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Schubert, Tragedy and German Philhellenism

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To Mum, and in memory of Dad.

Abstract

A strong cultural bond between Germany and Greece was forged by intellectuals from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. The ancient Greeks were felt to provide lessons for contemporary aesthetics and art with their emphasis on the beautiful and the natural. Born and educated in Vienna, Franz Peter Schubert digested many of these philhellenic ideals that migrated south to Austria. Their influence can be found in many of his Lieder on mythological themes, as has been recognised by several recent writers. I believe, however, that the influence also extended to instrumental works, and indeed that his musical forms cannot be fully understood outside the context of German philhellenism. The centrality of philhellenism to cultural life cannot be overestimated, inspiring German poetry and prose for two centuries, and its influence on music emerges in this study as similarly pervasive.

This study traces the influence on Schubert's music of the early philhellenic ideal of 'noble simplicity and quiet grandeur' initiated by Johann Winckelmann and found in the music of Christoph Willibald Gluck. Such influence can be found in his 'Tragic' Symphony. It also traces the influence of the particular strand of philhellenism that flourished during Schubert's lifetime – one shared by philosophers of the German idealist school, and one which focused on the particular art-form of Greek tragedy. It is this strand which supplies a further reading of the 'Tragic' Symphony D417 as well as readings of Schubert's three Piano Sonatas in A minor D537, D784 and D845. The readings draw on the common but varied strands of idealism, ranging from the idealist view of tragedy as a conflict between man and fate, to Friedrich Schelling's description of the genre as epic-lyric, to Friedrich Schiller's notion of tragedy as the overcoming of sublime terror, to Georg Wilhelm Hegel's view of tragedy as a dialectical process. The sonata forms which Schubert employed in these movements are analysed through the lens of James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy's Sonata Theory, and the interaction of these forms with the philosophical ideas of German philhellenism emerges as a locus of abundant hermeneutic meaning.

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I would also like to thank Doctor Ian Biddle, also of Newcastle University, who guided the first few months of the project and provided sage advice and guidance with respect to preliminary reading material. It was he who first gave me the belief that I could write something like this, and his impact on the project is far greater than the brief duration of his involvement might suggest.

Such a project could not have been done without the support of my wife, Janine. During my candidature, our two children have arrived and watching them grow up and develop has been a source of great strength during the more arduous periods of the project. They have at times had to contend with a husband and a father inhabiting the early nineteenth century, and I have perhaps been unable to give them my full attention. However, they are my North, my South, my East and West and the inspiration for everything I do.

My final thanks go to my mum and sister who have always been there for me and have provided a quiet house or offered to look after the children when I needed solitude to write and think. This work is dedicated to my mum and also in memory of my dad who unfortunately is no longer with us. My parents always exhorted me to do my best – my dad's motto was 'work hard, play hard' and I have always tried to live according to that maxim. They also instilled in me a love of learning and enquiry. The gestation period for this work stretches way back beyond the nominal four years it has taken to write. I remember family holidays as a teenager when my dad, with my mum ably yet sometimes thanklessly navigating, would drive through France, Germany and Italy and, looking back, it was these trips, visiting cities, museums, galleries and archaeological ruins, which gave me my fascination for European history, literature and music, without which I would not have written this work.

Glossary of Sonata Theory Abbreviations and Terms

PAC Perfect Authentic Cadence (a phrase-concluding formula featuring V-I root position bass motion; the upper voice ends on scale degree 1 above the tonic chord.)

IAC Imperfect authentic cadence (similar to PAC, but the upper voice ends on scale degree $\hat{3}$ or $\hat{5}$ above the tonic chord.)

HC Half-cadence (a cadence ending on an active V chord; this dominant chord will also end a phrase).

P Primary theme.

TR Transition (following P, the energy-gaining modules driving towards the medial caesura.)

MC Medial Caesura (within an exposition, I:HC MC represents a Medial Caesura built around the dominant of the original tonic; V:HC MC represents a MC built around V/V; etc. The presence of an MC identifies the exposition type as two-part – the most common type – and leads directly to an S theme. In nearly all cases, if there is no MC, there is no S.)

S Secondary Theme (follows a MC. This is built from precedential, pre-EEC thematic modules.)

EEC Essential Expositional Closure (within an exposition, usually the first satisfactory PAC that occurs within S and that proceeds onwards to different material. An immediate repetition of the melody or cadence – or certain other procedures, outlined in chapter 8 – can defer this point to the next PAC.

ESC Essential Structural Closure (within a recapitulation usually the first satisfactory PAC that occurs within S and that proceeds onwards to different material. The ESC is normally the recapitulation's parallel point to the exposition's EEC, although exceptions do exist.

C Closing zone (within an exposition, musical material following the EEC).

All definitions are taken from James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. xxv–xxviii.

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‘Everyone should be Greek in their own way! But they should be Greek!’[1]

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

[1] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, ‘Antik und Modern’, in *Die schönsten Aufsätze Goethes*, ed. H. Oppel (Recklinghausen, 1948), p. 493. Translation from Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus* (Princeton University Press, 2020), p. 16.

Chapter 1. Germany and Greece

In the middle of the eighteenth century the course of German cultural life took a sharp turn. Having followed the French for centuries, Germans began to feel an immediate kinship with people of a different time and different place – those of ancient Greece. Whereas the French had grounded their culture on Rome, Germans could identify with an older tradition – an ancient Arcadia of eternal youth and beauty. The kinship was felt to be so strong that by the turn of the nineteenth century, Wilhelm von Humboldt could proclaim that the Greeks 'are to us what they were to their gods – flesh of our flesh'.[1] Such a love affair with Greece was long-lasting, persisting well into the twentieth century, and was to influence many areas of cultural life.[2] Among those affected were musicians and composers – not least of which was Franz Peter Schubert.

The man who started the love affair was Johann Winckelmann, and what came to be known as the German philhellenic movement began in earnest with the publication of his essay *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* in 1755.[3] His vibrant writing style and his effulgent, almost romantic descriptions of Greek statuary and painting captivated his countrymen's imagination far more than the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum in the two decades previously, and gave them their avid love of Hellenic culture.[4] Beauty was what he valued above all else, and he always maintained the aesthetic superiority of Greek art. For Winckelmann the dominant characteristic of Greek masterpieces was 'noble simplicity and quiet grandeur in the pose as well as the expression'.[5] This concept of the statuesque calm of Greek art was revelatory for the men of his time and succeeding generations of the philhellenic movement would never wholly discard it.[6]

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[1] Wilhelm von Humboldt, 'Über den Charakter der Griechen, die idealische und historische Ansicht desselben', in *Werke in fünf Bänden – Band 2: Schriften zur Altertumskunde und Ästhetik. Die Vasken*, 5th edition (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002), p. 65: 'Sie sind für uns, was ihre Götter für sie waren; Fleisch von unserm Fleisch und Bein von unserm Bein'. Translation from Helen Roche, 'The Peculiarities of German Philhellenism', *Historical Journal* 61 no. 2 (2017), p. 544.
[2] Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus* (Princeton University Press, 2020), p. xviii.
[3] Johann Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*, 2nd edition (Walther, 1756).
[4] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 7; Henry Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism in German Literature* (Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 10; David Ferris, *Silent Urns: Romanticism, Hellenism, Modernity* (Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. 4–5.
[5] Johann Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildauerkunst* (1755), in *J.J. Winckelmanns Kleine Schriften und Briefe*, ed. Hermann Uhde Bernays, vol. 1 (Insel Verlag, 1925), p. 81: 'Das allgemeine vorzügliche Kennzeichen der griechischen Meisterstücke ist endlich eine edle Einfalt, und eine stille Größe, sowohl in der Stellung als im Ausdrucke'. All translations mine unless stated.
[6] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 7.

From the start the revolution was more aesthetic than political, aimed primarily at the remaking of German culture.[7] In particular, a central tenet of *Reflections* is that the path towards the rebirth of German art can come from imitating the Greeks.[8] The literary scholar Henry Hatfield explains that 'imitation' is a somewhat ambiguous term, usually meaning something like 'creation in the Greek spirit' rather than 'copying'.[9] Thus the very beginning of the movement contains an exhortation to Germans to learn from Greek art and to incorporate its spirit into contemporary art.

In the wake of this Greek revival which Winckelmann spawned, and which incorporated many of his ideas and ideals, there was also a second wave of philhellenism which began in the 1790s.[10] This second wave was intensely philosophical with its leading figures coming from the school of German idealism. Aesthetically it was oriented not to visual arts such as sculpture and painting but to literature, and especially Greek tragedy, the genre which became central to their thought. On the one hand, it interested them as an historical object of study which allowed them to probe questions of individual subjectivity and objective reality, building on the philosophical Critiques of Immanuel Kant. On the other hand, it interested them aesthetically in that it was the genre of poetry which they thought was the most perfect.[11] Indeed, to many of the figures of this second wave the aesthetic and the philosophical were inextricably linked. Many of them followed Winckelmann, who had advocated that contemporary art should be created in the Greek spirit, by using Greek tragedy as an art-form which had lessons for the present and on which they could try out their aesthetic theories. For example, for Friedrich Schlegel, poetry was to be reborn as a synthesis of the ancient and the modern, with Greek poetry guiding and informing such a synthesis.[12] Although their theories differ in several ways, the centrality of Greek tragedy to their worldview is something which they all shared.

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[7] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 4. See also Marjorie Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder and the Search for Lost Paradise* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 28.

[8] Johann Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*, 2nd edition (Walther, 1756), p. 3: 'Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja, wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten'. ('the only way for us to become great, aye, if it is possible, inimitable, is the imitation of the Greeks'.) Translation from Joshua Billings, *Genealogy of the Tragic: Greek Tragedy and German Philosophy* (Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 32.

[9] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 7.

[10] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 106. Billings describes the idealist thought on tragedy which began in the 1790s as the 'new wave' of German philhellenism. I will refer to it as the 'second wave', with Winckelmann's initial aesthetic comprising what I will term the 'first wave'.

[11] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 106.

[12] See Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 110.

Both these waves of philhellenism had a great influence on literature and philosophy, an influence which has been chronicled by various writers.[13] Winckelmann's ideas inspired the greatest German writers, including Herder, Schiller and Goethe, and, as mentioned above, the genre of Greek tragedy was a central concern for several of the philosophers of the school of German idealism.[14] A less direct influence, and one which is less attested to, is the influence on music. This might be regarded as a second order influence, as it emerges through these literary and philosophical effluences, but this in no way detracts from its strength. Indeed, German poetry and philosophy – both heavily influenced by philhellenism – were fundamental to the entire philosophical basis of absolute music which developed around the year 1800.[15]

The influence of German philhellenism on music is particularly evident in the works of Franz Schubert. Schubert grew up in an age in which the excitement and love of Greece engendered by the two waves was still palpable. Friedrich Schiller wrote at the turn of the nineteenth century of the 'hot fever of Graecomania' which had replaced the 'cold fever of Gallomania'.[16] Furthermore, in Schubert's youth, the Austrian school system was beginning to absorb many philhellenic ideals from the north of Germany and he began to receive and absorb these from an early age. Not surprisingly, therefore, philhellenic influences have been detected in his Lieder, with several recent studies having been produced on this subject.[17] The influence does not stop there, however, since, as several musicologists have noted, literary concerns for Schubert can be seen to extend outside music with text, and to cover other works.[18] In Schubert's time literature was heavily influenced by philhellenism with on the one hand, the titanic figure of Schiller attempting the recreation of tragedies as part of his 'classical' phase of the early 1800s and on the other, his friend Johann Mayrhofer supplying

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[13] Studies on the influence on German literature include Eliza Butler, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 1935), Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, and Marchand, *Olympus*. The influence on German philosophy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is chronicled in Billings, *Genealogy*, and in chapters 5–7 of Julian Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy: From Plato to Žižek* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[14] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 5, Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 8.
[15] Carl Dahlhaus argues that the idea of absolute music 'owed its pathos [...] to German poetry and philosophy around 1800'. See Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 3.
[16] Friedrich Schiller, *Xenien* 320, in *Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden* (Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1992–1994), vol. 1, p. 618: 'Kaum hat das kalte Fieber der Gallomanie uns verlassen / Bricht in der Gräkomanie gar noch ein hitziges aus'.
[17] These include Marjorie Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder and the Search for Lost Paradise* (Cambridge University Press, 2007) and Michael Shaw, 'Schubert's Mythological Mayrhofer-Lieder: Historical, Philosophical, and Psychological Contexts' (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014).
[18] See Su Yin Mak, 'Schubert as Schiller's Sentimental Poet', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 4 no. 2 (2007), p. 254: 'Schubert's compositional language, in vocal as well as instrumental music, is as much shaped by a literary imagination as by musical concerns'. See also Ilija Dürhammer and Gerrit Waidelich, 'Einleitung', in *Schubert: 200 Jahre* (Braus, 1997), p. 9: '[...] as for hardly any other composer, an intensive preoccupation with the literature of his time was from the beginning a fundamental element for all his work'. Translation from Shaw, 'Schubert's Mythological Mayrhofer-Lieder', p. 3.

him with poetry steeped in the classical past that was to be set to music.[19] As well as the indirect literary influence, I will show that there is also evidence of a structural borrowing from Greek tragedy in his music.[20] This is entirely in keeping with the spirit of Winckelmann, who advocated learning ways of incorporating ancient techniques into contemporary art, and with the spirit of the idealists, in which tragedy was held out as an exemplary art form.

In particular, aspects of German philhellenism – and of the particular art form of Greek tragedy which was so important to the philosophy and aesthetics of his lifetime – can be seen to influence several of his movements in sonata form. The most overt instance of this is substantiated in the title he gave to his Fourth Symphony D417 – the 'Tragic'. However, the centrality of the idea of tragedy to the philosophy of his time means that readings of many more such works are nourished by an awareness of Greek tragedy's influence on his generation. Such an influence will be seen to come from the aesthetics of Winckelmann, which German philhellenism never wholly discards, as well as from theories of tragedy propounded by the idealists of the second wave. For example, I will give readings of sonata-form works which draw on the idealist's view of tragedy as a battle between man and fate; on Friedrich Schelling's notion of tragedy as a combination of lyric and epic, of Friedrich Schiller's notion of tragedy as the transcending of the sublime and of Georg W.F. Hegel's notion of tragedy as a dialectical process. It is unclear whether the connections between Schubert's use of sonata form and the notions of tragedy shared by his contemporaries emerge either consciously by design, or unconsciously as comprising something of the general spirit of the age. However, they are sufficiently numerous so as to imply a close connection.

In the survey of German philhellenism in general, and in these readings of works in particular, a picture of tragedy emerges as an extremely complex genre, not simply a tale of misfortune or disaster. Tragedy appears as being about joy as much as mourning, creation as much as destruction and reconciliation as much as conflict. Such observations as to the multifaceted nature of the genre conflict with recent descriptions of tragic narratives within

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[19] See Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 115. Schiller's Classical tragedies include 'The Bride of Messina' and the Wallenstein trilogy.
[20] I will return to this point later several times. For example, in chapter 2, I will propose a reading of the opening movement of the 'Tragic' Symphony D417 as one whose structure reflects the idealist's reconciliatory view of tragedy and their recognition of its inherent paradox and ambiguity. The German idealists, particularly Schelling, conceived of tragedy as a synthesis of lyric poetry and epic drama, and, in chapters 4 and 5, I will show how such a structure inflects the forms of the opening movements of the Piano Sonatas D537 and D784. I will also show that the musical trajectory of the latter follows a trajectory that has a kinship with Schiller's theory of tragedy. Finally, in chapter 6, I will show that the form of the opening movement of the Piano Sonata in A minor D845 can be read as being generated from Hegel's dialectic process – a process closely linked with his theory of tragedy, and with Sophocles' play *Antigone* in particular.

sonata-form instrumental works which insist on a minor-mode ending.[21] Indeed, I will show that a salient feature of the theories of tragedy in Schubert's time is the emphasis on reconciliation and harmony at the end of the action. Such a notion implies that such minor mode endings to works are not necessarily in line with understandings of tragedy that obtained at the time.

Despite the reconciliation in Greek tragedy, more threatening elements do, however, lie under the surface. It was the second-wave idealists Friedrich Hölderlin and Friedrich Schlegel who identified a darker, Dionysian, irrational element to Greek culture which Winckelmann's noble simplicity did not give weight to. Such an irrational element is also identified by the classical scholar E. R. Dodds in his important twentieth-century study *The Greeks and the Irrational*.[22] This is an element of tragedy that the rationalism of the Enlightenment was unable to capture. In Schubert, however, we have an almost counter-enlightenment figure, who described the enlightenment as a 'hideous skeleton without flesh and blood'[23] and who propounds the superiority of faith over knowledge and understanding.[24] His musical expression seems sometimes to border on the mystic and he is susceptible to the primordial ideas of myth which go back to the pre-rational age of man. Indeed, as a writer of Lieder, Schubert is distinguished from other composers by the number of mythological settings and his attraction to classical themes.[25]

Tragedy also emerges as a genre which is interpreted in different ways at different times. The earliest surviving text dealing with theoretical aspects of tragedy is the *Poetics* of Aristotle written in the 3rd century BC.[26] While the theories of the German idealists of Schubert's time incorporate some of Aristotle's concepts and interpret them within their philosophical framework, they deviate from him substantially. Indeed, the eighteenth century sees a progressive discarding of many of Aristotle's ideas. Thus the concept of tragedy – its essence and function – is something which changes through time, and in looking at German philhellenism and the theories of the idealists we are dealing with a concept of tragedy that is local to its time and place. Thus in order to clarify what might be meant by tragic elements in

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[21] See James Hepokoski, *A Sonata Theory Handbook* (Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 142, 145–153.
[22] Eric Robertson Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (University of California Press, 1951), p. 40.
[23] Written in a notebook, March 1824, quoted in Brian Newbould, *Schubert, the Music and the Man* (University of California Press, 1997), p. 220.
[24] Written in a notebook, March 1824, quoted in Mary Macken, 'The Centenary of Franz Schubert', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* (1928), p. 590.
[25] Marjorie Hirsch lists between 30 to 40 Lieder of Schubert based on classical themes, see Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, p. 36.
[26] Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Malcolm Heath (Penguin Classics, 1996).

Schubert's music we should be aware of these local ideas and also, conversely, bear in mind that they may not apply to works written earlier in a different era.

Owing to the specificity and complexity of German philhellenism's notions of tragedy, an overview of the history and the ideas which run through the philhellenic movement up to Schubert's time needs to be chronicled in order to facilitate the musical analysis. It is also necessary to set out the tenets and characteristics of Schubert's particular milieu in Vienna, as many of the philhellenic ideas he imbibed were channelled through his friends and acquaintances. These remarks will be of a general nature, and more specific aspects will be drawn out and developed in the discussion of the individual works. We begin with Winckelmann, the extent of whose legacy can be seen from the fact that between Leibniz and Goethe he was the most renowned German after Frederick the Great.[27] It is with Winckelmann that the idea of Greece was born in Germany, and, in particular, whenever we talk of the Greece of the romantics of Schubert's generation we are talking of Winckelmann's Greece.[28]

1.1 Beginnings – Winckelmann and the 'First Wave' 1755–1789

Henry Hatfield maintains that few men have had a greater impact on the culture of their native country than Winckelmann.[29] The essential doctrine of his thought is contained in his *Reflections* essay with which the German philhellenic movement was launched in earnest, and in which Hatfield identifies three cardinal theses. The first is the insistence upon the absolute validity of Greek art. The second is encapsulated in the passage in the essay where he writes that the 'universal, dominant characteristic of Greek masterpieces is ultimately noble simplicity and quiet grandeur in the pose as well as the expression'.[30] This concept of the statuesque calm of Greek art 'struck its own time with the force of a revelation'.[31] The third thesis Hatfield identifies is the doctrine of imitation. Winckelmann writes to his fellow Germans that 'the only way for us to become great, aye, if it is possible, inimitable, is the imitation of the ancients'.[32]

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[27] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 8.
[28] Butler, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany*, p. 6.
[29] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 5.
[30] Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften und Briefe*, p. 8: 'Das allgemeine vorzügliche Kennzeichen der griechischen Meisterstücke ist endlich eine edle Einfalt, und eine stille Größe, sowohl in der Stellung als im Ausdrucke'.
[31] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 7.
[32] Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*, 2nd edition (Walther, 1756), p. 3: 'Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja, wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten'. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 32.

With his emphasis on noble grandeur, Winckelmann also gives to the philhellenic movement an appreciation of calm beauty as a crucial feature of Greek art. Hatfield describes the cult of beauty as being at the very centre of his being, and how Winckelmann even regarded the writing of history under an aesthetic aspect.[33] Such an emphasis on the beautiful categorises the philhellenic movement as a whole. Indeed, there were many different flavours of German philhellenism throughout the two centuries of its existence, but one thing that all writers agreed on was that the Greek way of life and Greek art was more beautiful than its modern counterpart.[34] Germans admired the Greeks first and foremost because they exemplified the beautiful and had achieved the pinnacle of artistic beauty.[35] To them the Greeks were, in Hatfield's words, *the* aesthetic people.[36]

The decade in which Winckelmann's *Reflections* essay appeared marks the beginning of widespread engagement in Germany with Greek culture generally and Greek tragedy in particular. In the early eighteenth century, Greek mythology was seen as merely a bundle of superstitions.[37] With Winckelmann, and his rapturous descriptions of Greek statuary, these myths became of interest again. This may have excited further interest into Greek tragedies which were based on such mythical stories.[38] Accordingly, in 1759, German translation of Greek tragedy began in earnest with the publication in Zürich of Johann Jacob Steinbrüchel's translations of Sophocles.[39] Hence, although Winckelmann does not deal much with tragedy in his writings, they gave impetus for a fresh exploration of the genre.

Since up to the mid-eighteenth century Germany had been under the shadow of France in cultural terms, ideas on tragedy were hitherto mainly derived from French neo-classical theories, which in turn grounded themselves closely on the *Poetics* of Aristotle. Typical for the time was the figure of Johann Christian Gottsched who had written in 1730 that 'what the Greeks were to the Romans, so the French are now for us'.[40] In Winckelmann's time these words came up against a burgeoning German national identity which defined itself 'in

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[33] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, pp. 13–15.
[34] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, pp. 1–2.
[35] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 3, p. 6.
[36] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 13.
[37] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 8.
[38] For accounts of how underlying myths formed the basis of ancient Greek tragedies see Peter Burian, 'Myth into Muthos: the Shaping of Tragic Plot', in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*, ed. Patricia Easterling (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 178–208, and Ruth Scodel, *An Introduction to Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 3 and 27.
[39] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 35.
[40] Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, 4th edition (Breitkopf, 1751), p. 41. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 33.

opposition to French dominion'.[41] In the same year in which Steinbrüchel's translations appeared, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing launched an attack on Gottsched and his adherence to French neo-classicism in the seventeenth of his *Letters Concerning Recent Literature* in which he rails against the 'cold formalism associated with neo-classical poetics'.[42] Like Gottsched, Lessing still accepts Aristotle as the foremost source on the subject, but argues that, instead of slavishly following his precepts, German tragedy should aim instead at the attainment of the effects that Aristotle said that tragedy should produce – namely *catharsis* (purification) brought about by fear and pity.[43]

Further attacks which set out the specifically German flavour to the theory and practice of tragedy were to follow. Although Aristotle's *Poetics* provided the 'framework' for discussions of Greek tragedy, its 'universal applicability' was now often questioned.[44] As Frederick Beiser puts it, for Germans the 'wise legislator of the 1750s had become the terrible tyrant of the 1760s'.[45] These attacks on French neo-classicism and Aristotelian poetics took their impetus from the *Sturm und Drang* movement in Germany whose practitioners were 'much more rebellious than Lessing and ready to criticise Aristotle himself'.[46] The main battering ram with which the adherents of the *Sturm und Drang* assaulted the Aristotelian citadel was Shakespeare, since he was a writer of recognisably great modern tragedies which paid little or no heed to the Aristotelian dramatic unities. With these unities out of the way, French neo-classicism was banished to ignominy and Shakespeare in turn held up as the essential modern dramatist.[47] As a consequence, German theorists began to advocate for greater literary freedom. Johann Herder and Heinrich von Gerstenberg would use Shakespeare's example to argue that there is no need for modern tragedy to follow the same rules at those of the Greeks. Jacob Lenz – another of the *Sturmer und Dranger* – went as far as to reverse Aristotle's hierarchy of plot over character.[48] The latter move opened the way towards a more subjective view of tragedy than that offered by frigid neo-classicism.

With the jettisoning of French neo-classicism's strict adherence to Aristotle, and the acceptance that different rules apply for different peoples at different times, there comes a switch from universalism to historicism in discussions of tragedy in Germany which begins

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[41] Roche, 'The Peculiarities of German Philhellenism', p. 546.
[42] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 41.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 45.
[45] Frederick Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher: A Re-examination* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 242.
[46] Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher*, pp. 242–243.
[47] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 41.
[48] For more details on the attacks of Gerstenberg, Herder and Lenz, see Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher*, pp. 242–247.

around the year 1770.[49] Instead of seeing tragedy as a continuum across the ages, Greek tragedy was now seen as something separate and distant from modern tragedy, but at the same time as related to the latter across the centuries. This switch to historicism can be traced back to Winckelmann, who in his *History of Ancient Art* (1764) described Greek art and culture as living organisms which grow, decay and die.[50] Such ideas were formative in Herder's dismissal of the applicability of Aristotelian rules for the tragedies of all ages. The doctrine of historicisation, however, impinges directly on Winckelmann's original ideas of the absolute validity of Greek art, and his doctrine of the imitation of the ancients.[51] This clash between historicisation and universalism, and the underlying tension between these viewpoints, will be important for the idealist thinkers of the second wave and will be something they, like Winckelmann, never quite reconcile.

In addition to these theoretical concerns, the 1770s and 1780s saw a large increase in the number of translations of Greek tragedies. [52] However, these appear to have been aimed merely at private readers since performances of tragedies on the stage were rare well into the nineteenth century. What did prevail were adaptations of tragedies for the stage, heavily influenced by the Winckelmannian ideal of 'noble simplicity and quiet grandeur'.[53] To this genre belong the operas of Christoph Willibald Gluck, one of the earliest and most important musical effluences of the German philhellenic movement.[54] These productions caused a sensation in their time and were still popular in the early nineteenth century. They were to have a large influence on the young Schubert and constitute one of his first encounters with the German philhellenes' notion of the tragic.

The number and magnitude of the changes in which Greek tragedy was viewed in the few decades after the publication of the *Reflections* essay show the extent to which Winckelmann, and the first wave he produced, had transformed Germany's relationship with Greece. In the mid-eighteenth century Greek literature had still been largely the 'dusty province of the erudite' but owing to Winckelmann's influence, by the 1780s the German concept of tragedy had thrown off the shackles of French neo-classicism and was gaining a flavour of its own.[55] Goethe's description of the eighteenth century as 'Winckelmann's century' understates the

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[49] See Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 45.
[50] Winckelmann, Johann. *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Walther, 1764). See Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 22.
[51] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, pp. 22–23, pp. 46–47.
[52] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 59–60.
[53] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 59–60.
[54] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 59–60.
[55] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 33.

fact that his influence lasted a great deal longer than that, and Goethe's prediction that Winckelmann would 'exert a powerful influence from the grave' ended up becoming perhaps even more true than even he himself imagined.[56] One possible reason for the longevity of Winckelmann's thought is its consistency. Although he moves from universalism towards historicism in works such as his *History of Ancient Art*, he never altered the fundamental content of his dogma nor renounced his fundamental doctrine of the imitation of the ancients.[57] After Winckelmann, Helen Roche notes that the 'ancient Greece of the German imagination existed neither as Athens, nor Sparta, but rather as a 'sort of composite dreamworld', characterized above all by Winckelmann's 'noble simplicity and quiet grandeur'.[58]

Despite the more philosophical bent of the German idealists of the second wave beginning in the 1790s, it is important not to lose sight of the rapturous sway which Winckelmann's ideas held over his countrymen. Starting with its epicentre in Prussia, in time the spirit and excitement engendered by the rediscovery of Greek art penetrated all the way to the most southern German state of Austria where it found fertile ground. Here in the early nineteenth century was growing up a generation who would imbibe these philhellenic ideals and use them as a basis for study and reading and for the creation of poetry and music. Counted among these are Schubert and a group of his friends which met in Vienna. Such a group was crucial in cultivating the composer's early view on Greece and formative for his education.

1.2 Schubert as a Part of the German Philhellenic Movement

'No ideal is an island', writes Suzanne Marchand in her study of German Philhellenism, *Down from Olympus*. Here she outlines how the aesthetic tenets which the movement maintained were combined with a socio-pedagogical philosophy which helped to spread the ideals of philhellenism across the German states.[59] Whilst recognising the individual contributions of individual poets and thinkers, her study tracks the institutional and social forms these pedagogical activities took. Indeed, a pedagogical aspect was present in the movement from the start, with the primary interests of the founders of German philhellenism including the universalisation of non-utilitarian education.[60] This extends to Winckelmann himself who during his long stay in Rome spent much of his time teaching German and Swiss

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[56] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 8.
[57] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 11, p. 22.
[58] Roche, 'The Peculiarities of German Philhellenism', p. 546.
[59] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 6.
[60] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 6.

visitors – so much so that Hatfield describes him as the aesthetic *praeceptor Germaniae* ('teacher of the Germans').[61]

The institutionalisation of pedagogy picked up fresh impetus in the later eighteenth century from Wilhelm von Humboldt, concerned with organising educational establishments in order that *Bildung* – the ideal of self-cultivation and education – could be institutionalised across the German states. [62] Humboldt revolutionised the Prussian education system with the founding of *Gymnasien*, seminars and universities and founded it on classical learning. Such a revolution began in the late eighteenth century and culminated in the founding of the University of Berlin in 1810–1811. Thereafter, the ideals of philhellenism were channelled through these establishments and imposed on generations of middle class Germans.[63]

The basic institutions of philhellenism were integrated into the southern Catholic German lands, including Bavaria and Austria, from the north, but this entailed less of an abrupt shift in state policy than as a continuation of eighteenth-century classicism.[64] The overtly secular nature of Winckelmann's ideals, and his anti-Roman tendencies, meant that Catholic piety resisted a wholesale accommodation of his ideals.[65] There was a difference in flavour from the philhellenism which flourished in the protestant north whose institutions reflected the fact that Winckelmann's philhellenism had placed Greece well ahead of Rome in cultural terms. David Gramit has characterised the Austrian school system in Schubert's time as 'heavily oriented toward the classics' but it did not resemble the hot-bed of philhellenism in the Prussian institutions, particularly the University of Berlin.[66] Indeed, it appears that philhellenic ideals were still filtering down in Schubert's time. For instance, it was only in his final year at the Imperial Seminary (*Stadtkonvikt*) that Greek replaced physics and natural history in the curriculum.[67]

In this final year, Schubert received high grades in Greek but had already been pursuing an extensive course in Latin which continued after he left the school.[68] If Schubert received at least a rudimentary introduction to classical languages at school, he also received the ideals of philhellenism through his wider social milieu since, as well as the institutionalisation of

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[61] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 10.
[62] See Marchand, *Olympus*, pp. 24–29.
[63] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. xviii–xix.
[64] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. xxiii.
[65] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. xxiii.
[66] David Gramit, 'The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle' (PhD Dissertation, Duke University, 1987), p. 26.
[67] Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 24.
[68] Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, pp. 36–37.

Bildung, there was also a social aspect to its transmission. Winckelmann regarded friendship between men (*Privatfreundschaft*) as the highest of values and, in the wake of his teaching, clubs and societies had formed all across Germany which aimed at promoting his brand of *Bildung*.[69] After leaving school, Schubert belonged to a circle of friends which had formed in 1811 in Linz but its centre of gravity had since moved to Vienna. The circle's aspirations and goals echoed the central ideals of the first German philhellenes which Marchand delineates as those of self-cultivation, disinterested contemplation of the beautiful, good, and true, [and] admiration of the ancients'.[70] In terms of self-cultivation, Elizabeth Norman McKay characterises Schubert's circle as seeking 'self-improvement through learning and artistic activity'.[71] They advocated diligent study of the beautiful, the good and the true in the first volume of a yearbook they began to produce in 1817 – the *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge* ('Contributions towards the Education of Young Men') – and cultivated idealistic theories such as 'the love of all that is good' (*Liebe zum Guten*).[72] They also shared an admiration for the ancients – indeed, the aim of this early circle is summarised by David Gramit as 'the cultivation of virtue by imitating the example of great men'.[73]

The notion of *Bildung* which the circle shared is also redolent of the Humboldtian notion of *Bildung* which Helen Roche describes as one promoted as a 'teleology of the self' and as one which, through scholarly attention to ancient texts, would ultimately lead to 'individual intellectual and artistic fulfilment'.[74] The reading of classical texts was a central concern of the circle and their activities included an enthusiastic study of Greek literature and civilisation.[75] Classical antiquity was felt to be the proper content of *Bildung*, and with this came the conviction that in order to understand oneself one had to step into another linguistic stand-point.[76] Their concentration on texts is evinced by that fact that the circle's younger participants, who were virtually 'in training', were encouraged to follow a concentrated programme of reading, translation and writing.[77]

Although Schubert could be described as the only man of true genius amongst this circle, his friends were no passive admirers and the circle was the locus of active intellectual

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[69] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 16.
[70] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. xviii.
[71] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, p. 45.
[72] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, pp. 45–46.
[73] Gramit, 'Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets', p. 44.
[74] Roche, 'The Peculiarities of German Philhellenism', pp. 547–548.
[75] Brian Newbould, *Schubert, the Music and the Man* (University of California Press, 1997), p. 40, Gramit, 'Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets', pp. 45–55.
[76] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 5.
[77] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, pp. 46–47.

exchanges.[78] McKay considers that the four or five years in which he belonged to the circle from early 1815 'were marked by considerable advances in Schubert's intellectual and aesthetic thinking'.[79] Indeed, at that time of his development, Schubert's activities and the activities of his circle can often be seen as inextricably linked.[80] In particular, it is plausible to see the ideas of his circle as formative for the composer's interest in tragedy and in Greek culture more generally. Evidence for this comes from the plethora of mythological Lieder which begin to appear. Marjorie Hirsch has compiled a list of all Schubert's Lieder based on classical mythological themes (mostly on Greek subjects) which, if we discount the various alternative versions which exist for some Lieder, total 36 Lieder.[81] In the year 1814, of the around 30 Lieder that he wrote, none are on mythological subjects. In 1815 there were around 80 Lieder and, in the first half of the year, only one, *Amphiaraos* D166, was on a mythological subject. It is only after August 1815, when Schubert had become a member of the circle that the number of mythological settings increases rapidly. In the period of a little over two years between August 1815 and the end of 1817, 21 such Lieder were written – more than half of the 36 in total. It is also during his time as a member of the Circle that he wrote his Fourth Symphony D417 to which he himself gave the title *das Tragische* ('the Tragic'). This is another piece of evidence which hints at the magnitude of the effect the circle was having on him at that time and the emphasis of the classical past that they were inculcating into him.

The members of the circle were in some sense conservative in outlook. For instance, many of them were opposed to romantic trends which seemed to want to conjure up a dream-world detached from reality and day-to-day hard work and learning.[82] This is especially true of the senior members of its Vienna branch, Josef von Spaun and Johann Mayrhofer. The latter, in a passage from his work *Raphael*, has his character profess the superiority of classicism over romanticism.[83] Moreover, despite their aversion to romanticism, their ideas do not belong wholly to classicism either with the ideas current among Schubert's friends simply not fitting tidily into either school.[84] In essence, the circle appears to have inculcated into Schubert a conception of music that was as much literary as musical, in which poetry is central and in

[78] David Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier: The Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer's "Heliopolis"', *Music & Letters* 74 no. 3 (1993), p. 358.
[79] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, p. 45.
[80] Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier', p. 356.
[81] Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, p. 35.
[82] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, p. 46.
[83] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, p. 46.
[84] Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier', p. 355.

which poetry and music are intimately linked. Su Yin Mak characterises Schubert's style as being composed of two separate traditions – the musical tradition of Mozart and Beethoven and the literary tradition which he inherited from his circle – between which he was able to mediate.[85] She has remarked that Schubert's compositional language, in vocal as well as instrumental music, is as much shaped by a literary imagination as by musical concerns'.[86] Ilija Dürhammer is even more explicit on this point: 'as for hardly any other composer, an intensive preoccupation with the literature of his time was from the beginning a fundamental element for all his work'.[87]

In this literary conception of music the circle represented no eccentric historical outlier. Carl Dahlhaus has identified a musico-literary aesthetic tradition of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which existed alongside classicism and romanticism, and thus inhabited a similar aesthetic space to Schubert's circle. The tradition – also like the circle – proposed a close relationship between music and poetry, with the theory of the symphony and ideas of musical form oriented around the theory of the ode.[88] A typical expression of such an aesthetic is encapsulated for Dahlhaus in the writings of Johann Schulz who writes in his 1794 article 'Symphony' that 'an *allegro* in the symphony is akin to the Pindarian ode in poetry'.[89] Hence the aesthetics were not only based on poetry, but a form of ancient Greek poetry in particular. The tradition's 'categorical basic model' which combined the theories of poetry and music is described by Dahlhaus as belonging to the 'philosophical common property' of the late eighteenth century'.[90] Its adherents included many German philhellenists of the second wave such as Friedrich Schlegel, Friedrich Schiller and Friedrich Hölderlin.

The conservative nature of Schubert's circle – in their rejection of the trends of romanticism – does not mean that the friends were impervious to new ideas. David Gramit describes Schubert's creative interaction with his friends as revealing a 'variety of aesthetic issues with which they were concerned' and Mayrhofer himself as 'steeped in the aesthetic issues of his

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[85] Su Yin Mak, 'Schubert's Sonata Forms and the Poetics of the Lyric', *The Journal of Musicology* 23 no. 2 (2006), pp. 305–306.

[86] Su Yin Mak, 'Schubert as Schiller's Sentimental Poet', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 4 no. 2 (2007), pp. 251–263.

[87] Ilija Dürhammer and Gerrit Waidelich, 'Einleitung' in *Schubert: 200 Jahre* (Braus, 1997), p. 9. Quoted in Michael Shaw, 'Schubert's Mythological Mayrhofer-Lieder: Historical, Philosophical, and Psychological Contexts' (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014), p. 3.

[88] Carl Dahlhaus, 'E. T. A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* (1981), p. 89: 'Die Theorie der Symphonie, die sich an der Poetik der Ode orientierte […]'.

[89] Johann Schulz, 'Symphonie', in Johann Georg Sulzer, ed., *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (Leipzig 1794, Nachdruck Hildesheim 1967), vol. 4, p. 479: 'Ein solches Allegro in der Symphonie ist, was eine pindarische Ode in der Poesie ist [...]'. Quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 80.

[90] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 87: '[eine Theorie], deren kategoriales Grundmuster keineswegs spezifisch "romantisch" war, sondern zum philosophischen Gemeingut des späten 18. Jahrhunderts gehörte, das Schiller und Friedrich Schlegel, trotz divergierender Gesinnungen und feindseliger Gefiihle, miteinander teilten'.

day'.[91] In a sense, the circle represents a conduit for contemporary aesthetic and philosophical ideas being transmitted to Schubert in his early youth after his time at the *Stadtkonvikt*. The catholicity of ideas which the circle embraced, together with their being up-to-date with the aesthetic issues, suggests that many of the ideas of the second wave of German philhellenism – which overlaps with the lifetime of Schubert and his circle of friends – would almost certainly have been known to them and would have influenced their thinking and aesthetic discussions. In particular, one of the figures which dominates the early stage of this second wave of idealism is Friedrich Schiller, who was also one of the major influences on the circle along with Herder and Goethe, and whose idealised view of ancient Greece may have prompted the circle's study of ancient Greek literature.[92] Furthermore, many of the ideas of the second wave, as they relate to the specific art-form of Greek tragedy, were fused together in lectures on dramatic art and literature given in Vienna in 1808 by August Wilhelm Schlegel which were extraordinarily popular, and which at least some members of the circle would doubtless have been familiar. It is this second wave of philhellenic ideas, received by Schubert and his circle, which constitutes the spirit behind many of the readings of the works given in this study.

1.3 The 'Second Wave' – German Idealism 1790–1831

The second wave of philhellenism, which hit German intellectual shores around 1790, inaugurated what Joshua Billings describes as a 'fundamental shift' in the way one aspect of Greek culture in particular – Greek tragedy – was approached and understood.[93] In particular, in the 1790s, German writing about tragedy began to diverge significantly from French and English thought'.[94] Many of the original Winckelmannian tenets were subsumed into this wave and there is much continuity between the two. In particular, Greek statuary, for which Winckelmann had given his countrymen such interest, retained an iconic power for the generation of the 1790s.[95] As well as aesthetic, the wave was also highly philosophical with many of its proponents belonging to the school of German idealism. Billings highlights a group of 'closely interconnected thinkers' of this philosophical school who embody this wave of philhellenism: Friedrich Schiller, Friedrich Schelling, Friedrich Schlegel, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Georg Hegel and Friedrich Hölderlin.[96] Many were friends, often corresponding

[91] Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier', p. 355 and p. 360.
[92] Gramit, 'Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets', pp. 45–55.
[93] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 45.
[94] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 76–77.
[95] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 5.
[96] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 1–2.

with each other either in person or via letters, and for all of them the art-form of tragedy was fundamental to their thought.

Billings uses the term 'idealist' to denote in a general sense 'the tendency to employ forms of speculative thought in reaction to the critical philosophy of Kant'.[97] Indeed, Kant's impact on German philosophy was as profound and lasting as Winckelmann's on the study of the ancient world. Julian Young describes Kant as the 'great tree in whose shadow the whole of nineteenth-century German philosophy is constructed' and indeed, although the theories of the individual German idealists differentiate themselves from the others, they all took Kant as their starting point.[98] Thus, in order to explore the fundamental philosophical and aesthetic tenets of idealist theories on tragedy, we must start with the ideas of Kant which were important to the idealists.[99] The impact of these ideas, in the words of a later German philhellene Friedrich Nietzsche, prompted an 'infinitely more profound and serious consideration of ethical questions and art'.[100]

Kant's writings reach a culmination point in the 1780s with the publication of three major Critiques. The first, the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), tried to ascertain the limits of cognition, determining the domains of the sensuous and the rational.[101] In Kant's system which he outlines in this first critique, the phenomenal world – the domain of the sensuous – could be known through the categories of understanding – the cognitive tools by which beings could order and interpret these phenomena. However, the noumenal world – that is, the objects as they were in themselves – could not be known by this method as nothing emanated from this internal world which the categories of understanding could interpret. Such a sharp dichotomy between the phenomenal and noumenal worlds had a disturbing consequence. Since the concept of cause and effect belonged to the categories of understanding, the phenomenal world appeared completely deterministic. Any notion of freedom or free will was banished to the supersensible, noumenal world.[102]

Questions of morality and human freedom are the subject of the second critique, the *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788).[103] However, due to the conclusions of the first critique, notions

[97] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 2, n. 1.
[98] Julian Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy: From Plato to Žižek* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 68.
[99] For concise and excellent summaries of the philosophical context of the impact of Kant's philosophy on German idealism see Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 68–73 and Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 77–80.
[100] Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, trans. Douglas Smith (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 107.
[101] Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (Meiner, 1781).
[102] See Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 69–71 and Billings, *Genealogy*, p.79.
[103] Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (Hartknoch, 1788).

of freedom, and hence morality, could not be deduced from the categories of understanding and instead certain a priori assumptions had to be adduced. For instance, Kant argues that the immortality of the soul, the existence of God and judgement in the afterlife are necessary conditions to hold if a person is to be to be a free, moral being.[104] Such a state of affairs, in which the existence of freedom was not demonstrable but instead had to be assumed in order for practical reason to be applied, seemed very unsatisfactory and in need of clarification. Schelling was particularly vexed on this issue and in 1795 in a letter to his friend Hegel called the question of freedom the 'alpha and omega of all philosophy'.[105]

Kant was also aware of the problem of the disjunction between phenomenal necessity and noumenal freedom, and made an effort to square the circle in his third critique, the *Critique of Judgement* (1790).[106] The notion that the sensation of the beautiful depended more on the subjective experience of the object than on the object in itself had been current since the *Aesthetica* of Alexander Baumgarten of the 1750s.[107] However, Kant does not treat aesthetic experience as purely subjective but also appeals to the object's purposiveness (*Zweckmäßigkeit*). In recognising this purposiveness of the object in giving subjective pleasure, a bridge is opened up between subjective freedom and objective necessity. It is thus through aesthetic judgement that Kant hoped to reconcile the practical aspects of philosophy – dealing with freedom – and theoretical aspects of philosophy – dealing with necessity.[108] In so doing, Kant was in essence asserting that art could show what philosophy could not. It heralds the beginning of a transition from the philosophical school of aesthetics to what Billings terms a 'Philosophy of Art', in which art is seen as a 'quasi-philosophical form, the locus of a truth different from – and for some more profound than – the truth of philosophical discourse'.[109] This is one of Kant's bequests to the German idealists who would develop and refine Kant's original attempt at reconciling necessity and freedom through artistic means.[110]

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[104] Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 70–71.
[105] From a 1795 letter from Schelling to Hegel, quoted in Devin Shaw, *Freedom and Nature in Schelling's Philosophy of Art* (Continuum, 2010), p. 8.
[106] Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (Verlag Lagarde und Friederich, 1790).
[107] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 77–78.
[108] See Marchand, *Olympus*, pp. 14–15 and Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 77–80.
[109] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 77.
[110] There are many examples of idealists averring that art can show truths which philosophy cannot. Schelling makes the claim that aesthetic intuition is in some sense equivalent to Kant's 'intellectual intuition' – a means whereby things can be known directly as they are in themselves, unmediated through the categories of understanding, see Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, p 75. In his *System of Transcendental Idealism* (1802), Schelling writes that art is 'the only true and eternal organ and document of philosophy, which always and in continually new forms sets forth what philosophy cannot represent outwardly', see Allan Megill, *Prophets of Extremity: Nietzsche, Heidegger, Foucault, Derrida* (University of California Press, 1985), p. 16, quoted in Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 73–74. Schiller's concept of 'aesthetic ontology' proposes that art can show things which lie beyond what can be shown by reason, see Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 83.

Together with inaugurating a 'Philosophy of Art', another of Kant's bequests to German idealism was the intimation of a process whereby one could experience one's inner freedom, despite freedom belonging to the noumenal realm and thus outside of experience. This was via the emotion of the sublime, a central concept of aesthetics throughout almost the whole of the eighteenth century. The feeling of the sublime was recognised as a more complex emotion than the perception of beauty in that it involved an aspect of pain as well as pleasure. Such a mixed emotion is encapsulated in Joseph Addison's description of the sublime as a 'pleasing kind of horror' and that of Edmund Burke as a 'delightful horror'.[111] In the *Critique of Judgement*, Kant explains that this mixed emotion derives from the fact that we measure a sublime object by two different measures, through our sensible faculties and through our rational ones.[112] Although sublime objects are vast and overawe our sensible nature, our rational nature can rise above the fear. This shows that we have the freedom to overcome the merely phenomenal world and thus can enter the noumenal, supersensible realm.[113]

Kant's two bequests – the elevation of art over philosophy and his development of the concept of the sublime – were used by the idealists to approach the problem of freedom. The particular art-form they chose to solve this problem was Greek tragedy, which was felt to be the art-form that best portrayed the conflict between freedom and necessity in its representation of the struggle between fate and free will. In order to explicate the tragic hero's assertion of free will they incorporated Kant's notion of the sublime into their theories, making it a vehicle through which such freedom could be asserted by the protagonist. Their theories of the tragic and their particular use of the Kantian sublime differed, but they all sprang from this common foundation. The understanding of tragedy of Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel is predicated on the notion of the sublime conflict between freedom and necessity.[114] The sublime is for Schiller something to be overcome in order to afford a glimpse into the supersensible realm, and his essays of 1792–1793 canonise the struggle between fate and free will as tragedy's generic essence.[115] The sublime is also central to Schelling whose approach to tragedy follows from his premise stated in his *Philosophy of Art* that the essence of tragedy is a 'struggle between freedom in the subject and necessity'.[116]

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[111] Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 85–86. Addison's quote is taken from his 1712 article 'The Fairy Way of Writing' from *The Spectator*, no. 149, Burke's is from *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1755).
[112] Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher*, p. 259.
[113] For a fuller, yet still concise, description of the Kantian sublime, see Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher*, pp. 257–259.
[114] Glenn Most, 'Schlegel, Schlegel und die Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas', *Poetica* 25 no. 1–2 (1993), p. 162; Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 100.
[115] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 83.
[116] Friedrich Schelling, *Philosophy of Art*, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Minnesota University Press, 1989), p. 251.

Billings describes this combination of considerations of freedom with those of the sublime, embodied by Schiller, Schelling, Friedrich Schlegel and August Wilhelm Schlegel, as the 'first major strand' of idealist thought on tragedy, and their common engagement on these issues forms the beginning of what Peter Szondi has called 'the philosophy of the tragic'.[117] Their prioritisation of questions of freedom is reflected in the plays on which they, and the idealists in general, tended to concentrate their attention – on the *Oedipus Tyrannos* (or *Oedipus Rex*) of Sophocles, on the *Antigone* of Sophocles, and on the trilogy of plays *The Oresteia* of Aeschylus. The particular notion of freedom which the idealists espoused is informed by their understanding of all three plays, from Oedipus' discovery of his own past, Antigone's struggle against the edicts of Creon, to Orestes' submission to the judgement of Athena on the Areopagus in *The Eumenides* – the final play of *The Oresteia*,

As well as a tool for philosophical discussions, tragedy, as part of a programme of hierarchisation of literary forms which took place at the end of the eighteenth century, came to be seen as the greatest literary genre. In particular, August Wilhelm Schlegel's definition of tragedy's essence as the sublime struggle against fate elevated the genre above all other art forms for its depiction of human freedom.[118] Friedrich Schlegel had earlier described Greek poetry as 'the most perfect form of poetry'.[119] Because of its supposed artistic superiority, Greek tragedy came to be seen in the late 1790s as a way beyond not only the intellectual but also the 'artistic dilemmas' of the time and as a tool for artistic exploration.[120] Such a development is not surprising when we consider that there is a strong interest amongst the idealist thinkers in general around artistic practice.[121] Schiller was a dramatist in his own right with classical leanings, whereas the Schlegel brothers, Schelling and Hölderlin were poets. Their theories often dealt with aesthetics – Schelling wrote a *Philosophy of Art* (1800), Hegel delivered lectures on aesthetics and August Wilhelm Schlegel gave lectures on literature in Berlin and Vienna.

With the elevation of Greek tragedy above all other art-forms, and with the Idealists inheriting the historicising trends which were set in motion by Winckelmann and Herder,

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[117] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 75. Peter Szondi, *An Essay on the Tragic* (Stanford University Press, 2002), p.1: 'Since Aristotle there has been a poetics of the tragic. Only since Schelling has there been a philosophy of the tragic'. Julian Young also sees the work of Schelling as 'the first time tragedy becomes a topic of sustained philosophical concern in German thought', see Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 68.
[118] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 99–100.
[119] Friedrich Schlegel *Von der Schulen der griechischen Poesie*, in Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* ed. E. Behler, H. Eichner, J-J Anstett (München/Paderborn/Wien, 1958), p. 12: Schlegel describes Greek tragedy as 'die vollkommenste Form der Poesie'.
[120] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 105.
[121] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 76–77.

comes an appreciation of the genre's distinctiveness. Instead of a universalist continuum existing between ancient and modern tragedy, Greek tragedy seemed quintessentially different and arising from its own time and culture. For example, Friedrich Schlegel draws the distinction between the ancient 'aesthetic tragedy' of Sophocles and the modern 'philosophical' tragedy of Shakespeare.[122] Although Shakespeare had been lionised as a writer of great tragedies, and used to lessen the influence of Aristotle in the 1770s and 1780s, for the idealists great tragedy is very definitely Greek tragedy – something asserted in Schelling's tenth letter in his *Letters on Dogmatism and Criticism* and common to almost all nineteenth-century German philosophers.[123] Hegel also regards Greek tragedy as superior to modern tragedy.[124] However, despite its temporal distance, Greek tragedy was something which they saw as paradoxically both ancient and modern – its 'historical singularity', far from undermining tragedy's contemporary importance, made tragedy even more necessary to philosophical definitions of modernity.[125] Billings describes it as the romantics' 'closest other'.[126]

Seeing Greek tragedy as a historical singularity, but nevertheless with artistic lessons for the present given its aesthetic superiority over other genres, the new challenge, in Billings's words, 'was to mediate between the two, to determine a relation of antiquity and modernity that would create the conditions for a flowering of contemporary art'.[127] Friedrich Schlegel himself described Greek poetry as a 'maximum', whose principles should be binding on all men and wrote to his brother August Wilhelm in 1794 that 'the problem of our poetry appears to me to be the unification of the essentially modern with the essentially ancient'.[128] In order to achieve such a unification, Friedrich Schlegel posits an 'absolute identity' between Greek tragedy and modern poetry, challenging the strict historicism of Winckelmann and Herder.[129]

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[122] Friedrich Schlegel, *On the Study of Greek Poetry*, trans. Stuart Barnett (SUNY Press, 2001), p. 33, quoted in Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 109.
[123] Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 68.
[124] Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 110.
[125] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 76.
[126] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 76.
[127] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 106.
[128] Most, 'Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas', pp. 157–158: 'Innerhalb des groβen Experiments der Erfindung der Literaturgeschichte verlieh dann der Klassizismus, dem die jungen Schlegels noch fraglos verpflichtet waren, der griechischen Literatur eine besondere Schlüsselrolle als "ein Maximum und Kanon der natürlichen Poesie", als den paradoxen Fluchtpunkt nämlich, an dem Kunst und Nature eins wurden und der daher Kulturprinzipien, die nicht erfunden sondern entdeckt wurden und für alle Menschen verbindlich sein muβten, begründen konnte'. The embedded quotation within Most's excerpt is Friedrich Schlegel's and taken from Friedrich Schlegel, *Über das Studium der griechischen Poesie*, in Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* ed. E. Behler, H. Eichner, J-J Anstett (München/Paderborn/Wien, 1958), p. 307ff: 'Die griechische Poesie in Masse ist ein Maximum und Kanon der natürlichen Poesie [...]'. The translated excerpt from the letter from Friedrich Schlegel to A. W. Schlegel, dated 27 February 1794, is taken from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 105.
[129] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 108.

The method by which this reunion of the ancient and modern is to be achieved is vague but Schlegel seems to ground it on both philosophical and artistic developments – underlining the both philosophical and aesthetic character of this second wave of German philhellenism.[130] He does not advocate a mere recreation of Greek art but an artificial recreation of the qualities of Greek poetry by means of the use of modern reason.[131] Essentially, Greek tragedy for Friedrich Schlegel represented a privileged object on which artistic notions could be developed and tried out.[132]

Schiller and Hölderlin shared Friedrich Schlegel's idea of a rebirth of art in which lessons could be sought in ancient tragedy. Their notions are, however, more towards the historicist side of the spectrum than towards the universal, in that they stress the difference and tension between ancient and modern. Schiller envisages modern tragedy as recognising both its distance from (appealing to historicism) and its descent from (appealing to universalism) Greek tragedy, but ancient and modern principles do not merge, as for Friedrich Schlegel, but rather remain opposed.[133] Hölderlin, similarly, regards ancient and modern poetics as fundamentally opposed and informing a new understanding of the tragic.[134] In order to accommodate both the ancient and the modern, modern poetry has to define the proper (*das Eigene*) through the foreign (*das Fremde*).[135] Modernity for Hölderlin, as Billings describes, 'only comes to full consciousness of itself through engagement with the alterity of antiquity', and vice-versa, 'engagement with antiquity is the only way to make that modernity authentic'.[136]

The main art form which the idealists thought could be revolutionised using the example of Greek tragedy was poetry. The fact that the art form which sought to channel Greek aesthetics was poetry rather than music is not surprising when we consider that they knew how Greek poetry sounded, but not Greek music. However, poetry and music for this generation are very closely aligned. For instance, Schiller drew the distinction between plastic poetry and musical poetry, the latter dealing not with objects but with states of

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[130] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 110.
[131] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 111.
[132] Most, 'Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas', p. 158: 'Und wiederum war es innerhalb der griechischen Literatur die griechische Tragödie, "die vollkommenste Form der Poesie", die den privilegierten Gegenstand darstellte, an dem Theorien und Kunstgriffe entwickelt und ausprobiert werden konnten. The embedded quotation within Most's excerpt is Friedrich Schlegel's and taken from Friedrich Schlegel, *Von der Schulen der griechischen Poesie*, in Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, p 12.
[133] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 115.
[134] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 195.
[135] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 190.
[136] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 190.

mind.[137] He regarded the poetry of his time as being musical, and indeed as having an intimate connection (*innere Verwandtschaft*) with music.[138] Owing to the philological proclivities of many of the idealists they would also have recognised the tight connection between poetry and music in ancient Greece in which tragedies were reported to have been sung. Indeed the very word music is derived from the Greek *mousikē* which referred to any art practised by the muses, especially poetry set to music.[139]

Moreover, the musico-literary aesthetic tradition, identified by Carl Dahlhaus and mentioned earlier, numbered several idealists among its members – Friedrich Schlegel, Schiller and Hölderlin.[140] Here music and poetry are very much interwoven and Dahlhaus describes the tradition as a multi-layered heritage of ideas (*ideengeschichtlichen Überlieferung*) one of whose effusions manifested itself in the poetic works of Hölderlin.[141] In Hölderlin's conception of the amalgamation of the ancient and the modern, he believes that there are poetic laws which can be gleaned from ancient poetry and that Greek tragedy could supply modern artistic process with ancient forms which could be commandeered.[142] Within this musico-literary conception of poetry-based music, the remarks made by Hölderlin on ancient forms informing contemporary poetry could also be seen as having value for musical form. Indeed, the tradition had already based itself on the poetics of one ancient form of Greek poetry – the Pindarian ode. With the centrality of the Greek tragedy to the generation of the 1790s it appears extremely probable that it was thought that similar lessons for musical form could be gained there also.

Hölderlin saw the act of translation from ancient Greek to German as in some sense being a facet of the combination of the ancient and the modern – or the 'proper' and the 'foreign'. Tragedy is an alien form, of its own time and place, and translation is a way of appropriating

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[137] Friedrich Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* in *Sämtliche Werke* ed. Gerhard Fricke. (Hanser, 1967), vol. 5, p. 734. 'Ich sage 'musikalischen', um hier an die doppelte Verwandtschaft der Poesie mit der Tonkunst und mit der bildenden Kunst zu erinnern. Je nachdem nämlich die Poesie entweder einen bestimmten Gegenstand nachahmt, wie die bildenden Künste tun, oder je nachdem sie, wie die Tonkunst, bloß einen bestimmten Zustand des Gemüts hervorbringt, ohne dazu eines bestimmten Gegenstandes nötig zu haben, kann sie bildend (plastisch) oder musikalisch genannt werden', quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, 'E. T. A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* (1981), p. 87.

[138] Dahlhaus characterises these views of Schiller in Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 87: 'Die moderne Dichtung [...] ist durch innere Verwandtschaft mit der Musik verbunden (ebenso wie die antike Dichtung mit der bildende Kunst)'.

[139] Entry 'μουσικη' in Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (American Book Company, 1901), p. 980.

[140] See Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen'.

[141] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 80: '[...] aus einer ideengeschichtlichen Überlieferung stammen, die neben der Klassik und der Romantik bestand und in der Ästhetik der Symphonie ebenso wie in der Dichtungstheorie weit ins 18. Jahrhundert zurückreichte – eine Überlieferung, die sich dichterisch in den Werken Klopstocks, Jean Pauls und Hölderlins manifestierte'.

[142] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 201.

this foreignness in contemporary art.[143] He deliberately kept the sense of ambiguity and paradox in translation even though this sometimes made the German close to incomprehensible.[144] Hegel also viewed translation as a creative process bridging the gap between the two worlds. In contrast, his idea was to refashion the Greek to make it more applicable to nineteenth century Germany.[145] Both, however, see the act of translation as a creative endeavour. It seems just as reasonable to assert that a translation of tragedy into music is just as valid a way of combining the ancient and the modern. In such a combination, ancient truths could be expressed in a new, less specific, perhaps more universal language. This universalism of musical expression was expressed in Arthur Schopenhauer's 1818 work *The World as Will and Representation*, in which Schopenhauer also avers that music provides a gateway to the noumenal realm, the realm that the idealists saw tragedy as giving access to via the sublime.[146]

Hölderlin envisions his translations 'as the spur towards a more philosophical conception of poetry, which would be based upon the products of antiquity'.[147] Such a philosophical conception was contemporaneously being advanced for music. Friedrich Schlegel proposed a philosophical basis for music when he wrote that 'all *pure* music must be philosophical and instrumental (music for thought)' and that 'a certain element of philosophical speculation is not at all foreign to the spirit of pure instrumental music'.[148] In order to underline the connection between philosophy and music, Carl Dahlhaus writes that the concept of absolute music, which developed around the year 1800, 'owed its pathos [...] to German poetry and philosophy', and that poetry and philosophy were at this time heavily influenced by Greek tragedy.[149]

Since, as Dahlhaus describes, the connection between music and poetry belongs to the 'common property of the philosophical basis of the late nineteenth century' there is justification for seeking influences of the German philhellenic movement, and in particular of contemporary theories of the tragic, not only in poetical forms but also in musical forms.[150] Moreover, this seems particularly fertile ground in the particular context of Schubert's music,

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[143] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 196.
[144] See Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 189–203.
[145] See Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 189–203.
[146] Arthur Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (F. A. Brockhaus, 1819).
[147] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 201.
[148] Janet Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming: Analytic and Philosophical Perspectives on Form in Early Nineteenth-Century Music* (Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 6.
[149] Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, p. 3.
[150] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 86.

since for him and his circle poetry was central and intimately linked to music. Such influences can be found, not only in overt cases such as the mythological Lieder, but also in certain sonata-form instrumental works on which this study will concentrate – the 'Tragic' Symphony D417 and the three Piano Sonatas in A minor D537, D784 and D845. The centrality of the genre of Greek tragedy to artistic and philosophical thought in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as the artistic preoccupations of the idealist thinkers themselves, encourage such interpretations. Readings will be proposed that reflect both the general cultural background of the philhellenic movement as well as the individual art-form of Greek tragedy which they particularly prized.

1.4 Towards the Music – an Approach to Analysis and Hermeneutics

The production of readings of these instrumental works in the context of German philhellenism first involves an appreciation of the general cultural, philosophical and artistic background of the movement as well as of the environment of Schubert's circle of friends and general milieu. Both of these have been sketched above but will be drawn in more detail in the context of each individual work. In constructing these individual readings, for the most part, we have to go off the works themselves rather than any pronouncements of the composer. Schubert was not a Richard Wagner who seemed to feel it his duty to inform the public at large about his musical projects. He briefly kept a diary in 1816 but had ceased to do so by the end of the year and his letters also tell us very little.[151]

In the absence of much documentary evidence I start from the conviction shared by Lawrence Kramer that meaning in music is 'volatile' and 'abundant'.[152] Kant's reduction of music to a mere thought play – a *Gedankenspiel*, devoid of reflection – is challenged by Kramer with his assertion that music is full of meaning, provided that we do not insist on being too precise about it.[153] Meaning is not regarded as being like a statement of truth, but something which 'can never exclude rival, incompatible accounts'.[154] The 'hermeneutic ethic', as Kramer describes it, regards a musical text as partly secretive whose meaning is not overt but in some sense has to be teased out. His mode of unlocking such meaning comes via 'hermeneutic

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[151] Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: a Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom, (JM Dent & Sons Ltd, 1946), pp. 100–120.
[152] Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (University of California Press, 1993), p. 2.
[153] Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, p. 5.
[154] Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, p. 15.

windows' which fall into three categories – 'textual inclusions', 'citational inclusions' and 'structural tropes'.[155]

Hermeneutic windows which come under the 'textual inclusions' umbrella include texts set to music. There is no example in Schubert's oeuvre of an instrumental work which purports to be a setting of a particular literary text. However, several of his instrumental works contain reminiscences to his Lieder, which are themselves set to a poetic text. Some of these allusions are clearer than others, but the prevalence of melodies drawn from the Lieder throughout his instrumental works as a whole suggest that they are not all purely accidental.[156] Kramer has shown how his hermeneutic windows can open up extra layers of meaning in the Lieder.[157] The use of allusions to Lieder in instrumental works in order to achieve a similar thing might be described as a 'second-order textual inclusion' hermeneutic window. I will make particular use of any reminiscences of mythological Lieder on Greek themes.

Definitions of the second hermeneutic window – 'citational inclusions' – include 'titles that link a work of music with a literary work, visual image, place or historical moment'.[158] A 'citational inclusion' which I will use in this study is the title 'Tragic' which Schubert gave to his Fourth Symphony D417. As I will show in chapter 2, what I am terming 'second-order textual inclusions' occur here too but this time from the mythological and tragic operas of Christoph Willibald Gluck, to which there are several allusions.

The third category of hermeneutic window – the 'structural trope' – is defined by Kramer as a 'structural procedure, capable of various practical realisations, that also functions as a typical expressive act within a certain cultural historical framework'.[159] Such a window could be said to be represented by sonata form itself, the form of the opening movements of the instrumental works which I will consider in this study. This is especially true if the form is approached using the Sonata Theory of James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, which regards sonata form as splitting into clearly defined action-zones, each with a distinct structural function.[160] In the theory, the options available to a composer as to how these action-zones

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[155] Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, pp. 9–10.
[156] I give several examples of melodies from Lieder being transferred into instrumental works in section 4.4.
[157] See Lawrence Kramer, *Franz Schubert: Sexuality, Subjectivity, Song* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).
[158] Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, p. 10.
[159] Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, p. 10.
[160] James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford University Press, 2006). Sonata form is conceived as consisting of a series of rotations which contain action-zones. For instance, the first rotation, the exposition, contains the action-zones of the primary theme (P), transition (TR), secondary theme (S) and closing zone (C). It is Sonata Theory's terminology that is used throughout the thesis and a glossary is provided which summarises the most important terms and abbreviations.

are filled are in dialogue with generic norms which evolve as the form itself evolves. As the creators of the theory express it, 'the composer generates a sonata – which we regard as a process, a linear series of compositional choices – to enter into a dialogue with an intricate web of interrelated norms as an ongoing action in time'.[161] These composer's choices have echoes of the hermeneutic window's 'various practical realisations' and the generic norms of the window's 'cultural historical framework'.

Viewed dialogically within a system of norms, sonata form becomes not merely a form but a genre, and, as such, is seen as a carrier of 'social or ideological content'.[162] The theory posits that such ideological connotations can be 'teased out – or proposed – by means of hermeneutic enquiry'.[163] Indeed, hermeneutics is the 'larger goal' of the theory, which understands music as a 'cultural discourse implicated in issues of humanness, worldview and ideology, widely construed'.[164] Sonata Theory is thus sympathetic to the possibility that the ideology of the Philhellenic movement inflected contemporary musical structures, and in particular that the centrality of tragedy to the movement caused aspects of this ancient genre to influence sonata form.

For Hepokoski and Darcy a recognition or appreciation of how a particular work positions itself with respect to the network of generic norms can act as a 'decoder of an otherwise unintelligible or free-floating musical message'.[165] This has echoes of Kramer's approach in general, whose hermeneutic ethic cautions us that meaning is volatile and secretive. Within the action-zones, norms or first-level defaults were 'almost reflexive choices'.[166] Instead, a composer could select various lower level defaults – second default, third default etc. – or produce something so far outside the norm that it becomes what Sonata Theory terms a 'deformation' – the 'stretching of a normative procedure to its maximally expected limits or even beyond them'.[167] A deviation from generic norms, does not imply a transgression outside of the form, but rather prompts questions of why such a choice was made, why the composer was 'striving for an effect different from that provided by the usual choice'.[168] Such points in the musical trajectory thus take on additional expressive or hermeneutic content, which lies in the 'tension between the limits of a competent listener's field of generic

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[161] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 10.
[162] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 606.
[163] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 606.
[164] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 603.
[165] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 606.
[166] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 10.
[167] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 614.
[168] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 10.

expectations and what is made to occur – or not occur – in actual sound at that moment'.[169] in this study I am particularly attentive to these places in the musical trajectory. I am also sensitive to the possibility, embedded in Sonata Theory's underlying philosophy, that the reasons for these deviations can be traced to social or ideological content, and potential hermeneutic implications will often be sought in Schubert's cultural milieu and their engagement with the German philhellenic movement.

The norms, as the subtitle to *Elements of Sonata Theory* makes clear, are those of the late eighteenth century, and the Sonata Theory approach recognises that nineteenth-century works 'were not bound by the same traditions and/or constraints that had obtained in the time of the high-galant era of Haydn and Mozart'.[170] According to Hepokoski, however, Sonata Theory is readily updateable to works from later decades in which normative compositional practice had changed, and certain originally non-normative and deformational procedures were becoming more common.[171] His argument relies on the fact that such procedures are nevertheless still deformational with respect to the classical tradition – a tradition 'by no means forgotten'.[172] This is especially the case for Schubert who lived his entire life in Vienna – the city in which Mozart and Haydn had flourished. Comparing later procedures with 'once-rigorous norms' allows the analyst to create what Hepokoski describes as a Sonata Theory 'filter' in which the degree of deviation from these norms and the resultant narrative implications can be judged.[173] As Hepokoski expresses it, 'what is new, transgressive or experimental in these later works has its impact maximized when read against the backdrop of the classical tradition deployed as a persistent, serviceable interpretative code'.[174] For example, a non-normative aspect of the works analysed in this study is their use of tonality, in particular in the idiosyncratic choices of key in the action-zones of the secondary theme (S) and of the primary theme (P) as it occurs in the final rotation.[175] The submediant key VI used for the secondary themes in the opening movements of the 'Tragic' Symphony and the Piano Sonata D537 was a third level default, whereas the secondary theme's key of V used in the

[169] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 614.
[170] James Hepokoski, *A Sonata Theory Handbook* (Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 235.
[171] Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, p. 235.
[172] Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, p. 236
[173] Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, p. 235. The comment on the Sonata Theory 'filter' is made in the context of Brahms's music but seems equally applicable to Schubert's.
[174] Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, p. 235
[175] Sonata Theory views sonata form as consisting of rotations of musical material, the opening rotation being the exposition. In a type 1,3,4 and 5 sonata-form movements the final rotation is termed the 'recapitulation'. In type 2 sonata-form, however, in which there is no return to the primary theme (P) in the tonic key in the final rotation, this final rotation is labelled a 'development/tonal resolution' rotation. The opening movement of the Piano Sonata in A minor D845 is such a type 2 movement and so it is not strictly correct to talk of a recapitulation. See Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, pp. 19–20.

exposition of the opening movement of the Piano Sonata D784 is even more non-normative and can be considered deformational.[176] This latter, more unusual, choice prompts an even greater consideration of possible reasons for its use and its hermeneutic implications. These implications stand out all the more in the context of the three A minor Piano Sonatas when one considers the fact that in the opening movements of all of Schubert's other minor mode piano sonatas the key of the exposition's secondary theme is the first default, the relative major III.[177]

Hepokoski and Darcy recognise that 'there is no consensus regarding the manner in which sonata form in the decades around 1800 is to be grasped' and that there are many other possible approaches to the analysis of sonata form, each with 'differing emphases, interests and terminologies'.[178] A clear and often utilised alternative is to take a form-functional approach where musical material arises as a burgeoning of motives which build up into phrases possessing certain syntactic functions, which are in turn strung together in order to construct larger passages of thematic material.[179] Form-functional theory can often be a very instructive lens with which to view Schubert's sonata forms owing to his many innovations in this area.[180] One particular innovation concerns 'form-functional displacement' where passages occur whose form-functional syntax is non-normative with respect to where it occurs in the trajectory of the movement.[181] A prominent example is the interpolation of material exhibiting form-functional developmental behaviour, such as fragmentation and thematic working, into sonata-form expositions and recapitulations.[182] Another example

[176] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, pp. 310–317.
[177] This is the case for the Piano Sonata in E minor D566, the Piano Sonata in F minor D625, the fragment of the Piano Sonata in C sharp minor D655, and the Piano Sonata in C minor D958. The abortive Piano Sonata in E minor D729 is only a matter of 38 bars and cuts out before S commences.
[178] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 3.
[179] Such an approach has a long pedigree which can be traced from the late eighteenth-century music theorist Heinrich Christoph Koch's *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*. Twentieth-century proponents of the theory include Arnold Schoenberg, Erwin Ratz and William Caplin. See for example Arnold, Schoenberg, *Fundamentals of Music Composition* (St. Martin's Press, 1967); Erwin Ratz, *Einführung in die musikalische Formenlehre* 3rd edition (Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1973); and William Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (Oxford University Press, 1998).
[180] Recent and enlightening studies of Schubert's sonata-form works using form-functional theory have been undertaken for example by Anne Hyland and Caitlin Martinkus, see Anne Hyland, 'In Search of Liberated Time, or Schubert's Quartet in G Major, D. 887: Once More Between Sonata and Variation', *Music Theory Spectrum* 38 no. 1 (2016), pp. 85–108; Anne Hyland, 'Schubert's Bi-rotational Sonata Forms: Developmental Function and the Type 1–2 Hybrid', *Music Analysis* 40 no. 3 (2021), pp. 413–450; Caitlin Martinkus, 'The Urge to Vary: Schubert's Variation Practice from Schubertiades to Sonata Forms' (PhD diss., University of Toronto (Canada), 2017); Caitlin Martinkus, 'Form-Functional Displacement in Schubert's Sonata Forms', *Annual Meeting of the Society for Music Theory, online, November* (2020), pp. 7–8.
[181] See for example Martinkus, 'Form-Functional Displacement in Schubert's Sonata Forms'.
[182] The developmental nature of the exposition was noted as early as 1928 by Donald Francis Tovey, with regard to the later works, particularly the Piano Sonata in B flat major D960, and prompted him to conclude that Schubert was moving towards 'new forms' see Donald Francis Tovey, 'Franz Schubert', in *Essays and Lectures on Music* (Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 121–122. An analysis of an early work, the String Quartet in D major D74, which notes the same tendency, can be found in Hyland, 'Schubert's Bi-rotational Sonata Forms'.

involves the contrary tendency where development sections themselves lack such behaviour and are relatively static.[183] Furthermore, whereas his contemporary Beethoven contrasts certain sections of sonata form by varying the tightness of material – with his primary themes tight-knit and his secondary themes more loose-knit – this is not always the case with Schubert.[184] Non-normative procedures such as these are indicative of potential hermeneutic meaning. However, they are not particularly conspicuous in the particular movements surveyed in this study.

By contrast, in these works the deformational activity often takes place at structural points of the musical trajectory to which Sonata Theory ascribes great importance. Two examples of these areas are the first satisfactory perfect authentic cadences (PACs) that occur within the secondary themes – the essential expositional closure (EEC) of the first expositional rotation and the later essential structural closure (ESC) – and the medial caesura (MC). A lack of a EEC or ESC – through the PACs being attenuated or not occurring at all – is given the highly-charged term of 'sonata failure' and interpreted hermeneutically as perhaps representing 'the intentional telling of a tale of failure […] implying a narrative situation of alarm and inadequacy'.[185] This behaviour is exhibited in many of the sonata-form movements analysed in this study and the above characterisation of it brings to mind the famous concept of *hamartia* designated by Aristotle in the *Poetics* as a key ingredient of tragic art and incorporated into several of the idealists' theories of tragedy. This is often translated as 'fatal flaw' but is ultimately derived from the Greek *hamartano* 'to fail, or to miss the mark'.[186] Sonata failure was still rare until after Beethoven's – and hence Schubert's time – and thus comprises deformational activity even with the new reified norms of the second and third decades of the nineteenth century.[187]

[183] The lack of form-functional developmental characteristics in his development section is noted, for example, in Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, 'Die Sonatenform im Spätwerk Franz Schuberts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* (1988), pp. 16–49. and Martinkus, 'The Urge to Vary'. Hinrichsen interprets these sections in many works as forming rather a bridge between exposition and recapitulation. Martinkus notes the variational nature of Schubert's developments.
[184] The terms 'tight-knit' and 'loose-knit', as used for instance in Caplin, *Classical Form*, are English translations of Ratz's terms *fest-gefügt* and *locker-gefügt*. Ratz noted that Beethoven often clarifies the functional nature of a particular passage by the extent to the musical material is tight- or loose-knit, with his primary themes often much tighter in construction than his secondary themes, see Ratz, *Einführung*, p. 21. However, as Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen has noted, Schubert's secondary themes often evince as tight-knit as structure as his primary themes, see Hinrichsen, 'Die Sonatenform im Spätwerk Franz Schuberts', p. 19: 'Schuberts Sätze neigen auch und gerade in den Teilen, deren Characteristikum bei Beethoven der "lockere Zustand" (Ratz) ist – etwa in Seitensatz – zur Ausbildung fester, meist periodischer Strukturen'.
[185] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 178.
[186] *Hamartia* is often translated as 'fatal flaw' but, as Jules Brody explains, Aristotle does not refer to any Greek terms commensurate with 'fate' in the *Poetics* and a translation such as 'failure' or 'missing the mark' is closer to the actual meaning of the term. See Jules Brody, 'Fate, Philology, Freud', *Philosophy and Literature* 38 no. 1 (2014), p. 23.
[187] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 177.

Attenuated or weak PACs at these important points in the musical trajectory – the EEC and ESC – also hint at an ambiguity which is the mark of tragic art for Hölderlin, and also reflect Hegel's theory of tragedy in which nothing is ever completely resolved but consists of a series of resolutions into further unstable states.[188] As regards the other locus of non-normative activity mentioned above, a clear MC had, in two-part expositions, become such a strong default by the late eighteenth century that non-normative activity here is indicative of strong hermeneutic content.[189] This is the case for many of the movements in this study which contain gapless MCs in which there is little or no break in musical texture.[190] Those which occur in the 'Tragic' Symphony contribute to a feeling of the music being driven inexorably to a close, and consequently evoke ideas of an ineluctable fate – a concept of tragic art shared by many of the idealists. There are also gapless MCs in the Piano Sonatas D784 and D845 from which I will derive other hermeneutic implications. In Schubert's time a clear MC was ceasing to be the very strong generic norm it had been. Mark Richards has shown, for example, that Beethoven's MCs became more and more obscured and deformational throughout his compositional life.[191] Nevertheless, the sheer breadth of variety which Schubert's medial caesura deformations exhibit still mark it out as a moment of the musical trajectory which is laden with hermeneutic and narrative implications.[192]

Although form-functional theory does not disregard the areas in the musical trajectory corresponding to Sonata Theory's EEC, ESC, and MC, it does not ascribe the same weight and importance to them. They are important landmarks in the action-zone-oriented Sonata Theory but there are no equivalents from a form-functional perspective, since form merely emerges from the concatenation of functionally-defined phrases. As William Caplin puts it, the common element between sonata-form movements is not 'sonata form *per se*, but rather the functions that make up the various forms'.[193] Owing to the difference in form-functional theory and Sonata Theory's conception of sonata form, they tend in general to ascribe different levels of importance to various constituent parts of movements and an emphasis on

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[188] I deal with Hölderlin's views on tragedy's ambiguity in section 2.4, and with Hegel's theory in detail in chapter 6.

[189] See James Hepokoski, 'Sonata Theory, Secondary Themes and Continuous Expositions: Dialogues with Form-Functional Theory', *Music Analysis* 35 no. 1 (2016), pp. 49–53. In a 'two-part' exposition the MC splits off part 1 (consisting of P and TR) from part 2 (consisting of S and C). This is differentiated from a unipartite 'continuous exposition', in which there is no MC and no S.

[190] For an example of the prevalence and extreme nature of these deformations see Gabriel Navia, 'The Medial Caesura in Schubert's Sonata Forms: Formal and Rhetorical Complications' (PhD diss., The University of Arizona, 2016).

[191] Mark Richards, 'Beethoven and the Obscured Medial Caesura: A Study in the Transformation of Style', *Music Theory Spectrum* 35, no. 2 (2013), pp. 166–193.

[192] For an account of the prevalence of deformational MCs in Schubert's oeuvre see Gabriel Navia, 'The Medial Caesura in Schubert's Sonata Forms: Formal and Rhetorical Complications' (PhD diss., The University of Arizona, 2016).

[193] William Caplin, 'What are Formal Functions?', in *Musical Form, Forms and Formenlehre: Three Methodological Reflections*, ed. Pieter Bergé (Leuven University Press, 2009), p. 32.

either one can elucidate different aspects. They are not mutually exclusive or antithetical with, in Hepokoski's words, 'broad areas of practical-analysis agreement', and it does not mean that one approach has to be used to the exclusion of the other.[194] From its inception Sonata Theory has tried to steer something of a *via media* between other methods of analysis and characterises itself by 'openness and eclecticism, a willingness to integrate insights from other analytical methods and fields of study'.[195] This eclecticism will be exploited in the analysis of the works in this thesis. For example, a form-functional approach will be more to the fore in the analysis in chapter 6 of the Piano Sonata D845 which shows a larger amount of motivic-thematic working than the majority of Schubert's sonata-form works.

Notwithstanding this eclecticism, owing to its hermeneutic emphasis and the reasons laid out above, the primary emphasis will be on Sonata Theory, whose terminology will be used throughout. This is mostly owing to the fact that its analysis is geared towards helping hermeneutic interpretation – in Hepokoski and Darcy's view, 'cultural readings of individual works unsupported by adequate music analysis are all too easily produced and ring hollow'.[196] It does not intend to 'solve' works, averring that 'musical works should not be supposed to contain only one correct meaning [...] to be uncovered, in the manner of a lost object or thing, by the analyst'.[197] Rather it is aware that works 'house multiple, sometimes conflicting strata of meaning(s) to be drawn forth through differing readings' in a similar manner to which Kramer's hermeneutic theory recognises that a reading does not exclude 'rival' or 'incompatible' readings.[198] This is the philosophy behind the readings of the works that I will give here – I do not pretend to elicit a particular meaning which Schubert had in mind or which in some way lies buried within the musical text. Nor do I assert that all meaning is intentional or conscious on the part of a composer, and I recognise that some of the similarities with the philosophy of the German philhellenic movement may be unconscious or influenced merely by the general *Zeitgeist*.[199] I only intend to suggest readings which allow a new light to be shone on these works from the perspective of the

[194] Hepokoski, 'Secondary Themes and Continuous Expositions', pp. 65–66.
[195] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 3, Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, p.1. Form-functional theory has recently been explicitly accommodated within Sonata Theory, along with Process Theory (itself derived to some extent from form-functional theory and championed by Janet Schmalfeldt) and the theory of Galant Schemata developed by Robert Gjerdingen. See Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, pp. 17-22.
[196] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 603.
[197] Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, p. 24, Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 608.
[198] Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, p. 15, Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 608.
[199] Dahlhaus, echoing Kramer's and Hepokoski's philosophy to some extent, commented on the absurdity of limiting the meaning of a work to the composer's intention and of expecting that the composer could even express such meaning in words, see Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 89: 'denn es wäre absurd, die ästhetische Bedeutung eines musikalischen Werkes auf die Intention des Komponisten und die Intention wiederum auf das zu reduzieren, was der Komponist durch Worte auszudrücken vermochte'.

philhellenic movement and of the genre of tragedy in particular. The centrality of the latter to philosophical and artistic German culture around the turn of the nineteenth century means that to neglect these ideas in readings of contemporary musical works may mean we may miss large areas of potential meaning.

Chapter 2. Schubert's 'Tragic' Symphony D417 (1816)

2.1 Background

The Fourth Symphony D417 of 1816 is the only instrumental work in which Schubert directly references a genre of literature by adding the title *Tragisch* ('Tragic') to the manuscript.[1] It is also the only one of his symphonies to which he gave any title at all. Having placed Schubert in the currents of the German philhellenic movement as we have done, we should perhaps not be surprised that a title referencing Greek literature should appear, especially a genre of literature which was becoming one of the central concerns of German philosophy and of German culture more generally. However, writers have generally found little or no connection with the musical content of the work and the title which Schubert bestowed upon it. To isolate one example, in his study of the Schubert symphonies Maurice Brown states that the title 'Tragic' has given rise to a good deal of comment, usually drawing attention to its inaptness. He considers that the title may have been born of flippancy, regarding it as perhaps irrelevant to the original animus behind the work, and even claims that it is preferable when we listen to the work to forget about the subtitle altogether.[2] Whatever we can say about that view, it cannot be judged satisfactory.

I will approach the work using the method outlined in the previous section and consider the contemporary connotations that tragedy and the tragic may have had for Schubert at the time of its composition. In 1816 he was a member of the circle of friends who, as we have shown, had a large impact on his intellectual development. Given the group's activities and tenets, the ideas the group formed on tragedy may have come from two separate areas. The first is a direct, aesthetic appreciation of tragedy from their reading and translation work as well as from the adaptations of tragedy for the stage, especially those of Christoph Willibald Gluck. The second is a more theoretical understanding of tragedy coming out of contemporary philosophical and aesthetic discussions.

I aim to offer a reading which draws on the confluence of both of these influences, which complement rather that contradict each other. On the one hand, the operas of Gluck – consciously modelled on Greek tragedy – were studied assiduously by Schubert under the

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[1] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Franz Schubert, thematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke in chronologischer Folge (Vol. 4)* (Bärenreiter, 1978), pp. 248. Deutsch describes the autograph as 'Partitur mit der Titelseite "Symphonie in C minor", später von Schubert hinzugefügt "Tragische"'.

[2] Maurice Brown, *Schubert Symphonies* (British Broadcasting Corporation, 1970), pp. 18–23.

influence of his teacher Antonio Salieri, and the material of the symphony is heavily influenced by several of Gluck's operas. On the other hand, idealist ideas such as the elevation of art over philosophy, the relationship between man and fate and the reconciliatory conception of tragedy can also be read in the work.

With this approach, many of the pronouncements of the title's 'inaptness' will be challenged and re-assessed. For example, a large stumbling block for theorists has been the prevalence of the major mode throughout the work.[3] Brown seems to suggest that its only characteristic which is in any way in-keeping with its title is the minor mode and the occasional 'grave tone' it employs.[4] This linking of the minor key with the tragic is common – perhaps lying at the extreme pole of this opinion is Robert Hatten's dichotomy between music in a minor key having a tragic *topos* and music in a major key a non-tragic *topos*.[5] However, a view of the work from the standpoint of Gluck – who channelled Winckelmann's obsession with beauty and whose tragedies make great use of the major mode – will show that the minor key was by no means paramount in the expression of the tragic.

Another stumbling block for interpretation is the fact that the work's both outer movements end in the major mode. For example, in his analysis of the opening movement, Gordon Sly regards its major mode ending as a 'striking concession' in a work purporting to be tragic.[6] In the context of Sonata Theory the major mode ending is perhaps more significant than its prevalence throughout the work. Several recent definitions of a 'Tragic' sonata-form narrative insist on a minor mode perfect authentic cadence (PAC) at the movement's essential structural closure (ESC) and a retention of this minor mode until the end of the movement.[7] However, I believe that the reconciliatory nature of idealist theories of the genre of tragedy will show that a major mode resolution at the ESC and a major mode ending is quite in-keeping with the concept of tragedy at the time of the symphony's composition.

In addition to clearing away these stumbling blocks, I will aim at a reading in which the title can be understood an integral to the work as a whole. Indeed, in my reading, the title

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[3] Ekkehard Mann and Robbert van der Lek show that, in the first movement, C major is much more prevalent than C minor – the former taking up 70 bars, the latter around 20, see Ekkehard Mann and Robbert van der Lek, 'Zur Tonartendisposition in den ersten Sätzen der 2., 3. und 4. Symphonie von Franz Schubert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* (1997), p. 294: '[...] die Tonart c-Moll umfaβt [...] kaum mehr als 20 Takte, wogegen C-Dur mit gut 70 Takten etwa ein Viertel des Satzes einnimmt'.
[4] Brown, *Schubert Symphonies*, pp. 18–23.
[5] Robert Hatten, 'On Narrativity in Music: Expressive Genres and Levels of Discourse in Beethoven', *Indiana Theory Review* 12 (1991), p. 78.
[6] Gordon Sly, 'Schubert's Innovations in Sonata Form: Compositional Logic and Structural Interpretation', *Journal of Music Theory* 45 no. 1 (2001), p. 136.
[7] See Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, pp. 142, 145–153.

constitutes the primary hermeneutic window into the work. In line with the overall approach, deformational attributes *vis-à-vis* sonata form and idiosyncratic characteristics of the work will be considered as possible loci of hermeneutic meaning and I will aim to link such characteristics with philhellenic ideas. For example, there are two aspects noted by commentators which distinguish it from other early Schubert symphonies – harmonic trajectory and motivic interconnectedness.[8] Although there has been little or no attempt to link them to the title, I believe with my approach such a link can be made.[9] The unusual harmonic trajectories can be read as representations of tragic events from Gluckian opera and also as depictions of the interaction of freedom and necessity – a fundamental characteristic of tragic art from the point of view of the contemporary theories of tragedy of German idealism. Furthermore, as we will see, the concept of unity and interconnectedness was important for Gluck's aesthetics and also for idealist ideas of tragedy. Its use here – to a much greater extent than in any other of his symphonies – implies a conscious attempt to integrate such ideas into this work.

In considering the title and its possible implications, we must recognise that the term 'Tragic' would have entailed primarily a reference to Greek tragedy rather than modern tragedy. By the early nineteenth-century, the idea of the superiority of Greek tragedy over modern tragedy was well established in Germany. Schelling in his 'Tenth Letter' from his *Letters on Dogmatism and Criticism* of 1795 avers that great tragedy is Greek tragedy, and such a conviction was common to almost all nineteenth-century German philosophy.[10] In A. W. Schlegel's lectures – given in Jena in 1798, in Berlin in 1802–1803 and in Vienna in 1808 – it is the Greek form of tragedy that constitutes the norm against which all other iterations of the genre are judged.[11] In addition, the fact that the circle can be seen to be firmly rooted in the philhellenic tradition and their interest in Greek literature suggest that the tragic would have implied ancient connotations of that word.

2.2 The Aesthetics of Tragic Adaptations – Gluck's Operatic Reforms

Within the circle of friends, the younger members, of which Schubert was one, were encouraged by the senior members, such as Johann Mayrhofer, to follow a programme of

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[8] On the harmonic trajectory, see Mann and van der Lek, 'Zur Tonartendisposition', pp. 293–296, and Sly, 'Schubert's Innovations', pp. 134–143. On the motivic interconnectedness see Brown, *Schubert Symphonies*, pp. 18–23, and Sly, 'Schubert's Innovations', pp. 134–143.
[9] Ekkehard Mann and Robbert van der Lek regard the title as 'abstract' and as a representation of the unusual harmonic trajectory of the opening movement. See Mann and van der Lek, 'Zur Tonartendisposition', pp. 293–296.
[10] Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 68.
[11] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 99.

reading, translating and writing.[12] In particular, the reading of Greek literature was a central concern for the group.[13] It is thus likely that Greek tragedy would have been encountered by the circle's members in two ways. Firstly, tragedies may have been read in translation, the amount of such translations having increased greatly in Germany in the 1770s and 1780s.[14] Secondly, plays, or excerpts of plays, may have been translated by the circle. For instance, an excerpt of Mayrhofer's translation of Aeschylus was set to music by Schubert in 1816 as *Fragment aus dem Aeschylus* D450.

Such study would have given the circle some understanding of Greek tragedy *per se*. However, performances of ancient tragedies' texts in translation remained rare well into the nineteenth century.[15] What did proliferate in the late eighteenth century were several adaptation of tragedies for the stage. Some of these were spoken – there were many such examples in France, Germany and England – and there were also operatic adaptations.[16] The most well-known operas which were claimed by their creators to be redolent of Greek tragedy were the operas of Christoph Willibald Gluck. These were productions which were being performed in Vienna in Schubert's youth and for which Schubert showed great enthusiasm and interest. In aesthetic terms, Schubert's understanding of tragedy would have been informed by these works.

Of the adaptations of tragedy which were staged in the early nineteenth century, those of Gluck would probably have had a special appeal to Schubert for the simple fact that they were musical.[17] However, Schubert does appear to have held a special regard for Gluck's music. It was probably as a pupil of Antonio Salieri that he first encountered Gluck's music. Salieri himself had been Gluck's pupil and he transmitted Gluck's principles to Schubert, who under his guidance studied many of Gluck's opera scores.[18] In particular, Schubert was very impressed with the score of *Iphigenia in Tauris* and he went to see a performance of that opera in 1813.[19] Schubert's friend Josef von Spaun recounts that this performance 'shook [Schubert] to the depths of his being. The impression made by the evening was for him a never-to-be-forgotten one; its outcome was the keenest study of all of Gluck's scores which,

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[12] Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 46–47.
[13] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, p. 46.
[14] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 59.
[15] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 30.
[16] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 59–60.
[17] Many of Gluck's operas were given in various languages, including Italian, French and German, and in various versions. For this reason, when referring to them their titles in English translation will be used.
[18] Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre* (H. Schneider, 1991), p. 65.
[19] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, p. 58.

for years, quite enraptured Schubert'.[20] He also claimed that Schubert could play all of Gluck's operas 'almost from memory'.[21] Another of Schubert's friends, Anton Holzapfel, maintained that Schubert 'went through the whole of Gluck'.[22]

The fact that these works were consciously modelled on Greek tragedy can be seen from the pronouncements of their creators. Gluck's librettist Ranieri de' Calzabigi made the connection explicitly between their operas and the ancient genre: 'Reduced to the form of Greek tragedy, the drama has the power to arouse pity and terror, and to act upon the soul to the same degree as spoken tragedy does'.[23] His reference to pity and terror recalls Aristotle's ancient definition of tragedy as evoking emotions of pity and fear in order to produce *catharsis* in the audience. Gluck himself promised that his opera *Iphigenia in Aulis* would 'make real the prodigious effects that antiquity attributes to music'.[24] More striking is the reaction of the public who seemed to agree with these assessments, frequently comparing Gluck's works with Greek tragedy.[25] For instance, one audience member described the opera *Iphigenia in Tauris* as 'a genuine tragedy, a Greek tragedy' praising Gluck for having discovered 'the secrets of the ancients'.[26] The depth to which Gluck opera as Greek tragedy had pierced the European psyche is impressive and, given the paucity of performances in translation of actual tragedies at that time, to equate Gluckian opera with European tragedy in the late eighteenth century is perhaps not to exaggerate too much.

The goal of Gluck in recreating tragic drama in music was bound up with a series of reforms he initiated in the 1760s, the aims of which he wrote out in a preamble to the score of his 1767 opera *Alceste*. Here he says that he aims at a 'beautiful simplicity' ('*bella simplicità*') and that he has avoided 'making a show of technical difficulties' ('*far pompa di difficoltà*').[27] The reference to beautiful simplicity has echoes of Winckelmann's aesthetic of 'noble simplicity'. Furthermore, the aim of banishing showy technique, related to Gluck's campaign against the excesses of the *opera seria* of the time, can also be seen to have a

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[20] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by his Friends*, trans. Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (A. & C. Black, 1958), p. 21.
[21] Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by his Friends*, p. 363.
[22] Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by his Friends*, p. 59.
[23] Letter from Calzabigi to Prince Kaunitz (March 6, 1767), translated in Patricia Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait in Letters and Documents* (Clarendon, 1995), pp. 78–80.
[24] Open letter to the *Mercure* (February 1773) in François Lesure, ed., *Querelle des Gluckistes et des Piccinnistes: Texte des Pamphlets*, 2 vols. (Minkoff, 1984), vol. 1, p. 10. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 66.
[25] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 66.
[26] *Mémoires secrets* 14, 58 (5.21.1779), translated in Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait*, p. 199.
[27] In the preamble to Alceste Gluck writes: '*Ho creduto poi che la mia maggior fatica dovesse ridursi a cercare una bella simplicità; ed ho evitato di far pompa di difficoltà in preguidizio della chiarezza*'. ('Thus I thought that my main aim should be reduced to finding a beautiful simplicity; and I have avoided making a show of technical difficulties in favour of clarity'.)

Winckelmannian flavour.[28] Eliza Butler thinks that Winckelmann's conclusions in the *Reflections* essay 'were probably arrived at negatively, by a definition of those qualities which are in direct antithesis to the essential characteristics of Baroque art'.[29] In Gluck's attempt to simplify an over-ornate art form we can see echoes of Winckelmann in his championing of the simplicity of Greek sculpture over the cacophony of the baroque. Hence Gluck's reforms can be seen as both coeval and consistent with the spirit of early German philhellenism, and in particular with Winckelmann's distaste for the over-ornate.[30]

Gluck's and Winckelmann's aesthetic infuses the 'Tragic' Symphony, and the influence can be seen in the very first bars. The musical material of the introduction (bars 1–29) recalls the overture to the opera *Iphigenia in Aulis* Wq. 40 in several ways. As can be seen in Example 2.1, Gluck's overture has an opening motive of a rising minor sixth, C–A♭, as well as two further motives of chromatic stepwise ascents from F♯ to G and from D to E♭ (motives x,y and z) and all of these motives are present in the opening bars of the introduction. Furthermore, both works are scored for the same instruments – except that Schubert includes clarinets – and – if one excludes the single *tutti* chord at the beginning of Schubert's score – both begin with strings only.

Example 2.1 (a) Gluck, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Wq. 40, overture, bars 1–6 (strings only), (b) Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, first movement, bars 1–7 (strings only).[31]

[28] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 59–60.
[29] Butler, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany*, p. 5.
[30] The assertion that these operas belong to the artistic legacy of Winckelmann's philhellenism is attested to by other writers. Hatfield regards Winckelmann's cult of Greek simplicity as affecting the music of Gluck's operas, see Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 5. Furthermore, Simon Richter sees Gluck's opera *Iphigenia in Tauris* as embodying a musical version of Winckelmann's classical aesthetics, see Simon Richter, 'Sculpture, Music, Text: Winckelmann, Herder and Gluck's Iphigénie en Tauride', *Goethe Yearbook* 8, no. 1 (1996), pp. 157–171.
[31] All Schubert examples throughout are taken from Franz Schubert, *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke* (Bärenreiter, 1964ff). All those of Gluck are taken from Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. G. Croll (Bärenreiter, 1987).

Such similarity of material persists up to the three note anacrusis in bar 19 of Gluck's overture where there is a similar anacrusis to the *allegro vivace* section of Schubert's opening movement in bar 29. Here, however, as shown in Example 2.2, whilst Gluck maintains an atmosphere of neo-classicism with a melody with a stately, measured gait implied by the *grave* tempo marking (Example 2.2 (a)), Schubert's movement moves into an *allegro vivace* with a *Sturm und Drang* topical field (Example 2.2 (b)). Gluck's overture maintains Winckelmann's neo-classical aesthetic – an aesthetic which emphasized restraint and tranquillity as well as the control rather than the extirpation of emotion.[32] With Schubert, however, the *allegro vivace* explodes in a flurry of musical material which does not relent or come to any moment of rest until the end of the exposition. It is redolent of the 'eruptive aesthetic of emotion' associated with the *Sturm und Drang* by one of its foremost literary spokesmen, Christian Daniel Schubart.[33] In particular, after the Primary Theme (P) of bars 30–39 and the transition (TR) of bars 39–67, which moves the music into the key of the submediant VI, there is very little change in texture and no gap at the Medial Caesura (MC), in contrast to the clearer MCs in all the other opening movements of Schubert's symphonies.[34] This blends TR (bars 39–67) into S (bars 67–134) and accentuates the restless nature of the musical trajectory throughout the exposition.

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[32] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 12.
[33] See Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 86: 'eruptiven Gefühlsästhetik'.
[34] The medial caesura in the 'Tragic' Symphony is highly deformational. Indeed a recent study by Gabriel Navia has shown the highly non-normative nature of Schubert's MCs in general with respect to late eighteenth-century norms. Navia describes the 'Tragic' Symphony's particular MC, with the early arrival of the secondary key VI in bar 57 and its gapless nature, as a case of an 'Early Arrival [of the secondary key] and TR's Continuous Rhythmic Activity'. See Gabriel Navia, 'The Medial Caesura in Schubert's Sonata Forms: Formal and Rhetorical Complications' (PhD diss., The University of Arizona, 2016), pp. 150–152.

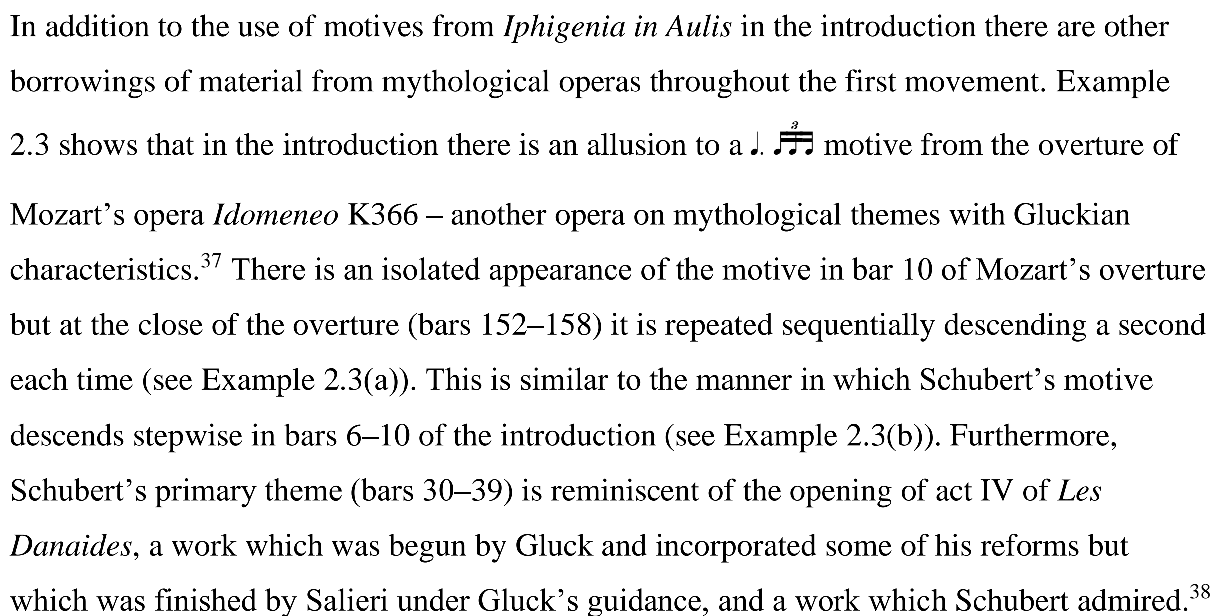
Example 2.2 (a) Gluck, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Wq. 40, overture, bars 19–24, (b) Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, first movement, bars 29–35.

The use of a *Sturm und Drang* musical topos is significant if one considers the impact the literary *Sturm und Drang* had on German notions of tragedy in the eighteenth century. Its musical topos can be traced back to as early as the 1740s, but many regard it as beginning in the 1760s and 1770s.[35] This is when the literary *Sturm und Drang* movement had felt emboldened enough to take on the Aristotelian citadel and challenge neo-classicism. Just as the literary movement had helped to form an individual German perspective on tragedy, and given German writers their literary freedom from the constraints of French classicism, so the

[35] Hans Eggebrecht traces the style back to the 1740s in Hans Eggebrecht, 'Das Ausdrucks-Prinzip im musikalischen Sturm und Drang', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 29, no. 3 (1955), p. 323. Many date its inception to 1760s and 1770s – for instance, see Max Rudolf, 'Storm and Stress in Music, Part III', *Bach* (1972), pp. 8–9; and Abigail Chantler, 'The "Sturm und Drang" Style Revisited', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* (2003), pp. 17–31.

appearance of this musical topic seems to break out of the neo-classical frame which encloses Gluck's overture. This musical freedom will be seen to extend to the unusual tonal layout of the first movement.

By its juxtaposition of the neo-classical and the *Sturm und Drang*, the music seems to be redolent of the stage of tragic art in late eighteenth-century Germany, with the literary *Sturm und Drang* aesthetic impinging on Winckelmannian neo-classicism and its 'noble simplicity and quiet grandeur'. Frederick Beiser describes Friedrich Schiller in his essays on tragedy in the 1790s as attempting to strike a balance between schools representing neo-classical and *Sturm und Drang* aesthetics, and in so doing as 'reflecting on a battle that had already died down'.[36] Schubert seems to be doing a similar thing in musical terms with the creation of something of a reconciliation between Gluck's neo-classicism and the musical *Sturm und Drang*.

In addition to the use of motives from *Iphigenia in Aulis* in the introduction there are other borrowings of material from mythological operas throughout the first movement. Example 2.3 shows that in the introduction there is an allusion to a  motive from the overture of Mozart's opera *Idomeneo* K366 – another opera on mythological themes with Gluckian characteristics.[37] There is an isolated appearance of the motive in bar 10 of Mozart's overture but at the close of the overture (bars 152–158) it is repeated sequentially descending a second each time (see Example 2.3(a)). This is similar to the manner in which Schubert's motive descends stepwise in bars 6–10 of the introduction (see Example 2.3(b)). Furthermore, Schubert's primary theme (bars 30–39) is reminiscent of the opening of act IV of *Les Danaides*, a work which was begun by Gluck and incorporated some of his reforms but which was finished by Salieri under Gluck's guidance, and a work which Schubert admired.[38]

[36] Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher*, pp. 246–247.
[37] Edward Dent sees Gluck's opera *Alceste* as the main influence on *Idomeneo*, see Edward Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study* (Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 51.
[38] Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre* (H. Schneider, 1991), p. 66. McKay notes the similarity of the material with Act IV of *Les Danaides*. For details of the creation of the work see Donald Francis Tovey, 'Christopher Willibald Gluck', in *Essays and Lectures on Music* (Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 115.

Example 2.3 (a) Mozart, *Idomeneo*, K366, overture, bars 152–164, (b) Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, first movement, bars 15–20.[39]

[39] The scores of *Idomeneo* are taken from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Bärenreiter, 1972).

(b)

In the transition (TR) of bars 39–67 there are allusions to Gluck's opera *Iphigenia in Tauris*. In act II scene IV of that work, a repeated three-note figure (motive x in Example 2.4(a)) alternates with a figure of rising and falling thirds (motive y in Example 2.4(a)) which ascends stepwise. As shown in Example 2.4(b), similar figures occur in TR. In act II scene IV of *Iphigenia in Tauris* the Furies are pursuing Orestes due to his matricide, having killed his mother Clytemnestra. The similarity between the passage in the symphony and in Gluck's opera may suggest an interpretation of the novel tonal structure of the symphony's secondary theme (S) which follows directly on from this passage. The secondary theme in the exposition unfolds in three different keys a major third apart. Beginning in the submediant key of A♭ major in bar 67, it moves into E major in bar 89 and into C major in bar 97 before a return is made to A♭ major in bar 105, and thus traverses a complete 'Northern' hexatonic cycle.[40]

[40] The 'Northern' labelling for this particular hexatonic cycle is taken from Richard Cohn, 'As Wonderful as Star Clusters: Instruments for Gazing at Tonality in Schubert', *Nineteenth-Century Music* 22 no. 3 (1999), p. 216.

Example 2.4 (a) Gluck, *Iphigenie in Tauris*, Wq. 46, (1781 Vienna version), act II, Scene IV, bars 1–8, (b) Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, first movement, bars 36–45.

(b)

x

Fl.

Ob.

Cl. (in Sib)

Fag.

Cor. (in Do)

Cor. (in Mib)

Trb. (in Do)

Timp. (in Do-Sol)

V. I

V. II

Va.

Vc. e B.

The idiosyncratic nature of this harmonic trajectory – both the move to VI for S and the hexatonic cycle – invites hermeneutic considerations owing to its uniqueness. In Schubert's five other early symphonies – those written before 1819 – the opening movements all move to the normative dominant for their secondary themes, whereas the move to VI here is non-normative.[41] In addition, the move through a hexatonic cycle within S is also unique among

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[41] It is a third-level default key for S-space, after III and v, see Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, pp. 310–317.

the early symphonies and is truly deformational. This cyclic harmonic motion within this S-space is indicative not only of wandering but of a recurrence, an inability to escape one's fate. Owing to these possible associations, and the passage within TR preceding it being evocative of Orestes' flight from the Furies, the hexatonic cycle can be read as the circular wandering around the earth of Orestes in order to avoid his persecutors. It is perhaps instructive to note that the Lied *Der entsühnte Orest* D699 which depicts Orestes' emancipation from the Furies, is in C major – the key into which both the outer movements resolve. Furthermore, there is an echo of the 'Northern' hexatonic cycle by the central part of the Lied (bars 15–21) being in A♭ major before a return to C major at the end. It is therefore possible that this new harmonic innovation – the hexatonic cycle within S-space – is bound up with notions of the tragic and the symphony's title.

In addition to the hexatonic cycle within S, in the opening movement there are other harmonic progressions which can be read as representing other themes from classical mythology. From the opening C minor of the introduction, within the first ten bars we encounter brief tonicisations of B♭ major and A♭ major into G♭ major (see Example 2.1). Such a sequential whole-tone tonal descent is redolent of a physical descent. Furthermore, the descent is down to the key located a tritone from the tonic. Similar allusions to tritone harmony occur in Schubert's two settings of Schiller's mythological poem *Gruppe aus dem Tartarus* which are both written around the same time as the symphony and which are both depictions of Hades – the Greek underworld. The first setting, D396, is in C minor – the key of the 'Tragic' Symphony – and the move to tritone harmony – the tonic triad of G♭ major – is made as early as bar 6. In the later setting, D583, as seen in Example 2.5, the entrance of the voice comes in D minor in bar 7 where the murmur of the underground infernal sea is heard from above ('horch', wie Murmel des empörten Meeres'). When the key of the tritone minor, A♭ minor, is tonicised in bars 11–14, the words of the poem set to the music in this key in allude to the underground river itself which can be glimpsed through the cavernous rocks ('wie durch hohler Felsen, weint ein Bach'). There are thus contemporary mythological Lieder in which a move to the tritone key is associated with a descent to the underworld.

Example 2.5 Schubert, *Gruppe aus dem Tartarus*, D583, bars 7–14.

7 Horch– wie Mur - - - - meln

p cresc.

des em - 9 pör - - - - - - ten

ff>

10 Mee - res, wie durch

p

hoh - ler 12 Fel - - - sen Be - cken

cresc.

13 weint ein Bach,

Such a descent to the underworld – a *katabasis* – is very common in Greek mythology in general.[42] In particular, such descents occur in two of Gluck's reform operas – *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762) and *Alceste* (1767). In the former, Orpheus goes into the underworld to rescue Euridice; in the latter, Alceste goes into the underworld the take the place of her husband Admetus. In the descent from C minor to G♭ major in Schubert's introduction, a possible allusion to the story of Orpheus is made more credible by the fact that in the same year as the 'Tragic' Symphony, Schubert wrote the mythological Lied *Lied des Orpheus, als er in die Hölle ging* D474 which depicts Orpheus as he enters hell and is set in the key of G♭ major. In Gluck's operas, both Orpheus and Alceste return to the overworld, Orpheus having lost Eurydice, and Alceste having been rescued by Heracles. Similarly, in the introduction after reaching the underworld in bar 10, in the same space of time – that is, by bar 20 – we have come full circle and returned to the tonic key.

Such an embedding of allusions to a particular events – such as a *katabasis* – should not surprise us in a work which draws heavily on Gluck, and which begins as an overture – or at least with material redolent of the overture from *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Gluck set out in his preamble to *Alceste* that overtures outline a plot – or at least 'the overture should inform the audience of the type of plot that will unfold and depict so to speak its main subject-matter'.[43] If an overture could set out a plot, then a symphony – as perhaps representing something of an extended overture – could also. However, we seem to have here much more than a programmatic representation of the events of any particular opera. In contrast, narrative threads seem to be drawn from different places. In the first 60 bars alone we have already detected possible allusions to Orpheus (or a *katabasis* in general), to the Danaides, to Idomeneus and to Orestes. One justification for this *omnium gatherum* of motives associated with disparate mythical figures can be seen in the reversal of the Aristotelian hierarchy of plot over character by the *Sturm und Drang* movement, by Jakob Lenz in particular.[44] With character raised to the highest level of importance, the essence of tragedy becomes more subjective and internal rather than something tied to a particular objective series of events. One can depict instead a universal hero rather than a specific one tied to a certain set of circumstances, with the symphony thus representing an overture to a universal tragedy. The

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[42] On the ubiquity of the *katabasis* story in Greek mythology see Rebecca Georgiades, 'To Hell and Back: The Function of the Ancient Greek Hero's Katabasis', *Classicum* 43, no. 2 (2017), pp. 2–8; and Katerina Mikellidou, 'Euripides' *Heracles*: The Katabasis-Motif Revisited', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 55 no. 2 (2015), pp. 329–352.

[43] In the preamble to Alceste Gluck writes: 'Ho imaginato che la Sinfonia debba prevenir gli spettatori dell'azione, che ha da rappresentarsi, e formarne, per dir così l'argomento'. ('I contend that the overture should inform the audience of the type of plot that will unfold and depict so to speak its main subject-matter'.)

[44] Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher*, pp. 242–247.

departicularisation in the symphony perhaps also goes someway to explaining the lack of specificity of the 'tragic' title.

Furthermore, the idea of departicularisation – that is, of the representation not of a particular but of a combination of beautiful aspects coalescing in an ideal – also belongs to the original Winckelmannian aesthetic of the philhellenic movement.[45] For Winckelmann, at its greatest Greek art represented sublime ideas not particular individualities and he considered the broadest generality superior to a particular expression.[46] Departicularisation is bound up with considerations of beauty – something always at the centre of Winckelmann's aesthetics. Attesting to the universal significance of Greek art, he felt beauty was more likely to occasion universal agreement if it were less particularised and could thus appeal not only to the senses but also to the mind – one of the aspects which gave Greek art its greatness.[47]

With my reading of the symphony's opening movement as an overture to a universal tragedy, and the emphasis on Gluckian aesthetics, the heavy use of the major mode – a stumbling block for interpretation for previous commentators – is perfectly explicable and in-keeping with the Symphony's title. All three of Gluck's reform operas of the 1760s and the two Paris Operas of the 1770s, *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*, end in major keys and major keys dominate throughout. There is thus nothing to prevent a symphony with the title 'Tragic' unfolding predominantly in major keys, nor indeed ending in major keys. The major mode is also in line with the original Winckelmannian aesthetic of the Philhellenic movement in which beauty was prized above all else and the emphasis was on the control of the emotions.

My reading of the work also suggests why, as Maurice Brown noted, it contains more motivic unity than any other of Schubert's early symphonies.[48] Winckelmann and Gluck prized unity as part of their aesthetics and this general aesthetic notion may have driven a musical notion based on motivic connectedness. Winckelmann's idea of unity comes out of his insistence on beauty and the two concepts are related for him – Hatfield states that Winckelmann at times 'repeated the currently accepted phrases equating beauty with unity in multiplicity'.[49] In his writings he exhorted artists not merely to copy but to integrate and unify various aspects of

[45] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 12.
[46] Marchand, *Olympus*, p 9, Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 14.
[47] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 12.
[48] Brown, *Schubert Symphonies*, pp. 18–23.
[49] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, pp. 13–14.

beauty in order to produce ideal forms.[50] Such a lauding of unity can also be detected in Gluck's reforms and in the reforms of eighteenth-century opera in general. From opera's inception around the year 1600, it had been intended to recreate the tragic drama of ancient Greece, believed to have originally been sung.[51] However, in the eighteenth century, ancient tragedy was seen as exemplary precisely for its unity, and reformist commentators wanted to assimilate the aesthetics of tragedy into opera with the goal of rendering it more organic and unified.[52] McKay writes that in his reform operas Gluck 'attempted the creation of a single dramatic entity', and in so doing he was in line with contemporary trends in opera aesthetics.[53]

Example 2.6 Gluck, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Wq. 40 (a) act I, scene I, bars 1–6, (b) overture, bars 178–187.

[50] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 11.

[51] See Michele Napolitano, 'Tragedia Greca e Opera in Musica. Appunti su un Matrimonio Mancato', *Rhysmos. Studi di poesia, metrica e musica greca offerti dagli allievi a Luigi Enrico Rossi per i suoi settant'anni (Seminari Romani di Cultura Classica, Quaderni 6), Rome* (2003), pp. 227–42; and Andrea Chegai, 'Forma Sonata e Aria col Da Capo. Convergenze e Finalità Drammatiche', *Musica e Storia* 16 no. 3 (2008), pp. 681–710.

[52] Chegai, 'Forma Sonata e Aria col Da Capo', p. 686: 'dalle settecentesche comparazioni fra opera e tragedia, che i commentatori riformisti avrebbero voluto assimilare ai fini di rendere la prima più organica e unitaria'.

[53] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, p. 64.

(b)

An example of Gluck projecting unity into his works can be seen in the music to *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Here, the opening material of the overture's opening 6 bars reoccurs, transposed into G minor, in the opening aria of act I scene I (compare Example 2.1(a) and Example 2.6(a)). Furthermore, the material of bars 19–24 of the overture re-appears in its final bars (bars 179–188) which lead directly into the opening aria (compare Example 2.2(a) with Example 2.6(b). Hence the overture's most salient melodies – those which open the *andante* section of bars 1-19 and the *grave* section from bar 19 onwards, are present at the beginning of the dramatic action. In another example of unity, the figuration in bars 27–33 of the overture, in particular the 11-note motive in bar 30 (motive d in Example 2.7(a)), is present at the beginning of act I scene II, for example in bars 3–4, as shown in Example 2.7(b).

Example 2.7 Gluck, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Wq. 40 (a) overture, bars 25–32, (b) act I scene II, bars 1–5.

(a)

Similar motivic connectedness can also be found in the ‘Tragic’ Symphony. Gordon Sly has shown that the melodic intervals between the opening five-note figure of the *allegro vivace* (the figure comprising motives p and q in Example 2.8) are recreated in the bass line from bar 85 to 105 in the hexatonic cycle within the secondary theme (S).[54] There are, however, further instances of such behaviour, since, as shown in Example 2.8, this five-note figure also generates material in the transition (TR). The two-quaver motive q generates the rising thirds in bars 43–44, and the three-note motive p generates their sequential repetition. Together with Sly’s analysis, this demonstrates that the five-note figure generates thematic material in each of the exposition’s action-zones P, TR and S/C.

Example 2.8 Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, first movement, bars 30–45.

[54] Sly, ‘Schubert's Innovations in Sonata Form’, p. 137.

It was mentioned earlier that many of the activities of Schubert's circle revolved around the translations of texts and the reading of them in translation. In so doing they may have seen that motivic unity is prevalent in many ancient plays – in particular the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, a playwright whose popularity grew in the last few decades of the eighteenth century, especially in Germany.[55] Along with Winckelmann and Gluck's aesthetics, this might provide further justification for the motivic unity of the opening movement. The sort of motivic interweaving described above is detectable in the individual plays of the *Oresteia*. It is the only surviving trilogy of tragedies which has come down to us and consists of three plays – *Agamemnon*, *The Libation Bearers* and *The Eumenides*. Jules Brody has shown that the use of imagery of 'nets', 'hunting' or 'entrapment' – what we might call 'nodal' imagery – is 'pervasive and systematic' in the first play of the trilogy, *Agamemnon*, alone and gives nine examples of such use.[56] Every murder in the play, from the recollection of the death of Iphigeneia, to the sacking of Troy, to the death of Agamemnon and Cassandra, is 'inscribed in the same system of imagery'.[57] Similarly, *The Libation Bearers* contains serpentine

[55] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 12–13.
[56] Jules Brody, 'Fate, Philology, Freud', *Philosophy and Literature* 38 no. 1 (2014), p. 14.
[57] Brody, 'Fate, Philology, Freud', p. 14.

imagery throughout. In the play, Electra describes Agamemnon's murder by his wife Clytemnestra as 'the eagle killed, caught in a net of death, in a cruel viper's coils'.[58] After being associated with a snake, Clytemnestra then has a dream that she has given birth to a serpent. Orestes continues serpentine imagery in turn when he states that he will become the snake that kills her.[59]

In the symphony, in addition to the motivic connectedness within the opening movement, there are also instances of thematic unity between movements. Brown has drawn attention to the pervasiveness of the three-note anacrusis to the *allegro vivace* section of bar 29 throughout all four movements, as shown in Example 2.9. Its rhythmic contour also pervades the final movement although the motive is altered melodically.

Example 2.9 Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, (a) first movement, bars 30–36 (b) second movement, bars 49–57, (c) third movement, *trio*, bars 1–8, (d) fourth movement, bars 1–8.

(a)

Allegro vivace

[58] David Cohen, 'The Theodicy of Aeschylus: Justice and Tyranny in the Oresteia', *Greece & Rome* 33 no. 2 (1986), p. 135.
[59] Cohen, 'The Theodicy of Aeschylus', p. 135.

(b)

49

Fl.

Ob.

Cl. (in Si♭)

Fag.

Cor. (in La♭)

V. I

V. II

Va.

Vc. e B.

pp p fz mf f a 2

(c)

Trio

Flauto I, II

Oboe I, II

Clarinetto I, II in Si♭/B

Fagotto I, II

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Violoncello e Basso

p pp

(d)

Again such treatment can be compared to the *Oresteia* in which, in a similar manner, motives bind individual plays of the trilogy with each other. The motive of the robes and the net which ensnare Agamemnon and Cassandra in the first play returns when Clytemnestra and

Aegisthus are murdered in turn in the second play. Similarly, serpent imagery feeds through from the second into the final play *The Eumenides*. Here, the Furies, 'these serpentine creatures, come to entwine Orestes in their coils', are 'compared to huntresses enveloping a fleeing faun in their nets'.[60] In addition, Benjamin Daube has shown that legal imagery pervades the entire trilogy and, in particular, from the beginning the Trojan War is presented as a lawsuit for the theft of Helen.[61] This imagery persists throughout until the very end of the trilogy with the trial of Orestes at the court house in Athens at the end of the final play.

In addition to the Symphony's motivic interconnectedness, unity is expressed through the fact that the outer movements share several characteristics. As in the first movement, the final movement's medial caesura is non-normative with little drop in texture and no perceptible gap, and we get a similar eruption of emotion throughout P (bars 1–63) and TR (bars 63–85) which does not abate with the arrival of S in bar 85. Furthermore, the harmonic progressions identified in the opening movement which were redolent of the *katabasis* (whole-tone sequential descent) and of Orestes' journeys across the earth (hexatonic cycle), also occur in the final movement. The *katabasis* is recalled in the development section of the final movement which begins with a stepwise whole-tone descent in the bass and a sequential repetition of a phrase whose final iteration is in G♭ major (bars 195–200, 201–206, 207–212), echoing bars 6–10 of the first movement's introduction. Furthermore, later in the development section of the final movement there is a descending embedded hexatonic cycle which moves through the keys of A major (bars 223–230), F major (bars 231–238) and D♭ major (bars 239–246) and which recalls the hexatonic cycle in the exposition of the first movement. The fact that these progressions are found in both outer movements underlines their narrative importance to the work as a whole.

Further aspects of unity are seen in the way in which the melodic contour of the introduction generates the harmonic trajectory of the opening movement. As we have seen, Sly's analysis shows that the anacrusis to the *allegro vivace* has a generative function. However, the opening motive of a rising sixth C–A♭ (bars 1–2 of the introduction) has far more structural implications. This melodic move presages to move to A♭ major for the exposition's secondary theme (bars 67–130). It also – in its movement from I to ♭VI – can be interpreted as generating the hexatonic cycle through which the secondary theme moves. Indeed the

[60] Brody, 'Fate, Philology, Freud', pp. 14–15.
[61] Benjamin Daube, *Zu den Rechtsproblemen in Aischlos' Agamemnon* (Zürich, 1941), see Cohen, 'The Theodicy of Aeschylus', p. 132.

interplay between C and A♭, presaged in this opening motive of a rising sixth – is fundamental to the entire symphony. C minor is the tonic key and A♭ major is the key of the exposition's secondary theme in both outer movements, as well as the key of the second movement. As I will show in section 2.4, both the note of A♭ and the harmony of A♭ major are never quite extinguished up to the last few bars of the final movement.

The rising minor sixth also binds the keys of the four movements together, again underlining the work's unity. From the first movement in C minor we move up a minor sixth to A♭ major for the second movement *andante*. If we were to move up further in minor sixths we would have (enharmonically) E major for the third movement *menuetto* and C minor for the final movement. The final movement is indeed in C minor but for the third movement we just miss E major and hit E♭ major instead. Even so, the key system of the movements C–A♭–E♭–C still gives the idea of a cyclic relationship between the movements. It may have been felt that E major was too outlandish a key for a minuet and trio movement of a C minor symphony. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries novelties were influenced very piecemeal and subtly. From our modern standpoint we regard novelty as essential to art but as Tovey points out for the eighteenth to the third quarter of the nineteenth century the accepted criterion was 'correctness'.[62] It must be stressed that Schubert at the time of the 'Tragic' Symphony was still very much under the sway of conservative figures such as Gluck and Salieri. At this stage he was simply baffled by what he himself termed Beethoven's '*Bizarrerie*' ('eccentricity'), which, as he stated in a diary entry of 16 June 1816, 'confuses the tragic and the comic'. Later in the diary entry he 'goes on to contrast Beethoven with that paragon of purity, Gluck, who was Salieri's idol'.[63] This is two months after the completion of the 'Tragic' Symphony. It shows not only that Gluck was at the forefront of his mind, but also that he saw 'eccentricity' – as one could describe an E major minuet in a symphony in C minor – to be not redolent of pure tragedy but of a confusing amalgam of the tragic and the comic.

The Winckelmannian-Gluckian aesthetics of simplicity, beauty and unity have various implications for the music of the 'Tragic' Symphony. However, I would also like to look at the symphony through the prism of idealist ideas on tragedy that were beginning to take shape around the years of Schubert's birth. A reading incorporating these ideas does not preclude the former reading rather it adds to the sense of the richness of influences – both

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[62] Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays and Lectures on Music* (Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 184.
[63] Diary entry 16 June 1816, quoted in Newbould, *Schubert, the Music and the Man*, p. 61.

philosophical and artistic – that can be detected in the work and the possible meanings they can generate. Indeed, it will be a reading that has a great deal in common with Wincklemann and Gluck's aesthetics in their praise of beauty and unity, but in this idealist frame a conception of tragedy will emerge that is reconciliatory and redemptive, with implications for the major key endings of its outer movements.

2.3 The Schlegel Brothers and the Paradigm of Tragedy

Idealist theories of tragedy, although they took their impetus from the philosophy of Kant, were nevertheless far from homogeneous. Idealist thinkers tended to highlight certain aspects of tragedy over others – that is, the aspects which supported the fundamental philosophical points they were asserting.[64] Thus, although there is a great deal of commonality between the theories, and despite the fact that many of them were in conversation with each other either in person or by letters, it was by no means a unified endeavour. The questions they asked were the same but the particular answers they gave were not.[65]

In the years around 1800, however, the main threads of the early German idealist theories of tragedy seem to have been first woven together by the Schlegel brothers – Friedrich and August Wilhelm – into some kind of coherent system. It produced what the classicist Glenn Most has termed a 'paradigm of tragedy' which set the tone for German understandings of tragedy in the nineteenth century.[66] It began with Friedrich Schlegel's writings of the 1790s, many of the ideas of which were taken by his brother August Wilhelm and incorporated in a series of lectures he gave in Jena, Berlin, and subsequently in Vienna. Billings regards August Wilhelm Schlegel's 'path-breaking' Jena lectures of 1798 and Berlin lectures of 1801–1803 as the first 'full-blown theory of tragedy' and 'the earliest use of an idealist approach to tragedy as a critical tool'.[67] The lectures attained an extraordinary popularity, especially those delivered in Vienna in 1808, and this indicates a high probability that

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[64] Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 264–265.
[65] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 7.
[66] Glenn Most describes the paradigm's characteristics as: the definition of tragedy as the struggle between man and fate; the notion of tragedy as a combination of the epic and the lyric; and the relationship between the tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. See Glenn Most, 'Schlegel, Schlegel und die Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas', *Poetica* 25 no. 1–2 (1993), p. 159: '[...] erstens die Gattungssdefinition der Tragödie als der Kampf zwischen Mensch und Schicksal; zweitens die Gattungsbeziehung der Tragödie zum Epos und zur Lyrik; und drittens das Verhältnis innerhalb der Tragödie zwischen Aischlos, Sophokles und Euripides'.
[67] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 97.

Schubert and his circle were familiar with them.[68] Most categorises this Viennese set of lectures in particular as determining ‘the image of Greek tragedy for generations’.[69]

Most has shown that many of the ideas of August Wilhelm delivered in his lectures came from his brother Friedrich Schlegel who settled in Vienna in 1809 – the year after his brother delivered his lectures there.[70] Thus the embers of the fires lit by the Vienna lectures would have been kept aglow in the years immediately following owing to Friedrich's presence in the city. Indeed, Friedrich was to remain an inhabitant of Vienna until his death in 1829 and delivered popular lectures on the subject of literature. For instance, his vastly influential *History of Ancient and Modern Literature* (1812) was made up of lectures delivered in Vienna.[71] Friedrich's presence and the paradigm's extraordinary popularity in the wake of his brother's lectures provide a further reason to assume that the idea of Greek tragedy which Schubert's circle shared was not too dissimilar, or at least partook of certain aspects of it.

Despite containing new theory, the paradigm subsumes many of the ideas of Winckelmannian aesthetics. Winckelmann in his *History of Ancient Art* had expressed the notion that cultures are organic passing through stages of birth, flowering and decay.[72] Such a notion is picked up by Friedrich Schlegel and mapped onto the three great tragedians, with the genre developing under Aeschylus, reaching a pinnacle under Sophocles and decaying with Euripides.[73] Sophocles is seen as perfection because of his representation of beauty. Indeed, in the writings of both of the Schlegel brothers, Sophocles belongs less to literary history than to hagiography.[74] This was a popular view and Schlegel, Schiller, and Schelling all took the greatness of Sophocles for granted.[75] On the other hand, Euripides is seen as decadent since his works lack unity. Friedrich Schlegel in his 1794 work *On the Schools of Greek Poetry* characterised Sophocles as the ‘highest beauty’ and Euripides by ‘a powerful but lawless indulgence’.[76] In his later work, *On the Study of Greek Poetry*, he wrote that the

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[68] Most, ‘Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas’, pp. 155–156: ‘August Wilhelm Schlegel […] dessen 1802-1803 in Berlin gehaltene Vorlesungen über schöne literatur und vor allem die 1808 in Wien gehaltenen Vorlesungen über die dramatische Kunst und Literatur eine erstaunliche Popularität erreichten’.
[69] Most, ‘Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas’, p. 156: ‘Diese zweite Vorlesungsreihe August Wilhelms bestimmte über Generationen hindurch das Bild der griechischen Tragödie’.
[70] Most, ‘Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas’, p. 156: ‘Dennoch läßt sich [...] feststellen, daß die meisten Ideen in diesen Vorlesungen August Wilhelms auf seinen jüngeren Bruder zurückgehen’.
[71] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 168.
[72] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 10.
[73] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 109.
[74] Most, ‘Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas’, p. 167.
[75] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 106.
[76] Friedrich Schlegel in *Von der Schulen der griechischen Poesie* describes Sophocles as ‘das höchste Schöne’, and Euripides style as ‘eine kraftvolle, aber gesetzlose Schwelgerei’. See Most, ‘Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas’, pp. 166–167.

'ideal of beauty' is prevalent in Sophocles' works.[77] Moreover, August Wilhelm in his Vienna lectures of 1808 pronounced that in the style of Sophocles there is 'perfect proportion and a harmonious grace' whereas he is critical of Euripides' style which 'sacrifices the whole to splendid individualities'.[78]

This emphasis on beauty and unity in the Schlegel brother's paradigm reinforces our analysis in the previous section where beauty and unity were seen as being bound up with the tragic, and thus with the title. Beauty was as paramount for the Schlegels as it was for Winckelmann.[79] In the Schlegels' view, Euripides was seen as deficient because he had sacrificed the Sophoclean ideals of beauty, proportion and virtue to passion, pathos and cheap gimmickry.[80] Just as Winckelmann thought calm was more beautiful than a storm, so in the paradigm there is a disdain for passion and pathos. This is another justification for reading the prevalence of major keys and the ending of the outer movements in the major mode as consistent with contemporary understandings of tragedy, with its preference for grace, harmony and beauty.

As well as this inheritance from Winckelmann, the paradigm itself, owing to its initial impetus from Friedrich Schlegel, possesses the Kantian foundations common to all idealist thought, and in many ways ties together a lot of the threads of the first strand of the philosophy of the tragic – that is the thoughts of Friedrich Schlegel, Schiller and Schelling. As we have seen, these were initiated by considerations of freedom and of tragedy as the sublime conflict between freedom and necessity. In the lectures this conflict is explicitly crystallised as the essence of tragedy – expressed by August Wilhelm as a sublime struggle between man and fate.[81] Indeed the greatness of each of the tragedians is judged by the extent to which they bring this struggle out in their works. Aeschylus and Sophocles are praised for

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[77] Friedrich Schlegel, *On the Study of Greek Poetry*, trans. Stuart Barnett (SUNY Press, 2001), p. 62.
[78] August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, ed. G. Amoretti (Bonn/Leipzig, 1923) vol. 1, p 64: 'im Styl des Sophocles ist vollendetes Ebenmaß und harmonische Anmuth; der Styl des Euripides ist weich und üppig […] er opfert das Ganze glänzenden Stellen auf', quoted in Most, 'Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas', p. 167.
[79] The schema which Friedrich Schlegel borrowed from Winckelmann was one of Greek sculpture, the middle and most perfect phase of which was that of Praxiteles, Lysippus and Apelles and which for Winckelmann envinced 'grace and facility' and was characterised by Winckelmann as 'the beautiful', see Johann Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 207: 'von dem Praxiteles an bis auf den Lysippus und Apelles erlangte die Kunst mehr Grazie und Gefälligkeit, und dieser Styl würde der schöne zu benennen sein', quoted in Most, 'Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas', p. 171.
[80] Most, 'Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas', p. 168.
[81] Billings, *Genealogy*, p 100.

representing ‘indignation against fate’.[82] On the other hand, Euripides’ works are seen as deficient as they appeal only to the passions of the audience.[83]

The idealist notion of tragedy as being a battle between man and fate is not a universal. The literary scholar Jules Brody points out that Aristotle in the *Poetics* does not mention any of the Greek words for ‘fate’ and his critique of *Oedipus Tyrannos* – the play which the *Poetics* deals with most – is made without any reference to the concept of ‘fate’.[84] Furthermore, the idea of tragedy being a conflict between man and fate does not appear in earlier eighteenth-century explanations of tragedy such as those of Gottsched or Lessing nor in late Hegelian thought. It does, however, appear in Schelling, in Friedrich Schlegel and August Wilhelm Schlegel, and in Hegel in his Jena years.[85] Its centrality to German idealist thought around the year 1800 is thus a temporally local phenomenon.

The notion of fate which the idealists shared can be gauged to some extent by the pronouncement of August Wilhelm Schlegel in his lectures where he writes that ‘everything occurs with necessity, except for where the free being acts’.[86] This understanding seems to suggest a conception of fate in which certain events are laid out in advance but man is able to evince a certain amount of freedom within that overall trajectory. As the twentieth-century classical scholar E. R. Dodds explains with reference to the *Oedipus Tyrannos* of Sophocles, the notion of fate is not the same as predestination. He notes that ‘neither in Homer or in Sophocles does divine foreknowledge of certain events imply that all human actions are predetermined [...] Certain of Oedipus’ past actions were fate-bound; but everything that he does on the stage from first to last he does as a free agent.[87]

This understanding of fate seems to have been shared by Schubert who wrote in a diary entry of September 1816, a few months after the composition of the ‘Tragic’ Symphony, that

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[82] August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen* (Schöningh, 1989), vol. 1, p. 738, translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 98–99.
[83] Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen*, vol. 1, p. 747, translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 98–99.
[84] Brody, ‘Fate, Philology, Freud’, p. 2.
[85] Most, ‘Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas’, pp. 159–160: ‘Die Antwort, daß die Tragödie den unversöhnlichen Konflikt zwischen Mensch und Schicksal, den schicksalsschweren Untergang des heldenhaften Menschen vor einer unentrinnbaren Notwendigkeit zum Inhalt habe, findet sich nicht bei Gottsched und Lessing, auch nicht beim älteren Hegel und nur in einem sehr beschränkten Sinne bei Nietzsche – aber dafür bei Schelling, dem Jenaer Hegel, Coleridge, und zahlreichen anderen Schriftstellern, insbesondere Friedrich Schlegel [...]’.
[86] Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen*, vol. 1, p. 84, translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 99.
[87] Eric Robertson Dodds, ‘On Misunderstanding the *Oedipus Rex*’, *Greece & Rome* 13, no. 1 (1966), p. 42.

> Man resembles a ball in play, subject to chance and passions […] He is like an actor on a stage who plays his part as best he can […] In Heaven praise and disapproval depend on the Stage-Manager of the World.[88]

This almost Shakespearian view seems to be completely in line with the idea that although certain events are predestined and unavoidable there is still scope for human freedom – those things undertaken in Dodds's terms as a 'free agent' and in Schlegel's as 'where the free being acts'.

The concept of certain actions being fate bound but that free will is also involved can be seen as being represented musically in the 'Tragic' Symphony. In the opening movement, after the move from the primary theme (bars 30–39) in i to the secondary theme (bars 67–130) beginning in ♭VI, the recapitulation moves from P (bars 176–185) in v to S (bars 213–267) beginning in ♭III. Gordon Sly regards these progressions as the movement's 'fundamental architecture'.[89] Moreover, as shown in Example 2.10, they are prefigured in the opening melodic contour of the introduction. The opening motive of C–A♭, shown in the previous section to be fundamentally generative for not only the opening movement but for the four-movement work as a whole, is followed in bars 3–4 by the motive a fifth higher, thus outlining a C–A♭–G–E♭ figure which points forward to the sequence of keys C minor–A♭ major–G minor–E♭ major. Thus despite there being allusions to other keys, the fundamental trajectory of the movement is fate-bound by the introduction.

Example 2.10 Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, first movement, bars 1–5 (strings only).

[88] Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 66.
[89] Gordon Sly, 'Schubert's Innovations in Sonata Form: Compositional Logic and Structural Interpretation', *Journal of Music Theory* 45 no. 1 (2001), p. 138.

The possibility that these rising sixths of C to A♭ and G to E♭ are a motive bound up with fate – in the manner in which they prefigure major tonal events – gains credence when we consider the fact that the opening recitative of Gluck's opera *Iphigenia in Aulis*, as shown above in Example 2.6(a), is set to the opening melody of the overture. This opening recitative is delivered by Agamemnon who bewails the fact that in order for the goddess Artemis to give the Greek fleet safe passage to Troy, he has to kill his daughter Iphigenia. The motive is therefore from the start connected with the idea of an ineluctable fate which awaits both him and his daughter. Furthermore, Gluck's opening recitative begins not in C minor but transposed up a fifth to G minor – its opening motive thus becomes a rising minor sixth of G to E♭, replacing the C to A♭ at the beginning of the overture. Here can be found a hermeneutic justification for the deformational move to the dominant minor v for P (bars 176–185) at the start of the recapitulation.

Furthermore, if we look at the melodic contour of the introduction in more detail, then further harmonic trajectories can be discerned as shown in Example 2.11. This adds to the idea the the introduction contains a kernel of fate which is realised in the course of the movement. The introduction's opening melody in the first violins consists of C, A♭, F♯ and G which then moves up to a decorated E♭ in bar 4. At this point the melody begins again in the lower strings beginning on C. All of these melodic stations project forward to key tonal areas in the opening movement. The A♭ in bar 2 corresponds to the key in which S begins at bar 67. The development section (bars 135–176) begins in B♭ minor but progresses into G♭ major in bar 162. This is presaged by its enharmonic of F♯ in bar 3 of the introduction. The G and E♭ in bars 3–4 of the introduction correspond to the tonal areas at the beginning of the recapitulation (G minor in bar 177 ff.) and the secondary theme in the recapitulation (E♭ major in bar 214 ff.). This sort of treatment – what we might call 'melodic pointing' to future harmonic contour – is not unique in Schubert's output. As Suzannah Clark states, 'Schubert frequently prepares harmonic events with a promissory note or chord'.[90] Gordon Sly also notices a similar technique in the first movement of the 1827 piano trio in B♭ major D898 where the bass line of the primary theme informs the harmonic progression of the development section.[91] However, the 'Tragic' Symphony is one of the first occurrences of the technique and is quite explicable hermeneutically with the understanding of fate which Schubert appears to have shared.

[90] See Suzannah Clark, *Analyzing Schubert* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 224.
[91] Gordon Sly, 'Schubert's Innovations in Sonata Form', pp.124–134.

Example 2.11 Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, first movement, bars 1–7 (strings only).

If the melodic pointing is reminiscent of fate then the recapitulation contains allusions to a locus where, as August Schlegel terms it, ‘the free being acts’. I considered the possible hermeneutic implications of the hexatonic cycle within S in the exposition in the previous section where it was read as being redolent of being locked into a circular fate. In the recapitulation, after the move to ♭III for the beginning of S (bar 214), were S to continue in analogous fashion to the exposition, a ‘Western’ ♭III, VII, V, ♭III, hexatonic cycle would be set in train. This would have two consequences – there would ensue a similar wandering motion which would lock into another fateful cycle, and the cycle would not land on I and thus would preclude the resolution into the parallel major. However, after beginning in ♭III, S-space moves to ♮III (E major) in bar 235. From there a new hexatonic cycle is launched which hits I (C major) after one iteration in bar 243, a tonality which it locks on to until the end of the movement as shown in Example 2.12.

Example 2.12 Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, first movement. Summary of tonal trajectory.

Introduction	i →	(♭V) →	i: V	
	bb. 1-10	bb. 11-20	bb. 21-29	
Rotation 1	**P**	**TR**	**S**	**Link**
	i	i → ♭VI	♭VI III I ♭VI (hexatonic cycle)	♭VI → i: V
	bb. 30-39	bb. 39-67	bb. 67-130	bb. 131-133
Rotation 2	♭vii	♭V		
	bb. 134-160	bb. 160-175		
Rotation 3	**P**	**TR**	**S**	
	v	v → ♭III	♭III III I (hexatonic cycle)	
	bb. 176-185	bb. 185-213	bb. 213-267	
Coda	I			
	bb. 268-285			

As stated earlier, the original attraction of art, and of tragedy in particular, to the idealists was the fact that it could show the interplay of man and fate, or of freedom and necessity – something which philosophy could not do. Such an assertion of freedom can be seen in the move from ♭III to III, breaking the cycle and allowing the resolution to I – the goal tonality of the movement. Furthermore the shift from E♭ to E replicates on the level of tonality the E♭ to E shift involved in the transformation of the tonic triad from the minor to the major – and thus alludes to the long-scale resolution of i to I in the movement's overall trajectory.[92] In a sense, E♭ major is the key of fate or necessity and E major the key of freedom in that it breaks free from the hexatonic cycle to which the musical trajectory would have been fated.

The fundamental conflict of fate and freedom in early idealist understandings of tragedy was often resolved in harmony and accomplished with a certain amount of reconciliation. August

[92] Mann and van der Lek also draw attention to the echo of the opening movement's overall tonal resolution of C minor to C major – and the change of E♭ to E♮ in their tonic triads – in the tonal move from ♭III to III in its recapitulation, see Mann and van der Lek, 'Zur Tonartendisposition', pp. 295–296.

Wilhelm describes the end of tragedy as a 'harmonious coexistence of fate and free will'.[93] A catalyst behind this reconciliatory model of Greek tragedy was the idealists' study of the *Oresteia* trilogy of Aeschylus – a writer out of favour in the early eighteenth century but who came to prominence in the later part of that century.[94] The reconciliatory end to the cycle in the final play *The Eumenides* – with Orestes freed from the Furies and the latter's accommodation within the Athenian body politic – gave the idealists the idea of an affirmative tragedy in which reconciliation was a central element.[95] Billings describes the reconciliatory view of tragedy as one of Friedrich Schlegel's most important legacies, and one which was taken up powerfully by other idealist thinkers – notably Schelling, August Schlegel and Hegel.[96] They tended to link the notion of reconciliation to the ancient Aristotelian notion of *catharsis*, or purification. Friedrich Schlegel interprets Aristotelian catharsis as an equilibrium of positive and negative emotions, which leads to a feeling of harmony.[97] For Schelling, 'reconciliation and Aristotelian catharsis describe the same process, a reconstitution of affective harmony'.[98] As he describes it in the *Philosophy of Art*, the reconciliation and harmony inherent in tragedy 'do not leave us feeling shattered, but healed, and, as Aristotle says, purified'.[99] Regardless of whether the ending was a happy one or not, Schelling argued that tragedy must show the protagonists accepting the outcome.[100] August Wilhelm Schlegel joined his brother and Schelling in assimilating tragedy to reconciliatory models.[101] He also writes that 'Tragedy is the immediate representation of an action, in which the conflict between humanity and fate is resolved in harmony'.[102] The notion was also still latent in later idealism of the early nineteenth century. For instance, the concept of reconciliation will be important to the theories of tragedy espoused by Hegel, who regarded the *telos* of tragedy as the resolution of ethical dilemmas.[103]

Such a reconciliatory view has ramifications for the tonal trajectory of the 'Tragic' Symphony. In particular, it has implications for its major key resolutions in its outer movements, one of which – that of the first movement – was seen by Sly as a 'major

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[93] Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen*, vol. 1, p. 84. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 99.
[94] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 12–13.
[95] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 12–13.
[96] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 109.
[97] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 109.
[98] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 127.
[99] Friedrich Schelling, *Philosophy of Art*, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Minnesota University Press, 1989), p. 254, see also Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 127.
[100] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 127.
[101] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 89.
[102] Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen*, vol. 1, p. 83. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 99.
[103] Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 264–265.

concession' for a 'Tragic' Symphony. Tragic interpretations of the trajectory of sonata-form movements have been given which involve a perfect authentic cadence in the parallel minor at the Essential structural closure (i:PAC ESC) and the maintenance of that tonality until the end of the movement.[104] One may ask, however, where the reconciliation can be found here. If, as a central tenet of our approach, we consider the contemporary understandings of tragedy at the time of the 'Tragic' Symphony's creation, then such a trajectory is out of line with such an understanding, which revolves around the idea of reconciliation.

In Sonata Theory, the characterisation of a minor mode sonata-form movement is that the initial minor mode represents a troubled condition which seeks emancipation into the parallel major.[105] Such an emancipation can be said to be come close to the notion of reconciliation, and in the context of a tragic reading I would submit that a major-mode resolution to a sonata-form movement is more in line with a reconciliatory view of the German idealists. Therefore, a parallel major I:PAC ESC, rather than being a concession for a 'Tragic' Symphony, is not only justifiable but almost mandatory for a tragic narrative to be realised if we take into account what the contemporary understanding of tragedy was. For Schubert's 'Tragic' Symphony, written in 1816, only eight years after August Wilhelm's Vienna lectures, a reconciliatory model of tragedy would have been paramount.

The connotation of the word 'tragic' has come down to our day as meaning a sad or lugubrious tale. However, as Ruth Scodel points out in her *Introduction to Greek Tragedy*, a sad ending was by no means the rule – 'the plots may end happily or sadly, but the stakes are always high'.[106] As Simon Critchley writes, 'if "tragedy" is understood as misfortune, then this is a significant misunderstanding of tragedy'.[107] Our understanding of what constitutes tragic art is influenced by Aristotle's *Poetics*, with his categorisation of tragic art as a plot depicting a change in a character's fortunes from good to bad – *peripeteia* – through some mistake in the character – *hamartia* – which categorised the hero's actions as ending in catastrophe. Scodel maintains that these ideas are among those that have 'probably done more harm to the appreciation of Greek tragedies than any others'. She highlights that even the tragedies which Aristotle mentions, such as *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and the *Cresphontes*, had happy endings.[108]

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[104] See Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, pp. 142, 145–153.
[105] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 304.
[106] Scodel, *Introduction to Greek Tragedy*, p. 5.
[107] Simon Critchley, *Tragedy, the Greeks, and Us* (Vintage, 2020), p. 12.
[108] Scodel, *Introduction to Greek Tragedy*, p. 9.

The move from Aristotelian to reconciliatory understandings of tragedy around the end of the eighteenth century is mirrored by a drift from a i:PAC ESC to a I:PAC ESC in minor-mode movements at around the same time. Before the idealists' notion of reconciliation became a fundamental part of the philosophical discussions of the tragic, it is the norm for a minor mode movement to have a i:PAC ESC. It is only in the nineteenth century that I:PAC ESC becomes normative, perhaps reflecting the reconciliatory understanding of the genre that is beginning to permeate German discourse. There is also a change in nomenclature which appears at this time which underlines such a process. Throughout the eighteenth century, tragedies were designated as *Trauerspiele* ('mourning plays'). It is only in the first decade of the nineteenth century that that they are designated as *Tragödien*.[109] It is clear that tragedies are being understood less as a sad tale of mourning, but as a genre in its own right, and that 'the tragic' is being hypostatized as an independent notion, something which Billings sees as starting in A. W. Schlegel's lectures.[110] Such hypostatization also provides another possible explanation for the general nature of the symphony's title.

2.4 An Ambiguous Ending

Hölderlin once wrote that 'the meaning of tragedies is most easily grasped through paradox'.[111] Although not present in Gluck and Winckelmann's notions of the tragic, paradox or ambiguity is something which is important to Hölderlin's theory and to that of his friend Hegel, whose understanding of tragedy revolves around a collision of two opinions both of which are justified. As Critchley remarks with respect to Hegel's theory, 'if both sides are right then what on earth are we to do?' – an ending free of ambiguity seems impossible.[112] Indeed, he regards tragedy in general as depicting 'the *difficulty* and *uncertainty* of action in a world defined by ambiguity'.[113]

As has been shown, the *Oresteia* was an important work for the German thought on tragedy around the turn of the nineteenth century and gave to the idealists the idea of reconciliatory, affirmative tragedy.[114] Along with the reconciliation, however, the trilogy contains a large amount of ambiguity. These mirror the occurrences of ambiguity in the symphony in the sense that they occur where resolution is sought. In Hegel's theory nothing in tragedy is

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[109] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 14.
[110] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 99.
[111] Friedrich Hölderlin, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe* (Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1992–94), vol. 2, p. 561. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 189.
[112] Critchley, *Tragedy, the Greeks, and Us*, p. 5.
[113] Critchley, *Tragedy, the Greeks, and Us*, p. 5.
[114] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 12–13.

completely resolved but instead consists of a series of partial reconciliations – an unravelling of a dialectic process – and the *Oresteia* is conspicuous for its series of only partial resolutions. Both acts of murder in the trilogy of plays – that of Agamemnon (and Cassandra) by Clytemnestra to avenge the killing of her daughter Iphigenia and that of Clytemnestra (and Aegisthus) by Orestes in order to avenge the killing of his father Agamemnon – lead only to further strife. It is only when the scene has shifted to the courtroom in Athens in the final play, *The Eumenides*, and the law of the Furies and the law of Zeus and Apollo is reconciled, that the vicious circle comes to an end. Even here, though, the reconciliation is unstable. Orestes has come to be acquitted of the murder of his mother and to have the Furies cease hounding him across the world. Although he is acquitted, the manner of his acquittal is less than convincing and Athena has essentially had to resort to threats and bribes in order to tame the Furies' wrath.[115] Robert Fagles seems to capture this ambiguity when he writes that the closing scene of the *Oresteia* 'rings with joy as well as tumult'.[116]

The incidence of early attempts at reconciliation – which turn out to be partial – as well as the instability and ambiguity surrounding the final reconciliation, are mirrored in the 'Tragic' Symphony. In the context of the symphony's outer movements, I will read reconciliation as being represented by the resolution from the tonic key into its parallel major I, and its final reconciliation as its most definite resolution at the I:PAC ESC.

Both outer movements contain an early establishment of I. In the first movement, it is a component of the 'Northern' A♭–E–C–A♭ hexatonic cycle in the exposition. With the return to A♭ major in bar 105, this reconciliation is seen to be only temporary and the sense of circular wandering is recaptured – we are drawn back into the whirligig of fate. A partial resolution can also be seen in the final movement, where the recapitulation begins in C major in bar 293 and the transformation of the primary theme from C minor to C major may lead one to expect a 'tonally flattened' recapitulation with P and S in the recapitulation occurring in the tonic key in order to reinforce this reconciliation. However, the C major in which the recapitulation begins only lasts for 16 bars (bars 293–308). In bar 309 the tonality moves to A minor and locks on to correspondence measures with the rest of the recapitulation taking place in parallel keys to the exposition in keys a minor third lower. Such parallelism means that whereas the exposition moved from C minor to E♭ major, the recapitulation moves from

[115] Cohen, 'The Theodicy of Aeschylus', p. 139.
[116] Robert Fagles and William Bedell Stanford, 'The Serpent and the Eagle', in Aeschylus, *The Oresteia*, trans. Robert Fagles (Penguin Classics, 1979), p. 23.

A minor to C major, but the latter key is not regained until bar 417 – a full 108 bars after its early establishment.

Such early – and ultimately overridden – resolutions were one aspect of the tonal ambiguity. The other concerns the ESC. In the symphony, both the outer movements begin in C minor and end in C major after a I:PAC ESC. Thus in terms of Sonata Theory, both movements achieve the emancipation into the major mode which the Sonata Theory sees as the goal of minor mode movements and which is redolent of the reconciliation which is central to early nineteenth-century German theories of tragedy.[117] However, the ESCs are ambiguous, meaning the reconciliation is not as final as might seem, particularly in the final movement. In this movement, when C major is regained in bar 417 in the course of the correspondence measures, the tonality is far from stable. In particular, it is constantly assailed by the tonality of A♭ major, whose juxtaposition with C major and C minor has stalked the symphony since the opening melodic rise of a minor sixth from C to A♭ in bar 2 of the introduction. For instance, a modulation is made back into A♭ major in bars 427–431, the modulation being clinched by a PAC over bars 430–431. Furthermore, as shown in Example 2.13, the final bars, beginning with the re-modulation into C major in bar 451, are punctuated by interpositions of flattened submediant harmony in the form of the A♭ major tonic triad in bars 452, 454, 458, 460, 470 and 473. This not only breaks up the continuity of the expression but hints at the original tragic motif (C–A♭) of a minor sixth which began the symphony – as if to say that the motif remains there still unresolved – and also recalls the wandering hexatonic cycle from which there seemed no escape in the exposition of the first movement. The insertion of the A♭'s also hints at the symphony's minor mode tonic key C minor – in which A♭ is diatonic – the key representing the original unreconciled state and troubled condition.

[117] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 306.

Example 2.13 Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, fourth movement, bars 449–486.

456

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.
(in Do)

Fag.

Cor.
(in Do)

Cor.
(in Mi♭)

Trb.
(in Do)

Timp.
(in Do-Sol)

V. I

V. II

Va.

Vc. e B.

463

Fl.

fz fz fz

Ob.

fz fz fz

a 2

Cl. (in Do)

Fag.

fz fz fz fz

Cor. (in Do)

Cor. (in Mi♭)

Trb. (in Do)

Timp. (in Do-Sol)

V. I

fz fz fz fz

V. II

fz fz fz fz

Va.

fz fz fz fz

Vc. e B.

fz fz fz fz

469

Fl. ffz fz fz a 2 fz fz fz

Ob. ffz fz fz fz fz fz a 2 fz fz fz fz fz fz

Cl. (in Do) ffz fz fz a 2 fz fz fz a 2

Fag. ffz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz

Cor. (in Do) ffz

Cor. (in Mib) ffz

Trb. (in Do) ffz

Timp. (in Do-Sol) ffz

V. I ffz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz

V. II ffz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz

Va. ffz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz

Vc. e B. ffz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz

The ambiguity about the final resolutions of ancient Greek tragedies is not confined to the *Oresteia*. Ambiguity around the meaning or finality of the ending also seeps into the plays of Sophocles – *the* playwright for the idealists. Ruth Scodel writes that 'the conclusions of Sophocles' plays are often ambiguous about the future, so that readers disagree about whether

Women of Trachis, for example, implies that Heracles will be taken to Olympus as a god'.[118] Therefore the symphony's ambiguous ending is in line with several plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles – the most important playwrights of the German idealists and the playwrights who were very much *de jour* in German cultural life.

Echoing Hepokoski's philosophy of Sonata Theory, no claim is made in the above analysis to have 'solved' the 'Tragic' Symphony, neither in terms of its underlying form nor its hermeneutics. However, such analysis as has been done above will hopefully shed more light upon the work's title as well as on the German understanding of the essence of tragedy and tragic art. If in Hepokoski's Sonata Theory, deviations from norms are to be understood as affecting musical expression, then I have shown many such cases here. Such deviations from the norm are much more prevalent in this symphony than any of his other early symphonies. Owing to his group of friends and their understanding of the strong connection between literature and music, it is perhaps not surprising that a symphony which alludes to a literary genre should be to one which appears to have given Schubert fresh impetus for new harmonic freedom and formal experimentation.

The symphony can be read as a representation of beauty, reconciliation and affirmation. It can also be read as a juxtaposition of irreconcilable opposites – man and fate, freedom and necessity, neo-classicism and *Sturm and Drang*, major and minor mode. Perhaps due to the conservatism of his circle which he had just joined the musical material is conservative and backward looking to music of an earlier time. However, the symphony is also forward-looking, incorporating the idealists' reconciliatory notion of tragedy as well as their recognition of the genre's ambiguity.

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[118] Scodel, *Introduction to Greek Tragedy*, p. 20.

Chapter 3. ‘Athens on the Danube’, the Rebirth of Tragedy

In the previous chapter on the ‘Tragic’ Symphony it was shown that Gluck’s influence loomed large in Schubert’s early understandings of tragedy. He was not alone, however, in his appreciation of Gluck and the years of Schubert’s childhood see a revival of Gluck’s operas in Vienna. Gluck’s music had been handed down to Schubert by his teacher Salieri, and from his euphoric reactions to the scores it can be inferred that Schubert’s initial fascination was almost entirely musical. Many of his Viennese contemporaries, however, were more interested in Gluck’s reforms and principles which seemed to pave the way to a nostalgic return to a simpler, natural music and eventually to a rebirth of ancient Greece. In addition to a revival of Gluck’s operas, there also emerged tracts written containing guidance about the production of new works written in line with neo-Gluckian principles.

As I will show in this chapter there is evidence that Schubert was sympathetic to these ideas and that he himself felt a nostalgia for the ancient world and a more natural expression. Indeed, he contributed theatrical works – *Adrast* D137 and *Lazarus* D689 – which followed neo-Gluckian ideals closely. As such, these particular works can be said to be linked with the ‘Tragic’ Symphony since they all take their cue from Gluck’s – and by extension Winckelmann’s – early-philhellenic aesthetics and belong to Schubert’s time in his 1815–1819 circle, with the ‘Tragic’ Symphony being written in the early years of this period and the theatre works in the later years. An examination of these two theatre works will both provide a enlarged picture of Schubert’s engagement with Gluck – as well as giving further insight retrospectively to the ‘Tragic’ Symphony – and also further underline the intensity of his involvement with philhellenism and its fundamentality to his output.

As I will show in this chapter, *Adrast* D137 and *Lazarus* D689 were written in a style from which Schubert turned away fairly quickly. The optimism that the spirit of Greece could be recaptured through such art dissipated around the year 1820 and came up against several countervailing tendencies and obstacles. Owing to this turn towards pessimism I believe that the locus of tragic art shifted more definitely for Schubert towards instrumental music and can account for the cessation of the production of works on neo-Gluckian models. This chapter will thus look two ways – backwards to the ‘Tragic’ Symphony, as well as forwards to the chapters on Schubert’s three piano sonatas in A minor, to which I believe the locus of the tragic was transferred.

3.1 Nostalgia and Rebirth

A strong current of nostalgia is present in German philhellenism from its inception. Henry Hatfield characterises Winckelmann's original awe at Greek beauty as containing 'a large element of polemic directed against his own age'.[1] Similar sentiments were shared by other philhellenists who, as Joshua Billings writes, were 'painfully aware of distance separating antiquity from modernity'.[2] Such distance kindled a nostalgia and a yearning to return to the spirit of antiquity. It was typical of the philhellenic movement that the manner they prescribed in which such a return could be accomplished was cultural rather than political.[3]

A large part of the nostalgia resided in the relationship of the ancient Greek to art, which was seen as superior to that of the modern age. In the mid-eighteenth century the translator Steinbrüchel and several Swiss critics – such as J.J. Breitinger and J.J. Bodmer – pointed to Greek tragedy's centrality in Athenian life as an ideal for modernity to strive for'.[4] Historically, this centrality had in part been owing to the genre having developed at the same time as Athenian democracy. Within this symbiotic relationship, as Edith Hall notes, the plays reflected the 'radical change in the political and social situation' which accompanied the move from tyranny to democracy when humanity 'took central place on the intellectual and ideological stage'.[5] In a similar way, the aim of tragedy, for the Swiss critics and early translators, was not just moral, but civic, intended to inspire 'love of virtue and the fatherland, hatred of vice and tyranny'.[6]

In German translations which followed Steinbrüchel's, tragedy's central role in society and its ability to inspire the populace was accentuated, whereas frivolous opinions of art, and Greek tragedy and dramatic art in particular, were derided. For instance, Johann Georg Schlosser's 1784 translation of *Prometheus* emphasizes the social role of Greek tragedy while deploring, in Billing's terms, 'modern drama's lack of cultural relevance'.[7] Schlosser contrasts the frivolous attitude of modern audiences, to which the drama is a mere play (*bloss Spiel*) to the true performance (*wahres Schauspiel*) which it was to the ancient Greeks.[8] Daniel Jenisch's 1786 translation of the play *Agamemnon* contains a similar nostalgic tinge,

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[1] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 21.
[2] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 62–63.
[3] Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, p. 28
[4] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 33, p. 61.
[5] Edith Hall, ed., *Antigone, Oedipus the King, Electra* (Oxford University Press, 1998), p. xxv.
[6] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 39.
[7] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 62.
[8] Johann Georg Schlosser, *Prometheus in Fesseln, aus dem Griechischen des Aeschylus* (Thurneysen, 1784). Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 62.

with the theatre described as a mere play house (*Spiel-Haus*) for modern audiences but a house of teaching (*Lehr-Haus*) for the Greeks.[9] In ancient times, it was felt that tragedy should 'improve its audience', and that tragic poets should teach 'valuable subjects' – assertions made by characters representing tragedians in Aristophanes' comedy *The Frogs* of 405BC.[10] These early German philhellenists agreed with this, and Athenian civic culture was seen as a goal for modern Germany.[11]

Schiller also recognised the role of art in Greek culture as being superior to that of his day, in the way that it allowed for an amalgamation of social and aesthetic experience.[12] In his 1794 *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*, he associated the denigration of the contemporary world with the disappearance of naturalness and wholeness from both people and society as a whole. In the sixth letter, he sets out how the Greeks followed 'all-uniting nature', whereas moderns are defined by 'all-dividing understanding [*Verstand*]'.[13] Here he was following in the footsteps of Winckelmann who associated the Greeks with nature, and the modern world with the unnatural and over-specialised.[14] Schiller's antidote to this lack of wholeness and naturalness is the cultivation of man's aesthetic faculties which would both improve society in aesthetic and social terms, two things which Schiller saw as synonymous.[15] Winckelmann and Schiller embody the tendency to associate a return to Greek art with the improvement of society and with them, as Suzanne Marchand writes, 'the study of the Greeks had taken on the quality of a redemptive return to mankind's origins'.[16]

Schiller's ideas on the regaining of naturalness and wholeness through art, as well as on the restitution of art's social and civic role, were formative for other 'second wave' philhellenists of the idealist school such as Schelling, Hegel and Hölderlin.[17] The latter's concept of the *Vaterland*, a 'state in which nature and culture reach a stable and productive relation, such as existed in ancient Greece', constitutes another attack on the modern age and a desire to return to the societal frameworks of antiquity.[18] It embodies a desire for a return to a closer

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[9] Daniel Jenisch, *Agamemnon, ein Trauerspiel* (Berlin, 1786). See Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 62.
[10] Scodel, *Introduction to Greek Tragedy*, p. 15.
[11] For a more thorough summary of Schlosser's and Jenisch's translations see Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 62–63.
[12] Billings, *Genealogy*, p 88.
[13] Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 91.
[14] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 9. Marchand assesses the 'association of the Greeks with nature, genius and freedom, and of the modern world with the unnatural, the overspecialized, and the tyrannical' to be Winckelmann's 'most significant contribution' to German philhellenism.
[15] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 88.
[16] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 35.
[17] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 88: 'Schiller's connection between aesthetic and social experience and his elegy for the role of art in Greek culture were decisive for the Tübinger Stiftler'. Schelling, Hegel and Hölderlin were school friends at the Tübinger Stift school.
[18] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 191–192.

relationship with nature characterised by 'wholeness'.[19] Hölderlin also wanted to secure a civic role for poets, indicating a sympathy with the early German translators who saw art as having a social role – a role it had in ancient Athens but had since lost.[20]

Such a revival of Greek civic society as advocated by Schiller and Hölderlin, with its social role for art, can be seen in the wider context of the Napoleonic Wars and the common struggle of the German states against France. These gave Germans fresh impetus to differentiate themselves from French influences and to aim at the creation of a distinct German society modelled on ancient Greek culture. The loose agglomeration of kingdoms, duchies and imperial free cities which constituted Germany under the aegis of the Holy Roman Empire had often been compared with the city states of ancient Greece.[21] During the wars, German identification with the Athenian republic became stronger.[22] Manfred Fuhrmann argues that whereas the historical comparisons that Winckelmann drew were between ancient Greece and modern man, during the Napoleonic Wars it was the juxtaposition of Greeks and Germans which came to the fore.[23] We see such a tendency in Hölderlin's *Vaterland* which is projected as a synthesis not just of ancient and modern but explicitly of Greece and Germany.[24]

It seems that the southern German state of Austria was not immune to this general tendency. Although there was no official political or geographical centre of the Holy Roman Empire, Vienna, as the seat of the Emperor, may have felt it had more of a claim to be the heir to Athens – the most powerful of the ancient Greek city-states – than anywhere else. Whether or not this was the case, there was a movement amongst Viennese playwrights, musicians and intellectuals in the early nineteenth century which aimed at something akin to a recapturing of the values of ancient Greek civic society by aesthetic means. For example, in 1806, Heinrich Collin, an important playwright in Vienna and author of the play *Coriolanus* to which Beethoven supplied the overture, was yearning for the 'blissful time...where drama and opera

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[19] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 191–192.
[20] Friedrich Hölderlin, *Essays and Letters*, trans. Jeremy Adler and Charlie Louth (Penguin, 2008), p. 371: 'It would be good, in order to secure for poets, among us as well, a civic existence, if one raised poetry, among us as well, discounting the difference of times and constitutions, to the μηχανή of the ancients [...]'. Quoted in Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 201–202.
[21] Roche, 'The Peculiarities of German Philhellenism', p. 546.
[22] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 24.
[23] Manfred Fuhrmann, 'Die "Querelle des Ancients et Modernes", der Nationalismus und die deutsche Klassik', in *Deutschlands kulturelle Entfaltung: Die Neubestimmng des Menschen* ed. B. Fabian, W. Schmidt-Biggemann, R. Vierhaus (Munich, 1908), pp. 49–67.
[24] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 192ff.

will melt into each other and the Greek theatre will appear in our midst in its full Olympian glory'.[25]

As Marjorie Hirsch describes, the early-nineteenth century generation 'generally agreed with earlier German philhellenists that, in comparison to antiquity, the modern world was deeply flawed'.[26] For them, 'antiquity beckoned like a lost paradise, a world of simplicity, naturalness, freedom and unity that eluded modern man – and Germans in particular'.[27] If they had wanted works of art that wanted to recapture such naturalness, simplicity, and unity, as well as the enhanced social civic participation as desired by Schiller, Hölderlin and the earlier philhellenes, then Gluck's operas lay ready-to-hand and fitted all of these requirements. Gluck himself, in the early 1770s, had promised that his music would 'make real the prodigious effects that antiquity attributes to music', and that his music would be 'simple' and 'natural'.[28] In his reform operas he aimed at a unified whole in his attempts to create what Elizabeth Norman McKay describes as a 'single dramatic entity' rather than one in which music, poetry and dance go their separate ways.[29] He also aimed to increase audience interest and participation since, as McKay writes, Gluck concentrated on 'pure expressive melody without the elaborate vocal coloratura of Italian opera, which, he believed, distracted attention from the drama'.[30] It is noticeable that, in the same tract in which von Collin longed for the 'Olympian glory' of the Greek theatre to return, he also expressed his joy at the recent revival of performances of Gluck's operas in Vienna.[31] This juxtaposition intimates that, in von Collin's mind at least, the two were related.

In addition to a revival of Gluck's operas there were also plans to create new works based on his principles. An important figure in this regard was Ignaz von Mosel, a playwright and composer whom McKay characterises as propagating 'the old-fashioned views of Gluck and what passed for the ideals of Greek theatre'.[32] In his 1813 treatise on the aesthetics of dramatic music – *Versuch einer Ästhetik des dramatischen Tonsatzes* – von Mosel mentions

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[25] Heinrich von Collin, 'Über das gesungene Drama' (1806), in *Heinrich J. V. Collin's Sämmtliche Werke: Prosaische Aufsätze,* vol. 5 (Anton Strauss, 1813), p. 86: 'Dann kommt – vielleicht in einem Jahrhunderte, die schöne Zeit, wo Schauspiel und Oper sich in eines verschmelzen, und das griechische Theater in seinem vollen olympischen Glanze unter uns erscheinen wird'. ('Then the blissful time will come, perhaps in around a century, where drama and opera will melt into each other and the Greek theatre will appear in our midst in its full Olympian glory'.)
[26] Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, p. 37–38.
[27] Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, p. 26.
[28] Open letters to the Paris *Mercure* (October 1772 and February 1773), in François Lesure, ed., *Querelle des Gluckistes et des Piccinnistes: Texte des Pamphlets*, 2 vols. (Minkoff, 1984), vol. 1 p. 5 and p. 10. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 66.
[29] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, p. 64.
[30] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, p. 65.
[31] von Collin, 'Über das gesungene Drama', p. 86.
[32] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, p. 210.

Gluck throughout the treatise and exhorts both poets and composers to adhere to his ideals.[33] The treatise is more than just a declaration in favour of Gluck's principles, however, and can be seen as drawing much of its inspiration from early philhellenism and its concomitant nostalgia for the ancient Greek world. For instance, von Mosel's statement that tragedy demands 'lofty simplicity' (*hohe Einfachkeit*) approximates to one of the central characteristics Winckelmann imputed to Greek art – that of 'noble simplicity' (*edle Einfalt*).[34] Von Mosel's desire for an aesthetic rediscovery of Greek culture is evident when he writes in his treatise that 'if the poet were to choose such material which is capable of awakening the national interest to a large degree, then opera would undoubtedly be able to exert as strong an effect as tragedy did in ancient Athens or Rome'.[35] At one point he explicitly links Gluck's treatment of musical drama with ancient tragedy in the discussion of the chorus:

> Gluck's Alceste, Iphigenia auf Tauris, Orfeo, Iphigenia in Aulis and Armida give the loftiest and most beautiful exemplars of truly dramatic choruses. On listening to them one feels seized now by emotion, now by religious transports, now by courage and enthusiasm. One believes oneself transported to Athens and to be experiencing the performance of a tragedy of Sophocles or Euripides.[36]

In the midst of advocating Gluck's principles, Mosel puts great emphasis on the aspects of Greek art that the nostalgic philhellenists of the half century before had prized – simplicity, naturalness, unity, and the social or civic role of art. In the treatise, the need to stick to natural melody is underlined and he calls for simplicity by advocating the production of works in which clarity reigns throughout.[37] He mentions unity several times, using various synonyms: For Mosel, the attainment of unity (*Totalität*) should be 'the main aim of the dramatic composer'.[38] By writing passages which merely show off the singer's vocal agility, he declares that unity (*Einheit*) is lost.[39] He regards the unity (*Verein*) of realistic dramatic

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[33] Ignaz von Mosel, *Versuch einer Ästhetik des dramatischen Tonsatzes* (Anton Strauss, 1813).
[34] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 14.
[35] von Mosel, *Versuch*, pp. 12–13: '…träfe die Wahl der Dichter solche Gegenstände, die im Stande wären, das Nationalinteresse in einem hohen Grade zu erwecken, so würde die Oper unfehlbar eben so mächtig wirken können, als ehemals das Trauerspiel zu Athen oder Rom'.
[36] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 64: '*Gluck's* Alceste, Iphigenia auf Tauris, Orpheus, Iphigenia in Aulis, und Armida, geben die höchsten und schönsten Muster wahrhaft dramatischer Chöre; bei ihrem Anhören fühlt man sich bald von Rührung, bald von heiligen Gefühlen, bald von Muth und Begeisterung ergriffen; man glaubt sich nach Athen versetzt, und der Vorstellung einer Tragödie von Sophokles oder Euripides beyzuwohnen'.
[37] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 36: 'Klarheit herrsche über dem ganzen Werke'. ('May clarity reign over the entire work'.)
[38] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 51: 'Mangel an Beziehung und Verbindung zwischen diesen beiden Gattungen von Musikstücken stört die Empfindung und hebt die Totalität auf, welche in jeder Hinsicht zu erreichen, das erste Bestreben des dramatischen Tonsetzers sein soll'.
[39] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 25: 'Aber nicht nur das Gedicht, auch die *Musik* der Oper leidet durch die Einschiebung solcher hors-d'oeuvres, da Gleichnisse, Allegorien, und Sentenzen ausser dem Gebiete der Tonkunst liegen, und der Komponist dergleichen Arien, in welchen kein Gefühl ihn zum Ausdruck begeistert, gleichsam notgedrungen zu Tummelplätzen für die bewegliche Kehle der Sänger machen muss, um in musikalischer Hinsicht doch *etwas* daraus zu schaffen; wodurch Einheit, Täuschung und Interesse verloren gehen'.

portrayal and emotion-rich music to be the pinnacle of opera.[40] In several places he stresses the need for a unified coming together of music and poetry, and declares that 'the first and most necessary characteristic of dramatic music is its most intimate union (*Vereinigung*) with the text and the plot'.[41]

Mosel also stresses the participation of the audience throughout the treatise. He writes that one of the goals of art is to awaken participation and not only 'to maintain it throughout but increase it all the way to the end'.[42] Indeed, part of the reason for the exhortation to stick to natural, simple melodic lines is the fact that 'when coloratura enters the plot stands still' and then 'all participation is over'.[43] Showy lines may also impede the understanding of the audience, with the result that 'they cannot *take part* in the performance'.[44] He contrasts participation favourably with 'mere quiet, detached contemplation' – the latter occurring when the unfolding of the plot is hindered by the music being out of balance with the dramatic text it is meant to support.[45] Similarly, he asserts that if the music just exists to show off the singer's vocal ability then 'all interest is destroyed'.[46] Here von Mosel is in complete harmony with the ideals of philhellenism, and with Schiller, Hölderlin and the early translators in particular, in their desire to recreate art's social role.

Von Mosel's text as a whole can be seen as a distillation of early philhellenic nostalgic ideals as these developed up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is an attempt at enacting the 'redemptive return to mankind's origins' in Marchand's terms, but with a distinctly Viennese flavour being based primarily on music. As well as the aesthetic reasons for turning to Gluck's work there was perhaps a sense that the restaging of his operas and the production of new works based on his reforms represented something of a homecoming. Gluck's

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[40] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 17: 'Es ist überflüssig, hinzuzusetzen, dass der Poet dieser Sorge niemals den Verstand aufopfern, und nicht demselben widerstrebende Dinge herbei führen müsse, um der Musik den Hof zu machen. Verstand und Gefühl können in der Oper sehr schön vereinigt werden, ja sie *müssen* es sein, wenn dieses Schauspiel seine voller Macht ausüben soll; denn die Illusion einer verständigen Darstellung und der Effekt einer gefühlvollen Musik bilden im Vereine *das Höchste der Oper*'.

[41] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 39: '[...] dass das erste und nothwendigste Bedingnis der dramatischen Musik ihre innigste Vereinigung mit dem Texte und der Handlung sey [...]'.

[42] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 34: '[...] dass die Musik nicht der Zweck, sondern nur das Mittel zum Zwecke der Oper sei, der darin besteht, Rührung, Leidenschaften und Teilnahme zu erwecken, und diese Letztere nicht nur durch das ganze Werk hindurch ununterbrochen zu *erhalten*, sondern bis an's Ende immer zu *steigern*'.

[43] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 55–56: 'ich fühle Furcht, Mitleid, Schrecken; den ich glaube ein Zeuge der Begebenheit zu sein. Auf ein Mal steht die Handlung, um einer Coloratur willen, stille; der Schauspieler erkaltet; ich mit ihm; und alle Teilnahme ist vorüber!'

[44] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 61: '...aber nicht *dramatisch* heissen, nicht auf das Gemüt der Zuhörer wirken kann: den wenn diese nicht *verstehen*, was gesungen wird, können sie auch nicht daran *Teil nehmen*'.

[45] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 32: '...wenn aber die Musik auf dem Theater, wo sie mit der Handlung, mit dem Spiele der Leidenschaften verbunden ist, diese erkaltet und jene hemmt; begeht sie einen Verrat an der Tragödie, welche ihr ihren schönsten Erfolg anvertraut hat, und setzt einen ruhigen Zeitvertreib an die Stelle der Rührung und Teilnahme'.

[46] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 25: '[...] wodurch Einheit, Täuschung und Interesse verloren gehen'.

revolution had initially started in Vienna with his three reform operas being premiered there between 1762 and 1770.[47] Owing to the unique bond which Germans felt with ancient Greece, it probably did not escape the attention of the philhellenists that, despite the Italian and French librettos, it was 'Ritter' Gluck, a German from Bavaria, who had been responsible for the reform of opera and its putative return to a Greek simplicity. It perhaps seemed only natural to want to continue his legacy and to create an 'Athens on the Danube' in all its Olympian glory.

3.2 Schubert and Gluckian Opera – the 'Tragedies' of Adrastus and Lazarus

As recounted in the previous chapter, an important event of Schubert's youth was his trip to see Gluck's opera *Iphigenia in Tauris* at the Vienna's Kärtnertor theatre in 1813. His friend Josef Spaun relates that after hearing Gluck's works, Schubert 'used to ask sadly whether the happy time of such delights had vanished from us forever'.[48] The happy time whose passing Schubert mourns is ambiguous. It is unlikely he was nostalgic for the days of Gluckian opera, for in 1813 they were being performed in Vienna and there was little reason to suppose that they would not go on being performed. It seems more likely that he is expressing nostalgia more for an idea, or an ideal, not of the eighteenth century, but of antiquity – an antiquity which Gluck's operas, by his own admission, had sought to recreate in musical terms.[49] Marjorie Hirsch, a writer who has studied the impact of German philhellenism on Schubert's Lieder, notices a nostalgia for antiquity in these works. In particular, she regards the function of myth in many of Schubert's mythological Lieder to be bound up with nostalgia for a lost paradise and the hopes for a future in which it is recovered.[50] This is commensurate with his longing expressed for the 'happy time' which the music of Gluck stirred in him. With such an expression of nostalgia, Schubert evinces a central characteristic of the philhellenic movement – a sense of loss of an earlier happier time and a desire for it to be recaptured.

In 1819 such nostalgia surfaces in the Lied *Die Götter Griechenlands* D677. Of Schiller's poem of 16 stanzas on which the Lied is based, Schubert set to music only one which laments the loss of the Greek world. Hatfield describes the poem as a whole as exaggerating Winckelmann's dogmas through its simplistic rhetoric, and Schubert's concentration on this

[47] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 66.
[48] Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by his Friends*, p. 21.
[49] Gluck wrote in an open letter to the *Mercure* in Paris in February 1773 that his opera *Iphigenia in Aulis* would 'make real the prodigious effect that antiquity attributes to music'. See François Lesure, ed., *Querelle des Gluckistes et des Piccinnistes: Texte des Pamphlets*, 2 vols. (Minkoff, 1984), vol. 1 p. 10. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 66.
[50] See the chapter 'Schubert's Greek Revival', in Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, pp. 33–62.

one stanza magnifies the feeling of nostalgia for the lost world of antiquity.[51] Despite the Lied's brevity, it clearly had meaning for the composer as later, in 1824, a direct quotation of the Lied's introduction appears in his String Quartet in A minor D804.

At around the same time he set this nostalgic Lied, he seems to have made a conscious effort to write operas following Gluck's ideals closely. There may be several reasons for this. It was around the year 1820 that Schubert and von Mosel met. McKay points out that they had been 'distantly acquainted since Schubert's school days' and thinks that at this meeting Mosel may have given Schubert a copy of his 1813 treatise – a blueprint for a recapturing of the nostalgic past.[52] Furthermore, Schubert was very much under the sway of his circle intellectually from 1815 to 1819, and with their emphasis on friendship and brotherhood, they may also have been attracted the ideals of communal participation outlined by von Mosel and stressed by Schiller, Hölderlin and the late eighteenth-century translators of tragedies. Impetus for this endeavour seems to have come from one of the friends of his circle in particular – Johann Mayrhofer. Schubert had been introduced to him in December 1814 by Josef von Spaun but the two men's friendship became close in mid-1816. Although the circle's members as a whole were interested in classical literature, Mayrhofer was especially proficient in ancient languages and also wrote many poems on mythological subjects, of which many were set to music by Schubert.[53] Gluckian principles can be found in some of these mythological Lieder and it seems that, around 1819, Schubert began to transfer these principles into the production of full operas.[54]

Mayrhofer was one of the senior figures of the Viennese branch of the 'Bildung Circle' along with Josef Spaun.[55] Ernst von Feuchtersleben, a friend of Schubert and Mayrhofer, gives a biography of Mayrhofer in his 1843 edition of Mayrhofer's poems.[56] Feuchtersleben, who knew Mayrhofer and several other of the friends of Schubert's circle, brings to life not only the strength of Mayrhofer's relationship with Schubert but also to the fact that both were heavily influenced and enriched by each other. Indeed David Gramit's characterisation of

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[51] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, pp. 16–17.
[52] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre* p. 210.
[53] Before moving to Vienna from his native Linz, Mayrhofer studied ancient languages at the Monastery of St. Florian in Linz, see von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte von Johann Mayrhofer*, p. 3. Behind Goethe and Schiller, Mayrhofer is the next most frequently set poet of Schubert's, with around 50 Lieder.
[54] Marjorie Hirsch detects many borrowing from Gluck in Schubert's Lieder on mythological themes, for instance in *Memnon* D541, *Antigone und Oedip* D542, see Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, pp. 33–62 and Marjorie Hirsch, 'Mayrhofer, Schubert, and the myth of "Vocal Memnon"', in *The Unknown Schubert*, ed. B.M. Reul and L. Byrne-Bodley (Routledge, 2008), p. 14.
[55] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, p. 46.
[56] Ernst von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte von Johann Mayrhofer: Neue Sammlung; aus dessen Nachlasse mit Biographie und Vorwort* (Ignaz Klang, 1843).

their relationship as a 'significant creative partnership' is fully justified on the basis of Feuchtersleben's account.[57] Feuchtersleben quotes Mayrhofer directly from a diary entry describing his relationship with Schubert: 'The basic feeling and the love of poetry and music made our relationship more profound. I wrote poetry, he composed what I had written, and to this we owe the production and dissemination of many beautiful melodies'.[58] The impact of Mayrhofer on Schubert is easily understandable. He was Schubert's elder by ten years, knew ancient languages and wrote poems which inspired Schubert's pen. Schubert's influence on Mayrhofer is glimpsed in the latter's statement that his poem *Memnon* 'only makes sense with Schubert's music'.[59] Feuchtersleben also suggests that it was the experience of working with Schubert and seeing his verses made into music that inspired Mayrhofer to write two opera librettos. The first, *Die Freunde von Salamanka* D326 of 1815 is a comic *Singspiel* but the second, *Adrast* D137, is based on a classical story – that of Adrastus, son of King Gordias of Phrygia. It was written when the two men lived together in a House in the Wipplingerstrasse between 1818 and 1820 and therefore has the air of a truly joint endeavour. It was set to music by Schubert in late 1819 and early 1820 and constitutes one example of an opera written on such neo-Gluckian principles as von Mosel advocated.

Hirsch believes that perhaps through works such as *Adrast*, Schubert 'intended to prove himself as a worthy successor to Gluck and Mozart, who composed mythological operas'. She points out that in his Lieder he followed Gluck in depicting Orestes, Iphigenia and Orpheus.[60] Brian Newbould thinks it 'may have rekindled his early enthusiasm for Gluck'.[61] The story of Adrastus has the lineaments of tragedy according to the classical scholar E. R. Dodds who considers the plot to be very close to that of the *Oedipus Tyrannos* – a play central to the ideas of German idealist thought around 1800.[62]

> The nearest parallel to the situation of Oedipus is in the tale which Herodotus tells about Adrastus, son of Gordies. Adrastus was the involuntary slayer of his own brother, and then of Atys, the son of his benefactor Croesus; the latter act, like the killing of Laius, fulfilled an oracle. Croesus forgave Adrastus because the killing was unintended (άέκων), and because the oracle showed that it was the will of 'some god'. But Adrastus did not forgive himself: he committed suicide, 'conscious' says Herodotus, 'that of all

[57] David Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier: The Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer's "Heliopolis"', *Music & Letters* 74 no. 3 (1993), p. 357.

[58] von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte von Johann Mayrhofer*, p. 10.

[59] von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte von Johann Mayrhofer*, p. 12: '...Mayrhofer selbst sagt, sein herrliches Gedicht Memnon "kläre sich erst auf durch Schubert's Töne"'.

[60] Marjorie Hirsch, 'Mayrhofer, Schubert, and the myth of "Vocal Memnon"', in *The Unknown Schubert*, ed. B.M. Reul and L. Byrne-Bodley (Routledge, 2008), pp. 13–14.

[61] Brian Newbould, *Schubert, the Music and the Man* (University of California Press, 1997), p. 167.

[62] Eric Robertson Dodds, 'On Misunderstanding the *Oedipus Rex*', *Greece & Rome* 13, no. 1 (1966), p. 44.

men known to him he bore the heaviest burden of disaster'. It is for this same reason that Oedipus blinds himself.[63]

At the beginning of the third number of *Adrast* – Krösus's recitative and aria – McKay detects an allusion to the opening motive of the final movement of the 'Tragic' Symphony, shown in Example 3.1.[64] In the symphony, Schubert had incorporated some musical ideas of Gluck. Here, in an opera based on Gluckian principles, he seems to allude in turn to the 'Tragic' Symphony. Such an allusion suggests a distant kinship between the two works – perhaps understandably since, as I am maintaining, they both grow from the common seed of early German philhellenism. It also supports the assumption that Schubert may have felt that this work was indeed a true tragedy, and a work which would have fitted in with von Mosel's ideals for a rebirth of Greek theatre.

Example 3.1 (a) Schubert, Symphony in C minor, D417, fourth movement, bars 1–8, (b) Schubert, *Adrast*, D137, Nr. 3 *Rezitativ und Arie*, bars 1–3.

[63] Dodds, 'On Misunderstanding the *Oedipus Rex*', p. 44.
[64] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, p. 163.

Indeed, von Mosel's ideals, as laid out in his 1813 treatise, are adhered to throughout the score. For example, in order to aid the comprehensibility of the text, von Mosel states that one note should fall on each syllable sung.[65] Throughout *Adrast* there is usually one note per syllable, sometimes two notes a syllable but very rarely more. Furthermore, von Mosel states that the recitative must 'proceed only in a very limited range of intervals' and that 'the voice must never suddenly be raised too much or lowered too much'.[66] In *Adrast*, the melodies generally move either stepwise or in thirds. Larger jumps are extremely rare and, where they occur, they are usually between diatonic notes in the prevailing key. Von Mosel also cautions against adornments, runs and cadenzas. In *Adrast*, the vocal lines are not florid and devoid of coloratura.

Another work from the same time period which follows neo-Gluckian precepts even more explicitly is the oratorio *Lazarus* D689. McKay thinks that Schubert may have broken off work on *Adrast* to work on it.[67] This is perhaps because *Lazarus* may have been meant for performance at Easter 1820 and so its completion may have been more urgent. Such an interruption in the work on *Adrast* (and the fact that it was left incomplete) might suggest a

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[65] von Mosel, *Versuch,* pp. 32–33: 'Dass – um das erste Bedingnis der Oper, die Verständlichkeit des Textes ununterbrochen zu erhalten – auf jede Sylbe nur eine Note fallen, und jene nicht durch eine Menge von Tönen zerstückt werden müssen'.
[66] von Mosel, *Versuch,* p. 47.
[67] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, p. 168.

moving away from tragic art to one on Judeo-Christian themes. However, in the first act of *Lazarus* there are similarities with the play *Agamemnon*, the first part of the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus. Both *Lazarus* and *Agamemnon* revolve around the death of the principal character, whose death comes at the end and is greeted by mourning. In *Lazarus* the wailings of Mary and Martha are equally as ineffectual in averting his death as are Cassandra's in *Agamemnon*, and the action drives towards this event with the same terrible sense of inevitability. The oratorio *Lazarus* also has the characteristic, which it shares with *Adrast*, that there is very little action. The first act consists almost exclusively in waiting for the death of Lazarus, as we do Agamemnon's death in Aeschylus's play. Both stories were built on well-known myths and the audience knew the basic outline of what was going to happen – in particular what would happen to Agamemnon at the hands of his wife Clytemnestra. This lack of action with respect to modern plays is a feature of Greek tragedy where, as Scodel writes, 'there were limits on what could be shown' and action was generally 'described by messengers who entered to relate off-stage events'.[68]

In addition to the similarities of plot, there is also a more general connection between Christianity and tragedy in German idealist thought, in which Christian interpretation of Greek tragedies were prevalent. For instance, Schelling in his writings makes Oedipus into a kind of Christ figure and 'Christian-tinged concepts of martyrdom and self-sacrifice' allow Schelling to see acts such as Oedipus's blinding as a 'redemptive act of submission'.[69] Moreover, the reconciliatory aspect of *The Eumenides* and its concomitant sense of redemption after suffering, also gained Christian overtones for the idealists.[70] Schelling, Hegel and Hölderlin were all educated in theology at the Tübinger Stift where they became friends, and such a Christian interpretation of tragedy becomes even more accentuated in Hegelian and Hölderlinian theories of tragedy.[71] Young remarks that 'there is no good reason to regard martyr plays as anything other than a species of tragedy', and Lazarus would seem to fit into that category.[72]

In the music of *Lazarus*, von Mosel's precepts are again held to throughout. Maurice Brown singles out as a characteristic of *Lazarus* the 'deliberate restriction of the harmony to the diatonic chords in that key'.[73] This characteristic Brown describes as appearing in Schubert's

[68] Scodel, *Introduction to Greek Tragedy*, p. 48.
[69] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 87.
[70] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 12–13.
[71] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 87.
[72] Julian Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy: From Plato to Žižek* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 264.
[73] Maurice Brown, *Essays on Schubert* (Macmillan, 1966), p. 107.

music more generally in 1819 and disappearing entirely in 1822.[74] Brown mentions various *Lieder* which share this property, all of which all cluster around the 1819–1821 period and which include the Lied *Die Götter Griechenlands* D677 (1819) which encapsulates Schubert's nostalgia for a simpler past. Such 'deliberate restriction' allows Schubert to achieve 'a purity and radiance that was never quite recaptured in the middle years of the 1820s'.[75] The localised nature of this phenomenon suggests that it was probably a deliberate effect for which the composer was striving at this particular time. Thus the simplicity and naturalness which neo-Gluckian aesthetics demanded seem to have spilled over into his Lieder also. In May 1821 the Viennese *Theaterzeitung* was praising the 'noble simplicity' (*edle Simplizität*) of several of Schubert's newly-published Lieder.[76] This echo of one of Winckelmann's basic principles constitutes a further reminiscence of his aesthetics in early nineteenth century music.

The link between speech and song which von Mosel urges in his 1813 treatise is present throughout *Lazarus* and further underlined by the treatment when the names of the character Lazarus, Mary and Martha occur in the vocal line. The names are never embellished and always contain as many musical notes as syllables. As in *Adrast*, the melodic lines are devoid of long jumps, but here they also follow the intonation of the spoken word. 'Lazarus' is always given in dotted rhythm, with the first syllable being the longest; 'Maria' always involves neighbour-note motion or motion in thirds back on to the original note; 'Martha' always consists of a fall through a second or a third. A sense of the word-to-note correspondence throughout the music of *Lazarus*, with the way in which these character names are intonated highlighted, is given in Example 3.2.

[74] Brown, *Essays on Schubert*, p. 107.
[75] Brown, *Essays on Schubert*, p. 107.
[76] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography* trans. Eric Blom, (JM Dent & Sons Ltd, 1946), p. 180. The Lieder in question are the four Goethe settings, op. 3.

Example 3.2 Schubert, *Lazarus*, D689, (a) bars 91–96, (b) bars 308–311, (c) bars 415–420, (d) bars 430–433.

3.3 *New Paths – Breaking away from Gluckian Aesthetics*

This style of vocal writing in *Adrast* and *Lazarus*, in line with the neo-Gluckian precepts of von Mosel, does not last long in Schubert's output. Indeed, he even goes directly against the treatise in the operas which follow over the next few years. For instance, Mosel had written that 'the spoken dialogue must be completely absent from tragic and heroic opera and the recitative must take its place because here the music creates its own self-contained language'.[77] However, in *Fierrabras* D796 (1823) almost the entire action takes place in spoken dialogue between the set numbers. Furthermore, Gluck held that anything which does not contribute to the plot or move the plot forward should be excised. Von Mosel echoes this precept in his treatise when he asserts that when the music hinders the plot or cools the play

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[77] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 21: 'Der gesprochene Dialog muss von der tragischen und heroischen Oper ganz ausgeschlossen bleiben, und das Recitativ seine Stelle einnehmen, weil hier die Musik eine eigene, stets beibehaltene Sprache bildet'.

of passions it 'commits treason against tragedy' and destroys the audience's feeling and sense of participation.[78] However, in *Alfonso und Estrella* D732 (1822), in the song of the cloud maiden at the beginning of the second act, Froila sings to his son Alfonso a song which he has sung to him before (as the audience are told in the libretto), which has nothing to do with the plot of the opera and which is merely a romanticist tale of castles in the air. If Schubert had any interest in pursuing von Mosel's goals he would surely never have gone near the libretto.

There may be several reasons for the assumption of the neo-Gluckian style of *Adrast* and *Lazarus* (and of the 1819–1821 Lieder that Brown identifies), and then its sudden jettisoning. One reason may simply be the Viennese taste and fashion. For all the ideals of men such as von Mosel and von Collin, Feuchtersleben notes how the music of *Adrast* resisted 'the taste of the age, to which the doctrine of the simple being great, as it must be intended in the sense of the ancients, does not appeal'.[79] It seems, therefore, that Mayrhofer and Schubert were writing against the taste of the age which Feuchtersleben implies was for more florid music, and which did not regard the simple as being great – that is, which eschewed the noble simplicity of Winckelmann – a simplicity which, in the spirit of German philhellenism, Feuchtersleben attributes in blanket form to the 'ancients' ('*Antiker*').

This is something which Mayrhofer himself appears to have recognised. In his poem *Letzte Mahnungswort eines Waldbrüders*, which Marjorie Hirsch describes as 'a mocking condemnation of the Viennese public's shallow taste',[80] the poet is told by the public:

> Take care to avoid Greek form,
>
> It is an austere colossus,
>
> The little is good, the good worthy…

Later in the poem the public declare that 'honest Johann' is nevertheless drawn to Greek form and that he compares himself with the Greek heroes Orestes and Memnon:

> 'Why then does honest Johann,

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[78] von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 32: '[...] wenn aber die Musik auf dem Theater, wo sie mit der Handlung, mit dem Spiele der Leidenschaften verbunden ist, diese erkaltet und jene hemmt; begeht sie einen Verrat an der Tragödie, welche ihr ihren schönsten Erfolg anvertraut hat, und setzt einen ruhigen Zeitvertreib an die Stelle der Rührung und Teilnahme'.

[79] von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte von Johann Mayrhofer*, p. 12: '[...] die andere [Oper], Adrast' sich in Nachlasse des Dichters findet. Der Gehalt dieses Textes zeigt, daβ man in jeder Form den Kern des tiefsten, eigenen Daseins zu geben im Stande sei; die Behandlung ist skizzenhaft und unreif; der musikalische Bearbeitung widerstrebt den Zeitgeschmack, welchem das Einfach-Groβe, wie es, im Sinne der Antike hier bezweckt werden müsste, nicht zusagt'.

[80] Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 8.

Want to be Orestes or Memnon?

Does he take us for Swabians,

Whom he wants to send off to Tauris?' [81]

It is understandable why Mayrhofer might want to associate or compare himself with Memnon. As the mythical figure who could only sing for a few minutes each morning at dawn, Memnon had become a symbol of the tortured artist. Hirsch believes that Memnon's gargantuan statue 'stood as a heroic representation of the artist and his sorrowful wail as a symbol of modern poetry'.[82] She points out that Mayrhofer was not alone in associating Memnon's wail with poetic speech. For instance, Novalis had written that 'the spirit of poetry is the morning light which makes the statue of Memnon sound'.[83]

It is less clear in the case of Orestes, the matricide hounded across the earth by the implacable Furies. The answer can perhaps be glimpsed in Schiller's *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*. Mayrhofer, who was 'steeped in the aesthetic debates of the late eighteenth century' would probably have known and read these.[84] In the ninth letter Schiller says, rather than a man be a child of his time, 'let a benevolent godhead tear him as an infant early from his mother's breast, nurse him with the milk of a better age, and let him ripen to maturity under a distant Greek sky and let him return avenging like Orestes'. Billings describes this passage as encapsulating the plight of the modern artist who 'finds himself an alien in his own homeland, and must act against the current of his time to restore a lost order'. Modernity appears as 'degenerate and corrupt', with respect to the better age of Ancient Greece, to be 'saved by the cathartic appearance of a tragic avenger'.[85] Mayrhofer's poem mocking the degenerate taste of the Viennese public, as well as the activities of Schubert's circle more broadly, imply that Mayrhofer may have had ideals that were not too dissimilar from these.

As well as running into Viennese taste, such ideals also ran into the figure of Gioachino Rossini. In 1816, his opera *L'Inganno Felice* was performed in Vienna which launched the enthusiasm of the Viennese public for his operas – the *Rossini Rummel*.[86] Brian Newbould

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[81] von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte von Johann Mayrhofer*, p. 251: 'Enthalte Dich sorgsam der griechischen Form,/Sie ist zu nackt und fast enorm;/Das kleine ist artig, das Artige wert…'Was fällt denn dem ehrlichen Johann ein,/Daβ er Orest oder Memnon will sein?/Hält er uns für wandernde Schwaben,/Daβ er uns will nach Tauris haben?'

[82] Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 8.

[83] Novalis, *Schriften*, eds. Richard Samuel, Hans-Joachim Mähl and Gerhard Schulz (Kohlhammer, 1981), vol. 2, p. 373: 'Das Geist der Poesie ist das Morgenlicht, was die Statue des Memnons tönen macht'. Translation from Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 10.

[84] Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier', p. 360.

[85] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 92.

[86] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, p. 45.

speculates that Schubert and Mayrhofer saw *Adrast* as an 'antidote' to Rossini, as a new German opera indebted to Gluck.[87] Whatever antidote they were attempting clearly did not work. Indeed, at the peak of this enthusiasm for Rossini in the year 1823, the *Kärntnertortheater* (court opera house) did not stage any German opera at all and had an 'all-Italian season consisting of 82 performances'.[88] It may be, then, that these conservative ideas yielded, in John Kenneth Galbraith's terms, not to new ideas, but to the massive onslaught of circumstance.[89]

In addition, Schubert may not have wanted to become a mere copy of Gluck and have his artistic creativity circumscribed by Salieri and von Mosel. Indeed, as much as he follows Gluck's and von Mosel's precepts in *Adrast*, McKay detects in that work that Schubert is already, with his original contrapuntal writing for strings, 'breaking away from all dependence on Gluck, or anyone else'.[90] A similar tendency was found in the 'Tragic' Symphony which although influenced by Gluck was read as pointing forward to new frontiers both musical and philosophical. In any case, Gluck's ideals were old-fashioned, grounded as they had been on Aristotelian notions which had long been swept away by the *Sturm und Drang* movement. His librettist Calzabigi refers in a letter to Prince Kaunitz in 1767 to the 'pity and fear' his operas will create in the audience, thus revealing the, by Schubert's time outdated, Aristotelian foundations to his aesthetics.[91]

Still a further possible reason for the abandonment of Gluckian opera lies in the fact that in the first two decades of the nineteenth century there is a change in the quality of nostalgia that was felt for the ancient world from one of hope to one of pessimism. The faith of some early philhellenists in the possibility of the reawakening of the idea of Greece in the German lands was diminished by the institutionalisation and professionalism of the study of classical art which 'exposed the tenuousness of Winckelmann's aesthetics of serenity and grandeur'.[92] Writers such as Herder, Goethe and Schiller acknowledged that the ancient world could not be recaptured, only the 'Greek spirit could be re-created, in forms suitable to the modern age'.[93] Schiller himself, even in his *Aesthetic Letters*, did not simply seek a return to Greece

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[87] Newbould, *Schubert, the Music and the Man*, p. 167.
[88] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, p. 46.
[89] Paraphrase from John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Penguin, 1998), p. 17: 'Ideas are inherently conservative. They yield not to the attack of other ideas but, as I may note once more, to the massive onslaught of circumstance with which they cannot contend'.
[90] McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, p. 166.
[91] Letter from Calzabigi to Prince Kaunitz (March 6, 1767) in Patricia Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait in Letters and Documents* (Clarendon, 1995), pp. 78–80.
[92] Marchand, *Olympus*, introduction p. xx.
[93] Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 15–16.

or to the state of naiveté that the Greeks enjoyed. The paradise which the fall of modern man had annihilated was not to be recovered, but rather a synthesis of the modern with the Greek example was to move humanity to a higher plane.[94] For many of the German idealists, such as Friedrich Schlegel, Schiller and Schelling, the new cultural challenge became finding a way to mediate between the ancient and the modern in order to create conditions for a flowering of contemporary art.[95] Friedrich Schlegel in 1812 averred that the cult of the ancient had unduly flourished, and rails against 'the mistaken antique business' (*das falsche antikische Wesen*) which Winckelmann's legacy had promoted too strongly.[96] In this spirit of historicisation, which had replaced the universalist assumptions in the 1770s in German thought, ancient art was seen as relevant to modern art, but nevertheless critically distinct from it. Such nostalgic harking back to the past would therefore not achieve the synthesis required and would create a merely one-sided art form without mediation through the modern. Similarly, Hölderlin's translations of Greek tragedies were aimed at a synthesis between the ancient and the modern. His concept of *Vaterland* is 'an orientation to a future, imagined state of union' between modern Germany and ancient Greece, not merely a return to the latter.[97] Apropos of this, Schubert may have felt that instrumental music had more chance of liberating itself from the *falsche antikische Wesen*, and thus achieving this goal of combining the ancient and the modern, if it were completely unmoored from its dramatic baggage.

Some theories of tragedy of German idealism almost imply that this step from drama to pure music would create a truer, purer form of tragedy. Idealism extolled the ability of art to present fundamental truths – even some which philosophy could not express – and writers and philosophers around the turn of the nineteenth century were coming to see music as *the* art form for communicating such truths. For instance, Schiller in his 1793 essay *On the Pathetic* singled out the aim of art – especially tragic art – to be the depiction of the supersensible.[98] The fact that music can do this better than any art form is expressed in Schopenhauer's 1818 work *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* where music is singled out

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[94] See Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, pp. 8–12 for a fuller discussion of Schiller's idea of a redemptive transcendent return through the cultivation of mankind's aesthetic faculties after mankind's fall.
[95] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 106.
[96] Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, pp. 180–181.
[97] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 191–192.
[98] Friedrich Schiller, *Über das Pathetische*, in Friedrich Schiller, *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe,* ed. J. Petersen et al. (Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1943ff.), vol. 20, p. 196: 'Der letzte Zweck der Kunst ist die Darstellung des Übersinnlichen und die tragische Kunst insbesondere bewerkstelligt dieses dadurch, daβ sie uns die moralische Independenz von Naturgesetzen im Zustand des Affekts versinnlicht'. ('The final aim of art is the depiction of the supersensible and tragic art achieves this the most by showing us our moral independence from the laws of necessity in a state of emotion'.)

explicitly as availing direct access to the noumenal world. Schopenhauer writes that 'music expresses, in an exceedingly universal language, in a homogeneous material, that is to say, in nothing but tones, and with the greatest distinctness and truth, the inner being, the in-itself of the world'.[99] The noumenal was central for the post Kantian idealists, as was the access to it in tragic art afforded by the sublime, and, in Schopenhauer's view, music provides an immediate means for its representation. The sublime is central to the thought of Schiller and Schelling in particular, and, as Julian Young points out, the sublimeist account of 'the tragic effect' reduces it to the 'musical effect', and thereby admits that since we have music we do not really need tragedy at all.[100] A generation or so later, Nietzsche would write of the inability of the word to fully express tragic art, since in tragedy the 'heroes speak more superficially than they act; the myth by no means receives an adequate objectification in the spoken word'.[101] Instead music is the supreme medium of tragic expression:

> For how easily one forgets that what the poet failed to achieve in words, namely the highest spiritualization and ideality of myth, he might at every moment succeed in achieving as a creative musician.[102]

Schubert had already shown the possibilities of abstractly depicting the tragic in his 'Tragic' Symphony D417, an instrumental work divorced from any text. In particular, as shown in the previous chapter, he showed that not only dramatic power can be expressed through instrumental works but also layers of hermeneutic meaning, a sense of unity, and an abstract, departicularised beauty. One of the figures who may also have suggested a move from dramatic expression to expression through absolute music is the musical spokesperson of the *Sturm und Drang*, Christian Daniel Schubart. Schubart's treatise on key characteristics, *Ideen zur einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, was written in 1784 and published posthumously in 1806.[103] It is cited by von Mosel in his *Versuch*, who thus saw the potential of musical keys in dramatic and tragic art.[104] In his treatise, Schubart writes that 'in short, the musical expression is so precisely determined by means of all keys that, although philosophical critics have not yet given it much importance, it nevertheless far surpasses poetical and pictorial

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[99] Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, trans. E.F.J Payne (Dover, 1969), vol. 2, p. 264.
[100] Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 266–267.
[101] Excerpt from chapter 25 of *The Birth of Tragedy* quoted in Benjamin Bennett, 'Nietzsche's Idea of Myth: The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (1979), p. 424.
[102] Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, trans. Douglas Smith (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 92.
[103] Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (UMI Research Press, 1983), p. 121.
[104] Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Degen, 1806). Reference is made to Schubart's work in von Mosel, *Versuch*, p. 43.

expression in its [capacity for] precision'.[105] If Schubert read this particular passage it may have opened up several possibilities in his mind.

Schubart's treatise was no eccentric outlier in Viennese musical life but was respected by Beethoven who, according to Schindler, held Schubart's book in such high regard that he recommended its careful study.[106] The idea that keys had a particular meaning was therefore current in Vienna in the early nineteenth century. In general terms, there was at this time a 'sharp-flat principle' according to which the strength, brilliance and harshness of a key increased with the growing number of sharps and its weakness, sombreness and tenderness with the growing number of flats.[107] The sharp-flat principle is detectable in Schubart's key characteristics as well as in the characteristics attributed to each key by Galeazzi in an important contemporary treatise, *Elementi teorico-pratici di musica* (1796).[108] Key characteristics were discussed throughout the eighteenth century but Schubart's treatise represents one of the first romantic interpretation of key characteristics – the previous ones had attributed different keys to unequal temperament such as Kirnberger, or to pitch, such as Rameau or Marpurg.[109]

The potential for precision of expression is heightened further by Schubert's ability to move through the tonal universe more easily, owing to his idiosyncratic harmonic modulations. In particular, the harmonic landscape is opened up by several novel modulatory techniques such as single semitone displacements and common tone displacements, which facilitate movement between keys a third apart.[110] In this way more abundant hermeneutic connections could be opened up within individual works and between individual movements. Intimations of such hermeneutic richness through key modulation had already been shown in the 'Tragic' Symphony. Here, it is not necessarily the keys themselves that are meaningful but the relationship between them. Two examples, as described in chapter 2, are the manner in which the opening phrase of the introduction generates a harmonic trajectory across the first

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[105] Schubart, *Ideen*, p. 266, translation from Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics,* p. 126.
[106] See Dimitri Papadimitriou, 'An Exploration of the Key Characteristics in Beethoven's Piano Sonatas and Selected Instrumental Repertoire' (Doctoral diss., Royal Irish Academy of Music, 2013), p. 11.
[107] See Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics,* pp. 103–133.
[108] Schubarts characteristics are summarised in Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics,* pp. 121-125 in which Steblin detects the sharp-flat principle. Galeazzi's key characteristics are summarised in Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics,* pp. 110–113. Although the sharp-flat principle is not mentioned explicitly in Galeazzi's treatise, Steblin detects evidence of its presence.
[109] Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics,* pp. 115-121.
[110] For a discussion of single semitone and common tone displacements in Schubert's music, especially with respect to his 'Unfinished' Symphony D759 and the String Quintet D956, see Clark, *Analyzing Schubert*, pp 153–154, pp. 193–194.

movement and the way that a passage through keys a third apart forming a hexatonic cycle can give the sense of wandering or of circular fate.

It does appear that individual keys also had certain hermeneutic meanings for Schubert. For example, the vast majority of Lieder on mythological subjects during the time of his friendship with Mayrhofer make abundant use of the key of A flat major. In addition, A minor seems to be a key that expresses nostalgia. It is the key of the Lied *Das Heimweh* D851, of the Lied *Die Götter Griechenlands* D677, of the Phrygian shepherd in *Atys* D585 who pines in the opening stanza for his lost homeland, and of the String Quartet D804, which incorporates allusions to *Die Götter Griechenlands* as well as to the song *Gretchen am Spinnrade* D118 from the tragedy *Faust* by Goethe.

The fact that there are three Piano Sonatas in A minor gives further credence to the fact that key characteristics mattered to Schubert, and that A minor was an important tonality to him. Only one other key is used for three of his Piano Sonatas – C major – and there is no minor key that was used for two Pianos Sonatas, let alone three.[111] They also evince a great deal more deformational structure – as regards their sonata form – and this hints at their being a locus of a high degree of narrative and hermeneutic activity. They are all more dramatic than anything that could be put upon the stage, and I will make the case in the last three chapters that these works represent part of the domain to which the locus of tragedy was gradually transferred.[112] They are all distinguished by a certain uniqueness of expression in Schubert's oeuvre and an understanding of the nature of this uniqueness is nourished by readings drawn from the ideas of philhellenism, and in particular from idealist readings and theories of tragedy. Each of the chapters is dedicated to the consideration of one of the three Piano Sonatas in the key of A minor, written in 1817, 1823 and 1825. I believe it is useful to think of these three piano sonatas as forming a set – not one necessarily in the composer's mind, conscious or unconscious, but works that are linked together and related owing to their evocation of certain aspects of the tragic. The following chapter is on the first of these chronologically, the Piano Sonata in A minor D537 of 1817.

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[111] I discount here the abortive Piano Sonata in E minor D729 which is only a matter of about 30 bars.

[112] The instrumental works the 'Tragic' Symphony and the Piano Sonata D537 predate the theatrical works *Adrast* D137 and *Lazarus* D689. I refer rather to a general trend here, with the recognition that creative minds do not always work in a linear manner.

Chapter 4. 'Instrumental Memnon', the Piano Sonata in A minor D537 (1817)

4.1 An Early Revolutionary Work

It is common for the early piano sonatas of Schubert – those composed before the hiatus of 1820–1822 – to be described as experimental.[1] This is perhaps in part owing to the amount of unfinished works among them – a fact which can add to the perception of them as representing something of a workshop for ideas which seem not to have come to fruition. However, this is a perception which does not stand up to scrutiny. Many of the unfinished movements are finished up to the end of the development section, and their unfinished state may be regarded, in the words of Maurice Brown, as 'more apparent than real'.[2] They could be left unfinished merely because it may have been felt that the writing out of the recapitulation was not worth the trouble – if, for instance, there was little chance of them being published or performed.

If one discounts this aspect of the early piano sonatas we are instead left with a corpus of works which are for the most part conservative or derivative. These characteristics apply both to their content and form. As regards content, let us take the opening movements of the first three piano sonatas which Schubert wrote in the years 1815 and 1816. As shown in Example 4.1, the primary theme (bars 1–23) of the Piano Sonata in E major D157 of 1815 is redolent of that of the first symphony of Mozart and is for the most part comprised of stock scalar figuration and arpeggios. The primary theme (bars 1–12) of the Piano Sonata in C major D279, of the same year, recalls the Piano Sonata in C major op. 2 no. 3 of Beethoven as well as the same composer's Piano Sonata in C major op. 53 ('*Waldstein*') in the manner in which the primary theme ends on a half cadence in the tonic minor prolonged via a descending arpeggio. The primary theme (bars 1–17) of the Piano Sonata in E major D459 of 1816 can be heard as an elaborated version of the Beethoven bagatelle *Lustig und Traurig* WoO 54. This derivative content continues into 1817 and 1818. For example, the Piano Sonata in A♭ major D557 of May 1817 is described by Brian Newbould as 'Mozartian' but it also

[1] Two recent examples are Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Die "wiederentdeckte" unvollendete "Sonate in E" D 459 und die "Fünf Klavierstücke" von Franz Schubert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* (2000), p. 140: '[...] kann doch Schuberts Sonatenschaffen von Beginn bis zu dem Hiatus in den Jahren 1820–22 insgesamt als experimentell bezeichnet werden'; and Javier Arrebola, who in his thesis of the early piano sonatas mentions the word 'experiment' or 'experimental' 31 times, see Javier Arrebola, *The Unfinished Piano Sonatas of Franz Schubert* (Ochando Press, 2012).

[2] Maurice Brown, *Essays on Schubert* (Macmillan, 1966), p. 4.

resembles Haydn in its gruff humour.[3] Furthermore, many of the piano sonatas of the years 1817 and 1818 seem to be modelled on particular works of Beethoven. For instance, the Piano Sonata in E minor D566 has many elements in common with the Piano Sonata in E minor op. 90; the Piano Sonata in F♯ minor D571/D570 is redolent of the Piano Sonata in C♯ minor op. 27, no. 2 (‘*Moonlight*’); and the Piano Sonata in F minor D625 of 1818 has similarities with the Piano Sonata in F minor, op. 58 (‘*Appassionata*’).

Example 4.1 (a) Schubert, Piano Sonata in E major, D157, first movement, bars 1–23, (b) Schubert, Piano Sonata in C major, D279, first movement, bars 1–15, (c) Schubert, Piano Sonata in E major, D459, first movement, bars 1–17.

(a)

Allegro ma non troppo

18. Februar 1815

[3] Brian Newbould, *Schubert, the Music and the Man* (University of California Press, 1997), p. 100.

(b) Allegro moderato September 1815

(c) Allegro moderato August 1816

As regards form, there is a similar conservatism in the early piano sonatas. To take the first three again, although Newbould points out that there are some unorthodoxies in D157 – for instance the move from B major to F major in four bars at the start of the development section – the exposition and recapitulation are completely standard.[4] In D279, there are further similarities with Beethoven's Piano Sonata in C major op. 53 ('*Waldstein*') in the

[4] Brian Newbould, *Schubert, the Music and the Man* (University of California Press, 1997), p. 95.

apparent move to the mediant key towards the end of the transition (bars 11–42). However, Schubert quickly disabuses us of this notion and within the space of a few bars turns back to the more normative dominant key for the beginning of the secondary theme. The opening movement of D459 is also standard with a secondary theme in the dominant in the exposition followed by an almost note-for-note subdominant recapitulation.

The level of experimentation in the early piano sonatas as a whole, in terms of tonal layout, is much lower than, for example, in the string quartets composed in the same period – those up to and including the *Quartettsatz* D703 of 1820. In the opening movements of the early piano sonatas, all recapitulations begin in the tonic key with the exception of three piano sonatas which recapitulate in the subdominant. There is nothing so novel as the mediant III recapitulation which we find in the early G minor String Quartet D173, nor the type 2 sonata-form structure of the 1820 single-movement *Quartettsatz* D703 where the secondary theme follows the development section, appearing firstly in the key of the flattened leading note ♭VII then in the key of the relative major ♭III. Moreover, the piano sonata movements all begin and end in the same key, which is not true for the opening movement of the first String Quartet D18 which begins in G minor and ends in B♭ major.

Within this conservative corpus of early piano sonatas, one does stand out, however, which can justifiably be called experimental, if not indeed revolutionary – the Piano Sonata in A minor D537 of March 1817. Example 4.2 shows the opening bars which alone mark it out as very different from the piano sonatas that are close to it chronologically, and these differences suggest a reading with abundant meaning, hermeneutic or narrative. The primary theme (P) begins with a five-bar module (bars 1–5) with a varied repeat (6–10). These appear to constitute the opening ideas, which we can designate α and α', of a large-scale sentential structure αα'β. However, the continuation from bar 11, the β module, fails to achieve an authentic cadence in the tonic key and instead begins to modulate into F major, negating the expectation of the sentential structure and heralding a looser structure. Far from having a derivative primary theme, as in the earlier piano sonatas mentioned above, it is quite possible to argue that the first movement has no primary theme at all, since there is no authentic cadence before the medial caesura (MC) in bar 27. The material, from the start, has the air of a transition.

Example 4.2 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D537, first movement, bars 1–16.

The form of the opening movement is also non-normative. One example of this is the movement's subdominant recapitulation – i.e. a return of P in the subdominant to launch the final rotation of the movement. This is fairly common in early Schubert with many examples in his early piano sonatas.[5] However, these are generally in major key movements where a recapitulation consisting of a repeat of the exposition in subdominant related keys would return the music to the tonic key in S-space. Here, however, with the move to the key of the flattened submediant ♭VI for the secondary theme (S) of the exposition (bars 28–53) there is no such rationale and the employment of a subdominant recapitulation can be read as having a particular meaning, rather than just being employed so as to ease the trajectory of the movement to its final tonic.

Another aspect of D537 which marks it out from other early Piano Sonatas is its exuberant use of repetition. In his 1928 essay *Schubert*, Theodor Adorno remarked upon the structural and hermeneutic implications of repetition in Schubert's works. Building upon his well-known interpretation of Schubert's music as a wanderer walking round a circular landscape,

[5] Early Piano Sonatas whose opening movement employs subdominant recapitulation include D279, D459, D575. The latter two contain a recapitulation which is an almost exact transposition of the exposition.

these repeated passages are ‘features’ that the wanderer encounters ‘in new lighting’.[6] This suggests that these repetitions add variety to the musical landscape. In this Piano Sonata, however, the repetition is incessant and obsessive and borders on what Adorno expressly states is decidedly not Schubert’s reason for repetition of themes – namely ‘fixation’.[7] Such obsessive repetition, due to its scarcity in the instrumental works, can be read as being hermeneutically very significant and seems to communicate a troubled state. Passages which are repeated range from two-bar modules to eight-bar phrases. In this Piano Sonata these repetitions are sometimes exact, as in bars 53–56 and bars 57–60 of the first movement; sometimes sequential, as in bars 76–79, 80–83 and 84–87 of the first movement; and sometimes modally changed, as in bars 266–273 and 274–281 of the third movement. No other of Schubert’s instrumental works show this level of local repetition and it is only in certain Lieder that we encounter such incessant, iterations of *idées fixes*

I believe that a factor in the difference of expression that the Piano Sonata evinces is Schubert’s friendship with Johann Mayrhofer and the intellectual stimulus which the latter provided. Their creative partnership has already been mentioned with regard to the opera *Adrast* D137 but the composition of the Piano Sonata goes back to an earlier part of their friendship when Schubert had just joined the circle. The influence felt on Schubert’s music is first detected in the Lieder set to Mayrhofer’s poetry.[8] The majority of Lieder in 1815–1816 have been described by Elizabeth Norman McKay as ‘little more than exercises in songwriting’ which ‘did not inspire Schubert’s greatest response’.[9] Although they contain Goethe settings of conspicuous subtlety and power, the poetry set is for the most part lighter and written by minor poets. By contrast, in the Mayrhofer settings of late 1816 and 1817, the majority set on Greek mythological subjects, a different, more sombre sound world enters. Feuchtersleben describes his biography of Mayrhofer as not so much a depiction of a life but of a manner of thinking [*Denkweise*] and the change in the characteristics of the Lieder set to his poetry suggests that such a manner of thinking was inculcated into Schubert. [10] With Mayrhofer he received a more philosophy-based poetry than the poems he had previously set.

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[6] Theodor Adorno, ‘Schubert’ (1928), trans. Jonathan Dunsby and Beate Perrey, *Nineteenth-Century Music* 29 no. 1 (2005), p. 10.
[7] Adorno, ‘Schubert’, p. 10.
[8] Other than Goethe, Schubert set more texts of Mayrhofer than any other poet.
[9] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, p. 50.
[10] Ernst von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte von Johann Mayrhofer: Neue Sammlung; aus dessen Nachlasse mit Biographie und Vorwort* (Ignaz Klang, 1843), p. 2: ‘Denn die folgenden Blätter [...] schildern weniger ein Leben als eine Denkweise’. (‘For the following pages [...] depict less a life than a manner of thinking’.)

It is true that he had reacted to the highly philosophical poetry of Schiller in his early years, but here it was coming from a friend with whom he could discuss these ideas.

This new manner of thinking was not confined to the Lied. A friend of the circle, Edward von Bauernfeld, describes the artistic conversations of the members as having a great effect on Schubert and stimulating him to the most 'varied musical productivity'.[11] Accordingly, the more sombre sound world contained in the Mayrhofer settings spilled over into the instrumental works – in particular to the Piano Sonata D537. The sound world which the opening movement evokes at many points in its trajectory is that of a particular Lied based on a Mayrhofer poem, *Memnon* D541, written in the same month as the piano sonata, and the similarity of material provides a hermeneutic window into the work. The poem meant a great deal to both men, with the figure of Memnon in the early nineteenth century becoming symbolic of the isolated and tortured romantic artist.[12] It would thus be no accident if this particular Lied was the one which became the basis for a large-scale instrumental work such as D537.

I believe that this is the case and will offer a reading of the opening movement of the Piano Sonata D537 as being in some sense generated by the story of Memnon and by the Lied. This is not a programmatic reading, but rather a reading of a sonata-form work whose form and content can be read as being driven, as in the 'Tragic' Symphony, by literary and philosophical influences. I believe that with an appreciation of such influences, the non-normative aspects of the form, as well as the content, can be interpreted more clearly. In line with the tenets of his circle, it is music but with a poetic basis or animus, and an example of what Su Yin Mak describes as Schubert moving 'amphibiously' between the literary tradition of his 1815–1819 circle and the compositional tradition of Viennese Classicism.[13] Like the Lied, the piano sonata is a relatively intimate genre, and thus a suitable vehicle for the sorrows of Memnon to be expressed. The figure of Memnon was famous for the statue in the sands of Egypt with which he became associated and which was said to give out a wailing sound at dawn. Such a statue became a symbol of the plight of Mayrhofer and his romantic generation and gave rise to the myth of 'vocal Memnon'. Here instead of 'vocal Memnon' we have 'instrumental Memnon', its expression detached from a text and universalised in the

[11] Bauernfeld's quote is cited in Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by his Friends*, p. 32.
[12] Hirsch writes that the 'myth of "Vocal Memnon", who yearns for reunion with Eos and finds relief only in periodic outbursts, captured the plight of both Mayrhofer and his late-Romantic generation', see Marjorie Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 12.
[13] Su Yin Mak, 'Schubert's Sonata Forms and the Poetics of the Lyric', *The Journal of Musicology* 23 no. 2 (2006), pp. 305–306.

same way that the Memnon myth became symbolic for the suffering romantic generation as a whole.

The reading of D537 draws not only on his friend Mayrhofer but also on the general philhellenic trends of the time. In the crystallisation of the idealist theories of tragedy which was expounded in the lectures of A. W. Schlegel (Glenn Most's 'paradigm of tragedy') a key tenet is the concept of the tragic as having derived historically from epic and lyric poetry, and thus having taken on the characteristics of each. The idealist philosopher Friedrich Schelling would go further than this and describe how, as a fusion of epic and lyric, tragedy can explicitly show the interplay of subjectivity and objectivity, or of freedom and necessity. I will make the case that Schubert does this in D537 in musical terms to create something which is lyric-epic or, otherwise stated, tragic. The work emerges in some sense as a work of musical philosophy, in keeping with the *Zeitgeist* in which the idealists averred that art was capable of showing what philosophy cannot – namely this interplay of the subjective and the objective.

As I will be basing my reading of the opening movement on *Memnon* D541, it will first be necessary to analyse the aesthetic and philosophical context of the underlying poem as well as the Lied itself. Such analyses will act as a springboard from which to approach an analysis of the piano sonata. As will be shown, Mayrhofer's poem and the Lied are mostly lyrical in nature, although touches of epic begin to emerge in the latter owing to its musical setting. In the piano sonata movement, however, although the sound world of *Memnon* is evoked, it is combined with a greater number of epic passages. It is in the combination of and interaction between these lyric and epic passages in the piano sonata which allow a tragic reading of the work in Schelling's terms.

The words 'lyric' and 'epic' are laden with meaning in Schubert scholarship and so, before I proceed to these analyses, some clarification of what is meant in this chapter by these terms is necessary in order to avoid misunderstanding. The identification of lyricism or the lyric in Schubert' s music has been a commonplace and the lyrical nature of his music is now almost universally acknowledged.[14] An early attempt to define precisely what is meant by such lyricism, and to analyse it in the context of a study of Schubert's sonata forms in particular, is seen in Felix Salzer' 1928 study. Salzer wrote that Schubert's greatest original contribution to

[14] Poundie Burstein, 'Lyricism, Structure, and Gender in Schubert's G Major String Quartet', *The Musical Quarterly* 81 no. 1 (1997), p. 51.

sonata form is the transference of lyricism within it.[15] However, he regarded the lyric – which he associates as arising out of the song-form and evincing closed structures – as static and thus contradictory to the essence of sonata form.[16] A dramatic driving force (*dramatisch-treibende Kraft*) had to be provided by an 'improvisatory element' (*improvisatorische Element*) which Schubert does not provide to the extent that Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven do, and his sonata forms are thereby rendered deficient. [17] In his ground-breaking 1978 paper on the String Quartet D887, Carl Dahlhaus also detected a deficiency in the dramatic element in Schubert's sonata form, particularly when compared with those of Beethoven, and categorised Schubert's music as 'lyric-epic', as opposed to the 'dramatic-dialectic' style of Beethoven.[18] Su Yin Mak has reinterpreted Dahlhaus's theory, appealing to the rhetorical understanding of musical syntax espoused by Heinrich Koch in the late eighteenth century.[19] She characterises the 'lyric-epic' style as being paratactic – that is, evincing syntactical independence and being associative rather than grammatical. Such a style is in contrast with the 'dramatic' hypotactic structures of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven which evince syntactical interdependence. Most recently, Caitlin Martinkus has also drawn on Dahlhaus's paper with respect to its characterisation of the variational aspect of the secondary theme of the String Quartet D887 as epic-lyric, and has catalogued the use of lyrical variation techniques in several other of Schubert's works.[20]

The terms 'lyric' and 'epic' which I use in this chapter are applied in a different sense and do not contain any of these connotations. Here they are meant only in the sense in which the idealists differentiated the lyric and the epic – that is between subjective and objective, or between the first and third person. The parts of the movement which I will ascribe to lyric and to epic will have less to do with the musical material *per se* than with extra-musical connotations the passages possess *vis-à-vis* Mayrhofer's *Memnon* poem and its musical setting in the Lied. In particular, the 'lyric' passages are mainly those which I derive from Mayrhofer's subjective poem and the 'epic' passages which stand alone or frame these.

[15] Su Yin Mak, 'Felix Salzer's "Sonata Form in Franz Schubert" (1928). An English Translation and Edition with Critical Commentary', *Theory and Practice* 40 (2015), p. 117.
[16] Mak, 'Felix Salzer's "Sonata Form in Franz Schubert"', p. 15: 'The essence of sonata form depends on the diminution of the lyrical condition'.
[17] Mak, 'Felix Salzer's "Sonata Form in Franz Schubert"', p. 17, 118.
[18] Carl Dahlhaus, 'Die Sonatenform bei Franz Schubert: Der erste Satz des G-dur Quartetts D887', *Musica* 32 (1978), pp. 125–130.
[19] Su Yin Mak, 'Schubert's Sonata Forms and the Poetics of the Lyric', *The Journal of Musicology* 23 no. 2 (2006), pp. 263–306.
[20] Martinkus, 'The Urge to Vary'.

Although not used here, I will return to the theories of musical lyricism of Dahlhaus, Su Yin Mak and Martinkus, adumbrated briefly above, in the next chapter on the Piano Sonata D784.

4.2 Mayrhofer and the Myth of 'Vocal Memnon'

Mayrhofer's poetry is mysterious, arcane, and imbued with symbolism drawn from the ancient world. The nostalgic references to ancient Greece it contains were entirely in line with the philhellenic movement whose adherents for the most part held up ancient Greek culture as a reproach to the current generation's lack of artistic merit. Despite this, his poetry has not always met with critics' approval, either in his time or in the modern era. Negative critiques such as that of the Austrian playwright Franz Grillparzer who wrote that 'his friends might find much of interest in the manuscripts, but for strangers, whatever counsel they might find is not worth the trouble' have echoed through the centuries.[21] This has led to a neglect of his poetry in the context of Schubert's work and it appears only now that scholars are realising that an engagement with his poetry is a worthy endeavour, with various studies of his poetry and its relationship to Schubert's music beginning to be written.[22] Despite the generally negative modern views on his poetry, it must be countered that the publication of his poems within his lifetime in 1824 elicited mostly positive contemporary responses.[23] Indeed, even Grillparzer's negative assessment concedes that his poetry was very important for his friends, of which Schubert was one.

Mayrhofer's poem *Memnon* is particularly arcane, due to the obscurity of the underlying myth. The mythical figure of Memnon is known for the statue in the sands of Egypt – in actual fact the statue of the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenhotep III – which, owing to the damage it had suffered, used to let out a wailing sound at dawn. Although the statue had ceased to produce this sound for centuries, having been fixed by the Roman Emperor Septimus Severus in 199AD, the story has survived through the ages. For example, the statue and its legend is

[21] Grillparzer's quote is taken from Susan Youens, *Schubert's Poets and the Making of Lieder* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 174.
[22] John Reed writing in the late twentieth century thought that Mayrhofer's importance in Schubert's works has still not been fully appreciated. See John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 470. Recent works on Mayrhofer and Schubert include: Ryan Ebright, 'Noble Simplicity and Quiet Grandeur: Franz Schubert's settings of Johann Mayrhofer's Neoclassical Poems' (PhD diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011); Michael Shaw, 'Schubert's Mythological Mayrhofer-Lieder: Historical, Philosophical, and Psychological Contexts' (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014); David Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier: The Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer's "Heliopolis"', *Music & Letters* 74 no. 3 (1993), pp. 355–382; and Marjorie Hirsch, 'Mayrhofer, Schubert, and the myth of "Vocal Memnon"', in *The Unknown Schubert*, ed. B.M. Reul and L. Byrne-Bodley (Routledge, 2008), pp. 3–23.
[23] David Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier: The Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer's "Heliopolis"', *Music & Letters* 74 no. 3 (1993), p. 357.

mentioned in the notebooks of Vivant Denon on Napoleon's expedition of 1798, written when Mayrhofer was a child.[24]

According to the legend, Memnon was an Ethiopian hero who fought in the Trojan War. Despite this, he is hardly mentioned by Homer – he does not appear in the *Iliad*, and the *Odyssey* only contains a passing reference to his handsomeness.[25] The reason that the myth found its way into a nineteenth century Lied, is not so much Memnon's actions on the battlefield but what is said to have occurred after his death. An important source is the fourth century AD poet Quintus of Smyrna, who describes how Memnon was slain by Achilles and his mother Eos ('the Dawn') was so overcome with grief that she begged Zeus to bring Memnon back to life. [26] Zeus agreed to this, but only for a brief moment each day at dawn after which he would have to return to the land of the dead. This is the reason for his identification with the statue in Egypt, the wailing sound the statue emits at dawn is purported to be that of Memnon greeting his mother Eos.

As noted in the previous chapter, despite the obscurity of the myth, Memnon was an important figure for Mayrhofer. In one of his poems, *Letzte Mahnungsworte des Waldbruders* ('The final words of warning of the forest brother'), he compares himself with Memnon directly, as well as with Orestes.[27] Marjorie Hirsch suggests that the myth of Memnon 'not only suited Mayrhofer's classical leanings but also symbolised his personal plight'.[28] Mayrhofer was the most withdrawn figure of the circle and his inner torment led him to a suicide attempt in 1831 and a successful one in 1836.[29] Memnon, suffering inside but being able to sublimate such suffering to the production of beautiful art, was a metaphor for Mayrhofer's condition. In general, the statue was symbolic of the figure of the artist in the time in which Schubert and Mayrhofer lived, and his sorrowful wail a symbol of modern poetry.[30]

It is on the statue, and the myth surrounding the statue, that Mayrhofer concentrates in the poem. Indeed, no events of the tragic hero's life are recounted, and the poem, written entirely in the first person, deals exclusively with Memnon's inner psychological state. For Hirsch, in Mayrhofer's nineteenth century reading of the myth, 'Memnon is not a warrior but a sufferer

[24] Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 6.
[25] Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 3, n. 1.
[26] For a fuller account of Quintus and of other sources of the Memnon myth see Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 3.
[27] Poem published posthumously in von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte*, pp. 251–252.
[28] Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 7.
[29] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, p, 57.
[30] Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 8.

– an icon of the modern alienated artist'.[31] The first three stanzas deal with Memnon's internal suffering, and the fourth and final stanza with his desire to reunite with his mother Eos. Indicative of the poem's inner, subjective nature, the only instance of a two-word repetition is the 'in mir' ('in me') of the last line of the second stanza and the first line of the third stanza. Coming in the middle of a four-stanza poem this seems to accentuate the fact that the core of the poem revolves around the internal world of Memnon.

Den Tag hindurch nur einmal mag ich sprechen,
Gewohnt zu schweigen immer, und zu trauern:
Wenn durch die nachtgebornen Nebelmauern
Aurorens Purpurstrahlen liebend brechen.

Für Menschenohren sind es Harmonien.
Weil ich die Klage selbst melodisch künde,
Und durch der Dichtung Glut das Rauhe ründe,
Vermuten sie in mir ein selig Blühen.

In mir – nach dem des Todes Arme langen,
In dessen tiefstem Herzen Schlangen wühlen;
Genährt von meinen schmerzlichen Gefühlen –
Fast wüthend durch ein ungestillt Verlangen:

Mit dir, des Morgens Göttin, mich zu einen,
Und weit von diesem nichtigen Getriebe,
Aus Sphären edler Freiheit, aus Sphären reiner Liebe
Ein stiller, bleicher Stern herab zu scheinen.

Once only in the whole day may I speak,
used always to be silent and to mourn:
then, when through the night-born walls of mist
break lovingly Aurora's purple rays.

To human ears my speech is harmony.
Because my plaint I proclaim melodically,
tempering its roughness with the glow of poetry,
they suppose in me a happy blossoming.

In me, for whom Death's arms are reaching out,
deep in whose heart serpents gnaw;
me, who am nourished by my agonies,
near crazed with unappeased desire

to unite myself with you, Goddess of Morn,
and from this futile commotion far removed,
from spheres of noble freedom and pure love,
shine down, a pale and silent star.[32]

The idea of reunifying with divinity – in this case Memnon's longing to reunite with his mother Eos – is important for the German philhellenic movement, and represents part of its general nostalgia for a better time. Schelling, Hegel and Hölderlin – school-friends at the Tübinger Stift – were all interested in myth and all see art as a means of negotiating a relationship to the divine.[33] Hölderlin in particular hoped that such an encounter with the divine would occur through poetry being raised to the level of the ancients. [34] We also find such sentiments expressed in Schiller's poem *Die Götter Griechenlands* in which he writes that in the days 'when the gods were more human, humans were more divine'.[35] Mayrhofer's poem thus touches upon a particular theme which is also very important for contemporary German philhellenism.

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[31] Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 3.
[32] Schubert, *Memnon* D541, text by Johann Mayrhofer, trans. George Bird and Richard Stokes, in Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, ed., *The Fischer-Dieskau Book of Lieder* (Limelight Editions, 1995), pp. 298–299.
[33] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 124.
[34] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 201–202.
[35] Translation from Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 16.

In addition to its resonance with philhellenism, in its concentration on the inner, subjective world of Memnon, Mayrhofer's novel reworking of the myth accords with the spirit of the age in which he lived. Feuchtersleben writes in his biography of Mayrhofer that 'the life of important men of our time, particularly of the poet, is, as the age itself, more inward – at least in so far as it is important', and other writers noted this tendency too. [36] Shortly before the poem's creation, Jean-Paul Richter – using similar categories to Schiller and Friedrich Schlegel, and to those which would be used by Hegel – draws in his 1804 *Vorschule der Ästhetik* an antithesis between the heathen-antique and the Christian modern age which he and his contemporaries inhabited.[37] In this dichotomy, the Christian-modern age involved a turning inwards to an inner world, as opposed to the ancient-heathen age which inhabited a purely external, natural world.[38] As Jean Paul frames it, with the collapse of the external world the only place the poet could go is inwards.[39] This was understandable given the dichotomy Kant had shown between the phenomenal and noumenal world. Nietzsche would later write of the profound effect such a realisation had on art, and the members of Schubert's generation were the first to have to come to terms with its implications.[40] With the phenomena having been shown to be merely a veil of Maya over the things in themselves it is not surprising that artists turned to the latter, with a concomitant rise in subjectivity and inwardness in their works.

Such subjective poetry would have been described by the idealists as 'lyric', since in their understanding, epic poetry was objective and lyric was subjective.[41] As such it only constituted half of what they considered to be constitutive of tragedy, since a fundamental tenet of the paradigm of tragedy around 1800 is the notion of tragedy as a combination of both epic and lyric. According to the paradigm, this combination arises out of a historical process where the earlier forms of epic and lyric poetry are eventually synthesised into a higher unity. Such an historical account was shared by both of the Schlegel brothers. For instance, epic and lyric poetry are considered by Friedrich Schlegel to be 'individual perfections' of earlier artistic schools. Although they decay, the later form of tragedy

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[36] von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte*, p. 2: 'Das Leben bedeutender Menschen unserer Zeit, zumal der Dichter, ist, wie die Zeit selbst, mehr innerlich, – wenigstens, insofern es bedeutend ist'. ('The life of important men of our time, particularly of the poet, is, as the age itself, more inward – at least in so far as it is important'.)
[37] Jean Paul Richter, *Vorschule der Ästhetik,* Vol. 1 (Gräffer et Härter, 1815), p. 95–97.
[38] Carl Dahlhaus, 'E.T.A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* (1981), pp. 86–87.
[39] Jean Paul Richter, *Vorschule der Ästhetik,* Vol. 1 (Gräffer et Härter, 1815), p. 95: 'Was blieb nun dem poetischen Geiste nach diesem Einsturze der äuβern Welt noch übrig? – Die, worin sie einstürzte, die innere'. See Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 86.
[40] Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, trans. Douglas Smith (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 107.
[41] See Most, 'Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas', p. 164.

'purifies, raises, unifies and orders' these previous forms.[42] This idea is crystallised in the Jena lectures of August Wilhelm Schlegel who describes drama as 'an absolute synthesis of both other opposed major forms, the epic and lyric'.[43] Elsewhere in his lectures, he associates the epic with the objective and the lyric with the subjective, and outlines how the antithesis between the 'objective' epic and the 'subjective' lyric is dissolved in the synthesis of a complete 'objective-subjective' tragedy which continuously combines together the heroic plot with passionate self-portrayal.[44]

Part of the rebirth of poetry that was envisioned by Friedrich Schlegel was a re-injection of objective, epic elements. This would move poetry towards Greek tragedy – for Schlegel the most perfect form of poetry – with it partaking both of ancient objectivity and modern subjectivity. In *On the Study of Greek Poetry*, he detected that modern culture was approaching a moment of transition, in which 'here and there the unmistakable beginnings of art and objective taste are already stirring'.[45] Mayrhofer's wholly lyrical or subjective poem would thus only constitute one half of the tragic – indeed, Schelling's distinction between epic and lyric is explicitly a distinction of the third and first person, and Mayrhofer's poem is written solely in the latter.[46] Such one sided lyricism also fell short of tragedy for Hegel, who saw modern tragedy as defective when compared to ancient tragedy owing to its being overly subjective with an emphasis placed merely on the feelings of the protagonist rather than on the ethical issues with which he thought it was tragedy's job to adumbrate and solve.[47]

It seems as if Mayrhofer was instinctively a lyric poet. Feuchtersleben believed so, defining such a poet as one who puts a melody in the heart of his poem, with such a melody able to be elicited by the composer when he set the poem to music.[48] In addition, Feuchtersleben writes that Mayrhofer regarded Schubert as a genius who faithfully guided him through life with apposite melodies.[49] This again implies that there was a lyrical base to his poetry, and such lyricism is entirely in keeping with the subjective nature of this particular poem. Although

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[42] Friedrich Schlegel, *On the Study of Greek Poetry*, trans. Stuart Barnett (SUNY Press, 2001), p. 60.
[43] Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen*, vol. 1 p. 83. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 98–99.
[44] Most, 'Geburt eines Tragödienparadigmas', p. 164.
[45] Friedrich Schlegel, *On the Study of Greek Poetry*, trans. Stuart Barnett (SUNY Press, 2001), p. 89 quoted Billings, *Genealogy*, p 110.
[46] Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 76–77.
[47] See Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 125–126.
[48] von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte*, p. 12: '[...] so legt der Lyriker seinem Gedichte schon die Melodie in's Herz, die der Tonsetzer demselben nur entlockt'. ('[…] so the lyric poet places a melody at the heart of his poem which is elicited by the composer who sets it to music'.)
[49] von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte*, pp. 12–13: Feuchtersleben quotes Mayrhofer's written account that 'mir war und bleibt Schubert ein Genius, der mich mit angemessenen Melodien durch das Leben [...] treulich geleitet'. ('[…] to me Schubert was and remains a genius who with apposite melodies [...] faithfully guided me through life'.)

such lyricism represents only one half of the tragic for the idealists with its ‘objective epic’ element missing, as I shall show, Schubert’s Lied setting and the piano sonata contain epic elements which complement Mayrhofer’s subjectivity. He thus produces something which is not only mythological but also something which the idealists would recognise as fundamentally tragic.

4.3 The Lied **Memnon** *D541*

Mayrhofer once remarked that his poem *Memnon* ‘only becomes clear through Schubert’s music’.[50] This again underlines the close relationship between poetry and music which was shared by the members of Schubert’s circle and also hints that Mayrhofer himself believed that the poem was somehow incomplete *qua* poetry. Mayrhofer himself is quoted as saying that he wrote poetry so that it could be set to Schubert’s music.[51] It is thus possible that Schubert had a hand in the creation of the underlying poem of the Lied *Memnon* even before Mayrhofer had put pen to paper – another example of the closeness of their creative partnership. Schubert seems to have taken the musical setting very seriously underlining the importance of the figure of Memnon to the artists of his age. This can be seen in the fact that it is a through-composed Lied, which distinguishes it from the majority of the Lieder of 1815–1816 which are mostly strophic and less harmonically adventurous. Indeed, *Memnon* stretches the bounds of the Lied genre, with the musical material resembling an operatic scena. For a mythological subject it is not surprising that he turns again to Gluck, whose influence is felt throughout with the mixture of *arioso* and declamation used redolent of that of his operas.[52]

In view of Mayrhofer’s statement that his poem only makes sense through Schubert’s music, it is instructive to consider what elements of the musical setting might accomplish such a clarification of the ideas of the poem. I believe Schubert’s setting adds clarity is several different areas – all of which, as will be shown later, have implications for the Piano Sonata D537. The first of these is the use of tonal regions to designate references to Memnon and to Eos; the second is the manner in which motives are also apportioned to Memnon and Eos and in which these motives are combined to represent their union musically; and the third is the

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[50] von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte*, p. 12: ‘[...] und es ist merkwürdig, daβ Mayrhofer selbst sagt, sein herrliches Gedicht Memnon „kläre sich erst auf durch Schuberts Töne"’. (‘[...] and it is notable that Mayrhofer himself says that his great poem *Memnon* “only becomes clear through Schubert’s music”’.)
[51] von Feuchtersleben, *Gedichte*, p. 10: ‘Dieses Grundgefühl und die Liebe für Dichtung und Tonkunst machten unser Verhältnis innige; ich dichtete, er komponirte, was ich gedichtet, und wovon Vieles seinen Melodien Entstehung, Fortbildung und Verbreitung verdankt’.
[52] Hirsch, ‘Vocal Memnon’, p. 15.

various ways in which Schubert injects epic elements which balance out the lyrical elements of Mayrhofer's poem and create something which moves in the direction of epic-lyric.

As noted in the previous chapter, keys were felt to possess certain characteristics as expressed, for example, in Daniel Schubart's *Ideen* treatise. Accordingly, in the musical setting of *Memnon* D541 there appear to be tonal regions which represent, or are redolent of, the figure of Memnon, and others of the figure of Eos. Utterances that refer to Memnon or his internal psyche often occur in F minor or F major, whereas those which refer to his mother Eos or the dawn are usually given in A♭ or D♭ major. For example, as shown in Example 4.3, the music of the opening stanza of the poem (bars 5–14) begins in F minor in bars 5–9 with lines which deal with Memnon's inner state. It then moves into A♭ major in bars 10–14 when the lines mention the coming of Eos.

Example 4.3 Schubert, *Memnon*, D541, bars 1–16.

This specificity of tonality is carried into the music of the second stanza (bars 16–20) as is shown in Example 4.4. In describing the phenomenal sounds Memnon produces at dawn – that is, when Eos arrives – in bars 16–20, the key of A♭ major is maintained. Only when the poem, cued by the first instance of the words 'in mir', begins to describe Memnon's internal world does the music begin to modulate to F major, with authentic cadences in that key over bars 25–26 (IAC) and bars 28–29 (PAC) confirming the modulation back to a key which seems to be associated with Memnon.

Example 4.4 Schubert, *Memnon*, D541, bars 17–31.

As well as the tonal differentiation employed between the material associated with Memnon and with his mother Eos, there is also a difference in material. For example, Marjorie Hirsch,

who has written about *Memnon* D541 in great detail as part of her studies of philhellenic influences on Schubert's Lieder, draws a distinction between the oracle-like monotonous opening utterance of Memnon in bars 6–11 and the more lyrical continuation of bars 12–14 where the melodic interval stretches out to a sixth (see Example 4.3). Hirsch reads the latter passage of bars 12–14 as a representation of Eos's 'loving embrace' bringing Memnon back to life. In Gluckian opera oracles came from the underworld or the land of the dead, and so the transformation of Memnon's vocal line from the monotony of bars 6–11 to the lyricism of bars 12–14 represents such a re-birth. Furthermore, since this transformation wrought by Eos is followed by a repeat of the material of the introduction, she quite logically associates the introduction itself with Eos and the coming of the dawn.[53] The introduction, as Hirsch notes, contains material – appoggiaturas, triplet rhythm and the major mode – which increasingly surface in the music.[54] This is consistent with her reading of the introduction as representing Eos since, just as she as his mother gave birth to Memnon, so the Lied's introduction is generative of the subsequent musical material.

If the first two stanzas (and the introduction in Hirsch's reading) refer periodically to both Memnon and Eos, the third stanza alludes solely to the inner torment of Memnon. In the music set to this third stanza (bars 30–39), the torment of this inner state is brought out by a turn from F major through G minor (bar 31) to F minor in which key it ends. It thus begins and ends in the two keys which seem to be associated with Memnon. The use of the same motive set to the words 'in mir' bars 30–31 as the motive in bars 24–25 foregrounds the repetition of the phrase in the middle of the poem and underlines its lyrical subjective nature. After this passage, the music set to the fourth and final stanza, which describes his union with his mother Eos, is in D♭ major. This is perhaps not solely to end in the same key as the Lied began – there are many examples of Lieder written in the same year 1817 which do not end in the same key such as *Ganymed* D544, *Gruppe aus dem Tartarus* D583, *Auf der Donau* D553, *Elysium* D584. It may be because D♭ major is the key associated with Eos, due to its being the key of the introduction, and so is redolent of Memnon's desire to unite in the ethereal realm and leave his mundane torment. Indeed, given the plethora of examples in which progressive tonality is applied in the 1817 Lieder, the fact that a return is made to the key of the short introduction, a key that is never tonicised at all during the music set to the first three stanzas,

[53] Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 22.

[54] Hirsch, 'Vocal Memnon', p. 22. The triplet rhythm set up in the introduction infuses almost every bar, becoming incessant in the music set to the final stanza. Furthermore, the appoggiaturas which appear in the introduction are present throughout the vocal line in the music set to every stanza.

appears as significant. The banishment of such torment, or the longing for such banishment, is underlined by the total lack of modulation out of D♭ major, and in particular the total banishment – unique to the music of this stanza – of Memnon's keys of F major and F minor.

Example 4.5 Schubert, *Memnon*, D541, bars 29–42.

The characters of Memnon and Eos are not only delineated in the Lied through tonality and melodic line, but their union is also represented by motivic working, as Michael Shaw has

demonstrated in his study of the mythological Mayrhofer Lieder.[55] As noted earlier, Hirsch interprets the introduction as representing the coming of Eos, and here triplet figuration occurs on the second and fourth beats (see Example 4.6(a)). In contrast, Memnon, after his oracle-like, otherworldly utterance in bars 5–9 of the Lied, is accompanied by triplet figuration on the first and third beats in bars 10–11 (see Example 4.6(b)). Shaw notes that in the music set to the final stanza of the poem, when Memnon sings of being reunited with Eos, the triplet figuration falls on all four beats of the bar (see Example 4.6(c)) with their triplet figuration combined.

Example 4.6 Schubert, *Memnon*, D541, (a) bars 1–4, (b) bars 9–11, (c) bars 43–45.

In addition to the tonal and motivic differentiation which the music imparts to the poem, there are also injections of objective epic which add to the overall expression by moving away from a one-sided lyricism. Some of these are general characteristics which could be said to be present in many Lieder. For instance, the introduction to a Lied occurs before the voice has entered and thus cannot be said to be wholly subjective. Furthermore, where the music of a Lied's accompaniment deviates from the vocal line it can be regarded as commenting on the internal lyrical vocal expression from the outside or objective reality. There are, however, also injections of epic which are specific to *Memnon* D541. Memnon's incipient vocal line itself (bars 5–9), being given in the form of an oracle, mimics the epic, objective nature of such oracles, stating the reality of Memnon's suffering in a matter-of-fact manner contrasting with the lyricism which enters in bars 12–14. The specificity of tonality and the motivic combination which delineate the characters of Memnon and Eos also inject a certain amount of objectivity to the lyric-subjective underlying poem. Through the representation and allusions to Eos we are not only aware of Memnon's internal struggle but also of Eos' sorrow

[55] Shaw, 'Schubert's Mythological Mayrhofer-Lieder', pp. 76–79.

and hence an objective world outside of Memnon's inner psyche. All these attributes enrich the expression of the Lied and may have in part contributed to Mayrhofer's conviction that the music made his poem make sense.

To summarise, the music for the Lied Memnon is generated from the musical characteristics of the introduction – in particular its major mode, appoggiaturas and triplet rhythm. It delineates clearly the characters of Memnon and Eos through means of tonality (F minor, F major) for Memnon, A♭ major and D♭ major for Eos) as well as through melodic contour. It represents the union of Memnon and Eos through motivic working and also contributes epic elements through stylistic means. All these elements will be seen to occur, and to a greater extent, in the opening movement of the Piano Sonata D537.

4.4 Epic and Lyric in the Piano Sonata in A minor D537

If we consider the centrality of the myth of Memnon to the age and to Mayrhofer, it is very possible that such an impact as the myth made on Schubert's music was not limited to the Lied alone. In Feuchtersleben's quotation of Mayrhofer, in which he states that his poem *Memnon* only makes sense with Schubert' music, it is likely that Mayrhofer is referring to the music of the Lied which accompanies the poem. However, Feuchtersleben's account does not explicitly say so, and the word which Feuchtersleben quotes Mayrhofer as using is simply *Töne* (notes). The importance of the myth to Schubert and Mayrhofer, as well as to their generation as a whole, suggests that the significance of Memnon extended far beyond Mayrhofer's poem and Schubert's Lied. It is therefore possible that the *Töne* which illuminate the poem extend outside of the Lied.

The notion that the Lied writer is ever-present even in Schubert's instrumental works was shared by early twentieth century writers such as Hugo Riemann and Hans Költzsch and persisted long into the twentieth century.[56] Along with this view went the assertion that Schubert's forms outside those of the Lied were deficient. Whilst scholarship has developed to the point at which this latter assertion can no longer be maintained, there is, however, an element of truth to the former, since there are many examples of instrumental works which incorporate reference to Lieder. For instance, the second movement of the String Quartet in D minor D810 consists of variations on the Lied *Der Tod und das Mädchen* D543.[57] The theme

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[56] Christoph von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate in a-moll op. 42', *Die Musikforschung* (1991), p. 207: 'Riemanns Feststellung, "daβ in dem Klavierkomponisten Schubert der Liederkomponist überall gegenwärtig ist", ist [...] ein verbreiteter Topos geworden'.
[57] See John Gingerich, *Schubert's Beethoven Project* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 85–87.

of the fourth movement of the Octet D803 is taken from a duet in *Die Freunde von Salamanka* D326.[58] The scherzo from the String Quartet in A minor D804 contains a quotation from the Lied *Die Götter Griechenlands* D677.[59] Perhaps the most famous example is the inclusion of the melody of the Lied from *Die Forelle* D550 in the fourth movement of the Piano Quintet D667. Some theorists have also detected these tendencies in the piano sonatas. Christoph von Blumröder, who dismisses the aforementioned opinions of Riemann and Költzsch as a 'trope', nevertheless sees the way that motives introduced in the opening passage permeate the first movement of the Piano Sonata in A minor D845 as redolent of Schubert's techniques in Lieder-writing.[60]

While the similarity is not as overt as the use of the melody from *Der Tod und Das Madchen* D543 in the String Quartet in D minor D810, the opening movement of the Piano Sonata D537 recalls the Lied *Memnon* in various ways. The passage which contains the clearest allusions to the Lied is that of bars 96–108, occurring within the development section (bars 73–121). The passage contains the three features which Hirsch saw as categorising the piano introduction to the Lied Memnon, and thereafter infusing the Lied – the major mode, appoggiatura and triplet rhythm. The motivic similarity owing to the identical appoggiaturas is shown in Example 4.7. Moreover, both the introduction to the Lied and the passage from the piano sonata are also both in heavily flat-side keys – D♭ major and A♭ major respectively – which in the Lied were associated with the figure of Memnon's mother Eos. Another association with Eos is the continuous triplet rhythm in the piano sonata passage – redolent of the music of Eos's reunification with Memnon in the music of the final stanza. This suggests that this passage can be read as a purely musical representation of this reunification.

[58] See Jack Westrup, *Schubert Chamber Music* (British Broadcasting Corporation, 1969), p. 16.
[59] See Westrup, *Schubert Chamber Music*, p. 32.
[60] See von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate in a-moll op. 42', pp.207–220.

Example 4.7 (a) Schubert, *Memnon*, D541, bars 1–5, (b) Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D537, bars 96–101.

The key of A♭ major, in which the passage begins, is a remote key in the context of the overall A minor tonality. However, it is a key which is used in the Lied *Memnon*, D541, as well as in many of Schubert's mythological settings written during the time of his collaboration with Mayrhofer 1816–1820. The mythological Lieder *Lied eines Schiffers and die Dioskuren* D360, *Fragment aus dem Aeschylus* D450, *Ganymed*, D544, *Der zürnenden Diana* D707 and *Der Musensohn* D764 (first version) all begin in and spend most of their time in A♭ major. The key of A♭ major is also prevalent in the earlier Lied *Hektors Abschied* D312 of 1815. The inclusion of an A♭ major passage into the development of a piano sonata in A minor, the manner in which it is set apart from what precedes it by a fermata (bar 95), as well as the prevalence of mythological Lieder written around the time of the piano sonata which utilise the key of A♭ major, thus suggest a mythological content to the passage, quite apart from its particular similarity with the Lied *Memnon*.

Example 4.8 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D537, first movement, bars 70–98.

If the A♭ major passage (bars 96–108) is read as a representation of the union of Memnon and Eos in the fourth stanza of Mayrhofer's poem, the preceding passage of bars 73–95 contains music reminiscent of the music in the Lied set to the third stanza. In particular, there is an echo of the triplet rhythms of the bass voice in bars 30–39 of the Lied in bars 88–94. Furthermore, the musical expression is linked to the Lied in general through the use of appoggiaturas, since these pervade the Lied also (see Example 4.8). It also has an *agitato* character that sets it apart from the material which surrounds it, which is also the case in the music of the Lied which is set to its third stanza (bars 30–41).

There are also possible allusions to the third stanza of the poem in the passage of bars 73–95 which do not come from musical similarities with the Lied but which are peculiar to the piano sonata movement. The themes of the poem's third stanza include death and serpents that gnaw at Memnon's heart and allusions to both can be detected if we look in more detail at the constituent parts of the passage's overall progress from the tonality of E major to A♭ major

over bars 73–95. After a linking passage of bars 63–72 in the key of G♭ major, the development begins in bar 73 in E major with a sequential passage of a four-bar module (bars 73–76) repeated a major second lower in D major (bars 77–80) and C major (bars 81–84). This is followed by another sequential passage of two bar modules descending in a circle of fifths (bars 85–90). There are thus two large-scale separate descents – one down a tritone from G♭ major to C major (bars 63–84) and one down a circle of fifths (bars 84–94). We saw such a sequential whole-tone descent to a key located a tritone below in the introduction of the 'Tragic' Symphony D417 (first movement, bars 6–10) where it was read as a depiction of a *katabasis* or descent to the underworld. This could thus be read as an allusion to the theme of death – one of the themes of the poem's third stanza. Furthermore, the curling circle of fifths passage which follows (bars 85–94) could also represent the curls and contortions of the infernal serpent. We are told in the tenth line of the poem that serpents gnaw in the deep in Memnon's heart, and the note G1 (the lowest note in the movement) at the beginning of bar 87 seems indeed to plumb these depths. The sense of descent is not only conferred by the falling tessitura but by the move to ever-flatter keys which in the context of the 'sharp-flat principle' of key characteristics denotes a move from upper to lower, from light to darkness. We might also note the descent in the development section takes in C major en route to A♭ major – its tonic triad is given in bars 81–84 and its dominant seventh harmony in bars 87–88. This is redolent of the hexatonic cycle in the 'Tragic' symphony where it can be read as representing a recurring, wandering fate. Memnon, locked into his quotidian ritual which he must endure every day, suffers this fate just as much as Orestes pursued by the Furies.

Owing to the fact that the passage of bars 73–95 could be read as relating to the third stanza and the passage of bars 96–108 to the fourth stanza, it is possible to posit an almost programmatic structure to the movement. Indeed, if we go back further to the exposition's secondary theme (S) of bars 28–53 and closing zone (C) of bars 53–65 we can discern thematic similarities between the S/C thematic complex and the music set to the first two stanzas of the Lied. Although the music of S/C is nominally in F major, the preponderance of the 'pianto' motive (a descent of a minor second) and the local flattened sixth degree of D♭ suggests the minor mode. With these inserted D♭'s, diatonic in the minor mode but not in the major, the S/C thematic complex seems to occupy something of a middle ground between F major and F minor. In the Lied, those two keys were those of Memnon – and by extension, owing to the subjective nature of the poem, associated with his internal state. Furthermore, Example 4.9 shows that there is a similarity between the varied repeat of the two bar phrase

(bars 5–6) in F minor in Memnon’s oracle-like opening lines in bars 7–8 (‘Den Tag hindurch nur einmal mag ich sprechen/ Gewohnt zu schweigen immer, und zu trauern’) and the repeat of the two-bar phrase in F major (bars 28–29) at the start of S-space in bars 30–31. The passages both occur with a tonic pedal and the manner in which they both brighten and open out into a flat-side key is also similar. In the Lied, A♭ major is tonicised with a PAC over bars 13–14 (see Example 4.9 (a)), in the piano sonata, local subdominant harmony occurs over bars 34–37, with the D♭’s of bars 28–31 converted into D♮‘s in bars 36–38 (See Example 4.9 (b)).

Example 4.9 (a) Schubert, *Memnon*, D541, bars 5–16, (b) Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D537, first movement, bars 28–43.

There are also allusions to the first two stanzas of the poem in the passage of bars 28–40 at the start of S-space, given in Example 4.9 (b). The ‘pianto’ motive has long been associated with grief or pain, and such motives occur not only in bars 28–31 but also bars 33–35.[61] Such grief is described in the first stanza. In contrast, the second stanza describes how Memnon’s inner turmoil is externalised in melodious sounds – how through the fire of poetry (‘der Dichtung Glut’) the roughness (‘Rauhe’) of his suffering (‘Klage’) is tempered. In the same way, the *forte*, agitated, discordant, off-beat appoggiaturas of bars 33–35 are smoothed out and open on to diatonic arpeggios in B♭ major in bar 36. Thus, just as his suffering is tempered through poetry, so the pianto-motive-laden passage of bars 28–35 is smoothed out in the passage of bars 36-38. The earlier passage (bars 28–35) can be read as representing

[61] Robert Hatten and Raymond Monelle, *The Sense of Music: Semiotic Essays* (Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 17.

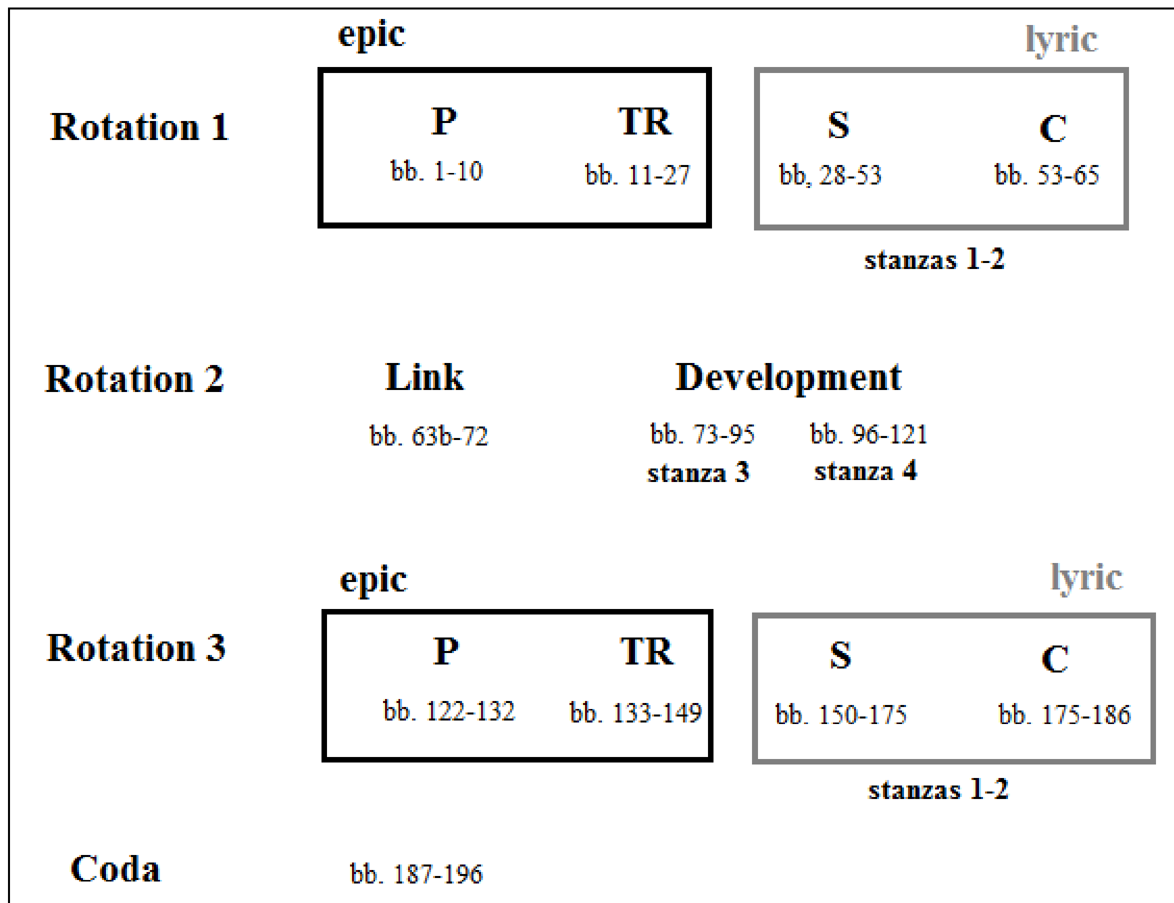
Memnon's internal suffering and the subsequent passage (bars 36–38) as the melodious sounds that he emits at dawn.

In summary, the passage of bars 28–122 of the piano sonata can be read as representing the story of Memnon as it was portrayed by Mayrhofer's poem. This passage consists of S (bars 28–52) and C (bars 53–65) of the exposition, which correspond to the first two stanzas, as well as the development section (bars 73–122), which corresponds to the last two stanzas. On the other hand, coming before all this material, P and TR (bars 1–28) occupy a very different topical field. Here we begin with something akin to an operatic overture. Since the Baroque period, diminished seventh harmonies have been indicative of angst. Their prolongation here over several bars (as bars 3–5 and bars 8–10) indicates a dysphoric, menacing atmosphere. This could be a depiction of the Trojan War or the personal struggle of Memnon himself in that war – the part of the epic narrative which Mayrhofer did not touch upon in his poem. Indeed, in Galeazzi's 1796 treatise of key characteristics, *Elementi teorico-pratici di musica*, a characteristic of A minor is a battle or slaughter, and a possible justification behind the tonicisation of the key of E♭ major here is given by the fact that Galeazzi regarded this key as a heroic key.[62] Mayrhofer's lyrical narrative only begins with S in bar 28. What comes before is of an epic nature, a foil to the lyric passages which are redolent of the Lied.

A precedent for epic objective material being set in A minor with more lyrical subjective material being in the keys of F minor and A♭ major – as we find in the piano sonata – can be found in the mythological Lied *Hektors Abschied* D312. In this Lied, after his wife Andromache's lament, which takes place mainly in A♭ major and its relative minor, F minor, (bars 2–22) Hector brings her back to reality and the objective world in dominant and tonic harmony of A minor in bars 23–25 ('teures Weib, gebiete deine Tränen'). Later, when Hector begins to rhapsodise about his defence of the city of Pergamos – lines set twice in bars 26–41 and 44–68, the first time cadencing in A♭ major and the second in A major – it is Andromache's turn to inject objectivity when she foretells of the doom of Priam's race ('Nimmer lausch' ich deiner Waffen Schalle...'). This is done by eliding the final harmony of the PAC in A major over bars 67–68 with tonic harmony in A minor. The 'epic' key of A minor is maintained here from bar 68 all the way to 96, whence there is a modulation into A♭ major for a further lyrical passage of bars 101–112.

[62] See Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, pp. 110–113.

Example 4.10 Epic and lyric passages in the Piano Sonata in A minor, D537, first movement.



The predominantly epic-objective and predominantly lyric subjective-passages in the opening movement of D537 are shown in Example 4.10. The connection with the Lied *Memnon* is underlined by the fact that the motivic characteristics in the introduction to the Lied – the major mode, appoggiaturas and triplet rhythm – which were seen as generative, and thus central to its subjective lyrical expression, occur predominantly in the passages of the piano sonata which are associated in my reading with subjective lyricism and Memnon's internal world, especially in the S/C thematic complex. By contrast, they are almost completely absent from the objective epic sections such as P and TR where a dotted rhythm rather than a triplet rhythm predominates. My reading also supplies a reason for the unusual αα'β structure of the first 27 bars, as discussed in section 4.1, which embody less two separate P and TR action-zones than a continuous P/TR thematic complex which is transitional in nature from the outset. For it is only in bar 28 that the music which pertains to the poem *Memnon* begins, all that comes before it is merely preparatory for that moment. Here the Kantian duality of outer and inner is crossed and we seem to leave the epic description of outside events behind

and move to the lyrical depiction of feeling, seemingly entering the mind of the tortured Ethiopian hero.

4.5 Epic-Lyric and Art as Philosophy – Schelling's Theory of Tragedy

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the notion of tragedy being a combination of objective epic and subjective lyric is a tenet of the 'paradigm of tragedy' around 1800. The notion is particularly fundamental for the theory of tragedy of Friedrich Schelling's who develops this dichotomy beyond the Schlegel brothers' historical account, and expands it into an argument to explain tragedy's ability to represent the compatibility of necessity and freedom.[63] The latter question, it will be recalled, was the main philosophical concern of the idealists in the 1790s, as it was something that Kant's philosophy had not been able to do. Since freedom was part of the noumenal world and necessity part of the phenomenal world, reason alone, as Schelling himself averred, cannot reconcile them.[64] Schelling's argument that tragedy can in fact do so is in line with his contention of the ability of art to show certain truths which philosophy cannot.

His argument, as set out in the *Philosophy of Art*, is that epic poetry is objective and thus can only represent causal necessity. On the other hand lyric poetry is subjective and can only represent human freedom. It is drama, and tragedy in particular, which can best synthesize the epic and the lyric and thus demonstrate the interplay of freedom and necessity.[65] For A. W. Schlegel freedom and necessity were 'the poles of the tragic world'.[66] Schelling on the other hand it at pains to show that tragedy can demonstrate – through its interplay of 'objective epic' and 'subjective lyric' – that freedom and necessity form a unity.[67] As Billings describes it, for Schelling, 'freedom, properly understood, encompasses necessity within itself'.[68] In line with Schelling's assertion that aesthetic intuition is intellectual intuition, tragedy does not give a proof of this unity but only an aesthetic perception, retained as he states in the *Philosophy of Art*, 'for the highest in art'.[69]

Such a combination of freedom and necessity and their union can be read in the opening movement of the Piano Sonata D573. Previously in this chapter, I identified a dichotomy

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[63] Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 69.
[64] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 85.
[65] Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 76–77.
[66] Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen*, vol. 1, pp. 721–722. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 99–100.
[67] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 86, Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 69.
[68] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 86.
[69] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 86.

between certain lyrical episodes which are redolent of the music set to the lyrical poem *Memnon*, and certain more epic passages. In particular, the epic nature of the action-zones P and TR (representative of Memnon's worldly acts) have been differentiated from the more lyrical action-zones of S, C (representative of Memnon's inner subjectivity) In the opening movement these passages are often synthesised and drawn together into unity through harmonic means and through motivic working. Such a synthesis seems to hint at a representation of subjectivity or freedom which encompasses necessity within itself, in line with Schelling's theory.

An example of the harmonic means through which this is done is seen if we consider the opening epic passage of bars 1–27 in which we can detect harmonic foreshadowings of the later lyric passages. Firstly, the tonality of F major in which the lyrical secondary theme (S) begins in bar 28 is prefigured in bars 11–12 in the midst of the epic P/TR thematic complex. Secondly, the move to the tritone major key (E♭ major) in bars 16–17 forms a large-scale structural dominant of the A♭ major passage of bars 96–108. Thus within the P-TR complex whose first ten bars are in the 'epic' key of A minor, there are intimations of both of the lyrical keys utilised in the Lied *Memnon* and representing Memnon and Eos respectively – F major and A♭ major. On the other hand, the lyric passages also contain allusions to the epic passages. For instance, when the A♭ lyrical passage (bars 96–108) is raised into A major in bar 109, it forms the dominant for the return of the epic section in corresponding subdominant keys at the start of the recapitulation in bar 123, melding together the two expressions.

Example 4.11 Motivic binding together of epic and lyric passages of P/TR and S in the Piano Sonata in A minor, D537, first movement.

The epic and lyric passages are also bound together motivically. As shown in Example 4.11, bars 33–35 within the lyrical S section contain backward allusions to rhythmic figures in the epic P/TR complex of bars 1–27 – both to bars 14–15 (shifted a quaver beat) and to the opening bar. There is also an example of motives from epic and lyric sections being combined in the passage in A♭ major of bars 96–108. It was remarked earlier that the lyrical S/C thematic complex was marked by appoggiaturas, ubiquitous in the Lied *Memnon*, whereas the epic P/TR sections were marked by a dotted rhythm. An instance of the appoggiatura figure (cell a) is shown in Example 4.12(a), drawn from the closing section (C) of the exposition. An example of the dotted rhythm is shown in Example 4.12(b), taken from the P/TR complex of the recapitulation. Their combination is shown in Example 4.12 (c) at the beginning of the passage in A♭ major. The passage of bars 96–108 could thus be termed a lyric-epic passage due to the motivic working. The combination of the epic and lyric which occurs in the motivic combination occurs at the point in the piano sonata which is redolent of the longing of Memnon for reunion with his mother Eos. This echoes the motivic combination seen in the Lied where the motives of Memnon and Eos were combined in the music set to the final stanza.

Example 4.12 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D537, first movement, (a) bars 55–56, (b) bars 138–139 (c) bars 99–100.

Thus epic-cum-lyric passages – that is, passages which are epic in nature which nevertheless reference or prepare lyrical passages – and lyric-cum-epic passages – that is, passages which

are lyrical but conversely reference or prepare epic passages – appear in the movement. Just as in Schelling's account freedom encompasses necessity within itself, so parts of the epic and lyric passages are to some extent and in some sense subsumed into each other. The repetition within the material of the opening movements, including within the S/C thematic complex (for example bars 28–29 and bars 30–31 and bars 53–56 and bars 57–60), remarked upon earlier in the chapter, can now be seen in the context of this combination of the epic and lyric into the epic-lyric. Repetition is essentially epic since, in the epic tradition in which poems were sung, the repetition of standard formulae was a way in which these tales were memorised. For example, in Homeric poetry, formulaic descriptions of characters and cities such as 'swift-running Achilles' and 'Hector of the Bright Helmet' occur throughout.[70] The occurrence of repetition within the lyric sections such as in S-space thus lends to these sections an epic-lyric quality.

Schelling's particular flavour of the sublime struggle between man and fate – a struggle which characterises idealist theories on tragedy – does not involve a defiance of fate but rather an acceptance of it, and the hero evinces his freedom by accepting necessity. For, it is only at the moment in which fate or necessity overcomes the hero that his freedom is revealed.[71] In the *Philosophy of Art*, Schelling describes such a transcending of necessity in terms which consciously evoke the Kantian sublime and underline this reconciliatory aspect: 'At precisely the moment of *greatest* suffering he enters into the greatest liberation and greatest dispassion. From that moment on, the insurmountable power of fate, which earlier appeared in absolute dimensions, now appears merely relatively great, for it is overcome by the will and become the symbol of the absolutely great, namely the attitude and disposition of sublimity'.[72]

The passage in D537/i which most clearly represents such a transcendence of necessity is the development section (bars 73–121), in which the 'greatest suffering' is closely followed by the 'greatest liberation'. The suffering is represented in the material of bars 73–95 by the accented appoggiaturas and the descents which occur firstly in steps then in fifths until the music reaches the depths – the lowest note of the movement – in bar 87. This passage is followed immediately after the fermata of bar 95 by the passage representing the liberation of the reconciliation of Memnon to his fate and the longing for union with Eos. This A♭ major

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[70] See Michael Wood, *In Search of the Trojan War* (BBC Books, 2005). See particularly chapter 4: 'Homer: the Singer of Tales', pp. 135–162.
[71] Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 84.
[72] Friedrich Schelling, *Philosophy of Art*, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Minnesota University Press, 1989), p. 254.

passage of bar 96–108 can now be seen in this sense to be a representation of the 'attitude and disposition of sublimity' which Schelling attributes to the actions of a tragic hero.

In my reading, the opening movement of the Piano Sonata D537 can be considered to be a tragic work owing to its mythological basis as well as its epic-lyric character. Furthermore, the movement also has structural similarities with the opening movement of the 'Tragic' Symphony. These include an early establishment of the major key a tritone below the tonic (tonicisation of E♭ major in bars 16–17), hexatonic cycles (the overall progression from E major through C major to A♭ major of the development section (bars 73–121), a whole tone descent (from E major through D major to C major in bars 73–84), move to the flattened submediant for S (bar 28). There are also similarities in the way in which in both opening movements the tonic key is quitted early and never regained (other than in the coda of the piano sonata movement) Furthermore, just as in the 'Tragic' Symphony's outer movements, the key of the parallel major (C major) appeared early on, the same thing happens in the piano sonata's opening movement when the reconciliatory passage in A♭ major (bars 96–108) is moved up into A major in bar 112. However, this passage is seen to be a dominant preparation for a repetition of the epic material in D minor from bar 123. Thus, just as in the 'Tragic' Symphony, there is an early reconciliation or emancipation from the minor mode which is subsequently obviated. Earlier I put forward the suggestion that the subdominant recapitulation was employed for hermeneutic purposes – the usual reason for a subdominant recapitulation in which a parallel repeat of the exposition brings S back in the tonic not being applicable in this case. A possible reading for this treatment is the fact that the dominant of iv is the tonic major I, and hence the dominant preparation for the subdominant contains within itself a brief but ultimately unconsummated resolution to the parallel major.

As well as this early overridden resolution, the ambiguity that we saw in the 'Tragic' Symphony regarding its final reconciliation into the parallel major at the ESC, can be found in the recapitulation of the opening movement of the piano sonata also. In the piano sonata movement, the I:PACs over bars 160–161 and 174–175, do not convince that they are reconciliatory or emancipatory due to the notes on the local flattened sixth scale degree (F) which darken the harmony, as the D♭'s did in the exposition's EEC. It was also the flattened sixth degree (A♭) in the 'Tragic' Symphony that gave the finality of the I:PAC ESC in the final movement a touch of ambiguity.

A characteristic of the piano sonata that is clearly different from the 'Tragic' Symphony is the musical content. Although there are passages in both with a *Sturm und Drang* topical field, the Piano Sonata occupies a more sombre sound world. This can be put down, at least partly, to the influence of Mayrhofer, owing to the similarity of some of the material with that of the mythological Lieder. There may also be other indirect connections. The beauty and harmony lauded by Winckelmann and by the Schlegel brothers, and which appears at times in the 'Tragic' Symphony evoking a neo-classical aesthetic, is almost entirely absent from the piano sonata. In the early nineteenth century other views of tragedy were emerging. Friedrich Schlegel and Hölderlin in particular identified something lurking beneath the noble simplicity and beauty of Winckelmann's aesthetics. This other aspect of Greek culture was the Dionysian, the wild, the ecstatic, as opposed to Apollonian proportion and beauty.[73] For Hölderlin in his distinction between the proper (*das Eigene*) and the foreign (*das Fremde*) – which he wanted to become fused into one in order to create modern tragic poetry – the proper was the Apollonian 'Junoesque sobriety'. The foreign element, which came less naturally to modern artistic creation was the Dionysian 'fire from heaven'.[74] Here in the piano sonata's opening we get something of this Dionysian aspect. This more sombre aesthetic infuses all three of Schubert's A minor Piano Sonatas. In many ways it shares an aspect with the sublime – a fundamental notion for idealist thought on tragedy and a notion which will be especially important for the next work I will consider, the Piano Sonata in A minor D784 of 1823.

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[73] The dichotomy of the Apollonian and the Dionysian as two different artistic drives of Greek art is today associated with Friedrich Nietzsche, but was invoked earlier by Hölderlin, see Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 97. In addition, Friedrich Schlegel was one of the first thinkers to recognise and identify the Dionysian element in Greek art, see Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 167.

[74] See Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, pp. 96.

Chapter 5. ‘Suffering and Redemption’, the Piano Sonata in A minor D784 (1823)

5.1 Schiller and the Sublime

Of all the idealists, the one figure who seems to have had the greatest impact on Schubert is Friedrich Schiller. The poet-philosopher was a huge influence on Schubert’s circle, along with Goethe and Herder, as well as on Schubert’s generation in general. Schiller wrote a string of essays in the 1790s dealing with tragedy, and among all the major theoreticians of tragedy, he is alone in having himself written tragedies for the stage both before and after he developed these theories. In addition, amongst the idealists he was a more established figure and something of an elder statesman.[1] For instance, when Schelling, Hegel and Hölderlin were beginning their student days at the Tübinger Stift in 1788, he had already written two of his major tragic plays, *Die Räuber* (1782) and *Don Carlos* (1787).

The philosophy of Schiller, despite his fame as a writer and poet, has generally been neglected in Anglophone aesthetics.[2] However, there has recently been something of a renaissance in this area and his theories – especially those which pertain to the art-form of tragedy – are beginning to be recognised for their importance.[3] Frederick Beiser has ranked Schiller’s essay *On the Sublime* as making as important a contribution to the theory of tragedy as Hegel or Nietzsche.[4] Samuel Hughes judges Schiller’s theory of tragedy as advantageous compared to the theories of those other two figures and regards it as not only applicable to almost all tragic dramas – something which he does not ascribe to Hegel’s theory – but also consistent with many other theories of tragedy.[5]

As with all of the German idealists, Schiller’s theory of tragedy is derived from Kant and his theory of the sublime. He deviates, however, from the other three thinkers of the first strand of idealism – that is, Schelling and the Schlegel brothers – in rejecting a reconciliatory model of tragedy (a central component of the ‘paradigm of tragedy’, which coalesced within idealist thought around 1800) in favour of a more vigorous representation of conflict.[6] In Schiller’s

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[1] Billings describes Schiller as the ‘pivotal’ figure of German idealism, see Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 15.
[2] Samuel Hughes, ‘Schiller on the Pleasure of Tragedy’, *British Journal of Aesthetics* 55 no. 4 (2015), p. 417.
[3] See Frederick Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher: A Re-examination* (Oxford University Press, 2005). Recent English-language articles include Ritchie Robertson, ‘On the Sublime and Schiller’s Theory of Tragedy’, *Philosophical Readings* 5 (2013), pp. 194–212, and Samuel Hughes, ‘Schiller on the Pleasure of Tragedy’, *British Journal of Aesthetics* 55 no. 4 (2015), pp. 417–432.
[4] Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher*, p. 238.
[5] Hughes, ‘Schiller on the Pleasure of Tragedy’, p. 417.
[6] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 119.

theory of tragedy, the sublime emerges as a challenge, as something terrifying to the sensuous being, and with this comes an emphasis on suffering – something central to tragic art in the Enlightenment tradition of figures such as Moses Mendelssohn and Lessing.[7] For Schiller, however, suffering is not to elicit sympathy for the protagonist – as it is for Mendelssohn – but to make evident the protagonist's moral freedom in the face of suffering. Accordingly, Schiller exhorted writers of tragedy to make the depiction of this suffering brought on by the sublime as great as possible.[8] In such a way their overcoming of this suffering would be the most overt and would serve tragedy's purpose which, for Schiller, was the revelation of one's moral freedom contrary to our desires in the phenomenal world and in the face of the horrors and terror of the sublime.[9]

With Schiller's fearful conception of the sublime, the emphasis on beauty – as in the 'paradigm of tragedy' and in the systems of Schelling and the Schlegel brothers – also recedes. In a letter of 1800 to Johann Wilhelm Süvern, Schiller agrees with the Schlegels' view that the pinnacle of ancient tragedy is exemplified in Sophocles. However, for Schiller such works were the result of a harmonious age, and the grace, harmony and beauty of Sophocles is not pertinent to the spirit of the modern age. Beauty, he writes, is 'for a happy race, but one must seek to move an unhappy one in a sublime way'.[10]

The sublime provided the means for the portrayal of disharmony and suffering that was central to Schiller's concept of tragedy. Whereas the beautiful showed man's higher faculties (those of reason) and lower faculties (those of sensibility) in harmony, the sublime showed them in conflict.[11] It created pain in our sensory faculties but pleasure in our rational faculties. As Ritchie Robertson writes on Schiller's theory of the sublime, the feeling of the sublime 'overrides the beautiful and even involves a kind of violence to our sensory nature'.[12] To underline the dichotomy, Schiller distinguished between two arts – fine arts (*schöne Künste*) which had the beautiful as their object, and moving arts (*rührende Künste*) which had

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[7] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 82, p. 89.
[8] Friedrich Schiller, *Über das Pathetische*, in *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe,* ed. J. Peterson et al. (Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 2001), vol. 20, p. 196: 'Das Sinnenwesen muß tief und heftig leiden; Pathos muß da sein, damit das Vernunftwesen seine Unabhängigkeit kundtun und sich *handelnd* darstellen könne'. ('The sensuous being must profoundly and violently suffer. Pathos must be present so that the rational being can proclaim his independence and portray himself as autonomous'.)
[9] Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher*, p. 239.
[10] Letter to Johann Wilhelm Süvern, 26 July 1800, in Friedrich Schiller, *Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden* (Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1992–1994), vol. 12, p. 522. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 118.
[11] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 79–80.
[12] Robertson, 'On the Sublime and Schiller's Theory of Tragedy', p. 197.

the sublime as their object.[13] Modern tragedy should belong to the latter category and be directed to the sublime rather than the beautiful.[14]

In this chapter I will give a reading of the opening movement of the Piano Sonata in A minor D784 of 1823 which follows a narrative in line with Schiller's notion of the tragic. For Schiller, tragic art had to consist of two things: the portrayal of sublime suffering, and the portrayal of the moral freedom of the protagonist in overcoming such suffering.[15] In the first instance, Schiller's particularly challenging and threatening form of the sublime is evoked in the musical material amid a musical *topos* redolent of great suffering. I will also show that the overcoming of such sublime utterances is also depicted in the trajectory of the movement, and thus that Schiller's second condition for tragic art is met. Such a struggle over adversity as depicted in the music can also be linked to events in Schubert's life and I believe that this contributes to the music's profoundly personal expression.

My reading will be made possible by the consideration of a contemporary strand of musical aesthetics deriving from the musico-literary tradition of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries identified by Carl Dahlhaus which, as outlined in chapter 1, had a similar understanding of the connection between music and literature to that of Schubert's circle of friends of 1815–1819.[16] Dahlhaus counts Schiller among its members, as well as Friedrich Schlegel and Hölderlin, so its ideas also overlap with idealist philosophy to some extent. The tradition laid out characteristics of music which were felt to be sublime, and its aesthetics also included a mechanism whereby such sublime utterances could be overcome in musical terms – a correlative to Kant's overcoming of the sublime through reason. Such a mechanism was bound up with considerations of the infinite – or a longing for the infinite – notions associated in particular with the figures of Jean Paul Richter and E. T. A. Hoffmann.

5.2 The Sublime in Music

As has been shown, the sublime was a central concept for the idealists as it underlies their theories of tragedy. It is also, however, a central concept in aesthetics in general throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century and also found its way into contemporary musical aesthetics in the musico-literary tradition identified by Dahlhaus which existed alongside but

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[13] Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher*, pp. 257–258.
[14] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 119.
[15] Friedrich Schiller, *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe,* ed. J. Peterson et al. (Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 2001), vol. 20, p. 195: 'Aus diesem Grundsatz fließen die beiden Fundamentalgesetze aller tragischen Kunst. Diese sind *erstlich*: Darstellung der leidenden Natur; *zweytens*: Darstellung der moralischen Selbstständigkeit im Leiden'.
[16] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 80.

outside the classical and romantic schools.[17] This tradition had two main tenets. The first was that the structure of a symphonic work was akin to that of the ancient Pindarian ode in which the lyric-emotive was blended with the reflective.[18] The second was that the mode of expression was that of the sublime. Typical for this tradition, according to Dahlhaus, is the article 'Symphony' written by Johann A.P. Schulz (1747–1800) for the *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (*General Theory of the Fine Arts)* of Johann G. Sulzer (1720–1779), which asserts that the style which dominates, or should dominate, the symphony, is the lofty (*hohe*) or sublime (*erhabene*).[19] In his article, Schulz writes that 'the symphony is perfectly suited to the expression of the great, the solemn and the sublime'.[20]

One of the first attempts to formulate a theory of the sublime was the 1757 essay *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and the Beautiful* of Edmund Burke.[21] Many of Burke's characterisations of the sublime found a musical correlative within the tradition. For instance, Dahlhaus maintains that many of Burke's characteristics of the sublime were taken over by E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776–1822), a figure whom he regards as belonging to the culmination of the tradition, to describe Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.[22] Furthermore, a contemporary figure, albeit not one who belongs to this musico-literary tradition – Johann Friedrich Rochlitz (1769–1842) – made a distinction between the 'sublime' style of Palestrina and the 'great style' (*groβe Stil*) of symphonic works. However, as Dahlhaus points out, Rochlitz's characterisation of the 'great' shows many of the characteristics that Burke attributed to the sublime.[23]

Burke defines a source of the sublime to be 'whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible'.[24] Sublime objects produce a mixed emotion in that such pain and danger can provide delight if they are witnessed from a

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[17] See chapter 1, sections 1.2 and 1.3.
[18] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 80: 'Die Ode, wie sie im 18. Jahrhundert verstanden wurde, ist dadurch charakterisiert, daβ sie sich der Dichotomie von Gefühls- und Gedankenlyrik nicht fügt, sondern eine von Enthusiasmus getragene Reflexion oder einen von Reflexion durchdrungenen Enthusiasmus ausdrückt'. ('The ode – as it was understood in the eighteenth century – does not conform to the dichotomy of emotional lyric and reflective, thought-infused poetry, but expresses a reflection borne by enthusiasm or an enthusiasm infused with reflection'.)
[19] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 80: 'Der Stil, der nach Schulz in der Symphonie ausprägt oder ausprägen sollte, ist der hohe oder erhabene'. ('The style which, according to Schulz, dominates, or should dominate, the symphony, is the lofty or sublime'.)
[20] Johann Sulzer, 'Symphonie', in Johann Georg Sulzer, ed., *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (Leipzig 1794, Nachdruck Hildesheim 1967), vol. 4, p. 478: 'Die Symphonie ist zu dem Ausdruck des Groβen, des Feyerlichen und Erhabenen vorzüglich geschickt'.
[21] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and the Beautiful* (Oxford University Press, 2015).
[22] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', pp. 83–84.
[23] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', pp. 83–84.
[24] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 33.

certain distance.[25] Burke delineates the properties of such objects, as opposed to beautiful objects, as follows:

> For sublime objects are vast in their dimensions, beautiful ones comparatively small; beauty should be smooth, and polished; the great, rugged and negligent; beauty should shun the right line but deviate from it insensibly; the great in many cases loves the right line, and when it deviates, it often makes a strong deviation; beauty should not be obscure; the great ought to be dark and gloomy; beauty should be light and delicate; the great ought to be solid and even massive. They are indeed ideas of a very different nature, one being founded on pain, the other on pleasure.[26]

Further ideas on what constituted sublime expression in music came from Kant. This is unsurprising given his centrality to German thought from the 1780s onwards. Many of his ideas are a continuation and refinement of Burke's – indeed, Kant acknowledges his debt to Burke in his 1764 essay *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* ('Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen').[27] A more detailed exposition of his theory of the sublime is given in his later work of 1790, *The Critique of Judgement*. Here, as was detailed in chapter 1, he describes the mechanism of reason whereby the sublime can be overcome. Before this, however, he outlines dichotomies between the beautiful and the sublime which are similar to Burke, describing the sublime as something which 'is quite foreign to beauty'.[28] For Kant, the beautiful 'consists in limitation' whereas the sublime 'involves, or else by its presence provokes, a representation of limitlessness'.[29] Here he echoes Burke's dichotomy between the vastness of the sublime and the smallness of the beautiful.

We can find such sublime characteristics, as laid out by both Burke and Kant, in the opening movement to the Piano Sonata in A minor D784. In particular, many of the characteristics that Burke identifies, as well as sense of the 'vast' or 'limitlessness' that Kant imputes to the sublime, can be seen in the first 26 bars (see Example 5.1). Its opening topical field is that of a funeral march which gives it the 'dark and gloomy' attribute which Burke identifies as part of the feeling of the sublime, and its motivic repetition gives it a sense of huge size. Burke's insistence that beauty should deviate from the right line could be interpreted in musical terms by saying that the beautiful contains ornament or variation. Indeed for Burke, where there is variation, in order for such variation to be beautiful, 'the variation itself must be continually

[25] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 34.
[26] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 101.
[27] Robertson, 'On the Sublime and Schiller's Theory of Tragedy', p. 196.
[28] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 57.
[29] Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, p. 75.

varied'.[30] In these 26 bars, however, there is a complete lack of ornament or variation throughout which seems antithetical to beauty and more in line with the sublime. Indeed, the material's monotony adds to the air of a funeral march, one of whose topical characteristics is an almost obsessive repetition.[31] The tempo marking '*allegro giusto*', indicating a performance in strict time, serves to reaffirm the monotony and accentuate the feeling of long-drawn-out pain or suffering.

Example 5.1 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D784, first movement, bars 1–29.

These first 26 bars constitute only the first part (A) of a two-part primary theme (P). After a summoning up of sudden force in bars 24–25, a more forceful repetition (A') of bars 26–46 takes place with a *Sturm und Drang* dotted rhythm impinging on the funeral march *topos* (Example 5.2). This creates an AA' structure for P (with A consisting of bars 1–26 and A' of

[30] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 125.

[31] Janice Dickensheets, 'The Topical Vocabulary of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 31 no. 2–3 (2012), p. 104.

bars 26–46) which is unique in Schubert's piano sonatas. Such a structure can also be seen to be redolent of a sublime expression if we consider Kant's theory of the sublime as outlined in chapter 1. For Kant, our experience of the sublime consists in a double movement. Our sensuous faculties are first overawed but our rational faculties allow us to transcend the original feeling since we know that despite the threat of nature's power, we can overcome it by reason. Kant explicitly describes this process as producing an agreeable feeling 'by means of a momentary check followed by a more powerful outpouring of the vital force'.[32] Such a trajectory can be traced in parts A and A' of the primary theme, adding to its sublime expression.

Example 5.2 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D784, first movement, bars 25–49.

The sense of incessant repetition which pervades the funeral march atmosphere of the first 46 bars is intensified in bars 47–50. The passage consists of a four-fold repetition of a single

[32] Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, p. 57.

two-note motive (labelled ‘y’ in Example 5.3) which is derived from the two-note motive in bar 4 of the primary theme (labelled ‘x’ in Example 5.1). Coming after P (bars 1–46), bars 47–50 herald the start of the transition (TR) of bars 47–60 but seem to serve no structural function and have the air of an interpolation.

Example 5.3 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D784, first movement, bars 42–60.

In addition to continuing the sense of monotonous repetition of P, the passage of bars 47–50 continues the sublime expression through its invocation of the infinite. This is another aspect of the sublime for both Burke and Kant, although their notion of how it is manifested differs. For Burke, ‘infinity has a tendency to fill the mind with that sort of delightful horror which is the most genuine effect, and truest test of the sublime’.[33] Kant’s limitlessness of the sublime manifests itself in two different ways. The ‘dynamically’ sublime pertains to vast, powerful objects such as nature’s waterfalls and storms, the ‘mathematically’ sublime to vast or infinite quantities.[34] In Kant’s view, the infinite can only be experienced by the reasoning faculty, since we cannot comprehend the infinite in sensuous form. As he writes in the *Critique of Judgement*, the sublime ‘evidences a faculty of mind transcending every standard of the

[33] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 60.
[34] See Robertson, ‘On the Sublime and Schiller’s Theory of Tragedy’, pp. 196–197 and 202.

senses'.[35] However, Burke in his *Philosophical Enquiry* drew attention to an aspect of the sublime which he termed the 'artificial infinite' which, although not infinite *per se*, can give the impression of the infinite to our senses.

> We have observed, that a species of greatness arises from the artificial infinite; and that this infinite consists in an uniform succession of great parts: we observed too, that the same uniform succession had a like power in sounds [...] When the ear receives any simple sound, it is struck by a single pulse of the air which makes the ear drum and the other membranous parts vibrate according to the nature and species of the stroke. If the stroke be strong, the organ of hearing suffers a considerable degree of tension. If the stroke be repeated pretty soon after, the repetition causes an expectation of another stroke. And it must be observed, that expectation itself causes a tension [...] The tension of the part thus increasing at every blow, by the united forces of the stroke itself, the expectation and the surprise, it is worked up to such a pitch as to be capable of the sublime; it is brought just to the verge of pain. Even when the cause has ceased; the organs of hearing being often successively struck in a similar manner, continue to vibrate in that manner for some time longer; this is an additional help to the greatness of the effect.[36]

The description here is very similar to what occurs in this four-bar passage of bars 47–50, with the tension of such a 'simple sound' as the two-note motive seeming to increase 'with every blow'. Furthermore, lineaments of the infinite continue further into TR. Here, as shown in Example 5.3, vastness is conveyed by playing with spatial and temporal expansion as well as extremes in dynamics. In particular, motive y is embellished and augmented (x2) in bars 51–52 and augmented (x2) and inverted in bars 55–56 and 59–60.

In contrast to P and TR, the secondary theme (S) of bars 61–86 has a very different sound world as shown in Example 5.4. Robert Hatten regards this theme 'with its four-voice texture and male choir registration combined with pastoral pedal, slow harmonic rhythm, subdominant emphasis and simple texture' as a clear example of the troping of the pastoral topic with the hymn topic – something which often occurs in Schubert's works.[37] Such a troping of hymn and pastoral is also in line with the aesthetics of the Enlightenment which, as the essayist and critic Brigid Brophy writes, took nature 'to be inherently benevolent and harmonious, the unquestionable guide to morals and taste' and led to a 'near-deification of nature'.[38] These sentiments are inherited by German philhellenism in which there was from

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[35] Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, p. 81.
[36] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 111–112.
[37] Robert Hatten, 'Schubert's Pastoral: The Piano Sonata in G Major, D894', in *Schubert the Progressive*, ed. Brian Newbould (Routledge, 2017), pp. 156–157.
[38] Brigid Brophy, *Mozart the Dramatist: A New View of Mozart, his Operas and his Age* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), pp. 63–65.

the beginning an element of Rousseauism and a worship of Nature.[39] This shows up in Schiller when he writes that 'all that which wholesome Nature does is godly', thus underlining this association of nature and God.[40]

Example 5.4 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D784, first movement, bars 61–103.

39 Hatfield, *Aesthetic Paganism*, p. 21 and Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, pp. 37–38.

40 Friedrich Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (Reclam, 1978), p. 16: '[...] alles, was die gesunde Natur tut, ist göttlich [...]'.

The secondary theme gives some respite from the gloomy depiction of suffering which comes before it in bars 1–60. However, this does not last long. Firstly, the key of S (E major) is not clinched by a Perfect Authentic Cadence (V:PAC EEC). The sudden change in dynamics and register in bar 86 and the crotchet rest in bar 85 disqualify the cadence over bars 85–86, which seems the only candidate. Secondly, even before the failure of S to achieve a satisfactory EEC, there is an encroachment of A minor harmony in bar 77, and later E minor in bar 79, midway through S. Thirdly, within the linking passage (bars 87–103) which follows, the tonic minor key creeps back in again, as well as the opening four-note motive of P, both providing a reminiscence of the earlier *topos* of suffering. Analogous events occur in the corresponding bars in the recapitulation with the lack of a satisfactory I:PAC ESC and a creeping back in of minor-mode harmony.

Such momentariness and vulnerability to encroachment is indicative of the pastoral topic in literature where the pastoral mode is a very artificial, confected mode of expression. The literary scholar Herbert Lindenberger in his paper *The Idyllic Moment: On Pastoral and Romanticism* looks at several evocations of the pastoral from Shakespeare to Rousseau and Keats. He notes that it often contains a turn inward, cued by various literary devices, in the midst of trouble which a protagonist seeks to forget. For instance, in Shakespeare's play *Henry VI*, the king during the turmoil in the Wars of the Roses stands upon a mole hill and imagines himself as a shepherd in a pastoral scene. In general, the pastoral mode creates what Lindenberger calls an 'island in time', or an 'idyllic moment', and the pastoral world with its slow, predictable regular time is contrasted with the historical world whose encroachment it seeks to halt.[41] The pastoral in music could be regarded as being similarly vulnerable due to the artifices it itself employs. Su Yin Mak in her study of lyricism in Schubert's sonata forms notes that 'the pastoral most clearly reveals the poet's artifice'.[42] She mentions two Schubert settings of poems *Der Hirt* D405 and *Der Alpenjäger* D524 which contain such artificial representations – that of the shepherd and the hunter – which render the tableaux improbable and ephemeral. The pastoral nature of the secondary theme in this piano sonata renders it equally vulnerable. It closes off an exposition which transmits a narrative of suffering and its mere temporary assuagement.

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[41] Herbert Lindenberger, 'The Idyllic Moment: On Pastoral and Romanticism', *College English* 34 no. 3 (1972), p. 338.
[42] Su Yin Mak, 'Schubert's Sonata Forms and the Poetics of the Lyric', *The Journal of Musicology* 23 no. 2 (2006), p. 288.

5.3 *Schiller and the Sentimental Age*

A reading of the exposition as a depiction of suffering followed by a redemptive hymn-like evocation of nature – albeit a temporary redemption which is quickly swept away – can be enriched by Schiller's essay *On Naive and Sentimental Poetry* (1796). In the essay, Schiller asserts that man was once at one with nature – indeed, was himself nature – but has become estranged from it. Whereas the ancient Greek could describe nature quite naturally, modern man sees nature as something external.[43] The Greek's relationship to nature is described as 'naive' and that of the modern as 'sentimental'.[44] In the sentimental engagement with nature, nature is 'raised in the world of poetry to an idea and an object'.[45] The modern sentimental poet thus sees nature as a lost ideal of which he is no longer part.[46]

Being estranged from nature, the sentimental poet has several modes of engagement with it which Schiller describes as the idyllic, the satirical and the elegiac. The latter mode occurs where the poet mourns the loss of naturalness and unity.[47] Su Yin Mak detects this mode in many of Schubert's settings of Schiller's poems and sees it as a possible paradigm for Schubert's late instrumental works. She also believes it is likely that Schubert was familiar with Schiller's concept of the elegiac which she detects in three Lieder set to Schiller's poetry – *Sehnsucht* (set twice as D52 and D636), *Die Götter Griechenlands* D677 and *Der Pilgrim* D793.[48] I believe a reading of the movement is enhanced by such a paradigm, if the secondary theme (S) is regarded as not just a pastoral-hymn *topos* but also as a sentimental-elegiac representation of nature which is yearned and striven for from a state of estrangement.

A 'hermeneutic window' which encourages such an interpretation is supplied by the Lied *Die Götter Griechenlands* D677 of 1819 which tells of the yearning for the lost arcadia of antiquity, and in which there is a direct reference in the text both to the estrangement from nature and the longing for nature. The estrangement from nature ('schöne Welt, wo bist du?')

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[43] For a good summary of Schiller's essay in the context of Schubert's philhellenism see Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, pp. 10–17.

[44] The labels 'naive' and 'sentimental' do not quite map on to 'ancient' and 'modern' – for instance Shakespeare and Goethe are naive poets, whereas Virgil and Ariosto are sentimental. However, it is quite clear that Schiller regards the ancient Greeks as naïve, and Hirsch describes the sentimental state as 'broadly characteristic of the modern world'. See Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, p. 11.

[45] Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, p. 25: 'So wie nach und nach die Natur anfing, aus dem menschlichen Leben als Erfahrung und als das (handelnde und empfindende) *Subjekt* zu verschwinden, so sehen wir sie in der Dichterwelt als *Idee* und als *Gegenstand* aufgehen'.

[46] Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, p. 30: 'Der Dichter, sagte ich, *ist* entweder Natur, oder er wird sie *suchen*. Jenes macht den naiven, dieses den sentimentalischen Dichter'. ('The poet, I would say, is either Nature, or he will seek Nature. The former embodies the naive, the latter the sentimental poet'.)

[47] Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, p. 12.

[48] Su Yin Mak, 'Schubert as Schiller's Sentimental Poet', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 4 no. 2 (2007), p. 254.

is expressed in A minor in bars 1–4 with a bare texture and neighbour-note motion around scale degree $\hat{5}$ (see Example 5.5). Such characteristics are reminiscent of the opening bars of P which can thus be read as representing the original estrangement. In bars 5–12 of the Lied there is a direct reference to a longing for nature ('Kehre wieder, holdes Blütenalter der Natur!') and here the music begins to take on many of the pastoral elements that Hatten identified in S-space – for example pedal points, subdominant leanings, slow harmonic motion – and also gains a fuller 4-part texture redolent of the hymn *topos* (see Example 5.5, bars 5–10). We thus have another example of the troping of the pastoral and hymn topic, but here given extra confirmatory weight owing to the hermeneutic window of the underlying poem. This is in keeping with tempo marking 'langsam mit heilige Sehnsucht' ('slowly, with holy longing') which recalls the deification of nature recognised in the sentimental age.[49] There are other similarities with the piano sonata's S-space from bar 5 of the Lied onwards. The move to the parallel major in bar 5 echoes the same move to A major for S-space in the recapitulation (bars 219–256). Furthermore, the major mode passage which begins from bar 5 displays the same vulnerability to the minor mode and the lack of tonal anchoring into the major mode that was noted in S-space. For instance, in the Lied the minor mode encroaches twice first in F# minor (bar 15) and then in the home key of A minor (bars 24). Furthermore, similarly to S-space, there are no PACs in the key of the parallel major. Instead there is only a series of IACs on scale degree $\hat{3}$ over bars 7–8, 11–12, 42–43 and 46–47. After the last of these, and the final attempt at the tonal closure of a PAC, the minor-mode passage of estrangement re-enters in bar 48 as if to underline the precariousness of the major-mode expression, just as in the piano sonata the opening 4-note motive of P comes back in in the minor mode in bars 98–99. When this occurs the text refers back to the original question ('schöne Welt, wo bist du?') underlining that the feeling of estrangement has returned.

[49] This tempo marking only occurs in the second version, not the first. See Franz Schubert, *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke* (Bärenreiter, 1964ff), Lieder vol. 2, pp. 126–130.

Example 5.5 Schubert, *Die Götter Griechenlands* (second version), D677, bars 1–10.

Another justification for the reading of P-space as representing estrangement from nature comes from a comparison with the primary theme of the Piano Quintet in A major D667 – a work which contains variations based on the melody of the Lied *Die Forelle* D550 ('The Trout') and thus which contains allusions to nature. As shown in Example 5.6 both primary themes share a 4-note motive. In the Piano Sonata D784 the motive is initially not harmonised, and the music of bar 1 and the first half of bar 2 could just as easily take place in a major mode environment. It is only with the C natural which enters in bar 2 (see Example 5.6(b)) – and places P in the minor mode – that the feeling of estrangement comes. With this reading the funeral march *topos* that was identified in P could be read as being symbolic of a particular death – the death of man's original relationship with nature and the ills of the sentimental age as diagnosed by Schiller.

Example 5.6 (a) Schubert, Piano Quintet in A major, D667, first movement, bars 1–8 (b) Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D784, bars 1–9.

Such an interpretation is strengthened by the progress of the transition (TR) where the lifting up of the y-motive a minor second in bar 51–52, the change to a *forte* dynamic in bar 51 and the quicker figuration convey a sense of yearning or longing for the secondary theme (S) which follows it (see Example 5.3). The sense that the secondary theme (S) expresses the ideal of nature and the primary theme (P) estrangement from nature is also borne out by the fact that there are many aspects of S which are antithetical to P. For instance, the mode is opposite – P unfolds in the minor and S in the major. Furthermore, the despondent descending arpeggiation in the minor mode in P is replaced by an ascending arpeggiation in the major mode in S (see Example 5.7). On the other hand, both P and S contain the $\hat{5}$–$\sharp\hat{4}$–$\hat{5}$ opening motive, suggesting their common reference to nature – negative in the case of P and positive in the case of S. As shown in Example 5.7 (b), in S-space, this $\hat{5}$–$\sharp\hat{4}$–$\hat{5}$ motive enters in an inner voice in bars 69–71. The D♯ is sounded in three of the four chords in bar 70 but this is masked by it jumping up and down an octave.

Example 5.7 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor D784, first movement (a) bars 1–9 (b) bars 61–74.

Nature as an ideal was imbued in Schiller's system with notions of the infinite. In *On Naive and Sentimental Poetry* he refers to nature's 'infinite merit'.[50] Later in the essay he is more explicit about Nature as an infinite ideal:

> This path which the modern poets take is, incidentally, the same as that which the man must take in the singular and in the whole. Nature makes him at one with himself, art divides and parts him, through the ideal he returns to unity. Because, however, the ideal is infinite, which he never achieves, the cultivated man can never be perfect in his nature as the natural man is able to become in his.[51]

Reading S-space as an evocation of nature as an unattainable infinite ideal which we can strive for and never reach gives hermeneutic explanation for S's failure in both exposition and recapitulation. Although we can strive to get close, we are never fully anchored by a convincing PAC. It also gives an explanation of the re-encroachment of the opening 4-note motive of P in the later stages of S in both the exposition and recapitulation. The primary theme (P) expressed estrangement from nature, and the encroachment of its opening four-

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[50] Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, p. 21: 'ihren unendlichen Vorzug'.

[51] Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, pp. 32–33: 'Dieser Weg, den die neueren Dichter gehen, ist übrigens derselbe, den der Mensch überhaupt im einzelnen als im ganzen einschlagen muβ. Die Natur macht ihn mit sich eins, die Kunst trennt und entzweiet ihn, durch das Ideal kehrt er zur Einheit zurück. Weil aber das Ideal ein Unendliches ist, das er niemals erreicht, so kann der kultivierte Mensch in seiner Art niemals vollkommen werden, wie doch der natürliche Mensch es in der seinigen zu werden vermag'.

note motive (what could be termed the ‘estrangement motive’, labelled in Example 5.6(b)) in bars 98–102 after S has failed to achieve an EEC (and in bars 254–258 after S has failed to achieve an ESC) implies that the underlying estrangement from nature of the sentimental age is still a handicap to the attainment of this infinite ideal. This estrangement motive encroaches not only at the end of the exposition and recapitulation, but also at the end of the development section (in bars 161–164). This outlines a trajectory for the movement of suffering and estrangement followed by an unfulfilled longing for nature as an infinite ideal after which such estrangement resurfaces. Such a trajectory is summarised in Example 5.8.

Example 5.8 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D784. Interpretation of first movement as the depiction of longing for infinite ideal.

Rotation 1	*sublime object* **P** bb. 1–46	*longing* **TR** bb. 47–60	*infinte ideal* **S (failed)** bb. 61–86	*return of estrangement* bb. 87–103
Rotation 2	*sublime object* bb. 104–137	*return of estrangement* bb. 138–165		
Rotation 3	*sublime object* **P** bb. 166–212	*longing* **TR** bb. 213–218	*infinite ideal (closer but still unattained)* **S (failed)** bb. 219–244	*return of estrangement* bb. 245–258
Coda	*longing* bb. 259-277	*infinite ideal (closer but still unattained)* bb. 278–291		

The attempts to reach the infinite ideal seem to intensify each time. We can see this in the second attempt which takes place within S-space in the recapitulation (bars 219–244) in which triplet figuration enters. Firstly, such figuration mimics the compound time that Hatten sees as one of the main aspects of the pastoral topic, thus bringing the expression closer to the infinite ideal of nature.[52] Secondly, through inspection of Schubert’s religious Lieder, it can

[52] Hatten, ‘Schubert’s Pastoral’, pp. 156–157.

be read as bringing the expression closer to God. Schubert did not write many religious Lieder, but those he wrote are conspicuous for their triplet or compound figuration. For example, *Ellens dritter Gesang* D839 uses sextuplets, *Die Allmacht* D851 uses triplets (see Example 5.9) and compound time is utilised in *Die junge Nonne* D828. By the use of this triplet figuration, the secondary theme is thus brought closer to God and closer to nature, things explicitly linked for German philhellenism.

Example 5.9 Triplet figuration in Schubert's Lieder: (a) Schubert, *Ellens dritter Gesang*, D839, bars 1–3, (b) Schubert, *Die Allmacht*, D852, bars 1–10.

Example 5.10 Triplet figuration in recapitulation's S-space: Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D784, bars 218–237.

Another attempt at attaining the ideal is made in the coda (bars 264–291). As shown in Example 5.11, the coda begins (bars 264–267) with a passage containing repetitions of the two-note motive y of the artificial infinite, first heard in bars 47–50 (see Example 5.3). It is followed by the passage (bars 268-277) based on the exposition's transition that was associated with longing (bars 51-60). The coda is built of material from these two passages and can therefore be interpreted as a distillation of this infinite longing for nature. Later, from bar 278, there emerge further representations of infinity. The texture is thinned out and time and space become stretched owing to the increased repetition and temporal lengthening of motives and the use of more extreme registers of the keyboard. It ends with the two-note motive, which first appears in bar 4 in the minor mode, given in the major mode with the C♮ changed to C♯. In line with this final attempt at the infinite it appears here in its most extreme temporal augmentation (x4), accentuating the sense of temporal and spatial vastness. That this represents a closer attempt to gain the infinite ideal of nature is also indicated by the fact that there is no encroachment from the minor mode, nor from the estrangement motive, as there was in the previous attempts in S-space.

Example 5.11 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D784, first movement, bars 263–291.

Evocations of the infinite permeate the entire movement in various guises. This ranges from the sublime object of P (given connotations of the infinite through Burke and Kant's aesthetics of the sublime), the artificial infinite of TR, the infinite ideal of nature evoked in S and the progressive temporal and spatial stretching in the coda, where the infinite is evoked at its most extreme. Such a notion of the infinite and of the longing for the infinite as an ideal was, as I will show in the final section of this chapter, an important contemporary concept in musical aesthetics, and one evoked by many German writers on music the wake of E. T. A. Hoffmann's 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. Furthermore, in the aesthetics of Hoffmann, the longing for the infinite is seen explicitly as a mechanism for the transcending of the sublime. Such a notion offers a reading of the movement as being a sonic depiction

such a transcending, through an infinite longing for nature. As such it falls under the rubric of tragic art in the context of Schiller's theory of tragedy.

5.4 A Tragic Reading: Infinite Longing and Hoffmann's Aesthetics

In *On Naive and Sentimental Poetry*, Schiller drew the distinction not only between naive and sentimental, but also between ancient and modern, real and ideal, finite and infinite. Following Schiller, Jean Paul Richter (1763–1825) in his 1804 *Vorschule der Ästhetik* (*Primer in Aesthetics*) took these categories and positioned them within a dichotomy of what he termed the 'heathen-antique' and the 'modern-Christian' age. The former was characterised by the real word, the outer world, the finite, and the natural, whereas the modern age was characterised by the ideal, the inner world, the infinite, and a longing for nature.[53] He goes on to write that with the collapse of the finite of the 'antique' age, the happy joy of the ancient Greeks was replaced by an infinite or indeterminate longing, and that the art form which best expresses this infinite longing was music.[54]

Such a characterisation of the music of the age chimes with the reading of the opening movement of D784 as being infused with a longing for an infinite ideal, in this case the ideal of nature. Indeed, the notion of longing for the infinite is consciously integrated into musical aesthetics by several figures from the musico-literary tradition in which Carl Dahlhaus places Schiller – predominantly the figures of Richter and of E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776–1822). Dahlhaus writes that for Schiller, Richter and Hoffmann 'the essence of music was combined with the notion [*Vorstellung*] of the infinite and a feeling of longing'.[55] Of these three, the figure who developed the idea of infinite longing most fully in musical aesthetics is Hoffmann.

Dahlhaus counts Hoffmann as belonging to the musico-literary tradition for several reasons. Firstly, in his writings Hoffmann echoes the balance between lyric-emotive and reflective ideas outlined in the eighteenth-century theory of the ode, the theory of which underpinned

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[53] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 86: 'In dem Kapitel "Quelle der romantischen Poesie" aus der *Vorschule der Ästhetik* skizziert Jean Paul – mit ähnlichen Kategorien wie vor ihm Schiller [...] – eine Theorie des Gegensatzes zwischen dem christlich-moderne und dem heidnisch-antiken Zeitalter [...] Und zwar stellt es der äuβeren Welt die innere, dem Endlichen oder Begrenzten das Unendliche, dem Naiven das Reflektierte oder Sentimentalische und dem ruhigen Besitz des Natürlichen die Sehnsucht nach der Natur gegenüber'. ('In the chapter *Quelle der romantischen Poesie* (*The Source of Romantic Poetry*) from the *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, Jean Paul sketches – with similar categories to those used by Schiller [...] – a theory of the antithesis between the Christian-modern and the heathen-antique age [...] And indeed it contrasts the inner with the outer world, the infinite with the finite or bounded, the reflective or sentimental with the naive and the longing for nature with the calm domain of the natural'.)

[54] Jean Paul Richter, *Vorschule der Ästhetik (1804)* (München, 1963), p.94, see Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 87.

[55] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 88.

the tradition's ideas on musical structure. Secondly, Hoffmann deals critically with the theory of the sublime, the aesthetics of which were in his 1810 Review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony subjected to a 'reinterpretation' in Dahlhaus's terms.[56] Hoffmann's description of Beethoven's music comes close to Schiller's conception of the sublime as something terrifying when he avers that Beethoven's music 'moves the lever controlling horror, fear, dread, pain' and 'opens up to us the kingdom of the gigantic and the immeasurable'.[57] Furthermore, in the reference to the gigantic and the immeasurable we can hear echoes of Burke's vastness and Kant limitlessness of sublime objects. Hoffmann's remarks in his review were not a one-off event. Indeed the centrality of his interpretation to early-nineteenth-century musical aesthetics can be shown from the frequency with which he was quoted and paraphrased in German musical writings at that time.[58] His views were widely propagated in German musical reviews in the 1820s when Schubert's Piano Sonata in A minor D784 was written.

Where Hoffmann goes further than Schiller or Jean Paul Richter – a crucial step in the context of this reading of the opening movement of D784 – is to incorporate the notion of infinite longing into the aesthetics of the sublime, as a way of overcoming its horror. As Dahlhaus writes, 'Hoffmann describes the 'infinite longing' as a reaction to the horror which arises from the musical power of the sublime style or of the great style'.[59] It thus replaces Kant's agency of reason. As Dahlhaus describes,

> Kant's theory of the sublime is in E. T. A. Hoffmann's characterisation barely perceptible as a half-effaced basic model; whose outline, however, remains reconstructible. The inward opposition to the overpowering by an external force is not, however, provided by reason, through which a man recollects himself and his intelligible essence, but by an 'indeterminate longing' through which he feels himself drawn to the 'realm of the infinite'. The moralistic pathos, which predominated in Kant and Schiller, was displaced by a religious pathos – which should not be suspected as being pseudo-religious – and the solidness and certainty in the 'intelligible', in which Schiller found refuge given the impotence in the face of sublime impressions, made room for a disquiet whose worried longing attached itself to

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[56] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 85. 'Die Ästhetik des Erhabenen, die man ohne Übertreibung zu den ältesten Traditionsbeständen einer Theorie der Symphonie zählen kann, wurde in Hoffmanns Beethoven Rezension einer Umdeutung unterworfen [...]'. ('The aesthetic of the sublime, which one without exaggeration can count among the oldest traditions of a theory of the symphony, was in Hoffmann's Beethoven review subjected to a reinterpretation [...]'.)

[57] Hoffmann's Review, printed in the 4 and 11 July 1810 edition of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, in Wayne Senner, Robin Wallace, and William Meredith, eds., *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries, Volume 2* (University of Nebraska Press, 1999), p. 97.

[58] This point is made in Senner, Wallace, and Meredith, eds., *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions*, p. 254, n. 2. Elsewhere in the book, they provide several journalistic reviews of concerts in the 1820s where Hoffmann's 1810 review is paraphrased, particularly with regard to his views on the sublime nature of Beethoven's music and on infinite longing.

[59] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 88: 'Hoffmann [schildert] die "unendlich Sehnsucht" als Reaktion auf den Schrecken, der von den musikalischen Gewaltmitteln des erhabenen oder groβen Stils ausgeht'.

metaphysical intuitions. The agency which stands up to the horror produced by the sublime is, for E. T. A. Hoffmann, the modern-sentimental spirit, which certainly had been recognised by Schiller as the mark of the age but which had been neglected in the theory of the sublime.[60]

With Hoffmann's aesthetics, the opening movement of D784 thus can be seen to contain the two constituents which Schiller stipulates must be present for tragic art – portrayal of the suffering nature; and portrayal of moral independence in the suffering'. [61] In the Piano Sonata D784 it is the primary theme which portrays suffering through its portrayal of the Schillerian sublime. Subsequently, the overcoming of the sublime, and the portrayal of moral independence in the face of its horrors, is represented musically by the indeterminate longing for the infinite. The infinite longing begins in the transition which, as noted earlier, transmits notions of the infinite – through Burke's 'artificial infinite' – and of longing with the raising of the y motive by a semitone and the quickening figuration. The infinite ideal to which such longing yearns is depicted in the secondary themes and the coda.

Example 5.12 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D784, first movement, bars 207–220. Harmonisation of 'infinite longing' passage and entrance of triplet figuration in the recapitulation's S-space.

[60] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', pp. 88–89: 'Kants Theorie des Erhabenen ist in E.T.A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Charakteristik bleibt, gerade noch kenntlich. Den inneren Widerpart zur Überwältigung durch eine äuβere Macht bildet allerdings, anders als bei Kant, nicht die Vernunft, durch die sich der Mensch auf sich selbst und sein 'intelligibles Wesen' besinnt, sondern ein 'unbestimmtes Sehnen', durch das er sich zum 'Reich des Unendlichen' hingezogen fühlt. Das moralische Pathos, das bei Kant und Schiller herrschte, wurde durch ein religiöses – das man nicht als pseudo-religiös verdächtigen sollte – abgelöst, und die Festigkeit und Sicherheit im 'Intelligiblen', bei der Schiller angesichts der Ohnmacht gegenüber erhabenen Eindrücken Zuflucht fand, machte einer Unruhe Platz, deren umgetriebene Sehnsucht sich an metaphysische Ahnungen klammerte. Die Instanz, die dem Schrecken standhält, der vom Erhabenen ausgeht, wurde also bei E.T.A. Hoffmann gewissermaβen von dem modern-sentimentalischen Geiste erfaβt, der von Schiller zwar als Signatur des Zeitalters insgesamt erkannt, in der Theorie des Erhabenen aber auβer Acht gelassen worden war'.

[61] Friedrich Schiller, *Vom Erhabenen*, in *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe,* ed. J. Peterson et al., vol. 20 (Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 2001), vol. 20, p. 195: 'Aus diesem Grundsatz fließen die beiden Fundamentalgesetze aller tragischen Kunst. Diese sind *erstlich*: Darstellung der leidenden Natur; *zweytens*: Darstellung der moralischen Selbstständigkeit im Leiden'.

If the movement can be read as tragic in Schillerian terms then such a tragic narrative is also reinforced by the movement's structure. The sung parts of ancient Greek tragedy involved pairs of metrically corresponding stanzas AABBCC, the two parts of each pair being termed *strophē* and *antistrophē*. The classical scholar Edith Hall also believes it very likely that each sung *strophē* and *antistrophē* also corresponded melodically.[62] Such a structure is echoed in the exposition. The AA' binary form of P was noted earlier, but binary aspects infuse all of the exposition's action-zones. TR contains a BB' form with bars 57–60 being a repetition of bars 53–56, and S splits into a CC' form of bars 61–85 and bars 86–103. The resulting AA' BB' CC' structure is also replicated in the recapitulation.

As well as resembling the ancient alternation of *strophē* and *antistrophē*, the AA'BB'CC' structure also gives the work a tragic structure by imparting epic and lyric qualities – qualities which I showed in the previous chapter were fundamental to the idealists' view of tragedy. It does this in several ways recognisable from various theories of the lyrical nature of Schubert's music over the last century.[63] First, and most obviously, the structure involves repetition and, as Cailin Martinkus has shown, repetition in Schubert has since the nineteenth century been associated with lyricism owing to the appearance of repetition in the Lieder and the instrumental works.[64] Moreover, each *strophē-antistrophē* pair can also be seen to contain variation technique, whose injection into sonata form both Martinkus and Dahlhaus regard as a lyrical phenomenon, in Dahlhaus's case 'epic lyric'.[65] Dahlhaus's label of 'epic-lyric', whose characteristics include variation technique as well as motivic-thematic working, is applied in contrast to the 'dramatic-dialectic' drive of Beethoven's sonata forms. Su Yin Mak inherits these two categories but reinterprets their origin, characterising them instead by a difference in musical rhetoric, the 'epic-lyric' being associated with a paratactic or syntactically independent utterance and the 'dramatic' with a hypotactic interdependent structure. Variation and parataxis are concepts which overlap to a certain extent, since variation technique also confers on music a paratactic structure.[66] Here, however, the

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[62] Edith Hall, ed., *Antigone, Oedipus the King, Electra* (Oxford University Press, 1998), p. xxxiv.
[63] Several of these theories, such as those of Salzer, Dahlhaus, Su Yin Mak and Martinkus were sketched earlier in section 4.1.
[64] Martinkus, 'The Urge to Vary', p. 11.
[65] Martinkus, 'The Urge to Vary', p. 6. Carl Dahlhaus, 'Die Sonatenform bei Franz Schubert: Der erste Satz des G-dur Quartetts D887', *Musica* 32 (1978), pp. 125–130. Dahlhaus's description of the opening movement of the String Quartet in G major D887 as 'epic-lyric' was owing in part to the variation technique employed in its secondary theme, since such technique differentiated it from the 'dramatic-dialectic' drive of Beethoven's sonata forms. Here, in D784/i, such an 'epic-lyric' character is implied since such variation technique is used in each of the exposition's action-zones P, TR and S.
[66] On the paratactic nature of variation technique, as opposed to the hypotactic nature of organic motivic-thematic working, see Hyland, 'In Search of Liberated Time', p. 88; Elaine Sisman, 'Variations', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd edition. Vol. 26, (2001), p. 284.

paratactic ‘epic-lyric’ nature of the material is also enhanced by the fact that each *strophē-antistrophē* pair constitutes a distinct episodic utterance. They do not involve normative syntactic procedures such as a modulatory TR linking P and S, or a medial caesura, nor do they transmit any particular goal-orientedness owing to sonata failure occurring in both the exposition and recapitulation.

With the music being composed of paratactic lyrical episodes, and with sonata failure occurring in both the exposition and the development, the question of its structural unity comes to the fore. Dahlhaus poses a similar question with regard to the ‘Unfinished’ Symphony D759, of the year before the Piano Sonata D784, whose exposition and recapitulation is described as containing similar paratactic and variational characteristics.[67] Their lyricism, again, is contrasted with the dramatic drive of Beethoven’s works, the lack of which means the movement is in danger of descending into, in Dahlhaus’s words, ‘a mere potpourri of melodies’.[68] What prevents this happening is, for Dahlhaus, the thematic working of a motive introduced in the very first bar. He contends that such treatment – what he terms the ‘principle of evolving a monumental and teleological form from an inconspicuous motive’ – is characteristic of Schubert, and ‘mirrors a thoroughly characteristic expressive compulsion to draw lyric urgency into an oppressive, and ultimately tragic, dialectic process’.

Such treatment can also be seen in the opening movement of D784. The motive in this case is the fall of a minor third (motive x in Example 5.1) which, as in D759, is introduced early in the movement in bar 4. This is ubiquitous throughout the movement and, as I showed earlier, will eventually be transformed in the final six bars into a major third, foregrounded and temporally augmented, and free from encroachments of the minor mode and of the ‘estrangement’ motive. It is the fundamental motive of the movement and its reconciliation into the major mode provides the closure and unity which is denied by the failed secondary themes. Moreover, the mechanics of how this eventual reconciliation is achieved is bound up with the ‘infinite longing’ depicted in the movement, and hence with its overall tragic structure. As noted earlier, infinite longing is first represented, via Burke’s ‘artificial infinite’,

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[67] See Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. Bradford Robinson (University of California Press, 1989), pp. 153–154. Dahlhaus’s references to the primary theme as having ‘no repercussions for the overall form’, and to the secondary theme as a ‘complete and self-contained musical utterance’ imply parataxis, although he does not use the word. He also recognises the variation techniques embedded in the exposition when he remarks that after the secondary theme’s initial statement, a ‘new version’ of it returns ‘in close imitation’.

[68] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p. 153-154. Dahlhaus’s concerns here are similar to those of Felix Salzer in his 1928 study of Schubert’s sonata forms in which he regarded the lyrical as antithetical to sonata form and something which needed to be integrated into the form through a dramatic driving force. See previous chapter, section 4.1.

at the start of TR by the four-bar repetition of the motive (bars 47–50). This begins to open the gateway to S-space, and to the emancipation from the gloom of the sublime suffering which P exudes, but here it serves no structural function and resembles a interpolation. However, when the corresponding passage returns in the recapitulation (bars 213–218) it consists not merely of the motive repeated four times. Instead, the motive gradually becomes harmonised and transitions immediately into the secondary theme (see Example 5.12). The motivic repetition has thus morphed from a purely expressive function to take on a structural function. Through such harmonisation, the motive is for the first time given as a descending major third in bar 217 (all its previous iterations, for instance those in bars 4, 23, 24, 46, 47, 51–52, 53 are a descending minor third). This points forward to the eventual reconciliation in the final six bars of the movement.

Viewed through the lens of Hoffmann's aesthetics, the manner in which infinite longing provides the glue which unifies the movement is not accidental. As Dahlhaus explains, 'the 'infinite longing' constitutes for Hoffmann the aesthetic correlative of 'true unity' and of 'inner consistency and therefore fulfils a central function [...] The structural and the aesthetic unity are two sides of the same thing'.[69] Just as in Schiller's tragedies, the overcoming of the sublime is the central focus of the tragedy – as mentioned earlier the point of tragedy is the revelation of moral freedom brought about by the depiction of such an overcoming – so here its musical correlative – infinite longing – is the central and unifying aspect of the piano sonata movement.

The opening movement is extremely deformational and unlike any other of Schubert's works. With its funereal opening, its sublime expression and the way in which closure is consistently denied through the lack of authentic cadences in S-space, it also seems to communicate a profoundly personal expression which hints at events in the composer's life. Indeed, the Schillerian reading of the movement, which implies a protagonist's struggle against adversity, suggests such a personal interpretation involving the overcoming of suffering. There may be historical reasons for this, since the work was written in the final year of a period to which Walther Dürr referred as Schubert's 'years of crisis'. These were the years 1818–1823, years in which Schubert supposedly became dissatisfied with his youthful

[69] Dahlhaus, 'Ästhetik des Erhabenen', p. 86: '[...] der Begriff der 'unendlichen Sehnsucht', der in Hoffmanns Strukturanalyse der 5. Symphonie das ästhetische Korrelat zur 'wahren Einheit' und zum 'inneren Zusammenhang' bildet, also eine zentrale Funktion erfüllt [...] Die strukturelle und die ästhetische Einheit sind zwei Seiten derselben Sache'. ('...the notion of the 'infinite longing' which constitutes in Hoffmann's structural analysis of the fifth symphony the aesthetic correlative of 'true unity' and of 'inner consistency' and therefore fulfils a central function [...] The structural and the aesthetic unity are two sides of the same thing'.)

compositional technique and subjected it to a critical re-evaluation. John Gingerich sees the final year of this period – 1823 – as being particularly bleak for the composer and describes it as the only true 'year of crisis' in Schubert's life. The year was dominated by illness and the failure of many of his theatrical works to be granted a performance, namely *Alfonso und Estrella* D732 and *Fierabras* D796 – as well as of illness due to his having contracted syphilis.[70] The effects of these vicissitudes found expression in Schubert's letter to his friend Leopold Kupelwieser, who was away in Italy at the time. This particular letter has been described by Christopher Gibbs as 'the key verbal document of Schubert's life'.[71] Part of it runs as follows:

> In a word I feel myself to be the most unhappy and wretched creature in the world. Imagine a man whose health will never be right again and, who in sheer despair over this ever makes things worse instead of better; imagine a man, I say, whose most brilliant hopes have perished, to whom the happiness of love and friendship have nothing but pain, at best, whose enthusiasm (at least of the stimulating kind) for all things beautiful threatens to disappear, and I ask you, is he not a miserable, unhappy being?[72]

The letter is dated 31 March 1824, but there is reason to suspect that the grief he refers to includes memories of earlier events. The contrast between 'love' and 'pain' which he recounts recalls Schubert's poem *Mein Traum* of July 1822: 'For many a year I sang songs. Whenever I attempted to sing of love it turned to pain'.[73] Furthermore, as early as February 1823 – the month of the composition of the piano sonata – the effects of his illness were already having an adverse effect on his ability to work and to attend public events. For instance, in a letter of 28 February 1823 he has to excuse himself because 'my health still does not allow me to leave the house'.[74] The latter part of Kupelwieser's letter is more forward looking, dealing with plans of writing chamber works to pave the way towards the grand symphony. Such optimistic notions imply that part of the grief expressed is grief recalled which would be consistent with Gingerich's assertion that the real 'year of crisis' was indeed 1823.

Schiller writings give us an idea as to why a piano sonata written in the midst of such suffering would contain sublime expression throughout. In his essay *On the Sublime* Schiller

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[70] John Gingerich, *Schubert's Beethoven Project* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 2.
[71] Christopher Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 115.
[72] Otto Erich Deutsch, *The Schubert Reader: A life of Franz Schubert in Letters and Documents*, trans. Eric Blom (W. W. Norton, 1947), pp. 338–340. Excerpt from letter to Leopold Kupelwieser 31 March 1824.
[73] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography* trans. Eric Blom, (JM Dent & Sons Ltd, 1946), pp. 226–228 contains a translation of *Mein Traum* which is used here.
[74] Deutsch, *The Schubert Reader*, pp. 269–270. Letter dated 28 February 1823.

stresses the didactic aspect of tragedy – in the sense that it is morally fortifying.[75] The language scholar Ritchie Robertson characterises Schiller's position here as being that when confronted with sudden disasters, and in such a desperate situation, harmony is not enough and it is necessary to 'leave beauty behind and advance to the sublime'.[76] The rough-hewn material – 'rugged and negligent' like Burke's sublime – of this particular piano sonata seems to have this particular purpose. Schiller refers to the beautiful and the sublime as two 'genii' who accompany us through life. Beauty can only get us to the precipice of a yawning abyss, however, and in order to carry us across, the 'earnest and quiet' sublime is required.[77] With regard to this piano sonata movement, it is perhaps no accident that such sublime expression occurs at the closing end of the years of crisis, in that it heralds a crossing of such an abyss. Schubert's light style before these years, exemplified in works such as the Italianate Sixth Symphony D589, was no longer able to serve him. A more sublime utterance was required in order to lead him out of despair, and to overcome the terrible events of 1823.

In Schiller's theory of tragedy the most sublime objects are those in which the overcoming of suffering by freedom is actually apparent to the observer in the object.[78] Indeed, this is one of his major advances on Kant's theory – that actions themselves can be sublime.[79] On some level, the writing of the Piano Sonata D784 itself, amongst such terrible events in the composer's life, could be termed such a sublime act. When true misfortune comes, as it came to Schubert in 1822–1823, and one is able to overcome it by dissolving it into sublime emotion, Schiller calls this the 'highest flight of human nature'.[80] This seems to be precisely what we witness in the move from the dark, gloomy *topos* of the primary theme towards the infinite sublime ideal of nature. Throughout his life Schubert turned to nature as a source of healing and he travelled to the countryside every summer his health allowed it. His relationship to nature was sentimental – channelled through poems and the music he set to

[75] Robertson, 'On the Sublime and Schiller's Theory of Tragedy', p. 209.
[76] Robertson, 'On the Sublime and Schiller's Theory of Tragedy', p. 208.
[77] Friedrich Schiller, *On the Sublime*, in Friedrich Schiller, *Werke und Briefe* ed. Otto Dahn (Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1992-2005), vol. 8, p. 826: 'Zwei Genien sind es, die uns die Natur zu Begleitern durchs Leben gab [...] In dem ersten dieser Genien erkennet man das Gefühl des Schönen, in dem zweiten das Gefühl des Erhabenen'.
[78] Hughes, 'Schiller on the Pleasure of Tragedy', pp. 421–422.
[79] Billings describes this aspect as an 'important slippage' from Kant's theory, see Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 81.
[80] Friedrich Schiller, *On the Sublime*, in Friedrich Schiller, *Werke und Briefe* ed. Otto Dahn (Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1992-2005), vol. 8, p. 837: 'Je öfter nun der Geist diesen Akt von Selbsttätigkeit erneuert, desto mehr wird ihm derselbe zur Fertigkeit, einen desto größern Vorsprung gewinnt er vor dem sinnlichen Trieb, daß er endlich auch dann, wenn aus dem eingebildeten und künstlichen Unglück ein ernsthaftes wird, imstande ist, es als ein künstliches zu behandeln und, der höchste Schwung der Menschennatur! das wirkliche Leiden in eine erhabene Rührung aufzulösen'. ('The more often the spirit renews this autonomous action, the easier it becomes with practice, and he wins a greater advantage over the sensory urge, so that even when an imaginary and artificial misfortune turns into a real one, he can treat it as though it were artificial, and – highest flight of human nature! – dissolve real suffering into sublime emotion'.) Translation from Robertson, 'On the Sublime and Schiller's Theory of Tragedy', p. 209.

these – and in the cramped and crowded streets of Vienna it would have resembled an infinite ideal. The piano sonata can be read as an artistic representation of this longing for nature – a Schillerian sublime assertion of his moral freedom in the midst of suffering – and as therefore having a tragic trajectory on a very personal level. In a sense, the tragedy played out in the 291 bars of this opening movement is not that of Orestes, Iphigenia nor Memnon, but of the composer himself.

Chapter 6. 'Aesthetic Dialectics', the Piano Sonata in A minor D845 (1825)

Of the three piano sonatas in A minor, it is in the opening movement of D845 in which questions of form, and of Schubert's sonata form, come to the fore most strongly. This is owing to there being a large number of aspects of the movement's structure which are extremely non-normative or deformational for the early nineteenth century. As with the previous two piano sonatas analysed, and in line with my overall approach, I propose to look at these idiosyncrasies through the lens of the philosophy and aesthetics of German philhellenism. Of particular relevance to this opening movement will be the later idealist theory of tragedy of Hegel. Hegel's theory mirrors his concept of dialectic process whereby certain conflicting one-sided truths are synthesized and reconciled. Such a reading will be seen to nourish our understanding of the structure of the opening movement, in which conflict and synthesis can be read as playing a major role. Indeed, the movement can be read as consisting of two antithetical and differentiated musical subjects which collide and then synthesise – thus exhibiting behaviours central to Hegel's fundamental understanding of tragedy.

The application of Hegelian notions to musical works is nothing new in and of itself. In fact, such a tradition can be traced back to the early mid-nineteenth century which utilises Hegel's concept of 'becoming' (*Werden*) as well as his dialectic process.[1] The application here of a particular aspect of Hegel's thought – in this case that of his theory of tragedy – can be seen as a continuation of this tradition. I will first examine the idiosyncrasies of the opening movement, which I believe encourage a reading based on this theory. I will then look at the Hegelian tradition and Hegel's theory of tragedy in particular before proceeding to the analysis of the opening movement. Such analysis will still be based on Sonata Theory but will foreground the interplay of the two subjects – the latter acting not as an alternative to Sonata Theory but an enrichment of it, bringing out structural as well as hermeneutic implications.

[1] Such a tradition has been identified by Janet Schmalfeldt in what she terms the 'Beethoven-Hegelian Tradition', taking in figures such as E.T.A. Hoffmann, A.B. Marx, Theodor Adorno and Carl Dahlhaus. See Janet Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming: Analytic and Philosophical Perspectives on Form in Early Nineteenth-Century Music* (Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 23–57.

6.1 Ambiguities of Form

There are several idiosyncrasies which contribute to the deformational nature of the opening movement. The first is the fact that, after the secondary theme (S) has begun in III, material based on the primary theme (P) returns in mediant minor iii. The second idiosyncrasy is the continuous nature of the exposition. This was noted as early as 1927 by Hans Költzsch where he refers to the 'singularly continuous exposition in which the primary and secondary themes are woven almost inseparably'.[2] The interweaving that Költzsch identifies points to the third idiosyncrasy – that the movement is conspicuous, among Schubert's sonata-form movements, for an unusually high amount of motivic-thematic working. Indeed, the motives which appear throughout the opening movement are often described as being variants of each other.[3]

These idiosyncrasies lead to difficulties as to the classification of the exposition into its constituent sonata-form modules. These difficulties are adumbrated by Christoph von Blumröder in his summary of various attempts to analyse the opening movement.[4] For example, Blumröder believes that there are several inherent problems in Walther Dürr's attempt to analyse the structure.[5] Dürr's analysis assigns bars 1–10 to the primary theme, 11–25 to the transition and the rest of the exposition (bars 26–90) to the secondary theme, as shown in Example 6.1. This particular analysis suffers from several defects according to Blumröder. Firstly, the musical sense of the passage is that there is a climax in bar 26 and the secondary theme is usually associated with a reduction in tension on its appearance. Secondly, the primary theme and secondary themes both begin in the same key. The third defect is that the primary theme does not occur in the recapitulation.

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[2] Hans Költzsch, *Franz Schubert in seinen Klaviersonaten* (Georg Olms Verlag, 1927), p. 110: '[...] eine eigenartige kontinuierliche Exposition, in der erstes und zweites Thema fast untrennbar verwoben sind'.

[3] Alfred Brendel, *Musical Thoughts & Afterthoughts* (Robson Books Limited, 1976), pp. 59–60, Charles Fisk, *Returning Cycles: Contexts for the Interpretation of Schubert's Impromptus and Last Sonatas* (University of California Press, 2001), p. 279, Walther Dürr, 'Wer vermag nach Beethoven noch etwas zu machen?' *Musik-Konzepte, Sonderband* (1979), p. 20.

[4] Christoph von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate in a-moll op. 42', *Die Musikforschung* (1991), pp. 207–220.

[5] Blumröder critiques the analysis in Dürr's paper Walther Dürr, 'Wer vermag nach Beethoven noch etwas zu machen?' *Musik-Konzepte, Sonderband* (1979). See von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate', p. 209.

Example 6.1 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D845, first movement, bars 1–41.

For Blumröder, the problems in Dürr's analysis – oriented on the model of sonata form – stem from the fact that presupposed compositional norms are not fulfilled by Schubert in this movement.[6] The deviations from such norms necessitate the use by Dürr of an 'intricate

[6] von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate', p. 210: 'Die Schwierigkeiten, die Dürr bei seiner am Modell der Sonatensatzform orientierten Analyse aus dem Umstand erwachsen, daβ theoretisch vorausgesetzte Normen von Schubert kompositorisch nicht erfüllt werden, dürften hinreichend deutlich geworden sein'. ('Dürr's analysis – oriented on the model of sonata form – clearly shows the difficulties which arise from the fact that theoretically presupposed compositional norms are not fulfilled by Schubert'.)

analytical language' in order to accommodate them under the umbrella of sonata form.[7] Blumröder avers that the analysis of the movement is often hindered by the theory of sonata form, and proposes that other ways of breaking down the moment into modules would also have difficulties.[8] For instance, he gives an alternative analysis by Alfred Brendel (given in Example 6.1 in parentheses) in which bars 1–25 are analysed as an introduction.[9] Brendel then apportions the primary theme to bars 26–33, the transition to 34–39 and the secondary theme from bar 40 onwards. This circumvents the problems outlined above in Dürr's analysis. However, this just creates problems in other areas. In particular, now the material from neither theme appears in the development section (bars 90–145), which is based solely on material from the introduction.[10] Another weakness of Brendel's analysis is that P is very non-normative when looked at from a form-functional perspective in that it contains no cadence and modulates to III.

Many of the problems Blumröder outlines in the analysis of the movement can be tackled by modern Sonata Theory which can accommodate the movement's aberrant features more easily. For instance, the first two objections to Dürr's approach could be described as deformations, which are absorbed into the theory as adding hermeneutic richness. Furthermore, the movement evinces a 'type 2' sonata form, a form whose second rotation in no way necessitates the reappearance of P as Dürr's analysis stipulated.[11] Such an observation negates Blumröder's third objection to Dürr's analysis.

An analysis of certain aspects of the opening movement is given in *Elements of Sonata Theory*.[12] In this analysis there is no introduction, the transition (TR) begins in bar 26 and S enters in bar 40 in III. These delineations are more sensible than Dürr's or Brendel's. In particular, the start of TR in bar 26 is reasonable since it is the phrase beginning in this bar which initiates the move towards III.[13] However, certain deformational idiosyncrasies of the movement still cause problems, despite the more flexible nature of Sonata Theory, and

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[7] von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate', p. 210: 'Sie bewirken eine von Einschränkungen durchzogene, verklausulierte analytische Aussageweise, die sich schon bei der Festlegung der Themen abgezeichnet hat'. ('They [the difficulties inherent in Dürr's analysis] necessitate the use of an intricate analytical language, shot through with qualifications, already apparent in the manner of the categorisation of the themes').

[8] von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate', pp. 209–211.

[9] Alfred Brendel, 'Schuberts Klaviersonaten 1822-1828', in ibid., *Nachdenken über Musik (*München, 1977), p. 92.
von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate', pp. 210–211.

[11] A thorough explanation of the 'type 2' sonata form is given in chapter 11 of Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, pp. 198–233.

[12] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, pp. 48–50, p. 141.

[13] Cameron Gardner posits a similar modular breakdown, with the secondary theme entering in bar 40, but he moves the beginning of the transition back to bar 11. See Cameron Gardner, 'Towards a Hermeneutic Understanding of Schubert's 1825 Piano Sonatas: Constructing and Deconstructing Interpretation from Expressive Opposition' (PhD diss., Cardiff University, 2006), pp. 200 ff.

require at times long and careful explanations, redolent of the 'intricate language' to which, according to Blumröder, Dürr had recourse in his analysis. These deformations imply a strong hermeneutic content and will be important windows into the eventual tragic reading of the movement.

The Medial Caesura is deformational as there is no gap, nor any drop in texture. As Hepokoski and Darcy state, an 'obvious' S enters in bar 40, despite TR passing into S-space without a break.[14] Although they state that in general if there is no medial caesura, there is no secondary theme, they do also propose something called 'workable MC' where an identification of S seems clear but it is not preceded by a normative MC. [15] This seems to be the case here. There is a similar gapless MC in the exposition of the opening movement of the 'Tragic' Symphony. In that case, however, there is nevertheless a clear separation between P/TR and S/C due to changes in material texture and dynamics at the onset of S. Here, the lack of an MC is even more conspicuous, owing to the minimal change in texture over bars 39–40 and the *fp* accent at the beginning of bar 40, which weakens the effect of a two-part exposition (with part 1 consisting of P and TR and part 2 of S and C). In the 'Tragic' Symphony the lack of an MC contributed to the sense of an exposition driven without respite all the way to the end – as if driven by ineluctable fate. Here, however, the deformational MC draws attention to other cuts or breaks in texture of the exposition which take place both before and after the workable MC. The first is over bars 25–26 where P and TR are separated by a crotchet rest and a change in register and texture, and the second is constituted by the two full bars rest of bars 60 and 62.

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[14] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 50: 'Another example of an "obvious" S-theme that is unprepared by a medial caesura may be found in the first movement of Schubert's Piano Sonata in A minor, D. 845. Here TR (m. 26) leads smoothly, in an unbroken string, to what turns out to be treated as a motivically related S in III at m. 40'.
[15] See Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, pp. 48–49, p. 52.

Example 6.2 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D845, first movement, bars 37–80.

As shown in Example 6.2, S itself begins in bar 40 with two phrases in the relative major III – those of bars 40–50 and bars 51–61 – the latter of which is a varied repeat of the first. S is non-normative for several reasons. Firstly, these two opening phrases consist of varied and decorated TR material, rather than consisting of a new idea or an idea based on P-space – both of which are more normative. Secondly, the passage of bars 51–61 breaks down in bar 61 and, after a bar's rest, P-based material enters in C minor (iii) in bar 63. The use of P-

based material in S-space is not uncommon *per se*. However, in these cases the most common treatment, in what Hepokoski terms the 'normative P-based S' is to find the P-based material at the beginning of the S-zone – a common treatment in Haydn.[16] Where P-material reoccurs after the start of S-space it is usually reserved for the closing zone – 'reserved as a possibility for the onset of C'.[17] This cannot be the case here since up to bar 63, there has been no PAC in S-space. However, there is another use of P-based material which Hepokoski discerns which occurs where S is seemingly having difficulty in bringing about the Essential Expositional Closure (EEC) and where 'P-material – especially its incipit – can intervene to take control of the drive to the PAC'.[18] This is the situation which they perceive to occur in D845/i

> In D. 845/i it is also relevant that this "unprepared S" proves incapable of sustaining itself all the way to the EEC at m.77. Instead, "S" breaks down *in extremis* at mm. 59–63, whereupon it is the negative, C-minor intrusion of the P-idea at m. 64 that carries this zone to the EEC – a sinister "lights-out" effect seeping into the emptiness of the void thus produced.[19]

A counter-argument to this interpretation, however, is that it could be argued that the P-based material does not drive to an EEC – that is, to a satisfactory PAC. A candidate for such an EEC – one which Hepokoski and Darcy choose – would be the cadence over bars 75–77. However, this cadence is weakened in several respects: its stepwise movement to scale degree $\hat{1}$ takes place in an inner voice under $\hat{5}$; the dynamic drops to *p* when this $\hat{1}$ is attained; and it is overlapped by the passage of bars 77–89 which alters the modality of the cadence and ends the exposition in the major mode. Other candidates would be the PACs that arise after bar 77 in the closing bars of the exposition. These, however, are merely thematic snippets, embodying what Hepokoski describes as an 'S-idea' which is here 'muttered out pianissimo as a "lost" or "failed" idea'.[20] They thus cannot be regarded as providing a satisfactory PAC EEC.

With the breakdown of the musical material in III in bar 61 and the failure to achieve a satisfactory PAC in iii over bars 75–77 we have a 'failed' exposition. This, for Hepokoski, is where S-space either fails to achieve a PAC or where the PAC it does achieve is 'immediately overridden, perhaps through thematic repetition, and subsequently lost or

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[16] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 140.
[17] See Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 140.
[18] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 140.
[19] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 50, n. 23.
[20] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 50, n. 23.

permanently undermined'.[21] The latter description seems to encapsulate the behaviour around bars 75–77 quite accurately. Furthermore, in this movement we have what we night term 'double failure', in the sense that S-space seems to be given two opportunities to achieve a PAC – in III in bars 40–61 and in iii in bars 63–77 after the return of P-based material – and fails both times. The fact that S-type material and P-type material both disintegrate and show signs of failure will have major implications for the tragic reading of the movement later in the chapter.

6.2 A Collision of Subjects

Carl Dahlhaus in his 1978 article on the first movement of the String Quartet in G major D887 encouraged an approach to the analysis of Schubert's sonata form which supplements the theory of sonata form with a theoretical approach of equal value, an approach which included a consideration of motivic-thematic working.[22] In particular, he shows how the thematic material is derived from a small number of motives which occur in D887's opening five bars and which develop in a 'musical chain of logic'.[23] Blumröder stresses that the challenges of the approach proposed by Dahlhaus are not to be underestimated, but agrees that a primary orientation on sonata form might not work in an analysis of the opening movement of D845.[24] The approach which he takes in analysing the opening movement involves, like Dahlhaus, an element of motivic working – an aspect of D845 that many commentators have noted.[25] Indeed, Blumröder shows that such recognition of motivic unity goes all the way back to the time of the work's composition, by giving the early example of Robert Schumann's 1835 review of the piano sonata.[26] As Blumröder describes, Schumann split the material of the first four bars into three separate motives, labelled M_1, M_2 and Q in

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[21] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 177.
[22] Carl Dahlhaus, 'Die Sonatenform bei Franz Schubert: Der erste Satz des G-dur Quartetts D887', *Musica* 32 (1978), pp. 125–130.
[23] Carl Dahlhaus, 'Sonata Form in Schubert: The First Movement of the G-Major String Quartet, op. 161 (D. 887)', trans. Thilo Reinhard, in *Schubert: Critical and Analytical Studies*, ed. Walter Frisch (University of Nebraska Press, 1986), p. 6.
[24] von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate', p. 211: 'Zieht man ein Fazit der bisher ausgebreiteten Überlegungen zum ersten Satz der *a-moll-Sonate* op. 42, so läβt sich nur schwer der Eindruck abwehren, daβ eine primäre Orientierung an der Sonatensatzform nicht unmittelbar zum erwünschten Ziel eines angemessenen Verstehens der kompositorischen Intentionen Schuberts zu führen verspricht'. ('If one draws a conclusion from the above remarks on the first movement of the Piano Sonata in A minor op. 42, it is that a primary orientation on sonata form does not necessarily lead us to the desired goal of a proper understanding of Schubert's compositional intentions'.) Ibid. p. 211: 'Zwar soll hier keineswegs die von Dahlhaus hervorgehobene Problematik unterschätzt werden, dem Erklärungsmodell der Sonatenform etwas theoretisch Gleichwertiges entgegenzusetzen'.
[25] For instance, Dürr, in his analysis referred to above, describes his secondary theme (*Seitenthema*) beginning in bar 26 as fundamentally only a variant of the primary theme (*Hauptthema*) (bars 1-10), see Dürr, 'Wer vermag nach Beethoven noch etwas zu machen?', p. 18: '[...] im Grunde nur eine Variante des Hauptthemas'.
[26] Robert Schumann, 'Sonaten für das Pianoforte' (1835), in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, ed. Martin Kreisig, 5th edition (Leipzig, 1914), vol. 1, p. 124.

Example 6.3.[27] Echoing future analyses that stress the generation of motives from other motives, Schumann states that the opening movement is 'so easily and simply built of two items that one must admire the magician which can put them so strangely in each other and against each other'.[28]

Example 6.3 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D845, first movement, bars 1–13.

Blumröder takes Schumann's motivic approach to the movement but extends it. He sees the motives M_1, M_2 and Q which Schumann identified as constituting, in agglomerate, a kernel of invention (*Erfindungskern*). This, in turn, is a term taken from Hans Eggebrecht who noticed that in many of Schubert's lieder such an *Erfindungskern* generates the rest of the content of the Lied.[29] In noticing that this kernel generates the rest of the movement, Blumröder merely restates Schumann's observation of the generative nature of the motives M_1, M_2 and Q. However, Blumröder goes further in describing the changes which take place within this particular concatenation of motives – that is, within this kernel of invention. For instance, he shows that the interval between the motives M_1 and M_2 gets greater as the movement progresses. In particular, in the first 10 bars the interval which joins the two motives M_1 and M_2 changes from a perfect fifth in bar 1 to a more dissonant diminished fifth (tritone) in bar 5 and the octave drop of motive M_2 in bars 1–2 becomes a dissonant ninth over bars 5–6. Not

[27] von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate', p. 211. Schumann uses M_1, M_2 and P, but in my diagram P has been changed to Q to avoid confusion with Sonata Theory notation.

[28] Robert Schumann, 'Sonaten für das Pianoforte', vol. 1, p. 124. Quoted in von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate', p. 211: '[Der erster Satz ist] so leicht und einfach aus zwei Stücken gebaut, daβ man den Zauberer bewundern muβ, der sie so seltsam in- und gegeneinander zu stellen weiβ'.

[29] Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, 'Prinzipien des Schubert-Liedes', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 27, no. 2 (1970), p. 89.

only that, Blumröder also regards this *Erfindungskern* as redolent of an *Empfindungskern* ('kernel of feeling') and an approximation of an 'aesthetic subject'.[30] He regards the manner in which this aesthetic subject changes as the movement progresses – such as the above mentioned modification of the interval of M_1 – as the underlying idea (*Idee*) of the movement.[31]

Blumröder's analysis in which changes to and developments within his aesthetic subject organically generate the movement evinces a processual notion of form. Similar processual notions were advanced by two other twentieth-century analysts, Theodor Adorno and Carl Dahlhaus, but in their case explicitly with reference to the philosophy of Hegel and to the music of Beethoven. Adorno and Dahlhaus are characterised by Janet Schmalfeldt as being the twentieth-century 'guardians' of a long-standing 'Beethoven-Hegelian tradition' stretching back into the early nineteenth century in which 'Hegelian concepts have been brought to bear on the question of form in the music of Beethoven' and which 'bears upon relationships between philosophical and musical thought from around the beginning of the nineteenth century'.[32] The tradition is traced by Schmalfeldt back to the 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony by E. T. A. Hoffmann which contains various proto-Hegelian ideas, such as *Geist*, the infinite and the absolute.[33] The tradition emerges in a fully-fledged form in the writings on Beethoven's form of A. B. Marx, who was resident in Berlin during the second half of Hegel's tenure at Humboldt's University of Berlin (1824–1830). Marx saw the task of the new era of criticism to be to show how form as a dynamic, organic process could realise its spiritual content – its underlying *Idee*.[34] This is redolent of Blumröder's analysis where the underlying *Idee* is revealed through changes in his aesthetic subject.

One of the most explicit expressions of the Beethoven-Hegelian tradition as it survived into the twentieth century is Adorno's pronouncement that 'Beethoven's music is Hegelian philosophy: but at the same time it is truer than that philosophy'.[35] The statement also restates the early nineteenth-century view of the German idealists as regards the elevation of art over philosophy. Both Adorno and Dahlhaus place a large emphasis on the Hegelian concept of 'becoming' (*Werden*). Accordingly, music is seen as evincing what Schmalfeldt terms a

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[30] On the concept of the 'aesthetic subject' as differentiated from the 'biographical subject' by analogy with the literary-theoretical 'lyrical I', see Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven und seine Zeit* (Laaber-Verlag, 1987), p. 60 ff.
[31] von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate', p. 212.
[32] Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 4, p. 9.
[33] Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 24.
[34] Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 25.
[35] Theodor Adorno, *Beethoven: the Philosophy of Music*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 14.

‘process of becoming’ and considered not as something fixed but something organic which constantly evolves. In particular the form-functional nature of passages are often reinterpreted – what Schmalfeldt terms ‘processual formal reinterpretation’.[36] This notion is exemplified in Dahlhaus’s analyses of Beethoven’s Piano Sonata op. 31 no. 2.[37] A particular aspect of these analyses which Schmalfeldt discusses involves the question of whether the passage of the first 21 bars forms an ‘introduction’ or a ‘theme’.[38] As shown in Example 6.4, the passage of bars 1–21, beginning unorthodoxly on a first inversion dominant upward arpeggio, has the air of an introduction owing, for Dahlhaus, to its loose character and syntactic open-endedness. The perfect authentic cadence (PAC) over bars 20–21, anchoring the music firmly in the tonic for the first time, then seems to herald the start of the primary theme (P). However, what follows is a modulatory passage of bars 21–42 which prompts the listener to reconsider its function and to reinterpret it as the transition (TR). The opening introductory bars are then in turn reinterpreted as a primary theme (P). In order to capture these reinterpretations, bars 1–21 are labelled, as shown in Example 6.4, as Intro => P and bars 21–41 as P => TR. Thus the answer to the question posed as to whether the first 21 bars constitute an introduction or a theme, and, by extension, whether the passage of bars 21–42 is a primary theme or a transition, is that they constitute neither, but rather music in the process of becoming. In Dahlhaus’s terms, ‘the beginning of the movement [bars 1–21] is not yet a subject, the evolutionary episode [bars 21–42] is one no longer’.[39]

[36] Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 9. In Schmalfeldt’s words Dahlhaus and Adorno ‘stand apart in their efforts to shed a post-Hegelian dialectical light upon the idea of formal function in reference to processuality’, see Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 36.
[37] Dahlhaus analyses the opening movement of op. 31 no. 2 four times in Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven und seine Zeit*. Schmalfeldt discusses aspects of these analyses in Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, pp. 37–50.
[38] See Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, pp. 37–50, where Schmalfeldt summarises Dahlhaus’s analyses.
[39] Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music*, trans. Mary Whittall (Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 170.

Example 6.4 Beethoven, Piano Sonata in D minor op. 31 no. 2, bars 1–22.[40]

Schmalfeldt encourages an application of such ideas to the first movement of the Piano Sonata D845.[41] As shown in Example 6.5, in a similar way to the Beethoven movement, the introduction-like first 26 bars (they are classified as such in Brendel's analysis above) can retrospectively be interpreted as a primary theme (Intro => P) once we have begun to sense the modulatory nature of the passage of bars 26–39. The modulatory passage itself (bars 26–39) starts out as if it is a P-theme – indeed in Brendel's analysis it is the primary theme – but once it begins to modulate it is reinterpreted as a transition (P=>TR).[42] Such considerations show that this is music to which the ideas of the Hegelian-Beethoven tradition can be instructively applied. Indeed, Blumröder's analysis, without reference to Hegel or a Hegelian musical tradition, seems to intuit that this is music 'in the process of becoming' when he

[40] Musical example taken from Ludwig van Beethoven, *Klaviersonaten*, vol. II (G. Henle Verlag, 1976).
[41] Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, pp. 113–131.
[42] For Schmalfeldt the initial designation of bar 26 as the beginning of the primary theme stems from the dominant-orientation of the first 25 bars which leads to bar 26 being experienced as a large 'structural downbeat' on root-position tonic harmony. See Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, pp. 118.

describes the opening 10 bars as ‘qualitatively more than a merely motivic basic formula but less than a self-contained theme’, and as standing ‘glistening between the two categories’.[43]

Example 6.5 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor D845, bars 1–31.

I also want to look at this movement, like Schmalfeldt, through a general Hegelian lens and also to develop the ideas of Blumröder whose analysis, as I have hinted several times above, has a kinship with the Beethoven-Hegelian tradition. However, I want to focus the lens on Hegel’s theory of tragedy in particular. As I will describe in the next section, this theory is imbued with notions of becoming – owing to its close relationship with the dialectic process – but the theory also hinges on the concepts of opposition and collision. These are aspects

[43] von Blumröder, ‘Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate’, p. 220: ‘[…] dessen Gestaltcharakter qualitative höher als eine bloβ motivische Grundformel, aber doch niedriger als ein geschlossenes Thema einzustufen ist, eigenartig schillernd zwischen den herkömmlichen Kategorien steht’. (‘whose Gestalt-character is to be defined as qualitatively more than a merely motivic basic formula but less than a self-contained theme – stands glistening between the two categories’).

which Blumröder's analysis does not capture, tracking as it does the unfolding of a single aesthetic subject, but yet are aspects which seem fundamental to the movement. For, despite the movement's inner motivic unity which Schumann and Blumröder intuit, on a surface level the P-type material (that of bars 1–26 and 63–77) and S-type material (that of bars 26–61) are very different in terms of register, dynamics, texture and modality. Indeed, as I will show, P-type and S-type material seem to vie for supremacy throughout the course of the movement. Schmalfeldt also appears to sense this when she writes that the 'new idea' of bars 26–27 'proposes itself as a *rival* to the opening gesture of the movement'.[44] Hegel's theory also stipulates that owing to their collision, the two tragic subjects both perish. This is redolent of the movement's 'double failure' – the failure first of S-type (in bar 63) then of P-type material (in bar 77) to achieve a PAC in S-space both in the exposition and the later correspondence measures.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to extend Blumröder's approach but to track two subjects – one consisting of P-type material and the other of S-type – to see how they interact and to compare such interaction with how tragic subjects collide in Hegel's theory of Greek tragedy. In bringing this analysis of subjects into the umbrella of Hegelian musical analysis I appeal most of all to Adorno, who never hesitated in referring to the composer's original theme as a 'subject' in the philosophical sense of the term, and in the sense in which the German idealists would use it.[45] The extension to two subjects can be justified by Dahlhaus and Schmalfeldt who hold that in reinterpreting the formal function of passages the original designation still exists, since in music which is in the process of becoming, all the moments taken together constitute the whole. Dahlhaus writes about the 'provisional meanings that the consciousness has left behind but not forgotten', and Schmalfeldt describes how 'the expression *in its entirety* serves to represent the formal function'.[46] Therefore bars 1–26 are not designated by their final reinterpretation P, but by Intro => P, and similarly bars 27–39 by P => TR. Therefore at some point in the musical trajectory both subjects represent the primary theme, corresponding in some sense to Adorno's 'original' theme.

The processual approach to form in which music is seen as being in a process of becoming has recently been incorporated into Sonata Theory under the title of Process Theory.[47] In terms of teleology, however, the two theories are very different. In Sonata Theory there is a

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[44] Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 122.
[45] Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 29.
[46] Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music*, p. 118, Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 12.
[47] Hepokoski, *Sonata Theory Handbook*, p. 21.

distinct moment – the ESC – which constitutes the *telos* or goal of the movement.[48] By contrast, in process theory, owing to its grounding within the Hegelian tradition, there are no moments in the musical trajectory which are more important than other and all the moments go together in making up the whole. As Dahlhaus expresses it: ‘To regard musical perception exclusively as a path towards a goal is to mistake how it works […] Rather the process is itself – paradoxically – the result […] *The path, not its end, is the goal'*.[49] Such a conception seems to encapsulate the essence of the movement better, a movement in which the EEC and ESC are very attenuated and unconvincing. Schmalfeldt shares my skepticism that there is a satisfactory EEC over bars 75–77, as Hepokoski and Darcy suggest, and intimates that a half cadence over bars 75-76 is also justified through ‘the physical and visual effect of relaxation’ at bar 76.[50] Such considerations imply that a Hegelian approach to form based on a process of becoming may be instructive here than Sonata Theory’s goal-oriented approach.

Despite its incorporation into Sonata Theory, Hepokoski avers that this does not preclude the demarcation of the normal action-zones P, TR, S/C. This cannot be asserted without some caveats in the case of D845, however. In particular, the statement that an ‘obvious S’ does indeed enter in bar 40, as Hepokoski and Darcy assert, may be challenged given its derivation of TR material. Furthermore, my particular reading of the movement’s trajectory, where P and S vie for supremacy, is in contrast to Sonata Theory’s characterisation of the action-zones. Although they often consist of very different material, Hepokoski and Darcy note that S-space is not as a rule ‘oppositional’ to P and that terms such as ‘opposition’ and ‘polarity’ are ‘unhelpful in this context’.[51] On the contrary, P and S are regarded as in some sense working together – it is P that launches the trajectory which culminates in the EEC in the exposition’s S-space and the ESC in the recapitulation’s. Therefore, although I will still be using Sonata Theory I recognise that my analysis will contain certain aspects antithetical to it in certain respects, and will thus be reliant upon its explicit eclecticism and flexibility.

6.3 The Piano Sonata D845 – a Hegelian Reading

Hegel’s view of tragedy emerges out of his general system of thought – a system in which the notion of tragedy plays a major role.[52] His philosophy, like that of all the idealists, deals with

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[48] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 232.
[49] Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music*, p. 114 and p. 118.
[50] Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 125.
[51] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 117.
[52] Billings, *Genealogy of the Tragic*, p. 161.

the Kantian duality of subjective consciousness and objective reality.[53] In *The Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807) he begins to trace the development of consciousness from a primitive state up to the acquisition of reason.[54] Having reached this point, however, Hegel leaves Kant's rational being behind and considers reason henceforth to be a social affair in which the rational subject has to come into contact and conflict with others.[55] Accordingly, the notion of the individual consciousness is replaced by the notion of an interaction of consciousness with the world, which Hegel calls *Geist* (spirit).[56] At the centre of Hegel's philosophy is an account of world history as a series of conflicts as a result of which *Geist* passes through a series of 'shapes of consciousness' with each shape being more rational and more advanced than its predecessor.[57] Such development occurs with *Geist* coming into contact with its other. In the *Phenomenology* he writes that *Geist* is 'this movement to become an other to itself, that is, an object of itself, and to sublate this being-other'.[58] The verb *aufheben*, which is translated as 'sublate', has a double meaning of both 'to destroy' and 'to lift up' and captures the process of both *Geist* and its other passing away and synthesising into a higher state of consciousness which retains properties of both.

Hegel regards Greek tragedy as being inherently dialectic and a reflection of historical processes which were unfolding in Ancient Greece.[59] As Hegel sees it, at the stage of development of *Geist* which then obtained, the allegiance to the family was at the point of being eroded by a sense of allegiance to the collective or state. Thus the set of moral customs of the collective – what Hegel terms 'ethical substance' (*Sittlichkeit*) – was becoming divided into two separate and irreconcilable views – one view that regarded duty to the family as paramount, and another conflicting view which regarded duty to the state as paramount. Greek tragedy always arises due to two subjects holding views reflecting different sides of this ethical substance – in Hegel's terms, one-sided views – and tragedy is characterised by this antithetical structure that will have to be sublated if *Geist* is to progress.[60]

Such a conflict of different sides of ethical substance is encapsulated in a work on which Hegel writes a great deal, the *Antigone* of Sophocles, a play which he regarded as the 'most

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[53] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 161.
[54] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 163–164.
[55] Terry Pinkard, *Hegel's Phenomenology: The Sociality of Reason* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 135.
[56] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 164.
[57] Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 111.
[58] Georg W.F. Hegel, *Werke in zwanzig Bänden*, ed. E. Moldenhauer and KM Michel (Suhrkamp, 1969), vol. 3, p. 38: 'Geist [...] ist diese Bewegung, sich ein Anderes, das heiβt Gegenstand seines Selbsts, zu werden und dieses Anderssein aufzuheben'. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 164.
[59] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 177.
[60] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 168–171.

magnificent and satisfying' of all the ancient plays.[61] Indeed, there is a close link between *Antigone* and Hegel's general theory of tragedy.[62] The play is set after a civil war in Thebes in which Antigone's brother Polyneices has betrayed the city and been killed by his own brother Eteocles. Antigone wants to give her brother a proper burial – a request refused by the ruler of Thebes, Creon. Antigone here is upholding the ancient divine law of the gods as well as carrying out her duty to her family to whom responsibility for the burial of men passed, although they were beholden to the state while alive.[63] In contrast, Creon represents the opposite side of ethical substance – the state rather than the family and the new laws which have come with this new state, whereby traitors are not to be given a proper burial.

At this stage in the development of *Geist* both tragic subjects – Antigone and Creon – can only see one side of ethical substance. In their one-sided views only one part of ethical substance is known to them and the other side is unknown.[64] In order for the whole of ethical substance to become known and to be unified both these one-sided positions must be sublated (*aufgehoben*) – that is, both must be destroyed and synthesised into a higher state. Accordingly, both Creon and Antigone hold to their one-sided positions throughout the play and both suffer and eventually perish due to their intransigence – Antigone is executed by the state, and Creon, after he realises the devastating effects his actions have had, commits suicide. However, in so doing, Greek society, for Hegel, progresses and the old contradictory state of affairs is replaced by a new sublated (*aufgehoben*) state, in which the opposed elements – the view of Antigone and Creon – are seen only to be partial truths.[65] Hegel states in his *Aesthetics* that 'the contemplation of such conflict and its resolution' is central to tragedy.[66] It is with the sublation of the two opposing views that such reconciliation is achieved.

These Hegelian concepts of collision and reconciliation will be utilised in the analysis of the opening movement of D845. Similar to the way in which Blumröder looked at changes in his aesthetic subject as the movement progresses, we can see how our two different P-type and S-type subjects, understood as tragic subjects, develop. In the analysis, I will label the subject which introduces P-type material as Subject α. On its first appearance it will constitute Blumröder's abbreviation of an aesthetic subject (the concatenation of motives M1, M2 and

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[61] Georg W.F. Hegel, *Hegel's Aesthetics*: *Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox (Clarendon, 1975), p. 1218.
[62] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 170.
[63] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 170.
[64] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 171.
[65] Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 164–165.
[66] Hegel, *Aesthetics*: *Lectures on Fine Art*, pp. 1196–1199.

Q) and will last until the entrance of S-type material in bar 26. This will herald the entrance of subject β until it breaks down in bar 61.

Example 6.6 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D845, first movement, bars 1–31.

As shown in Example 6.6, on its first appearance in bars 1–25, a salient feature of subject α is its dominant-orientation.[67] Characteristics which contribute to this are the down beat notes of bars 1–4 being part of the tonic triad of E major, the half cadences i:HC in bars 4 and 10 and the dominant pedal note over bars 10–19. This encourages an interpretation of the passage of bars 10–25 as a dominant preparation for the entrance of firmly rooted A minor harmony in bar 26 and extinguishes the idea of any putative elided PAC over bars 25–26. Another feature of this first iteration of subject α is rhythmic ambiguity created by mid-bar accents in bars 1, 5, 13 and 17. There is also a conspicuous a $\hat{5}$–$\hat{6}$ neighbour-note motion which is ubiquitous

[67] Schmalfeldt notes the dominant-oriented nature of the primary theme and sees bars 10–25 as a prolongation of dominant harmony, see Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 121.

throughout, shown in Example 6.6. Such $\hat{5}$–$\hat{6}$ neighbour-note motion also appears in the bass voice in bars 19–25 where the previous dominant pedal is raised to F for 4 bars (bars 20–23) before descending back again to E in bar 24.

In contrast, subject β's beginning of bars 26–39, has very different characteristics (see Example 6.6). It is in a lower register, it enters *ff*, it contains neither ornamentation nor pedal points and it is metrically very stable and rhythmically unambiguous. It is also more tonic-oriented with tonic harmony occurring on the first beat of each of its opening four bars. The differences between subject α and subject β on their first appearance are summarised in Example 6.7.

Example 6.7 'One-sided' aspects of subjects α and β on their first appearance in bars 1–25 and bars 26–39 respectively.

Subject α	**Subject β**
Mid-bar accents, syncopation	Regular rhythm
Ornamentation	Little ornamentation
Dominant-oriented	Tonic-oriented
Half cadences	Evaded authentic cadences
$\hat{5}$ - $\hat{6}$ motion	$\hat{1}$ - $\hat{2}$ motion
Tonal areas of i and iii	Tonal areas of i and III
enters *piano*	enters *forte*

The oppositional nature of subject β is heightened by the manner of its appearance. We can say that it is the opposite of subject α not just in its different character but in the way that it seems to oppose subject α by its aggressive entrance before subject α can achieve an authentic cadence. This is the case for tragic subjects, since they, as Hegel expresses it, can only assert their justification 'by negating and damaging the equally justified power of the other'.[68] Subject β announces its dominance due to its metrical stability, after the metrical instability of subject α, and almost comes across as uncouth or aggressive after the subtleties of subject α. Subject α contains sophisticated voice leading patterns whereas in subject β there is simply the alternation of tonic and dominant harmony after a hammered out octave motive. Such a violent entrance as occurs in bar 26 is typical of a tragic hero. In his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* Hegel writes that heroes appear as 'violent' and as

[68] Hegel, *Aesthetics*: *Lectures on Fine Art*, p. 1196.

‘transgressing laws’. The new principle, in contradiction to the previous one, ‘appears as destructive’.[69]

Both subjects, in view of their very different attributes on their first appearance, can be said to represent one-sided or partial truths. As they unfold, however, they begin to lose some of their one-sidedness. Not only do their one-sided characteristics begin to drop out but, owing to their mutually antithetical nature, they appear to take on characteristics of the other subject. It is in bars 40–61 that subject β begins to lose some of the one-sided positions it had in bars 26–39. In general terms, as shown in Example 6.8, subject β’s process from its original uncouth appearance, in bars 26–39, into its more refined variant, in bars 40–61, brings it closer to the higher level of subtlety of subject α’s original appearance. In terms of particular characteristics, three characteristics of subject α begin to appear in bars 40–61. Firstly, $\hat{5}$–$\hat{6}$ neighbour-note motion (a characteristic of subject α) appears. Secondly, an intermittent internal dominant pedal appears – a feature of subject α in bars 1–26. Thirdly, subject β begins to become more dominant oriented like subject α – in subject β’s first appearance, the first four two-bar modules in bars 26–33 all begin on $\hat{1}$ but from bar 40 the thematic blocks begin on $\hat{5}$ (cf. bars 40, 44, 51).

[69] Georg W.F. Hegel, *Werke in zwanzig Bänden*, ed. E. Moldenhauer and K.M. Michel (Suhrkamp, 1969), vol. 18, p. 515, Translation from Roche, ‘Introduction to Hegel's Theory of tragedy’, p. 13: ‘That is the position of heroes in world history generally; through them a new world dawns. This new principle is in contradiction with the previous one, appears as destructive; the heroes appear, therefore, as violent, transgressing laws. Individually, they are vanquished; but this principle persists, if in a different form, and buries the present’.

Example 6.8 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D845, first movement, bars 37–68.

Such a stripping away of these partial one-sided positions to reveal areas of agreement, is a fundamental part of the tragic process for Hegel as it is through this process that these one-sided positions perish.[70] Indeed, the defeat of each of the one-sided positions is imperative for the dialectic process to move forward. Accordingly, subject β seems to break down completely in the course of bars 40–61. Such disintegration appears intimately bound up with its failure – that is, its ability to achieve a strong authoritative PAC. It fails to achieve a PAC in its opening phrase of bars 40–51 with the insertion of the scale degree $\hat{5}$ in the upper voice for the expected $\hat{1}$ after the $\hat{2}/V^7$ in bar 50. Its second phrase (bars 51–61) has another attempt at a PAC and this is the precise moment at which the subject perishes, with the silence of the two empty bars 60 and 62.

Such behaviour recalls the Aristotelian notions of *hamartia* and *peripeteia*. Although the reliance on Aristotle and the slavish following of his rules dwindled throughout the eighteenth century, Hegel, like the other idealists, still engaged with the *Poetics*, with many

[70] Mark Roche, 'Introduction to Hegel's Theory of tragedy', *PhaenEx* 1 no. 2 (2006), p. 18.

of Aristotle's concepts around tragic art being subjected to a reinterpretation. Hegel, himself, although he does not use the term *hamartia*, describes the fault or guilt of the protagonists as an ingredient of tragic drama. The fault of the tragic protagonist, or his guilt, is precisely the 'one-sidedness' of his opinion and the fact that they have allowed 'mere *difference* of the constituents [of ethical substance] to become perverted into opposition'.[71] There are echoes of this in the way that subject β owing to its one-sidedness fails to achieve a PAC. Indeed, although often translated as 'fatal flaw', as the linguistics scholar Jules Brody notes the verb from which it derives, *hamartano* means 'to miss the mark' or 'to fall short of an objective'.[72] As in Aristotle, for Hegel *hamartia* is linked to *peripeteia* (reversal of fortune) in that the tragic subject's guilt – that of one-sidedness – is what brings about his reversal of fortune.[73] This is redolent of the way that subject β disintegrates shortly after its failure to achieve a PAC.

The deformational gapless MC can be seen here to be hermeneutically significant in that it foregrounds the break in texture at the collapse of subject β, rather than any break within the trajectory of the subject. In my Hegelian interpretation, the deformational activity that I identified earlier of subject α's reappearance in bar 63, occuring at precisely the moment when subject β has been vanquished, also now has a hermeneutic explanation. For after the defeat of subject β, owing to the antithetical and dialectic relationship between the two subjects, it is subject α which now steps in the fill the void.

As if to underline the momentary victory of subject α, when it returns in bars 63–76 it remains in the minor mode, rather than being inflected into the major as subject β was (see Example 6.8). Its entrance, however, is not triumphant, and indeed Hepokoski's description of this reappearance of P-type material 'seeping into the emptiness of the void thus produced' seems quite apt.[74] In tragedy, for Hegel, each of the tragic subjects is 'just as much involved in guilt' – that is, in its one-sidedness.[75] Subject α has also been damaged by the collision and, just as the collision of the two subjects had caused subject β to take on some of subject α's characteristics in bars 40–61, so here, in bars 63–77, subject α loses some of its one-sidedness and takes on some of subject β's. Firstly, subject α now shares a key (although the mode is different) with subject β's second appearance of bars 40–61. Secondly, it is now less

[71] Hegel, *Aesthetics*: *Lectures on Fine Art*, p. 1196–1197.
[72] Brody, 'Fate, Philology, Freud', p. 23.
[73] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 182.
[74] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 50, n. 23.
[75] Hegel, *Aesthetics*: *Lectures on Fine Art*, p. 1196, quoted in Roche, 'Introduction to Hegel's Theory of tragedy', p. 12.

dominant-oriented – instead of consisting of a series of half cadences and a dominant lock as in its first appearance, now its second phrase ends on an IAC over bars 70–71 and its third on an (albeit very weak and attenuated) PAC over bars 75–77. Thirdly, it is also more metrically stable than in bars 1–25 with less syncopation, bringing it closer to subject β's metrical stability. The fact that the chords of bars 75–77 are clearly placed on the downbeat of each bar make this stability particularly manifest.

For Hegel, in tragedy both of the positions representing each side of ethical substance are equally justified – and thus equally unjustified – owing to one-sidedness. For example, since both Antigone and Creon are involved in the guilt of having held one-sided views they each have their own *hamartia*.[76] Accordingly, they must both be punished in order that the whole of ethical substance can be glimpsed and its unity can be vindicated.[77] Each position must perish – be punished for their *hamartia* of holding a one-sided truth – since each of the one-sided positions are constituted through their relationship with the other.[78] The musical narrative is reminiscent of this symmetry of punishment since, like subject β, subject α fails to achieve a PAC and, also like subject β, it breaks down. Subject α's *peripeteia* is perhaps not as dramatic as subject β's but, after its *hamartia* in failing to achieve a PAC in bars 75–77, the way in which it is interrupted by a motive of subject β in the major mode in bar 77 is nevertheless redolent of its demise. Indeed subject α does not return again in its original form of bars 1–25. Only disjointed, unstable snippets of it appear in various tonalities in the final bars of the development section (bars 145–185) before the correspondence measures begin in bar 186 with a TR-based passage (bars 186–200).

By bar 77, then, both subjects have been vanquished. Despite this, in bars 77–89, elements of subject α and subject β persist. Indeed, in this passage, elements or remnants of subject α and subject β are juxtaposed for the first time as shown in Example 6.9. In his *Lectures of the History of Philosophy* Hegel wrote that although tragic heroes are 'individually vanquished', their 'principle persists'.[79] Accordingly, as shown in Example 6.9, here the principle of subject β persists in a *pp* gentler harmonised version in bars 77–81. Similarly the opening three-note figure of subject α also persists in bars 81–83 despite its previous vanquishing. For Hepokoski, this return of the 'S-idea' in bars 77–79 is seen as a 'lost' or 'failed' idea

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[76] Young, *The Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 117.
[77] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 174.
[78] Roche, 'Introduction to Hegel's Theory of tragedy', pp. 17–18.
[79] Georg W.F. Hegel, *Werke in zwanzig Bänden*, ed. E. Moldenhauer and K.M. Michel (Suhrkamp, 1969), vol. 18, p. 515, Translation from Roche, 'Introduction to Hegel's Theory of tragedy', p. 13.

'muttered out pianissimo'.[80] However, in my Hegelian interpretation, this remnant of subject β is not a symbol of its failure but of its participation in the eventual tragic trajectory of synthesis and reconciliation. The stripping away of one-sidedness, which we saw in bars 40–76, continues here also, adding to the sense of synthesis. The motive μ in the fragment of subject β is derived from the motive containing the drop of an octave from the beginning of S in bar 26. It conversion into a drop of a fourth gives it more of a dominant orientation more associated with subject α. On the other hand, motive λ is the opening motive of subject α, but its lower register brings it into the tessitura of subject β's first appearance.

Example 6.9 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D845, first movement, bars 75–91.

remnants of subject β

remnants of subject α

As noted above, reconciliation is for Hegel a necessary ingredient of tragedy.[81] Like the other idealists, he also associates reconciliation in some sense with Aristotelian *catharsis*, with something akin to *catharsis* being attained by the characters when they give up their previous one-sided certainties.[82] Accordingly, after subjects α and β have given up some of their one-

[80] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 50, n. 23.
[81] Hegel, *Aesthetics*: *Lectures on Fine Art*, p. 1193.
[82] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 183.

sidedness in bars 40–76, there is a feeling of reconciliation in this passage of bars 77–89 owing to their ideas being juxtaposed. The feeling of reconciliation is heightened by the fact that the only satisfactory PACs are provided here after fragments drawn from subject β (over bars 78–79 and bars 80–81) and after fragments from subject α (over bars 83–84 and bars 86–87) . This provides an anchor and stability which was lacking in bars 40–76 when subjects α and β lost their one-sidedness and collapsed. Such stability, and the presence of the major mode, communicate the sense that subjects α and β are reconciled to their fate – that, although they are vanquished, remnants of their one-sided positions still persist and contribute to the dialectic process. This passage of bars 77–89 can be read as being the most tragic of the movement in Hegel's terms, for it represents the culmination of the process of 'opposition, negation, and reconstitution' (in the way that it is built of remnants of subjects α and β) which Billings regards as fundamental for his theory of tragedy.[83]

The sense of reconciliation in this passage is further heightened by the fact that the one of the few motives that subjects α and β have in common is brought to the fore, stressing their underlying unity despite their originally very different superficial features. This motive is occluded in subject α due to registral changes in the voices, but this motive – motive δ – is shown in Example 6.10 as being embedded within both subjects on their first appearance. Example 6.11 shows this motive's appearance in the later passage of bars 77–89 zone. For Hegel, in tragedy one-sided positions are shown to be manifestations of a single unity.[84] This reappearance of motive δ in this passage of reconciliation is redolent of this.

[83] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 169.
[84] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 183.

Example 6.10 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D845, first movement, (a) bars 1–13, (b) bars 26–31.

Example 6.11 Schubert, Piano Sonata D845, first movement, bars 75–91.

Due to its isolation and foregrounding in this passage, as well as its derivation from both of the one-sided subjects, in my Hegelian reading this motive δ could be regarded as the ethical substance re-emerging, after it was torn asunder by the assertion of the two one-sided truths. In Hegel's theory of tragedy, although the subjects do not know it at the stage of *Geist* before *Aufhebung*, they both share an element of ethical substance buried within their one-sided positions. This however is occluded because what they share belongs to the unknown side of their consciousness.[85] It is only when their one-sided positions are stripped away that this fundamental truth is revealed. As Hegel expresses it the 'eternal substance of things emerges victorious in a reconciling way, because it strips away from conflicting individuals only their false one-sidedness, while the positive elements in what they willed it displays as what is to be retained, without discord but affirmatively harmonized'.[86] The manner in which motive δ is retained is reminiscent of this process.

Along with the idea, mentioned above, that the subjects achieve something like *catharsis* when they give up their one-sided positions, another aspect of *catharsis* occurs for Hegel – perhaps *catharsis* for the audience – when the supremacy of the whole of ethical life is recognised when purged of its one-sidedness.[87] As he expresses it, such a reconciliation 'restores the substance and unity of ethical life with the downfall of the individual which has disturbed its peace'.[88] However, it is only after the destruction of both subjects (subject β in bar 61 and subject α over bars 75–77) that the individual remnants are reconciled and the part of ethical substance which they shared is revealed. Hegel's reinterpretations of Aristotle's concepts of *peripeteia* (reversal of fortune) and *anagnorisis* (recognition) come into play here. They are linked to *hamartia*, in that the tragic subject's guilt – that of one-sidedness – is what brings about his reversal of misfortune. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle lauds the coincidence of *peripeteia* and *anagnorisis* in the tragedy *Oedipus Tyrannos*. However, in Hegel, the *peripeteia* – in the form of punishment for onesidedness – comes first.[89] The recognition (*anagnorisis*) that the opinion was too one sided and only represented a part of ethical substance is only recognised later in retrospect. If bars 40–77 can be read as representing the *peripeteia* of the subjects due to their *hamartia*, then the passage of bars 77–89 represents the later, retrospective *anagnorisis*.

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[85] See Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 171.
[86] Hegel, *Aesthetics*: *Lectures on Fine Art*, p. 1199.
[87] Roche, 'Introduction to Hegel's Theory of tragedy', pp. 17–18.
[88] Hegel, *Aesthetics*: *Lectures on Fine Art*, p. 1196–1199.
[89] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 182.

Example 6.12 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D845, first movement, bars 123–131.

More remnants of subject α and subject β persist in the development section. The allusions are relegated to the bass voice as shown in Example 6.12. Whereas in bars 77–89 the octave drop from subject β was reduced to the drop of a fourth, here it is reduced to repeated notes. An allusion to motive δ can also be glimpsed in an inner voice in bars 125–126. The fundamental nature of motive δ as the embedded truth within subjects α and β is also shown by the preeminent role it plays in the movement's coda. As can be seen in Example 6.13, the motive δ appears with subject α material in bars 275–280 (i.e. with the three-note stepwise motive λ). It appears (with its contour slightly varied) with subject β material in bars 283–297. Then, from bar 298, all references to subjects α and β drop out and the truth motive is the only one to remain. The fundamental nature of the motive is also manifest in the allusion to the motive in the final bars of the fourth movement as shown in Example 6.14. Here, the motive is foregrounded by the fact that it occurs in the final moments of the *ff* dynamic before the *decrescendo* and *p* dynamic of bars 532–544 and in the highest register achieved in the coda of the final movement. This is a hint at a cyclic unity present in this piano sonata which we rarely find in other of Schubert's works in this genre.

Example 6.13 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D845, first movement, bars 273–311.

Example 6.14 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor D845, fourth movement, bars 522–549.

The idea of subjects asserting separate truths is redolent of Theodor Adorno's famous description of Schubert's themes as 'truth characters' given in his essay on the centenary of the composer's death in 1928.[90] In my reading, subjects α and β can be considered to be truth characters, but they represent only partial truths, only one-sided views of an overall underlying ethical substance. The truth which they both share is buried within them and the trajectory of the movement is geared towards a process of revealing this truth. At the start – before *Aufhebung* and the stripping away of one-sidedness – it is unknown to their consciousness. The truth emerges slowly – only in the final few bars of the exposition – but is blazoned forth in the final bars of the coda, isolated, in stark octaves.

As we detected allusions to certain mythological Lieder in the opening movements of the 'Tragic' Symphony D417, of the 1817 Piano Sonata in A minor D537 (*Memnon* D541), and of the 1823 Piano Sonata in A minor D784 (*Die Götter Griechenlands* D677), so combinations of motives in the opening movement of D845 seem to have extra-musical connotations. The initial three-note motive of subject α (motive λ) concatenated with the

[90] Theodor Adorno, 'Schubert' (1928), trans. Jonathan Dunsby and Beate Perrey, *Nineteenth-Century Music* 29 no. 1 (2005), pp. 3–14.

fundamental motive δ enters for the first time in bars 81–83 (see Example 6.15). This concatenation of motives is reminiscent of a similar idea in the Lied *Totengräbers Heimweh* D842, written in the same month as the piano sonata, a similarity noted by various writers.[91] There are, however, other thematic similarities between the material of bars 77–89 of the piano sonata and the passage of bars 39–48 in the Lied. As shown in Example 6.15, the motive of three stepwise descending notes followed by the fall of a fourth in C minor in bar 41 of the Lied (labelled as motive π) is echoed in the major mode in the piano sonata over bars 78–79. Furthermore, both passages contain four motives of a descending fourth (labelled * in Example 6.15).

Example 6.15 (a) Schubert, *Totengräbers Heimweh*, D842, bars 40–51, (b) Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D845, first movement, bars 75–91.

[91] John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 405–406; von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate', pp .216–217; Cameron Gardner, 'Towards a Hermeneutic Understanding of Schubert's 1825 Piano Sonatas: Constructing and Deconstructing Interpretation from Expressive Opposition' (PhD diss., Cardiff University, 2006), pp. 196–199.

The words to which the music of bars 39–48 is set in the Lied are ‘abandoned by all, given only to death, I stand at the edge with cross in hand, and stare with longing deep into the grave’.[92] It is entirely in keeping with my reading that such allusions to a Lied about death turn up in this movement as in Hegel’s system tragedy involves the death of particulars, both of which are synthesized to a higher unity. The German literature scholar Mark W. Roche expresses the process by writing that for Hegel, in tragedy ‘the human result is death, but the absolute end is the reestablishment of ethical substance’.[93] The allusion here can thus be read as being not to death *per se* but the death of subjects α and β due to their tragic collision, whose principles persist in a higher unity. Indeed, the first allusion to the Lied (bars 81–83 of the piano sonata) takes place in my reading just after the death of the two one-sided subjects α and β, and forms part of the reconciliatory passage of bars 77–89. It also permeates the movement at later stages – at the beginning of the development section (in bars 91–100) and throughout the coda (bars 247–311). This is unsurprising since the allusion contains within it the fundamental motive of ethical substance motive δ.

My Hegelian reading of the opening movement provides another way of looking at the movement in addition to Sonata Theory and represents a reading in line with the ideas of later idealism. In line with my overall approach I do not intend to suggest that all of the ideas are

[92] ‘Von allen verlassen,/ Dem Tod nur verwandt,/ Verweil ich am Rande/ Das Kreuz in der Hand/ Und starre mit sehnendem Blick/ Hinab, ins tiefe Grab’.
[93] Roche, ‘Introduction to Hegel's Theory of tragedy’, pp. 17–18.

consciously employed by Schubert, nor that my reading in some sense 'solves' the work or unlocks any hidden meaning. I do however propose that such a reading brings out the oppositional nature of the material – in particular that of P and S – and allows the work to be seen in the context of contemporary philosophy. For Hegel's ideas on tragedy – representing something of an amalgam of conflict and reconciliation – did not come out of a vacuum and can be seen as deriving from many strands of idealism, strands which constituted the dominant philosophical outlook of the time and something of the spirit of the age. The notion of conflict is inherent in A. W. Schlegel's and Schiller's theory of tragedy. For instance, A. W. Schlegel writes in his lectures of the poles of the tragic world – those of freedom and necessity, and the way in which 'each idea is brought to appearance first through the opposition with the other'.[94] Schiller's conception of tragedy as a reaction to the challenge posed by the sublime highlights conflict or opposition as its essential ingredient.[95] On the other hand, the idea of reconciliation can be traced back to the paradigm of tragedy which crystallises around 1800. In particular, Hegel's notion of the reconciliation of opposing positions into a unified whole is redolent of Schelling's fusion of freedom and necessity in the absolute.[96]

The reading of the piano sonata is not only in line with contemporary philosophical trends but also with contemporary aesthetics where art was felt to be able to show or elucidate philosophical truths. In particular, such a depiction in art of the dialectical process and the progress of *Geist* is not alien to Hegel's world view, since Hegel uses works of art to elucidate stages of world history in his *Phenomenology*.[97] His use of Greek tragedy as a representation of the development of Athenian society is merely a particular case of this.

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[94] Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen*, vol. 1, pp. 721–722. Translation from Billings, *Genealogy*, pp. 99–100.
[95] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 89.
[96] Billings, *Genealogy*, p 183.
[97] Billings, *Genealogy*, p. 176.

Chapter 7. Schubert, the Re-discoverer of the Tragic

7.1 Schubert's Tragic Works and their Unifying Features

As the previous chapters have shown, the way in which a tragic narrative can be read into sonata-form movements is varied and can take place or various levels, utilising different interpretations of tragic art. This ranges from readings incorporating the collision-laden view of tragedy of Hegel, to the challenge of the sublime proposed by Schiller, to the notion of tragedy as representing a struggle between man and fate shared by the early idealists. The centrality of the tragic to artistic and philosophical thought in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as the fact that the *Zeitgeist* extolled the ability of art to present fundamental truths which philosophy could not express, encourages such interpretations. Furthermore, owing to the connection between literature and music which obtained at the time, it is unsurprising that elements of the philosophy of the tragic can be read in musical works. In Schubert's works there are expressive and formal elements whose interpretation is facilitated by an understanding of the centrality of the tragic and Greek tragedy to this generation.

Musical hermeneutics and narrative readings in general admit of a certain eclecticism owing to the abundant ways meaning can manifest itself. This phenomenon is multiplied in readings of musical works using contemporary theories of tragedy owing to the variation of these theories and their philosophical richness. Indeed, the previous chapters have also demonstrated that the notion of the tragic – both in the localised understanding of the German idealists and in general – is a much more complex notion than merely the representation of a sad tale containing suffering. It can be interpreted as being about joy as well as mourning, destruction as well as creation, and reconciliation as well as conflict. Any reading which imputes a tragic narrative to a musical work must bear such complexities of the genre in mind.

The multifarious nature of theories of tragedy is in part due to the fact that philosophical theories of tragedy in general have generally been evaluative rather than descriptive. Philosophers over the centuries have tended not to be interested so much in tragedy's essence *per se*, but rather in what makes tragedy great, or in Julian Young's terms, what is its 'highest vocation' – what it needs to be like in order to achieve its highest significance.[1] In order to do

[1] Young, *Philosophy of Tragedy*, p. 264.

this they have tended to focus on one or a handful of tragedies which back up their point. This is equally true of German idealism who elevated Sophocles to a god-like stature, admired Aeschylus but almost completely neglected Euripides (who wrote far more tragedies that the other two combined). Although in August Schlegel's lectures an attempt is made to speak of tragedy or the tragic in general terms this was not the norm and Joshua Billings notes a division in idealist thought between Schiller, Schelling and the Schlegel brothers who tended to concentrate on *Oedipus Tyrannos* and Hegel and Hölderlin who concentrated more on *Antigone*. *The Eumenides* also featured strongly in their discussions due to its affirmative, reconciliatory aspect which idealism was at pains to stress.

A central underpinning of the approach taken to the music in this study is that it is in the context of contemporary understandings of tragedy against which these works must be seen and in approaching the music I have concentrated almost entirely on what the tragic would have meant at the time and place of the works' creation. When Schubert's contemporaries wrote about tragedy they meant Aeschylus and Sophocles, not Euripides and Seneca, and particular plays such as the *Oedipus Tyrannos*, *Antigone*, and *The Eumenides*. The telescoping of German idealism to a handful of specific tragedies is a warning against attempting to assign something like a 'tragic' narrative to a work of the period based on modern views of tragedy (or indeed ancient views such as Aristotle's). To do so would be anachronistic.

Even within German idealism alone, localised to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there are differences in emphasis. With these different coeval interpretations utilising different plays, and such variety in the way these interpretations can be read as manifesting themselves in musical works, it may seem impossible to talk of a 'tragic' narrative. Hegel's idea of a tragic narrative would be quite separate from Schiller's, let alone Aristotle's. However, each of these interpretations is not *sui generis* and arbitrary, and there are recurring themes which come up owing to their common Kantian foundation and the fact that the thinkers were connected through friendship and correspondence. Examples include the reconciliatory nature of many of the interpretations and the aesthetics of the sublime. Similarly, despite the fact that the readings of the instrumental works in this study draw on different aspects of German philhellenism and theories of tragedy, they share certain unifying features which can be seen as breathing the essence of the tragic. In short, I believe we can still talk of a 'tragic' narrative, so long as the localised nature (both spatially and temporally) of the genre's interpretation is recognised together with the genre's complexity.

As stated, earlier, I believe fundamentally that the three Piano Sonatas share unifying features with each other (as well as with the 'Tragic' Symphony) and that there is value in assessing these three Piano Sonatas as a set – not as a set consciously put together by Schubert, but rather as works which are linked through these tragic lineaments. Here, having reached the other side of their analysis, I am in a better position to justify such claims. Here I will assess not only the features which the three Piano Sonatas share with each other but also what they share with the 'Tragic' Symphony. This is the power of the definite hermeneutic window of the 'Tragic' title of the Symphony. The fact that many salient and deformational aspects of the symphony can be found in the three Piano Sonatas strengthens the claim that they also are motivated by a general sense of the tragic.

One of the aspects of the 'Tragic' Symphony which distinguished it from the other symphonies is its cyclic unity, in particular its three-note anacrusis motive. It seems as if Schubert attempted a similar treatment in the Piano Sonata D845, and Blumröder and Schmalfeldt both stress the motivic unity between all four of its movements. For example, Blumröder demonstrates that the three motives that Schumann identified – M_1, M_2 and Q – appear in all four movements.[2] Furthermore, Schmalfeldt describes the $\hat{5}$–$\hat{6}$ neighbour-note motion which is ubiquitous in the primary theme of the opening movement as a 'subcutaneous *idée fixe* to be probed in guises throughout the complete work'.[3] Such $\hat{5}$–$\hat{6}$ motion can also be found in the 'Tragic' Symphony. This is prefigured in the opening motive of the Symphony's introduction with the move to A♭ ($\hat{6}$) in bar 2 and the descent to G ($\hat{5}$) in bar 3. Scale degrees $\hat{5}$ and $\hat{6}$ are also prevalent in the primary themes of the outer movements, as well as in the minor key episodes of the slow movement.

Neighbour-note $\hat{5}$–$\hat{6}$ motion is something which unifies all three of the Piano Sonatas. As well as being ubiquitous in D845 as shown, it is also found in the primary themes of D537/i and D784/i as Example 7.1 shows. It also has structural implications for these works as a whole. In D537/i the sixth scale degree (F) is tonicised in the secondary theme from bar 28. Furthermore, in D537/ii the keys of the refrains of the second movement Rondo are E major–F major–E major which mirrors the $\hat{5}$–$\hat{6}$–$\hat{5}$ motion of the first movement's primary theme (P) – an instance of scale degrees pointing forward to tonal areas which we saw in the 'Tragic' Symphony. The $\hat{5}$–$\hat{6}$ motive also has structural implications in D784/i. It is not, as in D537/i,

[2] von Blumröder, 'Zur Analyse von Schuberts Klaviersonate in a-moll op. 42', pp. 219–220.
[3] Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming*, p. 130.

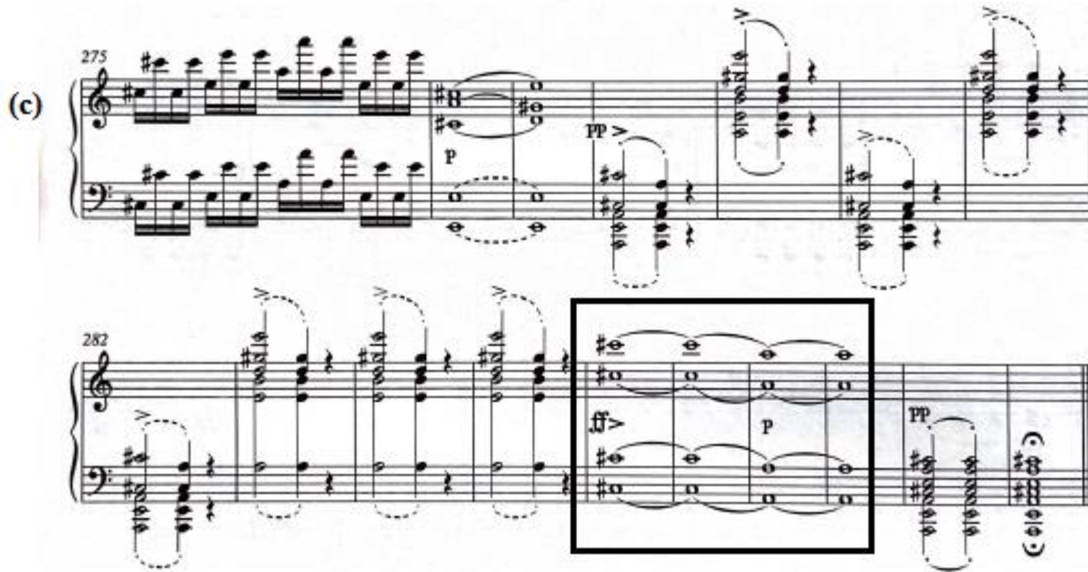
the secondary theme which is in F major, but the development section – indeed the development section takes place almost entirely in F major. F major is also the key of the second movement of D784. The sixth degree (A♭) also had structural implications for the 'Tragic' Symphony – it being the key of the beginning of S-space in both outer movements' expositions, and the key of the slow movement. Again, this underlines the kinship the Symphony has with these Piano Sonatas.

Example 7.1 $\hat{5}$–$\hat{6}$ neighbour-note motion in opening movements of (a) Piano Sonata in A minor, D537, bars 1–8 and (b) Piano Sonata in A minor, D784, bars 1–17.

The similarities between the opening movements of the three Piano Sonatas are not limited to the $\hat{5}$–$\hat{6}$ motive. Although we have drawn readings of all three from slightly different areas of idealism and German Philhellenism, there are philosophical similarities between them. The opening movement of the Piano Sonata D784 was analysed using Schiller's theory of tragedy as the overcoming of the sublime, but D537/i evinces similar elements in my reading taken

from the figure of Memnon whose suffering also shares aspects of the sublime – although a Schellingian form rather than a Schillerian one. Furthermore, the element of opposition we have seen in the Hegelian reading of D845/i is also shown in the antithetical nature of the primary and secondary themes in the opening movement of the Piano Sonata D784, in which we characterised S and representing nature and P as anti-nature or estrangement from nature. Furthermore, once nature and its opposite have been brought face to face, a motive which they share – the motive of a falling third – is subsequently isolated and survives into the coda, as shown in Example 7.2. This is similar to the treatment in D845/i of the eternal substance – motive δ – which is buried within the two subjects and which is also subsequently isolated and foregrounded in the coda. Hence across all three we have elements of the sublime, of antithetical collision and of reconciliation – all aspects of idealist theories of the tragic.

Example 7.2 Schubert, Piano Sonata in A minor, D784, first movement, (a) bars 1–4, (b) bars 90–93, (c) bars 282–291.



Further similarities, and invocations of the tragic, involve the ambiguous and paradoxical behaviour of the opening movements as they approach the ESC. Ambiguity and paradox were recognised as a fundamental aspect of tragedy for the idealists – especially Hölderlin for whom tragedy was best understood through paradox. As in the 'Tragic' Symphony, the ambiguity occurs at the moment of reconciliation – that is, at the ESC. All three of the opening movements resolve into the parallel major I towards the ESC to some extent, but, at around this point they also exhibit ambiguity since all these resolutions into the parallel major I are occluded or annulled. In D537 this is via the persistence of the sixth of the scale (another way in which the importance of scale degree $\hat{6}$ is highlighted) together with the addition of a minor-mode P-based coda. In D784 it is through the lack of a satisfactory I:PAC ESC. In D845 the passage in I breaks off mid-phrase and the minor mode i takes over. Here the ambiguity persists with the minor mode passage in turn not being able to achieve a satisfactory PAC. As has been shown, resolution is brought about here not via tonal means but via motivic working with P-based and S-based figures juxtaposed in the passage following this failed attempt at a PAC (bars 77–89 in the exposition and bars 234–246 in the later correspondence measures). The ESCs have none of the definitiveness which Sonata Theory ascribes to these moments in a movement's trajectory.

Minor key movements often show expressive and deformational features which can lead to highly narrative interpretations. In minor key symphonies in the eighteenth century Matthew Riley notes 'unusual composition strategies and forceful emotional expression that demand

close attention and participation from the listener.[4] However, the degree to which the three A minor Piano Sonatas are disorientating through their use of deformational strategies is far greater than in Schubert's other minor key Piano Sonatas. The move to V for S-space in the exposition of the opening movement of D784 is without parallel in any other Schubert work and justifies my hermeneutically rich interpretation of this harmonic move as a flight to the infinite ideal of nature. The move from III to iii in the exposition of the opening movement of D845 (and the move from I to i in the correspondence measures) is also unique. Moreover, the fact that two out of the three opening movements of the A minor Piano Sonatas – D845 and D784 – exhibit sonata failure (in my reading), both in their expositions and in the recapitulation (D784) and correspondence measures (D845), is very significant given the paucity of such behaviour in the early nineteenth century.[5] Hepokoski's reading of the hermeneutic implications of a failed sonata-form movement as the 'intentional telling of a tale of failure within the exposition, implying a narrative situation of alarm and inadequacy' fits well with my narrative reading of both these Piano Sonata's opening movements.[6] It hints at the 'alarm' engendered by the Schillerian sublime in D784 and the 'inadequacy' of the tragic subjects in D845 due to their *hamartia*. Indeed, it seems that without philhellenism, within the rubric of Sonata Theory alone, a justification for these deformational aspects would be difficult to accomplish.

All three Piano Sonatas were written, like the 'Tragic' Symphony, in or around March, the month of the *Anthesteria* festival, the festival sacred to Dionysus and performed when the god is struggling for rebirth, when winter yields to spring and where in Robert Fagles' words 'memory and desire, dread and expectation mix'.[7] Indeed, they can in some sense be regarded as a trilogy such as the *Oresteia* – the only surviving trilogy of tragic plays that has come down to us. In the *Oresteia* we have the dislocation caused by the Trojan War in *Agamemnon*, the suffering of Electra in *The Libation Bearers* and the reconciliation and synthesis of *The Eumenides*. In my readings of the Piano Sonatas we move through a similar progression. D537 recalls the Trojan War and with its deep brooding atmosphere it could just as easily represent not Memnon but Agamemnon. D784 depicts suffering transcended through the sublime and its personal aspect recalls that of *The Libation Bearers*, especially

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[4] Matthew Riley, *The Viennese Minor-key Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Mozart* (Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 2.
[5] Hepokoski and Darcy state that such failure is rare until after Beethoven, see Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 177.
[6] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 177.
[7] Robert Fagles and William Bedell Stanford, 'The Serpent and the Eagle', in Aeschylus, *The Oresteia*, trans. Robert Fagles (Penguin Classics, 1979), p. 52.

the intensely personal and moving recognition scene between Electra and Orestes. Finally, D845 embodies a dialectical reconciliation which is just as ambiguous as that in the closing scene of *The Eumenides*.

7.2 The Lesson of the **Oresteia**

The closing scene of *The Eumenides* was fundamental for the idealists and their conception of reconciliatory tragedy. In this final section I would like to revisit this scene one last time in order to propose a reason for the flourishing of the concept of the tragic in the early nineteenth century and its expression in Schubert's music. For the scene has been read as providing an underlying lesson that a world based solely on reason and rationality will not suffice. This was also something that Schubert's generation was coming to realise as they emerged out of the rational Enlightenment and into a post-Enlightenment age.

It will be recalled that in this final scene Athena has come to hear both sides of an argument which has proved irreconcilable throughout the previous two plays. On one side are the Furies, the old order, who want Orestes to be punished for the crime of killing his mother Clytemnestra, and on the other is Apollo, representing the new rational order, who wants Orestes saved. Athena is thus confronted with the blood for blood *lex talionis* of the Furies against the new concept of rational justice.[8] What she does not do is come down explicitly on the side of Apollo. Indeed, part of the ambiguity of the scene – Fagles' mixture of 'joy and tumult' – is based on the fact that the Furies need to be both bribed and threatened, and that Apollo's arguments are less than convincing. The Furies are not going to let Athena get away with a wholesale rejection of their values, and their *lex talionis* has to be incorporated somehow along with the rational law of Apollo and the new generation of Olympians.

The classical scholar E. R. Dodds has shown that the irrational was central to Greek culture and to Greek tragedy in particular. As he writes, Aeschylus 'did not have to revive the world of the daemons: it is the world into which he was born'. Such a world is represented by the Furies – the demonic, irrational, ancient monsters, born of the blood of the previous generation of titans. According to Dodds, Aeschylus' purpose is not to lead his countrymen out of the daemonic, but to 'lead them through it and out of it [...] by showing it to be capable of a higher interpretation, and, in *The Eumenides*, by showing it transformed [...] into the new

[8] Mark Owen Lee, *Athena Sings: Wagner and the Greeks* (University of Toronto Press, 2019), p. 39.

world of rational justice'.[9] Such a process as takes place in this final scene is succinctly described by the music scholar Mark Owen Lee:

> Unreason, the dark unconscious, allegiance to familial as against tribal allegiances – those values of a pre-historic order that the Furies represent – ought not to be destroyed. They are values that a new rational society like Athens should respect and preserve. No civilisation can prosper under patriarchal, city-building, rational consciousness alone.[10]

An integral part of this process is a recognition that neither side is right and that a synthesis is needed.[11] This recalls Hegel's fundamental theory of tragedy, and the situation adumbrated above would be described in Hegel's language as both the Furies and Apollo holding one-sided views – the former irrational and the latter rational. Furthermore, the synthesis of the rational and the irrational is implicit in Hegel's reading of another play – the play central to his thought, *Antigone*. In wanting to bury her brother Polyneices, Antigone represents the old, irrational order of familial duty, whereas Creon represents the new patriarchal, rational state. Indeed, Creon represents the 'patriarchal, city-building, rational consciousness' which Lee ascribes to the new Olympian order in the *Oresteia*. For Hegel neither this nor the old order will do separately, and an attempt to institute reason alone, such as Creon attempts, ends in disaster for all parties.

Such a synthesis of the old and new, the rational and irrational is conspicuously lacking in the Enlightenment values of the generation before Schubert's. The age was one which extolled reason and science, and felt that these were all one needed to explain everything. However, by the late enlightenment reason was seen to be insufficient – due to Kant's critiques which highlighted the limits of cognition – and a reliance on reason alone was even coming to be seen as dangerous. Burke in his prescient, almost prophetic, essay *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) had warned amid the euphoria of Beethoven and Wordsworth that the disinhibited reason displayed by the revolutionary leaders would lead to catastrophe, and the events of the 'Terror' of 1793–1794 bore out his fears. Similarly, Schiller in his *Aesthetic Letters on the Education of Man*, writing after the 'Terror', blamed the Revolution's excesses on the Enlightenment's over-emphasis on reason and its neglect of

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[9] Eric Robertson Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (University of California Press, 1951), p. 40.
[10] Lee, *Athena Sings*, p. 41.
[11] Lee, *Athena Sings*, p. 39.

sentiment.[12] In general, a wholesale reliance on the rationality of the Enlightenment came to be seen by many thinkers as a malaise of that age.

In addition, as confidence in reason receded, elements of the irrational began to resurface in art in the late eighteenth century. In Mozart's opera, Don Giovanni might mock Leporello's superstitious fear of the statue of the *commendatore*, but Leporello proves to be correct, and the Don's attempt to reason it all away as hocus-pocus does not prevent him from being dragged down to hell in the final scene. Religion and irrational superstition were often regarded as backward by the Enlightenment, but in contrast their reintegration is seen as a move forward for the writer Novalis (1772–1801). His essay *Die Christenheit oder Europa* tells of Europe's original golden age in harmony with nature, its mutilation due to rationalism and lack of a true religion, and the dawn of a new golden age brought about by art.[13] The irrational also pervades the literature of German romanticism, from the *Märchen* of Ludwig Tieck to the novellas of E.T.A. Hoffmann.

We do not see a rejection of reason, only a rejection of reason as a be-all-and-end-all and an emphasis on its synthesis with other faculties. For instance, in the antidote to the degeneracy of the over-rational age which Schiller sets out in the *Aesthetic Letters*, he does not want to neglect humanity's rational capacities, but wants to combine these with aesthetic capacities.[14] We see a similar trajectory towards synthesis in German philhellenism in general. The first wave's characterisation of Greek art as evincing 'noble simplicity and quiet grandeur' gave way to more complex theories among the idealists which were grounded on tragedy and recognised the genre's darker, more irrational aspects – what Friedrich Schlegel and Hölderlin would refer to as the Dionysian. Both Schlegel and Hölderlin would envisage a reintegration of such elements into contemporary art. Hölderlin's particular recipe for such art was a combination of the 'proper' – the 'Junoesque sobriety' of the rational Apollonian which came naturally to his generation – and the 'foreign' – the 'Fire from heaven' of the irrational Dionysian.

Nietzsche would blame the degeneracy that tragedy underwent with Euripides on an excessive rationalism which entered through the influence of the 'theoretical man', and in

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[12] Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, p. 13

[13] See Richard Bruce, 'Schubert's Mature Operas: an Analytical Study' (Doctoral dissertation, Durham University, 2003), p. 118. Novalis's story found at Novalis, *Werke in einem Band* (Wien, 1981), pp. 526–544.

[14] See in particular the 'Ninth Letter' of the *Aesthetic Letters* at Friedrich Schiller, *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe,* ed. J. Peterson et al., vol. 20 (Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 2001), vol . 20, pp. 332–336.

particular of Socrates (d. 399BC).[15] In the process the Dionysian aspect dropped out and destroyed the genre completely. This meant that the 'age of tragedy' in which the greatest Greek tragedies were produced morphed into an 'Alexandrian age' based on science – the 'most illustrious opponent of the tragic world-view'.[16] However, he also thought that German culture had the potential to go through such a progression in reverse, and rediscover the Dionysian.

> For us who stand on the watershed between two different forms of existence, the Hellenic precedent possesses the incalculable value of bearing the stamp of all these transitions and struggles in a classical-didactic form: only we by analogy are living through the great periods of the Hellenic character in *reverse* as it were and now for example appear to be moving backwards from the Alexandrian age into the age of tragedy. In the process we feel as if the birth of a tragic age represents for the German spirit a return to itself...[17]

Nietzsche was writing in the early 1870s, but with what has been said above, such a progression might be said to have happened before Nietzsche with the move from the Enlightenment – to which science and rationalism was central and which we might call an 'Alexandrian age' – to the post- or counter-Enlightenment with its discarding of wholesale reason and its appreciation of the irrational. Moreover, Schubert emerges as a figure of this new 'tragic age'. He shows a distaste for one-sided reason and in a notebook of 1824 he writes explicitly of the Enlightenment as a 'hideous skeleton without flesh and blood'.[18] In the same note-book he goes on to profess an assertion of the primacy of faith over reason which could have been said by a St Augustine or a Dante, and which shows him to be sympathetic to the re-integration of faith into aesthetics as urged by Novalis.

> Man comes into the world armed with faith, which is far superior to knowledge and understanding; for in order to understand a thing one must first believe in it. Reason is nothing more than analysed belief.[19]

Writers have also detected such a rejection of the purely rational in his compositions. Suzannah Clark regards Schubert's greatest romantic statement as being 'the creation of a music that projects intuition rather than reason'.[20] Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen believes

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[15] Douglas Smith, 'Introduction', in Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy* trans. Douglas Smith (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. xiv.
[16] Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, trans. Douglas Smith (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 85.
[17] Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, p. 107.
[18] Written in a notebook, March 1824, quoted in Brian Newbould, *Schubert, the Music and the Man* (University of California Press, 1997), p. 220.
[19] Written in a notebook, March 1824, quoted in Mary Macken, 'The Centenary of Franz Schubert', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* (1928), p. 590.
[20] Suzannah Clark, *Analyzing Schubert* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 170.

Schubert's concept of sonata form itself represents – with its tendency to symmetrical creations, analogies and 'parallel harmonic progressions' – an attempt to 'remove musical form's dependence on the model of rational discourse'.[21] This was in line with the aesthetics of the time and Schopenhauer in his 1818 work *On the World as Will and Representation* regarded music's ability to express the noumenal realm as something which transcended reason. For Schopenhauer, 'the composer reveals the innermost nature of the world, and expresses the profoundest wisdom, in a language which the reasoning faculty does not understand'.[22]

Nietzsche's asserted that such a return to an 'age of tragedy' would be achieved by the 'Herculean power of music' which reached its highest manifestation in tragedy and which was able to 'interpret myth with a new and profound significance' having reached its highest manifestation in tragedy. [23] Such a process seems to describe what we have seen Schubert doing with the 'Tragic' Symphony and in the Piano Sonata D537. Schubert's music can be seen in this historical context as something which the enlightenment's one-sided rationalism could not represent. He composes at a time when the scientific optimism had been eroded by Kant with, as Nietzsche put it, 'profound implications for ethical questions and art'.[24] With his post-Enlightenment, post-Kantian view point he can appreciate and represent not only the rational Apollonian instincts of modern culture but also the irrational Dionysian of the ancients, and thus achieve the fusion Hölderlin desired for the production of modern tragic art.

We can see the movement to an 'age of tragedy' in music if we consider a man of the generation before Schubert, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Both were Austrian, both lived and died in Vienna and both wrote in similar musical genres, but their minds often work in completely different directions. For Edward Dent, 'Mozart is a child of the *Encyclopédie*' and thus a representative of the 'Alexandrian age' of the Enlightenment, before the implications of Kant's critiques had been felt.[25] Indeed, as Brophy writes, the culture of the enlightenment 'is typified in Mozart's pan-European travels and multilingual correspondence and

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[21] Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, 'Die Sonatenform im Spätwerk Franz Schuberts', *Archiv fur Musikwissenschaft*, (1988), p. 32: 'Sicherlich stellt Schuberts Sonatensatzkonzept mit seiner Tendenz zu Symmetriebildungen, Analogien und „parallelen harmonischen Vorgängen" einen Versuch dar, die Anlehnung musikalischer Formbildung an das Modell des rationale Diskurses aufzuheben'.
[22] Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, trans. E.F.J Payne (Dover, 1969), vol. 1, p. 260.
[23] Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, p. 61.
[24] Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, p. 107.
[25] Edward Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study* (Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 259.

compositions'.[26] He was comfortable writing in French and Italian, in which languages he wrote back to his family on his many tours of Europe. He took up Italian quite naturally and composed operas in that language as if he had been a native speaker. In many ways Mozart embodies a sort of cosmopolitan rationalism, which for Nietzsche was antithetical to tragic art, and where the definiteness of place and of vernacular is banished and subsumed into a wider view which transcends local custom.[27]

Schubert, by contrast, is grounded in place. The furthest he ever travelled from Vienna was the Hungarian territories of the Emperor where he went twice to the estate of Prince Esterhazy to teach his daughters music, in 1818 and 1824. The culture of his native city was everything to him and on the first of these two trips he is horribly homesick and writes back to his friends and brothers how much he misses them and Vienna.[28] Just as Schubert hardly strays outside of Austria, so he hardly strays out of his native tongue save where this is perfunctory – for instance in Latin settings of religious music. German was the only language in which he was fully comfortable and, for instance, when he wrote Lieder in other languages such as Italian the sentiment became slightly artificial. As Richard Capell writes of one of Schubert's rare forays into non-German songwriting, the four Italian songs composed in 1820, that the poet's words were like Latin to a schoolboy – they appeared pompous and without vividness'.[29]

His love of place and vernacular shows him to be completely antithetical to the cosmopolitanism of Mozart and the 'Alexandrian' age. It is, however, consistent with his belonging to the 'tragic age' since tragedy is also fundamentally localised. One of the tenets of idealism is its historicist interpretation of tragedy – the notion that it is of its time and of its place. It happened at a definite time – the fifth century BC – and on the slopes outside Athens at the festival of the Dionysia. Furthermore, in *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche often draws a distinction between Romanic (i.e. French) and Germanic culture, with the former associated with a 'cosmopolitan rational' civilization and the latter identified as deeply-rooted and indigenous. Such deeply-rooted, localised culture is associated for Nietzsche with the Dionysian aspect of tragic art – an aspect destroyed when local ties are severed.[30]

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[26] Birgit Brophy, *Mozart the Dramatist: a New View of Mozart, his Operas and his Age* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), p. 282.
[27] Smith, 'Introduction', in Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, p. xiv.
[28] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: a Documentary Biography* trans. Eric Blom, (JM Dent & Sons Ltd, 1946), p. 109: '[...] my longing for Vienna grows daily'; p. 99: '[...] not a soul here has any feeling for true art'.
[29] Richard Capell, *Schubert's Songs* (Pan Books, 1957), p. 160.
[30] Smith, 'Introduction', in Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, p. xiv.

In ancient Greece, poetry was central to education – until the Sophists of the later fifth century (who can be seen as embodying Nietzsche's 'theoretical man' and representing an 'Alexandrian' age) displayed their intellectual superiority by criticizing the poets.[31] Poetry is also central to Schubert and his generation (including his circle and the idealist philosophers of the second wave) and Capell notes 'how much the picturesque suggestions of native poetry counted in Schubert's art'.[32] German poetry had only recently come of age with Goethe, and the poetry of the time was as fresh and urgent to them as was Homer to the Greeks of the eighth century or of Aeschylus to those of the fifth.[33] In contrast, although Mozart set some poetry to music, he described in a 1781 letter to his father how in opera poetry should be 'the obedient daughter of music'.[34] Thus the re-emergence of the aesthetic centrality of poetry is another aspect of the reverse move from the 'Alexandrian' to the 'tragic' age. Poetry and music also become recombined in this new 'tragic age' – something desired explicitly and repeatedly in von Mosel's 1813 treatise – and their connection restored to that which obtained in the fifth century when tragedies were sung.

Although the Dionysian festivals, where the tragedies were performed and judged, took place in Athens, the origins of tragedy are rural. Ruth Scodel notes that the original actor Thespis is 'consistently associated with the country, particularly the village of Icaria or Icarion, and the testimonies that say tragedy began at a rural festival and then was brought to the city have a certain inherent plausibility'.[35] Schubert, is essentially a rural composer. He is constantly writing about the countryside on his travels to Upper Austria and on his afore-mentioned visits to Hungary, his letters home tell of the sights, sounds and people in his environment. Again the contrast can be drawn with the 'Alexandrian' Mozart who was essentially an urban, aristocratic composer.

Another aspect of the age of tragedy was its connection with war. Aeschylus fought against the Persians at Salamis in 480BC and the 15-year old Sophocles was a dancer at the festivities to celebrate the Greek victory. Similarly, Schubert spent his entire youth in the shadow of the Napoleonic wars. In May 1809, when Schubert was studying at the *Stadtkonvikt*, a shell from the advancing French army struck the building, bringing the reality

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[31] Scodel, *Introduction to Greek Tragedy*, p. 15. The 'Alexandrian' tendencies of the Sophists is brought out by Scodel when she writes that 'by the late fifth century, intellectuals no longer assumed that poetry was valuable and instead began to theorize about it and to construct reasons why it was useful'.
[32] Capell, *Schubert's Songs*, p. 160.
[33] Capell describes German poetry as having 'suddenly grown up' under Goethe, see Capell, *Schubert's Songs*, p. 9.
[34] Letter to his father Leopold Mozart, 13 October 1781, quoted in Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study*, p. 73.
[35] Scodel, *Introduction to Greek Tragedy*, p. 39.

on the conflict to his doorstep.[36] Later, when Schubert went to see Gluck's opera *Iphigenia in Tauris* in January 1813, he met Theodor Körner with whom he kindled a very brief friendship, but who was soon to die in the 'War of Liberation' of the German nation at Leipzig later that year.[37] By contrast, by the time Mozart was seven years old, the Seven Years' War had ended and a period of relative peace ensued in Europe for the rest of his lifetime. Indeed, it is partly the re-establishment and maintenance of peace that allowed for his travels around Europe. The tales of the Trojan War, brought to life in *The Oresteia*, would have had more resonance in Schubert's time and abstract, rational notions such as universal brotherhood, espoused by Mozart in *Die Zauberflöte*, would have looked ridiculous to Schubert's generation against the backdrop of the vicious World War occurring around them.

From the music analysed in this study, Nietzsche's prediction of the rebirth of an 'artistic age' can be seen as something of a 'post'-diction. Nietzsche thought that Wagner with his music dramas was to bring about a revival of the tragic age of Aeschylus and Sophocles through music. However, we have seen that Schubert had already attempted to do the same thing. Schubert's 'de-rationalisation', his participation in the German philhellenic movement and his groundedness in place and vernacular made him the perfect candidate to bring about this re-birth of tragedy. He tried in the Lied, in what Marjorie Hirsch has termed his 'Greek Revival', and he tried, as has been shown, in theatrical works and in instrumental works.[38] There is no monument to his endeavours – no Dionysian Theatre in Athens or Bayreuth Festival Hall. If we seek a monument we need only amend the inscription on the tomb of Christopher Wren: *si monumentum requiris, audi*.

Schubert was born when tragedy became a central object of German thought, and for all his personal characteristics the rebirth of tragedy he accomplished would not have been possible without the two waves of the German philhellenic movement. Indeed, the six figures of idealist thought emerge as titanic figures standing on the shoulders of two giants, Winckelmann and Kant. The father figure is Friedrich Schiller but the figure who emerges in this study as crucial to the realisation of the tragic in the particular locus of absolute music that of Friedrich Schlegel. Not only was he formative in the ideas of his brother August Wilhelm's lectures, but he also was instrumental in the philosophical basis placed on absolute music in the early nineteenth century. He is one of the first to recognise the darker Dionysian

[36] Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 19
[37] McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, pp. 28–29.
[38] See the chapter 'Schubert's Greek Revival', in Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder*, pp. 33–62.

element (along with Hölderlin) within ancient Greek literature and one of the first (along with Schiller) to incorporate the sublime into the theory of the tragic. Furthermore, whilst accepting the historicist notion of an absolute difference between ancient and modern tragedy, his positing of an ‘absolute identity’ between them gave idealist theories of tragedy the universalism which encouraged a fusion of the ancient and the modern to take place in contemporary art. This, together with his contribution to the aesthetics of absolute music, hints at the significance of his presence in Viennese cultural life from 1809 to his death in 1829. He was something of a conduit for ideas from Northern Germany to the Austrian capital, both ideas of tragedy and ideas of the German Philhellenic movement in general.

If the philosophers come across as titanic, Schubert emerges as an Olympian figure, able, like Zeus and Athena in the *Oresteia*, to synthesize the rational and irrational. He is also, as we have seen in the works analysed in this study, able to synthesise the ancient and the modern, which the idealists saw as necessary for the creation of modern tragedy. In his creation of epic-lyric he achieves the synthesis of the subjective and the objective which Friedrich Schlegel desired, and, with his integration of the sublime and Dionysian elements into his works, he also achieves the synthesis of the ‘foreign’ and the ‘proper’ that Hölderlin desired. Whereas Mozart speaks in universals in *Die Zauberflöte* – evincing the inclusive rationalism of the Enlightenment – Schubert speaks to the universal through particulars in his local vernacular. He thus occupies a locus which the idealists, with their irreconcilable mixture of historicism and universalism, imputed to Greek tragedy – he is both of his time and also timeless, both localised and universal.

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