a mood; and in others is so strongly evoked by the sound-effects and rhythms of the language that its presence or absence does not make a significant difference (Witkowski, Fischer, May, Fairley). In addition, we have somehow to consider references to music in the text, or verbal imagery drawn from the field of music (Emrich, Requadt).

2) Goethe b) Literary-critical Viewpoints, especially on 'Faust'

ii) Jürg Cotti

In view of these complexities, and of the fact that the survey of critical literature given above is by no means exhaustive, we may well approach Cotti's work with some awe. He is the one critic who makes a serious attempt to coordinate the mass of musicological and literary-critical data into a full and orderly account of the role of music in Faust. Admittedly, both work and bibliography are very short (99 pages in all), and neither footnotes nor detailed references are given. But the aim is clear and comprehensive: to investigate "welche Rolle der Musik in der größten Tragödie Goethes zukommt und was für Formen musikalischer Bühnenkunst der Dichter dazu verwendet hat".¹ The study is accordingly divided into roughly equal sections on 'Goethe und die Musik', 'Die musikalischen Gattungen in Goethes Faust', and 'Die Bedeutung der Musik in Goethes Faust'.

1) Die Musik in Goethes 'Faust', (Diss.), Winterthur 1957, p.5.

From the very beginning, Cotti seems to think that the role of music in Faust derives not only from Goethe's experience of music in various dramatic genres, but also from his associations with music; and he soon uncovers interesting complexities in the subject. He observes that Goethe sometimes found that song-settings heightened poetry, sometimes that they obscured the sense and form of the text;¹ and that the connection of music (especially instrumental music) with the irrational and daemonic, by comparison with the lucid rationality of language, led Goethe to associate music both with the heavenly and with the sensuous, earthy and animal.² Cotti also observes a similar duality where Goethe connects music with figures and their movements.³ He then explains - disjointedly, but more fully than Emrich - the connotations of music seen as a medium accommodating both extremes: comprehensive, fluid and flexible. Bach's music, we are told, seemed to Goethe to represent "wogende Ideen und Ahnungen...das jeder Unterhaltung zugrundeliegende Spiel der Bewegungen" - i.e. movement which was ordered, and yet had no specific form or body.⁴ Music may therefore be an "Element" for Goethe, in which formless matter and creative urge can meet, a medium of transition in which old forms can be cast off and new ones assumed - a function which, Cotti notes, can be fulfilled by music generally and not merely by opera, as Emrich suggests.⁵ By the same token, music could also be a middle ground, a medium uniting opposites such as subjective and objective, universal and individual, animal and divine.⁶

Although Cotti provides assertion rather than argument or demonstration, these seem to be promising insights which could be tried out in an interpretation of Faust. Unfortunately, before he explores them further Cotti is sidetracked into an examination of the various musico-dramatic forms used in Faust, and thus into a discussion of connections between music and a possible performance of Faust. There is, of course, nothing intrinsically unsound in

1) Cotti, pp.17ff.

3) Ibid., pp.22ff.

5) Ibid., pp.34ff.

2) Ibid., pp.31ff.

4) Ibid., p.23f.

6) Ibid., pp.25ff., 33ff.

this procedure; but for Cotti it seems to open up a labyrinth of contradictions from which his work never extricates itself. For example, he cites eighteenth-century practice, and the model of Shakespearean drama, as background to Goethe's use of music in Faust, and defends his own approach as "regiemässig" - but then denies that Goethe envisaged performance.¹ He suggests that Faust is an "überdimensionales Singspiel", since it contains too many musical episodes to proceed as a normal drama - but wonders why Goethe chose such weighty subject-matter for so slight a form, and takes wherever possible the versions re-written for performance as Singspiele, in preference to the text of Parts I and II.² He attempts to classify the songs in Faust according to Goethe's specifications for the Singspiel Jery und Bätely³ - but then, (apart from some dubious classifications of individual songs), feels constrained to re-interpret "rhythmischer Dialog" as "choruses", and to classify the Dom scene separately as a melodrama.⁴ He finally suggests that oratorio performance of Faust would be a good substitute for stage performance, since the spoken and sung sections could then be edited into a unified whole - by contrast with their present state of disunity.⁵

Although Cotti's final section makes some useful observations similar to Herrmann's, his claims for music's role in Faust become increasingly wild. Music, we are told, holds the play together;⁶ indeed, Goethe's aim in Faust was to gather together all the forms and styles (Barock, Classical and Romantic) then known:

Es schwebte ihm hierin - neben der vollständigen
Aufzählung und Verwendung aller bühnenmusikalischen Gattungen -
nichts Geringeres vor Augen als ein Nebeneinander barocker, klassischer
und romantischer Musik.

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1) Cotti, pp. 41ff., 58, 72 note.

2) Ibid., pp. 46ff., 58ff.

3) Letter to Ph. Chr. Kayser, 29/12/1799 [AA 18, p. 472f.], cit. Cotti pp. 46ff.

4) Pp. 49ff., 56. It seems clear from Goethe's letter that, although some 'rhythmic dialogue' might be spoken chorally, the two terms are not

5) Pp. 58, 63.

(congruent.

6) Pp. 64, 87f.

7) p. 77f.; see also p. 63.

It seems inherently improbable that Goethe was such a "Sammeler" as an artist.¹ And neither of these conclusions squares with Cotti's earlier observation that Goethe was selective in his approach to musical phenomena, taking only what he could use for his own poetic purposes.² The poetic purposes have been lost from view altogether.

3) Suggestions for a coordinated approach.

All too obviously, it is easier to see Cotti's weaknesses than to offer a viable alternative. And yet, when we survey the work done so far both in musicological and in literary criticism, certain points emerge very clearly. Firstly, the prime necessity is not further information, but awareness of the information already available. Secondly, it would seem that we need not so much yet another new angle on the matter as a properly ordered synthetic approach, which will develop and coordinate the results of approaches already made. (In both these respects, Cotti is surely attempting the right thing, if by an inadequate method). And in both these respects, the most promising basis for discussion still seems to be our original working concept derived from musicological studies: that Goethe, like many others of his age, habitually approached music through associations with ideas or qualities from other fields; and that he cited music in various ways as a means of evoking these symbolic associations in his works. For this is also the notion which runs as a kind of common denominator through all these diverse literary-critical works. Herrmann and others have shown that Goethe wished to convey certain symbolic connotations by using various musical forms and styles in his works; Emrich, Cotti and Requadt in particular have shown that symbolic connotations are conveyed by certain references to music and by certain images drawn from music in the text of Faust. The school of

1) Amongst many possible pieces of evidence, one may point to Goethe's essay Der Sammler und die Seinigen, (1799), AA 13, pp. 259ff.
 2) Cotti, p. 12.

thought which limits music exclusively to 'lyrical' associations appears in this perspective not as mistaken, but as telling only part of the story; Abert, Herrmann and Lowinsky all emphasise the importance of this aspect. Furthermore, the literary criticism on works other than Faust could be fairly summarised as attempts to illuminate one or another of the values which Goethe attributed to music, and to explain his literary usage accordingly. But how does one progress from this working concept to an adequate method ?

a) Theoretical considerations

For this purpose, we need a much more precise understanding of what have hitherto been called "symbolic connotations" or "symbolic associations", and of the kind of thinking which is involved here. In one of several studies of myth and symbol,¹ Ernst Cassirer has remarked that before Man can proceed to organise his understanding of phenomena scientifically (i.e. wissenschaftlich) he has first to organise his ideas by means of 'myth'. That is, before he can say objectively which characteristics are proper to a given phenomenon because they occur in every instance, he has to pass through a stage when he is preoccupied with a single quality suddenly perceived in a single instance:

all the intellectual labor whereby the mind forms general concepts out of specific impressions is directed toward breaking the isolation of the datum,...relating it to other things and gathering it and them... into the unity of a "system"...Mythical thinking...bears no such stamp... in this mode, thought does not dispose freely over the data...but is captivated and enthralled by the intuition which suddenly confronts it...the sensible present is so great that everything else dwindles before it. 2

In this respect, Cassirer thinks, 'mythical' thinking is cognate with 'metaphorical' thinking; inasmuch as metaphor also concentrates exclusive atten-

1) Language and Myth, (tr. S.K.Langer), New York 1946. See also The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms, vol.2 (tr. R. Manheim), Yale U.P.1955, esp. chapters I and II.

2) Language and Myth, pp.25,32.

tion on a given aspect of the object viewed.¹ (I.e. we see in one object a particular quality already familiar from another; and express this perception by describing the first object in terms of the second, regardless of distinctions between the two.) In primitive myth, Cassirer explains, this kind of thinking produces confusion between idea and object.² (For example, the metaphorical idea 'the tree is a god' does not only denote a god-like quality perceived in the tree; it is literally taken to mean that the tree is the god.) But in literature (or in any other form of art), such thinking comes into its own again. For there 'metaphorical' thinking and 'metaphorical' language convey all the emotional vitality and intellectual freshness of the original sudden perception, without suggesting that they offer anything other than an image.³

The idea that eighteenth-century thinking on music was 'mythical' or 'metaphorical' in nature does much to explain its oddities as science - including the oddities of Goethe's thought in this respect. The mystery of music - i.e. the lack of a sufficiently comprehensive view for valid scientific generalisation - was keenly felt.⁴ In the absence of such a perspective, musicologists and others perceived and emphasised now this aspect of music, now that, according to their chosen analogy, as Lowinsky describes. Goldschmidt is very much concerned with the confusion caused by the belief that music conveyed not a representation of human feeling, but the real thing.⁵ And the extraordinary virulence with which these views were often advanced⁶ is more readily understandable if we realise that we are

1) Language and Myth, p.90f.

2) Philosophy of Symbolic Forms, II, pp.33ff.; also the chapter on 'Word Magic' in Language and Myth, pp.44ff.

3) Language and Myth, p.98f.

4) Gottsched, Batteux and the French Rationalists sought to incorporate music into a scientific system of the arts based on the principle of imitation of nature; but even they found difficulties in this enterprise (see Goldschmidt, pp.40ff., 69ff., 80ff.). Most other commentators seem to have felt that music was difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend fully; see esp. Hiller (Goldschmidt, p.135), Herder (ibid., pp.176f., 182), Kant (Moos, pp.13ff.), Goethe's own attempts to arrive at a scientific understanding of music, in the Tonlehre and elsewhere, show a similar attitude. See esp. Symbolik,

5) Goldschmidt, pp.9ff. and passim. (AA 16, p.862.

6) See esp. Lowinsky, pp.164ff., 185ff.; Goldschmidt, pp.41ff., 175ff.

dealing with 'myth' - with a selective, emotionally charged view - rather than with science. Nevertheless, such statements did indeed come into their own in literature, as Cassirer suggests. They then embodied not bad aesthetics, but the vivid perception in music of a particular quality familiar from the outside world (harmony of soul, voice of feeling, etc.).¹

And yet Cassirer's terms have serious disadvantages in some respects. In particular, he persistently associates 'metaphorical' thinking with 'mythical' and thence exclusively with the primitive mind.² But eighteenth-century observers of music did not have primitive minds. On the contrary, where they thought 'metaphorically' they were usually perceiving not one quality in one phenomenon, but similar qualities in music and in several other phenomena - i.e. the process of comparison, which Cassirer praises as the beginning of scientific thought, was very well under way.³ Cassirer seems to imply, moreover, that 'metaphorical' thinking disappears as soon as scientific thinking is possible.⁴ But even those eighteenth-century figures with considerable knowledge of scientific thinking seemed to find 'metaphorical' thinking indispensable on occasions. Kant, for example, felt obliged to fall back on 'metaphor' where his scientific categories proved inadequate to deal with music.⁵ And Schiller, who clearly discerned the 'metaphorical' nature of the connection between music and feeling, was able for that very reason to give a 'scientific' account of the affinities between music, landscape painting, and a certain type of poetry.⁶

Fortunately for present purposes, a more refined treatment of the idea can be found in Max Black's examination of metaphor as a way of thinking.⁷

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- 1) See Lowinsky passim, and the literary criticism cited p. 3^f above.
 - 2) Language and Myth, p. 32 and passim.
 - 3) Cassirer, Language and Myth, p. 25; this is especially clear in the case of the Romantic authors discussed by M. Atkinson (see p. 3, note 6, above).
 - 4) Ibid., pp. 2ff. and passim.
 - 5) Kritik der Urtheilskraft I, 3; cit. Moos, pp. 16ff.
 - 6) Über Matthissons Gedichte, Nationalausgabe 22, pp. 271ff.; see also Moos, p. 19f.
 - 7) Models and Metaphors, Ithaca N.Y. 1962; esp. the essays 'Metaphor', (pp. 25ff.) and 'Models and Archetypes', (pp. 219ff.).

He too regards metaphorical thinking, and therewith metaphorical language, as preceding objective, comprehensive, scientific thought and statement - but not as for that reason primitive. On the contrary, 'metaphor' is envisaged as a necessary complement to scientific thought:

We need the metaphors in just the cases where there can be no question as yet of the precision of scientific statement. Metaphorical statement is not a substitute for formal comparison or any other kind of literal statement, but has its own distinctive capacities and achievements. ¹

The effectiveness of metaphor, Black argues, rests on the fact that each term we use carries not only a conventional literal sense as defined by the dictionary, but also a set of generally acknowledged, if rather vague, "current platitudes" - e.g. that a wolf is fierce, carnivorous, treacherous, etc. If we then make the metaphorical statement that "Man is a wolf", we are not merely comparing the two, but evoking the "current platitudes" about wolves in order to say something about man:

What is needed is...that the reader...shall know...the system of associated commonplaces... From the expert's standpoint, the system of commonplaces may include half-truths or downright mistakes;... the important thing for the metaphor's effectiveness is not that the commonplaces shall be true, but that they should be readily and freely evoked. ²

The result is a new perspective, both intellectual and emotional:

A memorable metaphor has the power to bring two separate domains into cognitive and emotional relation by using language directly appropriate to the one as a lens for seeing the other; the implications, suggestions and supporting values entwined with the literal use of the metaphorical expression enable us to see a new subject matter in a new way. The extended meanings that result, the relations between disparate realms created, can neither be antecedently predicted nor subsequently paraphrased in prose. ³

Black then extends this argument to point out that the workings of metaphorical thought and statement are not confined to the "current platitudes" or

1) 'Metaphor', op.cit.p.37.

2) Ibid.,pp.39ff.

3) 'Models and Archetypes', op.cit.p.236f. See also 'Metaphor',p.41f.

"system of...commonplaces" associated with a given term. In literature, for example, an author can establish a "novel pattern of implications" for a given phenomenon; so that, when used as a metaphorical "lens" for seeing something else, it suggests connotations other than those commonly accepted.¹ But whether we use a conventional frame of reference or a private one of our own, Black suggests that 'metaphorical' thinking is necessarily the kind of thought we use when attempting to extend our understanding of the world at large. He quotes from M.H. Abrams, amongst others, to make the point that such thinking is characteristic of any theory which goes beyond scientific knowledge in an attempt to say something about the world as a whole:

Metaphysical systems... are intrinsically metaphorical systems...Any area for investigation, so long as it lacks prior concepts to give it structure and an express terminology with which it can be managed, appears to the inquiring mind inchoate...Our usual recourse is...to cast about for objects which offer parallels to dimly sensed aspects of the new situation, to use the better known to elucidate the less known, to discuss the intangible in terms of the tangible... We tend to describe the nature of something in similes and metaphors, and the vehicles of these recurrent figures, when analyzed, often turn out to be the attributes of an implicit analogue through which we are viewing the object we describe.

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Whether our thinking is expressed in specific metaphors (in the narrower grammatical sense), in similes, or in sustained comparisons between one phenomenon and another, it is still 'metaphorical' thinking - we are using one thing as a "lens" for seeing another.

b) Methodological considerations

In his introduction to papers from a recent symposium on metaphor as a way of thinking, T. Cohen remarks that nowadays "the respectability of metaphor seems to be acknowledged all round"; and cautions against overenthusiastic

1) 'Metaphor', op.cit.p.43.

2) The Mirror and the Lamp, Oxford 1953, p.31f., cit. Black, p.240. Both also cite S.C. Pepper, World Hypotheses, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1942, p.91f.

application of it.¹ But there would seem to be sound enough reasons for using it here; even though some modification or amplification may be needed. The eighteenth-century attitudes described by Goldschmidt, Lowinsky and others do indeed seem to be instances of metaphorical thinking: where complex and pleasurable order is perceived in music, it is primarily associated with such order and primarily seen as harmony or counterpoint. Where affinities with language are perceived in it, it is primarily associated with utterance, and primarily seen as melody and song. However, we need to go a little further. Work by Goldschmidt, Moos, ~~Low~~^oinsky and Abert suggests that many of these metaphorical ideas about music themselves became "systems of commonplaces" and "current platitudes" which could be "readily and freely evoked". Since music was habitually assessed in one or another of these sets of terms, so a number of different ways of speaking about music became established, which could in turn be taken up as a "lens" for seeing other things.² And to serve this purpose, they need be no more or less accurate as aesthetics than the standard body of beliefs about wolves need be good zoology. A writer could bring one of these views of music into play in order to suggest moral or other values habitually associated with it - i.e. to select a particular perspective on life, and to exclude others. (e.g. when Rousseau's St. Preux writes to Julie about his new insights into Italian music, he is urging her to share a particular perspective - the expression of passion as supreme value).³ Furthermore, such 'metaphors' may be deployed in a way not allowed for by Black, although Cassirer implies its possibility.⁴ With music, we are talking not merely of

1) Critical Inquiry 5 (1978), p.3. The papers of this symposium, plus further comment by Black, are printed in S.Sacks(ed), On Metaphor, Chicago 1979.

2) Cf. Black, op.cit., pp.39ff., 236f.

3) La Nouvelle Héloïse, I, lettre 48 (Oeuvres Complètes, Nouvelle Édition I (1788), pp.473ff.

4) Language and Myth, p.98f., with reference to further work.

objects (such as men or wolves) but of a medium. The 'metaphor' need not be conveyed verbally - the parallel can be made by actually presenting a given subject in music, as Rousseau did when he wrote Le Devin du Village in a style appropriate to the notion of music as the voice of simple individual feeling.¹

We may apply the same approach to Goethe without fear of distorting his attitudes; for there is considerable evidence that Goethe, too, habitually thought metaphorically. In later life, he recommended metaphorical thinking and language as a necessary resource for approaching complex phenomena:

Sie lassen sich nicht festhalten, und doch soll man von ihnen reden; man sucht daher alle Arten von Formeln auf, um ihnen wenigstens gleichnisweise beizukommen. 2

He seems to have been fully aware of the 'metaphorical' nature of language per se;³ and of the temptation to 'mythologise', to take these metaphors implicit in language for literal realities:

Man kann von dem Physiker nicht fordern, daß er Philosoph sei; aber man kann von ihm erwarten, daß er so viel philosophische Bildung habe, um sich gründlich von der Welt zu unterscheiden und mit ihr wieder im höhern Sinne zusammenzutreten.... er soll sich hüten, das Anschauen in Begriffe, den Begriff in Worte zu verwandeln und mit diesen Worten, als wären's Gegenstände, umzugehen und zu verfahren...

Man bedenkt niemals genug, daß eine Sprache eigentlich nur symbolisch, nur bildlich sei und die Gegenstände niemals unmittelbar, sondern nur im Widerscheine ausdrücke... Jedoch wie schwer ist es, das Zeichen nicht an der Stelle der Sache zu setzen, das Wesen immer lebendig vor sich zu haben und es nicht durch das Wort zu töten. 4

But he suggests nevertheless that the fullest medium of communication would be a "mannigfaltige Sprache", incorporating the many 'metaphors' inherent in different kinds of language.⁵ Though this summary comes from late life, this

1) Lowinsky, esp.pp.194ff.

2) 'Nachbarliche Verhältnisse', Farbenlehre, AA 16,p.203.

3) See esp. Cassirer's chapters on 'Language and Conception' and on 'Word Magic', Language and Myth, pp.23ff.

4) 'Nachbarliche Verhältnisse', AA 16, pp.193,204; also his essay on 'Bedenken und Ergebung', AA 16, p.872, where he speaks of ideas as analogous to experience. E.M. Wilkinson draws attention to these essays in connection with several related points in 'The Poet as Thinker', in Goethe: Poet and Thinker, esp.pp.147ff., 151ff. See also Black's discussion of scientists' use and misuse of models, op.cit., p.228f.

5) 'Nachbarliche Verhältnisse', ed.cit.p.204; cit. Wilkinson, pp.136ff., 147ff.

seems to have been his habit of mind throughout. E.M. Wilkinson points out that in earlier life, Goethe viewed the world now from one standpoint, now from another, taking what he could from different disciplines and philosophies; but that he did not attribute absolute validity to any one of these views, and parted company with a given school of thought wherever it laid claim to such totality. Indeed, he regarded the various intellectual disciplines as enshrining inter-dependent complementary truths about the world, as separate symbolisms, each of which brought out some aspects of the world and obscured others.¹

It would seem appropriate, then, that the central concern of this study should be Goethe's musical 'metaphors'. We shall try to identify Goethe's basic ideas about music; and to establish if possible their connotations, the perspectives which they suggested and the conventional implications which they carried, so that we can then understand the associations which he could evoke through them in his work, in order to comment on the world at large.

But the major problem will be to ensure that we have correctly understood whichever "system of associated commonplaces", or whichever private "pattern of implications", is being drawn upon in each case. And this is by no means easily established. For instance, it will not be enough to say when and where Goethe came across a particular view of music (always supposing that this is known). As Abert explains,² Goethe entertained both older and more recent conceptions of music alongside one another; and he is unlikely to have been alone in doing so. And although his early works will obviously incorporate only ideas which he knew in early life, his later works may well refer to earlier conceptions if the connotations are appropriate.³ Further-

1) Wilkinson, op.cit., pp.133ff., 141, 145ff.

2) Op.cit., pp.46ff.

3) Cf. for instance his reversion in later life to genres such as ballad and love-lyric.

more, if Black points to the inadequacy of dictionary definitions as an aid to understanding contemporary metaphors,¹ how much more inadequate will even an eighteenth-century dictionary be as an aid to understanding eighteenth-century metaphors ? And in the case of metaphors conveyed non-verbally, in a musical form or style, the situation is even more difficult. Once the convention associating a given style with a given quality has lapsed, the metaphor evaporates. Music does not give dictionary definitions of its meaning; there is no record of what was once literal usage. Subsequent hearers may remain unaware that a style ever had any particular connotations. Or they may interpret it according to their own conventional associations - which Abert sees as a particular danger when modern music critics approach Goethe.²

Our most effective procedure in face of this difficulty will be to show that these fundamental ideas recur reasonably frequently in eighteenth-century work and in Goethe's work, and to note the connotations which they carry. We must, for this purpose, go back to the originals in many cases - not in the spirit of Quellenforschung, but as the only way to obtain a clear idea of the implications conveyed,³ especially where reference is made to the metaphorical significance of a musical form or style. We can then see how Goethe drew on and developed these "systems of associated commonplaces" for his own purposes, and where he made a "pattern of implications" of his own. It will then make sense, however, for us to follow others in concentrating our attention on Faust. Clearly, Faust was Goethe's most comprehensive statement on life - it took him a lifetime to write, and it claims to survey the whole of life, "Vom Himmel durch die Welt zur Hölle"(243). If this is Goethe's fullest statement about the world, we may also expect

1) Black, p.39f.

2) Op.cit., pp.5ff., 46.

3) It may in any case be necessary to consult originals, since Goldschmidt, the chief source of background information here, does not always give references (e.g. for C.P.E. Bach, pp.153ff.); and he often tends to paraphrase without making clear which are his subject's phrases and which his own (e.g. pp.59ff., 70ff., 172ff.).

that it will incorporate the fullest range of Goethe's musical 'metaphors'. If we wish for a broad but proportioned view of music's role for Goethe as an aid to interpreting the world, we should look at Faust. And since Goethe sharply rejected the notion of interpreting Faust in terms of a single idea,¹ we may feel hopeful about approaching it via several concurrent 'metaphors'; especially in view of his preference for "mannigfaltige Sprache" where complex matters are concerned.²

Inevitably, this method will bring with it some disadvantages. The greatest, perhaps, is that we are trying to achieve both breadth and depth at the same time, with the usual risk of achieving neither. The danger may perhaps be countered to some extent if we follow through each 'metaphor' in turn, in eighteenth-century works, in Goethe's work, and in Faust. In addition, since many of Goethe's statements are complex, in the sense that they involve more than one 'metaphor' at once, certain passages will have to be considered more than once, under different headings. This will mean a minimal amount of repetition; but is likely to be less confusing than attempts to make a full analysis of each relevant passage in turn, which would mean repeated discussion of any 'metaphor' which recurred. And apart from these procedural difficulties, there is a smaller one of terminology. The word 'metaphor' has served us very well so far to denote a particular kind of thinking. But where literary usage is to be discussed, the term is too easily confused with 'metaphor' in the ordinary sense of a particular kind of figure of speech. In what follows, therefore, 'metaphor' is restored to its narrower, original sense, unless otherwise indicated.

1) Eckermann, Dritter Teil, 6/5/1827, AA 24, p.635f.

2) 'Nachbarliche Verhältnisse', AA 16, p.204.

There remains an important afterthought. Herrmann, and many others since, have noted the importance of visual elements in Faust.¹ By following up Goethe's basic conceptions of music and their implications, we may hope to see how music complements not only the verbal metaphors in Faust, but also the visual and gestural ones. And we may do so without entangling ourselves in the problematic issue of Goethe's relationship with the theatre.² Music has traditionally been one of the resources of the theatre;³ and we know that it was used to a considerable extent in the productions which Goethe saw and in many of those which he directed.⁴ But our main focus must be on

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- 1) See discussions of similarities between opera and Faust, pp. 13 ff. above. For particular comment on this aspect of Goethe's work, see, of many, H.-J. Schifferdecker, Das mimische Element in Goethes Dramen, Berlin 1928; P. Friedländer, Rhythmen und Landschaften im II. Teil des Faust, Weimar 1953; Trunz, commentary to Faust, ed. cit., pp. 480 ff.; and more recently W. Binder, 'Faust II mit den Augen gesehen', in Aufschlüsse, Zürich/München 1976.
 - 2) See esp. works cit. pp. 12 ff. above; also, e.g. R. Peacock, 'Goethe's Version of Poetic Drama', PEGS NS XVI (1947), pp. 29 ff.
 - 3) Pace Peacock, The Art of Drama, (2nd rev. imp. London 1960), esp. p. 243 ff. On the role of music in Greek drama, see esp. essays by various authors in H. Lloyd-Jones (ed.), The Greeks, (Cleveland/New York 1962), e.g. pp. 74 ff., 87 ff.; M.J. Anderson (ed.), Classical Drama and its Influence (Essays pres. to H.D.F. Kitto) (London 1965), e.g. pp. 17 ff., 77 ff. On music in the Shakespearean dramatic tradition, see esp. J.S. Manifold, The Music in English Drama from Shakespeare to Purcell, (London 1956); and in general H. Kindermann, Theatergeschichte Europas, vol. III (Salzburg 1959), pp. 66 ff., esp. pp. 130 ff. On the continued strength of musical genres in the German theatre in the late 17th and in the 18th century, see, of many, Kindermann, vol. IV (Salzburg 1961), pp. 194 ff., 303 ff., 355 ff., 440 ff., 586 ff., 614 ff., 714 ff.; and W.H. Bruford, Theatre, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany (London 1950), esp. pp. 174 ff., 197 ff. Music's role in the German theatre was partly influenced by conscious attempts to imitate the Greek or Shakespearean traditions, or to adapt them, in this respect; see e.g. Gottsched, Critische Dichtkunst (4th rev. ed. Leipzig 1951, repr. Darmstadt 1962), II, 10. i-viii, ed. cit. pp. 603 ff.; Lessing, Hamburgische Dramaturgie, 26/27, (ed. Lachmann/Muncker vol. 9, pp. 290 ff.; Schiller, Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie, SA 16, pp. 118 ff.; and other works cit. R. Fischer, *passim*.
 - 4) Music's role in Goethe's early experience of the theatre emerges esp. well from Max Friedländer's article, and from Abert's work. In fact, most of the musicological works cit. above give an account of his experience of music in the theatre and efforts with operas in Weimar. For an account of Goethe's later work in the Weimar theatre, see esp. the memoirs of K. Eberwein and Chr. Lobe, ed. W. Bode, Goethes Schauspieler und Musiker, Berlin 1912, esp. pp. 32 ff., 93 ff., 98 ff.; and E. Genast, Aus dem Tagebuch eines alten Schauspielers, Leipzig 1862, esp. pp. 5, 94 f.; I.-M. Barth, op. cit., pp. 105 ff. Otherwise general comments in Bruford, op. cit., esp. pp. 272 ff., 289 ff., 294 ff. W.H. Flemming's book on Goethe und das Theater seiner Zeit, (Stuttgart etc. 1968), gives a very full picture of Goethe's experience and work in the theatre; but mentions music rather spasmodically (e.g. pp. 24 f., 48 ff., 227 f.), and concentrates on Goethe's Classical period.

what Goethe meant by his use of music in a work cast largely in dramatic form, but not, on his own admission, particularly suitable for the theatre.¹ If we can understand the fundamental conceptions which govern his associations with music, we shall be able to see the particular perspective which Goethe was suggesting in each case, but left to theatrical producers, writers and composers to paint in full.²

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- 1) E.g. Tag- und Jahreshefte, 1796 (AA 11, p.659); letter to v. Brühl, 1/5/1815, "Er [Faust] steht gar zu weit von theatralischer Vorstellung ab" (AA 21, p.66); Conversation with Odyniec, 29/8/1829 (AA 23, p.629).
 - 2) Eckermann, Zweiter Teil, 21/2/1831, (AA 24, p.461). Jocelyn Powell has described such a process impressively: see 'The Incarnation of Imagery in Faust Part I', PEGS 40 (1970), pp.95ff.; and 'Reflections on staging Faust Part II', PEGS 48 (1978), pp.52ff. For interesting comments on Faust as Welttheater, see Hardy, op.cit. p.17f. and passim; Trunz, ed.cit. pp.472ff.; D. Lohmeyer, Faust und die Welt, repr. München 1975, p.5 & passim.

When we examine the conceptions by means of which Goethe approached music, we find that there are two traditional analogues which underlie his whole field of reference. The one identifies music with harmony and divine order; the other with disorderly and irrational forces of every kind, both inside and outside the human mind. These broad general conceptions of music are a useful starting-point; since they form the background to more specific discussions of music both by Goethe and by others, and also to ideas which Goethe developed in a more esoteric way for his own use.

1) Music as Harmony i

Perhaps the most familiar and ancient associations with music centre on the idea of harmony. But the eighteenth century inherited a more complex conception than the vague impression of agreeable consonance and coordination which the word 'harmony' is likely to evoke for us nowadays. H. Hüschén points out that the etymological derivation of this word goes back to an Indo-Germanic root signifying an ordered structure of diverse parts: "die Vereinigung von Entgegengesetztem oder Verschiedenartigem zu einem geordneten Ganzen."¹ The essence of the idea of harmony, then, is coordinated diversity; and this underlies the later, if still very ancient, associations of harmony with musical sound. Hüschén notes that the term came to mean "vereinigen" or "besänftigen", and thence in Greek "ein Instrument stimmen",

1) 'Harmonie', MGG 5, cols.1588ff.

"ein Lied spielen".¹ The idea of harmony as coordinated diversity may be accepted with reasonable confidence, although we are clearly on awkward ground with Greek terms of such ancient derivation.² For, even at a stage when Greek music was still predominantly monophonic,³ a distinction was apparently made between the idea of instrument and voice sounding the same note, but with a different tonal quality; and the idea of sameness where this tonal variety was lacking. Plato's term 'heterophony' certainly seems to indicate something of the sort.⁴ And the idea must have been fairly widely accepted, since Aristotle used the analogy to explain the evils of Plato's system of property: excessive unification of the state, he suggests, "is as if you were to turn harmony into mere unison".⁵

Hüschen notes that, from earliest times, the concept of harmony was used as an analogue for the vast diversity of the cosmic order (macrocosm), and was thus associated with the Pythagorean concept of the harmony of the spheres.⁶ Harmony was also used as an analogue for the orderly diversity of faculties within the human individual - the microcosm, or little world of Man, contained within the cosmos. In medieval times music continued to serve as an analogue for cosmic and human order, in the concepts of musica mundana and musica humana;⁷ and later philosophers also drew extensively⁸ on the concept of harmony, in order to present the world as a complex but divinely ordered whole. The most familiar of these are probably Kepler, in his Harmonices Mundi (1619), and Leibniz, in his Monadologie (1714);⁸ Shaftesbury and the Cambridge Neo-Platonists used the concept too.⁹

1) Hüschen, col. 1589. See also W.K.C. Guthrie, A History of Greek Philosophy, vol. I, p. 220.

2) Hüschen shows that, even in the field of music, the term 'harmonia' had acquired eight different senses by the sixteenth century (col. 1609).

3) Harvard Dictionary of Music (HDM), 2nd rev. ed. London 1970, p. 353.

4) Laws, VII, 812D; (cf. Jowett, The Dialogues of Plato, "when the strings give one sound and the poet or composer of the melody gives another" (IV, p. 380). 'Heterophony', HDM, ed. cit. p. 383.

5) Politics, II, 5, 14, ed./tr. E. Barker, Oxford 1946ff, p. 51.

6) Hüschen, cols. 1591ff.; Guthrie, pp. 220ff. 295ff.; W. Vetter, MGG 10, cols. 1790ff.;

7) Hüschen, cols. 1594ff., 1599ff.

8) Hüschen, cols. 1602ff.; R. Haase, MGG 7, cols. 839ff., MGG 8, cols. 498ff.; Lowinsky pp. 179ff.

9) See R.L. Brett, The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, London 1951, pp. 17ff., 68ff.

For present purposes, two aspects of this tradition are of particular interest. The first is the familiar point that the basis for this ordered cosmos was divinely-ordained mathematical proportion. Each planet moved in proportion to the others;¹ each part of the universe was proportionate to the other parts and to the whole.² Where this mathematical, measurable basis for harmony is emphasised, we find harmony increasingly equated with regularity, symmetry and orderliness - there is greater emphasis on coordination than on diversity, and beauty and excellence are virtually equated with proportion. Certainly, this seems to be the predominant emphasis when the term is used in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Shaftesbury, for instance, insisted that music was founded on universal laws of proportion:

Shou'd a
Writer upon Musick...declare,..."That the Measure or Rule of Harmony
was Caprice, or Will, Humour or Fashion", 'tis not very likely that he
shou'd be heard with great Attention, or treated with real Gravity. For
HARMONY is Harmony by Nature, let Men judge ever so ridiculously of
Musick...'Tis the same case, where Life and MANNERS are concerned. The
same Numbers, Harmony, and Proportion have place in MORALS; and are
discoverable in the Characters and Affections of Mankind; in which are
lay'd the just foundation of an Art and Science. 3

And Leibniz also declared that music reflected what Man could grasp and reproduce of the perfect symmetry of God:

Les perfections de Dieu sont celles
de nos ames, mais il les possede sans bornes;...L'ordre, les proportions,
l'harmonie nous en enchantent, la peinture et la musique en sont des
echantillons⁴; Dieu est tout ordre, il garde tousjours la justesse des
proportions, il fait l'harmonie universelle. 5

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- 1) See e.g. W.Vetter, on Pythagoras, MGG 10, cols.1790f.; Hüschén, cols.1595ff., 1603f.; Lowinsky, p.181.
 - 2) See, of many, Plato's Timaeus, §§35ff., 47 (The Dialogues of Plato, ed. Jowett, 4th ed. Oxford 1953, III, pp.721ff., 733f.); also Hüschén, cols.1595ff. and passim.
 - 3) Advice to an Author (1710), III, 3, Characteristicks, 5th ed., Birmingham 1773, vol. I, p.353. See also Brett, p.104.
 - 4) Not 'sparks', as Lowinsky translates, but something more like 'representative samples'. Cf.: "petite quantité d'un produit, qui permet d'en apprécier ou d'en faire connaître les qualités." (Petit Larousse illustré, Paris 1974, p.341, under "échantillon").
 - 5) Essais de theodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, etc., Die philosophischen Schriften; ed. C.I. Gerhardt, Berlin 1875, vol.6, p.27; cit. Lowinsky, p.182 and note 40. See also Hüschén, passim, esp. cols.1599ff., 1602ff., for a general outline.

So strong were these connotations of order that even discord, and the disorderliness which it suggested, was accommodated within the divine scheme of things. Leibniz suggested that discords were deliberately placed in music by the composer to enhance the beauties of concords, just as God allowed evil in order to enhance the beauty of goodness,¹ and the painter used shadow to enhance light.² Music was thus not the only model for the harmonious cosmos; but it seems to have been especially popular in the early and middle 18th century, because it was itself to some extent based on mathematical proportion. As Lowinsky explains, techniques such as harmony and counterpoint (i.e. 'vertical' and 'horizontal' structuring of musical compositions³), forms such as canon and fugue, were cultivated not merely as a matter of aesthetics, but because they satisfied the rationalist ideology of a universal order apprehended by reason.⁴

The second point of interest here is that the traditional notion of harmony implied a kind of double structure in the universe - a "temporal succession" or sequence, and an "order of the simultaneous", or hierarchy.⁵ This is inherent in, e.g., the world order envisaged by Plato, where each successive stage of Creation emanates from God;⁶ and Hüschen shows that it also appears in ancient musicology, where 'harmony' could denote a scale or mode (i.e. a sequence of notes at proportioned intervals) as well as the art of singing together with an accompaniment.⁷ Furthermore, as R.C. Zimmermann explains, the idea of such a structure was part of the body of Hermetic lore so surprisingly popular in the eighteenth century. It was based on Neo-Platonist philosophy and on the Pansophic tradition;⁸ and it associated har-

1) Conversatio cum domino Stenonio de libertate, 27th Nov. 1677; (Liberté et Optimum, section 5); in Textes Inédites, ed. C. Grua, Paris 1948, I, p.271.

2) Dialogue avec Dobrzensky, (Liberté et Optimum, section 22), *ibid.*, p.365f.

3) See HDM, ed.cit., pp.371ff., 208ff.

4) Lowinsky, pp.179ff.

5) *Ibid.*, p.180.

6) Timaeus, esp. sections 30-47, ed.cit. pp.717ff.

7) Cols. 1609ff.

8) See esp. W.E. Peuckert, Pansophie, 2nd ed. Berlin 1965, p.2 and passim; cit. Zimmermann p.29. Unfortunately, Peuckert does not discuss harmony separately.

mony with the idea of the 'golden chain' which linked each stage in the hierarchy of Creation with the one below and above, and successive past ages with the present:

Die Hermetik analogisiert als emanatistische Philosophie aus dem Großen und Ganzen von Gott und Welt ins Kleine und Einzelne. Sie geht aus von einem die Analogie erst ermöglichenden Glauben an die göttliche Wesenheit aller Dinge, an die Panharmonie aller Weltgesetze als Ausdruck des Göttlichen. So kommt sie zu ihrer Vorstellung einer zweifachen Aurea Catena, die einmal - horizontal in der Zeit gedacht - den Konsensus aller Weisen, also die geheime Tradition, bedeutet, und zum andern als die eigentliche "Aurea Catena Homeri" - vertikal im Raum gedacht - die Verbundenheit aller Naturwesen vom Größten bis ins Kleinste, also den Kosmos aller Dinge. ¹

Lowinsky points out that Leibniz' theory of pre-established harmony seems to envisage a very similar double connection between monads - both a hierarchical one (from God, the greatest, downwards), and a sequential one;² and he cites Leibniz' principle of continuity as another example:

selon moi, il

règne une parfaite continuité dans l'ordre des Successifs, ainsi il en règne une pareille dans celui des Simultanés, laquelle établit le plein réel, et renvoie aux Régions imaginaires les espaces vuides.³

When the harmonious cosmos is envisaged in this way, there is very much more scope for diversity of individual constituents than is allowed by the emphasis on mathematical proportion and symmetry. Leibniz regarded the harmonious universe as perfect, insofar as was possible, because it offered "as great variety as possible, along with the greatest possible order".⁴ He seems to have envisaged the divine order not as static, but as a living, developing whole, with the possibility that the individual monad, in successive 're-in

1) Das Weltbild des jungen Goethe, vol.1, p.29.

2) See esp. Monadology, sections 47ff., 56ff., 71ff.; tr. & ed. R. Latta, London 1898, pp.243ff., 248ff., 258ff.; also Lowinsky, p.180.

3) Lowinsky gives his own translation, and misquotes the reference. The comment is, as he says, taken from a letter to Varignon. See Hauptschriften zur Grundlegung der Philosophie, tr. A. Buchenau, rev. and annotated E. Cassirer, 3rd rev.ed. Hamburg 1966 (2nd ed. 1924), vol.2. The letter is quoted here in the original French, given loc.cit. p.557; for German trans. and comments on circumstances of publication, see *ibid.*, pp.74ff.

4) Monadology, §58, ed.cit., p.249.

carnations', might rise from one level of the hierarchy to another.¹ And as Zimmermann remarks, the Hermetic concept of two-directional Aurea Catena also tended to present universal harmony as comprehensive, but not as homogeneous:

es handelt sich immer um Einzelglieder, die sich gleichen und berühren, aber sonst völlige Selbständigkeit haben. Die Kette ist also kein Band. Was aber an Homogenität fehlt, wird ersetzt durch die Totalität; die Kette umschließt alle Weisheit, alle Natur.

2

Lowinsky suggests that the re-discovery of musical harmony towards the end of the eighteenth century brought "the stylistic revolution...full cycle".³ But in general there seems to have been not a return, but a shift, as the century progressed, towards the idea of harmony as all-inclusive coordination, rather than as symmetry; and very often this was underpinned by some form of the idea of double structure, 'vertical' hierarchy and 'horizontal' sequence. Herder, for example, felt that music comprehended "das ganze innere Gefühl in seiner Weite und Tiefe", and yet led us above ourselves to perceive "wie alles vielartig zusammenstimme, und nach dem härtesten Kampf im liebevollen Zwist sich harmonisch auflöse".⁴ A.W. Schlegel complained that Pythagoras' theory of the music of the spheres was often misinterpreted; it was, he felt, an acknowledgment that relations between musical notes were analogous to relations between phenomena of the natural world; harmony reflected the complexity of human existence, a coincidence of notes "die in der Entgegensetzung doch zusammenstimmen".⁵ And M.C. Ives sums up Schiller's concept of musical harmony as similarly double-structured ("either a combination of different notes or the progressive form of the musical work as a whole"), before explaining his use of it as a complex model for the human condition.⁶

1) Monadology, §§71,75,82; ed.cit.,pp.258ff.,265.

2) Zimmermann, p.29.

3) Lowinsky, p.202.

4) Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, p.561; cit. Moos, p.54.

5) Vorlesungen über schöne Litteratur und Kunst, I (1801-2), ed. Minor, 1884, pp.252f.,257; cit. Moos, p.98f.

6) Op.cit., p.25 - see esp. pp.23ff and passim.

This second concept of harmony, where emphasis within the idea of co-ordinated diversity falls on the diversity of individual units, is a complex one; and in order to understand its connotations adequately we need to be aware of other ways in which music was associated with the individual in the latter half of the eighteenth century. For the moment, therefore, we shall concentrate on the relatively simple association of musical harmony with divinely-ordained cosmic order and mathematically-based symmetry. (It is, of course, an exaggeration to suggest that the two were not intermingled. Leibniz, for example, clearly entertained both;¹ and in discussion of the one we shall have several occasions to refer to the other).

One of the most obvious and familiar offshoots of the association of musical harmony with cosmic order and symmetry was a sense of contrast between the perfection of heaven and the imperfection of earth. This seems to have been particularly strong where the notion of sequence and development in the cosmos was absent, leaving a more static picture of a cosmic hierarchy - in which Man might be above the forms of animal life, but was unable to perceive the harmony of the universe as a whole, and still less to achieve the absolute perfection of its infinite Creator.² The ancient question of whether Man could hear the harmony of the spheres seems on the whole to have been answered in the negative;³ and Leibniz' 'pre-established harmony' was not envisaged as perceptible to the units forming part of it.⁴ However, Man did have power to create a semblance of this divine symmetry in art. Shaftesbury called the poet a "just Prometheus under Jove", who "forms a Whole, coherent and proportion'd in it-self, with due Subjection and Subordinacy of constituent Parts".⁵ And music in particular served as a kind of

1) See pp. 36ff above.

2) See e.g. Leibniz, Monadology, §§47f., ed. cit. p. 243ff.

3) Hüschen, col. 1595f.

4) Monadology, esp. §§57, 78ff., ed. cit. pp. 248, 262ff.

5) Advice to an Author, I, 3, Characteristicks, ed. cit. vol. I, p. 207; cit. Brett, p. 105.

earthly model of heavenly harmony and order - charmingly audible to the senses, yet immaterial, with a symmetrical form analogous to that of higher things. Leibniz, for example, thought that:

Les plaisirs des sens qui
approchent le plus des plaisirs de l'esprit, et sont les plus purs
et les plus suers [surs], sont ceux de la musique, et ceux de la
symmetrie,...car il est aisé de comprendre les raisons de l'harmonie
ou de cette perfection qui nous y donne du plaisir.¹

And Johann Mattheson, whose work on the theory and practice of music was influential,² spoke of music as:

die Geheimniß-volle Musik...der Engel
Zeitvertreib und Dienst: die himmlische Wollust: Der Vorschmack der
ewigen Freude, und das Ehren-Kleid des unschätzbaren Wortes Gottes:
Andere Plaisirs reichen diesem nicht das Wasser, sind auch mit einan-
der grösserer Gefahr und Materie unterworffen; dahingegen diese fast
ganz spirituel ist und die Seele occupiret.³

When we come to ask where Goethe fitted into this tradition, we find chronology singularly unhelpful. He did not read Kepler, Shaftesbury and Leibniz until fairly late in his life;⁴ and he was introduced to the music of J.S. Bach at a very late stage, thanks to his mentor C.F. Zelter⁵ and to the organ-playing of J.H.F. Schütz in Berka.⁶ He did, however, read the works of Pansophists at an early stage; and it seems likely that his conception of harmony initially came from them.⁷ For whatever reason, however, the majority of his references to harmony, both in early and in late works, evoke the more complex conception - involving awareness of the diversity of individual parts, and often the notion of a double structure. For example,

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- 1) La Félicité; Sagesse et Bonheur, VII, 11, Textes Inédites, (Grua), 2, p. 580.
 - 2) Mattheson's best-known treatise was Der Vollkommene Capellmeister, Hamburg 1739, which includes a list of his numerous other publications (final un-numbered page, after Register and "P.S."). See H. Turnow, MGG 8, cols. 1795ff.
 - 3) Neu-Eröffnetes Orchestre, Hamburg 1713, [p. 32f.]; cit. Goldschmidt, p. 59.
 - 4) According to H. Nicolai, Zeittafel zu Goethes Leben und Werk, (HA 14, pp. 416, 476ff., 489) Goethe first read Kepler in 1791, Shaftesbury in 1813, and Leibniz in 1817.
 - 5) See, of many, Blume, GuM, pp. 63ff.; Moser, GuM, p. 40f.; Abert, GuM, pp. 43ff.
 - 6) See esp. Tag- und Jahreshefte 1814, AA 11, p. 865; & D. Wahl, 'Goethe und Zelter 'damals zu Wiesbaden'', Jb. der Sammlung Kippenberg NF I (1963) pp. (105ff.
 - 7) Zimmermann, op. cit., passim, esp. pp. 259ff.; Trunz, p. 496.

he commented in an early essay on the "tausend harmonisierenden Einzelheiten" of Strasburg cathedral;¹ and a maxim from the Nachlaß uses the idea of harmony to depict the benefits to the individual of being part of an ordered environment:

Man denke sich den Orpheus, der, als ihm ein großer wüster Bauplatz angewiesen war, sich weislich...niedersetzte und durch die belebenden Töne seiner Leier den geräumigen Marktplatz um sich her bildete...

Die Töne verhallen, aber die Harmonie bleibt. Die Bürger einer solchen Stadt wandeln und weben zwischen ewigen Melodien;...das Auge übernimmt Funktion, Gebühr und Pflicht des Ohres, und die Bürger am gemeinsten Tage fühlen sich in einem ideellen Zustand.

2

This complex concept of harmony must be dealt with more fully later. But the simpler idea of harmony also makes its appearance. Apart from the deliberate evocation of the Pansophic tradition in Faust (q.v. below), we find that Goethe in middle life frequently associated music with realms of divine order, especially by contrast with the less than harmonious state of affairs on earth. This association is especially marked after his exploration with Ph.Chr. Kayser³ of the music of Palestrina and other sixteenth-century composers in Rome.⁴ This would seem to have been Goethe's first encounter with polyphonic music - which, because of its coordinated diversity of voices, epitomised harmony for him more obviously than other styles.⁵ At all events, he found Palestrina's motets "etwas Außerordentliches, und...ein ganz neuer Begriff";⁶ and the unaccompanied polyphony of the Sistine Chapel choir a unique experience in the context of Michelangelo's frescoes.⁷ Thereafter,

1) Von deutscher Baukunst, (1773), AA 13, p.21; cf. Requadt, p.179.

2) Maximen und Reflexionen 1133, AA 9, p.641f.

3) See esp. Italienische Reise, Rom Nov.1787 (AA 11, p.482f.); 22/2/ 1788 (AA 11, p.571f.); also M. Friedländer, 'GuM', pp.305ff., Moser, pp.17ff.

4) See esp. P. Winter, Goethe erlebt Kirchenmusik in Italien, Hamburg 1949, passim; also Moser, p.25, Hicks, p.105f.

5) Both M.Friedländer (pp.280ff.) and Abert (p.13f.) suggest that the sacred music which Goethe heard in his youth was predominantly homophonic - J.S. Bach had already passed out of fashion.

6) Ital. Reise, Rom 14/3/1788, AA 11, p.582.

7) Ibid, p.577.

polyphonic music seems to have kept for him this association with "das Heilige". On one occasion, when theatrical music and personnel problems became too intractable, he wrote to Zelter for polyphonic music to be performed in his house:

Ich möchte...das Säkulum sich selbst überlassen und mich ins Heilige zurückziehn. Da möchte ich nun alle Woche einmal bei mir mehrstimmige geistliche Gesänge aufführen lassen...Helfen Sie mir dazu und senden mir vierstimmige nicht zu schwere Gesänge...Auch Kanons und was Sie zu dem Zwecke nützlich halten. ¹

And when he did finally encounter J.S. Bach's music, he likened it to the symmetrical and self-contained perfection of God and of the cosmic harmony:

Wohl erinnerte ich mich bey dieser Gelegenheit an den guten Organisten von Berka Schütz ; denn dort war mir zuerst...ein Begriff von Eurem Großmeister geworden. Ich sprach mir's aus: als wenn die ewige Harmonie sich mit sich selbst unterhielte, wie sich's etwa in Gottes Busen kurz vor der Weltschöpfung, möchte zugetragen haben. ²

It is in Faust, however, that we find not only the most extensive use of this simpler idea of harmony, but also the most deliberate evocation of the tradition from which it came. The obvious instance which leaps to mind is Faust's vision of the Macrocosm in his study:

Wie alles sich zum Ganzen webt,
Eins in dem andern wirkt und lebt!
Wie Himmelskräfte auf und nieder steigen
Und sich die goldnen Eimer reichen!
Mit segenduftenden Schwingen
Vom Himmel durch die Erde dringen,
Harmonisch all das All durchklingen! (447ff.).

Requadt gives a rather vague account of the possible echoes of this imagery. ³

But it seems clear from the comments by Trunz, Friedrich/Scheithauer and

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- 1) Letter of 27/7/1807, AA 19, p.520f.
 - 2) This letter is not included in main editions of Goethe's works, nor in the ed. by M. Hecker of Der Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter, F'furt 1913, repr. Bern 1970. It does appear in the ed. by W. Vesper, Goethes Briefwechsel mit Zelter, Berlin 1914, p.213; ^{but} several critics quote it without ref. (e.g. Moser, p.40f., Blume, p.65), and Tappolet gives both the wrong date and the wrong page in Vesper. However, it seems to be genuine. It appears in the ed. by L. Geiger, Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter, Leipzig 1902, vol. 2, p.495 (cf. incomplete ref. in Abert, GuM p.55); and in the ed. by Riemer, Berlin 1833f., Part IV, p.337f. (cf. p.329); both give it as Beylage to letter of 17/7/1827, & continuation of letter of 21/6/1827. Cf. WA IV, 42, p.259.
 - 3) P.68f.

Zimmermann that Goethe is evoking the traditional notion of a harmonious universe, common not only to Leibnizian thought and to the Hermetic writings of his own age,¹ but going back to the Pansophic and other writings of the historical Faust's age,² thence to Neo-Platonic philosophy,³ and eventually to Plato himself, and to the Pythagoreans. Precise details of this genealogy are not really important here. What is important is that we should have a sense of harmony not only as an eighteenth-century commonplace, but also as a concept which opens up a long vista of philosophic and cultural tradition. For this vision of the harmonious universe is a piece of 'lore' - handed down from book to book, apprehended by Faust's imagination and rousing his intense longing, but nowhere touching his experience, and therefore rejected as "ein Schauspiel nur"(419ff.). And when we look at Goethe's depiction of the heavenly beauty and symmetry of this vision, it is indeed reminiscent of the Pythagorean harmony of the spheres. The whole universe is filled by the sounds generated by the symmetrical movements of the units within it. But like the harmony of the spheres, imagined by Man but inaudible to him, such balanced intercommunication between heaven and earth is possible only from the heavenly side. There is no suggestion here of a sequence of development, by whose stages Faust might come to be part of this harmony. For him it is a lovely but remote spectacle, and he turns to the Erdegeist(460ff.).

On a second occasion, too, we find Faust faced with a harmonious cosmos - this time made palpable in the three choruses of singing voices(Engel,

1) See in particular Trunz, pp.495ff., Friedrich/Scheithauer, p.186, and passim under names (e.g. Welling, v. Helmont, Swedenborg, Paracelsus). Zimmermann does not discuss harmony as a separate concept; most of his consideration of it is concerned with imagery connecting harmony with the whole and melody with the individual(pp.220,262ff.). But he does give full information on how Goethe came to know the Hermetic writings (see esp.pp.11ff.,45ff.,185ff.). See also Goethe's Ephemerides (AA 4, pp.959ff.) & Dichtung und Wahrheit, II,8(AA 10, pp.375ff.).

2) See esp. W.-E. Peuckert, Pansophie, 2nd ed. pp.173ff. Both here and in his later book Gabalia, Berlin 1967, Peuckert gives detailed information about the writers mentioned in note 1; but again without discussing the notion of harmony as such.

3) Goethe mentions this in Dichtung und Wahrheit (ed.cit.p.375); see also Peuckert, Pansophie, p.2 and passim.

Weiber, Jünger) (737ff.). Here, however, the connotations are somewhat different; the old pagan tradition has been overlaid with a Christian one, marked amongst other things by the "Glockenklang" which accompanies the singing.¹ This is an Easter hymn, and a Christian heaven; and as Requadt points out, a cosmic order which positively invites Faust, thanks to the Resurrection, to be included in it: "Das "Himmliche" an dieser Musik ist ihre Totalität".² However, though Faust hears the sound, he cannot believe in the Christian doctrine which it carries; and therefore again feels excluded from this cosmic harmony:

Zu jenen Sphären wag' ich nicht zu streben,
Woher die holde Nachricht tönt. (767f.).

Faust is left only with vivid memories of the feeling of harmony which he once had, when he did believe in this particular cosmic order (765ff.). Here, exceptionally, the cosmic harmony suggested by music does not have a visual parallel.³ For Faust, music brings no vision of the cosmos. Harmony has lost its association with cosmic order; it becomes sweet sound evoking deep private feelings, and therewith takes on other associations altogether:

O tönet fort, ihr süßen Himmelslieder !
Die Träne quillt, die Erde hat mich wieder!(783f.).

In these two instances, the idea of musical harmony has been drawn upon to show us Faust's glimpses of the universe as ordered. But we are also shown the cosmos by this means from the side of the angels. In the Prolog im Himmel, the three Archangels step forth from the heavenly hosts and 'sing', in hymnic

1) Cf. the connotations of the bell on Philemon's chapel(11140ff.).

2) Op.cit.,p.87.

3) See esp. Requadt,pp.87ff.; he suggests that this emphasises the 'transcendental' aspects of the scene, but as he remarks himself, there is a 'real' basis for the singing, inasmuch as the choirs can be envisaged as coming from a nearby church(p.87). In any case, the singing is not "gänzlich immaterieller]Klang"(ibid.). These are not only angelic choirs, but human voices(Weiber, Jünger), with a specific role in the Easter story. The absence of visual imagery (such as the "goldnen Eimer" in Nacht), or of moving figures generating this harmony, seems more fruitfully connected with the fact that Faust is turning away from this view of the cosmos into himself; cf. Requadt's discussion of Faust as a hearer of the Word, not a doer(pp.89ff.).

form,¹ praise of a universe where symmetrically-balanced movement maintains the order of the universe, and generates the music of the spheres:

Die Sonne tönt nach alter Weise
In Brüdersphären Wettgesang. (243f.).

It is true, as W. Roß points out, that there is a sequence of antitheses (light/dark, backwards/forwards, earth/sea) in Gabriel's description of the earth(251ff.), and also a sequence (unity, conflict, synthesis) in the themes of the Archangels' respective stanzas.² But the emphasis is on symmetry of movement, on the earth and in the "Sphärenlauf"(258), and on the durability of sun, stars and earth - they sound "nach alter Weise" and are "herrlich wie am ersten Tag"(243,250,270). And there are several suggestions of a hierarchy here too - firstly in the progression downwards from sun and planets (Raphael) to earth(Gabriel), and thence to storms within the earth(Michael); and secondly in the foundation of this scene on the Old Testament Book of Job. This latter suggests not only the model for the wager between the Lord and Mephisto(I,6ff.), but also a cosmology: a symmetrical universe, in which the "echten Göttersöhne"(344) and the harmonious planets have their place:

Wo warestu/ da ich die Erden gründet ?...Weissestu/ wes jr das mas
gesetzt hat ? oder wer vber sie ein Richtschnur gezogen hat ? Oder
wor auff stehen jre Füße versencket ? oder wer hat jr einen Eckstein
gelegt ? Da mich die Morgensterne miteinander lobeten/ vnd jauchzeten
alle Kinder Gottes. 3

This is, then, another version of the traditional harmonious cosmos.⁴ The unexpected thing is that, almost immediately, this harmony is shown to be

- 1) Opinions are sharply divided as to whether this episode is meant to be sung or merely declaimed. E.g. Trunz speaks of the "Sprache der Engel"(p.493); Atkins uses "hymn of praise", which could be either(p.17); Requadt speaks of the "Gesang der Engel"(p.40); and Cotti insists that all "Engel, Geister und...im Schweben begriffenen Gestalten" definitely sing, which causes problems when the Lord 'speaks'(353) to Mephisto(p.55). Here the question will be left aside until some of the ideas relating music to language have been considered.
- 2) 'Vorspiel auf dem Theater und Prolog im Himmel...!', Wirkendes Wort 12(1962), p.238. See also Requadt, p.41.
- 3) M. Luther, Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch, Wittenberg 1545, repr. Darmstadt 1973(Das Buch Hiob, XXXVIII), vol. I, p.957f.
- 4) Trunz, p.493; Requadt, p.40.

less than comprehensive. The Archangels, like Faust, seem to be spectators of a 'Schauspiel':

Ihr Anblick gibt den Engeln Stärke,
Wenn keiner sie ergründen mag. (247; cf.267).

And two characters actually comment on the incompleteness of the Archangels' view. Mephistopheles mocks their preoccupation with "Sonn' und Welten"(279), and points to the irregular progression of Man which generates not cosmic harmony, but the "altes Liedchen"(290) of disillusioned humanity. And even the Lord amends their view. He exhorts them to continue their function of celebration(344f.); but reminds them that their picture is incomplete because it excludes the incomplete. (There are, one might say, voices missing from the harmony.) The Lord is concerned not only with maintaining the cosmos and its harmony; but also with "das Werdende", with the as yet unharmonious things in it, which must also be found a place in the Archangels' "dauernde Gedanken"(346ff.). Any scheme of things which is to include human nature - and this seems to be the Lord's purpose, since he speaks of leading Faust to clarity and fruition(309ff.) - must be more than merely symmetrical and changeless. Here, the harmonious cosmos emerging in the theme, imagery and hymnic form of the Archangels' song finally appears as a rigid and limited conception: it needs to be extended and refined if it is to comprehend fully the world of human action which the play now enters.

At the beginning of the second part of Faust, in Anmutige Gegend, we are again given a view of the traditional harmonious cosmos - this time from the point of view of the earth and the order of Nature. The traditional aspects are perhaps most obvious in the second stanza of the Elves' Chorus: star is 'linked' to star by the divine order[#] "Schließt sich heilig Stern an Stern"(4643), "große Lichter" are balanced by "kleine Funken", those near by those distant, the pattern of the heavens above is reflected in the lake below, and the whole hierarchy governed by the greatest star visible at night,

the moon(4642ff.). And this depiction of balance is supported by references to regularity of movement in the cosmos. We now see and hear that the new day begins afresh unfailingly when the four watches of the night have run their appointed course, as epitomised in the orderly polyphony of the Elves singing "Einzel, zu zweien und vielen, abwechselnd und gesammelt"(SD4634). The sun had a "vorgeschiedene Reise", we were told(245); now we learn that the earth too is "beständig"(4681), and that as it rolls round to meet the light which comes over it "stufenweis"(4701), the music of the planetary movements is audible to the Nature spirits, if not to Faust:

Tönend wird für Geistesohren
Schon der neue Tag geboren. (4667f.).

Nonetheless, this is not, as is sometimes implied,¹ a full-scale sound-and-light depiction of the musica mundana; it is a depiction of the harmonies of earthly Nature. This is primarily evident in the form and imagery of the scene. Only the Nature-spirits sing in harmony - accompanied by Aeolian harps, as instruments played by the wind, a natural force and Ariel's element.² The sun, being outside this harmony, is unbearable for the Elves except as light giving life to the earth; and so is associated not with harmonious "tönen", but with overwhelming "Getöse":

Welch Getöse bringt das Licht!...
Auge blinzelt und Ohr erstaunet,
Unerhörtes hört sich nicht...
Trifft es euch, so seid ihr taub. (4671ff.).³

The prominence given to Ariel as leading spirit⁴ also reinforces the sugges-

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- 1) See e.g. G.L.Pinette, 'Ariels Gesang und die Musica Mundana', FS. für Helmut Motekat, München 1970, pp.36ff.; and 'Tönendes Licht in Goethes Faust', Jb. des Wiener Goethe-Vereins, NF 76(1972), pp.5ff.
 - 2) A.Langen, 'Zum Symbol der Äolsharfe in der deutschen Dichtung', Zum 70. Geburtstag v.J.Müller-Blattau, Kassel 1966, p.176. Langen shows that the Äolsharfe had these connotations for Herder(pp.168,171ff.); but does not seem to think that Goethe associated it with harmony(p.176). This scene suggests otherwise.
 - 3) Music also has a role in the depiction of this overwhelming sound (Es trommet, es posaunet); but this association belongs to a different 'metaphor', and is therefore discussed elsewhere.
 - 4) See esp. P. Freidländer, Rhythmen und Landschaften, pp.16ff.; also F.Stock, 'Vom Ariel in Shakespeares The Tempest zum Ariel in Goethes Faust II', Arcadia 7(1972), pp.274ff.

tion of an earthly echo of cosmic harmony. P. Friedländer emphasises his connections with Midsummer Night's Dream rather than with The Tempest.¹ But Ariel is surely first and foremost the ethereal spirit; who, (although he has raised the storm at Prospero's bidding, I,2), also restores order, and is in this function associated not directly with cosmic harmony, but nonetheless with divine power:

Fer: Where should this music be ? i' the air, or the earth?
It sounds no more: and, sure, it waits upon
Some god o' the island....
Weeping again the king my father's wreck,
This music crept by me upon the waters,
Allaying both their fury, and my passion,
With its sweet air... (I,2)

More important, perhaps, is the fact that Ariel has already appeared in Goethe's play, (in the Walpurgisnachtstraum), leading the song and dance and finally reasserting an ideal of 'harmonious' grace and balance, by his "himmlisch-reinen Tönen"(4240,4391ff.)² In Anmutige Gegend, too, "Ariel bewegt den Sang", and so reasserts the Natural order. The greater cosmic order of which Nature is a part is ^{then} associated rather with visual imagery - especially, of course, with the sun, as the sphere of highest light and understanding.

P. Friedländer has pointed to the antecedents of this imagery in Dante; and to its particular connection with the Neo-Platonic tradition of thought, including the fifteenth-century Florentine Marsilio Ficino.³ And Pinette, too, emphasises Ficino's importance as a purveyor of Platonic ideas drawn on here - especially since Goethe read both Ficino's translation of Plotinus and his commentary on Plato's theology.⁴ Indeed, it seems to be from Ficino that

1) Op.cit., p.16f.

2) See esp. J. Frankenberger, Walpurgis: zur Kunstgestalt von Goethes 'Faust', Leipzig 1926, pp.11ff.; and Requadt, pp.314ff.

3) Pp.7ff., esp. pp.11ff., 14.

4) 'Tönendes Licht' etc., pp.5ff. Of Pinette's two articles, this seems to be much the more useful. His article on 'Ariels Gesang' rests very largely on second-hand sources; and where he quotes Hüschen on 'Harmonie' he twice attributes a definition to the wrong person (p.38f.). However, he gives a helpful general outline of Platonic imagery of the cosmic harmony and its connection with the parallel symbolism of light and enlightenment.

Goethe drew the parallel between perception of musical harmony and perception of the sun's light as symbols of Man's apprehension of cosmic order; Goethe's own reading of Plato's Timaeus seems to have been concerned with questions of optics and perception of colour.¹ As with Leibniz, then, musical harmony is not the only analogy for the idea of cosmic harmony; here Goethe has used both the musical and the visual, side by side, to suggest a harmony within a harmony - a concept which again goes beyond simple association with divine proportion and symmetry, and thus will need to be considered later.

So far, then, we may certainly say that musical harmony has kept its traditional role in Faust as an epitome of divinely-ordained cosmic order, both in references to the planetary harmony and in associations with "das Heilige". It is indeed shown to be "der Engel Zeitvertreib und Dienst"(Matt-heson) in the Prolog im Himmel; and the Easter Chorus evokes its role as "himmlische Wollust", a sensuous model of a heavenly and spiritual harmony. Yet this seems to be the foundation, rather than the full framework, for the idea of harmony in Faust. The idea of symmetry, for example, is usually broadened to something more like 'ordered movement and arrangement'; and the four watches of the night represent physical, rather than mathematical, proportions. Furthermore, musical harmony is not the only medium or source of imagery for cosmic harmony - so it never appears with the status of an absolute. In all four instances discussed above, music embodies a particular vision or experience of the harmonious cosmos; but each is then commented upon (by Faust or by the Lord), set alongside other views, or alongside the visual spectacle and its "Getöse". Even the Archangels' harmony does not include the whole pattern. We are left with the impression that this work does posit a harmonious universe; but in a wider and more varied way than the old tradition envisages.

1) See Pinette, 'Tönendes Licht', pp.5ff., 'Musica Mundana', pp.37ff.; & esp. Farbenlehre, (Historischer Teil), AA 16, pp.259ff., 328ff.

2) Music as an Irrational and Disorderly Force

The second traditional conception of music which concerns us here associated music not with cosmic order and symmetry, but with the irrational and disorderly, especially within Man. This tradition is hardly less ancient than that associating music with harmony - a fact not always fully realised, since the upsurge of interest in irrational feeling in the second half of the eighteenth century sometimes leads critics to give the impression that music was not linked with feeling until that point.¹ But Goldschmidt gives examples of music as linked with feeling and unreason both by Rationalists (such as Dubos, Mattheson, and Batteux)² and by adherents of Empfindsamkeit such as J.A. Hiller,³ who presided over Leipzig's musical life during Goethe's stay there. W. Serauky, in his article on the so-called 'Affektenlehre',⁴ which dealt with ways in which man is moved by music, points to its history

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- 1) Lowinsky's article is a case in point. And Abert also remarks on the change from "Erbauung, Belehrung und Unterhaltung" to "Entfesselung des Gefühls" as the aim of 18th c. composers (p.51). Margaret Atkinson (legitimately, for her own purposes), divides the century into a first half, in which art was envisaged as imitation of reality, and a second half, in which it was seen as the expression of personality, emphasising feeling rather than reason (pp.3ff., 8ff.). Nor is the idea confined to 20th c. critics. In an article in the Horen (Tübingen 1795, Jg.I, vol.2, St.5), Chr. G. Körner referred to the 'better taste' which now approached music as "Ausdruck menschlicher Empfindung" (p.98).
 - 2) Goldschmidt, pp.38f., 59f., 74ff.
 - 3) Ibid., pp.135ff.; see also L.Hoffmann-Erbrecht & A. Abert, MGG 6, cols.409ff. For an extremely lively account by a near-contemporary, see J.F.Rochlitz, Für Freunde der Tonkunst, I (Leipzig 1824), pp.3ff.
 - 4) The term seems to have been coined later than the eighteenth century - Adelung does not mention it, even in the 3rd ed. of his Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch (1st ed.1774), Wien 1807. He defines "Affekt" as "ein hoher Grad einer Gemüthsbewegung und dessen Ausbruch"; but adds that it is often confused with both "Leidenschaft" and "Gemüthsbewegung". Generally, authors use it to mean strong feelings, general or specific: e.g. Herder, "Modulation jedes Affekts", "eine Wundermusik aller Affekte", Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.118.

as "eine allgemeine ästhetische Theorie, die vom klassischen Alterum bis in die Anfänge des 19. Jahrhunderts Einfluß übte"; and mentions that it influenced both Rationalists (Mattheson, Gottsched, Batteux), and men such as Rousseau and Herder¹. Changes in the mid- eighteenth-century notion of music seem to have been changes of attitude towards music's established association with irrational feeling, rather than an actual discovery of that association. As Abert puts it, "die uralte Lehre von den 'Affekten', das heisst von dem innigen Zusammenhang der musikalischen Bewegung^Serscheinungen mit den seelischen, [erhielt] einen besonderen Sinn".²

Although earlier writers had suggested that different melodic movements caused corresponding movements in the soul of the listener,³ the roots of the tradition connecting music with the irrational lie in the comments of Plato and Aristotle on the music of their age. Initially (i.e. 8th to 5th century BC), Greek music consisted of the melodic accompaniment to poetry, using different rhythmic patterns and different tunings, or 'modes',⁴ to fit different types of poetry. And amongst these, the Phrygian mode was especially associated with irrational feeling, even with frenzy, because of its use in the worship of Dionysus for the ecstatic dithyramb, played on the aulos.⁵ But, as the HDM explains, music showed signs of independent development from this dithyrambic style:

Later in the 5th century B.C. a musical revolution started from a school of dithyrambists...who rejected all tradition and broke the old associations of poetic and musical forms. Instrumental improvisations, with sound-effects imitating nature, overshadowed the

1) MGG I, cols. 113ff.; esp. cols. 113, 118ff.

2) GuM, p. 51.

3) Serauky, col. 114.

4) HDM gives a highly technical explanation under 'Greece' (pp. 352ff.); see also the article on 'Modes', in The Oxford Companion to Music, ed. P. Scholes, 9th ed. 1955, rev. 1965, p. 656. Both suggest that the Greek modes were similar to present-day scales in different keys; but that the intervals between notes of the scale, as well as the key-note, varied from mode to mode (as in present-day major and minor 'modes'), so that differences in tonal 'flavour' would be very much more marked, especially when also associated with differences in rhythmic pattern.

5) See HDM, pp. 351ff.; and esp. 'Aulos', p. 63f. This instrument is usually translated as 'flute'; but in fact would be nearer to an oboe in sound and structure.

vocal part that had dominated Greek music; modulation, coloratura, and wobbly tuning so undermined the old tonality that by 320 B.C...few musicians knew or understood the classics... 1

By the time of Plato and Aristotle (4th century B.C.), music was thus well into this period of decline; and their analyses of its effects on men were made in order to ascertain whether it should be given a place in the ideal state, notably as a means to education of the personality.

Both Plato and Aristotle regarded music as 'imitating' states of mind by means of the various rhythms and 'modes' which it employed; and it is surprising how specific they are prepared to be in identifying the state of mind depicted. As Aristotle puts it,

musical times and tunes provide us with images of states of character - images of anger, and of calm; images of fortitude and temperance, and of all the forms of their opposites... the nature of the modes varies; and listeners will be differently affected according as they listen to different modes. The effect of some will be to produce a sadder and graver temper... The effect of others...is to relax the tone of the mind. Another mode is specially calculated to produce a moderate and collected temper; this is held to be the peculiar power of the Dorian mode, while the Phrygian mode is held to give inspiration and fire. 2

Both writers, however, confess that they do not understand precisely how a particular type of music is connected with a particular emotion; they simply rely upon the word of "experts" and upon established conventions.³ This mystery gives music an aura of elusive, and strong, irrational appeal, which makes Plato most uneasy. He regards music as extremely attractive but potentially enervating, a threat to cogent reasoning and cogent activity and therefore morally ambiguous:

When a man surrenders himself to music, allowing his soul to be flooded through the channels of his ears with those sweet and soft and mournful airs we spoke of, and gives up all his time to

1) HDM, 'Greece', p.352.

2) The Politics of Aristotle, VIII,v, §§18-22; tr. E. Barker, Oxford (Clarendon) 1946ff., p.343f.

3) The Republic of Plato, III, 398-400; tr. F.M. Cornford, Oxford 1941ff., pp.84ff; also Politics, VIII,vii, ed.cit.p.349.

the delights of song and melody, then at first he tempers the high-spirited part of his nature...; but if he persists in subduing it to such incantation, he will end by melting it away altogether.¹

Aristotle, though much less defensive, is also ^{so} convinced of music's irresistible and all-pervasive power over men; and the less rational they are, the greater music's power will be:

Any affection which strongly moves the souls of several persons will move the souls of all, and will only differ from person to person with a difference of degree. Pity, fear, and inspiration are such affections. The feeling of being possessed by some sort of inspiration is one to which a number of persons are particularly liable. These persons...are affected by religious melodies; and when they come under the influence of melodies which fill the soul with religious excitement, they are calmed and restored as if they had undergone a medical treatment and purging... The same sort of effect will also be produced...on those who are specially subject to feelings of fear and pity, or to feelings of any kind; and indeed it will also be produced on the rest of us, in proportion as each is liable to some degree of feeling; and the result will be that all alike will experience some sort of purging, and some release of emotion accompanied by pleasure.

2

Aristotle obviously considers that such an outbreak of irrational feeling in one member can and will affect the whole group to some extent, however rational its members - "any affection which strongly moves the souls of several persons will move the souls of all".

Clearly implied in all these comments is the idea that music influences the body as well as the soul, and that it is partly a physical stimulus, an appeal to the senses. This idea is largely due to a concept of the emotions as, literally, motions - movements of body and soul made in response to an outside stimulus - a concept which, according to Serauky,³ stemmed from the Pythagoreans and continued in Aristotle. The capacity of music to trigger off

1) Republic, III,411,ed.cit.p.98.

2) Politics, VIII,vii,\$\$4f.,ed.cit.p.350.

3) Op.cit.,cols.113f.

bodily movements as well as movements in the soul does not emerge from the Poetics as clearly as Serauky implies.¹ But what Aristotle has to say in the Politics clearly envisages music as a partly, even largely, physical stimulus. He is prepared, for instance, to allow the view that music (and dancing) can be grouped with "sleep and drink" as a means to physical relaxation and stimulation,² and also as a straightforward means to sensuous pleasure in its sounds.³ Aristotle does not always condemn such pleasure; there are "melodies...specially designed to purge the emotions", which he considers "a source of innocent delight to us all".⁴ But his view of music as ethically ambiguous emerges clearly in his discussion of rhythm, which is the main medium of music's physical influence. Rhythmic movement is mentioned in the Poetics as the dancer's medium;⁵ and musical rhythm easily leads, in Aristotle's thinking, to bodily movement as well as to movements of the soul:

Some varieties [of
rhythm] have a more steady character: others have a lively quality; and these last may again be divided, according as they move with a more vulgar rhythm or move in a manner more suited to freedmen. 6

Aristotle is strongly aware of such movements as distortions of rational behaviour:

The Zeus of our poets does not sing, or play on the harp; [he simply listens]. We are apt to regard as vulgar those who do otherwise, and we think of them as behaving in a way in which a man would not behave unless he were drunk or jesting.

7

And this diversion from rationality becomes almost orgiastic when musicians are playing for a vulgar audience bent solely on pleasure:

the commonness of the audience tends to debase the quality of the music; and the artists themselves, with their eyes on the audience, are affected by it - affected not only in mind but also even in body, as they move and swing to suit the tastes of their hearers. 8

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- 1) De Poetica, (= Aristotle on the Art of Poetry), tr. I. Bywater, (The Works of Aristotle translated into English, ed. D. Ross, Oxford 1928ff., vol. 11), 1 & 4,
2) Politics VIII, v, §§2f., ed. cit. p. 340. (ed. cit. §§ 1447ff.
3) Ibid., §§9ff., ed. cit. pp. 341ff.
4) Ibid., VIII, vii, §5, ed. cit. p. 350. 5) Poetics I, ed. cit. §1447a.
6) Politics VIII, v, §23, ed. cit. p. 345. 7) Ibid., §8, ed. cit. p. 341.
8) Ibid., VIII, vi, §16, ed. cit. p. 348.

Even when the frenzy is religious, as in the dithyramb and dithyrambic poetry,¹ there is an air of somewhat dubious irrationality about it - marked by Aristotle's exclusion from education of the prime dithyrambic instrument, the aulos (because of its associations with religious ecstasy and release of emotion rather than with a balanced state of mind)², and by his mention of the old myth that Athene threw away the aulos she had just invented, because playing it distorted her face.³

It is this sensuous appeal of music, Aristotle implies, which accounts in large part for what he regards as the strength and contagiousness of music's impact on human beings, and for the helplessness of reason in the face of the onslaught. Serious behaviour is rational behaviour;⁴ but we are all open to the irrational power of music, because we are all "liable to some degree of feeling", sympathise with our fellows, and need both physical and mental relaxation and stimulus.⁵

There is, however, also a second reason implied by Aristotle for the impact of music on human behaviour. Music appeals powerfully to the soul as well as to the body; and it does so partly through simple sound-associations,⁶ but chiefly through the unparalleled closeness of the image in musical art to the natural reality of the emotions imitated: "musical times and tunes provide us with images of states of character...which come closer to their actual nature than anything else can do".⁷ The visual arts, Aristotle thought, could only represent states of mind indirectly, by showing a body under the influence of emotion; but "with musical compositions...the case is different. They are, in their very nature, representations of states of character".⁸

1) Politics, VIII, vii, §§9ff., ed. cit. p. 351 and note.

2) Ibid., VIII, vi, §§9ff., ed. cit. p. 347.

3) Ibid., §§13f., ed. cit. p. 348.

4) Ibid., VIII, v, §8, ed. cit. p. 341.

5) Ibid., VIII, v & vii, ed. cit. pp. 340ff., 350ff.

6) "in listening to mere imitative sounds, where there is no question of time or tune, all men are moved to feelings of sympathy"; Politics, VIII, v, §17,

7) Ibid., §18, ed. cit. p. 343f.

(ed. cit. p. 343.)

8) Ibid., §20f., ed. cit. p. 344.

Because the musical images of emotion were so extraordinarily close to the reality, music could produce an emotional response almost identical with the response to reality:

...to listen to these images is to undergo a real change of the soul...Now to acquire a habit of feeling pain or taking delight in an image is something closely allied to feeling pain or taking delight in the actual reality. ¹

Both philosophers are so convinced of music's dubious and irrational power over men that they make stringent ethical judgments on music, in an attempt to control and harness it. Both fall back on established conventions to classify particular modes, in order to select those whose emotive associations they approve of.² Plato is especially anxious to limit the modes and rhythms admissible, excluding those expressing sorrow and softness and "those used at drinking-parties",³ together with all rhythms "expressive of meanness, insolence, frenzy, and other such evils".⁴ He regards as essential, however, the two modes (Phrygian and Dorian) which express "the accents of courage in the face of stern necessity...and of temperance in prosperity won by peaceful pursuits"; and "the rhythms appropriate to a life of courage and self-control".⁵ Aristotle criticises Plato for his rigour,⁶ and wishes to allow a wide range of modes and rhythms, so that a selection can be made to suit different purposes:

...when education is the object in view, the modes which ought to be used are those which express character best: when it is a question of listening to the performance of others, we may also admit the modes which stimulate men to action or provide them with inspiration. ⁷

1) *Politics*, VIII,v, §§18f., ed. cit. p.344.

2) *Republic* III, 398ff., ed. cit., pp.84ff.; *Politics* VIII,vii, §§2ff., VIII,vi, §§9ff., ed. cit. pp.347ff.

3) *Republic* III, 398, ed. cit. p.84.

4) *Ibid.*, III, 400, ed. cit. p.86.

5) *Ibid.*, III, 399, ed. cit. p.85.

6) *Politics* VIII,vii, §§9ff., ed. cit. p.351. Cf. Serauky, col.114.

7) *Ibid.*, §§3ff., ed. cit. pp.349ff.

But although Aristotle judges more tolerantly, his criteria are still ethical and practical rather than aesthetic; he is concerned with the uses to which music can be put in running a state, because of its influence on feeling. Plato's chief point in admitting music to the system of education, indeed to the state at all, is to exploit music's appeal in order to implant tastes and attitudes amenable to reason in children as yet too irrational and intellectually immature to be convinced by argument.¹

However, where the links between music and irrational feeling are thus schematised and harnessed by non-musicians, there is always the danger that musical practice will not conform. Both philosophers take considerable pains to defend the rationally-ordered framework for their state against the threat from the independent development of music and musicians, as emerges very clearly when they discuss specific instruments and styles. Aristotle's objections to the aulos have already been mentioned;² Plato throws it out of the state altogether.³ But this theoretical classification did not fit very well with the practicalities of music-making. Technically advanced instruments, of which the much-maligned aulos was the chief, were capable of playing in any mode,⁴ and demanded specialised skill which seemed to weaken the link with emotion.⁵ Conversely, there was a large number of popular instruments which resisted classification: "zithers, lutes and similar instruments calculated merely to please the audience; and...heptagons, triangles, sackbuts, ...instruments merely requiring manual dexterity."⁶ This capacity of music to

1) Republic III,401f.,ed.cit.p.88; see also Politics,VIII,v,\$25,VIII,vii,\$14, ed.cit.pp.345,352.

2) Politics VIII,vi,\$\$9ff.ed.cit.p.347f.

3) Republic III,399,ed.cit.p.85.

4) Plato speaks of "instruments of large compass capable of modulation into all the modes,...in particular the flute, which has the largest compass of all"(III,399,ed.cit.p.85).

5) Aristotle actually declares that "the study of flute-playing has nothing to do with the mind"(VIII,vi,\$14), because it makes men no wiser about states of mind. He objects to the harp on the same basis(VIII,vi,\$9). His main complaint seems to be that the flute conveys excitement, rather than an image of a state of mind (ibid.). Ed. cit. p.347f.

6) Politics VIII,vi,\$13,ed.cit.p.348.

flourish as a craft, quite independently of symbolic values attached to it (largely by non-musicians), provoked even in Classical Antiquity the reproach of 'mere technique', and some hostility.¹ Strong emphasis on the superfluity of musical virtuosity, and on the value of simpler music which can be understood in terms of specific emotions, is one result of this hostility; and so is the arbitrary selection of individual genres and instruments for favour or disfavour, according to whether they seem to conform to the symbolical values laid down. Both Plato and Aristotle, albeit to different degrees, regard the musician as a dubious figure; whether vulgarly 'carried away' or merely practising his art in a detached manner,² he has the potential power to subvert his audience. Plato wants to eliminate any suggestions of a chaotic or unruly universe³ - and he finds a disturbing number of them in poetry, which ranges over all aspects of human and divine behaviour,⁴ and which, in the case of lyric poetry, is set to a correspondingly wide range of musical modes.⁵ A performer who, in words and music, could "give imitations of anything and everything" would in Plato's opinion be superhumanly great - and quite intolerable:

we shall bow down before a being with such miraculous powers of giving pleasure; but we shall tell him that we are not allowed to have any such person in our commonwealth; we shall crown him with fillets of wool, anoint his head with myrrh, and conduct him to the borders of some other country. ⁶

The more skilled the poet/musician, it seems, the more sinister he becomes.

The more the connections between music and feeling are rationalised and sys-

1) Aristotle defends music against "the censure which is sometimes passed... that it produces a professional or mechanical turn of mind" (Politics VIII, vi, §5, ed. cit. p. 346); but his objections to complex instruments are based on precisely this fear. Plato's hostility is clear throughout; and even Aristotle approves the banishment of certain instruments (Politics VIII, vi, §§10ff., ed. cit. p. 347f.).

2) Politics VIII, vi, §15f.; also Republic III, 397, ed. cit., p. 83.

3) Republic II, 378ff., ed. cit. pp. 68ff.

4) Ibid., and III, 386ff., ed. cit. pp. 74ff.

5) Republic III, 396ff., ed. cit. pp. 82ff.

6) Ibid., III, 398, ed. cit. p. 83.

tematised, the greater the threat is felt to be that music will burst its bounds, and that the musician's almost supernatural powers will produce pleasures for sense and feeling too intense to be condoned.

Music, then, emerges as having considerable power over the irrational faculties of Man, in a way which is carefully tabulated: specific modes and instruments depict and arouse specific feelings. Although this power derives very largely from music's natural appeal to the senses as agreeable sound and rhythm, it has an aura of moral dubiousness, because of its enervating charm. And this dubiousness is even stronger where music's effect on the soul is being discussed; since its depiction of 'states of mind' is held to be more vivid than that of a painting, its emotive force is unusually difficult to resist. It is not regarded as a supernatural power; but as a mysterious and irresistible force it borders on this realm, in its association with the religious frenzy and orgiastic rites of Dionysian festivals, and especially in the musician's power to sway his audience by suggestive sound and rhythm, in a way which they do not understand.

This view of music becomes a traditional, and often an important, part of later attitudes to music. Serauky outlines the way in which various aspects of this tradition were developed by subsequent ages; and his outline shows that the same basic notions constantly re-appear in eighteenth-century Germany, although they are, as one would expect, usually presented in a different connection or supported on different grounds.¹

Lively belief in the wide-ranging and irresistible powers of music to arouse and play upon feeling, and a tendency to assess these powers according to ethical criteria, is widespread from the seventeenth century through the

1) Cols.113ff., esp. cols.118ff.

eighteenth and beyond. In 1800 Herder, incensed at Kant's low estimation of music,¹ could quote in its defence from Leibniz; who, like Plato and Aristotle, was anxious to harness music's power for the good of mankind:

durch Töne

kann ein Mensch in alle Affekten, in jeden Zustand versetzt werden... Sind Gesänge vermögend, das Gemüth in die höchste Freude zu setzen, können Krieger durch Trometen- und Kriegslieder den Tod zu verachten, belebt und angefeuert werden, kann überhaupt die Musik alle Affekten erregen: so kann auch jeder sodann durch eine lebhaftere Erinnerung und Wiederholung dieser Gesänge sich selbst Affekten erregen, sich selbst die Freude dieser Affekten gewähren.

2

Near the beginning of the eighteenth century, J. Mattheson gives opera pride of place "unter weltlichen Sachen" in music:

weil man in selbigen gleichsam

einen Confluxum aller Musicalischen Schönheiten antreffen kan. Da hat ein Componist rechte Gelegenheit seinen Inventionibus den Zügel schießen zu lassen! da kan er auff unzehlige Art Liebe, Eifersucht, Haß...Begierde, Gleichgültigkeit, Furcht, Rache,...ja Himmel, Erde, Meer, Hölle, und alle darinn vorkommende Verrichtungen (wenn anders das Gesicht den Ohren nur ein wenig Beystand leisten will) mit tausenderley Veränderungen und Anmuth sehr natürlich abbilden.

3

And towards the end of the century, a capacity for the enjoyment of music becomes virtually a yardstick for the capacity for feeling - i.e. for the sensitivity and the humanity - of the listener. Rousseau, whose views on music were publicised in Germany via the musical periodicals,⁴ dismissed the unmusical as "ces personnes mal organisées,...plongées en conséquence dans une insensibilité malade", and lacking a faculty common to all humanity.⁵ And Herder, who regarded music, like poetry, as born from human necessity to

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- 1) Kritik der Urtheilskraft, 53f., (Kants Gesammelte Schriften, ed. Königlich-Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1913, Abt. I, vol. 5, pp. 328ff.).
 - 2) G.G. Leibnitii Opera omnia, Geneva 1768, Vol. VI, part I, p. 306. (Herder translates from the Latin). Cit. Herder, Kalligone, Suphan XXII, pp. 179ff. esp. 190f.
 - 3) Neu-Eröffnetes Orchestre, Hamburg 1713, [p. 160f.], Cit. Goldschmidt, p. 59f.
 - 4) E.g. F.W. Marburg's Historisch-kritische Beyträge, I, 6, Berlin 1755, pp. 57ff., carried Rousseau's Lettre sur la musique françoise, as well as an article by J.A. Hiller, 'Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik' (pp. 515ff.). Hiller's own periodical, Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, die Musik betreffend, (Leipzig 1768-9), subsequently Musikalische Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, (Leipzig 1770), includes several comments on Rousseau's ideas (W. Nachrichten 17, p. 128; Mus. Nachrichten I, pp. 1ff.).
 - 5) 'Musique, effets de la', in the Encyclopédie, ed. Diderot and D'Alembert, vol. 10, Paris (not Neufchâtel) 1765, p. 903.

express feeling,¹ seems to have shared the belief of Plato and Aristotle in music's power to "affect the souls of all", regarding it as a law of Nature that the voice of feeling should arouse corresponding feeling in fellow-creatures: "Ton der Empfindung soll das sympathetische Geschöpf in denselben Ton versetzen".²

Like Plato and Aristotle, eighteenth-century commentators on music were strongly aware that music's power over human feelings derived in part from its initial impact on the senses. Philosophers from Baumgarten to Kant consigned beauty in all the arts to the realm of a-rational feeling - and were often inclined to classify feeling, along with the senses, as markedly inferior to reason.³ Even Kant, who allowed feeling independent status between reason and sense,⁴ was unable to decide whether music was merely "angenehm"⁵ i.e. something which appealed to the senses and evoked desire, or whether it suggested "die ästhetische Idee eines zusammenhängenden Ganzen einer unnennbaren Gedankenfülle".⁶ On the whole, however, he thinks it "mehr Genuß als Cultur", despite its charm; and at one point goes so far as to class music with "Stoff zum Lachen", in that it gives a pleasurable stir to "die Eingeweide und das Zwerchfell", and induces a "Gefühl der Gesundheit".⁷ Perhaps the most striking example in the Goethezeit is Herder, whose notions of music as originating in the bodily rhythms of work,⁸ or as having common origins with "Gebärde" and "Tanz",⁹ stress the connection of music with physical

1) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.117f.

2) Über den Ursprung der Sprache, Suphan V, p.17.

3) See esp. A. Nivelle, Kunst- und Dichtungstheorien zwischen Aufklärung und Klassik, p.231 and passim.

4) Ibid., p.181, 184ff.

5) Kritik der Urtheilskraft, ed.cit.p.205; cit. Nivelle, p.196f. Cf. also Moos, pp. 13ff.

6) Ibid., §53, ed.cit.p.329.

7) Ibid., §§53f., ed.cit.pp328ff.; see Nivelle, p.225f., Moos, p.15f.

8) Derived from Hamann; see esp. W. Nufer, 'Herders Ideen zur Verbindung von Poesie, Musik und Tanz', Germanische Studien 74 (1929), p.22f.

9) E.g. Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.120f., where Herder describes Greek dancing as "sichtbar gemachte Musik".

movement. In addition, his fourth Kritisches Wäldchen explains at some length the impact of various types of sound on the nerve, and the physical vibrations thus set in motion which in turn set the soul vibrating.¹ He even speaks of the "Saitenspiel von Gehörfibern" in the ear, as though the ear itself were an instrument.²

Such acute awareness of music's vivid impact on the senses often led to the belief that music depicted and aroused real feelings, not merely an aesthetic illusion of them.³ C.P.E. Bach even suggested that the musician could not communicate the emotive 'content' of the music unless he actually felt the relevant emotion, and conveyed it in his gestures:

Indem ein

Musickus nicht anders rühren kann, er sey dann selbst gerührt; so muß er nothwendig sich selbst in alle Affeckten setzten können, welche er bey seinen Zuhörern erregen will; er giebt ihnen seine Empfindungen zu verstehen und bewegt sie solchergestalt am besten zur Mit-Empfindung. Bey matten und traurigen Stellen wird er matt und traurig. Man sieht und hört es ihm an. 4

Even where writers did not make the connection so directly, the deceptive closeness of music to real feeling was felt to be so strong that the distinction was easily forgotten - again, an echo of Aristotle. Hiller, who was fully aware of the distinction, still found himself easily deceived:

Wir haben

so viel Vertrauen zu dieser Art der Nachahmung, und wir sind dabei so wenig auf unsrer Hut, daß wir öfters einen Sinn durch den andern täuschen lassen; oder wir lassen dem Gehör Dinge vorstellen, die sich sonst für dasselbe gar nicht schickten...wir glauben sie in den Tönen zu finden, und wir finden sie wirklich darinnen, so weit sie sonst davon unterschieden sind. 5

1) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, pp. 103ff. See also J. Mittenzwei, Das Musikalische in der Literatur, p. 60.

2) Herder, Viertes Wäldchen, p. 102.

3) Cf. Goldschmidt, pp. 9, 48f., 137 and passim; also Blume, GuM, on 'Realaffekt',

4) Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen, III, 13 (1753, p. 36f. repr. Leipzig 1957), p. 122. Cf. also Goldschmidt, p. 154f.

5) Cf. his comments on Batteux' discussion of these matters (in Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe, Paris 1746, e.g. p. 260) in his article 'Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik', p. 518f.; also pp. 521f., 534.

And both Herder and Schiller stress the close links between hearing and feeling, as opposed to the greater objectivity of reactions to visual impressions.

Herder declares that:

das Ohr ist der Seele am nächsten...Das Gehör allein, ist der Innigste, der Tieffste der Sinne. Nicht so deutlich wie das Auge ist es auch nicht so kalt; nicht so gründlich wie das Gefühl ist es auch nicht so grob; aber es ist so der Empfindung am nächsten, wie das Auge den Ideen und das Gefühl der Einbildungskraft. 1

And Schiller credits music with similar powers when he says that:

der Weg des Ohrs ist der gangbarste und nächste zu unsern Herzen. -Musik hat den rauhen Eroberer Bagdads bezwungen, wo Mengs und Correggio alle Malerkraft vergebens erschöpft hätten. 2

As Goldschmidt points out, this consciousness of music's power over sense and feeling caused an attitude of deep moral disapproval of music, from the French Rationalists onwards:

Nicht etwa, daß nur böse Triebe und schlechte Affekte gefürchtet werden: jeder durch Auge und Ohr percipierte sinnliche Eindruck war verdächtig, weil er eine gewisse unruhige Neigung zum sinnlichen Genuß erregen könne. 3

Gottsched condemned opera as totally unnatural and "eine Beförderung der Wollust und Verderberinn guter Sitten".⁴ And, rather more surprisingly, we find this attitude to music echoed even amongst those of other persuasions. Hiller, for example, produces a very two-edged attitude:

Die Musik hat geheime Zugänge zu dem Herzen, die wir noch nicht entdeckt haben, und die wir vor ihr zu beschützen nicht im Stande sind...Wir werden so unvermerkt, so sanft von ihr gerührt, daß wir nicht wissen, was wir empfinden; oder besser, daß wir unsrer Empfindung keinen Namen geben können. Dieses Gefühl der Töne ist uns unbekannt, aber es erwecket uns Vergnügen, und das ist uns genug. 5

1) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, pp.110ff.

2) Über das gegenwärtige Teutsche Theater, NA 20, p.85.

3) Op.cit. p.34. He refers esp. to Bossuet, but the attitude is general; cf. (p.48f.

4) Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst, 4th ed. Leipzig 1751, II, 2, iv, §11, p.741. He is, however, criticising operatic conventions rather than music

5) 'Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik', p.523. (per se.)

allot particular voices to particular characters or emotions:

Sie sollten auch

einer Mannsperson, die singend aufgeführt wird, eine männliche Baß- und Tenorstimme geben, z.E. dem Neide, dem Zorne, dem Stolze, den vier Jahreszeiten, u.d.gl. den Alt und Discant aber für weibliche Personen, z.E. die Liebe, die Schönheit, die Tugend, die Vernunft, die Gottesfurcht, u.d.gl. behalten. ¹

Mattheson discussed the different Greek modes, as well as various modern keys, and the emotive effects of each, in his Neu-Eröffnetes Orchestre, (1713).² And in his Vollkommener Capellmeister (1739), he made strenuous efforts to match each dance-rhythm precisely to a particular emotion.³ Even where a less dogmatic approach was adopted, the general attitude remained. Batteux, for example, declared that "la plus mauvaise de toutes les musiques est celle qui n'a point de caractère"; and demanded "un sens net, sans obscurité, sans équivoque."⁴

Another method of making music 'manageable' was to equate it with the more tangible art of painting, with the suggestion that music should imitate features from Nature⁵ - a fashion for Tonmalerei which caused Hiller to remark:

da kann man hören, Seiger⁶ schlagen, Enten schnarren, Frösche quacken, und bald wird man auch darinnen die Flöhe niesen und das Gras wachsen hören. ⁷

A much more influential approach to the problem, however, was the alliance of music with language.⁸ The French Rationalists had suggested that music imitated the tonal fluctuations and rhythms of emotive speech in order

1) Critische Dichtkunst II,1,iii,§§3f., ed.cit.pp.719ff.

2) Hamburg 1713,III,2,pp.231ff.

3) Hamburg 1739,II,13,pp.224ff.Cf. also Serauky,col.118; and A. Schering, 'Die Musikästhetik der deutschen Aufklärung', Zeitschrift der internationalen Musikgesellschaft, VIII (1907),p.316f.

4) Les Beaux arts,p.264f.

5) See Schering,p.318f.,Goldschmidt,pp.38ff.

6) "Der Seiger...ein nur in den gemeinen Sprecharten einiger Gegenden,z.B. Meissens, übliches Wort, eine jede Uhr zu bezeichnen"(Adelung,ed.cit.IV,

7) Op.cit.,p.532f. col.34.

8) Very little is said on this topic here, as two later chapters are devoted to it.

to move the listener:"les tons, les accents, les soupirs, les inflexions de
 1
 voix". Rousseau, Hiller and Herder all considered that music must retain a
 song-like character if it was to move the hearer, by working together with
 speech in song, or by imitating the sound of the singing voice. Rousseau
 condemned French music (= Rameau's polyphony), and recommended Italian bel
canto on these grounds;² and Herder likewise condemned polyphony as mere
 "Schall", on the grounds that only the single tone, like the individual voice,
 really penetrated to the heart.³ Implied in this is a considerable preference
 for vocal rather than instrumental music; without the greater precision of
 expression afforded by the text, they found music mere sensuous tinkling
 which quickly sated the listener, a stimulus which roused sensations and
 feelings, but gave them no direction or shape.⁴

So strong was the belief in music's dubious capacity to sway sense and
 feeling, that adherents of Empfindsamkeit suggested that music should be
 restricted to depiction of the gentler feelings. Wieland believed that the
Singspiel, as a musical genre, should leave violent passion to tragedy -
 otherwise it would overwhelm its listeners with noise:

Die Musik...hört auf,
 Musik zu seyn, sobald sie aufhört, Vergnügen zu machen. Alles zu ver-
 schönern, was sie nachahmt, ist ihre Natur...Alle wilde, sturmische
 Leidenschaften, die nicht durch Hoffnung, Furcht oder Zärtlichkeit
 gemildert werden, liegen außer ihrem Gebiet.

5

And Hiller seems to have found music almost a threat to health at times:

...eben diese heftigen Bewegungen unsers Herzens, die ihr [der Musik]
 so viel Ehre machen, sind ihr auch am ersten...nachtheilig. Unser Herz
 ist mehr für die ruhigen und sanften Empfindungen eingenommen; es wird
 durch die gewaltsamen zu stark angegriffen.

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- 1) Dubos, Réflexions Critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture, (1715), Utrecht 1732, p.364; cit. Goldschmidt, pp.38ff., q.v.
 - 2) Lettre sur la musique françoise, Oeuvres Complètes, Nouvelle Édition vol.19, pp.350,358. See also Lowinsky, *passim*.
 - 3) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.108.
 - 4) Rousseau, Dictionnaire de Musique, article 'Unité de Mélodie', ed.cit.vol. 22, p.204; Hiller, op.cit., pp.524,528; Herder, op.cit.p.109f.
 - 5) Versuch über das deutsche Singspiel, Sämmtliche Werke, Leipzig 1839f., vol. 34, p.86.
 - 6) Op.cit., p.542; see also Goldschmidt, p.137.

Yet there is always the possibility that music will break away from these restrictions of taste, from its confinement to a specific 'Vorbild' in Nature, or from its restraining alliance with the logical forms of language; leaving the listener and his feelings helpless before the power of music, and opening the way to emotional and social chaos. Herder is well aware that "die Wollust der Tonkunst liegt tief in uns verborgen: sie würkt in der Berauschung";¹ and that music originated in part in the dithyramb: "nicht an Altären, sondern in wilden Freudentänzen entsprang...die Dichtkunst", and with it "wilde Vergnügen, den ungezähmten Tanz, eine rohe Musik".² And like Plato and Aristotle, Herder felt that the musician may develop his skill with cold detachment, leaving his listeners confused and frustrated - he complains, for example, that instrumentalists, especially Germans, have made an unfeeling science out of music.³ Usually, however, the emphasis is on the capacity of music to flood the soul with emotion; Rousseau's depiction of St. Preux' reactions to Italian music is typical:

je croyais entendre la voix de la douleur,...du désespoir; je croyais voir des mères éplorées,...des tyrans furieux; et, dans les agitations que j'étais forcé d'éprouver, j'avais peine à rester en place...c'est une impétuosité de sentiment qui vous entraîne, et à laquelle il est impossible à l'âme de résister.

4

It is this capacity of music to burst through the bounds of moral, social and rational norms with irresistible force which, for the eighteenth century, sometimes lends music an affinity with things beyond the normal order altogether, with the supernatural and 'das Wunderbare'. Batteux had already commented on music's ability to fabricate a convincing illusion of feeling;⁵ Hiller found music's irrational fascination like that of a seductive

1) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.90.

2) Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Litteratur, Zwote Sammlung, Suphan I, p.310. Cf. Nufer, p.56f.

3) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.119.

4) La Nouvelle Héloïse, I, lettre 48, Oeuvres Complètes I, p.473f.

5) Les Beaux arts, pp.260, 266f.

piece of magic, or a dream:

wir lassen dem Gehör Dinge vorstellen, die sich sonst für dasselbe gar nicht schickten...wir glauben sie in den Tönen zu finden, und wir finden sie wirklich darinnen... Ist dieses nicht eine Art von Zauberey ? ... Ist vielleicht eine geheime Neigung zum Sonderbaren und Fremden Schuld daran ?... Es ist dieses ein Räthsel, das die Vernunft nicht leicht lösen wird, weil es ihr gleichsam nur im Traume vorgelegt wird.

1

And although he seems to have become bolder by 1768, declaring that we should expect miracles of music, like David,² he is obviously very uneasy about music's power to wander into the unknown: virtuoso pieces should be restrained by good taste from venturing into "Unregelmäßigkeit und Schwulst", from indulging their "Neigung zum Wunderbaren".³ And above all, the glories of music's ventures into the unknown ("Sie erhebt sich dadurch...zu einer fast göttlichen Würde") must be tamed by a return to normality:

Man muß...das Wunderbare der Musik nicht ganz nehmen. Man muß es nur gehörig zu bestimmen und einzuschränken suchen...Unser Herz ist mehr für die ruhigen und sanften Empfindungen eingenommen;...es verlangt daher beständig, daß der Künstler je eher je lieber von dem übernatürlichen und wunderbaren wieder zu dem natürlichen und bewegenden herunter kommen soll, um ihm die benöthigte Ruhe wieder zu geben.

4

There can be no guarantee that music will observe the bounds of good manners, civilised moderation or rational behaviour - as Herder realised when he apostrophised the power of primitive song:

Das Wort ist weg, und der Ton der Empfindung tönet. Dunkles Gefühl übermannet uns:...kein Bedacht, keine Überlegung, das bloße Naturgesetz lag zum Grunde: Ton der Empfindung soll das sympathetische Geschöpf in denselben Ton versetzen !

5

1) Hiller, op.cit., p.534.

2) Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, (Leipzig 1768), 17. Stück, 24/10/1768, p.128.

3) 'Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik', p.538.

4) Ibid., p.542.

5) Über den Ursprung der Sprache, Suphan V, p.17.

When we turn to Goethe, we find this traditional line of thinking and feeling about music very firmly woven into his reactions. Sometimes one aspect predominates, sometimes another; but this body of associations with feeling - irrational, intense, and sometimes disorderly - appears in Goethe's comments from a very early stage, and eventually makes a contribution to his own particular ideas of 'das Elementarische' and 'das Daemonische'.

Despite the frustrating methods of his own early music lessons,¹ Goethe was constantly impressed by the wide range and strength of music's impact on the emotions. From Leipzig, where Gertrud Schmehling-Mara delighted him:

Dort wo alles wohl gelang
Unter die Beglückten
Riß Dein herrschender Gesang
Mich, den Hochentzückten. 2

- to Weimar, where he summoned music to ease the throes of composition;³ to Italy, where "die Gegenwart unseres Kayzers⁴ erhöhte und erweiterte...die Liebe zur Musik";⁵ to later life in Weimar, when he complained that: "diesen Winter habe ich fast gar keine Musik vernommen, und ich fühle welch ein schöner Teil des Lebensgenusses mir dadurch abgeht";⁶ and finally in old age, where he records "die ungeheure Gewalt der Musik auf mich in diesen Tagen!"⁷, his love of music and susceptibility to it constantly reappear. Goethe's works, too, have many instances of music's power to move - especially to move the sensibilities of men of feeling such as Wilhelm Meister⁸ and Werther:

Kein Wort von der alten Zauberkraft der Musik ist mir unwahrscheinlich. Wie mich der einfache Gesang angreift! 9

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- 1) Dichtung und Wahrheit, I, 4, (AA 10, pp. 130ff.); cf. Tappolet, pp. 10ff.
 - 2) Dated 1771 (Beutler corrects to 1767); sent to Zelter 19/2/1831 (AA 21, p. 970). Cf. Leipziger Theater, AA 12, p. 607f.
 - 3) Letter to Frau v. Stein, 14/2/1779, AA 18, p. 417.
 - 4) The composer Ph. Chr. Kayser, who joined Goethe in Rome in 1787. See esp. M. Friedländer, 'GuM', p. 305f., Moser, pp. 17ff., Abert, GuM, p. 23.
 - 5) Italienische Reise, Bericht November 1787, AA 11, p. 482.
 - 6) Letter to Zelter, 27/2/1804, AA 19, p. 459.
 - 7) Letter to Zelter, 24/8/1823, AA 21, p. 556. (The ref. is to the time of his love for Ulrike v. Levetzow).
 - 8) "Die Liebe lief mit schauernder Hand tausendfaltig über alle Saiten seiner Seele", Theatralische Sendung, I, 23, AA 8, pp. 577ff. Cf. also Lehrjahre II, 11 & 13, AA 7, pp. 137f., 145ff.
 - 9) 16. Juli, I; AA 4, p. 417.

But even where there is no question of 'magic', music can move a whole group of people with varying sensibilities:

Alles war still, hörte, horchte und nur erst als die Töne verhallten, konnte man den Eindruck bemerken...Alles war wie beschwichtigt; jeder in seiner Art gerührt. ¹

Goethe was well aware of the possibility that music could affect the senses as well as the emotions (and of the controversies which had raged around this point).² He notes the "krankhafte Reizbarkeit" which accounts for the "ungeheure Gewalt" of music upon his feelings³; and a state of overwrought sensibility certainly plays a part in Werther's reactions to music.⁴ Even under normal circumstances, however, the physical basis of music remains; its effect upon the nerves is "stark und spezifisch physiologisch, pathologisch" as well as "ästhetisch", and it is "gehört vorzüglich, doch auch als Erschütterung gefühlt."⁵ And in the Tonlehre, Goethe notes the common roots of music with bodily rhythm and movement, especially diastole and systole:

Der ganze Körper wird angeregt zum Schritt (Marsch), zum Sprung (Tanz und Gebärdung)...Ein anders ist den Fuß aufheben, ein anders ihn niedersetzen...Arsis, Aufschlag. Thesis, Niederschlag. ⁶

Even though he felt, like Schiller,⁷ that music's formal beauty raises it above sensuousness, he compared music at one point to the Pompeian wall-paintings in the freshness and immediacy of its impact:

Fürwahr die Musik füllt, in jenem Betracht, den Augenblick am entschiedensten, es sei nun, daß sie in dem ruhigen Geiste Ehrfurcht und Anbetung erzeuge, oder die beweglichen Sinne zu tanzendem Jubel hervorrufe. ⁸

1) Novelle, AA 9, p.453.

2) See 'Musik', Anmerkungen zu Rameaus Neffe, AA 15, p.1039f.

3) Letter to Zelster, 24/8/1823, AA 21, p.557.

4) E.g. letter of 4. Dezember, II; AA 4, p.474.

5) Notes Zur Wissenschaftslehre, 'Physikalische Wirkungen', AA 16, p.861.

('Erschütterung' here = 'vibration' rather than 'emotional upheaval'; cf. comments on 'Chladnis Tonfiguren', Zur Farbenlehre, AA 16, p.806.

6) AA 16, p.908.

7) See e.g. Über Matthissons Gedichte, NA 22, pp.271ff.

8) Letter to Zelster, 19/10/1829, AA 21, p.871.

Goethe was never likely to confuse music's image of feeling with reality;¹ and he disliked naturalistic Tonmalerei in music.² Nevertheless, music's capacity to overwhelm with irrational feeling through its impact on nerves and body seems to have loomed so large in his mind that he often showed an uneasiness, even fear, towards music - notwithstanding his mockery of Wieland's dislike of strong passion in the Singspiel.³ In Italy he confessed to a preference for cheerful, animated music:

Nun will ich gerade nicht behaupten, daß mir jene sehnstüchtigen Töne, die man im Adagio und Largo hinzuziehen pflegt, jemals seien zuwider gewesen, doch aber liebt' ich in der Musik immer mehr das Aufregende, da unsere eigenen Gefühle,...uns nur allzuoft herabzuziehen und zu überwältigen drohen.

4

And the fear of being swamped by feeling recurs in his comment that even cheerful music can induce melancholy;⁵ and in his sharp remarks on C.M.v. Weber:

solche weichliche, sentimentale Melodien deprimieren mich; ich bedarf kräftiger, frischer Töne, mich zusammenzuraffen, zu sammeln.

6

In particular, music for Goethe had the capacity to arouse feeling by evoking vividly memories from the past. In Italy it triggered off "Nachdenken über Verlust und Mißlingen";⁷ in Eger, it aroused "die Gesamtheit eingeschlummerter Erinnerungen", and feeling so intense that Goethe described himself as 'attacked' by music;⁸ and a description of Handel's Messiah evoked 'irresistible longing' for the youthful freshness with which he had first heard the work.⁹

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- 1) See for example his early comment on dramatic illusion: "Jede Form, auch die gefühlteste, hat etwas Unwahres" (1776), Aus Goethes Briefftasche, AA 13, p.48.
 - 2) Letter to Zelter, 2/5/1820, AA 21, p.390.
 - 3) Götter, Helden und Wieland, AA 4, p.215.
 - 4) Bericht Februar 1788, AA 11, p.575.
 - 5) Letter to Zelter, 22/1/1808, AA 19, p.535.
 - 6) Conv. with F.v. Müller, 24/6/1826, AA 23, p.442.
 - 7) Bericht Februar, 1788, AA 11, p.575.
 - 8) Letter to Zelter, 24/8/1823, AA 21, p.556.
 - 9) Review of Rochlitz' Für Freunde der Tonkunst in Kunst und Altertum, V, 1, (1824), AA 14, p.337.

This aspect of Goethe's view of music has often puzzled critics.¹ Ronga is surely exaggerating when he dubs Goethe:

heir to that subtle and invincible
rationalism which fetters and limits music to the primordial realm of
obscure sensations.²

- if only because music meant so many different things to Goethe. Yet his reactions to music's power over feeling certainly seem extraordinarily strong. Abert's suggestion that he was heavily influenced by the Affektenlehre, "bis in die letzten Konsequenzen hinein",³ seems to offer the most satisfactory explanation, since it accounts both for Goethe's extreme wariness and for his well-documented love of music. In addition, it makes Goethe seem less mysteriously eccentric by placing him in the context of his age - Lowinsky notes a similar attitude in Rousseau, and even in Mozart.⁴

Goethe himself sought to control this force of music by finding some kind of "verstandesmässigen Anhaltspunkt", as Abert puts it, which could give his emotional reactions a more definite location.⁵ Like Rousseau, Hiller and Herder, he very much preferred vocal music; since the text gave a 'local habitation and a name' to sensations otherwise formless and potentially threatening, and also prevented music from degenerating into mere sensuous stimulus. After a performance of Pergolesi, he remarked to Frau von Stein "Wie die Musik nichts ist ohne menschliche Stimme";⁶ and in his Tonlehre he declared that musical instruments were a substitute for the voice, and inferior to it.⁷ Where poems were given musical setting, he considered that the

1) E.g. M. Friedländer, p.322f.; Abert, GuM, pp.57ff.; Moser, p.70f.; Cotti, p.10f. Moser sets it down to Goethe's hypersensitive hearing (p.70f.); but from the Annalen for 1801, which he cites as evidence, it would simply seem that Goethe strongly disliked being kept awake at night when ill, which seems normal enough. (Tag- und Jahreshefte 1801, AA 11, p.692f.)

2) The Meeting of Poetry and Music, p.91f.

3) GuM, p.57.

4) Op.cit., p.193f.

5) Op.cit., p.53.

6) Anfang August 1782, AA 18, p.684.

7) AA 16, p.909.

composer should stick closely to the mood evoked by the poem, thus encouraging the listener to envisage the scene in his imagination:

es kommt darauf an, den
Hörer in die Stimmung zu versetzen, welche das Gedicht angibt, in der
Einbildungskraft bilden sich alsdann die Gestalten nach Anlaß des Textes,
sie weiß nicht, wie sie dazu kommt.

1

Instrumental music seems to have been difficult and puzzling for him unless he could draw some kind of analogy with discourse:

Wär ich in Berlin so würde
ich die Möserischen Quartettabende selten versäumen. Dieser Art Exhibi-
tionen waren mir von jeher von der Instrumental-Musik das Verständlichste,
man hört vier vernünftige Leute sich untereinander unterhalten, glaubt
ihren Diskursen etwas abzugewinnen und die Eigentümlichkeiten der Inst-
rumente kennen zu lernen. Für diesmal [a concert by Paganini] fehlte mir
in Geist und Ohr ein solches Fundament, ich hörte nur etwas Meteorisches
und wußte mir weiter davon keine Rechenschaft zu geben. 2

Indeed, like Plato and Aristotle Goethe confesses that he needs the help of 'experts' in interpreting music;³ and although he does not therefore fall back on the convention of one 'mood' for one movement or mode, he comes very close to it in his preference for music which has a marked 'character',⁴ or, alternatively, a definite programme. Hence his request to J.F.Reichardt⁵ for dance-tunes, "nur recht charakteristische, die Figuren erfinden wir schon";⁶ and his preference for music which he could imagine with a 'programme':

man kann solchen Sachen aus eigenem Geist und Herzen nichts mehr unterlegen...Doch das Allegro...hatte Charakter. Dieses ewige Wirbeln und Drehen führte mir die Hexentänze des Blocksbergs vor Augen, und ich fand also doch eine Anschauung, die ich der wunderlichen Musik supponieren konnte. 7

1) Letter to Zelter, 2/5/1820, AA 21, p.390.

2) Letter to Zelter, 9/11/1829, AA 21, p.872f.

3) See esp. letter to Frau Unger, 13/6/1796, WA IV, 11, p.92, and to Rochlitz, 20/7/1809, WA IV, 21, "da ich mich gegen Musik nur empfindend und nicht urtheilend verhalte" (p.5).

4) Cf. Vietor (Goethe, pp.547ff.) on Goethe's notion of 'characteristic art'; and esp. R. Allen, 'J.D.Falk and the theory of characteristic art', pp.370ff. W. Flemming, Goethe und das Theater seiner Zeit, pp.199ff., 240ff., discusses the importance of "das Charakteristische" in connection with Goethe's direction of the Weimar theatrical style.

5) See esp. W. Salmen, 'Goethe und Reichardt', Jb.der Sammlung Kippenberg NF I, (1963), pp.52ff.

6) Letter to Reichardt, 25/10/1790, AA 19, p.174.

7) On music by Mendelssohn; Eckermann (Erster Teil), 12/1/1827, AA 24, p.200.

His approach to instrumental music was similar. Goethe seems to have had a very sharp ear for "die Eigentümlichkeiten der Instrumente"; and each evoked particular connotations for him. For example, plucked string instruments such as guitar, zither¹ and lute seem to have kept for him not only their link with feeling, but something of their association with (? Mediterranean) serenades and seductive gallantry. Liebetraut, in Götz, sings his arch love-song "mit einer Zitter";² and in Über den Dilettantismus Goethe remarks on music as having traditionally "Größerer Einfluß aufs leidenschaftliche Leben durch tragbare Saiteninstrumente", and as being "Medium der Galanterie".³ The harp and flute seem to have had associations with profound but gentle emotions - the harp is the instrument of the aged Sänger who makes such a deep impression on Wilhelm, and the gypsy boy's flute in Novelle is "ein Instrument von der Art, das man sonst die sanfte süße Flöte zu nennen pflegte."⁴ Except for their use in the open air,⁵ however, (when their sound would be somewhat muted) Goethe seems to have found wind instruments rather harsh and startling:

Das

Accompagnement rathe ich Ihnen sehr mässig zu halten nur in der Mässigkeit ist der Reichthum, wer seine Sache versteht thut mit zwei Violinen, Viole und Bass mehr als andre mit der ganzen Instrumentenkammer. Bedienen Sie sich der blassenden Instrumenten als eines Gewürzes und einzeln; bei der Stelle die Flöte, bei einer die Fagot, dort Hautbo, das bestimmt den Ausdruck und man weis was man geniesst, anstatt dass die meisten neure Componisten, wie die Köche bei den Speissen einen Hautgout von allerlei anbringen.

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- 1) J.H.v.d.Meer, MGG 14, col. 1342, makes clear that the 'zither' would at this stage be an instrument with a neck, very similar to lute and guitar, rather than the large Alpine zither which is usually rested horizontally in front of the player. E. Winternitz, Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, pp. 57ff., is concerned with the visual arts; but shows that there was a very large number of instruments similar in name and design to the zither, in use in the previous century; so that 'zither' is almost a generic term for the whole group (p. 58).
 - 2) Zweite Fassung, opening of Act II; AA 4, p. 675.
 - 3) Über den Dilettantismus, AA 14, p. 731.
 - 4) Novelle, AA 9, p. 450.
 - 5) E.g. Wilhelm's serenade by the travelling players with "Klarinetten, Waldhörnern und Fagotts", Theatr. Sendung I, 23, AA 8, p. 577. Such groups of wind-players were kept by towns as "Stadt Pfeifer" for public occasions; cf. R. Eller, 'Leipzig', MGG 8, cols. 551f.
 - 6) Letter to Kayser, 20/1/1780, AA 18, p. 481.

His instrumental bête noire, however, was the organ:

Welch ein leidig Instru-
ment die Orgel sei, ist mir gestern abend in dem Chor von Sankt Peter
recht aufgefallen, man begleitete damit den Gesang bei der Vesper; es
verbindet sich so gar nicht mit der Menschenstimme und ist so gewaltig.
Wie reizend dagegen in der Sixtinischen Kapelle, wo die Stimmen allein
sind. ¹

Although Zelter made strenuous efforts to persuade him otherwise, the organ remained for Goethe a "Kirchen- und Gemeinde-tyrann",² despite his pleasure in J.H.F.Schütz's playing of J.S.Bach.³ The habit of gauging music by the human voice, and the tendency to fear the impact of overwhelming sound on nerves and feelings, proved stronger in this case than even Zelter's recommendations. And whether or not specific instruments are mentioned, Goethe often notes the quality of a sound and the 'character' or programme which it suggests to him: such as the tinkling sounds of a dream,⁴ the Blocksberg scene suggested by the Allegro,⁵ the "außerordentliche Wirkung" of a solo "Bravourarie mit eingreifendem Chor" which he heard in Rome.⁶

Where such extra-musical associations are not possible, Goethe tends (like so many writers discussed in this chapter) to be almost afraid of music's capacity to break its bonds with the norms of human feeling and order, and to become apparently formless and confusing, or overwhelming in its intensity, or even to be akin to forces outside the natural order. When music loses its link with the voice, in particular, it becomes dangerously close to being mere "Schall" and "Geräusch", and risks "Übergang ins Formlose, Zufällige".⁷ Hence his suspicion of anything which he regarded as

1) Italienische Reise, Rom 7/3/1788, AA 11, p.581. See esp. Cotti, p.68, and Hicks, pp.105f., 118ff.

2) Letter to Zelter, 15/8/1829, WA IV, 46, p.47 cit. Hicks, p.119.

3) See e.g. L. Rellstab, Herbst, etc., 1821, AA 23, p.178f.

4) "Bald glaubte ich eine Laute, bald eine Harfe, bald eine Zither zu hören, und bald noch etwas Klimperndes, das keinem von diesen drei Instrumenten gemäß war" (Dichtung und Wahrheit I, 2, AA 10, p.67) cit. Tappolet p.13.

5) Eckermann, 12/1/1827, AA 24, p.200.

6) Bericht November 1787, AA 11, p.483.

7) Tonlehre, AA 16, p.910.

mere technique or virtuosity. He noted, like Herder, that the Germans had developed the technique of polyphony "fast ohne weiteren Bezug auf Gemütskräfte".¹ And he felt that the "aufs höchste gesteigerte Technik und Mechanik" of the Romantic composers had led them "über das Niveau der menschlichen Empfindung hinaus", so that their works had become mere sense stimulus: "mir bleibt alles in den Ohren hängen".² This reaction was at its fiercest towards Beethoven, whom Goethe disliked as a "ganz ungebändigte Persönlichkeit",³ and whose work he seems to have feared as a disorderly cacophony of fascinating but profoundly disturbing sound:

dazu sitzt er in einer dunklen Ecke wie ein Jupiter tonans und blitzt mit den alten Augen. An den Beethoven wollte er gar nicht heran; ich sagte ihm aber, ich könne ihm nicht helfen, und spielte ihm nun das erste Stück der c-moll Symphonie vor. Das berührte ihn ganz seltsam. Er sagte erst: Das bewegt aber gar nichts, das macht nur staunen; das ist grandios ! Und dann brummte er so weiter und fing nach langer Zeit wieder an: Das ist sehr groß, ganz toll! Man möchte sich fürchten, das Haus fiele ein. Und wenn das nun alle die Menschen zusammenspielen !

4

And music carries similar connotations of incitement to disorderly behaviour in the "Zweideutigkeiten" of Philine's song "Der Schäfer putzte sich zum Tanz",⁵ and in the Bacchanalian celebration of the actors in which Mignon becomes "einer Mänade ähnlich", with her wild beating on the tambourine.⁶ The musician-magician figures of Goethe's works are benevolent rather than sinister - e.g. the Musensohn calls the tune for dancing,⁷ the Knabe of the Novelle tames the lion with his flute.⁸ But their power is nevertheless felt

1) Anmerkungen zu Rameaus Neffe, AA 15, p.1040. Cf. Herder, Suphan IV, p.119.

2) Eckermann, Erster Teil, 12/1/1827, AA 24, p.199f.

3) Letter to Zelster, 2/9/1812, AA 19, p.672; see esp. R. Rolland, Goethe and Beethoven, (tr. Pfister and Kemp), N.York/London 1931, esp. pp.88ff. Also M. Friedländer, pp.316ff., Abert, GuM, pp.36ff., Moser, pp.35ff.

4) Felix Mendelssohn, 21/25. Mai 1830, AA 23, p.700. E. Genast, Aus dem Tagebuch eines alten Schauspielers, (Leipzig 1862), mentions that Spohr conducted Beethoven's Egmont overture at Nordhausen in 1829 with an orchestra which included, in the string section alone, 50 violins, 20 cellos, and 20 double bass; which would amount to a very large number of "Menschen" when they were all playing together. (p.273).

5) Theatralische Sendung, IV, 13, AA 8, p.740.

6) Lehrjahre V, 12, AA 7, p.350f.

7) AA 1, p.22f.

8) AA 9, pp.454ff.

to rest in their irregularity, in their "schweifen"¹ - the boy plays a "Tonfolge ohne Gesetz, und vielleicht eben deswegen so herzergreifend".² Music may thus elude reason at any moment - it is "reine Unvernunft" compared with language³ - and may at any moment take off into realms where reason cannot follow and where feeling may be overwhelmed:

Die sonoren
Wirkungen ist man genötigt, beinahe ganz obenan zu stellen. Wäre die Sprache nicht unstreitig das Höchste,...so würde ich Musik noch höher... setzen.

Wenigstens scheint mir, daß der Ton noch viel größerer Mannigfaltigkeit als die Farbe fähig sei...hat er doch eine unglaubliche Biogsamkeit und Verhältnismöglichkeit, die mir über alle Begriffe geht und vielleicht zeitlebens gehen wird. 4

Hence the ease with which music is associated with "das Wunderbare", with the irrational and supernatural; whether as the "Zauberkraft der Musik",⁵ or as part of a dream,⁶ whether as "Teufelszeug" and "Herrlichkeit" jumbled together in Beethoven's music,⁷ or as a force which turns the Muse of drama into a Dionysian celebrant of catastrophe,⁸ music remains "eins der ersten Mittel, um auf die Menschen wunderbar zu wirken." ⁹

Because of these associations with irrational disorder and with supernatural forces beyond the control of reason, music is often linked in Goethe's thinking with the elemental and with the daemonic. Something as apparently formless and yet as overwhelming as Beethoven's music seems to him in imminent danger of disintegrating altogether into primeval chaos:

sehen Sie einmal, was
das für Zeug ist ! Zum Rasendwerden, schön und toll zugleich...das will alles umfassen und verliert sich darüber immer ins Elementarische, doch

1) AA 1, p.22f.

2) AA 9, p.450.

3) Conv. with Riemer, 3/12/1808, AA 22, p.525.

4) Zur Wissenschaftslehre, 'Physikalische Wirkungen', AA 16, p.862. Cf. Kant's attitude to the various arts, Kritik der Urtheilskraft §53; & Nivelle, pp.

5) Werther, AA 4, p.417.

(224ff.

6) Dichtung und Wahrheit I, 2, AA 10, p.67.

7) Sulpiz Boisseree, 4/5/1811, AA 22, p.628.

8) Prolog zu Eröffnung des Berliner Theaters im Mai 1821, AA 3, p.647f. Cit. Cotti, p.69.

9) Eckermann, Zweiter Teil, 8/3/1831, AA 24, p.472.

noch mit unendlichen Schönheiten im einzelnen...aber der arme Teufel hat's auch nicht ausgehalten, er ist schon hin, es ist nicht anders möglich, wer so auf der Kippe steht, muß sterben oder verrückt werden.

1

Such elemental formlessness, Goethe feels, is destructive for human beings, and should be anathema to the artist - despite the practice of Romantic writers:

alles geht durchaus ins Form- und Charakterlose. Kein Mensch will begreifen, daß die höchste und einzige Operation der Natur und Kunst die Gestaltung sei, und in der Gestalt die Spezifikation, damit jedes ein besonderes Bedeutendes werde, sei und bleibe. Es ist keine Kunst, sein Talent nach individueller Bequemlichkeit humoristisch walten zu lassen; etwas muß immer daraus entstehen.

2

Man should master what is chaotic and uncontrolled both within himself and without, lest he be destroyed by these forces.³ Hence the use of music to mark the entrance of 'das Wunderbare' into drama (Theaterprolog 1821), upon which there follows elemental chaos and horror.⁴

More frequently, however, Goethe links music with the equally awesome and irrational, but more constructive, force of the daemonic.⁵ He singles out Paganini as a specific example of an artist with daemonic powers:

das
Dämonische...äußert sich in einer durchaus positiven Tatkraft...Unter den Künstlern...findet es sich mehr bei Musikern, weniger bei Malern. Bei Paganini zeigt es sich im hohen Grade, wodurch er denn auch so große Wirkungen hervorbringt.

6

It is this capacity of music to convey, and yet to contain, "das Abstoßende, Widerwärtige, Furchtbare" which caused Goethe to say that Mozart, the composer of Don Giovanni, should have written the music for Faust.⁷ And in the Theaterprolog, the Muse of drama gives place to the "Dämon" of music when she

1) Sulpiz Boisserée, 4/5/1811, AA 22, p.629. Cf. Moser, p.35.

2) Letter to Zelter, 30/10/1808, AA 19, p.566. Cf. Vietor, p.541, P. Stöcklein, Wege zum späten Goethe, p.103.

3) Cf. Stöcklein: "Entweder wirkt die Entelechie beherrschend und gestaltend in die Elemente hinein...oder...sie gerät unter die Herrschaft der Elemente, wird von ihnen beeinträchtigt..."(loc.cit.). Also his ref. to Lehrjahre VI, [AA 7, p.436].

4) AA 3, pp.647ff.

5) Cf. Blume, GuM, p.12f.; Moser, p.35.

6) Eckermann, Zweiter Teil, 8/3/1831, AA 24, p.472.

7) Eckermann, Zweiter Teil, 12/2/1829, AA 24, p.313. Cf. Cotti, p.34f., & esp. Staiger, Musik und Dichtung, 'Goethe und Mozart', pp.41ff.

wishes to pursue "das Wunderbare":

Sie tritt begeistert zurück als wenn sie etwas in den Lüften hörte

Was ruft ! - Ein Dämon ! - Helfet mir bedenken !
 Ich soll den Schritt nach andrer Seite lenken...
 Nach Wunderbarem aber treibt mich's, will es fassen.
 Nun folgt mir gern, sonst müßt ich euch verlassen.

1

Blume states that Goethe himself never directly connected music with the daemonic.² But this piece of evidence will surely suffice to show that he did make the connection; certainly, many of Goethe's characters who have this kind of strong and inexplicable effect on their surroundings (e.g. Musensohn, Mignon, Knabe) exercise it through music.

By taking such a long perspective, we may now see that, in the association of music with feeling, Goethe's attitude is indeed a mixture of old and new in the eighteenth century³ - not wholly free from subjective quirks, yet even here very much influenced by familiar and recurrent notions which are part of the cultural furniture of his own and earlier ages. Music as associated with deep human feeling or animated movement, as irrational, irresistible, seductive, mysterious, supernatural - all these ideas do indeed make Goethe 'heir' to a kind of rationalism, current at least since Plato. But it is by no means invincible.⁴ For he draws on music time and again as a means to explore and depict the irrational aspects of man and the universe - as we shall find when we turn to Faust.

1) Theaterprolog 1821, AA 3, p. 647.

2) GuM, p. 91; cf. also Cotti, p. 31f.

3) Abert, GuM p. 46f.

4) Ronga, p. 91f.

In Faust, Goethe draws on the full range of these musical connotations; sometimes introducing them as a theme, sometimes using musical imagery, sometimes prescribing musical setting for certain passages, and sometimes by a combination of some of these. The poet of Zueignung, like Wilhelm, feels a "Schauer"(29) as emotions run across the 'strings' of his soul; here, "längst entwöhntes Sehnen"(25) for past love and friendship produces the first tentative notes of his song, as though he himself were an "Äolsharfe"(28) played upon by memories. When Faust responds to the "tröstlichen Gesang" of the Easter Chorus(746), music evokes memories of the "unbegreiflich holdes Sehnen"(775) of his youth, for the ardent piety in which physical and spiritual were not at odds:

Da klang so ahnungsvoll des Glockentones Fülle
Und ein Gebet war brünstiger Genuß... (773f.).

And it is this renewed relish for human feeling, epitomised in musical sounds, which turns his resolve away from suicide:

...an diesen Klang von Jugend auf gewöhnt,
Ruft er auch jetzt zurück mich in das Leben...
O tönet fort, ihr süßen Himmelslieder !
Die Träne quillt, die Erde hat mich wieder !(769f.,783f.).

And again, as Faust enters the Walpurgisnacht in the Wechselgesang with Mephisto and the Irrlicht, the sound of the streams suggests a music which is associated with memories of past life and love, and the echo of their recall:

Hör' ich Rauschen ? hör' ich Lieder ?
Hör' ich holde Liebesklage,
Stimmen jener Himmelstage ?...
Und das Echo, wie die Sage
Alter Zeiten, hallet wider. (388lff.). 1

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- 1) As Requadt points out, Goethe does not specify which of the three sings which stanza; but this one seems to belong to Faust, since it expresses an attitude closely akin to that of Wald und Höhle(p.290). For this very reason, it seems unnecessary to suggest that Faust is thinking of Gretchen (Requadt,ibid.); presumably, as in Wald und Höhle, he is referring to the whole of his experience, including his love for Gretchen.

But music is associated with vivid present feeling, as well as with memories of the past. As has often been pointed out, Gretchen expresses her deepest feelings in songs.¹ And even in Part II, which was said to represent a "hellere, leidenschaftslosere Welt",² we find the Selige Knaben activated by 'sacred' feelings expressed in song:

Regt euch und singet
Heilige Gefühle drein ! (11928f.).

Indeed, the heavenly realms in which Faust is to continue his activity are marked by a continuation, in modified form, of earthly feeling - expressed, for example, in Gretchen's echo of her song in Zwinger (12069), and the ardent hymn of the Doctor Marianus (11989ff.).³

Within this general field of connotations, we often find in Faust the specific association of music with the 'tone' of feeling which then evokes a sympathetic 'tone' in response.⁴ The Beggar exploits it by singing to the strolling crowd Vor dem Tor(852ff.); the Poet of Zueignung hopes for a renewed "Widerklang" from his audience(20). And it is remarkable that most of the relations between 'heaven' and earth in the play are presented in the form of loving appeals, made in musical form if not actually in the medium of music. Requadt remarks that Gretchen's prayer in Zwinger (3587ff.) is more an appeal to a fellow-sufferer than an attempt to transcend this world;⁵ and the same could be said of the prayers of the Selige Knaben and of the Doctor Marianus. A similar tone of loving appeal characterises the songs of the Angels to the Disciples and Women in the Easter Chorus - hence Faust's "Klingt dort umher, wo weiche Menschen sind"(764), since he cannot respond,

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- 1) See e.g. Herrmann, pp.168ff., Requadt, pp.228, 270f.; and esp. Willoughby, 'Goethe's Faust. A Morphological Approach', ed.cit., pp.107ff. However, these studies also make clear that Gretchen's songs are not only expressions of feeling.
- 2) Eckermann, Zweiter Teil, 17/2/1831, AA 24, p.453.
- 3) Again, it is not entirely clear whether these prayers are meant to be sung or declaimed; this point is discussed later. But the song form in one case and the hymnic form in the other are clear enough.
- 4) Cf. Herder's "Ton der Empfindung" and its effect on "das sympathetische Geschöpf", Über den Ursprung der Sprache, Suphan V, p.17.
- 5) P.275f., note 62.

though he remembers with longing the time when he could. But the most striking instance of music's power to evoke feeling is provided by the Euphorion episode(esp.9679ff.). This begins with a "reizendes, reinmelodisches Saitenspiel" to which all present respond: "Alle merken auf und scheinen bald innig gerührt"(SD 9679); and thereafter Euphorion draws with him first Helena and Faust (9695ff.), and then the whole Chorus:

All' unsre Herzen sind
All' dir geneigt. (9765f.).

It is the poet's traditional lyre which has this effect(9620); but like the Harfner of Wilhelm Meister, Euphorion's poetry and his Saitenspiel are devoted almost exclusively to profound feeling, and initiate the 'Romantic' episode of Faust - the brief, but overwhelming, predominance of feeling.¹ Even Mephisto/Phorkyas responds to the power of this music(9687f.); as indeed Mephisto responds to the singing of the Angels who come to retrieve Faust's soul, by a brief and markedly unholy attack of feeling, but nonetheless by an attack of feeling(11753ff.).

However, in Faust as elsewhere in Goethe's work, music evokes physical as well as emotional reactions, especially by virtue of the sensuous appeal of its sounds and rhythms; and it is thus often accompanied by "Schritt" and "Sprung", by "Marsch", "Tanz", and "Gebärdung".² On some occasions, it is therefore a medium for lively and earthy vitality - as e.g. in the songs of the Soldiers (884f.) and Peasants (949ff.)³ in Vor dem Tor, of the gardeners(5158ff.) and of the Wild Men who head Pan's train(5801ff.) in the Mummen-schanz, and especially of the figures in Felsbuchten des Ägäischen Meers, whose

1) See esp. Trunz, ed. cit. pp. 594ff.

2) Tonlehre, AA 16, p. 908.

3) Requadt views this scene primarily through its associations with Arcadia; but the references to earthiness of a destructive sort (11.974ff.) seem to me much too emphatic to be associated only with the harmony of "Bei-sich-sein"(Requadt, pp. 97ff.). Cf. the destructive sexuality, also expressed through music, of the Soldiers' song, or of the Witches' Zaubergesang(3955ff.).

"Allgesang"(SD8217) is a triumphant celebration of myths of creation and of the origins of life in the sea(8315ff.). The particular association of this vitality of life and feeling with animated rhythmic physical movement can be seen in the Soldiers' rhythm as they march away(902); in the dance of the Peasants (949ff.); in the "Getümmel" which accompanies the "Gesang" of the Wild Men:

Unwiderstehlich schreitet's an:....
 Sie kommen roh, sie kommen rauh,
 In hohem Sprung, in raschem Lauf,
 Sie treten derb und tüchtig auf. (5801ff.);

and once again in the power of Euphorion, "dem die ewigen Melodien/Durch die Glieder sich beweged"(9626f.), to draw the Chorus after him, "tanzend und singend"(SD9754). On one occasion, Goethe exploits these connotations to suggest the vitality of the dark and irrational side of Man's nature, as against the deadness of rationality divorced from humanity. As Faust and the Witches sing and dance, the Proktophantasmist is ridiculous because he tries to argue the irrational out of existence - "tanzen" is opposed to "schätzen" as an attitude(4150).

However, the physical appeal of music does not always carry such positive connotations as these. For instance, it is linked with the animal imagery which Requadt notes in Auerbachs Keller¹ to depict the mindless sensuality of the students, in the Rattenlied, Flohlied, and in the Chorus of supreme drunken bliss:

Uns ist ganz kannibalisch wohl,
 Als wie fünf hundert Säuen ! (2293f.).

And the idea that music, by advancing feeling and animated physical movement, is in some ways a threat to rational behaviour and judgment, also appears from time to time. Gretchen sings when she is mad(4412ff.); Wagner, the pedantic scholar, dislikes the "gar verhasster Klang"(946) of the Peasants' celebration

1) Requadt, pp.204ff.

as something devilish(947). Faust feels threatened by Euphorion's abandon in song and dance:

Mich kann die Gaukelei
Gar nicht erfreun. (9753f.).

And as song and dance become wilder, they are likened not to the Saitenspiel but to the harder sound of horns, associated with hunting:

Welch ein Mutwill' ! Welch ein Rasen !
Keine Mäßigung ist zu hoffen.
Klingt es doch wie Hörnerblasen
Über Tal und Wälder dröhnend. (9785ff.).

Panthalis' attitude to Euphorion's music echoes closely not only associations of music with magic, but Plato's dislike of music's capacity to overwhelm reason, as well as Goethe's own reactions to Romantic music:

Der alt-thessalischen Vettel wüsten Geisteszwang,
So des Geklimpers vielverworrner Töne Rausch,
Das Ohr verwirrend, schlimmer noch den innern Sinn.(9963ff.).

The erotic, elemental side of human nature which comes to the fore in such instances is often associated with music, or conveyed in music. Faust is given a song as an aphrodisiac(259lf.); Mephisto sings a mocking, seductive song to Gretchen on that "Medium der Galanterie", the zither(3682ff.).¹ In the Mummenschanz - for the duration of which the Kaiser has explicitly abandoned rational and responsible action(5057ff.) - the initial songs of coyly erotic galanterie are accompanied by the appropriate "tragbare Saiten-instrumente": mandolines(SD 5088), theorbos(SD 5158), and guitars(SD 5178). And the moment of Faust's deepest immersion in the grotesque eroticism of the Walpurgisnacht is marked by his dance and song with the young witch(4128ff.), whilst Mephisto similarly dances and sings with the old one(4136ff.).² Where

1) Über den Dilettantismus, AA 14,p.731.

2) Cf. Requadt's remarks on this episode, especially on Faust's greater affinity with physical liveliness(pp.296ff.,esp.p.300f.).

this erotic element is intensified into the more wildly orgiastic, the change is often marked by an intensification of musical sound and rhythm, in imagery or in the kind of music used as medium. The change from "reizendes, reinmelodisches Saitenspiel" to "Hörnerblasen"(9679,9787) in the Euphorion scene has already been mentioned; and at other points in Part II, the change is often made in such a way as to evoke the specific connotations of disorderly Bacchanal or Dionysianⁿ procession. After the "tragbare Saiteninstrumente" of Mummenschanz, for instance, the Carnival music becomes increasingly orgiastic when the greed and lust of the Court audience begin to break through the forms of the occasion(5630ff.), and Mephisto kneads the allegorical gold into a phallus (5767ff); so the light sounds of the Italianate Carnival masque are replaced by the sounds of the train of Pan and the figures representing forces of Nature: the "Getümmel und Gesang" and "Wildgesang" of the Wild Men(5801ff.), the singing and dancing Fauns and Satyrs(5819ff.), the giants "Natürlich nackt in aller Kraft"(5864ff.), and the celebratory chorus of Nymphs(5872ff.), with their final evocation of the thunderous sounds of Pan's voice at midday (5890ff.). And at the end of Arkadien, the dissolution of the Chorus into the elements of the natural landscape is depicted with verbal evocations of Dionysian sounds, movements and instruments:

Und nun gellet ins Ohr der Zimbeln mit der Becken Erzgetöne,
Denn es hat sich Dionysos aus Mysterien enthüllt;
Kommt hervor mit Ziegenfüßlern, schwenkend Ziegenfüßlerinnen,
Und dazwischen schreit unbändig grell Silenus' ohrig Tier.
Nichts geschont ! Gespaltne Klauen treten alle Sitte nieder,
Alle Sinne wirbeln taumlich, gräßlich übertäubt das Ohr.

(10030ff.)

Once such elemental forces have taken over, the way is open for irresistible daemonic powers to overwhelm man's reason; the boundaries between natural and supernatural become blurred. Human reason, and even an ordinary degree of human feeling, are drowned by forces which reason cannot account for and attributes to magic - as e.g. when Euphorion's music is attributed

by Panthalis to the Thessalian witches(9963).¹ Sometimes music is used as medium or evoked in a fairly simple way, to establish an atmosphere different from that of the normal world. The first Chorus of the Geister auf dem Gange, for instance(1259ff.) is the first definite sign that the world of the "halbe Höllenbrut"(1257) is about to enter Faust's world; as the witch of the Hexenküche draws her circle and gathers her paraphernalia for the rejuvenation of Faust, the atmosphere of magical power is suggested by the musical sounds which these utensils emit: "indessen fangen die Gläser an zu klingen, die Kessel zu tönen, und machen Musik"(SD 2532). And the particular atmosphere of the spirits of Paris and Helena, their status as myths and the 'magic' of their perfect movement, is emphasised by the music which they emit as they move:

Und nun erkennt ein Geister-Meisterstück !
 So wie sie wandeln, machen sie Musik.
 Aus luft'gen Tönen quillt ein Weißnichtwie,
 Indem sie ziehn, wird alles Melodie.
 Der Säulenschaft, auch die Triglyphe klingt,
 Ich glaube gar, der ganze Tempel singt.
 Das Dünstige senkt sich; aus dem leichten Flor
 Ein schöner Jüngling tritt im Takt hervor... (6443ff.).

But in many cases music, as a medium said to have power over mind and sense, represents the establishment of an ascendancy by a force outside the normal world. The "Wechselgesang" of Faust, Mephisto and the Irrlicht marks their entry into the "Traum- und Zaubersphäre"(3871ff.) of the Walpurgisnacht; the Sirens, "flötend und singend"(8034ff.) establish the ascendancy of the Moon for the "Stunde" of the Meeresfest(8078ff.,8287f.,8339ff.). Mephisto asserts himself against Faust and puts him to sleep by means of the second Chorus of Geister auf dem Gange(1436ff.), a "Zauberspiel" which creates an illusion of physical and mental contentment. He similarly establishes himself in the circle of drinking students with a song as animal as theirs(2207ff.), asserts the force of lust against Gretchen with his 'serenade'(3680ff.), and the influence of his re-entry into Faust's study as "Fliegengott" and "Herr der

1) Cf. 6977ff.,8035f., and Trunz's comment,p.556.

Ratten und der Mäuse"(1334,1516f.), is marked by the Chor der Insekten(6592ff). And not only these moments of magic or illusion, but the moments of greatest evil or greatest terror, as the normal order of things is swept away, are marked by means of music. The witches and warlocks of the Walpurgisnacht ride and scream in a "wütender Zaubergesang"(3955ff.); the supernatural forces in the battle Auf dem Vorgebirg are marked by "Furchtbarer Posaunenschall von oben"(SD 10571) and by the "Schreckgetön" of the phantom knights:

Schallt wider-widerwärtig panisch,
Mitunter grell und scharf satanisch,
Erschreckend in das Tal hinaus. (10763,10780ff.).

The choir of the Cathedral scene establishes the terrifying power of the idea of the Last Judgment, especially over Gretchen, with the chanting of the Dies Irae hymn, accompanied by the organ. And the overwhelming power of the Sun, seen from the world of the Nature spirits of Anmutige Gegend, is depicted by an "ungeheures Getöse" of musical instruments:

Es trommetet, es posaunet,
Auge blinzelt und Ohr erstaunet,
Unerhörtes hört sich nicht. (4672ff.).

There is, surely, enough evidence here to show that the association of music with cosmic order and harmony is matched by an opposing tradition of equal tenacity; and that the symbolism engendered by the latter is more complex, more diffuse, and often much more idiosyncratic, but certainly potent in Faust. We shall need further discussion of particular eighteenth-century concerns which reinforced or were developed from both these traditions. But first some consideration must be given to a third group of ideas, which emerged from the interaction between these two traditions, and which Goethe developed to produce some of his own most esoteric and complex symbolism.

3) Music as Mediator and Hybrid; Goethe's Conception of Music as 'Element'

For the sake of clarity, the tradition associating music with cosmic harmony, and the tradition associating music with irrational feeling and disorderliness, have been treated so far as separate. But in fact it would seem that they interacted from a very early stage. Many Greek deities patronising music (in alliance, of course, with poetry), show a remarkable ambiguity of character which reflects the dual affinities of music. Apollo, patron of poetry and music and the epitome of enlightened thought and harmonious form,¹ had also been from ancient times the prophetic god who intoned mysterious oracles, and he retained this identity.² Dionysos, god of fertility rites and especially of wine, was regarded as the complement of Apollo: they shared the shrine at Delphi, and the ritual year was divided into a three-month period of Dionysian dithyrambs and a nine-month period of sober paeans to Apollo.³ A similar duality occurs in the figures of the Muses. Although accounts vary, the Muses certainly began as prophesying goddesses;⁴ and J.E. Harrison suggests evidence for the view that they were sober and orderly versions of the Maenads.⁵ The full ambiguity of the poet/musician, however, emerges in the figure of Orpheus. Versions of his life and doings are many and various⁶ - but all agree in linking him both with Apollo and with

1) See e.g. H.J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, (6th ed. London 1964), pp. 134ff., esp. pp. 136, 145; also R. Graves, The Greek Myths (3rd rev. ed. London 1962) mvol. I, p. 79f.

2) See esp. Rose, pp. 136ff., Graves, pp. 76, 80; also J.E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge 1903ff, repr. New York 1959, pp. 389ff., 457ff.

3) See esp. Harrison, pp. 390f., 438ff.; esp. p. 451, which shows Dionysos playing the lyre, like Apollo.

4) Rose, p. 173f.

5) Op.cit., pp. 463f., also 452.

6) See esp. Harrison, pp. 454ff.; also Rose, pp. 254ff., Graves I, pp. 111ff.

Dionysos. In some versions he was fathered by Apollo; yet as a Thracian (= barbarian) he was a worshipper of Dionysos.¹ He was often therefore associated with wild revelries and with dabbling in magic;² yet he was also famous for having brought 'Apollonian' traits of orderliness and humaneness into the Dionysian rites.³ His instrument was the lyre, not the dithyrambic aulos;⁴ and the sweetness of his song tamed, rather than excited - animals, stones, wild men, even Hades, according to various versions.⁵ Yet his outstanding characteristic is not harmonious balance, but overwhelming passion for Eurydice. His death at the hands of the Maenads shows equal ambiguity. Some versions suggest that the Maenads took vengeance for Orpheus' neglect of Dionysos in favour of Apollo;⁶ others that he was ritually dismembered as an incarnation of Dionysos (who was killed each year to ensure the next year's growth).⁷ And whereas his lyre was lodged after his death in the sanctuary of Apollo,⁸ his head was placed in the sanctuary of Dionysos, where it continued to sing and prophesy until Apollo silenced it.⁹

This duality became something more akin to dichotomy as Greek music drew to the end of its Classical period;¹⁰ when the earlier well-defined variety of styles and modes was in effect reduced to two:

by the end of the

century [5th B.C.] only the Dorian and the Phrygian are attested in serious music. In the Dorian, a clear-cut precision of tuning was associated with music of a sober and disciplined character...; the Phrygian manner, assimilated to the unstable intonation of the aulos, was especially used for the emotional and ecstatic dithyramb. 11

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- 1) See esp. Rose, pp. 254ff.; Graves I, pp. 111ff.; also Harrison, pp. 454ff.
 - 2) Especially in connection with the so-called 'Orphic' rites and writings - see esp. Harrison, pp. 478ff.
 - 3) Harrison, pp. 455ff.; 469ff., 472ff.
 - 4) Harrison, pp. 451, 459; Rose, p. 255.
 - 5) Harrison, pp. 455ff., 468ff.; Rose, p. 254f.
 - 6) Harrison, pp. 461f., 468.; Graves I, p. 112f.
 - 7) Harrison, pp. 461, 474ff.; Rose, p. 255, Graves I, p. 114.
 - 8) Harrison, p. 465; Rose, p. 255; Graves I, p. 113f.
 - 9) Harrison, pp. 463ff.; Rose, p. 255; Graves I, p. 113f.
 - 10) Fifth century B.C. - cf. p. 52 f. above.
 - 11) HDM, ed. cit. p. 532.

Apollo, with the lyre, and Dionysos, with the aulos, thus came to epitomise two opposing values in music:

In Greece the kithara [= lyre] became the symbol of Apollo, in whose hands it represented the Greek ideal of kalokagathia (harmonious moderation), as contrasted with the "emotional" aulos, associated with Dionysos.

1

And for Plato and Aristotle music certainly became problematic, because it had affinities with both 'camps', and was therefore so difficult to assess for their purposes. In the Timaeus, Plato suggests that music and hearing were given to Man "for the sake of harmony...to correct any discord which may have arisen in the courses of the soul";² and both philosophers regarded music as an ally where its modes and the subjects of its poetic text were suitable.³ But there was always the possibility that music might submerge the text with its sonority and sound-effects, that it might deprive its hearers of will-power by the force of its sweetness, or sweep them away on a wave of irrational enthusiasm or Dionysian frenzy.⁴

However, this duality was not always seen as problematic. Hüschen's article on harmony shows that the ancient conception of music as a healing force depended on awareness of music's dual affinity with mathematical proportion and with the physical and emotional 'movements' of body and soul.⁵ And according to Boethius, who disagreed with Aristotle on this point, music was a power which united the various faculties of the human being because it combined in itself both rational and irrational elements.⁶

1) HDM ed.cit.p.454.

2) Timaeus, §47; The Dialogues of Plato, ed. & tr. B.Jowett, vol.3, p.734.

3) Republic III, 398ff., ed.cit.pp.84ff.; Politics VIII, v, §§17ff. and following chapters, esp. VIII, vii, ed.cit.pp.343ff.

4) Republic III, 397, 410, ed.cit., pp.83, 98; Politics VIII, vi, §§9ff., vii, §§4ff., ed.cit.pp.347ff.

5) MGG 5, cols. 1599ff.

6) De institutione musica; cit. Hüschen, op.cit.col.1599, abbrev.ref.1597. The text which Hüschen quotes does not exactly match that in the source he quotes; but there is minimal difference in the sense. See [J.P. Migne], Patrologia Latina, [Paris 1844ff.], vol.63, cols.1171f., Book I, chaps.1-2. See also article on Boethius by R. Wagner, MGG 2, cols.49ff., esp.55.

It is difficult to say how directly this tradition descended to the eighteenth century - but eighteenth-century commentators were certainly very much concerned with the duality of music, and with the paradox of its affinities with opposite poles of experience: form and chaos, ordered reason and turbulent feeling, angel and animal, heaven and hell. Some never did solve the problem, but continued to find music puzzling. Hiller, for example, declared at one point that feeling was the basic material of music, and that only the heart could judge its reflection of emotional experience;¹ yet later in the same article he suggested that music was an artificial formal construct, to be judged by the intellectual criteria of aesthetics.² Kant, too, found music problematic:

man kann nicht mit Gewißheit sagen: ob eine Farbe oder ein Ton (Klang) bloß angenehme Empfindungen oder an sich schon ein schönes Spiel von Empfindungen sei und ~~218~~ solches ein Wohlgefallen an der Form in der ästhetischen Beurtheilung bei sich führe. ³

He considered that the structure of music, "die Form der Zusammensetzung dieser Empfindungen", could be appreciated by "die bloße Reflexion"; whereas the charm of music lay in its appeal to the feelings through the senses, and this, Kant thought, could be as crude and overwhelming as strong scent:

Außerdem hängt der Musik eingewisser Mangel der Urbanität an, daß sie vornehmlich nach Beschaffenheit ihrer Instrumente ihren Einfluß weiter, als man ihn verlangt, (auf die Nachbarschaft) ausbreitet und so sich gleichsam aufdringt...Es ist hiemit fast so, wie mit der Ergötzung durch einen sich weit ausbreitenden Geruch bewandt. Der, welcher sein parfümirtes Schnupftuch aus der Tasche zieht, tractirt alle um und neben sich wider ihren Willen und nöthigt sie...zugleich zu genießen; daher es auch aus der Mode gekommen ist. ⁴

So music remained for him a dualistic art, taking the highest place when judged in terms of its charm, but the lowest when judged in terms of the insights which it offered.⁵

Other commentators, however, found music a splendid and flexible mediator between opposites. Mattheson, in particular, praised it as a wonderful bond between the most earthy and the most noble aspects of human nature, and

1) 'Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik', pp.521ff. 2) Ibid., p.537.

3) Kritik der Urtheilskraft, §51, ed. cit. p.324.

4) Ibid., pp.328ff.

5) Ibid., p.329.

ultimately as a mediator between the divine harmony of heaven and the imperfect harmony of earth:

die ächten Kenner und Schätzer...sind vielmehr über-
zeuget, daß...die Harmonien aber GOTT das klügste Lob, wie auch der
Seele die angenehmste Erquickung, sowol in diesem, als in jenem Leben
bringen.

1

Mattheson clearly deplored any sharp division between the rational and irrational faculties of man, and the unequal esteem in which they were held in a Rationalist age. Virtue, he considered, lay in ordering and coordinating the passions, not in suppressing them:

Wo keine Leidenschaft, kein Affect zu
finden, da ist auch keine Tugend. Sind unsere Passiones krank, so muß
man sie heilen, nicht ermorden.

2

He quoted with approval Steele's (Addison's) defence of the senses as a means of perception both for the body and for the soul, both on earth and in heaven;³ and Steele's (Addison's) view that music offered both edification and pleasure, both in heaven and on earth:

Kann nun die menschliche Seele so
wunderbarlich durch diejenigen musikalischen Künste bewegt werden,
welche nur die Geschicklichkeit dieser Welt hervorzubringen fähig ist;
wie vielmehr wird sie durch solche Wirckungen vergnügt und erhaben
werden, in denen die gantze Krafft der vollkommensten Übereinstimmung [sic]
herrschen muß.

4

It might seem from this that Mattheson regarded the distinction between man's earthly and heavenly existence as inevitable but unimportant. His view of music as mediator between reasoned morality and feeling, between heaven and earth, might therefore be thought to anticipate the Romantic view of art as mediating between finite and infinite, and demonstrating their essential

1) Der vollkommene Capellmeister, Hamburg 1739, ed. cit. Vorrede, p. 10.

2) Ibid., Erster Theil, 3, §§ 52f., p. 15.

3) Mattheson attributes this essay to Steele (Capellmeister, Vorrede, p. 10, note, p. 11). But in fact it is by Addison - see Spectator, No. 580; The Spectator, ed. D. F. Bond, Oxford 1965, vol. IV, p. 585.

4) Ibid., Capellmeister, loc. cit.

oneness.¹ But Mattheson was much too keenly aware of the difference between divine and earthly, ideal and real, to blur these boundaries; those who know the difficulty of achieving mastery in art, he wrote, "verlangen von Menschen nichts himmlisches."² He saw music as mediating between contrasting faculties, contrasting realms of experience; and defined it as both science and art, in which both rationally calculated form and the sensuous charm of sounds had an essential place:

Musica ist eine Wissenschaft und Kunst, geschickte und angenehme Klänge klüglich zu stellen, richtig an einander zu fügen, und lieblich heraus zu bringen, damit durch ihren Wohl laut GOTTES Ehre und alle Tugenden befördert werden...Niemand kan lieblich singen oder spielen, wenn sein Gesang nicht vorher klüglich verfertigt und gleichsam abgemessen worden...

...die Gemüths-Neigungen der Menschen [sind] die wahre Materie der Tugend, und diese [ist] nicht anders,...als eine wol-eingerichtete und klüglich gemäßigte Gemüths-Neigung... Das ist ein Stück der Sitten-Lehre die ein vollkommener Ton-Meister auf alle Weise inne haben muß, will er anders Tugenden und Laster mit seinen Klängen wol vorstellen, und dem Gemüthe des Zuhörers die Liebe zu jenen, und den Abscheu vor diesen geschickt einflößen. ³

Herder, too, approved of the idea that music appealed to both soul and body, that it could arouse both a "Gefühl des Erhabenen" and a "Gefühl des Schönen", and was accordingly divided into "harte und weiche Schälle, Töne und Tonarten",⁴ (although he envisaged vocal music, not instrumental, when he spoke of music's comprehensive appeal to both mind and sense).⁵

But it was Schiller who showed particular interest in the 'two-way traffic' possible, through the medium of music, between opposites. Perhaps the most familiar instance of this is his application of the idea in aesthet-

1) See e.g. Atkinson, pp.55ff.

2) Capellmeister, Vorrede I, p.9.

3) Ibid., Erster Theil, 2, §§15ff., and 3, §§52f., ed.cit. pp.5, 15.

4) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.103. The idea is acknowledged as partly derived from Burke.

5) Ibid., p.105.

ics; since Schiller saw 'true' art in any medium as something of a 'mediator' between real and ideal:

Zweierlei gehört zum Poeten und Künstler: daß er sich über das Wirkliche erhebt und daß er innerhalb des Sinnlichen stehen bleibt. Wo beides verbunden ist, da ist ästhetische Kunst.

1

And he applied this asthetic criterion to music too:

Offenbar beruht die Macht der Musik auf ihrem körperlichen materiellen Teil. Aber weil in dem Reich der Schönheit alle Macht, insofern sie blind ist, aufgehoben werden soll, so wird die Musik nur ästhetisch durch Form... Ohne Form würde sie über uns blind gebieten; ihre Form rettet unsere Freiheit.

2

But he realised that such balance between clear form and vivid sensuous appeal was difficult to achieve;³ and he seems to have regarded music as a particularly effective means to this end, since he consistently used it in his own dramas as a means of correcting imbalance towards either real or ideal. Both in Die Räuber and in Die Braut von Messina, for example, he interpolated music as a means to enliven the forms of conventional drama with its "sinnlich mächtige Begleitung".⁴ But he also suggested the palpably unreal forms of opera as a means of liberating the audience from the trammels of emotional involvement, and enabling them to perceive form and pattern in the action:

In der Oper erläßt man wirklich jene servile Naturnachahmung, und obgleich nur unter dem Namen von Indulgenz könnte sich auf diesem Wege das Ideale auf das Theater stehlen. Die Oper stimmt durch die Macht der Musik und durch eine freiere harmonische Reizung der Sinnlichkeit das Gemüt zu einer schönern Empfängnis, hier ist wirklich auch im Pathos selbst ein freieres Spiel... 5

1) Letter to Goethe, 14/9/1797, AA 20, p.422.

2) 'Zu Gottfried Körners Aufsatz über Charakterdarstellung in der Musik', NA 22, p.295.

3) Letter to Goethe, loc.cit.

4) Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie (= preface to Die Braut von Messina), SA 16, p.118. Songs in Die Räuber are in the neo-Shakespearean mode of the Sturm und Drang, but they too are intended to 'enliven' drama by their appeal to feeling. Cf. Mittenzwei, pp.212ff.

5) Letter to Goethe, 29/12/1797, AA 20, p.480.

However, Schiller also drew on the idea of music as mediator in other contexts. In Die Macht des Gesanges, for example, he ^{cele}~~cele~~brated its power to move between opposite extremes of experience, or to capture a moment of perfect poise and balance between:

Wie mit dem Stab des Götterboten
Beherrscht er [der Sänger] das bewegte Herz,
Er taucht es in das Reich der Todten,
Er hebt es staunend himmelwärts,
Und wiegt es zwischen Ernst und Spiele
Auf schwanker Leiter der Gefühle.

1

A similar notion is evident in his attitudes to dance. The poem Der Tanz, for instance, describes physical and emotional excitement as united with form and order by music:

...des Wohllauts mächtige Gottheit,
Die zum geselligen Tanz ordnet den tobenden Sprung,
Die, der Nemesis gleich, an des Rhythmus goldenem Zügel
Lenkt die brausende Lust, und die gesetzlose zähmt.

2

The result is a combination of "Reiz" and "Ordnung" which parallels the movements of the planets, so that the greatest order and beauty of the heavens are linked by music and dance to the strongest passions of earth:

Dich ergreift nicht der Strom dieser harmonischen Welt ?
Nicht der begeisternde Takt, den alle Wesen dir schlagen ?
Nicht der wirbelnde Tanz, der durch den ewigen Raum
Leuchtende Sonnen wälzt in künstlich schlängelnden Bahnen ? 3

Such a view of music as mediator was reinforced by music's general reputation as an unusually mobile and labile medium, in which it was possible to pass with great swiftness from one mood to another. Theatrical practice, of course, had traditionally made use of incidental music as a means to pass easily from one scene to another, or to assist language in depicting changes

1) NA 1, p.225.

2) Ibid., p.228. On both poems, see Mittenzwei, p.217.

3) Ibid.

of mood. Lessing's careful 'rationing' of entr'acte music has already been mentioned;¹ but the Sturm und Drang dramatists were less cautious in their exploitation of this quality in music. For example, "sanfte, traurige Musik" accompanies Gerstenberg's starving Ugolino through remorse, revenge and melancholy until "die Musik endigt erhaben" as he faces death nobly; and the selfsame music depicts the "Wonnegesang" heard by Ugolino's dying son as a portent of heaven.²

However, this very mobility and lability, this capacity to hover between opposites, meant that music could also be regarded as vague and indeterminate, as neither one thing nor the other, but a kind of hybrid or neutral - especially by contrast with the unambiguous clarity of language. Hiller acknowledged music's superior flexibility, but deplored its incapacity to define the feeling which it depicted and roused; for this purpose, a text had to be added:

nun wird unser Herz nicht mehr zweifelhaft empfinden. Wie in einem Spiegel kann es nunmehr alle ihm zuvor versteckte Bilder sehr deutlich sehen. 3

And Lessing clearly shared his reservations, although he seems to have felt that the 'feelings' in music lacked direction and context rather than a name:

Itzt zerschmelzen wir in Wehmut, und auf einmal sollen wir rasen. Wie ? Warum ? wider wen ?...Alles das kann die Musik nicht bestimmen; sie läßt uns in Ungewissheit und Verwirrung; wir empfinden, ohne eine richtige Folge unserer Empfindungen wahrzunehmen; wir empfinden wie im Traume; und alle diese unordentliche Empfindungen sind mehr abmattend als ergötzend. 4

1) Hamburgische Dramaturgie, St. 26f.; Lachmann/Muncker 9, p. 296. Cf. p. 65 above.

2) H.W.v. Gerstenberg, Ugolino; in Sturm und Drang: Dramatische Schriften, ed. E. Loewenthal and L. Schneider, 2nd ed. Heidelberg 1963, vol. I, pp. 59ff.

3) 'Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik', p. 523f.

4) Hamburgische Dramaturgie, loc. cit.

Even Herder, who appreciated the nature of musical structure and sequence as well as anyone,¹ made a similar complaint about music's vagueness:

Musik als

solche hat Nachahmung Menschlicher Leidenschaften: sie erregt eine Folge inniger Empfindungen; wahr, aber nicht deutlich, nicht anschauend, nur äußerst dunkel. Du warest, Jüngling ! in ihrem dunkeln Hörsaale: sie klagte: sie seufzete: sie stürmte: sie jauchzete; du fühltest Alles, du fühltest mit jeder Saite mit - aber worüber wars, daß sie, und du mit ihr klagtest, seufzetest, jauchzetest, stürmtest ? Keine Schatte von Anschauung; Alles regte sich nur im dunkelsten Abgrunde deiner Seele, wie ~~ein~~ lebender Wind die Tiefe des Oceans erreget. 2

And Schiller thought that, without a definite 'character', (which made music's appeal concrete and specific, yet also symbolised the typical, so that the listener gained a state of aesthetic poise between fascination and perception), music could easily degenerate into a mere chaos of sensations.³ On these grounds he rejected Haydn's Creation as a "charakterloser Mischmasch"; but praised Gluck's Iphigenie auf Tauris for its combination of order and sensuous appeal:

Noch nie hat eine Musik mich so rein und schön bewegt, als diese: es ist eine Welt der Harmonie, die gerade zur Seele drängt und in süßer hoher Wehmuth auflöst. 4

Music thus emerges as an art which was sometimes regarded as paradoxical and contradictory; sometimes as wonderfully versatile; sometimes as both heavenly and earthly, as both form and chaos; and sometimes as neither one nor the other, as indeterminate and vague. But all these attitudes associate music with unusual mobility and lability; and in this context it is not surprising to find analogies sometimes drawn between music and the fluidity of water, or the weightless power of air. Herder spoke of it as "ein lebender Wind";⁵

1) See esp. Kritische Wälder, I, Suphan III, p.137f. Goethe described him as "mir unter allen nahen Musickfreunden der wertheste und zuverlässigste" (to Kayser, 23/12/1785, AA 18, p.894.). K. Huber considers Herder as one of the "großen Begründer einer wissenschaftlichen Ästhetik in Deutschland" ('Herders Begründung der Musikästhetik', Archiv für Musikforschung I (1936), pp.103ff.), and pays particular attention to the Kritische Wälder.

2) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.161f.

3) 'Zu Gottfried Körners Aufsatz', etc., NA 22, p.295; see also R.J. Allen, pp.

4) Letter to Körner, 5/1/1801, [HA 17, p.347]; cit. Mittenzwei, p.224. 363ff.

5) Viertes Wäldchen, loc.cit.

Lessing spoke of music as 'flowing';¹ and Schiller described it in terms of a thundering torrent:

Ein Regenstrom aus Felsenrissen,
Er kommt mit Donners Ungestüm,...
So strömen des Gesanges Wellen
Hervor aus nie entdeckten Quellen. 2

Goethe's attitudes on this point cover very much the same range; although it is difficult to establish how much he was directly influenced by these writers.³ Certainly he found music puzzling and paradoxical at times; the contradictions in his personal responses to music have become almost proverbial among critics,⁴ and he himself described his enjoyment of music as vacillation (schweben) between "Sinnlichkeit" and "Verstand".⁵ But this fact

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- 1) "...das Ungestüm des ersten Satzes zerfließt in das Klagen des zweiten.." Hamb.Dramaturgie,27,ed.cit.p.297.
- 2) Die Macht des Gesanges, NA 1,p.225.
- 3) For instance, Goethe read Mattheson's Capellmeister, but not until 1819, when his own attitudes were well established, and even then he confused it with another work (see letter to Zelter,4/1/1819,AA 21,p.318). It is reasonable to suppose that he discussed the Viertes Wäldchen with Herder in Strassburg (although this was only published posthumously in 1846), since in Dichtung und Wahrheit he mentions the Kritische Wälder and the Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache, with its theme of the common origins of music and language,(II,10,AA 10,pp.445ff.), and adds that in the few weeks of their contact "kann ich wohl sagen, daß alles, was Herder nachher allmählich ausgeführt hat, im Keim angedeutet ward"(Ibid.,p.448). Yet this can be no more than an assumption. Even where there is evidence of discussion, Goethe did not always take up the topic - for instance, he discussed both Körner's essay (see Schiller's note,NA 22,p.295,l.35) and opera with Schiller (see latter's letter to Goethe, 29/12/1797, AA 20,p.480); but his reply to the letter on opera is hardly encouraging:"Die theoretischen Betrachtungen können mich nicht lange mehr unterhalten...Ihre Hoffnung, die Sie von der Oper hatten, würden Sie neulich in Don Juan auf einen hohen Grad erfüllt gesehen haben, dafür steht aber auch dieses Stück ganz isoliert und durch Mozarts Tod ist alle Aussicht auf etwas Ähnliches vereitelt." (30/12/1797,AA 20,p.481.). Cf. also Blume,GuM p.86.
- 4) See e.g. M. Friedländer,p.302; Abert,GuM, p.53; Blume,GuM,p.29; Moser, pp.10,71; Cotti,pp.28ff.; Hicks,pp.113ff.
- 5) Letter to Zelter, 9/11/1829,AA 21,p.872. Cf. also his comment to Zelter that he knew music "mehr durch Nachdenken als durch Genuß"(19/6/1805,AA 19,p.481); although, in view of the "ungeheure Gewalt" which music exercised over him (letter to Zelter,24/8/1823,AA 21,p.556), this would seem to be a comment on lack of musical performance rather than a comment on his own faculties of appreciation.

in itself throws more light on anomalies in Goethe's conduct ¹ than on his work. More important here is Goethe's firm belief that music was governed by the principle of polar opposites:

Die Musik ist heilig oder profan...die Heiligkeit der Kirchenmusiken, das Heitere und Neckische der Volksmelodien sind die beiden Angeln, um die sich die wahre Musik herumdreht. Auf diesen beiden Punkten beweist sich jederzeit eine unausbleibliche Wirkung: Andacht oder Tanz.

2

This notion of polarity seemed to Goethe as fundamental in music as it was elsewhere, as his comments on the major and minor modes show.³ Polarity, he thought,

hat bei so vielen Phänomenen eine schickliche Anwendung gefunden; ja der Tonkünstler ist, wahrscheinlich ohne sich um jene andern Fächer zu bekümmern, durch die Natur veranlaßt worden, die Hauptdifferenz der Tonarten durch Majeur und Mineur auszudrücken.

4

Major and minor are later said to be "die Polarität der Tonlehre";⁵ and the relation between them (and between the connotations they carry)⁶ is said to be the foundation of music: "Ausführung jenes Gegensatzes als des Grundes der ganzen Musik".⁷

But Goethe's idea of polarity did not, of course, simply envisage contradictory opposites; but rather the idea of complementary opposites. Polarity was linked with "Steigerung" - the two together were "zwei große Triebräder aller Natur".⁸ Where two opposites were presented as complementary contrasts,

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- 1) E.g. his contradictory attitudes to opera buffa, cit. M. Friedländer, p.302; or his rudeness to Schubert and C.M.v. Weber (Friedländer, p.322), whilst he accepted Zelter as an expert (Friedländer, p.326, Moser, pp.78ff.).
 - 2) Maximen und Reflexionen 487ff.; AA 9, p.561; (= Betrachtungen im Sinne der Wanderer, Wanderjahre AA 8, p.314.
 - 3) This aspect of Goethe's attitude has been particularly highlighted in critical studies; e.g. Hicks, p.114f.; Rolland, 'Goethe the Musician', op.cit. pp. 23ff.; Blume, GuM, pp.71ff.; Moser, GuM, pp.64ff.
 - 4) Farbenlehre (Didaktischer Teil), 'Nachbarliche Verhältnisse', AA 16, p.205.
 - 5) Tonlehre, ed.cit. p.909.
 - 6) Cf. esp. Hicks, pp.113ff. The passage he quotes in this connection, however, contrasts two moods rather than "Geist" and "Sinne": "Man würde nicht mit Unrecht ein Bild von mächtigem Effekt mit einem musikalischen Stücke aus dem Durton, ein Gemälde von sanftem Effekt mit einem Stücke aus dem Mollton vergleichen". (Farbenlehre, 'Sinnlich-sittliche Wirkung', AA 16, p.228f.).
 - 7) Tonlehre, p.910.
 - 8) Zur Wissenschaftslehre, AA 16, p.925. See esp. E.M. Wilkinson, 'Tasso - ein Gesteigerter Werther' in the Light of Goethe's Principle of 'Steigerung', Goethe: Poet and Thinker, pp.193ff.

then the result was an enhancement of each separately, and their combination produced neither a compromise nor a contradiction, but a new whole, "ein Drittes, Neues, Höheres, Unerwartetes".¹ 'True' symbolism, he considered, thus combined vivid sensuous and emotional immediacy with insight into universal truths and into the order of things:

Das ist die wahre Symbolik, wo das Besondere das Allgemeinere repräsentiert, nicht als Traum und Schatten, sondern als lebendig- Augenblickliche Offenbarung des Unerforschlichen. 2

Goethe found music a particularly favourable medium for depicting "lebendig Augenblickliche Offenbarung":

Fürwahr die Musik füllt...den Augenblick am entschiedensten, es sei nun daß sie in dem ruhigen Geiste Ehrfurcht und Anbetung erzeuge, oder die beweglichen Sinne zu tanzendem Jubel hervorrufe. 3

Yet he was also aware of the value of its capacity to convey the universal. In the Lehrjahre, we find Natalie's uncle declaring that the singers should be invisible, in order to preserve this 'universality', and to prevent the exclusive identification of the song with the singer:

eine schöne Stimme ist das allgemeinste, was sich denken lässt, und indem das eingeschränkte Individuum, das sie hervorbringt, sich vors Auge stellt, zerstört es den reinen Effekt jener Allgemeinheit...wer mir singt, soll unsichtbar sein. 4

Hence his particular admiration for music's capacity to unite both 'poles'. "Der Musikus kann alles", he wrote to Kayser, "das höchste und tiefste kann, darf, und muß er verbinden".⁵ And in his notes to Rameaus Neffe, he concluded that music both could and should unite the Italian type of sensuous appeal

1) 'Polarität', Zur Wissenschaftslehre, AA 16, p.864.

2) Maximen und Reflexionen 314, AA 9, p.532.

3) Letter to Zelter, 19/10/1829, AA 21, p.871.

4) Lehrjahre VIII, 5, AA 7, p.582. Cp. Hicks, p.117f., and Fähnrich, (Wilhelm Meister, p.144), who assume that music is here being judged on its vagueness and ethereal quality.

5) Letter to Kayser, 23/1/1786, AA 18, p.905.



with the Northern tendency to appeal to "mehrere menschliche Geistes- und Seelenkräfte":

Vielleicht läßt sich kein Komponist nennen, dem in seinen Werken durchaus die Vereinigung beider Eigenschaften gelungen wäre, doch ist es keine Frage, daß sie sich in den besten Arbeiten der besten Meister finde und notwendig finden müsse.

1

Music emerges as a medium which, for Goethe, could mediate between opposites of many kinds: "Geist" and "Sinne", "heilig" and "profan", "Andacht" and "Tanz", "das höchste" and "das tiefste". And it is interesting to note that music which he particularly admired was usually praised because it possessed this quality: Rousseau's songs were commended as "das reine Gefühl wo alles an seinem Platz ist";² Mozart's operas for their combination of elevated significance and striking sense appeal;³ and Meyerbeer was suggested as composer for Faust on the grounds that he had lived for a long time in Italy, "so daß er seine deutsche Natur mit der italienischen Art und Weise verband[]."⁴

It is not then surprising to find that in Goethe's fictional works music appears as a phenomenon with which such balanced fusion of opposites is associated. Charlotte and the Hauptmann, for example, execute their duet with both "Empfindung" and "Freiheit"; thus showing greater artistry and greater balance of character than Eduard and Ottilie, who disregard the form of the piece and play only according to passion, so that the music is "auf eine...liebevolle Weise entstellt".⁵ Pandora, the personification of art,⁶ "erglänzt...und schallt", but does so "nach heiligen Maßen"; and draws Epimetheus both towards heaven and towards earth: "Sie zog mich zur Erd ab, zum Himmel hinan."⁷

1) 'Musik', AA 15,p.1039f.

2) Letter to Kayser, 10/9/1781, AA 18,p.614.

3) See Goethe's comments to Schiller on Don Giovanni (30/12/1797, AA 20,p.481), and to Eckermann on Die Zauberflöte (Erster Teil, 29/1/1827, AA 24,p.223).

4) Eckermann, Erster Teil, 29/1/1827, AA 24,p.224.

5) Wahlverwandtschaften I,8, AA 9,p.68f.

6) For Viotor (Goethe, p.198) she is "die vollendende und vollendete Form"; for Kurt May (introduction to AA 6,p.1201) her significance is much broader: "die beglückende Götterbotin, die den Segen von Kunst und Wissenschaft und Religion in der...Menschheit erneuert." S.L.Hardy's summary of her as "Figuration der Kunst" (Goethe, Calderón und die Romantische Theorie des Dramas, p.161) has something of both interpretations, and so has been adopted here.

7) Pandora, AA 6,p.429f.

And music is the medium which enables Wilhelm and the other mourners at Mignon's funeral to rise for a while above their immediate horror and surprise:

erst als der Gesang ihnen völlig verhallte, fielen die Schmerzen, die Betrachtungen, die Gedanken, die Neugierde sie mit aller Gewalt wieder an. ¹

But it is perhaps Goethe's use of music as an additional medium in drama - his often-remarked tendency towards opera and Singspiel² - which shows most clearly the influence of his idea of music as mediator. For he used it, like Schiller, as a 'two-way' medium, to counter aesthetic imbalance either towards naturalism or towards formalism, and to achieve a combination of sensuous and emotional immediacy with aesthetic distance and clear form. Very broadly speaking, it could be said that Goethe's early dramatic work (whether Singspiele or straight dramas) used music to enliven the performance,³ to give an impression of spontaneity and immediacy; whereas the later works, notably the Festspiele, used music as a deliberate reminder that the spectator was watching symbol, not reality.⁴ Obvious examples of the first type are the quasi-folksongs interpolated in Götz,⁵ Klärchen's songs in Egmont,⁶ and the stage-directions for the music in some of the Singspiele. In Erwin und Elmire, for example, music takes over from the text to depict feeling: "Die Musik wage es, die Gefühle dieser Pausen auszudrücken."⁷ And in Claudine von Villa Bella music follows the action closely in the opening scene:

Die Musik kündigt
einen Wirrwarr, einen fröhlichen Tumult an, einen Zusammenlauf des
Volks zu einer festlichen Pompe...Unter einem feurigen Marsche naht
sich der Zug...Während des Zugs singt der Chor...Claudine steigt herab...
Sie stockt. Die Musik macht eine Pause.

8

1) Lehrjahre VIII,8,AA 7,p.619.

2) See esp. Hofmannsthal, (Sphären, pp.284ff., Mayer, pp.157ff.); Abert, GuM pp.77ff. Morgan, 'Goethe's Dramatic Use of Music', pp.105ff.; Hardy, op.cit. pp.172ff.; Emrich, op.cit. pp.72ff.

3) Cf. DuW II,8, where Goethe speaks of Weisse's Leipzig operas as "durch Hillern [the composer] auf eine leichte Weise belebt" (AA 10, p.360).

4) See esp. Hardy, pp.115,175; Abert, GuM, pp.102,122ff.; Hofmannsthal, (Sphären, p.286f.

5) AA 4, pp.594ff., 609. See Neumann, 'Die Lieder in Goethes Götz' etc., GQ 46 (1973), pp.334ff.

6) AA 6, pp.23,53f. 7) AA 4, p.830. 8) AA 4, pp.833ff. See also Morgan, p.109.

Examples of the second way of using music appear in Goethe's recommendations for performance of Proserpina, where music is to unite the verbal and rational aspects of the melodrama with the mimetic and sensuous:

Die Symphonie eröffnet
...diesen weiten musikalischen Raum...Die melodramatische Behandlung [by
Eberwein] 1 hat das große Verdienst, mit weiser Sparsamkeit ausgeführt
zu sein, indem sie der Schauspielerin gerade so viel Zeit gewährt, um die
Gebärden der mannigfaltigen Übergänge bedeutend auszudrücken, die Rede
jedoch im schicklichen Moment...wieder zu ergreifen, wodurch der eigent-
lich mimisch-tanzartigen Teil mit dem poetisch-rhetorischen verschmolzen,
und einer durch den andern gesteigert wird.

2

- or in his stage-directions for his sequel to Mozart's Zauberflöte, where music underlines what is "bedeutend":

Verzweiflung der Pamina. Diese Szene
ist dergestalt angelegt, daß die Schauspielerin durch Beihilfe der Musik
eine bedeutende Folge von Leidenschaften ausdrücken kann...

Sarastro bleibt allein zurück und
ersteigt unter einer bedeutenden Arie den heiter liegenden Berg. 3

But having made this generalisation about early and late works, one must immediately add that Goethe used music for both purposes right from the beginning. Even in Die Laune des Verliebten, (1767/8), music and dance are symbolic media for social relations as well as vehicles for passion; and Eridon is mocked for confusing them with reality.⁴ And in Egmont Goethe also used music as a means of opening up a symbolic perspective in the midst of realistic action - not only in the Siegessymphonie at the end, but also at the close of scene one, where different opinions and feelings are coordinated in canon form:

Sie stoßen an und wiederholen fröhlich die Worte, doch so,
daß jeder ein anderes ausruft und es eine Art Kanon wird. 5

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- 1) See esp. M. Ziegert, 'Karl Eberwein und Goethe', Berichte des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts, NF 3 (1886/7), pp.131ff.; Abert, pp.35ff.; Moser, pp.33ff.
2) Proserpina, WA I,40, p.112f.; cit. Hardy, p.160.
3) AA 6, p.1106; Cf. Morgan, p.108f.
4) This is presented as the 'moral' of the play (AA 4, p.38).
5) AA 6, p.16.

The result is a "lebendig- Augenblickliche Offenbarung" of a diverse people nevertheless able to live at peace with one another. Conversely, even in the later works where most of the action takes place on a symbolic level, music is used to achieve sensuous and emotional immediacy. The Proserpina monodrama (as opposed to the essay of that title quoted above) opens with "Vorbereitende Musik, ahnend seltene Gefühle";¹ and the use of the "Dämon" music to introduce elemental chaos in the Berlin Theaterprolog of 1821 has already been mentioned.²

A similar role as mediator is attributed to dance in Goethe's works (although, like music, dance may merely symbolise physical and emotional animation, as e.g. in the use of "Tanz" as counterpart to "Andacht".³). Dance is at once the most appealing and the most stylised kind of movement; it can show off the physical, even the erotic graces, of a beloved individual, without disrupting social form and relations - as for example in Christel⁴ and in Elegie.⁵ And it can also serve to demonstrate the hidden order and pattern in the world; as e.g. in Zum Neuen Jahr⁶ and, again, in the Berliner Theaterprolog:

An ihm [der Tanz] gewahrt man gleich der Muse Gunst,
Das höchste Ziel, den schönsten Lohn der Kunst...

Denn das ist der Kunst Bestreben,
Jeden aus sich selbst zu heben,
Ihn dem Boden zu entführen...
Und in diesen höhern Sphären
Kann das Ohr viel feiner hören,
Kann das Auge weiter tragen,
Können Herzen freier schlagen.

7

In Wechsellied zum Tanze, accordingly, we find it combined with music as a medium both for ordered movement and for passion: the poem is a humorous alter-

1) AA 6, p. 528.

2) AA 3, p. 647; see p. 73f above.

3) Maximen und Reflexionen 489, AA 9, p. 561.

4) AA 1, p. 19.

5) "So sahst du sie in frohem Tanze walten,
Die lieblichste der lieblichsten Gestalten". (AA 1, p. 476).

6) "So wie im Tanze/Bald sich verschwindet,/Wieder sich findet/Liebendes Paar,
So durch des Lebens/Wirrende Beugung/ Führe die Neigung/Uns in das Jahr."
(AA 1, p. 78).

7) AA 3, p. 650.

cation between two polar opposites, "die Gleichgültigen", who see dance as a social form, and "die Zärtlichen", who see it as an expression of individual feeling.¹

It is in this context, I think, that we can best understand Goethe's approval of the 'characteristic' in music as elsewhere. For the idea of music as a mediator between opposites is closely connected with his view of art as a whole as "übernatürlich, aber nicht außernatürlich",² a 'mediator' between sense and insight in its "lebendig- Augenblickliche Offenbarung des Unerforschlichen".³ And for Goethe the selection of "das Charakteristische" was a station on the artist's way towards true 'symbolism', towards showing, in the particular, the form and order in which all things moved:

Indem der Künstler irgendeinen Gegenstand der Natur ergreift, so gehört dieser schon nicht mehr der Natur an, ja man kann sagen, daß der Künstler ihn in diesem Augenblick erschaffe, indem er ihm das Bedeutende, Charakteristische, Interessante abgewinnt, oder vielmehr erst den höhern Wert hineinlegt.

4

The resulting work of art might still be too realistic to possess the perfect 'transparent' beauty which mediated between gods and men;⁵ but without 'character' art could not fulfil its function as mediator between universal and individual, form and experience.⁶ Hence his objections to Romantic poets: "alles geht durchaus ins Form- und Charakterlose"; and his request to Zelter for examples of similar mistaken attitudes amongst young composers.⁷ We also find him asking Reichardt for dance tunes, "nur recht charakteristische", when bogged down in technical details, as a means of regaining both zest for life and the broader perspective which would enable him to write poetry again:

Es ist jetzt kein Sang und Klang um mich her. Wenn es nicht noch die Fiedelei zum Tanze ist. Und da können Sie mir gleich einen Gefallen tun, wenn Sie mir auf das schnellste ein halbdutzend oder halbhundert Tänze schicken... Geht mir's dann im Tanze und Leben leidlich, so klingt ja wohl auch eine Arie wieder einmal an.

8

1) AA 1, p.24f.

2) Über Wahrheit und Wahrscheinlichkeit der Kunstwerke, AA 13, p.180.

3) Maximen und Reflexionen 314, AA 9, p.532.

4) Propyläen, 'Einleitung', AA 13, p.145. Cf. Viator, p.550f., Allen, pp.370ff.

5) Der Sammler und die Seinigen, AA 13, p.315; Allen, p.371.

6) Von deutscher Baukunst, AA 13, p.24f.; Der Sammler, etc., p.287; Viator, p.550.

7) Letter of 30/10/1808, AA 19, p.566. 8) Letter of 25/10/1790, AA 19, p.174.

This attitude seems to me to underlie Goethe's habit, (when not concerned with the symbolism of specific instruments), of indicating the general character of incidental music envisaged as part of his dramatic work. Examples from two of his specifically operatic works can be seen in the stage-directions quoted above from Erwin und Elmire and Claudine von Villa Bella.¹ One should perhaps discount instances such as the "kriegerische Musik von Trommeln und Pfeifen" in Egmont,² the "traurige Musik" at Marie's death,³ or even the "Musik, Klärchens Tod bezeichnend",⁴ as being too near to standard theatrical 'signalling'.⁵ But in a mixed work of speech and song such as Pandora, for instance, the tendency to 'characterise' the music which the audience is about to hear, or has just heard, shows very clearly. Epimetheus comments on Phileros' approach "mit frohem Tonmaß herzerhebenden Gesangs"; and again on the "mächtger Hymnus" when the song has finished.⁶ Prometheus calls on the smiths for a "kräftger Hämmerchortanz, laut erschallend, rasch";⁷ whilst the herdsmen's song includes comments on the gentler though still penetrating tone of their reed-pipes.⁸

Where the principles of polarity and Steigerung were neglected in music, or imperfectly realised because of inadequate technique, Goethe seems to have feared the worst. The sharpness of his reaction is partly explained by his fears that emotional chaos threatened unless music's power over feeling was counterbalanced by some sort of form, character, or programme.⁹ But it was also due in large part to his conviction that, without these fundamental principles,

1) AA 4, pp. 830, 833ff.; see p. 103f. above.

2) AA 6, p. 100.

3) Clavigo, AA 4, p. 802.

4) AA 6, p. 91.

5) Cf. J.S. Manifold, (The Music in English Drama from Shakespeare to Purcell, London 1956, pp. 6, 10ff., and passim.) on the use of musical 'signals' in the theatre of Shakespeare; and H. Kindermann, Theatergeschichte Europas, vol. III (Salzburg 1959), on the spread of English theatrical habits in Germany via the Wandertruppen, esp. pp. 351ff.

6) AA 6, p. 408.

7) Ibid., p. 412.

8) "Zart sei der Ton"..."Lauter als Menschensang/Schallet es weit", ibid., p. 415f.

9) Cf. esp. pp. 73ff., 76ff. above.

Music would fail in various ways to fulfil its function as mediator. For example, instead of enhancing one another by contrast, the two poles would work against one another and produce a cancellation of both, depressing and frustrating in its fruitless self-annulment:

Meine Überzeugung ist diese:

wie der Durton aus der Ausdehnung der Monade entsteht, so übt er eine gleiche Wirkung auf die menschliche Natur, er treibt sie ins Objekt, zur Thätigkeit, in die Weite... Ebenso verhält es sich mit dem Mollton; da dieser aus der Zusammenziehung der Monade entspringt, so zieht er auch zusammen, concentrirt, treibt in's Subjekt...

Lebhaftere Tänze wechseln sehr klüglich mit Major und Minor ab. Hier bringt Diastole und Systole im Menschen das angenehme Gefühl des Athemholens hervor, dagegen ich nie was Schrecklicheres gekannt habe als einen kriegerischen Marsch aus dem Mollton. Hier wirken die beiden Pole innerlich gegen einander, und quetschen das Herz anstatt es zu indifferenzieren.

1

More frequently, however, Goethe seems to have feared that music would fall between the two poles; that it would produce neither an image of cosmic order and harmony, nor an evocation of lively feeling, but something between ^{an} unsatisfactory hybrid, or a vague, half-formed entity suspended between art and natural reality:

Eine Musik, die den heiligen und profanen Charakter vermischt, ist gottlos, und eine halbschürige, welche schwache, jammervolle, erbärmliche Empfindungen auszudrücken Belieben findet, ist abgeschmackt. Denn sie ist nicht ernst genug, um heilig zu sein, und es fehlt ihr der Hauptcharakter des Entgegengesetzten: die Heiterkeit.

Die Heiligkeit der Kirchenmusiken, das Heitere und Neckische der Volksmelodien sind die beiden Angeln, um die sich die wahre Musik herumdreht... Die Vermischung macht irre, die Verschwächung wird fade, und will die Musik sich an Leergedichte oder beschreibende und dergleichen wenden, so wird sie kalt.

2

Goethe found such works distasteful for two main reasons. The 'half-formed' type he found "charakterlos"³ and "schwach" - they suggested no particular order in their structure and no very strong sense-impression in their sounds

1) Letter to Schlosser (Beilage), 5/5/1815, WA IV, 25, p. 310f.

2) Maximen und Reflexionen 488f., AA 9, p. 561f.

3) Letter to Zelster, 30/10/1808, AA 19, p. 566.

and rhythms, so that it was difficult for him to make any very well defined emotional response or to link them with any particular order of things:

Deine Klagen oder vielmehr Invektiven bei nicht gemäßer Ausführung...[of Handel's Messiah] glaub ich zu verstehn. Die Tendenz der Zeit, alles ins Schwache und Jämmerliche herunterzuziehen, geht immer mehr durch und durch. ¹

The 'hybrid' type he found a horribly confusing mixture of different states of mind and feeling, with no semblance of order to ¹show how they were related: "die Vermischung macht irre". Hence his preference for music which varied clearly between polar opposites, which could be understood in terms of complementary contrasts:

Es ist dieses...nicht allein mit allen anderen Sinnen so, sondern auch mit unserem höheren geistigen Wesen;...Wir haben Tänze, die uns im hohen Grade wohl gefallen, weil Dur und Moll in ihnen wechselt, wogegen aber Tänze aus bloßem Dur oder bloßem Moll sogleich ermüden. ²

Such hybrid or half-formed works were especially likely to be produced by dilettantes, in Goethe's opinion; and the figure of the dilettante appears consistently in his discussion of aesthetics.³ In the essay on dilettantism planned in conjunction with Schiller, Goethe set down as "Hauptgesetz" the idea that:

Dilettantismus ist unschuldiger, ja er wirkt bildend in solchen Künsten, wo das Subjektive für sich allein schon viel bedeutet. ⁴

Among such arts he numbered music;⁵ and in general seems to have credited the musical dilettante with a good, perhaps too good, grasp of the connection between music and feeling.⁶ It was in the other half of the artist's skill, the power to create form and order, that Goethe found the dilettante so woe-

1) Letter to Zelter, 12/2/1829, AA 21, p.836. Cf. also his earlier complaint to Zelter that modern adaptations of J.S. Bach had 'weakened' both music and text (4/1/1819, AA 21, p.318f.).

2) Eckermann, Erster Teil, 1/2/1827, AA 24, p.233f.

3) See esp. H. Bitzer, Goethe über den Dilettantismus, Bern 1969, esp. pp.7ff., 24f.; R. Vaget, 'Das Bild vom Dilettanten bei Moritz, Schiller und Goethe', Jb.FDH (1970), pp.1ff.; B.v. Wiese, 'Goethes und Schillers Schemata über den Dilettantismus', in Von Lessing bis Grabbe: Studien zur deutschen Klassik und Romantik, Düsseldorf 1968, pp.58ff.

4) Über den Dilettantismus, (1799), AA 14, pp.729ff.

5) Ibid., p.747.

6) Cf. Eridon's flute-playing, Eduard's passionate duet with Ottilie, Werther's fascination with Lotte's playing, and Wilhelm's with the Harfner.

fully lacking:

Was dem Dilettanten eigentlich abgeht, ist Architektonik im höchsten Sinne, diejenige ausübende Kraft, welche erschafft, bildet, konstruiert; er hat davon nur eine Art von Ahnung, gibt sich aber durchaus dem Stoff dahin, anstatt ihn zu beherrschen.

1

Hence his complaint to Zelter that Weimar musicians² reproduced the notes of the score, but were unable to render either the form or the impact of the music, so that the result lacked shape and life:

Übrigens lebe ich in keiner musikalischen Sphäre, wir reproduzieren das ganze Jahr bald diese bald jene Musik, aber wo keine Produktion ist kann eine Kunst nicht lebendig empfunden werden. 3

Dilettantism in music, despite certain advantages,⁴ encouraged "Gedankenleerheit" and "Sinnlichkeit" (i.e. it was satisfactory at neither pole),⁵ and the spread of works which were not true art, but hybrid or only half-formed. "Das Gleichgültige, Halbe und Charakterlose wird dadurch befördert";⁶ and the result was not a true symbol, but merely "Traum und Schatten".⁷ Indeed, the dilettante's failure to master form in music could also have more sinister results. It could be the symptom of his failure to control or order the irrational, emotional side of his own nature; or even the means whereby he unleashed upon himself, and often upon those around him, the full destructive force of uncontrolled and unordered feeling. On the whole, Goethe presented dilettantes as limited, or amiably foolish, rather than sinister; yet they all carry the seeds of destruction. Erion, in a small way, ruins both the social occasion and the happiness of Amine because of his failure to distin-

1) Über den Dilettantismus, AA 14, p.754.

2) The musical life of Weimar was conducted by a number of professionals, not especially distinguished by most accounts, and by a large proportion of amateurs. See esp. M. Friedländer, pp.296ff.; W.H. Bruford, Theatre, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany, pp.289ff.; and notably I.-M. Barth, Literarisches Weimar, Stuttgart 1971, pp.17f., 51f., 119f. The account given of the Eberwein family by W. Bode, Goethes Schauspieler und Musiker, etc. pp.1ff., shows a typical cross-section of Weimar activities.

3) Letter to Zelter, 29/5/1801, AA 19, p.408f.

4) Each art has a column headed 'Nutzen'. But the conclusion adds that "Beim Dilettanten ist der Schaden immer größer als der Nutzen" (Über den Dilettantismus, AA 14, p.753.)

5) Ibid., p.730.

6) Ibid., p.738.

7) Maximen und Reflexionen 314, AA 9, p.532.

guish between art and life;¹ Charlotte indulges Eduard's erratic flute-playing and Ottilie's loving imitation of his mistakes;² yet this playing is symptomatic of traits in both which cause violent turbulence, quietened only by death. Wilhelm Meister is, eventually, able to progress towards mastery. But Werther positively cultivates the opportunities for destructive self-immersion in music which is in fact by no means all sweet sound. Lotte, whose equation of music with feeling is equally amateurish, but whose sense of form (and sense of humour) is much more acute, knows very well that her pleasure is derived simply by thumping out lively dances on an out-of-tune piano.³ For Werther, however, who refuses to see anything but the embodiment of his own feelings in it, music becomes one of many means to self-destruction.⁴ One may reasonably deduce that it was this destructive tendency which drew from Goethe so strong a term as "gottlos".⁵ Dilettantes could hardly be called devilish, for their main motive, Goethe thought, was to find expression for natural feeling.⁶ But they lacked entirely the creative and formative power which marked the true artist, and were more liable than most to negative reactions such as jealousy and mean-spiritedness.⁷ So it will be no surprise to find them on the Brocken in Faust, at the service of the "Geist, der stets verneint."

None of these possibilities of failure or misuse, however, diminished the prestige of music in Goethe's eyes as an unusually flexible mediator between opposites. His scheme for the libretto of Jery und Bätely was so constructed that "der Komponist sowohl in Übergängen als Kontrasten seine Meister-

1) Laune des Verliebten, AA 4, pp. 29.38.

2) Wahlverwandtschaften, I, 2, AA 9, pp. 25f., 68.

3) Werther, 16. Juni, AA 4, pp. 284, 400.

4) E.g., letters of 24. November, 4. Dezember, AA 4, pp. 349, 353.

5) Maximen und Reflexionen 488, AA 9, p. 561f.

6) Über den Dilettantismus AA 14, p. 748.

7) Ibid., p. 738f.

schaft zeigen kann".¹ And at the end of his life, he cited the composer as an artist who 'interweaves' conscious and unconscious, rational and instinctive, in his work:

denke man sich ein musikalisches Talent, das eine bedeutende Partitur aufstellen soll: Bewußtsein und Bewußtlosigkeit werden sich verhalten wie Zettel und Einschlag...²

Many of the images which he used to describe music stressed even more its malleability and mobility - especially those which associated music with the fluidity of water, or with the light movement of air. The music to Proserpina he described as:

ganz eigentlich als der See anzusehen...worauf jener künstlerisch ausgeschmückte Nachen getragen wird, als die günstige Luft, welche die Segel gelind, aber genugsam erfüllt und der steuernden Schifferin bei allen Bewegungen nach jeder Richtung willig gehorcht.³

And in letters to Zelter, he spoke of music in similar terms:"die Musik nimmt nur, wie ein einströmendes Gas, den Luftballon mit in die Höhe."⁴ - or, a little later:

Bei der grenzenlos reichen Bewegung des Elements, worin du schwebst, könntest du immer von Zeit zu Zeit ein Blatt vor die Hand nehmen und mir, wie in einem Becher, einen Trunk Berliner Lebenslust darreichen.⁵

And in such terms he also praised the fourteenth of Wilhelm Tischbeins Idyllen. The picture depicted two sylphs poised in mid-flight; and he felt that the artist had caught the moment of perfect poise between 'Empfindung' and 'Freiheit':

Alles was uns bewegsam beglückte, Musik, Tanz, und was sonst noch aus mannigfaltigen, lebendig-beweglichen Elementen sich entwickelt...mag uns wohl beim Anblick dieses Bildes in Erinnerung treten.⁶

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- 1) Letter to Kayser, 29/12/1799, AA 18,p.472.
 - 2) Letter to W.v. Humboldt, 17/3/1832,AA 21,p. 1042.
 - 3) Proserpina, WA I,40, p.112.
 - 4) Letter of 11/5/1820,AA 21,p.392.
 - 5) Letter of 19/10/1821, AA 21,p.471.
 - 6) AA 13,p.904.

Music, then, emerges as a medium which easily risks "Übergang ins Formlose, Zufällige";¹ but whose outstanding characteristic is "unglaubliche Biegsamkeit und Verhältnismöglichkeit".²

Once this association of music with fluid transition between polar opposites, and poised combination of opposites, is fully appreciated, it is very much easier to follow the connection which Goethe made between music and the notion of an 'element'. The existence of this conception amongst Goethe's ideas has been noted often enough;³ and the common ground with music discussed by Emrich⁴ and also by Hardy,⁵ although neither critic is concerned with this as a main theme. Cotti emphasises the link strongly, and makes several points of interest in attempting to explain the connection with music - including the idea of mediation: "Alles was sich zwischen den beiden Polen [divine and devilish] hin und herbewegt, ist also Element".⁶ But on the whole his account is so compressed as to be puzzling rather than informative.

If we are to appreciate the connection between music and the idea of an 'Element' for Goethe, it will be useful to examine the term rather more closely, and to bear in mind that the word has a double sense. Primarily, of course, it means 'basic component'; and for Goethe especially one of the basic components (earth, air, fire, water) of which the world was traditionally thought to be made.⁷ But the secondary sense might be summarised as 'favourable environment' - or, as the OED puts it, "the surroundings natural to anything, or forming its proper sphere of activity".⁸ (With the notable exception of

1) *Tonlehre*, AA 16, p.910.

2) 'Physikalische Wirkungen', *Zur Wissenschaftslehre*, AA 16, p.862.

3) See e.g. I. Dzialas, 'Auffassung und Darstellung der Elemente bei Goethe', *Germanische Studien* 216, (1939), esp. pp. 141ff.; P. Stöcklein, *Wege zum späten Goethe*, pp. 9ff., 163ff., (although both these writers describe the idea as they proceed, rather than define it explicitly). More useful here are the various remarks by Emrich, *Die Symbolik von Faust II*, on individual elements, q.v. below.

4) Op.cit., esp. pp. 73ff., 82ff., 292ff., 360ff. See index for full list.

5) PP. 154ff., 164f., and note; see also index.

6) Op.cit., pp. 34ff., 76ff., 93ff. His ideas are partly derived from Emrich (see *Literaturverzeichnis*, p.98); but he notes that the link between music and *Element* applies more widely than Emrich takes it.

7) A piece of lore which Goethe drew from his reading of Paracelsus - see *Faust* 1272ff., and note by Trunz, p.506; Friedrich/Scheithauer, pp. 195, 393.

8) 3rd rev.ed. Oxford 1968, p.592.

fire, inhabited by the fabulous salamander or by devils, according to various traditions, the natural elements were the milieu on which natural creatures depended for life, as Mephisto knows:

Der Luft, dem Wasser, wie der Erden
Entwinden tausend Keime sich,
Im Trocknen, Feuchten, Warmen, Kalten !
Hätt' ich mir nicht die Flamme vorbehalten,
Ich hätte nichts Aparts für mich. (1374ff.).).

Goethe used the idea of 'Element' in both these senses: in the Proserpina essay, for example, he enumerated the various "Elemente...aus welchen die erneute Darstellung aufgebaut worden";¹ and he excused an unproductive mood to Reichardt by saying that "Es können die Geschöpfe sich nur in ihren Elementen gehörig organisieren."² And indeed in general 'Element' is not confined to the four natural elements in Goethe's work, but refers to anything which serves as material, and as environment, for the activities of its counterpart, the creative urge to master and form:

Alles außer uns ist Element, ja ich darf
wohl sagen, auch alles an uns; aber tief in uns liegt diese schöpferische Kraft, die das zu erschaffen vermag, was sein soll.

3

If we bear in mind that the 'element' is 'favourable environment' as well as 'constituent part', it is easier to follow Cotti's point that the 'Elemente' are a kind of mediating half-way stage between form and the chaos of "das Elementarische".⁴ They are at once the first stage of Creation;⁵ not

1) WA I,40,p.108.

2) Letter of 25/10/1790, AA 19,p.174.

3) Lehrjahre VI (Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele), AA 7,p.436, cit. Stöcklein p.103f. As J. Chailley shows in detail, the ideal of civilised man as setting his creative powers to control the natural elements, whilst relying on them for his own vitality, played a prominent part in Masonic symbolism, and in particular permeated Mozart's opera Die Zauberflöte (The Magic Flute: Masonic Opera (tr. H. Weinstock), London 1972, esp. pp.99ff., 137ff.). The sequel planned by Schikaneder was actually subtitled Der Kampf mit den Elementen (Chailley, p.90.). As a Mason from 1780 onwards and an admirer of Mozart's opera, Goethe was particularly interested in this symbolism - see Cotti, p.39f.; Junk, pp.59ff. In the sketch for his sequel, Goethe retains the 'trial' by fire and water (AA 6, SD p.1116).

4) P.34; cf. also Emrich, pp.290ff.

5) Cotti, p.34; cf. also Zimmermann, p.203, on Creation myths which Goethe knew.

yet confined by inclusion in specific forms; and they are also the environment in which creatures live and develop. Water, in particular, has this dual role in Goethe's works. It is the element which the poet's "reine Hand" crystallises into a ball;¹ and which, though potentially destructive and formless², Nature makes a constituent part of so many organic forms;³ and it is also the favourable environment par excellence where organic forms can take shape, dissolve, and re-form as they evolve:

Alles ist aus dem Wasser entsprungen !!
Alles wird durch das Wasser erhalten ! (Faust, 8435f.)⁴

As Emrich puts it, "Element, Wasser, Eros bedeuten für Goethe immer Möglichkeiten der Lösung, Erfüllung, Gestaltung und Reifwerdung", by offering a means of escape for "gehemmte Produktivkräfte", for "in allzustrengen Formen gebannte Phantasiekräfte."⁵ Thus in Pandora, for example, Phileros is condemned to leap into the sea as an unworthy animal:

dort stürzen billig wir hinab
Den Tobenden, der, wie das Tier, das Element,
Zum Grenzenlosen übermütig rennend stürzt.

6

But he~~x~~^{so} emerges from the waves re-formed as his own counterpart, divine life-force, wearing the Dionysian panther-skin and accompanied by dolphins.⁷ Fire can al~~so~~^{so} offer such a liberating metamorphosis - as e.g. when the Bajadere rises with her god from the funeral pyre,⁸ or when Epimeleia undergoes a similar apotheosis after leaping into the flames.⁹

1) Lied und Gebilde, (W.-Ö. Divan), AA 3, p.296.

2) See e.g. Ottilie's situation after the drowning of Charlotte's child: "Von allem abgesondert schwebt sie auf dem treulosen unzugänglichen Elemente", (Wahlverwandtschaften, II, 13, AA 9, p.239); and Goethe's description of the elements as "kolossale Gegner...die Willkür selbst" (Versuch einer Witterungslehre, AA 17, p. 642.).

3) See esp. I. Graham, Goethe and Lessing, London 1973, pp.260ff.

4) Cf. Emrich, p.291, Graham, p.260.

5) Emrich, loc.cit.

6) Pandora, AA 6, p.422.

7) Ibid., p.440ff.; cf. Emrich, p.86.

8) Der Gott und die Bajadere, AA 1, p.160.

9) Pandora, AA 6, pp.436, 442.

But this process of "Gestaltung", as Goethe remarked to Zelter, was "die höchste und einzige Operation" not only in Nature, but also in art.¹ And he seems to have regarded music as an element in both - sensuously beautiful sound, from which the artist makes his works and in which he lives and moves: "diese[s] herrliche[] Kunst- und Naturelement", as he termed it.² The poet thus forms a song just as he magically forms the fluid water into a ball;³ and for the composer it is also the "Element[], worin du schwebst".⁴ And in this fluid element of music, both listener and artist can move freely between poles of existence - rational and sensuous, (as in Proserpina), clear form and turbulent experience, even between divine and devilish.⁵ For its mobility is "grenzenlos reich".⁶ In one direction its daemonic and primitive aspects extend beyond the scope of reason to unimaginable depths, so that it can give form to "das Abstoßende, Widerwärtige, Furchtbare";⁷ in the other direction, it extends to a perfect order and beauty which are unimaginable on earth, but which it can yet make lively and appealing to earth-bound human beings - as the mourners at Mignons Exequien find:

erst als der Gesang ihnen völlig
verhallte, fielen die Schmerzen, die Betrachtungen, die Gedanken,...sie
mit aller Gewalt wieder an, und sehnlich wünschten sie sich in jenes
Element wieder zurück. 8

Accordingly, we often find music associated with one or more of the elements where this process of organic dissolution and triumphant re-formation is depicted. Egmont, for example, escapes into sleep with a brief image blending

1) Letter of 30/10/1808, AA 19, p.566.

2) Tag- und Jahreshefte 1816, AA 11, p.882.

3) Lied und Gebilde, AA 3, p.296.

4) Letter to Zelter, 19/10/1821, AA 21, p.471.

5) Cf. Emrich, pp.290ff., Cotti, pp.34, 76f. Like B.v. Wiese, (Das Dämonische in Goethes Weltbild und Dichtung, Münster 1949), who describes the daemonic for Goethe as "einen Übergang und eine Vermittlung vom Organischen zum Göttlichen" (p.10), Cotti regards music as moving between the two poles of the daemonic, equating the divine with the "überirdischen Pol", and the devilish with the "unterirdischen" (p.34). But all these views make music entirely emotional and irrational: "Je nach dem Überwiegen der unter- oder überirdischen Kräfte zieht uns eine Musik ins Leidenschaftliche hinab oder erfüllt uns mit himmlischem Sehnen." (Cotti, p.34). This seems an unnecessary limitation both of the divine and of music as Goethe envisaged them; since all connections with form and order are omitted.

6) Letter to Zelter, 19/10/1821; see note 3 above.

7) Eckermann, Zweiter Teil, 12/2/1829, AA 24, p.313.

8) Lehrjahre VIII, 8, AA), p.619.

both music and the freedom of the element: "ungehindert fließt der Kreis innerer Harmonien"; music accompanies the sleep in which, thanks to Ferdinand, Egmont recovers his identity as symbol of freedom, and the Siegessymphonie marks the accomplishment of this apotheosis.¹ Music in the Theaterprolog accompanies not only the elemental "Kräfte der Natur", but also the dance of "Sylphen und Undinen" which marks the restoration of natural order; whilst the Muse praises the freedom offered in the 'element' of art, the "Himmelsluft der Musen", in which perception of form and vitality of feeling are enhanced:

Und in diesen höhern Sphären
Kann das Ohr viel feiner hören,
Kann das Auge weiter tragen,
Können Herzen freier schlagen.

Und so geht's den Lieben allen
Die im Elemente wallen
Welches bildend wir beleben. 2

And the apotheosis of Phileros, when he emerges re-constituted from the sea, is accompanied by the sound of Dionysian instruments: "Klirret, Becken ! Erz, ertöne !...Hörst du jubeln ! Erz ertönen ?"; and by a festival of the element - water - which gives life to all creatures, but which could also have destroyed him.³ By using music with these connotations, Goethe could emphasise the affinity of such figures and such occasions with both poles of existence; it is a fluid, transparent medium, through which connections can be made in both directions with various pairs of opposites. This, as the Aufseher explains, is why music is crucial in the educational programme of the Pädagogischer Provinz:

Deshalb haben wir denn unter allem Denkbaren die Musik zum Element unserer Erziehung gewählt, denn von ihr laufen gleichgebahte Wege nach allen Seiten. 4

1) AA 6, p.99f.

2) AA 3, pp.647ff., 650.

3) Pandora, AA 6, p.440f.

4) Wanderjahre II, 1, AA 8, p.166.

In Faust, we again find that Goethe draws on the whole range of these connotations; but in this instance he usually does so by using music as an 'element' - i.e. as symbolic medium - for particular characters or situations. This may be done on a fairly simple level - as, for example when he wishes to bring out the 'characteristic', to show an individual or scene as also in some respects typical; when he needs a means of presenting "Übergänge" from one world or state to another; or when he wishes to highlight individual episodes or persons by contrasting them with complementary opposites or poles. But music also contributes to some of Goethe's most complex and esoteric symbolism where he uses it to depict figures or scenes which have affinities with more than one pole of existence at once; or where he uses music as 'element', to depict the process of disintegration and re-formation by which life is maintained and continued.

Music's role in marking the 'characteristic' in Faust is especially notable in the case of Gretchen. As Requadt remarks, even here, where Goethe's depiction is highly realistic, the play is not amenable to a psychological interpretation;¹ it already has something of what Hardy calls "Merkenlassen im Kunstwerk", the creation of figures and situations patently 'artificial', in the sense that their nature and significance are 'unnaturally' clear.² Gretchen, of course, is not patently artificial; and her songs are especially directed towards the expression of ardent personal feeling (especially those whose text is written in the first person). But, as has often been remarked,³ even Gretchen's songs are not only outpourings of personal emotion. The style, both literary and musical, is that of folksong and prayer, and associates her with a particular social and cultural milieu - the lower classes, orthodox religious belief and morality, the world of folk-lore. And this function is also fulfilled, as Herrmann remarks, by the chanted choral music of Dom.⁴ And the

1) Requadt, p.270.

2) Hardy, p.115.

3) Cf. Herrmann, p.120 (note), Requadt, p.228f.

4) Herrmann, loc.cit.

fact that they are sung, or are at very least picked out from the rest of what she says by song form, distinguishes Gretchen's songs as distillations, or 'nodal points', of her character and development.¹ In Vor dem Tor, the presentation of social, ethical and cultural background is made more lively, but also less naturalistic, by the songs of the Soldiers, Peasants and Beggar (852ff., 884ff., 949ff.). As Requadt remarks, with acknowledgment to Petsch, the scene is cast in 'Revue' form - which he identifies with perfect balance between the poles of the realistic and the symbolic:

so zeigt sich, daß das Revuehafte
Gegensätzliches ermöglichen kann, denn es vermag das Bühnengeschehen zu
bereichern, es bunter und augenfälliger zu machen, aber es verstärkt in
gleichem Maße den Zug ins Symbolische, sofern dieser durch die Auswahl
und Abfolge der Figuren begünstigt wird. 2

It seems more accurate, however, to keep here to the idea of the 'characteristic'; since those in Vor dem Tor who sing are not fundamentally different from those who speak (Bürger, Schüler, Dienstmädchen, etc) - their songs enliven by adding sensuous appeal and by maintaining the undercurrent of competitive sexuality and seduction. But in other scenes of similar 'Revue' structure, (e.g. Walpurgisnacht, Walpurgisnachtstraum, Mummenschanz, Felsbuchten des Ägäischen Meers)³, though there is similar "Auswahl und Abfolge der Figuren", there is little or no 'naturalistic' foundation, as Requadt himself observes.⁴ The figures are almost entirely symbolic, and their mode of speaking, singing, etc., will likewise be more complex in its connotations.⁵

This can already be seen to some extent where music is used as a 'mediating' medium to present some of these characters as 'Kontraste', as complementary opposites. Forms borrowed from music - especially the Wechselgesang and two halfchoruses⁶ - can be used to give "lebendig- Augenblickliche Offen-

1) Willoughby, 'Goethe's Faust' etc., ed. cit. pp. 107ff.

2) Requadt, p. 93.

3) See esp. Requadt, pp. 283, 312, and his acknowledgment to J. Frankenberger.

4) Ibid., p. 270.

5) On Goethe's use of 'character' as a standard part of his theatrical technique, in visual arts as well as music, see e.g. W. Flemming, Goethe und das Theater seiner Zeit, Stuttgart etc. 1968, pp. 136ff., 243f.

6) Cf. R. Fischer, p. 83f.

-barung" of the different character of two parties, whilst a final chorus emerging from this and sung by both can then make manifest what it is that unites them. A particularly clear example is the division of the witches and warlocks of Walpurgisnacht into two halfchoruses; whose singing (presumably at a different pitch) underlines the war of the sexes carried on in their text (3974ff.); but whose combination (3990ff., 4012ff.) shows their common identity and purpose as "Schwarm der Hexenheit" (4015). Similar use is made of music in a more elegant setting in the Mummenschanz: the Gärtnerinnen, accompanied by the light-textured sound of mandolins (5088ff.), are followed by the Gärtner with their deeper-toned theorbos (5158ff.); they are then joined by others in their Wechselgesang (SD 5178), and the whole group intermingles in flirtatious dialogues (SD 5199). The different functions of the Sirens (praising) and the Nereids and Tritons (escorting) are brought out in their Wechselgesang (8160ff.); but both functions are aspects of worship, and this is manifested when they join in their Allgesang to the Cabiri (8216ff.).

A further, though still relatively simple, development from 'characterisation' can be seen where music is used as medium for "Übergänge", as a mediator when a transition is made from one level of action to another. Occasionally, we find this association in the imagery of the play - the lark's song is said (1095) to lift human feeling at least part-way towards heaven; and the transition of Helena's Chorus from mythical human form to life as elemental spirits under Dionysos is accomplished by verbal sound-effects evocative of music (9992ff., esp. 10030ff.). But usually music appears as a medium, for movement between poles in either direction. For example, it is the medium in which Faust is twice lifted from despair to new life and perspective, however temporarily (in the Easter Chorus, 737ff., and in Anmutige Gegend); and the medium in which the Angels finally transport his 'Unsterbliches' away from Mephisto towards 'heaven' (11677ff.). Conversely, it marks Faust's transition from the natural earth to the "Traum- und Zaubersphäre" (3871ff.) and back again (Walpurgisnachtstraum, 4395ff.), the onset of magic in the Hexenküche

(SD 2532), the beginning of the Klassische Walpurgisnacht's Sea Festival (8034ff.)

Matters become more complex, however, when music is used to mark figures or occasions which have affinities with both poles. This dual affinity may mean that they are perfectly poised, balanced between both; or that they are ambivalent, even ambiguous. An obvious example of poise is Lynkeus's song "auf der Schloßwarte"(11288ff.). His singing gives an added richness of sound which helps to counterbalance any impression of cold detachment given in the text; whilst the special emphasis on form which a song gives counteracts any sense of panic, of emotional disorientation, conveyed by his account of the disaster. Music thus mediates between his emotional involvement in what he sees and his clear rational perception of the "Verhältnisse" within which it happens. As Requadt remarks, this is not the emotional outpouring associated with a Lied, but a celebratory Gesang : "während...ein Lied sich ausströmt, wird hier als Antithese ein reflexives Element einbezogen...Das Gedicht ist nicht so sehr Lied als Gesang".¹ Similarly, music is the medium which carries Faust, Helena, Euphorion and the Chorus from their initial state of unanimity (Verein, 9695ff.), through the increasingly passionate excess of Euphorion's dancing, his parents' fears and pleas for restraint (9737ff.), and the disaster itself, back to the balanced poise of the Trauergesang (9907ff.); which, like Lynkeus' song, combines emotional involvement with clear perception of universal patterns within which the disaster has taken place. Nor is this two-way perspective offered only to the audience. The use of music helps to draw our attention to the fact that the characters themselves have such a balanced perspective, that they can, as it were, rise above themselves to a "Drittes, Neues, Höheres, Unerwartetes".² Lynkeus sings about his own balance

1) Requadt, p.362. Cf. also Herrmann's comment that the song embodies "Glück des reinen Schauens"(p.103).

2) 'Polarität', Zur Wissenschaftslehre, AA 16, p.864.

between feeling and perspective(11296ff.); and in the case of the Chorus, the Trauergesang is entirely "unerwartet". As Goethe noted, it makes no sense in terms of their character;¹ but in terms of a distillation of their experience of both Classical and Romantic into a full appreciation of poetry, it appears as a 'natural' product of the themes and styles of the Third Act. Even Euphorion, from his mountain-top, has his moment of poise and perspective: he sees where he is (at the centre of a land related both to earth and to sea, 9825f.), and he knows that he is about to be destroyed(9888f.). And Faust not only identifies with Euphorion (9703ff.), but clearly sees the consequences of such "Übermut", as his later plans show (9895f., 10202ff.). Furthermore, all this takes place within an even broader Steigerung. The music with which the Euphorion scene begins(9679ff.) is not only the vehicle for transition into "das eigene Innere",² or even to a more representative "moderne Innerlichkeit".³ As P. Friedländer points out, the Euphorion scene is itself a "Drittes, Neues", emerging from the interaction of the poles of Classic and Romantic; and the qualitative difference of this product of "der gesteigerten Seiten" is epitomised by its presentation in music, after the Classical metres and rhyming verse of the preceding scenes.⁴

But music can equally well act as a medium for figures and situations whose relation to both poles make them hybrid or ambiguous. Most such figures in Faust sing, or are associated with music. The Geister auf dem Gange, for example, are Nature spirits, and as such partly in the Lord's world and partly at Mephisto's disposal, being a-moral;⁵ the use of music allows their utterance, and therefore their character, to appear vague by comparison with speech; and, since song has greater sensuous charm than speech, allows them to appear

1) Eckermann, 5/7/1827, AA 24, p.256.

2) Stöcklein, p.114.

3) Fischer, p.79.

4) Rhythmen und Landschaften, p.48f.

5) Requadt, p.124. Cp. Maché, 'Zu Goethes Faust: Studierzimmer I und Geisterchor', Euph. 65 (1971), who notes the ambiguous nature of these spirits (p.203), but feels obliged to decide one way or the other, and labels them as definitely evil on the basis of Wagner's advice(1140f.) and earlier sketches for the scene (pp.204ff.).

both 'angelic' and tempting at the same time. Paris and Helena both emit music as they move (6444ff.), suggesting a special fluidity of movement which marks their unreality and potential danger as Geister evoked by magic (6439ff., 6546ff.), whilst enhancing their beauty and Helena's significance for Faust as the perfect human form (6487ff.). Similarly, most of the songs in Vor dem Tor concern themselves with sexuality, seduction and betrayed love; but they are also linked with a physical vitality and animation which Faust envies as truly natural,¹ (940), and the use of music helps to convey both these affinities at once. Faust's dance with the young witch on the Brocken represents a sensual, even an obscene episode (4128ff.); but Requadt points out that it also appears as 'natural' by comparison with Mephisto's dance with the old one,² and as positively healthy beside the purely speculative approach to Evil of the Proktophantasmist (4150ff.). And the morally dubious war of Act IV, which Mephisto brings to an ambiguous victory, is accompanied at intervals by "Trommeln und kriegerische Musik" (SD 10234, SD 10297, SD 10345), but ends with a musically ambiguous character: "Kriegstumult im Orchester, zuletzt übergehend in militärisch heitre Weisen" (SD 10783).

There are also several occasions where music helps to depict the creatures who are between 'poles' - the half-formed entities who are neither form nor chaos, neither good nor evil, but stuck at a dead point somewhere between. It is perhaps unfair to put Homunculus in this category, since his 'geistig' half is so active ! Nevertheless, his lack of embodiment means that he is only half-way towards being a natural creature; as Goethe remarked, he could thus be called daemonic in nature, and had certain affinities with Mephisto.³ So although he does communicate in speech, it is from within a glass;⁴ and the artificiality of this 'voice' is underlined by the use of

1) Cf. Willoughby, 'Urfaust' and 'Faust. Ein Fragment', p. xxxv. Requadt accepts the connection in the Soldiers' song, but elsewhere tends to take only the link with renewal (pp. 97ff., 120).

2) Requadt, p. 299f.

3) Eckermann, Zweiter Teil, 16/12/1829, AA 24, p. 374f. See also Herrmann, p. 93.

4) Cf. Goethe's comments on the possibility of using a ventriloquist, to give the voice a suitable thinness (to Eckermann, 20/12/1829, loc. cit. p. 378).

has reference within the play. For Faust, it is a fatal delay in facing up to the 'realities' of Gretchen's fate - an artefact conjured up by Mephisto to distract him, an intermezzo interposed as an obstacle. The dilettantes can be of service to Mephisto here because they are trivialities, "flache Unbedeutenheit"(1861), parodies of Nature and failures as artists, so that they offer no new perspective, no new "Drittes, Höheres", but simply confuse by their 'godless' mixture of beauty and ugliness, good and evil. More seriously, Faust, like the dilettantes, is not yet aware of the importance of mastery - especially of mastering the elemental forces within and without oneself. He is still obsessed with the grandeur of "zugrunde gehen"(3365); and he creates a chaos which destroys Gretchen and threatens his own progress. In this respect, as Atkins remarks, Faust too is a dilettante, 'toying' with evil on the Brocken; ¹ the discrepancy between the foolish music of the Walpurgisnachtstraum and the stark prose of Trüber Tag. Feld makes only too clear how far he fails to control that evil.

Perhaps music's most specialised function in Faust, however, is its role as 'element' through which the corrective to such destructive dilettantism - "Gestaltung" of oneself or of one's material - is possible. Music usually occurs as medium, rather than as verbal symbol - as epitome of a 'favourable environment', in which creatures human or otherwise may become mobile, may rise above confused feelings to clearer perception, may escape from too rigid a form not merely as self-destruction, but as a necessary preliminary to re-formation. ² The connection with the four elements (earth, fire, air, water) is then usually made explicit by verbal allusion, or by visual actions and effects. In Anmutige Gegend, for example, Ariel, the spirit of air, leads other spirits who are "schwebend bewegt"(SD 4613), and

1) Goethe's 'Faust'. A Literary Analysis, Cambridge(Mass) 1958,p.95.

2) Emrich,pp.75,87.

move "im luft'gen Kreise"(4621). Faust is laid to rest on the earth (4628), and thanks the earth for his renewal(4681ff.). His paralysing remorse for Gretchen's fate is washed away by "Tau aus Lethes Flut"(4629); ¹ and the waterfall now becomes a symbol of constructive force(4716ff.), not a destructive untamed element(3350ff.). And even fire, the one element in which creatures cannot live, now appears as the overwhelming, but life-giving, Sun, the "heilige[s] Licht"(4633). And all these life-giving elements are described in song, accompanied by the music of instruments (Äolsharfen) played by a natural force, the wind. Music is thus a mediating element in which divine natural order and earthly elements, creative force and shapeless matter, can meet, in which Faust can be renewed in order to progress further "zum höchsten Dasein"(4685). A similar episode can be found in Grablegung, where the destructive fire of the devils is vanquished by the clearer fire of the angels, love.² Faust can then, as spirit, move into a purer air: "Luft ist gereinigt/ Atme der Geist"(11823f.); before being freed from the earthly elements altogether(11958ff.), and joining the Penitents round the Mater Gloriosa in the 'ether' of a higher region(12015ff.).

But the most striking example of the escape into the elements which precedes re-formation is Homunculus' leap into the sea, at the end of the Klassische Walpurgisnacht.³ Here again, the text and visual effects make clear the significance of the elements; whilst music functions as symbolic medium for this celebration of the forces which engender and maintain life. This episode presents a creative meeting of polar opposites in several respects. Moved by the power of love, Homunculus smashes his glass against Galatea's shell - thus mingling his flame with the sea, uniting the living spark with the element pre-eminently hospitable to life and evolution:

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- 1) On the connection of music and water with motifs of Lethe, sleep and oblivion, see Emrich, pp.72ff. See also Hardy, p.156, for parallels with Pandora.
 2) Cf. Dzialas, p.162, Cotti, p.84.
 3) See esp. Emrich, pp.290ff., Cotti, pp.81f., 87ff., Hardy, p.164f; also D.Latimer, who gives a brief discussion of Homunculus' relation to other elemental forces ('Homunculus as Symbol', etc., MLN 89(1974), pp.814ff.). J.Müller, after some Nacherzählung, also discusses the symbolism of the four elements (Die Figur des Homunculus in der Faustdichtung, Neue Goethe-Studien, pp.204ff.).

Heil dem Meere ! Heil den Wogen,
 Von dem heiligen Feuer umzogen !
 Heil dem Wasser ! Heil dem Feuer ! (8480ff.).¹

This is the fulfilment of his long quest "weislich zu entstehn"(8133); he thus enters the "feuchte Weite" in which he can move freely from form to form as he grows(8327ff.). Nor is this only a development up the scale of physical forms, as Emrich points out.² Homunculus is invited to "Komm geistig mit in feuchte Weite "(8327), which suggests a liberation of mind and spirit (and indeed of ghost !) as well as of body, into an element which offers unhindered range for these metamorphoses.³ In addition to this personal quest, Homunculus' leap into the sea marks his entry into cosmic patterns which apply both in Nature and in myth:"Da regst du dich nach ewigen Normen"(8324). Himself a product of Nordic myths about the origin of life, he has been united with his opposite from Greek mythology - Galatea, the epitome of beautiful form emerging from the natural element. He thus enters a pattern whose significance is renewed every year (8430f.), and keeps its validity:

Auch noch so fern
 Schimmert's hell und klar,
 Immer nah und wahr... (8455ff.).

Music is thus the element in which all these meetings of opposites - form and element, supernatural and natural, Nordic and Greek - can combine to produce a "Drittes, Neues, Höheres, Unerwartetes" : a "neues Geheimnis", "feuriges Wunder", and "seltnen Abenteuer"(8464ff.). And since this 'incident' is both novelty and an instance of universal patterns, there is a pointer to other figures in the play, who must also risk dissolution into the elements in order to find a new form in which to grow further - especially Faust, whose successive re-constitutions depend on his capacity for 'Stirb und werde'.

1) See also 8466ff.

2) P.290f. Cf. Müller, who prefers the term 'metamorphosis', in order to avoid confusion with the Darwinian theory of evolution(p.204).

3) Emrich,p.290f.; also Cotti,pp.76ff.

As "herrliche[s] Kunst- und Naturelement",¹ music represents a fluidity without formlessness in which all entities, mythical and natural, mental and physical, can evolve and grow. It is thus the medium for the final Chorus of the Meeresfest, in which most strikingly we have "lebendig- Augenblickliche Offenbarung des Unerforschlichen", vividly sensuous presentation of the universal mysteries of the origins of life:

ALL-ALLE: Hochgefeiert seid allhier
 Element' ihr alle vier ! (8486f.).

1) Tag- und Jahreshefte 1816, AA 11, p.882.

The traditional conceptions of music described above map out the general area from which Goethe's ideas were drawn. But we must now ask a number of more specific questions. For example: why did Goethe ignore the mathematical basis for the connection between music and cosmic harmony, since he adopted the connection itself so readily? If he thought of mathematics and symmetry as inadequate, what was the structural basis on which the association of music with harmony and order was founded in his view? How exactly did he envisage the relations between music and language, since he so much preferred vocal music, yet admired music's "unglaubliche Biegsamkeit und Verhältnismöglichkeit"? If he thought the music of Proserpina able to unite the verbal aspects of the monodrama with the "mimisch-tanzartigen Teil", how, precisely, did he envisage music's connection with physical movement, gesture and dance? If we can know somewhat more of these things, we shall be in a better position to grasp how Goethe came to see music as mediator, not only between opposites generally, but most especially between the individual and the world at large; and thus to understand the broader conception of musical and universal harmony which, as we found, predominates in Faust.

1) Music as Based on Mathematics

The idea of the harmony of the spheres was based, as mentioned earlier, on mathematical relations between the orbits and speed of the planets, and on corresponding relations between the sounds which they were thought to emit.¹

1) See the article by Hüschen on 'Harmonie', MGG 5, cols. 1588ff., esp. 1594ff., and by Vetter on 'Pythagoras', MGG 10, cols. 1790ff. Also W.K.C. Guthrie, A History of Greek Philosophy, vol. I, pp. 220ff., 295ff.

Not only the relation between sounds, but the single note, was mathematically determined. The Pythagoreans realised that the pitch of a note varied according to the length and rate of vibration of the string which produced the note, rapid vibrations producing high notes, slower ones low notes.¹ And they also held that clear intervals between notes (i.e. a scale) were produced when the mathematical relations between them could be expressed as integers.² Even the relation between music and the emotions was thought to have a mathematical basis. Pythagorean theory held that a relation existed between the rate of vibration of the soul under the influence of emotion and the rate of vibration of the string producing musical sounds.³ Music, therefore, like the rest of the universe, was thought by the Pythagoreans to be reducible to a cipher, a mathematical formula.⁴

This Pythagorean tradition continued well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵ Kepler and Leibniz⁶ both drew on it heavily as a foundation for their conception of a harmonious universe;⁷ and Leibniz used it to explain the connection between music and the individual.⁸ He ^even [^]went so far as to say that music was a subconscious arithmetical exercise by the soul: "Musica est exercitium arithmeticae occultum nescientis se numerare animi."⁹ Many other eighteenth-century writers, both philosophers and musicians, acknowledged and studied the mathematical foundations of music, and approached them in various ways. In the wake of Leibniz and Wolff, Lorenz Mizler¹⁰ founded a periodical and a learned society (joined by J.S. Bach and

1) Vetter, col. 1790; Guthrie, pp. 226ff.

2) Vetter, loc. cit; Guthrie, pp. 224, 298ff., esp. p. 300.

3) Vetter, col. 1790f. See also Plato's comment that harmony has "motions akin to the revolutions of our souls" (*Timaeus*, 47, ed. Jowett, vol. 3, p. 734).

4) Vetter, *ibid.*, Guthrie, pp. 225ff., 301ff.

5) Cf. Lowinsky, pp. 181ff., esp. p. 183, note 42.

6) See articles by R. Haase, 'Kepler', *MGG* 7, cols. 839ff., 'Leibniz', *MGG* 8, cols. 498ff. Also Lowinsky, pp. 181f., 179f.

7) Kepler derived not merely notes, but whole scales and even tunes from the mathematical formulae for the orbits of the planets (Haase, col. 843, Pinette, p. 41). See also Haase on Leibniz, cols. 498ff., and Lowinsky, p. 179f.

8) Haase, col. 500; Lowinsky, p. 182.

9) Letter to Goldbach 17/4/1712, *Leibnitii epistolae ad diversos*, ed. F. Kort-hold, Leipzig 1734ff., letter 154; cit. Lowinsky, p. 182, note 39. See however Haase, col. 500; also similar passage, Lowinsky loc. cit.

10) See esp. J. Birke, *Christian Wolffs Metaphysik und die zeitgenössische Literatur- und Musiktheorie*, pp. 67ff.; also Lowinsky, pp. 183ff, Schering, pp. 269ff.

Telemann), for the pursuit of "musikalische Wissenschaften", and lectured in Leipzig with the same aim.¹ Kant thought that mathematical relations between musical notes, (whether played simultaneously or in sequence), based on the number of sound-waves which produced them, were the basis of musical form and of music's appeal to the intellect;² although he was well aware that mathematics contributed nothing to the charm of music:

an dem Reize und der Gemüths-
bewegung, welche die Musik hervorbringt, hat die Mathematik sicherlich
nicht den mindesten Antheil; sondern sie ist nur die unumgängliche
Bedingung (conditio sine qua non) derjenigen Proportionen der Eindrücke
in ihrer Verbindung sowohl als ihrem Wechsel, wodurch es möglich wird
sie zusammen zu fassen und zu verhindern, daß diese einander nicht zer-
stören, sondern zu einer continuirlichen Bewegung und Belebung des
Gemüths...zusammenstimmen. 3

And Rameau,⁴ despite great emphasis on feeling in his operatic work,⁵ attempted in his theoretical works to show that the root of all music was the harmonics produced by a vibrating string, to which other musical phenomena were related by mathematical proportion.⁶ He also pointed out that not only the pitch of a note, but also its timbre (tonal quality), varied with the number of harmonics, since even a single note was a composite of several harmonics.⁷

However, there were those who disliked this mathematical approach intensely, especially where it encouraged the idea that music was reducible to a mathematical formula; because it seemed to them to belittle the connection between music and feeling, and to lead to cold and soulless technical virtuosity. Mattheson, who defended mathematics as a "fleißige, arbeitsame Gehülffinn" for the musician,⁸ and who thought that "niemand kan lieblich singen oder spielen, wenn sein Gesang nicht vorher...gleichsam abgemessen worden",⁹ nonetheless complained that others went to the opposite extreme by

1) Schering, p.269.

2) Kritik der Urtheilskraft 53, ed. cit. p.329.

3) Ibid.

4) See esp. R. Eller, MGG 10, cols.1899ff., on Rameau as theorist; and C.M. Girdlestone, ibid., cols.1889ff., on Rameau as composer. Also Goldschmidt, pp.107ff.

5) Girdlestone, cols.1889ff.

6) See esp. Eller, col.1899, on Rameau's Traité de l'harmonie (1722).

7) Goldschmidt, p.177f.

8) 'Von der musikalischen Mathematik', Vorrede 6, Capellmeister ed. cit. p.16.

9) Ibid., Erster Theil, 2, §17, p.5.

reducing music to the level of mathematical tables:

Die letztern machen die
Music zu einer solchen mathematischen Wissenschaft, dabey alle Zahlen,
Linien, Maassen, Gewichte, ja alle Rechnemeister und Landmesser ins
Gewehr und Spiel kommen müssen. Überdies thun sie mit ihrer Wünschel-
Ruthe der Ton-Lehre noch den Schimpf an, und machen sie dem mächtigen
Einmahleins gar unterwürffig.

1

Rousseau, in particular, attacked Rameau and the polyphonic, mathematically-based tradition in which he wrote.² Musical form, Rousseau considered, was derived from the pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables in language, and so were its sonority and its essential emotional appeal:

J'ai dit que
toute musique nationale tire son principal caractere de la langue qui
lui est propre...Or s'il y a en Europe une langue propre a la musique,
c'est certainement l'italienne; car cette langue est douce, sonore,
harmonieuse et accentuée plus qu'aucune autre. 3

St. Preux, when he meets Italian music for the first time,⁴ is struck by the absence of the "lourdes cadences" and "pénibles efforts de voix" which render French music such a strain because it is an artificially calculated product, not an imitation of Nature;⁵ the Italian music master tells him that:

l'harmonie...
n'est qu'un accessoire éloigné dans la musique imitative;...c'est de la
seule mélodie que sort cette puissance invincible des accents passionnés;
...la seule harmonie n'a jamais rien su dire au coeur. 6

Herder followed Rousseau with equal enthusiasm, if less rancour, in denouncing the mathematical approach, especially as pursued in France.⁷ Great efforts had been made:

Man hat die verschiedne Zahl der Vibrationen einer
Saite nach Länge, Stärke und Gewicht, und daraus die Töne, und daraus

1) Capellmeister, Erster Theil, §12, p.5.

2) Notably in his article 'Unité de mélodie', in his Dictionnaire de musique, (Paris 1768), ed.cit.vol.22, p.206f., cit. Lowinsky, pp.190ff.; and in his Lettre sur la musique françoise, (1753), (ed.cit.vol. 19, pp.341ff.).

3) Lettre, ed.cit., vol.19, pp.350, 358.

4) La Nouvelle Héloïse, I, 48; ed.cit.vol.I, pp.468ff.

5) Ibid., p.473.

6) Ibid., p.469f.

7) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.90f.; on Rameau, pp.94ff. Cit. Atkinson, p.30.

die Verhältnisse zwischen den Tönen, und daraus die Harmonie und daraus die Komposition nach Regeln bis in die Algebra hineinberechnet; in allem, was am Tone gleichsam Physische Qualität und Mathematische Quantität ist, ist die Akustik fast vollkommen.

1

But, Herder thought, nobody was any the wiser about music's impact on the feelings ~~of~~ the hearer:

das ist gewiß, daß dieser [Rameau's principle of the harmonics of the vibrating string as the root of all music] die Wirkung der Musik auf der Seele gar nicht erkläre. 2

Physics and mathematics could only explain the mechanics of sound (Schall), not the single musical note (Ton) which struck home to the soul with such force:

Wie er [der Ton] nun aber das Einfache, gleichsam der hörbare Punkt wird, den ich in meinem Innern empfinde, den ich Ton nenne und vom Schalle so deutlich unterscheide, weiß ich das ? und ist dieser einfache fühlbare Ton ein Gegenstand der Physik ?...Sie kann ihn nicht untersuchen, nicht erklären...

Und die Mathematik eben so wenig. Diese nimmt ihn für den Unterschied zwischen den Schwingungen eines Körpers, in dem Raume, in der Zeit: sie nimmt ihn also als Quantität, als ein abstraktes Ganzes, das Theile hat. Lerne ich dabei etwas, was seine Qualität sey ? Nichts. 3

Goethe was familiar with the traditional mathematical basis for music; but despite its prestige and ancient derivation, his attitude towards it was equivocal, to say the very least. In his notes to the translation of Rameaus Neffe, he quoted with approval Rousseau's critique of Rameau; which accused Rameau of unnatural intervals in recitative, and overladen, noisy accompaniments.⁴ And in a letter to Zelter, he objected to Rameau's reduction of music to the harmonics of the vibrating string of various lengths, for reasons simi-

1) Viertes Wäldchen, p.90f.

2) Ibid., p.94. Cf. Goldschmidt, pp.176ff.

3) Ibid., p.92, cf. Goldschmidt, p.177. Herder seems to have missed Rameau's point that even what the human ear heard as a single note was in fact a composite of several harmonics.

4) AA 15, p.1054f.

lar to Herder's: it tried to measure the unmeasurable, music's impact on the human being:

Es ist vieles wahr, was sich nicht berechnen läßt, so wie sehr vieles, was sich nicht bis zum entschiedenen Experiment bringen läßt. Dafür steht ja aber der Mensch so hoch, daß sich das sonst Undarstellbare in ihm darstellt. Was ist denn eine Saite und alle mechanische Theilung derselben gegen das Ohr des Musikers ?

1

However, Goethe did appreciate that some aspects of music were founded on mathematics,² as his Tonlehre shows: the construction of instruments, for example, and the construction of scales, modes, etc. In the second section he notes that "Die Instrumente entspringen durch die Einsicht in die Maß- und Zahlenverhältnisse"; and the third section, headed "Mathematisch (Objektiv)", contains notes on which aspects of the scale, of major and minor modes, etc., might be expressed in terms of "Zahl- und Maßverhältnisse", and which not.³ What he wished to guard against was the "falsche Vorstellung, daß man ein Phänomen durch Kalkül oder durch Worte abtun und beseitigen könne:

Die Mathematiker sind wunderliche Leute; durch das Große, was sie leisteten, haben sie sich zur Universalgilde aufgeworfen und wollen nichts anerkennen, als was in ihren Kreis paßt, was ihr Organ behandeln kann. - Einer der ersten Mathematiker sagte, bei Gelegenheit wo man ihm ein physisches Kapitel eindringlich empfehlen wollte: "Aber läßt sich denn gar nichts auf den Kalkül reduzieren ?" 4

In an attempt to explain the complexities of Goethe's attitude, M. Dyck points out that his poor opinion of mathematics was largely attributable to

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- 1) Beilage, letter of 22/6/1808, WA IV, 20, p.90f. See also MuR 707f. AA 9, p.593.
 - 2) Hicks considers it "natural that a mathematical comparison for music should have suggested itself to Goethe." (p.115). But study of Goethe's scientific procedures makes clear that mathematical comparisons were anything but 'natural' to Goethe. "His was a thoroughly unmathematical mind", observes H.B.Nisbet (Goethe and the Scientific Tradition, London 1972, p.49); and G.A.Wells reaches a similar conclusion ('Goethe's Scientific Method and Aims in the Light of his Studies in Physical Optics', PEGS NS 38 (1967/68), p.110ff.). There was indeed a "very strong reflective or speculative element" (Hicks, p.116) in Goethe's approach to music; but he worked chiefly with analogy (Nisbet, pp.15ff.), especially with the model of polarity (Wells, pp.106ff.), in his scientific work, not by mathematical methods.
 - 3) AA 16, p.908f.
 - 4) 'Mathematik', Aphorismen und Fragmente, AA 17, p.770; cit. Dyck, 'Goethe's Thought in the Light of his Pronouncements on Applied and Mis-Applied Mathematics', PMLA 73, (1958), p.514.

the fact that he thought of mathematics as merely measurement, and saw measurement as a very limited means of apprehending the world.¹ As Nisbet points out, Goethe did not object to pure mathematics;² but disliked the mathematical approach as soon as it was applied to living things - for it could only describe part, and a very small part, of the totality of a living thing and its relations with the rest of the world:

Das Messen eines Dings ist eine grobe Handlung, die auf lebendige Körper nicht anders als höchst unvollkommen angewendet werden kann.

Ein lebendiges existierendes Ding kann durch nichts gemessen werden, was außer ihm ist, sondern wenn es ja geschehen sollte, müßte es den Maßstab selbst dazu hergeben; dieser aber ist höchst geistig und kann durch die Sinne nicht gefunden werden...In jedem lebendigen Wesen sind das, was wir Teile nennen, dergestalt unzertrennlich vom Ganzen, daß sie nur in und mit demselben begriffen werden können, und es können weder die Teile zum Maß des Ganzen noch das Ganze zum Maß der Teile angewendet werden.

3

Any claim by mathematicians to totality and objectivity was for Goethe mistaken; he agreed with Kantians that man could not discuss "Dinge an sich".⁴ Nothing which human beings could say about the universe could ever be complete. It was inevitably an utterance of what man could perceive, and what he could manage to articulate, at a given time; and in this sense man was, inevitably, the measure of all things:

Was er [der Mensch] von der Natur ausspricht, das ist etwas, das heißt, es ist etwas Reales, es ist ein Wirkliches, nämlich in bezug auf ihn. Aber was er ausspricht, das ist nicht alles, es ist nicht die ganze Natur, er spricht nicht die Totalität derselben aus.

Wir mögen an der Natur beobachten, messen, rechnen, wägen und so weiter, wie wir wollen, es ist doch nur unser Maß und Gewicht, wie der Mensch das Maß der Dinge ist...Mit Duodezimal- oder Dezimalmaß wird nichts von der sonstigen anderweitigen Natur des Dinges ausgesprochen und verraten. 5

1) Dyck, p.510f. J. Neubauer ('Die Abstraktion, vor der wir uns fürchten', in Versuche zu Goethe (FS Erich Heller), Heidelberg 1976), takes Dyck to task for this apologetic stance (p.310f.). But his own emphasis on the vehemence of Goethe's dislike (pp.310ff.) does not help us to see Goethe's attitude as a whole; Dyck's seems to be a better-proportioned account.

2) Op.cit., p.51.

3) 'Studie nach Spinoza', Zur Wissenschaftslehre, AA 16, p.841f. Cit. Dyck, p.510.

4) Conv. with Riemer, 2/8/1807, AA 22, p.469f.

5) Ibid.

Thus although Goethe respected mathematics for its precision and rigorous method,¹ he found it over-crude in art,² and lacking in piety as an approach to the cosmos:

Der Mathematiker ist angewiesen aufs Quantitative, auf alles, was sich durch Zahl und Maß bestimmen läßt, und also gewissermaßen auf das äußerlich erkennbare Universum. Betrachten wir aber dieses, insofern uns Fähigkeit gegeben ist, mit vollem Geiste und aus allen Kräften, so erkennen wir, daß Quantität und Qualität als die zwei Pole des erscheinenden Daseins gelten müssen; daher denn auch der Mathematiker seine Formelsprache so hoch steigert, um insofern es möglich, in der meßbaren und zählbaren Welt die unmeßbare mit zu begreifen. Nun erscheint ihm alles greifbar, faßlich und mechanisch, und er kommt in den Verdacht eines heimlichen Atheismus, indem er ja das Unmeßbarste, welches wir Gott nennen, zugleich mit zu erfassen glaubt und daher dessen besonderes oder vorzügliches Dasein aufzugeben scheint. ³

Even in science, notably in his Farbenlehre, Goethe found mathematics desirable as an aid, but dispensable:

Der Verfasser...hat die Farbenlehre durchaus von der Mathematik entfernt zu halten gesucht, ob sich gleich gewisse Punkte deutlich genug ergeben, wo die Beihülfe der Meßkunst wünschenswert sein würde...

4

And he had an entirely negative attitude to the rationalistic tradition in science, which depended heavily on mathematics.⁵ What Goethe sought was a way of theorising which would avoid 'abstraction':

Jedes Ansehen geht über in ein Betrachten, jedes Betrachten in ein Sinnen, jedes Sinnen in ein Verknüpfen, und so kann man sagen, daß wir schon bei jedem aufmerksamen Blick in die Welt theoretisieren. Dieses aber mit Bewußtsein, mit Selbstkenntnis, mit Freiheit, und um uns eines gewagten Wortes zu bedienen, mit Ironie zu tun und vorzunehmen, eine solche Gewandtheit ist nötig, wenn die Abstraktion, vor der wir uns fürchten, unschädlich und das Erfahrungsergebnis, das wir hoffen, recht lebendig und nützlich werden soll.

6

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- 1) E.g. 'Der Versuch als Vermittler von Objekt und Subjekt', and 'Vorschlag zur Güte', Zur Wissenschaftslehre AA 16, pp.852f., 886; 'Über die Ursache der Barometerschwankungen', WA II, 12, p.61f.; cit. Dyck, pp.508ff.
 - 2) E.g. 'Studie nach Spinoza', AA 16, p.842; cit. Dyck, p.510.
 - 3) 'Mathematik', Aphorismen und Fragmente, AA 17, p.769.
 - 4) 'Verhältnis zur Mathematik' (Nachbarliche Verhältnisse), AA 16, p.195; see Dyck, pp.509ff.; also 'Einleitung' to the Farbenlehre (Didaktischer Teil), AA 16, p.25.
 - 5) Nisbet, op.cit. pp.48ff.
 - 6) 'Vorwort' to the Farbenlehre, AA 16, p.11.

That is, a way of theorising which would enable man to retain his contact with concrete reality even while he organised his ideas about it; one which would enable him to retain the 'ironic' awareness that, even as he rose above the world sufficiently to contemplate it and utter his observations (a stance which brought him nearer the complete perspective of God), his utterances had only a limited validity:

...Das Wahre, mit dem Göttlichen identisch, läßt sich niemals von uns direkt erkennen: wir schauen es nur im Abglanz, im Beispiel, Symbol, in einzelnen und verwandten Erscheinungen.

1

Symbolism was thus, in an important sense, man's only hope of getting anywhere near to expressing the totality and complexity of the world:

Die Symbolik verwandelt die Erscheinung in Idee, die Idee in ein Bild, und so, daß die Idee im Bild immer unendlich wirksam bleibt, und, selbst in allen Sprachen ausgesprochen, doch unaussprechlich bliebe.

2

But although any mode of symbolism, any type of formula, was inadequate,³ mathematical formulae seemed to Goethe more than usually limited and one-sided. For mathematical formulae did not have the many-sided references which Goethe associated with true symbolism - they were "völlig starr und leblos"⁴ outside their own sphere:

Man bedenkt niemals genug, daß eine Sprache eigentlich nur symbolisch, nur bildlich sei und die Gegenstände niemals unmittelbar, sondern nur im Widerscheine ausdrücke...Mathematische Formeln lassen sich in vielen Fällen sehr bequem und glücklich anwenden, aber es bleibt ihnen immer etwas Steifes und Ungelenkes, und wir fühlen bald ihre Unzulänglichkeit, weil wir, selbst in Elementarfällen, sehr früh ein Inkommensurables gewahr werden; ferner sind sie auch nur innerhalb eines gewissen Kreises besonders hiezu gebildeter Geister verständlich.⁵

1) Versuch einer Witterungslehre, AA 17,p.639; cit. Dyck,p.514. See also conversation with Riemer, 2/8/1807, AA 22,p.470.

2) Maximen und Reflexionen 1113, AA 9,p.639.

3) "Die Zahlen sind, wie unsere armen Worte, nur Versuche, die Erscheinungen zu fassen und auszudrücken, ewig unzureichende Annäherungen"(Conv. with Riemer, 27/3/1814, AA 22,p.720. Dyck emphasises this point particularly (pp.513ff.

4) Conv. with Riemer, 14/1/1807, AA 22,p.436.

5) 'Schlußbetrachtung über Sprache und Terminologie', (Nachbarliche Verhältnisse), AA 16,p.203f.

So, as W. Binder has pointed out, when Goethe did use numbers symbolically, he did so with empirical reference - as a cipher for the relationship between figures and their corresponding formal arrangement. Goethe's symbolic use of the number four is accurately reflected in Binder's title Goethes Vierheiten - for, as he shows, Goethe is not concerned with mathematics at all, but with the permutations and combinations possible within a foursome or quartet.¹

But it was artistic form, more than any other kind of formula, which could convey for Goethe the many-sided references, the standpoint of being "über" and yet "unter" what one contemplated,² "übernatürlich" and yet not "außernatürlich",³ which he felt to be truly symbolic. After looking at the copies of Classical statues in the French Academy in Rome, he wrote:

Hatte
ich doch Proportion, Anatomie, Regelmäßigkeit der Bewegung mir einiger-
maßen zu verdeutlichen gesucht, hier aber fiel mir nur zu sehr auf, daß
die Form zuletzt alles einschließe, der Glieder Zweckmäßigkeit, Verhält-
nis, Charakter, und Schönheit.

4

And we have already seen his especial esteem for music for its capacity as mediator between feeling and perspective, between human and heavenly, and for "lebendig- Augenblickliche Offenbarung des Unerforschlichen", of interrelations between things.⁵ When Goethe compared Bach's fugues to "illuminierten mathematischen Aufgaben,...deren Themata so einfach wären und doch so großartige poetische Resultate hervorbrächten",⁶ he was paying Bach a considerable tribute. The mathematical basis of the fugue was apparent;⁷ but by transposing

1) 'Goethes Vierheiten', in Typologia Litterarum, (FS Max Wehrli), Zürich 1969, pp.311ff.; and Aufschlüsse, (Studien zur deutschen Literatur), Zürich/München 1976, pp.119ff.

2) Conv. with Riemer, 2/8/1807, AA 22, p.470.

3) Über Wahrheit und Wahrscheinlichkeit der Kunstwerke, AA 13, p.180.

4) Italienische Reise, Rom 11/4/1788, AA 11, p.597f.

5) Cf. esp. pp.101ff. above.

6) Conv. with Genast, 6/6/1814, AA 22, p.727.

7) Cf. Lowinsky, p.184, note 47f. for the mathematical basis of the canon which Bach submitted as his inaugural tribute to Mizler's society.

mathematical form into musical sounds, Bach had given it a sensuous liveliness and a 'poetic' (i.e. many-sided) significance notably lacking in mathematics. And in Goethe's own work we also find that music is used to redress the imbalance inherent in mathematics. When the pupils of the Pädagogischer Provinz learn mathematics, they do so through the medium of music, with its "gleichgebahnte Wege nach allen Seiten"; in order that they may benefit from mathematical skill without risk from its abstractions:

indem wir die Kinder üben,
Töne, welche sie hervorbringen, mit Zeichen auf der Tafel schreiben zu
lernen und nach Anlaß dieser Zeichen sodann in ihrer Kehle wieder zu
finden,...so üben sie zugleich Hand, Ohr und Auge und gelangen schneller
zum Recht- und Schönschreiben als man denkt, und da dieses alles zuletzt
nach reinen Maßen, nach genau bestimmten Zahlen ausgeübt und nachgebildet
werden muß, so fassen sie den hohen Wert der Meß- und Rechenkunst viel
geschwinder als auf jede andere Weise. ¹

In Faust, the role of mathematics is if anything even more negative, in the sense that Goethe appears to have studiously avoided it. He entirely ignores the possibility of exploiting the "heimlicher Atheismus" ² of mathematics, (the smack of impiety and blasphemy which Thomas Mann found so fruitful in the Faust legend ³) - for example, by having his hero pursue an illusory absolute through this medium, or by having his Devil 'negate' by trying to reduce everything to a mathematical formula. Insofar as mathematics appears at all, it is associated with foolish and pedantic attempts to measure the immeasurable, resulting only in futile abstractions. For instance, even Mephisto mocks the folly of imagining that counting the parts of living things would yield any knowledge of their nature(1918ff.); and though Wagner measures out and mixes his "Lebenselemente" in the prescribed quantities(6849ff., 6990ff.), he only becomes productive, even of his artificial Männlein, when

1) Wanderjahre II,1, AA 8,p.166.

2) 'Mathematik', AA 17,p.769.

3) Cf. J.W. Smeed, Faust in Literature, London 1975,pp.122ff.

Mephisto takes a hand (6683f., 7003f.). Where mathematics occurs in conjunction with music, it seems to represent a way of going about things which is merely ridiculous - and thus even less estimable than the 'dubious' aspect of music as sensuous, confusing, seductive, even linked with the supernatural. In the Hexenküche, for example, the hocus-pocus of Faust's rejuvenation is dubious enough, with the 'Musik' of the apparatus and the Lied given as an aphrodisiac (SD 2532ff., 2591f.). But the Hexen-Einmaleins (2540ff.) is presented as a waste of time even for the Devil; apparently mathematical logic is so abstruse that even Mephisto cannot make a convincing sophistry out of it (2556ff)! And as empty sonority, the Hexen-Einmaleins is even less plausible as a negation of meaningful speech than Mephisto's "Diskurs" with the monkeys:

Mich dünkt, ich hör' ein ganzes Chor
Von hunderttausend Narren sprechen . (2575f.).

Similarly, in the Meeresfest the precise number of the Cabiri is irrelevant to their significance, and Schelling and Creutzer are implicitly satirised for taking it so seriously.¹ The Cabiri seem to be an idea of divinity, evolving, like Homunculus, through "tausend, abertausend Formen" (8325), from "irden-schlechte Töpfe" (8220) as pitcher-gods, to Olympus (8197ff.). They thus hold an important place amongst the Nature-myths in this Walpurgisnacht; yet, like music, they risk "Übergang ins Formlose, Zufällige",² because they have no definite shape as a fixed idea. Their identity and function can thus be presented in the fluid 'elements' of song and dance - but it certainly cannot be measured or represented in numbers.³

Clearly, numbers have little magic for Faust, or even for Mephisto. The cosmos of Faust is not reducible to number; and neither the harmonious order nor the emotive appeal of music depends for Goethe on mathematical relations.

1) See Trunz, pp. 573ff., Friedrich/Scheithauer, p. 332; also Binder, who remarks that it is all too easy "gegen den spielerisch ironischen Charakter der Szene zu verstoßen" when trying to interpret these mythical characters (op.cit., Aufschlüsse, p. 127f.).

2) Tonlehre, AA 16, p. 910; cf. p. 113 above.

3) Cf. the appropriateness of 'tanzen' rather than 'schätzen' as an approach to the figures of the first Walpurgisnacht (4150) (p. 123 above.)

2) Music as based on Rhythm, and therefore connected with Movement

The concept of rhythm is important in the present context, since it helps to answer several of the questions about Goethe's attitude raised above.¹ But it is not a simple idea; and in order to understand its significance for Goethe and its connotations in his time, we first need some clarification of the concept itself.

A definition, or even a description, is not easy. In a long article on rhythm, W. Dürr and W. Gerstenberg show that the precise origin of the word in Greek Antiquity is uncertain, and that each subsequent age has had its own controversies and its own preferred interpretation.² But it seems fairly clear from the studies which they cite that the word originally involved two main concepts: firstly, continuous movement; and secondly, a form gradually built up by this movement.³ Dürr and Gerstenberg also make clear that, whatever the different theories may be on the relative importance of dynamic movement or static form in rhythm, and on the relation between rhythm and metre, the fundamental constituents of rhythm are generally envisaged as 'duration' and 'emphasis'⁴ - i.e. contrasting units of long and short, strong and weak. One might say, then, that it is the progression from long to short, strong to weak, and vice versa, which constitutes the movement implied in the idea of rhythm; and that it is the overall pattern set up by these contrasts which constitutes the form implied by the idea of rhythm.

1) See p.129 above.

2) 'Rhythmus, Metrum, Takt', MGG 11, cols.383ff., esp. cols.384, 395ff.

3) Ibid., col.384.

4) Ibid., cols.385ff.

This primarily suggests simple alternation of conditions, repeated many times. And indeed a rhythm is, As Dürr and Gerstenberg point out, most easily recognised when repetition at more or less regular intervals is involved.¹ But S.K. Langer emphasises that rhythm can be extremely complex, and that it is not merely the equivalent of repetition at regular intervals, though it often involves such repetition.² One may summarise her main argument as being that rhythm is established when each stage in a sequence arises from the previous one, and itself sets up the conditions for the next, so that a continuity is created.³ She expresses this in various ways; but her examples from physiological and physical rhythms make the point most clearly:

Breathing is the most perfect exhibit of physiological rhythm: as we release the breath we have taken, we build up a bodily need of oxygen that is the motivation...of the new breath...

The heartbeat illustrates the same functional continuity: the diastole prepares the systole, and vice versa. The whole self-repair of living bodies rests on the fact that the exhaustion of a vital process always stimulates a corrective action, which in turn exhausts itself in creating conditions that demand new spending...

A person who moves rhythmically need not repeat a single motion exactly. His movements, however, must be complete gestures, so that one can sense a beginning, intent and consummation, and see in the last stage of one the condition and...rise of another. 4

And, as Professor Langer points out, this would apply to emotional life as well as physical:

A succession of emotions that have no reference to each other do not constitute an "emotional life", any more than a discontinuous and independent functioning of organs collected under one skin would be a physical life. 5

Nevertheless, as Dürr and Gerstenberg emphasise, the recurrence of something recognisable as similar, if not identical, plays an important part in rhythm;

1) Dürr and Gerstenberg, col.387.

2) Cf. the two categories of rhythm described by HDM(pp.729ff.). Both rely on beats of fixed duration; but one, the 'isometric', builds up a continuity by regular measures, where the emphasis falls on the first beat of each measure; whereas the other, the 'multimetric', builds up a continuity by "free alternation of different measures", so that there is no "regularly recurrent accent"(as in Gregorian chant, and some jazz).

3) Feeling and Form, London 1953, pp.126ff.

4) Ibid., p.126f.

5) Ibid.

it is "ständige Wiederholung eines ähnlichen Vorgangs in ähnlichen Zeiten",... "mehr oder weniger regelmäßige Wiederkehr", which strikes the observer's imagination most readily.¹ And they too point to physiological experience as a starting point for the idea of rhythm. The most familiar rhythms are the diastole and systole of heart-beat, the strong and weak of pulse, inhaling and exhaling, etc; and these are repetitive and fairly regular.² There are parallels in psychological experience, too: Dürr and Gerstenberg suggest, for example, our sense of the ^{pa}ssage of time as an alternation of tension and relaxation, or our awareness of the recurrence of the seasons.³ Rhythm may, then, suggest a progression of a certain kind - an orderly continuity set up by the alternation of different states. But because of its roots in elementary experience, its emphasis or beat is often associated with the most basic throb of physical and emotional life. Movements such as running, jumping, etc., can easily be translated as a simple dual rhythm, or as a more complex one. Conversely, rhythm can easily suggest physical movements or emotional dynamics of various kinds.

Because rhythm plays such a fundamental part in physical and psychic life, it is an important basis on which the artist can suggest an analogy in his medium with a given experience, physical or mental. In music, specifically, this may be done in a variety of ways; ranging from the naturalistic (to suggest, e.g., the galloping of a horse, or the feeling of a dragging passage of time) to the highly stylised, where a rhythmic pattern sets up an ordered sequence of sounds which the listener receives as such, without further empirical reference. And within this range, the composer may choose a rhythm which suggests not only an analogy between a given experience and music, but also a parallel analogy in a second medium. For instance, the movement of figures, as

1) Dürr and Gerstenberg, cols. 384, 387f.

2) Ibid., cols. 384f., 387; also Langer, p. 126f.

3) Ibid., cols. 384, 387.

well as music, are suggested by the rhythms of march and dance. And certain musical rhythms also serve as foundation for a particular way of articulating words - as for example in recitative, simple song, or coloratura. Composite genres such as opera, accompanied song and dance, etc., depend on rhythm as a kind of common structure for their coordination. Clearly, the accompaniment need not duplicate the voice part, and the dancer need not match each step to the note-values of his accompaniment; but unless the participants work with compatible rhythms, the end-product will not be a coordinated whole.

If we bear these points in mind, it is easier to see why musical rhythm has been associated so closely with physical and emotional movement at various times. Insofar as musical rhythm consists of emphasis or beat, it was associated even in Ancient Greece with the vibrations set up in the body by sounds and by vivid feeling.¹ Yet insofar as it consists of duration, it also suggested a particular order or pattern in this movement, and thus the dynamics of a certain pattern of behaviour or feeling. As we saw, different rhythmic patterns (as well as different scales or modes) were used to fit different types of poetry; Plato spoke of the rhythms "expressive of meanness, insolence, frenzy", etc., and Aristotle of the "musical times" (as well as tunes) which "provide us with images of states of character".² And if rhythm is thus the basis for the 'image' of a state of mind created jointly by poetry and music, it is also the basis for the dancer's parallel image in the medium of physical movement. Plato defined rhythm at one point as the "order of motion", meaning of physical movement in dance;³ and Aristotle too thought of bodily movements, as well as of emotional or spiritual ones, when he thought of rhythm:

1) See Guthrie, p.226f., Serauky, col.113f.; cf. pp. 54ff. above.

2) Republic III, 400, ed. cit., p.86; Politics, VIII, v, §18, ed. cit. p.343.

3) Laws II, 665 [The Dialogues of Plato, ed. cit. vol. IV, p.231]; cit. Dürr and Gerstenberg (as Nomoi), col.396.

Some varieties [of rhythm] have a more steady character; others have a lively quality; and these last may again be divided, according as they move with a more vulgar rhythm or move in a manner more suited to freedmen.

1

The connection between musical rhythms and physical or emotional movement was also extremely strong in later ages, especially when the Affektenlehre was revived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.² Descartes' treatise on the emotions contributed a good deal to the maintenance of this association; although the connection with music is by no means as direct as Serauky implies.³ Descartes explains the emotions in physiological terms - sensations from the outside world are transmitted via nerves from the sense-organs to the soul (seated in a gland in the brain), which then transmits reactions to the internal organs, nerves and muscles.⁴ Various emotions result from the varying distribution and intensity of these physiological reactions. But most result either from dilation of the heart-chambers and increased pulse-rate (which bring about faster circulation of the blood, more heat, and more agitation in the body); or from restriction of the heart-chambers and slowing of the pulse-rate, which have the opposite effect.⁵

Mattheson warmly recommended Descartes' treatise to all would-be Capellmeister;⁶ and the influence of such physiological models (especially of diastole and systole), on his idea of musical rhythm is clearly very

1) Politics VIII,v,\$23,ed.cit.p.345.

2) Serauky, 'Affektenlehre',cols.113ff.,esp. col.114f.

3) Les Passions de l'Âme, Amsterdam/Paris 1649; [= Oeuvres Philosophiques de Descartes, ed. F. Alquié, Paris 1973,vol.III,pp.941ff.] ;cf. Serauky,col.113.

4) Articles 12f.,ed.cit.pp.961ff.; article 31,p.977.

5) Articles 9ff.(ed.cit.pp.958ff.); art. 51ff.(pp.997ff.); art.96ff.(pp.1027ff.) Descartes does not mention music in this treatise. Serauky(col.113) and Mattheson(Capellmeister I,3,p.15), whom Serauky cites, both clearly imply that he does; but I can find no more than mention of sounds along with other stimuli from outside (Art.13,p.962). However, a very similar concept of emotional and physical responses lies behind Descartes' earlier essay Compendium Musicae (1618), tr. W. Robert, Compendium of Music, publ. American Inst. of Musicology (Indiana), 1961, q.v., esp.pp.14ff.

6) Vollkommener Capellmeister, I,3,\$51, ed.cit.p.15.

strong. In his opinion, each measure or bar of a piece of music consists of a strong and weak beat only:

Diese nehmen ihren Ursprung oder ihren Grund aus den Pulsadern, deren Auf- und Niederschläge bey den Arzeney-Verständigen Systole und Diastole genennet werden.

1

But although Mattheson allows only two units in each bar, he considers that they need not be equal units - and thus derives not only duple time and its compounds, but also triple time and its compounds, from the physiological model.² The idea of mathematical regularity is thus overlaid by the idea of an order more flexible, and more dynamic, because of its association with living and moving. The "Bewegung" of a piece of music - by which Mattheson seems to mean the overall dynamics of the piece³ - thus represents the dynamics of physical and emotional life, (albeit in a way which he finds intangible and elusive.)

Hier muß ein jeder in seinen Busen greiffen und fühlen, wie ihm ums Herze sey:...Die Wirckung merckt man wol, weiß aber nicht, wie es zugehet.⁴

Two further aspects of Mattheson's use of models such as diastole and systole are also illuminating for us here - the first of which may well strike modern readers as strange. Mattheson does not confuse melody with musical rhythm; but he regards melodic progression up or down the scale as subject to the same rhythmic principles. Again, his model is diastole and systole; but this time with emphasis on the idea of expansion and contraction, rather than strong and weak. Descartes had suggested that most emotions are accompanied either by expansion or by contraction of the heart-chambers; Mattheson

1) Capellmeister, II, 7, §9, p.171; see also following paragraphs.

2) Ibid., II, 7, §§10ff., esp. §13, p.172; Mattheson also suggests the ideas of arsis and thesis as an alternative physiological model.

3) Ibid., II, 7, §§7, 18ff., pp.171ff. Mattheson takes the idea from France, notably from one Jean Rousseau, "Französischer Sänger und Violdigambist", to whose Méthode claire, certaine et facile pour apprendre à chanter la Musique [Paris 1678ff.] he refers several times (see esp. §§18ff. and note, p.172f.). He is not referring to Jean Jacques - see K.-H. Pauls, 'Jean Rousseau', MGG 11, cols.1004ff.

4) Capellmeister, II, 7, §20, p.173.

thinks that this should be reflected in the composer's choice of intervals in a melodic progression:

Da z.E. die Freude durch Ausbreitung unsrer Lebens-Geister empfunden wird, so folget vernünftiger und natürlicher Weise, daß ich diesen Affect am besten durch weite und erweiterte Intervalle ausdrücken könne...Weiß man hergegen, daß die Traurigkeit eine Zusammenziehung solcher subtilen Theile unsers Leibes ist, so stehet leicht zu ermessen, daß sich zu dieser Leidenschaft die engen und engesten Klang-Stufen am füglichsten schicken.

1

Although Mattheson does not attempt to equate them, this approach brings melodic progression and rhythmic progression together as related aspects of the natural model, diastole and systole - a curious idea, but not an uncommon one, as we shall see later. The second point of interest is Mattheson's tendency to regard rhythm-based progression in music, dance and poetry as closely analogous. For example, his chapter on "Gattungen und Abzeichen der Melodien" is written partly on dance-rhythms and dance-tunes; because a particular kind of rhythm suggests a given feeling, which can equally well be expressed in a given kind of melodic progression or in a given kind of movement.² He remarks of the gavotte, for instance, that "ihr Affect ist wirklich eine rechte jauchzende Freude", that its rhythm is even, its typical movement "das hüpfende Wesen...keineswegs das lauffende", and that it is usually better played on keyboard instruments than on the violin.³ The bourrée, similarly, is said to have a melody "die mehr fliessendes, glattes, gleitendes...hat, als die Gavotte", and a tendency to "Zufriedenheit, und einem gefälligen Wesen"; so that it is suitable for gliding, sliding movements, and easily danced by short people!⁴ Elsewhere, one of his chapters on the 'duration' aspect of rhythm treats the rhythmic grouping of notes in the same way as metrical 'feet' in poetry, and is accordingly entitled 'Von

1) Capellmeister, I, 3, §§56ff., ed. cit. p. 16.

2) Ibid., II, 13, esp. §§80ff., pp. 224ff.

3) Ibid., §§87ff., p. 225.

4) Ibid., §§90ff., p. 225f.

den Klang-Füssen';¹ and he suggests that poets, like composers, take their rhythm from physiological models, in this case arsis and thesis.²

It would be an exaggeration to suggest that such physiologically-based concepts of rhythm entirely displaced the idea of regular measure and regular beat. Mattheson himself at one point defined rhythm as "Abmessung und ordentliche Einrichtung der Zeit und Bewegung in der melodischen Wissenschaft";³ and Batteux also described rhythm as a means whereby the composer orders the sounds which are his material, "pour entrer dans l'édifice régulier du chant musical".⁴ But such théories did play a very large part in the thinking of writers who knew Goethe. In Herder's earlier work, for example, his conception of rhythm is almost entirely determined by association with physical and emotional movement, although he does not use the model of diastole and systole. Take, for example, his description of the "fühlbarer Takt des Ohrs" in Scandinavian alliterative verse:

ähnliche Anfangssylben mitten in den Versen
symmetrisch aufgezählt, gleichsam Losungen zum Schlage des Takts,
Anschläge zum Tritt, zum Gange des Kriegsheers. Ähnliche Anfangsbuch-
staben zum Anstoß, zum Schallen des Bardengesanges in die Schilde!...
wahrhaftig eine Rhythmik des Verses...

und alles waren Schälle. Laute eines lebenden
Gesanges, Wecker des Takts und der Erinnerung, alles klopfte, und stieß
und schallte zusammen !

5

However, Herder's concept of rhythm included not only beat, but also duration, or "Zeitfolge", as he called it. For Herder, music in particular was a 'sequential' art: in the first Kritisches Wäldchen, he stated that music worked "nicht bloß in, sondern durch, die Zeitfolge";⁶ and in the Viertes Wäldchen he added that in some respects poetry was similar to music, not

1) Capellmeister, II, 6, pp. 160ff., esp. pp. 164ff.

2) Ibid., II, 7 §§ 10ff., p. 172.

3) Ibid., § 2, p. 171.

4) Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe, p. 279; cf. Goldschmidt, p. 76.

5) 'Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker', Von deutscher Art und Kunst, Suphan V, p. 165f.

6) Suphan III, p. 137. Herder takes up Lessing, in particular, on the classification of the arts (cf. Laokoon 15ff., Lachmann/Muncker 9, pp. 92ff.) Cf. Nivelle, pp. 110ff.

merely in sonority, but in the rhythmic sequence which governed its structure: "Folge der Gedanken, der Bilder, der Worte, der Töne ist das Wesen ihres Ausdrucks; hierinn ist sie der Musik ähnlich".¹ He thus extended the notion of rhythmic sequence to mean the principle governing what Mattheson called the "Bewegung" of a piece - i.e. not simply the alternation of strong and weak, etc., in an individual bar, but the pattern of larger units which gradually built up the whole. Poetry, like music, thus presented a rhythmically-structured whole analogous to the dynamic sequence of psychic life:

indem sie

[poetry] durch die Schnelligkeit, durch das Gehen und Kommen ihrer Vorstellungen, auf die Seele wirkt, und in der Abwechselung theils, theils in dem Ganzen, das sie durch die Zeitfolge erbauet, energisch wirkt...dies macht sie zu einer Musik der Seele, wie sie die Griechen nannten.

2

In addition, Herder - to a much more striking extent than Mattheson - included not only "Zeit der Bewegung", but also "Modulation", not only beat and duration, but also rise and fall of tone, in his conception of rhythmic progression. He regarded musical sounds themselves as either expanding or contracting the nerves, and thus as analogous to the physiological reactions which accompanied the emotions:

Die Nerve wird homogen angestrengt, und die Fibern auf einmal mehr gespannt; oder sie wird erschlaftet, und die Fibern fließen allmählich, wie in eine sanfte Auflösung über. Jenes ist dem Gefühl gleichartig, was wir in der Seele Gefühl des Erhabnen nennen; das letzte ist Gefühl des Schönen, Wohllust. Sehet daraus entspringt die Haupteintheilung der Musik in harte und weiche Schälle, Töne und Tonarten - und dies zeigt die Analogie des ganzen allgemeinen Gefühls in Körper und Seele, so wie sich in ihm [presumably 'dem Körper'] alle Neigungen und Leidenschaften offenbaren.

3

This conception brings musical sound, too, into the field of influence of the rhythms of physical and emotional movement - an association strengthened by the fact that Herder thought of music as derived, like poetry, from

1) Suphan IV, p.166.

2) First Kritisches Wäldchen, Suphan III, p.138.

3) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.103. (Herder acknowledges Burke as his source for this idea).

the modulations of the voice, its rise and fall, in the expression of feeling.¹ Poetry, song and dance become closely analogous, based on the rhythms of feeling and moving:

Jede Leidenschaft hat [Zeit und Modulation der Bewegung]
...die traurige steigt langsam herunter; die freudige schnell hinauf:
die jauchzende wirbelt und springt: die unruhige bebt, schwankt und
taumelt. Daher der Rhythmus der Sprache, von da aus der Musik, von da
aus der Tanzkunst.

2

Herder was not merely praising his Greek ideal here:³ he commended J.G. Noverre for efforts to re-create a "Tanzkunst der Leidenschaften" in the Greek spirit;⁴ and much later, in the Kalligone (1800), we find him re-iterating the idea that music follows the "ewige unauflösbare Gesetze" of feeling in its dynamics:

denn eben das kürzer und länger, stärker und schwächer,
höher und tiefer, mehr und minder ist seine Bedeutung, sein Eindruck.⁵

However, this concept of rhythm is given a different emphasis in Herder's Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit. In the examples considered so far, art had the dynamics of living. But here Herder presents living as an art, so that the immediacy of physiological association gives way to a more stylised presentation of the universal rhythmic patterns discerned in life:

Zu einer ins Unermeßliche wachsenden Fülle der Gedanken und Empfindungen ist weder unser Haupt, noch unser Herz gebildet;...Blühen nicht unsre schönsten Seelenkräfte ab, wie sie aufblühten? ja wechseln nicht mit Jahren und Zuständen sie selbst untereinander und lösen...in einem kreisenden Reigentanz einander ab?...

Sehen wir denn nicht, meine Brüder, daß die Natur alles was sie konnte gethan habe, nicht um uns auszubreiten, sondern um uns einzuschränken...? Unsre Sinne und Kräfte haben ein Maas: die Horen unsrer Tage und Lebensalter geben einander nur wechselnd die Hände, damit die Ankommende die Verschwundene ablöse... Deine einzige Kunst, o Mensch, hienieden ist also Maas... ⁶

1) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, pp.114ff.

2) Ibid., p.120f.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid., p.122. Noverre's Lettres sur les arts imitateurs en général et sur la danse en particulier (Lyon 1760) were translated by Lessing in 1769, See esp. H. Kindermann, Theatergeschichte Europas, vol.IV, pp.445ff., esp.448ff.

5) Suphan XXII, p.187.

6) Ideen, Suphan XIII, p.339f.; cit. A.Gillies, Herder, Oxford 1945, p.84.

'Maas' has an unmistakeable connotation of 'restraint', 'regularity' - but Herder is not pleading for regularity in the sense of symmetry. He is urging Man to observe a golden mean in order to channel his energy and coordinate his movement through life, and thus live and feel to the full: "wer hätte es nicht erfahren, daß eine Grenzenlose [sic] Ausbreitung seiner Empfindungen diese nur schwäche und vernichte?".¹ The art of living, it seems, depends on a capacity to live and feel, and yet also to discern the rhythmic patterns in one's own life.

In several ways, Schiller's conception of rhythm agrees with Herder's - although Schiller was at times prepared to emphasise the symmetrical and regular to an extent which seems alien to Herder. In Die Künstler (1789), for example, he associated civilisation, and art in particular, with the power to give form and order to an otherwise chaotic world; so that drama and song are associated with "Ordnung"(1.228), and rhythm is envisaged not merely as "Maas", but as "Gleichmaas"(11.103,161,289), "Ebenmaas"(238) and "Symmetrie" (287).² Schiller did not emphasise the physiological models of rhythm; but he too thought it the business of music to reflect the patterns of movement of human feeling:

Nun besteht aber der ganze Effekt der Musik...darin, die innern Bewegungen des Gemüts durch analogische äußere zu begleiten und zu versinnlichen...Da nun jene innern Bewegungen (als menschliche Natur) nach strengen Gesetzen der Notwendigkeit vor sich gehen, so geht diese Notwendigkeit und Bestimmtheit auch auf die äußern Bewegungen, wodurch sie ausgedrückt werden, über;...Dringt nun der Tonsetzer... in das Geheimnis jener Gesetze ein, welche über die innern Bewegungen des menschlichen Herzens walten, und studiert er die Analogie, welche zwischen diesen Gemütsbewegungen und gewissen äußern Erscheinungen stattfindet, so wird er aus einem Bildner gemeiner Natur zum wahrhaften Seelenmaler. 3

1) Ideen, Suphan XIII,p.339f.

2) NA 1,pp.201ff.

3) Über Matthissons Gedichte, NA 22,p.272. The reference here is to Friedrich v.Matthisson, a poet(1761-1831), not to the musicologist Johann Mattheson (1681-1764).

Rhythm thus becomes a formative principle common to both life and art - and Schiller sometimes stresses its connection with vivid experience, sometimes with formal pattern, and sometimes with both.¹ As we saw, he greatly emphasised the connection of rhythm with order and regularity in Die Künstler - but this is a poem in which he pleads against the underestimation of form in art, and too great a respect for naturalism(11.14ff. and passim). In the preface to Die Braut von Messina, however, where he was much concerned to defend the tragic Chorus as un-naturalistic but not for that reason remote, he described them as a "sinnlich mächtige Masse...von der ganzen sinnlichen Macht des Rhythmus und der Musik in Tönen und Bewegungen begleitet."² Where, however, rhythm appears both as orderly measure and as lively beat, it is the foundation for harmonious movement in art, in life, and in the cosmos at large. In the poem Der Tanz, for example, it is "des Takts melodische[] Woge" (1.7) which lends the dance its buoyancy of movement; yet music also guides the apparently chaotic movements of the dancers and their feelings "an des Rhythmus goldenem Zügel"(1.25). The harmony of the dancers, the harmony of human action (1.32), and the cosmic harmony of the gigantic dance of the planets(11.27ff.) are all based on "das Maaß" - the rhythm discernible in all life: "der begeisternde Takt, den alle Wesen dir schlagen"(1.29).³ And in his essay on Matthissons Gedichte, Schiller congratulated the poet on producing 'musical' effects in poetry - by which he meant not merely sonority and rhythmic language, but what Herder called "Folge der Gedanken, der Bilder, der Worte", and "das Gehen und Kommen ihrer [poetry's] Vorstellungen": a sequence in which all the elements of the poem are rhythmically arranged to form a whole:

-
- 1) Cf. Schiller's concern, discussed earlier, that true art should be both "über das Wirkliche" and "innerhalb des Sinnlichen"(see pp. 35ff. above).
 2) Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie, SA 16, p.125f.
 3) NA 1, p.228; cf. Ives, pp.182ff.

Nicht weniger versteht sich Hr. M. auf jene musikalischen Effekte, die durch eine glückliche Wahl harmonisierender Bilder und durch eine kunstreiche Eurhythmie in Anordnung derselben zu bewirken sind. Wer erfährt z.B. bei folgendem kurzen Lied nicht etwas dem Eindruck Analoges, den etwa eine schöne Sonate auf ihn machen würde...Man verstehe uns nicht so, als ob es bloß der glückliche Versbau wäre, was diesem Lied eine so musikalische Wirkung gibt. Der metrische Wohllaut unterstützt und erhöht zwar allerdings diese Wirkung, aber er macht sie nicht allein aus. Es ist die glückliche Zusammenstellung der Bilder, die liebliche Stetigkeit in ihrer Sukzession; es ist die Modulation und die schöne Haltung des Ganzen, wodurch es Ausdruck einer bestimmten Empfindungsweise, also Seelengemälde wird. ¹

In this perspective, rhythm appears as a basis on which any artist sets up a structure in his own medium analogous to the physical and psychical movements of life - a structure which not only has sensuous appeal, but also shows life as a continuity, and not merely as a collection of movements and sensations.² In this sense, rhythm is not only an orderly force, but an 'animating' one; "der...Takt, den alle Wesen dir schlagen", is "begeistert" because it maintains the continuity of life, as rhythm maintains the continuity of the dance:

in wildem Gewirr durcheinander
Stürzt der zierliche Bau dieser beweglichen Welt.
Nein, dort schwebt es frohlockend herauf, der Knoten
entwirrt sich,
Nur mit verändertem Reiz stellet die Regel sich her.
Ewig zerstört, es erzeugt sich ewig die drehende Schöpfung,
Und ein stilles Gesetz lenkt der Verwandlungen Spiel.

3

It would seem from these examples that the concept of rhythm in Goethe's time was in some ways narrower and in some ways broader than it is now. The fundamental basis - physiological rhythm - was clearly much more prominent; it is unlikely that a modern reader would connect the idea of rhythm so specifically with heartbeat, breathing, etc.⁴ On the other hand, the analogy

1) Über Matthissons Gedichte, NA 22, p.276f.

2) Cf. Langer, pp.126ff.

3) Der Tanz, NA 1, p.228, (13ff.).

4) Admittedly Langer, writing fairly recently (1953), seems to regard rhythm as directly derived from physiological sources, rather than as ^{an} analogous phenomenon. But most people would entertain the idea independently of its physiological connection; certainly the O.E.D. defines rhythm without tying it down to these models (Shorter O.E.D., 3rd rev.ed., vol.II, p.1733.).

of physiological rhythm, and thence of physical movement, was applied much more widely and freely. Under a variety of names, the concept of rhythm seems to have denoted the kind of animated order which many eighteenth-century commentators discerned in living things, indeed in the universe as a whole, and desired to see transferred to art. In the arts, therefore, especially in music, poetry and dance, the idea seems to have included not only the patterns of emphasis and duration which formed the structural basis of a work; but the entire pattern of relations of the parts to one another and to the whole.

It is worth bearing this in mind when we turn to Goethe; for although his conception of rhythm includes some of his most personal symbolism, and although much of it may well appear odd to a modern reader, his associations in fact cover the same broad range as those of his contemporaries. Interestingly enough, he seldom used the word "Rhythmus" as such. Instead, from a very early stage, he used specific physiological rhythms as models, as R.C. Zimmermann explains.¹ Zimmermann shows that Goethe was much influenced during his Frankfurt convalescence and early Strassburg days by alchemic writings in the Hermetic tradition;² and that he drew from them, amongst many other things, the idea of expansion and contraction as a rhythmic principle discernible throughout the universe: sometimes as diastole and systole, sometimes a pulse-beat, sometimes as breathing in and out.³ For Goethe, these ideas had precisely the kind of sensuous impact and universal applicability which he found so woefully lacking in mathematical principles. And as Zimmermann shows, he drew analogies from them freely to describe the dy-

1) Das Weltbild des jungen Goethe; see also Requadt, p.16f., and note 17.

2) Zimmermann explains that the original Hermetic writings(c.3 A.D.) were attributed to one Hermes Trismegistos, an Egyptian of uncertain identity (pp.98ff.,316); and are preserved as Corpus Hermeticum, ed. A.Nock/A. Festugière, Paris 1945ff. Many ideas from them became entangled with later doctrines and philosophies. But though discredited by scholars and by the Church, the Hermetic tradition persisted in alchemy, in medicine, and in the writings of the mystics(pp.98ff.). Goethe met it through his Frankfurt doctor J.F. Metz, who cured him with 'Hermetic' medicaments; and he pursued his study of alchemy very largely within the Hermetic tradition(pp. 47ff.,172ff.)

3) Zimmermann passim; esp.pp.186ff.,195ff.,212f.,224ff.,234f.

namic patterns of emotional experience, religious experience, and artistic creativity.¹

These physiological phenomena are thus not only connected with Goethe's principle of polarity; they would seem to have served throughout his life as models of rhythmic continuity. For instance, Zimmermann cites a very early work in which Goethe uses inhalation and exhalation as analogy for the rhythmic succession of self-assertion and self-surrender in love:

Es ist mit
der Liebe wie mit dem Leben, wie mit dem Athemhohlen. Freylich ziehe ich die Luft in mich; willst du das auch Eigennutz nennen? Aber ich hauche sie wieder aus, und sage mir, wenn du in der Frühlingssonne sitzt, und für Wonne dein Busen stärker athmet, ist das Hauchen nicht eine größere Wonne als das Athemholen, denn das ist Mühe, iens ist Ruhe; und wenn uns die Entzückung manchmal aus voller Brust die Frühlingsluft einziehen macht, so ist es doch nur um sie von ganzen Herzen wieder ausgeben zu dürfen.

2

But we also find him using the same analogy late in life to describe the rhythmic pattern in weather changes:

Ich denke mir die Erde mit ihrem Dunstkreise gleichnisweise als ein großes lebendiges Wesen, das im ewigen Ein- und Ausatmen begriffen ist. Atmet die Erde ein, so zieht sie den Dunstkreis an sich, so daß er in die Nähe ihrer Oberfläche herankommt und sich verdichtet bis zu Wolken und Regen. Diesen Zustand nenne ich die Wasserbejahung; dauerte er über alle Ordnung fort, so würde er die Erde ersäufen. Dies aber gibt sie nicht zu; sie atmet wieder aus und entläßt die Wasserdünste nach oben, wo sie sich in den ganzen Raum der hohen Atmosphäre ausbreiten und sich...verdünnen...Diesen Zustand der Atmosphäre nenne ich die Wasserverneinung.

3

He used both breathing and heartbeat to describe the eye's tendency to organise what it sees in terms of contrasts, regardless of 'objective' colours:

So setzt das Einatmen schon das Ausatmen voraus und umgekehrt; so jede Systole ihre Diastole. Es ist die ewige Formel des Lebens, die sich auch hier äußert.

4

1) Zimmermann, pp.224ff.,236ff.,245ff.

2) Fragment eines Romans in Briefen, [AA 4,p.263], cit. Zimmermann,p.224, Requadt,p.16.

3) Eckermann, Erster Teil, 11/4/1827, AA 24,p.242f.

4) Farbenlehre (Didaktischer Teil), AA 16,p.35.

And when he came to describe the rhythmic pattern of his own mental processes, he drew on all three models, breathing, heartbeat, and pulse:

hatte ich doch

in meinem ganzen Leben, dichtend und beobachtend, synthetisch und dann wieder analytisch verfahren; die Systole und Diastole des menschlichen Geistes war mir, wie ein zweites Atemholen, niemals getrennt, immer pulsierend.

1

'Rhythm' in general is thus almost synonymous for Goethe with the pulse and sequence of life, with physical and physiological movement. However, although Goethe's idea of rhythm is thus so closely bound up with the throb of physical and emotional life, it also involves a notion of order, of the form and pattern built up by a given movement. As Requadt points out, R.M. Browning's essay on Urfaust showed, even at such an early stage, the idea of diastole and systole functioning as "organisierendes Kunstprinzip"² - as a formative, structural, principle, and not merely as a link with the throb of emotion. Arianne, of the Fragment eines Romans in Briefen, is describing not only what it feels like to be in love, but also the characteristic sequence of one's reactions when in love.³ The description of the earth as a "großes lebendiges Wesen, das im ewigen Ein- und Ausatmen begriffen ist", conveys not only an extraordinarily vivid impression of the earth as alive, but also the "pattern of changes" which maintains the continuity of that life;⁴ and the same applies to Goethe's comments on the workings of the eye and of his own mind.

These examples also make clear that the kind of order envisaged in Goethe's idea of rhythm was not regular or symmetrical (like Schiller's notions of "Gleichmaas" and "Ebenmaas"). It was rather a dynamic progression, an alternation of long and short, strong and weak, or "Bejahung" und "Ver-

1) Einwirkung der neuern Philosophie, AA 16, p.874. Cf. also Goethe's comments to the same effect in Tag- und Jahreshefte 1820, AA 11, p.924.

2) 'Über die Struktur des Urfaust', PMLA 68 (1953); cit. Requadt, pp.14ff.

3) AA 4, p.263.

4) Eckermann, 11/4/1827, AA 24, p.242f.; cf. Langer, p.127.

-neinung", as he called it in his meteorological studies. In this respect, his concept of rhythm is very much illuminated by Langer's observations that rhythm is not established by repetition at regular intervals, but by the fact that each stage in a sequence arises from the previous one and itself sets up conditions for the next, so that a continuity is created.¹ For Goethe did indeed avoid any suggestion that rhythm depended on repetition, despite the fact that his favourite models involved repeated beats at more or less regular intervals. Instead, he stressed the rhythmic continuity formed by the evolution of each state in the progression from the previous one: "So setzt das Einatmen schon das Ausatmen voraus und umgekehrt; so jede Systole ihre Diastole."² Science, we are told, proceeds by a similar "Wechselbewegung von Idee zu Erfahrung".³ Far from being mathematical or regular, Goethe's idea of form and order in rhythm seems to have been very much like that of a "pattern of changes" which, Langer suggests, gives continuity to life;⁴ and indeed he himself termed this rhythmic sequence "die ewige Formel des Lebens".⁵

In view of all this, it is not surprising to find that when Goethe specifically discusses musical rhythm, he usually does so in terms which suggest particular ways of moving, feeling and thinking. In the section of his Tonlehre headed 'Rhythmik', Goethe connected musical rhythm directly and explicitly with physical movement, and with the ideas of diastole and systole, arsis and thesis:

Der ganze Körper wird angeregt zum Schritt (Marsch), zum
Sprung (Tanz und Gebärde).
Alle organischen Bewegungen manifestieren sich durch Diastolen und Systolen.
Ein anders ist den Fuß aufheben, ein anders ihn niedersetzen.
Hier erscheint Gewicht und Gegengewicht der Rhythmik.
Arsis, Aufschlag.
Thesis, Niederschlag.
Taktarten: Gleiche. Ungleiche. 6

1) Langer, pp. 126ff.

2) Farbenlehre, AA 16, p. 35.

3) 'Pflanzen und Tiere', AA 17, p. 213.

4) Op.cit., p. 127.

5) Farbenlehre, loc.cit.

6) AA 16, p. 908.

Indeed, in personal life Goethe seems to have become so accustomed to interpreting music in terms of moving figures of an analogous 'Charakter' that he felt somewhat disorientated where this was not possible:

ihre [der neuesten
Komponisten] Arbeiten bleiben keine Musik mehr, sie gehen über das Niveau der menschlichen Empfindungen hinaus, und man kann solchen Sachen aus eigenem Geist und Herzen nichts mehr unterlegen...Doch das Allegro...hatte Charakter. Dieses ewige Wirbeln und Drehen führte mir die Hexentänze des Blocksbergs vor Augen, und ich fand also doch eine Anschauung, die ich der wunderlichen Musik supponieren konnte. ₁

If we appreciate that Goethe identified musical rhythm so closely with physiological movements, we can more readily accept that, like some of his contemporaries, he included the movement of expansion and contraction in his idea of rhythm; and regarded melodic progression up and down the scale as an aspect of musical rhythm.² Goethe was certainly aware that pitch-modulation was not strictly part of rhythm; but he noted at the end of his section on Rhythmik that "diese Bewegungen können für sich betrachtet werden; doch verbinden sie sich notwendig und schnell mit der Modulation."³ Exactly what he had in mind is difficult to grasp. But some light is thrown on the subject by his comments on major and minor modes - where it is clear that he associated the major mode with movement up the scale, and the minor mode with downward progression:

Der Dur-Ton entspringt durch Steigen, durch eine Beschleunigung nach oben, durch eine Erweiterung aller Intervalle hinaufwärts. - Der Moll-ton entspringt durchs Fallen, Beschleunigung hinabwärts, Erweiterung der Intervalle nach unten. ₄

- 1) The general reference is to Romantic composers, and in particular to a quartet by F. Mendelssohn; Eckermann, Erster Teil, 12/1/1827, AA 24, p.199f.
- 2) As we saw, Herder entertained a similar idea in the 4th Wäldchen (see p. 149f. above). This was not published in Goethe's lifetime; but since it was written at about the same time as other Wälder (Gillies, Herder, pp.15ff.), it is possible that Goethe discussed such ideas with Herder in Strassburg - in which case the notion would accord with his own conceptions of diastole and systole already absorbed from Hermetic lore.
- 3) AA 16, p.908.
- 4) Tonlehre, AA 16, p.909f.

In support of this, Goethe cited the example of two chords either side of the base-note C: if one moves up the scale to the intervals of major third and fifth, the result is the chord of C major; whereas if one moves down the scale from the same base-note to the same intervals, the result is the chord of F minor. Major with ascending pitch, and minor with descending pitch, thus appear as complementary opposites; and Goethe suggested that this movement up and down was not only an aspect of rhythm, but the origin of musical rhythm:

Ursprung der Arsis und Thesis in der ganzen Bewegung auf diesem Wege,
also auch der körperlichen Mitwirkung und der Rhythmik.

1

This is one of the points where, for obvious reasons, Goethe differed sharply from professional musicians. He vehemently rejected Zelter's explanation that the minor third was created simply by diminishing the major third;² and insisted that ascending major and descending minor were produced by expansion and contraction of the "sound-monad",³ as though sound itself was a living, rhythmically breathing body.

However, in music as elsewhere rhythm is for Goethe not only the basis for lively movement, but also for a certain form and order. And he seems to have felt that a vivid impression of animated life in art is impossible without a definite rhythmic fundament. His own attempt at 'composition' consisted of a rhythmic scheme for a four-part setting of a psalm, which he hoped would be appropriately completed by Zelter:

Zu dem In te Domine speravi

hätte ich noch ein langes Märchen zu erzählen, wie ich mir...diese Worte in meiner böhmischen Einsamkeit rhythmisch klanglos, aber doch vierpersönlich, um nicht vierstimmig zu sagen, komponiert und keinen angelegentlichern Wunsch gehabt, also diese schönen Worte durch dich musikalisch kommentiert zu hören. 4

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- 1) Tonlehre, AA 16, p.909f. Moser's chapter on 'Goethe und das Tonreich' discusses this point (pp.57ff., esp. p.64f.); but says merely that it comes 'vermutlich' from Rameau's ideas on harmonics. No further ref. is given; and the thinking behind Goethe's idea is not explained.
 - 2) Letter to Zelter, 22/6/1808, WA IV, 20, pp.84ff., incl. Beilage.
 - 3) Letter to Chr.H. Schlosser, 5/5/1815, (Beilage), WA IV, 25, pp.305, 310. See Moser, 'Goethe und die musikalische Akustik', in FS zum 90. Geburtstag s.E. Rochus, Freiherrn von Liliencron, Leipzig 1910, pp.145ff.; also GuM, pp.64, 68; D.Wahl, 'Goethe und Zelter 'damals zu Wiesbaden' ', Jb. der Sammlung Kippenberg, NF I (1963), p.112f.; Blume, GuM pp.71ff.
 - 4) Letter to Zelter, 23/2/1814, WA IV, 24, p.172f.

And in later life, Goethe is said to have been almost fanatically particular about the correct rendering of the rhythmic patterns of a song; since the whole dynamic structure of the piece could be marred or made, and thence the intended mood obscured or fully brought to life, according to the rhythm. When the unfortunate Genast produced an inadequate performance of Jägers Abendlied, Goethe angrily interrupted him and walked about the room gesticulating to give him a better idea of the rhythm:

Gegen Ende des Liedes

sprang er auf und rief: Das Lied singst du schlecht! Dann ging er vor sich hinsummend eine Weile im Zimmer auf und ab und fuhr dann fort...: Der erste Vers sowie der dritte müssen markig...vorgetragen werden, der zweite und vierte weicher...Siehst du so! (indem er scharf markierte:) Da ramm! da ramm! da ramm! da ramm! Dabei bezeichnete er zugleich mit beiden Armen auf und ab fahrend das Tempo und sang dies Da ramm! in einem tiefen Tone.

1

And he once asked Tomaschek, who was a composer rather than^a singer, to sing some poems of his which Tomaschek had set to music, on the grounds:

daß selbst

der geübteste Sänger ein Lied doch nicht so zu beleben wisse, als dessen Tondichter; auch meinte er, daß es nicht so sehr auf die Schönheit des Singorgans dabei ankomme, als vielmehr auf die jedesmalige, an gehöriger Stelle angebrachte Betonung, wodurch erst das Lied seine volle Wirkung tut.

2

In fictional work, this conception of rhythm is drawn upon freely - rhythm is the basis on which, in music, speech and dance, or in any combination of them, a dynamic sequence can be created which suggests analogous ways of moving, thinking and feeling, and generally, in the broadest sense, of proceeding through life. Goethe's 'musical joke' for Herder and the Darmstadt circle, Concerto drammatico, is a lively example. Each stanza has a heading suggesting a musical form and style, or even a time-signature: e.g. choral, Capriccio con Variationi, Allegro con spirito, Allegretto 3/8.³ The

1) Gespräche, E. Genast, Jan 1815, AA 22, p.783.

2) Gespräche, W.J. Tomaschek, 6/8/1822, AA 23, p.220.

3) AA 4, pp.155ff.; see also Beutler's commentary, *ibid.*, pp.1022ff.

words themselves then evoke not only a suitable musical rhythm, but also analogous movements or feelings, and often figures whose characters would fit such movements; such as the "Fille Gentille Bien soignée par Mama" of the Air, or the mixed company (in every sense!) dancing at the Bacchanal of Presto fugato, where the text appropriately disintegrates into syllables imitating the musical rhythm and the dancers' movements:

Mit ! Mit !
 Gesprungen ! Gesungen !
 Alten und Jungen !
 Mit ! Duru ! Mit !

1

For the Musensohn, rhythm is the basis of his own animated movement as well as for his "Liedchen":

So geht's von Ort zu Ort !
 Und nach dem Takte reget,
 Und nach dem Maß beweget
 Sich alles an mir fort.

2

And in Pandora, the smiths' song, introduced as "taktbewegt/Ein kräftiger Hämmerchortanz", has two strong beats to the measure, suggesting their beat on the anvil; the song {of the herdsmen keeps the same basic metre, but greatly varies the number of unstressed syllables per line, so that a different rhythm emerges in support of different attitudes expressed in the text.³

By the same token, particular ways of proceeding through life can suggest an analogous song or dance. The combination of "Empfindung" and "Freiheit" with which Charlotte and the Hauptmann conduct themselves produces mastery in their music-making, and in their joint enterprises a rhythmic coordination analogous to dance:

Es ist mit den Geschäften wie mit dem Tanze; Personen,
 die gleichen Schritt halten, müssen sich unentbehrlich werden.

4

1) Concerto dramatico, AA 4, pp.158,160.

2) AA 1, p.22.

3) AA 6, pp.412,414f.

4) Wahlverwandtschaften, I,8, AA 9, p.68f.; I,6, *ibid.*, p.59.

A similar analogy is developed at some length in the Wanderjahre; when Wilhelm describes the rhythm of his walking, and the journeymen develop from it a song whose artistic richness astonishes the rhythmic, but unmelodic, author:

Mir ist zwar von der Natur, versetzte Wilhelm, eine glückliche Stimme versagt, aber innerlich scheint mir oft ein geheimer Genius etwas Rhythmisches vorzuflüstern, so daß ich mich beim Wandern jedesmal im Takt bewege und zugleich leise Töne zu vernehmen glaube, wodurch denn irgendein Lied begleitet wird, das sich mir auf eine oder die andere Weise gefällig vergegenwärtigt.

Erinnert ihr euch eines solchen, so schreibt es uns auf, sagten jene...Nach kurzem Bedenken ertönte sogleich ein freudiger, dem Wanderschritt angemessener Zweigesang, der, bei Wiederholung und Verschränkung immer fortschreitend, den Hörenden mit hinriß; er war im Zweifel, ob dies seine eigene Melodie, sein früheres Thema, oder ob sie jetzt erst so angepaßt sei daß keine andere Bewegung denkbar wäre...

1

Presently, more of the craftsmen take up the song,

so daß eine vollständige Wandergesellschaft über Berg und Tal dem Gefühl dahin zu schreiten schien, und Wilhelm glaubte nie etwas so Anmutiges, Herz und Sinn Erhebendes vernommen zu haben.

2

Rhythm thus emerges as a universally applicable principle, the basis for analogies between the dynamic patterns perceived in life and the dynamic patterns in any artistic medium. In Wilhelm Tischbeins Idyllen, it is a painting which leads Goethe to draw parallels between the rhythms of life and those of dance and music:

Zierlichste Biegung der Körper, anmutigste Bewegung der äußersten Glieder, augenblickliche Verschlungenheit zweier ...Wesen erinnerten uns an unschätzbaren Zeiten, wo die frohe Hora weichend uns der früheren übergibt, und das Leben, einem Tanzreihen gleich, sich auf das anmutigste wiederholend dahinschwebt...Alles, was uns bewegsam beglückte, Musik, Tanz, und was sonst noch aus mannigfaltigen, lebendig-beweglichen Elementen sich entwickelt, im Kontraste sich trennt, harmonisch wieder zusammenfließt, mag uns wohl beim Anblick dieses Bildes in Erinnerung treten.

3

1) Wanderjahre III,1, AA 8,p.336.

2) Ibid.,p.337.

3) No.XIV, AA 13,p.903f.

And on a similar basis he described the structure of Calderón's drama Tochter der Luft in terms of a dance of ideas, and suggested a parallel with the sequence of contrasts in a light opera:

der Plan liegt klar vor dem Verstand, die Szenen folgen notwendig, mit einer Art von Ballettschritt, welche kunstgemäß wohltut und auf die Technik unserer neuesten komischen Oper hindeutet...die Haupthandlung geht ihren großen poetischen Gang, die Zwischen-szenen, welche menuettartig in zierlichen Figuren sich bewegen, sind rhetorisch, dialektisch, sophistisch.

1

Because of this universal applicability, rhythm often functions as a coordinating force, both in life and in art; and musical rhythm often epitomises this function. In the Regeln für Schauspieler, for instance, Goethe remarks that the actor should combine all the various aspects of his playing in a performance which is 'harmonious' - i.e. which not only appears convincingly 'natural', but also shows the order and pattern in natural behaviour:

Zunächst bedenke der Schauspieler, daß er nicht allein die Natur nachahmen, sondern sie auch idealisch vorstellen solle, und er also in seiner Darstellung das Wahre mit dem Schönen zu vereinigen habe.

Jeder Teil des Körpers stehe daher ganz in seiner Gewalt, so daß er jedes Glied gemäß dem zu erzielenden Ausdruck frei, harmonisch und mit Grazie gebrauchen könne.

2

And earlier, in the Lehrjahre, Goethe had given fictional expression to this idea, making the connection with rhythm explicit. Laertes prefers to act in opera rather than in 'straight' drama, since music's rhythm lends animation to his art and artistic form to the natural means (gesture, speech, movement) by which he depicts life:

ich gebe mich weder für einen großen Schauspieler noch Sänger; aber das weiß ich, daß, wenn die Musik die Bewegungen des Körpers leitet, ihnen Leben gibt, und ihnen zugleich das Maß vorschreibt; wenn Deklamation und Ausdruck schon von dem Compositeur auf mich übertragen werden: so bin ich ein ganz andrer Mensch, als wenn ich im prosaischen Drama das alles erst erschaffen und Takt und Deklamation mir erst erfinden soll.. 3

1) Kunst und Altertum III,3,(1822), AA 14,p.845; cit. Hardy,p.120f.

2) Regeln für Schauspieler,§35f.,AA 14,p.81. On the whole, this work links music with a different aspect of acting - speech and tonal variety - , and it is therefore discussed more fully in later chapters.

3) Lehrjahre II,11,AA 7, p.140.

And rhythm works in this way for the ensemble, as well as for the individual. There is little evidence that Goethe actually used a musical baton to keep his actors in time;¹ but there is plenty to show that he took pains to coordinate their playing by prescribing a rhythm both for their movements and for their speeches. Eduard Genast describes how Goethe visited rehearsals at the Weimar theatre to determine the pace at which the play was to be spoken, and to coordinate the "Gehen und Stehen" of the actors.² And his father records that, when rehearsal of Calderón's Der standhafte Prinz began, Goethe made a scheme to standardise the pauses signified by each punctuation sign, so that all the actors kept to the same rhythm in their speeches; producing for Genast an animated and ordered whole which he could only compare with music:

als sich...nach und nach diese Methode entwickelte, welcher Reiz, welch poetischen Schwung trat endlich in der Rhetorik hervor ! Musik war sie zu nennen.

3

And the idea makes its appearance in Goethe's fictional work too. Rhythm is the basis on which the Wandergesellschaft coordinate not only their music-making, but also their life as a society. When the gigantic St. Christoph is reproached with dragging back the tempo to his own slower pace, he replies that this is the rhythm of his walking, which must be maintained if he is to play his allotted part in the work of the community:

aus meinem Schritt wollt ihr mich bringen, der gemäßigt und sicher sein muß, wenn ich mit meiner Bürde bergauf bergab schreite und doch zuletzt zur bestimmten Stunde eintreffen und euch befriedigen soll. 4

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- 1) E. Craß ('Goethes Beziehungen zur Tonkunst', Sechs Studienabende der Ortsgruppe Leipzig der Goethegesellschaft, Leipzig 1943, p.69) states that Goethe used a "Taktstock" for training the chorus in Die Braut von Messina, and cites the memoirs of the actor P.A. Wolff as source. But Wolff (Die Weilburger Goethe-Funde...Blätter aus dem Nachlaß Pius Alexander Wolffs, ed.H. G. Böhme, Emsdetten 1950, p.81f.) makes no actual mention of Goethe's use of a baton; he says only that "die Weise, wie Goethe eine dramatische Dichtung auf die Bühne brachte, war ganz die eines Kapellmeisters" (loc.cit, p.82). Presumably this is why W.Flemming (Goethe und das Theater seiner Zeit, Stuttgart etc.1968, p.156) dismisses the idea as "albern", though he does not discuss it.
- 2) E. Genast, Aus dem Tagebuch eines alten Schauspielers. Leipzig 1862, pp.78, 87. The book includes the memoirs of his father, Anton, who was a senior member of Goethe's troupe.
- 3) Gespräche, A. Genast, Dezember 1810, AA 22, p.614.
- 4) Wanderjahre III, I, AA 8, p.337.

The rhythmic coordination of the company, even when separate, is epitomised by their singing as they disperse for the night:

ein heiterer Gesang hielt

noch einige Zeit die Gesellschaft für das Ohr zusammen, die dem Blick
bereits auseinander gegangen war. 1

and again, with sharper significance, as they reluctantly part to renew their wanderings on the following day:

Bei dem wiederholenden Chorgesange stand

Lenardo auf und mit ihm alle; sein Wink setzte die ganze Tischgesellschaft in singende Bewegung; die unteren zogen, Sankt Christoph voran, paarweise zum Saal hinaus... 2

This quality of coordinated animation is not necessarily evident to those involved in the "singende Bewegung"; indeed, it is only achieved after some dissent.³ But to those of the company looking over the valley as the journey-men disperse it is both clear and compelling:

der angestimmte Wandergesang

ward immer heiterer und freier; besonders aber nahm er sich sehr gut aus als die Gesellschaft in dem terrassierten Schloßgarten versammelt von hier aus das geräumige Tal übersah, in dessen Fülle und Anmut man sich wohl gern verloren hätte. 4

In Faust, the associations with rhythm cover much the same range; although some are more frequently drawn upon than others. There are, for instance, many cases in which - although rhythm may not be mentioned directly - ways of proceeding through life are made manifest through analogous music and movement, especially through "Schritt" and "Sprung".⁵ As Requadt observes, it was Goethe's consistent habit "innere Wege des Menschen in Bildern zu objektivieren";⁶ many characters reveal themselves in their ways of 'going', and in so going they often also generate a corresponding 'song'.

1) Wanderjahre III, 1, AA 8, p. 338.

2) Ibid., p. 343.

3) Ibid., p. 341f.

4) Ibid., p. 343.

5) Tonlehre, AA 16, p. 908; cf. p. 157 above.

6) Requadt, p. 283; cf. esp. his comments on 'irren', pp. 45ff., 282ff.

Where text, music, and the movements of the singer(s) are thus coordinated by rhythm to depict a way of life, the result may be a fairly realistic picture, as e.g. in the song of the Soldiers in Vor dem Tor as they "ziehen davon" (884ff.), or in the dance of the Peasants, at once a celebration of Easter and a "Sinnentanz"(949ff.,cf.7796). Or we may be presented with a 'symbolic' depiction in which different kinds of 'reality' may be suggested. In the Mummen-schanz, for example, first a conventionalised gallantry(5088ff.,SD 5199ff.), and then a cruder eroticism (5178ff.,5345ff.,5815ff.) - deliberately cultivated by Mephisto(5767ff.) - reveal the Court's 'real' nature in the songs, dances and movements of its 'play'. So far, this could be straightforward theatrical/dramatic technique. But at certain points it becomes apparent that these rhythmically-based parallels between music, movement, and progression through life are part of the work's imagery, even part of its theme. In the Walpurgisnacht, Mephisto comments on human and other ways of 'going' (3863ff.);¹⁾ and the "Zaubergesang" of witches and warlocks epitomises their several ways of going to the Devil:²⁾

HEXENMEISTER. HALBES CHOR.

Wir schleichen wie die Schnecke' im Haus,
Die Weiber alle sind voraus.
Denn, ~~geht~~^{ist} es zu des Bösen Haus,
Das Weib hat tausend Schritt voraus.

ANDRE HÄLFTE:

Wir nehmen das nicht so genau,
Mit tausend Schritten macht's die Frau;
Doch, wie sie auch sich eilen kann,
Mit einem Sprunge macht's der Mann. (3978ff.).

Conversely, a particular attitude, a particular way of proceeding, may generate a particular kind of music. Paris and Helena represent the Greek ideal of beauty conjured up by a European mind; and this time rhythm is mentioned as the basis of their perfection of movement:

1) Requadt, pp.282ff., esp.p.287.

2) Ibid., p.294f.

So wie sie wandeln, machen sie Musik.
 Aus luft'gen Tönen quillt ein Weißnichtwie,
 Indem sie ziehn, wird alles Melodie...
 Das Dünstige senkt sich; aus dem leichten Flor
 Ein schöner Jüngling tritt im Takt hervor. (6444ff.).

And in the finale to the Euphorion scene (9985ff.), the "reichste Fülle des Ausdrucks für alles, was Bewegung heißt",¹ reveals the affinity of the mythical figures of the Greek Chorus with the forces of Nature, epitomised in the orgiastic music and dances of Dionysus evoked in their verse. Each section of the Chorus adopts the movements of the natural phenomenon which suits it best (9992ff.); these activities converge in the harvest and 'dance' of the grape-treaders(10022ff., esp. 10027), and finally culminate in the Dionysian revel:

Und nun gellt ins Ohr der Zimbeln mit der Becken Erzgetöne,
 Denn es hat sich Dionysos aus Mysterien enthüllt;
 Kommt hervor mit Ziegenfüßlern, schwenkend Ziegenfüßlerinnen,
 Und dazwischen schreit unbändig grell Silenus' ohrig Tier.
 Nichts geschont ! Gespaltne Klauen treten alle Sitte nieder,
 Alle Sinne wirbeln taumlich, gräßlich übertäubt das Ohr.

(10030ff.).

Music and movement are thus also connected with the artist's efforts to show, in his own medium, the rhythms and movements analogous to those of life. The Walpurgisnachtstraum is a fleeting parody of art, produced by the "Halbkunst" of the dilettantes; but it works with these same associations. The doggerel verse suggests a repetitive throb and a repetitive sequence for their grotesque song and dance; and Ariel as Chorus-leader is said to 'move' their song with his own:

PUCK: Kommt der Puck und dreht sich quer
 Und schleift der Fuß im Reihem,
 Viele kommen hinterher,
 Sich auch mit ihm zu freuen.

ARIEL: Ariel bewegt den Sang
 In himmlisch reinen Tönen;
 Viele Fratzen lockt sein Klang
 Doch lockt er auch die Schönen. (4235ff.).²

1) Herrmann, p. 348.

2) See esp. Frankenberger, (pp. 11ff.), Requadt (pp. 314ff.), on affinities between Ariel, Puck, Kapellmeister, and Tanzmeister with the Poet figures of the play.

However, it is in the figure of Euphorion that the idea is developed most fully. He is the epitome of poetry(9863), but is described from the first in terms of music and movement:

In der Hand die goldne Leier, völlig wie ein kleiner Phöbus,
Tritt er wohlgemut zur Kante, zu dem Überhang; wir staunen...
Und so regt er sich gebärdend, sich als Knabe schon verkündend
Künftigen Meister alles Schönen, dem die ewigen Melodien
Durch die Glieder sich bewegen...
(9620ff.)

When he actually appears, the rhythms of his movements match, for a brief moment, the throb of parental pride in Faust and Helena:

Seht ihr mich im Takte springen,
Hüpft euch elterlich das Herz. (9697f.).

He then leads the Chorus in song and dance, at first orderly under the eye of Faust and Helena:

Ist nun die Melodie,
Ist die Bewegung recht ? (9747f.)

but gradually dissolving into a wilder progression of mutual attraction and pursuit(9755-9810). Here not only music and movement, but also poetic metre, concur in the depiction of "Überlebendige/Heftige Triebe"(9739f.). Goethe left open the actual music and choreography to be used; but he cast the text in a rhythmic pattern which would serve as basis for both these additional media. Margarethe Bressemer remarks of this section that:

Die Verse des Euphorion sind
unbändig, ungezwungen und mutwillig in ihrem hüpfenden, hastigen Rhythmus,
bald zweihebig, bald dreihebig...

1

And this pattern of two, or three, stressed syllables per line reflects not only the "hüpfen" and "springen"(9711ff.) of Euphorion's movement, and the turbulence of the emotions depicted, but also the physiological rhythms - especially arsis and thesis, "den Fuß aufheben,...ihn niedersetzen" -

1) 'Der metrische Aufbau des Faust II und seine innere Notwendigkeit',
Germanische Studien 105 (1931),p.38f.

which Goethe envisaged as the basis of both "gleiche" and "ungleiche Taktarten" in musical rhythm.¹ The rhythmic link persists even when the dance proper seems to be over, and the Chorus are left below to watch Euphorion's movements (9819ff.). Though they have ceased to move with him, they continue to sing partly in his leaping rhythm (e.g. 9827ff., 9863ff., 9895ff.);² whilst Euphorion adopts their more discursive measure at times (9822ff., 9855ff., 9870ff.), as he sings of the Greek wars and patriotic sacrifice. We thus have a vivid impression of a sympathetic audience 'following' the poet in spirit - until the pause before the Trauergesang, where music takes on somewhat different associations and functions.

However, rhythm is not only the basis for the episodes of "singende Bewegung" in which the nature of various phenomena are manifested. As Requadt points out, several studies of Faust have already observed that rhythm - especially as it appears in diastole and systole - is an important morphological principle in the play.³ He himself, acknowledging his debt to Willoughby and others, takes as the central thesis of his Faust book the idea that this rhythm of diastole and systole governs not only Faust's course through life, but also Gretchen's:

Zuletzt stellt sich der Wechsel von Diastole und Systole als das Beherrschende im Gang der Handlung des ersten Faust heraus, in ihm glaubten wir die das Ganze organisierende Kraft gefunden zu haben... Erst wenn es seine Gegenwart bis in die Bilder einzelner Verse hinein bezeugt, wenn es dazu nicht auf Faust beschränkt bleibt, sondern auch in Gretchen mächtig wird, die gleichsam in diesem Rhythmus auf Faust zugeht, erhält es seinen hohen Rang.

4

But even this does not fully summarise the functions of Goethe's idea of

1) Tonlehre, AA 16, p. 908.

2) See Bressemer, p. 38f.

3) See esp. Requadt, pp. 14ff., where he lists several critics to whom he owes a debt; and p. 20, where he mentions F. Weinhandl's Die Metaphysik Goethes, Berlin 1932, as an earlier German commentary on these points. References are made passim in Requadt to most of these predecessors; cf. esp. refs. to Willoughby's 'Faust: A Morphological Approach', (ed. cit. p. 110), p. 248f.

4) Requadt, p. 60f.; see also p. 25.

rhythm in Faust. As we have seen, Goethe regarded the rhythm of diastole and systole as a universally applicable principle, both in nature and in art; and therefore as a coordinating force. Rhythm is thus not only an artistic principle which Goethe himself applies to show, in Faust and Gretchen, "die Systole und Diastole des menschlichen Geistes".¹ It appears in Faust as the universal principle and coordinating force. It is introduced very early in the work as the basis on which the artist sets up, in his own medium, an animated pattern analogous to that of living things. But, even more crucially, it is presented as the basis on which life in general can be perceived as an animated and orderly continuity; and thence as the basis on which the world can be seen as a coordinated whole, a harmonious cosmos. Rhythm in music, poetry or dance thus has a close and important connection with the animated order of the universe; and musical rhythm especially so, since it is the basis for the further analogy between musical harmony and the harmony of the cosmos.

These relations are first explained in the familiar passage from the Vorspiel auf dem Theater:

Wenn die Natur des Fadens ew'ge Länge,
Gleichgültig drehend, auf die Spindel zwingt,
Wenn aller Wesen unharmon'sche Menge
Verdrießlich durcheinander klingt,
Wer teilt die fließend immer gleiche Reihe
Belebend ab, daß sie sich rhythmisch regt ?
Wer ruft das Einzelne zur allgemeinen Weihe,
Wo es in herrlichen Akkorden schlägt ? (142ff.).

W. Roß interprets this as the Poet's opposition of verbal rhythm to the monotony of life: "er...[vertritt] gegen die Eintönigkeit der menschlichen Verhältnisse das belebende Wechselspiel des Rhythmus".² But given Goethe's view of rhythm as a principle of Nature as well as of art, it would surely

1) Einwirkung der neuern Philosophie, AA 16, p.874. Cf. p. 156 above.

2) 'Vorspiel auf dem Theater und Prolog im Himmel: Eine Anleitung zum genauen Lesen', Wirkendes Wort 12 (1962), p.238.

be more accurate to describe the Poet as bringing out, as demonstrating through his art, the rhythms latent in life. By making his poetic 'imitation' of life rhythmic, the Theaterdichter shows life, too, as a rhythmic "pattern of changes" (to use Langer's term once again); and thus turns monotony into lively continuity: "teilt...Belebend ab, daß sie sich rhythmisch regt"(146f.). And such a pattern of changes is then the basis for 'harmony', both in music and in life - many individual sounds,¹ and many individual lives, are thus brought into a relation of orderly but lively contrast, which shows both the throb and the sequence of living: "ruft das Einzelne zur allgemeinen Weihe,/ Wo es in herrlichen Akkorden schlägt"(148f.).²

And there is an even weightier reason for interpreting rhythm as operating in the world, and not merely in the Poet's language here. For this contrast between the deadness of monotony and the liveliness of rhythmic sequence is not merely the contrast between, for instance, the monotony of prosaic 'reality' and the rhythm of the Poet's verse. It is the crucial difference between Mephisto's view of the universe and the Lord's. Here the observations by Langer and others on the relation between rhythm and repetition become directly pertinent.³ For where the Lord sees recurrent rhythmic patterns, and thence a lively continuity of life associated with cosmic harmony, Mephisto sees only eternal sameness of motion, associated with a kind of nullified music, a meaningless 'Leierton'.

In the Archangels' 'hymn',⁴ in the Prolog im Himmel, Gabriel describes the 'pattern of changes' which constitute the life of the earth - "Paradieseshelle" and "Nacht"(253f.), the surge and regression of the sea(255f.), raging

1) The idea of music as sound uttered by the individual is considered in the following chapter, and so has not been followed up here.

2) The Poet's musical imagery is discussed in detail by Roß, and also by Requadt(p.36f.). Both, however, tend to view rhythm as connected with harmonious relations between the one and the many(Roß, p.238f., Requadt, p.36). This brings out the coordinating, orderly force of rhythm; but omits Goethe's link between rhythm and movement; so the whole complex of imagery loses its association with physical and emotional vitality.

3) Dürr and Gerstenberg, cols.383ff.; Langer, pp.126ff. Cf. pp.141 ff. above.

4) The connection between rhythmic movement and music is made in the imagery of the text, rather than through choice of medium; so the question of whether this hymn is spoken or sung does not affect what is said here.

storms and "das sanfte Wandeln deines Tags"(266), and the alternation of rock and sea as the earth ceaselessly turns(257f.). Requadt describes these changes as simply "Dissonanzen des Irdischen" in the cosmic harmony; but, as he himself remarks, it is precisely from them that the movement of this cosmos derives:

Wenn auch die Ewigkeit und Unabänderlichkeit dieser Ordnung keinen Zweifel duldet, denn die Sonne vollendet "nach alter Weise" ihre "vorgeschriebene Reise"(V.245f.), so bilden sie doch keine statische Ordnung ab, sondern ein Ganzes, dessen Schönheit davon herrührt, daß es spannungsreich ist...

1

It is, after all, the Archangels who emphasise the eternal and unchanging aspects of the cosmos, which they praise as "wie am ersten Tag", but do not understand(248ff.,267ff.). The Lord himself 'corrects' this static emphasis when he refers them to their own complementary opposite, "das Werdende, das ewig wirkt und lebt"; and bids them include in their "dauernden Gedanken" all things which live, move and change, and are thus "in schwankender Erscheinung"(345ff.). In many ways, it seems more accurate to view these changes not merely as "Dissonanzen" or "Spannungen", but as the very rhythms of cosmic life, which govern its movements and generate its harmony. As Requadt points out, the juxtaposition of this scene with the Vorspiel, in which "der Theaterdichter sein Amt darin sah, gleichsam als kleiner Gott den Ablauf des Lebens rhythmisch zu artikulieren und zur Harmonie zu steigern", suggests parallels between the Lord and the Theaterdichter. If the Prolog appears as a creation of the Poet (inasmuch as it begins the play on which the latter is encouraged to embark(215ff.)), it also suggests that the Lord orders the cosmos as the Poet orders his creation - i.e. rhythmically, albeit on a scale far beyond the latter's perception.² Such rhythm

1) Requadt, p.41.

2) Ibid., p.40f.

is even more clearly evident in the figure of Faust. Even Mephisto describes him as moving in a constant pattern of contrasts:

Vom Himmel fordert er die schönsten Sterne
Und von der Erde jede höchste Lust,
Und alle Näh' und alle Ferne
Befriedigt nicht die tiefbewegte Brust. (304ff.).

If, as Requadt contends, Faust's movement through life is to be viewed not merely as "spannungsreich" and 'dissonant', but as rhythmic, it seems reasonable to apply this term to the movements of the Lord's universe, too.

It is precisely this rhythm, and its connection with continuity of life and with cosmic harmony, which Mephisto negates, thereby contradicting the Lord's (and the Poet's) view of life. For he insists on regarding the course of the world, and of human life in particular, as based not on rhythm, with its connotations of constructive and animated pattern, but on mere repetition. The element of meaningful continuity is thus removed from life; the movement which remains is neither beautiful nor purposeful, but a kind of futile agitation with no form, and to no end, other than exhaustion and destruction. For Mephisto, everything is "so wunderlich als wie am ersten Tag"(282). As Roß puts it, "Was ihm auffällt, ist das ewige Einerlei, die bleiernde Monotonie des Sinnlosen, kräftig in den Zikadenvergleich gefaßt".¹ Man's movement through life becomes an agitated up-and-down; and the non-rhythm thus set up produces a music which negates life rather than enhances it:

Er scheint mir, mit Verlaub von Euer Gnaden,
Wie eine der langbeinigen Zikaden,
Die immer fliegt und fliegend springt
Und gleich im Gras ihr altes Liedchen singt. (287ff.).

Such negations of life's rhythms, and thence of its movement as purposeful or of its music as significant, recur at intervals throughout the play. When Faust is thoroughly disillusioned, and for the moment sees life in Mephisto's

1) Roß, p. 241.

perspective, similar imagery is used:

Was kann die Welt mir wohl gewähren ?
Entbehren sollst du ! sollst entbehren !
Das ist der ewige Gesang,
Der jedem an die Ohren klingt,
Den, unser ganzes Leben lang,
Uns heiser jede Stunde singt. (1548ff.).

Requadt points out that Gretchen's song "Meine Ruh' ist hin" has something of this too, in the repetitive refrain, and in her singing to the rhythm of the spinning-wheel's ceaseless turning as she expresses her inability to appreciate life now that Faust is absent: "Die ganze Welt/Ist mir vergällt" (3380f.).¹ And the idea appears again in the "schlechte Litanei" of Sorge in Part II, when she blots out perception of the normal rhythms of the universe:²

Wen ich einmal mir besitze,
Dem ist alle Welt nichts nütze;
Ewiges Düstre steigt herunter,
Sonne geht nicht auf noch unter...(11453ff.).

Appropriately, however, such dreary music and movement are usually superintended by Mephisto himself. The initial idea of Man as "Zikade", for instance, is elaborated somewhat - not only in songs where Mephisto compares Man to other creatures which jump about and are destructive in a small way (Rattenlied, Flohlied),³ but also in the Chor der Insekten (Zikaden, Käfer und Farfarellen) (SD 6592), who dance and sing to welcome him as their 'father' to the Hochgewölbtes Enges Gothisches Zimmer, and are despatched to nibble away at the mouldering apparatus from which Faust once hoped to learn so much (6592ff.). Where Mephisto does present the world as rhythmic, and thence as animated, orderly and harmonious, he is creating an illusion,

1) Requadt, p.272.

2) Stöcklein, Wege zum späten Goethe, (2nd ed.), p.146.

3) Cf. Requadt, p.204.

a deliberate deception - as in the "Zauberspiel" of the Geister auf dem Gange, for example (1446ff.), or in the spectacle of Paris and Helena, where he bids the Astrologer simulate the movements of the cosmic harmony:

Du kennst den Takt, in dem die Sterne gehn,
Und wirst mein Flüstern meisterlich verstehn. (6401f.).

His assertions of life's monotony and futility finally reach a climax at the end of Faust's life. His own speeches in Grosser Vorhof des Palasts deny the value of all creative activity, Faust's included, in face of the repetitive sameness of death:

Wie man's für unsre Väter tat,
Vertieft ein längliches Quadrat (11527f.),

and negate the very pulse of life:

Vorbei und reines Nicht, vollkommenes Einerlei !
Was soll uns denn das ew'ge Schaffen !
Geschaffenes zu nichts hinwegzuraffen !...
Es ist so gut, als wär' es nicht gewesen,
Und treibt sich doch im Kreis, als wenn es wäre.
Ich liebte mir dafür das Ewig-Leere. (11597ff.).

And they are reinforced by the rhythms, movements and songs of the Lemuren (11511ff.). Their appearance as half-decayed bodies¹ and minds (11516, 11521f.) is a visual memento mori which contradicts his assertion of immortality (11583f.); their doggerel rhythms and their movements (schlotternd, neckische Gebärden, 11512, SD 11531) as they dig his grave, contradict Faust's inward image of living workmen digging for the benefit of later generations, and his assertions of significant activity (11499ff., 11539ff., 11559ff); and their repetition of the gravedigger's songs from Hamlet² in this context serves to

1) Trunz draws attention to the connection with Goethe's essay Der Tänzerin Grab (Trunz, p. 617); [=Sendschreiben des Herrn Geheimen Rats von Goethe an den Herrn Rat und Direktor Sickler über dessen neu entdecktes Griechisches Grabmal bei Cumae, AA 13, pp. 627ff.].

2) Trunz, pp. 617, 620.

underline Mephisto's comment on the repetitious sameness of death and burial, and to assert death's negation of the songs and animated movements which typify life and youth(11531ff.).

However, this negative view of life does not remain unchallenged. Not only Part I, but also Part II, begins with a depiction of cosmic harmony,¹ this time seen from the earth. For present purposes, it is the imagery of the scene which is especially interesting; for, like Gabriel's stanza in the Archangels' hymn, it deals with the rhythms of life on the earth, with the 'pattern of changes' which maintains the animation and continuity of the Natural world, and thus restores and re-establishes Faust in the rhythms of his own life.² Led by Ariel, the spirit of air, the "luft'gen Kreis" of the Nature spirits enlist the elements in order, to restore Faust's capacity for living(4628ff.). The four watches of the night follow in sequence (4634ff.); which bring not only rest, slumber, anticipation and awakening for Faust, but also for the earth. This is the sequence which brings each season in its turn after the other, and thus brings "der Blüten Frühlings-regen"(4613) to harvest:

Täler grünen, Hügel schwellen,
Buschen sich zu Schattenruh;
Und in schwanken Silberwellen
Wogt die Saat der Ernte zu. (4654ff.).³

And this sequence takes its course within the larger-scale rhythmic movement of the other planets, perceived for a time whilst movement on earth is stilled(4642ff.). Repetition carries no negative associations here - on the contrary, it is the constant recurrence of this nightly pattern which

1) Cf. Trunz, p.533; Paul Friedländer, p.17f.

2) Kurt May, Form und Bedeutung, p.138; Faust II. Teil, ed.cit.p.9.

3) Cf. P. Friedländer, p.17f.

ensures that "Nacht" becomes "Paradieseshelle"(253f.,4694), that seed and blossom become fruit, and that the sun daily reappears on its "vorgeschriebene Reise", so that both the animation and the continuity of life on earth are maintained, as Faust's monologue affirms. The "Beständigkeit" of the earth,¹ "auch diese Nacht", renews the pulse of life, the life-giving diastole and systole of breathing:

Des Lebens Pulse schlagen frisch lebendig,...
Du, Erde, warst auch diese Nacht beständig
Und atmet neu erquickt zu meinen Füßen... (4679ff.).

And in Faust, too, both animation and continuity are renewed:

Beginnest schon, mit Lust mich zu umgeben,
Du regst und rührst ein kräftiges Beschließen,
Zum höchsten Dasein immerfort zu streben. (4683ff.).

It is these rhythms of natural life which generate a 'natural' music - the 'song of the earth' which the Elves, as Nature spirits,² sing to the accompaniment of Aeolian harps, instruments played by a natural element, the wind. This is no monotone, but a richly varied pattern: "Chor. Einzelnen, zu zweien und vielen, abwechselnd und gesammelt"(SD 4634). The full cosmic harmony is imperceptible from the earth - what Raphael perceived as "Donnergang"(246) appears here as unbearable "Getöse"(SD 4666). But the lesser harmony of the natural forces on the earth is made clearly audible in the songs of the Elves.

In the Meeresfest, too, we have a spectacle of the 'patterns of change' which constitute and maintain organic life. Just as for Faust "des Lebens Pulse schlagen frisch lebendig", so also Homunculus enters upon organic life "von Pulsen der Liebe gerührt"(8468). But there is continuity here as

1) Cf. Herrmann, p.131.

2) Both May and Trunz draw attention to the musical terminology originally used for the four watches of the night: Serenade, Notturmo, Matutino, Reveille (May, F. in der Sprachform, ed. cit. p.14; Trunz, p.533). The omission of these titles shifts the emphasis from the idea of an artistic order to that of a natural order.

well as animation. The Cabiri, as "sehnsuchtsvolle Hungerleider/Nach dem Unerreichlichen"(8204f.), and Proteus as deity of transformation, epitomise the urge to constant change and development from one form to another. But this is not merely chaotic instability, as is emphasised by the patterns in which these figures move. As Paul Friedländer points out, the idea of movement in a circle - which under the auspices of Mephisto carries negative associations of monotony and futility¹ - here receives a strongly positive connotation of orderly and lively progression. The figures are grouped "Kreis um Kreis"(8380), the dolphins of Galatea's chariot move "in kreisenden Schwunges Bewegung"(8427), and the final paean to the elements is a "Chorus der sämtlichen Kreise"(SD 8444).² So just as Faust, reincorporated into the natural order, resumes his "streben" "zum höchsten Dasein", so also Homunculus embarks upon his orderly development in the natural world:

Da regst du dich nach ewigen Normen
Durch tausend, abertausend Formen (8324f.).

And once again, the idea of repetition here carries no overtones of monotony or futility. It is precisely^y the annual recurrence of this festive 'occasion' which maintains the love between the element and the forms which emerge from it(8426ff., esp. 8430f.); and thence the constant circulation of water from the ocean which maintains life on earth(8438ff.). Indeed, it is the pre-ordained sequence appropriate to the festival(8034ff., 8135ff., 8283ff., 8359ff.) which provides the vital setting for the "neues Geheimnis"(8464) of Homunculus' inception. Negative associations here are attached only to unchanging permanence - as when Nereus echoes Mephisto's mockery of human beings:

Gebilde, strebsam, Götter zu erreichen,
Und doch verdammt, sich immer selbst zu gleichen.(8096f.),

and refuses permanent immortality to the Schifferknaben(8404ff.).

1) E.g. "im engen Zirkeltanz"(2164); "im Kreise drehen"(4154); "treibt sich doch im Kreis"(11602).

2) Friedländer, p.82.

However, it is Faust's course through life which is the chief subject of the work, within the framework of the debate between the Lord and Mephisto; and the finale of Part II is thus of particular interest. Here, even more than in the Vorspiel, it becomes clear that we should not simply equate rhythm with balance and harmony, as Roß and Requadt tend to do.¹ For apart from the briefest of moments - such as the "heilige Töne" which surround him after his Easter walk(1202), or the illusory coordination of thought and deed in his final speech(11559ff.) - Faust has remained disharmonious to the end. The Lord of the Prolog promises to lead Faust into "Klarheit" (309) not because he is harmonious, but because he is constantly on the move in his quest for truth and understanding, although this leads him into error. Faust's "Irren", as Requadt demonstrates convincingly and at length, is not presented as mere meandering, but as "das rechte Wandern", the only pattern in which Man can move forward: "Es irrt der Mensch, solange' er strebt"(317).² Faust's capacity for continuity of life after death, despite Mephisto's "Vorbei", derives rather from his capacity as "Liebender"(11751) to maintain the patterns of change, the Irren and Streben, which constitute the rhythms of his life, as Stöcklein remarks:

Gerade in den gewaltigen Stößen seines Lebensrhythmus entlädt sich seine entelechische Kraft, die dadurch im Laufe eines Lebens nur zugenommen zu haben scheint...Welche Veränderung, als der rhythmische Pulsschlag dieses Lebens nach dem Tode in eine helle Welt hinübergetragen wird...! Auch in diesem Bereich schwingt jener Rhythmus zwischen Denken und Tun fort, aber er ist hier gelinde und lebenspendend geworden, wie Ein- und Ausatmen... Und zwischen Schauen und Wachen bewegt sich jener Rhythmus fort und führt alle Gestalten dieses Bereiches zu immer höheren Kreisen. 3

Despite the slightly hymnic tone of his comment, which is a little misleading, Stöcklein has an important point here. For in Bergschluchten we are

1) Roß, p.238, Requadt, p.36; cf. p.171 above, *note 2*.

2) Requadt, pp.44ff., 148, 282ff., and passim.

3) Op.cit., p.160f.

not shown a complete cosmic harmony, a cosmic equivalent of the 'terrace' perspective in the Wanderjahre.¹ Instead, as in Anmutige Gegend and in the Meeresfest, we are shown the "singende Bewegung" which demonstrates the 'ways' of life in this realm of beings moving towards "Klarheit". Animated by "die ewige Liebe", they too move in lively and orderly 'circles';² especially the Selige Knaben, (um die höchsten Gipfel kreisend(SD 11926), in Kreisbewegung sich nähernd (SD 12076)), who bid one another:

Hände verschlinget
Freudig zum Ringverein,
Regt euch und singet
Heil'ge Gefühle drein ! (11926ff.),

and who are sent on their way by the Pater Seraphicus with the injunction: "Steigt hinan zu höhern Kreise"(11918). Thanks to the liberating ministration of "die Liebe gar von oben", Faust is incorporated into these ways of living - and moves first in accordance with the Selige Knaben (11979ff.), but finally in accordance with Gretchen, from 'Kreis' to 'Kreis':

Komm ! hebe dich zu höhern Sphären !
Wenn er dich ahnet, folgt er nach. (12094f.).

1) Wanderjahre III,1,AA 8,p.343; cf.p.165 above.

2) Friedländer,p.82.

In their preface to a collection of essays entitled Musik und Verstehen, P. Faltin and H.-P. Reinecke point out that much of the continuing debate on the nature of music is bedevilled not only by diversity of thought and terminology in critical approaches to music, but also by the imprecision of the term 'understand' when applied to music. Do we regard music as "abstraktes "Gebilde", eine Welt sui generis"; or as "konkreter Prozeß, untrennbar eingewoben in andere prozessuale Relationen" ? In either case, how far can music be regarded as 'communication', and thus compared with language:

Handelt es sich bei Musik um eine "Mitteilung" im engeren Sinne bzw. was wird hier denn kommuniziert ? Einige Autoren legen einen beschränkten Sprach-Begriff zugrunde und kommen zu einer Verneinung der Frage, während die Auffassung musikalischer Kommunikation als "Sprache" in einem verallgemeinerten Sinn zu positiveren Antworten führt. Die musikalischen Codes werden teils als grundverschieden, teils aber als denen der verbalen Rede in gewisser Hinsicht ähnlich angesehen.

1

In eighteenth-century Germany such questions were much discussed, though obviously with somewhat different concepts and terminology; and since they formed an important part of Goethe's attitude to music, they must now be considered in more detail. There were, indeed, those who regarded music as unrelated to 'communication' in any significant sense. Mizler, for instance, suggested that music was superior to language because it was a self-contained form based entirely on mathematical proportion, whereas language had to take account of local convention and empirical experience.² There were

1) Musik und Verstehen, Köln 1973, p.8f.

2) See J. Birke, Christian Wolffs Metaphysik und die zeitgenössische Literatur- und Musiktheorie, p.76.

also those who regarded music as a series of sensuous effects which had little or nothing to do with any form of expression.¹ And Hiller, in particular, threw doubt on the analogy between music and expressive utterance:

Die Melodie des Solo oder Concerts...ist nicht so wohl ein nachgeahmter Gesang der Leidenschaften und des Herzens, als vielmehr eine nach der Beschaffenheit des Instruments...eingerichtete künstliche Verbindung der Töne, von deren Richtigkeit man mehr die Kunst als die Natur muß urtheilen lassen.

2

Nevertheless, the idea that music communicated something, at least, had very powerful appeal; not only for many eighteenth-century thinkers and writers, but also for the general public. Indeed, in most instances it seems to have been taken for granted; debate was focussed rather on the question of whether, and how far, music was like language in its communication. Ideas on the subject were complex, and sometimes confused; and for present purposes it is convenient to consider them in two groups: firstly, ways in which music and language were envisaged as closely analogous; and secondly, ways in which music and language were regarded as dissimilar, though often as complementary, modes of communication. The full range of Goethe's concept of the relation between music and language, and an overall view of points in which he was like or unlike his contemporaries, will only begin to emerge when both groups are taken into consideration. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to separate them here - for these two aspects of music carried rather different connotations, and could therefore be drawn upon to rather different ends in literature.

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- 1) See esp. Goldschmidt, who cites many instances of this view (e.g. pp. 10, 24, 60ff., 131ff., and *passim*). However, his account is very misleading when he discusses J. Adolf Schlegel's translation of Batteux [Herrn Abt Batteux Einschränkung der schönen Künste auf einen einzigen Grundsatz, Leipzig 1759; see Serauky, *MGG* 1, cols. 1411ff.], since he attributes it to J. E. Schlegel (e.g. pp. 69, 133ff.), and relates it to the latter's work on imitation in art [See Goldschmidt, pp. 131ff., and E. M. Wilkinson, Johann Elias Schlegel, Oxford 1945, 2nd ed. Darmstadt 1973, which has a more accurate list of Schlegel's works, p. 142f.]. The controversy over music and expressiveness was itself confused enough. Only a few years after Rousseau apostrophised Italian music as the supreme expression of feeling, the Piccinists attacked Gluck for making music subservient to emotional expressiveness (Ottaway, pp. 35ff., Lowinsky, p. 202f.). See Goethe's comments ~~on~~ Rameaus Neffe, 'Musik', *AA* 15, p. 1039f.
- 2) *Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik*, p. 536f.

1) Music, especially Melody, as Identified with Language

Horst Petri's study of "Form- und Strukturparallelen" between literature and music points out that an important aspect of the rapprochement between music and language in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries¹ has been an exchange of forms and structures, such as sonata, fugue, leitmotif, and variation on a theme, which evolve in one art and can then be borrowed for use in the other.² But his survey of "das Wort-Ton Verhältnis" in general implies very strongly that this was not always the case; until the song-settings of the Romantic composers,³ relations between music and language were thought of much less in terms of overall structure than in terms of what one might call texture.⁴ Attention was concentrated on musical sound and on language as media, rather than on the art-forms of music and literature; on details of what was conveyed by a particular passage, rather than on comparison of formal wholes. Petri discusses a number of attempts to connect the two media by focussing on written language and written music.⁵ But the eighteenth-century attitude is much easier to grasp if one concentrates on spoken language, and on music as sung or played rather than written down. For the idea of music as a language seems to have come to prominence with the idea of music as 'voice', especially as the voice of feeling. Because the voice is both a vehicle for expression in speech and a vehicle for music, it becomes a focal point wherever music and language are compared.

1) His chief examples come from Thomas Mann, Joyce, Celan and Jahn on the literary side, and from E.T.A. Hoffmann, Wagner, Berio, Cage and Stockhausen on the musical side.

2) Literatur und Musik, Göttingen 1964, pp. 24ff., 43ff., 51ff., 57ff.

3) Ibid., pp. 11ff., esp. p. 21.

4) Petri's own terms are not very helpful here; he speaks of the "äußeren Kongruenz von Sprache und Musik" (p. 20).

5) His examples range from the eleventh century to Stravinsky and Stockhausen (pp. 13ff.); cf. also his discussion of the score as graphic form (pp. 68ff.).

There is, of course, a considerable difference between the voice as expressive of thought and feeling, and the voice as part of music, as Langer observes:

As long as direct pathos, springing from emotions of the moment, predominates in vocal utterance, the voice may be wailing or crooning or jubilating ever so freely, but it is not singing. Music begins only when some formal factor - rhythm or melody - is recognized as a framework within which accent and intonation are elements in their own right, not chance attributes of individual speech...As soon as syllables are fixed on a definite pitch, the breath has to be sustained,...and the sound of the utterance, rather than the discourse, becomes the notable phenomenon.

1

Where a performer confuses artistic expression with self-expression, the performance is likely to be distorted rather than enhanced, because it loses shape in favour of vivid detail:

Where music serves the primary purpose of direct emotive expression, the feeling of utterance is not altogether controlled...but is confused by unmusical gesture that is only imperfectly assimilated to the process of tone production. As a result, the dynamic stresses in every passage are exaggerated...; the effect is "romantic" in the bad sense.

2

Nevertheless, the listener with a preconceived idea of music as the medium of feeling is constantly tempted to ignore this distinction; because the voice tends to keep for him its association with human feeling, even when it is 'the instrument of art'.³ Furthermore, such a listener tends to regard the singing voice not merely as chief instrument, but as the model for all music - instrumental music must attain "the expressiveness of song, the sound of direct utterance," "voice".⁴ The player - especially the solo player - becomes the equivalent of the singer; and he too can blur the

1) Feeling and Form, p.142. Cf. also R. Peacock, The Art of Drama, pp.121ff.

2) Langer, p.139f.

3) Ibid., p.141.

4) Ibid., p.144. It is difficult to accept Langer's suggestion that all "other sources of tone [than the voice] are somewhat schematic and lifeless until they attain...the semblance of singing" (p.144). As she herself points out, instruments greatly exceed the voice in "flexibility, ..distinctness, ..tonal and rhythmical accuracy", and in range of pitch (p.143); and even further scope is now available through the use of electronic equipment. Many composers are clearly not working towards a semblance of song - cf. the scores by Cage and others designed as visual forms (cit. Petri, pp.68ff.); and Stockhausen's idea of the score as "Entwurfsschrift", a text indicating the form and dynamics of the piece, but leaving details of pitch, duration, timbre, etc. to the performer (Petri, *ibid.*).

distinction between artistic expression and self-expression, and suggest personal involvement and utterance.¹

Such factors were influential in eighteenth-^{en}~~century~~ thinking, as we shall see. But the tendency to think of music and language as analogous, even as virtually identical for many purposes, was also of long and prestigious standing. From the Greeks onwards, poetry and song were closely identified. The Greek term mousike "comprised both the music and the verse", since poetry was usually sung, since the singer was frequently also both poet and composer, and since instrumental music remained for a long time subservient to the voice part.² A distinction between music and poetic language, at least, became necessary only when instrumental music showed signs of developing independently. The HDM suggests that this happened in the fifth century B.C.;³ but even in Plato's Republic (fourth century B.C.) the separation of music and poetry is incomplete, and the separate development of instrumental music is regarded as dubious and better checked.⁴

One can see immediately from Plato's discussion how closely the idea of music as a language follows upon the idea that both music and poetry deal with the irrational. The obvious feature which distinguishes language from music is the capacity of language to convey precise ideas and rational argument. Where language is not concerned with clear ideas and with rational argument, but with matters unreasonable or not fully amenable to reason, as in poetry, Plato clearly feels that it has more in common with music than with other kinds of language, and seeks to restrain both poetry and music in a similar way. His discussion of poetry includes a mention of suitable

1) Langer, p. 145.

2) HDM, pp. 351ff.

3) Ibid, p. 352.

4) III, 397ff., ed. cit., pp. 83ff.

settings; and his remarks on subjects and styles apt for poetry are accepted as valid for song-texts too.¹ He treats music as though it were a language with specific content and an unusually wide range of sound-effects: commending modes which will "fittingly represent the tones and accents of a brave man in warlike action", and which will "best express the accents of courage in the face of stern necessity and misfortune"; and rejecting "metres which are expressive of meanness, insolence, frenzy, and other such evils."² Aristotle uses similar terminology: he prefers, for educational purposes, "the modes...which express character best", and rejects the aulos because "it does not express a state of character, but rather a mood of religious excitement".³

All this does not of course imply that Plato and Aristotle confused music with language. Only certain types of language were assimilated to music; and Aristotle in particular mentions that music can work upon mind and body in several ways, of which the expressive is only one.⁴ Nevertheless, both writers for their own purposes focus attention on areas where music and language are envisaged as similar; partly because they are writing at a time when poetry and music are not yet fully separated, but chiefly because they emphasise the dividing-line between rational and non-rational language so very much more strongly than they emphasise the dividing-line between poetry and music. And this implied homogeneity of music and poetry is further reinforced by their stated preference in musical style. They advocate a simple manner which will support the simpler and more restrained language which they wish their poet/composers to use; and their preferred instruments are consequently those suitable for playing simple melodic accompaniments to the voice.⁵ Indeed, they mistrust technical virtuosity on an instrument; their

1) Republic III,396ff.,III,400ff.,ed.cit.pp.82ff. Cf. II,382f.,III,387ff., ed.cit.pp.73ff.

2) III,399ff.,ed.cit.p.85f.

3) Politics, VIII,vi,f,ed.cit.pp.347ff.,esp.p.351.

4) E.g. the grouping of music with sleep and drink as means to relaxation or stimulus, VIII,v, ed.cit.p.340.

5) Republic III,397ff.,ed.cit.pp.83ff.; Politics VIII,vi,ed.cit.p.347.

model of music is vocal music, with the singing voice envisaged not as an instrument of virtuoso performance, but as a vehicle for coordinated expression through the combined media of words and music. Plato emphasises that when both media are coordinated in simple vocal expression, music is given a definite meaning and purpose which prevents it from working too freely on the feelings; whilst words acquire a charming sound and an exciting rhythm which help the young, in particular, to digest the gravity of their sense.¹ And for similar reasons, Aristotle prefers instruments which allow the player to use his voice at the same time.²

A definite ideal of music emerges from these discussions: simple in style; primarily melodic; vocal or closely modelled on the singing voice; and expressive of feeling and experience. And this ideal was also admired by eighteenth-century commentators on music; although as might be expected it was usually advocated on somewhat different grounds, and reinforced by ideas of later origin. Its popularity is at first sight surprising, when we consider that the first half of the eighteenth century saw the heyday of Barock polyphony, and the second half the quite extraordinary and rapid flowering of instrumental virtuosity in symphonic and chamber music. But although there are some very unexpected voices in this camp,³ the most persistent champions of this view of music were after all non-musicians (such as Herder), amateurs (such as Rousseau), or composers reacting against virtuosity in the interests of expression of feeling (such as C.P.E. Bach). Nonetheless, the strength and tenacity with which this view persisted make it a force to be reckoned with. The eighteenth-century preoccupation with feeling and its expression seems to have influenced attitudes to music so profoundly that it was very difficult to speak of music without some kind of reference to language - and to ancient times when music and poetry were one.

1) Republic III, 400ff., ed. cit. pp. 88ff.

2) Politics VIII, vi, ed. cit. p. 347.

3) See e.g. p. 196f. below.

The writers who most consistently looked back to Greek unity of poetry and music were of course Hamann and Herder; with their emphasis on the common origins of poetry and music in song, their concern to develop the sound-value of words in poetry, and to assimilate poetic language to song in order to express human feeling more fully. Hamann uses visual and tactile rather than sonic imagery to make his points, and finds the "Leyer" too tame for his Muse.¹ But he too wishes poetry to return to "Gesang" rather than "Deklamation";² and praises Klopstock as "dieser große Wiederhersteller des lyrischen Gesanges".³ Sometimes he envisages poetry as developing from song:

Es giebt...

Striche [in Curland und Liefeland], wo man das lettische oder undeutsche Volk bey aller ihrer Arbeit singen hört, aber nichts als eine Kadenz von wenig Tönen, die mit einem Metro viel Ähnlichkeit hat. Sollte ein Dichter unter ihnen aufstehen: so wäre es ganz natürlich, daß alle seine Verse nach diesem eingeführten Maßstab ihrer Stimmen zugeschnitten sein würden.

4

At other times, song is envisaged as developing from poetry (in this case Klopstock's):

[ich] traue...diesem Autor eine so tiefe Kenntnis seiner Muttersprache...zu, daß sein musikalisches Sylbenmaß einem Sänger, der nicht gemein sein will, zum Feierkleide der lyrischen Dichtkunst am angemessensten zu sein scheint.

5

But in both cases the tendency for music and poetry to be assimilated to one another, discussed in the same terms, and modelled on the voice, is clear enough. Phrases such as "lyrisches Gesang", "Sänger", etc.,⁶ blur the borderline between poetry and music, and suggest sonorous forms of utterance having all the charm of both media. Nor is this ideal confined to lyric poetry. Hamann praises Rousseau's style in La Nouvelle Héloïse because it

1) Aesthetica in Nuce, Sämtliche Werke, ed. J. Nadler, Wien 1950, II, p.197.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid., p.215.

4) Ibid., p.215f.

5) Ibid., note 61.

6) Ibid.

renders so well the quality of sensuous passion, despite all Rousseau's own qualms about the excesses of "die geschriebene Musik der Affektensprache".¹

Herder pursued these ideas even more ardently, wherever poetic language was concerned with rendering feeling.² He admired the greater emotional sensitivity of ancient peoples: "ein rohes, einfältiges, aber tiefer fühlendes Volk", and their sensitivity to melodic tone; although he deplored what he called "dunkle Stellen" and "Übertreibungen" in the attitude of those who sought to restrain the force of music by confining it to specific subjects (and he seems to allude directly to imitations of the Republic here):

So ists mit der Musik der Völker, die ihre Töne an gewisse Ideen, und ihre Accente an gewisse Subjekte festgebunden hatten; die ihren Gesang des Krieges und der Eintracht, ihren Ton des Zorns und der Liebe, ihre Melodien der Weisheit und des Lasters besaßen. In diesen würden wir freilich manche Uebertreibungen finden: Uebertreibungen in den Aegyptern, ... Uebertreibungen in den Pythagoräern, die aus solchen Verhältnissen die Welt erklärten - Uebertreibungen in den Platonikern, die Politische Romane für den Staat daher schuffen.

3

In the hope that Germans might re-discover the poetic expression of feeling, he recommended the re-discovery of the stage of language "da man noch nicht sprach, sondern tönete"; so that the German language might retrace the development of primitive language towards a "Poetische Periode":

der Gesang

der Sprache floß lieblich von der Zunge herunter, ... und sauselte in die Ohren... man sang im gemeinen Leben, und der Dichter erhöhte nur seine Accente in einem für das Ohr gewählten Rhythmus: die Sprache war sinnlich, und reich an kühnen Bildern: sie war noch ein Ausdruck der Leidenschaften...

Die beste Blüthe der Jugend in der Sprache war die Zeit der Dichter... da es noch keine Schriftsteller gab, so verewigten sie die merkwürdigsten Thaten durch Lieder: durch Gesänge lehrten sie, und in den Gesängen waren nach der damaligen Zeit der Welt Schlachten und Siege, Fabeln und Sittensprüche, Gesetze und Mythologie erhalten.⁴

1) Hamann, Chimärische Einfälle, ed.cit.II,p.163.

2) It must be said that this view of music co-exists in Herder's work with a view which distinguishes clearly between music and language, but favours their combination; see pp.239f below.

3) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV,p.105f. (This is a criticism which could be levelled at Herder himself - cf. his "Idee" of "Ton" and "Schall", and consequent prejudice against harmony.)

4) Fragmente ueber die neuere Deutsche Litteratur, Suphan I,p.153f.

In short, in order to restore poetry to its ancient vigour, Herder stressed the features which language had in common with music, the ideal of language and music fused into one utterance:

Poesie ist mehr als stumme Malerei und
Skulptur; und noch gar Etwas ganz anders, als beide, sie ist Rede, sie
ist Musik der Seele. ¹

- or, as he put it elsewhere, "Melodie des Herzens".²

This approach was, of course, partly intended to counteract the over-emphasis of similarities between poetry and painting. "Das Wesen des Liedes ist Gesang, nicht Gemählde", he insisted in the Introduction to his collection of Volkslieder.³ But it was also a deliberate cultivation of the 'border country' between poetry and music, as appears from an early letter:

Ich halte mich überhaupt mit Vergnügen auf dem Reihn [Rain] zwischen
Musik und Poesie auf, weil ich eine glückliche Kantate, gleich nach dem
Drama, über die Ode sezze und in ihr die Samenkörner der rührenden und
malerischen Dichtkunst, die feinsten Regeln der Declamation, ~~der~~
der Erzählung,...und Grundsätze zur Ausbildung der Aesthetik finde...⁴

Thus even where Herder is considering music rather than poetry, the same approach is made - and the ancient Greek fusion of language and music in 'Gesang' is adopted as the ideal. "Die einfachern, innigern, minder zerstreuten Alten", as he calls them, responded more fully to music than his own age because their language was music.⁵ Music is thus easily identified with the language and voice of feeling - a single, simple, sequence of notes, to which the sharpened hearing of the blind responds with such sensitivity, undistracted as it is by all the variety of the visual world:

Der Blindgebohrne hat ein ungleich tieferes Gefühl für die ersten
Momente des Wohllauts, als der zerstreute Sehende, den tausend äußere
Flächenbilder von seinem innern Sinne des Tongefühls abrufen...Ewig

1) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.166.

2) Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker, Suphan V, p.206.

3) Suphan XXV, p.332f.

4) To J.G. Scheffner, 23/9/1766; J.G. Herder: Briefe, ed. K.H. Hahn et al, Weimar 1977ff., vol.I, p.64. Cf. Briefe an und von J.G. Scheffner, ed. A. Warda, München/Leipzig 1918, vol.I, p.259; cit. W. Nufer, Herders Ideen zur Verbindung von Poesie, Musik und Tanz, Germanische Studien 74, p.6.

5) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.107.

also in der ungestörten Stille, die wir uns in einer Sommernacht erschleichen, um den Wohllaut der Laute oder einer Bendaschen Geige¹ Grundauf zu fühlen... Was fühlet der Unzerstreuete nicht in dem mächtigen Wohllaut eines Tons ? in der holdseligen Stimme seines Mädchens, die ihm

--den Himmel öffnet, und ins ganze Herz
Ruh und Vergnügen singt.

2

For Herder, music is and remains a language, a voice: "Engelssprache,... Sprecherin für alle reinen Menschen-Empfindungen", as he later called it.³

This attitude duly influences Herder's priorities wherever music is considered - in musical theory, in musical style, in preferred instruments. His much-emphasised distinction between "Ton" and "Schall" is one of its most remarkable products: "Ton" being the single note with all its connotations of feeling, understood so well by the Greeks, and "Schall" being the multiplicity of notes and sounds produced by modern polyphony and modern German, which goes no further than the ear and is thus 'mere' sound, with no emotional appeal.⁴ In consequence, Herder heartily disapproved of harmonic technique; the composer could only move his hearers if he understood melody and its link with speech: "wenn er die Kraft einzelner Accente und Leidenschaften und Töne, und Musikelemente erforschet hat".⁵ And although Herder did not attempt, or wish, to limit instrumentation in any way, provided it kept the expression of feeling, the examples of beautiful and moving music which he cites are often solo instruments - the "Wohllaut der Laute oder einer Bendaschen Geige", whose melodiousness is analogous to the singing voice; or the "süß-winselnde, klagende Laute", which Herder wished he could play in order to express his love for Karoline Flachsland.⁶

1) Refers to the cantabile style for which the violinist Franz Benda was famous; see H. Wirth, 'Benda, Familie', MGG 1, cols. 1621ff., esp. 1623f.

2) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p. 106. According to Suphan IV, p. 489, the quotation is from E. v. Kleist's Milon und Iris.

3) Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, p. 335.

4) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, pp. 106ff. See also Moos, p. 40, Goldschmidt, p. 177.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 112.

6) Letter to Karoline, 20/9/1770; J.G. Herder: Briefe, ed. Hahn, vol. I, p. 221.

Herder thus emerges with a general idea of music remarkably similar to that of Plato and Aristotle - he even came to sympathise with their moral strictures on music, because its expression of emotion was so powerful.¹ And albeit for different reasons, his approach too tends to favour the amateur, the individual struggling to express feeling, and moves away from the idea of professional skill and virtuoso performance. Herder directed poets towards the linguistic resources of primitive "singende Völker", to folk-song, ballad, and Lutheran hymns;² and thereby presented poetry as "überhaupt eine Welt- und Völkergabe, nicht ein Privaterbteil einiger feinen, gebildeten Männer".³ It is difficult to say whether his musical theories were derived from the type of music he liked, or vice versa; but his emphasis on simplicity of melody and accompaniment, on the single "Ton" and its capacity to speak to the sensitive heart, his denunciation of polyphony and its skills, all encourage the popular or amateur musician, rather than the expert.⁴

However, Herder's ideas on music were not of course derived solely, or even principally, from what seemed to him to be the Greek ideal. Many of them he owed to Rousseau - but since Rousseau was himself indebted to the French Rationalists, their rather less familiar attitude deserves some attention here. The focal point in their approach to music was the idea of art as imitation of Nature. As an imitative art, music must needs have an original in Nature. Vocal music was an imitation of the human voice under the influence of emotion - i.e. of the voice's fluctuations of pitch, volume, timbre and tempo, its patterns of pauses and resumptions, etc. - whilst instrumental music was Tonmalerei of some event with emotional appeal.⁵

1) Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, p.343.

2) Viertes Wäldchen, IV, p.107; Ossian essay, Suphan V, pp.186ff., 199ff. & passim.

3) Goethe, DuW X, AA 10, p.448.

4) Herder was himself a musical amateur - cf. his letter to Karoline, cit. above, in which he complains "daß ich bei der empfindlichsten Seele die ungeschicktesten, gröbsten Hände zum Klavier habe" (loc.cit.).

5) Goldschmidt, pp.37ff.; Serauky, 'Affektenlehre', MGG 1, cols.118f.

Dubos, for example, declared that vocal music "imite les tons, les accents, les soupirs, les inflexions de voix"; and emphasises that the model must be emotive speech, otherwise the listener will remain unmoved. The composer simply gathers this material and puts it into some kind of order:

Comment serons-nous touchés par la copie d'un original incapable de nous affecter ?...Les signes naturels des passions, que la musique rassemble et qu'elle emploie avec art...doivent les rendre plus capable de nous toucher, parce que ces signes naturels ont une force merveilleuse pour nous émouvoir.

1

Many other minor writers took these ideas further; Goldschmidt summarises their attitude thus:

Sie [die Musik] ahmt...in erster Linie: Leidenschaften nach, richtiger: die Äußerungen, in denen diese in Erscheinung treten... Der Musiker hört den Schrei der Freude, der Bewunderung, der Furcht, des Schmerzes...Die Sprache der Unschuld, des Hasses, der Wut, der Traurigkeit...haben seine Nerven berührt. Diese Vorgänge, diese in der Natur gegebenen Affektäußerungen empfindet er und überträgt sie dem Hörer. Er hat nur nötig, die Tonhöhen der affektuellen Sprache zu fixieren.

2

The notion that "Musik muß etwas besagen, und auch das nur in Einhaltung eines in der Natur gegebenen Vorbildes",³ thus became predominant amongst philosophers and theoreticians, and was duly taken up by Batteux in his Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe. Batteux identified music very closely with speech; claiming that composers and audience both favoured styles "où [la] musique est, pour ainsi dire, parlante, où elle a un sens net, sans obscurité, sans équivoque."⁴ And he added his own judgment that:

la plus mauvaise de toutes les musiques est celle qui n'a point de caractère...Il n'y a pas un son de l'Art qui n'ait son modèle dans la Nature, et qui ne doive être, au moins, un commencement d'expression, comme une lettre ou une syllabe l'est dans la parole. 5

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- 1) Réflexions critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture (1715), ed. publ. Utrecht 1732, p.364; cit. Goldschmidt, p.38f. See also Dubos, pp.28, 365, cit. Goldschmidt, p.39.
 - 2) Goldschmidt, p.41.
 - 3) Ibid., p.48.
 - 4) Publ. Paris 1746; p.264.
 - 5) Les Beaux arts, p.265.

This idea of music as a language of the emotions, even as actually derived from emotive speech, seems to have been one of the major forces which brought about the great change of musical style in mid-century from Bar^{oque} to Rococo, from polyphony to homophony; and as Lowinsky points out, "the turn from the contemplation of celestial harmony and mathematical order to the heart of man...could not have been stated more emphatically" ¹ than in the works of Rousseau.

Rousseau was quite adamant, in his early works at least, that language was derived from the need to express emotion, and that music was derived from language, indeed had common origins with it:

la cadence et les sons

naissent avec les syllabes, la passion fait parler tous les organes et pare la voix de tout leur éclat: ainsi les vers, les chants, la parole, ont une origine commune...Les premiers discours furent les premières chansons: les retours périodiques et mesurés du rythme, les inflexions mélodieuses des accens firent naître la poésie et la musique avec la langue; ou plutôt tout cela n'étoit que la langue même pour ces heureux climats et ces heureux temps...

Les premières histoires, les premières harangues, les premières lois furent en vers; la poésie fut trouvée avant la prose: cela devoit être, puisque les passions parlerent avant la raison. Il en fut de même de la musique; il n'y eut point d'abord d'autre musique que la mélodie...ni d'autre mélodie que le son varié de la parole; les accens formoient le chant, les quantités formoient la mesure, et l'on parloit autant par les sons et par le rythme, que par les articulations et les voix. Dire et chanter étoient autrefois la même chose...

2

The quality of music in each country therefore depended on the musicality or otherwise of its language: "J'ai dit que toute musique nationale tire son principal caractère de la langue qui lui est propre."³ Hence the warm approval of Italian music:

s'il y a en Europe une langue propre à la musique,
c'est certainement l'italienne; car cette langue est douce, sonore,
harmonieuse et accentuée plus qu'aucune autre.

4

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- 1) Lowinsky, p.186; see esp. his account of this transition, pp.188ff.
 - 2) Essai sur l'Origine des Langues (posth. 1782), ed. cit. vol.19, p.292f. See also ibid., pp.226ff. Rousseau did entertain doubts later - see article 'Musique' in his Dictionnaire de Musique, ed. cit. vol.21, p.191.
 - 3) Lettre sur la Musique Francoise, ed. cit. vol.19, p.350.
 - 4) Ibid., p.358.

And hence also his contempt for French music, which he denounced throughout the Lettre as cold and unmelodious, because French was an unstressed language and difficult to sing.¹ For Rousseau, too, music was thus predominantly imitative of the singing voice, melodious:

par des inflexions vives et accentuées et pour ainsi dire parlantes, [elle] exprime toutes les passions, peint tous les...objets...et porte ainsi jusqu'au coeur de l'homme des sentimens propres à l'émouvoir. Cette musique...étoit celle des anciens poëtes...

2

Or, as he put it later, "La musique doit donc nécessairement chanter pour toucher, pour plaire, pour soutenir l'interet et l'attention."³ Instrumental music was merely derived from vocal, just as vocal music was derived from language:

Comme la musique vocale a précédé de beaucoup l'instrumentale, celle-ci a toujours reçu de l'autre des tours de chant et sa mesure; et les diverses mesures de la musique vocale n'ont pu naître que des diverses manieres dont on pouvoit scander le discours et placer les breves et les longues les unes à l'égard des autres.

4

Harmony, he considered, was mere physical stimulus:

En quittant l'accent oral et s'attachant aux seules institutions harmoniques, la musique devient plus bruyante à l'oreille et moins douce au coeur. Elle a déjà cessé de parler, bientôt elle ne chantera plus; et alors avec tous ses accords et toute son harmonie elle ne fera plus aucun effet sur nous.

5

It was this idea of music which was faithfully put into practice in Rousseau's own operetta on Italian models, Le Devin du Village (1752). As Lowinsky shows, this was musically light, homophonic, full of singable tunes about popular feeling; and although it was the work of a dilettante, it expressed

1) Lettre, ed.cit.vol.19, pp.341ff. See also Lowinsky, pp.164ff.

2) Article 'Musique' in his Dictionnaire de Musique (1768), ed.cit.vol.21, p.195.

3) Article 'Unité de mélodie', *ibid.*, ed.cit.vol.22, p.204. Cf. Lowinsky, pp.190ff.

4) Lettre, ed.cit.vol.19, p.350f.

5) Essai sur l'Origine des Langues, ed.cit.vol.19, p.318.

perfectly the 'voice' of its time, and attained a popularity far beyond its musical merits, becoming the model for a whole genre of French operettas.¹

It is easy to see how closely Herder's views follow Rousseau. Herder too accepts the idea that music is derived from emotive speech:

Was wars, daß

man mit der ersten Musik ausdrücken wollte ? Leidenschaft, Empfindung: und diese fand sich...in den singenden Tönen seiner Zunge. Da lagen schon Accente jeder Leidenschaft, Modulationen jedes Affekts,...und es ward...eine neue Zaubersprache der Empfindung. Hier fand der erste begeisterte Tonkünstler tausendfachen Ausdruck aller Leidenschaften... in tausend Akzenten, Tönen, Rhythmen, Modulationen in der Sprache vor sich; der ihm von selbst mit jeder Leidenschaft in die Brust und auf die Zunge trat; den andere eben so natürlich und stark verstanden. Und etwas verschönert also - was war da, als die erste Tonkunst ?

2

Indeed, his "etwas verschönert" sounds more like the French Rationalists than like Rousseau.

But whether from the influence of the French Rationalists or for some other reason, Herder could easily have found the same idea in circulation in his own culture; for it recurred in the comments of both theorists and practitioners of music, from the late seventeenth century onward, and in spite of the predominance of polyphony. Perhaps the most surprising of these commentators is Leibniz - for despite his praise of elaborate opera,³ Leibniz seems to have preferred simple music:

Unter hundert Melodien kann ich kaum eine oder zwei antreffen, die ich ausdrucksvoll und edel finde, und ich habe oft bemerkt, daß das, was die Fachleute am meisten schätzten, nichts Ergreifendes besaß. Das Einfache erzeugt oft mehr Wirkung als die entlehnten Verzierungen.

4

1) Lowinsky, pp.194ff., esp. pp.195, 199ff.

2) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.117f. Cf. also Nufer, p.14f., Moos, p.40.

3) Cf. p.249f. below.

4) Letter to K. Hanfling, 1709; in E. Bodemann, Der Briefwechsel des G.W. Leibniz in der Königl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu Hannover, Hannover 1889, repr. Hildesheim 1966, p.86. Cit. K. Müller/G. Kronert (eds), Leben und Werk v. G.W. Leibniz, Frankfurt a.M. 1969, p.216.

Even here, genuine feeling and its expression are contrasted with professional skill; it seems that the amateur, the musical everyman, achieved a certain status almost automatically when music was associated with the expression of human feeling. Another surprising feature is the comment by Mizler - a pillar of the mathematical and 'Pythagorean' view of music - that composers should regard homophony and melody, not polyphonic technique, as the core of their art:

die Melodie, oder einfache Harmonie, [ist] das Hauptwerk in der gantzen Musik..., und man [muß] iederzeit eher auf die Melodie bey Verfertigung eines musikalischen Stückes, als auf die darzu gehörigen harmonischen Sätze denken...

1

But there were also many such instances in less unexpected contexts. Mattheson, for example, suggested in 1739 that instrumental music should be modelled on the singing voice,² and that the composer's aim should be:

alle Neigungen des Herzens, durch bloße ausgesuchte Klänge und deren geschickte Zusammenfügung, ohne Worte dergestalt auszudrucken wissen, daß der Zuhörer daraus, als ob es eine wirkliche Rede wäre, den Trieb, den Sinn, die Meinung und den Nachdruck...völlig begreifen und deutlich verstehen möge.

3

And although he talks in the same chapter about the differences between "Sing- und Spiel-Melodien", he frequently uses phrases such as "redende Klänge", and "Klang-rede", which stress the similarities; and he summarises his argument by saying that:

die Instrumental-Melodie [ist] darin hauptsächlich von Singe-Sachen unterschieden, daß jene, ohne Beihülffe der Worte und Stimmen, eben so viel zu sagen trachtet, als diese mit den Worten thun.

4

Hiller, who was heavily influenced by Batteux and Rousseau,⁵ also thought

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- 1) Neu-Eröffnete Musikalische Bibliothek, Leipzig 1739, II, 1, p. 65; cit. Birke, Christian Wolffs Metaphysik, etc., p. 76. Cf. also Lowinsky, pp. 183ff.
 - 2) Der Vollkommene Capellmeister, II, 12, §§ 7ff., ed. cit. p. 204.
 - 3) Ibid., § 31, p. 208.
 - 4) Ibid., pp. 203ff., esp. §§ 34ff., p. 208f.
 - 5) Marpurg's Historisch-kritische Beyträge (I, Berlin 1755) included both Rousseau's Lettre and Hiller's essay commenting on Batteux (see below). Hiller also commented on Rousseau in his periodicals (e.g. Wöchentliche Nachrichten Jg. III, Leipzig 1768/9, St. 17, 24/10/1768).

of music as derived from the voice-modulation of emotive speech:

Das Steigen

und Fallen der Töne scheint an die Worte so gebunden zu seyn, daß man ihnen das Wesentliche zu nehmen schiene, wenn man dieses ihnen benähme. Es ist dieses schon eine Art von Melodie, und der wahrhafte Grund, worauf die Musik sich selber erbauet.

1

Wieland envisaged music as "die Sprache der Leidenschaften";² and Kant too termed it "Sprache der Affecten", for reasons similar to Hiller's:

Der Reiz

[der Musik] ...scheint darauf zu beruhen: daß jeder Ausdruck der Sprache im Zusammenhange einen Ton hat, der dem Sinne desselben angemessen ist; daß dieser Ton mehr oder weniger einen Affect des Sprechenden bezeichnet und gegenseitig auch im Hörenden hervorbringt, der denn in diesem... auch die Idee erregt, die in der Sprache mit solchem Tone ausgedrückt wird; und daß, so wie die Modulation gleichsam eine allgemeine jedem Menschen verständliche Sprache der Empfindungen ist, die Tonkunst diese für sich allein in ihrem ganzen Nachdrucke, nämlich als Sprache der Affecten, ausübt.

3

Even C.P.E. Bach, whose professional standing was considerable, and whose music was often adventurous, even experimental,⁴ worked with this analogy; and thought of the singing voice as model for the instrumental performer:

Einen großen Nutzen und Erleichterung in die ganze Spiel-Art wird derjeniger spüren, welcher zu gleicher Zeit Gelegenheit hat, die Singe-Kunst zu lernen, und gute Sänger fleißig zu hören.

5

And he repeated later:

daß man keine Gelegenheit verabsäumen müsse, geschickte Sänger besonders zu hören; Man lernet dadurch singend dencken, und wird man wohl thun, daß man sich hernach selbst einen Gedancken vorsinget, um den rechten Vortrag desselben zu treffen.

6

The popular roots of this attitude to music were even more widely spread. Well before Rousseau was familiar in Germany, this love of simplicity,

1) Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik, Hist.-kritische Beyträge I(1755), St.6.no.7,p.526.

2) Versuch über das deutsche Singspiel, Sämmtliche Werke, Leipzig 1839f.,vol. 34,p.84.

3) Kritik der Urtheilskraft,I,219; ed,cit.vol.V,p.328.

4) Ottaway considers him as a more disciplined parallel to the Sturm und Drang, a forerunner of Mozart and Beethoven; see pp.57ff.

5) Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen, Berlin 1753,repr.Leipzig 1957; Einleitung §20,ed.cit.p.13.

6) Ibid.,III. Hauptstück §12,p.121f.

reinforced by Rationalist derivation of music from the emotion-laden voice, had produced an enormous number of immensely popular Oden mit Melodien, as they were often called - songs with very simple key-board accompaniment, meant to be sung by music-lovers at home.¹ The Sammlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden (1737-43) by J.F. Gräfe (1711-87) was one notable example;² the most famous of these collections was that by K.W. Ramler and Chr. G. Krause, which appeared in 1753-55 as Oden mit Melodien, and again in 1767-8 as Lieder der Deutschen.³ Rousseau's theoretical work gave a great boost to this kind of 'home-grown' musical product; especially since it brought a lively response from the minor composers of the so-called First Berlin Liederschule, presided over by Frederick the Great, himself an amateur composer and musician.⁴ They often set the work of Rococo or Empfindsamkeit poets such as Hagedorn, Gleim and Gellert,⁵ specifically for the use of (middle-class) amateurs. Even when the Empfindsamkeit mistrust of music's power had abated somewhat,⁶ so that the Second Berlin Liederschule, to which both Reichardt and Zelter belonged, produced a more adventurous kind of setting,⁷ the singing voice, expressive of simple feeling, remained a predominant model in music. Ramler even suggested that accompaniments were superfluous. He pointed to the song in France as a genre cultivated by all social classes; and hoped to see this happen in Germany too, urging composers to draw on their own experience of singing to produce songs which could be sung for relaxation or at work, without benefit of expertise or accompanying instrument.⁸ Music, in short, broadened its social scope to become one

1) An important predecessor was J.S. Scholze (1705-50), under the pseudonym of Sperontes. His collection Singende Muse an der Pleiße consisted mostly of 'parodies' of well-known tunes with added figured bass, which is not quite 'simple' song; but it was reissued several times between 1736 and 1745, and established the vogue for middle-class domestic music-making. See D. & U. Hartwig, 'Sperontes', MGG 12, cols. 1034ff.

2) See M. Ruhnke, MGG 5, cols. 661ff.

3) See esp. M. Friedländer's introduction to Das deutsche Lied, etc., vol. I, 1,

4) Goldschmidt, pp. 148ff. See also article 'Berlin' by D. Sasse, (p. 115f. MGG 1, col. 1713f., & H.G. Hoke, 'F.W. Marburg', MGG VIII, cols. 1668ff.

5) See M. Friedländer, Das deutsche Lied, etc., vol. I, 1, passim.

6) See pp. 64ff above, esp. p. 67.

7) Cf. Sasse, cols. 1713f.

8) In the Vorbericht to the Oden mit Melodien; see M. Friedländer, op.cit. p. 116.

of the chief ways in which the middle classes could express their feelings and their claims to sensitivity.¹ Hence the ready welcome and eager audience for the influx of Italian singers, singing teachers, and melodious vocal music, from the mid-century onwards,² for the French operettas in Rousseau's style,³ and for the German Singspiele to which they gave rise.⁴

The idea of common origins for poetry and music, and the idea of music as emotive speech, thus combined to launch with tremendous force in the late 1750s and 1760s a popular image of music as "Sprache der Leidenschaften". But it was in literature, rather than in music, that this idea was really fruitful and inspiring. As Lowinsky and others point out, the musical style which Rousseau initiated was very limited in scope; Gluck and Mozart achieved greatness under the influence of Rousseau's ideas as expressed in prose, not under the influence of his musical works.⁵ But in literature the whole idea seems ~~to~~ ^{to} have fired the popular imagination, and to have inspired powerful innovations in verbal expression, wherever writers were concerned with the expression of feeling. Distinctions between music and language became unimportant - both media were subsumed into the ideal of song, of sonorous utterance of feeling. Klopstock's 'Bardic' poetry is a good example of this kind of tendency. As Abert remarks,

schon der Titel "Gesänge", den Klopstock seinen Dichtungen gab, verriet, daß er im Dichter nicht bloß den Sprecher und Deklamator erblickte, sondern den Sänger, der Singen und Sagen in sich vereinigt. 6

And in Klopstock's Messias, the use of musical imagery has much the same

1) Cf. L.L. Albertsen, 'Goethes Lieder und andere Lieder', in K.-O. Conrady, Deutsche Literatur zur Zeit der Klassik, pp.172ff., who discusses such songs as "kollektive Manifestation einer Klasse" (p.173), and also as a foundation for Goethe's poetry.

2) The courts had already supported Italian grand opera for some time; now the opera buffa spread Italian influence throughout society. Cf. Ottaway, pp.19ff., 40f.; Lowinsky, pp.164ff.

3) Ottaway, pp.31ff.; Lowinsky, pp.199ff.

4) Ottaway, pp.33ff.

5) Ottaway, p.31f., Lowinsky pp.201ff., esp. note 76.

6) 'Wort und Ton in der Musik des 18. Jhdts.', Archiv für Musikwissenschaft V, (1923), p.58.

effect: alongside an evocation of the harmony of the spheres, we find an evocation of the 'united sound' of voices and harps:

...Die Lieder der göttlichen Harfenspieler
Schallen mit Macht, wie beseelend, darein. Dieß vereinbarte
Tönen
Führt vorm unsterblichen Hörer manch hohes Loblied vorüber.
Wie sich sein freudiger Blick an seinen Werken ergetzet,
Also vergnügte sein göttliches Ohr itzt dies hohe Getöne.

1

But it is with Rousseau's La Nouvelle Héloïse that the idea of music as voice, melody and language of feeling is really launched in literature. This is clearly a means of marking out St. Preux as a man of feeling, and of perpetuating Rousseau's views on music. Being French, St. Preux was initially unaware of music's melodic power and of its sources:

Je ne voyais pas que
l'imitation des tons divers, dont les sentiments animent la voix parlante, donne à son tour à la voix chantante le pouvoir d'agiter les coeurs.

2

When, however, the Italian music-master takes him in hand, his eyes are opened:

"L'harmonie", me disait-il, n'est qu'un accessoire éloigné dans la musique imitative; [i.e. of the voice] ...c'est de la seule mélodie que sort cette puissance invincible des accents passionnés; c'est d'elle que dérive tout le pouvoir de la musique sur l'âme...Que l'accent du sentiment anime les chants les plus simples, ils seront intéressants: au contraire, une mélodie qui ne parle point chante toujours mal, et la seule harmonie n'a jamais rien su dire au coeur.

3

However, we are also given something rather more interesting for present purposes - a detailed description of how a fairly technical idea of music acquires symbolic significance. We end far away from any actual music, with St. Preux entirely absorbed in the emotional responses evoked by this idea of

1) Erster Gesang, 230ff.; Bremen/Leipzig 1748, repr., ed. F. Muncker, in B. Seuffert, Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale, Heilbronn 1883, XI, p. 11.

2) Part I, Letter 48, ed. cit. vol. 1, p. 469.

3) Ibid., p. 469f.

music.¹ The Italian proceeds from a clear explanation of music as "imitation des tons divers dont les sentiments animent la voix parlante", to metaphorical expressions which bring together the two notions of voice and music in one utterance: "une mélodie qui ne parle point chante toujours mal...la seule harmonie n'a jamais rien su dire au coeur."² St. Preux is all the better able to concentrate on the sounds of Italian rather than the sense, because he does not understand the language fully. He is thus able to go on from the illustrative metaphors of the Italian singer to a state where he equates "parler au coeur" with fluent sound, discarding rational sense altogether; and predictably he finds the music eloquent, fascinating:

...après avoir

joint à la connaissance que j'ai de la langue la meilleure idée qu'il me fut possible de l'accent oratoire et pathétique, c'est à dire, de l'art de parler à l'oreille et au coeur dans une langue sans articuler des mots, je me mis à écouter cette musique enchanteresse, et je sentis bientôt, aux émotions qu'elle me causait, que cet art avait un pouvoir supérieure à celui que j'avais imaginé...À chaque phrase, quelque image entraînait dans mon cerveau ou quelque sentiment dans mon coeur, le plaisir ne s'arrêtait point à l'oreille, il pénétrait jusqu'à l'âme;...

Mais quand,

après une suite d'airs agréables, on vint à ces grands morceaux d'expression qui savent exciter et peindre le désordre des passions violentes, je perdais à chaque instant l'idée de musique, de chant, d'imitation; je croyais entendre la voix de la douleur, de l'empoiement, du désespoir; je croyais voir des mères éplorées, des amants trahis, des tyrans furieux; et, dans les agitations que j'étais forcé d'éprouver, j'avais peine à rester en place. Je connus alors pourquoi cette même musique qui m'avait autrefois ennuyé m'échauffait maintenant jusqu'au transport; c'est que j'avais commencé de la concevoir...

3

Even the idea of music as imitation finally fades - he is left with the voice of imagined feelings, and our attention is thus focussed not on a change of musical style, but on a change in the emotional response of the listener. Rousseau has given here a highly professional writer's account, with all the insights of a brilliant amateur musician, of the way in which

1) It is interesting to compare this letter with that from St. Preux to Mme. d'Orbe (Part II, letter 23, ed. cit. vol. 2, pp. 325ff.). There communication of feeling is not involved; the discussion of music is factual, witty and malicious, rather like that in the Lettre sur la Musique Francoise.

2) Letter 48, I, p. 469f.

3) Ibid., pp. 472ff.

the distinction between music and language is gradually eroded when either art is imagined as the voice of feeling. For the appeal of this idea of music is to the imagination; and to the amateur's imagination, not to informed understanding. Professional knowledge, or interest in musical technicalities would ruin the effect; just as better command of Italian would preclude one from listening merely to its sound. Amateurs such as St. Preux, however, and the middle classes brought up on Oden mit Melodien, neither knew nor cared very much about the technicalities of music; but they did care passionately about the expression of feeling, and they did have imagination. Furthermore, professional writers were amongst this group. As we have seen, Herder wrote a great deal about the idea of music as the voice of feeling - but his enthusiasm was to some extent a compensation for lack of musical skill:

ich bin...so flüchtig und ungeduldig bei Allem, was viele lange Mechanische Uebung fodert - daß ich bei der empfindlichsten Seele die ungeschicktesten, gröbsten Hände zum Klavier habe...Die Musik ist für empfindliche Herzen und feine Seelen ein so unentbehrliches Vergnügen...daß ein Saitenspiel, mit einem Liede beseelt, gewiß in die Oekonomie eines glücklichen Lebens, als tägliches Hausgeräth gehört..

Precisely because the middle-class reading - and writing - public knew something, but not too much, about music, the idea of music as melody, voice, language of feeling, had extraordinary emotive potential in literature.

This, then, was Goethe's background, even before he met Herder.

Amateur music-making was an established part of Frankfurt life:

Die Music-Liebhabe-
rey ist auch allhier sehr groß: diese edle Belustigung ist, seitdem der berühmte Herr Telemann hier gewesen, in große Aufnahme gekommen. Es sind wenig angesehene Familien, da nicht die Jugend auf einem oder dem andern Instrument oder im Singen unterrichtet wird; die Concerten sind deswegen...sehr gewöhnlich, und lassen sich dabey insgemein auch fremde und berühmte Virtuosen hören, wenn sie hier durchreisen. 2

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- 1) Letter to Karoline, 20/9/1770; ^{ed. cit. vol. I} ~~cf. p. above~~: p. 221.
 2) Johann Bernhardt Müller, Beschreibung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes...von Franckfurt am Mayn, Frankf. 1747 [p.208f.] Cit. Bode, vol.1, p.15, M.Friedländer, 'Goethe und die Musik', p.279f.

Piano-playing was a regular part of Goethe's education;¹ and his family all sang (sometimes Italian airs) or played instruments, with varying degrees of success and enthusiasm.² He thus learned to know music as predominantly vocal, predominantly simple, and melodic; especially during the French occupation, when French companies performed Le Devin du Village and other similar operettas,³ and brought what he later called a "heiteres, singbares Wesen"⁴ to the stage. He also seems, from his own recollections, to have been keenly aware even at this early stage of the sound-patterns of language. Not only did he declaim Klopstock with his sister; he also declaimed Biblical passages and French plays without understanding either, but faithfully reproducing the tones of Protestant preachers or of Racinian theatrical rhetoric. Sound, it seems, was one of the first aspects of language which he grasped:

...hier kam mir die angeborene Gabe zustatten, daß ich leicht den Schall und Klang einer Sprache, ihre Bewegung, ihren Akzent, den Ton und was sonst von äußern Eigentümlichkeiten, fassen konnte.⁵

Goethe may thus be said to have had, as far as one can judge, an early fondness for the aspects of language which are analogous to music; and a first acquaintance with music which encouraged this analogy. Leipzig provided greater variety of music, and more professional performances. But the situation was basically the same: simple Lieder for social music-making (by Ramler/Krause, etc., and still some Sperontes)⁶, with a little more popular vigour in the songs by Hiller;⁷ heavy Italian influence (i.e. cantabile style) in professional performances;⁸ and a great many Singspiele.⁹ Goethe

1) See Dichtung und Wahrheit IV, AA 10, pp. 130f., 135.

2) Ibid., I, p. 20; IV, p. 134f.

3) Ibid., III, p. 103f.

4) Italienische Reise, Nov. 1787, AA 11, p. 481.

5) Dichtung und Wahrheit II, AA 10, pp. 91ff.; III, p. 102f.

6) M. Friedländer, 'GudM', p. 283f.

7) See Rochlitz' account of Hiller's international success as a song-writer, Für Freunde der Tonkunst, I, Leipzig 1824, pp. 11, 19.

8) R. Eller, 'Leipzig', MGG 8, col. 555.

9) Chiefly by Weisse and Hiller; (DuW VIII, AA 10, p. 359f.; Rochlitz, pp. 11, 20). Rochlitz explains that Hiller limited his style to "Lieder und Lieder-mäßiges" even more than the genre demanded, because the troupe had no adequate soloist (p. 11).

seems to have remembered the emotional reaction to these, rather than the Singspiele themselves; but he did write a Singspiel, Die Laune des Verliebten, and a number of Lieder for Friederike Oeser, which one of the Breitkopfs set to music.¹ And after returning to Frankfurt, he took notes from one of Hiller's periodicals on the subject of setting poetry to music, jotting down almost verbatim the section which derived musical setting from the pitch and phrasing of emotive speech:

Ein Componist, dem ein Text zu bearbeiten vorgelegt wird, hat besonders auf folgende 4 Stücke zu sehen. 1. Auf den grammatickalischen Accent, oder auf die Länge und Kürze der Sylben um prosodisch richtig zu declamieren; 2. Auf die logikalischen Abtheilungen der Rede, um mit Verstande zu deklamieren; 3. auf den oratorischen Accent um der vorhabenden Empfindung gemäß zu deklamieren; 4. Auf das eigenthümliche seiner Kunst, um nicht blos Decklamateur sondern Musickus zugleich zu seyn.

2

By the time he went to Strassburg and met Herder, he was thus well-prepared for the idea that poetry should be "Melodie des Herzens", even though the idea itself was new to him, and the manner envisaged was much more vigorous than anything he had ever heard before:

Ich ward mit der Poesie von einer ganz andern Seite, in einem andern Sinne bekannt als bisher, und zwar in einem solchen, der mir sehr zusagte...Was die Fülle dieser wenigen Wochen betrifft,...kann ich wohl sagen,daß alles, was Herder nachher allmählich ausgeführt hat, im Keim angedeutet ward und daß ich dadurch in die glückliche Lage geriet, alles, was ich bisher gedacht, gelernt, mir zugeeignet hatte, zu komplettieren, an ein Höheres anzuknüpfen, zu erweitern.

3

If we can take this statement at face value, then the whole group of Herder's ideas on music, partly derived from Rousseau - the common source of poetry and music, the derivation of music from emotive speech, the single 'Ton'

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- 1) Dichtung und Wahrheit VIII, pp.357f., 360. Cf. M. Friedländer, 'GudM', p.284f.
 2) Ephemerides [AA 4, p.962] ; cit. M. Friedländer, op.cit. p.293. The quotation is from Hiller's Musikalische Nachrichten und Anmerkungen (the continuation of Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, die Musik betreffend), Leipzig 1770, [St.4, (22nd Jan.) p.25].
 3) Dichtung und Wahrheit X, AA 10, p.448.

which speaks to the heart, and thence the preference for expressive melody, especially in folk-song - must have been established in his thinking at that point.¹

But as with Rousseau, these ideas seem to have borne much more considerable fruit in Goethe's literary work than in his views on music. The music by which he was surrounded remained 'Rousseauesque' for some time: in Strassburg he collected folk-songs for Herder and played the cello in amateur music-making;² and when he returned to Frankfurt and thereafter went to Weimar, the Singspiel still predominated, often in performances by amateurs.³ Where he applied the idea to music in later life, it often led him to take an unpromisingly narrow view. After a performance of Pergolesi, for example, he wrote to Frau von Stein that music was nothing "ohne menschliche Stimme";⁴ in the Tonlehre, he declared that instruments were a mere substitute for the voice and inferior to it, though they could be raised to equal status by "gefühlte und geistreiche Behandlung";⁵ and after hearing Paganini he confessed to Zelter that he understood instrumental quartets best, because he could think of them as a conversation amongst "vier vernünftige Leute".⁶ In this particular respect, then, the period before Weimar clearly played a very important part in determining Goethe's view of music; yet, though familiar to musicologists, it is rarely well-assessed in relation to Goethe's work.⁷

- 1) Goethe had already read the early Kritische Wälder; he read the essay on the origins of language in MS, and the Fragmente shortly afterwards (1772). The Viertes Wäldchen, written in 1769, was publ. only in 1846; but it seems reasonable to conjecture that it was discussed in Strassburg. However, this must remain conjecture unless evidence comes to light.
- 2) Letter to Herder, Sept. 1771, AA 18, p. 162; to Salzmann, 3/2/1772, AA 18, p. 172.
- 3) Cf. M. Friedländer, 'GudM', pp. 294ff.; Abert, GuM, p. 18f.; Barth, Literarisches Weimar, pp. 19ff., 45ff., 67ff.
- 4) Letter of Anfang August, 1782, AA 18, p. 684. 5) AA 16, p. 909.
- 6) Letter of 9/11/1829, AA 21, p. 872.
- 7) For instance, Krüger assumes that Goethe fell back on music because he despaired of language, and implies that the two were thereafter synonymous for Goethe (Goethe I (1936), pp. 205f.). Hicks excludes the early period altogether, but cannot explain the large part played by music in Goethe's work (PEGS NS 27 (1958), pp. 75ff., 131ff., esp. p. 77). Mittenzwei discusses Rousseau, Herder and Goethe in some detail, but not the relation between them; & he makes no very cogent comments on Goethe's work (Das Musikalische in der Literatur, pp. 55ff., 62ff., 180ff.).

After all, Goethe's experience of music and tastes in music did not change drastically after he moved to Weimar;¹ although he certainly broadened considerably beyond Rousseau's style,² and his notes to his translation of Diderot's Neveu de Rameau show him well aware that the cult of simple voice in music was a means of defending naturalness in art against rigid convention, rather than an intrinsically sound artistic principle.³ At no time was he inclined to overestimate amateurs, or to underestimate professional skill in any field.⁴ But the professionals who influenced him most, Reichardt and Zelter, remained within the confines of the Berlin Liederschule, for all their relative enterprise in the use of musical resources;⁵ and for most practical musical purposes Goethe remained there too.

In his literary works, however, Goethe drew boldly and extensively on music to enlarge the reader's idea of utterance, and to evoke for him the 'Melodie des Herzens', the simple, vibrant voice of feeling which never fails to move the hearer. The motif of the solo singer/player, for instance, in domestic settings usually with a piano, recurs frequently. Lotte's "einfache Gesang" on her old piano, "eine Melodie, die sie auf dem Clavier spielt mit der Kraft eines Engels, so simpel und so geistvoll",⁶ is absolutely true to type - the sensitive amateur who expresses herself through playing and singing tunes she knows, as much in the mould of the Oden mit Melodien as of Rousseau. Werther himself is rather nearer to St. Preux - for him, in moments of high tension, music and words, instrument and singer, become one

1) Cf. Barth, pp. 45ff., 67ff.

2) He soon came to prefer the more vigorous Italian buffo operas to the sensibilities of Singspiele and French operettas, especially after visiting Italy - cf. his comments on "jene sehr unschuldige Zeit des deutschen Opernwesens, wo noch ein einfaches Intermezzo, wie die Serva Padrona von Pergolese [= Rousseau's model of the new style] Eingang und Beifall fand." (Ital. Reise, Bericht Nov. 1787, AA 11, p. 481f.). Eventually he heard the work of most major Classical and Romantic composers, with Beethoven and J.S. Bach making the greatest impression upon him (See e.g. letters to Zelter, 2/9/1812, AA 19, p. 672; and 4/1/1819, AA 21, p. 318.).

3) Section on 'Musik', AA 15, p. 1041.

4) Cf. letter to Herder, 10/7/1772, AA 18, p. 174; and his disapproval of dilettantism, (Über den Dilettantismus, AA 14, pp. 729ff., and pp. 109ff. above.).

5) See esp. W. Salmen, 'Goethe und Reichardt', Jb. der Sammlung Kippenberg NF I (1963), pp. 52ff.; & D. Wahl, 'Goethe und Zelter' etc., ibid., pp. 101ff.

6) Werther, 16. Juli, AA 4, p. 301.

in the expression of feeling:

Sie nahm ihre Zuflucht zum Claviere und hauchte mit süßser leiser Stimme harmonische Laute zu ihrem Spiele. Nie hab ich ihre Lippen so reizend gesehn, es war, als wenn sie sich lechzend öffneten, jene süße Töne in sich zu schlürfen, die aus dem Instrumente hervorquollen, und nur der heimliche Widerschall aus dem süßen Munde zurückklänge...₁

Mignon's performance of Kennst du das Land is also described in terms which treat both the music and the language (Italian) as expressive sound, though in the Bohemian company of actors she has her "tragbares Saiteninstrument"² rather than a piano:

Wilhelm...unterschied bald die Töne einer Zither, und die Stimme, welche zu singen anfang, war Mignons Stimme...Melodie und Ausdruck gefielen unserm Freunde besonders, ob er gleich die Worte nicht alle verstehen konnte. Er ließ sich die Strophen...erklären,...und übersetzte sie ins Deutsche. Aber die Originalität der Wendungen konnte er nur von ferne nachahmen...Auch konnte der Reiz der Melodie mit nichts verglichen werden.

3

The Pilgernde Törlin of the Wanderjahre expresses herself in her playing and singing, although she refuses to give any other account of her background, which is rather more refined than Lotte's, it seems:

Sie versuchte das Instrument mit zwei oder drei Vorspielen, die eine sehr geübte Hand ankündigten. Man zweifelte nicht mehr, daß sie ein Frauenzimmer von Stande sei...Zuerst war ihr Spiel aufgeweckt und glänzend; dann ging sie zu ernsten Tönen über, zu Tönen einer tiefen Trauer, die man zugleich in ihren Augen erblickte...aber auf einmal überraschte sie jedermann, indem sie ein mutwilliges Lied mit der schönsten Stimme von der Welt, lustig und lächerlich vorbrachte.

4

1) Werther, 24. November, AA 4, p. 349. Cf. also the "manchfaltige Melodien und all den Ausdruck" which continue to fascinate him (4. Dezember, AA 4, p. 353).

2) Über den Dilettantismus; cf. p. 109 f. above.

3) Lehrjahre III, 1, AA 7, p. 155f. Cf. also a comarable episode in the Theatralische Sendung, when Wilhelm repairs the zither for her: "der klagende Ton ihrer Saiten, zu dem sich auch manchmal eine angenehme, obgleich etwas rauhe Stimme gesellte, machte alle Menschen aufmerksam..Man konnte nicht verstehen was sie sang, es waren immer dieselben oder doch sehr ähnliche Melodien, die sie nach ihren Empfindungen, Gedanken, Situationen und Grillen ...zu modifizieren schien.." (III, 10, AA 8, p. 682).

4) Wanderjahre I, 5, AA 8, p. 62.

And Wilhelm's son Felix makes a rather deliberate return to the neo-Classical pastoral life-style for the sake of his education, complete with unaccompanied airs in Italian:

Euer Felix hat sich zum Italienischen bestimmt und da... melodischer Gesang bei unsern Anstalten durch alles durchgreift, so solltet ihr ihn, in der Langweile des Hüterlebens, gar manches Lied zierlich und gefühlvoll vortragen hören. ¹

There are, however, more important and complex offshoots of this idea in Goethe's work. The figure of the Poet/Sänger, whose lyrical language is both 'singen und sagen', is of course partly the traditional minstrel, even a throwback to the unity of speech and song in Ancient Greek poetry. In Goethe's work he also has something of Klopstock's bard, and something of Herder's ideal of poetry as song, "Musik der Seele".² But he is also a rather special relative of the soloist figures described above; for he expresses himself through the sound and rhythm of words as much as through their sense, and in this sense he 'sings', whether actually accompanied by music or not. Furthermore, although the theme and style of his utterance may very well not be simple, it must be comprehensible - for his speciality is to utter his own feeling in such a way that he expresses universal experience. The Harfenspieler of the Lehrjahre is one such figure; he, like most of the soloists discussed above, is described in terms which mingle the impressions of music and of language, and this time the appeal to the imagination is actually specified:

Es waren herzzührende, klagende Töne, von einem traurigen, ängstlichen Gesange begleitet...eine Art von Phantasie...wenige Strophen teils singend teils rezitierend...Die wehmütige herzliche Klage drang tief in die Seele des Hörers. Es schien ihm, als ob der Alte manchmal von Tränen gehindert würde fortzufahren; dann klangen die Saiten allein, bis sich wieder die Stimme leise in gebrochenen Lauten darein mischte...

Wir würden...doch die Anmut der seltsamen Unterredung nicht ausdrücken können, die unser Freund mit dem abenteuerlichen

1) Wanderjahre II,8, AA 8,p.268.

2) Viertes Wäldchen; cf. p.190 above.

Fremden hielt. Auf alles, was der Jüngling zu ihm sagte, antwortete der Alte mit der reinsten Übereinstimmung durch Anklänge, die alle verwandten Empfindungen rege machten und der Einbildungskraft ein weites Feld eröffneten.

1

So far, all the examples considered have been taken from descriptive prose. But there are many other ways of evoking the poet's 'song'. We are given the words - or rather the poems - which the Harfenspieler sings, and left to imagine them as sung to their harp accompaniment.² The Musensohn is evoked entirely within the compass of a poem; partly by mention of his 'musical' attributes (Liedchen, pfeifen, movement "nach dem Takte", singe[n], Melodie), which in a short poem accumulate rapidly, but chiefly by the strong rhythms and sonorous rhyme-patterns of the piece.³ Here so much emphasis is laid on the aspects of language which are common ground with music that it is difficult not to imagine the poem as sung. Different again is the role of music in depicting Tasso's activity - perhaps the most profoundly serious of all. His image of singing comes suddenly, at the end of a play in which quite other aspects of his personality and poetry have been in question (the social role of both, for instance), and in which the verse is not predominantly lyrical. But it marks the moment when he suddenly realises how expression of his feelings and his functions as a poet fit together:

mir noch über alles -
 Sie [die Natur] ließ im Schmerz mir Melodie und Rede,
 Die tiefste Fülle meiner Not zu klagen:
 Und wenn der Mensch in seiner Qual verstummt,
 Gab mir ein Gott, zu sagen, wie ich leide.

4

By this image, he puts himself in context; he is a poet, and a poet's job is traditionally 'singen und sagen'.

1) Lehrjahre II, 13, AA 7, pp. 145ff.

3) Der Musensohn (c. 1774), AA 1, p. 22f.

4) Torquato Tasso, AA 6, p. 313.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 146f.

It seems fair to say, simply from the examples of prose and verse considered so far, that Goethe draws on the tradition which identifies music with voice, melody, language of feeling in a very wide variety of ways for a wide variety of purposes. He has sometimes borrowed imagery, sometimes borrowed Lied form and its associations (both Musensohn and the Harfenspieler's poems are cast in singable stanza form, different though they are), sometimes borrowed the idea of an activity, sometimes a combination of any or all of these. One should, then, beware of equating them too simply with the vague idea of a 'lyrical' mood, or with one another.

Similar variety emerges when we come to consider the dramatic mixed genres to which Goethe devoted much attention - the Singspiele, Schauspiele mit Gesang, etc. Some of these are written very much in the spirit of Rousseau and Herder; Erwin und Elmire (set by Anna Amalia, a distinguished amateur¹) issues a challenge rather than a stage-direction to music at the climax of emotional tension: "Die Musik wage es, die Gefühle dieser Pausen auszudrücken".² In Claudine von Villa Bella, the singing of Lieder and other music on stage is not merely a means of expressing emotion; it also stands for love of sincerity and of the simple life:

GONZALO: ...Ja, ein Lied war immer ihre Sache. Und sie fühlt darinn, wie ich; ie freier, ie wahrer, ie treuer so ein Stückgen vom Herzen geht, desto werther ist mir's---...zu meiner Zeit war's noch anders; da ging's dem Bauern wohl, und da hatt' er immer ein Liedgen das von der Leber wegging, und einem's Herz ergözte; und der Herr schämte sich nicht, und sang's auch, wenn's ihm gefiel.

3

Even within this narrow compass, however, a simple equation of music with lyrical Stimmung will hardly do. Die Laune des Verliebten, perhaps the most slight and stereotyped of Goethe's Singspiele, takes the identification of

1) See W. Flemming, Goethe und das Theater seiner Zeit, p.49; Barth, p.17f.; M. Friedländer, 'GudM', p.299f.

2) AA 4, p.830.

3) Ibid., p.858; see also p.833f., and the songs Liebliches Kind and Es war ein Bule frech genug, pp.857ff.

song with expression of feeling to an absurd but logical conclusion - Eridon, in a fit of jealousy, "wirft die Flöte auf die Erde...zerreißt die Lieder, und zerbeißt die Stücke von den Liedern" ¹ - an unexpected piece of self-parody at the heart of a pastorella. Claudine, though it draws on the by now well-established tradition of simple songs for simple folk of feeling, immediately points to this as a pose which can be struck: "Der allerneueste Ton ist's wieder, solche Lieder zu singen und zu machen." ² And Crugantino is by no means merely the ingenuous wanderer with a song on his lips. ³

Once we go beyond the Singspiele, Goethe's use of this idea of music diversifies even further. The songs inserted in Götz and Egmont ⁴ have much the same function as Lotte's playing - they show an individual of the middle or lower classes expressing feeling through song, and draw on the popular associations of this activity to evoke the aura of a certain social milieu and the (simple) values of those within it. But the idea of music as the voice of feeling is not necessarily confined to the voice of the individual. For various reasons, not all to do with music, Goethe became especially interested in the chorus during his visit to Italy. ⁵ Just as the solo voice could express and symbolise individual feeling, so the chorus could serve as the voice of a group or community; and the (often unaccompanied) singing which he heard in the Sistine Chapel, in St. Peter's and elsewhere ⁶ showed him new possibilities for its use - especially in alternation with the solo voice, to demonstrate relations between an individual and his group.

1) AA 4, p. 32f.

2) Ibid., p. 858.

3) As Gonzalo takes him to be: "Ein Bursche der eine Zitter und Stimme hat, schlägt sich überall durch !" (ibid., p. 857).

4) See esp. the first version of Götz, e.g. Georg's song Es fing ein Knab' ein Meiselein (AA 4, p. 718) (also E. Neumann, 'Die Lieder in Goethes Götz', etc., GQ 46 (1973), pp. 334ff.); and Klärchen's songs Die Trommel gerühret & Freudvoll und leidvoll (AA 6, pp. 23f., 53f.).

5) See R. Fischer, Der Chor im deutschen Drama, etc., esp. pp. 71ff.

6) Italienische Reise, Bericht November 1787, 1/3/1788, 7/3/1788, (AA 11, pp. 483, 577, 580ff.).

He first heard such music as part of the St. Cecilia's Day celebrations:

Eine schöne Art musikalischer Aufführung hört' ich hier. Wie man Violin- oder andere Konzerte hat, so führen sie Konzerte mit Stimmen auf, daß die eine Stimme.... herrschend ist und Solo singt, das Chor von Zeit zu Zeit einfällt und [sie] begleitet,...immer mit dem ganzen Orchester. Es tut gute Wirkung. ¹

But he was also much struck by its dramatic possibilities, when he heard some of the ^SPasientide music in St. Peter's:
^A

die sogenannten Improperien,
die Vorwürfe, welche der gekreuzigte Gott seinem Volke macht...
Der Augenblick, wenn der...Papst vom Thron steigt, um das Kreuz anzubeten,...jedermann still ist, und das Chor anfängt,...ist eine der schönsten unter allen merkwürdigen Funktionen. ²

Accordingly, we often find choruses, or the idea of a chorus, used in his work - sometimes of the familiar operatic kind, which adds the strength and sonority of numbers to whatever action is taking place, sometimes as a feature of some complexity, involving dialogue between its members or with an individual. The ballad Die erste Walpurgisnacht (1799) exploits this alternation of solo and chorus with most striking effect; ³ the whole company of the Wanderjahre sing as a chorus on numerous occasions; ⁴ and choruses of this 'expressive' type occur throughout his dramatic work, whether in 'straight' drama (e.g. the end of the first act of Egmont, where the different voices and opinions are combined in the final canon) ⁵, or in the Festspiele (e.g. the contrasting choruses of Schmiede and Hirten in Pandora. ⁶)

A further interesting variant of the idea of music as voice of feeling can be found in some of Goethe's later poetry. In his brief essay Symbolik (1794), he suggested that the similarity of sound in words such as 'mein', 'dein' and 'sein' was a pointer to genuine "innere Verwandtschaft der Er-

1) Italienische Reise, Am Cäcilienfeste, 22/11/1786, AA 11, p.154; cf. also Bericht November 1787, AA 11, p.483.

2) Ibid., 22/3/1788, AA 11, p.584.

3) AA 1, pp.146ff.

4) E.g. II, 9, AA 8, p.282; II, 1, (ibid., pp.335ff.

5) AA 6, p.16.

6) Ibid., pp.412ff.

scheinungen";¹ and there are several points in his works where the utterance of similar sounds is used to suggest similar attitudes, especially of two beings 'in tune' with one another. This is not an idea peculiar to Goethe - Herder, after all, had suggested much earlier in his Über den Ursprung der Sprache that the power of primitive song lay in the capacity of such simple 'Ton' to evoke a like response from fellow-creatures: "Ton der Empfindung soll das sympathetische Geschöpf in denselben Ton versetzen!"² But Goethe seems to have been especially struck by the idea when he heard certain kinds of popular song in Venice:

Es ist bekannt, daß in Venedig die Gondolier große Stellen aus Ariost und Tasso auswendig wissen und solche auf ihre eigne Melodie zu singen pflegen...

Die stark deklamierten und gleichsam ausgeschrieenen Laute trafen von fern das Ohr und erregten die Aufmerksamkeit; die bald darauf folgenden Passagen,...schienen wie nachklingende Klagöne auf einen Schrei der Empfindung oder des Schmerzens. Der andere, der aufmerksam horcht, fängt gleich da an, wo der erste aufgehört hat, und antwortet ihm...

Es paßt vollkommen für einen müßigen einsamen Schiffer...In der Ferne vernimmt ihn ein anderer, vielleicht ein ganz Unbekannter. Melodie und Gedicht verbinden zwei fremde Menschen, er wird das Echo des ersten und strengt sich nun an, gehört zu werden, wie er den ersten vernahm...

Es klingt dieser Gesang aus der weiten Ferne unaussprechlich reizend, weil er in dem Gefühl des Entfernten erst seine Bestimmung erfüllt. Er klingt wie eine Klage ohne Trauer, und man kann sich der Tränen kaum enthalten.

3

This struck him not only in the gondoliers' songs, but also in those of the fishermen's wives who sang from the shore to their husbands on the boats:

Sie haben die Gewohnheit...sich abends an das Ufer zu setzen und diese Gesänge anzustimmen, und solange heftig damit fortzufahren, bis sie aus der Ferne das Echo der Ihrigen vernehmen.

Wie viel schöner...bezeichnet sich hier dieser Gesang als der Ruf eines Einsamen in die Ferne und Weite, daß ihn ein anderer und Gleichgestimmter höre und ihm antworte ! Es ist der Ausdruck einer starken herzlichen Sehnsucht, die doch jeden Augenblick dem Glück der Befriedigung nahe ist.

4

1) AA 16,p.855f.

2) Suphan V,p.17.

3) Article on 'Volkslied', Der deutsche Merkur März 1789; AA 14,pp.410ff.

4) Ibid.,p.412.

In Goethe's later poetry, this idea is taken up and developed in an interesting way. In the West-östlicher Divan, for example, the notion of "Ruf eines Einsamen in die Ferne...daß ihn ein anderer und Gleichgestimmter höre und ihm antworte", is combined with the earlier idea of music and poetry as one in the utterance of feeling. Sincere simplicity now gives way to emotional intensity; for when the poet finds a lover so well attuned to him that she follows his utterances with some of her own¹, she herself makes poetry, as love responds to love and rhyme responds to sonorous rhyme:

Behramgur, sagt man, hat den Reim erfunden,
Er sprach entzückt aus reiner Seele Drang;
Dilaram schnell, die Freundin seiner Stunden,
Erwiderte mit gleichem Wort und Klang.

Und so, Geliebte, warst du mir beschieden
Des Reims zu finden holden Lustgebrauch,
Daß auch Behramgur ich, den Sassaniden,
Nicht mehr beneiden darf; mir ward es auch.

Hast mir dies Buch geweckt, du hast's gegeben;
Denn was ich froh, aus vollem Herzen sprach,
Das klang zurück aus deinem holden Leben,
Wie Blick dem Blick, so Reim dem Reime nach. ₁

The preceding poem, Kaum, daß ich dich wieder habe, embodies a similar idea - Hafis fears that the unfamiliar 'songs' with which Suleika greets him after a separation may betoken a new love; but she answers that they are her own, and that he has inspired them.² And in the late poem Äolsharfen (1822), inspired by Ulrike von Levetzow, the use of this image is even more sophisticated. The title alone evokes a musical reference; and the subtitle "Gespräch" a linguistic one. The poem itself then makes no other musical allusion, but in alternate stanzas depicts two attitudes, gradually coming to-

1) Buch Suleika AA 3, p.360f.

2) Ibid., p.359f.

gether until they respond similarly to one another, despite separation.¹

For all the power of this imagery, Goethe did not confuse voice and melody, but saw the dangers of too close an analogy between speech and music

- as is clear from the Regeln für Schauspieler.² Nevertheless, there are times when his use of the idea of music as voice, melody, and language of feeling can cause problems of interpretation, by fudging the border-line between music and speech. There are passages in his work where it is virtually impossible to tell whether the section is meant to be sung or spoken, with or without accompaniment. In a work such as Concerto Dramatico³ this matters very little; since language is used predominantly as a sound-effect to evoke certain types of music and certain types of character, and a performer could move between speech and song as he chose. Even in a Festspiel such as Pandora, the issue is not especially serious - since the language of the whole is so highly stylised, formally ambiguous passages (such as Elpore's monologue^u to the audience, with its echoing finale(11.348ff.), Epimetheus' celebration of Pandora(11.655ff.), and Eos' account of the rescue and transformation of Phileros(11.959ff.,980ff.)⁴ can equally well be rendered by sonorously declaimed verse or by clearly articulated song. But a passage such as Iphigenie's Parzenlied causes considerable problems. It is set out as a Lied, and called a Lied - in itself an ambiguous term, covering both a song and a poem suitable for singing. There are frequent references to its being sung, both in the speech which introduces it and in the final stanza.⁵ Yet one would hesitate to say that musical treatment was vital to a performance. The Parzenlied is not only an outpouring of feeling, though the events narrated have most fearful implications for Iphigenie, and the

1) AA 1,p.480f.

2) AA 14,p.77; cf. also §3,p.72f.

3) AA 4,pp.155ff.

4) AA 6,pp.418ff.,429f.,439ff.

5) AA 6,p.198f.; see esp.11.1718ff.,1761ff.

passage marks her nadir of despair. It is also, as Günther Müller points out, the song of the Parzen, a narrative of a traditional relation between the gods and her family which she herself may be continuing;¹ and clear communication of its details is therefore important. Speaking might make it appear less of a personal climax and crisis than it represents; whereas singing might well obscure the words, or distinguish it too sharply from other passages in the play (notably^y from Iphigenie's affirmation of faith in the gods at the end of Act I).² Formally speaking, it exists in a kind of impasse; inasmuch as its sonority calls for performance, yet any performance would have to choose between speech and song. But its appeal to the imagination is immediate and direct - as the idea of song, the utterance of a human being in profound crisis, cast in a form exactly between the two media. It is interesting to note that when Goethe discusses similar problems in the Singspiel Jery und Bätely, he seems to mind very little whether such passages are actually sung or spoken. What he does specify is that they should be distinguished from the ordinary level of discursive dialogue, "prosaischer Dialog", on the one hand; and from "Gesang" properly speaking on the other.³ They are, then, utterances of special resonance, where heightened sound marks heightened emotional intensity, and speech borders on song. But they are not to be confused with lyrical outpourings; for they may very well embody the voice of thought as well as of feeling. Insofar, they bring us to the limits of this conception of music; we shall need other analogies to appreciate fully their significance in Goethe's work.

In pursuing the idea of music as melody and voice of feeling, and in developing its potential in literature, Goethe was clearly in the mainstream of his age - more so, perhaps, than in any other aspect of his attitude to

1) 'Das Parzenlied in Goethes Iphigenie', PEGS NS 22(1952/3), repr. in Morphologische Poetik, ed. E. Müller/H. Egner, Tübingen 1968, pp.511ff. See esp. p.511ff., pp.524ff.

2) Ibid., p.532.

3) Letter to Kayser, 29/12/1779, AA 18, p.473. Cf. p. 263 below.

music. Although, in La Nouvelle Héloïse, Rousseau made this conception of music the vehicle for observations of feeling much more subtle than Le Devin du Village could ever convey, Goethe seems from the beginning to have exploited the idea in an even greater variety of ways, whether as imagery or in the form of his works.

In Faust, then we may also expect to find a very great variety, including some of his most stereotyped use of this conception of music, but also some of his most sophisticated. Abert remarks that "Der erste Teil [of Faust] verwendet die Musik noch vorwiegend zu Lieder- und Choreinlagen im Sinne des alten Singspiels". He cites the songs in Vor dem Tor and Auerbachs Keller, plus Gretchen's König in Thule; and adds: "Sie werden alle samt ihrer Musik in der betreffenden Situation als bekannt vorausgesetzt und sind natürlich unbedingt zu singen."¹ They are, in short, very much "Lieder, von denen man supponiret, dass der Singende sie irgendwo auswendig gelernt und sie nun in ein und der andern Situation anbringt."² But even within this broad category the songs have somewhat different functions in Faust. Gretchen's songs, for instance, immediately evoke the folk-culture to which Herder drew Goethe's attention - and whenever she sings, she evokes this world to a greater or lesser extent. Der König in Thule (2759ff.) and Meine Mutter, die Hur' (4412ff) measure the span of Gretchen's life, but as material for folk-song; she expresses herself through them, but they also^{so} indicate how her own culture sees her. Hence her spoken reference to people who "singen Lieder auf mich"(4447); and her attempts to articulate other horrific episodes from her life in similar form (the drowning of her child(4551ff.), the poisoning of her mother (4565ff.)). In addition, even when Gretchen pours out her own feeling directly

1) GuM, p. 103.

2) Letter to Kayser, 29/12/1779, AA 18, p. 472.

in song, she keeps the forms familiar to her own culture. Meine Ruh' ist hin (3374ff.) is very much a quasi-folksong, even a work-song, sung at the spinning-wheel; whilst Ach, neige (3387ff.) follows to some extent the forms of a medieval Stabat mater¹ which Gretchen might be 'supposed' to know from her church-going. But Gretchen's self-expression in music also follows the Rousseau/Ramler ideal, even more closely than Lotte's. Mephisto has only to mention her singing of a folk-song to evoke the whole of her being for Faust (3318f.); and as Willoughby remarks, the four songs chart her emotional progress through the play, as well as her progress in its action.² Because these two latter songs are as much "lyrische Monodien" as folk-song, Abert considers that neither should be sung.³ In the case of Ach, neige, this seems to be fairly clear - Gretchen could not reproduce the choral setting of a Stabat mater, however familiar; so she would repeat the words, and modify them in order to express herself. But Meine Ruh' ist hin seems to me more like the 'border-line cases' discussed in connection with the Parzenlied. As Willoughby says, it is one of the 'nodal' points in the progression of her life⁴ - as such, it needs to be distinguished from the general run of what she says. But as Abert points out, if this song were given full musical treatment with accompaniment it could very easily become detached from its context, and acquire independent status as a Kunstlied;⁵ we might find the conventions of operetta eclipsing the impression of ardent and direct expression of feeling. However, either rhythmic speaking or unaccompanied singing would serve these purposes equally well;⁶ the distinction between speech and music is not per se important here. And indeed the same can be

1) Sternfeld, Goethe and Music, p.83f.

2) Goethe: Poet and Thinker, pp.107ff. Cf. also Barker Fairley, Six Essays, p.47f.

3) GuM, p.104f.

4) Op.cit., p.108.

5) Op.cit., p.105.

6) Modern productions often use an unaccompanied version of Zelter's setting, although the song was published with accompaniment.

said of Ach, neige. Gretchen could sing some of her lines unaccompanied, to suggest remembered liturgy, without forfeiting the impression of personal and direct expression of feeling. The vital point is not the distinction between speech and song; but the establishment of this as Gretchen's typical 'voice'. For when Ach, neige recurs in Part II (12069ff.), it must show that, even in her enlarged identity as Una Poenitentium, she retains her nature and thence her typical mode of expression.

As elsewhere in Goethe's work, however, we find not only the stereotype, but also some interesting variations on the idea of the solo voice expressing feeling through song. Mephisto's serenade, Was machst du mir/Vor Liebchen's Tür (3682ff.) is a cynical parody of the idea; and just as Crugantino adopts with deliberate irony the pose of the open-hearted minstrel, in order to seduce the daughter of a man who believes in it sincerely,¹ so also Mephisto strikes the pose in order to mock Gretchen for her fatal surrender to feeling. The use of serenade form, rather than folk-song, underlines the suggestion of false or ambiguous motives.² And the use of a song already well-known gives an added twist to the earlier picture of Gretchen expressing herself through traditional songs. This is an only too familiar song; and by applying it to Gretchen, Mephisto helps to label her in the eyes of society, and thus initiates her general condemnation.

The Pöet/Sänger, too, appears in Faust in several guises. The Poet of Zueignung constantly describes his utterance in terms of song or of musical sound - it is "halbverklungenen Sage"(11), "mein Lied"(21ff.); the play to come is termed "die folgenden Gesänge"(17), and his original audience "Seelen, denen ich ...sang"(18). Instrument and voice become one when the poet likens himself to the Äolsharfe(28); and the connection between feeling and sound was even more direct in some early versions which read "mein Leid ertönt".³

1) AA 4, p.857f.

2) Cf. Goethe's association with the zither, and its connection with seductive gallantry, (Über den Dilettantismus, AA 14, p.731); see pp. 75f. above.

3) Trunz, ed. cit. p.492.

Here, the theme of the poem is the poet's function of articulating feeling, and the idea of music as the voice of feeling comes out in the imagery. Euphorion actually enacts this function, with musical accompaniment and in song (9695ff.). This is one of the points, however, where caution is necessary. The network of references between this scene and the rest of the play is too complex to be understood in terms of one notion of music alone; the episode is accompanied by "vollstimmige Musik" (SD 9679), not by simple melody, and movement and dance are at least as important as the singing. Nevertheless, the idea of music as voice, melody, and language of feeling has a large part to play. Euphorion introduces himself with a "reizendes, reinmelodisches Saitenspiel" (SD 9679), which elicits a swift response from his listeners: "Alle merken auf und scheinen bald innig gerührt." (SD 9679). (This is, as far as I can see, the only occasion in the play where music without a singing voice is equated with the voice of feeling, as in Erwin und Elmire.¹). His appearance is described as like that of Apollo, god of both poetry and song: "In der Hand die goldne Leier, völlig wie ein kleiner Phöbus" (9620). He manifests himself entirely through song and dance, at first calling his utterances "Kindeslieder" (9695), and asking Helena: "Ist nun die Melodie, / Ist die Bewegung recht ?" (9747f.). He then leads the Chorus, "tanzend und singend" (SD 9755), and thus wins their affections (9765ff.); but as he climbs higher, they are soon left behind as audience for his 'voice' - which is described as able to reach them and communicate with them even from a distance:

Heilige Poesie,
Himmelan steige sie!...
Und sie erreicht uns doch
Immer, man hört sie noch,
Vernimmt sie gern. (9683ff.).

1) AA 4, p. 830.

And it is as a voice that Euphorion makes his last 'appearance', when he has vanished as a physical being(9905ff.), leaving his "eigenster Gesang" (9922) to be mourned by the Chorus.¹

Thus far, the frequency and importance of musical episodes in the play might seem to justify Cotti's description of Faust as an "überdimensionales Singspiel".² But the inadequacies of this approach become apparent when we come to consider certain aspects of the play where the idea of the individual voice expressing feeling is clearly influential, but where the model of the Singspiel would be insufficient or misleading. Herrmann remarks, for example, that the scene Offene Gegend (Act V) "beginnt wie ein Lied", and ends with a childlike prayer.³ Indeed, the Wanderer's opening 'speech' (11043ff.) could be sung without throwing the episode out of balance. The whole scene has something of the Singspiel about it, in that it presents a rural idyll, and the two main characters express simple attitudes in simple syntax⁴ - a style entirely in keeping with the simple faith and simple life which the old couple have maintained so far despite Faust.⁵ But this hardly amounts to an adequate characterisation of the scene. It is expositional narrative, as well as lyrical outpouring, and has a consequently complex vocabulary; the old couple are not merely 'Rousseauesque' characters, if only because of the Classical allusions evoked by their names; and their anxiety about their hut and church is not only a defence of the simple life and its values against the insincere and cynical attitudes of the wealthy - it reminds us ominously of the earlier "Hütte" which Faust destroyed.⁶ The field of reference of such a scene extends far beyond the Singspiel and its associations.

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- 1) It has often been noted that Euphorion owes something to Mozart as well as to Byron: e.g. Müller-Blattau, 'Der Zauberflöte Zweiter Teil', etc., Goethe NF 18(1956), p.174; H. Rüdiger, 'Weltliteratur in Goethes Helena', Jb. der Deutschen Schillerges. VIII(1964), pp.195ff.; Hardy, Goethe, Calderón etc., p.176. It is worth noting here that, apart from the meteoric life & early death which he has in common with Euphorion, Mozart was the chief composer known to Goethe who wrote predominantly in the 'melodic' style.
- 2) Op.cit., p.58; see also p.46. 3) Herrmann, p.102f.
- 4) Cf. Trunz, p.610. 5) Willoughby, op.cit., p.105f.
- 6) Willoughby, *ibid.*

Similar objections may be raised in the case of Lynkeus' song on the battlements(11288ff.), which is specified as sung (SD 11288). For this is not purely outpouring of feeling, and so not in Goethe's terms pure aria, as Cotti maintains.¹ As Requadt emphasises, Lynkeus reflects on what he sees, and describes the balance between his feelings and the outside world; so that his utterance is "nicht so sehr Lied als Gesang":

Das Lied teilt sich in
Vierzeiler. Der erste stellt Lynkeus selbst vor, der zweite beschreibt
sein Tun, der dritte deutet sein Weltverhältnis, zum Schluß geht es
in ein Hymnisches über, Rühmung der Augen, welche die Schönheit der
Welt sehen durften.²

The utterance of feeling plays a large part in his singing, but by no means the only part. Furthermore, this feeling is not especially simple, and it does not stem from a simple life, but from his especial vantage point outside 'life' and action, as the Türmer. The Rousseauesque associations of the Singspiel are misleading here. The idea of music as voice, melodious utterance, takes us somewhat further; since it enables us to take account not only of this song, but also of the general importance of sound-quality in his utterances - e.g. in his previous speeches in rhymed verse, whose sonority moves Helena to ask:

warum die Rede
Des Manns mir seltsam klang, seltsam und freundlich.
Ein Ton scheint sich dem andern zu bequemen,
Und hat ein Wort zum Ohre sich gesellt,
Ein andres kommt, dem ersten liebzukosen. (9367ff.);

and in his later commentary on the scene in Faust's harbour, "durchs Sprachrohr"(11143ff.). Clearly, the kind of thing which Lynkeus has to say about himself and the world can equally well be voiced in music or in poetry. And yet he is not a 'border-line case', in the way that Iphigenie's Parzenlied

1) Cotti, p.48.

2) Op.cit.pp.361f.,365.

was. His utterances certainly fall near the boundary between speech and song; but on one occasion he is quite specifically required to sing, while on others he is specifically required to speak in two distinct and remarkable ways. We need more than one notion of music in order to understand its significance in connection with Lynkeus; but the model of voice, song, and melodious utterance of feeling will illuminate some aspects, at least. Faust's monologues are a further case in point. If we limited the figure of Faust to the associations of the Singspiel, we should belittle both the range and the depth of feeling which he displays - to say nothing of belittling the intellectual aspects, the reflections upon the nature of the world which play so great a part in Faust's character, as well as in the play as a whole. Faust is not simple; for all his mistrust of words, he is exceedingly eloquent and trained to be so; it is apt that he should express himself in words, not in song.¹ Nonetheless, he is also³⁰ preeminently a man of feeling; and in his words, the elements common to both speech and music (i.e. sound and rhythm) have a very important part to play in conveying the sense.² Many of Faust's lyrical monologues have something of the singing "aus dem Grund^e des Herzens", of being entirely absorbed in voicing reactions to the present moment, which Goethe characterised as 'aria';³ and this not only in Part I (his monologue in Gretchen's room(2687ff.)), for example, or his reassertion of passion at the end of Wald und Höhle, (3345ff.)), but also in Part II - as for instance in his reaction to the first sight of Helena(6487ff.), or in his response to Peneios' "Schilfgeflüster"(7257ff.). It is the persistence of this element in Faust's

1) Goethe himself considered that Faust's monologues should be spoken, not sung; see Conv. with Förster, Mai/Juli 1821, AA 23, p.140f.

2) See esp. comments by Barker Fairley in the first two of his "Six Essays"; notably pp.8ff., 12ff., 24ff., 36ff.

3) Letter to Kayser, 29/12/1779, AA 18, pp472ff.

speech which helps to make sense of the transmutation of his voice into song, for a brief period, in the Euphorion episode (9695ff.); and which helps to⁹ make credible the fact that Euphorion, the Pöet/Sänger of feeling, is Faust's son. More important still, if we appreciate the influence which led Goethe to envisage poetry and music as one in the idea of melodious voice, especially of feeling, it is easier to appreciate the fact that in the play as a whole, vocal sound is often presented as significant per se, and that Faust is shown as especially sensitive to it. His overwhelming response to the "Klang" of the Easter Chorus is a good example(762ff.); and Gretchen, too, when mad, recognises Faust not by his words or face, but by the tone of his voice(4461ff.). Even more striking, perhaps, is the force with which the mere sound of the "Mütter" brings home to Faust their mysterious and awesome nature(6215ff.; see also 6265f.). And the importance of vocal sound and its associations is mentioned again in the scene Am Oberen Peneios, this time with ironic humour, when Mephisto offends the griffins by giving them the wrong connotations:

Nicht Greisen ! Greifen ! - Niemand hört es gern,
 Daß man ihn Greis nennt. Jedem Worte klingt
 Der Ursprung nach, wo es sich her bedingt:
 Grau, grämlich, griesgram, greulich, Gräber, grimmig,
 Etymologisch gleicherweise stimmig,
 Verstimmen uns.

(7093ff.);

and when the Sphinxes confront Mephisto with the riddle of himself:

Wir hauchen unsre Geistertöne,
 Und ihr verkörpert sie alsdann.
 Jetzt nenne dich, bis wir dich weiter kennen. (7114ff.).¹

As elsewhere in Goethe's work, the idea of music as melody and voice of feeling does not only influence his depiction of the solo voice. In Faust

1) This touches on the subject of the connotation of names: see A. White, Names and Nomenclature in Goethe's 'Faust', London (Institute of Germanic Studies) 1980, esp. pp. 95ff. on Mephistopheles. However, this work does not consider the associations evoked specifically by the sound of a name.

we also find 'Ton' answering 'Ton', as the sympathetic response of a fellow-creature. In Zueignung, the Poet/Sänger himself ventures on his first tentative sounds, "daß ihm ein anderer und Gleichgestimmter höre und ihm antwort¹e." He no longer receives this friendly response from his previous audience:

Sie hören nicht die folgenden Gesänge,
Die Seelen, denen ich die ersten sang;
Zerstoben ist das freundliche Gedränge,
Verklungen, ach! der erste Widerklang. (17ff.);

so must now hope for an echo from a new one: "Mein Lied ertönt der unbekannten Menge"(21). And, as in the poetry of West-östlicher Divan, the idea of answering 'Ton' with similar 'Ton' is transposed into poetry in Faust, too, when Faust finally meets Helena and wins her love. We have already seen Helena's wonder at the associations of loving, even erotic, response evoked for her by Lynkeus' rhymes:

Ein Ton scheint sich dem andern zu bequemen,
Und hat ein Wort zum Ohre sich gesellt,
Ein andres kommt, dem ersten liebzukosen. (9369ff.).

And Faust is quick to respond to this invitation on his own account:

Gefällt dir schon die Sprechart unsrer Völker,
O so gewiß entzückt auch der Gesang,
Befriedigt Ohr und Sinn im tiefsten Grunde.
Doch ist am sichersten, wir üben's gleich;
Die Wechselrede lockt es, ruft's hervor. (9372ff.).

Here the assonance of rhyme and the sonority of song are not distinct - both epitomise the understanding response of one lover to another, "Wie Blick dem Blick, so Reim dem Reime nach".² However, the idea does not always carry positive connotations. It is just such meaningful exchange of sound which Mephisto 'negates' in the rhyming sing-song of the monkeys in the Hexenküche (2380ff., 2450ff.): "Nein, ein Diskurs wie dieser da/Ist grade der, den ich

1) 'Volksgeſang', AA 14, p. 412; cf. p. 214 above.

2) Behramgur, ſagt man, AA 3, p. 360f.; cf. p. 215 above.

am liebsten führe!"(2388f.). And the Sphinxes mock the Sirens for their seductive arts by singing "in derselben Melodie"(SD 7161).

Clearly, Goethe may have begun with the idea of simple song raised to prominence by Rousseau and Herder and supported by popular usage. But he has gone well beyond the aura of the 'simple life' evoked by folk-song, by the tradition of Oden and Lieder, and by the Rousseauesque Singspiel. It is the idea of music embodied in these styles - voice, melody, language of feeling - which has persisted and been developed in Faust, in a great variety of ways, as it was in other works. This is evident not only in Goethe's use of music to depict the solo voice, or the response of 'Ton' to 'Ton'; but also in his use of choruses in Faust, to render the 'voice' of a particular group. Some of these choruses function in a fairly stereotyped way as local colour - they voice the attitudes of a community, as background for the main action. The Bauern unter der Linde(949ff.), for example, seem almost a revival of the "bebänderten Buben und Mädchen" which Goethe remembered from a performance of Le Devin du Village;¹ their song describes a rustic festivity such as their own, with a refrain imitating the sound of the fiddle and the cat-calls of the revellers(954ff.). The Soldiers' Chorus (884ff.) similarly describes their life-style and attitudes, as they move through the Easter crowds; and both groups form part of the social milieu in which Faust takes his walk with Wagner. Yet even these straightforward choruses do more than merely provide local colour. Both introduce the theme of seduction and abandonment which is to become a major part of the play's action; and though simple themselves, thereby become part of a dramatic structure which is anything but simple. Similar things may be said of the songs in Auerbachs Keller. It has been remarked that this scene is in many

1) Dichtung und Wahrheit III,AA 10,p.103.

ways like a comic opera quartet;¹ and actual setting does indeed seem desirable, if only for the extra noise to match the animal imagery in the solo songs (Rattenlied, 2126ff., Flohlied, 2211ff.). the raucous unanimity of the choruses ("jauchzend", 2133, 2239), and their culmination in the singing of "Uns ist ganz kannibalisch wohl" (2293f.).² Yet even such a chorus is fairly complex in its reference; apart from the satire specifically on student life, in Leipzig, it forms the background both for Faust's past life as an academic teacher, and for Mephisto's first attempts to involve Faust in sensuality. It is also common operatic practice to introduce a chorus as support for a principal figure;³ and Mephisto has many such choruses: for example, the Geister auf dem Gange (1259ff., 1447ff.), the Chor der Insekten who welcome him when he re-enters Faust's study (6592ff.), the sing-song of the Drei Gewaltigen Gesellen (11167ff.), or the Lemuren (11515ff., 11604ff.). Yet they too go beyond the standard model; in that they are not merely supportive, but themselves represent destructive activity of various kinds, and actively assist Mephisto in his own similar efforts, thus demonstrating and amplifying his identity as negator and destroyer "im Kleinen" (1361). Their voices raised in praise ^{is} or support of him summarise not only similar attitudes, but also similar activities.

And in various other ways, too, Goethe develops the chorus beyond the standard idea of the unanimous voice of a particular social group. The chorus of Dom, for example (3798ff.), may be thought of as the condemnatory voice of Gretchen's community, confirming the vindictive condemnation of Valentin in the previous scene (3726ff.). But the fact that it follows the text of the Dies Irae section of the Requiem Mass,⁴ with full accompaniment of the organ

1) Errante, pp. 40ff.; Trunz, p. 512.

2) Cf. Cotti on the "Chor der Zecher" (p. 49); Requadt, pp. 204ff.

3) Fischer's remarks are rather unhelpful here; he seems to assess Goethe's use of the chorus from the viewpoint of his Classical period, rather than from musical antecedents, so that the role of music is left unclarified (Der Chor im deutschen Drama, etc., pp. 71ff.).

4) See esp. Requadt, p. 277.

and its associations with overpowering sound,¹ makes this chorus a most forceful articulation of that part of the liturgy which Gretchen knows and fears - the voice of orthodox^o ecclesiastical morality at its sternest. Its overwhelming unanimity of sound makes it a powerful symbol of unanimity of feeling; which is then turned against Gretchen by the Böser Geist with annihilating effect. In a somewhat different context, the 'unanimous' chorus also serves as the 'spearhead' of an attitude in Part II, when the Himmlische Heerschar of angels rescue Faust's soul from Mephisto. Since the devils say nothing(11636ff.), the Angels become the unanimous voice of the many against one, and thus mark the triumphant assertion of the value of love against Mephisto and all his negations(11726ff.), and his loss of his wager with the Lord. And yet this unanimity does not always carry positive connotations in Faust; it can become the very opposite of an individual voice. Both Frankenberger and Dietze note the pejorative use of "unisono" in the Walpurgisnachtstraum (4334), where it is equated with having no definite personality and therefore no voice of one's own, with singing the same 'tune' as everybody else out of weakness and lack of understanding.²

There are yet other ways in which Goethe exploits the Chorus form to voice the attitudes and feelings of a group. Petsch and Requadt have both remarked on his use of 'Revue' scenes,³ where individual characters follow one another in sequence, each uttering his piece as part of a large-scale spectacle, sometimes singly, sometimes in small groups: as in the Walpurgisnachtstraum, the Mummenschanz, and in the Meeresfest scene, for example. Rather different again are the scenes in which the Chorus represents the

1) See p. 76 above; and esp. Hicks, p. 119.

2) Frankenberger, Walpurgis: Zur Kunstgestalt von Goethes 'Faust', p. 34 & note; Dietze, 'Der Walpurgisnachtstraum in Goethes Faust', PMLA 84 (1969), p. 482. Both cite Goethe's comments to Riemer, 12/12/1817 [AA 23, p. 20].

3) See Petsch, 'Die dramatische Kunstform des Faust', Euph. 33 (1932), pp. 233ff. and note; Requadt, pp. 19, 93, 283, 298, 307ff.

voice of a group by being divided into subsidiary groups which embody various aspects of the same attitude - e.g. the choruses of angels, women and disciples who between them celebrate the implications of Easter(737ff.); the witches and warlocks of the Walpurgisnacht, who represent various forms of evil but who are united in going to the Devil(3956ff.); the various individuals and groups of Bergschluchten, who are united by heavenly love in their striving towards "höhern Sphären"(12094), though they represent different stages of enlightenment and love for the Divine. The Anchorites' Chor und Echo describing their "Heiligen Liebeshort"(11853), followed by the individual Patres; the Chor Seliger Knaben, who admonish one another "Regt euch und singet/Heil'ge Gefühle drein"(11928f.); the Doctor Marianus,"entzückt"(SD 11997) as he pours out "heiliger Liebeslust"(11203) in adoration of the Mater Gloriosa; and Gretchen, after the pleas of the Chor der Büß-erinnen (12032ff.), combining love of Faust and love of the Divine in a new version of her old song,(12069ff.); all these have something of the idea of music as the voice of feeling, and thus keep, even in their 'heavenly' form, the connotations of human nature and its habits of utterance.

But the most curious product in Faust of the idea of music as voice, melody and language of feeling, is the way in which the distinction between music and language, song and speech, can become unimportant at many points. The idea of utterance - especially utterance of feeling - predominates to such an extent that spoken passages of particular sonority seem almost interchangeable with song. Hofmannsthal described such passages as an evocation of music for the imagination:

hier ist Musik in jedem Vers herbeigerufen,
ja sie ist völlig halluziniert: ob den äußeren Sinnen hörbar oder nicht,
der Phantasie ist sie gegenwärtig. ₁

1) 'Goethes Opern und Singspiele'; Berührung der Sphären, p.288; Goethe im XX. Jahrhundert, p.160.

For the reader of Faust, this must necessarily be the case. Yet Faust is not, after all, primarily a descriptive work, but a dramatic one. And if we look closely at the text as at a potentially performable play, we find that many of these passages emerge as realisable in either medium, as working equally well in either. The consistent use of ambiguous terms, such as Lied, Chor, singen, Gesang, etc., or indeed the absence of any designation whatever, does not necessarily denote vagueness, or a 'hallucination' possible only in the imagination; it can denote genuine openness. Faust's "rhythmischer Vortrag" when describing the approach of the Erdegeist, for example(468ff.), renders Faust's fear and elation quite adequately by means of language; especially by broken syntax and broken rhythms. But when efforts were made to perform parts of Faust,¹ Goethe re-cast this, and the following appearance of the Erdegeist, as melodrama:² i.e. as spoken with instrumental background. The Walpurgisnacht witches' Chorus is another example. It is described as a "wütender Zaubergesang"(3955); but this could be taken figuratively, rather than literally. The Chorus could, even without musical setting, (e.g. in a kind of choral chant), give the impression of unholy noise, bickering, fiendish destructiveness, etc., and finally of a united invasion of the Brocken(4008ff.). The effectiveness of such passages depends very largely on their relation to what precedes them and to what follows, rather than on whether they are themselves performed in song or in speech. In this case, the main point is that the Chorus should provide a climax to Mephisto's description of the fiendish transformation of the landscape (3938ff.), and should represent convincingly the impossibly noisy and chaotic milling throng from which Faust has to be rescued(4016ff.). Other such episodes, without specific instructions for musical treatment, might similarly

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- 1) These extended over several years; Eberwein wrote music for the melodrama version mentioned above(see letter to Graf Brühl, 1/5/1815, AA 21, p.66); but the first performance was instigated by Fürst Radziwill, and used music by him(see letter to Graf Brühl, 2/6/1819, AA 21, p.335; also conv. with Förster, Mai/Juli 1821, AA 23, p.140.).
- 2) Letter to Brühl of 1/5/1815, loc.cit.

succeed in either medium - the various Choruses attendant on Mephisto, for instance. The Geister auf dem Gange (1259ff., 14 7ff., 1607ff.), the Chor der Insekten (66592ff.), and the Chorus of Lemuren (11511ff., 11593ff.) might equally well sing or chant, according to one's assessment of their function in their immediate context and in the play as a whole.¹

Other passages again would probably need to be spoken, rather than sung, in order to ensure fully audible words; and yet, because they are cast in musical form, or because they deliberately evoke musical associations, they would have to be rendered in a kind of chant, in speech as near to song as possible. The Archangels' hymn in the Prolog is a good example. The hymnic form, as well as the text, evokes ardent songs of praise; the circumstances evoke the harmony of the angelic hosts. But there are no directions for choral treatment - the three Archangels simply "treten vor" (SD 243). And indeed choral setting would not be appropriate to the idea of a heavenly council suggested by Goethe's model, the opening of the Book of Job. Nevertheless, some form of musical accompaniment to the Archangels' voices could conceivably be introduced without disrupting the whole. The chief necessity here is that we should not only hear what the Archangels say, but also hear the contrast between their voices and that of Mephisto. Similar considerations apply to the Chor gefangener Trojanerinnen which accompanies Helena (8488ff.). They must speak initially, since they are explicitly transposed into the medium of music in the Euphorion scene. Yet their literary pedigree, and the lyrical sonority of their language, inevitably evokes the ancient

1) An assessment not necessarily easy to make - the Geister auf dem Gange, for instance, seem particularly controversial. Barker Fairley comments that they have "no choice but to speak lyrically" (Six Essays, p.37), but this seems both vague and unnecessarily dogmatic. Abert considers this a scene where music is for the "inneres Ohr", as setting would obscure the text and take too long (p.104). Maché gives a detailed account of critical discussion ('Zu Goethes Faust, etc', Euph. 65 (1971), esp. p.203 and notes). Although he uses ambiguous terms throughout (pp.204ff.), he implies that setting is necessary by pointing to the original connection with Anmutige Legend (p.204f.); and Cotti connects these Geister with the Easter Chorus, as supernatural beings, and thereby also implies setting (p.49).

unity of music and poetry in Greek tragedy; and in their finale after Helena's death, vocal sound becomes a crucial medium for their depiction of their new life and activity, especially of the Dionysian celebration(10025ff.). In performance, this episode would indeed demand considerable mastery of the borderline area between speech and song; and it is difficult to say that an appropriately 'Dionysian' musical accompaniment would be totally out of place.

There are some passages, however, in which this ambiguity seems to me to become genuinely problematic; in that they appear to fall between the two media, rather than to be realisable in either. The Walpurgisnachtstraum, for instance, contains such a wide range of voices and sounds from its half-creatures and from its insect orchestra, from Ariel's "himmlisch-reinen Tönen"(4240) downwards; ¹ how would one envisage a setting which would not also swamp the words ? Or would a setting be adequate which simply rendered an impression of clumsy efforts at self-expression ? The scene does indeed remain in what Ronga calls a "sonorous limbo where it is unnecessary for the image to be concretized in its musical fullness".² Nonetheless, the scene is necessary to the play, if only for the sake of the tonal contrast with Faust's anguished voice on discovering the reality of Gretchen's misery (Trüber Tag. Feld). We are left in an impasse where music is necessary but best imagined. In a somewhat different way, the Chorus Mysticus at the end of the play is equally problematic. It is a Chorus, and therefore implies a number of voices. But unlike every other group in the final scene, or indeed in the play, these voices do not have a "local habitation and a name" in any definable figures, or a characteristic style of expressing themselves. On

1) See esp. Requadt, pp.314,320; & pp.109ff. and 124ff. above.

2) The Meeting of Poetry and Music, p.113f.

the contrary, they are mystical - i.e. they belong to a realm whose nature and utterance cannot be imagined, in which communication no longer needs a medium at all:

Das Unbeschreibliche,
Hier ist's getan... (12108f.).

Yet this Chorus presents us with the final words of the play; and it thus occupies the position normally taken by a summary of the play's action and utterance. More than one idea of music is needed to appreciate the function of this Chorus; but we should certainly pause to think before assuming that it is simply an operatic finale, a musical climax.¹

Clearly, the idea of music as voice, melody and language of feeling influenced Goethe profoundly - not only in reinforcing Herder's influence on his poetry, and in making him permanently aware of the sound-elements in language, but also in providing him with a rich source of imagery and with an enormously extended idea of possible styles of utterance. Long after he had moved beyond Rousseau and the Singspiel, to the more vigorous emotions and sounds of Italian comic opera and sacred music, or to the complex and sophisticated utterances of the allegorical Festspiel, he retained the idea of music as voice. And the variety of ways in which he drew on the idea shows that it must have become for him one of the valued resources of a professional writer, not merely the limited conception of an amateur musician.

1) E.g. Fischer, p.92; Hofmannsthal, loc.cit.; Willoughby, Urfaust./Faust. Ein Fragment, p.xxxvii; Requadt, p.387f.

2) Music as Contrast and Complement to Language

The idea of music as voice and melody, and the consequent tendency to envisage music as the language of feeling, coexisted in eighteenth-century thinking with an^d opposite trend towards emphasis on the differences between music and language. Here, however, we are faced with something very much more diffuse. No one aspect of music served as focal point, as melody had done for the analogy with voice; and no particular ~~conf~~^sensus of opinion emerged. Nonetheless, the very intractability of the problem seems to have ensured its continuing fascination, and thence its power to stimulate experiment in literature.

The obvious ^d~~i~~fference between language and music is that the latter cannot convey unambiguous meaning, or the sequence of logical thought. As Langer remarks, music has no vocabulary:

...its elements are not words - independent associative symbols with a reference fixed by convention. ...Since there is no meaning assigned to any of its parts, it lacks one of the basic characteristics of language - fixed association, and therewith a single, unequivocal reference. ¹

This absence of a fixed frame of reference distinguishes music from even poetic language, where non-logical features such as sound-associations, rhythm, indirect reference of all kinds, play an important part. Whatever the area of overlap between poetry and music, the precise field of reference

1) Feeling and Form, p.31. D. Cooke's chapter 'Some Basic Terms of Musical Vocabulary' (in The Language of Music, pp.113ff.) seems to me to beg this question by taking the very great majority of its examples from vocal music, where the 'meaning' can be checked by reference to the text. He certainly shows that the same 'formulae' of notes on the tonal scale tend to recur in association with similar moods, in a wide variety of styles. But this is not the same as showing that musical 'formulae' without words could carry meaning as unambiguously and consistently as a vocabulary does.

fixed by semantic convention remains one of poetry's chief assets, as R. Peacock insists.¹ Since music cannot compete with poetry as a vehicle for statement about a specific situation or for reasoning on a specific matter, it may appear to have disadvantages as a means of expression. On the other hand, there are times when music might seem to excel language as a medium. For instance, since the parts of music are structured and related to one another, and since music is not bound by semantic convention, then a given piece of music can be paralleled with any experience which seems to the reader analogous - or indeed, with several experiences at once:

We are always free to fill [music's] subtle...forms with any meaning that fits them; that is, [music] may convey an idea of anything conceivable in its...image.²

It may thus convey multiple significance without contradiction or confusion, and thereby achieve a richness and complexity which even symbolic language cannot match. In combination with words, music may reinforce or complement, by its sounds and rhythms, not only the logical sense of the text, but also nuances of mood. The speaking voice does this too, as Peacock points out. But since the range of pitch, timbre and volume at the singer's disposal is so much greater, and since the resources of an instrumental accompaniment are also available, the resulting presentation of the text has a sensuous variety, and therefore a potentially greater expressive power, which the speaking voice alone could not achieve:

Speech receives its intended meaning from appropriate inflexions of the voice; we deliberately coordinate our voice with what we want to say...Moreover, special effects of meaning are achieved by the calculated disturbing of normal voice coordination...Irony, sarcasm and mockery depend on a tone of voice that cuts across the literal meaning of the words...It is the musical voice that creates both tone and range, quality and variety of sound...The voice thus provides a supporting sound imagery which fuses corroboratingly with the pattern of the words and their evocations.³

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- 1) The Art of Drama, pp.48ff., 121-156.
 2) Langer, Feeling and Form, p.31.
 3) The Art of Drama, p.122.

A great deal of eighteenth-century comment on the matter consisted simply of 'grading' music in relation to language, on the basis of considerations such as these. French Rationalists, as might be expected, found music intangible and therefore highly dubious:

Was nicht dem Auge und dem Verstande ein Objekt hinstellt, was sich nicht durch ein plastisches Bild wiedergeben läßt, bleibt dieser Ästhetik...so peinlich, daß sie in Verlegenheit gerät,...wenn die Einbildungskraft aufhört, von der Sprache und ihren Zeichen geführt zu werden, wie in der Instrumentalmusik...Klarheit und Bestimmtheit, die beiden Hauptmerkmale des Wahren, sind auch die Wahrzeichen der Kunst: ~~sein~~ n'est beau que le vrai.
(Boileau). rien

1

Nor were German Rationalists able to produce very much more in defence of music more convincing to the Rationalist mind, though they may have felt that music had its merits. For Gottsched, the combination of drama with music in opera meant the indefensible distortion of normal speech conventions, and therewith of normal sense:

Ich schweige noch der seltsamen Vereinbarung der Musik, mit allen Worten der Redenden. Sie sprechen nicht mehr, wie es die Natur ihrer Kehle, die Gewohnheit des Landes, die Art der Gemüthsbewegungen...erfordert: sondern sie dehnen, erheben, und vertiefen ihre Töne nach den Phantasien eines andern. Sie lachen und weinen, husten und schnupfen nach Nöten. Sie schelten und klagen nach dem Tacte; und wenn sie sich aus Verzweiflung das Leben nehmen, so verschieben sie ihre heldenmäßige That so lange, bis sie ihre Triller ausgeschlagen haben. 2

J.A. Scheibe, in his periodical Der critische Musikus,³ tried very hard to systematise music as Gottsched had systematised poetry in his Critische Dichtkunst, using the same Wolffian concepts.⁴ But he found himself unable to answer basic questions, such as precisely how reason could operate in music when music lacked the logical sequence set up by verbal conventions.⁵

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- 1) Goldschmidt, p.34f. He means specifically Boileau's Art Poétique (1674) & Bossuet's Maximes et Réflexions sur la Comédie (1699); but the attitude clearly persisted well into the 18th century - see his chapter on the French Rationalists, pp.33ff., esp. p.41.
 - 2) Critische Dichtkunst, II, 2, iv, §10, ed.cit., p.740.
 - 3) Hamburg 1737-40, and 1745; see Birke, Christian Wolffs Metaphysik, etc., pp.49ff.; Goldschmidt, p.82f.
 - 4) Birke, pp.IX, 49ff.
 - 5) Ibid., p.59.

Later on in the century, although the discussion of aesthetics became very much more sophisticated, the idea persisted that music was vague and irrational by comparison with language, however appealing its greater sensuous beauty. Batteux found music vague even in its depiction of emotions, let alone of ideas:

Il est vrai...qu'il y a des passions qu'on reconnoit dans le chant musical, par exemple, l'amour, la joie, la tristesse: mais pour quelques expressions marquées, il y en a mille autres dont on ne scauroit dire l'objet. ¹

Lessing found this vagueness a particular disadvantage where sudden changes of mood were necessary:

Itzt zerschmelzen wir in Wehmuth, und auf einmal sollen wir rasen. Wie ? warum ? wider wen ? wider eben den, für den unsere Seele ganz mitleidiges Gefühl war ? ...Alles das kann die Musik nicht bestimmen; sie läßt uns in Ungewißheit und Verwirrung; wir empfinden, ohne eine richtige Folge unserer Empfindungen wahrzunehmen... und alle diese unordentliche Empfindungen sind mehr abmattend, als ergötzend. Die Poesie hingegen läßt uns den Faden unserer Empfindungen nie verlieren; hier wissen wir nicht allein, was wir empfinden sollen, sondern auch, warum wir es empfinden sollen; und nur dieses Warum macht die plötzlichsten Übergänge nicht allein erträglich, sondern auch angenehm. ²

Kant, who gave poetry pride of place amongst the arts because its combination of clear ideas and beauty of form provoked further thought as well as pleasure, found music more appealing and more complex because of its imprecision, but also transient in its influence and liable to sate the listener:

Denn ob sie

[die Musik] zwar durch lauter Empfindungen ohne Begriffe spricht, mithin nicht wie die Poesie etwas zum Nachdenken übrig bleiben läßt, so bewegt sie doch das Gemüth mannigfaltiger und, obgleich bloß vorübergehend, doch inniglicher; ist aber freilich mehr Genuß als Cultur ...; und hat, durch Vernunft beurtheilt, weniger Werth, als jede andere der schönen Künste. Daher verlangt sie wie jeder Genuß öftern Wechsel und hält die mehrmalige Wiederholung nicht aus ohne Überdruß zu erzeugen. ³

1) Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe, p.268. Cf. Goldschmidt, p.75f.

2) Hamburgische Dramaturgie, St.27, ed.cit.vol.9, p.296.

3) Kritik der Urtheilskraft, ed.cit.p.328. See also *ibid.*, pp.326ff.; Moos, pp.13ff.

Nor were these opinions confined to Rationalists. Hiller, like Batteux, felt that it was often difficult to put a name to the feelings conveyed by a piece of music:

Wir werden so unvermerkt, so sanft von ihr gerührt, daß wir nicht wissen, was wir empfinden; oder besser, daß wir unsrer Empfindung keinen Namen geben können.

1

And Chr. G. Körner complained in his essay Über Charakterdarstellung in der Musik that music was still despised for its vagueness in 1795:

Die Musik

würde das Ideal eines Charakters so wenig als irgend einen andern Gegenstand darstellen können, wenn der Vorwurf gegründet wäre, daß sie für sich allein uns nichts bestimmtes zu denken gebe. Noch jetzt aber ist dies eine herrschende Meinung bei einem großen Theile des Publikums. Noch immer hält man die Poesie Schauspiel oder Tanz für nöthig, um jenen Mangel an Bestimmtheit zu ergänzen, und wo die Musik als selbständige Kunst auftritt, verkennt man den Sinn ihrer Produkte, weil er sich nicht in Worte und Gestalten übertragen läßt. 2

In some instances, music was even felt to be positively deceptive - a mere empty illusion of meaningful speech. Moses Mendelssohn, for example, regarded instrumental music as a morally worthless jingle:

Man hat sich bemüht, den Sinnen zu gefallen, ohne den Verstand aufzuklären, ohne das Herz zu bessern, ohne die Absicht zu haben, uns glückseliger zu machen. 3

And Herder, who had always thought that music could convey intensity, but not the clarity of concept which comes only with reflection,⁴ in later life denounced modern opera with considerable vigour because it gave more attention to music than to words: "Musikalische Gedanken ohne Worte...sind freilich sonderbare Dinge." He condemned its "Au Au- und Wau Wau-Arien", and

1) Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik, p.523.

2) Die Horen, Tübingen 1795, I, V, 6, p.101.

3) Gesammelte Schriften, ed. G.B. Mendelssohn, Leipzig 1843f., IV, 1, p.70; cit. Atkinson, p.7f.

4) E.g. Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.161f.

sarcastically presented an Olla Potrida musikalischer Gedanken und Empfindungen, where the texts are considered suitable for music precisely because they have no meaning.¹

In other instances - often, interestingly enough, in the works of the same authors - music was seen as a medium of equal prestige with language, though different in kind. Where music was thought of as the medium of feeling, its inability to express precise ideas and logical thought was not necessarily viewed as a fault. If language took first place because of its rationality and clarity, music was esteemed for its power of direct appeal to sense and feeling. It seemed to have a swiftness of impact impossible for language, where time was needed for the 'message' to be taken in and assessed by the mind. Batteux explains this very clearly in Les Beaux arts:

Les hommes ont trois moyens pour exprimer leurs idées et leurs sentiments; la Parole, le Ton de la Voix, et le Geste.

J'ai nommé la Parole la première, parce qu'elle est en possession du premier rang... Cependant les Tons de la voix et les Gestes ont sur elle plusieurs avantages: ils sont d'un usage plus naturel: nous y avons recours quand les mots nous manquent;...La Parole n'exprime la passion que par le moyen des idées auxquelles les sentiments sont liés, et comme par réflexion. Le Ton et le Geste arrivent au coeur directement et sans aucun détour.

2

C.W. Ramler, who translated a later treatise by Batteux,³ seems to have had a similar distinction in mind when he explained, in the Vorbericht to his collection of Oden mit Melodien, that he had not necessarily chosen the best poems as texts,

weil sie für die Musik zu bilderreich sind, und allzuviel von dem mannigfaltigen Witze und von den feinen Sittenlehren haben, die sich nicht deutlich genug durch Töne ausdrücken lassen. 4

1) Adrastea (1801ff.), Suphan XXIII, pp.335ff.

2) Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe, pp.253ff.

3) Principes de la Littérature, 1755ff., transl. 1756-58, { as *Einleitung in die schönen Wissenschaften*.

4) C.W. Ramler/C.G.Krause, Oden mit Melodien, Berlin 1753 & 55; cit. M. Friedländer, Das deutsche Lied I,1,p.115. (I have been unable to check this quotation against the original).

And Hiller was obviously directly influenced by Batteux' ideas on this matter:

Der Verstand beschäftigt sich mit Bildern oder Ideen, das Herz mit Empfindungen. Jedes hat seine besondere Art sich aus zu drücken. Der Verstand hat die Sprache als ein Hülfsmittel, seine Vorstellungen andern verständlich zu machen. Das Herz ist einfältiger; ein Ton, ein Seufzer ist ihm genug, eine ganze Leidenschaft aus zu drücken. Ich benehme hier ganz und gar dem Herzen das Recht nicht, sich auch der Sprache zu seinem Vortheile zu bedienen: Ich rede nur von dem, was es für sich besonderes hat. Ein Ton also, von dem Gefühl des Herzens erzeugt, ist das Gefühl selbst. Es wird so gleich dafür erkannt, und gelangt unmittelbar und ohne Umschweif zu dem Herzen, da hingegen die Rede nur der zurück prallende Widerschein der Empfindung ist, wie Herr Batteux sie nennet. Sie gelangt später zu dem Herzen, und nicht eher, als bis sie den Verstand vorher gewonnen hat.

1

Schiller, too, entertained similar ideas, although he formulated them with much greater clarity and precision, and developed them further. He argued that music depicts the forms and dynamics of feeling by presenting analogous patterns in sound:

Nun besteht aber der ganze Effekt der Musik (als schöner und nicht bloß angenehmer Kunst) darin, die innern Bewegungen des Gemüts durch analogische äußere zu begleiten und zu versinnlichen.

2

- and that any more precise significance has to be supplied by the listener's imagination:

[Der Tonsetzer und der Landschaftsmaler bewirken dieses the creation of a formal entity which corresponds symbolically to some aspect of experience] bloß durch die Form ihrer Darstellung und stimmen bloß das Gemüt zu einer gewissen Empfindungsart und zur Aufnahme gewisser Ideen; aber einen Inhalt dazu zu finden, überlassen sie der Einbildungskraft des Zuhörers und Betrachters.

3

But he also pointed out that this depiction of the "Form der Empfindungen" is something which we expect of poetry, independently of its logical content:

In der Tat betrachten wir auch jede malerische und poetische Komposition als eine Art von musikalischem Werk und unterwerfen sie zum Teil denselben Gesetzen...Wir unterscheiden in jeder Dichtung die Gedankeneinheit von der Empfindungseinheit, die musikalische Haltung von der logischen, kurz wir verlangen, daß jede poetische Komposition neben dem, was ihr Inhalt ausdrückt, zugleich durch ihre Form Nachahmung und Ausdruck von Empfindungen sei und als Musik auf uns wirke.

4

1) Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik, p.520f.

2) Über Matthissons Gedichte, NA 22,p.272.

3) Ibid.,p.273.

4) Ibid.,p.272.

Furthermore, the meaning conveyed by poetic language is, like that of music, open-ended, not finite and complete; since everything implied by a poem as a whole cannot be made explicit, and different readers will therefore interpret the poem differently:

Der Dichter...hat noch einen Vorteil mehr [than the composer]: er kann jenen Empfindungen einen Text unterlegen, er kann jene Symbolik der Einbildungskraft zugleich durch den Inhalt unterstützen und ihr eine bestimmtere Richtung geben. Aber er vergesse nicht, daß seine Einmischung in dieses Geschäft ihre Grenzen hat...Der wirkliche und ausdrückliche Gehalt, den der Dichter hineinlegt, bleibt stets eine endliche, der mögliche Gehalt, den er uns hineinzulegen überläßt, ist eine unendliche Größe. ¹

With the Romantics, of course, the prestige of music became higher than that of language - precisely because music is not fettered by links with rational sequence of thought or with semantic convention, and therefore offers both greater scope and greater refinement as a medium than language can do.² Novalis considered the 'musical' aspects of language to be more meaningful than the logical ones, not less so:

Wenn man den Leuten nur begreiflich machen könnte, daß es mit der Sprache wie mit den mathematischen Formeln sei...Sie spielen nur mit sich selbst, drücken nichts als ihre wunderbare Natur aus, und eben darum sind sie so ausdrucksvoll - eben darum spiegelt sich in ihnen das seltsame Verhältnisspiel der Dinge... So ist es auch mit der Sprache - wer ein feines Gefühl ihrer Applicatur, ihres Takts, ihres musikalischen Geistes hat, wer in sich das zarte Wirken ihrer innern Natur vernimmt, und danach seine Zunge oder seine Hand bewegt, der wird ein Prophet sein. ³

And in Heinrich von Ofterdingen, music is accordingly the ideal medium, towards which language (especially poetic language) strives and in which it is subsumed. Heinrich's development as a poet through Klingsohr and Mathilde is repeatedly described in these terms:

Schon nahte sich ein Dichter,...um durch Laute der Muttersprache und durch Berührung eines süßen zärtlichen Mundes, die blöden Lippen aufzuschließen, und den einfachen Akkord in unendliche Melodien zu entfalten...

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- 1) Schiller, Über Matthissons Gedichte, NA 22, p.273f.
 - 2) See Atkinson passim, esp. pp.112ff.; also Moos, pp.65ff., 115ff., 134ff.; and M. Frey, Der Künstler und sein Werk bei W.H. Wackenroder und E.T.A. Hoffmann, Bern 1970, pp.87ff. Cp. A.W.v. Schlegel, whose ideas seem closer to those of Rousseau and Schiller (Moos, pp.93ff.); and Brentano, who preferred the model of song in music (Atkinson, pp.60ff., 97).
 - 3) Monolog (1798), in Schriften, ed. P. Kluckhohn/R. Samuel, Darmstadt 1960, II, p.672.

da Eure bloße Rede schon Gesang ist, und Eure Gestalt eine himmlische Musik verkündigt...

...sie ist der sichtbare Geist des Gesanges, eine würdige Tochter ihres Vaters. Sie wird mich in Musik auflösen.

1

But they are also used to convey the poetic stirrings which Heinrich's father experiences in his dream: "Wie gelöst war ^{ei} meine Zunge, und was ich sprach, klang wie Musik".² In the Phantasien über die Kunst (1799), Tieck and Wackenroder too suggest that music is a superior medium, almost beyond the laborious earthly business of communication:

Wenn andre über selbst-
erfundene Grillen zanken, oder ein verzweiflungsvolles Spiel des
Witzes spielen,...oh, so...ziehe [ich] mich still in das Land der
Musik,...wo wir alles Gekrächze der Menschen vergessen, wo kein Wort-
und Sprachengeschnatter, kein Gewirr von Buchstaben und monströser
Hieroglyphenschrift uns schwindlich macht.

3

Accordingly, instrumental music now takes precedence over vocal; from the Romantics' point of view, the less music is entrammelled with the limited medium of speech, the better - as Hoffmann's essay on Beethovens Instrumental-Musik (1810) makes clear:

Sollte, wenn von der Musik als einer
selbständigen Kunst die Rede ist, nicht immer nur die Instrumental-
Musik gemeint sein, welche, jede Hilfe, jede Beimischung einer andern
Kunst (der Poesie) verschmähend, das eigentümliche, nur in ihr zu
erkennende Wesen dieser Kunst rein ausspricht?...Die Musik schließt
dem Menschen ein unbekanntes Reich auf, eine Welt, die nichts gemein
hat mit der äußern Sinnenwelt, die ihn umgibt, und in der er alle
bestimmten Gefühle zurücklässt, um sich einer unaussprechlichen
Sehnsucht hinzugeben...

In dem Gesange, wo die Poesie bestimmte
Affekte durch Worte andeutet, wirkt die magische Kraft der Musik wie
das wunderbare Elixir der Weisen, von dem etliche Tropfen jeden Trank
köstlicher und herrlicher machen...So stark ist der Zauber der Musik,
und immer mächtiger werdend, mußte er jede Fessel einer andern Kunst
zerreißen.

4

1) Ed.cit.,vol.I,pp.268,276f.

2) Ibid.,p.202.

3) 'Die Wunder der Tonkunst', Phantasien über die Kunst II, in W.H. Wackenroder, Werke und Briefe, ed. L. Schneider, Heidelberg 1967,p.204.

4) Werke, ed. G. Ellinger, Leipzig 1912,vol.I,p.48f.

Music, Hoffmann added, meets the spirit's need for "einen höheren Ausdruck, als ihn geringe Worte, die nur der befangenen irdischen Luft eigen, gewähren können." ¹

Despite this association with the infinite, however, the concept also persisted that music could be more precise than language, since it offered scope for finer nuances of expression. In his Verkehrte Welt (1812ff.), Tieck suggested that music could convey not only feelings, but also thoughts, with greater flexibility than speech:

Wie ? Es wäre nicht erlaubt und möglich,
in Tönen zu denken und in Worten und Gedanken zu musizieren ? O wie
schlecht wäre es dann mit uns Künstlern bestellt ! Wie arme Sprache,
wie ärmere Musik ! Denkt Ihr nicht so manche Gedanken so fein und geistig,
daß diese sich in Verzweiflung in Musik hineinretten, um nur Ruhe
endlich zu finden ? ²

Hoffmann also praised music for this capacity:

Welcher tausend und abermal
tausend Nuancen ist der musikalische Ausdruck fähig ! Und das ist ja
eben das wunderbare Geheimnis der Tonkunst, daß sie da, wo die arme
Rede versiegt, erst eine unerschöpfliche Quelle der Ausdrucksmittel
öffnet ! ³

And Felix Mendelssohn declared that language, not music, was the vague and inaccurate medium, when he was asked what his "Lieder ohne Worte" meant:

Die Leute beklagen sich gewöhnlich, die Musik sei so vieldeutig;
es sei so zweifelhaft, was sie sich dabei zu denken hätten, und die
Worte verstehe doch ein Jeder. Mir geht es aber gerade umgekehrt.
Und nicht bloß mit ganzen Reden, auch mit einzelnen Worten, auch die
scheinen mir so vieldeutig, so unbestimmt, so mißverständlich im
Vergleich zu einer rechten Musik, die Einem die Seele erfüllt mit
tausend besseren Dingen, als Worten. Das, was mir eine Musik ausspricht,
...sind mir nicht zu unbestimmte Gedanken, um sie in Worte zu fassen,
sondern zu bestimmte...Fragen Sie mich, was ich mir dabei gedacht habe,
so sage ich: gerade das Lied wie es dasteht. Und habe ich bei dem einen
oder andern ein bestimmtes Wort oder bestimmte Worte im Sinne gehabt,
so mag ich die doch keinem Menschen aussprechen, weil das Wort dem

1) Beethovens Instrumental-Musik, loc.cit., p.54.

2) Schriften, Berlin 1828, vol.V (Phantasia II), p.286f.; cit. Moos, p.66.

3) 'Der Dichter und der Komponist', in Die Serapionsbrüder I, i, Werke, ed. cit. vol.5, p.129.

Einen nicht heißt, was es dem Andern heißt, weil nur das Lied dem Einen dasselbe sagen, dasselbe Gefühl in ihm erwecken kann, wie im Andern - ein Gefühl, das sich aber nicht durch dieselben Worte ausspricht.

1

The range of opinion on the relative merits and functions of music and language was thus very wide indeed in the period roughly covering Goethe's life-time. But despite the absence of any ^Sconsensus (or perhaps because of it), various ways were explored in which music and language might be viewed not merely as different, or as inadequate substitutes for one another, but as complementary media, each strong where the other was weak. For example, it was suggested that music formed a kind of continuum with language, a medium of expression extending into areas of experience where language was not yet possible, or where it had reached the limit of its powers. Batteux seems to have envisaged music as extending both 'before' and 'after' language, as both 'below' it and 'above' it. He saw tones (and gestures) as a medium both cruder and greater than language; for though they served as a means of communication with savages and animals, and as a vehicle for primitive feeling,² they could also transcend language barriers and serve as a 'universal' medium:

c'est un Interprète universel qui nous suit...quel fonds pour les Arts dont l'objet est de remuer l'ame [i.e. music and dance] qu'un langage dont toutes les expressions sont plutôt celles de l'humanité même, que celle des hommes ! 3

A little later in his treatise, Batteux presents the contrast in slightly different terms - music is said to be more subtle and more refined than language, but also more sublime and more intense:

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- 1) Letter to M.A. Souchay, 15/10/1842, in F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Briefe aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1847, ed. P. & C. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Leipzig 1870, p.482. (I am grateful to Dr. J.W. Smeed for this reference).
 - 2) Batteux, Les Beaux arts, p.254.
 - 3) Ibid., p.254f.

de même qu'il y a de grandes choses, auxquelles les mots ne peuvent atteindre; il y en a aussi de fines, sur lesquelles ils n'ont point de prise...

Tout le monde connoît les passions, jusqu'à un certain point... Il faut aller plus loin, si on cherche la belle Nature. Il y a pour la Musique et pour la Danse...des beautés que les Artistes appellent fuyantes et passagères; des traits fins, échappés dans la violence des passions, des soupirs, des accens, des airs de tête; ce sont ces traits qui piquent, qui éveillent, et qui raniment l'esprit.

1

And again Hiller takes over his ideas almost verbatim:

Wie es große Dinge giebt, die keine Worte erreichen können; so giebt es auch feine, deren sich die Sprache nicht bemächtigen kann. 2

However, more commonly eighteenth-century commentators took up either one idea or the other. The idea that music began where language left off seems to have been especially popular. Hiller suggested that music takes up the task of expression where language leaves it:

Wir werden in ihrer Zeichnung [i.e. der Poesie] die verlangte Leidenschaft zwar erkennen, aber sie noch nicht empfinden bis der Ton, erzeugt von der Leidenschaft selbst, über die Worte gehörig ausgebreitet wird...Alsdann sehen wir die Leidenschaft selbst; wir hören sie nicht bloß nennen, sondern wir empfinden sie. 3

Wieland praised A. Schweitzer, who set Alceste, because:

er weiß zu schweigen, wo der Dichter allein reden muß; aber wo jener an den Grenzen seiner Kunst ist, da eilt er ihm mit der ganzen Allmacht der seinigen zu Hülfe...

Wie oft, wenn er mir eine Stelle...vorsang, rief ich aus:... Wie machen Sie es, daß Sie mehr thun, als ich selbst? daß Sie sich des Ideals bemächtigen, welches im Arbeiten meinem Geiste vorschwebte, und welches ich unvermögend war mit Worten völlig zu erreichen? 4

C. Ruetz,⁵ a minor theoretician who, like Hiller, wrote in response to Batteux

1) Batteux, Les Beaux arts, pp.269,274.

2) Von der Nachahmung der Natur, etc., p.524.

3) Ibid., p.525f.

4) Briefe an einen Freund über das deutsche Singspiel 'Alceste', [in Der Deutsche Merkur, I,2,(1773), p.37; cit. Schwan, Die opernästhetischen Theorien der deutschen klassischen Dichter, p.30. See also Barth, pp.19ff.

5) See Goldschmidt, pp.137ff.; M.Geck, MGG 11, cols. 1072ff.

and Rousseau, rejected the theory of music as derived from emotive speech precisely because music commanded a range of resources including not only the voice, but "alles, was klinget und singet". Music therefore possessed, he thought, "ihre eigentümlicheⁿ Ausdrücke, welche sie nicht von anderen Dingen entlehnet"; and therewith a capacity to express:

tausend andere Empfindungen,
deren ein musikalisches Herz fähig ist, und die kein Redner noch Poet
durch seine Worte und bewegliche Deklamation erwecken kann.

1

And Heinse included very similar ideas in a debate on music incorporated into his novel Hildegard von Hohenthal (1794):

Die Musik herrsch^t vorzüglich,
wo sie ausdrückt, was die Sprache nicht vermag...[Es] läßt sich das
innere Gefühl...das Wallen des Herzens, die hohe Fluth in Adern und
Lebensgeistern durch nichts besser ausdrücken...Bey Leidenschaften
also ist die Musik an ihrer rechten Stelle; besonders bey heftigen, wo
man nicht mehr an Worte denkt, sondern von den Sachen selbst durch-
drungen wird.

2

Far less common in eighteenth-century discussion of music, though familiar enough in works on language and literature, is the converse idea - that music precedes language, that it is a kind of preliminary stage in articulation. This notion emerges, indirectly at first, from the ideas of Rousseau and Herder on the origins of language. Rousseau suggested that language originated not in physical needs,³ but in the necessity to express feeling:

Ce n'est ni la faim, ni la soif, mais l'amour, la haine, la pitié,...
qui leur ont arraché les premières voix.

4

These sounds became the common ground of both speech and song: "les premiers discours furent les premiers chansons."⁵ But, like Herder, he felt that

1) In Marburg's Historisch-kritische Beyträge, I, 4 (1754), pp. 288, 292f.

2) Sämtliche Werke, ed. Schüddekopf, Leipzig 1903, vol. V, p. 243; cit. Atkinson, p. 9. Cf. Moos, pp. 21ff.; Goldschmidt, pp. 186ff.

3) Essai sur l'origine des langues, ed. cit., vol. 19, p. 222f.

4) Ibid., p. 227.

5) Ibid., p. 292.

language had progressed as a medium for logical argument at the expense of its emotive power: "En cultivant l'art de convaincre on perdit celui d'émouvoir."¹ Modern music, cut off from its common roots with language, had also degenerated;² and the two media had now become estranged and incompatible: "je crois notre langue peu propre à la poésie, et point du tout à la musique."³ Herder's ideas on the "Lebensaltern einer Sprache"⁴ follow much the same pattern; although Herder seems to associate music more closely with the ancient period of vivid expression, "da man noch nicht sprach, sondern tönete",⁵ than with a current process of decay:

Noch ist die halbsingende
Sprache der Italiener mit ihrer Natur zur fühlbaren Tonkunst vereinigt;
wie die süßtönende Stimme des weiblichen Geschlechts mit einem feinem
Gefühle der Musik.

6

Music therefore retains its associations with an earlier level of feeling and utterance, more primitive but more sonorous and vivid than sober modern language;⁷ and poets are encouraged to go back to song in order to recapture the lost youth and vigour of utterance.⁸ Schiller also suggested that music preceded language, albeit in a rather different way. His view of poetry as having both 'logical' and 'musical' aspects has already been mentioned:

Wir unterscheiden in jeder Dichtung die Gedankeneinheit von der
Empfindungseinheit, die musikalische Haltung von der logischen...wir
verlangen, daß jede poetische Komposition neben dem, was ihr Inhalt
ausdrückt, zugleich durch ihre Form Nachahmung und Ausdruck von Empfin-
dungen sei und als Musik auf uns wirke. 9

- and it is clear that by 'musical' he meant not merely qualities of sound

1) Essai sur l'origine des langues, p.323.

2) Ibid., pp.322f., 328f.

3) Lettre sur la musique françoise, ed.cit.vol.19, p.339.

4) Fragmente, Suphan I, pp.151ff.

5) Ibid., p.153.

6) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.107f.

7) Fragmente, loc.cit., pp.154, 158.

8) Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker, Suphan V, pp.168ff., 184ff., 189ff.

9) Über Matthissons Gedichte, NA 22, p.272; cf. p.241f. above.

and rhythm, but also the composition, the sequence and arrangement of ideas and images.¹ In a letter to Körner he states that these 'musical' aspects of a work crystallised in his mind before the logical ones:

Das Musikalische

eines Gedichtes schwebt mir weit öfter vor der Seele, wenn ich mich hinsetze es zu machen, als der klare Begriff von Inhalt, über den ich oft kaum mit mir einig bin.

2

And a somewhat later letter to Goethe describes the same process, albeit in more general terms:

Bei mir ist die Empfindung anfangs ohne bestimmten und klaren Gegenstand; dieser bildet sich erst später. Eine gewisse musikalische Gemütsstimmung geht vorher, und auf diese folgt bei mir erst die poetische Idee.

3

Music, by suggesting forms analogous to things as yet insufficiently definite to be spoken of, is thus envisaged as the beginning of a process of articulation and formation which culminates in poetic language.

In addition to this theoretical approach to the cooperation between language and music, there were widespread attempts to combine the two as complementary media in practice, by cultivating mixed genres such as song, opera, cantata, oratorio, etc. If language appealed to the mind, and music to the heart, then optimum expression could presumably be achieved by combining both media, and thus 'speaking' to heart and mind at once. Even in the previous century, Leibniz had defended opera on the grounds of its many-sided appeal; his opinion was:

daß ein solches Singschauspiel nichts anderes sey als ein sehr wohl erfundenes Mittel, das menschliche gemüth aufs aller kräftigste zu bewegen und zu rühren, dieweil darinn die nachdrückliche einfälle, die zierliche worth, die artige reimbildung, die

1) Über Matthissons Gedichte, p.276f.; see also Atkinson, pp.32ff.

2) Letter to Körner, 25/5/1792, [Horenauausgabe 9, p.440]; cit. Atkinson, p.32.

3) Letter to Goethe, 18/3/1796, AA 20, p.164f.

herrliche music, die schönen gemelde und künstliche bewegungen zusammen kommen; und sowohl die innerliche als auch die beyden eüßerlichen Sinne, so dem gemüth vornehmlich dienen vergnüget werden.

1

Batteux, who assigned music and dance to "l'imitation des sentimens ou des passions", and poetry to "l'imitation des actions", thought that passion and action should be intertwined in art, since they were so in real life, and included a chapter on the combined arts with suggestions for their harmonious cooperation.² Hiller too suggested that music was best combined with language in song, in order to clarify the feelings involved:

Wenn aber von der Musik verlangt wird, verständlich zu seyn; oder wenn sie ihre Stärke in der Nachahmung der Natur...recht nachdrücklich zeigen soll, so kann sie sich keines bessern Hilfsmittels bedienen, als der Sprache...Nun wird unser Herz nicht mehr zweifelhaft empfinden. Wie in einem Spiegel kann es nunmehr alle ihm zuvor versteckte Bilder sehr deutlich sehen... Worte also und Töne, zu einem Zwecke genau vereinigt, sind der Charakter der Vocalmusik, und hierinnen übertrifft sie alle Instrumente.

3

Lessing, concerned with motivation in music as in stagecraft, considered that "in der That ist diese Motivirung der plötzlichen Uebergänge einer der größten Vorthteile, den die Musik aus der Vereinigung mit der Poesie ziehet".⁴ And even Herder envisaged music and language in combination; if music was "äußerst dunkel", and language "nur gar zu deutlich", the two in combination would complement each other, and represent the epitome of utterance:

Wenn die Natur keinen nähern Weg an die Menschliche Seele wuste, als durchs Ohr vermittelst der Sprache, und keinen nähern Weg an die Leidenschaft, als durchs Ohr mittelst der Schälle, der Töne, der Accente - Muse der Tonkunst, welche Eingebungen sind in deiner Hand, um die Physiologie der Menschlichen Seele zu enträthseln.

5

1) Letter to Polycarp Marci, 23/1/1682; G.W. Leibniz, Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, ed. Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Darmstadt 1923, I, 3, p. 513. Cit. K. Müller/G. Krönert (eds), Leben und Werk von G.W.v. Leibniz. Eine Chronik, Frankfurt a.M. 1969, p. 67. See also R. Haase, MGG 8, col. 499.

2) Op.cit., pp. 258, 282ff.

3) Von der Nachahmung der Natur, etc., pp. 524, 528.

4) Hamb. Dram., ed.cit. vol. 9, p. 296. See also 27th Laokoon fragment, vol. 14, p. 431f.

5) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, pp. 162, 105.

However, almost anyone involved in such an enterprise soon realised that the combination of music and language raised considerable practical difficulties. Superb utterance, powerfully engaging both heart and mind, was very much easier to imagine than to achieve. As Gottsched pointed out, the development of a musical phrase is often at odds with the verbal phrase to which the music is set:

Sie [die Componisten] bemüheten sich auch nunmehr, fast alle Sylben eines solchen Liedes, durch die Verschiedenheit des Klanges, auszudrücken, und alle mögliche Abwechselungen dabey zu versuchen... Sonderlich hielten sie sich...,solches zu thun,...wo nur die geringste Spur eines Affectes, oder sonst eine Stelle vorkam, die sich einigermaßen durch das Singen und Spielen nachahmen ließ: da machten sie sich rechtschaffen lustig, und hielten sich oft bey einer Zeile länger auf, als man vorhin bey ganzen Oden gethan hatte...Bekam das Ohr dabey viel zu hören, so hatte der Verstand desto weniger dabey zu gedenken.

1

Since, in other words, it takes longer to sing a phrase than to speak it, and since musical features such as repetition, which play a part in musical structure, can weaken the sense of the words, the two media can nullify as well as reinforce one another in combination. There was a great deal of controversy over these and related problems in eighteenth-century Germany, and a great deal of experimentation - activities which have been very well documented indeed.² But despite all this effort and thought, by the end of

1) Critische Dichtkunst, II, 2, iii, §2, ed. cit. p. 718.

2) See e.g. J. Birke, Christian Wolffs Metaphysik und die zeitgenössische Literatur- und Musiktheorie, pp. 70ff. (on Mizler); Abert, 'Wort und Ton in der Musik des 18. Jhdts.', Archiv für Musikwissenschaft V (1923), esp. pp. 35ff.; Schwan, Die opernästhetischen Theorien der deutschen klassischen Dichter, Leipzig 1928, (passim); R. Fischer, Der Chor im deutschen Drama, etc. esp. pp. 13ff.; Goldschmidt, (passim); E. Staiger, 'Glucks Bühnenkunst', in Musik und Dichtung, esp. pp. 27ff.; K. Huschke, Musiker, Maler und Dichter als Freunde und Gegner, Leipzig 1939, esp. pp. 23ff. The earlier sections of Moos (up to c. p. 137) show that such controversy persisted well into the nineteenth century too.

Much of this makes dreary reading, since it involves endless and often confused discussion of technical details. But techniques for combined genres must have been in urgent need of reform; many commentators found it necessary to make the simple point that compatible styles should be adopted in both the constituent media. See e.g. Lessing, Hamb. Dram. St. 26f., ed. cit. vol. 9, pp. 290ff.; Hiller on song-setting, Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, III, 1, Leipzig 1768-9, p. 13f.; and esp. Wieland's depiction of Euripides trying to explain to the Abderites that their music does not fit his play (Die Abderiten III, 6, Werke, ed. F. Martini/H.W. Seiffert, München 1966, II, pp. 267ff.)

the century the problems of combining music and language (and dance, too, where appropriate) were regarded as still unsolved. Herder considered that opera had still not become the multi-media Gesamtkunstwerk which it should be: "ein zusammenhängendes lyrisches Gebäude, in welchem Poesie, Musik, Action, Decoration Eins sind."¹ And although Schiller had great hopes of music in drama, as an antidote to crass realism, he warned Goethe that it was useless to proceed with the sequel to Mozart's Zauberflöte unless a competent and congenial composer could be found to collaborate.² Indeed, he was all too aware of his own helplessness where adequate cooperation was not available:

das tragische Dichterwerk wird erst durch die theatralische Vorstellung zu einem Ganzen: nur die Worte gibt der Dichter, Musik und Tanz müssen hinzukommen, sie zu beleben. Solange also dem Chor diese sinnlich mächtige Begleitung fehlt, solange wird er in der Ökonomie des Trauerspiels als ein Außending...erscheinen.

3

However, this sense of failure to combine music and language in practice did not in the least diminish the fascination exercised by the idea of music and language in combination. On the contrary, for poetry at least it became a powerful ideal, the epitome of the perfect medium, as Schiller's introduction to the Braut von Messina shows:

Um dem Chor sein Recht anzutun, muß man sich also von der wirklichen Bühne auf eine mögliche versetzen...Was die Kunst noch nicht hat, das soll sie erwerben; der zufällige Mangel an Hilfsmitteln darf die schaffende Einbildungskraft des Dichters nicht beschränken. Das Würdigste setzt er sich zum Ziel, einem Ideale strebt er nach, die ausübende Kunst mag sich nach den Umständen bequemen.

4

Comments by Richard Wagner, when he looked back and compared the efforts of the Classical writers with his own attempts at a Gesamtkunstwerk,⁵ are most

1) Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, p.336.

2) See letters to Goethe, 29/12/1797 and 11/5/1798, AA 20, pp.480,578.

3) Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie, SA 16, p.118.

4) Ibid.

5) Oper und Drama, II, Gesammelte Schriften, ed. J. Kapp, Leipzig 1914, vol.11, pp.110ff., esp. pp.128ff.

illuminating here. Wagner remarked that the outcome of writing for a non-existent theatre is not in fact a drama, but a poem in dramatic style. Where there is no enacted play appealing directly to eye and ear, descriptive language takes over the functions of all the performing media; and the play is enacted in the imagination, so that it becomes:

das...nicht an die Sinne,
sondern an die Einbildungskraft sich kundgebende Literaturgedicht, in
welchem diese Einbildungskraft zum eigentlichen darstellenden Faktor
gemacht worden war, zu dem sich das Gedicht nur anregend verhielt.

1

It is interesting to see that in Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie Schiller does indeed stress the poet's imagination, "die schaffende Einbildungskraft des Dichters", as the proper home of the play. Furthermore, it is the poet's imagination, not the musician's, which creates the work in the first place - music and dance are "Begleitung" rather than equal partners. After all, the combination of music and poetry means for Schiller not a Gesamtkunstwerk, but an extension of the resources of poetry. This seems, to some extent at least, ² to be Herder's idea too:

Anmuth ist in der
Sprache; Zauberei in Tönen und Gebärden...Musik mit Sprache in
Verbindung gebracht und dann von Gelehrten unterstützt, öffnet ein
neues Feld der Dichtkunst [my italics].

3

Partly, no doubt, because theatrical resources in Weimar were less than superb,⁴ but even more because Schiller himself could command verbal symbols and structures, but not musical ones,⁵ the collaboration of music and language has become much more of a poetic symbol than a practical measure. And

- 1) Oper und Drama, II, ed.cit., vol.11, pp.186,110. Cit. H.v. Stein, Dichtung und Musik im Werk Richard Wagners, Berlin 1962, pp.113ff.
- 2) Nufer (Herders Ideen zur Verbindung von Poesie, Musik und Tanz) shows several parallels between Herder and Wagner, (esp.pp.110ff.); which would suggest that Herder was not quite so predominantly literary in his approach.
- 3) Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, p.332f.
- 4) See Barth, Literarisches Weimar, pp.113ff.; and Schiller's wry comments in Über den Gebrauch des Chors, on the unlikelihood of getting the Chorus enacted "auf gehörige Art" (SA 16, p.118).
- 5) See e.g. letter to Goethe, 11/12/1800 (AA 20, p.831. Also Longyear, Schiller and Music, pp.30ff.

in this situation, as Wagner suggested in the passage just quoted, the poet's language does indeed seem to take over the functions of the performing media. What would normally be conveyed in stage directions is here transmitted as powerfully evocative prose:

Der Chor verläßt den engen Kreis der Handlung, um sich über Vergangenes und Künftiges, über ferne Zeiten und Völker, über das Menschliche überhaupt zu verbreiten, um die großen Resultate des Lebens zu ziehen und die Lehren der Weisheit auszusprechen. Aber er tut dieses mit der vollen Macht der Phantasie, mit einer kühnen lyrischen Freiheit, welche auf der hohen Gipfeln der menschlichen Dinge wie mit Schritten der Götter einhergeht - und er tut es, von der ganzen sinnlichen Macht des Rhythmus und der Musik in Tönen und Bewegungen begleitet.

1

Where the collaboration of music and language becomes a poetic ideal, it actually seems to militate against its own realisation. For its function as a dramatic device is weakened; and instead it becomes an elaborate image of superb utterance, of the perfect fusion of thought and feeling.

When we turn to Goethe, it is interesting to note that his comments on the relative merits of language and music seem to range through the whole spectrum of opinion represented by his various contemporaries. Wilhelm Meister, for instance, clearly belongs to the school which regards music as vague by comparison with language:

Gebt uns etwas, das Herz und Geist zugleich mit den Sinnen ergötzte, sagte Wilhelm. Das Instrument sollte nur die Stimme begleiten; denn Melodien, Gänge und Läufe ohne Worte und Sinn, scheinen mir Schmetterlingen oder schönen bunten Vögeln ähnlich zu sein, die in der Luft vor unsern Augen herumschweben...da sich der Gesang dagegen wie ein Genius gen Himmel hebt, und das bessere Ich in uns ihn zu begleiten anreizt.

2

And judging by other remarks, there were times when Goethe felt this way him-

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- 1) Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie, SA 16, p.125f.
 2) Lehrjahre II, 11, AA 7, p.137.

self - for instance, his reference to string-quartets as "mir von jeher von der Instrumental-Musik das Verständlichste", since they reminded him of a conversation between "vier vernünftige Leute"; his consequent puzzlement and awe when he heard Paganini;¹ and his antipathy towards Romantic composers:

ihre Arbeiten bleiben keine Musik mehr, sie gehen über das Niveau der menschlichen Empfindungen hinaus, und man kann solchen Sachen aus eigenem Geist und Herzen nichts mehr unterlegen.

2

Indeed, he too was aware that both language and music could be mere sound; although he seems to have regarded this as due to abuse rather than as an intrinsic weakness of either medium. In Etymologie, for example, Mephistopheles mock^s the idea of meaningful sound:

Ars, Ares wird der Kriegesgott genannt,
Ars heißt die Kunst und arsch ist auch bekannt.
Welch ein Geheimnis liegt in diesen Wundertönen !

3

And in Die Wahlverwandtschaften, Luciane estranges the poet she wishes to impress, by turning his songs into a jumble of meaningless vowel-sounds:

Das Instrument spielte sie nicht ungeschickt, ihre Stimme war angenehm; was aber die Worte betraf, so verstand man sie so wenig, als wenn sonst eine deutsche Schöne zur Gitarre singt...Wenn es nicht allzu unfreundlich gewesen wäre, so hätte er ihr das Alphabet überreichen können, um sich daraus ein beliebiges Lobgedicht zu irgend einer vorkommenden Melodie selbst einzubilden.

4

Nevertheless, Goethe seems to have been well enough aware of music and language as equal but different media. In Regeln für Schauspieler, for instance, he pointed out the limitations of the analogy between melody and voice, especially for the actor learning declamation:

- 1) Letter to Zelster, 9/11/1829, AA 21, p.872.
- 2) Conv. with Eckermann, Erster Teil, 12/1/1827, AA 24, p.200.
- 3) AA 2, p.82. Goethe's attitudes here overlap with those discussed above - see pp.213ff., 223ff., in previous chapter.
- 4) Wahlverwandtschaften II, 5, AA 9, p.168f.

Man könnte die Deklamierkunst eine prosaische Tonkunst nennen, wie sie denn überhaupt mit der Musik sehr viel Analoges hat. Nur muß man unterscheiden, daß die Musik, ihren selbsteigenen Zwecken gemäß, sich mit mehr Freiheit bewegt, die Deklamierkunst aber im Umfang ihrer Töne weit beschränkter und einem fremden Zwecke unterworfen ist.

1

And he was careful to emphasise that the fluctuations of tone in speech are not, as in music, an independent feature, but a means of emphasising the sense of the words:

Wenn ich zunächst den Sinn der Worte ganz verstehe und vollkommen inne habe, so muß ich suchen, solche mit dem gehörigen Ton der Stimme zu begleiten und sie mit der Kraft oder Schwäche so geschwind oder langsam auszusprechen, wie es der Sinn jedes Satzes selbst verlangt.

2

However, there were a number of occasions when Goethe seems to have thought that music was in certain respects the superior medium. In the Wanderjahre, for example, we are told that music's very vagueness, its freedom from semantic convention, means that the composer 'speaks' to his listeners directly and immediately through musical form:

Die Würde der Kunst erscheint bei der Musik vielleicht am eminentesten, weil sie keinen Stoff hat, der abgerechnet werden müßte. Sie ist ganz Form und Gehalt und erhöht und veredelt alles, was sie ausdrückt.

3

And in the Lehrjahre, Natalie's uncle contrasts speech and music on the grounds that one implies a specific speaker, who should be visible; whereas the other neither comes from nor appeals to any specific context:

eine schöne Stimme ist das allgemeinste, was sich denken läßt, und indem das eingeschränkte Individuum, das sie hervorbringt, sich vors Auge stellt, zer-

1) Regeln, §21; AA 14, p.77.

2) Ibid., §22; loc.cit.

3) MuR 487, AA 9, p.561; Wanderjahre (Betrachtungen), AA 8, p.314.

stört es den reinen Effekt jener Allgemeinheit. Ich will jeden sehen, mit dem ich reden soll, denn es ist ein einzelner Mensch, dessen Gestalt und Charakter die Rede wert oder unwert macht; hingegen wer mir singt, soll unsichtbar sein.

1

Not only the universality of music, but also its sensuous vividness, attracted Goethe's admiration. Writing to Kayser on the setting for Scherz, List und Rache, Goethe bade him:

Gehen Sie der Poesie nach wie ein Waldwasser
den Felsräumen,...und machen die Cascade erst lebendig.

2

And in Dichtung und Wahrheit he similarly spoke of Weisse's opera texts as 'enlivened' by Hiller's music:

Zwar wollten wir seine Theaterstücke nicht
durchaus für musterhaft gelten lassen, ließen uns aber doch davon
hinreißen, und seine Opern, durch Hillern auf eine leichte Weise
belebt, machten uns viel Vergnügen.

3

Indeed, he felt that on some occasions in the theatre the liveliness of music (and dance) had to compensate for lustreless texts:

..oftmals liehen Wärme, Leben, Glanz
Dem armen Dialog - Gesang und Tanz.

4

However, his admiration for music was not merely the outcome of comparing music with poor texts. Goethe was only too well aware that language, even at best, is finite: "Durch Worte sprechen wir weder die Gegenstände noch uns selbst völlig aus".⁵ The very nature of language, as having only an indirect and symbolic relation with the 'reality' which it designates, means that verbal 'formulae' give an inadequate impression of the immensity and vivid

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- 1) Lehrjahre VIII,5, AA 7,p.582.
 - 2) Letter of 20/6/1785, AA 18,p.854.
 - 3) DuW 8, AA 10,p.360.
 - 4) Auf Miedings Tod, AA 2,p.93.
 - 5) Symbolik, AA 16,p.855.

immediacy of experience, especially where we attempt to communicate our perceptions of complex and intangible matters:

Man bedenkt niemals genug,
daß eine Sprache eigentlich nur symbolisch, nur bildlich sei und die
Gegenstände niemals unmittelbar sondern nur im Widerscheine ausdrücke.
Dieses ist besonders der Fall, wenn von Wesen die Rede ist, welche an
die Erfahrung nur herantreten...Sie lassen sich nicht festhalten, und
doch soll man von ihnen reden; man sucht daher alle Arten von Formeln
auf, um ihnen wenigstens gleichnißweise beizukommen...

Jedoch wie schwer ist es, das
Zeichen nicht an die Stelle der Sache zu setzen, das Wesen immer leben-
dig vor sich zu haben und es nicht durch das Wort zu töten.

1

In these respects, then - wide range and vivid impact - Goethe found music greatly superior to language. And yet, it is interesting to note, he never went as far as the Romantics when they sought to absorb language into music; even at his most solemnly laudatory, he insisted on the value and necessity of language within the human sphere:

Die sonoren Wirkungen ist man
genötigt, beinahe ganz obenan zu stellen. Wäre die Sprache nicht un-
streitig das Höchste, was wir haben, so würde ich Musik noch höher als
Sprache und als ganz zuoberst setzen.

Music, however, was capable of a magnitude and flexibility of expression which Goethe found hard to imagine in its full extent:

Wenigstens scheint mir,
daß der Ton noch viel größerer Mannigfaltigkeit als die Farbe fähig sei
...hat er doch eine unglaubliche Biegsamkeit und Verhältnismöglichkeit,
die mir über alle Begriffe geht und vielleicht zeitlebens gehen wird.

2

Since the range of Goethe's ideas thus corresponds, broadly speaking, to those of his contemporaries, it is not surprising to find that he too

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- 1) 'Nachbarliche Verhältnisse', Farbenlehre, AA 16,p.203f. See also Symbolik, loc.cit.; and the conversation with Eckermann, 20/6/1831 (Dritter Teil), AA 24,p.758.
2) Physikalische Wirkungen, AA 16,p.862.

pursued, in various ways, the possibilities of music and language as complementary media. His development of the idea of music as forming a kind of continuum with language is especially interesting. In some ways this was entirely 'orthodox'; in the sense that in Goethe's work too we find the idea that music may be used for the expression of things as yet too intangible to be formulated in language, or of matters beyond the scope of language. Early in their acquaintance, Goethe wrote to Zelter that his music had often created a "lyrische Stimmung" which was highly productive:

...wenn meine

Lieder Sie zu Melodien veranlaßten, so kann ich wohl sagen daß ihre Melodien mich zu manchem Liede aufgeweckt haben und ich würde gewiß wenn wir näher zusammenlebten öfter als jetzt mich zur lyrischen Stimmung erhoben fühlen.

1

Music obviously played a similar role when Goethe was engaged in writing Iphigenie - and here crystallisation into words via music is paralleled by the visual notion of vague forms gradually taking shape:

Ein Quatro neben

in der grünen Stube, sizz ich und rufe die fernen Gestalten leise herüber. Eine Scene soll sich heut absondern denck ich...

2

And in the Wahlverwandtschaften, the architect who organises the Christmas tableau uses music for the same purpose:

Es war ihm möglich gewesen wohl-

tönende Blasinstrumente zu versammeln, welche die Einleitung machten und die gewünschte Stimmung hervorzubringen wußten.

3

Conversely, Goethe sometimes envisaged music as taking up the task of expression in various ways where language reached its limits. Despite his

1) Letter of 26/8/1799, AA 19, p.384.

2) Letter to Frau v. Stein, 22/2/1779, AA 18, p.418. Cf. also letter of 14/2/1779, *ibid.*, p.417.

3) Wahlverwandtschaften II, 6, AA 9, p.181f.

later estrangement from Reichardt, he remembered him as having given broader expression to lyrical poetry than was possible in language alone: "der erste, der mit Ernst und Stetigkeit meine lyrischen Arbeiten durch Musik ins Allgemeine förderte."¹ And he wrote to Zelter that tone-painting was a matter of taking up the mood already set by the poem:

es kommt darauf an, den Hörer
in die Stimmung zu versetzen, welche das Gedicht angibt, in der Ein-
bildungskraft bilden sich alsdann die Gestalten nach Anlaß des Textes,
sie weiß nicht wie sie dazu kommt.

2

In the Theaterprolog of 1821, the transition from the sphere of language to the sphere of music is made explicit in both text and stage-directions:

Ja! was ich sagte, sagt ich offenbar,
Dem Menschensinn gemäß, wahrhaft und klar;
Nach Wunderbarem aber treibt mich's, will es fassen.
Nun folgt mir gern, sonst müßt' ich euch verlassen.

...Blasende Instrumente hinter der Kulisse unterhalten die Aufmerksam-
keit und leiten das Folgende ein.

3

And in the Trilogie der Leidenschaft, music takes up the task of restoring communications between the sufferer and the world, where even poetic language has failed.⁴

But Goethe went very much further than this with the idea of music as a continuum with language. Indeed, he developed it to a quite remarkable degree of complexity; and, in view of the fact that he was not a systematic thinker in the formal sense,⁵ and that he never arrived at a theory of music which satisfied him,⁶ it is almost startling to find that his complex ideas form something very like a communications system, within which in any given work he could move freely from one medium to the other if and when it suited

1) Tag- und Jahreshefte 1795, AA 11, p.647.

2) Letter of 2/5/1820, AA 21, p.390.

3) Prolog zu Eröffnung des Berliner Theaters im Mai 1821, AA 3, p.647. See also the similar transition from language to dance a little later: "Viel ist, gar viel, mit Worten auszurichten", etc., ed. cit. p.650.

4) See esp. Elegie and Aussöhnung, AA 1, pp.478ff.

5) See e.g. E.M. Wilkinson, 'The Poet as Thinker', in Goethe: Poet and Thinker, esp. pp.134ff.

6) The Tonlehre remained a sketch (AA 16, pp.906ff.).

his purpose.

If we wish to understand this feature of his work, we must be clear about Goethe's view of language. As we have seen, Goethe regarded it as more limited than music in certain ways. But we can hardly deduce from this, as K.-J. Krüger does, that Goethe fell back on music because of his despair of language.¹ Admittedly, even in his early works Goethe wrote of the difficulty of capturing experience in words;² but a writer so prolific can hardly have been defeated by these problems. Nor can this have been the case in his old age; since, in full awareness of the limitations of language, he still insisted that "Viel ist, gar viel, mit Worten auszurichten",³ classified language as "unstreitig das Höchste, was wir haben", and only reluctantly set music and sound phenomena at the top of the tree: "die sonoren Wirkungen ist man genötigt, beinahe ganz obenan zu stellen".⁴ Much more promising as a starting-point is the fact that Goethe's notion of 'sprechen' seems for most of his life to have been very much wider than the notion of verbal language.⁵ His ideal became a "mannigfaltige Sprache", a great variety of media, or kinds of 'formulae', from which the speaker can select that most apt for any one part of his communication - whether this is scientific, poetic, or simply part of everyday life. In his reflections on scientific language, for instance, after consideration of various kinds of "Formeln", he concluded that the best method would be to use all of them at different points:

Könnte man sich jedoch aller dieser Arten der Vorstellung und des Ausdrucks mit Bewußtsein bedienen und in einer mannigfaltigen Sprache seine Betrachtungen über Naturphänomene überliefern, hielte man sich von Einseitigkeit frei und faßte einen lebendigen Sinn in einen lebendigen Ausdruck, so ließe sich manches Erfreuliche mitteilen.

6

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- 1) 'Die Bedeutung der Musik für Goethes Wortkunst', Goethe I (1936), pp.204ff.
 - 2) See e.g. the poem Künstlers Abendlied (AA 1, p.389); Werther, 16. Juni & in the Zweite Fassung 30. Mai, AA 4, pp.280, 393ff. See also Krüger, pp.206ff.
 - 3) Theaterprolog 1821, AA 3, p.650.
 - 4) Physikalische Wirkungen, AA 16, p.862.
 - 5) At least, one may imagine, since Herder taught him the value of gesture, touch and tone (see Wilkinson/Willoughby, 'The Blind Man and the Poet', pp.29ff.
 - 6) 'Nachbarliche Verhältnisse', Farbenlehre, AA 16, p.204.

In his comments on the poem Ballade, he depicted a similar procedure in poetic language:

Der Sänger nämlich hat seinen prägnanten Gegenstand, seine Figuren, deren Taten und Bewegung so tief im Sinne, daß er nicht weiß, wie er ihn ans Tageslicht fördern will. Er bedient sich daher aller drei Grundarten der Poesie [i.e. lyric, epic and dramatic], um zunächst auszudrücken, was die Einbildungskraft erregen, den Geist beschäftigen soll; er kann lyrisch, episch, dramatisch beginnen und, nach Belieben die Formen wechselnd, fortfahren...Der Refrain, das Wiederkehren ebendesselben Schlußklanges, gibt dieser Dichtart den entschiedenen lyrischen Charakter.

1

And, as S.L. Hardy points out, Goethe admired both Shakespeare and Calderón for their successful use of a variety of media in the theatre.²

If we view Goethe's idea of music and language as a continuum in the light of his efforts to achieve a "mannigfaltige Sprache", it appears much less odd than would otherwise be the case. For, whether he was collaborating with a composer, or whether he was describing in words the transition from one medium to another, his aim remained the same - fine differentiation of stylistic level, in order to formulate as aptly as possible the nuances of the work concerned. This fine gradation of expression according to nuance is very clearly perceptible in Goethe's discussions with Kayser on various Singspiele.³ Whether Kayser actually set certain parts of Scherz, List und Rache was beside the point. What mattered was the distinction in kind between recitative, with its traditional illusion of 'ordinary' speech, and aria, with its connotations of elaborate lyrical utterance of a particular mood; and the similar distinction between parts of the recitative representing prosaic speech, and parts where increased intensity of feeling was to be matched by greater sonority as the recitative moved towards a different

1) Über Kunst und Altertum, 1821, AA 2, p.613; see also Naturformen der Dichtung, in Noten und Abhandlungen to the West-östlicher Divan, AA 3, p.480f.

2) Shakespeare und kein Ende, AA 14, p.758; cit. Hardy, p.117.

3) Cf. Cotti, esp. pp.46ff.

level:

Ich habe im Rezitativ weder den Reim gesucht noch gemieden. Deswegen ist es meist ohne Reim, manchmal aber kommen gereimte Stellen in demselben vor, besonders wo der Dialog bedeutender wird, wo er zur Arie übergeht, da denn der Reimanklang dem Ohre schmeichelt. Weiter ist keine Absicht dabey und gedachte Stellen bleiben deswegen immer Rezitativ, der Componist mag sie nachher trocken [i.e. accompanied by isolated chords] oder begleitet ausführen. Eben so zeichnet sich, was nach meiner Absicht melodischer Gesang seyn sollte, durch den Rhythmus aus, wobey dem Componisten freybleibt bey einigen Arien zu verweilen und sie völlig auszubilden, andre nur als Cavatinen pp vorübergehen zu lassen, wie es der Carackter der Worte und der Handlung erfordert. Sollten Sie aber da wo ich Rezitativ habe, eine Arie, und wo ich eine Arie habe, ein Rezitativ schicklicher finden; so müssten Sie mir es erst schreiben.

1

In Jery und Bätely, too, he wished Kayser to observe not only the distinction between different types of song, but also that between different types of dialogue. Some songs were to be like Lieder,

von denen man supponiret,
dass der Singende sie irgendwo auswendig gelernt und sie nun in ein
und der andern Situation anbringt. Diese können und müssen eigne,
bestimmte und runde Melodien haben, die auffallen und iedermann leicht
behält.

2

Others, more diverse and more like arias:

wo die Person die Empfindung des
Augenblicks ausdrückt und, ganz in ihr verlohren, aus dem Grunde des
Herzens singt. Diese müssen einfach, wahr, rein, vorgetragen werden,
von der sanftesten biss zur heftigsten Empfindung.

3

The third type of song, which he called "rymische Dialog", was more like recitative:

dieser giebt der ganzen Sache die Bewegung, durch diesen kann der Componist die Sache bald beschleunigen, bald wieder anhalten, ihn bald als Deklamation in zerrissnen Takten traktiren, bald ihn in einer rollenden Melodie sich geschwind fortbewegen lassen.

4

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- 1) Letter to Kayser, 25/4/1785, AA 18, p. 846f.
 - 2) Letter to Kayser, 29/12/1779, AA 18, p. 472f.
 - 3) Ibid., p. 473.
 - 4) Ibid.

It was therefore to be distinguished from "prosaischen Dialog":

denn dieser

muss nach meinen Intentionen gesprochen werden, ob Ihnen gleich frei
bleibet nach Gefallen hier und da Akkompagnement einzuweben.

1

It was therefore very much not a matter of simply using music for certain kinds of scene and speech for others, as Fährnrich attempts to argue.² Different types of dialogue and different types of song each played a part in a varied but well-coordinated whole:

Der Dialog muss wie ein glatter goldner
Ring sein, auf dem Arien und Lieder wie Edelgesteine aufsitzen...Übrigens
werden Sie wohl von selbst finden, dass viel Gelegenheit da ist, manch-
faltigen musikalischen Reichthum anzubringen.

3

And Goethe's deliberate attempts to create a finely-graded and well-coordinated continuum of expression are evident in other comments, too. For example, he revised some of his early Singspiele in order to achieve better coordination between dialogue and sung passages:

ich hatte mich...durch die
Bearbeitung Egmonts in meinen Forderungen gegen mich selbst dergestalt
gesteigert, daß ich nicht über mich gewinnen konnte sie [Erwin &
Claudine] in ihrer ersten Form dahin zu geben. Gar manches Lyrische,
das sie enthalten, war mir lieb und wert;...Der prosaische Dialog
dagegen erinnerte zu sehr an jene französischen Operetten [of the
kind made popular by Rousseau]...die mir...jetzt nicht mehr genügen
wollten, als einem eingebürgerten Italiener, der den melodischen Gesang
durch einen rezitierenden und deklamatorischen wenigstens wollte
verknüpft sehen.

4

And he explained that the music described in Novelle was meant to crown a carefully-graded intensification of verbal style:

Hätte ich...einige der
übrigen Figuren am Ende wieder hervortreten lassen, so wäre der Schluß
prosaisch geworden...Aber ein ideeller, ja lyrischer Schluß war nötig
und mußte folgen; denn ~~ich~~ der pathetischen Rede des Mannes, die schon
poetische Prosa ist, mußte eine Steigerung kommen, ich mußte zur
lyrischen Poesie, ja zum Liede selbst übergehen.

5

1) Letter to Kayser, 29/12/1779, AA 18, p.473.

2) 'Goethes Musikanschauung in seiner Fausttragödie', Goethe NF 25(1963), p.254.

3) Letter to Kayser, loc.cit.

4) Italienische Reise, Bericht November 1787, AA 11, p.480f.

5) Conv. with Eckermann, Erster Teil, 18/1/1827, AA 24, p.212f.

Similarly, in the Regeln für Schauspieler, we can see him trying to persuade actors to use a finely-nuanced range of vocal expression in speech, which covers the ground between slightly elevated speech and near-music. The lowest grade on this scale he termed "Rezitation":

Unter Rezitation wird ein solcher Vortrag verstanden, wie er ohne leidenschaftliche Tonerhebung, doch auch nicht ganz ohne Tonveränderung zwischen der kalten ruhigen und der höchst aufgeregten Sprache in der Mitte liegt...Der Rezitierende folgt zwar mit der Stimme den Ideen des Dichters... aber dieses sind bloß Folgen und Wirkungen des Eindrucks, welchen der Gegenstand auf den Rezitierenden macht; er ändert dadurch seinen eigentümlichen Charakter nicht.

1

For more emotional impact, the actor graduated to "Deklamation oder gesteigerten Rezitation":

Die Worte, welche ich ausspreche, müssen mit Energie und dem lebendigsten Ausdruck hervorgebracht werden, so daß ich jede leidenschaftliche Regung als wirklich gegenwärtig mit zu empfinden scheine. Hier bedient sich der Spieler auf dem Fortepiano [i.e. the actor] der Dämpfung und aller Mutation^{en}, welche das Instrument besitzt.

2

And for even greater effect, the actor proceeded to 'rhythmischer Dialog', which was the mode envisaged for verse:

Alle bei der Deklamation gemachten Regeln und Bemerkungen werden auch hier zur Grundlage vorausgesetzt. Insbesondere ist aber der Charakter des rhythmischen Vortrags, daß der Gegenstand mit noch mehr erhöhtem pathetischem Ausdruck deklamiert wird.

3

If we arrange these various degrees in the light of Goethe's comments, the different kinds of speech and music form a continuum which may be represented thus:

1) Regeln §18, AA 14, p.75.

2) Ibid., §§20ff., p.76f.

3) Ibid., §31, p.80f.

prosaischer Dialog
 Rezitation
 Deklamation
 Rhythmischer Dialog
 Poesie
 Lied
 Arie
 Melodie.

This provides us with a 'working model' of the range of expression through which many of Goethe's works move. A rather obvious way in which this happens is that music, as the medium at the top end of this 'scale', often functions as the medium for climaxes and finales of various kinds. Goethe explained to Kayser that any musical accompaniment of the "rytmischer Dialog" in Jery und Bätely should be fairly restrained, in order to leave scope for the climax, "da gegen das Ende meines Stücks der Gesang anhaltend fortgehen soll".¹ And while it is not surprising to find him using this device in a Singspiel, his comments on Novelle make clear that he also envisaged such gradations in a work predominantly conveyed in narrative prose; and he evokes a similar range of stylistic nuances, through poetic language to music in Trilogie der Leidenschaft.² At the end of Egmont, even fuller use is made of this range of expression. After an intensification of verbal style, from Egmont's conversation with Ferdinand to his reflections upon it and thence to his apostrophe of sleep, instrumental music accompanies first his invocation of sleep, then his allegorical dream and his waking vision of the future, and finally takes over completely to end the play with a "Siegessymphonie".³

But the progression in Goethe's works is by no means always in one stylistic direction (i.e. from prose towards music). Earlier in Egmont, music is used to depict Klärchen's death; but the play then returns to prose in order

1) Letter of 29/12/1779, AA 18, p.473.

2) AA 1, esp. pp.475ff.

3) AA 6, pp.99ff.

to depict the grim reality of imprisonment still facing Egmont.¹ In the Lehrjahre, there is a similar 'return to earth' conveyed when Mignon's funeral music ceases and the company are about to be faced by the full bitterness of her history:

erst als der Gesang ihnen völlig verhallte, fielen die Schmerzen, die Betrachtungen, die Gedanken, die Neugierde sie mit aller Gewalt wieder an, und sehnlich wünschten sie sich in jenes Element wieder zurück.

2

We have already seen that music can precede language as well as crown it; and in Novelle the flute-playing acts not only as climax, but also as prelude to the song:

Nach einigem Nachdenken, wobei sich der Fürst nach dem Kinde umsah, das immer sanft gleichsam zu präledieren fortgefahren hatte...

Glorreich sang das Kind weiter, nachdem es mit wenigen Tönen vorgespielt hatte...

3

These examples would suggest the idea of a 'linear' scale, through which a work might move in either direction. But there is some evidence that Goethe thought of music as connecting both ends of the spectrum of language. His notion of "sonore Wirkungen", for example, seems to include both primitive or intangible things not yet ripe for definition in language, and sublime and complex things beyond language.⁴ Certainly, the idea of music as linking both extremes would accord with Goethe's general view of music as mediator between opposites:

Der Musikus kann alles, das höchste und tiefste kann, darf, und muß er verbinden, und blos in dieser Überzeugung habe ich mein Proteus artiges Ehepaar [Scapin und Scapine] einführen können.

5

1) AA 6, p.91.

2) Lehrjahre VIII, 8, AA 7, p.619.

3) AA 9, pp.450, 456.

4) Physikalische Wirkungen, AA 16, p.862.

5) Letter to Kayser, 23/1/1786, AA 18, p.905.

And, most convincingly of all, perhaps, it would make sense of his otherwise rather puzzling comment when he observed¹ that musicians were not represented among the portraits in Gleim's Freundschaftstempel:

man sah über

hundert Poeten und Literatoren, aber unter diesen keinen einzigen Musiker und Komponisten. Wie ? Sollte jener Greis, der, seinen Äußerungen nach, nur im Singen zu leben und zu atmen schien, keine Ahnung von dem eigentlichen Gesang gehabt haben ? von der Tonkunst, dem wahren Element woher alle Dichtungen entspringen und wohin sie zurückkehren ?

1

This latter remark certainly suggests that Goethe's idea of the spectrum of means of expression offered by language and music was closer to a seamless continuum or ring than to a linear progression. We have already followed such a sequence from prose through poetry to melody. But Goethe's aphorism on "die Würde der Kunst" suggests that, having no "Stoff", music could also leave behind it any semblance of melodic utterance, and become pure form which "erhöht und veredelt alles, was sie ausdrückt".² For instance, this seems to be the connotation of the Siegessymphonie in Egmont, (for all its earlier date). And Goethe's comments on the music of J.S. Bach suggest a similar conception:

Ich sprach mir's aus: als wenn die ewige Harmonie sich mit sich selbst unterhielte, wie sich's etwa in Gottes Busen kurz vor der Weltschöpfung möchte zugetragen haben. So bewegte sich's auch in meinem Innern und es war mir als wenn ich weder Ohren, am wenigsten Augen, und weiter keine übrigen Sinne besäße noch brauchte.

3

Furthermore, his remarks on "sonore Wirkungen" suggest that the uppermost grades of this continuum are hidden in infinity - Goethe found it difficult to imagine the limits of music's capacity for expression.

1) Tag- und Jahreshefte 1805, AA 11, p.782.

2) MuR 487, AA 9, p.561; Wanderjahre (Betrachtungen), AA 8, p.314.

3) Beilage to letter to Zelter, 17/7/1827; Briefwechsel, ed. Geiger, vol.2, p.495. See p.43 above on the provenance of this letter.

However, if "sonore Wirkungen" represent something "über alle Begriffe",¹⁾ there are also stages by which music might descend from these heights and return towards "Begriff und Wort". Romantic music, for example, seems to ^{him} rather like a negative version of ~~Bach's absolute music,~~ beyond the apprehension of feeling, but suggesting a chaotic rather than an orderly infinite.² And although Beethoven's music impressed Goethe immensely with its intensity of sound, it was still beyond connection with lyrical feeling (bewegt gar nichts), still "grandios", "macht nur staunen".³ Only when music becomes sensuously attractive and less monumental, in "Melodien, Gänge und Läufe",⁴ does it lose the element of terror and become earthy; and only when these melodies are clearly formed and phrased (as he felt was the case with string quartets) do they generate "lyrische Stimmung" and approach articulated, sonorous language. And just as music can lead into poetic language, so poetry can be of a kind which moves away from melody and lyricism towards prose. Gleim's poetry, for example, was of this sort:

Seine Poesie...ist rhythmisch,
nicht melodisch, weshalb er sich denn auch meistens freier Silbenmaße
bedient; und so gewähren Vers und Reim, Brief und Abhandlung durch-
einander verschlungen den Ausdruck eines gemüthlichen Menschenver-
standes.

5

And Goethe seems to have implied something similar when he designated his own epigrams as "Gedichte die sich am weitesten vom Gesang entfernen".⁶ We are back in the realm of prosaic speech, recitation and declamation - where, as Goethe reminded his actors, fluctuations of tone are in the service of semantic convention, and unremarkable in themselves.⁷

1) Physikalische Wirkungen, AA 16, p.862.

2) Conv. with Eckermann, Erster Teil, 12/1/1827, AA 24, p.200.

3) Felix Mendelssohn, 21/25. Mai 1830, AA 23, p.700.

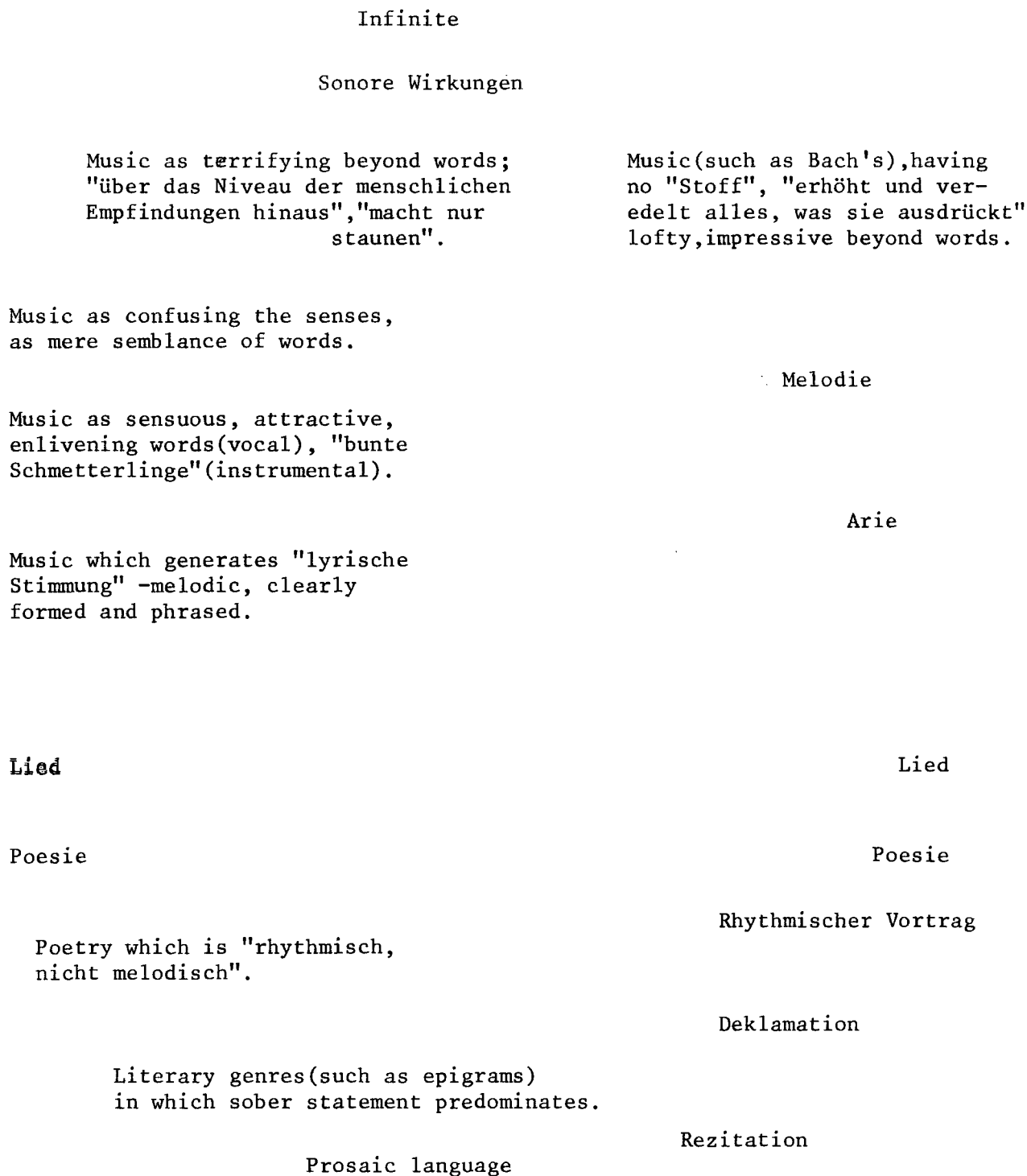
4) Lehrjahre II, 11, AA 7, p.137.

5) Tag- und Jahreshefte 1805, AA 11, p.782.

6) Letter to Reichardt, 8/11/1790, AA 19, p.175.

7) Regeln für Schauspieler, §21, AA 14, p.77.

The whole continuum could thus be represented as follows:



This is of course an artificial construction, and somewhat clumsy as a working model for understanding Goethe's view of language vis à vis music.

For example, this scheme might be taken to imply that any given work pauses at all the stylistic 'stations' on its route, which is not the case. In Egmont, for instance, the declamation of Egmont's final monologue does not go through poetry and song to reach melody and symphony; Novelle goes through both these stages, but not beyond Lied and Melodie. Furthermore, some songs (e.g. those of Lynkeus and the Elves in Faust) are both lofty and lyrical at the same time - a possibility which the diagram above does not make clear. Nevertheless, this working model is very much less crude than those proposed by Krüger and Cotti, for example.¹ And if it is taken not as rigid rule of thumb, but as a framework within which any one of Goethe's works can be envisaged as moving freely,² then it affords a much broader and more finely-focussed perspective on Goethe's work than, for instance, Hicks' attempt to differentiate between works which require actual music for their realisation, and those which describe music,³ or than Fähnrich's similar categories of "worddramatisch" and "musikdramatisch".⁴ For, as Goethe's

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- 1) Although Krüger does indeed point to what he calls "symbolische Poesie", i.e. a "totales und universales Sprechen" as Goethe's aim, he consults only the Singspiele and Goethe's letters to Kayser for examples of music's contribution to this aim. (See 'Die Bedeutung der Musik für Goethes Wortkunst', pp.215ff.). Cotti's approach is very similar. Although he too mentions Goethe's aim as the enlargement of the scope of language, he is diverted into 'spotting' different operatic forms (See Die Musik in Goethes Faust, pp.43ff.). See generally pp.18ff. above.
 - 2) E.g. the Singspiele range between 'prosaischer Dialog' and aria without necessarily including 'Poesie'; Egmont ranges from prose to wordless music and back again without anything which resembles an aria. Longer narrative works, such as Wahlverwandtschaften and Wilhelm Meister, touch on many points in the framework, but not all. In Die Wahlverwandtschaften, for example, the progression towards infinity is conveyed in visual terms rather than musical (cf. AA 9, pp.270ff.); and shifts of level in expression are evoked in narrative prose rather than demonstrated by actual interpolation of songs; whereas Wilhelm Meister both describes and demonstrates a wide range of vocal and instrumental levels of expression.
 - 3) Hicks, 'Was Goethe Musical?', p.132f. See p.10 above.
 - 4) Fähnrich produces some very curious results; e.g. since the scene culminating in the Easter Chorus is classified as "musikdramatisch", Faust's important preceding monologue becomes mere libretto; similarly, Gretchen's songs appear merely as "Inzidenzmusik", since they fall in scenes classified as "worddramatisch" (Goethes Musikanschauung in seiner Fausttragödie, p.253f.

letters to Kayser show clearly, he was not primarily concerned with the precise point on the continuum at which the range of a work began or ended. What mattered in performance was the observance of the distinctions between each degree; so that a qualitative shift in the kind of meaning to be conveyed could be marked by and conveyed through a similar qualitative shift in the means of expression used.

It is this insistence on differentiation of nuances which makes Goethe so sharply different from the Romantics - for all their similar vivid perception of the range and power of musical expression.¹ It was important to him that prose dialogue should be spoken, in order to distinguish it from the various types of poetic language which could be set to more, or less, melodic accompaniment in operetta, according to the degree and type of emotional involvement to be suggested.² The same applies to his distinctions between Rezitation and Deklamation, or Deklamation and music;³ and in his comments on the types of Neo-Classical chorus which were or were not suitable for musical treatment.⁴ Nor was it simply a matter of whether music should or should not be used. Kayser was asked to grade his instrumentation of Jery und Bätely very carefully according to the same principle:

wer seine Sache versteht thut mit zwei Violinen, Viole und Bass mehr als andre mit der ganzen Instrumentenkammer. Bedienen Sie sich der blassenden Instrumenten als eines Gewürzes und einzeln;... das bestimmt den Ausdruck und man weis was man genießt, anstatt dass die meisten neue Componisten, wie die Köche bei den Speisen einen Hautgout von allerlei anbringen, darüber Fisch wie Fleisch und das Gesottne wie das Gebratne schmeckt.

5

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- 1) Cf. for example his comments on "sonore Wirkungen" and E.T.A. Hoffmann's "welcher tausend und abermal tausend Nuancen ist der musikalische Ausdruck fähig!" (Der Dichter und der Komponist, ed. cit. vol. 5, p. 129).
 - 2) Letter to Kayser, 29/12/1779, AA 18, p. 473f.
 - 3) Regeln für Schauspieler, §§ 18ff., AA 14, pp. 75ff. See also Wahlverwandtschaften II, 5, where Luciane's recitation is described as poor because she does not distinguish between different types of Vortrag (AA 9, p. 169).
 - 4) Comments on Die Braut von Messina, letter to Zelter (Beilage), 28/7/1803, AA 19, p. 441f.
 - 5) Letter of 20/1/1730, AA 18, p. 481.

Later, Goethe praised Tomaschek's setting of Kennst du das Land above those by Beethoven and Spohr, precisely because the musical level of expression matched that of the poem:

Sie haben das Gedicht verstanden...Mignon kann wohl ihrem Wesen nach ein Lied, aber keine Arie singen.

1

And he returned to his culinary metaphor to explain his objections to the otherwise admirable music by Radziwill for the performance of scenes from

Faust:

Nur damit erklärte er sich nicht einverstanden, daß der Komponist auch die Selbstgespräche Fausts, welche sich wohl ohne musikalische Beihilfe zur Geltung bringen würden, mit Musik ausgestattet habe, wodurch das Drama den zwitterhaften Charakter des Melodramas erhalte, welches weder Schauspiel noch Oper, nicht Fisch, nicht Fleisch sei.

2

The "ernste Betrachtungen", "Sinnen und Nachdenken" of Faust's efforts to translate the Gospel were, he considered, "zur musikalischen Begleitung nicht geeignet", since in practice the accompaniment disrupted the dynamics of Faust's speech, thus disguising the "bedeutenden Unterschied" between such a scene and (for example) the climax of Egmont.³ What he himself had in mind, if performance there had to be, was a treatment which allowed for careful grading of level of expression from language to music, as the scene moved towards its climax:

Die Absicht ist, Fausten mit seltner musikalischer Begleitung rezitieren zu lassen, die Annäherung und Erscheinung des Geistes wird melodramatisch behandelt, das Schlußchor melodisch, woraus denn ein kleines Stück entsteht, welches etwas über eine halbe Stunde dauern mag.

4

With such views, Goethe must indeed have found Romantic ideals, such as Tieck's "in Tönen zu denken und in Worten und Gedanken zu musizieren",⁵ on

1) Conv. with W.J. Tomaschek, 6/8/1822, AA 23,p.221.

2) Conv. with Förster, Mai/Juli 1821, AA 23,p.140.

3) Ibid.,p.140f.

4) Letter to Graf Brühl, 1/5/1815, AA21,p.66.

5) Die Verkehrte Welt, ed.cit.p.286f.

a par with indiscriminating cookery; and it is not surprising to find him complaining that the Romantic urge to express the infinite had produced merely vagueness:

eine höhere ideelle Behandlung [ward] immer mehr von dem Wirklichen getrennt, durch ein Transzendieren, und Mystizieren, wo das Hohle vom Gehaltvollen nicht mehr zu unterscheiden ist, und jedes Urbild, das Gott der menschlichen Seele verliehen hat, sich in Traum und Nebel verschweben muß.

1

However, despite this fundamental difference with the views of the Romantic generation, Goethe shared with his earlier contemporaries a marked fondness for genres which combined language and music (and of course dance where appropriate) in practice. Indeed, he admitted that what he called "reine Opernform" (as opposed, presumably, to the "zwitterhaften Charakter" of melodrama) became something of an obsession:

Diese reine Opernform, welche vielleicht die günstigste aller dramatischen bleibt, war mir so eigen und geläufig geworden, daß ich manchen Gegenstand darin behandelte.

2

Like his contemporaries, Goethe entered upon a great deal of experiment, and gave much time and thought to the practical problems which arose - notably to disparities in the length of time needed for verbal and musical structures,³ and to improvement of the poetic quality of opera texts, in order to make the partnership between language and music less uneven.⁴

1) Letter to C.H. Schlosser, 23/11/1814, AA 21, p.38.

2) Tag- und Jahreshefte 1789, AA 11, p.623. See also his comment on "jene Neigung zur musikalischen Poesie," which lent enthusiasm to his efforts in the Weimar theatre (Ibid., 1791, AA 11, p.628).

3) See esp. his letter to Kayser, 23/1/1786, where he comments in detail on the difficulties caused for composer and performer by his own concept of drama as "rastlose Handlung", and by his tendency to vary rhythms considerably (AA 18, pp.902ff.). Also his advice in the essay on Proserpina to other producers on these points (WA I, 40, p.112f.).

4) See esp. his comments on the early Singspiele and his desire to improve their rather fatuous texts (Italienische Reise, Bericht November 1787, AA 11, p.481); and on his efforts to improve and maintain standards when he took over the Weimar theatre, (Tag- und Jahreshefte 1791, AA 11, p.628).

And like his contemporaries, he was on the whole very disappointed with the results, and left with a strong sense of problems unsolved.¹ Much critical attention has been given to possible reasons for the failure, in large part, of his efforts. Although some commentators have blamed Goethe's lack of a composer of suitable stature to work with him² (a lack which Goethe himself certainly felt³), others have pointed out that part of the 'fault', at least, must lie with Goethe himself,⁴ since he was in contact of some kind with most

- 1) This is one of the best-documented aspects of Goethe's approach to music. Most accounts mention these matters; but the following are some of the main accounts which give both information and a certain amount of comment. (We are not concerned here with Goethe's own lyric poetry and the problems which this caused for composers - for this, see e.g. AA 2, pp. 671ff.; Abert, GuM, pp. 107ff.; Moser, pp. 92-170; Sternfeld passim).

On Goethe's problems and efforts with the Lied: M. Friedländer, 'GudM' pp. 61ff., esp. pp. 71ff.; Blume, pp. 32-44; Moser, pp. 30ff., 51ff.; Tappolet, pp. 55ff., esp. pp. 61ff., 88ff. although on p. 66 he gives the wrong ref. for Genast (read AA 22, p. 783).

On Goethe's efforts with dramatic genres: M. Friedländer, pp. 300ff.; Schwan, passim; Abert, pp. 77-102, esp. p. 94f.; Blume, pp. 45-62, esp. pp. 58ff.; Moser, pp. 21ff.; Barth, pp. 106ff., esp. pp. 114, 118; Tappolet, pp. 68ff. Some of Goethe's disillusionment here seems to have stemmed from technical difficulties (see letter to Reichardt, 8/11/1790, AA 19, p. 175); some from a more generalised disappointment with the German theatre (see letter to Reichardt 28/2/1790, AA 19, p. 158; W. Flemming, Goethe und das Theater seiner Zeit, pp. 179f., 213ff.).

- 2) See discussions on both Lied and drama cited above, note 1; esp. Friedländer pp. 305ff., 311ff.; Blume, pp. 58ff.; Moser, p. 39. Also Krüger, p. 211, Cotti, pp. 2ff., 63.
- 3) See especially his letter to Zelter, 19/6/1805; "Ich habe nur leider nie das Glück gehabt, neben mir einen tüchtigen Tonkünstler zu besitzen, mit dem ich gemeinschaftlich gearbeitet hätte, und daher habe ich mich immer in solchen Fällen an das Stoppeln und Zusammensetzen halten müssen". (AA 19, p. 481). Cf. also his hopes of coming to understand liturgical music through Kayser (Ital. Reise, 22/2/1788, AA 11, p. 571f.), or his later comment that a plan for an 'Oriental opera' failed because he had neither composer nor audience for such a work (Tag- und Jahreshefte 1816, AA 11, p. 877).
- 4) F. Gundolf, in his Goethe (1920), is perhaps the most stringent of Goethe's critics in this respect (pp. 546ff., cit. Hicks, p. 127); but similar points have been made by Friedländer, GudM p. 336f.; Hicks, pp. 98ff., 127; and especially by Ronga, pp. 120ff.

major composers of his time,¹ even if one disregards his numerous collaborations with minor figures.² From the evidence considered in this chapter, it seems reasonable to endorse the opinion of critics who consider Goethe's identity as poet to be the crucial factor.³ But this would not be quite in the sense usually suggested - i.e. that Goethe approached music via words, and

- 1) An accessible overall view can be readily gained from Moser, pp. 51ff., and from Tappolet, pp. 106ff., although they include composers with whom Goethe had no personal contact. Since Goethe did, in fact, receive settings of which he approved - notably Beethoven's music for Egmont (Conv. with Förster, Mai/Juli 1821, AA 23, p. 141) - it seems that his emphasis in saying that he had no suitable collaborator lay on the notion of actually working together: "...mit dem ich gemeinschaftlich gearbeitet hätte" (note on previous page). For information on Goethe's reaction to and/or contact with major composers, see esp. the following:

Gluck: E. Jäger, 'Gluck und Goethe', Die Musik, LII (;913/14), pp. 131ff.; Huschke, pp. 15ff.; Abert, pp. 71ff.; Friedländer, p. 295f.; Krüger, p. 210f.

Mozart: E. Staiger, Musik und Dichtung, pp. 41ff.; Barth, p. 114 (bibl.); Friedländer, pp. 314ff.; Ronga, pp. 138ff.; Flemming, p. 227f.

Beethoven: R. Rolland, Goethe and Beethoven (tr. Pfister/Kemp), New York & London 1931; Friedländer, pp. 316ff.; Abert, pp. 36ff.; Hicks, pp. 125ff.

Mendelssohn: Eberwein/Lobe/Bode, pp. 15, 192ff.; Friedländer, pp. 324ff.; Hicks, p. 135f.; Abert, p. 44f.; Moser, p. 45f..

J.S. Bach: (as a revival), J. Müller-Blattau, Goethe und die Meister der Musik, pp. 7ff.; Staiger, Musik und Dichtung, pp. 9ff.; Hicks, pp. 104ff.; Tappolet, pp. 106ff.; Blume, p. 63f.; Barth, p. 119; Abert, GuM, pp. 43, 55.

Schubert: Hicks, pp. 122ff.; Huschke, pp. 120ff.; Friedländer, p. 321f.

Paganini: Letter to Zelter, 9/11/1829, (AA 21, p. 872f.); Conv. with Eckermann, 2/3/31 (AA 24, p. 469).

C.M.v. Weber: Eberwein/Lobe/Bode, pp. 182ff.; Friedländer, p. 322f.; Moser, p. 38; also Eckermann, 9/10/28, AA 24, p. 288.

B.A. Weber: Eberwein/Lobe/Bode, p. 174f.; Abert, p. 42.

C. Loewe: Moser, p. 38; Friedländer, p. 323f.

Meyerbeer: Eckermann, 29/1/27 (AA 24, p. 224), 12/2/29 (ibid., p. 313).

- 2) See esp.:

Kayser: Barth, p. 68 (bibl.); Friedländer, pp. 305ff.; Moser, pp. 17ff.; Abert, pp. 23ff.; Tappolet, pp. 20ff., 75ff.

Reichardt: W. Salmen, 'Goethe und Reichardt', Jb. der Sammlung Kippenberg NF I (1963), pp. 52ff.; Huschke, pp. 27ff.; Barth, p. 69 (bibl.); Abert, pp. 26ff.; Moser, pp. 26ff.; Tappolet, pp. 33ff.

Zelter: D. Wahl, 'Goethe und Zelter 'damals zu Wiesbaden'', Jb. Sammlung Kippenberg, loc. cit. pp. 101ff.; Barth, p. 69f (bibl.); Friedländer, pp. 310ff.; Abert, pp. 29ff.; Moser, pp. 78ff.; Müller-Blattau, 'Goethe und die Kantate', Jb. Musikbibliothek Peters 38 (1932), pp. 49ff. For others, see Friedländer, pp. 294ff.; Barth, pp. 20, 46f., 69, 119f.

- 3) Many critics mention this point; but it is especially emphasised by Miller, pp. 51ff., and also by Krüger, (pp. 204ff., 222) and Ronga, pp. 93ff.

therefore understood vocal music but not instrumental. Goethe's central concern was means of expression, rather than merely words; and he valued all music, not merely vocal music, as means of expression, precisely because it was in certain ways unlike language. The significance of Goethe's identity as poet derives rather from the fact that, as a non-musician, he depended on outsiders for the realisation of such poetic ideas as involved music. At the same time, he developed his ideas on what music could and should do in such detail that little scope was left for the composer's imagination; and it became increasingly less likely that composers of any stature would be able to meet his requirements.¹

The result was that the collaboration of music and language became one of Goethe's most potent poetic ideals; and, although his plans often sound so concrete, so much like a practical preoccupation (especially in dramatic genres), what we usually have is an evocative verbal description of a poet's ideal. This can be seen even in his letters to Kayser, where he tries rather desperately to find some descriptive formula which might fire the composer's imagination.² And it is especially evident in his unfulfilled plan, as explained to Zelter, for a performance of Schiller's Das Lied von der Glocke:

ich stelle die Glocke Schillers dramatisch vor und ersuche Sie dazu um Ihren Beistand. Lesen Sie das Gedicht durch und schicken Sie mir eine passende Symphonie dazu von irgendeinem Meister. Dann wünschte ich in der Mitte des fünften Verses, den der Meister spricht, nach den Worten: Betet einen frommen Spruch, einen kurzen Chorgesang,

- 1) The letters to Kayser between 29/12/1779 (AA 18, p.472f.) and 5/5/1786 (ibid., p.925f.), especially between 25/4/1785 and 4/12/1785 (AA 18, pp. 846ff., 881ff.), are a particularly striking example of the extraordinary detail with which, if pressed, Goethe was prepared to specify the dynamics and sound-quality of settings for his works. At Kayser's request, he even characterised the tempo and general nature of his songs in "rother Dinte" on the copy (21/1/1780, AA 18, p.480). We then find him making similar detailed specifications (fortunately not to Beethoven) for his Egmont music; few major composers can have relished a notion of collaboration which allowed Goethe to say, for example, that "Beethoven ist mit bewundernswertem Genie in meine Intentionen eingegangen". (Conv. with Förster, Mai/Juli 1821, AA 23, p.141).
- 2) For instance, the idea of dialogue as a golden ring and the songs as inset jewels (29/12/1779, AA 18, p.473); of instrumentation as a variety of flavours (20/1/1780, ibid., p.481); or of accompaniment as a lively mountain stream among the rocky formations of the text (20/6/1785, ibid., p.854).

zu dem die Worte:

In allem, was wir unternehmen
Sei deine Gnade, Herr, uns nah.

zum Texte dienen könnten. Darauf würden die folgenden vier Zeilen...
wieder gesprochen, darauf aber das Chor wiederholt, oder wenn Sie
wollen, musikalisch weiter ausgeführt.

Zum Schlußchor wünschte ich die Worte

Vivos voco. Mortuos plango. Fulgura frango.

in einer Fuge zu hören, die, insofern es möglich wäre, das Glocken-
geläute nachahmte und sich der Gelegenheit gemäß, in mortuos plango
verlöre.

1

It is not surprising, then, to find that the poetic ideal of combined language and music is enshrined in the educational programme of the Pädagogische Provinz, where all problems of collaboration are duly resolved as Goethe would wish them to be:

Hier komme alles darauf an daß beide Künste [lyrical poetry and music], jede für sich und aus sich selbst, dann aber gegen- und miteinander entwickelt werden. Die Schüler lernen eine wie andre in ihrer Bedingtheit kennen; sodann wird gelehrt wie sie sich wechselseitig bedingen und sich sodann wieder wechselseitig befreien.

Der poetische Rhythmus stellt der Tonkünstler Takteinteilung und Taktbewegung entgegen. Hier zeigt sich aber bald die Herrschaft der Musik über die Poesie; denn wenn diese, wie billig und notwendig, ihre Quantitäten immer so rein als möglich im Sinne hat, so sind für den Musiker wenig Silben entschieden lang oder kurz; nach Belieben zerstört dieser das gewissenhafteste Verfahren des Rhythmikers, ja verwandelt sogar Prosa in Gesang, wo dann die wunderbarsten Möglichkeiten hervortreten, und der Poet würde sich gar bald vernichtet fühlen, wüßte er nicht, von seiner Seite, durch lyrische Zartheit und Kühnheit, dem Musiker Ehrfurcht einzuflößen und neue Gefühle, bald in sanftester Folge, bald durch die raschesten Übergänge, hervorzurufen.

Die Sänger die man hier findet sind meist selbst Poeten...

2

Thus informed of the precise nature of the relation between language and music, (an insight which Goethe never attained), these poets can not only

1) Letter to Zelter, 4/8/1805, AA 19, p.482f.

2) Wanderjahre II, 8, AA 8, p.269f.

view music as the partner and complement of language, but use it as an integral part of their resources; a "mannigfaltige Sprache" which Goethe could only imagine in real life is theirs for the using, in the realms of his fiction.

In view of music's many and various appearances in Goethe's^e work as contrast and complement to language, we may expect to find it assuming these functions in Faust too, with a comparable diversity. For instance, Goethe uses the idea of music as something vague, contrasting with the precision of language, at several points in the play. This may be done on a fairly simple level - as, for example, in the appearance of music where general sense impressions are vague and confused. In the Hexenküche, the verbal confusion of the Hexen-Einmaleins is preceded by the witch's strange gestures and by a similar confusion of sounds: "indessen fangen die Gläser an zu klingen, die Kessel zu tönen, und machen Musik." (SD 2532). The motif recurs very briefly in Wagner's laboratory, as he is trying to 'crystallise' Hömunculus (Geklirr der Zange gibt Musik, 6682). And Helena's Chorus, enveloped in mist as their Greek setting disappears, are unable to see or hear anything but the ominous sound of ^f Menelaus' trumpets (SD 9063) and horns (9067): "Tönen fern heiseren Ton!" (9101). These associations with music are evoked in a somewhat more complex way by its use where the senses are deliberately confused and deceived; a shift from speech to song can signal the abandonment of reason and lucidity. For example, Mephisto successfully distracts Faust from discussing a pact by calling on the Geister to sing him to sleep (Schwindet, ihr dunkeln/Wölbungen droben! (1447ff.)). Conversely, the return from music to speech can underline a return to sober 'reality' - as when Faust wakes up to bitter disappointment after his dream (1526ff.), and of course when the prose of Trüber Tag. Feld conveys his confrontation with the realities of Gretchen's fate, after the "abgeschmackte Zerstreungen"

of the dilettantes' Brocken(3ff.).

However, there are several instances when music is used as an 'equal' counterpart to speech, rather than as an inferior medium, making possible a general contrast in manner of utterance which helps to mark an important contrast in attitude or character. The simplest and most obvious of these is the contrast between Gretchen's habit of expressing herself in song (to the point where Mephisto can evoke her whole charm by evoking her singing (3318f.), and Faust's eloquence of discourse (notably in the Religionsgespräch, 3426ff.); the most sustained and large-scale is the Helena-akt, where the contrast between speech and song carries the whole contrast between Classical and Romantic.¹ But the device can be found on a smaller scale, too, often underpinned by dance. For example, by contrast with the singing and dancing Peasants of Vor dem Tor, Faust and Wagner appear as isolated outsiders - an appearance which helps to reinforce their several comments on the matter (Wagner, 941ff., 1011ff.; Faust, 921ff., 1022ff.). And similar differences of nature and function are marked, for example, by Faust's song and dance with the witch v. the harangue of the Proktophantasmist(4128ff.); by the sober discourse of Pluto and Knabe Lenker vis à vis the "geputztes Volk" and "Flitterschau" of other singing and dancing characters in the Mummenschanz (5088ff., 5533ff., 5815ff.); or by the vapid comments of the court audience v. the musical movements of Paris and Helena(6440ff.). Here the idea of inferiority seems to be irrelevant, since the implication of greater wisdom lies sometimes with the speaker, sometimes with the singer.

There are other instances, nevertheless, where music seems to carry greater force and significance than speech - especially where song is used as a medium for interventions in a specific situation by powers of a more 'universal' nature. Here the transition to song does not necessarily carry

1) Cf. Herrmann's general point that different episodes of the play are contrasted by means of different 'tones', (pp.87ff. and passim).

connotations of 'good' or 'bad' - its function is rather to mark the sharp qualitative change which occurs when something specific is placed in a broader perspective;¹ and in most such cases the onset of music is appropriately sudden. For instance, when Faust seems to have issued his final and strongest challenge to the closed world of Nature by raising the cup of poison "mit ganzer Seele"(734ff.), the tonal onslaught of "Glockenklang und Chorgesang" immediately marks a forceful response from powers much greater than Faust, able to remove the cup "mit Gewalt" - even though he cannot accept the Easter message, and is drawn back to life by the mere memory of times when he could(762ff.). In a comparable way, the weight of Faust's great curse of everything which makes life estimable is enhanced because it is immediately followed by the song of the Geister auf dem Gange(1607ff.) - what is said in the natural world evokes a response in the more universal 'language' of the spirit world. In both these cases, the singers are indeed invisible, like the choir maintained by Natalie's uncle, the more to emphasise their "Allgemeinheit". But similar use of contrasting media can also be made where the 'universal' is represented by visible figures - as e.g. when Faust's thoughtful Terzinen on his own limitations follow the songs of the Elves and the "ungeheures Getöse" of the Sun; or when the singing Angels break in upon Mephisto's blinkered view of human life and death, bearing off Faust's soul to more universal regions, and leaving Mephisto, as a solo speaker, to curse their "garstiges Geklimper", and to meditate ruefully on his folly(11685ff.). Similarly varied use is made of the other quality for which Goethe especially admired music by contrast with language - greater

1) Cf. E.M. Wilkinson's comment, when discussing the Trilogie der Leidenschaft, that both the deus ex machina and music serve as symbols of "das Moment der Diskontinuität...symbolische Vergegenständlichung jener unerklärlichen Umkehrungen, jener scheinbar unmotivierten Auflösungen, die im Seelenleben immer wieder stattfinden". (Goethes 'Trilogie der Leidenschaft', Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Reihe der Vorträge und Schriften, Bd.18, Frankfurt 1957, p.17f.).

sensuous vividness. Song is sometimes used where this quality is viewed negatively, as a medium for seduction or orgy; as for example in Mephisto's serenade(3682ff.), or in Walpurgisnacht (4128ff.). But it can also be used with positive connotations, where an utterance is presented as divinely sweet (e.g. the "süsse Himmelslieder" of the Easter Chorus(783). And in addition there are several points where music is used simply to 'enliven' the text, in something much like the comic opera tradition which Goethe knew from French performers in Frankfurt and from Hiller,¹ to provide liveliness and colour. Obvious examples are the scenes Vor dem Tor and Auerbachs Keller;² and in Hochgewölbtes enges Gotisches Zimmer the Chor der Insekten(6592ff.) seems to serve much the same purpose, bringing an element of Schalkheit to an otherwise rather solemn scene.

In Faust, as in other works, music serves not only as contrast but also as complement to language, in a great variety of ways. For instance, we find again the idea of music as preceding articulation in speech. There are several points in the play where music is associated with utterance as yet too inchoate for language; and, as when Goethe was sitting with a quartet in the adjoining room while he composed Iphigenie, the musical allusion is often accompanied by the parallel idea of gradual crystallisation of visual shapes.³ In the final stanza of Zueignung, the hesitant beginnings of poetic utterance are "der Äolsharfe gleich"(28), "unbestimmten Tönen"(27), as yet only a "lispelnd Lied"(28) which "schwebet"(27), and, like the "schwankende Gestalten" of the first stanza(1), is not yet fully formed. The motif appears again in the Vorspiel auf dem Theater, where the POet defends "Was sich die Lippe schüchtern vorgelallt"(68), since such profound feeling can only appear "in vollendeter Gestalt"(72) after years of effort(71). And as Homunculus takes

1) Dichtung und Wahrheit 8, AA 10, p.360.

2) See esp. Errante, p.40, on elements of comic opera in the latter scene

3) Letter to Frau v. Stein, 22/2/1779, AA 18, p.418. (cit. Trunz, p.512).

shape in his bottle, so also does he emit a tone which progresses from sound to meaningful speech:

Gibt diesem Laute nur Gehör,
Es wird zur Stimme, wird zur Sprache.(6877f.)

There are rather more instances, however, in which music acts as an extension of language by taking up the task of expression where language reaches its limits. On one occasion, instrumental music alone takes up and develops a theme suggested in the text - in the battle of ghosts supervised by Mephisto(10234ff.), the music which has introduced and supported Mephisto's description at intervals (10234f., SD 10297, SD 10345) is finally given the task of depicting the climax of the battle and the ensuing calm: "Kriegstumult im Orchester, zuletzt übergehend in militärisch heitre Weisen" (SD 10783). More commonly, vocal music takes over where words fail - especially under the weight of feeling (as in Gretchen's songs, notably in Meine Mutter, die Hur', which she sings when mad; and at the end of Nacht, where Faust lapses into silence while the Easter Chorus bring the scene to a joyful end(783ff.)); or at points where language has already reached a climax of sonority, in order to give scope for even greater intensity (as when the crescendo of sound described by Mephisto in the Walpurgisnacht(3941ff.) erupts into a "wütender Zaubergesang"(3955ff.), or when the increasingly ecstatic and celebratory dialogue of Thales and Nereus(8432ff.), Homunculus and Proteus(8458ff.) culminates in the final Chorus of the Sirens and "All-Alle"(8476ff.). But the functions of music here go well beyond that of marking high spots in emotion or action. Music can be used, for example, to convey a state of terror which goes beyond feelings, "über menschlichen Empfindungen hinaus", and therefore beyond words. The best example is probably the Dom scene; where Gretchen feels the world of religion to be overwhelming and alien, qualities rendered by the sound of the organ,¹ and by

1) See Ital. Reise, 7/3/1788, AA 11, p.581; and p.76 above.

the chanting of the choir. A similar function is fulfilled by the "Trommeln und kriegerische Musik" in Act IV of Part II (SD 10234ff.), and especially by the "Furchtbarer Posaunenschall von oben" (SD 10571). In the first instance, music reinforces the choir's unified chanting in Latin, and thus helps to underline the contrast between the choir and Gretchen's panic-stricken want of words (her thoughts are largely conveyed by the Böser Geist, 3776ff.), as well as the contrast between her speechlessness on this occasion and her usual simple but fluent German vernacular in earlier scenes (e.g. 3413ff., 3587ff.). In the second example, the military music comes as a shock - not only because it assails the ear (since it comes from behind the audience at first (SD 10234), and then "schallt von unten auf" (SD 10297)), but also because it portends a destruction (10235) which directly contradicts the constructive purpose which Faust has just expounded in his long and passionate discourse on reclaiming land from the sea (10134ff., esp. 10212ff.). It is noteworthy that, although Goethe specifies music of a familiar kind on both these occasions (i.e. Requiem Mass and military marches), he seems to be less concerned with a fully-structured piece of music than with a particular type of sound, as accompaniment or foil to particular words. The sound of the organ, drum and brass are the important factors, because the shock to the senses caused by their extraordinarily loud and strident sound can be made to suggest terrifying shocks to the spirit.¹ The same holds good in Anmutige Gegend, where Goethe presents the terrifying and extraordinary as a wholesome rather than as a destructive experience. Here we find not merely the music of the Elves, but also "sonore Wirkungen", used as a means to convey something "über alle Begriffe", the power of the Sun. Although these sounds are described in terms of known instruments (Es trommetet, es

1) The structure of any setting for the Dies Irae would have to be modified, partly to allow the interspersed monologues to be heard, partly to accommodate the repetition of the emphasis on guilt (3833). This causes Abert to suggest that actual music would destroy the formal cohesion of the scene - music should be "kurz angedeutet" (GuM, p. 104).

posaunet,4672), they are associated with the harmony of the spheres heard only by spirits:

Tönend wird für Geistesohren
Schon der neue Tag geboren. (4667f.).

And there is more to come which cannot be borne by elfin ears, to say nothing of human hearing: "Unerhörtes hört sich nicht".(4674).

But it is when we come to look at music in Faust as part of Goethe's efforts to achieve a "mannigfaltige Sprache", suitable for every nuance of significance, that the complexity and importance of music's role begin to be manifest. This is after all a work about nothing less than the universe; and its stylistic range is accordingly vast. Schiller was thinking of plot and structure rather than medium of expression when he remarked, of Goethe's plans to develop the Fragment, that he could find "für eine so hoch auf-
quellende Masse...keinen poetischen Reif, der sie zusammenhält".¹ But Goethe seems to have envisaged a very broad structure within which contrasting moods and attitudes, and therefore contrasting modes of expression, could build up the composite picture of life which he wished to present:

Da die verschiedenen Teile dieses Gedichts, in Absicht
auf die Stimmung, verschieden behandelt werden können, wenn sie sich nur
dem Geist und Ton des Ganzen subordinieren, da übrigens die ganze
Arbeit subjektiv ist, so kann ich in einzelnen Momenten daran arbeiten...

2

In the finished work, music seems to have become an important part of the 'hoop' which holds the play together. For together with language, music forms a framework within which the play can move freely in its efforts to 'say' something about the universe as experienced and understood by human beings -

1) Letter to Goethe, 26/6/1797 AA 20, p.365.

2) Letter to Schiller, 22/6/1797, AA 20, p.362.

even where that experience includes an encounter with human limitations and with the limitations of human language. Because he saw and used music as an extension of language, Goethe had at his disposal here every nuance of expression between "sonore Wirkungen" and prose; and some detailed study of selected passages will be necessary if we are to appreciate how thoroughly Goethe exploited these resources.

The scene Anmutige Gegend will perhaps serve as first example, since it is one of the sections of Faust which have already attracted critical attention because of their great variety of metre and sonority. Most critics, however, point only to the contrast between spoken and sung sections, if they mention the music at all; and comments on stylistic variation are usually confined to the play's language. Herrmann, for instance, draws attention to the acoustic variety of the scene: "das Vorherrschen der liedhaften Formen, das Gesangartige der Sprache", followed by "die einzelne Menschenstimme"; but she mentions the actual presence of music only as an afterthought.¹ And Bressemer shows that metre and rhyme-scheme evolve to match change of import, but does not go beyond that.² And even where music is taken into consideration, critics are hampered in their comments by a tendency to seek explanations not in the play, but in biographical circumstances. May, for example, not only stresses the differences in style and import between "die lyrischen Gesangs^s Strophen und die dramatischen Sprechverse"; he also distinguishes carefully the imagery and "Klangcharakteristik" of the four stanzas depicting the four various watches of the night,³ and notes the further shift in Ariel's

1) Herrmann, p. 89 and note 1.

2) 'Der metrische Aufbau des Faust II und seine innere Notwendigkeit', pp. 10, 91, 115ff.

3) 'Faust. II. Teil' in der Sprachform gedeutet, ed. cit., pp. 10, 14ff.

evocation of the "Sturm der Horen" to "melodramatischer Übergang", "Sprech-verse,...melodramatisch begleitet". This seems to me an accurate and helpful description. But May has determined that, since we do not know what music Goethe had in mind for the scene, we must interpret the play without it. Accordingly, he interprets the "Ungeheures Getöse" as a monumental silence; and transfers the sound effects, increased volume, changing timbre, drums, trumpets, and all, to the words spoken by Ariel.¹ The value of May's original insights is thus largely annulled by his efforts to cope with the contradiction thus created. Not only does he become unwarrantedly dogmatic about the fluctuations of pitch in Ariel's voice;² he is also left uncomfortably aware that Ariel is making a most unbecoming amount of noise for an ethereal spirit.³ Since Goethe used music, and allusions to music, so widely in his works, it seems fair to assume that he meant his stage-directions for its use here - an assumption amply supported by P. Friedländer's detailed study of the Shakespearean associations evoked by a singing Ariel,⁴ as counterpart to the "Dantische Linie" of Faust's spoken monologue in terza rima and the imagery of dazzling light and sunrise.⁵ Unlike May, Friedländer emphasises the integral functions of music in this scene: "Als eine höhere dichterisch-musikalische Einheit wollte Goethe sie empfunden, gesehen und gehört wissen." But he therefore deduces that we should interpret the scene as "das hohe Singspiel".⁶ Since Goethe deliberately revised his Singspiele, as a form too slight for the treatment of serious themes, this seems a misnomer; it was precisely because Goethe felt that the Singspiel could not be "hoch" that he made such efforts to develop "reine Opernform", where quality

1) May, 'Faust.II. Teil', etc.,ed.cit.pp.9,17f.

2) Ibid.,p.17f.

3) Ibid.,p.17.

4) Rhythmen und Landschaften,pp.16ff.

5) Ibid.,pp.1ff.,esp.pp11ff.,20ff.

6) Ibid.,p.18f.

of dialogue and variety of types of song gave scope for much finer differentiation of expression.¹ However, if we bear in mind that Goethe's aim was the achievement of a "mannigfaltige Sprache", rather than the use of any particular form borrowed from music, we can benefit from these critical insights without being deflected quite so far from the play itself. For this scene then appears as a particularly good example of Goethe's exploitation of the much greater range, in volume and timbre, of musical sound by comparison with language. The scene moves, after all, from Äolsharfen to "Ungeheures Getöse" within a fairly short time - an effect impossible to produce by the use of language alone. With music, however, the level of expression can modulate from the delicate chords of Äolsharfen (SD 4613) to the song of the Elves(4613ff.), at once lofty and lyrical, music which "erhöht und veredelt alles, was sie ausdrückt"; it can then become more discursive for Ariel's summons to the Elves(4621ff.), (which could be done as verse, with or without accompaniment, or even as song of the melodic kind); and finally return to harmonious part-song for the Elves' Chorus(4634ff.). The climax of this polyphony can still be outstripped by the sudden "sonore Wirkungen" of drums and brasses for the "Getöse" heralding the Sun(SD 4666); and although Ariel's lines(4666ff.), whether sung or declaimed, can hardly compete with this noise, they can easily be pronounced with pauses² during which the brass continues to sound, reinforcing his commentary. The sharp contrast between the "Unerhörtes" thus suggested, and the acceptance of finiteness which is rendered in Faust's grave "Rezitation"(4679ff.), can then be made palpable without suggesting an anticlimax. Faust's Terzinen and their "großer reicher Stoff"³ can still be felt as a solemn high-point in his diction, by contrast with other verse-forms which are used for large sections

1) See Ital.Reise, Bericht November 1787, & Tag- und Jahreshefte 1789, AA 11, pp. 480f., 623; also pp. 263 ff. above. The difference between Singspiel and opera for Goethe seems to have lain in the quality of dialogue rather than in the form; e.g. he termed Mozart's Zauberflöte opera, whereas many modern critics treat it as Singspiel.

2) E.g. after each group of rhymes (aaa;bbb;ddc; eeff.).

3) Conv. with Müller, 29/9/1823, AA 23, p.306; cit. Friedländer, p.1.

of the play, and which therefore acquire an appearance of conversational norm.¹

As a second example of music's role as extension of language, and of the wide range of levels of expression which results, we may perhaps take the Helena episode - partly because, being one of the longest episodes of the play, it offers considerable scope for variation; partly because modes of expression, and the attitudes associated with each mode of expression, are so important there; and partly because it too is a section of Faust which has attracted a lot of critical attention by its variety of styles. On the whole, the contribution which music makes to this "Mannigfaltigkeit" has been more fully recognised. Herrmann gives a fairly full analysis - pointing out that we are presented not merely with the stark difference between Greek and Romantic ("Dort eine Form, dem antiken Dramenstil angenähert, hier eine, die von Kräften der Musikdichtung genährt wird"), but also with a complex network of stylistic affinities and contrasts between the two major episodes.² Even in the earlier part dominated by measured language and measured gesture, Herrmann explains, the reflective language of Helena contrasts with the more emotive and lyrical speeches of the Chorus;³ and later contrasts even more sharply with the passionate though formal rhymed stanzas of Lynkeus, so that thus far Helena appears as composed and statuesque amid the turbulence of feeling which she arouses in others.⁴ Her change into rhymed verse in speech with Faust is therefore readily identifiable with a change of attitude - her involvement in feeling.⁵ Herrmann goes on to emphasise, however, that the transition to a region of completely unfettered feeling

1) Especially those grouped together by Bressen under the headings of Knittelverse (pp.54ff.) and deutsche Dramenverse (pp.88ff.).

2) Herrmann, p.333f.

3) Ibid., pp.98ff., 132ff., 168ff.

4) Ibid., p.176f.

5) Ibid., p.100.

takes place only gradually - Faust's rhymed stanzas describe a harmonious world, and the disruptive Euphorion is first mentioned in the measured, quasi-Classical verse-forms of Phorkyas and the Chorus (9574-9678).¹ Only when music takes over and the play becomes opera do Euphorion and the rampant feeling he stands for come to predominate; and at this point, Herrmann suggests, the text becomes accompaniment to sound and dance, rather than discourse. Yet, as she herself indicates, the discursive element of language has been reasserted well before the music ceases. After the episode with the "derbe Kleine", Euphorion's words clearly express the self-consuming which ends in his tragedy;² (and any accompaniment would presumably be different in character from the preceding). And finally, Herrmann adds, music has a function different again in the Trauergesang - where it serves not to drown the significance of words in sensuous sound, but to broaden their significance, to emphasise their "Allgemeinheit" as solemn finale.³ Other critics have elaborated on these ideas.⁴ Bressemer, for instance, investigates the metrical patterns with more precision, especially in relation to 'genuine' Greek metres; but it is outside the scope of her study to do more than mention music.⁵ May links his observations on the nuances of metrical change very much more closely to an interpretation of the text than Bressemer; and stresses the importance, in the Helena-akt as a whole, of:

das Vielerlei, das Durcheinander der Formelemente, der nach dem Ende zu immer raschere Wechsel wie in einem sich immer rascher drehenden Kaleidoskop eben als Wechsel vorherrschend, die Fülle der metrisch-rhythmisch-klanglichen Instrumentierung.

6

1) Herrmann, pp. 335ff.

2) Ibid., pp. 177f., 341ff.

3) Ibid., pp. 136, 345.

4) To which Petsch gives honourable mention ('Die dramatische Kunstform des Faust', p. 236 and note 26), as does Trunz (ed. cit. pp. 593ff.).

5) Bressemer, pp. 35ff., 118ff., 121ff.

6) May, ed. cit. p. 180.

But again, since May considers that the music involved is a specific setting heard only in Goethe's imagination and lost forever, his assessment of music's role in this "Mannigfaltigkeit" is diverted into figurative language (such as 'Instrumentierung' above) which is often confusing.¹ Nor is the confusion clarified by May's unfruitful but rather prolonged comparison of Euphorion's metres (from 9711 onwards) with waltzes and Ländler.² As with Anmutige Gegend, Paul Friedländer's study is more illuminating for present purposes. After commenting on the various verse-forms and their cultural associations, especially on the intertwining of Classical and Romantic styles, Friedländer remarks that the onset of music signals something more:

nicht mehr nur Verschlingung, sondern Überhöhung. Dort ist es, wo nach besonders großen und reichen antikischen Rhythmensystemen Musik einsetzt und vollstimmig das Ganze begleitet, so daß das Faust-Drama in den Euphorion-Scenen zur hohen Oper wird.

3

He is then able to show that this striking formal Steigerung makes an apt parallel to the visual phenomenon of Arkadien, at once Classical and Romantic and more than both; and yet leaves scope for the subtleties of the ending, in which Faust's departure and the Bacchantic dispersal of the Chorus are in turn presented on quite different stylistic levels.⁴

From Goethe's letters and comments as cited above, it would seem very unlikely that he had, as May assumes, a specific setting in his head when he wrote the words of Anmutige Gegend or of the Helena section.⁵ His way of envisaging music seems always to have been more generalised, even when he had heard a specific piece of music which suggested specific ideas; and his declared open-mindedness about whether certain passages were set or not belies

1) May, ed. cit. p. 180f.

2) Ibid., pp. 174ff.

3) Friedländer, pp. 44ff., esp. p. 48f.

4) Ibid., pp. 49ff., esp. p. 53f.

5) See esp. pp. 263, 265 above.

May's contention that one setting, and one only, would serve his purpose.¹ It is much more productive to regard music as the complement of language in Faust (which Friedländer broadly does, although he is interested in rhythms rather than in music per se). The "reizendes, reinmelodisches Saitenspiel" (SD 9679) indicates both the onset of the world of feeling, for which the protagonists cannot immediately find words, and at the same time serves as prelude to Euphorion's appearance and fully articulate performance as poet. The music which accompanies his song and dance with the Chorus (9745ff.), on the other hand, serves principally to heighten the element of sensuous vividness and animated movement and feeling, and to assist in the depiction of feeling and movement unfettered, since music can go beyond semantic or syntactic convention without becoming formless. In the section which Herrmann notes as more discursive (9819ff.),² the music which accompanies Euphorion's song has a different function again. It helps to mark his utterance as special, as "eigenster Gesang" (9922); in particular, by its intensification of sound beyond what is possible in speech alone, it underpins the celebration of Euphorion as "Heilige Poesie" (9863), audible for mortals however high he ascends towards heaven (9863ff.). The Trauergesang has these qualities in even more pronounced measure; as Herrmann implies, music has the function here of emphasising the "Allgemeinheit" of the words³ - a breadth of perspective which, Goethe observed, the Chorus had not previously displayed.⁴ After three stanzas which assess the value of Euphorion's life in particular, the fourth broadens even more to comment on life in general (9931ff.) - an acme of utterance which is marked off from what follows by a definite break: "Völlige Pause. Die Musik hört auf." (SD 9939). We are then returned to un-

1) See esp. his reaction to music playing in the next room, (Letter to Frau v. Stein, 22/2/1779, AA 18, p.418); his letter to Kayser, 25/4/1785, (AA 18, p.846f.); or his reaction to Zelter's tunes (Letter of 26/8/1799, AA 19, p.384).

2) Herrmann, p.344f.

3) Ibid., pp.136, 345.

4) Eckermann, Erster Teil, 5/7/1827, AA 24, p.256.

accompanied verse, to the specific language of the Greek world and of Helena, for the tragic immediacy of parting and death(9939ff.) - a situation similar in many ways to the aftermath of Mignon's Exequien,¹ and comparable with the return to prose in Trüber Tag. Feld.

Yet even here the infinite variety is not exhausted. As many critics point out, the sequel to Helena's departure is interesting in many ways - the contrast between the two sections of Phorkyas' speech, for example (9945ff.,9955ff.); and the use of discursive v. lyrical verse-forms for Panthalis and the Chorus, by comparison with their previous use for Helena and Chorus.² But for present purposes the final episode, in which the Chorus disperse to the four elements(9992ff.), is especially interesting. Herrmann makes comparisons between this finale and the similar disintegration of Homunculus at the end of Meeresfest(8464ff.);³ and Friedländer brings out parallels both with the ending of Meeresfest and with Anmutige Gegend.⁴ Since both these episodes are sung, and since the language of the Bacchanalia evokes noisy processional music (Zimbeln mit der Becken Erzgetöne, 10030), one might well associate this scene with the idea of a sung finale, a rousing Chorus - a notion supported by the musical metaphor which Goethe used to describe the episode,⁵ and by the close parallels which Friedländer points out between this and the poem Deutscher Parnaß⁶ (a poem, moreover, which is published in the section headed Kantaten.⁷). However, the Choretiden do not depart in song as such; their medium is language which evokes all

1) Lehrjahre, VIII, 8, AA 7, p.619.

2) See e.g. Herrmann, p.345f.; Bressemer, p.39; P. Friedländer, pp.52ff.

3) Herrmann, pp.100f., 346.

4) Friedländer, pp.54ff., esp. pp.62ff.

5) "Der letzte Chor in der Helena sei bloß darum weit ausgeführter als die übrigen, weil ja jede Symphonie mit einem Verein aller Instrumente brillant zu endigen strebe." (To F.v. Müller, 16/7/1827, AA 23, p.482; cf. Friedländer, p.54).

6) Friedländer, pp.57ff.

7) AA 1, pp.281ff.

kinds of sounds (and movements), including, finally, music. Shortly after the stage-direction for the cessation of music, (SD 9939), they speak in quasi-Greek metres which, as Herrmann points out, are the same as those in which Phorkyas first introduced Euphorion(9582ff.); and their utterances are written in a style suggesting the world of Classical myth and literature from which Helena came, and they are followed by the spoken monologue in which Faust solemnly reflects upon that world(10039ff.), in the iambic trimeters initially used for Helena.¹ All these circumstances indicate spoken delivery of some sort, rather than song. In the interpretation of passages such as this, the notion that music of various kinds and language of various kinds form a continuum of means of expression, a "mannigfaltige Sprache" through which the work moves freely, is especially useful. For instead of being obliged to adjudicate between speech and song as mutually exclusive, or to treat the music in Faust as an unknown element about which one can only conjecture, and instead of being diverted towards the (here almost unanswerable) question of whether a scene is "wortdramatisch" or "musikdramatisch",² we can entertain Goethe's idea, as expressed to Kayser,³ of a stylistic level between speech and song, realisable in either medium or in a combination of the two, according to availability of resources and more particularly according to the functions and character of any given passage in context. This section of Faust, despite its undoubted function and character as finale, and for all its connections with Meeresfest and its similar position at the end of an Act, is not a climax, but, as Friedländer suggests, rather more of an epilogue:

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- 1) In the trochaic tetrameters which, as Bressemer shows, are used for episodes of particular tension or excitement in this part of Faust; see Herrmann, p.346, Bressemer, pp.37ff., Friedländer, pp.68ff.
 - 2) Cf. May passim, Fähnrich (Faust essay), pp.253ff., 256ff.; though Fähnrich does not discuss this scene explicitly.
 - 3) Letter of 25/4/1785, AA 18, p.846f.

Der Akt darf nicht als hohe Oper enden sondern wendet sich von dem arkadischen zurück in das antikische Element und für einen Augenblick sogar in das barbarische [= Mephisto's comments, 9955ff.] ... wie er streng als antike Tragödie beginnt, so mußte er antikisch enden mit einer Exodos, Schlußgesängen oder Schlußreden des Chores.

1

It must therefore not eclipse the climax of the Act (Euphorion's death and the Trauergesang); yet it has to be sonorous enough to depict Dionysian frenzy at its culmination, and sonorous enough to allow the spoken monologue which follows to appear as a "Nachhall" by contrast.² It must, furthermore, be on a stylistic level which maintains^{ai} the specifically Greek character of the verse-form; since it contrasts with the universalising Trauergesang on the one hand, and with Faust's return to Northern culture on the other. Whether all this is realised in "rhythmischer Vortrag", or in some kind of chant, with or without accompaniment or sound-effects from music, is not in itself important. What is needed is the powerful evocation of ~~so~~^{so} sounds culminating in the unruly music of Dionysos. Friedländer is accurate, rather than vague, in saying "Schlußgesängen oder Schlußreden des Chores"; not simply because Greek Choric episodes were derived from song and retained their formally ambiguous lyricism, but also because, in this type of passage, either song or speech would serve.

However, music does not only complement language by acting as an extension of language. As in other works, there are points in Faust where song itself, as a combination of music and language, becomes a medium in which thought and feeling are perfectly balanced, in an utterance at once profound and vivid. The most obvious of these is perhaps Lynkeus' song Zum Sehen geboren (11288ff.). As Requadt points out, this song presents a perfect

1) Friedländer, pp. 52ff.

2) Ibid., pp. 66ff., esp. pp. 69ff.

blend of perception and feeling:

Während ein Lied sich ausströmt, wird hier
als Antithese ein reflexives Element einbezogen. Solche Antithesen
sind Sehen-Schauen, Ferne-Nähe, Welt-Ich. Das Gedicht ist nicht so
sehr Lied als Gesang.

1

Requadt does not consider the fact that Lynkeus is explicitly described as "singend" (SD 11288). But the presentation of Lynkeus' words in this medium has the function of enhancing both their immediacy and their universality; not only the world-view described, but also the manner of its describing, possesses both sensuous attractiveness and intellectual significance. Furthermore, this moment of perfect balance then contrasts most starkly with Faust's subsequent speeches (11338ff.), underlining sharply the difference in their roles and natures. Lynkeus is there to contemplate and describe, not to act; whereas Faust is about to face the bitter consequences of having destroyed Philemon and Baucis (11370ff.). The Trauergesang of the Chorus after Euphorion's death is another such moment. As we saw, the Chorus are here untypically reflective as they assess the value of Euphorion's life and comment on life in general, and music has the function of emphasising the universality of their words. But a Trauergesang is also by definition an expression of sorrow and loss, i.e. of feeling. The two elements of reflection and feeling intermingle; not only in the Chorus (who express admiration and loss (9911ff., 9915ff.), but also analyse faults (9923ff.)), but also in Euphorion himself, who is said to have possessed both "scharfer Blick, die Welt zu schauen" and also "Mitsinn jedem Herzensdrang" (9919f.), both "das höchste Sinnen" and "reinen Mut" (9927f.). Song is thus here a symbolic medium, in which language and music combine to express thought more vividly and complexly than language alone could do, and to express

1) Requadt, p. 362.

feeling more precisely and in a more specific context than music alone could do. Emrich makes a similar point about the songs of the Sirens in the Klassische Walpurgisnacht, especially in the scene Felsbuchten des Ägäischen Meers (7156ff., 7495ff., 8034ff.). The Sirens' songs are initially mocked as illusion and seduction; but they also embody a combination of sensuous beauty and meaningful comment on the world, as Emrich explains. In the Meeresfest particularly they become the expounders of the universal significance within all these mythical forms and figures: we are looking at the genesis of form in water, the origin of form in natural creatures, in concepts of gods, and in art:

ob dieser Aufzug der götterzeugenden Kabiren, ob...die erste Errichtung plastischer Götterbilder in menschlicher Gestalt, verkündenden Telchinen von Rhodos, ob...das blendende Hervortreten [der ewigen] Schönheit in Galatee...sich vor den Augen...abspielt, immer sind die Sirenen die ankündigenden, erklärenden, deutenden und preisenden Sängerinnen, die endlich auch den triumphierenden Schlußhymnus auf Eros und die vier Elemente anstimmen.

1

With all these instances in mind, we can now say something, at least, about the relation between music and language in the two scenes which have caused some difficulty: the Prolog im Himmel and Bergschluchten. As we saw, the idea of music as voice, especially voice of feeling, plays a part in both.² But both present us with many different types of voice, not all of which necessarily sing. Furthermore, although both may well be thought of as containing passages in which music and language combine to express thought and feeling, a view of the world and a reaction to it,³ no explicit instructions for musical setting are given. Critics seem to have been especially

1) Die Symbolik von Faust II, pp.269ff., esp. pp.271ff.

2) See pp. 230ff. above.

3) The Archangels' hymn, for example, and the devotions of the Patres and of the Doctor Marianus, most of which combine love of the Divine with longing for greater insight.

aware of formal ambiguity in the Prolog im Himmel, and often discuss it in terms which preserve the ambiguity.¹ On the whole, however, the ^sconsensus seems to be that the Archangels' hymn should be sung. Barker Fairley, for example, rightly emphasising the importance of stylistic contrasts in Faust, suggests that:

changes of metre...differentiate the strictly lyrical passages from the surrounding action, as in the Prolog im Himmel where the archangels sing and then the Lord and Mephisto converse...

2

- and he has already mentioned "the majestic song of the spheres, sung by the three archangels" as one of the parts of the play in "song form".³ Fähnrich too classifies the scene as "musikdramatisch", albeit on the oversimple grounds that it deals with the supernatural.⁴ And Cotti is particularly adamant that the archangels sing, since all heavenly beings do so. Unfortunately, he is then faced with the problem that the Lord is described as speaking(352f.); and after considerable theological speculation, he decides that it would be appropriate for the ^oLord to intone to melodramatic accompaniment:

Um der Intention Goethes ganz gerecht zu werden, muss sich der Herr des Prologes in einer Art Sprechgesang, einem hymnisch-feierlichen Tonfall mit Musikbegleitung äussern. Man denke bei der Instrumentation etwa an die Streicherakkorde zu den Worten Christi in Bachs Passionen oder an einen langanhaltenden Orgelpunkt.

5

Such an attempt at forcible simplification does not help. Either all heavenly beings sing, in which case the Lord sings; or the 'sprechen' is to be taken

1) Petsch speaks precisely enough of "der oratoriumartigen Einsatz"(Festaussage, ed. Petsch, Leipzig 1926, vol.V, Dramen I, Faust, p.634); but Atkins speaks ambiguously of the "descriptive hymn of praise"(Goethe's Faust! A Literary Analysis, p.17); and Requadt of the "Gesang der Engel"(p.40).

2) Goethe's 'Faust'. Six Essays, pp.75ff.

3) Ibid., p.36.

4) 'Goethes Musikanschauung in seiner Fausttragödie', p.254.

5) Cotti, pp.55, 67f. Some of this theology (sic) seems to be a paraphrase of certain comments by Goethe: his comments on Bach's music, for instance (see pp. 43 above), and the rather dubious report by R.v. Beyer on Goethe's comment on God as 'eternal ground-bass'(ed.R. Schade; see Blume's bibliographical note, 'Goethe', MGG 5, col.449).

literally, the Lord speaks, and something is wrong with the generalisation that all heavenly beings sing. And indeed in this context it does not work. Goethe's Lord is having a serious and specific dialogue with Mephisto about human life and its value; and as Requadt notes, he does not appear in divine majesty, but in 'human' guise, which in Requadt's opinion excludes the kind of melodramatic treatment which Cotti prescribes.¹ Furthermore, if human beings speak, the Lord intones, and archangels sing, what medium do we expect of Mephistopheles? All these criticisms do, however, bring out an important point - there is a sharp distinction between the Archangels' hymn and the rest of the scene (although the rest of the scene is not uniform: the Lord speaks to the Archangels(344ff.), and Mephisto conducts his monologue(350ff.) in a rather different tone and metre from what has preceded). The Archangels have a perspective and function markedly different from those of the ^oLord and Mephisto,² and the stylistic level of the play should register this difference. The question is whether musical accompaniment is a vital part of the "mannigfaltige Sprache" required, as most of the critics mentioned imply. After all, both Roß and Requadt stress the importance of certain musical imagery (harmony of the spheres) in the language of the Archangels which contrasts with similar imagery in the Vorspiel auf dem Theater³ - a contrast which might be lost if the Archangels sang and their words were therefore somewhat obscured. And since the Lord has to remind the angels of "ⁱder Liebe holden Schranken"(347), it cannot really be said that they balance involved feeling and distanced thought in their hymn (as Lynkeus does). In the end, I think, one has to say that song would be a highly desirable extension of language here, but not a vital one. The use

1) Requadt, p.42.

2) See e.g. Requadt, pp.41ff.

3) Roß, p.238; Requadt, p.40f.

of music would obviously enhance the stylistic differentiations in the scene, giving greater brilliance to the depiction of the Lord's universe and lending force of contrast to the 'sprechen' of line 353 - the Lord's condescension in meeting Mephisto through the medium of language, the imperfect medium of an imperfect realm. It would also point the contrast between the lofty remoteness of the Angels, and of life-as seen through their eyes, and Mephisto's immediate involvement with Man as an all too ordinary creature. Yet these distinctions could be made by using markedly different styles of speech. What cannot be jettisoned is the idea of music. By using the striking imagery of the music of the spheres, and by presenting the Archangels' celebration of the Lord and his universe in hymnic form, Goethe evokes a wealth of ordered sound, a superb utterance by heavenly beings in complementary concord; and this evocation is indispensable if the Prolog is to fulfil its function of setting the strife-ridden and half-articulate human realm in context within the Lord's universe.

The role of music in Bergschluchten has caused rather less controversy. Many critics view it as an operatic finale¹ - and certainly its position in the play, and the fact that the Selige Knaben sing (11928), and that the choruses of angels reappear who have just retrieved Faust's soul with songs of heavenly love, make this reasonable enough. Furthermore, comments on the sources of the scene, and on its connections with various other parts of the play, also suggest affinities with music. Some critics point to the influence of Goethe's plans for a "Reformationskantate";² many point to parallels with earlier episodes taken as sung.³ But there are nonetheless

1) E.g. Fischer, p.92; Hofmannsthal, Sphären, p.288/Mayer, p.160; Cotti, p.54f.; Requadt, p.387f. Cf. also p. 233 above.

2) Rolland, p.107; Fähnrich (Faust), p.261. See esp. Goethe's letters to Zelster, 14/11/1816 to 10/12/1816, AA 21, pp.195ff.; and Müller-Blattau, 'Goethe und die Kantate', Jb. Musikbibliothek Peters 38 (1932), pp.63ff., 67f.

3) Prolog (Cotti, p.55; Roß, p.239); Easter Chorus (Sternfeld, p.84f.; Requadt, p.385f.); Ach, neige (Sternfeld, p.84; Krüger, p.220f.); Euphorion scene (Abert, GuM p.105). P. Friedländer makes several comparisons, pp.77ff.

some serious objections to the idea that the scene is simply a series of sung choruses, as Cotti maintains.¹ The chief of these is that, as P. Friedländer in particular emphasises, the voices of Bergschluchten are many and very finely differentiated from one another - the angels are not homogeneous, still less the Patres; and even the Büßerinnen have certain distinguishing traits in their voices.² This fine differentiation would be very difficult to achieve in an entirely sung presentation; and several critics seem to be aware that, though parts of the scene seem to be sung, others are probably spoken - Friedländer himself uses *singen/sprechen, Rede/Gesang* fairly freely;³ and Krüger suggests that this scene shows music being entirely absorbed into poetry, the highpoint of Goethe's "symbolische Wortkunst".⁴ Then there is the ^{or} ~~crossing~~ problem of the Chorus Mysticus. As Friedländer indicates, this is analogous to the Stimme von oben at the end of Faust I, higher than the highest of the earthly (or indeed than the supernatural) voices heard hitherto.⁵ Herrmann too points out that this Chorus has a special character, in that it seeks to convey significance beyond "körperliche Gestaltung", where concept and import are directly transferred to sound; and she thus seems to avoid direct equation of this Chorus with musical treatment, by using ambiguous terms, and speaking of the "Geistermusik des Himmelsepilog".⁶ In both these dilemmas we can find considerable help by referring to Goethe's own procedure and comments elsewhere in his work - in this case most particularly to his plans for the

1) Cotti, p.54.

2) Friedländer, pp.80, 84ff., 95f.

3) Ibid., *passim*, esp. pp.91ff., 100f.

4) Krüger, p.219f.

5) Friedländer, p.103.

6) Herrmann, pp.107, 165; see also Petsch's description of the Chorus as "wortloses Hinaufstreben über alle menschliche Ausdrucksfähigkeit hinaus". (Die dramatische Kunstform des Faust', p.243).

Reformation cantata. This, he explained to Zelter, was to be "im Sinne des Händelschen Messias" ¹, and was to include spoken or recitative passages as well as sung ones. And indeed from the detailed plan which Goethe made it is clear that the work covered a vast stylistic range, through various kinds of spoken and sung, solo and choral passages, to convey the various insights of Old and New Testament figures and their culmination in Christ's Resurrection and apotheosis. At the end of the Old Testament section, for instance, the plan runs thus:

Untergang des Reichs, gewaltsam
Gefangenschaft
Lieblich lamentabel
Sprecher (Jesaias)
Rettung und künftiges Glück verkündend
Chöre es dankbar aufnehmend, aber im irdischen Sinne
Propheten- und Sibyllenchöre, auf das Geistige und Ewige
hindeutend
Schließt glorios.

2

And the end of the New Testament section provides not only evidence of the great stylistic variety which Goethe wished to use, but also a fairly close parallel to the end of Faust II:

Christus steigert seine Lehre ins Geistige
Das Volk mißverstehet ihn immer mehr
Einzug in Jerusalem
Sprecher (drei Apostel)
 Furcht vor Gefahr
Christus: tröstend, stärkend, ermahnend
 Einsames Seelenleiden
 Höchste Qual
Sprecher (Evangelist)
 Kurze Erwähnung des physischen Leidens
 Tod. Auferstehung
Chor der Engel
Chor der erschreckten Wächter
Chor der Frauen
Chor der Jünger
 Das Irdische fällt alles ab, das Geistige steigert
 sich bis zur Himmelfahrt und zur Unsterblichkeit.

3

1) Letter of 14/11/1816, AA 21, p.195.

2) Letter of 10/12/1816, AA 21, p.201.

3) Ibid., p.202.

What we have here, surely, is not an operatic finale, but something very much more like the infinite variety of Anmutige Gegend and the Helena-Akt, where the mode of expression moves between prose and "sonore Wirkungen"

according to the character and context of each episode. As in these scenes, lesser climaxes (e.g. "Höchste Qual", "Tod. Auferstehung") can be followed by a return to a 'lower' level - here to commenting Choruses epitomising different attitudes. In the Reformationskantate, however, as in Faust II, the final episode goes beyond all these modes of expression, trying to express an infinite for which even "sonore Wirkungen" are only an approximation. Ideally, this could be registered only by a mode of expression which was qualitatively different from both speech and song, which went beyond both.¹

But this brings us straight back to the question raised about Goethe's other works - does the symbolic weight attached to music, the force of the poetic ideal of the collaboration of poetry and music, help to make Faust, too, a play for the imagination rather than a play for the theatre? The Prolog im Himmel normally presents fewer problems in the theatre than it has presented for critics - the symbolism of music vis à vis speech is relatively simple, and the imagery of heavenly spheres and their music is a well-established poetic convention. But could the nuances of Anmutige Gegend be preserved? Äolsharfen and Posaunen would probably carry their connotations clearly enough; but the modulation of mood between might well be lost. And what would be difficult in Anmutige Gegend would be virtually impossible in the Helena-Akt, as Goethe himself realised.² Moreover, not only gradations of expression and style, but some of the symbolism in Faust might very well be lost. For instance, the songs of the Sirens, the Trauergesang, and Lynkeus' song Zum Sehen geboren would doubtless come over in performance as celebratory and imposing. But how could an audience without foreknowledge

1) As e.g. in Ernst Schröder's production (Schiller-Theater, Berlin, 1965ff.), which left these words on a silent screen above a darkening stage.

2) Eckermann, Erster Teil, 29/1/1827, AA 24, p. 223f.

be expected to receive them as the epitome of perfectly balanced utterance, or as perfect blend of mind and heart ? These are powerful ideas for the imagination - but how does one realise perfect utterance on the stage ? Similar problems arise with Euphorion: how would a producer ensure that a singing and dancing Euphorion and Chorus presented an impression of perfectly coordinated melody, movement and utterance, and not an overwhelming collective breathlessness ? The model of cantata/oratorio is extremely helpful in Bergschluchten, and perhaps, for instance, in the Meeresfest too. But the obscuring of pronunciation through singing matters much less in works with a familiar Biblical text than it does in Faust, where the audience encounters figures whose mythological identity is often unorthodox and unfamiliar, and where the text itself is often notoriously difficult. In Faust, as elsewhere, the cooperation of music and language does swiftly become a poetic ideal - never entirely realisable, (as Goethe's doubts about a collaborator show),¹ and yet always potentially performable, since everything is indeed "sinnlich",² thanks partly to music, musical sound-effects and musical imagery. If the network of symbols within the play is fully appreciated, technical means can often be found for their realisation, as Jocelyn Powell has shown.³

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- 1) Goethe's attitude seems to have varied between hope and despair; see his comments to Eckermann on the likelihood of finding someone like Meyerbeer (29/1/1827, AA 24, p.224), his comments on Radziwill's setting (Tag- und Jahreshefte 1814, AA 11, p.864), and his comment to Eckermann that setting in the manner of Don Giovanni would have been best, but that the Romantic era could produce nothing of this stature (Zweiter Teil, 12/2/1829, AA 24, p.313).
- 2) To Eckermann, 29/1/1827, Erster Teil, AA 24, p.223.
- 3) 'The Incarnation of Imagery in Faust Part I', PEGS NS 40 (1969/70), pp. 95ff.; and 'Reflections on Staging Faust Part II', PEGS NS 48 (1977/78), pp.52ff.

Foregoing chapters have dealt with the principal analogies through which Goethe understood music. But he also spoke of it in ways which seem to combine more than one of these analogies, and which at times carry highly complex connotations. This is particularly the case with his conception of harmony, musical or otherwise. But it is also true of his view of a constituent of harmony - melody. If we are finally to arrive at a better understanding of Goethe's conception of harmony, we must turn to melody first. For it seems at times to have suggested not only 'voice', especially the voice of feeling, but also a certain kind of structure.

Melody is, of course, not merely a collection of sounds of varying pitch, timbre and volume - even an unaccompanied melody implies a structure. The HDM considers that "melody cannot be separated from rhythm", since not only the pitch of each note, but also its duration, is a necessary constituent of the melodic sequence.¹ By means of rhythm, notes are organised into groups, and each unit thus formed can be taken as the basis for a larger structure. Attitudes towards melody as a unit of structure appear to have changed to some extent in the eighteenth century. One might reasonably suppose that the idea of a melodic line as a unit of structure was inherent in polyphony - in the canon form, for instance, where each voice takes up the melody in turn. But, just as the idea of melodic music came to prominence with Mattheson, Rousseau and Herder, as part of the mid-century shift

1) Ed.cit.p.517.

of values,¹ so also did the idea of taking melody seriously as a significant unit of musical structure.² The result was a number of changes in the general idea of musical structure, which in turn affected literary allusions to music.

1) Musical Melody both as Voice and as Unit of Structure

The new approach seems to have been made in reaction to Rameau's contention in the Traité de l'Harmonie (1722) that harmony was the central structure of music and that melody was merely derived from it.³ In 1739, Mattheson claimed to be the first to pay detailed attention to the art of creating melody; declaring melodic facility to be "das wesentlichste in der Music",⁴ and polemicising furiously against "einer der berühmtesten Tonlehrer in Franckreich, samt seinen jesuitischen Anbetern", for spreading the "falscher, verführerischer und schädlicher Satz, [daß die Melodie aus der Harmonie entspringen soll]". The product of such doctrines, in Mattheson's opinion, was merely a spate of feeble polyphony:

Ach! ihr lieben
Leute! es haben weder die allerschlechtesten Musikanten, die wider der Minerva Willen componiren wollen, noch auch die besten Contrapunctisten...so viel gelernet, daß sie erst die Haupt-Melodie...hersetzen, und denn die Harmonie dazu machen solten; sie schmieren vielmehr, absonderlich in Kirchen-Sachen, ihren Harmonischen Kleister fein dick und starck auf das elende Gewebe, und bekümmern sich ganz und gar um keinen feinen ebenen Faden, um keine rechte Melodie, die sie niemahls suchen, und auch daher niemahls finden...

5

1) See esp. Lowinsky, passim.

2) It is hard to imagine that composers were unaware of its importance, or (e.g.) that J.S.Bach wrote fugues without a strong sense of melody. But Lowinsky's account suggests that Bach was not appreciated at the time (p.163); and may himself have been more interested in mathematical relationships (p.184f.).

3) Repr. in J.P. Rameau, Complete Theoretical Writings, ed. E.E. Jacobi, [Rome] 1967, vol. I; Livre II, pp. 139, 147; cit. Capellmeister, II, 5, p. 133, note f.

4) Capellmeister II, 5, §§2 and 4, p. 133.

5) Ibid., Vorrede VII, p. 22; see also loc. cit. II, 5, p. 133, note f and §5.

Instead, Mattheson insisted that the would-be Capellmeister should begin at the beginning - with individual notes and intervals - and then progress through melody to the more complex structures of harmony:

iedermann [muß]

zugeben,...daß die ersten Elemente, woraus eine Vollstimmigkeit gezeuget wird, in den blossen Klang-Stuffen bestehen, so wie sie hinter einander folgen, und denn, daß in der Natur-Lehre, die ein tüchtiger Musicus inne haben muß, der Satz unumstößlich wahr bleibet, daß das Einfache eher gewesen, als das Zusammengesetzte, folglich dessen Ursprung oder Wurzel sey.

1

Accordingly, two of the three sections of his manual are entitled Von der wirklichen Verfertigung einer Melodie, oder des einstimmigen Gesanges, etc., and Von der Zusammensetzung verschiedener Melodien, oder von der vollstimmigen Satz-Kunst, so man eigentlich Harmonie heist. ²

It is interesting to note that, when Mattheson envisages musical structure, the smallest unit he thinks of is not the complete melodic 'tune' or motif, (though this is obviously important), but the individual notes, their "Klang-Stuffen" and rhythmic sequence ("wie sie hinter einander folgen"). This means that the structure of harmony is envisaged not as an edifice, but rather as something much more flexible - as a "Gewebe", where one thread is woven round another, or as an organic structure 'growing', by analogy with natural laws, from its melodic "Wurzel".³ Neither metaphor is remarkable in itself. But both imply a very different relation between the parts and the whole of a work from that envisaged by Rameau with his architectonic approach.⁴ There the proportioned whole entirely eclipsed the value of the parts, and the melodic constituents were felt to be unworthy of

1) Capellmeister II,5,§7,p.134.

2) This list of contents is given on the fourth unnumbered page between the Vorrede and the main text, immediately before p. 1 of the main text.

3) Vorrede VII,p.22; II,5,§7,p.134.

4) Lowinsky, indeed, describes Mattheson as "the representative of stylistic transition", (p.190,note 57).

detailed examination. But in Mattheson's scheme of things the individual notes and their sequence become an important unit in the whole work. They form the "feinen ebenen Faden", flexible but strong, from which the whole work is spun; weak melodic structure can only produce weak harmonic structure, as far as Mattheson is concerned.¹

Rousseau's writings on music envisage similar qualities in musical structure, although his models are rather different. For Rousseau, the cohesion of a piece of music depended not on the skilful knitting together of 'good' melodies into sound polyphony, but on what he called "unité de mélodie"; by which he meant not merely the predominance of a melodic line over other parts, but adherence to the expression of a single 'idea' for the duration of a given work or section thereof:

Pour qu'une musique devienne intéressante, pour qu'elle porte à l'ame les sentimens qu'on y veut exciter, il faut que toutes les parties concourent à fortifier l'expression du sujet; que l'harmonie ne serve qu'à le rendre plus énergique; que l'accompagnement l'embellisse sans le couvrir ni le défigurer;...il faut en un mot que le tout ensemble ne porte à la fois qu'une mélodie à l'oreille et qu'une idée à l'esprit.

2

Within this whole, the individual notes were organised by means of rhythm into patterns appropriate to the expression of a given idea; like Mattheson, Rousseau seems to envisage the whole piece of music as a flexible sequence of notes held together by rhythm:

La mesure est à-peu-près à la mélodie ce que la syntaxe est au discours; c'est elle qui fait l'enchaînement des mots, qui distingue les phrases, et qui donne un sens, une liaison au tout. Toute musique dont on ne sent point la mesure ressemble...à une écriture en chiffres...; mais si en effet cette musique n'a pas de mesure sensible, ce n'est alors qu'une collection confuse de mots pris au hasard et écrits sans suite.

3

1) Vorrede VII,p.22; II,5,§§2ff.,p.133.

2) Lettre sur la musique françoise, ed.cit.vol.19,p.375; see also article 'Unité de mélodie' in his Dictionnaire,ed.cit.vol.22,pp.202ff.

3) Lettre,ed.cit.vol.19,p.350. See also article 'Mélodie' in the Dictionnaire ed.cit.vol.21,pp.126ff.

And although Rousseau's main idea of music was monophonic or homophonic in character (i.e. a single unaccompanied voice, or 'song' with one voice dominant), he did envisage the possibility of allowing the dominant melody to pass from one voice to another, or even from voice to accompanying instrument:

L'unité de mélodie exige bien qu'on n'entende jamais deux mélodies à la fois, mais non pas que la mélodie ne passe jamais d'une partie à l'autre; au contraire il y a souvent de l'élégance et du goût à ménager à propos ce passage, même du chant à l'accompagnement, pourvu que la parole soit toujours entendue. Il y a même des harmonies savantes et bien ménagées, où la mélodie, sans être dans aucune partie, résulte seulement de l'effet du tout.

1

Thus far, then, we have notions of harmonic structure which, in Mattheson's case, are almost identical with polyphony (= "music in which all parts contribute more or less equally to the musical fabric"¹), and which in Rousseau's case are much nearer to homophonic music, where harmony is supportive.² But despite this difference, there is an important common element. Harmony is envisaged not as static, but as dynamic - as a totality of individual melodies, succeeding one another or proceeding side by side.

This dynamism is brought out even more strongly on the numerous occasions where Rousseau draws parallels between melody and language.³ For him, both the pitch variations of melody and its rhythmic structure are derived from, and often equated with, those of language:

les diverses mesures de la
musique vocale n'ont pu naître que des diverses manieres dont on pouvoit
scander les discours et placer les breves et les longues les unes à
l'égard des autres.

4

1) 'Unité de mélodie', Dictionnaire, ed.cit.vol.22,p.207.

2) 'Homophony', HDM, ed.cit.p.390; 'Polyphony', ibid., p.687.

3) Mattheson frequently drew this parallel too; but see Lowinsky, p.190,
note 57.

4) Lettre, loc.cit., p.350f. See also Essai sur l'origine des langues, ed.cit.
vol.19, p.304f.

And elsewhere in the Lettre, he likens the coordinating principle of 'unité de mélodie' to the unity of action in drama:

Cette unité de mélodie me paroît une règle indispensable, et non moins importante en musique que l'unité d'action dans une tragédie, car elle est fondée sur le même principe et dirigée vers le même objet.

1

Even in works more complex than song, then, the structure of a piece of music becomes very closely analogous to that of a dramatic dialogue, where each 'voice' contributes something on the subject of the play. For Rousseau, each melody or melodic phrase is a response to what has been sung or played by another 'voice'; so that the piece of music builds up in very much the same way as dialogue on a given theme, between two or more people, two or more instruments, even presumably between sections of a chorus. And the subsidiary parts which make up the accompaniment acquire the status and character of supporting voices, joining in in sympathy with the 'statement' of the dominant voice:

les diverses parties, sans se confondre, concourent au même effet; et, quoique chacune d'elles paroisse avoir son chant propre, de toutes ces parties réunies on n'entend sortir qu'un seul et même chant.

2

In the Dictionnaire, accordingly, we find him suggesting that the idea of allowing dominant melody to pass from one voice to the other can be applied very widely in musical genres involving more than one voice or instrument; and also explaining that he had tried to apply it extensively in his own musical drama Le Devin du Village:

1) Ed.cit.vol.19,p.375.

2) 'Unité de mélodie',ed.cit.vol.22,p.205.

Il faudroit une traité pour montref en détail l'application de ce principe au duo, trio, quatuor, aux choeurs, aux pieces de symphonie. Les hommes de génie en découvriront suffisamment l'étendue et l'usage, et leurs ouvrages en instruiront les autres...

Lorsque j'eus découvert ce principe, je voulus...en essayer l'application par moi-même: cet essai produisit le Devin du Village.

1

Herder, as we saw, shared many of Rousseau's attitudes to music - notably his dislike of Rameau's idea of the central importance of harmony, and his insistence instead on simple melody modelled on the vocal expression of feeling.² However, Herder puts very much more emphasis than Rousseau on the single note, the simple 'Ton' which goes straight to the heart of the listener. These "einfache Momente" are an important part of Herder's notion of structure. Like Mattheson, he envisages his ideal composer as beginning with the single notes, and only then progressing to melody; and he dismisses harmonic technique (by which he seems to mean polyphony) even more scornfully:

Wo ist ein andrer fühlbarer Jüngling, der Töne als solche empfinden kann...Erst lauter einfache, wirksame Momente der Musik, einzelne Tonaccente der Leidenschaft - das ist das Erste, was er fühlt und sammlet, und das wird eine Musikalische Monadologie, eine Philosophie ihrer Elemente. Denn verbindet er sie durch das Band der Folge, in ihrer Annehmlichkeit aufs Ohr, in ihrer Wirksamkeit auf die Seele: das wird Melodie, und sie in ihrem weiten Inbegrif ist das grosse Hauptfeld seiner Bemerkungen. Harmonielehre, als solche...ist für seine Ästhetik nur das, was Logik in Poeten ist; welcher Thor wird sie in ihm, dem Hauptzwecke nach, suchen wollen?

3

The dynamism in Herder's view of musical structure is even more pronounced than in Rousseau's. For whereas Rousseau, in the wake of Batteux, stressed the importance of rhythm as a means to bring order into the sequence of notes, Herder tended to envisage rhythm as part of the idea of movement; and

1) 'Unité de mélodie', loc.cit.p.208f.

2) See esp. Viertes Wäldchen, IV, pp.90ff., 100ff., 112; & Rousseau in Lettre & Essai; cf. pp.190ff. above, esp. pp.192ff.

3) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, pp.100ff., esp.p.114, and passim.

therefore to think of rhythmic progression, melodic progression and physical progression as closely analogous.¹ Herder's basic notion of what holds a piece of music together seems to be the very simple one of [arranged] sequence: "das Band der Folge", or, as he put it a little later, "schöne Folge...die Melodie der Töne, in ihrer Abwechselung, ihrem Maasse, und ihrer Art".² In his first Kritisches Wäldchen, he had stated that sequence in time was a vital characteristic of music, by comparison, for example, with the static and simultaneous impact of a painting:

Malerei wirkt ganz durch den Raum, so wie Musik durch die Zeitfolge. Was bei jener das Nebeneinander-seyn der Farben und Figuren ist, der Grund der Schönheit, das ist bei dieser das Aufeinanderfolgen der Töne, der Grund des Wohlklanges. Wie bei jener auf dem Anblicke des Coexistirenden das Wohlgefallen; die Wirkung der Kunst beruhet; so ist in dieser das Successive, die Verknüpfung und Abwechselung der Töne das Mittel der Musikalischen Wirkung.

3

The resulting notion of musical structure is, as with Mattheson and Rousseau, anything but architectonic; it is rather an animated 'chain' of individual tones, where each gives way to the next in the rhythmic pattern, moving up or down the scale, presenting us with a "Nachahmung Menschlicher Leidenschaften...eine Folge inniger Empfindungen".⁴ On this basis, Herder termed the dance of the Ancient Greeks "ihre sichtbar gemachte Musik"; both expressed feeling - "jene druckte die Energie derselben in der Folge von Tönen aus, wie diese von Bewegungen".⁵

However, Herder's idea of musical structure as "schöne Folge" is perhaps clearest where he compares music and poetry. In the first Kritisches Wäldchen he argues that poetry is like music not simply because, as Lessing had argued, it was sequential in time, but because poetry links its ideas and

1) See esp. pp. 148 ff. above.

2) Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, pp. 114, 161.

3) Erstes Wäldchen, Suphan III, p. 136.

4) Viertes Wäldchen, loc. cit., p. 161.

5) Ibid., p. 120f.

images together in much the same way as music links its "einzelne Momente" to form a "schöne Folge":

Sie [Poesie] wirkt in der Zeit, ..vorzüglich, indem sie durch die Schnelligkeit, durch das Gehen und Kommen ihrer Vorstellungen, auf die Seele wirkt, und in der Abwechselung theils, theils in dem Ganzen, das sie durch die Zeitfolge erbauet, energisch wirkt... daß sie einer Abwechselung, und gleichsam Melodie der Vorstellungen, und Eines Ganzen fähig sey, dessen Theile sich nach und nach äußern, ...dies macht sie zu einer Musik der Seele, wie sie die Griechen nannten: und diese zweite Succession hat Hr. Lessing nie berührt.

1

And he reiterates the same notion with rather more detail in the Viertes Wäldchen:

Poesie ist mehr als stumme Malerei und Skulptur; und noch gar Etwas ganz anders, als beide, sie ist Rede, sie ist Musik der Seele. Folge der Gedanken, der Bilder, der Worte, der Töne, ist das Wesen ihres Ausdrucks; hierinn ist sie der Musik ähnlich. Nicht blos, daß ich in einem Wort Bild und Ton und also eine gewisse Harmonie höre... in der Wortfolge selbst vornehmlich folgt und würkt eine Melodie von Vorstellungen und Tönen:...Ode und Idylle, Fabel und Rede der Leidenschaft sind eine Melodie von Gedanken, wo jeder Ton rührt, indem er geschieht und einem andern Platz macht, und sich durch die süße Spur, durch den schönen Nachklang, den er nachläßt, sich in einen andern auflöst und verliert. Eben aus der Kette also solcher Auflösungen und Verfließungen, die uns den Eindruck immer Zweckmäßiger in die Seele hineinbeben, entstehet die Wirkung der Musik.

2

This "Melodie von Vorstellungen und Tönen" is the kind of continuity which Langer describes as rhythmic - where each contrasting unit in the sequence arises from the previous one, and sets up conditions for the next.³ With Herder we have something like Rousseau's view of musical structure as rhythmically ordered melodic sequence analogous to ordered dialogue, but more comprehensive. The "schöne Folge" does not only consist of a sequence of individual notes or phrases, or even of individual voices, though these

1) Suphan III, pp.134ff.; Cf. Lessing, Laokoon, Lachmann/Muncker vol.9, p.94f.

2) Suphan IV, p.166.

3) Feeling and Form, p.126f. See also pp.142ff. above.

all contribute to it. Every aspect of the work - concepts, imagery, sound-effects - becomes part of the sequence: not merely "Abwechslung", but "Abwechslung" so ordered that it gradually builds up a whole.

The dynamic idea of "schöne Folge" seems to have dominated Herder's notion of poetic and musical structure, whether or not actual gesture and physical movements were included or evoked in a work. His early call for poetry to be "Bewegung, Melodie des Herzens, Tanz", to mirror the sequence of movement of feeling, is familiar enough.¹ And later, he used these terms to describe the lost unity of music and language in Ancient Greek drama; referring not only to the loss of sonority, but also to the loss of a cohesion of structure modelled on music:

Ein Grieche, der in unser Trauerspiel träte, an die musikalische Stimme des Seinigen gewöhnt, müßte ein trauriges Spiel in ihm finden...

"In Athen wars anders, [würde er sagen], ...Denkt euch dies bestimmt-fortgehende, immer wechselnde Melos, unterstützt jetzt von der Flöte, jetzt von andern Instrumenten, wie es Scene und Leidenschaft foderten; hört es im Geist, und verstummt über eure verstummte Bühne.

Und diesem hohen Tongefolge, was legten wir ihm unter?...Einen Knoten der Begebenheit, der nur durch Charaktere und Gesinnungen, durch Handlung aufgelöst werden konnte. Der Gang der Töne war hierinn unser lebendiges Vorbild. Wie diese sich verschlingen, damit sie sich froh entwickeln,...so verschlang, so lösete sich unser Drama, der Seele melodisch. Aus Dissonanzen stieg die höhere Consonanz mit jeder geschonten Annäherung...prächtig hervor; und schloß mit einer Beruhigung, die nicht etwa dumpf sättigte, sondern einen Fortklang dieser Töne zu hören einlud. Daher, daß wir unsre Fabelwelt so durstig erschöpften, jede große Begebenheit in ihre Folgen verfolgten, und nichts unvollendet liessen."

2

But Herder also operates with the idea of "schöne Folge" in genres where gesture and movement are absent, such as cantata and oratorio.³ Herder wrote

1) Von deutscher Art und Kunst, Suphan V, p.206; Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.120f., are two of many possible examples.

2) Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, p.347f.

3) Nufer explains that "Die Begriffe Kantate und Oratorium sind bei ihm [Herder] etwas undeutlich gefaßt und schwer zu bestimmen" (p.74f. & note, q.v.). But it seems that the two genres had in any case more or less merged in Herder's time. The HDM suggests that the cantata was fundamentally a "composite vocal form...consisting usually of a number of movements...based on a continuous narrative text". The oratorio "is distinguished from the sacred cantata...by greater length and a more narrative libretto" (ed.cit. pp.127f., esp. section III, and 602).

several of these, some in cooperation with J.C.Bach.¹ In the preface to his early Pfingstkantate (1766), he seems to envisage the rhythmic "Gehen und Kommen" as a sequence of varying voices alternating between narrative/descriptive recitative and emotional aria, and thus building up a full representation of a sacred event and the believer's reactions to it:

Die Kantate ist so sehr in dem Innersten der Poesie und unserer Empfindung gegründet, daß ich eine glückliche Kantate unter den übrigen Dichtarten gleich nach dem Heldengedicht und dem Drama setze. Wenn in den Recitativen eine Begebenheit mit allen Farben der Dicht- und Tonkunst gemalt wird; wenn die Arie es erreicht, Empfindungen und Gespräche des Herzens in aller Stärke auszudrücken; wenn Chöre und Choräle diese Empfindung der Brust darauf zu einem vollen Bekenntnis des ~~M~~indes erheben können; so wird, wie ich glaube, das Ganze einer Kantate, wo alle diese Stücke nach Symmetrie und Eurhythmie zusammengesetzt sind, doch gewiß ein Poetisches Genie fodern, das mehr als Verse machen und Reime zählen kann.

2

However, he later rejected the tendency to enumerate and describe in cantata-texts, as a mistaken approximation to the visual arts;³ and emphasised the structure of the cantata as sequence, or as he called it here, thread, "Faden":

So wird das Oratorium, die Cantate. Es kommt wie vom Himmel, ohne zerstreuten, das Auge fesselnden Theaterschmuck...unsichtbar fließen nach und nach Stimmen und Töne in unsre Seele, vom zartesten Tropfen bis zum vollsten Strom, an keinen Faden gereiht, als an den leisen, aber mächtigen, unzerreißbaren, der Empfindung...

Am zarten Faden der Empfindungen, oder im Rastlosen Gange der Gedanken und Gefühle hängt der Zauber der lyrischen Poesie, den in allen seinen Wendungen die Musik mit allen ihren Modulationen begleitet...

Darf also die Musik und mit ihr die lyrische Poesie eigentlich nicht schildern..., hält sie sich lediglich an den Faden und Gang der Empfindung ohne Gebehrdung: so tritt eben hiemit in eine unsichtbare, geistige Sphäre. Was sich der Phantasie irgend darstellen mag, ist von ihr; alles aber nur in Bewegung, in leidenschaftlicher Wirkung.

4

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- 1) See esp. Nufer, p.74f. (note); and Müller-Blattau, 'Zur Musikübung und Musikauffassung der Goethezeit', pp.444ff. The texts are printed in Suphan XXVIII, pp.1ff.
 - 2) Die Ausgießung des Geistes. Eine Pfingstkantate. (Vorläufige Abhandlung, die den Gesichtspunkt dazu bestimmt), Suphan I, p.59. Cf. Herder's letter to Scheffner, 23/9/1766, ed. Kahn, vol.I, p.64.
 - 3) See esp. his essay Die heilige Cäcilia, Suphan XV, pp.160ff.; and section Cäcilia and Fortsetzung in Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, pp.565ff.
 - 4) Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, pp.560, 564, 568.

It was song-structure of this kind which Herder admired in the Old Testament:

Auch fortgeleiteter Gesang ist in einigen Psalmen, Gesangeshandlung, durch unterbrochne, einander entgegengesetzte Chöre. Dies Chormäßige erstreckt sich bis auf die einfachsten Theile dieser Compositionen: denn die beiden Glieder jedes Verses sind einander antwortende Stimmen, Anklang und Antiphonie, Strophe und Antistrophe.

Außer den Psalmen sind die Salomonischen Lieder, ..ein Concert wechselnder und doch gebundener Stimmen der Liebe. Auch in ihnen ist Ein Gang durch alle Töne, vom leisesten Seufzer der Sehnsucht steigend zur Liebe, zum Preise..

1

For this continuous thread, formed as each voice takes its place and gives way to another, is the basis of the whole which Herder envisages when he talks of 'harmony' and 'Eurhythmie':

Denn nun treten entweder mehrere Stimmen zu einander; es wird Ein Chor, das Feierlichste, das ja ein irdisches Ohr hörte. Ein von vielen Stimmen und Instrumenten gehaltener harmonischer Ton durchdringt die Seele. Oder die Stimmen theilen sich; sie antworten oder begleiten einander; süße Eintracht, das Bild himmlischer Zusammenwirkung, Liebe und Freundschaft. Oder sie verfolgen einander, kämpfen, umschlingen, verwirren sich, und lösen einander zur süßesten Beruhigung auf; treffliche Darstellung des ganzen Gewebes unsrer Empfindungen und Bemühungen auf dem Kampfplatz des Lebens.

2

It might seem from all this as though Herder wanted to transpose his notion of musical structure wholesale into poetry; and that he was anticipating the Romantics by suggesting that poetry should aspire to the condition of music. But he was consistently far too emphatic about the vagueness of music vis à vis language for this to be the case.³ What Herder is suggesting is that the sequence of words in poetry should be so arranged that all the elements of the work - concepts, imagery, and sound-effects - follow from one another, re-emerge and give way to others, in the way that he envisaged the 'chain'

1) Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, p.562.

2) Ibid., p.561.

3) See e.g. Viertes Wäldchen, Suphan IV, p.161f., and his sarcastic comments on opera in the Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, pp.335ff.

of melody in music. The result is indeed a harmonious whole - not a static, architectonic whole, apprehended simultaneously, but "ein[] Ganz[es], dessen Theile sich nach und nach äußern".¹

Goethe too seems to have absorbed similar conceptions of melodic and poetic structure, and to have worked with them frequently in literature. He may, of course, have derived them directly from Herder's earlier work; but in general he seems to have drawn them from the musical and literary climate largely created by Herder, Rousseau and others,² and then to have developed them according to ideas and interests of his own.

1) Erstes Wäldchen, Suphan III, pp.134ff.

2) Mattheson's work he read only late in life, in his efforts to understand J.S. Bach; by this time, Mattheson would appear as an exponent of polyphonic technique, not as an innovator (see letters to Zelter, 4/1/1819, 29/5/1819, AA 21, pp.318, 333). Although Goethe was given a copy of Rousseau's collected works when fairly young (letter to Frau v- Stein, 9/5/1782, AA 18, p.664), he does not say that he read the works on musical theory. And although in La Nouvelle Héloïse Rousseau evokes the idea of melody as voice, he does not pay much attention to melodic structure. However, Goethe did see and admire Rousseau's Le Devin du Village, in which this concept of melodic structure was applied (see p. f. above). Herder's influence is more difficult to assess. Goethe read the Erstes Wäldchen before he went to Strassburg (Nicolai, Zeittafel, HA 14, p.376); and it is reasonable to assume that he discussed with Herder some of the ideas from the Viertes Wäldchen (see p. 206, note [above]). Goethe certainly valued and sought Herder's advice and opinion on musical matters (see letter to Kayser, 22/12/1785, AA 18, p.894). And Herder gave him help and advice when he was preparing his works for publication whilst in Italy (Letters to Frau v. Stein and others, 22/8/1786ff., 6/1/1787, AA 19, pp.10ff., 51ff.), as well as later (letter to Knebel, 22/3/1799, AA 19, p.367). Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Goethe read the latter sections of the Adrastea; since he shared Schiller's distaste for what he regarded as the carping tone and muddled thinking of the first section (see letter to Schiller, 18/3/1801, and Schiller's reply, 20/3/1801, AA 20, pp.846ff).

As we have seen, Goethe's work shows a strong general awareness of what Herder called "einfache Momente", the "Ton" which goes straight to the heart of the listener - as for example Werther's reaction to Lotte's playing, or Wilhelm's to the songs of Mignon and the Harfner.¹ And occasionally he uses the idea of 'interlinking', or 'interweaving', (as Mattheson used "Gewebe" and Herder used "Faden") to denote the way in which these single units form a sequence or chain; especially when he is talking of musical structure unrelated to or distinct from that of language. For example, in Wilhelm Tischbeins Idyllen a painting of two nymphs reminded him of a certain sequence of events in life, and of the analogous sequence in music and dance:

augenblickliche Verschlungenheit zweier, gleich lieblicher Wesen erinnert[] uns an unschätzbare Zeiten, wo die frohe Hora weichend uns der froheren übergibt, und das Leben, einem Tanzreihen gleich, sich auf das anmutigste wiederholend dahinschwebt.

Alles was uns bewegsam beglückte, Musik, Tanz, und was sonst noch aus mannigfaltigen, lebendig-beweglichen Elementen sich entwickelt... mag uns wohl beim Anblick dieses Bildes in Erinnerung treten.

2

And in Aussöhnung, the similar metaphor used for musical structure:

Da schwebt hervor Musik mit Engelsschwingen,
Verflucht zu Millionen Tön um Töne...

has a particular significance; since it contrasts both with the chaos caused by the pain of separation (Trüb ist der Geist, verworren das Beginnen), and with the failure of even poetic language (in Elegie) to order the surging movements of feeling.³

On the whole, however, Goethe's idea of melodic structure is much more closely analogous to that of dialogue, and often implies communication of

1) See esp. pp. 207 ff. above.

2) AA 13, p. 904.

3) AA 1, p. 478f.

some sort - beginning at the point where one voice responds to another as "Anklang". As we saw, this response is often made with connotations of similarity: the Venetian fisher-wives' song seeks a response from "ein anderer, Gleichgestimmter" (my italics);¹ Dilaram answers her poet "mit gleichem Wort und Klang",² as Helena rhymes with Faust (9372ff.); and the "Anklänge" of Goethe's poems in Zelter's song-settings are perfect because the composer identifies with the poet.³ Nonetheless, though these voices utter the same Wort/Klang, they are not uttering in unison (~~and~~ which ^{for} Goethe had negative associations⁴). They are different voices, whose consonance usually epitomises the attraction between contrasting partners - man/woman, Classical/Northern, poet/composer. They thus have the element of complementary contrast which is necessary if a rhythm is to be established - not merely because they alternate, but because each requires the next.

The beginnings of such a rhythmic sequence can be seen, for example, in the poem Äolsharfen, where the protagonists, "Er" and "Sie", speak in alternating (though unequal) stanzas in response to one another.⁵ But Goethe's awareness of this structure, where each voice makes its contribution and then gives way to another, is most readily evident in his critical comments on larger units - on operetta, and on the liturgical music which he heard in Italy. As mentioned, Goethe had seen Le Devin du Village, in which Rousseau adopted the structural principle of "unité de mélodie", allowing the melodic lead to pass from one voice to another in turn; he knew well the French operettas of its kind and the spate of German Singspiele which followed, and wrote a number of such texts himself.⁶ And in Italy he encountered a fair amount of music, both liturgical and popular, which struck him as cast in

1) Italienische Reise, AA 11, p.92; see pp.214ff. above.

2) West-östlicher Divan, -AA 3, p.360f.

3) Goethe's review of Zelter's Neue Liedersammlung, Über Kunst und Altertum, III, 3, (1822), AA 14, p.316.

4) See Frankenberger, p.34 and note, Dietze, p.482; also p.229 above, & note 2.

5) AA 1, p.480f.

6) See Dichtung und Wahrheit, III, VIII, XVII, AA 10, pp.103f., 359f., 754f., and also p.204 above.

the form of a dialogue between contrasting voices, in varying combinations of solo and chorus: the "sogenannten Improperien" and the fisherwives' song to the boats, for example;¹ even more, perhaps, the "geistliches dialogiertes Lied" which he recorded as an aspect of Roman folk-music:

die Bearbeitung

der Unterhaltung Christi mit der Samariterin zu einem dramatischen Lied. Es hat innerlich die völlige Form eines Intermezzo zu zwei Stimmen und wird nach einer faßlichen Melodie von zwei armen Personen auf der Straße gesungen. Mann und Frau setzen sich in einiger Entfernung voneinander und tragen wechselweise ihren Dialog vor...

2

But in Italy we find him becoming especially aware of the continuity, the sequence, built up by these alternating contrasting voices. He revised his Rousseauesque operettas when he heard the better coordination of song and speech in Italian opera buffa; and his aim seems to have been to achieve something close to Herder's "schöne Folge" - better coordination of the various roles, in order to coordinate sound and sense into something more like "ein[]Ganz[es] , dessen Theile sich nach und nach äußern":

alle Personen

in einer gewissen Folge, in einem gewissen Maß zu beschäftigen, daß jeder Sänger Ruhpunkte genug habe usw. Es sind hundert Dinge zu beobachten, welchen der Italiener allen Sinn des Gedichts aufopfert, ich wünsche, daß es mir gelungen sein möge, jene musikalisch-theatralischen Erfordernisse durch ein Stückchen zu befriedigen, das nicht ganz unsinnig ist.

3

A similar awareness of "schöne Folge", of sequence of contrasting voices, is evident in Goethe's comments on a collection of Venetian psalm-settings which Kayser showed him:

sie sind in italienische Verse gebracht und von einem venezianischen Nobile, Benedetto Marcello, zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts in Musik gesetzt. Er hat bei vielen die Intonation der Juden, teils der spanischen, teils der deutschen, als Motiv angenommen, zu ändern hat er

- 1) Italienische Reise, 22/3/1788, AA 11, p.584; Article 'Volks-gesang', Der teutsche Merkur März 1789, AA 14, pp.410ff. See also pp 214ff. above.
- 2) 'Volks-gesang', p.418.
- 3) Ital. Reise, Rom 10/1/1788, AA 11, p.526; see also Nov. 1787, *ibid.*, p.480f.

alte griechische Melodien zugrunde gelegt und sie mit großem Verstand, Kunstkenntnis und Mäßigkeit ausgeführt. Sie sind teils als Solo, Duett, Chor gesetzt und unglaublich original.

1

However, if we wish to understand the ways in which Goethe transferred this larger idea of 'sequence of voices' into literature, it is most profitable to concentrate on his dealings with the cantata. As far as I can see, Goethe made no particular theoretical comments on the cantata; but he had experience of it from a very early stage. As Müller-Blattau points out, he wrote texts for cantatas in Frankfurt as a boy, since he found those on offer "sehr schwach";² the cantata was an influential model for literary works in the earlier Sturm und Drang period;³ and it seems to have had a part in social music-making, too - especially as a form for marking notable public occasions: Herder, for example, wrote one for performance in church, alongside Wieland's for performance at Court, upon the birth of the Crown Prince of Weimar in 1783.⁴ In commenting on the importance of the cantata, Müller-Blattau and Fischer are chiefly concerned with ways in which it led Goethe and others towards experiments in dramatic genres (where its influence coincides to a great extent with that of opera, especially when a chorus is used.)⁵ But the cantata is not necessarily or even principally dramatic, as the HDM makes clear.⁶ It is concerned with the narration of and responses to a particular event, or to the doings of a particular figure; and these are usually conveyed by a combination of lyrical, dramatic and epic (narrative) passages. A cantata has no plot and no action, although it may involve

1) Italienische Reise, 1/3/1788, AA 11, p. 578.

2) [Dichtung und Wahrheit IV, AA 10, p. 159]; 'Goethe u. die Kantate' pp. 50ff.

3) Not only Klopstock and Herder, but others such as Götterberg made use of it; Müller-Blattau, op.cit., pp. 52ff.; Fischer, Der Chor im deutschen Drama, pp. 30ff., 60ff.

4) See Goethe's letters to Knebel, 3/3/1783, and to Herder, 20/3/1783, AA 18., pp. 724, 728; and for Herder's cantata, Suphan XXVIII, pp. 122ff. Müller-Blattau's comments on the secular use of the cantata (pp. 50ff.) seem to me confusing, since he does not distinguish between the cantata and other genres such as aria, ode and Singspiel.

5) Müller-Blattau, op.cit., passim, esp. pp. 55ff.; Fischer, pp. 14ff., 30ff., 60ff., 71ff.

6) Ed.cit., p. 127f.

^a
 dramatic dialogue; it is complete not when the central action is complete, but when the series of reactions conveyed by the various voices is complete - as Herder implies in his preface to the Pfingstkantate.¹ This is not a point which Herder emphasised (until the end of the Adrastea at least, which Goethe probably did not read); although he esteemed the cantata next to heroic epic and drama, and although his own cantatas do indeed move freely from one mode to the other, as each voice makes its contribution.² But it is remarkable how often, especially in his later works, Goethe has recourse to the kind of structure which Herder called "schöne Folge", and specifically to cantata form, when he wishes to focus attention not so much on action as on the celebration of a particular event or figure, and therefore includes narrative elements as well as dialogue and first-person emotional reactions.

This is an approach especially suitable for commemoration of the dead; Mignons Exequien are cast in this form;³ Goethe's plans for Schiller's commemoration show him thinking along very similar lines;⁴ the cantata Johanna Sebus⁵ and the poem Requiem dem frohesten Manne des Jahrhunderts⁶ are further examples. In all these instances, a certain dramatic immediacy, often including direct speech or the historic present, plays an important part. But the structure of these works is not dramatic. It is rather that of a sequence of voices; and each piece comes to an end not so much when the action is completed as when a range of reactions has been completed. This is especially clear in Mignon's Exequien. When the narrator has set the scene, the voices

1) Suphan I, p. 59.

2) E.g., even the simplified second version of the Pfingstkantate varies the alternation of recitative and chorus with devotional chorales, a duet and a "Terzett der Nationen" (XXVIII, pp. 45ff.); in the cantata for the birth of the Crown Prince, sections are allotted to "Chöre bewillkommender Kinder", "Chöre der Gemeinde", "Stimme eines Greises", "Eine andre Stimme", etc., who appraise the event from their various standpoints (XVIII, pp. 122ff.). NB also Herder's translation of the text of Handel's Messiah, *ibid.*, pp. 105ff.

3) Lehrjahre VIII, 8, AA 7, p. 616f.

4) See letters to Zelter, 1/6/1805, 19/6/1805, 4/8/1805, AA 19, pp. 479ff., and Müller-Blattau, pp. 59ff. His plan to perform the Lied von der Glocke seems to indicate a cantata, though Goethe calls it "dramatisch", since there is no mention of a mimetic element of any sort.

5) AA 1, pp. 291ff.; Müller-Blattau, p. 61f.

6) AA 2, pp. 98ff.; Müller-Blattau, p. 62f.

of the chorⁱ and boys' quartet alternate:
 ^

Die Gesellschaft setzte sich, und
 zwei unsichtbare Chöre fingen mit holdem Gesang an zu fragen: Wen
 bringt ihr uns zur stillen Gesellschaft ? Die vier Kinder antworteten
 mit lieblicher Stimme: Einen müden Gespielen bringen wir euch; laßt
 ihn unter euch ruhen, bis das Jauchzen himmlischer Geschwister ihn
 dereinst wieder aufweckt.

CHOR. Erstling der Jugend in unser^m Kreise, sei willkommen!...

KNABEN. Ach ! Wie ungern brachten wir ihn her !...

The narrator then introduces the words of the Abbé's address; the unexpected
 words of the Marchese when he recognises his niece; and the final chorus
 sung by the youths who close her tomb:

Vier Jünglinge...hoben den schweren,
 schön verzierten Deckel auf den Sarg, und fingen zugleich ihren
 Gesang an.

DIE JÜNGLINGE: Wohl verwahrt ist nun der Schatz, das schöne Gebild der
 Vergangenheit ! Hier im Marmor ruht es unverzehrt; auch in euren
 Herzen lebt es, wirkt es fort. Schreitet, schreitet ins Leben zurück!

1

Here, of course, the framework of the cantata properly speaking has been
 expanded, to include reactions from a member of the audience; but the
 structure is unaffected. Each voice has taken up the lead in turn - some-
 times, literally, the melodic lead - has uttered something about the nature
 and value of Mignon's life, and has given place to the next. Despite the
 dramatic form of the dialogue, the narrative element inherent in the cantata
 has enabled Goethe to fit the episode seamlessly into the structure of his
 narrative work. Similar characteristics can be seen in the structure of
Johanna Sebus and of the Requiem dem frohsten Manne, albeit with a different
 emphasis. In Johanna Sebus, the narrator introduces each stage of the dis-
 aster in two rhyming lines, printed in italics, and also describes the end,
 with comments; the dialogue and direct speech between are then fitted in to

1) Lehrjahre VIII, 8, AA 7, p. 61 ⁶ff.

form a cogent sequence:

Der Damm zerreißt, das Feld erbraust,
Die Fluten spülen, die Fläche saust.

"Ich trage dich, Mutter, durch die Flut,
Noch reicht sie nicht hoch, ich wate gut."-
"Auch uns bedenke, bedrängt wie wir sind,
Die Hausgenossin, drei arme Kind!"...

Kein Damm, kein Feld ! Nur hier und dort
Bezeichnet ein Baum, ein Turn den Ort...

Das Wasser sinkt, das Land erscheint
Und überall wird schön Süschen beweint.-
Und dem sei, wers nicht singt und sagt,
Im Leben und Tod nicht nachgefragt!

1

In the Requiem, the Chorus begin with general reflective remarks before addressing themselves to the specific person celebrated:

Alle ruhen, die gelitten,
Alle ruhen, die gestritten;
Aber auch die sich ergötzen,
Heiterkeit am Leben schätzten,
Ruhn in Frieden;
So bist du von uns geschieden.

- and the same is true of other voices, especially those of the Genius(Tenor) and of the Erdegeist(Baß). A variety of solo and combined voices then comment from the particular points of view of the Sylphe des Hofs, Sylphe der Gesellschaft, chorus of Verwandte, Fremde Länder, etc.²

In both these works, the predominant mode is lyrical and/or dramatic; but the use of cantata form has enabled Goethe to include a narrative voice as well when he wishes to do so. In all the cantatas or similar episodes, the fundamental structure is that of a sequence of voices, a "schöne Folge"; within which framework Goethe can use any combination of speech and song, of lyric, dramatic and narrative, which suits his purpose. Rinaldo and Idylle,³

1) Johanna Sebus, AA 1, p.291f.

2) Requiem dem frohsten Manne des Jahrhunderts, AA 2, pp.98ff.

3) AA 1, pp.288ff., 292ff.

for example, are predominantly dramatic and lyrical; Mignon's Exequien are predominantly narrative and dramatic; Johanna Sebus and the Requiem have a fairly even balance of all three modes.

Two noteworthy points emerge from this. Firstly, we can begin to see why the cantata is included in Goethe's list of poetic categories.¹ The fact that Johanna Sebus is designated a cantata while showing every sign of being a ballad looks less like carelessness or indifference on Goethe's part, as Gillian Rodger suggests.² It appears instead as a consequence of the fact that the cantata as Goethe used it had a great deal in common with the ballad as Goethe used it. Both are open-ended forms, in which the writer has considerable freedom to build up his sequence as he wishes. Goethe's account of the poet's procedure in the ballad could equally well be applied to the cantata:

Er kann lyrisch, episch, dramatisch beginnen und, nach Belieben die Formen wechselnd, fortfahren, zum Ende hineilen oder es weit hinaus schieben.

3

The whole built up by this sequence, as each voice makes its contribution and gives way to the next, is then not necessarily a coherent dramatic plot; but rather a group of complementary responses to the central figure or event. Secondly, and more significantly, it emerges very clearly that the kind of structure which Herder called "schöne Folge", especially as Goethe developed it in the cantata and ballad, offered an ideal framework within which Goethe could pursue his ideal of a "mannigfaltige Sprache" as the best medium for dealing with complex phenomena.⁴ Such a structure would enable him to move

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- 1) 'Dichtarten', West-östlicher Divan (Noten und Abhandlungen) AA 3, p.480. Cf. Herder's inclusion of the cantata in the category of "lyrische Poesie", Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, pp.564ff.
 - 2) 'Goethe's 'Ur-Ei' in Theory and Practice', MLR LIX (1964), p.227. Goethe did not, however, regard the categorisation of his poems as definitive; see AA 3, p.481, Rodger, p.226.
 - 3) 'Betrachtung und Auslegung' of Ballade, AA 2, p.613. Cf. Goethe's term 'Ur-Ei' with Herder's early description of the cantata as a genre containing the "Samenkörner" of other genres (letter to Scheffner, ed. cit. vol.1, p.64).
 - 4) 'Nachbarliche Verhältnisse', Farbenlehre, AA 16, p.204.

freely through the whole range of speech, song and musical expression; so that each 'voice' could be given a particular acoustic quality suitable to its character, and yet make its contribution to the whole. Furthermore, this same structure did not debar him from adding gesture, mime and dance if circumstances required or allowed it. The sequence of voices could be used in drama; but could also enable him to move away from drama towards narrative or lyrical expression, and back again, when he wished. Yet each of these voices contributes to a whole; by the end of the sequence, we have heard reactions from many different standpoints, and thus have a full and many-faceted impression of the nature and value of the central event or personage.

The element of repetition, as we saw in consideration of musical rhythm, can be an important aspect of musical structure,¹ and therewith an important feature where musical structure is applied in literature. Herder was certainly aware of this; for he speaks of "aller Stärke einzelner Momente, und schöner Abwechselungen und wiederkommenden Empfindsamkeiten",² as part of his idea of "schöne Folge". But for Goethe recurrence of a particular motif or voice seems to have been a major structural feature. Of course, Goethe had encountered repetition both in poetic and in musical genres - e.g. in the folk-song and ballad to which Herder drew his attention, of which he later remarked that: "Der Refrain, das Wiederkehren ebendesselben Schlußklanges, gibt dieser Dichtart den entschiedenen lyrischen Charakter".³ It has also been suggested that the da capo aria, which was a commonplace of eighteenth-century music, including Rousseau's operettas, influenced him in this respect.⁴ But the particular and peculiar kind of importance which Goethe attached to repetition can best be seen from his praise of the rehearsal technique of

1) See pp. 142ff. above.

2) Viertes Wäldchen Suphan IV, p. 161.

3) 'Betrachtung und Auslegung', p. 613.

4) Ottaway, p. 24f.; HDM, p. 51f.; Lowinsky, pp. 196ff.; Abert, p. 104; Krüger, p. 217.

the actor/singer W. Ehlers:

indem er Balladen und andere Lieder der Art zur Gitarre mit genauester Präzision der Textworte, ganz unvergleichlich vortrug. Er war unermüdet im Studieren des eigentlichsten Ausdrucks, der darin besteht, daß der Sänger nach einer Melodie die verschiedenste Bedeutung der einzelnen Strophen hervorzuheben und so die Pflicht des Lyrikers und Epikers zugleich zu erfüllen weiß. Hievon durchdrungen ließ er sich's gern gefallen, wenn ich ihm zumutete, mehrere Abendstunden, ja bis tief in die Nacht hinein, dasselbe Lied mit allen Schattierungen aufs pünktlichste zu wiederholen: denn bei der gelungenen Praxis überzeugte er sich, wie verwerflich alles sogenannte Durchkomponieren der Lieder sei, wodurch der allgemein lyrische Charakter ganz aufgehoben und eine falsche Teilnahme am Einzelnen gefordert und erregt wird.

1

For Goethe, this kind of repetition was clearly anything but mere repetition, (of which he did indeed disapprove). Each new combination of words and music, even if alterations were slight, produced a new set of sounds and therefore a new sense, of which every nuance should be brought out. But each of these new impressions was also part of the sequence as a whole; each supplemented or contrasted with what went before; and it was the singer's duty to bring out not merely the mood of each section, but also the continuity from one unit to the next. This, I think, is what Goethe meant when he praised Ehlers for fulfilling "die Pflicht des Lyrikers und Epikers zugleich".

In musical matters this idea of repetition seems to have become something of an obsession with Goethe; not everyone was as patient as Ehlers, and Riemer records that one of Goethe's guests stormed out cursing when expected to listen ^{en} to a piece for the fourth time!² But as part of the idea of melodic structure applicable in literature it was rather more fruitful - possibly because, as is clear from his comments on Ehlers, Goethe apprehended such reiteration as a structure nearer to 'theme and variations' than to

1) Tag- und Jahreshefte 1801, AA 11, p. 678.

2) Gespräche, 15/6/1814, AA 22, p. 728f,

straightforward repetition. Goethe knew of 'theme and variation' in a stricter musical sense, since he remarked upon its structure in a performance by Kayser:

damit der musikalische Geschichtskenner sogleich wisse, wovon die Rede sei, bemerke ich, daß...als Probe eines geübten Klavierspielers die Ausführung von Variationen geachtet wurde, wo ein einfaches Thema, auf die künstlichste Weise durchgeführt, endlich durch sein natürliches Wiedererscheinen den Hörer zu Atem kommen ließ...

als die Reihe wieder an Kaysern kam, legte er ein anmutiges Thema zum Grunde und variierte solches auf die mannigfaltigste Weise.

1

And indeed he had already used the term in this specific sense of melodic variation: for example, he recommended it to Kayser as a means of linking together the various "Melodien und Ausdrücke" in the finale of Jery und Bätely;² and he used it to characterise the structure of Mignon's idiosyncratic zither playing:

Man konnte nicht verstehen was sie sang, es waren immer dieselben oder doch sehr ähnliche Melodien, die sie nach ihren Empfindungen, Gedanken, Situationen und Grillen verschiedentlich zu modifizieren schien.

3

But in many instances Goethe uses the idea in a rather broader sense than the strict one of melodic variation (although he is still within the general definition given by HDM: "a restatement that retains some features of the original while others are discarded, altered or replaced."⁴). The theme may be varied, or it may simply be repeated in a new context; in either case, the 're-statement' brings both a change of sound and a change of sense, so that new significance emerges from the old theme. This is suggested even in Mignon's zither playing, where the variations of tune express variations of

- 1) Ital. Reise, Bericht November 1787, Bericht Februar 1788; AA 11, pp.480, 574f. Cf. HDM, 'Variation' and 'Variations', pp.891ff. I am grateful to J.W. Smeed for pointing out that the return of the original theme which Goethe describes is not in fact vital to the genre; but that there are well-known ^{where the theme does return} examples: e.g. Bach's Goldberg Variations, Mozart's (K500), Beethoven's ¹ (opus 109).
- 2) Letter of 20/1/1780, AA 18, p.481f.
- 3) Theatralische Sendung III, 10, AA 8, p.682.
- 4) Ed.cit. p.891.

Variations
for piano

E Major
Piano
Sonata.

mood. But it is clearly manifest in the episode of the Wanderjahre in which Wilhelm provides words and rhythm, and the Wandergesellschaft then take up the song:

Nach kurzem Bedenken ertönte...ein freudiger, dem Wanderschritt angemessener Zweigesang, der, bei Wiederholung und Verstärkung immer fortschreitend, den Hörenden mit hinriß; er war im Zweifel, ob dies seine eigne Melodie, sein früheres Thema, oder ob sie jetzt erst so angepaßt sei daß keine andere Bewegung denkbar wäre.

1

The qualitative difference resulting from varied 're-statement' is even more strongly brought out at the end of Novelle, where the gypsy-boy varies the words of his song, and the narrator then repeats the original, before the further variations by the child bring the episode to a close:

Eindringlich
aber ganz besonders war, daß das Kind die Zeilen der Strophe nunmehr zu anderer Ordnung durcheinander schob, und dadurch, wo nicht einen neuen Sinn hervorbrachte, doch das Gefühl in und durch sich selbst aufregend erhöhte...

Endlich hörte man die Flöte wieder, das Kind trat aus der Höhle hervor,...der Löwe hinter ihm drein...bis er sich endlich...niedersetzte und sein beschwichtigendes Lied abermals begann, dessen Wiederholung wir uns auch nicht entziehen können...

Das Kind flötete und sang so weiter, nach seiner Art die Zeilen verschränkend und neue hinzufügend...

2

And R.T. Llewellyn has pointed out that 'theme and variations' (in this broader sense) has become an overall structural principle in the Wanderjahre, where the interpolated Novellen serve as variations on the novel's main theme of 'Entsagung'.³

Goethe has, then, applied in literature a very broad and flexible conception of musical structure - a sequence of interlinked voices, in which

1) Wanderjahre III,1,AA 8,p.336.

2) AA 9,pp.452ff.

3) 'Parallel Attitudes to Form in late Beethoven and late Goethe', MLR 63, (1968),p.412.

each supplements or contrasts with its predecessor. Within this structure, we have a "mannigfaltige Sprache"; particular voices may sing or speak, together or singly, in a variety of ways; and they may do so in lyric, dramatic or narrative mode. Any given voice may recur; and any given motif may recur, as a repetition or in variation. Like Mattheson's "Gewebe" and Herder's "Faden" and "schöne Folge", this is a fluid and dynamic conception of structure, not a static and architectonic one. And like their conceptions of structure, it is very different from the mere notion of succession; for its continuity is guaranteed by rhythm.

Some attention must now be paid to the kind of rhythmic continuity which Goethe envisaged in musical structure; for here he is rather different from his contemporaries. As we saw, he did not often use the word 'rhythm' in the abstract; his conception of rhythm remained close to the physiological models of diastole and systole from which he derived it.¹ This could imply a fairly simple alternation; and there are occasions when Goethe describes rhythmic continuity in musical structure in such terms. For example, he suggested to Kayser that Scherz, List und Rache should be arranged as "eine anhaltend gefällige, melodische Bewegung von Schalckheit zu Leidenschaft und von Leidenschaft zu Schalckheit".² And he was fond of music which began in a major key, moved into the relative minor for the contrasting section, and then reverted to the original major for the finale.³ But usually Goethe envisaged rhythm in a much broader way, both in general and in musical matters; although it remained for him very closely linked to the physiological models. For this sequence is often set up not merely by contrasts, but by the succession of ^{complementary} polar opposites, "das Extrem dem Extreme, das Mittlere dem

1) See pp. 154ff above.

2) Letter to Kayser, 20/6/1785, AA 18, p. 854.

3) Letter to Kayser, 20/1/1780, AA 18, p. 482; Conv. with Eckermann, 1/2/1827, Erster Teil, AA 24, p. 234.

Mittleren". And because these two counterparts mutually enhance one another, the third stage is not merely a return to the first, but something more than the sum of both, a development, a "Steigerung".¹ Variety without such rhythmic continuity Goethe rejected because it had no potential for development - as in his testy refusal to take a botanical interest in roots:

denn was habe
ich mit einer Gestaltung zu tun, die sich...nur in unerfreulichem
Wechsel...darzustellen vermag, wo unendliche Varietäten zur Erscheinung
kommen, niemals aber eine Steigerung.

2

But where complementary opposites enhanced each other in "gesteigerte Gliederung", the way was open for continuity of development, for "sukzessive gegliederte Steigerung"; and thence for the "Möglichkeit einer Schlußbildung", the emergence of "ein Drittes, Neues, Höheres, Unerwartetes", which would in turn beget further polarity and Steigerung:

gesteigerte Gliederung,
sukzessive gegliederte Steigerung, dadurch Möglichkeit einer Schluß-
bildung, wo denn abermals das Viele vom Vielen sich sondert, aus dem
Einen das Viele hervortritt.

3

It is at this point that a certain difference becomes apparent between Goethe's conception of the relation between melody and harmony, and those discussed earlier. For Mattheson, harmony was created by the "Zusammensetzung verschiedener Melodien".⁴ For Herder, the idea is fairly similar, if more subtle:

Nun treten entweder mehreⁿ Stimmen zu einander;...oder die Stimmen theilen sich; sie antworten oder begleiten einander;...oder sie verfolgen einander, kämpfen, umschlingen, verwirren sich, und lösen einander zur süßesten Beruhigung auf...

5

1) Polarität (AA 16, p. 864); see E.M. Wilkinson, Goethe: Poet and Thinker, pp. 189ff.

x 2) Unbillige Forderung, 27/6/1824, ~~JA 39, p. 378~~, and AA 17, 'Wurzel', p. 1021.

3) Botanik (Fragmente), AA 17, p. 213; cit. Wilkinson, op. cit. p. 196, note 30.

4) Capellmeister, opp. p. 1 of main text; see p. 307 above.

5) Adrastea Suphan XXIII, p. 561; cf. p. 316 above.

x Nachlaß (zur Morphologie), WA II, 6, p. 332.

But with Goethe it is the specific interaction of polarity and Steigerung which develops melody into harmony.¹ For each Steigerung is not only a progression, but a union, a synthesis. Polar contrasts are:

eine] Art von

Opposition...die ...sogleich das Entgegengesetzte verbindet und in der Sukzession...nach einem Ganzen strebt.

2

Each Steigerung and "Schlußbildung" is thus not only the pre-condition for further continuity, but also the beginning of harmony. Goethe explains this most fully in the Farbenlehre:

Wenn wir beim Gelben und Blauen eine strebende Steigerung ins Rote gesehen und dabei unsre Gefühle bemerkt haben, so läßt sich denken, daß nun in der Vereinigung der gesteigerten Pole eine eigentliche Beruhigung, die wir eine ideale Befriedigung nennen möchten, stattfinden könne...Wenn das Auge die Farbe erblickt, so wird es gleich in Tätigkeit gesetzt, und es ist seiner Natur gemäß, auf der Stelle eine andre...hervorzubringen, welche mit der gegebenen die Totalität des ganzen Farbenkreises enthält...

Hier liegt also das Grundgesetz aller Harmonie der Farben.

3

But he applied it to musical structure, too, when he spoke in Wilhelm Tischbeins Idyllen of "Musik, Tanz, und was sonst noch aus mannigfaltigen, lebendig-beweglichen Elementen sich entwickelt, im Kontraste sich trennt, harmonisch wieder zusammenfließt."⁴ Accordingly, we find instances in Goethe's literary work where this kind of melodic sequence is associated with development towards harmony - sometimes, literally, towards musical harmony, but in any case towards a harmonious way of proceeding in life. For example, the song based on Wilhelm's rhythm and text begins as "ein freudiger, dem Wanderschritt angemessener Zweigesang". Once the rhythm and

1) The article by J. Göres on 'Polarität und Harmonie bei Goethe' (in K.-O. Conrady(ed), Deutsche Literatur zur Zeit der Klassik, Stuttgart 1977, pp. 93ff.) is in fact very much more concerned with polar opposites than with harmony, which is barely mentioned. Cf. p. 366 below.

2) 'Physiologische Farben', AA 16, p. 34.

3) 'Sinnlich-sittliche Wirkung', §§ 794, 807, AA 16, pp. 212ff.

4) AA 13, p. 904.

melody are established, the original duettists are joined by two more pairs, who:

horchten dem Gesang und fielen bald gar sicher und entschieden in denselben mit ein, so daß eine vollständige Wandergesellschaft über Berg und Tal dem Gefühl dahin zu schreiten schien, und Wilhelm glaubte nie etwas so Anmutiges, Herz und Sinn Erhebendes vernommen zu haben.

The culmination ^{comes} ~~comes~~, however, with the entry of the gigantic St. Christoph:

Dieser Genuß jedoch sollte noch erhöht und bis zum Letzten gesteigert werden, als eine riesenhafte Figur die Treppe herauf steigend einen starken festen Tritt...kaum zu mäßigen im Stande war...Sehr überrascht aber fand sich Wilhelm, als mit einer ungeheuren Baßstimme dieses Enakskind gleichfalls einzufallen begann. Der Saal schütterte und bedeutend war es, daß er den Refrain an seinem Teile sogleich veränderte und zwar dergestalt sang:

Du im Leben nichts verschiebe;
Sei dein Leben Tat um Tat !

1

In the banter which follows, an analogy is drawn between the rhythmic sequence of the singers and the rhythmic sequence of their lives. They must allow for the slower tempo of St. Christoph if their varied song and their varied activities are to come together to form a coordinated, 'harmonious' whole:

wenn ich mit meiner Bürde bergauf bergab schreite und doch zuletzt zur bestimmten Stunde eintreffen und euch befriedigen soll.

2

In Novelle, the gypsy-boy's song presents an even more remarkable "Schlußbildung"; although, as in the Wanderjahre episode, the 'harmony' is prepared rather than named as such. Formally speaking, the song brings the Novelle to a well-prepared close, as Goethe remarked to Eckermann:

ein ideeller, ja lyrischer Schluß war nötig und mußte folgen; denn nach der pathetischen Rede des Mannes, die schon poetische Prosa ist, mußte eine Steigerung kommen, ich mußte zur lyrischen Poesie, ja zum Liede selbst übergehen...Die Blume war unerwartet, überraschend, aber sie mußte kommen.

3

1) Wanderjahre III,1,AA 8,p.336f.

2) Ibid.

3) Erster Teil, 18/1/1827,AA 24,p.213.

But it is much more than a formal device. The "frommer Sinn" of the gypsy family, and the "Melodie" which expresses it, have been the means of reconciling the conflicting opposites of civilisation and savagery - taming not only the lion, but also the destructive urges of the hunters and the disruptive passion of Honorio for the Countess. The child is thus described in terms of apotheosis: "Glorreich sang das Kind weiter...wirklich sah das Kind in seiner Verklärung aus wie ein mächtiger siegreicher Überwinder";¹ for his song has not only re-unified, but also restored continuity. The interaction between Kunst and Natur, old and new, "Gebirg" and "flaches Land", passion and Entsagung, which constitutes the rhythm of life in this civilised society, can now be resumed.²

In Faust, too, the idea of melodic structure as a sequence of voices functions in a similar range of ways. Just once, as far as I can see, Goethe uses the idea of 'interweaving' to denote the linking of individual sounds into a 'chain' of melody:

Das sind die saubern Neuigkeiten,
Wo aus der Kehle, von den Saiten,
Ein Ton sich um den andern flicht. (7172ff.).

And indeed this aptly suggests the sinuous web of sounds in which the Sirens enmesh their victims; although Mephisto, impervious to the voice of feeling, treats it as 'mere' sound(7175ff.). But usually Goethe's conception of melodic structure in Faust is much nearer to that of verbal dialogue, which grows from the point when one 'tone' evokes another from a sympathetic listener. As we saw,³ these "Anklänge" are utterances of like-mindedness and sympathy,

1) AA 9, p.456.

2) Ibid., esp. pp.434ff., 445ff., 453f. See M. Swales, 'The Threatened Society', PEGS 38(1967/68), pp.43ff.; esp. pp.48ff. on the interaction of opposites, and pp.49, 68 on the harmony in this society.

3) See p.225f. above, also pp.214ff.

as Helena's speech makes especially clear:

Ein Ton scheint sich dem andern zu bequemen,
Und hat ein Wort zum Ohre sich gesellt,
Ein andres kommt, dem ersten liebzukosen. (9369ff.).

But they are nonetheless different voices of different entities, an expression not of sameness, but of the attraction of counterparts - the Poet of Zueignung and his audience, "die Seelen, denen ich die ersten sang"(17ff.); the Northern Faust and the Classical Helena. The audience's response is here termed "Widerklang"(20), the rhyming between Faust and Helena "Wechselrede", (9376), which brings out the connotations of balanced exchange rather than of unanimity.

In the latter case, we have not only 'Ton' answering 'Ton', but a full, if brief, communication. And elsewhere in Faust, too, we find the structure of voice answering voice in "Wechselrede" and "Wechselgesang" in the manner of dialogue, though there may be more than two voices involved. "Wechselgesang" is the form specified for the exchanges of Faust, Mephisto and the Irrlicht as they describe their entry into the Walpurgisnacht(SD 3871); in Anmutige Gegend, the Elves sing of the four watches of the night "Einzel, zu zweien und vielen, abwechselnd und gesammelt"(SD 4634); and in Mummenschanz, the Gärtner and Gärtnerinnen set out their wares and vie with each other "Unter Wechselgesang, begleitet von Gitarren und Theorben"(SD 5178). There are also occasions when spoken episodes are structured in this way - e.g. the carefully balanced alternation between Faust/Gretchen and Mephisto/Marthe as they walk round the garden(3073ff.); or the rhyming exchanges between Mephisto and Homunculus as they make their entry into the Klassische Walpurgisnacht (7040ff.), and are thus sharply distinguished both from Erichtho's Classical metres(7005ff.) and from Faust's abrupt "Wo ist sie ?" (7076).

More often, however, we meet this kind of structure in somewhat larger units, more accurately thought of as a sequence of voices than as a dialogue of alternating speakers. At times, the roots of this structure in Rousseau-esque Singspiel, and in Goethe's concern to meet "musikalisch-theatralischen Erfordernisse" by occupying "alle Personen in einer gewissen Folge, in einem gewissen Maß",¹ are still visible. Errante has suggested that the first section of Auerbachs Keller (2073-2157) is arranged like a quartet in comic opera, with the four voices contrasting in tone and type;² and the erotic song taken up in turn by Faust and the young witch, Mephisto and the old witch(4128ff.) has a similar quartet-like symmetry in the range and sequence of voices.³ But on the whole we are presented with a structure which corresponds rather to Herder's conception of "schöne Folge" - a "Melodie von Vorstellungen und Tönen",⁴ which appears not only in fairly small individual episodes, but in relatively large sections of the play, where the "mannigfaltige Sprache" of many different voices builds up a full and varied impression of the phenomenon depicted.

This characteristic of the play's structure has already attracted a good deal of critical attention; and various kinds of terminology have been used to discuss it. Herrmann, for example, speaks of the sequence "entstanden ...durch die Art, wie die Töne [i.e. different types of voice expressing different mentalities] einander folgen, miteinander kontrastieren, einander vorbereiten". She normally uses her own musical metaphor, "Symphonik", to indicate this type of structure; but later suggests the idea of "Reigen", "Revue", and "gegensätzliche Tonfolgen" for certain parts of the play.⁵

1) Italienische Reise, Rom 10/1/1788, AA 11, p.526.

2) 'Musik und Malerei in Goethes Kunst', Thema II (1949), p.40; cit. Trunz, ed.cit., p.512.

3) Fähnrich maintains that Faust as a whole is the 'Erfüllung und Vollendung' of Goethe's attempts to reform the structures and forms of expression of opera. But even he has to go beyond opera when attempting to describe the structure of Faust II (Fausttrag., pp.256ff., esp.p.261).

4) Kritische Wälder I and IV, Suphan III, pp.134ff., Suphan IV, pp.161ff., esp. p.166.

5) Herrmann, e.g. pp.88, 328ff.

Requadt, too, calls this structure "Revue" structure - acknowledging in particular Petsch, who indicates some of the common ground with musical structure and with "die verwandte 'Reihenform' des alten Factnachtspiels".¹ And Dorothea Lohmeyer also uses the terms "Reihe" and "Reihung" to denote the kind of structure which is not merely succession in time, but a series of phenomena related as contrasting or complementary aspects of the same theme; and she stresses the connection between Goethe's use of such structures in art and his morphological studies in the natural sciences.²

If such a selection of carefully-used terminology is available, it may seem out of place to offer 'sequence of voices' as yet another possibility. But some of these terms have led to certain difficulties; and others do not offer scope for consideration of the connection with music. The idea of 'sequence of voices' may be helpful in both respects. For example, Herrmann's terminology reveals the type of structure in Faust, but tends at the same time to obscure relations between music and language within this structure. It is also unhelpful in that the term "Symphonik" tends to suggest to post-nineteenth-century readers a general 'all-togetherness', rather than precise relations within harmony; and is thus likely to be misleading in dealing with Goethe's notions of the relation between melody and harmony. The idea of 'Revue' form is in many ways more promising. Petsch suggests that the Mummenschanz scene, the Klassische Walpurgisnacht, the entries of successive parts of the army in Act IV, and the Bergschluchten scene, can all be usefully approached by this method; and Requadt particularly characterises Vor dem Tor, Walpurgisnacht, and Walpurgisnachtstraum in this way, with passing references to Mummenschanz and Klassische Walpurgisnacht.³ And indeed these are

1) Petsch, 'Die dramatische Kunstform', p.233f., and note 21; cit.Requadt, pp. 23, note 26, 93, note 22. See Requadt, pp.18ff., 92ff., 283ff., 307ff.

2) Faust und die Welt, ed.cit.pp.20ff., 30ff., and passim.

3) Petsch, op.cit., p.234 and note 21; Requadt, pp.93ff., 283ff., 298ff., 312ff., 317ff.

all episodes in which various figures succeed each other, as individuals or in groups, in such a way as to build up a full and varied impression of a particular phenomenon. This idea of a structure in Faust has not only the advantage, which Requadt claims, of enabling us to accommodate shifts of level between 'real' and 'symbolic' which might otherwise be puzzling.¹ It also enables us to accommodate the shifts between sung and spoken passages which Hicks and Fähnrich find so difficult.² In Vor dem Tor, for example, some figures sing (Bettler, Soldaten, Bauern), some speak (Handwerksburschen, Dienstmädchen, Schüler, Bürgermädchen, Bürger); we have a series of dialogues, solos, and a chorus, often directly addressed to the preceding 'speaker', and in any case complementing each other in expressing not only some aspect of the festive mood of Easter, but also in showing the various "Stände" which constitute the society in which Gretchen lives.³ The concept of Revue form does to some extent allow for the discussion of music, since the genre traditionally includes both music and dance within its structure. The problem is that Revue form is closely associated with dramatic genres, inasmuch as the sequence of contrasts is built up by acting figures, their appearance, gait, gesture, etc., as well as by contrasts in type of voice and in attitude expressed; and that Requadt shows frequent uncertainty about the status of such structure vis à vis drama. His tone is often apologetic: the Revue scenes "dienen...der Befreiung der Phantasie"; and give Goethe an opportunity to introduce figures who are "für die Handlung zwar nicht notwendige, doch sie perspektivisch vertiefende Figuren".⁴ Although he recognises that in such scenes, as in the Maskenzüge, the "Auswahl und Abfolge der Figuren...wie sie einander in ihren Reden abwechseln", is important, he seems to deplore the gradual move away from 'realistic' depiction which they

1) E.g.p.19f.,p.93f.

2) Hicks,p.132f.,Fähnrich,(Fausttragödie),p.253f.

3) Requadt,pp.95ff.

4) Ibid, p.19.

allow Goethe to make;¹ and almost seems to hint that such a structure is hardly a structure at all.² This can hardly be Requadt's considered opinion, since elsewhere he emphasises "daß Szenen mit revuehaftem Einschlag...in all ihren Teilen ernstzunehmen sind",³ and since he does indeed take them seriously throughout his work. But for present purposes it is important to avoid any tendency to drift towards dramatic criteria. For Faust, like many other works by Goethe, notoriously fails to keep within the bounds of any one mode for very long; as Herrmann remarks, this is a work which:

sich zwar der
dramatisch-dialogischen Form bedient, einen durchhaltenden dramatischen
Zusammenhang jedoch nicht hat... [da] lyrische Vergegenwärtigung und
epische Entwicklung an der Bildung erheblicher Komplexe mitwirken.

4

If we are to discuss this kind of structure in Faust, we shall need terms which enable us to handle such free movement from one mode to another; and 'sequence of voices' will serve well here. For we can benefit from comments by Requadt, Petsch and others where the visual and dramatic element is strong; but we can also deal with episodes which are not primarily dramatic, especially with those which seem to have more in common with 'cantata' form as Goethe used it.⁵ This also accords well with what Lohmeyer has to say, re Faust II, about the importance of "Reihe" as:

das Verfahren, eine möglichste
Vielfalt von Beobachtungen an einem Objekt zu machen, das Objekt unter
seine extremsten Bedingungen zu stellen, bis sich die verschieden-
artigsten Wahrnehmungen reihenartig ordnen und ein gemeinsames
Gesetzliches aus sich hervortreten lassen.

6

1) Requadt, p.93f.

2) E.g. his comment that Walpurgisnacht is "eine typische Revueszene, die... der Ausdruckskraft kaum Schranken setzt" (p.283ff.)

3) Ibid., p.207.

4) Herrmann, p.87.

5) It is interesting to note that Requadt comes close to this area by discussing Walpurgisnacht in relation to ballad; but he considers the subject-matter, rather than the form, as the common ground, and reverts to his model of Revue form to discuss structure. (p.282f.).

6) Lohmeyer, p.21.

For this is indeed a sequence which gradually builds up a whole; which, as Goethe put it, "in der Sukzession...nach einem Ganzen strebt".¹

There are, then, occasions in Faust when the 'sequence of voices' comes from a sequence of figures, and the notion of a Revue is extremely useful. Each individual expresses himself/herself through different permutations and combinations of speech, song, gesture, movement, etc; and as each voice succeeds to the next, a composite picture is built up of the company or group thus represented. Vor dem Tor has already been discussed briefly in these terms;² and there are plenty of other examples. In the Walpurgisnacht, the have-beens gathered round the dying embers (4072ff.) also express themselves in sequence - a sequence to which Mephisto, "der auf einmal sehr alt erscheint", adds his own voice as parody (SD 4092ff.).³ Although each individual has satirical reference to contemporary characters,⁴ they all, in a figurative sense, 'sing the same tune' - as a group they express an obstructive carping which seeks to halt the growth of things beyond their own, and thus amply deserve their place on the Brocken. The figures of the Walpurgisnachts-traum have a similar, if rather more complex, arrangement. Each expresses an opinion or feeling, in verse, song and dance of varying degrees of cohesion; but as the sequence progresses they emerge as "Typen, die sich in ihrem gruppenweisen Auftreten gegenseitig relativieren".⁵ The figures of

1) 'Physiologische Farben', AA 16, p.34.

2) See above, and esp. Requadt, pp.93ff.

3) It is difficult to see why Requadt takes this speech so seriously, and provides such a complicated explanation for it (p.298f.).

4) Trunz, ed. cit. p.524.

5) Requadt, p.311. Requadt remarks here that Frankenger "hat auch die Funktion der Musik exakt bezeichnet" (p.315). But it is difficult to agree that music has the function of distancing, and therefore rendering comic (as opposed to offensive ?) the cavortings on the Brocken. It seems to me that music has a double function here. Firstly, the dilettantes utter sounds & make movements as self-expression, and imagine this to be music and dance, in sharp contrast to Ariel, the Kapellmeister & the Tanzmeister (Requadt, pp. 314ff., Frankenger, pp.11ff.) Secondly, the structure of the scene is one which was discussed in connection with music and poetry in Goethe's time: "schöne Folge"; each voice, in sequence, contributes to the overall depiction of forms of unproductive foolishness.

Mummenschanz succeed each other as individuals; but form into groups which likewise succeed each other to represent different aspects of the Court playing itself, and thus build up a composite picture, as Lohmeyer explains:

Wie nun die Fülle des Einzelnen sich zur Reihe zusammenfindend die Situation bildet, so erwächst Gesellschaft als ganzes Phänomen aus der Reihe der Situationen.

1

And in the Klassische Walpurgisnacht the successive figures and groups whom the three wanderers (Faust, Mephisto and Homunculus) meet on their way gradually build up a composite depiction of the myths through which the Greeks, and through them Europeans, sought to understand the processes of the natural world.²

But there are other occasions when this kind of structure is more aptly described as 'sequence of voices'; and seems to have more in common with cantata form, as Goethe used it, than with drama.³ As in other works of his, it tends to predominate when something or someone is being celebrated - i.e. where our attention is to be focussed on reactions rather than on actions, and where an episode is complete not when the action is complete, but when a range of reactions is complete. In the Prolog im Himmel, for example, each Archangel takes up the lead in turn to celebrate the Lord's universe; and our picture of this universe, and of the Earth's place within it, is not complete until all three have uttered. But it is this view of the universe which Mephisto disputes(271ff.); the Lord answers him(293ff.); and the work thus moves into dramatic dialogue for the wager, and thence into the action in which the wager will be tested. Indeed, it seems to me not unreasonable to regard Faust's monologue in Nacht as a continuation of this sequence of voices.

1) Lohmeyer, p.70.

2) See esp. Lohmeyer, pp.205ff., Requadt, p.298.

3) Abert does indeed suggest cantata and oratorio as models for the structure of parts of Faust; but he refers only to the arrangement of solo and chorus in cantata as a musical genre, and does not consider Goethe's use of cantata as a poetic form(GuM, p.105).

Having heard the views of the Lord and Mephisto on Faust's life and its meaning (or lack of meaning), we now hear Faust on the same subject; only when Faust reaches for Nostradamus (419ff.) does the action proper begin, and the Prologue end. In the Easter Chorus, too, we find a sequence of voices. For the audience, at least, the Chorus enters as an answering voice to Faust's "festlich hoher Gruß"(736); and the different voices of the Chor der Weiber, Chor der Engel, and Chor der Jünger take the lead one after the other - praising(757ff.), narrating the events connected with Easter(749ff.), and recounting the consequences of this sacred event for man(737ff.,785ff.). The sung sections of this episode make the links specifically with cantata form rather more apparent than they were in the Prolog - but this is not only because of their liturgical theme and style,¹ or even because of the similarity, which Fowler points out, between this scene and the Reformations-kantate.² We have here a sequence of singing voices narrating and celebrating a central event; and as in the episode of Mignon's Exequien, this structure has been expanded to include the spoken reactions of others in the audience to the central event. Faust's voice thus takes its place in the sequence, reacting each time to the voices and bells preceding:

Verkündiget ihr dumpfen Glocken schon
Des Osterfestes erste Feierstunde ?
Ihr Chöre, singt ihr schon den tröstlichen Gesang,
Der einst, um Grabes Nacht, von Engelslippen klang..?

Was sucht ihr, mächtig und gelind,
Ihr Himmelstöne, mich am Staube ? (744ff.).

There is, however, an important difference between the Exequien and this scene. There our attention was drawn to the whole company and to the diversity

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- 1) See Trunz, p.633f.; Fähnrich (Fausttragödie), p.254, note 7; Sternfeld, Goethe and Music, p.84f. Abert considers that an actual setting of this episode would make it too long: "Goethe rechnet hier...mit einer immateriellen Musik, die die Schwelle des äußerlich Hörbaren nicht überschreitet." (GuM p.104). The scene would certainly take longer to sing than to speak, but there seems no reason to assume that "Glockenklang und Chorgesang" does not mean what it says. Like other cantatas, this one is brief, so the composer can develop or not as he chooses (cf. letter to Zelter, 4/8/1805, AA 19, p.482f.).
- 2) F.M. Fowler, 'Glockenklang und Chorgesang': Play or Cantata?', GLL 31 (1977/78, pp.35ff.

of their reactions. Here, Faust is the only figure we see as well as hear; so our entire attention is focussed on the return to love of earth which the Easter song inspires, and which drives him out of his study in the scene immediately following.

On other occasions in the work, Goethe uses the 'sequence of voices' structure to present a more complex perspective - both on the phenomenon celebrated and on Faust - than would be readily possible in straight drama. In such instances, it does indeed serve as a framework within which he makes his language as "mannigfaltig" as possible, in order to deal with complex phenomena; although he may do so within a fairly narrow acoustic range. One example of this is the celebration of Paris and Helena as archetypes of Greek beauty in Rittersaal. The central personae of this spectacle do not speak. The interest of the scene lies rather in their influence on the Court audience; and this is conveyed by a sequence of voices, which narrate and comment on their appearance and movements. When Paris appears, (453ff.), the commenting voices either complement or directly reply to one another, and gradually groups emerge: six ladies(who speak a line each,6453ff.); two knights(6459ff.); lady and knight(6463f.); lady and chamberlain(alternating lines,6465ff.); and finally the age-graded group of more sensitive women who experience his youth as perfume, and whose contrasting voices (youthful, and two degrees of maturity) form a kind of brief trio(6473ff.). When Helena appears, we have not only the sequence of voices from the Court audience (again arranged in groups, albeit more loosely¹), but reactions from the three figures who are initiators of the spectacle: Mephisto, the Astrologer, and Faust.(6479ff.). Their attitudes complement one another as they follow in sequence: Mephisto is brief and casual(6479ff.); the Astrologer is brief but ardent(6481ff.); but Faust voices

1) Ältere/Jüngere Dame(6502f.); Diplomat/Hofmann(6504f.); Dame/Poet alternating(6507ff.); Duenna(6513); Hofmann/Dame alternating(6516ff.); Ritter/Dame/Page/Hofmann(6524ff.); Dame/Andre/Ritter(6528ff.); and finally Gelahrter, as a kind of solemn solo(6533ff.).

a longing so uncontrollable that he actually moves to seize Helena - an action with drastic consequences (6487ff., 6544ff.). Several things emerge from this treatment of the scene. Visual and verbal impressions are not unanimous, as one would expect them to be in a Revue, where the mien, gesture, etc. of each figure matches exactly what he says or sings. We see an impersonation of the Greek ideal of beauty; but we hear many different reactions to it. This ideal is thus clearly not an absolute - it means different things to different characters; and indeed the opinionated superficiality of the Court, or Mephisto's coolness, seem to reduce it to meaning very little. Yet even here there are voices which testify to its potency (especially the Damen (6473ff.) and the Astrologer); Faust is yielding to a fine human instinct, and not merely to an illusion of magic, when he is so profoundly moved. We have a "Melodie von Vorstellungen" of Greek beauty, of which Faust's voice forms the powerful culmination. Furthermore, because a 'sequence of voices' allows free movement between lyric, dramatic and narrative, the immediate connection between Faust's attitudes and his actions can be demonstrated by the sudden and spectacular shift from contemplation to action, from lyric/narrative back into drama, at the end of the scene. This comes as a shock - yet it is the natural product of the attitudes which he has voiced in the preceding sequence.

Similar things may be said of the Walpurgisnacht scene. Here the language and structure are if anything perhaps too "mannigfaltig" - it is not easy to follow this scene as a whole. But we can see the same pattern at work. Again, something is being celebrated - Evil. But Goethe does not deal with all aspects of Evil. He is concerned here with figures - chiefly those of the Brocken tradition - who are evil because of their attitudes to Nature. In various ways, and various idioms, they negate and distort natural instincts, especially creative ones, and thus hinder and destroy natural growth.

In the scene as a whole, we are shown a series of episodes, each of which complements the other to give a cumulative picture of these negative attitudes to Nature; so that the scene as a whole, from "Gegend von Schierke und Elend" through to the end of Walpurgisnachtstraum, could fairly be described as a "Melodie von Vorstellungen" of this kind of Evil, each voice in which contributes its own particular tone. Within this overall framework, too, some of the individual episodes are structured as a sequence of voices. The Wechselgesang(3871ff.) and Walpurgisnachtstraum have already been discussed briefly; the "wütender Zaubergesang" of the witches is also arranged in this way. We hear the witches as separate voices, in contrasting locations: Stimme (3962f., 3968f.); Stimme oben(3986) or von oben(3995); Stimme(n) von unten (3987ff., 3994ff.); and in contrasting combinations: Chorus(3956ff., 3964ff.); solos contrasting in pairs(3968ff., 3986ff., 3994ff.), or with the Chorus (3962ff., 4004ff.); contrasting parts of the Chorus(3974ff.); and combined Choruses(3990ff., 4000ff., 4012ff.). But whether the individual sections are structured in this way or whether they are nearer to dramatic dialogue (as e.g. 3835ff., 4020ff.), Faust's voice periodically takes its place alongside the other voices; an impression gradually emerges of Faust's attitude to Nature and to Evil which we can compare and contrast with theirs - especially with Mephisto's. This comparison is made all the more readily because, as in Rittersaal, visual and verbal impressions do not coincide entirely; we often see something to which we then hear various reactions. Faust and Mephisto do not, for example, react in the same way to the natural setting at the beginning of the scene(3845ff.); and their attitudes are also strikingly different when looking towards the summit of the Brocken(4030ff.), and especially when looking at the figure of Gretchen (4183ff.). At other times, of course, Faust's voice accords all too well with that of Mephisto; both glory in the wild spectacle they describe as the mountain turns from natural to supernatural(3916ff.); and both take part with relish in the song and dance

with the witches(4124ff.). By the end of the whole scene, because this structure allows free movement between lyric, dramatic and narrative modes, we have a multiple impression of Faust's encounter with this kind of Evil - as something which he experiences first-hand, as something which involves him in action, and as something which he observes and comments upon.¹ And the impression which emerges is that, through all these experiences of distortion and parody, Faust keeps intact his sense of the rightness of natural instincts, "des rechten Weges wohl bewußt", especially when confronted by Gretchen. And the force with which this insight impels him to action can again be conveyed by a sudden reversion to the dramatic mode, though here with some complication. The first reversion is a spoof - Mephisto tries to involve Faust elsewhere, in trivialities. The second is all the more vivid and unbearable for its juxtaposition with these inanities. Faust has been something of a dilettante himself, as Atkins points out: "On the Brocken he toyed with evil; now he is fully implicated in it."² He is abruptly faced with the need to act; ~~and~~ ^{and} the transition is marked by an abrupt return to the language and structure of 'straight' drama.³

The Klassische Walpurgisnacht has already been discussed by others in terms of a Revue;⁴ and there is not much to be gained from substituting the idea of 'sequence of voices'. But in the Meeresfest which comes as a culmination of this Revue or "Reihe", the idea of sequence of voices is useful. Here visual and verbal do coincide - figures and voices succeed one another, individually or in groups, as complementary aspects of natural creation and growth. However, although this is in every way a more elaborate spectacle

1) Lines 3881ff., 4128ff., 4030ff., 3916ff., 4149ff., may serve as examples of the three modes in which Faust speaks. But they are not distinct; his song with the Irrlicht and Mephisto, for example, involves comment as well as first-person expression(3881ff.).

2) Goethe's Faust. A Literary Analysis, p.95.

3) In view of all this, some of the negative criticism which this scene has attracted seems correct, but misconceived; it is true that Goethe's handling of the scene takes it away from drama as normally understood, but that is not the point. (Cf. Staiger, Goethe, vol.2, pp.356ff.; Barker Fairley, Six Essays, p.71.

4) See esp. Lohmeyer, pp.205ff.; Requadt, p.298.

than Mignon's Exequien, and although these choruses, unlike those of the Exequien, are very much visible and mobile, we again have an 'expanded cantata' form, a sequence including many kinds of song and speech from the participants, and also interpolated comments from the varied voices of the onlookers (Thales, Proteus and Homunculus). Here, I think, Goethe uses this structure to deal with even more complex relations than in the first Walpurgis nacht or in Rittersaal. For the figures of the Meeresfest do not only express their own attitudes and natures; they expound and comment upon the nature and value of others, too - on the Cabiri as the highest epitome of the divine, on the statues of Rhodes as the highest art, and on the human form as the highest on the biological scale, all of which are subjected to mockery as well as praise. Yet although the validity of these myths is not shown as absolute, we are shown the irresistible attraction and vital importance of the forces which they represent. The voices of Nereus, Thales and Proteus have become increasingly passionate in their adoration of Galatea and the elements;¹ and although Homunculus' voice has been small by comparison (8265f., 8458ff.), he is finally drawn with irresistible force to break his glass on Galatea's shell, and to enter a new sphere of life in the sea. As in Rittersaal, this sudden and spectacular transition from contemplation to action comes as a shock; indeed, the voices which continue to celebrate the creative elements proclaim it as a "neues Geheimnis" and "feuriges Wunder" (8464, 8474). Yet it is the culmination of the feelings and insights voiced in the preceding sequence.

But it is perhaps in the episodes following upon Faust's death that the 'sequence of voices' structure truly comes into its own. For here the connection with cantata rather than drama is at its clearest; since, in depicting a world of the spirit, visual forms become less and less relevant. As Goethe remarked,

1) Nereus: 8134ff., 8424ff.; Thales: 8321ff., 8432ff.; Proteus: 8257ff., 8315ff., 8461ff.

he was dealing here with "übersinnlichen, kaum zu ahnenden Dingen"; and he was able to borrow "christlich-kirchliche[]Figuren und Vorstellungen" to give his ideas "eine wohltätig beschränkende Form und Festigkeit".¹ But the relations between these figures could hardly be shown through the causal relations demanded by a plot; and it is difficult to depict in action the life of a realm where, according to the Chorus Mysticus, activity consists entirely in loving response and understanding(12106ff.). But by using a sequence of voices,² each of which offers a different perspective on Faust's life and death, or on human life generally, Goethe is able to move from the dramatic mode into the lyrical and narrative, and back again; in a manner which demonstrates the interdependence of feeling, perception and thought which the Chorus Mysticus finally describe:

Das Unzulängliche,
Hier wird's Ereignis;
Das Unbeschreibliche,
Hier ist's getan... (12106ff.).

This free movement from mode to mode begins well before Faust's death. In the greater part of Mitternacht, for example, we have the alternating, contrasting voices³ of Faust and Sorge, with their conflicting perspectives on life within human limitations(11403ff.,11424ff.), and on Faust's blindness (11495ff.,11499ff.). But this conflict is not entirely conveyed in straightforward dramatic dialogue. As Trunz remarks, "für den ganzen 5. Akt ist bezeichnend, daß Gestalten ihre Botschaften aussprechen, ohne andere direkt anzureden".⁴ And indeed there are several points where Sorge does not directly address Faust, but asserts a view of the world which Faust then contradicts

1) Eckermann, (Zweiter Teil), 6/6/1831, AA 24, p.504.

2) Cotti describes this scene as consisting of "lauter aneinandergereihten Chören und Sologesängen seliger Geister, durch keine dramatische Handlung verbunden." But since he suggests that it is an "Ensemble", not a "Finale", because there is no progression in it, (p.54), it is unlikely that he was suggesting the kind of sequence which Lohmeyer denotes as "Reihe".

3) See Trunz, p.614.

4) Ibid., p.622.

- again, not always directly replying (e.g. 11424ff., 11433ff). Similar things may be said of the Großer Vorhof des Palasts. Mephisto advances a view of Faust's final activity which conflicts with Faust's own; the actual dialogue between them (e.g. 11551ff.) is separate from their main exchange of views, which rather takes place as Mephisto comments on what Faust says (e.g. 11544ff., 11557ff.), and then narrates in the third person Faust's life and death as he sees them (11586ff.). Here, the Chorus of Lemuren add a third voice and a third perspective; for their song (11531ff.) and their chant to mark the moment of Faust's death (11593ff.), bring out the relish as well as the ridiculousness of the life just lost, whereas Mephisto seeks to deny even that (11595ff.). In both these scenes, as in Rittersaal, we move away from dramatic action towards attitudes, feelings and insights; the 'celebration' of Faust's life - i.e. comment upon it and responses to it - has already begun.

What follows, from Grablegung to the end of the work, is perhaps more than any other scene usefully understood not only as a sequence of voices, but as a sequence of sequences. All of them involve "christlich-kirchliche [1] Figuren"; but the voices within each sequence represent different perspectives from within that tradition, on relations between the human soul and the Divine. For example, apart from the initial chorus of the Lemuren, the earlier part of Grablegung (11612-675) seems to me to deal with this relationship via the mythology of the medieval morality play and of the chapbooks. Mephisto presents himself in a guise already mentioned - Old Iniquity (7123) - with the full apparatus of Hell and devils (11621ff., esp. 11644ff. and SD). His is the only voice heard, since the devils do not speak. But they appear in two groups (11656ff., 11670ff.), as complementary forms of hellish activity and nature. Again, the mythology used is given only relative status. The comic element intrinsic in the morality play is evident; not only in the devils'

presentation as "Dickteufeln" and "Dürreteufeln", but also in Mephisto's own emergence as the 'fool' who forever comes off second best - a status he keeps to the end of the scene:

So ist fürwahr die Torheit nicht gering,
Die seiner sich am Schluß bemächtigt. (11842f.).

However, as with the Meeresfest, and indeed Rittersaal, these are "sehr ernsten Scherze",¹ and not merely farce.² Mephisto laments the erosion of his rights as defined in Christian tradition and in the Faust legend, and doubts whether the soul will play the part defined for it in these mythologies; so the question remains of what part it will play. The Himmlische Heerscharen make their sudden entry as counterparts to the devils, with a different version of the soul's destination - forgiveness(11679). They are described as "Gesandte",³ emissaries of Heaven, and appear as the angelic hosts of Christian tradition, who battle against devils for the human soul, and achieve the triumph of Good over Evil. But here again their status is not absolute - we are also given Mephisto's comments (as a fallen angel) on his erstwhile colleagues. We thus have opposing views on the activities of the angels, as well as on the destiny of the soul; just as in the Meeresfest we had two views of the divinity of the Cabiri, or of the worth of human beings.⁴ These two complementary views are couched in alternating voices: the songs of the angels and the spoken comments of Mephisto. And they are alternating voices rather than dramatic exchanges; for, although Mephisto addresses the angels(11769ff.), they only once reply to him(11777ff.). As Trunz remarks,⁵ they chiefly address themselves to human beings, including

1) Letter to W.v. Humboldt, 17/3/1832, AA 21, p.1043.

2) See esp. O. Durrani, Faust and the Bible, pp.165ff. There are helpful comments here on individual figures; but they are not associated with the farcical element in the morality play, and generally interpret comic elements as destructive parody, rather than as compatible with "Ernst".

3) Trunz, p.620f.

4) It therefore seems too narrow an interpretation to suggest that Mephisto's view is more accurate(Durrani, pp.166ff.).

5) Ed.cit., p.622.

Faust, with their assertion not only of love, but also of truth(11731,11804), and thence of new life:

Luft ist gereinigt,
Atme der Geist. (11823f.)

With Bergschluchten, we pass on to three groups of beings who, in various ways, are concerned with this interaction of love and truth: the Patres, the angels themselves (who now appear not as the heavenly hosts vis à vis Mephisto, but as sub-groups diversified in attitude and achievement), and the figures who offer insights and feelings from within the tradition of Mariology(the three Büßerinnen, Doctor Marianus, and the Mater Gloriosa). The figures within these groups, however, do not announce their relative status by mockery, but by acknowledging one another. Each voice, with its contrasting tone (a wide range of women's, men's and children's voices), complements the next; and each group complements the next, in offering the insights and feelings of their particular standpoint, and loving furtherance to one another.¹ As several critics have pointed out, the voices of this realm are many and various, both in tonal quality and in message.² But, as with the Reformationskantate,³ the contrasting voices are so arranged as to complement one another; by the end of these sequences, we have a full and many-sided impression of human life, of the soul, and of an after-life, as perceived and felt from the perspective of "christlich-kirchliche[]Figuren".

As with other works of Goethe's, repeated or recurrent features play an important part in the 'sequence of voices' . They often appear in Faust specifically as an aspect of musical structure. Since Goethe encountered repetition in the folk-songs and ballads which Herder showed him, and considered

1) See Trunz,p.624f.

2) See esp.P.Friedländer,pp.80ff.,and p.301f. above.

3) Letter to Zelter,10/12/1816,AA 21,p.201f.; see also pp.302ff. above.

that "Der Refrain, das Wiederkehrenebendesselben Schlußklanges, gibt dieser Dichtart den entschiedenen lyrischen Charakter",¹ it is not surprising to find such recurrence where he uses such songs, notably in Gretchen's Meine Ruh' ist hin and Ach, neige. Abert in particular suggests that the da capo aria common in eighteenth-century music, especially in Rousseauesque operetta, also influenced the structure of Gretchen's songs;² and this seems credible provided that 'aria' is taken in the Rousseauesque sense of solo song "aus dem Grunde des Herzens",³ not as polished virtuoso performance. It is also true that many of the social songs in Faust - i.e. those which voice the mood of a particular group or occasion - incorporate a refrain or a "Rundreim"(2125) repeated at intervals: e.g. the Peasants' song in Vor dem Tor (949ff.), the Rattenlied and the Flohlied of Auerbachs Keller(2126ff., 2211ff). In all these instances, the repetition functions in a fairly straightforward way, much as in opera and folk-song: where a section is repeated by the solo singer, the effect is to emphasise the intensity and continuing force of the feelings expressed; where a chorus repeats a section from the solo verse, they give an impression of unanimous agreement with what the soloist is doing or saying.

But even within the sections of Faust set to music, Goethe's use of repetition goes well beyond these models in some important respects. It is a structural feature of many songs which are not 'folkish', and for which the connection with Rousseauesque operetta seems too remote to be useful, since the repetition seems to function rather differently. For example, the Angels' repetition of "Christ ist erstanden!" in the Easter Chorus(737ff.)

1) 'Betrachtung und Auslegung' of Ballade, AA 2, p.613.

2) Goethe und die Musik, p.103f. Abert also suggests the rondo form as a model for more complex recurrence, where the same section is repeated more than once at intervals(as in Meine Ruh' ist hin). But rondo form specifies a definite order for repeated and intervening sections(see HDM, ed.cit.p. 740); whereas the refrain in Gretchen's song recurs at irregular intervals.

3) Goethe's letter to Kayser, 29/12/1779, AA 18, p.473.

comes not as a final section, as the da capo model would imply, but at the beginning of each of their stanzas; they assert the fact of the Resurrection, then after each repetition expound different aspects of this fact, in response to the different sorrows expressed by the Jünger and Weiber. The Chor und Echo of Bergschluchten (11844ff.) suggests a much more complex reciprocity of feeling and attitude than a conventional choral repeat. And when the Sirens' lines in praise of the Cabiri are "wiederholt als Allgesang"(8215ff.), this reiteration unites several previously diverse voices and views on the nature of those deities(8168ff.).

More significant than this, however, is the fact that in the great majority of cases our sense of recurrence does not depend on the actual repetition of the precise words or melody originally used.¹ We are given not an exact repetition, but a close variant; so that there is some suggestion of progression from the initial statement. This can occur on a very simple level; as in the Peasants' song in Vor dem Tor, where a slightly different text follows the repeated "Juchhe...he"(954ff.), and in the song of the Trunkner in Mummenschanz, where the second half of each stanza varies within the framework of the repeated "Trinke, trinke...getan"(5263ff.). Here the implied progression does little more than support the movements of the dance, and the drunkard's progression towards cheerful oblivion under the table. But in other instances such recurrence of a close variant becomes part of a complex statement, and thus carries very much more weight; as e.g. in the Prolog, where the Archangels' final chorus Zu drei is a close variant of part of Raphael's solo(247ff.); or in the Meeresfest, where the Chorus der sämtlichen Kreise, as Echo, nonetheless produce a variant, not a repeat, of Thales' apostrophe

1) See Langer, pp. 126ff.; and pp. 142ff. above.

to water(8443ff.). Such recurrent features derive their importance from their context - i.e. from their place in the structure of a given episode; and if we are to consider this adequately we must go well beyond ideas such as da capo repeats.

Here, again, the idea of 'theme and variations' is useful, though not this time in its stricter musical sense. As far as I can see, there are no references in Faust to purely musical variation of a theme, of the kind which Goethe heard from Kayser and used to characterise Mignon.¹ But the term taken in its wider sense serves very well to denote the kind of recurrence which for Goethe was anything but 'mere' repetition - where new words were set to a repeated tune, or where an old theme was repeated in a new context or by a new voice, so that the variation both echoed and complemented the original statement, and thus became not an isolated utterance, but part of a sequence. On one occasion in Faust we find the same tune explicitly specified for different words - this time not for development, as when the Wandergesellschaft take up Wilhelm's song,² but for a brief parody: "Sirenen präluieren oben... Sphinxen, sie verspottend in derselben Melodie"(SD 7152ff.). Usually, however, we are dealing with variation in words which could be sung, where the text is modified but the metre remains the same. This may occur on a small scale, reflecting complementary but not identical views or activity; as e.g. when both Faust and Mephisto begin their Walpurgisnacht song and dance with the formula: "Einst hatt' ich einen...Traum"(4128), but otherwise adopt complementary sexual metaphors of the old and young trees;³ or when Proteus echoes Homunculus to confirm that he has found his true milieu in the sea:

1) Theatralische Sendung III,10, AA 8,p.682; cf.p.328 above.

2) Wanderjahre II,1, AA 8,p.336; cf.p.329f. above.

3) Cf. Requadt,pp.296ff.,esp.p.300.

HOMUNCULUS: In dieser holden Feuchte
 Was ich auch hier beleuchte,
 Ist alles reizend schön.
 PROTEUS: In dieser Lebensfeuchte
 Erglänzt erst deine Leuchte
 Mit herrlichem Getön. (8458ff.)

But there are more interesting occasions on which the same voice or voices repeat with variation an earlier statement of their own; the variation may be slight, but its implications may be considerable. The Archangels' song in the Prolog is one such example:

RAPHAEL: Ihr Anblick [der Sonne] gibt den Engeln Stärke,
 Wenn keiner sie ergründen mag;
 Die unbegreiflich hohen Werke
 Sind herrlich wie am ersten Tag...(247ff.)

ZU DREI: Der Anblick [of Earth and its features] gibt den Engeln
 Stärke,
 Da keiner dich ergründen mag,
 Und alle deine hohen Werke
 Sind herrlich wie am ersten Tag. (267ff.).

The perspective is widened in the final chorus, to include the whole universe, not only the sun; and the Angels' admiration and confidence, originally asserted despite (wenn) their non-comprehension of one piece of creation, is now reaffirmed because (da) the Creator of so many things must always remain beyond their understanding. And Mephisto's variation on the theme then comes from outside the framework of the hymn:

Von Sonn' und Welten weiß ich nichts zu sagen,
 Ich sehe nur, wie sich die Menschen plagen.
 Der kleine Gott der Welt bleibt stets vom gleichen Schlag,
 Und ist so wunderbar als wie am ersten Tag. (279ff.).

He narrows down the perspective to the weaknesses of human nature, and gives a negative sense (montony rather than continuity) to the phrase "wie am ersten Tag". Similarly, there is slight but crucial modification between

Gretchen's prayer to the Virgin:

Ach,neige
Du Schmerzenreiche,
Dein Antlitz gnädig meiner Not ! (3587ff.)

and her prayer to the Mater Gloriosa:

Neige, neige,
Du Ohnegleiche,
Du Strahlenreiche,
Dein Antlitz gnädig meinem Glück ! (12069ff.).¹

The repetition of "neige" on the second occasion suggests eagerness rather than anguish, the change from "Not" to "Glück"; and the combination "Du Ohnegleiche/Du Strahlenreiche" (12070f.) echoes not only Gretchen's earlier prayer, but also the Chor der Büsserinnen : "Du Ohnegleiche,/Du Gnadenreiche!" (12035f.), to whom Gretchen now belongs as Una Poenitentium.² Furthermore, as many critics have pointed out,³ we hear variations on themes from outside the work as well as from within it, reminders that many themes in Faust have also been treated elsewhere, and that this work develops in part from what others have said. Sternfeld, in particular, shows that many of the songs in Faust are "parodies" (i.e. variants) of songs from elsewhere.⁴ Not all these borrowings would be obvious;⁵ but in certain cases the allusion is quite plain. Mephisto's "Was machst du mir/Vor Liebchens Tür"(3682ff.), for example, has not only the obvious echoes of Shakespeare but also, as Requadt points out, something of Mozart's Don Giovanni.⁶ The Lemuren of Part II also have

1) See Willoughby, 'Goethe's Faust', etc., ed. cit. p. 109f.

2) Ibid., p. 110; also P. Friedländer, pp. 94ff.

3) This overlaps considerably with the many critical comments on Goethe's habit of 'quotation', and is not confined to songs or other musical episodes. F. Sternfeld, (Goethe and Music), who simply lists the sources for all Goethe's borrowed songs, and E.M. Wilkinson, ('Goethe's Faust: Tragedy in the Diachronic Mode', PEGS NS 42 (1973), pp. 116ff.), who considers external allusion of all sorts to be an outstanding characteristic of the work, exemplify the widely diverse ways in which this aspect of Faust has been approached.

4) Op. cit., esp. pp. 36ff., 83ff.

5) Some were recognised at the time; see e.g. Trunz, p. 634, Sternfeld, p. 84f.

6) See esp. Sternfeld, p. 36, Requadt, p. 281.

a Shakespearean antecedent for their songs;¹ and the Euphorion scene similarly echoes Goethe's sequel to Mozart's Zauberflöte.²

Such 'repetition' makes an important contribution to the structure of Faust; as we saw, repetition had 'epic' as well as 'lyric' function for Goethe.³ Each character has his own distinctive voice; but he does not utter in isolation. His utterance reaffirms or contrasts with what has been said before, and in turn prepares the way for what is said later, by himself or by someone else; so that wherever this device is used we tend to find a sequence of voices built up, "ein[] Ganz[es], dessen Theile sich nach und nach äußern", as Herder put it.⁴ As a structural principle, this extends far beyond instances where music is actually involved; our understanding of a given theme is not complete until each voice concerned, singing or speaking, has uttered its 'variation'. We may find such a sequence of recurring voices used to structure relatively brief episodes of the work. In the Vorspiel auf dem Theater, for example, the three characters voice different aspects of presenting a play; each voice recurs several times, and our picture is only complete when all three have had their complete say. In Act IV of Part II, the theme of might and right is collectively presented in the Drei Gewaltigen, (10323ff.), who differ in age, appearance and attitude (10331ff.), and whose various approaches to war and piracy (10511ff., 10783ff.) build up a picture of general lawlessness and violence of all sorts. Their united choruses in Act V (11167ff.) then have the effect of summarising all that they had previously represented - a gauge of the power which fails to satisfy Faust. But such a sequence may also serve as a much broader framework, for larger sections. For example, our understanding of the Klassische Walpurgisnacht

1) Sternfeld, p.38.

2) See esp. Abert, GuM, p.97, Junk, pp.61ff., esp. pp.64ff.

3) Goethe's comments on Ehlers, Tag- und Jahreshefte 1801, AA 11, p.678; see p.327 above.

4) Erstes Wäldchen, Suphan III, p.138.

depends very largely upon our following the quests of all three Luftfahrer (7039ff.), as they appear and reappear, and in regarding them as complementary. And indeed this structural principle may fairly be said to operate throughout Faust, in that many of its themes are taken up in turn by different voices from widely different contexts. Wagner, the Schüler, Baccalaureus and Homunculus all contribute in their various ways to the theme of the search for knowledge which Faust first raised in his study. The Schüler, Homunculus and Euphorion all contribute to Faust's theme of yearning to learn through first-hand involvement and experience.¹ Helena, the Mater Gloriosa, and Gretchen (especially as presented in Part II), give variations on the theme of inspiring love, both in its positive and its negative aspects - with the Greek Chorus and the Doctor Marianus as supplementary voices.² The Knabe Lenker, Euphorion and Faust himself as creator of Arkadien, contribute to the theme of the Poet, his inspiration and the reception of his myths, which was first raised by the Poet of Zueignung and elaborated in the Vorspiel auf dem Theater; again, with supplementary voices, this time those of the Greek Chorus and of the Herold.³

Critics have long since recognised the importance of recurring features in the structure of Faust. And it is striking that a very great number have used musical terminology in attempts to describe not only the kind of sequence denoted as "Reihe" or "Revue",⁴ but also the ways in which whole scenes and sections complement one another in this manner, often incorporating themes and voices from earlier episodes, and in turn preparing the way for later developments. Hofmannsthal, for example, calls Faust II "die gewaltigste und sinnvollste Musik...welche jemals von der Phantasie hervorgebracht wurde";

1) See 1879ff., 7830ff., 8246ff., 9815ff., esp. 9893f.

2) See esp. 8488ff., 8845ff., 9246ff., 11995ff., 10058ff., 12069ff.

3) See esp. 5520ff. (esp. 5573ff.), 9745ff., 9442ff.

4) See Lohmeyer and Requadt, pp. 20ff./30ff. and pp. 18ff./passim respectively.

and it is clear that he does so largely because of the structure of the work:

Sieht man hier das Schöne aus dem Schönen hervorsteigen..., wie nur in den höchsten Gebilden der Tonkunst das Neue aus dem Alten hervortritt, es ablöst und zugleich es fortsetzt, erhöht und verklärt, so ist der Sinn einem so musikhafte Schaffen der Poesie aufgeschlossen, wie er nirgends, auch nicht in den Gebilden der Griechen, dessen gewahr geworden ist;...er sieht im Knaben Lenker, im Euphorion zweimal das gleiche Wesen hervortreten; sieht dieser zweite aus der Blütenkrone der Handlung entspringende Figur in jener ersten...wesensgleich vorausgespiegelt..

1

Herrmann sets out to trace the "Stimmführung" and "gegensätzliche Tonfolgen" of Part II; i.e. the contrasts of style and Weltanschauung which are complementary.² And even Wilkinson and Willoughby, who do not usually use musical terminology in discussing this trait, speak of the "deliberate counterpointing of scene against scene".³ However, the favourite parallel has been the leitmotif. Hofmannsthal was much influenced by H.S. Chamberlain's book on Goethe, which stressed the similarities between Goethe's ideas and Wagner's Leitmotiv technique;⁴ and O. Walzel's 'Leitmotive in Dichtungen' also suggested this model for Faust.⁵ But in later Faust criticism the term has become almost a commonplace. Barker Fairley finds the analogy "indispensable" to describe the work's flexibility in linking recurring themes, and especially its capacity to refer both forwards and backwards to other points within the play.⁶ Trunz speaks of "Bildsymbole, die vielfach leitmotivisch sich wiederholen";⁷ and Fähnrich of the importance of "das Erinnerungs- oder Leitmotiv" in Faust II.⁸ And Requadt in particular makes major use of this term in his

1) Berührung der Sphären, p.289; Mayer, p.161. See also Hofmannsthal's letter to Richard Strauss, 20/1/1913, on Goethe's idea of structure in opera (Strauss-Hofmannsthal Briefwechsel, ed. F. & A. Strauss and W. Schuh, Zürich 1952, p.203); and Requadt's comments on Hofmannsthal's approach to Faust I, p.133

2) Herrmann, pp.89ff., 94ff., 102ff., 109ff., 333ff.

3) Goethe: Poet and Thinker, p.104.

4) See Chamberlain, Goethe, München 1912, pp.543ff., and Hofmannsthal's letter, cit. note 1 above.

5) In Das Wortkunstwerk, Leipzig 1926; see Requadt, p.23 and note 26.

6) Six Essays, pp.87ff., 93ff., 100ff., also pp.66ff.

7) Ed.cit., p.480.

8) 'Fausttragödie', pp.257ff.

approach to Faust I. Acknowledging many of the critics mentioned above, he pursues:

die...Auffassung, daß auch schon der erste Faust durch ein Netz von Symbolen, Motiven, Bildern und semantisch aufeinander abgestimmten Worten zusammengehalten wird. Barker Fairley verwendet in diesem Zusammenhang das Wort "Leitmotiv". Wir übernehmen es, indem wir den Begriff weiter fassen und darunter die Vielfalt jener ineinander übergehenden Strukturelemente verstehen.

1

Accordingly, the model of the leitmotif appears at many points in his interpretation, supported by a brief reference to the model of theme and variations.² And Requadt chooses this model from music deliberately in an attempt to suggest the role of sound-patterns, as well as of visual symbols, in this structure:

während Goethe visuell von "wiederholten Spiegelungen" spricht... fassen wir sie insgesamt als Leitmotive zusammen, weil sich in Vers- und Wortklang auch das Musikalische kundtut.

3

Such musical terminology has more than proved its worth as a means of describing the structure of Faust, and in particular of showing the functions of recurrent features within this structure. But the awkward fact must be faced that it is not especially helpful where we are considering Goethe's own application in Faust of structures analogous to music. Phraseology such as that used by Hofmannsthal, and even by Herrmann, can easily lead to the assumption that Goethe, like the Romantics, wished poetry to aspire to the condition of music;⁴ and this is clearly not the case. Goethe disliked Romantic music precisely because he felt that it distorted and overwhelmed the

1) Requadt, pp. 23ff., esp. p. 25.

2) Ibid., pp. 61, 118, 270, 293, 366.

3) Ibid., p. 26.

4) Hofmannsthal actually speaks of Bergschluchten as ending "mit einem Aufschweben, einem innigsten Hinstreben zu dem, was unter den Künsten der Musik zugeteiltes Gebiet" (Berührung der Sphären, p. 288; Mayer, p. 160).

structures which the poet had so carefully created.¹ This problem of misleading associations is even more acute with the model of leitmotif. As Petri remarks, "mit dem Terminus "Leitmotiv" ist in der Kunstgeschichte untrennbar der Name Richard Wagners verbunden, obwohl Wagner keineswegs der 'Erfinder' dieser Technik ist".² All too often discussion of Goethe's use of this structure in these terms has been entangled with the idea of Wagnerian operatic techniques, and with the myths and mystique surrounding them;³ and although Requadt's book seems to indicate that the trend has now passed, all too often the Wagnerian association has led to the assumption that Goethe and Wagner were aiming for the same effects, since they used similar structures.⁴

If we wish to appreciate Goethe's debt to musical structures in Faust, Herder's concepts are very much more helpful. This is only partly because there may very well have been direct derivation - we have no definite proof that Goethe drew from Herder an idea of poetic structure as analogous to musical structure, although he did read the first Kritisches Wäldchen even before he met Herder,⁵ with its suggestion that poetry makes its impact "durch die Schnelligkeit, durch das Gehen und Kommen ihrer Vorstellungen,... in der Abwechselung theils, theils in dem Ganzen, das sie durch die Zeitfolge erbauet", and is in this respect like music.⁶ Herder's concepts are

1) See esp. his attitude to the Romantic habit of "Durchkomponieren" (AA 11, p.678); and letter to W.v. Humboldt, 14/3/1803, in which he rejects this technique as spoiling the whole (AA 19, p.434). See also Wanderjahre II, 8, (AA 8, p.269f.); Hicks, p.83f.; Abert, GuM, p.73, and p.272f. above.

2) Petri, p.57.

3) Petri gives a brief discussion of the confusion which he sees in Wagner's own use of the term (p.57f.); but most of it came from other sources: see v. Stein, pp.41ff., 61ff., and HDM, ed. cit. p.466.

4) Even Chamberlain, an enthusiastic maker of parallels between Goethe & Wagner, keeps a distinction between opera and drama (e.g. p.546); Schwan (p.10f), Witkowski (p.143) and Emrich (p.74) also stress differences. But the comparison has persistent appeal; see e.g. E. Castle, 'Goethe und Schiller als Vorläufer Richard Wagners', esp. pp.27ff., 29ff.; and v. Stein, pp.116ff., who stress similarity of purpose. Krüger actually explains the recurrence of Ach, neige by ref. to Wagner (p.220). And as recently as 1963, Fähnrich declared that "Mit dieser thematischen Leitmotivtechnik...nimmt Goethe den musikdramatischen Aufbau von Richard Wagners 'Ring des Nibelungen' vorweg". (Fausttragödie, p.258f.).

5) Nicolai, HA 14, p.376.

6) Suphan III, pp.134ff.

chiefly valuable not as source so much as as a means of critical access to Faust. Firstly, they illuminate clearly and vividly the kind of continuity to be found in Faust. The studies of Herrmann, Willoughby, Barker Fairley and Requadt, in particular, have shown that "Folge der Gedanken, der Bilder, der Worte, der Töne" is indeed "das Wesen [seines] Ausdrucks"; and many more have suggested that "hierinn ist [er] der Musik ähnlich".¹ Faust seen from this viewpoint is not an arbitrary succession of scenes, any more than a melody is an arbitrary succession of notes, a cantata an arbitrary succession of voices, or a ballad an arbitrary meandering from one mode to another. They are held together by "das Band der Folge"; each unit begets the next, as contrast and complement. Any given voice and any given theme may recur; but it recurs in a new context, so that new sound and new sense arise from the old. Petsch considers that this kind of continuity can be found even in Urfaust; he speaks of the:

deutlichen Zusammenhang, der vor allem durch die Aufbauform (die Verdichtung und Gegeneinanderstellung der Massen, die Verschlingung der Fäden usw.), durch gewisse Leitmotive und musikalische Akzente...angedeutet ist.

2

And Requadt discusses other critical work which suggests that Urfaust has a continuity based on a sequence of complementary contrasts - the beginnings of the principle of diastole and systole.³ Of course, Goethe had not yet formulated this as the universal principle which it later became for him. But the pattern of continuity, the sequence, is there even in Urfaust; and bears out the aged Goethe's comment

daß d^{ie} Konzeption des Faust bei mir jugendlich von vorneherein klar, die ganze Reihenfolge hin weniger ausführlich vorlag.⁴

1) Suphan IV, p.166.

2) 'Die dramatische Kunstform des Faust', p.202.

3) Requadt, p.15f.

4) Letter to W.v. Humboldt, 17/3/1832, AA 21, p.1042.

Secondly, Herder's concepts bring out clearly the particular ways in which this kind of sequence produces a whole. It is "ein ~~W~~ Ganz [es], dessen Theile sich nach und nach äußern"; each sequence is complete when a particular range of ideas, images, etc., have been related to one another as complementary contrasts. But although the statement thus built up is complete, it is not envisaged as exclusive and final; other words, ideas, images could be added in the same way, to extend the treatment of the subject even further. This point emerges clearly from Herder's comments on Ancient Greek drama. "Der Gang der Töne", says Herder's imaginary Greek, "war hierinn unser lebendiges Vorbild":

wie diese sich verschlingen, damit sie sich froh entwickeln,...so verschlang, so lösete sich unser Drama...Aus Dissonanzen stieg die höhere Consonanz...prächtig hervor; und schloß mit einer Beruhigung, die nicht etwa dumpf sättigte, sondern einen Fortklang dieser Töne zu hören einlud.

1

It is most unlikely that Goethe read this;² and yet, again, it seems to me that Herder is describing precisely the kind of sequence and culmination which we find in Faust II. Critics such as Trunz, Barker Fairley and Requadt have been at pains to show that Faust II is open-ended, in the sense that it suggests infinite continuity of its themes, although the play itself necessarily comes to an end.³ There are "höhern Sphären", we are told (12094); although no further comment can be made upon them without going beyond human experience and ideas altogether: "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis" (12104f.) . Goethe's habit in Faust of commenting on complex themes through many complementary voices; and of expanding and developing, by use of repetitions and close variants, the Gleichnisse already used in this play, in other works, and in other mythologies, does indeed 'invite' the continuation

1) Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, p.347f.

2) See letter to Schiller, 18/3/1801, and Schiller's reply, 20/3/1801, AA 20, pp.846ff.

3) See Trunz, pp.624ff.; B.Fairley, op.cit. pp.120ff.; Requadt, pp.385ff., esp. pp.387ff.

of thought and comment on its themes.

And in yet another respect Herder's terminology is useful. His concept of 'melodic' structure, in music and elsewhere, leads us towards an idea of harmony which is very much closer to Goethe's than to the lushness and intricacy associated with Wagner. Like the Greek concept on which it is modelled, this idea of harmony is not chiefly concerned with richness of sound, but with structure - with the relations of individual parts one to another and thence to the whole, not only in sequence, but also concurrently, both in music and elsewhere. For Herder, as we saw, the continuous sequence, the "Faden" spun as each voice takes its place and gives way to another, is the basis of a harmonious whole, of "Eurhythmie":

Denn nun treten entweder mehrere Stimmen zu einander;...Ein von vielen Stimmen und Instrumenten gehaltener harmonischer Ton durchdringt die Seele. Oder die Stimmen theilen sich; sie antworten oder begleiten einander...oder sie verfolgen einander, kämpfen, umschlingen, verwirren sich, und lösen einander zur süßesten Beruhigung auf.

1

And in Goethe's work, we saw the continuity created by the more specific rhythm of diastole and systole; the interaction of polar opposites, the consequent Steigerung, and thence "Möglichkeit einer Schlußbildung, wo denn abermals das Viele vom Vielen sich sondert, aus dem Einen das Viele hervortritt."² For Goethe, too, this continuous sequence is the basis of harmony - polar opposites are:

eine Art von Opposition, die, indem sie das Extrem dem Extreme, das Mittlere dem Mittleren entgegensetzt, sogleich das Entgegengesetzte verbindet und in der Sukzession sowohl als in der Gleichzeitigkeit und Gleichörtlichkeit nach einem Ganzen strebt.

3

And we must now turn to some of the ways in which this interplay of polarity and Steigerung engendered not only a 'melodic' sequence, but also a harmonious whole.

1) Adrastea, Suphan XXIII, p.561; cf. p. 316 above.

2) Botanik (Fragmente), AA 17, p.213.

3) 'Physiologische Farben', AA 16, p.34. Cf. p. 331f. above.

2) Music as Harmony ii

The chapter on harmony at the beginning of this study concluded with the suggestion that Goethe did work, especially in Faust, with the traditional idea of musical harmony as the epitome of divinely-ordained cosmic order; but that he had broadened and developed the idea in various ways.¹ It was also suggested that, as the eighteenth century progressed, harmony in music and elsewhere tended to be associated with inclusive and continuing coordination of many diverse individual units, rather than merely with symmetry; and that this grew in part from emphasis not so much on mathematical proportion as on the idea that created phenomena were linked both 'horizontally', in sequence of time and space, and 'vertically', as a hierarchy emanating from God.² The present chapter is concerned with Goethe's own version of this broader, though still traditionally-based, idea of harmony. We can begin by saying that although the latter part of the eighteenth century is associated with greater appreciation of the individual, its conception of cosmic harmony is not unique in including the individual. The ancient idea of the Macrocosm included the Microcosm, and the musica mundana the musica humana³; and as Peuckert points out, the Pansophic tradition and Kepler's Harmonices Mundi made systematic connections between individual and cosmos.⁴ And within the

1) P. 50 above.

2) Pp. 37ff above.

3) Hüschen, 'Harmonie', MGG 5, cols. 1589, 1593ff., 1599ff.

4) Die Rosencreutzer, Jena 1928, pp. 272ff., 320f., cit. Trunz, p. 496 (q.v.); and Pansophie, Stuttgart 1936, p. 2f., cit. Zimmermann, p. 297.

broader eighteenth-century usage of the idea, Goethe was not alone in associating musical harmony with both 'horizontal' and 'vertical' connections between the individual and the rest of the cosmos, as we saw.¹ What distinguishes Goethe is the way in which he combines traditional notions with ideas of music from other sources and with his own concepts of polarity and Steigerung, into a comprehensive yet precise idea of harmony which is very much his own.²

If we look carefully at Goethe's idea of Harmonie, we find that it covers two different stages in the process of arriving at a coordinated whole, and at the sense of a whole.³ And these two stages are very closely connected with the two aspects of Steigerung distinguished by E.M. Wilkinson.⁴ The first stage results from the interaction of two opposites, of two "gesteigerte Seiten", with full force of complementary contrast. They produce a "Drittes, Neues, Höheres, Unerwartetes";⁵ and also a sense of satisfaction and happiness at this widened perspective in the individual involved. When Goethe speaks in the Farbenlehre of the union of polar opposites, he suggests that "das außerordentliche Behagen" felt by the eye when it views black and white paintings or drawings is due to "dem gleichzeitigen Gewährwerden eines Ganzen, das von dem Organ sonst nur in einer Folge...hervorgebracht wird".⁶ And he makes similar comments when discussing specific colours:

Wenn wir beim Gelben und Blauen eine strebende Steigerung ins Rote gesehen und dabei unsre Gefühle bemerkt haben, so läßt sich denken, daß nun in der Vereinigung der gesteigerten Pole eine eigentliche Beruhigung, die wir eine ideale Befriedigung nennen möchten, stattfinden könne. Und so entsteht bei physischen Phänomenen diese höchste aller Farberscheinungen aus dem Zusammentreten zweier entgegengesetzten Enden, die sich zu einer Vereinigung nach und nach selbst vorbereitet haben.

7

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- 1) See comments on Hermetic lore, Leibniz, Schiller, pp. 37ff. above. Nivelle notes that Moses Mendelssohn also thought that music united "die Eigenschaften des Nacheinander und Nebeneinander" (Nivelle, pp. 62f., 110ff., 173ff.).
 - 2) J. Göres ('Polarität und Harmonie bei Goethe') introduces the idea that harmony presupposes both 'vertical' co-existent polarities and 'horizontal', sequential ones (p. 93); and also that in harmony the particular reflects the whole (p. 109); but neither concept is developed.
 - 3) Cf. Requadt on "Einklang" and "Behagen", p. 35f.
 - 4) Goethe: Poet and Thinker, pp. 185ff., esp. pp. 195ff.
 - 5) Polarität, AA 16, p. 864.
 - 6) 'Physiologische Farben', Farbenlehre §§ 33f., AA 16, p. 34.
 - 7) Farbenlehre, § 794, AA 16, p. 212.

But the process does not stop there. Our "Bedürfnis nach Totalität" leads us to proceed, noting the value ~~and~~^{and} identity of each "Drittes, Höheres", yet moving in turn towards its polar opposite and further Steigerung; so that we finally arrive at a more comprehensive Harmonie. The union of polar opposites is one:

die...sogleich das Entgegengesetzte verbindet und in der Sukzession sowohl als in der Gleichzeitigkeit und Gleichörtlichkeit nach einem Ganzen strebt."

1

Nature gives us the rainbow ("bunt in Harmonie", as he calls it elsewhere)²; but if we pursue the idea of these "harmonische Gegensätze" we shall arrive at a conception of "Farbentotalität", of the whole range of possible colours as thus related.³

One might expect this two-tiered idea of Harmonie to be a product of Goethe's later years, when his idea of Steigerung was fully developed. But in fact it can be found throughout his life; And perhaps for this reason, his terminology is not consistent; musical and other metaphors are combined in various ways. In the early essay Nach Falconet und über Falconet he uses music to suggest both the larger and the smaller harmonious units:

überall sieht er die heiligen Schwingungen und leise Töne, womit die Natur alle Gegenstände verbindet...Wem hat nicht in Gegenwart seines Mädchens die ganze Welt golden geschienen? Wer fühlte nicht in ihren Armen Himmel und Erde in wonnevollsten Harmonien zusammenfließen?

Davon fühlt der Künstler nicht allein die Wirkungen, er dringt bis in die Ursachen hinein, die sie hervorbringen. Die Welt liegt vor ihm... wie vor ihrem Schöpfer, der...alle die Harmonien genießt, durch die er sie hervorbrachte und in denen sie besteht.

4

In the section 'Totalität und Harmonie' of the Farbenlehre, he seems to use "Totalität" for the larger harmony, and "Harmonie" for the smaller; as e.g. in §813:

1) 'Physiologische Farben', Farbenlehre §33, AA 16, p.34.

2) In the poem Äolsharfen, AA 1, p.481.

3) 'Totalität und Harmonie', Farbenlehre §§805ff., AA 16, pp.214ff.

4) Aus Goethes Briefftasche, 1776, AA 13, p.50; cit. Zimmermann, p.215.

So einfach also diese eigentlich harmonischen Gegensätze sind, welche uns in dem engen Kreise gegeben werden, so wichtig ist der Wink, daß uns die Natur durch Totalität zur Freiheit heraufzuheben angelegt ist.

1

In Wilhelm Tischbeins Idyllen XIV, he combines the idea of musical harmony with another favourite image, warp and weft, to signify the artist's grasp of the harmonies within harmony which make up an ordered world. Here music is associated with the sequence of contrasts and with the smaller harmony; whilst the greater is conveyed by the image of the web of life:

Zwei leicht
bekleidete Feenmädchen scheinen sich im Fluge zu begegnen...augenblickliche Verschlungenheit zweier, gleich lieblicher Wesen erinnerte uns an unschätzbare Zeiten, wo die frohe Hora weichend uns der fröhlichen übergibt, und das Leben, einem Tanzreihen gleich, sich auf das anmutigste wiederholend dahinschwebt.

Alles, was uns bewegsam beglückte, Musik, Tanz, und was sonst noch aus mannigfaltigen, lebendig-beweglichen Elementen sich entwickelt, im Kontraste sich trennt, harmonisch wieder zusammenfließt, mag uns wohl beim Anblick dieses Bildes in Erinnerung treten. Dies sind gerade die schönsten Symbole, die eine vielfache Deutung zulassen...Diesmal entließen wir sie mit dem einfachen Ausruf:

Wirket Stunden leichten Webens,
Lieblich lieblichen beegnend,
Zettel, Einschlag längsten Lebens,
Scheidend, kommend, grüßend, segnend.

2

And in his description of a harmonious environment in terms of a town built by Orpheus, he uses "Harmonie" for the coordinated whole, and ideas of melody and rhythm for the relations of units within:

Die von kräftig gebietenden,
freundlich lockenden Tönen schnell ergriffenen...Felssteine mußten... sich kunst- und handwerksgemäß gestalten, um sich sodann in rhythmischen Schichten und Wänden gebührend hinzuordnen. Und so mag sich Straße zu Straßen anfügen!...

Die Töne verhallen, aber die Harmonie bleibt. Die Bürger einer solchen Stadt wandeln und weben zwischen ewigen Melodien;...und die Bürger am gemeinsten Tage fühlen sich in einem ideellen Zustand...3

1) 'Sinnlich-sittliche Wirkung', AA 16,p.215.

2) AA 13,p.903f.

3) MuR (Nachlaß), AA 9,p.642.

The individual may experience such harmony within and without himself without being fully conscious of its nature and causes. In the essay on Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert, Goethe uses the image of "harmonisches Behagen" to denote a state of unselfconscious coordination, both within and without:

Der Mensch vermag gar manches durch zweckmäßigen Gebrauch einzelner Kräfte...; aber das Einzige, ganz Unerwartete leistet er nur, wenn sich die sämtlichen Eigenschaften gleichmäßig in ihm vereinigen...

Wenn die gesunde Natur des Menschen als ein Ganzes wirkt, wenn er sich in der Welt als in einem großen, schönen, würdigen und werten Ganzen fühlt, wenn das harmonische Behagen ihn ein reines freies Entzücken gewährt, dann würde das Weltall, wenn es sich selbst empfinden könnte, als an sein Ziel gelangt aufjauchzen und den Gipfel des eigenen Werdens und Wesens bewundern. Denn wozu dient alle der Aufwand von Sonnen und Planeten und Monden, von Sternen und Milchstraßen, von Kometen und Nebelflecken, von gewordenen und werdenden Welten, wenn sich nicht zuletzt ein glücklicher Mensch unbewußt seines Daseins erfreut ?

1

The happiness of the lover in the Falconet essay is of this unselfconscious kind; and so is Lotte's coordination of movement when she dances:

Tanzen muß man sie sehen ! Siehst Du, sie ist so mit ganzem Herzen und mit ganzer Seele dabei, ihr ganzer Körper Eine Harmonie...

2

And the Tischlied of 1802 celebrates a similar state of semi-conscious relish for a sense of being at peace with oneself, with one's fellows and with the world at large:

Mich ergreift, ich weiß nicht wie,
Himmlisches Behagen.
Will michs etwa gar hinauf
Zu den Sternen tragen ?
Doch ich bleibe lieber hier,
Kann ich redlich sagen,
Beim Gesang und Glase Wein
Auf den Tisch zu schlagen...

Wie wir nun zusammen sind,
Sind zusammen viele.
Wohl gelingen denn, wie uns,
Andern ihre Spiele !

1) Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert, AA 13, p.416f.; cf. Requadt, p.35f.

2) Letter of 16. Juni, AA 4, p.401.

Von der Quelle bis ans Meer
 Mahlet manche Mühle,
 Und das Wohl der ganzen Welt
 Ists, worauf ich ziele.

1

A more informed kind of harmony may be experienced by anyone who makes a sudden discovery, when his own instinctive sense of what must be true finds a counterpart in the outside world; and this produces not only happiness, but a sense of being above human life, a god-like perspective:

Es ist eine
 aus dem Innern am Äußern sich entwickelnde Offenbarung, die den Menschen seine Gottähnlichkeit vorahnen läßt. Es ist eine Synthese von Welt und Geist, welche von der ewigen Harmonie des Daseins die seligste Versicherung gibt.

2

But the fullest discussion of such harmonious 'syntheses' of individual and world can be found where Goethe considers the special gifts of the artist. Everyone, we are told in the Falconet essay, can experience and perceive harmony occasionally:

Das Auge des Künstlers aber findet sie überall...überall
 sieht er die heiligen Schwingungen und leise Töne, womit die Natur alle
 Gegenstände verbindet.

But the artist possesses clear insight, as well as lively feeling for these harmonies: "Davon fühlt nun der Künstler nicht allein die Wirkungen, er dringt bis in die Ursachen hinein, die sie hervorbringen". He therefore also achieves the god-like perspective:

Die Welt liegt vor ihm...wie vor ihrem Schöpfer,
 der in dem Augenblick, da er sich des Geschaffnen freut, auch alle die
 Harmonien genießt, durch die er sie hervorbrachte und in denen sie
 besteht. 3

1) 22/2/1802, AA 1, pp.86ff.

2) MuR 562 (Wanderjahre), AA 9, p.572.

3) Aus Goethes Briefftasche, loc.cit.

Wilhelm contrasts the confusion and unhappiness of most human beings with the poet's "Genuß der Welt,...Mitgefühl seiner selbst in andern,...harmonischen Zusammensein mit vielen oft unvereinbaren Dingen"; and shows that the poet achieves this because he knows how to coordinate into a sequence the opposites which he feels within himself and sees at odds in the rest of humanity:

Gleichsam wie einen Gott hat das Schicksal den Dichter über dieses alles [human misery] hinüber gesetzt. Er sieht das Gewirre der Leidenschaften...Er fühlt das Traurige und das Freudige jedes Menschenschicksals mit. Wenn der Weltmensch in einer abzehrenden Melancholie... oder in ausgelassener Freude seinem Schicksale entgegenggeht, so schreitet die empfängliche, leichtbewegliche Seele des Dichters wie die wandelnde Sonne von Nacht zu Tag fort, und mit leisen Übergängen stimmt er seine Harfe zu Freude und Leid. Eingeboren auf dem Grund seines Herzens wächst die schöne Blume der Weisheit hervor, und wenn die andern wachend träumen, ...so lebt er den Traum des Lebens als ein Wachender, und das Seltenste, was geschieht, ist ihm zugleich Vergangenheit und Zukunft.¹

And in the Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele we find this sense of "Gott-ähnlichkeit" associated with the ability to combine form and feeling both in art and also in social relations:

Er ließ durch das Chor uns vier- und achtstimmige ⁹Gesänge vortragen, die uns, ich darf wohl sagen, wirklich einen Vorschmack der Seligkeit gaben. Ich hatte bisher nur den frommen Gesang gekannt, in welchem gute Seelen oft mit heiserer Kehle, wie die Waldvögelein, Gott zu loben glauben, weil sie sich selbst eine angenehme Empfindung machen; dann die eitle Musik der Konzerte, in denen man allenfalls zur Bewunderung eines Talents, selten aber...hingerissen wird. Nun vernahm ich eine Musik aus dem tiefsten Sinne der trefflichsten menschlichen Naturen entsprungen, die durch bestimmte und geübte Organe in harmonischer Einheit wieder zum tiefsten besten Sinne des Menschen sprach, und ihn wirklich in diesem Augenblick seine Gottähnlichkeit lebhaft empfinden ließ. Alles waren lateinische geistliche Gesänge, die sich, wie Juwelen, in dem goldnen Ringe einer gesitteten weltlichen Gesellschaft ausnahmen, und mich, ohne Anforderung einer sogenannten Erbauung, auf das geistigste erhoben und glücklich machten.²

- a parallel echoed later in Goethe's comment on life at Court: "Das Hofleben gleicht einer Musik, wo jeder seine Takte und Pausen halten muß".³

1) Lehrjahre II, 12, AA 7, p. 88f.

2) Ibid., p. 442.

3) Erster Teil, 16/8/1824, AA 24, p. 122.

Accordingly, music is often associated with the 'Bildung' of the artist, with the processes by which he trains himself professionally and personally, developing his various skills in proper relation to each other and also in relation to those of outsiders. In the Regeln für Schauspieler, the actor is urged to achieve harmony by mastering every part of his gesture and facial expression:

Jeder Teil des Körpers stehe...ganz in seiner Gewalt, so daß er jedes Glied gemäß dem zu erzielenden Ausdruck frei, harmonisch und mit Grazie gebrauchen könne.

1

And where Goethe makes use of this idea in fiction, it carries connotations of personal maturity as well. Laertes prefers to play in opera rather than in straight drama, because the music helps him to coordinate his acting and also to fit it in with other performers:

wenn die Musik die Bewegungen des Körpers leitet, ihnen Leben gibt, und ihnen zugleich das Maß vorschreibt; wenn Deklamation und Ausdruck schon von dem Kompositeur auf mich übertragen werden: so bin ich ein ganz anderer Mensch als wenn ich im prosaischen Drama das alles erst erschaffen, und Takt und Deklamation mir erst erfinden soll, worin mich noch dazu jeder Mitspielende stören kann.

2

And when Wilhelm has persuaded the actors to sink their rivalries temporarily in an impromptu performance, they are charmed by their own skill in complementing each other and in enhancing themselves; and the ensemble work of musicians is developed at some length as model for further growth:

Als sie fertig waren, empfanden sie alle ein ausnehmendes Vergnügen,...teils weil jeder besonders mit sich zufrieden sein konnte...

Ihr solltet sehen, rief unser Freund, wie weit wir kommen müßten, wenn wir unsre Übungen auf diese Art fortsetzten...Wie viel mehr Lob verdienen die Tonkünstler, wie sehr ergötzen sie sich, wie genau sind sie, wenn sie gemeinschaftlich ihre Übungen vornehmen! Wie sind sie bemüht, ihre Instrumente übereinzustimmen, wie genau halten sie Takt, wie zart wissen sie die Stärke und Schwäche des Tons auszudrücken !

1) Regeln §36, AA 14, p.81.

2) Lehrjahre II, 11, AA 7, p.140.

Keinem fällt es ein, sich bei dem Solo eines andern durch ein vorlautes Akkompagnieren Ehre zu machen. Jeder sucht in dem Geist und Sinne des Komponisten zu spielen, und jeder das, was ihm aufgetragen ist,...gut auszudrücken. Sollten wir nicht eben so genau und eben so geistreich zu Werke gehen, da wir eine Kunst treiben, die noch viel zarter, als jede Art von Musik ist, da wir die gewöhnlichsten und seltensten Äußerungen der Menschheit...darzustellen berufen sind ?

1

However, although this link between the idea of harmony and the idea of Bildung is important, it does not mean that harmony is entirely identifiable with the ideals of Humanität, and thence with the stylistic values of Classicism.² The crucial point about Goethe's idea of harmony is that it denotes a particular kind of relationship: - which links³ contrasting characteristics within the individual, one individual with another, the individual with his group, and finally both individual and group with the world at large, ultimately the world with the divine. Without a proper differentiation of single characteristics into polar opposites, there is no harmonious fusion; and thence no sense of a progression from harmonious unit to harmonious cosmos. The individual does not reflect within himself the harmony of the world at large; and therefore loses his place in the whole:

Die Übereinstimmung des
Ganzen macht ein jedes Geschöpf zu dem was es ist,...Und so ist wieder
iede Creatur nur ein Ton eine Schattirung einer grosen Harmonie, die
man auch im ganzen und grosen studiren muß sonst ist jedes Einzelne
ein todter Buchstabe.

3

The result is not "harmonisches Behagen", but a bitter sense of frustration and disappointment, as Wilhelm describes:

Sieh die Menschen an, wie sie nach
Glück und Vergnügen rennen ! Ihre Wünsche, ihre Mühe, ihr Geld jagen
rastlos, und wonach ?...nach dem Genuß der Welt,nach dem Mitgefühl

- 1) Lehrjahre IV,2, AA 7,p.229f.
- 2) For example, this is implied throughout Vieter's discussion of Harmonie (although he does not consider musical connections of the term): Goethe, e.g.pp.421,433,468. And a particularly close identification of 'Harmonie' with Classical style can be found in W. Flemming's discussion of music's part in Goethe's training of actors in Weimar(Goethe und das Theater seiner Zeit,pp.136ff.,153ff.,172ff.,190ff.). But the Tischlied alone is enough to cast doubt on this assumption; and given Goethe's depiction of Tasso, it cannot be claimed that personal harmony is a prerequisite for the poet's fulfilling his function.
- 3) Letter to Knebel, 17/11/1784,AA 18,p.813; cit. Requadt,p.173.

seiner selbst in andern, nach einem harmonischen Zusammensein mit vielen oft unvereinbaren Dingen.

Was beunruhiget die Menschen, als daß sie ihre Begriffe nicht mit den Sachen verbinden können, daß der Genuß sich ihnen unter den Händen wegstiehlt, daß das Gewünschte zu spät kommt, und daß alles Erreichte und Erlangte auf ihr Herz nicht die Wirkung tut, welche die Begierde uns in der Ferne ahnen läßt. ¹

Furthermore, where coordinated diversity within the parts is not maintained, the stable and continuing cohesion suggested by Goethe's idea of harmony can no longer be maintained. It is replaced by unanimity; which is either the result of sheep-like conformity or, where it does represent true consensus, cannot endure for long, and thus threatens the continuity of group relations. Like the healthy diversity within the whole which is associated with musical harmony, the state of unhealthy unanimity also has its musical counterpart. On occasions, Goethe used the obvious parallel of unison singing. He complained, for instance, that the Germans had no real national cohesion, because of their tendency to conformity:

Wenn die Deutschen anfangen, einen Gedanken oder ein Wollen, oder wie man's nennen mag, zu wiederholen, so können sie nicht fertig werden, sie singen immer unisono wie die protestantische Kirche ihre Choräle. ²

And he also used the term to characterise the monochrome effect of a room or landscape seen in the same colour: "Man identifiziert sich alsdann mit der Farbe; sie stimmt Auge und Geist mit sich unisono." ³ But in a remarkable episode of the Wanderjahre, the coordinated diversity of harmony is, oddly enough, set against the fugue ⁴ - presumably because Goethe thought that since all parts sing the same tune, there is no polar differentiation and therefore no harmonious coordination. The balanced relations of the Wander-

1) Lehrjahre II, 12, AA 7, p. 88.

2) Conv. with Riemer, 12/12/1817, AA 23, p. 20. See Dietze, note 18, and Frankenberg, p. 34, for discussion of this idea as applied to dilettantes; also pp. 124, above.

3) Farbenlehre, AA 16, p. 207.

4) D. Wahl points out that Zelter wrote an Abhandlung über die Fuge while he was in Weimar in 1814, which Goethe read; but she suggests that Zelter was more influenced by Goethe's idea of polarity than Goethe was by Zelter's idea of counterpoint (pp. 106ff.).

gesellschaft, continually expressed and maintained through coordinated part-song in solos, duets and choruses, are threatened when the group begins to express its unanimous displeasure at having to disperse; and Lenardo has to intervene to restore harmony both in the singing and in the company:

Kaum hatte dieser Zwiegesang, von einem gefällig mäßigen Chor begleitet, sich zum Ende geneigt, als gegenüber sich zwei andere Sänger ungestüm erhoben, welche mit ernster Heftigkeit das Lied mehr umkehrten als fortsetzten, zur Verwunderung des Ankömmlings aber sich also vernehmen ließ:

Denn die Bande sind zerrissen,
Das Vertrauen ist verletzt...

Der Chor, in diese Strophe einfallend, ward immer zahlreicher, immer mächtiger...Beinahe furchtbar schwoll zuletzt die Trauer; ein unmutiger Mut brachte, bei Gewandtheit der Sänger, etwas Fugenhaftes in das Ganze, daß es unserm Freunde wieschauderhaft auffiel. Wirklich schienen alle völlig gleichen Sinnes zu sein und ihr eigenes Schicksal eben kurz vor dem Aufbruche zu betrauern. Die wundersamsten Wiederholungen, das öftere Wiederaufleben eines beinahe ermattenden Gesanges schien zuletzt dem Bande selbst gefährlich; Lenardo stand auf und alle setzten sich sogleich nieder, den Hymnus unterbrechend. Jener begann:...Zwar kann ich euch nicht tadeln, daß ihr euch das Schicksal das uns allen bevorsteht immer vergegenwärtigt...Dabei ist aber wohlgetan, mit Maß und Heiterkeit dessen zu erwähnen...Ihr wißt am besten was unter uns fest steht und was beweglich ist, gebt uns dies auch in erfreulichen und aufmunternden Tönen zu genießen...Die vier Sänger standen sogleich auf und begannen in abgeleiteten, sich anschließenden Tönen:

Bleibe nicht am Boden heften
Frisch gewagt und frisch hinaus...

Bei dem wiederholenden Chorgesange stand Lenardo auf und mit ihm alle; sein Wink setzte die ganze Tischgesellschaft in singende Bewegung; die unteren zogen...paarweise zum Saal hinaus, und der angestimmte Wander-gesang ward immer heiterer und freier; besonders aber nahm er sich sehr gut aus als die Gesellschaft in den...Schloßgarten...von hier aus das geräumige Tal übersah, in dessen Fülle und Anmut man sich wohl gern verloren hätte.₁

In Egmont, too, we find harmony used to epitomise the coordinated diversity of relations in a community, achieved against the threat of uniformity and thence of breakdown in the continuity of communal life. The citizens drinking

1) Wanderjahre III,1,AA 8,pp.341ff.

after the shooting-match have several conflicting values: national and religious zeal v. tolerance, self-defence v. law-abiding obedience, etc. But they know how to live both alongside one another and under their rulers; and this knowledge is strikingly demonstrated when they combine their views first in complementary contrasts:

JETTER: Sicherheit und Ruhe!

SOEST: Ordnung und Freiheit!

and then into a larger harmony:

Sie stoßen an und wiederholen fröhlich die Worte, doch so, daß jeder ein anderes ausruft und es eine Art Kanon wird...

ALLE: Sicherheit und Ruhe!

Ordnung und Freiheit! 1

When we reach the end of the play, we find that this harmony has been no mere stage device. For the combined self-discipline and self-confidence which it embodies are the solid foundation for Egmont's confidence in the eventual victory of freedom. Without them, the Siegessymphonie and Egmont's apostrophe of the "braves Volk" ² would ring very hollow indeed. Furthermore, Egmont is able to recover a balanced view of the nation's life by recovering a balanced view of his own. Once he knows that his own values will be maintained in the nation by Ferdinand, despite the mindless uniformity imposed on soldiers and citizens by the Spanish rule, ³ he no longer feels it imperative that he should live himself; he can retire to sleep, and thence to death, with his "Kreis innerer Harmonien" restored. ⁴ Again, then, we have the smaller harmonies presented as the vital substance of the greater. The Siegessymphonie may come as a surprise; ⁵ but formally speaking it is itself a harmony combined from two opposites. The gentle music which accompanies Egmont's sleep, and the

1) Egmont, (end of Act I), AA 6, p.16. See esp. E.M. Wilkinson, 'The Relation of Form and Meaning in Egmont', ed.cit., pp.55ff., esp. pp.66ff.

2) AA 6, pp.100, and 79ff. for Klärchen's similar apostrophe. See also Wilkinson, op.cit., pp.71ff.

3) See esp. Egmont's final words "Auf die Wache zeigend", AA 6, p.101.

4) AA 6, pp.97, 100.

5) Schiller, Über Egmont, NA 22, p.208. See Wilkinson, p.71.

drums which denote the Spanish dominance and his death,¹ are combined into a type of music which symbolises the triumphant resolution of conflict. And the Siegessymphonie is not only significant because music might be thought of as "the art most fitted by its nature to express the timeless and the universal";² this is only one aspect of its value for Goethe. The Symphonie is important because, for Goethe, musical harmony epitomises the whole network of relations by which the individual achieves harmony within himself, with others, and with the world. And this, in a political context, is what the play has been about.

But the fullest and most extensive development of the idea of harmony as epitome of sound relations between the individual and his society, and thence with the world at large, can be found in the pedagogic sections of the Wanderjahre.³ Here music is not only the analogy for social relations; it is the means whereby they are taught. Instrumental music is one aspect of this teaching:

Diese wird bei uns...in einen besondern Bezirk, in das anmutigste Bergtal, eingeschlossen geübt; und da ist denn wieder dafür gesorgt, daß die verschiedenen Instrumente in auseinanderliegenden Ortschaften gelehrt werden. Besonders die Mißtöne der Anfänger sind in gewisse Einsiedeleien verwiesen, wo sie niemand zur Verzweiflung bringen: denn ihr werdet selbst gestehen, daß in der wohleingerichteten bürgerlichen Gesellschaft kaum ein trauriger Leiden zu dulden sei, als das uns die Nachbarschaft eines angehenden Flöten- oder Violinspielers aufdringt.

Unsere Anfänger gehen, aus eigener löblicher Gesinnung niemand lästig sein zu wollen, freilich länger oder kürzer in die Wüste, und beeifern sich, abgesondert, um das Verdienst, der bewohnten Welt näher treten zu dürfen, weshalb jedem von Zeit zu Zeit ein Versuch heranzutreten erlaubt wird...⁴

1) AA 6, pp. 99ff.

2) Wilkinson, p. 72.

3) Fähnrich studies the functions of music in the Wanderjahre in some detail (WM, pp. 148ff.), but he leaves us with an oddly fragmented impression, and often indeed with a wrong one. This is partly because he seems to assume that the link between music and the individual was not made until the Romantic era (e.g. pp. 142, 147); and so takes Goethe's acknowledgment of music's influence on the individual to be unwilling resignation, the natural outcome of Goethe's aversion to the Romantic style (ibid.). The "erzieherische Wirkung" of music (p. 151f.) is thus presented as a corrective to the "individuelle Wirkung" (pp. 148ff.), rather than as a closely related complementary aspect.

4) Wanderjahre II, 1, AA 8, p. 166f.

The players learn first singly, then in small groups, and finally graduate to a place in the full orchestra:

Da eine jede Region ihr eigenes Fest feiert, so führte man den Gast zum Bezirk der Instrumentalmusik. Dieser, an die Ebene grenzend, zeigte schon freundlich und zierlich abwechselnde Täler...Zerstreute, umbuschte Wohnungen erblickte man auf den Hügeln, in sanften Gründen drängten sich die Häuser näher aneinander. Jene anmutig-vereinzelten Hütten lagen so weit auseinander, daß weder Töne noch Mißtöne sich wechselseitig erreichen konnten.

Sie näherten sich sodann einem weiten, rings umbauten und umschatteten Raume, wo Mann an Mann gedrängt mit großer Aufmerksamkeit und Erwartung gespannt schienen. Eben als der Gast herantrat, ward eine mächtige Symphonie aller Instrumente aufgeführt, deren vollständige Kraft und Zartheit er bewundern mußte. Dem geräumig erbauten Orchester gegenüber stand ein kleineres, welches zu besonderer Betrachtung Anlaß gab; auf demselben befanden sich jüngere und ältere Schüler, jeder hielt sein Instrument bereit ohne zu spielen; es waren diejenigen die noch nicht vermochten, oder nicht wagten mit ins Ganze zu greifen. Mit Anteil bemerkte man wie sie gleichsam auf dem Sprunge standen, und hörte rühmen: ein solches Fest gehe selten vorüber, ohne daß ein oder das andere Talent sich plötzlich entwickele.

1

This analogy seems to me less successful than most. Even in Goethe's time, the most ardent devotee of Bildung who had any experience of orchestral music must have felt that such arrangements would produce an awful noise, rather than a group of well-adjusted personalities; and in any case the insensitivity to sound-effects here assorts oddly with the humourless irritability which insulates beginners so thoroughly. Clearly Goethe is more in command when he describes the vocal music which is the nub of the pedagogic programme. Felix is to learn melodic solo song for use when he is alone:

da...melodischer
Gesang bei unsern Anstalten durch alles durchgreift, so solltet ihr ihn, in der Langeweile des Hüterlebens, gar manches Lied zierlich und gefühlvoll vortragen hören.

2

But because song involves not only pleasurable sound, but also coherent words, it is the vehicle for very much more than solitary individual feeling. It is a

1) Wanderjahre II, 8, AA 8, p. 268f.

2) Ibid.

medium which itself unites polar opposites - sensuous sound and meaningful language; and it therefore becomes "die erste Stufe der Bildung" - the prime means to instil, by experience as well as by precept, the principle on which depend a harmonious personality, harmonious relations with others, and a harmonious view of the world. Song is, we are told:

die erste Stufe der

Bildung, alles andere schließt sich daran und wird dadurch vermittelt. Der einfachste Genuß, so wie die einfachste Lehre werden bei uns durch Gesang belebt und eingeprägt.

1

It lends a lively concreteness to the abstractions of numbers and letters, as well as to the more difficult abstractions dealing with relations to other human beings and to the Divine: "selbst was wir überliefern von Glaubens- und Sittenbekenntnis, wird auf dem Wege des Gesanges mitgeteilt."² But it also adds an element of reflective self-awareness even to games, such as the one which Wilhelm and Felix witness when they first enter the Provinz:

Ein allgemeiner Chorgesang erscholl, wozu jedes Glied eines weiten Kreises freudig, klar und tüchtig an seinem Teile zustimmte, den Winken des Regelnden gehorchend. Dieser überraschte jedoch öfters die Singenden, indem er durch ein Zeichen den Chorgesang aufhob und irgend einen einzelnen Teilnehmenden...aufforderte sogleich allein ein schickliches Lied dem verhallenden Ton, dem vorschwebenden Sinne anzupassen. Schon zeigten die meisten viel Gewandtheit, einige, denen das Kunststück mißlang, gaben ihr Pfand willig hin...

3

Here even the freest and most personal form of musical expression - solo improvisation - is coordinated with performance in a group. The maintenance of the group harmony, and of the social activity which it constitutes, depends on the individual's capacity to hold his own melody in the style, and on the theme, set by the group.⁴

1) Wanderjahre II,1,AA 8,p.166.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid.,p.167.

4) In a later episode we learn that similar abilities to differentiate and coordinate opposites are taught through lyric poetry: "Hier komme alles darauf an daß beide Künste [music and poetry], jede für sich und aus sich selbst, dann aber gegen- und miteinander entwickelt werden." (II,8,p.269).

In Faust, we again find that musical harmony is associated both with smaller and with greater harmonies in Goethe's attempt to depict the universe; and especially in his attempts to depict Faust's life in it. We have seen the Archangels and the Lord suggest a harmonious cosmos through which man moves in rhythmic progression as he 'errs'; and Mephisto suggest a monotony, a pointless agitation, an "altes Liedchen", as an alternative view of the cosmos and of man's progression within it. Faust's state is often depicted in terms of moving between the two; briefly achieving a sense of harmony, a "Synthese von Welt und Geist", ¹ then lapsing into a disharmonious sense of confusion and of pointless repetition, and a feeling of being cut off from the living whole of the universe.

Faust's first attempt to achieve harmony, via the magical Zeichen des Makrokosmos, does indeed give him a sense of "Genuß der Welt":

Ich fühle junges, heil'ges Lebensglück
Neuglühend mir durch Nerv' und Adern rinnen (432f.);

and of god-like perspective:

Bin ich ein Gott ? Mir wird so licht !
Ich schau' in diesen reinen Zügen
Die wirkende Natur vor meiner Seele liegen. (439ff.).

As Requadt puts it, here "füllt sich das 'arme Herz' mit Freude, denn die Kommunikation mit dem Göttlichen in der Natur ist hergestellt". ² And in Faust's summary of the Pansophic diagram, we find the image of harmony alongside the image of interwoven threads, to denote the multiple relations which make up this unified whole:

Wie alles sich zum Ganzen webt,
Eins in dem andern wirkt und lebt;
Wie Himmelskräfte auf und nieder steigen...
Vom Himmel durch die Erde dringen,
Harmonisch all das All durchklingen ! (447ff.).

1) MuR 562, AA 9, p. 572; cf. p. 370 above.

2) Requadt, p. 68.

But Faust's grasp of this harmony is brief and uncertain. The vision is a "Schauspiel" because it has no echo in his experience; he feels left out of this harmony, he cannot envisage a connection between himself and the world. He returns to the unharmonious state in which we first meet him - at odds with his social and intellectual environment(11.354ff.), cut off from his natural environment(386ff.), yet longing to understand the world as a whole (382f.). His opening monologue reads very much like the disharmonious state described by Wilhelm:

Was beunruhiget die Menschen, als daß sie ihre Begriffe
nicht mit den Sachen verbinden können, daß der Genuß sich ihnen unter
den Händen wegstiehlt, daß das Gewünschte zu spät kommt...etc.

1

He does not yet see his "zwei Seelen" as complementary (polar) opposites; as Requadt comments, for the moment they are merely frustrating contradiction: "Die eine will sich von der andern trennen".²

At several other points, music - as medium or as source of imagery - is associated with Faust's unsuccessful attempts to achieve harmony within himself, and between himself and the world. The Geister auf dem Gange create in their song a perfect illusion of cosmic harmony, in which heaven and earth, mind and sense, are united in a kind of ideal landscape(1447ff.). But again, although Faust longs for such harmony, he cannot connect it with his experience; and the vision remains a disappointing illusion, as Mephisto intends (1511). This frustration emerges in Faust's bitter monologue of Studierzimmer II; his "Genuß der Welt" has disappeared, and his sense of harmony is replaced by futile monotony:

1) Lehrjahre II, 12, AA 7, p.88.

2) Requadt, p.70.

Was kann die Welt mir wohl gewähren ?
 Entbehren sollst du ! sollst entbehren !
 Das ist der ewige Gesang,
 Der jedem an die Ohren klingt,
 Den, unser ganzes Leben lang,
 Uns heiser jede Stunde singt. (1548ff.).

Similarly, Faust returns from his communication with Nature in his Easter walk with "heiligen Tönen"(1202) about his soul - but is swiftly interrupted by the growling of the poodle. In Part II, however, where Faust himself creates an illusory spectacle of harmony in the appearance of Paris and Helena, there is a somewhat different outcome. Paris and Helena epitomise the unselfconscious natural coordination which, in his Winckelmann essay, Goethe had especially associated with the Greeks;¹ Their movements are perfectly coordinated within the perfect proportion of the architecture which surrounds them; so that the figures form a 'melody' within the 'harmony' of the whole spectacle, as in the town built by Orpheus:

Und nun erkennt ein Geister-Meisterstück!
 So wie sie wandeln, machen sie Musik.
 Aus luft'gen Tönen quillt ein Weißnichtwie,
 Indem sie ziehn, wird alles Melodie.
 Der Säulenschaft, auch die Triglyphe klingt,
 Ich glaube gar, der ganze Tempel singt. (6443ff.).

Faust is so moved by this vision that he tries to seize it directly, and again produces catastrophe. But this time there is a corresponding 'note' "tief im Sinn"(6487). He embarks on a quest to make this vision reality, part of his experience; and the peak of his success is also marked by music. Helena, Faust, and Euphorion - the "Drittes, Neues...Unerwartetes" which springs from the union of all that both figures represent - are briefly united in a "Verein"(9695ff.), cast as sung trio and chorus, expressing the

1) Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert, AA 13, p.416f.

'balance of opposites' which holds them together:

EUPH. Hört ihr Kindeslieder singen,
Gleich ist's euer eigener Scherz;
Seht ihr mich im Takte springen,
Hüpft euch elterlich das Herz. (9695ff.).

And in Act V we again find Faust discontent^{ent} and disharmonious, this time between two figures who epitomise the opposites of harmony and monotony. Lynkeus' song(11288ff.) is not merely aria, which would emphasise feeling to the exclusion of seeing;¹ but neither is it the utterance of someone who is "ganz Auge", as Trunz says.² His role, both here and on previous occasions,³ is to be the look-out and to give an account of what he sees. But he is anything but an impartial observer. In the masque of Innerer Burghof he fell under the spell of Helena; and in Tiefe Nacht he evinces both joy and sorrow in response to what he sees. He thus has, as Requadt remarks, both lyrical apostrophe and "ein reflexives Element" in his song.⁴ Like Wilhelm's poet, he is "über dieses alles...hinüber gesetzt", but "fühlt das Traurige und das Freudige jedes Menschenschicksals mit". The resulting perspective - embodied, like Euphorion's, in "ein eigenster Gesang" - is a clear view of complementary opposites in the world (Ferne/Näh', Mond und Sterne/Wald und Reh, 11292ff.), amounting to a clear view of these opposites as making up the cosmos(die ewige Zier, 11297), together with pleasure at his own role in it (wie mir's gefallen/Gefall' ich auch mir(11298f.)). This "Genuß der Welt" is followed, firstly, by a deeply sympathetic account of the fire, and regret at his part(Muß ich so weitsichtig sein! 11329) - a section which seems to be spoken rather than sung, since the stage-direction is renewed(11336) - and

1) Cotti, p.48.

2) Trunz, p.612.

3) Cf. 9198ff., 11143ff. Forster assumes that the Lynkeus of Innerer Burghof and the Lynkeus of Act V are two different characters, citing "most commentators" in support('Lynkeus' Masque in Faust II' GLL 1968/9, pp.67, note8, and 70). But there seems very little point in this distinction; and in fact many critics disagree(e.g. Fischer, IV, pp.178ff., 254ff.; Petsch, p.689; Lohmeyer, pp.316, 454, notes 54f.; Atkins, p.246). Even Trunz, who is non-committal, remarks that they have the same function(p.612). The most balanced and thoughtful study seems to be that by W. Müller-Seidel, 'Lynkeus: Lyrik und Tragik in Goethes Faust', in Sprache und Bekenntnis, (FS Kunisch), Berlin 1971, pp.79ff.

4) Requadt, p.362.

then by a sung summary of the loss in relation to "Vergangenheit" and "Zukunft":

Was sich sonst dem Blick empfohlen,
Mit Jahrhunderten ist hin. (11336f.).

This harmony of deep concern and wide vision then contrasts starkly with the violent and destructive action which Faust has initiated. Requadt compares him with the Archangels of the Prologue;¹ and indeed he is not called upon to harmonise the opposites of attitude and action. But it seems to me that he shows involvement of feeling, which they do not; unlike them, he sings about harmony but not in harmony. His voice is a solo voice expressing an individual perspective and feeling, the counterpart to the voice of the aged and guilty Faust on the balcony below(11338ff.). And when Faust is left to the contemplation of his deed, he is visited by the very opposite of Lynkeus - Sorge. Here Lynkeus' relish for 'die ewige Zier' is nullified:

Wen ich einmal mir besitze,
Dem ist alle Welt nichts nütze;
Ewiges Düstre steigt herunter,
Sonne geht nicht auf noch unter.(11453ff.).

And his pleasure in his own life and its balanced opposites is replaced by a long list of half-states, neutralising both poles:

Soll er gehen, soll er kommen ?
Der Entschluß ist ihm genommen;
Auf gebahnten Wegen Mitte
Wankt er tastend halbe Schritte. (11471ff.).²

Faust does not achieve the harmony of Lynkeus (although he moves in that direction by turning from magic to the world(11445ff.), and by envisaging a community perfectly balanced between danger and safety, transience and immortality(11559ff.)). But he does reject the view of the world embodied in Sorge's "schlechte Litanei"(11469), and embarks on his project with renewed

1) Requadt, p.362.

2) Cf. comments on the dilettantes, pp.108ff. above.

zest.

However, this quest for harmony is not only pursued by Faust, as epitome of the individual human being. At certain points in the work, it is associated with the artist and his efforts to create harmony both within himself and in the world. In the Vorspiel auf dem Theater, we are shown two stages of the process, the smaller harmony leading to the greater. The Poet's first achievement of personal harmony, and his consequent grasp of the analogical workings of the outside world, is denoted by "Einklang"; and his resulting capacity to depict the whole cosmos as ordered in this way is conveyed by the image of "herrlichen Akkorden":

Wodurch bewegt er alle Herzen ?
Wodurch besiegt er jedes Element ?
Ist es der Einklang nicht, der aus dem Busen dringt
Und in sein Herz die Welt zurückeschlingt ?...

Wenn aller Wesen unharmon'sche Menge
Verdrießlich durcheinander klingt,
Wer teilt die fließend immer gleiche Reihe
Belebend ab, daß sie sich rhythmisch regt ?
Wer ruft das Einzelne zur allgemeinen Weihe,
Wo es in herrlichen Akkorden schlägt ? (138ff.).

The capacity to create harmony is here said expressly to depend on the capacity to show the passage of life not as mere succession - which would be monotony, the opposite of harmony, "die fließend immer gleiche Reihe" - but as a sequence with a continuity based on rhythm, and thus having both animation and form.¹ Once this rhythm is established, the individual phenomenon is seen in its true relation to the whole; "das Einzelne" becomes not a "todter Buchstabe" but takes its place in the universal, and its individual 'voice' becomes part of the "herrlichen Akkorden" emitted by the harmonious cosmos. In the Euphorion episode, too, we are shown harmonisation as a process of more than one stage, and very clearly a "Schlußbildung" which emerges

1) See pp. 160 ff. above, esp. p. 170f.; also pp. 329ff. above.

from the interaction of polar opposites, and which in turn begets further polarity and Steigerung. This is perhaps surprising at first sight - after all, the "Vollstimmige Musik" of this episode, especially the "reinmelodisches Saitenspiel" of Euphorion, his "Melodie" and "Bewegung"(SD 9679,9747), are concerned with the expression of feeling, and not with the depiction of world relations:

Wir im eignen Herzen finden,
Was die ganze Welt versagt. (9693f.).¹

Nonetheless, Euphorion is not merely an epitome of passionate human nature, but also a representative of a particular type of artist; and the unresolved polarities of his existence emerge from, and lead to, various kinds of harmony. He emerges from the "Verein" of Faust and Helena, which Lohmeyer discusses in detail:

Helena und Faust...vertreten in dem Gesamt die Kräfte, aus deren glückliche Verbindung die moderne innerliche Kunst entstand...Die Handlung beginnt mit einem vollkommenen Einklang, mit dem Trio des Dreivereins...den die neuzeitliche Poesie zunächst bildet. Die ersten drei Strophen(V.9695-9706) gefallen sich in der Bestätigung des Kindes in der Eltern...und des Sich-Wiederfindens der Eltern im Kinde..., in der geglückten Vereinigung von abendländischer Gefühlskraft und antikem Formvermögen...in der sich die moderne Poesie noch zwei Jahrhunderte nach der Renaissance gehalten hat.

2

From this harmony, Euphorion moves first to passionate action, in the "Unfug" of the chase and dance with the Chorus(9711ff.), and then to its opposite, contemplation:

Immer höher muß ich steigen,
Immer weiter muß ich schaun. (9821f.)

And very briefly, he achieves a moment of balance and poise between the two, a lesser harmony, as he finds himself in the centre of Greece, "Erde- wie

1) Cf. pp. 221f. above.
2) Lohmeyer, p. 349f.

seeverwandt"(9826). The urge to action soon reasserts itself, with fatal results(9893f.); but the Chorus in the Trauergesang again take up a harmonious perspective.¹ They celebrate the polar opposites in Euphorion's nature: "Scharfer Blick, die Welt zu schauen", and "Mitsinn jedem Herzensdrang" (9919f.), which not only bind him to his audience of fellow human beings (9910,9921), but also make his poetry "ein eigenster Gesang"(9922). He has, they say, achieved harmony of attitude, if not of action:

So entzweitest du gewaltsam
Dich mit Sitte, mit Gesetz;
Doch zuletzt das höchste Sinnen
Gab dem reinen Mut Gewicht... (9925ff.)

It is thus credible that he should have fulfilled the artist's calling of uniting the immediate and personal with the larger universe:

Heilige Poesie,
Himmelan steige sie!
Glänze,der schönste Stern,
Fern und so weiter fern !
Und sie erreicht uns doch
Immer, man hört sie noch,
Vernimmt sie gern. (9863ff.).

And for the brief moment of the Trauergesang, the Chorus themselves achieve harmony - they combine assessment of what they see with expressions of deep sorrow, and do so in harmonious celebratory song. They end with the promise that, since life goes on producing new poets, the chance of harmony will be maintained despite this death; and that songs should therefore continue:"Doch erfrischt neue Lieder"(9935ff.).²

1) See esp. Herrmann,p.135f.; Lohmeyer,pp.359ff.; Trunz,p.597.

2) Trunz renders "erfrischt" as "stimmt frisch an"(ed.cit.p.597).

These failures and partial successes - both Faust's and those of others - might seem to suggest that cosmic harmony, or indeed any harmony at all, was an impossible illusion. But as a whole the work does not give this impression. Rather, it is suggested that man frequently experiences and creates not so much harmony as limited harmonies, which reflect and symbolise the cosmic harmony for him, but never attain its absolute completeness, which remains ineffable. Even where Goethe seems to evoke most fully and directly the traditional harmonious cosmos, with its powerful image of vast and wonderful completeness, we find that its value is in various ways made relative. The Poet of the Vorspiel, for instance, does indeed seem to be "gleichsam wie einen Gott", as Wilhelm put it;¹ he seems to perceive all things in heaven and earth, and to master their relations(138ff.). But, as Roß and Requadt have pointed out, this gift of the Poet is presented as less than heavenly in Faust; it appears as "das Menschenrecht...des Menschen Kraft, im Dichter offenbart"(136ff.).² Furthermore, this Poet is neither especially harmonious nor able to create, alone, the dramatic illusion of harmony. Far from being elevated above human affairs, he is engaged in argument with two others involved in the production of his play;³ and is struggling to reconcile his own idea of utterance with their pragmatic considerations. The more closely we look at the Vorspiel, the more it seems that the Poet's best chance of creating cosmic harmony lies not in isolation(59ff.), but in interaction with his complementary opposites, the theatrical illusionists; "so daß", as Roß puts it, "aus den gehäuften Effekten der Bühnenkunst auf einmal die große Welt selber wird, einschließlich Sonne, Mond und Sterne".⁴ Even the Prolog im Himmel is made relative, rather than absolute, in context. The Archangels give what appears to be a complete picture of the harmonies of the universe,

1) Lehrjahre II, 12, AA 7, p. 88f.

2) Requadt, p. 36f.

3) Cf. Roß, p. 239.

4) Ibid., p. 241.

they present a series of complementary opposites which make up the whole, they sing in hymnic form, with all the traditional associations of the harmony of the spheres.¹ But it transpires that their notion of harmony needs extending. The Lord's version - though he delivers it in speech, not in song, and in conversation with the Devil at that - is much more inclusive than theirs. They feature in it, as opposed to looking down on it, as complementary counterparts to the developing but incomplete creatures on earth:

Das Werdende, das ewig wirkt und lebt,
 Umfass' euch mit der Liebe holden Schranken,
 Und was in schwankender Erscheinung schwebt,
 Befestiget mit dauernden Gedanken. (346ff.).

Mephisto, another partial creature, is also included. With his changelessly negative attitude(294f.), he forms another complementary opposite to man, especially to Faust, and keeps him alternating between the polar opposites of human nature(303ff.), instead of sinking into "unbedingte Ruh"(341). Yet, as both Roß and Requadt have suggested, even the Lord's view appears rather differently according to the point from which one views it. By comparison with Faust (in Nacht) and with the Poet of the Vorspiel the Lord possesses a supra-human, god-like perspective which far exceeds theirs.² But since the Prolog follows immediately after the Direktor's demand for a play, there is the distinct possibility that this is the play; and that the Lord and his cosmic view are a creation of the Theaterdichter's mind after all.³ Goethe has actually managed to suggest the possibility of a harmonious cosmos which is inseparable from human notions of a harmonious cosmos, and yet not identical with any of them, greater than all of them.

1) LL.243ff. See esp. Roß, pp.238ff.; Requadt, pp.40ff.; also p.45f. above.

2) Requadt, pp.41, 68f.; Roß, pp.239, 241.

3) Roß, p.240; Requadt, p.40.

It is this quality in Goethe's late works, and especially in Faust, which E. Bahr brings out as "Ironie", taking up Goethe's own term:

In seinem hohen Alter glaubt Goethe, daß jeder Wahrheitsanspruch, der etwas eindeutig festzulegen versucht, die Wirklichkeit nicht erfaßt...Die Ironie hat...die Funktion, immer wieder herauszustellen, daß die Dinge nicht eindeutig festzulegen sind, sondern immer problematisch bleiben müssen, wenn man ihnen gerecht werden will. Goethe schreibt in diesem Sinne an den Grafen von Sternberg am 26. September 1826:

...Der Mensch gesteht überall Probleme zu und kann doch keins ruhen und liegen lassen, und dies ist auch ganz recht, denn sonst würde die Forschung aufhören; aber mit dem Positiven muß man es nicht so ernsthaft nehmen, sondern sich durch Ironie darüber erheben und ihm dadurch die Eigenschaft des Problems erhalten. ¹

...Daher erhebt Goethe in dem Vorwort zur Farbenlehre die Forderung, in den Naturwissenschaften "mit Selbstkenntnis, mit Freiheit, und um uns eines gewagten Wortes zu bedienen, mit Ironie" vorzugehen...Auch die naturwissenschaftliche Erkenntnis soll im Zustand der Schweben gehalten werden.

...Das Relativ-Wahre ist ein Aspekt des Absolut-Wahren, es ist im Absolut-Wahren - in der Idee, dem Ewigen, Einzigem, Göttlichen - ² miteingeschlossen und aufgehoben. Das Wahre ist eine vielfältige Einheit: es ist Einheit als Idee und Vielheit als Realmanifestation der Idee in der Erscheinung. Es gibt Stufengrade der Wahrheit, die sich steigern lassen, aber es bleibt immer nur bei einem Mehr oder Weniger von Wahrheit. Das Absolut-Wahre, die Idee lassen sich nicht direkt erfassen..

Hier wird nun auch die metaphysische Funktion der Ironie bei Goethe deutlich. Die Ironie reißt den Menschen fort vom Hängen am Relativ-Wahren, an der begrenzten Einzelmeinung oder Einzelercheinung und hält ihn im Zustand der Schweben offen und bereit für das Schauen des Absolut-Wahren "im Abglanz, im Beispiel, in einzelnen und verwandten Erscheinungen".³

We should bear this 'irony' in mind, I think, when assessing the specific part which music has to play in putting over the idea of harmony in Faust.

For musical harmony does not, for instance, represent an absolute and total cosmic harmony vis à vis lesser kinds depicted in speech or by visual effects

- although inevitably it keeps something of its traditional association

1) Bahr, p.18 and note 25; letter to Sternberg WA IV,41, p.168f.

2) Bahr, p.19f. and p.20, note 33. Vorwort to Farbenlehre, AA 16, p.11.

3) Bahr, p.20, and note 37a.

with this ideal. Rather it is used, whether as verbal image or as symbolic medium, to mark moments of completeness when the individual is related to a particular limited whole; moments which are complete and beautiful by comparison with some states, (e.g. disharmony, unanimity, uniformity, isolation), and with lesser harmonies, but incomplete and imperfect by comparison with larger harmonies and with the ultimate universal harmony.

One such instance is the depiction of harmony felt within the limited world of Part I at the season of Easter. We see two aspects of this - the religious and the secular. The religious, of course, is concerned with the new harmony between God and man made possible by the Resurrection. As Requadt remarks, the Easter Chorus shows the loving response of the divine (angels) to the love and longing of suffering humans (Weiber, Jünger); so that earthly and heavenly voices seem to be singing together, each at a different pitch and from a different standpoint, to announce the 'new ^{covenant} ~~bond~~' between earth and heaven (748).¹ Furthermore, although the Chorus come from the real world of human beings, they are a reminder of heavenly choirs at the first Easter:

Ihr Chöre, singt ihr schon den tröstlichen Gesang,
Der einst, um Grabes Nacht, von Engelslippen klang,
Gewißheit einem neuen Bunde ? (746ff.);

and give a vivid effect of superhuman wholeness:

Das "Himmlische" an dieser Musik ist ihre Totalität... "Glockenklang und Chorgesang", das "tiefe Summen" und der "helle Ton", das "Mächtige" des Anrufs und das Gelinde des Trostes (V.762): als dieses Ganze gibt sich das Himmlische zu erkennen.²

This is, nevertheless, the specifically Christian message of Easter - in Christ, the divine is ever-present in human life, not remote from it. But

1) Requadt, p.87f.

2) Ibid., p.87.

since Faust has no Christian belief, he cannot accept this particular way of attaining harmony with the divine(767f.). This harmonious music can fill him with nostalgia for times when he did feel at one with heaven and earth, and thus reconcile him to the earthy part of his nature¹ - an important step towards harmony. But any cosmic harmony which is to include Faust, as the Lord's does, will have to go beyond the Christian. As a climax to Faust's search for harmony in Nacht, it is complete; but as a model for ultimate cosmic harmony, the Easter Chorus is too limited. The secular aspect of Easter is represented in Vor dem Tor. This is a social occasion, a festival in which everyone joins. For Faust, it is the epitome of rural life, "des Volkes wahrer Himmel"(938), with no "gemalte Scheiben" to intervene between man and Nature, so that he feels fully human here(940). But is it, as Requadt suggests, a vision of Arcadia?² Wagner certainly does not think so (943ff.); but he is for uniformity, not diversity, in his idea of harmony between heaven and earth(1109f.). Arcadia is indeed an equivalent state to that of harmony, if we are to judge by Faust's description when he creates an Arcadia in Part II(esp.9550ff.). A state of "Wohlbehagen", maintained by untrammelled growth of the individuals within it(9550ff.); so that human and animal,(9546ff.), human and divine(9552ff.), become categories which overlap:

Denn wo Natur im reinen Kreise waltet,
Ergreifen alle Welten sich. (9560f.).

If we compare this with the Peasants' song and dance, however, it immediately appears that theirs is not a particularly "reine [r]Kreis". As Requadt himself says, the words of the song introduce a moral conflict entirely alien to Arcadia;³ and, one may add, all too human, not god-like. The old peasant's

1) Requadt, p.89f.

2) Ibid., pp.97ff.

3) Ibid., p.100.

speech suggests a 'harmony' between Faust and the community which Faust himself is very far from feeling, although he responds warmly enough to their gratitude(981ff.). Since it is easier to talk about an incomplete harmony than an incomplete Arcadia, it would seem nearer the mark to describe this scene as one of the smaller, limited harmonies. Spiritual and physical festivals have indeed come together(921ff.), individuals have emerged from isolation to sing and dance together in the open air. But the words of the song, as Willoughby points out,¹ show an unresolved conflict within this harmony - between male and female, desire and faithfulness - which will be, literally, the death of Gretchen, and which elsewhere (e.g. in the Soldatenlied (884ff.) and the Walpurgisnacht(3974ff.)), becomes an open battle of the sexes.

We also find musical harmony associated with relations between the individual and the natural world. On most of these occasions, however, the vista goes beyond a mere depiction of man in relation to natural phenomena and the natural order, to include the question of which supernatural powers might or might not be operating within Nature. This first emerges as problematic in the Geisterchor of Studierzimmer II(1607ff.). Faust has just roundly cursed the effects of his last experience of harmony, and everything else which makes life satisfying(1583ff.). The cosmos, it seems, replies - with a sung Spirit Chorus which has caused critics to compare,² or even to equate³ it with the Easter Chorus, as a reply to Faust's suicide. This is a controversial episode, as Maché explains.⁴ But the function of the Chorus in context seems clear enough. For one thing, they are not proclaiming a Christian harmony - i.e. a morally harmonious universe - but a natural and social harmony. They lament Faust's curse of everything which makes the world appear "schön"(1607ff.), and

1) 'Urfaust' and 'Faust. Ein Fragment', p.xxxv.

2) Requadt, p.142.

3) Cotti, p.49.

4) 'Zu Goethes Faust: Studierzimmer I und Geisterchor', Euph.65(1971), esp. pp.202ff.

"klagen/Über die verlorne Schöne"(1615f.). Their designation of him as a "Halbgott"(1612) is not after all deceptive, as has been suggested;¹ for a view of harmony, as we saw, depends on the individual's capacity to perceive and create it, and does indeed, without making him a god, give him a god-like perspective. Faust is being encouraged to harmonise himself and thence to recover his view of the cosmos, "die schöne Welt":

Baue sie wieder,
In deinem Busen baue sie auf! (1620f.).

The result will be, as it was with Wilhelm's poet, with Lynkeus, and with the Poet of Vorspiel, "Genuß der Welt"(neuen Lebenslauf,1622), insight(hellem Sinne,1624), and from them song: "Neue Lieder/Tönen darauf"(1625f.). When Mephisto claims these spirits as his own(1627f.), he is thus, as Requadt says,² usurping a power only partly justified. The spirits are indeed trying to get Faust "In die Welt weit/Aus der Einsamkeit"(1631f.) - simply because this will bring Faust into harmony with the natural world. The goodness or otherwise of their action will depend not on the Geister, but on Faust. Mephisto is introducing an ethical criterion here which does not apply in the natural world - as we saw in Arcadia.³ Natural harmony is not, and does not need to be, concerned with ethics; even though human beings, according to the Lord's criteria, (Prolog,315ff.), do also have to concern themselves with being "gut"(328).

We find this harmony of Nature again divided from the moral in Anmutige Gegend. Faust lies contained, almost cradled, at the heart of mountain scenery, "auf blumigen Rasen" (SD 4613), with Ariel and the Geisterkreis of Nature spirits hovering about him. This time the words of Ariel's song, accompanied by the instrument which Nature plays (Aeolian harp), make instantly clear that this is not a context where the moral conflict of Vor dem Tor applies.⁴ The

1) See esp. Maché,pp.203ff.; also Requadt,p.142 and note 48.

2) Requadt,p.142f.

3) Ibid.,p.100.

4) It is odd that Requadt associates Äolsharfen with purity(p.134) - thus introducing into this 'rural idyll' a moral criterion which he notes as jarring in Vor dem Tor.

"Blüten Frühlingsregen" descends "über alle"(4613f.); "der Felder grüner Segen" is for "allen Erdgebornen"(4615f.); the Elves' sympathetic ministrations are for all: "Ob er heilig, ob er böse/Jammert sie der Unglücksman"(4619f.). This is not a world which includes morality - so far, only the Lord's view has done so completely, and the human world imperfectly. It is the natural cosmos in which the whole "Aufwand von Sonnen und Planeten" is there so that "sich...ein glücklicher Mensch unbewußt seines Daseins erfreut".¹ Of course, Faust is not "unbewußt" by and large, nor is he dispensed from knowing "des rechten Weges". But insofar as he is a creature of Nature, amongst other things, for the moment it is simply the Elves' "schönste Pflicht" to restore Faust physically, by the sequence of natural processes during the night, to the point where he can face a new day: "Gebt ihn zurück dem heiligen Licht"(4633). This they do in their harmonious song, "Einzel, zu zweien und vielen, abwechselnd und gesammelt" (SD 4634); the second stanza of which re-asserts the natural order by describing the coordination of opposites in the harmony of the spheres, the ^omon and stars at night, and their reflection in the lake on earth:

Schließt sich heilig Stern an Stern,
Große Lichter, kleine Funken
Glitzern nah und glänzen fern;
Glitzern hier im See sich spiegelnd,
Glänzen droben klarer Nacht,
Tiefsten Ruhens Glück besiegelnd
Herrscht des Mondes volle Pracht. (4643ff.).

But once this harmony is established, it leads to a greater harmony beyond the natural world of earth, symbolised by the Sun. The "Ungeheures Getöse" is a "sonore Wirkung"² beyond earthly harmony; the natural order leads outwards into a universe so vast, a power so strong, that natural entities cannot bear it. As Roß suggests, this is a glimpse from the earth to the Archangels' cosmic harmony, where "die Sonne tönt".³ The 'musica humana' of

1) Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert, AA 13, p.416f.

2) 'Physikalische Wirkungen', AA 16, p.862.

3) Roß, p.238.

the coordinated human being is directly linked with the 'musica mundana' of the cosmos.¹ When Faust finally wakes, therefore, he has not only a new sense of the rhythms of life within himself(4679), but also a sense of relation to the earth about him(4681ff.), the regions above him(4695ff.), and thence, through the rainbow in the spray of the waterfall, to regions of absolute light beyond.

Having seen Faust re-established within the natural order in Anmutige Gegend, we meet this order again in the Meeresfest, when Homunculus is incorporated into it. As a festival, the Meeresfest is the climax of the Klassische Walpurgisnacht,² emerging from the battle between Vulcanism and Neptunism,³ and celebrating water as the maintainer of life: "Du bist's, der das frischeste Leben erhält".(8443). But water does not itself generate life; life depends on the interaction of opposites, of water with Eros, represented as the spark of life, as flame(8466ff.)⁴ The Meeresfest is a harmonious occasion partly because it celebrates both(8480ff.), as constructive complementary opposites, not as conflicting and destructive forces. Again, it is not a moral harmony; indeed, disparaging remarks are made about the moral imperfections of most creatures involved, human beings included(8094ff.,8327ff.). Rather it is a world in which divine, human and animal creatures, mythical and real, come together; for all are subject to the patterns of natural growth: formation, dissolution, and re-formation. We are thus shown both a hierarchy and a sequence of development, within which all these creatures live, move and have their being, and come and go accordingly. It is also a harmonious scene formally speaking, in that it combines the fluidity of "singende Bewegung" with clear ideas. Most of the text involves not imagery, but discussion and apostrophe of the significance of the various figures as they appear and make themselves heard; so that impressions of clarity and

1) See e.g. G.L. Pinette, 'Ariels Gesang und die Musica Mundana', p.38f.

2) See esp. K. Reinhardt, 'Die klassische Walpurgisnacht', in Tradition und Geist, ed. C. Becker, pp.309ff., esp. pp.320ff.

3) See esp. K. Mommsen, Natur- und Fabelreich in Faust II, pp.190ff.

4) See I. Graham, Goethe and Lessing, p.284.

mobility, significance and sensuous appeal, "Ernst" and "Scherz" are strikingly combined.

The episode is introduced by the Sirens, who first appear "in wohl-gestimmten Tönen"(7159) in the Walpurgisnacht, and now introduce and maintain the proceedings "flötend und singend"(SD 8034). But as Emrich points out, they are not merely seducers here; they also interpret and order the festival from their rocks, which puts them in something like the position of the poet. Emrich sees them simply as "Vertreter des Gesangs und der Poesie."¹ But it seems more likely that they are in this position because they are associated both with Eros and with water, the two complementary forces celebrated in the festival, so that they have in their natures an 'Einklang' which fits them to harmonise the opposites in their surroundings. Be that as it may, they do in fact function in this way; for more specific reasons than is usually realised, they are "die von der kosmischen Harmonie kündende Stimme der... Natur".² For they coordinate not only the sequence of forms, natural and mythical, developingⁱⁿ the sea, but also the hierarchy of gods and nature myths. At intervals throughout the festival, the Sirens invoke the presiding deity, Luna(8034ff.,8078ff.,8339ff.). Under her, they summon the Nereids and Tritons from the deepest parts of the sea(8043ff.)³; but they then receive the Cabiri as gods (8168ff.)⁴ under whom they set themselves(8266,8182ff.). It seems unnecessary to be as solemn about the Cabiri as Trunz is,⁵ or as dismissive as Katharina Mommsen.⁶ They represent, as Trunz says, a hierarchy of development in the divine,⁷ which, via the "Riesenschild",⁸ continues

1) Die Symbolik von Faust II, pp.269ff., esp.271ff.

2) Lohmeyer, pp.265,260.

3) See esp. Lohmeyer, p.265.

4) See esp. Lohmeyer, pp.266ff.; Trunz, pp.574ff.; Mommsen, pp.206ff.

5) Trunz, pp.574ff.

6) Op.cit., pp.206ff.

7) Ed.cit. p.575.

8) See Lohmeyer, p.266; Trunz, p.574; Mommsen, p.210.

downwards into the realm of mythical sea-creatures, and upwards]to a degree of divinity which the Cabiri themselves do not know(8197ff.). In worshipping them, the Sirens are not establishing an absolute hierarchy; these gods are said to be:

In Gnaden uns gewärtig,
Doch alle noch nicht fertig. (8201f.).

The Sirens are worshipping the urge to upward development(8202ff.), whose chief characteristic is that it has no specific form - whatever is above one is sublime, whatever is below is ridiculous. Hence the vagueness of the Cabiri(8075ff.,8186ff.), and the Sirens' comment "Ein Gott den andern Gott/Macht wohl zu Spott"(8190f.), alongside their declaration of general reverence for the higher:

Wir sind gewohnt
Wo es auch thront
In Sonn' und Mond
Hinzubeten; es lohnt. (8206ff.).

Such a harmony of "Scherz" and "Ernst" is much easier to convey in song (as combination of words and tone of voice) than in words alone. And the first section of the pageant accordingly reaches a climax with "hohe Lieder"(8173), the "Allgesang" led by the Sirens in praise of the Cabiri(SD 8217ff.). However, there are further 'harmonies'. The Sirens do indeed acknowledge 'Sun' as well as 'Moon', for they now welcome the Telchinen from the cult of the Sun in Rhodes(8289ff.).¹ The Telchinen seem to exercise within their own hierarchy a function similar to that of the Sirens - they harmonise waves and sky (8277ff.) for the duration of the festival:"Nun schweben wir festlich, beruhigt und leicht"(8284). But they seem to have a higher notion of divinity^(and of art) than the Sirens; for if the Cabiri are pitcher-gods,² or even have no form at all, the Telchinen envisage theirs in the highest natural form, that of man:

Wir ersten, wir waren's, die Göttergewalt
Aufstellten in würdiger Menschengestalt. (8301f.)

1) See esp. Lohmeyer,p.262; Trunz,p.576.

2) Lohmeyer,p.267f.,Trunz,p.574; Mommsen,p.208f.

Thus the second, brief, section of the pageant extends the hierarchy considerably; the Tekhinen sing(8303) in praise of the Sun as well as the Moon, and of the varied human forms in which the divine manifests itself in the statues of Rhodes(8289ff.). And beyond that again, as Proteus remarks in his speech following the Telchinen(8303ff.), there is the superior hierarchy of natural forms.

Within this universe of several hierarchies, we have two parallel sequences, both initiated by the interaction of Eros and water. The various mythical creatures in small groups - the Nereiden and Doriden(with their partners), representing water¹, and the Tekhinen and Psyllen und Marsen, representing the power of love² - culminate in Galatea, the most beautiful of water myths. And this happens under the auspices of the Cabiri, embodying the urge to upward development, and of Nereus³ and Proteus, protagonists of endless lability and change of form(8408ff.,8426ff.,8227ff.). And, as the perfect mythical form amongst nature myths, Galatea is also the perfect harmony of divine and human, as the Sirens announce:

Ernst, den Göttern gleich zu schauen,
 Würdiger Unsterblichkeit,
 Doch wie holde Menschenfrauen
 Lockender Anmutigkeit. (8387ff.).

This section ends with Thales' apotheosis of water, echoed by a Chorus der sämtlichen Kreise(8432ff.,SD 8444), and with Nereus' praise of beauty begotten of love and water(8445ff.). The final section brings to a climax the episodes, interpolated amongst the sections of sung pageant, which have been concerned with Homunculus. As a kind of bottled brain with no form, he has been more than a little out of place in the festival of water and Eros as generators

1) See esp. Lohmeyer,pp.263ff.

2) Ibid.,p.262f.

3) Ibid.,pp.272ff.

of natural and mythical forms. Proteus advises him to embark on the evolutionary scale of natural creatures(8260ff.); which will lead him towards human form(and indeed thence to the divine(8096)) - a prospect which Thales, as human, thinks highly desirable(8321ff.), but which Nereus and Proteus, as myths of changing form, find intolerably rigid(8094ff.,8304ff., 8330ff.). He is finally incorporated into the collective harmony when, already milling among the sea-myths, he finds his opposite, Galatea(8464ff.), and his voice becomes truly resonant(8461ff.) . The Sirens' final chorus (8474ff.) thus celebrates in song the very stuff of cosmic harmony - the erotic attraction of element to opposing element which produces form as "Drittes, Neues, Höheres, Unerwartetes",¹ described here as a "neues Geheimnis"(8464), a "seltnen Abenteuer"(8483). And the scene concludes not merely with an Allgesang or Chorus der sämtlichen Kreise, but with the Chorus of All-Alle(8484ff.), a kind of 'gesteigerte Harmonie'; which brings all four elements, and all the various hierarchies of mythical figures, and therewith all life, within the compass of these mysteries.

Even this, however, is not the most comprehensive harmony which we see in the play - that appears, logically enough, at the end, in Bergschluchten and in the latter parts of Grablegung.² This episode has been interpreted in several ways; and careful study is necessary to assess the contribution which specifically musical harmony makes to it. We may perhaps begin by describing it as a moral harmony between heaven and earth, which includes but is larger than the Christian harmony already encountered in the Easter Chorus. We are indeed concerned with matters such as repentance, forgiveness, grace and redemption; we have angels and devils, a whole range of "scharf umrissenen christlich-kirchlichen Figuren und Vorstellungen"³ - notably the various Patres and Büßerinnen, Mary as Mother of God and Queen of Heaven in

1) Polarität, AA 16, p.864.

2) See P. Friedländer, pp.76ff.; also J. Müller, 'Prolog und Epilog zu Goethes Faust', Neue Goethe-Studien, Halle(Saale) 1969, pp.153ff.

3) Eckermann, Zweiter Teil, 6/6/1831, AA 24, p.504.

her role as intercessor for sinners, and of course Gretchen, whose orthodox Christian faith was an important part of her character in Part I. But the Christian harmony has been extended¹ - principally because every entity here functions not according to what he believes, but according to what he is and can become. Not only belief in Christ, but the larger idea of capacity for love, is the criterion: "Liebe nur Liebenden/Führet herein"(11751f.); since the powers who control the universe are, it seems from here, loving. This harmony is supervised by "die ewige Liebe"(11964), "die Liebe gar von oben"(11938f.); and it is maintained because, in different ways and to different degrees, the creatures within it respond, continuously, to this love and to one another(e.g. Pater Seraphicus and Selige Knaben(11890ff.), Büsserinnen and Gretchen(12037ff.), Gretchen and Faust(12084ff.), Doctor Marianus and Mater Gloriosa(11989ff., 12096ff.)).

This shift of criterion has important consequences. One cannot love in isolation - it is a form of relation with one's surroundings, human, earthly and heavenly. Thus, for example, the quality of "ewige Liebe" means that this moral harmony is not at odds with the natural world, as in the Peasants' song and in Anmutige Gegend. Although most of Bergschluchten takes place on a level higher than the natural world, the natural world never disappears from view.² The redemption of Faust began on earth, when angels and devils fought over Faust's soul(11676ff.); and, as Roß has pointed out, the Pater Profundus describes the harmonious balance of destructive natural forces in terms very like those of the Archangels' hymn in the Prolog(cf. esp. 11874ff., and 259ff.).³ Yet the natural setting here has something of Anmutige Gegend and of Arcadia in it(pace Friedländer).⁴ As in

1) See Trunz, on the development of the visual setting from "eine christliche Landschaft, wie Legende und Malerei sie prägten"(p.622); and esp. Friedländer, pp.83ff.

2) See Friedländer, pp.81ff., esp. p.83f.

3) Roß, p.239.

4) See esp. p.83; also Emrich, p.410.

Anmutige Gegend, the transitionⁱ₁ from the natural to the divine is suggested partly by the rising landscape, culminating in the mountains and the heavenly bodies above them(esp.4695ff.); as in Arcadia, animals, human beings and divine beings coexist in the same region, in overlapping worlds in a landscape graded from mountain to plain(cf.9526ff.,esp.9542ff., and 11844ff., esp.118⁴⁹~~30~~ff.,11870ff.). It is larger than the Archangels' order, for it includes "das Werdende", both creatures and men(346f.,11884ff.); and it is also larger than the natural harmonies of Anmutige Gegend, Arcadia, and Meeresfest, since it incorporates natural beings into a moral harmony too, and is created and maintained by "die allmächtige Liebe"(11872), not merely by Eros.

This dominant power of "ewige Liebe" also means that love is no longer at odds with understanding - as it was, most notably, in the case of Faust and Gretchen. "Gottes Gegenwart", the Pater Seraphicus assures the Selige Knaben, encourages not only feeling, but insight:

Ewigen Liebens Offenbarung
Die zur Seligkeit entfaltet. (11921ff.).

Love and perception go together - as,e.g., for the Selige Knaben:

Den ihr verehret
Werdet ihr schauen (11932f.),

and especially for the Doctor Marianus:

Hier ist die Aussicht frei,
Der Geist erhoben...

Entzückt.

Höchste Herrscherin der Welt !
Lasse mich im blauen
Ausgespannten Himmelszelt
Dein Geheimnis schauen.
Billige, was des Mannes Brust
Ernst und zart beweget
Und mit heiliger Liebeslust
Dir entgegenträget. (11989ff.).

In this realm, such harmony of faculties is the basis for what we may call 'social' harmonies - i.e. relations between individual and individual, individual and group, one group and the next, whether of earthly or of heavenly beings. The most prominent of these harmonies, of course, is that of Faust and Gretchen. Gretchen's outstanding characteristic was a capacity for faithful love; Faust's the quest for understanding; in this realm (as opposed to that of Part I), they are no longer conflicting, but complementary opposites. The unresolved conflict between male and female, desire and affection, faithful love and further search for knowledge, which put Faust and Gretchen at odds with one another, and Gretchen at odds with her environment and her religion, is now harmonised - by a process of polarity and Steigerung, as previously. Gretchen, released from time and space, and once forgiven, can continue with her earlier characteristics of loving God and loving Faust. Faust, freed from the destructive element in his Streben which allied him with Mephisto(11934ff.), can now continue to love Gretchen without abandoning his desire to learn and develop.¹ So the attraction between them becomes a kind of spiritual Eros - the means to further Steigerungen for both of them, and a vital link in the harmony:²

Komm! hebe dich zu höhern Sphären!
Wenn er dich ahnet, folgt er nach (12094f.).

Furthermore, both are now integrated into groups of like kind. Gretchen is grouped with other "liebend-heilige[n] Büßerinnen"(11943), under the Mater Gloriosa as intercessor, and prayed for not only by them(12032ff.), but also, as Trunz points out, by the Doctor Marianus below,³ who finds his chief inspiration in such selfless female love(11997ff.). Faust is "gesellt" with the

1) Cf. Goethe's description of the "Schlüssel zu Fausts Rettung" as "eine immer höhere und reinere Tätigkeit" in Faust, and "von oben die ihm zu Hülfe kommende ewige Liebe"(Eckermann, Zweiter Teil, 6/6/1831, AA 24, p.504). Cf. Requadt, p.384; also Stöcklein, Wege zum späten Goethe, p.162.

2) This seems to me to make Requadt's interpretation very arbitrary when he says, on Kerker, that Faust has ceased to love Gretchen(pp.331ff.).

3) Trunz, p.624.

group of Selige Knaben at first(11980ff.); but develops so rapidly that he soon outgrows them(12076ff.), and becomes their 'teacher'(12083), himself 'taught' by Gretchen(12092) from now on, inasmuch as he can follow her(12095). This whole community is, as Trunz puts it, a "Gemeinschaft der Heiligen"¹ - a social community held together by its capacity for love, especially love of the divine.

This is indeed a comprehensive harmony - psychological, social, moral, earthly and heavenly harmonies have been synthesised into a whole. And this comprehensive harmony has a structure similar to that of other harmonies; it has both a hierarchy and a sequence,² within which individuals constantly group, part and re-group, according to their capacity for love, and thence for insight. The Anchorites³ and Angels⁴ form two groups, one above the other, into which human beings now in 'heaven' are integrated at varying stages according to their capacities. The Anchorites appear first as a group(Chor und Echo,11844ff.), then as a hierarchy. The Pater Profundus (tiefe Region,SD and 11866ff.) celebrates the workings of Nature in the Felsenabgrund(11866ff.), but prays for a lifting of the spirit(11888ff.); the Pater Seraphicus, in the "mittlere Region"(11890ff.), is already sufficiently high up to see over the tops of trees and rocks, which he shows to the Selige Knaben(11910ff.); and the Doctor Marianus, "in der höchsten reinlichsten Zelle"(SD 11989ff.), is at the very peak, with his gaze directed skywards(11989f.,esp.11998ff.). The Pater Ecstaticus(11854ff.), moves "auf und ab schwebend"(SD 11854)⁵, still pulled by the limitations of earth,but constantly striving towards "Ewiger Liebe Kern"(11865). The Angels have

1) ~~Trunz, p.624.~~

2) Not, as Trunz says, "ein Bild, in dem die Vertikal-Bewegung besonders betont ist"(p.623); since, as he also says, there is also a progression: the scene gradually moves to the upper regions as Faust develops(p.623f.). Cf. P. Friedländer,p.84; Emrich,pp.408ff.

3) Trunz,pp.623ff.,esp.pp.627ff.; Friedländer,pp.84ff.

4) See Trunz,p.629f.,Friedländer pp.77ff.

5) Cf. Trunz,p.627,Friedländer,p.84f.

already made their appearance as a group, the Himmlische Heerschar(11676ff.), in their confrontation with Mephisto over Faust's soul. (Mephisto, as a fallen angel¹ has something of their capacity for love(11759ff.); but despite their challenge to rejoin them(11778f.), he soon reasserts his own "Stamm" (11811ff.). Mephisto thus appears as outside cosmic harmony by nature and of his own choice, not by exclusion; even the Lord says of him "Ich habe deinesgleichen nie gehasst"(337), and the angels are more concerned to rescue Faust than to damn Mephisto(11745ff.,11817ff.).²)When the angels reappear, they divide into two groups, the Jüngere and the Vollendete(11942ff.), thus forming a hierarchy into which the Selige Knaben can be integrated. As children who died in babyhood, the latter first ally themselves with the Pater Seraphicus to look at the earth(11894ff.), but thence go to "höherem Kreise"(11918), "um die höchsten Gipfel kreisend"(SD 11926), as the youngest angels but the most innocent humans, the point of transition from earth to heaven. The Büßerinnen³(11991ff.,12015ff.,12032ff.) form a group which unites heavenly and earthly love, and therefore forms a link between heaven and earth. As women who lived and loved on earth, they have the inspiring quality which Goethe associated with female love, and are prayed for by the Doctor Marianus(12015ff.); but since they lived at or near the time of Christ, they have a link with heavenly love, can incorporate Gretchen into their number, and can pray for her to the Mater Gloriosa - herself treated as a human being now "Höchste Herrscherin der Welt"(11997) and "Göttern ebenbürtig"(12012) by virtue of being the Mother of God. The Mater Gloriosa is thus herself a link between the highest reaches of earth and heaven; but there are still "höheren Sphären"(12094), as the Chorus Mysticus confirms(12111). Even this harmony is open to further gradations upwards.

1) Trunz,p.627.

2) See esp. Emrich,p.408f.

3) See Friedländer,pp.94ff.,Trunz,pp.630ff.

Yet, as Trunz says, "Zwischen Erde und Licht gibt es zahllose Übergänge".¹ The Pater Profundus prays directly to God(11887f.), the Selige Knaben first receive Faust,(11981ff.), then take him to the Büßerinnen for further development(12076); the Doctor Marianus prays to the Mater Gloriosa(11997ff.), and she in turn responds to Gretchen(12094f.), and the final Chorus Mysticus appears as a response to the Doctor Marianus' apotheosis of her countenance (12096ff.). This is thus an entirely flexible hierarchy, with many connections both 'upwards' and 'downwards'.

Within this hierarchy, however, there is an equally complex sequence of development. The Patres must torture themselves, physically and mentally, (11858ff.,11885ff.) to attain the freedom from earthly elements which will enable them to achieve "ewige Liebe"(11865) - and their passionate yearning for further development sets the scene for Faust's continued striving. Even the Doctor Marianus, who finds his spirit uplifted(11990), prays passionately for further enlightenment(11997ff.). The Selige Knaben are free of "der Erde Druck"(11973); but they are bidden to grow towards a gradual revelation of "die ewige Liebe", "die zur Seligkeit entfaltet"(11925). The Jüngere Engel, as has been pointed out,² praise their rescue of Faust as already "Gelungen" (11953),whereas the Vollendete Engel envisage his soul as in need of further development(11954ff.). Even the Büßerinnen are not complete; they derive similar powers of development from the Mater Gloriosa:

Die du große Sünderinnen
Deine Nähe nicht verweigerst
Und ein büssendes Gewinnen
In die Ewigkeiten steigerst...(12061ff.);

and so Gretchen, too, is bidden, as a penitent, to "höhern Sphären"(12094). But it is Faust's development which occupies the foreground, although Faust

1) Trunz,p.623.

2) Trunz,p.629, Friedländer,p.80.

does not speak. The Jüngere Engel assign him to the Selige Knaben "zum Anbeginn/Steigendem Vollgewinn"(11978f.); and he immediately grows from "Puppenstand" to being "schön und groß/Von heiligem Leben"(11982ff.). They then bring him to the Mater Gloriosa as already superior to themselves, both in stature and in capacity to learn(12076ff.). So the scene ends with the Doctor Marianus' apotheosis of Mary as eternal inspiration for development:

Euch zu seligem Geschick
Dankend umzuarten. (12098f.);

and with the Chorus Mysticus' projection of this development into the infinite(12104ff.). Already the gap between human imagination and action, word and deed, has been bridged(12106ff.); "das Ewig-Weibliche" is the inspiration for the eternal continuation of this urge to develop(12110f.). The sequence, as well as the hierarchy, is open-ended. Yet even this harmony, comprehensive as it is, is given only relative validity; Goethe still reminds us of the metaphorical and indirect nature of human thought and expression about such universal matters: "Alles Vergängliche/Ist nur ein Gleichnis" (12104f.). As E. Bahr brings out, this statement makes the work's total statement on life at once final and yet provisional.¹

We can now ask what part musical harmony plays in this final episode of Faust. Most critics have spoken of Bergschluchten - and especially of the Chorus Mysticus - as a climax of some sort; seeing, justifiably enough, connections between this scene and other points in the play where 'heaven' spoke to earth.² Others stress the 'sequence'; and see the scene as a culmina-

1) Die Ironie im Spätwerk Goethes, pp.39,166f. See also J. Müller, 'Prolog und Epilog' etc., p.165.

2) See e.g. Sternfeld, p.84f.; Requadt, pp.385ff., esp. p.387; Friedländer, p.103.

tion of Faust's striving,¹ or as the culmination of points in the play where cantata and oratorio forms were used.² All these remarks are well-grounded; and yet they tend collectively to give the impression that the whole scene, and the Chorus Mysticus in particular, has the character of an operatic finale. Herrmann, for instance, says that after Faust's rescue from Mephisto:

ist nur noch übrig, daß das Seligsein selber in seiner reinsten geistigen Gestalt sich ungehindert und unbetrübt als Klang vor uns entfalte...³

and she speaks later of the "Geistermusik des Himmelsepilog, wo in einer nie dagewesenen Weise Begriff und Sinn unmittelbar zu Klang wird."⁴ And Petsch, who begins by characterising the scene as "wortloses Hinaufstreben über alle menschliche Ausdrucksfähigkeit hinaus", goes on to say:

Darum muß im Schlußabschnitt der Dichtung das lyrische Element, muß die visionäre, überirdische Gestaltung völlig überwiegen, müssen die Singstrophen inhaltlich immer gelöster,... erscheinen, um durch ihre volle Klangwirkung, durch ihre unerhört reiche sprachliche Instrumentation den mit Worten kaum angedeuteten Gehalt aufleuchten zu lassen.⁵

But this makes the Chorus Mysticus sound like some sort of singsong; and in particular disguises the fact that the scene - though enacted in a world after Faust's death and finally shown to continue into realms certainly "über alle menschliche Ausdrucksfähigkeit hinaus", begins on earth, continues to refer to earth and to earthly notions of heaven, and is presented throughout in language which at no point shows any sign of becoming "sonore Wirkungen" or mere "Klang". Insofar, the end of Faust is distinctly unlike the end of Egmont; and Faust's death is not, like Klärchen's, denoted by

1) See e.g. Friedländer, p.102f.; Trunz, pp.632ff.; 623ff.

2) E.g. esp. Abert, GuM, p.105; Fähnrich (Faust), p.252, 261.

3) Herrmann, p.106f.

4) Ibid., p.165. See also e.g. Fischer, p.92; Sternfeld, p.84f.; Krüger, pp.220 ff.; Willoughby, (Urfaust), p.xxxvii. Hofmannsthal emphatically termed it so: "einfach innigste Hinstreben zu dem, was unter den Künsten der Musik zugehörtes Gebiet" (Berührung der Sphären, p.288; Mayer, p.160).

5) 'Die dramatische Kunstform des Faust', p.243f.

"eine Musik".¹ The articulated force of these final words, especially those of the Chorus Mysticus, must be brought out. A further disadvantage of interpreting this scene as an operatic finale is that this tends to emphasise the remoteness of this heavenly apotheosis from earthly things as depicted earlier in the play; whereas the scene itself emphasises the continuity between earth and heaven. As we have seen, music has many symbolic connotations, of which supernatural beauty vis à vis speech is only one. Any use of music in Bergschluchten to suggest remoteness between earth and heaven might well imply that Faust had not progressed beyond the isolated longing of Nacht(447ff.,742ff.). In addition, too great an emphasis on climax tends to obscure the fact that the harmony here depicted is open-ended; and that not only Faust's progression, but that of every other character, continues into infinity, on a basis clearly defined - capacity to approach "die ewige Liebe". We are dealing with a 'sequence of voices' which must also be shown to be a sequence upwards; and one in which the Chorus Mysticus must be shown to be the highest and best envisageable, but not the last, and where its sense must be clear. This could be done with great economy of means - as e.g. when Ernst Schröder's production projected the text of the Chorus on to a silent screen above the stage.² Or it could be done with full theatrical "Aufwand von Sonnen und Planeten und Monden..., von gewordenen und werdenden Welten",³ where the full range of song and speech of various kinds, and of figures and movements of various kinds, would be needed.⁴

In an important sense, the Bergschluchten scene is like the Klassische Walpurgisnacht; in which, as Goethe remarked, the actual treatment given may vary considerably, provided the central point is communicated:

1) AA 6, pp. 100ff., 91ff.

2) Schiller-Theater, Berlin, 1965ff,

3) Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert, AA 13, p. 416f.;

4) Something nearer this style was attempted in the production by Leopold Lindtberg at the Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel, Munich 1979; which used Catholic Baroque figures against a background depicting the heavens.

Es kommt darauf an, daß es den Menschen aufgehe und daß Theater-
direktoren, Poeten und Komponisten darin ihren Vorteil gewahr werden.

1

Whatever media were chosen, the point must be to show a crucial difference

between this scene and the idea of harmony at the beginning of the play.

Cosmic harmony, as far as the human imagination can conceive of it, is not

"ein Schauspiel nur"; but a state brought about by the processes which Goethe

saw as fundamental to all life:

gesteigerte Gliederung, sukzessive gegliederte
Steigerung, dadurch Möglichkeit einer Schlußbildung, wo denn abermals
das Viele vom Vielen sich sondert, aus dem Einen das Viele hervortritt.

2

1) Eckermann, Zweiter Teil, 21/2/1831, AA 24, p.461.

2) Botanik (Fragmente), AA 17, p.213.

If we look back over Goethe's attitudes to music as a whole, two points emerge immediately. Firstly, though Goethe's conceptions were not simple, and though they were never a coherent system, they are not the Egyptian mystery which Blume and Moser suggest. His main points of orientation were those of his contemporaries - the traditional analogue of cosmic harmony; the traditional association of music with feeling, physical movement and dance; and the comparison and contrast of music with language (also traditional, but of renewed interest in an age preoccupied with the nature and origins of language). Secondly, it is clear not only that Goethe's conceptions of music came from diverse traditions, as Abert suggests; it would also seem that he received these ideas in diverse ways and modified them in varying degrees, so that his own conceptions cover the full range from well-established cliché to genuinely original development, and beyond that even to idiosyncrasy. We may perhaps summarise his attitude by saying that he wished to preserve the analogy with language on the one hand, and with visual, physical movement and gesture on the other, in order to preserve the synthesis of form and feeling, significance and sensuous appeal, which he felt was uniquely achieved in music; but which was also for him the very stuff of harmony in the widest sense.

When we consider Goethe in the context of his age, it is easy to see what sets him apart from certain views commonly held in the eighteenth century. For example, he was too strongly aware of a connection between musical rhythm and the pulse and sequence of physical and emotional life

to support any theory which regarded music as a self-contained art with no empirical reference, a matter of mathematically-based tonal relationships. And for the same reason he also regarded as inadequate the sensualist theory which saw music merely as agreeable sound agreeably arranged. It is also fairly easy to say that his views most closely resemble those of Herder and Schiller, of all his contemporaries. He is like Herder in his antipathy to mathematics and physics, in his mistrust of complex tonal relations, and in the prominence given to melody and 'voice', rhythm and movement. And he is like Schiller in his regard for music as the fluid element par excellence, in which aesthetic freedom was most readily attained because form was superbly combined with sense and feeling; also in his development of the traditional idea of harmony into something highly complex, with wide and varied application. This study has carefully avoided Quellenforschung; but if we are looking for formative influences on (not necessarily sources of) Goethe's views on music, we should look to the Hermetic philosophy absorbed in Frankfurt; to Herder (especially as the author of the Kritische Wälder, the Ossian essay, and cantata texts), and to Schiller's aesthetics, just as much as to the actual encounters with music and musicians so amply recorded by musicologists. Although the limited skills and limited musical imagination of Kayser, Reichardt, Zelter, et al. cannot have done very much to broaden Goethe's experience and appreciation of music, they can hardly be held responsible for the 'metaphorical' habit of mind - especially the habit of approaching music in terms of Polarität and Steigerung - which led Goethe to restrict his collaborators on some occasions and to demand the impossible on others.

However, it is a more difficult matter to say what divided Goethe so sharply from the Romantics and from nineteenth-century developments generally. Obviously, practical developments in music play some part - the sheer scale, the harmonic daring and the complexity of musical forms, and the

apparent noisiness of their instrumentation, must have been very difficult for him to assimilate after so many years of eighteenth-century moderation in these respects. But the crux of the matter seems rather to have been a difference in attitude which is not easy to define. It is not simply that Goethe stayed with analogies whilst the nineteenth century progressed beyond 'metaphorical' thought to scientific, although this began to happen with increasing frequency from Schiller and Kant onwards.¹ For one thing, it would be difficult to claim that a fully 'scientific' aesthetic theory of music exists even now. (Efforts are constantly made in this direction, especially in the field of semiotics;² but meanwhile analogies with the dynamics of feeling and with language continue to be offered.³). For another, although he could not always engage in them, Goethe knew perfectly well what 'scientific' thought and language were, and how they differed from 'myth' and 'metaphor'. As he put it in a maxim from the Wanderjahre: "Weder Mythologie noch Legenden sind in der Wissenschaft zu dulden. Lasse man diese den Poeten, die berufen sind, sie zu Nutz und Freude der Welt zu ^ebehandeln." - a statement of which Cassirer would no doubt have approved.⁴ Nor does the divide appear to exist because Goethe and the Romantics understood music through different analogies. It seems rather to lie in a radically different evaluation of the same analogies.

1) See Moos, esp.pp.93ff.,137ff.

2) This has no claims whatever to be a representative sample, but may serve to show some trends. The most careful and least jargon-ridden study I have found is the collection edited by Faltin and Reinecke, Musik und Verstehen (Köln 1973), which examines various ways of understanding music, as a preliminary to asking whether music communicates, how, and what. But earlier criticism seems to have assumed that music communicated emotion. L.B.Meyer (Emotion and Meaning in Music, Chicago 1956) and W. Coker (Music and Meaning New York 1972) are examples of an American 'school' which for some time now has been seeking to approach music by bringing together particular theories of the emotions and theories of communication; although D.Ferguson, Music as Metaphor (Minneapolis 1960, repr. Westport, Connecticut 1973) approaches the question with a more open mind (esp.pp.3ff.). But a great deal of interest has been shown in Europe too: W. Gerboth, An Index to Musical Festschriften and Similar Publications (2nd ed. London 1969), lists many articles on the subject.

3) E.g. Langer, Feeling and Form (London 1953); D. Cooke, The Language of Music (London 1959).

4) MuR 560, AA 9, p.572; cf. Cassirer, p.22f above. See also Lohmeyer, p.374, notes 76ff., which collects various comments by Goethe on types of thought and expression.

In a maxim included in Makariens Archiv (1829), Goethe observed that:

Man rühmt das achtzehnte Jahrhundert, daß es sich hauptsächlich mit Analyse abgegeben; dem neunzehnten bleibt nun die Aufgabe, die falschen obwaltenden Synthesen¹ zu entdecken und deren Inhalt aufs neue zu analysieren.

1

It is not illuminating to think of Goethe's mind as analytical, since this might suggest parallels with Gottsched; but the notion of what he regarded as "falsche Synthesen" is helpful in defining his attitudes vis à vis those of the nineteenth century. The Romantics praised music for removing distinctions - especially between language and music, between the individual and the world, between the diesseits and the jenseits. But for Goethe these were complementary opposites which, like all others, needed to be clearly differentiated as such; in order that the vital processes of Polarität and Steigerung might be maintained. Without them, there was for Goethe no harmony, and no further development. This was especially the case with language and music. For Goethe language was "unstreitig das Höchste, was wir haben", despite the "unglaubliche Biegsamkeit und Verhältnismöglichkeit" of music.² The dissolution of poetic language into music - for the Romantics the ideal - meant for Goethe that poetic language had failed in its task of combining the complementary opposites of form and feeling, significance and sensuous appeal. These attitudes also separate Goethe from the view of music as chiefly concerned with the intangible, as something which avoids concrete and visual impressions; a view which Peacock cites as typical of Romantics generally and of the Symbolists in particular.³ For Goethe this was only one possibility of music. In general, figures and their movements, like language, were a necessary foil to music; rhythmic progression, melodic progression, physical and emotional movement, were separate but closely analogous.

1) MuR 666 (Wanderjahre), AA 9, p. 588.

2) 'Physikalische Wirkungen', AA 16, p. 862.

3) 'Probleme des Musikalischen in der Sprache', esp. pp. 91, 98.

The part played by music in Goethe's work is perhaps best assessed from the point of view of Goethe's comments on the nature of language, especially on the kind of language in which complex phenomena have to be approached:

Man bedenkt niemals genug, daß eine Sprache eigentlich nur symbolisch, nur bildlich sei und die Gegenstände niemals unmittelbar, sondern nur im Widerscheine ausdrücke. Dieses ist besonders der Fall, wenn von Wesen die Rede ist, welche an die Erfahrung nur herantreten und die man mehr Tätigkeiten als Gegenstände nennen kann... Sie lassen sich nicht festhalten, und doch soll man von ihnen reden; man sucht daher alle Arten von Formeln auf, um ihnen wenigstens gleichnisweise beizukommen...

Könnte man sich jedoch aller dieser Arten der Vorstellung und des Ausdrucks mit Bewußtsein bedienen und in einer mannigfaltigen Sprache seine Betrachtungen über Naturphänomene überliefern, hielte man sich von Einseitigkeit frei und faßte einen lebendigen Sinn in einen lebendigen Ausdruck, so ließe sich manches Erfreuliche mitteilen.

Jedoch wie schwer ist es, das Zeichen nicht an die Stelle der Sache zu setzen, das Wesen immer lebendig vor sich zu haben und es nicht durch das Wort zu töten.

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This is, of course, the preface to a scientific treatise. But it serves to summarise Goethe's poetic aims, too, in several ways. A "mannigfaltige Sprache" implies variety, amongst other things - the use of many different kinds of expression in order to make the character of the "Ausdruck" as closely analogous as possible to the kind of "Leben" depicted. Of course, Goethe could and did do this extensively in language - by using varying degrees of sonority and rhythmic order and varying verse-forms, and by free and bold movement from one mode (lyric, dramatic or narrative) to another. But music enormously extended his scope. It offered even greater tonal and rhythmic resources, and extended his range of structures and forms. Song, hymn, ballad and cantata suggested further possibilities of arranging voice against voice, one mode of utterance against another, and of bringing musical episodes into contrast or combination with verbal ones. And some genres - e.g. Tanzlied, operetta, Revue - combined verbal and musical expression with the possibility of adding gesture, movement and dance, too; which gave him a vast range

1) 'Nachbarliche Verhältnisse', Farbenlehre, §§751ff., AA 16, p. 203f.

of possibilities of expression, from the simplest to the most elusively complex. Furthermore, since music was associated by convention, or at least by familiar reference, with profound feeling, superlative expression, animated movement, a sense of being in accord with oneself and the world, etc., the idea of these qualities could be swiftly evoked in words for the reader's imagination, by describing music or by using imagery drawn from rhythm, melody and harmony. Ways of singing, playing, hearing and responding to music became a ready means of characterising a particular person, mood or attitude to life.

However, a "mannigfaltige Sprache" also implies expression which conveys more than one thing at once; and here too music greatly extended the resources at Goethe's disposal. For example, since music is a social and cultural product, not merely that of an individual, music is sometimes used in Goethe's works to reveal not only the individual, but his social and cultural relations as well. This can be done in dramatic genres, for local colour - as with the quasi-folksongs introduced into Götz and with the Singspiele. But the idea can also be evoked in words. For example, the domestic music-makers depicted in many works reveal not only their personal natures, but their relations (or lack of them) with their immediate companions and with their wider society. Iphigenie's Parzenlied is perhaps the most condensed presentation in Goethe's whole work of an individual's relations with family, friends, nation, culture, "Gott und Welt" - not only through what she 'sings', but through who 'sings' it, when, and how.

Music also helped Goethe to achieve 'many-sided' utterance where he was concerned with figures and relations which were more obviously 'symbolic'. In his own poetic language, he hoped that it would help him combine what might be seen as rather abstract ideas and figures with emotional appeal and sensuous impact; especially in works such as Proserpina and the Festspiele. And as the fluid element offering "gleichgebahnte Wege nach allen

Seiten", in which opposites could meet without conflict, music could be both used and evoked in words to depict a state of being more than one thing at once, an attitude which had more than one aspect at once, or any state - physical, emotional or mental - of evolving from one mode and shape of life to another, from one world to another. The "lebendiger Sinn" which he perceived in all processes of education and growth, catharsis and healing, apotheosis and death, in any states which were (for example) at once painful and valuable, or pleasurable and dangerous, could be given "lebendiger Ausdruck" with the help of music. This he attempted to do in many ways - ranging from the sober diatribe on music's educational value in the Pädagogische Provinz, through the vivid multi-media enactment of the apotheosis of Phileros in Pandora, to the powerful fusion of thought and pathos in Trilogie der Leidenschaft. But the ending of Egmont is perhaps the most striking example. The Siegessymphonie (or, for the reader, the idea of it) renders the simultaneity of the moment when the many familiar elements of Egmont's life and attitudes, hitherto described in realistic prose, in his vision, and in the music which accompanied his sleep and depicted the sound of his execution squad, suddenly come together into a new and startling perspective.

But such 'many-sided' utterance is at its most concentrated where Goethe attempts to capture the nature of complex phenomena "wenigstens gleichnisweise", by using analogies. As Lohmeyer points out, Goethe was very well aware of what was involved in thinking in "Gleichnisse" and "Analogien"; several of his Maximen indicate that he admired them precisely because they retained an obvious open-endedness which prevented the spurious finality to which language could all too readily lend itself:

Nach Analogien denken ist nicht zu schelten: die Analogie hat den Vorteil, daß sie nicht abschließt und eigentlich nichts Letztes will; dagegen die Induktion verderblich ist, die einen vorgesetzten Zweck im Auge trägt und, auf denselben losarbeitend, Falsches und Wahres mit sich fortreißt. ¹

1) MuR 532, AA 9, p.567; cit. Lohmeyer, q.v., p.374, note 80. Cf. also MuR 559, ibid., p.572; and MuR 1247, ibid., p.656.

For Goethe, such open-endedness was anything but a tailing off into 'romantische Ferne', or a fudging of distinctions:

Jedes Existierende ist ein Analogon alles Existierenden; daher erscheint uns das Dasein immer zu gleicher Zeit gesondert und verknüpft. Folgt man der Analogie zu sehr, so fällt alles identisch zusammen; meidet man sie, so zerstreut sich alles ins Unendliche. In beiden Fällen stagniert die Betrachtung, einmal als überlebendig, das andere Mal als getötet.¹

What he had in mind was a form of thought and expression which should foster not only "Betrachtung", but awareness of what was involved in the processes of observation and utterance - "Bewußtsein" of the provisional nature of any utterance, awareness of the gap between one's utterance and the 'reality', and thence "Selbstkenntnis", the "Ironie" to which Bahr draws attention,² and which Goethe described in the Vorwort to the Farbenlehre:

Jedes Ansehen geht über in ein Betrachten, jedes Betrachten in ein Sinnen, jedes Sinnen in ein Verknüpfen, und so kann man sagen, daß wir schon bei jedem aufmerksamen Blick in die Welt theoretisieren. Dieses aber mit Bewußtsein, mit Selbstkenntnis, mit Freiheit, und um uns eines gewagten Wortes zu bedienen, mit Ironie zu tun und vorzunehmen, eine solche Gewandtheit ist nötig, wenn...das Erfahrungsergebnis, das wir hoffen, recht lebendig und nützlich werden soll.

3

Music serves Goethe in this aim in several ways. It can serve to mark out an utterance as special, in that the statement includes awareness of its own indirect and provisional relation with 'reality', and yet still retains concrete impact. This is especially the case in works which comment on art (especially on poetic statement) and its relation to Nature - such as the Theaterprolog of 1821. And it is very often the case with Goethe's Poet figures - the Harfner, the Musensohn, Tasso and many others - whose

1) MuR 554, AA 9, p. 571.

2) Die Ironie im Spätwerk Goethes, esp. pp. 17ff.

3) AA 16, p. 11.

statements include greater or lesser degrees of "Selbstkenntnis", both personal and professional, and are marked by a special resonance (evoked in the theme or sound of words, or heightened by musical accompaniment) which stamps them both as remote from everyday speech and as more vividly alive and aware than everyday speech. And music also provided Goethe with two of the major analogies through which he chose to depict life as a whole. In musical rhythm, he saw one of the most concrete demonstrations (alongside colour) of the order of diastole and systole, which he conceived as a universal principle in life and in art. And in musical harmony, he saw a vivid and sensuous analogue of the simultaneous order and animation, sequence and hierarchy, which for him linked each individual creature to others, past, present and future; and thus made up his idea of the continuing life of the harmonious cosmos.

In Faust, Goethe drew on music extensively^e in all these ways; in a work which aimed to cover the full range "Vom Himmel durch die Welt zur Hölle", his resources of expression needed to be as diverse and many-sided as he could possibly make them. As he remarked in a famous letter to Iken, in Faust as in other complex works he chose the method of conveying his meaning through several complementary statements:

Da sich gar manches unserer Erfahrungen nicht rund aussprechen und direkt mitteilen läßt, so habe ich seit langem das Mittel gewählt, durch einander gegenüber gestellte und sich gleichsam ineinander abspiegelnde Gebilde den geheimen Sinn dem Aufmerkenden zu offenbaren.

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As elsewhere, this technique demands enormous diversity of expression, if the affinities and differences between these various "Gebilde" are to be adequately brought out; and one of music's principal functions in Faust is to extend Goethe's already wide range of expression. For example, its additional tonal

1) Letter of 27/9/1827, AA 21, p.763. Both Lohmeyer (p.374, note 81) and Bahr (p.17) give the date of this letter as 23/9/1827.

and rhythmic resources help to differentiate the 'tones of voice' of characters who have certain things in common: it distinguishes Gretchen from Helena, Euphorion from the Knabe Lenker and from Lynkeus; the Archangels' hymn of praise from those of Thales and the Doctor Marianus; the 'hosts' of the Northern Walpurgisnacht from those of the Classical in Meeresfest. And these additional tonal and rhythmic resources, together with the additional structures and forms which music brought to his repertoire, (especially the cantata), greatly extended his resources for depicting various ways of living and of viewing life, by arranging voice against voice, individual against group, one group against another, bringing musical episodes into contrast or combination with verbal ones. Examples of this are legion, and a few must serve to illustrate the point: The Archangels against Mephisto (both in the Prolog and in Grablegung); Gretchen against the Chorus of Dom; the Elves against Faust's Terzinenmonolog; Lynkeus against the aged Faust on the balcony; the many and varied Wechselgesänge and Halbchöre which show the constituent members of a company (Walpurgisnacht, Mummenschanz, Meeresfest, Bergschluchten); the choruses which express the unanimity of groups as diverse as the students of Auerbachs Keller, the "sämtliche Kreise" of the Meeresfest, and the angels who rescue Faust's soul "Alle vereinigt"(11821). And as elsewhere, some of the mixed genres(Tanzlied, operetta, Revue) enabled Goethe to combine verbal and musical expression with visual elements, with mimetic expression of various kinds; so that he had a vast range at his disposal, from the simplest to the most complex.

These can be used for fairly straightforward characterisation and local colour; e.g. Gretchen's 'folksongs', the soldiers' song and peasants' dance of Vor dem Tor, the students' songs of Auerbachs Keller, the Italianate Carnival songs and dances of Mummenschanz; and indeed even the clumsy grotesques of Walpurgisnachtstraum, or the Geister, Insekten and Lemuren attendant on Mephisto. And of course this characterisation can be done not only by actual use

of music, but by verbal evocation of a typical musical sound: Gretchen singing, the church bells and their connotations (for Faust, for Mephisto, and for Philemon and Baucis), the "Schreckgetön" of the phantom armies in Act IV. However, this variety of expression can also convey more complex relations; as, for example, where it helps to differentiate dreams and visions from 'reality'. Whether it is heard, described, or evoked through figures of speech, it combines with other stylistic resources in Faust to convey all manner of affinities and differences between various ways of living and attitudes to life.

Music also contributes in Faust to expression which is 'many-sided' in the sense of conveying more than one thing at once. On some occasions, it is used along with other means of expression to characterise not only an attitude, but its social or cultural derivation as well. But usually it is concerned, as 'fluid' medium, with things which change from one form to another whilst retaining their fundamental significance; or with things which have more than one aspect concurrently. (And again this can be done by the use of music itself, by evoking music in the sonority and rhythm of words, or by using musical imagery). Transitions from one form to another, from one attitude to another, from one world to another, are often depicted in this way. Faust's transition from the world of the Gretchen tragedy to the wider world, and from despair to renewed zest for life, takes place amidst the singing of the Nature spirits; Homunculus begins his evolution from the mythical order to the natural amidst the singing figures of the Meeresfest; Helena's Chorus, as they, too, make the transition from mythical to natural existence, evoke the processes of natural growth, and the sounds and rhythms of Dionysian music. And music is often used as a medium to mark out attitudes, figures or moments which have multiple significance or character. Lynkeus' song, for example, sets him apart from Faust, but it also marks the delicate blend of perception and feeling, significance and sensuous appeal, which

characterises his attitude. Music helps to mark the Easter Chorus as sudden and striking, an unexpected response to the climax of Faust's speech; it also offers both a sound and a 'message', which evoke two different responses from Faust. In the Walpurgisnacht, it helps to depict a chaos of sense impressions and also the vigour with which the force of evil asserts itself; but it then also makes palpable the shift from evil to foolishness and mediocrity (in the Walpurgisnachtstraum). And in Anmutige Gegend, it underlines, by added sensuous appeal, the fact that this is a physical restoration as well as a moment of insight into the workings of Nature.

This capacity makes music a particularly valuable resource where Goethe wishes to bring out both the "Ernst" and the "Scherz" of a particular episode or character. Homunculus' ambiguous tone of voice suggests his dubious 'hermaphroditic' nature, whilst what he says indicates a sharp intelligence. And his qualitative change from artificial to 'real' is epitomised by the change of his tone of voice to "herrlichem Getön" (8463). The "luft'gen Töne" which emanate from Paris and Helena as they move helps to bring out their sensuous appeal and their illusory ^{na} nature, as well as their perfect movement as ideals of beauty. The Sirens' singing combines their traditional seductiveness with their explanation and coordination of the spectacle below; they are still inviting to an illusion, but this is a pageant of myths which reveals the mysteries of 'real' life. The frivolity of the Carnival both conceals and reveals the true nature of the Court. And in certain important scenes (the worship of the Cabiri, the Euphorion scene, Grablegung, Bergschluchten), the use of song and stylised movement, rather than of straight dramatic convention, enables Goethe to bring out both the splendour and the mildly ludicrous inadequacy of being for ever en route, constantly striving for the unattainable. Music offers a tonal and rhythmic framework which can accommodate movement and utterance both as erratic and as inspired; the ridiculous element is not suppressed, and the significance of the episode enhanced

rather than undermined.

A somewhat different kind of double perspective emerges where Goethe tries to draw together his perceptions of life as a whole in specific analogies. As we saw in the Introduction, Black and Abrams pointed out that any work which tries to make a statement about the world as a whole must think and speak in 'metaphors', describing the unknown in terms of the known. Goethe valued analogies precisely because they avoided an air of definitive and final statement: "die Analogie hat den Vorteil, daß sie nicht abschließt und eigentlich nichts Letztes will". In using analogies here, he is obviously and deliberately using a form of expression which makes no claims to absolute validity; but he is doing so in order to make a statement about the ultimate meaning of life.

He draws on music in several ways for this purpose in Faust. Not only does he use rhythmic and melodic progression (actual or evoked in words) to depict ways of going about life; and musical harmony (actual or evoked in words) to depict the greater and smaller interrelations which make up a conception of cosmic order and the excitement of perceiving it. He consistently uses both to differentiate between the two opposing views of the world on which the play hinges, and to depict Faust's affinity with both. In the Prolog, the Archangels proclaim the rhythmic pattern of the Lord's universe in the form of a hymn, suggesting cosmic harmony; the Lord himself proclaims that the erring which characterises man is a rhythmic progression leading to clarity. Mephisto asserts that this is mere repetition, pointless movement producing only monotonous sameness, an "altes Liedchen"; and in Grablegung he again proclaims human life as "Vorbei und reines Nicht, vollkommenes Einerlei"(11597). Faust's progression is charted in relation to both. He has his moments of 'harmony' of varying kinds - the vision of the Macrocosm, the "heilige Töne" of Easter, his experience of natural harmony in Anmutige Gegend; and his growth is shown by his recognition of "des Lebens Pulse" in his renewal, and finally by his entry into the "singende Bewegung" of Berg-

schluchten. But he also has his moments of seeing life as toneless monotony and pointless repetition, "der ewige Gesang"; and it is this view of life which he rejects in rejecting the "schlechte Litanei" of Sorge.

But Goethe also sets analogy against analogy, so that everything has relative value, nothing is absolute; and here again music serves his purpose in several ways. In particular, harmony is set against harmony in such a way as to suggest that all are relative, and the cosmos itself incommensurable. The Poet's harmony is set against less flattering metaphors for poetic truth (Vorspiel); the Poet's harmony is set against the Lord's in the Prolog; the traditional notion of cosmic harmony is constantly evoked, yet only lesser harmonies are shown. And even at the end of a work which has drawn not only on a vast range of verbal expression, but on a wide range of musical and mimetic expression as well, we are not given a definitive statement; but told that "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis", and told it by a Chorus Mysticus which suggests communication beyond any or all of these media.

Music has played an important part in Faust. It is one of Goethe's many means of suggesting that it is the human condition never to know or utter completely: "der Welt- und Menschengeschichte gleich, enthüllt das zuletzt aufgelöste Problem immer wieder ein neues aufzulösendes".¹ But it has also been a means of suggesting that man has many resources of thought and expression at his disposal for making the attempt; and that the attempt is both significant and pleasurable.

1) Letter to Reinhard, 7/9/1831, AA 21, p.1002.

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