

Faust, Tragedy and Schubert

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Two studies on music relating to *Faust* include the works by F. Schubert (1797-1828) and C.-V. Alkan (1813-88),¹ focusing on Austria in the 1820s and France in the 1840s, and corresponding respectively to Part 1 and Part 2 of Goethe's tragedy (hereafter in my paper, Part 1 and Part 2 refer to the work of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe).

At first, we take a brief look at some *Faust* compositions in the 19th century.² As early as 1790, much before Part I (published in 1808), Beethoven paid attention to Goethe's *Faust, a Fragment* (1790) and set »*Mephistos Flohlied*« (op. 75, No. 3, published in 1810). This is *Lied*, the representative genre of the *Faust*-oeuvre in the first two decades of that century. In 1828, »Songs from Goethe's *Faust*« by C. Kreutzer (1780-1849) reconstructed Part 1 faithfully to the poet's story but in diverse combinations of *Lied*, part-song, recitative and choir, with 22 songs in vaudeville-style, thus contributing to a multi-media reception of *Faust*.³ L. Spohr (1784-1859) gathered materials not only from Goethe but from various contexts to form a two-act opera »*Faust*« (1816), a pioneering yet exceptional attempt in 1810s, as F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's cantata »The First Walpurgis Night« (premiered in 1838).

Publication of Part 2 (1833) and its French translation by G. de Nerval (1840) extended the reception. Among the oratorio (H. Berlioz's »8 scenes from *Faust*«, 1828-46), pure instrumental set (F. Liszt's »*Faust* Symphony«, 1857), and symphony with chorus (G. Mahler's »Eighth«, 1910) stands out an endeavor by R. Schumann. His oratorio »Scenes from Goethe's *Faust*« (1843-53) sets Part 1 so briefly as if fast-forwarding a movie, thus focusing on Part 2 to crystallize the theme: self-affirmation of the artist, which seems to double the life of the composer himself. In short, Part 2 made it possible for the composers to affirm, and reflect on, their creation from a meta-level.⁴

All of Schubert's setting is of course based on Part 1, composed in his teenage years. Though it is apparent that *Faust* was obviously not so resonating to his career as *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, on which he repeatedly worked until his late twenties, these five settings tell a lot (see TABLE 1): Remarkable is Schubert's interest to focus solely on the girl, Gretchen (except D 440). Undoubtedly, he read through the novel⁵ and had not even cast a glance at Mephisto or the singing students; he

¹ See the text by Y. Ueda on this journal.

² For more detail, see the five-pages catalog by J. Schmidt, in the appendix to his *Goethes Faust. Erster und Zweiter Teil: Grundlagen – Werk – Wirkung* (München: Beck, 1999).

³ In this respect see C. Rohde's paper on this journal.

⁴ In regard to the "self-affirmation" which the modern composers were supposed to attain, see for example K. Berger, *Bach's cycle, Mozart's arrow: An essay on the origins of musical modernity* (University of California Press, 2007), esp. p. 42. The paradigm to perceive musical work as composer's *autobiography* emerged rapidly around 1820s. See M. E. Bonds, *The Beethoven syndrome: Hearing music as autobiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

⁵ That Schubert read through the novels that were to be sources of his *Lieder*, and that he carefully selected the lyrics from the novels is reported. In Goethe's case, see for example W. Dürr, *Das deutsche Sololied im 19. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zur Sprache und Musik* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen. 2. verbesserte Aufl.

TABLE 1: Schubert's *Faust* settings

Title / Date of composition; publication		Content / Source in Part 1
1. Gretchen at the Spinning-wheel (D 118)	1814; 1821	Gretchen's desire (<i>l.</i> 3374)
2. Scene from Faust (D 126)	1814; 1873	punishment to Gretchen (<i>l.</i> 3776)
3. Angels' choir (D 440) [quartet]	1816; 1839	After the failed suicide of Faust (<i>l.</i> 720ff.)
4. The King in Thule (D 367)	1816; 1821	Virtue of Grethen (<i>l.</i> 2759ff.)
5. Gretchen's Plea (D 564) [unfinished]	1817; 1835	Repentance of Gretchen (<i>l.</i> 3587ff.)

surveyed the palette of the girl's emotions, from her innocent virtue (D 367), her spinning scene stuck by fate and desire (D 118), to her repentance (D 564) and punishment (D 126).

Here, we reexamine Schubert's famous *Lied* »Gretchen at the Spinning-wheel« from a mythical viewpoint (Chapter 1). Next, apart from Goethe, we approach the problem of *Tragedy*. The conflict between antiquity and modernity was unavoidable in considering both the *Faust* receptions in 19th-century Vienna and philosophical tenets of young Schubert (Chapter 2). Finally, we will read certain *Faust*-critics in 1830s and 1840s Vienna. Some attacked the ethics of the work and others endeavored to untangle the intricateness, especially of Part 2. In doing so we will be able to get one of the important artistic views of the time (Chapter 3).

1. Sex and Fate: Mythology in *Gretchen*

Schubert's (presumably only) preceding text is »Margarethe« by C. F. Zelter (1758-1832), published in 1810.⁶ The song (3/8, in F-minor, "Andantino") depicts the act of spinning intermittently (Picture 1). Meanwhile this F-minor moves to its parallel major, and the girl's rapture in apex (A \flat^2) falls into the operatic salvation (picture 2). From this expected direction, Schubert went to the opposite extreme: The wheel (6/8, in D-minor) shows seamless move. The tonality stretches a lot (F-major, A-minor, E-minor) in an "unprecedented" way, in "a wave form" as Charles Rosen has characterized: "The music starts in the tonic, moves away and then returns, starts again and moves further away, and then returns and starts again. After this, the next departure has even greater power."⁷ Yet, despite the waving stretchiness the tonality is always pull back to the fateful tonic. In its conclusion, against Goethe's lines, the refrain "*Meine Ruh' ist hin...*" comes back, and neither the voice nor the right hand ends with the tonic D. In Schubert's oeuvre, such procedure very often

[1984] 2002), pp. 106-108; L. Byrne Bodley, "Music of the orphaned self? Schubert and concepts of late style," in L. Byrne Bodley & J. Horton (eds.), *Schubert's late music: History, theory, style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 337.

⁶ Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Sämtliche Lieder, Balladen und Romanzen* (Berlin: Kunst und Industrie-Comptoir, n.d.[1810]), Bd. 1, Nr. 12.

⁷ C. Rosen, "Schubert's inflections of Classical form," in: Christopher Gibbs (ed.), *Cambridge companion to Schubert* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 73.

signifies endless openness — in this case, *eternal suffering*.

Because of the paramount prominence of the song, one might guess that spinning song *is* in 6/8. Yet overviewsome examples, it turns out that it is not the case. Rather, Schubert's choice is somewhat abnormal (TABLE 2). Mainstreams are in double-meter (Mozart, Reichardt, Schubert (D 247), etc.) or triple meter (Zelter, Brahms). By chance Haydn's setting accords with Schubert's both in tonality and meter, but this is exceptional. Works in compound meter increase *after* Schubert, for example the song by Wagner (op. 5, No. 6); his spinning song in »*Der fliegende Holländer*« (act 2) is again in double-meter and in a joyful mood.

So, what is a spinning song? Despite the variety in meter or mode (major/minor), in this genre one finds the common sentiment of a young woman, expecting her lover and longing for him. But surprisingly enough, we do not find such definitions or descriptions in the *New Grove Dictionary*, or in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, or in the music-encyclopedias of the 18th and 19th centuries (quite relevant excerpt in our context is found in the article "Barcarolle" in G. Schilling's encyclopedia, defining the genre as "purely natural song," having "natural rhythm" and "passionate accents").⁸ The recent "topic theory" also does not pay attention to this term/phenomenon so far.⁹ To make up for this lack and to describe the spinning song *as* a topic, we will point out some traits briefly.

That a lonely woman turns the spinning-wheel inevitably implies a sexual issue. From the middle ages, especially in winter, *Spinnstube* (or *Lichtstube*) was known as a place where the working people goatherd at the evening to warm their bodies around the fireplace, and then sexual matters could — sometimes officially — take place¹⁰. Thus in »*Mädchenlied*« by Brahms (op. 107, no. 5), text by Paul Heyse, a girl who is supposed to marry one of the naughty boys ("Dorfbub'n") is singing and spinning in a room. Though among other girls ("da singen die Mädchen") and in ambience of gaiety, she, actually in isolation, feels oppressive anxiety of the coming affair.

No man who cares for me
Will ask after me;
How anxious I feel,
To whom shall I tell my sorrow?

⁸ "As a purely natural song [reiner Naturgesang] its key and rhythm are also the most natural: 2/4 or 3/8, *more rarely* 3/4 and 6/8, but with passionate accents, just as feeling itself stirs more powerfully in the breast of the typical natural human." (unsigned entry in Gustav Schilling (hg.), *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal-lexicon der Tonkunst*, Neue Ausgabe (Stuttgart: Verlag von Franz Heinrich Köhler; Faksimileausgabe. Hildesheim & New York: Olms, 1974), Bd. 1 [S. 434]. Italic mine.) This entry is examined and translated in D. Gramit, "Lieder, listeners, and ideology: Schubert's »Alinde« and Opus 81," *Current Musicology* 58 (1995), p. 40f.

⁹ For example, in D. Mirka (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* (Oxford University Press, 2014) neither the term nor corresponding theme is dealt with.

¹⁰ In this respect, see for example U. Henkhaus, *Das Treibhaus der Unsittlichkeit: Lieder, Bilder und Geschichte(n) aus der hessischen Spinnstube* (Marburg: Hitzeroth, 1991), pp. 33ff.; E. Fuchs, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte*, Bd. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Inktank-Publishing, 1988), pp. 135ff. This topic was explored by Japanese Germanist Takashi Hamamoto, especially in his book *Nemurihime no nazo [=Mystery of the Sleeping Beauty]* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1999).

The tears go coursing
 Down my cheeks —
 What am I spinning for?
 I don't know!

(Kein Mensch, der mir gut ist, / Will nach mir fragen; / Wie bang mir zumut ist, / Wem soll ich's klagen? // Die Tränen rinnen / Mir übers Gesicht— / Wofür soll ich spinnen? / Ich weiss es nicht!)

[English translation by Richard Stokes]

In Freudian terms, repetition-compulsion of the spinning wheel substitutes the blind sexual desire. That the songs by Mozart (»*Die kleine Spinnerin*« K.531) and H. Wolf (»*Die Spinnerin*«) depict a similar situation suggests that such implication run through the German *Lied* tradition.

Mythically, this aspect inseparably has to do with *fate*. In »*Odyssey*« by Homer, Penelope waits for her lost husband Odysseus and pleads to her bold suitors: “since goodly Odysseus is dead, be patient, though eager for my marriage, until I finish this robe — I would not that my spinning should come to naught — a shroud for the lord Laertes [=Odysseus' father] against the time when the fell fate of grievous death shall strike him down” (19:138ff.). This act of endless weaving has two aims: deferral of the marriage (i.e., love affair) and suspension of her fate (Picture 3). This image is a source not only for the above-mentioned songs, but doubtlessly for Schubert. In his opera »*Fierrabras*« in 1823 (D 796, text by Joseph Kupelwieser, an older brother of Schubert's close friend Leopold Kupelwieser), princess Emma is waiting for her father (Emperor Charlemagne) returning from the battlefield at the opening of the work (“*Der runde Silberfaden*”), thus exemplifying the Penelope-archetype (Picture 4). Schubert's setting for this waiting-girl-scene is a *perpetuum mobile*, in Gretchen-like 6/8; a song in the same meter is sung again by Emma in the opening of act 3 (“*Bald tönet der Reigen*”). Historically, one might say that this archetype would be a predecessor of *manic women*, represented in »*Lucia di Lammermoor*« by G. Donizetti (1835).¹¹

Between the images of ancient Greek and Romantics lies Renaissance; here a weaving woman became *harmonia mundi* in music history. In the beginning of »*La pellegrina*«, the *Intermedio* written by J. Peri and other prominent composers of the time for the Medici wedding and played in Florence (1589), the goddess Ἀνάγκη (Ananke or “necessity”) stirs the world with the spindle in her right hand (Picture 5). This generates a melody in Dorian mode, of which eight tones are respectively assigned to eight *Parcae* (also the goddesses of necessity), according to Plato's *Republic* (617).¹²

¹¹ The dramaturgy of »*Fierabras*« lies in the fact that Schubert through-composed the whole opera, mixing the traditional genres to construct an “organic whole.” In this respect these two songs in question, “*Der runde Silberfaden*” and “*Bald tönet der Reigen*,” frame the work itself, the latter functioning as an “recapitulation.” See W. Thomas, “Bild und Aktion in »*Fierabras*«: Ein Beitrag zu Schuberts musikalischer Dramaturgie,«” in: W. Aderhold et al. (eds.), *Franz Schubert: Jahre der Krise 1818-1823. Bericht über das Symposium Kassel 30. September bis 1. Oktober 1982* (Kassel u.a.: Bärenreiter), p.105f. In the production of »*Fierrabras*« in 2007 (directed by G. Hartmann and conducted by F. Welser-Möst, EMI-DVB 5 00969 9) the soprano singer Juliane Banse represents Emma's neurotic and almost lunatic character vividly in “*Bald tönet der Reigen*” (No. 18).

¹² For detailed illustration of this topic plus plenty of Buontalenti-reproductions, see A. Warburg, “I costumi teatrali per gli intermezzi del 1589,” 1895 (Japanese translation in 2006).

TABLE 2: Examples of spinning songs in the late 18th and 19th century

Title / Date of composition or publication*	Notes	
1. Mozart, »Die kleine Spinnerin« K.531	1787	2/4, C major, "Lebhaft"
2. Haydn, "Knurre, schnurre" From »Die Jahreszeiten (Winter)«	1801	6/8, D minor, Allegretto
3. Zelter, »Margarethe«	1810*	3/8, F minor/major, Andantino
4. L. Reichardt, »Der Spinnerin Nachtlied«	1811*	4/4, F minor
5. Schubert, »Die Spinnerin« D 247	1815	2/4, B minor, "Mäßig"
6. Loewe, »Meine Ruh ist hin« op.9-3	1822	9/8 (~12/8), B minor, "Tief bewegt, mit glühender Sehnsucht"
7. Wagner, »Gretchen am Spinnrade« op.5-6	1831*	6/8, G minor, "Leidenschaftlich, doch nicht zu schnell"
8. Wagner, »Der fliegende Holländer«, act 2	1843	2/4, A major, Allegretto
9. F. Mendelssohn, »Spinnerlied« op.67-4	1845	6/8, C major, Presto
10. Ellmenreich, »Spinnliedchen«	1863*	2/4, F major, Allegretto
11. Wolf, »Die Spinnerin«	1877	2/4, [A minor] "Unruhig bewegt, doch nicht zu geschwind"
12. Brahms, »Mädchenlied« op.107-5	1886*	3/8, B minor, "Leise bewegt"

Goethe, who carried on the Pythagorean / Platonic *harmonia mundi* in conceiving *Faust*, must have the myth in his mind. And 20-year-old Schubert too, was influenced by a Neo-Platonism via his friend Johann Mayrhofer.¹³ This mythology of sex and fate was crystallized in »Gretchen at the Spinning-wheel« (D 118) vividly.

Then, was there any interface of Schubert and mythical fate? To illustrate this topic, we will reexamine the excerpt from his 19-year-old diary.

¹³ In the standard Schubert documents, the name Plato appears only once in a letter by J. Hüttenbrenner (a friend of Schubert) to his brother — "Since I took to reading Plato and Socrates I see more and more clearly" (O. E. Deutsch (ed.), *Schubert: A documentary biography* (New York: Da Capo Press: [1946] 1977), p. 118). But considering the intellectual background of Schubert-friends, Plato's thought, especially Ἔρως in his *Phaedrus* through the German translation by F. L. Stolberg (1750-1819), was an essential source of Schubert-oeuvre. See my article: "»Romantische Mythosanschauung« und Franz Schubert: Rezeption des griechischen Mythos und des Platon um seinen Freundeskreis," in *Schelling-Jahrbuch*, vol. 28 (Tokio: Kobushi Shobō Verlag: 2018), pp. 41-51. (Japanese article with summary in German).

2. Fate and Salvation: Tragedy-reception around Schubert

2-1. The Stoic, Aristotle and the Greek Tragedy

So far as existing sources, in June 1816, two years since the composition of »Gretchen«, Schubert began to diarize his emotions, ideas, or creeds, facing his own independence as a composer. Praising Mozart (13th June) and Nature (14th June), appreciating J. Abel's picture at the museum (15th June), praising his master Antonio Salieri and the clarity of music expression (16th June), rejoicing his first-ever earnings from his own composition (17th June) — all of these more or less reflect the tenets of *Linzer circle*, which weighs heavily on the enlightenment way of life and respects friendship (φιλία).¹⁴ Contrary to these, the entry of 8th September is cryptic: After some essays with no answer on happiness, marriage, friendship, he does not lack humor to close with sextain in trimeter, saying “And so to bed / Till morn shines red.” Its beginning alone is worth concentrating on:

[1] *Der Mensch gleicht einem Balle, mit dem Zufalle u. Leidenschaft spielen.*

[2] Mir scheint dieser Satz außerordentlich wahr. / Ich hörte oft von Schriftstellern sagen: Die Welt gleicht einer Schaubühne, wo jeder Mensch seine Rolle spielt. Beyfall u. Tadel folgt in der andern Welt. [...] Drüben hängt der Beyfall oder Tadel von dem WeltRessigreur ab. Der Tadel hebt sich also auf.

[3] *Naturanlage u. Erziehung bestimmen des Menschen Geist u. Herz. Das Herz ist Herrscher; der Geist soll es seyn. Nehmt die Menschen wie sie sind, nicht wie sie seyn sollen.*

[1] *Man resembles a ball, to be played with by chance and passion.*

[2] This sentence seems extraordinarily true to me. / I have heard it said by writers that the world is like a stage, where every person plays his part. Praise and blame follow in the other world. [...] In the other world, praise or blame depends on the Grand Manager of the world. Blame, therefore, is balanced.

[3] *Natural disposition and education determine the bent of men's mind and heart. The heart is ruler; the mind ought to be [ruler]. Take men as they are, not as they ought to be.*¹⁵

Historically, the metaphor comparing man's life to “play (*Spiel*)” or “stage (*Schaubühne*)” is a variation of *theatrum mundi*, which can be traced back to Plato (*Laws*, 644) and was preferred in 16th-century literature, especially by Calderon and Shakespeare.¹⁶ As far as man's life is no more

¹⁴ This is one of the most essential claims of D. Gramit's dissertation: *The intellectual and aesthetic tenets of Franz Schubert's circle: Their development and their influence on his music* (Ph.D. dissertation. Duke University, 1987). The importance of friendship is emphasized in A. Spaun's article “On friendship” on the journal published by the circle in 1817/18. See D. Gramit (translation, introduction and annotation), “Excerpts from *Beiträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, 1817-1818,” in Ch. H. Gibbs & M. Solvik (eds.), *Franz Schubert and his world* (Princeton et.al.: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 39-65.

¹⁵ O. E. Deutsch (ed.), *Schubert: Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (2. Aufl. Wiesbaden u.a.: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1964] 1996), p. 49. My translation, based on E. Blom's (*Schubert: A documentary biography* [=n. 13], p. 70). Italics reflect the underlines in the original; line breaks are according to German version, *Dokumente*.

¹⁶ In this respect see E. R. Curtius, *European literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, translated by W. R. Trask (Princeton University Press, 1953 [1948]), pp. 140ff.

than an act assigned by the “Grand Manager” (i.e., God), neither man’s endeavor nor will matter in the end. So, all the possible “[b]lame, therefore, is balanced” (*Der Tadel hebt sich also auf*).

One must note that Schubert’s writings in general are influenced by thoughts of his friends or previous writers, probably through daily conversations with friends (for example, the wording to praise Mozart on 13th June is perhaps quoted from one of the early Mozart-biographies).¹⁷ In this case, he was inspired presumably by the two antiquities. One is the Stoic. Epictetus (c. 50-135):

Remember that you are an actor in a play, the character of which is determined by the Playwright: if He wishes the play to be short, it is short; if long, it is long; if He wishes you to play the part of a beggar, remember to act even this role adroitly; and so, if your role be that of a cripple, an official, or a layman. For this is your business, to play admirably the role assigned you; but the selection of that role is Another’s [=God’s].¹⁸

This view is vigorously affirmed here because Schubert writes this is “extraordinarily true” (*außerordentlich wahr*). Therefore, the thesis of the third paragraph which abruptly emerged like an oracle, is surely affirmed too¹⁹: This thesis could be read in the context of the Stoic, its advocator Diogenes’s Cynicism. As Oscar Wilde bluntly said, “cynicism is merely the art of seeing things *as they are* instead of *as they ought to be*” (italic mine).²⁰

Another, more relevant source of Schubert’s entry is found in Aristotle, in the following sentence from his *Poetics* (1460b):

Sophocles explained in this respect that “I draw men *as they ought to be* [in the play]”; but Euripides “*as they are*.” (Sophokles hat sich hieüber erklärt; er stelle die Menschen vor, *wie sie seyn sollten*; Euripides aber, *wie sie wirklich sind*.) (italic mine)²¹

¹⁷ Schubert: “They [=fair impressions of Mozart’s music] show us in the darkness of this life a bright, clear, lovely distance, for which we hope with confidence.” (“*Sie zeigen uns in den Finsternissen dieses Lebens eine lichte, helle, schöne Ferne, worauf wir mit Zuversicht hoffen.*”) (*Schubert: A documentary biography*, p. 60; *Dokumente*, p. 43). Compare this to the following excerpt from Niemetschek’s (1808): “*Wie wohl thun sie unserm Gefühle – es ist als wenn man aus einem chaotischen Gewirre, aus dichter Finsterniß ins Licht und eine heitere Ordnung veretzt würde.*” (F. X. Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung des K.K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart nach Originalquellen beschrieben* (Zweite vermehrte Auflage. Prag: Herrische Buchhandlung, 1808), p. 71).

¹⁸ Epictetus, *The discourses as reported by Arrian, the manual and fragments*, trans. W. A. Oldfather (Cambridge: Mass, [1928] 1978), vol. 2, pp. 496f. This analogy was pointed by M. Solomon, “Schubert: Some consequences of nostalgia,” *19th-Century Music* 17(1), p. 34. Marcus Aurelius’ *Meditation* (12. 36) could also be the source, as Deutsch (*Schubert: A documentary biography*, p. 72) guessed.

¹⁹ Though it is certainly not impossible to read the last sentence of second paragraph “Blame, therefore, is balanced” (“*Der Tadel hebt sich also auf.*”) as “the following blame can be raised” (so interpreted a Japanese scholar H. Saneyoshi who translated Deutsch’s *Dokumente* abridgedly), but I come into line with more reasonable one, to read “*der Tadel*” as indicating the previous same word.

²⁰ *Epigrams of Oscar Wilde* (Ware: Wordsworth editions, 2007), p. 117.

²¹ *Aristoteles Dichtkunst, Ins Deutsche übers. mit Anmerkungen, und besondern Abhandlungen, versehen von Curtius, Michael Conrad* (Hannover: Johann Christoph Richter, 1753), p. 59. This German edition was widely known then through G. E. Lessing’s (1729-81) adverse criticism on this.

This sentence, representing Sophocles' criticism to younger Euripides, is inseparable to the kernel of *Poetics*: to defend the "function of the poets" who are (contrary to historians) supposed to "relate not what has happened, but what may happen, — what is possible according to the law of probability or necessity" (1451a). Important is the fact that while Sophocles pursued pessimism in which innocent men (like Oedipus) suffer by fate, Euripides emphasized Salvation in terms of reaction of audience.²² Schubert agrees with the latter. As we shall see later, his music depicts Salvation *in* the work, contrary to the philosophy of tragedy then.

Schubert in the context of Greek tragedy — Are we reading too much? No. The problem of tragedy and fate engulfed many philosophers and intellectuals then and was indeed very much argued in Vienna. Its seismic source was Kant's *Critique of pure Reason* (1781). He made too sharp a distinction between "Phenomenon" which is reigned by necessity in every detail, and "Noumenon" to which men arbitrarily attribute freedom. Since then, bridging (again) these two realms has become a philosophical dilemma. The mooring of Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) to grapple with this was nothing less than tragedy; he charged man's possibility, obedient to the necessity *and* being able to achieve freedom, on "pathos" of a tragic hero struggling between the two realms. In short, the victory of "*Geist*" against the necessity—via the death of the hero—is the kernel of Schiller's concept "*das tragische*."²³

The most ardent advocates who imported this thought to Vienna were the Collin brothers. One of the tragic dramas by Heinrich Joseph von Collin (1771-1811) let Beethoven to compose the »Coriolanus overture« (1807).²⁴ The younger brother, Matthäus Casimir von Collin (1779-1824), cousin of Schubert's best friend Joseph von Spaun, lectured aesthetics in the University of Vienna since 1810. His lyrics became important songs of Schubert (»The dwarf« D 771, »Night and Dreams« D 827 etc.). In 1814, Matthäus retraced his late older brother's achievement, saying that the kernel of his study of tragedy lay in "victory of man's inner freedom of will over the rush of outer necessity of Nature," which also "permeated in works of his contemporaries."²⁵ Among the "works of his contemporaries" surely was A. W. Schlegel's *Viennese lecture* (spring, 1808), which was held in front of 200 highbrows in the building close to the *Konvikt* where Schubert would start to live from the autumn of the same year. Schlegel said:

²² F. W. Nietzsche (1844-1900) starkly criticized Euripides in this respect. See his *Birth of Tragedy*, chapter 9-21.

²³ In this respect, especially in the context of Schiller's "the sublime (das Erhabene)" and its resonance to Schubert's "tragic symphony" (D 417), see H. Bey, "Freiheit in der Reflexion: *Über das Erhabene* von Schiller und die *Tragische Sinfonie in c minor* von Schubert," in *Schubert-Jahrbuch 2003-2005* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), pp. 27-33. For broader context including influence of Kant on Schiller, see for example I. Berlin, *The roots of Romanticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), chapter 4.

²⁴ Its tonality C minor is famously one of the most important traits of Beethoven's music. His will to resist the fate ("meinem schicksaal [*sic*] trotzen") and Plutarch-citation "Resignation" (to Wegeler, 29th July, 1810) suggests that his music itself was deeply influenced by the idea of tragedy (See A. Stollberg, *Tönend bewegte Dramen: Die Idee des Tragischen in der Orchestermusik vom späten 18. bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (München: edition text + kritik, 2014), p. 120). Furthermore, in his wording "Resignation" one may sense a new realm of musical expression other than tragedy (See R. Hatten, *Musical meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, correlation, and interpretation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 281-286).

²⁵ "der Sieg der innern Willensfreyheit des Menschen über den Andrang der äußeren Naturnothwendigkeit"; "welches auch den übrigen Zeitgenossen aus denselben Werken [= "den Kunstwerken des Griechischen Althertums"] klar wurde [.] My translation. See Stollberg, *op.cit.* [=n. 24], p. 111.

The true reason [...], why the tragic representation may not spare even the most austere, lies in the fact that intellectual [*geistig*] and invisible power [*Kraft*] can't be measured by nothing other than the resistance to the power [*Gewalt*] which is external and is estimated sensorily [*sinnlich*] [...]. Should then the tragic purpose once be put out as a theory, it would be as follows: in order that the soul maintains a demand for inner divinity, the earthly being are to be observed as nothingness, all the sufferings for that are to be endured, all the difficulty must be overcome.²⁶

Such peans to tragedy were somewhat controversial in Catholic city Vienna, especially because tragedy's central concept *fate* (*fatum*; *Schicksal*), in which innocent men are brought to ruin, were incompatible with Christian *providence* (*providentia*; *Vorsehung*)²⁷— one should notice that Schlegel's claim that “the earthly being are to be observed as nothingness” (*das irdische Dasein für nichts zu achten sei*) is akin to the creed of Gnosis, which Christianity has now and then consistently renounced. The seismic source of the controversy were theater, that is, (at least) two theatrical works, typical examples of the modern “*Schicksalstragödie*”: One is »The 24th February« (*Der vierundzwanzigste Februar*) (premiered in Weimar, 1809), which dealt with (explicitly) the destroying of a family by a curse and (implicitly) the absence of religiousness in general in the modern era.²⁸ Its author Zacharias Werner (1768-1823), formerly a Protestant pastor, converted to Catholicism and moved to Vienna in 1814, is known to have preached in Lichtental Parish church on 9th October, where Schubert would premiere his first mass (D 105) 17 days later.

2-2. Grillparzer and the philosophy of Salvation

Another work is »The ancestress« (*Die Ahnfrau*) by Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872), which also dealt with the destruction of an entire family by an inherited curse. This drama, valued as one to “arise the fundamental problem of the relationship between the antiquity and Christianity, fate and providence, freedom and necessity,”²⁹ indeed created a controversy soon after its premiere at the *Theater an der Wien*, on 31st January 1817 — the 20th birthday of Franz Schubert, who, as we shall see, undoubtedly saw the play and made a remarkable reaction to the drama. The earliest criticism was evoked on the *Wiener Moden-Zeitung und Zeitschrift für Kunst, schöne Litteratur und Theater*

²⁶ “Die wahre Ursache [...], warum die tragische Darstellung auch das Herbst nicht scheuen darf, ist, daß eine geistige und unsichtbare Kraft nur durch den Widerstand gemessen werden kann, welchen sie in [*sic*] einer äußerlichen und sinnlich zu ermessenden Gewalt leistet. [...] [U]nd wenn denn der tragische Zweck einmal als eine Lehre vorgestellt werden soll, so sei es diese, daß, um die Ansprüche des Gemüts auf innere Göttlichkeit zu behaupten, das irdische Dasein für nichts zu achten sei; daß alle Leiden dafür erduldet, alle Schwerlichkeiten überwunden werden müssen.” August Wilhelm Schlegel, “Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur. Erster Theil,” in *Kritische Schriften und Briefe*, Bd. 5 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966), p. 64. My translation.

²⁷ In this respect see H. Seidler, *Österreichischer Vormärz und Goethezeit: Geschichte einer literarischen Auseinandersetzung* (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), pp. 194-213.

²⁸ A Japanese article (with German summary) analyses this work in detail. See M. Kajiwara, “Zum Schein ‘der Erlösung’ in Werners Tragödie: »Der vierundzwanzigste Februar«: Auf den Ausgangspunkt einer neuen Tragödienkritik hin,” *Dichtung/sprache* [Shi / gengo] (Graduate school of Humanities and Sociology and Faculty of Letters, The University of Tokyo) 68 (2008): 1-28.

²⁹ “[D]ie »Ahnfrau« hat also zu grundsätzlichen Fragen angeregt: zu denen des Verhältnis von Antike und Christentum, Schicksal und Vorsehung, Freiheit und Notwendigkeit.” Seidler, *op.cit.* [=n. 27], p. 200.

(hereafter called *Zeitschrift*) in September. Thus, the article “Against the romantic fate-tragedy” (*Gegen die romantische Schicksalstragödie*) by Alois Jeitteles (1794-1858) includes two contentions, religious and moral respectively: first, in the “romantic” tragedy *both* the providence *and* hero must win, in contrast to the “antique” tragedy in which the hero “morally” conquers but “physically” yields to fate. Second, the “blind arbitrary” (*blinde Willkühr*) of antique tragedy devalues the tragic genre itself, because “work of art” (*Kunstwerk*) in general has to bring to the audiences their “improvement / elevation” (*Hebung*)³⁰ — similar to the previous demand by G. E. Lessing. The same problem is highlighted elsewhere in the *Zeitschrift*: one writer attributes the nature of Greek freedom to man’s “resistance (*Trotz*)” and the nature of modern freedom to “devotion” (*Hingabe*) to God’s will,³¹ suggesting an unbridgeable gap between the Antiquity and Modern.

Did such criticism evoke some reaction by the dramatist himself? One may find an answer in his article “On the nature of the drama” (*Über das Wesen des Drama*) (1820), which includes three contentions:

First, as “the real world” (*die wirkliche Welt*) is full of coincidence, man is compelled to assume an “incomprehensible originator” (*einer unfaßliche Urheber*) — that is, God — who creates the world-order ruled by “strong causality” (*strenge Kausalität*) beyond man’s “understanding” (*Verstand*). So, according to Grillparzer, the task of “drama” — that is, tragedy — is no other than representation of this net of causality. This claim is sustained by antecessors: Aristotle and Kant. When Grillparzer respects fiction (“*etwas Erdichtetes*”) more than reality (“*etwas wirklich geschehend*”), he must have in mind the famous sentence of *Poetics* which defends the “function of the poets” (1451a, see above). And beside the terminology (e.g., “*Verstand*”), Grillparzer’s supposition of “originator” inevitably evokes Kant, especially his demonstration of antithesis of the third *antinomy* (*Critique of pure Reason*, B 478, 588). By these references, the dramatist stresses poet’s fiction ruled by the merciless “strong causality,” in which no salvation occurs.

Second, this nihilism leads to a view “precisely the opposite” to the contemporary philosophy of the tragedy:

We, the moderns, value it as admissible at any rate to provide victory of the freedom over the necessity; yet my opinion is precisely the opposite about this. The elevation of spirit, which is supposed to spring from victory over the necessity, has nothing to do with the nature of *the tragic* in general. Besides, the *Trauerspiel* sharply cut off to encourage the audiences’ hearts afterward, that exactly constitutes the essential effect of *the true tragedy*. The nature of the tragic, which Aristotle somewhat stiffly described as evoking of fear and pity, lies in that man realizes the nothingness of the earthly being.³² (*italic mine*)

³⁰ *Wiener Moden-Zeitung und Zeitschrift für Kunst, schöne Litteratur und Theater* 1817. [1te Hälfte des 2. Jg.] (Wien: Anton Strauß), p. 191. See also Stollberg, *op.cit.* [=n. 24], p. 514.

³¹ *Wiener Moden-Zeitung und Zeitschrift*, p. 314.

³² “Wir Neuern halten das erstere [=der Freiheit über die Notwendigkeit der Sieg [zu] verschafft] für das allein Zulässige, worüber ich aber ganz der entgegengesetzten Meinung bin. Die Erhebung des Geistes, die aus dem Siege der Freiheit entspringen soll, hat durchaus nichts mit dem Wesen des Tragischen gemein, und schließt nebstdem das Trauerspiel scharf ab, ohne jenes weitere Fortspielen im Gemüte des Zuschauers zu begünstigen, das eben die eigentliche Wirkung der wahren Tragödie ausmacht. Das Tragische, das Aristoteles nur etwas

As he implicates, the last sentence is obviously supported again by *Poetics*, to be precise, by its central thesis: “Tragedy, then, is an imitation of an action, [...] through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation [=catharsis] of these emotions” (1449b). The word “*Trauerspiel*” came to be used as distinguishing itself from antique “*Tragödie*,” indicating the civil (*bürgerlich*) genre since the 18th century³³; he thus evaluates the antiquity (“the tragic”) and devalues the modern, romantic, and Christian concept to which victory of freedom is relevant. What matters to him was rather “the nothingness of the earthly being.”

But, third, in the end he focuses on the “beyond,” which, taught by “philosophy and religion,” is expected to subsume tragedy’s nihilism.

It is Fate, that brings down the right man and let the wrong man gain a victory, that strikes you with *unreciprocated* — here unreciprocated — wound. Let history inform you that there is moral world-order, which reconcile [*ausgleichen*] in the species what is disturbed in the individuals; let philosophy and religion say, that there is *beyond* [*Jenseits*] where your right deeds also find its completion and celebration. Knowing and feeling these in advance, then step forward to our stage, so you shall understand what we want.³⁴

In short, Grillparzer calls three levels into account: (1) “The real world” where the net of necessity is not thorough and is full of accident. (2) A fictional “stage,” namely a work of tragedy itself, where the “strong causality” reigns and man is destroyed. (3) The “beyond,” where the wound struck by tragedy will be reciprocated. While dramatists depict only levels 1 and 2 that belong to “here,” audiences shall be “reconciled” and morally salvaged. Accordingly, it is not surprising that there is no salvation in the drama itself; it will be given *afterwards*, out of the stage, to each in the audience. By this partition, the gap between Antiquity and Modern was given a reconciliation — *Ausgleich*.

Now we can examine Schubert’s philosophy of tragedy. He must have attended the premiere of »*Die Ahnfrau*« on his 20th birthday, as mentioned above. Two years after the premiere, he took a poem written by Grillparzer and widely known in Vienna, to set the song »Bertha’s nocturnal song« (*Berthas Lied in der Nacht*) (D 653) in February 1819. In this poem, Bertha, a daughter of the dying Graf Borotin, sings a lullaby to him (from the third strophe she begins to sing):

steif mit Erweckung von Furcht und Mitleid bezeichnet, liegt darin, daß der Mensch das Nichtigte des Irdischen erkennt[.]” Franz Grillparzer, [“Über das Wesen des Drama”], 1820, in *Sämtliche Werke*, Bd. 3 (München: Hanser, 1964), pp. 301f. My translation.

³³ Critics like Walther Benjamin (1892-1940) therefore distinguish “*Tragödie*” and “*Trauerspiel*” consistently. See his *Origin of the German Trauerspiel* (original in German, 1928).

³⁴ “*Es ist ein Schicksal, das den Gerechten hienieden fallen läßt und den Ungerechten siegen, das »unvergoldene« Wunden schlägt, hier unvergolten. Laßt euch von der Geschichte belehren, daß es eine moralische Weltordnung gibt, die im Geschlechte ausgleicht, was stört in den Individuen; laßt euch von der Philosophie und Religion sagen, daß es ein Jenseits gibt, wo auch das Recht des Individuums seine Vollendung und Verherrlichung findet. Mit diesen Vorkenntnissen und Gefühlen tretet vor unsere Bühne und ihr werdet verstehen was wir wollen.*” Grillparzer, *op.cit.* [=n. 32], p. 303. My translation. This passage is partially examined in Stollberg, *op.cit.* [=n. 24], p. 564.

Nacht umhüllt	With fluttering wings
Mit wehendem Flügel	Night envelops
Täler und Hügel	Valleys and hill,
Ladend zur Ruh’.	Bidding them rest.
Und dem Schlummer	And to Sleep,
Dem lieblichen Kinde,	That sweet child,
Leise und linde	Softly and gently
Flüstert sie zu:	She whispers:
“Weißt du ein Auge,	“If you know of an eye
Wachend im Kummer,	That stays awake, grieving,
Lieblicher Schlummer,	Sweet Sleep,
Drücke mir’s zu!”	Close it for me!”
Fühlst du sein Nahen?	Do you feel him draw near?
Ahnest du Ruh?	Do you have a presentiment of peace?
Alles deckt der Schlummer,	Sleep makes all thing well;
Schlum’re so, schlumm’re auch du.	So you too, sleep. ³⁵

The silent mood full of peace — reminiscent of, say, “Holy night, you sink down” of »Night and Dreams« (D 827, text by Matthäus von Collin) — is deceptive. Grillparzer’s night is that of destruction; at the very beginning the tragedy prevails, “eerie,” “creepy” night (“*Eine grause Nacht, mein Vater! / Kalt und dunkel wie das Grab. / Losgerissene Winde wimmern / Durch die Luft, gleich Nachtgespenstern;*”).³⁶ This is rather reminiscent of »Funeral fantasy (*Eine Leichenfantasie*)« (D 7, text by Schiller), or, fundamentally, the suffering cry of Elektra in Euripides’ *Orestes* (“*Heilige, heilige Nacht, / Schlummerverleiherin der vielduldenden / Menschen, vom Erebus, auf! eile geflügelt zu / Agamemnonns Königshaus’ herbei: / Denn in der Traurigkeit und in dem Ungemach / Vergehen, vergehen wir*”).³⁷ While Euripides’ Elektra was saved in the end through *deus ex machina*, Grillparzer’s Bertha was destroyed, as his article maintains: “It is fate [...] that strikes you with *unreciprocated* — here unreciprocated — wound” (see above). Salvation does not occur in the work.

By contrast, the crux of Schubert’s song lies in the moment of a shift from the heaviness of gloomy night (in Eb - minor) to gravity-free night in lullaby-topic (in F#-major),³⁸ from necessity

³⁵ English translation by Richard Wigmore (slightly modified).

³⁶ In this respect, see Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, “»Berthas Lied in der Nacht« (D 653): Schubert, Grillparzer und das Wiener Volkstheater,” in: W. Dürr, S. Schmalzriedt & T. Seybolt (eds.), *Franz Schuberts Lieder nach Gedichten aus seinem literarischen Freundeskreis: Auf der Suche nach dem Ton der Dichtung in der Musik. Kongreßbericht Ettlingen 1997* (Berlin: Lang, 1999), p. 136f.

³⁷ *Euripides’ Werke, verdeutscht von Friederich Heinrich Bothe*, Dritter Band (Mannheim: Verlag von Tobias Löffler, 1824), p. 241. Euripides is Grillparzer’s most favorite writer of the three Greek tragedians; both took their audience’s afterward-reaction into account (see above).

³⁸ On the topic of lullaby — limited harmonic options, slow harmonic rhythm, suspending drone of the fifth as if

(“strong causality”) to freedom in ethereal ton. Salvation is brought *in* the work (Picture 6, see the circle-mark). One must note that this kind of song setting was quite unusual then; thus, the setting by Schubert’s friend Ignaz Mosel (1772- 1844) on July 1818 — one year before Schubert’s — was quite simple and in Zelteresque pastoral mode the entire time (Picture 7), whose tonality E \flat major was converted by Schubert to E \flat *minor*, a tonality of “ghost”.³⁹ One should also note that this dramatizing, the duality of “dark / light,” “earth / heaven” is surely the kernel of Schubert music from ca. 1820 to 1823, succeeded by the »Unfinished symphony« (D 759) or »The beautiful miller-maid« (*Die schöne Müllerin*) (D 795).

To sum up this chapter in three points: (1) Arguments of “fate” and “salvation” underlie young Schubert’s diary; its focal, if not explicit point was a then very hot contestation in Viennese theater and marketplace of ideas — *tragedy*. (2) This theme is essential in consideration of two songs; while »Gretchen at the Spinning-wheel« (D 118) was strongly inclined to “fate,” »Bertha’s nocturnal song« (D 653) to “salvation.” (3) And both of these are the outcome of an overt ambition to overcome the preceding texts, that is, Zelter and Mosel, respectively.

3. Ethics of Tragedy: *Faust*-reception in Vienna afterward

3-1. *Faust* as a “poor fool”?

Though Goethe’s *Faust* has the word “*Tragödie*” in its title, it is quite different from the classical concept examined above. This was pointed out by Schiller the tragedian, in some correspondence with Goethe as early as 1800: while encouraging the conception of Part 2 as a whole, Schiller expects the “synthesis of the nobleness and barbarism” in the earlier version of *Helena*-play.⁴⁰ Schiller passed away 28 years before the publication of Part 2 (1832). But if alive, how would he react to this “peculiar phenomena out of amalgam”⁴¹ as Goethe himself put it? And, by analogy, how about Schubert who died in 1828? Keeping in mind the polarity, that is, classical concept of tragedy vs. Goethe’s “amalgam,” we will examine some responses to Part 2 in 1830s- and 40s- Vienna. The central issue is *Notes on Goethe’s Faust* (1845) by the poet Johann Senn (1795-1857). He was an elite student of philosophy at University of Vienna and close friend of Schubert, but because of his liberalism he was arrested at the age of 25, six months after the Carlsbad Decrees (with him the composer too was arrested for a night) and was expelled from Vienna to his hometown Innsbruck (Picture 8).

Before unfolding his thought, we review a reading in Catholic Vienna: *Letters on Goethe’s*

to “envelop” the sleeping child — see M. W. Hirsch, *Romantic lieder and the search for Lost Paradise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 111-139; K. M. Bottge, “Brahms’s ‘Wiegenlied’ and the maternal voice” in *19th-Century Music* 28/3 (2005).

³⁹ C. D. Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Wien, 1806; Darmstadt, 1969), p. 285. The Mosel-setting is also referred to and reproduced in Hinrichsen, *op.cit.* [=n. 36], p. 154.

⁴⁰ “Gelingt Ihnen diese Synthese des Edlen mit dem Barbarischen, wie ich nicht zweifle, so wird auch der Schlüssel zu dem übrigen Teil des Ganzen gefunden sei[.]” (Schiller to Goethe, on September 23, 1800). Cited in Goethe, *Faust. Der Tragödie erster und zweiter Teil, Urfaust*, herausgegeben und kommentiert von Erich Trunz (München, Beck: 1972), p. 429.

⁴¹ “[...] aus dieser Amalgamation seltsame Erscheinungen” (Goethe to Schiller, on September 16). *Ibid.*, p. 428f.

Faust (1834) by a member of an abbey of cloister Melk, Michael Enk (1788-1843). This pamphlet, presumably a source of Senn's article,⁴² comprises two claims. First, discrepancy between "reality" and "ideal" is a restriction inherent to man, and this "pain" or "tragedy" must be overcome through "belief." Based on this premise, he continues: "Actually, there is only One thing that is able to reconcile the pain, of whatever kind it is: a conviction that pain serves the end, through which a pain stops to be evil and be a real source of good."⁴³ In other words, man should live with "*Zweckmässigkeit*" — an *ethos* to bring his/her deficiency to its perfection. Yet the life of Faust, with a great technique of magic, dismisses its "end" out of hand, which is selfish. Second, Goethe's *Faust* lacks the wholeness ("*das Ganze*") as a work: "The true poetry" (*die wahre Poesie*), says Enk, "must give all of his creations [=characters] solid and clear relation to eternal idea [*Idee*] of man and God."⁴⁴ He exemplifies: God's prediction of Faust's future image as "a good man" and "right way"⁴⁵ is not achieved in Goethe's work after all. Though this view is somewhat exceptional in a nod to Faust's act of benefaction or his maturation in Part 2,⁴⁶ Enk concludes that Part 2 is "no other than the pure arbitrary to dissolve all the creation into nothing."⁴⁷

Senn shares these points about Christianity and ethics. As to the former, he points that angels in *Prolog im Himmel*, who are expected to prophesize gospel, hide the truth in a manner of "Old-Testament." This somewhat naïve — as Goethe was always struggling with Christianity — claim pertains directly to the attack on inconsistency of *Faust* as a whole. Senn sees "the most garish contradiction" in the following fact: The Prolog's "mysticism" representing night is turned to the "Eternal day" (*Überall Tag*) at last of the drama (*I. 11734*); thus "the opening choir [of angels] is incompatible with the exit of the tragedy, and the beginning and the ending each abolish themselves."⁴⁸

As to the latter point concerning ethic, unforgivable for Senn is that Faust's science (*Wissenschaft*) is an "outer" one, not coming from his "inner" motivation. For Senn, science or "objectivity" as its outcome is hieroglyph or "hieroglyph of hieroglyphs," that will speak to those alone who "has preparation to live his world in himself." Yet, Goethe's protagonist

is in no mood to generate the wisdom from his inside at all, or especially, to regenerate the

⁴² M. Enk, *Briefe über Goethes Faust* (Fr. Becks Universitäts-Buchhandlung: 1834). This pamphlet is discussed in Seidler, *op.cit.* [=n. 27], pp. 358-64.

⁴³ "Es gibt nämlich nur Eines, was den Schmerz, von welcher Art er immer sey, versöhnen kann, die Ueberzeugung von seiner Zweckmässigkeit. Er hört dadurch auf ein Uebel zu seyn, und wird zur wirklichen Quelle des Guten." Enk, *op.cit.*, p. 49. My translation.

⁴⁴ *Op.cit.*, pp. 65f.

⁴⁵ "A good man, though his striving be obscure, / Remains aware that there is one right way (*Ein guter Mensch, in seinem dunkeln Drange, / Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewußt*)." (*I.327-330*). English translation by George Madison Priest (The same applies hereafter).

⁴⁶ Y. Ueda's paper on this journal deals with this issue.

⁴⁷ "Hier sehe ich nichts als die reine Willkühr, die das Geschaffene in ein Nichts auflöst." Enk, *op.cit.* [=n. 42], p. 66.

⁴⁸ "Damit steht doch der anfängliche Mystizismus der Engel im grellsten Widerspruch, dargestalt, daß insoferne der den Prolog eröffnende Gesang mit dem Ausgange der Tragödie durchaus unvereinbar erscheint und Anfang und Ende des Ga[n]zen einander rein aufheben[.]" Johann Senn, *Glossen zu Göthe's Faust. Aus dem Nachlasse von Johann Senn. Zweite unveränderte Auflage* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, [1845] 1862), p. 7. My translation.

wisdom which is laid in sciences of his time, with creative self-activity. So, he could reach to sympathize neither with science, nor accordingly with all his studies; he could not remain essentially nothing but “poor fool” that he used to be.⁴⁹

According to Senn, one must live *in* limitation of his own time, through which alone he would be able to acquire his own “wisdom.” But Faust, “in no mood” to do so, will inevitably and eternally remain “poor fool” (*der arme Thor*), as he himself moans at the beginning of the tragedy (l. 358). Senn continued to attack this dissatisfaction with science:

It is possible indeed that men with privileged mind feel unsatisfied with the result of the sciences in his own era; but he cannot preserve the sum of mankind, [...] [because] to the sum of mankind belongs also the future. [...] The previous life of mankind is not only foundation but limitation for the sciences.⁵⁰

For Senn, each era is always open and incomplete and one should accordingly regard the sciences “of his own era” as “limitation,” to be redeemed in the “future.” This Hegelian view of history surely influenced Senn: he took note of Hegel’s *Phenomenology of Spirit* about 30 years earlier, where he overcame Kant and Schelling in Hegelian terms; the latter was especially criticized as a philosopher who wrote only “for privileged men” (*den Glücklichen*) without any “mediation” (*Vermittlung*), as Hegel in *Phenomenology of Spirit* satirized this philosopher of “*Anschauung*.”⁵¹ As to *Faust*, Senn again overcame Goethe, in the spirit of Hegel.

In this respect, Goethe’s *Faust* is and will be neither a true “master” (*Lehrer*) nor a “thinker” (*Denker*) by any means. Rather he remains a “polyhistor” who, as he himself describes, “at best leads students by the nose” (*an der Nase herumziehen*).⁵² Surely his criticism seems one-sided from our perspective: in the first place, his demand on a wholeness as a work and on a coherent ethics of the protagonist does not fit Goethe’s wide concept.⁵³ Further, it could be maintained, pace Senn, that Faust in Part 2 — who had to dig his own grave after all the attempts came to nothing, who could not

⁴⁹ “Da nun Faust nicht in der Verfassung steht, überhaupt Weisheit aus seinem Innern zu erzeugen, oder insbesondere die in der Wissenschaften seiner Zeit niederlegte Weisheit mit schöpferischer Selbsttätigkeit nachzu-erzeugen, so konnte er freilich daran keinen Antheil erlangen und mußte daher trotz aller seiner Studien im Wesentlichen *der arme Thor* bleiben, der er zuvor war.” *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵⁰ “[I]st es zwar allerdings möglich, daß sich bevorzugte Geister durch die Ergebnisse der Wissenschaften ihrer Zeit nicht befriediget fühlen. Diese können freilich nicht den geistigen Gesamtschatz der Menschheit erhalten, [...] wozu auch die Zukunft gehört[...]. So ist das bisherige Leben der Menschheit für die Wissenschaften einer bestimmten Zeit nicht nur die Grundlage sondern auch die Schranke.” *Ibid.*

⁵¹ See my book (in Japanese), *Geburt von » Franz Schubert«: eine Odyssee um Verlust und Wiedergeburt* (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 2016), p. 169. Senn’s note on Hegel, *Begriff und Bedeutung von Hegels Phänomenologie des Geistes*. [n.d.] (Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck), was also examined by B. Otto, “»Solche Art negativer Freyheit«: Politische Repression um 1820 und das Bedürfnis der Philosophie. Johann Chrysostomus Senns philosophischer Kommentar zu Hegels Phänomenologie des Geistes,” in: M. Benedikt et.al. (eds.), *Verdrängter Humanismus - Verzögerte Aufklärung: Österreichische Philosophie zur Zeit der Revolution und Restauration (1750–1820)* (Wien: Turia, 1992).

⁵² Senn, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

⁵³ Goethe himself disallowed the Aristotelian *catharsis*. See his *Nachlese zu Aristoteles’ Poetik* (1827).

choose but to control “nature” through “spirit” — is “essentially tragic.”⁵⁴ Or one might say that Part 1, *not* Part 2 as Senn says, was already “untragic,” as “reset-through-oblivion” in the ending of Part 1 is already against the classical concept of tragedy. At any rate, Senn obviously dislikes (or does not understand) *humor* or *irony*, that would be akin to music of R. Schumann or late Romantics but were already preferred by Haydn and Beethoven.⁵⁵ Schubert also seems to be far from these fields of expression, if we consider that his *irony* remains microscopic even in his late works; for example he applies just some painful notes to the words “Freude” in *Irrlicht* in »Winter’s journey« (*Winterreise*) (D 911).⁵⁶ Thus, the answer to the question, “would Schubert welcome Part 2 of *Faust*?” would be surely negative.

3-2. Romantic view of *Faust*

Contrary to the above, Ernst von Feuchtersleben (1806-49) gave a positive and prophetic view on *Faust*. As a witty physician and poet who used to correspond with many of Schubert’s friends, Feuchtersleben published an article, *Writing to a friend: On the second part of Faust* (1843)⁵⁷. This is an answer to Enk’s too-aggressive view on *Faust*; thus, by “a friend” Feuchtersleben meant Enk himself, who had passed away in the same year. Leaning on an aesthetic dichotomy, he emphasized an essential difference between Part 1 and Part 2 of *Faust*: while the former is “Symbol,” which “suggests” (*hindeuten*) nothing more than the written story, the latter is “*Allegorie*,” which — like *Divine Comedy* by Dante or works by Calderon — is *not* self-contained and adds liveliness to Part 1 (This perspective is obviously a succession of Friedrich Schlegel’s widely discussed essay on *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*).⁵⁸ Summarizing his own argument, he quotes the lines from Part 2: “Life is but light in many-hued reflection” (*Am farbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben*) (l. 4727). Viewing one’s life as a “reflection” of light — or, as Charlie Chaplin once said, viewing one’s own tragic life as a comedy, seeing not in “close-shot” but “long-shot”: this is what the artists in 1820s Vienna have not exemplified yet.

However, the above theme, namely, *Faust* as exemplifying the wide-ranged life of man, was surely represented around the composer, in the genre of fine art. Among the enormous book illustrations left by Moritz von Schwind (1804-71), Schubert’s close friend and a pupil of Peter Cornelius, one finds a small poetry book dealing with *Faust*-legend (1833) (Picture 9): In a *mise en scene* of gothic-horror with gloomy sky and guillotine, a youth led by Mephisto-like magician is digging the

⁵⁴ In this regard see Schmidt, *op.cit.* [=n. 2], pp. 233f.

⁵⁵ Concerning this topic, see Bonds, *The Beethoven syndrome* [=n. 4], pp. 73-82.

⁵⁶ It is suggestive that in recent fertile studies on Schubert’s “lateness” there is not a single article dealing with the problem of *irony* and similar issues. See especially the following collections: L. B. Bodley & J. Horton (eds.), *Schubert’s late music: History, theory, style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); L. B. Bodley & J. Horton (eds.), *Rethinking Schubert* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

⁵⁷ Ernst von Feuchtersleben, “Schreiben an einen Freund: über den zweyten Theil von Göthes Faust,” in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, Nr. 148 (October 1834), p. 1177-1180.

⁵⁸ In his “Über Goethes Meister” (1798) Schlegel said of Goethe’s “irony that hovers (*schweben*) above the entire work” and praised the novel’s “aura (*Schein*) of dignity and momentousness,” which at the same time “smiles at itself.” (*Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* (München: F. Schöningh, 1958ff.), vol. 2, pp.137f.) Such perspective prevailed in German music criticism around the 1810s. See Bonds, *The Beethoven syndrome* [=n. 4], p. 88ff.

“earth-mirror (*Erdspiegel*)” (or his own grave) with his sword.⁵⁹ The claim that this image of Faust came from another of Schwind’s work “*Einsamkeit*” (1823)⁶⁰ is persuasive, considering the fact that it figures the same melancholic posture with the sword in his hand (Picture 10). This probably refers to the Schubert song »Loneliness« (*Einsamkeit*) (D 620), composed in 1818 (text by melancholic poet J. Mayrhofer, the composer’s close friend)⁶¹. This stooping posture is common to Schwind’s illustration to another Schubert song »The Minstrel« (*Der Liedler*) (D 209), with text by J. Kenner (Picture 11).⁶²

In later years, this motive varied further: In Munich, 1835, Schwind planned a “*Schubertzimmer*” to memorize his late friend. Though this could not be done because of financial reasons, he depicted watercolors based on Schubert’s *Mayrhofer* settings. The arabesques are based on the song »Urania’s Flight« (*Uranis Flucht*) (D 554) and the above-mentioned »Loneliness« (*Einsamkeit*) (D 620), left and right respectively (Picture 12).⁶³ The former includes the descending order (from left above to below): Urania, the goddess of Beauty (①), is separated from her father Zeus (②), tarnished in the human world, wandering on the earth (③, ④) and finally beholds men (she burdens all of humanities like *Atlas*) and settles on the earth to live with them. The latter is ascendent (right below to above): a young man sitting lonely in a gothic dome reminds us of Faust again (⑤). He then marries a woman with laurel crown (⑥) and is finally led to blessed heaven.⁶⁴ Thus, the couple of arabesques embrace an ideal life of godlike humans in a Neo-platonic cycle, and also music, where the *Faust*-motive, if not explicit, is underlying. This is what is exemplified in next generation by artists like Alkan or Berlioz.

⁵⁹ This illustration is published in Ludwig Bechstein, *Die Darstellung der Tragödie Faust von Goethe auf der Bühne* (Leipzig: Friedrich August Leo, 1833), [p. 20]. As the print of this pamphlet is not so clear to reflect Schwind’s drawing in detail, here (Picture 8) I cite J. Thaeter’s reproduction from S. Giesen, “Moritz von Schwinds Illustration zu Ludwig Bechsteins »Faustus,“ in *Moritz von Schwind: Meister der Spätromantik* (Karlsruhe: Gerd Hatje, 1997), p. 88.

⁶⁰ See Giesen, *op.cit.*, p. 87. This black watercolor (Picture 10, private property) is published in *Schubert 200 Jahre* (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1997), p. 107.

⁶¹ Yet, connection between the song and the watercolor is not firmly constructed, though the friendship of the two artists were already tight when the song was written and though the composer informed almost all of his works to the painter. See G. Waidelich’s commentary in *Schubert 200 Jahre* [=n. 60], p. 108.

⁶² This drawing (private property), is published in E. Hilmar, *Schubert*, 2. Aufl. (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1996), p. 172.

⁶³ The interpretation below of this painting is based on U. Olbrich, “Moritz von Schwind und die musikalische Bilddichtung,” and commentaries by the same author in *Moritz von Schwind: Meister der Spätromantik* (Karlsruhe: Gerd Hatje, 1997), p. 77f. and p. 134f. The arabesques are published on p. 135. See also W. Dürr’s commentary on the watercolor of D 554 in *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie IV, Band 11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), p. XXIVf.

⁶⁴ For 21-year-old Schubert, the song »Loneliness« was “the best” and the longest, most ambitious song, in which even a “memory” of Beethoven’s »An die Ferne Geliebte« is echoed. See S. Youens, “A gauntlet thrown: Schubert’s »Einsamkeit,« D 620, and Beethoven’s »An die ferne Geliebte,“ in *Rethinking Schubert* [=n. 56], p. 457.

Pictures



▲1. Carl Friedrich Zelter, »Margarethe«, beginning, in *Sämtliche Lieder, Balladen und Romanzen* (Berlin: Kunst und Industrie-Comptoir, n.d. [1810]), Bd. 1



▲2. Zelter, »Margarethe«, last measures of the song.



▲3. John William Waterhouse, “Penelope and the Suitors” (1912. Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museums. Public domain).



▲4. The opening scene of Schubert’s »Fierrabras« (D 796), “Der runde Silberfaden.” In the center stands Emma (Julia Kleiter). Salzburg: Mozart Haus, 2014 (Direction: Ingo Metzmacher, Staged by Peter Stein). KingInternational / C major, KKC-9118/73-0708. (c)Monika Rittershaus.



▲ 5. Bernardo Buontalenti, design to »La Pellegrina« (1589. Public domain).

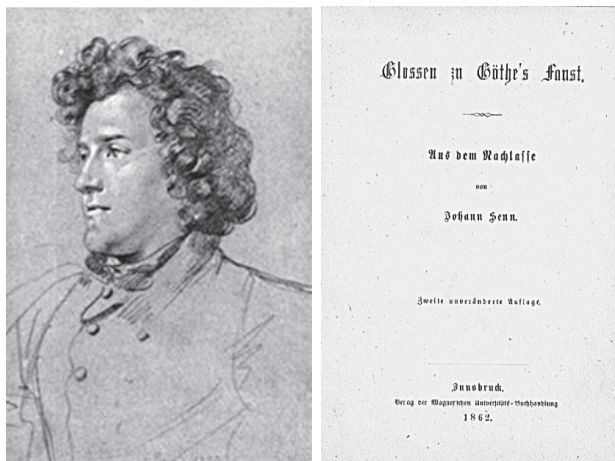


▲ 6. Franz Schubert, »Berthas Lied in der Nacht« (D 653), autograph (Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien, A 224. Used by permission).

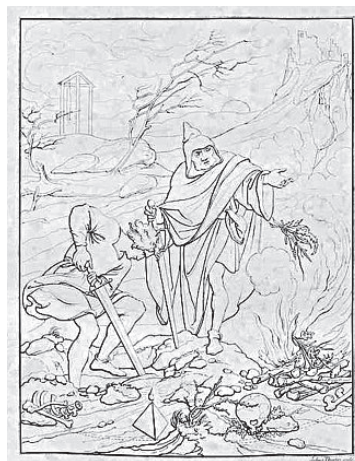
Original für 10 neue mus. Zeitungen
Grillparzer **Berthas Lied in der Nacht.** *o. Mosel*

Soprano *o. 98*
Bertha. Nacht umhüllt mit wehendem Flügel Thaler und Hügel lachend zur
Piano. *For.* Ruh Und dem Schlummer, dem lieblichen Kinde, leise und linder flüstert es zu: "Weißt du ein

▲ 7. Ignaz Mosel, »Berthas Lied in der Nacht«, in *Wiener allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (November 7th, 1818), appendix.



▲ 8. Johann Senn (pencil drawing by L. Kupelwieser, 1820) and the title page of his *Glossen zu Göthe's Faust*.



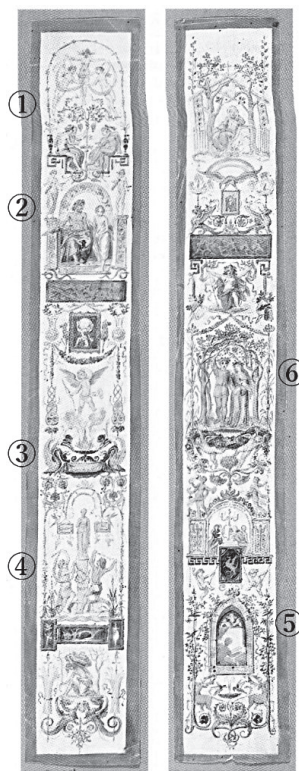
9. Moritz von Schwind, "Erdspiegel" (1832), illustration to Bechstein's series of poems "Faustus" [see n. 59].



10. Moritz von Schwind, "Einsamkeit" (1823) [see n. 60].



11. Moritz von Schwind, "Der Liedler" (1822) [see n. 62].



12. Moritz von Schwind, "Uraniens Flucht" and "Die Einsamkeit." (around 1835. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. Nr. 1935-76; 77. Used by kind permission).