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THE USE OF MYTH IN GERMAN OPERA, 1912-33

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE AUSTRIAN CONTRIBUTION

ROBERT BLACKBURN

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Durham

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The Use of Myth in German Opera, 1912 – 33, with special reference to the Austrian contribution. ABSTRACT.

The subject of myth in German opera from the years just before 1914 to the end of the Weimar Republic is developed here on three fronts. These are, firstly, the notion of myth as historical 'Bild' or image; secondly, myth in its vernacular guise of folktale and the motifs associated with Märchen and Sage; thirdly, myth in its more traditional sense in connection with Hellenism and the classical heritage. The works discussed are illustrated by music examples in Appendix D.

Part One consists of a brief introductory chapter on the period, followed by a more substantial one outlining the three meanings of the word 'myth' as used here. Chapter 3 offers a necessary and relevant view of the connection between opera and certain literary movements and figures of the period 1912-33 in Germany and Austria.

Part Two, 'History, Fiction and Myth' opens with a chapter on the impact of literary 'Renaissanceism' (the Nietzsche-Gobineau view of the Italian Renaissance) on opera during World War One. The works concerned are Schillings' Mona Lisa, Schreker's Die Gezeichneten, Korngold's Violanta and Zemlinsky's Eine florentinische Tragödie. Chapter 5 pursues the historical 'Bild' into the area of the Protestant Reformation and its consequences, especially the 'image' of Luther. This is seen through certain operas, discussed solely or largely in terms of their texts, principally Pfitzner's Palestrina and Busoni's Doktor Faust, but also two now forgotten works, Kaminski's Jürg Jenatsch and Klenau's Michael Kohlhaas.

Parts Three (Chapters 6 and 7) and Four (Chapter 8) form the main, detailed part of this study. Chapter 6 pursues the development of the folktale or Märchen idea in Austrian opera (Gál, Wellesz, Zemlinsky, Krenek) and certain German works, while Chapter 7 follows the Märchen and Sage motif in Schreker, notably Das Spielwerk, Der Schatzgräber and Der Schmied von Gent. Finally, Chapter 8 (Part 4) develops the theme of classical myth as it appears in Heger's Der Bettler namenlos, then, more fully, in Wellesz's Alkestis and Die Bakchantinnen and in Krenek's Orpheus und Eurydike and Leben des Orest. The three textual appendices are : (A) a chronological checklist of first performances 1893–1933 (B) A note on publishers (C) Schreker and Paul Bekker. Part One is preceded by a Preamble briefly setting out the line of descent from Wagner to Strauss and, in another direction, to Mahler and Schoenberg. Part Four is followed by a retrospective Conclusion.

THE USE OF MYTH IN GERMAN OPERA, 1912-33, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE AUSTRIAN CONTRIBUTION.

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PREAMBLE

This study of Austro-German opera concentrates on a twenty-year span from 1912 to 1933 for reasons which the Introduction will try to elucidate. It is a period at the beginning of which Wagner's inestimably powerful influence was still a major force thirty years after his death, remaining so despite numerous and variously successful attempts to escape or overcome it. It also follows the death of Gustav Mahler, cut short at the age of 51 in 1911 when, in the view of some (but not all) critics, he was on the verge of extending his musical style into new and uncharted regions. It follows, too, the most brilliant period of Richard Strauss' career. His first real stage success, Salome (1905) was quickly followed by his most advanced score, Elektra (1908) and the full-length work Der Rosenkavalier (1910) which ensured him a degree of popular acclaim exceeded during those years only by Puccini, and approached only by Mascagni and d'Albert. Finally, as Strauss settled into a comfortable standstill posture in terms of progressive artistic development - his detractors have used the expression 'downward curve' from the high point of Elektra, despite the richness of Ariadne and Die Frau ohne Schatten, to say nothing of Arabella and Capriccio, works of his old age - an Austrian composer only ten years Strauss' junior was moving beyond the late Romantic tonal idiom into 'atonal Expressionism' characterised by his stage pieces Erwartung (1909) and Die glückliche Hand (1910 - 13) and his celebrated Pierrot Lunaire (1912) for speaking voice and chamber ensemble. Subsequently Schoenberg developed the implications of these and other non-tonally centred scores down to 1914 (his fortieth year) into a system of dodecaphony or twelve-note serialism which had the most profound repercussions, not just on his celebrated pupils

Berg and Webern (and subsequently Gerhard and Skalkottas) but on a much later, post-1945 generation of European and American composers.

Thus as Strauss achieved wealth, official prestige and world acclaim in his so-called artistic 'stagnation', Schoenberg's febrile, questing intellect and difficult music attracted devotion from the initiate few, and provoked incomprehension or outright execration from the majority. Like his great contemporary, the Silesian dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann (1862-1946), Strauss outlived his time by a great many years, dying in September, 1949 having in his Vier letzte Lieder written his moving valediction to the forgotten, pre-1914 age. Schoenberg, dying less than two years later with the word 'Harmonie' on his lips, just survived into a period which was beginning to listen to and understand his music on its own terms. There is thus a tangible one-ness about the century between the conception and creation of Wagner's most influential score. Tristan und Isolde in the late 1850s (and its first performance at Munich in 1865) and the first performance in 1957 of Schoenberg's unfinished opera Mose und Aron, the completed two acts of which were written in 1930-32 before Schoenberg left Germany for good. The purpose of this preamble is to say something, on the one hand about the German Wagner-Strauss tradition up to 1914, and on the other, the allied Austrian Mahler-Schoenberg tradition, so as to set the scene for the two decades to 1933.

II

What Beethoven signified for the generation of Schumann, Mendelssohn, Liszt and Wagner himself, as well as the older Berlioz and the much younger Brahms, Wagner came to signify for a large part of the late 19th century literary and musical world in France, together with the late Romantic German-Austrian generation including Wolf, Strauss, Pfitzner and Schillings, the somewhat older Humperdinck, and even the very much older Bruckner, only eleven years Wagner's junior. Though Beethoven and Wagner were thus placed on pedestals, the idolatry was on the whole informed and in many respects fruitful. In each case, the composer came to symbolise something beyond his music, human freedom and dignity in the one case, the profundities of the psyche and the innermost feelings of men as expressed through myth in the other.

As the 19th century progressed, music became increasingly involved with extra-musical ideas and achievements, especially in literature and philosophy, to the extent that from mid-century onwards it is difficult to disentangle them totally. Just as Beethoven was the first composer to respond directly to the work of a professional philosopher (Kant) so the influence of Arthur Schopenhauer's World as Will and Image (1819) on Wagner (music as the 'immediate language of the will') came to have a significance outreaching the particular and devastating embodiment of Schopenhauerian pessimism in Tristan and Isolde. Furthermore, Wagner's influence can be seen as the most spectacular element in the total picture of German Romanticism, of which music and music drama are only a part, if one of the most vitally important.

It is clear enough that systematic philosophy through Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Schopenhauer was the most notable single contribution of Germany to European learning between 1790 and 1860, though history and classical studies run it close. The lyric, dramatic and speculative genius of Schiller and the lyric-ironic spirit of Heine may be seen as the supreme

literary talents of this rich period apart from the Leonardo-like figure of Goethe, already past his fiftieth birthday in 1800. At least as important for musicians were lesser figures like Hoffmann, Rückert, Jean Paul Richter and, through their Volkslieder collection Des Knaben Wunderhorn Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano. The versatility of Goethe's protean genius, however, had an influence on the whole 19th century as extensive as Beethoven's and Wagner's in music, and of Marx and subsequently of Nietzsche and Freud in other areas of thought and enquiry. In particular the figure of Faust, though hardly Goethe's own creation, came, through Goethe's two Faust dramas (widely separated in time) to have an influence on poets and musicians in both Germany and France unapproached by any other fictional or mythic persona of earlier times.

Without Weber's Der Freischütz and to a lesser extent the works of Lortzing and Marschner it would be difficult to see Wagner's works up to Lohengrin in their true perspective. Pfitzner described Weber as the 'glorious dawn preceding the brilliant midday sun' of Wagner.[1] He was paying tribute to the special sound-world of Der Freischütz, that total identification of music and text which was the main achievement of German Romantic opera. Of Wagner's earlier works, Lohengrin came closest, perhaps, to embodying this ideal. Not for nothing was it the most performed of Wagner's works up to 1914. It was, for instance, the first work conducted by Mahler on his arrival at the Vienna Court Opera in May 1897. Mahler's subsequent work on Weber's behalf (the attempts to provide new texts for Euryanthe and Oberon and the version of Die drei Pintos) show his devotion as no less than that to Wagner. Doubtless inspired by the unique relation of pit and stage at Bayreuth, he lowered the orchestra pit at the Vienna Opera for the benefit of the overall theatrical effect.

1. BS, 1939

Wagner's theatrical vision, of course, far outreached Weber's in all essentials. The early Wagnerians, such as Heinrich Krehbiel, were not by any means wrong when they associated him with Aeschyhus and Aeschylean tragedy, in that he was poet and composer in one.[2] As recent discussion has shown,[3] several Greek tragic figures can be shown to have influenced Wagner's own later heroes and heroines. Though the Ring is based on the Volsunga Saga (in turn derived from the Poetic Edda) there is strong evidence that Wagner's Brünnhilde incorporates aspects of the character and behaviour of Prometheus, to mention only the most important instance. The special use of Alberich's gold, and the building up of Alberich and Wotan, as well as Siegfried, in ways which depart from the Volsunga turn the Ring, as has been well said, into a story of crime and punishment. It is far more than this, whether one sees it, like Shaw, as an extended allegory of a changed world-order[4] or, like Donington[5] as an elaborate, intuitive exploration of the psychic subconscious through mythological symbols and archetypes, uncannily anticipating the work of Freud and Jung. Wagner himself admitted in 1856 that the true essence of his Ring text was only being revealed to him as he composed it. Sometimes, as Westernhagen has discovered with respect to the Rheingold prelude and the Erda motif, connections were only established retrospectively, thus making for 'an increase in the poetic density of the myth born of the spirit of music.'[6]

The creation of his mythic music dramas apart, Wagner's pioneering achievement during his middle and late 30s was to introduce an element of self-scrutiny and elaborate verbal speculation into the creative process unknown (theoretical treatises apart) in the world of music up to that time. The 'art-work of the future' was not to be allowed simply to appear unheralded, but had to be explained, described and justified in copious detail in a series of prose

2. Studies in the Wagnerian Drama. Osgood, McIlvaine, 1891
3. See Hugh Lloyd-Jones' important Wagner and the Greeks, TLS, 9 Jan., 1976, 37-39.
4. The Perfect Wagnerite, Constable, 1898
5. Wagner's 'Ring' and its symbols, Faber, 1963
6. Curt v. Westernhagen, The forging of the 'Ring' (Zürich, 1973) Eng. tr. 1976, 11

works during the years 1848-51. Wagner was, it was later seen, clarifying the theory of the Gesamtkunstwerk, the 'total art-work' or unified work of music, drama and visual effect, in his own mind, preparing the ground for the magisterial succession of stage works from Das Rheingold (1852-4) to Parsifal (1877-82) which were to appear over the next three decades.

It does not matter that Wagner's prose is verbose, indigestible and as full of the longueurs which Hanslick found in all the later music dramas, including Die Meistersinger. The mere fact that a professional musician and man of the theatre should set out his ideas in this way is still as astonishing as it was to the Germany of the 1850s and 1860s. Nor does it matter that Wagner's dramas are seldom read as literary texts in the way that he wished and recommended. Linguistic bathos and excess in the text of Tristan, for example, gives no clue to that work's overwhelming effect, deriving from the irresistible power of the music, as Nietzsche understood perfectly well in the Wagnerian eulogy forming Chapters XVI to XXV of The Birth of Tragedy (1872). Nevertheless, and bearing in mind Nietzsche's subsequent 'revulsion' from Wagner (as emotional as his original extreme addiction) the dispassionate reviews of Hanslick are still a great aid to balance and sanity amid the mountain of uncritical adulation to which Wagnerian music-drama gave rise from the 1860s on. Of many such passages, one might quote these remarks from Hanslick's long account of the Bayreuth theatre's opening in 1876, after he had accused Wagner of being an inspired but mannered genius, indulging in passionate exaltation without proving its 'truth and necessity' and comparing the style with Victor Hugo's poems, products, in Hanslick's view of 'inner coldness' whole apparently 'glowing and inspired.'

> 'The music of GötterdÄmmerung', he writes, 'characterises its author anew as a brilliant specialist, rather adjacent to music than of it. It is unthinkable that his method shall be, as he contends, the only valid opera style from now on, the absolute 'art-work of the future'. When an art arrives at a period of the utmost luxury, it is already on the decline. Wagner's opera style recognises only superlatives; but a superlative has no future. It is the end, not the beginning. From Lohengrin on, Wagner broke a new path, dangerous to life and limb; and this path is for him alone. He who follows will break his neck, and the public will contemplate the disaster with indifference.'[7]

7. 'Richard Wagner's Stage Festival in Bayreuth' (Aug. 1876) in Edward Hanslick, Music Criticisms, 1846-99 tr. H. Pleasants, Gollance, 1951, 152.

III

Humperdinck's Hänsel und Gretel was first performed under Richard Strauss at Weimar in December, 1893 and seen by Hanslick in Vienna a year later. In view of his attitude, it was not surprising that Hanslick was critical. The work 'swarmed with reminiscences' of the Ring and Die Meistersinger, the composer's personality was 'completely submerged in Wagner' and the marshmallow statues at the end were seen as a grotesque parody of the Erlösungsidee or notion of redemption in Wagner's works from Der fliegende Holländer onwards. When Hans Richter conducted the young Strauss' symphonic poem Don Juan (1885) in Vienna in 1892 the 'tone-painting' was felt as exaggerated and tasteless for all its skill, a 'faltering tonal orgy' all the worse for the excitement it caused among the Wagner disciples. Likewise, the author of Vom musikalisch Schönen saw Strauss' Tod und Verklärung (1888/9) as relying on 'poetic rather than musical elements,' its overall effect 'sensual-pathological', with the programme-note description of the old man's death as 'Welt-Erlösung, Welt-Verklärung' seized on with weary impatience. Yet one might usefully compare this with Hanslick's warm interest in the five Mahler songs in a Vienna Philharmonic concert in January 1900, and his remark that 'As we stand at the beginning of the new century we are well advised to say of each new work produced by the musical 'Sezession' (Mahler, Richard Strauss, Hugo Wolf, etc.): It may well be that the future lies with them'.'[8] Hanslick died in 1904, a year after Wolf's suicide at 42, and over a year before Salome was produced at Dresden. The old critic's reaction to Salome would doubtless have been akin to that of Romain Rolland to the Paris première, when he commented that despite the 'undeniable dramatic power' of Wilde's play, it had 'a nauseous and sickly atmosphere about it,' exuding 'vice and literature'.[9] Earlier, Rolland, whose advocacy of Strauss in France was rooted in the orchestral tone-poems of 1885-99, had been involved in amending the French text of Salome : he described

8. Full text in D. Mitchell, Gustav Mahler : the Wunderhorn Years (Faber, 1975) App. G.
9. Richard Strauss and Romain Rolland : Correspondence, diary, essays. Ed. and tr. R.H. Myers, Calder, 1968. 82 (letter of 14.5.07)

the libretto, with justice, as 'admirably suited to the stage ... always alive and brimming over ... a dramatic crescendo from beginning to end.'[10]

Strauss had already met Hugo von Hofmannsthal (his junior by ten years) and their collaboration over the poet's 'adaptation' of Sophocles' Elektra (originally a spoken drama) as an opera was something the composer never ceased to take pride in. The two celebrated one-act operas, Salome and Elektra have rightly been described as 'stage tone poems', thus emphasising their descent in one aspect from the earlier orchestral works. But with the single, special exception of the Alpensymphonie (1915) Strauss never returned to the orchestral symphonic poem after Salome. There is thus no real comparison or parallel with the vocal and instrumental elements in the symphonies of Mahler (nos. 1,5,6,7,9 and the unfinished no. 10 of which were purely instrumental, with solo vocal and/or choral sections present in nos. 2,3,4 and 8, together with Das Lied von der Erde) In 1942, Strauss observed that despite the psychological similarity between Salome and Elektra, he had gone ahead with the Elektra venture through a wish 'to contrast this possessed, exalted Greece with Winckelmann's Roman copies and Goethe's humanism,' thus making Elektra 'even more intense in unity of structure and in the force of its climaxes.' He went on, interestingly: 'I am almost tempted to say that (Elektra) is to Salome what the more flawless and stylistically more uniform Lohengrin is to the inspired first venture of Tannhäuser. Both operas are unique in my life's work; in them I penetrated to the uttermost limits of harmony, psychological polyphony (Klytämnestra's dream) and of the receptivity of modern ears.'[11]

Thanks largely to Alexander Ritter, with whom he subsequently quarrelled over the un-Wagnerian, self-determining denouement of Guntram, his first opera (1893-4), Strauss had been fired with enthusiasm for the Lisztian symphonic poem, for Wagner and for Schopenhauer. He is unique among great and successful opera

11. Reminiscences of the first performance of my operas (MS, 1942) in Richard Strauss, Recollections and reflections, ed W. Schuh, tr. L.J. Lawrence, Boosey, 1953, 155.

composers in coming to the stage largely after composing a body of brilliant and adventurous orchestral music as well as a considerable number of fine songs. If Guntram failed - it was Strauss' 'child of sorrow', in William Mann's phrase - it did so principally because of the extremely taxing tenor role of the Minnesinger Guntram, as much as the work's profound indebtedness to Wagner as a whole (in particular to Tannhäuser and Parsifal). After all, Pfitzner's Der arme Heinrich of 1895 and Max von Schillings' Ingwelde (1895) belonged to the same period and ethos as Guntram, and both were even more steeped in leitmotivic structure, Schopenhauerian gloom and the Erlösung idea. In any case, extracts from Guntram appeared for a time in concert programmes, such as that for 18 March 1895 in Strauss' 1894/5 Berlin Philharmonic series, following his première on 4 March of three movements from Mahler's Second Symphony. Nevertheless, despite many temptations (especially towards the Ulrich von Liechtenstein subject) and apart from the special case of Feuersnot, set in 'fabelhafte Unzeit,' Strauss never returned to the medieval Germanic background in his later operas, nor did he ever again allow a tenor a truly dominant role.

Insofar as Strauss' reputation during these years was being built firmly on the tone-poems from Macbeth and Don Juan, Tod und Verklärung and Till Eulenspiegel (also briefly an opera project) to Don Quixote and Ein Heldenleben, the difficulties he had over Guntram were not decisive. He soon afterwards found in Ernst von Wolzogen's 'Singgedicht' Feuersnot a congenial, if decidedly racy and prurient subject for a one-act opera. It was produced in Dresden in 1901 and was firmly intended by both Wolzogen and Strauss as a brickbat at their native Munich. Feuersnot followed a period of potential but unfulfilled collaboration with Ferdinand, Graf von Zeppelin, O.J. Bierbaum and, most interestingly, Frank Wedekind (q.v. ch. 7). The in some respects Lortzing-like roles of Diemut and Kunrad and the many choruses made Feuersnot attractive, but Strauss later acknowledged that technical difficulty, apart from the plot's indelicacy, had been an obstacle to its progress. Mahler produced it in Vienna (1902) presumably out of admiration (he saw Salome in Berlin in 1907 and was deeply impressed) though the production of his old friend Wolf's Der Corregidor (1904) which fulfilled Mahler's fears

about its untheatricality, took place only after Wolf's death. The scandal in Berlin leading to Feuersnot's withdrawal was happily for Strauss, totally submerged by the brilliant success of Salome, to a lesser extent of Elektra, and, soon afterwards, the Austrian rococo world of Der Rosenkavalier. Rolland, who was later critical of the unfulfilled sense of irony in Ariadne and the 'obscure thought' of Die Frau ohne Schatten[12] later enthused over Der Rosenkavalier

> "He has put the best of himself into it - as a man and as a musician ... But never did any musician have the good fortune, which fell to Richard Strauss, to work on a libretto like Hofmannsthal's. Even without the music, it's a feast to be relished. What subtlety of touch, what grace and what malice!"[13]

In this work, Strauss entered the world of the Austrian mid-18th century the age of Maria Theresa; in Ariadne auf Naxos, through its connection with Molière, he entered the age of Louis XIV, and in its second, one-act (1916) version, more specifically the world of the commedia dell'arte. By then he had embarked on Die Frau ohne Schatten, his fourth collaboration with Hofmannsthal. Despite the reservations it met with in 1919 and later, this is arguably his greatest achievement. It is also, paradoxically, his most Wagnerian work in scale and texture (see also Ch. 6). As Strauss' love of Mozart waxed the older he grew, so his deep admiration for Wagner also increased. The more he saw or conducted Tristan and the Ring, the more the details of the orchestral score fascinated him. This was particularly so with Die Meistersinger, many finer points of which he considered were lost in the deep Bayreuth orchestra pit, unlike Tristan or Parsifal, works he thought more suited to these conditions.[14] Thus Strauss never at any point considered himself to have 'outgrown' Wagner, any more than he 'outgrew' Mozart. Rather did he grow into them, more and more deeply. Given his pragmatic, practical temperament - two adjacent chapters in Max Graf's Moderne Musik (1946) bear the titles 'Mahler the Mystic' and 'Richard Strauss the realist' - no other course was possible for him.

12. Op cit., 100 (10.6.24)
13. Ibid, 166 (Diary, 20.5.27)
14. Cf. Mahler's view that Die Meistersinger and Tristan, not the Ring, were Wagner's truly polyphonic works. He would probably have disagreed with Strauss over this.

In 1910, in an attack on dogma in criticism, Mahler also characteristically attacked the association by conservative listeners of 'newness' with 'decadence'. 'I admire Strauss, I admire Debussy', he declared, 'They have done something original. Fifty years from now, perhaps we can tell whether or not they are decadent. But we are too near to them to tell now.'[15] This echoes his earlier interest in, successively, Guntram, Feuersnot and Salome. It can be matched by Strauss' admiration of Mahler's music. In this same year, 1910, Strauss appended a brief note to Paul Stefan's Gustav Mahler : Ein Bild seiner Persönlichkeit in Widmungen (R. Piper, Munich) in which he looked back on his championing as conductor of Mahler's earlier symphonies, declaring that 'the plasticity of his orchestration, in particular, is absolutely exemplary.' Mahler, who must have been acutely aware of the vast gulf between their personalities, had once observed in a letter to Arthur Seidl (February 1897) how glad he was to have such a 'Mitkämpfer und Mitschaffen' as a contemporary, recalling Schopenhauer's image of two mountaineers descending a peak on opposite sides, finding their way into the same ravine, and thus meeting on their journey down.[16]

15 New York Daily Tribune interview, 3 April 1910, qu. Mitchell, op cit., 389.

16 qu. H. Kralik (ed. F. Heller) Gustav Mahler, Lafite, Wien, 1968, 18

IV

If the names of Wagner and Strauss are associated less with the old German Reich as a whole than with Bavaria, and in particular with Munich and its hinterland, then Mahler and Schoenberg must always, for equally obvious reasons, be associated with Vienna, the city which treated them both so shabbily. The tradition Strauss tried to carry forward in Guntram and Feuersnot was one in which Mahler and Schoenberg were equally saturated, but did not feel inclined or able to continue as opera composers per se. The young conductor who avoided performing Wagner at Laibach and Olmütz (1881-83) and was deeply moved by Wagner's death in February, 1883, had still not visited Bayreuth by the time he wrote his Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen (1884). Yet Mahler, his friend Wolf, and other young musicians in the Vienna of the mid-1880s had been profoundly affected by the Wagnerian achievement. In Mahler's case it soon bore practical fruit in his version of the Ring in Hungarian at the Budapest Opera in 1888-90. Schoenberg, an early Brahms devotee had come to Wagner's music through his friend, teacher and later brother-in-law Alexander von Zemlinsky. Soon after Mahler's involvement in his mature settings of poems from Des Knaben Wunderhorn between 1892 and 1895, Schoenberg was moving in the direction of the Dehmel sextet Verklärte Nacht (1899) and his most Wagnerian work, the huge Gurrelieder of 1900-1. It is worth noting that Mahler, Zemlinsky and Schreker (as well as Wolf and Franz Schmidt) were all taught by Robert Fuchs (1847-1927), Brahms' friend and harmony teacher at the Vienna Conservatoire from 1875 to 1911.[17]

Mahler and Schoenberg shared a common Jewish heritage (despite Mahler's conversion to Catholicism and Schoenberg's Catholic upbringing) and in their different ways suffered from the anti-semites as well as the philistines in Viennese society. 'He was a saint, a martyr' said Schoenberg when Mahler died, knowing well that Mahler's uncompromising artistic idealism, simultaneously that of visionary and guardian of the great tradition, could only now be carried on by himself. Parallels are obviously far from exact, but Mahler's role in Viennese artistic life can at least be compared with that of his contemporary,

17 See R. Pascall, MT, February 1977, 115-17

the great Jugendstil painter Gustav Klimt (1862-1918). The great achievement of Mahler's final (1903-7) period at the Vienna Hofoper came about at least partly because of his creative and harmonious friendship with Alfred Roller, a theatrical designer of genius. Roller later designed the sets for the Vienna Elektra in 1909 and thereafter became very involved with Strauss' operas.

Schoenberg, fervent amateur painter as he was, and friend of the architect Adolf Loos, had much in common with the brilliant younger painters Kokoschka (b. 1886) and Egon Schiele (1890-1918). The obsessive imagery of his pictures reflects the Expressionist movement in painting as a whole, especially in those themes of morbid introspection and imminent or actual violence which are also an important aspect of his musical style, especially between 1908 and 1913. Schoenberg exhibited with other members of Kandinsky's Blaue Reiter group in Munich on 18 December 1911. The important Blaue Reiter almanac, published in 1912, reflects the creative tension of German Expressionism as do few comparable artistic documents of any period. It arose from an intellectual ferment in which artists like Marc and Kandinsky were able to express their deep interest in music (Schoenberg and Scriabin, as well as Berg and Webern appeared in Der Blaue Reiter) as well as their sympathy for French Fauvism and cubism. In the exhibition of March 1912, the Blaue Reiter painters were joined by the equally pioneering and prolific Brücke group from Dresden. It is impossible to understand Schoenberg's achievement between 1907 and 1913 otherwise than against this rich background. This also included the polemical journalist Karl Kraus (1874-1936), his exact contemporary, and a searching influence, through his preoccupation with language, on the whole 'Expressionist' generation.

Perhaps the most obvious common feature of Mahler and Schoenberg as composers, other than their keen contrapuntal and colouristic sense, is their interest in large-scale, even transcendental orchestral and vocal forms, rather than opera as such. Mahler was attracted by the Wunderhorn world as a very young man, and, like Wolf, had his chief stimulus in this direction from Tannhäuser. His first collaboration, Herzog Ernst von Schwaben, with his teenage friend

Josef Steiner (1857-1913) was almost certainly destroyed accidentally. It was quickly followed by Rübezahl (a Till Eulenspiegel-like figure of Bohemian - Silesian origin), the project he discussed with Wolf, but only the text survives. The third operatic project of the late 1870s, Die Argonauten, was a genuflection, maybe more, in the direction of classical myth as operatic material. Mahler may have read Apollonius' Argonautica, and it might have been of interest to have his version of Jason, Medea, Circe and the Golden Fleece, even if the flavour had been akin to Hawthorne's 1851 Tanglewood Tales. In the event, the idea, like the others, came to nothing. All were overtaken by the large cantata Das klagende Lied, broadly based on a Ludwig Bechstein Märchen, and written in 1878-80.

Something else which reached fruition was the incidental music in seven tableaux for J.V. von Scheffel's verse romance Der Trompeter von Säckingen, written by Mahler at Kassel in the summer of 1883. Though performed elsewhere, the score has disappeared, and with it Mahler's only substantial piece of theatre music. Though Mahler later salvaged the Blumine (Andante) section for possible ultimately but unfulfilled use in the First Symphony, he clearly produced this music virtually to order, and had no great opinion of von Scheffel's popular work. Its effect on him may be compared with the later effect on Franz Schreker of von Scheffel's main work, the historical novel Ekkehard (q.v., Ch. 7). Mahler's music was quickly forgotten, but the remarkable vogue of Der Trompeter (written in 1853) continued. A year later, Viktor Nessler (1841-90) had turned it into a moderately successful opera. Years later, Hans Sommer (1837-1922, whose Lorelei Strauss conducted at Weimar in 1895) was attracted by the Rübezahl theme which had interested the boy Mahler : his Rübezahl und der Sackpfeifer von Neisse, in 4 acts, appeared at Braunschweig on 15 May, 1904.

V

Some remarks are called for at this point on Strauss, Mahler and Schoenberg as song composers in the light of their overlapping literary background. The obvious difference between Strauss and Mahler here is that while Mahler's songs were an integral part of his total musical vision, especially in their intimate connection with the symphonies, Strauss' songs can to a great extent be seen as a separate category, from the early settings of Gilm, von Schack and Dahn (a total of 33 songs down to 1888) to the Vier Letzte Lieder of his extreme old age. Common literary influences were evident after 1890, most notably in 1896, when Strauss wrote his symphonic poem Also sprach Zarathustra in a then-familiar mood of intoxication with Nietzsche's best-known, most diffuse work, while Mahler included 'O Mensch, gib acht!' (also from Zarathustra) as the text of his huge Third Symphony's alto solo fourth movement.

The second important overlap was the Knaben Wunderhorn collection, handled by Mahler 'like a chapbook'[18] though no poem was actually set by both composers. Strauss' Himmelsboten, Op. 32/5 of 1896 was the first of his four settings, followed by two lighthearted ones in Op. 36 (1897-8) and Jungesellenschwur, Op. 49/6 (1900). Mahler's far more wide-ranging and fertile connection with the famous collection goes back to 1883-4, immediately before the Gesellen songs (texts by Mahler himself, derived from Des Knaben Wunderhorn) but well after Das Klagende Lied. His total of 24 settings range from eight in the 1880-92 collection (including Ablösung im Sommer, absorbed into the Third Symphony's third movement) to Revelge (July 1899) and Tambourgesell (August 1901) from the Sieben Lieder, 1899-1905. In addition, Strauss set four of von Arnim's poems, while his six Brentano songs, Op. 68 (1918), an aftergathering of Die Frau ohne Schatten, represent a peak among his mature non-operatic works.

A third link is to be found in the interest shown by Strauss and Mahler in the poetry of Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866). Strauss' Op. 46 (five songs,

18 Kurt Blaukopf, Gustav Mahler (E. Molden, Wien, 1969) Eng. tr., Allen Lane, 1973, 106

winter 1899-1900) was preceded by Anbetung (Op. 36/4, March 1898) and Mächtlicher Gang (Op. 44/2 Nov., 1899). Five of Mahler's 1899-1903 settings are of Rückert poems, including three of his best-known songs. The Rückert Kindertotenlieder (like Strauss' Brentano songs, one of his finest achievements) overlap, dating from 1901 to 1904. Long after Mahler's death, Strauss returned to Rückert with the two settings of 1929 and the isolated Im Sonnenschein of 1935. In respect of older poets, Strauss went to Uhland (seven settings) and Mahler to Klopstock for the first two verses of 'Auferstehn, ja auferstehn'in the Resurrection Symphony, replacing Klopstock's last verse with five of his own. Again, excluding juvenilia, Strauss set eight Goethe poems while Mahler chose to set the closing scene of Faust, Part Two as Part 2 of his Eighth Symphony. Hans Bethge's 'adaptations' of various original translations from the Chinese which made up his volume Die chinesische Flöte (1907) gave Mahler the inspiration for his 'Symphony for tenor, alto (or baritone) and orchestra' which became Das Lied von der Erde. This can be linked with the interest in Bethge shown by Strauss years later (the five Gesänge des Orients, Op. 77 of 1928) as well as the three Goethe Westöstlicher Divan settings (Op. 67, nos 3-6, 1918). Bethge appears again in three of Schoenberg's Four pieces for mixed chorus, Op. 27 of 1925. On the other hand, Strauss set six poems by Heine between 1906 and 1918; Mahler and Schoenberg ignored him, for reasons which may or may not have been connected with Heine's Jewish birth.

Schoenberg's early songs (and in many ways all his works up to Op. 11) reveal his profound roots in Brahms and Wagner, his indebtedness to Strauss (at least up to Pelleas und Melisande, 1902-3) and his deepening admiration for Mahler. Not surprisingly, in view of the age-gap, Rilke (1875-1926), the greatest lyric poet of the time, was set by neither Strauss nor Mahler. Apart from Traumgekrönt (no. 4 of Berg's Sieben frühe Lieder) Webern's two Rilke songs of 1910 and Vorfühl, the last of Schoenberg's Four Orchestral Songs, Op. 22 (1916) Rilke had to wait until Hindemith's Marienleben cycle of 1922 for extended vocal treatment. However, Strauss and Schoenberg did have in common an admiration for the poetry of

Richard Dehmel (1863-1920, q.v. Ch. 7). Schoenberg's feeling for Dehmel's lyric verse and outlook is well-known, not only from the Verklärte Nacht sextet (1899) but from his December 1912 letter to Dehmel requesting an oratorio text on the theme of 'The Prayer of the Man of Today',[19] and his six early song-settings including Erhebung (Op. 2/3), Warnung (Op. 3/4) and Alles (Op. 6/2). All these predate the important Stefan George settings of 1907-9, including that in the Second String Quartet and the Book of the hanging gardens cycle, Op. 15. George was ignored by Strauss, whose enthusiasm for Bierbaum, Henckell and J.H. Mackay was distantly echoed by Schoenberg (1901 Brettl Lieder; Op. 6; Op. 14) Dehmel was set eleven times by Strauss between 1895 and 1901; of these, Wiegenlied was orchestrated in 1900 and four others between 1918 and 1941.

Three of Schoenberg's early songs (Op. 3/3 and 5, Op. 6/5) were settings of the Swiss Gottfried Keller, thus anticipating Zemlinsky's 1910 Keller opera Kleider machen Leute. Friede auf Erden (Op. 13, 1907) based on a simple poem by Keller's compatriot C.F. Meyer (q.v. Ch. 5) was first performed under Schreker in its 1911 orchestral version. The song Wie Conrat von Grundsberg von sich selber sang (Op. 3/1), together with Das Wappenschild and Sehnsucht of the Op. 8 orchestral songs (1903-5) were Schoenberg's three settings of Wunderhorn poems. Herzgewächse Op. 20 (1911) is the second Schoenberg work associated with the name of Maeterlinck. Its scoring for high soprano, harp, celesta and harmonium relates it to the music of Schoenberg's friend Schreker, especially the newly-composed Das Spielwerk und die Prinzessin (q.v. Ch. 7). Perhaps the work placing the pre-serial Schoenberg most closely in his time (his analogue, as it were, of Mahler's Eighth Symphony) was one of the many he never proceeded far with, the huge Symphony for chorus and orchestra (1912-14) based on texts by Dehmel, Lagerlöf (q.v. Ch. 6) and himself, and from the Bible. This can be linked conceptually with the incomplete Die Jakobsleiter oratorio, which in turn looks forward to the unpublished spoken drama Der biblische Weg of 1926, and to Moses und Aron.

19 Rufer, Cat., 117

VI

Mahler's Das klagende Lied (the song of lamentation, and of accusation) is a truly remarkable work for a 20-year-old. In this cantata of 1880, many of the characteristic features of his style - the bare counterpoint, the precisely imagined instrumentation and some of the brooding intensity of his later scores, though not, of course, the Ländler style of, for instance, the second movements of the Fourth and Ninth Symphonies - are conspicuously present. An apprentice work it may be, but it is one of astonishing assurance and quality. The feeling for nature later shown in the Third Symphony, reaching its overwhelming apotheosis in the Abschied of Das Lied von der Erde, is already present here - flowing woodwind, soft horn calls, long pedal points, gentle harp arpeggios, vigorous march figures. The orchestral introduction to Der Spielmann, for example, closely anticipates the beauties of later works. In its original form of Waldmärchen — Der Spielmann — Hochzeitstück, the work presented a Märchen from Ludwig Bechstein's 1856 Neues deutsches Märchenbuch, with the middle section taken, eclectically but appositely, from the Grimm story Der singende Knochen (The singing bone). The young Mahler, soon to discover the Knaben horn poems, thus declared his deep mental and emotional identification with the world of the German Märchen, and helps to explain the strong affinities felt by the later Austrian composers discussed in the main part of this study. The story of the queen, the flower in the forest, the search, the murder of one brother by another, the bone which is carved into a flute, the delayed wedding and the moment of accusation as the minstrel's flute reveals the truth, the queen's collapse and the castle's destruction - all these elements and images find familiar echoes in several of the operas of Schreker and Zemlinsky many years later. In 1893 Mahler removed the Waldmärchen, and the surviving two movements were performed in Vienna early in 1901. This inevitably deprives the main part of the story (the 'accusing' flute) of its full narrative background, but also helps to keep the work to a reasonable length. It may also be that Mahler felt an insufficient degree of contrast between the three sections as originally conceived. The Waldmärchen is longer than the other sections, and

its removal also eliminates the baritone soloist from the forces involved. Not until 1935 was Das Klagende Lied performed in its entirety.

This cantata has no real parallel among the later, symphonic works. The nearest is arguably the second part of the Eighth Symphony (1906, 1st perf. 1910) where the elaborate setting of the whole concluding scene ('mountain gorges, forest, cliff, wilderness') of Goethe's Faust, Part II is roughly equivalent in length to the entire original Das klagende Lied. The Eighth Symphony's first movement set the old Latin hymn Veni, creator spiritus, and is of headlong brilliance and energy. Its prevailing key, E flat, returns at the symphony's close, when Faust has been finally borne aloft to heaven, aided by the description of Christ's crucifixion by the Magna Peccatrix (St. Luke, 4), Mulier Samaritana (St. John, 7) and Maria Aegyptiaca (the Acts) as well as the Penitent one, formerly Gretchen. These figures, headed by the Virgin Mary, the Mater Gloriosa of Goethe, present the image of 'das Ewig-Weibliche' which, it is clear from Mahler's letter to Alma, his wife (June, 1909 and June, 1910) had seized his imagination.

The aspirational level of this vast movement is measured by the literary stature and allusive density of the text it attempts to set to music. That ethical striving which characterised so many post-Wagnerian stage and concert works here reached its zenith, both in metaphysical profundity and in the immensity of the forces employed. Yet it is possible to look back from this great peak (Mahler did not wish it to be known as his Faust symphony) to the dignified beauties of Das Klagende Lied. What they have in common is a basic cantata structure, and a quality of abstraction about the participants in the narration. In Das Klagende Lied, apart from the 'singing bone' itself (mainly mezzo-soprano) they are not personified. The various figures are all subsumed in the orchestra and chorus, the vocal commentators throughout. In the Eighth Symphony, one is aware of largely symbolic figures, disembodied, without characterised identity or dramatic personality. It is not difficult to see why the nature Mahler, song-composer and symphonist, would never have been tempted to compose an opera, for all the productive glories of his time as a director, producer and conductor of other men's works.

Schoenberg's Gurrelieder for soli, reciter, chorus and orchestra to a text by Jens Peter Jacobsen (1847-85) were written in 1900-1901 and the orchestration, begun in 1901-2, was completed in 1910-11. Jacobsen's youthful Gurresange, a poetic account of the medieval King Waldemar's passionate love for the girl Tove, and her death on the island of Gurre, following Queen Hedvig's jealousy, is very much a Sage, according to the definition given in Chapter 2. Das Klagende Lied, by the same token, is a Märchen, and though it is instructive to compare these two products of youthful genius, it is most unlikely that Schoenberg knew Mahler's cantata when he started work on the Gurrelieder. The latter has its own full-blown nature ecstasies, whether erotic as in Waldemar's

> Mit Toves Stimme flüstert der Wald,
> Mit Toves Augen schaut der See,
> Mit Toves Lächeln leuchten die Sterne,
> Die Wolke schwillt wie des Busens Schnee.

or celebratory as in the dionysiac Sommerwindes Wilde Jagd and the Speaker's cry:

> Nun regt sich Waldes Vogelschar,
> Tau schüttelt die Blume vom lockigen Haar
> Und späht nach der Sonne aus.
> Erwacht, erwacht, ihr Blumen, zur Wonne!

The monumentality of this extraordinary, complex, technically problematic, dense yet linear score has drawn attention ever since, partly because it has tended to be seen as a ne plus ultra of post-Wagnerian chromaticism, and partly because Schoenberg's interest in smaller, more compact forms during his post-First String Quartet period meant that he did not return again to a very large-scale structure until Mose und Aron thirty years later. It is of special interest that Schoenberg came back to finish the Gurrelieder's scoring after he had composed Erwartung, Marie Pappenheim's hysteria-ridden monodrama for soprano and orchestra in the late summer of 1909, and also after he had begun work on the autobiographical drama with music Die glückliche Hand ('The Hand of Fate' or 'The Knack'[20]) Thematic

20 The Hand of Fate is the translation given by Rufer (Cat.,56) derived from a 1948 anecdote by Schoenberg about the MS, in which this meaning is conveyed. Yet The Knack (with an implied sexual connotation, as in a well-known (1964) British film of that title) is an idiomatic and appropriate translation of the German 'glückliche Hand'. The Lucky Hand still encountered as a translation is meaningless.

repetition, motif transformation and tonal framework are all abandoned in Erwartung (as they had been in the George songs, Op. 15 and the Five Orchestral Pieces, Op. 16) but this did not stop Erwartung from being, in Charles Rosen's words, a 'well-attested miracle' and 'one of the most effective, easily accessible and immediately convincing of Schoenberg's works.'[21] Paul Stefan, present at the first performance in Prague (1924) declared that 'it rushes over its audience with the force of a torrent, of a wild beast.' The 455 bars are over in 25 minutes, while the 255 of Die glückliche Hand pass in 23, like, said Stefan, 'some monstrous dream experience,'[22] or, as Wellesz described it before its first staging in Vienna (autumn 1924, under Stiedry) a 'psychological pantomime'.[23]

In calling Erwartung a monodrama and Die glückliche Hand a drama with music, Schoenberg avoided the term 'opera'. The one-act light comedy Von heute auf morgen of 1929 was his first opera so called. Both the earlier stage works are concerned with erotic experience (as were Verklärte Nacht and the Gurrelieder) in an obsessional form. Like Salome and Elektra, though in a still more. concentrated way, they deal with extreme states of sexual pathology. Erwartung is a soliloquy or 'interior monologue' for soprano set in a nocturnal, moonlit forest, symbolic of the woman's sense of dread as she goes to meet her lover. His body, stumbled on by accident, is proof to her of his involvement with another woman, the probable murderer. 'Wo ist sie denn, die Hexe, die Dirne....die Frau mit den weissen Armen?' Thus as she stands over the body, she laments that even the grace of dying with him has been denied her. As with all Expressionist drama, no distinction is made between grey reality and dream. The stammering, fragmented text has all the qualities of nightmare, aided by the hectic brilliance of the orchestral score.

Die glückliche Hand, for two mining figures, high baritone, a chorus of six men and six women and orchestra, is to Schoenberg's own text. The singing

21 Schoenberg, Fontana/Collins, 1976, 47.
22 MM (New York) 1924, 14-15
23 Arnold Schoenberg : the formative years, tr. W.H. Kerridge, Dent, 1925, 131

protagonist is himself, the silent figures of Die Frau and Der Fremde are Mathilde Schoenberg (née Zemlinsky) and the young artist Richard Gerstl, for whom Mathilde left her husband for a time. Gerstl, a gifted painter, committed suicide in 1908. Jan Meyerowitz' 1967 biography of Schoenberg revealed this information. The composer himself certainly would not have done (Mathilde even typed the text) though one might have guessed from the violent imagery that the work derived from a sharply experienced personal trauma. Strindberg (To Damascus) Kokoschka (Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen, q.v. Ch. 3) and Kandinsky (the 1909 drama Der gelbe Klang) have been mentioned as influences on Die glückliche Hand, while the work's elaborate texture of orchestral music, sung speech, chorus, mime and changing background colours has even led it to be called a Gesamtkunstwerk and thus indebted to Wagner.[24] The colour scheme of the work parallels closely (but not precisely) that set out in Kandinsky's 1912 study Über das geistige in der Kunst, where each colour is given a 'psychical effect' and an 'instrumental equivalent' in music.

There is a notable motivum in thematicism here compared with Erwartung, and a preoccupation with inner, psychic states of feeling or, as Schoenberg put it 1922, the 'representation of inner occurrences.' Despite the mimed activities of the woman and her lover, and the interjections of the chorus, the man (Der Mann) is at the centre of the stage, reacting to the sexual liaison he is powerless to prevent. In the first of the eight scenes, as in the last, he is alone and stationary on stage, a large mythological beast on his back, symbolising unavoidable destiny. It may be stretching comparisons to the limit, but one cannot help noticing that the Man (= Artist) and the Gentleman/Lover in relation to the Woman in Die glückliche Hand offer certain parallels with Moses (the divine Idea) and Aaron (the human Image) - these terms have been used by Tippett[25] - in their relation to the people of Israel. It seems to be the same idea expressed on a loftier metaphysical level. 'Mein Gedanke ist machtlos ohne Irons Wort' cries

24 See J.C. Crawford, MR, 1974, 383 f.
25 'Air from another planet' in Moving into Aquarius, Routledge, 1959, 43-49

Mose, conscious above all things that he is the intermediary with Jehovah, lacking only the gift of tongues which Aron so obviously possesses. In the uncomposed third act, Aron, under guard, is asked by Mose to stand up; he does so and falls dead, leaving Mose, the Idea, to come to terms with his new 'imageless' position.

The Gurrelieder were first performed in Vienna under Schreker in 1913; Erwartung and Die glückliche Hand in Prague under Zemlinsky in 1924.[26] By the latter date (Schoenberg's 50th year) both these older figures, among Schoenberg's closest colleagues, had made names for themselves as composers. Egon Wellesz, Schoenberg's first biographer and a pupil, had also begun to do so, as had the young Ernst Krenek, the first to attempt a completion of Mahler's Tenth Symphony, and, later on, a convert (under the influence of T.W. Adorno) to Schoenberg's 'method of composing with twelve tones'. These four figures (together with certain others) and their operatic world form the subject of the study which follows.

26 Berg had produced a vocal score of the Gurrelieder in 1912, and an extensive analytical Führer to the work in 1913, both published by UE. He had also prepared the original vocal score of Schreker's Der ferne Klang (1911). His Wozzeck, which owed something to that work, and still more to Erwartung, was completed in 1921. In 1924 it still awaited production, which came the following year.

PREFATORY NOTE

The introduction to this study comprises the first three chapters. It is necessarily of some length in order to set out the background historically and place in some sort of detailed context various arguments and themes of the whole. There is a deliberate emphasis on the three Viennese composers - Zemlinsky, Schreker and Wellesz - who despite their differences in age and outlook grew to maturity during the lifetime of Mahler, together with certain others, sometimes younger figures of a more 'radical' outlook, like Krenek, who relate to the main idea. The common Mahlerian background and influence on the older men will not be pursued, however, nor will Strauss be discussed in any detail, except insofar as his work bears on theirs.

Those chapters which form the main part, while pursuing the theme of 'myth' and the mythopoeic, inevitably involve extensive descriptive analysis of works seldom, if at all, examined since they appeared. This means that the many music examples and extracts in Appendix D form an integral part of the discussion, and relate closely to the text. The exception to this is Chapter Five, which takes a slightly different form, the few musical examples relating only incidentally to two now forgotten works. It is one of the regrettable hazards of studying opera as an art-form that this kind of divisive approach - divisive, that is, in having to attend to both musical and literary aspects of a work - should be unavoidable. It will be observed that, in pursuit of this study's main theme, discussions of works are extended or abbreviated according to relevance.

All translations are the writer's own, except where stated. In certain instances, footnote references are direct to the Bibliography, though in most cases, titles of books, articles and papers are quoted in full. Pagination references are by number only.

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Abbreviations (a) Separate authors or works

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Soërgel	Albert Soërgel: Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit, 2 vols. 19th ed., Voigtländer, Leipzig, 1927-8.
Thompson	Stith Thompson: The Folktale, Princeton, 1946.
TMI	Stith Thompson: Motif Index of Folk Literature. 6 vols. Helsinki, 1932-6. (FFC 39-42, 46, 47).
AT	Antti Aarne, tr. and enl. Stith Thompson. Verzeichnis der Märchentypen. Helsinki, 1928, rev. 1961 (FFC 1964)
Vollstedt	Hans Vollstedt: Die Darstellung der Reformation und der Gegenreformation in deutschen Schulgeschichtslehrbüchern des 19. and 20. Jhs. Deutscher Fachschriften - Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1969.
VR	Wolfgang Brückner (ed.) Volksessählung und Reformation. Ein Handbuch zur Tradierung und Funktion von Erzählstoffen und Erzählliteratur im Protestantismus. E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974.
Wunberg	Hofmannsthal im Urteil seiner Kritiker. Dokumente zur Wirkungsgeschichte Hugo v. Hofmannsthals in Deutschland. Hg., eingeleitet und Kommentiert von Gotthart Wunberg. Athenäum Vlg, Frankfurt a. M., 1972.

Abbreviations (b) Periodicals

Anb.	Musikblätter des Anbruch, Vienna, 1919-28, then Anbruch, 1929-37.
Auft.	Auftakt, Prague.
ADM	Almanach der deutschen Musikbücherei, Regensburg.
AHR	American Historical Review, Washington, D.C.
AMw	Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, Wiesbaden.
BS	Blätter der Staatsoper, Berlin.
CG	Colloquia Germanica, Kentucky.
CL	Comparative Literature, Eugene, Oregon.
CQ	Classical Quarterly, Oxford.
CR	Classical Review, Oxford.
DA	Die Antike, Berlin, 1925-33.
DM	Die Musik, Berlin.
DML	Das Musikleben, Mainz.
DVjs	Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte, Stuttgart.
Fab.	Fabula: Zeitschrift für Erzählforschung, Berlin.
FMLS	Forum for Modern Language Studies, St. Andrew's.
GLL	German Life and Letters, Oxford.
GR	Germanic Review, Columbia, N.Y.
HTR	Harvard Theological Review.
JAAC	Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Temple University and Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio.
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Evanston, Illinois.
JWI	Journal of the Warburg Institute, London.
Mf	Die Musikforschung, Kassel.
MfdU	Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht, S. Carolina.
ML	Music and Letters, Oxford.
MLN	Modern Language Notes, Baltimore.
MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly.

Mls	Melos, Berlin and Mainz, 1920-34.
MM	Modern Music, New York.
MMR	Monthly Musical Record, London.
MR	Music Review, Cambridge.
NR	Neue Rundschau, Berlin.
NZfM	Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, Mainz.
ÖMz	Österreichische Musikzeitung, Vienna.
OGS	Oxford German Studies, 1966f.
PMLA	Proceedings of the Modern Language Association, London.
PNM	Perspectives of New Music, Princeton, N.J.
PRMA	Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association.
Ps	Philologus, Wiesbaden.
SF	Sinn und Form, Potsdam.
SG	Studium Generale, Oporto.
SchwMz	Schweizerische Musikzeitung, Zürich.
TDR	Tulane Drama Review, New Orleans.
VBW	Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg.
WW	Wirkendes Wort, Düsseldorf.
YCR	Yale Classical Review.
ZfdP	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, Berlin.
ZM	Zeitschrift für Musik, Berlin.

Complete Editions

Freud/S.E.	The Standard Edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud. Ed. James Strachey. 24 vols., 1953-74.
Nietzsche/Works	Works, ed. Oscar Levy., tr. various. 14 vols., J. N. Foulis, Edinburgh, 1909-11. AND Werke, hg. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, de Gruyter, Berlin, 1967-74.
Bierbaum	Gesammelte Werke, hg. M. G. Conrad and H. Brandenburg, München, 1912-20.
Goethe (J.A.)	Jubiläums - Ausgabe, 40 vols., Stuttgart, 1920.
Hauptmann	Jubiläums - Ausgabe, 8 vols., Fischer, Berlin, 1922.
Hebbel	Sämtliche Werke, hg. R. M. Werner, 15 vols., Berlin, 1911-13.
Heine	Sämtliche Werke, hg. Ernst Elster, 7 vols., Bibl. Inst., Leipzig, 1887-90.
Hoffmann	Poetische Werke, hg. Walter Wellenstein, 10 vols., de Gruyter, Berlin, 1961.
Kleist	Sämtliche Werke u. Briefe, hg. H. Sembdner, 5 vols., Hauser, München, 1970.
Ludwig	Sämtliche Werke, hg. Paul Merker, 6 vols., München, 1912-22.
Meyer, C.F.	Dundrück Ausgabe, hg. H. Cysarz and others. 4 vols., H. Haessel, Leipzig, 1924.
Schelling	Werke, hg. M. Schröter, 6 vols., C. H. Beck, München, 1927, (1965).
Schiller	Säkular - Ausgabe, hg. E. van der Heller, Stuttgart, 1904.
Schlegel, A.W.	Kritische Schriften u. Briefe, hg. E. Lohner, 6 vols., Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1962-67.
Schlegel, C.W.F.	Kritische Ausgabe, hg. E. Behler and others, Schöningh, München, 1958-71.
Stifter, A.	Gesammelte Werke, hg. K. Steffen, 14 vols., Birkhäuser, Basel und Stuttgart, 1962f.
Stramm, August	Sämtliche Werke. Limes, Wiesbaden, 1963.
Wedekind, Frank	Gesammelte Werke. Müller, München 1924.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

A work of art is not a railway train, and is not tied to a timetable. A work of art is a flame. It can burn, and it can be extinguished.

- Paul Bekker: Brief au Arnold Schoenberg in Briefe an zeitgenössischer Musiker, Max Hesses Verlag, Berlin, 1932, 67.

CHAPTER ONE: AUSTRO-GERMAN OPERA AND THE PERIOD 1912-1933.

- I The cultural climate - nationalism and internationalism.
- II The Austrian emphasis.

CHAPTER TWO: MYTH IN THREE GUISES.

- I The concept of myth: classical antiquity.
- II The folktale.
- III History and historiography.

CHAPTER THREE: THE OPERA TEXT: ITS BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE, 1912-1933.

- I The question of the text.
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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE: AUSTRO-GERMAN OPERA AND THE PERIOD 1912-1933.

I

The period covered by this study begins in 1912 near the end of the Wilhelmine era in Germany and the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and closes in 1933 with the termination of the Weimar Republic and Hitler's advent to power. These two decades form, of course, a time of central significance for modern Europe, containing as they did the massive upheaval of the Great War, the far-reaching political and economic complexities of the period following the Versailles treaty, the intensified impact of modern technology and urbanisation on affairs both in Europe and further afield, and, not least, increasing preoccupation with the immediately fashionable, aggressively contemporary or experimental in matters of taste. As the ferment of activity in painting, literature, theatre and music persisted, the political mood of Europe moved steadily rightwards. Far from providing a solution to political problems, Versailles simply created new tensions and reinforced the old. Germany's economic revival, the reparations question, and the post-1929 depression ushered in a period of revived militarism, intolerance, censorship and darkness, in which cultural activity was forced either into a vortex of political relevance, or a cul-de-sac of triviality and isolation. The famous 1937 Entartete Kunst exhibition at the Munich Archaeological Institute symbolises the new atmosphere, if in an extreme form. It helps to remind us that the Fascist powers were strangely allied in artistic outlook to the main political enemy, the USSR,[1] where only twenty years previously, a few brief years of euphoric artistic freedom of a kind had been initiated, associated with such names as Lunacharsky, Lissitzky, Eisenstein, Meyerhold and Tairov.[2]

1. John Willett: Expressionism. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970, 210-11.
2. Art in Revolution: Soviet Art and Design since 1917. Arts Council exhibition catalogue, 1971.

The first German Autumn Salon, organised in Berlin by Herwarth Walden in 1913 was both international and universal in its application to modern painting, following close on the formation of the Brücke (1905) and Blaue Reiter (1911) groups[3] but including also the work of artists from outside Germany, especially France and Switzerland. It is notable that the most influential painter of the time in Germany, Wassily Kandinsky, should be a Russian, and that Walter Gropius should have worked with the Swiss Paul Klee and the Hungarian Moholy-Nagy to create the Bauhaus, a School of art and design which had profound international reverberations.

This internationalism of outlook, in the circumstances of the time, gave to Weimar Germany its special flavour of radical excitement and frequent overripe excess. More will be said in Chapter three about the literary background to Austro-German opera between 1912 and 1933, and the points at which opera was influenced by drama. It is necessary at this stage to observe that, despite the cataclysm of war, and the psychological changes it effected in the relationship between society and literature, the bourgeois culture of Wilhelmine Germany and pre-1914 Austria had also absorbed outside influences, though on a less feverish scale. Hauptmann's early indebtedness to Ibsen, Strindberg's influence on the Expressionists, the international eclecticism of Hofmannsthal and the pervasive impact of the French Symbolist movement originating in Mallarmé's circle are obvious examples of this.

Since German-language culture ranged across three different capital cities and one quasi-capital - Berlin, Vienna, Prague and Munich - not to mention numerous smaller centres, the range of activity was as diverse as it was localised.[4] If the largest of these, Berlin, was the great cultural market-place, the central urban experience which produced such works as Heinrich Mann's novel Im Schlaraffenland (1900), the satirical comedies of

3. Herbert Read: A Concise History of Modern Painting, Thames and Hudson, 1959, 224 f.

4. Roy Pascal: From Naturalism to Expressionism: German Literature and Society, 1880-1918. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973, esp. ch. 6.

Sternheim, the poetry of Gottfried Benn[5] and Brecht and Weill's Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny, it is equally true that the other cities and regions coloured the output of writers associated with them, and provide an essential element in the understanding of their work. Examples of this are the Rhenish roots of George (and some of his circle), Wedekind's links with Munich, and Thomas Mann's with Lübeck, the origin of Hesse (and also Brecht) in Württemberg, Schnitzler's inseparability from the Viennese locale, Hauptmann's Silesian habitat and, of course, Kafka's association with Prague. In Germany, even more than elsewhere, artistic expression has tended to be rooted in regionalism. At the same time, the diversity of local centres, and the great pride taken at local government level in the provision of facilities for drama, opera and ballet meant that any work which seized the popular imagination in some way was likely to reach production throughout the country, in a way inconceivable in France or the United Kingdom. In this way, it becomes easier to understand the effect, to take opera alone, of Strauss's Salome or Der Rosenkavalier, d'Albert's Tiefland, Schreker's Der Schatzgräber, Krenek's Jonny spielt auf and Weill's Dreigroschenoper on the opera public of these years, even allowing for wide variations in the standard of presentation and performance.

Cultural internationalism was further complicated by that spirit of conservatism formulated most clearly in Thomas Mann's Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen (1917), a weighty endorsement of Germany's aggressive role in the war, and an attack on the Zivilisationsliterat position of his Francophile brother Heinrich. Diederich Hessling's authoritarian stance in Heinrich's Der Untertan had much in common with that of the sombre Jewish Catholic Naphtha in Thomas's Der Zauberberg (1922-4), the most significant novel to come out of the war. At its close, the life of the young consumptive Hans Castorp achieves a new level of reality and

5. 'Keine Stadt Europas war so reich an schroffen Gegensätzen, an heterogenen Elementen aller Art.....wer sich hier heimisch fühlte, dem schmeckte die Luft anderswo nicht mehr, der hielt es in anderen Städten gar nicht mehr aus'. Walter Lennig: Gottfried Benn, Rowohlt, 1962,28.

significance on the battlefield. What was true for many Germans in the new postwar conditions was also true for Austrians looking back on the lost era of Hohenzollern Austria-Hungary. The foundation of the Salzburger Festspiel in the wake of the war (1920) by Hofmannsthal, Strauss, Reinhardt and Franz Schalk was, in its way, a monument to the pre-war period. Franz Werfel, born in 1890 and himself a significant product of the mainly anti-war Expressionist movement later spoke nostalgically of 'a unique, a memorable world which is gone forever ..... True, every soul born in the last century and alive today ..... belongs to two epochs ..... But to belong not only to two epochs but to two worlds - that is the lot of those alone who are children of that dead world of which I write. Austria was a wonderful home, a home of humanity without regard to blood or confession, to origin or goal of its children. The Austrian born in old Austria no longer has a home.'[6] Schreker completed the Nachspiel of Der Schatzgräber on 12 November 1918, less than two years before he left Vienna forever. His score bears the comment 'Am Tage der Ausrufung der Republik Deutsch österreich in den Anschluss an das Deutsche Reich'.[7] Within months of that day, the Spartacist movement in Munich had been crushed, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg murdered, and the hopes of the Left in Germany destroyed. Political impotence, however, brought in its wake a new freedom of literary expression for the Left, borne in the rising, mainly posthumous reputation of Wedekind (d.1918), the plays of Ernst Toller and the young Brecht, the dramatic and sculptural visions of Barlach, the social criticism in the prolific output of Georg Kaiser, and the explicitly 'political' theatre of Erwin Piscator. Like the Dada movement in art, the era of Neue Sachlichkeit or 'matter-of-factness' in the theatre was essentially an anti-romantic reaction. It produced much work which, for

6. An Essay upon the Meaning of Imperial Austria in Twilight of a World. tr. H. T. Lowe-Porter, Jarrolds, 1936, 9 and 41. But cf. dialogue between the Lawyer and Public Prosecutor in Hermann Bahr's late novel Osterreich in Ewigkeit (1929).
Bahr saw the ironic aspect of the title as 'vorderhand nur noch ein pompöser Name fur den Schatten einer Bloss allenfalls in der Erinnerung einiger Pensionisten noch vorderhanden Herrlichkeit' (p.158).

7. Autograph score, Wiener NB.

all its scrupulous avoidance of the grandiose gestures which had characterised the products of Neo-Romanticism, Impressionism and Expressionism,[8] was doomed to ephemerality through its concentration on the immediate issues of the day. As far as opera was concerned, though Neue Sachlichkeit inevitably appealed to almost all the younger composers, the influence of Busoni's Junge Klassizität, bound up with judicious use of pre-Romantic textures and formal structures, was equally strong, and lasted longer. New works apart, these years saw revivals of the long-forgotten operas of Handel, and a renewed interest in Verdi; as well as productions of the classics of German Romantic opera in avant-garde stagings,[9] associated particularly with the producer and designer Arthur Maria Rabenalt and Wilhelm Reinking.

The international spirit undoubtedly made Germany the centre of new European opera and music-theatre after the war. Before 1914, when Puccini and his Italian contemporaries, as well as such non-Germans as Wolf-Ferrari and E. M. v. Reznicek were establishing themselves on German stages, interest had also been shown in Debussy's Pelléas et Mélisande and Dukas' Ariane et Barbe-Bleue. It was postwar Germany which created the success of Schreker, Korngold, Krenek and of Berg's Wozzeck, while also welcoming Ravel's two one-act operas, the neo-classical works of Stravinsky (especially Oedipus Rex) and such other products of the opera-oratorio movement as Honegger's Antigone and Milhaud's Christophe Colomb.[10] The success of this last work in the 1930 Berlin production was due even more to Claudel's text than to Milhaud's music. Claudel's following in Germany was considerable,[11]

8. The term (first used at a Mannheim art exhibition in 1925) was described as 'konzentrierte, aber uberscharfte Einfachheit,' 'Rationalismus eines bedingungslos sozialen Kritizismus.' Walter Hinck: Das moderne Drama in Deutschland, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1973, 61-2.

9. Walter Panofsky: Protest in der Oper Laököon, München, 1966, esp. 69f. ed 150f.

10. The work is 'Oper und Oratorium, Historie und Allegorie, mischt antik-chorisches Drama mit Mysterienspiel, Filmzauber mit Shaw, Piscator mit Pirandelloscher Bewusstseinspaltung.....' H. Schmidt-Garre Oper: eine Kulturgeschichte. Arno Volk, Köln, 1963, 372.

11. Cf. George Steiner, The Death of Tragedy, Faber, 1961, 334.

reflecting in part the growing awareness of recent French drama, especially Gide and Cocteau. Dostoievsky provided one of the salient influences on Wozzeck, and also the text of Janacek's Z Mrtvého Domu, given at Mannheim in Max Brod's German translation as Aus dem Totenhaus on 14 December 1930, more than two months before its (Czech) Prague premiere. Weills Die Dreigroschenoper adapted a foreign source in such a way as to achieve a huge popular success while also mirroring the strong general Anglo-Saxon influence in Germany at this time, most clearly shown in Brecht's straight plays down to Die Heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe (1929-31)

A further factor in the cultural climate, though a difficult one to assess fully, was the growth of psychoanalysis, and the cumulatively powerful dissemination of the pre-1914 work of Freud, Adler and other leading Viennese psychoanalysts, together with the work of Jung in Switzerland. Opposition to and dislike of this after 1918 was, it need hardly be said, one of the strongest elements in that current of anti-semitism which had found its 19th century voice in Count de Gobineau, Wagner, Paul Lagarde, W. Marr, Eugen Dühring and Julius Langbehn.[12] Anti-semitism, now allied to progressively intolerant anti-democratic nationalism effectively brought about the end of Weimar. The signs of this nihilistic nationalism in the literature of the period are clear enough in the work of Spengler, Moeller van den Bruck, Ernst Jünger and others from 1919 onwards.[13] With increasing frequency from the mid-1920s, the question of German versus foreign art was raised. Klemperer's Krolloper in Charlottenburg, Berlin, for example, was closed in 1931 after four years of relative freedom, without explanation,[14] less than a year after the National Socialist Volksbühne had opened in the Klosterstrasse.[15] The

12. Even the teachings of Nietzsche, never himself anti-semitic, were consistently misunderstood and misapplied.

13. Cf. W. Killy ed., Die Deutsche Literatur, 1880-1933. C. H. Beck, München, 1967, 107ff., also S. D. Stirk, The Prussian Spirit, Faber, 1940 and Pascal, op. cit., Ch. 4.

14. P. Heyworth (ed.) Conversations with Klemperer, Faber, 1973, 66f.

15. 16 December 1930. Herbert Jhering: Von Reinhardt bis Brecht: Vier Jahrzehnte Theater und Film. Vol. 3 (1930-2) Aufbau, Berlin, 1961, 122-4.

mocking of militarism, too, was viewed with ever greater hostility by the right. Piscator, whose production of 'The Adventures of the Good Soldier Schweik' had been a popular success in 1928, was arrested and briefly imprisoned in January 1931.[16] As Brecht wrote in exile some years later, speaking of his own didactic dramas: 'The theatre (now) becomes a place for philosophers, and for such philosophers as not only wish to explain the world but ..... to change it.'[17]

Schreker's Christophorus, composed in 1924-7, had been planned for performance at Freiburg i. Breisgau in 1931, but was stopped by Nazi pressure. His last opera, Der Schmied von Gent achieved its premiere at the Unter den Linden theatre, Berlin on 29 November, 1932, but was destroyed by noisily hostile Nazi groups in the audience. After Hitler became Chancellor, right-Wing influence, led by, among others, the Berlin periodicals Neue Zeitschrift für Musik and Die Musik[18] quickly established the new orthodoxy. Weill's Der Silbersee (to a text by Georg Kaiser, as non-Jew, whose plays were banned henceforth for their subversive social content) was performed briefly, vilified and withdrawn. Die Burgschaft, given in Berlin in March 1932 had raised execration of Weill to new heights, so that his exile, like Brecht's, became inevitable.[19] At the same time the designer Caspar Neher, also a gifted librettist, who had written the text of Die Bürgschaft, remained in Germany, and during the next seven years produced three libretti for his friend Rudolf Wagner-Régeny.[20] Although

16. Piscator's troupe was finally disbanded in July 1932 following his departure for Russia. C. D. Innes: Erwin Piscator's Political Theatre, CUP, 1972, 6.
17. The German Drama: pre-Hitler, (1936) in Willett, ed., Brecht on Theatre, Methuen, 1964, 80.
18. Cf. Sachs, PNM, Fall 1970, 74-95.
19. But cf. Herbert Connor's pro-Weill article in DM November 1932, 101-4, where Die Bürgschaft is praised as 'das interessanteste, zwiespältigste und fur die Zukunft der Oper bedeutungsvollote Werk Weills.
20. Begegnungen. Henschel Verlag, Blue, 1968, 75ff.

performed at Stettin in 1934, Zemlinsky's Der Kreidekreis was prevented from achieving more than four performances[21] in its Berlin production. Difficulties were placed in the way of Mathis der Maler and the incomplete Lulu, while in Vienna, despite Krauss's advovacy, Krenek's Karl V failed to achieve its promised 1934 première, at a time when Nazi infiltration of Austria was gaining ground monthly. The chief German first performances of 1933 were Egk's radio work Columbus, Klenau's Michael Kohlhaas, and, a year before the composer's 70th birthday, Strauss and Hofmannsthal's final collaboration, Arabella, given no fewer than 461 times in the 1933-4 season in Germany.

II

Thus 1933 is in every sense a fitting terminal date for the period under review. The subsequent subordination of the arts to racist nationalism brought an abrupt end to the public careers, both rising and established, of many opera composers. Apart from Strauss, Schillings, Pfitzner and Heger, the main Austro-German figures in this account suffered the ignominy of silence on the grounds of their 'cultural-bolshevist' tendencies or Jewish ancestry, or both. Of the non-nationals who were not actually proscribed, the Swiss Othmar Schoeck was allowed performances of his Massimilla Doni (after Balzac) and Das Schloss Dürande (after Eichendorff) in 1937 and 1941 respectively.[22] Busoni's chief work, Doktor Faust, along with his three earlier operas, vanished from the German stage, though it should be said that Doktor Faust's progress before 1933 had been limited in extent. The Dane Paul von Klenau and the Swiss Heinrich Sutermeister were special cases who each received official support from the new regime. Thus it was that while Germans during the Hitler years could see the works of Glinka, Tchaikovsky, Mussorgsky, Smetana and Janacek,[23] along with Verdi;

21. Staatsoper, 25 January - 24 February 1934.
22. The latter quickly withdrawn as 'decadent'.
23. BS, Bln, 1937-40, passim. Also Walter Rubsamen: Political and Ideological Censorship in opera. Papers of the American Musicological Association, ed. Reese, 1941, printed 1946.

Puccini and other 19th Century Italians, and, of course, the whole range of German Romantic opera culminating in Wagner, the Austrian contribution to German-language opera in the twenty years before 1933 virtually disappeared overnight.

The tradition of the Opernführer or synoptic guide to the operatic repertory has no real equivalent outside Germany. Over the years, it has given rise to a number of publications, of which a typical Third Reich example was Meyers Opernbuch by Otto Schumann.[24] In this, the senior figures, including Busoni and Schoeck, are present, except for Zemlinsky and Schreker. Wozzeck receives a grudging approval, E. W. Korngold a brief denunciation, while Hindemith and Krenek are represented with a certain tolerance by Cardillac and Leben des Orest. Of Schoenberg, the author says 'Seine Opern waren tot, ehe sie geboren waren' (p.473) - this only three years after Schoenberg had ceased work on the as yet unpublished and unperformed Mose und Aron. The best-known opera guides currently in print are those of the Reclam and Knaur houses. Knaurs Opernführer[25] is by the composer and Nazi fellow-traveller Gerhart von Westerman (1894-1963) and provides what is still the most detailed, if selective general account of German opera during the inter-war years. Yet, in common with other surveys of its kind, the political background of the selectivity is entirely omitted. No indication is given, except by implication, of the effects of the dictatorship on operatic life, as on every other form of public artistic expression. It is only since studies such as those of Panofsky (see n.9) and the detailed documentation of Wulf[26] that it has been possible to grasp fully the contrast between the flavour of Weimar opera and the works tolerated or encouraged by National Socialism.

24. Subtitled 'Einführung in die Wort und Tonkunst unserer Spielplanopern'. Bibliographisches Institut AG, Leipzig, 1935.

25. Droemersche Verlagsanstalt, 1952. Tr. Anne Ross and ed. Harold Rosenthal (Thames and Hudson, 1964) under the title Opera Guide.

26. 5 vols., Sigbert Mohn, Gütersloh, 1963-4.

In the following account of the use of myth in opera from 1912 to 1933, attention will be chiefly focused on the works of those composers who suffered seriously from the post-Weimar censorship, men whose main period of activity and influence coincided with the First World War and with the Weimar Republic. These included some, mainly older figures, notably Pfitzner, Heger and Kaminski who lived in Germany throughout the period of the Third Reich, as well as Schillings (d. 1933) and the Dane Klenau, whose music the authorities encouraged. Strauss and Hindemith, who each fell foul of the regime in different ways and for different reasons, are also referred to where relevant. In the main, however, the German operas which receive the most extensive discussion are, in fact by Austrian composers.

Even omitting Schoenberg and Berg, the Austrian contribution to German-language opera during these decades was wide-ranging and impressive. From the post-Wagnerian, neo-Romantic background which they shared for a time with Schoenberg and Berg, the chief figures are Alexander Zemlinsky (1871-1942) Schoenberg's only teacher, and persistent advocate of his music,[27] and Franz Schreker (1878-1934) also a lifelong friend of Schoenberg,[28] his colleague for some years at the Berlin Hochschule, and much earlier, an influence on Berg through Der ferne Klang. Both were mainly opera composers, Schreker almost exclusively so, and were associated with two very different Viennese composers a generation younger who became their pupils. Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897-1957), the son of the formidable Vienna music critic Julius Korngold,[29] became Zemlinsky's pupil in 1912. His early prodigious rise to fame embraced the composition of four staged operas, three of them by the time he was 23. Like the two older men, he was a victim of the anti-Romantic reaction of the 1920s, but had in addition suffered from excessive

27. Cond. Erwartung and Die glückliche Hand, premières, Prague, 1924.
28. Schreker conducted Gurrelieder and Friede auf Erden (1st Perfs, Vienna, 1913).
29. 1860-1945. He succeeded Hanslick as music critic of the Neue Freie Presse in 1901, and, as an old man, emigrated with his son to America. Their tense interaction was sarcastically discussed by Karl Kraus in Die Fackel, 1922, 115-19.

adulation as a Wunderkind. In later years, his boyhood genius was usually contrasted with his premature decline as a composer, and particularly with his departure for Hollywood in 1934 to compose music for films.

Three years younger than Korngold was Ernst Krenek, who shared the same Viennese passion for the theatre, but was from the beginning a composer of a quite different, self-consciously radical stamp. For some years a pupil of Schreker, he reacted against his teacher's conservatism, though he had accompanied Schreker from Vienna to the Berlin Hochschule in 1920. In the early 1930s he turned to dodecaphony under Schoenberg's influence, though never actually taught by him. During the 1920s, he underwent at least two stylistic voltes faces, achieved general recognition and esteem as a prolific young composer, and in 1927 wrote the jazz opera Jonny spielt auf, the work with which his name has ever since been associated. It brought him universal popular fame in Germany. Others, both then and since, did not view Jonny so kindly. Unlike Weill's Dreigroschenoper of a year later, the popularity of Jonny was not sustained, and despite occasional revivals it remains essentially a period piece.[30] After Karl V's production had been stopped in 1934, the versatile Krenek earned a living as a literary journalist in Vienna for some years before the inevitable emigration to the U.S.A. in 1938. From the outset he showed a considered, articulate interest in classical myth and ancient history, of which the chief fruits in these years were Orpheus und Eurydike after Kokoschka's Expressionist play, and Leben des Orest to his own text broadly based on Aeschylus and Euripides.

Fifteen years older than Krenek, the somewhat isolated figure of Egon Wellesz has a singular importance during the period 1921-31, not so much in terms of popular success, which his operas could never have achieved, as in the distinctive vision he had of the role of myth (mainly classical) on the stage, and music's function as a means of dramatic, ritualistic support.

30. Krenek's friend and advocate of that time, Hans Redlich (1903-68) expressed the view in 1964 that Jonny had done lasting damage to Krenek's reputation, presumably on the grounds of its unabashed eclecticism, cinematic sensationalism, excessive use of 'period' jazz, and lack of artistic 'seriousness'.

He wrote his first opera, Die Prinzessin Girnara to a text by his friend the novelist Jakob Wassermann in 1919-20, shortly before producing the first study of his teacher Schoenberg in book form.[31] Whereas Krenek subsequently became a successful academic teacher in the U.S.A., Wellesz' first calling (like that of his near contemporary and fellow Schoenberg-pupil Webern) had been that of musicologist, first of all in the field of Baroque opera, then as a pioneer student of Byzantine church music. His Byzantinische Kirchenmusik appeared in 1927,[32] midway between his two Euripidean operas, Alkestis (1923) and Die Bakchantinnen (1930/31). Wellesz's extremely long life (1885-1974) and his recourse to symphonic writing during his years of exile tend to obscure his place and position among Austrian opera composers of the 1920s. On the other hand, his virtual silence as an opera composer after Die Bakchantinnen could be used to stress his specific historical position, in both locality and period.

The significance of an arbitrary beginning in 1912 lies in the curiously central position of the year in the rich cultural cross- currents of the time. Much was purely coincidental - like the collected edition of Falke's works and Wedekind's Schloss Wetterstein - yet the year was remarkable for the range and intensity of important literary and related activity in the German-speaking world. It has been described as the annus mirabilis of Expressionism, especially in poetry, and in this connection saw the appearance of Pierrot Lunaire and the Altenberglieder.[33] Major works by Hauptmann, Schnitzler, Hofmannsthal, Rilke, and Thomas Mann were either begun or completed.[34] The first version of Ariadne auf Naxos was given in Reinhardt's production (as well as Paul Ernst's verse drama Ariadne

31. Arnold Schönberg, E. P. Tal, Vienna, 1912. Preceded by several articles. As Krenek put it much later, Schoenberg and Kraus 'waren verfemt, gefurchtet, gehasst als die grossen Widersacher, als die rihilistischen Zerstöres alles dessen, was der ordentliche, aufbauwillige Mensch für schon und gut hielt'. Musica, 1962, 105.

32. F. Hirt, Breslau.

33. Also Egon Friedell's encomium of Altenberg, Ecce Poeta.

34. Der Bogen des Odysseus; Professor Bernhardi; Andreas; Das Marienleben; Tod in Venedig respectively.

on the same theme) while Busoni's Die Brautwahl, Schreker's Der ferne Klang and the boy Korngold's pantomime Der Schneemann were all staged. Schreker completed his second mature opera, Das Spielwerk und die Prinzessin, Pfitzner began work on the music of Palestrina and the Strauss-Hofmannsthal collaboration on Die Frau ohne Schatten took major strides forward. In aesthetics, 1912 was an important year for Kandinsky and Worringer, as it was in psychoanalysis for Jung (Wandlungen und Symbolen der Libido) Adler (Uber den nervösen Charakter) and Freud himself (Totem und Tabu) quite apart from the final break in Jung's discipleship to Freud. Of the large number of relevant historical and critical works published in Germany, one might mention those of Kurt Kaser,[35] E. Menke-Glückert,[36] Eugen Wolff,[37] Hartmann Grizar,[38] and Fritz Mauthner,[39] and especially the monumental Märchen der Welt series begun under the editorship of Paul Zaunert and Friedrich von der Leyen.

35. Deutsche Geschichte am Ausgang des Mittelalters.
36. Ch. 5, n.106.
37. Ch. 5, n.113.
38. Ch. 2, n.108.
39. Des letzte tod des Buddhas. The periodical Imago was founded in 1912 by two of Mauthner's fellow-Austrians, Hanns Sachs and Otto Rank.

CHAPTER TWO: MYTH IN THREE GUISES

I

The concept of myth is inseparable from the history of opera. Classical myth had proved the literary material for the earliest operas, had continued to do so through the lifetimes of Lully, Alessandro Scarlatti, Handel, Rameau and the poet Metastasio. Important aspects of the opera seria tradition were questioned by Gluck, but his 'Reform' of opera did not include dethronement of mythology from its central position. Wagner, in his search for new ways of expressing psychological truth, had turned to Nordic myth, but only after declaring his profound admiration for the power and force of Greek tragedy[1] 'The incomparable thing about the mythos', he wrote, 'is that it is true for all time, and its content, how close soever its compression, is inexhaustible throughout the ages. The only task of the poet was to expound it'.[2] Yet the sheer magnitude of Wagner's genius in producing his own solution to the problem of myth, music and drama had created great difficulties for late 19th and early 20th century composers anxious to escape from his shadow.[3] As the Wagnerian influence receded, so the question grew of how to produce texts which would relate to the central operatic tradition and also show some relevance to the present. The subject-matter of opera became more and more of an issue, and the German musical periodicals of the time, especially after the war, returned obsessively to the matter; the words 'Opernkrise', 'Opernproblem' and 'Opernstatistik' appear with wearisome repetitiveness.

Of those who advocated a return to classical myth, Hofmannsthal spoke

1. 'Greek tragedy is the artistic embodiment of the spirit and contents of Greek mythos. As in this mythos the widest-ranging phenomena were compressed into closer and ever closer shape, so the drama took this shape and re-presented it in the closest, most compressed of forms'. Wagner on Music and Drama, tr. H. Ashton Ellis, loc. cit., 89.
2. Ibid., 90.
3. Discussed in terms of Schoenberg and Stravinsky by R. Middleton, After Wagner, MR 1973, 307ff.

with the greatest experience and authority. It has been suggested that he used Greek myth simply as background, 'ein weisser Hintergund' against which his otherwise modern characters might be the more sharply defined.[4] In this context his Elektra, both as a stage play and as an opera, was seen as an extreme product of its period, as 'eine pathologische Studie', in which there was 'Kein Hauch des antiken Pathos'.[5] Von der Leyen's criticism dates from 1927, when Hofmannsthal's elaborate treatment of the Helena and Menelaus myth was complete. Harry Graf Kessler attended the second performance of Die Ägyptische Helena on 13 June 1928 and was only able to express disappointment and boredom. As early as 1913, an American critic had discerned the twin tendencies in Hofmannsthal's work, one away from active participation in life to objective analysis, the other 'thrilling him with the fever of existence and endowing him with the fever of action',[6] a view confirmed in the preface to Josephslegende (1914) in which he observed that legendary material contained the human element, always fresh and unsullied for each new generation, and also the element he called 'die Phantasie der Welt' which could be set independently in motion.[7] In his plea for a unity of spirit between antiquity and the contemporary world[8] Hofmannsthal made his final statement in the preface to Die Ägyptische Helena:

> Ich weiss Keinen anderen Ausdruck für eine Existenz, die sich vor so ungeheuren Horizonten vollzieht ..... für diese ungeheure innere Weite, diese rasenden inneren Spannungen, dieses Hier und Anderswo, das die Signatur unseres Lebens ist. Es ist nicht möglich, dies in burgerlichen Dialogen anzufangen. Machen wir mythologische Opern. Es ist die wahrste aller Formen.[9]

4. Jens, 26.
5. Friedrich v. der Leyen: Deutsche Dichtung in Neuerer Zeit, Diederich Jena, 1927, 237.
6. George M. Baker: Hofmannsthal and Greek Tragedy JEGP, 1913, 399.
7. Dramen, III, 117.
8. 'Wenn Hofmannsthal von der Antike spricht, meint er ein Fernes, das dennoch das Lenen des Modernen bestimmt; wenn Gegenwärtiges als abweichenden Variation erkennbar ist, muss das Urbild, die einmal gesetzte Norm, immer noch durchschimmern.' Jens, 6.
9. Insel Almanach, 1929, 106f. also Prosa, IV, 441-60. Cf also Vermächtnis der Antike. (neue Freie Presse, 1926, in Prosa, IV, 313-18).

Hofmannsthal was here writing from the viewpoint of an older generation, and for all his reputation, could not expect universal agreement. Many progressive commentators felt concerned about the state of opera in a rapidly changing world, in which the new media of film and radio were fast advancing. At the centre of this concern was a belief that any art form, including opera, should try to reflect contemporary life and issues in some way, and a fear that the overwhelming preference of the huge German opera-going public for established older works would mean the ultimate death of genre. 'Der Hass gegen die Moderne', as Adorno was truthfully to remark, 'beim Opernpublikum viel virulenter als bei dem des Schauspiels, verbindet sich mit dem verbissenem Lob der guten alten Zeit.'[10] The Zeitoper movement pushed opera firmly into the contemporary arena for the first time since middle-period Verdi and, arguably, since Fidelio or even Figaro. Yet the movement destroyed itself through its very contemporareity, despite Brecht's influential attack on 'culinary opera' of the older 'bourgeois' kind.[11] The Aristotelian theatre on which Brecht turned his back was exemplified by Gide, whose plays based on Greek myth approach it as 'the exaltation and celebration of exceptional man' and aim at 'self-transcendence'.[12] Yet it was Gide who in his Thoughts on Greek Mythology of 1919 had spoken of the 'reasonableness' of myth, whose truth is to be found in the 'psychological paradoxes of a character', a position closely approached by Brecht in later years. Thomas Mann's later fiction, in its elaborate structural use of myth is a self-conscious attempt to help man 'recognise himself in the past'.[13] In 1936 he went so far as to claim that 'myth is the foundation of life ..... the timeless schema, the pious formula into which life flows when it

10. Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1962, 94.
11. Notes to Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny, Versuche 2 (1930). G. A. (1955).
12. Hugh Dickinson: Myth on the Modern Stage, Illinois U.P., 1969, 333.
13. Erich Heller: The Ironic German, CUP 1959, 247.

reproduces its traits out of the unconscious.'[14] Mann was directly and unashamedly influenced by Freud who in 1904 had postulated a relationship with myth, a psychology of the unconscious, which had been permanently influential. 'I believe' he wrote 'that a large part of the mythological view of the world, which extends a long way into the most modern religious, is nothing but psychology projected into the external world.'[15] If psychoanalysis gave myth a central place in its language, so did the work of anthropologists, whose enquiries gained in range, intensity and sophistication during these years. Their emphasis on myth as 'a narrative resurrection of a primeval reality'[16] has tended to restrict the idea of 'true myth' to primitive societies. Yet the connection between myth and ritual is far from irrelevant to operatic uses of mythic material. The common aetiological view - that myths were created to explain phenomena - as well as the euhemerist view - that myth is always related in some way to persons who had actual historical existence - have been extensively challenged since 1912, beginning with Jane Harrison's hypothesis that myth arises out of rite, and is its spoken correlative.[17] It is not carrying the argument too far to relate opera to ritual insofar as its capacity for dramatic expression is peculiarly suited to the mythic, the fantastic and the allegorical, through its heavily structured, patterned and thus, in one sense, ritualistic nature.[18] Hofmannsthal wrote to Strauss on 12 February

14. Freud and the Future in Essays of three decades, tr. H. T. Lowe-Porter. Secker and Warburg, 1947, 422. The Urbild of this is Friedrich Schlegel's celebrated Rede über die Mythologie (1800) which, in pleading for a new, synthesised mythology for the times, saw it as 'ein Kunstwerk der Natur. In ihrem Gewebe ist das Höchste wirklich gebildet; alles ist Beziehung und Verwandlung, angebildet und umgebildet.' Mythology and 'Poesia' (by which Schlegel meant the unconscious force of moral good in nature) were 'eins und unzertrensrlich'. K.A., II, 311f.

15. The Psychopathology of Everyday Life. S.E., VI, 258-9.

16. B. Malinowski: Magic, Science and Religion and other essays, Boston, 1948, 78-9.

17. In Themis (C.U.P., 1912) discussed by Hyman (The Ritual View of Myth and the Mythic) in Sebeok 85.

18. Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art, tr. Michael Sadleir, 1914, Wittenborn, N.Y., 1955, 71-2. 'Ritual is the content of dramatic action, not (the) source of origin' was Northrop Frye's formulation in Anatomy of Criticism Princeton, 1957, 109.

1919 that 'opera is, after all, a Gesamtkunstwerk, not just since Wagner, who merely, most boldly and audaciously, gave shape and substance to old universal trends, but ever since its glorious beginning in the 17th century, and by the terms of its fundamental purpose: the rebirth of the Gesamtkunstwerk of antiquity.'[19] Above all, through music, opera has the ability to arouse emotion in concentrated and sustained form, a fact recognised by most composers of all periods since 1600, and formulated in a non-musical context by the philosopher Ernst Cassirer in his remark that 'the real substratum of myth is not (one) of thought, but of feeling'.[20] Also susceptible of a musical interpretation is Richard Chase's definition of myth as 'an aesthetic device for bringing the imaginary but powerful world of preternatural forces into a manageable collaboration with the objective facts of life'.[21] The fullest comment of recent years on the relationship between opera, the illusionistic genre par excellence and the material or concept of myth has come from the Schoenbergian French critic René Leibowitz. Both myth and art, he says express man's dissatisfaction with external, everyday realities. Both, as a result, seek the mode of ego-destroying hallucination. He concludes:

Essentiellement, tont opéra tend vers le mythe - pen importe qu'il s'agisse de ce que l'on considère comme étant des réincarnations de mythes déjà existants (Orphée, Don Giovanni, La Tétralogie, etc.) on comme une création de mythes nouveaux (Die Zauberflöte, Pelléas et Mélisande, etc.) - et, non moins essentiellement, tont opéra tend vers l'hallucination, puisque, plus qu'aucune autre forme d'art, il a pour mission de briser les cadres de la convention dite realiste et finit par nous présenter le spectacle même de l'irréalité la plus totale par rapport aux normes de la vie courante. Il faut

19. Corr., 324.

20. Essay on Man. OUP/Yale, 1944, 81

21. The Quest for Myth Louisiana State U.P., 1949, 97. Cf. also M. Eliade, The Yearning for Paradise in the Primitive Tradition in H. A. Murray, ed. Myth and Mythmaking, Braziller, N.Y., 1960, 64, and C. M. Bowra, Primitive Song, W. and N., 1962, Ch. 9.

ajouter aussi que c'est de la force et de l'intensité de l'hallucination que dépendent l'unification et la constitution, en un tout parfait des élements épars et incompatibles à premiere vue - action, texte, décor, musique - du drame musical.[22]

Thus for Leibowitz, the hallucinatory quality of opera, its removal from the rational, the quotidian, is of its essence, not a mere accidental outcome of its development. The modern dictionary definition of myth as 'a purely fictitious narrative usually involving supernatural persons, actions or events'[24] fits closely Leibowitz's conception, in that the 'fictitious narrative' may, however prosaic its origins, become mythical through subjection to hallucinatory or dreamlike treatment. For Samuel Johnson, mythology had been 'a system of fables' whose function was the 'explication of the fabulous history of the gods of the heathen world'.[25] In the 19th century, F. W. von Schelling replaced this limited 18th century approach by an Idealist view in which mythical figures become 'autonomous configurations of the human spirit'.[26] This came close in content as well as time to Wagner's view in Oper und Drama (1848). In the period after the Great War, Ernst Cassirer's highly influential Philosophie der symbolischen Formen[26] took Schelling (and Kant) as its springboard and developed a philosophical view of myth as a particular form of consciousness opposed in nature to the 'empirical-scientific' mode, an intuitive rather than a discursive mode of thought, a 'unitary energy of the human spirit'.

Critics of our own time have reached a broad consensus both in defining myth as a 'story' and in regarding the element of fact or fiction as secondary. The story may involve 'human limitation and superhuman stirrings and accomplishments',[27] may demonstrate the 'inner meaning of the universe and

22. Histoire de l'opéra. Bûchet-Chastel, Paris, 1957, 390-1.
23. O.E.D., 1933 ed.
24. Johnson's Dictionary, 1816 ed., vol. 2.
25. Philosophic der Mythologie (1842) Werke, Vols. 4 and 5, C. H. Beck, München, 1968.
26. Berlin, 1923-31, esp. Vol. 2 Das mythische Denken.
27. Lilian Feder: Ancient Myth in Modern Poetry, Princeton, 1972, 11.

of human life'[28] or may 'manifest some aspect of the cosmic order'.[29] It might seem difficult, at first, to recognise the broad religious and metaphysical implications of such definitions with a form of theatre rooted in practical problems of presentation, whose ultimate raison d'être has usually been regarded as entertainment rather than instruction. Schoenberg's Mose und Aron stands out as the one 20th Century opera aspiring to the levels suggested in the definitions of myth already given. Owing to its hybrid nature, opera has never ceased to provoke speculation over its complexities and possibilities. The neo-Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch felt that although opera and oratorio were successful means of uniting the expressive qualities of instruments and voices, opera's additional dimension of visible stage action creates separate problems and tensions. Writing 27 years after Busoni's famous plea for opera as a lofty, near-religious experience,[30] he observed that '.... dazu noch dient die Oper seit dem Barock, worin sie erst breit aufblühte, dem Fest, der Repräsentation, dem gehobenen Dasein'.[31]

This 'gehobene Dasein' or 'transcendent reality' has led writers on opera repeatedly back to myth as its proper métier, pointing out that most

28. Alan W. Watts: Myth, Ritual and Christianity, qu. Philip Wheelwright, The Semantic Approach to Myth in Sebeok, loc. cit., 95ff.

29. Ian G. Barbour: Myths, Models and Paradigms, SCM Press, London, 1974, 20.

30. Uber die Möglichkeiten der Oper (1922)

31. Dargestellte Wunschlandschaft in Malerei, Oper, Dichtung: Prunk, Elysium in Oper und Oratorium. SF, Vol. 1 (2) 1949, 53. For Bloch, sound creates an extra, equivocal dimension beyond that of colour or language. Music produces tears or consolation, and, he observes, never sticks to the point, whether the mode be major or minor. (Ibid) In 1942, Siegmund Skraup pointed out that opera is neither a concert nor a play with music, but a theatrical form in which the music must be produced and given 'scenic form' along with the rest. 'Es geht mir zunächst hier gar nicht ausschliesslich um Musik, wenigstens nicht um Musik im Sinne des Anhörens; es geht um jene Schau des Theaters, um ein szenisch Klangbild, also um eine Musik im Sinne des Sichtbar-Werdens and des Sichtbar-Gemachtseins.' Die Oper als lebendiges Theater, Konrad Triltsch, Würzburg, 1942, 5. The problems of form and time-relationship have been stressed by Boris de Schloezer, who pointed to the essential contradiction between the scenic representation of events, and their musical expression, owing to the different relation of each to the time element. The Operatic Paradox in MM, 1926, 6-7.

successful operatic heroes and heroines are mythical figures,[32] emphasising the need for 'Distanzierung' through ballet, pantomime or puppetry and marionette theatre,[33] or suggesting that emphasis on historical subject-matter (as in Germany after 1930) must in the nature of things lead to a return to myth as it had done in earlier periods, notably Gluck's and Wagner's.[34] Not all critics saw the issue in these terms. The Leipzig critic Adolf Aber described the period as a time of experiment, even confusion, in which one could no longer speak of operatic development as a single process.[35] It was possible for Oskar Bie to dismiss as backward-looking a work such as Herbert Windt's Andromache (1930), a stylised, rococo version of a classical myth, and welcome Weill's Die Bürgschaft as an attempt to create an allegorical structure out of a contemporary social theme.[36] Writing in 1940, Edward Dent underlined the disagreement between those who saw opera's proper realm as that of 'magic and fantasy' and the general public's supposed preference for heroic opera set in a period as close as possible to the present.[37] From certain specialised viewpoints, such as that of Freemasonry, some stage works have been endowed with a special symbolic significance connected with their humane atmosphere, their search for ultimate truths. Die Zauberflöte, Parsifal and Goethe's Faust have been seen, collectively, as 'un oeuvre grandiose d' éducation, de pensée et d'art', synthesising the simplistic

32. W. H. Auden: The World of Opera in Secondary Worlds, Faber, 1967, 95.

33. Hans Mersmann: Probleme der gegenwartigen Operndichtung Anb., 1927.

34. H. F. Redlich: Geschichtliche Stoff im zeitgenössischer Opernspiel, Anb., 1937, 285-8. Ernst Bücken had earlier made the same point, contrasting the 'harmonisch-griechischen (Gluck) with the earlier 'einseitig-römischen Tatheroismus'. Der Heroische Stil in der oper. Kistner and Siegel, Leipzig, 1924, 137.

35. Zeitgenössische Oper in ihren Hauptströmungen, Auft, 1927, 147ff.

36. Stand der Oper, NR, 1932, 124-31.

37. Opera (Penguin, 1940) 192-3. But cf. Northrop Frye's suggestion of 'a close analogy between the poet's (and thus also the composer's) subject-matter and those significant actions that men engage in simply because they are typical and recurring, the actions that we call rituals. The verbal imitation of ritual is myth .....' Murray, loc. cit., 116-17.

optimism of the 18th century and the resigned pessimism of the 19th.[38]

As a tradition, this view of art's function goes far beyond freemasonry, however. Its ethical didacticism has always had a strong following in Germany, where the word 'Künstler' has an untranslatable overtone meaning half craftsman, half priest. From Schiller's letters Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen (1795) to Worringer's Abstraktion und Einfühlung (1908) and Kandinsky's Über das geistige in der Kunst (1912) the absorption of content in form, and the principles of mimesis and revelation were a recurring theme. Mallarmé's 'toute chose sacrée ..... s'enveloppe de mystère'[39] was an early Symbolist statement of this lofty standpoint, and at first seems far away from Paul Kornfeld's remark in 1918 that 'once the bourgeois mask is torn away, the link with eternity given to every human being will be revealed',[40] until one realises that they sprang from a similar, revelatory idea of art's function. This idea is present not only in Wagner's Ring, but in the work of the solar mythologists led by Max Müller, who believed that all myths and fairytales could be reduced to one essential myth, the conflict between night and day, darkness and light.[41]

However tendentious the conclusions of the solar mythologists may have

38. G. Leti and L. Lachat: L'Esotérisme a la Scene. L. Depollier, Annecy, 1935, Ch. 1. Yet Adorno suggested that many of the most characteristic operas - like Der Freischütz., Die Zauberflöte and Il Trovatore - are most properly presented to an audience of children. Bürgerliche oper in Klangfiguren, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1959, 34. Adorno saw the anti-mythological trend of 19th century opera (counteracted by Wagner) as following a formulaic myth of its own, expressed as 'Fremde oder Verfremte, an denem Leidenschaft entflammt und in Konflikt gerät mit der etablieren Ordnung.' Ibid., 44.

39. L'art pour tous (1862). O. C., Gallimard, 1945, 257.
This Baudelairean view entered Germany principally through George's early verse. An article in Le Décadent, 24 April 1886 repeated the idea of art as the private language of an 'enlightened' élite, 'use sorte de sacerdoce inaccessible au vulgaire sous peine de n'être plus l'art'. qu. Duthie, 268.

40. Der Beseelte und der psychologische Mensch in Das junge Deutschland, I, January 1918.

41. Max Müller: Comparative Mythology in Oxford Essays, J. W. Parker London, 1856, 1-88. Also R. M. Dorson: Theories of Myth and the Folklorists, in Murray, loc. cit., 76f. and R. Donington: Wagner's Ring and its Symbols: the music and the myth, Faber 1963, esp. 203f. on the opening of Götterdämmerung (Life's two faces: the light and the dark).

been, they did emphasise the notion of myth as the provider of a metaphor, and paved the way for Eliot's later 'objective correlative'. For the 17th, 18th and most of the 19th centuries myth meant Greek mythology, in the sense of a body of stories universally known among sophisticated audiences, stories whose formulaic quality expressed a universality rediscovered by 20th century dramatists. The Greek myth was an agreed and agreeable metaphor for human experience, its survival ensured by its relevance to 'the lasting problems of man'.[42] An enquiry into the uses of myth in opera begins and ends with Greek myth, not only because it is the foundation of the genre, but because in a time of Entmythologisierung in many spheres, Greek myth came to have a wide general significance as a structural device, and continued to attract artists because it remained a permanent crystallisation of consciousness among educated apirits. Writing in 1935 about the saturation of German literature in Greek influences from Winckelmann through Goethe, Schiller, Hölderlin and Heine down to Nietzsche, Spitteler and George, Eliza Butler expressed it thus:

> Greece has profoundly modified the whole trend of civilisation imposing her thought, her standards, her literary form, her imagery, her visions and dreams wherever she is known. But Germany is the supreme example of her triumphant spiritual tyranny. The Germans have imitated the Greeks more slavishly: they have been obsessed by them more utterly, and they have assimilated them less than any other race. The extent of the Greek influence is incalculable throughout Europe; its intensity is at its highest in Germany.[43]

42. Joseph Kerman: Opera as Drama, OUP, 1957, 27. Gilbert Highet expressed the same idea in The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature, OUP, 1957, 540.

43. E. M. Butler: The Tyranny of Greece over Germany, C.U.P. 1935, 6. Kohn has emphasised (The Mind of Germany, Methuen, 1960, 238n.) that the leading German Hellenists did not visit Greece. Hauptmann and Hofmannsthal actually went, as pilgrims to the Hellenic idea.

II

Nineteenth century opera in Germany had, in the main, turned its back on Greek myth, beginning with the late 18th century buffa tradition and the romantic operas of the Biedermeier period. Wagner's use of non-Greek legendary material from Der Fliegender Höllander to Parsifal was part, albeit the most fertile, of a movement in the direction of vernacular myth, 'fairy-tale' or, as Michael Grant has described it, 'backyard mythology'.[44] The nineteenth century Märchenoper or Zauberoper embraced works as different and far apart in time as Hoffmann's Undine (1816) and Bruch's Lorelei (1863), Weber's Oberon (1826) and Humperdinck's Hänsel and Gretel (1893), Marschner's Hans Heiling (1833) and Pfitzner's Die Rose vom Liebesgarten (1901) to mention only some of the best known. Though the Grimms' Kinder-und Hausmärchen collection of 1819 provided the main sources for German composers after that date, Perrault's Contes and Straparola's Tredici piacevoli notti (tr. F. W. V. Schmidt, 1817) were already available, and G. Basile's Pentamerone appeared in 1846 in Felix Liebrecht's translation. In addition , Antoine Galland's version (1704-17) of the Thousand and One Nights was made generally available to Germany in F. H. von der Hagen's 1827 translation. All these sources had been widely used before 1800 by composers outside Germany[45] while Rossini's Cenerentola (Rome, 1817), Cherubini's Ali Baba (Paris 1833) and Rimsky Korsakov's Snegourotchka (St. Petersburg, 1882) are the most distinguished of the numerous non-Germans to be attracted to the genre in later years. It was, however, the Romantic movement in Germany which made the Märchenoper increasingly a national product, in relation both to pure Märchen sources, and to the literary or Kunstmärchen, such as Wieland's important Oberon (1780) and Dschinnistan (1786), Tieck's Melusine of 1800 (which among many others produced an opera in 1833 from Conradin Kreutzer and no less a librettist than Grillparzer) Brentano's Loreley (1801)

44. Myths of the Greeks and Romans, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962, 81.
45. Laruette's Cendrillon (1759) Shield's Aladin (1788) and Grétry's Barbe bleue (1789).

and La Motte Fouque's Undine of 1811. In 1810, the Gespensterbuch by J. A. Apel and Friedrich Laun had appeared, eleven years later providing Friedrich Kind and Weber with the material for Der Freischütz, a work which, though not a Märchenoper in the proper sense, has many of its attributes and atmosphere, and became the cornerstone of German Romantic opera.

The Märchen in its pure form was described by the Grimms as 'die wunderbaren letzten Nachklänge der uralten Mythen'.[46] In 1896, Leopold Schmidt wrote in his pioneer study:

Wir verstehen heute unter Märchen nur solche Erzählungen, in denen das Übernatürliche in wunderbarer Weise in die Vorgänge des Wirklichen eingreift: deren Vortrag durch Einfachkeit in der Auffassung von Lebensverhältnissen und harmloser Naivität des Ausdrucks sich einer kindlichen Anschauungsweise nähert, und deren Inhalt in des weitaus meisten Fällen eine symbolische Deutung fordert oder doch zulässt'.[47]

Between 1912 and 1933, academic literary interest in the German Märchen grew rapidly, paralleling that upsurge of involvement over a century earlier among Romantic writers such as Hoffmann, Tieck, Brentano, Novalis and Wackenroder.[48] In the same period, however, Neue Sachlichkeit, anti-romanticism and neo-classicism combined to undermine the appeal for composers of the traditional German Märchen in its straightforward form. Schoeck's Vom Fischer und syner Fru (1930), which makes deliberate use of the low German dialect version of the Grimms' tale, is a solitary example of recourse to the Kinder-und Hausmärchen. Yet the material of the folktale, its personae and atmosphere did not wholly disappear. Schreker's use of Märchen

46. Foreword to Liebrecht's Pentamerone, qu. Leopold Schmidt. Zur Geschichte der Märchenoper, Halle, 1896, 6.

47. Ibid., 4.

48. The outstanding work of scholarship in these years was J. Bolte and G. Polivka's Anmerkungen zu dem Kinder-und Hansmärchen der Brüder Grimm, 5 vols., Leipzig, 1913-31. The confusion over the term's meaning has drawn the comment from Marianne Thalmann in her study of the Märchen in the hands of the German Romantics: 'Man hat es als eine archaisierende Form betrachtet, hat mythische und volkerpsychologische Perspektiven gesucht, hat von einer Flucht in die Vergangenheit gesprochen und von de auf einem Mangel an Mut zur Gegenwart geschlossen.' Das Märchen und die Moderne, W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1961, 5.

motifs in his operas will be discussed at some length in Chapter Seven. Moreover, the pleasure in orientalism which had been a longstanding aspect of Austro-German taste produced certain works which, though literary in origin contained manifest elements of the märchenhaft, and were sometimes transpositions to an exotic milieu of vernacular material. The two main works of this type to be discussed derive respectively from a novel and a (translated) play; they are Die Prinzessin Girnara by Wellesz and Wassermann, and Zemlinsky's last performed opera, Der Kreidekreis, based on Klabund's text. Exceptionally, Krenek's minor one-act Das geheime Königreich, expressly subtitled 'ein Märchenoper' has the effect of a Zeitoper using the setting and certain traditional figures of the folktale in a manner sophisticated but not merely parodistic. Far removed from the essential naïveté regarded as mandatory in the 19th century Märchenoper, it is in its way a tribute to the genre which had produced such naive works (both literally and in Schiller's sense) as Hänsel and Gretel, Kienzl's Der Evangelimann and Vollerthun's Die versunkene Glocke, all works of the 1890s still popular with the German public after 1918.

Modern students of folk-literature invariably distinguish between the Märchen as clear, simple folktale, the Sage (or legend) as a popular tale based, however loosely, on historical fact, and the Legende, or saint's legend, usually of religious or edificatory origin. 'Das Märchen ist poetischer, die Sage historischer', said the Grimms,[49] a distinction also made by Friedrich Ranke, who described the Sage as 'an account of a fantastic experience which one hopes will be believed',[50] and later by Jan de Vries in his suggestion that 'Die Heldensage schreitet auf festen Boden während das Märchen in einer unrealen Welt spielt'.[51] In 1932, it as W. R. Halliday's view that 'today .... no apology is needed for approaching folktales as

49. Deutsche Sagen, I, Vorrede, V (1816). Cf. Ch. 6 for Bechstein's comments.

50. Volkssagenforschung, Maruschke und Berendt, Breslau, 1935, 17.

51. Betrachtungen zum Märchen, besonders in sein Verhältnis mit Heldensage and Mythos. FFC, 150 (1954) 2nd ed. (1968) 167.

stories and not as allegories'.[52] The determinedly anti-symbolist line of Halliday has been authoritatively echoed in Switzerland by Max Lüthi,[53] but not by scholars strongly influenced by the archetypal theories of Jung and Kerényi,[54] or by the 'symbolic form' theories of Cassirer.[55]

Disagreement over interpretation and meaning has been more than matched by varying theories of origin. The Indo-European theory - that the majority of European folktale motifs came from India between the 10th and 13th centuries - although radically undermined by Andrew Lang and his followers, remains the theory which has had the most widespread influence. Its chief 19th century proponents were Benfey, Köhler and Cosquin, while the Swede von Sydow adhered to it in his Kategorien der Prosa - Volksdichtung of 1926-34. As anthropology and ethnology developed, however, so did 'comparative mythology'.[56] Paul Ehrenreich's [57] theory of the 'naturmythologisches Märchen', and Rendel Harris'[58] theory of recurring story-patterns, or 'twin-cults', in places far apart, were characteristic of this time. The 'dream' theory of origin also had wide currency in the early years of the century, linked coincidentally as it was in the field of psychoanalysis with Freud's Traumdeutung (Vienna, 1900), but perhaps strongest of all was the 'utilitarian' totemistic view. This was expressed in 1909 by Arnold van Gennep[59] and after

52. Indo-European Folk-Tales and Greek Legend, C.U.P., 1932, 5ff.

53. 'Die Bilder des Märchens sind nicht nur Symbole, sie bedeuten Zunächst einmal ganz einfach sich selber.' Volksmärchen und Volkssage, C. Francke Verlag, Bern, 1961, 11.

54. C. G. Jung and Karl Kerényi: Einführung in das Wesen der Mythologie, Amsterdam and Leipzig, 1941.

55. Hedwig von Beit builds on Cassirer in regarding the Märchen as a synthesis of 'archaic' and 'rational' modes of thought. Cf. Symbolik des Märchen (2 vols., C. Francke Verlag, Bern, 1952/6) and Das Märchen: sein Ort in der geistigen Entwicklung, C. Francke Verlag, 1965.

56. Thompson, 376 ff. Halliday stresses the introduction of Oriental story books in Europe from the medieval period onwards, and the use made of them by the authors of fabliaux and novelle (loc. cit., 36). Galland's Mille et une mits was simply the most spectacular of many such works.

57. Die allgemeine Mythologie und ihre ethnologischen Grundlagen. Gesellschaft für vergleichende Mythenforschung., Berlin, 1910.

58. Boanerges, C.U.P., 1913.

59. Les rites de passage Émile Nourry, Paris, 1909.

the war by Hans Naumann,[60] who developed as a main hypothesis the relation of stories to rituals connected with the feared return of the dead. From the present point of view, Naumann's approach is of particular interest. He believed that Märchen and Heldensage are in essence almost the same, differing more in style, presentation and 'historie' euhemeristic content than in basic psychology. It is a point of view echoed by certain recent scholars, notably Jan de Vries. De Vries observed of the links between Märchen and Mythos:

'Der Mythos setzt die Zeit des ungebrochenen schöpferischen Glaubens voraus, die Heldensage gehört sum Heldenzeitalter, das Märchen lebte in seiner eigenen Welt. Diese Welt muss den Mythos so nahe gelegen haben, dass ihre Handlungsschatz durchaus verbindlich waren; sie muss ihn andrerseits so fern gestanden haben, dass er mit derm Formelschatz des Mythen freischaffend schalten konnte.'[61]

The problem with this common stock of images (and de Vries backs his argument in detail by linking such story-patterns as the Perseus myth with the 'Suchwanderung des Heldens', a permanent, major Märchen motif) is that it confuses motif and sequence with tone and presentation in an attempt to prove that all mythic material derives from the same fundamental springs.[62] Wesselski had followed this line in 1931 in his Versuch einer Theorie des Märchens, proving how deeply Cassirer's notion of 'mythic consciousness' and Jung's archetypal theories had begun to influence Europe down to the early 1930s. What de Vries called a common 'Handlungschatz' is nowadays described as a simple 'story-pattern' or 'Erzählungsschablone' derived from ancient myth. Modern Volkskundler, with their sophisticated techniques, tend to be

60. Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur; Beiträge zur Volkskunde und Mythologie. Diederich, Jena, 1921, esp. 61f.

61. de Vries, loc. cit., 177. R. T. Christiansen in Myth, Metaphor and Simile (Sebeok, 39ff.) observes how oral tradition is the source of motifs and incidents in both myth and legend. The view of de Vries can be compared with Cassirer's, that the underlying theme of mythic awareness, at all times, and in all places, lies in the opposition of sacred and profane. Cf. Hedwig von Beit, Das Märchen, 74.

62. Kurt Ranke: 'Betrachtungen zum Wesen und zur Funktion des Märchens.' SG, 11, 1958, 647-64.

dismayed by attempts to break down the prescribed categories of vernacular folktale.[63] Brynjulf Alver, for example, summarises the influential Scandinavian tradition by calling the Märchen 'a poly-episodal form of prose-narrative, orally transmitted from prehistoric times in the form of a limited number of types, each compounded of a firm pattern of motifs'.[64]

This rather severe definition seems far from the conception of myth or mythos as 'the primary (Greek) experience of the objective world', including supernatural elements, and the corresponding 'interiorisation' and 'selection' of this experience which constitutes logos.[65] At the opposite extreme, others have raised the question of the difference, if any, between Märchen and Magazingeschichte,[66] the one presumably a folktale with pretensions to artistic significance, the other conspicuously lacking more than a humdrum and ephemeral function. Ernst Bloch, from his Marxist-Hegelian viewpoint, made an influential plea for the Märchen as an 'im positiven Sinn utopischer Aufbruch', a constant vision which, far from being rooted in futile nostalgia is 'vorausblickend in die Zukunft'.[67] As with Benjamin, Bloch has seen man as in a permanent condition of becoming, of 'radical incipience and potentiality'.[68] For him all märchenhaft images - he instances the fight between hero and dragon and the constant depiction and invocation of 'Schlaraffenland' - are 'hüllenhafte Abbildung utopischer Tendenzinhalte im Wirklichen'.[69] It is from this angle that the folktale influence and atmosphere in opera perhaps makes the greatest sense.

63. Mathilde Hain: Die Volkserzählung, DVja, 1971, 269.
64. Fabula, 1967, 63.
65. G. B. Kerford in CR, XXII (1972), 117-18.
66. H. Bausinger: 'Möglichkeiten des Märchens in der Gegenwart' in H. Kuhn and K. Schier (hg.) F. van der Leyen Festschrift. Beck, München, 1963, 22f.
67. Das Prinzip Hoffnung. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt 1959, 411.
68. G. Steiner: TLS, 3 Oct. 1975, 1128.
69. Bloch, cp. cit., 186.

III

Following the definition of myth through the orthodox area of Graeco-Roman antiquity, and the analogous territory of vernacular folktale material, a third, more problematic category presents itself. This is the equivocal role of history as material for drama, either as the broad presentation of an epoch or event, or, more usually, as the life or circumstances of an historical individual. Since usual definitions of myth do not normally include history or historiography, the question requires introduction at some length. Wagner made his remarks in Oper und Drama on the use of history in opera at a time when historical subjects were reaching that operatic zenith. He observed the conflict between 'true history' and the artistic fulfilment of drama only by 'sinning against the truth of history'.[70] Equally, poetry and fiction, he felt, concentrated on the mere 'mechanism of history' by stressing the surrounding, largely decorative context at the expense of individual action. Ninety years later Lukács, following Hegel, was to describe this dichotomy as the 'totality of object' in epic poetry compared with 'totality of movement' in drama, the latter implying necessary excision of whole areas included in the former.[71]

Wagner's remark that historical romance had an implicit tendency to approach myth in its psychology is a point made by more recent writers on myth.[72] By creating an image or 'Darstellung' of the past, the dramatist arguably moves as much away from his subject as towards it. The subject as 'known' may not be, indeed is unlikely to be, identifiable with the subject as presented. Idealisation, distortion, omission, polemic are likely to intervene between the viewer and a documentary realisation of the subject. Though Herodotus had seen history's function as 'to preserve worthy deeds from oblivion'[73] the question is at once begged of the historian's selection

70. Wagner on Music and Drama, tr. A. Ellis, Sel. Goldman and Sprinchorn, Gollancz, 1970, 145 (O and D, II, 168-78).

71. The Historical Novel (1936-7) Merlin Press, 1962, 106.

72. Northrop Frye: New Directions from Old, in Murray, op. cit., 117.

73. The Histories, tr. A. de Selincourt, Penguin, 1954, 14.

of 'those deeds in the light of his own and others' experience. It has even been suggested that discovery and interpretation are less the historian's business than 'creation' and 'construction'[74]; from another angle, history is 'Prozess, unablässige Werden' or the 'Schauplatz der Realisierung menschlicher Entwürfe und Ideen'.[75] The 'logic of situation and rhythm of events' given as one major object of the professional historian[76] is also a recipe for necessary selection, an enforced distillation from the experience of the past.[77] Most modern historians would readily concede this, perhaps admitting, with Croce[78] that no logical criterion of selection exists.

History, in particular the Hegelian didactic summit of 'philosophische Weltgeschichte', may be said to teach, through straight account or dramatisation, by pointing out the moral basis of action, promoting a response through a declared viewpoint. The Tudor kingship myth, the 'doctrine of order', for which Shakespeare drew on the chronicles of Holinshed and Edward Hall is perhaps a locus classicus of this.[79] History here becomes that 'pious formula' and 'timeless schema' which, in a quite different context was Thomas Mann's definition of myth,[80] and approximates to that 'self-knowledge of the living mind'[81] suggested as the reason for history's necessary relationship with the present, less in terms of utility or even knowledge as such than of felt continuity, a key to understanding. Musil expressed it in 1930 through his professor who, speaking in public of 'the road of history' said that 'if we look ahead, we see an impenetrable wall. If we look left and right, we see an overwhelming mass of important events, without any recognisable direction....

74. Michael Oakeshott: Experience and its modes, C.U.P., 1933, 93.
75. Heinz Heimshoeth: Geschichtsphilosophie, H. Bouvier, Bonn, 1948, 34 and 48.
76. L. B. Namier: Vanished Supremacies, Hamilton, 1958, 203.
77. E. H. Carr: What is History? Macmillan, 1961, 104.
78. Theory of History and Historiography. Harrap, 1921, 109.
79. Cf. E. M. W. Tillyard: Shakespeare's History Plays. Chatto and Windus, 1944. (Penguin ed., 1962, esp. 54f).
80. See n. 14.
81. R. G. Collingwood: The Idea of History. (1936) O.U.P., 1946, 202, Section on Croce.

But if one looks back, as though by a miraculous dispensation, everything has turned to order and purpose'.[82]

Ranke's stress on factual accuracy, the past 'wie es eigentlich gewesen' was, of course, a major precept in nineteenth century European thought, yet one has only to think of Taine, relating history to the physical sciences, or Zola, with his clinical 'analytical method'[83] to realise how efforts in the direction of 'objectivity' so often resulted in a dense symbolism and elaborate artifice. Some, like Otto Ludwig, saw a compromise in 'poetic realism', in which poetry 'verfährt nach den Gesetzen der Erinnerung' altering nothing factually, but transforming it through art.[84] Lessing had expressed the view of his age by suggesting that the dramatist need 'hold only the characters sacred' adding 'only what will strengthen them, showing them in their best light'.[85] Schiller did not hesitate to depart from known historical fact where his identification with his characters demanded it. Later, Hebbel insisted that the historical playwright should not be simply the 'Auferstehungsengel der Geschichte'[86] though Büchner, more influential on the 20th century than Schiller or Hebbel, saw the writer's highest duty as 'der Geschichte, wie sie wirklich begeben, so nähe als möglich zu kommen',[87] a principle aspired to in Dantons Tod. Yet Kleist had made an anti-Napoleonic tract of Die Hermannschlacht, while Grillparzer had Napoleon in mind as much as the Habsburg monarchy in König Ottokars Glück und Ende.

Thus even when scrupulous accuracy of detail is in evidence, historical drama is likely to be subjective, whether its aim is to represent 'the anguish

82. The Man without Qualities, tr. E. Wilkins and E. Kaiser, Secker and Warburg, 1953, I, 201. Cf. also the preoccupation with time, the pastness of the past, especially that 'immediately before the present' in Mann's Der Zauberberg (1924). (Preface)

83. Preface to Therèse Raquin, 2nd ed., 1868.

84. S. W. VI, 42. His phrase was 'aber sie mildert es künstlerich'.

85. Hamburgische Dramaturgie (1767-9). G. W., Bd. 6, 175 (Aufbau, Bln, 1968).

86. Mein Wort über das Drama! (1843) S. W., XI, 9.

87. Brief an die Familie, Strassburg, 28 July 1835, qu. A. Knight, George Büchner, O.U.P., 1951, 51.

of life, the triumph of evil', in Schopenhauer's words, or the Marxist affirmation of life, 'glorification of human greatness'[88] and time 'filled by the presence of the now'.[89] In pointing out the double meaning of the words 'Geschichte' and 'histoire', the Dutch historian Huizinga stressed that 'we cannot sacrifice the demand for scientific certainty without injury to the conscience of our civilisation'. He argued that 'mythical and fictitious representations of the past may have literary value for us even now as forms of play, but for us they are not history'.[90] But his earlier remarks point closely to the notion of an historical past of mythic nature, in the sense that the impulse towards mythologising past events is at least as strong as the desire to write history relating the story of the past. In fact, Huizinga sagely observes 'history gives no more than a particular representation of a particular past, an intelligible picture of a portion of the past. It is never the reconstruction or reproduction of a given past. No past is ever given. Tradition alone is given'.[91]

As Wagner turned from history (Rienzi) to Germanic myth, his contemporary Hebbel saw history as the most suitable vehicle for a dramatist's ideas,[92] showing with his three planes of dramatic action (story, human plane and Hegelian 'weltgeschichtlich-symbolisch plane) the tendency of historical drama to move in the direction of myth. It was Schiller, however, especially from Wallenstein onwards, who had effectively founded German historical drama, and had, through Kant's influence, increasingly stressed the moral law, greatness of character revealed in 'moral superiority' rather than the 'dynamic power' of Maria Stuarda and Die Jungfrau von Orleans. Triumph over misfortune through an act of repentance achieved the Schillerian 'sublime' indicated in his phrase 'moralischen Selbstständigkeit in Leiden',[93] as in the

88. G. Lukács, op. cit., 141.
89. Walter Benjamin: Illuminations, Cape, 1970, 264.
90. 'A definition of the concept of History' in Philosophy and History: Essays presented to Ernst Cassirer. OUP, 1936, 8.
91. Ibid., 5.
92. Mein Wort über das Drama, loc. cit., 8-10.
93. Vom Erhabenen (1793) S.A., XII, 320.

character of Posa in Don Carlos. Through Verdi, this play became the most substantial schillesian operatic adaptation of the 19th century, exceeding in size Rossini's version of the more overtly operatic Schauspiel Wilhelm Tell. Significantly, their special veneration for Goethe and Schiller led most German composers to avoid their works as material for their operas. Although certain of Schiller's plays are set in High Renaissance Europe, the real dramatic influence on the Austro-German 'Renaissanceist' operas of the period around 1914 is to be found in the artistically far less admirable romantic melodramas of Hugo and Musset. Though Fiesko, Don Carlos and Maria Stuarda each reflects the power-struggle of the 16th century world, for the Jugendstil generation, the more obsessive, rhetorical qualities, the'fullness of image and song'[94] of plays like Marie Tudor or Lorenzaccio had a greater impact. They were far removed from what one foreign critic later disparagingly called Schiller's 'utilitarianism, moral education and moral regeneration'.[95]

Setting aside for the moment Burckhardt's Kultur der Renaissance, it could be said that the prophet of the neo-Romantic Renaissance image belonged, with Schiller, to the German Hellenist tradition, and was, moreover a classical philologist. Two years after his epoch-making Geburt der Tragödie, Nietzsche divided approaches to history into the monumental, the antiquarian and the critical. While the first two were likely to turn history into myth, or, at best 'romance' or 'an ancient congregation of pieties', the last, by bringing history to what he called 'the bar of judgement' for interrogation and condemnation invited another kind of mythologisation, based on the very act of de-mythologising a received interpretation.[96] Nietzsche's own version of the Italian Renaissance and German Reformation is arguably a 'monumental', even 'antiquarian' view masquerading as a 'critical' one. It is obviously indebted to Burckhardt, Nietzche's older colleague at Basle, and anticipates

94. C. Affron: A stage for poets: studies in the theatre of Hugo and Musset. Princeton, 1971, 10.

95. J. G. Robertson: Schiller after a century. Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1905, 135.

96. Thoughts out of Season, Vol. 1 (1874) tr. A. Collins., 19ff. (C and M, III, 1, 264-5).

Count Gobineau's seven dialogue-portraits La Renaissance, with their uncritical adulation of the early 16th century Italian cultural and diplomatic elites.[97] Nietzsche went so far as to claim that the Italian Renaissance.

'..... contained within itself all the positive forces to which we owe modern culture. Such were the liberation of thought, the disregard of authorities, the triumph of education over the darkness of tradition, enthusiasm for science and the scientific past of mankind, the unfettering of the individual, an ardour for truthfulness and a dislike of delusion and mere effect ..... It was the Golden Age of the last thousand years, in spite of all its blemishes and vices ..... On the other hand, the German Reformation stands out as an energetic protest of antiquated spirits, who were by no means tired of medieval views of life, and who received signs of its dissolution ..... with dejection ..... instead of ..... rejoicing.'[98]

This powerful formulation, extreme and unbalanced though it clearly is, was a harbinger of the aspect of late 19th century aestheticism variously described as 'Renaissanceism' or 'Renaissancebegeisterung'. As one of its wilder historiographic manifestations, it turns the Italian Renaissance into an heroic myth, an embodiment of 'der Wille zur Macht' which Nietzsche himself expressed in the fanciful notion of Cesare Borgia as Pope.[99] In German literature, this reached its climax around 1900, but several post-Wagnerian operas, written just before and after the Great War began also reflect this literary movement. Four of these works, by Schillings, Schreker, Zemlinsky and Korngold, form the subject of Chapter Four.

The German Reformation and its effects, referred to by Nietzsche so contemptuously, is covered in Chapter Five. This period is usually seen by historians as running from 1517 or 1519 to 1555 (the Peace of Augsburg) or if one includes the Counter-Reformation or 'Catholic Reformation',[100] to the

97. See Ch. 4.

98. Human, all too human (tr. H. Zimmern), 220-2. Cf. also The Will to Power 74-6. (C and M, IV, 2, 203).

99. Antichrist, 228-9. (C and M, VI, 3, 249). In Götzen Dämmerung (1888) tr. Ludovici, 91, he suggests that Cesare Borgia's contemporaries would laugh at the Germans of the 1870s. (C&M, VI, 3, 130-1).

100. The term is Hubert Jedin's (Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation?

Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. From a wider European viewpoint, 1519's importance lies mainly in Maximilian's death, and the appearance of Charles V as Habsburg emperor. Deeply divergent interpretations of the Reformation's overall significance (for example the opposing views of Dilthey and Troeltsch)[101] only emphasise the intensity of interest in this centrally important period of German history. Whereas Italian Renaissance humanism, for all its achievements, concerned a relatively small educated class, it has been argued, the Reformation's huge impact drew all classes into a common concern with the great questions of salvation and justification by faith.[102]

Certain German-language operas of 1914-33, beginning with Pfitzner's Palestrina and ending with Krenek's KarlV and Hindemith's Mathis der Maler use the Renaissance and Reformation background not as 'Begeisterung' but to promulgate a particular Weltanschauung, chiefly in connection with the relationship of worldly power and ambition to personal fulfilment and salvation. These are universal themes, of course, but have a special place in German and Central Europe, and are pointedly relevant to the sixteenth century. There are obvious differences between the six works briefly discussed in Chapter Five, both in their reference to and treatment of Luther, and in their attitude to the social and political forces of the time. Nevertheless they each possess a marked didactic as well as confessional element, steering delicately between solipsism and historical concern. 'Il me plait de situer notre époque dans le miroir de l'histoire' said Ferdinand Bruckner, the chief inter-war historical dramatist in Germany,[103] and in these operas there is a palpable, if variably focused sense of the early 20th century predicament.

It should be stressed that the Reformation and Counter-Reformation period was of steadily growing significance for German letters from 1900 on, both in imaginative literature and historical scholarship, which often

101. See Ch. 4, n. 6.

102. Vollstedt, 47.

103. 1891-1958. Interview of 1950, qu. in A. J. Harper, Ferdinand Bruckner's Historical Dramas, unpub. thesis, Bristol, 1962, 376.

overlapped. 'Heroic myth' prevailed in works like Döblin's Wallenstein (1920), Brod's Tycho Brahes Weg zu Gott (1916) the Paracelsus trilogy of Kolbenheyer (1917-25), Wassermann's Columbus novel '1930) the 'democratic-humanist' novels of Stefan Zweig or the right-wing fiction of, say, Walter von Molo. Fictional techniques were seen to enter works masquerading as 'academic' history, such as Kaiser Friedrich II (1927) by the Georgean Erst Kantorowicz. His Frederick has been described as 'the father of the Renaissance .... a ruler rivalling in stature Alexander the Great ..... it was history as pure poetry'.[104] Something of the same heroic stature was assigned to Luther by Bartels (1862-1945) in his 1903 Luthertrilogie and Lienhard (1865-1929) in his Wartburgtrilogie.

Protestant hagiography of Luther continued to have the greatest influence, as it had done throughout the 19th century, when Luther was variously described in school textbooks as 'eigentlicher Volkslehrer', 'Erhalter des Friedens' or 'der grosse Held und Wundermann'.[105] The great bulk of Luthersagen collected during the 19th century were also uncritical and adulatory.[106] Yet the late Wilhelmine period is notable for Catholic attacks on Luther's reputation by Fr. Heinrich Denifle in 1904-9[107] and Hartmann Grisar, S.J. in 1911-12.[108] These works, landmarks in Reformation historiography, can be set beside two studies bearing the same title Faust und Luther published respectively in 1896 by Erich Schmidt and in 1912 by Eugen Wolff. In a period when Goethe's Faust was at last beginning to make its full effect felt, this juxtaposition of the great Reformer with his exact contemporary the historical Faust underlined the special obsession of writers and scholars alike with the Reformation period. Luther the Protestant national hero was, in a separate tradition 'kein Mensch, sondern der Teufel selbst in menschlecher

104. Peter Gay: Weimar Culture, Secker and Warburg, 1969, 51.
105. Vollstedt.
106. Heidemane Gruppe lists 272 in VR, 297-324, of which only 23 are critical.
107. Luther und Luthertum, Franz Kirchheim, Mainz.
108. Luther, 3 vols., Herdersche Vlg., Freiburg-i.-Breisgau.

Gestalt',[109] or Luther the demonic, irrational Satan-obsessed power-seeker, conducting (even in Protestant hagiography) exchanges with emissaries of hell.[110] Paul Joachimsen (1867-1928), possibly the leading historian of the period, found it necessary to stress the withdrawn nature of most of Luther's 'public',life, and his deep spiritual attachment to the monastic side of Christendom.[111]

It may be claimed that before Burckhardt, the Italian Renaissance 'myth' played a much smaller part in German than in French literature. In Germany, Winckelmann's Greek ideal had provided the most powerful and continuing imaginative stimulus, at a time when some had regarded the Italian Renaissance as an 'aesthetic-sensualist' plot to destroy German medieval Christianity.[112] By contrast, a common argument[113] is that in a period dominated by Luther, Germany was deprived of the full Renaissance experience, thus making the Franco-Swiss inspired Italian Renaissance dream a compensatory phenomenon. Yet this unhistorical attitude must be set against the post-Burckhardtian attempts to push the Renaissance back into the high medieval period, notably by Konrad Burdach.[114] In addition the traditional pride of educated Germans in their own 'second' renaissance, that of the 18th century, did not waver. Like the Italian fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was a 'Wiedergeburt' in awareness of classical antiquity, leading to a continuing stress on the 'Greek' links of Germany in comparison with other European countries 'Latin' links.[115] 'Aesthetic paganism' as a world-view, with the concomitant problematic attitudes to Christianity, was thus constantly if not consistently

109. Fr. Dufrène. Rudimenta historica (1726) qu. Vollstedt.

110. Cf. Ein schöner Dialogus von Martino Luther und der geschichten Botschaft aus der Hölle (1523), ed. L. Enders, Halle, 1886.

111. Der Reformation als Epoche der deutschen Geschichte, 1951 ed., 26.

112. Adolf Menzel: On German Mythology (1855) qu. Kohn, loc. cit., 96-7. See also Ch. 4, no. 60.

113. E.g. Lutz Becker: The Listener, 31 January 1974, 137.

114. See Ch. 4, n. 77.

115. Paul Hensel: Montaigne u. die Antike, VBW, 1928, 69, qu. Highet, 367.

applied to Greece throughout the Weimar period and into that of Romanticism. Despite Heinse and Ardinghello (q.v. Ch. 4) neither the Dionysiac view of the Italian Renaissance nor its more sober aspect as a supreme politico-cultural manifestation can usefully predate, in terms of literary influence in Germany, their two prophets, Nietzsche of the one, and Burckhardt of the other.

CHAPTER THREE: THE OPERA TEXT - ITS BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE, 1912-33.

I

Throughout its history, opera has been influenced, at least to a certain extent, by contemporary literary trends and changes of taste. Different though the publics for opera and spoken drama are, it remains true that where both flourish independently side by side - and there were ninety opera houses in Germany in 1928 - the possibilities of interaction must be present. Some commentators saw the movement of opera towards the condition of spoken drama during the 19th century as a tendency to be applauded. This notion viewed the development from the 'aristocratic' limitations of its origins as an emancipation in which opera became increasingly a 'cosmos' and

> nacheinander alle Mittel der Bühne rücksichtslos an sich reisst und dessen Gesetze immer weiniger von der musikalischen überlieferten Form des Konzerts, und in immer steigernden Masse (wie im Schauspiel) vom 'dramatischen' Geschehen und ganz individuell von dem jeweiligen Typus des zu gestaltenden Menschen bestimmt werden.[1]

Yet where opera is regarded primarily as a musical entertainment, a medium of escapist fantasy, compared with the more 'serious' matter of spoken drama, the different criteria may produce an unbridgeable divergence.

One of the vexed questions of the 1918-33 period was that of opera's relevance, its ability to make a contribution to the theatre's role as social critic and commentator. This was directly associated with the stylistic conflict between the conservative neo-Romantic manner of the post-Wagnerians and the various 'progressive' idioms associated with Neue Sachlichkeit.[2] The neo-Romantics insisted on opera primarily as a vehicle

1. H. Oppenheim: Die Oper und das Operntheater von Morgen, Mls, Dec 1928, 588.
2. E. Krenek: Opera between the wars, MM, 1943, 102f.

of sensual intoxication, a heady concentration of mainly solipsist emotion and supra-rationality. One can find this 19th century 'bürgerlich' view in Mann's Buddenbrooks (1900) when Hanno refers ecstatically to a performance of Lohengrin and comments with incredulous envy on local people who evidently visit the opera nightly.[3] By a deliberate attempt to make opera satirical, political, or in other ways socially involved, the younger composers of the 1920s tried to bring opera in to line with trends in the spoken drama. Though their 'topical' operas were doomed to a short life, the idea survived, to re-emerge after 1945. Schiller had warned of the two extremes in 1795 when he said that the listener's or spectator's freedom from 'dominion' must be the first consideration. 'There does indeed exist a fine art of passion', he declared, 'but a fine passionate art is a contradiction in terms, for the unfailing effect of beauty is freedom from passion. No less self-contradictory is the notion of a fine art which teaches (didactic) or improves (moral); for nothing is more at variance with the concept of beauty than the notion of giving the psyche any definite bias.'[4]

Wagner's insistence on drama's function as the transmission of knowledge through 'feeling' as the centre of Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft[5] far from being an abstraction, was the conclusion of an experienced, practical man of the theatre, who had at the same time absorbed Schopenhauer's theory of music as an 'Image' (Vorstellung) of the world, untranslateable into abstract verbal concepts.[6] Schopenhauer, nevertheless, disliked opera as an art-form for attempting too much. It was enough for drama to depict human life on a limited scale 'correctly and completely' so as to lead to 'a clear and

3. Buddenbrooks, tr. H. T. Lowe-Porter. Secker and Warburg, 1924, 432,-3. Gustav Falke, also Lübeck-born, similarly recalled the Lohengrin of his boyhood: 'ein ekstatischer Rausch überkam mich, ein Schweben zwischen Keuschheit und Wollust. Ich fühlte diese Musik körperlich'. Die Stadt mit den goldnen Türmen: die Geschichte meines Lebens, G. Grote, Berlin, 1912, 124.

4. On the Aesthetic Education of Man, tr. E. M. Wilkinson and L. A. Willoughby, O.U.P., 1967, Letter XXII, 157.

5. Goldman and Sprinchorn, 189.

6. Ibid., 179: 'since he who (could do so) would have found ..... a philosophy to explain the world itself'.

profound knowledge of the Idea of humanity itself'.[7] Thus Schopenhauer's didactic idea was not far from Hebbel's, and can be seen as a link in the chain of German dramatic theory from Lessing to the epic theatre of Brecht which sees drama as an instrument for instruction, information and debate.

Opera's relation to drama in this respect continued to be the subject of argument. Wagner, far from having solved the question in Oper und Drama, simply provided an aesthetic theory for the works he already had in his mind... He stands in the very centre of that tradition of German Romanticism whereby (as suggested earlier) 'Kunst' means more than simply 'art', a tradition to which Stefan George, himself hostile to opera,[8] was a major contributor. It was against this tradition that Werfel wrote his novel Verdi (1923) as an anti-Wagnerian polemic, at a time when his hero's works were gaining fresh admirers in Germany.[9] The distinguished theatre critic Herbert Jhering could write in 1909 as though opera were in danger of overtaking the spoken drama as the central theatrical form. Hauptmann's Die Weber, he remarked with some relief, had found no composer, but Die versunkene Glocke, Salome and Elektra had all been transformed quickly from straight plays into operas. Speaking of Verdi's Otello and Goetz's Widerspenstigen Zähmung as excellent Shakespearean libretti, he felt it important to warn against the obvious dangers in operatic adaptation:

> Man muss eben alles, was allein Eigentum des Wortdramas sein kann, entfernen: die breitere Basis, die detaillierte Motivierung und Psychologie, die nuancenreichere Charakteristik, die hitzigen Wortgefechte und blitzschnell sich jagenden Wortspiele. Ein solcher vom Anfang an zum Zweck des Komponistens

7. Essays and Aphorisms (1851) tr. R. J. Hollingdale. Penguin, 1970, 159. Cf. his remark that 'there are no revelations other than the thoughts of the wise ..... even if these ..... are often clothed in strange allegories and myths and are then called religions'. Ibid., 181.
8. K. H. Ruppel: Die literarische Wandlung der Oper. Melos, 1957, 66-7.
9. Verdi: Roman der Oper, Paul Zsolnay, Berlin, 1924. 'For the youthful Verdi ..... who had to ..... write for season and company, the word 'Art' ..... did not have that romantic connotation of the special, of garret, idealism, mission, standing above men, all that stilted meaning which was to prove so disastrous to it'. (Verdi, tr. Helen Jessiman, Jarrolds, 1926, 123).

bearbeiteter Text ist immer nur als Grundlage gedacht, auf der sich das Haus erst errichten, er ist nur als Körper geformt, dem die Musik erst Seele geben soll.'[10]

The libretto's function and nature was a matter of no doubt to Herman W. von Waltershausen (1882-1954) who as a composer, and a teacher and theorist of some influence, had a different standpoint. What, he asked, were the literary preprequisites of music drama?

'Allem voran steht die Einfachheit und Eindeutigkeit des Stoffes. Alles psychologisch Komplizierte, Zwiespältig, Problematische, ja alles, was das Helldunkel der absoluten Dichtung umfasst, alles Ironische, Doppeldeutige, nur durch die Stimmungskunst des Wortes Aufzuhellende und zu Erfüllende ist vom Übel.'

Waltershausen went further than this attack on ambiguity in opera texts.

'Alle gestalten (he continued) die zwischen Gut und Böse stehen, sind zu verwerfen. Macbeth (!), die Helden von Shakespeares Königsdramen, Wallenstein, Hebbels Intellektmenschen, Ibsen und Strindbergs Figuren sind miserable Opernhelden. Je stärker ein Drama in der reinen Dichtung steht, desto opernfeindlicher ist es ..... Überall, wo dann die 'Literatur' aufängt ist von Anbeginn ein steriler, luftleerer Raum für den Komponisten.'[11]

This view goes back at least as far as E. T. A. Hoffmann, who, again from experience as a composer, remarked on the mortification caused to the musician by verbal reflection.[12] Music, as Auden has commented, states a clear case, is 'immediate actuality', and cannot of its nature either allow self-deception or present characters whose moral qualities are ambiguous.[13]

10. 'Wortdramen als Tondramen', 28 January 1909 in Von Reinhardt bis Brecht, Aufbau Verlag, Berlin, 1961, Vol. 1, 29.

11. Erfindung und Gestaltung der dramatischen Musik, in J. Müller Blattau (ed.) Hohe Schule der Musik: Handbuch der gesamten Musikpraxis, Vol. 1, Athenaion, Potsdam, 1935, 332.

12. Serapionsbrüder, qu. Weill; Busonis Faust und die Erneuerung der Opernform, Anb., 1927, 56. Wellesz felt that the work should be comprehensible even in mime with the text omitted. The Return to the Stage, MM, 1926, 24.

13. 'Notes on Music and Opera', in The Dyer's Hand, Faber, 1963, 470-1.

Pfitzner, who produced in Palestrina one of the finest of all libretti from the angle of literary composition, drew attention to the German distinction between 'ein gutes Buch' and ein gutes Textbuch'; as he says 'hier Güte an sich, dort praktische Brauchbarkeit',[14] an approach close to that of Schoeck, who saw the text as material for metamorphosis[15] or Schreker, who saw the textual and musical conception as inseparable and simultaneous. Composers have inevitably regarded the text from a musical viewpoint, a fact never more extensively revealed than in the Strauss-Hofmannsthal letters, where the author's greater sophistication and awareness, his encyclopaedic critical mastery of European literature, provide the unique value and flavour.[16] Unlike most composers, Strauss had a librettist who was frequently opinionated, patronising or waspishly offhand, but was never ill-informed. It is far easier, as Marcel Doisy commented, to count the number of good music dramas than of bad ones since not only do too many composers 'ne se soucient guère de travailler d'après un texte soigné' et acceptent les vers les plus mediocre de rimeurs saus talent, mais ils semblent en outre de même pas attacher d'importance a la qualité de la construction dramatique a l'interêt humain des personnages, a la valeur tragique des situations, dont pourtant leur musique doit exprimer les ressorts profonds'.[17]

It was not Hofmannsthal but Stefan Zweig who felt that the text derives its life from the spirit (Geist) of the music rather than merely realising itself through music's expressive means (Ausdrucksmitteln). The relationship with the deferential Gregor subsequently created the possibility of an opera

14. Vom Musikalischen Drama. Suddeutsche Monatshefte, München, 1915, 96 (written January, 1908).

15. Schoeck's remarks on the Lied apply equally to opera. 'Das Gedicht ist gleichsam die Puppe, an der sich das Metamorphose - Wunder vollzieht, und der dann der Schmetterling, eben das Lied, entschlüpft'. Othmar Schoeck im Gespräch (ed. Werner Vogel) Atlantis Verlag. Zunich, 1965, 87. Cf. also Braunfels' remark: 'Gute Operntexte müssen, gelesen, Langweilig oder wenigstens fragmentarisch wirken' Anb. 1927, 28.

16. E.g. Corr., 429-35 (1927) on Die Meistersinger, U.v. Liechtenstein and Turgenev's Smoke.

17. Musique et drame Flament, Paris, 1949, 21-2. But cf. the notion of a bad well-composed libretto, and its opposite, and the view that a text is an inseparable part of a total work, and ought to be judged 'nur in stetem geistigem Zusammenhang des ganzen Werkes geschehen, nie als getrenntes vorhinein'. Guido Glück, Zur Beurteilung des Librettos. Anb., 1921, 202.

specifically about the subject by the sharpening in old age of Strauss's concern over librettistic shortcomings. The 'Kampf zwischen Wort und Ton' of Capriccio, the Konversationsstück mit Musik, had featured earlier in the bourgeois-comedy Intermezzo, that work which, like Ariadne before it, had represented for Strauss a deliberate striving towards verbal clarity and intelligibility. It was an aspect of opera increasingly significant to him, especially when he compared his own orchestral writing disadvantageously with Wagner's 'dark red carpet'[18] or remarked on how orchestral polyphony overwhelms the 'spoken' word on stage.[19] This preoccupation led to his choice of an 'everyday' subject in Intermezzo, whose raison d'être revolved round the 'normality' of the dramatic content, and the consequent imperative need for linguistic transparency. Thus in Intermezzo, the balance of singer and orchestra was thrown firmly in the direction of the voice, through the domination of the lyrical element by various kinds of recitative.[20] By offering in Intermezzo and Capriccio representative works of his 'polemical ironic' side[21] as a forum in which to debate the very nature of opera, Strauss effectively revealed his views on operatic texts in general.

Paul Bekker's influential views, set down definitively in Das Operntheater (1930) came close to the position held by the composer of Josephslegende and Intermezzo. Too many operatic scores, he says, are nowadays simply written, rather than sung, played or danced. 'Es sind Opernpartituren, die nichts von Theater, von der Bühne wissen.....'[22] In a word, they are not fully realised theatrically. For Bekker, the singing voice, rather than the person as such is the protagonist of opera, and the genre's theatrical atmosphere derives less from drama than from the dance.

18. Vorwort zu Capriccio (1942) in W. Schuh (ed.) Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen. Atlantis, Zurich, 1949, 130.
19. Vorwort zu Intermezzo (1924) Ibid., 114-15.
20. Ibid., 118.
21. The term is H. Fähnrich's in Richard Strauss über das Verhältnis von Dichtung und Musik in Mf, 14, 1961, 24.
22. Das Operntheater, Quelle and Meyer, Leipzig, 1931, 81.

It follows that the basis of the action springs less from intellectual than from corporeal (rhythmic) impulses. In other words 'jede Bewegung des singenden Mensch ist Ausfluss einer führenden rhythmischen Gewalt'.[23] While the actor is tied only to the text, and is free in the matter of interpretation the singer's role is much more prescribed, his range of choice far more limited, being essentially that of 'die Empfindung des komponierenden Musikers anschaulich zu machen'. He is, suggests Bekker, a 'Nachahmer' or mimic, of whom the original is the composer himself.[24]

For any German critic writing after Wagner, speculation on the nature of opera had to distinguish between the older form and music drama. Fran Willms, writing in 1926, expressed the common view when he saw the music-dramatist as seeking a vehicle for dramatic tension and feeling, while the opera composer's text was primarily a basis for elaborate music-making, usually of a formalised kind. He drew his examples of the latter from the 18th century ('wenn die Zeit ein inneres Verhältnis zur Antike .... hatte')[25] and explained the rise of Romantic music-drama as a consequence of what he saw as the greater affinity between and spoken drama in the 19th century. The sharp distinction between the world of Baroque opera and later music-drama is all the more interesting because Cardillac (here analysed by Willms) is an opera of insistently closed forms, which is seen as a successful attempt to combine dramatic directness with a return to the Baroque tradition. We are once more faced with the long-debated question of whether music generates, reflects, parallels or hinders the dramatic flow. Willms answer contrasts the drama of opera with the strictly musical drama of a Beethoven sonata movement and concludes:

Die Dramatik der Oper dagegen erwächst stets aus dem Spannungsverhältnis zwischen den handelnden Personen: sie ist ein psychologischer, kein musikalischer Faktor. Die Musik hat gewiss die Möglichkeit, mit dynamischen

23. Ibid., 21.
24. Ibid., 18.
25. Führer zur Oper Cardillac, Scholt, Mainz, 1926, I.Teil, 9.

und namentlich mit rhythmischen Mitteln ein der dramatischen Steigerung paralleles Geschehen zu schaffen, ihr eigentliches Gebiet aber wird stets die lyrische Episode sein, bei der die Handlung - äusserlich gesehen - stillsteht. Daneben sind ihr Feld natürlich alle jene Szenen, die der Musik als tönenden Hintergrundes bedürfen, wie Aufzüge, Pantomimen oder Chorszenen.[26]

This was and is, indeed, an important and widely-held view, but did not solve the technical problem of word-presentation. Poetry must be the obedient daughter of music, it was authoritatively claimed[27] while attacks were made on the opera text's dilution of the 'noble' iambic pentameter to the point where it became 'mere' prose or recitative, thus concentrating musical attention on the orchestra.[28] Furthermore, the question of the work's subject-matter came to occupy a central position in the controversy. As a corollary to this, the question must be raised of opera's relations with contemporary literature and drama. How far did the one fertilise the other? In what ways did the writing of opera texts reflect the general literary history of the time?

II

In a period as rich and complex in literary activity as was Germany between the 1890s and 1930, it would be dangerous to oversimplify the cross-currents or to over-delineate the main literary movements. The period begins

26. Ibid., 11. But cf. the curious attack on music in Das Schicksal der Musik von der Antike zur Gegenwart by the Georgeans Wolff and Petersen (Breslau, 1932). Music (nature) and poetry(mind) are contrasted, and music's proper function is seen solely in relation to poetry or the visual arts. Beethoven had only a 'mechanische Modell' of the world; Wagner violated the 'Leibcharakter der Sprache' flooding the world with lethal 'musikalische Verfliessung'. Ibid., 218. Discussed in G. R. Urban: Kinesis and Stasis, Mouton, The Hague, 1962.

27. Bekker BSM, 72.

28. Max Steinitzer: Wie Steht es um das heutige Opernschaffen? ADM, 1923 141.

with naturalism (one of whose main prophets, Arno Holz, had contentiously declared art's perpetual tendency as a return to nature) and is dominated by the figure of Hauptmann. His early plays, Vor Sonnenaufgang (1889), Einsame Menschen (1891) and Die Weber (1893), all presented by the Berlin Freie Bühne were the representative works of their time. The cool poetic neo-classicism of the Stefan George circle and the Jugendstil 'Rauschkunst' of Dehmel and his minor contemporaries, overlap in time with the 'aesthetic-hedonist' movement usually labelled 'Impressionism'. This had many French roots and included figures as different as Hofmannsthal, Liliencron, Rilke, Thomas Mann and even George himself. The years down to 1910 also saw the rapid posthumous rise of Nietzsche's reputation and influence, and also the strong foreign influences of Dostoevsky and Strindberg. 1910 is the widely accepted date[29] for the beginning of the movement known as Expressionism, which involved many of the younger writers born from about 1880 onwards, including those who were primarily poets, like Trakl, Heym, Benn and Werfel and dramatists like Sorge, Hasenclever, von Unruh, Toller and Kaiser. Though many of the chief features of Expressionist literature - its gesturing, its heroic utopianism, its religious strivings and also its fascination with technical and syntactical experiment - were established before the war, it was the experience of war which gave the movement its decisive impetus. Such was the traumatising effect of the war in all aspects that the militarist-pacifist dichotomy into which pattern Expressionism soon fell ceased to have much relevance after Versailles, and the movement had exhausted itself by 1923 or 1924. Nevertheless, the war remained the central experience of European writers for the remainder of the decade, a fact which conveniently neutral labels like 'Dada' and 'Neue Sachlichkeit' cannot conceal. This important subject will be returned to later, but first it is necessary to outline other aspects of opera's literary background at this time which had nothing to do with Expressionism.

29. Kurt Pinthus dated Expressionism from Werfel's public reading of his poem An den Leser, in 1910, the final poem in his collection Der Weltfreund (1908-10), Kurt Wolff, 1911.

If one theme can be said to connect Hauptmann's early plays and Wedekind's Frühlings Erwachen with Kaiser's Gas I and Gas II and Brecht's Trommeln in der Nacht nearly three decades later, it is the question of social concern, which paralleled in time the rise of social democracy in Germany.[30] The later, revolutionary Proletarisches Theater of Piscator has been contrasted with the 'symptomatic or allegoric' qualities[31] of earlier Naturalism. Recent commentary on German Naturalist drama has stressed the indecision and political reservations of the Berlin Naturalists, notably Holz, but also Hauptmann himself, their fear and dislike of the city, and their tendency to turn their plays into Künstlerdramen, the protagonists being extraordinary individuals in a problematic social situation.[32] Thus hard on the heels of Florian Geyer, Hauptmann's 'Bauerndrama' came Die versunkene Glocke: ein deutsches Märchendrama (Berlin Deutsches Theater, 2 December, 1896) which in Georg Vollerthun's operatic version was to be one of the two most successful translations of a play into the opera house during the decade before Salome. Before 1914, Hauptmann had written several plays apart from this one which leaned markedly away from Naturalism and towards a dreamlike symbolism. The first of these, Hannele: ein Traumdichtung dates from 1894, another, Der arme Heinrich: ein deutsche Sage from 1902 (Pfitzner had used this hallowed subject in his first opera seven years earlier) while in 1906 he wrote Und Pippa tanzt: ein Glashüttenmärchen. As will later be shown, this has a certain bearing on Schreker's Das Spielwerk und die Prinzessin, apart from being seriously considered as a text both by Schoenberg, and later, after Wozzeck's completion, by Berg. Hannele (later Hanneles Himmelfahrt) was adapted as a two act opera in 1926-7 by Paul Graener, for whom his brother Georg wrote the text. Ex 1 demonstrates Graener's post-Wagnerian chromatic style in this work at the point where the Diakonissin

30. Hauptmann's 'compassion' has been contrasted with Brecht's 'reassembly' as a 'dramatic strategy'. Cf. Leroy B. Shaw, The Playwright and Historical Change. Wisconsin U.P., 1970.

31. Lutz Becker in The German Proletarian Theatre and E. Piscator, Deutsche Akademie der Künste Piscator Exhibition Catalogue, 1920-66, 17.

32. John Osborne: The Naturalist Drama in Germany, Manchester U.P., 1972, esp. Ch. 4.

announces to the young Hannele that her end is imminent; the chord sequence distantly recalls Brünnhilde's sleep motif from Die Walküre. Another, more recent play turned into an opera by Graener in 1920 was the 'Scherzspiel' Schirin und Gertraude of 1913 by Ernst Hardt (1876-1947).[33] This treated in a lighthearted way the Graf von Gleichen theme of the triangular marriage, used in a more tragic context by Hauptmann in Johannes Vockerat's menage in Einsame Menschen and by Wassermann in the composer Daniel Nothafft's household in the novel Das Gansemännchen.

Graener was primarily a lyricist, and was, like Strauss, a prolific song composer. His operatic career closely parallels in time that of his older contemporary, though at no time, of course, did he remotely approach Strauss's worldly success. While it was Strauss's great good fortune to find in Hofmannsthal a congenial librettist who was a major literary figure in his own right, Graener's relationship with his school-inspector friend Otto Anthes (1867-1954) provides another, if less spectacular instance of a long and close composer-author collaboration. It endured from their chief success Don Juans letztes Abenteuer (1914)[34] down to Graener's last opera, the short Schwanhild of 1941. Also brought up within the stylistic orbit of Wagner, Liszt and Brahms was Eugen d'Albert, whose theatrical style was less ponderous, more fleet-of-foot than Graener's. From 1893 to his death in 1932 he produced 21 operas, of which Tiefland (1903) was the only German opera before 1933 - other than Kienzl's Der Evangelimann - to rival Der Rosenkavalier in popularity. Apart from the occasional revival of Tiefland,[35] none of d'Albert's operas outlived their own time, and his chief obituarist in 1932 found it easier to admire his prodigious pianism than the quality of his operatic output.[36] Nevertheless, d'Albert has a special significance here, since his career enables one to observe the interaction of a leading stage composer with those

33. Hardt's play Gudrun (1911) inspired the text of Klenau's first full-length opera Kjartan und Gudrun (1918).

34. Cf. Skraup, loc. cit. 196.

35. It remained in the Berlin Staatsoper repertoire until 1952.

36. Karl Holl: d'Albert gestorben Auft., 1932, 80-83.

figures on the fringe of the literary world who for the most part provided libretti on request. Few were really significant authors in their own right, and though it would be easy to dismiss them as hack writers, they were invariably widely-travelled men with extensive literary interests. A composer like d'Albert, possessed of enormous facility, but artistically unambitious, and temperamentally unselfcritical and unreflective (one is reminded a little of Saint-Saëns) found it an easy matter to move from one text-writer to another. These men were sometimes professional journalists, like the Budapest-born Rudolf Lothar (1865- after 1933) who wrote five texts for d'Albert between 1903 and 1912, including that of Tiefland, based on the drama Terra baixa by the Catalonian poet Angél Guimera. Lothar also wrote fiction and a large number of stage comedies (Lustspiele) from Frauenlob (1895) to Der Papagei (1931) two years before his enforced emigration.[37] Another journalist was the Alsatian Ferdinand Lion (1883 - ?) who after 1933 worked with Thomas Mann in Zürich on the periodical Mass und Wert. Best known as the librettist of Hindemith's Cardillac (1926, after Hoffmann's Die Fräulein von Scuderi) Lion also wrote the text of d'Albert's Der Golem, produced at Frankfurt in the same year as Cardillac, and based on a token well-known novel dating from 1916 by Gustav Meyrink. A third journalist who worked with d'Albert was the Czech Richard Batka (1868-1922), music critic of the Wiener Fremdenblatt, who used Heinrich Lilienfein's play Der Stier von Olivera as material for an opera set in the Peninsular war, with a highly coloured Franco-Spanish background, produced at Leipzig in 1918.

The several librettists of the period associated with the Berlin Überbrettl (cabaret) are a little better known. One, Ernst von Wolzogen (1855-1934)[38] wrote Feuersnot for Strauss, and in 1909 published it independently as 'Ein Singgedicht'. Another, the Orientalist Otto Julius Bierbaum (1865-1910)

37. Lothar also wrote an early study of Ibsen (1902), and a survey of contemporary German drama (1905). He provided the texts of Baron Franckenstein's opera Li-Tai-Pe (1921) (see Ch. 6) and Graener's Friedemann Bach (1931). Financial considerations prevented Lothar from Providing (at d'Albert's instigation) a text for the young Schreker in 1902-3. Paul Stefan, Anb., 1920, 10.

38. Unconnected with the Wagnerian disciple Hans v. Wolzogen (1848-1938), translator of Greek tragedy and librettist of d'Albert's earliest success Flauto Solo.

was director of the Freie Bühne and co-founder of the Jugendstil art periodical Pan. Bierbaum had offered Strauss texts (Lobetanz and Gugeline) which were rejected and subsequently set by another Munich composer, Ludwig Thuille. Much of Bierbaum's other literary work, reflecting Bohemian literary life in turn-of-the-century Berlin, had been influenced by Huysmans and especially by Wilde. The Überbrettl's historian was Hans Heinz Ewers (1871-1943) who wrote Das Cabaret in 1905 in the middle of a literary career devoted to the exploitation of phantasmagoric sensationalism under the influence of Hoffmann and Poe. Before his best known work, Vampir: ein verwilderter Roman in Fetzen und Farben appeared in 1921, Ewers collaborated with another Überbrettl performer, Leo Feld (1869-1924)[39] on the text of d'Albert's opera Die toten Augen, a Puccini-esque work which was a wartime succès d'estime for the composer. It may be (though this is unlikely) that Ewers and Feld knew of Halévy's opéra-comique L'Éclair and Tchaikovsky's Iolanta, both of which use blindness as a vehicle for dramatic effect. Die toten Augen can also be related to the German taste for biblical drama - Stefan Zweig's Jeremias (1917) and Beer-Hofmann's Jakobs Traum (1918) are closely contemporary with the work - to which genre d'Albert had contributed in his one-act Kain (1899-1900)[40]. Alone among d'Albert's operas, the human drama of Die Toten Augen, set in Jerusalem in the lifetime of Christ, has a double aspect connecting it with a classical myth. The beautiful Greek woman, Myrtocle, who is blind, is married to the Roman legate Arcesius who, unknown to her, is ugly and misshapen. They are explicitly linked with the story of Amor and Psyche, told by Arcesius to Myrtocle when he first met her on the shore at Corinth.

Of all d'Albert's literary friendships, however, the strongest was that with Karl Michael Freiherr von Levétzow (1871-1945) like himself a wanderer of mixed (Mecklenburg-Bohemian) parentage, and also closely associated with Wolzogen and the Überbrettl circle. 'Hätte ich nicht Hofmannsthal gefunden'

39. Brother of Lehar's Victor Hirschfeld (1858-1940)
40. Text by Heimich Bulthaupt, poet of Bruch's Achilleus and Leonides.

Strauss is reported to have said, 'so hätte ich gerne mit Levétzow gearbeitet!'[41] Hans Gál, who at the age of 29 met Levétzow in 1920 and later collaborated with him on two operas of his own (see Ch. 6) looks back on him with affection and admiration:

'Levétzow ..... was a genuine bohémien, unable to adapt himself to any regular kind of occupation or vocation, but the most gentle, noble and humane character one could imagine, with the most comprehensive classical education and the widest possible background of knowledge and information. What I admired in him was his unlimited, though often uncontrolled, inventive imagination.' [42]

Curiously, Levétzow is now remembered in connection with Schoenberg's Op. 1 songs of 1898, settings of his poems Dank and Abschied. Yet his dramatic output was considerable, ranging from his tragic pantomime Pierrots Leben, Leiden und Himmelfahrt (1902) to his final work, the Laienlegende entitled Rembrandt unter den Blinden, the manuscript of which the old man handed to the Sudeten scholar Fritz Fetzmann for (sadly unfulfilled) production at the Wiener Burgtheater.[43] His biggest triumph as a librettist was in 1936 with Enoch Arden, written for Gerster. Earlier, however, he had written three texts for d'Albert, including Scirocco (1919) characteristically set in the contemporary Middle East, and the opera grottesca Die Schwarze Orchidee of 1928. Set in New York this work attempts to profit from the fashionable jazz idiom of the period, perhaps emulating Jonny spielt auf; the four protagonists were strangely cast as two sopranos and two tenors.

d'Albert's approach to opera, despite the Apuleius motif in Die Toten Augen, was at the furthest pole from the mythic among German composers of the

41. W. Waldstein, Hans Gál. Lafite, Wien, 1965, 40. Hofmannsthal also had confidence in Levétzow. Cf. Corr., 197-8 (2.6.14)

42. Letter to the writer, 9 August, 1972.

43. 'Ein Gesamtkunstwerk aus Wort, Ton und Licht, das von innen heraus leuchtet wie die Bilder Rembrandts. F. Felzmann. K. M. v. Levétzow: Leben und Werk. Jahrbuch des Wiener Goethe-Vereins, 60. Bd., 1966, 161.

period. For him 'alles war dieszeitig'[44] as his final work Mister Wu proves.[45] His eclecticism led to a situation in which 'die dramatik wird zum leeren Pathos, die wahre Empfindung sinkt zur fast operettenhafte Geste ab'.[46] Such a passage as Ex. 2, near the close of Die toten Augen, arresting though it is, owes everything to the Italianate manner which was d'Albert's operatic starting point. Equally, a passage such as Ex. 3 is an immediately memorable idea, its C major solemnity, like an echo of Sachs in Die Meistersinger, creating an analogous mood as the Prague rabbi returns the dangerous robot Golem (with whom his daughter Lena had developed an understanding) to its original inanimate condition. The symbolic occultism of this work, however, could not ensure its survival, any more than could d'Albert's attractive but derivative music. Five days before Der Golem was staged in Frankfurt, Fritz Busch had brought Cardillac, Hindemith's first full-length opera, to production at Dresden. In March, another product of the postwar ethos, Wellesz 'Die Opferung des Gefangenen, had reached performance at Cologne - the work of a composer diametrically different in kind from d'Albert.

Subtitled 'ein kultisches Tanzdrama', this work was based on a text of 1913 by Eduard Stucken (1865-1936). It was less an opera than a staged ritual leading through a series of choruses and dances to the death of the captured Mexican prince Cavek Quiche at his enemies' hands. Stucken, an exact contemporary of the orientalist Bierbaum, had a pronounced taste for the occult, as shown in his four volumes of Astralmythen (1896-1910) and also shared the background of international travel in the lives of Lothar, Levetzow and Ewers. By the time he produced his best-known work, Die Weissen Götter (based on Prescott's history of the Spanish conquest of Mexico) in 1918,

44. Willibald Götze: Studien zur Formbildung der Oper, M. Brönner, Frankfurt, 1935, 23. Götze quotes Verdi's letter to Antonio Somma in his search for opera texts 'mit wirklich schönen und leiden. Schaftlichen Situationen - vor allem leidenschaftlich' as having special application to d'Albert. This is still true despite the historical windowdressing of such works as Revolutionshochzeit and Mareike von Nymwegen.

45. Levétzow, using the pseudonym M. Karlev, prepared a text from Vernon and Owen's play. Leo Blech completed the score.

46. Helmut Wirth, MGG, I, 294-5. See also App. A. A detailed, adulatory biography by Wilhelm Raupp appeared in 1920. See Bibliog. (V).

Stucken had already written a number of crypto-Tennysonian plays on highly-coloured themes from medieval romance, collectively called Der Gral. His interest in literature of this type had led him to translate the Abbé Brasseur's French text of 1862, duly published by Hofmannsthal.[47] The primitive, pre-Aeschylean quality of the action is, the composer admitted, what drew him to this drama, rather than the Mexican colour as such.[48] Though this was retained (as in Aravantinos' designs for the Magdeburg production) it was the combination of statuesque ritual and integral choreography which made this a work of its time. Die Opferung can thus be related both to the Handel revival (led by the producers Hanns Niedecke Gebhard and Oskar Hagen at Göttingen and Münster) and to the increased postwar stress on ballet, the 'Ausdrucks-Tanz', 'Tanzgruppe' and 'Bewegungschor of Rudolf von Laban and his disciple Mary Wigman.[49] Ex. 4, in which the Chief of the Elders addresses the Prince, and Ex. 5, from the Chorus of warriors' theme, illustrate this sombre, hieratic quality which was to reappear in Stravinsky's musically and dramatically more wide-ranging Oedipus Rex a year later.

III

1926 thus represents the decade's watershed. Apart from Die Opferung and Cardillac, the year saw the composition of three one-act operas by Krenek, and the first appearance of a stage work by Weill- his setting of Der Protagonist, a play by Georg Kaiser with a substantial role for musicians, first performed at Breslau in 1922. They mark the beginning of what has been

47. Neue Deutsche Beiträge, 1924.

48. Aub., 1926, 8-13. But Der Feuerreiter (2 Jg., Heft 1, (1922) 19-25) carried George Zivier's translation of the same Brasseur text had appeared, with the Mexican title Xahoh-Tun retained. Zivier described the work as a 'dramatische Tanzgestaltung'.

49. Incorporated into some unlikely works, e.g. Kaminski's Jürg Jenatsch, q. v. Ch. 5.

termed the era of Diskussionstheater[50] and the Maschine-Mensch. Quantitatively, 1927-9 represents the peak of postwar opera production in Germany - there were 60 premières in 1927-8 and 43 in 1928-9, falling to 30 in 1929-30 and 24 in 1930-31,[51] - but the deteriorating political and economic atmosphere was reflected in the tone of pessimism which was increasingly noticeable in many new works.[52] Technically, this sudden explosion (of new productions as well as new works) is closely related to the astonishing wealth of production and design talent, about which something should be said here. Max Reinhardt's great era (he had succeeded Otto Brahm as Director of the Berlin Deutsches Theater from 1905) was essentially that of the pre-war years, but the power of his personality and the immense range of his talents as a man of the theatre, survived the influence of post-1918 period.[53] Reinhardt's genius as an inspirer of actors, as a director of ensembles and creator of spectacular effects (most famously in Oedipus Rex, the Oresteia, Vollmoeller's Das Mirakel and Hofmannsthal's Jedermann) together with his feeling for music in the theatre,[54] made him the most charismatic theatrical figure of his time. He remained in Berlin until 1933, despite disappointed hopes of returning to Vienna in 1922 as Director of the Burgtheater and of becoming President of the Salzburger Festspielgemeinde.[55]

After the war, the first new influence was that of the Swiss theorist and Wagnerite Adolphe Appia, who in Musik und Inszenierung (Dresden, 1899) had proclaimed:

50. K. H. Wörner: Musik der Gegenwart. Schott, 1949, 237.

51. Alfred Einstein: German Opera, Past and Present, MM, 1934, 67.

52. Panofsky, op. cit., 104 f.

53. Julius Bab: Das Theater der Gegenwart, J. J. Weber, Leipzig, 1932, 127-8. Single-handed, he transplanted to Berlin the 'sensual' Viennese theatre with its 'Freude an der verwandelten Gestalt', its 'bunte Mannigfaltigkeit der Szene', its 'Gewirr hundertfacher Klänge'.

54. Ibid., 136.

55. Corr., 348-9 (20.3.22) and 357 (12.9.22). Also HvH Aufzeichungen, 325-49 (New York articles of 1924). He was for Hofmannsthal the 'vollkommene Visionär der Bühne'. (ibid., 349).

> 'Music and music alone can coordinate all the elements of scenic presentation into a completely harmonious whole in a way which is utterly beyond the capacity of our unaided imagination'.[56]

Appia's ideas on the dramatic use of light and shadow (to which the influential Gordon Craig was deeply indebted) were, however, his contribution to the development of production techniques after 1918, and were carried out by him in the famous productions of Tristan at Milan (1923) and Walküre at Basle (1924), much to Cosima Wagner's indignation. Many of the ideas of Meyerhold and Tairov also directly affected the German theatre, and could be seen in such celebrated productions as Leopold Jessner's 'Hamlet im Frack' (with a pipesmoking Hamlet in plastic coat and seaman's helmet) and Erich Ziegel's modern-dress version of Die Räuber in Hamburg. Arthur Maria Rabenalt who with the designer Wilhelm Reinking mounted 54 opera productions in Würzburg, Darmstadt, Mannheim and Berlin between 1926 and 1933 went so far as to say

> Der Dienst an der Kunst beginnt damit, ihre aktuelle Gültigkeit dem Gegenwartsmenschen nachzuweisen, statt sie unter sorgfältiger Rücksichtnahme auf ihre zeitverwurgelten Bedingnisse zu pflegen.[57]

It was Reinking who designed the set of Hindemith's Zeitoper Neues vom Tage and at Darmstadt in 1930 treated in similar fashion such hallowed works as Der Freischütz and Lortzing's Der Wildschütz. In 1928-30 another leading producer-designer team, Renato Mordo and Lothar Schenk von Trapp were given a free hand by the Darmstadt Intendant Carl Ebert in their untraditional versions of Lohengrin and Der fliegende Holländer while Rabenalt and Reinking were producing Lucia di Lammermoor with silent-film subtitles. This technique, first used in 1924 in the Munich production of Brecht's new play Edward II later played an important part, not only in the Brecht-Weill stage works, but in the influential Claudel-Milhaud Christophe-Colomb. The professional

56. tr. Lee Simonson in The Theory of the Modern Stage, ed. Eric Bentley, Penguin, 1968, 29. (orig. in The Stage is Set, Harcourt, Brace, 1932.)
57. qu. Panofsky, op. cit., 127.

designers, like Alfred Roller, Emil Pirchan, Panis Aravantinos, Theo Otto, Oskar Strnad, the experimentalist Oskar Schlemmer and, later, Caspar Neher, with such producers as Otto Erhardt, Ewald Dühlberg, Gustav Gründgens, Hein Heckroth and Franz Ludwig Hörth, were joined by Walter Gropius and Laszlo Moholy-Nágy from the Bauhaus. Gropius' Patent Theatre of 'Grosse Raummaschine' dispensed with the proscenium curtain, placing the spectator in the midst of the action. Moholy-Nágy designed the Krolloper's Madama Butterfly and Hoffmanns Erzählungen in 1929, using in the former an elaborate play of light and shadow and in the latter a steel structure, surrealist figures and film-clips.

Against this background of intense experiment, innovation and passionate theatrical involvement, it is easier to approach the relationship between opera and the rather earlier Expressionist movement in the theatre. A case can be made for regarding the collaborations of Brecht and Weill (and, indeed, a work such as Brecht and Eisler's Die Massnahme) as legitimate extensions of the Expressionist movement proper, in that they continue the themes of grotesquerie and doomladen despair to be found in the spoken dramas down to around 1922. By the same token, one can relate the pre-Expressionist Salome and Elektra to Berg's Wozzeck and Lulu, generally regarded as the chief Expressionist contributions to opera, as elaborate studies in extreme pathological states, especially those associated with morbid sexuality and hysteria. By these arguments, the social iconoclasm of Wedekind may be allied to the more explicitly revolutionary iconoclasm of his disciple and admirer Brecht: the luridly melodramatic world of Lulu[58] may not be far from the sordid underworld of poverty, intrigue and violence in the Dreigroschenoper and Mahagonny.

Yet, by 1926, all the signs indicated that the so-called 'movement' was over, and that despite the inevitable echoes, the 'Idealisierung des Menschen' at the heart of the essentially youthful Expressionist theory had been

58. Wassermann's Karen Engelschall in Christian Wahnschaffe is a 'degraded' prostitute of another type.

overtaken by events.[59] Wozzeck, first performed in December 1925, was a stylistic descendant of Erwartung and Die glückliche Hand, first performed as late as 1924, but dating from before the war. None of the works in between made a comparable impact. In this sense, despite the impressive cross-fertilisation between the arts at this period (such as Schoenberg's practical links with the Blaue Reiter painters and Kokoschka's dual role as artist and playwright) the direct effect of spoken drama on opera between 1910 and 1924 was a tenuous, even a marginal one. Iwan Goll's insistence on the fight for 'Licht, Wahrheit, Idee, Liebe, Güte, Geist',[60] Kasimir Edschmid's declaration that 'ein neues Weltbild musste geschaffen werden' in which 'alles bekommt Beziehung zur Ewigkeit'[61] along with numerous other utopian formulations of the war period, must undoubtedly have met with the approval of Schoenberg and Berg. Yet it is difficult to see how Expressionist drama's austere structure and pared down, declamatory language, its visionary mood and propagandist intent, could have, on its own terms, found truly fruitful correlatives in music theatre. At the movement's height, Max Deri, comparing the various artistic treatments of natural objects, observed:

> Der Expressionismus ..... erreicht jene Intensität und Spannung der Gefühle, jenes sturmhaft Ausbrechende und blutig Bewegte, das zur Ergänzung jener klassischen Ruhe von Zeitspanne zu Zeitspanne immer wieder notwendig, immer wieder so ersehnt wird. Er erhöht die Spannungen der Gefühle, sprengt alle Fesselungen an Naturmögliches, bricht alle Dämme klassizistischer Gebundenheit, führt die Gewalt des Gefühls in der Expression zu fast schrankenloser Steigerung der Ekstatik.[62]

This 'heightening of the tension in states of feeling' is the chief

59. E.g. H. Strobel: 'Neue Sachlichkeit' in der Musik. Anb., 1926, 254-6
60. 1917: qu. in Horst Denkler: Das Drama der Expressionismus in W. Rothe, Expressionismus als Literatur, C. Francke, Bern 1969, 128.
61. Über den dichterischen Expressionismus (Herbert 1917) in Frühe Manifeste, Wegner, Hamburg, 1957, 32-3.
62. Naturalismus, Idealismus, Expressionismus in Deri, ed. Einführung in die Kunst der Gegenwart., E. A. Seemann, Leipzig, 1919, 65.

common characteristic of all Expressionist plays: it is also the common characteristic of Die glückliche Hand (1909-12) and Wozzeck (1914-22). The difference between these two lies, of course, less in their musical style than in their dramatic range. Schoenberg's one-act 'Drama mit Musik' is a subjective dream, in which artist (Der Mann, or authentic conscience) woman (eroticism) and other man (Der Herr, false conscience)[63] are enjoined in a struggle for self-realisation. The artist's ethical superiority and longing for beauty, the woman's weakness in returning to the other man amount less to drama than to continuous nightmare, which the role of the chorus and the elaborate pattern of changing colours prescribed by Schoenberg serves only to reinforce. As in Wozzeck the emphasis is on inner power and outward loss. The Chorus addresses the artist:

> Immer wieder Hängst du deine Sehnsucht
> An Unerfüllbare
> immer wieder überlässt du dich
> den Lokkungen deiner Sinne
> die das Weltall durchstreifen,
> die unterirdisch sind,
> aber irdisches Glück ersehnen.

- words which might almost have been addressed to the soldier Wozzeck, equally surrounded by harshness and indifference, in sexual thrall to a treacherous woman and powerless to prevent eventual disaster. Berg's opera, however, not only uses a literary masterpiece as its foundation (Büchner's play was first performed in Munich in 1913) but gains its effect historically through the Great War, experience of which was inevitably (if rather fortuitously) related to it. Despite the element of post hoc ergo propter hoc, there is in Wozzeck, therefore, a social context, as well as an immediacy of impact, which Expressionist drama, trumpeting the virtues of the 'aktiven Geist' strove, usually with limited success, to achieve.[64]

63. These useful terms are those of Leibowitz. Op. cit., 401.

64. Max Martersteig: Das jüngste Deutschland in Literatur und Kunst in Deri, ed., op. cit., 2-25, esp. 17 and 19.

One of the most important means through which Expressionist playwrights chose to formulate their apocalyptic message had from the beginning been that of classical mythology and history. Kokoschka's Orpheus und Eurydike apart, the bes-known examples are Hasenclever's Antigone (1917) and Werfel's Die Troerinnen (1915) based on quite opposite ideas of heroic self-sacrifice and the 'duty to live'.[65] Less directly related to the war experience is Kaiser's Der gerettete Alkibiades, written over a period of ten years (1910-20). In it, the crippled Sokrates and the young warrior Alkibiades, whose life Sokrates saves by self-sacrifice, represent the principles of thought and physical action.[66] In almost all dramas of the period, including even Sorge's Der Bettler, written in 1912 and performed in Berlin in 1917, the background of the war proved to be of critical significance. It intensified the impulse towards searching self-questioning, the reduction of characters to abstract generalised types, or even spirits, on a stage as bare as possible, with the maximum use of lighting-effects,[67] the creation of a mood of mounting ecstasy and a preoccupation with the idea of individual and social regeneration. Kornfeld's Himmel und Hölle (1919) and Barlach's Der arme Vetter (1918) each stress the horror of the 'real' world of suffering, madness and death, and the need for spiritual 'purification', while Unruh's Ein Geschlecht (1917) and Toller's Die Wandlung (1917) demonstrate the optimism of new life and rebirth from the gloom and despair of war, one through a shattered family, the other through a soldier turned pacifist social revolutionary.

In the Epilogue to his 1913 play Die Verführung, Kornfeld had urged his potential actor to 'stretch his arms out wide and with a sense of soaring speak as he has never spoken in life' and in striving to achieve oneness to

65. Cf. also Clara Viebig's 1917 novel Die Töchter der Hekuba, Getrud Fauth's play Agamemnon (1920) and the slightly earlier plays of Sorge (Odysseus, Prometheus) and Rudolf Pannwitz (Dionysische Tragödien).

66. Neher turned Die Bürger von Calais (1913), Kaiser's other play on the theme of self-sacrifice, into an opera text in 1938.

67. Notably in Craig's 1908-10 Strindberg productions.

'be nothing but a representative of thought, feeling or fate'. He concludes

'The melody of a great gesture says more than the highest consummation of what is called naturalness. Let him think of the opera, in which the dying singer still gives forth a high C and with the sweetness of his melody tells more about death than if he were to crawl and writhe.....'[68]

This invocation of Kornfeld was made when Rudi Stefan, then aged 25, was working on the music of Die ersten Menschen, his two-act opera on Otto Borngräber's 1908 text.[69] Stefan was killed in Galicia in 1915, while Borngräber, born in 1874 and Dramaturg of the Berlin Neues Theater, died in 1916. Borngräber was deeply affected by the post-Darwinian 'monistic' theories of the Jena zoologist Haeckel; among his other plays (mostly subtitled Trauerspiel) is Gottfreies Menschentum of 1909. Yet the 'erotisches Mysterium' Die ersten Menschen, with its tight, gesturing text and combination of warm lyricism and post-Elektra nightmare in the music is the only opera of the war period which can be associated directly with literary Expressionism. The 'father and son' theme exercised many writers of the period. Hasenclever's best-known play Der Sohn deals with the subject, but was preceded by Gunsbourg's one-act play Le vieil Aigle of 1909 (after Gorki), one of Stefan's earlier sketches, and René Schickele's novel Der Fremde, in which the incest motif used by Borngräber (one which also preoccupied the poet Trakl) is the main theme. Patricide and incest later figured in Arnold van Bronnen's sensational novel Vatermord of 1920, the year in which Die ersten Menschen was first performed.[70] More specifically, the Cain and Abel story had been used by d'Albert in 1899[71] and by Felix Weingartner in an opera of 1914,

68. Tr. Joseph Bernstein. In Sokel, W., ed. An Anthology of German Expressionist Drama. Doubleday, N.Y., 1963, 7-8.
69. Composed between Summer 1911 and Summer 1914. Karl Holl, ADM, 1923, 200.
70. In Frankfurt, later at Baden-Baden and Bochum.
71. d'Albert's Kain curiously anticipates the Expressionist mood in his final cry: In selbst geschlungen Fesseln gefangen/sich ich in's Elend/ ich, der Schuldige/ich, der Sünder,/ich der Mensch.

while the minor playwright Friedrich Koffka wrote a Kain drama in 1917. The timeless, almost abstract setting of Stefan's opera, with its 'Urlandschaft', 'Felswildnis', 'Steinplateau' and 'unendliche Leere des Raumes' relates it to several key contemporary plays, and though the 'cross-symbolism' present in them must not be confused with the pre-Christian setting, that fusion of eroticism and mysticism which has been discerned in some literature of the time, (notably poems of Werfel and Heynicke) is the opera's main theme.

The 'merkwürdig heisser Atem' and 'rastloses Drängen' felt in this score at its first performance,[72] reflects a dramatic situation which focusses sharply on erotic tension, yet asks more general questions about the ethical bases of human relationships. Chawa (Eve), bored, tense and uneasy with her ageing husband Adahm is the figure to whom the three men relate. Kajin's sensuality is directed towards his mother, whose deepest tenderness is felt for the inward-looking God-seeking Chabel. Thus the division is placed firmly between mother and elder son, each seeking sensual release, while father and younger son, looking beyond this, find their deepest satisfaction in work, prayer and communion with nature. The situation between husband and wife is stated thus at the outset:

Chawa: Immer ist ernst Adahm. Chawa ist traurig....
Aber den Frühling drang in Chawas Leib.
Ihre Glieder schwellen, ihr Busen wird weit
und wölbt sich und wogt und hebt sich und bebt
und möchte springen vor sehnendem Drang!
Zu dir, Adahm! Chawas Sonne!

Adahm: Herbstsonne. Wisse Chawa endlich,
dass auch sie nun herbstet.

Chawa (wild): Frühling oder Herbst, es gibt mir gleich!
Zu allen Zeiten flutet mein Leben!
Zu allen Sonnen glüht meine Glut!

72. Bekker: Klang und Eros (G.S., 2), 108.

Kajin's declamatory style is in keeping with his restless spirit, as Ex. 6 illustrates. Adahm, wise and tolerant, is ultimately reunited with Chawa in the opera's 'new dawn' close, an ending which can be compared with the close of von Unruh's play Ein Geschlecht, where a family torn by death is given through suffering a feeling of renewed purpose. The final bars (Ruhig) of Ex. 6, which recur in the score, symbolise Adahm's inner peace. Yet he is also shrewdly realistic:

Es bleibt ein Bruch in der Welt.
Chawa verlangt, und ich kann's ihr nicht geben
und sie gibt mir nicht, wonach mir verlangt.
Kajin schreit und weiss nicht wonach!

Chabel, unlike his sensual brother, first appears on a height moving 'as though in a dream', his voice 'suspended, far-off'. His mystic character is revealed in his opening words, delivered in psalmodic style.

Herrliches seht mein Sinn
wann in stillen Nächten
er steigt gen hoher Haine Dach
über schweigende Gipfel hinweg
in lauschender Sterne Licht.

He feels deep communion with the 'earth-spirit' which he can only call God. This is portrayed by Stefan in a remarkable passage (Ex. 7) of bare fifths on trombones and tubas, solemn harp octaves, high woodwind, followed by muted violins and trumpets. It is ironic that the deathblow struck by Kajin in Act 2 should be provoked by Chabel's gradual realisation of his own desire for Chawa and its eventual expression. After Kajin's swinging blow (Ex. 8) Chabel's last, whispered words: 'das ... Leben .. geb'ich .. dir ... mein .. Gott' are a surrender to spirituality, reflecting the nature-mysticism of the whole work. Chabel's body is burnt on a funeral pyre in an act of symbolic consummation. Kajin's unresolved sensual search, of which Ex. 9 (an inverted B flat minor chord against a repeated A) is the recurrent motif, continues. His last (off stage) cry is 'Sterben, lasst mich sterben an dem wilden

süssen Weib'. As dawn breaks, Adahm and Chawa walk slowly towards the rising sun.

The inexhaustible theme of Eros and Creativity, which had figured in Die glückliche Hand and was in another form present in Stefan's opera, reappeared in a further guise in Franz Schreker's Christophorus, oder 'Vision einer Oper', composed in 1924-7. It was dedicated 'To Arnold Schoenberg, in friendship', and may quite possibly have been influenced by the appearance of Schoenberg's score around that time.[73] The work (still unperformed) is imbued with the quietist philosophy of Taoism. In addition, the Eros-Creativity theme is also that of Der ferne Klang (1903-10) the work, likewise set in the present, which had established Schreker's reputation in 1912. Yet Christophorus is also the nearest Schreker cameto writing an opera of apocalyptic tendencies akin to Expressionism, albeit that of Kornfeld, Wolfenstein or Friedrich Koffka.[74] It is a Zeitstück, and also a phantasmagoria. The Zeitstück aspect derives from its ostentatiously contemporary setting, with the musical pedagogue Meister Johann surrounded by his devoted pupils in the Vorspiel and Nachspiel, and other identifiable personae like the music critic Starkmann, Dr. Hartung, the hypnotist Abbé Caldani and the medium Florence (the first three among the several speaking parts) also appearing. It is a phantasmagoria in the strict sense of a 'shifting scene of real or imagined figures'. Its link with Expressionist drama stems from its unambiguously redemptive tone, its deliberate ethical standpoint. Though relatively short, its extensive use of spoken dialogue (for the first time since Der ferne Klang) makes it technically one of Schreker's most ambitious essays.

Christoph is a kind of Faustian figure, who becomes Meister Johann's pupil and is at once enraptured by the beauty of his daughter Lisa, wryly depicted by another pupil, Anselm, as 'Lilith die Schlange, den holden Satan'.

73. UE published Die glückliche Hand in 1923. Erwin Stein of UE prepared the vocal score of Christophorus, but it was eventually published in 1931 by Edition Adler, Berlin (later Heinrichshofen Verlag, Magdeburg).

74. The reference is to their view of art, not politics as the greatest redemptive force, the 'Sinnlichkeit Gottes und ... Geistigkeit des Lebens, vereint'. qu. Soergel, ii, 374.

They marry and a child is born, but Christoph's jealousy is aroused by the time Lisa spends with Anselm. Her provocative eroticism is very like that of Woman in Die glückliche Hand, or even Chawa in Die ersten Mensohen. To Christoph, the creator, she explains: 'Demütig, milde, beherrscht, nie zürnend, ein Gott bist du, doch ich bin es nicht. Ich bin ein Mensch mit Schwächen, Begierden, ein armselig Weib im Bann seiner Leiden, Schmerzen und Triebe, und tausend Andre sind es mit mir!' Hypnotised by Anselm, Lisa appears successively as a flame, a wave and finally in a 'faszinierendes Kostüm' as sin. She dances, and throws herself into Anselm's arms (Ex. 10). The dream becomes a nightmare as Christoph appears and stabs Lisa to death, solemnly intoning 'Die Komödie ist aus. Die Schleier fielen' (Ex. 11). In the rapid sequence of scenes which make up Act 2, Anselm is Mephistopheles to Christoph's Faust in a journey through a sinister underworld, the Hotel Montmartre, part dance club, part opium den and studio. The Simultanbühne (divided stage) technique here anticipates that used in Ferdinand Bruckner's play Elisabeth von England (1930). The dead Lisa (a vision in purple) is conjured up by Florence, to the accompaniment of undulating celesta and, presently, mandoline and harmonium behind stage (Ex. 12).

The 'Vision' concludes when Meister Johann and the now orphaned child appear as beggar-musicians, thus removing Anselm's hold on Christoph. In the Nachspiel, the cathartic effect of what has gone before is expressed initially by a distant voice intoning the sentiments of Lao-Tse:

> Wer seine mannliche Kraft erkennt
> und dennoch in weiblicher Schwachheit weilt
> der ist das Strombett der Welt. (Ex. 13)[75]

The dying child, whose fate the withdrawn and unhappy Christoph seems not fully to realise, cries out to him in a fevered dream (Ex. 14) 'Trag mich heim in dunkle Stille, unter Klängen, sanften Klängen!' whereupon the

75. Taken from Richard Wilhelm's 1911 version of the Tao Te Ching re-published by Diederich, Jena in 1923 under the subtitle 'Das Buch des Alten vom Sinn und Leben'. Taoism's vogue at this time is shown by the reissue in 1924 of Victor v. Strauss's 1870 translation, and a further translation by J. G. Weiss, in 1927.

Christophorus legend is enacted in near-darkness. Anselm's final comment on this act of rescue and redemption is 'Er trägt das Kind ..... das ihn führt den einsamen Weg'. Like the activist poet, Christoph is half creative Übermensch, half humane redeemer, and the latter ultimately triumphs.[76]

The direct contribution to opera of Expressionist Literature came through two of Hindemith's three early one-act works, both inspired by morbid, perverse eroticism and through two of Krenek's first three operas, Orpheus and Eurydike (See Pt. 4, Ch. 1) and his first stage work, the 'szenische Kantate' Zwingburg, to a text by Franz Werfel. Hindemith's talent was recognised early, as was his potential to become but for his prodigious fertility 'ein richtiger Philister oder Fronarbeiter'.[77] It was quickly seen that, in Bekker's words 'der stoffliche Inhalt, das verstandesmässig erkennbare Geschehen ist demgegenüber gleichgültig, bedeutungslos, es ist nur die äussere Formal zur Entfesselung der Musik'.[78] They were, in other words, exercises rather than important statements, displaying Hindemith's wish to write manifestly Bürgerschreck works. Kokoschka's Mörder Hoffnung der Frauen dates in its original form from 1907, and was a brief concentrated piece which inevitably caused a scandal at its first performance at the Vienna Internationale Kunstschau on 4 July 1909.[79] Under a night sky, at the entrance to a (symbolic) cage 'Der Mann', a warrior and adventurer in blue armour, his head bandaged, irresistibly encounters a 'tall, yellow-haired woman clothed in red'. Branded by the other warriors she screams with pain and stabs the Man. It seems necessary for her to wound him in order to express her devotion. Her subsequent

76. Iwan Goll: Der neue Orpheus: eine Dithyrambe, (Der Rote Hahn 5) Berlin, 1918.

77. Bekker: Klang und Eros, 111. Cf. also Adorno's attack on Hindemith's indifference to textual sources in Impromptus, Suhrkamp, 1968, 83, where he is linked with the 'empty' Reger and the 'wretched' Telemann.

78. Bekker, ibid., 112-13.

79. Dramen und Bilder, Kurt Wolff, Berlin, 1913, 15-21. With the similar Sphinx und Strohmann, it was performed by the Zürich Dada group (1917) in 1918 by the Dresden Schauspielhaus, and in 1919 by Reinhardt's Kammerspiele in Berlin. It was thus current literature when Hindemith set it to music.

agonised death is a self-sacrifice and a triumph for the Man. At the opera's brutally rhythmic opening (Ex. 15) as at the moment of the woman's branding (Ex. 16), Hindemith creates his effects through simple, if densely orchestrated, means.

The setting of this violent collision is archetypal: 'Nachthimmel, Turm, mit grosser roter eiserner Käfigtür. Fackeln das einzige Licht, schwarzer Boden, so zum Turm aufsteigend, dass alle Figuren reliefartig zu sehen sind.' This can be compared with the Klosterkirche setting of Sancta Susanna, where the 'zitternde Mondscheinstreifen',[80] 'ewige Licht', 'überlebensgrosse Bilde des Gekreuzigten' and 'brennende mässige Kerze' (and later the twittering of nightingales and the appearance of a fist-sized spider from behind the alter) help create the atmosphere in which the young nun Susanna's growing sexual hysteria can be played out. Angust Stramm, killed on the Russian front in 1915, published three plays as Sturmbücher I, II and IV (June - September 1914) of which the one-act Sancta Susanna was the first. Lothar Schreyer produced it for the Berlin Sturmbühne at the end of 1918 and Herwarth Walden wrote the music: the actress playing Susanna was naked.

It seems clear that Hindemith was drawn to these two works as much for their severe economy of language (in Stramm's case, conventional syntax virtually disappears) as for their obsessive dwelling on masochistic sexuality. The predominant musical idea of Sancta Susanna (Ex. 17) is an arch, sinuously chromatic motif. Soon after a local couple have been discovered lovemaking beneath a lilac bush, Klementia begins to reminisce:

wir trugen sie fort ..... seitdem brennt die Kerze ..... ewig ..... die Kerze zur Sühne ..... seitdem gürtet der Schal die Lenden .... die Lenden .... dort .... fort haben sie .... sie .... eingemauert ..... Fleisch und Blut.... in Mauer und Stein .... hörst du sie? .... hörst du ?![81]

This gives some notion of the extreme tendencies of Stramm's breathless

80. Das Nusch-Nuschi, the third one-acter, to a text by the belleslettrist Franz Blei (1871-1942), is a lewd satire on the oriental fashion. It, too, opens in a moonlit street.

81. Werke, 138-9.

style, and Hindemith's relatively formal response to it, in Ex. 18. The two operas have a similar close, the one showing the Man triumphant but, as 'Der Teufel', the object of terror, while Susanna, refusing to kiss the Cross, likewise becomes 'Satana' to the assembled choir of nuns.

Krenek's Zwingburg appears in retrospect to contain those elements of Expressionist drama which typified it as a whole. The erotic element is subordinate, and the essential matter of Werfel's text is the conflict between man and his oppressive surroundings, the appearance of a symbolic redemptive figure, and the eventual disappointment of the hopes of regeneration and release raised by it. Werfel had only a short time before written a 'barocken und mysterienhafte Drama', the 'magische trilogie' or 'Zauberspiel' Spiegelmensch.[82] There, the tragedy of the 'sein und schein-Ich'[83] is portrayed in the life of Thamal, whose mirror-image assumes a tyrannical control of his life, tempts him to 'activism' and leads him haplessly to murder his father and seduce his best friend's wife. The symbolism of this play (and also of Die Mittagsgöttin of 1919) finds an echo in Zwingburg, which deals with the subject treated directly by Kaiser in Gas I (1918) - the dehumanising effect of industrial enslavement and the cowardice and inertia of men in the face of real change. The massive and fatal gas explosion in Kaiser's play is insufficient to persuade the workers to follow the Billionaire's son in his vision of small rural labour-communities - the 'Neue Mensch' again[84] - and instead they follow the Engineer back to work and danger. Much the same idea recurs in Zwingburg. The factory-stronghold symbolises power and enslavement, as gas had for Kaiser symbolised the potential of fuel to destroy men as well as advance their technology. 'Let factories be the servants of decent living 'was the heroine's cry in Toller's

82. W. H. Fox describes the work as a 'personal exorcism', though does not mention the link with the 'Doppelgänger' theme of Hoffmann. GMOL, III, 1968, 112.

83. A. D. Klarmann in W. Rothe, op. cit., 413.

84. Cf. Kenworthy, Georg Kaiser, Oxford, 1957, Ch. 2.

Masse Mensch,[85] but for Kaiser and Werfel there was no such eventual hope. As the Organ Grinder cries

> Ah dort, dort, dort
>
> Hockt-er
>
> Der riesige Zwingherr
>
> In unerstürmbarer Burg
>
> Leibeigen hält er uns alle.[86]

In his opening lament 'Wehe, wehe, weh 'über euch'' (Ex. 19) the initial note of pessimism is struck; the mechanistic attributes of the Zwingburg, man as automaton is reflected in the aggressively pulsing Ex. 20. These two motifs are recurrent throughout the work. Hope through sexual passion is portrayed through the Man and the Woman. Their characteristic early exchange:

> Die Frau: Dich zu erhöhen ist mein tiefster Traum
>
> Der Mann: Du bist der Boden und ich bin der Baum[87]

is to be seen against a wider human background, represented by the consumptive, the Drunkard and the Miner, whose greatest longings, despite misgivings, are summed up in the word 'Freiheit'. The symbol of their delivery is, again, the 'New Man', sculpted by the Man and described here as 'eine Idealgestalt, etwa im Stil Barlachs'.[88] Solemnly and incredulously the Man addresses the figure:

> Bist du aus mir? Hat dich mein Traum geschaut
>
> Dich diese Hand aus dem Fels gesplittert?
>
> Erhabener, du Gott,[89]

85. Tr. Vera Mendel in Seven Plays, John Lane, 1935. 127. Toller's 'Luddite play Maschinenstürmer, also of 1922, points the moral that the destruction of machinery is no solution to industrial repression. Against this was the 'divine revelation' view of the worker-poets (e.g. Max Barthel in Der grosse Rhythmus) which found an echo in Max Brand's 1929 opera, Maschinist Hopkins. Here the factory interior is at one point bathed in moonlight, so that 'die phantastischen Umrisse der Maschinen sollen die Verschmeizung vom Maschinenhalle und Tempel vermitteln'.

86. Textbuch, UE, 1922, 5.

87. Ibid., 10.

88. Barlach's famous figure-sculptures were analogues of his plays.

89. Textbuch, 16.

as the music revolves round a visionary C pedal (Ex. 21). The storming of the Zwingburg which follows is doomed. Its power overwhelms the workers, and, as the blind organ-grinder is raised up by the Man (Ex. 22) the Zwingburg is suddenly lit up (do., last three bars). The workers turn against the Man and the miner angrily threatens him and his 'faules Marmorideal'. In his effort to protect the statue, the man succeeds only in pulling it over, crushing himself to death. A wave of sarcastic laughter from the stronghold is sufficient for the crowd to abase itself, intoning

Es ist nur ein Herr
Und wir sind seine Knechte.[90]

In the darkness which follows, the old organ-grinder bewails the impotence of men before natural forces

Todlos Tote wir alle
Grinsende Untertanen der Burg ....
Es ist Verkündigung, Verkündigung,
Ihr Armen, ihr Geliebten
Ihr tiefgeliebten Menschen![91]

Despite the aspiration of this work it could not rise to the implications of its hortatory message. Perhaps this is because Werfel's 'more hopeful' revision of the still gloomier original text, by a Jewish doctor friend of the composer, was felt by Krenek to be 'a little glib and sentimental'.[92] In the year of Zwingburg's completion Walther Rathenau, author of the Mechanisierung des Geistes on much the same theme of urban man's hopeless bondage to impersonal forces, was assassinated. Both Krenek and Werfel, in any case, quickly moved on to other things, in each case at some remove from this work's political content. Opera could not fulfil the vision implied in Sorge's Der Bettler of 'das Theater als grosse feierliche Kulthandlung den Rhythmus des Lebens aufnrhmend, in ewigen Symbolen gestaltend'.[93] Fourteen

90. Ibid., 22.
91. Ibid., 23.
92. Horizons circled: reflections on my music, California U.P., 1974, 35.
93. Eloesser, II, 595.

PART TWO

HISTORY, FICTION AND MYTH: GERMAN OPERA AND THE RENAISSANCE, 1912-33

..... How well you understand the horrors of triumph - with what madness were you sometimes struck down. Yes! How you must have suffered, you and the artist who painted you, one no less strong than yourself. Great works of art - your life or your portrait - have such shimmering grandeur only because they also plumb such terrible depths. Oh, conqueror of the Turks, do not dissimulate. For I hear your scream, when you were struck by a blow. I see you bleed, when a friend betrayed you. I try to imagine the frenzy of pain you experienced whenever a woman delved into your heart with her pointed finger.

(Mario Malvolto, the poet, addressing the portrait of the condottiere Pippo Spano by moonlight)

Heinrich Mann: Pippo Spano in Flöten und Dolche, Langen 1905, p.25.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEO-ROMANTICISM AND THE 'AESTHETIC' RENAISSANCE

I Literary 'Renaissanceism'

II Mona Lisa

III Die Gezeichneten

IV Violanta and Eine florentinische Tragödie

V Conclusion

I

Wilde's Salome (1891) reached the German stage in Hedwig Lachmann's translation in 1903. On 9 December 1905, Strauss's one-act opera was premiered at Dresden, and within three months, Strauss and Hofmannsthal were discussing the poet's Elektra as a possible libretto. At this early stage, Strauss had doubts, ending his letter of 11 March 1906:

'Have you got an entertaining renaissance subject for me? A really wild Cesare Borgia or Savonarola would be the answer to my prayers.'[1]

Hofmannsthal was now 32. In 1892, as a prodigy of eighteen, he had produced two verse dramas on 'Renaissance' themes, Gestern and Der Tod des Tizian, together with a third, Ascanio und Gioconda, which remained unfinished and in MS. Since then his interests had turned decisively towards the medieval morality and the age of the Austrian Baroque. There was, therefore, no doubt about the tone of his reply:

'I do not believe there is any epoch which I, and, like me, every creative poet among our contemporaries would bar from his work with feelings of such definite disinclination, indeed, such unavoidable distaste, as this particular one. Subjects taken from the renaissance seem destined to transport the brushes of the most deplorable painters, and the pens of the most hapless of poets. Notwithstanding current lipservice ..... I believe there is no other period ..... when life was more utterly alien to our

1. Corr., 3.

generation than it was then'.[2]

The subject was never again raised, though Strauss would doubtless have continued to regard the prospect of a Renaissance subject with zest. In avoiding the sixteenth century, he was, perhaps, as much influenced by the example of Die Meistersinger as by Hofmannsthal's waspish strictures. Many years later, they each confessed to a deep admiration for this work. Both Salome and Elektra were major products of the neo-Romantic 'Dekadenzgefühl' literary movement stemming from the years around 1880. Of this, Renaissanceism or 'Renaissancebegeisterung', to use Rehm's mot juste, was an essential ingredient.[3] It reached its climax in the early 1900s, and was later overtaken by the war.[4] While it laid itself open to charges of overripeness, posturing and superficiality, it remains true that few writers of the time, especially in Germany, were wholly unaffected by it. Moreover, it had a direct bearing on German opera between 1913 and 1916, when the literary fashion had waned. Though, after 1918, Renaissance Italy as an aesthetic 'Begriffsbildung' and setting for primarily erotic situations, no longer retained its appeal, the Taten - Gewalt - or Kraftmensch idea associated with the period survived, and, in opera, took on forms more closely associated with the Reformation north of the alps, and its political and intellectual background. Thus the myth of the Renaissance affected opera in two distinct ways, and might be said to represent polarised views of opera's nature and potential.

In his Antichrist (1888) Nietzsche had extolled the notion of Cesare Borgia as Pope, symbolising the conquest of decayed medieval Christianity by the principle of secular freedom and energy - in Nietzschean terms the 'triumph of life', the transvaluation of all values. Cesare Borgia became

2. Ibid., 4-5 (27.4.06).

3. Rehm (R) An alternative, critically intended term is the subtitle of Franz F. Baumgarten's study of C. F. Meyer (München, 1917): 'Renaissance-Empfinden und Stilkunst'.

4. H. F. Garten: Modern German Drama, Menthuen, 1959, 76 ff.

a 'man of prey' or 'Raubtier und Raubmensch'.[5] Luther was the 'vindictive medieval monk' whose hostility to the Renaissance in Rome had resulted in retrogression and confusion for Germany.[6] By contrast, the Italian Renaissance was 'the golden age of the last thousand years, which sustained all the positive forces to which we owe modern culture', listed by Nietzsche as 'the liberation of thought, the disregard of authorities, the triumph of education over the darkness of tradition, enthusiasm for science .... the unfettering of the individual .....'[7] Thus Nietzsche held up for admiration the energy, heroism and resourcefulness of an era which for similar reasons had earlier attracted J. J. Heinse, Stendhal, Hugo and Musset, and in his own day Heyse and Conrad F. Meyer. It was, of course the great Kultur der Renaissance in Italien (1860) by Meyer's fellow-Swiss Jakob Burckhardt which had, supremely, helped to create and consolidate this picture. It not only influenced Nietzsche deeply, but had an impact on history, art and letters, especially in late nineteenth century Germany, which is difficult to overestimate.

Earlier, Michelet had, much more unsystematically, striven to build up the same picture,[8] and the love of Renaissance paganism found in Pater's celebrated lectures The Renaissance (1873) has been linked with Michelet, in contrast with Ruskin's dispassionate 'medieval morality'.[9] More Burckhardtian still was the multi-volume Renaissance in Italy (1875-86) of John Addington Symonds. The early play The Duchess of Padua of Wilde, dating from 1882 - close in manner to his Florentine Tragedy fragment - is really a

5. Jenseits von Gut und Böse. C & M, VI, 2, 119.
6. Antichrist, tr. Ludovici, 228-9, C & M, VI, 3, 249. The theologian Ernst Troeltsch (Die Bedeutung des Protestantisnus für die Entstehung der modernen Welt, Munich, 1906) was a later, informed and influential proponent of this view, as against Dilthey's belief in the close relationship of Renaissance and Reformation as an expression of the European search for freedom and expansion. (Auffassung und Analyse des Menschen im 15. und 16. Jh., Leipzig, 1923.)
7. Human, all too human (1879), (tr. Helen Zimmern) 220-222. (C & M, IV, 2, 203).
8. Histoire de France, Vol. VII, La Renaissance (1855).
9. Cf. P. Jullian (Tr. V. Wyndham) Oscar Wilde, Constable, 1969, 76.

Hugoesque drama, and it is no accident that the most influential piece of belles-lettres of all, Count Arthur Gobineau's La Renaissance: scenes historiques of 1877, should also have been French. In these six dialogue-portraits, the twin-image of the Italian Renaissance as the era of 'Schönheit' and 'Ruchlosigkeit', ecstatic beauty and self-determining morality based on strength were couched in a form which made them irresistible to German taste from the 1890s onward. It must be admitted that Gobineau's German reputation unfortunately owed much to his authorship of the notorious Essai sur L'inegalité des races humaines. But La Renaissance can be seen quite separately from Gobineau's racial theories. While Pater's lectures had to wait until 1910 for translation[10] the publishing history of Gobineau's book from 1896 is truly imposing. It was translated no fewer than seven times between that year and 1928, beginning with Ludwig Schemann's version for Reclam, continuing with an undated version by Hanns Floerke for the Berlin Deutsche Bibliothek, followed by Insel Verlag's highly successful edition, translated by Bernhard Jolles in 1911. This was reissued seven times down to 1924. Subsequent translations came from Alfred Steinitzer (Müller, 1921) Maria Ewers (Globus Verlag, 1922) Robert von Voss (T. Knaur, 1927) and Albert Ritter (Neufeld and Hemios, 1928). For Gobineau, who had died in 1882, this was an astonishing record.

The term 'hysterical Renaissance' occurs in Heinrich Mann's three-volume novel Die Göttinnen of 1903, and its meaning is encapsulated in the quotation at the head of this chapter from his 1905 story Pippo Spano. It applies generally to a whole range of drama and fiction at this period, much of it indebted to Gobineau, especially to Savonarola and Cesare Borgia, most impressive of his protagonists. Thus 1899 saw the appearance of Weigand's tetralogy Tessa, Savonarola, Cesare Borgia and Lorenzino, as well as Hofmannsthal's Die Frau im Fenster and Max Halbe's Eroberer. 1901 saw Gottschall's Götze von Venedig, on the life of Aretino, and Schnitzler's play Der Schleier der Beatrice, a family tragedy of 16th century Bologna in

10. F. Schölermann. Diederich, Jena. Hofmannsthal read Pater in English. Cf. Prosa, I, 235 f. (1894).

which Lionardo Bentivoglia, the Bolognese duke is 'ein Magnifico .... Kondottiere und Künstler zugleich ..... ein König des Lebens.'[11] Despite the early efforts of Wilde and Rolland, certain of d'Annunzio's plays and Maeterlinck's Monna Vanna (1902) the movement was overwhelmingly Austro-German. The contributions of Beer-Hofmann, Vollmöller, Emil Ludwig, Leo Greiner and C. A. Bernouilli between 1903 and 1911 illustrate this well enough.

The 'Renaissance' movement had a double aspect. In the main, it sprang from an aesthetic impulse, the worship of a mythologised post-Christian era in which the weaknesses and confusions of life in modern Germany were contrasted (as in Nietzsche) with the grandeur and self-confidence of 'die Zeit der grossen Maler',[12] a period and country felt to be enviably rich in energy and inspiration. As Eloesser later observed 'Der Norden, ach, ist kalt und klug - und hässlich.(Heinrich Mann) fand im Süden die glückseligen Inseln, die Schauplatze des Mittelmeeres für schöne Abenteuer, Leidenschaften, Verbrechen'.[13] In another sense, however, it can be linked with the German tradition of historical scholarship and formal criticism, which led to new editions of Stendhal and Heinse after 1900, and to several reprints of Burckhardt down to 1914. Curiously, Ranke's history of the popes in the 16th and 17th centuries (1834-6) and his early Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker, 1494-1534, despite their reputation, did not contribute to this. More influential on the 'Renaissance-begriff' were the writings of minor historians like Hagen and Voigt, and the Hegelian dialectical view of the Renaissance as antithesis of the Middle Ages and necessary precondition of the Reformation.[14] A real desire for information, a serious, speculative interest in theory and interpretation paralleled the 'Übermensch' fashion, and the more literary quest for aesthetic titillation. Yet years later, it

11. R. Specht: Arthur Schnitzler: der Dichter u.s. Werk. Fischer, Bln., 1922, 184.
12. Gestern. G. W., Gedichte u. Lyrische Dramen, 139.
13. Eloesser, 519.
14. Philosophie der Geschichte, 1837.

was Bernhard Berenson who, in the context of art-history, most succinctly expressed the matter in a way directly applicable to Germany around 1910.

'The Renaissance', he wrote, 'is even more important typically than historically. Historically it may be looked upon as an age of glory or shame according to the different views entertained of European events during the past five centuries. But typically it stands for youth and youth alone - for intellectual curiosity and energy grasping at the whole of life as material which it hopes to mould to any shape.'[15]

In addition to Hofmannsthal's adverse comments, the movement received implicit criticism from Thomas Mann, who in his play Fiorenza (1904) conducts a dialogue between the crippled aesthete Lorenzo dei Medici and the ascetic moralist Savonarola. Despite Nietzsche's undeclared presence in this play, Mann's intention was not to praise Renaissanceism but to create a Florentine moral dilemma in the setting of the great period's gradual decline.[16] It is a reply to his brother Heinrich's Die Göttinnen, with its Renaissanceist portrayal of a late 19th century noblewoman, the Duchess von Assy, and her friends in politics (Diana) art (Minerva) and love (Venus).[17] At the same time, though Fiorenza is a critical polemic, it can now be seen as part of that lifelong love of Italy which was an important aspect of both brothers' outlook, stemming as they did from the North German Bürgertum.[18] The real point is that there was in the work of both the Manns an underlying current of irony and detachment which found no echo in most of the 'Renaissance' literature of the time, nor, until after 1920, in the relevant operas.

15. The Italian Painters of the Renaissance, O.U.P., 1930, Preface.

16. R. Nicholls: Nietzsche in the early works of Thomas Mann. Berkely, 1955, 61.

17. D. M. Hall suggested that d'Annunzio may have inspired Maurice de Mortoeil, the cynical art-lover in Minerva. Cf. The Venice Legend in German Literature after 1880, unpub. thesis, London U., 1936, Ch. 6. The cult of life and energy is underlined in the Ada Negri quotation used by Mann in each volume of Göttinnen:
'Che son fatti dei gorghi d'ogni abisso
Degli astro d'ogni ciel!'

18. Cf. n. 13. Also I. B. Jonas' comment: 'Die Sehnsucht des nordischen Menschen nach Italien entspringt einem Wunsch nach Vervollkommung Durch die dem Norden in vielem entgegengesetzte Atmosphäre des Südens'. Thos. Mann u. Italien. C. Winter, Heidelberg, 1969, 7.

The attraction of the Italian Renaissance for opera composers was part of the neo-Romantic literary movement, but was also a consequence of the enormous success of post-Verdian Italian opera which, as it happens, rarely used the Renaissance as a background. Even before Puccini and his contemporaries, nineteenth century opera had only intermittently used the period. The most notable examples are Donizetti's Lukrezia Borgia (after Hugo) Berlioz' Benvenuto Cellini, and Verdi's Simone Boccanegra and Rigoletto. It was Hugo who in 'Lucrezia Borgia' spoke of 'cette fatale et criminelle Italie.'[19] This fascination recurs in the French decadent movement, especially in de l'Isle Adam, Jean Lorrain and Maurice Barrès.[20] For Germany, the chief fin de siècle figure was undoubtedly Wilde, Salome, embodying the décadence at its most obsessive and repellent, was carried into Germany successively by Lachmann, Reinhardt and Strauss, while Dorian Gray (1890) was translated no fewer than six times between 1901 and 1914. The stories in Ein Haus des Apfeln und Granate appeared in 1906,[21] revealing that characteristic vein of eclecticism pinpointed by Philippe Jullian in his comment that 'the heroes of the stories derived their appearance, their palaces and their jewels from the paintings of Watts and Burne-Jones. In these, Botticelli's Florence merged with Memling's Bruges ..... The stories abound with characters so dear to the Pre-Raphaelites - magicians, young knights in silver armour, beautiful beggars and golden-haired pages'.[22]

19. M. Praz: The Romantic Agony, O.U.P., 1933, 349.

20. Notably Barrès, The Leonardo Smile in the Visite à Leonardo da Vinci, 1891. Praz, op. cit., 313, n.82.

21. Tr. Frieda Uhl, Weiner Verlag. S.W., Bd. 4. The House of Pomegranates originally appeared in 1891 (Osgood, McIlvaine and Co.). Wilde's complete stories, tr. F. P. Greve and Franz Blei appeared from Insel Verlag in 1910 as Erzählungen und Märchen.

22. Jullian, loc. cit., 191. There is also the 'girl-woman' referred to by Selz in 1960 (New York Art Nouveau exhibition cat.) with her 'ambivalent eroticism' despite her 'boyish' appearance, her 'sexually suggestive' appearance despite her 'often emaciated' body. Lockspeiser (Debussy: his life and mind, Cassell, 1962, I, 117) quotes this without comment, though it is not in itself an adequate description of either Mélisande or Salome (the archetypal Jugendstil heroines) nor their descendant Els in Der Schatzgräber.

II

The themes of power, wealth, ownership, jealousy, revenge and perhaps above all, physical beauty, tactile sensuality are to be found in each of the four main 'Italian Renaissance' operas of the short 1913-16 period. These were Schillings' Mona Lisa, Schreker's Die Gezeichneten, Zemlinsky's Eine florentinische Tragödie and Korngold's Violanta; all were staged while the war was still in progress. Mona Lisa, the first to appear, was the most conservative stylistically, though ultimately the most popular. Hofmannsthal had made use of the 'Gioconda' in Der Tor und der Tod, and Schnitzler's 16-year-old Beatrice had a certain resemblance. The Mona Lisa, indeed, closely associated with the 'universal artist' persona of Leonardo, had played an influential part in the Symbolist movement, ever since Pater's famous passage had given the theme popular currency. A novel by Dmitri Mereschkowsky[23] and a play by Ernst von Dombrowsky[24] both adumbrate a relationship between Mona Lisa and Leonardo himself. Dombrowsky's Mona Lisa dates from 1910, as also did Freud's celebrated psychoanalytical essay on Leonardo's sexual attitudes and behaviour (q.v. supra). The picture itself was stolen from the Louvre in 1913 and fell briefly into the hands of d'Annunzio[25] whose play of 1899, La Gioconda, it should be said had no connection with Leonardo other than its (present-day) Florentine setting.

Max von Schillings, at the time he met the Viennese authoress Beatrice von Dorsky in Stuttgart in April, 1911, was Generalintendant of the Stuttgart Stadttheater, and, after Strauss, perhaps the most respected German composer-conductor of the time. Behind him lay two derivative post-Wagnerian

23. Le Roman de Léonard de Vinci, tr. J. Sorrèze, Paris, 1901, then Leonardo da Vinci: historischer Roman aus der Wende des 15. Jh., tr. Carl von Gütschow, Leipzig, 1903, reissued 1910 and 1913. In addition, an 'essai de biographie psychologique' entitled Leonardo da Vinci, l'artiste et le savant, by Gabriel Séailles, (Paris, 1892) was reprinted in 1906. Hofmannsthal describes it as 'ein schönes Buch' in a letter to Bodenhausen, Briefe der Freundschaft 5.7.06, 83.

24. 1862-1917.

25. E. J. Dent, Ferruccio Busoni, O.U.P., 1933, 202. Before beginning work on Doktor Faust, Busoni had discussions with d'Annunzio about a projected opera on Leonardo. Cf. Praz. loc. cit., 71, n.2 for d'Annunzio's 1885 poem Gioconda.

collaborations with his friend Ferdinand, Graf v. Sporck (Ingwelde 1893 and Der Pfeifertag, 1899) and an opera based on Gerhäuser's adaptation of Hebbel's Moloch fragment, which had the ill-luck to follow the sensational success of Salome (1906). There seems little doubt that he intended Mona Lisa as his final bid for popularity.[26] By the time it entered the repertory, he had abandoned composition, becoming Generalintendant of the Berlin Deutsche Staatsoper from 1919 to 1925. Beatrice Dowsky (real name von Vay, nee Drewikowsky, 1865-1923) had a reputation in Vienna substantial enough for her play Der alte Herr to open the Wiener Burgtheater on 7 December 1905. Her play Lady Godiva (1910) formed the first idea for an opera-text for Schillings, but early in 1913, she sent him the text of Mona Lisa. Schillings sketched the piano score within six weeks during the summer of 1913; by Christmas, 1914, the scoring was complete. Strauss was among those who attended the Stuttgart premiere on 26 September, 1915. He was later (1923) to conduct the work in Vienna in Hans Gregor's production, following its performance in New York, Madrid and Barcelona.[27]

The defects and limitations of Mona Lisa are obvious enough. Musically old-fashioned and unadventurous when compared with Salome or Elektra, structurally rather cumbersome with its present-day prologue and epilogue, dramatically over-dependent on the physical effect of Francesco del Giocondo's two-section jewel cabinet (in which first Fiordalisa's lover Giovanni de'Salviati then Francesco himself are imprisoned and suffocated) the opera belongs in some ways to the cruder type of verismo drama. Julius Korngold, who rated the libretto quite highly, nevertheless pointed out that cupboards

26. Wie ich schuf - was ich schuf. Radio broadcast of April 1933 printed in BS, May, 1938, 1-3.
Hugo Fetting, in his Geschichte der Deutschen Staatsoper (1955) reveals how impressive Schillings' work at Berlin was, despite his reputation for causing difficulty. Later, shortly before his death in 1933, he was, as President of Hitler's Reichskulturkammer, responsible for the final dismissal of Schoenberg and Schreker from their Berlin posts. This association of the always conservative Schillings with the new regime led to another hyperbolic propadandist biography by Wilhelm Raupp (see Bibliog., V).

27. Corr., 234 and Anb., 1923, 92.

on stage rarely make for tragic effect.[28] That the work is fictional need not be held against it; so also were other works on this theme already mentioned. Frau v. Dovsky's intention was to create a mythicised picture of Florence at the end of the fifteenth century. To achieve this she sets the scene on Faschingsnacht of 1492, despite the fact that the Mona Lisa portrait, which appears in Act 1, is known to have been painted by Leonardo in 1502 during his second Florentine period (1500-6). The reason for this transposition seems to have been her wish to include Savonarola and his monks of San Marco as part of the Act 1 procession. Savonarola was at the height of his influence in 1492, but was executed in 1498. The pre-dating of the picture is a comparatively venial licence. Like Act 3 of Schreker's Gezeichneten, the Venuszug of Act 1 is indebted to the account of the Renaissance festivals in Burckhardt.[29] It is presented through the reactions of the various guests in Francesco's house:

> Geschrei und Rufe auf der Piazza immer lebhafter. Alle auf der Bühne befindlichen Personen drängen sich an die Fenster. Auf Pietros Bitte darf Dianora mit ihm an die Fenster treten. Im Hintergrunde werden bunte Fahnen und Flaggen, Standarten, Paniere, Stangen mit Laubgewinden, Innungszeichen und Emblemen, Wappen, weiter auch einzelne Köpfe der zu Wagen oder Pferde Vorbeiziehenden, sowie der Wagen der Venus, von Nymphen, Bacchanten, Mänaden etc., begleitet, sichtbar.[30]

The Venuszug, hymning the power of human love, is offset by a Marienchor, bearing crosses and a large image of the B.V.M., and by Savonarola's Black Monks, who, with their 'Florenz, du feile Dirne! Schamlose Buhlerin!' create a metaphor of the city as an abandoned whore. This insistence on colour and spectacle at the outset (also used by the young Korngold in Violanta) provides the drama which follows with an intense, heady locale. It prepares the ground effectively for Fiordalisa Gherardini's balcony appearance, her pale

28. Deutsches Opernschaffen der Gegenwart, Rikola, Vienna, 1922, 360.
29. Op. cit., Part V.
30. Textbuch, 12-13.

face and soft voice a deliberate contrast with what has gone before. The Laienbruder's reflections in the Prologue have prepared us for her strange personality.

Ein unergründlich Rätsel ist das Weib
In seiner Seele schlummern unbewusst
an tausend Möglichkeiten.

and, later:

In ihren Augen, ihres Mundes Lächeln
Lag eine Welt von Scheu und Zärtlichkeit.

Before her arrival, we have encountered Francesco, Salviati, the 'saghaft, züchtig' Dianora (Francesco's daughter by his first marriage) together with the dazzling Ginevra dressed as Venus and Francesco's various Florentine friends. One of these, Arrigo Oldofredi sings a setting of words by, Lorenzo de'Medici, 'Jugend ist so hold und süss' (Ex. 29) the effect of which is to emphasise the maturity of the now 35-year-old Lisa.

These two elements, the colour of Florence at Carnival time, and the stressed alienation of Lisa - the cause of Francesco's jealous bafflement - are the foundation of the opera. Frau v. Dovsky must have known Gobineau's work, and was almost certainly familiar with Merezhkovsky's novel in Gütschow's translation. Curiously, the subjective romanticised view of Pater, close to her own, was not translated until 1910, and we cannot know if she read it. This sense of awed mystery is present in Schillings' E flat Vorspiel, with its minor-inflected opening (Ex. 23) and major continuation (Ex. 24) its A flat love motif (Ex. 25) and chromatic relapse into mystery (Ex. 26). The use of the 'frame' technique[31] is an attempt to add distance and poignancy to the action. At the beginning, Francesco's house is being shown by the guide, a Laienbruder, to two tourists (unrelated, simply called Die Frau and Der Fremde). The merchant's great jewel cabinet has long since been dismantled, and the Laienbruder's role is that of Narrator. Overall, its effect is marred by the forced and unnecessarily melodramatic association

31. Cf. E. T. A. Hoffmann, Meyer: Offenbach and Hofmannsthal's Ariedne auf Naxos.

in the closing scene of the two tourists with Lisa and Francesco. In other respects, however, the technique is useful in providing background information, such as the building of the palace on the Piazza S. Trinità to Brunelleschi's designs, its subsequent occupation by the Pazzi, Bardi and Spini families, and eventual purchase by the wealthy Giocondo. It also helps to create tension and expectancy at the outset, when the momentary darkening of the stage as the Laienbruder's voice fades leads at once into the ebullient A major Carnival scene (the two main ideas are Exx. 27 and 28) with the stage instruction

'Plötzlich wird es wieder hell und es bietet sich ein farbenprächtiges Bild im Stile eines Gemäldes des Paolo Veronese.'

The two acts of Mona Lisa cover only twelve hours, and take place entirely in the central room of Francesco's palace, its window overlooking the Arno. One can truthfully say that the drama hinges on only four real events. Francesco's enraged slamming of the two cabinet doors (inner and outer) on Giovanni, and his hurling of the key out of the window are the two acts of violence towards which the entire Stimmung and description of Act 1 have been directed. The much briefer Act 2 mirrors these, firstly by Diamora's discovery and recognition of the key as it lies in a boat beneath the window, then by its return to Lisa, her revelation to Francesco that the key had not, after all, been lost in the river, his boastful entry into the cabinet, and, finally, Lisa's avenging of Giovanni's death, consisting in her simply and with great emotion locking the door behind Francesco. These violent events gain their theatrical effectiveness through the pivotal role of Mona Lisa who (throughout) until the end, does little but react to the emotions of others. Also important is the structuring of the work, especially of Act 1 to allow for the maximum recreation of a sense of place, an insistent dwelling on luxury and beauty, whether of the participants, of Francesco's palace, or, in particular, of his pearls.

'Perlen bedeuten Thränen' observes the Laienbruder; the sense of doom is communicated through Schillings' 'Schrein' motif (Ex. 32) symbolising the

pride of possession linked with the chill of death (Ex. 33) and by Francesco's boast 'Der Papst zu Rom, der Doge von Venedig die haben herrliche, Juwelen, jedoch die schönsten Perlen die hab' ich!' Ex. 33, with its tritonal tension between F sharp and C is echoed at the opening of Act 2 (Ex. 39) on Lisa's realisation that Giovanni's death was no nightmare, but total reality. Chromatic tension such as one finds in Elektra or Die Gezeichneten is eschewed by Schillings, though he habitually uses semitonal stress, usually over a slow-moving or static bass at moments of greatest emotion. Instances of this are the Act 1 duet (Ex. 34) where Lisa bewails her unhappiness while Francesco gloats over his possessions, especially his pearls, and Lisa's expression of generalised sadness in Ex. 36. Frequently he will inflect chromatically an essentially diatonic idea, such as the 'Carnival' theme (Exx. 27 and 28) or the confident D major theme (Ex. 35) associated with the departure of Francesco's friends from the palce just before Giovanni and Lisa are able to meet alone. Much of the score, however, is taken up by diatonic 'numbers' whose function is frankly decorative. Arrigo's C major lute song reappears as an A major duet (Arrigo and Picarda) at the end of Act 1. Arrigo also has a brief Ritornello while the Vesper bells are ringing, followed by Ginevra's A major flower song, during which Francesco is seen uneasily to await Lisa's arrival. Much later, after Giovanni's incarceration, the Carnival procession passes below again, led by torchbearers, and Arrigo's voice is heard singing an A major Madrigal (Ex. 37), the melody taken up in F Major by Francesco. Once more, the poem is by a Renaissance figure, this time Jacopo Sannazzaro. Dianora's scene with Lisa in Act 2 includes the 'Rosmarin' song in A flat (Ex. 38), in effect a brief hiatus between Lisa's awakening and Francesco's death; through it the gentle Dianora emerges as the only link between the two.[32]

'So lächelt Eva einst im Paradies

so lächelt Helena, Semiramis, Bathsbeba und Kleopatra'

32. Dianora, suggests August Richard, is characterised by 'harmlos unschuldiger Lebensfreude'. Max Schillings, Drei Masken Verlag, 1921, 55.

are Francesco's words when he reveals to Pietro Leonardo's portrait of his wife. The Laienbruder's final outburst repeats these historical comparisons before the opera closes as it began, quietly, in the key of E flat, with the love motif (Ex. 25) giving way to Ex. 24 and then to the original 'enigma' theme itself (Ex. 23) with its prominent E♭ - A♮ - D♭ - B♭ sequence.

III

Technically speaking, these four neo-Romantic 'Renaissance' operas have in common a large orchestra, a vocal sound conditioned by the soprano, tenor and baritone of the protagonists, a reliance on leitmotivic structure, and the important musical role given to the Vorspiel, which in each case sets out much of the musical material. Schreker's Die Gezeichneten, composed in 1913-15, but not performed until April 1918, has by far the most elaborate and impressive Vorspiel of the time, which encapsulates the opera itself. Composed first of all, it is simultaneously embryo and distillation. Schreker's background is extensively discussed in Part 3: at this stage it is only necessary to relate the composition of Die Gezeichneten to his later Vienna years, immediately following the delayed but acclaimed first performance in Frankfurt of Der ferne Klang, always thereafter (1912) the archetypal Schreker opera. In 1911 he had written a scenario on Poe's Masque of the Red Death entitled Der rote Tod, never actually set to music.[33] Set in the middle ages, this text is closely related to Die Gezeichneten in its crossing of rapturous, crowded, festive brilliance with a sense of impending disaster. Poe's only named character is Prince Prospero, but Schreker prescribes a large assembly of figures, including Prinzessin Maria and Graf Heinrich Farrar, whose nuptial feast this is, the dancer Lora and the fool Golu. The 'rote Maske' who brings the feasting to a grim and abrupt end is designated a silent role.

33. UE, 1912. Drugulin's 3 vol. tr. of Poe (1853) was followed in 1901-4 by H. and A. Moeller v. den Bruck's 10 vol. edition.

Throughout his life, Schreker paid the greatest attention to scenic effects, to the visual, atmospheric aspect of his works. From the detailed setting of Fritz's study (Der ferne Klang, Act 3) to the equally detailed tableaux, devised in conjunction with Caspar Neher for the ill-fated Schmied von Gent of 1932, the 'sound-obsessed' composer drew his inspiration from the thing seen as well as the thing heard.[34] Der Rote Tod shows this from the outset. Prospero's castle has

Eine Flucht erleuchteter Säle. Grösste Pracht. Jeder der Säle ist in einem andern Farbenton gehalten, und die Beleuchtung stimmt mit diesem überein. Man sicht einen grünen, weissen, licht-und tiefblauen, violetten Saal und Lichtschimmer aus angrenzenden Gemächern. In dem zunächst gelegenen Saal rechts, eine mächtige Uhr in schwarzem Ebenholzgehäuse.[35]

At the close (Scene 17) the hall 'füllt sich mit Masken in phantastischen Kostümen. Über dem Ganzen liegt eine Flut von einem seltsamen, gelbrosigem Licht.' In each of these descriptions, the sensual, heady awareness of colour[36] seems virtually to submerge the objects and surroundings.

Der rote Tod remained only a project. Die Gezeichneten, however, was from the beginning Schreker's own idea, on a much larger scale than the Poe sketch, and with the 'festal' aspects transferred to the Italian High Renaissance, more specifically that of sixteenth-century Genoa. This full-length, three-act opera was singled out as 'beyond question his best work' by the sharply critical T. W. Adorno[37] and gained the admiration of, among others, Winfried Zillig[38] and Mosco Carner.[39] Paul Bekker regarded this opera with

34. The success of Der Geburtstag der Infantin in the 1908 Wiener Sezession was not lost on Heinrich Kralik, who later noted that the 'Klangvision' at the root of Schreker's style was susceptible of many colouristic and painterly associations. 'Es ist also ein höchst sinnvoller Zufall gewesen', he said, 'dass just eine 'Kunstschau', eine Veranstaltung von Malern, von Koloristen, diesen farbentrunkenen Musiker seine specifische Berufung gewahr werden liess'. Aub., 1934, 74.

35. Textbuch, 5.

36. Other instances are the changing colours at the close of Das Spielwerk and Irrelohe. Cf. also Scriabin, Schoenberg and Korngold's Violanta.

37. Quasi una fantasia, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1963; 195.

38. Von Wagner bis Strauss. Nymphenburger Vlg, München, 1966, 159 f.

39. The Listener, 28 Jan, 1965, 164.

affection, and produced it at Kassel in 1926. He was especially drawn to the third act, in which the paradisal island becomes the setting for an elaborate Renaissance 'Trionfo'. Bekker spoke of Act 3's episodic structure (and that of Der ferne Klang's Act 2) as a reversion to the older, pre-Wagnerian opera. 'In beiden Fällen', he argued 'ein szenischer Vorwurf voll spannender, die Phantasie ins Ungemessene, wilde treibender farbenreicher Erscheinungen. In beiden Fällen künstlerische Bändigung, durch eine starke in grossen Gliederungen aufbauende architektonische Kunst'.[40]

A love of Italy and the Mediterranean, and the delight in public festivity which the composer never lost were here drawn together in a form which had little to do with history as such, but much to do with the Jugendstil mythology of the Renaissance, with what has been called the 'ästhetische Immoralismus' or 'aesthetic paganism' promulgated most famously long before by J. J. Heinse.[41] The myths of beauty and strength, of unbridled sensuality and the almost magic power of art and the artist are here explicitly and in abundance. They carry that 'tragedy of an ugly man' which Zemlinsky, himself a dwarfish figure, had asked Schreker to prepare for him. Though Zemlinsky agreed on request to surrender the text to Schreker,[42] he did not abandon the idea, and subsequently composed the one-act Der Zwerg (see Ch. 6) on the same subject as Schreker's own 1908 pantomime Der Geburtstag der Infantin. This work was the almost inescapable progenitor of Die Gezeichneten, which may be regarded as an imaginative enlargement and reconstruction of the theme in Wilde's story. Of the many resemblances, perhaps the most striking and poignant is that between the dwarf's dreadful self-discovery in the Infanta's mirror, and Alviano's confession to Carlotta:

> Mir - mir - der sich/selbst hasst, der sich/flieht, der aus den/ Räumen, die er bewohnt - /die Spiegel verbannt![43]

40. G. S., III, 74. See also App. C.
41. Walther Brecht's Heinse und der ästhetische Immoralismus had been published in 1911.
42. Aub., 1920, 548. Schreker does not name his 'colleague in Apollo'.
43. Atelier scene. Textbuch, 45.

Alviano's island 'Elysium', off Genoa, and his palace in the city are linked less with that other Prospero's philosophic 'Zauberinsel' in The Tempest than with Poe's glittering vision. Still further, this self-generated 'Utopia' has antecedents in Titian's Bacchanale The Andrians in the Madrid Prado, itself derived from Philostratus' second century A.D. descriptions of the island of Andros,[44] and still more, perhaps, in Rubens' copy, now in Stockholm. Heinse's novel Ardinghello (1787) had most clearly embodied this conception of an elysian 'Utopia', though in Ardinghello's case, a Greek island, as against the Renaissance Italy of his earlier life was chosen as the location for his 'visionary' state, his 'glückliche Insel'.

As Mona Lisa is populated largely by the Florentine nobility, so the high-born Genoese form the personnel of Die Gezeichneten. The wealthy Alviano Salvago is 'Körperlich misgestaltet, verwachsen, hasslichen Antliztes'[45] but despite, or because of this is filled with dreams and visions of beauty, of which 'Elysium' is the outward symbol. He later remarkes of the island's beauty: 'Die Künstler wirkten. Ich gab nur die Sehnsucht'.[46] By contrast, Graf Vitelozzo Tamare is the embodiment of the Renaissance 'Kraftmensch', at least in physical impressiveness, sexual prowess and in his view of himself as an enemy of darkness. A direct literary descendant of Heinse's Ardinghello, Tamare is 'die herrlichste und zugleich die unbändigste und rücksichtloseste Verkörperung brennenden Lebensdranges'.[47] In this sense, he

44. Cf. Fritz Saxl: 'A Humanist Dreamland' (Washington, 1945), in Lectures, Warburg Institute, 1957, 215-227. The essentially non-mythological Watteau Fête galante is more remote in feeling from Die Gezeichneten, since Schreker stressed the presence of antiquity in the Maskenzug. This contradicts the view of Adorno (loc. cit., 192) relating Alviano's island to Debussy's 'L'Isle joyeuse'. Cf. the comparison of Hofmannsthal and Böcklin by E. Sulber Gebing (1905) and Carl Bleibtreu (1912) especially Böcklin's Toteninseln, (1880-83) and Gefild der Seligen (1878). Wunberg, 118, 239. The 'horticultural-aesthetic' Utopia of Freiherr von Risach's Biedermeier Rosenhaus in Stifter's Nachsommer (1857) is perhaps the most distinguished 19th century literary antecedent of Schreker's 'Elysium'.

45. Walter Gmeindl. Die Gezeichneten: Thematische Analyse, UV, 1922, 3-4.

46. Textbuch, 56 (III, V).

47. Gmeindl, 4.

represents an aspect of 'heroic vitalism', a link with early 20th century ideas of the 'life force' as a constructive enemy of bourgeois convention.[48] In conversation with the unpopular Genoese overlord, Herzog Antoniótto Adorno, he justifies his totally hedonistic stance:

> Es gibt Menschen, Herzog,/die sehen nur Licht -
> und/ das Dunkel ist ihnen fremd./Solch einer war ich.
> Das Leben/schien mir ein Born des Freude,/aus dem ich
> trank mit durstigen/Zügen; sorglos, ohn' Besinnen. (Textb., 31)

The weakness of Tamare's characterisation, however, lies in his one-dimensional personality. His demise (and the agony of Alviano) would perhaps be more involving if his stature were more truly heroic, his effect on Carlotta less purely physical.

Carlotta, daughter of the Genoese Podestà Lodovico Nardi is the embodiment of the educated Renaissance woman discussed at length by Burckhardt.[49] An artist of singular talent, who has studied at Antwerp, she differs from Schreker's other female creations in that she is not characterised solely or even basically through sexual trauma and dependence. Indeed, before warning Tamare against pursuit of Carlotta, Herzog Adorno acknowledges her skill with the remark: 'Ein grosser Maler nannte mir einmal ihren Namen, als den einer seltnen Begabung'.[50] She is also consumptive (and thus one of the 'marked' or 'doomed' ones of the title) So that after her seduction by Tamare in one of Alviano's island grottoes, her collapse and death from shock at Tamare's own death by Alviano's enraged hand seems, like Alviano's final madness, the only proper fulfilment of such a nature.

> Allzu herbe gezeichnet vom Schicksal warst du
> flügellahm, unfrei, verzagt.

observes Tamare to Alviano in the closing scene, shortly before the fatal blow.

48. Eric Bentley: A Century of Hero-Worship, J. B. Lippincott, N.Y., 1944, 258, Cf. also W. Oehlmann in Franz Schreker, Lafite, Vienna, 1970, 72.

49. Kultur der Renaissance, Part V. Middlemore's translation, 203-6. Carlotta also possesses (probably accidentally) something of Fr. Schlegel's Greek womanly ideal Diotima.

50. Textbuch, 33-34.

He has just boasted to Alviano that Carlotta was his from their first meeting, and echoes Paolo Valvi's words early in Act 1, which might form the opera's motto: 'Die Schönheit sei Beute des Starken'.

Dramatically, Die Gezeichneten has a cumulative effectiveness all the greater for its heavy dependence on the music. Two instances will illustrate this; in both cases the words would be almost intolerable without the music. Ex. 40 comes from Act 1, Scene 4, and its acidulous chromaticism conveys Carlotta's candidly sensual response to Tamare (a necessary movement in their encounter) as words alone could not. Similarly Alviano's threat to Tamare in the grotto scene (Act 3, Sc. 20) might be almost comic were it not for the dreamlike intensity of the orchestral strings' harmonic background, (Ex. 41).[51] The critic of the Kasseler Volksblatt, admiring Bekker's production commented on this fundamental quality:

Seine Musik hat immer etwas Elementares, ursprünglich empfundenes, nie etwas Gequältes, das mühsam den Sinn des Wortes zu allegorisieren, ihn mühsam zu umschreiben sucht, sondern beides, Wort und Ton, wirken so kraftvoll ineinander, dass es schwer zu sagen ist, ob dieses oder jenes zuerst da war.[52]

Schreker had virtually said as much in his 1919 article,[53] besides saying that he composed without plan, and denying his texts any purely 'literary' quality. Even when one allows for the avoidance of value-judgment in this remark, it is simply impossible to compare them as literature with the Hofmannsthal libretti. Poles apart from the poet's ultra-refined cultivation and minutely critical mind, Schreker undoubtedly suffered from the fragmented education of his adolescence, remaining a quiet man thereafter; he was, in Alma Mahler's words 'eine merkwürdige Mischung von Geist und konstitutioneller Unbildung'.[54] He never developed a sure literary taste,

51. The E-B♭/G♯-D harmony here opens Scriabin's Vers la flamme, op. 72 (1914) Transposed instances occur in Ravel's Valses nobles et sentimentales, VIII, bar 13f. (1911) and the final chord of Berg's Der Wein (1929).

52. Anb., 1927, 269.

53. Meine musikdramatische Idee. Anb., 1919, 6.

54. Alma Mahler Werfel: Mein Leben, S. Fischer, Frankfurt, 1960, 52.

and his texts, including that of Die Gezeichneten undoubtedly suffer from mannerisms, naivetés and bathetic infelicities, inevitable in view of the speed with which they were written - they always stemmed from a visual rather than a literary idea - and the general lack of later revision. These defects were noted from the outset both by detractors like Hofmannsthal[55] and admirers of his music like Robert Prechtl.[56] Even Bekker, whose early encomiastic reviews had ignored the verbal shortcomings - at this period he viewed with some disapproval texts with a markedly literary flavour, such as those of Palestrina or Die Frau ohne Schatten[57] - later expressed disappointment at his old friend's lack of self-criticism.[58]

The comment 'ich schreibe planlos' is simply a description of his inspirational mode of working, seized, as it were, by the dramatic idea. It does not contradict or invalidate the considerable structural, dramatic qualities of Schreker's operas, all of which are well-wrought pieces of theatre. Die Gezeichneten is no exception; each successive scene maintains its unity of idea, and vigorous forward impulse:

Act 1. Alviano's gift of the island 'Elysium' to the people of Genoa. The Genoese nobility discuss this eagerly, against the background of high-born Genoese girls' disappearance from their homes. The Pietro-Martuccia quarrel episode heightens the tension. Carlotta meets Alviano and, later, Tamare. She agrees to paint Alviano's portrait.

Act 2. Adorno questions the gift of 'Elysium' and warns Tamare against his pursuit of Carlotta. The Atelierszene, in which Carlotta paints Alviano's portrait. Alviano's passion is gradually and joyfully aroused.

Act 3. The island 'Elysium'. Trionfo and Bacchanale. Public

55. Corr., 507.
56. Opern-Tod: Offener Brief an Franz Schreker, in Melos, 1921, 51-6.
57. G.S., II, 270 ff. and 118 ff.
58. BZM, 71. See also Appendix C.

rejoicing: praise for Alviano, 'der Freudenbringer'. Sudden interruption by the Capitaneo di Giustizia accusing Alviano of abducting young girls and deceiving the people of Genoa. (The real culprit is Ritter Menaldo, lover of Ginevra Scotti). Offstage, Tamare seduces Carlotta and appears, boasting of his success. Alviano stabs Tamare; Carlotta emerges, and dies of grief. Alviano loses his wits.

As this brief summary indicates, Die Gezeichneten presents the personae and tensions of its protagonists against the rich, powerfully suggestive background of Renaissance Genoa, with its strong sense of civic identity. The Vorspiel is entirely concerned with the first, while the second is developed in the action. Exx. 43 to 48 present the main thematic material of the Vorspiel, headed by the 'undeutliches, verschwommenes Summen, Schwirren, Glitzern'[59] of the nebulous D major/B flat minor opening, figuring piano, celeste, harps and violins. The D major tonality is emphasised by the melodic figure (Ex. 43) marked 'sehr ausdruckvoll' and its continuation, with the important upward 7th leap (Ex. 44). Together they represent Alviano's obsessive yearning for fulfilment in beauty. Carlotta the artist appears in Exx. 45 and 46, festal themes associated also with the Maskenzug late in Act 3.[60] Marked characteristically 'mit brutaler Leidenschaft', Tamare's energy and 'heroism' are symbolised in the Italianate D major theme of Ex. 47. This theme, Schreker's daughter has suggested, may account for the emphasis given by Julius Kapp to Tamare as the archetypal Schreker figure, whereas, she points out, not only is he the victim of his actions, but he is unique among the major figures of Schreker's operas in being entirely at the mercy of his sexuality.[61] So, admittedly, are most of the other Genoese aristocracy

59. Schreker's description in the autograph score.

60. Though Debussy is not generally an influence in this work, Grout's point about the Nocturnes applies here, where traces of Fêtes can be heard, and in Ex. 33, which owes a little to Sirènes. The closing idea of the Vorspiel in Der Schatzgräber is not unlike Ex. 22. A Short History of Opera, Norton, 1965 ed., 507.

61. Julius Kapp: Franz Schreker: Der Mann u.s. Werk, Drei Masken Verlag, Munich, 1921, 76f. Also HSB, 19-20.

in the opera, though their role is essentially supportive to their acknowledged charismatic leader.

The public aspects of Die Gezeichneten are also important in sustaining the opera's dramatic momentum. Three figures are particularly significant here. Ex. 49 with its thrice-repeated E octave on the horns opens Act 1, and directly links Alviano's inner disquiet and decision to give the island to the city with the idea of civic justice later to emerge in Act 3. The E flat figure of Ex. 50 opens Scene 4, and indicates pomp and ceremonial as the Podestà, his wife, daughter and other senators enter Alviano's palace from one side as Alviano and his lawyer emerge from the other. A further figure (Ex. 54) appears for the first time early in Act 3, its lean aggression connected with the imminent events, and the fears of Alviano.

Though Tamare's theme reappears in other keys, and in the minor mode, and is given ensemble treatment early in Act 3, its musical nature does not change. Alviano's first, falling motif (Ex. 43) is, however later harmonised as Ex. 51, running straight into Ex. 48, Carlotta's D major motif of Ex. 46 transformed into a slow, languid theme over an arpeggiated accompaniment. These two instances of Schreker's musical technique, wordlessly associating Alviano's yearning with Carlotta's potential for surrender, are excellent illustrations of what the composer (and Bekker) meant when they spoke of the instantaneous musico-dramatic idea. The delicacy of scoring and harmonic plangency of the Atelier scene in Act 2 are further instances of this. Ex. 50 is the opening idea, depicting Carlotta working at her easel, Ex. 51 the descending, sweetly chromatic motif at the point where she is describing a picture of a single hand 'pale and limp like that of a corpse' painted by an Antwerp fellow-student. Even the famous Act 3 ensemble 'Ah welche Nacht' (Ex. 55) combines with the earlier admiring whispers of townsfolk to produce a mood of communal hypnosis. It is the justification for the elaborate scene-setting at the act's opening, Schreker's unabashed response to the Mediterranean at dusk; the following is an abbreviated translation:

The outlines of Genoa in the background. The mirror-like sea glowing in the evening light. A rocky height is visible, with a path leading upwards to

an arbour concealed by a thick rose hedge. Flowers and plants of many colours, fantastic forms and marble groups, depicting erotic scenes from Greek mythology. Fountains are playing, and fauns are visible. Groups of naiads float through the glade, and a train of bacchantes rushes noisily across. Everyone falls silent as the Angelus rings from the city. The people kneel and uncover their heads. It grows darker. A dark red shaft of light shines from the city, and the sea is covered with points of light - visitors to the festivities approaching in small craft. Fauns and naiads gambol, the bacchante train goes by again, and the first citizens arrive. It is evening. A faun blows his flute, the Angelus sounds, and the citizens kneel. (Soon afterwards, before Tamare's voice (Ex. 47, wordless) is heard offstage, the scene grows as bright as day.)

It is not until Scene 15 that the Trionfo occurs, providing an essential theatrical setting for Tamare's seduction of Carlotta, as Exx. 45-47 from the Vorspiel are recapitulated: Scene 15's structure is detailed in the score as follows, with the sections of the Maskenzug numbered:

> A huge, grotesque masked procession, allegorically displaying the unity of ancient times with the Renaissance. Fauns blow a fanfare on their flutes. (Ex. 45)
>
> 1. Heralds in the style of the time.
> 2. Fauns; an imposing vision of an artist and his Egeria.
> 3. Heralds, with groups of artistic displays.
> 4. Slow procession of Apollo in his sun chariot, the symbol of glory (Ex. 46) light shines on him so that he gleams and grows larger on approach. In his train, muses and famous Renaissance artists. An artist rushes forward and kneels at Apollo's chariot. Apollo raises him up on to the chariot, where he is crowned by the muses. His abandoned Egeria vainly holds out her arms to him. The fauns move off, followed by the chariot.
> 5. Entry of Venus, with gleaming train. Figures from the

1001 Nights,[62] Märchen; Naiads, nobles, boys and girls.

6. A Bacchante train - 'wild, zuggellos, in krasser Realistik zu inszenieren'. Carlotta in its midst, with a masked nobleman, Tamare, at her side. Cry: 'Evoe Bacche'. (Ex. 47). The Count seizes Carlotta passionately and kisses her. They climb the rock. Behind the rose-hedge an intense blue light begins to appear. The love duet ends:

Dir entgegen, du Süsser
Kurz ist die Nacht
und der Morgen nah.

IV

Schreker had to wait until April 1918 to see Die Gezeichneten produced. Its enthusiastic reception was, years later, described as possibly the peak of the composer's career.[63] Two full years before this, Korngold's Violanta was performed alongside his Der Ring des Polykrates at Munich. It is the work of this period which most closely embodies the 'Venice legend' which had for some time been a feature of German literature. There is little doubt that the young Korngold was drawn to the one-act form by the powerful example of Salome and Elektra, whose influence is manifest. At the same time, he includes no fewer than three tenors (Alfonso, Matteo and Bracca) to Trovai's bass-baritone. Much of the admiration which greeted it inevitably sprang from the fact that it is, by any standards, an amazing work for a 17 year-old. 'Wo im Polykrates alles in heiteren Himmelblau glänzte', wrote Richard Hoffmann, 'glühte die Violanta in nächtlichem Purpur ..... entfesselte Gewalten, leidenschaftliches Begehren .... Tod und Verderben ..... breites al fresco in Tinten von Böcklinischer Sattheit'.[64] In an article to mark

62. Schreker's error; see Ch. 2, page 24.
63. Karl Holl: Franz Schreker obituary. Auft., 1934, 83-87.
64. Erich Wolfgang Korngold C. Stephenson, Vienna, 1922, 72. Cf. Acts 2 and 3 of Der ferne Klang.

Korngold's thirtieth birthday in 1927, Richard Specht admired Violanta as a work of genius, his best to date.[65] Hans Müller's text owes something to the 'sensual' view of Venice in Hofmannsthal, Schnitzler and Act 2 of Der ferne Klang, as well as Paul Heyse, who in his novel Andrea Delfin (1859) and one-act play Frau Lukrezia (1884) presented the city as a scene of violence and revenge.[66] Hints of Venice as 'im eigentlichsten und umfänglichsten Sinne ein grosses Kunstwerk'[67] occur in the ostentatious wealth of the merchant Simone Trovai, and the presence of the painter Giovanni Bracca, as well as the depiction of the city at carnival time. As in Mona Lisa, in fact, the carnival provides a backcloth for the action.[68] Violanta is in seven scenes, each with a focal point of interest, prefaced by a short, slow Vorspiel containing the chief motifs of Violanta and Alfonso Ex. 56, with its E-B flat tritone, augmented B flat triad and superimposed high C sharp symbolises Violanta's 'Rätselhaftigkeit', while the falling figure in Ex. 57 suggests the awakening of her feelings for Alfonso. Ex. 58 (piano, harp and mandoline prominent in the scoring) extends this into the Venetian ambience, combining sensuality (A major) with danger and mystery[69] (E - A tritone). Alfonso's motif (Ex. 59) recalls Jochanaan's two opening ideas in Salome[70] respectively in key (C) and rhythmic contour.

The opera's seven scenes are as follows:

I Simone Trovai's house on the Giudecca Canal. It is carnival time. (Carnival idea, Ex. 60) The chorus sings 'Hente ist

65. DM, 1927, 330.

66. Ellmann quotes Ruskin's view of medieval Venice as virgin and Renaissance Venice as whore, in contrast with the Paterian idea of the Renaissance as 'the playtime of sensation', an explicit attack on Christian asceticism. Overtures to Salome in Oscar Wilde: Critical Essays (ed. Ellmann) Prentice-Hall, 1969, 73 ff. Praz has made the point that Shakespeare and Jonson rely largely on Venetian background in their depiction of Italy, perhaps through John Florio's influence. 'Venice appeared (to Jonson) like a reincarnation of the opulence and corruption of the ancient world'. Cf. The Flaming Heart, P. Smith, Gloucester, Mess. 1966, 166f and 176f.

67. O. J. Bierbaum: G. W., VII, 295.

68. Act 3 of Die tote Stadt (1919) also includes a carnival, though Korngold had not then seen the Bruges setting of that work. Luzi Korngold, Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Lafite, Vienna, 1967, 99.

69. D. M. Hall: The Venice Legend (op. cit.)

70. del Mar, op. cit., Vol 1, Ch. VIII(a) Exx. 6 and 14.

der Tanztag von Venedig'. Simone's entry is signalled by the boldly energetic Ex. 61. Subsidiary characters are Matteo (like Narraboth in Salome, he loves Violanta from a distance), Old Barbara (Violanta's nurse) and the girl Bice dressed as Columbine.

II The Simone scene. He commands them all to be silent and orders the soldiers back to their posts. Matteo begs to be sent away from Venice, but is threatened with execution by Simone, who sends for Violanta:

'Lauf schnell hinab zum Hause Chigi
Vielleicht ist sie bei ihrer Mutter.'

III Arrival of the painter Giovanni Bracca, described as 'heiter, stutzerhaft' a 'Lebemann' of his time. He cries:

Auf nach San Marco!
Ganz Venedig trägt Maske,
tanzt und lässt sich gehn,
selbst Ehemänner sind heut ledig!
Wein! Blumen! Lichter!

The mention of Alfonso's presence in Venice brings back Ex. 59 in E major, followed at once by Ex. 62, the 'Hate' motif. Violanta, it emerges, hates Alfonso for having seduced her sister Nerina and led her to drown herself. Alfonso's heroic motif then appears in a gloomier, re-harmonised form (Ex. 63). Violanta's sudden arrival in the doorway (cf. Mona Lisa) fills Simone with emotion.

IV The revenge plan. Violanta announces Alfonso's imminent arrival at the house. She portrays him as surrounded by adoring women, but says that he did not know who she was, assuming her to be an artist from the Teatro Fenice. 'Hundert tausend reine Fraun warten mit mir', she declares, proposing to the initially horrified Simone that they murder Alfonso. The tritone of Ex. 56 and the 'Hate' motif reappear before Ex. 64, embodying her determination. Simone warns her:

Bedenk eines Königs Blut.
Einst Kann er mein Herr sein
Ahnunglos kommt er hierher.

Significantly, Violanta replies 'Hass und Liebe sind Brüder im Herzen'. Again, Exx. 56 and 62 precede the next idea, Ex. 65, which is an E major 'march' song to be used as a signal between them.

V Preparation for Alfonso's arrival. The Violanta-Barbara scene (slightly reminiscent of Desdemona and Emilia) serves to build up a sense of expectancy. According to Julius Korngold,[71] this scene, which undoubtedly increases the overall tension, was inserted on Erich's insistence. The old nurse Barbara sings a D major Märchen-lullaby before leaving Violanta in darkness. In great emotion, Violanta leans over the balcony and listens. The dreamlike evocation of Venice is here at its strongest:

> Draussen ist ein voller Mond aufgegangen, der die Luft weich und silbrig macht, sein Widerschein schimmert von Wasser der Lagune zurück. Durch die Stille klingt der Schlag von Rudern, die ein Boot näher bringen. Jedesmal tropft das Wasser im Takt von den Hölzern.

Alfonso's lute song (Ex. 66) emerges from the humming of eight unseen bass voices. 'Lokke nur, lokke, bühlerischer Traum!' cries Violanta.

VI The main scene: Alfonso and Violanta. He is 'jung und lebhaft, von einer prinzlichen Grazie der Bewegungen', and his first remark on seeing Violanta is:

> Wie schön seid Ihr, wie herrlich schön!
> Wie traumhaft, wie zauberisch
> dies Antlitz zu sehn!

Violanta's determination gradually wilts as Alfonso unfolds the

71. unpub. memoirs, Ch. 22, 183.

story of his motherless, homeless early years. As he ends his story with the words:

Ich Dürstender der ich nach Liebe brenne
hab nie gefühlt, wie reine Liebe tut

Exx. 56 and 59 are heard together. Ex. 56 is repeated fortissimo and the Vorspiel opening is restated in silence, Violanta's head sinks, and she softly warns him to leave. A new idea (Ex. 67, really a development of the 'signal' song, Ex. 65) precedes the rich B major love duet (Exx. 68 and 69) a melody prefiguring the famous 'Glück, das mir verblieb' in Die tote Stadt. Simone impatiently calls to Violanta.

VII Violanta's death. As Simone rushes in, Alfonso expresses amazement, Violanta dread. Simone cries 'Du Dieb ..... brichst du in meine Hütte ein?' but Violanta, stepping forward, receives the death-blow intended for Alfonso. She moves over to a couch, and dies with the words

Still ..... Still. Hab Dank, du Strenger
nun ist das Weib wieder dein!

As the carnival music returns, the sound of voices fills the stage. Flowers are thrown from an upper window on to the balcony, and a group of masked figures, led by Bracca, and carrying torches rushes in. A reddish glow fills the stage and is slowly extinguished as flowers continue to fall and the opera closes with, successively, the carnival theme (in the minor), Violanta's opening theme and the 'Hate' motif.

Among the chief influences on Müller's text mentioned by Hoffmann are Maeterlinck[72] and Schnitzler, and it is easy to see why. Equally, however, he dismissed Wilde's fragment A florentine Tragedy as 'Rhetorik', a curious judgment in the light of the setting of this as a one-act opera by Korngold's

72. R. S. Hoffmann, op. cit., 73. Cf. William Archer's remark that Wilde's Salome was 'borrowed from music .... through the mediation of Maeterlinck'. Qu. D. Arnold: Strauss and Wilde's Salome, MMR, 1959, 47.

teacher Zemlinsky soon after the completion of Violanta, and the strong similarities between the two. If Korngold felt closest to Belgian Symbolism, Zemlinsky was clearly attracted by Wilde; chronologically there is every indication that the boy's score led his 45 year-old teacher to compose his own one-act 'Renaissance' opera, turning to Wilde's unfinished play (conjecturally dated 1895)[73] in Max Meyerfeld's translation, and setting it verbatim.

Like Schreker, Zemlinsky had been a composition pupil of Robert Fuchs in Vienna. His style derives initially from Brahms and later from Wagner,[74] with Mahler's influence following later still, at a time when he was generously championing the music of his contemporaries, notably his most famous pupil, Schoenberg.[75] In 1922, Korngold wrote warmly of the older man's compositional influence, mentioning in particular his harmonic logic, technique of protracted resolution, leading voice method and logical bass-line construction.[76] Zemlinsky's first opera, Sarema (1896) had been a Russo-oriental story of passion based on a Gottschall play[77] and exploiting a taste for the exotic which subsequently bore fruit in the Tagore Lyric Symphony and Der Kreidekreis. His best-known stage work, Kleider machen Leute, existed in two versions (1910 and 1922) and, as a setting of Keller's familiar tale, was Zemlinsky's main contribution to the Volksoper tradition.

If Die Gezeichneten indirectly recalls the Titian Bacchanale, Eine

73. E. San Juan, The Art of Oscar Wilde, Princeton, 1967, 108f. Stuart Mason, however, dated the fragment 1893-4, which would place it chronologically immediately after Salome. Bibliography of Oscar Wilde (1914) Bertram Rota, 1967, 464-6. The MS disappeared for years, only to turn up in 1906, and be included in Vol. 2 of Methuen's collected edition of Wilde in 1907. Meyerfeld's translation (1907) followed a Russian one by Michael Lykiardopolous, published in Moscow as early as January 1907, and a Dutch version by K. H. de Raaf (Rotterdam, 1908).

74. Horst Weber, Zemlinsky in Wien, 1871-1911. AMw (1971), 79,86.

75. Leo Schleissner; Die Aera Zemlinsky, Auft. 1925, 193-5
Adorno described him, approvingly, as a natural eclectic in Quasi una fantasia 155 ff.

76. Anb., 1922, 78-9.

77. Rudolf Gottschall, 1823-1909. The 'dramatic poem' was Die Rose vom Kaukasus (orig. E. Litfass, Bln., 1852). See also Ch. 6 n. 92.

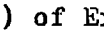
florentinische Tragödie,[78] through Wilde, also contains a reminder of the great Venetian, through Titian's fresco in the Scuola del Santo, Padua on the theme of the jealous husband. Zemlinsky's one-act opera shares with Violanta the literary idea of the 'hysterical Renaissance', a fascination with the Italianate 'revenge' theme, and an intermittent Straussian influence. Perhaps the most notable instance of this is the resemblance in key and harmonic structure between Ex. 71 (the love motif) and the lyrical 'childhood' motif in Elektra. However, this work differs from the others so far discussed in that there are only three characters, the merchant Simone, his young wife Bianca and her lover Guido Bardi. There are neither choruses, processions nor subsidiary characters, yet the feeling of Florence is strongly suggested through Simone's identity as a wealthy Florentine obsessed with business matters which occasion much travel, and Guido's position as a scion, indeed the heir of the Bardi family. Lacking as a text the obviously 'shocking' appeal of Salome, Eine florentinische Tragödie nevertheless provided Zemlinsky with an opportunity to indulge his richly chromatic style and brilliant powers of scoring as he did again in 1919-20 in setting Der Zwerg, yet another Wildean 'aesthetic' source.

The single unified action, complete in itself,[79] permits what is really an undivided stage tone-poem, depicting the merchant's state of mind from his return at the outset, instant realisation of his wife's betrayal, and the gradual change of manner towards Guido from friendly politeness to furious retribution. The 'feurig stürmend' Vorspiel[80] opens with a dactylic figure

78. Prod. Stuttgart, Jan., 1917. UE published the vocal score only in 1916; it was the first Zemlinsky opera to appear from them. The composer took the autograph full score with him to the U.S.A. in 1934 where it is now in the Library of Congress, Washington, together with most other Zemlinsky autographs. Cf. Weber's Werkverzeichnis in AMw (1971), 91 ff.

79. San Juan, op. cit., 109. Wefel singled out this work and Der Zwerg for special praise in his enthusiastic Anbruch article of 1922 (pp. 76-7). It was Der Zwerg which Zemlinsky chose for presentation with Violanta at Prague in 1926. Auft., 1926, 138-9.

80. W. Kemp, reviewing the 1924 Aachen production, admired Zemlinsky's use of the Vorspiel to suggest Guido's and Bianca's love affair, which precedes Wilde's text. Aub., 1924, 161-2.

and violent harmonic clash (Ex. 70) which symbolise Simone's concealed strength. Like Francesco del Giocondo in Mona Lisa he appears to be moved only by his wealth, but is revealed as a man of love (A flat motif, Ex. 71) when challenged in his own home. A transition passage (Ex. 72) including the 'strength' figure () of Ex. 70 leads to the 'langsam, träumend' Ex. 73 whose lingering sweetness is carried into the almost painful sensuality of Ex. 74 - Guido has just been kneeling before Bianca, thus heightening the ironic moment when she relieves Simone of his coat and bundle. The merchant quickly adopts the role of cordial host, but his views on matrimony as a state of ownership and possession are made clear:

Denn ein Haus ist ohne seinen Herrn
ein leeres Ding, und bar der Ehr'
ein Becher ohne Wein, ein blumenloser Garten sonnverwaist (ex. 75)

As Guido introduces himself, Simone's reaction is not unlike the Venetian Trovai's to Alfonso:

wie, der Sohn
des Herzogs von Florenz
des blasse Türme
im silberglast des flüchtigen Monds
allnächtlich wie Schatten
ich vor meinem Fenster sehe?

Just as Francesco views his jewel hoard, so Simone, Renaissance dealer in rich clothes and fabrics, rhapsodises over a damask robe he has brought back with him. The sensual images proliferate:

Ist es nicht weich wie Wasser,
fest wie Stahl?
Die Rosen erst! Seht!
Sind sie nicht schon gewoben?
Der Rose liebster Freund,
die Hügelhänge in Bellosguardo
und in Fiesole, streun solche Blüten
nicht dem Schoss des Frühlings.

It is, he declares, a State robe, 'Venedigs Werk', at which point Exx 76 and 77 in D flat underline the sudden vision of Venetian wealth and craft. Simone's open admiration is here more a tribute to Venetian skill than mere avarice.

Der heilige Vater hat nicht solchen Stein
und Indien kann ihm keine Brüder weisen,
Die Schliesse selbst ist von so hoher Kunst
Cellini schluf zur Augenlust
des grossen Lorenzo Schönres nie.

As he offers the coat to Guido, the music (Ex. 78) with the 'strength' figure on the horns stresses his real state of mind, hinted at also in his casual remark:

Man sagt, die hohen Damen
schwärmen so von Euch.

Guido offers a hundred thousand crowns for the coat, and Simone cannot conceal his genuine astonishment. (Ex. 79) His mind, however, is fixed on revenge, and in the gloomy spinning song (with Bianca at the loom) he sings of 'ein Kleid, getaucht im Purpur ..... als Hülle für ein toten Mann.' Before long, Bianca chides Simone openly:

Sein Geist steht immer auf dem Marktplatz
und sein Herz schlägt immer für den Preis der Wolle.

As Simone rises wearily, takes his bundle and moves to the back of the stage, Bianca announces:

Ich hass ihn. Seel und Leib
Ihr bleiches Siegel hat einer Stirn
die Feigheit aufgeprägt .....
o dass der Tod ihn träfe, wo er steht.

Simone hears all. He does not wish to hear of death (he says) except in houses where marriage is wrecked by adultery. The five-note idea (x) in Ex. 80 is from this point onwards associated with death. Despite Simone's entreaties, Guido will not play the lute; Simone's soul is a prison-cell

(the grey, tight figure around D minor in Ex. 81) and needs music to cure its madness. Guido is 'content with the low music of Branca's voice' (Ex. 82: motif from Ex. 74 on the cellos, accompanied by clarinet, celeste and muted trumpet). Instead, Simone offers him a drink, and Bianca brings the glasses. Simone's sorrow as he goes into the garden leaving Bianca and Guido alone, is mirrored in the dragging F minor of ex. 83. The Ex. 74 motif reappears as Bianca declares her love until death for Guido, (Ex. 84) who prepared to depart. As Simone returns, examining his sword with interest, the five-note idea of Ex. 80 returns (Ex. 85). Very politely, Simone suggests that they compare their skills in swordsmanship. Guido takes his sword and, urged on by Bianca, wounds Simone. Bianca binds her husband's arm, and as the B♭ - C♭ ostinato bass changes to E♭ -F♭ Simone throws Guido to the ground and sets his knee on his chest. The A minor triad at this point suggests Guido's rising fear, while Simone's now uncontrolled rage is reflected in the rising triads (Ex. 86) all above the same ostinato bass. As the death-blow falls, Simone gives vent to a remarkable cry of victory in a descending semi-chromatic D minor line (Ex. 87) of dark intensity. The comic twist[81] of the close is no such thing in Zemlinsky's version, where Bianca's amazed question

Warum hast du mir nicht gesagt, dass du so stark?

(Ex. 80 in D major) is answered by Simone with the A flat love motif of Ex. 71 on harp, woodwind and celeste:

warum hast du mir nicht gesagt dass du so schön!

Bianca falls on her knees before Simone (as she does not in Wilde) and receives his kiss.

V

Enough has been said to show that the Renaissance 'myth' entered Austro-German opera through the medium of a literary vogue which had reached its height more than a decade earlier. The huge casts, colour, pageantry and

81. San Juan, op. cit., 109. Arthur Symons said 'It is meant to be a great climax, but is really only a bad epigram'. Athenaeum review, 16 May 1908, repr. in Oscar Wilde: the Critical Heritage, ed. K. Beckson, Routledge, 1970, 295.

rhapsodic treatment of, say, Mona Lisa and Die Gezeichneten mirror those of Schnitzler's Schleier der Beatrice and of Weigand's Renaissance 'Dramencyclus', a tetralogy which, though published between 1901 and 1904 was written between 1887 and 1898. Like the plays and fiction, the operas are to be seen against the background of the Nietzschean Gewaltmensch, a conception which, whether one calls him Zarathustra or Cesare Borgia, exercised considerable influence on the period. They could also be related to the Renaissance conception of the passage of time, or the existentialist view of history, the 'being in time' compared with the medieval view of reality as a transcendental state of continuing eternity. If the medieval world view represented old age, the Renaissance was seen to stand above all for youth, experiment, adventure and progress, and, through its belief in the force of humanism, as deliberately striving to upset long-felt certainties. As Nietzsche put it:

'Luther's Reformation bears witness to the fact that in his century all movements of the freedom of the spirit were still uncertain, tender and youthful. Science could not yet lift up its head. Indeed the whole Renaissance seems like an early spring which is almost snowed under again.'[82]

Yet one must still ask why it was that the Renaissance proved so powerfully sttractive at this period. Two factors seem to militate against it as a valid imaginative idea. The first is that Burckhardt himself, who did more than anyone to popularise the historical Renaissance, was worried about Nietzsche's sweeping interpretation, and especially about the Gewaltmensch. Not only had he never discussed this with Nietzsche[83] but he confessed that he saw Gewaltmenschen and 'Outlaws' as Flagella Dei, and thought that one could be 'most astonishingly mistaken about their

82. Human, all too human (tr. H. Zimmern), 41, (C & M, IV, 2, 43).

83. He helplessly described Beyond Good and Evil as 'far above my poor old head'. Letter to Nietzsche, 26.9.86, in Letters of Jackob Burckhardt, sel., tr. & ed. A. Dru, Routledge, 1955, 211-12. But cf. Peter Gay on Burckhardt's use of the word Gewaltmensch in Style in History (1975) for a different viewpoint.

psychology'.[84] Secondly, much of the Jugendstil literature on the theme of Venice, especially, which treated Venetian life as a symbol of unalloyed sensual delight was set not in the Renaissance at all, but in the 18th century, using Casanova himself as the central figure. Plays by Hofmannsthal, Schnitzler and Eulenberg fall into this category, while others (by Auernheimer and Vollmöller for instance) take Casanova away from Venice altogether. It is interesting to see the setting of Anthes' Renaissance libretto for Graener's opera Don Juans letztes Abenteuer (1914) described as 'Venedig oder soust eine Stadt, wo es Senatoren gibt, und schöne Frauen, Kanäle und Gondeln darauf'. There is little doubt that the Spinelli palace, and Giovanni's frustrated pursuit of Cornelia Mantoni could be set in any period, and that the decorative Renaissance background could, without loss, be transposed to the Venice of Casanova and Canaletto. The same might be said of another Venetian opera, Erich Anders' one-act Venezia (text by Hans Ludwig)[85] which, like Violanta is placed in the 15th century. The fact that the central character is a Provençal courtesan, Heloïse, reminds us that Grete in Schreker's Der ferne Klang was also a foreign-born prostitute in a glamourised Venice, but, for all the similarity of setting, actually of the present day. As the curtain rises in Venezia 'sicht man ein grosses Fest bei der Kurtisane Heloïse. Die szene ist erfüllt von einem tollen Gewirr tanzender und lärmender Paare'. The picture is not far from Act 2 of Der ferne Klang. What is important here is the image and excitement rather than the strict historical evocation.

84. Letter to Ludwig v. Pastor, 13.1.1893. Letters, 234-5. Konrad Burdach, who developed his hypothesis of the medieval origins of Renaissance humanism before 1914 - he saw the real Renaissance not in the rediscovery of antiquity, but in the 'innersten Lebenskern des italischen Volks' - was inevitably critical of the 'Renaissance-mensch' concept. It was 'die Wonne aller Bohême-Naturen, als geschichtsphilosophisches Schlagwort hoch beliebt bei den Fenilletonisten: die freie, geniale Persönlichkeit, frech frevelnd in verwegener Sündhaftigkeit, diezer frivole Verächter der Religion, der doch mit der Kirche in ihren Dienern Frieden hält, weil er sie für ein unentbehrliches Mittel ansieht, die Masse durch Betrug zu lenken'. This description fitted many Renaissance people, thought Burdach but not their true, creative leaders. Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus, G. Paetel, Berlin, 1918, 102.

85. C. H. Jatho, Berlin, 1916.

The truth is that novelists, playwrights and opera composers were initially attracted to Italy as an idea, a vision, a landscape before it crystallised into the Italy of the Renaissance. Italy had featured in German literature since before Goethe's Italienische Reise and, as suggested above,[86] continued to influence Germans and Austrians precisely because of its proximity and its historical and climatic mystique. In 1912, Worringer, on this same pattern, suggested that Northern man's condition of metaphysical anxiety was a result of his alienation from that 'classical serenity and calm' which was one aspect of the Italian dream.[87] Burckhardt had himself in 1847 urged the 'heissgeliebter Süden' to welcome the (northern) stranger and

Erfülle seine Seele ganz
Mit deinem heitern Sonnenglanz.[88]

With the passage of the 19th century, educated Germans became familiar with Ranke, and later Burckhardt, but still more with the Schlegels' translation of Shakespeare. As a result, the Italian vision took on more and more the appearance of the Renaissance dream, a consequence further brought about by the Germanic view of the Italian cities, especially Florence and Venice, as essentially architectural creations of the High Renaissance. In this sense, the vision of Leonardo's Florence in Mona Lisa, of mid-16th century Genoa in Die Gezeichneten and of Cinquecento Venice in Violanta all represent the fusion of the southern landscape - the sea or a major river present in every case - with an idealised feeling of a distant, vibrant epoch. As Meyer presented it in 1891 (describing Angela Borgia's journey on horseback to Ferrara alongside Alfonso d'Este and his professional companions) the 'Bühne der Welt' unfolded in 'ungewöhnlicher Pracht':

Strahlender Himmel, glänzende Trachten, öffentlicher Jubel, der festliche Verkehr der Begünstigsten und Glücklichen dieser Erde, berauschende Musik, stolzierende Rosse, reizende Frauen, verliebte Jünglinge, schmeichelnde

86. Cf. n. 15.
87. Formproblem der Gotik, 4th ed., R. Piper, München, 1920, 20-1.
88. qu. Kohn, op. cit., 33. Cf. also Ch. 8 w/r Leben des Orest.

Huldigungen, klopfende Pulse, die Welt, wie sie schmückt und lachelnd im Spiegel besicht .....'[89]

By the end of the 19th century, the Italian Renaissance had come to be conceived of as, if not the first truly secular period, then one in which there had been creative tension between traditional religion and the new secular forces. Praising Raphael, for instance, Herbert Eulenberg saw him as embodying even more than his contemporaries 'der Geist der Renaissance, der Jupiter und Gottvater eines war, die Plato mit dergleichen Verehrung wie das Evangelium las'.[90] A Buckhardtian picture had been built up of despotic power (Cesare Borgia) intolerant puritanism (Savonarola) the exaltation of statecraft (Machiavelli) and of courtly etiquette (Castiglione) alongside patronage on a grand scale (Lorenzo dei Medici) and artistic genius of the highest order (Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael).

After the landscape, the Renaissance 'myth' lays heavy stress on youth, possibly as a result of its preoccupation with history as 'human time'.[91] This features heavily in Weigand's dramas, and again in the later 'Renaissance' operas. It seems to associate the Italian Renaissance, particularly, with states of abnormal dramatic intensity and a heightened awareness of possible, and conflicting, courses of action. In the Vorspiel to Cäsar Borgia, Weigand presents the 21-year-old, blonde, handsome Cäsar dressed as a Cardinal in his Roman palace, on the evening of 14th June 1497, against a background of rich tapestries, a statue of the Madonna, a portrait of Pope Alexander VI dating from his cardinalate, and an antique, armless statue of Venus.[92] Again, in Savonarola, the dying Lorenzo ('Wie bitter , bitter ist das Sterben') overhears a lute song outside very similar to Arrigo's

89. C. F. Meyer: Angela Borgia, Werke, I (1924), 380-1.

90. Schattenbilder: ein Fibel fur kulturbedürftige in Deutschland, B. Cassirer, 1912, 194.

91. Cf. Joseph Chiari: Symbolism from Poe to Mallarmé. Rockliff, 1956, 169, n.

92. G. Müller, München, 1904. Written Summer 1897. Intended as a preliminary to the long play which follows, covering the years 1500-7.

(Ex. 29) in Mona Lisa:

Schöne Jugend ohne Sorgen
Ach, wie bald bist du entschwunden!
Freut euch Glückliche, der Stunden
Ungewiss bleibt stets das Morgen.[93]

Even Savonarola, sitting alone at a table much later (Act 3) a crucifix before him, is forced to look back on a youth glowing from afar, reminding him of the measureless passage of abundant life, 'des Lebens heissen Überschwung'.

The 'youth' theme goes further. That motif of sexual jealousy which has been shown to run through the 'Renaissance' operas in each case concerns a woman standing between two men. One is older and very wealthy, yet possessed by that 'sentiment of honour' described by Burckhardt as 'the moral force which was the strongest bulwark against evil' and yet 'an enigmatic mixture of conscience and egoism'.[94] The other is younger, ambitious and acutely aware of his physical attractiveness. The first category even encompasses Alviano - a man old not so much in years as in spiritual suffering caused by his physical appearance. The second includes Tamare, like Alfonso a persuasive and unscrupulous seducer, but one who, for all that, can quickly win the love of such a remarkable woman as Carlotta, just as Alfonso quickly overcomes the steely and vengeful Violanta. In the case of Mona Lisa and Eine florentinische Tragödie, we are presented with a wife's desertion for a younger, more attractive man as a result of neglect caused by the husband's evidently exclusive obsession with worldly wealth.

After the idealised vision of Italy and the preoccupation with youth, a third strand in the literary myth of the Renaissance is its conception of the artist. Despite the resurgence of the grim, ascetic Savonarola as a literary figure following Lenau's play Savonarola: ein Gedicht of 1837[95] the fearsome

93. G. Müller, 1904, Written 1887-90 and 1898.
94. CR, 224. (Middlemore).
95. Based on Rudelbacher's 1835 study and intended, as has lately been shown, as a counterblast to Heine's Hellenist hedonism. Cf. GMOL, V, 166. Before they agreed on Violanta, Hans Müller had also proposed the subject of Savonarola to Erich Korngold. Cf. Julius Korngold unpub. Memoirs, 183.

moralist he represents is overtaken by the figure of the creative artist, usually a painter. He is increasingly seen as embodying the soaring potential of human genius, and inspiring those panoplies of festive pageantry in so many Quattro and Cinquecento pictures. Not for nothing was a largely forgotten Renaissance painter like Carpaccio, who delighted in just this kind of brilliant public display, extensively revalued during the prewar decades,[96] at a time when Reinhardt was building his unique theatrical reputation on 'Spiel, Bild, Klang, Gleichnis' and the 'Festspielaufführung in der Arena grosse Volksmassen'.[97]

It is perfectly true that other 'festal' scenes in Schreker's operas can be shown to have no connection with Renaissance pageantry. The pages' procession in Das Spielwerk and the opening of Der Schatzgräber in the palace's great hall (not to mention the nuptial festivities of Der rote Tod) are of a generalised medieval nature. Die Gezeichneten's particularised Maskenzug must be seen not only alongside these, but to some extent beside the quasi-festal Mediterranean evocations in Der ferne Klang's second act, and in the similar point in the text of Die tönenden Sphären.[98] For that matter, the carnival in Korngold's Die tote Stadt (despite the allusion to Robert le Diable) may seem to be quite close in treatment to the Florentine procession in Mona Lisa. Both are spectacular outdoor events observed from, and silhouetted against a claustrophobic interior setting symbolic of personal anguish.

96. By Berenson (1894), Venturi (1907) and others. Cf. Von Hadden's 1912 Künstler-Lexicon article, and T. Pignath; Carpaccio, Skira, Paris, 1958, 9.

97. Heinz Herald: Max Reinhardt: ein Versuch über das Wesen der modernen Regie. F. Lehmann, Berlin, 1915, 41.

98. UE, 1924. But cf. also the Ferrarese wedding-feast in Doktor Faust, ch. 5, II. The atmosphere and even certain details of Die Gezeichneten's last act are, however, close to the setting of Der Schleier der Beatrice, Act 4. This runs: 'Der Saal ist hell erleuchtet: der Garten durch Fackeln erhellt, welche unruhig brennen ..... so dass über den grossen wiesenplan ein ungewisses licht verbreitet ist and die Schatten der Bäume, von denen die Wiese umgeben ist, in wechselnder Grösse erscheinen. Für Augenblicke scheint„der Garten wie in Dunkel zu versinken. Man hört entfernte Musik. Über den Rasen sicht man Paare gleiten und wieder verschwinden'.

It could also be argued that there is in Mona Lisa and in the one-act operas of Zemlinsky and Korngold a concentration on visible commercial wealth - finery and objets d'art - rather than 'art' as such. Like Francesco del Giocondo, Bianca's and Violanta's husbands are merchants, while Giovanni Bracca, the professional painter in Violanta is a secondary figure, like the sculptor Ercole Manussi in Der Schleier der Beatrice.[99] Yet there is in Wilde's play a constant dwelling on the richness of materials; Simone's sharply emotional response to Venetian robemaking technique was not lost on Zemlinsky, as Ex. 77 showed. Equally despite the 'Perlen bedeuten Thränen' motif, the hypnotic effect of jewellery of supreme quality is demonstrated in Ex. 34. Jewellery symbolism is, of course, present in Salome, and still more in Der Schatzgräber, but in Mona Lisa is intended, like the Venetian damask robe, to underline a specifically Renaissance sensuality, not to say secularity, or even paganism. A contemporary literary parallel is the opening of Paul Ernst's 1912 story Der Tod des Cosimo. This shows the dying Cosimo de'Medici, watched by Savonarola (again) and Fra Beato, beneath Botticelli's Birth of Venus[100] with 'eingelegte Tischchen gold-und purpurgewebte Kleider, Fläschen aus Kristall, Bilder, schönbemalte Kästchen, welche Schmuck erhielten, eine grosse goldene Kette mit prächtiger Schaumünze, Bücher und, als Gabe, eines armen, ein elendes Bett'.[101] The fascination here lies in the glittering splendour of these artefacts, rather than in the mere demonstration of acquired wealth.

'Das ist Kunst', observes the father in awed tones to the child in Act 3 of Die Gezeichneten as the Maskenzug passes by. Carlotta, the Flemish-trained artist, gains her special significance from the fact that, as a gifted painter she mirrors that part of Alviano's soul which is also that of the artist, one who loves things of beauty, and, like Lorenzo de'Medici in

99. Balanced there by the musician Agostino Dossi and the more important young poet Filippo Loschi, who dies by poisoning.

100. Botticelli, above all early Renaissance artists, attracted English Art Nouveau artists like Crane and Beardsley, as he had the pre-Raphaelites before them.

101. Der Tod des Cosimo, Meyer and Jessner, Berlin, 1913, 2.

Florence, directly inspires the creation of his elysian island. He identifies himself with his island and with Genoa; the artist Carlotta is the embodiment of both. Alviano is thus, as a proxy 'artist' himself, remarkably like the renouncer of instinctual satisfaction described by Freud, who having consigned his 'erotic and ambitious wishes' to fantasy life

> '... finds a way of return from his world of fantasy back to reality, (in which) men concede (his fantasies) a justification as valuable reflections of actual life. Thus by a certain path, he actually becomes the hero, king, creator, favourite he desired to be, without pursuing the circuitous path of creating real alternatives in the outer world'.[102]

But, as with the real Lorenzo de'Medici, with whom he shares some important features, Alviano achieves his proxy role of 'hero, king, creator, favourite' by being a patron. So, too, did Francesco del Giocondo, though his mentality was more closely attuned to the acquisitive mercantile attitude of Simone Bardi or Simone Travai, palace-owners but tradesmen in finery rather than patrons. Although Alviano lived at a time when a commercialised 'art-market' had just begun to erode the old patron-client system, he reinforces the point that it was necessarily through large-scale patronage that Renaissance Italy created its own self-projection. It has been stressed that it was not simply art as representation or imitation of 'the nature of corporall things' or even 'actions and gestures' which really mattered to Renaissance artists and art-lovers, but art as the expression of 'diverse affections and passions of the mind'.[103] Leonardo certainly held this view, and his most celebrated portrait demonstrates it: Schillings' opera underlines the point. The idea is also expressed through Alviano's island, in connection with a city, Genoa, with more commercial than major artistic significance throughout this period. In this respect, Alviano's position

102. Coll. Papers, IV, tr. M. N. Searl (1911) (13-21).

103. J. P. Lomatius, tr. R. Haydock. Tract containing the Arts of Curious Painting, 1598, qu. Mary Hazard: The Anatomy of Liveliness as a concept in Renaissance aesthetics, JAAC, 1975, 411.

is not unlike that of Alfonso of Aragon in Naples during the Quattrocento; Alfonso employed outside artists to foster his vision of a learned, aesthetic paradise, but failed to stimulate his courtiers into continuing and developing the work after his death.[104] Alviano's madness indicates not only the death of love, of feeling, of the senses, but the prospective end of Elysium. One concludes that the rapid sequence of passion, betrayal and revengeful murder will mean the abandonment and decay of this lovingly created, incandescent humanistic dream.

104. Burke, loc. cit., 138-9.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE REFORMATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN POLITICS AND RELIGION.

I Palestrina

II Doktor Faust

III Jürg Jenatsch and Michael Kohlhaas

IV Mathis der Maler and Karl V

V Conclusion

I

The end of the war also meant the effective end of 'Renaissance-begeisterung' as it has been portrayed so far. Yet, through its other aspect, the Reformation, the sixteenth century continued to provide a stimulus for opera composers at some remove from the erotic tension and strident heroics of the secular 'Italian Renaissance' myth. Between 1912 and 1933 six large-scale operas were conceived and written by six entirely different composers, each centred in some way on the consequences of the German Reformation. In chronological order of appearance, they were:

Pfitzner's Palestrina (1917)

Busoni's Doktor Faust (1925)

Kaminski's Jürg Jenatsch (1929)

Klenau's Michael Kohlhaas (1933)

Hindemith's Mathis der Maler (1938; Stuttgart 1946)

Křenek's Karl V (1938; Cologne, 1950)

It is not necessary to establish stylistic musical links between these disparate works, though conceptual links may be and have been drawn.[1] What they have in common is a certain didactic seriousness, a deliberate, even

1. Stuckenschmidt argued that Busoni influenced Hindemith (cf. Oper in dieser Zeit, Velber, Hannover, 1964, 17f.). Wellesz sharply disagreed with this, and more general agreement is found on the link between Palestrina and Mathis der Maler.

self-conscious grandeur of conception and presentation which, on one level, turned them into works of allegory. With the exception of Jürg Jenatsch, the background of each work lies in the period between the rise of Lutheranism and the Counter-Reformation (1525 to 1563). All six deal with the moral, spiritual and political dilemmas of historical individuals faced with the anguish of their relations with the outside world, whether as imperial leader, artist, scholar and dreamer, political activist or wronged citizen. They are allegorical in the sense described by the symbolist writer Saint-Antoine in 1894. He saw allegory as 'toujours didactique.... (elle) n'est point spontanée mais réfléchie, voulue, fille du raisonnement et non de l'inspiration, s'adressant à la pensée plus qu'au sentiment'. As for the distinction between myth and allegory, it lay in the fact that myth 'produit des épopées ou des chants lyriques', while allegory 'produit des apologies ou des paraboles'.[2] Apart from some necessary reference to the music of Jürg Jenatsch and Michael Kohlhaas, the discussion which follows, mainly on the first four of these half-historical, half-allegorical works, concerns their texts and subject matter alone.

Although it is true that both Palestrina and Doktor Faust are vocally dominated by a baritone and a tenor, and that the chorale melody 'Ein feste Burg' makes an appearance in each[3] the connection between these two works - other than their symbolic position as venerated confessional masterworks[4] - lies in their setting, and further demonstration of the creatively fruitful tension between Germany and Italy. This is so despite the famous and well-documented theoretical argument between the conservative Pfitzner and Busoni, a radical in the sense that he fostered the notion of a 'music of the future' and encouraged experiment by others.[5] Jürg Jenatsch and Michael Kohlhass

2. qu. in Helen Watson-Williams: André Gide & the Greek Myth, O.U.P.,1967, 65.
3. Respectively in Act II, Sc. IV and the Wittenberg tavern scene.
4. Walter Riezler's Hans Pfitzner und die deutsche Bühne (R. Piper, München, 1917) has the same tone of filial awe as Kurt Weill's Doktor Faust essay.
5. Much misunderstanding lay behind the argument, especially on Pfitzner's side. The real difference lay in their respective pessimism and optimism over the inevitable changes in the world of modern music. In their veneration for tradition, they were very close. Cf. J. Kindermann, Zur Kontrovese Busoni-Pfitzner in Festschrift für Walter Wiora, Bärenreiter, Kassel, 471-7.

return to the Kraftmensch theme, basing themselves directly on well-known literary works, Meyer's one full-length novel (1876) and Kleist's novelle (1810). Both are technically experimental works, and both are right-wing in political direction. At the opposite pole are the now comparatively well-known Mathis and Karl V, each proscribed in Nazi Germany for its individualist political heterodoxy, and each the work, in text as well as music, of a younger, radical composer who had become famous during the Weimar years.

The historical fiction whereby Palestrina 'saved' church music through the composition of the Missa Papae Marcelli has been many times discussed. Pfitzner's 'musical legend' derives from his reading of the fragmentary fourth volume of A. W. Ambros' Geschichte der Musik.[6] Ambros himself dismisses the legend thus:

'Die sogenannte Rettung der Kirchenmusik durch Palestrina ist nun eine der Mythen, die sich zuweilen berühmten Namen anhängen. Man liesst denn seit Adami von Bolsena immer und immer wieder das Märchen, wie Papst Marcellus II, hocherzürnt über den Missbrauch der Kirchenmusik, beschlossen habe alle Musik aus der Kirche zu verbannen; wie Palestrina ihn bat, das Verbot so lange zurückzuhalten, bis er, der Papst, noch eine musikalische Messe, die Palestrina eben componirte, gehört; wie der Papst durch diese Messe völlig anderen Sinnes geworden .....'[7]

It was the moral idea, as Dent saw,[8] which interested Pfitzner, rather than any attempt to present the period with strict historical accuracy. Of the many factual distortions the most remarkable is the bringing forward by thirty years of the Florentine Camerata to provide a background of 'musical

6. F. E. C. Leuckart, Leipzig, 1878, es. 1-59 on Palestrina and 147-204 on 'Die Musikreform und der Kampf gegen den Contrapunkt.' As Specht pointed out in Hans Pfitzner und sein Palestrina (Separatdruck aus Der Merker, Vienna, X, 5 (1919), 17) the Council of Trent did not actually issue a decree against ecclesiastical polyphony. Further, the Missa Papae Marcelli was actually composed between 1555 and 1562.

7. loc. cit., 13.

8. Hans Pfitzner, ML 1923, 127f. 'Intensität' was the key word in Pfitzner's work, said Bruno Walter in 1918: qu. Erwin Kroll, Hans Pfitzner, Dri Marken Verlag, München, 1924, 47-8.

experiment' for Palestrina's young pupil, Silla. 'Silla denkt und lebt in den neuen Tönen' observes his teacher regretfully. But his greeting of the old Masters, led by Josquin, is tinged with regret of a different kind:

geliebte Götter meiner Blütenjahre,
Ihr Meister, Freunde meiner Manneszeit!

Sadly noting his present creative paralysis, he asks

Was trennt mich doch die harte Toteswand
zu sein wie Ihr mit Euch in Eurem Land.

The late 15th century becomes an irrecoverable time of glory:

Ihr lebtet stark in einer starken Zeit
die dunkel noch im Unbewusstsein lag
als wie ein Korn im Mutter Erde Schoss.

It was generally recognised at the first performance that the relation between Palestrina and the 'alte Meister' mirrored Pfitzner himself as the supposed guardian of the great tradition, and inheritor of Schopenhauerian pessimism.[9] The theme is the artist's tragic destiny[10] as well as his mystic relationship with a higher world.[11] Pfitzner had some years earlier expounded his transcendental ideas on the nature of art.[12] By the time Palestrina appeared, his emphasis on the instinctive and intuitive nature of art, the primary 'geniale Einfall', or initial inspiration from which all else followed, was generally known.[13] He distinguished between the musical idea as 'gegenwärtig' or specific to the moment, and the poetic idea as 'allegenwärtig' or 'omnipresent',[14] suggesting that whereas the action (Verlauf) of a drama must always be related to the primary idea, and can

9. Bekker, G.S.2, 275. As the old Masters say in Act 1: 'dann strahlst du hell, dann klingst du rein, Pierluigi, du, an seiner schöner Ketten, der letzte Stein'.
10. Gregor: Kulturgeschichte der Oper, Gallen, Wien, 1941, 404.
11. Kroll, Op. cit., 235.
12. In Zur Grundfrage der Operndichtung (1908-9) published in Vom musikalischen Drama, loc. cit., 90-197.
13. Ibid., 97 f.
14. Ibid., 108.

never be fortuitous (akzidentell) music, because of its history of formal experiment and uncertainty, must be fortuitous in its working out, however great its general sense of unity.[15] This is of peculiar significance and interest in view of Pfitzner's conception of the Palestrina idea as early as 1895 and the literary excellence of the text he completed in 1911.[16]

The two worlds, the 'geistige' of the artist and the 'eigentliche, eigensüchtige, blutbefleckte' real or outer world[17] is the opera's implicit subject. Bearing in mind that the dramatic action as such is over by the end of the enormously long first act, the Council of Trent act, far from being dramatically redundant is essential to the vision.[18] Thomas Mann, for whom Palestrina had a special emotional significance at the time of its wartime première, saw the links between Palestrina's 'geistlich-geistige Welt' and the turbulent reality of Act 2 in the person of Borromeo. Act 2 was 'eine bunte und liebevoll studierte Satire auf die Politik und zwar auf ihre unmittelbar dramatische Form, das Parlament.'[19] Mann felt that Act 2 had its own beauty, springing from its combination of pessimism and humour. Bekker also saw the act as a Schopenhauerian juxtaposition,[20] but was still more struck by the parallels with Die Meistersinger ('Rom ist Nürnberg, Palestrina ist Sachs, das Tridentiner Konzil ist Festwiese und Prügelszene, und die Meistererscheinungen ..... sind die Singschule').[21] In later years, Bekker came to see the work more as a technical achievement, as an opera about

15. Ibid., 110-111.
16. Julius Kapp; Die Entstehung des Palestrina BS, April 1939.
17. Max Hehemann, ADM, 1923, 170. Also developed by Walter Abendroth, Hans Pfitzner (Langen, Müller, München, 1935, 316-17, and J. Müller-Blattau, Hans Pfitzner, Athenaion, Potsdam, 1940, 67.
18. As Specht brilliantly wrote: 'Das Tridentiner Konzil zeigt in all seinen Prunk, seiner zweckhaft egoistischen Geschäftigkeit und Leere - Frau Welt und ihre Hofnarren im Bilde. Loc. cit., 8.
19. Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen, Fischer, Berlin, 1920, 412-13. Rudolf Felber saw Act 2 as a symphonic Scherzo, suggesting that Pfitzner wished to portray the materialistic, outward world of the priest by profession, as distinct from the inward, idealistic world of the artist. Hans Pfitzner, MQ, 1924, 137.
20. Contrasting 'triebhafter Verlangen' and 'reine leidenschaftslose Anschauung'. G.S., II, 275.
21. Ibid., p. 276. Mann, following Pfitzner himself, disagreed, pointing to the quiet, withdrawn end of Palestrina. loc. cit., 425.

two men, with a central act consisting of a vigorous men's ensemble. Through these means, the work was seen to have begun an era of emancipation from the female voice's central position, and thus from the tyranny of the erotic.[22]

To such an extent does Pfitzner concentrate on Palestrina's creative problem and its resolution that one might well lose sight of his view of the Renaissance as set out in the opera. This seems to fall under two headings. Firstly, the already mentioned 'golden period' of the late Quattrocento and the implied criticism of the Florentine monodic experiments are an 'allegorised' equivalent of the high Romantic period of German music and the early 20th century fragmentation of tonality. In musical terms, this is presented at the outset in the Dorian modality and archaic fourths and fifths of the D minor Vorspiel and the opening scene of Act 1, where the viola represents Silla experimenting with his lute in the new style. For this Pfitzner made extensive use of Volume 2 of Ambros and the Missa Papae Marcelli itself.[23] Secondly, his use of Sarpi's and Pallavicino's conciliar histories[24] enabled Pfitzner to put into Act 2 an astonishing amount of historical detail, sharply focussing attention on the conflicting personalities present, the background of heresy, the fear of the Lutheran movement, the contempt of the Italians for the French and Spanish delegates (and vice versa), the isolation and eccentricity of the old Syrian Cardinal Abdisu, and as an

22. The changing opera, tr. A. Mendel, Norton N.Y., 1935, 271. Lukrezia (who historically died in 1580) is already dead at the opera's opening - her absence has sapped Palestrina's will to compose - and in her visionary appearance addresses him with the words:
Nah war ich dir in Nöten des Lebens
nah bin ich dir im Frieden des Lichts.
A sketch of the Lukrezia scene by L. Andro (Therese Rie, née Herz, a Viennese authoress, 1878-1934) dated July 1909, gives much more prominence to Palestrina's dead wife than Pfitzner later allowed.
Alfred Orel: Ein unbekanntes Szenar zu Hans Pfitzners Palestrina in SchwMz, 1949, 132-8.

23. Albert Fleury: Historische und Stilgeschichtliche Probleme in Pfitzners Palestrina. in Helmut Osthoff: zu seinem 70 Geburtstag. 229 f. ed. W. Stauder and others, H. Schneider, Tutzing, 1966.

24. Pietro Sarpi's gloomy, critical Istoria del Concilio Tridentino dates from 1612-15. Published in London in 1619, it was later rebutted in Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino's Istoria del Concilio di Trento... ove insieme rifiutasi ... un istoria falsa divolgata nello stesso argomento sotto nome di Pietro Soave Polano Rome, 1656-7.

undercurrent, the political ambitions of Pius IV and the Emperor Ferdinand. Whether the servants' bloodbath at the end is dramatically necessary remains arguable, but it does reveal Pfitzner's own view of the violent solution inevitably resorted to when one kind of authoritarianism meets another.[25] It can be related to Rehm's 'Ruchlosigkeit' as an aspect of the Renaissance mentality, all the more fearsome for occurring against a background of learned debate ostensibly about spiritual matters. The mood of vicious and heated intolerance is indicated in Bujoda's sneering remarks to his Italian colleagues that though the 'Lutheran swine' may be absent, the 'French and Spanish scum' make up for them. Yet, following Novagerio's reference to the continued Protestant threat:

> O die Gefahr nicht abzusehen!
> Ein Schirmherr würde da erstehn der Lutherpest
> der Teufelskröte,

Borromeo loftily evokes the longed-for 'Christkatholische Weltherrschaft' which, for more moderate thinkers, lay behind all political manoeuvering. It has even been recently argued that this specifically religious idea was at the root of all five of Pfitzner's stage works, and that he wished to present divine love as the redeeming force of worldly suffering.[26] From this point of view, the Renaissance setting of Palestrina, its didactic juxtaposition of outward and inward worlds, at a time of doubt and conflict over the nature and organisation of spiritual authority in Europe, is peculiarly opposite. No other period could have served the composer's needs so completely.

II

An understanding of Pfitzner is helped by awareness of his earlier collaborations with James Grun, his production of Hoffmann's Undine in 1906

25. John W. Klein: Hans Pfitzner and the two Heydrichs (MR, 1965, 308-17) explores Pfitzner's essentially pacifist nationalism in a sour, sad anecdote.
26. Werner Schwarz: Die Bedeutung des Religiösen im Musikdramatischen Schaffen Hans Pfitzners in Festgabe für J. Müller-Blattau sum 60. Geburtstag, Saarbrücken Universitäts-und Schulbuckverlag, 1962, esp. 108-110 and 117.

and Bruch's Lorelei in 1916, his feeling for Weber, Lortzing and Marschner, and for Schumann as well as for Wagner. Similarly, awareness of Busoni's love for the commedia dell'arte, for Gozzi's fairy-tales, Oehlenschläger's Aladdin and, again, for Hoffmann,[27] are essential for an understanding of Doktor Faust, a work which would scarcely have been possible without the long-winded Die Brautwahl and the concise, one-act Arlecchino[28] and Turandot. There emerged a conception of opera as a form 'following on from the old mystery plays', a 'rare half-religious and elevating ceremony which is at the same time stimulating and entertaining', to which lofty level the nearest approach, in Busoni's view, was Mozart's Zauberflöte.[29] Doktor Faust thus shares with Palestrina a high seriousness and moral purpose which was not a consistent or even dominant feature of the Faust literature as a whole.[30] The Faust myth in its numerous guises was, however, along with the life of Luther undoubtedly the most powerful single image of the northern Renaissance familiar to Germans. Busoni regarded earlier operatic versions (among them those of J. Walter, 1798; Sohr, 1814; Gounod, 1859, Boito, 1868 and Zöllner, 1887) as unsatisfactory. Having toyed with Leonardo and Merlin, to say nothing of Don Giovanni as operatic subjects, his preoccupation with Faust bears the marks of inevitability,[31] especially in the light of his veneration for Goethe's Faust. By avoiding overt structural use of Goethe and returning to pre-Goethean sources of the Faust legend, he only made clearer how deeply

27. In his Introduction to Hoffmann's Phantastische Geschichten (Müller, Munich, 1914) Busoni commented that Hoffmann 'always leaves to the reader's judgement the drawing of the boundary line between what is actual and what is visionary'. Hoffmann is also the subject of one of six sonnets by Pfitzner (G.S., 2, Anh., Filser, Augsburg, 1926).

28. Busoni's homage to the authentic aspects of the commedia dell'arte in this work makes clearer the removal of the comic elements in Doktor Faust, and his recourse to the structure of the Puppenspiel.

29. Ley (tr.), 8.

30. Erich Steinhard detected the influence of Busoni's 'abstract Linear' style on Pfitzner's last opera, the 'pseudo-mystical Zauberoper' Das Herz (1931). 'Ein phänomenaler Beleg für die Freud'sche Liebe-Hass Theorie', he commented. Auft., 1931, 281.

31. Entwurf eines Vorwortes zur Partitus des Doktor Faust, in Ley (tr.) 71.

Goethean his conception of Faust really was - especially the Faust of Part II. Equally, his excision of the Hans Wurst/Kasperle episodes amounts to a contradiction of the Puppenspiel tradition as it had developed in the 18th century.[32] The 'platonist-pythagorean' conception of Faust by Busoni[33] was at some remove from the 'weltbeschreyten Zauberer und Schwarzkünstler' portrayed in the episodic Spiess Faustbook of 1587, though the domination of all the action by Faust and Mephistopheles brings it close to Marlowe's play, itself a derivative of Spiess. Busoni's text is really a natural development of 19th century editors' approaches to the puppet play. Even before Creizenach's important Versuch einer Geschichte des Volksschauspiels von Doktor Faust (Halle, 1878) Karl Simrock in his introduction to Das Puppenspiel von Doktor Faust had said that it was in no way a Kinderspiel but 'ein lebendiger Ausfluss des Volksgeistes und als merkwürdiges Vermächtniss einer vergangenen Zeit wichtig und bedeutend genug ist'.[34]

The phenomenon of Faust as a Renaissance Magus is more explicable if one takes into account the background of Neoplatonic thought in late 15th century Italy, expressed notably in work of Marsilio Ficino (1433-99) and Pico della Mirandola (1463-94). Ficino, with his incantatory or talismanic 'natural' magic and attempts, in De vita coelitus comparanda (1489) to expound a theory of 'astral' magic as opposed to non-magic astrology,[35] was a key Renaissance figure. His disciple Pico della Mirandola appealed to the Jewish Cabala, in part as a confirmation of Christianity and as an adjunct to

32. The Frankfurt puppet play appeared in 1746; by the 1770s the Marlovian stage play had been superseded. P. M. Palmer and R. P. More: The sources of the Faust Tradition from Simon Magus to Lessing, O.U.P., 1936,241. The comic scenes are, of course, an integral part of all the Faust puppet plays. Kasperle, not Mephistopheles is the original Nachtwächter, as in Das Volksschauspiel Dr. Johann Faust, ed. Carl Engel, Oldenburg, 1874, and the Insel Verlag edition of C. Höfer (1914), the year Busoni sketched his text. In Höfer's version, the Parma scene is the middle of three parts.

33. G. M. Gatti: Opernkomponist Ferruccio Busoni, Melos, 1958, 193.

34. Athenasius and Mendelssohn, Leipzig, 1850, p.XXIII.

35. The distinction is important, as the humanist Philipp Melanchthon, Professor of Greek at Wittenberg from 1518, and personal acquaintance of Faust, attached great significance to astrology. Palmer and More, op. cit., 99. Also H. Koenigsberger and G. L. Mosse: Europe in the 16th Century, Longmans, 1968, 101.

'Magia naturalis' which he opposed to modern (i.e. medieval, unreformed) magic.[36] 'Magia naturalis' was part of 'scientia naturalis'; its aim could be said to 'unite' or 'marry' the things in heaven with things on earth.[37] Following the seminal work of Ficino and Pico, Cornelius Agrippa produced his De occulta philosophia in 1510 (the work remained unpublished until 1533, seven years before Faust's death) providing the first general survey of Renaissance magic. Of the three 'worlds' which together form the Renaissance world picture, magicians try, said Agrippa, to reach the 'virtues' of the elemental world through medicine and natural philosophy, those of the celestial world through astrology and mathematics, and those of the intellectual world through ceremonial religion.[38]

Agrippa's contemporaries included Johannes Tritherin (1462-1516), successively abbot at Sponheim and St. James, (Würzburg) monasteries, who 'combined great learning with an inclination to the fantastic' and Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, 1493-1541) physician and chemist, scholar of medicine and pharmacy, a man 'suspected of supernatural powers and encouraging that suspicion'.[39] Among the long list of Magi, the figure of Merlin, 'half fiend, half mortal',[40] had a particular attraction for Busoni, for whom Merlin was a 'Teufelsritter' who

> 'den dunklen Mächten späterhin entglitt wenn
> er sich vor den Höheren gebeugt.'[41]

In the 1921 essay on Doktor Faust, Busoni also referred to the great tradition 'from Zoroaster to Cagliostro' of figures 'connected with magic and unsolved riddles'.[42] But of all the antecedents (and even from among his rival

36. Frances W. Yates: Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, Routledge, 1964, 87.
37. Ibid., 89 Pico's Conclusiones were part of 900 theses taken by him to Rome in 1486, and published in 1487 with his oration De hominis dignitate.
38. See Yates, op. cit., Ch. VIII.
39. Palmer and More, op. cit., 36n. and 95n.
40. E. M. Butler; The Fortunes of Faust, C.U.P., 1952, Ch. 2.
41. Verse 4 of Der Dichter an die Zuschauer, the work's spoken prelude.
42. Ley, (tr.) 70.

contemporaries) it was Faust with his spiritual pride, lack of sexual scruple and 'love of forbidden things' who was marked out for literary treatment, even before the Spiess Faustbuch appeared to crystallise and mythologise the late Renaissance attitude to one of its typically ambiguous figures.[43]

Busoni's problem was the production of a text which would reflect not merely Faust the sorcerer and charlatan, but Faust the Magus, the 'metaphysical striver' the believer in 'Tätigkeit' and 'heilsam schaffende Gewalt'[44] without being overwhelmed by Goethe. In fact, Busoni's Ostervesper und Frühlingskeimen opening is quite close in mood to Part 1 of Goethe, of which the Nacht section in any case stands close to the Puppenspiel tradition. Setting aside the Prologue in Hell, the old Ulm puppet play begins with a speech by Faust which ends:

> Alles zu sehen und mit Händen zu greifen möchte ich wünschen, deszwegen habe ich mich entschlossen, das Studium theologicum ein Zeitlang auf die Seite zu setzen und mich an dem Studio magico zu ergötzen.[45]

Faust's reaction to the news of the book Clavis Astartis Magica from Cracow is:

> Die Zaubernacht in meine Hand gegeben die ungeheuren Zeichen mir erschlossen, heimliche Gewalten mir geknechtet .....

Doktor Faust's interpenetration of puppet-play structure with Goethean elements offers a study in itself. Beyond the Ostervesper with its contrapuntal Credo,[46] Goethe's influence can be seen in the Intermezzo - a fusion of Gretchen's prayer scene in Faust I with her brother Valentin's death in a duel; in the peculiar significance of the Helen of Troy motif (Faust II, Act 3) and the replacement of Goethe's Euphorion (Helena's child) by the unnamed

43. Theens lists four anonymous texts of 1530-75, plus Rosshirt of Nuremberg's Zauberer Faust (c. 1570). Op. cit., 109.

44. R. Gray: Goethe: a critical introduction, C.U.P., 1967, 143.

45. (Schleible, Das Kloster, Vol. V. pp 783-805) Repr. in Palmer and More, Op. cit., 251-269. (p. 253).

46. '..where,' said Weill, admiringly 'the ultimate victory of the divine in Faust shines forth in anticipation...' and 'the polyphony (rises) to its purest, strictest and most 'ecclesiastical' form.' Loc. cit., 55.

child of the Duchess to underline the centrality of the Parma episode, and give significance, through the idea of rebirth, to Faust's redemption at the close.

The Puppet play, however, and with it Busoni's own contributions to the text, brings one closer to the idealised Renaissance than do the Goethean features. Apart from the excision of burlesque, and the consequent use of Mephisto as Nachtwächter, Busoni's chief ideas were the three black-clad Cracow students and the Wittenberg tavern scene, so far removed from Auerbach's Cellar in Goethe.[47] From the puppet play Busoni takes the more restricted unity of place. Apart from the Münster chapel, all the action occurs either at Wittenberg or in Parma, though it should be said that as specific locales, these are only loosely presented.[48] The Wittenberg tavern scene, with its heated argument between Catholic and Protestant students matches the element of the absurd in Pfitzner's Council of Trent Act, though it is not nearly so personalised in treatment. What was described by Dent in the phrase 'Wine and metaphysics lead to quarrelling'[49] is really a brief glimpse of Renaissance Platonism, opening with the breaking of a plate by a student, and his explanation that though the plate was shattered, the 'idea' of it remained. 'Was Gott geschaffen' replies a theological student 'gilt als unzerstörbar', compared with which man's efforts must come to nothing. 'Alles zerfällt', adds a natural philosopher, 'doch bildet es sich neu.' Faust, when appealed to, is enigmatic and evasive:

> Nichts ist bewiesen und nichts ist beweisbar.
>
> Bei jeder Lehre hab ich neu geirrt.
>
> Gewiss ist mir, dass wir kommen um zu gehen.

He then appeals to 'des grossen Protestanten lebendigen Spruch', though Luther is not named until just before the Te deum/Ein feste Burg ensemble begins. What stands out in this passage is Busoni's awareness of Faust as a

47. Fünf. und zwanzig Briefe Busonis, Ed. Gisella Selden-Goth, H. Reichner, Vienna, 1937, 27-8.

48. In general, Busoni had little feeling for landscape. See Jakob Wassermann: In memoriam F. Busoni, Fischer, Berlin, 1925, 17.

49. Dent, Busoni, 302.

German Renaissance figure, a contemporary of Luther,[50] and a man caught up in a stressful historical period, full of uncertainties. One recent critic has pursued the connection between Faust and Luther to the point of calling Faust a 'Protestant of Knowledge' to Luther's 'Protestant of Religion'. In this light, the pact is seen as a stand on behalf of free thought against obscurantism.[51]

For the Tuscan Busoni, Parma was a real landscape as well as a recurrent scene in the Puppenspiel tradition. Not for nothing is it placed at the centre of the formal scheme. There was an opportunity for the composer to present a Renaissance spectacle here, and this is in many ways what the Hauptspiel is. It is simultaneously a presentation of an aristocratic wedding pageant and a demonstration of Faust's magical powers. Elaborately structured, the Hauptspiel falls into two broad sections, first the nuptial celebrations and then the visions through which Faust woos the Duchess. The reminders of Don Giovanni, Act 1, Scene VII are unmistakeable,[52] from the presentation of gaily-clothed peasants to the disruptive intervention of an outside figure. However, the formal pageantry is underlined by the Zeremonienmeister,[53] who enters with a cohort of bodyguards and drummers, and the bridal pair's entry on horseback rather than on foot. This may be linked with the scene's close, and Mephisto's remark to the Duke:

> Mit diesen beiden Augen sah ich sie
> auf Flügelrossen durch die Lüfte treiben.[54]

This 'ballet' or 'dumb show'[55] is really a series of dance movements as

50. Luther's Tischreden and the von Hütten brothers' correspondence both mention Faust. Palmer and More, 92 ff.

51. Henri Birven, Der geschichtliche Doktor Faust: Maske und Antlitz. H. Schwab, Gelnhausen, 1963, 111-112. The Cracow years of Faust, made explicit by Busoni, are dated 1516-20 by Birven: ibid., 28.

52. Cf. also Grabbe's Don Juan und Faust (1828).

53. Doubts about a 'serious' Zeremonienmeister have been expressed by Emil Debusmann: Busoni, Brucknerverlag, Wiesbaden, 1948, 28.

54. Mephistopheles unexpectedly follows this by introducing the idea of a dynastic marriage with the belligerent Duke of Ferrara's sister, again revealing Busoni's sense of period.

55. Busoni's words. Ley (tr.) 70.

follows:

(i) Cortège ($\frac{3}{4}$) (then entry of peasants ($\frac{6}{8}$) led by pipers).

(ii) Jäger-Vivace ($\frac{6}{8}$) (Procession of horn-blowing huntsmen with falcons and dogs.)

(iii) Temp di Valzer (fencing pages).

(iv) Tempo di Minuetto, un poco pomposo (entry of the Zeremonienmeister and followers, then the bridal pair). (Sostenuto liberamente)

(v) Marcia (Faust's slow entry from above, accompanied by a fantastic train of negro boys and apes).

Three visions - Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Samson and Delila and John (the baptist) and Salome - are selected by Busoni, who omits both David and Goliath and Judith and Holofernes from the traditional text. His dreamlike sequence is also vastly simplified in comparison with the Puppenspiel. In Simrock, for instance, the dialogue is conducted mainly between Duke Ferdinand and Kasperle ('ein reisendes Genie') as well as Wagner and the servant Orestes, while Mephisto appears as only one of five underworld spirits. From the first, the Duchess reacts to Faust with the same hypnotised air as Mozart's Zerlina; for all that, she remains a pallid, anonymous figure, almost disembodied, a result of Busoni's avowed dislike of erotic situations on stage.[56] Faust's seduction of the Duchess results in a child who at the opera's close ('Blut meines Blutes, Glied meines Gliedes') takes on a symbolic significance as Faust's heir.

Busoni's tragic, even mystical view of Faust[57] is seen most clearly, however, in the Helen of Troy motif, a consistent feature of Faust literature from Spiess onwards. This important episode is placed between the tavern scene (Mephistopheles rushing in with the deceased Duchess's child - also dead, and quickly metamorphosed into a bundle of straw) and the reappearance

56. Van der Einheit .... in Ley, (tr.) 11. Anonymity is common to all the characters except Faust and Mephistopheles. Busoni even suggests that the Bruder and Herzog may double, as also Wagner and the Zeremonienmeister, thus heightening the effect of dream.

57. Debusmann, Op. cit., 30; Dent, Busoni, 307.

of the Cracow students demanding the return of the magic book. Its significance is thus emphasised by the surrounding events. In the Puppenspiel, Helena is led on by Mephistopheles, then opens her arms to Faust, who steps towards her. As he goes off with her his words 'So komm theure Helena, Du sollst mein Alles und meine stetige Gefährtin sein' are at once followed by Mephistopheles' cynical cackle 'Quid diabolus non potest, mulier efficit. Was der Teufel selbst nich kann, das stellt er durch ein Weibsbild an'.[58] The relative matter-of-factness of the first meeting is present even in Goethe.[59] Busoni's Helena is silent, as befits her role as a symbol of unattainable beauty. She appears to Faust as 'ein vollkommen schönes, junges Weib in durchschtige Schleier, im übrigen nackt' (a momentary concession to the erotic) in an unexpectedly explicit classical landscape, whose serenity, like an evocation of Claude or Poussin, is the most extreme contrast to the smoke and flames conjured up in the tavern by Mephistopheles. 'The scene is one of pale temples on distant hills, at the foot of which are dark woods. Transparent darkness lit by a southern night sky'. Faust's emotion is clear enough:

Traum der Jugend,
Ziel des Weisen,
Reinster Schönheit,
Bildvollendung!

as is also his realisation that the vision is 'unerkannt!' and 'unerreicht!'. As she disappears, he reflects in quasi-religious terms:

Der Mensch ist dem Vollkommenen
nicht gewachsen,
er strebe denn
nach seinem eigenen Masse,
Und streue Gutes aus,
wie es ihm gegeben.
Ich weiser Narr,

58. C. Engel, Op. cit., Act 4, Scene 5.
59. R. Gray, Op. cit., 168.

ich Säumer, ich Verschwender!

Nichts ist getan,

alles zu beginnen:

der Kindheit fühl ich wieder mich genähert.

III

Four years after Fritz Busch conducted Doktor Faust at Dresden, the same house and conductor gave the première of Jürg Jenatsch, a 'drama' in five acts, based on C. F. Meyer's novel by Heinrich Kaminski, until then known chiefly for his sacred music. A deliberately isolated figure, he drew on 'Innerlichkeit' and mystic ecstasy in his revival of elaborate neo-baroque polyphony.[60] He felt his closest links were with such masters as Obrecht and Ockeghem,[61] though the inevitable Bachian inspiration derived from his view of canon as religious symbol.[62] Never himself taught by Reger, he has been bracketed stylistically with such Reger pupils as Haas and Schoeck and the Reger-influenced Josef Marx. His remote mountain family home at Ried, Bavaria reflected his withdrawn personality, though he did conduct the Bielefeld Musikvereinskonzerte from 1930 to 1933 and was Pfitzner's successor as composition Professor in Berlin (Preussische Akademie der Künste) alongside Schoenberg and Schreker.[63] After a cool reception especially from the Berlin critics, Jürg Jenatsch was laid aside, only to be staged again at the Nuremberg Stadttheater in 1937 shortly before a ban lasting some four years was imposed on his music.[64]

60. Kaminski's short Die Saitenspiel des gelben Kaisers: ein Dialog auf den Berge (Anb., 1924, 234-6) is a manifesto of his independence from any current style or school.
61. Ingrid Samson: Grundlinien einer Kaminski-Biographie. Musica (1958) 728.
62. H. J. Moser. Heinrich Kaminski, ZM, 1929, 606. H.F. Redlich, who met him in 1922, linked him also with the late Beethoven quartets (in memoriam Heinrich Kaminski (MMR, 1947, 185 ff.)) For K. H. Wörner, writing in 1949, Kaminski's backward-looking was 'viel weniger eine Frage des Stils, als des Bekenntnisses, weniger der intellektuellen Reflexion, als der inneren Bezogenheit'. Wörner felt also that Kaminski's music suffered from lack of 'blutvolle, musikantische Kraft'. Musik der Gegenwart, Spael, Essen, 1949, 156.
63. Samson, 730.
64. Karl Schleifer: Heinrich Kaminski Musica, 1947, 78.

Jürg Jenatsch is not a 'Renaissance' opera as such. As in Friedenstag, Hartmann's Simplicius Simplicissimus and Wagner-Régeny's Johanna Balk (and, for that matter, Brecht's Mutter Courage) the setting is the Thirty Years' War. It concerns a political arena - the Swiss III. Bünde (Canton Graubünden or Valtelline) of comparative obscurity, and a hero whose celebrity, at least until Meyer's novel appeared, was essentially local. Meyer, however, was a Swiss preoccupied with the Kraftmensch idea, especially as it manifested itself in the Italian Renaissance. His last two novellen, indeed, deal with the period in terms of moral tensions and dilemmas in a way unparalleled in the 19th century.[65] Jenatsch (1596-1639) received the epic treatment he deserved as scholar and cleric turned ruthless Realpolitiker. His career began as a Protestant enemy of Catholic Spanish-Austrian policy in the III. Bünde, leading to participation in the assassination of Pompejus Planta in 1621, service as a soldier in Mansfeld's army, then with the French army in the Grisons and Venice. There followed a change of heart when he adopted Catholicism and joined the Spanish-Austrian party against his former ally the Duc de Rohan, becoming Govenor of Chiavenna in 1638. Jenatsch was assassinated at Chur early in 1639, having brought about a lasting political status quo in the Grisons.

Meyer's novel is a celebration of a great compatriot and 'man of destiny', whose parallels with Schiller's Wallensteins Tod have been noted.[66] Its three books focus successively on Pompejus Planta, his daughter Lukrezia, and Rohan, 'the good duke'. Kaminski's 'drama' - it is far from conventional opera, with singers and actors taking separate roles and an oratorio-like function for the meditative Chorus - adopts the sombre heroics of Meyer while radically simplifying the action. The work begins and ends in a lugubrious D minor (see Ex. 88), the predominant key throughout. It is characterised by the alternation of unaccompanied spoken dialogue with loosely-organised musical 'numbers', generally in slow tempo and complex polyphony.[67] Typical

65. Die Versuchung des Pescara and Angela Borgia.
66. Robert Faesi: Conrad F. Meyer. Huber, Frauenfeld, 1948, 113.
67. 'Anderes freilich will polyphone Musik den Hörer bringen als berauschenden Klangzauber, hinreissende Effekte und narkotisierende Romantik.' H. Kaminski: Einiges über polyphone Musik, Aub., 1926, 7-8.

of the sustained basses, slow triplet groups and cloudy rhythmic formations of Kaminski's style are Exx. 89 and 90. The first is the 'Vater Unser' prayer sung by Lukrezia as she kneels in her private bower, and based on the Lutheran melody of 1539. Ex. 90, the declamatory manner of which is representative of the solo vocal writing, is near the opening of the remarkable short first scene of Act 5. Here, the partly-masked black-clad Judge introduces the Kläger to his colleagues of the Kettenbund. The Kläger springs up, thrusts aside his black cap and cloak and at once stands apart from the dark, bearded figures of the council in his light robe and blond youth. Apart from Maria and her later disembodied voice, Jürg and Pater Pankraz are the only main parts in which actors and singers double - indeed, Kaminski prescribes only five actors and one actress in all. Each, apart from Jürg and the important non-singing semi-comic rôle of Fausch, takes at least two roles. The main singing roles are Lukretia, Pompejus Planta, Matthä and Lukas. Each act, apart from the last, centres on a single event, as follows:

Act 1: The Pfarrhaus in Berbenn. Jenatsch's political ambitions revealed. Accidental death from gunfire of his young wife Maria (Lucia in Meyer).

Act 2: Castle on Burg Riedberg. Pompejus Planta and Lukretia. Assassination of Pompejus by Jenatsch, aided by Matthä's and Lukas' confusion.

Act 3: Venice. Herzog Rohan and Jenatsch. Rohan's departure and Lukretia's declaration of love for Jürg.

Act 4: Burg Riedberg. Jenatsch declares that, deserted by Richelieu and Rohan, he will now turn to Spain. Lukretia is astonished.

Act 5: (i) A dark, rocky lair: the Kettenbund. The Kläger cries:

Ich klage an Satanas und seine Gewalten Hass, Habe und Machtgier und scheeläugigen Neid. .....

Das Land ist in Gefahr. Rettet, rettet Bünden!

(ii) Rathaussaal in Chur. Festive gaiety (a long instrumental prelude, including the quickest music of the work) leading

to the death of Lukas and the assassination of Jenatsch, by Lukretia, part onlooker, part executioner.

The action no less than its presentation differs from the other works discussed here in its time-scale, spanning the years from Jürg's marriage and adoption of the Berbenn parish in 1620 to his death in January, 1639. Doubtless this helped to make the hybrid work[68] critically unpopular at the time on dramatic grounds. Paul Stefan felt that the end smacked of 'crude middle-period Verdi'[69] though he did admire the composer's musical 'starke Natur .... grosse ... Begabung .... mächtiges Können'. Its unusual significance was also linked with Palestrina, with a political visionary instead of an artist as protagonist.[70] Something of the moral ambiguity in Meyer's characterisation of Jenatsch is present in Kaminski's choral Introitus:

wie bitter büssend,
qualvoll unwissend
der Mensch - halb Satan, halb Gott
im Herzen -
zwischen Wollust und Schmerzen
hintaumelt verblendet ....[71]

and also in the Chorus at the end of Act 1:

Weh!
der umalt,
gewaltigen Macht
verworrenen Wähnens!
immer wieder

68. Extreme even in a period of such hybrid works as Oedipus Rex, Jeanne d'Arc and Christophe Colomb.

69. Anb., 1929, 226.

70. Erhard Krieger: Heinrich Kaminskis Drama Jürg Jenatsch. ZM, 1933, 992f.

71. For Meyer, as for Burckhardt, the possibility that power might be evil lay behind the novel, argued Faesi (op. cit., 109), pointing to the title of Part 3, 'Der gute Herzog'. But the 'Brüderlichteit aller Menschen' sought by Kaminski lay far from Meyer's fascination with 'Macht' and 'Gewalt'.
I. Samson, loc. cit., 730.

in Nacht
stürzt sie die Menschheit!
immer wieder
den nächtlich-dunkeln Gewalten
verschafft sie den Sieg.

In his settings, Kaminski does not attempt to emulate Meyer. In place of the magnificent opening description of the Swiss valley in the novel, the composer prefers simply to sketch in the old Berbenn Pfarrhaus 'alt, ärmlich, düster in seiner roman'schen Bauart'. Similar abbreviations occur in the Burg Riedberg, with its inner sunken garden, Lukretia's bower in Act 4, with its prayerstool and Madonna portrait, the darkness and stone table of the 'Gericht' scene and the festive air of the final scene at Chur. For Meyer, the Venice setting of Fausch's shop is an opportunity for some rich description of the beloved atmosphere, including an opening reference to the 'rotschimmernden Dome der Maria Gloriosa dei Frari'. Kaminski interestingly substitutes 'Venedig, wie es sich etwa Matthias Grünewald vorgestellt haben mag', with the Piazza S. Marco, Duomo and palace, and provision for the crowded scene to include a second 'dark palace' as well as the wine-shop itself.

1927 saw the celebration of the 150th anniversary of Heinrich v. Kleist's birth. The event stimulated ever greater interest in the Prussian writer, whose novelle Michael Kohlhaas, dramatised by Arnold Bronnen in 1929, was turned into an opera in 1932-3 by the Dane Paul von Klenau, born, like Kaminski, in 1886. Unlike Kaminski, Klenau had not only composed operas previously (the one-act biblical Sulamith (1913) Kjartan und Gudrun (1917-18) and Die Lästerschule, after Sheridan (1922)) but had, following a sound traditional tutelage first with Otto Halling, then in Germany with Bruch, Thuille and Schillings, shown great interest in the music of Mahler and Schoenberg.[72] This led him to attempt the fusion of dodecaphony and tonality. and Michael Kohlhaas was technically a large-scale experiment towards this. As with Jürg Jenatsch, it was a story of hubris and nemesis set this time in

72. Tonal - A. Tonal in Anb., 1924 309-10.

the harsh post-Reformation world of Brandenburg and Saxony in 1540. Theatrically, the four-act work breaks new ground in its use of a frontal stage (Vorderbühne) and rear stage (Hinterbühne). 'Auf der Vorderbühne wird gesprochen, während die Musik weitergeht', instructs Klenau in his Preface to the score, 'auf der Hinterbühne wird gesungen'. Dramatic tension is thus ensured through the rapid, near kaleidoscopic succession of scene upon scene. The main parts are sung, but there is also a large cast of actors, headed by Martin Luther, whose important scene with Kohlhaas is, to a restrined strings, born and trombone accompaniment, conducted entirely in spoken dialogue.

Michael Kohlhaas is, of course, not only Kleist's chief non-dramatic work, but one of the best-known short stories in German Literature. Attention has rightly been drawn to the two ideas, forming themes in most of his works, between which Kleist found himself caught - Protestant reliance on individual conscience and Prussian obedience to the secular authority.[73] It has also been pointed out how the theme of the individual pitted against arbitrarily exercised aristocratic power had already occurred in Emilia Galotti and Egmont.[74] Klenau later referred[75] to the Kantian 'categorical imperative' as the concept which had lain behind his dramatic vision in this work as in his two subsequent operas, Rembrandt van Rijn and Elizabeth von England. In this sense, the actions of the young horse-dealer in burning and looting the countryside, his violent response to the contemptuous legal infringement of Junker Wenzel von Tronka in confiscating his horses, are seen as having only one eventual result. 'Meine Taten sind Taten der Vergeltung' he declares just before the Elector of Saxony's amnesty is declared. Even Luther had recognised the strength of his case, while

73. Michael Hamburger: Reason and Energy: Studies in German Literature, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970, 107.

74. Walter Silz: Heinrich v. Kleist: Studies in his life and Literary Character. Pennsylvania U.P., 1961, 175. Berg read Klenau's text, and remarked 'Keine schlechte Idee, aber mehr eine Filmidee'. Briefe a.s. Frau, Langen, Müller, München, 1965, 605 (21.1.33).

75. Bearbeitungen in BS, May, 1940, 1. Also Wilhelm Matthes: Paul von Klenau, ibid., 5 f.

disapproving of his retributive actions. Yet, though the law was originally on his side, despite the amnesty and even the success of his suit against the Junker in Dresden, Kohlhaas is executed. This is mainly because the Elector of Brandenburg, though to some extent in sympathy with Kohlhaas, must administer justice for the Empire as a whole.[76] The tragedy of Kohlhaas is more poignant in that his aggression is renewed at a critical moment by the tragic and gratuitous death of his wife Lisbeth, wounded by a knight's lance. By placing this event late in Act 3 Klenau does alter the narrative balance as Kleist conceived it, though the manner and consequences of Lisbeth's death are in no way changed.

Klenau's opera is planned on a grand scale befitting the epic subject. The music itself requires some comment at this point, as it must be seen as an attempt, unique at this period, by a late Romantic composer to handle the note row in a tonal manner. Klenau clearly believed in the possibility of merging the two principles, as in bars 1-5 of the work's main, opening theme (Ex. 91).[77] Yet in laying out the score, he was careful to provide several sections of a traditional, volkstümlich kind, mainly to recreate the atmosphere of the period. In Act 1 alone, for instance, he introduces a simple choral Lindenlied, Lisbeth's flowing E flat Wiegenlied ('Ein Bäumlein zart geschlachter Art') and the modal G minor Maienlied duet. An original Walter von der Vogelweide fragment is incorporated in Act 3, sung in a 'phantastische Mondlandschaft' by a travelling minstrel, and traditional tonality pervades the spring-time Hildebrandlied (Act 2, Sc. 4) and the moving C minor Erzählung und Tod Lisbeths (see Ex. 95). In addition, chorale melodies introduce the Luther scene (Act 2) and the open-air execution scene ('Aus tiefer Not schrey ich zu Dir') at the end of Act 4. In Act 2, Sc. 1, after Schloss Tronkenburg has been set on fire and the Junker, pursued by Kohlhaas,

76. The same expiatory idea occurs in Richard Billinger's 'Bauerndrama' Die Hexe von Passau (1935) turned into an opera by the Essen composer Ottmar Gerster in 1941. There the young Valentine Ingold is burned as a witch to satisfy the demands of peasants and clergy, quell an imminent agrarian uprising and ensure the maintenance of Obrigkeit.

77. Über die Musik in meiner Oper Michael Kohlhaas, DM, 1935, 260-2.

has retreated to the Erlabrunn nunnery, an unseen chorus (albeit anachronistically) sings the Kyrie from Palestrina's Mass Emendemus, as dawn rises and nuns file across the front stage to ascend the stairs.

At the same time, tonal dedecaphony is the prevailing technique throughout most of the score. Exx. 92-94 provide three instances of Klenau's method. The Elector of Saxony's 'lebhaft und heiter' entry in Ex. 92 is a notable instance of the simple manner, avoiding any harmonic clashes between orchestra and voice, adhering to straightforward figuration, a repeated $V^7 4_2$ chord and repeated three-note group in the second bar. Kohlhaas' grim Monolog later in Act 1 (Ex. 93) is built on the tensely rising, and again repeated scale, in an ambiguous B minor with an interpolated E sharp against the major 3rd B-D#, and inconclusive leading-note close. B minor is Kohlhaas' key, and the Monolog is a development of the 'Breit und feierlich' main theme, Ex. 91. Again, a single chord emerges, this time G#D#F#/A#C#D#F# similar to the chord mentioned in Ex. 92. The vocal line is in parlando style, closely related to the harmonic suggestiveness of the accompaniment, as the final C-A fall indicates. Even the rapid figuration of the Gerichtssaal scene (Act IV, Sc. 1) falls into a set pattern (Ex. 94) with the F major/ D minor/ B minor of the main harmonic structure overriding the twelve-note scalic runs of viola and bassoon, themselves grouped in a tonally orientated fashion. As Lisbeth's Erzählung and Tod shows, Klenau used the note row even in passages such as this which are traditionally key-centred. In this case (Ex. 95) Lisbeth's C minor melody comprises part of a twelve-note row whose other elements appear in the accompaniment. The sequence is:

Melody	1	2			5	6		8	9	10	11		
	C♮	E♭			F♮	D♮		G♯	A♮	B♮	C♯		(C♮)
Accompaniment			E♮	F♯			G♮						B♭
			3	4			7						12

The text is notable for the transposition of Lisbeth's death,[78] but also for the dramatic (tenor) role given to the Elector of Saxony, gradually reduced to despair by Kohlhaas' depredations. Sick and exhausted, he vainly pursues Kohlhaas in the hope of wresting from him the old gipsy woman's

78. Kleist, Michael Kohlhaas, SW2, 29-30.

talismanic amulet. Events come to a head in the remarkable dream sequence of Act IV, Sc. 3, when the Elector feverishly admits his guilty part in the story

> Wer hat den Mann, von den allein mein Schicksal abhängt weggetrieben? Wer hat die Amnestie gebrochen? Ich selbst, der Kurfürst, ich hab' mein Wort gegeben. Ich brach es. Fürchterlich, nun rächt meine Sünde.

The effect of this startling scene is heightened further by the brief spoken Zwischenakt between Graf Wrede and the Elector of Brandenburg in which, to march music and offstage drum, the Elector confesses it is no longer in his power to save Kohlhaas' life. In the following scene (IV, 4) the Elector of Saxony fails pathetically, despite threats, to take the amulet. The now convicted Kohlhaas has already been warned by Lisbeth (in the guise of the Zigeunerin) not to surrender it, even though, since his life is forfeit, it can no longer save him.

No less striking is the handling of the important Luther episode. In Peter Hafftitz's Märckische Chronik,[79] Kleist's main source for the story,[80] Luther sends Hans Kohlhaas a private letter. In Kleist this becomes a Plakat, a broadside. As Graf Wrede reads it to the Elector of Saxony (Act 2, Zwischenakt) Luther

> 'droht Kohlhaas in harten Worten mit den ewigen Strafen der Verdammnis ..... nennt ihn einen Räuber, einen Rebell, der im Wahnsinn stockblinder Leidenschaft handelt und fordert ihm auf, das Schwert des Raubes und der Mordlust niederzulegen.'

Soon after this, Wittenberg is reported to be in flames, and the town in an uproar. In the calm of Luther's study, Kohlhaas (referring to himself in

79. The Michrochronicon of Peter Hafftitz (1525-1602) was a development of the original Märkische Chronik (1391-1425) of Wusterwitz, and entitled 'Kurtze und wahrhafftige Beschreibung des Zustandes der Kurmark Brandenburg von 1388 bis 1595.'

80. Through C. Schöttgen and G. C. Kreysig's well-known Diplomatische und curieuse Nachlese der Historie von Ober-Sachsen, C. Hessels, 1730-33. The 'Nachricht von Hans Kohlhasen' appears in Vol. 3, pp. 528-41, brief and essentially undramatised.

the third person) insists:

'Kohlhaas will der Welt zeigen, dasser keinen ungerechten Handel angefangen ist.'

to which Luther replies

'Das ... muss ich gelten lassen. So ist dir un die Gerechtigkeit zu tun! Ich werde mit dem Kurfürsten verhandeln.'

Luther wishes Kohlhaas to leave in peace, but this he will not do. Faced with this, the older man is unable to offer his blessing, a refusal which causes Kohlhaas much pain. As he places his hands on his breast, suddenly rises and rushes out, Luther folds his hands and bows his head.

The amnesty which follows this is nevertheless seen by Kleist as Luther's,[81] and precedes the Dresden tribunal at which Kohlhaas, with the following he has by now attracted, appears to be vindicated. But Lisbeth's death is the turning-point, and at the Berlin Gerichtssaal (IV, 1) the Judge and crowd condemn Kohlhaas, who had wistfully been hoping to sail from Hamburg with his children to the Levant or East Indies. Despite the pleas of Meister Humboldt in his favour, Kohlhaas' future is now seen to hang on his position as a subject of the Elector of Brandenburg. The restrained, matter-of-fact description of Kohlhaas' end in the novelle presents the Elector of Brandenburg as a man dutifully protecting the community, and, after the execution, taking the horsedealer's two small sons to join his Pagenschule as knights. Klenau retains the essential events (including Kohlhaas' swallowing of the amulet) while inevitably emphasising the sense of communal participation. Thus the Elector's address on atonement in Kleist reappears in full in the opera, but the voice from the crowd 'Michael Kohlhaas hat sein Schuld gebusst!' the knighting of the boys 'Fur Gott! Für Ehr! Für Recht!' and the excited cries of 'Heil unser Kufürst!' from the crowd are Klenau's own dramatic additions. We have to remind ourselves that Kohlhaas's tragedy was not that of a lawless criminal, but, in Kleist's sober words,[82] that of a good citizen, 'Sohn eines Schulmeisters einer der rechtschaffensten

81. Michael Kohlhaas, Ibid., 53f.
82. Ibid., 9.

zugleich und entsetzlichsten Menschen seiner Zeit'.

IV

Comparisons of Michael Kohlhaas with the better-known Mathis der Maler and Karl V are inevitable in view of their origin in the same politically tense period, and the latters' significance as expressions of centrist or left-of-centre political views which prevented their performance at that time. Though Kohlhaas is seen to have right on his side, his own later actions cancel this out, and his death is the proper retribution of an injured and victimised society. The subject thus has a ritual quality which might, in other circumstances, have lent itself to Brechtian Verfremdungseffekt. Mathis was, in fact, the indirect result of Hindemith's failure to collaborate satisfactorily with Brecht, despite the impression created by their Baden-Badener Lëhrstück in 1929. At a time when the life and works of Grünerwald were attracting much attention from scholars,[83] Hindemith turned to the 1525 Peasants' Revolt as a focus for his increasingly strong views on political disengagement, simultaneously renewing the theme of the artist in society broached in Cardillac. As Pfitzner identified with Palestrina, so did Hindemith with Mathis Nithart. One again, the bitter conflicts of the external world are set against the quietness and certainty of individual vision and creativity, and the morality of withdrawal into 'kunstlerischen Selbetbewusstsein'[84] made into the central issue. The difference lay in the fact that, according to the evidence, the historical Mathis did become involved in the war, whereas Palestrina played no direct political role.

It is not hard to see parallels between the oratorio-like VII. Bild (Temptations of St. Anthony) and Palestrina's dialogue with the Old Masters, between the spiritual roles of Borromeo and the Archbishop of Mainz, between the Isenheim Altar and the Marcellus Mass, or between the closing scene in

83. Hans H. Neumann: Schriften des Schöngauer - Nithart Archiv, E. Diederich, Jena, 1930, plus the earlier studies of Schmid (1907/11) Mayer (1919) Hagen (1922) and Rolf (1923).

84. Heinrich Strobel: Paul Hindemith. Schott, 1948, 78-9.

Mathis' workroom and Palestrina seated alone at his organ, oblivious of the cheering outside. The significance of the setting in Hindemith's Franconian homeland[85] is central, in that the imagery of the period, far from being generalised, becomes sharp, concrete and specific to the landscape of the countryside between Mainz and Würzburg. Hauptmann had dealt with this same subject in Florian Geyer (1896) a play with which Hindemith must have been familiar from its revivals in the early Weimar years.[86] But where Geyer's deep sympathy with the peasants cause ends in betrayal and death, Mathis survives to achieve a different kind of triumph.

Hast du erfüllt, was Gott dir auftrug?
Ist dass du schaffst und bildest, genug?

demands the peasant leader Schwalb (1. Bild) accusing Mathis of having no feeling fro his fellow men. His conscience, however, is all too strong, as we hear in his cry following the riot in Mainz (2. Bild):

Meiner Brüder Angstschrei
lähmt mir die Hand,
bedekken sich die Tafeln.

Yet the grim episode involving the burning of Lutheran books by Capito's Catholic mercenaries leads to a further cry from Mathis:

Ich kann nicht mehr malen!
Der Menschen Jammer lähmt mir Arm und Sinn
Unrecht, Armut, Krankheit, Martern—
soll ich daran mitschuldig sein?

Only in the oratorio-like VI. Bild does the dilemma resolve itself, as Albrecht, in the guise of St. Paul, addresses Mathis (St. Anthony)

In der Hut deiner Arbeit lebtest du,
Geborgen warst du. Meisterschaft trug dich, der Väter Kenntnis.
Was du gesucht, gelitten,
deinem Wirken gebe es den Segen der Unsterblichkeit.

85. Cf. Ian Kemp: Hindemith, O.U.P., 1970, 30. Strobel fails to mention this.

86. H. F. Garten: Hauptmann, Bowes and Bowes, Cambridge, 1954, 20-1.

It is immediately following this that the Isenheim Altarpiece gives way to the brightness of dawn and a view of Mainz overlooking the Rhine, a reminder that earlier, before the riot (II. Bild) the Cardinal's vision had been of Mainz as a northern centre for Catholicism:

> Hier soll versammelt sein
> was an Werk und Wort Edles
> der Menschengeist hervorbringt
> ein deutsches Rom am Rhein.

After the bitter wrangle over the bookburning, and confrontation of Riedinger and Capito, Luther's letter to the Cardinal (read by Riedinger) suggested that he take a wife and surrender Church lands to the people. At this stage Luther is painted as one ready to criticise the princes for abuse of their power, but really more interested in the careful separation of temporal and pastoral functions.[87] However, the consequences of his instruction to the princes to suppress the peasants by force are seen clearly enough in the IV. Bild. After the seizure and execution of the Graf v. Helfenstein in the wardamaged village of Königshofen, the peasants prepare for battle with government troops. Significantly, Mathis is struck down when he tries to rescue the Gräfin from peasant abuse, and is saved only by Schwalb's arrival. In Kohlhaas, Luther is fifteen years older, more mellow, and sharp enough to see that the litigious Kohlhaas has legality on his side, though he cannot endorse the violence. In practice, as in Mathis, he ends by supporting the civil authority against the rebel.

Mathis' dealings with Ursula Riedinger are movingly dramatic and his relationship with Schwalb's daughter Regina gentle, even sentimental. In each case, however, eroticism is notably absent. Instead, an ethical situation is presented.

> Doch was soll dir ein greiser Mann?
> Alter kann mit Jugend nicht zusammengehn in einem Joch

is Mathis' comment when Ursula first declares her love (III. Bild). It is

87. A. G. Dickens: Reformation and Society in 16th Century Europe. Thames and Hudson, 1966, 80.

of some interest to see this feature recurring in Krenek's Karl V, composed in Vienna in 1931-3[88] and like Mathis, banned in Germany for its allegedly subversive political tendencies. Here Isabella, the Habsburg Emperor's dying wife appears briefly at the end of the first part, in the sequence of his life. The only other female roles are his mother Juana and sister Eleonore.

Beneath Titian's Last Judgment, the Voice of God announces to Charles in the monastery at Yuste in Estremadura

> Die Welt, wie sie des Columbus Tat
> dem menschlichen Bewusstsein vorgestellt
> als ein Ganzes
> diese Welt gab ich dir ....

a reminder that Milhaud's Christophe Colomb, though not seen by Krenek in its famous 1930 Berlin production[89] was known to him in score. From the outset, Krenek insisted that he was not politically aligned, detested parties and slogans, and had written Karl V partly as a means of promulgating his belief in Austria as 'der letzte Rest des alten universalen übernationalen Reiches', whose political soul was at bottom anti-nationalist.[90] The work was meant, as Rogge has said, as a study in power and a manifesto for tolerance.[91] One might certainly argue that Krenek wa s simply following the current fashion for music theatre with leftist tendencies (Mahagonny, Maschinist Hopkins, Die Massnahme) but Karl V emerged as something more. It was a statement of political problems 'indem ich den Universalismus des mittel-alterlichen katholischen Reiches pries gegenüber den zersetzenden Kräften von Nationalismus, Materialismus und religiöser Gleichgültigkeit'.[92]

88. The score was completed on 21 May 1933, but the plans for its production in 1934 (the year of Dollfuss' assassination) at the Wiener Staatsoper were frustrated. Krenek gave public readings of the text in Vienna and Graz.

89. Letter to the writer, August 31, 1971.

90. Ernst Krenek: Selbstdarstellung. Atlantis Verlag, Zürich, 1948, 36.

91. Wolfgang Rogge: Ernst Kreneks Opern Möseler, Wölfenbüttel, 1970, 111, 118.

92. Selbstdarstellung, 35.

In returning to the Renaissance world, it ranged widely over the early sixteenth-century political scene in a way which only one of Krenek's broad internationalist outlook could have achieved. It was, indeed, the one work of its time in which the temper and problems of Europe in the High Renaissance were treated kaleidoscopically, as it were, from the viewpoint of one who was simultaneously King of Spain, German Emperor and head of the house of Habsburg. Throughout, emphasis is laid on power as suffering and responsibility. As the Fourth Spirit says to Charles after the Sack of Rome:

...ich bin von Gottdem Herrn gesetzt
über alles irdische Leben
mein ist die Erdenwelt
mir gehört sie zu:
denn Tränen und Leid
ist das innerste Wesen der Dinge

while Charles, seeing his wife on her deathbed, reflects

In ewigen Takt zwischen Leid und Lust
Schwingt dieses Leben bin,
Pendel einer unsichtbaren Uhr.

The twelve-note technique in which Krenek deliberately composed here was a stylistic metaphor for the historical situation of Charles V, one of the clash between free will and necessity,[93] and also as a symbol of the work's seriousness of intent.[94] In its other major technical aspect, the use of speaking parts and tracts of spoken dialogue, Karl V reflects its period of origin; they add considerably to its quasi-Brechtian, documentary flavour.

Once again, Luther appears as a supporter of authority, though this time of a still more fiercely German nationalist kind than in Mathis. He is 'der Mönch von Wittenberg', whose answer to the complaining clerics at the Diet of Worms is

Freiheit des Christenmenschen!
Zwischen uns und Gott soll keiner stehn.

93. Cf. F. Saathen: Ernst Krenek: eine Essay. Langen, München, 1959, 27.
94. Selbstdarstellung, 33. Also L. Knessl: Ernst Krenek, Lafite, Vienna, 1967, 51.

In the same spirit, Luther's political successor Moritz of Saxony is presented as a foe only slightly less formidable than Charles' great rival, the French Renaissance king Francis I, to whom Charles had given his sister Eleonore in dynastic marriage. Also given due weight in the portrait of the time are Charles' problems with the papacy, especially Clemens VII, and with the infidel, the unknown forces beyond Europe, symbolised in Soleiman the Magnificent. Krenek insisted, however, that these external relationships were not the primary subject of Karl V. This was, he said, rather the 'im theologischen Sinne beinahe prozessuale Frage nach der Rechtfertigung und die Geschichtsphilosophie, ob und wieweit historische Fakten als Beweismaterial in diesen Prozess herangezogen werden können....'[95] The tenets of contemporary existentialism were thus being applied to a leading Renaissance prince.[96] By claiming that he saw Charles' problem as both personal and supra-personal, Krenek makes possible a comparison with the parallel dilemma of Hindemith's Mathis. On the personal level, both had to come to terms with themselves fully as individuals; one as a European leader, seeking in old age to justify his actions, to achieve 'Rechtfertigung', the other to satisfy his conscience in the relationship of Macht and Geist, of political behaviour and the expression of vision through technical skill, duty to society and artistic fulfilment. The question of the extent to which Charles was limited by the quest for personal salvation is answered:

> '.... mit der Gegenfrage, wieweit sein politisches Handeln als geschichtsgebundene Figur seiner überpersönlichen, historischen Aufgabe innerhalb der Geschichte als Heilsgeschichte gerecht geworden sei'.[96]

V

Two main conclusions emerge from consideration of these six works. One is the abiding fascination of the Reformation as the essential northern counterpart of the Italian Renaissance, despite inevitable lack of agreement

95. Traktat on Karl V, qu. Knessl, op. cit., 49-50.
96. Knessl, 49.

over their 'true' relationship.[97] This was combined with an ultimately pessimistic view of its role as the great spiritual revolution, the turning-point in German history which nevertheless ended Italian humanism north of the Alps. The other is what has been described (though in a different context) as the deliberate near-identification of myth with history, and their parallel close links with the present.[98] In these operas, through the interplay of factual and fictional elements, the contrived subjectivity and use of suggestion rather than statement, history and myth become overlapping planes of reality. Any distinction between the 'reality' and the 'myth' of the Reformation period is never really made, or felt to be necessary. Instead of 'crystallising' the action from the so-called 'given drama' of 'wirkliche Geschichte'[99] the strict or explicit historical background provides an arbitrary pattern of moral symbolism. For these are essentially 'moralising', myth-creating or reinforcing portraits far from the 'petite science de la contingence' (Braudel's scornful phrase) and more akin to historical rhetoric in its broad sense. The events seem to revolve round the protagonists so as to refract the religious and political atmosphere without submerging the characters' almost timeless identities.

The relationship of the Reformation to the dramatis personae, with the continuous stress in each case on the personal, biographical, inward, eschatological element is of fundamental importance. What had by 1540 resolved into a 'period' rather than a 'movement' in Italy[100] was in Germany a time of unprecedented spiritual intensity, of civic and political awareness, in which consciences were searched, and religious attitudes subjected to fierce external pressures. As though to underline this - which Joachimsen described as, through Luther, 'eine Verbindung mit den materiellen Beschwerden

97. Cf. Ch. 4, nn. 6 and 77; also Ferguson, Ch. 9, esp. 282-3 on Joachimsen and Andreas.

98. T. Eagleton: Exiles and Emigrés, Chatto, 1970, 176, w.r. to Yeats and Ireland.

99. Soergel, I, 893, w.r. to Adolf Bartels' Luthertrilogie (1903)

100. P. Burke: Tradition and Innovation in Renaissance Italy, Fontana, 1974, 331. (Orig. pub. 1972).

und dem nationalen Enthusiasmus'[101] - these six operas are dramas of conscience and the limitations placed upon individual choice. Rather than aspiring to be theatrical Kulturgeschichte, each work is 'about' one central figure, his dilemmas, responses, decisions, and personal eschatology. Each consciously restricts its range, tending towards allegoric-philosophic or symbolic presentation, the greatest symbol of all arguably being the Reformation itself. This is achieved through material sui generis legendary but based on a kernel of fact - the Faust story - or material of a conjectural or quasi-historical kind, like the last years of Grünewald, woven into a detailed narrative even when (in this case) it had long ago been remarked that 'von seinen Thun nur eine geringe Schrift oder mündliche Nachricht geben Könnte.'[102]

None comes near to presenting a full portrait of a 16th century German community such as exists in Die Meistersinger - perhaps because of that work's unique, definitive nature. The dramatic intention is in each different, with none of Wagner's serene, public optimism. If the community may be said to react to the protagonist, so he in turn is a creature of mysterious impulse, hovering close to solipsism. Palestrina's main objective and 'Grundzug' is 'mystic ecstasy',[103] Kohlhaas is 'deep in illusion about himself and the world' yet perhaps 'achieves what he really desires',[104] spectacular self-annihilation. The quasi-Bismarckian Realpolitiker Jenatsch embodied that clash of 'Recht und Macht, Politik und Sittlichkeit' characteristic, in Meyer's view, of the early 17th century,[105] yet also, in Krenek's view, of the earlier age of Charles V, the 'Just Emperor' striving, however vainly, to unite a divided world. In the lives of Faust of Wittenberg and Nithart of Mainz, seekers both, the violent events of the outside world

101. Op. cit., 282.

102. J. Sandrart (ed. A. R. Peltzer) Academie der Bau-Bild-und Mahlery-Künste von 1675, G. Hirth, München, 1925, 81, on Matthaeus v. Aschaffenburg.

103. Bekker, G. W., II, 277.

104. R. S. Lucas: Problems in Michael Kohlhaas, DVjS, 44 (1970) 139, 144.

105. Meyer to Hanssel, Sept. 1866, qu. Franz Koch: Idee und Wirklichkeit, L. Ehlermann, Düsseldorf, 1956, 298.

seem, not so much to impose a framework for positive action as to represent a challenge to the exercise of the will, ending in defeat and death for one, and silent retreat for the other.

Combining the selection of information with unity of presentation is, in Mencke-Glückert's words, the great exercise required of the historian.[106] A recent commentator, discussing the historical novels of Mundt, Gutzkow and their contemporaries has described the problem as the 'Spannungsverhältnis von wissenschaftlich gesichteten Material und künstlerischer Gestaltung von Stoff und Form', and the historical novel as a combination of 'bildhaft künstlerischer Phantasie, einfühlender Intuition, ästhetischer Bildgebung.'[107] Here, the Hegelian 'Entwicklungsbegriff' pointed to living 'Geschichte' relevant to the present, and distinguished from irretrievably dead (and thus unusable) 'Historie'.[108] These later 'victims' of the historical process are not heroes so much as men cast by circumstances into an heroic, or rather quasi-heroic mould, though, with one exception (Palestrina, who also experiences anguish) made to suffer for their aspirations.

It was no accident that the pessimism not only of Schopenhauer, but of Paolo Sarpi's Council of Trent history - that 'helplessness of man as a moral being' noted by Bouwsma[109] - should have influenced Pfitzner's conception of Palestrina (notably Act 2) so profoundly. His doctrine of 'opportunity', of 'co-operating with the opportune moment for action' is, curiously, present also in Jenatsch and in Mathis. One might even argue that the Sarpi attitude, his refusal to predict the future, his awareness of the perpetual probability of the unexpected, is borne out in the slow, time-obsessed, weighed-down Weltanschauung of Karl V. Moreover, Sarpi's stress on the value of individual over collective judgment (he meant, of course, in ecclesiastical matters) has an odd bearing on the purely civil, though later also spiritual problems in Kohlhaas. Here, however, the horse-

106. Die Geschichtsschreibung der Reformation und Gegenreformation. A. W. Zickfeldt, Osterwieck/Harz, 1912, 40.

107. Helmut Kind: Das Zeitalter der Reformation im historischen Roman der Jungdeutschen. Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1969, 47-8.

108. Ibid., 18.

109. In 'Venice, Spain and the Papacy' (1962), repr. in Cochrane, E. (ed.) The Late Italian Renaissance, Macmillan, 1970, 369.

dealer's actions prove Sarpi's point about the futility and eventual destructiveness, despite short-term gain, of struggle against superior powers in the political arena. The extent of control over events, in relation to moral responsibility and authority take on, in Kohlhaas and Karl V alike, a metaphysical intensity, while in Jenatsch, Mathis, and possibly Palestrina it has a millenial, chiliastic quality.

As suggested earlier, Luther's background role in these works has a singular historiographic interest, and not only because of his obsession with the devil, and the mention of Faust in the Tischreden.[110] May 26, 1910, when Pfitzner was planning the text of Palestrina was, appropriately, the 300th anniversary of Carlo Borromeo's canonisation.[111] It was also the period of Grisar's monumental anti-Luther tract, of Rudolf Frank's Faust-legend source study[112] and of Eugen Wolff's full-length monograph.[113] This followed Kiesewetter's major study[114] and Eugen Schmidt's essay which had related whole tracts of Luther's works (including the Tischreden) to the Spiess Historia and the later elaborations of Widmann and Pfitzer.[115] Wolff presented the Spiess Faustbook as the work of a Catholic striving to * historical Georg (Johann) Faust. Even if this seems farfetched (though Wolff attributes the Faustbook to the antilutheran polemicist and satinist Johann Nas (1534-90)) the notion of Faust as a 'parody of Luther' - as drunkard, magician, satanist and manichean (with a chapter on Simon Magus and Helena as prototypes for Luther and Käthe) - has a special fascination,

110. Cf. Preserved Smith: Life and Letters of Martin Luther, Murray, London 1911, 339-40.

111. Jiri Pelikan (ed.) Interpreters of Luther. Fortress Pr., Philadelphia, 1968, 261.

112. Wie der Faust entstand: Urkunde, Sage und Dichtung, W. Borngräber, Berlin, 1911.

113. Faust und Luther: ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Faust-Dichtung. Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1912.

114. Faust in der Geschichte u. Tradition, Leipzig, 1893.

115. Faust und Luther. Berichte der Preussischen Adademie, 1896, 567-91.

* [Line omitted: should read – 'striving to incorporate as much of Luther as possible into the adventures of the historical Georg(Johann)Faust.']

especially if, as with Wolfgang Menzel in 1859[116] the Faust legend is seen as an allegory of the Reformation.

On the other hand, since all that Luther ultimately represented - belief in eternal life, the scriptures and wedlock, fearless conflict with the devil, mistrust of 'reason', dislike of astrology - found its opposite in Faust - such parallels may lead one dangerously astray. Luther, the great revolutionary conservative (never more so than in his relationship with Kohlhaas, or in his background role in Mathis) resolves his life's agonies into a peaceful end. Nietzsche's 'reactionary medieval monk' may have remained the Wittenberg preacher and teacher, but he exalted 'stolze Bewnsstsein' in the sure knowledge that, whatever he did 'Welt Welt bleibt'.[117] Faust, however, full of despair, aspired to total control, mocked the Prayerbook, replaced ritual by magic rites, feared damnation, yet made 'blasphemous substitutes for ritual'[118] the spur and object of action. This is how he is presented by Spiess, by Marlowe, and, subsequently, by Busoni.

Finally, it may be said again that the optimism felt in some recent interpretations of the period does not feature notably in its dramatic presentation before 1933, either in these operas, or in the many plays, including those dealing with Münzer as well as Luther. Fritz Hartung, for example, sees the whole Counter-Reformation period (taking in the careers of Palestrina and Jenatsch) not merely as 'die Negation des Protestantismus' but 'eine positive Neugestaltung der in Katholismus vorhandenen religiösen Kräfte'.[119] In contrast to Sarpi's sombre picture, the Council of Trent becomes 'ein Sieg des romanischen Geistes über den Germanischen, wie er in Luthers Werk zum Durchbruch gekommen war.'[120] Yet for Paul Joachimsen as

116. qu. Wolff, 13. The patrician humanist Willibald Pirckheimer of Nuremberg (1470-1530) appears to have had much in common with Faust. Cf. L. Spitz: The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists, Harvard, 1963, Ch. VIII, esp. 159 and 162-4.

117. Joachimsen, Op. cit., 282-3.

118. C. L. Barber: 'The form of Faustus' fortunes, good or bad', TDR, Summer 1964, 98.

119. Deutsche Geschichte von 1519 bis 1648, de Gruyter, 1971, 56.

120. Ibid., 59,

for his contemporaries Pfitzner and Busoni, and later also for Klenau, Kaminski, Hindemith and Krenek, all worldly action must be judged against 'Innerlichkeit' and the stillness of a man's total life view. Moritz of Saxony, for example, is a simple German soldier, a Kraftmensch of a lesser kind, for whom politics and religion were twin 'instrumenta regni'.[121] The period following the Diet of Worms was 'ein aufgewühltes Meer, durchwogt von Stürme der tiefsten Leidenschaften'[122] yet the long-term influence of Luther was 'Mehr zugelassen als geschaffen'.[123] Charles V was, in Joachimsen's moving portrait a true uomo universale in his intelligence and range of interests,[124] yet brooded helplessly at St. Juste on the Habsburg dynasty's power and the preservation of his territories.[125] Likewise , in Krenek's formulation, Charles tries, in reviewing his life, actually to justify abdication, and the removal of his 'powers of action'.[126] 'Wo nur für Kampf und Blut Platz ist', warned Hindemith's Albrecht of Mainz, 'gedeiht nicht die Kunst'. He might have concluded further that where worldly action overreaches itself, achieving more than moral perception ratifies, the moment of bewilderment, the question of identity, and the possibility of pain and even destruction, must follow.

121. Op. cit., 263.
122. Ibid., 128.
123. Ibid., 281.
124. Ibid., 279.
125. Ibid., 278.
126. PNM, 1972, 103.

PART THREE

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FOLKTALE

Reality is little more than the fiery
smoke from which visions issue forth; for all
that, the visions are offspring of the smoke.

Hofmannsthal: Dichter und Leben
(1897)
(Prosa, I, 334)

CHAPTER SIX

NARRATIVE AND MÄRCHEN ELEMENTS IN AUSTRIAN OPERA, 1920-33

I Preliminaries

II Braunfels, Strauss, Busoni and Franckenstein

III Girnara and Die heilige Ente

IV Zemlinsky and Der Kreidekreis

V The one-act opera: Braunfels, Schoeck and Krenek

I

The broadly 'historical' material in the operas discussed in Chapter five, while frequently leaning towards allegory or morality in presentation, was, however loosely, based on the lives and actions of people known to have existed in actuality. In this important respect, it was significantly close to the Sage or historical folktale about whose properties there had always been a consensus of agreement among theorists. The problem arose when the Sage had to be firmly set apart from the Märchen, and each placed in some understandable relationship with the concept of myth. Complications arose in the debatable area of the Märchen as myth through the rise of the Kunstmärchen in Germany as an important feature of the Romantic movement. During the period of folklorism's gradual growth during the 18th century many commentators took for granted that 'myth' referred to Greek and Roman (and later Germanic and Scandinavian) mythology. A question of 'status', even more than definition, seemed to be involved here, and the term 'Göttermythus' was consequently widely used and accepted.

Those differences in terminology briefly outlined in Chapter Two point to a situation in which the refinement in the Volkskundler's techniques and methods of comparison have not by any means eliminated large areas of basic disagreement as to the nature and function of the various types of folktale. When C. W. von Sydow devised his sixfold scheme in the 1930s, it was a

symptomatic attempt to reclassify all the material under new headings of his own, which crossed the hitherto accepted bounds of Sage and Märchen. Thus very simple anecdotes of either category he called Fabel or Fikt fantasy tales became Chimerat (Märchen) Fabulat (Sage) while tales based on fact were to be called, according to style, Novellat (Märchen) or Memorat (Sage).[1] Such ingenuities were undreamed of by the folklorists who followed in the Grimms' footsteps; the brothers' categorisation[2] was invariably accepted and confirmed by them. Thus Ludwig Bechstein, in his admirable and, until lately, underrated Deutsches Märchenbuch of 1845, used the older, loose generic term 'Märe' as a synonym for 'Erzählung, Fabel, Abenteuer', beside which 'Märchen' means 'der ruhe - und heimatlos schwebende Paradiesvogel kindlicher Tradition' while the 'Sage' must invariably be linked in character to a specific locale. If a Märchen (such as Der Schmied von Juterbogk in his collection) has this geographical exactness, then it takes on the qualities of a Sage. The Märchen in Germany (as distinct, in Bechstein's opinion, from the oriental Märchen) had many links with the world of myth, seen as 'das grosse breite Reich der Geisterwelt', whilst remaining distinct from it.[3]

Some eighty years after Bechstein, the Saxon classical scholar J. A. Erich Bethe insisted that the categories should not be confused, and that one should not see buried myths in Sagen and Märchen. Myth was seen more abstractly as 'primitive Philosophie, einfachste anschauliche Denkform, eine Reihe von Versuchen, die Welt zu verstehen, Leben und Tod, Schicksal und Natur, Götter und Kulte zu erklären'. Compared with this, the Sage was simply a naively composed 'primitive Geschichte'[4] and the Märchen 'nichts als Poesie, die Quintessenz aller Phantasiearbeiter der Menschheit', a product arising solely from the demand for entertainment.[5] About this time, no less an

1. Kategorien der Prosa Volksdichtung. in Sel. Papers on Folklore, Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen, 1948, 60-86.
2. Ch. 2, n. 49.
3. Deutsches Märchenbuch, George Wigand, Leipzig, 1845/6, Vorwort.
4. Though Otto Böckel gave the Sage a clarificatory function as 'eine Erzählung, die eine bestimmte, geheimnisvolle Tatsache erklärt.' Die deutsche Volkssage. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, 1908, 1.
5. Märchen, Sage, Mythus. Quelle and Meyer, Leipzig, n.d. (1923?), 117.

authority than Johannes Bolte defined the Märchen simply as a 'bunte Geschichte, die in einer phantastischen Welt spielt, in welcher der gewohnte Kausal-und Naturzusammenhang aufgehoben ist'.[6] The three most influential recent Märchen specialists, following in the wake of such distinguished investigators as van der Leyen, Aarne and Wesselski, have in common the great and minutely detailed seriousness with which they take the Märchen form. As earlier pointed out, by following Jungian archetypal theories and allying herself with the Cassirer school, Hedwig von Beit has inevitably separated herself from more sceptical scholars, but one cannot ignore her work, summed up in her remark that 'die Schrift gehört in ihrem ersten Hervortreten und in ihrem primären Gestaltungen der magischen Sphäre an.'[7] By contrast, Max Lüthi has repeatedly stressed that 'weder das Numinose, Magische, Mythische noch das Erotische, Lebendige, Wirkliche erscheint im Märchen in seiner eigentlichen Gestalt. Alles sublimiert sich zu schwerelosen Bildern'.[8] Still more recently, Lutz Röhrich has emphasised the closeness of the traditional Volksmärchen to reality, in that the sense of wonder is not exhausted by unbridled excursions into subjective fantasy.[9] Discussing 'die innere Wirklichkeit des Märchens', Röhrich argues that the 'unreality' of Märchen content is itself illusory. It is, he suggests, related to universal questions about human life, and the formula 'es war einmal', far from projecting the story into a remote past, actually brings the narrative as close as possible to the present. In addition, the Märchen form covers the whole range of human family and social relationships.[10] Thus the Märchen, without losing its 'symbolic' qualities, or its special atmosphere and momentum, is here associated with that literary tradition of mimetic realism, of 'representational plausibility'[11] from which it had traditionally been set apart.

6. Name und Merkmale des Märchens, FFC 36 (1920) 38.
7. Das Märchen, loc. cit., 105.
8. Volksmärchen und Volkssage, loc. cit., 16.
9. Märchen und Wirklichkeit, Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1964, 3.
10. Ibid. 240-1.
11. Graham Hough: An Essay on Criticism, Duckworth, 1966, 150-1.

Part of the peculiar fascination of any dramatic representation lies in its assumption of conventions, both formal and thematic. Though overtly mimetic in character and incident, the play - and still more the opera, necessarily removed in manner from mimesis - may create its own internal pattern which can arguably be related to underlying, perhaps even unconscious 'mythic patterns'. In Frye's now well-known argument, the work seen will amount to a 'displaced myth'.[12] If acceptance of this idea calls into question the whole concept of 'fiction', it makes even more problematical the drawing of sharp distinctions between myth and folktale. Just as psychoanalysis and anthropology have plundered folklore and ancient myth simultaneously as material for their own ends, so in much drama and almost all opera (forms where realism and its opposite have been freely mixed, or where 'mimesis' has been swamped by fantasy) the two categories have frequently been blurred. To admit this, one needs neither to define 'myth' with the sweeping vagueness of Pannwitz[13] nor to state defensively that overlap is inevitable because there are only so many basic human situations which must inevitably recur when used imaginatively.[14] That there are differences in the use to which the stock of images and plots in myth and folktale have been put is evident in their stylistic differences, as well as differences of aspiration, of attempted scope and range.[15] However, it does not help much to minimise the supernatural elements in traditional folktales in order to pursue the difference:[16] the Aarne-Thompson catalogue lists 500

12. Northrop Frye: Anatomy of Criticism, Princeton, 1957. Frye included all literature in his theory of 'displacement'.

13. 'Wanderung und Verwandlung der Psyche - Geistes und der Seele - in den Kosmos'. qu. Soërgel, II, 293-4.

14. G. S. Kirk: The Nature of Greek Myths. Penguin, 1974, 215. Cf. Chapter 2, nn. 61-3.

15. Cf. S. Langer: Philosophy in a New Key, Camb. Mass., 1942, 177, and Feder, loc. cit., 25.

16. G. S. Kirk: Myth: its meaning and functions. CUP, 1970, 36-7. Cf. also The Nature of Greek myths, 34, where realism and 'impersonality' are seen as folktale characteristics, and where supernatural elements are acknowledged, but for their 'entertainment' value only, rather than as indicators of an aetiological content which might upgrade the Märchen into a 'serious'myth. In general, despite doubts, Prof. Kirk is impressed by the unwillingness of the pioneer American ethnologist Frank Boas (Tsimshian Mythology, 1916) to draw a real boundary between the two groups.

magic or supernatural types in its total of 900 ordinary or human folktales. Equally, it is doubtful that folktale invariably values pure narrative more highly than ancient myth, since so many Greek myths - not to mention those of other cultures - can demonstrate narrative sequences of unparalleled drive and intensity.

Thus the continued interest in the fantastic opera after 1900 occurred in an atmosphere which, for reasons given in Chapter One made it difficult for composers to produce convincing Märchenopern in the older manner. Where the old Märchen style did survive, it was almost parodistically artificial (even when artistically quite successful) as in Braunfels' Aristophanes adaptation Die Vögel - Greek comedy seen through Eichendorffian spectacles - or lost in a remote rural valley, as in the essentially provincial works of Julius Bittner. At the other extreme, the implicit conventions and much of the traditional imagery were, as in Weill's Die Bürgschaft and Der Silbersee, used for the purpose of explicitly ironic and sharp-edged social criticism.[17] For a time, it appeared that one liberating force possibly offering the genre a new lease of life might be E. T. A. Hoffmann. Shortlived though this hope proved, it did illustrate that the new direction was likely to be more self-consciously literary than hitherto. What actually took place was a revival in various guises of that persistent strain of orientalism running through German literature from the mid-18th century.

II

The diverse approaches of the Romantic Kunstmärchen practitioners makes it difficult to approach the subject straightforwardly. A wide gulf separated the five main figures, ranging from the Basile-derived story telling technique of Brentano's Italienische Märchen, through the more speculative, even mystical Wackenroder and the 'Traumbild' or 'musikalische Phantasie' of Novalis, the 'gesellschaftlich und moralisch' Tieck and the wide-ranging, many-levelled

17. Kaiser's play was in fact subtitled: 'ein Wintermärchen', doubtless with Heine's political satire Deutschland, in mind.

irony and grotesquerie of Hoffmann. In the Nachwort to Hoffmann's Nussknacker und Mausekönig we find the well-known definition of the Märchen as 'ein gewagtes Unternehmen, das durchaus Phantastische ins gewöhnliche Leben hineinzuspielen und ernsthaften Leuten, Obergewichtsräten, Archivären und Studenten tolle Zauberknappen überzuwerfen .....'[18] Of these writers, Hoffmann is the most significant for the 20th century, and for musicians in particular. The musical background of Hoffmann's own life certainly had much to do with this. In addition, Offenbach's Contes d'Hoffmann (Hoffmanns Erzählungen) had been for German composers an object both of fascination and inhibition. But, thirdly, there was a fast-growing general interest in Hoffmann as a literary figure which culminated in Hans von Müller's critical edition of the Serapionsbrüder- Märchen (1906), C. G. von Maassen's complete edition (1908ff.) Erwin Kroll's study of Hoffman's musical outlook (1909) and P. Margis's of his psychology (1911). After the war came a crop of publications associated with the centenary of his death in 1922.[19] Busoni's predilection for Hoffmann drew him to the 'berlinische Geschichte' Die Brautwahl, where the detailed descriptions of the goldsmith Leonhard, chancellery secretary Thusmann and the old Jew Manasse are taken from Hoffmann and appear in the score. It is no accident that his Turandot (after Gozzi) should be closely related to the Gozzi-Abbate Chiari theme in Prinzessin Brambilla, one of the most complex of all the Märchen, and described by Hoffmann as 'ebensowenig, wie Klein Zaches .... ein Buch für Leute die alles gern ernst und wichtig nehmen'.[20]

Even before Die Brautwahl - and certainly long before Hindemith turned to 'the first detective-story' Das Fraulein von Scuderi for the text of Cardillac - Brambilla had attracted the attention of Walter Braunfels, a distinguished Thuille pupil. After an early fairy opera Falada and an

18. P.W., 5, 300-1. Wieland had earlier said that Märchen should not be merely 'Spiele', but should be a valuable kind of 'gewissene Wahrheiten.' A.A., XVIII, 7. Cf. also Hoffmann, P.W., 7, 100-102.

19. These included critical works by Mausolf and Jost and biographies by R. von Schaukal (1923) and Hans von Wolzogen (1924).

20. P.W., 10, 7 (Vorwort).

unfinished attempt to turn Der goldene Topf into an opera, Braunfels turned to the 'Capriccio nach Callots Manier'. His two-act 'heitere Oper' was published in Munich by Heinrich Levy in 1908, and performed at Stuttgart in March 1909.[21] Possibly Braunfels considered the carnival setting of Hoffmann's story the clearest indication of its operatic potential (the setting is late 18th century Rome) and provided a large cast of 'Volk, Masken, Gassenbuben, Zecher, Sänger' to sustain the festive atmosphere. It could be, however, that he was fascinated, as many critics were at this period, by the virtuoso handling of illusion and the ambiguous identity of the protagonists, Pistoja, the actor Giglio (renamed Claudio) and the young actress Giazinta. For, as Adolf Caspary put it in the centenary year: 'in der Tat dürfte die Zwiespaltigkeit des Bewusstseins, die Doppelbodigkeit, die das Geschehen in Hoffmanns Novellen ermöglicht, zum'tiefsten Geheimnis der Natur ihre Beziehung haben. Denn der Traum gibt nicht weniger zu denken als das Wachen'.[22] Both elements are important to Prinzessin Brambilla, whose central subject, the uncertainty of Giazinta and the boastful ambition of Claudio are suggested in the very first (carnival) scene, as Pistoja, gazing at Claudio intones 'O Liebe!/O Liebe!/Glücksheuchlerin,/Unheilspenderin!/ Ein Prinz, ein junger Prinz/ward geliebt von der Prinzessin!/Cornelio Prinz von Assyrien/gewann die Liebe von Brambilla'.

Always sensitive to literary nuance, the musician Braunfels sought tonal unity in the score by opening in C sharp major (lebhaft) then casting the second act in its enharmonic equivalent, D flat. D flat major, identical in 'sound' but not 'appearance' is thus a musical means of illustrating the 'Zwiespaltigkeit' and 'Doppelbodigkeit' of the story, so that the bright illusion of the work's opening, and the long serenely deautiful D flat Vorspiel to Act 2 are rounded off by the final Chorus, also in that key:

Aus Wahnes Grauen
zu Sonnenauen
ziehe nun der Liebe Band
strahlend euch hinan.

21. UE later took over the work: the Hannover revival of 15 September 1931 was under UE auspices.
22. Hoffmanns Traumtechnik, DF, 1922, 224.

There is thus no doubt that Braunfels perceived the point of the story, the coexistence of sincere love (Claudio and Giazinta) with hopeless and illusory aspiration (Cornelio and Brambilla) which in the end turns out not to be illusion at all, but a realisation of their higher selves, all set against a Commedia dell'arte background which itself stresses the omnipresence of fantasy. Skilful though his opera is, however, it cannot approach the specific literary qualities, and above all the ironic tone of the original. By eliminating Fürst Bastianello di Pistoja's alter ego as the mountebank Celionati, for instance, a vital dimension of his role as mediator is lost. 'Im Carneval geschieht oft Wunderbares' he declares to Giazinta in a long explicatory dialogue (Act 2) which recognises the confusion and ambiguity, but cannot present it in satisfactorily dramatic terms. Hoffmann's Märchen, in reality a pointed Doppelgänger-fantasy, is oversimplified into a tale of love lost and regained, with the disadvantage of characters whose very essence is their uncertain identity.[23]

The most significant thread in German literature affecting Märchenoper development after 1910 was not Hoffmannesque fantasy, however, but the interest in orientalism and eastern colouring. This important aspect of Austro-German taste, of special importance during this period, has received only sporadic attention. It is a large subject, chiefly bound up with the history of the visual arts, notably porcelain and furniture, during the 17th and 18th centuries, with the influence of Holland and France during and after the Grand Siècle overwhelmingly dominant. The many German Schlösser which acquired oriental rooms or even separate palaces did so very much under the influence of French models. Examples are Bamberg, Ludwigsburg, Munich (Nymphenburg), Vienna (Schönbrunn) the Indian house at Pillnitz (1720-32) and the tea-house at Potsdam (1754-7). By the mid-18th century, the fashion had spread throughout Europe and developed a greater degree of sophistication

23. The Märchen is really another tract on Hoffmann's favourite theme of art versus philistinism. As Ludwig Marcuse later observed, among the many things settling them apart was the reliance of the philistine on 'photographierbare Wirklichkeit' compared with which 'Der Blaublümchen-Romantiker erkennt allein die subjektive Stimmung als Realität an'. DF, 1922, 198. Cf. also Robert Currie: Genius: an ideology in literature Chatto, 1974, 72.

than the generalised notion of an 'infinitely remote and infinitely bizarre'[24] Orient of the main baroque period. French taste again dominated Europe in the 19th century, but more from a literary angle, led initially by Gautier and his daughter Judith and subsequently by the Goncourts. Their interest in Japanese art led to a period (1885-1905) during which certain French writers, notably Loti, Claudel and Farrère used their sojeurn in the Far East as a literary stimulus.[25]

The German literary experience was rather different, and can be seen under three headings. Firstly, there were the translations of oriental poetry, principally of the T'ang poet Li-tai-pe, and headed most famously by Bethge's Chinesische Flöte (1907) and Japanischer Frühling (1911). Dehmel, Hans Heilmann and Klabund also translated Li-tai-pe (with whom Rilke in 1917 compared Trakl,[26]) who thus achieved celebrity as a kind of eastern Villon. Secondly, the oriental world attracted prose-writers and playwrights in search of formalised exotic material, which would provide imaginative stimulus through emphasis on non-western cultural patterns. Thirdly, increasing interest in eastern religions and the occult was reflected in a number of influential works at this time. Some were the products of scholarship, such as the translations of Buddhist scriptures by the Indologist Karl E. Neumann (1865-1915). Others, like the Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen (1919) of Hermann, Graf von Keyserling (1880-1946) were more discursive and popular in format; Keyserling's Darmstadt Schule der Weisheit was a public manifestation of the interest in Chinese and Indian thought-processes.

Orientalism of various inspirational kinds appears frequently in German literature from Wieland onwards, and became an important aspect of German Romanticism. The main influences were Herder's 1792 letters on the Hindu drama Sakuntala and Friedrich Schlegel's Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier of 1808, and from a different angle, Goethe's Westöstliche Divan.

24. Hugh Honour: Chinoiserie: the vision of Cathay. Murray, 1961, 85.
25. W. L. Schwartz: The Imaginative Interpretation of the Far East in French Literature after 1800. H. Champion, Paris, 1927, 121 ff.
26. qu. Hamburger, loc. cit., 298.

Rückert's two volumes of oriental verse were followed by similar efforts by Bodenstedt (1851) and von Schack (1874) though the figure who most overwhelmingly embodied the oriental world-view in his work was not a poet at all, but Schopenhauer. Later the influence of French symbolism chiefly manifested itself in this area in George's early poetry, such as Algabal (1892) and, still more Das Buch der hängenden Gärten, where neither time nor place are specific. 'L'Orient qu'il évoque est tout légendaire et fantastique' wrote Enid Duthie, 'c'est l'Orient des Mille et une Nuits, une féerie tout autant qu'une réalité'.[27] From the same decade date the translations of Lafcadio Hearn, deeply admired by Hofmannsthal. Interest in sinology grew markedly from the mid-1890s, reaching a peak during and following the war years. Many would have echoed the general sentiment - more an aesthetic gesture than a critical comment - of one contemporary study that 'Nur wenn die Kultur des Westens sum Orient Kommt, wird sie freudig und begeistert empfangen werden'.[28] Worringer portrayed eastern 'Transzendenz' as that of the Jenseitsmensch, as against the 'Immanenz' of the western 'Diesseitsmensch!'[29] Part of the fascination lay in the intangibilities of eastern culture-patterns, the challenge of what one recent critic has called the hidden limits of comprehension which have tended to make western translations of Indian, Chinese and Persian literature sound rather similar.[30] Another aspect was the vastness of the eastern world as a whole, including that of the Near East, leading Thomas Mann later to describe Jacob's wanderings through 'den ganzen Kulturraum des vorderen Orients, der von Euphrat bis zum Nil reichenden Kulturraum der alten Völker.'[31]

Hearn's translations apart, Hofmannsthal's personal library, for example, included a considerable oriental section, especially of Far Eastern material.

27. Duthie, 336.

28. Frederik W. van Eeden (1860-1932). Welt-Eroberung durch Heldenliebe. Schuster and Loeffler, Bln., 1911, 60, echoing F. Schlegel's vision of an east-west 'grosses Ganzes' of 1808.

29. Worringer, loc. cit., 26 and 48.

30. Kurt Weigand; WW (1968), 186.

31. H. Stresau: Thomas Mann v. sein Werk. Fischer, Bln, 1963, 157.

The various poetry translations, Neumann's versions of the Pati canons, Deussen's of the Upanishad (1897) and Wilhelm's of Lao Tsu's Tao te Ching were side by side with Claudel's Connaissance de l'Est (1907) Oldenberg's Buddha: sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde, Kassner's Der indische Gedanke and various studies of oriental art. As Dorothy Prohaska has shown,[32] a generalised awareness of the Orient related to the city's topography was part of Viennese theatre during Raimund's lifetime. Earlier, Hoffmann had mocked this phenomenon of taste in Der Goldene Topf as 'oriental bombast'[33], shrewdly observing that the apparent Arabian Nights flavour of this Märchen was unintentional, these famous tales' exoticism being a western view of them.[34]

A direct result of the literary interest in Hofmannsthal's case was his ballet-pantomime Die grüne Flöte of 1923 set in 'Märchenlande einer idealen Landschaft' with stylised black and gold costumes.[35] In 1922 he had introduced a story by Fürstin Marie v. Thurn u. Taxis as 'ein geträumtes kleines Prunkfest, eine kleine Feerie, ein kleine Zauberspiegelei ..... eine kleine Kavalkade von Träumen über eine winzige Brücke aus Porzellan'.[36] These words might apply also to his own ballet-text, and to much of the minor quasi-Märchen literature of the time, such as Max Dauthendey's Die acht Gesichte von Biwasee of 1911, stories based on eight views near the old imperial city of Kyoto.[37]

This kind of perhaps overrefined, even precious aestheticism is only one

32. E.g. Die gefesselte Phantasie, 1828. Cf. Raimund and Vienna, CUP, 1964, 26.

33. P.W., 1, 228.

34. Ibid. Cf. Hofmannsthal's view of them as a poetic world of 'die ungeheuerste Sinnlichkeit', like light in Rembrandt and colour in Titian. Intro. to Inselverlag edn. of Tausendundeine Nacht (1908) Prosa, II, 312-13.

35. Dramen, II, 245-50.

36. Vom Kaiser Huang-Li; ein Märchen: (Berlin, 1922) Geleitwort. Prosa, IV, 87.

37. G. W., 3. (1930) 99-215. 'Die Seele der Landschaften sind mir herzliche Brüder geworden, - Dauthendey, Intro. cf. Hofmannsthal's discussion of old Imperial Austria (1925) and the remark 'die geschichtliche Gestalt, so wie die mythische, lebt in der landschaft fort'. Prosa, IV, 295.

aspect of literary orientalism, and arguably a superficial one. More important and interesting is the eclectic fusion of eastern and western ideas in novels, stories, plays and opera-texts during the period. Döblin's novel Die drei Sprünge des Wang-Lun (1912-13), based on the actual destruction of a breakaway Taoist sect in 18th century northern China, unashamedly stresses fantasy and elaborate description at the expense of strictly historical background. A likely source of Döblin's inspiration was Wilhelm's influential translation of the Tao te Ching (1911), though the work has also been related to the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1912.[38] Another personalised oriental Bildungsroman, Hesse's Siddhartha (1919-22) depicts the arduous course of a young Brahman running the gamut of worldly experience in his search for Nirvana, seeking for 'Frömmigkeit oder Weisheit'. Here, however, the hero has been accused of mere solipsism, and the work itself criticised as an unsuccessful attempt to avoid the consequences of an occidental world-view by turning to the east.[39] Such a criticism could also be made of a lesser writer like Hasenclever, whose first dramatic effort (1908-9) was the play Nirwana. He later read Neumann[40] and was deeply influenced by the actor Paul Wegener, who played the father in Der Sohn, and owned a major collection of Buddha statues in Berlin. Early in the 1920s, they worked on the film Leben des Buddhas, in which Wegener played the incarnation of Buddha as a Tibetan priest. Also around this time, though perhaps in a more critical spirit, Brecht's collaborator Elisabeth Hauptmann had begun to take an interest in the Japanese Noh-play.[41] More will be said of this later in connection with Der Kreidekreis.

Strauss' and Hofmannsthal's Die Frau ohne Schatten, many times described elsewhere, is by far the largest and most imposing of the operas indebted to

38. Also to Marinetti's Mafarka le Futuriste: Romain Africain. Cf. Ingrid Schuster: Alfred Döblins Chinesischer Roman, WW 1970, 339-46.
39. Colin Butler in MfdU, LXIII, 2, 1971, 117-24. But cf. Adrian Hsia: Hermann Hesse und China (Suhrkamp, 1975) for an extended discussion of the opposite view, that Hesse's oriental world-view was anything but superficial.
40. His lifelong friend Kurt Pinthus also stressed Hasenclever's Swedenborgian leanings. Cf. Hasenclever: Auswahl, Rowohlt, 1963, 26f.
41. Cf. also Blei's translation of Sumidafluss in Das Kuriositätenkabinett der literatur, P. Steegmann, Hannover, 1924, 178-185.

the oriental Märchen. It is also unusually well documented, from its origins early in 1911 as a Volksstück with upper and lower world, the 'Arlekin and Smeraldine' to be based on the 'Flickschneider und seiner unzufriedene Frau' of the popular Viennese theatre,[42] while the Kaiser and Kaiserin of the upper world, together with the falcon and the symbolic fish (spirits of unborn children) originate in Hofmannsthal's much loved 1001 Nights.[43] Those concepts of Existenz, ambivalent Zwischenzustand and Praëxistenz, self-conquest and self-release, unity and duality which lay behind Hofmannsthal's thought permeate this opera, and help to account for the scepticism with which its inflation of Märchen material has frequently been received.[44] Julius Korngold accused him of turning away from the naïve self-sufficiency of the Märchen, and observed that Schikaneder had managed matters better in Die Zauberflöte, the much-discussed earlier model for this work.[45] Part of the problem may lie in the mental climate of, in particular, the 'upper world', its position as 'Dämmerung' in the tripartite scheme described as the crisis of the mythical consciousness in relation to the childhood Praëxistenz and the adult Existenz.[46] It is little wonder that the poet was soon drawn to elaborate the text into an Erzählung, or that in the other Erzählung, Andreas, oder die Vereinigten, he should deal with this lofty theme ('alles Leben ist ein Übergang'[47]) in another form. The spiritual conception of this, 'den schönsten meiner dramatischen Stoffe'[48] was undoubtedly in Wellesz's mind when he wrote Die Prinzessin Girnara.

In a work far removed from the length and range of Die Frau ohne Schatten, Busoni had presented Gozzi's 'chinesische Fabel' Turandot - itself an Arabian

42. Zur Entstchungsgeschichte der Frau ohne Schatten (1919) in Prosa, III, 451-2.

43. Especially the story of The Fisherman and the Djinee. Hofmannsthal did not mention this in his 1919 account.

44. E.g. Bekker. G. S., 1 esp. 125-8.

45. Op. cit., 189.

46. Cf. Rolf Tarot: HvH: Daseinsformen und dichterische Struktur: Niemeyer, Tübingen, 1970.

47. Erzählungen, 247.

48. HvH: Letter to Bodenhausen. Briefe der Freundschaft, 1953, 148.

Nights derivative - as a two-act Singspiel. Set in a legendary Far East, and originating in incidental music of 1906, it was given in conjunction with Arlecchino in 1917. His approach was closer to the commedia dell'arte spirit of that work than to that of Puccini's last opera, and indeed has none of the tragic grandeur of the later work. It is unfruitful to compare the two; Busoni's time-scale and buffo style are far removed from his compatriot's masterpiece. As far as style and function go, Turandot herself has more in common with Albertine in Die Brautwahl and the Duchess in Doktor Faust than with Adami and Simoni's fearsome princess. In addition, the role of the slave girl Liu in Puccini is not in Gozzi. She is a conflation of Adelma, Turandot's lady-in-waiting, and Barak, Kalaf's henchman, both of whom figure in Busoni's work. Kalaf himself is a harlequinesque figure, and there is much stress on comic business, with the eight doctors, the ministers Pantalone and Tartaglia and the head of the eunuchs, Truffaldino given a special significance. Even the emperor Altoum is a curious mixture of pomp and burlesque. He self-consciously presents himself, verbally, in words from Goethe's Festzug as 'ein Monarch der Bühne' whom Gozzi's fable has placed on the throne 'mit manchem Prunk und Herrlichkeit begabt', though he is confessedly outshone by his daughter's beauty. Though one can trace Busoni's taste for oriental folktale at least as far back as the appearance of Oehlenschläger's Aladdin in the 1903 Piano Concerto, there is little in Turandot which anticipates the mood and aspiration of Doktor Faust. The gulf between 'popular theatre' and esoteric Meisterwerk could hardly be greater.

Outside Germany, the oriental Märchen had (in Andersen's version) stimulated Le Rossignol, as well as Hagith and Padmâvâti during the immediate prewar years. In another form, the Flecker-Delius Hassan[49] and Holst's Savitri were two minor, highly idiosyncratic English examples of the eastern influence. Li-tai-pe's celebrity in Germany at this period drew Rudolf Lothar to provide an opera text, set in 8th century China and centring on the poet, for Baron Clemens von Franckenstein. Written in 1919-20, Li-tai-pe

49. Kienzl, composer of Der Evangelimann, also wrote an opera Hassan, der Schwärmer in 1925.

was characteristic of its time, conservative in musical manner, but showing in the narrative a good feeling for situation and atmosphere, and some acquaintance with classical Chinese drama, especially of the Yuan dynasty (1206-1368). The absence of real tragedy, the fondness for the theme of court corruption, and the obtrusively moral ending are all present.

Lothar's narrative is fictitious, but its protagonists had an historical existence. Here, Kaiser Hüan-Tsung wishes to marry the Korean princess Fei-Yen, while the poet Li-tai-pe meets and loves Yang-Gui-Fe, described as a peasant girl. She was in fact the Emperor's daughter-in-Law and concubine, through whose influence he founded a dramatic college in a pear garden.[50] Li-tai-pe is addressed by the Emperor as 'Bruder meiner Seele, du Pförtner an der Schwelle meines Herzens' whose skill has enabled him alone to find a poem of fitting quality to describe a portrait of the 'allerschönste Prinzessin.'[51] Act 1 is devoted mainly to Li-Tai-Pe's meeting with Yang Gui Fe, Act 2 to the poetry competition, and Act 3 to a ministerial intrigue whereby the expected Princess Fei-yen, whom the poet has gone to fetch, is delayed. Yang Gui Fe's skill overcomes the threat to Li-Tai-pe's life, and in the opera's final scene, the ceremonial arrival of Fei-yen's boat and the Emperor's greeting are appropriately followed by the departure by boat of Li-tai-pe and Yang-Gui-Fe, thus bringing this charming and unpretentious work to a close.

The main part of this discussion centres on three works, all by Vienna-born composers. Die Prinzessin Girnara, Die heilige Ente and Der Kreidekreis each have a sense of the sacred, each made use of the Verwandlung motif so important in German Romantic opera, and each is, in effect if not name, an eastern-inspired Märchenoper. They could only have been written by men whose formative years had embraced Jugendstil Vienna, while instilling an awareness

50. William Stanton: The Chinese Drama. Kelly and Walsh, Hong Kong, 1899, 1-2, and H. A. Giles: History of Chinese Literature, Appleton, 1923, 168. The real Yang-Gui-Fe's life, as that of the real Hüan-Tsung (Ming Huang, 685-762) were celebrated by one of the several celebrated Tang Dynasty poets, Po Chü-i. Cf. Wilhelm's Chinesische Märchen, no. 90 (p. 265).

51. The poet quite properly combined this quality with an addiction to heavy drinking and the role of wandering gallant. Cf. Arthur Cooper, (tr.) Li Po and Tu Fu, Penguin, 1973, Intro., 25-7, and Giles, op. cit., 151 ff.

of popular local Zaubertheater (Raimund, for example), the symbolism of Die Zauberflöte and, further back, the Baroque-Catholic tradition which had by this time come to dominate the outlook of their fellow-Viennese Hofmannsthal. Girnara is a personal deeply eclectic fusion of western and eastern religious ideas, a Legende in the strict sense, emerging directly from Wassermann's literary preoccupations. Die heilige Ente, as artificial in its way as Li-tai-pe, is essentially a comic subject in the same sense as A Midsummer Night's Dream, to which its Verwandlung bears some resemblance. Another marked influence on the story's format are the Arabian Nights, especially the tales of Ma'aruf the Cobbler and Khalifah the Fisherman. Finally, Der Kreidekreis follows Salome and Elektra in having been a successful straight play before it became an opera, though it is totally unlike either. It is a Märchen in shape and style, but with marked elements of cruelty and bitterness, and a certain up-to-date realism which explains why Berlin audiences liked it in 1925 - and why many years later Brecht used the play's essentials for his own purposes.

III

Christian Wahnschaffe was the novel which, with Caspar Hauser (1906-7) did most to establish Jakob Wassermann's considerable reputation in Germany. He began it in 1915 and later claimed to have finished it early in 1919,[52] though Marta Karlweis' memoirs give the precise date 30 May 1918.[53] Either way, Wassermann identified it as a 'Zeitroman' turned into an 'historical' novel and as 'nicht denkbar ohne den Krieg'. The novel covers a vast social canvas, centred chiefly on Berlin, but including echoes of the revolution in Russia. Its main theme is the fundamental humanitarian one of social injustice, the spiritual consequences of the extremes between great wealth and abject poverty, idleness and criminal degradation. Christian Wahnschaffe, heir to a family fortune, sacrifices it all to enter the lives and minds of

52. Vorwort to (shortened) 2nd ed., Fischer, 1932.

53. Jakob Wassermann: Bild, Kampf und Werk. Querido, Amsterdam, 1935, 293-5.

the poorest, most deprived (and depraved) classes in Berlin. Here, as elsewhere in his work, there is implicit a longing, as Soërgel put it, for a new vision of man,[54] based on transformation and readiness for total sacrifice. At the time of writing the novel, Wassermann had been reading Neumann's Reden Gotamo Buddhas, as well as Van Gogh's letters to his brother.[55]

The notion of suffering, and of the extreme simplicity of absolute goodness must have entered his mind through these works, and emerged in the clear, though unstated contrast between Māyā and Dharma (this world and the ideal world) in the novel, which became the subject of Prinzessin Girnara. Wahnschaffe's identification with the lives of the prostitute Karen Engelschall and her murderous brother Niels is the extreme instance of that total rejection of Self which had been the central aim of the Old Wisdom. Some elements of Tantric Buddhist mythology entered Wassermann's conception, in which, instead of Nirvana as the opposite of this world, the world is identified with the Dharmabody of Buddha. The five Tathāgotos or Jinas (Conquerors) in the Tantric texts include the Amoghasiddhi, the 'unfailing success' which in Wassermann's formulation became the 'Siegreich Vollendete'. Moreover, the later Mahayama (Great Vehicle or Boddhisattva-career) mythology elaborated the earlier Gautama Buddha revelation into a system of continuous revelatory assistance. Wassermann was also interested in the analogy between Buddha and Christ, investigated by Neumann in 1891.[56] Indeed, the Tathāgato had earlier been described as analogous to the 'Son of Man'.[57]

It is from the Legende at the novel's close that the text of Girnara sprang, though the märchenhaft element is fiction merged with Buddhist mythology. Unsurprisingly, Elsa Luders' selection of Buddhistische Märchen[58]

54. Soërgel, II, 53.

55. Karlweis, 315, confirmed by Frau Emmy Wellesz.

56. Die innere Verwandtschaft buddhistischer und christlicher Lehren: zwei buddhistische Suttas und ein Traktat Meister Eckhardts. Max Spohr, Leipzig. There may be some resemblance to Hauptmann's Emmanuel Quint (1910) and even to the hero in Hofmannsthal's early Das Märchen der 672. Nacht. (1894).

57. Dictionary of the Pati Language. Trübner and Co. 1875.

58. Diederich, Jena, 1921.

contains nothing resembling the story of the ugly princess transformed by Buddha, though Buddha's visitation does figure in some of Richard Wilhelm's Chinesische Märchen translations.[59] The pilgrim who is also Buddha was partly a creature of Wassermann's imagination, and appears in another form to the author Mömer in the story Der unbekannte Gast (April 1920). The misshapen aspect of the 'fleischlosen Totenkopf' and 'gesprenkelten Haut'[60] which Girnara presents was also a preoccupation of Wassermann, connected not only with Karen Engelshall, but with the figure of Philippina Schimmelweis in Gansemännchen. She happens also to be a spiritual cripple, and, unlike Girnara, is consumed with hatred.

As a Märchen motif, the nearest approaches are the 'heroine of unpromising appearance' (Icelandic or Indian) and the Chinese story of the choice of the ugliest girl as bride, together with the 'loathly lady' motif in Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Tale.[61] Another important related motif is the conferring of beauty by a magic object or substance, such as the Kaffir story of the ugly girl beautified by contact with milk.[62] In the story of Loving Laili,[63] who grows old and ugly in search of Prince Majdun, Laili on finding him says 'Pray to Khuda to make us both young again....' and is herself transformed when her clothes catch fire. There are also other stories concerning a princess concealed for various reasons,[64] of which the most interesting is the story of the king's daughter Naran who, on escaping from

59. Ibid., n.d., E.g. nos 18, 92 and 100. The Dhammapada Commentary, however, (E.W. Burlingame's transl., 1921, i, 319) contains the story of the monk Tissa of Savatthi, spurned by all because of his skin disease, but rescued and bathed personally by Buddha. Tissa died later, having attained Nirvana. Cf. E. J. Thomas, The Life of Buddha, Kegan Paul, 1927, 121.

60. Textbuch, 32.

61. TMI: L112, L213/2 and D732.

62. TMI: D1337.3.

63. Indian Fairy Tales, sel. and ed. Joseph Jacobs, D. Nutt, London, 1892, 9. Girnara belongs also with other beleaguered, strong-willed daughters, like Sattvacila, Madanasena and Unmādini, who appear in von der Leyen's Indische Märchen (Somadeva Bhatta), O. Hendel, Halle, 1898.

64. C 756.2, R41 and M372. Also Andrew Lang The Hidden Princess in Violet Fairy Book, Longmans 1901, 316f. Cf. also The Jataka Tales (Buddhist Birth Stories) ed. V. Fausbøll, Trübner, 1880, where the story of 'Beauty' and 'Brownie' is analogous to AT711.

her room, can communicate only in signs.[65] Wassermann may also have been unconsciously influenced by the appearance and transformation of Schikaneder's Papagena. The name Girnara is also semi-fictitious, and may have come from the Gaina Sûtras. These refer to mount Girnâr in Kathiawâd, one of the Gainas' most sacred places, covered with temples, and sacred to the Hindus because of its connection with Krishna.[66]

Ernst Lert, Intendant of the Frankfurt Opera in 1921 drew analogies between this 'oratorio-like' work and the medieval Christian morality, though he took the legend's authenticity for granted. Girnara was thus, he argued, more susceptible of lyrical than dramatic realisation; the essential element of the work was 'das Wunderbare'.[67] 'Weltspiel' (a banquet in the castle Festsaal) and 'Legende' (in a vaulted room above) are the titles of the two acts. The first opens in darkness, which gradually lifts into brilliant light. This symbolises respectively the spiritual endurance of Prince Siho in overcoming, with the Pilgrim's help, the wiles and blandishments of the Magier and guests, and concealing the truth about Girnara, and the physical-spiritual transformation of Girnara through Buddha's (i.e. the Pilgrim's) visitation, before guests arrive to have their scepticism confounded. Thus the upward curve in Die Frau ohne Schatten reappears here, and it is difficult not to see certain parallels between Siho and the Kaiser, Girnara and the Kaiserin, even Buddha and Keikobad.

Wellesz had first met Hofmannsthal in the summer of 1918 and had viewed Die Frau ohne Schatten in 1919 in the context of the poet's total oeuvre, as well as in the light of Viennese theatrical history as a whole. In his important review[68] he sympathetically describes the poet as less a

65. Indische Märchen, loc. cit, 126-7. Ebertnard's Type 206 concerns the two ugly people whose marriage is arranged with their appearance concealed. Disappointment sets in at the wedding. FFC 120 (Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen), 259.

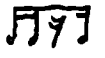
66. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 45, ed. M. Müller, tr. H. Jacobi, 115n. and Vol. 22, 277/9.

67. Zur Inszenierung von Wellesz' 'Prinzessin Girnara'. Anb. 1921, 199. Paul A Pisk made the same comparison in Die Bühnenwerke von Egon Wellesz. Anb. 1923, 53.

68. Anb., 1920, 10-15.

'psychologierender Dramatiker' in his text than a 'gestaltender Theatraliker'. About the same time, Hofmannsthal commented that Die Frau ohne Schatten presents 'not an historical anecdote, but an eternal or timeless symbolic subject (requiring) idealised costume and an idealised setting'.[69] This might apply equally to Girnara, though the incomparably larger scale and range of Strauss's opera, its essentially post-Wagnerian flavour, make further comparisons misleading. The human, earthbound element in Strauss, so integral to the work is largely missing in Girnara, or represented in generality only by the castle guests and the princess's servants. However, the intensely 'public' presence they denote is essential to the work's conception, since it is only against this detached, idly curious 'spectator' mentality that the private, mystical action can be dramatically portrayed.

The D minor 'Kernthema' (Ex. 96) related to Buddha both in his role as the Siegreich-Vollendeter and as the anonymous Pilgrim, managing also to suggest in its pounding $^{7}/_{4}$ rhythm the festal brilliance of the banqueting hall. As the augmented triads of its continuation (Ex. 97) show, the harmonic world of this opera lies much closer to late Romantic tonality than certain of Wellesz's earlier, instrumental works. Indeed, the deliberate use of key signatures in this opera has an air of cautious regression. Yet the keys themselves take on a significance related to certain concepts in the action. There is no mistaking, for instance, the broad solemnity of E major when (Ex. 98) the Würdenträger invokes the wisdom of the king who has (in the Höfling's words) kept Girnara since birth in the castle of the seven towers, on the shore of the Geiersee. Tonally, this provides a direct link with B major, the key referring explicitly to sensual beauty. 'Hat sie die Sonne je erblickt?! asks one of the court beauties, 'hat sie Blumen gepflückt im Gärten?' in a serenely curving melody counterpointed by a solo violin. The luxuriant character of this (Ex. 99) is in clear contrast with the sombre, brooding atmosphere of the score as a whole.

An instance of this last is Ex. 100, introducing the rhythmic motif  at the point where, doubting that the Princess will appear at Siho's

69. Corr. 323-4. (12.2.1919).

side for this ceremonial gathering, one of the courtiers observes

Er geht traurig umher
Und meidet die Blicke der Menschen.[70]

The key is D flat, modified by the augmented triad; D flat later emerges in opulent diatonicism as the 'mystic' key, the key of Buddha's revelation to Girnara. Yet the rhythmic motif here is especially associated with the emptiness of worldly pretensions and gnawing unease, as in Ex. 101, on the Magier's first, dramatic appearance. Here the dialogue suggests the curiosity and suspicion of the courtiers, Siho's determination to keep silence, and the Magier's self-appointed role as revealer of the secret. 'Im schlimmen Kreise steht ihr', he announces demonically at Ex. 101, 'im Bogen des Unheils', presently declaring

Einen Spruch will ich sprechen
Von zwingender Macht,
Der den Wein entflammt
Und die Seele verrät.[71]

B major certainly symbolises beauty; it also indicates naturalness. When the work closes with the Kernthema in this key, there is a direct implication that Girnara's new-won beauty, far from being a mere magician's trick (compare the Magier's terrestrial sorcery in Act 1) is Buddha's work in externalising her inner, natural beauty of character. The extreme difficulty of distinguishing between these two forms of Verwandlung theatrically suggests a reason for doubting Girnara's communicability on the level Wassermann set himself. Part of the problem lies in the very effectiveness of the scene in which the Magier successfully hypnotises Siho, watched in darkness by expectant courtiers, and also by the unseen Pilgrim. Hypnotism (ex. 102 is the triadic motif associated with it) appears to guarantee that Siho will divulge the truth. Though he surrenders the key of Girnara's room to the Magier, and describes his arrival in the country, no real hint of Girnara's

70. Textbuch, 9. It is possible that Wassermann derived the name of prince Siho from the god of night (and also of death, reincarnation and monogamy) Siva. Cf. S. Bhattacharji: The Indian Theogony, CUP, 1970, 15-16, where the contrast with the solar god Viṣṇu is drawn.
71. Textbuch, 16.

physical aspect emerges. Hence the Magier's rage (Ex. 103) and the explanation for events in the exchange:

Siho (erschüttert):	Wo ist meine Schuld?
Magier:	Schuld ist Blutqual geworden
Siho:	Wozu der Traum?
Magier:	Traum ist Laster und Lüge
Siho:	Stimme ohne Erbarmen.
Pilger:	Fahr'ein zur inneren Meeresstille, Neubeseelte.[72]

The Pilgrim, not the Magician, is controlling events. As the 'Weltspiel' closes in a blaze of light, the sudden unaccountable despair which has overtaken the company is turned by the Pilgrim into a sudden awareness of higher spiritual forces, through a distant (offstage) choir:

Die Erde erbebt im Hauch des Erhabenen
Übergewaltigen!
Heil dir, Siegreich-Vollendeter!
Heil dir!

With this vision, uniting in B major the sacred with the flowering of human beauty, Liho moves quickly in the direction of Girnara's room.

In the Legende, the Märchen quality of this diptych is, if anything, intensified. The action falls into three clear sections - Girnara's isolation and misery, the comments of her servant retinue and the mockery of the demons; Buddha's appearance as the Siegreich-Vollendete; and the arrival of Siho and the guests to discover Girnara in her state of transformed beauty. As in the Weltspiel the D minor to B major tonal structure indicates a spiritual progress from darkness to light, despair to fulfilment, while the dramatic impetus, as earlier, is based on the sense of expectation and the threat of unknown forces. At this point, reminders of the 'unterirchische Gewölbe' of Die Frau ohne Schatten's Act 3, with its similar mood of despair, are unmistakeable

The setting ('das obere Gewölbe. Eine einzige Fackel. Kolossales Gemäuer. Alles liegt ..... in einem schweren Dunkel ....') generated music

72. Ibid., 27-8.

of stark linearity (Ex. 104) in keeping with the situation of the uneasily sleeping Girnara. From the servants' conversation we learn that ten thousand children were slaughtered in a forest of oaks by the king when Queen Sirdar gave birth to the deformed Girnara. Shortly after this, however, the Pilgrim's unseen presence is felt (return of Ex. 96 in C minor and E flat minor) before Girnara wonderingly remarks on the 'tröstliche Stimme' and the younger serving-girl, to rich B major harmonies, declares that

Die Wälder riefen mir zu,
Die Tiere des Waldes
Schmeichelten mir im Traum.

Awareness of the Pilgrim is dramatically important here, in that the sudden appearance of the three demons from flames in the wall threaten the end of hope and the triumph of evil.

The Dog-Demon (Dämon als Hund) which manifests itself first (Ex. 105) sets the tone of the sinister dialogue with Girnara. Obscenely, it claims to have consumed the eyes of the murdered children, whose bodies their parents are still hopelessly seeking. The mirror-Demon (Dämon mit dem Spiegel) and Bat-Demon (Dämon als Fledermaus) appear to mock and torment Girnara, the first with a terrible curse (Ex. 106) 'Tiefer hinein den Stachel',[73] the second with its no less hideous invocation of endless punishment and pain by fire (Ex. 107). Through the reappearance of Ex. 102, the demons' magic is here directly related to that of the Magier in Act 1; their sinister presence drives out the three terrified servants. 'Gibt es ein Feuer' cries Girnara as the taunts continue, 'auszulöschen die Brust/vom Wissen der Welt?' The Pilgrim now delivers the message which amounts to reassurance, his music moving into symbolic B major:

Leidbegnadete!
Die Stunde bricht an,
wo das Herz sich dehnt
Bis zur Grenze des Leibes,

73. Wassermann originally wrote 'Tiefer ins Mark des schwörenden Lebens' at this point (Textbuch, 36). Wellesz set the words 'tiefer in Dikkicht und Nacht.'

Und überschwillt

Und die Mauern des Kerkers sprengt!

'So will ich meinen Leiden lieben', declares Girnara, 'und den Siegreich - Vollendeten suchen' - the first time she mentions the religious foundation of her life. Her determination to resist pain and suffering, 'nicht willend, nicht fragend, nicht harrend'[74] and her steadily mounting mystic ecstasy reveals Wassermann's heavily Judaeo-Christian view of Buddhism at its clearest.

As the vault begins to fill with light, and spirit voices advise Girnara

Ruhe in göttlicher[75] Ruhe,

Mit all deinen Sinnen bereit.

the walls shake, and the demons run about in terror. The wall suddenly breaks open (Ex. 108) majestically revealing Buddha, the Amoghasiddhi or 'Siegreich-Vollendete'. Still in her state of trance, Girnara greets him softly (Ex. 109) concentrating on his physical appearance (O lasurfarbenes Haupt'). Buddha's monumental-lyrical reply (Ex. 110) fulfils the earlier promises of D flat as the key of the mystic Verwandlung, carried out, it must be said, in language nearer to the New Testament than the Pati Canons. What has been reached here is a transcendental state close to that analogous scene in Die Frau ohne Schatten's third act, when the petrified Kaiser is restored to life. In both cases, the drama's tension is effectively ended by the transformation. Siho's rejoicing, the crowd's amazement, and the great emotion of the King fill the opera's celebratory final scene. 'Innerlichkeit' and strength have triumphed, and the Märchen has reached its proper conclusion. 'Du warst ein Schrecken/und Fluchbild sterblichen Augen', says her father to Girnara, 'wie bist du so schön geworden?' to which she replies simply 'Der Siegreich-Vollendete/hat sich mir gezeigt'.[76] At this final point, B major reappears to conclude the opera, the Pilgrim becomes

74. Ibid., 43.

75. 'gläubiger' in the score. Ibid, 43.

76. Textbuch, 53. In the original Legende these words were spoken to Siho. The initially sceptical king was so overwhelmed by the marvel that he went to Buddha's shrine and worshipped him (Christian Wahnschaffe.)

visible, and dominates the hall, so that the King himself involuntarily raises his hands as though in prayer.

The predominant characteristic of Girnara is its esotericism, a deliberate fusion of eroticism and mysticism. References to the world of natural beauty are charged with peculiarly sensual significance, related to the sense of claustrophobia in the Festsaal and Girnara's room. 'Of what sin can I be guilty', asks Girnara, 'that my husband despises me and lets me dwell woefully in this place, where I see neither the sun nor the moon?'[77] The language is close to that discussed by Jung in Wandlungen und Symbolen der Libido (Vienna 1912) when he argues that the representation complex (God) is given its character and reality by the strength of feeling. 'The attributes and symbols of the divinity must belong in a consistent manner to the feeling (longing, love, libido). If one honours God, the sun or the fire, then one honours one's own vital force, the libido'.[78] The language of the medieval mystics (Jung quotes Mechthild v. Magdeburg (1212-77) and Hildegard v. Bingen (1100-78)[79] is particularly close to this Jungian interpretation, and mirrors both the thoughts and situation of Girnara.

It is possible that Wassermann knew of the Scandinavian motif of the 'beautiful' and the 'ugly' twin (AT711) but much more likely that the Indian Märchen motif of the animal bride (cat, frog, mouse, but most frequently monkey) was known to him; in this, transformation from animal into beautiful

77. Christian Wahnschaffe, in Lewis Lewisohn's translation, (The World's Illusion, Harrap, N.Y., 1929,) 404.

78. C. G. Jung: Psychology of the Unconscious, tr. B. M. Hinkle, Moffat Yard and Co., N.Y., 1921, 52. As F. J. Hoffmann pointed out, libido here means not simply sexual energy but 'psychic instinctive energy in general'. Freudianism and the literary mind, Baton Rouge, 1957, 16. Cf. also Paul Bekker: 'Der Eros, an den ich hier denke ist nicht der der Sexualtriebe, es ist der grosse Gott des Sinnenlebens überhaupt, dessen Macht sich auf Gebiete erstreckt, wo prüde Nüchternheit ihn nie vermuten würde'.
G.S., II, 340.

79. 'O Lord love me excessively ..... the oftener you love me, the purer I become; the more excessively you love me, the more beautiful I become' Jung, Op. cit., 54. Also 'the light I see is not local, but far off ..... when I see it all weariness is lifted from me .... (and) .... I feel like a simple girl and not like an old woman'.
Ibid., 55.

human shape is achieved through a series of contests.[80] The Greek story of the Princess and the Ogress (AT 871) has the motifs of the princess in a forbidden chamber (C 611) and of transformation by sunlight (D 567) but the sheer complexity of this Märchen is far from Girnara's straightforward narrative. A similar problem of motif-identification arises, with Die heilige Ente, the 'Spiel mit Göttern und Menschen' written by Levétzow (with some early assistance from Leo Feld) for Hans Gál. Two motifs from the basis of the action. One, the escaped 'sacred' duck brought by the 'coolie' Yang for the mandarin's banquet and apparently stolen by him, affords a link between the three pagoda gods and the human world. The mandarin duck symbolised conjugal fidelity, as in Po Chü-i's The Everlasting Wrong, on the rise, decline and murder of the concubine Yang-Gui-Fe:

> Cold settles upon the duck-and-drake tiles
> and thick hoar-frost
> The kingfisher coverlet is chill
> with none to share its warmth.[81]

By extension, the theft of the duck symbolises the possible theft of Li by Yang, although, in Gál's words, the duck was intended to be 'a travesty of superstitious beliefs in divine guidance'.[82] At the work's close, after the duck's escape from the temple, the Mandarin's words to the departing Yang seem to stress its symbolic significance: 'Yang hüte diese Ente, von heut'/ das Tempels höchstes Heiligtum!/ Nicht Kuli mehr, du selbst/nein, Entenbonze ersten Rangs!'

The second motif is the Verwandlung whereby the Mandarin and Yang, as well as the court juggler (Gaukler) and chief dignitary (Bonze) have their identities exchanged by the amused gods, partly as a game, partly to bring a

80. Thompson and Roberts: Types of Indic Oral Tales, FFC 180, 402 and 402A, also AT 402. The 'true' and 'false' bride (AT 403 and 437) is a persistent motif, and figures extensively in Cosquin's Contes Indiens.

81. tr. Giles, op. cit., 172.

82. Letter of 18.11.74. The duck was usually inanimate, but Heinz Tietjen used a live one attached by a string at Breslau (1923) and Berlin (1925), on the first occasion disastrously.

kind of justice to a problematic situation. It seems likely that the background and setting were uppermost in the librettists' mind when they set to work, since the atmosphere of the palace, pagoda and garden, and the mystique of the Mandarin's person - 'der Sohn der Sterne' - are the foundation of the narrative. What they (or, rather, Levétzow) produced here was another Kunstmärchen, with all the momentum and bizzarrerie of the genre. There are indeed certain recognisable motifs linking it with the traditional folktale. The menial disguise of the lover in AT 314 (The Magic Flight) and 900 (König Drosselbart) is vaguely suggested in Act 1's encounter of Yang and the unhappy queen Li[83] and in the later rejection by Li of the Mandarin dressed as Yang. AT 1525 - the endlessly various 'thief' motif - is indicated by Yang's accidental loss of the duck, its actual theft by the Juggler and its concealment in the pagoda. Thirdly, the Magic Sleep motif[84] plays a prominent part in the action. Finally the more prosaic exchange of identities between Solomon's son and the Smith's son (AT 920) and the King and the Peasant's son (AT 921) find an echo in the Verwandlung.[85]

The literary sources of the text are eclectically diverse. One of Levétzow's literary sophistication must have known the Thousand and One Nights well. Certainly, the Baghdad tale of Khalifah the Fisherman at the court of Haroun al Raschid, and the equivocal role of the slave-girl Kut-al-Kulub, bears a resemblance to the Heilige Ente narrative. The fantasy of wealth in Ma'aruf the cobbler, a later Egyptian tale, is more complex, but contains the same thread of the humble workman elevated by accident first to spurious sheikdom and subsequently to the positions of Vizier, heir and King.

83. TMI: K 1816. There is also a hint of L 161 (the lowly hero marries a princess) and L 175 (the humbling of the king in his own palace by a lowly hero. It is possible that Levétzow knew of the Emperor Kao Ti (202-195 B.C.) a simple peasant (Liu Pang) who founded the Han dynasty by overthrowing the Ch'in tyranny.

84. TMI: D 1960.

85. TMI: K 1921. Cf also D 40 (transformation to likeness of another person) the exchange of forms (D 45) and a North American Indian motif D 658.2 - transformation to husband's form to seduce woman. Thomas Mann's 1940 novelle Die vertauschten Köpfe (dedicated to the Indologist Heinrich Zimmer) also uses this strange theme, ostensibly based on Hindu mythology. Cf. Sregfried Schulz, CL, 14, 1962, 129-142.

Shakespeare, too, can be seen to have provided another main element, less through A Comedy of Errors than through A Midsummer Night's Dream. The forest is the garden, the pagoda gods the equivalent of Oberon, and the grotesquerie provided by the Juggler, the Dancer and the stock Viennese Haushofmeister. However, this Verwandlung is the gods' deliberate action, and not, as in Shakespeare, the result of a mistake. The effect on the participants is, nevertheless, similar bafflement, and its consequence of greater self-knowledge for the Mandarin, Li and Yang is the same as for Shakespeare's lovers.

The power of the gods to intervene at will in human fortune (together with lay acknowledgment of divine intervention) is a feature of classical drama fundamental to librettists from Rinuccini onwards. Throughout Gál's opera it is felt to be the chief motif of the story. As the Vorspiel opens, the stage is solemnly filled with clouds of incense. At the opera's close, the Bonzen sing a chorus stressing man's awed subservience to superhuman powers:

> Ewig gedenkend des herrlichen Wunders
> preisst, o Menschen, die göttliche Tat!

It is safe to say, however that the three gods in Die heilige Ente are derived, not from Greek models, but from the guardians of authentic Chinese domestic mythology, universally worshipped at New Year. Tsao Shên, or God of the Hearth, becomes the 'Gott über dem Wasserbecken, the Guardians of the portals (Mên Shên) are here also the 'Gott an der Türe', while the God of the airshaft (Chung-Lin) at the centre of the house is the 'Gott über denn erhöhten Sitz.'[86] The text is based firmly on the reverence in which these domestic deities were held, and the sacred duck, as already shown, is derived from ancient China's universal nature worship. Possibly, too, Levétzow knew th Yuan dynasty drama celebrating the birthday of Hsi Wang Mu. Apart from the stress on atmosphere (strange flowers, rare birds, a peach orchard, performing animals, musicians in pavilions and bowers, fragrant air) the eight Immortal guests (actually officers of state) who presented a silk scroll

86. John C. Ferguson: Mythology of all the Races, VIII, Harrap, 1928, 77-8.

of characters by Lao Tzu were waited on by Wang Mu's five daughters, and departed intoxicated.[87]

If Die heilige Ente was originally intended to be a satire on the conventions of superstition, a deliberately wry presentation of divine intervention, the total effect is closer to the Märchenoper tradition than that of the buffa opera. From this angle it is useful to observe the cumulative effect of the three main ideas in the Vorspiel, which set the context of the whole work. Gál's uncomplicated tonal idiom introduces a simple chordal C minor theme, harmonised in fifths and fourths (Ex. 111) - the opera's overall tonality is C - followed by a hidden chorus of Bonzen hieratically intoning, in E flat minor (Ex. 112) the power of the mythic divinities. Appropriately, the theme of the three household gods soon after this is similar in style and tempo (Ex. 113) though stressing its removal from the earthbound world by its key (E major). In Girnara, this key indicates the king's lofty, but mortal wisdom; here its function is to stress the separateness of the all controlling deities, their ability to manoeuvre human destiny at will, often (as here) for their own amusement.

Sitzt der Gott auf gold'nem Sessel
schaut hinunter in den Kessel,
lasst sie durcheinander brodeln
aus Verwirrung Schicksal modeln.

These lines contain the kernel of the action, underlining both the contrast between the gods' golden throne and the confusion below, and their ability to fashion a fitting fate from what might seem an arbitrarily confused sequence of events.

Similar concentration on the visual image occurs in Act 2, at the point where the gods have carried out their plan, and the transfer of identities is under way. Here, a scene described as a 'sehr buntes pittoreskes Bild' precedes the departure of the main characters to the gnomic music of Ex. 114. Six negroes appear, dressed in violet, with opium pipes, followed by six mulatto girls in white carrying vessels from which flames arise. Six children

87. Ibid., 128-9.

in Chinese smocks then present needles on which the girls impale the opium and drop it into the pipes. As before, (Ex. 113) Gál's score creates an oriental image by use of the melodic semitone, but does not vulgarise the procedure by striving for extended pseudo-eastern effects in the music. About this time, Wellesz, writing of music as 'Sprache der Seele', stressed that 'Trotz der vertieften Kenntnisse von Sitte und Kultur, die Psyche des Orients im wesentlichen fremd und unfassbar geblieben ist und immer bleiben wird, so ist auch die orientalische Musik, besonders die des fernen Ostens in ihren Voraussetzungen psychisch fremd .....'[88] In their different ways, both Girnara and Die heilige Ente avoid the awkward stylistic trap into which they might have fallen, and, eschewing alien idiomatic effects, belong incontrovertibly to the body of post-Romantic German operas.

Though the presence of the divine in human affairs is a common central element in these two works, the realisation of human love is at least as important. In both cases it is closely bound up with physical rapture and excitement, with the notion of hope, progress and self-renewal. Gál's duet between Li and Yang, with its floating orchestral melody in B major (Ex. 115) is not far removed from the ecstasy of the Schöne Dame in Girnara (Ex. 99) in the same key. Equally, one might compare the hypnotised state of Siho in the Magier's grip with the Mandarin's perplexity in Act 3 of Die heilige Ente. Ex. 116, preceding the B flat minor chorus and quintet 'Herr, die Götter, frage die Götter', demonstrates the desperation with which the Mandarin appeals to the 'Gott an der Türe' to clarify the baffling mystery. The orchestral texture and dramatic recitative of this whole passage owe nothing to the 'exotic' setting, everything to the human predicament. Yet, whereas the dream of light is by design outside the claustrophobic setting of Girnara, in Die heilige Ente, the brilliantly illuminated palace and its garden are essential to the action. Even as Yang is led away as a captive at the end of Act 1, following the entry into the palace of Li and the Mandarin, the

88. E. Wellesz: Anfgaben und Probleme auf dem Gebiete der byzantinischen und orientalischen Kirchenmusik. Aschendorff, Münster/W., 1923, 2.

chorus of nuns celebrates the moment in an explicitly floral idiom: 'Blumen der Reinheit/traget zum Feste/duftiger Libien/weisses Erblühn./Opfert den Himmlischen/rosige Lotos,/seligster Seelen/heilig Erglüh'n'.

IV

Zemlinsky's operas, from Sarema to the unpublished and unperformed König Kandaules (Blei's translation of Gide) reveal a composer fascinated by the stage, and one temperamentally driven to preexisting literary sources as material for his texts. They also reveal a consistent thread of interest in narrative themes combining anecdotal and dramatic effectiveness with a highly coloured or unabashedly exotic setting on the one hand, and on the other a treatment maximising wherever possible the Märchen style and its links with the nineteenth century Volksoper. In this respect, his approach to opera is related to the older Wagner epigone Humperdinck, and to the heavily Wagner-influenced Schillings and Pfitzner, both little older than himself. This is the more remarkable in his case because of his early stylistic adherence to Brahms, and comparatively late espousal of Wagnerian chromaticism, directly connected with his acquaintance with Mahler around 1900.[89] For a composer chiefly remembered for his important and lifelong friendship with Schoenberg,[90] it is especially interesting to observe (despite thinness of documentation) the interrelationship of their earlier works, up to the period of Schoenberg's Gurrelieder, already far beyond any of his teacher's compositions in complexity. Zemlinsky's career as a conductor, while never preventing him from composing, was sufficiently absorbing for his compositional activity to remain comparatively secondary. His oeuvre thus remains small, and his works are characterised by fastidious craftsmanship and by an unwillingness to attempt the grandiose, the heroic or extremer forms of the mystical. Der Kreidekreis, one of the very last of his works to be performed

89. H. Weber, loc. cit., 85.

90. 'Er war mein Lehrer, ich wurde sein Freund, später sein Schwager'. A. Schoenberg, unpublished article on Zemlinsky, 1.7.1921. Rufer, C171.

before he left Europe in 1938, is the final published product of an involvement in opera which had begun nearly forty years earlier. Before passing to this, 'one of the most fascinating and direct (works) of the last decade' Paul Pisk called it in 1933,[91] some remarks on the earlier works will help to place it in perspective.

Sarema, for which Schoenberg prepared the vocal score in 1897[92] - he was almost certainly not the author of the text[93] - is drawn from Rudolf v. Gottschall's play Die Rose vom Kaukasus. This concerns the relationship between a Russian count, Dscherikoff and the 'wilde Tscherkessin' Sarema, whom he saves from the Cossacks. Just why Zemlinsky should have chosen this rather confused melodrama as material for his first operatic effort is unclear. Most of Gottschall's numerous and now forgotten plays are historical dramas; this one, originally a one-act play of 1852, was later expanded into two acts.[94] It is essentially a romantic story based on the tension between Czarist Russia and the remote Caucasus, symbolised in Sarema, her father Amul Beg and the young, defiant Caucasian leader Asslan, himself in love with Sarema. The colourful second act, with the wild, moonlit mountain scene filled with emotional and warlike Caucasians, among whom Sarema herself appears dramatically, does give a clue to the play's attractiveness as a potential opera. Sarema falls into place as a minor and, for its date, conservatively written foreign by-product of the school which produced The Maid of Pskov and Prince Igor.

The significance of Sarema here lies chiefly in its longrange relationship with Der Kreidekreis,, closer in subject-matter than any of the later operas, though harmonically very much the work of a young composer of the 1890s predominantly influenced by Brahms. Dscherikoff's heartfelt admiration

91. Anb., 1933, 146.

92. Wellesz: Arnold Schoenberg (1921) Galliard, N.Y., 1971, 12. Weber, loc. cit., 83, suggests a date before 1895.

93. As suggested by Rufer, Cat., 97.

94. Reclam, Leipzig 1871, 2nd Ed. 1880. It was not influded in Brockhaus' 3 volume edition of Gottschall's plays (1865 ff.).

of Sarema finds expression in the rising phrase opening Ex. 117, resolving on to the E flat pedal and clarinet-cello duologue of bars 3 and 4. The fondness for the ornamental turn is also present in Sarema's F sharp lament soon afterwards (Ex. 118) where the chromatic fall of the melody does not conceal the central tonality, even though resolution to the dominant is delayed for six bars. It is pertinent to compare the opening phrase 'Lass mich dich anschau'n' with that of Ex. 139, Haitang's 'Tränen der Freude' in Der Kreidekreis. The same contour is in evidence, though the layout avoids the triple-time rigidity of the early work, and the harmonic spareness achieves a quite different, possibly more poignant effect. In both works one may observe Zemlinsky the instinctively homophonic composer (as against Schoenberg the polyphonist) in evidence, as well as a composer who, on the whole, avoided large Straussian gestures, seeking his effects in smaller-scale ways.[95] Although Haitang's final romantic apotheosis is at some distance from the Caucasian girl's spectacular suicide, she is, in one sense a 'tragic' heroine like Sarema. Certainly none of the female roles in between resemble these two in dramatic scope.

It may be that during his final years in Vienna, Zemlinsky became conscious of a need to prove his identity as an opera composer in a more thoroughgoing way. The period of Sarema had also been that of songs, several chamber pieces and two full-length symphonies, both performed in Vienna. After Sarema came three theatre scores which were never published, though Es war einmal (based on a comedy by H. Drachmann) was performed under Mahler at the Hofoper, following further work on the text by the two composers.[96] Kleider machen Leute, in its original version of Prologue and three acts, was published by Bote and Bock and performed in 1910, the year before Zemlinsky

95. Adorno, Quasi una fantasia, 166. Schoenberg made the point that, difficult though it was for a musician to open the ears of someone who 'nur Augen hat', Zemlinsky, as a true 'Theatermensch' (unlike himself) always took account of all aspects. It is not clear whether he meant Zemlinsky the conductor here as well as the composer. Rufer C171.

96. The other two were the ballet Das gläserne Herz (1901-4) and Der Traumgörge (before 1906; text by Feld). An orchestral 'Grosse Fantasie' on themes from Es war einmal by Karl Komzák appeared from Forberg of Leipzig (n.d.). The Meiningen 'Butzenscheibenpoet' Rudolf Baumbach issued a volume of Märchen under this title in 1890.

left Prague. Like the now lost orchestral fantasy Die Seejungfrau (1905) based on Andersen's story, it reveals Zemlinsky's predilection for the Märchen, though the material in this case was Keller's story, a minor literary classic in its own time. As with Der Traumgörge, Feld prepared the text. In its revised, abbreviated version, Kleider machen Leute was the only opera of his Vienna years which Zemlinsky attempted to revive at Prague.

By this time, after immersion in Maeterlinck (the six Gesänge, Op 13), he had turned to Wilde for his two one-act operas, Eine florentinische Tragödie (q.v. Ch. 4) and Der Zwerg, which helped to spread his name in Germany. 1922 was indeed an important year. It was the first performance of Der Zwerg at Cologne under Klemperer (28.5.22) a month after Kleider machen Leute had reappeared as a revised 'musikalische Komödie' at Prague (20.4.22). In this year, too, he began work on the Lyrische Symphonie, Op 18, settings for soprano and baritone of seven poems taken from Rabindranath Tagore's long poetic cycle The Gardener. While the work inevitably looks back lovingly to Mahler's Lied von der Erde, it is also a signal tribute to the poet, whose reputation, following his 1913 Nobel Prize, was still high in Europe.

The sequence of works ending with the Lyrische Symphonie is significant for the composition of Der Kreidekreis in that apart from the Symphonische Gesänge, Op 20 (based on Negro poems from Afrika singt; once again a non-European textual source)[97] Zemlinsky's composing career tailed off markedly after 1923-4. His life in Europe ended as it had begun, with a miscellaneous group of unpublished works, some performed from manuscript, some not. The 'song-style' of Der Kreidekreis has been linked with that developed by Weill, nearly thirty years Zemlinsky's junior, though it is only conjecture to suggest that Zemlinsky, in tackling a contemporary stage-success, wished to emulate the younger man's dry concision of style and treatment.[98] It is certainly true that Brecht and Weill, like Zemlinsky, experienced the appeal of non-European literary material, but in their case it was the Japanese

97. Dated 1929 by Weber (loc. cit., 93.) Published 1933.
98. Adorno, loc. cit., 177.

Noh-play, familiarised by Arthur Waley's book of 1921[99] which had the greatest effect. This was shown by the adaptation of Taniko (in Elisabeth Hauptmann's translation) into Der Jasager, a work in which Weill's acceptance of the 'sickening totalitarian implications' in Brecht's text have mystified some.[100] Der Kreidekreis, however, in the form used by Brecht in his 1943-5 adaptation was far from being a Noh-play, but a Yüan-dynasty (1259-1368) Chinese 'Sittendrama' taken by Klabund from the well known French translation of Stanislas Julien, L'histoire du cercle de craie.[101] Hoei-lan-ke, by the otherwise anonymous Li-Hsing-tao had already been translated into German by Wollheim da Fonseca (Reclam, Leipzig, 1876). The key to Zemlinsky's opera can be found in Klabund's own words: 'Es galt, Charaktere zu schaffen, die Handlung neu zu knüpfen ..... es galt, ein chinesisches Märchenspiel zu ersinnen ..... Es sollte sein, wie wenn jemand von China träumt'.[102]

Alfred Henschke (later Klabund) was born at Crossen a.d. Oder in 1890, the same year as Werfel. He saw the Münich 'Japan und Ostasien in der Kunst' exhibition of 1909 and in 1919 published a volume of poems Die Geisha O-Sen on an 18th century Japanese courtesan, written in 1908-13. The interest of the 'Fernost Rilke' as he was later described, was thus already aroused when in 1915 he read Bethge's Li-tai-pe translations, and through them became acquainted with Laotse and with a wide range of oriental literature in translation. Significantly, he did not wish to imitate Bethge but to realise what he called the 'sehr unruhig, oft skurril' echoes and associations of the original, whose apparent simplicity arose, he said, from the fact that Chinese 'nur einsilbige Worte kennt, und ihr gleiches Nebeneinander scheint.'[103] Klabund's own volumes of Chinese translations began with Dumpfe Trommel und berauschtes Gong (1915) and Li-tai-pe (1915), Das Blumenschiff, Das Buch der

99. The Noh-plays of Japan. Allen and Unwin, 1921.

100. See P. Heyworth, The Observer, 27 November, 1966.

101. John Murray, London, 1832. Hoei-lan-ke was one of four Yüan dynasty dramas (out of over one hundred) to reach Europe in French versions in the early 19th century. James Laver's English translation of Klabund's text was published by Heinemann in 1929.

102. qu. Guido Kaulla: Brennendes Herz Klabund: Legende und Wirklichkeit. W. Claassen, Zürich, 1971, 58.

103. Letter to Insel Verlag, May, 1915, qu. Kaulla, 70.

irdischen Mühe and Laotse's Sprüche, all written in 1919 and published in 1921. Thus when in 1923 the Schauspieltheater led by A. Granach, Heinrich George and Elisabeth Bergner gave Klabund the commission which resulted in Der Kreidekreis, he was already famous as a translator. The play was first performed at Meissen Stadttheater on 1 January 1925, and two days later simultaneously at Hannover and Frankfurt. 'Die Traurigkeit .... ist der äusserste Feind der Tragik', sneered Jhering, who saw it at Hannover, and 'begünstigt jedes Saatkorn gleichmässig', observing that the work's public success 'liegt in der bourgeoisen Gefühlsüberschwemmung und in der exotischen Formgebung'.[104] Nevertheless, the play reached the Deutsches Theater Berlin on 20 October, 1925, where it ran for more than a hundred performances.

It is unlikely that Zemlinsky ever met the consumptive but prolific poet, who died in 1928, two years before the composer moved from Prague to Berlin. The opera Der Kreidekreis was completed by the end of 1932 and published in full score by UE the following year. Despite echoes of the Singspiel new to Zemlinsky - Stuckenschmidt called it 'half opera, half play'[105] - the work's restrained 'distilled' character cannot be fully understood without reference to preceding output, not least in the personal matter of key. The overall tonality of D (minor and major) had appeared in his work as far back as the first symphony and first quartet of 1892-3. Though Sarema begins in B minor and ends in F, the two 1896 chamber works are in D, while it is the prevailing key of Es war einmal, the first act of Kleider machen Leute and, later, of Der Zwerg and the Lyrische Symphonie.[106] It is instructive to compare certain passages, especially in the two last-named works with the earlier volkstümlich idiom of Kleider machen Leute (Ex. 119, from Act 1, for example, where the tailor Strapinski repeats the ironic theme of Keller's story) and the tighter manner, 'leise schwingende Melodik, schillernder Harmonik',[107] of Der Kreidekreis. The harmonically rich dramatic

104. Von Reinhardt bis Brecht, II, 79-81.
105. 'Der anstössige Kreidekreis' Anb., 1934, 32.
106. Der Zwerg ends on a violent, contradictory C minor chord, but the final section is entirely in D. The Lyrische Symphonie's opening F sharp minor song has a long, poignant D minor interlude.
107. H. Strobel. Melos, 1934, 66.

style of Eine florentinische Tragödie reappears in Der Zwerg, whose main motif (the bass line in Ex. 120) can be linked with motif x in Ex. 80, with its premonitions of tragedy. Quite apart from the brooding solemnity of D minor, the dwarf's desperation following self-recognition (Ex. 121) is close to Simone's inward pain in Ex. 81. In place of the lyrical A flat love motif of the earlier work, Der Zwerg dwells on the dance music for the princess's birthday celebrations, against which background the main motif appears near the end (Ex. 122). Here the sustained D major chord (including the emotive supertonic) with harp, celeste and flute figuration above, create a sense of painful stillness, the princess's childhood, untouched beauty in ultimate contrast with the dwarf, broken-hearted and close to death.

The dwarf-motif (TMI F.451) was a common one in Austrian folk-literature. T. Vernaleken's Mythen und Bräuche des Volkes in Österreich[108] contains no fewer than sixteen dwarf stories (notably 'Die Querxe auf der Hochzeit (in) Warnsdorf') and his Österreichische Kinder-und Hausmärchen contains 'Der erlöste Zwerg', in which Prince Tagelöhner rises from the body of a dwarf and becomes a rich man.[109] Wilde's 'Birthday of the Infanta' is a stylised literary development of the folktale motif, and it is noteworthy that apart from Schreker's well-known pantomime, Bernhard Sekles had composed a ballet on Franz Blei's translation[110] before Zemlinsky, largely for personal reasons, was drawn to it. In the case of Der Zwerg, a major point of interest is that it was followed quickly by a non-operatic work, Zemlinsky's best-known, the Lyrische Symphonie. Here the score is harmonically denser and more opaque, the musical style evidently more complex. D major, again, is the central key of the cycle, playing a preponderant role in nos. IV and VII,[111] where the mystical intensity expresses itself both in the chromatic vocal line and the harmonic emphasis on G sharp in the overall tonality of D. This is evident

108. W. Braumüller, Wien, 1859.

109. W. Braumüller, Wien, 1864, nr. 32.

110. Der Zwerg u. die Infantin, 1913.

111. Nos XXIX ('Speak to me, my love') and LXI ('Peace, my heart, let the time for parting be sweet') in Tagore's cycle.

both in Ex. 123, hypnotically stressing the three-note figure G♯-A-B♭, and Ex. 124, where the clash of G♮ and G♯ on 'Friede, mein Herz' is deliberate, painful and unresolved. The final pages of Der Kreidekreis, in presenting G sharp prominently against D major (Ex. 148) have their origin here.

A certain conceptual similarity thus exists between the early love drama of Sarema, the drama of sexual jealousy in Eine florentinische Tragödie, thwarted passion in a rich, brilliant Spanish setting in Der Zwerg, and the Lyrische Symphonie's fusion of Tagore's mystical-erotic dreams with a highly sophisticated harmonic and instrumental language. 'Spott und Tragik stehen.... im Brennpunkt der Musik Zemlinskys' observed Erich Steinhard when Der Zwerg was first given in Prague.[112] Later, he might have seen in Der Kreidekreis the fulfilment of Zemlinsky's two main theatrical penchants, one for exotic settings, the other for stories with a strong, simple Märchen flavour.

'On peut dire' it was said in 1922 'que la réprésentation d'une pièce chinoise est une sorte de danse animée de sentiments divers, accompagnée de chants et de dialogues, et exécutée aux sons de la musique'.[113] As early as Goethe in 1827, European writers were observing Chinese life to be 'clearer, purer, more moral' and Chinese legends to resolve principally around 'morality and propriety'.[114] Indeed, music's role in this 'moral' or didactic view of the theatre was not unlike the Greek view of music as good when 'harmonic' and immoral when 'vulgar or exciting'.[115] However, German histories of the Chinese theatre, such as those of Gottschall (1887) and Wilhelm Grube (1909) did not try to disguise the problems and limitations of the oriental stage-conception, in particular the stress on the song-form and the flatness of the dialogue. It was said that the latter was realistically conversational but 'ohne poetische Schwung',[116] and that in any case, Chinese drama, for all its

112. Auft., 1926, 138-9.

113. Tchou-kia-kien. Le théâtre chinois, M. de Brunoff, Paris, 1922, 30.

114. Conv. w. Eckermann. 31.10.27.

115. Zucker, op. cit., 192.

116. Gottschall: Theater u. Drama der Chinesen. E. Trewendt, Breslau 1887, 81. (This drew heavily on Bazin's Théâtre chinois and Duhalde's Histoire de la Chine, as well as Sir John Barrow's Travels in China (1804) and Sir John Davis's The Chinese: a general description ...'(1836)

sad situations, lacked true tragic quality.[117] Gottschall, indeed, saw the Chinese Zauberdrama as close to the Viennese 'Feenoper', yet was forced to admit the comparative imaginative aridity of Chinese drama. The magnificent costumes and tapestry-backcloth were the sole concession to luxury,[118] stage properties, usually symbolic, being of the most rudimentary kind.

Der Kreidekreis belongs to the category of plays criticised for their lack of real intellectual dimension, their simplistic morality, rewarding good and punishing evil, and their excessive use of coincidence. Grube, in his critical summary, called it the 'Typus des bürgerlichen Schauspiels'.[119] The play's theme of false accusation, corruption, betrayal and the eventual vindication of innocence is common to several Yuan dynasty dramas. In the Sufferings of Ton-E, for instance, a young girl is accused of poisoning and tortured into confession; her innocence is proved by a three-year drought, summer snow and blood falling upwards. Ho Lang Tan (The singing Girl) presents a rich merchant, a jealous first wife who dies of anger, a concubine and her lover, who are ultimately condemned to death by the first wife's son, now a judge.

The original four-act Hoei-lan-ke concerns Haitang, a prostitute whom the mandarin Ma wishes to marry, her five-year-old son, Ma's first wife and her lover Tschao, Ma's greedy brother-in-law Tschang-ling, and the plant of Mrs Ma, successfully accomplished, of poisoning her husband and blaming Haitang. All this is contained in Act 1. The eunuch Tong and the Emperor (Pao) were Klabund's own inventions, while the Act 2 trial embroiders the Judge's role and conflates the two midwives into one, but otherwise adheres to the original. Klabund's simple snow scene (his Act 4) with Haitang and the four soldiers derives from the original Act 3 in which Tschao and Mrs. Ma

117. Zucker, op. cit., 37.

118. Op. cit., 142-3. Cf. also Keyserling's remark that 'ihre Weisheit äussert sich in den, was sie lebend darstellen, nicht in den Gedanken, die sie sich über das Dargestellte machen.' Op. cit., 403.

119. Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur, Leipzig, 1909, 379. Also Wolfram Eberhard, 'Notes on Chinese Storytellers', Fabula, 1970, 1-31, where narrations are described as 'heroic', events characterised by trickery, bravery, cruelty and violence.

are forestalled by Tschang-ling in their attempt to murder Haitang. Finally, the court of the Emperor replaces the original higher court, following whose judgment Tschang-ling carries out the execution of Tschao and Mrs. Ma. At least one commentator has criticised Klabund for the 'romantic' or 'märchenhaft' ending, suggesting that a Chinese audience, welcoming Haitang's vindication, would have been offended by her remarriage.[120] In one sense, Klabund had jettisoned the most truly Chinese element of the final act, the satire and 'burlesque' character study of the judge and his clerk, derived from close observation,[121] transferring this to the Hauptrichter Tschn-tschu in Act 3.

Zemlinsky rearranged Klabund's original five acts into seven scenes, as follows:

Play	Opera
Act 1 (Teahouse interior)	Act 1, 1 Bild
Act 1 (another part of the house)	Act 1, 2 Bild
Act 2 (Garden and verandah of Ma's house)	Act 2, 3 Bild
Act 2 (Room in Ma's house)	Act 2, 4 Bild
Act 3 (Courtroom of Hauptrichter in Tschen-Kong)	Act 3, 5 Bild
Act 4 (Schneesturmlandschaft)	Zwischenspiel, 6 Bild
Act 5 (Thronsaal in Peking)	Act 3, 7 Bild

It will be seen that Zemlinsky laid out his text in two halves. The first two acts of Klabund's play (without scene divisions) are here divided into two, so as to encompass the establishment of the characters and the events up to Ma's death and Haitang's arrest in four scenes. Thereafter, the number of excisions from Klabund increases, and Acts 3, 4 and 5 of the play are

120. Frances Hume (tr.) The Story of the Circle of Chalk, Rodale Press, London, 1954, Intro.

121. Grube, op. cit., 385. By no means all judges were comic. Adele M. Fielde's collection of oral stories Chinese Nights' Entertainment, Putnam, 1893, 92-100 contains 'The Widow and the Sagacious Magistrate', in which the magistrate is a figure of moral authority, the young widow (and her child) deprived of their rights, and justice finally done by a combination of accident and inspired guile. There are clear resemblances to Hoei-lan-ke. Of Eberhard's Chinese Fairy Tales and Folk Tales (Kegan Paul, 1937) only the short, though intense anecdote Mother and Child (244) bears on the play.

presented in abbreviated form as scenes 5, 6 and 7 of the opera. The important trial scene is largely retained, including the whole of the idiosyncratic breakfast scene of Tschu-tschu (a comic spoken role here) in order to portray the judge's frivolity: 'Gold, Gold, keine schönere Musik, als wenn Gold über den harten Tisch rollt. Es klingelt wie Pagodenglocken.'[122] Equally, the conspiratorial role of the Hebamme is vital to the presentation of the Chalk Circle ritual, and is kept, as is the sinister function of the two Kulis in supporting Frau Ma's fraudulent claims. In the original Schneesturmlandschaft, Tschang-ling's dramatic appearance, escorted by two soldiers is followed by a long, bitter, emotional speech deploring the real injustice of the Chinese judicial procedure:

'O Leid! O Zeit! Was kam ich in einem Land zur Welt, wo Gerechtigkeit nur ist für Reichen, und die Armen ein Spielball sind ihrer herrischen Lüste! In diesem Land gilt gut als böse, und böse als gut', and later

'Der Kaiser aber sitzt in Peking auf seinem Thron aus Lapislazuli. Er hält die Augen geschlossen wie Gott Fo. Er sieht nur innen und meditiert'.[123]

All this was excised by Zemlinsky, who left the sole exchange:

Haitang: Bruder!

Tschang-ling: Schwesterseele!

In the final scene, the role of Tschang-ling is again reduced, his position as 'Mitglied des Bundes vom weissen Lotos' omitted. In answer to the Kaiser's question 'Due weinst: weinst du um dein Geschick?' Tschang-ling replies 'Ich wein um China'. Zemlinsky, in one of his rare departures from the original text, alters this to 'Ich wein um mein Vaterland'.[124] Otherwise, Scene 7 concentrates heavily on the Kaiser-Haitang relationship, shortening the dramatically important Frau Ma-Tschao argument. This is especially true in the final section, from Haitang's 'Mein Kind! Mein Pantherköpfchen ....' onwards, though her earlier long speech before the throne, beginning

122. Textbuch, 30.

123. Der Kreidekreis (Spiel in 5 Akten...) Spaeth, Berlin, 1925, 89-91.

124. Textbuch, 42.

Ich halte über Euch den Stab des Rechts

und breche ihn, weil ich nicht richten will

is omitted entirely.

Although the use of augmented fourths is 'pictorial' and derives from the period of Der Zwerg, the music of the opening (Ex. 125) is unlike anything in Zemlinsky's previous work. Its colours (with tom-tom, cymbals, pizzicato strings, bassoons and E♭ alto saxophone) reflect the opera's date, but also mirror the demands of the text in Tong's introductory speech.[125] A spring serenade is played on flute, violin and gong by three flowermaidens, each in her golden cage. Haitang's first appearance is extremely important. In retaining Klabund's exact text here, Zemlinsky was anxious to convey the delicate balance between information and mood, between the fact of Haitang's suffering and her total lack of self-pity. Thus the prose passage was set to quietly flowing triple-time music in E flat minor (Ex. 126) whose controlled sobriety opens up slightly into Ex. 127, a passage of near-Mahlerian harmonic flavour, befitting the suppressed yearning in her resigned words 'Rote Abendwolken nach einem düsteren Gewittertag. Es ist das Leben'. The continuation of this (Ex. 128) reflecting on the pauper's funeral of her much-loved father, retains the note of sorrow and introduces the triplet figuration of which Zemlinsky was especially fond (cf. also Exx. 133, 136, 137, 141 and 147).

Tschang-ling's fury with Haitang for allowing poverty to drive her into becoming a Teehausmädchen (and with Frau Tschang for permitting it) find expression in an outburst of anger in which he strikes her in the face. Such an expression of violence springs from love and concern. Tschang-ling becomes a vagabond, carrying the theme of highminded suffering in his own way. 'Weh uns', he laments, when, as an unrecognised beggar, he later meets Haitang in Ma's garden (3. Bild) 'dass Männer ihre Seele, Mutter ihre Töchter verkampfen müssen, um des nackten dürftigen Lebens willen'.[126] By contrast,

125. This applied also to the parallel fourths of Ex. 129 (reminiscent of Tang Dynasty organum-like hymns) where Haitang announces that she plays lute, flute and 'kin', or 7-stringed zither. The theatre orchestra (at rear or front of stage) had reed-pipes, flute, drums, two gongs, a 3-stringed guitar and two-stringed fiddle, and cymbals. Stanton, op. cit., 10.

126. Textbuch, 23.

Haitang's demeanour as she returns to the concubine's cage (Ex. 131) echoes that of Ex. 126; again the simple parlando and key of E flat minor symbolise her fatalism, the tango rhythm seeming only to reinforce the effect.

The arrival of the young prince Pao, 'ein Abenteuerer, ein Trunkener dieser Welt' as he calls himself is signalled by the rapid $^{6}8$ theme (Ex. 132) in fourths which opens Scene 2. At this point, when he begins to speak of 'Das Spiel der Liebe', the chalk circle motif enters for the first time, drawn on black paper by Haitang. Even as she turns it into a wheel by inserting spokes (Ex. 133 with its softly rolling bass figure) its significance instantaneously becomes **numinous**. Pao has already called it the 'Symbol des Himmelgewölbes' and that of marriage, while Haitang sees it as 'das Rad des Schicksalswagens'. Thus the two traditional functions of the Zauberkreis - as a magic, protective area and as a symbol of eternity, of the Whole (das All) are explicitly set forth.[127] The effect of this is not destroyed as it becomes, first a mirror for Haitang, then, grotesquely, a frame for the head of the Mandarin Ma. Ex. 134 spikily conveys the burlesque quality of Ma's long, self-congratulatory monologue; he is quickly able to outbid Pao for possession of Haitang, and the prince withdraws.

Scene 3's function, in true Märchen style, is to present the forces of evil in unequivocal form. Frau Ma's name, Yü-pei, ironically means 'jewel', while her fellow-conspirator, Tschao, equally ironically, is a clerk of the judiciary. Seized with despair (Ex. 135, scored for strings only, conveys this, with the viola's obsessively reiterated semiquaver figure) he carries with him a phial of poison as the eventual solution. Again, the rising F - F♯ - G♯ figure in the F sharp minor of Ex. 136 graphically presents his doomladen spirit before Frau Ma decides to use the poison to terminate Ma's life. In the meeting between Haitang and Tschang-ling already mentioned, the Chalk Circle motif again appears, drawn now with mounting excitement by Haitang, as an inconclusive means of foretelling whether Ma, hated by Tschang-Ling's Brotherhood, must die. Ex. 137, illustrating this, uses the triplet figure of Ex. 133 with a chromatic motif (C - B - D - C♯ and transpositions).

127. Cf. H. Popper: Goethe's Das Märchen in Affinities, O. Wolff, 1969, 239, n. 132.

Ma's death must be seen as a consequence of Frau Ma's treachery, but still more in the light of his relationship with Haitang. She has changed his life, he declares with simple feeling, shortly before drinking the poisoned tea. His own monologue, beginning as in Ex. 138 tranquilly shows how he disbelieves Frau Ma's allegations of Haitang's disloyalty (with the beggar, alias Tschang-ling) and is echoed deliberately in Haitang's 'Tränen der Freude' (Ex. 139). Her last words over Ma's body, in the same mood, are 'Er wird abwischen alle Tränen von meinen Augen.'

The opera's third act is the clearest indication of its cumulative Märchen quality. In following Haitang's fortunes from their lowest point to her final vindication, it transforms a Sittendrama into something more akin to a Kunstmärchen. From the act's sardonically dry opening (Ex. 140) to the final couplet

> Gerechtigkeit, sie sei dein höchstes Ziel
> denn also lehrt's des Kreidekreises Spiel.

the idea of justice and the symbolic chalk circle are inextricably linked. Frau Ma, well aware of the chalk circle's power, warns the Hebamme of the dangers of standing inside it. The latter, full of doubts about her supportive role, regards the court of justice with genuine apprehension, as Ex. 141 shows, combining the triplet figure with the dotted rhythm of Ex. 140, plus an added line of colour from tenor saxophone and bassoon. Haitang, overcome with real anger for the first time when Frau Ma accuses her of barrenness in the presence of the boy Li, returns to her mood of quiet appeal in the G minor 'Himmlisches Licht' (Ex. 142) like a distant echo of Pamina's 'Ach, ich fühl's'. But Frau Ma, on the bones of her ancestors, vigorously denies Haitang's claims (Ex. 143) and only a deus ex machina in the form of a courier from Peking saves Haitang from instant execution.

The Zwischenspiel, in its spareness, restraint, pathos and forward impulse, is a microcosm of the work as a whole. Its opening (Ex. 144) is the point at which the prominent interval of the fourth, here sustained and superimposed, is felt most strongly (cp. also Exx. 129, 132, 138, 139) as the

piccolo articulates the march theme. Far from being overwhelmed by her plight and by the bitter cold, Haitang's spirit rises as she cries to all dead murderers, liars and mothers to witness her innocence. The march rhythm and ostinato bass persist, only to disappear when Haitang's mood again changes to resignation: 'Meine Tränen fallen wie die Flocken. Wo meine Tränen in den Schnee fallen, farbt sich der Schnee rot. Ich weine Blut'.

Yet this death-wish disappears when, with her brother, she arrives at the emperor's Peking court. According to Laver,[128] the scene's opening was to be played before a curtain which parted to reveal the Throne Room only after Frau Ma, Tschao and Tschang-ling have arrived. This is not so here, however; the curtain rises after the ceremonious, heavily-scored introductory bars (Ex. 146) to reveal a stage crowded for the first time. Thereafter the familiar pattern follows in which the chalk circle at first seems to indicate Frau Ma as the mother, since she alone is willing to pull out the boy Li. In answer to the Kaiser's spoken question about her lack of effort, Haitang simply declares, to the intense accompaniment of solo viola (Ex. 147) that, as his mother, she carried him for nine months before birth. Frau Ma and Tschao (the latter protesting) are duly revealed as co-conspirators, and Tschang-Ling given the judicial post of the dismissed Tschao. The full story of Pao's visit to the Teahouse in Nanking, and indeed the identity of Pao as the Emperor, seem to emerge almost by accident, as Haitang is on the point of leaving. Pao's nocturnal visit to her, which she had imagined was a dream, turns out to have been real. 'Kannst Du verzeihen, was ich aus allzugrosses Liebe gewagt?' asks the Kaiser. Her reply is that all is forgiven, provided he will recognise the child as his own. The Kaiser's intention to marry Haitang is declared simply, beginning in a solemn F sharp with brass chords (Ex. 148) but modulating unexpectedly by way of C sharp minor's dominant into D major, the work's main key (ibid.). As all four horns give out a line based on G sharp, the final brief and perhaps rather impersonal love duet has at its emotional centre the child Li (held high by Haitang), the conquest of suffering, and the triumph of justice.[129]

128. (tr.), 90. This applies also to the final post-trial scene.
129. Cf. 'Loblied einer Jungfrau auf einen drallen kleinen Knaben (tr. Emil Krebs) in Grube, W., Chinesische Schattenspiel, B.A.W., München, 1915, 441.

V

If, after 1918, the Märchenoper tradition was carried forward most distinctively in non-European guise, the fashion for one-act operas provided a format outwardly well-suited to the theatrical presentation of western Märchen material. During the very years when the Zeitstück flourished most strongly, Krenek, Braunfels and Schoeck contributed three quite different examples to what might have become a new genre, despite its self-conscious continuation of an old tradition. Of these, only Schoeck's Vom Fischer und syner Fru derived from an authentic German Märchen, though it happened to be a dialect version of one of the Grimms' best-known. Braunfels, whose name had been made with his Aristophanes adaptation Die Vögel, went to Silvia Baltus' marionette play on the Acis and Galatea legend for his 'griechisches Märchen' Galathea of 1929. Krenek, whose three one-acters of 1926/7 were first produced together in May, 1928 (after Jonny spielt auf) saw them all as 'topical' works, but despite this, deliberately styled 'Das geheime Konigreich as a Märchenoper. Each of these essentially post-Romantic works of 1926-30 presents a short, unpretentious anecdote, and all three, coincidentally, make extensive use of a coloratura soprano.

Galathea is the slightest of these Märchen operas in plot, but it demonstrates opera's tendency to prolixity of supporting material even when the narrative line is slender. Alone among German composers of this period, Braunfels remained faithful to a conception of the Märchenoper which derived explicitly from the huge category of folktales dealing with the animal and spirit world. Like Schoeck he was also a man of strong literary leanings (Tirso de Molina, Grillparzer, de Coster and Claudel appear among his text-sources) and he shared with Schoeck a particular fondness for the poetry and fiction of German Romanticism. Hoffmann's Brambilla was his first full-scale work, but the 'lyrisch-phantastisches Spiel' Die Vögel is his most characteristic. In the moonlit mountainside of that work's second act, as Hoffegut sleeps, and Nachtigall sings in a tree, self-confessedly Eichendorffian verse appears:

Ja schön hier zu verträumen
die Nacht in tiefen Wald,
Wenn zwischen dunklen Bäumen
das alte Märchen schallt.[130]

The world of birds, the presence of Prometheus and the voice of Zeus which make up Die Vögel find an echo in Galathea. Here, in addition to Acis, Galathea and the Cyclops, and array of nymphs, forest fauns and 'buffo' small fauns - in the character of centaurs - make their perhaps inevitable appearance. A chorus of wood spirits and inmates of the Cyclops' cave are supported by a large orchestra, including a small on-stage wind band. Typical of the score is the passage in Ex. 149, demonstrating use of men's voices alongside sustained bass line and repeated xylophone quintuplets as dawn breaks. Again, as the Cyclops rhapsodises about honeyed birdsong (Ex. 150) the orchestra pictorialises through delicate violin scales and a sensuous viola melody in the opera's main key, E.

The apparatus of supporting balletic figures creates an effect far removed from the violent cannibalism of Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemus in Homer, or in Euripides' satyr-play. Silvia Baltus' text is gentle, even homely, and lacks even the death and transformation of Acis present in the old settings of Lully and Handel derived from Ovid's Metamorphoses, Book XIII. Nevertheless, the main elements of the classical satyr-play (notably ribald drunkenness, enslavement and escape) are all present in a story of few actual events, the cell of which is in Philexenus of Cythera's dithyramb Cyclops, and the eleventh Idyll of Theocritus.

Here, the Cyclops emerges from the cave with his captive, the flute-playing shepherd Acis. He falls asleep, while Galathea and her nymphs dance on the water's edge around his prone form. Awakening, the Cyclops announces a feast for the woodland folk in her honour. In the Zwischenspiel, a procession of fantastic cavedwellers rush through a rocky gully. When Galathea arrives by moonlight for the feast in Scene 2 to find the cave decorated with torches, the Cyclops greets her, then momentarily disappears.

130. V.S. (VE, 1920) 117-18.

He returns with Acis, who sings Galathea's praises. She, in turn, is very moved, and weeps, bewailing her poor life: 'es ist ein Schmerz/viel seliger als alles Glück/dass mir vom Herzen schwillt/ist nie gekannte Freude!' Though Acis returns to the cave, the Cyclops becomes steadily more intoxicated during the feast, and eventually falls asleep once more. Braving the dangers, Galathea leads Acis from the cave, crying

Holder Schäfer,
nicht mehr säume, folge,
folg' mir auf's Meer.

The Cyclops awakes to see them in flight, with their final, wordless E major duet (Ex. 151, typical of this densely written, yet translucent score) borne to him on the wind. He hurls rocks about in angry frustration, then sinks back into drunken slumber.

If Galathea perfectly represents the Märchenoper as romantic idyll, Schoeck's Vom Fischer und syner Fru is a different matter altogether. This 'dramatic cantata' on the Grimms' Märchen has been described already in Hans Corrodi's study of the composer.[131] Even at the time of Penthesilea and this work (1927-30) when Schoeck's name became known in Germany, critics agreed on the essential sources of his inspiration. Like Braunfels, he was seen as fundamentally rooted in his feeling for nature, yet a builder of 'strengster geschlossener Aufbau'[132] and a 'Zeichner, Künstler, geschärfter Intellekt'.[133] Later, he confessed that he had wished to take Meister Pfriem or Bruder Lustig as possible texts for a Märchenoper but had been diverted by reading a Grimm anthology with his chemist friend Armin Rüger.[134] Rüger had, indeed, already provided him with the full-length texts for Don Ranudo (after Holberg) and Venus (after Mérimée); for this one he went back to the familiar low-German version of Philipp Otto Runge.

131. Pp. 202-10. See Bibliog.
132. P. A. Pisk: Das Profil Othmar Schoecks Anb., 1934, 104.
133. K. H. David: Schoecks Opern. Schw. MZ, 1931, qu. DM, 1931, 474.
134. W. Vogel, ed., loc. cit., (1965), 108 (12.3.53) and 153 (18.3.53).

The idea of a theme and variations occurred at once; the song of the sea and the variation theme were composed first. Thereafter Schoeck worked quickly, stimulated by the ascending tension and psychological curve of the familiar tale. Only two characters appear on stage, and there is a minimum of physical action. The fish (bass) is placed unseen in the orchestra, solving an awkward problem of presentation. Musically, the rise from the original 'Pissputt' through cottage and knightly castle, to the wife's successive embodiment as king, emperor and pope, provided an opportunity for increasing complexity as each scene passes. To suggest transformation between scenes, Schoeck shrewdly applies the technique of orchestral variations, embodying the predestined return to the Pissputt by repeating the orchestral introduction at the close. Despite its complex instrumentation, the score, only 859 bars in all, is a model of tight construction. Summarised, its outline is:

Orchestral introduction in A

- I. BILD. Pissputt (Keyless)

  Zwischenvorhang. THEME (A)

  Zwischenbild. Man and fish

- II. BILD. Cottage. E flat (Munter bewegt)

  Zwischenvorhang. VARIATION 1 (Etwas breit)

  Zwischenbild. Man and fish

- III. BILD. Castle. G. major (March)

  Zwischenvorhang. VARIATION 2 (unruhig bewegt)

  Zwischenbild. Man and fish

- IV. BILD. King. D major (Lebhaft bewegt)

  Zwischenvorhang. VARIATION 3 (Drängend bewegt)

  Zwischenbild. Man and fish

- V. BILD. Emperor. D flat (Etwas breit)

  Zwischenvorhang. VARIATION 4 (Sehr lebhaft)

  Zwischenbild. Man and fish.

- VI. BILD. Church Interior (sun and moon pour through windows)

  F major (Gemessen bewegt)

Zwischenvorhang. VARIATION 5 (Fugue) = storm.

Zwischenbild. Man and fish.

- VII. BILD. Pissputt. Orch. intro. Closes with brief wordless duet for Man and Ilsebill.

Two features are at once evident. The variations have musical independence, it is true, but exist as much to provide an opportunity for scene change. Since the transformations are brought about by the fish's magic power, the variations anticipate in mood the changing response of the fish from contentment, through disturbance to open anger. Thus by the time the request is made, the change has already been carried out. This is obvious enough, perhaps, but the Märchen could not be realised theatrically in any other way; a time-lag would destroy the effect. The second aspect is Schoeck's careful choice of keys. A major, the overall tonality, moves to E flat for the cottage, the distance of a tritone symbolic of the fisherman's total satisfaction. The castle, in G, and the king, in D are progressive upward movements, followed by D flat, the Kaiser's key (a significant semitonal move down) and F, its mediant, the key of the 'false pope'. A, the final scene, is, again the mediant of F. Thus the total key scheme is:

A - E flat (tritone)

G - D

D flat - F - A (augmented fifth)

Though he did not comment on this structural aspect, Schoeck himself did remark that the first fulfilled wish is characterised by 'ein tanzartiger Motiv im Dreiviertelakt, das Ritterschloss ein knapper..... Marsch mit Trompetenfanfaren, das Papstbild eine pseudosakral klingende Musik'.[135]

Schoeck's style moves easily through the work's emotional extremes. The fisherman's height of happiness is reached in Scene 2, where the E flat motif (Ex. 152) indicates the sole point before the final pages when man and wife are in accord. Each call to the fish, verbally identical, requires a different setting. Ex. 153 is the second, emerging naturally, and in the same key, from Variation 1 of the theme. The fish's reply, always the same,

135. Vogel, loc. cit., 108-9.

rises in anger as the man's despair mounts. Ex. 154 demonstrates the roar from the orchestra pit, to which the man's muffled reply that Ilsebill wishes to become the living God is that of one whose patience and spirit are exhausted. Comparing the wife with Macbeth and Wallenstein - 'nicht die Sehnsucht nach Leistung .... sondern die Gier nach Genuss, nach Machtgenuss, nach Selbstgenuss' - Lüthi has rightly stressed the primitive side of the wife's ambition, and noted the passivity of the fisherman's role in dealing with her and with the forces of the supernatural. 'Immer und überall ist die Frau die Treibende.'[136]

Years later, on the première of Massimilla Doni, his admirer Krenek singled out for special praise what he called one of Schoeck's most original qualities, his 'light, effective parlando, yielding nothing in swiftness and intensity to Strauss, differing from him in his flowing, transparent orchestration'.[137] Krenek's own three one-act operas, performed at Wiesbaden in 1928 received the wide (and generally favourable) critical coverage due to one who had, a year before, produced a sensational success in Jonny spielt auf, though this had been composed, he later averred, 'ohne an den schnöden Mammon zu denken'.[138] The three one-acters were united, claimed Krenek in 1928, by the three central male figures, the Gewaltmensch dictator (a thinly-disguised Mussolini), the irrational, self-doubting king, and the 'irdisch-heitere Karikatur' of the boxer Adam Ochsenschwanz.[139]

Das geheime Königreich was the centre of the triptych - a stylised Märchenoper generally agreed to be the most successful of the three.[140] When the triptych was performed subsequently at the Krolloper, one Berlin critic

136. Volksmärchen u. Volkssage, 58.

137. Wiener Zeitung, 18 March, 1937, 10.

138. Musica, 1971, 560.

139. Anb., 1928, 160-1.

140. Cf. Karl Holl, Auftakt, 1928, 129; E. Rossen Neue Wiener Journal, 11 May 1928; Walter Schrenk, Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 9 May, 1928 and Adolf Weissmann, B. Z. am Mittag, 10 May, 1928. Weissmann observed that it had 'süsser, nie süsslicher Romantik, die auch den Gemeinplatz nicht scheut. Hier ist die wertvollste Musik.'

suggested that this work, slight in itself, might serve as a sketch on which Krenek could build a full-length Märchenoper.[141] Within a year of the Wiesbaden performances, Krenek had indeed composed a five-act 'mythic' opera, though it revolved round the house of Atreus, and like his one-act Märchenoper (begun on 7 December 1926 and completed on 17 February 1927) it was written at breakneck speed, with few, if any significant revisions.

The theme of Das geheime Königreich derives clearly enough from Goethe's 'dramatische Grille', Der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit (1777, rev. 1786-1817) for which Krenek wrote incidental music of a strictly neo-classical kind early in 1926. Though one of Goethe's less familiar early pieces, this play had been admired by Tieck and F. Schlegel as a 'Zeugnis der genialer Selbstverspottung'.[142] Goethe's 'humoristischer König' Andrason became Krenek's faint-hearted king, while the errant consort Mandanane became the strong-willed queen of the opera. More distantly, the roles of the Rebel and the Fool can be related to Goethe's Prince and his 'Kavalier' Merkulo, and even the three singing ladies have their equivalent in Goethe's play. An important part of Acts 2 and 3 in the play take place in a magically conjured-up forest, 'nicht Dekoration, sondern künstliche Natur', insists Merkulo, not without irony.[143] Furthermore, just as Krenek's Fool closes the opera with a Feste-like apologetic farewell to the audience for 'ein Märchen in den Tag hinein', so does Andrason close Goethe's play with the moral that 'ein Tor erst dann recht angeführt ist, wenn er sich einbildet, so folge gutem Rat, oder gehorche den Göttern'.[144] Karl Holl traced the Fool to Shakespeare (Lear) and to Schreker (Der Schatzgräber).[145] He might also have mentioned Puck, as Krenek had written incidental music to A Midsummer Night's Dream for Kassel in 1926[146]; the Narr in Der Schatzgräber

141. Nora Pisling-Boas, B.Z. am Mittag, n.d. (1930).
142. Qu. H. Krämer (ed). Goethe: Satiren und Zeitdramen, Goldmann, n.d., 231.
143. Goethe, J. A., 7, 240. 'Das Theater und unsere Natur sind freilich nahe miteinander verwandt', ibid.
144. J. A., 7, 278.
145. Auftakt, ibid.
146. Op. 46. Unpub.

may have been unconsciously felt, but probably in an ironic sense only.[147]

In the Märchen of the king whose weakness and sense of unworthiness allows his wife to take possession of his crown and the forces of insurrection to take over his kingdom, there are early signs of that preoccupation with free will and predestination later to find full expression in Karl V, another story of a sovereign beleaguered by external pressures.[148] As in Lear, the most trenchant observations come from the Fool, notably his comment: 'Noch hast du dein eig'nes Ich nicht gefunden. Noch hängst du an dem Schein der Dinge'.[149] If the insurgents set the tone at the outset by their aggressive cry (Ex. 155) the Fool's philosophic calm quickly establishes another, more reflective mood. As Ex. 156 shows, its winsome little F major melody borne along by the flute, the Volkstümlichkeit is not wholly satirical, even though the Fool impatiently breaks off ('Aber der König') to criticise the King. This is equally true of the second scene (Exx. 162, 163 and 165) the two main thematic ideas of which appear during the entr'acte, before the curtain rises. Here, with a forest in the true tradition of Romanticism, and the Daphne-like transformation of the Queen into a tree, anything else would be inappropriate.

The 'real' world is represented by the revolutionary chorus and by the aggressively contemporary Rebel. He is a parody of the ruthless use of force, despite his cry 'denn mein Herz brennt in tausend Flammen für die Freiheit meines Volkes'.[150] His spirit cannot be crushed, whatever the punishment, he announces (ex. 158) his lyrical tenor line accompanied by chattering woodwind triplets appropriate to his fanaticism. The heavy E flat minor rhythmic tread of Ex. 161 (later moving to C minor and D minor)

147. Krenek had satirically quoted 'O welche Nacht' (Die Gezeichneten) in Der Sprung uber den Schatten (1922). Another Schrekerian echo (cf. Ch. 7) may have been the ballad of the glowing crown in Der ferne Klang, though Krenek uses 'Kronreif, ererbten Machtsymbol' as against 'Krone'.

148. Musica, 1971, 557.

149. Textbuch, 7.

150. Textbuch, 11.

underlines his pursuit of the crown after the queen has disappeared. In Scene 2, he almost gains his object; again, determination speaks through the vocal line (Ex. 164). She, originally attracted to him because of his strength, now terrifies him into flight by turning into a singing tree,[151] the precious crown hanging from a branch.

Yet this short opera also makes effective use of ensembles, like Ex. 157 (bars 290-4), with the King muttering his despair, the Fool pragmatically observing that the system has worked for centuries, and the Queen, in her coloratura role, wishing the symbolic crown might meet a fitting owner. Again, in a sequence strongly reminiscent of the three ladies and Papageno, the three singing ladies ply the fool with wine to wrest the crown from him. The luxuriant harmonies of Ex. 159 depict this intention (bars 660-665), though the Fool proves that, though drunk, he has spotted their plan. The game of cards which follows is more decisive, and ends in the Fool's defeat - Ex. 160 (bars 807-11) - enabling the ladies to take the crown. Just before the final ensemble, Ex. 166 (bar 1325 ff.), the King, dressed in his Fool's clothes, has discovered that the answer to the riddle ('What is round, shines, is found on the head, and contains a whole world?'[152]) is not, after all, his crown, but the eye of a living creature. As he falls asleep, his kingdom regained, the king lays aside his cap and cloak, only for the Fool to find them and join the mock-triumph of the ensemble, the queen's voice and those of the three ladies (offstage) now identified with the forest itself. 'Nur im Schlaf kehren Menschenkinder zur Heimat zurück', is the Fool's final observation.

Each of the works discussed in this chapter's main part is in some degree about illusion or nemesis, or both. Girnara and Der Kreidekreis

151. This motif would have been familiar enough through Vernaleken's 1864 collection (cf. n. 109), notably no. 30, Der Wunderbaum, and no. 34, Der Klingende Baum. The relevant folktale motifs are TMI D212 (Man or woman to flower) and D215 (man becomes tree).

152. Textbuch, 7.

curiously share the theme of a woman in a state of torment, surrounded by hostile forces, to which she must either show reistance or succumb. Though real enough, the ugliness of the one and supposed childlessness of the other create the illusion of permanence, heroic resistance to fate bringing about their ultimate transformation and vindication. Zemlinsky's dwarf, deceived in his own appearance, has his one reality, love for the Infantin, destroyed. The nemesis of his self-discovery brings only death from anguish. Gal's Entenkuli, tempted by impossible love is involuntarily beset by the illusion of power, while the Mandarin is divested of his 'brutal' image and turned into humane sage and loving husband. Braunfels' Cyclops possesses the power to destroy, but the nemesis of orgiastic drunkenness brings about the loss of his captive Acis and the object of his desire, Galathea. Schoeck's Märchen is, of course, an archetype of nemesis, a universal formula tale whose bitter end is implicit in its beginning. Krenek's clever Märchenoper is a parable about the illusion of political control, both the possessor's (the King) and the aspirant's (the rebel). These, together with the nemesis of cowardice (again the King's) and the illusion of love (between queen and rebel) lead to an irreversible Verwandlung and the apparent restoration of the established order.

The heavily stylised nature of these works is a measure of their equivocal relation to 'reality'. Kurt Ranke's definition of the Märchen is expressed in terms relevant to this. For him, it was 'eine von den Bedingungen der Wirklichkeitswelt mit ihren Kategorien Zeit, Raum und Kausalität unabhängige Erzählung wunderbaren Inhalts, die keinen Anspruch auf Glaubwürdigkeit erhebt'.[153] The story, in a word, should not depend on verisimilitude with the outer world, since it does not aim to depict credible events. This interpretation sees the abandonment of any significant 'naturalistic' element as essential to the convention of the mythic folktale. Yet the wish to incorporate fantasy and wilful theatrical arbitrariness, far from eliminating psychological realism and entirely credible emotion, placed it at the very centre of the action. Bechstein's 'heimatlos schwebende

153. SG, II, 1958 647f.

Paradiesvogel' rises into the territory of fictional 'mimesis', at some remove from the 'völkisch' in the sense used by 19th century, or even 20th century folklorists, but closer in function to the metaphorical or suggestive role of the parable, and the advisory, instructive, explanatory or descriptive one of the proverb.[154]

154. Cf. W. Eberhard: Notes on Chinese Proverbs in Studies in Chinese Folklore, Bloomington, Indiana, 1970, esp. 178-179.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MÄRCHEN AND SAGE IN SCHREKER

I Gefühlsleben and Erlösung

II Schreker's subject-matter: background, sources and influences

III Folktale elements in the Vienna operas

IV Folktale elements in the Berlin operas

I

The previous chapter described ways in which the atmosphere and archetypes of the traditional Märchen were used in opera in the two decades before 1933. In the years which followed, conditions permitted some return to the naive Volksoper manner, as Egk's Die Zaubergeige and Peer Gynt, and Orff's Der Mond and Die Kluge revealed. It was only to be expected that an era of fierce nationalism would confine attention to texts either German in origin (like Kleist, the Grimms, and Graf Pocci) or derived from foreign authors (such as Ibsen, Hugo, even Tennyson) who could easily be adapted to the needs of the time. After 1933, conservatism of musical style was even more significant as a criterion of acceptability and was no barrier to popularity, as Wagner-Régeny's Der Günstling, Reutter's Doktor Johann Faust and Gerster's Enoch Arden each proved. Egk's Peer Gynt (1938) was the work which stood out as a familiar play by a major writer turned (many would say diluted) into a Märchenoper recognisably in the 19th century tradition, but updated in feeling through the replacement of Ibsen's Egyptian scenes by an act set in America. These scenes, and the work's use of bitonality caused comparisons to be made with the discredited Weill in such a way as to stress the rejection of 'decadence' which National Socialism had brought to Germany.

Even in such an excellent work as Ludwig Schiedermair's history of German opera, the short chapter 'Expressionismus und Sachlichkeit' is dismissive of most post-1914 German operas except perhaps Hindemith's, and openly hostile to foreign influences, atonality, the Zeitoper and the fashion

for sensational and grotesque effects.[1] However, it is in his two substantial paragraphs on Schreker, also stigmatised as essentially non-German, which offer a useful start to the present discussion, since they amount to a surprisingly detailed comment on a composer whose works were banned in Germany, and to whom references of any kind were seldom made after 1933.[2] The key sentence runs: 'Die produktiven Urkeime liegen bei ihm in den Untergünden des Gefühlslebens, in der Klangvision, um die der dichterisch musikalische Verlauf kreist.'[3] It is of some interest to compare this with the words of Paul Bekker (nowhere mentioned by Schiedermair) written in 1918:

Schreker greift demgegenüber wieder auf dem früheren Operntypus zurück. Die psychologische Gesetzmässigkeit des Geschehens und die daraus sich ergebende künstlerische Darstellungsweise und ästhetische Gestaltungsart kommt für ihn nicht in Betracht. Der Kern seines dramatischen Vorgangs bezieht sich auf ausserhalb des begriffsmässig Fassbaren liegende Vorgänge, weist auf unbegreifbare Untergründe des Gefühlslebens.'[4]

These 'intangible undercurrents of emotional life' form the background to all Schreker's operas, giving them what Bekker was later to criticise as an 'innere Gleichformigkeit ihrer Spielideen'.[5] In 1919 Bekker had discussed the 19th century conception of love, guilt and redemption in terms of its 'moral limitations' and interpreted Schreker's achievement as the lifting of this longstanding (Wagnerian) incubus. 'Er zeigt', said Bekker, 'den Geschlechtskampf nicht wie Mozart als Erscheinungsspiel, nicht wie Wagner vom Standpunkt christlicher Ethik aus - er zeigt ihn als tragisches Phänomen an sich'.[6] As the earlier discussion of Die Gezeichneten indicated, not only

1. Die deutsche oper, Ferd. Dummlers Verlag, Bom and Bln, 1934 and 1940. 302f.
2. Cf. the earlier comments (Ch. 1) on Otto Schumann and G. Westermann. Carl Niessen (Deutsche Oper der Gegenwart, 1944) omits his name entirely, nor did Leichtentritt refer to him in his 1933/4 Harvard lectures later published as Music, History and Ideas. Melos (edited by the Hindemithian Strobel) ignored his death in 1934.
3. Schiedermair, 300.
4. G.S., 3, 73.
5. BZM, 76.
6. G.S., 3, 65. See also App. C.

was he accused later of excessive preoccupation with sexuality, but the language as well as the substance of his texts was criticised, and the 'physischer Kraft' of his music abused for its stylistic indebtedness to the older, established figures of Puccini, Debussy and Strauss. The composer remained bewildered, even silently embittered by these attacks, which usually took the form of disagreement with Bekker's view of him as the first full-blooded post-Wagnerian opera composer, a feeling that he was not a truly contemporary musician and already, in the 1920s, belonged with Spontini and Meyerbeer among the ghosts of the past.[7]

It would be rash at this distance of time, more than forty years after his death, to claim for Schreker the stature of more than a minor master. His interest and significance lies in his rôle, largely unconscious, as a myth-creator in Leibowitz's sense of the term, a music-dramatist first and last who, deriving his inspiration partly from the mainly French literary Symbolist movement, drew heavily on the stock of characters and situations provided by the German Romantic Märchen tradition. At the same time, he was fascinated by the portrayal of the contemporary world, not so much for the opportunity it provided for Zola-esque realistic description (as in Bruneau's operas) but for the impingement upon it of the private dream, the inner vision. For him, as for the Baudelairean literary décadents, life came to mean struggle and suffering,[8] while in common with the Symbolist poets he sought in the symbol (Sinnbild) a 'puissance de suggestion'[9] creating like them a world in which 'les objets du monde extérieur sont vus donc à travers le médium de l'âme.'[10]

7. e.g. Eugen Thari, ADM, 1923, 188f.

8. 'Der Dekadent leidet am Leben ..... das Leben geht an ihm vorüber, er möchte mitgehen, aber es misslingt ihm, und nur ergreift ihn eine wahre Angst ver dem Leben .....'
Eckart v. Sydow, Die Kultur der Dekadenz, Sibyllen Vlg. Dresden, 1921, 46.

9. Qu. Svend Johansen: Le Symbolisme Einar Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1945, 75.

10. Duthie, 67. It was Schreker's view that the public would always demand opera 'weil sie mehr noch als das Wortdrama für den Hörer vollständige Entrückung, ein vollkommenes Loslösen von den realen Dingen des Alltags bedeutet'. Anb., 1926, 209.

The Jewish Schrecker (later Schreker) family came from Golc-Jenikau in Bohemia (not far from Mahler's birthplace at Kalist) while his Catholic mother, Eleonore Clossmann, came from Steiermark.[11] Ignaz Schrecker, court photographer at Monaco, had died suddenly in 1888, leaving the family in sudden and continuing penury. The harrowing experience of these years never left Schreker, who, as a quiet, dreamy adolescent developed a sympathy for poverty and destitution, isolation and despair later catalysed by the experience of seeing Charpentier's new Parisian opera Louise (1900). Charpentier's Julien and Louise, lovers in an oppressive urban milieu and harrassed to the point of despair by parental disapproval, reappear in Der ferne Klang as Fritz, ambitious young composer, and Grete, daughter of a publican and victim of the same bourgeois narrowness and intolerance. The workers of Montmartre in Louise reappear in transposed form as the girls and clients of the Casa di Maschere in the Venetian lagoon. However, the difference between the works lay in the more elaborate texture and complex harmonic design of Der ferne Klang, the deliberate use of the 'distant sound' as a symbol for far-off, unattainable creative resolution and fulfilment, and the introduction of Märchen elements which will be discussed presently.

Never inclined to verbal speculation or theorising about his works, still less to providing information about the various influences on his style and subject-matter, Schreker was always anxious for his operas to be taken at their face-value as pieces of music-theatre. 'Schreker schreibt Opern', said his biographer Rudolf Hoffmann in 1921, 'keine Musikdramen'.[12] In one case only did he write a Preface to one of his scores, that of Das Spielwerk und die Prinzessin in 1912, which is unclear, and leaves a good deal unsaid. In the last full year of his life, however, on the fiftieth anniversary of Wagner's death, he contributed a short passage to Anbruch which does further illuminate his remarks in that earlier Preface. He is characteristically anxious for the day when Wagner's operas, like Verdi's and still older works, can be enjoyed for what they are - effective and well-wrought pieces of

11. Full genealogy in DH, 225-7.
12. In Franz Schreker. E.P. Tal and Co., Vienna, 1921, 162.

operatic theatre. Suggesting that the stress on the Erlösungsidee or redemption and sacrifice motif as something of special relevance to Wagner has in his view been overdone, he continues:

'This notion can be found in pre-Wagnerian poems and operas, and is so closely bound up with the poetic material which Wagner so fortunately chose - is, indeed, so deeply rooted in the Märchen and legendary world of nordic peoples - that no-one, be it Wagner, one of his forebears or one of his successors, who has become creatively involved in this world, can escape it'.

Schreker regrettably gives no instances, but is clearly speaking indirectly of his own works when he continues:

'I see in it (the Erlösungsidee) less of a programmatic idea, be it personal or philosophic, than, chiefly, a human motif which is firmly established, not only in the Märchen, but in the psyche of most people. From this source, it becomes an excellent means of deepening or intensifying a plot, and transfiguring a tragedy through a single act or final conclusion.'[13]

In speaking of pre-Wagnerian drama, Schreker was pointing implicitly to the Viennese 'Zaubertheater' of the Biedermeier period, whose chief product was the Märchen-based drama of Raimund. The gradual renewal of his reputation in the decades following Nestroy's death (1862) meant that late Habsburg Vienna enjoyed most of Raimund's plays as current repertory. Schreker undoubtedly knew the Alpenkönig Astragalus and the 'seelenkrank' Menschenfeind Rappelkopf as figures symbolising moral opposites. The famous play, a Besserungsstück or didactic piece finds a distant echo in Der singende Teufel, as does another Zauberspiel dealing with the 'Widerstreit zwischen Gut und Böse', Moisasurs Zauberfluch. An early Raimund play, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs (an Arabian Nights derivative) has in Eduard and Amine, Florian Waschblau and Mariandel four characters analogous to those in Das Spielwerk. In addition, the Erlösung motif is strongly present in

13. Anb., 1933, 12. 'Many a significant contemporary composer', he wryly concludes, 'has come to know that the sweet poison of Tristanesque chromaticism can only be exorcised by very acid and sometimes very bitter-tasting antidotes'.

Das Mädchen in der Feenwelt, while the allegory Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone was originally entitled Die glühende Krone. The satiric, parodistic features of Raimund were not, of course, part of Schreker's apparatus. Instead, the Raimundian allegorical-fantastic world appealed for its own sake. As Raimund himself said in 1833: 'Traum schenkt noch Glück, wenn Wirklichkeit zerstiebt'.[14]

II

The central part played by the Märchen in Schreker's composed operas and uncomposed texts can be seen in Table 1. Curiously, of Schreker's three biographers in 1919-21, only Hoffmann singled out this aspect of Schreker for special mention.

'Märchen und Mythe (he observes) mögen gerne den dunklen Mantel des Symbols anlegen. Das Symbol schmückt sich vergebens mit den hellen Kränzen von Märchen und Mythe'. He remarks on the 'Abkehr von der Wirklichkeit' which had, among older composers, characterised Pfitzner (Die Rose von Liebesgarten) and Strauss (Die Frau ohne Schatten) and concludes that 'Schreker allein ist den symbolischen Märchen von allem Anfang an verfallen gewesen und bis heute treu geblieben.'[15] Apart from the Poe adaptation (see Ch. 1) only the one-act Flammen of 1901 (to his friend Dora Leen's text) and Der Schmied von Gent (closely following de Coster's Flemish legend) were not the composer's own work. Table 1, which includes the uncomposed texts, reveals the extent to which the Märchen format and style preoccupied him. The central column contains the specifically 'märchenhaft' works, column 1 the two works with a more specifically 'historical' background, while column 3 lists the three works set in the contemporary world, but still not lacking in Märchen elements. The experience of Salome (Vienna, 1906) must have been important, but it is difficult to relate it to the eventual completion of Der ferne Klang in 1909-10.[16] Since Neuwirth's recent study we are in a

14. S. W., III, 246.
15. Hoffmann, loc. cit., 148, 151.
16. The dates given by Neuwirth are: Acts 1 and 2, 1901-3, Nachtstück (Act 3) 1905, completion of Act 3, 1909-10; instrumentation - Act 1, 18 May 1910, Act 2, August 1910, Act 3, September 1910.

better position than before to see the importance of the 'Erinnerung' as well

TABLE 1

'History'	'Märchen'	The contemporary world as such
	Flammen (1901)	
	Der Geburtstag der Infantin (pantomime, 1907-8)	
		Der ferne Klang (1903-10)
	Das Spielwerk und die Prinzessin (1909-12)	
	Der rote Tod (text, 1911)	
Die Gezeichneten (1913-15)		Die tönenden Sphären (text, 1915)
	Der Schatzgräber (1915-18)	
Memnon (text, 1919)		
	Irrelohe (1919-23)	
		Christophorus (1924-7)
	Der singende Teufel (1927-8)	
	Der Schmied von Gent (1929-32)	

as the 'Erlösung' motif in Schreker's texts, though Alma Mahler and Mosco Carner had earlier pointed in this direction.[17] It was as much a feature of Das Spielwerk und die Prinzessin as of Der ferne Klang, the later work being his first attempt at a fully recognisable Märchenoper, stimulated by the experience of working with Zemlinsky on the Volksoper production of Dukas' Ariane et barbe-bleue in 1907-8.

Two further elements fundamental to Schreker's conception of opera were the effects of sexuality on behaviour and the relation of dramatic events to a Klangsymbol, invariably something musical, but frequently also a visible phenomenon. A third element, occurrence of death at strategic points in his narratives is sometimes, but by no means always connected with the element of

17. Loc. cit., 52-3 and BBC talk, 8 Aug. 1971.

sexual tension in the story. Table 2 gives a breakdown of all the operas (and the Wilde pantomime) showing the presence of these factors, and the variable nature of their appearance. From this it will be seen that though the sexual theme persists from the earliest work, Flammen, the Klangsymbol never refers only to this, but always to something beyong it, related in some way to moral or artistic striving. As Oscar Bie remarked in 1928, Schreker's

TABLE 2

Tone symbol	Sexual betrayal	Sexual isolation	'Death' element
-	(1) Flammen		Irmgard's suicide
Distant sound	(2) Der ferne Klang		Death of Fritz
-		(3) Geburtstag der Infantin	Dwarf dies of broken heart.
The 'Spielwerk' itself		(4) Das Spielwerk	Death of Florian's son. Violence of crowd/threat of death to Princess.
The Island Elysium	(5) Die Gezeichneten		Death of Tamare, then of Carlotta.
The magic lute		(6) Der Schatzgräber	Death of Els.
Sky over Venice		(7) Die tönenden Sphären	Death of Magnus
Memnon's statue		(8) Memnon	Memnon and Agra die together.
Schloss Irrelohe	(9) Irrelohe		Threat to Heinrich averted by 'happy ending'.
String quartet	(10) Christophorus		Lisa's death - ambiguous.
Organ		(11) Der singende Teufel	Liliane's self-sacrifice.
Percussion	(12) Der Schmied v. Gent (neither)		Apotheosis of Smee after natural death.

subject-matter is 'nicht bloss Lockung, sondern auch Schutz der ethischen Werte'.[18] Carner's interpretation here is misleading, in that it

18. Anb., 1928, 83. There is an accidental resemblance to the ideas of Max Scheler (1875-1928) with his stress on Bildung rather than Kultur, 'mode of being' rather than knowledge, the dignity of the individual rather than the macrocosmic society. Cf. his essays Vom Ewigen im Menschen, 1919-21.

suggests[19] a strictly Wedekindian content (sexual release, or 'Sinnenglück bringt Seelenfrieden') or even a Schnitzlerian approach - sex as the dominant, obsessive source of all private and social human actions - without the detached, ironic humour and sharp social criticism of either. This is not to deny that Wedekind and Schnitzler (especially the resigned melancholy of the Viennese writer) were part of Schreker's formative background. But it has already been suggested that Fritz and Grete are greatly indebted to Charpentier's Julien and Louise, a fact not altered by the resemblance between the unsympathetic, unimaginative adult world of Frühlings Erwachen and the Graumann family's village hostelry in Der ferne Klang. Wedekind's one-act pantomime Das Sonnenspektrum concerns a girl, Elise, who actively wishes to become a prostitute, whereas Schreker's Grete becomes one by accident, as a result of leaving home and the deadening of her true affection. The extremer implications of Wedekind's plays and pantomimes, like the sexual permutations of Schnitzler's Anatol or Reigen were alien to Schreker's world. His approach was, au fond, more naïve, and, because less obviously literary, more limited in range. Schnitzler's Der Schleier der Beatrice was mentioned in Ch. 4 as a demonstrable influence on Die Gezeichneten, but the general area in which Wedekind and Schnitzler probably affected him most was in the use of vernacular speech in his texts. In view of his fiercely introverted independence as his own librettist, it is ironic and rather sad that this aspect should have brought him such fierce criticism from the littérateurs. Neo-Romantic playwrights of his own age, like Eulenberg, Schmidtbonn, Hardt and Vollmoeller shared much of his own outlook, especially with regard to spectacle and sensational effects, and he must have known their work. One can, however, deduce little more from the coincidental appearance of plays like Tantris der Narr, Ritter Blaubart, and Catharina, Gräfin von Armagnac than their proof of the broad pre-1914 Austro-German theatrical atmosphere.[20]

19. Loc. cit., also NOHM, X (1974), 326.
20. Two playwrights whose outlook was poles apart in its neo-classicism from Schreker were Paul Ernst and Wilhelm v. Scholz. Yet it was Scholz who saw drama as 'nicht Pflicht gegen Wunsch aber Schicksal' and Ernst who in later life defined drama as a special form of lyric, whose content is 'keine Substanz, sondern eine Bewegung .... welche einen festen Anfang und ein festes Ende hat'. Bemerkungen über mein Leben, 1922.

Two other writers, like Wedekind and Schnitzler considerably older than Schreker, whose work nevertheless has a certain relevance to his were Ednard Stucken and Richard Beer-Hofmann. Stucken, the traveller, mythologue and astrologue, lived in Berlin during Schreker's years at the Hochschule, and the composer set his 'Das Weib des Intaphernes' as a dramatic aria for soprano and orchestra in 1931 - an unpublished work which has not seen performance since 1935. Beer-Hofmann's work is closer in background, in that it shares with Schreker a demonstable preoccupation with symbolism, much more highly developed in his later, biblical dramas, but present also in his earlier works, such as the story Der Tod Georgs and the Massinger/Field drama Der Graf von Charolais.[21] In one sense, the symbolism is of the Hell-Dunkel, Tag-Nacht kind later developed by Cassirer (cf. Ch. 2) and present in earlier Viennese works like Die Zauberflöte and Fidelio. But Beer-Hofmann went beyond this into an involved symbolic structure whereby the Tower became a symbol of imprisonment, water of deprivation, sand of banality, flowers of fructifying nature, music of life itself, fire of passion ('Leidenschaft') the island of creativity,[22] blood of timelessness, and the fish of eternity, the 'symbol of symbols'. The significance of such symbolism for Schreker, especially the island, tower (castle) fire and music symbolism is apparent from the opera-texts themselves. Moreover, Schreker mirrored completely the Traum-Wirklichkeit dichotomy and the preoccupation with death which featured so strongly in Viennese literature of the Dekadenz years. In Beer-Hofmann, too, a system of symbolic colours appears, analogous to, if more rigorously used than in the Schreker operas. Red, for example is the colour of life, green, of vegetation, yellow and gold of the powerful earthly life-force (the tellurian divinity), white is the colour of blossoming (Blüte) and blue that of heaven and the sky (the Uranian divinity).[23]

21. Published in 1904, after two acts of Der ferne Klang had been written.

22. 'Die schwimmenden Inseln sind Sinnbilder der Urerde und Geburtsstätten der Götter'. Max Schlesinger: Geschichte des Symbols, Berlin, 1912, 294.

23. Following Herbert Cysarz, Otto Oberholzer carries the Leben-Geist antinomy into a general opposition of Eros and Thanatos in the time of the Dekadenz, as in Richard van Schaukal's novel of that title. 'Bei Beer-Hofmann wird, in Anlehnung an östliche Mysterienweisheit, das unaufhebbare Gesetz, demzufolge der Tod in die ewigkeitssüchtige Liebe hineinspielt, in das sinnhafte Prinzip umgewandelt, dass Leben nur auf dem Boden unaufhörlicher Vergängnis aufblühen kann'. Richard Beer-Hofmann. Francke, Bern, 1947, 251-2. (Vergängnis = transience (arch.))

A further important aspect of Schreker's operas is their connection with the lyric poetry of his youth. Central to this was the work of Richard Dehmel, whose poetic output during the 1890s had influenced a whole generation. Schoenberg's Op. 2 songs and Verklärte Nacht, Zemlinsky's piano Phantasie Op. 9 based on four Dehmel poems and Webern's early 1906-8 songs were musical fruits of this. Indeed, Schoenberg actually told Dehmel in 1912 that his poetry had pointed out a new way of lyrical expression for him.[24] This fact is not diminished by the greater long-term effect on Schoenberg, and others, of the poetry of George. Like Berg, Schreker managed to asborb Dehmel's tone and spirit without actually setting any of his poems. The sixth verse of Die Harfe (in the 1896 collection Weib und Welt) begins:

> Und von der Harfe kommt ein Himmelton
> und pflanzt sich mächtig fort von Ost nach Westen
> Den kenn' ich tief seit meiner Jugend schon
> dumpf tönt die Waldung aus den braunen Ästen....[25]

This was also the title of Fritz's opera in Der ferne Klang, which itself originally had other possible titles, including Der Harfenklang. It seems unlikely that, as Neuwirth has suggested,[26] Schreker thereby intended a direct criticism of Jugendstil harp symbolism. He was too autobiographically involved with Fritz to incorporate any real social irony into the opera. Years later, his first postwar opera, Irrelohe, is headed by the last line of the following verse from Dehmel's 1907 collection, Die Verwandlungen der Venus:

> Drum sollst du dulden, Mensch dein Herz
> das so von Wünschen bangt und glüht.
> .....
> Und sollst in deinen Lüsten nach Seele dürsten wie nach Blut.
> Und sollst dich mühn von Herz zu Herz
> Aus dumpfer Sucht zu Lichter Glut![27]

24. qu. Kolneder, Anton Webern, Faber, 196, 34. Also Rufer, Cat. 116-18.
25. G.W., II (Fischer, Bln, 1913) 66.
26. DH, 213.
27. Venus Homo, G.W. I, 331.

Here Schreker seized on Dehmel in his mood of striving optimism, in the context of a work which, for all its pain and destructiveness, ends in a kind of light and reconciliation. There was in Dehmel much of the same fight against animal, Tiermensch sexuality as in Schreker's texts (for example, Tamare) which was at odds with his own sensuality and the fascination of sensual lure.[28] Far from saying with Wedekind that 'das Leben ist eine Rutschbahn',[29] Dehmel wished the sexual relationship to pass beyond physicality, 'Sinnenfreude', into 'Klarheit', to become a matter of 'soziale und kosmischer Liebe'. As Richard Hamann observed in 1907, the new female emancipation pointed to a replacement of the old knightly pursuit, of hunter and hunted, by a new 'kollegialische' relationship in which 'die Frau wird Gefährtin, Hetäre .....'[30] Nevertheless, one of Dehmel's themes is the way a woman hinders a man's 'reine geistige Entwicklung'[31] - in a nutshell, the problem of Fritz in Der ferne Klang.

It is not only Dehmel's verse which seems to presage the atmosphere of Schreker's texts. Among the numerous poems on the theme of night by Dehmel's friend the mythologue Alfred Mombert (1872-1942), one contains the lines:

> In einer Barke liegend,
> den blauen Strom hinab durch grüne Landschaft,
> die Sonnenseele über mir, Fahnen
> am Ufer, tönt Musik, und Festtagmenschen
> O Seele! volles, volles Leben![32]

Again, in the volume Tag und Nacht the poem Die Nacht runs:

28. Cf. Rudolf Pamperrien: Das Problem menschlicher Gemeinschaft in Richard Dehmels Werk. J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1924, 60.

29. Der Marquise von Keith, G. W. Müller, 1924, IV, 98.

30. Der Impressionismus in Leben und Kunst, M. Dumont, Köln, 1907, 196.

31. Fritz Horn: Das Liebesproblem in Richard Dehmels Werke, Emil Ebering, 1932, 14. However, cf. also Harry Slochower's remark that immer mehr reizt das Geschlechtliche den Dichter zu neuer Gestaltung. Es ist eben die stärkste Immanenz und Emanation seines Urprinzips .....' Richard Dehmel: Der Mensch und der Denker. Carl Reissner, Dresden, 1928, 95. The same thing was also said of Schreker.

32. Der Glühende: ein Gedichtwerk. W. Friedrich, Leipzig, 1896, 28.

Kanonendonner! Trommelwirbel!
Im Fackelscheine sammelt sich das Volk,
am Königschloss
Bestürzt verwundert
Auf grell erleuchteter Terrasse
steht,
hochaufgerichtet
im Purpurmantel und Diadem
- ein Gespenst -
der junge König.[33]

In Schreker's uncomposed text, Die tönenden Sphären (1915), the 18-year-old Hilde, under the influence of the mysterious Rafael Orfant and in despair from the disturbed, introverted state of her father Rolf Magnus, addresses her mother Aline and lover Heinz in the same exalted language, as she gazes across at the Venetian landscape.

Ja, und tausendmal ja,/ich drängte und wollte,/ich musste - Mutter!/Erzählte doch Orfant/die hellen Wunder/von diesem glühenden Land./Und, Mutter, sag' selbst - war es nicht herrlich?/ Heinz, sag', war es nicht/ unerhört schön - heut' früh:/ In weiter Ferne/die hohen Berge, schneebedeckt/purpurglühend im Morgengrau'n!/ Tief dunkel das Meer/sauft gleitend das Schiff - / und schon steigt auf/vor dem trunkenen Blick/ein Gleissen von Kuppeln,/uralte Paläste im Sonnenlicht/ein Märchenreich - diese/Traumstadt Venedig!/Nein um nichts in der Welt/möcht' ich missen/ dies einz'ge Erlebnis!'[34]

The poetry of the Würzburger Max Dauthendey (1867-1918), like Schreker a photographer's son, reveals a similar delight in synaesthesia, or the juxta position of colours, tones and sensations. His early volume of prose poems Ultra-Violett, (1893) like his Sangdichtung (Dornröschen (in Blanke Nächte) and Reliquien teem with such characteristic late-Romantic words as 'Sehnsucht', 'Schweigen', 'Einsamkeit', 'Wälder', 'Wolken', 'Tönen', 'Strahlen',

33. J. Hörning, Heidelberg, 1894, 87.
34. Textbuch, UE, 1924, 16.

'Vergänglichkeit', or colouristic adjectives like 'mondblass', 'elfenbeinlicht', 'goldenbleich' or 'grünfeurig', often with erotic associations.

Meine flammende Krone
Sie ist der Sonne gleich,
Ich bin Kaiser der Sonne
Dein Leib ist mein Kaiserreich.[35]

The tone is not far from Elis's dream just before the close of Der Schatzgräber:

Von einer Stadt mit/schlankhohen Türmen, /die liegt gar ferne/im Morgenland./ von prängenden Gärten/und brennenden Blüten/und einem Himmel/der ewig blaut./

Von Wäldern tiefdunkel,/und rauschenden Bronnen/und Wiesen besät. ganz/mit mit duftendem Blumen,/und einem stillen,/ einsamen Hain/dort wiegt dich leises/singendes Raunen/in einen traumlosen Schlummer ein.'[36]

Indeed, Dauthendey's Preface to Ultra-Violett, with its stress on isolation and seclusion finds an echo in Schreker's remarks of 1920 that 'Des Lebens Hast, des Tages Lärm, der Welt Getriebe glitt an mir ab. Ich empfand nichts vom alldem, ich war allein; die Stille war in mir .....'[37]

Schreker's language and outlook are also presaged in other more minor Jugendstil poets, such as the Bohemian Hugo Salus (1866-1929) the North Germans Gustav Falke (1853-1916) and Franz Evers (1871-1948) and the Westphalian Max Bruns (1876-1945). Falke's Das Tal der Flammen, for instance, with its silent, cavernous valley and garden of flames springing miraculously 'aus nacktem Stein' anticipates imagery frequently used by Schreker, especially in its association of flames and sound:

Von Zeit zu Zeit erlischt ein müdes Flämmchen
Mit leisem Seufzer, der im Singen hinstirbt,
Im Klingen dieses wunderlichen Gartens

35. G.W., IV (Lyrik) 101-2.
36. Textbuch, UE, 1919, 81-82. (Written 1915).
37. Betrachtungen, BS, 1921, 3.

Doch neue Blumen blühen aus dem Stein
Ihr Duft ist Klang. Ein leises, sanftes Singen
Nur ab und an zu vollerm Ton geschwellt.[38]

Franz Evers was, with Munch and Hartleben, a member of Dehmel's and Strindberg's circle in Berlin in the 1890s.[39] He published several volumes of verse from 1893 to 1901, of which the latest, Menschengesänge contains an Abendlied which opens:

Du ferne Flöte
hinter dem Hügel dort
wie sprichst du glühenden Klangs,
was mein Herz verschweigen muss,
wie bebst du zitternd dahin!
über die Schatten der Bäume
zum schwinden scheinen
und alles in Glanz getauchte
selige Sehnsucht wird
aus Menschenherz leise sich ringende
selige Lebensglut .....[40]

The Bursch's flute in Das Spielwerk and Elis' lute in Der Schatzgräber are also directly related to states of feeling. So, too, is the organ in Der singende Teufel, symbolically destroyed by fire watched by Lenzmar and others in 'grösster Aufregung, Gespanntheit, Faszination und Ergriffenheit':

'Die Flammen geschoben/wie von Geisterhand/teilen sich/
Rausch, Dampf zerstiebt/in Weissglut erstrahlend/glühend der
Orgel/silberne Pfeifen/sie tönen, klingen/wie Himmelsstimmen/
wie tausend Engel!/ Auf marmorstufen,/die ihr kennt sie hinaufführen/

38. Tanz und Nacht, G.D., IV, 1912, 19. Originally published by Bierbaum in Pan, 11, 1896. Of Max Bruns' Feuer; die Geschichte eines Verbrechens (1912) Soergel wrote 'Jedes Bild ist Sinnbild, das Wirkliche ist phantastisch, das Gemeine geheim'. (I, 781).

39. Carl L. Schleich, Besonnte Vergangenheit; Lebenserinnerungen. Rowohlt, Berlin, 1922, 224.

40. Menschengesänge, Verlag kreisende Ringe, Max Spohr, Leipzig, 1901, 105.

hinauf zur Empore/steht in zaubrischem Glanz/ unversehrt heil/ erblühend in Schönheit .....'[41]

J. V. von Scheffel's scholarly historical novel Ekkehard (1855, rev. 1886) arguably made the deepest impression on the composer of any book he ever read. Soon after Flammen, with its background of the crusades, his symphonic overture Ekkehard (for orchestra with organ) was performed in Vienna. Years later, the text of Der singende Teufel, with its numerous direct echoes of Scheffel's classic, showed that he had not forgotten it. The novel, based on the life of the 'schlichter, gerade, fromme'[42] young monk Ekkehard at the monastery of St. Gall in the tenth century (the time of Notker Balbulus) has a large apparatus criticus revealing the extent of Scheffel's conscientiously detailed researches. Not only were the Virgil scholar Ekkehard, author of Das Waltharilied, mirrored in Schreker's organ-building Amandus and the Waldfrau and Mithras cult in Alardis, but the whole grippingly effective 'Hunnenschlacht' (Ch. 14) gave Schreker the idea for the bloody conflict of 'Christenheit und Heidenschaft'[43] in Act 3 of the opera. This specific indebtedness apart, the detailed description of Frau Hadwig, Duchess of Swabia and her closet in the Burg Hohentwiel has many points in common with Els and Der Schatzgräber.[44] Indeed, the many references to monastic treasures and to Virgil's warning 'Auri sacra fames .....' may have had a formative effect on that work.[45] Praxedis' 'Mär vom König Rother' in Chapter 20 (Von deutscher Heldensage) is an important precedent for the technique used in Der ferne Klang and Der Schatzgräber of the illustrative and revelatory Märchen.[46]

As evidence that Schreker was familiar with the world of Stifter one may observe the striking parallels between the action of Irrelohe (see sopra) and Stifter's 1845 novelle Der Beschriebene Tännling,[47] with its emphasis on rural

41. V.S., UE 1928, 294-6.
42. Ekkehard, ed. F. Panzer. Leipzig, n.d., 91.
43. Ibid., 44.
44. Ibid., 29.
45. Ibid., 132 f.
46. Ibid., 350-8.
47. Studien, Bd. 6 (1850). Werke, III, 387-440.

locale, the poor but beautiful Hanna, her old mother and the rivalry of Hanns the lumberman and Guido the feudal prince for her hand. Something of Stifter's 'bäuerliche Volkstum' also enters Das Spielwerk, which may suggest quite early acquaintance with his work, at a time when Stifter was not nearly so widely known outside Austria as he later became.[48] Of the late 19th century Austrian regional writers, Schreker had undoubted affinities with some, though one can only guess that he had seen Anzengruber's famous play Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld (1870) or read Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach's fiction, including the two volumes of Dorf-und Schlossgeschichten (1883/6).[49] Both were current literature in pre-1914 Austria, and have a certain bearing on the atmosphere of Das Spielwerk, Der Schatzgräber and Irrelohe. He may also have known the work of Wilhelm Fischer (1846-1932) a local (Graz) poet and nature-mystic who, starting as a follower of Heyse and Storm strove 'Irdisches und Unterirdisches, Sichtbares und Unsichtbares in einem Mittelreiche des Sinnbild verweideten Märchenhaften harmonisch zu vereinigen'.[50] Internal evidence from the stories of Peter Rosegger, like Eleonore Schreker a native of Styria, suggests that the composer was acquainted with them. Rosegger's tales of peasant life in his native province, usually anti-urban in tone, offer a number of striking parallels to elements in Schreker's plots. The cruel Landesvogt in Ein Gerichtstag zu Alt-Abelsberg and the murder by Luzina of her old husband Höfelhans in Die Rede des Vertheidigers[51] contain reminders of Der Schatzgräber. Still more striking are the stories Herr Florin, the sad anecdote of the village barber whose son leaves home, in this case to study, and Ein moderner Hellespont in which the 40-year old painter Bruno Ysong and his wife Irma have their domestic peace interrupted by the arrival of a young 'fremde Bursch', Karl Crasti, a problem resolved only by Irma's departure to live with her parents owing to the tension created by Crasti's presence as a welcome guest.[52] The Bursch's arrival at the house of Meister

48. The earliest monographs on Stifter, by Gottschall (1907) and Bahr (1919) date from this period.
49. S.W., 6 vols., Paetel, Berlin, 1893, reissued 1920.
50. Soergel, I, 968.
51. Ausgewählte Schriften. Neue Erzählungen aus Dorf und Birg, aus Wald und Welt. A Hartleben, Wien, 1886, 102 f., 285 f.
52. Ibid., 45-69.

Florian in Das Spielwerk is a remarkable echo of this. Florian, and even later Schreker figures like the Vogt, Christobald or Smee owe something to this image of the emotional richness, even heroism of a small rural community, notwithstanding its lack of sophistication, found in Rosegger, sometimes on a larger scale than anecdote, as in the novel Jakob der Letzte, the story of Jakob Steinreuter, 'der letzte Bauer zu Altenmoos'.[53]

A composer's literary predilections might be expected to have light shed on them by his songs. In Schreker's case, as in Berg's, almost all the songs are in effect juvenilia, but, unlike Berg's, their poetic sources are decidedly limited in range. He began as a boy with Heyse, Storm and Jacobsen, but the poets quickly become very minor - Mia Holm (1845-1912) for instance, Rudolf Baumbach (1840-1905) and Vincenz Zusner (1803-74), not to mention his women friends Dora Leen and Edith Ronsperger. He did set verses by a rather greater figure, Ferdinand von Saar (1833-1906) who lived in Vienna, and to whom Schreker showed the incomplete score of Der ferne Klang in 1904/5.[54] More interesting are his single setting of a characteristically melancholic Lenau poem, the unpublished song Vergangenheit of 1906[55] and the 1915 setting of Das feurige Männlein by the Viennese Arbeiterdichter and consumptive Alfons Petzold (1882-1923), a local celebrity who won the Bauernfeld prize in 1914, and whose 1911 volume of verse is entitled Seltsame Musik. Like Lenau, and Schreker himself, Petzold had suffered grievously in material circumstances from his father's premature death. The 'feurige Männlein' is close to Schreker's Rafael Orfant of 1915, 'ein kleines verhüzeltes Männchen', and to the Hochzeitspieler Christobald of Irrelohe, 'ein altes Männlein, mit einer spitzen roten Feder am Hut, eine Geige unter dem Arm'. The much later Whitman settings, two songs from Leaves of Grass of 1924, entitled Vom ewigen Leben in their 1927 orchestral version, reflect Schreker's known liking for American literature, including Poe and his own contemporary Jack London.[56]

53. 'Eine Waldbauergeschichte aus unseren Tagen'. L. Staackmann, Leipzig, n.d. Rosegger's complete works were reissued in 1914-16 in 40 vols.
54. Kapp, BS, 1921.
55. S.W., I, Insel Verlag, 1910, 27.
56. Maria Schreker (v.).

Regarding Schreker's connection with Freud and Weininger, Verdi and Ibsen, Maeterlinck and Hauptmann, the evidence is more straightforward. In 1908-9, Schreker read some of Freud's still fairly new writings, including Traumdeutung (1900) and the Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens (1904) at a time when the master's reputation was already international. There is no doubt that Freud's views on dream psychology deeply affected him; 'der Traum ist die (verkleidete) Erfüllung eines (unterdrückten) Wunsches'.[57] The dream element of Das Spielwerk is a direct consequence of this study. If Schreker had seen Strindberg on the stage before 1909, its effect on him would have been separate from that of Freud. As Michael Meyer has shown, it is unlikely that Strindberg (d. 1912), far from being influenced by Freud's writings, even knew his name.[58] Much has been made of the earlier influence on Schreker of Otto Weininger (1880-1903), the young Viennese whose Geschlecht und Charakter: eine prinzipelle Untersuchung caused a minor sensation on its publication in 1903, soon after his suicide. Freud had read the work, and regarded Weininger as gifted, but totally unbalanced, a 'Neurotiker völlig unter der Herrschaft infantiler Komplexe'.[59] The Jewish question, and Weininger's absurd distortion of it, was the chief cause of the book's celebrity, though this aspect was directly linked with his attack, in this impassioned treatise on the ethical and moral nature of the female sex. In Weininger's view, man was related to woman as subject to object, while as a corollary, woman was dependent on sexual union as her sole real means of experience. For him, the abstract male was the image of God, while the female (and the feminine element in the male) was the symbol of nothing.[60] Though one can see connections between this view and the women of Schreker's operas,[61] they are, taken as a whole, much more interesting than a purely Weiningerian

57. S.E., V, (G.W. 11, 162)

58. Meyer, Ibsen, Hart-Davis, 1967, 187n.

59. S.E., X (1909) 36 n. (G.W., VII, 271).

60. Cf. G. Abrahamsen: The Mind and Death of a Genius, Columbia U.P., N.Y., 1946, esp. 115-118.

61. Schreker's widow referred to Weininger as, in her belief, an influence on Franz, while Weininger is briefly mentioned in Karl Heil's Auftakt obituary, 1934, 85.

interpretation of their actions would imply. A wide gulf lies between the pathological misogynist Weininger and the composer who in 1920 said:

'Was ist eine Frau? Etwas Undefinierbares, Wunderschönes, ein Märchengeschöpf, rätselhaft und unergründlich. Wenn wir versuchen, sie zu schildern, wie sie ist - glaubt man sie uns nicht'.[62] His view of woman is closer to that presented in the Jugendstil paintings of Gustave Klimt (1862-1918) whose years of greatest celebrity coincided with Schreker's youth and young manhood. Klimt's swirling forms, pointilliste technique and feeling for colour (especially in his post-1903 style) were associated with Schreker's music[63] though their connection with the Wiener Sezession did not coincide in time. The Stoclet frieze design Expectation (1905-7), the Beethoven frieze with its fresco of gold and silver paint and jewels, and the celebrated The Kiss (1907-8) can be related to Schreker's Prinzessin and Els. Klimt's subsequent biographer Emil Pirchan, designed the sets for the 1922 Berlin production of Der Schatzgräber. Care is needed, however, on this subject, since Schreker is said to have preferred the idiom of the Brücke painters to that of Jugendstil.[64] Another resemblance is to the language and attitude of Maeterlinck in Le Trésor des Humbles (1896), described by Rémy de Gourmont as 'un livre d'amour et de libération', which appeared in Germany in 1898 as Der Schatz der Armen, through the assiduous efforts of Maeterlinck's translator and publicist Oppeln-Bronikowski.[65] Allowing for the eclecticism of the ideas and disguised autobiographical content of the work,[66] the mystical flavour of Le Trésor des Humbles, the obsession with predestination, the exaltation of silence as the language of eternity, spiritual communion,

62. Betrachtungen, BS, Jan. 1921, 2. There is an echo here of Baudelaire's famous 'quelque chose d'ardent et de triste, quelque chose d'un peu vague, laissant carrière à la conjecture'. O.C., III, 102 f. Qu. E. von Sydow, op. cit., 85.

63. Wellesz: DNI, II, 88.

64. DH, 215.

65. Translator of many other Symbolist works, including Rodenbach's Bruges-la-morte, which as Die tote Stadt, appeared in Reclam's Universalbibliothek.

66. His brother Oscar's accidental death, and his liaison with Georgette Leblanc.

'the private language of beauty',[67] and the power of all men to 'fashion a great moral personality after a divine model' guaranteed its appeal to the generation of 1900. The tone of voice is far removed from the hysterically disturbed world of Weininger:

'Approchons-nous avec respect des plus petites et des plus fières, de celles qui sont distraites et de celles qui songent, de celles qui rient encore et de celles qui pleurent: car elles savent des choses que nous ne savons pas, et elles out une lampe que nous avons perdue. Elles habitent au pied même de l'Inevitable et en connaissent mieux que nous les chemins.'[68]

Predestined love, superiority of 'intuition' over 'intélligence', communication through silence, woman as possessor of 'le sens mystique' are Maeterlinck's themes here, as in his dramas up to this time. When, in 1899, he wrote Ariane et barbe-bleue, the spirit of Le Trésor and the personality of Georgette Leblanc were omnipresent. In it, the problems of love and death are treated in a medieval 'märchenhaft' setting which, even before Pelléas et Melisande had featured in his first play, La Princesse Maleine of 1890, and, through Dukas' opera (1907) formed the setting of Das Spielwerk. It should be noted here that this work, begun as a result of the Wilde pantomime's success in 1908, was linked by both Kapp[69] and Bekker[70] to Hauptmann's play Und Pippa tanzt, the celebrated Glashüttenmärchen first seen in 1905. Though Schreker never confirmed this publicly, he did not deny it either, and it is true to say that despite the differences between the young girl Pippa and Schreker's Princess, for all their mutual enigmatic mystery and yearning, there is a marked similarity between the ocarina-playing 'reisender Handwerksbursche' Michel Hellriegel and Schreker's unnamed flute-

67. Ch. 9.

68. ed. Mercure de France, Paris, 1931, 86. (Sur les femmes) As Marcel Postic has observed, despite imprecise argument and musical, 'aerated' language, Maeterlinck is concerned to relate his remarks to everyday life. 'Le style de l'ouvrage contribue beaucoup à susciter le trouble chez le lecteur et à l'acheminer vers le mystère'. Maeterlinck et le symbolisme. A. Nizet, Paris, 1970, 201.

69. Op. cit., 70.

70. BZM, 73.

playing 'wandernde Bursch'. One might even argue that Meister Florian is a conflation of Hauptmann's Wann and old Huhn, the retired glassblower, while admitting that the Silesian background of Und Pippa tanzt and in particular the extensive use of dialect speech (for all that both Schoenberg and Berg[71] were attracted to the play as potential operatic material) would have caused severe problems for a music-dramatist. Das Spielwerk, for all its use of vernacular speech, is as thoroughly Austrian - Rosegger has already been mentioned - as Hauptmann's play is Silesian.

It was, curiously, Maeterlinck who in Le Trésor des Humbles referred to Hilda and Solness in Ibsen's Master-Builder as 'les premiers héros qui se sentent vivre un instant dans l'atmosphère de l'âme, et cette vie essentielle qu'ils ont découverte en eux, par delà leur vie extraordinaire'. There were in this 'somnambulist play', he thought, 'je ne sais quelles puissances nouvelles'.[72] Die tönenden Sphären, the text written by Schreker in 1915 and set in Venice in 1914 and 1916, reveals directly that he had read The Master Builder. Halvard Solness became Rolf Magnus, Aline is also the name of Solness's 'thin, worn, mournful wife' in Ibsen,[73] while Magnus's daughter Hilde (the equivalent of Kaja, Solness's young niece) takes the name of Ibsen's centrally important Hilde Wangel. Naturally, one cannot begin to compare the two as literature, but the role of Rolf as artist, his desperate Fritz-like searching after sounds ('Er sammelt Klänge') his alienation from his family, the silent strength and loyalty of Aline, their eventual, emotional reconciliation, and Rolf's tranquil death are, as it were, Der ferne Klang seen through the prism of one of Ibsen's major plays.

Finally, since the Austro-Mediterranean Schreker was an opera composer, not a man of letters, it is no surprise to observe Verdi as one of the powerful unspoken - even unadmitted - influences on his work. All his creative life, Schreker was accused of 'Italianising', but this was usually

71. Rufer Cat. 113.

72. Ch. 9,'Le tragique quotidien', 180.

73. Una Ellis-Fermor, tr., The Master Builder and other plays. Penguin, 1958, 131.

with reference to certain Puccinian features of musical style, especially in the vocal line. His supporters emphasised this very personal penchant for the Mediterranean atmosphere. Otto Schneider saw him as 'ein Seefahrer im Renaissancekostüm' who 'startet im Hafen Venedigs und landet, selber erstaunt, am Ufer der Donau', while Paul Stefan went further in singling out his early childhood on the move: 'Vier Jahre blieb die Familie damals (1878-82) an der tiefblauen Küste: wie in sein Kinderland, sinkt Schreker wieder und wieder in den heissen Süden'.[74] Yet only Rudolf Hoffmann thought the ghostly presence of Verdi in Schreker's works down to 1921 worth mentioning.[75] It is certainly noticeable that Alviano bears some resemblance to Rigoletto, symbolised in the cap and bells, while Tamare is a transposed version of the Don Juan-esque Duke of Mantua. Equally, the two texts of 1919 bear marked Verdian imprints. Irrelohe may be seen as a rather tidier, personalised version of Il Trovatore, with Lola, Peter, Heinrich and Eva the equivalents of Azucena, di Luna, Manrico and Leonora. The Memnon text has too many obvious similarities with Aïda for it ever to have had a real prospect of success. Its substance was widely circulated soon after Schreker arrived in Berlin[76] and it must have been noticed then that the warrior Memnon is a neurotic version of Radames, Agra is noticeably like Aida herself, Amenophis, carver of the 'Memnonkoloss' which eventually collapses and kills both Agra and Memnon, is Amonasro.[77] Verdi's Amneris is eliminated, replaced by the hypnotic Indian temptress Fürstin Balkis, while Memnon's aide-de-campe Athor and rival Kegho are additions. Derivative though they may be, it is worth stressing that the 'Verdi' texts of Schreker emerge as something quite idiomatic in their own right, if imaginatively uneven. Furthermore they produced some of his finest music, not only in Die Gezeichneten but in Irrelohe too, and in the long

74. Anb., 1920, 1-2; 8-10.

75. Loc. cit., 162.

76. BS, Jan 1921. Kapp's monograph contained an amplified summary (98-105).

77. Princess Marie v. Thurn und Taxis related how Rilke showed her the bust of Amenophis in the Berlin Egyptian Museum in August, 1913. Memoirs of a Princess, tr. N. Wydenbruck. Hogarth Pr., 1959, 190.

Vorspiel to Memnon, his last extended composition, completed in September 1933. This remarkable piece, one of his most elaborate contrapuntal conceptions, even longer than the Gezeichneten Vorspiel, was his first attempt to suggest a non-western locale, combined with the mythical origin and heroic stature of Memnon himself. In style and instrumentation it is inevitably close to the dense textures of Der Schmied von Gent. Its chief quality is a solemn, brooding majesty, the tempo Andante throughout, and the chief tonal feature the C major/minor - B minor phrygian relationship.[78]

III

Just as Maeterlinck had taken the substance of La Princesse Maleine from Grimm and invested it with the atmosphere of Shakespeare, so Schreker's Der Spielwerk und die Prinzessin,[79] his first attempt at a piece in the Zauberoper tradition, was inspired by Maeterlinck and Dukas, possibly by Und Pippa tanzt! and by certain archetypal Märchen memories, catalysed by a characteristic synaesthetic experience of which more will be said. Despite the success of Der ferne Klang in Germany, many of his Viennese associates were worried, even shocked, by its stark realism, especially that of Act 2. Yet it is essential to an understanding of his work as a whole to see the Märchen aspect of Der ferne Klang, for all its harsh verismo, as an indispensable part of the work's total flavour - and thus the key to Schreker's later operas. Even the earlier one-act Flammen, with its returning crusader, unfaithful, remorseful wife, wandering singer and devoted nurse, has in it the seeds of what was to follow. The garden scene in Flammen, for instance, is an embryo of the nocturnal woodland in Act 1 of Der ferne Klang, where Grete, in flight from her narrow, unsympathetic family, falls asleep, soon to be discovered by the 'alte Kupplerin' and taken off to the Venetian bordello. Indeed the richness and harmonic beauty of this section underlies its dramatic significance, and seems to stress Der ferne Klang's roots in the literature

78. Unpub. 1st perf. Baden-Baden, May 1958, under Rosband.
79. Referred to hereafter as Das Spielwerk for the sake of brevity, though it did not receive this title (and the description 'Mysterium') until the 1915 revision.

of early German Romanticism. If the allusion to Gretel and the witch was accidental (pace the Grimms) the opera makes a feature of those sudden changes of landscape for which Tieck had such a predilection, as in the story Der Runenberg. In this scene of Schreker's opera, Tieck's 'Waldeinsamkeit' is abundantly displayed, associated with the intoxication of landscape, as well as its potential to induce a false sense of security. As Grete looks across the lake (Ex. 167) she is tempted to hurl herself in, but is stopped by the moon's sudden illumination of the scene.[80] The lake glistens, glowworms gleam, a nightingale sings, deer move towards the water (Ex. 168). The words 'Nächtlicher Waldzauber' and the key of C sharp major sum up Grete's enchantment. 'Die Natur atmet Liebe und Verheissung'. 'Wie seltsam!' she cries, 'ein Märchen!' The appearance of the old Küpplerin is a reminder that Hoffmann's story Der goldene Topf (1813/14) features a little applewoman of the same type, in a narrative consciously based on Die Zauberflöte. Furthermore, Marianne Thalmann's comments on the heroes of Tieck and Hoffmann - their rejection of conformity, domestic banality, and the complacency of village life - bear directly on their descendent Fritz.[81] The student Anselmus in Der goldene Topf is, like Fritz, 'nicht nur ein Träumer, sondern schon ein beschädigter Mensch mit schizophrenen Zügen der in Halluzinationen lebt, Bewusstseinspaltungen kennt und in seiner bürgerlichen Umgebung grotesk wirkt'.[82]

The peculiar triumph of Der ferne Klang is its fusion of the verismo dimension at every point with a near Pirandellian (or at least Hoffmannesque) feeling for the märchenhaft, fantastic aspect of each situation. Hofmannsthal's Vittoria in 1899 spoke of two streams, the golden one 'der des Vergessen', the silver 'der seligen Erinnerung'.[83] 'Erinnerung' is here the overwhelming theme, the persistent force of memory; Grete, Fritz, Dr. Vigelius,

80. The full score at this point instructs: 'Die Harfe muss deutlich gehört worden'.

81. Loc. cit., Chs. 3 and 5, passion.

82. Hoffmann, P. W., 1; Thalmann, op. cit., 86.

83. Die Abenteuer und die Sängerin, Dramen, I, 209.

the guests at the Casa di Maschera, everyone, indeed seems poised as though forever looking back rather than forward. None of the characters seems to possess a real future, neither the protagonists, nor the well-meaning Vigelius, nor the Graf, whose adventure with Grete is, inevitably, short-lived. Yet in every case, the past is also a burden of some kind, an oppressive shadow to which they succumb or from which they strive vainly to escape.

Act 2, set in the Casa di Maschera in the Venetian lagoon, is structured around two songs, of which the first, the ballad Die glühende Krone is a short parable of the opera itself.[84] The King's crown glows in proportion to the state of his emotions. When, at last, he falls passionately in love, the agony caused by the crown is so great that he tears it from his head and casts it into the sea. Only then does he find that, as a water-sprite, it has become his loved one, who cries longingly and hopelessly from the waves. This is immediately followed by the shorter, chorus-punctuated song 'Das Blumenmädehen von Sorrent', the deliberate scurrility of which emphasises the real situation in which Grete currently lives. Not for the last time, Schreker thus introduces a Märchen-style anecdote into the texture of a work in an outwardly selfconscious, yet artistically successful way, so as to suggest a double awareness of events by the characters themselves. This is a simultaneous perception of the narrative's 'rational' progress alongside its 'irrational' dependence on earlier events of which they can know nothing. Fritz's ghostlike arrival by boat and anguished departure ('Glühende Märchen will ich dir flüstern' cries Grete whorishly after the bearded stranger, whom she alone, had identified) only emphasises this trance-like quality. It is this which distinguishes the Venice act from Act 2 of La Bohème, to which it bears superficial resemblances.

Act 3 increases the 'trance' still further. Following the rapid succession of eight scenes connected with the (offstage) performance of Fritz's opera and the reappearance of the Schauspieler and Dr. Vigelius from Act 1,

84. As Neuwirth has shown, the E flat minor structure of the ballad relates directly to the harmonic pattern of the work's opening. Cf. DH, 93 f.

the meaningless prattle and greed of the actors and guests (symbolising the outer world, society at large, or the cynically acquisitive metropolis, in this case Vienna) lead very gradually into the Nachtstück. This orchestral core of the work, occupying a place akin to the Prologue of Act IV, Scene 3 in Pelléas et Mélisande, most probably unknown to Schreker in 1905.

In Exx. 169 and 170, Schreker's two most frequent devices for expressing states of emotional tension or rêverie are seen to be the pedal point, and the melodic appoggiatura (frequently allied to a dactylic rhythm) with a reiterated harmonic pattern, in this case the inverted added sixth. Ex. 169's opening viola melody is the 'Sehnsucht' motif, and combines with the added sixth inversion (clarinet, bass clarinet and horn) to suggest a state of flux which strives to avoid a definite tonality (here C sharp minor, closely related to the key of Ex. 168) or to arrive at a real cadence. In Ex. 170's progression, the melodic figure pivots around G sharp, and though resolution of the appoggiatura on to F sharp as the mediant of D is suggested, what actually happens is that G sharp becomes the pedal point over which woodwind and trumpet harmonies and violin counterpoint progress to a cadence on C sharp major which remains over its dominant.

The dactylic figure can be found in later works, such as Die Gezeichneten (cf. Exx. 44 and 52), Der Schatzgräber (Exx. 195 and 213) and Der Schmied von Gent (Exx. 228 and 230). It is also evident in Das Spielwerk. Old Liese's sorrowful reflection at the close of Act 1, for instance, is shown in Ex. 171 as a repeated ninth chord over first a G, then a B flat dominant pedal; here the impending resolution into a region of E flat is avoided, and a dominant ninth chord of D reached instead. This section of Act 1, like its first appearance in F sharp in the original Vorspiel, was deleted in Schreker's revision.

Der ferne Klang, set in a dour, pitiless contemporary world, yet saturated with the atmosphere of dream, was avowedly autobiographical. Das Spielwerk and Der Schatzgräber, respectively his favourite and commercially most successful works, took this mixture of 'Traum' and 'Wirklichkeit' a stage further. For the first time,, Schreker used the Märchen-derived supernatural

element which had been just below the surface in Der ferne Klang. Both works stemmed initially from intense visual experiences; both were set in the medieval German Märchenlandschaft setting appropriate to their action; in both, the language is a mixture of archaic and modern, the characters not simply Grimm or Perrault figures, but individuals reflecting modern predicaments through the prism of Märchen typology. To this extent, Schreker is an heir of the early 19th century Kunstmärchen exponents, with their elaborate feeling for the passage of time, and preoccupation with the emotional significance of landscape and setting. Certain Jugendstil theorists had made much of art, especially theatrical art, as a 'Kunst der Weltanschauung' a positive 'Befriedigung unsrer Übersinnlichkeit', in which style might become 'das Symbol des Gesamtempfindens, der ganzen Lebensauffassung einer Zeit'.[85] Both Behrens and Endell insisted that art should reflect the present, while agreeing that 'das Ziel aller Kunst ist Schönheit'.[86] Schreker would have echoed Endell's view that 'Schönheit ist nicht anderes, als die starke berauschende Freude, die Töne, Worte, Formen und Farben in uns unmittelbar erzeugen'.[87] He could never, however, have agreed with Endell's condemnation of the impulse towards the mythic past:

Eine wunderreiche herrliche Welt, dicht vor uns, so köstlich, so bunt und so mannigfältig, dass wir es gar nicht nötig haben, uns Märchenwelten zu erträumen; das Hesste, die Gegenwart, die Wirklichkeit das Phantastische, Unglaublichste, das es gibt ..... Wir brauchen keine zweiten Welt über den Wolken oder in der Vergangenheit ....'[88]

It is possible to isolate character-elements in Schreker's operas according to a typology at once modern and märchenhaft: (a) the unhappy, questing woman (b) the artist figure (c) the figure(s) representing moral authority (d) the 'hate' figure or grotesque and (e) the crowd. Table 3 (omitting Der Rote Tod

85. Peter Behrens: Feste des Lebens und der Kunst, Darmstadt, 1900. Selig, 424.
86. August Endell: Vom Sehen. Die Neue Gesellschaft, 1905. Selig, 420.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.

and the Wilde pantomime) sets these out, revealing the exceptions.

TABLE 3

Work	Unhappy woman	Artist figure	Moral authority figure	'Hate' figure or grotesque	Crowd
Flammen	Irmgaard	Duke		-	-
Ferne Klang	Grete	Fritz	-	? Graumann family	Inmates of the Casa di maschera
Spielwerk	Prinzessin	Bursch	89	Wolf	Villagers
Gezeichneten	90	Carlotta Nardi	Adorno and the Podestà	-	Nobility and citizens of Vienna
Tönenden Sphären	Aline	Rolf Magnus	Aline (again)	Raffael Orfant	-
Schatzgräber	Els	Elis	King/Narr	Alba	Townspeople, monks
Memnon	Agra	Memnon	Amenophis	-	Soldiers
Irrelohe	Lola, Eva	? Heinrich		Christobald and friends	Villagers
Christophorus	Lisa	Christoph	Meister Johann	(?) Anselm	-
Singende Teufel	Lilian	Amandus	Pater Kaleidos	Frass, Pilger	Monks, supporters of Alardis
Schmied von Gent	(?) Smees Frau[91]	(?) Smee	Peter; Joseph and Maria	Slimbroek, Hessels, Alba	Citizens of Gent, Gesellen

The dedicatee of Das Spielwerk was Alma Mahler, though it would be idle to use their friendship as a basis for connecting her with the Prinzessin. A newspaper article read one summer evening was as far as Schreker ever went

89. There is no 'moral authority' figure in Das Spielwerk, though both the dead son and Florian have some claims to the role.

90. Die Gezeichneten is the main exception to the pattern. Alviano, though ugly, is clearly more than a 'grotesque', while Carlotta is perhaps the most contented and rounded of all Schreker's women characters, despite her doomed consumptiveness.

91. Der Schmied v. Gent, again steps outside the pattern. Smee's wife is not 'unhappy', nor is Smee the artist figure in the same 'heroic' sense as Fritz, the Bursch or Elis.

in accounting for the work's origin.[92] Three images merged into one. The first was that of the old, travelled violin virtuoso playing before a gathering in his homeland village, followed by the 'outlines of a castle in the glowing red of evening', into whose gateway the old artist (now youthful) walked, as bells rang over Vienna 'seltsamerweise'. The third image occurred as he was completing the text on the evening of a Viennese festival, with bands, a procession, crowded streets and, again, the ringing of bells. This 'festival' is actually foreshadowed on the Princess's first appearance, as she 'sweetly and in a rather tired manner' declares 'Ich will heut' abend viel Lichter sehn/das schloss soll festlich/erleuchtet sein!/ Wählt von meinen Pagen/die schwarzgelockten,/sie sollen auf ihren/ dunklen Häuptern/ Kränze tragen/aus roten Rosen'. Thus the visual aspect is strongly evoked, only to be set at once against the aural aspect: 'Lasst Spielleute kommen/ mit Flöten und Geigen/Sie sollen auch goldene/Harfen haben;/ und sagt den Türmen:/im allen Kirchen/müssen heut' abend/die Glocken läuten'.[93]

A parallel ricordanza among the villagers occurs later, as they recall the time, seven years earlier, when the princess was deeply in love with Florian's long-departed and now dead son. This was 'ein Taumel, ein glühender Rausch' of springtime (Johannis-nacht) when glow-worms flew, birds sang all night, a breeze passed sultrily through the trees, jasmines danced with butterflies, the air was heavy and golden-tinged, and 'die Menschen atmeten tief/sich berauschend/wundersüss duftenden Blütenstaub'.[94] Thus the romantic evocation of nature which figured so strongly in Acts 1 and 3 of Der ferne Klang (and still earlier in the garden scene of Flammen) is central to the total mood of Das Spielwerk.

The opera was, however, thought of as a Märchen from the outset, as is underlined by factors other than the central role of the 'unerfüllter Sehnsucht erregten Figur'[95] of the princess.[96] In addition to the Raimundian

92. (loc. cit.) Anb. 1920, 548.
93. Textbuch, 15.
94. Textbuch, 35.
95. Hoffmann, loc. cit., 116.
96. HSB, 38.

and Roseggerian elements mentioned earlier, numerous folktale motifs appear by implication. These include the princess in love with a lowly boy (Florian's son),[97] the princess who has never laughed,[98] the hero with his magic flute[99] who alone can make the princess speak (i.e. feel again).[100] In the Bursch's dream of the naked princess who turns into 'ein altes, uraltes Weiblein'[101] there is even an echo of TMI K. 443.6 - the sight of a naked princess as the price of marriage.

The most probable single source of Das Spielwerk appears to be Das beherzte Flötenspieler, a Franconian story from Bechstein's Deutsches Märchenbuch.[102] Though never mentioned by Schreker, it offers astonishingly close parallels to his narrative, although, like the motifs referred to above, they may well have been subconscious. In Bechstein's Märchen, a travelling flute-player lodges in a farmhouse close to a ruined castle. This is the first element, though the second - discovery of the late count's hidden treasure and the disappearance of previous searchers - is not present. The main feature of the courageous flute-player's experiences in the castle, apart from his successful division of the discovered treasure into two equal halves, is the opening of a door, through which appear two tall men in black, carrying a bier. The coffin on this contains a little old man, who guides the fluteplayer to the treasure in the dungeon, declaring that he can now die in peace. Transposed into the dead son of Meister Florian, this may well have given Schreker the idea for the work's original opening, the lugubrious funeral march of Ex. 172, a scene he subsequently deleted. In Bechstein's story, the farmer hears the fluteplayer's melody after the discovery of the treasure-hoard, and, emboldened, goes to the castle. The fluteplayer eventually builds a new castle over the ruins of the old, and lives there. If

97. TMI: T 55.1 and T 91.4.
98. AT 559.1 and 571.3.
99. AT 594.
100. AT 945.
101. Textbuch, 24-5. Printed in 1912 vocal score, 74: omitted in performances.
102. George Wigand, Leipzig, 1846, 126-9.

the 'treasure' motif is replace by the tormented princess, also sought by the wandering Bursch and 'delivered' by him, the main elements can be seen to bear very closely on Das beherzte Flötenspieler.

The pantheistic tone of Schreker's short introductory note to the Textbuch derives from his association of the fantasy - instrument he called the 'Spielwerk' (entirely imaginary, deriving its sound from a combination of flute, harmonium, celeste, glockenspiel and harps) with ethical qualities. Thus the unhappy longing of the princess, directly linked to the silence of the 'Spielwerk' and concentrated neurasthenically on Florian's dead son, is not simply sexual in the limited sense, though 'Sinnlichkeit' and 'verderbliche Brunst' played their part in her condition of morbid anxiety.[103] This 'Trieb' is, in Schreker's words 'der Ursprung .... von allen Guten und Bösen, von Seligkeit und Enttäuschung, Glück und Elend, Leben und Tod; das Göttliche und das Teuflische'. Hence the 'Spielwerk', the work of Florian and his former assistant, Wolf, is the symbol of spiritual and moral striving, was 'geschaffen allein Erhab'nes zu künden'. Wolf, a 'Sinnbild der rohen, erdhaften, tierischen Kraft' also desires the princess. 'Warum bist Du/so teuflisch schön?' he cries, 'Du tötest die Freude'.[104] In the 1912 version, he is persuaded to destroy the 'Spielwerk' by the princess's promise of love. Against this, the Bursch is inspired by 'herrlichtörichten Idealen der Jugend' and 'gestählt von den Willen und der Kraft zu erlösender Tat, geweiht durch eine grosse verstehende Liebe.' The simple moral contrast here is just what one expects to find in a Märchen.

The 1915 revision (published as the 'Munich' version in 1920) merged the Vorspiel and two acts of 1912 into a one-act structure of which Scenes VII and XVIII were newly composed, and scene XVII substantially altered.

103. Cf. Freud's 1894 paper on the clinical sympomatology of anxiety-neurosis, stressing general irritability, anxious expectation, hypochondria, pangs of conscience and anxiety attack; these seem to account closely for the Princess's state. Coll. Papers, I, Hogarth Pr., 1949, 78f. 'Anxiety-neurosis', he claimed in 1895, 'is produced by anything which withholds somatic sexual tension from the psychical and interferes with its elaboration in the psychical field'. Ibid., 108.

104. Textbuch, 21-2. Became part of Sc. VI in 1915 version.

Scene VII, a dialogue between Liese and the princess, replaced the original close of Act 1 (figs. 84 to 97/7) which consisted of an anguished monologue by Liese. In the original score, the princess and Bursch disappear into the castle before Florian's address to the villagers and the burning of his cottage. The new scene XVII provides new music, and retimes the entry to coincide with the son's spectral reappearance, raised on his bier, playing the violin. Scene XVIII acknowledges the weakness of the original close, which largely comprised the sound of burning, the pealing of bells in the village, and the praying of the crowd. The new Scene XVIII begins with Wolf's cry: 'Wo ist die Prinzessin?/ He, her zu mir!/ Der Freier ist da -/ die Brautfackel lohnt'[105] and continues with a new section, Lisa's triumphant reply: 'Da kamst du zu spät/Du grimmiges Tier/Die freist du nicht mehr,/Sie entfloh deiner Gier'.[106] Attention is concentrated on the son, and as the villagers pray, Liese's lullaby finally brings stillness to the figure on the bier.

In place of the mysterious funeral Vorspiel, in which attention was concentrated on the dead son, Schreker decided to begin with the introduction to the original Act 2, the Bursch's dream. This equally mysterious passage (Ex. 173) with its delicate mixture of F and D[107] and its continuation (Ex. 174) has the merit, dramatically speaking, of focussing on the Bursch at the outset, and of referring to the Princess through her lyrical motif (Ex. 175). It must, however, be said that the musical merits of the first version are considerable, since motifs related to Liese and the dead son appear whose emotional significance is unclear in the second version. On the other hand, the work's close is much clearer dramatically, and its shimmering D major is felt to relate to the Bursch's dream music of the opening. In the 1912 score, the son and his parents dominate the beginning, while the burning of the cottage, the overwhelming of Wolf, and the entry of Bursch and princess into the castle dominate the close. In the 1915 version, the

105. Textbuch, 44.
106. 1920 V.S., fig. 234.
107. Cp. the mixture of D and B flat minor opening Die Gezeichneten (Ex. 42).

entry into the castle has taken place, the burning of the cottage is forestalled, and the 'Spielwerk' survives. Florian, Wolf and the villagers are spectators of what is a private exchange of tenderness between Liese and her son.

The original setting - early morning, before Florian's ancient, gloomy cottage on the edge of a medieval town, with a distant view of the castle - was brief, and the 'Munich' version incorporated Alfred Roller's suggestions. His main improvement was a huge background rockface, the castle still visible in the distance, with a pathway from it crossing the stage, and a 'natural viaduct' leading to the town. Florian's cottage, to the left, was again old and decayed, overgrown with moss, surrounded by shrubs, berries and rosebushes. This setting is seen against the original opening of Act 1 (Ex. 176) whose sombre, unresolved tension contrasts deliberately with the 'Spielwerk' music. This (Ex. 177) is heard on the Bursch's entrance, as a response to his flute-playing, and is described in the score as 'ein seltsames Klingen, wie Geigen, Flöten und kleine Glöckchen: das ganze durchtrankt von einer übermütigen göttlichen Heiterkeit'.

As the narrative advances, the Castellan reveals that the Bursch has aroused the 'Spielwerk' from silence like none before him; Florian discloses his position as 'Hexenmeister' for the villagers, his estrangement from Liese, the continued absence of his son, and the tormented state of the princess. When, finally, she arrives, Florian hauls the Bursch into the hut, and she does not see him. Ex. 178, extensively used later, expresses her uneasily regretful longing, her desperate memory of the son: 'Nur einer was schön/und herrlich und hold/mit Augen die wie/der Frühling lachten'. '.....der Tod allein ist Erfüllung' she cries to her maids and the Kastellan. It is appropriate to her mood, and the Märchen flavour of the story that her first dialogue should be with the malignant Wolf, with his dry, jagged motif (Ex. 179), 'ein verwahrlost aussehender Mann mit brutalen Gesichtszügen'. The mood of bitterness pervades the entire original first act, since Wolf's dark, scarcely articulated destructive plans are followed by Liese's

revelation of her son's death:

Komme schöne Prinzessin,
er harrt, Dein Liebster!
Auf einem Lager entblätterter Rosen
ruht er und starrt mit geisternden Augen
gläsern und starr in den Himmel hinein.

In the revised version, she refers to him as the Spielmann; begging the princess to take him up to the castle with her, she only gradually reveals that he is, in fact, dead. At this point, her fiercely maternal feelings come to the fore: 'Ich schirme meine Junges! ..... dann werf' ich den Brand riesenhaft in die Welt, und räche mein Kind!'

Even at the opening of the original second act, when the Bursch's flute sets the 'Spielwerk' in motion again (extensive use of Ex. 175) the princess's first encounter with him is curiously offhand. She is 'verstört, gehetzt', in a state of collapsed depression and guilt (Ex. 180) over the son's death. Quickly, however, she sees the Bursch as a way of escape ('Wir müssen steinige Strassen nicht wandeln,/wir wollen nur blumige Wege geh'n') only to find that the Bursch, though sympathetic, is quizzical of her intense, demanding manner. A reference to the son's theme, the first since the Bursch's arrival, is a reminder that Schreker's original introduction presented the theme in its fullest form (quoted in Ex. 181) and that the 1915 Schlussgesang (Ex. 193) is a meditation on that idea. It is in the scene which follows (Sc. X in the revised version) of the four men carrying the bier that Ex. 181 is developed most fully, together with its little coda figure (Ex. 182) also found in the original Vorspiel.

Florian's emotional confused reaction to the son's arrival is overtaken by the uplifting of the bier. As the trombones sombrely announce Ex. 183, the scene is filled with heavy clouds, churchbells begin to toll, and the 'Spielwerk' begins to sound 'in einem schauerlichen, chaotischen Summen'. From this point on, the tragic gloom appears to lift, the Märchen to take on a different, more communal aspect. As the castle suddenly lights up, a procession of pages, richly costumed, with caps of red roses and torches,

appears from the castle door (Ex. 184). The appearance of spring flowers is associated with their plucking and fading (the broken D minor motif of Ex. 185) and followed at once by the floating D major theme of the young women.[108] It perfectly illustrates what a later critic, speaking of French Symbolist artists and writers, described as their tendency to depict 'les ailes du songe, étendre le champ de la beauté, et, de ce fait même, les possibilités de déchiffrement de l'univers infini'.[109]

'Hastet die Zeit, wir bannen die Freude, sacht, o sacht, wir wollen nicht eilen!' creates a deliberate contrast with the brutal voices of the drunkards' chorus, then the chorus of villagers recalling the ecstatic Johannisnacht seven years before, as urged on to destruction by Wolf, they respond to Liese's rallying cry 'Tod der Prinzessin'. Liese enters in disarray leading a crowd of village women; in the midst of the procession from the castle, the Princess stands 'in einem wundervollen Kostüm aus irisierenden Schleiern.' This whole passage calls to mind the crowd sequence in the third act of Ariane et Barbe-bleue, full of 'rumeurs, cris, tumulte, bruit d'armes en dehors, dans le lointain', while peasants, their clothes disordered, enter the castle carrying the wounded Barbe-bleue, only for him to be surrounded with unfeigned concern by the five 'filles d'Orlamonde'. Urged on by Liese (the music makes extensive use of the 'unease' figure, Ex. 178), the crowd storms the height and threatens the princess, at which point the Bursch interposes himself 'furchtbar erregt, jedoch in einer Art verzweifelten Humors'. Typically, he mixes the colloquial ('He doch! Was ist das für'n grobe Manier! Geht's hier zum Schloss?') with the grave announcement of his Tamino-like eastern origins (Ex. 187), E flat heroism mixed with the love-motif of Ex. 175. Again, like Tamino, he promises to play the crowd 'ein seltsames Lied' (Ex. 188) which, as the orchestral strings and harps fade away (Ex. 189) once again prompts the 'Spielwerk' into sound. The rhythmic contour of this chromatic melody is taken over in the Ländler which follows (Ex. 190)

108. The accompaniment here is of cl., bass cl., bassoon, vla, vc. and CB.
109. John Charpentier: Le Symbolisme. Les Arts et le Livre, Paris, 1927, 81.

as the villagers pair off and soon 'dreht sich alles in seligem Reigen'. The rescue thus complete, the princess embraces the Bursch 'mit wilder Gebärde', and they slowly walk up towards the castle.

Much has already been said about the alterations made to the opera's conclusion. Just as the Princess was deleted from the revised title, so the whole stress of the new conclusion was away from the now united couple and towards the dead son. The work in its one-act form can thus be said to run from the Bursch's dream, realised ultimately in life, to the son's, realised posthumously, and sealed by his mother's lullaby. An example from the scores at once reveals the changed emphasis. In the 1912 version, Florian's indication of his son playing the violin is couched in rapid recitative scarcely audible against the Princess's love-motif (Ex. 191). The new setting created a greater sense of space and a more unearthly mood. Abandoning Ex. 175 for the 'seltsames Lied' of Ex. 189 as an introductory motif, Schreker continued with a remarkable chromatic passage built around a minor-key version of the son's motif (Ex. 181) and making special use of muted violins, harps, tam-tam, and interjected chords from the celeste, these last creating a near-polytonal feeling. The whole links satisfactorily with Liese's lullaby 'Schlaf ein, mein Junge', which, more than anything in the score, has a Mahlerian autumnal quality about it, echoing in spirit Baudelaire's appropriate lines

> Le violon frémit comme un coeur qu'on afflige
> un coeur tendre, qui hait le néant vaste et noir.[110]

Ex. 193 gives the first 22 bars of this restrained, intense, instrumentally transparent and metrically unexpected piece. Looking back as it does to Grete's scene in the wood (cf. Ex. 168), it also anticipates such later scenes as the self-communing rêveries of Els and old Lola.

The Viennese audience which saw Hans Gregor's production of Das Spielwerk reacted unfavourably, though that in Frankfurt passed without incident. Hoffmann preferred the revised ending[111] first staged at Munich in 1920 in a

110. 'Harmonie du soir', Les fleurs du mal, XLVII (1857)
111. Loc. cit., 120-1. He had heard it in a concert performance only.

performance under Bruno Walter, dedicatee of Der ferne Klang. The last performance, at Mainz in 1929, brought renewed recognition of its Märchen qualities; ill-defined though these were on the surface, the young Hans Redlich saw the 'mythical' 'Spielwerk' as 'ein organisches, polar gegliedertes Weltgefüge', and the total effect of the characters' 'metaphorical' qualities as producing a 'rein geistige Gesetzlichkeit'.[112] However, the work's descendant, Der Schatzgräber was from the start seen as the culmination of the composer's development, a 'herrlichste Erfüllung'[113] in which 'Erfindungs- und Gestaltungsvermögen auf seither unerreichter Höhe zeigt'.[114] At the same its Märchen foundation was not lost on observers. Bekker remarked that 'aus Musik steigt ein Märchentraum auf und löst sich wieder zurück in Musik',[115] while for Kapp the work possessed 'eine Märchenstimmung vom berückenden Zauber und echter Gefühlstiefe'.[116]

Once more Schreker provided an experience of intense synaesthesia in explanation of the opera's origins, yet once more its eclectic sources were not revealed or discussed, even at the piano play-through before the Dresden performance, when Schreker (assisted by Maria) sang Elis and other parts 'in a pleasing light tenor-baritone'.[117] He described the house at Semmering, known to his family, full of miscellaneous trophies of foreign travel, including weapons, costumes, pewter, and 'a cupboard in which jewellery of all kinds glittered between yellowed veils and bridal wreaths'. The character of Els, in this account, sprang from 'the young girl (Ilse by name) in a fantastic costume' who, accompanying herself on a lute sang 'with a quiet, moving voice some old German folksongs and forgotten ballads.'[118] Schreker

112. H. F. Redlich: Schrekers Spielwerk in Mainz. Anb., 1929, 269.
113. Kapp, loc. cit., 84.
114. Bekker, G. S., II, 46.
115. Ibid., 48.
116. Loc. cit., 84.
117. Anb., 1920, 18.
118. Loc. cit., 548-9.

claimed that the whole action of Der Schatzgräber came to him in that hour. No date is mentioned, but work on the opera began in 1915; it took him three years to complete, and was given no fewer than fifty productions following the January 1920 première at Frankfurt.

Despite Schreker's silence, the undoubted literary source of Els is the Sage Jungfrau Ilse. Both the versions given by the Grimms[119] describe the setting, the great Ilsenstein rock in the Harz mountains, the river Ilse below it, to which the beautiful Ilse, daughter of the Harzkönig, descends each morning to bathe. In each version, the emphasis is on Ilse's beauty and elusiveness. The Otmar version, echoed by Bechstein[120] shows a young miner greeting her, having his sack filled with acorns and pine-cones, then hurling them into the stream, only to find they are really gold. In the second version, closer to Schreker's, Ilse, sought by many suitors, lives in the castle, while a witch's ugly daughter lives nearby. Whoever sees Ilse bathing is taken to the castle to be regaled with riches; the ugly daughter ensures that Ilse is seen only once a year.[121] Schreker would doubtless also have known Prinzessin Ilse: ein Märchen aus dem Harzgebirge (1851) by Marie Petersen (1816-59),[122] a free fantasy in which Ilse becomes a child princess, is counselled by an 'einsame Engel', taken to a witches' sabbath on the Brockenburg by a 'Hochmuthsteufelchen', is tormented, and is later nearly overcome by an avalanche. Schreker's 'schön Ilse die holdsel'ge Frau' is the Ilse of the Sage, to whom jewels gave eternal 'Jugend und Schönheit'. In a manner akin to the 'glühende Krone' ballad of Der ferne Klang, Elis describes (cf. Ex. 210) how she rejected the dwarf who loved her, so that 'da raubte der Alb ihr den Wundertand'. She faded; 'ihr Körper verfiel, doch die Seele lebt'. The jewels found their way into the hands of a queen, only to be stolen from

119. Grimm, Sagen (Müller, München n.d.) I, 327-8.

120. Deutsches Sagenbuch, Wigand, Leipzig, 1853, 340-1.

121. Bechstein here has Ilse 'von einer bösen Hexe aus Neid in den Stein verwünscht, bis Zeit und Stunde kommen, sie zu erlösen'.

122. Invalid daughter of a Frankfurt a.d. Oder chemist, who won wide popular readership for this, and her longer tale Die Irrlichter.

her by the guilty dwarf to revive the dying Ilse.

One striking feature of Schreker's opera-titles is the absence from them, with a single (revised) exception, of reference to the female protagonist. Der Schatzgräber is a clear instance, in that the work is really about Els, the innkeeper's daughter, on stage for most of the opera apart from the Vorspiel. Elis (whose name echoes that of Elis Fröbom in E. T. A. Hoffmann's Das Bergwerke zu Falun, as well as the young miner in Hofmannsthal's almost synonymous play) is the wandering minstrel whose person (and lute) 'redeem' her. Through his magic lute, he has the capacity to seek out 'in Kästen, Schreinen,/eichenen Truhen,/gelbes Gold oder/blinkend Gestein'.[123] Yet he is not a 'treasure-seeker' in the traditional sense, but has the role thrust upon him by events. His treasure is invariably given away, to 'Arme und Weiber'.[124] The title is thus ironic, for it is Els, with her obsessive desire for the queen's jewels as a means of achieving transfigured beauty who is the real treasure-seeker. 'Schönheit ist ihr Element, Schönheit ..... ihr einziger Besitz'.[125] Elis, by contrast, is a mixture of philosopher, 'Vagant', grail-seeker and 'Märchenprinz', and like Lohengrin or the Flying Dutchman, seems almost disembodied.[126] The treasure he seeks is 'des Lebens Hort, alles Sehnens Ziel'[127] Elis is thus a more refined, developed version of the Bursch in Das Spielwerk, and his lute, with its redeeming capacity, is close to the Bursch's flute in moral symbolism.

The symbolism of 'Schatz' and 'Schmuck' recurs strongly through German folk-myth.[128] It is scarcely necessary to mention the Nibelungenlied here, or the significance for German opera of the Wagnerian 'ring' symbol during

123. Vorspiel. Textbuch, 10.

124. Do., Textbuch, 11.

125. HSB, 42.

126. HSB, 55.

127. Textbuch, 27.

128. The treasure-trove motif covers N500-599 in TMI. D1073 refers to the magic necklace, D1835.1 to magic strength gained by seeing a necklace, and E711.4 to the soul in a necklace, while AT412 identifies a maiden's life with a necklace.

this period. Bechstein's Das beherzte Flötenspieler was just such a 'Schatzsage' with the essential ingredients of mystery, physical bravery and the menace of hidden, antagonistic forces. 'Wer Schätze beben will', it was observed in 1909, 'muss deshalb reinen Herzens sein, ein reines Mädchen oder ein Mensch ohne Sünde, ein unbefleckte Jüngling sind vor allem dazu berufen'.[129] This referred chiefly to 'buried treasure', of course, in the sense of gold or other precious metals, but also included jewels and jewellery, often covered by the word 'Kleinod' (Yü-Pei's name in Der Kreidekreis) though more usually by the word 'Schmuck', freely used in Schreker's text. As Freud pointed out, 'Schmuck' also means 'adornment, decoration, embellishment or finery'.[130] It can thus have a more emotively personalised connotation in the Märchen or Sage than treasure simply as wealth, just as the lute here is more than a musical instrument. As the Wirt says of his daughter, 'Sie ist wie' ne Elster: Schmuck macht sie toll'.[131]

Certain French Symbolist paintings embodied this notion, among them Bussière's Helen of Troy and de Feure's The voice of evil (both 1895), Alphonse Mucha's lithographs, and the great exemplar, Moreau's celebrated Salome of 1874. The jewel motif played a large part in Wilde's play, of course, and thence in Strauss's opera, where the point lay in their rejection by Salome following Herod's rhapsodic descriptions. More apposite was Ariane et Barbe-bleue, where on the opening of the sixth door, 'des cataractes d'énormes et purs diamants ..... se précipitent dans la salle. Des millions d'étincelles, de rayons, d'irisations se rencontrent, s'éteignent, se rallument, déferlent, se multiplient, s'étalent et s'exaspèrent'.[132] Ariane's ecstatic cry here is a clear precedent for the mood of Schreker's Els:

'O mes clairs diamants! Je ne vous cherchais pas
mais je vous salue sur ma route! Immortelle rosée de

129. Otto Böckel: Die deutsche Volkssage, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, 1909, 100.
130. S.E., VII, 91n.
131. Textbuch, 26. Cf. also the archaic words 'Hort' and 'Tand' used by Elis in Act 4.
132. Maeterlinck/Dukas: Ariane et Barbe-bleue, on la délivrance inutile, Text, Paul Lacomblez, Brussels, 1907, 12.

lumière! Ruisselez sur mes mains, illuminez mes bras, éblouissez ma chair! .....'[133]

The beauty of Els, we are in no doubt, is unusual in itself. She has, after all, strongly attracted several men, including the local bailiff, a man whose position somewhat resembles Dr. Vigelius in Der ferne Klang. But dissatisfaction with her lowly status focusses attention on the queen's jewels. These, we are told, have the property of keeping the queen in a state of perpetual radiance. Their theft by Els' dwarfish servant Albi (a figure reminiscent partly of Wilde's dwarf and partly of Wolf), the consequent murder by him of three of Els' suitors[134] and the arrival of Elis the wanderer provide the material of Act 1. Elis's condemnation to hanging as the alleged 'Schatzgräber,' the crowded scene round the gibbet, the story of his journeyings, his promise to recover the jewels through the agency of his magic lute, his escape, and the difficult dilemma of Els take up the second act. Following Albi's theft of the lute to save Els, Act 3 is largely given over to her secret nocturnal meeting with Elis, her appearance arrayed in the stolen jewels, and the declaration of their love as, like Tristan and Isolde, they await the inevitable consequences of their deception.

The 'Schmuck' motif here reaches its climax, as in the Indian Märchen How the Raja's son won the Princess Laban which describes how

> When it was quite black night, the princess herself got up. She dressed herself in rich clothes and jewels, rolled up her hair, and across her head put a band of diamonds and pearls. Then she shone like the moon, and her beauty made night day.[135]

Els, for whom the jewels represented 'Erlösung', surrenders them to the

133. Ibid., 13 Cf. also Act 3 (p.35).

134. The Princess Malajasundari steals jewels from the Queen in no. 55 of Indische Märchen (see Ch. 6 n. 63). Pierre Louÿs' celebrated erotic novel Aphrodite (1892) has Demetrios stealing mirror, comb and necklace courtesan Chrysis, and murdering in order to do so. But a striking and unexpected precedent for Elis and Els is to be found in Hardy's The Return of the Native (1895) where Clym Yeobright and Eustacia Vye appear similarly as golden messianic hero and demonic, unsatisfied dreamer.

135. Indian Fairy Tales, sel. and ed. J. Jacob, loc. cit., 9 (taken from Stokes, Indian Fairy Tales, 1880, no. xxii). Something of this transformation was attempted in Richard Teschner's 1919 lithograph for the vocal score of Der Schatzgräber.

amazed Elis, who, throughout, knows nothing of their origin. In the last act, the stolen lute is also recovered, and Els herself faces death. However, the Narr, a 'krummbein'ger Don Juan'[136] who in the Vorspiel extracted from the king a promise of any woman he might choose, 'ein süsses Weibchen, ein Schätzchen',[137] offers to accompany Els into banishment if her life is spared. The Nachspiel shows how, a year later, bereft of her jewels, Els feverishly languishes in a remote mountain cave. The Narr, now aged beyond his years, is powerless to halt her decline, and can only watch with Elis as the girl dies in the minstrel's arms.

It is not hard to see in this text, so much more elaborate than Das Spielwerk, many elements which bind the works closely, apart from the penumbral medieval German setting. In the first place, Els and Elis are obviously close in typology to the Prinzessin and the Bursch, though the narrative sequence and explanation of motive are much better worked out in Der Schatzgräber. Elis's story in Act 2 and his Märchen in Act 4 bemuse the crowd, as the Bursch's brief intervention had done before. The magic lute is a development of the Bursch's flute, while some of the 'Spielwerk's' 'ethical-erotic' symbolism is transferred to the jewels. Albi, the sinister dwarf is a developed version of Wolf, the agency of crime. The queen, like Florian's son, plays a silent role, but influences the action throughout. Once again, the townspeople, crowding on to the stage, represent a vengeful village community, while the Act 2 procession of monks is, perhaps, that of the pages and girls in another form, though functionally similar.

Naturally, there are other elements not found in Das Spielwerk. One is the important Vorspiel-Nachspiel structural device, essential to the action, which allowed the important figure of the Narr to be introduced. The idea of banishment followed by unexpected 'rescue' can only have come from Kent and Cardelia in Act 1 of King Lear. It is possible, too, that the final scene, with its tolling of bells, was influenced by Mélisande's death, and is to that extent indebted to Pelléas et Mélisande. The grief of Golaud, however, is not

136. Textbuch, 11.
137. Ibid., 12.

echoed in the more detached manner of Elis, while the last comment in any case comes from the Narr. In addition, the enigma of the childlike Mélisande must be distinguished from that of the equally strange but more ruthless Els, who has, after all, been the agent, not the pawn, of destiny. On one level, she does conform to another familiar folktale archetype, the plotting woman,[138] just as Albi is, though murderous, a 'helpful dwarf',[139] the lute a 'magic object',[140] and Elis the minstrel as, once more 'die Kunst als korrektives Widerspiel bürgerlicher Begrenztheit'.[141] Unlike the 'Schatzgräber' of Goethe's ballad, who seeks treasure in the belief that

> Armut ist die grösste Plage
> Reichtum ist das höchste Gut[142]

he stumbles across the stolen necklace in the wood by accident, but the manner of his discovery is presented in the form of a dreamlike Märchen. A roe, pursued by hunters runs through the forest, to be torn to pieces by a 'Katzengetier' with five gleaming eyes.[143] Later he hears a terrible cry, his lute begins to tremble 'als nistete in den Saiten das Echo des Schreis' and he sees nearby, in the moonlight, the five eyes 'grün wie Smaragd' which are, in fact, the necklace.[144] The symbolism of the roe as Els, and the jewels as her eventual destroyer are clear enough.

The success of Der Schatzgräber was undoubtedly due to the way the Märchen features of the narrative were closely matched by the musical style. For the first time, Schreker dispensed with an instrumental preamble, the Vorspiel here skilfully setting out much of the thematic material while swiftly presenting the relationship of King and Narr in clear, bold gestures.

138. FT, 113.

139. Grimm, Sagen I, nos. 29, 32, 34, 36, 45, 147, 148, 151 and others.

140. FT, 70f.; AT 594 again, also AT560 to 568 dealing with 'the magic object stolen'.

141. T. W. Adorno: Anb., 1929, 265.

142. 'Der Schatzgräber' in J. A. (1860) I, i, 115. This was also the German title of Méhul's opera Le trésor supposé (UE 3176).

143. Cf. the creature in Die Glückliche Hand.

144. Textbuch, 25.

It is one of his most concise and effective achievements. From the C sharp major chord of Ex. 194, scored for strings and open horns to the thematic development of this in Ex. 195, with fuller instrumentation, there is a balance of energy and pathos proper to the King's amusement and the Narr's sexual dilemma. The dramatic 'yearning' motif (Ex. 196) prominent in what follows, and the modally inflected harmony of Ex. 197 encapsulate the Narr's plight better than his ingenuous words. Again, at the mention of Elis, Ex. 198A, with its softly reiterated horn and mysteriously contradictory muted string chords leads into a 'balladesk' announcement of Elis by the Narr (Ex. 198B) anticipating the luteplayer's personality by its broad folksong E major, with the clarinets prominent, as indeed is woodwind generally throughout the opera. Festal music in D (Ex. 199) recalls the somewhat similar passage in Die Gezeichneten, Act 1 (Ex. 46) giving way to a vigorous 'heroic' passage in $^{3}/_{4}$ (Ex. 200) as the Narr evokes the reward of knighthood for Elis.

It is noteworthy that Schreker concentrates the main dramatic action into the first two acts, to which Acts 3 and 4 and the Nachspiel may be seen as a lyrical pendant or fulfilment. The question of 'optimism' does not arise, but it may be said that the gloom emphasised in the earlier acts is markedly modified, despite the tragic close. This sombre mood is reflected in the prominence of the little 'cello motif associated with Albi's murder for theft' (Ex. 201), the grim figure connected with Elis's condemnation as the murderous 'Schatzgräber' (Ex. 202) and its D minor/C minor derivative, Ex. 203, which opens the gallows scene of Act 2.

The archetypal Märchen figures on stage retain a firm control over the swiftly developing narrative, so that the melodrama is never allowed to fall into generality. Elis's arrival following Els' expressed longing for a true deliverer is one instance. Another is the long, sympathetic dialogue early in Act 2 between Els and the Narr. This is not only important as regards the intensification of Els' emotions over the condemned Elis, but it also gives point and context to the Narr's eventual offer to accompany her into exile. As the work progresses, the two elements, romantic melodrama and Märchen

typology develop side by side. In extremis, Elis bursts into a passage - 'Wundersam grüsst mich ein neuer Morgen,' Ex. 204 - which, if faintly like Walter's Preislied, is also a developed version of Ex. 187, the Bursch's declaration of his origins in Das Spielwerk. The E flat tonality, the heroic aspiration, the challenge to the crowd are the same in each case, though Elis's song is much longer, and is given more dramatic point by his unexpected escape.

Els' A flat 'lullaby' in Act 3 (the melody is given in Ex. 205), like Siegmund's 'Winterstürme wichen dem Wonnemund' stands out in its foursquare simplicity from the general texture of the work. It is without real parallel in the other operas, though its vein of sharp nostalgia appealed strongly to Schreker, as in Liese's lullaby and, still more, Lola's song of regret for her lost youthful beauty early in Irrelohe (Ex. 206). In all three instances, the simple, fragmentary melody is underpinned by a sensuous and richly harmonised accompaniment. Much the same tone of quietly tormented wistfulness is again in evidence as Els gazes across the garden from the window of her room (Ex. 207) though the recitative texture here is representative of Der Schatzgräber's general style.

As a whole, Act 3 is the work's lyrical climax, with a long Tristanesque duet of great intensity, and new sonorous thematic material, notably the A major melody in Ex. 208 and the broad, rhapsodic E flat of Ex. 209. The Tristan parallel is also relevant in view of Els' and Elis's position as both instigators of events and victims of circumstance. In Els' case, nothing could be wished for beyond bejewelled consummation, while for Elis, without his lute and ignorant of the truth, the vision of Els seems a proper counterpoise to the menacing forces surrounding him since his arrival. His feeling for the context comes after the Allegro con spirito 'festlich' opening of Act 4, when, now that the jewels are restored, he wears the uniform of a knight. In explanation of events he gives Schreker's rather opaque version of the Ilse von Ilsenstein Sage, already described, beginning in an earnest Volkston manner (Ex. 210) which contrasts sharply with the act's opening.[145]

145. This is an optional cut in the published V.S. (pp 242-9).

It is only after the Vogt has returned the lute to Elis, however, (Ex. 211) with the words 'In die Träume des Frevlers/schlich sich ihr Raunen'[146] that Els cries out in anguish. Elis cannot believe Els' guilt, and matters move to their grim conclusion.

Thus the Nachspiel, opening, like the Vorspiel in indeterminate key, but in a mood of palpable resignation (Ex. 212) only occasionally rises above mf throughout. The predominant texture is shown in Ex. 213 as Els awakes, with its soft sustained wind chords against undulating triplets on lower strings. For the Narr, 'mein Kleid war mein Wesen, mein Ich war tod'[147] while for Els, reminded by Elis of the tale of the hunted roe, blandishments are not enough. 'Es war kein Traum', she cries, 'es war grauses Leben'.[148] In the end, though, weakness seizes her, and the comforting voice of Elis, and his lute is allowed to evoke the 'herrliche gläsernen Märchenpalast' with its 'Zinnen aus Gold und silbernen Türmen', its walls glistening like precious stones. Elis's final gesture is his reminder of Els' original hope (Ex. 213) that they might, out of the 'grausen Hatz des Lebens' discover the 'hehrsten ..... schönsten Schatz' of love.

IV

When Der Schatzgräber was given in Berlin in 1922 as part of a festival of Austrian music, Schreker was at the height of his career. Director of the Berlin Hochschule since 1920, he was, along with Busoni, Braunfels and Glazunov, elected a member of the Preussische Akademie der Künste in 1923. Critics of his works apart, however, there were some who, hostile to the holding of the Berlin post by an Austrian, conspired against him.[149] He was

146. Textbuch, 73.
147. Textbuch, 78.
148. Ibid., 80.
149. Schoenberg. Sel. Letters, ed. and tr. E. Stein, Faber, 132, 1964.

never to be entirely free of this until the final dark days of 1932-33 when, notwithstanding his resistance[150] and his contribution to making the Hochschule a world-ranking centre of excellence, his partly Jewish parentage brought about dismissal. Nor did the later operas provide him with compensatory rewards. The three post-war works performed in Germany - each was given in Berlin, though Irrelohe was premiered at Cologne - carried forward some elements of the Märchen style with increasing stress on the ethical-moral undertow of the earlier works. But neither the public nor the professional critics in Berlin were able to view his new offerings with the sympathy shown at Frankfurt between 1912 and 1920. Despite performances of Der ferne Klang in Stockholm and Leningrad, and the success of this work, Die Gezeichneten and Der Schatzgräber in Germany generally, further acclaim eluded him. He became increasingly isolated, and might well have echoed Charles de Coster's sour comment 'Die blauen Vögel entfliegen: es ist die Stunde der Raben'.[151]

The Stifter-inspired text of[152] Irrelohe dates from 1919 when Schreker was still in Vienna, though the music dates from the early Berlin years. It is a torrid drama of sexual jealousy in a 'rococo' setting, based on a thirty-year-old abduction carried out in the shadow of Irrelohe castle, and centring round old Lola, her 'bastard' son Peter and Graf Heinrich, legitimate heir of the now deceased count, together with the forester's daughter Eva, beloved by Peter but in love with Heinrich. It is unclear whether the 18th century setting was connected in Schreker's mind (perhaps through Figaro) with the curious, almost parodistic embodiment of the ius primae noctis in the action. 'Erlösung' again plays a major part in the story, principally by Eva - who longs for 'Sonne, Licht und Freude'[153] - of the incarcerated, introverted and

150. Klemperer Conversations, 47-8.

151. Letter to his fiancée Elise, qu. Wesselski, tr. Nachwort to Vlämische Mären (see n. 169) 237.

152. Not referred to in Schreker's short introduction (Anb., 1924, 93-4) or Hoffmann (ibid., 62-4)

153. HSB, 60.

anguished Heinrich. A 'happy ending' is achieved despite the murderous plans of Peter and the intrigues of Christobald (Lola's fiancé thirty years earlier) with his three grotesque musician-helpers. At the point when Heinrich's life is threatened, the two men are revealed by Lola to have had the same father. Though tense and uneasy on Peter's side, the reconciliation acknowledges that fratricide is impossible.

With this three-act opera, its text described as a 'hothouse fantasy' by Werfel when, later Schreker (perhaps jokingly) suggested that he might help revise it,[154] the composer has moved some distance from the Märchen tone of Das Spielwerk and Der Schatzgräber. If the eighteenth century background seems arbitrary and superimposed, the anti-urban element of the earlier works is still present, along with the atmosphere of unjust but inescapable persecution. The rather uni-dimensional characters once again have their gaze fixed cataleptically on the past, and are throughout emotionally obsessed with earlier events. Only the destruction of the castle by fire, it seems, can free Heinrich from his withdrawn and shadowy past. It is, again, the 'purging' or 'cleansing' symbolism of Das Spielwerk, this time actually carried out. When this is achieved, and a soft, reddish glow rises from the burning walls, Eva sings ('Feierlich') 'Offen seh' ich/ein gold̈nes Tor/Dort winkt Friede,/ dort lacht Erlösung!'[155] There is no doubt about the reality of this redemption; it is the dream of Elis and Els brought to fruition, the early hopes of Fritz and Grete fulfilled.

Nevertheless, such Märchen influences as are present in Irrelohe are discernible not so much in Eva and Heinrich as in the supporting figures, and especially in the dominant, brooding role of the castle itself. As a symbol of despair, it bears some resemblance to Alardis' lair in Der Singende Teufel. Max Lüthi has commented on the important symbolic role of castle and lair in Märchen and Sage:

> Das Schloss ein ideales Gebilde, geistgezeugt, einer fremden, hohen Sphäre angehörig, in sich selber

154. Alma Mahler-Werfel, op. cit., 53. Frau Schreker denies this.
155. Textbuch, 62.

geschlossen und von grösster Schärfe der Kontur.
Die Höhle formlos, ohne scharf fassbaren Umriss,
in die Tiefe der Erde führend, ins Dunkle, Unbestimmte.[156]

By providing an elaborate, orchestrally-conveived polytonal motif (Ex. 214) for Schloss Irrelohe, Schreker placed deliberate emphasis on the way the prison-like oppressiveness of the castle was to dominate the action. Always visible, its sound-image appears here in D minor, and, just before the burning begins (Act 3, Sc XII) in a massively-scored E flat minor version ('Mit Wucht und Grösse) with organ and offstage trumpets and horns.

In her isolation and despair, Lola is, frankly a plain derivative of old Liese in Das Spielwerk. Her role, as the ageing woman increasingly crushed by the emotive memory of long-ago events is both 'real' in the post-Freudian sense, and also 'symbolic' in that she is a märchenhaft 'Mutterfigur'. Either way, her dramatic significance lies in providing a living connection with the past. So, in another way, does Christobald, small, red-haired, enigmatic, borne down by the grim memories of his traumatic wedding-day thirty years earlier. In a realistic narrative, his reappearance after so long an interval would, to say the least, be farfetched. Here, in conjunction with his role as a 'Hochzeitspieler', it is part of the total effect of dream. In the sequence of Ex. 216, the emotion is communicated through the orchestral strings rather than Christobald's words. As he sits with the wine placed before him by Peter, his sigh of painful retrospection, 'lang, lang ist's her' is preceded by a rising figure over an F sharp pedal, then enveloped in a repeated cadence of deliberately simple Volkstümlichkeit. The mere recollection seems to have brought on darkness, and he asks Peter to light the candle. Again in Ex. 217, (Act 1, end of Scene 2) the castle is evoked by another huge orchestral gesture, as the three grotesques arrive, already bent on evil, the music reflecting their empty, mechanical drollery. Their names, Fünkchen, Strahlbusch and Ratzekahl - which can only be anglicised with fearsome tastelessness as Shorty, Hairy and Baldy - were probably straight invention. However, there are authentic folktale precedents for such figures,

156. Volksmärchen u. Volkssage, 55.

as in Bechstein's Die drei Musikanten, where they appear as violinist, trumpeter and flautist.[157] In this context, the grotesques belong to what Röhuch called 'geglaubte Wirklichkeit', which is to say that they are märchenhaft but entirely real. 'Jeder einzelne Jenseitige' as Lüthi put it, 'sei es ein kleines Männchen, eine alte Hexe, oder ein Tier mit wunderbare Kräften, steht scharf umrissen vor uns'.[158]

In Der singende Teufel (1927-8), like the 'Spielwerk' 'created to express the sublime', Schreker moved still further along the road of ethical-redemptive drama he had recently explored in Christophorus (See Ch. 3). As in his interpretation of the St. Christopher legend, with its Taoist message, there is in this four-act work, originally entitled Der Orgel, a preoccupation with the rejection of wordly concerns, an increased emphasis on the composer's personal eschatology. 'So habe ich all/den irdischen Mächten/mich hingegeben' Christoph had declared.[159] Similarly, Pater Kaleidos, obsessed by the 'Zielen der Ecclesia Militans'[160] and pressing the young monk Amandus Herz to complete the organ begun by his father, is aware of the task's ethical import. 'Dir fehlt der Glaube/der innere Friede./Ein Gotteswerk zu vollbringen,/da heisst es entsagen/Den irdischen Dingen!'[161]

In a literal sense, the opera is about the war between monastic Christianity and a paganism based on the cult of Freya. The archetypes of 'good' and 'evil' forces face each other across the abyss. Kaleidos, Amandus and the monks are on one side, the Queen of the Night - like Alardis, her acolytes and the Beckmesserish Ritter Sinnbrand von Frass on the other, their separateness symbolised by the Church and the rocky lair. Liliane, Alardis' supporter, who loves Amandus and eventually dies for him in the flames of the burning church, is the 'Erlösung' figure. The 'Maurischer Pilger' in 'phantastisch morgenländischen Kostüm' carrying his tiny, defective portative organ is the representative of cynicism and despair.[162] Distantly

157. Deutsches Märchenbuch (Wigand, Leipzig, 1846) 172-8.
158. Loc. cit., 148.
159. Christophorus, V.S., 171-2.
160. Schreker's words, qu. HSB, 65.
161. Act 2, Sc. 1.
162. R. S. Hoffmann calls him 'atheist, vielmehr Pantheist'. Anh 1928, 104.

reminding one of the Bursch, the Pilger gleefully anounces that 'Gesunken ist die Macht/des stolzen Kalifats!/Es kracht in allen Fugen/von den Thronen stürzen jach/die Götzen aller Religionen.'[163]

The close relationship of this fraught Gothic fantasy to von Scheffel's Ekkehard was commented on earlier. On one level, Schreker was unabashedly returning to the atmosphere of that novel, which had so inspired him in his youth. On another, he was developing the quasi-Raimundian Märchen and Sage elements latent in earlier works in the direction of a medieval morality. As in Christophorus, his interest had moved decisively towards the symbolic allegory, whose imagery of flames (destruction, but also passion) violence (the attack on the monastery and monks) and the organ itself (the symbol of perfect spiritual freedom, but also, ambiguously, of sexual yearning, were intended to represent a conflict between divine and demonic forces.

The problem with this work, despite its large scale, lies in the lack of overall clarity in its text, and the subjection of character to abstraction. In the dark, obsessive symbolism, with the organ endowed with a highly personal and unfashionable mystical significance, the folktale influence had virtually disappeared. To quote Lüthi once again: 'Das Märchen kennt nicht Dumpfes, Unbestimmte, unentschiedenes, seine Bilder sind hell und klar, seine Handlungen einfach und sicher'.[164] Paradoxically, the concentration of linearity and harmonic simplicity evident in the closing pages of the Christophorus score (cf. Ex. 14) is the chief musical feature of Der singende Teufel, allied to a generally greater restraint in the use of the orchestra. Thus, the gnomic D minor two-part counterpoint which opens the work (Ex. 218) in place of a Vorspiel: thus also the spare texture, with a predominance of fourths and fifths in the harmony, as in Kaleidos' description early in Act 1 (Ex. 219) of the monks pale with terror, hearing the 'furchtbar Tönen' from the depths of the earth.

Despite admiration for Schreker's theatrical gift, and the sumptuous production at the Staatsoper under Kleiber, the opera was coolly received.

163. Act 4, Sc. 1. V.S., 246.
164. Loc. cit., 16.

Steinhard once again drew the Meyerbeer comparison[165] while Walter Schrenk felt it was 'eine Menge weltanschaulicher Betrachtungen sowie halbphilosophischer Dunkelheiten ..... als Ballast mitgeschleppt'.[166] In the year of Der Dreigroschenoper and Schwanda der Dudelsackpfeifer, others felt its irrelevance to contemporary theatrical mores.[167] The four-volume autograph full score was deposited in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek next door in Unter den Linden, where it remains to this day.

With Der Schmied von Gent, his last opera, Schreker returned firmly to Märchen and Sage territory (though eschatology was still present) explicitly declaring a wish to write a 'Oper für Jedermann', a 'ganz primitives, naïves Theaterstück' unequivocally in the 'Zauberoper' mould. A Punch and Judy performance at Pallanza gave him the kernel,[168] and Albert Wesselski's translation of de Coster's Légendes flamandes (1858) the text.[169] De Coster's title Smetse Smee became Smee und die seben Jahre, subsequently changed to Der Schmied von Gent. When the Légendes flamandes originally appeared, their good reception was due, felt Henri Liebrecht to 'une langue archaique, délicieusement savoureuse, qui fleure son Montaigue et son Rabelais, une langue d'autrefois non pas apprise mais parlée comme un langage naturel'.[170] The Smee story originated in the Nieuwe Kinderdichtjes of Prudens van Duyse, in which it appeared, embryonically, and in verse, as the first of the Drie Winteravonden[171] De Coster (1827-79) was familiar in Germany through his Ulenspiegel legend (1857-67), his main achievement. The centenary of his birth in 1927 stimulated interest in his work, and one feels that Schreker encountered the story of Smee with some relief. 'Was wollt ihr mehr?' he

165. Auft., 1929, 26.

166. Anb., 1929, 30.

167. DM, 1929, 697 and DM 1928/9 375.

168. Anb., 1932, 150-2.

169. Vläm'sche Mären, Insel Verlag, 1919. Oppeln-Bronikouski's translation had appeared, curiously, in the same year. His translation of the Smee legend was reissued separately by Diederich in 1925. Schreker also prepared a text on another de Coster story 'Die Brüder vom guten vollmondgesicht', but this remained in MS (HSB, 77).

170. La vie et le rêve de Ch. de Coster, Ed. du Hibou, Bruxelles, 1927, 30.

171. van der Busscher, Gent, 1849, 72-83.

asked defensively, 'eine Oper à la Breughel!'[172] Even Leichtentritt pointed to its virtues as 'ein richtiges Märchen-und Zauberstück, ohne hintergründige, tiefere Bedeutung'[173] though both he and Einstein[174] felt that Schreker's score was too heavy and overloaded for what was essentially a magic puppet-play.

The setting of Der Schmied is that of the Spanish hegemony over Flanders under Philip II, and its expression through the tyrannical Duke of Alba. German literature's classical treatment of this period is, of course, Goethe's Egmont, remote though that drama is from de Coster in scale and tragic-heroic style. In this simple story of the Ghent blacksmith's time of poverty, followed by seven years of plenty in thrall to Lucifer, and a much-challenged eventual passage into heaven, certain superficial resemblances to the Faust legend are evident. Interesting though such parallels are, Smee is a very un-Faustian figure, and it is more profitable to see Schreker's treatment as a step further back into the magic theatre associated particularly with Raimund. Der Bauer als Millionär (such as Smee in effect becomes) was the subtitle of Das Mädchen aus der Fee, and though the Smee story lacks the irony and variety of Raimund's play - in particular the love of Lottchen and Karl, the fairy Lacrimosa and the moralising spirit Zufriedenheit - the magic effects of de Coster's story are in the true Zaubermärchen, even Zauberposse tradition. Smee is l'homme moyen sensuel, not unlike Raimund's Fortunatus Wurzel in his simple greed and hubris. At the same time there is a touch of the Falstaffian about him, and perhaps a hint of Mistress Quickly (not to say Fricka) about his scolding yet concerned wife.

Allowing for the earlier bass role of Christoph in Christophorus, this is the first time Schreker chose to replace tenor and soprano together by bass-baritone and alto, most likely in acknowledgment of the advanced years of Smee and his wife. Also for the first time, something akin to closed

172. Anb., 1932, 151.
173. DM, Dec. 1932, 199.
174. MM, 1934, 70.

forms appeared in the score, though the texture of the three-act work remains continuous. Despite the lightness and simplicity of the story, however, the strong allegorical 'morality play' flavour of Christophorus and Der singende Teufel was far from wholly set aside, nor could it have been. Though it is not clear how far Schreker was conscious of the way Der Schmied resembled the two earlier works in its eschatological foundation, one senses from his subsequent remarks quoted earlier[175] that he would have endorsed the distinction made by Bachofen between the 'form or event' of a tale or myth, and its 'content or idea' or 'guiding thought'.[176] The notion that 'jedwede Kunst wurzelt im Volke', with its strong if unsatisfactory Wagnerian overtones, had increasingly become his belief,[177] implying 'naturalness' rather than artifice as the spring of artistic expression. In practice, however, his choice of subject was governed more by didactic than 'entertainment' criteria, notwithstanding the many purely and graphically theatrical scenes he drafted, or his remarks about the self-sufficiency of 'effective music theatre' made in 1933.[178] Schreker's own latent fears of hunger and destitution, and his naive delight in worldly panoply and success found their way into the Smee subject, at whatever unconscious level. So also did his moral philosophy, reifected in the division of the cast-list into three. Smee and his entourage (including his rival Slimbroek) represent earthly life, Lucifer, Astarte, the Mephistophelean Junker Hessels and Herzog Alba the underworld and the propensity to evil, while heaven is embodied in Joseph, Mary and the child Jesus, together with the stern figure of St. Peter.

The opera is divided scenically into nine tableaux, as follows:

1. Smee's smithy
2. Frau Smee sits on a bank of flowers.

175. See n. 13.

176. J. J. Bachofen, Das Mutterrecht (1861), qu. in Myth, Religion and Mother Right: sel. writings of J. J. Bachofen, tr. R. Manheim, RKP, 1967, 199-200. Bachofen was referring to the legend of Alexander the Great and Queen Candace of India.

177. Qu. HSB, Frontispiece, in Schreker's own handwriting.

178. Anb., 1933, 11.

3. Before Slimbroek's smithy. The River Lys.

4. Stadtgraben

5. Smee's smithy

6. Garden in front of Smee's smithy

7. Garden

8. Street near Hell

9. Roadway to Heaven, with door leading to Purgatory.

De Coster's nineteen episodes were restructured in the following way, embodying a total of 34 scenes:

de Coster	Schreker
(1) Of Smetse, his belly and his forge.	ACT ONE. 1. BILD Scenes 1- 2/3 (2. BILD)
(2) Slimbroek puts out Smee's fire	3. BILD Scenes 4-5.
(3) Slimbroek is pushed into the Lys	Scene 6
(4) The devil offers Smee seven years	4. BILD. 'Nun bin ich gerächt...' Scenes 7 and 8.
(5) The lantern-man strikes Smee's wife (6) Smee's wife scolds (7) Smee the Rich	) Scene 13) Scenes 9 to)) 11 (food and)) drink brought on) 5. BILD) by ghostly forms))) and) Scene 12) 14
(8) Arrival of ragged wayfarers and child (Joseph, Maria and Jesus) (9) Smee keeps silent	ACT TWO. 6. BILD)) Garden Scenes 1-5)
(10) Smee beats Hessels	Scene 6
(11) Flipke and the Gesellen know of the Devil's pact (12) Smee will not surrender his secret (13) Alba	)))) Scenes 7-8))
(14) Smee's wife's pains and fear (15) Of Philip II: the seven years end (16) Smee sees Lucifer on the River Lys	Scene 9. References to Philip II removed.
Smee dies at 93	End of Act 2. Opening of ACT THREE, 7. BILD, Sc. 1

(17) Hell, purgatory and ladder to Paradise	8. BILD, Sc. 2 (Street)
(18) Why Smee was whipped (Smee as ghost)	9. BILD, Scenes 3 to 11 (way to Heaven and gateway). Frau Smee's death omitted. Hessels and Lucifer keep Smee out of Hell. Jesus replacedby Joseph as intermediary. Scales introduced on stage to symbolise Smee's moral record.
(19) Fair judgment of Jesus	

There is no doubt that in this work Schreker consciously strove to achieve a style matching the Zauberstück content, and succeeded insofar as the music is more consistently interesting than that of Der singende Teufel. Although one may question whether the bold, forceful 'Wuchtig' opening motif, Ex. 220, is truly appropriate to the subject of Ghent and its citizens, its purpose is clear. Like the analogous opening of Die Meistersinger it is communal, 'public' music, ceremonial and majestic, and, as such, is anticipated in earlier works. Instances are Adorno's arrival in Die Gezeichneten, Act 1 (Ex. 50), the Narr's reference to knighthood in Der Schatzgräber (Ex. 200) or, in parody form, the Sinnbrand von Frass motif in Der singende Teufel. Also in the 'public' sphere, those festal scenes which Schreker loved (see Exx. 46 and 199) find their echo here in the 'Rosentanz' song of Act 2, Sc 5,[179] the Orff-like melody of which is quoted in Ex. 228. It is placed at a point which emphasises the gulf between communal rejoicing and Smee's inward stress as he faces his 'hour of trial'. The Dance of the Gesellen in this scene, also public music, recalls to some extent the village Ländler of Das Spielwerk (Ex. 190) in function, just as the ethereal song of the pages and girls in the earlier work (Exx. 184 and 186) finds its more earthy descendant in Ex. 222, the Spottlied of the children and young sailors in Act 1, Scene 7.[180]

In a work which, more than any of its predecessors, consists of a series of formal 'set-pieces', the analytical interest lies in the way the central surrealistic events of the story are integrated into Smee's destiny,

179. Textbuch, 34.
180. Textbuch, 14.

and, in particular, the overall musical conception. In practice, this means the relation of harmonic style to the narrative. This falls under three headings; polytonal chromaticism, linearity and diatonicism. The very first communal song of Der Schmied, the Act 1 Geusenlied, illustrates the first of these. Here, against an extremely simple G major background those features adumbrated in Irrelohe (cf. Ex. 215) reappear. As in Irrelohe, however, polytonality is especially associated with the forces of darkness, such as Astarte, female temptress extraordinary. Astarte, briefly evoked by de Coster, is, of course, the Moon-goddess of Sidon, the lecherous sea-goddess, 'ruler of men' or the Lily Goddess Susannah.[181] The shimmering music of Ex. 224 (inevitably recalling the scene with Florence the medium in Christophorus, q.v. Ex. 12) is from Act 1, Sc. 7, in which she figures namelessly, tempting Smee with the prospect of seven years' abundance, when he is on the point of drowning himself in despair.[182] This same music recurs later in Act 2, Sc. 9, where she appears 'naked and wounded beneath her purple cloak'.[183] At the end of this scene, Lucifer's appearance 'nackt und schön', bearing a banner with the words 'Schöner als Gott' in fiery lettering[184] is conveyed in a passage of fierce harmonic dissonance (Ex. 231) with superimposed trombone glissandi and high percussion and woodwind tremolandi over a low E flat pedal. This is the 'Höllenvision' in which the entire landscape is convulsed, the food rapidly removed, and everything engulfed by the rising River Lys. 'Nun ist alles beim Teufel' cries Smee, and indeed it seems as though the devil has had the last word.

Despite the size of the orchestra, in particular the enlarged percussion section, the linear writing in Der Schmied stands out as one of its notable features. Smee's lament 'Nun bin ich gerächt/Doch das Leben ist mir vergällt' near the end of Act 1 (Ex. 223) at once reveals its descent from Christophorus,

181. Graves, I, 197, 244 and II, 320 - linked with Memnon's 'Susians' or 'Lily-men'.

182. Textbuch, 15.

183. Ibid., 43.

184. Ibid., 48.

especially Christoph's solemn judgment (cf. Ex. 11) and the Lao-Tse pronouncement (Ex. 14). The second and third acts begin with passage of singular starkness, as though to balance the optimism and gusto of Act 1's opening. As Act 2 starts, Smee is 'hochgeehrt in Gent' and (says his wife) about to become a Senator. He is, however, uneasy about his material success ('an meinem Kopfe ist's nicht richtig mehr') and disregards his wife's chiding 'Bist längst kein gewöhnlicher/Schmied mehr'.[185] Ex. 226 demonstrates the way the act's sombre opening figure in low octaves is carried forward by 'cellos and basses' against an ambling accompaniment on the horns, with an added trumpet counterpoint. Still more linearity is evident in Ex. 232, where the gnomic bassoon figure over a sustained A flat, again on the horns, signifies Smee in extreme old age.

Most remarkable, however, is the Passacaglia on the Duke of Alba in Act 2, Sc. 7, heralded by Ex. 229 with its augmented fourth. The long Passacaglia theme (Ex. 230) is without real precedent in earlier works though Berg had used this structural device in Act 1 of Wozzeck and, much earlier, in the last of the Altenberglieder. It is based on the F minor/B flat minor key relation, and, with its sharp harmonic clashes, such as the E major woodwind chord in bar 4, closely expresses the Spanish envoy's sub-heroic grandeur. It is proof, if any were needed, that Schreker uses Alba here more for his märchenhaft quality as a colourful, primly menacing but magnificently attired grotesque, than out of interest in his strictly historical significance Alba appears

> mit einem hochmütigen, finsteren spanischen Gesicht, starren Augen und einem langen weissen Spitzbart, in reich vergoldetes Eisen gekleidet und mit dem Orden vom Heiligen Vliess, mit einer schönen roten Schärpe, die linke Hand auf dem Knauf seines Schwertes, in der rechten Hand den Marschallstab.[186]

185. Ibid., 27.
186. Ibid., 39. This description may derive from the portrait of Alba by Anthonis Mor, dating from 1548, when Alba was much younger than he is here. Cf. Johannes Wilde, Venetian Art from Bellini to Titian, OUP, 1974, 229.

Though the Gensen chorus, anticipating his appearance had (I,i) sung 'Die spanische Pest frisst uns im Blut'[187] the tragic, political implications of this are quite submerged in the general gaiety, as they are in de Coster.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the diatonic foundation of the score has a special dramatic significance. Der Schmied von Gent is an opera based on folktale material involving, not just a single episode, but the last years, suffering, apparent damnation and ultimate redemption of a plain citizen. Though not a musician, Smee is a craftsman whose skills are placed in the service of the community. As with Baumeister Solness, that other craftsman whose chronicle had so impressed Schreker years before,[188] the fascination lay in the combination of professional dignity and personal vulnerability. He had gone beyond the comic burlesque of Der Barbier von Bagdad, and naturally had no wish to echo Mime's role in Siegfried. The message of Der Schmied von Gent was to be one of broad, smiling optimism, the triumph of serenity and courage over privation and daemonic mockery. To this end, and despite the graphic use of side-and bass-drums, cymbals and tamtam, the tonal structure of each act is stressed throughout. If each one begins rather equivocally (the implied F major of the 'Gent' theme is not fully resolved) the act endings, in A, C and C respectively, are solidly and emphatically tonal, as though the composer wished to reaffirm his faith in the musical language of his youth.

Even in the Gespenstermarsch (I, Scenes 10-12) when figures 'mit bleichen Larven, hohlen Augen, gekrallten Fingern' silently carry food and beer into the smithy, the quiet, steady tread, veering first towards C sharp minor, then E major (Ex. 225) leans heavily on the close key-relation, while stressing the sequence of fourths in the accompaniment. Similarly, the Pastorale in Act 2 (entry of the Holy Family) begins with a rising E major melody on flutes and bassoons over an undulating ostinato of bare fifths in the lower strings. In this case, the passage beginning as in Ex. 227 moves through C major into

187. Textbuch, 7.

188. See Sepra, on Die tönenden Sphären.

A major, thus confirming a key-relationship present in the work overall. A third instance, still more rudimentary in its stark simplicity is the beginning of Smee's journey to heaven near the opening of Act 3. Before the bassoons proclaim the 'floating' A major melody of Ex. 233, the darkened stage has been illuminated only by two torches, giving way to an 'unreal green light' during an orchestral passage of great complexity and intensity (bars 67 to 102).

Similarly, the broad B major theme, following the appearance of stars, moon and sun, occurs as the heavenly city comes into view, surrounded by embattled walls, with houses, trees and towers. This (Ex. 234) is heralded by the hidden divided chorus, singing their chromatic D major paean (Ex. 235), causing Smee to gasp involuntarily 'O diese linde Wärme! Die schöne Musik! Mir scheint ich bin vor dem Paradies!' Some time later, following Smee's reunion with his wife (C major, 'sehr intensiv') and a simple drinking song in G from Flipke, Slimbroek and Smee, Ex. 234 returns, Grandioso and in D major, as the door of heaven is flung open and 'unerhörter Glanz dringt auf die Szene'. Smee's Erlösung (or rescue, in this case) is achieved only after the extraordinary eleventh scene. Probably to avoid offence, the presence of Jesus is here replaced by the more neutral figure of Joseph, while Schreker also adds to de Coster's 'fair judgment' a pair of scales to weigh in the balance Smee's good and bad achievements in life. Rightly, Smee has to plead his own case, aided by his wife, Flipke and, surprisingly Slimbrock - This last is the composer's own touch - finally succeeding to the evident relief of the assembled angels. The work ends with a choral 'Gloria in excelsis' and 'Alleluia' reminiscent of the offstage chorus at the end of Der Schatzgräber. As Exx. 234 and 235 combine in C major during the final bars, Smee solemnly enters heaven.

Der Schmied von Gent's importance to Schreker may be measured by the existence of two vocal scores, respectively his own working draft and that of his pupil Kurt Fiebig; the latter became the published version.[189] If the

189. The autograph full score was kept by UE, and, unlike his earlier scores, was not bound into volumes by them.

hopes he had for the opera were unfulfilled, it stands as the logical end of a life-work devoted to the almost impossible ideal of recreating the Märchenoper as seen by modern, post-industrial yet anti-urban man. This was not a conscious or consistent programme, and was in later years merged with an increasing preoccupation with religious imagery and millenial, chiliastic visions. His aim can be compared with Stifter's desire in Nachsommer to oppose a 'great, simple ethical force' to the 'wretched degeneration' of his time.

Schreker would have felt it high praise if his works at their best had been said to possess 'noble simplicity and serene grandeur' in the everlasting Winckelmannian phrase. His use of folktale motifs has in it an implied rejection of the 'real world' he knew, an espousal, however naive it seemed to some, of his own 'ideal world'. What emerges overall is not a fully thought-out, coherent philosophy, but a series of figures and images deriving from pre-1914 and ultimately from Biedermeier Germany and Austria. It was a view of life conditioned, like that of Erwin in Leopold Andrian's 1895 novel Des Garten der Erkenntnis largely by aesthetic considerations, much of whose attraction lay in their close relation to the numinous, the ineffably mysterious.

This may seem strange in one who, like his brief mentor Ferdinand von Saar, was in the light of his own experiences a social ameliorist closely identified with the astrocious conditions of life around him. But despite his dislike of the 'real' and yearning for the 'deal' world, paradoxically Schreker did not draw a sharp distinction between real and imaginary. His treatment of the folktale came near to Röhrich's view of it as 'Geglaubte Wirklichkeit' in which 'Zauber, Partizipation und Verwandlung sind magische Realitäten'. It is possible to see the religious tendencies of Schreker's later years as akin to the fusion of Märchen and Christentum in Novalis, who saw the Märchen and 'gleichsam der Kanon der Poesie' and extolled the 'poetische Staat' as the sole true one. But his vision was unexpectedly anticipated in the 'Universalpoesie' of another Jena Circle figure, Friedrich

Schlegel. That close, tense relation between 'Leben' and 'Kunst' in all Schreker's works from Der ferne Klang to Der Schmied von Gent, that nature mysticism seen everywhere from the garden scene in Flammen to and beyond the Whitman songs are redolent of Schlegel's 'bewusstlose Poesie'. This quality or concept which 'sich in der Pflanze regt, im Lichte strahlt, im Kinde lächelt, in der Blüte der Jugend schimmert, in der liebenden Brust der Frauen glüht'[190] uses language strikingly similar to Schreker's, and may throw light in his regretful comment that most artists are born a century too late.[191]

190. Gesprach über die Poesie, K.A. II, 285.

191. BS, 1921, 3.

PART FOUR

THE TRADITION OF CLASSICAL MYTH

As I gaze across at the green land, and think of the numberless athletes and warriors, all the young, vital handsome, godlike Greeks who had made it resound with their deeds, I again become aware of a powerful reverberation of sound from the rocks, its source hidden from me. I rise from the ground, call out loudly and hear a mighty sixfold echo. Six times the name of the god of Delphi, the conqueror of the Python resounds from the heart of the mountains.

I am alone. The ancient parnassian cliffs have caused this overwhelming reply, so that the power of the past might seize and penetrate me through its triumphantly awesome effect on the present. As a result, I feel as though consumed by brilliance and fire. Practically trembling, I listen to the silence which has fallen once again above and around me, almost deeper than it was before.

From Hauptmann, Griechischer Frühling (1908)

G. W., Bd. 6, Fischer, Bln, 100.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ANTIQUE MYTH: HEROIC OPERA, KULTDRAMA AND ZEITDRAMA

I Heroic opera as idyll, martial conflict and rescue drama

II Wellesz, Hofmannsthal and Euripides

III Orpheus, Orestes and Krenek

I

The foregoing two chapters have indicated how Schreker and Zemlinsky, in their different ways were - with Braunfels and Schoeck - the chief representatives of Märchen-based post-Romantic opera, unsystematic though this evidently was and 'unprogressive' though it may have been according to the more advanced trends of the time. Characteristically, neither composer sought to codify or elaborate his ideas on opera, either in general or insofar as his own works were concerned. Unlike Schoenberg, neither man was much given to abstract ratiocination, or, by extension, to expressing himself through the written word. Essentially Instinktmusiker, they were content to react to the literary and theatrical stimuli of their own youth. Though recognised as leading serious theatrical musicians, they wrote nothing bearing on their work to compare with, for example, Berg's Wozzeck lecture or Krenek's numerous polemical and critical articles.

It is, therefore, hard to imagine them approaching classical myth on any scale for operatic material, for all that study of the classics, 'Altertumswissenschaft', was the foundation of Austro-German pedagogy, even, as Schelling put it 'die notwendige Bedingung und der erste Stoff aller Kunst'.[1] Admittedly, Gide's Le Roi Candaule formed the basis of Zemlinsky's final, unperformed stage work, but, as Leo Aylen has noted, the effect of the Candaules story as told by Herodotus is more 'oriental' than 'classical'.[2]

1. Philosophie der Kunst, Werke, III, 425.
2. Greek Tragedy and the Modern World, Methuen, 1964, 265.

The myth of Memnon the Ethiopian, especially in the form quoted by Simonides and Pausanias[3] formed the inspiration (no more) for Schreker's Memnon text.

Yet no event in their lives can be set beside the young Wagner's reading of Droysen's Des Aischylos Werke (1832), which is said to have opened his eyes to the 'berauschende Bild eines attischen Tragödietages',[4] together with his continuing romantic preoccupation with Aeschylean tragedy and 'der griechische Geist' in Kunst und Revolution (1849). Nor, though Nietzsche's Zarathustra was part of the period's intellectual furniture, is there any evidence that either was familiar with the equally significant Geburt der Tragödie. The decision to approach classical mythology for dramatic purposes has usually required a certain distancing quality, a conscious separtion from self which neither Schreker nor Zemlinsky (nor even Schoenberg) possessed in significant measure. Despite his thorough teaching of 16th century counterpoint at the Vienna Staatsakademie, Schreker, according to Krenek, 'hatte wenig Respekt vor den Arbeiten des Musikhistorischen Instituts der Wiener Universität. Er war intellektuell nicht besonders interessiert und kümmerte sich um diese Dinge nicht, so dass man sich selbst auch nicht gerade ermutigt fühlte Musikgeschichte ernst zu nehmen'.[5] Krenek was looking back beyond the period of his two 'mythological' operas of the 1920s, rather unfairly blaming Schreker for his own lack of involvement in musicology until after his arrival at Vassar, N.Y. in 1939.

A certain irony attends this matter. One of Vienna's rising musicologists

3. Graves, II, 315-16.

4. C. v. Westernhagen: Wagner, Atlantis Vlg. Zürich, 1968, 100. In 1913 a young American scholar drew detailed analogies between Wagner's works and the corpus of Greek drama, showing how the Ring paralleled the Ovesteia, Amfortas Ajax, Isolde Phaedra, and so forth. Cf. Wagner's Dramas and Greek Tragedy, Columbia U.P., 1913. But Wagner's music was, of course, 'nicht um den Torso einer sophokleischen Tragödie ranken, sondern der Schöpfer des Gesamtkunstwerkes muss fähig, den Mythos seines Volkes, so wie der griechische Tragiker, dichterisch zu entbinden'. Walter Vetter: Mythos, Melos, Musica, I, 333.

5. Notwendige Entscheidungen, Musica, 1971, 560-1. In Anb., 1928, 112, the young Krenek singled out reliance on creative instinct, self-criticism, productivity and openness to all influences as marks of Schreker's teaching. But he is disparaging again in Horizons Circled (loc. cit., 19-20).

during the period of Krenek's study with Schreker was Wellesz, nearer the older man in age, but representative of that very scholastic mentality which Schreker is said to have disliked. As has been shown, he was himself drawn to the Zauberoper in Girnara, but his main operatic endeavour was the representation of Greek drama on the modern stage, focussing attention on the ideals of Gluck at a time of greatly renewed interest in Handelian opera. Like the young Krenek's entirely different involvement with Greek myth (Wellesz, significantly, approached it through Hofmannsthal, Krenek, initially, through Kokoschka) it can now be seen as part of that postwar concern with classical antiquity which affected the arts in Europe in so many ways. Though sometimes described as a 'revival', it is a natural extension of that long-standing post-Renaissance involvement of artists, writers and musicians with antique myth, stimulated by French classicism, and later by German Hellenism. In Rehm's words: 'In und seit der Renaissance und den von ihr ausgehenden geistigen Stromläufen tritt das Antike aus den Unbewussten ins Bewusste,' driven by what he called the 'Idea der Humanitas zum Ziel des inneren Lebens und zum Vor-Bild'.[6]

Arnfried Edler has demonstrated[7] how a notable feature of 19th century European music was the exploitation of certain classical myths, especially those, like Orpheus and Dionysus, Pan, the Sirens and the harmony of the spheres, which had some overt musical reference. But the impulse to draw on Greek mythology was much wider ranging than this. For most composers (and writers) it stemmed from awareness of an imaginatively inexhaustible store of themes and characters, a basic feeling for human tragedy in its greatest literary archetypes, and, perhaps, something of that double awareness of characters as individuals and as symbolic entities which has been attributed to the 'primitive' audiences of Aeschylean times.[8] This modern 'intellectual' dimension may be seen as a reflection of the Greek's own wish to make tragic suffering appear as 'part of an intelligible order'[9] and of

6. Rehm (G) 12, 14.
7. See Bibliog. (II).
8. A. M. G. Little: Myth and Society in Attic Drama, Columbia UP., 1942, 9.
9. D. J. Conacher: Euripidean Drama, Toronto U.P., 1967, 3.

the sheer variety of patterns available, ranging, in Lesky's analysis from the tragic 'situation' up through the 'total tragic conflict' to the 'totally tragic world view'.[10] In 19th century German drama, the 'tragic' view was expressed most cogently by Hebbel, with his stress on the overwhelming power of 'primeval guilt'. Much later Cocteau still expounds this pessimism in his adaptation for Honegger of Antigone: 'L'homme est inouï, l'homme navigue, l'homme labore, l'homme chasse ..... il invente des codes, il couvre sa maison, il échappe aux maladies - la mort est la seule maladie qu'il ne guérisse pas .....'[11]

As the Weimar Hellenists had responded to and elaborated on Winckelmann, so most major post-1870 writers had evolved their own responses to antiquity, the immortality of ancient myth, and the perpetual presence of the universal yet individual image of the Greek 'Idealbild'. The powerful evocation of Dionysiac Greece in Nietzsche's Geburt der Tragödie of 1872 had been overwhelmingly the most spectacular stimulus since the once axiomatic 'edle Einfalt und stille Grösse' of Winckelmann's Laocöon. Hauptmann's later ecstatic vision of Apollo on Olympus on his 1908 journey was no isolated cry. It echoed the lament for dead Greek deities in Schiller's Die Götter Griechenlands of 1788, Hölderlin's description of Grecian light, sea and air,[12] and, from a different angle, Heine's Venus-Apollonian dream in his 1826 Harzreise.[13]

Despite the ambiguous, even critical strain running through German literary attitudes to Hellenic antiquity from Wieland through Novalis, both the Schlegels[14] and Heine to Burckhardt, the enormous prestige of Weimar classicism long outlived the age of Humboldt, let alone of Schiller and Goethe themselves. George, the Apollonian, intensely evoked the southern landscape

10. Alvin Lesky: Greek Tragedy, 1938, rev. 1957, E. Benn, 1965, 13-14.
11. Antigone, Chorus, Act 2.
12. Werke II, 65, qu. Rehm (G.) 347.
13. III, 23.
14. E.g. A. W. Schlegel: Dram. Vorlesungen, I, for whom the Greeks 'invented the poetry of joy' but to whose civilisation he was unable to grant 'a higher character than that of a refined and ennobled sensuality'.

in his Teppich des Lebens (1900) while Rilke, the sensual mystic, abased himself before early Greek sculpture and embodied himself in the Sonnets to Orpheus. But it was Hofmannsthal who showed the most complex and profound response to the 'tiefe, und gleichsam zeitlose Einsamkeit' of the Greek countryside.[15] His comment that the Greek experience was not that of the mysterious present, as in Italy, but of being 'as though outside all time'[16] was more than a stock genuflection. Long before Das Vermächtnis der Antike (1928) 'Gegenwart und Vergangenheit, Antike und Moderne' were for Hofmannsthal 'fast aneinander geklammert'.[17] In the Vorspiel zur Antigone the student watching Oedipus Rex is met by a dream figure, the genius of ancient tragedy who persuades him to surrender to the spirit of Antigone and say: 'This must be true. For here is reality. All else is simile, like a play in a mirror.'[18]

In his old age, Richard Strauss dated his introduction to Greece (and Egypt) to a convalescent holiday in 1892: 'Von den Augenblick an, bin ich..... germanischen Grieche geblieben bis heute'.[19] Ten years before Strauss's birth, C. L. Cholevius had begun his study of antiquity's influence on German poetry (1854-6); the composer's youth was contemporary with the work of Nietzsche, the maturity of Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Burckhardt's late Griechische Kulturgeschichte, and the epoch-making study, Psyche published by Erwin Rohde in 1893. Now, half a century later, Strauss expressed a heartfelt wish that educational stress be laid on the Greek classics in good German translations, especially Homer, the Oresteia and Oedipus.[20] Since 1918, others had already reflected this preoccupation, as revealed by Otto Gruppe's historiography of classical mythology (1921), the later work of the Bibliothek Warburg, the foundation of the journal Die Antike in 1925 and the huge compilation Das Erbe der Alten, 36 volumes in all, published between 1910

15. Jens, 138.
16. qu. Jens, 144.
17. Ibid., 6.
18. Dramen, I, 275. Cf. also quotation at head of Part 3.
19. Brief uber das humanistische Gymnasium (1945) in Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen. Loc. cit., 106.
20. Ibid., 110.

and 1936 under the presiding influence of Otto Immisch.

In the period from Elektra to Die Bakchantinnen, there was no particular consistency in the way operatic use of Greek myth related to precedents. Such consistency as did occur was bound up more with continued and varied fascination with the dramatic potential of classical drama. In adapting Sophocles' play, first as a spoken drama, then as an opera, Hoffmannsthal produced something essentially new and of its time, more thorough going in its departure from the original than his Alkestis had been. The play Elektra impressed some, like Bahr, who, approvingly recalling Schillings' Symphonic Prologue to Sophocles' Oedipus of 1900, recognised Hofmannsthal's depiction of the 'tiefsten Höhlen irdischer Pein'.[21] Alfred Freiherr v. Berger, too, refused to endorse the widespread cries of 'Schändung'. However, Maximilian Harden was not slow to see the connections with contemporary Viennese psychoanalysis, sneering 'Aischylos und Sophokles, Freud und Breuer, antike, moderne Katharsis'.[22] While Alfred Kerr saw the connections with Maeterlinck, Wilde and d'Annunzio, he graphically described Elektra's behaviour as 'der private Rachedurst einer Epileptikerin'.[23] In the same year, 1905, Paul Goldmann saw Elektra as 'die Verirrung eines Talents' in which 'an die Stelle der Psychologie tritt die Perversität'.[24] Years later, the play (and opera) as a product of Freud's pathology, were directly compared with Goethe's 'rationalist' Iphigenie and Racine's 'Jansenist' Phèdre.[25] Thus the most celebrated classical operatic adaptation of this century became, from the moment of its appearance, notorious as an instance of lurid theatrical extremism. Strauss's score was only secondarily the cause of this, since most of the critical abuse had already been levelled at the stage-play. After Strauss's death it was to be compared at length with the Wedekindian Lulu: it is to be wondered what Hofmannsthal would have said of this latter-day

21. 1905; qu. Wunberg, 137.
22. Ibid., 85.
23. Ibid., 78.
24. Ibid., 116-17.
25. E. M. Butler: Elektra: a Gracco-Freudian Myth, JWI, ii, 1938, 168.

critical commonplace.

There had been no previous opera based on the personality of Elektra, familiar though she was from certain 18th century works. The sole setting of the Bacchae had been Les Bacchantes of Pietro Generalis (1810) though Iwaszkiewicz had used the play in preparing King Roger for Szymanowski. Apart from forgotten works by Sacchini (1786) and Zingarelli (1790), the Traetta-Coltellini Antigone (1771-2) and Mendelssohn's two sets of incidental music, no composer had tackled the powerful Sophoclean subjects of Antigone and Oedipus; Cocteau, Honegger and Stravinsky had remedied this gap by 1927. By his own admission, despite the numerous historical precedents, Krenek's Orpheus opera was composed very much in deference to, even awe of, Kokoschka, while his Leben des Orest had only fortuitous precedents in Strauss, Weingartner (1902) and Taneiev (1895). Among Krenek's near-contemporaries, only Milhand wrote theatre music for Aeschylus' Oresteia, as it was he who had collaborated with Claudel over Les Malheurs d'Orphée.

Aside from the unfulfilled and much-discussed Semiramis project, Hofmannsthal had followed Elektra with the totally different, stylised Kammerspiel Ariadne auf Naxos in which 'Tragödie und Satyrspiel sind zu Mysterium und Harlekinade geworden',[26] almost a return to his 'Loris' years in poetic transparency and lucidity. Like the Orpheus theme, Ariadne's abandonment belongs to the very beginnings of baroque opera. The choice of subject reflected Hofmannsthal's feeling for the 17th century as well as his fondness of the myth itself. At the time Krenek and Wellesz were completing their Orpheus and Alceste operas in 1923, the latter, at least, was deeply aware of the permanent repertory versions of these two subjects. Hofmannsthal had not experienced this problem, but shared with them the problem of self-consciousness and artifice, of creating a sense of spontaneity and freedom out of the elaborate texture of backward reference. Thus the first version of Ariadne tried to overcome it through the framework of Molière, the second by placing the myth in the realistic context of its own stage preparation.

26. Jens, 108.

Further attempts at a solution can be seen in three works of the 1923-31 period, Die Ägyptische Helena, Penthesilea and Der Bettler namerlos, whose connecting link is Troy and the Trojan war.

The problems of Die Ägyptische Helena, from its original conception as a light-hearted parlando work in three acts to its eventual two-act version have been discussed at length elsewhere. Although nothing has ever seemed likely to redeem its reputation, especially that of the supererogatory, subsequently vainly revised second act, Hofmannsthal took an inordinate pride in the work.[27] His later introductory essay, in which he described the first act as a 'Gespenstergeschichte', the second as an 'Idylle', was the most expansive of its kind.[28] Earlier, however, he boasted to Strauss of the story's 'suspense', and the juxtaposition of the 'idyllic fairy-tale-like first with the exciting second'.[29] Drawing variously on the Odyssey, Book IV, Stesichorus' palinode and Euripides' Helen, he wished to portray the reunion of the real Helena - 'though I am innocent, my name is a byword of reproach'[30] - as distinct from her phantom 'Doppelgänger' with her warrior husband Menelaus on the magic island of the sorceress-princess Aïthra off Egypt.

Helena, who has not aged during her ten years on the island, is described by Aithra as the 'berühmteste, gefährlichste, herrlichste Frau der Welt',[31] and even by the sneering elves as the 'schönste der Schönen'.[32] She was no less than a universal symbol of feminine beauty, not least for Menelaus, though for him she would have been so whatever her outward shape on rediscovery.[33] Although the subject of the work is the 'Verherrlichung' of Helena and Menelaus, for which Strauss wished to provide music analogous to

27. Corr., 381 (14.2.24)
28. Prosa, IV, 447.
29. Corr., ibid.
30. Euripides, Helen, tr. P. Vellacott, 133.
31. Textbuch, Fürstner, 1928, 14. Also as 'die Liebliche' and 'du Selige', ibid., 70-2.
32. Ibid., 45.
33. Cf. E. Kobel: Hugo v. Hofmannsthal, de Gruyter, Bln, 1970, 346.

the 'pure, sublimated' mood of Goethe's Iphigenie,[34] it is arguable that, even allowing for the element of bathos and dramatic tautology in Act 2, the relationship of Aïthra and Helena is of equal interest. In Aïthra's words:

> Stärker als Krieger, reicher als Könige
> sind zwei Frauen, die sich vertrauen.[35]

By striving to present Helena as a 'Symbol zeitloser Gegenwärtigkeit'[36] Hofmannsthal was drawing a picture different from Goethe's Helen as 'Symbol für die Antike selbst'.[37] He was acutely conscious of the Greek background, stressing that Atlas, Egypt and Libya all occur in Pindar and Aeschylus, and thus have authentic classical connotations. The world of the Trojans, not that of a modern 'islamic orient' was, he stressed, at the forefront of his mind.[38] It is curious, therefore, that the introduction of Altair, Da-ud and the rest in Act 2, causing Strauss many problems, should have created an ambiguity of the kind Hofmannsthal wished to avoid. The total effect aimed at being 'modern und antike zugleich, neu und alt in einem'[39] or, as Hofmannsthal typically put it, 'ewig: vergangen zukünftig'.[40] Yet if, on a mythological level, there is much to admire in the first act, as accurately based and seriously intended as Ariadne, no real counter-argument has ever dispelled the criticism of the fantasy element in Act 2, or, more important, that Act 2 functions dramatically as a repetition of Act 1. Strauss denied this, claiming that Act 2 showed Helena overcoming the problem of doubt through 'göttliche Macht der Schönheit und ihr schicksalbewusste dämonisches Wesen'.[41] The 'magic potion' of Act 1 he stoutly defended on its historical

34. Corr., 404 (1.6.25).
35. Textbuch, 31.
36. Jens, 122.
37. Strauss, Betrachtungen ...., 125.
38. Corr., 405 (30.6.25).
39. Kobel, op. cit., 331.
40. Prosa, III, 360. Hofmannsthal even wanted the costumes to approach modern evening dress. Corr., 445 (13.10.27)
41. Betrachtungen ...., 125.

antecedents, using language literally put into his mouth by Hofmannsthal.[42]

Almost eighteen months before staging Die Ägyptische Helena, a romantic idyll in which Menelaus is less than truly heroic, the Dresden Opernhaus had given the first performance of Othmar Schoeck's Penthesilea. Cast entirely on the battlefield of Troy, and pervaded in Schoeck's shortened version by the sense of continuous battle and doomed struggle, it is a setting of Kleist's tragedy which does not attempt to go beyond the Kleistian. The play was of sufficiently classic status in Germany for it to be possible that many who knew it well had forgotten how the original myth, that of Achilles' murder of the Amazons' queen, Penthesilea is here reversed by Kleist. It is worth stressing that Kleist neither was nor wished to be part of the Hellenist literary movement of his time, something Schoeck recognised from the outset.[43] He was well aware of the Amazons in the Iliad, the 'brutality' of which he much admired.[44] Presumably, like Kleist before him, Schoeck was familiar with the details of Penthesilea's bloody death at Achilles' hands, and the necrophiliac embrace which followed.[45] It has even been suggested that, though Penthesilea's name does not appear in the Iliad, the whole episode is Homeric in style, and may have been a later editorial suppression.[46] Others, however have seen in this obverse of Weimar classicism a treatment not merely of the irrational element in Greek antiquity, but of 'der Mensch ... in seiner tiefsten wahnverstrickten Entwürdigung und Zernichtung, in seiner widermenschlich - hündischen Ungestalt'.[47]

Schoeck's wish was primarily to expand through music a drama which had thrilled him as a stage play, despite his caveat that 'den Worten ist zu wenig Zeit eingeräumt. Sie gehen viel zu rasch vorbei ....'[48] The result of

42. Corr., 473 (30.4.1928).
43. Vogel, op. cit., 153.
44. Ibid., 136.
45. Graves, II, 313. Also the oddly anticipatory struggle and embrace of Achilles' father Peleus with the Nereid Thetis. Cf. Graves, I, 271.
46. Graves, II, 319.
47. Rehm (G) 290.
48. Vogel, 152.

his labour was 'das Penthesilea-Stil', stemming from aggressive harmonic clashes (such as the opening chords, Ex. 236) and a large measure of spoken dialogue against ostinati bass figures, of which Ex. 237 is representative. The two chords of Ex. 236 are ostensibly the music of the High Priestess,[49] though Schoeck claimed that they symbolised the two sexes.[50] At any rate, F sharp and C minor/major represent Penthesilea and Achilles respectively.

Penthesilea is, to a greater extent than Die Ägyptische Helena, a human drama. This is so in spite of Rehm's reductive comments, despite its unrelenting violence of mood, and despite the fact that Achilles is at his least heroic, while Penthesilea, far from reaching quasi-Olympian stature is deceitful and wantonly aggressive by turns.[51] Nevertheless, just as Schoeck the songwriter did not conceal his preference for Mörike and Keller over the Hellenist Hölderlin, so he made it clear that he was attracted to Penthesilea as drama an sich, rather than through its connotations with classical mythology. In this he placed himself intellectually at a great distance from the later Hofmannsthal, with his comment 'im Mythischen ist jedes Ding, durch einem Doppelsinn, der sein Gegensinn ist, getragen'.[52] It was Schoeck's view that the Greek notion of sexuality was a more sober, realistic one than the Christian, 'denn ihre Götter waren [illegible] denselben Anfechtungen ausgesetzt wie die Sterblichen'.[53] Beyond this he did not care to go. Unlike Strauss, he showed little liking for that touchstone of German Hellenist drama, Goethe's Iphigenia, complaining of the 'fabelhafte Rollen' and the 'aria-like speeches'. This latter comment comes oddly from an opera composer who might have seen, as others have done, a parallel between the lyric-iambic pattern of Greek tragedy and the technique of aria and recitative

49. Corrodi, op. cit., 153.

50. Vogel, 106. Though the Wagnerian idiom was far from congenial to Schoeck, he saw it as an analogy to the Tristan opening.

51. Cf. Paul K. Whittaker: Penthesilea and the Problem of Bad Faith, CG, 1972, 59 ff. Hatfield (Aesthetic Paganism, 177-8) relates Penthesilea to F. Schlegel's erotic novel Lucinde (1799).

52. Aufzeichnungen, 35 (and Prosa, 11, 200).

53. Vogel, 169.

used in Baroque and classical opera.[54] But Schoeck's real attitude is explained in his remarks that 'Doch dürfte der Stoff nicht umgedeutet, nicht ins Menschliche gewendet werden. Mythos soll Mythos bleiben, die Gestalten werden uns sonst fremd ....' This approach betrays one who, for all his involvement in 19th century German poetry, found it hard to escape from the Zürich provincialism of his nurture. 'Ich kann nicht begreifen', he exclaimed, 'wie Goethe dieses Umbiegen ins Humane hat passieren können'[55]

The Alsatian composer-conductor Robert Heger was no less provincial in origin than his exact contemporary Schoeck, but his first major stage work, Der Bettler namenlos, produced in 1931, reveals a different attitude. It is clear enough from this that the composer had a direct, unassuming love of Homer, especially the Odyssey, going back to his youth.[56] Though he did not, like Hermann Reutter a decade later, choose to turn the adventures of Odysseus into an opera, he is unlikely to have made much, if any distinction between what has been called the folktale element of the Odyssey and the 'mixture of realism and ordinary non-mythical fiction'[57] which characterises much of Homer's epic. Heger's fellow-Alsation Friedrich Lienhard (1865-1929) had impressed him deeply with his three-act dramatic poem Odysseus of 1911, revised as Odysseus auf Ithaka in 1914.[58] In the same year, he published his Gedicht: Auch in Ithaka, echoing earlier poetic treatments by Heyse and Wildenbruch.[59] It was the temper as well as the scope of Lienhard's play, summed up in J. Menrad's phrase 'der Sonnengottes Erdenfahrt'[60] which provided

54. Cf. L.H.G. Greenwood: Aspects of Euripidean Tragedy, C.U.P., 1953, esp. 138-9. However this was something A.W. Schlegel (Dram. Vorlesungen, I) had strenuously argued against.

55. Vogel, 106.

56. Letter of 15.10.73.

57. G. S. Kirk: The Greek Myths, 168

58. Greiner and Pfeiffer, Stuttgart. Paul Gaude compared Lienhard's simple 'Reldenhaft' Odysseus unfavourably with the wide-ranging 'höchst sensible Nature' of Hauptmann's in Der Bogen des Odysseus. Cf. Das Odysseusthema in der neueren deutschen Literatur....., Karras, Halle, 1916, 32. Yet the element of the grotesque, Odysseus as an 'almost maniacal' Waldmensch in Hauptmann is not hinted at by Gaude. Cf. on this W. B. Stanford: The Ulysses Theme, Blackwell, 1954, esp. 198-9.

59. Bühne u. Welt, Feb. 1914.

60. Der Urmythus der Odyssee u. seine dichterische Erneuerung. München, 1910.

Heger with the framework from which he prepared his own much simplified text.

August Bungert's tedious and over-ambitious Homerische Welt trilogy of the 1890s had made it difficult for any composer to approach this material with the same temerity, for fear of experiencing a similar disaster. Heger's solution to the problem, repeated a few years later in Der verlorene Sohn, was to create an opera in which all the characters were anonymous, though mostly recognisable in their essentials. The result of this was a certain ambiguity, so that Paul Stefan rather disingenuously argued the case for regarding the 'nameless beggar' of the title simply as a hero returning in disguise to his homeland, rather than Odysseus returning to Ithaca to claim Penelope.[61]

The action is set on 'eine Insel unter mildem Himmel'. Ithaca is thus not identified, but turned into a generalised poetic image, surrounded by vagueness and mystery:

Der Bettler: Sag mir, wie heisst das Land
auf dem ich stehe?

Der Hirt: Fast scheu' ich mich
mit Namen es zu nennen;
einst hochgerühmt,
erwünschtes Ziel der stolzen Segel
ist es verrufen heut'.
Der Schiffer dreht erschreckt den Kiel
wenn er die roten Klippen sichtet.[62]

Odysseus himself, an heroic tenor, is throughout most of the opera the nameless beggar, proclaiming at the outset 'Ich irre namenlos/von Meer zu Meer/von Land zu Land'[63] to the point when he becomes 'mit entblösstem Haupt, völlig verändert, ein König im Bettlergewand'. (III, 3)[64] As late as Act 2, Sc. 3, he is deeply unhappy, and apparently uncertain of the outcome, as the

61. Anb. 1931, 84.
62. Textbuch, 17.
63. Ibid., 16. The previous line 'Ich bin ein Bettler, der die Heimat sucht' is taken from Lienhard's Odysseus, page 5.
64. Ibid., 47.

pathos of Ex. 238 reveals. It is only in Act 3, Sc. 5 that he turns into 'der König' at which stage he and his wife address each other in their true identity for the first time. Long before this, from the work's opening scene, in fact, the Bettler's heroism has been musically established through the work's upward-surging main motif, Ex. 239.

Penelope is Die Königin (sopr.) throughout, her dignity unfailing, even when, hard-pressed by the suitors, she discovers the extent of their fornication with the serving-maids. The other characters have already spoken of her in tones of awed sympathy:

> Die Königin - noch immer hoffend
> wartet und weint[65] and
> Sie lebt und harrt
> in Treu und Tränen des Gemahls.[66]

Her motif of longing, Ex. 240, is rhythmically related to the 'heroic' Ex. 239, and is given in two later derivations from the same scene, Exx. 241 (Königin) and 242 (Schaffnerin). The other roles were more problematical, and Heger simplified by merging or omitting them. Thus the nurse Eurykleia and housekeeper Eurynome become the Schaffnerin (alto) whose important role is that of intermediary between Queen, household and the beggar on his arrival. It is she who (11, 3) announces to the Queen, after the argument with the Fremde Freier:

> Ein fremder Bettler
> Kam ins Land,
> Er sass am Rande des Meers
> und weinte beständig.
> Vom fernen König
> bringt er wicht'ge Kunde.[67]

In the Odyssey this occurs in Book XIX, where Eurykleia recognises Odysseus by the scar above his knee. The characters of the suitors in Homer

65. Ibid., 13.
66. Ibid., 18.
67. Ibid., 29-30.

are mostly delineated in sharp detail, especially those of Antinous and Eurymachus. Here, the Fremde Freier (barit.), most personable and persistent among them, is a conflation of these two; of the rest, only two, the second and third, are given singing roles (barit. and tenor). This, with the matching of these three by three disloyal girls (sopr., mezzo and alto) must be accounted less than wholly satisfactory, even though Heger concentrates entirely on the trial of strength in Act 3, and sidesteps the carnage with the bow so gloatingly described in Homer Book XXII, or the energetic fight in Lienhard.[68]

> Der fremde Freier will sich auf den Bettler
> stürzen, taumelt zurück und flieht aus der Halle.
> Der Pfeil schwirrt - man hört den Todesschrei des
> fremden Freiers. Die übrigen Freier fliehen
> aus dem Saal, es erhebt sich auf der Schwelle
> ein Jagen, Fliehen, Verfolgen: die Hirten und
> Getreuen morden die Freier.[69]

As this is an entirely human drama, Athene plays no part in the action. The critical role of Telemachus is also eliminated, and with it the element of conspiracy and collusion so important in the Odyssey. His disappearance also removes any necessity for referring to Odysseus' adventures following the end of the Trojan war, itself not explicitly named. In place of Telemachus is the emotional, patriotic Shepherd (Der Hirt), bearing a resemblance to Eumaeus, through whom we learn that the king left twenty years earlier 'zum grossen Krieg' and has not been seen since. His recognition of the king

> Er ist's -
> An diesem Schwung
> erkenn' ich ihn![70]

68. Odysseus, 1911 ed. Act 3, Sc. 1 (p. 75).
69. Ibid., 48.
70. Ibid., 38-9. Act 1 of Lienhard's play, to which Heger's opera adheres in outline, has Odysseus in dialogue first with Eumaios (Eumaeus) then Telemach(us).

occurs at the end of Act 2, at an equivalent point to Book XIX, in replacement of the Eurykleia episode. This important recognition is based on earlier information that 'Er war mir König, Herr/und Fremd der Jugend -/Ich war sein Jagdgenoss'.[71]

It is the Hirt who, appropriately, opens the opera, sitting on a rock before the hut and gazing out to sea with his E minor 'Woge rauscht auf, Woge rinnt ab: Atem der Jahre, Herzschlag der Zeit' (Ex. 239). His son, the Hirtenknabe, appears in Scenes 3, 5 and 7 as a young, bright-eyed contrast to the older man's intensity, while Heger adds a non-Homeric figure, the Älteste des Rats, echoing Lienhard's old man Aigyptios[72] to convey the sense of the Ithacan community and its sorrows of twenty years. As he declares to the Shepherd (I, 5):

> Uns fehlt der Eine
> der Vielheit bindet
> der Ordnung und
> Gesetz verbürgt:
> Ein neuer König
> tut uns not.[73]

But the Fremde Freier, whose succession the old counsellor welcomes at this point, is the declared enemy of the Shepherd. The Freier later suggests (11, 2) that

> Des Schicksals Sterne zwangen
> an dieses Felseneiland mich.[74]

Musically, his personality is expressed first of all in a four-bar passage (Ex. 243) in Act 1. Later, however, before the contest, his tension can be related to the earlier Lento misterioso passage (Ex. 244) from Act 2, Scene 1 in the more extended terms of Ex. 245. He sustains his ambition through the lascivious 'exotic dance' of bacchantes (Ex. 246) and the following Danza

71. Ibid., 16.
72. Cf. Odysseus, 1911 ed., esp. Act 2, pp 31-2.
73. Ibid., 13.
74. Ibid., 27.

furiosa in Act 3, Scene 1, to the great bow contest. At the point of his failure, when a great gust of wind causes the lights to flicker, Heger brings the Fremde Magd (Lienhard's Melantho) forward, to lead him away - 'was nützet Königsmacht!' she cries - another non-Homeric element. The Fremde Freier stays, of course, to greet the queen and her retinue, then to suffer execution by the Beggar in the manner already described.

I may be that no operatic treatment of the Homeric epic beyond Heger's comparatively simplistic one was possible during the post-war years. It stands as an heroic opera tout pur, a rescue drama whose force of narrative and primitiveness of presentation is balanced by the overconscious device of anonymity. Perhaps Heger was too aware of the implications of a 'mythological' opera as such. Long before, Schelling had observed that 'der Ursprung der Mythologie und der des Homer fallen also zusammen ..... wie der Ursprung beider schon den frühesten hellenischen Historikern gleich verborgen ist' and goes on to remark that 'schon Herodotos die Sache einseitig vorstellt, nämlich Homeros habe den Hellener zuerst die Göttergeschichte gemacht'.[75] Others after 1918 avoided what Schelling calls the 'Urbild' of Homer, and directly approached, with one exception, the material of classical drama for their re-presentation of mythological figures.

II

The association of Wellesz' Euripidean operas with the notion of Kultus springs from their place alongside Girnara and Die Opferung des Gefangenen as manifestations of religious awareness in a social or familial context. In these works, the Kultus, or act of worship in its broadest sense, is the emotional core of the action, and the narrative sequence as such largely secondary. It is this, as much as the obvious polarities of musical style, which distinguish Wellesz' mythic operas from the essentially narrative structures of Krenek. The concept of Kultus in relation to myth was adumbrated at length in 1933 by Walter F. Otto, who saw it, not as the

75. 1802: Werke, III, 436.

imitation of myth but as 'the immediate response of enraptured mankind to his manifestation or revelation. It bears the myth within itself', he felt, 'and in the imminence of deity establishes it as a living force'.[76] Wellesz spoke of the dance-element in his Opferung as 'völlig dramatisiert', as an 'integrierender Bestandteil der Handlung, so wie er es bei den grossen kultischen Feiern der Griechen war.'[77] Since he eventually saw this work as the conclusion of a trilogy begun by the short ballet Achilles auf Skyros (sketched by Hofmannsthal soon after they had met in Altaussee in 1918) and Alkestis (the outcome of lengthy discussions between writer and composer) the point is important. The Stucken drama, with its conscious use of communal 'mythic' religious behaviour, points the way to Die Bakchantinnen, which in turn stands in a logical relationship with Alkestis.

The postwar 'Handel renaissance' and the impact of Diaghilev helped to direct Wellesz towards his ideal theatrical conception of 'a combination of solo songs, choruses, pantomimes and dances .... cultivated through intense rehearsing'.[78] Some years later Otto Beer remarked that Wellesz' art sprang 'aus dem Religiösen und dem Kultischen, aus dem Heroischen und den Festlichen',[79] while many years afterwards, Wellesz observed that Alkestis, a sacrifice tragedy compounded with a rescue drama 'musste aus der Sphäre menschlicher Beziehungen in die des Allgemeinen, fast Kultischen erhoben'.[80] The cultic element is rooted in the theme of 'Opfertod und Wiedergeburt' which primarily interested Hofmannsthal, resulting in a version in which 'der Mythos nähert sich dem Mysterium'.[81] 'Kultisch' here refers not so much to the Dionysiac Herakles' entry to Hades and struggle with Thanatos, as to the death and funeral of Alkestis herself. The queen's departure reflects the 'cult of the departed', in whose honour the elaborate funerary ritual was carried

76. Dionysos. Myth and Cult, tr. R. B. Palmer, Indiana U.P., 1965, 45.
77. Anb., 1926, 12.
78. MM, 1926, 23.
79. Anb., 1934, 177.
80. NR, 1961, 30.
81. Günther Erken, KLL, 1965 ed., I, 441.

through, for, as Rohde pointed out, the soul of the dead on these occasions was still thought to be invisibly present.[82] For dramatic purposes, Alkestis does not lie in state for the obligatory full day, nor is her body burned. One of the several ironies of Alkestis is that Herakles' boisterous carousal and Admet's elaborate hospitality occur in the palace when the bereaved family would conventionally be about to begin the funeral feast.[83]

While Eliza Butler saw Hofmannsthal's Alkestis as 'little more than a literal translation of Euripides .... in the vein of Gilbert Murray', not to be compared with Rilke's 1907 poem,[84] the more recent detailed comparison by Jens[85] persuades us of significant differences. These amount essentially to the factual, detached, anti-psychological tone of Euripides as against the more detailed characterisation, atmosphere 'Erinnerung und Assoziation' of Hofmannsthal's 1893-4 version, first published complete by Insel Verlag in 1909. Euripides Alcestis, seen by G. M. A. Grube as 'a disconcerting mixture of the comic and the tragic'[86] has provoked a whole range of modern critical reactions. It is a play of 'stark macabre atmosphere' for one[87], possesses 'a curiously tart, almost bitter flavour',[88] is for another a 'rhetoric of death'[89] and for yet another offers 'a gleam of hopefulness'.[90] It has demonstrable roots in folktale material, through the Märchen archetypes of young man and woman, voluntary sacrifice and heroic liberation, as well as the melodramatic figure of death.[91] Yet a strong claim can be made for a dual dramatic-ironic pattern in Euripides' play (the rescue of Alcestis - the

82. Psyche (tr.) 164.

83. Ibid., 167. But 'Thanatos ist keine Person des Glaubens, weder als Zwillingsbruder des Schlafes noch als der Scherge des Hades'. Wilamowitz, Der Glaube der Hellenen (1931) Darmstadt, 1959, I, 309.

84. JWI, 1937, 57.

85. Jens, 30 ff., esp. 42-3.

86. The Drama of Euripides, Methuen, 1941, 131.

87. Conacher, op. cit., 336.

88. K. Dale, ed., Alcestis, xviii.

89. T. G. Rosenmeyer The Mask of Tragedy, 1963, 216.

90. P. Vellacott, (tr.) Alcestis, intro., 24.

91. cf. K. von Fritz, Antike u. moderne Tragödie, 1962, 299f.

testing of Admetus) which alone would place it at some remove from the 'Märchenstimmung'.[92] Similarly the literalism of the Thessalian background helps to distance it from the folktale, especially in connection with Admetus as 'grandseigneur' and protector of the house.[93]

Reference to Gluck's 3-act Alceste offers no guide to the one-act drama of Wellesz, though Calzabigi's text also strove towards ethical loftiness, entering the territory of the sacred and sublime.[94] The concentrated, arch-like structure of Wellesz' opera centres on three areas: the lament over the sacrifice and Alkestis' death and funeral; the arrival and feast of Herakles; the plunge of Herakles into Hades and his return with Alkestis. The important recrimination between Admet and his father Pheres is omitted, as it had been by Calzabigi. Thus at one stroke is removed that bitter, argumentative scene described as the technical agon of Euripides'(as of Hofmannsthal's) play,[95] one which gives the sacrifice of Alkestis an extra, familial dimension, and parallels the earlier Apollo-Thanatos confrontation also deleted from the opera.

It was virtually inevitable that the Pheres scene should have gone, given the hieratic format of this opera, and Hofmannsthal's suggested rigour in preparing the text. He provided Wellesz with four pages of text as an example of treatment, but the composer, though respectful, did not adopt this wholesale. He abandoned the chorus' opening 'So liebst du nicht mehr/dies gastliche Haus .... die sterblichen Menschen so bald?' after composing it, substituting the present 'O Gott, heilender Gott'[96] (Ex. 248) the mood of which, with that of the E minor Prolog (Ex. 247) conditions most of the work. He also returned to the play and reintroduced the old female slave, though her contribution[97] makes no use of Hofmannsthal's long original speech (play,

92. See W. D. Smith, The ironic structure of Alcestis, Phoenix, 1960, 127 ff.
93. See D. M. Jones, CR, 1948, 50-2.
94. Cf. Rudolf Gerber, C. W. Ritter von Gluck, Athenaion, Potsdam, 1941, 86-7.
95. Burnett, Catastrophe survived, 1971, 42.
96. Dramen, I, 17-18.
97. Textbuch, 7.

15-17) apart from the line 'Nein, das ist Geschick'. On the other hand, he took over complete the 'rezitativisch' speeches of the older and younger women over Alkestis' bier (play, 25-26) as funereal triple-time Trauergesänge (Exx. 258 and 259, Pesante).[98] The Gesang der Sklavinnen is omitted, making way for the 'Bewegung, wachsende Unruhe' of Herakles' arrival (the tremolandi and basso agitato of Exx. 260 and 261) during which the stage is filled with people.

From this point to the end, the adaptation is Wellesz' own. The loss of the Pheres scene is balanced by inclusion of most of the important Herakles-alte Sklave scene, during which the real identity of the newly deceased woman is revealed. Most of Admet's heartbroken speech which follows Herakles' departure for Hades, 'Aus leeren Augenhöhlen starrst du her,/Mein Haus!' is retained, though the Jüngling, like little Eumelos earlier[99] is removed, and Herakles' return with the veiled Alkestis is unheralded by the onlookers who appear in the play (p.43).[100] The remainder, beginning with the second line of Herakles' original speech 'Als ich in deinem Leid dir nahte/Hätt ich mich gern als Freund erprobt ....' covers only 2½ pages, reduced from eight in the Insel edition of 1909 (pp. 44-52).[101] What has been eliminated is the protracted anguish of Admet over thepresence of a strange woman in the house ('Ich könnte dieses Weib nicht sehn im Haus/Und ohne Tränen bleiben!')[102] The character of the original is drastically altered by two factors. One is the chorus's presence, with the cry of recognition 'Alkestis', followed by the final, lyrical 'Stimmt an, stimmt an den Lobgesang/Herakles, dir sei Ruhm und Preis' (Ex. 268). Then Alkestis, silent throughout in the play, here falls to her knees in welcoming her children, and 'wie aus einem Traum erwachend' slowly intones Admet's name (Ex. 267) as a symbol of her return to life. Grube commented that nothing she could have said in such circumstances

98. Ibid., 11.
99. Play, Insel edn., 23-5.
100. Ibid., 18-19.
101. Dramen, I, 43/4-51.
102. Ibid., 44.

would have seemed adequate.[103] In any case, according to Herakles, (ll. 1144-6) she required three days' purification before speech. Yet the operatic convention demands more. Hence Alkestis' womanly 'O meines liebsten Aug und Leib/Ich hab' dich wieder, den ich nimmermehr/Gehofft zu sehn!' and embrace of Admet as the crowd surrounds Herakles. Though printed in the Hofmannsthal G. W. (Dramen, I, 432-33) this final scene appears to have been drafted by Wellesz, inspired by Alkestis' motherly concern as emphasised by Hofmannsthal in the earlier death scene.[104]

The sense of doom instilled by the Prolog and opening scene before the Königsburg is closely bound up with the music's harmonic language. This is unpredictable rather than complex, designed, as with the incantatory clarinet figure in Ex. 248, to reinforce the mood of unrelieved solemnity. The predilection for open fourths and fifths, often in combination (as in Ex. 248 or the sustained chords of Ex. 250) seems to be associated with divinity or awareness of the sacred. In the elaborate chord of superimposed fifths symbolising Dionysos in Die Bakchantinnen (Exx. 276, 286, 288) this is again revealed. Beyond this, the rhythmic patterns are of a specific, usually repetitive ostinato nature, as in the lugubrious chords of Ex. 249 or the repeated bass figure of Ex. 250; they are extensively used in the old Sklavin's commentary (Ex. 251) and the renewed lament of the chorus, Ex. 252, where the muffled bass drum helps to reinforce the ritual quality.

The still centre of the Alkestis score, however, stressing the romance and pathos of her sacrifice, is in Ex. 253 (bars 309-318) before Alkestis' words 'Die Sonne, schau. Sie streichelt meine Hände'. It reappears with some harmonic changes at bars 417 to 426, when she begins to tell Admet that she is willingly giving up her life for him. The effect of this return is reinforced by her anguished farewell to the children, expressed 'mit wärmsten Ausdruck' in the flowing movement of Ex. 254. When death overtakes her, heralded by priestesses (Ex. 255) and followed by the arrival of priests (Ex. 256, a figure repeated at bar 883 f. (ff) as Admet returns to the palace, and

103. Loc. cit., 145.
104. NR, 1961, 35.

at 920f., Feierlich, p dolente) it is in the form of starkly simple restrained octave passages, contrasting with the concentrated emotion of Ex. 253. The temperature is raised again during the Aufbahrung (Ex. 257) but only through the sharply bitonal harmony and metrical irregularity of this ceremonial passage, while the complementary Trauergesänge (Exx. 258/9) give the farewell scene a lyrical, undisturbed, even reconciled quality. Tonally and metrically they relate directly to the final A flat Lobgesang.

Herakles' arrival (on behalf of Eurystheus of Tiryns en route to Diomedes of Thrace) offers an opportunity to change the tempo of the score, if only temporarily. The first signal of his appearance (Ex. 260) is not unlike the Magier's ritualised action in Girnara, Act 1 (cf. Ex. 102) though though the role of Herakles, embodying as it does the spirit of Dionysos as well as the more earthy, vinous courage of Bacchus, is more ambiguous. Both of these aspects are portrayed in the score, the long passage beginning with the rapid semiquavers of Ex. 261 suggesting his vigorous energy, the bold B flat triadic fanfares of Ex. 262 his heroic fearlessness and questing stature. The descending fifths E♭ - A♭ - D♭ in the bass here give way to a bass moving from E♭ to G by way of B♭, F♯ and C, only for the sustained superimposed fifths, with their divine Dionysiac implications, to return in the harmony when Herakles utters his first words, 'Geh ich hier recht zur Schwelle des Admet?' Certainly the lower, bibulous glutton Herakles is emphasised in the 'Wilde Lärmen' which follows, beginning with running servants (Ex. 263) and continuing with Herakles' worless drunkenness, Ex. 264 ('ungefüge, nicht deutlich verständliche, trunkene Singen'[105]) echoed noisily by the chorus of followers. Here he is the 'roher Bursch', the 'Strassenräuber' of the old slave's accusations. But it is Herakles who near the end of the 'orgiastischer Lärm', and following his hymn to drunkenness ('Göttliche Art der Trunkenheit vielleicht/Ist, was wir Totsein heissen!') has the truth revealed to him by the old slave. Addressing the absent Admet, Herakles declares 'Mann, ich will/ Mich nicht vor dir so was wie schämen! Mann,/Ich geh und hole dir dein Weib zurück! ....' The stage remains empty as the music (Lebhaft, using material

105. Play, 35. Textbuch, 15.

developed from Exx. 250, 251 and 269) resolves into the quiet, severe contrapuntal Andante of bar 1516 ff. (Ex. 265) recalled from bar 552f., following the obsequies.

Admet's broken-spirited reappearance, signalled by Ex. 251, is the point at which his character and behaviour appear at their most sympathetic, though one need not agree with Rosenzweig that he is in Hofmannsthal's play a 'grosse Held ... der durch Seelenstärke herrscht'.[106] As against his earlier awareness of his supra-personal, kingly role in the tragic sacrifice - 'Mir ist auferlegt, so königlich zu sein,/Dass ich vergessen könne all mein eig'nes Leid!' - poured out against the stark rhythm and broad harmonies of Ex. 269, he is now conscious only of his loneliness, his palace, like his future life, silent, cold and unlit. Paradoxically, the setting of this passage, beginning 'Als Kind/In Winternächten'[107] marked Sehr ruhig is, despite the reappearance for five bars of the sustained D minor bare fifth from Ex. 253, warmly lyrical, with extensive harmonic movement. Ex. 270, Admet's cry to his dead wife, raising his fist to heaven, sets a passage in Hofmannsthal which has no equivalent in Euripides: 'Und doch bebt deines Herzens Herz Alkestis,/Hier drin, und solcher Aufschwung, solche Träume,/ Die ohne dich in dieses Blut nie kamen'.[108] The soaring melodic line of this relates it closely to Ex. 253, while the latent tension only expands though the following bars as he cries 'Tot, tot! Kann denn es sein? Nicht da! nicht dort! und kommt nie mehr herein!' In the play at this point he breaks down, then goes on to invest the very landscape with his grief. The opera text instead moves on to his outcry, summoning of Adrastus, and sudden, convulsive thought that Herakles, appearing through the doorway, the veiled woman on his arm, is Death himself with Alkestis. This whole passage, down to the curious, dream-like near-anticipation of what is about to occur, is Hofmannsthal's idea. It has no source in Euripides, where at this point the Chorus' strophes and

106. Anb., 1924, 97.
107. Textbuch, 18.
108. Ibid., 19, Play (Insel edn.) 42-3.

antistrophes dominate the action. As the stage slowly fills, the hieratic Ex. 266 appears for the first time. It signals the enigma of the veiled woman (bar 1646f.) but also the mystery of her unveiling, and identification as Alkestis. With its sustained string chords and stress on E flat in the plaintive octave melodic line, there is a connection with Alkestis' attempt to arouse herself from the sleep that was death (Ex. 267) in which the divided upper string chords seem to anticipate both her struggle to breathe, and to form Admet's name. Compared with this poignant moment, the final A flat/D flat chorus singing the praises, not of Admet, but of Herakles (inevitably rousing Ex. 262) are a formal, conventionally triumphant close.

In retrospect, the sacrifice element in Alkestis and the Mexican Tanzdrama seem to lead Wellesz naturally to The Bacchae, that play of Euripides' old age even more productive of critical controversy than the Alcestis. The Bacchae comprises 1392 lines to Alcestis' 1163, yet while the opera Alkestis runs to 1945 bars in all, Die Bakchantinnen's two acts (fourteen scenes) take up respectively 2300 and 1243 bars. Clearly there are important differences of treatment, but the problems posed by The Bacchae were in any case much greater. Alkestis has the character of a huge symphonic slow movement with an Allegro interlude. In setting The Bacchae (Wellesz' title is a fusion of Wilamowitz' 1923 translation Die Bakchen and B. Viertel's Die Bacchantinnen of 1925) the difficulties were met by a quite different formal plan. The result was interestingly reminiscent of Girnara in being set out in two parts; Girnara's Weltspiel was broadly equivalent to the first act, portraying the tensions in the court of Thebes and Pentheus' hubris, while the second act, dominated by Dionysos on the slopes of Mt. Cithaeron, is analogous to the Buddha-dominated Legende in Girnara.

'Waren die reinen Operntexte zum grossen Teil banal in der Sprache, aber bühnenwirksam', Wellesz had written in 1919, 'so waren die als gesprochene Dramen konzipierten Texte dichterisch von Qualität, aber ungeeignet für die Vertonung'.[109] In later years, Otto Beer was apt to refer to Wellesz' terse

109. Anb., 1920, 10.

comment 'Handlung ist, was geschieht', and described his stage works as 'grosslinig und blockhaft', like the Altaussee landscape.[110] It was there that Die Bakchantinnen, like Alkestis, was written, after Hofmannsthal had seen the text prepared by Wellesz, and advised him to proceed with composition. Hofmannsthal's death on 15 August 1929 occurred when the first act was almost finished; the whole work was completed on 15 September 1930. His influence broods over the whole conception, even though we can be sure that he would have elaborated the Euripidean text in other ways.

Hofmannsthal's ideas and sketches for a drama called Pentheus date from 1904. They were among a number of projects (including Jupiter und Semele and König Kandaules) found among his posthumous papers. He told Wellesz about this, but it is very doubtful that the composer had sight of the manuscript itself.[111] The similarities existing between the two-act Trauerspiel planned by Hofmannsthal and the subsequent two-act opera doubtless arose through their discussions. Starting from Pater and Beardsley, Hofmannsthal's notes - they are little more - fall into three sections. First, there is a very brief sketch of the whole, centring entirely on Pentheus, his mother, shepherds and the Bacchae, and ending with 'Ermordung' and 'Totenklage'. The second and third parts are a fuller working-out of this, and conform to what would have been the two acts of the drama. The old men ('Greise') appear, Teiresias like Goethe in old age, Cadmus 'ein altes Kind', like Merlin or Klingsor. Pentheus himself is 'König ein einem strengen clansystem', with Dionysos seen by him as a dangerous outsider, as 'Verbrecher, Bettler, Pariah'.[112] Agave is full of 'dunkler Möglichkeiten' and tied to Chaos; Pentheus mistrustfully asks her 'Glaubst du meiner Götter?' When the Stranger appears (Hofmannsthal suggests 'ein Asiate, Dionysos selbst?') Pentheus explains in a manner 'rein hesiodisch, ethisch' the nature and function of the gods.[113] Thus in the 'first act' notes, Pentheus appears as potential victim, even

110. Auft., 1934, 177.
111. Johannes Presse, Wien, 1936. Dramen, II, 523-30.
112. Ibid., 524.
113. Ibid., 526-7.

martyr, but certainly not as villain[114]; he is, rather, the defender of orthodoxy and stability. In the notes for Act 2,[115] the manner of Pentheus' death is not even briefly described. Although it conforms surprisingly closely to Act 2 of Die Bakchantinnen, Hofmannsthal does not seem concerned to present a clear view of Pentheus, still less of Dionysos, whose 'gewaltige Stimme erhebend wie eherne Trompete' appears only in the last sentence. The action is self-sufficient, assumed, and moral judgments are eschewed.

At that time (1904) Hofmannsthal is unlikely to have known the notions of Euripides as rationalist and Dionysos as a plain impostor which were becoming familiar in the English-speaking world.[116] We can be sure he would have disliked them. His conception, in Pentheus is of a pathological study merged with features of a medieval mystery play.[117] The 'rationalist' view would in any case have been totally at odds with operatic treatment. In Die Bakchantinnen, we are left in no doubt about the reality and irresistible power of the Dionysiac religion. Equally Pentheus, shrill and unpleasant though he may be, is still King of Thebes (as the 'cowardly' Admet was of Pherae) and his attitudes are, in the words of a French critic of 1912 'appropriés à son rôle et aux circonstances dramatiques'. Nihard reflected something of Hofmannsthal's viewpoint in Pentheus in his remark that the king 's'oppose à l'introduction d'une religion qui lui parait être la négation même de l'honnêteté des moeurs et de la dignité de la vieillesse'.[118] Nihard had pointed out the supernatural events, the sacral atmosphere and the almost constant presence of a god on stage as factors giving The Bacchae its 'physionomie particulière'.[119] Those basic features of Euripides' play noted by Dodds,[120] its archaism and its emotion, and the fact that the meaning of the play lies precisely in its accumulation of tensions[121] made its attraction

114. Cf. Greenwood, loc. cit., 50-54.
115. Dramen, II, 529-30.
116. A.W.Verrall, Euripides the Rationalist (1895), later G.Norwood, The Riddle of the Bacchae (1908).
117. Cf. Rosenmeyer, 109.
118. René Nihard: Le Problème des Bacchantes d'Euripide H.Champion, Paris, 1912, 48.
119. Ibid., 3.
120. The Bacchae (1944), 2nd ed., O.U.P., 1960, xxxvi and xlvii.
121. The point is well made by Conacher, loc. cit., 59.

to Wellesz in 1927-8 quite natural and explicable.

In his introduction to the Textbuch, Wellesz briefly summarises the mythic background, in particular Dionysos as son of Zeus and Agave's now dead sister Semele, the mother whose death the young god seeks to avenge. Without passing into detail, he points out the need for turning the narrative reportage of much of The Bacchae into 'Sichtbares Geschehen', and refers to the single surviving line of Aeschylus' Pentheus as having given him the clue (he does not say how) to treatment. The line, not quoted, is μηδ' αἵματος πεμφιγα πρὸς πέδῳ βάλῃς - do not spill a drop (pemphix) of blood upon the ground[122] - which Dodds related to The Bacchae 1.837, 'but you will cause bloodshed if you join battle with the worshipping women'[123] in the context of Pentheus reluctantly dressing as a Bacchant and going to spy on them.

Euripides' chorus actually participates in the action only twice (ll. 604 f. and 1024 f.).[124] The most important part of the textual preparation lay in incorporating its function as commentator and remonstrator into the rapid flow of the narrative. Wellesz' solution was to divide the stage chorus into two, the Asiatischen Mänaden - conforming to Euripides' original chorus of Dionysiac oriental women - and the women of Thebes as Bakchantrinen, led by Agave, Ino and Panthea (not Autonoe[125]) and eventually driven into ecstasies by the song 'Selige Heimat, heilige Höhn' from the foreign Maenads.[126] Significantly it is the Maenads who have the first and last words in the opera, whereas in The Bacchae, the whole background of the play is initially presented by Dionysos himself, standing near Semele's monument before Pentheus' palace. In effect, this becomes Scene 2.

Beyond this Wellesz had to incorporate the important expositions provided by Pentheus (l. 215 f. on his first appearance) Teiresias (ll. 266-327) and

122. Aischylos: Fragmente der Tragödien, hg. H. J. Mette. Akademie Vlg., Berlin, 1959, 137.

123. Loc. cit., xxxi, also Vellacott, 207

124. Cf. M. Arthur: The choral odes of The Bacchae, YCR, 1972, esp. 145-6.

125. ll. 230 and 681.

126. Textbuch, 40 Cf. Edler, 196, for discussion of the Bacchanal of early 19th C. operas as a synonym for ballet.

the rather shorter one by the Guard (ll. 434-50). Above all, he had to remove the detailed report of the Herdsman who had seen the 'holy Bacchae' summoning milk, wine and honey from the snowy slopes of Cithaeron (ll. 660-774) and, later, the horror-struck Messenger's account of the death of Pentheus from his appearance (l. 1024) to his exit at l. 1152. The Teiresias monologue was partly incorporated in Scene 4 and that of Pentheus in Scene 5. The roles of the Herdsman and Messenger are eliminated altogether, and that of the Guard absorbed into the old servant, Pentheus' companion on Cithaeron, and placed at the beginning of Act 2. Significant, too, is the bringing forward in time of Agave. In the play, she does not appear until l. 1167, when, 'with eyes wildly rolling' she carries in Pentheus' severed head. In order to give her greater credibility in the kaleidoscopic sequence of the opera, Wellesz provides her with a soliloquy, comprising Scene 8 of Act 1. He follows it with a scene between Agave and Pentheus which explores something of the mother-son psychology which also interested Hofmannsthal,[127] and for which The Bacchae offers no precedent at this point.

The fourteen short scenes resulting from the play's reworking each centre on one or two main protagonists, as follows:

ACT ONE	Scene 1.	Chorus of Oriental Maenads
	Scene 2	Dionysos
	Scene 3	The people of Thebes
	Scene 4	Teiresias
	Scene 5	Pentheus (with his warriors)
	Scene 6	Kadmos
	Scene 7	Pentheus and Dionysos
	Scene 8	Agave
	Scene 9	Agave and Pentheus
	Scene 10	Pentheus and the 'Bakchantinnen'.
ACT TWO	Scene 1	Pentheus and his old servant
	Scene 2	Agave, Ino and Panthea. Bakchantinnen. (Death of Pentheus)

127. Pentheus was 28, Agave 42, he suggested. Loc. cit., 527.

Scene 3 Agave, Kadmos and Teiresias

Scene 4 Dionysos.

'The Power of the Dance', observed Dodds in 1940, 'is a dangerous power. Like other forms of self-surrender, it is easier to begin than to stop'.[128] It was Dodds who later drew a clear distinction between the Apolline ecstasy and the Dionysiac trance or Ekstasis, with its reliance on wine and the sacral dance or orgia.[129] Similarly Guthrie, pointing out how by Euripides' time Thebes was the centre of the Greek cult of Dionysus, claimed that the peak of the Dionysiac ecstasy (mania) meant that the worshipper was 'at one with his god'.[130] Thus despite the demonstrable cruelty of Dionysos, and the fact that the Bacchae is primarily about the fate of Pentheus, the ultimate impression is not simply of Pentheus as heroic protector of balanced enlightenment and of Dionysos as the persecuting, malevolent god. Ambiguity arises in that however much one feels the punishment to be severe out of proportion to the hubris or 'blasphemy',[131] and that maenadism is indeed a sinister, bestial civil disorder, Dionysos' godhead is admitted by all but Pentheus; his power and miracles are not doubted.[132] As Dodds observed, for Apollo and Dionysos the human 'right' has no meaning.[133]

Die Bakchantinnen sets out this position clearly in Scenes 1 and 2. The work's musical style is generally simpler than that of Alkestis, mainly because of the subject-matter, and the necessary prominence of motoric rhythmic patterns. Tonality or triadic harmony are central to the score. In characterising the asiatic maenads, Wellesz presents three main ideas, of which Ex. 271 is the chief, with its oblique D major/minor and use of the ♩.♪♩ also present in the strongly F minor Ex. 272. The third main idea is the six-crotchet pattern of Ex. 273, associated particularly with bacchantic

128. Maenadism, App. I of The Greeks and the Irrational, 271-2, orig. HTR, 1940, 155 ff.

129. Cf. also Rohde, Psyche, 288-9.

130. Guthrie (G) 174.

131. Dionysos calls Pentheus 'blasphemer' (αὐτὸς), l.502 Cf. Kadmos' rebuke, l. 1348.

132. Cf. A. R. Bellenger: The Bacchae and Hippolytus, YCR, 1939, 24.

133. The Bacchae, 238.

ecstasy or self-surrender. Much use is made of it in Scene 1, both in a lyrical, tonal context - the unabashed B flat major of 'Selige Heimat', Ex. 274 (cf. Agave's ecstatic song, Ex. 290, or even the Schöne Dame's B major melody in Girnara, Ex. 99) and in an equally characteristic polytonal manner (Ex. 275) where the violins pursue the six-crotchet idea through effectively opposed block chords of B flat and B minor/major, as the maenads summon up Dionysos, the 'strahlender Gott'.[134]

Dionysos appears from the smoking flames over Semele's tomb, and the maenads fall to the ground with a shriek. His symbolic sustained chord consists of seven superimposed fifths begins on D and ends on D♯, while his own vocal entry (Ex. 276) while beginning on D sharp seems to move quickly into an unequivocal E major. His incantation, punctuated by worshipping cries from the maenads is notable for its stress on Semele as the motive for revenge, and the non-Euripidean mention of Agave, Ino and Panthea.[135] The main part of this scene is completed with the return of Ex. 271 as the maenads rush out, and a new motif (Verwandlung, Ex. 277) appears in rapid $^{5}_{4}$ crotchets, lasting for 114 bars in all, as the maenads of Tmolus and women of Thebes join in offstage cries.

Busy, severe counterpoint heralds the short Theban scene (Ex. 278a, bars 579-80 followed by Ex. 278b, bars 597-600) which serves to stress the effect of the maenads on the Theban community, to introduce their acknowledgment of Pentheus as king (he has already been mentioned by Dionysos[136]) and to set the scene for Teiresias' arrival (Exx. 279 and 280). Scenes 4 to 6 amount to a radical restructuring of ll. 170 to 369 of The Bacchae. Euripides presents Teiresias and Kadmos with fawnskin and thyrsos planning to dance to Bacchus, while Pentheus on his first entry does not at first see them; Teiresias' long remonstration follows. Here, the initial appeal of Teiresias is to the people of Thebes, to whom 'in völliger Entrücktheit' he offers the

134. Cf. Herakles' B flat motif in Alkestis, Ex. 262.
135. Textbuch, 11.
136. Ibid., 10. Bacchae, 11. 43-6.

advice to sacrifice and pray (the languid A major of Ex. 281) explaining the true significance of Dionysos, and bewailing Pentheus' disbelief - 'Welcher Dämon/Verwirrt ihm den Sinn,/Dass er nicht ehrte/Das göttliche Wunder!' After his prayer, Pentheus' arrival with his soldiers has all the air of dangerously simplistic 'rationalist' efficiency, with the C major chord (a parody of the Dionysos chord) and militaristic timpani of Ex. 282 creating the new atmosphere. The empty strings figure of Ex. 283 exposes the futility of his threats.

Pentheus' impatience with Teiresias is soon transferred to his grandfather when Kadmos enters (Sc. 6) equally in the grip of superhuman forces. At first he simply intones 'Die Götter, ... Sie sind die Richter unsrer Taten' (Ex. 284, making bold use of the six-crotchet motif), then ecstatically invokes 'die gottergriffne Semele' and the divinity of Dionysos. This corresponds (though not in tone) to ll. 330-42 of The Bacchae. Kadmos' attempt to place an ivy-wreath on Pentheus' head meets with scornful rejection and contemptuous dismissal to 'go and join in the Bacchic rites' (l. 344). In Ex. 285, this injunction is matched by a dry, broken accompaniment, suggesting, like Ex. 283, its disastrous wrongheadedness.

Scenes 7 to 10 from another natural group, dominated as they are by the presence of Dionysos. Agave's introduction by Wellesz (Scenes 8 and 9) has been noted; he went further, however, by dispensing with the ambiguous notion of Dionysos as his own priest and as prisoner of Pentheus (ll. 451-518). He also simplified the controversial miraculous destruction of the palace (ll. 576-603)[137] by placing it in the final scene, and allowing the collapsed wall[138] to reveal the distant prospect of Cithaeron to the wildly dancing Bacchants, who cry 'Auf zum Kithäron!/ Ihm zum Preis/ Ihm zur Feier/Schliesst den Kreis!'[139] This last incorporates the general sense of the Herdsman's report.

Dionysos, on his second appearance, is not just a 'sexual criminal',[140]

137. Cf. Dodds, Bacchae, 147-8.
138. See Girnara again, Legende, (Exx. 108-9)
139. Textbuch, 33.
140. Wm. Sale, The psychoanalysis of Pentheus, YCR 1972, 67.

though he is certainly this too for Pentheus. He is not just the wine god either, but Lord of the Spirits,[141] simultaneously 'le plus doux' of all the gods and 'le plus terrible pour ses ennemis'.[142] In preparing the way for the sparagmos of Act 2, Wellesz had to emphasise this in Act 1's closing scenes. Thus in Exx. 286-8, one sees three successive instances of his use of the Dionysiac chord. These illustrate successively the god's initial patience (the fifths chord in full, but pianissimo, quickly overtaken by Pentheus' aggressive response; then a modified version of the chord, with Dionysos' calm willingness to bring friendship reflected in the viola doubling the vocal recitative (Ex. 287); finally, in Ex. 288, the full chord again, fortissimo, with Dionysos' menace and anger reaching its height. Pentheus vainly draws his sword on the god, who disappears suddenly in a shower of flames ('aufflammendem Licht') upon which Pentheus, trying to regain his composure, rushes after him crying '.... wär es nach des Hades Tiefen - Ich folge dir!'

The Agave scene which follows is built around her state of trance, first at the cry of the maenads and Theban bacchants (Ex. 289, using a derivative of the five-note rhythm of Ex. 277, Sc. 2) then at their distant singing. This section's E flat lyricism, Ex. 290, directly recalls the B flat song of the maenads from Sc. 1 (cf. Ex. 274). The interesting point here is Agave's comparison of the maenads' song with Orpheus' musical response to Eurydice's call from Hades. This is Wellesz' own image, and follows quickly on Pentheus' evocation of Hades in Sc. 7.[143] When she and Pentheus meet in Sc. 9, the emphasis is on Pentheus as child ('Ich bin der Knabe!/ Pentheus bin ich!) and Agave first recalling her days as loving mother, long ago (the lullaby passage, Ex. 291) then rejecting Pentheus as 'einer von den Sterblichen' as she rushes off, drawn by the bacchic sound, crying 'Zerissen alles, was uns einte,/Abgetan die Bande unsres Bluts!'[144] Scene 10 closes the act with the

141. Rohde, 285.
142. Nihard, 102.
143. Cf. Euripides, Alcestis l. 252 f.
144. Textbuch, 31.

the first direct confrontation of Pentheus and a group of imprisoned Bacchants in disarray. The new rhythmic material (Ex. 292) as they first appear quickly gives way to a sequence of earlier ideas, Exx. 282 (Pentheus) 275 (B major and C, the Bacchants) 277 (as darkness and thunder arrive and the palace shakes) and 271 (as the Bacchants dance wildly in ecstasy).

Act 2's main events virtually selected themselves. Pentheus had to appear on Cithaeron as a Bacchant; the orgia leading to his destruction had to be set in motion by Dionysos; Agave's remorse and the Theban community's consternation had to be portrayed; finally, Dionysos had to appear in concluding immortal triumph. Seen thus, the second act, unlike the first, begins and ends softly, exploding into action only in the middle. In keeping with his treatment in Act 1, however, Wellesz went beyond The Bacchae by bringing back Teiresias as well as Kadmos in Scene 3, minimising the Euripidean punishments of exile and transformation of Agave and Kadmos, ending the opera with the oriental maenads who had opened it, and, above all, reducing the horrific effect of Pentheus' death to something just as shockingly final, but less visually intolerable.

So far as the Vorspiel to Act 2 is concerned, the opening idea (Ex. 293) with its stressed note A reappears briefly in bar 49 and again at bar 897-9 (Agave with Pentheus' corpse at her feet) and 1011-1013 (Agave crying 'Weh! Ihr Allesschauenden, ihr Eumeniden! Rachedurstige!). The idea thus goes beyond the violence of Pentheus' death to the moment of realisation, of awakening 'zur vollen Klarheit'. The repeated A also anticipates the final scene's opening (Ex. 301) when the funereal gloom is combined with the first light of dawn and the sudden appearance of a now sternly sacerdotal Dionysos. Further, since the oriental maenads' final chorus 'O du gewaltiger' shortly resolves unexpectedly into A minor (see Ex. 302) and closes the work in that key, a broad tonal strategy can be seen enveloping the entire act.

Pentheus, now dressed in white, with 'Pardelfell und Thyrsosstab' declares, despite warnings from the servants, that the night is good and 'helps his disguise'.[145] Standing 'finster' and 'gross' his determination is

145. Ibid., 36.

stronger than any possible discouragement. Ex. 294, with its woodwind bass chords and aggressive triple rhythm has faintly Mahlerian echoes. A warning rhythm (Ex. 295) on timpani and strings turns to the five-note pattern of Ex. 277 as Pentheus realises that the Bacchants are approaching. In another quiet E flat minor/major passage (bar 220 ff.) he cries 'Pentheus Seele ist aufgeflogen wie ein Pfeil'. Ex. 271 returns in full force as the scene ends; Agave, Ino and Panthea appear with Ex. 271 turning into the summoning call of Ex. 296 (bars 303-4) and, as the Bacchants draw closer, to Ex. 297 (bars 318-19). The scene is dominated by Agave, something Ino's and Panthea's participation (Ex. 298, as the first Bacchants appear and gaze from the heights) cannot minimise.

Ex. 274, the song of the maenads drives the Theban bacchants forward. A sacrificial fire soon glows; Ino, then Panthea urge them on to draw milk, wine and honey from the earth. Pentheus' figure is caught by the firelight (bar 630) as Dionysos' great voice calls to the maenads to 'Rächt den Frevel'. The scene is brilliantly lit by torches (blutrot) while Pentheus (as hunted lion) is chased from rock to rock by his mother. We cannot know now whether the obvious dangers of a comic effect were entirely avoided here in the Vienna production. There is no doubt that it represents a major, perhaps fatal dilution of the events in The Bacchae. The Bacchants' blood-lust expresses itself in a fierce driving rhythm (Ex. 299, E flat minor again) as Agave chases Pentheus the 'Bergleu' on to a narrow ledge, brandishing her torch, whereupon he falls forward to his death.

No significant pause occurs here as the stage is filled with warriors and servants, led by Kadmos and Teiresias. The old men's reproaches and Agave's growing anguish and remorse are portrayed in this long, penultimate scene in the work's most florid, complex writing, especially between bars 908 and 993. Drunken, destructive triumph give way to total incredulity and bottomless grief. The recitative quoted in Ex. 300, in which Agave takes full conscious blame for her son's death, appears at bar 1039 f., shortly before Pentheus' body is raided up and solemnly removed. This Aufbahrung, unlike

Alkestis' is without hope, a point reinforced by the closing (Sehr breit) general chorus 'Pentheus! Pentheus! Allzukühner!/Wehe der Irdischen/Dunkles Geschick'. The references to exile in Euripides' final scene find no place in Scene 4, which refers to none of the preceding events specifically. Dionysos' rebuke, beginning as in Ex. 301, is entirely general, and the maenads' final chorus avoids the dry 'anapaestic clausula' of The Bacchae ll. 1388-92, substituting a prayer to Dionysos himself (Ex. 302) which brims with intoxicated self-abnegation.

III

Two years after its premiere at Kassel, Wellesz included the 'Orpheus' lyre' motif from Krenek's opera (Ex. 303) in his Neue Instrumentation[146] to illustrate the xylophone used alongside other instruments. He admitted that he found Weill's scores more interesting from the strictly instrumental viewpoint, but naturally could not express there a view of Krenek's approach to ancient myth. Such a view would in any case have been premature, since the composer of Orpheus und Eurydike was completing the much long Leben des Orest at the same time as Wellesz was still working on the first act of Die Bakchantinnen. This coincidental overlap is far less significant than the difference in mood between Wellesz' Kultdrama and the notion of Zeitdrama inherent in Krenek's two earliest mythic operas.[147] For Wellesz the myth was timeless; for Krenek, powerful mainly because of adaptability to contemporary problems.

The comparison of the Alcestis legend with that of Orpheus and Eurydice as illustrations of the power of love (philia as well as Eros) is at least as old as Phaedrus' discourse in the Symposium.[148] But if an element of burlesque is present in Euripides' 'pro-satyric' play, which ends happily,

146. DNI, I, 149.

147. H. Joachim, Pallas Athene weint Programmheft, Hamburgische Staatsoper, 1955/6.

148. Plato, Symposium, ed. R. B. Bury, C.U.P., 1932, 23-30.

Kokoschka's three-act drama of 1915-17, conceived in 'Ekstase und Delirium',[149] a product of his wartime experience, his wound and his turbulent affair with Alma Mahler, is flavoured throughout by hysteria and the grotesque. The problem of individuality, the 'Ich und Du' division is the overall theme.[150] 'Hinter jedem Werke .... steht ein Leidender' noted Soëergel in 1927, observing that 'Kokoschka mag den Text als eine Art Partitur'.[151] The young Krenek, prompted by Leo Kestenberg to seek out Kokoschka with a view to adapting the play (first perf. 1919) as an opera, was aware that Hindemith had already adapted Mörder Hoffnung der Frauen (q.v. Ch. 3). He quickly became aware of the convoluted syntax and 'neologistic additions to the traditional vocabulary' in Orpheus und Eurydike, as he also was of the differences in personality between himself and Kokoschka. This division was seen clearly by Weissmann, among others who saw no 'seelische Gleichung' possible; Kokoschka was 'der unruhevolle Maler, weniger logisch als der ausserordentlich gescheite Krenek'.[152] 'As a young man of the postwar period' Krenek said later, 'I obviously wanted to be as radical as possible'.[153] Radicalism, in his case, meant atonality. The very young, self-consciously 'progressive' composer, the 'idealistischer Sozial-revolutionär'[154] who provided, unflatteringly, the model for Matthias Fischböck in Werfel's Verdi at this time,[155] felt the 'roving irrationality' of the painter to be remote from his own spirit. He admired the 'aura of demonic and mysterious power' emanating from this text, which he confessed to finding incomprehensible on a first reading.[156] Krenek himself was briefly and unsuitably married (1922-4) to Anna Mahler in Berlin. He was a familiar

149. Letter of 9.11.50, qu. Cobet, KLL, V, 1112. A. Viviani (Z fd P, 1972, 515) suggests 1917 as the date for the whole play.

150. Cf. H. F. Redlich, Anb., 1930, 55.

151. Soëergel II, 738.

152. A. Weissmann, Berliner Z. am M. 29.11.26.

153. Music here and now, tr. B. Fles, Norton, N.Y., 1939, 85.

154. H. F. Redlich, Lesezirkel Hottingen, Zurich, 1930, 6.

155. Alma Mahler, Mein Leben, 158-9.

156. Yet he subsequently said that reading the play made him 'realise in a flash' the notion of investing a myth of remote origins with new significance. Warum Pallas Athene weint, (1955) in Zur Sprache Gebracht, München, 1958, 335-6.

figure in her mother's household, and, thus acquainted with both Oskar and Alma, was in a unique position to see in personal terms the story of 'love, passion, suspicion, devotion, melancholy, resignation, fierce vindictiveness and destructive hatred' behind the reworking of the Orpheus myth.

In view of the highly personalised treatment of the Orpheus figure, and the pivotal position of the ἄλλως μακαρ (anag. Oskar/Alma) ring engraving in the text, it would be tendentious to repeat even briefly what is known of the Apollonian musician, son of Kalliope and Oiagros, who was a sort of 'Hellenic missionary in Thrace'.[157] Kokoschka simply seized those essentials in the story apt for his purpose, most probably from Virgil's and Ovid's Latin versions. As Guthrie suggested,[158] the familiar 'failure through looking back' motif may be a later Alexandrian addition. The 'tabu against speech' variation is transformed by Kokoschka into a renunciation of enquiry into Eurydice's past, a required disavowal of jealous curiosity by Orpheus, which he is too weak to fulfil. Orpheus here may be artist but he is no god.[159] There is nothing Apolline about this Orpheus' descent into the underworld,[160] nor anything majestically heroic like Herakles' fight with Thanatos to regain Alkestis; yet historically, he was associated with the underworld, and had intuitive knowledge of its secrets and influence. Though one view of Orpheus' death (as old as Aeschylus) was that he was struck down by Dionysos, the commonly accepted notion, bound up with his active misogyny, is that he was savagely torn to pieces by Thracian and Macedonian women excluded from his religious rites. This is close to the orgiastic destruction of Pentheus in The Bacchae. In Kokoschka's version, the now insane beggar Orpheus is hanged from a beam in his own house, by peasants who, after fighting with marauding soldiers, have burned the house down. Finally, the

157. Guthrie (G) 316.
158. Guthrie (O) 31.
159. Cf. I. Parry, Rilke and Orpheus, TLS 12.12.75, 1495.
160. Cf. Guthrie (O) 29.

motif of Orpheus' head floating unharmed and singing at the mouth of the Meles,[161] to be rescued by a fisherman, reappeared in Kokoschka in the form of an anonymous skull brought up in the sailors' fishing-net. The engraved ring between its teeth is a symbolic equivalent of the voice.

In old age, Krenek has stressed that it was Kokoschka's disturbed, irrational vision which inevitably dominated the character of Orpheus und Eurydike. Insofar as the opera text adheres closely to the play, with all the detailed stage directions retained, and virtually no verbal additions to the original, this is true. Yet the schoolboy who wrote a novel about Alcibiades, the student inspired by the style and pessimism of Sallust was even more likely to have been drawn to the play by the mythological subject as by Kokoschka's reputation. The formalistic remoteness of the subject created a distancing effect, while allowing, through Kokoschka's language and highly personal vision for that preoccupation with individual and collective freedom so important in Krenek's other earlier works, though he said this was unclear to him until much later.[162] Already, Krenek was becoming the 'Prototyp des modernen Vaganten, ein avancierter, universell perfektionierter Goliard, ein Reisender par excellence',[163] for whom eventually the problem of life is less one of 'Bewältigung' than of 'Gesinnung'.[164]

The abbreviation of Kokoschka was not nearly so sweeping as had been Wellesz' of Hofmannsthal's Alkestis. By far the biggest textual excision, designed to concentrate attention still more on the protagonists, was in Act 3, Sc. 3. Here Krenek omitted the long dialogue between Orpheus' spirit and that of his mother, the 'Weibliche Stimme',[165] involving the amendment of Orpheus' final cry, amid crazed laughter, near the end 'Mutter, hu! Wie

161. Konon, qu. Guthrie (0) 62.
162. Selbstdarstellung, 16.
163. Saathen, op. cit., 35.
164. Ibid., 75.
165. Kokoschka (ed. Wingler) Schriften (1956), 287-292/3.

heisst's - Du sollst nicht töten - nicht töten'[166] before Eurydike's 'So im letzten Kampf umarmend/voller Entsetzen, für letzten Kuss, aus des Orpheus' erstarrten Kiefern/lös' ich mich endlich ledig'. Act 2's second scene, at the exit from the underworld, looking towards the bright Mediterranean landscape, illustrates the reductive process. Four exclamation marks added by Krenek are bracketed, and his excisions square-bracketed. The stage directions are translated.

(The way out of the crater ..... Thawing snow ..... Eurydike leans heavily on Orpheus' arm as they cross the ice. A flight of doves passes through a patch of mist lying over the sea.)

Orpheus: Schwebende Wesen, die eine Faust auslässt!
Des Aufblicks Sturz nach innen kehrt.
Abbild der Weite drängt im kleinen auszutreten.
Wunschgeschöpfe steigen lassen(!)
[die wie Gelassenheit in der Brust, die Laune lange übersah.]

Eurydike: Ein Federchen die Wärme hebt! (more briskly)
- Ich nehm' es so zum Zeichen mir.
Nichts anders war's als Du, Orpheus,
zum erstenmal Eurydikes Namen hauchtest.
Da lebte ich auf und stieg dir zum Gefallen mit hervor.
Fühle meine Kräfte!
Zum Wundern kräftigt sich ein Frauenherz,
schlägst Du den Herzschlag mit.
Wie geh ich leicht und ohne allen Kummer!
[Ist's nicht das frühere frohe Wesen, das Dir gleich innig anliegt?]
Sieh meinen freien Schritt.

Orpheus: Gib mir Deinen Arm fester (!)

Eurydike: Du hast mit einem Blick den Ring an meiner Hand gesucht?

[Orpheus: Noch hat die Neigung die beschwichtigende Gewalt zwar-

166. Ibid., 301.

Eurydike: (suspiciously, then cheerfully again)
- ob auch, wenn Du Dir's erst erklären wirst?
Meinst Du.]
Komm weiter, Orpheus! [Folg.]
Nicht grübeln.
Auf Kelches Neige zu prüfen,
den Trunk, den süssen nachgesüsst,
da schmeckt der Satz leicht bitter.

Orpheus: Bin schon so weit, hätt' ich gedacht -
Warte -

Eurydike: (slips and falls laughing into Orpheus' arms)
- schon stürz' ich wie ein reissend Strom zum Meer,
und halt' Dich schwindelnd um den Hals, Orpheus (!)

Orpheus: Statt Deiner mir im Arm, die Furcht war in
die Hoffnung lange eingewunden.
Die Kette schleppt mir nach.
Wie wohl mich nichts versuchte,
mich an vergang'nes Leid, [Verdruss, gleich
unfruchtbare Höllendinge,] zu klammern.
[Wie manche sich an Dörner, Steine, die im Stürzen.]
Eurydike, tauch' die Hand ins Licht -
Täuscht nicht ein Segel vorne?
(he points out to sea. A black ship is visible rising through mist and light above the water. Eurydike backs away on seeing the ship.)
[Sieh!] Dart lernt der Ferne wieder Tiefen ab, die Freude!
Komm, es färbt Dich frischre Luft,
sind wir erst drauf fort!

Eurydike: (to herself) Auf Hades' Nachen fort? - Ich?
- Das flüsterst Du?
[Ich weiss nicht mehr, was mir gehörte.]

(Eurydike stands hesitantly on the gangway behind Orpheus, who pushes her in front of him)

Orpheus: Fortsegelnd kannst Du umsehn von der Flucht.
Nachsinnen unterwegs uns wenig Aussicht schafft.
Schau vorn, an ein Steg legt (!)
Du geh vor mir!
[Will sehn, vom lästigen Gestern des Segels
fröhliche Fortbewegung,
Dich auf unübersichtlichem Rund mir
meine Spur schreiben!]
(Eurydike hesitates)

Eurydike: Verwirrt der Herzschlag? Ich und Du -
Und noch was? Angst vor Dir?
(beseeching) Lug und Trug - Orpheus - geh Du -

[Orpheus: Des Tages Mitte öffnet sich für unser Zwei/Durchgehn.
Nichts drängt sich zwischen uns.
Wie eine Spinne, der ihr Fang entschlüpfte,
Krümmt unter uns die Nacht sich und vertrollt.
Fühlst Du Dich sicher? Und ich? - Wir allein -

Eurydike: Bliebe es so. Noch ist es nicht zu spät.]

Orpheus: Zu spät zurück, Du Liebe. Eilen wir.
Weiss nicht wie lange alles greifbar bleibt -

Eurydike: - Die Hoffnung, dass es wieder Tag wird morgen!
Kleine Blumen! Wie deutlich spür' ich
eurer Fesseln Lockern
Wie grüner Samt der Frühling!
[Presst an die Gitterstäbe sein Gesicht -]
Von früher will ich nichts mehr wissen.

Orpheus: (lifts her on board): Die Segel ziehn uns jetzt hinaus.

Eurydike: Ein Federchen die Wärme hebt,
Sprich's - ein Wort - ich lebe.
Dein Kopf sich neigt. Rat' nicht,
warum Eurydike schweigt.
Oh, was ich trieb, das lief Dir in die Wege.
Nimm's gütig auf und schenk' mir's dann zurück.
(the gangway is raised, the ship fades away)[167]

The air of menace here centres round the black ship, its significance not realised by Orpheus, but recognised by Eurydike as a sign of Hades' continuing hold over her. The whole is oddly reminiscent of the vaults scene in Pelléas et Mélisande (3, II) yet it also illustrates the 'dämonische Chaos, die Verwüstung, den dem Menschen innewohnenden Mordtrieb, die Grausamkeit und den Zwiespalt mit dem eigenen Ich'[168] actualised or suggested in so many Expressionist dramatic scenes.

The best-known line in Kokoschka's play is the Strindbergian sentiment near the end: 'Hinter der Liebe, bis in den Tod steckt-/Hass!' That hatred should thus pursue love, like a shadow, is a sentiment at some remove from Novalis' 'Ohne Trennung keine Verbindung', while the notion of death here is not 'ein Geheimnis süsser Mysterien'.[169] Even Orpheus' lyre, symbol of the magically transforming power of sound[170] presented first on the violin (Vorspiel) and subsequently by xylophone and harp, is magnified at the moment of his death into a hideous scream by four trumpets against a mockingly triumphal chord of E flat (Ex. 304, Act 3, Sc. 1). There is no suggestion here of the lyre as creator of Orpheus' own love; it was rather 'Wahnsinn in einer wahnsinnig gewordenen Welt'.[171] Though he may be a prophet of 'die Realität des Unsichtbares',[172] he holds no brief for the Rilkean 'offenes

167. Ibid., 258-262.
168. A. Viviani, Z fd P, 1972, 527.
169. qu. W. Rehm; Orpheus: der Dichter u. die Toten, L. Schwann, Düsseldorf, 1950, 108, 110.
170. Cf. Rehm, Orpheus, 9.
171. Alfred Baresel, Auft, 1926, 234.
172. Rehm, Orpheus, 516 (qu. Bachofen).

Leben' through which youth brings back the dead as 'Seligkeitsbewusstsein'.[173] Orpheus and Eurydike are perhaps, after all, 'widerstreitende Elementarmächte'[174] rather than two people at emotional odds. Much more than Orpheus' lyre motif, the Debussyan chord of the opening (Ex. 305a) and final bars (Ex. 305b) stand as a symbol of the unifying power of love. Even here, however, the idea can disrupt or distort itself, as in Ex. 305c before the Furies' solemn arrival. In the opening scene, Eurydike's impatience, her trivial misreading of a head inclination as a greeting, reveals a tension between them accentuated by the persistent four note semiquaver figure woven into the music's texture (as in Ex. 306) - a symbol of unease.

But the necessary counterbalance of the Orpheus-Eurydike relationship is the nebulously characterised, yet moving love of Psyche, Eurydike's companion, for the god Amor (an almost silent role) possibly the most original feature of Kokoschka's play. Krenek admired it especially, and it became an important feature of the opera. As Orpheus was not meant to see his bride, so Psyche's visits from Amor depended on her not seeing him by daylight, on penalty of his losing his sight. Amor is eventually blinded, but in a brief, very simple scene (e, II) following Orpheus' violent death, Psyche 'glitzernd, irisierend' bathes the eyes of Amor 'gold-und tauglänzend' from a golden container in which she has kept Eurydike's healing tears. Out of suffering shall come a strengthening of love, this symbolic gesture indicates, although her sinister first appearance 'halbwüchsig, schelmisch', heralded by the casual, orchestrally fragmented music of Ex. 307 seems to symbolise menace through the snake on her arm. Even her addressing of Eurydike as 'Schwester' and mention of her dream of the Furies' visit appear ominous. Yet the remark of Orpheus that 'Liebe ist so aberwitzig'[175] his obsession with 'Glück' and 'Unglück' and with images of corruption and degradation, hold greater destructive potential. 'Jedes Wort, das Eurydike gesprochen, mir ein

173. Ibid., 626.
174. E. Lämmert, qu. Cobet, KLL, V, 1112.
175. Echoed by Eurydike's ghost, in 3, III; Schriften, 301.

Gedächtnis ritzt', he complains, just as in their final, posthumous wrangle (3, III) he cries 'Ich bin verschieden, und dein Tun ist nicht mein Kind', tormenting himself with the thought of 'Liedbesstunden' dancing 'mit den nackten Erinnerungen'. Curiously, Amor's sole words, eliminated by Krenek ('Ich dacht' ich sähe bunte Felder!/Graue Leichen? -'[176]) relate to a mixed vision of beauty and death during his blindness as brief as Orpheus' outbursts are wordy and self-regarding.

Tonality in this score is confined to moments of strong, usually regretful emotion, like the anguished cry of the calf for its mother near the first scene's close (Ex. 308, leading to a repeat of the Ex. 305b chord). This looks forward to the chorus' image of the larks praying to the stars in the Nachspiel. Another instance is Ex. 316, Eurydike's sigh of regret at the end of 2, II as Hades' black ship disappears. It so happens that this is followed by the chorus of sleeping sailors praying to Amor for safety, while the three female Furies hover nearby in the ship's cabin. A resemblance can be seen between the sailors' soft prayer (Ex. 310) and the motif associated with the Furies (Ex. 309) from Act 1, though Ex. 310, with its double bass/bass drum E tremolando for 25 Largo bars is the more tonally based. As one might expect, the three female Furies express themselves in music designed to maximise the intervals of minor second and minor ninth. Instances are their gloating over the usefulness of might for their purposes (Ex. 311) with its D natural deliberately contradicting the enveloping harmonies, or earlier and more simply, the first Fury's wheedling to Psyche before Eurydike's abduction (Ex. 312). Psyche's passionate response to this, as she weeps in her sleep (Ex. 313, ending on a sustained F minor $^{6}_{4}$ chord) is actually caused by the Fury's tempting promise to illuminate Amor's face by torchlight, so that his beauty may be revealed to her. This is the first musical indication of Psyche's healing, reconciling nature. A final instance of implied tonality is in the opening of the Molto sostenuto orchestral passage in 2, I (bars 72 to 104, beginning as in Ex. 314) whose triadic implications give way at once to a free atonal treatment more appropriate to a scene grimly

176. Ibid., 287 (3, II).

featuring gesticulating beggars, madmen, murderers and lovers on all fours, some with tails and claws.

As the ring symbolises fidelity, so is the 'Schleier' treated throughout as the symbol of revealed sexuality. On Orpheus' arrival in Orkus after four years, Eurydike asks Psyche to remove her veil (Ex. 315a, the music momentarily tonal) and at once falls to her knees, asking Orpheus to forgive her long absence (Ex. 315b). Near the work's close her spirit form again throws off the veil, and this time she abandons herself to nakedness, as they face each other 'in furchtbaren, schauderhaften Hassvisionen einander peinigend.'[177] Ex. 317, introduced by the 'lyre' motif illustrates this. With its bold C sharp major chord and orchestral doubling of the vocal line, it undoubtedly shows Schreker's tutelage. Perhaps such passages were in Rufer's mind when, reviewing the Scherchen radio performance of 1932 he spoke of Krenek's 'herbe, strenge Musik' succeeding through the 'Echtheit, Konzessionslosigkeit ihres Ausdrucks'.[178]

Act 2, Sc. IV begins, as it ends, in mutual torment. Eurydike's dreams of pregnancy are answered by Orpheus' vision of infanticide. He is agonised by her silence over Hades, which she cannot yet break. She pathetically begs him to be more considerate and tolerant, as she anticipates motherhood; Ex. 318, with descending muted brass chords, reflects the sombre mood. However, with the story eventually wrenched from her by Orpheus, though with her imagined sexual betrayal far from confirmed,[179] she again conjures up the 'Schleier' and the image of nakedness. The constant importuning of Hades and her growing fear of him produced a near-capitulation - 'Deshalb lache ich, Hades/ Du hast mich besiegt!'[180] (Ex. 319, cf. Ex. 317).

The images of anguish and destruction increase in Act 3. Amongst the ruins of his house, Orpheus sees a stone as his own gravestone, and with feverishly leaping vocal line, gropes in the ashes after happiness 'like a

177. Rudolf Kastner, Berliner Morgenpost, 30.11.26
178. Berliner Z. am Mittag, 28.5.32.
179. A similarity exists with Schreker's (later) Christophorus. Cf. p.
180. Schriften, 277.

dog seeking bones' (Ex. 320). He finds his broken lyre among the rubbish and plays it; the unexpected word 'Moder' (mould, decay) emphasises the desolation of the 'lyre' (harp) figure in Ex. 321. In the final scene (3, III) Eurydike's return brings him no solace. To an obsessive moving bass (Ex. 322) he rejects her once more kneeling form, tormented by the 'spirit of despair' and bitter after-taste of the thirst-creating cup (of love?). Eurydike, yearning to embrace him for the last time, begs him not to leave her naked and in 'decomposition' (Verwesung) (Ex. 323). The full original text here runs

> Nur-oh im Angesicht der Sünde verlässt mich der
> Mut, - lass mich nicht zu einem Schauspiel,
> Du Hinterlistiger vor neugierigen Augen hier
> bitten, voll Verwesung und nackt sein?[181]

Ex. 323 is one of several points in the score where Krenek uses kettledrum tremolandi to expressive effect. Another is the point in 2, III when the third Fury persuades the Narr on board ship of a possible leak, and the chorus of still sleeping sailors take up his cry of 'Ein Leck, ein Leck!'[182] Their call to draw the water and fill the bilge-hole (Ex. 324) mirrors the contour of their earlier prayer to Amor. The sailors' chorus was a feature of the 1926 Kassel performance which drew general admiration, as was the final apotheosis of Psyche and Amor's love in the sun's kingdom, in what Weissmann called a 'verschleierten D-Dur'[183] beginning as in Ex. 325. For the first and only time in the work, the word 'Hoffnung' appears unironically, in a spirit of expectant optimism.

With the five-act Leben des Orest, composed with his usual formidable speed between 8 August 1928 and 13 May 1929[184] Krenek consolidated the dual fascination of antiquity and the 'new' transatlantic world by attempting to fuse them in one large-scale work. Einstein, full of reservations, called it

181. Ibid., 296.

182. Ibid., 267.

183. Berliner Z. am M., 29.11.26.

184. Act 1 begun Strbské pleso, Cz., 8.8.28, compl. 16.9.28; Act 2, 23.9.28-3.1.29; Act 3, 15.1.29-10.3.29; Act 4 20.3.29-27.4.29; Act 5 2.5.29 - 13.5.29.

a 'Gegenwartsoper'.[185] The Swiss drama critic Bernhard Diebold called it a 'Tantaliden-Drama' or 'Potpourri'.[186] Stravinsky's influence on this romantic 'anachronistic' score was not lost on observers, though Milhaud's effect, just as strong, somehow escaped general attention. German critics inevitably drew the contrast with Winckelmann's dignified spirit, and found Krenek's determined archaistic contemporaneity wanting in range and depth. Diebold, who went on to draw elaborate Wagnerian parallels (Agamemnon-Wotan, Aegisth-Loge, Orest-Siegmund and Siegfried, Iphigenia-Freia, Klytemnästra-Fricka, Thoas-Klingsor, Thamar-Kundry) drew unflattering comparisons with H. H. Jahnn's 'barbarisch-hysterisch' anti-Grillparzer play Medea (1925). He declared that 'das antike Schema wird leer ohne antike Psychologie' and suggested that Krenek 'will Keine Klassizität aus Stein, sondern ein Griechentum aus Farbe', that he projected the Orestes saga as an 'amerikanischer Maskerade'.[187]

Replying to these criticisms, Krenek reiterated his conception of the ancient world as 'Schauplatz für die Anschaulichmachung meiner Idee', predominantly the idea of Grace (Gnade). The Zufall or deus ex machina through which Orest is saved (Act 5) is the working out of this idea, 'einer hinter den Dingen wirkenden, unerklärbaren, aber sittlich vertrauenswürdigen Macht'. He was at pains to disclaim any particular interest in the meaning of the Orestes myth for the Greeks themselves: His reading of Friedell's Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit and Burckhardt's Griechische Kulturegeschichte had persuaded him that the monumental Winckelmannian approach was a spiritual symptom of the 18th century, far from mandatory in the late 1920s. What really interested him about the Orestes myth was 'nicht das Symbolische oder das in Klassischen Formen Ausprägbare, sondern das buntbewegte, leidenschaftliche Element, die Fülle eines unter der Sonne des Südens üppig gedeihenden, tumultuösen und scharf profilierten meridionalen Lebens'.[188] It was not, he said in March 1930, 'tote, abgeschlossene Vergangenheit, archäologisches und

185. Berliner Tageblatt, 5.3.30.
186. Frankfurter Zeitung, 12.5.30, qu. Curjel, 282.
187. Ibid.,
188. Anb., 1930, 3.

philologisches Gespenst' but rather 'naive, anschauliche Gegenwart'.[189]

The idea of grace drew him to Kierkegaard, and the concepts of irony and dread. Fear and Trembling (Furcht u. Zittern) the poetic meditation on the theme of Abraham and Isaac made a particular impression on the young Krenek, who had also been reading J. J. Bachofen about this time.[190] In Kierkegaard, Krenek found the distinction between the tragic hero (Agamemnon's willingness to sacrifice Iphigenia and Orestes) and the 'knight of the faith' Abraham, the tragic hero renouncing desire to fulfil duty, while Abraham renounces both.[191] Agamemnon went ahead, observes Kierkegaard, justified his action verbally and did not evade duty, whereas Abraham, silent throughout acts 'for God's and his own sake'.[192] 'Count all men hateful to you rather than the gods' was Pylades' advice to Orestes just before Clytemnestra's murder.[193] This tension between the divine ordering of things and the tormented world of human relationships continued to preoccupy Krenek. Years later he was to admire Mann's Joseph tetralogy as a latter-day theogony, with the jealous god establishing his ascendancy first over Abraham's family, then over all mankind.[194] This conflation of the Old Testament God with Apollo is a feature of the 'Christianised' Leben des Orest and illustrates the evident conceptual and theological dangers.[195]

The Orestes myth was naturally drawn by Krenek principally from Aeschylus' Oresteia, with some use of Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris and, more distantly, the Orestes. His preoccupation with the Atreus myths coincided with the genesis (1926) of Jonny spielt auf, and in the early stages Krenek had the idea of Orestes journeying to modern America. The relationship between these two works (and between them and the Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen song-cycle written in August 1929 soon after Orest's completion) is complex,

189. Frankfurter Zeitung, 23.3.30.
190. Mutterrecht und Urreligion (ed. R. Marx) A. Kröner, Stuttgart, 1926.
191. Fear and Trembling, tr. R. Payne. O.U.P., 1939, 114, 127-8, 172.
192. Ibid., 84.
193. Aeschylus, Choephori, l. 901 (tr. Lattimore).
194. Ernst Krenek: Roman der Prüfung (Josef in Ägypten) Wiener Zeitung, 15.2.37.
195. Cf. K. von Fritz, loc. cit., 128 on this.

and lies outside the scope of this study.[196] It must, however, be recorded that the instinctual forces of the negro Jonny and the introspective neurosis of the composer Max have their correlatives in the 'land of naturalness and promise', America, and the Alpine 'glacier' to which Max retreats for isolation. These are echoed in the conception of Greece and the remote, gloomy 'Nordland' of King Thoas in Orest.

Similarly, the direct parallels between the unashemedly Schubertain Reisebuch songs, with their restless wandering underpinned by a longing for pause, resolution, 'Heimat' were quickly spotted by critics in 1929. The 'Amerikanismus' of the 1920s in Germany took the form of exaggerated admiration for the capitalist society: Henry Ford's Mein Leben und Werk gained a huge readership. It was also linked with Neue Sachlichkeit and reached its peak around 1927-8.[197] In the light of Jonny's main motif, it is not surprising that Krenek's imagination led him to see Orest's wanderings taking him to the American continent. He discarded the idea, since it would have complicated the unity of the basically Aeschylean material. Instead, Orest's wanderings take him to the Scythian (Scandinavian?) Nordland, which he thinks is 'Hölle' in the sense of 'Aufenthalt der Toten'. There, he declares on arrival, 'werd ich .... Ruhe finden'; there 'ist nichts Menschliches mehr, das mir zurückruft meine Missetat'.[198]

The plan of Leben des Orest follows the general sequence of the Oresteia without attempting to repeat it literally. The eight scenes and five acts are arranged thus:

	1 BILD Just before the Trojan war	ACT 1 (Agamemnon's departure)
	2 " Immediately following	ACT 2 (Thoas: Nordland)
	3 " A little later	" (Jahrmarkt in Athens)
AGAMEMNON	4 " Ten years later	ACT 3 (Agamemnon's return and assassination)

196. The only recent account of Jonny is the excellent chapter in Rogge's monograph, loc. cit. Like the rest of Rogge's book, it tends to overpraise Krenek.

197. Kafka's 1913 fragment Amerika was posthumously published in 1927. Karl Rossmann offers striking parallels with Krenek's Orest.

198. Act 4. Textbuch, 50.

CHOEPHORI	(5	" At about the same time	ACT 3 (Orest's wandering through Greece)
	(		
	(		
	(6	" Three days later	" (Orest's return and revenge)
IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS	7	" The following winter	ACT 4 (Thoas and Thamas: Iphigenia and Orest)
EUMENIDES	8	" Early the following year	ACT 5 (Marktplatz in Athens)

Though the division into three is clear, with Act 3 (following Agamemnon's return from Troy) the centre of the action, the correspondence to the Oresteia is very loose. Act 1 (1.Bild) is a backward projection of events referred to in the Agamemnon. Act 2 (3.Bild) is freely invented, while the 2.Bild and Act 4 are roughly based on the Iphigenia in Tauris with a continuation of the free invention. Thus the first two plays of the Oresteia are in practice compressed into the central third act, while Act 5 is an extremely simplified and truncated form of the Eumenides.

While the action, which has been described as 'synthetic as in a Passion play'[199] draws mainly on an essentially 'optimistic' source (Aeschylus) it is coloured by the anti-militarist, anti-demagogic, more pessimistic flavour of the later Euripides. Krenek's Orest is a Zeitdrama; in the same sense as the Euripidean Orestes. Though it draws little on that play - there is no Pylades, Menelaus, Helena[200] or Hermione - it features those semi-farcical elements which have caused the tragic status of the Orestes to be questioned,[201] and carries them into the realm of pantomime and burlesque. In another way, Leben des Orest fits Murray's description of the Iphigenia in Tauris as 'a romantic play, beginning in a tragic atmosphere and moving through perils and escapes to a happy end'.[202] For all its subtitle 'Grosse Oper' it cannot be described as a wholly serious work in the same sense as, say, Karl V.[203]

199. W. Sokel, Orest (Theater der Jh.), Langen, Müller, München, 1963, 27.
200. Except the grotesque pasteboard figures of Paris and Helena in the ironic Act 2 'hochpatriotisches Schauspiel', Textbuch, 25.
201. v. Fritz, 149.
202. Euripides: Iphigenia in Tauris, tr. G. Murray. G. Allen, 1910, Preface V.
203. 'Nur die Wirkung bringt Höhepunkte, nicht die Phantasie. Es ist im Moment wieder vorbei'. Oscar Bie, Berliner Börsen Courier, 5.3.30.

It is not easy to separate the mixed musical style and deployment of character in Orest from the two linked features of its framework - the deliberately indefinite sense of place, and the stressed North-South polarity. Both make the opera as far from the classical treatment and as personal as Orpheus und Eurydike had been. Argos, the 'Land der Sonne' of the opening chorus, is not named; the space before Agamemnon's palace is simply 'a southern marketplace'. The Athens marketplace, with its sense of colour, crowds and small shrine to Pallas Athene is more specific, but no more than the 'Griechenland' through which Orest wanders in the 3. Bild. Though Orest 'auf Befehl der Mutter sucht Phokis auf'[204] with his old nurse Anastasia, both this and the (Crimean) Tauris are eliminated in favour of the unspecified, icy 'Nordland' from whose 'astrologischer Turm' Thoas gazes out to sea. Krenek used Breughel's Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem, with its Flemish setting,[205] or the Jerusalem of old German masters represented as Nuremberg, as an analogy for his own generalised use of place.[206] This aspect was taken up especially in the Krolloper and Darmstadt productions. The one was 'proletarianised', the women in Neapolitan clothes, the modernised soldiers in 'Feldbraun oder Feldgrau'. The other, by Rabenalt and Reinking, had Agamemnon in a timeless blue cloak, Aegisth in a 'Lenin-mask', the soldiers again in modern military dress, and the elders dressed like Hamburg senators'.[207]

The longing for the south which permeates (and possibly vulgarises) the opera is most clearly expressed by King Thoas early in Act 2. This 'hypnotic' vision is of a land of clear skies and year-round mildness. 'Dort spielt das Meer mit sanftem Schlag an schneeweissen Bergen voll Duft und Farben unerhöht ..... Dort leben Menschen, die unverbaut und unverbohrt ihr Leben leben, wie es ihnen gegeben.'[208] In the same hypnotised vein Iphigenia

204. Chorus (im Orch.) Act 2, Textb., 20, repeated by Klytämnestra in Act 3, ibid., 34.

205. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

206. Anb., 1930, 4.

207. Anb., 1930, 219-20.

208. Textb., 19.

later wonders when she will return to her southern homeland: 'wann werd ich euch wiedersehen, ihr weissen Häuser am blauen Meer, schmaler Weg zwischen glühheissen, schlohweissen Mauern'.[209] This land of wine, the sound of the lute, 'Tanz und Gesang', an eternal dream of brilliant midday, sun is a close relation of the geographical aspect of Renaissanceempfinden discussed in Ch. 4. The 'hysterical Renaissance' and its vision of warmth united with natural strength, is not unlike this vision of a Greece shorn of warlike obligations and proclivities, expressed by Orest's retrospective notion of 'wandering through the dark valley, led back home by the moral (pressures) of grace'.[210]

Orest's musical styles fall, to use Einstein's phrase 'zwischen Skurrilität und Feierlichkeit'.[211] The sequence of ideas in Ex. 326 as the curtain rises on Sc. 6 (Act 3) before Agamemnon's closed coffin, illustrates unconscious tendency towards bathos, this veering into triviality.[212] A bold, broadly romantic idea (a) in a warmly late romantic E major moves, albeit over 100 bars into an F sharp minor tango (b) then an agitato lugubre section (c) for piano and bass clarinet, in which Elektra mutters angrily and at length from her cage. The effect is to replace the solemnly tragic by the grotesque. This kind of treatment has already been foreshadowed by other frivolous material such as the Jahrmarkt foxtrot in Act 2 (Ex. 327) and the song of the women of Argos (Ex. 328, Act 1). Here the cry of the men 'Krieg lieben wir' (Ex. 329) forms part of a dialogue revealing, on one level, a serious pacifist work. The men love war, say the women, because they no longer know what it is like, and have forgotten the reality.[213] This anti-war stance is later confirmed by Agamemnon's return from Troy pale, disillusioned and suicidal.[214]

At the outset, Agamemnon is seen as a man of 'pathological gestures' and 'ascetic/fanatical expression', a description conveyed by chattering oboes and

209. Act 4, Textb., 52; also 56.
210. Textb., 64. See Ex. 349.
211. Berliner Tageblatt, 5.3.30.
212. Cf. H. H. Stuckenschmidt, Hellenic Jazz, MM, 1930, 24.
213. Textb., 6.
214. 'Ich bin müde, zum Sterben müde'. Textb., 33.

bassoons on his first appearance (Ex. 330). The other side of this 'Priester von ganz Griechenland' is his patriotism, or rather chauvinism. He does actually believe (Ex. 331) that the most heroic fulfilment of his people is nigh, though the Chorus soon shows its doubts: 'Unvermeidlich scheint das Grausige, unvermeidlich seheint der Krieg, das Elend'.[215] Krenek's projection of Aegisth (remarked on by Sokel and Rogge) may be seen primarily as a satanic counterbalance to the despotic madman Agamemnon. His sinuous treachery is reflected in the flute and bass clarinet lines of Ex. 332, his ruthlessness in the trumpet counterpoint and brutal syncopated G major cadence. If one feels no sorrow at this Agamemnon's death by poisoning in Act 3, there can be no regret for Orest's retributive dispatch of the sordid usurper.

By contrast, Klytämnestra and Thoas are presented in a remarkably sympathetic light. Only the querulous chromatic line of the queen's protest reflects her real anguish in Ex. 333. This attractive keyless (but not atonal) tango seems at odds with her maternal feelings and her resentment of Agamemnon's cruel capriciousness, 'Gott beschützen ihn vor deiner Grausamkeit', she declares.[216] In view of Agamemnon's disdainful treatment of her ten years later, her collaboration (no more) in his murder may deserve some sympathy. Thoas is given some of this score's most affectingly romantic music, emphasising, perhaps, his essential nobility and clemency. The sonorous scoring of Ex. 334, with its D flat cadence, includes harmonium, flutes, clarinet, bass clarinet, violin and tuba, while his evocation of the south, already mentioned, appears as a warmly lyrical E flat cantilena (Ex. 335).

Orest does not appear until the Athens scene of Act 2. With his crude, Siegfried-like naiveté (Diebold was right) he is recognisably his father's son: 'Ich bin ein Königssohn und mir gehört alles'[217] In his vanity, he declares (Ex. 336) that people will remember him long after these events are past. But he does not yet understand the nature of freedom, asking (after his struggle with the circus artists and recognition by old Anastasia) 'Ist das

215. Ibid., 13.
216. Ibid., 14.
217. Ibid., 22.

der Traum von Leben, ist die Freiheit wirklich so?' Orest's sisters emerge better from Krenek's treatment, especially Elektra, whose undisguised welcome of Agamemnon's imminent return (Ex. 337) is not diminished by Aegisth's anxious rebuke, and achieves an ironic echo in Klytämnestra's fearful realisation that her husband is about to reappear (Ex. 338). Elektra's warning to Agamemnon of present danger (Ex. 339) manages to combine her semi-pathological state and filial concern with Agamemnon's introverted scorn.

Orest's wandering through the mountains and valleys of Greece mark his growth to maturity. He is, undoubtedly, a postwar hero-figure, and his ten years of exile following Agamemnon's departure for Troy can be seen as Krenek's analogy for the ten years between the 1918 Armistice and the drafting of this text. Paul Pisk shrewdly saw Orest as echoing 'nicht nur an Ahasuer, den ewig Irrenden, an Parsifal, an .... Raskolnikoff, sondern .. ein Teil des Künstlers selbst, der, ein Irrender, die Gnade sucht, die Schaffenskraft, die der Bühnenmusik neue Wege weist'.[218] Part of Orest's growth springs from his contact with the natural world, symbol of his awakened moral awareness,[219] as in the rich D major arioso of Ex. 340, the arresting flute cantilena with banjo accompaniment which precedes it, and the analoguous longing for home of the Shepherd on the hill (Ex. 341), in which the concealed alto and tenor chorus is optionally doubled by strings. There is a close resemblance here to the role of Hylas in Berlioz' Trojans.

This central Act 3 sees the violent deaths of four protagonists. Krenek's Elektra is like Strauss' in her deep grief over Agamemnon's death, expressed in a serious B flat arioso over his body (Ex. 342) which is simply the mourning of a daughter for a loved father's passing. In straight contrast, Aegisth's dissimulation (Ex. 343) tartly expressed in C sharp minor shows no bounds as he shouts his false sorrow over the chorus' lament. 'Nie erfreut uns mehr seine Huld und Gnade' they observe of Agamemnon, perhaps ironically. Klytämnestra's death is clearly not as deserved as Aegisth's, but die she must, according to the original myth. In her last moments she curses Orest

218. Auft., 1930, 54-6 (Leipzig U.A.).
219. Cf. H. F. Redlich, Anb., 1930, 57.

(unavailingly) in a passage of unpredictably descending chords (Ex. 344). Her going is very different from Eurydike's (vide sopra) also brought about by betrayal, though Elektra's quite undeserved murder by the chorus soon after removes any pathos it might have had.

The final two acts see Orest's fortunes move steadily upwards. His life is now bound up with Iphigenia, newly discovered in Thoas' Nordland, and almost casually with Thamar, Krenek's own invention, and a coloratura soprano.[220] Iphigenia's longing for home (Ex. 345) is the third such expression in the opera, though its D major tonality is mysteriously clouded over by the C minor brass chord following her question. Orest's rescue is far more of a formality here than in Euripides (or Goethe) and Thoas appears only too pleased to help Orest.[221] The quartet which follows, beginning fugally as in Ex. 346, was generally admired in the 1930 productions. It is the work's second major climax, and a prelude to the final act.

In Act 5, the material of the Eumenides is almost unrecognisably condensed, and the unique gravity of the Aeschylean original undermined almost to the point of parody. Nevertheless, Orest, admitting his guilt, has undoubtedly risen in stature through the work. His declaration (Ex. 347)[222] combines the seriousness of the earlier Thoas music, his own 'nature' music from Act 3, and his spiritual growth in Act 4 on seeking and finding Iphigenia, and being loved by Thamar. There is a strong thematic identification between Ex. 347 and the comments of the judge Aristobolous, who sadly reflects (Ex. 348) that isolation is man's fate, and true knowledge between men impossible. The accidental casting vote given in Orest's favour by Pallas Athene through the placing of the white ball presents a strange parallel with the scales finally favouring Smee in Der Schmied von Gent. In the final sextet, the six surviving, triumphant protagonists combine in a celebration of 'Gnade'

220. Paul Zschorlich (Kroll und Krenek, Deutsche Zeitung, May 1930) called Orest another example of the Krolloper supporting Marxist ideas. Thoas was a 'mockery' (Verhöhnung) of northern man, Thamar an insult to German womanhood, and Orest 'copies the mannerisms' of Kaiser Wilhelm.

221. Textb., 55 'Was er auch immer getan hat, er ist dein Bruder und mein Freund'.

222. Here the V.S. oversimplifies the violins' rhythm.

reminiscent of Jonny's finale in its foursquare major-key solidity and careful counterpoint. It is also a reminder that Krenek the contrapuntist and determined writer of his own texts was still in many respects indebted to his largely disavowed teacher of yesteryear, Franz Schreker.

The connection with Schreker throws some light on Krenek's view of myth. His eclectic, allegorical-symbolic, Austro-Bohemian approach recalls Harry Levin's phrase about the ontogeny of dream recapitulating the phylogeny of myth.[223] There are, obviously, great differences between master and pupil, most of them elaborated already. The brief references to jazz in Der singende Teufel and Christophorus show it as a vehicle of satanic corruption, whereas in Jonny and Orest it appears as a symbol of freedom and escape. Even so, some critics felt that Orest's jazz element dragged down the rest,[224] while Adolf Aber went so far as to suggest that Krenek might be using jazz as symbolic of his hatred for mass-feelings and values.[225] Nevertheless, the parallels between the 'rauschhaft' Schreker and the aggressively intellectual Krenek have, up to 1930, a way of obtruding themselves. They were noticed by Zillig, who saw the Schrekerian features of the nature scene in Orest.[226] In 1932, Bekker had discussed this very matter. Though he had not seen Orest, he felt significant similarities of approach and manner in Krenek's 'koloristischer Wirkung', simplified vocal line and character portrayal.[227] Bekker warned Krenek about his fondness for symbol and allegory, precisely those aspects of Schreker which had latterly been most attacked.[228] Weissmann, an admirer of Orpheus criticised Krenek for his recent 'zuviel sekundär und derivativ' neo-romantic style.[229] Adorno, who also admired Orpheus, also attacked the neo-romantic manner, though here Krenek's self-defence led to a long-lasting friendship.

223. Murray, loc. cit., 111.
224. e.g. Alfred Schattmann and Nora Pisling-Boas.
225. DM, 1930, 442.
226. Variationen über neue Musik, 239 and 169.
227. BZM, 95-6.
228. Ibid., 101.
229. Auft., 1929, 273.

Otto F. Beer, friend and advocate of Wellesz during these years, spoke of Krenek as illustrating the characteristic (especially Viennese) Austrian eclecticism which has been a main feature of this whole study. 'Diese nationale Weitherzigkeit', he wrote in 1935, 'ist die typische Verhaltungsweise einer Stadt geblieben, die einerseits zwischen dem deutschen Norden und dem italienischen Süden vermittelt, andererseits die Pforte ist über die westliche Kultur in den europaischen Osten auf, den Balkan, ja bis in den Orient dringt![230] Thus the Nietzschean-Burckhardtian image of the Italian Renaissance, the persistent imaginative strain of Märchen and Sage, the fascination of the Far East and the resurgence of classical myth seem, in Austrian opera, to meet at a common crossing-point. If opera was 'Entfesselung Rausch der Selbstflucht' as Werfel said,[231] it was also true that the use of myth in opera depended for its effect on that very insufficiency of knowledge (veiled suggestion rather than detailed, exploratory statement) which Goethe had said was most productive of poetry.[232] It was not opera's place to use myth as a theatre of ideas as such. Instead, myth could flourish best where 'Handlung' was subordinate to 'Gebärde', regardless of differences in musical style, since 'nicht Stimmung, Landschaft und dergleichen primär das Bühnenbild beherrschen, sondern nur die Forderung der Musik'.[233] The creation of a dream tangential to albeit deriving from the real world (Hofmannsthal's 'smoke') would, for all Brecht's criticisms, still have its own self-justifying momentum and force.

230. Auft., 1935, 2.

231. Verdi, 374.

232. Qu. E. M. Butler, Myth and the Magus, 143.

233. Ernst Krenek, Zum Problem der Oper F. J. Marcan, Köln, 1925 (from Von neuer Musik, 42).

CONCLUSION

Opera's relation to myth since Wagner's death has reflected both the wide-ranging technical changes in European music since the 1880s and certain aspects of literary theory - even, at one remove, of anthropological and and psychological enquiry. The self-consciousness, the many-levelled structuring of Mann, Joyce, Eliot, Yeats, Gide and Valéry (to name only six of the most seminal literary figures, themselves writing in the wake of Ibsen and Baudelaire, of Nietzsche and Frazer, with Freud, Jung and Adler as actual or near-contemporaries) has made it difficult for 20th century composers to conceive and shape their libretti simply with an eye for straightforward theatrical effect, unencumbered by psychological ambiguity, as was possible for, say, a Donizetti or even a Puccini. Turandot, first seen in 1926, soon after Wozzeck's première was the only work in which Puccini had tackled a subject with strongly mythic overtones. Yet though it is a ritualised Märchen, the princess can be seen on another level as the descendant of Puccini's earlier verismo protagonists. Büchner's Wozzeck is indeed a common soldier in difficulties, but for Berg he has become something more universal, a symbolic figure of torment and persecution whom we can now associate with the world of Kafka. The character of Lulu, originating in Wedekind plays with mythopoeic titles (Erdgeist and Die Büchse des Pandora) is not only a tantalising, capricious whore, but is 'das perzonifiertes Geschlecht', a symbol for erotic thrall, elevating the engulfing power of sexuality to the quasi-mythic level found in Tristan, as later in Die Rose vom Liebesgarten, Der ferne Klang, Erwartung, Die glückliche Hand and Die Gezeichneten. Schoenberg's Moses und Aron is approachable firstly as theatre and music, but more through its mythic, abstract qualities than its narrational ones. So elusive are these in mimetic terms, that it is best to see the work as an extended presentation of Moses as symbol of divine faith and law, and Aron as symbol of arbitrary human will. The opera is then observed to be aspirational and reflective, as the oratorio Die Jakobsleiter had been.

Jung saw myth as the 'indispensable intermediate stage between conscious and unconscious cognition'. Yet one result of the invasion of mimetic reality (the perennial problem of 'truth in fiction') by post-Freudian, post-Jungian

myth-inspired psychology is that narrational sequence has in many cases become secondary to pattern, 'plot' to 'ritual', character to archetype, setting to symbol. Though Mozart's Die Zauberflöte, perhaps the greatest operatic embodiment of the 'Quest' myth, had already shown the way, it was Wagner who, directly and indirectly, taught his audiences to look beyond events on the stage. This did not, of course, mean that opera and drama could or should no longer be enjoyed solely on a mimetic level. Hofmannsthal could hold his own with the most recondite mythographers, yet his most popular libretto, Der Rosenkavalier, also happens to be the most approachable in this way.

Literary criticism has been much dogged by the tension between mimesis and symbolism to the point of denial, because of dependence on language as its raw material, that it can be an autonomous symbolic system after the manner of painting and music. Yet so much literature (some would say most of permanent significance) has sought the symbolic through some relation with the mythopoeic in its wider sense. As Melville did in Moby Dick, so Zola did in Germinal, Kafka in Das Schloss, Hofmannsthal in Der Turm, Hesse in Das Glasperlenspiel, and Thomas Mann in all his major works. Eliot, whose reworking of heterogeneous mythic elements formed the basis of The Waste Land and the verse plays, said of Joyce's Ulysses in 1923 that it had used myth as 'a way of controlling, of ordering of giving shape to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history.' Thus Ulysses' structure is more than 'scaffolding' or a literary conceit; it is the identification of style and substance. History may, as Barzun has said, deal with activity rather than process, and the historical event be unrepeatable, but what Philip Rahv has called the 'timeless event of myth, recurring again and again.....(and) endlessly present' may seize on the historical moment and turn it into an image of permanent significance.

In discussing the origins of A Midsummer Marriage, that deeply Jungian work whose figures are 'realistic' but also consciously archetypal, Tippett argued that the more collective an imaginative act is, the more the material is likely to be discovered involuntarily. This comes close to the notion, influentially described by Northrop Frye, of mythic personae and narrative patterns entering outwardly mimetic creations to the point where they become 'displaced myths'. In turn, this

bears on another of Tippett's axioms, the argument that 'collective' mythological material, while always traditional (like his own King Priam or Henze's later Bassarids) becomes relevant through transmutation into contemporary experience. This presumably means that the experience will be recognisable archetypally, not necessarily transposed into 'high' or 'low' mimetic terms.

Much 20th century drama is rooted in this process. So, mutatis mutandis is a great deal of the operatic vision since Wagner, especially in Central Europe. The 'Italian Renaissance' works discussed in Chapter 4 rest outwardly on a climactic event which can be seen, on one level, as a piece of verismo close to the 19th century Italian tradition. Inwardly, however, this event is less important than the total picture conveyed by the work through music - which is why they define themselves as operas, not spoken dramas, and why the 'events' are inherently as much musical as dramatic. Thus the deaths of Giovanni and Francesco in Mona Lisa, tragic enough, are less tragic than the survival of the central figure herself, and the sombre re-creation of Savonarola's Florence. In Violanta Simone Trovai's assault on Alfonso is outweighed by the transformation of Violanta's emotion from vengeance to sacrificial protection, and all these are subordinate to the particularised presence of Venice itself (analogous to the presence of Bruges in Die tote Stadt, even more oppressive in Rodenbach's novel than in the opera). This is perhaps less true in Eine florentinische Tragödie, where a calculating merchant becomes the Nietzschean Übermensch he may have been all along, but this is partly the fault of the text. It is, however, certainly true of Die Gezeichneten, whose characters must be seen and felt against the Genoese background, and in which the deaths of Tamare and Carlotta are less tragic in themselves than the survival of the tormented Alviano, surrounded by the beauty he has created, all now made nugatory by the speed of unforeseen events.

In Die Gezeichneten we are faced with the Nietzschean - Burckhardtian image of the Italian Renaissance at its most beguiling. The 'Durst nach Grösse', the 'love of enormities..... condemned with vehemence yet related with relish' (as Peter Gay has put it) is present in Burckhardt's portrait of this age of intrigue and voluptuary excess. Schreker's text has much of C.F.Meyer's attitude, without his detailed attention to historical exactness. We are bound to think that

Vitellozzo Tamare's name derives from Vitellozzo Vitelli in Gobineau's Cesare Borgi and to ask whether Carlotta was derived from Simonetta Cattanei, a Genoese-born beauty, painted by Botticelli, who went to Florence as Marco Vespucci's wife and died of consumption aged 23 — or, indeed, whether she was in part an allusion to the celebrated, psychologically penetrative Venetian portraitist Rosalba Carriera (1675 - 1757). There is also a parallel with Schiller's early (1783) play about the 1547 Fiesco conspiracy, Die Verschwörung des Fiesko zu Genua. The date is the same, the philandering Fiesko di Lavagna is a 'junger schlanker blühendschöner Mann von 23 Jahren - stolz mit Anstand - freundlich mit Majestät - höfischgeschmeidig und ebenso tückisch', remarkably like a politically ambitious and idealistic Tamare. Alviano's stabbing of Tamare recalls Fiesko's assassination by the much older Verrina at the end of Schiller's play. Fiesko features the historical Doge of Genoa, the aged Andrea Doria, whom Schreker replaced by Herzog Adorno, the name of a leading Genoese noble family. Schiller's nobles are all dressed in conspiratorial black, but the young wife Leonore is 'blass und schmächtig, fein und empfindsam' (Carlotta ?) as against the 'stolze Kokette', Countess Julia, the pretender's sister. If Die Gezeichneten also had 19th century ancestry in Stifter and Leopold Andrian, it has also had a successor in Manuel Mujica-Lainez' story of Pier Francesco Orsini, Duke of Bomarzo, like Alviano Salvago a cripple seeking beauty, which became Ginastera's 1965 opera Bomarzo.

In the oddly unified outlook presented by the 'Reformation' operas of Chapter 5, the clue to their mythopoeic significance, history translated into Eliot's 'pattern of timeless moments', lies in Pfitzner's Schopenhauer extract at the head of the Palestrina score. Part of this runs: 'The life of the mind hovers, as an intangible aura, above worldly cares as the true reality; and in spite of world history, science, philosophy and the arts advance, free of all guilt and violence.' In Palestrina, a man without power (Pfitzner himself?) is able to influence events, if at all, only through his art, and only then through the power of inspiration. The forces of the past - his dead wife and the voices of the nine Old Masters - affect him far more than the furious arguments in the Council. Even the politically influential Borromeo, deeply moved by friendship, is only a spectator of Palestrina's inner life. Similarly, Hindemith's Mathis Mithart is forced to recognise his helplessness in outward, political struggle compared with

the realisation of his painterly vocation. The terror of the princes' regiment during the Peasants'War is stressed (as it was again in the uncomposed Faust opera text Hanns Eisler wrote in 1952 under the influence of Engels' Der deutsche Bauernkrieg) and the goodness of Schwalb, the innocence of Graf Helfenstein and the idealism of the Archbishop of Mainz is tested severely by the violent forces of the time. Schwalb the peasant soldier is a more sympathetic figure than Moritz von Sachsen in Karl V, but the ultimate resignation of the central figures is much the same. Mathis turns his back on the world and forgets. Karl has already abdicated, but cannot escape the visions of his active political life. In each work, the voices assume the role of visitants, almost of spectres. Whereas in Karl V they revolve around the dying ex-emperor, in Mathis they step wholly outside the quasi-mimetic structure in the mainly symbolic sixth tableau, where Mathis is St.Anthony and the other figures are transformed into mythic archetypes - Seductress, Beggar Woman, Martyr, Warlord, and the rest.

Busoni's Faust is in himself capable of moving on the same lofty level as Palestrina or Mathis. Like them he aspires to the grandeur already achieved in full by Karl V. Though he could not avoid the seduction episode, Busoni was not interested in Faust as Don Juan. He was far more moved by Faust as a seeker, a Pythagorean figure treated with awe by the three Cracow students, his famulus and his own students at Wittenberg. The tone of Doktor Faust is set by the opening orchestral Ostervesper scene. Its overall solemnity is resolved in the Euphorion figure rising from Faust's corpse at the close, the symbol of regeneration and continuity, more akin to Palestrina alone at his organ than to the blaze of E flat sonority at the close of Mahler's Eighth Symphony. Compared with these figures, Michael Kohlhaas has a much more restricted frame of reference. Yet he too takes on mythopoeic qualities through his very intransigence, and his foredoomed refusal to compromise is a result of a fierce sense of honour and uprightness. The rainstorms and conflagrations of Kleist - and the choral sections of Klenau's opera - lift Kohlhaas' inner turbulence, sense of injustice and conviction of righteousness on to a transcendent plane (as, in a lesser way, does Fontane's young widow in Grete Minde of 1880).

Jürg Jenatsch, quite apart from its technical curiosity is, with Karl V, the only post-1918 treatment of a realistic political activist which turns him into

a figure of existential doubt. He has not the advantage of Schiller's Wallenstein in astrological belief, being driven instead by a specific political vision. Like Wallenstein, however, he also believed in necessity as the supreme law, and is defeated only by unforeseen betrayal, notably by Richelieu('Beëlzebub') and Rohan, then later by Lukretia Planta. Her letter to Riedberg had borne the words 'cavete Bartholomaei noctem', and her later love for Jenatsch does not preclude her bringing about his death ('Mein ist sein Leben, mein auch sein Tod'). The chorus assumes a self-consciously Greek tragic role, turning Jenatsch (like the Columbus operas of Milhaud and Egk) into mythopoeia, through its deep pessimism. A question mark ends the work as, following Jürg's death, the chorus comments: 'Wer wohl erforscht je / deine abgründigen Wege? / Wer unseres Wanderns / Woher und wohin ?'

It is not without significance that Walter Benjamin's Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels (1924-5) falls into this period. It was an original though controversial examination of the relationship between Greek tragedy and the allegoric martyr dramas of 17th century Germany. Benjamin saw Greek tragedy as rooted in 'heroic transcendence', elevation above suffering, while the Trauerspiel , lacking the oracular background of classical drama, falls into a sense of desolation, withdrawal and unclassical 'melancholy.' The 'tragic' and the 'melancholy' are thus seen as two different qualities, one bound up with myth in its original sense, the other linked with history as at least contingent reality. Benjamin even carried this into the sphere of language, seeing the Greek lyric genius as a necessary expression of the former, and the dense, more naive vernacular idiom of German Baroque drama as a precondition of the latter. It is at least arguable that the interest in the Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-Reformation period, which was a feature of German literature and opera from before 1914 to the 1930s, reflects this strain of pessimism. There is also arguably an analogy between that expansion of consciousness which was European humanism between 1450 and 1550, and the resultant throwing of Europe into a state of intellectual and physical turmoil, and the period between the fin de siècle and the doubt and confusion of the late 1920s and early 1930s, during which so many certainties were brutally overthrown.

Still more than history as myth, Märchen and Sage avoid the finite and and empirical, seeking the Mystery in a 'penumbral reality.' Their flavour and

location are just as much a demonstration of the 'reference backwards' and even that 'demand for meaning' seen by some as the ontological foundation of myth. So far as the Märchenoper (or opera with Märchen elements) is concerned, the composer's approach has been to treat the text as anecdote or as dream (and sometimes both). In neither case is there an emphasis on exactness, verisimilitude or probability, but there is little concern either for making explicit the work's mythic content. This has to be felt, rather than analysed, according to the work's style and setting although, as Krenek bluntly put it in 1950, 'the Orient, Spain or Japan are basically no more apt for music than the Kurfürstendamm.' Considering how much they had in common as composers, and in their feeling for the Märchen world (and the Jugendstil version of the Renaissance) it is notable how differently Schreker and Zemlinsky viewed the text problem. While Schreker insisted on producing his own texts, as Wagner had done, Zemlinsky never did so, relying on others for material in all his mature works. The sombre beauties of Der Zwerg look back both to Schreker's Geburtstag der Infantin (inevitably, because of their common source) and to the strange, original atmosphere of Das Spielwerk. But Kleider machen Leute, his longest work, based on one of Keller's gently ironic Seldwyla stories, is overtaken completely in dramatic impact by Schreker's Der Schatzgräber. This work (along with the far more elaborately literary Die Frau ohne Schatten) impressively weaves a full-length narrative of frequently brutal realism with an underling 'rätselhaft' fantastic atmosphere, or 'Grundstimmung', belonging entirely to the world of the folktale. Der Schatzgräber has preeminently, with its less ambitious precursor Das Spielwerk, the quality of a dream. This relates it back to Pelléas et Mélisande, but also to the later half-anecdotal dream Der Zwerg and the purely anecdotal Märchen Vom Fischer und syner Fru. Die Frau ohne Schatten's optimistic resolution relates it on a far more naive level, to Hänsel und Gretel but also to Irrelohe, Der Schmied von Gent, Die heilige Ente, as well as Der Kreidekreis and Die Prinzessin Girnara.

Krenek produced in Zwingburg an ostensibly Expressionist work still with strong elements of the symbolism he later tried to discard. This was because Expressionist drama itself was saturated in symbolic images and language, having moved in important ways sharply away from mimesis. Zwingburg even has elements of the Märchen world Krenek presently approached through Goethe in Das geheime Königreich, outwardly an anecdote based on a riddle, but also possessing elements of the dream

relating it to, say, Braunfels' Brambilla or Galathea. Yet in Orpheus and Orest we have two works illustrating Krenek's feeling for classical Greek myth akin to Hasenclever's Antigone and Werfel's Die Troerinnen, similarly closely related to the war experience. Krenek's interest was less in conversational portraiture (Strauss), the eclectic Märchen (Schreker and Zemlinsky) or ritual (Wellesz) than in the use and abuse of power in the public arena. His early interest in Alcibiades, the image of the factory in Zwingburg, all three 1926 one-act operas, and the charisma of the negro musician in Jonny lead to a much more serious consideration of the subject in Karl V. Orpheus und Eurydike is also about power, as Kokoschka knew well; the power of Eurydike over Orpheus, of Hades over Eurydike, and the inability of Orpheus to let love overcome distrust, or tolerance to defeat tension. Leben des Orest is as much about the tyrant Agamemnon, the usurper Aegisth, even the lonely King Thoas and his exiled captive Iphigenia, as it is about Orest's growth to maturity and responsibility. The work's picaresque flavour is due to the broadly-treated 'entertainment' approach in the much-compressed text. Naturally, there are other ways of treating the character of Orestes; Hofmannsthal's avenging visitor in Elektra is one. The delayed, emotional recognition scene there is replaced in Krenek's Orest by that with Iphigenia, much more light-hearted because it precedes rescue, deliverance and renewal rather than the earlier bloody revenge.

If Orest is, at bottom, a romance, so is Die ägyptische Helena, a much more eclectic version of classical myth than Hofmannsthal presented in either Ariadne opera, one moreover offered on its own terms rather than as part of a Baroque entertainment. Comparable to Helena in this respect is Herbert Windt's 1930 Andromache, a straight setting of Racine's Andromaque, in which Orest appears again, this time as a 'melancholy, almost morbid' man driven by unrequited love for Hermione (who in turn loves Pyrrhus, Troy's conqueror, a man gripped by unreturned love for Hector's widow Andromache). Hermione's suicide and Orest's madness make this a painful tragedy in the sense that Heger's Der Bettler namenlos is not. Here the emphasis is on heroic anonymity, on 'upper-world' deliverance against 'lower-world' demonism, in which the last part of the Odyssey as dramatised by Lienhard, is closely followed (Andromache is, of course, non-Homeric). Der Bettler namenlos is a rescue and revenge drama which is also a romance.

In a decade when late Baroque opera in its authentic Handelian form was being

enthusiastically revived (Radamisto, Ezio, Julius Cäsar and Alcina were among the postwar German productions), Greek myth as ritual came in the Alkestis and Die Bakchantinnen of Wellesz as near to being literally re-embodied as it was likely to be, given the composer's roots in late Viennese romanticism, his progressive outlook, and specialist scholarly background. It is doubtful whether such works could have been written by one without his sympathetic knowledge of Baroque opera as a whole. Alkestis is at once a singular, economical yet impressively moving version of the myth which is a specific tribute to Hofmannsthal's drama (as, in a different way, Girnara had been to Die Frau ohne Schatten) and a demonstration of how a modern audience might experience the sacrifice and rescue compared with the far looser and dramatically wholly different Alceste of Gluck and Calzabigi. Similarly, the Bacchae drew him, as it had drawn Szymanowski, by the power and mystery of the famous text (it is noteworthy that Szymanowski also admired Schreker's operas, and in his Op.41 Tagore songs of 1918 chose precisely those texts used by Zemlinsky in his Lyrische Symphonie). Henze's Bassarids of 1965, with its interpolated Judgment of Calliope erotic episode is another, more recent treatment of the myth of Pentheus and Dionysus, which perhaps reaches beyond Wellesz in the variety of its elements. Yet in Die Bakchantinnen, the idea of communal violence and sacrifice, the awesome power of unconscious forces and the Dionysiac strength which Nietzsche had expounded from 1872 on, was given forceful and trenchant expression. Cassirer claimed that the meaning and profundity of myth lay not in what it portrays through its revealed forms as in what it conceals. Myth and 'Mysterium' are close; the power of revelation and of suggestion are not so widely separated after all. In Frye's critique, the anagogic (apocalyptic) conception of literature sees it as no longer a commentary on 'life' and 'reality', but containing these in a system of verbal relationships. The argument could be extended by adding 'opera' and 'musico-dramatic' to these categories. It seems clear that recourse to myth in its various post-Wagnerian forms was far from being a strategic, coherent or even fully conscious process. Yet it was not a mere act of piety or despair, but was Central Europe's answer to the question of opera's continued life and self-renewal during a time of general crisis.