UNDERTONES OF INSURRECTION

MUSIC & CULTURAL POLITICS IN THE MODERN GERMAN NARRATIVE

Marc A. Weiner

with a new introduction by the author

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To
Paula N. Drake,
Beloved Sister and
Friend Through the Chaos

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This book examines social, political, and ideological issues associated with music in narratives of German modernism, and in its original version drew upon developments in musicology and upon discussions of the ideological, extra-aesthetic implications of literary form in the modern German narrative that first emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s, and that have come to typify their fields ever since. Nonetheless, when I first undertook this study nearly twenty years ago, I felt justified in claiming that the questions it raised were fundamentally different from those that had previously been pursued in most examinations of music in the literature of German-speaking Europe, because it was obvious at the time that, until then, investigations of musical-literary relations within the purview of German Studies had largely disregarded social concerns in general, and political issues in particular. By and large, that has not changed and continues to characterize the small field of musical-literary relations in German Studies today.

Following the appearance in 1948 of Calvin Brown's influential *Music and Literature: A Comparison of the Arts* (the concerns of which far exceeded German literature), scholars in German Studies interested in music either focused their attention on music and the figure of the musician as motifs in the literature of the German-speaking countries, deemed it sufficient to simply identify or to point out those passages in the works of the German literary canon that contained discussions of music, or examined primarily technical parallels between specific musical arts, musical forms, and literary works. These three approaches were exemplified by studies that had already come to seem rather outdated by the early 1990s: George Schoolfield's monograph, *The Figure of the Musician in German Literature* (1956), Theodore Ziolkowsky's widely cited article, "Hermann Hesse's *Steppenwolf*: A Sonata in Prose" (1958), and Steven Paul Scher's *Verbal Music in German Literature* (1968). While these investigations accomplished what they set out to do—the first in an encyclopedically descriptive fashion, the second from a tradition within

comparative literature that deemed the identification of textual detail and the comparison of the arts as ends in themselves, and the last from a perspective of New Criticism characterized by close readings in a social, historical, and political vacuum—the methodologically circumscribed nature of inquiry they reflected prevented their authors from taking into account the ideological ramifications of their material. That is, while much had been gained from descriptive close reading such as theirs, much had been ignored as well.

This was regrettable, considering the fact that by the early 1990s, these publications were still so representative of much of the research within the small arena in German Studies devoted to the interrelations of music and literature. Following Schoolfield, numerous books and articles appeared with titles of the "Music in the Life and Works of…" kind that contributed to our awareness of the pervasiveness of the motif in German literature, but fell short of examining the role such motifs play in the ideological configurations of that literature, and indeed of the society from which they were drawn.[1] Similarly, numerous scholars like Ziolkowski and Scher attempted to define the formal similarities and differences between music and literature, as well as the impact of such structures on the use of music as a motif in narrative texts, and contributed to our understanding of the subtleties involved in the conflation of the two arts, but their interests did not extend beyond the aesthetic material under discussion.[2] Unfortunately, this state of affairs continued well past the initial publication of this book in 1993, as even the most cursory examination of studies since then makes clear. In other words, there remains a dearth of investigations of music in German, Swiss, and Austrian literature that take into consideration the social and ideological forces involved in the generation and the reception of the arts, both individually and when they meet. Two recent publications representative of current approaches to the subject—*Listening In: Music, Mind, and the Modernist Narrative* (2003) and *Phrase and Subject: Studies in Literature and Music* (2006)—are no exception.

Since the appearance of this book, a number of collections associated with a series of conferences at the University of Graz have provided an overview of the field, revealing not so much different methodologies as an expanded set of objects of inquiry. For subsequent to the early 1990s, few of these investigations have sought to examine the larger cultural implications behind the development of the narrative strategies under

investigation, strategies often based on the associations that inevitably accompany any art in a given culture, both in the world at large and when it appears within a narrative context.[3] Indeed, the very titles themselves suggest as much: *Word and Music Studies: Defining the Field* (1999); *Word and Music Studies: Essays on Literature and Music (1967-2004)*, etc.—not, say, *Word, Music, and Culture*, or *Word, Music, and Politics*, or *Word, Music, and the Ideology of Form*, or some other formulation indicating a concern for those dimensions of inquiry that go beyond the positivistic, the biographical, the descriptively historical, and the New Critical. As such, the insights they have provided have continued to be either descriptive or largely formal in nature. What's more, these collections are just that—groups of heterogeneous investigations with diverse concerns and aesthetic objects, which (with one notable exception, to be discussed below) tend to dominate the scholarly scene far more than focused and theoretically informed monographs on the subject of music and German literature. Equally heterogeneous collections had already appeared prior to those just mentioned—such as *Music and German Literature* (1992)—and still others have emerged since: *Resounding Concerns* (2003); and *Music and Literature in German Romanticism* (2004).

This is not the case, to be sure (though this is not the exception just alluded to), with Jean H. Leventhal's *Echoes in the Text: Musical Citation in German Narratives from Theodor Fontane to Martin Walser* (1995), for in her monograph, Leventhal is one of the few scholars to recognize that the modernist author expected "a reader who will bring to these texts [by, in addition to the titular authors, Schnitzler and Döblin]" an attentive ear and keen memory for music."[4] As my reader will see in the pages that follow, this expectation is a key to my own argument, insofar as I will claim that it is with the understanding of the associations a contemporary reader would bring to the text that the modernist author could exploit the use of music to awaken in the reader's imagination larger social, ideological, and political associations from the world in which both the author and the reader lived. But Leventhal does not explore the implications of such authorial aspirations, and mentions instead the modernist author's "expectations" merely as an afterthought at the end of her study, the primary purpose of which was simply, she explains, to recognize and identify "the inclusion of citation of specific musical material in a selection of…narrative prose texts," a modest goal that links her work

to a host of others, already mentioned, that were primarily concerned with citation and summary.[5]

The methodological limitations of Schoolfield's, Ziolkowski's, and Scher's works of the 1950s and 1960s doubtless reflected the conservative nature of the two disciplines upon which they drew: musicology and the study of (canonical) German literature, as they were defined by the academic institutions of the time. It is certainly no coincidence, for example, that they—and others working in a similar vein—seldom mention any forms of musical art deemed popular or low, the focus of their interest revealing a penchant for such high cultural forms as classical chamber music, symphony, and opera, while eschewing for the most part discussion of what at the time was deemed to be more modern music, such as jazz and forms of electronic acoustical art. In this context, it is worth mentioning that discussion of jazz, rock, or folk music and kinds of music deemed "ethnomusicological"—and thus, from the canonical musicologist's viewpoint, marginal—were still rare in the institution of musicology in the mid-1980s, a failing for which the prominent scholar, Joseph Kerman, criticized his colleagues at the time.[6]

While such conservatism may have also made sense within the larger framework of the institution of literary studies in America at the time, it is still discernible in numerous publications that have emerged since then, many of which continue to pursue goals and employ methodologies similar to those of Schoolfield, Ziolkowski, and Scher—that is, they ask similar questions which essentially ignore social and political issues. More recently, some occasional investigations of music-as-narrative have emerged—such as *Silence and Slow Time: Studies in Musical Narrative* (2004) and *Literatur und Musik in der klassischen Moderne: Mediale Konzeptionen und intermediale Poetologien* (2006)—but more often than not they have also omitted discussion of the art as a cipher of larger social-political import. One study from this time that *does* concern the relationship between ideological forces and sonic phenomena in German culture is *Sound Matters: Essays on the Acoustics of Modern German Culture* (2004), but the interests of its editors and authors lie elsewhere than those pursued here, and therefore (with one minor exception), this collection of diverse essays and heterogeneous agendas omits consideration of German and Austrian literature altogether.

Developments in the late 1980s, 1990s, and the first part of the twenty-first century, in both musicology and in German literary scholarship *not* devoted to music, have widened the scope of their respective territories by viewing the arts with which they are concerned as semiotic codes rooted within the ideological forces of their societies. Such provocative, and for their time even radical investigations as Rose Rosengard Subotnik's *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology in Western Music* and Susan McClary's *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (both 1991) employed critical and literary theory in their analysis of the ideological dimensions discernible within musical structures, and thus expanded the parameters of the examination of music to include the notion that both these structures and the discourse with which music is discussed function as codes reflecting social power relations (this argument will infuse my first chapter and reappear throughout the book that follows). Such investigations may seem standard fare today, but in the early 1990s they were anything but. Much of the impetus for their approach was due to Subotnik's, and, to a lesser extent, McClary's incorporation of the work of Theodor W. Adorno into their own analyses of music and of its place within a social context. Though the focus of McClary's study was, specifically, the perception of music through socially pervasive conceptions of gender, her insights have proven applicable to an analysis of the function of music in modern Western society in general, and have deservedly contributed to a fundamental paradigm shift within musicology that continues to define the discipline today.

That new paradigm of the post-1991 era emerged in interrogations of music through the employment of methodologies and aesthetic theories that had already typified research in the literary humanities for some time, such as—in addition to feminism, gender studies, and Critical Theory—deconstruction, post-structuralism, new historicism, and cultural studies in general. The titles of scholarly works within the "new musicology"—if I may be forgiven the formulation—speak volumes: *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the 19th Century* (1991); *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* (1993); *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (1993); *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology* (1994); *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (1995); *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (1995); *Beethoven Hero* (1995);

Deconstructive Variations: Music and Reason in Western Society (1996); *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canon* (1996); *Music and Cultural Theory* (1997); *The Work of Opera: Genre, Nationhood, and Sexual Difference* (1997); *Gender and the Musical Canon* (2000); *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction* (2003); *Opera and Modern Culture: Wagner and Strauss* (2004); *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (2006); and *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (2008). Many more examples could be cited.

With the emergence of the same theoretical models within literary scholarship, what was generally described as "culture studies" came to the fore, and by the late 1980s had been established as a major part of the intellectual work in departments of German throughout the country. Through the infusion of neo-Marxist assumptions and questions emerging from the Frankfurt School, culture studies in literature departments defined itself and its goals and methodologies in part through its rejection of a primarily New Critical approach to (usually canonical) literary texts. Indeed, by the time this book appeared in 1993—which, too, was influenced by Adorno, especially by his *Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie* (*Introduction to the Sociology of Music*)—the con-textual, as opposed to the primarily textual interrogation of literary meaning was on the verge of constituting the norm, so that studies and courses on the literature of German-speaking Europe more often than not unfolded through consideration of the ideological forces within a given cultural and historical moment in which the literary text emerged and was initially received. When I began work on this book, culture studies was still perceived (and perceived itself) to be on the "cutting edge" of literary inquiry, yielding kinds of insights that seemed both novel and, as those of us working in the field at the time liked to think, rather "insurrectionary" when compared with the kind of positivistic (and often largely biographical) and New Critical discussion of texts that had heretofore constituted the norm. In this respect, I must acknowledge in hindsight what seems now to be a rather quaint conflation of the "insurrectionary" affect with which I wrote the book and the nature of its subject—the means by which a new kind of German, Austrian, and Swiss literature unfolded its *Ideologiekritik*, its social and cultural criticism—as revealed in my use of the loaded term "Insurrection" in my title. Yes, at the time I hoped to employ the insights vouchsafed by the new methods of culture studies in a kind of inquiry that would be new in the

field of musical-literary relations, and that I hoped might, in its own small way, help to advance the subject out of the stagnation I believed had come to characterize it, thereby emulating the shift in methodologies found in musicology just discussed.

The kinds of insight I found missing in most studies of music in German literature were provided for me by such texts as Judith Ryan's *The Uncompleted Past: Postwar German Novels and the Third Reich* (1983), Donna Reed's *The Novel and the Nazi Past* (1985), and Russell Berman's *The Rise of the Modern German Novel: Crisis and Charisma* (1986) and *Modern Culture and Critical Theory: Art, Politics, and the Legacy of the Frankfurt School* (1989), which addressed directly the relationship between ideological forces, literary strategies, and narrative form, and thus brought into a discussion of German literature those aspects of cultural practice vilified as extrinsic by both positivists and New Critics in the 1950s and 1960s. In so doing, these works appeared to me in the early 1990s to have effected a kind of investigation of literature parallel to that found in Subotnik's and McClary's recent investigations of music. The similarities in the approaches discernible in Subotnik's and Berman's works were clearly attributable, at least in part, to the fact that Berman, too, modeled his investigations on an analysis of the relationship between artwork and ideology developed by Adorno and other members of the Frankfurt School. A basic tenet of these literary studies—that aesthetic (in this case, narrative) structures are politically significant because they represent an artist's response to the political implications of cultural codes with which the recipient of the modern artwork (in this case, the reader) is also acquainted—provided the basis for my own understanding of the ideological associations attending the appearance of music in the modern German narrative. It goes without saying that, since the appearance of Ryan's, Reed's, and Berman's texts just cited, such studies have come to characterize much of the work done in German departments in the American academy once the institution was reconfigured through inclusion of a host of alternative methodologies heretofore foreign to the literary academic landscape. Today such work is fairly standard; in the 1980s, in was not.

I mentioned above that, with one exception, one was hard-pressed in the early 1990s to find studies of music and literature that paralleled the kind of exciting investigations undertaken by Subotnik and McClary

in musicology. That exception was, and continues to be, the work of Lawrence Kramer, who is not so much concerned with the questions I pursue here—involving the development of narrative strategies in the modern German narrative that were based on the cultural vocabulary of the modernist author's readership—but who has a keen awareness of the means by which ideological forces inform the development and the operations of aesthetic form. His publications draw and expand upon much of the theoretical work already cited, and provide an example of a kind of analysis of musical-literary relations that goes far beyond the more traditional and circumscribed projects that continue to be the norm today. By the time my book appeared, Kramer had examined *Music and Poetry—The Nineteenth Century and After* (1984) and *Music and Cultural Practice, 1800-1900* (1990), and he has subsequently added, among others, the aforementioned *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (1995), *After the Lovedeath: Sexual Violence and the Making of Culture* (1997), *Franz Schubert: Sexuality, Subjectivity, Song* (1998), *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (2002), and *Opera and Modern Culture: Wagner and Strauss* (2004). When I wrote this book, Kramer and I were involved in very different projects, and therefore his investigative model was not appropriate to my argument here, but though I did not employ his insights in the early 1990s, I have done so since.

However, as the saying goes, the exception proves the rule. My point, again, is that while musicology was late in incorporating modern theory—which by the late 1980s was a central feature of nearly every major literary program in the American academy—the kinds of investigation that had come to characterize both disciplines was by that time still largely missing from studies of music and literature within departments of German, studies that continue to this day to be characterized by modest goals, outdated methodologies, and limited expectations.

I also wish to mention that, in the early 1990s, I still had to assume that my English-speaking audience would be relatively unfamiliar with the work of Hans Pfitzner, a composer of major importance to the cultural life of German-speaking Europe in the first half of the twentieth century who plays a prominent role in this book. Indeed, even the music drama for which Pfitzner is best remembered today—*Palestrina*—did not receive its first American staging until the Royal Opera Company of Covent Garden performed it at the Metropolitan Opera in New York on

June 21, 1997.[7] Up to 1993, scholarship on the figure had been primarily available only in German, and had done little to illuminate his position within the ideological forces of his time. Since then, however, Pfitzner has become the subject of, or at least has received more than merely passing mention in, a number of rewarding discussions: Owen Toller, *Pfitzner's Palestrina: The "Musical Legend" and its Background* (1997); Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler`s Reich* (1999); Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (2000); a special issue of the *Musical Quarterly* devoted to the composer (2001); Sabine Busch, *Hans Pfitzner und der Nationalsozialismus* (2001); *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny, 1933-1945* (2003); Celia Applegate, *Music and German National Identity* (2004); Claire Taylor-Jay, *The Artist-Operas of Pfitzner, Krenek, and Hindemith: Politics and the Ideology of the Artist* (2004); Walter Frisch, *German Nationalism: Music and the Arts* (2005), as well as, sporadically, in Alex Ross, *The Rest is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (2007).[8] I would recommend any number of these texts to readers interested in finding out more about this fascinating, though troubling representative of European aesthetic conservatism in the first half of the twentieth century.

With an understanding of the arts as involved in the often unacknowledged ideological forces within a culture, I attempted in this book to bridge a gap between the highly rewarding infusion of modern cultural and literary theory into musicology, the politically insightful examinations of narrative structures in the modern (and, in Ryan's case, postmodern) German novel, and discussions of musical-literary relations in German Studies, the methodological conservatism of which had obtained in the early 1990s and that continues to "define" the field today. It is my hope that the book that follows will illuminate the means by which the modern German narrative unfolded its ideological agenda through references to music that were by no means solely formal in nature, but that were infused rather with ideological meaning in the world in which that literature and that music were created and received.

***

I owe a debt of gratitude to many institutions, foundations, programs, departments, and individuals without whose financial and emotional

encouragement I would still be fulminating somewhere in the middle of chapter three. Since, as Brecht says, one thinks of food first and morality second, I wish at the outset to express my gratitude to my financial benefactors: to the President's Council on the Humanities at Indiana University for awarding me travel grants to examine material in the Franz Werfel archives of the University of California at Los Angeles and in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, Germany; to the Office of the Vice President for Research and the Dean of the Graduate School at Indiana for a Grant-in-Aid to defray the cost of procuring photographs; and to the Andrew W. Mellon program at Harvard University for awarding me a Faculty Fellowship in the Humanities for research and participation in Harvard's Institute for Literary and Cultural Studies.

The earliest stages of this project grew out of discussions with a number of engaging and refreshingly enthusiastic graduate students in a seminar I gave at Indiana University on music in German literature, especially with Ann McGlashan, Cathy Raymond, and Felix Tweraser, who have gone on to pursue investigations of music and modern German literature of their own. Following these initial formulations, my work and personal well-being benefited from discussions with Marjorie Garber and Richard Hunt at Harvard, and with colleagues in the German department there at the time: Dorrit Cohn, Gail Finney, Carl Guthke, Judith Ryan, and Maria Tatar. I also owe a real personal and intellectual debt of gratitude to two fellow melons (or "Mellow Felons," as we were affectionately known), Marcel Cornis-Pope and Carol Oja.

I wish to thank colleagues, both former and present, and dear friends at Indiana University, especially Eva Knodt, Breon Mitchell, Antje Petersen, and William Rasch, for offering a number of very helpful suggestions (many of them infuriatingly justified!), and David Lasocki of the Music Library for clarifying some contradictory bibliographical information concerning obscure musicological publications in Wilhelminian and Weimar Germany. The late Wolfgang Paulsen, for many years both my mentor and "ideal reader," subjected the entire manuscript to a careful reading as it developed, an act of generosity that was typical for him, for he was a wonderful human being who represented the very best within the European intellectual tradition. It was largely owing to his enthusiasm for his field that I decided to pursue a career in academia. And finally, my thanks to Sander Gilman, whose work constitutes a model of textual analysis and

cultural and ideological criticism. The distinction of his scholarship, the extent of his professional encouragement and support, and the warmth of his friendship have added immeasurably to my professional experience over the past twenty years.

I have attempted to use, whenever possible and appropriate, standard published translations of the German texts under discussion, but I have modified these when necessary; all other translations are my own. The following collectors, archives, and their staff members aided me in the often difficult process of procuring photographic material: Antony Beaumont; Dr. Hedwig Müller of the Institut für Theater-, Film- und Fernsehwissenschaft der Universität Köln; Elke Schwandner of the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach am Neckar; Helga Bauer of the Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin; Anita Schulze and Sybille Hilger of Bild-Kunst, Bonn; the Klaus Broszat Fotostudio in Munich; Klaus Schultz, former Generalintendant of the Stadttheater Mannheim; Horst P. Horst; Amy Guskin of European American Music Distribution Corporation; and Carolyn Peterman and Mark Simons of Photographic Reproduction Services at Indiana University.

I wish to knowledge with gratitude permission to use material from the following essays, which were previously published in significantly different form: "Silence, Sound, and Song in *Der Tod in Venedig*: A Study in Psycho-Social Repression," *Seminar* 23 (May 1987): 137-55; "*Die Zauberflöte* and the Rejection of Historicism in Schnitzler's *Traumnovelle*," *Modern Austrian Literature* 22 (December 1989): 33-49; "*Urwaldmusik* and the Borders of German Identity: Jazz in Literature of the Weimar Republic," *German Quarterly* 64 (Fall 1991): 475-87; and "Music and the Subversive Imagination," in *Music in German Literature*, ed. James M. McGlathery, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture 66 (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1992) 292-315.

The post-1992 studies referred to in this new Introduction have been included in the revised Bibliography, but otherwise the text of the introduction, chronology, chapters 1-6, notes, and index remains that of the original.

Marc A. Weiner
Bloomington, Summer 2008

Notes

1. See for example the following, highly selective list of texts that I have arranged chronologically and chosen for their representative nature: Werner Dürr, *Hermann Hesse*; Herbert Riedel, *Musik und Musikerlebnis in der erzählenden deutschen Dichtung*; Victor Zmegac, *Die Musik im Schaffen Thomas Manns*; Johannes Mittenzwei, *Das Musikalische in der Literatur*; Martin Erich Schmidt, *Symbol und Funktion der Musik im Werk Hugo von Hofmannsthals*; G. W. Field, "Music and Morality in Thomas Mann and Hermann Hesse"; Charles Findlay, "The Opera and Operatic Elements in the Biography of Johannes Kreisler"; James Northcote-Bade, *Die Wagner-Mythen im Frühwerk Thomas Manns*; Winfried Börsch, "Die Bedeutung der Musik in der Poetik Verlaines und der deutschen Romantik"; John L. DiGaetani, *Richard Wagner and the Modern British Novel*; Marko Pavlyshyn, "Music in Hermann Hesse's *Der Steppenwolf* and *Das Glasperlenspiel*"; Raymond Furness, *Wagner and Literature*; Linda Siegel, Introduction to *Music in German Romantic Literature*; William E. Grimm, *The Faust Legend in Music and Literature*; and John A. Hargraves, *Music in the Works of Broch, Mann, and Kafka*.
2. Examples of this kind of investigation, also highly selective and arranged chronologically, are: George P. Springer, "Language and Music"; Carl Dahlhaus, "Musikalische Prosa"; Gérard Schmidt, *Zum Formgesetz des Doktor Faustus von Thomas Mann*; Harold Vogel, "Die Zeit in Thomas Manns Roman *Doktor Faustus*"; Reinhard Gerlach, "Musik und Sprache als akustische Strukturen"; Wolf-Dietrich Förster, "Leverkühn, Schönberg und Thomas Mann"; Calvin S. Brown, "Theme and Variations as a Literary Form"; James Guetti, *Word-Music*; Nancy Anne Cluck, *Literature and Music*; Rosemarie Puschmann, *Magisches Quadrat und Melancholie in Thomas Manns Doktor Faustus*; numerous studies, with the exception of Christian Wolff's "On Political Texts and New Music," in Scher, ed., *Literatur und Musik*. The essays by other scholars chosen by Joseph Kerman and edited by both Kerman and Scher in their *Music and Text* are far more progressive. See also *German Literature and Music: An Aesthetic Fusion, 1890-1989* (1992).
3. For an excellent account of similarities between the acts of reading and listening and political activities, see Peter J. Rabinowitz, "Circumstantial Evidence."
4. Leventhal 188.
5. Op. cit., p. 2.
6. See Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music*, 13, 183-84.
7. The only other one having been, as far as I know, a concert performance in Berkeley, sung in English, under the direction of Kent Nagano in the early 1980s.
8. See also John Williamson, *The Music of Hans Pfitzner* (1992), which appeared too late for me to take into consideration, as the first version of this book was already in production at the time.

selected works since 1993

Abbate, Carolyn. *In Search of Opera* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001).

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preface

This book examines social and political issues associated with music in narratives of German modernism, and in so doing draws upon recent developments in musicology and upon discussions of the ideological implications of literary form in the modern German narrative. The questions it raises are fundamentally different, however, from those pursued in most examinations of music and German literature, for previous works on musical-literary relations within the purview of Germanic studies have disregarded social concerns in general, and political issues in particular.

Following the appearance in 1948 of Calvin Brown's influential *Music and Literature: A Comparison of the Arts* (the concerns of which far exceeded German literature), scholars in Germanic studies either focused their attention on music and the figure of the musician as motifs in the literature of the German-speaking countries, or examined primarily technical parallels between musical and literary works. These two approaches are exemplified by two often-cited works from the 1950s and 1960s: George Schoolfield's *The Figure of the Musician in German Literature* (1956) and Steven Paul Scher's *Verbal Music in German Literature* (1968). While both studies accomplished what they set out to do, the former in an encyclopedically descriptive fashion and the latter from a perspective of New Criticism characterized by close readings in a social, historical, and political vacuum, the methodologically circumscribed nature of these investigations prevented them from taking into account the ideological ramifications of their material. That is, while much has been gained from descriptive close readings such as theirs, much has been ignored as well. This is regrettable, considering the fact that these publications are so representative of research within the small arena in Germanic studies devoted to the interrelations of music and literature. Following Schoolfield, numerous books and articles appeared with titles of the "Music in the works of" kind which contributed to our awareness of the pervasiveness of the motif in German literature, but fell short of examining the role such motifs play in the ideological configurations of that literature, and indeed

of the society from which they were drawn.[1] Similarly, numerous scholars like Scher have attempted to define the structural similarities and differences between music and literature, as well as the impact of such structures on the use of music as a motif in narrative texts, and have contributed to our understanding of the subtleties involved in the conflation of the two arts.[2] But they, too, have not set out to examine the larger cultural implications behind the development of the narrative strategies under investigation, strategies often based on the associations that inevitably accompany any art in a given culture, both in the world at large and when it appears within a narrative context.[3] As such, the insights they have provided have proven largely formal in nature.

The methodological limitations of such works doubtless reflect the conservative nature of the two disciplines upon which they drew in the 1950s and the late 1960s: musicology and the study of canonical German literature. It is certainly no coincidence, for example, that Schoolfield, Scher, and others working in a similar vein seldom mention any forms of musical art deemed popular or low, the focus of their interest revealing a penchant for such high cultural forms as classical chamber music, symphony, and opera, while eschewing for the most part discussion of such modern music as jazz and forms of electronic acoustical art. In this context it is worth mentioning that discussion of jazz, rock, or folk music and kinds of music deemed "ethnomusicological"—and thus, from a canonical musicologist's viewpoint, marginal—were, until fairly recently, rare in the institution of musicology as well.[4] While such conservatism may have made sense within the larger framework of the institution of literary studies in America in the 1950s and 1960s, it is still discernible in numerous publications that have emerged since then, many of which pursue goals and employ methodologies similar to Schoolfield's and Scher's—that is, they ask similar questions which essentially ignore social and political issues.

Recent developments in both musicology and in German literary scholarship not devoted to music have widened the scope of their respective territories by viewing the arts with which they are concerned as semiotic codes rooted within the ideological forces of their societies. Such provocative investigations as Rose Rosengard Subotnik's *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology in Western Music* and Susan McClary's

Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality (both 1991) employ critical and literary theory in their analysis of the ideological dimensions discernible within musical structures, and thus expand the parameters of the examination of music to include the notion that both these structures and the discourse with which music is discussed function as codes reflecting social power relations. Much of the impetus for this kind of approach is due to Subotnik's, and, to a lesser extent, McClary's incorporation of the work of Theodor Adorno into their their own analyses of music and of its place within a social context. Though the focus of McClary's study is, specifically, the perception of music through socially pervasive conceptions of gender, her insight is applicable to an analysis of the function of music in modern Western society in general. In this society, music reflects and evokes a host of forces that scholarship often deems extramusical. These insights, dismissed by more traditional musicologists and also virtually ignored by those investigating music in literature, form a basic premise of my book, in part because my own work also has been influenced by Adorno, especially by his *Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie (Introduction to the Sociology of Music)*.[5]

One is hard pressed to find studies of music in literature that parallel the kind of exciting investigation undertaken by Subotnik and McClary. Lawrence Kramer has recently employed the kind of structuralist analysis based on modern literary theory found sporadically in their work and, more extensively, in Carolyn Abbate's *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (1991), but his *Music and Poetry: The Nineteenth Century and After* (1984) focuses on formal parallels between the arts, and thus unfolds within the confines of New Criticism discernible in Brown's and Scher's investigations. Kramer seldom takes into consideration the sociopolitical, or generally ideological implications of the parallels between the arts that he seeks to draw. His analysis of literature therefore lacks the ideological insights that are so remarkable in Subotnik's and McClary's analyses of music. This is still the case, its title and professed intentions notwithstanding, in his subsequent *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (1990).[6]

The recent work of other literary and cultural scholars, however, though it does not discuss music, proves rewarding when applied to an investigation of the ideological implications of music in German modern-

ist literature. I have in mind such texts as Judith Ryan's *The Uncompleted Past: Postwar German Novels and the Third Reich* (1983), Donna Reed's *The Novel and the Nazi Past* (1985), and Russell Berman's pioneering studies *The Rise of the Modern German Novel: Crisis and Charisma* (1986) and *Modern Culture and Critical Theory: Art, Politics, and the Legacy of the Frankfurt School* (1989), which address directly the relationship between ideological forces, literary strategies, and narrative form, and thus bring into a discussion of German literature those aspects of cultural practice vilified as extrinsic by both positivists and New Critics in the 1950s and 1960s. In so doing, they effect a kind of investigation of literature parallel to that found in Subotnik's and McClary's recent investigations of music. The similarities in the approaches discernible in Subotnik's and Berman's works may be attributable in part to the fact that Berman, too, models his investigations on an analysis of the relationship between artwork and ideology developed by Adorno and other members of the Frankfurt School. A basic tenet of these literary studies—that aesthetic (in this case, narrative) structures are politically significant because they represent an artist's response to the political implications of cultural codes with which the recipient of the modern work (in this case, the reader) is also acquainted—provides the basis for my own understanding of the ideological associations attending the appearance of music in the modern German narrative. With this understanding of the arts as involved in the often unacknowledged ideological forces within a culture, I have attempted to bridge a gap between the recent and highly rewarding infusion of modern cultural and literary theory in musicology, the most recent and politically insightful examinations of narrative structures in the modern (and, in Ryan's case, postmodern) German novel, and the methodologically more conservative area of musical-literary relations in Germanic studies.

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University for awarding me a travel grant to examine material in the Franz Werfel archives of the University of California at Los Angeles and in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, Germany; to the Office of the Vice President for Research and the Dean of the Graduate School at Indiana for a Grant-in-Aid to defray the costs of procuring photographs; and to the Andrew W. Mellon Program at Harvard University for awarding me a Faculty Fellowship in the Humanities for research and participation in Harvard's Institute for Literary and Cultural Studies in 1987–88.

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I have attempted to use, whenever possible and appropriate, standard published translations of the German texts under discussion, but I have modified these when necessary; all other translations are my own.

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introduction

When Georg von Wergenthin, the main protagonist in Arthur Schnitzler's *Der Weg ins Freie* (*The Road into the Open*) of 1908, dreams of inheriting the success and adulation once enjoyed by Richard Wagner, subtle allusions to musicians and to musical compositions evoke in the mind of Schnitzler's contemporary reader specific social and political issues of topical importance in fin de siècle Vienna. Throughout the work, references to the music of Wagner and covert allusions to Gustav Mahler form an ironic backdrop to the portrayal of diverse ideological forces in von Wergenthin's world. As an unsuccessful dilettante, unavowed anti-Semite, and Wagner enthusiast, Schnitzler's hero represses the sundry tensions of his life associated with Jews when he attends a performance of *Tristan und Isolde* at the Vienna Opera, and loses himself instead in a megalomaniacal fantasy:

> The lights were dimmed, the prelude to the third Act began. Georg heard languid ocean waves breaking on a desolate coast and the mournful sighs of a fatally wounded hero vanishing in bluish-thin air. . . .
>
> The curtain was raised. The English horn sounded with longing, the wounded hero slumbered under a pale and indifferently expansive sky in the shadow of the linden tree, and the devoted Kurwenal watched over him. . . . Truly, that was a voice of unusual timbre. If only we had a baritone like that, Georg thought. And there is so much else that we need! If only he were given the necessary power, he felt he would be able in time to build the modest theater where he worked into a first-rate stage. He dreamed of exemplary performances to which people would throng from all sides. . . . He no longer sat there simply as a critical observer, but as one who himself one day would be a director. His hopes ran farther and higher. Perhaps only a couple of years would pass—and harmonies he himself had discovered would sound through a wide and festive space; and the audience would listen with rapture, like those

> here today, while somewhere outside a shallow reality would powerlessly float by. Powerlessly? That was the question! . . . Did he know, then, whether he was given the power to hold men through his art, like the master who was heard here today? To be victorious over the petty considerations and bereavements of everyday life?[1]

On its surface, this passage conveys to the modern reader little more than Georg von Wergenthin's obvious dream of achieving power and glory in Viennese society. But to Schnitzler's contemporary reader, the passage evoked a wealth of underlying associations that far transcended the hero's ordinary bourgeois aspirations. To the reader of 1908, Schnitzler's protagonist emerged as a focal point for the dramatization of numerous sociopolitical forces of the time: anti-Semitism, Zionism, Pan-Germanism, and various nationalist movements in the last years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, all of which are intimately, though covertly associated with music and with musical figures in the narrated monologue's topical subtext.[2]

Throughout the novel, von Wergenthin's insignificant efforts as a composer, conductor, and critic affiliated with a minor theater in Germany never bring him the kind of success he longs for when he thinks about Wagner, but even as he consciously compares himself to the German composer, the cultural symbol of anti-Semitism and German nationalism par excellence in turn-of-the-century Europe, Schnitzler surreptitiously compares him to Gustav Mahler, composer, conductor, and director of the Vienna Opera who gained that position in part through his notorious conversion from Judaism to Catholicism.[3] Mahler had launched new productions of *Tristan* in 1898 and 1903 during his tenure as director and principal conductor in Vienna, and Schnitzler could expect his Austrian audience to recall these celebrated events ten and five years later; indeed, a number of details refer directly to them.[4] Schnitzler's unproductive hero longs for the very positions the real-life Mahler held as impressario and composer. The reader must even assume that Mahler conducts the performance von Wergenthin attends in the novel. Yet the narrated monologue reflecting von Wergenthin's ruminations never mentions, indeed virtually suppresses, the musician stigmatized in anti-Semitic Austria as a Jew, even as the protagonist imagines himself involved in precisely those activities with which Schnitzler's readers iden-