SCHUBERT RESEARCH CENTER

VIENNA SCHUBERT STUDIES

Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Wynfrid Kriegleder, Werner Telesko (eds.)

NATURE AND LANDSCAPE IN SCHUBERT'S TIME



AUSTRIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES PRESS

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ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE

Vienna Schubert Studies

Band 3

herausgegeben von der Kommission
für interdisziplinäre Schubert Forschung
unter der Leitung von Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl

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OF SCIENCES
PRESS

Cover Design: Verlag der ÖAW, Wien
Cover Image: Auszug aus: Moritz von Schwind (Künstler), Ein Schubert-Abend bei Josef von Spaun, 1868, Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 30525, CC0 (https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/1003233/)

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ISBN 978-3-7001-5107-4
Proof Reading: Shane McMahon
Layout: PER MEDIEN & MARKETING, Braunschweig
Printed: Prime Rate, Budapest
https://epub.oeaw.ac.at/5107-4
https://verlag.oeaw.ac.at
Made in Europe.

Accepted by the publication committee of the Division of Humanities
and Social Sciences of the Austrian Academy of Sciences by:

Michael Alram, Rainer Bauböck, Andre Gingrich, Hermann Hunger,
Sigrid Jalkotzy-Deger, Nina Mirnig, Renate Pillinger, Franz Rainer, Oliver Jens Schmitt,
Danuta Shanzer, Waldemar Zacharasiewicz

This publication was peer-reviewed by two renowned scholars as part of an
international single-blind review process.
Peer review is an essential part of the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press evaluation
process. Before any book can be accepted for publication, it is assessed
by international specialists and ultimately must be approved by the
Austrian Academy of Sciences Publication Committee.

The paper used in this publication is DIN EN ISO 9706 certified
and meets the requirements for permanent archiving of written cultural property.

Contact address for product safety:
Austrian Academy of Sciences Press
Dr. Ignaz Seipel-Platz 2, A-1010 Wien
Tel.: +43-1-51581-3420
E-Mail: verlag@oeaw.ac.at

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Preface

The present volume is the third in a new series of books titled "Vienna Schubert Studies". It is closely related to the Schubert Research Center at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which was founded in April 2021. The Center is dedicated to the study of the composer Franz Schubert (1797–1828) and Viennese cultural life in the first half of the nineteenth century. A broad interdisciplinary approach will focus on cultural, social, and political developments that were central to the Habsburg Monarchy. The aim is to uncover social networks, to identify connecting and dividing factors across borders and disciplines, and, in general, to understand the world in which Schubert and his contemporaries lived and worked in a more differentiated and comprehensive way than has been possible in Schubert research to date.

The accompanying book series documents ongoing research and brings together selected papers from our annual conferences, enriched by contributions from various experts in the field. We set high standards for the quality of the contributions, provide careful editorial work as well as language support for non-native speakers. An external double peer review process and a final review by a panel of the Austrian Academy of Sciences ensures the international relevance of the publication. I am grateful to the same institution for funding the book series.

This volume is based on the conference "Nature and Landscape in Schubert's Time" and contains additional chapters by Sebastian Schwenzfeuer and Susan Youens. We would like to express our gratitude to the authors for their commendable cooperation with the editors and to the reviewers for their helpful suggestions. The chapters of this volume were editorially prepared by Michael Lopatin and copyedited by Shane McMahon.

Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl
Vienna, Spring 2026

Introduction

Concepts of Nature and Landscape in Schubert's Time

Wynfrid Kriegleder, Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, and Werner Telesko

> Nature is all around us. It welcomes us when we enter the world and accompanies us until we leave it. Should we not consider ourselves worthy of entering this great theatre of nature's most magnificent works and events, even for just a moment, if we do not even seek to know where we are and what we feel? [...] Nothing opens the eyes of mortals as much as the contemplation of nature.[1]

This is what the German writer Christlob Mylius wrote in his journal *Der Naturforscher* (*The Naturalist*) back in 1747. Nature and landscape – terms that are not synonymous – were among the major topics of the period around 1800 and have been an integral part of European cultural and intellectual history ever since. This does not mean, of course, that questions about nature were not addressed in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, but the fusion of scientific and public discourse on this subject became much more relevant around 1800, at a period which for some disciplines also marked a break with the past. It included the significant rise of natural philosophy as well as the increasing importance of certain scientific fields such as geology or climatology *avant la lettre*. Medieval philosophical concepts such as *natura naturans*, creative nature as a primal force, as opposed to *natura naturata*, created nature in the sense of a finished product, were taken up again and reexamined by prominent German thinkers such as Fichte and Schelling. However, interest in nature was not confined to abstract discussions, but increasingly addresses issues of immediate reality, whether in landscape gardening, in the growing popularity of travel to previously unknown regions, or in the systematic

1 Christlob Mylius, *Naturforscher, eine physikalische Wochenschrift*, no. 1 (1 July 1747), Leipzig 1747, 6: „Die Natur ist überall bey uns. Sie empfängt uns bey unserm Eintritte in die Welt, und sie begleitet uns bis zum Ausgange aus derselben. Sollten wir uns wohl der Betretung dieses großen Schauplatzes der prächtigsten Werke und Begebenheiten der Natur nur einen Augenblick für würdig schätzen können, wenn wir nicht einmal zu wissen verlangen, wo wir sind und was wir empfinden? [...] Durch nichts werden die Augen der Sterblichen so sehr geöffnet, als durch die Betrachtung der Natur." (This and all other translations by the authors.)

nomenclature of Carl von Linné, not to mention the unmistakable reflections of images and impressions of nature in literature, music, and the visual arts.

In summary, the perception of nature changed from the early modern period to the modern era. People in the early modern period mainly viewed nature as an awe-inspiring counterpart that was primarily interpreted as a divine being, a creator god who rules over and permeates nature. This dominance of religious ideas underwent a gradual and sustained process of change, shifting towards the objectification of nature through increased empirical observation and research. Overall, this shift replaced the theological-anthropocentric worldview with pre-modern scientific perspectives.

Das Ende der Naturgeschichte. Wandel kultureller Selbstverständlichkeiten in den Wissenschaften des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts (*The End of Natural History: The Transformation of Cultural Self-Evidence in the Sciences of the 18th and 19th Centuries*) is the title of a remarkable book from 1976, in which the sociologist Wolf Lepenies postulated a fundamental change in the understanding of nature in modern Europe. According to him, the last third of the eighteenth and the first third of the nineteenth century witnessed a transformation in the interpretation of 'natural history'. The traditional, ahistorical *historia naturalis* was replaced by a forward-looking, historical conception of nature. It should be noted critically, though, that the tendencies toward temporalization expressed in this book refer to interpretations that date back even further. Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon's influential theories on the formation of the Earth are presented in the first volume of his *Histoire Naturelle* (1749) and again in his later work *Les Époques de la Nature* (1778). They contain detailed mechanical theories on the origin of life on Earth. Thus, many discussions on nature around 1800 and during the Vormärz period were not necessarily characterized by innovation. Rather, they may have processed older points of view and topics in an intensified manner.

One of the most notable aspects of the evolving understanding of nature and landscape was the increased focus on specific natural phenomena. This was reflected by an interest in the transience of clouds and an increased focus on water as a 'super element' that was important economically (e.g. the steam engine), scientifically (Neptunism, which holds that all rocks are to be regarded as sedimentary rocks) and aesthetically (from landscape painting and poetry to gardening and songwriting). Water provided a model for the dynamics of new explanations of the world. In water, a new cult of fluidity was taking shape, in which animals, plants, air, earth(s), and light appear to be held together as an ensemble. The corresponding ideas of landscape, as expressed in texts, music, and paintings, are not concretized here in an overall view. Instead, they are presented in a new way by focusing on fluidity and water.

In the arts – primarily literature, but also the visual arts and music – these developments coincide with a marked subjectification of perceptions of nature and landscape. In German-language literature, this trend began as early as the 1770s with the poets of the so-called 'Sturm und Drang' movement, of which Johann Wolfgang Goethe is the best-known representative. The young poets of Romanticism followed him around 1800. Nature and landscape were now depicted in poetry through the eyes of the speaking subject, and in narrative literature through the perceptions of the protagonists – atmospheric landscapes were created.

However, this new trend only became widespread after the Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna. It emerged during the era of Franz Schubert, often referred to in literary history as the Restoration era, as well as the 'Weltschmerz' (world-weariness) era. A pervasive melancholic mood was engendered by a general perception of being born too late at the conclusion of an era, as well as a nebulous apprehension of the future in view of accelerating technological and economic developments, and the loss of the erstwhile metaphysical concepts of order. This mood was often reflected in literature through the identification with natural phenomena or a landscape that was perceived as a reflection of an inevitably disappearing original order.

A hundred years later, the Hungarian philosopher Georg Lukács spoke of the 'transcendental homelessness' of modern man – an attitude toward life that found particular expression in nature poetry in the period after 1815. Some authors, such as Heinrich Heine, were able to ironize this sense of world-weariness from an outside perspective, revealing the subjective element of this new attitude toward life. Franz Schubert's work also reflects this shift when he based his songs on nature-related texts by contemporary poets.

In summary, it can be said that from around 1800 onwards, nature and landscape became central and closely intertwined themes in philosophical and artistic discourse as well as in everyday life. Nature and landscape – also in line with the striking social, scientific, and economic developments in the recording, marketing, and management of natural spaces, as well as the ever-advancing systematization of fauna and flora – were increasingly perceived as enigmatic, all-encompassing, and diverse, with which one interacts in various ways and of which one perceives oneself as a meaningful part.

*

If Vienna is considered one of the most livable cities in the world today, it owes this distinction in part to the many green spaces that are integrated into the city. In Schubert's time, it was also possible to experience nature and landscape

in Vienna's urban space, even more intensely than today. The open spaces in the city and the surrounding area included the Vienna Woods, the cultivated meadows of the Glacis, which was later converted into the Ringstrasse, as well as the Prater and the Augarten.

The name suggests that the Augarten (like the Prater) was originally a floodplain near the Danube, which Emperor Matthias acquired as a hunting ground in the early seventeenth century and equipped with a small hunting lodge. Subsequent rulers transformed the natural meadows into a garden landscape, expanded the lodge into a palace, and enlarged the area by purchasing adjacent land. After the destruction of the Augarten during the second Turkish siege (1683), Emperor Joseph I rebuilt the palace at the beginning of the eighteenth century and commissioned Jean Trehet to design the surrounding green space as a French-style park. Unlike the gardens of Schönbrunn and Belvedere, which were designed by the same architect, the Augarten lacked fountains, water features, statues, and flower beds. The park was therefore comparatively natural, consisting mainly of walking paths laid out in geometric patterns that crossed each other repeatedly and were lined with shady alleys. In addition, there were two open lawns and smaller areas with low bushes.

Initially, the Augarten was only accessible to the imperial family and the high nobility. On Sunday, 30 April 1775, it was opened to the general population of Vienna by Emperor Joseph II, in a gesture of goodwill. This event was commemorated through the organization of a significant public festival, which incorporated a fireworks display. To mark its new purpose, additional avenues lined with chestnut trees were laid out for those seeking relaxation, two hundred benches were installed for visitors to rest on, and various songbirds were released.

Nightingales were particularly popular due to their beautiful and varied song. As can be seen from a book advertisement that appeared several times in the *Wiener Zeitung* newspaper, they were often kept in cages in people's homes.[2] But hunting them in the Augarten was expressly punishable by law. The entrance was monitored by the military, and guards were employed to maintain order in the park. The inscription on the triumphal arch-like entrance portal, which leads directly to the palace and was erected by Isidore Canevale, commemorates the emperor's generous patronage. It reads: "Allen Menschen

2 The title of the advertised book by Louis Daniel Arnaut de Nobleville is: *AEDOLOGIA, Oder Abhandlung von der Singenden Nachtigall; In sich haltend Die Art und Weise selbige mit dem Netze zu fangen, mit leichter Mühe im Kefig* (sic) *zu erhalten, und das ganze Jahr hindurch ihres angenehmen Gesang zu genießen* (Straßburg: Amand König, 1752).

gewidmeter Erlustigungsort von ihrem Schätzer" (A place of entertainment dedicated to all people by their benefactor).

Next to the entrance, a single-story garden building was erected, which was run by court trateur[3] Ignaz Jahn as an upscale restaurant and consisted of dining and dance halls, refreshment rooms, and a billiard room.[4] In order to transform the recreational area into a place of entertainment, Jahn made his restaurant available for various events. In the early 1780s, a series of subscription concerts was established which had begun as inner-city concerts in the 'Mehlgrube' and were now moved to the 'countryside'. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was also involved in the first Augarten concert on 26 May 1782. These so-called 'Morning Concerts' enjoyed varying degrees of success over the years and were eventually reduced to annual concert events on 1 May, which became a Viennese tradition.[5]

The press highlighted the combination of art appreciation and nature enjoyment as a distinctive experience and presented it in a vivid manner. In 1821, the *Vienna Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* reported in the 'Novellistik' category:

> The delightful custom of the Viennese to celebrate the first of May in the shady arches of the imperial Augarten park, listening to the flute concerts of the nightingales, which, as true Viennese songbirds, even sing with a double tongue, attracted everyone who was cheerful out into the sun-drenched, ether-blue day. [...] The music of the forests sounded in loud unison, and on the heavenly organ all the stops were pulled out and all the bellows were in full swing. The choir of larks seemed to want to outdo the nightingales' concert, so they all rose up into the clouds and sang the most beautiful and longest trills at the highest altitude. [...] Thus, humanity, recovering from the rigid winter, now streamed and surged from one alley of lime trees to another to enjoy the beautiful warm May morning to their hearts' content. Around nine o'clock, the beauties of Vienna hurried

3 This is a historical term for a chef who was responsible for planning and organizing large banquets at the court.

4 Construction plans for the garden palace are to be found in Stefan Weinzierl, *Beethovens Konzerträume. Raumakustik und symphonische Aufführungspraxis an der Schwelle zum modernen Konzertwesen* (Frankfurt am Main: Erwin Bochinsky, 2002), 90–91.

5 About the Augarten cf. Wilhelm Kisch, *Die alten Strassen und Plätze von Wien's Vorstädten und ihre historisch interessanten Häuser: ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte Wiens mit Rücksicht auf vaterländische Kunst, Architektur, Musik und Literatur* (Wien: Oskar Frank's Nachfolger 1888), vol. 1; Friedrich Reischl, *Wien zur Biedermeierzeit: Volksleben in Wiens Vorstädten nach zeitgenössischen Schilderungen* (Wien: Gerlach & Wiedling 1921). On the Augarten concerts cf. Paul Sekora, "Augartenfeste und andere Begebenheiten," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 3 (1960), 182–88; Otto Schneider, "Musik im Augarten," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 1 (1966): 15–27.

with their companions from the golden, music-filled bushes and avenues to the magnificent concert hall to enjoy a feast of the arts.[6]

In Johann Andreas Ziegler's colored copperplate engravings, one can observe Vienna's high society strolling through the avenues of the Augarten park (see Ilustration 1).



Illustration 1: *Die sogenannte Linden Allee im Augarten*. Kolorierte Radierung von Johann Andreas Ziegler, um 1805 (© Wien Museum Online)

Time and again, the various bird calls that could be heard in the Augarten were linked to the musical performances in the garden palace, highlighting

6 *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, May 1821, no. 40, 316.: Die schöne Gewohnheit der Wiener, den ersten May in den schattenreichen Laubgewölben des k. k. Augartens zu feyern, und die Flötenconcerte der Nachtigallen, welche allda als echte Wiener Sprosser sogar mit der Doppelzunge schlagen, anzuhören, lockte heuer jeden Frohen hinaus in den sonnenflammenden, ätherblauen Tag. [...] Die Musik der Wälder klang im lauten Unisono, und an der Himmelsorgel waren alle Register gezogen und alle Blasbälge im vollen Gange, der Sängerchor der Lerchen schien das Concert der Nachtigallen überstimmen zu wollen, darum erhoben sich alle in die Wolken, und schlugen auf der höchsten Höhe die schönsten und längsten Triller. [...] So strömte und wogte nun die vom starren Winter sich erholende Menschheit von einer Lindenallee in die andere, um den schönen warmen Maymorgen recht nach Herzenslust zu geniessen. Gegen neun eilten [...] die Schönen Wiens [...] mit ihren Begleitern aus den goldstrahlenden, musicirenden Gebüschen und Alleen nach dem prächtigen Concertsaale, um da sich zu erbauen an einem Kunstgenusse.

the beneficial connection between nature and the musical experience. This was particularly vividly illustrated in the following description:

> So if some already know the oscillating trills of black and gray blackbirds, the *staccatos* of finches, the *smorzandos* of nightingales, the *colla partes* of mockingbirds, the *rinforzandos* of crows, the *diminuendos* of warblers, the *portamentos* of the larks, the à piaceres of the sparrows, the *ritardandos* of the linnets, the *cantabiles* of the flycatchers, and the grand, meaningful *fermatas* of the ravens crying with their bellies puffed out, and have absorbed their effect – then come those who not only admire the charms of nature here, [...] but also want to hear the delightful harmonies of an *Academie de Musique* held in the Augarten Hall and listen to the lovely murmurs of skilled singers or instrumentalists.[7]

When Ignaz Schuppanzigh (1776–1830), prominent first violinist of a string quartet named after him, attempted to revive the subscription concerts with a Musical Morning Entertainment on 1 May 1824, it was no coincidence that he chose Franz Schubert's male quartet *Die Nachtigall* (*The Nightingale*) D 724 as the final piece. The nightingale symbolized the experience of nature in the Augarten, which, in combination with the musical and culinary delights in the garden palace, set the Augarten concerts apart from numerous other events taking place in the city.[8] After its first public performance in May 1821, the male quartet became one of Schubert's most popular works in this genre and was already available in print a year later as Opus 11 no. 2.

The starting point for the composition was a poem by Johann Carl Unger (1771–1837/38), a Viennese poet, member of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (Society of Music Lovers), composer, and amateur singer. The text, which Schubert set to music, tells the story from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of Philomela, the daughter of the king of Athens, who was transformed into a nightingale by Zeus. While in Ovid she laments her fate in song, in Unger she represents

7 *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung,* May 1822, no. 37, 293: Wenn also jene schon die oscillirenden Triller der schwarzen und grauen Amseln, die Staccato's der Finken, die Smorzando's der Nachtigallen, die Colla parte's der Spottvögel, die Rinsforzando's der Krähen, die Diminuenda's der Grasemücken (sic), die Portamento's der Lerchen, die à piacere's der Sperlinge, die Ritardano's der Hänflinge, die Cantabile's der Fliegenschnapper und die grossen, bedeutungsvollen Fermaten der mit aufgeblähtem Bauche schreyenden Raben schon gehört und den Effect davon eingesogen haben – dann kommen erst die, welche nicht allein die Reitze der Natur hier nebenher bewundern, [...] sondern auch die reitzenden Harmonien einer im Augarten-Saale veranstalteten *Academie de Musique* vernehmen, und das liebliche Säuseln kunstgelehrter Singstimmen oder Instrumentalisten belauschen wollen.

8 On the symbolism of the nightingale and further nightingale-compositions by Schubert see the contribution by Thomas Seedorf in this volume.

blissful, faithful love, which, through the harmony of loving souls, is capable of making all longings disappear.[9]

The three-stanza poem is simple and rather conventional, and Schubert set it to music in the same vein. Little would be heard of the nightingale's song mentioned in the title of the song if Schubert had not intervened in the sequence of the text. After the second stanza, he does not immediately continue with the composition of the third, but instead inserts an almost identical repetition of the first stanza. There, Schubert takes the liberty of embellishing the upper voice in Baroque style by filling interval leaps in the melody with sixteenth notes, play around individual notes, and letting an imaginary nightingale trill in the final words of the stanza "in a swirling tone". Thus, the nightingale not only appears in the title, but also resounds in the music.

When we stroll through the park area in Leopoldstadt today, the splendor of centuries past is still evident. The Augarten has remained open to the public as a recreational area throughout history, the Baroque gardens have been preserved, and the palace continues to stand intact. Since the last years of the Second World War, however, this natural idyll has been disrupted by an oversized concrete flak tower (anti-aircraft-tower), and the nightingales have long since flown to wider horizons. Only Schubert's male quartet D 724 reminds us of them today.

*

Some of the following chapters are close readings of text; some take detailed accounts of nature as their subject matter. The twelve contributions are divided into three sections. The first section addresses landscape as soundscape from the perspective of various disciplines and includes texts by a musicologist, a music theorist, a cultural scientist, and a comparative literature scholar. Thomas Seedorf opens the proceedings by providing an overview of aspects of nature settings in Schubert's songs and pointing out various categories of musical approaches. In Markus Böggemann's contribution, the focus shifts to a vocal repertoire with obbligato instruments. The discussed works evoke a peculiar spatial experience, reinforced by the added solo instrument. Ulrike Steierwald's contribution adds a theoretical perspective from current cultural studies to the mix. She emphasizes Schubert's modernity in an analysis of *Die schöne Müllerin* according to which water assumes the character of

9 Zum Dichter und zur Textvorlage see Peter Rastl and Peter Dellitsch, eds., *Franz Schubert: Die Texte seiner Lieder und Gesänge und ihre Dichter* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2023), vol. 2, 1405–09; 1411–12.

a protagonist that consistently dissolves anthropocentric concepts of nature. Finally, Cecily Cai examines the typical Schubertian wanderer in the *Winterreise*, finding parallels in his circular motion to a modern exile living in a nomadic, decentered life.

The second section brings together contributions that approach the topic from an aesthetic, economic, or scientific perspective. Emily Shyr discusses metaphors of the natural sublime in *Winterreise* and contextualizes invocations of ice, water, and fire. Werner Telesko points out a new focus on the microscopically small in landscape painting of the Vormärz period, which goes hand in hand with an increased interest in the sky space and the planets. In Stephanie O'Rourke's text, large-scale mining operations are linked to landscape paintings by Joseph Anton Koch, while Elizabeth Millán Brusslan examines Humboldt's understanding of nature, which transcends any utilitarian exploitation and opens up a space of freedom.

The third section presents "Musical Case Studies". Schubert's *Die Nacht* D 534 is analyzed by Tobias Lund as a space for melancholic reflection. He presents three conceivable interpretations of the song, one of them drawing on contemporary garden theory by Hirschfeld. A methodologically different approach is taken by Marlene Heiß with a contemporary cinematic interpretation of Schubert/Schlegel's *Abendröthe* based on an ecocritial approach. The natural philosophy of Friedrich Schelling stands at the center of the contribution by Sebastian Schwenzfeuer who illustrates his theory using the song *Der Wanderer* D 870. The section concludes with a study by Susan Youens, one of the most prominent scholars in Schubert song research today. Youens analyzes night, nature and forbidden passion in *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* D 653, revealing a portrait of incest and 'Doppelgängertum' and uncovering Schubert's futuristic exercise in Romantic tonality and double meanings.

Landscape as Soundscape

‘Natura sonans’. Nature in Schubert’s Vocal Music

Thomas Seedorf

From an early stage, the theme of nature occupies a prominent place in Schubert’s vocal music. Many of the texts that he chose to set to music during his school years and beyond belong to the genre of nature poetry. This genre reflects the plants, animals, landscapes, times of day, seasons, sun, moon, stars and weather phenomena in a comprehensive vocabulary of over 300 solo and polyphonic songs. Examples of songs and part songs dealing with nature and landscapes in various ways include evening songs and nightingale songs. The nightingale is also an example of ‘natura sonans’, or sounding nature, a concept that Schubert explores in many of his works.

Schubert and nature

“To the beauties of nature he was extraordinarily receptive,” Joseph von Spaun reported in his obituary for his friend Franz Schubert, “and almost every day in summer, when it was fine, he used to make extensive excursions, in the afternoons and evenings, into the lovely surroundings of Vienna. He had a special partiality, in this respect, for the magnificent countryside of Upper Austria and Salzburg, which for several years he used to visit with Vogl during the summer months.”[1] Letters that Schubert wrote to family members during his travels confirm Spaun’s account. The landscape around Gmunden was “truly heavenly” (“wahrhaftig himmlisch”), he enthused in a letter to his father and

1 Deutsch, *Memories*, 25; [Joseph von Spaun], “Über Franz Schubert,” *Oesterreichisches Bürgerblatt für Verstand, Herz und gute Laune* no. 27, 3 April 1829, [no pagination]: “Für die Schönheiten der Natur war er höchst empfänglich, und im Sommer an schönen Tagen machte er beynahe täglich in den Nachmittags- und Abendstunden weitere Ausflüge in die schönen Umgebungen Wiens. Mit großer Vorliebe gedachte er in dieser Beziehung der herrlichen Gegenden Ober-Österreichs und Salzburgs, welche er durch mehrere Jahre während der Sommermonathe mit Vogl besuchte.” See also Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 33.

stepmother;[2] and he told his brother Ferdinand that the Wallersee near Salzburg "animates this delightful landscape most gloriously".[3]

However, Schubert did not only experience the idyllic side of nature. On the way to Wildbad Gastein, he saw "menacing gorges" ("fürchterliche Schluchten") and "terrible rockeries" ("schreckliche Berge"), and he told Ferdinand about "an overhanging rock where the constrained Salzach rages furiously".[4] When Schubert wrote this, the greatest natural disaster in human history was only a few years behind him: in April 1815, the Tambora volcano erupted on the island of Sumbawa, which today belongs to Indonesia. The eruption catapulted ash and dust to a height of around twenty-five kilometers, where it spread as a dark cloud over large parts of the globe. The full impact of this darkening of the sky only became apparent the following year, which went down in history as the "Year Without a Summer."[5] Continuous rain and cold led to crop failures, and people in many parts of the world suffered hunger and hardship. In Vienna, too, the summer of 1816 was predominantly wet and cold.[6] Although no dramatic emergencies were documented in the city, it was clearly noticeable in the Danube metropolis that nature had been thrown out of balance.[7]

As extensively as Schubert's experiences of nature in his later years are documented, little is known about the young Schubert's relationship with nature. However, nature was a prominent theme in his vocal music from an early age. Many of the texts Schubert chose to set to music during his school days and youth belong to the genre of nature poetry – poems "about landscapes, gardens and flowers, about the sun and moon, forests and meadows, birds and forest animals, about water and, again and again, the times of day and seasons."[8] Intense poetic engagement with nature began in the seventeenth century, grew in importance during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and established itself as a poetic genre. This genre has endured throughout all subsequent eras up to the present day.[9] The boundaries between other genres

2 Letter dated 25 or 28 July 1825, see Deutsch, *Documents*, 414; *Dokumente*, 299.
3 Letter dated 12 September 1825, see Deutsch, *Documents*, 457; *Dokumente*, 313: "Der Waller-See [...] belebt diese anmuthige Gegend auf das herrlichste."
4 Continuation of the letter, dated 21 September, see Deutsch, *Documents*, 467, 466; *Dokumente*, 320: "[...] unter einem herüberhängenden Felsen bei dem zornigen Wüthen der eingezwängten Salzach".
5 See Wolfgang Behringer, *Tambora und das Jahr ohne Sommer. Wie ein Vulkan die Welt in die Krise stürzte* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2018).
6 Compare Elizabeth Norman McKay, "Schubert and 'The Year Without Summer,'" *Schubert durch die Brille* 27 (June 2001): 65–78.
7 On natural disasters in Schubert's time see also the chapter by Emily Shyr.
8 Dietrich Bode, "Nachwort," in *Deutsche Naturlyrik. Eine Auswahl*, ed. Dietrich Bode (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2012), 18–190, at 187. (All translation are by the author if not otherwise stated).
9 See Ulrich Kittstein, *Deutsche Naturlyrik. Ihre Geschichte in Einzelanalysen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), 2009.

such as 'poetry of experience' (Erlebnislyrik), 'love poetry' (Liebeslyrik) and 'thought poetry' (Gedankenlyrik) are often fluid. In the work of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, for example, whose writing draws on a wide variety of literary movements and in which the theme of nature appears in many different ways, the landscape becomes "a place of escape from society, a resonance chamber for the soul, the exterior becoming the interior of the human being."[10] In Goethe's poem *Auf dem See* (On the Lake), which Schubert set to music in 1817 (D 543), "nature acts as a medium for dealing with an inner conflict of love."[11] Around 1800, a lyrical perspective typical of the eighteenth century, which recognized and admired the work of God in nature, gave way to the self-discovery of the subject in nature.

Schubert's musical nature poetry

Schubert probably drew inspiration for the texts of his early songs from his school lessons at the Stadtkonvikt, and in particular from the *Institutio ad eloquentiam*, a widely used textbook on rhetoric and poetry. In his early years as a song composer, Schubert set a large number of poems by several important eighteenth-century German-language poets to music. These poets are highlighted as key figures in the textbook.[12] Some of them, such as Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Johann Gaudenz von Salis-Seewis, Friedrich Matthisson, and Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg, are still considered central representatives of eighteenth-century nature poetry.[13]

The young Schubert reacted particularly strongly to Matthisson's nature poems;[14] he set eight of them to music in 1814, a year that was highly important for his development as a song composer. He probably became aware of Matthisson's poem *Adelaide*, first published in Johann Heinrich Voß's *Musen-Almanach für 1790* and subsequently reprinted numerous times, through Ludwig van Beethoven's setting. Beethoven's *Adelaide*, Op. 46, enjoyed great popularity soon after its first publication (probably in 1797) and became one of his best-

10 Gerhard Kaiser, *Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik von Goethe bis Heine. Ein Grundriß in Interpretationen. Erster Teil* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988), 258.

11 Dorothea Hennig, *Musik und Metaphysik. Interpretationen zur Naturlyrik von der Aufklärung bis zur Romantik* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), 98.

12 *Institutio ad eloquentiam* (Vienna: Trattner, 1805), 89 et passim. See Ilija Dürhammer, "Zu Schuberts Liedästhetik. Entwickelt anhand seiner zu Lebzeiten veröffentlichten Vokalwerke," *Schubert durch die Brille* 14 (January 1995): 5–99, especially 16–17.

13 See Ursula Heukenkamp, *Die Sprache der schönen Natur. Studien zur Naturlyrik* (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau, 1984).

14 See Ira Schulze-Ardey, *Der Komponist als produzierender Leser. Zum Verhältnis von Text- und Musikstruktur im klavierbegleiteten Sololied am Beispiel der Dichtung Friedrich von Matthissons in den Vertonungen von Franz Schubert* (Frankfurt am Main and Berlin: Peter Lang, 2003).

known compositions during the nineteenth century.[15] The seventeen-year-old Schubert was not deterred by the popularity of this song from setting Matthisson's verses to music himself (D 95), and he did so in a completely different way from his older contemporary.[16] With *Adelaide*, he chose a poem that combines the themes of love and nature:

Einsam wandelt dein Freund im Frühlingsgarten,
Mild vom lieblichen Zauberlicht umflossen,
Das durch wankende Blütenzweige zittert:
Adelaide!

In der spiegelnden Flut, im Schnee der Alpen,
In des sinkenden Tages Goldgewölke,
Im Gefilde der Sterne strahlt dein Bildnis,
Adelaide!

Abendlüftchen im zarten Laube flüstern,
Silberglöckchen des Mais im Grase säuseln,
Wellen rauschen, und Nachtigallen flöten:
Adelaide!

Einst, o Wunder! entblüht, auf meinem Grabe
Eine Blume der Asche meines Herzens;
Deutlich schimmert auf jedem Purpurblättchen:
Adelaide![17]

In solitude your lover walks in the spring garden
Gently bathed in the lovely magic light
That shimmers through the swaying branches in blossom
Adelaide!

In the mirroring waters, in the Alpine snows[,]
In the golden clouds of the dying day,
In the meadows of stars your image shines,
Adelaide!

Evening breezes whisper in the tender leaves,
Silver bells of May rustle in the grass,
Waves plash and nightingales sing:
Adelaide!

One day, miraculously, a flower from the ashes of my heart
Shall bloom upon my grave;
On every tiny purple leaf shall glimmer clearly:
Adelaide![18]

15 See Jennifer Ronyak, "Beethoven within Grasp: The Nineteenth-Century Reception of 'Adelaide,'" *Music & Letters* 97, no. 2 (2016): 249–76.

16 See Peter Gülke, "Adelaide (D 95)," in *Schubert Liedlexikon*, ed. Walther Dürr et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2012), 47–50; Graham Johnson, *Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs*, 3 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 1:54–7.

17 Peter Rastl and Peter Dellitsch, eds., *Franz Schubert. Die Texte seiner Lieder und Gesänge und ihre Dichter*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 2023), 1:678–9.

18 Johnson, *Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs*, 1:54–5.

Some motifs that will reappear later in many songs and part songs are already brought together here in a concise form: a spring garden forms the setting in which a lonely lover wanders. Floods of water, mountains, clouds and stars make the image of the beloved shine, whose name is called by evening breezes, silver bells, waves, and nightingales – "voices of nature" in the sense of Johann Gottfried Herder: "when all of nature resounds, there is nothing more natural to a sensual human being than that it lives, speaks, and acts."[19]

Two years earlier, Schubert had set Friedrich von Schiller's *Der Jüngling am Bache* (The Youth by the Brook) to music for the first time, a poem that straddles the boundary between poetry of experience and nature poetry. At its center are the melancholic thoughts of a boy, which echo for him in the phenomena of nature: "But these thousand voices / Of awakening nature / Awaken in my deep bosom / Only my heavy sorrow."[20] Unlike Matthisson's *Adelaide*, Schubert set this poem to music several times: in 1812 as a varied strophic song (D 30), which offers space for musical accentuation of the various shades of the underlying mood; in 1815 as a genuine strophic song (D 192), which takes up the melodic gesture of the first setting but turns it from major to minor in order to emphasize the melancholic undertone; and in 1819 again as a strophic song (D 638) in minor, which is completely independent of the two previous settings. Unlike these, Schubert considered D 638 worthy of publication and finally published it in revised form in 1827 together with *Hoffnung* D 637 (also after Schiller) and *Der Unglückliche* D 713 (after Caroline Pichler) under the opus number 87.

Schubert set many other poems related to nature to music two or even three times, changing the genre several times, as in the case of Matthisson's poem *Naturgenuß* (Enjoyment of Nature), which he first composed as a solo song (D 188) and then as a male quartet with piano accompaniment (D 422). The genre change also occurred in the opposite direction, for example in the settings of the poem *Die Einsiedelei* (The Hermitage) by Salis-Seewis, which Schubert first set to music as an unaccompanied male quartet (D 337) and then twice as a solo song (D 393 and 563). Like the numerous double and triple settings of poems from other thematic areas, these different approaches to a poem document Schubert's enduring interest in texts that allowed for different musical interpretations.

19 Johann Gottfried Herder, *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voß, 1772), 82: "Indem die ganze Natur tönt; so ist einem sinnlichen Menschen nichts natürlicher, als daß sie lebt, sie spricht, sie handelt."

20 "Aber diese tausend Stimmen / Der erwachenden Natur / Wecken in dem tiefen Busen / Mir den schweren Kummer nur." Quoted from Rastl and Dellitsch, *Franz Schubert. Die Texte seiner Lieder*, 2:1024.

Schubert's compositional engagement with Schiller's poem *Der Jüngling am Bache* spanned a good fifteen years, thus encompassing most of his creative period. It is exemplary of the importance of nature as theme, which in various forms and with varying emphasis characterize a large part of Schubert's vocal music, comprising a total of around 300 part songs and Lieder, including the two cycles *Die schöne Müllerin* and *Winterreise*.

In some poems, nature is only mentioned in passing, as in Caroline Pichler's *Der Sänger am Felsen* (The Singer on the Rock). The poet sketches the natural setting in which a singer calls on his flute to strike up a lament with just a few keywords ("spring," [Frühling] "night," [Nacht] "Zephyr"). Schubert was apparently inspired for his strophic song D 482 primarily by the image of the lamenting flute, whose playing he imagines in sound in a six-measure piano prelude.

This minimalist representation of nature is contrasted with Schubert's settings of poems that take nature itself as their subject, as indicated by titles such as *An die Natur* D 372 (Stolberg), *Gott in der Natur* D 757 (Ewald von Kleist) or *An den Frühling* D 283, 338 and 587 (Schiller). The most important and largest group of songs and part songs, however, comprises settings of poems in which nature provides the framework for human experience and feeling, as in *Adelaide* or in *Der Jüngling am Bache*.

Several categories of nature semantics are to be identified in the corpus of poems set to music by Schubert:

- Plants
- Animals
- Landscape
- Times of day and seasons
- Sun, moon and stars
- Weather phenomena

A number of expressions can be assigned to each category: 'Landscape' comprises mountains, hills, meadow, river and lake, while 'plants' encompasses an extensive catalog of trees, flowers, and fruits. The 'Animals' category is particularly extensive and includes fish, lambs, deer, and a variety of birds such as eagles, larks, swans, pigeons and nightingales. Many expressions have compound forms such as 'spring garden' (Frühlingsgarten) as a subcategory, for which there are only a few examples in the corpus examined. The term 'wind' in relation to the weather includes 'evening wind' (Abendwind, e.g. *Der Herbstabend* D 405 after Salis-Seewis, *Alinde* D 904 after Friedrich Rochlitz) or 'gust of wind' (Windstoß, e.g. *Die Nacht* D 534 after Ossian/James McPherson). Most poems with a reference to nature are not limited to one category, but draw, like Matthisson's *Adelaide*, from the wealth of nature vocabulary.

Evening and nightingale songs

Some natural motifs run through Schubert's entire creative period. These include the evening "as a concept and metaphor and its sensual, visual, and auditory representation in the image of the setting sun, the glowing evening red, and the spreading silence."[21] *Adelaide* marks the beginning of Schubert's evocations of this special time of transition from day to night ("Abendlüftchen im zarten Laube flüstern"), while the end point is marked by the setting of Karl Gottfried von Leitner's poem *Der Winterabend* D 938, composed in January 1828.[22] Wolfgang Ruf recognizes "two categories with contrasting spheres of expression [...]: one rather cheerful and one painful and resigned" in these evening songs.[23] An expressive middle ground can also be discerned between these two extremes.

Many evening songs based on poems by Matthisson, such as *Stimme der Liebe* D 187 and D 418 or *Geist der Liebe* D 414, are characterized by an unbroken cheerful expression. However, the second setting of *Geist der Liebe* for male quartet and piano (D 747), composed in 1822, casts Matthisson's poem in a different light. In contrast to the strophic structure of the song D 414, Schubert composed the quartet through and emphasizes the significance of the central third stanza with surprising modulations: "Der Geist der Liebe wirkt und strebt, / Wo nur ein Puls der Schöpfung bebt" (The spirit of love is busy at work / Wherever the pulse of creation beats). Instead of a simple 'lullaby of nature', Schubert sets a sweeping and compositionally demanding contemplation on the special magic of the evening atmosphere.[24] In contrast to the older song version, the more serious tone that Schubert strikes here also characterizes many of the other evening songs he composed from 1818 onwards, after he turned to romantic poetry: *Das Abendrot* D 627 after Aloys Schreiber, *Abendbilder* D 650 after Johann Petrus Silbert, and in particular *Im Abendrot* D 799 after Karl Lappe, as well as the Stolberg setting *Auf dem Wasser zu singen* D 774.[25] The late *Abendlied für die*

21 Wolfgang Ruf, "Im Glanz der Abendröte. Zu Liedern Schuberts auf Lyrik von Kosegarten, Lappe und anderen Dichtern," in *Kunst, Kontext, Kultur. Manfred Wagner. 38 Jahre Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte an der Angewandten*, ed. Gloria Withalm, Anna Margareta Spohn and Gerald Bast (Vienna and New York: Springer, 2012), 253–276, at 263.
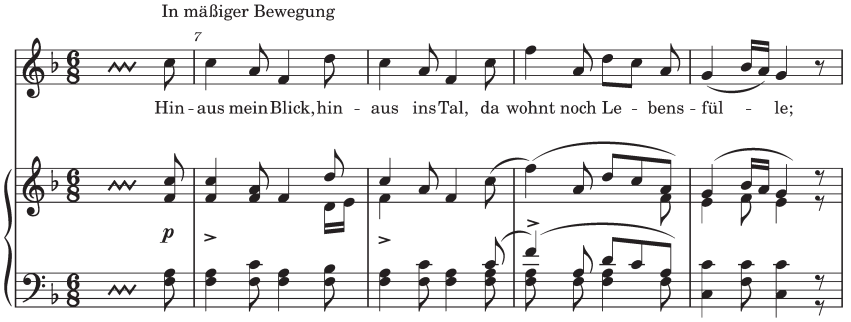
22 Ruf lists only twenty-four evening songs (Ruf, "Im Glanz der Abendröte," 273–5), but numerous other settings of poems evoking an evening mood could also be considered.

23 Ruf, "Im Glanz der Abendröte," 253.
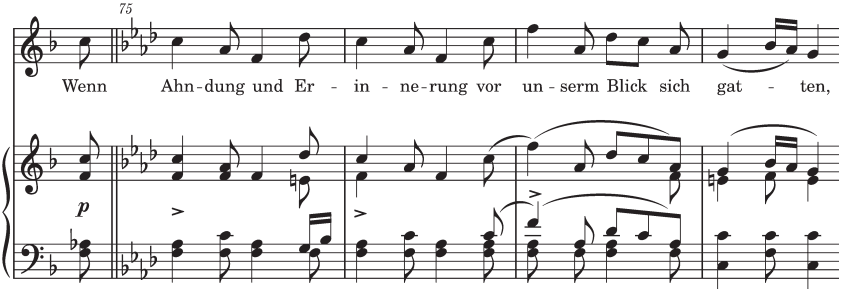
24 Astrid Tschense-Oesterle, "Geist der Liebe (D 414)," in *Schubert-Liedlexikon*, ed. Walther Dürr et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2012), 329–30, at 330: "Schlaflied der Natur."

25 See See Ilija Dürhammer, "Schubert 'romantische' Jahre. Friedrich Schlegels *Abendröte* und Novalis-*Hymnen*," in *Schubert neu entdeckt*, ed. Erich Benedikt (Vienna: Schubert-Gesellschaft Wien-Lichtental, 1999), 54–64; Ruf, "Im Glanz der Abendröte," 267–8 and 270–71; and Thomas Seedorf, "Auf den Tasten zu singen. Schuberts Stolberg-Lied D 774 in der Interpretation von

Entfernte D 856, based on August Wilhelm Schlegel, combines the cheerful and serious sides of the evening mood in a song that constantly oscillates between major and minor (see Example 1).



Example 1a. mm. 7–10: A*bendlied für die Entfernte* D 856



Example 1b. mm. 75–78: A*bendlied für die Entfernte* D 856

Some of Schubert's evening poems feature the motif of the nightingale, for example in the setting of Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten's *An die untergehende Sonne* D 457 where the night bird sings a 'lullaby' to the sun.[26] Schubert may have learned about the poetic significance of the nightingale from the above mentioned *Institutio ad eloquentiam*, which quotes two poems about this songbird, Friedrich von Hagedorn's *Der Mai* and Johann Heinrich Voß's *Die Schlummernde*, as illustrative examples of meter.[27]

Franz Liszt," in *"Vom Wasser haben wir's gelernt": Wassermetaphorik und Wanderermotiv bei Franz Schubert. Internationaler Schubert-Kongress Duisburg 2012*, ed. Christiane Schumann [Schubert-Jahrbuch 2010–2013, vol. 1] (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2014), 63–72, especially at 64–5.

26 Rastl and Dellitsch, *Franz Schubert. Die Texte seiner Lieder,* 1:611: "Die Nachtigall flötet dir Schlummergesang."

27 *Institutio ad eloquentiam*, 56 and 58.

Schubert was also likely familiar with the mythological background of the nightingale.[28] One narrative can be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in the story of Philomela, the daughter of the Attic king, who was abducted and raped by her brother-in-law Tereus. Her sister Procne managed to free her, and together they took revenge on Tereus by killing his son Itys and serving him cooked to her tormentor. When Tereus found out what had happened, he attacked the sisters with a sword. To stop the killing, Zeus transformed all three into birds: Tereus into a hoopoe, Philomela into a swallow and Procne into a nightingale. It is only in a later phase of the tradition that Philomela also becomes a nightingale, singing in the dark to lament her fate. The bird appears as "Philomele" in several songs by Schubert (including *Nach einem Gewitter* D 561 after Mayrhofer and *Abendbilder* D 650 after Silbert).

Another narrative is related to the Greek mythology. Aëdon, wife of the Theban king Zethos, envied her sister-in-law Niobe for her many children. She decided to murder Niobe's eldest son Sipylos in his sleep but accidentally killed her own son Itylos instead. At her request, Zeus turned her into a nightingale. Schubert also seems to have been familiar with this tradition, for at a time when he was composing numerous other songs about the nightingale, he drew on Klopstock's poem *Edone* (D 445), in which the lyrical narrator conjures up a vision of the mythical figure, here under the name "Edone," summoning her to transform herself from an apparition into a real person.

Over time, the symbolic meaning of the nightingale has expanded.[29] It was not only regarded as a bird that sings mournfully at night, but also as a harbinger of spring and with it the reawakening of nature, which in turn becomes a place where love blossoms. In Schubert's song world, the nightingale appears – once again – for the first time in *Adelaide*. The bird also makes brief appearances in other Matthisson settings such as *Erinnerungen* D 98, *Andenken* D 99, and *Stimme der Liebe* D 187 and 418. In several songs based on Ludwig Hölty's poems, however, it takes center stage: *An die Nachtigall* D 196, *Auf den Tod einer Nachtigall* D 201 (fragment) and D 399, *Die Mainacht* D 194 and *Seufzer* D 198. For Hölty, the nightingale is a singer of "songs of love" (liebentflammter Lieder, *An die Nachtigall*), whose song lovers listen to "with joyful hearts" (mit frohem Sinn, *Seufzer*), but whose sounds only make those who wander "sadly from bush to bush" (traurig von Busch zu Busch, *Die Mainacht*) all the more painfully

28 See Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek, "Poetic Images of Nightingale in the Art Song: On some Aspects of Musical Meaning," *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology* 19 (2019): 117–34. https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/ism/article/view/21284.

29 Ute Jung-Kaiser, "Die Nachtigall. Expertin für Liebesklage, Liebeswerbung und Gotteslob," in *Faszinosum Tier. Spiegelungen, Visionen, Transformationen in Literatur, Musik und Bild*, ed. Ute Jung-Kaiser and Annette Simonis (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Olms, 2020), 27–78.

aware of their own loneliness. Just as Hölty illuminates his theme from a different perspective in each poem, Schubert also writes four highly different songs, all of which are in minor keys and characterized by a wistful tone.

After 1817, the nightingale appears only occasionally in Schubert's vocal music.[30] A prominent exception is the male quartet with piano accompaniment *Die Nachtigall* D 724, which was published in 1822 together with *Das Dörfchen* D 598 and *Geist der Liebe* D 747 under the opus number 11 by Cappi and Diabelli. Unlike Schubert's early nightingale songs, none of which Schubert published during his lifetime, the male part songs were intended for a broad audience. In keeping with the entertainment expectations of this target group, Schubert did not draw on one of Hölty's resigned nightingale poems, but chose a simple poem by the Viennese poet Johann Karl Unger, whose nightingale comes across as downright Biedermeier: "Modestly hidden in the bushy passage / Philomele raised her enchanting song, / Describing the joyful reward of fidelity / In echoing beats, in swirling tones."[31]

Das Dörfchen was one of Schubert's earliest popular works, and the quartets *Die Nachtigall* and *Geist der Liebe* take up its folksy tone while varying it at the same time.[32] All three works are melodious idylls of nature: a daytime landscape in *Das Dörfchen*, a nocturnal atmosphere in *Die Nachtigall*, the magic of an evening mood in *Geist der Liebe*. Schubert also structured the three quartets in a similar way, as each concludes with a lively section in which the individual voices are not initially written in four parts, but instead enter in a canon-like manner. At the same time, there is an increase in complexity from quartet to quartet, culminating in the rich modulations of *Geist der Liebe*, already mentioned above. The turn to F-sharp minor in the second verse of *Die Nachtigall* quartet is a hidden reminiscence of the Hölty song *An die Nachtigall* D 196, which is entirely in this key.
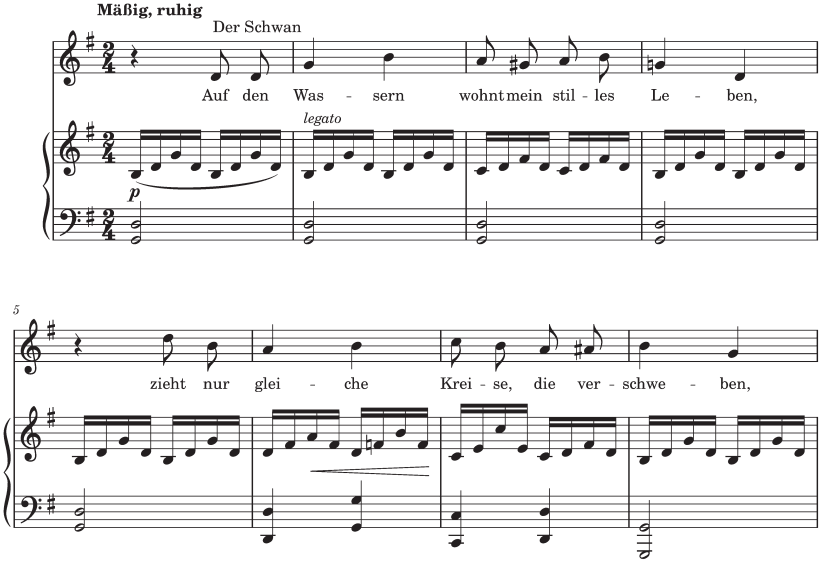
30 With a certain prominence in terms of content in *Die gefangenen Sänger* D 712 (after August Wilhelm Schlegel), in the three final stanzas of *Greisengesang* D 778 (after Friedrich Rückert), in *Mondenschein* D 875 for solo tenor and male quartet (after Franz von Schober), and in passing in *Rückblick* in *Winterreise* D 911/8 ("An deinen blanken Fenstern sangen / Die Lerch und Nachtigall im Streit" – "At your bright windows sang / The lark and nightingale in contest") as well as in the third and fourth stanzas of the Rellstab song *Ständchen* D 957/4 ("Hörst die Nachtigallen schlagen?" – "Hear the nightingales sing?").

31 Rastl and Dellitsch, *Franz Schubert. Die Texte seiner Lieder*, 2:1411: "Bescheiden verborgen im buschichten Gang / Erhob Philomele den Zaubergesang, / Er schildert der Treue beglückenden Lohn / In hallenden Schlägen, im wirbelnden Ton."

32 See Peter Gülke, "Verlegenheiten ums *Dörfchen* oder: der 'mittelgute' Schubert," in Peter Gülke, *Franz Schubert und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber 1991), 156–74, especially 159–61.

'Natura sonans'
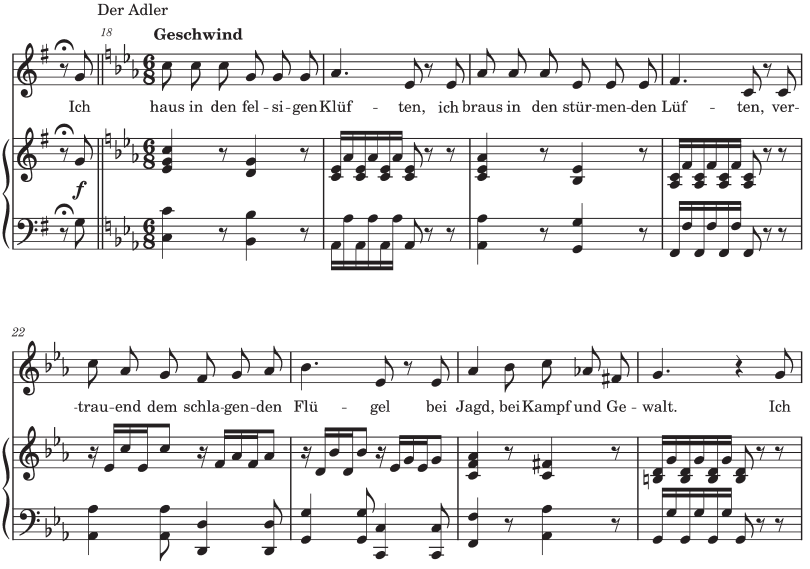
The conviction that "all of nature resounds" (die ganze Natur tönt), to quote Herder's famous phrase once again,[33] was taken up and developed further by early Romantic authors such as Novalis and the Schlegel brothers. In August Wilhelm Schlegel's poem *Lebensmelodien* (Melodies of Life), first published in Schiller's *Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1799*, birds – swan, eagle, doves – represent three "figurations of romantic attitudes toward life."[34] Schubert set this poem to music in March 1816 (D 395), before his comprehensive turn to Romantic poetry, which is already evident here. In his song, the birds not only speak, as they do in Schlegel, but they also sing. Schubert devised individual music for each of them (see Example 2): the swan sings its melody in G major over a calmly flowing sixteenth-note accompaniment, while the eagle expresses its thoughts in agitated tones in C minor. For the song of the doves, the calmer tempo and sixteenth-note movement return, but with a new melody and in E-flat major. Schubert contrasts the unusual structure of Schlegel's poem with a paratactic composition that disregards the conventions of song composition.
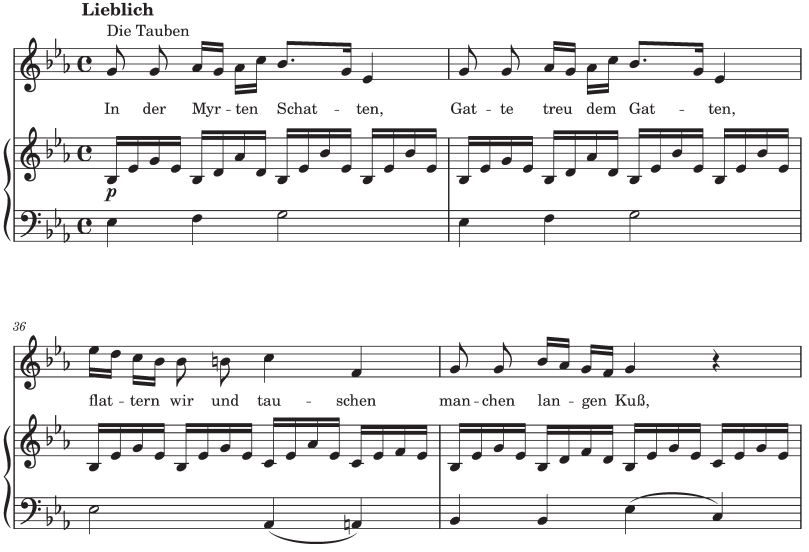


Example 2a. mm. 1–8: *Lebensmelodien* D 395

33 See Herder, *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*, 82.

34 Mirjam Springer, "Lebens-Melodien op. post. 111,2 (D 395)," in *Schubert-Liedlexikon*, ed. Walther Dürr et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2012), 307–08, at 308: "Figurationen romantischen Lebensgefühls."



Example 2b. mm. 18–25: *Lebensmelodien* D 395



Example 2c. mm. 34–3: *Lebensmelodien* D 395

Friedrich Schlegel took a more radical approach in his cycle of poems entitled *Abendröte*, first printed in the *Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1802*, edited by his brother August Wilhelm Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck.[35] In the opening poem, which introduces the cycle like a prologue, the observer sees nature coming to rest in the evening red and realizes: "Everything seems to speak to the poet, / For he has found meaning; / And the universe is a single choir, / Many songs from one mouth."[36] Schlegel understands nature in the sense of early Romantic aesthetics "as a 'book,' as a system of signs [...] in which everything is connected to everything else, everything refers to everything else."[37] In the following twenty-one role poems, different voices speak: mountains, birds, a river, a rose, a butterfly, stars and bushes, but also a boy, a wanderer, and a girl, to name only those figures whose poems Schubert set to music between 1819 and 1823.[38] The brook, which at the end of the cycle *Die schöne Müllerin* first engages in a dialogue with the miller's apprentice and then sings him a lullaby, is a descendant of this poetically humanized nature, which Schubert, unlike Müller, did not understand ironically.[39]

In the context of 'Ecological Soundings' and following Spinoza's distinction between nature in 'Natura naturata' (nature that has already been created) and 'Natura naturans' (nature that produces something new),[40] John Mowitt and Rasheed Tazudeen introduce the concept of 'Natura sonans' as

> a 'nature sounding', where sounding is both part of nature's creative, self-unfolding activity as well as a means of inquiring into the sonic composition of nature, a process which involves sounding nature's depths as well as its surfaces and its (physical, digital, and virtual) atmospheres.[41]

35 For more on this cycle see the contribution by Marlene Heiß in this volume.

36 August Wilhelm Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck, eds., *Musen-Almanach auf das Jahr 1802* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1802), 133: "Alles scheint dem Dichter redend, / Denn er hat den Sinn gefunden; / Und das All ein einzig Chor, / Manches Lied aus einem Munde."

37 Mirjam Springer, "Abendröte (D 690)," in *Schubert Liedlexikon*, ed. Walther Dürr et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter 2012), 548–49, at 549.

38 *Die Abendröte* D 690, *Die Berge* D 634, *Die Vögel* D 691, *Der Knabe* D 692, *Der Fluss* D 693, *Die Rose* D 745, *Der Schmetterling* D 633, *Der Wanderer* D 649, *Das Mädchen* D 652, *Die Sterne* D 684, *Die Gebüsche* D 646. For the connection between these songs, see Richard Kramer, *Distant Cycles. Schubert and the Conceiving of Song* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 195–218 ("Schlegel's *Abendröte* and the Failure of Cycle").

39 Compare this with the chapter by Steierwald in this volume, who, in contrast, following Arnold Feil, interprets the song cycle ironically.

40 Benedictus de Spinoza, *Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata*, Part I, Propositio XXIX, Scholium: see Benedictus de Spinoza, *Die Ethik*, trans. Jakob Stern (Stuttgart: Reclam 2019), 72–75.

41 John Mowitt and Rasheed Tazudeen, "Ecological Soundings," *Parallax* 26, no. 2 (2020): 127–32, at 128. https://doi.org/10.1080/13534645.2020.1766745.

With their neologism, the authors refer to current fields of research and compositional approaches, but the coinage 'natura sonans' can also be adapted to historical contexts, with all the necessary restrictions and modifications.[42] For nature is also a sounding entity, as described by poets of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: streams rush, thunder echoes, winds roar – phenomena of a 'natura sonans'.

The imitation of nature through music was already a subject of heated discussions in the eighteenth century. The debate became particularly fierce around and after 1800, focusing on the tone paintings used by Joseph Haydn in his two oratorios *Die Schöpfung* (The Creation) and *Die Jahreszeiten* (The Seasons).[43] Haydn did not respond verbally to the accusations levelled against him after *Die Schöpfung*, but he emphatically underscored his concept of depicting nature in his composition of *Die Jahreszeiten*. His approach is based, on the one hand, on analogies in such categories as fast–slow or high–low between processes or phenomena in nature and in music; and, on the other hand, on musical topoi such as the pastoral. Only very rarely does he imitate a non-musical sound of nature through compositional means (such as the lion's roar in *Die Schöpfung*). Such moments of musical *onomatopoeia* do not occur as isolated moments but are integrated into a larger compositional context.[44] Schubert seduces in a similar way to Haydn: when the young miller sings "Ich hört ein Bächlein rauschen" (I heard a little brook babbling), an accompanying figure in the piano unmistakably echoes the text. But it is a compositionally formed babbling that follows musical principles of composition.

Nature sounding: the nightingale (again), the quail, and the cuckoo

Most natural sounds are noises. Like the rustling of the wind or the crash of thunder, they usually have neither distinct pitches nor clearly recognizable rhythms that would lend themselves to traditional compositional adaptation. The situation is different with some animal sounds, especially bird sounds. Among these, the so-called song of the nightingale has been most frequently evoked in poetry.[45] In music, too, there are many references to the musical art-

42 See Aaron S. Allen and Kevin Dawe, eds., *Current Directions in Ecomusicology. Music, Culture, Nature* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

43 See Georg Feder, *Joseph Haydn. Die Schöpfung* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 182–87.

44 See Luiz E. Castelões, "A Catalogue of Music Onomatopoeia," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 40, no. 2 (2009): 299–347.

45 See Jung-Kaiser, "Die Nachtigall".

istry of this bird, also, as shown above, in Schubert. However, the song of the nightingale does not exist as a singular sound model in nature:

> The versatile song of a male consists of an average of one hundred and eighty different verse types. Identical verses are not repeated directly after each other, but the sequence of verses is nevertheless subject to certain principles of order. The verses, which last about four seconds, alternate with pauses of equal length. A verse usually consists of a variable opening section and a trill or beat consisting of repeated elements, which is often ended by a contrasting element.[46]

Of the elements of nightingale song listed by biologist and nightingale expert Silke Kipper, composers have primarily taken up the "trill" and shaped it with musical means. Ludwig van Beethoven, for example, did just that in his Sixth Symphony, the "Pastoral", where he represents the nightingale at the end of the "Scene by the Brook" with a gradually developing trill figure.[47] In the same passage he also features the quail and the cuckoo, both birds that, unlike the nightingale, produce very simple and short sounds, but which are easily recognizable precisely because of their compact form.

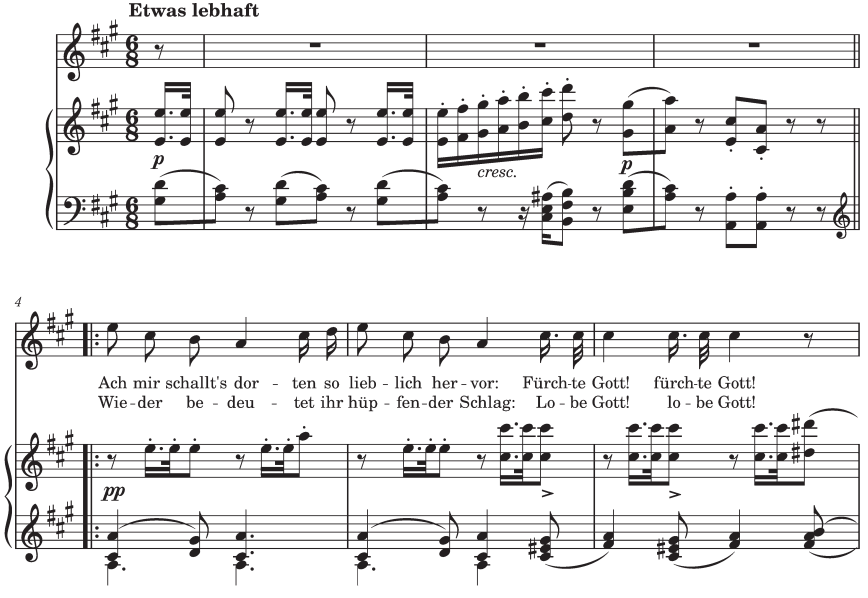
The courtship call of the European quail, also known as the "quail beat" (Wachtelschlag), uses only an approximate pitch and combines it with a distinctive dotted rhythm. The quail appears four times in Schubert's musical animal world. Neither in *Die Täuschung* D 230 (after Kosegarten) nor in *Abendlied* D 276 (after Stolberg) or *Schlaflied* D 527 (after Mayrhofer) did Schubert use the motif of the quail's call to characterize the bird. All of them are strophic songs that do not allow the musical emphasis of individual contents. In the setting of Samuel Friedrich Sauter's poem *Der Wachtelschlag* D 742, on the other hand, the bird's call is not only the subject of poetic imagination, but also musical material that characterizes Schubert's song throughout. The omnipresence of the motif is already laid out in the poem. The singer hears the quail's call in nature and accompanies it with words appropriate to the situation: "Fürchte Gott!" – "Liebe Gott!" – "Lobe Gott!" – "Danke Gott!" – "Bitte Gott" – "Traue Gott!" (Fear God! – Love God! – Praise God! – Thank God! – Pray to God – Trust in God!).

Schubert published *Der Wachtelschlag* in 1822 as a single print under the opus number 68 with Diabelli, thus entering into open competition with Beethoven, who had already published his own setting of the poem (WoO 129) in

46 Silke Kipper, *Die Nachtigall. Ein legendärer Vogel und sein Gesang* (Berlin: Insel, 2022), 9.
47 Sylvia Bowden, "The Theming Magpie: The Influence of Bird Song on Beethoven Motifs," *The Musical Times* 149 (2008): 17–39.

1804. Schubert's familiarity with Beethoven's song is evident in his adherence to the latter's text version. Beethoven's song is through-composed and follows the gradations in the poem's content, which begins in a rural idyll but evokes storms and the threat of war in the third verse. The striking quail call is exposed right at the beginning and recurs many times throughout the song, losing its characteristic sharp punctuation towards the end.

Schubert contrasts Beethoven's compositionally and vocally demanding setting of the poem with a significantly simpler setting as a varied strophic song, which is clearly and deliberately modeled on the folk tone of the poem (see Example 3). The decision not to elaborate on details allows the music to focus on the prevailing mood, with the quail call motif much more prominent in the vocal part and especially in the piano part than in Beethoven's version. One can hear it in nineteen of the twenty-eight measures of the song. Schubert turns the natural sound into a musical motif from which he develops his entire song.



Example 3: *Der Wachtelschlag* D 742, mm. 1–6

Better known than the quail beat is the call of the cuckoo, which usually consists of a minor third, but also occurs in larger intervals up to a fifth. The cuckoo appears only once in Schubert's songs. In the penultimate verse of the extensive 'Song Cantata' (Lied-Kantate) *Einsamkeit* D 620, based on a poem by Mayr-

hofer, the lyrical narrator finally finds the "consecration of solitude" (Weihe der Einsamkeit) he has longed for after many stages of life in the forest:[48]
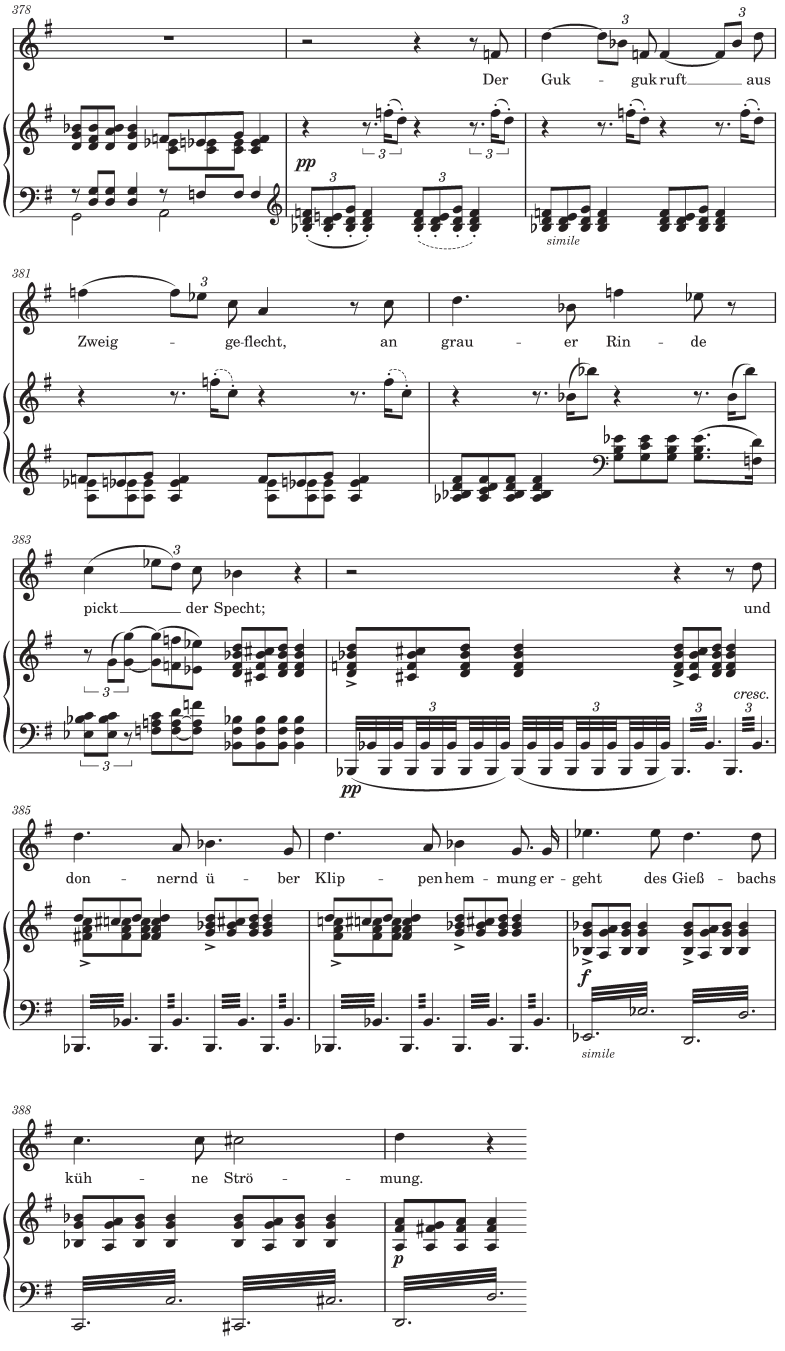
'Gib mir die Weihe der Einsamkeit!'	'Give me the consecration of solitude!'
Durch dichte Tannendunkelheit	Through the darkness of dense pines
Dringt Sonnenblick nur halb und halb,	The sun only half penetrates,
Und färbet Nadelschichten falb.	And paints the beds of needles with a dusky hue.
Der Kuckuck ruft aus Zweiggeflecht,	The cuckoo calls from the thicket,
An grauer Rinde pickt der Specht;	The woodpecker pecks at the grey bark,
Und donnernd über Klippenhemmung	And the bold torrent
Ergeht des Gießbachs kühne Strömung.[49]	Thunders over the barrier of rocks.[50]

Schubert structures the final section of this long song on the basis of a motif consisting of a triplet and a quarter note, which recurs constantly (see Example 4). Schubert integrates further motifs or compositional elements into this atmospheric framework, responding to the poem's specifications. From measure 379 on, the cuckoo call mentioned shortly afterwards in the poem is heard in the right hand. In keeping with the musical development, the familiar third becomes a fourth in measure 381. Schubert understands the cuckoo call as a musical motif which he treats according to the laws of music, just like the quail beat. From the rhythm of the cuckoo motif, he develops a new two-note motif in measure 382 which rises an octave and refers to the woodpecker's pecking mentioned in the poem. Schubert suggests the thunder of the torrent with an increasingly loud tremolo in the left hand of the piano. Above it, the basic motif of the entire section continues, linking the various sounds of nature into a unified sound scene.

Far from the big city

Franz Schubert spent most of his life in Vienna, a city that was one of the largest in Europe in the early nineteenth century. Like many of his contemporaries, Schubert longed to escape the city and get out into nature. Some of his songs and part songs explicitly express this desire. The verse "Ferne von der großen Stadt" (Far from the big city) opens a poem with which Caroline Pichler

48 Walther Dürr, "Einsamkeit (D 620)," in *Schubert Liedlexikon*, ed. Walther Dürr et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2012), 491–93, at 492.
49 Rastl and Dellitsch, *Franz Schubert. Die Texte seiner Lieder, vol.* 2, 763.
50 Johnson, *Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs*, vol. 1, 481–2.



Example 4: *Einsamkeit* D 620, mm. 378–389

concludes *Der Sommerabend* (The Summer Evening), the second of her *Idyllen* (Idylls) published in 1813. It describes the joys of country life and the beauty of nature, contrasting their peace and quiet with the noise and tumult of the city. Schubert set Pichler's verses to music in September 1816 as a strophic song (D 483), evoking a pastoral world. The motif of escaping the city runs like a thread through Schubert's vocal music, right up to *Winterreise*, but its character changes. The idyll that Caroline Pichler depicts as a pleasant change from city life is transformed into an alternative living space of existential significance.

The need to turn to nature is also the theme of Karl Lappe's poem *Flucht* (Escape), which Schubert set to music in 1825 as a male quartet (D 825B):

In der Freie will ich leben.	I want to live outdoors / in freedom,
In dem Sarge dumpft der Tod.	Death decays in the coffin,
Sieh nur dort das Abendrot	Just look there at the sunset
Um die heitern Hügel weben,	Weaving around the cheerful hills,
In der Freie blüht das Leben,	Live blossoms outdoors / in freedom,
In der Enge hockt die Not.	Danger lurks in confinement.
Eilt drum, eilt hinaus zu streben,	Hurry, so hurry to struggle out,
Eh das Herz zu stocken droht,	Before your heart risks coming to a stop,
Licht und Luft und Raum ist not.	There is a need for light and air and space.
In der Freie will ich leben.	I want to live outdoors / in freedom.
Traute Vögel, lasst uns schweben,	Dearest birds, let us soar away,
Folgsam der Natur Gebot.[51]	Faithful to nature's commandment.[52]

The refrain-like recurring phrase "In der Freie" is ambiguous: "Freie" can be understood in the sense of outdoors as an expression for nature, but can also be interpreted as freedom. Both nuances of meaning can be combined: "Freie" is a freedom that can only be found in nature.

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Landscape as Soundscape: Evoking Nature in Schubert's Songs with Obbligato Instruments

Markus Böggemann

Landscape is nature aesthetically experienced and at the same time a result of our imagination. In Schubert's music, too, nature is present as aesthetically perceived and imagined. In compositions such as *Auf dem Strom* D 943 and *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* D 965, text and music convey not only a specific imagery of landscape, they also evoke a certain spatial experience, for which the added solo instrument seems especially responsible. The article analytically identifies the compositional means used in D 943 and D 965 to musically evoke landscape as a spatial imagination. It tries to define them more precisely by looking at relevant works by some of Schubert's contemporaries, too.

Landscape as spatial experience

Landscape is nature aesthetically experienced. It is therefore always a result of our selection and our imagination. In the pictorial arts, as in our gaze when we are looking at nature, landscape emerges as a "pictorially conceived detail of nature".[1] Its depiction is always mediated through methods of framing and perspective. Basic functions such as the choice of subject, of details, and of view also contribute to shaping nature into landscape. For Alexander von Humboldt, the special task of landscape painting was to give a "general impression" ("Totaleindruck") of its subject:

> The azure of the sky, the form of the clouds, the haze resting on the distance, the succulency of the herbage, the brightness of the foliage, the outline of the mountains, are elements which determine the general impression. It is the province of landscape painting to apprehend these, and to reproduce them visibly. The artist is permitted to analyze the groups, and the enchantment of nature is

1 "[Ein] bildhaft aufgefasste[r] Ausschnitt der Natur". Thomas Noll, "Zur Typologie der Landschaftsmalerei um 1800," in *Music and Landscape / Soundscape and Sonic Art*, ed. Christa Brüstle (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2019), 31–87, at 31.

> resolved under his hands, like the written works of men (if I may venture on the figurative expression), into a few simple characters.[2]

In his analysis of Caspar David Friedrich's painting *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* (Wanderer above the Sea of Fog), László F. Földényi took up Humboldt's statement and pointed out the implications of this concept. According to Földényi, "general impression" means seeing the details and the whole of what is depicted with equal clarity, synthesizing and analyzing at the same time. As a result, a painting like this would aim at abandoning the conventional construction of perspective, as Caspar David Friedrich's canvas impressively exemplifies.[3]

Another aspect that is directly related to the desired total impression is the inclusion of the viewer in the picture, which thus becomes reflexive. It no longer only depicts a section of the world, but also its perception; it shows not only what is visible, but also how it is seen. This change in the depiction of landscape is characteristic of the period around 1800: landscape is now often depicted in such a way "that the reader or viewer looks at the landscape through the eyes of the figure, but at the same time can watch the protagonist looking at the landscape. This turns landscapes into double levels of reflection and projection."[4]

The art historian Werner Hofmann has shown how this shift in perspective transforms space in pictorial arts from a technical default setting into both

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2 Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, translated under the superintendence of Edward Sabine, Vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1849), 89–90. "Himmelsbläue, Wolkengestaltung, Duft, der auf der Ferne ruht, Saftfülle der Kräuter, Glanz des Laubes, Umriß der Berge sind die Elemente, welche den Totaleindruck einer Gegend bestimmen. und anschaulich wiederzugeben ist die Aufgabe der Landschaftmalerei. Dem Künstler ist es verliehen die Gruppen zu zergliedern, und unter seiner Hand löst sich (wenn ich den figürlichen Ausdruck wagen darf) das große Zauberbild der Natur, gleich den geschriebenen Werken der Menschen, in wenige einfache Züge auf." Alexander von Humboldt, *Kosmos. Versuch einer physischen Weltbeschreibung*, Vol. 2 (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1847), 92–93. For Humboldt's understanding of nature, see also Elizabeth Millán Brusslan's contribution to this volume.

3 László F. Földényi, *Der Maler und der Wanderer. Caspar David Friedrichs Urkino* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2021), 101–2. See also Werner Busch, "Der Berg als Gegenstand von Naturwissenschaft und Kunst. Zu Goethes geologischem Begriff," in *Goethe und die Kunst*, ed. Sabine Schulze (Ostfildern: Hatje 1994), 485–97, at 495.

4 "[D]ass der Leser oder Betrachter durch die Augen der Figur auf die Landschaft blickt, gleichzeitig aber dem schauenden Protagonisten beim Betrachten der Landschaft zusehen kann. Damit geraten Landschaften zu doppelten Reflexions- und Projektionsebenen." Thomas Noll, Urte Stobbe and Christian Scholl, "Landschaftswahrnehmung um 1800. Imaginations- und mediengeschichtliche Kontinuitäten und Brüche," in *Landschaft um 1800. Aspekte der Wahrnehmung in Kunst, Literatur, Musik und Naturwissenschaft*, ed. Thomas Noll, Urte Stobbe and Christian Scholl (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012), 9–26, at 13. All translations are mine if not otherwise stated.

a subject of contemplation in its own right, and the actual object of pictorial art. For Hofmann, the transition from a central perspective to a bi- or polyfocal composition is nothing less than a paradigm shift.[5] One example is Joseph Anton Koch's *Der Schmadribachfall* (The Schmadribach Waterfall, 1811), which layers alpine landscape, high forest, rocky zone and icy high mountains on top of one another (see Illustration 1).

> The painting is doubly a cumulative montage. Firstly, the spatial structure reveals that the painter took three different viewpoints, and secondly, this results in the vertical layering of heterogeneous natural processes. [...] Our perception is no longer guided by a central perspective.[6]



Illustration 1: Joseph Anton Koch, *Der Schmadribachfall*, 1822, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Neue Pinakothek München, https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/de/artwork/Znxw3rjxXg.

5 Werner Hofmann, *Das entzweite Jahrhundert. Kunst zwischen 1750 und 1830* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995), 339.

6 "Das Gemälde ist zweifach eine kumulative Montage. Einmal verrät der räumliche Aufbau, dass der Maler drei verschiedene Standpunkte einnahm, zum anderen resultiert daraus die vertikale Schichtung heterogener Naturvorgänge. [...] Unsere Wahrnehmung wird nicht mehr zentralperspektivisch gelenkt." Hofmann, *Das entzweite Jahrhundert*, 340.

The example of this "landscape in transition" ("Landschaft im Übergang")[7] clearly shows that the experience of landscape around and after 1800 essentially meant an experience of space – be it an imaginary space in the painting or a real part of the external world that appears to our gaze as if it were art.[8]

Shepherds, echoes, and third cycles

If the depiction of nature as landscape in art around 1800 is essentially linked to the visualization of spatial experiences, what role do these experiences play in nature-related music?[9] Are there aspects that are comparable in their function or lead to a multiplication of perspective and the striving for a general impression? Do the methods described above for depicting landscape as a panoramic space have a counterpart in music? The subject matter of some of Schubert's songs (and some selected works by his contemporaries) allows us to pursue these questions: both *Auf dem Strom* D 943 and *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* D 965 use poems that sketch detailed nature scenes into which the lyrical subjects are placed and with which they interact. This also affects the choice of solo instruments: the horn is of course the outdoor instrument *par excellence*, but the clarinet also carries clear connotations of pastoral settings, as can be seen by its use as a shepherd's instrument in the numerous compositions around 1800 that refer to Switzerland in terms of music and content. Joseph Weigl's opera *Die Schweizerfamilie* is the most prominent example, to which Schubert also owes inspiration for *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen*.[10] In these works, the clarinet acts as a shawm and plays a *Ranz des vaches*, a Swiss shepherd's melody ("Kuhreihen") which, as an instrumental "call into the distance", was both an expression of the local mountain world and the longing for it.[11]

This kind of setting the stage through established musical topoi is often found in songs with obbligato instruments. The instruments that join in are usually not a neutral addition, but an essential part of the scene. They bring to light, sometimes almost to visual clarity, what the text implies. As an example, the *Heimathlied* op. 117, composed by the longtime Kapellmeister at the court of

7 Hofmann, *Das entzweite Jahrhundert*, 336.
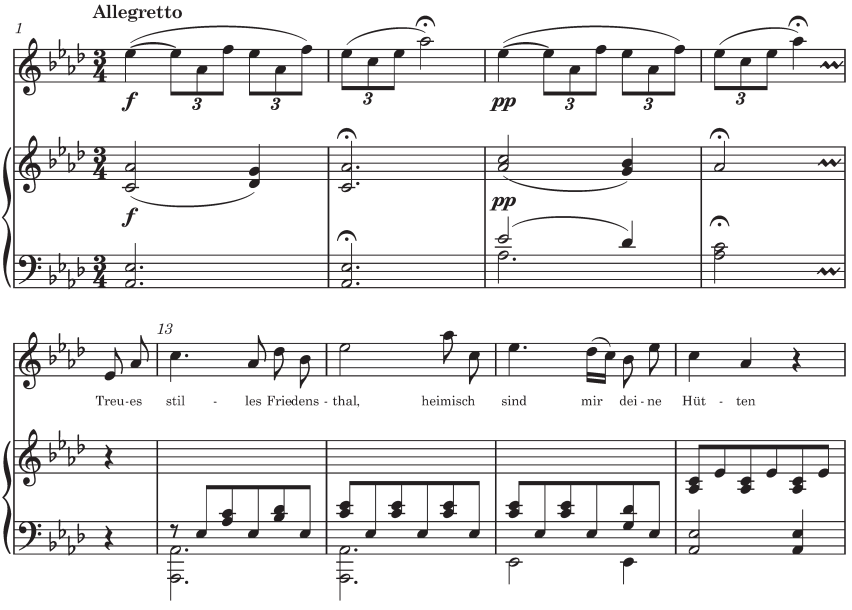
8 See also Martin Seel, *Eine Ästhetik der Natur* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1991), 152–53 and 176–77.

9 For a different approach to the topic see Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1995, 150–66.

10 Till Gerrit Waidelich, *Das Bild der Schweiz in der österreichischen Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts. 190. Neujahrsblatt der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich auf das Jahr 2006* (Winterthur: Amadeus, 2005), 18. See also Andreas Mayer, "'Gluck'sches Gestöhn' und 'welsches Larifari'. Anna Milder, Franz Schubert und der deutsch-italienische Opernkrieg," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 52, no. 3 (1995): 171–204.

11 Rafael Rennicke, *Erinnerungspoetik. Berlioz und die Kuhreihen-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2024), 54.

Donaueschingen Johann Wenzel Kalliwoda (1801–1866), begins and ends with a *Ranz des vaches* motif in the clarinet, thus establishing the song's interpretative framework, which its unassuming title yet conceals:



Example 1: Johann Wenzel Kalliwoda, *Heimathlied* op. 117 for voice, clarinet and piano (1842), mm. 1–4 and 13–16.

Another of Kalliwoda's songs for the same instrumentation, *Der Sennin Heimweh* (Homesickness of the Dairymaid) op. 236 (1862), makes it clear from its title and the title vignette of its first edition that it belongs to the same genre (see Illustration 2). Around 1860, however, such allusions no longer necessarily meant Switzerland alone. By this time, the *Ranz des vaches* had long since become a well-worn symbol for nature, the mountains and longing in general. However, as a "call into the distance", as a musical formulation carrying an experience of space, it was still significant.

Schubert's *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* is a musical scene based on the form of a two-part aria, as suggested by its sequence of slow and fast movements. Nevertheless, with its internal subdivision of the first part (mm. 127–217 form a contrasting section in G minor) and the motivic returns in the finale, it also reveals elements of a recapitulatory three-part structure.[12] As already mentioned, it

12 Christian Ahrens, "Schubert's *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* D 965 – Lied, Arie oder 'Duett'?" *Schubert: Perspektiven* 5, no. 2 (2005): 162–82, at 179.
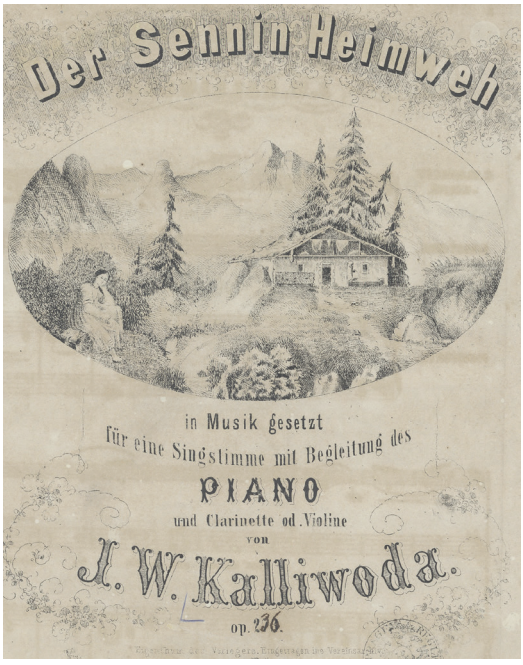


Illustration 2: Johann Wenzel Kalliwoda, *Der Sennin Heimweh* op. 236 (Prague, Joh. Schalek, 1862), title page (detail).

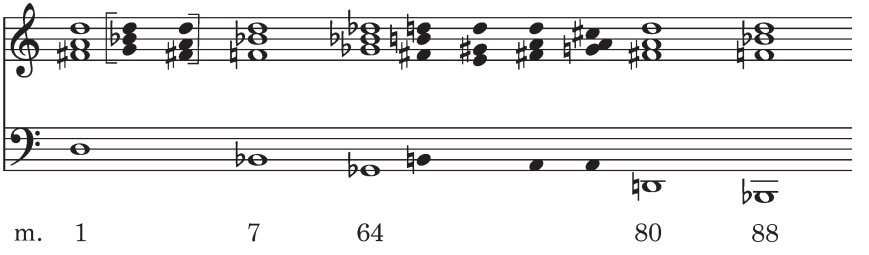
is the song text itself that initially prompts the question of the spatial representation of landscape. The lyrical subject locates himself in a nature that the clarinet has already evoked when the voice enters. Here, as in Kalliwoda's example, the obbligato instrument serves to define and frame the scene. The song text uses images of corresponding distances (highest cliff – deep valley), which open up the imaginary space in which the lyrical subject is situated:

Wenn auf dem höchsten Fels ich steh, ins tiefe Tal hernieder seh und singe,	When I stand on the highest rock, Look down into the deep valley And sing,
Fern aus dem tiefen dunkeln Tal schwingt sich empor der Widerhall der Klüfte.[13] [...]	The echo from ravines rises up From the dark depths Of the distant valley.[14] [...]

13 *Neue Schubert-Ausg*abe, Series IV, Lieder, vol. 14, ed. Walther Dürr (Kassel: Bäreneiter, 1988), 214–15.

14 Graham Johnson, *Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs. Volum*e One (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 886 (translation by Richard Wigmore).

This space is experienced by the subject himself when it sings of the "echo from the ravines" in the second verse. Musically, the echo effects between the clarinet and the voice in measures 47 to 50 or 68 to 69 correspond to this echo. In addition to this diegetic level, on which we share the lyrical subject's experience of space by hearing what it also hears, there is a second, overarching level on which an experience of space is realized through the harmony. The piece is in B flat major, but begins in D (introduced as the dominant of G minor), only to switch to B flat major with a move typical of Schubert, by harmonically reinterpreting the sustained D in the clarinet. The following first part of the song then moves through a circle of major thirds (D–) B flat–G flat–D–B flat and returns to the original key in the same way as it was reached at the beginning (see Example 2).



Example 2: Franz Schubert, *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* D 965, key progression of the first part.

A proper modulation is involved only in the transition from G flat to D: Here, in addition to the new key, the enharmonic step from C flat to B must be conveyed. The other keys follow one another as equally distant stations in a circle of major thirds, without forming a gravitational tonal center. By reinterpreting individual notes, they essentially stage a change of perspective in the harmonic space.[15] This harmonic space is more than a metaphor: as a conceptual rather than a real space, it is based on the distances between chords and keys, which in Schubert's work are no longer related to an underlying monotonality, but rather form a plurality of perspectives analogous to pictorial polyfocality.

15 On major third circles in Schubert construing tonal space see Richard Cohn, "As Wonderful as Star Clusters: Instruments for Gazing at Tonality in Schubert," *19th-Century Music* 22, no. 3 (1999): 213–32. Frank Samarotto analyzes D 965 in terms of spatial expansiveness and likewise points to the spatial implications of the major third cycle: Frank Samarotto, "Intimate Immensity in Schubert's *The Shepherd on the Rock*," in *Structure and Meaning in Tonal Music. Festschrift in Honor of Carl Schachter*, ed. L. Poundie Burstein and David Gagné (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2006), 203–23.

Concert songs

In addition to Kalliwoda and Schubert, many other composers in the nineteenth century wrote for voice, piano and obbligato solo instrument. Nevertheless, these so-called "concert songs" were not to everyone's taste, as the review of a Viennese performance of Schubert's *Hirt auf dem Felsen* in 1843 reveals:

> This song was ordered from the composer by the famous Milder-Hauptmann and the text was submitted to him. This circumstance may compensate for some of the things that might be found to be not quite in keeping with Schubert's otherwise always so creative and romantic approach. Nonetheless, it has enough beauty and, along with his classic *Auf dem Strom*, text by Rellstab, set with French horn accompaniment, has become one of the forerunners of that mass of concert songs which are armored with obbligato instruments; a genre which, generally speaking, as being contrary to the chaste nature of the genuine German song, I do not place much above other musical trifles.[16]

In an article by Gustav Nauenburg entitled *Kritische Mischlinge* (Critical Hybrids), also published in 1843, the author concedes that this form fits better in a concert setting than single opera scenes or arias torn from their context, but alas, "unfortunately, the idea, which was in itself a happy one, was watered down and washed away; poetry was trodden long and wide; only a few succeeded in making a lucky strike! This rapidly growing branch of art is already beginning to dry up within itself."[17]

In fact, the first flourishing of this nonetheless peripheral repertoire seems to have begun around 1830; the first publications of *Auf dem Strom* and *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* also fall into this period.[18] Both songs may not have initiated this

16 "Dieß Lied wurde von der berühmten Milder-Hauptmann beym Tonsetzer bestellt und ihm der Text dazu vorgelegt. Dieser Umstand mag manches ausgleichen, was darin als nicht ganz übereinstimmend befunden werden könnte, mit dem sonst stets so schöpferisch waltenden, romantischen Auffluge Schubert's. Nichts desto weniger hat es der Schönheiten genug, und ist nebst seinem klassischen 'Auf dem Strom', Text von Rellstab, mit Waldhornbegleitung gesetzt, einer der Vorläufer jener Masse von Concertliedern geworden, welche mit obligaten Instrumenten gepanzert sind; eine Gattung, die ich, beyläufig gesagt, als dem keuschen Wesen des ächten deutschen Liedes zuwider, nicht viel über andere musikalische Spielereyen stelle." Carl Kunt, "Musikalische Akademie, gegeben von der Redaction der allgemeinen Wiener Musik-Zeitung," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* no. 253, 21 December 1843, 2020–23, at 2021.

17 "[L]eider verwässerte und verschwemmte man die an sich glückliche Idee; man trat die Poesie lang und breit; nur wenigen gelang ein glücklicher Wurf! der schnell aufgeschossene Kunstzweig fängt schon an in sich selbst zu vertrocknen." Gustav Nauenburg, "Kritische Mischlinge," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 18, no. 8 (1843), 25–26, 29–30, at 29.

18 *Auf dem Strom* D 943 was published by Leidesdorf in Vienna in 1829, *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* D 965 by Haslinger in 1830.

genre, but they do mark its early high point. To be sure, the genre is far from dwindling away in the following years, thanks to composers such as the brothers Ignaz, Franz and Vinzenz Lachner, Carl Gottlieb Reissiger, Benedikt Randhartinger, František Škroup and Heinrich Proch. While Nauenburg regarded the concert songs as a better alternative to opera excerpts in public concerts, other critics considered them predestined for private settings:

> There are known to be those [songs] which, in addition to the pianoforte accompaniment, make use of another popular instrument for mostly obbligato accompaniment of the singing voice, have often been used in public concerts for several years, but can of course also be used just as well, indeed even more appropriately, for social circles.[19]

Considering their technical demands and, in the case of *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen*, the pronounced concertante gesture, Schubert's two songs do not seem overly appropriate for a performance in a domestic setting. Due to their genesis, they belong more to a group of concert songs composed by or for vocal or instrumental virtuosos: *Auf dem Strom* was probably written for the horn virtuoso Josef Rudolf Lewy, while *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* was specifically commissioned by the singer Anna Milder.[20] Other examples with distinctly virtuosic instrumental parts are Louis Spohr's *Sechs deutsche Lieder* op. 103 (for the clarinetist Johann Simon Hermstedt), and *Sechs Gesänge* op. 154 for baritone, violin and piano; the songs and vocal scenes with concertante violoncello by Friedrich Dotzauer (*Das eigene Herz* op. 141, *Tyrolers Heimweh* op. 152) and Auguste Panseron (*Sainte Cécile*, the cello part is by Auguste Franchomme), or, with concertante flute, by Anton Bernhard Fürstenau (*An die erste Lerche* op. 139).

Listening in perspective

The k.k. Court Opera Theater conductor Heinrich Proch's song *Unter den dunkeln Linden* op. 122 on a text by Robert Reinick also belongs to this genre.[21] The work was published in 1845 and, like Schubert's *Auf dem Strom*, uses the horn

19 "Es sind bekanntlich solche, die ausser der Pianofortebegleitung noch ein anderes beliebtes Instrument zu meist obligater Begleitung der Singstimme in Anspruch nehmen, seit mehreren Jahren oft in öffentlichen Konzerten benutzt wurden, natürlich aber auch eben so gut, ja sogar noch zweckmässiger für gesellige Kreise benutzt werden können." Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, "Heerschau der Lieder und Gesänge für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte. Konzertlieder," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* no. 9, 3 March 1841, 190–91.

20 Mayer, "'Gluck'sches Gestöhn' und 'welsches Larifari'", 189 and 197–98; for the genesis of *Auf dem Strom*, see Waidelich, *Dokumente*, nos. 601–4.

21 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Mus.pr. 65277. The digitized print can be viewed at https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00059613?page=4 %2C5.

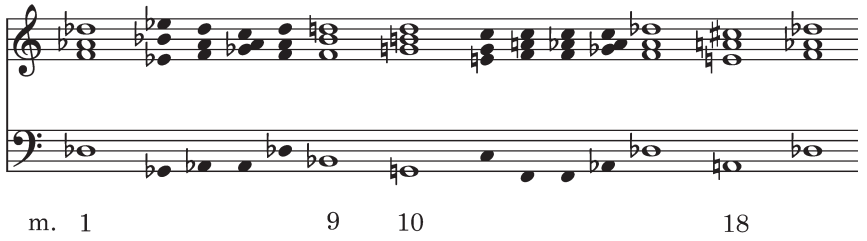
as a solo instrument. And as in *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen*, distant third relations play a central role in evoking the scenery of nature addressed in the song. The four stanzas of the song are set in a three-part form with the first and fourth stanzas as corresponding parts in D flat major and the third stanza as a contrasting middle section in A major.

Zurückgekehrt zum Heimathsort, Seh' endlich ich im Thale dort Die alten dunkeln Linden! Dort hat sie mich zuletzt geküßt, Hat mir noch lange nachgegrüßt! Bald werd' ich sie nun finden.	Returning to my hometown, I finally see in the valley there The old dark lime trees! There she last kissed me, Waved goodbye to me for a long time! Soon I will find her.
Und doch ist mir das Herz so schwer. Welch' tiefe Stille rings umher! Es rauschen nur die Linden; Und aus dem süßen Blüthenduft Ein kleiner Vogel lockt und ruft, Als müßt' ich dort sie finden.	And yet my heart is so heavy. What deep silence all around! Only the lime trees rustle; And from the sweet scent of blossoms, A little bird calls and coos, As if I must find her there.
Das war des Liebchens liebster Schall, Der Sang der lieben Nachtigall In einer dunkeln Linden; Das war von je ihr liebster Baum, Da träumten wir so schönen Traum, Da war sie stets zu finden! –	That was my beloved's favorite sound, The song of the dear nightingale In a dark lime tree; That was always her favorite tree, Where we dreamed such beautiful dreams, Where she could always be found! –
Und als ich kam dem Orte nah, Manch schwarzes Kreuz erblickt' ich da, Umrauscht von dunkeln Linden; Dazu ein Grab, noch frisch umblüht, Da sang die Nachtigall ihr Lied, – Da war mein Lieb zu finden![22]	And when I came near the place, I saw many black crosses there, Surrounded by dark lime trees; And a grave, still fresh with flowers, Where the nightingale sang its song, – There my beloved could be found![23]

This form-constituting harmonic contrast is already hinted at in the prelude, which is otherwise characterized by minor third relations. These are staged as unmediated changes of perspective and thus also ensure a widening of the harmonic space (see Example 3).

22 Robert Reinick, "Unter den dunkeln Linden," in idem, *Lieder eines Malers mit* Randzeichnungen seiner Freunde (Düsseldorf: Schulgen-Bettendorf, 1838), 44.

23 English translation by the editors.



Example 3: Heinrich Proch, *Unter den dunkeln Linden* op. 122, harmonic excerpt of mm. 1–23

The second verse forms a dynamic *tempo di mezzo* with recitative-like passages, which mediates between the static, closed sections in D flat and A. The composer does not shy away from explicit tone painting here either: like the echo-passages in *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen,* the imitation of bird calls in the piano part has a strong diegetic character. Here, too, the lyrical subject's internal aural perspective and the listener's external perspective are differentiated from each other. Furthermore, the song shows considerable flexibility in the use of the solo instrument: the horn shines as a soloist, but also takes on accompanying and background functions, it occasionally colors the sound of phrase endings and characteristically duets with the vocal part, using the non-directional, ideally blending sound of the horn.

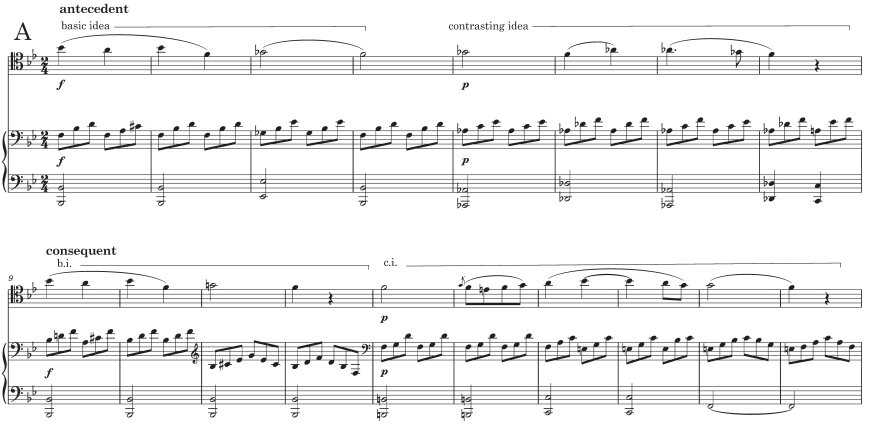
Franz Lachner, on the other hand, takes a different approach. Although most of his concert songs were composed when he was Kapellmeister at the Kärntnertor-Theater in Vienna in 1830–31, they avoid an operatic attitude and instead are conceived for a more domestic setting. Correspondingly, they dispense with any virtuoso gesture, though without being particularly easy to play.[24] The obbligato instrument is not used idiomatically, but mostly adapted to the singing voice. It frames the song with introduction and postlude, pauses during the verses and takes over the melody during the interludes. Towards the end, it often joins the singing voice for intensification, but without gaining rhythmic or dramaturgical independence. This limitation allows for alternatives in instrumentation, which occurs almost throughout: the horn and clarinet can be replaced by a violoncello, the flute by a violin, as regularly announced on the title pages. Since this was a common practice, not least with
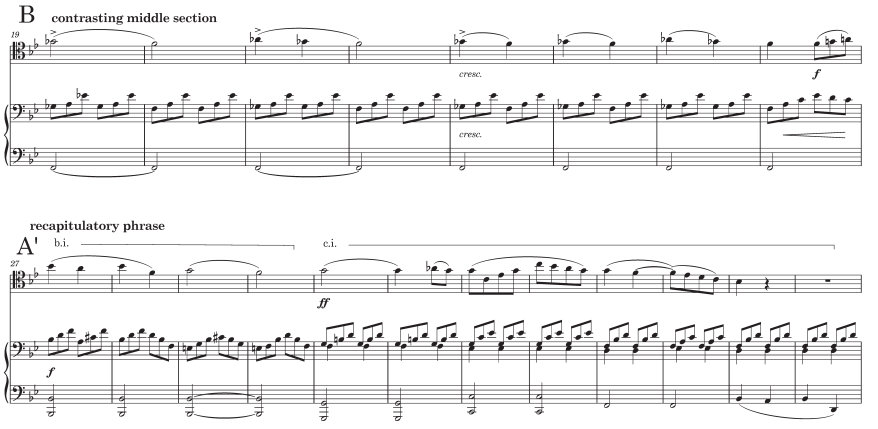
24 The three songs op. 34, which are dedicated to the cellist Joseph Merk and the tenor Ludwig Titze, are an exception. For Lachner's concert songs, see the overview in Birgit Lodes, "Franz Lachners Sängerfahrt (op. 33) als erster großer Heine-Zyklus der Musikgeschichte," in *Franz Lachner und seine Brüder. Hofkapellmeister zwischen Schubert und Wagner*, ed. Stephan Hörner and Hartmut Schick (Tutzing: Schneider, 2006): 213–246, at 214–15.

respect to the supposedly lesser demand for horn literature, it is difficult to decide whether these alternatives originate from the composer or the publisher. Also, Schubert's *Auf dem Strom* and *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* were originally published with an alternative violoncello part, but in both cases there is no evidence that Schubert himself was involved.

Nevertheless, even Lachner's choice of instrumentation is not neutral, but rather follows the topical qualities of the instrument in certain cases: in his *Waldklänge* op. 28 (1830), he provides a horn as the obbligato instrument for the first two numbers, *Waldvöglein* and *Waldwärts*, both on poems by Johann Nepomuk Vogl. The alternative instrumentation with violoncello is marked on the title page as secondary by bracketing and a smaller engraving. Although Lachner refrains from using idiomatic hunting or triadic motifs, the music nevertheless suggests the idea of sunlit woods and rural scenery. The sound of the horn with its flexibility and dynamic range is enough to open up an imaginary countryside into which the singer can project his part.

However, Lachner does not rely solely on the sound character of the horn to achieve the effect of a musical "general impression" of a landscape, even within the more modest framework he has chosen. The song's introduction consists of an extended small ternary form: A–B–A'–C, with A as the initial period, B as contrasting middle section (consisting merely of an eight-measure dominant pedal), A' as the recapitulatory phrase, and C as a postcadential closing phrase (omitted in example 4). The three variants of the thematic phrase – the antecedent and consequent of A, and the recapitulatory phrase A' – all begin with the same basic idea of four measures (notwithstanding the minor variants in harmony and figuration) (see Example 4). The contrasting idea, however, becomes continuously longer.

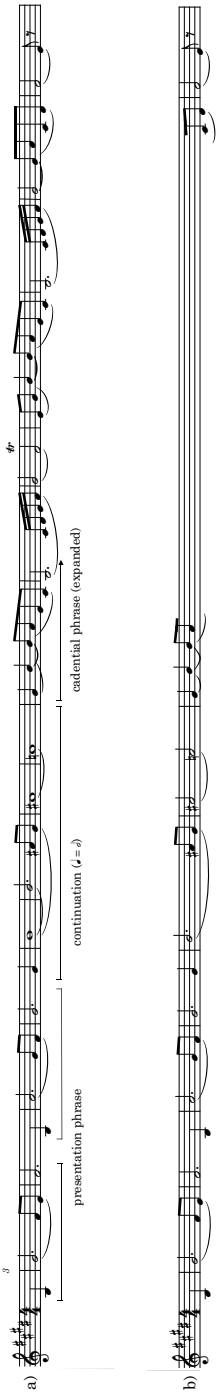




Example 4: Franz Lachner, *Waldwärts* op. 28, no. 2, mm. 1–38.

The contrasting idea in measures 5 to 8 forms with its basic idea in measures 1 to 4 an eight-measure antecedent which swerves to D flat major, thus also briefly bringing into play the change of perspective by minor third relations. In the immediately following consequent, the contrasting idea is extended to six measures. This extension is emphasized by the syncopation from measure 15 on and the suspension of the final note in measure 17. The recapitulatory phrase (mm. 27–38) again starts with the four-measure basic idea. However, the contrasting idea, beginning in measure 31, has now doubled in length, while at the same time proportionally slowing down the pace of its harmonic rhythm. The music now moves in double measures, the hypermeter of the syntactic units has changed, but not their function. Lachner's procedure thus results in something comparable to the "total impression" of landscape painting, in which close-up and panorama compete with each other: a change of focus which implies a change of scale. By doubling the proportions of the contrasting idea, the music hints at a sudden widening of our spatial perception.

In Schubert's *Auf dem Strom*, too, reshaping the structure of the melodic phrase aims at creating the impression of an open landscape. And like Lachner, the effect found right at the beginning is ultimately based on a combination of syntactic, harmonic and tonal aspects: the horn's introductory melody is constructed as a sentence, beginning with a regular 2+2 measure presentation phrase, which would lead one to expect an equally (exactly or approximately) four-measure continuation including a cadential idea (as suggested in Example 5b). In fact, however, the greatly expanded continuation comprises eleven measures.



Example 5: Franz Schubert, *Auf dem Strom* D 943: a) mm. 3–17; b) hypothetical version without extension

As in Lachner's song, the continuation phrase enlarges the metrical units, beginning in measure 7. Measure 11 then seems to return to a regular meter and prepares for the cadential idea, with the penultima also extended by one measure (mm. 12–13). An internal extension of four measures (mm. 14–17) concludes the whole construction. What makes it especially effective, though, is the correspondence of hypermetrical extension with melodic emphasis and harmonic surprise: the B in measures 7 to 8 marks the highest note of the melody which then with the chromatic descent via A sharp and A natural takes a swift harmonic detour pointing to G sharp minor. Harmony, meter, and melody join in expanding their respective fields, thus creating a musical experience of distance and of an expansive, yet resonating scenery. To this experience eventually contribute the echo effects in measures 22 and 27, where the horn continues the four-measure vocal phrases by repeating their ending. Here, too, the obbligato instrument with its particular sound qualities – the horn's indirect sound projection and its capacity for haunting dynamic swells – takes over a crucial role in musically displaying the idea of landscape as a spatial imagination.

Not only in Schubert's *Auf dem Strom*, in each of the concert songs considered here the solo instrument plays a decisive role in creating an imaginary scenery in which the immanent perspective of the lyrical subject and the perspective of the listener coexist. Comparable to the copresence of different, even contradicting viewpoints in polyfocal paintings around 1800, we are confronted in songs like *Auf dem Strom* or der *Hirt auf*

dem Felsen with a twofold aural perspective: in listening to the song, we are also confronted with someone listening within the song. This double perspective is critically related to the reception and representation of nature and landscape as a musically transmitted spatial experience. Here, nature is not just musically depicted or framed as landscape but, probably for the first time, represented as a soundscape perceived by the lyrical subject.

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Loss of Frame through Fluidity: Eloquent Water in the Song Cycle *Die schöne Müllerin*

Ulrike Steierwald

In the history of the arts, giving nature a voice and depicting it are among the 'elementary' challenges of modernity. In Schubert's time, an awareness emerged of the contradictions of experiencing nature. 'Nature' is always culturally mediated, yet the term itself – paradoxically – points to direct experience and expression, and thus to a sense of connection in an unmediated way. Programmes and debates about the best possible form and shaping of the elemental characterise texts of the Romantic period. This chapter therefore examines the crisis of cultural narratives and interpretations of motifs, metaphors and symbols of nature, looking beyond their mere interpretation. The fluid, incomprehensible yet productive materiality of the elements, their transitions and transformations, posed one of the most significant cognitive and aesthetic challenges for the arts. Especially water, in all its physical and material incomprehensibility, cannot be grasped, captured or framed.

Franz Schubert's setting of the song cycle *Die schöne Müllerin* consistently reflects this challenge at semantic and aesthetic levels. Water assumes the role of a protagonist, consistently dissolving anthropocentric concepts of nature, and is presented musically as a tangible element of the liquid and fluid. Figurations are quoted at narrative, pictorial and musical levels that evoke historical topoi and genres, such as lullabies, wandering songs, landscape painting and still lifes. However, Schubert's consistent exploration of water movements illustrates the loss of corresponding interpretations and framings. Above all, it deconstructs the well-known framing story of unhappy love. Water flows perpetually into the sea; the 'wanderer' into the elemental condition of suicide.

(To be read in Winter.)
The Poet, as a Prologue.

Fair ladies, wise gentlemen,
and all who enjoy a good spectacle,

I invite you to a sparkling and glittering new entertainment
in an absolutely sparkling and glittering new style.[1]

The poem *Der Dichter als Prolog* forms the prelude to Wilhelm Müller's collection *Die schöne Müllerin*, first published in 1821. It is an elegant invitation to a social salon, encouraging the audience to listen to the tale of a poor miller in springtime, despite it being winter. It is not only the supposedly sparkling novelty of the *Die schöne Müllerin* poems that seems to have persuaded Schubert as he had already been following contemporary poetry production more closely than any other musician in the 1810s. Although this interest in novelty corresponds with the programmatic aspirations of Romanticism, Schubert is not particularly interested in the fashionable plot of a love story involving a beautiful miller's daughter. Instead, he renders the falling, trickling away, and the tendencies leading towards suicidal dissolution audible in the figurations of a brook and a lover. As I will demonstrate, both novelty and Romanticism are further radicalised in Schubert's musical language, particularly regarding the epistemological upheavals in the individual's self-image and their relationship with nature.[2]

Wilhelm Müller's cycle was published in the first part of the poetry collection *Sieben und siebzig nachgelassene Gedichte aus den Papieren eines reisenden Waldhornisten* (Seventy-Seven Poems from the Papers Left Behind by a Travelling French Horn Player).[3] The opening of the prologue to the song cycle *Die schöne Müllerin* should be understood not only as a laudatory and hyperbolic advertisement, but also as creating its own cultural and historical context within the salon setting. Franz Schubert's musical adaptation omits the prologue, the epilogue, and three further poems. This demonstrates an initial and consistent rejection of any exonerating or ironic framing of the events. I will therefore begin by discussing how Wilhelm Müller's text was at the center of bourgeois

1 (Im Winter zu lesen.) *Der Dichter, als Prolog.* "Ich lad' euch, schöne Damen, kluge Herrn, / Und die ihr hört und schaut des Guten gern, / Zu einem funkelnagelneuen Spiel / Im allerfunkelnagelneusten Styl; […]" Wilhelm Müller, *Sieben und siebzig Gedichte aus den hinterlassenen Papieren eines reisenden Waldhornisten*, vol. 1 (Dessau: Christian Georg Ackermann, 1821), 3. See also Peter Rastl and Peter Dellitsch, eds., *Franz Schubert. Die Texte seiner Lieder und Gesänge und ihre Dichter* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2023), vol. 2, 821.

2 For basic information on Schubert's song cycle see Susan Youens, *Schubert: 'Die schöne Müllerin'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

3 All quotations have been taken and translated by the author from the first edition of 1821 (digitized in the *Deutsches Text Archiv*).

cultural practice at the beginning of the nineteenth century, addressing the utterly distinct spaces of 'free nature' and the confined area of the salon.

Talking and singing water in the Romantic salon

Despite its temporally distinct manifestations in different countries, the salon culture of European Romanticism can be seen as a symptomatic culmination and tipping point of the explicit, enthusiastic understanding of nature in modernity. Through the salon, the bourgeoisie created spaces for staged role-playing, artistic performances, and conversations. These spaces naturally included the aristocracy, at least in the Habsburg and German confederations.[4] The musical 'Schubertiaden' that emerged around the composer were specific manifestations of this idea. The salons were socio-cultural statements, and rather than delineating boundaries, they served to create an integrative connection between private and public space. These unifying rituals of personal and public cultural exchange are documented in countless letters, diaries, and programmatic writings commenting on salon practices. Exploring the meaning of the self through verbal and vocal interplay was considered the primary domain of the arts. This concept had already been extensively explored in the eighteenth century. The salon, as the epitome of the bourgeois interior in cities, illustrates not only the distinction between private and public space, but also that between interior and exterior, culture and nature.

Salon circles, which were mostly based in growing cities such as London, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, made nature – or an aesthetic concept of the 'natural' – a fundamental aspect of their program. 'Nature' is an intentionally distinct yet blurred concept. In the artificial inner space of urban culture, which is designed like a theater, images of nature are conjured up whose coordinates become indistinct. As urban life becomes increasingly shaped by topographical and social infrastructure, the need for compensatory concepts of 'nature' as difference grows. The cultural history of the bourgeois salon played a special role in the creation of Wilhelm Müller's poems and Schubert's compositions, literally setting the scene.

4 Research in European salon culture reached its peak in the 1990s. An initial overview was provided by Peter Seibert, "Der literarische Salon - ein Forschungsüberblick", in *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur, Sonderheft 3* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993), 159–220 and in the results of the conference *Salons der Romantik: Beiträge eines Wiepersdorfer Kolloquiums zu Theorie und Geschichte des Salons*, ed. by Hartwig Schultz (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997). This research focused on aspects of sociability, and on the decisive role of women or the Jewish bourgeoisie of the Enlightenment. Aspects of the 'Spatial Turn' or the spatial conceptions of nature in an urban context have hardly played a role in research to date.

Preliminary versions of the poems were performed in the 1810s at the von Staegemann family's Berlin salon.[5] Wilhelm Müller played a leading role in the salon of the young writer Hedwig von Staegemann and her mother, Elisabeth von Staegemann, a Prussian state councilor and salonnière, respectively. The so-called 'Liederspiele' were popular there. Wilhelm Hensel, a renowned portrait painter on the Berlin cultural scene, and his sister, the poet Luise Hensel, contributed to the salon's literary role-playing popularity with their scenic adaptations. Müller shared preliminary versions of the poems from his collection *Die schöne Müllerin*. The poems were performed against the backdrop of a living room, and Müller – of course – played the leading role under his surname, that happens to match the job title of the literary figure. Here, too, the boundaries between spaces that are socially and culturally distinct in the public consciousness are becoming blurred. Luise Hensel played the female role. Thus, we can speak of a collective practice of literary and visual productivity, which Müller continued in his hometown of Dessau in 1821 in the form of a 'Liedertafel'. In terms of intertextuality, the subject of *Die schöne Müllerin* can be identified as a fashionable European topos around 1800 that was often linked to the suicide motif of the first European bestseller, Goethe's *Werther*. Giovanni Paisiello's 1788 opera buffa *La Molinara* enjoyed great popularity and was celebrated as a German-language singspiel at opera houses in Berlin and Frankfurt in the 1790s. Many poems in the idyll genre featuring a mill can be found in Goethe's poetry. His work was openly or secretly revered by programmatic Romantic authors. These poems can also be found in the poetry collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1805–1808), which enjoyed cult status for decades. The contemporary popularity of the genre reflects the conventional expectation of the audience that they are already familiar with the characters and the story. Schubert's setting engages with these expectations and preconceptions.

The conceptual triad of 'simplicity, naturalness, and song' is found in all the contexts and extends to today's patterns of interpretation in literary studies, which seek to trace the cultural history of the German-language art song. However, the constructed nature of these terms plays a significant role in the poems of *Die schöne Müllerin* but is radically dismantled in Schubert's composition. The language of water is not only seen and heard in contemporary Romantic conceptions of nature. Between the first edition of the poems in 1821 and Schubert's musical interpretation in 1824, serious epistemological and aesthetic shifts occurred. The 'simple' and 'natural' became normative ideals, inter-

5 This context of development has been described several times, most comprehensively by Susan Youens, *Schubert, Müller, and 'Die schöne Müllerin'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1–41.

preted as genuine and original. However, the tension between differentiations, analytical methods, and fantasies of unification in the face of natural phenomena is one of the paradoxes of modernity that became particularly extreme in the 1820s. During this time, the damage inflicted on civilization by the Enlightenment, industrial development and modern warfare had become apparent in European history. The bourgeoisie, still excluded from political participation, sought to reconcile nature and culture in an artistic self-assertion. Yet the tension between these two concepts defines Romantic irony. Due to its unique setting, the salon becomes a crisis space for the irresolvable difference between nature and culture through a distinct location. Here, within a very confined space, an artistic exploration of a new understanding of a concept of human nature as cultural self-empowerment takes place. In von Staegemann's Berlin salon the tension is played out in a playful, artistic, and joyful manner. Wilhelm Müller's 'Liederspiel' allows the tensions of self-reflective romantic longing to manifest as lustful wandering in the attempt to persevere, and in the death of the young journeyman. However, it is only through Franz Schubert's musical language that the dissolution of the boundaries between art and nature is fully realized. To paraphrase Georg Lukács, nature in "transcendental homelessness" cannot be understood through frameworks, perspectives, or categorical patterns of perception.[6] In his new version of the Romantic novel genre, written during the First World War (*Theory of the Novel*), Lukács describes the changes in form in modernity with the concept of 'transcendental homelessness'. Aesthetic transformations of literary genres are revealed in the context of the collapse of epistemic foundations under the sign of contingency. Similarly, during Schubert's era, we observe a transformation marked by the simultaneous consolidation and dissolution of song text traditions. However, cultural strategies of framing nature became a central way to sublimate the threatening unknown by giving it shape. Yet, Schubert's music dispenses from this.

The situational embedding of Wilhelm Müller's *Seventy-Seven Poems from the Papers Left Behind by a Traveling French Horn Player* in a contemporary salon invitation is one of many ways to frame the nature expressed in the poems. At least five different enclosures can be noted. First, the prologue and epilogue situate the diegeses of the internal text in a fictitious salon invitation. The preceding reference that this spring text is "to be read in winter" emphasizes the seasonal separation of the framework for action from the events. This temporal distance protects the audience or reader from any immediate, energetic 'natural' energy. Second, the cycle appears in the fictitious, posthumous papers of

6 Georg Lukács, "Die Theorie des Romans", in *Georg Lukács Werke (1902–1918)*, ed. Zsuzsa Bognár, Werner Jung, Antonia Opitz (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2022), Vol.1.2, 527–608, at 535.

a French horn player, allowing us to assume the role of surviving spectator. In the biographical context, we can trace the genesis of collective text production in Staegemann's salon soirées in Berlin as the connection between Schubert's composing and the 'Schubertiaden' among his friends is well known. This, in turn, creates a secure scope for reception and interpretation. Third, from an intertextual point of view, the subject seamlessly embeds itself in the widely familiar topos of the 'Fair Miller Maid'. Fourth, Wilhelm Müller acknowledges his authorship of the poems, distancing himself from the fictitious authorship of the horn player and becoming an editor of these posthumous papers. Among his inner circle of friends, this autofictional masking effect was, of course, understood as an effective framing device. Finally, the Prologue provides a fifth framing through its commentary on the cast of the poem cycle and its reference to the genre of monodrama:

The Poet, as a Prologue.	*Der Dichter, als Prolog*[7]
[...]	[...]
But if you ask about the characters in the play	Doch wenn ihr nach des Spiels Personen fragt,
I must lament to Muses: I can	So kann ich euch, den Musen sei's geklagt,
Really and truly present you but one,	Nur eine präsentieren recht und ächt,
A young blond miller's lad.	Das ist ein junger blonder Müllersknecht
For, though the brook also speaks at last,	Denn, ob der Bach zuletzt ein Wort auch spricht,
A brook is not yet a character.	So wird ein Bach deshalb Person noch nicht.

"For, though the brook also speaks at last, a brook is not yet a character" – From a narrative theory perspective, I would like to contradict this statement in alliance with the water that speaks in the following poems. The brook is a protagonist in the truest sense of the Greek word 'prōtagōnistḗs', meaning 'leading actor', who drives the plot forward. Which of the fictitious figures in *Die schöne Müllerin* could otherwise assert itself as a person who moves, understands, and acts autonomously in relation to nature? The French horn player, perhaps? The hunter? The miller maid? They all remain shadowy projections. Even the poet remains merely a small framing citation, "as a prologue" or epilogue, and Schubert immediately deletes him as a character from his setting. The loving miller's journeyman offers the only perspective equal to the brook's

7 Müller, *Sieben und siebzig Ged*ichte, 4.

in a permanent, dialogical interplay, and it will be absorbed into the water at the end of the cycle.

The loss of framing, the loss of landscape: figurations of water

Wilhelm Müller undoubtedly achieved a wonderful romantic-ironic twist with his prologue in the bourgeois salon. In 2016, singer Christian Gerhaher and pianist Gerold Huber recorded the prologue, epilogue, and three missing poems from *Die schöne Müllerin*.[8] Gerhaher interprets the five poems as moments of reflective pause, appreciating them in the context of the ironically distancing framing I have outlined. While their inclusion in a performance of the cycle was not entirely new, in 2016, given the recordings of previous decades, it was novel. I am also fascinated by the literary and historical context that emerges in Müller's five unpublished poems, as well as the humorous self-irony inherent in the staging and masquerade. However, it is surprising that the singer Gerhaher claims not to hear the irony in Schubert's music.[9] The essay that accompanies the CD edition states that the composer did not understand irony. Yet, the irony is different, more consistent, and intense. If the numerous framings in Wilhelm Müller's work can be described as a form of distancing, then the reflected refractions and dissolutions of these frames can also be described as the forced, dialectical, abysmal irony of a musical setting. While the irony of the poetry collection stems from the distancing framing of the diegesis, the irony in Schubert's music lies in the subversion of traditional forms and metaphors: One cannot go on a journey to a wandering song, nor can one do anything but die to a lullaby; the musical-melodic figures do not describe the coordinates of a landscape, but rather coalesce concretely, like the materiality of the elements. The romantic irony of the inauthentic is also musically audible in these contradictions.

In his detailed 1975 analysis of the harmony, musical motifs, and bar structures of the song cycle, Arnold Feil showed that *Die schöne Müllerin* is "romantic irony in music."[10] He analyzed the mechanics of musical movement, demonstrated the complex interplay of rhythms and harmonies, and clarified the connections between the piano and vocal parts and the textures of language and music.[11] Feil's study is one of the few that does not interpret the poems or

8 *Franz Schubert. Die schöne Müllerin*, with Christian Gerhaher (baritone) and Gerold Huber (piano), recorded 2016, Sony Classical, 88985427402, 2017, compact disc.
9 Ibid., booklet, 15.
10 Arnold Feil, *Franz Schubert. Die schöne Müllerin; Winterreise*, 2nd edition (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1996), 75.
11 Feil, *Franz Schubert*, 59.

music symbolically. The expressive linguistic imagery of *Die schöne Müllerin* is not reduced to metaphorical and representative references. If music is understood as a language whose syntactic, harmonic, and melodic structures can be heard as verbal statements, then this concept aligns with the philosophy and program of the arts around 1800. Schubert's composition highlights the lyrical, dramatic, and epic elements of the Miller journeyman's narrated narcissistic-suicidal crisis. The acoustics of the water become an energetic musical figure. However, aware of the indissoluble difference between man and nature, this musical language contains consistent, ironic refractions of the premature harmonization of 'man' and 'nature'.

Since the early modern period, no other term has prompted people to describe, analyze, and categorize things more than 'nature'. Around 1800, the term 'nature' became a concept in contrast to culture. Ever since humans came up with the term, perception and reflection have driven the complex history of the relationship between humans and nature as they sought to understand it. How does Schubert's music reveal nature as a construct with a conceptual foundation in crisis?

Since the 1990s, cultural studies research has addressed the 'invention of landscape' in art and literature, demonstrating its significant impact on the historical perception of nature.[12] The coordinates of a landscape reflect the Enlightenment's specific concept of nature, embodied in the ideals of walking, hiking, and traveling, which are no longer functionally determined. The shaping of nature, which is designed and perceived as natural, reaches its peak in the topography of popular landscape paintings and narrative descriptions of widely read travel novels around 1800. The architecture of the 'English garden' became synonymous with 'landscape' throughout Europe. Wilhelm Müller, for example, was influenced by the designed and staged forms of nature in the gardens of Wörlitz near his hometown of Dessau. The dominant perception of nature is clearly structured. Landscape is defined by a division into a foreground and background oriented toward the human gaze. Contours, lines, and visual axes structure the space. The control of the gaze is often reinforced by referencing human cultural achievements, such as tree and bush formations, temples, bridges, churches, and mills. Water is the clear favorite among these

12 "The Invention of Landscape" was the title of Nils Büttner's dissertation published in 2000. Over the last two decades, this epistemological approach has become the standard for cultural studies approaches to historical and contemporary concepts of nature in modernity since the early modern period. Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft. Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000). A comprehensive overview of cultural studies research was provided in 2019 by *Handbuch Landschaft*, ed. by Olaf Kühne, Florian Weber, Karsten Berr, Corinna Jenal (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2019).

elements, appearing in the foreground as stream beds and waterfalls and in the background as a river or lake.



Illustration 1: Elementary dissolution: "... as if one's eyelids had been cut away". *Der Mönch am Meer* by Caspar David Friedrich, 1808–10. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Alte Nationalgalerie.

Seascapes, on the other hand, are always challenging for any pictorial narrative, as evidenced by the significant advances in modernity seen in the art of William Turner and Caspar David Friedrich. For Schubert and Müller, these artists belong to their parents' generation. In his review of Caspar David Friedrich's *Mönch am Meer* in the Berliner Abendblätter in 1810 (see Illustration 1), Heinrich von Kleist reflected on the overwhelming effect of the painting's physicality: it is as if one's eyelids had been cut away.[13] Even the physiological frame of the eye has been deconstructed. The cultural imprints of visual perception create frames in terms of brain physiology. Here, an aesthetic of material compression pushes these frames so far that they dissolve. This aesthetic of radical dissolution of perspective can also be heard in Schubert's

13 Heinrich von Kleist, "Empfindungen vor Friedrichs Seelandschaft", in: Heinrich von Kleist, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, vol. 3: *Erzählungen, Anekdoten, Gedichte, Schriften*, ed. Klaus Müller-Salget (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker, 1973), 543–4, at 544. As is well known, Kleist had condensed and radicalized reviews by Achim von Arnim and Clemens von Brentano. I am concerned here with the phenomenon of liquid, physical dissolution in the image as well as in contemplation.

music. Musical figures are repeated only to be broken up. As I will demonstrate, the musical language of *Die schöne Müllerin* continues the dissolution of the frame found in Friedrich's and Turner's paintings, approaching abstraction. It depicts the disappearance of humans within the material processes of nature, beyond framing, compensatory patterns of perception, and anthropocentric interpretations. The aggregate states of the elementary cannot be perceived or understood as identical units or substances, but only as energetically defined compounds.

In the contemporary art of Turner or Friedrich, it becomes clear that the fundamental phenomenon of 'water' can no longer be depicted through the landscape metaphors of 'river', 'lake' or 'sea'. They are not topoi or design elements of a staged park landscape in the English Garden. Similarly, Schubert's musical setting does not aim to illustrate a familiar story in a picturesque landscape, but rather to render audible a nature that is itself in constantly transforming states of aggregation. The romantic longing to rediscover a sense of belonging within nature becomes audible in the transformative repetitions, which lead to a dissolution of the self. Here, suicide appears not merely as the culmination of a romantic longing for a reunion with nature. It is musically portrayed as a radically concrete, material dissolution of the human being.

Matter: movement between sky and abyss

The narrative of the landscape is often associated with the epic. Thus, problematizing the concept while listening to and watching the monodrama *Die schöne Müllerin* may seem unnecessary at first. However, the text can be reinterpreted through its variety of genres. Dramaturgically, it combines poetic and dramatic elements in an epic story. Schubert combines these different dramatic, lyrical, and epic poetics in the forms of recitative, arias, and strophic songs. The musical composition's language becomes more consistent than the text's. A closer look at – or rather, a closer listen to – these changing genre elements in the musical forms and figures can be revealing. The plot of *Die schöne Müllerin* is not complex, meeting the expectations of contemporary audiences with its popular subject matter. This may explain why cliché-like depictions of landscapes remain so prevalent in the reception of the song cycle today. Title pages of many editions depict the young miller in a landscape and describe him as a figure embedded in nature (see Illustration 2).[14]

14 This is just one example of many decorative editions: [Franz Schubert], *Die schöne Müllerin. Lieder-Cyclus. Gedichte von Wilhelm Müller. In Musik gesetzt von Franz Schubert* (Stuttgart, Leipzig, Vienna: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, [1880]).



Illustration 2: Nature as a landscape from above, from an anthropocentric perspective. *Die schöne Müllerin.* Illustrated splendor edition. Woodcuts by Richard Brend'amour (ca. 1880).



Illustration 3: An evocation in the conditional – staged with suit and top hat and successfully popularized in the form of the picture postcard. *Ich schnitt' es gern in alle Rinden ein...* Wien: Kunst-Anstalt J. Schreier, beginning of the twentieth century. © Archive of Historical Picture Postcards, University Osnabrück, ID os_ub_0005249.

This popularization extends to the themes of popular picture postcards from around 1900 (see Illustration 3). These postcards depict scenes that correspond to the narrative, though they are not found in the song cycle. Such landscapes are not depicted in the songs, nor can the people depicted in them be recognized as musical or literary realities. Nevertheless, these illustrations may explain why such metaphors persist in the broader history of German-language art song reception.

Beyond these interpretations, however, the individual poems offer completely different images and figurations of water. In the first poem, *Das Wandern*, the tenth poem, *Tränenregen*, and the final poem, *Des Baches Wiegenlied*, it is the energy and movement of the water that play the main role. These three poems also demonstrate Schubert's musical attention to the literary structure of the cycle. Starting with the theme of wandering, the poetry finds its complementary turn to death in the central image of a mirror breaking on the surface of the water.

Wandering.

To wander is the miller's lust;
to wander!
[...]
We have learnt it from the water, from
the water!
It never rests, by day or night,
but will always be wandering,
the water.

We can see it in the wheels too,
the wheels!
They refuse to stand still
but turn tirelessly the whole day long,
the wheels.

The stones themselves, heavy as they are,
the stones!
They join in the cheerful dance
and want to move even faster,
the stones.

Wanderschaft.[15]

Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust,
Das Wandern!
[...]
Vom Wasser haben wir's gelernt,
Vom Wasser!
Das hat nicht Rast bei Tag und Nacht,
Ist stets auf Wanderschaft bedacht,
Das Wasser.

Das sehn wir auch den Rädern ab,
Den Rädern!
Die gar nicht gerne stille stehn,
Die sich mein Tag nicht müde drehn,
Die Räder.

Die Steine selbst so schwer sie sind,
Die Steine!
Sie tanzen mit den muntern Reihn
Und wollen gar noch schneller sein,
Die Steine.

15 Müller, *Sieben und siebzig Gedichte*, 7–8. In the music editions of the composition, the title *Wanderschaft* was changed to Das Wandern. That is very indicative of the forced performativity of the composition.

The first song of *Die schöne Müllerin* is not a landscape with a wanderer. The phrase "to wander is the miller's lust" cannot be attributed to a specific person. We see water, wheels, and stones, but no paths, borders, or lines that could form a landscape. A so-called 'lyrical I' appears in the subsequent songs, *Wohin?* and *Halt!.* In many interpretations, the voice of 'wandering' is identified with that of the journeyman miller. However, the prologue had already put us on the right path with the question, 'Who cares who speaks?'. We simply cannot rely on literary figures that speak, whether they be a brook, a journeyman miller, or a poet. Therefore, this song can simply be appreciated for what it is: a song in which the term 'wandering' is perceived through the movement of the music. Schubert translated the title of the poem, Wanderschaft, from an abstract noun into the verb form of 'wandering'. The voice of wandering refers to the director and protagonist of the entire cycle, the water. At the same time, the voice merges with the water in the dynamic movement of the music.

Arnold Feil described an experimental arrangement of the song and tested its rhythm in the context of hiking. His conclusion that it is impossible to hike to this music is still referenced today. I like his argument so much for its poetic, performative quality that I would like to quote it here:

> You try it – certainly not in a room (but not in the mountains either), but in a meadow valley whose stream could drive mills or has driven them! If, in a musically good rendition, one directs one's step according to the quavers of the 2/4 time, one ends up tripping; if one directs it according to the crotchets, it becomes a stride. Conversely, if you try to take the tempo of the musical performance in the same way as you walk – the experiment will make you laugh and stumble. [...] You can't translate the movement of such music into physical movement, but you can translate it to a certain extent, you can 'imagine' it musically and realize it musically accordingly.[16]

Feil's work reveals patterns of interpretation in the history of cultural science that methodological 'turns' in the humanities since the 1970s have not considered. He does not address questions of spatial theory or embodiment, nor the historical semantics of concepts. Nevertheless, I am fascinated by the concrete and original description of the physicality of listening. However, figurations of movement are exclusively reduced to anthropocentrically conceived intentional human action. These movements, in turn, take place according to norma-

16 Feil, *Franz Schubert*, 58 (translation by the author).

tive patterns.[17] Even the arrangement of the supposedly clearly defined landscape – the 'meadow valley with mill' – must first be considered a constructed arrangement. Logically, the transformation of the liquidity and energy of water through movement must be rejected. The song's agitation seems conceivable only as an abstract concept in the human imagination. Arnold Feil's repeated emphasis on the explosive nature of movement and dynamics in music and text is reduced to so-called 'pure imagination'. Thus, the concept of wandering is reduced to a cultural technique, without questioning the normativity of such "typical forms of movement" in their historical context. Yet, we hear: "We have learned it from the water."[18] This clear statement directs the senses of hearing, seeing, and experiencing decisively toward the energetically charged dynamics of the movement of stones and mill wheels. In their leaps, twists, and turns, these movements follow the chaotic yet systemic complexity of nature's material. Thus, the movements of wandering and music exhibit the physiology of matter in musical and linguistic motion. "From the water! The stones! / The wheels!" Schubert's forced repetitions allow the miller's apprentice, at the beginning of the cycle, to immerse himself in the omnipresent dynamics of the physiological and hydrological figurations of water. Wandering entails pleasurably surrendering to an unknown nature without a fixed destination, function, or intention. Physical and neuronal-psychological dynamics are clearly expressed in this lyrical, tonal language.

In recent years, neuroscientific research has proven the physical connection between movement, perception, emotion, and reflection through numerous empirical case studies. Even in the following poem, in which the subject is introduced on the perceptual levels of hearing and seeing with the line "I heard a little rushing brook," the literary figure remains part of the materiality of nature, which is always physically dynamic. Although walking does not correspond to the measured step of a man striding through a meadow valley

17 In the meantime, five decades after Feil's self-experiment, the question of *Nature and Landscape in Schubert's Time* has become embedded in the broad research field of nature writing and of the critique of the Enlightenment and of Anthropocentric thinking. Interdisciplinary studies that focus on the connection between material, physical and psychological phenomena can draw on Gaston Bachelard's essay on the imagination of matter *L'Eau et les rêves* (1942), which is primarily aimed at the history of literature and philosophy in English and French. Susanne Magdalena Stöckle, *Mare, fiume, ruscello. Acqua e musica nella cultura romantica* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2018) focuses on Schubert and Gaston Bachelard's philosophy. Focused on the 'wandering water,' there are fewer scholarly texts on *Die schöne Müllerin* than on *Winterreise*, but an early poetic text by Peter Härtling can be found. In his lectures at the Salzburg Mozarteum (1994), he spoke about the Romantic linguistic embodiments of water in Schubert's music. The published essay is a form of nature writing 'avant la lettre.' Peter Härtling, *Das wandernde Wasser. Musik und Poesie der Romantik* (Stuttgart: Radius, 1994).

18 Müller, *Sieben und siebzig Gedichte*, 7.

in the 1970s, it can be expressed through the physical performativity of stumbling and laughing – and especially through dance. This aesthetic-physiological effectiveness characterizes this music.

The journeyman miller longs for beauty in all forms, whether in nature or in his erotic fantasies. In Schubert's setting, the miller maid plays no role in the truest sense of the word – she is not a character. The music focuses on monologues, dialogues, and reflections – that is, reflections of the water in connection with the wandering lover. After the tenth song, the sequence consistently breaks in the middle of the cycle, and these two figures gradually merge into one another in an eroticism beyond gender bounds. Both end in music of suicidal dissolution.

Of still life and the sea

In all the songs of the cycle, the motifs of water can be heard in their movements and patterns. They should be understood as complementary to the imagery evoked. At times, their dynamics follow the movements of the young miller's apprentice; at other times, the fluidity heard contrasts with the imagery on a semantic level. And in only one song does the brook seem to fall silent: in the third poem, with the forced Germanism *Halt!*

Halt!	*Halt!* [19]
I see a mill gazing	Eine Mühle seh' ich blicken
Out of the alders;	Aus den Erlen heraus,
The roar of mill wheels breaks	Durch Rauschen und Singen
Through rustling and singing.	Bricht Rädergebraus

"Rustling and singing" – the water is omnipresent here, too. Nevertheless, the command to stop is unmistakable in the form of an image: "I see a mill gazing out of the alders." This image of a mill gleaming in the landscape corresponds to familiar genre scenes of landscapes with bushes, houses, the sun, and the sky. However, this 'as if painted' nature will be the only landscape tableau in the entire cycle. The desire to capture this image leads the miller's journeyman to make the fatal decision to linger and obey the numinous command, "Halt!". This moment of delay undergoes a transformation in the twelfth song, *Pause*. Here, the text and its setting evoke another iconic genre image: the still life.

19 Müller, *Sieben* und s*iebzig Gedichte*, 11.

Pause
I've hung my lute on the wall,
I've wrapped it with a green ribbon –
I can't sing anymore,
my heart is too full,
I don't know how to force it into rhyme.

Pause[20]
Meine Laute hab' ich gehängt an die Wand,
Hab' sie umschlungen mit einem grünen Band –
Ich kann nicht mehr singen,
mein Herz ist zu voll,
Weiß nicht, wie ich's in Reime zwingen soll.

The lute hanging on the wall with a green ribbon is reminiscent of trompe l'œil paintings from the seventeenth century. However, precisely because the Romantic program distances itself from this aesthetic, Wilhelm Müller and Franz Schubert highlight it here as a clear allusion to art history. Sebastiano Lazzari's still lifes of musical instruments attached to walls with deceptive realism demonstrate the mute materiality of unplayed instruments. Although little is known about the prolific Italian artist Lazzari to this day, his paintings were popular throughout Europe during the Romantic period and were featured in numerous bourgeois private collections. During the eighteenth century, instruments and hunting utensils were as much a part of the still-life genre as fruit, meat, and other natural objects. In *Die schöne Müllerin*, the tension between vitality and movement breaks down this aesthetic, which had already become historical by around 1800. As with the quotations from landscape painting in the song *Halt*, we find retarding moments of still life in *Pause* that render the brook silent as a protagonist. The interweaving of vanitas and stillness – or silencing – gives this song a morbidity that contrasts with the liquidity and acoustics of the water. Though the music does not pause, the brook seems silent in this interior space. However, genuine silence as part of nature is finally achieved in the last song, *The Brook's Lullaby*, in a manner distinct from the muteness of the hanging lute (see Illustrations 4 and 5).

Before the invention of zippers and chemical adhesives, ribbons, ropes, and knots were central to cultural bonding practices in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their physicality added an erotic allure, particularly to decorative ribbons and those used in fashion. However, in *Die schöne Müllerin*, the hope associated with the green ribbon proves to be an illusion – a trompe l'œil.

20 Müller, *Sieben und siebzig Gedichte*, 29.



Illustration 4: Aesthetics of the hunting trophy: apparent standstill in transience. *Trompe l'Oeil with Falconer's Bag and Other Equipment for Falconry* by Cornelius Norbertus Gijsbrechts, © National Gallery Denmark, Statens Museum for Kunst (17th century)



Illustration 5: Natura morta: Here the brook is silent in Schubert's music. *Trompe l'Oeil Still Life* by Sebastiano Lazzari (18th century, private collection / © Wikimedia Commons

When taken from their original contexts, the connecting ribbon and the instrument become mere ornaments. In this way, the song cycle draws on different aesthetic traditions and contrasts them semantically. This confrontation clarifies the connection between the longing for love and the idea of dying beyond the expected plot. This logic sums up the poem *Tränenregen* as a tilting figure.

Rain of Tears	*Thränenregen*[21]
We were sitting together in intimacy	Wir saßen so traulich beisammen
In the cool canopy of alders,	Im kühlen Erlendach,
And looked in harmony together	Wir schauten so traulich zusammen
Down into the trickling brook.	Hinab in den rieselnden Bach.
The moon had appeared too,	Der Mond war auch gekommen,
Then the little stars behind,	Die Sternlein hinterdrein,
And gazed so happily together	Und schauten so traulich zusammen
Into the silver mirror.	In den silbernen Spiegel hinein.
[...]	[...]
The whole sky seemed	Und in den Bach versunken
To have sunk into the brook	Der ganze Himmel schien,
And wanted to pull me down with it	Und wollte mich mit hinunter
Into its depths.	In seine Tiefe ziehn.
And above the clouds and stars	Und über den Wolken und Sternen
The brook trickled merrily,	Da rieselte munter der Bach,
And called me with singing and sound:	Und rief mit Singen und Klingen:
Fellow, fellow, follow me.	Geselle, Geselle, mir nach.

All coordinates dissolve here. In the sky reflected in the water, the distinction between above and below, and between vertical and horizontal, becomes blurred. Height and depth become one because categorical, subject-centered thinking has been eliminated. In living nature, in which the observer believes himself to be completely embedded and reflected, the fluid physical

21 Müller, *Sieben und siebzig Gedichte*, 26–27.

coincidence of rain, tears, and streams is immediately broken by refraction in the rippling, blurred water mirror. Here, the illusion of looking at the surface of water together is experienced in a concrete way. Simultaneously perceiving the reflections in the water and the eyes of the beloved is physically impossible. The multiple, ironic refractions lie in the focus on water's fundamental liquidity. While the moon and stars become mere scenery, the connection to water is also fundamental in this song.

The poem is placed in the middle of the song cycle, making it a reflective moment and a turning point. It quotes another mythological figure of water reflection: Narcissus lost himself in his reflection on the water's surface. In *Die schöne Müllerin*, however, the young journeyman can no longer recognize his own image and is drawn into the depths of the water. The narcissistic projections of love are also ironically dampened. The adored woman's pragmatic weather forecast, delivered bluntly, entirely in recitative: "She said: It is about to rain. I'd better go home."[22] The disillusioning irony becomes clear at the tipping point of the key change. This also causes the supposedly harmonious and simple structure of the verse song's repetition to collapse. In this sense, classifying Schubert's polyphonic water music as a 'monodrama' can only be understood ironically. In the symmetrical yet broken form of the cycle, the poems *Tränenregen* and *Des Baches Wiegenlied* are complementary in every respect. The diverse musical and linguistic figurations of water flow into the universal concept of the sea and the story of the lover into death.

The Brook's Lullaby	*Des Baches Wiegenlied*[23]
Rest well, rest well!	Gute Ruh', gute Ruh'!
Close your eyes!	Thu die Augen zu!
Wanderer, you weary one, you are	Wandrer, du müder, du bist
at home now.	zu Haus
Faithfulness is here,	Die Treu' ist hier,
You shall lie with me,	Sollst liegen bei mir,
Until the sea drinks up	Bis das Meer will trinken die Bächlein
all brooks.	aus.

22 "Sie sprach: Es kommt ein Regen, / Ade, ich geh' nach Haus." Müller, *Sieben und siebzig Gedichte*, 27.

23 Müller, *Sieben und siebzig Gedichte*, 47–48.

I want to bed your body cool,	Will betten dich kühl,
On a soft pillow,	Auf weichem Pfühl,
In this blue crystalline chamber.	In dem blauen krystallenen Kämmerlein.
Draw near, draw near,	Heran, heran,
What can lull,	Was wiegen kann,
Rock and lull the boy for me!	Woget und wieget den Knaben mir ein!
[...]	[...]
Good night, good night,	Gute Nacht, gute Nacht!
Till all is awake,	Bis Alles wacht,
Sleep away your joy, sleep away your sorrow!	Schlaf' aus deine Freude, schlaf' aus dein Leid!
The full moon rises,	Der Vollmond steigt,
The fog is lifting,	Der Nebel weicht,
And the sky above, how vast it is!	Und der Himmel da oben, wie ist er so weit!

If one wanted to replicate Arnold Feil's experiment on rhythm and socio-culturally defined movement to test the suitability of Schubert's music as a lullaby, the ostinato repetitions that culminate in a key change would certainly not promote sleep. More concretely, the acoustic of liquid is also audible here, leading to the dissolution of frame and subject-centered perception. Consequently, the death of every human being leads to elemental embedding in nature. Self-empowering, sorrowful humanoid self-reflection ends, and the 'human mammal' is referred to in its material, physical, and physiological condition. The melody of this song depicts aggregations that dissolve upward and downward, finally rising and lifting. The connection between the resolution and dissolution of tension becomes aesthetically tangible. Beyond the transcendental or spiritual, the sky and sea become concrete images of limitlessness.

Of ships' cabins and skies

Heinrich Heine's 1826 collection of poems *Die Nordsee* (The North Sea) contains a poem that runs parallel to this suicidal lullaby of water. In a letter to Wilhelm Müller from June 1826, Heine explicitly refers to the poem cycle, praising its "most secret tone" and the completely inventive "new forms" it contains.[24] He enclosed his poems about the North Sea with the letter to Wilhelm

24 "Heinrich Heine to Wilhelm Müller in Dessau, Hamburg, 7. Juni 1826", in: Heinrich Heine, *Säkularausgabe. Werke, Briefwechsel, Lebenszeugnisse*, vol. 20: *Briefe 1815–1831*, ed. Fritz H. Eisner

Müller. However, Heine's water poems have their own unique acoustic quality. "A strange sound, a whispering and whistling, / A laugh and a murmur, a sigh and a whisper, / In between a secret lullaby – / I felt as if I were listening to lost legends, / Ancient, sweet fairy tales."[25] The Nordsee poems uniquely combine concrete physical, visual and acoustic representations of the sea at different times of the day and night. They are connected with sea gods, spirits, nymphs and mermaids from mythology and legend.

In Heine's work, too, the despair of a lover is "lulled by ocean waves." However, the natural setting of the poem, clearly reminiscent of Wilhelm Müller's *Des Baches Wiegenlied*, is quite different:

At night in the cabin	*Nachts in der Cajüte*[26]
Against the planked ship's side,	An die bretterne Schiffswand,
Where my dreaming head lies,	Wo mein träumendes Haupt liegt,
Burn the waves, the wild waves.	Branden die Wellen, die wilden Wellen.
They roar and murmur	Sie rauschen und murmeln
Secretly in my ear:	Mir heimlich in's Ohr:
Foolish fellow!	"Bethörter Geselle!"
Your arm is short, and the sky is wide,	Dein Arm ist kurz, und der Himmel ist weit,
And the stars above are nailed down,	Und die Sterne droben sind festgenagelt,
Yearning in vain, sighing in vain,	Vergebliches Sehnen, vergebliches Seufzen,
The best thing would be for you to fall asleep.	Das Beste wäre, du schliefest ein.

In the final months of his life, Schubert consistently turned to Heine's poetry in the posthumously edited song collection *Schwanengesang*. It is futile to speculate why he did not draw upon the imagery of the sea in Heine's *Die Nordsee*, with its depictions of the "rushing, whispering and whistling, laughing and murmuring, sighing" of the waves. Nevertheless, this question highlights that *Die schöne Müllerin* is a document of the upheaval and movement into the modern nineteenth- and twentieth-century age, which is reflected in

(Berlin: Akademie, 1970), 149–51.

25 *Abenddämmerung.* "Ein seltsam Geräusch, ein Flüstern und Pfeifen, / Ein Lachen und Murmeln, Seufzen und Sausen, / Dazwischen ein wiegenliedheimliches Singen – / Mir war als hört' ich verscholl'ne Sagen, / Uralte, liebliche Mährchen." Heinrich Heine, "Die Nordsee," in Heinrich Heine, *Reisebilder*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1826), 265.

26 Heinrich Heine: "Die Nordsee ", 283 (translation by the author).

Heine's poetry. *Nachts in der Kajüte* is not water music intended to lull or provide ambivalent protection. Free from transcendental projections, the voices of the water have a sobering effect on the diminutive subject with short arms who wants to reach for the stars. The open space of a free-flowing nature has become confined within the wooden confines of a ship's cabin. While the water in *Die schöne Müllerin* catches the lover in its swaying movement and energetic beauty, Heine's *Wiegenlied* counters every programmatic aspect of romantic longing for love and death with ironical biting sarcasm. *Die Nordsee* does not end with this poem, but with a heavenly apotheosis in the subjunctive, in which the lovers sink to their knees and the beloved, "her eye, blissfully radiant, promises you a salary bonus [...] and you stammered, clasping your hands: Praise be to Jesus Christ!"[27]

The parallel song in the hard, wooden coffin of the ship's cabin can be distinguished by its political and critical intent. This is undoubtedly not Schubert's intention. However, it does consistently follow a similar path of radicalising modern aesthetics. *Die schöne Müllerin* does not end in a claustrophobic ship's cabin: nature provides an expansive view of the sky and sea. The suicidal dissolution into the materiality of nature and the movement of the water releases the dying subject and listeners into a nature that cannot be thought of in anthropocentric terms. All frameworks – categorical, social, and theological – are shattered. Unlike Wilhelm Müller's framing, this composition simply cannot end in sarcasm or a sublime epilogue.

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27 "ihr Auge, selig strahlend, verhieße dir eine Gehaltzulage [...] und du stammeltest händefaltend: Gelobt sey Jesu Christ!" Heinrich Heine, "Die Nordsee," 300.

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"Halfway between Life and Death": The Schubertian Wanderer and the Landscape of Exile

Cecily Cai

Franz Schubert's song cycle *Winterreise* D 911 captures the winter journey of a solitary wanderer who projects his own dreams and woes onto his surroundings. Driven by a paradoxical yet interconnected longing for the familiar and for the foreign, the wanderer travels in a circular motion, as if impersonating a modern exile living a nomadic, decentered life. Against this landscape of exile, self and nature find voice in one another, and the individual and his surroundings also coalesce in either peace or the lack thereof. In fact, the Schubertian wanderer is an evolving figure that predates his *Winterreise*. Starting from his early lied *Gretchen am Spinnrade* D 118, Schubert focused on the inner conflicts of a protagonist who is torn by happiness and grief, dream and reality. The parallel between physical and emotional wandering also informed Schubert's choice of poetry, reflecting his own affinity with the wanderer figure and his fascination with exilic topoi in the literature of his time. The Schubertian wanderer is often situated in a landscape that sets off his exilic sentiments: out of place and out of time. In this sense, the landscape in Schubert's musical portrayals is not simply a stage for the protagonists' endless journeys but also embodies their inner terrains. As the Schubertian wanderer continues to live among the echoes of modern exiles, he also transcends his time and milieu, thus sealing his fate as an ultimate exile with a mind of winter, falling halfway between life and death.

Prelude

In 1982, a poet named Adam Zagajewski arrived in Paris, where he would spend the next two decades of his life as an exile. Paris is a long way from Kraków, his last home in Communist Poland, and it is even further from Lvov, the city he was forced to leave in 1945 when he was four months old. For someone who was born into exile, home is an elusive concept: Zagajewski knew early on that he had to seek solace elsewhere. In a poem entitled "Piano Lesson – I'm Eight Years Old" Zagajewski confesses: "Music will always be elsewhere, / inacces-

sible, in someone else's apartment."[1] This bitter realization is also an epiphany. From then on his impressions of music would be forever entwined with his lost cities. That is why, in his essay "Two Cities," Zagajewski claims that "music was created for the homeless, because, of all the arts, it is least connected with place. It is suspiciously cosmopolitan."[2] These affinities between music and exile are also recognized by literary critic Edward Said, who refers to the exile's plural vision as "contrapuntal."[3] While highlighting the plurality and cosmopolitanism that Zagajewski sees in music, Said also turns to the dark side of exile, which he describes as "nomadic, decentered" with "a mind of winter." [4] In particular, Said's reading of exile brings to mind the experience of winter wandering captured by Schubert's music. In fact, Schubert is one of Zagajewski's favorite subjects for his reflections on music and exile. One of his most famous Schubert-themed poems, published shortly after his move to Paris, is entitled "Franz Schubert: A Press Conference." In this poem, the nineteenth-century composer finds himself in the modern spotlight. For a moment, Schubert appears almost as the doppelgänger of the wanderer from his late song cycle *Winterreise*:

> I ran through icy forests,
> chased by snow, yellow stars,
> and by the strangeness of style itself;
> [...]
> I don't know whether it's fate, a glove,
> such delicate snowflakes, if only
> they don't turn into a blizzard.[5]

Against the backdrop of winter, the solitary composer is pursued by the wanderer in his music. This imaginary portrait of Schubert – filtered through the lens of a modern poet in exile – is coated with exilic overtones. Perhaps there are even elements of Schubert's own life in the wanderings that take place in his music, through which the composer envisioned – against reality – a landscape that is reminiscent of exile. As dream seeps into life, Schubert also steps

1 Adam Zagajewski, *Unseen Hand*, trans. Clare Cavanagh (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 17.
2 Adam Zagajewski, *Two Cities: On Exile, History, and the Imagination*, trans. Lillian Vallee (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), 6.
3 Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 186.
4 Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*, 186.
5 Adam Zagajewski, *Without End*, trans. Clare Cavanagh et al. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 113.

into the spotlight as a nomadic, decentered, and contrapuntal self that transcends his own milieu – out of place and out of time.

Everywhere a stranger

Unlike his modern admirer Zagajewski, Schubert has never been physically exiled. Instead, his movement is rather limited during his lifetime, marked mostly by the contour of Vienna.[6] Yet the choice of his musical subject suggests the opposite: a longing for the faraway that belies the domestic reality of Schubert's quotidian life. In some ways, it is a literary wanderlust, as Schubert showed great interest in the works of Goethe, whose poems would become a major source for his songs. Already in 1814, Schubert composed the lied *Gretchen am Spinnrade* D 118 (Gretchen at the Spinning Wheel) set to a scene from Goethe's *Faust*. Many would consider this early lied as Schubert's "first undisputed masterpiece" and its day of composition as the "Birthday of German Song."[7] While Goethe's verses captured the inner ripples of a girl in love, Schubert's musical rendition intensified the protagonist's restlessness by generating the wheel-like spins on the piano.[8] Gretchen's memories of her beloved are punctuated by the refrain of her lament:

Meine Ruh' ist hin,	My peace is gone
Mein Herz ist schwer,	My heart is heavy,
Ich finde sie nimmer	I shall never, never again
Und nimmermehr.	Find peace.[9]

The abrupt shift from the past to the present is suggestive of a boundary-crossing between dream and reality. In some ways, the subject is driven by a Romantic 'Sehnsucht,' which Susan Youens characterizes as "the longing within the spirit for that which is unattainable and unknown" as would later be seen in the wanderer figure of Schubert's song cycle *Winterreise*.[10] Although Gretchen

6 See Lisa Feurzeig, "Precursors to *Winterreise*: Songs of Winter and Wandering, the Early Song Cycle," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert's* Winterreise, eds. Marjorie W. Hirsch and Lisa Feurzeig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 43–58, at 50.

7 See Christopher H. Gibbs, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1–12, at 8.

8 William Kinderman, "Schubert's Tragic Perspective," in *Schubert: Critical and Analytical Studies*, ed. Walter Frisch (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 65–83, at 65.

9 Lyrics and English translation from Franz Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts: Texts of the Lieder and Italian Songs*, trans. Richard Wigmore (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988), 224.

10 Susan Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey: Franz Schubert's "Winterreise"* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 17.

is no archetypal wanderer in the Romantic sense, her emotional journey – sentiments of hope and despair, love and abandonment – would come to shape the wanderer figure in Schubert's later songs. The cyclical motion of the spinning wheel has also become an allegory of the wanderer's exilic journey that Schubert would continue to confront both in his life and in his art.

Two years after Schubert composed *Gretchen am Spinnrade*, the composer set his eyes on a poem written by his contemporary poet Georg Philipp Schmidt von Lübeck (*Der Wanderer* D 489; revised in 1821). In the mere span of five stanzas, the voice of a solitary wanderer beckons, weary and dark, while exilic motifs unfold in front of a landscape equally dreary and unadorned. Doubts dominate the wanderer's soliloquy from the very first stanza:

Ich komme vom Gebirge her,	I come from the mountains,
Es dampft das Tal, es braust das Meer.	The valley steams, the ocean roars,
Ich wandle still, bin wenig froh,	I wander, silent and joyless,
Und immer fragt der Seufzer: wo?	And my sighs forever ask: Where?[11]

As the wanderer stops to reflect, we enter a strange land that is out of time. The mountains, which indicate the wanderer's origin, lie remotely in the past, against the valley and the sea of here and now. When Schubert transforms this temporal distance into his music, the landscape becomes pensive rather than descriptive, as it eases into the seeming void on the canvas. The piano melody slowly rises and falls, as if tracing the contour of the terrain from mountains to sea, only to come to a stop briefly when the voice of the wanderer joins. This fleeting moment of silence, almost imperceptible, gives us a peek at the wanderer's inner world. The piano then follows the voice of the wanderer, as he utters "Ich wandle still" (I wander, silent), the piano also dips into pianissimo, matching the inner silence, giving way to the inevitable question of "wo" (where). To heighten the sense of loss and despair, Schubert repeats the question by adding "immer wo?" (always where?) to the original text, like an echo.

The added "immer wo?" rests on the fermata, followed by the pause of the piano, yet almost imperceptible to the ears, as the music segues into the withering landscape of the second stanza:

11 Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 133.

Die Sonne dünkt mich hier so kalt,	Here the sun seems so cold,
Die Blüte welk, das Leben alt,	The blossom faded, life old,
Und was sie reden, leerer Schall,	And men's words mere hollow noise;
Ich bin ein Fremdling überall.	I am a stranger everywhere.[12]

Prompted by the question of "where," the wanderer moves slowly back to the here and now. The bleak landscape darkens the mood further, as is palpable in the music. Yet different from the soft entry that peacefully unfolds the reflective narrative in the first stanza, here the music picks up the speed ("etwas geschwinder").[13] Without giving too much away, Schubert used a small change in tempo, still barely perceptible, to match the ripples across the wanderer's mind, finally giving way to the reality of exile: "I am a stranger everywhere." The word "Fremdling" slips out surreptitiously in the descending notes. Schmidt von Lübeck originally titled his poem "Des Fremdlings Abendlied" (The Stranger's Evening Song), and Schubert decided to turn Schmidt von Lübeck's "Fremdling" into a prototypical wanderer that would be followed by the songs to come.[14] Schubert was not yet twenty years old when he composed his lied *Der Wanderer*, which he lingered over for much longer still. Six years later in 1822, he composed the *Wandererfantasie* D 760, transferring the second stanza of his *Wanderer* lied to the second movement of his *Wanderer Fantasy*. In the same C-sharp minor key, the piano – unaccompanied this time – takes over the voice of the wanderer. Here, Schubert turned the piano's solitary voice into a theme and variations on the piano, with the haunting words "Ich bin ein Fremdling überall" (I am a stranger everywhere) looming with its dark undertones, almost like an echo mimicking the pensive steps of a perpetual exile.

In this lied *Der Wanderer* from 1816 and the subsequent *Wandererfantasie* from 1822, Schubert traced a figure who is not simply a sentimental traveler of Romanticism but also an outcast submitting to the fate of exile, as he is trapped between his origin and his unknown destination. Unlike the typical wanderers of Romantic literature who "undertake leisurely Bildungsreisen,"[15] the subject of Schubert's *Der Wanderer* takes an inward journey that coalesces into the outside world. In particular, as Andrew Cusack argues, the wanderer's introspection is "at the same time accompanied by revelations about the outer world."[16]

12 Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 133.
13 *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, *Series IV: Lieder*, vol. 1a, ed. Walther Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 27.
14 Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey*, 52.
15 Theodore Ziolkowski, *German Romanticism and Its Institutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 4.
16 Andrew Cusack, *The Wanderer in Nineteenth-Century German Literature: Intellectual History and Cultural Criticism* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2008), 82.

In the case of Schmidt von Lübeck's poem, nature appears in impressionistic strokes and distant forms, as if being viewed by the wanderer as a landscape.[17] Rather than setting the stage for the wanderer's presence, the surroundings blend into his inner world, which is echoed by Schubert's music. In a subtle way, Schubert used the voice of the piano as a bridge for the coming together of the external and the internal in his musical landscape. Thus, nature and self coalesced in music, and when Schubert turned his *Wanderer* lied into the theme and variations of his *Wandererfantasie*, only the voice of the piano remained to represent both the wanderer and the nature around him. In fact, this harmony between self and nature is no new realization for Schubert. In 1822, the same year in which he composed the *Wandererfantasie*, Schubert returned to Goethe and set his second *Wandrers Nachtlied* D 768 to music (Wanderer's Nightsong II). In this famous short free-verse poem by Goethe, the wanderer is also situated in a realm out of time, yet unlike the bleak landscape in Schmidt von Lübeck's poem, Goethe's second *Nachtlied* suggests a different mood. Rather than lamenting his irretrievable homeland, the wanderer appears to be immersed in his nocturnal surroundings, in the here and now:

Über allen Gipfeln	Over all the peaks
Ist Ruh,	There is peace,
In allen Wipfeln	In all the tree-tops
Spürest du	You feel
Kaum einen Hauch;	Scarcely a breath of air;
Die Vögelein schweigen im Walde.	The little birds in the forest are silent.
Warte nur, balde	Wait!
Ruhest du auch.	Soon you too will be at rest.[18]

Veiled in darkness, everything the wanderer sees is actually what he hears, feels, or perhaps rather, imagines. These mental images are translated into a poem – a night song, in which a landscape is *read* as a soundscape instead. However, there is barely any sound, hardly a breath ("Kaum einen Hauch"). Goethe's words here bring to mind the ending of Schmidt von Lübeck's poem, when the wanderer hears a ghostly whisper ("Geisterhauch"). In this 'Nachtlied', however, the wanderer is absorbed in the stillness of nature that can silence any ghostly noise from within. In his music, Schubert also transforms this stable inner peace: his night song runs on pianissimo without any striking shifts in dynamics, different from the previous wanderer lied, as if one could set music

17 See Cusack, *The Wanderer in Nineteenth-Century German Literature*, 122.
18 Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 358.

to silence at all. As if to sustain and even prolong this rare moment of outer and inner stillness, Schubert repeated "Warte nur" at the end of Goethe's poem. The wanderer steps outside his inner world to blend into nature's stillness. And the result is something rather paradoxical: it is a landscape in darkness, a song of silence. The wanderer and nature come together contrapuntally in a brief moment of silence and unity. At the same time, the voice calling out to other voices – to "you" – outside the frame generates the possibility of a multitude. In this way, the second *Wandrers Nachtlied* also anticipates the vision of modern exiles, those with "a mind of winter" living a "nomadic, decentered, contrapuntal" life.[19] The wanderer's soliloquy thus becomes an unlikely dialogue that anticipates an echo from the future.

Home and homesickness

Although the mood of these two wanderer songs differs, they are joined by a landscape that is both concrete and abstract. There is no specificity to pin down the mountains or the trees. The wanderer could be anywhere, yet he is also nowhere. Similarly, the wanderer speaks from the here and now, yet his mind also seems to be elsewhere, as if suspended between two poles. In this way, the Schubertian wanderer also appears as a timeless figure – or someone who is out of time. This is also a trait of Romantic literature as a "movement out of time," which – as Fiona Stafford sees it – is historically situated in its attempt to stay out of time.[20] This paradoxical sense of temporality, as explained by Giorgio Agamben, suggests an acute awareness of time:

> Those who are truly contemporary, who truly belong to their time, are those who neither perfectly coincide with it nor adjust themselves to its demands. [...] precisely through this disconnection and this anachronism, they are more capable than others of perceiving and grasping their own time.[21]

This sense of temporal displacement pertaining to exile is explored most notably by Said in his "Thoughts on Late Style." Once again juxtaposing exile with music, Said describes the artist's late works as "a form of exile from his

19 Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*, 186.
20 Sophie Laniel-Musitelli and Céline Sabiron, "Introduction: The Times of Romanticism" and Fiona Stafford "Romanticism and the 'Four Nations': Not Quite in Time," in *Romanticism and Time: Literary Temporalities*, eds. Sophie Laniel-Musitelli and Céline Sabiron (Cambridge: Open Books Publishers, 2021), ix–xxii, at xii and 241–47 at 243.
21 Cited in Laniel-Musitelli and Sabiron, "Introduction: The Times of Romanticism," xiii.

milieu."[22] Inspired by Theodor W. Adorno's reading of Beethoven's late style, Said applies motifs of exile to the artworks produced near the end of an artist's life. Essentially, late style, or "artistic lateness" – as Said calls it – is not characterized by corresponding to time, but rather by going against it, by being "untimely". In my view, this "untimeliness" also describes the landscape in which Schubert's wanderer figure is situated – in a world that is out of time. In these musical settings of the wanderer figure, Schubert renders an "untimely" landscape audible, for a subject that embodies the paradox of exile: driven by interconnected longings for the familiar and for the foreign. It is perhaps no surprise that the epitome of the Schubertian wanderer – from his *Winterreise* – personifies such paradox, as described by Blake Howe:

> He journeys, he stops, he observes something strange, he tries to make sense of it, and he journeys on. His *Heimweh* (longing for home) is but a Janus-faced expression of the explorer's *Fernweh* (longing for the unknown, for some place far away).[23]

In this sense, home both drives the wanderer forward and pulls him backward at the same time, acting as the point of departure and return for an infinite wandering, both physical and mental. If we step out of the frame of *Winterreise* for a second, this wanderer could have also been the protagonist of the two previous wanderer songs – someone who is suspended in between. The "strangeness" or "difference" of the surroundings, either in the form of wilted flowers or a peaceful forest, only pushes him farther away from where he started. Like a perpetual exile, his home is always out of reach, always elsewhere. In this sense, what the wanderer perceives in nature is nothing but a reflection of his own mixed longings – for the familiar and for the faraway.

In 1825, Schubert composed two songs, *Das Heimweh* D 851 (Homesickness) and *Die Allmacht* D 852 (The Almighty), set to poems by Johann Ladislaus Pyrker. According to Charles Osborne, the latter conveys both Pyrker's and Schubert's "love for the Austrian mountain landscape," whereas the former is "an overlong piece of nostalgia."[24] Taken from Pyrker's long epic poem *Tunisias*, *Das Heimweh* is out of the context of "Heldengedicht in zwölf Gesängen."[25] Instead, it becomes a self-contained piece on homesickness, in which the son of the

22 Edward Said, "Thoughts on Late Style," *London Review of Books* 26, no. 15 (5 August, 2004), https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v26/n15/edward-said/thoughts-on-late-style.

23 Blake Howe, "Nature and Science in *Winterreise*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert's* Winterreise, eds. Marjorie W. Hirsch and Lisa Feurzeig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 114–28, at 115.

24 Charles Osborne, *Schubert and His Vienna* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 132.

25 Susan Youens, *Schubert's Late Lieder: Beyond the Song-Cycles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 153.

mountains ("Gebirgssohn") expresses his love for his homeland when recalling the images and the sound of the Alps.[26] Standing on top of the mountains, the protagonist hears the joyful Alpine melodies ("Melodien des Alplands") – the sound of cows and the voices of shepherds and milkmaids – and their echoes in the mountains.[27] In the final stanza, the protagonist admits that he is spurred by an irresistible longing – his 'Heimweh' for the Alpine mountainscape:

Ihn fesselt der lachenden Eb'nen
Anmut nicht,
Er fliehet der Städt' einengende Mauern
Einsam und schaut aufweinend
vom Hügel
Die heimischen Berge;
Ach, es zieht ihn dahin
Mit unwiderstehlicher Sehnsucht.

The charm of the smiling plains
cannot keep him;
All alone, he flees from the
constricting walls of the town,
And, weeping, looks up from the
hills towards his native peaks;
Ah, he is drawn there with
irresistible longing![28]

Driven out of his city dwelling, the protagonist thus returns to being a "Gebirgssohn" and also turns into a wanderer. As Youens points out, Schubert is not alone in his celebration of the "Alpine 'Heimweh,'"[29] and more broadly, these musical representations of homesickness also evoke a yearning for the faraway in the Germanic literature of the time, as exemplified by Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (Wilhelm Meister's Journeyman Years). Goethe's longing for Italy, if combined with the wanderer motif in the nineteenth-century German-speaking world, makes the act of wandering synonymous with the theme of self-cultivation or 'Bildung.'[30] At the same time, the wanderer's exploration of the outside world is also a re-discovery of the self – or a journey in one's own inner world ("Reise in die eigene Innenwelt").[31] This coming together of the inner and the outer world, illuminated by the literature of German Romanticism, also reveals the exilic nature of wandering – a journey that is more inward driven than outward oriented. Although not quite the hero of a Romantic 'Bildungsreise' like Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, the Schubertian wanderer is compelled to a state of homelessness not unlike the protagonist of the *Wanderjahre* in order to realize his perpetual wandering and an exilic existence of always being on the road.[32]

26 Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 78.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., 78–79.
29 Youens, *Schubert's Late Lieder*, 162.
30 Cusack, *The Wanderer in Nineteenth-Century German Literature*, 7.
31 Ibid., 82.
32 See ibid., 225.

There is also a sense of musicality to this cyclical 'Unterwegssein' of these wanderer-inspired works. As if stuck between moving forward and returning home, the wanderer figure is trapped in a temporal dimension. Joseph von Eichendorff's poem *Heimweh* (Homesickness) from 1826 – comparable to the excerpt that Schubert selected from Pyrker's epic – is an expression of nostalgia that projects the in-betweenness of the mind onto the landscape of the outside world, as reflected in the second stanza:

Was wisset ihr, dunkele Wipfel,	What do you know, dark tree-tops,
Von der alten, schönen Zeit?	About the good, old time?
Ach, die Heimat hinter den Gipfeln,	Oh, homeland behind the peaks,
Wie liegt sie von hier so weit!	How far it is from here![33]

With an echo of Goethe's *Wandrers Nachtlied II*, Eichendorff turned the wanderer into a stranger ("Fremde") wandering in a foreign land ("in der Fremde [...] wandern"). Yet different from Pyrker's verses, the protagonist is not reminiscing on the nature of his homeland but faces the trees and mountains of a faraway land – not unlike the 'Fremdling' in Schmidt von Lübeck's poem *Der Wanderer*. According to Heinrich Bosse and Harald Neumeyer, Eichendorff's *Heimweh* was once published under the heading "In Italien zu singen" (to sing in Italy).[34] And as song about absence – the past and the homeland – the wanderer is also stuck between destination and origin. In fact, this paradoxical state of in-betweenness was already captured by Schubert himself in July 1822. In a text entitled *Mein Traum* (My Dream), Schubert shed light on the cyclical movement in a liminal space:

> [...] I turned my footsteps and, with a heart full of infinite love for those who disdained it, I wandered into far-off regions. For many years I felt torn between the greatest grief and the greatest love. And so the news of my mother's death reached me. [...] Tears flowed from of my eyes. I saw her lie there like the old happy past, in which according to the deceased's desire we were to live as she had done herself.[35]

33 Joseph von Eichendorff, *Gedichte* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1837), 52. My translation.

34 Heinrich Bosse and Harald Neumeyer, *"Da blüht der Winter schön." Musensohn und Wanderlied um 1800* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 1995), 189–90.

35 Deutsch, *Documents*, 227. "[...] Ich wandte meine Schritte und mit einem Herzen voll unendlicher Liebe für die, welche sie verschmähten, wanderte ich in ferne Gegend. Jahre lang fühlte ich den größten Schmerz u. die größte Liebe mich zertheilen. Da kam mir Kunde von meiner Mutter Tode. [...] Thränen entflossen meinen Augen. Wie die gute alte Vergangenheit, in der wir uns nach der Verstorbenen Meinung auch bewegen sollten, wie sie sich einst, sah ich sie liegen." Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 158–59.

In this haunting dream sequence, life and death are intertwined, just as how love runs parallel to sorrow. According to Peter Pesic, Schubert depicted "banishment and reconciliation" in a ternary form with a final return to the peace and bliss in the story's beginning.[36] In this sense, as "my" encounter with death continues the reconciliation occurs in the form of repetition, which deepens the sense of paradox in both the protagonist and the text:

> [...] And I turned away a second time, and with a heart filled with with endless love for those who scorned me, I again wandered far away. For many and many years I sang songs. Whenever I attempted to sing of love, it turned to pain. And again, when I tried to sing of pain, it turned into love.[37]

In the protagonist's final return to the state of paradox that led him homeward to the image of his mother, his "double banishment" in the end became a double exile.[38] The protagonist of Schubert's enigmatic text could have been a wanderer from his songs: someone who is situated in a strange landscape devoid of time. At the same time, the protagonist who speaks in a clear first-person voice from a dream also bears the shadow of Schubert himself.[39] Is this an analysis of his own dream, perhaps? We cannot know for sure. But in a fictional monologue set up as a press conference, the modern poet Zagajewski offers us a figment of the composer's imagination:

> Yes, I was in that strait where
> suffering changes into song,
> yes evergreen forests and love
> never reciprocated, the joy
> of being indifferent, namely
> I wanted to say, the happiness
> of expression, halfway
> between life and death[40]

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36 Peter Pesic, "Schubert's Dream," *19th-Century Music* 23, no. 2 (1999): 136–44, at 137–38.

37 Deutsch, *Documents*, 227. "[...] Und zum zweytenmahl wandte ich meine Schritte, u. mit einem Herzen voll unendlicher Liebe für die, welche sie verschmähten, wanderte ich abermals in ferne Gegend. Lieder sang ich nun lange lange Jahre. Wollte ich Liebe singen, ward sie mir zum Schmerz. Und wollte ich wieder Schmerz nur singen, ward er mir zur Liebe." Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 159.

38 Pesic, "Schubert's Dream," 137 and 143.

39 Otto Erich Deutsch, among others, discourages the biographical reading into Schubert's *Mein Traum*, which he considers to be a "literary effusion of a contemporary of German romanticism [...] an embodiment of idea in the style of Novalis." Quoted in Pesic, "Schubert's Dream," 137.

40 Zagajewski, *Without End*, 113.

Thus speaks Schubert, suspended in between two realms. This imaginary monologue comes very close to a dreamscape that Schubert himself illustrated in 1822. Just a year later, in 1823, Schubert composed his song cycle *Die schöne Müllerin* D 795 (The Fair Maid of the Mill) about a young heartbroken wanderer after poems by Wilhelm Müller. A few years after that, Schubert would turn to the same poet and the subject of a wanderer for what would be the very last song cycle published during his lifetime – *Winterreise*.

A mind of winter

"I arrived a stranger, / A stranger I depart."[41] These are the first lines sung by the protagonist of *Winterreise*. These words are in the same exilic vein as those uttered by the wanderer from Schmidt von Lübeck's poem – "I am a stranger everywhere."[42] Similar to this early lied from 1816, the protagonist is still the same solitary wanderer traversing an exilic landscape dragged by conflicting longings. However, the wanderer of *Winterreise* is further consumed by Eros and Thanatos, someone who "felt torn between the greatest pain and the greatest love" having "wandered into a faraway land."[43] In his poem *Der trübe Wandrer* (The Somber Wanderer), the Austrian poet Nikolaus Lenau also juxtaposed life with death by blurring the line between dream and reality:

Am Strand des Lebens irr ich,
starre düster
Ins Todesmeer, umhüllt von
Nebelflor;
Und immer wird der Strand des
Lebens wüster,
Und höher schlägt die Flut an ihm
empor.

On the shore of life I wander,
casting a gloomy stare
Into the sea of death, shrouded in
fog all around;
And the shore of life becomes ever
more desolate,
And the tide laps against it from
higher and higher.[44]

In these opening verses, Lenau illustrated a bleak seascape almost akin to the atmosphere in Caspar David Friedrich's painting *The Monk by the Sea* (1808–10).[45] The wanderer's contemplation of the dark and stormy surroundings provides the background for his inner landscape in same the way that the human

41 "Fremd bin ich eingezogen, / Fremd zieh' ich wieder aus." Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 364.
42 "Ich bin ein Fremdling überall." Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 133.
43 Schubert, *Briefe und Schrifte*, 35. My translation.
44 Nikolaus Lenau, *Der trübe Wanderer: Lieder an die Natur; mit Originalsteinzeichnungen von Hugo Steiner-Prag* (Wien: K. König, 1922), 59. My translation.
45 Caspar David Friedrich, *Der Mönch am Meer*. 1808–10, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

subject blends into the darkened expanse of the sea on Friedrich's canvas. In his study of Friedrich's landscapes, Joseph Koerner notices how the artist grappled with "the death-in-life of earthly existence" by creating a "caesura" between the "detailed and mundane foreground (the finite)" and "the boundless, horizonless distance (the infinite)."[46] Therefore, the human subject often finds himself in a liminal space, and quoting Heinrich von Kleist, his journey is both physical and transcendental:

> [...] that one has wandered out there, that one must return, that one wants to cross over, that one cannot, that one lacks here all life and yet perceives the voices of life in the rushing tide, in the blowing wind, in the passage of clouds, in the solitary birds.[47]

These words from Kleist's reading of *The Monk by the Sea* may as well be applied, albeit retroactively, to Lenau's wanderer on the shore of life who was pondering over the sea of death. In a similar way, neither Friedrich's painting nor Lenau's poem has any indications of season or time in general, yet they are both imbued with wintry hues and suggestive of a realm that is out of time. In these two portrayals, the desolate seascape both obscures and sets off a protagonist who stands on the threshold between land and sea, life and death. The subject, in this light, is like an exile with a heart of winter, whose in-betweenness is expressed in his oscillation and alienation. As Koerner sees in Friedrich's paintings, "[b]elonging would disappear at the moment when the subject of the landscape would step forward to enter the scene, or when he would embark again on his winter journey." [48] The in-betweenness suggests a sense of non-belonging and coalescence alike. It is also this unstable state of belonging that echoes the exilic mindset of the Schubertian wanderer against a landscape of darkness and void à la Friedrich.

In 1826, Schubert composed one of his last songs *Der Wanderer an den Mond* D 870 (The Wanderer's Address to the Moon) set to verses by the Austrian Biedermeier poet Johann Gabriel Seidl. In her analysis of Schubert's late songs, Youens describes the "serious and sorrowful" wanderer of this Seidl song as driven by a Romantic yearning for wandering ('Wanderlust') yet consigned to the fate of homesickness – 'Heimweh' – at the same time.[49] While Schubert's music reveals nothing of the gloominess ("trüb") that the wanderer sees in

46 Joseph Leo Koerner, *Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape*, 2nd ed. (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 12.
47 Cited in Koerner, *Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape*, 246.
48 Koerner, *Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape*, 19.
49 Youens, *Schubert's Late Lieder*, 363.

himself, the second stanza of Seidl's poem seems to have cast the Schubertian wanderer in a more familiar light:

Ich wandre fremd von Land zu Land,	I wander, a stranger, from land to land,
So heimatlos, so unbekannt;	So homeless, so unknown;
Berg auf, Berg ab, Wald ein, Wald aus,	Up and down mountains, in and out of forests,
Doch bin ich nirgend, ach! zu Haus.	Yet, alas, nowhere am I at home.[50]

The endlessness of the wanderer's journey and his sentiments of non-belonging are evocative of Schmidt von Lübeck's *Der Wanderer*, which Schubert set to music in 1816. Separated by a decade, these two songs – although different in mood – are joined by the exilic mindset of the wanderer. If the earlier lied presented the negative side of the statement "I am a stranger everywhere," then the happy note of reconciliation at the end of Seidl's poem flipped the coin to reveal the cheerfulness of a "home-loving chump"[51]: "O happy he who, wherever he goes, / still stands on his native soil!"[52] From *Der Wanderer* (D 489) to *Der Wanderer an den Mond* (D 870), the wanderer lifted his gaze from the cold sun to contemplate the gentle moon, while the setting also changed from day to night. Interestingly, Scott Burnham notices how Friedrich cast the moon as "a kind of nocturnal sun" in many of his paintings,[53] such as *Two Men Contemplating the Moon* (1819–20).[54] This moonlit scene is also reminiscent of Goethe's poem *An den Mond* (To the Moon), which Schubert set to music in 1815 (D 259).[55] Similar to the wanderer's address to the moon in Seidl's poem, here the moon is also a source of solace to the solitary man on earth:

50 Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 134. Although in the 1988 edition of Schubert's song texts the verses have been grouped differently and divided into a total of three stanzas, here the separation of stanzas follows the structure of Seidl's poem.

51 Youens, *Schubert's Late Lieder*, 363.

52 "O glücklich, wer, wohin er geht, / Doch auf der Heimat Boden steht!" Schubert *The Complete Song Texts*, 133.

53 Scott Burnham, "The Stillness of Time, the Fullness of Space: Four Settings of Goethe's 'Wanderers Nachtlied,'" *19th-Century Music* 40, no. 3 (2017): 189–200, at 200.

54 Caspar David Friedrich, *Zwei Männer in Betrachtung des Mondes* (1819–1820), Galerie Neue Meister im Albertinum, Dresden.

55 It should be noted that Schubert set the song once again a few years later, and the second setting (D 296) differs greatly from the first one. See Marjorie W. Hirsch, "Tradition and Innovation in Schubert's Lieder," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert's* Winterreise, eds. Marjorie W. Hirsch and Lisa Feurzeig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 24–42.

Jeden Nachklang fühlt mein Herz	My heart feels every echo
Froh- und trüber Zeit,	Of times both glad and gloomy.
Wandle zwischen Freud and Schmerz	I hover between joy and sorrow
In der Einsamkeit.	In my solitude.[56]

The protagonist's wavering between joy and sorrow even brings to mind Schubert's dream sequence, yet here the music lacks the dark undercurrents of his later songs and appears gentle and pure ("mild und rein") as Seidl's portrayal of the moon. In Goethe's poem, the protagonist is consoled by the moon's friendly company and wanders through the night, as the outer landscape illuminates his inner world. This interweaving of the external and the internal is also a recurring motif in Schubert's shaping of the wanderer figure. Although Schubert approached Goethe's *An den Mond* at an early age, the lineage of the Schubertian wanderer can in fact be traced back to this lied, as Marjorie W. Hirsch drew the analogy between the wanderer of *Winterreise* and the protagonist of *An den Mond*, arguing that the latter's wandering through the moonlit landscape is also internal, which is akin to "a journey of self-discovery" that anticipates the wanderer's "existential isolation and suffering" in *Winterreise*.[57] In the light of Schubert's early setting of *An den Mond* D 259, the cheerful wanderer of his later lied (*Der Wanderer an den Mond*, D 870) perhaps is not a rejection of his previous wanderer figure against the desolate foreign landscape; rather, these two wanderers are almost like twins, as if Schmidt von Lübeck's wanderer had embarked on a journey of self-discovery only to acknowledge the other side of his exilic fate. In the end, the wanderer turns his 'Heimweh' into a different view of his journey and realizes how he can feel at home even when not being at home ("nicht zu Hause zuhause").[58] In other words, this is a rather modern outlook that treats "the entire world as a foreign land," which Said identifies as the making of an exile's "plurality of vision."[59] From *Der Wanderer* D 489 to *Der Wanderer an den Mond* D 870, perhaps the mood shift in Schubert's music also reflects his coming to terms with the identity of a 'Fremdling.'

However, the Schubertian wanderer does not have a true happy ending. According to Youens, the opening of *Der Wanderer an den Mond* is "irrepressibly jaunty" without any "offbeat accents or rhythmic complexities to tell of psychological distress,"[60] yet the conflict is perhaps already ingrained in the minor mode of this lied. Just a year later in 1827, Schubert composed the first

56 Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 37.
57 Hirsch, "Tradition and Innovation in Schubert's Lieder," 24.
58 Bosse and Neumeyer, *Musensohn und Wanderlied um 1800*, 16.
59 Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*, 186.
60 Youens, *Schubert's Late Lieder*, 364.

part of his *Winterreise*, and in the words of William Kinderman, "the very first word of the first song of *Winterreise*, 'Fremd' (alien), triggers or motivates the minor mode and dissonant inflections of *Gute Nacht*."[61] In this desolate world ("Nun ist die Welt so trübe"), the wanderer finds himself trudging on the snowy path under the shadow of the moon ("Mondenschatten").[62] Paradoxically, the point of departure of the *Winterreise* is already a farewell. According to Bosse and Neumeyer, the first poem – or opening song ("Eingangslied") – of Müller's *Winterreise* already conveys a lack of beginning or end.[63] In other words, *Gute Nacht* is not the single starting point but rather one among many of a journey already under way.[64] Therefore, as seen in the first lied of *Winterreise*, the wanderer's departure is both an ending and a beginning. Yet it is neither – instead, it turns into a circular motion that recalls the cyclical nature of the wanderer's journey and thus intensifies his suffering. As a remote echo of Gretchen's spinning wheel, Schubert must have been reminded of the unstoppable refrain of the young girl. In a letter from March 1824 to his friend Leopold Kupelwieser, Schubert related his emotional turmoil of the time by quoting his *Gretchen am Spinnrade*:

> "My peace is gone, my heart is sore, I shall find it never and nevermore," I may well sing every day now, for each night, I go to bed hoping never to wake again, and each morning only tells me of yesterday's grief.[65]

Perhaps just like the female protagonist of his earlier lied, Schubert never quite broken out of the cycle of that emotional journey, as he continued to spin music from wails of his seventeen-year-old self. When writing this letter, Schubert would have just completed his first song cycle set to Müller's *Die schöne Müllerin* D 795 a few months earlier. There is also a shadow of Goethe in Müller's wan-

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61 William Kinderman, "Wandering Archetypes in Schubert's Instrumental Music," *19th-Century Music* 21, no. 2 (1997): 208–22, at 210.

62 "Nun ist die Welt so trübe, / Der Weg gehüllt in Schnee. / [...] / Es zieht ein Mondenschatten / Als mein Gefährte mit" (Now the world is so desolate, / The path concealed beneath snow. / [...] / A shadow thrown by the moon / Is my companion.) Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 364–65.

63 In their reading, Bosse and Neumeyer describe the *Winterreise* as a journey *in medias res*: "[...] in diesem Eingangslied verfolgt der Wanderer das Interesse, endlos über die Schmerzen des Aufbruchs zu sprechen und dabei gleichzeitig dessen Begründung endlos zu vermehren, als wollte er den Grund vor sich selbst verschwinden machen und nur an der Klage darüber festhalten. So spricht bereits im ersten Lied eine Rede, die uns immer deutlicher begegnen wird – die anfangslose, also endlose Leidrede der Melancholie." (Bosse and Neumeyer, *Musensohn und Wanderlied um 1800*, 131).

64 Bosse and Neumeyer, *Musensohn und Wanderlied um 1800*, 156–57.

65 Cited in Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 192.

dering miller.[66] In addition, the constant movement of the mill wheels in the opening song *Das Wandern* D 795/1 (Wandering) – "They never care to stand still / but turn tirelessly the whole day long" – is an oblique reflection of Gretchen's spinning wheel.[67] Both protagonists are troubled by love and consigned to endless emotional turmoil. A decade after *Gretchen am Spinnrade*, Schubert revisited the girl at the spinning wheel, and the sentiment of 'nimmermehr' (nevermore) has already become an exilic sense of 'Nimmerwiederkehr' – an impossibility of return – about to be captured in his second Müller cycle.

Schubert himself once referred to his *Winterreise* as "a cycle of terrifying songs" to his friend Joseph von Spaun, almost as if he had just woken up from that haunting dream.[68] In order to project the wanderer's inner joys and sorrows onto his surroundings, Schubert must have already traced a landscape with his own dreams and woes. In *Winterreise*, a late work immersed in the aura of late style – as Said would have called it – the wanderer casts a shadow in the silhouette of his artist, as the internal and the external world finally coalesce. If Schubert's previous portrayals of the wanderer figure are a series of miniatures in development, then in some way the Schubertian wanderer has reached his maturity in *Winterreise.* Said sees a reflection of Adorno in the latter's description of Beethoven's late style as an "alienated landscape." Similarly, there is also a piece of Schubert in his wanderer figure, and the analogy is more acute in *Winterreise* D 911, which was composed under a "deteriorating physical and psychological condition."[69] Thus, *Winterreise* should be interpreted in highly personal terms. As one of Schubert's close friends who heard the composer performing this "cycle of terrifying songs" in 1827, Franz Schober claimed *Der Lindenbaum* D 911/5 to be the only one he liked.[70] Perhaps this sweet little song – lightened by its E major key at beginning and end – indeed stood out

66 In her literary analysis of Schubert's songs Jane K. Brown pinpoints the role of Goethe in Müller's two poetry cycles that Schubert set to music: "both of Müller's cycles are so profoundly influenced by Goethe's first novel that much of the appeal of the cycles must have been their similarity to the Goethe texts to which Schubert was so attracted," and in particular Brown points out the parallel between *Werther* and *Die schöne Müllerin:* "The plot of the *Schöne Müllerin* is virtually identical to that of *Werther*. Each begins with its hero putting his past behind him and entering a new world. Werther's opening words, 'How happy I am to be away,' could well be those of Schubert's miller, who takes such pleasure in wandering." Jane K. Brown, "The Poetry of Schubert's Songs," in *Schubert's Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 183–213, at 193–94.

67 "Die gar nicht gerne stille stehn, / Die sich mein Tag nicht müde gehn." Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 168.

68 Benjamin Binder, "Performance and Reception," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert's* Winterreise, eds. Marjorie W. Hirsch and Lisa Feurzeig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 227–41, at 227.

69 Binder, "Performance and Reception," 228.

70 Osborne, *Schubert and His Vienna*, 156.

among its dark and melancholic counterparts. *Der Lindenbaum* also offers a brief reprieve from the unrelenting winter, as the wanderer pauses to reminisce about a landscape from the past and imagines a conversation with the linden tree. Yet the line between past and present is still visibly marked, as seen in the last two stanzas of Müller's poem:

Die kalten Winde bliesen	The cold wind blew
Mir grad' in's Angesicht,	Straight into my face,
Der Hut flog mir vom Kopfe,	My hat flew from my head;
Ich wendete mich nicht.	I did not turn back.
Nun bin ich manche Stunde	Now I am many hours' journey
Entfernt von jenem Ort,	From that place;
Und immer hör' ich's rauschen:	Yet I still hear the rustling:
Du fändest Ruhe dort!	'There you would find rest.'[71]

Even this sweet little song is severed by a dark interlude, as the cold wind blasts through the wanderer's warm memories. This jarring shift, captured by Schubert's modulation to the minor key, turns *Der Lindenbaum* into a psychological journey from love to suffering – just as Schubert himself once depicted in *Mein Traum*. Likewise, in the final stanza of *Der Lindenbaum*, dream and reality are no longer strictly divided, as the wanderer is instantly dragged back from his imaginary dialogue with the linden tree to the here and now. Perhaps for the listeners of this lied, memories of other songs also loom large in this moment of the wanderer's awakening. In the last words from the linden tree – "Du fändest Ruhe dort!" – there is almost an echo of the ghostly whisper – the "Geisterhauch" – at the end of the 1816 lied *Der Wanderer*: "Dort, wo du nicht bist, dort ist das Glück!" (There, where you are not, is happiness!).[72] As the voice of the linden tree lingers at the end of this song from *Winterreise* – with a repetition of the final stanza and once again the final verse – Schubert perhaps is also reminding us of the uncanny resemblance between these two wandering protagonists: a decade after setting music to Schmidt von Lübeck's poem, Schubert would find a ghostly echo coming from a linden tree, which beckons the wanderer to continue his journey. The tense is future-oriented and the mood subjunctive. It is not yet. For the Schubertian wanderer, "dort" – or there – is always elsewhere. Schubert, too, also finds himself in between love and suffering, life and death, constantly pulled by this longing for "dort," for elsewhere.

71 Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 366.
72 Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, 134.

Postlude

Having left his hometown at birth, Zagajewski is keenly aware of what 'nimmermehr' entails. As if being a Schubertian wanderer, Zagajewski realizes that his exile is always midway along a circle with no point of arrival or return, just like a wheel that keeps on spinning. A decade after his arrival in Paris, Zagajewski published a poem entitled "Seventeen" that portrays Schubert against the light of his early lied:

> The adolescent Franz Schubert,
> seventeen, composes music
> to the wails of Faust's Gretchen, a girl his own age.
> *Meine Ruh' ist hin, mein Herz ist schwer*.
> [...]
> Fourteen years later he gives
> his first concert on the other side.
> Why does charity kill, why does being strong blind?
> *Meine Ruh' ist hin, mein Herz ist schwer*.[73]

In the repetition of Gretchen's first lines, Zagajewski turns Schubert's lament for a young girl into his own mourning for the composer. Thus, in light of a modern exile's reflection, a lied composed at the mere age of seventeen, which set off Schubert's career as a leading lied composer, has also become his very own swansong.

Born in the winter of 1797, Schubert died thirty-one years later in the winter of 1828. On the centennial of his death, Adorno wrote an essay dedicated to the composer. It is in this essay from 1928 that Adorno first drew the analogy between music and landscape. More specifically, Adorno focused on "the landscape of death" in Schubert's music. This striking analogy is as much literary as it is musical, as much still as it is dynamic. Adorno writes:

> Much more important is his choice of texts, since it is these that get Schubert's landscape moving. [...] Remember that both of the great cycles are stimulated by poems in which again and again images of death appear before the person who sees them and who wanders among them.[74]

73 Zagajewski, *Without End*, 195.
74 Theodor W. Adorno, "Schubert," trans. Jonathan Dunsby and Beate Perrey, *19th-Century Music* 29, no. 1 (2005): 3–14, at 14.

In other words, the Schubertian wanderer is not only a part of the landscape but is also animated by it and not confined by the frame. "One only has to look at the cyclical layout of both sets of songs," says Adorno, "their circularity lies in the timeless path between birth and death, as dictated by blind nature."[75] This circular motion in the landscape not only perpetuates the wanderer but also seals his exilic fate. Adorno considers his Schubert essay from 1928 as his "first comprehensive [...] study of the meaning of music."[76] In 1964, when Adorno had returned to Europe after a fifteen-year exile, he chose this essay written at the age of twenty-five to be collected in a volume under the title *Moments musicaux*, clearly as an homage to Schubert and perhaps also to his twenty-five-year-old self. Looking back, in an aphorism entitled "Refuge for the homeless" from *Minima Moralia*, Adorno admits that "it is part of morality not to be at home in one's home".[77] This is the ultimate reckoning of a Schubertian wanderer, who calls himself a stranger everywhere he goes even after his return to the homeland. Perhaps when Adorno read those lines about Schubert which he had written before his exile, he might have recognized an uncanny shadow of himself lurking in Schubert's landscape, just as Schubert himself must have felt looking at the wanderer figure in his music, and just as a century and a half later, a poet in exile finds him in a press conference. There, the wanderer's journey has come full circle, falling halfway between life and death, somewhere between infinite love and everlasting sorrow, always elsewhere.

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75 Adorno, "Schubert," 14.
76 Jonathan Dunsby and Beate Perrey's "Introduction" in Adorno, "Schubert," 3.
77 Theodor W. Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections on a Damaged Life*, trans Edmund F. N. Jephcott (New York: Verso, 2005), 38–39.

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Aesthetic, Economic, and Scientific Approaches to Nature

Burning Tears, Floods, and Seething Torrents: Metaphors of the Natural Sublime in *Winterreise*

Emily Shyr[*]

In Franz Schubert's *Winterreise* D 911, the wanderer-protagonist roams through a frozen landscape that externalizes his emotions: He sings that his burning tears will pierce through ice and snow (Nos. 3 & 6) and likens his inner turmoil to the seething torrent of a river (No. 7). In these comparisons of his body to nature, the wayfarer takes recourse to metaphor in order to capture the intensity of his emotions. This chapter examines the role of metaphor in *Auf dem Flusse* D 911/7. I demonstrate that these figurative moments elide the boundaries between the wayfarer's internal and external worlds and allow him to assume the sublime power of natural phenomena in order to express his grief.

After contextualizing invocations of ice, water, and fire in first part of *Winterreise* with contemporaneous natural disasters and competing theories of the Earth, I show how associations of the elements with the sublime are transferred to the wanderer's emotions via metaphor. Using Paul Ricœur's theory of metaphor to reinterpret Immanuel Kant's notion of the "dynamical sublime," I understand the sublime in *Auf dem Flusse* as an act of metaphor. I propose that metaphor functions textually and musically as a substitutive process that creates and reinforces associations between the wanderer's emotions and his environment, ultimately reinscribing the natural world through affect. Metaphor in *Winterreise*, then, should be understood as both linguistic and musical devices that bring together man and nature, creating affinities of resemblance between the power of nature and human affect.

"I burn in winter and in high summer freeze."
– Petrarch, Sonnet 132 from the *Canzoniere*

"These glaciers flow perpetually into the valley [...] ravaging in their slow but irresistible progress the pastures & the forests which surround them, & performing a work of desolation in ages which a river of lava might accomplish in an hour, but far more irretrievably [...]"

– Percy Bysshe Shelley

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* This chapter is indebted to Ian Bostridge's tantalizing consideration of glaciers and geology in his book *Schubert's Winter Journey: Anatomy of an Obsession* (New York: Knopf, 2015). I have supplemented his ecological approach to „Auf dem Flusse" with philosophy and metaphor theory.

"My tears, are you so tepid that you turn to ice?" asks the nameless wanderer in *Gefrorne Tränen* D 911/3.[1] Yet in the next song, *Erstarrung* D 911/4, he declares, "I will [...] pierce ice and snow with my burning tears, until I see the earth." The juxtaposition of fire and water, hot and cold, continues in the sixth and seventh songs of the cycle, where in *Wasserflut* D 911/6, the protagonist's tears fall into the snow, whose "cold flakes eagerly suck in my burning grief." This time, addressing the snow, he tells it, "if you but follow my tears, the brook will soon absorb you" and "flow through the town," flooding the beloved's hamlet. In *Auf dem Flusse* D 911/7, the wayfarer asks his heart if it recognizes its resemblance to the frozen river, which conceals "beneath its crust" a "seething torrent." Throughout these songs, water – whether in liquid or solid form, burning hot or ice-cold – reappears as a significant motif.[2] Over the course from the third to the seventh song, tears well up and pour forth from the wayfarer's eyes and transform into ice, dissolve the snow, or merge with the brook, becoming part of nature.[3] The water cycle in Part I of *Winterreise* D 911, so to speak, begins within the wanderer's body and ends with his lachrymal profusions as they saturate the Earth.

Wilhelm Müller's cycle of poems, published in 1823–4 and set to music by Franz Schubert in 1827–28, partakes in a wider cultural preoccupation with water and its frozen state, ice. During the Romantic period, artists, writers, and musicians explored water and ice in all its magnificent and frightening splendor. In Mary Shelley's novel *Frankenstein; or, the Modern Prometheus* (1816), the scientist Victor Frankenstein encounters his horrific proto-human creation on the Glacier Montavert, known as the Mer de Glace ("Sea of Ice"), and the story ends in the Arctic, where the creator and "the Creature" die surrounded by ice and frigid water – a literal sea of ice. Painted less than a decade later, Caspar David Friedrich's *Das Eismeer* – contemporaneous with the composition of Müller's winter Lieder – visually realizes the image in Shelley's novel of Captain Walton's ship enclosed by ice.

These artistic renderings of water and ice, frequently set in desolate scenes that impress upon audiences the power of nature, engage with the aesthetic of

1 All English translations of the text of *Winterreise* are reproduced from Franz Schubert, *Winterreise*, Op. 89, ed. Walther Dürr, Urtext edition (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2009).

2 These states of water also appear in seminal texts and artworks in German literature and painting: Glaciers were a favorite subject of Caspar David Friedrich's paintings, and as this chapter later shows, invocations of water in its different forms appeared not infrequently in writings by Goethe and the early Romantics.

3 Deborah Stein notes that the pairing of fire and ice continues into the eighth song, *Rückblick*: Deborah Stein, "Discontinuity in *Winterreise*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert's Winterreise*, eds. Marjorie W. Hirsch and Lisa Feurzeig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 206–24, at 207.

the sublime, often described during the period as the mixed feeling of terror and awe when beholding the awesome strength – even violence – of nature. During the Romantic period, the sublime received sustained attention, beginning in England at the end of the eighteenth century, and extending to continental Europe into the nineteenth century, including German-speaking lands. Part of the impetus for the Romantics' fascination with nature derived from tourism: the English Grand Tour often included Geneva *en route* to Italy, where travelers, like the Shelleys, encountered glaciers.[4] While Friedrich never traveled to Switzerland, the Shelley party's literature records their impressions of these wondrous environs, and their commemoration of such scenes in their prose and art encouraged their readership to imagine distant lands.

At the same time, extreme weather events, including the eruption of Tambora (1815) and flooding of the Danube (1783–4 and 1830), drastically changed the European terrain, forcing inhabitants to reconsider their relationship to the land around them. These epochal occurrences coincided with and promoted new scientific theories – such as Vulcanism and Neptunism, which will be discussed later – that shaped denizens' perception of the Earth and its sublime landscapes. The burgeoning science of what we now call geology literally became contested ground upon which leading minds debated ideas regarding the planet's formation. It follows that the significance of water and ice in Part I of *Winterreise*, and moreover, the way in which the fluid element flows from the wanderer's body into the greater world, can be contextualized within broader intellectual and artistic discourses concerning environmental phenomena of the period, which were understood as sublime and which provided the impetus for artistic engagement with and expression of the aesthetic of the sublime.

Beginning with the theme of fire and ice in *Winterreise*, I briefly explore the poetic background of this duality before canvassing concurrent theories of the Earth and their influence on the language of early Romantic philosophy. After connecting these geohistorical debates to contemporaneous natural catastrophes that not only shaped geotheory, but also exemplified what Kant called the "dynamical sublime" in his third *Critique*, I turn to Müller's text and Schubert's musical setting thereof. Extending literary theory to reconceive the role of metaphor in *Auf dem Flusse*, I propose a new reading of metaphor in this song. I show that textual and musical metaphors do not merely create comparisons between the wanderer's body and nature, but moreover, that these figurative

4 The "Grand Tour" was an extended trip throughout continental Europe, typically undertaken by wealthy, young English gentlemen, often in the company of a tutor or guide, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Destinations often included stops throughout France and Switzerland *en route* to Italy, where tourists reached the southernmost point of their travels.

moments elide the boundaries between the wayfarer's internal and external worlds, allowing him to assume the awesome – even sublime – power of natural phenomena in order to express the intensity of his grief. Thus, an analysis of the seventh song of *Winterreise* traces the textual and musical processes by which metaphor as an act of substitution creates and reinforces associations between the wanderer's emotions and his environment, ultimately reinscribing the natural world through affect. Metaphor in *Winterreise*, then, should be understood as both linguistic and musical devices that bring together man and nature, creating affinities of resemblance between the power of human affect and that of nature.

Petrarch's elements: fire and ice

On the one hand, the language of fire and ice in *Winterreise* is indebted to Petrarch, whose love sonnets influenced the German Romantics, including Schubert's poets.[5] August Wilhelm Schlegel translated a number of Petrarch's poems, which were compiled with translations of verses by Tasso, Cervantes, and Boccaccio and published in 1804 as *Blumensträusse italiänischer, spanischer, und portugiesischer Poesie*. As Graham Johnson observes, Schlegel's translations were notable for their preservation of the original rhyme scheme of the Petrarchan love sonnet.[6] In 1818, Schubert discovered Schlegel's translations, which provided the impetus for the composition of D 628–630. Matching Schlegel's achievement, Schubert's musical settings of Schlegel's translations of Petrarch's Sonnets Nos. 34, 35, and 164 from the *Canzoniere* sought to reflect the changes of rhyme and mood in the texts, what John Reed calls "a notoriously difficult exercise."[7] In particular, Sonnet 34, set as D 628, exemplifies the mixture of fire and ice that characterizes Petrarch's love poetry: Recalling the myth of Apollo and Daphne, the narrator asks the god whether "the sweet desire with which her [Daphne's] blonde hair inflamed you by the waters of Thessaly still lives." If unforgotten, then the poet enjoins the sun god to "pre-

5 Susan Youens also recognizes "the frozen/fiery polarity of hot tears melting the ice and snow" as a "German descendant of the Petrarchan conceit 'il cor in ghiaccio e'n foco,'" from Sonnet 220 of his *Canzoniere*: see Susan Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey: Schubert's Winterreise* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 145.

6 Graham Johnson, "Schubert and the Schlegels: The Dawning of Romanticism," liner notes for *The Hyperion Schubert Edition*, Vol. 27, Matthias Goerne, baritone, Christine Schäfer, soprano, Graham Johnson, piano, recorded 1995, Hyperion Records, CDJ33027, 1996, compact disc, https://www.hyperion-records.co.uk/notes/33027-B.pdf, 18.

7 John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 392. Schubert's songs are titled "Sonnets 1, 2, and 3." To avoid confusion with Petrarch's numbering, I give the number of the sonnet penned by Petrarch and the Deutsch number for the Schubert Lied.

serve from the hostile frost and mist" his beloved Laura and to "let the air grow warm, freed from an icy grasp" of death.[8]

But even prior to Schubert's 1818 settings of Petrarch, the composer had already encountered the Italian poet, albeit indirectly: His songs *Die Betende* D 102 (ca. 1814) and *Entzückung an Laura* D 390 (1816), set to texts by Friedrich von Matthisson and Friedrich Schiller, respectively, invoke the Italian poet's famous muse. Furthermore, Schubert's close friend, Johann Mayrhofer, with whom Schubert lodged from 1818 to 1821, also translated Petrarch's verses and may have encouraged the composer's musical engagement with the Italian's.[9] Petrarch's distinctive juxtaposition of warmth and cold would not have gone unnoticed by his translators nor Schubert, as the poetry's vacillations between opposing moods ran against the aesthetics of the North German Lied, which called for unity of affect.[10] Indeed, the presence of these elemental polarities in Müller's verse speaks to the pervasive influence of Petrarch. Thus, the attention that Schubert and his contemporaries bestowed upon the Italian humanist was "in direct relationship with the reception of German early Romanticism in Vienna," for these German translations and Schubert's musical realizations thereof spoke to a wider captivation with the Medieval past.[11]

Theories of the Earth: water, fire, and ice

On the other hand, the mixture of fire and water in *Winterreise* also reflect contemporaneous scientific debates in Europe over the origin of the Earth. These elements were the primary forces under contention in the dispute of Neptunism versus Vulcanism. This argument, spanning 1790–1820 – almost exactly contemporaneous with Schubert's lifetime – concerned whether water or fire constituted the most formative element in shaping the Earth. Neptunism, developed by the mineralogist and geologist Abraham Gottlob Werner (1749–

8 Johnson, "Schubert and the Schlegels," 18.

9 Christine Martin, "Schuberts Auseinandersetzung mit dem Sonett: Die drei Petrarca-Vertonungen D 628–630," in *Francesco Petrarca in Deutschland: Seine Wirkung in Literatur, Kunst und Musik*, ed. Achim Aurnhammer (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006), 443–52, at 443. Ernst von Feuchtersleben contends that Mayrhofer did not translate Petrarch until after Schubert's death. See fn. 4 of Martin's chapter.

10 As Martin observes, the swift changes of mood in these sonnets, reflected in Schubert's music, did not conform to the tastes of the north German Lied, which preferred an overarching mood (Martin, "Schuberts Auseinandersetzung mit dem Sonett," 445). Given Petrarch's reception amongst Müller's contemporaries, from Goethe to Schlegel, Müller likely would have been influenced by the Renaissance poet, or at the very least, read his texts.

11 Martin, "Schuberts Auseinandersetzung mit dem Sonett," 444: "Schuberts Annäherung an die Sonette Petrarcas ist mithin in direktem Zusammenhang mit der Rezeption der deutschen Frühromantik in Wien zu sehen."

1817), proposed that "water – a primeval ocean – encompassed the whole of the globe on its creation," and that its movement and gradual recession sculpted the planet's terrain: "mountains and valleys were formed by currents and whirlpools."[12] Similarly, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, theorized that the Earth's topography took form over the course of seven epochs, each of which marked distinct stages of the planet's history. He claimed that "the waters of the heavens little by little destroy[ed] the work of the sea, continually lower[ed] the height of mountains, fill[ed] in valleys, estuaries and gulfs."[13] Neptunism offered a way for Christians to tentatively reconcile faith with science: while Werner's and Buffon's estimates dated the Earth to be far older than the age of 6,000 given in the Bible, their idea of an aqueous globe befitted the story of the Great Flood in the Book of Genesis, and Buffon's seven epochs suggested a rough abstraction from the seven days of creation.[14]

Opponents of Neptunism – Vulcanists – believed that the Earth was wrought by fire. The French scientist Jean-Étienne Guettard first articulated the Vulcanist position in 1751 when he claimed that volcanoes forged the planet's landscape. Developing Guettard's work, Scottish geologist James Hutton, now known as the "father of modern geology," argued in his *Theory of the Earth* (1795) that "subterranean lava" deep inside the planet worked its way outward, changing the face of the land. Spanning eons, this cyclical process constantly regenerated rock structures of the planet and would continue to do so well after human life vanished from the face of the Earth.[15] Hutton's fellow Scotsmen, John Playfair and Charles Lyell, both popularized their predecessor's work, which gradually gained acceptance over Neptunism throughout the early nineteenth century.

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12 Chandos Michael Brown, "The First American Sublime," in *The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Timothy M. Costelloe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 147–70, at 150–51; Hans H. Rudnick, "Fire in Goethe's Work: Neptunism and Volcanism," in *Poetics of the Elements of the Human Condition: Part 2, The Airy Elements in Poetic Imagination, Breath, Breeze, Wind, Tempest, Thunder, Snow, Flame, Fire, Volcano*, ed. Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988), 65–72, at 67.

13 Buffon understood this process as not merely historical, but continually ongoing. "By reducing everything to one level, [water] will one day return this earth [i.e., continent] to the sea – which will seize it bit by bit, while laying bare new continents [already] broken up by valleys and mountains, just like those we inhabit today." Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *Historie et théorie de la terre* (1749), 124, quoted in Martin J. Rudwick, *Bursting the Limits of Time: The Reconstruction of Geohistory in the Age of Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 140.

14 Rudwick, *Bursting the Limits of Time*, 148–49.

15 Noah Herringman, *Deep Time: A Literary History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023), 41–42; Tom Furniss, "'Plumb-pudding stone' and the Romantic Sublime: The Landscape and Geology of the Trossachs in the *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791–9)," in *Romantic Localities: Europe Writes Place*, eds. Christoph Bode and Jacqueline Labbe (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010), 51–66, at 58–61.

Those ensnared in the dispute over the creation of the Earth included Europe's leading minds, such as Erasmus Darwin (grandfather to Charles Darwin), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Immanuel Kant, and Alexander von Humboldt. Goethe famously and stubbornly maintained the globe's diluvial origins: the Classical *Walpurgisnacht* from Act II of *Faust II* (1832) features a lengthy contest in which the philosopher Thales declares "im Feuchten ist Lebendiges erstanden," while his opponent, Anaxagoras, argues the opposite.[16] While Goethe remained a staunch Neptunist, others' theories of the Earth changed: in 1785, Immanuel Kant believed in a "universal ocean," but by the publication of his *Critique of the Power of Judgement* in 1790, he had abandoned this position. Similarly, as a student of Werner's, Humboldt began as a proponent of Neptunism; however, during his expeditions to South America (1799–1804), his observations of volcanoes led him to question his mentor's hypothesis and to later embrace Vulcanism.[17]

The verbal spar over the Earth's inception in Goethe's *Faust* reveals the pervasiveness of the discussion in popular culture and the enmeshment of the arts and sciences. And not only did Neptunism leave its watermark on contemporary literature; it also shaped the form of early Romantic philosophy. Like Goethe, Friedrich von Hardenberg (better known by his pen name, Novalis) believed in a diluvial creation. As a student of Werner's at the University of Freiburg, the young man was in direct contact with the representative figure of Neptunism, and indeed, the element of water pervades Novalis's literary works. In the *Logological Fragments*, he posits "what if poetry were also a fluid soul?"[18] Writing to A. W. Schlegel in 1798, Novalis describes poesie as "fluid by nature – all-pictorial – and unlimited [...] an eternally still sea that breaks into a thousand arbitrary waves only on the surface."[19] Other early Romanticists participated in this aqueous vocabulary: Friedrich Schlegel's understanding of poetry as a great sea into which "all streams of poetry flow together" recalls

16 Goethe, *Faust, Vol. II, The Second Part*, ed. Calvin Thomas (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1903), 174; line 7856.

17 Caroline Schaumann, "Alexander von Humboldt, Failed Ascents of Antisana and Chimborazo – Two Excerpts from the *Travel Diaries* (1802)," in *Mountains and the German Mind: Translations from Gessner to Messner, 1541–2009*, eds. Caroline Schaumann and Sean Moore Ireton (Rochester: Camden House, 2020), 118–42, at 123; Nicholaas A. Rupke, *Alexander von Humboldt: A Metabiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 120.

18 "Wie wenn die Poesie auch eine flüssige Seele wäre?" From the *Logologische Fragmente* in Ernst Heilbron, ed., *Novalis Schriften: Kritische Neuausgabe auf Grund des handschriftlichen Nachlasses*, zweiter Teil, erste Hälfte (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1901), 134.

19 Letter from Novalis to A. W. Schlegel, January 12, 1798. "Anders [ist] die Poesie. Sie ist von Natur flüssig – all-bildsam und unbeschränkt [...] Sie ist Element des Geistes – ein ewig stilles Meer, das sich nur auf der Oberfläche in tausend willkürliche Wellen bricht." In Ewald Wasmuth, ed., *Novalis: Briefe und Dokumente*, Bd. 4 (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1954), 377.

Novalis's analogy, and Schelling's characterization of the fluid element as the "function of the principle of life" resounds with what Novalis describes as the primordial origins of poetry, "whose entire construction betrays its development out of the liquid."[20] So, too, does Novalis's poetry suggest theories of the origin of the Earth: In his *Geistliche Lieder*, posthumously titled and published by the Schlegels and Tieck and set by Schubert in 1819, water is used in a religious context as a metaphor for the "rejuvenating flood" of death, Christ's love, or the Eucharist. In the seventh song of the collection, the *Abendmalshymne*, the penultimate stanza begins, "O! If only the world sea were already reddening, and into fragrant flesh the rock were bubbling up!" Here, the body and blood of Christ, represented by bread and wine in Communion and by the sea and the rock in the poem, partake in the primeval creation of world.[21] Thus, water imagery in texts of this period should be understood as not merely engaging in a Romantic trope or figurative device; the wider invocation of water in literature and philosophy demonstrates its symbolic and formative power as it shaped geotheory and the very topography of Romantic thought.

While the contest between Neptunism and Vulcanism had largely run its course by the 1830s with the latter emerging victorious, another manifestation of water supplemented these circulating geotheories: ice. Just as the accretion of compacted snow eventually amasses into a glacier, glacial theory slowly formed through gradual accumulation and acceptance of evidence. Beginning with the observations of the Swiss naturalist and geologist Horace Bénédict de Saussure (1740–1799), others built upon de Saussure's records in his *Voyages dans les Alpes* (1779–96). Ignace Venetz, a Swiss engineer, hypothesized in his *Mémoire sur les Variations de la température dans les Alpes de la Suisse* that glaciers once covered much of Europe.[22] Developing Venetz's foundational work, Jean de Charpentier and Louis Agassiz authored a number of studies between 1834 and 1840 that finally proved that the movement of glaciers sculpted the Alpine landscape, and, furthermore, that massive ice sheets during a global Ice Age excavated the ground, creating the physical features of the land.[23] Just as Nep-

20 Bernhard Judex, "Aspekte einer Poetologie des Wassers. Flüssiges bei Novalis und Hölderlin, Bachmann und Celan," in *Wasser – Kultur – Ökologie: Beiträge zum Wandel im Umgang mit dem Wasser und zu seiner literarischen Imagination*, eds. Axel Goodbody and Berbeli Wanning (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2008), 195–216, at 199–200. Wasmuth, *Novalis: Briefe und Dokumente*, 378.

21 Schubert set the *Abendmalshymne* as D 659. See Lisa Feurzeig, *Schubert's Lieder and the Philosophy of Early German Romanticism* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 129–65; and Walther Dürr, "Die 'Geistliche Lieder' des Novalis," *Schubert: Perspektiven* 5, no. 2 (2005): 111–26, at 111–12.

22 Gillen D'Arcy Wood, *Tambora: The Eruption that Changed the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 166–67.

23 Charpentier's seminal study, *Essai sur les Glaciers* (1841) provided the basis for Agassiz's work, whose *Ètudes sur les glaciers* (1840) built upon his colleague's text. Eric G. Wilson, *The Spiritual*

tunism and Vulcanism made their way into popular texts, so too, did glaciology. In Chapter 9 of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (1821), attendees of a mining festival speculate on the origins of the Earth: their theories range from those of water and fire to ice, whereby a "period of fierce cold" saw the advance of glaciers from the mountains down to the valleys.[24]

While – as the epigraph from Petrarch's *Canzoniere* suggests – water and fire figured as part of an earlier literary tradition, together in the Romantic period, water, fire, and ice contributed to new understandings of the world and how it might have come into being.[25] Inexorable forces, predating human life and capable of irrevocably changing landscapes – either in the blink of an eye or over the course of eons – impressed upon scientists and wider audiences the forceful power of nature in sublime ways that inspired awe and fear. And indeed, during Schubert's lifetime, all three elements came together in a catastrophe that markedly altered Europe's climate and inhabitants' experience of it: the explosion of Mount Tambora in 1815.

The year without summer: Tambora and the Little Ice Age

On 5 April 1815 on the Javanese island of Sumbawa (part of present-day Indonesia), the eruption of Tambora set off a chain of climate events with global repercussions.[26] Beginning with fire and ending with water and ice, Tambora and its aftereffects concretized all the previously discussed theories of the Earth and changed the European landscape in sublime ways, for "these forces of nature respect[ed] no borders" and defied human comprehension and imagination.[27] In turn, these phenomena provided the environmental context for the experience of landscape in *Winterreise*, and more specifically, the relationship between man and nature through water.

The eruption of Tambora between 5 April and 15 April was "the largest in human history."[28] Natives of Sumbawa saw rains of ash, hail of pumice stones,

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History of Ice: Romanticism, Science, and the Imagination (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 88–93.

24 Wilson, *The Spiritual History of Ice*, 72–73. "Zuletzt wollten zwei oder drei stille Gäste sogar einen Zeitraum grimmiger Kälte zu Hülfe rufen," in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethes Werke: Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Großherzogin Sophie von Sachsen: I. Abtheilung: Goethes Literarische Werke*, Band 25 (Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1895), 28.

25 For the influence of Petrarch on Schubert, see Christine Martin, "Schuberts drei Petrarca-Vertonungen," in *Francesco Petrarca in Deutschland: Seine Wirkung in Literatur, Kunst und Musik*, ed. Achim Aurnhammer (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006), 443–52.

26 Wolfgang Behringer, *Tambora and the Year without a Summer: How a Volcano Plunged the World into Crisis*, trans. Pamela Selwyn (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019), 9.

27 Behringer, *Tambora*, 4.

28 Ibid., 5.

and rivers of fire.[29] News of the volcano eventually circulated to Europe, where Austrians learned of the event as early as December of the same year. The newspapers *Der Wanderer*, *Wiener Zeitung*, and the *Österreichischer Beobachter* published reports of a "dreadful eruption" in the British East Indies.[30] While Europeans failed to realize connections between the catastrophe halfway across the globe and the unusual events in their part of the world, volcanoes nonetheless played an active role in the European imagination.

Indeed, the eruption of the Icelandic volcano Laki in 1783 and reawakening of Vesuvius at the end of the eighteenth century brought these fiery cones to the forefront of scientific and popular attention.[31] A popular destination on the Grand Tour, Vesuvius attracted scientists and artists alike: Humboldt witnessed an eruption in 1815, as did other Vulcanists in subsequent years of activity, and J. M. W. Turner and Johann Christian Dahl numbered among many painters who rendered images of the volcano on canvas.[32] The excavation of Pompeii in the mid-eighteenth century further promoted the literary imagination, as Goethe included the city in his *Italienische Reise*, and the Shelleys visited the ruins in 1819.[33] In 1789, the explosive and uncontrollable might of volcanoes gained political and aesthetic import as they became a topos of the French Revolution and represented its drastic reshaping of the European political landscape.

While the immediate fury of Tambora entailed rains of fire, as the ash settled, it brought chilling cold to Europe. Though far away from the British East Indies and therefore spared the volcano's worst, Europeans still felt the devastating fallout in the years thereafter. As Tambora ejected debris, belched noxious fumes, and spewed lava, heavier pieces – such as hailstones of pumice – came immediately back down to the Earth. Smaller particles of ash mixed with precipitation to create a sulfuric rain that suffocated crops in the area and around the world over the coming days, weeks, and months. But an even finer volcanic dust, rich in sulfur and fluorine, settled into the stratosphere, where it mixed with other gases to form a suspended "sulfate aerosol layer" that,

29 Ibid., 13 and 15.

30 *Der Wanderer* and *Wiener Zeitung* published reports on 9 December, while the *Österreichischer Beobachter* followed suit three days later in the "Oßtindien" section on page 1863. In primary sources, the volcano is also spelled "Tombaro" or "Tomboro."

31 Behringer, *Tambora*, 225.

32 Ibid., 225–28; Wood, *Tambora*, 33–35. Both Dahl and Turner visited Vesuvius; whereas Dahl witnessed an eruption, Turner did not: see Johan Christian Dahl, *An Eruption of Vesuvius* (1824), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/438159; Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Vesuvius in Eruption* (1817–20), Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, https://interactive.britishart.yale.edu/critique-of-reason/352/vesuvius-in-eruption.

33 Wood, *Tambora*, 33.

carried by the wind, floated across the globe.[34] This aerosol blanket enwrapping the planet deflected incoming solar radiation, resulting in a cooling effect that lasted over the next few years.[35] And indeed, the envelope of volcanic fog resulting from two eruptions in 1809 and 1815 (the latter being Tambora) made the decade of 1810–19 "the coldest in the historical record" since the Middle Ages.[36] Lower temperatures coupled with moisture from Atlantic Ocean currents brought historic deluges of Biblical proportions to Europe. In the summer following Tambora's eruption, the diluvial weather forced Goethe to abandon his summerly excursion to spas, the Shelleys to leave London only for more extraordinary storms in Geneva, and millions across central Europe to starve as their harvests failed.[37]

The shrouded sun, unseasonal chill, and incessant torrents earned 1816 the name "The Year without Summer," which brought with it catastrophic floods, increased snow, and consequently, glacial advances.[38] Perhaps the most famous documentation of these phenomena appears in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, inspired by her travels in Switzerland. The Shelley party's amazement at these new sights, especially at glaciers, was immortalized in diary entries, letters, and later in their prose. Her partner, the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, wrote of the alarming advance of the Bossons glacier that destroyed land and villages in its wake, much like the polar counterpart of volcanic eruptions:

> These glaciers flow perpetually into the valley [...] ravaging in their slow but irresistible progress the pastures & the forests which surround them, & performing a work of desolation in ages which a river of lava might accomplish in an hour, but far more irretrievably.[39]

Although glaciers moved at a snail's pace compared to the fury of a volcano, their volatile offspring, glacial floods, achieved the devastation of lava in colder, hydraulic form. Indeed, Percy Shelley's observations proved prescient;

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34 For more detail on the scientific process by which this aerosol cloud of volcanic particles was formed, see Wood, *Tambora*, 48–49 and Elizabeth Norman McKay, "Schubert and 'The Year Without Summer,'" *Schubert durch die Brille: Internationales Franz Schubert Institut – Mitteilungen* 27 (June 2001): 65–78, at 75–76.

35 McKay, "Schubert and the 'Year Without Summer,'" 75–76; Wood, *Tambora*, 49–54. As Wood's study shows, different regions around the world experienced a range of disasters in response to Tambora.

36 Wood, *Tambora*, 39–40. This chilling decade took place within the Little Ice Age, which spanned about 1250–1850, and more precisely, during what is known as the Dalton Minimum (1790–1830), when worldwide temperatures dipped by as much as two degrees Celsius.

37 Behringer, *Tambora*, 32 and 37–38.

38 The summer of 1817 was known in German lands as "Das Hungerjahr."

39 Shelley and Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks' Tour*, 158.

two years after the Shelleys' visit to Switzerland, one of the biggest glacial floods recorded in history occurred: the Giétro Glacier flood of 1818.[40]

From fire to ice: floods in Switzerland and Vienna

During the summers following the eruption of Tambora, colder temperatures and more frequent and heavier rainfall promoted the growth of glaciers. One such ice mass was the Giétro (Giétroz), located in Valais, Switzerland. In the years after Tambora, the frozen behemoth advanced through the Dranse Valley (part of the Val de Bagnes) to the edge of a gorge, where chunks of ice fell into the Dranse River, eventually creating a thirty-meter-tall ice dam.[41] Like the river in *Auf dem Flusse*, the Dranse, which once "rippled so merrily," became still, blocked by a "hard, rigid crust" of ice. The frozen obstruction's cool exterior belied a seething torrent of destructive power that menaced its surroundings: the resulting glacial levee contained a lake 3.5 kilometers long, 200 meters wide, and as deep as sixty meters, holding over twenty million cubic meters of water that threatened to spill into the basin below.[42] Villages surrounding Giétro knew of the glacier's catastrophic potential, for previous floods over the past two centuries earned the reservoir that hosted the glacier the name "Mauvoisin" (bad neighbor).[43]

In an attempt to avert the impending catastrophe, a team led by the esteemed engineer (and later a key figure in the nascent field of glaciology) Ignace Venetz drilled a tunnel through the ice to drain the lake of water.[44] While initially successful, on 16 June 1818, the dam broke and overwhelmed the surrounding Val de Bagnes with fifteen million cubic meters of water, flooding the town of Martigny, forty kilometers away, only fully draining when it emptied into Lake Geneva seven hours later.[45] Floods of Biblical proportions, like the Giétro, changed the German language, which in 1784 incorporated the neolo-

40 Cristophe Ancey et al., "Hydraulic Reconstruction of the 1818 Giétro Glacial Lake Outburst Flood," *Water Resources Research* 55, no. 11 (2019): 8840–63, at 8841.

41 Ancey et al., "Hydraulic Reconstruction."

42 Wood, *Tambora*, 159–60.

43 As noted in Ancey et al., "Hydraulic Reconstruction," 8843, "mauvoisin" is a contraction of "mauvais," meaning bad, and "voisin," meaning neighbor.

44 Venetz's *Mémoire sur les variations de la temperature dans les Alpes de la Suisse* (1817) was a key text in the development of glacial theory. Accompanying Venetz was the naturalist Jean de Charpentier, who would later convert to glacial theory after the Giétro flood. The Giétro disaster prompted Venetz to examine glaciers more closely, resulting in the advances in his previous work. In turn, Venetz's findings attracted the attention of Charpentier. Together with Louis Agassiz, they embarked on a scientific trip in 1836. Wood, *Tambora*, 159–68.

45 Wood, *Tambora*, 162–64; Ancey et al, "Hydraulic Reconstruction," 8845.

gism "Katastrophe" to describe historic ice floods inundating Central Europe.[46] As Wood observes, Venetz's success in mitigating further loss of life ironically resulted in less publicity over the disaster than if the engineer had not intervened in time; nevertheless, news of the glacial flood did reach Vienna, albeit four years later.[47]

Though located a great distance from Vienna, the Giétro disaster offers a vignette of the threat of water in both its liquid and frozen forms. Indeed, when one peruses Viennese newspapers and other periodicals throughout German-speaking lands, glaciers figured not infrequently as palpable threats, casting shadows beyond the valleys over which they loomed and onto the imagination of distant readers. For example, in the column "Noch ein Beitrag zur Naturgeschichte der Gletscher" printed on 9 January 1818 in the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zun Nutzen und Vergnügen*, Nr. 2, the glaciers of the Bernese Oberland and Rhine Valley are described as menaces, just as the denizens of the Dranse Valley considered the Giétro a "bad neighbor". Growing in stature as ice and snow accumulated, these frozen masses reached imposing heights that portended natural disasters only comparable to acts of God.

Returning to Schubert's environs, records dating back to the Middle Ages show that the area surrounding the Danube historically suffered from flooding.[48] So, too, did ice play a large role in deluges during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for ice jams – not unlike the frozen dam caused by the Giétro glacier – accounted for about half of the cases of elevated water around the capital.[49] Floods occurred regularly in Viennese life: over half of the winters Schubert experienced saw overflowing waters, and news of inundations in other lands – Russian, Hungarian, Bohemian, and Prussian – featured regularly in newspapers, alerting the public to the dangers of flooding in everyday life.[50] Indeed, particularly disastrous deluges caused by ice floes took place in the winter of 1784 and 1830, the latter transpiring just two years after Schubert's

46 Christian Rohr, "Ice Jams and their Impact on Urban Communities from a Long-Term Perspective (Middle Ages to the 19th Century)," in *The Power of Urban Water: Studies in Premodern Urbanism*, eds. Nicola Chiarenza, Annette Haug and Ulrich Müller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 197–212, at 204. Rohr notes that the word "Katastrophe" first appeared in the *Züricher Zeitung*, and that these floods were also the secondhand effect of a volcanic eruption, this time, of the Laki Volcano in Iceland. Notable flooding also occurred in 1783/1784 in Vienna.

47 News of the Giétro reached Vienna in summer of 1822. "Schweizerische Eidgenoßenschaft," *Der Österreichischer Beobachter* no. 187, 6 July 1822, 799.

48 Severin Hohensinner, *Historische Hochwässer der Wiener Donau und ihrer Zubringer*, Materialien zur Umweltgeschichte Österreichs, Vol. 1 (2015), https://boku.ac.at/fileadmin/data/themen/Zentrum_fuer_Umweltgeschichte/ZUG_Materialien/MUOe_01_Hohensinner.pdf. The table starting on p. 16 begins with flooding in 1012 and ends in 2013 on p. 46.

49 Hohensinner, *Historische Hochwässer*, 12.

50 Ibid., 36–39.

death.[51] As Eduard Gurk's engraving of flooding in the Rossau district shows, the flood of 1830 forced the Viennese to navigate the inundated city streets in boats (see Illustration 1).



Illustration 1: Eduard Gurk, *Erzherzog Ferdinand in der überschwemmten Rossau am 2. März 1830,* engraving (44.2 cm x 62.6 cm). Online Collection of the Wien Museum, public domain (https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/60530/).

Throughout Europe during the nineteenth century, cataclysmic floods were familiar ways through which people became acquainted with the devastating power of nature – that is, its sublime force. These natural disasters, caused indirectly by the eruption of a volcano, intensified contemporaneous debates of the Earth's aqueous or pyroclastic origins. In turn, images of nature's power found expression in literature of the period – not only in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Byron's and Percy Shelley's poetry, and Goethe's *Bildungsromane*, but also in Wilhelm Müller's *Winterreise* and Schubert's setting thereof.

The Sublime: metaphors of self and nature

"Consider bold, overhanging and, as it were, threatening rocks, thunderclouds piling up in the sky and moving about accompanied by lightning and thunder-

51 Ibid., 35 and 39.

claps, volcanoes with all their destructive power, hurricanes with all the devastation they leave behind, the boundless ocean heaved up, the high waterfall of a mighty river, and so on," prompted Immanuel Kant in his *Critique of the Power of Judgement* (1790).[52] From paintings of Mt. Etna and Vesuvius to the scenes described in Goethe's novels and news of Tambora and sweeping floods in lands near and far, Europeans had many examples of nature's potential for destruction at their imagination's disposal. Kant recognized that "we like to call these objects sublime," for these sights incite in us a mixture of fear and gladness, "provided we are in a safe place."[53] This mixed feeling of attraction and terror, what Kant called the "dynamical sublime," transpires when we behold nature's might.

But unlike his predecessors who called nature itself sublime, Kant reconceived nature's power as part of a process through which we recognize the sublimity of "*our* power of reason."[54] That is, "we like to call these [natural] objects sublime because they [...] allow us to discover in *ourselves* an ability to resist which is of a quite different kind and which gives us the courage [to believe] that we could be a match for nature's seeming omnipotence."[55] In the recognition of an internal aspect of ourselves (our faculty of reason) separate from and thus impervious to the violence of nature, our terror is transformed into pleasure. Thus, the feeling of the dynamical sublime is provoked by a demonstration of nature's power that "raises the imagination to the point of presenting those cases in which the mind can make palpable to itself the sublimity of its own vocation even over nature."[56]

Within the Kantian sublime, a transposition of our power for nature's occurs, what literary scholar Thomas Weiskel perceives as "an act of metaphor" by which the mind "identifi[es] with the superior power."[57] The Kantian dynamical sublime, then, constitutes "a metaphorical substitution of our 'power within' for the external power [of nature]."[58] As Weiskel elucidates in his gloss of Kant, this exchange "saves our humanity from 'humiliation.'" While one "can be assailed and endangered by nature outside us," the displacement of

52 Immanuel Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement* (1790), ed. Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), 120 (5:261).
53 Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, Ibid.
54 Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, Ibid., my emphasis.
55 Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, Ibid., my emphasis.
56 Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, 121 (Ak. 5:262).
57 Thomas Weiskel, *The Romantic Sublime: Studies in the Structure and Psychology of Transcendence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 85 and 93.
58 Weiskel, *The Romantic Sublime*, 95.

power from the external force of nature to our transcendental selves demonstrates that "the humanity in our person [keeps] from being degraded."[59]

Weiskel's literary reading of the sublime as metaphor offers a way to understand how Schubert's musical setting of Müller's poetry heightens and extends textual metaphors comparing the wanderer's heart to nature through musical processes, thus creating a musical sublime. To approach this understanding of the musical sublime as metaphor, I turn to the French philosopher Paul Ricœur and his study on metaphor. In *The Rule of Metaphor*, Ricœur claims that metaphor "is grounded in a theory of substitution" made possible through resemblance.[60] The resemblance that constitutes the foundation of metaphorical speech prevails not between two objects, but characteristics of those items. That is, substitution in metaphor occurs because of a similar relationship between two entities, not because they themselves are commensurate. Ricœur discerns, "if it serves some purpose in metaphor, resemblance must be a characteristic of the attribution of predicates and not of the substitution of names [...] the complex comparison [that] holds not between the things themselves, but between the relations of the [two] pair[s] of things."[61] Thus, in the Kantian sublime, metaphor exchanges the *might* of nature for the *power* of the human mind; the comparison does not equate nature with the mind.

If metaphor lies in the kinship of attributes common to two dissimilar objects, then this figure of speech encompasses others based on resemblance, namely simile. Indeed, Ricœur declares that "the grammatical analysis of simile confirms its dependent status with regard to metaphor in general. They differ only by the presence or absence of a specific term of comparison: the particle *like* or *as*."[62] Through "like" or "as," simile "explicitly displays the moment of resemblance" that "operate[s] implicitly in metaphor," which "presents the polarity of the terms compared in abridged form." The likeness of simile to metaphor, then, "brings to language the relationship that operates in metaphor without being articulated," for "simile is a metaphor developed further; the simile says 'this is *like* that,' whereas the metaphor says 'this *is* that.' Hence, to the extent that simile is a developed metaphor, all metaphor [...] is implicit comparison or simile."[63] In both figures of speech, "the apprehension of an

59 Weiskel, *The Romantic Sublime*; Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, 120–21 (Ak. 261–2).

60 Paul Riceoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language*, trans. Robert Czerny with Kathleen McLaughlin and John Costello (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 1, 3.

61 Riceoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor*, 25 and 194. When Ricoeur speaks of "two pairs of things," he is referring to a specific type of metaphor: proportional metaphor, by which A:B::C:D. However, his assertion about resemblance still applies to non-proportional metaphor.

62 Riceoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor*, 25.

63 Ibid.

identity within the difference between two terms" allows for "assimilation that serves as foundation for the transfer of names."[64]

Through the resemblance of features, metaphor (including simile)[65] produces new types of relations, what Ricœur calls a "kind of semantic 'proximity' established between the terms despite their 'distance' apart," that is, "things that until that moment were 'far apart' suddenly appear as 'closely related.'"[66] In the "opp[osition] and unit[y] of identity and difference" in "the conceptual structure of resemblance" that underpins metaphor and simile, "'the similar' is perceived *despite* difference, *in spite of* contradiction." The eloquence of resemblance in metaphor and simile, then, allows otherwise disparate entities to engage in new relations with one another via a perceived affinity.

But metaphor does not just create new relations between objects that would otherwise seem unrelated to each other; the resemblance inherent in metaphor also "adds to the ways in which we perceive" – what Ricœur calls the "poetic function of metaphor."[67] The poetic function of metaphor "rests upon resemblance, but at the level of feelings," Ricœur notes.

> In symbolizing one situation by means of another, metaphor 'infuses' the feelings attached to the symbolizing situation into the heart of the situation that is symbolized. In this 'transference of feelings,' the similarity between feelings is induced by the resemblance of situations. In its poetic function, therefore, metaphor extends the power of double meaning from the cognitive realm to the affective.[68]

In the pairing of objects or situations, metaphor merges the feelings evoked by these entities. It follows, then, that in Weiskel's reading of the Kantian dynamical sublime, the awesome fear associated with the might of nature is transferred to the human subject's power of reason. Consequently, the poetic and affective implications of the sublime as metaphor hold relevance for *Winterreise*: the feelings of terror and awe associated with the dramatic powers of ice and water – and which historically took form as glaciers and floods – do not merely contextualize the discourse of water and ice in Müller's poetry, but rather, invoke the natural sublime via metaphor. In Schubert's *Winterreise*, linguistic and musical metaphor operate via formal repetition and textual substitution, which create associations between different musical and poetic

64 Ibid., 25–26.
65 Henceforth unless otherwise specified, when I write "metaphor," I also implicitly include simile.
66 Riceoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor*, 194.
67 Ibid., 190.
68 Ibid.

moments and the imagery of natural phenomena evoked by them. Through musical and linguistic metaphors – musical reprises and textual figures of speech – that bring together the wanderer and nature, his emotional distress assumes the sublimity afforded the natural sublime.

Auf dem Flusse D 911/7

Although Müller's poetry does not specify where the winter journey takes place, it is not difficult to imagine the "hard, rigid crust" ("harte, starre Rinde") covering the river as a large ice floe, such as those that caused nearly annual flooding of the Danube in the winter. This imagery is bolstered by the previous song (*Wasserflut* D 911/6), in which the second stanza describes the spring thaw that leads to flooding in the fourth stanza:

Wenn die Gräser sprossen wollen,	When the grass is about to shoot forth,
Weht daher ein lauer Wind,	A mild breeze blows,
Und das Eis zerspringt in Schollen,	The ice breaks up into pieces
Und der weiche Schnee zerrint.	And the soft snow melts away.
[...]	[...]
Wirst mit ihm die Stadt durchziehen	With it you will flow through the town,
Muntre Straßen ein und aus –	In and out of bustling streets;[69]

As in *Wasserflut*, in *Auf dem Flusse*, metaphor and simile are figures of speech vested with affective power. Musical metaphor operates alongside Müller's figurative language, foreshadows and reinforces textual imagery (see Table 1). Exploiting the rhetoric of the poem through violent harmonic shifts, extreme dynamics, and rhythmic textures, musical and textual metaphor convey the devastating intensity of the wanderer's emotions, akin to the natural sublime.

Table 1: Wilhelm Müller, *Auf dem Flusse*. German text and English translation reproduced from Graham Johnson, *Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs,* Vol. 3 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 655–56.

Der du so lustig rauschtest,	You who rippled so merrily,
Du heller, wilder Fluss,	Clear, boisterous river,
Wie still bist du geworden,	How still you have become,
Gibst keinen Scheidegruß!	You give no parting greeting.

69 German text and English translation reproduced from Graham Johnson, *Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs*, Vol. 3 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 652.

Mit harter, starrer Rinde	With a hard, rigid crust
Hast du dich überdeckt,	You have covered yourself;
Liegst kalt und unbeweglich	You lie cold and motionless,
Im Sande ausgestreckt.	Stretched out in the sand.

In deine Decke grab ich	On your surface I carve
Mit einem spitzen Stein	With a sharp stone
Dem Namen meiner Liebsten	The name of my beloved,
Und Stund und Tag hinein:	The hour and the day.

Den Tag des ersten Grußes,	The day of our first greeting,
Den Tag, an dem ich ging;	The date I departed.
Um Nam' und Zahlen windet	Around name and figures
Sich ein zerbrochner Ring	A broken ring is entwined.

Mein Herz, in diesem Bache	My heart, do you now recognize
Erkennst du nun dein Bild? –	Your image in this brook?
Ob's unter seiner Rinde	Is there not beneath its crust
Wohl auch so reißend schwillt?	Likewise a seething torrent?
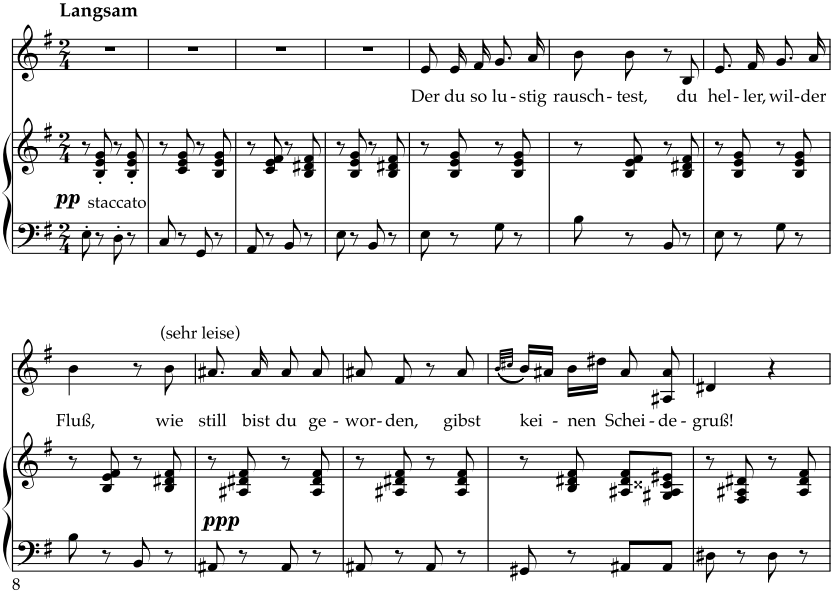
Auf dem Flusse is in modified ternary form (ABA'), in which the A section consists of the first and second stanzas, the B section comprises the third and fourth stanzas, and the modified return of the A section corresponds to the fifth stanza. However, Schubert's setting of Müller's text devotes the bulk of musical space – half of the entire song – to the fifth stanza alone, which contains the crux of the poem. The repetition of this stanza indicates its significance and consequently shapes the focus of this reading, which concentrates on the musical reprise of the A section.

In the A section corresponding to the first two stanzas of the poem, Schubert conveys the brook's transformation from a "boisterous river" to its frozen state – what Susan Youens calls its "glacial metamorphosis" – harmonically, dynamically, and rhythmically (see Example 1).[70] The barren, staccato piano introduction outlines a simple harmonic progression that establishes the home key of E minor, and when the wanderer addresses the brook, his stepwise melody is contained within a vocal range spanning an octave. Only in the
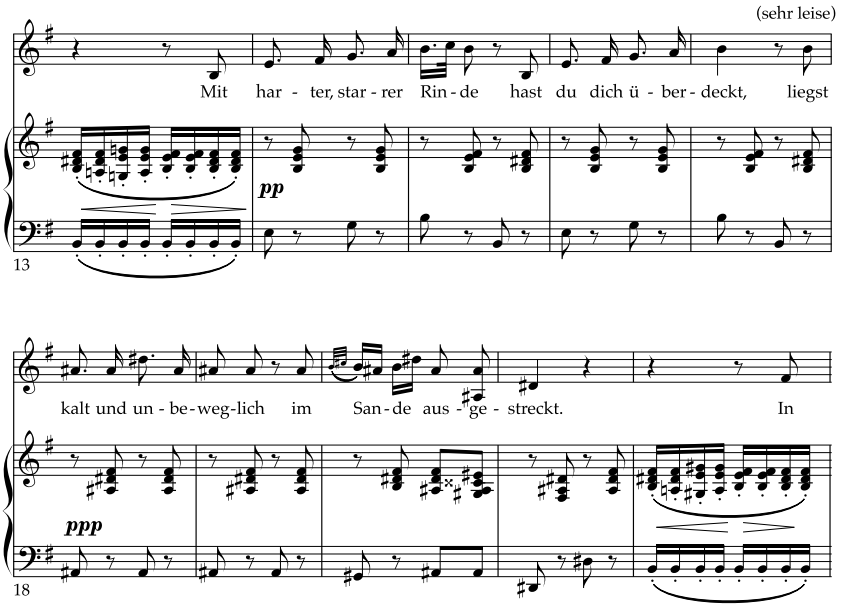
70 Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey*, 179.

third line of stanza 1, when the wanderer remarks "how still [the river has] become," ("wie still bist du geworden"), does the harmony significantly change by slipping into the extremely rare and far-removed key of D-sharp minor.[71] This unusual harmonic slide – reinforced by the bassline doubling the semitone shift from B down to A-sharp – is emphasized, first, by a reduction in the dynamic from *pianissimo* to the seldom used marking of *ppp*, and second, with a slight increase in rhythmic activity in the accompaniment (m. 13), hinting at the river's concealed flow underneath its frozen surface. With the repetition of the phrase to the second stanza of the poem (mm. 14–22), the vocal line embellishes upon the melody with dotted rhythms.

In the contrasting B section in E major, the wanderer inscribes the name of the beloved and the dates of their romance into the river's "frozen crust" (see Example 2). Re-enacting the role of glacial erratics – rocks transported by ice – in carving out the European landscape, the wanderer himself becomes like a glacier, transforming the topography, but through the outpouring of his grief. Musically, the parallel major and more animated rhythms underneath the vocal line imply an intensification of the river's hidden current and the way-



71 Anthony Newcomb calls this half-step slip downwards "violent in its unconventionality." Anthony Newcomb, "Structure and Expression in a Schubert Song: *Noch einmal* 'Auf dem Flusse' *zu hören*," in *Schubert: Critical and Analytical Studies*, ed. Walter Frisch (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 153–74, at 157.
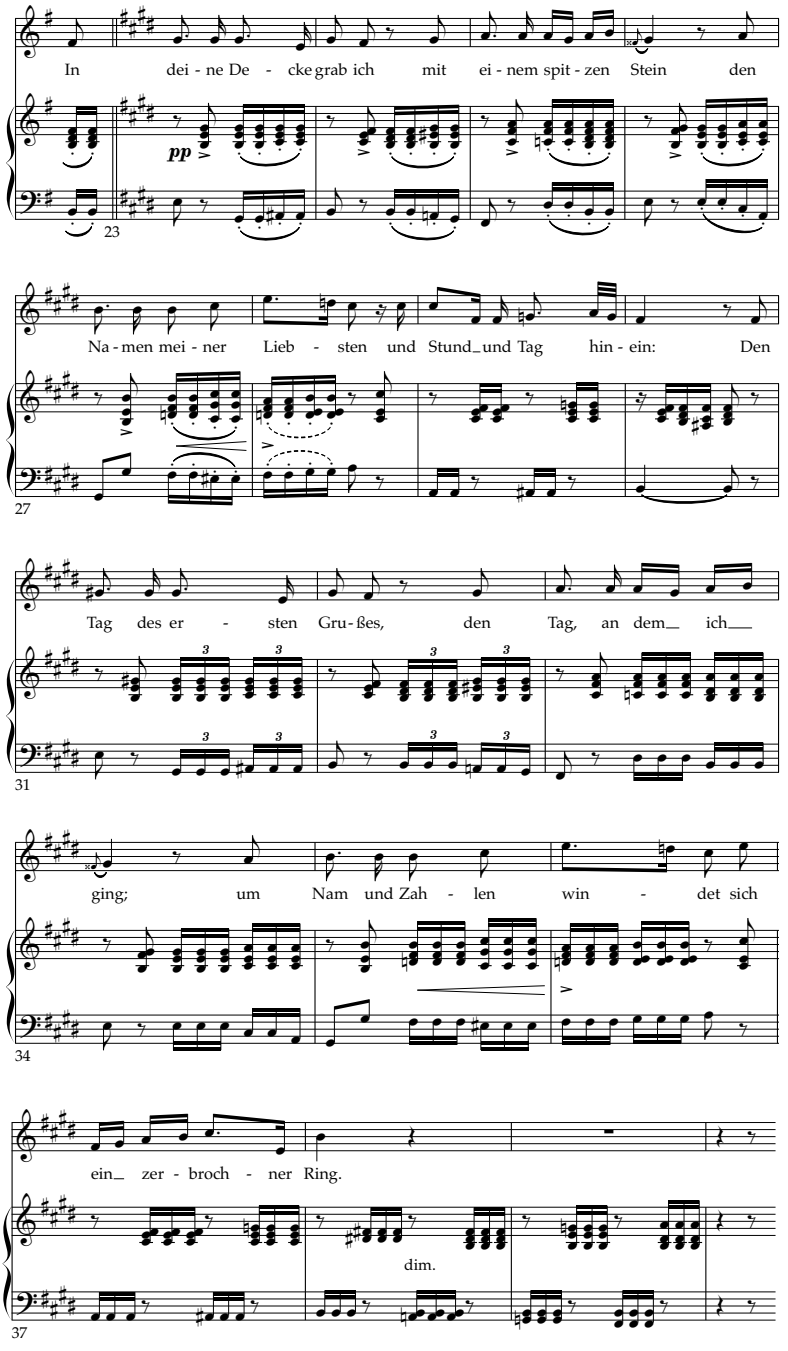


Example 1: Schubert, *Auf dem Flusse*, mm. 1–22. (A section)

farer's passion, which, like the waterflow, has lain concealed under a veneer of icy stoicism. However, the affection quickly dissipates as the wanderer's record of the romance ends with a "broken ring."
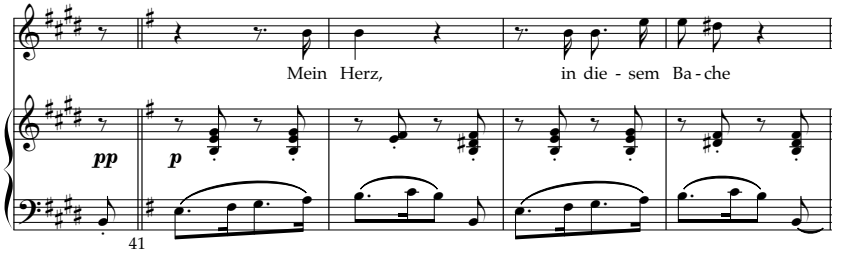
After an expectant pause in m. 40, the reprise of the A section begins (see Example 3). But this time, the vocal melody is transferred to the bass of the piano accompaniment, initiating the musical metaphor. This musical material from the A section – in which the wanderer first addresses the river – reappears when he questions his heart, implying that it has become a surrogate for the river. From m. 41, the wordless tune calls to mind the opening phrases of the first and second strophes of the A section: "you who rippled so merrily, you clear boisterous river" ("Der du so lustig rauchtest, du heller, wilder Fluss") and "with a hard, rigid crust, you have covered yourself" ("mit harter, starrer Rinde hast du dich überdeckt.")[72] Confirming the merging of man and nature, the wanderer sings: "My heart, in this river" ("Mein Herz, in diesem Bache").

72 While the prosody suggested by the pickup to m. 41 does not exactly fit that of mm. 5–6, the consequent phrase (pickup to m. 43) corresponds well to the pickup to m. 7, and the prosody of the pickup to m. 14 is exact. More important, I believe, is the identical stepwise contour of the melody from mm. 41–44 and the opening melody from mm. 5–8, for this musical characteristic is what enables the listener to recognize the reprise as one and overrides the potential problem of inexact prosody.
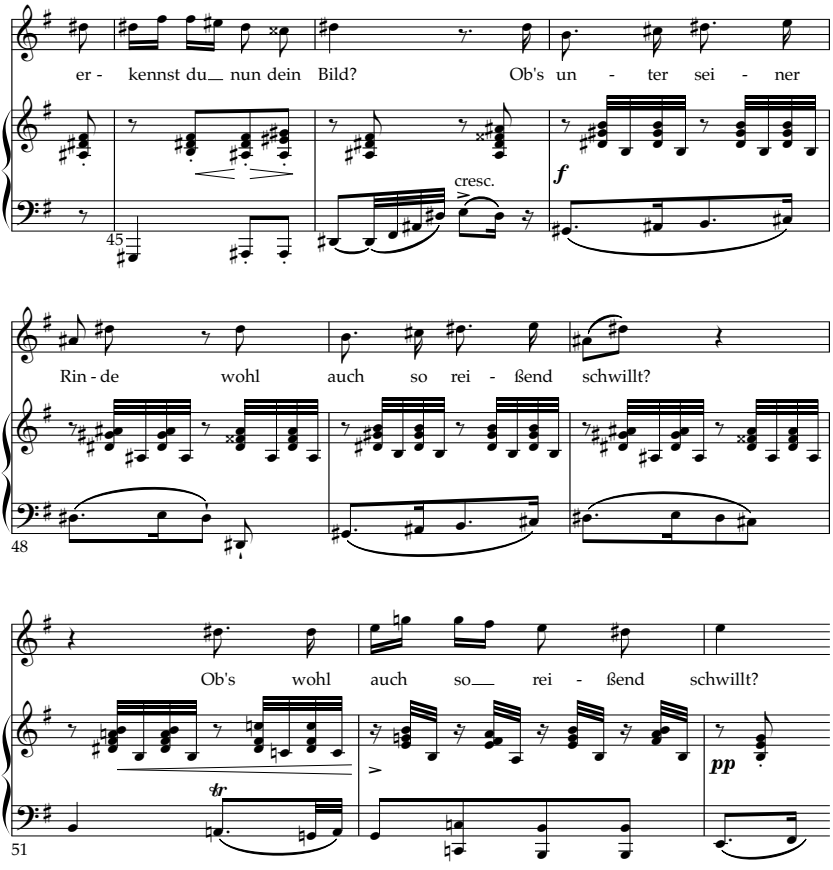


Example 2: Schubert, *Auf dem Flusse*, mm. 23–40. (B section)

Asking his heart if it recognizes its image in the river ("erkennst du nun dein Bild?"), the wanderer's address arrives at the crux of the poem and explicitly brings the analogy between the river and the wanderer's heart to the surface (see Example 4). Changing the course of the harmony and song, his question slips into the elusive key of D-sharp minor (mm. 45–7). While this tonicization reintroduces the harmony first heard in the A section, the wanderer's address to his heart ends with a D-sharp dominant-seventh chord in measure 47.[73] This harmonic intensification is followed by a surge from the depths of the bass, wrenching the harmony to the even further removed key of G-sharp minor. From measures 48 to 51, the comparison "wohl auch" in last lines of the poem, leads to the question, "is there not beneath its [the heart's] crust likewise a seething torrent?" ("Ob's unter seiner Rinde wohl auch so reißend schwillt?") and explicitly names the shared qualities between the wayfarer's heart and the river: their rapacious swells. Combined with the address to his heart, the comparison elides the boundaries between man and nature.
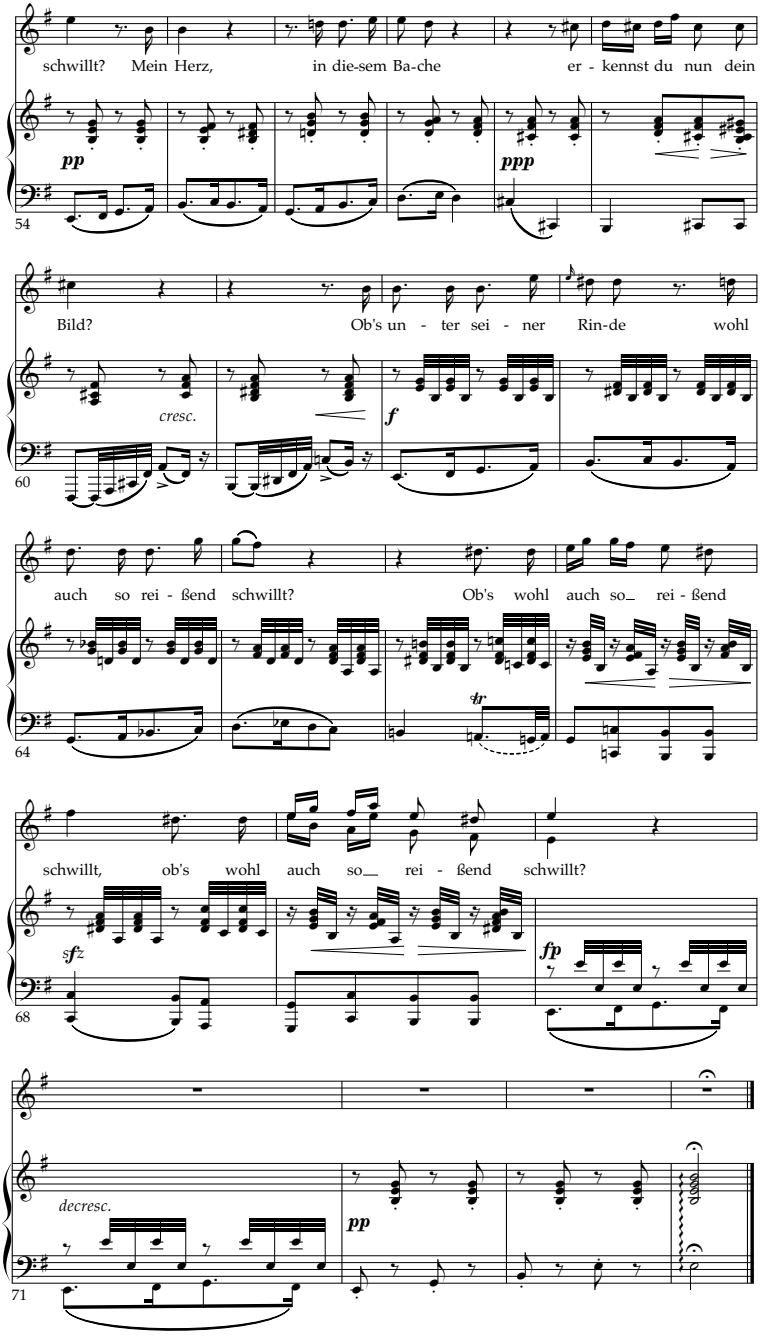


Example 3: Schubert, *Auf dem Flusse*, mm. 41–44.

73 This pivotal moment in measure 47 has become a point of debate among scholars, as there are discrepancies in notation between the autograph and the first printed edition. The autograph manuscript shows that on the downbeat, Schubert notated D-sharp, F-double-sharp, A-sharp, C-sharp: a D-sharp dominant-seventh chord. However, the first edition and Urtext edition by the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe* prints a D-sharp minor chord (D-sharp, F-sharp, A-sharp). The basis for their decision resides in inconsistent notation on Schubert's part, for the autograph shows an F-double-sharp and C-sharp in the left hand on beat one, but an F-sharp in the right hand, which is not raised again until the second beat, creating a dissonant cross-relationship. The stronger pull of the dominant harmony creates a sense of inevitability in the modulation from D-sharp to G-sharp minor, connecting the word "Bild" in measure 47 to the ensuing comparison of the river and the heart. See Julian Armitage-Smith, "Schubert's 'Winterreise,' Part I: The Sources of the Musical Text," *Musical Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (1974): 26–31. See also the first measure of the bottom system on page 26 of the digitized autograph manuscript on the Morgan Library's website: https://www.themorgan.org/music/manuscript/115668.



Example 4: Schubert, *Auf dem Flusse*, pickup to mm. 45–53.

If the sharp harmonic turn were not enough, further harmonic, dynamic, and rhythmic transformations in the reprise complete the sonic analogy between the wanderer's inner conflict and the river's vigor. Sonically concretizing the imagery of the coursing river, the oscillating thirty-second notes in the right-hand of mm. 48–53 bring the Lied to its most agitated state. While the rhythmic activity of the piano accompaniment built up steadily throughout the B section to triplet sixteenths, in measures 48 to 53 the rhythmic density increases instantaneously with the swiftness of a flash flood. Underneath the trembling figure in the right hand of the piano accompaniment, the bassline doubles the vocal line at the tenth below, juxtaposing the melody that was initially used to introduce the river with the comparison that establishes the congruence between the river's rapacious swells and those within wanderer's heart.



Example 5: Schubert, *Auf dem Flusse*, mm. 54–74.

By the second iteration of the final stanza starting in m. 54, the music wends its way back to E minor; however, the return of the tonic does not indicate the calming of waters (see Example 5). Rather, in response to the wanderer's address to his heart from measures 58 to 60, two more waves rise from the abyss (mm. 60–61), as if the strengthening mutual currents in the wanderer's heart and the river. Fortifying the analogy between the two, Schubert repeats the last couplet twice more from measures 66 to 70, each iteration rising in pitch and despair. The first repeat (mm. 66–8) ends with an evaded cadence, where Schubert harmonizes "schwillt" in m. 68 with a vii°^{7} chord marked *sforzando*. The dissonant diminished chord prompts the reiteration of the phrase, "ob's unter seiner Rinde wohl auch so reißend schwillt?" in its most agonized statement. In the final question, the vocal range reaches its peak, which increased in tessitura with each musical strophe. In the original version of *Auf dem Flusse*, the skip in measure 69 to the high A – the uppermost limit of the tenor's range – breaches the previously established boundaries of the vocal line, akin to a cresting flood. In the Lied, the singer is compelled to the extremities of their vocal abilities as they arrive at the crux of the poem, where self and nature merge and subject and object come to a confluence, to express the sublime power of the wanderer's grief.[74]

Just as Schubert's contemporaries experienced and understood the unrestrained power and potentially unlimited devastation of nature, *Auf dem Flusse* invokes the power of nature through the wanderer's emotions. While Immanuel Kant's articulation of the dynamical sublime in his *Critique of the Power of Judgement* (1790) privileges the Enlightened subject over nature, in *Auf dem Flusse* the convergence of man and nature through water should be understood as modifying the terms of this aesthetic. As Paul Ricœur's study of metaphor helps us realize, metaphor in *Auf dem Flusse* substitutes the power of the wanderer's passion for the strength of nature. The result merges the self with nature and alters the wanderer's experience of the natural world through his emotions, demonstrating that with burning tears, floods, and seething torrents, human affect can be as sublime as nature.

74 That Schubert's publisher prevailed upon the composer to include an easier alternative ending in a lower range (*ossia*) relates to the etymology of the word "sublime" ("up to the limen").

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The Interest in the Seemingly Trivial: Microscopic Awareness in the Landscape Art of the *Vormärz* Period

Werner Telesko

This chapter deals with landscape art in the *Vormärz* period and presents various works to illustrate the special features of a 'microscopic' approach. Instead of the usual early modern modes of representation, which primarily aimed at a spatial extension with clear depictions of the foreground, middle ground and background, the focus is now on detailed observations of the surface of nature and a radical confrontation of the viewer with the morphology of the earth's surface. Although this approach had a counterpart in the pronounced interest in geology from the early nineteenth century onwards, these revolutionary developments in landscape art should not be underestimated. This is also important, because poems such as Wilhelm Müller's famous *Die schöne Müllerin* show a similar interest in the various details of nature (streams, brooks, stones, grasses, and so on).

A counterpoint is appropriate, as from the early nineteenth century onwards opposing tendencies can also be observed: new scientific discoveries and the unstoppable advance of the natural sciences led also to an increased interest in the sky space and the planets, which resulted in the question of how these phenomena could be adequately and vividly captured scientifically and artistically. The polarity resulting from this opposition between the new cult of the small and seemingly trivial on the one hand and the amazement at the infinite expanse of the cosmos present in many media on the other is remarkable and thus can be identified as an essential signature of landscape art of the *Vormärz* period.

It is not without reason that the early nineteenth century is regarded as a period of epochal changes in the human perception of landscape and nature. Based on the rise of geology (or geognosy), which as a leading science also influenced great poets from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe to Adalbert Stifter, there were striking processes of reorientation in the visual arts, which involved a shift from the dominant, classicist-influenced landscape painting with its traditional focus on the heroic-antique to an increased attention to details

and individual forms of nature. Around 1800, landscape painting attained an unprecedented importance in theory and practice and presented itself in a variety of types and forms.[1] Of course, there was already an interest in the details of nature in mediaeval and early modern art, from the late Middle Ages and Albrecht Dürer's meticulous nature studies to Dutch flower still lives in the seventeenth century, but these works are not part of the genre of landscape painting. The landscape as a total view still exists in nineteenth-century art, but it is being realized less and less as an overview landscape (with a few exceptions: for example, for advertising purposes at world exhibitions) and is present in much more diverse forms and formats than in the centuries before.[2]

The most important artistic achievements in Central Europe around 1800 are the 'heroic landscapes' by Joseph Anton Koch and the classicist landscape paintings in the style of Johann Nepomuk Schödlberger, Károly Markó the Elder, and others.[3] These are all landscape paintings that appear iconographically enhanced with ancient temple backdrops, natural phenomena, which may also contain biblical semantics (for example, rainbows with reference to *Genesis* 9:13), and staffage figures, dressed in robes reminiscent of distant times. The endeavor to depict precise and verifiable topographies is clearly subordinate to these painters' efforts to create ideal-typical natural backdrops as well-composed additions of pictorial elements in highly formulaic and standardized manners.[4] This 'montage' character gives the landscape an almost unreal and ideal character, which cannot be detected in this form in the natural environment as we know it.

1 Thomas Noll, "Zur Typologie der Landschaftsmalerei um 1800," in *Music and Landscape / Soundscape and Sonic Art*, ed. Christa Brüstle. Studien zur Wertungsforschung, vol. 62 (Vienna, London and New York: Universal Edition, 2019), 31–87; Nina Amstutz and Gregor Wedekind, "Einleitung," in *Das Bild der Natur in der Romantik*, eds. Nina Amstutz, Anne Bohnenkamp, Mareike Hennig and Gregor Wedekind. Schriften der deutschen Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts, vol. 4 (Paderborn: Brill and Wilhelm Fink, 2021), VII–XVIII; *Landschaft um 1800. Aspekte der Wahrnehmung in Kunst, Literatur, Musik und Naturwissenschaft*, eds. Thomas Noll, Urte Stobbe and Christian Scholl (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012).

2 It is particularly in the nineteenth century, that we can observe in many different forms "how it [the landscape] functions as a cultural practice" (W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power* [Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, ²2002], 1).

3 Johann Eckart von Borries, *Joseph Anton Koch: Heroische Landschaft mit Regenbogen*. Bildhefte der Staatlichen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe 3 (Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1967); Christian von Holst, *Joseph Anton Koch. Ansichten der Natur*, exhibition catalogue, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt: Cantz, 1989), 55–7, 212–17; Hilmar Frank, *Joseph Anton Koch: Der Schmadribachfall. Natur und Freiheit* (Frankfurt on the Main: Fischer, 1995).

4 Werner Hofmann, *Das entzweite Jahrhundert: Kunst zwischen 1750 und 1830*, Universum der Kunst, vol. 40 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995), 340 ("kumulative Montagen").

'Microscopic' consciousness in the visual arts

On the other hand, a new kind of consciousness that can be described as close-up or 'microscopic' becomes image-worthy in other works of landscape art – for example in the works of the Austrians Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, Friedrich and Jakob Gauermann and the Englishmen John Constable and (even earlier, in the second half of the eighteenth century) Thomas Jones. This raises the question of whether this close-up cult of the seemingly trivial represents a consciously reflected movement and therefore an overarching contemporary style or phenomenon, possibly also in the sense of a retreat into the small-scale and private sphere far removed from sophisticated ideologies. The paintings by Waldmüller, Gauermann or of the lesser-known Anton Schrödl demonstrate thus a radical confrontation of the viewer with disorganized stones or rocky backdrops, the appearance of which is meticulously traced by the artists.[5] The seemingly trivial and the unlimited variety of the earth's surface become worthy of close-up views and the central focus of the paintings, watercolors and drawings.

The paintings of Thomas Jones, who worked mainly in Italy and England, are concerned with attention to detail in relation to house walls seen close up, that is, not with landscape motifs as such, but with a passionate love of detail and a fundamentally heightened value placed on the observation of smooth and rough surfaces of all kinds.[6] This places questions of materiality and the haptic at the center, for example – with regard to tree barks – in Waldmüller's painting *Partie aus dem Prater* (View of the Prater).[7] At the same time, the question of surfaces is also treated in an innovative way from the point of view of attractive and extraordinary contrasts, for example in the painting *Blick vom Mönchsberg auf die Festung Hohensalzburg* (View of Hohensalzburg Fortress from the Mönchsberg) by Friedrich Loos (Illustration 1), where the *Hohensalzburg* Fortress as the unmissable center of the city of Salzburg appears as a product of stones shaped so to speak as human cultural achievement and construction work, abruptly juxtaposed with the unworked geological roughness of

5 *Felsblöcke in Bachgerinne* (Boulders in stream channel), 1847. Vienna Museum, inv. no. 117.340.

6 Werner Busch, *Das sentimentalische Bild. Die Krise der Kunst im 18. Jahrhundert und die Geburt der Moderne* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1993), 355–64; Lawrence Gowing, *The Originality of Thomas Jones*, Walter Neurath Memorial Lectures, vol. 17 (London: Thames & Hudson, 1985).

7 Vienna, Belvedere, 1831, inv. no. Lg 1874, cf. Klaus Albrecht Schröder, "Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller und die Entdeckung der Wirklichkeit," in idem, *Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller*, exhibition catalogue, Kunstforum Länderbank, Vienna (Munich: Prestel, 1990), 9–48, at 68–69, no. 25; Rupert Feuchtmüller, *Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller 1793–1865. Leben – Schriften – Werke*, ed. Österreichische Galerie (Vienna and Munich: Christian Brandstätter, 1996), 69 (pl.), WV 306.

the *Mönchsberg* in the foreground.[8] This contrast of two different stone surfaces forms the basis for an innovative examination of the impact of man on landscape on the one hand, in contrast to the unprocessed and natural rock surfaces on the other. The cultural achievements of mankind, which manifest itself in a varied and skillful treatment of the surfaces of stones in artful buildings, thus stands in rigid and obvious contrast to the uncut rocks[9] as they were created by nature.



Illustration 1: Friedrich Loos, *Blick vom Mönchsberg auf die Festung Hohensalzburg*, ca. 1830, oil on cardboard. Vienna, Belvedere, inv. no. 3181.

8 Vienna, Belvedere, ca. 1830, inv. no. 3181, cf. Werner Telesko, "Heimatbilder. Landschaftskunst und Identitätssuche in der österreichischen Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Belvedere. Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 10, no. 2 (2004): 4–17, at 8, fig. 5; Sylvia Kislinger, "Zwischen Naturwahrem und Kunstschönem. Einfluss und Entwicklung im frühromantisch-österreichischen Landschaftsbild," in *Paradoxien der Romantik. Gesellschaft, Kultur und Wissenschaft in Wien im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Christian Aspalter, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Edith Saurer, Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler and Anton Tantner (Vienna: Wiener Universitätsverlag, 2006), 295–319; Agnes Husslein-Arco and Rolf H. Johannsen, eds., *Friedrich Loos. Ein Künstlerleben zwischen Wien, Rom und dem Norden*, exhibition catalogue, Belvedere (Vienna: Belvedere, 2015), 80, pl. 2. In summary, regarding the innovative aspects of Austrian landscape painting in the Biedermeier period, cf. Peter Pötschner, *Genesis der Wiener Biedermeierlandschaft*, Wiener Schriften, vol. 9 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1964).

9 The exceptional significance of rock formations in nineteenth-century landscape art is also reflected in recent academic research, where they are given central consideration alongside water and wood, cf. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Harper Collins, 1995).

There are of course precursors to this attitude in the late eighteenth century, just as the question of artistic models, which were modified and further developed in the first half of the nineteenth century, would require its own presentation. Looking for example at Johann Christian Brand's painting *Schloss Hof vom Thebener Kogel aus gesehen* (*Schloss Hof* seen from the *Thebener Kogel*), also known under the title *Die große Sandgrube* (The large sand pit, 1774), it becomes clear that the contrast between the baroque castle disappearing into the distance on the one hand and the meticulously rendered slopes of the geological structure of the *Thebener Kogel* in the foreground anticipates Friedrich Loos' view.[10] Thus, there is an astonishingly similar tendency to contrast the unworked rock formations in the foreground with the architecturally refined stones in the shape of the castle as in Loos' painting.

Towards a new radicalism in observing nature

The surfaces of nature and the morphology of landscapes in all its breadth and diversity were therefore brought into picture in a new and unadorned way in numerous art works of this period, with the extreme close-up view of surfaces visualizing a new authenticity and vitality of nature. Artistically, this is also often associated with increased artistic abstraction, as the disorganized microcosmically observed components reflect nature in its almost random way of being: Waldmüller's *Felspartie am Waldrand* (Rock face at a forest edge), an early and revolutionary work by the painter, demonstrates this aspect in a congenial way, as the landscape is built up in the foreground through staggering of rocks, one on top of the another.[11] The traditional European landscape art, which is primarily based on spatial illusions and usually divides renderings of landscapes step by step into foreground, middle and background, appears to have been replaced by this radical valorization of the distanceless painted foreground. This new radicalism in observing nature must have shocked and impressed contemporaries at the same time. These are by no means isolated one-off effects, as Waldmüller also pursues a very similar approach in his small-format painting *Die Rettenbachwildnis bei Ischl / Der Hohenzollern-Wasserfall im Jainzental nächst dem Sophien-Doppelblick bei Ischl* (The Rettenbach Wilderness near Ischl / The Hohenzollern waterfall in the Jainzen valley next to the Sophien-double view near Ischl) (Illustration 2): in this case, the artistic effect is actually heightened, as the viewer is now confronted with an almost

10 Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. 1196, cf. Noll, *Typologie*, 63–64, fig. 12.
11 Vienna, private collection, around 1824, cf. Maria Buchsbaum, *Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller* (Salzburg: Residenz, 1976), 32, fig. 25; Schröder, *Waldmüller*, 25, fig. 14.

impenetrable rock face across the entire picture surface.[12] This abrupt and distanceless confrontation with the rocky terrain also leads to a feeling of spatial disorientation on the part of the viewer: the latter is unable to determine the exact position of the rocky landscape. Put simply, one could say that in these cases the significance of the surface takes the place of the spatial shaping of the landscape by means of the representation of foreground, middle ground and background.



Illustration 2: Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, *Der Hohenzollern-Wasserfall im Jainzental nächst dem Sophien-Doppelblick bei Ischl*, 1832, oil on canvas. Vienna, Belvedere, inv. no. 1658.

12 Vienna, Belvedere, 1832, inv. no. 1658; Feuchtmüller, *Waldmüller*, WV 349.

At the same time, it is also clear from other paintings of this period that there is a graduated relationship between the artist on the one hand and the respective object in nature on the other (for example, Waldmüller, *Partie aus dem Prater* [View of the Prater, see above]; *Praterlandschaft* [Prater Landscape]) (Illustration 3).[13]



Illustration 3: Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, *Praterlandschaft*, 1849, oil on wood. Vienna, Belvedere, inv. no. 1255.

The relevant art works are therefore based on thoughtful reflections on how the motifs can be captured in the picture: on the one hand, in the form of groups of trees that are emphasized and pleasingly presented as a whole – almost in the sense of a pleasing bouquet of flowers (as in the case in the *Praterlandschaft*); on the other hand, and this seems artistically much more radical, in the sense of zooming in on the surfaces of the trees in the manner of an intense close-up (the *Partie aus dem Prater* illustrates this approach). The painter thus measures his relationship to nature in ever new ways in the respective realization of his approach and is ultimately not afraid to visualize the radical close-up view of nature as the random, disordered and sometimes unattractive.

13 Vienna, Belvedere, 1849, inv. no. 1255; Feuchtmüller, *Waldmüller*, 174–75 (pl.), WV 793.

At the same time, however, many works of landscape art from this period do not usually show 'realistic' details, but the chosen motif is subject to elaborated compositional principles that make the image interesting in the sense of an independent artistic solution or enhancement of the chosen object. This is also evident in the works of the aforementioned Thomas Jones, who uses the depiction of the surfaces of buildings as a starting point for his thematization of the fundamental artistic principles such as lines and surfaces. In these cases, the artist thus takes the motif only as a basis for a mostly independently developed theme in relation to the respective subject, whereby questions of color, motif rhythms, and pictorial framings of the landscape are at the top of the agenda. This becomes also clear, for example, in Johan Christian Dahl's *Blick auf Schloss Pillnitz* (View of Pillnitz Castle), where the Saxonian castle is framed by the window as a picture within a picture,[14] and in Carl Gustav Carus' *Die Dreisteine im Riesengebirge* (The Three Stones in the Riesengebirge) with the artist's interest in the peculiar rhythmization of rock forms given by nature.[15] In a certain sense, nature itself takes on the creative role here, as the arrangement of the rock formations as a peculiar triad has to be seen as the genuine work of nature. Friedrich Gauermann's *Landschaft bei Miesenbach* (Landscape near Miesenbach) is captivating in the sense of dealing with the problem of implementing a multitude of graduated valeurs of the dominant color green,[16] and his *Blick vom Scheuchenstein* (View from the Scheuchenstein) (Illustration 4) is convincing due to the striking symmetry of the mountain scenery captured in the picture.[17] In the latter example, the painter has deliberately chosen his viewpoint so that the symmetrical mountain backdrop creates an attractive and rhythmically harmonious panorama.

14 Essen, Folkwang Museum, 1823, inv. no. G 35, cf. Herwig Guratzsch, ed., *Johan Christian Dahl. Der Freund Caspar David Friedrichs*, exhibition catalogue, Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen (Schleswig and Cologne: Wienand, 2002), 84, 206–7, no. 33.

15 Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 1826, inv. no. 2215 G, cf. Petra Kuhlmann-Hodick, Gerd Spitzer and Bernhard Maaz, eds., *Carl Gustav Carus – Natur und Idee*, exhibition catalogue, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden and Staatliche Museen Berlin (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 162 (fig.), 163, no. 147.

16 Vienna, Belvedere, around 1830, inv no. 2815, cf. Rupert Feuchtmüller, *Friedrich Gauermann* (Rosenheim: Rosenheimer Verlagshaus, 1987), 84 (pl.); summarizing on Friedrich Gauermann: Wolfgang Krug, *Friedrich Gauermann 1807–1862. Aus der Sammlung des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums. With a contribution by Andrea Winklbauer* (Vienna and Munich: Christian Brandstätter, 2001).

17 Vienna, Belvedere, around 1830, inv. no. 3290, cf. Feuchtmüller, *Gauermann*, 86 (pl.).



Illustration 4: Friedrich Gauermann, *Blick vom Scheuchenstein zum Gauermannhof mit dem Schneeberg im Hintergrund*, around 1830, oil on paper on canvas. Vienna, Belvedere, inv. no. 3290.

Meticulous depictions of details vs. attractive compositional solutions

This raises the general question of whether there can be such a phenomenon as an unreflective, quasi-radical-realistic rendition of nature or whether the visualization of even the smallest details is necessarily always shaped by an artistic awareness that endeavors to organize every existing random entity according to attractive compositional solutions. Johann Wilhelm Schirmer's painting *Waldbach* (Forest brook) illustrates this problem from another perspective, as here the meticulous depiction of the brook embodies on the one hand the interest of a detailed view of the unbridled strength of nature, while on the other hand an overriding compositional solution shapes the realization of the chosen motif, as the foaming water in the foreground is framed by boulders in a strikingly symmetrical manner.[18]

18 Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau, around 1837, inv. no. CHS 72, cf. Bettina Baumgärtel, "Johann Wilhelm Schirmer und die Geburt der Landschaftsmalerei

The characteristics described here as relevant to the visual arts also raise the general question of whether something like an innovative, 'microscopic' or close-up consciousness was also emerging in other areas of cultural production in the early nineteenth century. The open-hearted self-confession of the famous English landscape painter John Constable can here serve as a point of reference when he writes: "My limited and abstract art is to be found under every hedge and on every country lane."[19] In the novella *Jesuiterkirche in G.*, a story by E. T. A. Hoffmann, published in Berlin at the end of 1816 in the first part of his collection *Nachtstücke*, it is pointed out that anyone who paints landscapes must listen to them in order to hear the voice of nature, "which speaks in wonderful sounds from tree, bush, flower, mountain and water of unfathomable mystery."[20]

The repertoire of nature motifs in Wilhelm Müller's *Die schöne Müllerin*

It is also striking that this focus on details and the seemingly trivial has a literary counterpart, albeit one that is clearly charged with emotions, in famous poems such as Wilhelm Müller's *Die schöne Müllerin* (published in 1821) with its concentration on brooks, stones, leaves and such. In principle, the same repertoire of motifs is thematized as in the landscape art described here, but these motifs are incorporated into the decisive love theme that encompasses the entire cycle, which brings feelings into play in relation to the narrator.

In the second poem (*Wohin?*) from *Die schöne Müllerin*, the observation of the brook as a multisensory and multisemantic and at the same time contradictory experience, as in the contrast of rushing ("rauschen") and inebriating ("berauschen"), is directly linked to the hiker's experience:

innerhalb der Düsseldorfer Malerschule," in *Die Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf 1773–2023. Kunstgeschichte einer Institution*, ed. Johannes Myssok (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2023), 81–95.

19 Hofmann, *Jahrhundert*, 380; Ronald Parkinson, *John Constable. The Man and his Art* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1998), 129.

20 "[die Natur], die in wunderbaren Lauten aus Baum, Gebüsch, Blume, Berg und Gewässer von unerforschlichem Geheimnis spreche," quoted from: Rüdiger Görner, *Romantik. Ein europäisches Ereignis* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021), 228; Oskar Bätschmann, "Reflexionen über die Landschaftsmalerei um 1800 in Deutschland," in *Wasser, Wolken, Licht und Steine: die Entdeckung der Landschaft in der europäischen Malerei um 1800*, eds. Klaus Weschenfelder and Urs Roeber (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 2022), 27–44, at 35.

WOHIN?[21]

Ich hört' ein Bächlein rauschen
Wohl aus dem Felsenquell,
Hinab zum Thale rauschen
So frisch und wunderhell.

Ich weiß nicht, wie mir wurde,
Nicht, wer den Rath mir gab,
Ich mußte gleich hinunter
Mit meinem Wanderstab.

Hinunter und immer weiter,
Und immer dem Bache nach,
Und immer frischer rauschte,
Und immer heller der Bach.

Ist das denn meine Straße?
O Bächlein, sprich, wohin?
Du hast mit deinem Rauschen
Mir ganz berauscht den Sinn.

[2 weitere Strophen]

WHERE TO?[22]

I heard a little brook babbling
From its rocky source,
Babbling down the valley,
So bright, so wondrously clear.

I know not what came over me,
Nor who prompted me,
But I too had to go down
With my wander's staff.

Down and ever onwards,
Always following the brook
As it babbled ever brighter
And ever clearer.

Is this then, my path?
O brook, say where it leads.
With your babbling
You have quite befuddled my mind.

[two more verses]

While in this second poem the course of the brook is the hiker's orientation guide, the sound of which also confuses his senses, in the sixth poem of Müller's cycle, *Der Neugierige*, a dialogue is staged between the narrator and the brook:

DER NEUGIERIGE[23]

Ich frage keine Blume,
Ich frage keinen Stern,
Sie können mir nicht sagen,
Was ich erführ' so gern.

THE INQUISITIVE ONE[24]

I ask no flower,
I ask no star;
None of them can tell me
What I would so dearly like to know.

21 Arnold Feil, *Franz Schubert, Die schöne Müllerin. Winterreise. Mit einem Essay "Wilhelm Müller und die Romantik" von Rolf Vollmann* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1996), 153; Michaela Puntigam, *Franz Schubert, Texte sei*ner Lieder (Salzburg: self-published, 1998), 126.
22 Graham Johnson, *Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs. Volume Two* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 811–12 (translation by Richard Wigmore).
23 Feil, *Müllerin*, 154; Puntigam, *Schubert*, 127.
24 Johnson, *The Complete Songs 2*, 824–25.

Ich bin ja auch kein Gärtner,	*For I am no gardener,*
Die Sterne stehn zu hoch;	*And the stars are too high;*
Mein Bächlein will ich fragen,	*I will ask my little brook*
Ob mich mein Herz belog.	*If my heart has lied to me.*
O Bächlein meiner Liebe,	*O brook of my love,*
Wie bist du heut' so stumm!	*How silent you are today!*
Will ja nur Eines wissen,	*I wish to know just one thing,*
Ein Wörtchen um und um.	*One small word, over and over again.*
Ja, heißt das eine Wörtchen,	*One word is 'yes',*
Das andre heißet Nein,	*The other is 'no';*
Die beiden Wörtchen schließen	*These two words contain for me*
Die ganze Welt mir ein.	*The whole world.*
O Bächlein meiner Liebe,	*O brook of my love,*
Was bist du wunderlich!	*How mysterious you are.*
Will's ja nicht weiter sagen,	*I will tell no one else:*
Sag', Bächlein, liebt sie mich?	*Say, brook, does she love me?*

On the other hand, in this sixth poem nature and cosmos are questioned as to the actual existence of love, in that the brook, which is emphasized and, in contrast to the flower and star, is accentuated as an important point of reference ("Mein Bächlein will ich fragen"). Furthermore, nature on the one hand and love on the other are emotionally charged and strongly linked ("O Bächlein meiner Liebe"). The wondrous ("wunderliche") nature, interpreted as an omniscient book of life, as it were, is supposed to provide the long-awaited answer. In the peculiar contraction of this central phrase of this poem ("O Bächlein meiner Liebe"), love can actually refer grammatically to both the brook and the feeling subject.

Relationships between nature and human emotions in *Die schöne Müllerin*

These two poems from the cycle of *Die schöne Müllerin* are thus also about an intensified understanding of nature, which unfolds its congenial power above all in the tensions of the emotions of the ego (here, the narrator) in relation to nature. Schubert's musical setting of *Die schöne Müllerin* D 795, composed in 1823, wanders – as Adorno believed – into the "forest and cave of the word."[25]

25 Theodor W. Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner* (Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp, 1974), 54 ("in Wald und Höhle des Wortes").

If one follows Susan Youens' detailed analysis of Schubert's setting of Müller's poem *Der Neugierige* D 795/6, then Schubert's melodic and rhythmic accents lie less in the observation of nature as such than in the human emotions, which clearly increase in intensity from the third strophe onwards.[26]

The comprehensive significance of this new understanding of nature focused on details in the early nineteenth century can be seen in many genres. This also applies to Gottfried van Swieten's libretto for Joseph Haydn's oratorio *The Seasons* (*Die Jahreszeiten,* 1801), for example in "Spring" with its emphasis on lambs, fish, bees and birds, although in this case it also remains to be seen whether Haydn's setting reveals a new understanding of nature. This raises also the fundamental question of whether music is even capable of translating fauna and flora into sound with a quasi-microscopic focus. Analyses of Beethoven's famous Sixth Symphony op. 68 (*Pastorale*, 1808), which at least contains a movement titled *At the brook* (*Szene am Bach*), have, as is well known, shown that it is not about depicting nature, but about musically tracing the emotions that we feel when listening. On the other hand, Richard Wagner, who was not known to be a fan of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, praised the composer of *The Hebrides* (1833) as a "first-class landscape painter".[27]

The new enthusiasm for the visualization of the infinite cosmos

A content counterpoint is appropriate at this point, because from the early nineteenth century onwards, opposing tendencies – in relation to the focal points described so far – can also be observed. The polarity between the new cult of the small and seemingly trivial on the one hand and the amazement at the infinite expanse of the cosmos present in many media on the other is all too obvious.[28] The latter awareness is expressed, for example, in Adalbert Stifter's famous observation of the solar eclipse of 1842 (see here also the watercolor by Rudolf von Alt, Illustration 5), in John Herschel's drawings of the *Orion Nebula* (1847), but also in the quasi 'panoramic' views of the round picture (1787) and the *Diorama* (1822) – both great success stories over the course of the century.[29] With the latter inventions, a new culture of seeing becomes clear at the same

26 Susan Youens, *Schubert: Die schöne Müllerin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 41–42, 72–111.

27 Hans von Wolzogen, *Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner*, new ed., Universal-Bibliothek, vol. 2831 (Leipzig: Reclam, 1891), 31 ("Mendelssohn war Landschaftsmaler erster Klasse, die Hebriden-Ouvertüre ist sein Meisterwerk").

28 Oskar Bätschmann, *Entfernung der Natur. Landschaftsmalerei 1750–1920*. DuMont-Taschenbücher, vol. 227 (Cologne: DuMont, 1989), 77–92.

29 Cf. Walter Koschatzky, *Österreichische Aquarellmalerei 1750–1900* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1987), 138, fig. 79; idem, *Rudolf von Alt* (Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2001), 181–88, fig. 83.

time, which in principle aims at the representation of the totality of 360º visual experiences. The all-round view can thus in a certain sense be seen as a counter-model to 'microscopic' consciousness.



Illustration 5: Rudolf von Alt, *Die Sonnenfinsternis über Wien am 8. Juli 1842*, 1842, watercolour. Wien Museum, inv. no. 105.390.

New scientific discoveries and the unstoppable advance of the natural sciences led to an increased interest in the sky space and the planets, which resulted in the question of how these phenomena could be adequately and vividly captured scientifically and artistically. To a much greater extent than in the microscopic observation of nature, it was not just about the appearance itself but the majestic effect of the grandeur or sublimity ("Erhabenheit" in texts from Edmund Burke or Immanuel Kant) of the respective motif, which reflects the cosmos as a whole, on the observing and artistically reflecting subject.[30] In scientific illustrations a clear widening of the gaze is therefore applied, and in landscape paintings the natural phenomena are realized in new and ever more attractive color combinations. Overall, this results in a tendency that sometimes leads to new kinds of 'world landscapes' as attempts to visualize the biological nature of history as geological compendia, inspired by ancient models of the ages of the world (as reported among others by Hesiod). This becomes particularly clear in

30 Here, it is worth noting the famous thesis that a new type of observer emerged in the nineteenth century characterised above all by its subjective vision, cf. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1990).

Thomas Cole's five-part cycle *The Course of Empire*, which illustrates the development of a fictional civilization from its origins, through its rise to power to its downfall, in a new manner.[31] In this monumental series, human and natural history enter into a new synthesis in the way that the traditional boundaries between the artistic genres of history and landscape painting dissolve and make way for an innovative and universal view of historical processes.

The 'double' focus on details and infinity as a signature of the nineteenth century?

On the basis of the observations made here, it can be asked in the sense of a concluding hypothesis whether these productive tensions between the focus on particulars on the one hand and the view of the infinite on the other do constitute new characteristics of the *Vormärz* period understanding of nature and landscape as an indispensable precondition for the second half of the century. This becomes clear in contemporary literature for example, when Adalbert Stifter concludes the contemplation of his living rooms in his *Violets* (*Veilchen*, 1834) with the words:

> I would now go inside to this extraordinary woman [that is, his wife] that evening, lead her out in front of the Fraunhofer [a telescope], show her the worlds of heaven, and go from one to the other until she too would be seized by the shudder of this infinity [...].[32]

The juxtaposition of the intimacy of the enclosed room of the couple with the vastness of the universe made visible by the Fraunhofer telescope are the consciously formulated poles of human observation. Within the scientific disciplines, biology and astronomy correspond to this contrast between near and distant vision. Is this phenomenon of differences in the general possibilities of seeing not perhaps a further important indication of the revolutionary structural features that are observable from the beginning of the so-called "divided

31 New York Historical Society, 1834 to 1836, inv. nos. 1858.1–5, cf. William H. Truettner and Alan Wallach, eds., *Thomas Cole: Landscape into History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 90–98; Eva Steinbrecher, *Thomas Cole: "The Course of Empire". Studien zum Einfluss philosophischer und politischer Theorien auf die Ikonographie des Zyklus* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009).

32 "Zu dieser Außerordentlichen ihres Geschlechts ginge ich nun an jenem Abende hinein, führte sie heraus vor den Fraunhofer, zeigte ihr die Welten des Himmels, und ginge von einer zur andern bis auch sie ergriffen würde von dem Schauder dieser Unendlichkeit [...]," cf. Adalbert Stifter, *Studien*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Amelang, 1897), 26–29, at 28; idem, *Feldblumen. Erzählung, mit einem Vorwort von Lothar Schultes*, ed. Richard Pils (Weitra: Verlag Bibliothek der Provinz, 2005), 79–81, at 80.

century"?[33] This question is also significant in terms of chronological development, because contrasts between extreme close-ups and the emphasis on distant perspective also apply, for example, to the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites.[34]

It is obvious that the traditional and common pictorial types of landscape art, which had often been Christianized or mythologized (for example, in many of Peter Paul Rubens' paintings), as can be observed in many artworks of the early modern period, were now broken up and replaced in favor of an exciting and multifaceted 'double view' ("Doppelblick") with regard to the diversity of nature and the cosmos.[35] This 'double view' captures the motifs from the perspective of two spatial extremes (microscopic *and* macroscopic) and medializes them in new ways – often, but by no means exclusively, in relation to the objectives and feelings of the observing subjects.

This raises some fundamental questions. Does this innovative 'double view' perhaps correspond to a new bourgeois understanding of nature? In his essays collected under the title *Subjektivität* (1974), the German philosopher Joachim Ritter showed that it was nature that became the favored object of the natural sciences and technology.[36] At the same time, however, nature was just as universally aesthetically visualized – as landscape and through art. Talking about the bourgeoisie and modernity, the question arises as to what consequences the medializations of the 'double view' have for our perception of nature today.[37] Or, to put it another way, does the early nineteenth century mark the beginning of a new epoch in the modern understanding of nature

33 Hofmann, *Jahrhundert*, 586, 675 (with reference to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's term "entzweit"). This view is supported by the fact that Carl Gustav Carus in his *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting written in the years 1815–1824* (first published in 1831) already placed emphasis on the connection between near and distant views, when it is said that the exterior conveys a vivid impression of the whole, whilst the interior reveals the individual parts.: "Bei der Untersuchungsweise sämmtlicher [sic!] Naturkörper nämlich werden wir auf Berücksichtigung eines *Äußern* und eines *Innern* geleitet; das Äußere gibt uns die anschauliche Idee des Ganzen, das Innere zeigt uns die Theile. Beides zusammen aber gibt erst den vollen Begriff von dem Wesen dieses Naturkörpers überhaupt." (Italicised in the original), quoted from: Bätschmann, *Reflexionen*, 38–39.

34 Eckart Bergmann, *Die Präraffaeliten*. Heyne Stilkunde, vol. 23 (Munich: Wilhelm Heyne, 1980), 123.

35 Werner Hofmann, "Nietzsche und die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Schopenhauer und die Künste*, eds. Günther Baum and Dieter Birnbacher (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005), 308–23, at 310 (with reference to Friedrich Nietzsche's term 'Doppelblick').

36 Joachim Ritter, "Landschaft. Zur Funktion des Ästhetischen in der modernen Gesellschaft," (first published in 1963) in idem, *Subjektivität. Sechs Aufsätze* (Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp, 1989 [[1]1974]), 141–90.

37 Cf. Manfred Smuda, "Natur als ästhetischer Gegenstand und als Gegenstand der Ästhetik. Zur Konstitution von Landschaft," in *Landschaft*, ed. Manfred Smuda (Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), 44–69.

and landscape?[38] So, are there perhaps hitherto concealed paths that lead from the saddle period ('Sattelzeit') around 1800 to the present day, and which could make the currently omnipresent conflict-prone amalgam of industrialization, radical occupation and exploitation of the earth by mankind and the climate crisis more explainable? Finally, the problem of temporality, or rather the representation of temporality in the media of the visual arts, has to be seen as an overarching problem. Can we assume that the 'microscopically' designed landscapes – as they were briefly presented here on the basis of some meaningful examples – imply a condensation of temporal experience, while the quasi-cosmic images of nature, which show an abundance of natural elements and human figures, have, as it were, an eternal and supra-temporal character?

To return once more to the text of *Die schöne Müllerin*, we recognize in the sixth poem, already quoted, that something like a media competition takes place in the visualization of the natural cosmos. Nature, which is seen in this poem in the topical tradition as mute, is unable to provide an answer from itself,[39] but can only be unraveled through words. According to the subtext of Müller's poem, only language is thus capable of including the "whole world," that is the totality (!), in the effort to answer the central question of love ("yes" or "no"): "These two words contain for me / The whole world". The pronoun "me" is decisive here, because only this word is able to include the whole world from the perspective of the person in love.[40]

Cloud pictures as an expression of the physical ambivalence of nature

The human relationship to nature described in my contribution as microscopic is fundamentally a tactile one that in principle aims at an intensive and sensualistic relationship to the surfaces of nature often charged with new meanings, while in the search for the infinity of the cosmos the focus is on the spherical, the boundless and the blurred. Artistically, however, and this emphasizes the deeply Janus-faced nature and complexity of the situation at the dawn of modernity, there are pictorial genres that address both perspectives, microscopy *and* macroscopy, and thus represent particularly innovative approaches in

38 Within the field of contemporary philosophy, the new significance of nature is undisputed. The best-known conception is that of Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, who argued that nature can be understood as a productive activity. Furthermore, Schelling's treatises (*Philosophie der Kunst* [Philosophy of Art, 1802–1805]) reveal close links to the visual arts, cf. Arne Zerbst, *Schelling und die bildende Kunst. Zum Verhältnis von kunstphilosophischem System und konkreter Werkkenntnis* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2011).

39 Youens, *Müllerin*, 42 (*stumm* as a "key word").

40 Ibid. Youens points out that the strophe does not formulate a final answer in the dialogue, but that the "vocal line" indicates a positive outcome in the sense of a "tonal certainty".

the visual arts. These are, for example, partly based on Luke Howard's *Essay on the modification of clouds* (London 1803),[41] cloud pictures,[42] which transform the intangible, spherical nature of celestial phenomena into the tactile close-up view of the objects, as if the cloud – in reality at any time changeable and intangible – could be regarded as an object with physical substance, therefore dissectible and thus manageable.[43] At the same time, however, clouds mutated into central elements of the unreal, ultimately infinite and atmospherically charged, above all in paintings by Johan Christian Dahl. To have invented this fundamental tension, indeed ambivalence, of views of nature and to have kept it alive intellectually and artistically remains the epochal moment in the landscape art of the *Vormärz* period.

Landscape art and the visualization of aesthetic orders

In my contribution, landscape art was primarily considered as part of the numerous genres of visual arts. On this basis it should have become clear that art can be seen as a useful compass for man's orientation in relation to his environment in general. The artistic solutions presented here – necessarily only an excerpt from the enormous wealth of art works – should serve as an instructive indicator of human engagement with the environment in all areas of life. The Vormärz era provides an essential foundation for an in-depth examination of the complex relationship between nature and landscape, as Georg Simmel argued from a theoretical perspective in his famous essay *Philosophie der Landschaft* (Philosophy of Landscape, 1913):

> *The artwork landscape is created as the increasing continuation and purification of the process in which the landscape – in the sense of common parlance – emerges from the mere impression of individual natural things.*[44]

41 Kurt Badt, *John Constable's Clouds,* trans. Stanley Godman (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950), 9–22; Nicholas Robbins, "John Constable, Luke Howard, and the aesthetics of climate," *The Art Bulletin* 103, no. 2 (2021): 50–76. Goethe and Carus were also influenced by Howard's publication on the classification of clouds, cf. Bätschmann, *Reflexionen*, 38.

42 Bätschmann, *Entfernung*, 117–24.

43 Fundamental literature on the genre of cloud painting includes: Badt, *Clouds*; Edward Morris, ed., *Constable's Clouds*, exhibition Catalogue, Walker Art Gallery Liverpool and National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2000); Tobias G. Natter and Franz Smola, eds., *Wolken. Welt des Flüchtigen*, exhibition catalogue, Leopold Museum, Vienna (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2013).

44 "Das Kunstwerk Landschaft entsteht als die steigernde Fortsetzung und Reinigung des Prozesses, in dem uns allen aus dem bloßen Eindruck einzelner Naturdinge die Landschaft – im Sinne des gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauchs – erwächst." Georg Simmel, "Philosophie der Landschaft," *Die Güldenkammer. Eine Bremische Monatsschrift* 3, no. 2 (1913): 635–44, reprinted in idem, *Jenseits der Schönheit. Schriften zur Ästhetik und Kunstphilosophie*, ed. Ingo Meyer (Frank-

Taking Simmel's philosophy of landscape to its conclusion would mean that people, when they enter the mode of aesthetic perception, perceive landscape like a work of art. This once again connects landscape with visual media and creates a certain kind of resonance space that enables a relationship with the world to the highest degree. Accordingly, landscape as we understand it today, is the result of multi-layered efforts to organize the human relationship to the environment that goes qualitatively beyond an unreflective observation of the unlimited variety of nature. The works of art discussed here illustrate therefore different points of view of this constantly effective human endeavor for aesthetic order, and beyond that testify to the belief that landscape art can be given a new and more significant position within the traditional hierarchy of artistic genres from the early nineteenth century onwards.

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Joseph Anton Koch and the Extractive Landscape

Stephanie O'Rourke

This chapter examines how ideas about the natural world were transformed by large-scale mining operations around the turn of the nineteenth century. Taking its cue from the art of Joseph Anton Koch, it argues that industrial resource extraction placed new pressures on landscape as an artistic genre. Importantly, such pressures would have been legible both to those who lived in mining communities and also to those based at the center of Habsburg mining administration: Vienna. By putting oil painting in dialogue with technical as well as artistic representations of mining, it becomes apparent that many of the features represented in Koch's landscapes were being reshaped by mineral extraction at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Under the felicitous arc of a full rainbow, a verdant landscape extends far into the distance. *Heroic Landscape with Rainbow* (see Illustration 1), by the Tyrolian artist Joseph Anton Koch, includes many of the elements expected in landscape paintings of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[1] It presents a broad spatial expanse populated with grazing animals, lush vegetal growth, and rustic classical architecture. Alternating passages of light and shade draw the viewer's eye across the depths of the scene toward far-off mountains. In the foreground human figures, whether implicitly or explicitly allegorical, interact with their surroundings in a leisurely manner: this is not a landscape worked by intensive labor. *Heroic Landscape* portrays an environment that offers its resources freely to its painted inhabitants, much as it offers its aesthetic pleasures to the painting's viewer. Such features were characteristic of the classical landscape tradition in which Koch was trained in Italy.

1 Koch would go on to paint three additional versions of the composition over nearly two decades. Key discussion of this painting and its place within Koch's oeuvre can be found in: Christian von Holst, *Joseph Anton Koch: Ansichten der Natur* (Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 1989), 55–56, 215–22; and Otto Ritter von Lutterotti, *Joseph Anton Koch, 1768–1839. Leben und Werk* (Vienna: Herold, 1985), 36, 52–53, 290–91.



Illustration 1: Joseph Anton Koch, *Heroische Landschaft mit Regenbogen*, 1805. Oil on canvas, Kunsthalle Karlsruhe. © Wikimedia Commons.

The inclusion of dramatic mountains and imposing rock formations, though, was less typical. These elements rooted Koch's artistic sensibility in the distinctly mountainous landscape of Tyrol. Born in the remote Lechtal Valley that runs through the Northern Limestone Alps, Koch would have grown up surrounded by distinctive stone peaks that tower over the valley. Beyond its biographical significance, the mountains glimpsed in Koch's composition registered significant changes taking place. In this chapter, I chart the rise of an extractive view of nature that was ascendant in the early nineteenth-century Austrian Empire. As I have argued elsewhere, extraction brought new pressures to bear upon landscape as a pictorial genre in early nineteenth-century Europe.[2] Focusing on mining, I propose that both the landscape format and the view of nature on display in *Heroic Landscape* were coming under enormous pressure with the rise of industrial resource extraction. Rather than explore 'industrialization' in a generic sense, I am specifically interested in how the practices and logic of mining transformed the landscapes to which Franz Schubert and his circle would have had access.

2 Stephanie O'Rourke, *Picturing Landscape in an Age of Extraction: Europe and its Colonial Networks 1780–1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2025).

The landscape tradition

Heroic Landscape with Rainbow conveys a vision of the natural world as a space apart from the social and political realities of early nineteenth-century Europe, a domain of suspended temporality and effortless abundance. The classical elements of Koch's early landscape painting are generally understood to stand in contrast with the growing importance of a topographical model of representing landscapes. Closely associated with cartography and widely taught in technical and military academies, the topographical landscape was defined by its rejection of the generalizing and idealizing features of classical landscape. Often associated with the Italian School, classical landscapes typically featured a lush foreground with somewhat generic natural features, evenly distributed illumination, and distant mountains – elements seen in many of Koch's paintings such as his *Landscape near Ronciglione* (*Landschaft bei Ronciglione*, 1815, Hamburger Kunsthalle).[3] In contrast, topographical landscapes (such as Koch's *Der Untere Grindelwaldgletscher* 1792/94, Kunst Museum Winterthur) portrayed a specific, identifiable location with precision. Details, often captured in pen and wash on paper, were usually recorded by an observer physically located in a given landscape. Allegorical figures were excluded and so too were fictional temples and other classical built structures. Instead, topographical landscapes claimed to represent the natural world as it actually appeared: a specific environment, seen from a specific vantage point, as it looked at a specific time of day.

In visual terms, this topographical appeal to accuracy was expressed through a high level of pictorial detail including elements that might appear unimportant, such as a small rock in the foreground. Additionally, topographical landscapes recorded features of a landscape that did not align with academic ideals of classical beauty: asymmetry, the uneven distribution of light and shadow, malformed vegetation, bad weather, and so on. As topographical landscapes grew in practical importance and artistic status, they were often accompanied by a title that described both a place and the vantage point from which it was seen. For example, a topographical drawing executed in pen and watercolor on paper by Koch bears the title *Jungfrau und Eiger von Unterseen aus* (The Mönch and Jungfrau seen from Unterseen, c. 1792–4, private collection). Like many of Koch's works on paper, the title indicates a specific view as well

3 On Koch's relationship to the classical landscape tradition and especially to Poussin, see Lutterotti, *Joseph Anton Koch,* 36–63.

as a precise vantage point. Artists such as the English painter Thomas Girtin went even further, identifying the time of day when the landscape was viewed.[4]

Topographical landscapes served important technical functions. They were commissioned by landowners to record the physical extent of their estate. They were also used as an instrument for the production of cartographic knowledge. Map-making drew upon a combination of topographical views and more technical land surveying measurements. In terms of sheer quantity, a significant portion of the topographical landscapes produced in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Europe were likely to have been made by and for militaries. In that context they were created as part of ordonnance surveys, the mapping of colonial spaces, reconnaissance, and record-keeping.[5]

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, academic landscape paintings incorporated key elements of topographical illustration: the transcription of fleeting weather conditions, the inclusion of a high degree of detail, the alternation of light and dark, and a taste for asymmetrical views. Such features can be glimpsed in many of Koch's own landscape paintings from the 1820s and 1830s.[6] These topographical elements were integrated with the highly idealizing, Italianate style of the elite classical landscape tradition.

These two approaches to landscape looked quite different at the turn of the nineteenth century, but they held a few important things in common. Both the topographical and classical traditions were premised on the notion that landscape provides the viewer with significant, meaningful access to a natural environment. In the latter, this was conveyed through the portrayal of vast spatial recesses, in which a verdant foreground gradually gives way to distant mountains. In the former, extensive perceptual access to a scene was promised in its very style. Whether or not one could see all the way to far-off mountains, the detail-rich and site-specific topographical view provided the viewer with considerable *information* about a place.[7] These two landscape formats shared something else, too. Both were premised on a fundamentally horizontal way of representing space. The horizon line had long been an organizing principle of pictorial space in the Western tradition, and its importance grew with the rise of geometric perspective during the Italian Renaissance. In the context of

4 For example: Thomas Girtin, *Kirkstall Abbey, from the Canal, Evening*, 1802. Private Collection.

5 The best overview of this is: Matthew Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). See also: Matthew Edney, "British Military Education, Mapmaking, and Military 'Map-Mindedness' in the Later Enlightenment," *Cartographic Journal* 31, no. 1 (1994): 14–20.

6 On Koch's 'romanticism', see Brad Prager, *Aesthetic Vision and German Romanticism: Writing Images* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2007), 93–122.

7 For an effective and concise account see Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 9–12.

landscape painting, the horizon line marked both the spatial limits of human perception and the boundary between the sky and the physical surface of the earth. Although late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century maps represented space very differently, they shared with artistic landscapes an understanding of the natural world as something defined by its lateral extension in space, its horizontality.

The mine shaft

This artistic transition – in which the classical landscape tradition came to absorb aspects of the growing practice of topographical draughtsmanship – coincided with a broader reconfiguration of how the natural world was understood and treated. Koch, having tended cattle in his youth, would have known first-hand that the rural environment was not just an object of aesthetic contemplation. It was a site of labor and economic activity. By the early nineteenth century, in fact, it was being visibly transformed by increasingly regulated and technical systems of centralized management. Tyrol was one of the key mining regions of the Habsburg Empire. South of the Lechtal Valley, the extraction of silver, zinc, copper, and lead played an important role in the empire's economic engine as well as its bureaucratic state apparatus.[8] Mining was not the only form of large-scale resource extraction taking place in the Austrian landscape at the turn of the nineteenth century, but it had the most concentrated impact on the period's artistic activities.

Since the middle ages, closed-pit mines had appreciably grown in their physical extent and their economic importance across central Europe. In the early modern period, the extraction of silver, copper, gold, and salt significantly determined the prosperity and the political power of European sovereign states. Silver production peaked in the first half of the sixteenth century, declining swiftly with the rise of colonial silver mining in Central and South America.[9] Mining more generally, though, continued to spread.

Mining districts were distributed widely across the region. In the early nineteenth century deposits of silver, copper, iron, cobalt, and lead were being extracted across the Austrian Alps; Moravia and Silesia were known for mining coal and slate; Lower Hungary for gold-, silver-, and copper-bearing ore; and Bohemia, Carinthia, and Styria were among other regions that hosted profita-

8 Klaus Oeggl et al., "The History of Mining Activities in the Tyrol and Adjacent Areas: Impact on Environment and Human Societies (HiMAT)," *Antiquity* "Project Gallery82," no. 317 (2008), https://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/oeggl317.

9 John U. Nef, "Silver Production in Central Europe, 1450–1618," *Journal of Political Economy* 49, no. 4 (1941): 575–91, at 575.

ble mining enterprises. Coal and iron would prove particularly important for industrialization. The scale of such operations was highly variable. In some cases, underground networks of tunnels and shafts reached deep into the earth, supported by complex systems for transporting water, minerals, and people up from their depths. Increasingly sophisticated machinery used water-power (rather than animal power) to enable mines to reach hundreds of meters deeper than before over the course of the eighteenth century.[10] (The gradual adoption of steam-power to support mining was later than in neighboring Britain.[11]) Entire towns and rural communities were employed extracting, processing, refining, and transporting the mineral riches across the Habsburg Empire.

The task of managing, monitoring, and improving mining operations was increasingly formalized according to camerialist principles that aligned the economic interests of the state with centralized systems of administration.[12] In other words, because it was a significant source of state income, successive Habsburg rulers had asserted control over and intensively centralized mining administration in the imperial capital. Surveys collected and systematized information about mining; they were also used to fill the extensive royal natural history collections through which European sovereigns displayed and performed their superiority. "As early as the reign of Maria Theresa," Jakob Vogel notes, "the officials of the Habsburg mining administration were mandated to immediately set aside exceptional discoveries in the mines for the imperial collections and to have them dispatched to Vienna without delay."[13] Elite mineral collections reflected both the widely acknowledged importance of mining for the economic and political power of the state as well as the special aesthetic value placed upon extracted specimens.[14]

Closed-pit mining transformed its immediate surroundings and also impacted regional land management practices. Embedded metal tracks and roadways extended across the site and reached far beyond it connecting rural

10 Paul Warde, "Fear of Wood Shortage and the Reality of the Woodland in Europe, c. 1450–1850," *History Workshop Journal* 62, no. 1 (2006): 28–57.

11 Simone Gingrich, "Foreign Trade and Early Industrialisation in the Habsburg Monarchy and the United Kingdom – Two Extremes in Comparison," *Ecological Economies* 70, no. 7 (2011): 1280–88.

12 Marten Seppel and Keith Tribe, eds., *Cameralism in Practice: State Administration and Economy in Early Modern Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017).

13 Jakob Vogel, "Stony Realms: Mineral Collections as Markers of Social, Cultural and Political Spaces in the 18th and Early 19th Century," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 40, no. 1 (2015): 301–20, at 306–7.

14 Johannes Mattes, "Mining, Collecting, Knowing: Habsburg State-Building, Resources, and Geographies in the Context of Archduke Leopold's Mineralogical Catalog," in *Collectio Mineralium: The Catalog of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold II's Mineralogical Collection*, ed. Annarita Franza, Johannes Mattes, and Giovanni Pratesi (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2022), 1–30.

mines to transportation arteries. Around the mine, one would find large wood piles and numerous structures housing pumps, smelters, and various machinery for crushing, rinsing, and sorting the ore. Energy infrastructure, typically employing animal- and waterpower, featured prominently on the site. Tailings – the crushed rock left over once the valuable mineral has been removed from the ore – rose in large heaps and were often deposited in nearby waterways, where they could destroy aquatic life and agricultural growth downstream. Because enormous quantities of wood were required for smelting, forests surrounding metal mines were quickly depleted. Eventually, centralized systems ensured that both adjacent and distant woodlands were managed in a way that optimized the consistent supply of wood for furnaces and forges. In doing so, however, they deprived rural laborers of their longstanding access to woodlands for grazing, gathering wood and thatch, food, and a host of other essential uses.[15]

Mining the landscape

Beyond these physical interventions into what were mostly rural environments, mining entailed a profound conceptual shift in how the landscape was understood – and, to a certain extent, how the landscape was visually represented. This engraved illustration of a mining town (see Illustration 2) in present-day Hungary was published in a 1726 multi-volume natural history encyclopedia of the lower Danube. The town, now called Banská Štiavnica, was one of the largest in the Kingdom of Hungary and had been a center of gold and silver mining since the early modern era.[16] In the eighteenth century a new, sophisticated hydraulic system employing reservoirs and water channels enabled the transfer of water, ore, and workers from greater depths than before. A complex system of reservoirs was installed in Banská Štiavnica by Sámuel Mikovíni in the decades immediately following the creation of this print, which was used to pump water up from the mine shafts and to provide power for local industries.

15 Sebastian Nemestothy and Michael Grabner, "Austrian Logging: A Historical Account of the Time of Felling and Debarking, and Transportation Practices," *International Journal of Wood Culture* 1 (2021): 180–95. On the development of forest management in a broader sense see Richard Hölz and Jan Oosthoek, eds., *Managing Northern Europe's Forests: Histories from the Age of Improvement to the Age of Ecology* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018).

16 Peter Siems, "A History of the Schemnitz (Banská Štiavnica) Silver-Gold Mines," *The Mining History Journal* 15 (2008): 65–82.

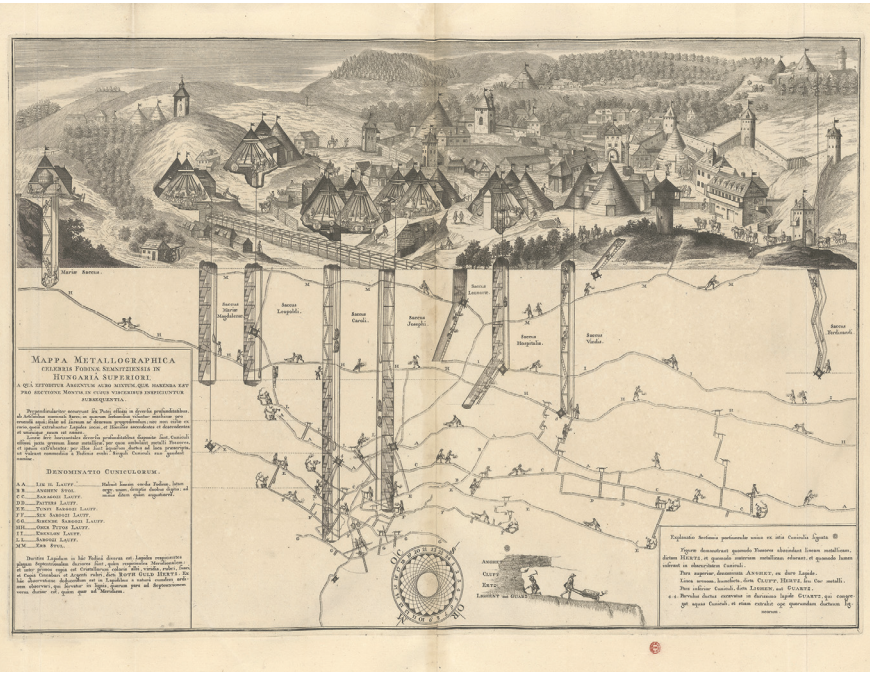


Illustration 2: "Mappa Metallographica, Celebris Fodinae Semnitziensis," in Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus*, vol. 3 (The Hague, 1726). © Wikimedia Commons.

The sinking of shafts hundreds of meters into the depths of the earth over the course of the century brought about an increasingly vertical spatial orientation.[17] In Banská Štiavnica, they extended up to 600 vertical meters during this period. In the context of the Harz Mountains in Germany, Patrick Anthony has argued that miners developed what he calls a "vertical consciousness," a way of relating to their environment in terms of verticality. Using wooden ladders – like those seen in the Marsigli print – miners spent up to three hours each day ascending and descending the shafts.[18] Elizabeth Miller's work on industrial mining in nineteenth-century Britain has likewise identified the emergence

17 Although Anthony focuses on the Harz Mountains, the dynamic he describes would have extended across German-speaking mining districts in Central Europe. Patrick Anthony, "Mines, Mountains, and the Making of a Vertical Consciousness in Germany ca. 1800," *Centaurus* 62 (2020): 612–30.

18 Anthony, "Mines, Mountains, and the Making," 612.

of a way of thinking that was oriented around a "downward delving into the earth."[19]

In very practical terms, then, at the turn of the nineteenth century ore mining required thinking about and interacting with the earth along a vertical axis. This coincided with the emergence of stratigraphy, a branch of geology dedicated to mapping the layering of rocks in "strata." At the mining academy founded in Banská Štiavnica by Mikovíni in 1735 (shortly after this print was made), students would have been instructed to study and diagram the subterranean world in terms of vertical layers of rock.[20] A vignette in the lower right portion of the diagram, placed between the compass and an explanatory note, indicates that stratigraphic thought was already present in the visual culture of mining. Two men are shown in the hypothetical interior of a mine. Along the left-hand margin of the rock wall, different layers of earth are identified: Anghet ("hanging rock"), Cluft ("cleft"), Ertz ("ore"), and Lighent aut Quarz ("lying rock of quartz").[21] The detail gives diagrammatic form to a way of thinking about the subterranean world as a succession of layers organized along a vertical axis.

Verticality shapes the Marsigli print in a broader sense as well. In contrast with the traditional format of Marsigli's mineral map of Hungary included in the volume, this illustration combines a topographical landscape with a large vertical diagram of the subsurface structures of the mine. Less than half of the image is dedicated to a topographical view showing the surface structures and landscape of the town, with several cutaways revealing the activities taking place within structures. A dotted line marks the boundary between the surface world and the hypothetical cross-section of the mine beneath it. The text in the lower left margin explains that we are viewing a "section of the mountain" within which "there are six wells dug at different depths, called sacks [sacci] by the artisans." Inside the rectangular mine shafts, we see ladders used by the miners for "ascending and descending" – another reminder that transit was oriented vertically within the space of the mine. Pumping and pulley mechanisms are shown bringing ore and water to the surface. Within a network of smaller horizontal and vertical tunnels, dozens of miners can be found cutting

19 Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, *Extraction Ecologies and the Literature of the Long Exhaustion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 19.

20 Martin J. Rudwick, "The Emergence of a Visual Language for Geological Science, 1760–1840," *History of Science* 14, no. 3 (1976): 149–95.

21 I take the translations from David Oldroyd, "Maps as Pictures or Diagrams: The Early Development of Geological Maps," *Rethinking the Fabric of Geology: Geological Society of America Special Paper* 502 (2013): 41–101, at 44.

and transporting rock, delivering it to the large vertical shafts through which it will be extracted.

Beneath the surface of a conventional landscape, in other words, lay an intricate and substantial network of physical structures teeming with human activity.[22] In pictorial terms, these two domains had little to do with one another. The dotted line separating the surface and subsurface worlds of the print is crossed by just the margins of four vertical shafts indicating points of ingress and egress. Beyond the narrow confines of these shafts, the only correspondence between above and below is diagrammatic. In appearance, scale, orientation, and pictorial mode, they are entirely different.

The map underscores the complex relationship between mining and landscape in the Habsburg Empire. Firstly, it signals the importance of mining as a source of economic and political power. Although the extraction of silver and gold declined following the expansion of colonial mining in Latin America, at the turn of the nineteenth century a wide range of valuable metals and minerals were being extracted across the territorial expanse of Habsburg rule.[23] Mines were deeper and more complex than ever before, and formal institutional structures had emerged to standardize and centralize mineralogical and geological knowledge. In the early nineteenth century, Vienna was the administrative center through which mining was monitored and regulated.

Secondly, mining required conceptualizing, interacting with, and visually representing the earth in a vertical format. Exemplified in the print's awkward and extremely limited efforts to identify points of interaction between the above-ground space of a topographical landscape and the below-ground space of a mining diagram, the extraction of mineral resources was not representable within the existing conventions for representing the natural world. It required distinct, novel pictorial techniques that were unassimilable with the period's landscape tradition.[24] Mining diagrams offered neither the horizontal logic nor the depth-intensive views promised by both topographical and classical modes of representing landscape.

22 On the broader Enlightenment project of visualizing the subterranean world of mining, see E. P. Hamm, "Knowledge from Underground: Leibniz Mines the Enlightenment," *Earth Sciences History* 16, no. 2 (1997): 77–99.

23 Renate Pieper, "The Impact of Early Iberian Globalisation on Austrian Mining Ventures," in *The Fruits of the Early Globalization: An Iberian Perspective*, ed. Rafael Dobado-González and Alfredo García-Hiernaux (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 173–88.

24 Johannes Mattes, "Mapping the Invisible: Knowledge, Credibility and Visions of Earth in Early Modern Cave Maps," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 55, no. 1 (2022): 53–80.

Handsteine

In 1764, when Joseph II visited the mining town of Kremnica, a few dozen kilometers from Banská Štiavnica, he was gifted with a modestly sized sculptural object (see Illustration 3) to commemorate the occasion.[25]



Illustration 3: *Handstein mit Bergwerk*, c. 1764. Minerals, silver, gold-plating, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

Known as a *Handstein* or hand stone, such objects were often gifted from mining regions to the sovereign. They had featured prominently in royal collections since the early modern era. The Imperial collection in Vienna housed dozens of *Handsteine*, many of them originally acquired by Ferdinand II in the mid-sixteenth century.[26] Small enough that one could hold them in one's hands, *Handsteine* were made of precious extracted minerals and metals. They usually represented the subterranean activities of mining in the lower portion

25 Annarita Franza, Johannes Mattes, and Giovanni Pratesi, eds., *Collectio Mineralium: The Catalog of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold II's Mineralogical Collection* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2022), 55.

26 The most comprehensive English-language account of his collection is Stella Wisgrill, "A Rustic Style? Archduke Ferdinand II's Handsteine and the Meaning of Materials" (MPhil. diss., University of Cambridge, 2019).

of the sculpture, with the upper portion dedicated to religious scenes or to aboveground mining infrastructure. These artworks gave material form to the verticality called forth by mining. They were able to accommodate, in ways that landscape painting could not, an understanding of the natural world as a site of interactivity between above and below.

Like most *Handsteine*, the bulk of the sculpture is made up of multiple rocks and crystals glued together with a kind of paste. Unrefined ore is accompanied by lavender-hued and white crystalline formations, whose varied surfaces project laterally off of the sculptural base. Smaller passages of semi-refined metals trace their way around the object, with glittering metal deposits suspended in a bed of partially-crushed rock – an allusion to the intermediate stage of mining between the physical removal of raw ore and the production of smelted, pure metal. Combined asymmetrically without an obvious pattern, the different samples create a sense of both mineral abundance and diversity. They reflect the heterogeneous nature of the subsurface world while advertising the very real mineral riches of the region. The *Handstein* physically conjoins rock in its "original" state, the physical infrastructure of extraction and refinement, and the aesthetically and economically valuable metals produced at the end.

The sculpture celebrates the infrastructure of the mine.[27] Around the base, small rectangular openings represent the mine's entrances and hypothetical cross-sections of its tunnels. In one, a human figure can be seen pushing a barrow of ore into its depths. Atop this dense jumble of rock, punctuated by small dark openings, luminous refined gold and silver structures celebrate the complex workings of the operation. As glimpsed in the earlier mining map, a wheel turned by horses inside a conical structure powers a pulley system for hoisting ore to the surface. Metal wagon-ways facilitating the transportation of ore across the site snake around one side, leading to smaller rectangular buildings made out of silver which demonstrate the basic mechanisms of crushing and smelting ore to extract its metal. The largest structure, portrayed in great detail with both gold and silver, advertises the mine's use of an atmospheric steam engine to pump water up from the depths of the mine, a new technology adopted in the first half of the eighteenth century. The mechanism attests both to the technological sophistication of this specific mine and to the importance of advances in hydraulic systems more generally, which, as discussed, enabled the profound vertical expansion of ore mines in central Europe through the century.

27 Andrés Vélez-Posada, "Handsteine: The Generative Powers of a Mineral Artifact," in *Ingenuity in the Making: Matter and Technique in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Richard Oosterhoff, José Ramón Marcaida, and Alexander Marr (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021), 50–64.

Handsteine were elite objects that did not circulate among wider publics. But they exemplify how far-reaching the material logic of mining had become at the turn of the nineteenth century. In addition to its administrative oversight of Habsburg mining operations, Vienna housed valuable art objects that took the mine as their subject. The *Handstein* serves as a reminder that while mines were largely confined to remote mountainous regions, the broader endeavor of mining left a large cultural footprint. The collection of exceptional mineral specimens was, by comparison, a more widespread practice. Those who received a classical education often collected natural history objects, and impressive mineral specimens were commonly found in the collections of bourgeois households and artist studios.[28] Vienna was arguably the most important and active European center for the late eighteenth-century commercial trade in minerals.[29] The *Handstein* should thus be understood as part of a constellation of artworks and natural history objects that registered the cultural and economic significance of mineral resource extraction in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Schubert and the mine

The artists, composers, writers, and philosophers of early nineteenth-century Vienna would have found it difficult to avoid some knowledge of the mining operations that remained critical to the political and economic power of the Habsburgs. Extracted metals and minerals would have been physically present in their daily lives, and some knowledge of mineralogy and geology was expected of educated men. The mining industry was regularly discussed in mainstream newspapers and journals, as well as the popular genre of travel literature. Mining and geology were also important elements of a constellation of cultural practices through which Central and Northern European writers and artists engaged with and conceptualized the natural world.[30] As Theodore Ziolkowski notes, "virtually every major writer as well as numerous lesser ones" wrote about mining in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century German states.[31] Literary luminaries including Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

28 Vogel, "Stony Realms."
29 Ibid., 308. Mattes, "Mining, Collecting, Knowing," 26.
30 The literature on this topic is vast. For a recent account that takes a broader view, see Jason Groves, *The Geological Unconscious: German Literature and the Mineral Imaginary* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2020).
31 Theodore Ziolkowski, *German Romanticism and Its Institutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 19.

and Georg von Hardenberg (better known as Novalis) wrote about mining and were also employed as mining administrators.

Elite travel within the mountains of Central Europe often included visits to active mines and historical mining sites. It was hardly unusual, then, for Franz Schubert to have made multiple visits to the iron-mining center of Steyr in the Austrian Alps: in 1819, 1823, and 1825.[32] On his first visit, he composed *The Trout* piano quintet, a work commissioned by a local mining engineer and amateur cellist named Sylvester Paumgartner. While Schubert's oeuvre is generally understood to have embraced a pristine vision of nature unchanged by industrialization, it bears recalling that in August of 1815 – just a few years prior to his 1819 journey to Steyr – Schubert set to music *Bergknappenlied* (A Miners' Song), a poem published by the romantic writer Gotthold Friedrich Stäudlin in 1791.

The original text makes repeated reference to the uncanny verticality called forth by the expansion of ore mining in eighteenth-century Central Europe. It opens with an invitation for readers to join the miners in their descent into the depths of the earth: "Down, brothers! into the shaft! / Down with good cheer!"[33] The text then directs attention back upwards, "There is a God who watches over us, / A Father great and good!"[34] Schubert's composition "plunges" downward here, to invoke the words of Graham Johnson, yet the words themselves move in the opposite direction.[35] On a narrative level they reassure the miners of their safety and their promised spiritual salvation. They further register the intensely vertical directionalities – up and down – through which miners experience landscape.

Stäudlin's lyrics describe a subterranean light source leading the miners in place of the sun: "joy and hope beckon you, / When a gold seam here, a silver seam there / Shine brightly at you! Climb ever deeper, without fear! Dig deeper into the shaft!"[36] As the text brings the reader further into the depths of the mine shaft in pursuit of luminous metal deposits, they are reassured that "[God] will lead us out of the pit again / With a Fatherly hand!"[37] This promised

32 Piero Weiss, "Dating the 'Trout' Quintet," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 3 (1979): 539–48.

33 "Hinab, ihr Brüder! in den Schacht! / Hinab mit frohem Mut!" – see Gotthold Friedrich Stäudlin, *Gedichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Gebrüdern Mäntler, 1791), 153.

34 "Es ist ein Gott, der für uns wacht, / Ein Vater gross und gut!" – Stäudlin, *Gedichte*, 153.

35 See Graham Johnson's liner notes for *The Hyperion Schubert Edition,* Vol. 20, *An 1815 Schubertiad*, with Patricia Rozario, John Mark Ainsley, Ian Bostridge, Michael George, Graham Johnson, and The Schubert Chorale, recorded 1993, Hyperion Records, CDJ33020, 1994, compact disc, https://www.hyperion-records.co.uk/notes/33020-B.pdf, 27.

36 "Wenn Freud' und Hoffnung winkt, / Wann Goldstuff' hier, dort Silberstuff' / Euch hell entgegenblinkt!" (Stäudlin, *Gedichte*, 155).

37 "Er führt uns wieder aus dem Schacht / Mit väterlicher Hand!" (Stäudlin, *Gedichte*, 155).

upwards trajectory at the end of the downward journey might be physical or it might be religious, for in the closing lines the miner is encouraged to embrace the possibility of their death underground: "And if the earth trembles and crashes, / And falls upon us – / Bury us deep in rubble and night /And become our grave! / So be it, brothers, we will never waver! / We bless our fate!"[38] If the miner never physically returns to the surface, they can count upon their spiritual elevation to Heaven. This repeated, almost emphatic, description of mining in exclusively vertical terms recured in mining songs of the period. "High the Harz and deep the ore!" goes one famous refrain about the ore-rich Harz mountain in Germany.

Whether or not Schubert was especially invested in the spatial logic of ore mining described in the song, it was something he came into direct contact with – both in having set the poem to music and in his subsequent visits to Steyr, which was then known for its iron manufacturing and its surrounding mines. Those who travelled through the Alps, a reasonably popular practice among the educated classes, would have routinely encountered the large-scale hydraulic systems used to pump water from mine shafts as well as the ongoing transformation of woodlands into modern tree plantations to support mining. Without even visiting a mine, a great many would have found their experience of the natural world visibly transformed by that industry. Mineral extraction reached far into lived experience: from the refined ores present in the everyday activities of rural and urban working-class households to the sophisticated infrastructure of extraction celebrated in elite royal collections.

The painted mountain

Koch may have been more responsive to the vertical orientation of ore mining than his *Heroic Landscape with Rainbow* lets on. The artist's interest in Alpine geology and waterfalls was reflected in his numerous paintings of rocky falls including an initial version of *Schmadribach Falls* begun the same year as *Heroic Landscape with Rainbow*.[39] His later *The Schmadribach Falls* (see Illustration 4) was one of several landscapes in which the artist came to embrace verticality.

38 "Und ob die Erd' erbebt und kracht', / Und stürzt auf uns herab – / Vergrüb' uns tief in Schutt und Nacht / Und würde unser Grab! / Sei's, Brüder, nimmer zagen wir! / Wir segnen unser Loos!" (Stäudlin, *Gedichte*, 156).

39 Surviving sketches of powerful waterfalls date to the very start of Koch's artistic career. His first painting of *Schmadribachfall im Lauterbrunner Tal* (Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig), was begun in 1805 and completed in 1811. On Koch's interest in geology see von Holst, *Ansichten der Natur*, 24–27. On his time in the Alps see Lutterotti, *Joseph Anton Koch*, 31–35.



Illustration 4: Joseph Anton Koch, *Der Schmadribachfall*, 1822. Oil on canvas, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen. Wikimedia Commons.

The scene differs noticeably from the lush, Italian setting of his earlier painting. The viewer is positioned at the base of a powerful alpine waterfall, over which distant rocky peaks loom. While not located in the ore mining mountains of the Habsburg Empire, the painting discloses Koch's familiarity with the dramatic alpine landscape that hosted ore extraction.

A single man holding a large wooden staff can be seen in a small clearing in the foreground. Probably a shepherd, he is accompanied by a few animals. Koch does not portray any actively laboring human figures. The artist does, however, portray the two resources that were essential to ore mining: water-power and abundant timber. Water is present throughout the landscape, from the distant snow-covered peaks to the turbulent river that opens into the foreground. Traditionally used to power mills, in the second half of the eighteenth century water had also become the primary energy source for the pumping systems that drained mine shafts across the Austrian Empire. As mining operations extended further into the depths of the earth, the complexity of the hydraulic systems intensified. Interlinked reservoirs channeled water across mountainscapes, drawn down by gravity. There is no evidence of such activity in Koch's painting, but the latent power of the water flow is made apparent. The distant falls throw off an ambient mist where they enter the valley. The compressed intensity of its power is dramatized by its partial visibility: the falls disappear abruptly behind a thick wall of pine trees. Rushing towards the viewer with white foamy ripples, the water extends past the boundaries of the composition as if unending.

Considering the homogeneity of the trees – by this I mean the fact that they appear to be the same species, and of roughly the same height and age – they may even comprise a modern tree plantation. Timber plantations were regularly established in the ore mountains of Central and Northern Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century specifically to support regional mining. In the second half of the eighteenth century, a German system of forest management had emerged that would be adopted across Europe. Premised on the aim to maximize a consistent timber yield over several decades, this system advised that trees of the same species be planted at the same time at regular intervals, that undergrowth be regularly cleared, and that animals not be allowed to graze in the forest.[40] The forest Koch painted adheres to such principles. The painting's animals are seen grazing in a separate, grassy clearing that is physically separate from the woods. The trunks of tall, straight evergreens are clearly visible, indicating minimal undergrowth. Whether or not this is an artificially planted and bureaucratically managed forest, the depiction broadly observes the principles of the scientific model of forest management that, by 1822, were embraced across Central Europe.

40 See Henry E. Lowood, "The Calculating Forester: Quantification, Cameral Science, and the Emergence of Scientific Forestry Management in Germany," in *The Quantifying Spirit in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr, J.L. Heilbron, and Robin E. Rider (Berkeley: University of California Press), 315–42.

Of course, timber was valuable beyond its uses for mining: it was the primary building material and source of domestic heat in early nineteenth-century Europe. Nor is there especially strong evidence the forest in Koch's painting belongs to a modern, scientifically managed timber plantation. It could simply look that way naturally. My point here is not that Koch painted a landscape in which mining was taking place, but rather that he painted a landscape whose status and value had been permanently transformed by the ascendance of large-scale resource extraction. In the early nineteenth century it was newly possible to assess a natural environment in terms of its resources: evaluating the potential industrial value of the water and wood in a given landscape was an increasingly dominant and historically specific way of thinking about the natural world at the time of Koch's painting. In the case of large-scale mineral extraction, this reshaped both physical environments and their artistic representation in the early nineteenth century.

Attending to mining – both as a practice and as a conceptual framework – complicates our understanding of nature in European romanticism. Supposedly a pursuit of emotional or spiritual union between the human and the natural, romanticism actually coincided with the consolidation of what we now call extractive capitalism: an economic system predicated on industrial resource depletion enacted on a global scale. Whether directly or indirectly, Koch and his contemporaries heard the cry set to music by Schubert: "Climb ever deeper, without fear! Dig deeper into the shaft!"

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Alexander von Humboldt's Portrait of Nature: The Blending of Art, Nature, and Landscape in Schubert's Time

*Elizabeth Millán Brusslan**

In 1802, Alexander von Humboldt ascended the Chimborazo volcano in Ecuador. Shortly thereafter, Humboldt presented his observations of the plant life he observed as he climbed the mountain, from the tropical rainforest at its base to the alpine plants at its summit. The way in which Humboldt presented the Chimborazo and its plant life was radically new as was his accompanying project to present the Latin American landscape to the European public. In 1807, with his *Essay on the Geography of Plants with a Physical Tableau of the Equinoctial Regions*, Humboldt introduced the geography of plants, the science he believed necessary to properly present the landscape he encountered in Latin America.

In this chapter, I discuss Humboldt's geography of plants and its influence on the conception of landscape during the 1800s. Humboldt's descriptions of nature took place through words, images, charts, and drawings – his was a project of visualizing scientific data. Humboldt defines nature as "the realm of freedom" ("Reich der Freiheit"), and he wanted his presentation of nature to keep the "living breath of nature" ("lebendiger Hauch der Natur") alive. I discuss the political implications of Humboldt's portraits of nature, that is, how Humboldt's writing on nature served the purpose of freedom not just in the sense of keeping "the living breath of nature" alive, but also in the sense of bringing justice to a world disrupted by political forces set on limiting freedom to certain groups of human beings.

* With thanks to Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Mikhail Lopatin, and Werner Telesko for their wise editorial comments and insightful questions, all of which improved the final essay. I am also grateful to the Austrian Academy of Sciences for the generous invitation to present my work in Vienna and to the other participants for their excellent papers and thoughtful questions. Sharing ideas, beautiful music, and good food in Vienna made this work a true pleasure.

> A landscape, which is planned for my travel narrative, is the picturesque presentation of the Chimborazo in its true form.
>
> – Alexander von Humboldt[1]

In 1802, Alexander von Humboldt ascended the Chimborazo volcano in Ecuador. Shortly thereafter, Humboldt presented his observations of the plant life he observed as he climbed the mountain, from the tropical rainforest at its base to the alpine plants at its summit. The way in which Humboldt presented the Chimborazo and its plant life was radically new, and as he notes in the lines above, the landscape of the volcano was central to his travel narrative, which was subsequently published in thirty volumes between 1799 and 1804 as *Voyage aus regions equinoxiales du Nouveau Continent, fait 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804* (Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America, during years 1799 to 1804). Before embarking on his five-year voyage, Humboldt met with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, Friedrich Schelling, and the Schlegel brothers in Jena and Weimar. Upon his return, he spent the years between 1804 and 1827 in Paris. Humboldt published his travel narrative in French, and his essay on the geography of plants was also published in French and then translated into German. The German edition was dedicated to Goethe. It has been described as the counterpart to Goethe's *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen* (The Metamorphosis of Plants, 1790). His *Ansichten der Natur* (Views of Nature, 1808) was published in German. Humboldt spent the last part of his life in Berlin (1827–59), and his final work, *Cosmos,* was also published in German. Humboldt worked on it in between 1845 and 1862, but the last of the five volume series was never finished by him. The fifth volume was published after Humboldt's death, but was not complete. *Cosmos* became the first scientific bestseller of the nineteenth century. Each of these works develops Humboldt's notion of nature, which informed his presentation of the American landscape.

Humboldt's ascent of the Chimborazo, at the time of his climb thought to be the highest mountain in the world, made that mountain and Humboldt the matter of myth. In his essay "Fascinating Voids: Alexander von Humboldt and the Myth of Chimborazo," Oliver Lubrich provides a beautifully detailed account of the images, plays, and intellectual analyses of the Chimborazo mythology.[2]

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1 "Eine Landschaft, welche für meine Reisebeschreibung bestimmt ist, wird den Chimborazo in seiner wahren Gestalt malerisch darstellen," see Alexander von Humboldt, *Ideen zu einer Geographie der Pflanzen*, ed. Adolf Meyer-Abich (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 50. My translation. For an English translation of the treatise, see also Alexander von Humboldt, *Essay on the Geography of Plants*, ed. Stephen T. Jackson, trans. Sylvie Romanowski (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). The relevant passage is on p. 84.

2 Oliver Lubrich, "Fascinating Voids: Alexander von Humboldt and the Myth of Chimborazo," in *Heights of Reflection. Mountains in the German Imagination from the Middles Ages to the Twenty-*

Lubrich describes the Chimborazo map as a "pictorial-textual hybrid" and notes that it "stands for a major innovation in the presentation of knowledge and signifies Humboldt's innovative multidisciplinary method."[3] We shall return to the relation between Humboldt's Chimborazo map and the presentation of knowledge in the second part of this chapter. As Lubrich observes, not only did Humboldt contribute to Linnean botany, he "dynamized" it, by presenting the species and also tracing their geographical migration and distribution.

The way in which Humboldt presented the Chimborazo and its plant life was radically new. He opened his 1807 *Essay on the Geography of Plants with a Physical Tableau of the Equinoctial Regions* with a bold statement about his new science:

> Botanists usually direct their research towards objects that encompass only a very small part of their science. They are concerned almost exclusively with the discovery of new species of plants, the study of their external structure, their distinguishing characteristics, and the analogies that group them together into classes and families.
> This knowledge of the forms which make up organized beings is no doubt the principal basis for descriptive natural history. It must be regarded as indispensable for the advancement of the sciences that concern the medical properties of plants, their cultivation, or their applications in the arts; even if this knowledge is worthy of occupying a great number of botanists, even if it can be considered from a philosophical point of view, it is no less important to understand the Geography of Plants, a science that up to now exists in name only, and yet is an essential part of general physics.[4]

The geography of plants, Humboldt goes on to tell us,

> is the science that concerns itself with plants in their local association with various climates. This science, as vast as its object, paints with a broad brush the immense space occupied by plants, from the regions of perpetual snows to the bottom of the ocean, and into the very interior of the earth, where there subsist in obscure caves some cryptogams that are as little known as the insects feeding upon them.[5]

Humboldt's descriptions of nature took place through words, images, charts, and drawings – his is a project of visualizing scientific data. Humboldt attempted

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First Century, eds. Sean Ireton and Caroline Schauman (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2012), 153–75.

3 Lubrich, "Fascinating Voids," 160.

4 Humboldt, *Essay on the Geography of Plants,* 64; Humboldt, *Ideen zu einer Geographie der Pflanzen*, 1–2.

5 Humboldt, *Essay*, 64; Humboldt, *Ideen*, 2.

"to gather in one single tableau the sum of the physical phenomena present in the equinoctial regions, from the sea level of the South Sea to the very highest peak of the Andes."[6] Humboldt's new science, the geography of plants, sought to present the dynamic relation between plants and their environment. His approach to nature was similarly dynamic.

In Humboldt's work, nature emerges as a realm of freedom, that is, not merely as a realm to be dominated by humans and their autonomy or subjectivity, but also as a set of phenomena to be appreciated. Humboldt defines nature as "the realm of freedom" ("das Reich der Freiheit") and he wanted his presentation of nature to keep the "living breath of nature" ("lebendiger Hauch der Natur") alive. With this view of nature, the view of science shifts. If nature is the realm of freedom, it cannot be empirically mastered, so we encounter the limits of empirical science and theory. That which is free can never be fully conceptualized, the realm of nature as the realm of freedom is in an eternal state of becoming and thus indeterminable. As we shall see, Humboldt describes the forces of nature in America as free and uncircumscribed by human intervention, and this shaped his presentation of the landscape there.

Humboldt's innovative forms of presentation helped him avoid the "raw empiricism" ("rohe Empirie") that he feared would strip nature of its life, of its freedom. Humboldt's writing on nature serves the purpose of freedom not just in the sense of keeping "the living breath of nature" alive, but also in the sense of bringing justice to a world disrupted by political forces set on limiting freedom to certain groups of human beings.

Schubert blended poetry and music in his many collections of songs, and he often used nature as a theme.[7] Goethe's poetry blended with Schubert's music to create beautiful songs of nature and of the human condition. In the period to which both Schubert and Humboldt belonged, composers, poets, scientists, philosophers, and landscape artists found productive potential in the blending of areas of creativity and thought. In what follows, I shall discuss Humboldt's blending of science and art, a blending that brought us closer to truths about the natural world and to a more just presentation of the American landscape.

Humboldt's dynamic view of nature and landscape

César Aira's *An Episode in the Life of a Landscape Painter* illustrates the far-reaching relevance Humboldt's views of nature had upon the development of land-

6 Humboldt, *Essay*, 78; Humboldt, *Ideen*, 38.
7 See the chapter by Thomas Seedorf in this book.

scape art. The episode chronicled by Argentinian writer Aira is of the German artist Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802–58).[8] As we are told early in the *Episode*,

> Rugendas was a genre painter. His genre was the physiognomy of nature, based on a procedure invented by Humboldt. The great naturalist was the father of a discipline that virtually died with him: 'Erdtheorie' or 'La Physique du monde,' a kind of artistic geography, an aesthetic understanding of the world, a science of landscape. Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) was an all-embracing scholar, perhaps the last of his kind: his aim was to apprehend the world in its totality; and the way to do this, he believed, in conformity with a long tradition, was through vision. Yet his approach was new in that, rather than isolating images and treating them as 'emblems' of knowledge, his aim was to accumulate and coordinate them within a broad framework for which landscape provided the model.[9]

In this passage, Aira captures important elements of Humboldt's approach to nature: his desire to present the whole of nature and not only its isolated parts, his aesthetic understanding of nature, and his commitment to science. Aira correctly connects this 'Ganzheitsidee' to Humboldt's fusion of aesthetic and scientific method, a fusion that Aira locates in the notion of landscape. Contemporary scholars of nature and aesthetics make similar moves to link the appreciation of nature to aesthetic concepts. For example, T.J. Diffey reminds us that "nature" is an ambiguous term and so, "we cannot understand the idea of natural beauty without considering certain concepts more restricted in scope such as *landscape*, *view* or *prospect*."[10] As Diffey goes on to say,

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8 As Beate Allert indicates in her essay, "Art and Aesthetics in Alexander von Humboldt. The Subterranean Tree and Other Images," Humboldt recommended the work of Rugendas in a letter to architect and painter Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Humboldt wrote to Schinkel on 5 July 1830, recommending Rugendas to Schinkel as a painter uniquely suited to present the tropical landscape with liveliness and depth (In *Alexander von Humboldt. Perceiving the* World, edited by Beate I. Allert, Christopher R. Clason, Niall A. Peach, and Ricardo Quintana-Vallejo, 227–256. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2023, at 233). For more on Rugendas and his influence on Humboldt, see Sigrid Aschenbach, *Kunst um Humboldt:Reisestudien aus Mittel- und Südamerika von Rugendas, Bellermann und Hildebrandt im Berliner Kupferstichkabinent* (München: Hirmer, 2001).

9 César Aira, *Un episodio en la vida del pintor viajero*, 2nd ed. (México: Biblioteca Era, 2001), 10. English translation in César Aira, *An Episode in the Life of a Landscape Painter*, trans. Chris Andrews, preface by Roberto Bolaño (New York: New Directions, 2006), 5–6.

10 T.J. Diffey, "Natural Beauty without Metaphysics," in *Landscape, Natural Beauty and the Arts*, eds. Salim Kemal and Ivan Gaskell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 43–64, at 52. Italics in original.

> [t]he concept of landscape is particularly interesting [...] for its double membership of the language of art and the aesthetics of nature. [...] To identify something more determinately than as 'nature,' as for example a 'view,' 'prospect,' 'landscape,' or whatever, is to conceptualize it in such a way as to imply that the terrain in question *has already been recognized aesthetically*. [...] These subject-terms are already aesthetic in meaning, whereas the nondescript territory that I may motor through on my way to the beach or office is neither prospect nor view nor landscape.[11]

Humboldt's work reflects an awareness of the double membership enjoyed by the concept of landscape. Humboldt's *Naturgemälde* are even more encompassing than the concept of landscape, for they join not just nature and beauty, but also the realm of scientific truth. Hence, while Diffey sees a gulf between matters of truth in art and truth in the beauty of landscapes, claiming that, "[w]e appreciate nature, when this is more determinately identified through such aesthetic categories as 'landscape,' for its beauty but not for its truthfulness," Humboldt gets at both the truth and the beauty of nature via the *Naturgemälde*.[12]

When Aira speaks of Humboldt's "artistic geography", his "aesthetic understanding of the world" and his "science of landscape", he is capturing central elements of Humboldt's *Naturgemälde*. Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829), an early German Romantic philosopher, claimed that "where philosophy ends, poetry must begin."[13] Humboldt seems to realize that where science ends, poetry must begin, and his *Naturgemälde* are the result of this realization and part of his aim to bring his readers to see the power of the unity called for by the early German Romantics. Humboldt's empirical approach to nature is never abandoned in favor of an artistic rendering of the landscape. In a romantic manner, he fuses science and art. "All art should become science and all science art."[14] There is an openness born of this fusion of disciplines, an openness that is liberating.

Aira emphasizes the important role that Humboldt played in making the unfamiliar continent of America familiar to his European readers:

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11 Diffey, "Natural Beauty without Metaphysics," 52. Italics in original.
12 Ibid. 60. Italics in original.
13 Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe seiner Werke*, 35 Vols., ed. Ernst Behler and others (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1958–), 2:261, fragment no. 48. English translation in Peter Firchow, ed. *Friedrich Schlegel: Philosophical Fragments* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 98.
14 Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe*, 2:161, fragment no. 115; Firchow, *Friedrich Schlegel: Philosophical Fragments,* 14.

> [Humboldt] lived for many years in tropical regions of America, and encouraged artists who had adopted his approach to do likewise. Thus, he established a circuit, stimulating curiosity in Europe about regions that were still little known and creating a market for the works of traveling painters.[15]

The following observation from Aira helps us to see the connection between liberation from Eurocentrism and Humboldt's approach to nature: "The Humboldtian naturalist was not a botanist but a landscape artist sensitive to the processes of growth operative in all forms of life."[16]

Humboldt's geography of plants released botany from static classifications or in Lubrich's formulation, "dynamized Linnean botany."[17] Humboldt's sensitivity to the processes of growth operative in all forms of life is also stressed by Aira as central to the open way in which Humboldt was able to present nature to his European audience. He was a writer whose depictions of the Latin American landscape were born of the diverse forms of life he observed there and the care he took to present those scenes of life with attention to both scientific and aesthetic details. Humboldt's approach to nature was valuable not only for the wealth of scientific data it provided, but also, and perhaps even more importantly, because of the new lens he provided to bring America into focus, a lens that did not disregard the value of the culture, people, or natural beauty of America. Let us now look at the details of Humboldt's presentation, beginning with his innovative maps.

Humboldt's mapping of nature

As Susan Schulten has shown, with Humboldt maps became much more than merely tools to present data: Humboldt used maps to look for explanations, freeing data from the charts and graphs where it was usually sequestered. Humboldt's Chimborazo map was aesthetically appealing and scientifically rigorous (see Illustration 1).[18] With his Chimborazo Map, Humboldt presented data on the plant life populating the Chimborazo – and explained how plant life changed in response to the environment on the mountain. His move to fuse data with aesthetic presentation is a reflection of a deep commitment he had to analogical thinking and an attempt to approximate nature in its unity. He writes:

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15 Aira, *An Episode*, 6; Aira, *Un episodio*, 11.
16 Aira, *An Episode*, 8; Aira, *Un episodio*, 12.
17 Lubrich, "Fascinating Voids," 160.
18 Susan Schulten, *Mapping the Nation. History and Cartography in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).



Illustration 1: *Ideen zu einer Geographie der P lanzen nebst einem Naturgemälde der Tropenländer*. The map born of Humboldt's geography of plants, a dynamic presentation of nature in Latin America (© wikimedia commons).

> This tableau contains almost the entirety of the research I carried out during my expedition in the tropics (1799–1804). [...] I dared to think that this essay would be interesting not only for physicists but even more for all those interested in general physics, to whom it may suggest further comparisons and analogies. This science, no doubt one of the highest achievements of human knowledge, can progress only by individual studies and by connecting together all the phenomena and productions on the surface of the earth. In this great chain of causes and effects, no single fact can be considered in isolation. [...] I thought that if my tableau were capable of suggesting unexpected analogies to those who study its details, it would also be capable of speaking to the imagination and providing the pleasure that comes from contemplating a beneficial as well as majestic nature.[19]

Humboldt wanted students of nature to find connections and unity in what was studied and to resist an isolationist approach that would make them lose sight of the whole.

In his work in general and in the Chimborazo Map in particular, Humboldt represented "aggregate information through cartography."[20] Schulten emphasizes that Humboldt's work on maps "indicated a broader shift in the nature of knowledge."[21] Just as Humboldt's move from botany to a geography of plants opened up a new path to understand plants and the natural world, the maps he used to present his data were innovative and expanded what maps could accomplish, expanding our understanding of the natural world. As Schulten observes, "to conceive of a map as an analytical tool raised a world of questions and opened entirely new avenues of inquiry."[22] Humboldt's pioneering maps and his scientific illustrations shaped his thinking about nature and that of his readers as well. The visualization of nature in its unfolding on the mountain revealed new truths about the growth of plants and the distribution of plant life. The Chimborazo map is a representation of the very view of nature Humboldt held, namely, that it was the realm of freedom, a realm of spontaneity, of living forces that were eternally growing, developing, and unfolding. The aesthetic map given to us by Humboldt is a reminder that plants and their growth are intimately related to their environment and that to observe nature, some sense of the whole is necessary, that is, the relation between the individual plants and the environment to which they belong – the whole guiding Humboldt is a kind of landscape, a 'tableau' or a *Naturgemälde*, a presentation that

19 Humboldt, *Essay on the Geography of Plants,* 79; Humboldt, *Ideen zu einer Geographie der Pflanzen*, 39.
20 Schulten, *Mapping the Nation*, 111.
21 Schulten, *Mapping the Nation*, 111.
22 Ibid.

takes individual phenomena of nature and presents them together as they are unfolding and connected to each other.[23] As Marie-Noëlle Bourguet emphasizes:

> Humboldt introduced a global dimension to the study of the geography of plants. His systematic measurements enabled him to demonstrate that individual plant species were arranged in large communities and distributed according to climatic and environmental variables (for example, height, moisture, temperature, soil). The description of plants, the precision of thermometric and barometric records, and the observation of environments were now merged in a single and all-encompassing endeavor.[24]

The Chimborazo map and Humboldt's attempt to present the mountain in is "true form" ("wahre Gestalt"), also serves to remind us that we can never fully grasp nature with a collection of empirical facts about it, but rather only approximate it, and our approximation becomes more complete when the empirical investigation is coupled with an aesthetic one. Stephen Jackson indicates that "Humboldt's *Essay* amounts to a manifesto calling for the primacy of vegetation in scientific, practical, and aesthetic considerations of the landscape" – this blending of the scientific, practical, and aesthetic shifted not only the field of botany or the geography of plants, but also our very mapping of nature.[25]

As Schulten points out, "there are examples of maps that organized information prior to this point as in geological maps, charts of sea currents, or postal maps. Yet the use of maps to identify the distribution of data exploded after Karl Ritter and Alexander von Humboldt began to consider the meaning of geography in the early nineteenth century."[26] Schulten emphasizes that Humboldt "enlarged the definition and purpose of geography," and he "turned to cartography not to recreate the landscape but to represent data that might

23 As Timothy Mitchell claims in his *Art and Science in German Landscape Painting 1770–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), the "emergence of landscape art as a separate genre in the early seventeenth century" was "shaped by two forces: art theory and attitudes towards nature" (1). As Mitchell notes, both of these were "dramatically and profoundly altered" during the Romantic era. Humboldt's *Naturgemälde* are the result of the radical shift in views of nature and of art during this period, a period in which the search for the 'true' image of nature was sought, a period during which the phenomena of nature (clouds, mountains, trees) came to exert a strong cultural influence.

24 Marie-Noëlle Bourguet, "Measurable Difference: Botany, Climate, and the Gardener's Thermometer in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Colonial Botany. Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, eds. Londa Schienbinger and Claudia Swan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 270–86, at 285.

25 Humboldt, *Essay on the Geography of Plants*, 22.

26 Schulten, *Mapping the Nation*, 80.

facilitate analysis."[27] In Humboldt's cartographic presentation of the natural landscape of America, maps become more than merely descriptive, they become tools of analysis, and they expand our knowledge of the natural world. Humboldt's Chimborazo map is also, to speak with Turner, a scientific, practical, and aesthetic presentation of the landscape.

Humboldt's presentation of nature is the result of both an objectivizing effort to measure the phenomena of nature and a realization that nature is the "realm of freedom", and as such cannot be fully measured, grasped, or mastered by human beings and so needs to be presented with freedom – that is, presented aesthetically. Humboldt's maps balance a set of empirical data about the landscape he is describing with a sense of delight generated by the life found in the scene. The Chimborazo map is not merely a collection of empirical facts, but also delights the reader/viewer, encouraging a new appreciation for the details of nature that are represented in the map. Humboldt's unique mapping of nature and his *Naturgemälde* gave rise to a radically new image of the American landscape, which we shall now explore.

Presenting the American landscape

In his Ästhetik des Erscheinens (Aesthetics of Appearing), Martin Seel develops a point from Adorno's aesthetic theory that can be used to bring Humboldt's presentation of the American landscape into sharper focus. In his analysis of Adorno's work on aesthetics, Seel emphasizes the fact that the indeterminable is not only of great theoretical, but also of great ethical importance for Adorno. Seel observes of the indeterminable that "it opens a 'freedom to the object' which is a condition of real freedom among subjects."[28] Because the work of art reveals to the viewer "a reality richer than all of the appearances we can fix in the language of conceptual knowledge," it unfolds the "difference between determinable appearance and indeterminable appearing,"[29] and so, concludes Seel,

> For Adorno, art thus becomes the hallmark indicating that the world has not been comprehended if it is known only conceptually; that the world has not been appropriated if it is appropriated only technically; that individual and social freedom have not been attained if they are guaranteed merely as a license

27 Ibid.
28 Martin Seel, *Aesthetics of Appearing*, trans. John Farrell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 15.
29 Seel, *Aesthetics of Appearing*, 15.

> to make profit; in a word, that we do not really encounter the reality of our lives if we encounter it merely in a spirit of mastery.[30]

The social freedom of which Seel speaks here in reference to Adorno's view of art and indeterminable appearing was also operative in the work of Humboldt as he attempted to present the Latin American landscape to the European public. While working at different historical moments, with social issues that were different in scope, Adorno and Humboldt each saw freedom as a political concept bound to nature. Moreover, they shared a view that we needed to protect the realm of freedom in society, and to do so via an aesthetic path. Humboldt's aesthetic path opened a space for freedom in society, and in particular a new space of appreciation for the Latin American landscape was opened through Humboldt's aesthetic lens. Adorno lauds Humboldt in his *Aesthetic Theory* as having resisted the move to repress natural beauty and to focus aesthetics on that which was created by the subject, Humboldt emerges as a figure for whom the concept of natural beauty was not replaced by that "pure artifact" which Adorno references, the artwork, to inflict further violence upon natural beauty. Adorno contrasts Humboldt's embrace and development of natural beauty to Hegel's role in its demise, saying

> Hegel obviously lacked the sensibility needed to recognize that genuine experience of art is not possible without the experience of that elusive dimension whose name – natural beauty – had faded.[31]

Adorno attributes the vanishing of natural beauty to

> the burgeoning domination of the concept of freedom and human dignity, which was inaugurated by Kant and then rigorously transplanted into aesthetics by Schiller and Hegel; in accord with this concept nothing in the world is worthy of attention except that for which the autonomous subject has itself to thank. The truth of such freedom for the subject, however, is at the same time unfreedom: unfreedom for the other.[32]

Humboldt does not work in the shadows of the idealism Adorno references, where "everything not totally ruled by the subject" must be desiccated.[33] The world that Humboldt explores is not limited to that "for which the autono-

30 Ibid.
31 Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory,* trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 63.
32 Ibid., 62.
33 Ibid.

mous subject has itself to thank,"[34] but rather an empirical realm filled with natural beauty. He was able to concretize natural beauty in a way someone not trained in the natural sciences would never be able to do. We must keep in mind, however, that Humboldt's empirical study of the phenomena of nature led him to the realization that empirical mastery was only half the story of nature's meaning; for the full story to emerge, aesthetic methods needed to be deployed. Humboldt's aesthetic turn was not one that ended in natural beauty's demise, that is, in a fading of natural beauty to make way for the artwork. He was well aware that nature was meaningful in itself, not because art made it meaningful. In order to understand nature's meaning, science and art needed to fuse. But neither art nor science displaced natural beauty.

Adorno is one of just a few philosophers who have taken up Humboldt's work in their considerations of the aesthetic. In his *Ästhetik der Natur* (1991), Martin Seel, building upon the legacy of Adorno, has also treated Humboldt's work on nature with great care and precision.[35] Seel reminds readers that Humboldt's *Naturgemälde* are programmatically guided by an individualizing and differentiating intuition ("programmatisch von einer individualisierenden und differenzierenden Anschauung getragen").[36] Seel's analysis of Humboldt's approach to landscape helps us to see how Humboldt's aesthetic approach to nature, or to speak with Seel, the way in which the phenomena of nature appear to Humboldt, helped liberate him and his readers from the Eurocentric gaze which held the landscape and culture of Latin America imprisoned for far too long.

Humboldt's aesthetic turn indicates his acknowledgment that nature cannot be mastered by knowledge of its laws, that it is something more than what the charts and graphs of the empirical scientist can give us. Following Humboldt, when nature is considered rationally, we get to its unity:

> In thoughtful contemplation, nature is unity in multiplicity, the connection of the manifold in form and composition ("Verbindung des Mannigfaltigen in Form und Mischung"), the essence of natural phenomena ("Naturdinge") and forces of nature as a living whole.[37]

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34 Ibid.

35 Martin Seel, *Eine Ästhetik der Natur* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991). For more on Seel, see Joachim Ritter, "Landschaft. Zur Funktion des Ästhetischen in der modernen Gesellschaft," in Joachim Ritter, *Subjektivität. Sechs Aufsätze* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1974), 141–63.

36 Seel, *Eine Ästhetik der Natur*, 229.

37 "Die Natur ist für die denkende Betrachtung Einheit in der Vielheit, Verbindung des Mannigfaltigen in Form und Mischung, Inbegriff der Naturdinge und Naturkräfte als ein lebendiges Ganzes." See Alexander von Humboldt, *Kosmos. Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung*, 5 Vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1845–62), 1:5–6. English translation (revised) from

This unity, this living whole, Humboldt indicates, almost as if Adorno had been whispering in his ear, cannot be mastered by the scientist's empirical methods. Humboldt stepped away from the effort responsible for the disappearance of the beautiful in nature, by complementing his empirical grasp with a space for the appreciation of the beauty of nature. Grasping and dominating the phenomena of nature are what Humboldt does as he quantifies those phenomena, and it cannot be denied that Humboldt was interested in those elements of nature that could be mastered, but he was also aware that the full story of nature's meaning could never be fully grasped – such flashes of meaning could only briefly appear and disappear again the moment one tried to grasp it definitively. Humboldt's geography of plants, and his Chimborazo map in particular, illustrate this.

The theme of freedom is central to Humboldt's presentation ('Darstellung') of nature and to his canvases of nature (*Naturgemälde*). In Humboldt's work the *Naturgemälde* are literary, though he writes as if presenting a landscape painting: he uses words to depict nature, though he travelled with artists who were commissioned to paint what he could only describe with words and measurements. Humboldt strives to combine the empirical or measurable elements of nature with those elements that are measureless to humans. Hartmut Böhme describes "On Steppes and Deserts" from *Views of Nature* (1807) as a text that

> offers everything that a *Naturgemälde* (canvas of nature) is: that is, moments of a traveler's account, with traces of concrete intuitions, properties of a descriptive/analytic treatise, but also symbolic generalizations, with elements of the cosmos-idea, aesthetic elements of the sublime, and philosophical reflection, but while they offer a cultural-historical treatment of nature, they also present nature scientifically.[38]

In Humboldt's *Naturgemälde*, ideas, which cannot be measured, blend with those aspects of nature that can be measured. As Böhme indicates, there is a fusion of science with the aesthetic elements of experience. With his *Naturgemälde*, Humboldt acknowledges that nature has not been comprehended if it is known

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Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of the Physical Description of the Universe*, trans. E.C. Otté (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 24.

38 "Der Text bietet alles, was ein 'Naturgemälde' ausmacht: also Momente eines Reiseberichts mit den Spuren von konkreter Anschauung, Eigenschaften einer deskriptiv-analytischen Abhandlung, aber auch einer symbolischen Verallgemeinerung, mithin Elemente der Kosmos-Idee, Züge der Ästhetik des Erhabenen und der philosophischen Reflexion, aber auch einer kulturhistorischen wie naturwissenschlichen Abhandlung." See Hartmut Böhme, "Ästhetische Wissenschaft. Aporien der Forschung im Werk Alexander von Humboldts," in *Alexander von Humboldt – Aufbruch in die Moderne*, eds. Ottmar Ette, Ute Hermanns, Bernd M. Scherer and Christian Suckow (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), 17–32, at 23. English translation mine.

only conceptually – empirical methods give us only half the story – and to repeat a point that was made above, we need to understand nature insofar as it is the realm of freedom, indeed, as a work of art, to approximate a fuller understanding (never, of course, is a full understanding possible or even desirable). In Humboldt's presentation of nature, especially in *Ansichten der Natur* (1807), we find abundant examples of the balancing act between a making present of determinable appearing (these are the elements of nature that can be charted and graphed) and presenting the indeterminable appearing of nature (this presentation is where Humboldt's poetry of nature begins). For example, Humboldt quantifies the steppes described in "On Steppes and Deserts," that is, he gives measurements and data on them, but he also observes that they fill his spirit with the "sense of the infinite."[39] This "sense of the infinite" is not part of what can be measured by the natural scientist's tools – it belongs to the realm of the aesthetic, to the realm of that which can be appreciated, but not measured.

In the seven chapters of Humboldt's *Ansichten der Natur*, aesthetic terms such as beauty, the sublime, enjoyment and the movement of the spirit, are presented alongside empirical accounts of the objects presented in his portraits of nature. The term 'Naturgenuss' (enjoyment of nature) is central to *Views of Nature*. The neglect of this pleasure and all of the aesthetic elements involved in experiencing nature is the result of the one-dimensional science that Humboldt critiques:

> The mere accumulation of unconnected observations of details, devoid of generalization of ideas, may doubtlessly have tended to create and foster the deeply-rooted prejudice, that the study of the exact sciences must necessarily chill the feelings, and diminish the nobler enjoyments attendant upon a contemplation of nature.[40]

There is a reality accessible to aesthetic consciousness that cannot be reached if we restrict ourselves to the methodological framework of the natural sciences. Humboldt, in his turn to the aesthetic, does liberate the object he brings into appearance through his presentation of nature, in his case, the landscape of

39 Alexander von Humboldt, "Concerning the Steppes and Deserts," in Alexander von Humboldt, *Views of Nature*, eds. Stephen T. Jackson and Laura Dassow Walls, trans. Mark W. Person (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 29–116, at 29. See the German original in Alexandr von Humboldt, "Über die Steppen und Wüsten," in *Ansichten der Natur. Erster und Zweiter Band*, ed. Hanno Beck (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 3–19.

40 Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 40. "Einseitige Behandlung der physikalischen Wissenschaften, endloses Anhäufen roher Materialien konnten freilich zu dem nun fast verjährten Vorurteil beitragen, als müsste notwendig wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis das Gefühl erkälten, die schaffende Bildkraft der Phantasie ertöten und so den Naturgenuss stören"; see Humboldt, *Kosmos*, 1:21.

Latin America. In liberating the appearance of steppes, deserts, the pampas, and other natural phenomena of the Latin American landscape from a merely empirical account, he also opens the possibility for freedom among the people of Latin America. In liberating science from the "old prejudice" of approximating its objects in a purely empirical way, Humboldt also opened the European mind to all that the so-called New World had to offer, thus freeing those European minds from some pernicious prejudices about Latin America and its inhabitants. In the connection Humboldt makes between his aesthetic approach to nature and the realm of freedom, we return to the point in Adorno that Seel highlights, namely that the indeterminable appearing is of great theoretical and ethical importance because it opens a freedom to the object which is a condition of real freedom among subjects.

Humboldt saw a connection between scientific study and political change, and his approach throughout the *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne* testifies to this connection. He connected social reforms to knowledge of the geography of a given region, guided by the belief that exact knowledge of the physical state of a given region was necessary before one could begin political change. Any landscape artist or scientist needs to use empirical methods: "Humans cannot have any effect on nature or get close to any of her powers, if they do not have knowledge of the laws of nature according to relations of measurements and data."[41] But empirical methods are not sufficient to grasp the spirit of nature: "The most important result of sensible, physical research into nature is [...] to grasp the spirit of nature, which lies beneath the blanket of appearances."[42]

We can illustrate the freedom-opening instances in Humboldt's depictions of nature by looking at some of the scenes of nature or *Naturgemälde* he presents in *Ansichten der Natur*, scenes that create a portrait of nature with the same sort of empirically precise detail one would expect from a landscape painter. In his *Naturgemälde*, Humboldt offers a canvas (written, not painted) of the Latin American landscape. Humboldt not only describes the scenes he presents to his reading public but also discusses the impact any given scene has upon the viewer, describing the impact of the steppes thus:

41 Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 53 (revised translation). "Der Mensch kann auf die Natur nicht einwirken, sich keine ihrer Kräfte aneigen, wenn er nicht die Naturgesetze nach Maß- und Zahlenverhältnissen kennt" (Humboldt, *Kosmos*, 1:36).

42 Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 24–5 (revised translation). "Das wichtigste Resultat des sinnigen physischen Forschens ist daher dieses: [...] den Geist der Natur zu ergreifen" (Humboldt, *Kosmos*, 1:6).

> Like the ocean, the steppe fills the mind with the feeling of infinity, and through this feeling, as if pulling free of sensory impression, with intellectual and spiritual inspiration of a higher order. But while the clear ocean surface in which ripples the graceful, softly foaming wave is a friendly sight, dead and stiff lies the steppe, stretched out like the naked rocky crust of a desolate planet.[43]

This depiction of the steppes, filled as it is with references to the infinite (something measureless and hence indomitable), the freedom of the soul, and emotions of a higher order – is not guilty of being "a mere accumulation of unconnected details" which deadens us to the actual enjoyment of nature. Indeed, in this passage, a poetic 'presencing' or appearing of nature is what Humboldt accomplishes with his references to the indeterminable appearing of nature. Humboldt makes connections between the plains of Central Asia and the spread of "calamity and devastation across the globe."[44] He tells us early in his essay that

> shepherd peoples of these steppes – the Mongols, the Getae, the Alani, and the Usysn – have shaken the world. Over the course of the centuries, whenever early intellectual culture has traveled like revitalizing sunlight from east to west, so too have barbarism and rawness of custom subsequently threatened to creep over Europe like a fog.[45]

After a brief excurse on the plains of Central Asia, Humboldt returns to the plain of South America.[46] Despite the devotion he had to empirical observations and so to a kind of mastery over nature, Humboldt emphasizes the appeal of that which will never be mastered or tamed, celebrating such wild nature as the realm of freedom. He describes one such untamed scene thus:

> The interest, however that such a portrait ("Gemälde") can provide the viewer is purely an interest in Nature ("reines Naturinteresse"). Here no oasis evokes memories of earlier inhabitants; no chiseled stone, no fruit tree gone wild

43 Humboldt, "Concerning the Steppes and Deserts," 29. "Wie dieser erfüllt die Steppe das Gemüt mit dem Gefühl der Unendlichkeit und durch dieses Gefühl, wie den sinnlichen Eindrücken des Raumes sich entwinden, mit geistigen Anregungen höherer Ordung. Aber freundlich zugleich ist der Anblick des klaren Meerspiegels, in welchen die leichtbewegliche, sanft aufschäumende Welle sich kraüselt; tot und starr liegt die Steppe hingestreckt wie die nackte Felsrinde eines verödeten Planeten" (Humboldt, "Über die Steppen und Wüsten," 3–4).

44 Humboldt, "Concerning the Steppes and Deserts," 31.

45 Ibid.

46 43 "Hirtenvölker dieser Steppe: die Mongolen, Geten, Alanen und Üsun, haben die Welt erschüttert. Wenn in dem Lauf der Jahrhundertete frühe Geisteskultur gleich dem erquickenden Sonnenlicht von Osten nach Westen gewanderte ist, so haben späterhin in derselben Richtung Barbarei und sittliche Roheit Europa nebelartig zu überziehen gedroht" (Humboldt, "Über die Steppen und Wüsten," 6).

> reminds one of the efforts of bygone races. As though foreign to the fates of humanity, latching only to the present, there lies in this corner of the globe a wild showplace ("wilder Schauplatz") of free animal and plant life.[47]

Even when Humboldt seems steeped in a purely empirical account of a given aspect of nature, he consistently brings the reader back to a more abstract level of nature, connecting his empirical account to something larger, something beyond the scope of his instruments, to a context that allows the meaning of the scene described to emerge more fully and for nature to emerge as a work of art. To speak with Seel (invoking Adorno), Humboldt combines the determinable appearance of nature (in the spirit of mastery) with nature's indeterminable appearing (in the spirit of art). For example, in the essay "On Steppes and Deserts," Humboldt emphasizes a point that, at first glance, seems to be merely empirical and quite mundane: humidity. He writes:

> A great number of conditions provide the flat parts of America with a climate that, in terms of moisture and coolness, contrasts marvelously with that of Africa: the narrowness of the extensively indented mainlands in the northern part of the tropics, where a liquid surface presents to the atmosphere a cooler, ascending current of air.[48]

Humboldt's attention to empirical detail is then immediately used to take the presentation of nature to a different level, in this case to dispel some of the myths that contributed to the anti-Americanism of the period. After a long, detailed, empirical account of the causes of dryness and heat in the New World, Humboldt concludes:

> If one side of our planet is thus said to be more humid than the other, then the observation of the present state of things is sufficient to solve this problem of inequality. The physical scientist need not wrap the explanation of such natural phenomena in the garb of geological myths. It is not necessary to assume that the destructive battle of the elements upon the ancient earth was settled at dif-

47 Humboldt, "Concerning the Steppes and Deserts," 32. "Das Interesse, welches ein solches Gemälde dem Beobachter gewähren kann, ist aber ein reines Naturinteresse. Keine Oase erinnert hier an frühe Bewohner, kein behauener Stein, kein verwilderter Fruchtbaum an den Fleiß untergangener Geschlechter. Wie den Schicksalen der Menschheit fremd, allein an die Gegenwart fesselnd, liegt dieser Erdwinkel da, ein wilder Schauplatz des freien Tier- und Pflanzenlebens" (Humboldt, "Über die Steppen und Wüsten," 7).

48 Humboldt, "Concerning the Steppes and Deserts," 33. "Mannigfaltige, zum Teil noch wenig entwickelte Ursachen vermindern die Dürre und Wärme des neuen Weltteils. Schmalheit der vielfach eingeschnittenen Feste in der nörderlichen Tropengegend, wo eine flüssige Grundfläche der Atmosphäre einen minder warmen aufsteigenden Luftstrom darbietet (Humboldt, "Über die Steppen und Wüsten," 8).

> ferent times in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, or that America emerged from the chaotic covering of water later than the other parts of the world, as a swampy island, home to alligators and snakes.[49]

Humboldt's approach to nature in general, and his detailed, inspiring, and accurate depictions of the Latin American landscape in particular, helped to break down the misleading accounts of America given by too many scholars of his generation, accounts that depicted America as nothing more than the dwelling place of beasts, a place far inferior, both culturally and naturally, to Europe. Humboldt's *Naturgemälde* allow the Latin American landscape to appear without the distorting prejudices that plagued most accounts of the period. In his *Naturgemälde*, Humboldt not only depicts nature, but also gives clear analyses of some of the ways in which the landscape affected the culture of the people of the region he is presenting.[50] In the case of the "Steppes and Deserts" account, Humboldt lingers on the significance that the absence of pastoral life in the pampas had upon the culture of the region:

> If the pastoral life, this beneficial middle stage that binds throngs of nomadic hunters to the grass-covered lands while preparing them for agricultural life, thus remained unknown to the ancient Americans, then the reason for the sparse presence of humanity on the South American steppes lies in this ignorance.[51]

A typical Eurocentric reaction to the scantiness of population in the South American Steppes would be to use the low population levels as evidence for the inferiority of the land and, in an unfavorable comparative move, for the

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49 Humboldt, "Concerning the Steppes and Deserts," 33. "Wird daher eine Seite unseres Planeten luftfeuchter als die andere genannt, so ist die Betrachtung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Dinge hinlänglich, das Problem dieser Ungleichheit zu lösen. Der Physiker braucht die Erklärung solcher Naturerscheinungen nicht in das Gewand geologischer Mythen zu hüllen. Es bedarf der Annahme nicht, als habe sich auf dem uralten Erdkörper in der östlichen und westlichen Hemisphäre ungleichzeitig geschlichtet der verderbliche Streit der Elemente, oder als sei aus der chaotischen Wasserbedeckung Amerika später als die übrigen Weltteile hervorgetreten, ein sumpfreiches, von Krokodilen und Schlangen bewohntes Eiland" (Humboldt, "Über die Steppen und Wüsten," 9).

50 For more on the theme of nature and its influence on culture, see Mitchell, *Art and Science in German Landscape Painting 1770–1840*. While I have focused upon Humboldt's connection to the German intellectual tradition, it is important to note that his network went beyond the German-speaking world, and French, English, and Spanish language traditions shaped his work too.

51 Humboldt, "Concerning the Steppes and Deserts," 36. "Blieb demnach das Hirtenleben, diese wohltätige Mittelstufe, welche nomadische Jägerhorden an den grasreichen Boden fesselt und gleichsam zum Ackerbau vorbereitet, den Urvölkern Amerikas unbekannt, so liegt in dieser Unbekanntschaft selbst der Grund von der Menschenleere der südamerikanischen Steppen" (Humboldt, "Über die Steppen und Wüsten," 12–13).

superiority of European culture and indeed, even of European nature – the country with the richer natural resources would be the country with greater concentrations of thriving populations. Humboldt draws quite another conclusion, writing:

> All the more freely, then, the forces of Nature manifested themselves upon the steppes in many diverse types of animal life: free and limited only by themselves, like the vegetation in the forests of the Orinoco, where the Hymenaea and the huge-trunked bay tree are never threatened by the hand of Man but only by the luxuriant crush of entwining growth.[52]

Humboldt presents the American landscape as a realm of freedom and of natural luxury. Nicolaas Rupke reminds us in the Introduction to the 1997 edition of *Cosmos* that given Humboldt's focus on the relation between nature and freedom, "the proper study of nature would lead to liberty, away from religious and political absolutism and oppression. Thus, *Cosmos* could become a metonymy of the politics of liberalization."[53] I would add that only with the addition of the aesthetic depiction of nature does the line from nature to freedom really take shape. If *Cosmos* could become a metonymy of the politics of liberalization, then *Views of Nature* can also be read as a presentation of views of freedom – freedom from the prejudices that kept Europeans from fully appreciating the landscape of Latin America. The steppes and deserts of Latin America are unlike anything to be found in Europe, but, as Humboldt is careful to show, the unfamiliar is by no means to be associated with the inferior. Indeed, the description cited above leads the viewer (reader) to appreciate the unpopulated landscape of Latin America as a realm of freedom and purity. The absence of human population is no disadvantage to the beauty and majesty of the landscape; quite the contrary, according to Humboldt, without the interference of humans, nature can develop with greater freedom, generating a wider diversity of forms.

Concluding remarks

What Humboldt accomplished with his *Naturgemälde* and his Chimborazo map was path-breaking and evidence, I think, for the central role aesthetics plays in presenting the world, for letting freedom appear. Humboldt transformed his

52 Humboldt, "Concerning the Steppes and Deserts," 36. "Um so freier haben sich in ihr die Naturkräfte in mannigfaltigen Tiergestalten entwickelt: Frei, und nur durch sich selbst beschränkt wie das Pflanzenleben in den Wäldern am Orinoco, wo der Hymenäe und dem riesenstämmigen Lorbeer nie die verheerende Hand des Menschen, sondern nur der üppige Andrang schlingender Gewächse droht" (Humboldt, "Über die Steppen und Wüsten," 13).

53 Humboldt, *Cosmos,* xxvii.

acts of aesthetic perception of the Latin American landscape into *Naturgemälde* which, in turn enriched the perception of his reading public, bringing into focus a more just portrait or picture ("Bild") of the Latin American landscape.

Upon his return from the journey to the equinoctial regions of the earth in 1804, Humboldt was welcomed back to Europe as a figure uniquely situated to present the exotic and unfamiliar territories of Latin America to Europeans. Goethe's tribute to Humboldt in the pages of his novel *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (Elective Affinities), found in a passage of Ottilie's diary, reminds us that Humboldt was able to

> describe and represent the strangest and most exotic things in their locality, always in their own special element, with all that surrounds them. How much I would enjoy just once hearing Humboldt speak.[54]

Such hermeneutic achievement was not happenstance, but rather the result of Humboldt's inclusive lens, a lens that captured both empirical detail and the beauty of nature. Humboldt's presentation of the Latin American landscape was the result of his dedication to fusing art and science, to helping his reading public come to a deeper appreciation for the scenes of nature he presented. His presentation of the Latin American landscape, in both his aesthetic maps and his written *Naturgemälde,* gave the public a new way to see and to understand it, one that did not operate with hierarchies that used European standards to measure all that was found in America. Humboldt's desire to present the Chimborazo in its "true form" led him to a radically new fusion of science and art, and to a vision of the Latin American landscape that delivered justice to the region. We should all be listening carefully to Humboldt's words if we want to come to a deeper understanding of and appreciation for the natural world.

54 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Elective Affinities," in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Novels and Tales*, trans. R. Dillon Boylan and James Anthony Froude (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 1–246, at 170–72. "Nur der Naturforscher ist verehrungswert, der uns das Fremdeste, Seltsamste mit seiner Lokalität, mit aller Nachbarschaft, jedesmal in dem eigensten Elemente zu schildern und darzustellen weiß. Wie gern möchte ich nur einmal Humboldten erzählen hören"; see Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (Leipzig: Insel, 1972), 174.

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Musical Case Studies

A Landscape for Mild Melancholy: Franz Schubert's *Die Nacht* D 534 and the Question of Virtue in Emotion and Reflection

Tobias Lund

Schubert scholars have long been puzzled by the high esteem in which his closest friends held his Ossian settings. In this chapter, I suggest that one of these songs, *Die Nacht* D 534 (1817), can be understood as a space for melancholic reflection – something that likely resonated with his friends during the years of political disillusionment following the Congress of Vienna.

The poem is set in the Scottish Highlands, whose picturesque reception was partly shaped by the genre of the English landscape garden. Additionally, the musical free fantasia, to which Schubert's setting is related, was aesthetically linked to that genre of cultivated nature. On the basis of these generic connections, I present three conceivable interpretations of *Die Nacht*: one in which darkness gives way to light, another where darkness dominates, and, finally, one that aligns more closely with the ideals of Schubert's friends.

For this third interpretation, I draw on the garden theorist C.C.L. Hirschfeld's concept of "a mildly melancholic area" ("eine sanftmelancholische Gegend") and his thoughts on its effects on garden visitors. This framework allows me to interpret *Die Nacht* as a landscape for reflection, emotional re-enactment, and, ultimately, for the virtuous practice of the ideal of "manly composure" ("männliche Fassung").

What do you do when bright prospects to the future suddenly darken? Perhaps you go for a walk, alone or with a friend. Or maybe you listen to music? Such basic responses sometimes make it easier to process a potentially damaging shift, at least in the short term. This chapter examines a song with piano accompaniment that emerged during a time and in a social context where disappointment had to be addressed in one way or another. It is a song of darkness and light, of loneliness and friendship, and it also represents an imaginary, musico-poetical walk through a landscape that was in vogue at the time of its composition. The song, *Die Nacht* D 534, was composed in Vienna in 1817 by the

twenty-year-old Franz Schubert, and in this chapter I argue that it can be fruitfully interpreted as a space for a certain kind of melancholic contemplation.[1]

The 'excellent' Ossian songs

From 1815 to 1817, Schubert composed eleven songs with texts drawn from James Macpherson's mid-eighteenth-century attempt to creatively restore what he (Macpherson) claimed had once been the great Celtic epics of the bard Ossian.[2] In all cases but one (*Kolmas Klage*) Schubert used the Irishman Edmund Baron von Harold's German translation, a copy of which he borrowed from his school friend Anton Holzapfel.

Thirty years after Schubert's death, Holzapfel had become sorely aware that von Harold's translation was infamous for its low quality. In his answer to Ferdinand Luib's request for biographical information on Schubert, Holzapfel bluntly states that Schubert "lavished a number of his most talented works" on this "old, and, as I heard afterwards, miserable translation of Ossian."[3] It is important to note, though, that while he disparages the translation, he extols Schubert's songs. The message for Luib, it seems, is not that Schubert was wrong in putting Ossian poems to music, but merely that Holzapfel regrets not having provided his friend with a better translation.

Other sources unambiguously show that Schubert's Ossian songs were held in high esteem among his friends. When in 1816 Josef von Spaun wrote to Goethe asking the great man to accept the dedication of a planned edition of Schubert songs, he claimed that the Ossian songs were "excelling all the

1 *Die Nacht* D 534 is published in *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, *Series IV: Lieder*, vol. 11, ed. Walther Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 90–104. The present chapter builds on Tobias Lund, "Enthusiasm, Contemplation, and Romantic Longing: Reconsidering Schubert's Sectional Songs in the Light of Historical Context" (PhD diss., Lund University, 2009), 167–232.

2 James Macpherson's (1736–1796) status as translator, transcriber of aural tradition, or, indeed, as author of the Ossian poems has been disputed from the outset. Fiona Stafford offers an introduction to the debate and also participates in it by arguing that Macpherson "seems to have regarded his sources," i.e. the many heroic ballads that he found during his travels in the Highlands, "as the broken remains of great Celtic epics, and to have seen the task of recovery in the light of sympathetic restoration, rather than as a painstaking translation of the miscellaneous mass." Fiona Stafford, "Introduction," in *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), [v]-xxi, at xiv.

3 Quoted in Deutsch, *Memories*, 59. "Um diese Zeit war es auch, wo ich ihm [Schubert] eine alte [...] Scharteke, eine, wie ich nachher hörte, miserable Übersetzung Ossians lieh, an welche er unglücklicherweise mehrere seiner genialsten Arbeiten verschwendete [...]" Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 69.

others."[4] In 1829, Eduard von Bauernfeld lauded *Das Mädchen von Inistore* D 281, *Lodas Gespenst* D 150 and *Kolmas Klage* D 217 as "splendid testimonies" of the recently deceased composer's enthusiasm for Ossian, that "melancholic hero and poet."[5] And the year after, Leopold von Sonnleithner, who had known Schubert since 1816, persuaded the publisher Anton Diabelli to inaugurate the edition *Franz Schubert's nachgelassene musikalische Dichtungen* with a volume of Ossian songs, beginning with *Die Nacht*.[6] Still in 1867, von Sonnleithner spoke of how attracted he had been by these songs and their "exceptionally ingenious musical conception."[7]

This valuation among Schubert's friends is intriguing partly because in our time his Ossian songs seem to have lost most of their appeal. At least they are rarely performed and rarely discussed among scholars. What were Schubert's own thoughts on these works? We simply do not know, and, as has become clear, the friends' testimonies are as vague as they are enthusiastic.

Legends and landscapes

Aiming to elucidate this scarcely documented reception, I will limit my investigation to *Die Nacht* D 534 and to a particular group of friends: young men from lower aristocratic and educated middle-class families who initially formed a "Tugendbund" (League of virtue) in Linz and to whom Schubert was introduced by Josef von Spaun from 1811 onward. In the spirit of liberal German nationalism, the group sought to promote morality, friendship, and German patriotism among Austrian youths – beginning with themselves. A literary remnant of their endeavor is the yearbook *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, whose first issue was published in 1817, the same year in which Schubert composed *Die Nacht*.[8]

4 Quoted in Deutsch, *Documents*, 57. "[...] Gesänge Ossians, welche letztere sich vor allen auszeichnen." Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 40–41.

5 "[...] herrliche Zeugnisse seiner Begeisterung für den melancholischen Heldendichter." Quoted in Walther Dürr, "Schuberts Ossian-Gesänge: Vom Lied zur Szene," in *Schubert: Interpretationen* (Schubert: Perspektiven – Studien 3), ed. Ivana Rentsch and Klaus Pietschmann (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2014), 11–25, at 13. My translation.

6 Preparing the edition, Diabelli altered *Die Nacht* by attaching at its end Schubert's strophical *Jagdlied* D 521. For a discussion of this reworking in light of political developments in Austria during the 1820s, see Lund, "Enthusiasm, Contemplation, and Romantic Longing," 225–32.

7 Quoted in Deutsch, *Memories*, 441. "[die] *Ossian-Gesänge*, deren höchst geistreiche musikalische Auffassung mich in hohem Grade anzog." Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 511.

8 Cf. Walther Dürr, "Der Linzer Schubert-Kreis und seine 'Beiträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge'," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* 1985 (1986): 51–59.

As is well known, these friends perceived the fall of Napoleon in the summer of 1815 as a double victory. Johann Senn later recalled that armed battle had secured freedom from French oppression and that solemn promises of the Austrian authorities seemed to promise a more liberal Austrian society. However, as is also well known, Metternich's Restoration policies, following upon the Congress of Vienna, put an end to this euphoria; Senn looked back at "lament" and "resignation".[9] While suffering from such disappointment, though, the friends tried to continue working towards their goals. As Michael Kohlhäufl has pointed out, already the first issue of the *Beyträge* strongly contrasted to the political reality.[10]

Substantial portions of both the first and second issues are dedicated to a reprint of *Von Wittich dem Starken*, a tale from the *Dietrichsage*, presented here as "a Nordic heroic novel." To ensure readers fully understand the "value" and "definitive usefulness" of such a heroic legend, the editors include a footnote quoting a passage from Friedrich Schlegel's *Deutsches Museum* (1812).[11] In this passage, Schlegel claims that "ancient legends" reveal "the tribal natures and the original characters of the peoples" and so may foster "patriotic and manly sentiments." Crafting a colorful metaphor, he proposes that the spoiled and overly delicate youth be led "into the open, to the half-weathered primeval rock of legend, where the fountain of heroic poetry, pregnant with iron, still lively spouts." A drink from that well will bring strength to "the enfeebled limbs."[12]

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9 "Die Freiheit nach außen war durch Vernichtung der Fremdherrschaft wirklich erkämpft, die innere Freiheit durch feierliche Verheißungen, wie es schien, verbürgt [...] Aber ach – welche Enttäuschung! Das nur noch Verheißene wurde vorenthalten, das schon Gegebene zurückgenommen oder verkümmert, das Vertrauene hintergangen. Die Stätten der Erde wurden Kerker, die Menschen zu Gefangenen. Aus wa[r] es mit beschaulichem Götterleben, und übrig blieb nur die Klage, die Resignation, die männliche Fassung im Hinblick auf die denn doch unausbleibliche schönere Zukunft." Quoted in David Gramit, "The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1987), 382. For more recent studies of the aesthetic, moral and political tenets of Schubert's circles of friends, see Ilija Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat: Dichtung und Literatur-Rezeption der Schubert-Freunde* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999); Michael Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland: Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999).

10 Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 192.

11 "Dieser Auszug ist aus den nordischen Heldenromanen [...] genommen. Wir wollen hier einiges anführen, was Fr. Schlegel im deutschen Museum Jänner 1812 über den Werth dieser Dichtungen, und ihren entschiedenen Nutzen aussagt." *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, vol. 1 (Wien: Franz Härter, 1817), 104.

12 "Die uralten Sagen werden immer die beste Einleitung und Vorbereitung zu einer wahrhaft vaterländischen Geschichte seyn. [...] sie offenbaren [...] die Stammesart und die ursprüngliche Eigenthümlichkeit der Völker." "Die Geschichte [der Mittelalter] ist ganz dazu gemacht, vaterländische und männliche Gesinnungen zu bilden." "[F]ührt die Jugend ins Freye hinaus, an den halb verwitterten Urfels der Sage, wo der mit Eisen geschwängerte Quell der Heldendichtung noch lebendig hervorsprudelt. Da laßt sie einen frischen Trunk thun. [...] Innerlich gebraucht wirkt [das Eisen] heilsam, die erschlafften Glieder wieder zu stählen." Friedrich Schlegel, *Deutsches Museum* (1812), quoted from *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, vol. 1, 104–5.

It may seem that the friends' adoption of this "romantic fiction of a primordial German mythology," as Kohlhäufl puts it, should have been irrelevant to their interest in a Scottish legend.[13] However, on the contrary, the German reception of Ossian was characterized by a belief in the similarity between ancient Scottish culture and the primordial German virtues. In countering the cultural influence of France, the Scots were regarded as brothers.

The text that Schubert set to music in *Die Nacht* comes from another footnote, one appended by Macpherson to *Croma*, a lengthy poem in which Ossian recalls how, after one of his victories, he was praised by five bards who stepped forward one by one to sing his praises. In the footnote, Macpherson presents a separate, unnamed poem that he claims exemplifies the continued practice of bards successively singing about a single subject.[14] Towards the end of the appended poem, a "master" demands that a bard be near him "to tell the deeds of other times, of kings renowned in our land" and then envisions leading a group of youths onto a hill where they will hunt in the morning sun. This aligns well with Schlegel's notion of the regenerative force of heroic legend, and even with his image of youths being led onto the half-weathered primeval rock of legend. However, it is equally important to note the intermediate status and particular character of the poem Schubert set to music.[15]

Already Ossian himself sings of a past generation of heroes, and the poem in the footnote is presented as being a *thousand* years younger still. The poem indulges in heroism but is, in itself, far from straightforwardly heroic. Landscape plays an important role and is emphasized by Schubert's music, but while Schlegel's primeval rock may be glimpsed from afar, a model for the landscape of *Die Nacht* must be sought elsewhere. I suggest that it be found in the picturesque surroundings of Vienna and in Lower Austria, where Schubert and his friends had the habit of taking walks. But for now, let us turn to the song itself.

The bard and the master

The poem is set in and around the house of a master ("der Gebieter") in northern Scotland. It is night and five bards in turn go out into the night and then return inside to improvise monologues *on* the night. Finally, the master, who is

13 "[die] romantisch[e] Fiktion einer ursprünglichen deutschen Mythologie." Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 203.

14 Edmund von Harold, *Die Gedichte Ossians des Celtischen Helden und Barden* (Mannheim, 1782), vol. 1, 181–90. In Ossian scholarship, the poem is sometimes referred to as *The Six Bards*.

15 For several versions of the poem, see Peter Rastl and Peter Dellitsch, eds., *Franz Schubert: Die Texte seiner Lieder und Gesänge und ihre Dichter* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2023), vol. 1, 378–84.

a poet too, contributes his own monologue. Schubert put to music two of the monologues: that of the first bard and that of the master (see the Appendix).
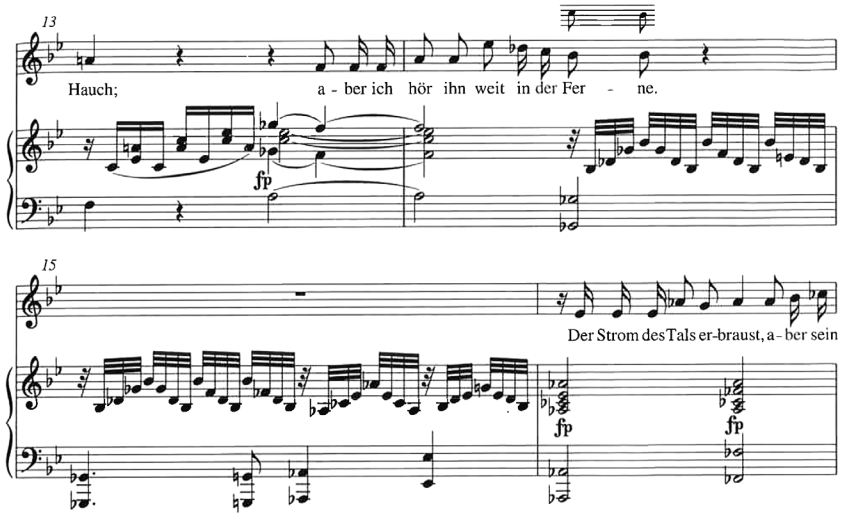
The bard tells of a dark night which at first is also quiet. He tells of his meeting with a spirit and with a ghostly funeral procession, and he relates the fear of a wanderer who goes astray in the darkness. In the end, the bard makes an appeal to his fellows and to the master: "Receive me from the night, my friends!" ("Empfangt mich von der Nacht, meine Freunde").

The master, in turn, claims that the night does not frighten him. He concedes that men die and are forgotten, but he distinguishes this fact from notions of the night. His appeal is that night should be spent feasting and dancing until the sun raises and the hunt on the hills can begin.
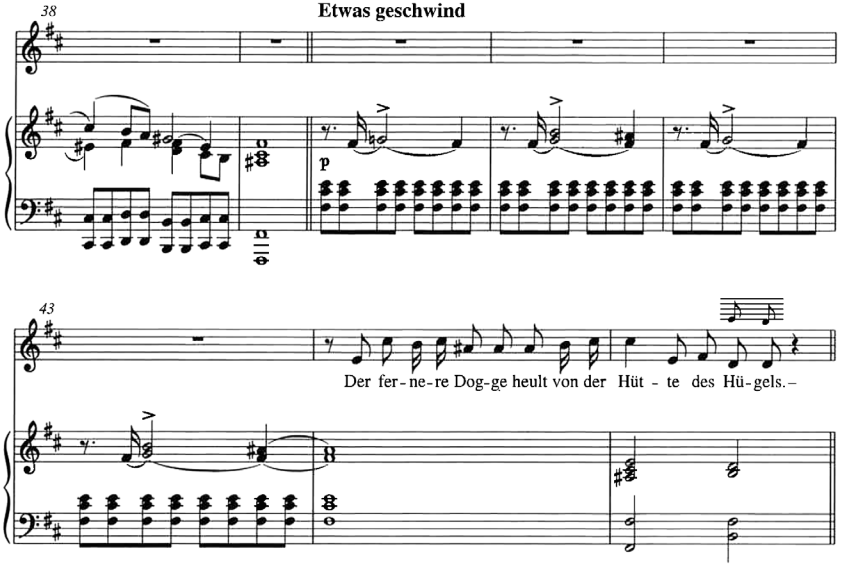
In large parts of Schubert's musical setting, recitative alternates with short illustrative piano sections that, taken together, evoke the image of a landscape. The breeze of the forest is evoked by the piano's thirty-second note arpeggios (mm. 14–15; Example 1); a spirit fades away and flees in short, fragmented motifs in a soft dynamic (mm. 27–29); a ghostly funeral procession passes by, sounding a quiet funeral march (mm. 30–39); a dog howls in the piano's accented motifs (mm. 40–43; Example 2); and the pastoral calm around a resting stag and doe is marked by horn fifths in the piano (mm. 46 and 48).

The musical setting continues in a similar manner when the wind, passing through the stag's antlers, whistles in the piano's sixteenth notes (mm. 50–52); when the doe leaps up in crescendo and lies down again with a falling motion in a slower tempo (mm. 52–56); when the tree creaks in the piano's forzato chords (mm. 71–74; Example 3); when the withered thistle moves forward with a quick and winding triplet motion (mm. 75–80, Example 4); and when the spirit tiptoes in the piano's triplet chords (mm. 81–85).
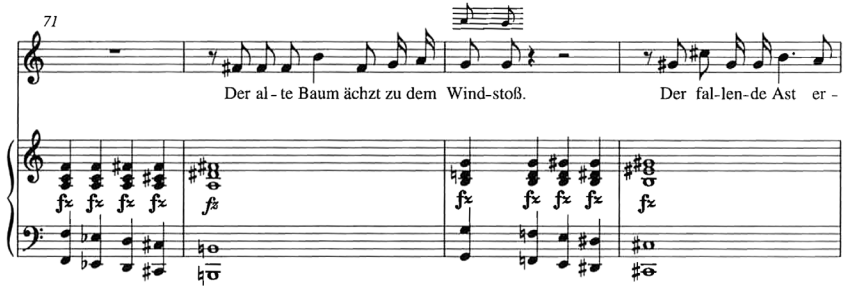
In the master's monologue, the thought of the deceased chieftains of times past is represented by an ascending scalar movement (m. 124–6), strong chords and regally dotted rhythms (mm. 125–30). The contemplation of human mortality takes the form of a contrapuntal and archaic-sounding passage with descending scalar movements (mm. 132–41; Example 5); the call to dance is surrounded by dance music (mm. 163–72 and 175–84); and, finally, the master's vision of dawn is accompanied by rattling trumpet motifs (mm. 193–95, 196–98 and 200–207; Example 6), connoting reveille, or hunt, or both.
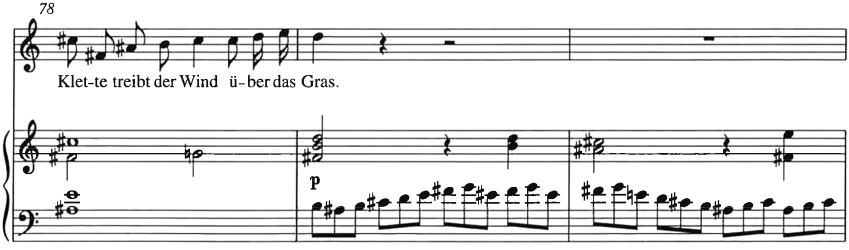


Ex. 1: mm. 13–16
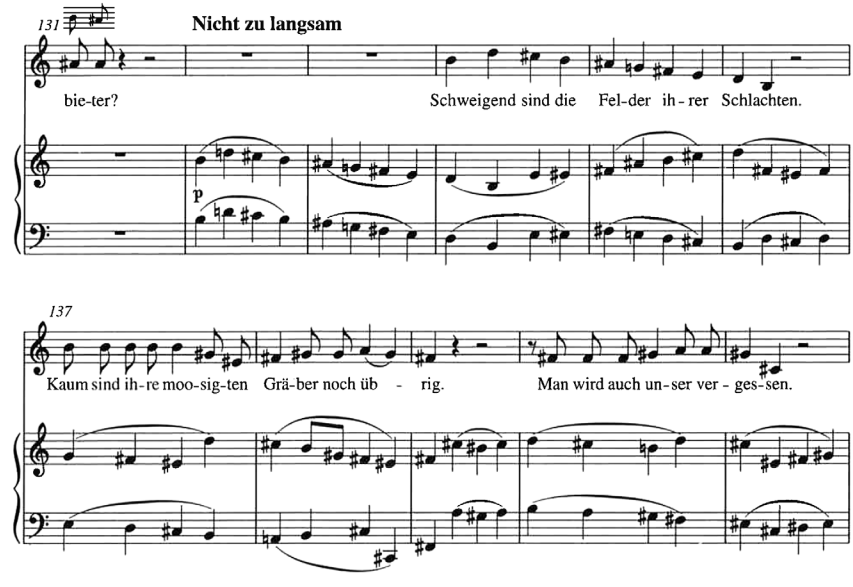


Ex. 2: mm. 38–45
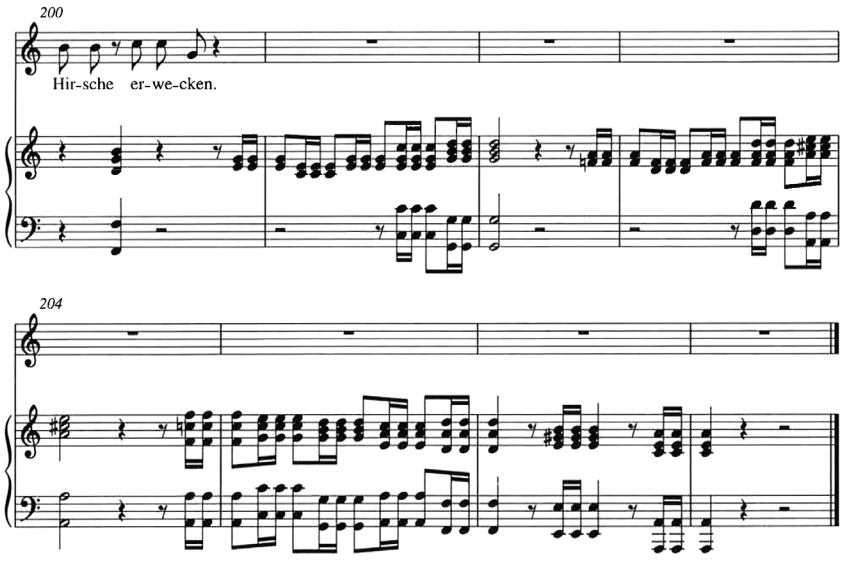


Ex. 3: mm. 71–74



Ex. 4: mm. 78–80



Ex. 5: mm. 131–141



Ex. 6: mm. 200–207

Examples 1–6: Excerpts from Franz Schubert, *Die Nacht* D 534. © *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, Lieder Band 11, edited by Walther Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 90–104.

At least on first hearing, the song may seem to depict a gloomy, nightly scene that transforms into a festive night, indoors, and then opens the prospect of a bright morning landscape. And since, in Schubert's time, morning was a conventional symbol of increased political freedom, and more generally of a better world, there is reason to assume that he and his liberal friends could associate the song's vision of morning with their own longing for a political dawn. The master's talk of a hunting party climbing the hill in the morning could also be made to fit with a utopian interpretation of the song.

However, when you listen more closely to *Die Nacht*, it no longer appears unequivocally optimistic. Indeed, there is a complexity at play that argues against a simplistically political interpretation. In order to recognize this complexity, we may start by examining the generic context of the song's representation of landscape.

The English landscape garden

The Scottish Highlands had been a fashionable tourist destination at least since the 1790s. Visits were motivated by the notion that the English landscape

garden, with its carefully constructed 'naturalness', had become too constrained. Still, tourists' movements through the Scottish landscape and their desire to see certain sights continued to be modeled on patterns learned in the English-style garden, where a landscape was to be experienced as a picturesque succession of scenes arranged for the best blend of the beautiful and the sublime, and thereby for the greatest emotional effect.[16]

The Viennese nobility had started laying out English landscape gardens around 1770, and by Schubert's time they were open to the public. For wanderers like Schubert and his friends, these gardens were certainly more accessible than the real wilderness, be it the Alps or, indeed, the Scottish Highlands. The spirit of Ossian also roamed Viennese parks, though. For just as tourists to the Highlands would recite Ossian poems at waterfalls and on mountaintops, so visitors to the English landscape gardens in Vienna could use such poems as a 'Sehhilfe', that is as a literary tool to help the eye perceive the landscape in a desired way.[17] What is important here is merely that in Schubert's time, the Highlands were generically linked to the English landscape garden, and that Ossian helped to maintain the connection.

Turning to the text of *Die Nacht*, we may notice that, just as in an English landscape garden, contrasts between night and day and between confinement and open vistas can be said to be key features, and so can the picturesque progression from one landscape scene to the next. It seems, therefore, that there is a connection between the text of *Die Nacht*, the Highlands, and the aesthetics of the English garden.

The Free Fantasia

A further link between the song and the English landscape garden is constituted by the generic similarity of the music to the Free Fantasia, a genre characterized by its freedom from standard compositional norms. Considered as an opportunity for the artist's unrestrained development of his whole range of emotions, the Free Fantasia, which in its paradigmatic form was performed on the clavichord or the fortepiano, was expected to include surprising harmonic progressions, sudden changes of texture and other material, as well as bewildering pauses. The artist was even allowed to include music of different styles,

16 John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620–1820* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 38–9.

17 Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), 202; Géza Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung: Englische Landschaftskultur des 18. Jahrhunderts in und um Wien* (Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau, 1989), 69.

and so to wander from one genre to the other.[18] Such features are characteristic also of *Die Nacht*. Harmonically, the Free Fantasia related to the sonata form as the English landscape garden did to the French Baroque garden: a meandering progression where there was a risk of getting lost substituted the hierarchical unity of the solar system model.

Annette Richards, in her book *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*, shows that the free fantasia, like the English landscape garden, was conceptualized as a parallel to the human mind with its labyrinthine paths. She also provides examples of fantasias being described with terms and images from the English garden. Taking these contexts into account, *Die Nacht* appears to establish a generic connection between the text and the music. This connection is mediated through the text's depiction of the Highlands, the aesthetic kinship between that landscape and the English landscape garden, the relationship between that garden style and the free fantasia, and finally, the link between the free fantasia and the music in *Die Nacht*.

However, in order to proceed towards a more specific interpretation, we should note that while English gardens and free fantasias were certainly expected to be highly varied, theorists in both fields maintained that there should also be unity beneath the surface. So while the progression in the garden or the music could be confusing, there ought to be an underlying logic waiting to be perceived by an attentive wanderer or listener.
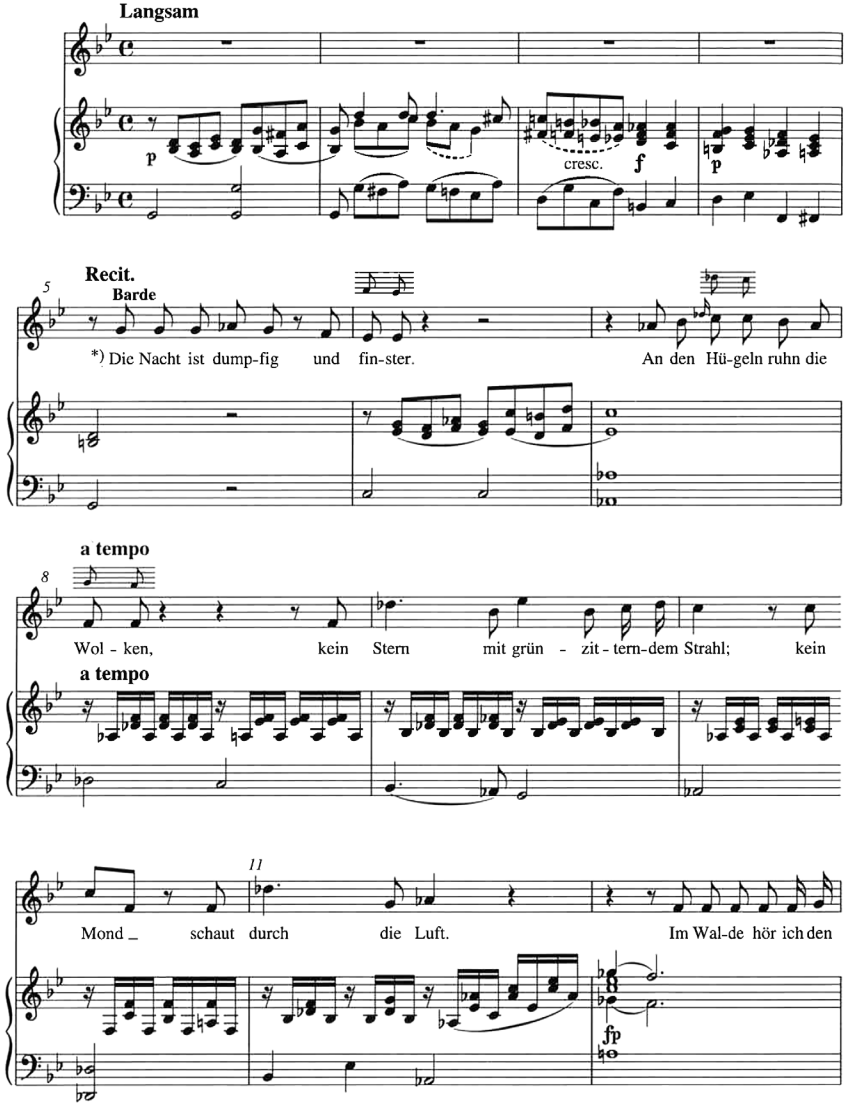
Is there such a logic in *Die Nacht*? Or, again to be more specific, is there some sort of progression or overall principle which Schubert's friends should have been able to perceive not only as aesthetically satisfying but also as meaningful in their particular political, aesthetic and personal context? Let us examine the song more closely.

The bard's and the master's monologues

"The night is dull and dark" ("Die Nacht ist dumpfig und finster"), begins the bard, then mentioning clouds resting on the hills, a forest murmuring in the distance, and a river rushing mournfully through the valley. An owl hoots from a tree by a grave. A spirit and a funeral procession pass by. A dog howls in the distance. A doe leaps and then lies down again. Indeed, so far, the poem

18 In Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschafften und Künste* (Halle and Leipzig, 1731–54), vol. 27, col. 1742, a musical "Phantasie" is defined as a piece that cannot be ascribed to any proper genre ("zu keiner der ordentlichen Gattungen"), that is bound to no compositional rules ("an keine Regel der Composition gebunden"), and that is instead formed according to the imagination of its inventor ("nach der Phantasey des Erfinders eingerichtet").

consists merely of the naming of a series of sensory impressions. The music, too, is in flux: one texture follows another, melodic material emerges and then disappears, and the harmonic progressions create a sense of disorientation. Darkness, dense foliage, and fragmented music obscure the perception of any extended vista (see the song's beginning in Example 7).



Example 7: Franz Schubert, *Die Nacht* D 534, mm. 1–12. © *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, Lieder Band 11, edited by Walther Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 90–104.

The landscape evoked here resembles a specific type of scene in an English garden that Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, author of the influential *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (1779–85, see Illustration 1), names "a mildly melancholic area."[19] Such a space, Hirschfeld writes, is intended for stillness and solitude. Labyrinthine paths should wind through the darkness. To dwell in a mildly melancholic area should evoke tenderness, Hirschfeld holds, and therefore such an area must exclude everything that could evoke a repulsive feeling. In order to mitigate the risk of mild melancholy turning into sorrow or fear, Hirschfeld recommends allowing a faint light to enter the scene. Particularly beautiful, he argues, are moonbeams spreading their silver glow, transforming the darkness of night into gentle twilight or dawn. The landscape that the bard evokes deviates from Hirschfeld's ideal, though, for "no star with a green-trembling beam, no moon looks through the air" ("kein Stern mit grünzitterndem Strahl; kein Mond schaut durch die Luft"), says the bard. Yet, since Schubert sets these words to a lyrical arioso in A-flat major (mm. 8–11; Example 7), contrasting to the surrounding minor-mode recitatives, he can be said to introduce a certain musical impression of light. In doing so, he works in the manner of a Hirschfeldian garden architect, "improving" the material at hand. For the time being, mild melancholy is preserved through music.


Theorie
der
Gartenkunst.
Von
C. C. L. Hirschfeld,
Königl. Dänischem wirklichen Justizrath und ordentlichem Professor der Philosophie und der schönen Wissenschaften auf der Universität zu Kiel.
Erster Band.
Leipzig,
bey M. G. Weidmanns Erben und Reich. 1779.

Illustration 1: Title page of Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: W.G. Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1779).

19 "Eine sanftmelancholische Gegend." Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1779–85), vol. 1, 211–13, at 211. My translation.

That preservation is challenged, though, when the bard introduces a wanderer who has lost his way among the bushes. Simultaneously, a faster tempo, a more regular rhythm, and a more goal-directed harmonic progression (from G minor to F major in mm. 57–70) create the impression of prolonged, linear movement through the landscape. This hurried forward motion abruptly halts when a tree creaks in the wind and a branch crashes to the ground (mm. 71–74; see Example 3). A ghost tiptoes and the wanderer shivers, enveloped by the night. Here, melancholy turns into fear, and thus the song transgresses the emotional boundaries of Hirschfeld's mildly melancholic area.

Concluding his monologue on the night, the bard expands upon his opening words, now declaring: "Night is dismal, dusky, and howling, cloudy, stormy, and full of ghosts. The dead wander about" ("Die Nacht ist düster, dunkel und heulend; wolkigt, stürmisch und schwanger mit Geistern. Die Toten streifen umher"). The music similarly returns to the opening (m. 86), though pianissimo instead of piano, and in the somber key of F-sharp minor instead of G minor. The bard appears to have walked in a circle as the night deepened. Then comes the exclamation: "Receive me from the night, my friends" ("Empfangt mich von der Nacht, meine Freunde"). Musically, this utterance is highlighted by a modulation to G major – a key suited to expressing idyll as well as gratitude for friendship and love, according to Christian Schubart's contemporary *Charakteristikstück der Töne*.[20] The bard, it seems, has had enough of solitude in the night and now steps into the company of his friends.

Unlike the bard's irregular recitative, the master speaks with elements of rhyme (beben / heben), alliteration (Wolken / Wandrer / Winde / Wälder) and assonance (brüllen / grünbeflügelte). Schubert reinforces the text's hint of a regular meter and also employs a consistent accompanimental pattern for as much as thirteen measures (mm. 102–14). In this musical context, the master summarizes the bard's fragmented presentation – only to dismiss the whole thing in a brief recitative: "I don't care about the night" ("Die Nacht gilt mir gleich"). To be sure, darker tones return when the master muses on the subject of death, but he then orders that candles be lit, that the young should dance, and that one of the bards should sing of ancient heroes. He ends his monologue by looking ahead to the rising sun and the hunt on the hills. Schubert reinforces the master's final anticipation of morning with stirring fanfares, and increasingly more music in the bright keys of G major and C major (see Example 6).

20 Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (1806), facsimile reprint, ed. Fritz and Margrit Kaiser, 2nd ed. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1990), 377–82, at 380 (where "G dur" is misspellt as "H dur").

The master's explicit message – that death should not scare humans from living an active life – aligns with the fundamental values of Schubert's friends. More specifically, the friends may have perceived the whole of *Die Nacht* as forming an ultimately optimistic progression, beginning in an area where mild melancholy turns fearful and ending at a point where a picturesque sunny hill comes into view. The fact that the minor mode keeps recurring in the context of G and C major could then simply be understood as a hint of modality, and thus of olden times.

But, to be sure, the master is merely referring to the morning. No sun rises, no hunt is undertaken. And if it is accepted that the minor mode is generally darker than the major mode, the constant and final return of the minor mode (the song ends in A minor) may be said to dampen the overt optimism associated with the notion of morning. Even the dance music is barely introduced in the major mode (mm. 163–68) before it shifts to minor (mm. 169–72).

And what about the sixteenth-note triplets at the beginning of the master's monologue (mm. 102–14)? Do they not provide an uneasy undertone to the master's self-assured words, much as the sixteenth-notes did when the bard spoke of the wanderer getting lost in the darkness (mm. 57–70)? With dance, bardic song, blazing lights and talk of a dawning morning, the master briefly illuminates the night. But darkness envelops his hall. No true morning is in sight, and the overall tone is, one could claim, actually one of pessimism.

Manly composure

Looking back at the beginning of the era of political Restoration, Johann Senn spoke of the friends' lament and resignation. Yet, in that very context, he also referred to a certain "manly composure in regard to the more beautiful future which just could not fail to come."[21] Indeed, while the friends were deeply disappointed by political developments, their ideals did not change overnight. The virtue of "manly composure" ("männliche Fassung") was one such long-standing ideal: a good man ought to be sensitive but should not allow himself to be swept away by his passions. This ideal is evident, for example, in the internal criticism directed at the emotionally unstable Franz von Schober. Is it possible to perceive such "composure" in *Die Nacht*? Let us approach an answer to this question by once again returning to Hirschfeld's garden theory.

According to Hirschfeld, a mildly melancholic area should inspire the visitor's imagination to "swing up to an unusual flight into a new sphere of images,

21 "[...] die männliche Fassung im Hinblick auf die denn doch unausbleibliche schönere Zukunft." Quoted in Gramit, "The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets," 382. My translation.

among which it wanders with secret delight."[22] Given that the opening of *Die Nacht* adheres rather closely to the genre of the mildly melancholic area, the remainder of the song may arguably be taken as an example of the psychological effect such a space was expected to have on the visitor. The song thus becomes not only, or even primarily, a depiction of an episode from a supposed past but also a representation of contemporary melancholic contemplation. As mentioned, though, Hirschfeld establishes a boundary for the flight of imagination: mild melancholia should be embraced, but fear must be avoided. The visitor's soul should engage in "free contemplation," yet such contemplation must remain "worthy of the soul."[23] Here, Hirschfeld adheres to the enlightened critique of a certain melancholic "Schwärmerei" (visionary rapture) regarded as psychologically destructive when not restrained by reason. On a political scale, the notion of such "Schwärmerei" as a realm of truth and freedom in times of oppression presupposed that *reason* itself would not be attacked by an imagination devoid of strictures.[24]

Considering the ideal of "manly composure," if the friends did indeed perceive *Die Nacht* as a drawing-room adaptation of a mildly melancholic area they are likely to have appreciated not only that, as the darkness grows more unsettling, the song shifts toward a lighter sphere of images where the young dance and look forward to the morning; they are likely to have also recognized that in the second half of the song, the recurrent and final return from the major to the minor mode preserves some of the darkness from the first half, signifying that the landscape remains fundamentally unchanged.

In this interpretation, *Die Nacht* not only avoids the deepest darkness but also the brightest light, thus arguably remaining within the bounds of mild melancholy. The song yields neither to fear nor to imagined euphoria. Instead, it offers a space for reflection and emotion and, simultaneously, for virtuous composure.

When, in 1858, von Spaun concluded his essay "Aufzeichnungen über meinen Verkehr mit Franz Schubert", he did so by thanking the composer for having "beautified" the lives of his friends.[25] While today the concept of beauty

22 "Und die Phantasie erhebt sich zu einem ungewöhnlichen Flug in eine neue Sphäre von Bildern, unter welchen sie mit einem geheimen Entzücken umherirrt." Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 1, 212. My translation.

23 "Der Geist übergiebt sich freyer Betrachtungen, die seiner würdig sind [...] " Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 1, 212. My translation.

24 Hans-Jürgen Schings, *Melancholie und Aufklärung: Melancholiker und ihre Kritiker in Erfahrungsseelenkunde und Literatur des 18. Jahrunderts* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1977), 185–225.

25 "May he rest in peace and thanks be to him for having beautified the lives of his friends by his creations!" Quoted in Deutsch, *Memories*, 141. "Ruhe seine Asche und Dank ihm dafür, daß er

is often diluted, in Schubert's and von Spaun's time, it represented aesthetic harmony and unity within diversity. The friends' belief that good art frees people from overwhelming passions suggested an aesthetic that, at least in the final instance, prioritized the beautiful over the sublime.

Therefore, if *Die Nacht* did indeed provide Schubert's friends with a space to contemplate the present darkness and the idea of a future dawn, while also limiting their flights of imagination in favor of "manly composure," the song can indeed be said to have contributed to the beauty of their lives.

Mildly melancholic friendship

So, what do you do when bright prospects for the future suddenly darken? Hirschfeld notes that humans, grappling with disappointments and the transience of earthly endeavor, sometimes seek "solace in solitude" and "the wisdom of quiet contemplation."[26] According to him, the mildly melancholic area serves as a place for such solace. There, one is afforded the opportunity to remember and even to relive past happiness – but at a safe distance from "the clamor of the things that aroused and shattered our desires, that enchantingly captivated us and that drove us to tears."[27]

In Hirschfeld's theory, visiting a mildly melancholic area is something you do alone. However, in practice, wanderers could choose to experience the landscape of solitude together. The same applied to free fantasias. Ideally, a fantasia should be improvised in solitude, but in practice, it often took place in front of an audience. Similarly, when a song like *Die Nacht* was performed by Schubert and a singer, at least two people – likely more – would be present.

In fact, the idea of companionship within a mildly melancholic area is suggested by one of Hirschfeld's illustrations. The image depicts a "Temple of Melancholy" ("Tempel der Melancholie", see Illustration 2) opening onto a tree-shaded, partly moonlit spot. Hirschfeld notes that an inscription – "Manibus Amicorum" – enhances the impression of the building and the garden scene.[28] The Latin phrase can be read as "by the souls of friends," referring to *manes*,

seinen Freunden durch seine Schöpfungen ihr Leben verschönerte." Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 164.

26 "[...] den Trost der Einsamkeit und die Weisheit stiller Betrachtungen zu suchen." Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 4, 81. My translation.

27 "Wir nützen unsre Erfahrungen niemals mehr, als durch ruhiges Nachdenken über verlebte Tage, entfernt von dem Geräusch der Gegenstände, die unsre Wünsche aufschwellten und zernichteten, die uns mit Bezauberung an sich fesselten und zu Thränen verstießen." Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 4, 81. My translation.

28 "Die Inschrift: Manibus Amicorum verstärkt den Eindruck des Gebäudes und seiner Scene." Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 4, 86.

the souls of the departed in Roman religion. However, the phrase may also be interpreted as "by the hands of friends." And, clearly, not all friends have yet moved to the realm of shadows, for in the half-light before the temple, there is not a solitary figure but two men who seem to be conversing.



Illustration 2: "Tempel der Melancholie," from Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: W.G. Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1779–85), vol. 4, 86.

Their position in the image and their body postures, along with the outstretched hand of the man on the right, suggest that they are slowly moving from left to right. They avoid looking directly at the temple, and they seem neither to be approaching nor retreating from the black hole of the doorway. Instead, they appear to be making their way toward the soft moonlight. Together, they explore a landscape of solitude, memory, and introspection, and they seem to do so with both sensibility and composure. In times of deep trouble, perhaps such an exploration is after all best undertaken with a friend by your side.

APPENDIX

Below is the full text of Schubert's *Die Nacht* D 534.[29] To offer a sense of the structure of the musical setting I have inserted tempo markings in bold. (English translation below.).

Barde:

[Langsam] [Recit.] Die Nacht ist dumpfig und finster. An den Hügeln ruhn die **[a tempo]** Wolken, kein Stern mit grünzitterndem Strahl; kein Mond schaut durch die Luft. Im Walde hör ich den Hauch; aber ich hör ihn weit in der Ferne. Der Strom des Tals erbraust, aber sein Brausen ist stürmisch und trüb. **[Sehr langsam]** Vom Baum beim Grabe der Toten hört man lang die krächzende Eul'. **[Etwas geschwind]** An der Ebne erblick ich eine dämmernde Bildung! Es ist ein Geist, er schwindet, er flieht! **[Langsam]** Durch diesen Weg wird eine Leiche getragen, ihren Pfad bezeichnet das Luftbild. **[Etwas geschwind]** Der fernere Dogge heult von der Hütte des Hügels. – **[Ruhig]** Der Hirsch liegt am Moose des Bergs. Neben ihm ruht die **[Geschwinder]** Hindin; in seinem astigten Geweihe hört sie den Wind; fährt auf **[Langsam]** und legt sich zur Ruhe wieder nieder.

[Etwas geschwinder] Düster und keuchend, zitternd und traurig, verlor der Wandrer den Weg. Er irrt durch Gebüsche, durch Dornen längs der sprudelnden Quelle, er fürchtet die Klippe und den Sumpf. Er fürchtet den Geist der Nacht. Der alte Baum ächzt zu dem Windstoß. Der fallende Ast erschallt. **[Geschwind]** Die verwelkte, zusammen verworrene Klette, treibt der Wind über das Gras. Es ist der leichte **[Langsam]** Tritt eines Geists; er bebt in der Mitte der Nacht.

[Wie oben, i.e. Langsam] Die Nacht ist düster, dunkel, und heulend; wolkigt, stürmisch und schwanger mit Geistern. **[Sehr langsam]** Die Toten streifen umher. Empfangt mich von der Nacht, meine Freunde.

Der Gebieter:

[Mäßig] Lass Wolken an Hügeln ruhn, Geister fliegen und Wandrer beben, lass die Winde der Wälder sich heben, brausende Stürme herabsteigen. Ströme brüllen, Fenster klirren, grünbeflügelte Dämpfe fliegen, den bleichen Mond sich hinter seinen Hügeln erheben, oder sein Haupt in Wolken einhüllen.

29 Peter Rastl and Peter Dellitsch, eds., *Franz Schubert: Die Texte seiner Lieder und Gesänge und ihre Dichter* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2023, vol. 1), 378–80.

[Recit.] Die Nacht gilt mir gleich, die Luft sei blau, stürmisch, oder dunkel. Die Nacht fliegt vorm Strahl, wenn er am Hügel sich gießt. Der junge Tag kehrt von seinen Wolken, aber **[Langsam]** wir kehren nimmer zurück.

[Geschwind] [Recit.] Wo sind unsre Führer der Vorwelt? Wo sind unsre weit berühmten Gebieter? **[Nicht zu langsam]** Schweigend sind die Felder ihrer Schlachten. Kaum sind ihre moosigten Gräber noch übrig. Man wird auch unser vergessen. **[Recit.]** Dies erhabene Gebäu wird zerfallen, unsere Söhne werden die Trümmer im Grase nicht erblicken, sie werden die Greisen befragen, wo standen die Mauern unsrer Väter?

[Mäßig] [Recit.] Ertönet das Lied und schlaget die **[a tempo]** Harfen! **[Recit.]** Sendet die fröhlichen Muscheln herum. Stellt hundert Kerzen in die Höhe. **[Recit.]** Jünglinge, Mädchen, beginnet den Tanz! Nah sei ein graulockiger Barde, mir die Taten der Vorwelt zu singen, von Königen, berühmt in unserm Land, von Gebietern, die wir nicht mehr sehn. Lass die Nacht also vergehen, bis der Morgen in unsern Hallen erscheine. Dann seien nicht ferne der Bogen, die Doggen, die Jünglinge der Jagd. Wir werden die Hügel mit dem Morgen besteigen und die Hirsche erwecken.

In the English version (my translation) I have incorporated many passages from Macpherson's English original, though adjusting individual words and, at times, the syntax in order to reflect von Harold's often idiosyncratic German translation.

Bard:

[Slowly] [Recit.] Night is dark and gloomy. The clouds rest on the **[a tempo]** hills, no star with green trembling beam; no moon looks through the air. I hear the breeze in the wood; but I hear it distant far. The stream of the valley roars; but its roaring is stormy and sullen. **[Very slowly]** From the tree at the grave of the dead the long-howling owl is heard. **[Somewhat fast]** I see a dim form on the plain! It is a ghost, it fades, it flies! **[Slowly]** A corpse is carried past this place, a vision marks the path. **[Somewhat fast]** The distant dog is howling from the hut of the hill. – **[Peacefully]** The stag lies on the mountain moss. The [hind] rests at his **[Faster]** side; she hears the wind in his branchy horns; she starts **[Slowly]** and lies down to rest again.

[Somewhat faster] Dismal and panting, trembling and sad, the wanderer lost his way. He goes astray through shrubs, through thorns along the gurgling fountain, he fears the rock and the fen. He fears the ghost of night. The old tree groans to the blast. The falling branch resounds. **[Fast]** The wind drives the withered burs, clung together, along the grass. It is the light **[Slowly]** tread of a ghost; he trembles amidst the night.

[As above, i.e. Slowly] Night is dismal, dusky, and howling, cloudy, stormy and full of ghosts. **[Very slowly]** The dead are abroad. Receive me from the night, my friends.

The Master:

[Moderately] Let clouds rest on the hills, spirits fly and wanderer tremble, let the winds of the woods arise, roaring storms descend. [Let] streams thunder, windows clatter, and green-winged vapors fly, [let] the pale moon rise behind his hills, or inclose his head in clouds. **[Recit.]** Night is alike to me, blue, stormy, or gloomy the air. Night flies before the beam, when it is poured on the hill. The young day returns from his clouds, but **[Slowly]** we return no more.

[Fast] [Recit.] Where are our leaders of old? Where are our widely renowned masters? **[Not too slowly]** Silent are the fields of their battles. Scarcely their mossy tombs remain. We shall also be forgot. **[Recit.]** This lofty house shall fall, our sons shall not behold the ruins in grass, they shall ask of the aged, where stood the walls of our fathers?

[Moderately] [Recit.] Raise the song, and strike the **[a tempo]** harps! **[Recit.]** Send round the merry shells. Suspend a hundred tapers on high. **[Recit.]** Youths, maids, begin the dance! Let a gray-haired bard be near me to tell the deeds of other times, of kings renowned in our land, of masters we behold no more. Thus let the night pass until morning shall appear in our halls. Then let the bow be at hand, the hounds, the youths of the chase. We shall ascend the hill with the morning and awake the deer.

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“Und das All ein einzig Chor” – An Ecocritical Approach to Schubert/Schlegel’s *Abendröthe*

Marlene Heiß

This chapter explores the intersections of ecocriticism, Romantic nature philosophy, poetry, and song through a multiperspective analysis of Friedrich Schlegel’s cycle *Abendröthe* (Sunset) and Franz Schubert’s musical eponymous setting of the first song (“Tiefer sinket schon die Sonne”) D 690. It begins by outlining key concepts of ecocriticism, a field that examines how art engages with nature and environmental thinking, before linking these ideas to Romantic philosophies of nature. Within this context, the study highlights Romantic pantheism, a perspective that profoundly influenced Schlegel and framed nature as an interconnected, spiritual, and dynamic force. This combined theoretical lens is then applied to *Abendröthe* and Schubert’s musical interpretation of the text, exploring how an ecocritical approach can deepen our understanding of historical musical works. The study emphasizes how artistic engagement with music and poetry can reveal ecological significance and offer new insights into the relationship between nature, music, philosophy and human perception. Given that the study is positioned within the field of Artistic Research, it further examines the interplay between theoretical and artistic reflection, introducing an experimental collaboration with Berlin-based filmmaker Lilli Kuschel. Through a music video, Schubert’s *Abendröthe* is reimagined within a contemporary urban environment, raising questions about the interconnectedness of humans and nature, cities and plants, engaging and listening, repose and response, and, ultimately, the dialogue between the nineteenth century and the twenty-first.

Ecocriticism

It matters what thoughts think thoughts.
It matters what knowledges know knowledges.
It matters what relations relate relations.
It matters what worlds world worlds.
It matters what stories tell stories.
(Donna J. Haraway)[1]

At its core, ecocriticism is the study of the ways in which humans perceive, interact with, and represent the natural world in thought and culture – whether in literature, the visual arts or music – and explores how these representations shape and are shaped by our understanding of the world and our place in it. Emerging from the field of literary theory in the 1970s, ecocriticism has since developed into a multidisciplinary field that draws on insights from philosophy, environmental science and social activism to challenge anthropocentric worldviews and explore alternative narratives in art that recognize the interconnectedness of all life. Ecocriticism assumes that art not only reflects but also constructs ecological awareness, ethical responsibility and socio-political discourses – and can thus either reinforce exploitative ideologies or promote more sustainable and reciprocal relationships.[2] Ecocriticism seeks to make these relationships more understandable and to raise awareness of interconnections that might otherwise go unnoticed.[3]

Ecocriticism is closely associated with the Anthropocene discourse, which reflects on the profound and often destructive impact of humans on the Earth. The concept of the Anthropocene, first proposed by Paul Crutzen and Eugene Stoermer in 2000, marks a paradigm shift in recognizing humanity as a dominant geological force shaping the planet.[4] It challenges traditional distinctions between the natural and human worlds, highlighting the often irreversible impact of human activity on Earth's systems. This notion reframes the role of humans from passive inhabitants to active geological agents, responsible for environmental transformations such as climate change, biodiversity loss,

1 Donna J. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2016), 35.
2 Aaron S. Allen, "Ecomusicology: Ecocriticism and Musicology," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (2011): 391–4, at 391.
3 Gabriele Dürbeck, "Narrative des Anthropozän – Systematisierung eines interdisziplinären Diskurses," *Kulturwissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* 3, no. 1 (2018): 1–20, at 3–4, https://doi.org/10.25969/mediarep/3602.
4 Paul J. Crutzen and Eugene F. Stoermer, "The 'Anthropocene,'" *Global Change Newsletter* 41 (2000): 17–18.

and ecosystem disruptions.[5] The formal recognition of the Anthropocene as a geological epoch remains a subject of extensive scientific debate, particularly regarding its geological markers. Most recently, in March 2024, the Subcommission on Quaternary Stratigraphy (SQS) voted against a proposal to formalize the Anthropocene, citing concerns over the shallow sedimentary record and the recent proposed start date.[6] Nevertheless, the geological thesis along with the debates it has sparked, continues to challenge the long-standing divide between nature and culture. Beyond a scientific classification, the Anthropocene has evolved into a powerful narrative structure that calls for a reassessment of humanity's role within the living world. It has influenced the discourse on art as well as the making of art across disciplines, inspiring storytelling and artistic expression that address current environmental crises while deepening our emotional connection to nature: Olafur Eliasson's *Ice Watch* (2014–2018), for example, brought melting glacial ice into city spaces, turning climate data into sensory experience. Gabriella Smith's compositions *Lost Coast* (2023) and *Breathing Forests* (2021) are reflections on sadness and rage about lost natural phenomena and ecosystems on the one hand and at the same time a celebration of the natural systems and cycles of which we are a part. Lorenzo Quinn's sculpture *Support* (2017), with its monumental hands rising from Venetian waters, visualizes both vulnerability and agency in the face of climate change. The exhibition *Territories of Waste* (2023, Museum Tinguely) interrogated the material legacies of consumption and decay and placed the littering of the planet at the center of artistic practices. And Judith Schalansky's book *Verzeichnis einiger Verluste* (2018) traces extinction and disappearance, where loss and discovery intertwine, and absence and presence blur in memory and language.

These artistic expressions – as many others of our present – explore ruptures and changes in the human-nature-relationship. By addressing loss, resilience and the possibilities of coexistence, they not only bear witness to environmental change, but can also offer imaginative pathways to ecological awareness and responsibility.

Nature/Culture

In ecocriticism, one of the central questions is whether humankind should be seen as part of nature or separate from it. Scholars continuously seek to refine

5 Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 44.

6 Alexander Damianos, "Anthropocene Angst: Authentic Geology and Stratigraphic Sincerity," *Social Studies of Science*, 55, no. 3 (June 2025): 444–64, https://doi.org/10.1177/03063127241282309.

and differentiate the terminology used in cultural discourse, recognizing that language shapes our understanding of nature, the environment, and humanity's relationship with the nonhuman world. The long-standing nature/culture dichotomy – a division that has shaped Western thought for centuries, often positioning nature as subordinate to human culture – is discussed in terms of whether it reinforces narratives that justify exploitation. These discourses critically examine the very concept of nature – not as an independent, self-contained entity, but as a constructed idea shaped by human perception and interpretation:

> Nature only appears to be not man-made, for in order to imagine a totality of entities the world must be 'mediated and objectified'. Air, trees, rocks, grass, water and so forth exist, but they only become 'Nature' when they are mediated by human consciousness, when a subject makes them its objects of attention.[7]

By critically analyzing how terms such as 'nature', 'culture', 'landscape' or 'environment' are framed, ecocriticism exposes underlying assumptions, ideological biases, and cultural constructs that influence environmental thought and action. For example, the term 'landscape' underscores that human engagement with nature is not just a passive experience but also a creative act where humans and their perception and perspective actively shape and interpret the land. Rather than being an intrinsic feature of the land itself, the landscape exists through the lens of the observer.[8] The term 'environment' typically refers to the nonhuman physical world, encompassing living organisms, landscapes, and natural processes. However, this definition can inadvertently reinforce a human-nature divide, implying that nature exists as something separate from human activity. In contrast, the concept of 'ecology' offers a more integrated perspective, emphasizing the interconnectedness of all life forms within their environments, including humans. This holistic approach challenges reductionist views and highlights the interwoven relationships between species, ecosystems, and human societies.[9]

In summary, ecocriticism explores the intersections between human consciousness and the natural world, highlighting the dynamic relationship between thinking and being, mind and environment, and human creativity and nature. This exploration extends beyond contemporary eco-art to encompass historical works that address human/nature entanglements. To avoid a sim-

7 Jonathan Bate, *The Song of the Earth* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 121.
8 Bate, *The Song of the Earth,* 132.
9 Allen, "Ecomusicology," 392–93.

plistic glorification of the past, however, this also requires a critical examination of the legacy of an idealized vision of nature, particularly in the poetic works of the Romantic era. Romanticism not only shaped many of the Western cultural ideals about nature that still resonate today, but also often projected a highly aestheticized relationship of humans to the natural world. While such visions helped to elevate the value of the natural world in the face of a growing sense of alienation in early modernity, they also laid the foundations for a myth of pristine, untouched nature – separate from society and civilization – that can obscure ecological complexity and interactions with human impact.

An ecocritical lens on the past

In the early nineteenth century, at the dawn of industrialization and urban growth, the tension between city and countryside became a defining theme for many thinkers, poets, and composers in Western cultural contexts. The disenchantment with nature, reinforced by the Enlightenment, was met with a counterforce by Romanticism, which sought to re-enchant the world through art, especially poetry. While the Enlightenment focused on secularization, rationalization and the codification of knowledge, driving scientific and technological progress, the Industrial Revolution rapidly transformed landscapes, dismantling traditional ways of life and deepening the perceived divide between humanity and the natural world. In response to these changes, Romantic artists discovered the aesthetic valence of nature and sought to reclaim the sense of wonder that seemed lost amidst the relentless exploitation of resources and urbanization.[10] For Romantic poets the act of writing became a way of re-creating the poetic bond with nature. They often projected romanticized ideals of nature originating from urban environments either onto untamed 'wilderness' or rural landscapes, which were transfigured into places of escape and profound reflection; a distant and longed-for refuge for city dwellers, yearning for a more 'authentic' world. This nostalgic longing countered the dehumanizing effects of mechanization and economic expansion, giving rise to the powerful myth of a lost, better world. However, this myth was not new; it stretches back through generations: "an escalator reaching further and further back into the past," ultimately arriving at *Eden* or *Arcadia* as a foundational myth in Western thought.[11] In *The Song of the Earth* (2000), Jonathan Bate emphasizes that myths

10 Wolfgang Frühwald, "Zwielicht. Natur und Landschaft in der Literatur der deutschen Romantik," in *Beiträge zum Göttinger Umwelthistorischen Kolloquium 2009–2010,* ed. Bernd Herrmann (Göttingen: Graduiertenkolleg Interdisziplinäre Umweltgeschichte, 2010), 47–68, at 64.

11 Raymond Williams, quoted in Bate, *The Song of the Earth,* 25.

and storytelling can serve a vital function as a framework for reimagining the future: "Myths are necessary imaginings, exemplary stories which help our species to make sense of its place in the world."[12] At the same time he notes: "The danger lies in what we do with the nostalgia. [...] Where is the voice of nature calling us? Back to a pre-modern age? Or forward to a saner future?"[13]

This tension between longing, dreaming, and mourning on one hand and critical thinking and action on the other shapes ecocritically informed contemporary interpretations of historical art that explore the human/nature relationship:While considering what historical representations of nature can teach us about sustainability, empathy, and coexistence today, they also call for a critical examination of how idealized portrayals of nature may have contributed to a distorted understanding of nature that may have influenced modern environmental discourse by promoting a binary view: either as pristine and untarnished or as entirely degraded by human activity. In this light, my examination of Franz Schubert's setting of Friedrich Schlegel's *Abendröthe* seeks to oscillate between past and present aiming for a more nuanced understanding of how human-nature relationships have been – and continue to be – shaped by their socio-cultural, intellectual, and artistic contexts.

Friedrich Schlegel's *Abendröthe*

Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) – philosopher, critic, and poet – was a key figure in the development of German Romanticism, renowned for his contributions to literary theory and his advocacy for the integration of philosophy, art, and imagination. His poem cycle *Abendröthe* (1800–1) was first published in the *Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1802*, edited by Ludwig Tieck and his brother August Wilhelm Schlegel. Between 1819 and 1823 the cycle was partially set to music by Franz Schubert. Friedrich Schlegel's thoughts were influenced in various phases by different philosophical discourses. *Abendröthe* is an example of his preoccupation with Romantic pantheism and the idea of the equivalence between the whole and its parts. Later, in 1808, he converted to Catholicism, and in 1809 he would distance himself from these ideas, dismissing them as "aesthetic daydreaming" and "unmanly pantheistic fraudulence."[14] However, in *Abendröthe* the theme of Oneness is woven through the imagery – the idea of

12 Ibid.
13 Ibid., 36.
14 Quoted in Susan Youens, "'So tönt in Welle Welle': Schubert and Pantheism in Song," in *Verwandlungsmusik: Über komponierte Transfigurationen*, eds. Siglind Bruhn and Andreas Dorschel. Studien zur Wertungsforschung, 48 (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2007), 153–89, at 155.

one animating force uniting all existence, reflecting Schlegel's philosophical vision of unity within diversity:

> True philosophy finds the highest reality only in a perpetually living and moving activity which, under ever-changing forms and shapes, engenders an endless fullness and diversity.[15]

Romantic pantheistic poetry

To grasp the significance of this philosophical perspective and its fusion with pantheistic poetry in contemporary debates about the separation or connection between humans and the environment, nature and culture, it is useful to distinguish it from another poetic tradition: picturesque or descriptive poetry. Picturesque poetry often emphasizes the beauty of nature, presenting it in harmonious and tranquil landscapes. It views nature through a lens that prioritizes its visual appeal and its ability to inspire contemplation, portraying it as a carefully composed painting. However, this perspective often reinforces a separation between the observer (human) and the observed (the 'environment'). This kind of aestheticization of nature has an impact on how people relate to the natural world. Rather than engaging with nature as a dynamic force to work with or against, it becomes a site of contemplation and enjoyment, curated and captured like a work of art. Ironically, in the pursuit of celebrating nature through artistic representation, the picturesque movement contributes to a more detached and ornamental understanding of the environment, distancing it from the lived experience of human/nature interconnectedness.[16] In contrast to the picturesque approach, Romantic pantheism – influenced by the ideas of Baruch Spinoza and the motto of "hen kai pan," the "one and all" – embraces the notion of a unifying totality in which nature and the divine are inseparable. In pantheistic poetry, nature is not simply observed, but lived, felt, and worshipped as part of a universal spirit that connects all beings.[17] Pantheists believed that nature was immanent, present in all things, ejecting a rigid division between nature and civilization and advocating for a holistic, ecological understanding that acknowledges the interconnectedness of all existence.

Friedrich Schlegel adopted key elements from Spinoza's pantheism, particularly the concept of the divine as an all-encompassing, impersonal force.

15 Quoted in Youens, "'So tönt in Welle Welle': Schubert and Pantheism in Song," 176.
16 Bate, *The Song of the Earth,* 136.
17 Youens, "'So tönt in Welle Welle': Schubert and Pantheism in Song," 153–54.

For Schlegel this suggested that all things are interconnected and mediate each other: "No idea is isolated, but is what it is only in combination with all other ideas."[18] His cycle *Abendröthe* contains twenty-two poems, with the first eleven poems taking place in twilight and the second set in the darkness of night, introducing various human and non-human personae that speak as the 'lyrical I' – including natural elements and phenomena like mountains, thickets stars, the moon and the sun as well as human protagonists like a maiden, a poet, a wanderer or a shepherd (see Table 1).[19] Through the individual perceptions and experiences of these various personae, the moment of the setting sun is rendered as the sum of its parts.

Table 1: The Structure and Lyrical Personae of Friedrich Schlegel's *Abendröthe*

Part I	**Part II**
Untitled introduction	Untitled introduction
Die Berge (The Mountains)	Der Wanderer (The Wanderer)
Die Vögel (The Birds)	Der Mond (The Moon)
Der Knabe (The Lad)	Zwei Nachtigallen (Two Nightingales)
Der Fluß (The River)	Das Mädchen (The Maiden)
Der Hirt (The Shepherd)	Der Wasserfall (The Waterfall)
Die Rose (The Rose)	Die Blumen (The Flowers)
Der Schmetterling (The Butterfly)	Der Sänger (The Singer)
Die Sonne (The Sun)	Die Sterne (The Stars)
Die Lüfte (The Breezes)	Die Gebüsche (The Thickets)
Der Dichter (The Poet)	Der Dichter (The Poet)

'Abendröte' in German literally means 'evening redness' – a moment of sublime beauty, that makes people stand still, watching the sky and their surroundings transform and change colors as the sun goes down and the first stars appear. It marks a shift from day, when sight is our primary sense, to night, when other forms of perception take precedence – particularly listening.[20] The sense of listening repeatedly appears within the poems as the central means for humans to engage with the 'hen kai pan' – particularly clearly in the poem *Die Gebüsche (the thickets).* It speaks decidedly of "only one soul" that makes itself felt in everything – in the form of "*one* faint sound" – just one – which "echoes for he who secretly listens" (see Table 2).

18 Quoted in Youens, "'So tönt in Welle Welle': Schubert and Pantheism in Song," 159.
19 Lisa Feurzeig, *Schubert's Lieder and the Philosophy of Early German Romanticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 70.
20 Feurzeig, *Schubert's Lieder,* 64.

Table 2: Original Lyrics and English Translation of Friedrich Schlegel's *Die Gebüsche* (from the cycle *Abendröthe*). Original text and translation from Graham Johnson, Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs, Vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 648.

Es wehet kühl und leise	The breeze bloes cool and soft
Die Luft durch dunkle Auen,	Through dark meadows,
Und nur der Himmel lächelt	And only the heavens smile
Aus tausend hellen Augen.	From a thousand bright eyes.
Es regt nur Eine Seele	Only one soul stirs
Sich in des Meeres Brausen,	Amid the roaring ocean,
Und in den leisen Worten,	And in the soft words
Die durch die Blätter rauschen.	That whisper through the leaves.
So tönt in Welle Welle,	Thus wave echoes wave
Wo Geister heimlich trauren;	Where spirits are secretly mourn;
So folgen Worte Worten,	Thus words follow words
Wo Geister Leben hauchen.	Where spirits breathe life.
Durch alle Töne tönet	Through all the sounds
Im bunten Erdentraume	In the earth's many-coloured dreams,
E i n, leiser Ton gezogen,	*One* faint sound echoes
Für den, der heimlich lauschet.	For him who secretly listens.

In the poems, the transition from evening to night is savored as a multifaceted process as well as an ambiguous, liminal space where things are not what they seem. Twilight as an experience of transition is emblematic of German Romanticism, reflecting the Romantics' own existence at the threshold of modernization. The nights of the nineteenth century were darker, their stars brighter, and the night sky more magnificent than today's. Yet, at the same time, the Romantics witnessed the destruction of natural landscapes, the rise of factories, and the exploitation of workers as consequences of industrial progress. In these diffuse, uncertain and transformative times, poetic landscapes became immersed in twilight, a space where sensuality, longing and desire could surface.[21]

Non-human-voices

While the *Abendröthe* cycle does contain descriptive elements, it goes much further than that, portraying nature as an active, pantheistic manifold in which individual natural elements like mountains, birds, rivers, and winds possess their own voices, agencies and subjectivities. This approach, however, was not universally approved in the nineteenth century. In 1856, John Ruskin

21 Frühwald, "Zwielicht," 59–60.

dismissed the attribution of human emotions to nature as "pathetic fallacy."[22] He preferred "the very plain and leafy fact of a primrose" to "blossoms that breathe and twigs that pant with pleasure."[23] While the anthropomorphization of plants, stars, and thickets should certainly be considered critically to avoid sentimentality or crude projection, Ruskin's stance is also overly simplistic. The "very plain and leafy fact" is, after all, shaped by perception. To call a leaf "a fact" essentially freezes it sensorially. It reduces it to a mere surface to be seen or a composite to be measured, thereby making it difficult to engage with as a living entity.

In contrast, a key concept in ecocriticism and its non-anthropocentric worldview is the recognition of 'non-human' or 'more-than-human' voices, acknowledging that other forms of life have agency and voices of their own. Against this background, Schlegel's view of nature as a differentiated organism with living voices seems less like a "pathetic fallacy" and more like an effort to mediate for nature, recognizing the animate quality inherent in all forms of existence. This perspective of a mediator for nature must of course be understood within its limits: "The ecocritic has no choice but to speak on behalf of the Other. The ecocritical project always involves speaking for its subject rather than speaking as its subject."[24]

Humans speaking through their art on behalf of nature have to acknowledge that artistic depictions are inevitably shaped by human perception, language, symbolism, and intellectual constructs. Even in the most earnest attempts to amplify the non-human voices, humans cannot fully transcend their own ways of seeing, interpreting, and understanding the world. Their representations remain mediated by personal experiences, societal norms, and historical contexts, making it impossible to capture nature in a purely objective or unfiltered way. However, music occupies a unique position in this dynamic as it operates outside the confines of verbal language and its inherent categorization. Unlike words, which classify, define, and impose meaning, music communicates through sound, allowing for a more immediate and less conceptually constrained engagement with the world.

22 Graham Johnson, "Schubert and the Schlegels: The Dawning of Romanticism," liner notes for *The Hyperion Schubert Edition,* Vol. 27, with Matthias Goerne, baritone, Christine Schäfer, soprano, Graham Johnson, piano, recorded 1995, Hyperion Records, CDJ33027, 1996, compact disc, https://www.hyperion-records.co.uk/notes/33027-B.pdf, 25.

23 Johnson, "Schubert and the Schlegels," 25.

24 Bate, *The Song of the Earth,* 72.

Franz Schubert's *Abendröte* ("Tiefer sinket schon die Sonne") D 690

Franz Schubert set to music exactly half of the twenty-two poems over a span of approximately four years (1819–23). Due to various factors, the exact dating of many of the songs remains uncertain. The very first poem in the cycle may have been one of the last that Schubert composed; he marked this setting with the date 'March 1823' and he gave the song, which Schlegel left untitled, the name of the entire poetic cycle: *Abendröte*.[25]

Both the poem and the song share a dual function. They serve as a descriptive panorama of natural archetypes and then expand in structure and texture – broaden and culminate into the powerful image of a choir unifying all living voices in a song, sung from one mouth (see Table 3).[26]

Table 3: Original lyrics and English translation of Franz Schubert's *Abendröte* D 690. Original text and translation from Graham Johnson, *Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs*, Vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 648.

Tiefer sinket schon die Sonne,	The sun sinks deeper,
Und es atmet alles Ruhe,	All things breathe peace;
Tages Arbeit ist vollendet,	The day's work is finished,
Und die Kinder scherzen munter.	And the children play merrily.
Grüner glänzt die grüne Erde,	The green earth shines greener
Eh' die Sonne ganz versunken.	Before the sun goes down.
Milden Balsam hauchen leise	The flowers softly breathe
In die Lüfte nun die Blumen,	Into the air sweet balm
Der die Seele zart berühret,	That tenderly caresses the soul
Wenn die Sinne selig trunken.	While the senses are drunk with rapture.
Kleine Vögel, ferne Menschen,	Small birds, people in the distance,
Berge himmelan geschwungen,	Mountains soaring heavenwards,
Und der große Silberstrom,	And the great silver river
Der im Tale schlank gewunden;	That winds its slender course through the valley:
Alles scheint dem Dichter redend,	All seem to speak to the poet,
Denn er hat den Sinn gefunden;	For he has divined their meaning;
Und das All ein einzig Chor,	And the whole world becomes a single choir,
Manches Lied aus einem Munde.	Singing many a song with one voice.

Interestingly, the 'one voice' ("aus einem Munde") is the insight the persona of the poet arrives at. This figure introduces another layer of interconnectedness, one that is particularly significant from an ecocritical perspective and its reflections upon "the interrelatedness of perception and creation."[27] The poet is the one who grasps the essence of the one breath, of the force that uni-

25 Feurzeig, *Schubert's Lieder*, 71.
26 Ibid., 73.
27 Bate, *The Song of the Earth*, 148.

fies all voices. He is the one because he is truly sensitive to the world around him, engaging with and responding to it in a poetic way. This responsiveness, deeply internal, creates a space of stillness, which becomes more potent and more significant as the noise of modern life intensifies.[28] In a dynamic interplay of passivity and activity, he not only listens and observes but also shapes and transforms his perception through artistic expression. It is in this spirit that Donna Haraway in *Staying with the Trouble* urges us to rethink how we live and relate in today's world:

> The task is to become capable, with each other in all of our bumptious kinds, of response. [...] The task is to make kin in lines of inventive connection as a practice of learning to live and die well with each other in a thick present. Our task is to make trouble, to stir up potent response to devastating events, as well as to settle troubled waters and rebuild quiet places.[29]

In this context, Schubert's setting of *Abendröte* stands as a remarkable example of his sensitivity to text. His subtle yet powerful musical interpretation captures and amplifies the essence of the poem. The song is cast as a slow 6/8 dance that progresses with increasing rhythmic complexity and the shortening of note values, while "the basic tempo, however, remains that of a stately procession, a measured moto perpetuo."[30] The recurring trills in the piano evolve throughout the piece, illustrating various natural images – children's laughter, gentle breezes or birdsong. Beyond these illustrations the trills are central to the musical texture, connecting movement and stillness, maintaining energy and suspending movement at the same time. The atmosphere arising is one of tranquility and repose while simultaneously infused with a vibrant breath of life.[31] Schubert's song succeeds in capturing the stillness the poet experiences at sunset, leading to his pantheistic conclusion, while also animating the moment with life's pulsating rhythm. Not only the trills but also the independent, intertwined melodic lines contribute to an unusually dense texture. Schubert employs cyclical structures, recurring yet alternating motifs, and rhythmic variations to evoke the idea that all elements of nature are part of a unified whole, while at the same time in constant dynamics and in constant becoming. The vocal line – one of many voices – remains calm throughout the song, yet beneath it a growing intensity simmers; the texture thickens, and the liveliness steadily increases. The many voices rise together like a large flock of

28 Frühwald, "Zwielicht," 54.
29 Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble,* 2.
30 Johnson, "Schubert and the Schlegels," 27.
31 Feurzeig, *Schubert's Lieder,* 76.

migratory birds or a swarm of bees, acting as one while consisting of countless small individuals. As the surge rises, the singer's voice descends echoing the poet's final realization: "And the whole world becomes a single choir, / Singing many a song with one voice." The human voice plunges into the depths, merging with the surrounding wave, embracing the vastness that envelops it.

An artistic reflection upon Schubert's *Abendröte*

Given that this study is situated within the framework of Artistic Research, it aims to delve into the dynamic relationship between theoretical and artistic reflection. As I understand it, Artistic Research first and foremost poses questions through art – questions that concern the art form and the practice itself, but which can also go beyond it. It explores how intellectual inquiry and critical thought inform and shape creative processes, while at the same time challenging and expanding theoretical frameworks through artistic experimentation. Artistic practice is thus related to reflection, observation, analysis, methodological frameworks and conceptual thinking: "As a result, two forms of thought – thought in the artistic medium, and thought underlying philosophical or scientific reasoning – are put into constant dialogue".[32] In this light for the final section of this chapter, an artistic project is presented that brings my personal artistic exploration of Schubert/Schlegel's *Abendröte* into a contemporary light, engages with eco-critical discourses, and reflects on the impact of these connections on the quality of music-making and listening through artistic engagement. The language will be more subjective and direct than in the previous sections, due to the close fusion of thinking, doing and perceiving.

In July 2024, I approached Berlin-based filmmaker Lilli Kuschel to interrogate the Schlegel/Schubert songs beyond my traditional musical practice as a classical concert pianist. Why film? I am keenly aware that songs derive their rich imaginative and poetic potential precisely from their indeterminacy and openness. Visual imagery, with its inherent power, strongly shapes perception. When combined with music, it can easily dominate or simplify the experience, potentially diminishing the listener's ability to uncover subtle nuances. At the same time, as a pianist specialized in the performance practice of classical songs, I have often experienced that Romantic 'Art Songs' – especially those by Franz Schubert – are buried under a thick layer of traditions, listening expectations, interpretative conventions, analytical codes and frameworks. The songs take on a certain sacredness, a nostalgic attempt to resurrect the past as

32 Deniz Peters, "Six Propositions on Artistic Research," in *Perspectives on Artistic Research in Music,* ed. Robert Burke and Andy's Osman (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2017), 19–26, at 24.

a golden age of the bourgeoisie. Yet this idealization is paradoxical, given that Schubert himself was far removed from this reality. His characters, after all, are often shaped by themes of marginalization and outsiderhood (if, for example, you consider the *Winterreise* or other *Wanderer* figures[33]). My thesis is that the accumulated layers shape our perception and limit our imagination and creative energy, both as listeners and performers, in much the same way as preconstructed visual imagery does. This returns me to an already raised question, but in a different context: What do we do with nostalgia? Pursued further, the question asks: How can the qualities, found in the thoughts, sensations, poems and music of Franz Schubert and his time, be illuminated without getting stuck in performative conventions and established codes of conduct? How can they be encountered as something living and animate – something that, as Schlegel described, is "perpetually living and moving under ever-changing forms and shapes?"[34] How can a dense poetic-musical work like *Abendröte* serve as a mediator in today's troubled times – interrelating present and past, civilization and nature, stillness and action, listening and observing?

> Staying with the trouble requires making oddkin; that is, we require each other in unexpected collaborations and combinations. We become-with each other or not at all.[35]

To 'become-with' through encountering Schubert's song, I sought to fracture the dense layers surrounding it, creating openings for new forms of perception to take root. For these reasons I chose to explore film – a medium capable of instigating a radical shift in scenery, transplanting Schubert of 1823, bathed in golden evening light, into the city lights of Berlin in 2024 (see Illustration 1).

At the beginning of our collaboration Lilli Kuschel and I started asking ourselves the questions: How do you 'make kin' in a metropolis of 2024? Where do you find 'quiet places?' In a distracting world, what stirs your heart and calls it to respond?

33 For further insights into Schubert's 'Wanderer theme', see Cecily Cai's essay in this volume.
34 Quoted in Youens "'So tönt in Welle Welle': Schubert and Pantheism in Song," 176.
35 Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 4.



Illustration 1: Flora in Headlight Glow. Kottbusser Tor, Berlin. © Lilli Kuschel.

To explore these questions beyond the two of us, I decided to conduct interviews with twelve different people ranging in age from 29 to 68. None of them were familiar with the Schubert song or the Schlegel poem beforehand. The only thing I asked was: "What do you do in the evening after work to calm down? Does experiencing nature play a role in this?" After reviewing the interviews, clear themes emerged, including overlaps and intersections – not just among the interviewees themselves, but also in relation to the Schubert song. The interviewees reflected on their evening moments of tranquility in connection with natural elements such as trees, stars, or water. They emphasized an inner calm that could emerge when they felt a sense of connection, when they attuned themselves to both the human and non-human surroundings and opened their senses:

> Then I would go for a walk, and since it's within Berlin, I tend to seek out places like the nearest larger, greener space – which happens to be the cemetery, where it is quiet. Yes, indeed, the cemetery. You can finally hear birds chirping again. No cars, just silence. Silence and probably trees rustling in the wind, maybe, in the distance, a faint murmur of voices. It has something very sublime about it, very restrained, but also a kind of sacred silence – because, after all, it is a cemetery. Life and death are very close to each other. (Desirée W., August 2024)

> What I started doing this summer was going to the lake Schlachtensee in the evening and swimming for quite a long time. I especially love watching the water and the reflections of light, hearing the sounds around me – preferably when it's already dusk and fewer people are around. Why in twilight? Because the sounds of the birds change; they become louder, while I feel that people grow quieter. (Elena Bechter, August 2024)

> Ever since I've lived in Berlin, when I come home in the evening, I love sitting on my balcony, having a drink, and watching the lights turn on and off. That quietness – the tree, the air, and simply feeling... alone... all-one. Knowing that I am completely alone here, yet surrounded by so many people – connected to them, yet not connected. And then, there is the sky. And in that moment, I think: How beautiful – I am still alive. (Ilka Vierkant, August 2024)



Illustration 2: Urban Green, Neon Gleam. *Kottbusser Tor*, Berlin. © Lilli Kuschel.

Simultaneously, they also reflected on many traces of evening experiences in the modern world, detached from nature – where calming down often means shutting out the outside world, entering digital realms, and seeking distraction and relaxation through passive media consumption[36]:

> I usually sit on the couch, sometimes on the balcony, probably a lot with my phone. A bit of revenge-binging from random Insta feeds... (Frederic Rauscher, August 2024)

36 It is rather coincidental that a gender divide in the topics emerged when selecting the quotes. It is not representative that the accounts of media consumption came exclusively from men, while the reports on experiences of nature came exclusively from women. The quotes published here were selected for their conciseness. Both topics were mentioned by both genders – though there was a tendency toward greater sensitivity to nature experiences among women.

> I would go more outside if there were more nature. But in Berlin, I find that a bit difficult. Sensory overload. Too much is happening – trams, trains, people, dogs, music, the 'Späti' (kiosk). So, I prefer watching TV, Netflix, just streaming something. Streaming anything. Sometimes, when I really need to unwind, I stream the same stuff, the same series, the same things... (Thomas Schneider, August 2024)

I found it striking how clearly some overlaps with the images of Schubert/Schlegel emerged, even though we were speaking in a completely different time and against different backgrounds. In both contexts the moment of pausing and perceiving 'the Other' is distinctly linked to 'the quiet place' where it is possible to face inward and sense outward. To the feeling of 'being alone,' of experiencing oneself as singular, yet simultaneously connected and related – 'all-one'. It turned out that whether in the year 1823 or 2024, whether in a vast landscape or on a city balcony – the "hen kai pan," the "song sung from one mouth," lies in the interconnected experience of the self and the other.

Talking about the relevance of classical music in general and Schubert's music in particular in the twenty-first century, these overlaps reveal a great potential. I therefore decided to integrate them into the artistic process by composing a brief soundscape featuring excerpts from the interviews. The composition became a prologue to the Schubert song within our music film, where the voices flow like associations – overlapping, intersecting, and then fading apart. After watching the film for the first time, one viewer noted how the voices reminded him of the use of voices in Wim Wenders' film *Der Himmel über Berlin* (Wings of Desire) from 1987. In the movie, two of the protagonists are angels who can hear people's thoughts (this is transcribed in a vague, overlapping voice-over style), but cannot really empathize with them as they are not part of the sensory world. I found this feedback remarkable because, with this association of the Wim Wenders movie, the viewer picked up on the aspect of empathy and attunement, which had become essential to the *Abendröthe* film in its own way. Working on *Abendröthe* we increasingly asked ourselves, whether what truly distinguishes human consciousness is not just intellect or rationality, but the ability to feel beyond oneself and attune to the experiences of others.



Illustration 3: Leaves Caught in Passing Lights. Kottbusser Tor, Berlin. © Lilli Kuschel.

> We speak of 'inspiration,' and the word should be taken literally. There really is inspiration and expiration of Being, action and passion so slightly discernible that it becomes impossible to distinguish between what sees and what is seen.[37]

From the very first conversation Lilli Kuschel and I had about Schubert's song, and weeks before I conducted the interviews, she had already suggested choosing trees and plants as our ever-present urban cohabitants as some of the central protagonists of the film. Living, breathing, observing protagonists. At first, Lilli had the idea of going to the countryside to seek silence and nature. But the more we listened to Schubert's music in connection with this idea, the more we felt that by embracing the rural idyll, we were merely illustrating the song rather than questioning it. This led to the idea of searching for nature and its vibrant, breathing quality within the city itself. Without a script or a set plan, Lilli took to the streets of Berlin, allowing her camera to function as a sensory organ – an "extension of the body," as she describes it (see Illustration 2).

Ultimately most of the images were filmed at a location in Berlin called 'Radbahn' (Cycle track). Beneath the elevated railway viaduct of the metro U1 between the stations Görlitzer Bahnhof and Kottbusser Tor, a safe cycling route is being tested (see Illustration 4). The project aims for the creation of recreational places, flora and fauna concepts in the urban space, and waste and maintenance management. It explores how cities, as places of constant change,

37 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Eye and Mind," in Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Primacy of Perception and Other Essays on Phenomenological Psychology, the Philosophy of Art, History and* Politics, ed. James M. Edie (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 159–90, at 167.

bring together diverse perspectives. At its core, the project is a response to the experience that the pursuit of technological progress has led to a growing sense of alienation from our environment, fellow humans, and even ourselves. Public spaces have increasingly become sites of isolation, where people often rush past each other, preventing spontaneous and meaningful encounters. The project seeks to foster a more conscious form of movement encouraging opportunities for connection and shared experiences.[38] The different plant species that were planted here, and that are the protagonists of many moments in the film, are intended to be particularly resilient.



Illustration 4: Radbahn Berlin, © radbahn.berlin.de.

To capture the plants in this very quality, Lilli primarily used fixed camera positions and a low tripod. This approach allowed her to meet the plants 'at eye level,' aiming to capture their liveliness and rhythm rather than commenting on them through her own camera movements (see Illustration 3). In this sense, movement, dynamics, and a feeling of liveliness became central filmic elements, echoing the pulsating 'moto perpetuo' of the Schubert song. The city is present in every frame but remains in the background. The plants act within their urban surroundings yet maintain their autonomy.

In general, Lilli described her editing process similarly to her search for the right images. She embraced a process-oriented, experimental approach: rhythmically intuitive, always in dialogue with the music and the associations that

38 https://radbahn.berlin/en/reallabor/testfeld

emerged. A cycle of trial, discarding, and deepening. The documentary-poetic camera work took place over approximately a month (September–October 2024) and was shaped not only by the search for life but also by the search for a particular light – one reminiscent of the fading sunlight in Schlegel's poem. However, as the work progressed, both of our understanding of this light evolved. During our first reflective session, when Lilli showed us the initial cuts, light often appeared as the natural glow of dusk and twilight. But one moment stood out: at Kottbusser Tor, the passing car lights cast abstract, shimmering colors and shadow play onto the plants in Lilli's images (see Illustration 5). In this inhospitable, noisy environment (she described the filming as exhausting), her camera captured a surprising and enchanting beauty to us. We quickly agreed that the film should further explore these moments and Lilli set out once more in search of them, resulting in the colorful, iridescent light plays and water reflections that appear in the middle of the film. A zoom into the abstract yet poetic interplay between non-human life and artificial human light. Images, that illuminate how interconnectedness is not a matter of 'civilization' versus 'nature' but something ever-present, challenging us with its inevitability and simultaneous vulnerability. It is intrinsic and ubiquitous, yet requires nurturing and protection.



Illustration 5: Leaves Aglow in Passing Headlights. Kottbusser Tor, Berlin.
© Lilli Kuschel.

The idea of choosing Caspar David Friedrich's painting *Der Abend* (Evening, 1821) as an epilogue-like closing image emerged during another discussion about the film's current state. Ending with a Romantic painting allowed us to integrate the very image of nature that we had engaged with in words and music, letting this dialogue flicker on a visual level as well. Lilli pasted a print

of the painting onto one of the subway pillars and filmed how it interacted with the surrounding light and shadows (see Illustration 6). Perhaps it is still there today.

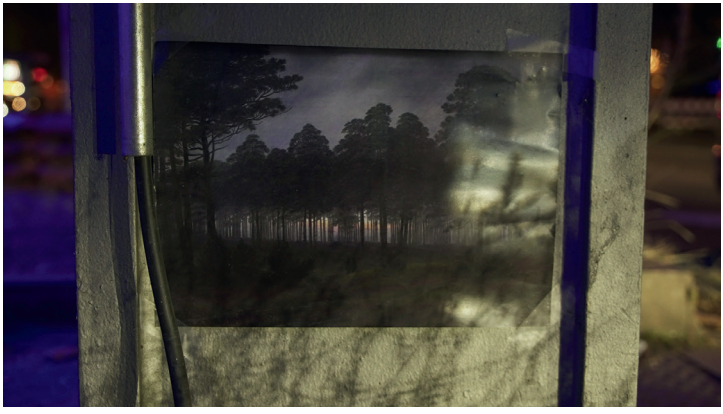


Illustration 6: Twilight Fragments Beneath the Subway. Kottbusser Tor, Berlin. © Lilli Kuschel.

At the moment the painting appears in the film, the song falls silent, and the original sounds of Berlin take over. When I presented the film at the Schubert Research Center conference in October 2024, art historian Stephanie O'Rourke pointed out that the forest in Friedrich's painting was already, in his time, a sign of advancing industrialization. Friedrich must have been aware of this as he painted it, and people of the time would have recognized it too. This is not a wild forest. It is a monoculture, planted as a resource. There is no undergrowth, no small plants – precisely why the evening glow can shine so clearly through the trunks. Once again, we are confronted with our perception and understanding of 'nature.' What appears to us today as a peaceful, idyllic image was already a testament to the transformations and entanglements of humans and nature in its own time. The same applies to the plants in the film. Most of them were purposely planted by humans, embedded in urban planning concepts. By focusing on them, we wanted to create space for beauty in a place where it might not be expected: the area around Kottbusser Tor is infamous as a Berlin 'hotspot.' Through the film work and the re-contextualizing soundtrack, a shift in perception can occur: here too, something is growing. A moment to pause. A moment to become aware of the beauty of nature in the city, the beauty of the everyday that often goes unnoticed amidst all the hustle, the beauty of coexistence and diversity, the beauty of life. In light of this, embedded in the dystopian scenarios of our time, artistic processes such as the one described

here can offer a space for reflection and celebration, reminding us of what is fragile yet valuable, ephemeral yet worth cherishing. It can open our senses to experience nature not only as something to mourn in its loss but also as something to love in its power and resilience. What we love, we seek to preserve.

With this in mind, perhaps the essence of the thought of "action and passion in all Being" provides a dialectical answer to the question of how to handle nostalgia: the interrelatedness of all things calls for a simultaneous detachment and attachment, a dynamic equilibrium that does not resolve into a fixed stance but instead embraces the fluidity of opposites. This dialectic is evident whether in human-nature relationships or felt in the tension between tradition, expectation, and the autonomy and authenticity of artists. It calls for attuning oneself without being overwhelmed; avoiding blind immersion, while preserving one's ability to think, to act and to take responsibility.

> In passion and action, detachment and attachment, this is what I call cultivating response-ability; that is also collective knowing and doing, an ecology of practices. Whether we asked for it or not, the pattern is in our hands. The answer to the trust of the held-out hand: think we must.[39]

To conclude the reflection on the music-film project: one viewer shared that, while watching, he felt as though he was walking through the city with noise-cancelling headphones on, Schubert's music in their ears. I can relate to this. Also for me, Schubert's music opened up a space to perceive the natural protagonists in all their presence: calm and rooted within themselves, yet at the same time vital, dynamic and responsive. In a further step, I asked myself not only how this project has changed my way of seeing and perceiving the world I live in, but also how it has started influencing my hearing and my playing. I have noticed subtle yet important changes in my approach to playing *Abendröte*, in terms of finding a particular mode of expression, or touch, or soundscape – a particular musical 'Stimmung' (atmosphere). When Julian Prégardien and I were recording the song in September 2024, I noticed a specific longing for quietness and a special intimacy in sound. For the feeling of facing inward while simultaneously being stretched out open. Through the microphones of the studio recording, this might have become more possible than in a large concert hall, where, as a performer, you can be (mis)guided by the feeling that you have to 'radiate' or 'project' something. I have come to perceive a simultaneous fragility and consistency in this song. I feel drawn to set the material

39 Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble,* 34.

in motion in a way that allows it to be both deeply interwoven and permeable. When I play and listen to Schubert's *Abendröte*, I hear a blend of tenderness and agility, of a life pushing forward without forcing its way.

You can watch the film by scanning this QR code: 

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The Construction of the Romantic Subject in Schelling and Schubert: An Analysis of the Song *Der Wanderer an den Mond* D 870

Sebastian Schwenzfeuer

At the end of the first verse of Schubert's well-known song *Der Wanderer an den Mond* D 870, a question is posed: "What might the difference be?" The question concerns the difference between the speaking Wanderer and the moon being addressed. This question highlights the specific relationship between the Wanderer and nature (the moon). Schelling's philosophy provides the conceptual tools with which to analyse this relationship more precisely and to describe the song. Firstly, based on Schelling's system of transcendental idealism, three mediations between the subject, the object and art are developed which, together, define the 'Romantic situation'. Secondly, these conceptual distinctions are employed to provide a detailed description of Schubert's song and the structural connections between humanity, nature, and art within it.

Confronting works of art and philosophical theories does not necessarily mean subsuming the former under the latter or appropriating them as evidence for a theory. Here, Schelling's theory of the subject is applied to reveal certain meanings in a Franz Schubert song. Unlike subsuming a thing under a concept or proving a theory by reference to a thing, Schelling's theory is seen here as a tool that stands on its own, neither requiring nor necessarily entailing subsumption or 'proof' through the work. This does not preclude the possibility that, in another sense, Schelling's theory is more deeply related to what happens in Schubert's song. Here, however, his theory of the subject is presented only as a possibility of *deixis*, of 'showing by pointing' ('aufweisendes Sehenlassen').[1] With Schelling, one can learn to pay attention to certain structures in Schubert's song. This can contribute to the analysis of the song. Theories can

1 See Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), 32.

be useful in this respect, but this usefulness does not constitute the meaning of the theory itself.[2]

More specifically, we are referring to Schubert's *Der Wanderer an den Mond* D 870. At the end of the first verse of this well-known song, a question is posed: "What might the difference be?"[3] This refers to the difference between the speaking Wanderer and the moon being addressed, giving rise to a very specific and complex situation that requires detailed analysis. The relationship between the subject and nature in the song can be explained by referring to Schelling's theory of the subject and nature. Building on Schelling's ideas, we arrive at three concepts: the monument, the symbol, and reality. Together, these three concepts define what is referred to here as the 'romantic situation'. These concepts serve as the basis for analyzing Schubert's song. In this way, the specific form of 'romantic' subjectivity that emerges in this song, as well as the 'romantic' relationship between humanity and nature, can be precisely described and structurally analyzed.

Schelling's theory will be presented on the basis of his *System of Transcendental Idealism* (1800). In this text, he brings together his ideas on the theory of the subject and the theory of nature, which he had been developing since 1794.[4] Like Fichte, he sets out a transcendental philosophy in this text that derives from 'the I' as the basis of all relationships with the self and the world. However, unlike Fichte, nature and art play a special role in Schelling's work. Nature is not only defined as the opposite of 'the I' ('the non-I', as Fichte says), but also as the place where the 'I' seeks itself. In nature, human beings seek to find themselves. Schelling therefore interprets natural phenomena as forms of self-contemplation. The aim is to establish an identity between man and nature, between subject and object. Schelling shows, however, that this identity can ultimately only be established through art: man can only truly contemplate himself by and through art; in nature, on the other hand, man cannot find himself.

2 This chapter does not ask whether Schelling may have had any 'influence' on Schubert. What form could such influence take, especially in the case of a composer? The well-known narratives of influence are often merely substitutes for a lack of theoretical development. On the concept of art analysis, see Bruno Haas, *Die freie Kunst* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2003), 213–55.

3 *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe, Series IV: Lieder,* vol. 4a, ed. Walther Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979), 33.

4 This does not imply that the young Schelling's ideas are entirely consistent. Developments and shifts in terminology and programmatic goals can easily be discerned. See Sebastian Schwenzfeuer, *Natur und Subjekt* (Freiburg/München: Alber, 2012), 1–12.

I. Schelling's theory of the subject and nature in the *System of Transcendental Idealism*

First, Schelling's theory of the subject and nature within the *System of Transcendental Idealism* (Tübingen, 1800) must be presented in greater detail. The theory he developed in this text can be described as a constellation of three terms: subject, object, art. Here, 'constellation' means that each pair of terms is mediated by the third term. 'Mediation' means that the meaning and connection between two related terms is only established through the third term. There are three possible constellations, which can be noted as a series.

1. Object – Subject – Art,
2. Subject – Object – Art,
3. Subject – Art – Object.

In each case, it can be seen that one term is in the middle and serves as the mediating concept. The position of the other two terms (on the left or right) is irrelevant.

This method for describing theories is, of course, not self-evident. In a broader sense, it is inspired by Hegel's considerations in his *Science of Logic* (Nuremberg, 1812–16). Its purpose is to describe the logical function of individual concepts more precisely.[5] The extent to which the method itself is justified cannot be examined here. For now, we will focus on the specific descriptive possibilities offered by this approach. Similarly, it is not obvious how to present Schelling's theory in this form. However, the advantage over representations more closely oriented to Schelling's own diction lies precisely in the distance gained as a result. This makes it easier to avoid the danger of mere erudite paraphrase. It is precisely the external nature of the procedure that allows for a more precise insight into the 'inner' meaning of his statements, providing a commentary that is philosophical rather than philological.

The choice of terms should be explained. Why 'subject', 'object' and 'art'? Firstly, it should be noted that this selection of terms does not preclude the use of others. It is precisely the external nature of this approach that allows for the relatively free use of terms. Conversely, the analytical achievement within this

5 Hegel's concept of logic can be defined as topology. Greater attention should be paid to the topological character of Hegel's concept of philosophy. This would allow us, for example, to understand Hegel's triad of being, essence and concept not only as an external criterion of classification, but as an expression of theoretical insight. See also the remarks by Hermann Schmitz, *Hegels Logik* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1992), 30–41. See also Bruno Haas, "Que signifie: appliquer la logique spéculative?," in *Logique et sciences concrètes (Nature et Esprit) dans le système hégélien,* ed. Jean-Michel Buée, Emmanuel Renault and David Wittmann (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 2006), 149–70.

framework is to propose constellations that can genuinely provide insight into the ideas of a text or theory.

The choice of these three terms is easily justified. These are three concepts that Schelling himself uses frequently to describe his entire philosophical programme. This becomes clear when examining the *System of Transcendental Idealism*. In the introduction, Schelling outlines two philosophical approaches: that of transcendental philosophy and that of natural philosophy.[6] These two approaches are derived from the distinction between subject and object. The subject is understood as consciousness, 'the I', the perceiver, the knower. The object is the unconscious, nature, the observed and the known.[7] If one begins with the subject, it is transcendental philosophy; if one begins with the object, it is natural philosophy.[8] In this respect, the difference between subject and object also reflects what Schelling himself achieves in his *System of Transcendental Idealism*.

It is well known that art plays a special role in Schelling's transcendental philosophy that it does not play in the philosophy of Kant or Fichte, for example.[9] For this reason, it is reasonable to assume that the particularities of Schelling's theory can be explained using the concept of art. In the *System of Transcendental Idealism*, this special position is evident in two ways. Firstly, intellectual intuition, which is attributed to the subject, is placed in relation to aesthetic intuition. Secondly, the *System of Transcendental Idealism* concludes with the section on the work of art.[10]

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6 "In the course of the foregoing, we have not only deduced the concept of transcendental philosophy, but have also furnished the reader with a glimpse into the entire system of philosophy; this, as we see, is constituted of two basic sciences which, though opposed to each other in principle and direction, mutually seek and supplement one another." See Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism (1800),* trans. Peter Heath (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 7. "Wir haben durch das bisherige nicht nur den Begriff der TransscendentalPhilosophie deducirt, sondern dem Leser zugleich einen Blick in das ganze System der Philosophie verschafft, das, wie man sieht, durch zwei Grundwissenschaften vollendet wird, die, einander entgegengesetzt im Princip und der Richtung, sich wechselseitig suchen und ergänzen." See Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe, Series I*, vol. 9*: System des transcendentalen Idealismus (1800),* ed. Harald Korten and Paul Ziche (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2005), 32.

7 The distinctions between 'subject/object' and 'self/nature' are clearly not identical; otherwise, Schelling would not be able to speak of nature as a subject within his philosophy of nature. In his system of transcendental idealism, he states that 'the I' is the epitome of the subjective, while nature is the epitome of the objective. See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Reihe I, Bd. 9*, 29.

8 It goes without saying that this description itself requires explanation.

9 See Manfred Frank, *Einführung in die frühromantische Ästhetik (*Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989), 171.

10 "If aesthetic intuition is merely transcendental intuition become objective." See Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism,* 231. Instead of "transcendental," the footnote corrects this to "intellectual." "Denn die ästhetische Anschauung eben ist die objectiv gewordene intellectuelle." See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,* I/9:325.

One may therefore expect that the specific features of Schelling's theory can be outlined using the terms subject, object and art. The following sections will describe the three constellations in more detail.

First constellation: object – subject – art

The subject mediates between the object and art. This concept is a core element of Schelling's transcendental philosophy, so it makes sense to start with it. Works of art are artefacts produced by humans. This is undisputed. However, the crux of Schelling's theory is that nature is also 'produced' by humans. In this sense, natural things are also fundamentally artefacts. Nevertheless, they are not artefacts in the same sense as works of art or other objects, such as tools. If natural things were produced in the same way as other artefacts, it would not be possible to form the concept of an artefact. Instead, it must be distinguished from something that is not produced.

To articulate this transcendental philosophical thesis, the term 'subject' is differentiated in Schelling's theory. He distinguishes between the empirical subject and the transcendental subject.[11] The empirical subject is the concrete, experiential self of the individual human being, whereas the transcendental subject is the deeper, consciousness-constituting unity through which experience and knowledge are made possible in the first place. This distinction allows both to be articulated simultaneously and without contradiction: that all objects are produced by the subject and that they are not. Natural things are not produced by the empirical subject (i.e. by us as we exist in the world and know ourselves). However, according to Schelling's central thesis in his 1800 book, they are produced by the transcendental subject. Objects are therefore to be understood as products of the transcendental subject.

However, objects cannot be experienced as products of the transcendental subject. For the empirical subject (for us), natural things are not products, but natural givens. Natural things cannot be experienced as something produced. This illustrates the peculiar relationship that transcendental philosophy estab-

11 "As for the first, it should be noted that we assuredly distinguish self-consciousness, qua act, from merely empirical consciousness; what we commonly term consciousness is something that merely continues along with presentations of objects, and maintains identity in the flux of presentations; it is thus a purely empirical kind, in that I am thereby aware of myself, certainly, but only as subject of presentations." See Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism,* 25. "Was das erste betrifft, so ist zu bemerken, daß wir das Selbstbewußtseyn, als Act wohl unterscheiden vom blos empirischen Bewußtseyn; was wir insgemein Bewußtseyn nennen, ist etwas nur an Vorstellungen von Objecten fortlaufendes, was die Identität im Wechsel der Vorstellungen unterhält, also blos: empirischer Art, indem ich dadurch freilich meiner selbst, aber nur als des Vorstellenden bewußt bin." See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,* I/9:57.

lishes with the world of experience: it asserts something that is not evident to us and cannot be. Schelling specifically points out that it is structurally necessary for objects to be considered independent of us and consciousness (i.e. not produced by it). In this respect, transcendental philosophy cannot be considered an empirical science. Instead, it transcends experience in order to establish itself as reflection. Its concepts are therefore essentially not based on experience. But how can concepts be formed that are completely independent of experience? Are such concepts not phantasms? Are these transcendental concepts, which are independent of experience, not completely arbitrary? These questions cannot be answered at this point. Nevertheless, by raising them, we are highlighting the strangeness of transcendental philosophy rather than concealing it.

To what extent does the transcendental subject produce nature? In short, Schelling interprets natural things as by-products of the transcendental subject's self. This thesis is based on the assumption that the transcendental subject is an endeavour to produce a view of itself. However, contemplating oneself means becoming an object for oneself, producing oneself as an object. To be an object for oneself is to know oneself. Therefore, the subject is nothing other than the knowledge of itself. This knowledge has a peculiar structure, which Schelling analyses in detail. It is, in fact, reflexive knowledge, knowledge that has itself as its content.

However, Schelling's reasoning aims to declare any possible objectification of the transcendental subject as merely provisional and insufficient, despite the fact that it constantly produces objectifications. According to this interpretation, natural things are failed attempts by the transcendental subject to observe itself.[12] This gives natural things a peculiar status: they are documents or 'monuments' of the subject.[13] They express the subject without the subject

12 "Throughout the whole of theoretical philosophy we have seen the endeavor of the intelligence, to become aware of its action as such, persistently miscarry." See Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism,* 158. "Durch die ganze theoretische Philosophie hindurch sahen wir das Bestreben der Intelligenz, ihres Handelns als solchen bewußt zu werden, fortwährend mislingen." See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,* I/9:234. This determination, namely that the objects of nature are failed attempts, does not depend on the paradigm of transcendental philosophy. He also attributes this interpretation to philosophy of nature: "The dead and unconscious products of nature are merely abortive attempts that she makes to reflect herself." See Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism,* 6. "Die todten und bewußtlosen Producte der Natur sind nur mißlungene Versuche der Natur, sich selbst zu reflectiren." See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,* I/9:31. The structure of the memorial, which is directly related to this and initially belongs to transcendental philosophy, therefore seems capable of a certain generalization already in Schelling's system.

13 "The means, furthermore, whereby the author has sought to achieve his aim of setting forth idealism in its full extent, consist in presenting every part of philosophy in a single continuum, and the whole of philosophy as what in fact it is, namely a progressive history of

being expressed in them. The subject is not contained within them. What is sought in nature (the subject) cannot be found there. Therefore, in nature, taken as a 'monument', human beings are absent.[14] If nature were a mirror of the subject, the reflection would show nothing.

The transcendental subject produces nature. Consequently, nature is an artefact. However, this is not immediately apparent to the subject's experience. In this respect, this interpretation of nature also seems quite arbitrary. As Schelling himself emphasises, it is entirely subjective.[15] It is art, on the other hand, that enables indirect experience. In the context of art, the 'monument of nature' becomes the subject of representation. It is only through art that nature becomes what it is supposed to be. Nature is perfected in art. Schelling formulates this unity in the concept of genius in relation to production. Genius does something (it produces a work of art), but at the same time, this production is natural; it is not the doing of the genius, but something accomplished through genius. In this way, nature and art are mediated through the subject.

Second constellation: subject – object – art

First, the subject is not an object. The basis of transcendental philosophy is the distinction between subjects and objects.[16] As previously mentioned, the subject is knowledge of itself. As such knowledge, however, it is an objectification. In order to know itself, the subject must become an object. It must make itself an object. However, any objectification of the subject is insufficient because the subject is not a thing. The subject cannot recognize itself in any object.

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self-consciousness, for which what is laid down in experience serves merely, so to speak, as a memorial and a document." See Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism,* 2. "Das Mittel übrigens, wodurch der Verfasser seinen Zweck, den Idealismus in der ganzen Ausdehnung darzustellen, zu erreichen versucht hat, ist, daß er alle Theile der Philosophie in Einer Continuität und die gesammte Philosophie als das was sie ist, nämlich als fortgehende Geschichte des Selbstbewußtseyns, für welche das in der Erfahrung niedergelegte nur gleichsam als Denkmal und Document dient, vorgetragen hat." See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,* I/9:24–5.

14 This structural absence of the subject in nature within Schelling's theory lends itself to a comparison with a characteristic feature of romantic landscape painting: for example, in the work of Caspar David Friedrich, many paintings appear strikingly devoid of people, or depict people only as tiny figures.

15 It is "art alone, which can succeed in objectifying with universal validity what the philosopher is able to present in a merely subjective fashion." See Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism,* 232. It is "die Kunst allein [...], welcher das, was der Philosoph nur subjectiv darzustellen vermag, mit allgemeiner Gültigkeit objectiv zu machen, gelingen kann." See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,* I/9:327.

16 Transcendental philosophy proceeds from the subject in order to arrive at the object. Philosophy of nature proceeds in the opposite direction, from the object in order to arrive at the subject.

The subject must be distinguished from every object; therefore, it is radically non-objective. Since it is knowledge, namely knowledge of itself, though, the subject cannot simply dispense with the object. Rather, the object conveys the subjectivity of the subject. Schelling reconciles these ideas by defining the subject as the objectification of the subjective.[17]

Thus, the subject is constant self-contemplation, but in a way that it can never be attained in any object. Ultimately, the subject is not an object. Since it cannot be attained in any object, its endeavor to contemplate itself is constant; it never ceases, but rather constitutes its very being. In this sense, the subject is a symbol. It refers to something (an object) without being able to become that object. Just as a symbol is separate from, yet bound to, the thing it signifies, the subject is separate from, yet bound to, its object.[18] The subject refers to the object. Its existence is that of a sign. In this sense, one could also say that the subject is a longing for the unknown. This longing is not an occasional feeling. Rather, longing is a fundamental aspect of the subject's identity.[19]

As the subject becomes a symbol through the object – that is, refers to the object without being able to reach it – it is simultaneously mediated to art. According to Schelling, the unity of the subject and the object, of freedom and nature, is realized in art. However, this does not simply dissolve the difference between subject and object, or 'the I' and nature. In art, the subject's symbolism does not disappear; rather, it is made explicit. The longing of the subject, as explained, is not satisfied but rather experienced (that is, illustrated). The

17 "The nature of transcendental mode of apprehension must therefore consist essentially in this, that even that which in all other thinking, knowing, or acting escapes consciousness and is absolutely nonobjective, is hereby brought to consciousness and becomes objective; it consists, in short, of a constant objectifying-to-itself of the subjective." See Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism,* 9. "Die Natur der transscendentalen Betrachtungsart muß also überhaupt darin bestehen, daß in ihr, auch das, was in allem andern Denken, Wissen oder Handeln das Bewußtseyn flieht, und absolut nicht-objectiv ist, zum Bewußtseyn gebracht, und objectiv wird, kurz, in einem beständigen sichselbst-Object-werden des Subjectiven." See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,* I/9:35.

18 The term "symbol" is used here as it is by C.S. Peirce, where it stands for a conventional sign. In this sense, one also speaks of symbolic logic. How this understanding relates to Schelling's own concept of the symbol, for example as the unity of generality and particularity or in the distinction between allegory and symbol in the *Philosophy of Art*, would be a question in itself.

19 See the well-known passage in Schelling's treatise on freedom: "If we want to bring this way of being closer to us in human terms, we can say: it is the yearning the eternal One feels to give birth to itself. The yearning is not the One itself but is after all co-eternal with it." See Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, *Philosophical investigations into the essence of human freedom,* trans. Jeff Love, Johannes Schmidt (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 28. "Wollen wir uns dieses Wesen menschlich näher bringen, so können wir sagen: es sey die Sehnsucht, die das ewige Eine empfindet, sich selbst zu gebähren. Sie ist nicht das Eine selbst, aber doch mit ihm gleich ewig." See Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe, Serie I,* vol. 17*: Philosophische Untersuchungen über das Wesen der menschlichen Freyheit,* ed. Christoph Binkelmann, Thomas Buchheim, Thomas Frisch and Vicki Müller-Lüneschloss (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2018), 130.

subject's longing cannot be satisfied. In this way, art reveals the separation of the subject from its object. Art is in itself the realm of symbols. The work of art is not only a symbol itself, but also reveals this symbolism in itself. In this way, the subject and art are mediated.

Third constellation: subject – art – object

Art plays an important role in Schelling's transcendental philosophy.[20] The *System of Transcendental Idealism* concludes with the section on artistic products. According to Schelling, it is art – or aesthetic perception – that completes the system and the subject's knowledge of itself. Therefore, the theory of art is described as the "true organ of philosophy".[21] Despite the aforementioned impossibility of an adequate objectification, the process of ongoing objectification comes to an end in a specific sense, and the subject becomes objective.[22] Only through the experience of art does the subject become itself and experience itself. In this sense, one could say that art 'produces' the subject.[23]

At first glance, this thesis seems to contradict Schelling's transcendental philosophical project. Transcendental philosophy is concerned with conceiving of the transcendental subject as a starting point, or a principle. This principle is that from which everything else is understood. The subject generates itself, so to speak. However, if we say that art produces the subject, this seems to contradict the self-generation of the subject. Two comments on this: First, art is also a product of the subject. In this respect, the subject produces itself through art. Therefore, Schelling's theory of art can be integrated into the framework of his transcendental philosophical project. On the other hand,

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20 On the concept of art, see the older but still readable treatise by Dieter Jähnig, *Schelling. Die Kunst in der Philosophie* (Pfullingen: Neske, 1966–69).

21 Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism,* 14. "Der eigentliche Sinn, mit dem diese Art der Philosophie aufgefaßt werden muß, ist also der ästhetische, und eben darum die Philosophie der Kunst das wahre Organon der Philosophie." See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,* I/9:41.

22 "If this point in production is reached, the producing must absolutely stop, and it must be impossible for the producer to go on producing." See Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism,* 221. "Wenn dieser Punct in der Production erreicht ist, so muß das Produciren absolut aufhören, und es muß dem Producirenden unmöglich seyn, weiter zu produciren." See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,* I/9:314.

23 Compared to the efforts of early Romantic philosophy, for example in Friedrich Schlegel, Schelling's theory of art is much more precise because it can precisely determine the function of art. On the early Romantic context, see Herbert Uerlings, "Jenaer Romantik/Früher Romantik: Novalis, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Tieck," in *Friedrich Schlegel Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung,* ed. Johannes Endres (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2017), 51–56. On the concept of transcendental philosophy in Friedrich Schlegel, see Andreas Arndt, "'Transcendentalphilosophie,'" in *Friedrich Schlegel Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung,* ed. Johannes Endres (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2017), 201–5.

after the *System of Transcendental Idealism*, Schelling leaves the framework of transcendental philosophy and articulates his thoughts as a theory of absolute identity. This cannot be pursued further here. However, it is clear that his theory of art marks the point at which Schelling leaves – or, in other words: overcomes – the paradigm of transcendental philosophy.

But as what does art produce the subject? As mentioned above, it cannot mean that the symbolic nature of the subject is overcome. Schelling offers a peculiar answer to this question. Art produces the subject as the difference between the conscious and the unconscious.[24] This makes the concept of the subject more complicated. The transcendental subject is not only distinguished from the empirical subject (how we know and are aware of ourselves), as mentioned above, but also from the conscious and the unconscious. These two distinctions are not synonymous. The empirical subject is not simply the conscious and the transcendental subject is not simply the unconscious. While the transcendental subject itself is not an experience and can be considered unconscious, the distinction between the conscious and the unconscious initially pertains to the empirical subject itself, as Schelling illustrates with genius.

Summary

To summarize the considerations made here, one might say: Through the subject, nature becomes a monument. Through nature, the subject becomes a symbol. And through art, the subject becomes real. These three formulas encapsulate the essence of Schelling's theory of the subject as developed in his *System of Transcendental Idealism* from 1800.

II. Nature and the Subject in Schubert's *Der Wanderer an den Mond*

The following is a brief outline of an analysis of the song *Der Wanderer an den Mond* D 870,[25] based on the aforementioned aspects of the subject and nature

24 "This eternal unknown, which, like the everlasting sun in the realm of spirits, conceals itself behind its own unclouded light, and though never becoming an object, impresses its identity upon all free actions, is simultaneously the same for all intelligences." See Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism,* 209. "Dieses ewig Unbewußte, was, gleichsam die ewige Sonne im Reich der Geister, durch sein eigenes ungetrübtes Licht sich verbirgt, und obgleich es nie Object wird, doch allen freyen Handlungen seine Identität aufdrückt, ist zugleich dasselbe für alle Intelligenzen." See Schelling, *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,* I/9:297. See also pages 41 and 304 in the same edition. Schelling thus proves to be a precursor of Sigmund Freud's subject theory.

25 On Schubert's musical beginnings and the genre of the song, see Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, *Franz Schubert* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2014), 28–47.

theory. The analysis focuses on the three concepts examined: monument, symbol, reality. The starting point is the song text, which is based on a poem by Johann Gabriel Seidl.

Der Wanderer an den Mond	**The Wanderer's Address to the Moon**
1. Ich auf der Erd, am Himmel du, Wir wandern beide rüstig zu: – Ich ernst und trüb, du mild und rein, Was mag der Unterschied wohl sein?	1. I on earth, you in the sky, Both of us travel briskly on; I solemn and gloomy, you gentle and pure, What can be the difference between us?
2. Ich wandre fremd von Land zu Land, So heimatlos, so unbekannt, Bergauf, bergab, waldein, waldaus, Doch bin ich nirgend, ach, zu Haus.	2. I wander, a stranger, from land to land, So homeless, so unknown; Up and down mountains, in and out of forests Yet, alas, nowhere am I at home.
3. Du aber wanderst auf und ab Aus Ostens Wieg in Westens Grab, Wallst länderein und länderaus, Und bist doch, wo du bist, zu Haus.	3. But you wander up and down, From the east's cradle to the west's grave, Travel from country to country And yet are at home wherever you are.
4. Der Himmel, endlos ausgespannt, Ist dein geliebtes Vaterland. O glücklich, wer, wohin er geht, Doch auf der Heimat Boden steht .[26]	4. The sky, infinitely extended, Is your beloved homeland; O happy he who, wherever he goes, Still stands on his native soil![27]

The first two points can easily be demonstrated using the lyrics of this song. However, the reality (of the subject) must refer to the tonal qualities. The text alone does not convey this; it must be experienced specifically through listening. Then, it becomes a matter of perceiving the realization of subjectivity in this particular Schubert song. While this is not a musical analysis in the narrow sense, it could be expanded into one.[28]

26 Peter Rastl and Peter Dellitsch, eds., *Franz Schubert: The Text*s of His Songs and Their Poets (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2023), vol. II, 1297. Only in later editions of his poem, Seidl corrected the original text from "Aus Westens Wieg in Ostens Grab" to "aus Ostens Wieg in Westens Grab."

27 Graham Johnson, *Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs. Volume Three* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 547–48 (translation by Richard Wigmore).

28 For examples of a deictic-functional analysis of works of art from different genres, which I take here as a paradigm for analysis, see Bernhard Haas and Bruno Haas, eds., *Funktionale Analyse. Musik – Malerei – antike Literatur* (Hildesheim and Zürich: Olms, 2010).

The monument

First, let us consider the concept of the monument. In the face of the self-aware subject, nature becomes a monument. In song lyrics, this concept is represented by the moon. The moon is positioned against the Wanderer and is the actual subject of the song. The Wanderer addresses it, setting it as 'you'. In this context, the Wanderer seeks to define himself. He asks about the difference between himself and the moon. However, this self-definition is unsuccessful; the moon gives no answer. The Wanderer remains alone with his question. He finds himself present in nature. But he does not find himself there.

The moon does not stand alone. It is embedded in nature; it stands in the sky and travels from east to west, for example. The Wanderer is different. At first, the Wanderer belongs to nature, too. He stands on the ground and wanders over mountains and through forests. However, the moon and the Wanderer are connected to nature in different ways. This is evident in their attributes: the moon is "gentle and pure", while the Wanderer is "solemn and gloomy". Though both are *in* nature, they have very different relationships with it. Each has a different mood. The moon is at home everywhere; the Wanderer is at home nowhere.

Though the Wanderer stands on the ground, he does not belong there. This ground is nowhere to him. It is a place where he is, but does not belong to. The earth is foreign to him. The moon makes this clear to the Wanderer. In this respect, the moon is the monument. It reminds the Wanderer that he is homeless. He wanders from country to country. He goes on and on without having or being able to find a home. If nature is a monument, then one cannot find oneself in it.

Perhaps the Wanderer belongs more in the sky. But the sky is a place where the Wanderer cannot be. One cannot stand there. In a literal sense, the sky is utopian because it has no location. This is only true for the Wanderer because the moon itself is in the sky. However, the situation is constructed from the Wanderer's perspective. In relation to the Earth, heaven functions only as a horizon – that which is always distant. Heaven can exist in relation to the Earth and the Wanderer cannot dwell in it. He must stand on the ground. Yet, he does not belong there, he is like a person without a body. In any case, he does not belong in the place where his body is located. Therefore, the Wanderer is not his body; in a sense, he does not have one at all. His bodilessness appears to be a function of the monument. But in what sense can he then wander?

The symbol

The next step is to talk about the concept of the symbol. According to the summary of Schelling's theorem formulated above, in the face of nature, the subject becomes a symbol. In a sense, this formula provides an answer to the question of how the Wanderer can wander – that is, how he can be himself. After all, what would a Wanderer be if he did not wander? As mentioned earlier, being a symbol means being separated from what one is related to while having one's being in this separation. The Wanderer himself addresses this separation. He asks: "What can be the difference between us?" This question is not easy to understand. There are many possible answers to the question of what the difference is between the moon and the Wanderer. The moon dwells in the sky; the Wanderer dwells on Earth. The moon is "gentle and pure," while the Wanderer is "solemn and gloomy." The moon is at home everywhere; the Wanderer is at home nowhere. These differences are clear. Yet, the difference is not understood.
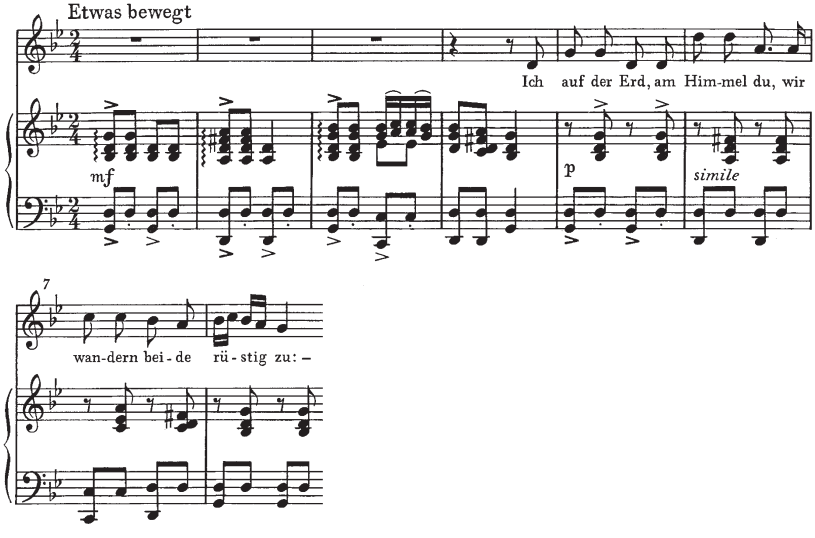
The question of the Wanderer structually belongs to the Wanderer. As a Wanderer, he knows the difference. He himself *is* the difference. The aforementioned differences do not help answer the question. They do not help locate the Wanderer as a being that lives on Earth. While the latter statement is not wrong, the Wanderer does not belong on Earth. He is a placeless being. This is precisely how we realize that nature is a monument, as explained above. The Wanderer seeks a home or laments his homelessness: "Yet, alas, nowhere I am at home." The interjection "alas" expresses this. His inability to feel at home anywhere is what defines the Wanderer's existence. He does not live somewhere and then wander to other places. Rather, he wanders because he does not belong anywhere. He is a Wanderer not because he wants to get somewhere but because he does not belong anywhere. In this sense, the Wanderer can wander as a disembodied being. His placelessness is the reason for his wandering.

At the same time, however, the Wanderer has a point of reference: the moon. They both have something in common, namely the wandering: "Both of us travel briskly on." In this light, they are also related. The moon is addressed as 'you', as a counterpart. Of course, the moon does not respond. Therefore, the moon is not a 'you', just as the Wanderer is an 'I'. Therefore, the 'we' is not a living community, but rather a togetherness based on the irrevocable difference between the Wanderer and the moon. The moon belongs to the Wanderer only from the Wanderer's point of view. Their relationship is asymmetrical. One might say that one cannot get from the moon to the Wanderer. However, one can get from the Wanderer to the moon. After all, he addresses it as 'you'.

The reality of the subject

In a final step, we will discuss the concept of reality. What is the reality of the subject? According to Schelling's reflections, art gives the subject its reality. The subject first becomes real in art.[29] This is a surprising enough theorem in itself. However, its theoretical implications cannot be discussed here.

Therefore, we can only ask how this constitution of the subject is realized in Schubert's song. This question cannot be answered by textual analysis alone. Instead, we must listen how the text is set to music because we are dealing with a work of art. The singer's first word is "I / Ich". However, this word is introduced musically. Singing only begins at the end of the fourth bar. What precedes the saying of "I"? A coming to oneself. One can hear this, as it were. The few bars before the singing voice enters have a significant effect. One forgets the others (e.g., in a performance, the other audience members). The first four bars have an effect that is like an abstraction. The audience becomes isolated, and one seems to dream alone. While listening to the song, it is almost impossible to escape the pull of the first four bars (see Example 1).



Example 1: Der Wanderer an den Mond D 810, mm. 1–8
(© *Franz Schubert, New Edition of the Complete Works,* IV:4)

29 This refers to the reality of the subject, which is performatively created in and through the song. How this relates to Adorno's observation that Schubert's music promises a state of being for the subject that we have not yet attained must remain an open question here. See Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. 17: *Musikalische Schriften IV* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003), 33.

Where do these four bars of music take the listener? One enters an imaginary space, so to speak. It's a space where "I" is said. Not by oneself, of course, but by the singer. This raises the question of how the singer relates to the listener. Apparently, the singer relates to the listener through identification. The listener is not someone else in relation to the singer who says "I", whom one could address as 'you'. In this song, one does not encounter the singer. Rather, the listener and the singer are one and the same. One takes his place.

This is an extremely interesting effect. The singing seems to be one's own singing. In this sense, Schubert's song has an isolating and internalizing effect. It creates a sense of subjectivity in the listener. The song makes the listener the subject. His subjectivity is produced. First, the listener is removed from his life situation, as if he were transported out of life. To the extent that Schubert's song has this effect, the listener loses his place and becomes internalized. He then participates in the function of the monument and symbol. The singer transports him to another place – a place where the listener is not actually present and does not belong. This inwardness, created by the composition, also easily reveals the symbolic character (as explained above): the subject is separated from itself and is, in the precise sense, longing.

The inwardness realized through Schubert's song is peculiar. It does not lead to any kind of fulfillment, such as closeness to God. This is reflected in the text of the last two verses of the final stanza: "O happy he who, wherever he goes, still stands on his native soil." But who can be called happy here? Certainly not the Wanderer, as he has no home. Nor is it the moon, as it does not stand on any ground. Its homeland, the sky, is not ground. There is no fulfillment for the Wanderer. And there is also no model for such fulfillment. The inwardness realized through Schubert's song is, in a strange sense, empty. Thus, it realizes what Schelling's theory of the subject speaks of.[30]

Summary

Let us briefly summarize the analysis. We studied Schubert's *Wanderer an den Mond* D 870, using the concepts of monument, symbol, and reality. The moon becomes a monument, reminding the Wanderer of his homelessness and placelessness. As a symbol, the subject is revealed through the tension between separation and relatedness. The Wanderer is placeless because he belongs nowhere, and his wandering is an expression of this condition. The reality of the subject's

30 This emptiness is a defining feature of transcendental philosophical theories of the subject. These theories themselves appear to consist of nothing but abstract, formal concepts that lack substance and life.

structure is realized musically: the introduction to the song leads the listener into an isolating inwardness, making him a subject by removing him from his life situation. The inner life created by the work of art remains empty and refers to a subjectivity that exists in a state of longing without fulfillment. This outlines a situation that establishes a specific structure of humanity, nature, and art. However, this situation can be dated historically, meaning it does not represent anything universally anthropological or aesthetic, but rather the specificity of what is called 'Romanticism'.

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Night, Nature, and Forbidden Passion in a Schubert Song: *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* D 653

Susan Youens

Franz Schubert's *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* D 653 (1819) belongs to a vast repertory of night songs in nineteenth-century Lieder but is so radical in its notational enharmony, foreshadowings of Wagner, and experimentation with texture and form that he did not publish it in his lifetime. We surmise from the title that the young Grillparzer originally wrote it for his first 'hit': the fate-drama *Die Ahnfrau*, in which the beautiful and good Bertha von Borotin falls in love with a man she does not realize is her long-lost brother, and both are haunted by the Borotin family's ghostly ancestress, who exactly resembles Bertha. Grillparzer never included this poem in the different versions of his drama, instead publishing it separately in the single issue of a literary periodical entitled *Janus* – how appropriate for a poem with ghostly doubles on its mind. As Schubert set this *Nachtlied* to music, I surmise that he knew the drama when he created his musical doublings, echoes, and play with enharmony; that alone might have made him think twice about publishing it, as only those with knowledge of Grillparzer's play could discern its shadowy workings in the Lied. Reading the play, the music all of a sudden is not just a complex abstract musical design but a portrait of incest and "Doppelgängertum." Schubert challenges the dramatist's variation on a fashionable literary genre with his own futuristic exercise in Romantic tonality and double meanings.

Thy brother Death came, and cried,
Wouldst thou me?
Thy sweet child Sleep, the filmy-eyed,
Murmured like a noontide bee,
Shall I nestle near thy side?
Wouldst thou me? – and I replied,
No, not thee!

Death will come when thou art dead,
Soon, too soon –
Sleep will come when thou art fled;
Of neither would I ask the boon
I ask of thee, belovèd Night –
Swift be thine approaching flight,
Come soon, soon!

– Percy Bysshe Shelley[1]

1 Percy Bysshe Shelley, *To Night*, stanzas 4 and 5 of 5: see *Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. Mary Shelley (London: John and Henry L. Hunt, 1824), 92.

Introduction

This chapter is perhaps a slightly uneasy fit in the present volume – unless one considers that human nature and non-human Nature have always been in dialogue. We have always pondered where we belong in its creations, its temporal rhythms, its simultaneous strangeness and familiarity, and one of Schubert's most radical songs exemplifies the complications of the matter. And complexities abound here. It matters for this poem, this Lied, that night, hills, and valleys are its (non-musical) setting and that one of the most vexed mysteries of the human biological/psychological make-up (incestuous sexual passion) happens in just such a context.

Night in particular is many things in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century poetry, from a quiet place to be, with the outer world shrouded in darkness and its bustling stilled, to a climate for mysticism (Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht*), a time in which subjectivity can take flight and project its soulscapes onto the night sky. Night is both when lovers meet in ecstasy and mourn in the darkness. Night is when we remember and when we forget. Night is also the time and place for supernatural horrors, for demonic forces, for gothic sex and death to achieve their ends, for the "Nachtseite" of the mind to surge up and haunt us. Contemplating the stars and the moon by night, we ponder all manner of things, from the vastness of the cosmos and our own smallness to the beauty of celestial illumination. Here, it is atmosphere and condition for still other Romantic tropes: incest and "Doppelgängertum."

Schubert and his contemporaries knew nothing of DNA and the scientific components of genetic inheritance, but they did ponder the replication of family traits over long spans of generational time, as humanity has done since at least the ancient Greeks. Nineteenth-century poets found scarifying images for the awareness of different selves existing in different times. There are three different versions of Heine's protagonist on that dark nocturnal street in *Der Doppelgänger*: the singer in the present, the "Doppelgänger" from the past, and the younger lover aped by the ghostly double. "So manche Nacht in alter Zeit": time is very much at issue in a scenario where the repression of past grief exacts a horrifying revenge in the present. To be haunted by ghosts from bygone days, as we all are at some point, if not perpetually, is deeply bound up with identity – who were we then? who are we now? can we ever know? – and the experience of *temps perdu* warps whatever sense of Time we may have thought we possessed. Pair this variety of haunting with incest, a form of erotic refusal to take the gene pool elsewhere, the narcissism of sexual attraction to another form of oneself, and you have Franz Grillparzer's poem *Berthas Lied in der Nacht*, originally meant for an incest-fraught Fate tragedy (despite the writer's indig-

nant refusal of that genre designation). Schubert, pouncing on the text shortly after its publication, manipulates every aspect of music to alienate, to make strange, our sense of time, both in and out of music. Prophesies of future time, time slowed to an enchanted crawl, doublings galore: this is one of the richest songs I know, and therefore I have given myself the luxury of delving into its backdrop at greater length than usual.

> DOWN Time's quaint stream
> Without an oar,
> We are enforced to sail,
> Our Port – a secret –
> Our Perchance – a gale.
> What Skipper would
> Incur the risk,
> What Buccaneer would ride,
> Without a surety from the wind
> Or schedule of the tide?
>
> – Emily Dickinson[2]

Die Ahnfrau

On Schubert's twentieth birthday, 31 January 1817, a new drama by Franz Seraphicus Grillparzer entitled *Die Ahnfrau* (The Ancestress) was performed at the Theater an der Wien and was both an immediate success and an almost immediate object of controversy.[3] The poet and the composer were not yet acquainted at the time when Schubert composed his extraordinary song *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* two years later, in February 1819; they subsequently came to know each other through the auspices of Grillparzer's cousin Leopold von Sonnleithner (Schubert's *Ständchen* D 920 was dedicated to Leopold's wife Louise).[4] No one knows for a certainty whether Schubert saw or read *Die Ahnfrau* in any of its versions, although it is difficult to imagine Schubert *not* knowing of it, given both the scandal it aroused and the beauty of its language. Schubert

2 Thomas H. Johnson, ed., *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1960), 677.

3 For more on the backdrop of this drama, see Wolfgang Paulsen, *Die Ahnfrau. Zu Grillparzers früher Dramatik* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1962) and I. V. Morris, "The 'Ahnfrau' Controversy," *The Modern Language Review* 62, no. 2 (1967): 284–91.

4 See Graham Johnson, *Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs,* vol. 1: *A-I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 298–300 and 804–7. After Schubert's death and later in his own life, Grillparzer wrote a poem entitled *Franz Schubert* ("Schubert heiss ich, Schubert bin ich") in which he underscores Schubert's independent nature: see Johnson, *Franz Schubert*, 806–7.

could not have seen the author's original version in four acts from the summer of 1816 because the manuscript was not discovered until 1950 and not performed until 1964 in Switzerland,[5] but the subsequent five-act variants with revisions requested by Joseph Schreyvogel, the influential secretary and dramaturg of the Burgtheater from 1814 to 1823, were within his grasp.[6]

The text of Schubert's song was written sometime between February 12 and March 1, 1817, in the weeks after the first performance, presumably for the first edition of the play in print.[7] But the Lied was never included in the drama, for whatever reason we can only surmise. Too lovely to waste, it was published the next year as a stand-alone lyric poem in the literary periodical *Janus* for October 1818, a few scant months before Schubert's February 1819 setting.[8] It is my contention here that Schubert knew *Die Ahnfrau* and incorporated its most singular features – doublings of many kinds, unnatural relationships, the relentless unfolding of deterministic Fate, things that appear/sound the same and yet are not the same, the living and the dead inhabiting the same stage – into the very architecture of the music he composed to words taken from outside the play, albeit clearly conceived for one of its principal characters.[9] This experiment is *sui generis*. I know of no other instance in Schubert of a palimpsest in which one text (the one we hear) is overlaid by another much larger one (unheard) that dictates the majority of the musical workings; music is the medium to tell of wordless but very real presence. Discerning the whys and wherefores of music born from a strange meld of visible and invisible language, parsing its gothic strangeness, are my ultimate purposes in this essay. This song both engages with the gothic artistic and cultural backdrop while departing from its more familiar "Schauerballaden" musical manifestations.

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5 The 1816 original version can be found in Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. August Sauer, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1909), 149–256, and the fifty-one page autograph draft is in the collection of the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus (H.1.N-82154). See Grillparzer's direction to another editor of his works, Heinrich Laube, that "Wenn Sie einst nach meinem Tode noch leben, und eine Sammlung meiner Schriften herausgeben – ich selbst will nichts mit solcher Ausgabe zu thun habe – so nehmen Sie doch Notiz von dem Originalmanuskripte meiner 'Ahnfrau'." See Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 17, 63. During these Covid times, I am grateful to Tanja Gausterer at the Wienbibliothek for verifying that the text of *Berthas Lied in der Nacht* is *not* to be found in the Rathaus manuscript.

6 According to Grillparzer, "Er [Schreyvogel] wußte nun nicht recht, wohin er mein Mondkalb anreihen sollte, und war ängstlich. Nicht als ob er den Gespensterspuk oder die sogenannte Schicksalsidee verworfen hätte, er verlangte vielmehr, daß letztere mehr herausgebildet werden sollte." See Franz Grillparzer, *Selbstbiographie* in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. August Sauer, vol. 19 (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1893), 66.

7 Franz Grillparzer, *Die Ahnfrau* (Vienna: Wallishausser, 1817–23).

8 [Franz] Grillparzer, "Berthas Lied in der Nacht," *Janus* no. 1, 3 October 1818, 3.

9 Graham Johnson, that brilliant wellspring of all things Schubertian, has already proposed that Schubert knew the play; I am merely adding to and developing his intuition. See Johnson, *Franz Schubert*, 300.

The play(s)

It all began with *Die Ahnfrau*. From Grillparzer's autobiography, we learn that Schreyvogel enlisted the famous actress Sophie Schröder (see Illustration 1)[10] for the roles both of the gentle, beautiful Bertha von Borotin and her unnamed ghostly ancestress, also recruiting Nikolaus Heurteur as Bertha's brother Jaromir (see Illustration 2), kidnapped in childhood.[11] The well-known actors were recruited to apply pressure via flattery when the writer was at first reluctant to magnify the supernatural elements as Schreyvogel wished. "In diesem Getümmel verlor ich ganz den Überblick" (In all that commotion, I entirely lost the bigger picture), Grillparzer ruefully admitted.[12] The censors initially forbade the work, but Madame Schröder intervened to obtain permission for its performance – special pleading *could* be brought to bear. The actors loved it, Grillparzer tells us, and received him "wie ein junger Halbgott" (like a young demi-god); audiences likewise loved it, even if some critics caviled.[13] Such a success perhaps made it impossible for him to assert his belief in the superiority of the earlier version, except in occasional grumblings to friends, and the subsequent history is complicated indeed. Grillparzer's nineteenth-century editor August Sauer distinguishes three intermediate versions between the "1816 Fassung" in four acts and the 1844 sixth edition of the drama in five acts, but the differences between those mid-history reworkings do not affect this discussion.[14]

10 In the commemorative volume Philipp Schmidt, ed., *Sophie Schröder wie sie lebt im Gedächtniß ihrer Zeitgenossen und Kinder* (Vienna: Wallishausser, 1869), we find both Per Amadeus Atterbom's rave-reminiscence of the actress's performance in Grillparzer's *Sappho* (the drama that followed *Die Ahnfrau*), on p. 173, and a much longer review by D. J. W. Fleischer in the *Riga Zeitung* for 10 October 1829 of her role as Isabella in *Die Braut von Messina*, on p. 176–86. On Schröder's working conditions see Anno Mungen, "Women at Work: Sophie Schröder and Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient in Vienna around 1815," in *Women's Agency in Schubert's Vienna*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Birgit Lodes and Melanie Unseld. Vienna Schubert Studies 1 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science Press, 2024), 255–72. Unfortunately, the images of Illustration 1 (Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient) and Illustration 2 (Sophie Schröder) have been swapped.

11 Mozart's brother-in-law, Joseph Lange, also painted an eloquent portrait of Heurteur as Schiller's Wilhelm Tell circa 1820.

12 Grillparzer, *Selbstbiographie*, vol. 19, 66.

13 Ibid., 67 and 69. In Schreyvogel's diary for 31 January 1817, he wrote, "Das Stück hat vollkommen reussiert" after the premiere; two days later, however, we find the beginnings of reaction: "Es fängt an, eine Opposition gegen die Ahnfrau zu entstehen."

14 See Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, 7–148.



Illustration 1: *Sophie Schröder*. Engraving by Eduard Teltscher, ca. 1825. © Public Domain.



Illustration 2: *N[ikolaus] Heurteur als Coriolan*. Engraving by Wagner, Lithographisches Institut. © Public Domain

Grillparzer seems to have first hatched the idea for this play in 1813 when he was working as a tutor in the household of Count Josef August von Seilern-Aspang at Schloss Ullersdorf in Moravia. His sources for the 1816 first version included, according to his own testimony, a German adaptation in a pirated Viennese edition of the story of the eighteenth-century French brigand Louis Mandrin (1725–1755).[15] This Robin Hood figure was finally captured in a castle where he had been hiding with a servant girl who was in love with him but had no knowledge of his real identity; whatever the real-life derring-do, there are no ghosts in this embroidered history. A second source was a section from the 1797 translation by Friedrich von Oertal of Matthew Lewis's notorious *Ambrosio, or The Monk*, first published in England the year before.[16] "Lust, murder, incest, and every atrocity that can disgrace human nature, brought together, without the apology of probability," wrote the *British Critic* in a brief

15 See Michael Kwass, *Contraband. Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014). The German adaptations I have been able to locate are: 1) *Frankreichs Entkräftung und Verderben: erwiesen durch Ludwig Mandrins, Oberanführer der Schleichhändler, politisches Testament, in seinem Gefängnisse von ihm selbst aufgesetzet, und wegen seiner Merkwürdigkeit, auf der französischen Urschrift getreulich ins Deutsche gebracht* (Frankfurt, 1756) and 2) *Die Geschichte Ludewig Mandrins von seiner Geburt bis auf seinem Tod worinnen seine verübten Grausamkeiten, Räubereyen und Todes-Strafe ausführlich erzehlet werden aus dem Französischen übersetzet mit einer Vorrede eines grossen und berühmten Philosophen von dem Nutzen welchen die Geschichte der Diebe und Räuber dem Leser zuwege bringen ans Licht gestellet* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1756). Both are based on *La Mandrinade, ou L'Histoire curieuse, véritable et remarquable de la vie de Louis Mandrin* (Saint Geoirs, 1755).

16 Friedrich von Oertal, *Der Mönch*, trans. by Matthew Lewis (Leipzig: J. G. Beygang, 1797). The abbreviated episode adapted by Joseph Alois Gleich was entitled *Die blutende Gestalt mit Dolch*

unattributed review from June 1796.[17] Probability was not, of course, the object of the exercise. Grillparzer may also have had recourse to Benedikt Naubert's version of a popular ghost story, *Die weiße Frau*, in which the last descendant of an ancient family (named Bertha!) exactly resembles the ghost of her original ancestress, for the terrifying stage effects in *Die Ahnfrau*.[18] He could also have known Theodor Körner's storytelling poem *Wallhaide*, whose title character had an ancestress of the same name. Murdered along with her lover, her ghost awaits the death of Wallhaide's lover Rudolph to gain her freedom in the afterlife.[19] Ghosts, incest, patricide, doubles, Fate: all were in the air in the wake of the French Revolution, that hinge-point in European history, when people might well have asked what Fate had in store for nations and individuals alike, when identity itself was called into question.

Grillparzer's twist on fictions-of-Fate is a curious hybrid of a character-driven tragedy and a "Schicksalstragödie" (Fate tragedy), a genre invented in the early years of the nineteenth century and practiced mostly by second-rate writers such as Adolf Müllner (*Die Schuld* [1816] and *Der Neunundzwanzigste Februar* [1812]) and Zacharias Werner (*Der vierundzwanzigste Februar* [1810]).[20] Grillparzer had little respect for the genre;[21] Schiller in his 1803 *Die Braut von Messina*, he insisted, had represented Fate in its harshest guise (incest as well) and yet had a sophisticated theoretical-aesthetic framework for his drama, unlike shock-jocks such as Müllner and his ilk.[22] When Grillparzer was at work

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und Lampe, oder die Beschwörung im Schlosse Stern bey Prag (Vienna & Prague: Franz Haas, 1799–1805).

17 *The British Critic* 7 (1796): 677. See also Frederick S. Frank, "*The Monk*: A Bicentenary Bibliography," *Romanticism on the Net* 8 (1997), published online 1 October 2009, https://doi.org/10.7202/005776ar.

18 Benedikte Naubert, *Die weisse Frau* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Verone, 2016).

19 Theodor Körner, *Dramatische Werke*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: A. F. Macklot, 1822), 215–23. Carl Loewe would set *Wallhaide* to music as his Op. 6, published in 1826.

20 See Jakob Minor, "Zur Geschichte der deutschen Schicksalstragödie und zu Grillparzers Ahnfrau," *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft* 9 (1899): 1–85.

21 Nor was Grillparzer pleased when parodies of his *Ahnfrau* began to multiply, including Ignaz Castelli and Alois Jeitteles (who styled themselves the "Brüder Fatalis"!), *Der Schicksalsstrumpf. Tragödie in zwei Akten von den Brüdern Fatalis* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1818). The comic opera *Die Frau Ahndel: Eine Parodie in zwey Acten mit Gesang in Knittelreimen*, libretto by Karl Meisl, music by Wenzel Müller, is another, and so too is Adolph Schaden, *Die Ahnfrau, ein musikalisches Quodlibet tragikomischer Natur* (Berlin: Maurer, 1819), ninety-five pages long. Grillparzer might well have felt stalked: Schaden also parodied his second major drama *Sappho* as *Die moderne Sappho* in 1819.

22 See Grillparzer, *Selbstbiographie*, 82. See also Friedrich Schiller, *Die Braut von Messina, oder Die feindlichen Brüder* (Tübingen: Cotta, 1803); Wolfgang Wittkowski and Stephanie Kufner, *Schiller: Ethik, Politik und Nemesis im Drama* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012); Bruce Thompson, "The Limitations of Freedom: A Comparative Study of Schiller's *Die Braut von Messina* and Werner's *Der 24te Februar*," *The Modern Language Review* 73, no. 2 (1978): 232–336; and A. Leslie Willson, "*Oedipus Rex* and *Die Braut von Messina*," in A. Leslie Willson, *Surveys and Soundings in European Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 124–63.

on the draft-version of *Die Ahnfrau* in 1816, he wrote that to the Greeks, Fate was "the unexplained foundation (the unknown Absolute) that lies beneath all change, all desires, all actions, even Being itself."[23] When the "new religion" of Christianity, he continued, destroyed the ancients' belief-system, its ruins lived on in debased form as ghosts, curses, and witches, hence, Fate-tragedies. That latter-day notion of Fate, he insisted,[24] was not to be found in the *Ahnfrau*; rather, his ancestress is a force with the power to kill.[25] Like his contemporaries Schelling and Schopenhauer, Grillparzer believed in the primacy of life over rational will, and he decisively rejects the sort of moral freedom that both Don César in *Die Braut von Messina* and Goethe's Harper in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* assert (the latter only does so initially, before madness ensues).[26] Schiller's singular admixture of supernatural elements with human responsibility, such that 'free' decisions happen in a fatalistic context, exposes the limitations of human agency, but Grillparzer allows nothing by way of independent thought and action undictated by dark forces. The eradication of all the principals, regardless of moral worth and good character, induces a remarkable feeling of claustrophobia by the time the last person dies. The grim knowledge that it all ends in death is summed up in the family retainer Günther's final cry at the close: "Tot!" (Dead!).

Incest in *Die Ahnfrau*

If Schubert knew Grillparzer's drama, as I am arguing from the musical evidence that he did, he would have known that the play revolves around Jaromir's and Bertha's unknowing (until near the end) incest – still more proof of Schubert's acute awareness of the major literary, cultural, and political themes of his day. In Gothic works of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, incest enacts the irruption of the irrational into the order of things; it is a way to express the possibility that there is not only moral evil, a result of human misdeeds, but also ultimate metaphysical evil never satisfactorily accounted for in optimistic eighteenth-century theodicies, and it plays out against the

23 "... der unerklärte Grund (das unbekannte Absolute), das allen Veränderungen, allem Wollen, Handeln, wohl auch Sein, zugrunde liegt." See Rudolf Franz, ed., *Grillparzers Werke*, vol. 5 (Leipzig & Vienna: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d.), 327.

24 Franz, *Grillparzers Werke*, 81–2.

25 See R. K. Angress, "Das Gespenst in Grillparzers Ahnfrau," *The German Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (1972): 606–19. His ghost, Grillparzer insisted, was as real and as essential to the drama as Banquo's ghost is in *Macbeth*; see Grillparzer, *Selbstbiographie*, 82.

26 See F. W. Kaufmann, "Grillparzer's Position in Nineteenth-Century Thought," *Modern Language Notes* 53, no. 5 (1938): 347–51.

backdrop of an Age of Reason that it contradicts.[27] In particular, European literature from circa 1780 to 1830 was obsessed with sibling incest, the dark Janus face of a new emphasis on domesticity and the family. One need only think of:

1. Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* in 1779 (Nathan's adopted daughter Recha falls in love with a Christian Templar who turns out to be her brother);
2. Byron's *Manfred* in 1816–17 (the eponymous Byronic hero Manfred's unnamed but forbidden relationship with Astarte was supposedly veiled autobiography about the author's affair with his half-sister Augusta Maria Leigh) and *The Bride of Abydos* in 1813, whose Selim and Zuleika defy their father, the Pasha Giaffir, with their forbidden love – and we remember Byron's massive importance in the German-speaking world;[28]
3. Chateaubriand's 1805 novella *René, ou Les effets de la passion* (whose Amélie and René are among the most sympathetic brother-sister duos).

I cite only a few: it is everywhere, a symbol of the Romantic psyche's love affair with the self, its isolation beyond society's bounds, its creative defiance.[29] And during his school years, Grillparzer, we learn, had read *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the *fons et origo* of all subsequent incest-dramas throughout history, with its unanswerable question: how much control do we really have over the shape of our lives?[30] None, the Austrian poet would declare over two thousand years later.

Schiller complicates the matter in *Die Braut von Messina* with not one brother, but twins vying for their sister, who – still more psychological turmoil – closely resembles their domineering mother.[31] The triumvirate of Schiller, Grillparzer,

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27 See Peter L. Thorslev, Jr., "Incest as Romantic Symbol," *Comparative Literature Studies* 2, no. 1 (1965): 41–58, and Idem., "'Though it were the deadliest sin to love as we have loved': The romantic idealization of incest," *European Romantic Review* 5, no. 2 (1995): 230–51. See also Claire Rosenfield, "The Shadow Within," *Daedelus* 92, no. 2 (1963): 326–44.

28 See Heather Lyn Stansbury, "Bound by Blood: Incestuous Desire in the Works of Byron," *The Byron Journal* 40, no. 1 (2012): 17–28. We remember, of course, the scandal occasioned by Byron's affair with his half-sister Augusta Maria Leigh, whose child Medora may have been fathered by the poet.

29 See Jenny DiPlacidi, *Gothic Incest: Gender, Sexuality, and Transgression* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Luciano Santiago, *The Children of Oedipus; Brother-Sister Incest in Psychiatry, Literature, History, and Mythology* (Roslyn Heights, N.Y.: Libra, 1973); Otto Rank, *Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung und Sage* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1926); Ruth Perry, "Incest as the Meaning of the Gothic Novel," *The Eighteenth Century* 39, no. 3 (1998): 261–78; Errol Durbach, "The 'Geschwister-Komplex': Romantic Attitudes to Brother-Sister Incest in Ibsen, Byron, and Emily Brontë," *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 12, no. 4 (1979): 61–72.

30 See Grillparzer, *Selbstbiographie*, 32. He invokes Sophocles' drama in the context of a Greek exam that went badly: he was superbly prepared for Sophocles but ill-prepared for the work by Euripides chosen for the test.

31 See Norbert Oellers, *Schiller. Elend der Geschichte, Glanz der Kunst* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 2005), 269–91. See also Walter Hinderer, *Von der Idee des Menschen. Über Friedrich Schiller* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1998). In March 1798, Schiller was made aware of

and Goethe all fashion their tales of incest around unconscious brother-sister desire, in which passion springs up between lovers unaware of their sibling relationship until the discovery of the truth impels a programmatic end in madness, suicide, or death by mysterious means. When told who the young woman he has impregnated really is, the young Augustin Cipriani in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* stubbornly defends his love for Sperata under the umbrella of 'natural law' until Catholic strictures and cloistered imprisonment drive both of them mad. Sperata believes the infant Mignon drowned and collects bones by the lake before she dies, Augustin cuts his own throat after long wanderings as the nameless Harper, while Mignon falls dead at Wilhelm's feet near the novel's end and is laid to rest with strange, hieratic obsequies.[32] Both brother and sister die in *Die Ahnfrau* as well. When Bertha discovers that Jaromir is her brother at the end of Act IV, she drinks poison and dies, while Jaromir (unbelieving Enlightenment man) presses on regardless to claim her and the ghostly ancestress he thinks is her, and desires even more. Like many of the brothers in these incestuous pairings, he is characterized by extreme narcissistic sensibility, egocentricity, and intellectual solipsism, despite the charm that has won over Bertha. The fact that both Count Borotin and his daughter are goodhearted people who deserve none of the horror and death that befall them only exacerbates our awareness of Jaromir's character flaws, whatever the injustice of his kidnapping in childhood by bandits who bent him to their 'trade', an injustice he wields to elicit Bertha's pity. His mysterious death in the Ancestress's embrace – "Scheid in Frieden, Friedenloser!", she says as she kisses him on the forehead – is a horrifying demonstration of her spectral otherness and monstrous power.[33] (See the Appendix for a summary of the five-act version of the drama.)

Music, notional and real

There is a lullaby of sorts in every published version of the play, but it is not Schubert's text. Shortly after the beginning of Act I, the Count begs his daugh-

Horace Walpole's drama *The Mysterious Mother* of 1796, which was also highly praised by Lord Byron.

32 See Terence Cave, *Mignon's Afterlives: Crossing Cultures from Goethe to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

33 Egbert Krispyn detects autobiographical elements in Grillparzer's Jaromir, in particular, the robber's detestation of the aristocracy which was, ironically, his birthright. Jaromir's virtuosic lying is another link between character and creator, who at age seventeen castigated himself in his diary for his bad traits, especially the lying he does from inclination and for pleasure: "Ich *lüge* [emphasis Grillparzer's], und nicht etwa des Scherzes willen, nein es ist Neigung, Wohlgefallen an der Lüge." See Egbert Krispyn, "Grillparzer and his *Ahnfrau*," *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory* 38, no. 3 (2016): 209–25.

ter to play the harp so that its soothing strains might lull him to rest. After her initial chords, the Count nods off in sleep, and Bertha puts the harp aside and – speaks? sings? – a monologue in praise of her father, which soon modulates into an avowal of passion for her lover. The latter predominates; twenty-four of the song's twenty-nine lines tell of newfound love.

Schlummre ruhig, guter Vater!
Daß doch all die süßen Blumen,
Die du streust auf meinen Pfad,
Dir zum Kranze werden möchten
Auf dein sorgenschweres Haupt. –
Ich soll also ihm gehören,
Mein ihn nennen, wirklich mein?
Und das Glück, daß schon als Hoffnung
Mir die Güter größtes schien,
Gießt in freudiger Erfüllung
Mir sein schwellend Füllhorn hin.

Sleep peacefully, dear father!
May all the sweet blossoms
With which you strewed my path
become garlands to place
On your care-worn head. –
I should also belong to him,
Name him mine, truly mine?
And the happiness, that already as hope
Seems to me the greatest possession,
Flows in joyful fulfillment
From its overflowing cornucopia.

Ich kann's nicht fassen,
Mich selber nicht fassen;
Alles zeigt mir und spricht mir nur ihn,
Den Wolken, den Winden
Möcht' ich's verkünden,
Daß sie's verbreiten, so weit sie nur ziehn.
Mir wird's zu enge
In dem Gedränge;
Fort auf den Söller, wie lastest das Haus!
Dort von den Stufen
Will ich es rufen
In die schweigende Nacht hinaus.

I cannot grasp it,
can hardly restrain myself;
everything speaks to me, leads me only to him;
if only I could tell
the clouds and the winds
that they might spread the word as far and
wide as they can; in the crush of feelings,
I am too constrained here:
Away to the terrace! How the house weighs on me!
There on the steps,
I will cry it aloud
into the quiet night.

Und naht der Treue,
Dem ich mich weihe,
Künd' ich ihm jubelnd das frohe Geschick;
An seinem Munde
Preis' ich die Stunde,
Preis ich die Liebe, preis' ich das Glück.

And when my true love,
To whom I consecrate myself, comes near,
I will tell him, rejoicing, the happy news;
At his lips,
I praise the hours,
I praise love, I praise happiness.

A giddy plan to rush to her lover with the good news of her father's consent ends what began as a tribute to a caring parent. That she and her lover have met before, that she knows bodily passion, is evident in the final tercet. But as soon as she leaves the room, the lights go out, and the ancestress appears for the first time in this drama. Joy cannot last for even one minute in what Grillparzer at first called a "Schauermärchen" (tale of horror), then simply a "Trauerspiel" (tragedy).

The poem Schubert found in *Janus* can only be connected to *Die Ahnfrau* from its title, but that was sufficient for the composer's mighty imagination to go to work.

Berthas Lied in der Nacht[34]

1	Nacht umhüllt	With swaying wings,
2	Mit wehendem Flügel,	Night veils
3	Thäler und Hügel	valley and hill,
4	Ladend zur Ruh.	beckoning them to rest.
5	Und dem Schlummer	And to the gentle child
6	Dem lieblichen Kinde	Sleep,
7	Leise und linde	softly and gently,
8	Flüstert sie zu:	she whispers:
9	"Weißt du ein Auge	"If you know of eyes
10	Wachend im Kummer,	wakeful in care,
11	Lieblicher Schlummer	beloved Sleep,
12	Drücke mir['s] zu."	press them shut."
13	Fühlst du sein Nahen?	Do you feel its nearness?
14	Ahnest du Ruh?	Do you sense rest approaching?
15	Alles deckt Schlummer,	Sleep covers all,
16	Schlummre auch du.	you slumber too.

Here, Bertha conjures up the allegorical figures of winged Night and cherubic, childlike Sleep. If the "du" of lines 9 to 12 is unquestionably Sleep, addressed by Night, the "du" of the final stanza is less clear. If one thinks of the play, as the title invites us to do, we can imagine different solutions to the problem of

34 See footnote 27. In *Janus*, the song appears as a single stanza in 16 lines, but any reader can see that the poem divides into four-line segments by content: 1) the introduction of allegorized Night, 2) the characterization of Sleep as a "gentle child," 3) Night's address to Sleep, and 4) questions to a mysterious "you." The editor may have put originally separate stanzas together to save space.

address. Is Bertha asking her beloved father if he can sense rest approaching and bidding him sleep? Or is she imagining her careworn lover unable to sleep and therefore reaching out to him in tender thought? After all, in Act II, when Jaromir describes going to sleep just before he sees the Ahnfrau for the first time, he does so in a way that tells us what a sweet boon slumber is to the careworn:

Jaromir:

Müde, ruhelechzend steig' ich	Weary, longing for rest, I quickly
Schnell das hohe Bett hinan,	climb into the high bed,
Und das Licht ist ausgetan,	and the light goes out.
Wehend fühl' ich schon den	Sighing, I already feel
Schlummer,	sleep,
Mild, wie eine Friedenstaube	gently, like a dove of peace
Mit dem Ölzweig in dem Munde,	with an olive branch in its mouth,
Über meinem Haupte schweben	swaying above my head,
Und in immer engern Kreisen	and in ever-smaller circles
Sich auf mich herniederlassen.	settling down upon me.
Jetzo, jetzo senkt sie sich,	Now, now, it sinks down;
Süße Ruhe fesselt mich.[35]	sweet Rest binds me.

Schubert made a choice when he fashioned the second, larger portion of the song as revelatory of love. His music is dark prophecy, lullaby, and serenade combined, and it tells any listener on the *qui vive* that the lovers are more closely related than they know, what with all the ever-so-slightly askew doublings everywhere. And the pale horseman's presence haunts any song linked to a tragedy predestined to end in multiple deaths; the darker connotation of "Ruhe" springs to mind more quickly in fated contexts. As in Goethe's *Wandrers Nachtlied II*, one need not invoke death openly to feel its nearness.

Music turns all poetry into prose, but the graphic layout of the poem surely affects a composer's understanding; whether images unfurl in long, resonant hexameters or in terse dimeters influences how we receive poetic meaning. A poet's play with meter and verbal rhythms then feeds directly into the making of musical prosody, which both heeds and distorts verbal rhythms. Grillparzer's first line is as spare as it gets: three syllables that one can parse rhythmically as one complete trochee and one incomplete, or as a single syllable/word/foot all by itself for "Nacht" and an iamb for the verb

35 Franz Grillparzer, *Die Ahnfrau. Trauerspiel. Erste Fassung in vier Aufzügen. Bühnenfassung in fünf Aufzügen,* ed. A. Grünberg (Vienna: Bergland, 1959), 234.

"um-hüllt." In the awe-stricken gesture with which one enunciates the word "Nacht," we feel the weight of *this* night, and we note as well the sonorous darkening from "-a" to "-um" to "-ü" and the repeated percussive t's, sound allied with rhythm in a conjunction that is far from simple. The second line introduces an interior anapaest, while its paired and rhyming line three consists of a dactyl plus trochee, setting in slow motion the swaying wings of Night that drape themselves over hills and valley; the fourth line mimics the dactyl but cuts the trochee short. Still more metrical variations follow, posing challenges to any and all composers setting this poem to music. That Schubert stitches together two lines of verse as a single musical unit is made almost inevitable when Grillparzer enjambs lines by sound, syntax, and meter: "Und dem Schlummer / Dem lieblichen Kinde [...]" with the connective "und" stressed beyond what is customary in speech, as in Schubert and Müller's later *Der Leiermann*. The clouded "-u" vowel of "Schlummer," followed by the bright "-ie" diphthong of "lieblichen" and its lilting unaccented syllable "-er" and "dem" tripping one after the other in enjambment, is still more sonorous enchantment. In fact, most of the lines from three onwards are launched by the strong first syllable and then gently, slowly dance to the end of the line, whether to an unaccented syllable or an end-stopped accented one. It is my belief that Schubert must have found the adaptation of such verbal intricacies to vocal melody an irresistible challenge and that the rhythmic-metrical anomalies we find here stem in some measure from the sophisticated verbal rhythms Grillparzer gave him.

Nacht ist wie ein stilles Meer,
Lust und Leid und Liebesklagen
Kommen so verworren her
In dem linden Wellenschlagen.

Wünsche wie die Wolken sind,
Schiffen durch die stillen Räume,
Wer erkennt im lauen Wind,
Ob's Gedanken oder Träume? –

Schließ' ich nun auch Herz und Mund
Die so gern den Sternen klagen:
Leise doch im Herzensgrund
Bleibt das linde Wellenschlagen.

– Joseph von Eichendorff [36]

36 *Nachtblume* (1833). Joseph von Eichendorff, *Sämtliche Gedichte und Versepen* (Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig: Insel, 2001), 299. Fanny Hensel's setting of this poem is exquisite. In Sharon

Schubert's Bertha

Bertas Lied in der Nacht is not one of the Schubert songs that appear on shortlists (or even long ones) of well-known Lieder by this consummate genius. Over and over, I ask friends, including professional accompanists and singers, whether they have come across it, and all too often the answer is "No." When I first encountered it many years ago, I was too young and ignorant to be as stunned by its unique aspects as I am now, but in my present old age, this nocturnal marvel seems to me a "one-off", unlike anything else in Schubert's vast song oeuvre and yet another demonstration of his stunning originality. This music is prophetic: there are elements in the main body of the song that foreshadow Mahler (in 1819!), while the beginning reminded Graham Johnson, with good reason, of Erda, again long before her time.[37] Every compositional element is skewed or made strange in some way, the result, so I propose, of an exquisite hybrid of Sleep's surcease-from-care as invoked in the *Janus* text and haunted portents of darker matters that issue from *The Ancestress*.

For example, the most obvious identifier for any nineteenth-century composition is its key, but the tonal ambiguity at the start misled John Reed and others into stating that the song is in E-flat minor.[38] We must grope our way through veils that hint at that key in the beginning before we arrive at the true key of G-flat major; Harald Krebs has subsequently and brilliantly analyzed the odd twist on monotonality at work here.[39] And the rhythmic and metric complexities, as well as the intricate motivic unfolding and the curious approach to form, impelled my current quest to uncover the reasons for Schubert's futuristic compositional decisions in this Lied.

The two-bar piano introduction alone would be enough to hint at the composer's knowledge of Grillparzer's play (see Example 1). How many enigmas can one pack into a single bar, followed by yet another measure's exercise in maximum weirdness? First of all, Vienna's *ombra* conventions are immediately in evidence. To signify ghosts, Furies, Fate, the supernatural, and death by
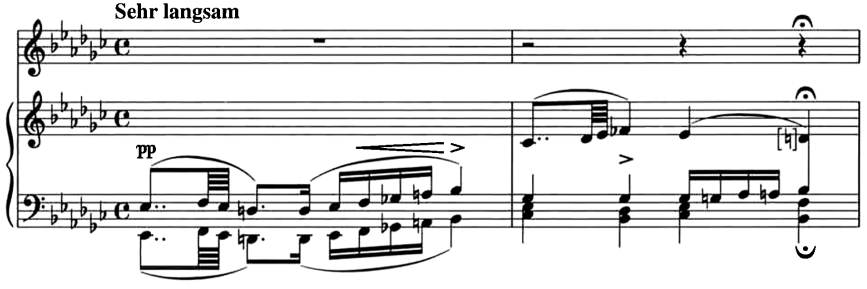
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Kreb's translation, the poem is as follows: "Night is like a quiet sea / Passion and pain and laments of love / Come hither so confusedly / In the gentle beating of the waves. // Wishes are like the clouds, / They sail through the quiet expanses; / In the tepid wind, who can tell / If they are thoughts or dreams? – / Though I now close my heart and mouth / That are so fond of lamenting to the stars, / Quietly nevertheless in the depths of my heart / There remains the gentle beating of the waves."

37 Johnson, *Franz Schubert*, 299.

38 John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 491.

39 Harald Krebs, "Alternatives to Monotonality in Early Nineteenth-Century Music," *Journal of Music Theory* 25, no. 1 (1981): 1–16.

means of spectral unharmonized phrases, minor mode, augmented seconds and tritone intervals, obscurity of key, lack of rhythmical and metrical clarity, and more was a commonplace in music by Gluck, Mozart, Schubert, and their contemporaries, as Clive McClelland, Joe Davies, and others have taught us.[40] But Schubert, perhaps inspired in part by the verb "umhüllt" (veils), sought to envelope *every* compositional element – pitch, key, rhythm, meter – in veils of mystery at the beginning of his song. When we hear the pitch E-flat stated on the downbeat (there is no anacrusis, no initiatory spark to start the engine), we do not know from whence it comes or where it belongs. The flurry of motion leading to D on the second beat seems at first to offer a hint that E-flat is the tonal center and D its leading tone, but when the line begins to inch upwards in what seems at first to be an E-flat minor scale, it reaches its apex by means of an augmented second from G-flat to A-natural as leading tone to the dominant pitch B-flat (or so we might think in our initial confusion, not yet knowing that it foreshadows the minor third degree of F-sharp minor to come). Already, semitones begin to saturate this song, the musical fabric fraught with them at every level.



Example 1: Franz Schubert, *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* D 653. © Franz Schubert, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Serie IV: Lieder*, Band 12, ed. Walther Dürr (Bärenreiter: Kassel etc., 1996), 84–6; mm. 1–2.

Perhaps strangest of all, the point of arrival for the warped scalewise crawl is the fourth beat in a *Sehr langsam* 4/4. This establishes a pattern whereby one-measure or one-and-a-half measure phrases bump up against the barline as they end and are therefore closed off from the most obvious possibilities of breathing room between phrases. A subtle claustrophobia begins to set in right

40 See Clive McClelland, *Ombra. Supernatural Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012). See also Joe Davies, *The Gothic Imagination in the Music of Franz Schubert* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2024).

away. And the process of arrival at that fourth beat is no less strange. The first beat is emphasized by prolongation (a double-dotted eighth note, bringing with it all its Baroque connotations of ceremonial and ritual while also distorting and warping those associations), while the second beat is stressed both by prolongation (a dotted eighth note) and by repetition of the same pitch for the beginning of the next motivic gesture, thus linking the two. Schubert's slurring is very specific; he glues together each pitch of the slow rise to B-flat, and one effect is to somewhat blur, or de-stress, the third beat. This is all the more notable given that Schubert calls for a crescendo that begins after that beat, leading to a tiny accent on beat 4, the sound then dying away. We notice also that the slur binds together what is in effect a sequence of three ascending semitones, D-natural E-flat / F G-flat / A-natural B-flat. Throughout this song, we hear a glacially slow procession of beats, one individual pulse after another, rather than a strongly repeated metrical pattern with a clear hierarchy of stronger and weaker beats, as in a march or a waltz or any of the dance patterns Schubert was so fond of deploying. Was this perhaps a way to give Time and Fate a rhythmic identity that is, in a sense, inhuman and inexorable, the voices hailing from some mysterious realm beyond our ken? Perhaps.

Measure 2 extends an atmosphere already made portentous in measure 1 and varies its elements. Melting from skeletal *unisono* texture to fully-fleshed harmonies, the two strongly contrasting realms a mere semitone apart, we hear a tonicized sixth degree in E-flat minor, or a C-flat major chord ceding gradually to arrival again on B-flat (a sort of Phrygian half-cadence), this time a full chord with its Picardy third D-natural rather than the D-flat of the rising stepwise figure in the first beat. C-flat major's applied dominant seventh on measure 2, beat 2 is also fashioned from a plethora of semitones in the bass (C-flat to B-flat) and the topmost voice (E-flat to F-flat). D-natural D-flat / F-natural F-flat / A-flat A-natural / G-flat G-natural: in a mere two measures, we already sway between different pitches that nonetheless share a name, a deployment of chromaticism that I believe has symbolic import in this context. The duplication of the previous rhythmic pattern of beat 1, measure 1 links the two measures, as do the omnipresent semitones and the point of arrival again on the fourth and weakest beat of the measure. We only avoid parallel fifths in the left-hand by means of the rising chromatic crawl upwards in an inner voice on the third beat, its ascending motion mirrored in slower motion by the right hand's descent F-flat E-flat D-natural. Perhaps I am too influenced by the orchestra's chromatic swell beneath the sexually charged words "sembra di morir" as Doña Elvira begins the great E-flat major sextet "Sola, sola in buio loco" in Act II of *Don Giovanni* (Bertha too is alone in a dark place), but I hear something both of spine-tingling horror and erotically charged feeling in the

approach to the half-cadence in what we shall soon discover is not really the key of this song. Was the composer's knowledge of Bertha's fate somehow incorporated in this eerie introduction? Given that as backdrop, we can perhaps hear the chromatic swell upwards as an announcement of Eros that leads to ruin throughout the generations. It has already wreaked death on the ancestress and is about to do so on Bertha.

Fate unfolds: The formal structure of *Bertas Lied*

These two portent-laden bars present us with the chief intervallic and motivic ingredients from which this entire song is spun:

1. Semitone gestures, both descending and ascending, and as part of scalar motives made up of every variety of second (minor, major, augmented), including the descending chromatic scale gesture in measure 2 in the right hand (F-flat E-flat D) and its rising counterfoil in the left hand (G-flat G-natural A-flat A-natural B-flat);
2. Minor and major thirds, including those appearing as stacked constituents of chords in measure 2 and thereafter;
3. Scalar traversals of a perfect fourth, first presented in measure 2, beats 1 and 2 in the right hand, and the leap of a fourth (this first appears in measure 7 and then appears more often in the crystalline F-sharp major second section).

These elements inform a singular formal structure, devoid of the repetition of larger sections that defines such structures as three-part song form, sonata allegro principle, rondo, and others. While there is often immediate phrase repetition in *Bertas Lied*, the second statement is always varied, sometimes transposed, sometimes metrically displaced *and* varied. Thus, instead of larger blocks, we have a series of seamless smaller-scale variations on the intervals and gestures of measures 1 to 2, each evolving variation entailing some sort of change to the piano figuration and its rhythmic dispensation, each following directly upon the previous one. This is not a melodic variation set of the sort so beautifully practiced by Haydn nor is it the characteristic variation we know from Beethoven, where one travels vast distances from the original theme by the end. Rather, these variations unfurl, slowly, with a certain air of inevitability. One can outline the structure as follows:

Introduction/germ cell of the song, mm. 1–2
    Problematic simulacrum of E-flat minor in measure 1
    Motion toward V/E-flat minor by the end of measure 2

En route to G-flat in section 1, mm. 3–the first half of m. 8

1. Measures 3 to 4: The introduction is restated with text and varied in order to lead towards G-flat major.
2. Measure 5 to first half of measure 8: This variation brings in the motif of the descending fourth, cadences on G-flat major, and is divided into two one-and-a-half bar phrases and an echo.

Night's F-sharp major plea to Sleep

3. The last half of measure 8 to 12: This variation features ostinato C-sharps and an exquisite duet for the piano's inner voice and the singer. This too is divided into two equal units of two bars each, the first in major mode, the second in parallel minor. The gesture of descending perfect fourths in the vocal line appears here.
4. Measure 13 to the first half of measure 15: The C-sharp ostinato continues, but this variation begins by bringing back the rising chromatic gesture from the introduction, again in the interior, and ends with the first full cadence in F-sharp major, with F-sharp in the bass. Only midway through the song do we have an unadulterated cadence. "Drücke mir's zu": only with the fantasized consummation of sleep do we come tonally to rest.
5. Last half of measure 15 to 18: The syncopated right hand thickens to octaves and other intervals while the vocal line presents another version of the descending perfect fourths and 'ends' with an interestingly chromatic half-cadence.
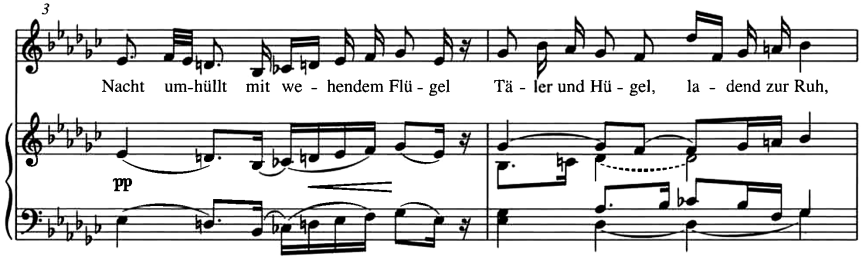
Langsamer werdend

6. Measure 19 to the downbeat of measure 22: The syncopations are now rhythmically diminished (Hugo Wolf would later be addicted to this particular pattern), and each of the first measures fetches up yet again on the fourth beat, while the harmonic focus shifts to the restful subdominant, followed by a cadential shift back to F-sharp major.
7. Measures 22 to 27 (the end): This is an extension and variation of the first *Langsamer werdend* section. Here, as in the G-flat passage in measures 5 to 8, we encounter metrical displacement by half a bar and – unlike measure 20 – contrasting parallel B minor. Measures 25 to 27 constitute a repeated and chromatically clouded final cadence. One does not, after all, expect clarity in this Fate-darkened landscape.

There are too many interesting anomalies, symmetries, and asymmetries in this slowly evolving structure not to delve a little further into its workings.

More enigma: the first section

When the singer enters, we discover that every detail of measure 1 is cut-and-fitted to the first two lines of text treated as part of a single line of prose: the double-dotted E-flat presages allegorized Night, the sixty-fourth note gesture blurs through and over that same E-flat en route to giving "[um]-hüllt" the same rhythmic weight as Night, and "wehendem" wafts us up to gently moving wings (see Example 2). Schubert links measure 3 to measure 4 in the vocal line by using the fulcrum pitch G-flat (a hint that this will eventually be revealed as tonic) to sway up rather than down: "Flügel" a minor descending third, "Täler" a major ascending third. Interestingly, one of only two rests in the entire piano part is the sixteenth-note rest shared by both the piano and the singer at the end of the third measure (its counterpart comes just before the middle of measure 6, where it sets off the impending repetition-transposition of the previous phrase in the piano). Why did Schubert do this, especially in a song so seldom punctuated by any sort of silence? What if Schubert is giving a nod to Grillparzer's poetic powers by breaking between the two motivic halves, the second responding to the first, and thus calling attention to the rhyme words "Flügel" and "Hügel"? In the first, we might still think ourselves in E-flat minor; in the second, we are headed towards a cloudy G-flat major.



Example 2: Franz Schubert, *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* D 653, mm. 3–4
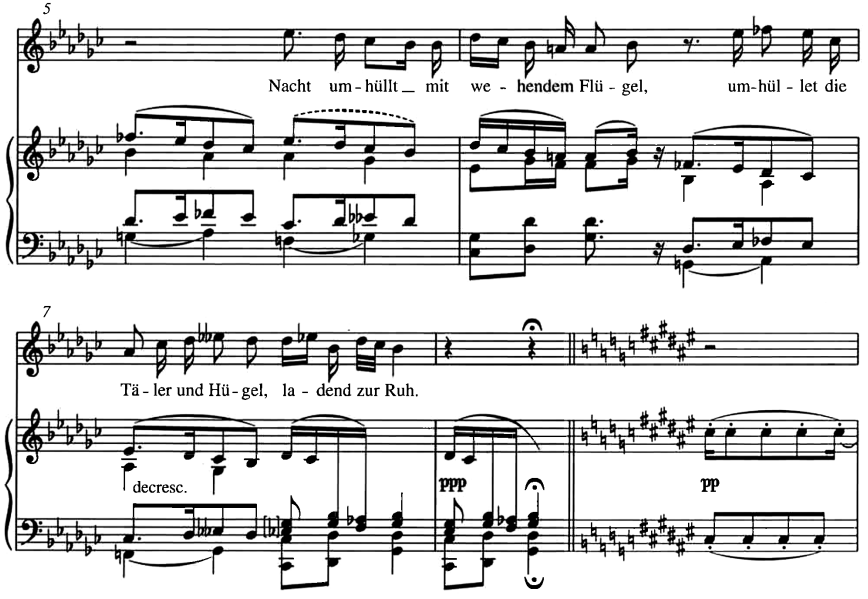
It is with measure 4 that contrapuntal threads – no wonder Mahler comes to mind – branch off from the previous musical skeleton (Example 2, m. 4). Several important motifs appear in this measure: the first is the scalar outlined third that comes from the sixty-fourth note flurry in measure 1 and echoes in an elided sequence (B-flat C-natural D-flat, A-flat B-flat C-flat) between the alto and the tenor voices of the piano. The cross-relation (and does that term not seem apropos here?) between C-natural and C-flat is of the sort that fills the first seven measures of this song, with G-natural turning to G-flat, F-flat to

F-natural, E-flat to E-double-flat/D to D-flat... nothing stays constant, nothing can be trusted, everything is veiled in chromaticism. The bass seems simple, moving as it does from its E-flat beginning to V-I of G-flat major, but the shift from A-flat to A-natural in the approach to 'cadence' on an incomplete G-flat chord at the end of measure 4 (once again, on beat 4) puts us in doubt yet again. Is this really G-flat major, and is it here to stay? The right-hand's topmost voice emphasizes semitone motion G-flat F G-flat, with interpolations, before bringing back the familiar A-natural approach to the B-flat point of arrival – yet another semitone.

In this variation, Schubert does something very moving on the word "ladend". Understanding this persona's desire for "Ruh," he inverts what we imagine would otherwise have been D-flat in the lower register, rising to F and continuing in the familiar measure 1, beats 3 to 4 pattern, doubling the singer. After so much restricted scalewise motion in a dark lower register, the leap downward of a minor sixth is heart-stopping, inviting indeed. No wonder Wagner beckons: this contrapuntal pushing and pulling by slow incremental degrees foreshadows both the master of Bayreuth in his 'miniaturist' manifestations and Brahms's *O Tod, wie bitter bist du* from the *Vier ernste Gesänge*. That Brahms almost eighty years later was also contemplating the two faces of Death in that magnificent song, and doing so more overtly than Schubert ("O Tod, wie bitter bist du", "O Tod, wie wohl tust du"), by means of meticulously working-out an intervallic germ-cell is one of those coincidences that give one pause. I also recall Beethoven's magnificent *Largo e mesto* slow movement of the Opus 10, no. 3 piano sonata, in which everything unfurls from the compact intervallic gestures in measure 1; I have always felt that there is something somehow metaphysical in those passages where explosive downbeat chords are followed by motivic fragments that drift downwards softly in the right hand. The unfolding germ cell is much the same (major and minor seconds, minor thirds, perfect fourth), and the contrary motion in measure 3 and the repeated note hinge between phrases in measure 5 are other 'fingerprints' that Schubert would use some twenty-two years later. This song looks not only back but ahead, and the sense it conveys of being somehow outside of Time is central to the Gothic.

If tonality, meter, and rhythm have already proven complex beyond the norm for the second decade of the nineteenth century, it is now the turn of phrasing to go even more rogue (see Example 3). The contrapuntal branching-out continues in order to repeat the text of Grillparzer's lines 1 to 4, as Night unfurls very slowly towards a chromaticism-haunted G-flat. (And we remember that G-flat major was already the tonality of the song *Lied des Orpheus, als er in die Hölle ging* D 474, composed two years earlier, and of the future G-flat

major *Impromptu*, op. 90, no. 3; the first is a tale of the archetypal singer confronting Hell and Death, and the second work in this rare key has been aptly called "Schubert's self-elegy" by James Sobaskie.[41]) From one-plus-one measure units in measures 1 to 4, Schubert shifts to one-and-a-half measure phrases overlapping in the piano and voice, like drifting nocturnal clouds layered on one another. Schubert's Fate is literally warping Time – rhythm, meter, phrase construction – to hint at darker futures to come. Night descends, Fate is at work, and their mysteries are wordless, the singer musing on the matter with strains borrowed from the piano gestures, doubling them, diverging from them in human subjectivity but always made of the same materials. The downbeat of measure 5 grows from "Ruh" by the shared tone B-flat and by the semitone shift in the bass (G-flat to G-natural); we also note the remarkable voicing of this diminished seventh chord as stacked tritones (G-natural D-flat in the left hand, B-flat F-flat in the right hand). I have long said that Schubert's chord voicing is a matter of marvel, and here is yet another instance of it.



Example 3: Franz Schubert, *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* D 653, mm. 5–8

41 James Sobaskie, "Schubert's Self-Elegies," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 5, no. 2 (2008), special issue *Schubert Familiar and Unfamiliar: New Perspectives*, ed. Xavier Hascher and James Sobaskie, 71–105.

The duetting and mirroring in measure 5 are extraordinary: there is the contrary motion between the topmost voice and the tenor voice, each with its closely related descending sequence in half-measure units: there are the sequential *rising* semitones in the bass (G A-flat, F G-flat) against the descending scalewise fourths atop and the outlined minor third figures in the inner voice, culminating each time in *descending* semitones. The singer doubles the second leg of the sequence in the topmost voice, so it is all the more surprising when, in measures 6 to 7, the piano repeats the previous one-and-a-half measure phrase an octave lower but the singer unfurls a different variant on the components of this song's first section. The last half of measure 6 and the first half of measure 7 trace a chromatic descent (with interruptions) in semitone neighbor-note figures (E-flat Fb Eb/D-flat E-double-flat D-flat). As in the introduction, the play with different permutations of a pitch (Fb F, G-natural Gb, E-flat E double-flat, A-flat A-natural, D-natural D-flat E-double flat, C natural C-flat) is remarkable throughout this first section. The warped doubleness is enough to make me wonder whether all this play with different pitch permutations also points to the warped doubles in Grillparzer's play: the human-ghostly double of the Ahnfrau and Bertha, the incestuous brother-sister pair Bertha and Jaromir. Such difference conjoined with sameness is of a type to call identity into doubt, whether pitch or person. While this is an admittedly fanciful conceit, to me it seems quite consistent with Schubert's genius for turning extra-musical concepts into ingenious tonal materials.

Three times, the final time as a *pianississimo* echo in the piano, we hear a closing gesture on G-flat major in measures 6 to 8. Its first occurrence on the second beat of measure 6 features the same A-natural-to-B-flat inflection that we encountered in measure 1, the raised second degree ultra-sweet, almost cozening in its effect, but eerie too; the syrupy and the disquieting join forces. The echo underscores the themes of simultaneous presence and absence, of music that is both there and not there. When the sequence in the piano is repeated an octave lower in mid-measure 7, the repetition culminates in a *diatonic* cadence, with A-natural corrected to a peaceable, unexceptionable A-flat. What happens next is the cause of discrepancy between the old and the new incarnations of Schubert song editions. In the old Schubert Edition, the *pianississimo* echo in the piano through the first half of measure 8 has the raised second degree, as in measures 1 and 6,[42] the consequence of misreading the autograph copy dated "Febr. 1819" now in the archives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in

42 See Franz Schubert, *Complete Works. Breitkopf & Härtel Critical Edition of 1884–1897*, Series 20, vol. 6 and vol. 15 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel and New York: Dover Publications, 1965), 18.

Vienna, A 224 (Schubert's notation is not always the neatest). In Walther Dürr's *Neue Schubert Ausgabe*, the echo in seamless repetition (part and parcel of the airlessness of this song) reiterates the diatonic A-flat in the previous measure. Here, the echo seems like gentle confirmation of the desired invitation, like wish-fulfillment from some deeper, quieter chamber in the mind. But in my youth, I learned this song in the older incarnation with the raised second in the cadential repetition, and to me, it seemed to issue from Echo in her ancient role as irony-prone nymph, wordlessly calling into question the statements she repeats. The warping of the echo was enough to make me wonder about the nature of the "Ruh" that Night offers.
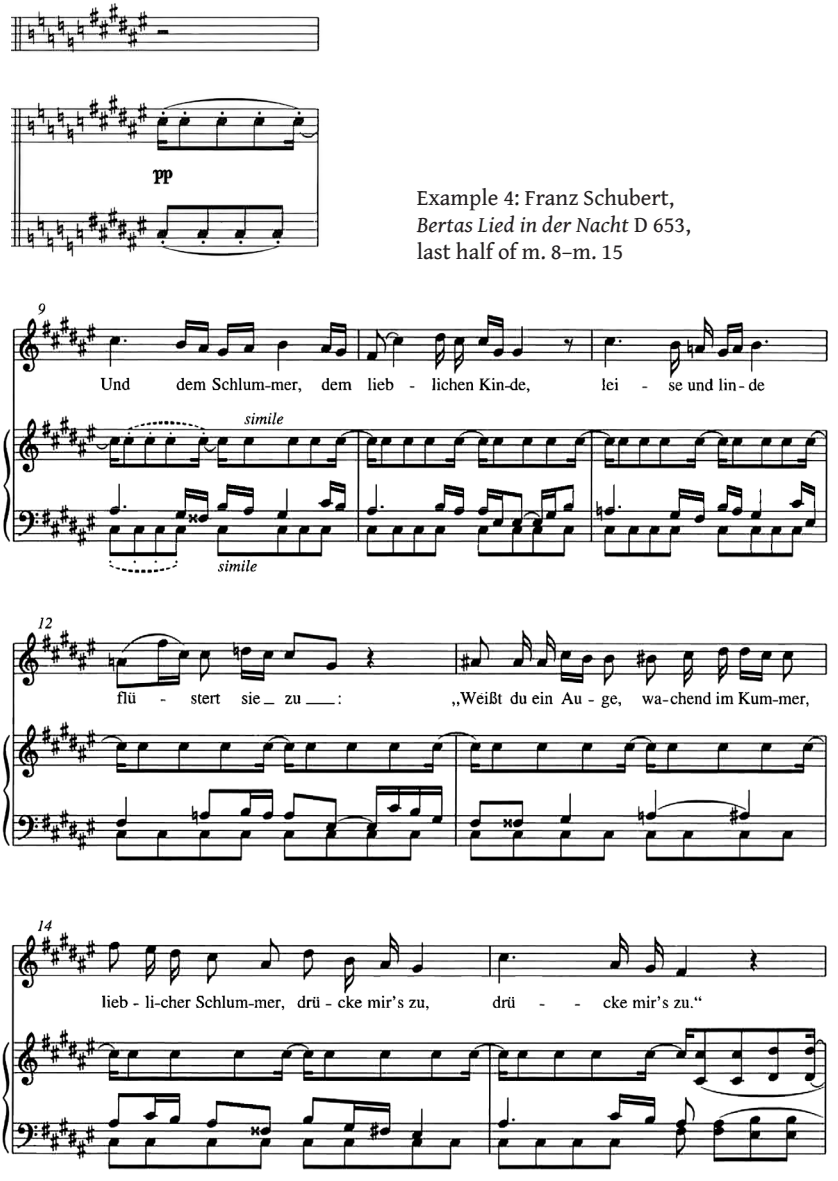
By the end of this first section, we must already ask ourselves what the attenuation in asymmetrical phrase shapes and the layering of varied motivic and intervallic shapes throughout the A section means. Floating nocturnal clouds drifting about, their contours irregular; the singer adapting to a force, a music, beyond herself; the sheer degree of chromatic saturation; the oddities of rhythm and phrase: all of it tells us that this is no ordinary night, no ordinary slumber, and no ordinary sonorous realm.

Janus appears

There is no rest following a fermata-prolonged tonic chord on G-flat; we simply melt, in classic Schubertian fashion, into another realm via the bell-like repetition of a single pitch (C-sharp, the former D-flat). From here on, the exquisite tapestry in the piano has not one instant of silence, although mortal singers in need of oxygen are granted breaks. The ongoing, never-ceasing piano creates what one can hear as both crystalline loveliness, an exquisite cocoon to house lovers, and a seemingly endless wait for something to happen, for resolution, for the promise of "Ruh" to be realized.

The register floats upward in the right hand in the middle of measure 8 to establish a two-octave span for the ostinato that follows, enclosing on both sides the melodic motion in the voice and the inner parts of the piano.[43] But this 'other realm' is a feint, notational enharmonicism rather than real enhar-

43 Schubert clearly recalled the enharmonic section of *Berthas Lied* when he created *Schwestergruss* D 762, three years later in 1822 to memorialize the death of Sibylla Justina Bruchmann (Franz Bruchmann's sister) in 1820. The tolling bell ostinato on C-sharp, the duetting bass and vocal lines, the parallel modes: if these factors are differently manipulated in the later song, the two Lieder are still related in classic Schubertian fashion, as this composer often comments on earlier songs from within later ones. The shared thematic components of sisterhood and visions of a beautiful death clearly set off the Schubertian trip-wires of musical reminiscence in the wake of the lone Grillparzer song.



Example 4: Franz Schubert, *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* D 653, last half of m. 8–m. 15

monicism, and the choice of Janus-faced keys that do not really change location and cannot be heard, only seen, is fraught with meaning. Why did Schubert choose this device for this poem? – surely it matters that we see a change we cannot hear. In fact, listeners, while they can discern that the musical atmosphere changes utterly from the middle of measure 8 forwards, the sense of dis-

carding dark veils, of being released from some baleful enchantment palpable, they do not, cannot, hear any change of key. It is the performers who see the enharmony and must somehow account in their understanding of this song's world for the change from six flats to six sharps; that extreme states of some sort are telegraphed by the choice of these two keys seems clear. This is sonic repetition/confusion where the drama features visual repetition/confusion, and I would like to think that the doubleness we find everywhere in the drama informed this particular compositional decision. Bertha and the Ancestress are not, in fact, the same substance, but characters mistakenly perceive that they are; that the same actress, Sophie Schröder, played both roles in the first performance is in keeping with the purpose of "Doppelgängertum" to make us mistrust our own perceptions, to confuse all notions of identity. "Musical enharmony," writes Carlos Caballero in his study of Paul Dukas' *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, "is a kind of magic: it creates artificial doubles,"[44] while long before Dukas, Rameau wrote that "the enharmonic derails the ear, it brings excess into all the passions, it frightens, it terrifies, and it puts disorder everywhere."[45] The notational enharmony here seems to lie at the very heart of perception, with its blend of the sensory and the conceptual. Seen from a different angle, spelled a different way, perceived in new knowledge, something/someone we thought we knew both stays the same and yet is utterly different.

I must dwell on that difference for a moment because it is surely one impetus for the creation of this gorgeous song. All pianists, and Schubert was one, can sense that F-sharp major and G-flat major really are different keys. We cannot imagine Schubert's *Impromptu* in G-flat major, op. 90, no. 3, in F-sharp major any more than we can imagine Chopin's *Barcarolle* in F-sharp major, op. 60 in G-flat major. The doctrine of the affections would have one believe that they are different keys as well; one can even apply, with some fudging, to Schubert's song Christian Schubart's description of F-sharp major in his *Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst* of 1806 as "triumph over difficulty, free sigh of relief uttered when hurdles are surmounted; echo of a soul which has fiercely struggled and finally conquered lies in all uses of this key" and of F-sharp minor as "a gloomy key: it tugs at passion as a dog biting a dress[!]."[46] In this singular

44 Carlos Caballero, "Silence, Echo: A Response to 'What the Sorcerer Said,'" *19th-Century Music* 28, no. 2 (2004): 160–82, at 166.

45 "L'*Enharmonique* déroute l'oreille, porte l'excès dans toutes les passions, effraye, épouvante, & met partout le désordre." Quoted in Alexander Rehding, "Rousseau, Rameau, and Enharmonic Furies in the French Enlightenment," *Journal of Music Theory* 49, no. 2 (2005): 141–80, at 147.

46 Cited in Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, 2nd ed. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2002).

fashion, Schubert makes us aware of the contrast between foreboding and prophetic ambivalence in G-flat major with the lovers' fragile, exquisite, haunted passion in F-sharp major/minor on the other. Both texture and the degree and deployment of chromaticism are radically altered when we 'change' location to F-sharp: that, we can hear, if we cannot hear the key change (but it does). That Schubert sympathized with the lovers Bertha and Jaromir, or at least with the lovable and good Bertha, is something we infer from the absolute metamorphosis of the musical atmosphere in measure 8. If he heard the play, he would have known Bertha's rapturous depictions of her newfound love in Act I and the great monologue in Act III in which Jaromir persuades Bertha to flee with him, a masterpiece of rhetoric that mixes manipulation with passion. There were reasons for him to conjure up this eerie beauty.

The tolling dominant pitch (V/F-sharp major) at the start of the second section, when Night bids Sleep comfort the careworn, goes on for seven measures – an eternity in this song at this tempo, hypnotic and entrancing. Graham Johnson beautifully calls it "a thatched roof of C-sharps," but it is the ground beneath us as well, surrounding the vocal line and the interior voice in a transparent ostinato cage (see Example 4). When the singer overtops the ostinato, we mark it at some level of awareness as the transgression of boundaries, especially where the vocal melody is dissonant with it (the D-sharp and D-natural grating against C-sharp in measure 10 and 12). That this is one way to make the pleading for "Ruh" more plangent is something we feel in our bones. We must, this music tells us, wait a very long time for sleep/rest/death to come, and the plea that it might grant us surcease sounds in syncopation in the topmost voice and in a soft, even, drumbeat eighth-note tactus in the bass. Schubert, who loves ringing bells in his songs, fills the air here with chiming repetitive resonance. Could this be a variant of Vienna's passing bell for the dying of the sort we hear in the later Seidl song *Das Zügenglöcklein* D 871 (also the dominant pitch) and elsewhere in Schubert? The ostinato is also, we note, hypnotizing, the composer chaining restricted motion in the other voices to its ongoing stasis (the paradox at the heart of all ostinati). For the duration of this passage, we are – beautifully – in suspended animation.
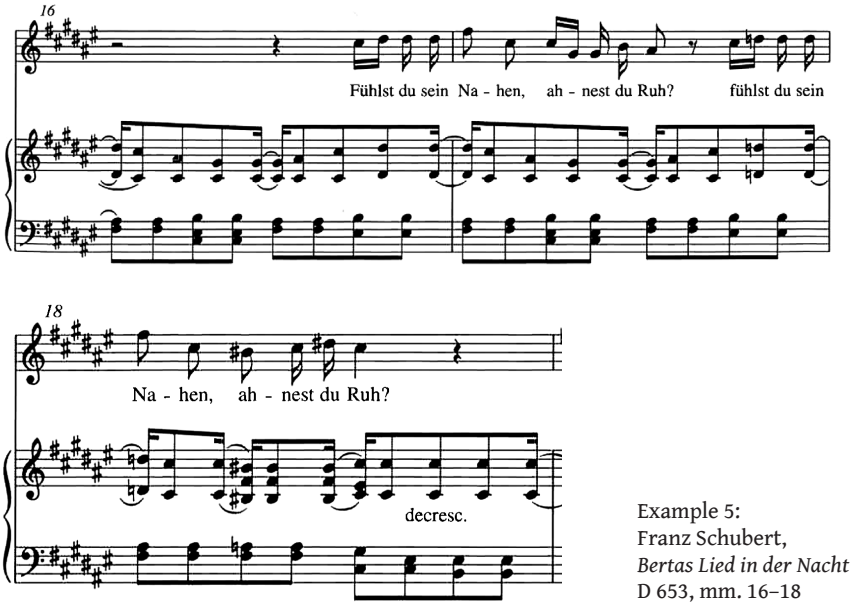
What happens between and around the bell-tones is still more variation on the basic intervallic and motivic material of this tightly knit song. The result in measures 9 to 15 is extraordinarily beautiful duetting between the melodic lines in motion, here, the tenor voice in the piano and the singer. That these are lovers singing in tandem, melodic mirrors of each other, is an admittedly fanciful interpretation but yet again consistent with Schubert's frequent conversion of imagery, concept, idea into musical process. This seems especially so when the duet is in parallel tenths (the first half of measure 9, the end of that

bar, and the middle of measure 10) and in mirror image/contrary motion on scalewise thirds, the lovers sharing and responding to each other's gestures, perhaps swaying towards and away from each other. The parallel tenths/minor thirds are exact in the first two beats of measure 9, and the result is yet another 'problem note' in this song: F double-sharp, this in the context of four bars dominated by the pitch C-sharp and with only glancing references to the true tonic in the vocal line. And the major mode of the key signature and of measures 9 to 10 then immediately becomes minor mode, with no F double-sharp this time – already this is one of Schubert's fingerprints, as Susan Wollenberg calls his signature musical maneuvers.[47] Both parallel planes of major and minor 'end' on the dominant – and see in the example the different versions of thirds, both traced in scalewise motion and as intervals, including a diminished fourth. The descending scalar fourths in measures 5 to 8 metamorphose into actual rhyming intervals of a fourth in the vocal line ("Kinde" on C-sharp G-sharp in measure 10, "flüstert sie zu" on F-sharp C-sharp and again C-sharp G-sharp in measure 11)... yet again, the elemental gestures evolve. But as we go through this phrase, it is the refusal of resolution that increasingly haunts us. What sort of ghostly, hovering adumbration of a key is this?
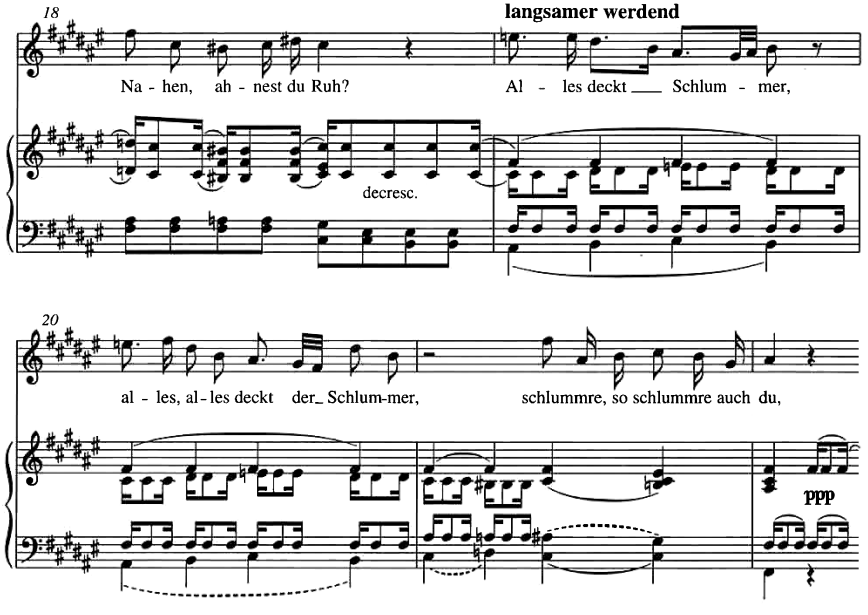
In this realm, everything is related, and everything recycles, but slowly, slowly (a warped Romantic notion of "Fortspinnung" is at work here). The chromatic swell in measure 2 – so filled with "Angst" and eroticized dread – returns enharmonically in the interior piano line in measure 13 as Night addresses Sleep (the sixteenth-note figure G-flat G-natural A-flat A-natural B-flat becomes eighth notes and quarter notes spelled F-sharp F double sharp G-sharp A-natural A-sharp). The singer doubles the rising chromaticism but decked out with appoggiaturas for yet more longing and desire. Having risen through one measure, we attain F-sharp in the upper octave for the singer and then gently descend through two measures: when Night bids Sleep close a careworn person's eyes ("drücke mir zu"), we achieve resolution at long last. The dominant yields to Sleep's persuasion...

But only tentatively. Throughout measures 16 to 18, Schubert's Berta asks, "Do you feel its nearness? Do you anticipate rest?", first in F-sharp major, then in parallel minor going to a half-cadence on the heightened dominant (again, the back-and-forth between different versions of a pitch/different pitches, D-sharp, D-natural, endemic in this song). We have heard previous incarnations of all the gestures in the vocal line and each level of the piano: the falling

47 See Susan Wollenberg, *Schubert's Fingerprints: Studies in the Instrumental Works* (London: Routledge, 2011).
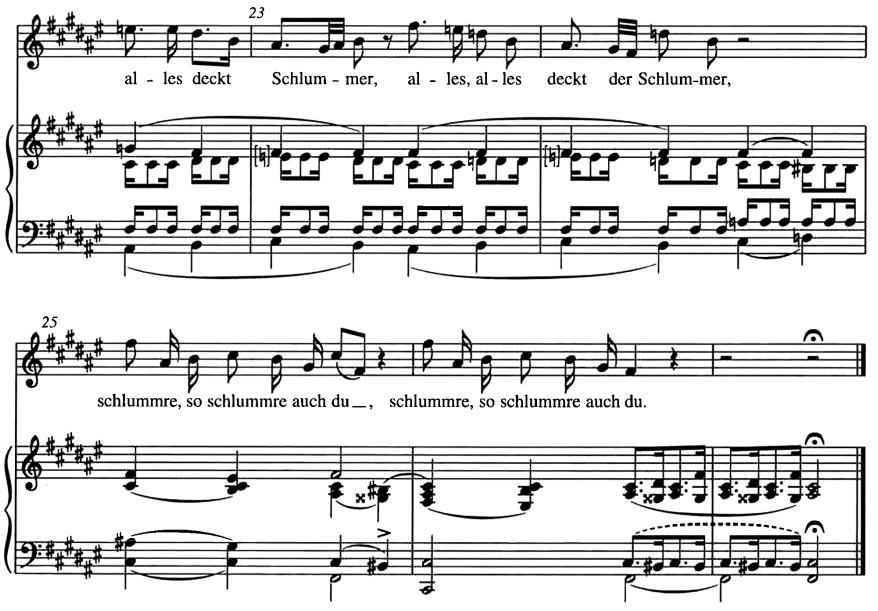


Example 5:
Franz Schubert,
Bertas Lied in der Nacht
D 653, mm. 16–18



Example 6: Franz Schubert, *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* D 653, mm. 19–first half of 22

fourths in the singer's part from measures 10 and 12, the C-sharp ostinato in the piano's 'alto voice,' the multiplying semitone intervals (F-sharp E-sharp in the bass, C-sharp D-natural, B A-sharp, C-sharp B-sharp), the eighth-note tactus in the bass are all familiar strands, as is the syncopation over the barline in the right hand (see Example 5). F-sharp major once achieved alternates with various dominant incarnations; it is as if we have finally reached the safe harbor of "Ruh" but cannot quite believe it is so and therefore question it by means of minor mode inflections and continued hovering on the dominant. And the B-sharp appoggiatura invests "ahnest" with greater tension, all the better for "Ruh" to resolve it.

With the *langsamer werdend* section, Schubert compresses the syncopated rhythms such that each beat is a complete unit of syncopation – a rhythmic pattern of which Hugo Wolf would later be quite fond. "Alles deckt Schlummer," Berta sings, but the effect of this rhythmic pattern is softly, subtly unsettling (see Example 6). What sort of sleep is this? Were we to speed up the tempo instead of slowing down from an already glacial pace, we would hear the panting, the panic, conveyed (or perhaps foretold?) in this way. The ostinato pitch shifts to F-sharp in the tenor and soprano voices of the piano, but this is not tonic F-sharp. (The avoidance of root position F-sharp tonic is one of the foremost hallmarks of this song. Everything is in mid-air, deferred, not reached, tentative.) Rather, this is the dominant of B major, heightened by the E-natural on the downbeat in the vocal line (mm. 19, 20, 22), lest we miss the tentative and brief motion away from the enharmonic tonic. But we return there in measures 21 to downbeat of 22 via Schubert's favorite German sixth pivot, the singer 'ending' on the third of the chord, not the root – we are not done yet. As part of that heightening of B major, the bass line and the alto line in the piano move in the familiar duetting parallel tenths that I associate with the incestuous lovers of the drama, tracing and then retracing the scalewise interval of a minor third (mm. 19–20). Yet again, a varied repetition of these two measures begins in the middle of measure 22, moved over by half-a-measure and then extended to the very end (see Example 7). Only the words "Alles deckt Schlummer" from measure 19 are repeated to the same pitches, same rhythmic disposition when draped across measures 22 to 23, but the harmonization is subtly changed by the injection of G-natural as a sighing figure within the F-sharp ostinato in the topmost voice of the piano, and the dynamics are *pianississimo*, barely audible. When the doubled words "Alles, alles deckt der Schlummer" are repeated (mid-m. 23–first half of m. 24), a momentary slippage to B minor brings back the parallel major-minor contrasts in a new location and ever so slightly varies the duetting tenths. Over and over again, Schubert re-tweaks and redistributes his deterministic musical materials.



Example 7: Franz Schubert, *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* D 653, second half of m. 22–m. 27

We cannot expect that the final cadence will be conventional, will be 'strong,' will suggest true closure, but we can expect that it will be a compound of prior gestures. The plangent imperative "schlummre" in measures 21 and 25 sounds to a transposed return of the descending minor sixth interval in the vocal line ("*la*-dend" in measure 4) that is so affecting in its momentary breakaway from the narrow boundaries that prevail in so much of this song. The neighbor-note chromatic thirds that bring the enharmonic minor third degree of the tonic chord in close proximity to the diatonic major third (F A sliding up to G-flat B-flat in measures 7 to 8) return transposed as G-double sharp B-sharp sliding up to A-sharp C-sharp in measures 25 to 26 and persist to the very end... which occurs, of course, in mid-measure, the final tonic simultaneity completely filling the rest of the measure. This song is claustrophobic to the very end. The original elements of *Bertas Lied* are present and fully accounted for at the close, with semitone figures in the tenor voice (C-sharp B-sharp) and the alto voice (G-double sharp A-sharp), the familiar falling fourths (F-sharp to C-sharp) in the piano's outer voices in measures 25 to 26, the whole step-plus-minor third in the topmost voice in the piano at measures 26 to 27 (C-sharp D-sharp F-sharp). The neighboring/side-slipping diminished seventh harmony (G-dou-
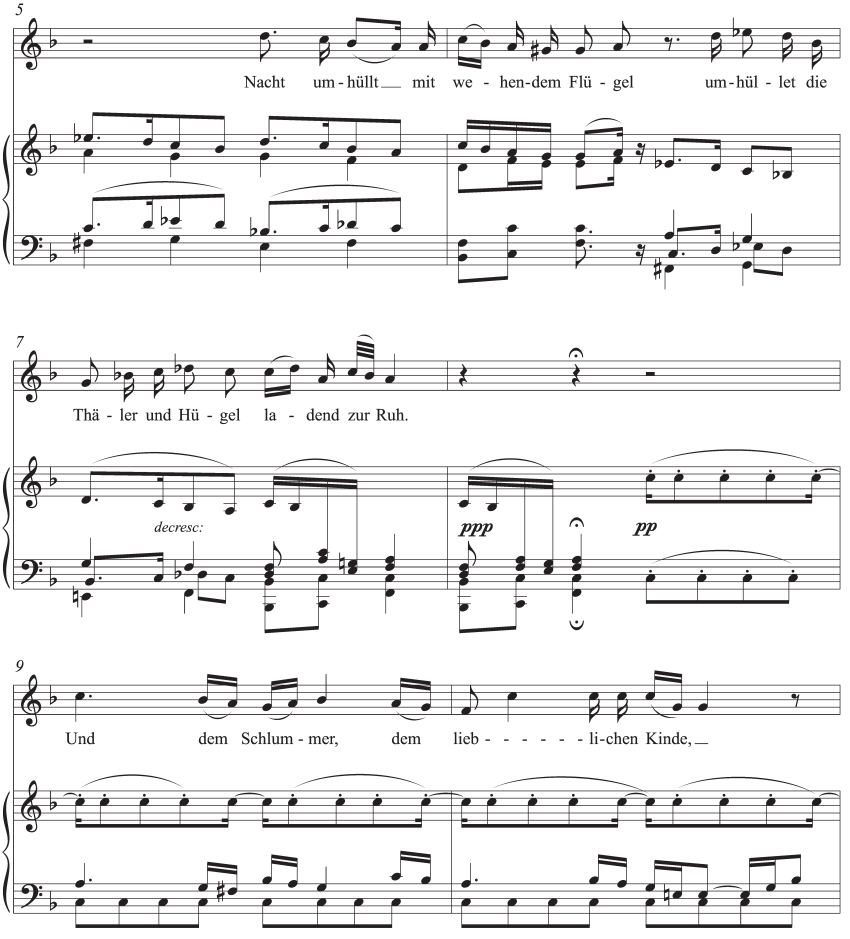
ble-sharp B-sharp D-sharp F-sharp) haunts tonic with its difference and dissonance until the end, with no tonic closure in the upper voice and a fatalistic open fifth in the left hand. Is this Night's "swaying wings" continuing slowly to move? Or does this embellishment of tonic hint at unknown futures beyond the 'end'? Or is it both at once? Does it ultimately resist them all?

In conclusion

When *Bertas Lied* was first published, fourteen years after Schubert's death, Anton Diabelli was clearly so spooked by the notational enharmony and by the forest of flats and sharps in the song's unusual tonal scheme that he eliminated them.[48] Heaven forfend that difficult keys deployed in brain-teasing ways might drive away buyers, and hence he transposed the song to F major with a seeming beginning in D minor and no enharmony at all. Was he perhaps thinking of *Gute Nacht* D 911/1 with its similar tropes of night, erotic catastrophe (impending in *Bertas Lied*, all too present in *Winterreise*), and lullaby, as Joe Davies so delightfully suggested to me? He also altered the texted cadence in the last half of measure 7 – or was it a printing error? – but not the piano echo (except for its transposition), such that the fact of an immediate and exact repetition is slightly vitiated in its effect. Because we do not see a double bar and a new key signature in the middle of measure 8, we are not alerted to a sea-change in the ongoing song. In the original key, we see/perceive G-flat first, then F-sharp and are therefore challenged to hear them as different, somewhat analogous to the visual challenge of seeing the Ahnfrau and thinking that she is Bertha but even more complex because both sight and sound are in play. But when F minor is succeeded tamely by F major in the posthumous publication, we are not presented with the same sort of change (see Example 8). There are no tonal conundrums for us to confront when the notational enharmony is banished. What would Schubert have thought? He happily tolerated transposition by his favorite singers, but this destroys the foremost conceptual basis for the song. Enharmony is not dispensable here.

I realize that I have dragged readers through myriad nitpicky details, no doubt to the boredom or despair of some, but it is in service to a point: that an intervallic germ-cell subjected to enharmonic respelling that both takes us nowhere new and transports us elsewhere generates an entire complex song whose rigor of construction is astonishing. Surface details run deep in

48 See *Franz Schubert's nachgelassene musikalische Dichtungen*, 40te Lieferung (Vienna: Anton Diabelli, 1842), 4–7.



Example 8: Franz Schubert, *Bertas Lied in der Nacht*, Nachlass No. 40, Wien: Diabelli & Co, VN 7418, ca. 1842, No. 2, mm. 5–10

Schubert, pointing to meanings that are simultaneously audible yet ungraspable. The text in *Janus* is not, I believe, sufficient on its own to have elicited this darkly prophetic/crystalline-exquisite specimen of ghostliness from a composer alive to what lies beneath the surface of words as few have ever been. What does it mean to be ghostly in music, he asks? This unique instance of multiple texts merging in the making of a Schubert song is especially eerie because the actual words we hear are subtly altered, even contradicted, by music which has other unseen, unheard words as its generating force. Each of the compositional decisions makes more sense when construed as a consequence of the

drama, in particular, the warping of Time, the claustrophobia in the piano, the softly thrumming syncopation, its diminution over time, the slowly evolving germ-cell, and a haunted, if lovely, musical depiction of lovers in dialogue. Stated another way, Schubert seems to have determined that he would attempt to double everything, every element of music, in this song:

1. Semitones create an echo chamber in the initial passage.
2. Pitches look the same but are not, altered as they are by flats, sharps, and naturals.
3. Keys do not look the same but are (and yet are not).
4. Doubled voices call to one another across a doubled passing bell.
5. The wordless voices in the piano in measures 8 to 12 mirror one another/double one another.
6. The rising linear chromaticism of measure 2 returns doubled and embellished in measure 14.
7. The harmonic trills in the left hand in measures 15 to 18 both repeat and double each chord.
8. We think that we are in one key at the start only to discover that it is really something else.

This much repetition, both literal and distorted, is one musical register of the "Unheimliche." The result is a troubled nocturne, a conceptual challenge to all things *gemütlich*, its beauty that which disturbs.

Is this, I wonder, why Schubert did not publish a song he surely knew was extraordinary in every way? He sought the appearance in print of works just as astonishing, just as challenging in their subject matter – *Erlkönig* D 328 (surely the most stunning Opus 1 in music history), *Der Pilgrim* D 794, and more, but not this one. Was it the calculated conundrum of not only notational enharmony but enharmony that showcases a veritable thicket of flats, then sharps? Did he think that perhaps musicians might not grasp what he was doing? Could he only expect from publishers what Diabelli in fact did, obliterating much of what makes this song so futuristic? Was it perhaps that only those who knew something of the drama could plumb the song's mysteries? This does not, of course, obviate the ability to hear this music and marvel at both the dark strains of the beginning and the exquisite dying-away *Nachtstück* that follows, but I would like to think that expanding the frame around this song to include a more detailed knowledge of Grillparzer's dark play makes hearing *Bertas Lied in der Nacht* all the more quietly powerful. Ultimately, this song makes a conundrum of perception itself.

APPENDIX

A summary of *Die Ahnfrau*

Because I am speculating that Schubert would have known the longer five-act version, that is what is summarized below.

Act I begins with Count Borotin uttering the prophetic words, "Nun, wohlan! was muß, geschehe!" (Now let what must be, happen) and then asking what time it is; Time looms large in Fate plays. A letter has arrived, telling him that a cousin – the last male of the noble name – has died childless. The Count laments his son, who disappeared at three years of age when a nursemaid accidentally left a gate open and was believed drowned in the forest pond. He comforts both his daughter Bertha and himself with the vision of her marriage to someone who will cherish her and divines that she has already found just such a man. This gives Bertha permission to tell the story of robbers setting upon her and of Jaromir von Eschen 'rescuing' her; once we come to know him, we infer that he and his band have staged their raid in order to provide Jaromir with eventual access to the castle. Bertha is remarkably frank about her passion ("I awoke [from a swoon] in his arms, and was new-born to life," she declares, invoking "hot kisses"), and the Count asks why she has not brought him home to meet her father. Jaromir has pled his poverty and his fears that the family will have other plans for her, but the Count declares that he can recognize "Edelmut" (nobility of mind) and bids her bring Jaromir to him.

Bertha sings him a lullaby and leaves the room. The Count falls asleep, the storm howls, a gust of wind blows through the chamber, and the Ahnfrau appears for the first time and bends over the Count. He mistakes her for Bertha – a leitmotif of this play – and wonders why she looks so deathly-pale. Summoned, the castellan Günter and Bertha provide the audience with the background story of the Ahnfrau, who Bertha once saw in a mirror as a corpse-like "Doppelgänger." Günter points out the dagger on the wall, the dagger with which the ancestress was killed for her adultery: the Count, we infer, is the descendant of a long-ago adulterous union. The Count leaves, and immediately (sudden entrances and exits are de rigueur in fate-tragedies) Jaromir staggers in, wounded. He claims it is the robbers again, but we learn later that the king's forces are responsible. The Count generously bids Günter to show Jaromir to their best bedchamber.

Act II begins with nocturnal disturbance: Jaromir has seen the Ahnfrau. The sound of Bertha singing a prayer to the accompaniment of her lute is enough

to make him wish to go to her, but the Ahnfrau prevents him. Bertha calls from within, and Jaromir is nonplussed, pointing the ancestress out to Bertha and bidding her to "comfort him" so that Hell's fantasies will no longer torment him. (We have already seen that he presses every advantage.) The Count arrives and, having heard the tale, tells Jaromir that he is truly "my son" because he has now witnessed the family's sad fate. Jaromir, feigning heroics, declares, "May whatever will be, happen: I will stay by your side, if needs must, be damned with you." Tragic irony seldom comes more emphatic than this.

The Count interrogates Jaromir about his background, and Jaromir replies with a farrago of lies: wealthy, mighty ancestors in the Rhineland have come to ruin and left him impoverished. Moved to sympathy both by the "frank" admission "I have nothing and am nothing" and Jaromir's protestations of utmost love for Bertha, the Count gives his blessing. Immediately, banging on the door announces the arrival of the king's troops, on the hunt for the chieftain of the robber band. The same robbers, we learn from the Captain, burned down his own family's home, and he has sworn vengeance. As the soldiers go through the house searching for him, Jaromir is ostensibly in his chamber – he has gone through the open window – while Bertha stands at his door, lamenting her lost innocence, when "der schmerzlichste der Triebe" was unknown to her. Hearing a shot, she opens the door, finds him gone, and cries out that he is "Dead – dead – dead."

The third act begins with Jaromir's return to the castle, his arm wounded and bound with her scarf, "ripped, like my heart," she cries; the scarf, like Desdemona's handkerchief, will come back in similarly fateful circumstances. She asks how he came to be hurt, and he, overcome by "the dark spirit of Lies," invents an explanation she knows to be false and then refuses to speak. Jaromir hides as one of the king's soldiers comes in with a torn-off piece of the scarf, saying that he ripped it from the robber's arm. The soldier leaves, Jaromir returns, and Bertha cries, "Robber!" This is the first of a cascading series of anagnorises in the drama; tellingly, Jaromir begins with words similar to those of the Count at the start of Act I: "Nun wohlan! es ist geschehn!" When she bids him begone, he makes an impassioned plea for pity and humanity for those dispossessed, those deprived of gentle teachings and just customs. She vacillates, and he delivers the great speech, begging her to flee with him, that Grillparzer wrote in one twelve-hour long fit of inspiration and labor. She agrees, and Jaromir tells her that he will hide in the castle's outer buildings ("well-known to robbers") until midnight, when he will meet her in the family crypt ("*Really*?", one is tempted to say – but Fate is dictating everything, including an all-too-conventional rendezvous point for scenarios doomed to end in death). He tells her that

the vial of poison he holds will free him, should he be captured, but she bids him to leave it. He asks for weapons, and she, of course, points to the dagger hanging on the wall, the very one that killed the Ahnfrau. As if summoned by it, the Ahnfrau appears briefly. When she departs, so does Jaromir.

Bertha sits at the hall table, her head in her hands, and Günther reassures the praying young woman that the robber cannot escape, a reassurance that makes her frantic. She begs the Virgin to lead Jaromir out of danger; when Günther wishes that her father were here, she also prays for him, "who has been robbed of so much." The verb "geraubt" is openly ironic. Günther hears something happening, they both hear a shriek, and the castellan sees a figure lying on the ground. Bertha is terrified that it is Jaromir, but it is her father, who is brought in on a stretcher and bids his daughter a moving farewell ("Es ist Schlafens – Schlafens Zeit"). A soldier enters, an older robber named Boleslav, and tells the dying Count that he brings joyful news. It was he who kidnapped the Count's son for his costly clothing and the jewel around his neck; the other robbers wanted the child killed, but Boleslav brought him up as his 'child' and eventually a fellow-robber. Offering to return the Count's son to him, Boleslav declares, "He is here in the castle," and the horror-stricken Bertha utters the name "Jaromir?". In this second anagnorisis scene, the Count dies addressing the Ahnfrau, "Sinful mother of sinful children!", and the soldiers rush out to find the murderer. Bertha, left alone with her father's body, laments. Her line, "Stille! Stille! Stille! Stille!", its so-called 'Spanish trochaic tetrameters' emphasized by the sizzle of "-st" on the accented syllable, recalls Lear's anguished "Never, never, never, never, never" over the dead Cordelia's body. Seeing the vial of poison, she bids it "cool my heated lips" and drinks it.

The final anagnorisis comes in the fifth and last act. Jaromir awaits the midnight rendezvous in the castle dungeon and tells of being overcome with "Räuberwut" when he killed Bertha's father. When Boleslav, who escaped the soldiers, finds him, the third anagnorisis takes place as the older robber reveals Jaromir's origins to him. Jaromir, horrified, attacks Boleslav, who flees. In his near-madness, he hears voices that, quite Act II final of *Don Giovanni*-like, sing, "Auf, ihr Brüder! / Senkt ihn nieder / In der Erde stillen Schoß. / In der Truhe / Finde Ruhe / Die dein Leben nicht genoß." Deciding that it does not matter that Bertha is his sister, he goes to his rendezvous in the crypt, where he is met by the Ahnfrau. Mistaking her for Bertha, he greets her rapturously, "Lustig! lustig! – / Sagen, du seist meine Schwester!". Saying that she is not his sister, the Ahnfrau asks him where his father is. When Jaromir persists, battering down door after door in the crypt, she shows him Bertha lying dead in her tomb. (The same temporal discrepancy that has the Commendatore dead

and buried in remarkably little time applies here.) Refusing to believe that the ancestress is not Bertha, he staggers into her arms and dies. "Nun wohlan! es ist vollbracht!", she cries and returns "nach Hause". The last word is – we are not surprised – "Tot!".

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NATURE AND LANDSCAPE IN SCHUBERT'S TIME

The relationship between nature and landscape, on the one hand, and the arts, on the other, underwent a fundamental transformation in the early 19th century. As a result of developments in the history of ideas, nature and landscape gained in significance and came to serve as a mirror of the human condition. This had an impact not only on the music, but also on literature, theatre, and the visual arts within the Habsburg Empire. This anthology examines the relationship between Schubert's music and contemporary conceptions of nature and landscape through contributions from various disciplines, while also highlighting new methodological approaches. The focus on nature not only as a poetic theme but also as a means of engaging with ecocriticism, art history, and philosophy exemplifies the appeal of these approaches and situates Franz Schubert within new historical and theoretical contexts.

ISBN 9-783-7001-5107-4

9 783700 151074

Made in Europe