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Divan Dialogues: Orientalism and the Lied, 1814–1840

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Abstract

The analytical problem of the early nineteenth-century Orientalist Lied is peculiar. Scholars have noted how exoticising musical signifiers rarely appear. Any arguments about Orientalism *in* the Lied thus necessarily engage the reception of text and the specificities of context. This thesis takes this 'musical' problem as an interdisciplinary invitation. It explores some of the material contexts, the aesthetic and intellectual discourses, and the representational practices of Orientalist Lieder between 1814 and 1840 by way of two reception histories. The connective in the title signals that these relationships were far from straightforward, but both positive and negative, affirmative and repellent.

The first half considers the reception of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* in the 1820s through two case studies. The first chapter explores the roles of Zelter in the collection's genesis; the aesthetic issues of both imagined and sung Orientalist Lieder; and suggests literary reasons for the wider musical public's silence. The second chapter considers the rich culture of song production in the Mendelssohn family, in particular the issues of song cyclicity in Fanny Mendelssohn's unpublished *Divan* settings from 1825; sociable Orientalist festivities in handwritten newspapers, such as the *Gartenzeitung* (1826); and intermedial practices of performing Orientalist song.

The second half investigates the reception of Heinrich Stieglitz's *Bilder des Orients* in the 1830s. The third chapter charts some of the Orientalist forces that shaped Stieglitz's *Bilder* and one of his earliest musical exponents, Adolph Bernhard Marx. The fourth chapter discusses settings of the *Bilder* by various '*Kleinmeister*' against their reception in the critical press in the 1830s. The final chapter explores how Carl Loewe and Heinrich Marschner capitalised on Stieglitz's *Bilder* to experiment with the Lied's visual techniques of representation in the mid-1830s.

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Table of Contents

LIST OF FIGURES **1**

NOTES TO THE READER **2**

INTRODUCTION **4**

CHAPTER 1: GOETHE AND ZELTER **42**

CHAPTER 2: THE MENDELSSOHNS **97**

CHAPTER 3: STIEGLITZ AND MARX **164**

CHAPTER 4: '*KLEINMEISTER*' **220**

CHAPTER 5: MARSCHNER AND LOEWE **271**

CONCLUSION **330**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **336**

List of Figures

Figure 1: Carl Friedrich Zelter, 'Aus der Ferne'
Figure 2: Beethoven's annotations to Goethe's 'Lesebuch'
Figure 3: Carl Friedrich Zelter, 'Suleika'
Figure 4: Carl Friedrich Zelter, 'Wiederfinden'
Figure 5: Fanny Mendelssohn, 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand', pasted correction
Figure 6: Fanny Mendelssohn's annotation, ‘auf Begehren komponiert’
Figure 7: The Mendelssohns, *Gartenzeitung* illustration
Figure 8: Fanny Mendelssohn, 'Westöstlicher Redactionswaltzer'
Figure 9: Fanny and Wilhelm Hensel, 'Suleika'
Figure 10: Adolph Bernhard Marx, ‘Einleitung’, *Nahid und Omar*
Figure 11: Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Lauschende Feen', *Nahid und Omar*
Figure 12: Beethoven, 'Es Kehret der Mayen', *An die ferne Geliebte*
Figure 13: Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Nahid', *Nahid und Omar*
Figure 14: Bernhard Klein, 'Wandrer im Osten', I
Figure 15: Bernhard Klein, 'Wandrer im Osten', II
Figure 16: Bernhard Klein, 'Der Bund', I
Figure 17: Bernhard Klein, 'Der Bund', II
Figure 18: Bernhard Klein, 'Der Bund', III
Figure 19: Friedrich Jähns, *Nahid*, I
Figure 20: Friedrich Jähns, *Nahid*, II
Figure 21: Carl Loewe, 'Die Geister der Wüste', *Bilder des Orients*
Figure 22: Carl Loewe, ‘Der verschmachtende Pilger’, *Bilder des Orients*
Figure 23: Carl Loewe, 'Melek in der Wüste', *Bilder des Orients*
Figure 24: Carl Loewe, 'Die Oasis', *Bilder des Orients*
Figure 25: Carl Loewe, ‘Lied eines Vögleins in der Oasis’, *Bilder des Orients*
Figure 26: Carl Loewe, Title page, *Bilder des Orients*
Figure 27: Carl Loewe, 'Ali im Garten', *Bilder des Orients*
Figure 28: Carl Loewe, ‘Gulhinde am Putztische’, *Bilder des Orients*
Figure 29: Carl Loewe, ‘Abendgesang’, *Bilder des Orients*

Notes to the Reader

Abbreviations

FA, III/1 and 2: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke, Briefe, Tagebücher und Gespräche in 40 Bänden*, ed. by Friedmar Apel and others, 40 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1985–1999), III/1: *WEST-ÖSTLICHER DIVAN*; III/2: *WEST-ÖSTLICHER DIVAN* [2], ed. by Hendrik Birus (1994); other volumes from this series have been indicated in small capitals with a note on the editor

MA, XI/1.2: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens*, ed. by Karl Richter and others, 21 vols (Munich: Hanser, 1985–1998), XI: *WEST–ÖSTLICHER DIVAN*, ed. by Karl Richter (1998)

MA, XX: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens*, ed. by Karl Richter and others, 21 vols (Munich: Hanser, 1985–1998), XX/1: *BRIEFWECHSEL ZWISCHEN GOETHE UND ZELTER IN DEN JAHREN* [*1799–1827*], ed. by Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Edith Zehm (1991); XX/2: *BRIEFWECHSEL ZWISCHEN GOETHE UND ZELTER IN DEN JAHREN [1828–1832]; DOKUMENTE; REGISTER*, ed. by Edith Zehm and Sabine Schäfer (1991); and XX/3: *EINFÜHRUNG, KOMMENTAR*, ed. by Edith Zehm (1998)

HA: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethes Werke*, ed. by Erich Trunz, 14 vols (Hamburg: Wegner, 1948–1964), II: *GEDICHTE UND EPEN* (1949)

AmZ: *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*

BamZ: *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*

NZfM: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*

MGG^{2}*: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd edn, rev. by Ludwig Finscher, 29 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008)

SBB – PK: Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv

Translations

All prose translations are my own unless otherwise stated. German words that have been left untranslated are italicised in quotation marks. Those German terms that supplement the English translations are italicised in square brackets. Poetic quotations are cited in the original German without italicisation.

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Introduction

In 1840, Robert Schumann set Friedrich Rückert's poem 'Du meine Seele, du mein Herz'. The text speaks of love.[1] So consuming is this love that the protagonist begins every line with a repetition of 'Du' or 'Dein', turning the song into a litany of pleasure, of woe, of life, which delights in being double: 'Du bist mein Geist, mein beßres Ich!'. Ever since its publication in 1840, Robert Schumann's 'Widmung' has remained a constant of the repertoire, a paradigmatic example of German song. Theodor Fröhlich's setting of the same text, published as the fourth of his op. 12 in 1834, has suffered a different fate.[2] The song is virtually unknown. Contemporary critics did not pay much attention to it. Neither is the song listed in the authoritative bibliography of Rückert settings compiled by Gernot and Stefan Demel in the late twentieth century.[3] It was probably drowned by the flood of song compositions then so numerous that one could 'build over Germany every year', as Schumann wrote in his *NZfM*.[4]

Friedrich Rückert was one of the 'new German poetic school' that the composer extolled in the *NZfM* in 1843.[5] But by the time Schumann set the song, Rückert was not simply one of the 'moderns' in German poetry. As a professor of Eastern Languages at the University of Erlangen, a position he held until his call to Berlin in 1841, he was also an 'Orientalist'. The poet could read over forty languages. As a philologist and translator, his task was to make foreign literatures available to the German reader, including a posthumously published rhyming translation of the Qur'an, still counted years later

[1] Friedrich Rückert, *Gesammelte Gedichte*, 4 vols (Erlangen: Heyder, 1834), I, p. 192.
[2] Theodor Fröhlich, *Persische Lieder von Friedrich Rückert* (Berlin: Bethge, 1834), no. iv.
[3] Gernot and Stefan Demel, 'Verzeichnis der vertonten Rückert-Texte', in *200 Jahre Friedrich Rückert, 1788–1866: Dichter und Gelehrter: Katalog der Ausstellung*, ed. by Jürgen Erdmann (Coburg: Landesbibliothek, 1988), pp. 417–551 (pp. 433–434 and 492).
[4] Robert Schumann, 'Lied und Gesang', *NZfM*, 5 (1836), p. 167.
[5] Ibid., 'Lieder', *NZfM*, 19 (1843), p. 35.

among its most poetic renderings.[6] Schumann, an assiduous reader, would have known of Rückert's Orientalist standing. So did Fröhlich, who decided to highlight it in publication. Fröhlich titled his collection, 'Persische Lieder von Friedrich Rückert'.

The collection from which 'Du meine Seele, du mein Herz' comes, *Liebesfrühling* (publ. 1834), is not a manifestly Orientalist work, unlike the poet's *Östliche Rosen*, which although dating from the same time was published as a self-standing collection in 1822 with an opening dedication to Goethe's *West–östlicher Divan*.[7] But 'Du meine Seele, du mein Herz' is also not a manifestly Orientalist poem. There are no signifiers of the Orient, not even a mention of the nightingale and rose that worked as its two literary symbols. Only a philologist could determine how Rückert manipulates, borrows, and transfigures motifs of Persian and Islamic mysticism. Even then they may be hard-pressed to find motivic correspondences that extend beyond Rückert's intellectual standing as an Orientalist who was intimate with Eastern literature.

And yet Fröhlich's setting of 'Du meine Seele, du mein Herz' is a manifestly Orientalist song. The title of Fröhlich's collection 'Persische Lieder von Rückert' signals to the reader that the composer understood Rückert's songs as 'Persian songs'. All the other settings from the collection cohere under this one rubric, the songs themselves capitalising so much on the titular, paratextual reference to the Orient that the slightest interpreted departure from a norm can be interpreted as an instance of doubling. The dialectical enfolding of the 'Du' into the 'Ich' becomes a mode of address from West to East. The litany of pleasure, of woe, of life suddenly takes the form of either a longing for

[6] Cf. Georges Tamer and Cüneyd Yildirim, 'Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866) and His Poetic Translation of the Qur'ān', in *Islam and New Directions in World Literature*, ed. by Sarah Bin Tyeer and Claire Gallien (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), pp. 193–216.
[7] Friedrich Rückert, 'Zu Goethe's west-östlichem Diwan', *Östliche Rosen: Drei Lesen* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1822), pp. 1–3.

the Orient or a form of Orientalist longing that could be related to the Persian poets themselves.

Once one recognises Fröhlich's song as an instance of Orientalism, the problems start to compound. Schumann's song is left hanging. Does the very existence of Fröhlich's title implicate Schumann's 'Widmung' in a discourse of Orientalism? Does this mean that Rückert's poem, as the fundament of both, is Orientalist as well? Is their Orientalism inherent or made – in a word, 'Orientalised'? These questions frame the theoretical introduction to this thesis on Orientalism and the Lied between 1814 and 1840. The thesis charts one pathway through the thickets of Orientalism in early nineteenth-century Germany. I explore the practices, discourses, and multivalent representational strategies that surround two specific philological instances of Orientalism and the Lied. Mirroring the canonic imbalance of Schumann and Fröhlich, these philological instances emanate from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* (publ. 1819) and Heinrich Stieglitz's *Bilder des Orients* (publ. c. 1831–33).

German Orientalism

This is a study of Orientalism and the Lied in the historical context of early nineteenth-century Germany. It is also therefore a response to Edward Said's understanding of Orientalism in a European framework. Said's broad definitions, together with the insights of German Studies presented below, inform both my terminological understanding and specific approach to Orientalism across the following five chapters, as further specified in the Chapter Overviews section. The decision to use the term 'Orientalism' is not to signal a partisan espousal of the Saidian view, but represents an attempt to extend and nuance the concept's historical application.

Said has three 'interdependent' definitions of Orientalism that underpin any engagement with the term. Orientalism is firstly an historical field of study. It labels 'anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient'.[8] The second meaning is 'imaginative'. Orientalism is a 'style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident'.[9] This Orientalism reinforces *a priori* categories of difference between Europe and the Orient. Orientalism is thirdly the 'corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient'.[10]

Said's Orientalist discourse is predicated on the relationship between power and knowledge. Orientalism is not in 'direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw'.[11] Orientalism is rather 'produced' and 'exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power', which are subject to operations across the generic textual spectrum.[12] Said subdivides these forms of power into the political ('as with a colonial or imperial establishment'), the intellectual (scientific or academic), the cultural ('canons of taste, texts, values') and the moral.[13] Orientalism, further, has an 'internal consistency'.[14] Both 'academic' and 'imaginative' Orientalism move away from their putative objects of study to build instead a system of representations that works

[8] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978; repr. London: Penguin, 2003), p. 2.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., p. 3.
[11] Ibid. p. 12.
[12] Ibid. These operations include: the 'distribution' of a 'geopolitical awareness' into philological and literary texts; an 'elaboration' of the geographical divide between two 'unequal' zones through processes of *Orientalising*; the textual creation and maintenance of material (ideological) 'interests'; and the '*will*' to know and therefore 'control' difference. On processes of 'Orientalising', see pp. 67ff.
[13] Ibid., p. 12.
[14] Ibid., p. 5.

powerfully and instrumentally. Said accordingly analyses Orientalism's representations *'as* representations' – through their constituent technical parts and not for their accuracy against 'some great original'.[15] The 'sense' (meaning or understanding) of Orientalist discourse depends on these visible 'techniques of representation'. In turn, these 'rely upon institutions, traditions, conventions, agreed-upon codes of understanding for their effects'.[16]

There are many shades of representation aggregated in Said's definition. But two could be termed, after Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's gloss of Karl Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire* that serves as *Orientalism*'s epigraph, 'proxy' (or consent) and 'portrait' (or portrayal).[17] The 'proxy' position [*Vertretung*] holds that Orientals neither required Western representation nor asked for it.[18] They were made to speak in a certain way. The 'portrait' position [*Darstellung*] holds that both artistic and academic representations rarely move beyond articulations of a series of basic ideological assumptions or stereotypes. The 'unanimity, stability and durability' of what Said terms 'latent Orientalism' remain unchanged by any 'manifest' difference of 'personal style and form'.[19] These assumptions also give definition and familiarity to the Orient's 'imaginative geography' – which Said describes as the projection of characteristics onto a peopled

[15] Ibid., p. 21. For Said's thinking of representation as a contradiction in terms, see Cf. Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1992), pp. 190–201, 202–203, and 336 (excerpted and repr. as 'Orientalism *and After'*, in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader,* ed. by Laura Chrisman and Patrick Williams (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 162–171).
[16] *Orientalism*, p. 22.
[17] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp. 271–316, esp. pp. 276–279.
[18] *Orientalism*, pp. 6 and 21.
[19] Ibid., p. 206.

landmass, the work of 'human production' rather than 'any fact of nature'[20] – by forming the bedrock of any subsequent reworking or re-presentation.[21]

While Said's implication of all writers in the ethical questions of producing and maintaining Orientalist knowledge is still radical and continues to elicit debate,[22] to read *Orientalism* now is to read it through its criticisms and revisions and to filter it through the 'evolved form of critical Saidism', as Graham Huggan has termed it, that surrounds the use of his whole corpus.[23] If we agree, following Susan Youens, that 'Lieder begin with words', then it is important to account for a specific set of scholarly revisions and reappraisals of Orientalism in theory and practice that has been brought on by German Studies for historical reasons before considering the concept's relation to the Lied.[24] These revisions inflect how Orientalism operates in an early nineteenth-century German context and adds historical nuance to the definition of Orientalism as the project of conceptualising, imagining, and instrumentalising the Orient for Western purposes.

Said's historical and national focal points are France, Britain, and America. He makes it plain that he studies Orientalism 'as a dynamic exchange between individual authors and the large political concerns shaped by the three great empires – British, French, American – in whose intellectual and imaginative territory the writing was produced'.[25] The problem is that Said includes a fleeting reference to German Orientalism. This he understands not to have been 'actual' in the way that it had been for

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[20] Edward Said, 'Orientalism Reconsidered', *Race and Class*, 27 (1985), 1–15 (p. 2).
[21] *Orientalism,* p. 21.
[22] Cf. Sindhumathi Revuluri, '"Orientalism" and Musical Knowledge: Lessons from Edward Said', *Journal of the Royal Musicological Association*, 141 (2016), 205–209.
[23] Graham Huggan, '(Not) reading "Orientalism"', *Research in African Literatures*, 36 (2005), 124–136 (p. 125); for a full discussion of its theoretical reception, see Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 383–392.
[24] Susan Youens, 'Schubert and His Poets: Issues and Conundrums', in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert,* ed. by Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 99–118 (p. 99).
[25] *Orientalism*, p. 15.

English and French scholars and writers. The German Orient was 'almost exclusively a scholarly, or at least a classical, Orient'. German Orientalist scholarship 'refined and elaborated techniques' that could be used on 'texts, myths, ideas and languages' made available by colonial networks. For Said, German Orientalism nonetheless shared with Britain and France an 'intellectual authority over the Orient within Western culture'.[26]

One of the historical problems of applying Said's theory wholesale to the German situation between 1814 and 1840 is that 'Germany' only came to form as a unified political entity in 1870–1871. The early nineteenth century was a period of relative turmoil. Germany's boundaries were continuously re-drawn by a series of Napoleonic treaties that, while helping to precipitate the dissolution the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, the structure that had been central to the 'coexistence of the individual sovereign powers' for generations, concentrated its principalities into a tighter complex of states.[27] In the period under review, this tighter complex was the German Confederation formed in the wake of the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815. Despite its nominal claims to partnership in principle, the Confederation functioned, in James Sheehan's words, as the 'counterrevolutionary holding company' of the reactionary Austrian Prince Clemens von Metternich, who, in collusion with Prussia, issued much repressive legislation, including the infamous Karlsbad Decrees in 1819 that stifled press freedoms.[28] The Confederation did not equate to a sense of political centredness on the ground. There were still multiple citizenships and autonomies. On taking up his professorship in Erlangen in 1826, Rückert

[26] Ibid., p. 19.
[27] Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800–1866*, trans. by Daniel Nolan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 4.
[28] James Sheehan, *German History, 1770–1866* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 409; for more on the background, see Alan Sked, *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 1815–1918,* 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 8–41.

himself not only had to reclaim the Bavarian citizenship that he renounced when he married in Coburg, but was instructed to pay an import charge on the traffic of possessions across the border.[29] It is easy to see how the fractions of this disunited 'Germany' scuppered the possibility of colonial expansion into the East.[30]

A second more discursive complication comes after unification. When Germany established itself as a colonial power after 1884, its territories were primarily concentrated in Africa.[31] Said's Orientalist discourse can accommodate the belated acquisition of territory. One crucial aspect of Said's argument is in fact Orientalism's discursive ability to prepare ground.[32] But the historical force of this idea is bolstered by the future correspondence of Orientalist imaginative geographies with the spaces of domination, that a 'distribution' of 'geopolitical awareness' could initiate and support imperial and colonial politics. Looking back at the German case, it would seem as though the correlation between specifically Orientalist literatures and the specific definitions of such an activated 'power political' is a weak one. Analysis of the German situation thus cautions against totalising the discourse of Orientalism to make it function as the governing paradigm for all European experiences with the world. It shows not only how European Orientalism cannot be fully appraised as one single entity, but how Orientalism subdivides into multiple, national discourses, each shaped by its internal dynamics.

Todd Kontje has in fact argued that one cannot really speak of a bounded German Orientalist discourse but an 'ongoing multiplicity of Germany's local Orientalisms' that

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[29] Annemarie Schimmel, *Friedrich Rückert: Lebensbild und Einführung in sein Werk* (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1987), p. 31.
[30] On the difference between 'colonialism' and 'imperialism', see Robert Young, *Postcolonialism*, pp. 16–18.
[31] For an introduction, see Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 36–65.
[32] *Orientalism*, p. 35.

changes over time and gains particularity from its political situation.[33] Kontje's 'multiplicities' have shown that when dealing with how German authors imagined their own visions of the Orient, one has to consider that the corpus of Orientalist material was constantly waxing in the early nineteenth century. By 1840, the textual genres of Orientalism could span everything from scientific scholarship, through travelogues, translations, individual Orientalist imaginations in literature, music, and art, to local debates about speculative philosophy.[34] These particular manifestations of Orientalism play an important role in framing and influencing an author's 'imaginative',[35] 'symbolic',[36] and 'discursive'[37] geography, which in terms of the Orient's correlation with contemporary and historical spaces at this time could have the broadest constituency, ranging from a 'Moorish' Spain to an increasingly world-facing Japan.[38] The same plurality beset Orientalism's readers who brought their own knowledge to bear on the constitution of these various Orientalisms. In other words, while there are certain textual reference points that underpin a specific conception of the Orient, such as Goethe's *Divan*, each individual reader constantly reshaped Orientalism's material currency on the ground, layering the concept with their own aesthetic, musical, and intellectual ideas.

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[33] Todd Kontje, 'Germany's Local Orientalisms', in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe,* ed. by James Hodkinson and John Walker (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), pp. 55–77 (p. 56); see also Todd Kontje, *German Orientalisms* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

[34] Cf. Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Jürgen Osterhammel, *Unfabling the East: The Enlightenment's Encounter with Asia*, trans. by Robert Savage (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); Joanna Neilly, *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Orient: Romantic Aesthetics and the German Imagination* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2016); and Nicholas Germana, *The Anxiety of Autonomy and the Aesthetics of German Orientalism* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2017).

[35] Said, 'Orientalism Reconsidered', p. 2, and *Orientalism*, pp. 49ff.

[36] Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, pp. 1–2.

[37] Andrea Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus: Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), p. 64.

[38] There was also the practice of ascribing Oriental characteristics to those with Jewish heritage, including the Mendelssohns, for the purposes of Othering. For more on Orientalism and the Jews, see Jeffrey S. Librett, *Orientalism and the Figure of the Jew* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015).

To reduce German Orientalism to an exclusive cachet of recurring images and representations would therefore be impossible. For every invocation of the 'gentle, moderate, fine Hindu' in a lexicon entry there was an image of Oriental brutality and passion.[39] For every summoning of the immateriality of the wandering Arab, there was a defence of the cultivated materiality of his script. For every ventriloquism of the male *Sänger* who praised his beloved and thus the divine through effete wordplays, there was the image of a supine and thus erotic Oriental female, a 'Suleika' or 'Zulima', which replicates the structuring of the Orient with the discourses and desires of sexuality.[40] Accordingly, the nexus of gender and Orientalism in the thesis does not merely encompass the (male) representation of women in Orientalist songs, but relates to how women composers, such as Fanny Mendelssohn, were gripped by the possibilities of imagining lyric subjects and Orientalising themselves, as shown in Chapter 2; and to how groups and institutions such as the *Liedertafel* used performance contexts and practices to stage alliances with the Orient on the basis of gender. It bears stressing at the outset that these gendered identities were not always constructed in pursuit of the alternative or the forbidden, but could be used to foster cultural similarities.

If the particular valence of Orientalist representation ranged from case to case, there are nevertheless commonalities in the socio-cultural functions of German Orientalism that can be highlighted to reflect local concerns. Scholars of German literature have shown that national 'interest' can be nurtured both closer to home.[41] Nicholas Germana has argued that one stimulus for the Orientalism of the early

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[39] Cf. Ludwig Ammann, *Östliche Spiegel: Ansichten vom Orient im Zeitalter seiner Entdeckung durch den deutschen Leser*, 1800–1850 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1989), p. 30, n. 48.
[40] For Orientalism and gender in song, see Sanna Iitti, *The Feminine in German Song* (New York: Lang, 2006), pp. 61–92.
[41] *Orientalism*, p. 19; Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, p. 2.

Romantics lies in the differentiation from French models.[42] In the wake of the socio-political turmoil of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, writers could identify Germany in the abstract with an Indic Orient in order to distinguish themselves from French modes of culture, indeed an imperialist 'West' more broadly. In the same stroke, they could use the philological and aesthetic treatment of the Orient as the yardstick by which to measure a moral national character. The Indologist August Wilhelm Schlegel's 1804 statement that 'if the Orient is the region from which the regenerations of the human species go forth, so Germany is to be considered the Orient of Europe' appears self-evident.[43] He was clearly using an Orientalist analogue to speak of Germany's cultural power to revive a decadent Europe. Goethe too professed the same '*Hegire*' or 'flight' from a Napoleonic Europe in the *Divan* in 1814.[44] But Schlegel was also mobilising an inverse proportionality between German cultural conceptions and political realities that Wolf Lepenies argues has long attended the associations of *Kultur* as a term.[45] Culture thus itself becomes a national and political rallying point.

Similarly, Friedrich Schlegel's 1798 dictum that one must find 'the highest Romanticism [...] in the Orient' does not solely place the concept at the heart of a 'new mythology' that placed Orientalism within the aesthetic precepts of *Phantasie*.[46]

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[42] Nicholas Germana, 'Self-Othering in German Orientalism: The Case of Friedrich Schlegel', *The Comparatist,* 34 (2010), 80–94; see also his *The Orient of Europe: The Mythical Image of India and Competing Images of German National Identity* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2009).

[43] August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen*, ed. by Georg Braungart and others, 5 vols (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1989-), II/1 (2007), p. 25.

[44] FA, III/1, p. 12.

[45] Wolf Lepenies, *The Seduction of Culture in German History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), esp. p. 15.

[46] See Germana, 'Self-Othering', pp. 84–86; for early nineteenth-century ideas of *Phantasie* and their decoupling from '*Einbildungskraft*', see Jochen Schulte-Sasse, 'Phantasie', in *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe: Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*, ed. by Karlheinz Barck and others, 7 vols (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000–2005), IV (2002), pp. 778–797, esp. pp. 787–790.

Schlegel's preceding sentence makes clear that this Romantic search required German mediation:

> If only the treasures of the Orient were as accessible to us as those of antiquity! What a new source of poetry could flow to us from India if some German artists, with the universality and depth of meaning, with the genius of translation that is their own, had the opportunity that a nation that is becoming ever more obtuse and brutal does not really know how to use.[47]

These are clearly examples of a supposedly more 'positive' Orientalism, which resonates with the conception of the Orient or '*Morgenland*' as the 'home of everything wonderful', in the words of the musical Romantic Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder.[48] Yet their positivity does not weaken their complicity with the four grooves of intellectual, cultural, moral, and political power, the latter brought into action by the previous three, however locally charged.

These solipsistic acts of Orientalist identification show that the boundaries and alliances between what the Germans considered selves and others were not clear-cut.[49] Said himself admits to such a blurring in his argument that, as Europe's 'underground or surrogate self', the Orient functions as a vehicle for the investment of desire, the projection of a dangerous, subversive and yet distinctly European self-inscription.[50] *Germanistik* has added a specific terminological nuance. Andrea Polaschegg has argued that the terms 'anders' and 'fremd', two signal states of Orientalism in German, perform different operations.[51] The first of the categories, concerning the split between the

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[47] Germana, 'Self-Othering', p. 86; Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, ed. by Ernst Behler and others, 35 vols (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1967–), II, ed. by Hans Eichner, pp. 319–320.
[48] Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, ed. by Silvio Vietta and Richard Littlejohns, 2 vols (Heidelberg: Winter, 1991), I, p. 201.
[49] For a probing critique of the dichotomy in musicology, see Matthew Head, 'Musicology on Safari: Orientalism and the Spectre of Postcolonial Theory', *Music Analysis,* 22 (2003), 211–230, esp. pp. 212–221.
[50] *Orientalism*, p. 3.
[51] Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus*, pp. 39–49.

'Eigene' and 'Andere' ('self' and 'other'), builds a complementary 'dichotomy of difference'.[52] She argues that this dichotomy is predicated on boundary-making and exclusion. The second of the categories concerns 'fremd' and 'vertraut' ('foreign/strange' and 'familiar') and centres on the 'overcoming and creation of a distance'.[53] The movement from 'foreign' to 'familiar' engages the hermeneutic process of 'understanding'.[54]

Polaschegg's theoretical insight frames some of the reasons why German Orientalism as a cultural phenomenon often vacillates between attraction and repulsion, affiliation and disaffiliation. By drawing attention to the hermeneutic procedures of understanding against the backdrop of identity, Polaschegg suggests that there can be a 'vertrautes Anderes' or a 'fremdes Eigenes' that specify the changing familiarities of Orientalist discourse in nineteenth-century German culture.[55] Writing and reading about the Orient could itself be understood in terms of recognition and thus absorbed into *Bildung*, the important nineteenth-century German ideal of self-cultivation. Without coming to terms with what was 'foreign', without demarcating for the purposes of acquisition what was 'other', there would be no comparator, and hence no basis of valuation. Indeed, without the prospect of assimilating previously unknown elements and expanding the zone of the self, there could be no *Bildung*, so closely were the two tied.[56] This could exist on a personal level, motivating German-language authors to harness *Bildung*'s 'structure of excursion and reunion', to posit themselves relationally,

[52] Ibid., p. 41.
[53] Ibid., pp. 42–43.
[54] Ibid., pp. 44–45.
[55] Ibid., pp. 196–200.
[56] Antoine Berman, *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany,* trans. by S. Heyvaert (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 43–52.

using Orientalism to open up the supposed fixities of their culture.[57] It could also, once these selves multiply, exist on a cultural-national level on which German Orientalism as an instrument for self-fashioning and self-commentary.[58]

Both the subdivisions of discourse and the blurring of self and other point to perhaps the most important contribution of scholarship on German Orientalism as a body of theory. Taken as a whole, the field's multiplicity embraces a scholarly position of ambivalence that reflects its philological material. Early nineteenth-century writers rarely stuck to one fixed view. The poet Heinrich Stieglitz could express the desires of his Orientalist project using the language of imperialist 'conquest' and commit himself to making sense of his own world through both Orientalist scholarship and subjective reimagination.[59] Goethe could at once open German poetry up to the influence of Persian literature in the *Divan* and define the Orient taxonomically in its appended set of socio-cultural notes.[60] Friedrich Schlegel's *Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* at once bestowed the Indian with the privilege of origin and mobilised a line of Indo-Aryan racial thinking that mixed biology with linguistics.[61] In all, one finds a tension between what Polaschegg has termed a 'diskursive Binnendifferenzierung', which contrasted Orientalist spaces and characteristics, and the determined will of the term 'Orient' to

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[57] For a discussion of *Bildung* and the 'exotic', see Dorothy M. Figueira, *The Exotic: A Decadent Quest* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), esp. pp. 11–13 (p. 11).

[58] Cf. Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany*, *1770–1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 7.

[59] *Briefe von Heinrich Stieglitz an seine Braut Charlotte,* ed. by Louis Curtze, 2 vols (Leipzig: Brockhaus 1859), II, p. 337: 'Sieh nur die Karte an, wie viel vom Orient schon mein gehört! Doch Indien ist noch nicht erobert!'.

[60] Cf. Yomb May, 'Goethe, Islam, and the Orient: The Impetus for and Mode of Intercultural Encounter in the *West-östlicher Divan*', in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe,* ed. by James Hodkinson and John Walker (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), pp. 89–107.

[61] For a brief overview of the debate, see Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, 'The Status of Hebrew in Friedrich Schlegel's *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*', *German Life and Letters,* 60 (2007), 165–179, esp. pp. 165–168.

summon, totalise, and aggregate *pars pro toto*.[62] In all, too, one finds the fodder for a polarising debate, in which the politics of German Orientalism can itself be instrumentalised and spun both ways.

Repertories

The type of Orientalism around which the texts of the thesis revolve emanates from Goethe's *Divan*. As Kontje has argued, 'in Goethe lies the centre of [Germany's] national literature and the source of its uniquely German Orientalism'.[63] Goethe's position as the towering figure of German life and letters cast a shadow beyond his death in 1832. Friedrich Schlegel held up *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* in epochal terms in one of his *Fragmente* from 1797.[64] Heinrich Heine named an artistic period after him in his *Die romantische Schule*: the 'Goethean artistic period' [*Goethezeit*].[65] Goethe's *Divan* in particular also exerted a powerful influence on Orientalist poetic production, which provides a reference text for comparative Orientalist analysis. Rückert, August von Platen, and Georg Daumer were only some of the more celebrated names who took up Goethe's interest with Persian poetry. There were others too, including Heinrich Stieglitz, the focus in the second half of the thesis, who as Heinrich Laube put it in 1840, 'followed [...] the Goethean impulse towards the Orient'.[66] 1819, the year of the *Divan*'s publication, or 1814, the year of its beginning, thus seems to crystallise one important Orientalist poetic juncture.

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[62] Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus*, pp. 102 and 205; cf. Marchand, *Orientalism*, p. xxxii.
[63] Kontje, 'Local Orientalisms', p. 66.
[64] Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, II, p. 198.
[65] Heinrich Heine, *Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. by Manfred Windfuhr, 16 vols (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1973–1997), VIII (1979), p. 125.
[66] Heinrich Laube, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 4 vols (Stuttgart: Hallberger'sche Verlagshandlung, 1839–1840), IV (1840), p. 138.

Yet with the *Divan* there is another historiographic layer. The collection has taken on an almost exceptional status that threatens its specifically German discursive centrality. Unlike many other German Orientalist works, the *Divan* has earned special 'dialogic' significance. This is not simply because Goethe engages philologically with Eastern poetry, which is a feature that runs through his 'school'. The dialogic element of Goethe's collection rests in its engendering of 'intercultural' responses, most notably from Muhammad Iqbal in his *Payam-i-Mashriq* (*Message from the East*) in 1923.[67] It is in fact Said who would later argue that Goethe's collection is 'unique in the history of European culture'.[68] Goethe's pioneering 'extremely catholic' and 'almost altruistic' method of 'hermeneutical philology', anticipating the poet's ideas of *Weltliteratur* that were voiced to his secretary Johann Peter Eckermann in 1827, became a model for future intercultural relations.[69] There is therefore the sense that with the *Divan* we are dealing with an exceptional strand of European Orientalism *tout court* with which the collection's contemporary followers were in constant and sometimes anxious dialogue.

One of the reasons for beginning with the *Divan* is related to the musical corpus. It would be difficult to compile a systematic repertory of Orientalist songs before the collection's publication. There are a few caveats due here. The first is that there were manifold settings of Goethe's other Orientalist poems, including those of 'Der Gott und die Bajadere', and Johann Gottfried Herder's translations of Persian literature before

[67] Muhammad Iqbal, *Collected Poetical Works*, ed. and trans. by Muhammad Hadi Hussain and others (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 2000), pp. 63–66.
[68] Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said, *Parallels and Paradoxes: Explorations in Music and Society* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), p. 7.
[69] Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. by Willard R. Ropes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958, repr. 2003), p. xv; on Goethe's concept, see *Weltliteratur*, see Fritz Strich, *Goethe und die Weltliteratur* (Bern: Francke, 1946); Goethe's discussion with Eckermann can be found at FA, XXXIX: GESPRÄCHE MIT GOETHE, p. 225.

1814.[70] For instance, Carl Friedrich Zelter's homophonic setting of 'Der Gott und die Bajadere', published in 1812, became one of his most celebrated works. Germaine de Staël described it as 'voluptuous and solemn'; 'when we hear it, we think ourselves in India, surrounded with all its wonders'.[71] The second caveat is that the hermeneutic procedure that governs the relationship between 'fremd' and 'vertraut' allows for Romanticising songs that deal with the abstract possibility of the 'over there', the numerous '*Gesänge der Sehnsucht'*, to be specified as an Orientalist possibility in the mind or ear of a literate listener. One need not necessarily name the Orient or label it as such in order to invoke its association or cognate concepts. The radical extension of this view is that an Orientalist repertory is potentially boundless, each song carrying the dynamic potential of Orientalism within it.

By systematic I therefore mean firstly a collection of poems, in this case the *Divan*, that frames Orientalism as a specifically demarcated conundrum that composers had to negotiate, and secondly a collection of German poems that has an 'internal consistency' in German Orientalism as something against which future iterations of the phenomenon could be compared.[72] In my account, the comparison comes by way of Heinrich Stieglitz's *Bilder des Orients* in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. As one of the city's Berlin musical-cultural personalities and the author of Orientalist poetry that issued as wave of Orientalist songs in the early 1830s, Stieglitz also made a significant contribution to

[70] For more on settings of Herder's poems, see Richard Kramer, *From the Ruins of Enlightenment: Beethoven and Schubert in Their Solitude* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2023), pp. 33–48; and Christiane Wiesenfeldt, 'Die Anfänge des romantischen Orientalismus im Lied um 1800', in *Zwischen Abstinenz und Aneignung: Systematische und historische Perspektiven auf die musikalische Rezeption von Goethes 'West-östlichem Divan'*, ed. by Frieder von Ammon and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen (Baden Baden: Rombach, 2024), pp. 39–60.
[71] Germaine de Staël, *Germany*, trans. by [anon.] (London: J. Murray, 1813), p. 354.
[72] *Orientalism*, p. 12.

German-Orientalist life that was discursively positioned against Goethe's *Divan*. Taking its cue from the poetic corpus, the thesis thus represents a first attempt to provide a re-centred account of Orientalist song by examining extensive material evidence (personal papers, music manuscripts, newspaper reports, letters), while partially de-centring the culture of song composition between 1820 and 1840 to reconsider its debates, practitioners, and practices according to early nineteenth-century reception history.

Another reason for beginning with Goethe stems from the poet's importance to Lied history. If Schumann did not name him as one of the 'new school of German poets' who in turn inspired a new school of song in 1843, that is because Goethe's works have always lain at the centre of the song canon.[73] The challenges and potentialities of Goethe's poetry, which were themselves the topic of critical appraisal in the 1820s and 1830s, provided the 'source' and 'catalyst' for composers to transform the genre, first into a 'Second Berlin School' with such figures as Carl Friedrich Zelter and Johann Friedrich Reichardt around 1800, both of whose styles Goethe enfranchised, and then into a more 'Romantic' musical utterance in the 1810s that has one historiographic fixity in Schubert's composition of 'Gretchen am Spinnrade' in October 1814.[74] There is no consensus on when 'Romanticism' begins and ends in literature and music. Literary Romanticism starts to become 'late' in the 1820s, just as Charles Rosen's musically 'Romantic generation' begins to wake up, and the cosiness of the 'tamed' and anxious *Biedermeier* settles in.[75] Goethe himself occupies an ambivalent position within the

[73] On the poetry of the Lied, see Jane Brown, 'In the Beginning was Poetry', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. by James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 12–32.
[74] Harry Seelig, 'The Literary Context: Goethe as Source and Catalyst', in *German Lieder in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Rufus E. Hallmark (New York: Schirmer, 1996), pp. 1–34.
[75] Dennis F. Mahoney, 'Introduction', in *The Literature of German Romanticism*, ed. by Dennis F. Mahoney (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004), pp. 1–24 (p. 1); Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*

literary Romantic movement despite providing a constant point of comparison and stimulus.[76] In purely chronological terms, however, the first stirrings of both the *Divan* and the Romantic Lied are coterminous. To write about the musical reception of the *Divan* and the *Bilder* in their first decades is thus also to follow the Lied in a period of staggered transition from a strophic ideal in 1814 to an individualistic '*Kunstlied*' in 1840.[77] By outlining a 'new school' of poetry and song in 1843, which was traced back to a rebellion against musically 'empty phrases [*Floskelwesen*]' in the 1830s, Schumann himself provides a witness to that shift.[78]

A third reason is that music has always been central to the historiography of the *Divan*. Scholars and critics have highlighted how the Lied helped to popularise the collection, which suffered from widespread literary neglect until the early twentieth century. In 1913, Hugo von Hofmannsthal claimed that while the collection itself was little known, 'pieces [of the *Divan*] were in everyone's ear through music'.[79] In 1948, Friedrich Blume suggested that most of the *Divan*'s poems were written for musical setting: '*zur Komposition geschrieben*'.[80] *Divan* scholars have since used such terms as

(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); for challenges to the periodisation, see Benedict Taylor, 'Introduction, in *The Cambridge Companion to Music and Romanticism*, ed. by Benedict Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 3–16; on the *Biedermeier* (1815–1848), see Virgil Nemoianu, *The Taming of Romanticism: European Literature and the Age of Biedermeier* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).

[76] Cf. Arnd Bohm, 'Goethe and the Romantics', in *The Literature of German Romanticism,* ed. by Mahoney, pp. 35–60 (p. 42).

[77] For this transition, see Carmen Debryn, *Vom Lied zum Kunstlied: Eine Studie zu Variation und Komposition im Lied des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1983); see also, Marjorie Wing Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), esp. p. 10; for a full exposition of the topic, see Heinrich Schwab, *Sangbarkeit, Popularität und Kunstlied: Studien zu Lied und Liedästhetik der mittleren Goethezeit, 1770–1814* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1965).

[78] Robert Schumann, 'Lieder', *NZfM*, 19 (1843), pp. 34–35.

[79] Andrea Polaschegg, '"Nun so legt euch liebe Lieder / An den Busen meinem Volke": (De-)popularisierungsdynamiken des *West-östlichen Divans* im neunzehnten und frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 89 (2020), 205–222 (p. 218).

[80] Friedrich Blume, *Goethe und die Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1948), pp. 18–19.

'*Akkorde*', '*Dur*', and '*Moll*' to describe structural aspects of the collection.[81] Such terms summon the collection's musical legacy at every turn. A component of the *Divan*'s musical legacy is philological, instated by Goethe himself, stemming from the poet's letters to the composer Carl Friedrich Zelter on why one could and could not set particular parts of the collection. These letters were made available to the first generation of *Divan* philologists in the 1830s and have since passed into lore. Said himself cites a letter from Goethe to Zelter in the preface to Auerbach's *Mimesis*.[82] Another no less important component of the legacy lies in the socio-cultural functions of the Lied in the nineteenth century. Composing and performing songs, including Orientalist numbers, were integral components of *Bildung*, the culture of singing in particular offering a 'binding agent of sociability', as Mendelssohn's friend Eduard Devrient later maintained.[83] The Lied was also a medium of national pride, held up by the critic Gottfried Wilhelm Fink in 1826 as proof that German musical life was flourishing.[84] These claims made for Lieder rendered the genre an ideal vehicle to assimilate the novelties of the *Divan* into early nineteenth-century culture, to prove in other words that the collection could still be performed in and on 'German' terms.

But there is also a discrepancy in the historiography of the *Divan*'s musical reception that matches the *Divan*'s literary historiographic exceptionalism. The actual extent of the collection's musical reception belies its consistently musical emphasis. Reading Hofmannsthal's comment, one would expect to encounter a surfeit of *Divan*

[81] HA, II, esp. p. 592.
[82] Auerbach, *Mimesis*, pp. xv–xvi.
[83] Eduard Devrient, *Meine Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und seine Briefe an mich* (Leipzig: Weber, 1869), p. 39.
[84] Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, 'Ueber die Frage: Ist es wahr, dass unsere Musik so weit herunter ist, dass sie mit der alten und ältesten keine Vergleichung mehr aushält?', *AmZ*, 28 (1826), esp. cols 56–57.

compositions. The bare musical facts actually suggest the opposite: 'sparse consideration by composers' in Frieder von Ammon's and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen's words, particularly by comparison with Goethe's other poems, such as 'Erlkönig' or 'Mignon', or with the monumental musical legacies of Heine's *Buch der Lieder* and Rückert's *Liebesfrühling*.[85] A list of *Divan* composers until mid-century would include Carl Friedrich Zelter, Carl Eberwein, Franz Schubert, Carl Rungenhagen, an unknown C. Nicola, Bettina von Arnim, Fanny and Felix Mendelssohn, Johanna Kinkel, Moritz Hauptmann, Carl Loewe, and Robert Schumann.[86] While this fuller list includes both celebrated and lesser-known names, many of these composers, such as Carl Rungenhagen, director of the Berlin *Singakademie* following Zelter's death in 1832, produced only a single or small groups settings. Their musical reception is thus characterised by an 'abstinence', as Hinrichsen and von Ammon have argued – one that also extends to the choice of texts, the majority coming from the *Buch Suleika*.[87]

That these figures can all fit into one sentence shows that the musical reception of the *Divan* did not go against the grain of its sketchy literary reception in the first half of the nineteenth century. Both were beset by an ambivalence and social hermeticism that merits further probing. The musical discrepancy between historiographical weight and historical neglect makes the *Divan* an appropriate vehicle for an Orientalist musical history that not only addresses how musicians and poets, such as Goethe and Zelter,

[85] Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen and Frieder von Ammon, 'Introduction', in *Zwischen Abstinenz und Aneignung*, p. 8; for more, see Christopher H. Gibbs, 'The Presence of "Erlkönig": Reception and Reworkings of a Schubert Lied' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1992), pp. 37–38; Terence Cave, *Mignon's Afterlives: Crossing Cultures from Goethe to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Susan Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Gernot and Stefan Demel, 'Verzeichnis', in *Friedrich Rückert,* ed. by Erdmann, p. 418.
[86] C. Nicola appears in an announcement by [anon.], 'Kurze Anzeigen', *AmZ*, 28 (1826), col. 848.
[87] Hinrichsen and von Ammon, 'Introduction', in *Zwischen Abstinenz und Aneignung*, p. 10.

discussed and collaborated on Orientalist song projects, but also pays attention to why an Orientalist work was not set and how it could be defined against other literary and musical examples that do not have same the historiographical clout. This kind of reception history reflects the ambivalences of the musician learning to broach the experiments of the *Divan* in a broader project of negotiating the mediation of Orientalist difference between 1814 and 1840. If German Studies has shown that one did not necessarily approach the Orient as 'a European first and an individual second', as Said argues, my methodological imperative is that composers came up against poetic Orientalism as both German readers *and* musicians, which means that the categories of understanding that govern the reception of textual Orientalism necessarily dialogue with any 'purely musical' considerations, informing any subsequent analysis.[88] The textual and philological discourses of Orientalist difference thus interact and spar with the representational possibilities of the Lied, the preserve of *Phantasie*, expression, and invention.

Of the *Divan* composers listed above, I focus on Zelter and the Mendelssohns in Chapters 1 and 2. The songs of Schumann nor Schubert, the traditional staging posts in historiographies of the Lied between 1814 and 1840, rarely feature here. The exclusion of Schumann's songs is partly chronological and partly historiographical, his Orientalist settings appearing with his celebrated 'year of song' in 1840, at the outer bounds of the thesis. When Schumann appears, it is chiefly in his capacity as a critic and reader of both Orientalism and song culture in the mid-1830s. But Schubert, who systematically made

[88] *Orientalism,* p. 19.

his way through the *Divan* school between c. 1821 and 1823, still looms large. I have decided to exclude Schubert for two reasons.

The first is that Schubert's songs, and particularly his two 'Suleika' settings, have received sustained attention in anglophone scholarship. The most recent contribution is Susan Youens' chapter on the relationship between Schubert's 'Suleika II' (D717) and the German soprano, Anna Milder-Hauptmann.[89] Youens weaves together programming practices with poetic and musical analysis to recover the song's Orientalist sociability and its resonances for composer, performer, and audience. Schubert's setting of August von Platen's Orientalist ghazal 'Du liebst mich nicht' has also sparked analytical debate. Historical critics and modern scholars have pointed out the song's extreme quality. Gramit argues that the song's reluctance to yield to analytical logic is itself indicative of an emergent cultural logic of Orientalism in which one submits to not knowing. Rather than parading musical stereotypes, the song's 'extraordinary tonal language [...] offers one attempt at representing, or more literally giving voice to, that new discursive world'.[90] Interestingly, this self-questioning, confessional technique draws parallels with Amir Irani-Tehrani's recent identification of Platen's 'Divanic approach' to Orientalism. This 'Divanic approach' is predicated on the foreignization of the writing subject after the moment of encountering difference.[91] Youens and Gramit have shown what Schubert does with his Orientalism. I would like to fill a gap by focusing on those, such as Zelter, Adolph Bernhard Marx, Bernhard Klein, and Carl Loewe, whose Orientalism is

[89] Susan Youens, '"Eine wahre Olla Patrida [*sic*]": Anna Milder-Hauptmann, Schubert, and Programming the Orient', in *German Song Onstage*: *Lieder Performance in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Natasha Loges and Laura Tunbridge (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2020), pp. 10–51.
[90] David Gramit, 'Orientalism and the Lied: Schubert's "Du liebst mich nicht"', *19th-Century Music*, 27 (2003), 97–115 (p. 100).
[91] Amir Irani-Tehrani, 'Public and Poetic Wars of Liberation: August von Platen's Ghazals, Patriotism, and Homoeroticism', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 89 (2020), 173–189, esp. pp. 174 and 178.

underexplored, and whose historical position and relevance have been eclipsed by the more canonised figures in Lied history.

If the first reason for Schubert's exclusion from this study on Orientalism represents a tentative jump into Stephen Rodgers' 'deep nineteenth century',[92] the second reason stems from the fact that the composers I focus on had roots in or significant ties to Berlin and North Germany. Scholars have shown that political boundaries need not square with cultural ones. Cultural criticism and music, the circulation of which was helped by the burgeoning institutions and practices of print capitalism in the early nineteenth century, helped Germans construct a *Kulturnation* that worked powerfully as an idea.[93] This was all the more important at a time when a political Germany itself was under construction. But the 'internal differentiation' on the part of the Orientalist represented also applies to the representers of German Orientalism and song, whose textual and aesthetic influences were dependent on context and local networks.

Vienna played an important role in mediating and centring North German, and indeed Berlin's, textual Orientalism in the 1810s and 1820s. The Viennese Orientalist Joseph von Hammer, a graduate of the Imperial Oriental academy and a former Austrian diplomat in Istanbul, was not only responsible for Goethe's response to Hafis in 1814, but also for the Persian turns of both Rückert and Platen in the late 1810s.[94] Hammer's translations, philological treatises, and *Fundgruben des Orients* (1809–1818), which

[92] Stephen Rodgers, 'Analysis, Performance, and the Deep Nineteenth Century: The Case of Marie Franz', in *The Lied at the Crossroads of Performance and Musicology*, ed. by Benjamin Binder and Jennifer Ronyak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), pp. 147–170.
[93] Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the "St. Matthew Passion"* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), esp. pp. 69–115; and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*: *Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006).
[94] For more, see Ingeborg Solbrig, *Hammer-Purgstall und Goethe: "Dem Zaubermeister das Werkzeug"* (Bern: H. Lang, 1973); I spell 'Hafis' following Goethe and Hammer.

provided an enlightened cosmopolitan home for Orientalist research, were all staple reading. Both Goethe and Stieglitz made hefty use of his *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* (1818).[95] But Vienna also had an old, entrenched, and fraught local Orientalist imagination. The balladist Carl Loewe noted on a concert tour to the city in 1844 that one could still find municipal mementos of the 'Turkish Siege' in 1683 in the form of 'cannonballs' kept in 'iron baskets'.[96] The composer also noted Vienna's urban ethnic diversity, which reflected Austria's European empire.[97]

Loewe was a naturalised Prussian, familiar with the growing hustle and bustle of Berlin of the 1820s and 1830s, which makes his comments helpfully comparative. There was a local preoccupation with the Orient in Berlin in the first half of the nineteenth century, so much so that the city could be caricatured as 'Deutschlands Orient' by Franz Dingelstedt in 1842.[98] Berlin even had its own Hammer in the form of the eccentric and territorial Orientalist Heinrich Diez, another of Goethe's Orientalist experts, whose rich collection of manuscripts was passed to the Royal Library on his death in 1817. The Sanskritist Franz Bopp, the philosopher Hegel, and Rückert also stamped their marks on the city in the following decades by rationalising the Orient in their tracts and semi-public lectures. As demonstrated in the following chapters, pageants, poetry, songs, visual media – all contributed to a blossoming Orientalist scene by the late 1830s. But bearing in mind the possible historical and national freighting of Vienna's encounter with the Turks as a 'German' or 'European' antagonist, the social history of Berlin's engagement

[95]). Hammer even supported music ethnologists such as Raphael Georg Kiesewetter with his *Die Musik der Araber* (1842), cf. Philip V. Bohlman, 'R.G. Kiesewetter's "Die Musik der Araber": A Pioneering Ethnomusicological Study of Arabic Writings on Music', *Asian Music*, 18 (1986), 164–196.
[96] *Dr. Carl Loewes Selbstbiographie,* ed. by C. H. Bitter (Berlin: Müller, 1870), p. 334.
[97] Ibid., p. 335.
[98] Franz Dingelstedt, *Lieder eines kosmopolitischen Nachtwächters* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1842), p. 119.

with the Orient was, by comparison with Vienna at least, younger, less entrenched, and less fraught in 1814. It is tempting to say that Berlin's discourses and practices of Orientalism were still in the process of becoming during the period under review.

Signifying Problems

Ralph Locke highlights the peculiarities of the musical case of Orientalism and the Lied when he writes that the genre 'almost consistently did not use [stylistic markers of place], even when songs were based on poems that incorporated Persian or Turkish references and images.'[99] As a rule, composers neither employed the folksong melodies nor imitated the findings of proto-ethnological inquiry into Eastern music that circulated in German musical periodicals around 1800.[100] Composers also chose not to capitalise on the currency of musical Orientalist topics. Gramit's argument that the 'Janissary gestures' of eighteenth-century Viennese opera and the 'sinuous, overtly seductive melodies' of the later nineteenth-century 'feminine Orient' have little 'relevance' to Schubert's songs is an axiom for the repertoire as a whole.[101] Schumann and Fröhlich sought no stylistic marker of place in their settings of 'Du meine Seele, du mein Herz'. As Gramit has shown with Schubert and Natasha Loges with Brahms, other composers pushed the syntax of their own music to conceptual extremes.[102]

Another potential analytical problem emerges when Orientalist texts themselves neither make such a strident structural departure from musical or textual convention nor

[99] Ralph Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 135.
[100] David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002), esp. pp. 27–54.
[101] Gramit, 'Orientalism and the Lied', p. 98.
[102] Natasha Loges, 'Exoticism, Artifice and the Supernatural in the Brahmsian Lied', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 3 (2006), 137–168.

incorporate Orientalist topics and figures. Indeed some Orientalist texts that composers selected were explicitly called out for being '*stockdeutsch*'. The recognition of Orientalism, as Ralph Locke has argued, thus required entrainment.[103] This could be conditioned by extra-musical and paratextual factors, some included in the text and appended to the score or poetic collection, and others more culturally and thus discursively defined. It is worth briefly outlining four factors that may have regulated why many of the composers featured in the thesis did not choose to employ musical markers of place that matched the text's explicit or implicit invocation of an Orientalist milieu. For the absence of the musical stylistic marker is itself an expression of the presence of the discourses of German Orientalism.

Firstly, the absence of the musical marker could be traced back to the representational interregnum that Gramit describes, or at least the devaluation of one governing topic. The *alla turca*, which as Matthew Head has argued carried the 'persuasive power as a representation' in the late eighteenth century, was on the wane in the 1810s and 1820s.[104] One reason for its decline was politics. The Ottoman empire was ailing, its territory taken over, and its threat abated by the 1830s.[105] A second reason was that the *alla turca* began to jar with the serious or authentic expression of a 'Romantic' instrumental music that had begun to have an ambivalent relationship with techniques of tone-painting from around 1800.[106] The immediacy of the stylistic marker seemingly

[103] Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 11.
[104] Matthew Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart's Turkish Music* (London: Royal Musical Association, 2000), p. 20.
[105] Cf. Head, 'Musicology on Safari', p. 226; Larry Wolff, *The Singing Turk*: *Ottoman Power and Operatic Emotions on the European Stage from the Siege of Vienna to the Age of Napoleon* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2016), p. 8.
[106] Cf. Joanna Neilly, '"Alla Turca" versus the Romantic East: E.T.A. Hoffmann and Oriental-Style Music', *German Life and Letters*, 67 (2014), 139–158.

grated against 'man's endeavour to go beyond the sphere of his knowledge [...] to hint at the unattainable, which no intellect [*Verstand*] can encompass', which August Kahlert announced as Romantic in 1834.[107] Turkish Rondos were still popular with both musicians and the musical public in the 1820s. But critics attempted to dispel its illusion and coach the public into a different sense of Orientalist taste. 'Turkish Rondos', one reviewer for the *BamZ* wrote, 'are now so little in keeping with the true character of the Turk as the reports of *Der österreichische Beobachter*'.[108] Regardless of how much the Turkish rondo would entertain and could represent historically, it remained critically suspect in the 1820s precisely because it had been debunked as a misrepresentation. The musical techniques of that which 'gilt für Türkisch' were thus at issue, the word 'gilt' separating two classes of Orientalist listener: the critic with lofty ambitions and the anonymous pleasure-seeking consumer market; and two local publics: the Viennese and Berliners, the latter it seems were perfectly happy with a second-order textual *Turquerie*.

But an 'imitation' [*Nachahmung*] of an ostensibly real thing, which had become accessible as an object of research, was for the same critical sect hardly satisfying as a component of local representation. As shown throughout the thesis, the Orient as an object of *Philologie* and a product of *Phantasie* were in constant tension. To some, Reforming Said's Marxist epigraph, 'Orientals' could represent themselves musically. It was the German signification of Eastern music that reinforced conceptions of the Orient's childhood. Kahlert for instance claimed that 'the unison of today's Oriental peoples still points to a childhood of *Tonkunst*', placing music into a logic of a universal history.[109] For Kahlert, German music was at the top of the chain. It did not merely aspire

[107] August Kahlert, 'Über die Bedeutung des Romantischen in der Musik', *Caecilia*, 16 (1834), pp. 240–241.
[108] [Anon.], 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 2 (1825), p. 20.
[109] Kahlert, 'Über die Bedeutung', *Caecilia*, 16 (1834), p. 239.

to reach the universal through inward instrumental music, which Kahlert, following E.T.A. Hoffmann, accepts as a primal condition of the Romantic. As explored with Adolph Bernhard Marx in Chapter 3, German music and language, which could find an ideal form in the Lied, were understood in some quarters to be universal. A.W. Schlegel was only one of many to express it so tersely. For him, 'universality, cosmopolitanism' was 'the true German peculiarity'.[110] The second reason for the absence of the stylistic marker relates to this assumption of universality. Singing for oneself could amount to singing for the Orient not only because the maturity of German music was a world-historical privilege, but because the German '*Geist*' itself brokered a privileged form of worldliness.

The third reason stems from how genre determined the musical techniques of Orientalist representation. As scholars have highlighted, the Lied is an umbrella term. Like those of Orientalism, the discourses and subtypes of the Lied were subject to an 'internal differentiation' that worked in concert with both a totalising genre designation and with existing poetic types. The first principal subtype of the Lied is the lyrical or '*eigentliches* Lied', which in its 'North German' manifestation was principally concerned with the strophic communication of sentiment in 1814. Its private and personal utterance was an individuation of a generally applicable situation or state. That this type of song was critically advanced to remain singable according to an ideal of accessibility made any kind of 'through-composed' signification suspect. The second type, the poetic-tonally hybrid ballad, worked differently. Composers often painted individual words and settings to aid the song's epic-dramatic narrative or descriptive presentation. The third is the part-song which aspired to a sociable simplicity. In the first and third types, according

[110] [A. W.] Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen*, II, p. 24.

to critical and aesthetic theory in the 1820s, invoking a musical stylistic marker of Orientalist place would lie beside the ideal. In the ballad, as I show in Chapters 4 and 5, the plastic representation of text was part and parcel of its drama.

Finally, the absence of the musical marker could stem from composers' understanding of the position of song texts within German literature. Perhaps composers saw their German texts as translations that could stand 'in place' of any Oriental original, as Goethe wrote in his seminal chapter on 'Übersetzen' included in the notes to the *Divan*.[111] If Orientalist poems were understood as translations, particularly those that brought the Orient 'to the reader', composers could strive for representation in terms of familiarity, for Orientalist difference had already been negotiated in the process of writing the text.[112] Or composers could have seen the technical aspects of Orientalism, such as the imitation of Eastern poetic forms and motifs, as the already assimilated booty of German art, thinking as Platen did in his epigraph to the *Neue Ghaselen* (1823): 'Der Orient ist abgethan, | Nun seht die Form als unser an'.[113] Either way, the point remains that some composers could have been responding directly to a 'Goethe' or a 'Stieglitz', thinking about their Orientalism as a representation of a specifically German mediation.

The composers and readers featured in the thesis were by no means passive consumers of Orientalist texts. Some actively abstracted Orientalist texts by stripping them of foreignizing names and places, extending an assimilative reading of the poems. Schubert did this in his posthumously published setting of 'Versunken' (D715) from the

[111] This was Goethe's third epoch of translation, cf. FA, III/1, pp. 280–283; Thomas O. Beebee, 'What is an Identical Translation? The legacy of Goethe's Discussion in the *West-östlicher Divan*', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 89 (2020), 223–237.
[112] For an overview of early nineteenth-century translation theory, see Susan Bernofsky, *Foreign Words: Translator-Authors in the Age of Goethe* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), pp. 25–31.
[113] For a different contemporary perspective, see Gramit, 'Orientalism and the Lied', esp. pp. 109–111.

Divan by removing Goethe's reference to 'Hafis' in the final line.[114] On the other side of the receptive chain, Adolph Bernhard Marx remarked on and then disavowed the Orientalism of Fanny Mendelssohn's 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand' in the *BamZ* in 1827. He noted that neither Goethe nor the Orient could be found within it.[115] In Schubert's case, Goethe's invocation of Hafis was abstracted before any 'public' outing. In Fanny Mendelssohn's case, Marx decided to reference Mendelssohn's title, 'Suleika und Hatem' and the poetic collection ('aus Göthes westöstlichem Divan') in order to push the reader not to think of the work in terms of the representation of Orientalism, but as an instance of the composer's 'subjective perception'. This technique of abstraction quickly allies with other procedures, such as the decision to set a text like Rückert's 'Du meine Seele, du mein Herz' that does not to any untutored eye make discernible exoticising reference, even in its title.

This text-editorial phenomenon, that composers and audiences abstracted, generalised, or universalised their Orientalist texts, informs my directional understanding of Orientalism in the thesis. I do not understand the movement of Orientalism as a synonymously functioning local 'variant' of exoticism. The type of Orientalism I consider can involve the technique of exoticism, which involves pushing something away, either the subject or the object.[116] Goethe's important injunction in the *Divan* for the German reader to 'self-Orientalise' [*sich orientalisiren*] to appreciate the mores of Eastern poetry because the Orient 'will not come over here' suggests one form of exoticising movement.[117] But as I show throughout, directionally German Orientalism can also

[114] Werner Oehlmann, *Reclams Liedführer* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1973), p. 280.
[115] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 4 (1827), p. 179.
[116] On 'Self-Othering', see Head, *Orientalism*, pp. 90–111; on exoticism, see Head, 'Musicology on Safari', p. 212.
[117] FA, III/1, p. 212

aspire to the reverse, to make Orientalist difference familiar by capitalising on identities and continuities of thinking and feeling, whether this stemmed from an understanding of the Orient not as an 'Other of culture' but as a 'parallel culture'[118] or as the philosophical origin and historical past of one's own subjecthood ('the Orient of the West'),[119] or through an understanding that one had to undergo a process of 'self-relation' [*Auf-Sich-Beziehen*], as Zelter termed it, to come to terms with and personal Orientalist material in order for it to be performed and sung, which was one of the central conditions of the Lied.[120]

In the songs of this thesis, the condition of 'exoticising' possibility is engaged by a song's paratexts. These paratexts, which a function as a determining and controlling 'threshold', move beyond the poetic text to include titling, footnotes, accompanying notes, and marginalia.[121] Titles in particular permitted representational freedom for composers to experiment with the song's music. Their conditioning of the whole song helped the composer to set the text as text, words as words, without having to charge a specific textual moment with constructing Orientalism. Titles also provided an explicit frame for readers and critics to read, hear, or see the song as a specific instance German Orientalism. This is particularly important in the case of the ballad which worked as a rule by means of descriptive detail and text-painting. There were, however, other paratextual material strategies that composers and audiences used to Orientalise songs besides

[118] Andrea Polaschegg, 'Die Regeln der Imagination: Faszinationsgeschichte des deutschen Orientalismus zwischen 1770 und 1850', in *Der Deutschen Morgenland: Bilder des Orients in der deutschen Literatur und Kultur von 1770 bis 1850*, ed. by Charis Goer and Michael Hofmann (Munich: Fink, 2008), pp. 13–36 (p.19).
[119] Cf. Rodolphe Gasché, *The Stelliferous Fold: Toward a Virtual Law of Literature's Self-Formation* (Ashland, Ohio: Fordham University Press, 2011), pp. 231–243, esp. pp. 233ff.
[120] Cf. Chapter 1.
[121] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1–14.

titling and textual edits. As I explore in Chapters 2 and 5, songs could be combined with the materially visual, either through drawings in unpublished manuscripts or by drawing on established techniques of visual performance, such as *tableaux vivants*, which were important vehicles of exploring the limits and aspirations of the Lied's representational compass. The cultural practices of the Lied, which span textual, performative, and visual models, were constant vectors of Orientalisation.

The songs in this thesis are characterised by a shifting dynamic that exists within the totalising condition set by the paratext. Pulling in one direction, a text or paratext could fictively (dis)locate a German Lied to another space, exoticising its practitioners (composers, singers, critics, audiences), while establishing sets of Orientalist expectations that could be adjudicated against personal familiarity with Orientalist discourses. There was not one direction to the text's travel. A title could just as much suggest the opposite by emphasising the *deutsch* of *deutsche Lieder*, which was a common designation in the 1820s and 1830s. Pulling in another, the presence of a music in the Lied that does not exoticize by topic or by Schubertian syntactical deviation suggests a bringing-across of Orientalist 'customs' and 'habitudes', of ways of thought and feeling.[122] The consequences of this in terms of method is the need to be sensitive not only to how Orientalist song participates affirmatively in the constitution and dissemination of a repertoire. Abstractions of Orientalist texts, the erasures of the foreign by composers and readers, and the Orientalisations of surrounding texts, also occupy important positions in song Orientalist history precisely because the threat that they

[122] FA, III/1, p. 138.

pose to the discursive recognition of Orientalism is itself an important German Orientalist strategy.

Chapter Overviews

Because of the Lied's musically exoticising recalcitrance, the method of this thesis necessarily follows Ralph Locke's 'All the Music in Full Context Paradigm'. This involves looking beyond the presence of 'exotic music' to investigating the shifting forms of music from genesis to reception, from its accompanying visual and verbal cues to social settings.[123] I understand 'full context' in this most comprehensive sense. As signalled by this introduction, I investigate the material, social, cultural, and intellectual contexts in which composers made and audiences received songs, and do not solely look at 'exoticising' aspects of culture, but at how individual case studies dialogue with their local cultural worlds and practices, to represent Orientalism as a diverse and widely debated phenomenon. But unlike the theoretical tenor of this introduction, much of the material of this thesis is philologically presented in order to demonstrate the multiplicity of Orientalist discursive and representational practices that attended the composition and reception of songs between 1814 and 1840.

It should be stressed that this thesis represents only one pathway through Orientalism and the Lied. I do not look at French and British Orientalism or Orientalism in German opera. I instead work out from specific philological contexts, considering composers and authors both known and unknown, from Goethe and Zelter in Chapter 1; through the Mendelssohns in Chapter 2; Heinrich Stieglitz and Adolph Bernhard Marx in

[123] Ralph Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 59–65.

Chapter 3; the '*Kleinmeister*' and their critical supporters and detractors in Chapter 4; and Heinrich Marschner and Loewe in Chapter 5. The source base is correspondingly large and textual. I investigate among other things the presentation of published and unpublished songs in albums; discussions of Orientalist aesthetics in song and poetry; their performance practices; the types of philosophies important in conceptualising not only the Orient, but the Orientalising German; and the intermedial representational possibilities and problems opened up for music by poetic Orientalism.

Part I centres on the reception of Goethe's *Divan* in the 1820s and 1830s. The *Divan* is perhaps one of the most researched works of German literature. Each instance of its gestation has been minutely detailed. Its manuscripts too have been published, catalogued, and punctiliously researched. Chapter 1 thus provides the conceptual 'Ur-Text' for the later chapters in the thesis, both setting up the *Divan* as the textual point of reference and the dialogic relationship between composers, poets, and audiences as a collaborative model for the production and reception of Orientalism and the Lied. It offers a musically partial account of the collection's genesis through the eyes and ears of Goethe's interlocutor, Carl Friedrich Zelter, who was intimate with the *Divan* from its inception in 1814. Their discussions, in the form of a lengthy correspondence, chart some of the ways in which the *Divan*'s Orientalism and the aesthetic ideas of the Lied were debated through performance practice which forms the core of Chapters 2 and 5. Goethe and Zelter's experiments with conceiving and performing Lieder in the context of the *Liedertafel* can be productively set against the collection's early performative and critical contexts, and Zelter's early roles as a reader, editor, philologist, and composer of the *Divan*. I set Zelter's compositions of both published and unpublished *Lieder* for solo voice

and male voices, the *Tafellied*, against the wider publication's silence which I read outwards from Beethoven's annotations to his copy of the *Divan*.

Chapter 2 moves to the rich world of the Mendelssohns. The chapter is divided into three unequal parts. I first discuss Fanny Mendelssohn's 1825 *Divan* settings in their manuscript context to suggest that she read a cycle out of Goethe's collection. The final number of the cycle, 'Dir zu eröffnen', suggests that her *Divan* knowledge was mediated by her teacher, Zelter. The second part of the chapter shifts to sociable festivities in the Mendelssohn household in 1826. The family instituted a paper, the *Gartenzeitung*, which thematises Orientalism and the *Divan* using image, poetry, and music. I look at the role of Orientalism and the *Divan* in the paper and consider the reasons for the absence of the Lied from this particular form of musical reception. The final part of the chapter centres around an intermedial staging of 'Suleika', featuring music and image, in an unpublished album that was intended for Felix's fiancée, Cécile Jeanrenaud, in 1836. I look at the image through the artistic partnership of Wilhelm and Fanny Hensel, and assess the ways in which the song relates to Orientalist visual performance culture that Wilhelm in particular had been engaged with since the early 1820s.

Part II centres on Heinrich Stieglitz's *Bilder des Orients* in the 1830s. Unlike the *Divan*, there is not one critical or scholarly account of the *Bilder*'s Orientalism in English or German. This is despite the fact that the collection, spread over four volumes, elicited debate in the critical press. Chapter 3 takes up the opportunities provided by an historicist inquiry into Orientalism and song to recuperate his position for both musicology and German studies. I assess Stieglitz's turn to Orientalism in the mid-1820s and explore some of the *Bilder*'s intellectual contours, which are indebted to Goethe and Hegel, the latter one of Stieglitz's professors at the University of Berlin in the 1820s.

Mirroring Chapter 1's focus on Goethe and Zelter, I end by assessing an early setting of the *Bilder* by the Hegelian Adolph Bernhard Marx, who was part of Stieglitz's circle in Berlin. Marx's treatise on *Die Kunst des Gesanges* from 1826 provides critical material to determine the composer's ideologies of Orientalism and the Lied, which inflected his compositional practice.

Chapter 4 is beset by the same theoretical problem as chapter 3. If Zelter and the Mendelssohns have their own flourishing scholarly lives in German Studies and musicology, the composers in Chapter 4 are characterised by their neglect. This chapter dives into the criticism that surrounded the many settings of the *Bilder* by the so-called *Kleinmeister* of the 1830s, including Bernhard Klein, Friedrich Jähns, Carl Gottlieb Reissiger, and Wilhelm Taubert. Unlike the *Divan* settings I look at, which were mostly private and unpublished, there was a rich public commentary surrounding the *Bilder* in the musical press, spanning such periodicals as the *Iris, Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, and *Caecilia*. Writers from these periodicals, including Ludwig Rellstab and Gustav Nauenburg, discussed how one could and should represent Orientalism in the Lied during a period of experimentation, balancing the music in front of them with their own aesthetic and intellectual predispositions.

Chapter 5 focuses on Heinrich Marschner and Carl Loewe in particular, both of whom turned to the *Bilder* in the mid-1830s. I explore how Marschner and Loewe experimented with techniques of visual-musical representation in response to the *Bilder* of Stieglitz's poetry. The first is mediated by a review Robert Schumann wrote in the *NZfM*, which drew attention to the visual function of Marschner's songs by way of an appropriation of the *Guckkastenmann*'s call to view. The second emerges from an investigation of a critical tendency that attended the *Bilder*'s reception, the idea and

medium of the panorama. I argue that both capitalised on the *Bild*, translating the strategies of the *Guckkasten* and *Panorama* into musical terms. If Goethe's collection does not feature so prominently in the second half of the thesis, its role as an Orientalist origin and interlocutor remains a constant point of anchorage.

Chapter 1: Goethe and Zelter

25 July 1814. Goethe is sitting in a carriage travelling from Weimar through Erfurt towards Wiesbaden. He looks out of the window at the unfurling landscape of red and white poppies. A moment later, he glances down at the two volumes his editor Johann Friedrich Cotta had sent him in May earlier that year, the *Diwan* of the fourteenth-century Persian poet Hafis recently translated by the Viennese diplomat and Orientalist Joseph von Hammer.[1] The relation between the 'experienced' and the 'read', as Anke Bosse has noted, inspired Goethe to, in his own words, 'personal involvement'.[2] Tracing the movements of his eye, he put down verses in which two worlds collide:

> Rot und weiß, gemischt, gesprenkelt
> Wüßt' ich schönres nicht zu schauen;
> Doch wie Hafis kommt dein Schiras
> Auf des Nordens trübe Gauen?[3]

We know from Goethe's manuscript that Shiraz was twinned with Erfurt in an early draft, the imagined paradisal colour of one potentialising the red and white poppies of the other.[4] Goethe would compose over a dozen more poems in the space of two days, a number of them on the move – 'in the open, in a carriage or in an inn, it was all the same to me', as he recalled to his secretary Johann Peter Eckermann in 1828.[5]

The stanza above, which comes from the poem 'Liebliches', throws into sharp relief two of the voyaging impulses that led Goethe to begin work on his 'Gedichte an

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[1] FA, III/1, p. 727; Joseph von Hammer, *Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemsed-din Hafis aus dem Persischen zum erstenmal ganz übersetzt*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1812–1813).
[2] FA, III/1, p. 727: *Tag- und Jahresheft* (1815); Anke Bosse, *"Poetische Perlen" aus dem "ungeheuren Stoff des Orients": 200 Jahre Goethes "West-östlicher Divan"* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019), p. 35.
[3] FA, III/1, p. 20.
[4] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *West-östlicher Divan: Eigenhändige Niederschriften*, ed. by Katharina Mommsen, 2 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel Verlag, 1997), I, p. 19.
[5] *Eigenhändige Niederschriften*, II, p. 215; FA, XXXIX: GESPRÄCHE MIT GOETHE IN DEN LETZTEN JAHREN SEINES LEBENS, ed. by Christoph Michel (1999), pp. 656–657; a full list of *Divan* poems composed during this period appears in tabularised form in FA, III/1, pp. 764–767.

Hafis' as they were then termed.[6] One moved westward through the Rhine and Main to the land of Goethe's youth, the other eastward to the land of cultural rejuvenation.[7] But both voyages, the physical and the imagined, the real and the 'poetic', were not undertaken in a vacuum.[8] The flight 'into an ideal world' was brought on by the 'immense threat' of the 'political world' in which 'Nord und West und Süd zersplittern | Throne bersten, Reiche zittern'.[9] The quotations, a patchwork of Goethe's annalistic reflections and lines from the poem 'Hegire', signify after the Arabic an 'escape' or 'emigration' from Germany's post-Napoleonic moment into a sensual world of 'love, drink, and song'.[10] 'Hegire' was written on Christmas Eve in 1814 as a motivic summa of Hafizian infatuation. By then the corpus of *Divan* poems had grown from thirty 'Gedichte an Hafis' to a 'Deutscher Divan' that included over fifty numbered items set in a frame;[11] and the parataxis of the Erfurt-Shiras distichs, setting poppy fields against perfumed terraces, was on the cusp of becoming a hyphenated poetic-cultural principle. As though referring to an institution Goethe wrote of 1814, 'the west-eastern Divan was founded [*gegründet*]'.[12]

So was the collection's musical reception, which does not begin after publication, but right here at the front end of Goethe's '*Divan*-Jahre' (1814–1819) with Carl Friedrich

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[6] The term appears in a letter to Christiane Vulpius on 28 July 1814, see FA, III/1, p. 765.
[7] Konrad Burdach, *Vorspiel: Gesammelte Schriften zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes*, 2 vols (Halle: Niemeyer, 1926), II, p. 276.
[8] For more on the poetic qualities, see Anne Bohnenkamp, 'Goethes poetische Orientreise', *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 120 (2003), 144–156.
[9] FA, III/1, p. 726: *Tag- und Jahresheft* (1813); 'Hegire', FA, III/1, p. 12.
[10] Hartmut Reinhardt, *Dem Fremden freundlich zugetan: Interkulturelle Bezüge in Goethes literarischem Werk* (Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz, 2012), pp. 66–69; Goethe used the term 'Hegire' in his *Italienische Reise* (publ. 1816–1817), FA, III/2, pp. 883–84; for Goethe's impressions during his journey, see Hans-Joachim Weitz, 'Bemerkungen zum frühen "West-östlichen Divan"', in *Bild und Gedanke: Festschrift für Gerhart Baumann zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Günter Schnitzler, with Gerhard Neumann and Jürgen Schröder (Munich: Fink, 1980), pp. 218–241, esp. pp. 224ff.
[11] 'Deutscher Divan' relates to a diary entry of 14 December 1814, FA, III/1, p. 771; the last item was 'Gute Nacht', no. 53.
[12] FA, III/1, p. 773: *Tag- und Jahresheft* (1814).

Zelter, who was intimate with poems from the collection even before it greeted the public in full-fledged form in 1819. The documents that Goethe and Zelter have left behind, part of the German-language canon of literary and philological scholarship on the *Divan*, suggest musical reception in the broadest sense. Zelter's *Divan* reception eclipses the narrow and positive sense of musical setting by involving the philological practices of discussing, curating, reading, annotating, and publicising that prefigure and accompany the musical representation of Orientalism. To give a full account of the *Divan*'s poetic and discursive Orientalism would be impossible. In both their limits and possibilities, however, Zelter and song provide vantage points from which to give a musically partial account of the *Divan*'s genesis and offer comparators against which to consider the collection's early post-publication reception history.

The chapter proceeds roughly chronologically. After presenting three manuscripts that show Zelter's editorial and curatorial involvement with the *Divan* that have long been part of the standard corpus of *Divan* philologists, I will turn to the discussions about Orientalism and the Lied in the *Briefwechsel*. Although this material is also familiar to *Divan* specialists, I attempt to contextualise Goethe's changing opinions on Orientalist song in the accretive process of the *Divan*'s expansion between 1814 and 1816.[13] The discussion leads to Zelter's philologically rich setting of 'Dir zu eröffnen', which involved a number of revisions that show the composer-poet relationship in direct, personal terms. The fourth part of the chapter steps back to explore the early post-publication

[13] Scholars have treated Zelter regularly as a witness to the *Divan*'s gestation ever since the publication of the *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1796 bis 1832*, ed. by Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer, 4 vols (Berlin: Petsch, 1833); Christian Wurm's 1834 commentary of the *Divan* (see n. 152 below) cites liberally from the *Briefwechsel*; his account of the genesis is reproduced in Christian Wurm, 'Zu Goethes West-östlichem Divan', in *Studien zum west-östlichen Divan Goethes*, ed. by Edgar Lohner (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), pp. 17–24.

history of the *Divan*. I pay attention to why composers may have been bewildered by the collection, which I believe resides in a misalliance of Goethe's paratextual and poetic programme with contemporary understandings of the ideals of song. I will then conclude with a brief account of Zelter's own solo settings of the *Divan*, which show this most intimate of friends still coming to terms with the collection's novelties after its publication.

Three Documents

Carl Friedrich Zelter held a number of important offices in nineteenth-century Berlin's cultural life. Such was his renown that, besides leading the *Singakademie* and petitioning for the civic advancement of music as a professor at the *Akademie der Künste*, Zelter sat on the *comité administratif*, an elected group of members charged with representing Berliners' interests during Napoleon's occupation.[14] As impressive as these credits seem, Zelter is arguably better remembered for holding a more informal office.[15] From the late 1790s to their deaths in 1832, Zelter was Goethe's musical partner and consultant. The two figures continually inspired each other to musical and poetic creativity, chiefly around the genre of song. Their intellectual legacy remains in the form of an expansive correspondence, maintained over three decades, in which everything, not simply music and literature, became the subject of serious and playful discussion – from 1812 in the intimate 'Du' form.[16]

[14] Peter Nitsche, 'Die Liedertafel im System der Zelterschen Gründungen', in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert,* ed. by Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Bosse, 1980), pp. 11–26 (p. 14).
[15] For a full list of his credits, see Carl von Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexicon Berlin's von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin: Rauh, 1861), pp. 659–673.
[16] Edith Zehm, '"Die radicale Reproduktion der poetischen Intentionen": Goethe und Zelter', in *Goethe und die Musik*, ed. by Walter Hettche and Rolf Selbmann (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2012), pp. 111–124 (p. 122).

As a language of feeling and vehicle of immediate communication, music in the Zelterian Lied was 'to accompany, carry, enhance, und support' the text.[17] Eckermann reported in 1823 that Zelter would try to recapture the sense and sound of a poem's word and metre in the process of musical composition until a melody emerged almost unbidden:

> He spoke much about composition and recited therewith several poems by Goethe. 'When I want to compose a poem', he said, 'I first try to penetrate into the meaning of the words [*Wortverstand*] and bring the scene to life. I then read it aloud to myself until I know it by heart, and so, by reciting it to myself again and again, the melody comes on its own'.[18]

Goethe noted to August Wilhelm Schlegel in June 1798 that the musical result was an originally 'radical reproduction of poetic intentions'.[19] The painting of individual words and the setting of each strophe to new music (or through-composition) was largely avoided.[20] Emphasis was instead placed on the 'accentuation [*Betonung*]' of text by generalising the poem's lyric affect in strophic form.[21] Goethe wrote to Wilhelm von Humboldt in March 1803:

> [Zelter] perfectly captures the character of such a whole, one recurring in a similar way in each strophe, so that it is felt in each individual part, where others, through a so-called through-composition, destroy the impression of the whole by emphasising individual units.[22]

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[17] MA, XX/1, p. 369; Goethe lists the various constituent elements of a successful staged production, two of which, 'the work of the poet' and 'the composer', could be understood together to work as imperatives for the composition of Lieder; cf. Thomas Schmidt-Beste, *Die ästhetischen Grundlagen der Instrumentalmusik Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), esp. pp. 43–44.
[18] FA, XXXIX, p. 81.
[19] FA, XXXI: BRIEFE, TAGEBÜCHER UND GESPRÄCHE I, ed. by Volker C. Dörr and Norbert Oellers (1998), p. 560.
[20] Hans Joachim Moser, *Goethe und die Musik* (Leipzig: Peters, 1949), p. 88; 'Vertonungen', in *Goethe Handbuch*, ed. by Bernd Witte and others, 4 vols (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996–1999), IV (1999), p. 1097.
[21] Heinrich Schwab, *Sangbarkeit, Popularität und Kunstlied: Studien zu Lied und Liedästhetik der mittleren Goethezeit, 1770–1814* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1965), p. 59, uses the prefix *Be-* not *Ver-tonung* to distinguish between strophic and through-composed songs.
[22] FA, XXXII: BRIEFE, TAGEBÜCHER GESPRÄCHE II, ed. by Volker C. Dörr and Norbert Oellers (1999) p. 331.

Nuance was left to the discretion of Goethe's singers who would employ expressive vocal techniques, including ornamentation, to shade the declamation of meaning.[23] These were sometimes scripted by artful performance-practical indications – from tempo (‘*schneller und schneller’*) to tone (‘*pathetisch doch munter’*). Goethe was an *Ohrenmensch* as far as the sensual appreciation of music was concerned.[24] Performance presented the main medium through which he received song, Zelter's above all.

Poetry was regularly exchanged. By post or in person, Goethe would hand over freshly composed texts for Zelter to ‘decode and recode [*entziffern und beziffern*]’, in the poet's own words.[25] Zelter would also occasionally ask Goethe to send texts that he could set for one of his musical institutions.[26] One of these institutions was the *Liedertafel* which Zelter founded in 1808–1809. Pooled from the ranks of the *Singakademie,* the group convened once a month on the Tuesday closest to full moon ‘at a dinner with two dishes’ to perform ‘*gefällige deutsche Gesänge*’.[27] These ‘pleasing German songs’ described a type of song, the *geselliges Lied*, whose topics gave themselves over to musical setting by means that would convey an artful simplicity. Such techniques included unornamented melodies, uncomplicated harmonies, with chromaticism rarely featuring,

[23] For more on song performance practice in the Goethe household, see Walther Dürr, *Das Deutsche Sololied im 19. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zu Sprache und Musik* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1984), pp. 38ff.
[24] Moser, *Goethe und die Musik*, p. 71.
[25] MA, xx/1, p. 608.
[26] MA, xx/1, p. 519.
[27] MA, xx/1, pp. 206–207; the full moon did not merely have a mystical purpose; Wilhelm Bornemann notes that the lighting in the city was bad in *Die Zeltersche Liedertafel in Berlin: Ihre Entstehung, Stiftung und Fortgang nebst einer Auswahl von Liedertafel-Gesängen und Liedern* (Berlin: Decker, 1851), p. xii.

and strophic forms, either for one voice, even occasionally without accompaniment, or, as would become common, multiple voices.[28]

While the *Liedertafel's* music was to be supplied by members, the texts came from further afield. Goethe was one such *eminence grise*, sending many of his 1815 'Gesellige Lieder' to Zelter who earmarked them for the group's core repertoire.[29] The topical contents of the songs were various. Some of these celebrated individual occasions and festivities on a continuum from the personal event to the seasonal greeting.[30] Others dealt with specific themes, such as the conquests of love, drink, brotherhood, and an archaising, almost chivalric sense of valour. All of this, however, had one specific aim. The *Liedertafel* practised a form of institutionalised *Geselligkeit*, in Robert W. Eshbach's translation 'a kind of enlightened, culturally edifying sociability', through a cheerful brand of song easily performed by friends of the arts.[31] In the *Liedertafel*, friends of the arts meant, by and large, men. Wilhelm Bornemann, one of the group's founder-members, bluntly remarked how 'many songs were altogether not suitable for the participation of womankind'.[32]

Although the performance of part-songs was by no means a new cultural phenomenon, the *Liedertafel*'s public support for part-song and sociability broke new

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[28] *Trinklieder*, *Commers- und Gesellschaftslieder*, *Rundgesänge*, *Vaterlandslieder, Studentenlieder* could all count as *gesellige Lieder*; see Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert: Quellen und Studien,* 2 vols (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1902), I, pp. VII–LVIII, 195–97.

[29] FA, II: GEDICHTE 1800–1832, ed. by Karl Eibl (1988), p. 940; for the original publication of some of these poems in the *Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1804,* which was put out by Goethe and Christoph Martin Wieland, see Stephen Davis, 'Goethe's "Der Geselligkeit gewidmete Lieder"' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1989); 'Gesellige Lieder', in *Goethe-Lexikon*, ed. by Gero von Wilpert (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1998), pp. 375–376.

[30] F. E. Kirby, 'Beethoven and the "Geselliges Lied"', *Music & Letters*, 47 (1966), 116–25 (p. 119).

[31] Robert W. Eshbach, 'The Joachim Concerts at the Berlin Singakademie: Mendelssohnian *Geselligkeit* in Wilhelmine Germany', in *Brahms in the Home and Concert Hall: Between Private and Public Performance*, ed. by Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 22–42 (p. 26).

[32] Bornemann, *Die Zeltersche Liedertafel,* p. xiv.

ground.[33] Zelter's '*Tischgesellschaft*' as it was also known established a forum for fraternal singing that members of the public sphere could access – in theory at least, for the number of *Mitglieder* was capped at twenty-five. Ritual and ceremony were integral to the group's proceedings. Along with mealtime singing, other ritualistic elements involved an elected priest-cum-president (*Meister*) who was written into the group's protocol, giving out medallions and wreaths to composers whose songs were received best.[34] Songs honouring founding days, the musical priesthood, and material objects also indicate that reflecting on the social function of ritual formed an important component of the *Liedertafel*'s programme and wide appeal.

Liedertafeln soon sprang up all over the German-speaking lands. A second group, *Die jüngere Liedertafel*, was founded in Berlin by Bernhard Klein and Ludwig Berger in 1819, partly because of the long waiting list to become a member of Zelter's group and partly because they felt that Zelter 'practised a ruling and directive absolutism'.[35] By the end of the 1830s, *Liedertafeln* had become such a pillar of *Biedermeier* public musical life that Eduard Krüger could quip: 'every small town, little village, even tiny hamlet had to establish their own well-ordered Liedertafel'.[36] All these institutions, and their commentators such as Krüger who disliked the aesthetic implications of the institution's emphasis on musical simplicity, acknowledged the social debt owed to Zelter's institution. *Die jüngere Liedertafel* went as far as paying tribute to Goethe und Zelter in their published anthology in 1820:

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[33] For more on Viennese models, see Walther Dürr, 'Zwischen Liedertafel und Männergesang-Verein: Schuberts mehrstimmige Gesänge', in *Logos Musicae: Festschrift für Albert Palm*, ed. by Rüdiger Görner (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982), pp. 36–54.
[34] Bornemann, *Zeltersche Liedertafel in Berlin*, p. xiv, notes how the group was inspired by King Arthur's legendary Round Table; for more on the protocol, see Nitsche, 'Zelters Liedertafel', pp. 17ff.
[35] Ludwig Rellstab, 'Bernhard Klein. Eindruck der ersten Bekanntschaft', *NZfM*, 3 (1835), p. 10.
[36] Eduard Krüger, 'Ueber Liedertafeln', *NZfM*, 11 (1839), p. 138.

So – in dem Reiche der Gesänge,
Dir Göthe! Ward das Wort verlieh'n
Dir Zelter! die Gewalt der Klänge,
Wer mag dem heil'gen Bund entfliehn![37]

The *Divan*'s earliest musical contexts emerge with Zelter's *Liedertafel*.[38] The texts performed by the *Liedertafel* were published in three anthologies, each successively larger, but all confusingly dated 1818 and titled *Die Liedertafel*.[39] It was in these publications that a number of 'sociable' *Divan* poems first appeared in print, the majority under different names.[40] 'Erschaffen und Beleben' in the *Erstausgabe* was given the title 'Der erste Mensch' in *Die Liedertafel*; 'Elemente', 'Liederstoff'; 'So lang' man nüchtern ist', 'Verstand und Recht';[41] 'Dreistigkeit', 'Entschluß'; 'Lied und Gebilde'; and 'Selige Sehnsucht'.[42] Copies of all six settings are extant in manuscript sources and follow the group's *volkstümlich* musical style.[43] It is tempting to regard both the *Liedertafel* and its publication as starting a trend. Orientalist part-songs would continue to find a welcome home in many a *Liedertafel*'s programme, from E.T.A. Hoffmann's political satire, 'Türkische Musik', for *Die jüngere Liedertafel* in 1820, to Mendelssohn's *Divan* drinking

[37] [Anon.], *Gesänge der jüngeren Liedertafel zu Berlin* (Berlin: Krause, 1820), p. 81.
[38] The topic of the *geselliges Lied* in the *Divan* has been explored in depth by David. E. Lee and Frank. E. Kirby, 'Die Rolle der Musik bei der Entstehung von Goethes "West-östlichem Divan"', in *Interpretationen zum West-östlichen Divan Goethes*, ed. by Edgar Lohner (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973), pp. 176–227; and Thomas Richter, *Die Dialoge über Literatur im Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), pp. 61–100.
[39] Lee and Kirby, 'Die Rolle der Musik', pp. 184–85, n. 23, give the year 1836 as a *terminus post quem* for the third edition; Richter, *Dialoge*, p. 74, n. 337, suggests the date 15 March 1830 as a *terminus ante quem* for the second edition.
[40] The first edition contains three of the poems; the second and third editions feature all six.
[41] [Anon.], *Die Liedertafel* (Berlin: [n. pub.], 1818), pp. 316–17, 317–18, and 329.
[42] [Anon.], *Die Liedertafel*, 3rd edn (Berlin: [n. pub.], *c*. 1818), pp. 406, 430–31, and 434–35; at the end of 'Lied und Gebilde' is noted 'Aus dem Divan'; 'Selige Sehnsucht' had already been published in the *Taschenbuch für Damen* in 1817, FA, III/1, p. 563.
[43] The earliest three settings are in SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Zelter, 11,2, fols 281^{v}–282^{r} ['Der erste Mensch'], 283^{v}–285^{v} ['Liederstoff'], and 325^{v}–328^{r} ['Verstand und Recht']; 'Selige Sehnsucht' exists in SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Zelter, 35 (22) in an antiphonal version, with *tutti* and solo sections, fols 22^{v} – 27^{v}; 'Lied und Gebilde' is also in this manuscript and displays a more wide-reaching form, 18^{v}–20^{r}; 'Entschluß' was published in 1825, see below, n. 141; Lee and Kirby, 'Die Rolle der Musik', pp. 185–187, did not have sight of the polyphonic version of 'Selige Sehnsucht'.

songs for the *Leipziger Liedertafel* in the late 1830s.[44] *Die jüngere Liedertafel* even reproduced 'Entschluß' in 1820, suggesting that some of Zelter's *Divan* part-songs attained the status of emergent repertory works that travelled beyond their original context.[45]

The original impulse for Zelter's *Liedertafel* settings can be traced back to the summer of 1814. Goethe received Zelter in Berka, a spa not far from Weimar where the poet first put down his first Hafizian emulations between 24 and 28 June 1814.[46] The two would spend the whole of August in each other's company, travelling around the Rhine and Main.[47] As Goethe noted in his diary on 30 July, the day after he joined Zelter in Wiesbaden, the topic of Hafis was discussed: 'Gedichte an Hafis copied [...] In the evening Zelter Hafis'.[48] Whether this was an isolated occurrence, one evening spent in the company of two friends, Hafis and Zelter, or a shorthand for a pattern of activity that would recur in the month of August is difficult to determine. At the very least, Zelter was in the environs, if not in the room, when Goethe made a preliminary order of the extant *Divan* poems on 31 July.[49] After their respective returns to Berlin and Weimar, Goethe wrote to Zelter, completely unprompted, in November 1814: '*Mohamed Shemsid-din* has

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[44] Gerhard Allroggen, *E.T.A. Hoffmanns Kompositionen: ein chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis seiner musikalischen Werke mit Einleitung* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1970), pp. 122–124: the song was published in [anon.], *Gesänge der jüngeren Liedertafel zu Berlin,* pp. 49–50; Ralf Wehner, *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 2009), pp. 103 and 106: G15, 'So lang man nüchtern ist' and G23, 'Setze mir nicht, du Grobian', both from *Das Schenkenbuch*, the latter listed under 'Türkisches Schenkenlied'.

[45] [Anon.], *Gesänge der jüngeren Liedertafel zu Berlin,* p. 79.

[46] Lee and Kirby, 'Die Rolle der Musik', p. 178; *Goethes Leben von Tag zu Tag: eine dokumentarische Chronik*, ed. by Robert Steiger and Angelika Reimann, 8 vols (Zurich: Artemis, 1982–1996), VI (1993), pp. 86–89. Goethe's summer of 1814 was filled with music; for more, see Hermann Fähnrich, 'Goethes Musikanschauung im "West-östlichen Divan"', *Goethe: Neue Folge des Jahrbuchs der Goethe-Gesellschaft,* 30 (1968), 239–254 (pp. 243ff).

[47] *Goethes Leben von Tag zu Tag*, VI, pp. 110ff.

[48] FA, III/1, p. 767.

[49] Ibid.: 'Divan. geordnet.'; for more, see Wilhelm Solms, 'Goethes "Deutscher Divan" von 1814', *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, 15 (1974), 39–80 (p. 44): Goethe finished an initial order in the summer of 1814, reaching no. 32.

also made himself heard again'.[50] The implication is not only that Hafis had been heard before, but that he and Zelter were on intimate first-name terms.

Of the six *Divan* poems that were eventually published in the three *Liedertafel* anthologies, three were written prior to Zelter's arrival – 'Erschaffen und Beleben', 'Elemente', and 'So lang' man nüchtern ist'. 'Elemente' dates from 22 July 1814; 'So lang man nüchtern ist' formed part of the flurry of poems, in Konrad Burdach's terms the '*poetisches Reise-Tagebuch*', between 25 and 27 July 1814;[51] and 'Erschaffen und Beleben' stems from Goethe's time in Berka in June. The fourth, 'Selige Sehnsucht', was written during Zelter's visit on 31 July 1814. Of these four poems, three have left material traces. All belong to the category of what Thomas Richter has termed *Doppelhandschriften*, autographs bearing the scribal presences of both Zelter and Goethe, and display Zelter's philological closeness to the earliest stage of the *Divan*'s development.[52] As scholars have argued, Goethe must have shown early *Divan* poems to his friend during their time in Wiesbaden, perhaps with the intention of inspiring musical settings.[53]

The first document is a copy of the poem 'Elemente' in Zelter's hand.[54] Zelter's manuscript follows Goethe in including the date and place of composition as well as the

[50] MA, xx/1, p. 362.
[51] Konrad Burdach, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des West-östlichen Divans: Drei Akademievorträge*, rev. edn by Ernst Grumach (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959), p. 24; Anke Bosse, *Meine Schatzkammer füllt sich täglich: Die Nachlassstücke zu Goethes "West–östlichem Divan"*, 2 vols (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1999), I, p. 128
[52] Thomas Richter, 'Zur Kenntnis der "Doppelhandschriften" von Goethe und Zelter', *Editio*, 15 (2001), 136–148.
[53] Burdach, *Vorspiel*, II, p. 354; *Eigenhändige Niederschriften*, II, p. 214; FA, III/2, p. 920.
[54] Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 25/W 800: 'Elemente' belongs to a group of three other *Divan* copies that exist in Zelter's hand, including 'Sagt es niemand nur den Weisen' (GSA 25/W 810) and 'So lang man nüchtern ist' (GSA 25/W 905).

poem's early title, a reference to Hammer's translation of Hafis.[55] The manuscript also features two numbers inked into the corners of the leaf, one in black in the top right-hand corner (seven), which corresponds to Goethe's earliest numerated order maintained in the 'Deutscher Divan' at the end of December 1814; and one in red in the opposite corner (sixteen), which reflects the updated numeration of the 'Wiesbadener Register' on 30 May 1815.[56] The poem itself moves through the four gendered 'elements' that nourish song: love, drink, the warring clink of metal, and the repulsion of all that is 'ugly' or 'disgusting'.[57] 'One hears the cheerful, assured, capable singer of the Orient give a lesson drawn from thousands of his own personal experiences', Ludwig Rellstab wrote in 1827, as though Zelter had revived the soundscape of Orientalist fraternal and didactic sociability within the context of the German *Verein*.[58]

Poetic alterations by Goethe suggest that Zelter's copied-out version was handled and maintained over a longer period as an authoritative original.[59] These include pencil changes in the penultimate line from 'Wird er wie Hafis die Völker' to 'Hafis gleich wird er die Völker', giving 'Hàfis' trochaic stress on the first syllable at the beginning of the line; and the inked addition of the poem's final title, 'Elemente'.[60] Hendrik Birus has argued that Goethe's final title, 'Elemente', may be traced back to Zelter who wrote to Goethe on 22 April 1815:[61]

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[55] 'W[eimar] d[en] 22 Jul[i] 1814' and 'Buchstabe Sin | Gasele XIII', FA, III/2, p. 920.
[56] Cf. Bosse, I, p. 128, n. 17; in Goethe's *Reinschrift* (GSA 25/W 799), the earlier 1814 blank-ink number is crossed out and amended, from six to seven, in brown ink, see Solms, 'Goethes "Deutscher Divan" von 1814', p. 43.
[57] Richter, *Dialoge*, p. 80; FA, III/2, 919; Burdach, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte*, p. 24.
[58] Ludwig Rellstab, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 4 (1827), p. 61.
[59] Cf. Mommsen, II, p. 214 and Hans Maier in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *West-östlicher Divan: Kritische Ausgabe der Gedichte mit textgeschichtlichem Kommentar*, ed. by Hans Albert Maier, 2 vols (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1965), II, pp. 94ff (hereafter TA).
[60] TA, II, p. 95; FA, III/2, p. 924; after the advice of the Jena-based Orientalist Georg Wilhelm Lorsbach.
[61] FA, III/2, p. 920.

> We will also sing the song 'Aus wie vielen Elementen soll' which perhaps stands out as more intellectual in so far as it was an exercise in bringing the different elements together under one melody. I have given the Lied the title 'Liederstoff'. I would have called it 'Die vier Elemente', if Schiller had not already written one under that title.[62]

From the *Divan*'s earliest days, then, Zelter appears in two roles. He was an amanuensis, making copies of *Divan* and more indirectly a textual co-author, offering abstracted titular suggestions that Goethe would ultimately take up.

The second document of Goethe-Zelter material interaction is a copy of the poem 'Selige Sehnsucht'.[63] The poem, provisional Hammer-Hafis title, and date stem from Goethe's hand.[64] In the bottom corner, Zelter undertakes some philology, noting in thicker black ink 'W.B. means Wiesbaden | The poem is from Goethe's hand'. Zelter's verification does not say much on its own. The composer was known to authenticate a variety of Goethean manuscripts.[65] But in the case of 'Selige Sehnsucht' Zelter's philological remark anticipates his reputation as a *Divan* authority. The poem's metaphor of the butterfly yearning towards the flickering candle of transubstantiation posed challenges to early readers unfamiliar with the motifs of Hafizian mysticism.[66] One musical contemporary noted how although many would arguably find the text 'beautiful' 'more occidental-minded people' would 'now and then' encounter certain passages 'perhaps too Oriental'.[67] Struck by the poem's alterity after a performance at the *Liedertafel*, another asked Zelter for poetic commentary, as the composer reported to Goethe in February 1828:

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[62] MA, XX/1, p. 375; the translation has been adapted from Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 185.
[63] GSA 25/W 809; TA, II, pp. 110–112.
[64] The provisional title reads 'Buch Sad. Gasele I'.
[65] Richter, 'Zur Kenntnis der "Doppelhandschriften"', pp. 142–143.
[66] For a motivic breakdown, see FA, III/2, pp. 966–977 and MA, XI/1.2, pp. 467–473.
[67] [Anon.], 'Kurze Anzeige', *AmZ,* 29 (1827), p. 592.

> Today, the 21st, someone came [to the Liedertafel]– directly from Brunswick. A charming, handsome man of about 50. 'My Friend, what a divine melody you made for Goethe's "Selige Sehnsucht". But what are those words? Once more: what are those words? I cannot understand them.' – Do you not sing along the last four verses? – 'I do! But *der trübe Gast*; *der trübe Gast* is who?' – well, *der trübe Gast* is you![68]

Zelter plays on the poem's last two lines – 'Bist du nur ein trüber Gast | Auf der dunklen Erde' – to hint at how the opening stanza's separation of the 'wise' from the 'masses', those who know and those who do not, relates to the ignorance of this one particular guest.[69] 'Selige Sehnsucht' was not the only *Divan* poem for which Zelter was asked to provide an exegesis. In February 1827, one singer specifically sought out the 'source' of 'Dreistigkeit' for help on the setting's 'words' and 'meaning'. Zelter's response was to deny an authoritative interpretation altogether. He thought that asking questions about meaning and intention was akin to asking a sheep 'why it likes the taste of shrub and grass'.[70] Goethe would have likely agreed with Zelter's response, noting in October 1827 that he would rather compose a second poem with the same 'content' and 'substance' than offer commentary on an existing one.[71] Curiously, Zelter published a solo version of 'Selige Sehnsucht' in 1826. Perhaps this constituted an alternative take on a poem that had once bewildered his fellow *Tafelbrüder*.

The third document, a copy of the poem 'So lang man nüchtern ist' preserved in the British Library, is perhaps the most remarkable.[72] The autograph contains Goethe's poem, a rumbustious drinking song that plays on two of the poetic Orientalist 'Elemente',

[68] MA, xx/2, p. 1100.
[69] Cf. Hermann Kuhlo, *Geschichte der Zelterschen Liedertafel von 1809 bis 1909* (Berlin: Horn and Raasch, 1909), pp. 62ff.
[70] MA, xx/1, p. 975.
[71] MA, xx/1, p. 1065.
[72] London, British Library, Zweig MS 153.

and Zelter's part-song musical setting on the same page. Zelter's music has been squeezed into the bottom of the page and trails onto the verso.

> So lang' man nüchtern ist
> Gefällt das Schlechte,
> Wie man getrunken hat
> Weiß man das Rechte,
> Nur ist das Uebermaaß
> Auch gleich zu handen;
> Hafis! O lehre mich
> Wie du's verstanden.
>
> Denn meine Meinung ist
> Nicht übertrieben:
> Wenn man nicht trinken kann
> Soll man nicht lieben;
> Doch sollt ihr Trinker euch
> Nicht besser dünken,
> Wenn man nicht lieben kann
> Soll man nicht trinken.[73]

The song's material presentation visually represents the *Liedertafel*'s collaborative principles. In the published *Liedertafel* anthologies, the texts, including those from the *Divan*, are referenced by co-authorship, 'von Göthe und Zelter', the poet mentioned first and the composer second. Co-authorship was central to the group's sociable ideal in which individual authors combined their skills to produce a syncretic work at once aesthetically pleasing and socially edifying. The titular indication of co-authorship in sequence, first poetic and then musical, more carefully delineates the group's compositional process. Issued first, the text is consequently given to music for completion, a point that the *Doppelhandschrift* would like to confirm.

Zelter's musical addition to the British Library source of 'So lang man nüchtern ist' is slightly misleading in chronological terms. The *Briefwechsel* indicates that Zelter's

[73] FA, III/1, p. 105.

music was composed at the beginning of 1816, almost eighteen months after Goethe composed the text.[74] Zelter's annotation must therefore have been a retrospective and conscientious decision, an attempt both to signal the 'reciprocity of two friends' that Goethe would publicise in *Kunst und Altertum* in 1821,[75] and to denote music's 'supplementary' quality, 'how in effect a poem only becomes complete through every composition', as the poet wrote to the composer in December 1809.[76] But there is perhaps another motivation behind the musical annotation to 'So lang man nüchtern ist' which places emphasis on the *showing*, as Richter has suggested.[77] Zelter's awareness of the early nineteenth-century fascination with autographs and *curiosa*, particularly where Goethe was concerned, gives his musical addition a self-consciously historicising aspect. Zelter displays to his audience and later readers how music flows from the *Divan*'s poetry as an ideal consequent – not any music, *his* music. The musical addition thus achieves two goals in one stroke. Zelter's part-song furnishes the most graphic proof of his and Goethe's shared artistic vision and performs an act of material insinuation, the composer inscribing himself into the *Divan*'s genesis.

Briefwechsel

The *Briefwechsel* offers more than a mere philological resource to qualify and amplify Zelter's idealistic manuscript additions or provide a witness to the composition of the *Tafellieder*. Since its publication in 1833, philologists and scholars have turned to the *Briefwechsel* to show how Goethe updated Zelter on his thoughts about the suitability of

[74] Lee and Kirby, 'Die Rolle der Musik', p. 191; the version in SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Zelter, 11, 2, fol. 327^{v}, bears the date, 22 February 1816.
[75] FA, XXI: ÄSTHETISCHE SCHRIFTEN, ed. by Stefan Greif and Andrea Ruhlig (1998), p. 293.
[76] MA, xx/1, p. 221.
[77] Richter, 'Zur Kenntnis der "Doppelhandschriften"', p. 143.

song to the *Divan*. Song emerges in their correspondence as an idea and means through which Goethe could rationalise the demands of his developing strain of poetic Orientalism. Just as the early *Divan* manuscripts display a palimpsestic quality, bearing the scribal imprints of multiple authors and numerical stages, so the possibilities and conditions of the collection's musical setting were re-written and overwritten as the collection grew in size and scope between the summer of 1814 and March 1816.[78]

The *Briefwechsel* initially confirms the indication of Zelter's copies of *Divan* poems. Goethe harboured few doubts about the singability of some of the earliest *Divan* poems, those from the summer of 1814, for the sociable context of the *Liedertafel*. In one of their earliest epistolary dialogues on a *Divan* poem from April 1815, for example, Goethe uses a sartorial metaphor to invoke music's decorative and protective role:

> Zelter: Send me some songs. I have dressed your Hans Adam ['Erschaffen und Beleben'] in an outfit, in which he will be quite presentable.[79]
>
> Goethe: I have no doubt that you will have tailored Hans Adam a fine, custom-made jacket, and I look forward to seeing him strut around in it.[80]

Goethe also evidently believed that a clutch of newer poems composed between September and December 1814 would also fit music well. In a letter to Zelter on 27 December 1814, he noted:

> Hafis has visited me frequently, and as a result, much has come into being that should coax lovely melodies from you in the future.[81]

Between Zelter's departure at the end of August and Goethe's letter in December 1814, the *Divan* expanded in size. The Orientalist reading that Goethe had begun after his return to Weimar in the winter of 1814, which found form in, among others, the freely translated

[78] For an overview, see Burdach, *Vorspiel*, II, pp. 384–389.
[79] MA, XX /1, p. 368
[80] MA, XX /1, p. 371
[81] MA, XX /1, p. 362.

allegory ‘Der Winter und Timur’ and aphoristic ‘Fünf Andere’, provided new sources material for poetic reworking.[82] But the collection had not drastically expanded its scope.[83] The title page drafted to head ‘stage I’ of the future work,[84] the ‘Deutscher Divan’, still indicated a ‘collection [*Versammlung*] of German poems with constant reference to the *Divan* of the Persian *Saenger* Mahomed Schemseddin Hafis’.[85] The frame of poetic response and the chain of musical production thus largely stayed the same. Hafis inspired Goethe who in turn inspired Zelter to his sociable melodies.

Then something changed. A month after Goethe and Zelter laughed over Hans Adam’s fine brocade in April 1815, Goethe put on a more sober habit. Zelter had asked for some poems to set. Goethe agreed, only to follow up with a disappointing note in May:

> I have been glancing through my Oriental Divan in order to send you a new poem, but I now see clearly for the first time how this kind of poetry [*Dichtungsart*] drives one to reflection; for I did not find anything singable in it, especially for the Liedertafel, for which, after all, it is our main business to provide. For what cannot be sung sociably is in reality no song, just as a monologue is no drama.[86]
>
> […]
>
> Before I close this, I am again looking through my Divan and find a second reason why I cannot send you a single poem from it; this, however, speaks in favour of the collection. For every individual member is so inspired with the spirit of the whole [*Sinn des Ganzen*], is so thoroughly Oriental, referring to eastern customs, traditions, religion [*Sitten, Gebräuche, Religion*], and must first be introduced by one of the preceding poems, if it is to work on the imagination [*Einbildungskraft*] and feeling. I myself did not know what a wonderful whole I have prepared from it. The first hundred poems are almost full; when I have finished the second, the collection will take on a more serious face.[87]

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[82] FA, III/1, p. 729; ‘Der Winter und Timur’ was published in the *Buch des Timurs*, FA, III/1, p. 70; ‘Fünf Andere’ in the *Buch der Betrachtungen*, FA, III/1, p. 44.
[83] Andrea Fuchs-Sumiyoshi, *Orientalismus in der deutschen Literatur: Untersuchungen zu Werken des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, von Goethes “West–östlichem Divan” bis Thomas Manns Joseph-Tetralogie* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1984), p. 57, argues that the poems until 10 December 1814 ‘beruhen ausschließlich auf der Lektüre der beiden Hafis-Bände’.
[84] Mommsen, II, p. xix.
[85] Bosse, I, pp. 162–166.
[86] MA, XX/1, p. 381
[87] MA, XX/1, pp. 383–384; translation adapted from Byrne Bodley, *Musical Dialogues*, pp. 188–189.

Goethe admits that he is scanning his 'orientalischen Divan' for texts that could flourish in contexts such as the *Liedertafel* whose programme of songs praised drink, cheerful social bonds, sparring, and the like. Crucially, he also suggests that he cannot find such texts among his newest poems, presumably those composed between December 1814 and May 1815, because his poetry had taken a new turn. The two reasons that Goethe cites for not being able to send a text – the propensity of his new poetry to inspire 'reflection' and the collection's 'wonderful whole' – reflect developments surrounding the *Divan* in the first half of 1815 that relate to the idea of the collection's singability.

The second of Goethe's points, the fact that each member was shot through with the 'spirit of the whole', encompasses at least two strands. The first strand is practical and organisational. Goethe's expression of cyclicity and wholeness is contextualised by the imminent re-organisation of the existing 'Deutscher Divan' into the hundred-strong 'Des deutschen Divans mannigfaltige Glieder' – the 'Glieder' here alluding to both components and limbs – which was completed only two weeks after he sent Zelter the letter at the end of May 1815.[88] Stage II in the work's genesis,[89] the 'Wiesbadener Register' marks a significant moment in the *Divan*'s conception – in Anke Bosse's words, the 'first clearly thematic-functional assembly of the *Divan* poems'.[90] The *WR* thus took a decisive step towards cementing the future position of the *Divan* as Goethe's only standalone lyric collection and away from the poet's earlier practice of publishing lyrics in almanacs, newspapers, novels, letters, and collected editions.[91] As the *Divan* poems had yet to be

[88] FA, III/1, p. 739; Goethe would experience another burst of productivity in the weeks following his letter to Zelter, see FA, III/1, pp. 788–790.
[89] Mommsen, II, p. xix.
[90] Bosse, I, p. 179.
[91] Siegfried Unseld, *Goethe und der Ginkgo: ein Baum und ein Gedicht* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1998), pp. 27–28; Burdach has shown how the *WR* had an introduction built into its structure (nos. 1–6), adding a specifically cyclical element to Goethe's comments, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte*, pp. 53ff.

formally divided into books with section-marking titles (*Buch des Sängers; Buch Hafis;* and the like), but were listed in an unbroken sequence, bookended by a prologue and epilogue,[92] the *WR* arguably expresses a tauter and more streamlined poetic design than the paratextually demarcated *Erstausgabe*. Extracting an isolated poem from this complex understandably appeared difficult.

The second strand concerns the relationship between philological study and poetic composition. Goethe's reading reached fever pitch between January and May 1815. Newer poems, both those that would eventually feature in the collection and *paralipomena*, bear the titular and substantive traces of such Orientalist publications as Hammer's edited *Fundgruben des Orients*, William Jones' *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum Libri Sex*, Heinrich Diez's *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien,* and Julius Klaproth's *Asiatisches Magazin*, among others.[93] Goethe's output now tended more towards 'Spruchdichtung' –[94] moralising aphorisms, witty jibes, and, in Goethe's words, 'rather laconic parables'.[95] Goethe's methodological approach to poetic composition during this period thus not only bordered on a '*Philologisierung der Poesie'*, the 'grounding of poetry in historical knowledge', by turning translations and prose into poetic works, to borrow Mark-Georg Dehrmann's and Alexander Nebrig's term.[96] The method also put into practice Goethe's own concept of 'self-Orientalising [*Sich-Orientalisiren*]' which involved nothing less than the textual and empathetic transformation of the

[92] 'Hegire', no. 3, and 'Gute Nacht', no. 100.
[93] Cf. Bosse, I, pp. 167–181.
[94] Bosse, I, p. 171; FA, III/1, p. 780.
[95] FA, III/1, p. 222.
[96] *Poeta Philologus: Eine Schwellenfigur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Mark-Georg Dehrmann and Alexander Nebrig (Bern: Lang, 2010), p. 10.

Western reader into someone who could 'participate in' the motivic foreignness, the unruly comparisons, and the deference of Eastern poets.[97]

The consolidation of Goethe's Orientalist knowledge at the beginning of 1815 had structural consequences for the *Divan*. In an unsent letter to his editor Cotta dated 16 May 1815, Goethe indicates how the collection had now moved beyond a friendly competition with Hafis, a response to Persian literature, and the generic frame of sociable poetic types:[98]

> In addition to the aforementioned Hafis, Oriental poetry and literature in general have been considered, from the Mu'allaqat and the Qur'an to Jami, and even the Turkish poets have not been neglected.[99]

The rather odd comment to Zelter on 11 March 1816 that 'Orientals glorify through writing, not through singing', makes veiled reference to another of these philologically productive impulses.[100] At first glance anti-musical and historically inaccurate, for Hafis was a *Sänger*, Goethe's comments partly concern his growing interest in the representative function of Arabic script, examples of which he attempted to reproduce at the beginning of 1815.[101] As numerous scholars have noted, the appeal of, in Andrea Polaschegg's words, the 'auratic original', principally Eastern manuscripts made available to Goethe in Jena and Weimar that could further a more material and tactile Orientalist understanding, would run like a red thread through Goethe's '*Divan*-Jahre' and complement the poet's engagement with contemporary scholarship.[102]

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[97] FA, III/1, pp. 199–200.
[98] This was reflected in the dedications of no. 2 of the *WR*, see FA, III/2, pp. 1704–1705.
[99] Bosse, I, pp. 525–526.
[100] MA, XX/1, p. 403
[101] Bosse, I, pp. 173–174; for a full exploration of the role of script in Goethe's *Divan*, see Anke Bosse, 'Magische Präsenz – zur Funktion von Schrift und Ornament in Goethes "West-östlichem Divan"', *Arcadia*, 33 (1998), 314–336.
[102] Andrea Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus: Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), pp. 321ff.

The first point, the reference to the poems' tendency to inspire reflection, develops out of these two strands. '*Reflexion*' appears to refer to the mechanisms of thought that were activated when reading densely concentrated 'aphoristic' poetry imbricated with specialist Orientalist knowledge.[103] Goethe was specific to Zelter about how Orientalist poetry of the 'roughest [*derb*]' and worldliest kind quickly escaped one's hands by a kind of reflective uplift in April 1815:

> Orientalising [*Das Orientalisieren*] I find very dangerous, for before you know it, the roughest poem goes, like a balloon full of rational and spiritual gas, with which it fills itself, out of our hands and into the air.[104]

The term also makes clear that individual poems must first be 'exposed' or introduced as constituents and expressions of Orientalist 'customs, traditions, religion' before they could take effect.[105] It is only after both processes have become familiar that the poems can begin to engage 'feeling' and 'imagination' which sit at the other end of the receptive process. The cognates of all three original German terms in Goethe's note, '*Einbildungskraft'*, '*Gefühl'* and '*Reflexion*' appear in Goethe's letters to Zelter as the welcome effects of music.[106] Music had the power to conjure images in the mind-eye, elicit emotional responses, and engage the aesthetic faculties of contemplation.[107] But as far as they exist in this particular Orientalist constellation, reflection and singability

[103] For a short summary of Goethe's ideas of 'reflection', see 'Reflexion/Betrachtung', in *Metzler Goethe Lexikon,* ed. by Benedikt Jessing and others (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999), p. 402.
[104] MA, XX/1, p. 371–372.
[105] Burdach lists the opposition between '*Reflexion*' and singability in *Vorspiel*, II, pp. 384ff, but does not explain what it entails in an Orientalist context.
[106] Gerhard vom Hofe makes a specific connection between '*Einbildungskraft*' and '*Reflexion'* in 'Goethes Gedanke einer "Art Symbolik fürs Ohr" und seine Begründung im musikästhetischen Dialog mit Zelter: Versuch einer Deutung', in '*Eine Art Symbolik fürs Ohr': Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Lyrik und Musik,* ed. by Hermann Jung (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2002), pp. 19–41, esp. p. 32.
[107] MA, XX/1, pp. 228, 601, and 599.

appear to establish a dichotomy.[108] In terms of production, if not in terms of reception, Orientalist reflection presents a barrier to immediate singability. Hence, the 'type of poetry' that Goethe espoused after his philological turn could be said to 'almost [...] resist song', as the poet would note to Zelter on 11 March 1816.[109]

Goethe's comments in May 1815 seem to have struck the musical hammer blow to the *Divan*'s and Zelter's musicality. But 'almost' means not quite and the barrier could be hurdled. In October 1815, the poet wavered once again, this time at another conceptually important moment:

> Then I announce how my Divan has been enlarged by many new *Glieder*, among which can be found some of the youngest and freshest variety. It can now, according to its various contents, be divided into books. Some singable pieces [*manches Singbare*] can be found among them, but, in the oriental manner, reflection prevails, as it befits the poet's age.[110]

The practical consequence of the collection's division into first thirteen, then twelve, books 'according to its contents' was that Zelter would be able find '*manches Singbare'* in a specific portion of the eventual publication.[111] Five of the six poems published in *Die Liedertafel* would be printed in the first of the *Divan*'s twelve books, the *Buch des Sängers*, in the *Erstausgabe* in 1819.[112] Three *Tafellieder* that were probably composed after the publication of the *Divan*, 'Lied und Gebilde', 'Dreistigkeit', and 'Derb und Tüchtig', may

[108] Cf. Leif Ludwig Albertsen, 'Gesellige Lieder, Gesellige Klassik', *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 96 (1979), 159–173 (pp. 159–160); see also Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, *praktisch-theoretisch,* 4 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1844–1847), III (1845), pp. 406–407, on the uneasy relationship between the 'musical' and the reflexive Goethean poem, with specific reference to 'Selige Sehnsucht'.

[109] MA, XX/1, p. 403.

[110] MA, XX/1, p. 393.

[111] Bosse, II, p. 592. The books that made it into the *Erstausgabe*: *Buch des Sängers; Buch Hafis; Buch der Liebe; Buch der Betrachtungen; Buch des Unmuths; Buch der Sprüche; Buch des Timur; Buch Suleika; Das Schenkenbuch; Buch der Parabeln; Buch des Parsen; Buch des Paradieses*. A *Buch der Freunde* was announced in the *Morgenblatt der gebildeten Stände* on 24 February 1816, FA, III/1, p. 550, but was left out.

[112] The exception, 'So lang man nüchtern ist' published in *Das Schenkenbuch*, connects to the earlier Hafizian inspiration through its praise of wine.

have been sought out because of their position in the opening book, which contained the printed versions of the poems that Goethe handed to Zelter in the summer of 1814 or because of the paratext, *Buch des Sängers*, which to musical eyes signposted singability more than any other.[113] For reasons of the poems' *gesellig* tone and indicatory paratext or simply to follow Zelter's lead, other composers also rendered poems reordered in the *Buch des Sängers* in a part-song texture.[114] Carl Eberwein set 'Derb und Tüchtig' and Schubert 'Im Gegenwärtigen Vergangenes' (D710) in 1821.[115] Felix Mendelssohn, Zelter's student, would set 'Dreistigkeit' in 1837.[116]

All this presupposes a certain *Divan* consistency in Goethe's term '*singbar*' to refer retroactively to the sociable Orientalist songs performed in the *Liedertafel*.[117] There might in fact be another facet to the term that emerged in step with the next phase of the *Divan*'s gestation. '*Singbar*' may not only characterise the re-structured early poems but also a clutch of newer poems written between 17 May and November 1815 during Goethe's second Rhine and Main journey. This period is fabled for both the intensification in Goethe's relationship with Marianne von Willemer, whom Goethe met in Zelter's company in the summer of 1814, and the consequent co-production of love poems that would fill up the *Buch Suleika*.[118] Goethe and Willemer spun out *Chiffrenbriefe* in which lines from Hafis, mediated by Hammer's translation, were 'decoded and recoded', while

[113] FA, III/1, 21–22; 'Dreistigkeit' was probably sent over in August 1821 on the back of 'Derb und Tüchtig', cf. MA, XX/3, p. 544, but the precise dating of both is still moot; 'Dreistigkeit' was included the expanded editions of *Die Liedertafel*; 'Derb und Tüchtig' did not feature at all.
[114] For a full list, see Willi Schuh, *Goethe-Vertonungen: Ein Verzeichnis* (Zurich: Artemis, 1952).
[115] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Franz Schubert: Thematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke in chronologischer Folge* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), p. 418. The poem was composed on 26 July 1814, FA, III/1, p. 766.
[116] Wehner, *Verzeichnis*, p. 103: G18.
[117] Cf. Burdach, *Vorspiel*, II, p. 354: 'ein beträchtlicher Teil des Divans besteht demgemäß aus singbaren Liedern, im Sinn des *geselligen Liedes*'.
[118] Bosse, II, pp. 589–590; FA, III/1, pp. 794–800; Burdach, *Vorspiel*, II, pp. 307ff.

throwing themselves into an elaborate game of masks in which they took on the poeticising Orientalist alter-egos of Hatem and Suleika.[119] The consistent yet abstemious arc of the *Divan*'s musical reception in the first half of the nineteenth century – from Franz Schubert, through the Mendelssohns, Johanna Kinkel, Moritz Hauptmann, to Robert Schumann – would suggest that '*manches Singbare'* should perhaps be referring to the *Liebesgedichte* of the *Buch Suleika* above all.

On 11 March 1816, Goethe alludes to the singability of these newly composed *Liebesgedichte*. He updated Zelter on the *Divan*'s status once again. By this point, the bulk of the *Divan*'s poetry had been written.

> Goethe: The *Divan* has grown and is strong. The type of poetry, which I have taken up and practised without further reflection, has its own characteristic in that it almost, like the sonnet, resists song. It is, as a matter of fact, striking enough that Orientals glorify through writing, not through singing. Nevertheless, it is a type of poetry that suits my age, my way of thinking, experience, and circumspection, allowing one to be as foolish in matters of love as the young can be. Herewith, a song that might conceivably be singable [*ein allenfalls singbares Lied*] – With the best farewell.[120]
>
> Zelter: Chladni, who is leaving tomorrow, will take this letter a short distance, I have therefore finished the song, and am sending along a little sample from the *Divan* [*Pröbchen aus dem Divan*].[121]

The manuscript Goethe received stages the two sides of the *Divan*'s musicality.[122] On one side, Zelter set the '*allenfalls singbare Lied'*, 'Dir zu eröffnen mein Herz'. Overleaf is a part-song setting of the Hafizian drinking song, 'So lang man nüchtern ist', the 'Pröbchen aus dem Divan'. Goethe's addendum to the letter once again retroactively subjects the

[119] It was not until 1869 that Willemer's authorship was made public by Herman Grimm, FA, III/2, p. 1277; for a contemporary response to the *Buch Suleika*, see Karl Förster, 'Goethe-Artikel in Brockhaus Lexikon, 1824', in *Goethe im Urteil seiner Kritiker: Dokumente zur Wirkungsgeschichte Goethes in Deutschland*, ed. by Karl Robert Mandelkow, 4 vols (Munich: Beck, 1975), I, pp. 368–375 (p. 372).
[120] MA, XX/1, p. 403
[121] MA, XX/1, p. 404
[122] GSA 32/24.

potential singability of *Divan* poetry to closer definition. Unknown to Zelter, who had only Goethe's poetic transcription and epistolary gloss to work from, 'Dir zu eröffnen' had its origins in one of the Goethe-Willemer *Chiffrenbriefe* from October 1815.[123] The poem would later be published in the prose section to the *Divan*, 'Besserem Verständnis', as an example of the Orientalist techniques of encipherment between two lovers.[124] Zelter sensed a change in musical demand. By accident as it were 'Dir zu eröffnen' became the first solo song to a *Divan* text. This too has a peculiarly palimpsestic history.

Red Ink I

Zelter aimed at capturing, profiling, and displaying the text and its idea in his songs. Singable melodies, unobtrusive accompaniments, the strophic form – all came out of and fed back into the tonal and sentimental fundament of the poem, which was assumed, as the origin and source of musical dress, to be inviolable.[125] 'Dir zu eröffnen' departs from this norm in one key respect. The published version of the song in *Sechs deutsche Lieder* in 1826, under the title 'Aus der Ferne', featured a host of textual amendments, including an almost completely different second stanza.[126] There are no Goethean sources for the amendments. Zelter must therefore have been their author.[127]

GOETHE, 11 March 1816 Zelter, 1826

[123] FA, III/2, p. 1537.
[124] FA, III/1, p. 214.
[125] On the Schubert's silent 'rejection' by Goethe and Zelter, see below, Chapter 2, p. 103, n. 24.
[126] Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Sechs deutsche Lieder für die Bass-Stimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte in Musik gesetzt von C. Fr. Zelter* (Berlin: Trautwein, 1826); for more on the song, see Andreas Meier, 'Carl Friedrich Zelters Lied "Aus der Ferne": Ein produktives Mißverständnis zum "West-östlichen Divan"', *Euphorion*, 90 (1996), 264–73, and Andreas Meier, 'Der Liedkommentar als Problem komparatistischer Editorik – Zu Reichardts und Zelters Klassiker-Vertonungen', in *Der Text im musikalischen Werk: Editionsprobleme aus musikwissenschaftlicher und literaturwissenschaftlicher Sicht*, ed. by Walther Dürr and others (Berlin: Schmidt, 1998), pp. 113–27, esp. pp. 126–27.
[127] Meier, 'Lied "Aus der Ferne"', p. 272.

Dir zu eröffnen Mein Herz verlangt mich; Hört' ich von deinem, Darnach verlangt mich; Wie blickt so traurig Die Welt mich an.	Dir zu eröffnen mein Herz verlangt mich **an deinem Herzen** darnach verlangt mich, wie blickt so traurig die Welt mich an
In meinem Sinne Wohnet mein Freund nur, Und sonsten keiner Und keine Feindspur. Wie Sonnenaufgang Ward mir ein Vorsatz.	**Alle Gedanken** **sehnen und ranken** **sich um die Liebe** **meines Geliebten!** **Wie Morgenkerzen** **blicken herein,** **ach seine Leiden** **sie sind auch mein.**
Mein Leben will ich Nur zum Geschäfte Von seiner Liebe Von heut' an machen. Ich denke seiner, Mir blutet's Herz.	Mein Leben will ich nur zum Geschäfte von seiner Liebe von heut an machen ich denke seiner mir blutet das Herz
Kraft hab' ich keine Als ihn zu lieben, So recht im Stillen. Was will das werden Will ihn umarmen Und kann es nicht.[128]	Kraft hab' ich keine als ihn zu lieben so recht im Stillen, Was will das werden. Will ihn umarmen und kann es nicht**.**

Zelter's textual amendments did not emerge in one sweep. One hitherto unexplored variant of the song, preserved in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, displays extensive revisions in the form of etchings-out of note heads and text (see Figure 1).[129] The manuscript clearly shows that three textual units, 'An deinem Herzen', 'Grüßen herein', and 'Ach!', were written in black ink over a scrubbed-out original. Although the original text beneath 'Grüßen herein' is no longer legible, the etched-out notes following 'ein' of 'herein' clearly correspond with the musical setting of the word 'Vorsatz' in the Weimar

[128] MA, xx/3, pp. 369–370.
[129] SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Zelter, 26 (7), fol. 6^{r}.

copy. The Weimar version Goethe received has two crotchets (C flat and A flat) followed by a crotchet rest. In the Berlin manuscript, Zelter rubbed out the crotchet and the succeeding crotchet rest on the second and third beats of the bar, turning the crotchet of the first beat (on 'ein' of 'her**ein**') into a dotted minim. It is unlikely that Zelter set 'Vorsatz' in isolation. He probably transcribed the whole line, 'Ward mir ein Vorsatz'.[130]

Although the Berlin copy is dated 18 March 1816, which would make it contemporaneous with the version Zelter sent to Goethe in Weimar, these initial changes suggest that the two sources were never identical. Of the newly entered black-ink lines in the second stanza, only the final two, 'Seine Schmerzen | Sie sind auch mein', do not bear the imprint of revision. The final two lines are written in the same ink and thickness as the original Goethean stanza. As a first textual draft, Zelter added a new two-line ending (in ***emboldened italics***) to Goethe's six lines.

> In meinem Sinne
> Wohnet mein Freund nur
> Und sonsten Keiner
> Und keine Feindspur
> Wie Morgenkerzen
> Ward mir ein Vorsatz!
> Wie ***seine Schmerzen***
> ***Sie sind auch mein***

With the addition of the three textual units ('An deinem Herzen', 'Grüßen herein', and 'Ach!), the poem therefore entered a second stage. This hybrid version began with Goethe's core and ended with Zelter's already enlarged composite response (**in bold**).

> In meinem Sinne
> Wohnet mein Freund nur

[130] A similar process of cutting out and writing over can be assumed to have taken place in the cases of 'An deinem Herzen' and 'Ach!'.

Und sonsten Keiner
Und keine Feindspur
Wie Morgenkerzen
Grüßen herein
Ach *seine Schmerzen,*
Sie sind auch mein

The song must have stayed in this guise for a period of time. Another newly recovered copy of the song, in an unidentified hand, can be found in a Weimar *Sammelband* under the title 'Aus der Ferne', which contains the text in this particular iteration.[131] Save some melodic decoration on 'darnach verlangt mich' – filling out the three crotchets on D with a triplet roulade – the music is the same. The presumed final stage of textual revision entailed noting down new lines in **red** ink at the beginning of the second stanza.

Alle Gedanken
sehnen und ranken
sich um die Liebe
meines Geliebten

The red-ink lines are placed underneath Goethe's original stanza and complement the divergent four-line ending of the second stanza in black ink.

Wie Morgenkerzen
Grüßen herein
ach! *seine Schmerzen*
sie sind auch mein

The only Goethean line that Zelter retains in the newly composed second stanza, 'Wie Morgenkerzen', ironically did not make it into the *Erstausgabe*.

[131] GSA 32/166 (19), fols 85^{v}–86^{r}.

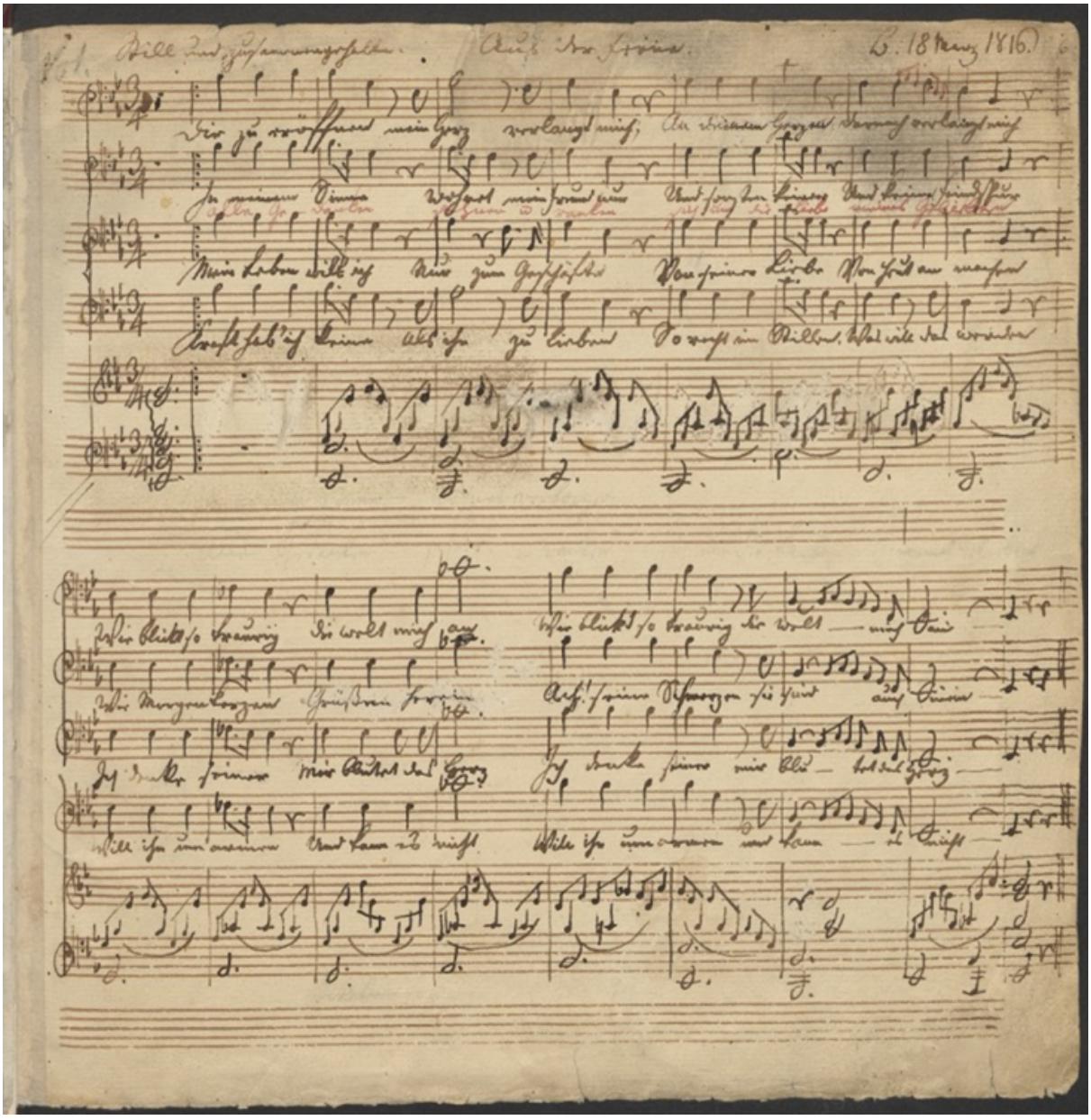


Figure 1: SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Zelter, 26 (7), fol. 6[r]

Zelter made changes to other *Divan* poems. In his setting of 'Derb und Tüchtig', the composer put into practice the poem's titular character traits, often attributed to him, by heavily amending the original text for the sake of musical amenability, much to Goethe's chagrin.[132] Zelter's amendments to 'Dir zu eröffnen' also involved a case of subjective

[132] MA, xx/1, pp. 664 and 670; Johann Wolfgang Schottländer, *Carl Friedrich Zelters Darstellungen seines Lebens* (Weimar: Verlag der Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1931), p. XXV; Norbert Miller, *Die ungeheure Gewalt der Musik: Goethe und seine Komponisten* (Munich: Hanser, 2009), p. 281, quotes Goethe's comments to Eckermann: 'Ja, Zelter ist immer grandios und tüchtig'.

inscription. Andreas Meier, the first to draw attention to Zelter's variant stanza, argued that the composer might have justified his textual revisions by intuiting the original Goethean second stanza's hushed call for reciprocity: 'In meinem Sinne | wohnet mein Freund nur'.[133] As soon as he received the packet, Zelter responded in the most personal terms – 'your little song made a big impression on me as I understand it and apply it to myself (*auf sich beziehen*)'.[134] The composer would only learn of the original Orientalist provenance of the poem on receiving the printed *Divan*. In May 1820, he wrote to Goethe:

> I was quite startled when I found *Dir zu eröffnen* printed in the *Divan* and the explanation of how the poem came to be. It was set to music out of faith in you, without further understanding, and the tone of it was found to be quite true by me afterwards. – Who can explain that?[135]

The origins of the poem made no difference to the 'truth' of the setting. On the contrary, artistic kinship ensured Zelter's faithful 'reproduction of poetic intentions'. By implication, friendship and feeling ensured the faithful musical reproduction of Goethe's Orientalism, whose condition of understanding was not so much cultural knowledge as Zelter's friendly and sympathetic motivations. The song's accidental genesis only confirmed the fact.

The re-emergence of the red-ink version of 'Dir zu eröffnen', where companionship is indicated visually, strengthens Meier's argument of reciprocity. For all their subsequent finality as a revision in published form, in their manuscript context the four lines in red ink nestling underneath those of his friend remain a friendly alternative, a textual *ossia*. Yet the use of red ink allows one to strike up a more speculative connection. Red ink, as mentioned, is philologically symbolic to the *Divan*'s early history. The early *Divan*

[133] Meier, 'Lied "Aus der Ferne"', pp. 268, 272–73.
[134] MA, xx/1, p. 404.
[135] MA, xx/1, pp. 604–05.

autographs contained two numbers in Goethe's hand, one in black, denoting the earliest numeration of the 'Deutscher Divan' in 1814, and one in red, corresponding with the updated 'Wiesbadener Register' of 1815. The numbers indicated stages and supersession. Zelter's use of red ink can be read in this light: as an act of self-curation that complements both his philological additions to the earliest *Divan* autographs and Goethe's numeration of the composer's *Abschriften* of *Divan* poems. Perhaps the rendering in red signalled the difference between the old text and the new, the original and its revision, whose relevance was only to be determined *ex post facto*, after the publication of his song collection in 1826. This was, however, not the end of the editorial process. As I will show in the next chapter, Zelter's revisions were, after his model, themselves subject to revision.

Beethoven's *Nisami*

By the time Zelter received 'Dir zu eröffnen' in March 1816, the majority of the *Divan*'s poems had been written. Goethe now began to turn his attention to whetting the reading public's appetite with pre-publications.[136] The earliest of these *'Vorabdrucke'* is perhaps the most famous, Goethe's prose announcement ('Ankündigung'), published in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* in February 1816 in which the poet not only first publicly used the title 'West-östlicher Divan', but professed his 'Hegire' and performative Orientalisation:[137]

> The poet regards himself as a traveller. He has already arrived in the Orient. He delights in the mores, traditions, in objects, religious attitudes and opinions – yes, he does not dispel the suspicion that he himself is a Muslim.[138]

[136] For a full list, see FA, III/1, pp. 549–581.
[137] Bosse, I, pp. 164–165: the title was 'West-oestlicher Divan oder Versammlung deutscher Gedichte in stetem Bezug auf den Orient'.
[138] FA, III/1, p. 549.

Goethe did not simply publish *Divan* clusters on their own. One of these publications, in the *Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1817*, the most substantial of the pre-prints, also featured specially designed vignettes of two turbans to match an iconographic programme with a philologically literary one.[139] The latest of the pre-print contexts was the *Die Liedertafel* in 1818 in which three poems, 'Erschaffen und Beleben', 'Elemente', and 'So lang man nüchtern ist' had their first public outing.[140] As well as adding another avenue to the collection's circulation, *Die Liedertafel* furnished proof that *Divan* poems could be and had been integrated into a social-cultural programme of performing '*gefällige deutsche Gesänge'*. Unlike Schubert and Eberwein, Zelter would refrain from publishing *Divan* songs in self-enclosed groups. He continued to follow the *Liedertafel*'s principle of combining *Divan* songs with non-*Divan* songs in single opuses for men's chorus in 1825 and for solo bass in 1826.[141]

The public's response to the pre-publications was mixed. Karl Ludwig Knebel, one of Goethe's friends, remarked to Charlotte von Schiller in 1817 on reading the *Taschenbuch*: 'Goethe's Oriental poems will find little admiration because they are understood by very few'.[142] The benefit that Goethe saw of providing a set of notes to guide his readers through his Orientalist practice became a necessity by 1818:

> And so the studies continued, so that one, through notes, through individual essays, may hope to arrive at a better understanding: for, of course, the German was taken aback when one attempted to bring him something from a completely

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[139] Waltraud Maierhofer, 'Illustrations for the *Divan* in Editions of Goethe's Works during his Lifetime', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 89 (2020), 137–156, esp. pp. 139–141.

[140] On the text-corpus differences between the three *Liedertafel* publications, see David Lee, 'Forschungsbericht: Zur Textüberlieferung des "West-östlichen Divans"', *Goethe Yearbook*, 4 (1988), 275–323 (p. 299), under siglum J^4.

[141] Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Tafellieder für Männerstimmen* (Berlin: Trautwein, 1825), contained six songs – 'Liederstoff', 'Das eine Wort', 'Nimmersatt', 'Probatum', 'Entschluß, 'Frühlingsmusikanten': https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/4088065; Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Sechs deutsche Lieder* (Berlin: Trautwein, 1826) – Aus der Ferne', 'Die Bewegung', 'Todtentanz', 'Selige Sehnsucht', 'Die Sänger der Vorwelt', 'Klagegesang Jrisch'; Felix Mendelssohn would take up Zelter's hybrid practice in the 1830s.

[142] Bosse, II, p. 716.

> different world. Also the sample in the *Damenkalender* had bewildered the public more than prepared them. The ambiguity – whether they were translations [*Übersetzungen*] or emulations [*Nachbildungen*], inspired by or adapted from poetic models – did not help the enterprise: but I let it take its course, already accustomed to seeing the German public being taken aback, before it embraces and enjoys.[143]

What emerged was a '*prosaischer Nachtrag'* to the poetry, fifty-six gnomic essays, first titled 'Besserem Verständniss' and included in the *Erstausgabe* in 1819, then published in an independent volume and renamed *Noten und Abhandlungen zu besserem Verständniss des west-östlichen Divans* (hereafter *NuA*) in subsequent collected-works editions from 1827.[144] Scholars have tended to divide the *NuA* into four broad parts: the first concerns the 'history and character of Oriental poetry'; the second ('Künftiger Divan') gives capsule summaries intended to help the interpretation of the *Divan*'s books and provide the contours of their future development; the third reproduces an older essay 'Israel in der Wüste' as an 'example of historical-critical reflection'; the fourth outlines the state of Orientalist scholarship.[145] For all their erudition, the *NuA* were not directed at Orientalists, but were designed to give readers 'who [were] little or not at all familiar with the East' an introduction to the cultural-historical conditions of Eastern poetry.[146]

Navigating the essays must have been incredibly difficult for those very same readers. As printed in the *Erstausgabe*, the essays featured no contents page, no manual for use, just an aphoristic epigraph and title, which were nevertheless typographically consistent with earlier structural demarcations between individual books.[147]

> Wer das Dichten will verstehen
> Muß in's Land der Dichtung gehen;

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[143] Bosse, II, p. 821: *Tag-und-Jahresheft* (1818).
[144] FA, III/2, p. 1423.
[145] MA, XI/1.2, p. 730–731.
[146] FA, III/1, p. 138.
[147] Andrea Polaschegg, '"Nun so legt euch liebe Lieder / An den Busen meinem Volke": (De-)popularisierungsdynamiken des *West-östlichen Divans* im neunzehnten und frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 89 (2020), 205–222 (p. 215).

> Wer den Dichter will verstehen
> Muß in Dichters Lande gehen.[148]

The seamless progression from poetry to commentary must therefore have come as a surprise. Adolf Müllner, who reviewed the collection for Cotta's *Literaturblatt* in 1820, imagined the consternation of the 'dear reading public':

> Then comes – just think! in the middle of the book, p. 244 – an introduction, and what for? To sketch the history of an Oriental, especially Persian poetry, full of digressions into entirely heterogeneous matters, and not even half as comprehensive as we could find them in Hammer's *Geschichte der Redekünste Persiens* and in other scholarly works, were we inclined to search for them there.[149]

Though facetious, the comments point to how the *NuA* may have compounded the problem of which it was supposed to be the cure. Müllner's rebuke on behalf of the 'dear reading public' that the majority of the poems 'remained incomprehensible', the collection itself a 'riddle without a key', casts doubt on the *NuA's* purpose to convey an '*unmittelbares Verständniss'* to the non-professional, as Goethe pointed out in the section's introduction.[150] The *NuA*'s exposition of the general over the particular, a socio-cultural history of poetry over philological annotation, likely added another layer of inscrutability, posing another riddle that required a key.[151] And so it began, a kind of recursive process of *Divan* decryption in spite of Goethe's *NuA*, with Christian Wurm, a schoolteacher, who in 1834 was the first to publish a line-by-line philological commentary to the poetic portion, which by its very existence effectively declared Goethe's essays insufficient as an interpretative tool for individual poems.[152]

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[148] FA, III/1, p. 137.
[149] MA, XI/1.2, pp. 382–383.
[150] FA, III/1, p. 138
[151] On the difference between the categories of annotation and introduction, see Wolfgang Lentz, *Goethes Noten und Abhandlungen zum West-östlichen Divan* (Hamburg: Augustin, 1958), pp. 49ff.
[152] Christian Wurm, *Commentar zu Göthe's west-östlichem Divan* (Nuremberg: Johann Leonhard Schrag, 1834).

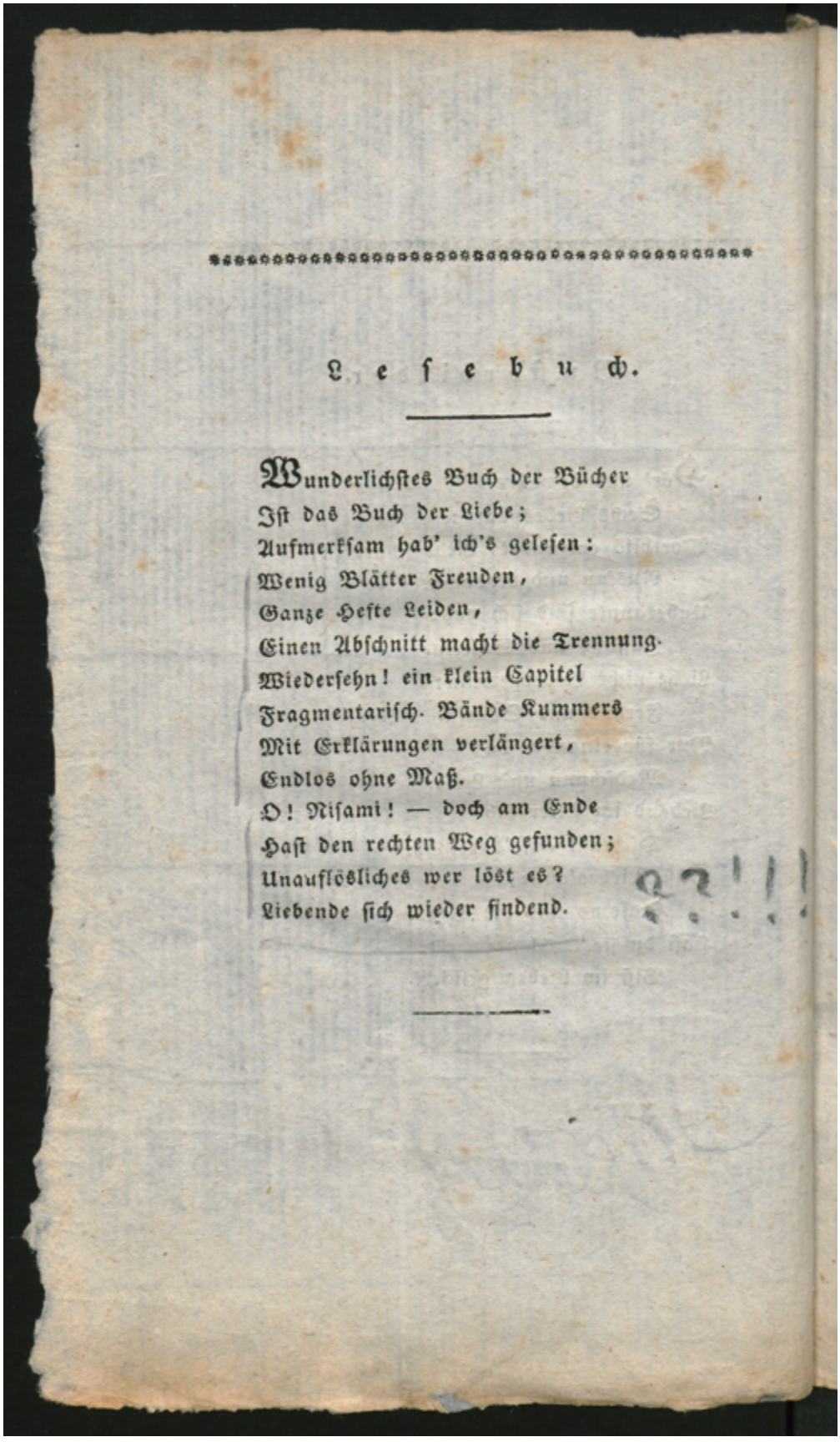
As Müllner's review indicates, the reading public's response to the published *Divan* was little better than its pre-publications. Ludwig Ammann classifies the collection's effect in ambivalent terms: an 'Achtungserfolg' – neither bestseller, nor failure.[153] Such was its neglect that readers could order one of the 2000 copies of the *Erstausgabe*, which did not receive a second print-run, from Cotta at the turn of the twentieth century.[154] Contemporary literary critics and writers besieged Goethe from all sides. Writers with widely varying ideological leanings – Ludwig Börne, Georg Gottfried Gervinus, Wolfgang Menzel, Achim von Arnim, and the Schlegels – voiced *Divan* scepticism.[155] The collection did find outspoken supporters. But these were in the minority. Christoph Perels argues that Heine and Hegel were 'the only ones to have done justice to the *Divan*' in the nineteenth century.[156] Andrea Polaschegg expands the list to include Rückert, Platen, and Hugo von Hofmannsthal.[157] When Goethe wrote in 'Künftiger Divan' that the collection was written 'for sympathisers, for friends, for admirers of the author', he was referring to the reading public who had long been familiar with his work.[158] Literary reception history has since shown up the sad irony that the majority of the *Divan*'s closest friends were, in its decade, Goethe's own.

A case study for the *Divan*'s post-publication reception beyond Goethe's intimate circle comes with Beethoven. Beethoven never set the collection, but owned and annotated a copy of the Viennese edition from 1820 now preserved in the

[153] Ammann, *Östliche Spiegel*, p. 18.
[154] Siegfried Unseld, *Goethe und seine Verleger* (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel, 1991), pp. 455 and 458; the *Divan*'s future iterations were confined to collected-works editions, see Polaschegg, '"Nun so legt'", p. 211
[155] For more on the early reception of the *Divan*, see W. Daniel Wilson, 'Introduction: The Mixed Reception of Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 89 (2020), 111–115; Anne Bohnenkamp, '"Divan"-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert', *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 136 (2019), 52–66; and MA, XI/1.2, pp. 372–400.
[156] Christoph Perels, *Goethe in seiner Epoche: zwölf Versuche* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1998), p. 200.
[157] Polaschegg, '"Nun so legt"', p. 206.
[158] FA, III/1, p. 214.

Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, which gives an insight into the response of contemporary musical readers.[159] Anton Schindler noted on the title-page of the exemplar that Beethoven's 'original marginalia' represented passages that 'interested [Beethoven] or that were made to relate to himself [*auf sich beziehen ließen*]'.[160] The composer apparently treated the collection as a trove of proverbs,[161] reading himself into and drawing out passages that could function as memorable units. Schindler uses exactly the same phrase that Zelter relayed to Goethe in 1816 on receiving 'Dir zu eröffnen' – *auf sich beziehen* – to suggest personalisation.[162] Early twentieth-century commentators on Beethoven's exemplar followed Schindler's interpretative paradigm. Albert Leitzmann relates the extraordinary markings Beethoven added to the poem, 'Lesebuch', which include two questions marks and three exclamation marks, to the composer's thoughts about his 'immortal beloved' (see Figure 2).[163]

[159] Eveline Bartlitz *Die Beethoven-Sammlung in der Musikabteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek: Verz. Autographe, Abschriften, Dokumente, Briefe* (Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 1970), p. 208.
[160] SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v. 40, 1: **http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000EB1D00000000**.
[161] Schindler is known to have doctored passages in the composer's Conversation Books; for more see, K. M. Knittel, 'Anton Felix Schindler', in *Grove Music Online:* https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24871, but there is no evidence to suggest that he doctored this particular portion.
[162] Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v. 40, 1, p. 148: 'Denn das Leben ist die Liebe | Und des Lebens Leben Geist' is one of these pithy distichs.
[163] Albert Leitzmann, 'Beethovenstudien', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1918), 156–164 (p. 159).



Lesebuch.

Wunderlichstes Buch der Bücher
Ist das Buch der Liebe;
Aufmerksam hab' ich's gelesen:
Wenig Blätter Freuden,
Ganze Hefte Leiden,
Einen Abschnitt macht die Trennung.
Wiedersehn! ein klein Capitel
Fragmentarisch. Bände Kummers
Mit Erklärungen verlängert,
Endlos ohne Maß.
O! Nisami! — doch am Ende
Hast den rechten Weg gefunden;
Unauflösliches wer löst es?
Liebende sich wieder findend.

Figure 2: SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v. 40, 1, p. 50

There is evidence to suggest that Beethoven was interested in Orientalism. He corresponded with Joseph von Hammer on the potential for an Orientalist opera, excerpted poems from Johann Gottfried Herder's Orientalist anthology, *Blumenlese aus morgenländischen Dichtern* (1807), in the diary he kept between 1812 and 1818, some of which he set to music, and interested himself in Indian philosophy.[164] But an interest in Orientalism, particularly of the Indic strain, and enthusiasm for the *Divan* do not necessarily follow. The Schlegels, who had worked to popularise Indic Orientalism in Romantic circles at the beginning of the nineteenth century,[165] were none too pleased with Goethe's dismissal of Indian religious practice in the *NuA*.[166] Viewed in light of the collection's literary reception, Beethoven's annotations to 'Lesebuch' display something else that Leitzmann and Schindler were both ideologically unwilling to concede. The exclamations, relating to the final lines, suggest incomprehension.

> O! Nisami! – Doch am Ende
> Hast den Rechten Weg gefunden;
> Unauflösliches wer löst es?
> Liebende sich wieder findend.

As early as 1819, one of Goethe's consultant Orientalists Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten singled out 'Lesebuch' as the example *par excellence* of Goethe's method of '[retaining] the particular modes of representation peculiar to the Orientals', which he had mined from Orientalist '*Schriftstellerey*' and 'philological studies'.[167] In other words, Kosegarten drew attention to the poem's employment of the *Divan*'s methodological-

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[164] Maynard Solomon, 'A Beethoven Acquaintance: Josef von Hammer-Purgstall', *The Musical Times*, 124 (1983), 13–15; see also the entries in *Beethovens Tagebuch*, ed. by Maynard Solomon, rev. edn by Siegbert Brandenburg (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1990), pp. 41, 65, 141; for Beethoven's Herder settings from 1815, cf. Introduction, p. 20, n. 77.
[165] For more, see Nicholas Germana, *The Orient of Europe: The Mythical Image of India and Competing Images of German National Identity* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 98–130.
[166] MA, XI/1.2, p. 373; the offending passage probably came from the *NuA* chapter 'Mahmud von Gasna' in which Goethe notes 'die indische Lehre taugt von Haus aus nichts', FA, III/1, p. 164.
[167] MA, XI/1.2, p. 376.

constructive techniques of '*Philologisieren*' and '*Orientalisieren*', the sedimentation of poetry in both historical and Orientalist knowledge. Scholars have since pointed out that the source of the poem is a passage from the second volume of Heinrich Diez's *Denkwürdigkeit von Asien* in which the author cites the poetry of the Renaissance Turkish poet, Nişancı Mustafa Çelebi.[168] Goethe freely rendered the verse. He kept the broader shape, but changed the appellation to 'Nisami', thereby forging a connection to the Persian poet who appears in the *NuA*.[169] Beethoven was not to know this. Having no tradition of *Divan-Forschung* to consult and thus no such entrance to Goethe's translated Orientalist world, the lines must have appeared peculiar, foreign, and most importantly inaccessible. Philology does not answer the question of the *Divan*'s interpretation. But it does at the very least stabilise a point of orientation.

Considered in their totality, Beethoven's annotations thus give graphic expression to both sides of the reading public's reception. On the one hand, Beethoven's sympathetic response to the reflexively proverbial portions of the collection and his excerpting of maxims from larger *Divan* poems reflect a positive strand of the *Divan*'s reception in the first half of the nineteenth century. *Divan* poems circulated in truncated form as 'rather laconic parables', to reprise Goethe's term.[170] Adolph Bernhard Marx quoted *Divan* poems in his treatise on the merits of musical *Tonmalerei* in 1828, the Qur'anic opening of 'Talismane' and the poetic epigraph to the *NuA*, both without

[168] FA, III/2, pp. 1032–1033; Heinrich Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, 2 vols (Halle: Waisenhaus-Buchhandlung, 1815), II, pp. 370–371.
[169] Beethoven did read the *NuA* – one of his annotations expresses denial in Latin, 'nego' – but he left the chapter on Nisami untouched (FA, III/1, p. 170); for a full transcription of the passages, see Leitzmann, 'Beethovenstudien', p. 164.
[170] FA, III/1, p. 222.

mentioning the title of the collection.[171] On the other hand, Beethoven's annotations to 'Lesebuch' provide a window into how Goethe's 'literary and cultural experiment with scientific curiosity', as Anil Bhatti has termed it, made for a bewildering reading experience from cover to cover:[172] from the two components of the title, *West-östlich* and *Divan*, which Müllner's imagined public respectively satirised as an 'affront to mathematical geography' and a Turkish furnishing;[173] through the copperplate of a cartouche featuring an Arabic text ('The Eastern *Diwan* of a Western author') that visualised the hybrid dynamics of the title but would have been mystifying to all but the most learned Orientalists;[174] to the register of 'opaque areas' comprising foreign names and concepts at the back of the collection.[175] The poetic and paratextual expressions of Goethe's poetic-cultural principle, which aimed at allowing the 'mores and ways of thought' of West and East 'to intertwine' and pushed readers to expand their Orientalist familiarity, are precisely those that likely put early readers off.[176]

There is another ironic twist here. It appears that Willemer wrote to Goethe in 1821 that she wished Beethoven would set poems from the *Divan*: 'only he, and no-one else, would fully understand them [*ganz verstehen*]'.[177] Willemer's use of 'verstehen' in this

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[171] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Ueber die Malerei in der Tonkunst: Ein Maigruß an die Kunstphilosophen* (Berlin: Fink, 1828), pp. 5 and 9. The opening salvo of 'Talismane' – 'Gottes ist der Orient! | Gottes ist der Occident!' – came from Hammer's *Fundgruben des Orients*, see FA, III/2, pp. 906–907.

[172] Anil Bhatti, '"... zwischen zwei Welten schwebend ...": Zu Goethes Fremdheitsexperiment im *West-östlichen Divan*', in *Goethe: Neue Ansichten – Neue Einsichten*, ed. by Hans-Jörg Knobloch and Helmut Koopmann (Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann, 2007), pp. 103–122 (p. 121).

[173] MA, XI/1.2, pp. 382–383; this conflation was common, see among others Anke Bosse, 'In die "allgemeinen Verhältnisse" des Orients "sein eignes Poetisches verweben": Zur imaginären Orientreise des alten Goethe', *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 6 (2003), 19-37 (p. 24).

[174] Anke Bosse, 'Magische Präsenz', p. 328.

[175] FA, III/1, p. 138; the 'Register' was put together by Kosegarten and referenced the poetic as well as the prosaic portion.

[176] Cf. Bohnenkamp, '*Divan*-Rezeption' p. 56; the quotes come from Goethe's unsent letter to Cotta in May 1815, Bosse, I, p. 524

[177] *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer (Suleika)*, ed. by Theodor Creizenach (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1877), p. 147; Goethe's previous letter to Willemer on p. 145 mentions Eberwein's *Divan*

context describes the functions and effects of a musical setting which in a Goethe-Zelter milieu not only involved productively capturing the *Grundstimmung* of poem but receptively pursuing the ideals of communication, identification, and audition.[178] Emphasis was placed on conveying music to someone, an individual listener or performer, who received and personalised a lyric's generally construed image and feeling.[179] What Willemer seems to have taken for granted as one of the *Divan*'s co-authors is that the road to capturing the feeling, image or idea of a *Divan* poem, being overcome by a *Totalempfindung* in Zelter's vocabulary, was bumpy – not because these were not to be found, but because the collection's poetic and paratextual programme forced engagement with 'Verstand', as the radical critic Ludwig Börne wrote in 1830:[180]

> Have finished Goethe's *west-östlicher Divan*. I had to read it with my mind [mit *Verstand*]; I tried once with my heart [*mit Herz*], but did not succeed.[181]

Börne's readerly juxtaposition of 'Herz' with 'Verstand' can be transposed to the context of the Lied. The paradox is this. Just as Goethe noted to Zelter that Orientalist reflection seemed to resist the production of song, so the *Divan*'s demand to be read with 'Verstand' (the mind) seems to have delayed, even impeded, a kind of musical 'Verstehen' (understanding). The quickness with which the collection's paratexts and poems sent the mind into a spiral of reasoning pushed back the pursuit of and impinged on the musical representation of an immediately communicable idea. Even Zelter seems to have battled

settings, and Willemer in the same letter mentions receiving the 'second book of songs', which likely refers to Eberwein's op. 8 (see below).

[178] Schmidt-Beste, *Die ästhetischen Grundlagen*, esp. pp. 49–52; Heinrich Schwab, *Sangbarkeit, Popularität und Kunstlied: Studien zu Lied und Liedästhetik der mittleren Goethezeit, 1770–1814* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1965), pp.53–54.

[179] MA, xx/1, p. 599.

[180] MA, xx/1, p. 618.

[181] MA, xi/1.2, p. 395.

to overcome the poetic invocation of Hafis, then in autograph form, when setting 'So lang man nüchtern ist' for the *Liedertafel*:

> Pieces that are so outside the spirit of our time I must carry around with me for a long while before I find a modern form in which I can put them up. And who should say afterwards whether one has succeeded because the others also cannot grasp it and prefer to pass over it? As a result a word from you about it should be very helpful because you live in it.[182]

Here, 'modern' can be glossed as the musical grammar of early nineteenth-century Germany – specifically the concordant style of the *Liedertafel* – which did not so much grind against the text's *gesellig* praise of wine as jar with the vocative address to the fourteenth-century Persian poet in the opening stanza and Goethe's provisional Hammer-Hafis title. Beethoven's annotations to 'Lesebuch' are expressions of the same root problem. Much more than representing one composer's struggle with an individual *Divan* poem, Beethoven's question marks stand in place of the undocumented response of scores of musicians in the 1820s, who as members of the reading public first and foremost were still in the process of solving the *Divan*'s riddles: who were thinking rather than singing, 'Unauflösliches wer löst es?'.

Zelter's *Hafis*

Zelter meanwhile obtained a copy of the Austrian edition of the *Divan* while on a visit to Vienna in 1819.[183] Goethe responded to the news, expressing the hope that the *Divan* would inspire Zelter to compose once again, thinking perhaps of his friend's earlier productivity and of how music could provide an outlet for the collection's dissemination, a commentary no less essential than the *NuA* for ensuring a successful afterlife:

[182] MA, xx/1, p. 404; translation adapted from Byrne Bodley, *Musical Dialogues*, p. 199.
[183] MA, xx/1, p. 587

> May you once again find inspiration from these little books [of the *Divan*]. There is a lot [to discover] in them, much to take out and much to put in. A good exemplar has been set aside for you.[184]
>
> […]
>
> No more for now so that the accompanying Divan does not miss the post. May it stir and urge you anew to clothe this world of songs, which is bare on its own, with musical richness and send them out into the world![185]

Zelter received his 'Prachtexemplar' in 1820.[186]

> Many thanks! for the beautiful *Divan*. It is like the starry sky: the more I look at it, the clearer its images [*Bilder*] become to me and when I look at it again, everything appears new and fresh.
> The beautiful, red cover with gold immediately encouraged me more strongly to embellish it in my own way. So, upon receiving the volume, I immediately set notes to the poem: *Wiederfinden*, p. 168, in which you may find yourself and your Hafis again.[187]

The materiality of the 'Prachtexamplar' kindled in Zelter a sense of awe, couched in the starry terms of the mathematical sublime – and not without a hint to the commentating function of music. The German phrase 'zu dem Gedichte… Noten gesetzt' winks at philology. 'Small walks in the *Divan*' quickly became a ritual.[188] Soon afterwards, he noted to Goethe how the *Divan* had become 'his Bible in whose worship he becomes immersed more deeply every day'.[189] But Zelter's zeal did not betoken an '*unmittelbares Verständnis'*. This most intimate of *Divan* readers also felt his mind turning. Excerpting the final three lines from 'Dir zu eröffnen', this time from the *Erstausgabe*, Zelter subtly informed Goethe of how difficult it was for him to grasp the collection:

> Farewell, my Hafis! God alone knows, how this *Weinsofi* pulls my head, like a flypaper, in all directions. I go to bed with him and rise with him as well.

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[184] MA, xx/1, p. 590.
[185] MA, xx/1, p. 592; translation adapted from Byrne Bodley, *Musical Dialogues*, p. 263.
[186] This must have been a beautiful edition. Although it is unfortunately lost, an exemplar in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv belonging to Adele Schopenhauer bears a particular likeness – GSA Goe 1750: https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:gbv:32-1-10030833616.
[187] MA, xx/1, p. 593.
[188] MA, xx/1, p. 594
[189] MA, xx/1, p. 598.

Was soll das werden!
Will ihn umarmen
Und kann es nicht![190]

Goethe is not simply equated with Hafis, described as a 'Weinsofi', a word that Zelter apparently coined from the *NuA*.[191] Goethe is two things at once. The poet is in one sense Zelter's 'Hafis', the historical figure who demands 'eigene Theilname' and with whom one has to engage productively. In another sense, Goethe is given the 'Beyname' of 'Hafis' which was bestowed upon those who had memorised and could recite the Qur'an.[192] Zelter in effect performatively signals his difficulties with coming to terms with the collection musically by making two historical comparisons. The first, borne of personal intimacy, hearkens back to Goethe's own early infatuation with Hafis in the summer of 1814. The second, indicating tutored cultural knowledge, employs an historical moniker of authority to re-position himself as a student of Goethe's Orientalism, turning Hafis itself into an epithet or codeword for competition. Both comparisons show Zelter continuing to conceive of the published *Divan* in the secure hermeneutic frame of its earliest Hafizian stages.

Zelter may have displayed studious humility to Goethe in private. In public, however, the composer seems to have shored up his position as one of the *Divan*'s 'Kenner' in the wake of the wider public's incomprehension. Zelter put the matter to Goethe in the starkest of terms in 1822. No-one could understand the *Divan*, Zelter thought, because it came into the world 'for him':

> The day before yesterday they held the Liedertafel without me: I am not supposed to go out. It is little wonder that no-one understands the *Divan* because it is has come into the world only for me. A hundred times I have quietly read the title and

[190] MA, XX/1, p. 628.
[191] MA, XX/3, p. 524.
[192] Zelter was with Goethe in Berka when the poem, 'Beyname', was composed on 26 June 1814, see *Goethe von Tag zu Tag*, VI, p. 87.

> thought nothing other than how anyone could be called Müller, Schulze, Noak. Now that I am setting to music one piece after another, I have discovered what Diwan, what Hafis means, and I am not going to reveal it to you. But, like the tongue of the Erfurt bell, it will strike your ear when you come and hear 'Elemente', p.14 and 'Dreistigkeit', p. 25. The effect of these pieces is starting to become universal [*allgemein*]. I hear it resound when I am sitting around at home. And if one has patience with people, then they have patience with themselves and will finally notice that a poem has something in its words which is transcendent.[193]

The comments read as a defence of Zelter's philological-musical reception as such. Zelter has 'discovered' the meanings of the 'Diwan' and 'Hafis' through musical composition. Affirming the communicative aspect of musical 'Verstehen' and troping on the *Divan*'s hesitancy to disclose, the composer claims that his songs have the ability to capture and communicate 'transcendent' *Divan* meanings sensuously, 'striking the ear'. Zelter had already developed a strategy to ease an Orientalist poem's circulation. In his setting of the same Heinrich Diez's 'Die Gegenwart', published in *Zwölf Lieder am Klavier zu singen* in 1796, Zelter glossed the word 'Anka' in a footnoted asterisk both to draw attention to its Orientalist provenance and to provide singers and readers with an interpretative anchor: 'a fabulous great bird of the Oriental poets; the symbol of great aspirations and the human soul itself'.[194] In the version of 'Elemente' published in *Tafellieder für Männerstimmen* (1825), however, the 'universal' effect that Zelter saw in his musical reception of his *Divan* took on a more literal aspect. Instead of adding a philological remark to the last line, the evocation of Hafis was erased altogether. 'Wird er wie Hafis die Völker' became 'Wird er aller Lande Völker'. The tactic of excising or abstracting foreign names to usher a particular song's assimilation need not have applied

[193] MA, xx/1, p. 703; translation adapted from Byrne Bodley, *Musical Dialogues*, pp. 292–293.
[194] Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Zwölf Lieder am Klavier zu singen* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1796), no. 8: 'Schwingt sich Alka in den Wolken'.

to ‘Dreistigkeit’, also published in *Tafellieder für Männerstimmen*, which made no reference to Hafis.

Given Zelter’s enthusiasm, the number of solo settings Zelter composed after he received the deluxe *Divan* is small. He composed four solo *Divan* settings in total, including the second solo-voice setting of ‘Selige Sehnsucht’. The remaining three texts came from the *Buch Suleika*. Two were composed on receiving his edition in 1820, ‘Wiederfinden’ and ‘Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen’.[195] Flicking to the back of the book, Zelter would finish his setting of ‘In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken’ in 1823.[196] None of the *Buch Suleika* settings was published, but all remain in manuscript form and outwardly follow the formal techniques of Zelterian song practice.[197] With the exception of ‘Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen’, which has one melodic line with textual underlay, the songs’ melodies are notated with declamatory and ornamental changes from stanza to stanza in a mildly varied strophic form.

The two poems Zelter set, ‘Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen’ and ‘Wiederfinden’, build a small lyric constellation at a narrative threshold in the *Buch Suleika*. Not only do the two poems follow on from each other in the *Erstausgabe*. Zelter inscribed ‘Divan. 166.’ and ‘Divan. 168’ at the top of his autographs.[198] The poems also mark out complementary states. ‘Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen’, which Zelter titled

[195] MA, xx/1, p. 593.
[196] The song may have been composed as early as 21 May 1820. It is mentioned in a letter from Zelter to Goethe listing the poems he had set, MA, xx/1, p. 607; but the earliest manuscript copies indicate that the song was completed in 1823, see MA, xx/1, pp. 726–727, and MA, xx/3, p. 586.
[197] SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Zelter, 25 (2), ‘Wiederfinden’; SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Zelter, 24 (10), ‘Suleika’; SBB – PK, Mus ms. Autogr. Zelter, 26 (3), ‘Suleika’, appears to contain ‘Zum Druck’ faintly in the top right-hand corner, suggesting that it could have been intended for publication; SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Zelter, 35 (21) and (24), ‘In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken’, respectively in D-flat major and D major.
[198] Mus. ms. Autogr. Zelter, 26 (3), ‘Suleika’, fol. 3^{r}; and Mus. ms. Autogr. Zelter, 25 (2), ‘Wiederfinden’, fol. 3^{v}.

'Suleika', tells of the pain of separation, 'was ich in der Trennung leide'.[199] Suleika appeals to the West Wind to convey news to her beloved, Hatem. 'Wiederfinden', following swiftly on, tells of union between the two lovers: 'Drück ich wieder dich ans Herz!'. Adjacency in this case translates into a narrative connection – one with few precedents in the *Buch Suleika*, whose groups of poems on the lovers' separation and union tend to be chunked together, the narrative and its reflections gradually unfolding.
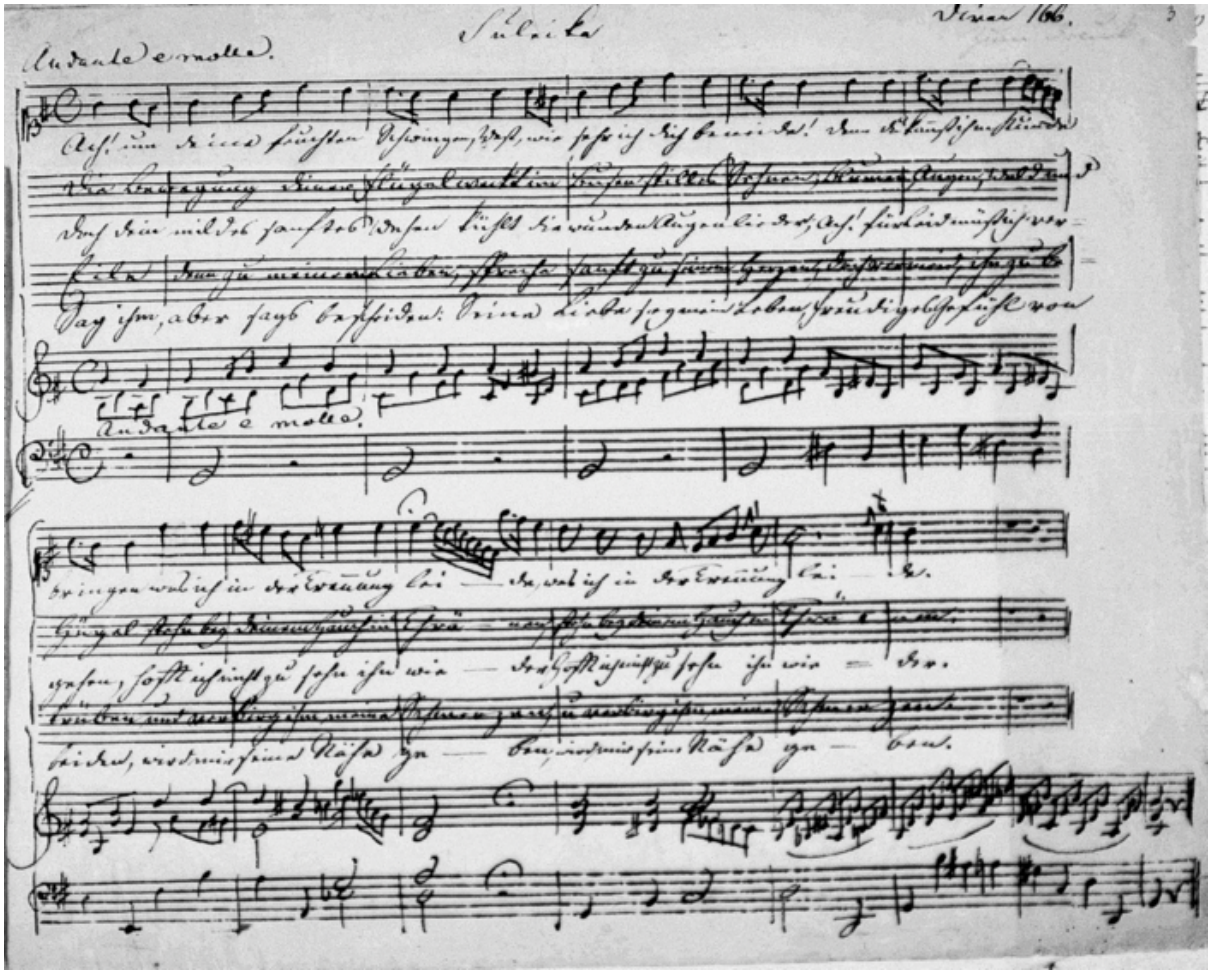


Figure 3: SBB – PK, Mus. ms. Autogr. Zelter, 26 (3), 'Suleika', fol. 3ʳ

Tonal and motivic relationships between the two songs suggest that Zelter saw the connection. 'Suleika' is in G major, while 'Wiederfinden' is D major. The trajectory of the

[199] FA, III/1, p. 95.

songs is thus circumscribed, even directed from tonic to dominant. Both songs also conclude with a striking chromatic motif at the end of each strophe. In the postlude to 'Suleika', the left-hand pattern slides down from B to G sharp, while the treble traces diminished harmonies, before cadencing in the tonic (see Figure 3). In 'Wiederfinden', the closing left-hand motif chromatically fills out a descending fifth from D to A, first with the treble rearticulating an inverted tonic pedal, then colouring the inner-voice cadential figure passing sixths over a dominant pedal (see Figure 4). For two narratively related songs that were composed in a short space of time, the correspondences between such striking chromatic figures cannot be incidental.[200] Perhaps Zelter had Goethe's postulate of May 1815 in mind when setting the texts – that 'each member [...] must be first introduced by a preceding poem, if it is to work on the imagination or feeling'.[201]

Goethe and Hafis were to find each other in Zelter's setting of 'Wiederfinden'.[202] The two poetic beloveds were idealised, the 'Ich' and 'dich' of the first stanza of the poem referring interchangeably to two poets who cross temporalities, to the 'Zwillingsbrüder', as Goethe wrote in the poem 'Unbegrenzt'.[203] By adding 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' to form a dyad, Zelter triangulates the cast. Unlike 'Wiederfinden', whose direct object represents the beloved, the 'dich' of 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' refers to another actor, the mediating West Wind who conveys the message to the beloved. At first glance, the chromaticisms present an atypical instance of affective word-painting, arousing impressions of the stirring of the West Wind in 'Ach, um deine

[200] 'Wiederfinden' in SBB – PK, Mus. Ms. Autogr. Zelter 25 (2), bears the date 'B. 15 Febr. 1820' on the page preceding the composition, fol. 3^{r}; the setting seems to have been first sent to Goethe in 1822, see MA, xx/3, p. 504; 'Suleika' in SBB – PK, Mus. Ms. Autogr. Zelter, 24 (10), carries the date 'B. 26 Febr. 1820'.
[201] MA, xx/1, pp. 383–384.
[202] MA, xx/1, p. 593.
[203] FA, iii/1, p. 31: 'Und mag die ganze Welt versinken, | Hafis mit dir, mit dir allein | Will ich wetteifern! Lust und Pein | Sey uns den Zwillingen gemein!'.

feuchten' and its happy lingering in 'Wiederfinden'. But taking the changing referentiality of direct objects into consideration, Zelter's chromaticisms carry over the personalisation of address in symbolic form. If Goethe and Hafis are the two figures to be reunited in 'Wiederfinden', who or what is the 'dich', the West Wind, in 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' that facilitates their union? Zelter himself or the transmissive function of Zelter's songs? Are the West Wind and Zelter one and the same, the former a symbol and particular manifestation of the latter's communicative ideal of music? It is telling that Zelter decides to forge motivic parallels in the only bars of music that sound without text. They are the frame, the condition of possibility: pure Zelter, pure music.
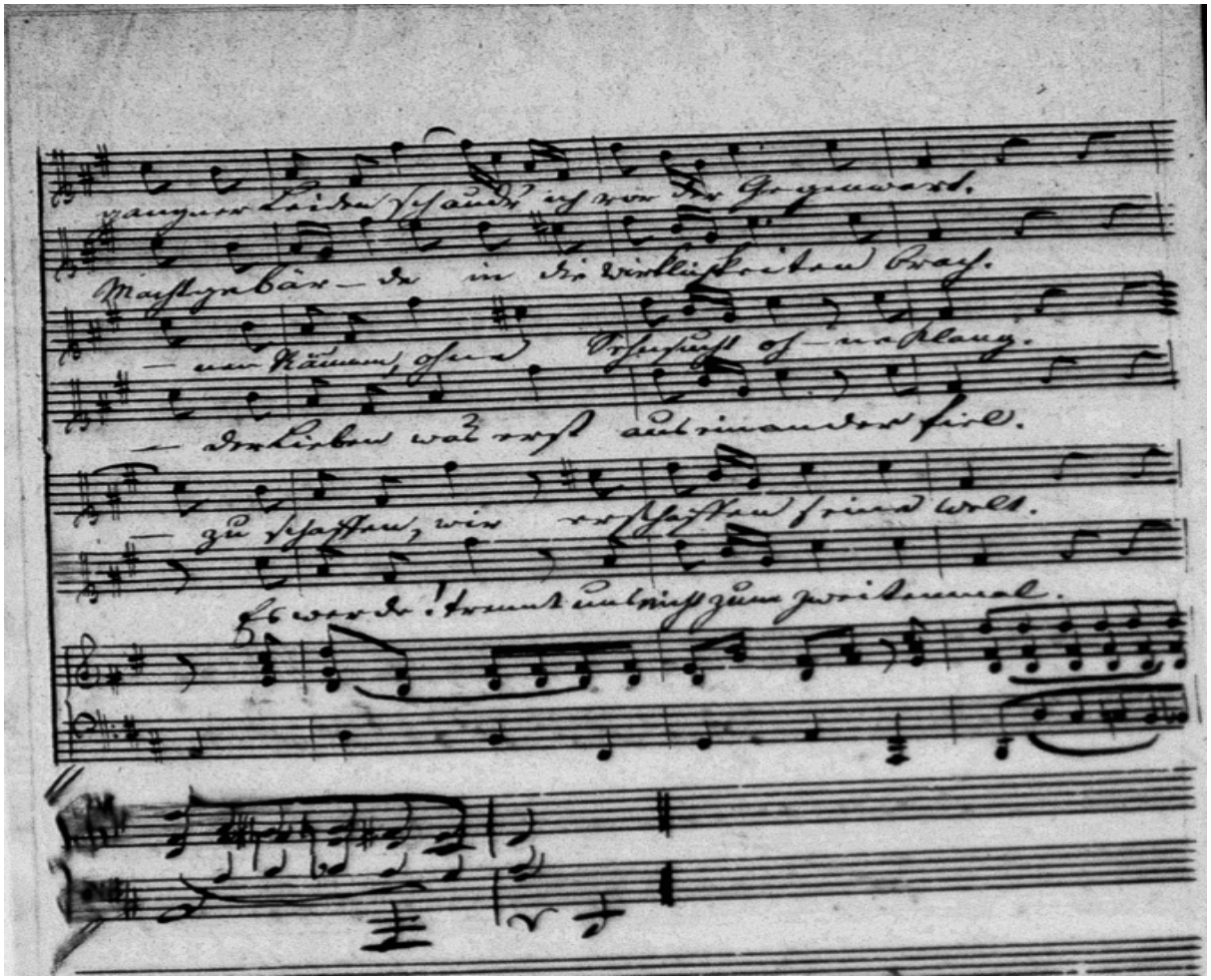


Figure 4: SBB – PK, Mus. ms. Autogr. Zelter, 25 (2), 'Wiederfinden', fol. 3^{v}

‘In tausend Formen’ occupies an unusual position in the *Divan* corpus. The poem represents one of Goethe’s few attempts at approaching the virtuosity of the ghazal form (aabacada). While he dispenses with the opening monorhyming couplet (the *Schachbeits*) and adds alternating rhyme to the normally rhymeless odd or half lines, Goethe does tend towards the signal repetition of one word or group of words at the end of each subsequent couplet (*Beit*), the *radif*, as the root of sonic and semantic play.[204] The *radif* of Goethe’s poem comprises two elements: ‘All’, which is combined to make superlatives (‘Allspielende’), and the internally rhyming relationship between ‘ich’ and ‘dich’ (‘erkenne ich dich’, ‘begrüß’ ich dich’). ‘All’ carries another separate origin. The word is used here as a unit belonging to two separate divinities, ‘Allah’, the last of the evocations and the inspiration behind the poem’s thousand epithets, and the hierarchical prefix ‘All’. The ‘dich’ gives a direct object to the superlatives. The addressee is not only being praised by the lyric subject’s mystical combinations. The lyric subject is also praising his own powers of divination, invention, and encipherment. Form is in this sense a significant carrier of the poem’s content:

> In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken,
> Doch, Allerliebste, gleich erkenn’ ich dich,
> Du magst mit Zauberschleyern dich bedecken,
> Allgegenwärtige, gleich erkenn’ ich dich.[205]

Zelter’s musically reproduces Goethe’s formal subdivisions. Goethe’s six four-line stanzas, consisting of two couplets with the *radif* at the end of lines two and four, are set to the same strain of music. But rather than moving from half-close to full tonic closure, Zelter chooses two strong structural endings – the first, at the midpoint, modulating to

[204] For more on Goethe’s use of the form, see Hendrik Birus, ‘Goethes Annäherung an das Ghasel und ihre Folgen’, in *Orientdiskurse in der deutschen Literatur*, ed. by Klaus-Michael Bogdal (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2007), pp. 125–140, esp. pp. 129ff.
[205] FA, III/1, p. 101.

the dominant, the second back to the tonic by way a three-note ascent at the end – to formally demarcate the four-line stanza into two units of couplets. Besides using tonal arrivals to show how each stanza is composed of two couplets arrayed within a larger four-line plan, Zelter also uses melodic variation to construct a musical *radif*. Zelter's melodic variation in each strophe comprises two principal elements. A leap to the dominant on the 'All' is followed by an intervallic descent, treated sequentially, first in the supertonic minor, then in the submediant major, on the words 'ich and 'dich'. The accompaniment also seems to riff on a technique of rhythmic variation, interchanging between demarcating crotchets, semiquavers, sextuplets, and demi-semiquavers as the riddling ramps up. The horizontal and vertical ways in which Zelter's matches Goethe's own structure suggests that the correspondences between musical and poetic form were not simply a byproduct of Zelter's commitment to strophism, but a technique of musical-textual articulation, a 'Wiederfinden' of poetic and musical form. Zelter's music builds a thousand musical adaptations spun from a single thread. As with 'Dir zu eröffnen', 'Wiederfinden', and 'Suleika', the 'dich' is not simply an abstract 'you' but a direct appeal to an Orientalist reimagining of Goethe and himself.

Between the completion of the three solo songs from the *Buch Suleika*, Carl Eberwein, Zelter's erstwhile student and from 1808 director of Goethe's *Hauskapelle*, published two books of *Divan* songs (opp. 6 and 8).[206] Like the collection's early literary reception, the most enthusiastic musical essays came from Goethe's own circle.[207]

[206] Wilhelm Bode, *Goethes Schauspieler und Musiker: Erinnerungen von Eberwein und Lobe* (Berlin: Mittler, 1912), pp. 1–27, 72–92; and Peter Larsen, '(Franz) Carl (Adelbert) [Eberwein]', in *MGG*^{2}, VI (2001), cols 36–39.

[207] Peter Larsen argues that both Eberwein's *Divan-Lieder* and his songs on texts published from *Kunst und Altertum* (1823) were 'von Goethe selbst angeregt, betreut, in seinem Haus geprobt und ausgeführt' in 'Musik bei Goethe: die Hausmusiken von 1807 bis 1832. Eine bislang wenig beachtete Problematik', in

Eberwein principally chose texts from the *Buch Suleika*, including those that Zelter set, 'In tausend Formen' and 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen'.[208] Goethe's intimates reacted favourably to Eberwein's more mannered melodic settings. Zelter even claimed that he preferred some of Eberwein's *Divan* settings to his own.[209] Goethe, who had the privilege of hearing the songs performed by Eberwein's wife, Henriette (née Häßler), as soon as the ink was dry in 1820,[210] felt particularly moved by two numbers in particular, 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' and 'Lieb' um Lieb', both from the op. 6. Goethe wrote to Zelter asking for his opinion in 1820.

> Eberwein has set a few poems to music, let me know your opinion on them. I immediately feel your compositions being identical with my poems, the music only lifts the balloon up into the air, like an inflowing gas. With other composers I have to first pay attention to how they have approached the poem, and what they have made out of it.
>
> Among Eberwein's one:
> Pp Jussufs Reize möchte ich borgen pp
>
> Has, as they call it, particularly *spoken* to me and others. His wife performed them quite well, fluently, and pleasantly.[211]

Praise for Eberwein is accompanied by an expression of Zelter's peerless musical quality. Goethe's metaphor of the 'balloon' is the same as half a decade earlier. But the doubts that Goethe harboured about how the 'roughest [Orientalist] poem' sent the mind into a flurry of reasoning in 1815 were proved wrong. Zelter's songs, as he admitted, did not

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Aufbrüche–Fluchtwege: Musik in Weimar um 1800, ed. by Helen Geyer and Thomas Radecke (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 85–99 (p. 88).

[208] Eberwein's op. 8 contained: 'Deinem Blick mich zu bequemen', 'Abglanz', 'Wie mit innigstem Behagen', 'Geheimschrift' from the *Buch Suleika*; 'Unvermeidlich' from the *Buch der Liebe*; and 'Derb und Tüchtig', from the *Buch des Sängers*. I have not been able to find a physical or digital copy of the op. 6, but it must have included 'Geheimes' from the *Buch der Liebe*; and 'Nicht Gelegenheit macht Diebe', 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen', 'Was bedeutet die Bewegung', 'Lieb' um Liebe', and 'In tausend Formen' from the *Buch Suleika*.

[209] MA, XX/1, p. 618; MA, xx/3, p. 519.

[210] Larsen, 'Musik bei Goethe', p. 96, cites Goethe's diary entry of 14 April 1820, 'Abends Gesellschaft: Eberweins, Musik besonders Compositionen zum Divan'.

[211] MA, XXI/1, p. 601.

puncture the text. The music '*only*' lifted the poem up to a vantage point from which personal identification and intersubjective communication could flow more easily. In other words, Goethe's self-diagnosis of Orientalist reflection, which provided a negative barrier for the production of *Divan* songs, found a positive counterpart in Zelter's musical commentary. Their Orientalisms matched, pushing one to think, feel, and imagine, precisely because Zelter refrained from indulging in an encroaching and exoticising music of his own.

Goethe's private praise for both Eberwein and Zelter was soon made public. In a review article of Rückert's *Östliche Rosen*, published in *Kunst und Altertum* in 1822, Goethe used their settings to encourage other composers to cultivate the combination of Orientalism and song, focusing particularly on the sensuous aspects of Rückert's collection:

> From the compositions of my *Divan* I have already gained much pleasure. Hearing Zelter's and Eberwein's pieces performed well, as done by the wife of the latter, who is both talented and rich in song, will certainly place anyone who is capable of enjoyment in the best mood.
>
> And so I can recommend Rückert's above-mentioned poems to all musicians; from this little book, opened at the right hour, will many a rose, narcissus, and whatever else may join them, waft its perfume across [*entgegen duften*]; one can find much desirable in it, of dazzling eyes, captivating curls, dangerous dimples, young and old alike may readily test and delight themselves in such dangers.
>
> Although the ghazals of the Count Platen are not intended for song, so we still mention them gladly as well-felt, witty, meaningful poems, perfectly suited to the Orient.[212]

In the same year as Goethe's public praise, Zelter's student Fanny Mendelssohn visited Weimar with her family. It would be the only time that she would meet Goethe. The trip was musically auspicious. She played some Bach and some examples of her own songs,

[212] FA, XXI, pp. 294–95.

apparently to Goethe's delight.[213] But it was also an Orientalist moment. On that trip, Goethe's niece Ottilie transcribed 'Bulbuls Nachtlied' from the *Buch der Parabeln* in Mendelssohn's *Noten-Album*.[214] It is the first record we have of a *Divan* reference in a Mendelssohnian context. And it is to the Mendelssohns' rich material play with the *Divan* that I now turn.

[213] Karl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Goethe und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1871), p. 21.
[214] Hans-Günter Klein, *Das verborgene Band: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und seine Schwester Fanny Hensel* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), p. 87; SBB – PK, MA Ms. 142, 1, fol. 76^{v} <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0002A79500000000>.

Chapter 2: The Mendelssohns

There was a degree of excitement surrounding the '*musikalische Abend-Unterhaltung*' Anna Milder held in Berlin on 9 June 1825.[1] Journalists posted notices in local newspapers, the *Spenersche* and *Vossische Zeitungen*. Milder herself made a written announcement with information about the venue and the price of tickets. The event was to take place in the ballroom of the Jagor establishment on Unter den Linden and those who did not book in advance had to pay an extra 10 *Silbergroschen*.[2] Much of the programme was scrupulously withheld, but correspondents did mention that Milder would sing two Schubert Lieder, 'Erlkönig' and 'Suleika [II]', the latter of which one '*Musikfreund*' claimed was composed especially for her.[3]

Schubert was relatively unknown in Berlin in 1825.[4] Felix Mendelssohn would only 'discover' him in 1827.[5] Subscribers to the *AmZ* may have read Gottfried Wilhelm Fink's reviews of Schubert's printed Lieder from the early 1820s. But these were ambivalent about Schubert's treatment of harmony and form on the whole.[6] Fink's stubborn insistence on the propriety of the Lied made no room for Schubert's 'caprices' and 'fantasies', as he termed them in 1824.[7] The critic's song aesthetic inclined towards that of Reichardt and Zelter, which stayed close to lexicographical ideals of

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[1] For more on concert performance venues for the Lied see, Edward F. Kravitt, 'The Lied in 19th-Century Concert Life', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 18 (1965), 207–218.
[2] *Franz Schubert: Dokumente (1817–1830)*, ed. by Till Gerrit Waidelich, 2 vols (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1993–2003), I, p. 246, no. 335.
[3] Ibid., I, p. 245, no. 334.
[4] Ibid., II, p. 158, nos. 338 and 339.
[5] Lorraine Byrne Bodley, 'Challenging the Context: Reception and Transformation in Schubert's "Der Musensohn", D 764, Op. 92 No. 1', in *Rethinking Schubert*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley and Julian Horton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 437–455 (p. 437).
[6] John M. Gingerich, *Schubert's Beethoven Project* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 255–256, n. 6, and Christopher H. Gibbs, 'German Reception: Schubert's "Journey to Immortality"', in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert,* ed. by Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 239–253, esp. pp. 242–246.
[7] *Franz Schubert: Dokumente,* I, p. 213, no. 282.

Volkstümlichlichkeit.[8] The correspondent tasked with publicising Milder's concert in the *Vossische Zeitung*, perhaps Ludwig Rellstab, was obviously brought up on the same north-German song diet.[9] Pseudo-Rellstab's advertising gambit does not involve invoking Schubert at all. He instead mentions Milder as an ideal exponent of Zelter's songs on texts by Goethe.[10] The review in the *Spenersche Zeitung* would follow suit: 'Madame Milder delighted all friends of the *German Lied*, to which Göthe, Zelter and Reichardt gave such lasting substance [...]'.[11]

Although the word 'Schubert' might not have signified in Berlin as it did in Vienna, Milder's superstar status ensured the concert's success. She wrote to Schubert on 28 June with clippings of the press announcements and the following report, encouraging him to have the work printed with Trautwein.[12] According to Christopher H. Gibbs, the song did appear in Berlin, but only in a pirate edition in 1828 with the Lischke firm.[13] Fanny Mendelssohn might have known this publication. She also could have been one of the unsuspecting audience members in 1825, as R. Larry Todd tentatively speculates, for only a week earlier, on 3 June, Mendelssohn had composed her fourth *Divan* setting, 'Deinem Blick mich zu bequemen'.[14] There is probably no causal connection between Schubert's and Mendelssohn's settings of 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen'.

[8] Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt a.M.: August Hermann d. J., 1802), cols 901–904, offers a paradigmatic definition of the Lied.
[9] *Franz Schubert: Dokumente*, II, p. 157, no. 336.
[10] Ibid., I, p. 246, no. 336.
[11] Ibid., I, p. 248, no. 339.
[12] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. by Eric Blom (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1947), pp. 423–424, no. 563.
[13] Christopher H. Gibbs, 'The Presence of "Erlkönig": Reception and Reworkings of a Schubert Lied' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1992), p. 82.
[14] R. Larry Todd, *Fanny Hensel: The Other Mendelssohn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 94. Felix had performed with Milder as early as 1822, see [Anon.], 'Berlin. Uebersicht des December, 1822', *AmZ*, 25 (1823), col. 55. Zelter also admired the qualities of her voice, MA, XX/1, pp. 388–89.

Mendelssohn's was composed a month earlier. But the prospect of Mendelssohn's Orientalist Schubertian introduction is still tantalising.

This chapter is divided into three broad parts. The first will explore the compositional dynamics of Fanny Mendelssohn's unpublished *Divan* cycle from 1825. The cycle, one of the few instances of a composer picking out a narrative design from the *Buch Suleika*, shows Mendelssohn under the influence of her teacher, Zelter, who, as explored in the previous chapter, was one of the *Divan*'s intimates. I will then move on to the material and sociable play with Orientalism in the Mendelssohn household in 1826, which is read out from the festivities of the *Gartenzeitung*. The *Gartenzeitung,* a handwritten newspaper, shows the comic manipulation of Goethe's *Divan* Orientalism. The final section explores the relationships between Orientalist visual strategies and the presentation and performance of song in the 1830s through the intermedial pairing of Wilhelm and Fanny (now) Hensel. Wilhelm, the court painter in Berlin, illustrated Fanny's setting of 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' and 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand' in manuscript form.

Stimmungsbruch

Mendelssohn's 1825 *Divan* settings are early works that demonstrate the aesthetic influence of her teacher Zelter, with whom she and Felix studied until c. 1826.[15] Following one nineteenth-century commentator, Zelter's aesthetic translated into the following technical procedures: 'strict adherence to the form; correct declamation, paying attention to the smallest detail; retention of the characteristic figure in the

[15] Todd, *Fanny Hensel,* p. 104, notes that Felix's and Fanny's lessons with Zelter were 'discontinued' by 1827; and Martina Helmig, 'Zeittafel', in *Fanny Hensel, geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Das Werk,* ed. by Martina Helmig (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1997), pp. 164–67, states that their studies were stopped in 1826 (p. 165).

accompaniment; [and an] exact grasp and reproduction of the feeling expressed in the text'.[16] Berlin composers followed Zelter's lead.[17] Not only did the majority hold true to a style of Lied composition that boiled a lyric down to its essence, but Mendelssohn's friends, such as Adolph Bernhard Marx of the *BamZ*, played their part by advocating for the ideal in their reviews. Marx in particular was unfailing in his support for the strophic Lied in the 1820s. In one review of Sigismund Neukomm's *Sechs Gesänge* from 1825, the critic draws attention to the myths surrounding the composition of supposedly musically simple songs. One cannot forget, he writes, 'that the composition of Lieder makes far greater demands and has far more difficulties than it seems'.[18] Underestimating the difficulties of concentrating lyric feeling into the small space of the musical Lied was one reason why 'among hundreds of songs only a few are successful'.[19] When Lieder circumvented these demands altogether, they were not so much dismissed as classed differently. Pseudo-Rellstab's review of Schubert's 'Suleika II', for example, mixed praise with admonishment:

> Even if this *Tondichtung* exceeds the song form and the five verses of the beautiful poem are through-composed, the Oriental spirit of the same is nevertheless successfully captured and reflected by the music.[20]

Zelter's reputation as the pre-eminent pedagogue in Berlin musical life did enough to attract scores of composers. The above-mentioned Marx was one who took lessons with him for a time.[21] For aspirant songsmiths, however, one imagines that Zelter appealed in

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[16] C. T. Seiffert, 'Die Lieder, Gesänge und Balladen des 19ten Jahrhunderts', *AmZ*, 45 (1843), col. 657.
[17] On their 'Romantic extension' of Zelterian song, see John Michael Cooper, 'Of Red Roofs and Hunting Horns: Mendelssohn's Song Aesthetic, with an Unpublished Cycle (1830)', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 21 (2002), 277–317 (pp. 282–284).
[18] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 2 (1825), p. 224.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. by Blom, p. 421, no. 559, adapted.
[21] Douglass Seaton, 'A Composition Course with Karl Friedrich Zelter', *College Music Symposium*, 21 (1981), 126–138 (p.127).

another sense. His role as Goethe's musical consultant must have lent authority to his song-aesthetic stance. At a time when many a young composer sought Goethe's approval, including Schubert, having the institutionally validated Zelter as one's teacher must have been quite the honour.[22]

'Zelter' thus wielded socio-cultural power. His hegemonic song authority operated by consent in Berlin, and there is little reason to believe that the young Mendelssohn contradicted his ideals during her apprenticeship. The authority of Zelter's musical style must accordingly overlap in theoretical and practical terms with young Mendelssohn's techniques of musical representation. The key aspects that Stephen Rodgers highlights in Mendelssohn's 'Lied aesthetic', including 'a keen sensitivity to poetic nuance, a penchant for experimentation, and a strong interpretative streak', at least in so far as experimentation involves a sense of harmonic daring, tonal play (instability or deferral), word-painting, and accompanimental commentary, belong to a later period of maturity.[23] With specific reference to Orientalism, while Fanny Mendelssohn's early works, the *Divan* included, might contain 'glimmers' of the future, they cannot be generalised as representative of her Orientalist musical practice.[24] They are momentary articulations of the latter, while doubling up as musical settings of 'Goethe', who, as another vehicle of cultural authority, echoed powerfully in the halls of the Mendelssohn residence.

[22] Cf. Byrne Bodley, 'Challenging the Context', pp. 437–438.
[23] Stephen Rodgers, 'Fanny Hensel's Lied Aesthetic', *The Journal of Musicological Research*, 30 (2011), 175–201, esp. pp. 180–183 (p. 179); see also the analyses in *The Songs of Fanny Hensel*, ed. by Stephen Rodgers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).
[24] Rodgers, 'Fanny Hensel's Lied aesthetic', p. 179, locates 'glimmers of what will come to define her fully developed song aesthetic' towards the end of the 1820s, citing Mendelssohn's setting of Heine's 'Verlust' from 1827.

The stylistic gulf that separates her later and younger musical selves is perhaps best illustrated by a comparison. One of Mendelssohn's later songs, a setting of Heinrich Heine's popular Orientalist lyric, 'Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam', is a deconstructive, multi-perspectival tour-de-force.[25] Heine's poem consists of two formally balanced stanzas.[26] The first stanza represents the spruce tree in the north, sleeping, covered in a bed of snow and ice. The second stanza conveys the spruce's dream of a palm in the Orient. Who exactly relates this dream remains a mystery. Neither the spruce nor the palm functions as the lyric-I. Rather, an unnamed persona coolly observes the scene:

> Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam
> Im Norden auf kahler Höh.
> Ihn schläfert; mit weißer Decke
> Umhüllen ihn Eis und Schnee.
>
> Er träumt von einer Palme,
> Die, fern im Morgenland,
> Einsam und schweigend trauert
> Auf brennender Felsenwand.

As with many Heine poems, there is an ironic turn. The *Stimmungsbruch* in the final two lines threatens to undercut the yearning mood.[27] The formula 'fern im Morgenland' should probably trigger Romantic fantasies of a *Sehnsuchtsort* – a glistening, paradisal landscape. In a sudden about-face, Heine's protagonist subverts our expectations by presenting a craggy surface hostile to life on which the palm suffers and thirsts 'alone'. The spruce yearns, but Heine mocks.[28]

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[25] H-U 328; Ludwig Amman, *Östliche Spiegel: Ansichten vom Orient im Zeitalter seiner Entdeckung durch den deutschen Leser, 1800–1850* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1989), p. 15; Gerhard Höhn, *Heine-Handbuch: Zeit, Person, Werk* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1987), p. 65.

[26] Heinrich Heine, *Buch der Lieder* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), p. 137, no. XXXIII.

[27] For more on the musical consequences of the *Stimmungsbruch*, see Berthold Hoeckner, 'Paths through "Dichterliebe"', *19th-Century Music*, 30 (2006), 65–80, esp. p. 69.

[28] The poem has been variously interpreted; see for example Patrick Fortmann, 'Heine's *Divan*: West-Eastern Voyages after Goethe', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 89 (2020), 157–172 (pp. 164–165, esp. n. 30); and *Literature: A World History*, ed. by David Damrosch and others, 4 vols (Hoboken, NJ.: Wiley, 2022), I, ed. by Anders Pettersson, p. lxv.

Mendelssohn uses musical techniques to reinforce the division between the two cultural zones. The first stanza is set in E-flat major, the second stanza a tritone apart, in B major. The music of the *Morgenland* is also metrically and rhythmically diminished. The long-breathed chords in the first stanza are superseded by sparse broken chordal patterns in demi-semiquavers as the music moves from common to duple time. Three gestures – a caesura, a rest, and a fanfare of thickly scored chords – mark the second stanza as a new beginning. In terms of texture and register, the *Morgenland* sits at the upper end of the keyboard. The first stanza's music is predominantly in the bass and tenor regions, the second stanza in the alto and soprano. The *Morgenland* is spatially, and not simply tonally, 'fern'.

Mendelssohn was aware of Heine's 'ironic conceit' in her words.[29] How she dealt with his ironies varied from case to case.[30] In her setting for two sopranos of Heine's 'Mein Liebchen wir saßen beisammen', included in the *Reise-Album* of 1839, she opted to read Heine against his grain.[31] In the poem, two lovers drift on the sea, taking in the beguiling sounds of a 'Geisterinsel'. Right on cue, in the final two lines of Heine's printed version (XLIII), the lovers' *Zweisamkeit* is revealed to be moribund, their destination an unwished-for exile: 'Wir aber schwammen vorüber | Trostlos auf weitem Meer'.[32] In the setting in the *Reise-Album*, Mendelssohn overwrites Heine's caustic turn, substituting the adjective 'ruhig' for 'trostlos'. The lovers are not 'disconsolate' on the wide sea but 'calmly' and willingly rowing towards neverland.

[29] Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, p. 177.
[30] Cf. ibid., pp. 110 and 111.
[31] SBB – PK, MA Ms. 163, fols 83^{r}–90^{v}.
[32] Heine, *Buch der Lieder*, p. 147.

Mendelssohn does not make textual alterations to 'Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam', though she does change the title to 'Fichtenbaum and Palme'. She in fact makes every effort to emphasise Heine's *Stimmungsbruch* by word-painting. The words 'einsam' and 'brennender Felsewand' in the second stanza, the moment where the rug is pulled out from under the reader's feet, are marked by red-hot *sforzandi* (b. 20). The palm's silence Mendelssohn takes to be disingenuous. The C sharp on 'trauert' is tortuous, crescendoing towards a malformed roulade consisting almost entirely of disjunct intervals. In the following bar, the burning grows too painful to bear. The once red-hot 'brennend' now glows white-hot. *Sforzandi* give way to a syncopated, rising diminished seventh as the palm teeters perilously on the edge. The setting might well have ended here with two delicately balanced zones, one presenting the spruce's slumber, the other the palm's thirst. But Mendelssohn tags on a final section in which she refigures the second stanza using the musical material of the first stanza. Todd has suggested that the tonal return to E-flat major may work as a musical frame. Mendelssohn 'imposed on Heine's binary pair (*AB*) a ternary division' to end with the 'pine's memory of the palm'.[33]

While true, this *Heimkehr* only tells half of the story. Mendelssohn's overlapping of poetic and musical forms also conceals a song-authorial motive. Her reinterpretation of the poetic B section according to the musical A responds to the challenge of the *Stimmungsbruch*. Mendelssohn repeats the *Stimmungsbruch* in full to show herself adding another perspective to the crucial live-or-die moment in the poem. The show-and-tell element, going through the problem twice, serves to highlight the composer's choice to avow or disavow Heine's skulduggery, to move along or against the grain of the text. In

[33] Todd, *Fanny Hensel,* p. 224.

a way, Mendelssohn matches Heine's *Stimmungsbruch* with one of her own. She usurps the position of the dream's interpreter, shifting our focus away from the poem's outwardly Romanticising Orientalism and towards the techniques and problems of Orientalist representation. Whose dream are we actually watching? Who speaks? And can they be trusted?

Mendelssohn's 'Fichtenbaum und Palme' was composed in 1838. It is chronologically and technically mature, and full of the hallmarks Rodgers describes. By contrast, her apprentice settings of no less yearning or ambiguous texts from the early-to-mid 1820s are of an entirely different order. The indices of Mignon's yearning in 'Sehnsucht nach Italien' from 1822, carefully prepared suspensions and chromatic passing notes, are rhetorically and affectively *empfindsam*.[34] Her settings of Friedrich Schiller's and Johann Eckermann's 'Sehnsucht' from 1824 and 1825 are equally discreet.[35] The first invokes a 'Wunderland'. The second remembers childhood, a 'Land süßer Träume' that would be individualised in the mind-eye of Heine's spruce as a dreamy Orientalism. Fanny Hensel might have drawn out 'Wunderland' for special treatment, painting a Saidian 'imaginative geography' in bright harmonic colours, or exposed, Heine-like, the protagonist's manipulation of Orientalist memory by way of framing structural techniques. But Fanny Mendelssohn clarified declamatory patterns and rhythmic cadences in the manner of a Berliner. The word 'Wunderland' had sufficient charge. This should be the presumed world of the *Divan* settings, one of subtle performative declamatory shades that in the listener's mind signified brightly.

[34] H-U 50; for more on 'songs of travel' see, Susan Wollenberg, 'Songs of Travel: Fanny Hensel's Wanderings', in *The Songs of Fanny Hensel*, ed. by Rodgers, pp. 55–74.
[35] H-U 117 and H-U 141, SBB – PK, MA Ms. 34, fol. 51^{r} and SBB – PK, MA Ms. 35, fol. 8^{v}.

A *Divan* Cycle

Only one of the six *Divan* settings from 1825, 'Suleika und Hatem', was published during her lifetime, and under Felix's name, as the twelfth song of his *Zwölf Gesänge* op. 8, in 1827.[36] The rest of the songs have only one manuscript source.[37] While Mendelssohn did put out a few songs in the 1820s and 1830s, the social strictures of class and gender presented sizeable barriers to publishing.[38] Her father, Abraham, described Mendelssohn's calling as a 'housewife', the role of music an 'ornament'.[39] Felix's position was admittedly more ambivalent.[40] This does not mean that her songs were unknown or that the lack of publication exempted her from gendered critique. Marx certainly knew that she was the author of 'Suleika und Hatem'. He made a jibe at women composers in his published review in 1827, commenting on how the 'boy' appears almost 'feminine' [*mädchenhaft*], which both reads musical gender from biology and Orientalist subversion from gender divides.[41] But this does mean that to return to the *Divan* settings involves engaging with the materiality of a manuscript that was intended as the songs' final textual home – one that could benefit more seamlessly from the hermeticism of a private group and circle, revel more readily in a form of veiled 'correspondence', and respond more directly to a personal request or event.[42]

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[36] For more, see Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, p. 105.
[37] SBB – PK, MA Ms. 35, fols 15ʳ–25ʳ.
[38] Nancy B. Reich, 'The Power of Class: Fanny Hensel', in *Mendelssohn and his World*, ed. by R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 86–99.
[39] Sebastian Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family (1729–1847): From Letters and Journals*, trans. by Karl Klingemann, 2nd edn, 2 vols (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882), I, pp. 82 and 84.
[40] Cf., Marian Wilson Kimber, 'The "Suppression" of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography', *19th-Century Music*, 26 (2002), 113–129.
[41] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 4 (1827), p. 179.
[42] For a full investigation of the topic, see Cornelia Bartsch, *Fanny Hensel geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Musik als Korrespondenz* (Kassel: Furore, 1997).

Returning to the manuscript context, however, implicates a different set of concerns. The six *Divan* settings stake a claim to be regarded as a cycle, which comprises two revolutions and can be divided into two equal groups of three. The songs of each group trace the travails of two protagonists, Hatem and Suleika, who sing through the various affective stages of love from separation, through union, to separation once again. The first group contains 'Auch in der Ferne dir so nah!',[43] which she titled 'An Suleika'; the duet, 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand'; and 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen', which she titled 'Suleika'. These three settings were composed in a relatively short space of time, between 25 April and 5 May. After this initial outburst, the compositional pace slackened, with longer gaps and three songs punctuating the final three poems, which were composed between 3 June and 5 September. The second group contains 'Deinem Blick mich zu bequemen', titled 'Aus dem *Divan*'; the first stanza of 'Wiederfinden', 'Ist es möglich, Stern der Sterne'; and 'Dir zu eröffnen'. Mendelssohn's cyclic techniques are not only to be found in her clustering of poems, but also in her tonal scheme. The songs of separation are coloured in E flat, those of union in the natural or sharpened keys.

By 'cycle' I mean to describe a group of songs that can function as a unit. What exactly constituted this unit-based function and how such units were indicated in early nineteenth-century sources varied from case to case. Cyclicity could have been indicated by a title. *Liederkreise*, *Liederromane,* and *Liederzyklen* could all refer to a group of songs organised in a musically or textually coherent way. But titles did not always systematically refer to generic characteristics. Felix's *Zwölf Lieder* op. 9, for example, was

[43] The choice of this poem might relate to a letter she sent to Felix on the same day. Felix was in Paris with their aunt, Henriette, and father, Abraham; Felix and Fanny Mendelssohn, *"Die Musik will gar nicht rutschen ohne Dich": Briefwechsel 1821 bis 1846*, ed. by Eva Weissweiler (Berlin: Propyläen, 1997), pp. 41–42.

described in the *AmZ* as a 'Liederroman',[44] in the *BamZ* as consisting of two 'Liederreihen',[45] and by Felix as having two 'Liederkränze'.[46] Cyclic titles were also not always helpful in specifying the direction in which the songs travelled. Some '*Kreise*' could come back round (Beethoven's *An die ferne Geliebte,* termed a *Liederkreis* on publication in 1816). Other '*Zyklen*' might start in one place and finish elsewhere (Schumann's *Dichterliebe,* termed a *Lieder-Cyklus* on publication in 1844).

Cyclic titles thus tend to conceal as much as they reveal. There were many early nineteenth-century cycles whose paratexts did not describe them as such. Schubert's prints are rife with unnamed cycles. Scholars have argued that Schubert's *Vier Lieder* op. 59, on texts by Friedrich Rückert and August von Platen, cohere around perspectives on love.[47] More pertinent to Mendelssohn's *Divan*-Lieder are examples of cycles that remained unpublished or, when eventually put out, whose coherence expressed itself at an early stage in manuscript form. There are examples of 'distant cycles' in Schubert's autographs.[48] Felix's 'phantom cycles', as Douglass Seaton has called them, are dispersed across both his manuscripts and published collections.[49] Both Felix and Schubert were working musicians. The everyday business of song culture (publisher's

[44] [Anon.], 'Kurze Anzeigen', *AmZ*, 32 (1830), cols 801–02; for more, see Barbara Pearl Turchin, 'Robert Schumann's Song Cycles in the Context of the Early Nineteenth-Century "Liederkreis"' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1981), esp. pp. 122–129 (p. 124).
[45] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Beurtheilungen', *BamZ*, 7 (1830), pp. 209–210.
[46] Angela Mace Christian, '"Der Jüngling und das Mädchen": Fanny Hensel, Felix Mendelssohn and the "Zwölf Lieder, op. 9"', in *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, ed. by Aisling Kenny and Susan Wollenberg (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 63–84 (p. 74); see also Stephen Rodgers, 'Fanny Hensel's "Sechs Lieder", op. 9: A Brother's Elegy', in *Rethinking Mendelssohn*, ed. by Benedict Taylor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 454–473, esp. p. 461.
[47] Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, '"Und die Welt ist singbar": Rückerts Gedichte und ihre Vertonungen', *Rückert-Studien*, 19 (2010), 95–106 and Rudolf Denk, 'Konzepte des Zyklischen: Zu Schuberts Rückert-Vertonungen', in ibid, 107–124, esp. pp. 110–112.
[48] Cf. Richard Kramer, *Distant Cycles: Schubert and the Conceiving of Song* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); on Schubert's distant *Abendröthe* cycle on settings of Schlegel, see Laura Tunbridge, *The Song Cycle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 8ff.
[49] Douglass Seaton, 'Mendelssohn's Cycles of Songs', in *The Mendelssohns: Their Music in History*, ed. by John Michael Cooper and Julie D. Prandi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 203–229.

demands and peer pressure) could stamp out or dismember earlier (autograph) cyclic designs.

Cycles, then, could have been indicated on the outside by various means, including titling and opus designation, and articulated in multiple contexts and ontologies, such as a manuscript or printed collection. Inside, multiplicity reigned. There was no set way of grouping songs together, no cyclic blueprint or lexicographical norm to follow. Ruth Bingham has identified four possible structural types that expressed cyclicity until around 1840, all of which presuppose a certain level of textual organisation: 'topical cycles' – songs based on the same theme, such as *Wanderlieder, Frühlingslieder*; 'external-plot cycles' – songs which were extracted from an existing narrative nexus, usually noted by the formula, 'Gesänge aus [Goethes Faust or Wilhelm Meister]'; 'internal-plot cycles' – songs whose poetry builds a narrative, such as Müller's *Die Schöne Müllerin*.[50] The fourth and somewhat outlying category is the 'musically constructed cycle', whose songs have been historiographically understood to build musical linkages through thematic allusion, tonal schemes, and musical interludes.[51] The paragon of this type is Beethoven's *An die ferne Geliebte*. Given the diversity and experimentalism of the early nineteenth-century song cycle, later articulations of Mendelssohn's cyclic practice could point us towards a set of personalised (and provisional) criteria for determining musical and textual coherence in the *Divan* songs. Marcia J. Citron notes that Mendelssohn composed three complete cycles: the first, from

[50] Ruth O. Bingham, 'The Early Nineteenth-Century Song Cycle', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. by James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 101–119.
[51] Ibid., pp. 115ff.

1829, on texts by Johann Gustav Droysen; the second, from 1834, on Mary Alexander's English translations of Heine; and the third, from 1841, on texts by Eichendorff.[52]

The first of these, a 'Liederkreis', as the fair-copy's title in the Mendelssohn Archiv has it, was composed for Felix 'während seiner ersten Abwesenheit in England'.[53] Droysen's texts sketch a loose narrative of departure and union. The first song is titled 'Lebewohl'. The sixth and final song, a *geselliges Terzett*, is titled 'Wiedersehn'. Some of the inner songs appeal to Felix directly, such as the fifth number, which invokes the Scottish Highlands: 'Im Hochland Bruder da schweifst du umher…'. Others, such as the second song, 'Grüner Frühling, süße Mailuft', rely on the context of the collection to inflect meaning. In this case, the poetic motif of spring programmatically functions as a metaphor for Felix's burgeoning English career. Mendelssohn reinforces textual connections with tonal and motivic ones. Firstly, a coherent tonal narrative is charted over the songs (a – E – e – b/B – b – E).[54] Secondly, microstructural techniques of framing exist within individual songs. In the second song, Mendelssohn begins and ends the vocal line with the same motive.[55] The treatment of this same motive brings to light an intertextual expression of her cyclic thinking. As Cornelia Bartsch has shown, Mendelssohn's motive makes permutated reference to Felix's song 'Frage', the first of his *Zwölf Lieder* op. 9, whose origins can be traced back to Beethoven's *Les Adieux*.[56] The references do not stop there. Bartsch has argued that Mendelssohn may have sought

[52] H-U 236, H-U 274, and H-U 378; Marcia J. Citron, 'The Lieder of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', *The Musical Quarterly*, 69 (1983), 570–594 (p. 580).
[53] SBB – PK, MA Ms. 128, fols 44^{v}–51^{r}.
[54] Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, p. 132.
[55] Beatrix Borchard and Cornelia Bartsch, 'Leipziger Straße 3: Sites for Music', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 4 (2011), 119–138, esp. pp. 126–131.
[56] Ibid., p. 128.

inspiration from Beethoven's generative motivic process in *An die ferne Geliebte*,[57] a copy of which was present in the Mendelssohns' library from at least 1826.[58] The *Liederkreis*' motivic allusion therefore not only served the purpose of honouring Beethoven and Felix in one stroke. A tight-knit motivic coherence became the trope and subject of intertextual reference.

Mendelssohn's second cycle on Mary Alexander's English translations of Heine works slightly differently. Mendelssohn was responsible for selecting and ordering a group of three songs to which she gave 'a kind of connection', as she wrote to Felix in 1834.[59] Although they form an unbroken chain in Mendelssohn's cycle, the poems appeared in Heine's *Buch der Lieder* as nos. 1, 4, and 27. She noted in a letter to Alexander that the reason for her grouping was neither strictly narrative nor musical, but a combination of the two.[60] Mendelssohn interpreted the second song of the three, in which the wanderer is mocked by birds, as an instantiation of the 'merry lay' invoked in the first song. The cyclic result is a sequential narrative inscribed with two song layers. The first and third songs present an outer layer. The middle song is diegetic, an insert sung by the protagonist within the narrative frame of the cycle. To match the poetic framework and produce a musical 'connection' Mendelssohn builds a tonal frame.[61] The first and last songs are in G minor. The inserted middle song is in C major – in quotation marks, as

[57] Cornelia Bartsch, 'Lebewohl – Fannys Auseinandersetzung mit Beethovens späten Werken', in *Der männliche und weibliche Beethoven*, ed. by Cornelia Bartsch, Beatrix Borchard, and Rainer Cadenbach (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus Bonn, 2003), pp. 295–330, esp. pp. 319–312.
[58] Rudolf Elvers and Peter Ward Jones, 'Das Musikalienverzeichnis von Fanny und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy', *Mendelssohn-Studien*, 8 (1993), 85–104 (p. 92).
[59] *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, ed. and trans. by Marcia J. Citron (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987). p. 462, cited from the German.
[60] Boyd Alexander, 'Some Unpublished Letters of Abraham Mendelssohn and Fanny Hensel', *Mendelssohn-Studien*, 3 (1979), 9–50, esp. pp. 45–46.
[61] Todd, *Fanny Hensel,* p. 177.

it were.[62] A similarly strong tonal frame underpins the Eichendorff set from 1841. The first song is in A minor, the second in E major, and the third in C major.[63]

A brief analysis of Mendelssohn's Droysen and Alexander/Heine cycles yields some general trends that can be applied to her settings of Goethe's *Divan*. Firstly, a coherent tonal scheme, sometimes framed and sometimes through-composed, bolsters links between texts as they do in the *Divan*. Secondly, motivic allusion either to songs within a cyclic frame or to those without (to works by other composers) play an important role. As I will show, the latter strategy appears through intertextual reference to a *Divan* song of Zelter's. Further, these musical procedures rest on a measure of textual coherence. In one letter to Felix from August 1829 Mendelssohn makes this clear. The context is a now lost set of poems by Droysen, which was supposed to have formed the basis of a song cycle:

> Joh. Gus. Droysen told me some time ago, that he would not find it at all bad, if the *Lieder*, that one so made, had a certain inner connection, something like a thread, and whether I would allow him to look for such a thread to string *Lieder* upon. I did.[64]

In the above passage, the word 'Lieder' refers to the poems, not the songs. Whether Mendelssohn threaded these connections herself, as in Alexander's translations of Heine, or had them presented to her as a *fait accompli*, as in the Droysen collection, a narrative trajectory was evidently important. The unities of author (Droysen, Alexander/Heine) and collection (Heine's *Buch der Lieder*) were also preconditions of her cyclic thinking. These too find correlates in the *Divan*.

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[62] For a discussion of her first and third songs, see Jennifer Ronyak, 'Women's Private Cosmopolitanism in Literary Translation and Song: Fanny Hensel's "Drei Lieder nach Heinrich Heine von Mary Alexander"', in *The Songs of Fanny Hensel*, ed. by Rodgers, pp. 77–92, esp. pp. 86–88.

[63] Renate Hellwig-Unruh, *Fanny Hensel geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen* (Adliswil: Kunzelmann, 2000), pp. 311–312.

[64] H-U 240;*The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, ed. by Citron, p. 420, cited from the German.

The issue of narrative, a third determinant, demands a little excursion. Because of the Zelter connection, Mendelssohn could have come by the *Divan* in various forms. Guests, friends, or family members could have jotted down a *Divan* poem in *Stammbücher* or on loose sheets of paper. Mendelssohn could also have copied *Divan* texts from existing songs, published or unpublished. A third means were *Vorabdrucke* of the *Divan* published in newspapers, almanacs, and Zelter's *Liedertafel* (publ. 1818). A fourth means was the printed edition, which could have been owned or borrowed from friends or lending libraries. Printed editions do not necessarily prescribe a reading practice. The poems could have been read privately or as a group, particularly if they featured multiple characters, such as the *Buch Suleika*.[65]

The first and third avenues of transmission (albums and pre-publication texts) seem to apply less well to Mendelssohn's *Divan* songs. Mendelssohn was a child when Goethe published teasers in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* and *Taschenbuch für Damen* (1816 and 1817–1819) and Zelter published *Divan* texts for the first time in the *Die Liedertafel* (c. 1818).[66] In any case, the likelier of the two sources, Zelter's *Die Liedertafel*, did not include any of the texts Mendelssohn set. As for the first avenue, Ottilie von Goethe's transcription of 'Bulbuls Nachtlied' in the *Noten-Album* mentioned at the end of the previous chapter is the only example of a copied-out *Divan* poem by 1825. 'Bulbuls Nachtlied' was not set. The second avenue is more difficult to determine. Two possible routes of *Divan* transmission come by way of Eberwein's and Zelter's solo *Divan* settings.[67] Mendelssohn knew Carl Eberwein's two books of *Divan Lieder*, opp. 6 and 8

[65] HA, II, p. 590.
[66] FA, III/1, pp. 549–581.
[67] Bettina von Arnim composed three songs of various completeness to texts from the *Buch Suleika* in the 1820s, including 'Deinem Blick mich zu bequemen'. Ann Willison Lemke gives the *terminus post quem* of

(1820 and 1821).[68] Felix gifted her a copy sometime in the 1820s.[69] Eberwein set two texts that Mendelssohn also set, 'Deinem Blick mich zu bequemen' and 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen'. The first of these shares a tonal centre with Mendelssohn's setting. The text of the second, however, diverges at crucial moments, ruling out the print as a potential poetic source.[70] As explored in Chapter 1, Zelter's case is more complex. He set three texts that Mendelssohn would use, 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen', 'Wiederfinden', and 'Dir zu eröffnen'. Mendelssohn could have consulted all three settings. Later, I will show that she definitely studied 'Dir zu eröffnen'. But as two of Mendelssohn's songs, 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand' and 'Auch in der Ferne', remain without song-textual or print-contextual precedent, it is reasonable to assume that Mendelssohn had sight of a published copy of the *Divan*. The only published edition she could have consulted was the *Erstausgabe* published in 1819, which included both the *NuA* at the back of the collection and the frontispiece of an ornamented cartouche. The *Ausgabe letzter Hand* published in 1827, which was poetically bulkier, replaced the cartouche with a popular Orientalising style, and split up the socio-cultural notes from the poetry, appeared too late.[71]

1819, the year of the publication of the *Erstausgabe*, in 'Bettine's Song: The Musical Voice of Bettine von Arnim née Brentano (1785–1859)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1998), pp. 231, 236–37.

[68] Cf. Chapter 1, p. 96, n. 208.

[69] Elvers and Ward Jones, 'Musikalienverzeichnis', p. 95.

[70] Harry Seelig, 'Goethe's "Buch Suleika" and Hugo Wolf: A Musical-Literary Study' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas, 1969), p. 46, n. 13, states that like Schubert Eberwein sets the word 'Auen' instead of 'Augen'. Zelter's setting in SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Zelter, 26 (3) uses 'Augen', as does Mendelssohn.

[71] That Fanny Mendelssohn did not work from Goethe's *Reinschrift* (R) or a derived Zelterian handwritten copy can perhaps be seen in the punctuation mark before 'aber' in her transcription of the line 'Sag ihm, aber sags bescheiden' from Willemer's poem 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen', FA, III/2, p. 1291. The *Reinschrift* has the comma placed after 'aber', while the *Erstausgabe* (E) places the comma before. The 'neuer Divan' (e) prepared for *Cotta's Ausgabe letzter Hand*, which also has the comma before 'aber', did not appear in *Taschenausgabe* (C^1) until 1827, FA, III/1, pp. 742–45.

The Alexander/Heine cycle shows that Mendelssohn did not shy away from extracting texts from larger collections to form smaller cyclic units. In the case of the *Divan* settings, however, Mendelssohn might have been mining raw narrative material. Mendelssohn does not group texts from disparate poetic portions of the *Divan*. She takes five of her six settings from one book, the *Buch Suleika*. As Goethe wrote in a pre-publication announcement in 1816, the *Buch Suleika* plays out a '*Duodrama*' between two characters, Hatem and Suleika.[72] Later generations would learn that these characters worked as pseudonyms for Goethe and Marianne von Willemer, who authored a number of Suleika's poems, including 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen'.[73] Dieter Martin has suggested that Felix may have been aware of Willemer's authorship in the late 1830s.[74] There is no evidence that points to Mendelssohn having doubts about Goethe's authorship in 1825.[75]

The structural '*Abgeschlossenheit*' of the book that Goethe praised in the *NuA* would have been made apparent to readers by a framing feature.[76] On the first page, as with all the books of the *Divan*, a title page announces the *Buch Suleika* (*Erstausgabe,* p. 119). On the second, the first poem, 'Einladung', reproduces in text what had been indicated by the title, inviting the reader to stay awhile, to think of today and not tomorrow (p. 121). On the third and fourth pages, Goethe stages an elaborate 'naming ceremony

[72] FA, III/1, p. 550
[73] It was not until 1869 that Willemer's authorship was made public by Herman Grimm, FA, III/2, p. 1277.
[74] Dieter Martin, 'Mariane von Willemers Suleika-Gedichte und ihre Vertonungen', in '*Eine Art Symbolik fürs Ohr': Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Lyrik und Musik*, ed. by Hermann Jung (Frankfurt, a.M.: Lang, 2002), pp. 131–50 (p. 142, n. 26).
[75] It is not impossible that the Mendelssohns thought of Arnim as the original Suleika at the end of the 1830s. Arnim appropriated and backdated *Divan* poems in her *Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* published in 1835, cf. Burdach, *Vorspiel: Gesammelte Schriften zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes*, 2 vols (Halle: Niemeyer, 1926), II, p. 387; for more, see. Markus Wallenborn, *Frauen. Dichten. Goethe. Die produktive Goethe-Rezeption bei Charlotte von Stein, Marianne von Willemer und Bettina von Arnim* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006), pp. 274–281.
[76] FA, III/1, p. 223.

[*Benamsen*]' in which the two characters don literary masks: Hatem names his Suleika before naming himself (pp. 122–123). It is only on the fifth page that we dive inside the fiction, with Hatem's 'Nicht Gelegenheit macht Diebe' (p. 124). At the other end of the book, the literary identities once taken on are now broken up 'in tausend Formen'. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the speaker riddles off a ghazal whose *radif* (trope or motto) plays with the words 'All' and 'erkenn' ich dich'.[77] Regardless of the mask, Hatem will always recognise his Suleika.

Within the frame, the book consistently draws attention to the two singing characters. As soon as the masks have been put on, titles in bold print often indicate which of Hatem and Suleika is singing. Where character titles are absent, pronouns and named appeals relate the poems back to one or the other character. Goethe includes poems with abstract titles, such as 'Wiederfinden' or 'Nachklang'. These present an interesting case. On its own, 'Wiederfinden' is an almost impenetrable poem. Hendrik Birus devotes nine pages to explicating its meaning in the *Frankfurter Ausgabe*. But in context the poems work in shifting narrative complexes. 'Wiederfinden', for example, comes straight after Suleika's charge to the West Wind to send a message to her beloved ('Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen').[78] On one page, Suleika yearns for her distant Hatem. On the next page, a title indicates 'Wiederfinden'. The relationship between 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' and 'Wiederfinden' presents a simple and unbroken case of 'duodramatic' narrative working in the *Buch Suleika*. Yet the principle of extracting complexes of adjacent texts or grouping disparate antecedents and consequents together could easily be applied to the whole book.

[77] FA, III/2, 1292–1301.
[78] HA, II, p. 605.

Having set a duet, Mendelssohn was sensitive to the 'duodramatic' structure of the *Buch Suleika* – to such a heightened degree, perhaps, that she decided to retain the chronological order in which the poems appear in the *Erstausgabe* with each of her two revolutions. In the first group, the poems jump from 'Auch in der Ferne dir so nah!' (*Erstausgabe*, p. 152), through 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand' (p. 156), to 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' (pp. 166–67). In her second group, they move from 'Deinem Blick mich zu bequemen' (p. 160), through 'Ist es möglich, Sterne der Sterne' (p. 168), to the end of the *Erstausgabe*, to 'Dir zu eröffnen' (pp. 395–96). She maintains Goethe's chronological order on the one hand and recontextualizes lyrics by processes of extraction and recoupling on the other. Mendelssohn's forked technique suggests that she read in the *Buch Suleika* an existing plan, but not one whose coherence depended on successive, poetic sequence. Mendelssohn both draws out cycles from Goethe's text, distilling and clarifying the broader sweep of the book, and imposes a structure of her own, forming new connections between individual poems.

There is one more musical aspect that deserves attention before moving on to the songs themselves. From the perspective of genre, the presence of two protagonists in the *Divan* songs brings another possible structural model into play. The interchange of characters recalls the *Liederspiel*, a multimedia genre popular in the early nineteenth century. A blend of French vaudeville and *Singspiel*, *Liederspiele* chained songs together to form narratives punctuated by spoken dialogue. 'Lied and nothing but the Lied constituted the musical content of the piece', as the genre's inventor Friedrich Reichardt

noted in the *AmZ* in 1801.[79] Reichardt would first select 'favourite songs of the home' around which he then crafted 'a small, simple plot', including scenic illustrations, declamation, and mime.[80] Some of these 'favourite songs' would become classics, such as Goethe's 'Heidenröslein', which Reichardt included in his first and extremely successful essay in the genre, *Lieb' und Treue* (1800).[81]

It should come as no surprise that the Mendelssohns engaged with the Berlin-based *Liederspiel*.[82] Mendelssohn had direct links to perhaps the most famous example of the genre, *Die schöne Müllerin*, which took place in the salon of Elisabeth Staegemann in 1816–17.[83] Wilhelm and Luise Hensel played the respective roles of the Hunter and the Gardener in the original production, while her sometime piano teacher, Ludwig Berger, composed the music. Mendelssohn must have closely studied the subsequent publication of some of these songs, *Gesänge aus einem gesellschaftlichen Liederspiele*, op. 11 (1818).[84] One of Mendelssohn's early settings of Müller, 'Die liebe Farbe', whose text had its origins in Berger's collection, contains the handwritten note, 'Herr Berger understood this better'.[85]

In the spirit of the song cycle's early eclecticism, there is also evidence that *Liederspiel* models informed the layout of the Mendelssohns' published song

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[79] Friedrich Reichardt, 'Etwas über das Liederspiel', *AmZ*, 3 (1801), cols 709–717 (esp. cols 712–713); a translation of the whole article can be found in Ruth O. Bingham, 'The Song Cycle in German-Speaking Countries, 1790–1840: Approaches to a Changing Genre' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1993), pp. 259–263 (p. 260).

[80] Susanne Johns, *Das szenische Liederspiel zwischen 1800 und 1830: Ein Beitrag zur Berliner Theatergeschichte* (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1988), p. 70.

[81] Friedrich Reichardt, *Lieder aus dem Liederspiele: "Lieb und Treue"*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Unger, 1800), pp. 6–7.

[82] Felix also composed a *Liederspiel* in 1829, *Die Heimkehr aus der Fremde*; for more, see Thomas Lackmann, *Das Glück der Mendelssohns: Geschichte einer deutschen Familie* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2005), pp. 215–218.

[83] Cf. Susan Youens, 'Behind the Scenes: "Die schöne Müllerin" before Schubert', *19th-Century Music,* 15 (1991), 3–22.

[84] Elvers and Ward Jones, 'Musikalienverzeichnis', p. 93.

[85] H-U 62; SBB – PK, MA Ms. 32, fol. 52^{v}.

collections. One example comes by way of Felix's *Zwölf Lieder* op. 9 from 1830, over whose layout Mendelssohn had some control.[86] The songs of the collection, including three of Mendelssohn's, were grouped under two headings in the first edition: 'Der Jüngling' und 'Das Mädchen'. Scholars have suggested that the groupings are not arbitrary, but hint at *Liederspiel* practices of performance, either *alternatim* or straight through.[87] Yet the significance of the *Liederspiel* as a potential model of construction does not rest solely in the performance of musical items. If it did indeed present a structural or performance-practical foundation for the *Divan* settings, spoken dialogue (perhaps declaimed poetry from the *Divan*), theatrics (*tableaux vivants* or mime), or costuming may also have played a dramaturgical role. This is sadly undocumented, but it may explain the gaps between the songs.

The opening song of her first group (Figs. 1 and 2), on fols 15^{r}–16^{v}, titled 'An Suleika' ('Auch in der Ferne dir so nah!'), nestles in a constellation of shorter lyrics in the *Buch Suleika*, which thematize love's overcoming of physical separation. One, 'Bist du von deiner Geliebten getrennt', tells of how, even in separation, the heart is magnetically attracted to the lover's spirit. Another poem, 'O! daß der Sinnen doch so viele sind!', plays on how love causes sensory confusion.[88] Sight of the beloved engenders a yearning for deafness, the sound of them for blindness. 'Auch in der Ferne dir so nah!', the poem Mendelssohn set, would seem to continue in this vein:

> Auch in der Ferne dir so nah!
> Und unerwartet kommt die Qual.

[86] R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 223–225; cf. Angela Mace Christian, "'Der Jüngling und das Mädchen", in *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, ed. by Kenny and Wollenberg, p. 74.
[87] ibid., pp. 71–73; and Seaton, 'Mendelssohn's Cycles of Songs', in *The* Mendelssohns, ed. by Cooper and Prandi, pp. 216–218.
[88] FA, III/1, pp. 88–89.

Da hör ich wieder dich einmal.
Auf einmal bist du wieder da.[89]

Without the context of the previous poems, however, the song 'An Suleika' takes on a quixotic quality, flitting between hope, memory, and despair. The first line is a defiant protestation of hope against the prospect of separation. The final two lines invoke memory as healer, encoded here as sound. Song and poetry can conjure the beloved's presence, bringing them back miraculously from the 'Ferne'.

Mendelssohn's music moves with the emotional chopping and changing of the poetic line. The opening musical gesture represents the dichotomy between 'fern' and 'nah'. Both emerge from a rising arpeggio in the tonic major (E Flat), but 'fern' is pinged out at the top of the gesture, while 'nah' tucks itself in on the descent. The masterstroke comes after she sets the first stanza in full. After a caesura on the dominant, Mendelssohn suddenly switches direction. She repeats the opening phrase, 'Auch in der Ferne', in the tonic minor, altering the static harmony in the first bar to a three-note whole-tone descent in the piano's left hand. The harmonic result is that 'fern' lands on a C flat major chord, a tritone away from the opening 'fern' in E flat. Mendelssohn thus manages to fold two poetic lines into one musical gesture: distance ('Auch in der Ferne') and unexpectedness ('Unerwartet kommt die Qual').

The second poem Mendelssohn set (Figs. 2 and 3), seemingly prompted by the line 'Auf einmal bist du wieder da', is 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand' on fols 16^{v}–17^{r}, with the heading 'Suleika', which would come to be titled 'Suleika und Hatem' in Felix's

[89] I have used Mendelssohn's manuscript, and not Goethe's *Erstausgabe*, as the source for the song texts in this section, systematising capitalisation, abbreviations ('u.' for 'und') and, when inconsistent, punctuation. The exception is the title of 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen', which I cite after the *Erstausgabe*.

published opus. A lyric of union, the poem consists of a dialogue between Suleika and Hatem.

> Suleika
> An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand
> der in Wasserfäden spielt,
> wusst ich nicht was fest mich hielt
> doch da war von deiner Hand
> meine Chiffer leis' gezogen,
> nieder blickt ich dir gewogen.
>
> Hier zu Ende des Canals[90]
> der gereihten Hauptallee
> blick ich wieder in die Höh,
> und da seh ich abermals
> meine Lettern fein gezogen.
> Bleibe bleibe mir gewogen!
>
> Hatem
> Möge Wasser springend, wallend,
> die Cypressen dir gestehn:
> von Suleika zu Suleika
> ist mein Kommen und mein Gehn.

The poem is more constant than the opening number. Suleika tells of her name being traced in letters in the fountain. Hatem then reveals that he is their author. From the pangs of separation, then, comes union, which manifests itself in the internal impressions of external phenomena. Cypresses, water, clouds — all are interpreted to reflect togetherness. Mendelssohn retains Goethe's dialogue — Suleika sings first, then Hatem — and fixates on the lyric tone of union in E major. As Todd notes, the setting ends with an operatic flourish, leaving the two together to duet in flowing melisma on Hatem's line 'von Suleika zu Suleika' and Suleika's line, 'Bleibe bleibe mir gewogen'.[91] In the pasted-over correction (see Figure 5), for two bars, the vowel cluster, 'ei', of both

[90] The text reads 'am Ende' in the *Erstausgabe* (FA, III/1, p. 90).
[91] Todd, *Fanny Hensel,* pp. 94–95.

Hatem's address, 'Suleika', and Suleika's imperative, 'bleibe', unites the duetting pair sonically. As Suleika's descending and Hatem's ascending lines move towards each other, their vowels and melodies embrace.
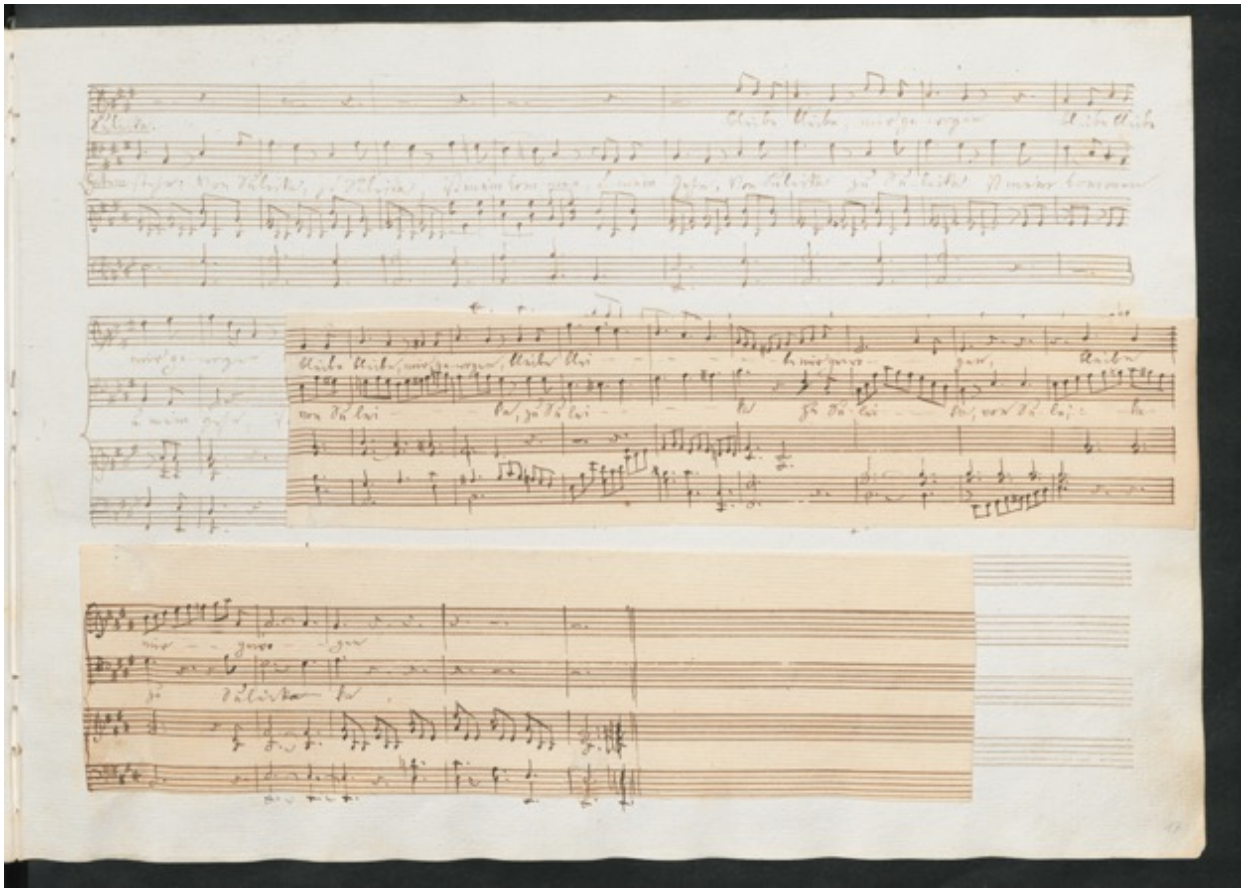


Figure 5: SBB – PK, MA Ms. 35, fol. 17^{r}

The third poem, the last of the group, 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' on fol. 18^{v}, with a sketch of the un-texted melody on fol. 1^{r}, is an appeal to the west wind to convey news to Suleika's distant beloved.[92] The song is in E-flat major. While the first song of the group, 'An Suleika', indicates that someone other than Suleika is singing, Mendelssohn titles the third song 'Suleika' to show that she is no longer the object of song, but the

[92] For more on the declamatory and metrical differences between the un-texted sketch and the texted melody, and then with the 1836 setting of the same text, see Harald Krebs, 'Working with Words: Revisions of Declamation in Fanny Hensel's Song Autographs', in *The Songs of Fanny Hensel*, ed. by Rodgers, pp. 149–70, esp. pp. 160–66.

singing subject. Her portrayal of the 'Duodrama' not only concerns the duet itself, but sweeps across a larger song space: Hatem sings to a distant Suleika in the opening song, 'An Suleika'; Suleika then joins Hatem for the duet; Suleika sings to a distant Hatem in the third song. That the two lovers who duetted only a moment ago are no longer together is indicated in the first stanza:

> Ach um deine feuchten Schwingen,
> West, wie sehr ich dich beneide.
> Denn du kannst ihm Kunde bringen
> was ich in der Trennung leide.

The song is strophic. Mendelssohn notes down each of the stanzas underneath the stave indicating that they are to be sung to the same music, but one imagines the performer changing the expression of each stanza to suit the words as was customary in Berlin. The pace of the final stanza with its import to rush to the beloved could be quickened, for instance. The music seems to be crafted with this performance practice in mind: the accompaniment contains 'gathering' pauses in which the singer has the flexibility to push on without disturbing the ensemble.

The suggestion of a poetic journey in Mendelssohn's treatment of the text is strengthened by musical parameters, particularly the key schemes used. The first and third songs of this group, 'An Suleika' and 'Suleika', the lyrics of separation, are in E-flat major. The second song, the duet 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand', is in E major. E-flat major, with three flats and E major, with four sharps, are at the opposite ends of the spectrum, visually and in terms of scalar organization. The musical and sonic effect is one of shift or frame – from E-flat major as the key of separation to E major as the song of union.

After a month's gap, on 3 June 1825, Mendelssohn turned to the *Divan* once again, opening her second group with 'Deinem Blick mich zu bequemen', on fol. 19^{r}, under the heading 'Aus dem Divan':

> Deinem Blick mich zu bequemen,
> deinem Munde, deiner Brust,
> deine Stimme zu vernehmen
> war die letzt' und erste Lust.
>
> Gestern ach! war sie die letzte,
> dann verlosch mir Leucht und Feuer
> jeder Scherz der mich ergetzte
> wird nun schuldenschwer und theuer.
>
> Eh es Allah nicht gefällt
> uns aufs neue zu vereinen
> giebt mir Sonne, Mond und Welt
> nur Gelegenheit zum Weinen.

The setting lists the body parts that inspire love, including the voice that articulates poetry and song: 'Mund', 'Brust', 'Stimme'. But the memory of the beloved is again punctured by the pain of being apart. Agony takes on a cosmic aspect. 'Allah' prevents the two from being united. Unlike the auspicious natural phenomena in 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand', 'Sonne, Mond und Welt' inflict pain. Without paratextual hints it is difficult to determine who sings the song. Customary stage entrances and exits may suggest Suleika. But the new revolution, the beginning of 'Part II', could just as much introduce a change of scene, with Hatem coming once more into focus. In terms of musical treatment, Mendelssohn compresses the lines of each stanza into a single declaimed line. One has to wait until the end of each stanza for a full cadence. Half-cadences, smoothed over by a dovetailing chromatic minim figure, give the poem's enjambment a musical correlate.

After this, Mendelssohn paused from the *Divan* to work on settings of Herder's transcription of a 'Sonett aus dem 13. Jahrhundert' (fols 19^{r}–20^{v}),[93] an unfinished draft of Goethe's 'Das holde Tal' (fol. 20^{v}), Ludwig Hölty's 'Mond' (fol. 21^{r}), and a setting of a Metastasio text, 'Ecco quel fiero istante' ('Here is the painful moment'), on fol. 22^{v}. On the next page, fol. 23^{r}, comes the fifth *Divan* poem she set, 'Ist es möglich, Stern der Sterne', which opens with an outburst of surprise at the lovers' unexpected reunion.

> Ist es möglich, Stern der Sterne
> drück ich wieder dich ans Herz
> ach! was ist die Nacht der Ferne,
> für ein Abgrund, für ein Schmerz!
> Ja du bist es meiner Freuden
> süßer, lieber Widerpart
> eingedenk vergangner Leiden
> schaudr' ich vor der Gegenwart

Mendelssohn's treatment of 'Wiederfinden' shows her singling out individual stanzas to highlight themes easily glossed over in the sway of a four- or five-stanza poem. Unlike 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen', she does not indicate that the other stanzas are to be sung. Mendelssohn instead seems to have distilled 'Wiederfinden' into a lyric moment, 'Ist es möglich, Stern der Sterne', which is affixed to the present before ending with a remembrance of past suffering. The poem refers to the inevitable ending of the previous group, to the return to separation that followed the previous lyric of union.

The first stanza of 'Wiederfinden' therefore works in two ways. It looks forwards in the narrative, towards union, and backwards, out of the bounds of the group, referencing the previous 'revolution' and the previous time the two lovers found themselves together. For the reader of the manuscript, the gravity of the return prepares the memory of a

[93] Zelter had published this for solo voice and piano in his *Neue Liedersammlung* (Zurich: Nägeli, 1821); the other eleven settings of the collection are to texts by Goethe.

painful experience: the final poem Mendelssohn set, 'Dir zu eröffnen', on fols 24^{v}–25^{r}, turns back, inevitably, to separation. It is left unspecified which of Suleika or Hatem would sing 'Ist es möglich, Stern der Sterne'. Personal pronouns, such as 'ihn', in 'Dir zu eröffnen' would suggest that the song is addressed to the latter.

In this group, the tonal plan mirrors that of the first, with a few alterations. The first setting, 'Deinem Blick mich zu bequemen', is in E-flat major. The second, 'Ist es möglich, Stern der Sterne', is in C major, which, though not as stark a contrast as the semitonal shift from E-flat to E major, still constitutes a marked change. Retracing her first course of action, the affective difference between separation and union is indicated by the contrast of E-flat major with another key, in this case C major. The final setting of separation, 'Dir zu eröffnen', departs from the plan of the first group, beginning in B-flat major and ending in its relative minor, G minor. A pattern presents itself: flat keys represent the lyrics of separation, sharp and natural keys the lyrics of union (E flat – E – E flat – E flat – C – B flat/g).

Red Ink II

'Dir zu eröffnen' is the odd one out. Unlike the other five settings, the text does not come from the *Buch Suleika*, but from the essays appended to the collection, 'Besserem Verständniss', later the *NuA*. The paratexts of 'Dir zu eröffnen' are also treated exceptionally. Unlike her other *Divan* songs, which all indicate 'Divan' by way of marginalia or titling,[94] Mendelssohn does not explicitly note that 'Dir zu eröffnen' comes from the collection.[95] She simply states that the poem is by Goethe. Much more

[94] The little curvilinear flourishes grouping the words 'Goethe' and 'Divan' recall the Orientalising script in the second frontispiece of the first edition.
[95] For the duet 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand' the reference is underneath the pasted revision, on fol. 17^{r}.

problematic is the line in Mendelssohn's hand underneath 'Goethe', which indicates that song was a request: '*auf Begehren komponirt*' (see Figure 6).

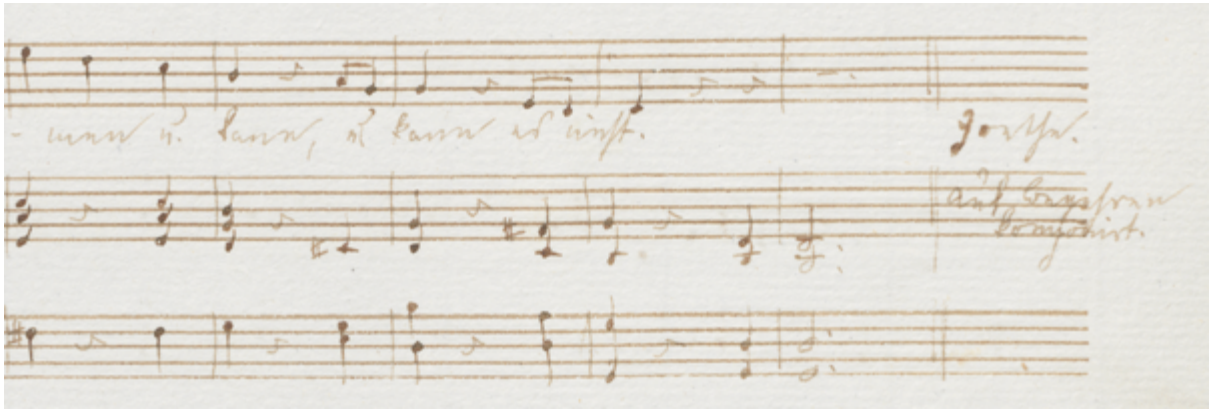


Figure 6: SBB – PK, MA Ms. 35, fol. 25^{r}, 'auf Begehren komponiert'

Renate Hellwig-Unruh has tentatively proposed that it was Goethe himself who might have asked Mendelssohn to compose music to the poem – at a remove, via Felix or Abraham, who stopped off in Weimar in 1825 on their Paris trip.[96] There is a precedent for this. Goethe apparently noted down the poem 'Wenn ich mir in stiller Seele' in 1827 and asked Zelter to pass it on to Mendelssohn who wanted some words to set to music.[97] She 'decoded and recoded' the poem in 1828.[98]

There is another possibility that emerges from an investigation of her text, which turns Zelter from courier to commissioner. The text Mendelssohn used for 'Dir zu eröffnen' differs markedly from the one included in the *Erstausgabe* of the *Divan*. The deviations have been **emboldened**.

GOETHE, *Erstausgabe*, 1819	FANNY MENDELSSOHN, 1825
Dir zu eröffnen	Dir zu eröffnen
Mein Herz verlangt mich;	mein Herz verlangt mich
Hört' ich von deinem,	**an deinem Herzen**
Darnach verlangt mich;	darnach verlangt mich,

[96] Hellwig-Unruh, *Thematisches Verzeichnis*, p. 169.
[97] Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, pp. 111–112.
[98] SBB – PK, MA Depos. Lohs 2, fol. 16^{v}.

Wie blickt so traurig Die Welt mich an.	wie blickt so traurig die Welt mich an
In meinem Sinne Wohnet mein Freund nur, Und sonsten keiner Und keine Feindspur. Wie Sonnenaufgang Ward mir ein Vorsatz!	**Alle Gedanken** **sehnen und ranken** **sich um die Liebe** **meines Geliebten!** **Wie Morgenkerzen** **blicken herein,** **ach seine Leiden** **sie sind auch mein.**
Mein Leben will ich Nur zum Geschäfte Von seiner Liebe Von heut an machen. Ich denke seiner, Mir blutet's Herz.	Mein Leben will ich nur zum Geschäfte von seiner Liebe von heut an machen ich denke seiner mir blutet das Herz
Kraft hab' ich keine Als ihn zu lieben, So recht im Stillen. Was soll das werden! Will ihn umarmen Und kann es nicht.	Kraft hab' ich keine als ihn zu lieben so recht im Stillen, was **will** das werden. Will ihn umarmen und kann es nicht**.**

The second stanza and the substitution of 'an deinem Herzen' for 'Hört' ich von deinem' in the first stanza also appear in Zelter's song to the same poem, published a year after Mendelssohn's composition in *Sechs deutsche Lieder für die Bass-Stimme* (1826) under the title 'Aus der Ferne', along with a solo setting of 'Selige Sehnsucht'. As shown in Chapter 1, some of these textual revisions have their origins in early manuscripts Goethe sent to Zelter. 'Morgenkerzen' in the second stanza and 'Was will das werden' (instead of 'soll') in the final stanza feature in the poem sent to Zelter on 11 March 1816. Critical to Mendelssohn's setting is Zelter's addition of four lines in red ink at the beginning of the second stanza, which complement the divergent four-line ending of the second stanza in black ink.

Alle Gedanken

sehnen und ranken
sich um die Liebe
meines Geliebten
Grüßen herein
ach! seine Schmerzen
sie sind auch mein

Since the printed version of 'Aus der Ferne' appeared too late for Mendelssohn to have seen it, the autograph now known as SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Zelter, 26, which contains the singular red-ink text, can be proposed as Mendelssohn's source, unless she consulted a fair copy or proof now lost.[99]

But the alterations to the contentious second stanza did not stop there. Adding another link to the editorial chain, Mendelssohn took her pen to Zelter's amendments. She changed 'Schmerzen' (in Zelter's text) to 'Leiden' and 'Grüßen herein' to 'blicken herein'. The rest of Zelter's amended text remains intact. Although there is no obvious reason for swapping 'Schmerzen' with 'Leiden', attention to the vowel sound may have influenced Mendelssohn's thinking: 'Leiden' recalls 'herein' and 'seine'. The exchange of 'grüßen' with 'blicken' leads back to the opening stanza, 'Wie blickt so traurig | die Welt mich an'. While Mendelssohn changes Zelter's text in black ink in the second system, 'Grüßen herein' and 'Schmerzen', she does not alter the lines in red ink. They are left as they are, as though protected by their rendering in red.

Zelter's setting follows his customary style. The declamation is immaculate, the piano accompaniment gently traces rather than intervenes, and space is left for expressively shading the strophically treated text in performance. Mendelssohn, however, composes through words and stanzas. Her first bar clearly demonstrates

[99] While Mendelssohn had copies of Zelter's other song collections in her library, she did not have the printed version of the *Sechs deutsche Lieder*, which corroborates my claim that she had sight of the song in manuscript form, Elvers and Ward Jones, 'Musikalienverzeichnis', p. 102.

parallels with Zelter's setting. Both begin with a declamatory anacrusis, but Mendelssohn shortens Zelter's three crotchets to three quavers, skipping over the initial words to land promptly on 'eröffnen'. Harmonically, too, there are stark differences. Mendelssohn unfurls the tonic from an ambiguous starting position. From an initial major third (B flat and D), she moves to a double dissonance – the voice outlining an F-E appoggiatura, the piano a 7-6 suspension – at the beginning of the next bar. From then on, Mendelssohn goes her own way.

The contentious stanza, 'Alle Gedanken sehnen und ranken sich', acts as the spur for a change in tone and style. The music effectively bursts its Berliner bounds. Mendelssohn sets the second stanza to sliding chromatic descents in the voice and right hand over a B flat pedal. The 'Gedanken', figured here as a chromatic roulade, return obsessively around the central point of the beloved, before shooting upwards (with crescendos) to highlight the words 'Liebe' and 'Geliebten'. 'Blutet' in the next stanza is highlighted by syncopated vocal accents. The bleeding heart is *all* body: each heartbeat produces another convulsion, another agonising gush of blood. With the final lines, 'will ihn umarmen | und kann es nicht', rests are more numerous than notes. Even in its silence, the setting is graphic, aggressively so.

Among all the prefigurations of Mendelssohn's aesthetic in 'Dir zu eröffnen', perhaps the most noteworthy is the use of directional tonality. She begins in one key, B-flat major, and ends in another, the relative minor. The use of tonality in this way is exceptional for the *Divan* settings, whose other songs of separation are cast in E-flat major. One reason for this, however, might be found in Zelter's song. Zelter's 'Dir zu eröffnen' is unambiguously in E-flat major. By starting in B-flat major *and* concluding in G minor, Mendelssohn diatonically traces out, over the course of the song, an E-flat major

triad, albeit without articulating the final E flat. Was this hand-over gesture an attempt at reciprocity in the Goethe-Zelter mould, a tonal mirror to the contentious second stanza's silent appeal to completion? Did she tonally prepare the publication of Zelter's 'Dir zu eröffnen' in 1826? Were all the *Divan* settings composed '*auf [Zelters] Begehren*'?

Todd has mentioned in passing that Mendelssohn turned to the *Divan's* poetry because she missed Wilhelm; as Angela Mace Christian has observed elsewhere, her songs 'take on diary-like aspect'.[100] The *Divan* offered yet another de-particularised vehicle through which Mendelssohn could express her yearning, sitting on the same affective plane as Schiller's and Eckermann's 'Sehnsucht'. Textual correspondences reveal that another *Divan* impulse may have come from Zelter. Perhaps Zelter intended the *Divan* as a challenge for his ambitious student. Or Mendelssohn decided to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by Zelter's earlier settings, pitting herself against her teacher in friendly competition. For instance, there are chromatic, motivic correspondences between Mendelssohn's and Zelter's settings of 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' and 'Wiederfinden' that indicate her working with song models and templates. Or the *Divan* was used in the Goethe-Zelter sense to stress artistic kinship and homage in the knowledge that Mendelssohn would soon come of musical age. She may have seen Zelter's textual *ossia* and decided to pave the way forward.

What is important is that the *Divan*'s performed literary identities made the collection an excellent host for the playful musical blurring of real and Orientalist personae. It is tempting to imagine Mendelssohn reading the beginning of the *Buch*

[100] Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, pp. 93–94 and 111; and Mace Christian, '"Der Jüngling und das Mädchen", in *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, ed. by Kenny and Wollenberg, p. 68; see also, Annette Maurer, 'Biographische Einflüsse auf das Liedschaffen Fanny Hensels', in *Das Werk*, ed. by Helmig, pp. 33–41 (p. 39), for a brief discussion of '*Gelegenheitslyrik*'.

Suleika and acknowledging that the naming ceremony [*Benamsen*] allows for a *liederspielartig* restaging at home:

> Da du nun Suleika heißest
> Sollt ich auch benamset seyn,
> Wenn du deinen Geliebten preisest,
> Hatem! Das soll der Name seyn.[101]

She may have recognised that while anyone can become Suleika as long as there is a Hatem to sing to, everyone, following Goethe's comments in the *NuA*, must 'Orientalise' themselves [*Sich-Orientalisiren*] 'to participate in [the] productions of the glorious [Eastern] poets'.[102] Mendelssohn thereby not only sets poems from the *Divan*. She picks up on the Goethean imperative to set herself into the poetry of the *Divan*, casting those closest to her in supporting roles. The result of this *Hineinversetzen* has implications on the textual frame of the *Buch Suleika*. Reversing roles, it is now Suleika, not Hatem, who names, identifies, and asserts herself as an author.

One of the figures cast into the *Divan* may have been Wilhelm. The *Divan* narrative of separation and union transposes well to Mendelssohn's situation. Mendelssohn could have taken on the role of Suleika in Berlin, Wilhelm the role of the distant beloved in Italy. But Zelter could also have played a role. It is worth remembering that Hatem is an old man. 'Youth slipped away from him', as Goethe wrote in the *NuA*.[103] Suleika by contrast is young. Their relationship is not simply amorous, but didactic, similar to that of master and pupil. After the naming ceremony, Suleika asks Hatem to interpret an allegorical dream. Hatem duly responds:

> Suleika
> Sag Poete, sage Prophete!

[101] FA, III/1, p. 74.
[102] FA, III/1, pp. 199–200.
[103] FA, III/1, p. 224.

Was bedeutet dieser Traum?

Hatem
Dies zu deuten bin erbötig!
Hab' ich dir nicht oft erzählt
Wie der Doge von Venedig
Mit dem Meere sich vermählt.[104]

Suleika later asks whether Hatem has composed poetry in his own hand and sent his songs 'here and there'. Hatem responds yet again:

Suleika
Sag du hast wohl viel gedichtet?
Hin und her dein Lied gerichtet? –
Schöngeschrieben, deine Hand
Prachtgebunden, goldgerändet,
Bis auf Punkt und Strich vollendet,
Zierlichlockend manchen Band [...]

Hatem
Ja! Von mächtig holden Blicken
Wie von lächelndem Entzücken
Und von Zähnen blendend klar.[105]

As Hendrik Birus notes, at the end of the same poem Hatem 'prophesies ['*prophezeyt*'] Suleika's poetic talents by anticipating the motifs that would become hers as the book unfolds.[106] Later, in one of the dialogue-poems with the chorus of 'Mädchen', Hatem implies that his prophecy has been fulfilled. While others compose songs to delight themselves, Suleika now sits in a class of her own, composing poetry 'to please [him]'.[107] By the end of the book, Suleika and Hatem have become equals. Distance and practice have fused their two voices into one. They now share a 'secret double-script [*geheime Doppelschrift*]', the same spirit of riddling and reflective love:[108]

War Hatem lange doch entfernt,

[104] FA, III/1, p. 77.
[105] FA, III/1, p. 79.
[106] FA, III/2, p. 1212.
[107] FA, III/1, pp. 86–87.
[108] FA, III/1, p. 98.

Das Mädchen hatte was gelernt,
Von ihm war sie so schön gelobt,
Da hat die Trennung sich erprobt.
Wohl daß sie dir nicht fremde scheinen;
Sie sind Suleika's, sind die deinen.[109]

Max Rychner sums up Suleika's lines nicely in his ventriloquising gloss: 'the poems are mine and belong to you, but also: they stem from you as much as from me, you awakened them in me and from you I learned to write poetry'.[110] Considered from a didactic perspective, the final poem 'In tausend Formen' thus turns into a paean to Suleika's virtuosic blend of style and mastery of voice. Learning from Hatem's *Benamsen*, Suleika dons a thousand masks and conventions. It is a game in which Suleika dips and dives in the knowledge that Hatem will recognise each of her thousand forms.

Could Mendelssohn have had the didactic aspect of the Hatem-Suleika narrative in her mind when selecting the texts? Could she have received the *Buch Suleika* as a love story of separation and union into which she cast her distant Wilhelm *and* as the story of an author coming of age in which Zelter takes on an aged and avuncular role? Perhaps instead of the Venetian dream that Hatem was asked to interpret, the question concerned the amended text in red ink that Zelter had to explain. Reading Zelter's red ink, Mendelssohn might have conjured Suleika's attraction to Hatem's calligraphy, which curled many a volume. She might also have taken the completion of Suleika's *Lehrjahre* as a poetic moment to mark her own musical departures. Suleika's game of hide-and-seek at the end of the book could have provided a model for Mendelssohn to break new ground in 'Dir zu eröffnen', which displays many of the hallmarks of an individual Henselian hermeneutics.

[109] FA, III/1, p. 92.
[110] FA, III/2, p. 1271.

If the precise reason for Mendelssohn's *Divan* turn must remain unanswered for now, Zelter's textual presence indicates that conversations about the collection took place in the summer of 1825. Zelter could have relayed all his knowledge of the *Divan*, obtained first-hand through Goethe, to his student, perhaps on one of his bi-weekly visits.[111] Mendelssohn's principle of extracting lyrics from residual textual complexes strikes notable parallels with Goethe's perfunctory note to Zelter in 1819 on how, apropos the *Divan*, there was 'much to take out and much to put in', and his note as early as 1815 that the poems needed to be introduced cyclically.[112] Mendelssohn's narratives exemplify how the content of the *Divan* was to 'be wound out [*herauszuwickeln*] and used in many ways', as he wrote to Zelter a year later in 1820.[113] Zelter might also have explained his own consternation at reading 'Dir zu eröffnen' in printed form. He could have directed Mendelssohn towards 'Besserem Verständnis' at the back of the *Erstausgabe* to find out about the context of the poem, which would have brought the young composer into contact with the Orientalist languages of *Blumensprache* and enciphering that made a feature of encoding secret messages. Whatever the topic of conversation, Zelter's proximity to Goethe swings the doors of Orientalist possibility wide open for Mendelssohn.

What all of this shows is that Mendelssohn's *Divan* summer was not a solitary enterprise. Other actors, phantoms to us now, were also involved in the songs' composition and reception, including Therese Devrient and Fanny's sister, Rebekka, who sang through the songs at home in 1827.[114] It is here, in the very sociability of these songs

[111] Lackmann, *Das Glück der Mendelssohns*, p. 186.
[112] MA, xx/1, p. 590 and pp. 383–384.
[113] MA, xx/1, p. 601.
[114] She wished that Carl Loewe had sung the tenor part; for more, cf. *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, ed. by Citron, p. 20, no. 10.

written on the threshold of musical adulthood, that one feels the influence and legacy of Zelter's song aesthetic. In the *Divan* cycle of 1825, the productively and receptively sociable aspects of song and the *Divan* begin to merge in a Mendelssohnian context. In the years following, they would become inseparable.

'*Mokkant*' Games

At the end of Mendelssohn's *Divan* summer, the family moved into a property on Leipziger Straße in whose 'garden and house arose a singularly beautiful, poetic life'.[115] One expression of this 'poetic life' came in the summer and autumn of 1826, when friends of the Mendelssohn household founded a satirical newspaper, the *Gartenzeitung*.[116] Sebastian Hensel, the family's chronicler, describes the newspaper's institution as an accretive process, an outgrowth of spontaneous play, 'full of poetry, music, merry games, ingenious practical jokes, disguises, and representations' that were partially noted down in 'writing materials and paper were laid out in one of the summer houses'.[117]

The *Gartenzeitung* puts into practice the ideal of *Geselligkeit*. The *Zeitung* was but one of many organisations, salons, and private circles that provided fora in which members of the lettered class, the *Bildungsbürgertum*, could converse and interact through the pursuit of art and play.[118] Music was an integral part of the sociable programme and Berlin itself became a hotspot for formal and informal exchange,

[115] Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family*, trans. by Klingemann, I, p. 123.
[116] SBB – PK, MA Ms. 63,1: http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000815000000000.
[117] Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family*, trans. by Klingemann, I, p. 130.
[118] For more on sociability and spaces, see Ronyak, *Intimacy, Performance, and the Lied in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2019); and *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2019).

particularly through the salons of the Beers and the Mendelssohns.[119] Some musically oriented groups, such as 'Der Convent' in the Parthey household under the direction of Bernhard Klein, apparently staged complete operas and oratorios in the 1810s.[120] Even societies with a more literary focus, such as the *Mittwochs-Gesellschaft* coalescing around Julius Hitzig and Willibald Alexis in the 1820s, incorporated music into their sociable practice. The *Mittwochs-Gesellschaft* published two volumes of *gesellige Lieder* after Zelter's *Tafellied* model in 1827.[121]

It is because of the *Gartenzeitung*'s commitment to improvised sociability that the newspaper has posed something of a riddle to scholars. Since contributions were made anonymously to the semi-corporate institution of the 'Zeitung', authorship has been difficult to attribute. On the basis of handwriting, scholars have been able to determine the newspaper's hierarchy. Hans-Günter Klein and others have argued that Karl Klingemann took the lead.[122] He became the newspaper's 'responsible editor', taking on the pseudonym of the ancient historian Cornelius Nepos, and sometimes transcribed the contributions of others.[123] R. Larry Todd has also attributed poems, drawings, and a '"puzzle"' canon' to Felix.[124] But as Sebastian Hensel mentions, many others, including

[119] Lorraine Byrne Bodley, 'In Pursuit of a Single Flame: Fanny Hensel's "Musical Salon"', in *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, ed. by Kenny and Wollenberg, pp. 45–59; *Die Musikveranstaltungen bei den Mendelssohns: ein 'musikalischer Salon'?*, ed. by Hans-Günter Klein (Leipzig: Mendelssohn-Haus, 2006); for the religious and cultural politics of the salon, see *Jewish Women and Their Salons: The Power of Conversation,* ed. by Emily Bilski and Emily Braun (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
[120] Lili Parthey, *Tagebücher aus der Berliner Biedermeierzeit*, ed. by Bernhard Lepsius (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1926), esp. p. 125.
[121] [Anon.], *Liederbüchlein der Mittwochs-Gesellschaft* (Berlin: [n. pub.], 1827).
[122] Hans-Günter Klein, *Das verborgene Band: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und seine Schwester Fanny Hensel* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), p. 52.
[123] Beatrix Borchard, '"Lieder im Freien zu singen" – der Garten der Familie Mendelssohn als Ort der Freiheit', in *Schöpferisch Tätig: Der Garten als Ort kulturellen Handelns von Frauen*, ed. by Georg Schütte and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Munich: Akademische Verlagsgemeinschaft, 2022), pp. 45–59 (p. 50).
[124] Todd, *A Life in Music*, p. 165.

Abraham, Zelter, and Humboldt took part.[125] The extent of their contribution, oral or written, has yet to be determined.

Another riddle is posed by the newspaper's hermeticism and abstruseness. The newspaper all but shunned a general readership. A.B. Marx, who was apparently one of the founding members, remarked retrospectively that the newspaper aimed to 'please everyone' and 'reveal its clandestine meaning of the beauty who was the object of special veneration'.[126] Trafficking in 'clandestine meaning' by means of wordplay and allusion was one of the newspaper's favourite games and protective measures. Indeed, Marx's description is itself a performance of the *Gartenzeitung*'s sociable riddling. His less than helpful wink to the reader in the 1860s applies today. Many of the *Gartenzeitung*'s individual references are opaque, their chances of restoration slight. This was a society for people in the know.

If the references themselves take some de-riddling, the structure of the *Gartenzeitung* is less arcane. The newspaper loosely follows editorial models that could be found in other early nineteenth-century newspapers, such as Cotta's *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*.[127] Marx, who was the editor of the *BamZ* between 1824 and 1830, could have offered some expert editorial insight. The dated and numbered issues apportion space to highly contrived daily news columns (*Tageschronik*), obituaries (*Nekrolog*), and *Beilagen*.[128] Each number is also headed by a motto, which relates poetologically to the main body. The newspaper's first instalment, titled 'Ante-diluvian Garten-Zeitung' and

[125] Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family*, trans. by Klingemann, I, p. 130.
[126] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, 2 vols (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1865), I, p. 133
[127] Alfred Estermann, *Die deutschen Literatur-Zeitschriften, 1815–1850*, 11 vols (Munich: Sauer, 1977–1991), I (1978), esp. pp. 362–365 for the *Morgenblatt*.
[128] Cf. MA Ms. 63, 1, p. 26^{v}.

given the number zero, takes its phrase from the Bible, 'and the earth was without form and void', which itself associates an empty page with a divine act of creation *ex nihilo*.[129]

The institutions of the newspaper were rarely treated seriously. They too became the subjects of critique and satire. Under the heading, 'Tendenz dieser Blätter', one would expect to encounter a thorough account of the newspaper's goals and intentions. Marx himself did this on a yearly basis in the *BamZ*.[130] The tendencies of the *Gartenzeitung*, however, included 'becoming a *Geheim Rath*' or 'having none at all'.[131] Even the newspaper-reading class, to which all of the participants belonged, became the butt of jokes: 'the newspaper sits [...] in the warm sun with coffee, reading newspapers. Which philistine has a happier lot?'.[132]

Since the *Gartenzeitung* was focused on satire and cultural criticism, a meta-reflection on the practice of newspaper-reading itself, it is unsurprising that Orientalism plays an important role. Orientalist wordplay in particular amplified the newspaper's satirical tone. One example comes in the second issue, 'Noch neuere Gartenzeitung'. Here the newspaper describes a '*Reisfeist*' or rice-eating festival that took place after the newspaper's temporary slumber: 'A long time ago, [the newspaper] wanted to go among the Brahmins, and therefore devoured whole rice fields'.[133] One of the participants, whose name the editor has conveniently forgotten, 'found it but Turkish and spoke of rice *essendi*'.[134] The editor is here likely playing with two pairs of homoiophones, '*türkisch*' (Turkish) and '*tückish*' (treacherous); and 'essendi' (a fictive latinised gerund that is

[129] Ibid., 1[r].
[130] Cf. Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Andeutung des Standpunktes der Zeitung', *BamZ*, 1 (1824), pp. 444–448.
[131] MA Ms. 63, 1, 4[r].
[132] Ibid., 5[r].
[133] Ibid., 8[r].
[134] Ibid.

tagged onto the verb 'essen', or 'to eat') and 'effendi' (the Ottoman epithet for a high-ranking bureaucratic official). A few lines later, the editor tropes on 'Reis' once again, this time in the context of 'making haste', '*Reißaus nehmen*'.[135]

The rice festival gave way to more liquid pleasures. 'Since then [the rice-festival], the newspaper has taken a more Arabic direction and plunged into *mokkant* taste'.[136] The editors once again indulge their love of wordplay. The author exploits the sonic similarities between 'Mokka' ('Arabic coffee') and 'mokant' ('mocking') to describe the newspaper's newfound Orientalist satirical programme. Their material satire finds a heady poetic correlate. The newspaper asks:

> the reader whether he does not find the same thing when he reads a poem like the following: ? (the newspaper has too much Oriental bombast [*Schwulst*] in it, it shakes off its title, that is, its head).[137]

The editors then parody the monorhyming form of the ghazal popular among post-*Divan* Orientalists. The idea of poetic bombast, one that attended the reception of Rückert and Platen in the 1820s, finds both its stimulus and object:[138]

> Braune Wüsten, Wuth an facht ihr
> braune Augen, Muth an lacht ihr
> braune Haare, Gluth an macht ihr,
> braune Brauen, Gut an sagt ihr
> braune Wellen, blut an schlagt ihr!
> Braun ist Gluthwell, braun ist bluthell,
> braun sind Gnomen, braun sind Feen,
> die da kommen, die da wehen
> doch der Sänger preist als Fee
> niemand [~~höher~~] länger als Kaffee

[135] Ibid., 8[v].
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid. This line may also contain a reference to E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Der goldene Topf*, in which the character Archivarius Lindhorst's stories are accused of 'orientalischer Schwulst'. I am grateful to Dr Joanna Neilly for pointing this out to me. Cf. Joanna Neilly, *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Orient: Romantic Aesthetics and the German Imagination* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2016), p. 43, n. 49.
[138] Cf. Karl Immermann's poem, 'Östliche Poeten', which was printed in the second volume of Heine's *Reisebilder*, 4 vols (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827), II, pp. 121–123, which also uses an emetic metaphor: 'Von den Früchten, die sie aus dem Gartenhain | von Schiras stehlen, | Essen sie zu viel, die Armen, und vomiren dann | Ghaselen'.

Wo die braunen Kräfte rauchen
Braune Pfeifen dazu schmauchen,
braune Gluthen, braune Fluthen,
Muth anlacht ihr, blut an regt ihr
Muth anfacht ihr, gut an sagt ihr,
Gluth anmacht ihr, Fluth an schlagt ihr.
Sagt wann fließt ihr,
Wann ergießt ihr
Euer Füllhorn
Eueren Quellborn,
Dem der schmachtend
Dem der trachtend
Dem der achtend
Nach euch letzet,
Zunge wetzet,
Gaum ergetzet,
Reime hetzet.[139]

The poem's representation of Orientalist consumption, which is here made equivalent with Orientalist yearning ('Dem der schmachtend… nach euch letzet'), finds its expression in praise of coffee.

Satire and coffee once again go hand in hand in the newspaper's staging of a *Kaffeefest*. In the fourth issue, 'Allerneueste Garten Zeitung', the newspaper turns its '*mokkant*' eye to the *Divan*. At the top of the issue, the newspaper includes an illustration of a windswept figure, who pours a black liquid into five vessels (see Figure 7).[140] Sitting behind the cups are not people, but allegorical flowers connected to the main figure by stem-thin lines, another more concrete involvement with the *Divan*'s *Blumensprache* in which flowers and natural phenomena took on the eloquence of words and entertained a 'secret script' and 'silent communication'.[141] If the drawing appears obscure at first glance, the motto provides clarification. The selected lines come from Suleika's lyric: 'Was bedeutet die Bewegung? Bringt der Ost mir frohe Kunde?'. In the *Divan*, the two

[139] MA Ms. 63, 1, fol. 8^{v}.
[140] Ibid., 26^{r}.
[141] FA, III/1, p. 209.

questions announce the arrival of the East Wind, which brings a 'thousand greetings' from Hatem in the distance. The lyric is the precursor to Suleika's appeal to the West Wind that Fanny had set a year earlier. In the *Gartenzeitung*, however, the two questions are recontextualised. The East brings coffee. This the editor deems 'good news'.

References to the *Divan* do not stop there. In their invitation to the *Kaffeefest* further down the page, the newspaper parodies the collection's prosaic portion: 'since everything has its time, including time itself, thus also a coffee festival, the following about the latter is brought to the public's attention'.[142] Goethe had used the Biblical proverb 'Alles hat seine Zeit' at the beginning of the *NuA* to defend his decision to comment on his poetic collection.[143] To Goethe, time is something epochal, almost messianic, relating to the creative periods of the artist.[144] There are periods when an author can be silent and when they must speak. To the editors of the *Gartenzeitung*, the proverb serves a more quotidian purpose. It sounds the bell for coffee. Such was the confusion between the exceptional and the everyday that one annotated entry, under the heading, 'Streitfrage des Grammatikers', used another article-based wordplay to question whether the daily ritual of coffee-drinking ('*der Kaffee*') or the event of the coffee-festival ('*das Kaffeefest*') was being discussed.[145]

[142] MA Ms. 63, 1, 26^{r}.
[143] FA, III/1, p. 138.
[144] Zelter went so far as to claim that Goethe had made the proverb his own, MA, XX/1, p. 636.
[145] Another wordplay in the line may involve the adjective 'fest' ('fixed') and the noun 'Fest' ('festival').



Figure 7: SBB – PK, MA Ms. 63, 1, fol. 26[r]

The rules of the *Kaffeefest* to which the respondent refers were detailed. Twelve formal-looking articles enshrined information on when the festival would begin and detailed who was invited (Arts I, II, III, IV). Those who did not participate in the glossing game, a reference to an earlier issue in which participants were asked to improvise lines using a poetic template, were excluded.[146] A special invitation was sent out to the 'man with a laurel wreath' (Art. II).[147] There were also instructions on staging and choreography. After meeting in front of the *Gartenhaus*, participants would process to the 'editorial square' where they would form circles (Arts V, VI, VII). Anyone who did not follow the rules would be 'disinherited' (Art. IXIII [sic.]). This would not be the first time that such a protocol

[146] For more on the glossing game, cf. Bartsch, *Musik als Korrespondenz*, pp. 134ff.
[147] MA Ms. 63, 1, 26[v].

would be devised. In the final issue of the *Gartenzeitung*, the participants staged a chocolate festival with similar though less strict rules. The '*Choco-Ladung*' is later described as a '*Jokoladung*' in keeping with the 'pleasant, jocular, jocose nature' of the festival.[148]

There is evidence that music played a role in the *Kaffeefest*. At the back of the issue the editors announce the inclusion of a piano piece, attributed to Mendelssohn, whose title 'Westöstlicher Redactionswaltzer' relates directly to the '*mokkant*' tone of the issue (see Figure 8).[149] In an effort to match the literary programme with musical satire, Mendelssohn appears to invoke the reliably comic Turkish style.[150] Repetitious rhythmic and melodic neighbour-note figurations are scripted throughout. Percussive crashes in imitation of the Janissary bands also feature, sometimes marked by warped performance directions ('pp, ma con fuoco!' and jarring *sforzandi*) and sometimes by gestural features, such as spread chords. Unprepared and dynamically contrasting bare fifths and octaves further suggest what Ralph Locke has termed 'phraseological inanity', hopping *alla turca* from one zone to the next.[151] The oddity of the bare fifths is rendered stranger when compared with the (deliberately) clumsily spelled dominant sevenths, chunked in the left hand, in the opening and closing head motives. To match the 'tone' of satirical criticism, Mendelssohn eschews the oversimplified white-note 'key' of the *alla turca*, displacing the music to F sharp, which must have provided another source of amusement. But the most humorous aspect of the piece is built into the structure. While Mendelssohn marks a *da*

[148] Ibid., fols 42^{r} and 42^{v}.
[149] Ibid., 27^{v}.
[150] Cf. Catherine Mayes, 'Turkish and Hungarian-Gypsy Styles', in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. by Danuta Mirka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 214–237, esp. pp. 214–216.
[151] Quoted in Ibid; the original is tabulated in Ralph Locke, *Musical Exoticism and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 118–121 (p. 120).

capo at the end of the second section of music, there is no *fine* marking. The piece is to be repeated *ad nauseam*, characterised like the earlier '*mokkant*' ghazal in the second issue by a rushing obsession with a carousel of rhyme, which is here translated into a literally repetitious musical form.

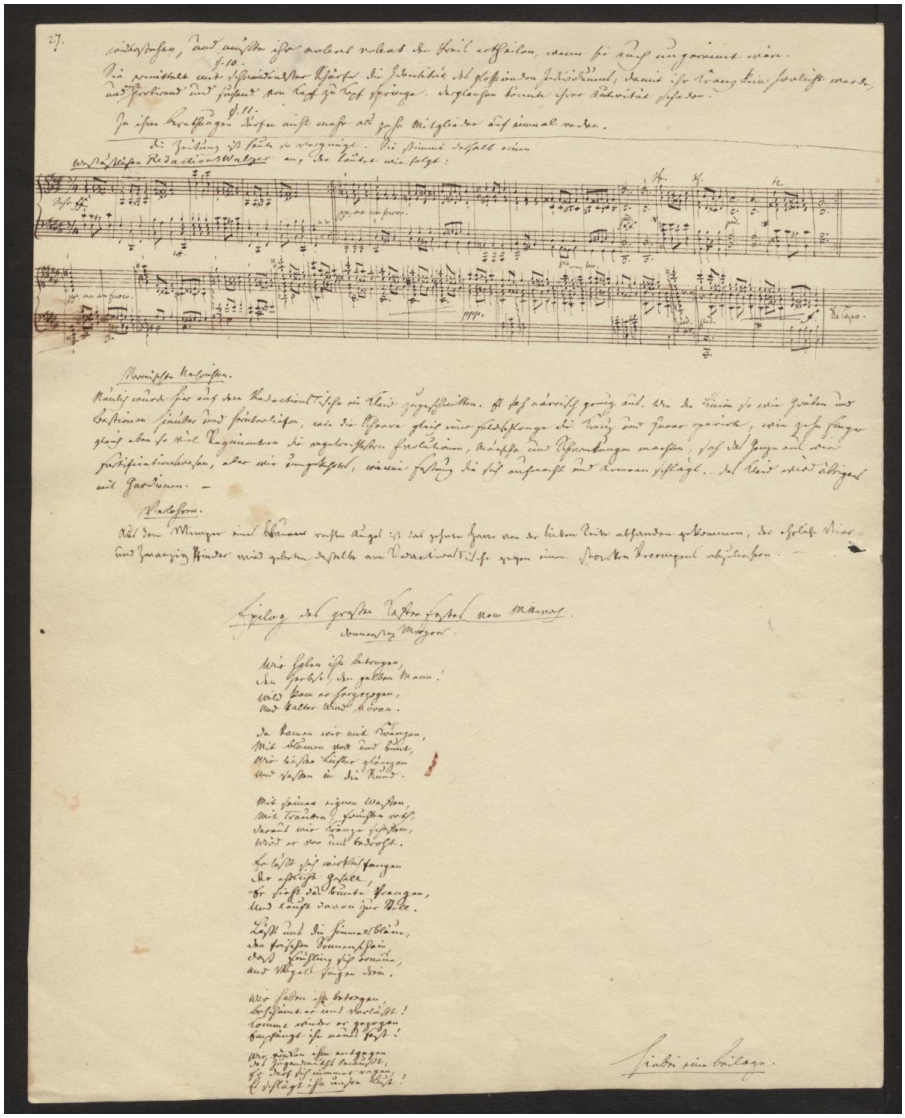


Figure 8: SBB – PK, MA Ms. 63, 1, 27[v]

The editors of the *Gartenzeitung* make a series of associative leaps to reduce Goethe's poetry to the material of comedy. Coffee, Orient, and *Divan* conjure each other interchangeably. Leaps such as these were not entirely uncommon in the *Divan*'s reception. The *Gartenzeitung*'s '*mokkant*' satirical reductionism resonates with Heine's

strategies in *Die romantische Schule*, where Goethe's sinking into the 'arms of sensualism' is illustrated with a fantasy of odalisques and coffee.[152] Heine's avid reader, Robert Schumann, who went as far as to claim that Goethe's collection was the best example of German literature on an Orientalist topic, also prefaced his transcription of a *Divan* poem for Clara with a note on his morning coffee:

> I want to copy out for you a poem from the West-östlicher Divan, which I am enjoying over this morning's coffee. Coffee is namely a part of it.[153]

For many nineteenth-century readers there must have been something inherently comic in placing Goethe's collection in '*mokkant*' constellations. The procedure is akin to the earlier examples of homoiphonic wordplay, only this time the identities and connotations of two conceptual cognates, Orient and *Divan*, are deliberately mistaken to broach the absurd. In so doing, the author refocuses our attention on the tacit understanding of the realness of the object that makes the parody workable. The *Kaffeefest* was funny because presumably it ground against the *Divan*'s poetic feeling.

All this might seem ancillary to Orientalist song. But from the perspective of a broader musical *Divan* reception, the significance of Mendelssohn's waltz extends to the Lied. The mere existence of a 'Westöstlicher Redactionswaltzer' shows that the *Divan* neither fully circumscribed the genres nor constituted the tone of its musical reception. Considering Mendelssohn's *Divan* waltz together with her *Divan* cycle as two chapters of the same project suggests the contrary. Mendelssohn's musical responses to the *Divan* are conditioned by generic and stylistic convention. Her two *Divan* sets, song cycle and

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[152] Heinrich Heine, *Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. by Manfred Windfuhr, 16 vols (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1973–1997), VIII (1979), pp. 160–162ff; cf. Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus*, p. 89.

[153] *Clara and Robert Schumann Briefwechsel: 1832–1838*, ed. by Eva Weissweiler, 2 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Roter Stern, 1984), I, pp. 151–152.

waltz, are the obverse of each other. They work as generic frames into which the *Divan* is made to fit. The collection is first made to yield to the demands of song and then to the demands of the public waltz. Yet in the very oppositeness of the two styles lies potential for definition in the negative. That Mendelssohn chose to compose a 'Westöstlicher Redactionswaltzer' and not a 'Westöstliches Redactionslied' to the words of the issue's motto suggests that the Lied was too sincere a medium to accommodate the Turk's satire. As Mendelssohn conceived it, an Orientalist Lied could not be '*mokkant*'. This is not because of Orientalism, which could tend towards the absurd, but because of the Mendelssohnian *Sololied*, which with its particular ideals of expression and sensitivity could not.

Perhaps more interesting than the question of style is the issue of Orientalist performance. The grounds of Leipziger Straße 3 provided what Borchard and Bartsch have termed multiple 'sites for music'.[154] The best remembered of these is the *Gartensaal* that hosted Mendelssohn's semi-public *Sonntagsmusiken* in the 1830s.[155] The garden onto which the *Gartensaal* opened also offered an important site.[156] Mendelssohn's polyphonic *Gartenlieder*, published in the 1840s, could have been conceived for performance under the 'magnificent trees… with merrily twittering birds… [in] the quietest and almost rural seclusion' of the family compound.[157] The *Gartenzeitung* places Mendelssohnian musical Orientalism precisely in this context. The imagined 'site' is clear: Mendelssohn sits at the piano in the *Gartensaal*, vamping on her waltz while the

[154] Borchard and Bartsch, 'Sites for Music', 119–138, esp. pp. 119–121.
[155] For a list of repertoire, see Anja Bunzel, 'Popular Song in the (Semi-)Private Domain? Considering the Nineteenth-Century Salon in the Context of Popular Culture', in *Popular Song in the 19th Century*, ed. by Derek B. Scott (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 113–132.
[156] Todd, *Other Mendelssohn*, p. 87.
[157] Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family*, I, p. 122; for more see Borchard and Bartsch, 'Sites for Music', p. 123.

other participants outside processed towards the 'editorial square' to take their coffee. The social practice is also clear. Orientalist glosses must also have been part of the Mendelssohns' programme of sociability. For the *Gartenzeitung* less resembles a final record and more a trace of a spontaneous and continuously evolving phenomenon.

It was not uncommon to Orientalise Western gardens in the early nineteenth century.[158] One of those who socialised in the Mendelssohn household from 1825, Heinrich Stieglitz, reported a curious episode to his wife in 1826 in which the 'garden of the blue house' came to resemble 'a valley in Kashmir' with each turn-about.[159] Mendelssohn set one of Stieglitz's Orientalist poems in 1827, a year after the *Gartenzeitung* disbanded to make way for the *Schnee-und-Tee Zeitung*.[160] The setting must have stemmed from a sociable event in which poetry was either discussed or exchanged. The poem was first published four years after Mendelssohn's setting in the second volume of *Bilder des Orients* in 1831.[161] The most noteworthy difference between the earlier and published poem is the title. In Stieglitz's collection, the poem is listed untitled as the fifth number of a miniature *Duodrama* between 'Ali und Fatme'. The only indication of who sings comes by way of a pronoun 'er'. Mendelssohn's song carries the much more descriptive title 'Achmed an Irza'.[162] As the title suggests, Mendelssohn's song is a serenade. Achmed asks his beloved to 'send down her rays' as he stands outside. In Stieglitz's published poem, the sense of space is heightened. Irza responds to Achmed's

[158] Cf. Stefan Koppelkamm, *Der Imaginäre Orient: exotische Bauten des achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin: Ernst and Sohn, 1987).
[159] *Briefe von Heinrich Stieglitz an seine Braut Charlotte,* ed. by Louis Curtze, 2 vols (Leipzig: Brockhaus 1859), II, p. 48.
[160] H-U 211; SBB – PK, MA Depos. Lohs 2, fols 12^{v}–13^{r}.
[161] Heinrich Stieglitz, *Bilder des Orients*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Cnobloch, c. 1831–1833), II (1831), p. 143.
[162] Stieglitz published a poem, 'Achmed's Heimkehr' in the final poem of a trilogy of early Orientalist poems, 'Der Mamelucken-Knabe', *Der Gesellschafter oder Blätter für Geist und Herz,* 9 (1825), p. 993.

song ‘vom Balkone’. Fanny did not set Irza’s response, but the song does appear in manuscript form directly after another Suleika setting, ‘Wie mit innigstem Behagen’, which tells of sentimentally understanding the ‘meaning’ of a song that communicates the beloved’s virtual presence.[163] Were it not for the specific characters mentioned in the title, the two songs could be plausibly grouped into a phantom cycle. Yet the most tantalising aspect of the setting appears in the margin. As in Stieglitz’s published version, Fanny subtitles the poem ‘*im Garten*’. Could the scenic description refer to both the internal scene of the serenade and the external garden of Leipziger Straße 3? Perhaps she also imagined Suleika standing in the garden’s shady groves, singing to her Hatem in the *Gartenhaus*, an Orientalist paradise in the middle of Berlin.

Tableaux of Two Hands

After Mendelssohn married the court painter Wilhelm Hensel in 1829, they took up residence in the *Gartenhaus*.[164] No more poignantly is the more private façade of the *Gartenhaus* represented than in the Hensels’ Italian *Reise-Album* from 1840. The album ends with a setting of Goethe’s ‘Hausgarten’.[165] Not only does Goethe’s title allude to the Hensels’ home, but the poem itself details the moment when the excitement of a voyage ‘durch fremde Lande’ gives way to domesticity.[166] Wilhelm designed a vignette for the setting, as he did for all the entries in the album, this one depicting a set of steps leading up to a foliaged entrance.[167] ‘Hausgarten’ provides musical evidence for Sebastian

[163] H-U 210; MA Depos. Lohs 2, fol. 11^{v}.
[164] Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, p. 140.
[165] Cf. Gisela Müller and Viola Hildebrand-Schat, “‘Goethe hat mich auf dieser Reise nicht verlassen”: Das letzte Lied in Fanny und Wilhelm Hensels *Reise-Album 1839–1840*’, *Jahrbuch des staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (2003), 189–206.
[166] Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, p. 269.
[167] *“O glückliche, reiche, einzige Tage”: Fanny und Wilhelm Hensels italienische Reise*, ed. by Hans-Günter Klein (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006), esp. pp. 54–55.

Hensel's assertion that Leipziger Straße 3 was more than 'mere bricks and mortar'.[168] For the work exemplifies the artistic values attached to the Mendelssohns' home, and more particularly the *Gartenhaus*, which became the represented subject of art and song.

The setting is exemplary in more ways than one. 'Hausgarten' contains a song and an image, its author not one, but two Hensels. That at least some of the Hensels' art was to be understood in such terms, as a kind of '*Wechselwirkung*' to quote Goethe's 1821 comments on Zelter, is made clear by a different source, a letter the Hensels wrote from Rome to Lea Mendelssohn for her birthday in 1840, now in private hands.[169] At the top of the letter, the Hensels transcribe a polyphonic setting of a *Divan* epigraph in black, fringed with a vignette of a cradle in gold, suggesting that they had Goethe's collection with them while they were undertaking their own temporary 'Hegire' southwards.[170] The calligraphically rendered title of the setting, 'Usck Nameh', represents a curious choice of exoticism that must point to Lea's familiarity with Goethe's Persian ossia for the *Buch der Liebe*.[171] At the bottom of the setting, to the right of the last stave of music, two hands are neatly drawn. A woman's hand holds a quill, noting the first chord of the piece. The man's hand holds a paintbrush, blotting a patch of gold. These are the two hands of a compositional model, one visual and one musical.[172]

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[168] Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family*, trans. by Klingemann, I, p. 121.
[169] 15 March 1840, https://onlineonly.christies.com/s/alphabet-genius-important-autograph-letters-manuscripts/fanny-mendelssohn-later-hensel-1805-1847-227/205010, last accessed, 6 March 2025.
[170] FA, III/1, p. 329; since the epigraph is not included in the *Erstausgabe,* the Hensels must have cited from the *Ausgabe letzter Hand*.
[171] Ibid.; Goethe spells it 'Uschk Nameh' in the 'neuer Divan'.
[172] Cf. Hans-Günter Klein, 'Auch in künstlerischer Zusammenarbeit vereint – Wilhelm Hensel, zeichnend, und Fanny Hensel, komponierend; zwei Neuerwerbungen für das Mendelssohn-Archiv der Staatsbibliothek', *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, 35 (1999), 265–276.

The Hensels collaborated in multiple media.[173] But it was for their braid of music and image that they are best known. Two of the cycles mentioned earlier, the *Liederkreis an Felix* (1829) and Alexander's translations of Heine (1834), included vignettes. The role of image in both cycles is not merely decorative. Wilhelm's illustrations contain clues to the songs' meaning. In the former, Wilhelm's frieze includes a transcription of Felix's three-note motive from the song 'Frage', which sets the theme of the cycle's subsequent intertextual play with motive.[174] In the latter, Wilhelm's 'arabesque', as Fanny termed it, throws into sharper relief the cycle's programme by representing the sufferings of the singing protagonist in a series of narrative tableaux. He enriches the signification of music by incorporating the icons of an artistic-visual tradition, as he would do in contexts beyond the Lied, such as Fanny's piano cycle *Das Jahr*.[175]

The Alexander cycle reveals an important context for the Hensels' combination of music and image: the *Stammbuch*. These were sociable books in which friends and acquaintances would inscribe quotations, images, poems, and excerpts of music. A date, a signature, sometimes a little message '*zum freundlichen Andenken*' would personalise the inscription. Some albums reminded the owners of the textual totems of friendship. Others took on the air of an autograph collection, satisfying the growing demand for auratic originals and handwriting samples.[176] Just as salons and societies

[173] For more on Fanny's settings of Wilhelm's poetry, particularly between 1829 and 1832, see Hellwig-Unruh, *Thematisches Werkeverzeichnis*, esp. pp. 215–245.

[174] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 22, fols 22–25 (on fol. 22[r]); Borchard and Bartsch, 'Sites for Music', pp. 127–128.

[175] For a reproduction, see Boyd Alexander, 'Some Unpublished Letters', between pp. 16–17, and p. 45 for Fanny's designation of 'arabesque'; cf. Marian Wilson Kimber, 'Fanny Hensel's Seasons of Life: Poetic Epigrams, Vignettes, and Meaning in *Das Jahr*', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 27 (2008), 359–395, esp. pp. 365ff.

[176] Ralf Wehner, '"Ich zeigte Mendelssohns Albumblatt vor und Alles war gut": Zur Bedeutung der Stammbucheintragungen und Albumblätter von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy', in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Kongress-Bericht Berlin 1994*, ed. by Christian Martin Schmidt (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1997), pp. 37–63, esp. p. 41.

could have a specific focus, so albums could be oriented towards a certain medium. Music albums were one such orientation.[177] These could be more public-facing, '[building] a bridge between private-personal contexts and public musical life', as Henrike Rost has argued.[178] The albums of the Mendelssohns may be read in this way: not only as documents of friendly communication or exhibitions of musical antiquarianism, but as an informal record of contemporary musical networks. One reason we know that Paganini and Moscheles met Fanny on their various concert tours to Berlin, for example, is because they inscribed entries in the latter's *Noten-Album*.[179]

It is in this context that Orientalism and the Lied come together. In 1836, Felix Mendelssohn prepared a *Stammbuch* for his fiancée, Cécile Jeanrenaud. As was customary, Felix asked Fanny and Wilhelm to contribute to the book. Felix specified the Suleika duet, 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand', as 'a favourite of the Jeanrenauds', and 'Die Schiffende', to a text of Ludwig Hölty, which was published that year in an anthology that featured Carl Loewe, Friedrich Jähns, Wilhelm Taubert, Gaspare Spontini, Gioachino Rossini, John Field, and Felix himself.[180] Fanny was asked to produce two more settings, 'a rather melancholy, short one' and 'one that you [Fanny] choose at your own discretion'.[181] She responded to this request with a second, longer setting of her earlier 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen'. The Heine poem she selected, 'Nacht liegt auf den

[177] For more on the 'Albumblatt' genre, see Oliver Huck, 'Albumblätter für Klavier – Manuskripte und Blätter im 19. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 75 (2018), 244–277.
[178] Henrike Rost, *Musik-Stammbücher. Erinnerung, Unterhaltung und Kommunikation im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2020), p. 118.
[179] SBB – PK, Ma Ms. 142, fols 12^{v} and 18^{v}.
[180] Cécile evidently had a fondness for Suleika settings. Felix's Suleika setting, 'Was bedeutet die Bewegung' from 1837 appears in a *Liederbüchlein* for her in 1845: https://juilliardmanuscriptcollection.org/phpviewer/index.php?path=MEND_LCMB, last accessed 16 March 2025; 'Die Schiffende' was published by Schlesinger, https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN776832271&PHYSID=PHYS_0007&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001.
[181] Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, ed. by Helmut Loos, Wilhelm Seidel, and others, 12 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008–2017), v, ed. by Uta Wald (2012), p. 131.

fremden Wegen', was a concentrated exercise in melancholy. As the 'provider of vignettes', Wilhelm decorated the two *Divan* settings with images.[182]

The first vignette depicts Suleika playing a lute in Orientalist costume (see Figure 9). The assumption is that she also sings, thereby making two intermedial references: to the Romantic history of self-accompanying Orientals;[183] and to the early nineteenth-century practice of accompanying Lieder with plucked instruments, which is represented by the piano's arpeggio figurations.[184] Beneath Suleika, a winged angel springs from a flower, gesturing towards a palace in the distance. Wilhelm Hensel traced parts of the vignette with gold, resulting in shining finery around the edges.
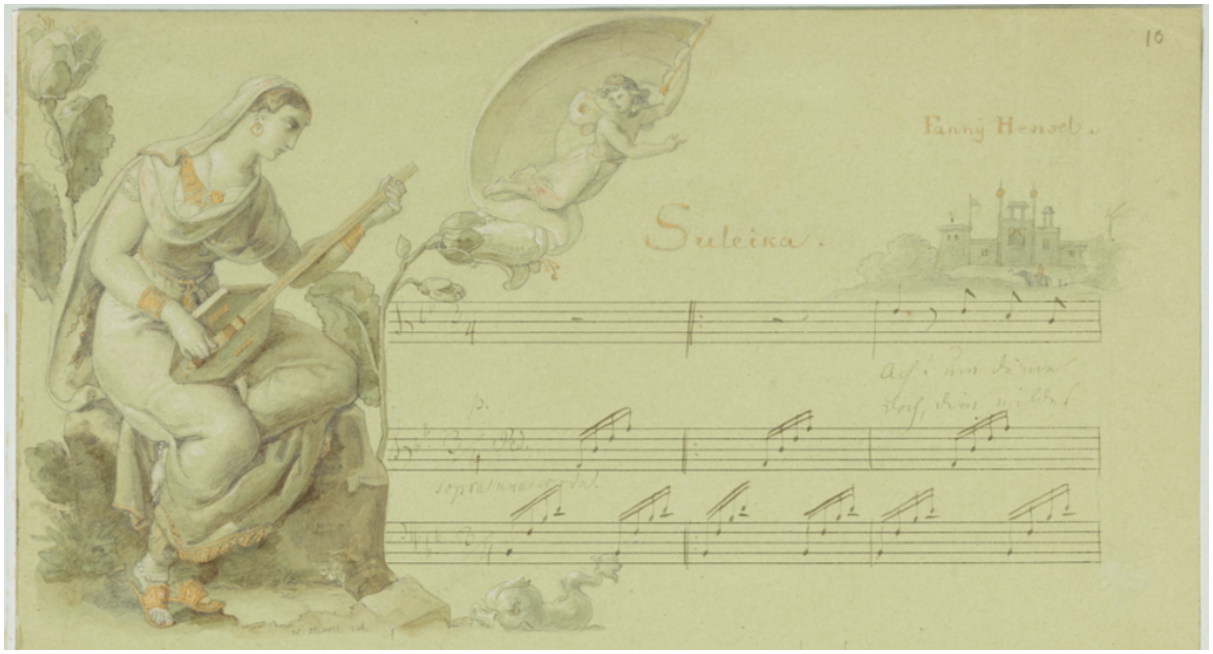


Figure 9: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn b. 2, fol. 10ʳ, CC-BY-NC 4.0

The second vignette, fringing 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand', is composed of a miniature narrative. On the left of the folio, Suleika is looking down at the 'Chiffer', the

[182] Fanny and Felix Mendelssohn, *Briefwechsel*, p. 238.
[183] James Hodkinson, 'Moving beyond the Binary? Christian-Islamic Encounters and Gender in the Thought and Literature of German Romanticism', in *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture*, ed. by James Hodkinson and Jeffrey Morrison (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009), pp. 108–127, esp. p. 117, for Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen,* where Zulima sings a song accompanied by a lute.
[184] Schwab, *Sangbarkeit,* p. 174.

'Wasserfäden', from the edge of the fountain. On the right, the two, Suleika and Hatem, lie in each other's arms. Felix noted that the 'unfinished one' pleased him almost as much as the 'completed one'.[185] The illustrated settings are no longer in the 1836 *Stammbuch,* but in an 1844 album given to Cécile.[186]

The reasons for the change of context are difficult to determine.[187] But one motivation could have stemmed from the topical contents of the latter *Stammbuch*, the criteria according to which certain items were selected and curated. On closer inspection, the Hensels' *Divan* collaborations are not the only entries in the 1844 album with an Orientalist theme. There are in fact a number of Orientalist items that were entered into the book, some of which bear the date 1844, the year it was presented to Cécile. It is worth exploring these briefly to sketch out the context the *Stammbuch*'s Orientalist textual sociability.

The first piece of Orientalism is an undated watercolour 'Nach Webers Oberon' by Eduard Bendemann.[188] In Bendemann's illustration, at the base of which lies a caption 'An dem Strand des Bund-Emir', a figure sits cross-legged, playing a stringed instrument to a little girl. The sketch bears strong relation to a landscape, undated and unsigned, which depicts a sun-kissed shore.[189] The second, by Wilhelm Kretzschmer and bearing the date 1844, strikes an ironic tone.[190] The image, titled 'Der Sultan wartet schon !!!!', depicts three riders careering down a path towards a palace that hovers in the distance,

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[185] Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, v, p. 159.
[186] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 21 (1836); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn b. 2 (1844), fols 10^{r}–11^{v} and 18^{r}–19^{v}: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/6b031e2b-4f25-41db-a2a6-f4ef45ed3a09/surfaces/6f460fa9-3cec-4b7b-a7d7-925b63ae4068/.
[187] Uta Wald, in Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, v, p. 565, argues that Fanny's songs were removed from the earlier album.
[188] MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn b. 2, fols 46^{r} and 48^{r}.
[189] Ibid., fols 86^{br} and 89^{r}.
[190] Ibid., fols 50^{r} and 51^{r}.

carrying an easel, palette, and all manner of painterly accoutrements. Their patron is there, but the artists are not, hence the rush. The next, by Felix Schadow and also from 1844, is a decorated pencil sketch of a poem from the *Divan*, 'Lieblich ist des Mädchens Blick'.[191] Schadow seems to have taken the Nazarenes as his model.[192] The long faces resemble the archaising *Divan* illustrations of the *Ausgabe letzter Hand* in the late 1820s, which were produced by the movement's sympathisers.[193] The fourth is a series of 'Arabic proverbs' translated by Friedrich Rückert, bearing the date 1844 and a note on the place, Berlin.[194] Three of the four Orientalist examples above were entered in 1844. The exception, the scene after Weber's *Oberon*, bears no date. Could Felix have removed the settings from the 1836 album to complement the visual and poetic Orientalism on show in the 1844 album? Given the fastidiousness with which some albums were itemised, the possibility cannot be ruled out.

From a medial perspective, in terms of the blend of the musical and visual, such an Henselian collaboration was not unusual. As shown, Wilhelm furnished Fanny's songs with images on numerous occasions. If understood as representations of the visual topos of the Oriental, his drawings of Suleika were also not unique.[195] But it is with an Orientalist *Festspiel* at the Prussian court in 1821 that Suleika's performative function in the *Stammbuch* starts to come to life. Based on Samuel Spiker's adaptation of Thomas

[191] Ibid., fol. 59^{r}.
[192] For an overview of the Nazarene movement, see William Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 163–190.
[193] Waltraud Maierhofer, 'Illustrations for the *Divan* in Editions of Goethe's Works during his Lifetime', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 89 (2020), 137–156, esp. pp. 149-154.
[194] MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn b. 2, fols 63^{r}–63^{v}.
[195] For his 1818 portrait of an Indian man, 'Balaya', see Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel and Sigrid Strachwitz, *Europa im Porträt: Zeichnungen von Wilhelm Hensel, 1794–1861*, 2 vols (Berlin: Mann, 2005), I, p. 29. The Mendelssohn Archiv in Berlin also contains some Orientalist pictures: an 'Orientalin', MA BA 188, 71; a 'Bauchtänzerinn', MA Hensel-Album 5, fol. 140; and an 'Orientalische Badeszene', MA BA 176.

Moore's *Lalla Rookh*,[196] the *Festspiel* was put on for the Russian royal pair, Grand Duke Nicholas, later Tsar, and his German bride, Princess Charlotte, known to the Russians as Alexandra Feodorovna, who had paid a visit to the Berlin court. The pageant was multimedia, 'a sensual combination of music, mimic and plastic representation, and dance'.[197] The court composer Gaspare Spontini composed incidental music and romances. The architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel arranged the groups and took care of the scenography.[198] The intendant of the court theatre Count Brühl saw to the costumes. Wilhelm was tasked with producing artistic reproductions of the *tableaux*.

The pageant was the talk of the town. The great and the good of Berlin flocked to the grand ballroom of the court to see members of the Prussian aristocracy dress up in Orientalist costume in two performances, the first on the 27 January and the second to an enlarged public on 11 February. Among those involved in the *Festspiel*'s representations were personalities who would produce their own examples of Orientalism, including Hermann Pückler-Muskau, who would write Orientalist travelogues, and Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, who published his own translation of *Lalla Rûkh* in 1822.[199] Memorabilia were subsequently produced.[200] The processional train was depicted on porcelain.[201] Portraits were commissioned of dignitaries in Orientalist

[196] Goethe was aware of Moore's fantasy and Hensel's drawings, for more see John Hennig, 'Goethe and "Lalla Rookh"', *The Modern Language Review*, 48 (1953), 445–450.
[197] Carl Brühl and Samuel Spiker, *Lalla Rûkh: Ein Festspiel mit Gesang und Tanz* (Berlin: Wittich, 1822), p. 2.
[198] For more on Schinkel, see Anna Marie Pfäfflin, 'Bühnenbild und inszenierter Raum: zum Konzept des Theatralischen im Werk von Karl Friedrich Schinkel', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 56 (2014), 111–121, esp. p. 120.
[199] Daniela Richter, 'Oriental "Flânerie": Fürst Pückler-Muskau's "Aus Mehemed Alis Reich"', *The German Quarterly*, 88 (2015), 172–188; and Friedrich de La Motte-Fouqué, *Lalla Rukh, oder die mongolische Prinzessin* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1822).
[200] In 1847, Clara Schumann commissioned a copy of Hensel's portrait of Princess Elise Radziwill as the Peri for Robert who had set the topic in 1843; for more, see Gerd Nauhaus, 'Wilhelm Hensel's "Peri" – A Search for Clues', *Schumann-Journal,* 3 (2014) 120–131, p. 104 for a reproduction.
[201] Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus*, pp. 526ff.

character.[202] Spontini's score was published as a piano arrangement in 1821.[203] Documentary booklets laid out the proceedings in full. That visitors to Berlin in 1825 were reminded of the event shows how entrenched *Lalla Rûkh* had become in the city's cultural memory.[204]

The last two sets of memorabilia stand out from this multimedia crowd, Brühl's *Lalla Rûkh* (1822) and Hensel's *tableaux vivants* (1823). Both provide documentation of the event's choreography, casting, poses, and sources. Brühl lavishes particular detail on the costumes. Participants were said to have been clothed 'with the most faithful observation of the all the idiosyncrasies [...] which label the Orient', as the organisers pored over the Indian collections of the Royal Library and British travel guides in search of authentic material. The emphasis was on the intention to 'observe' the originals, rather than on reproducing the originals themselves. Now and then, Brühl noted, a 'critical connoisseur of art' would recognise a discrepancy between the ideal original and its practical realisation.[205] E.T.A. Hoffmann, who would write a glowing review of Spontini's music, took the costumes at face value.[206] He reportedly requested a drawing of one of the costumes on behalf of someone in his retinue, who wanted to appear as a 'Persian hero' in a different context.[207]

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[202] See Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel and Jutta Arnold, *Wilhelm Hensel, Maler und Porträtist, 1794–1861: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Mann, 2004), esp. pp. 82ff, and BILDTEIL, II, III.
[203] Spontini developed the final portion of the pageant, 'Das Rosenfest', into an opera, *Nurmahal*, in 1822.
[204] Cf. Malla Montgomery-Silfverstolpe, *Das romantische Deutschland. Reisejournal einer Schwedin (1825–1826)*, ed. by Ellen Key (Leipzig: Albert Bonnier, 1912), p. 112.
[205] Brühl, *Lalla Rûkh*, p. 22.
[206] E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Wulf Segebrecht and Hartmut Steinecke, 5 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1984–2005) V (1992), pp. 609-611 (p. 610); for a discussion of this passage in the context of the original review, see Joanna Neilly, '"Alla Turca" versus the Romantic East: E.T.A. Hoffmann and Oriental-Style Music', *German Life and Letters*, 67 (2014), 139–158, esp. pp. 149–150.
[207] Hoffmann, *Werke*, v, p. 1109–1110.

The second document, the illustrations of the *tableaux vivants*, brings us back to Wilhelm. He drew eight pictures of the poses reproduced in the first volume: two for the first *Erzählung*, 'Der Verschleierte Prophet von Khorasan'; three for the second, 'Das Paradies und die Peri'; and three for the third, 'Die Ghebern'.[208] These were printed one per page in copperplate form, captioned with a note on the aristocratic performer and their Orientalist alias, and prefaced by translucent inserts of the accompanying poem on silk paper. Wilhelm's preparatory sketches show that he must have spent some time reproducing the poses of the participants and the finery of Orientalist costume.[209] They show him both blowing up portions of the full-size image to work on specific sections and experimenting with the folds and flow of a garment in an act of movement.[210] If Wilhelm's attention to sartorial matters follows Brühl's ethnographic focus, in seeking to capture a sense of dynamism in static representation, he was grappling with one of the theoretical challenges of the genre itself.

Tableaux vivants involved the staging of pictures, real or imagined, using a combination of media, including costume, pose, music, and lighting.[211] Many *tableaux*, including those of the *Festspiel*, were described as 'illusions'. This sense of illusion was created not only by the interplay of lighting and pose, but by the fact that a 'frozen' picture was animated by the physicality of a body in space. The 1838 *Damen Conversations-Lexicon* described the *tableau* as suspending 'moving life' itself in an 'artistically fixed

[208] Wilhelm Hensel, *Die Lebenden Bilder und pantomimischen Darstellungen bei dem Festspiel Lalla Rukh* (Berlin: Wittich 1823); Nauhaus, 'Wilhelm Hensel', p. 124, mentions twelve 'pictorial representations' spread across the four scenes. There seems to have been two '*Abteilungen*', as indicated on the title page, but I have only found the first volume, which contains eight drawings.
[209] MA Hensel-Album 2, fols 33–58; for a full discussion, see Lowenthal-Hensel and Arnold, *Wilhelm Hensel*, pp. 82–83.
[210] MA Hensel-Album 2, nos. 34, 40, 44, and 45 for his reproduction of sartorial sweeps.
[211] For a full investigation, see Birgit Jooss, *Lebende Bilder: Körperliche Nachahmung von Kunstwerken in der Goethezeit* (Berlin: Reimer, 1999).

moment'.[212] Core theoretical tensions attending the performance of *tableaux* and their working in literature thus involved negotiating the balance between stasis and animation and the relationship between art and life.[213] A second aspect to note is that staging *tableaux* was a sociable pleasure. They relied on multiple participants and were designed for an audience, who would be entertained and instructed.[214] The transfer of medium and context, from canvas to skin and parlour, brought with it a more involved spectatorial role. Those watching would be locked in a state of contemplative absorption that mirrored the performers' immersion in re-enacting a picture. As an integral frame and source of charged energy, the spectators were in this sense part of the action.

The *tableaux* in *Lalla Rûkh* demonstrate two of these tendencies. They thematise the deceptive mixing of identities in art and life and retain an orientation towards the active observer. The cast-lists published in Brühl's description and at the bottom of Hensel's images present the two identities side-by-side, the real and the Orientalist. The two names were not to be conceived as independent personae, but in terms of a simultaneous '*Doppelcharakter*', as Polaschegg has argued.[215] Todd appears to notice a similar doubleness in Wilhelm's 1836 drawing of Suleika, which to him represents a 'Cécile-like figure idealized as a Persian princess'.[216] With regard to the second aspect, the involvement of the audience, Brühl is explicit about how *tableaux* could turn 'these

[212] [Anon.], 'Tableaux', in *Damen Conversations-Lexicon*, ed. by Carl Herloßsohn, 10 vols (Adorf: Verlags-Bureau, 1834–1838), x (1838), p. 1.
[213] The tableau scene in Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809) helped popularise the medium, see Thomas S. Grey, '*Tableaux vivants:* Landscape, History, Painting and the Visual Imagination in Mendelssohn's Orchestral Music', *19th-Century Music*, 21 (1997), 38–76 (p. 39); see also Alison E. Martin, 'Sympathy and Spectacle: Lebende Bilder, Attitüden, and Visual Representation in Johanna Schopenhauer's Travel Writing', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 73 (2004), 19–38.
[214] Jooss, *Lebende Bilder*, pp. 22–23.
[215] Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus*, p. 523.
[216] Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, p. 216. The implications of this reading would extend to the duet, with Felix becoming Hatem in the second vignette.

spectators [into] acting persons belonging to the whole'.[217] One crucial difference, however, concerns the *Festspiel's* reversed chain of representation. Unlike the *tableaux* that took historical paintings as models for performance, Wilhelm represented freely imagined *tableaux* '*nach der Natur*'. Wilhelm's naturalistic representations serve as new original models for future representations, a sort of visual script that would reinstate the two-dimensional image as the source to be copied. The publications on *Lalla Rûkh* were thus perhaps more than memorabilia to be flicked through. Adding to Spontini's piano reduction (1821) and Brühl's choreography (1822), Hensel's drawings (1823) gave the public the final document needed to re-stage *liederspielartig* versions of the *Festspiel* at home. Its purpose was thus essentially recreative.

Music had always been integral to *tableaux vivants*.[218] The *Festspiel* made no exception. Spontini's romances were sung by members of the court opera while the *tableaux* were being performed, the singers out of eyeshot. Their function was directly related to the presentation of image, offering a 'continuous commentary' and 'explanation of the individual moments', as well as transporting 'the viewer into the general mood in which he should view the image'.[219] Brühl's final phrase, '*in die allgemeine Stimmung zu versetzen*', was a shibboleth of the generalist Berliner Lied aesthetic of 'symbolic' musical representation.[220] In a Mendelssohnian context, there is evidence to suggest that Orientalist Lieder were also performed in *tableau* form, the

[217] Brühl, *Lalla Rûkh*, p. 2.
[218] For an overview of the role of music in *tableaux vivants*, including Mendelssohn as a case study, see John Michael Cooper, '"And the Effect of the Whole was Indescribably Beautiful": Music and *Tableaux Vivants* in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany', in *Literary and Musical Notes: A Festschrift for Wm. A. Little*, ed. by Geoffrey C. Orth (Bern: Lang, 1995), pp. 9–26.
[219] Brühl, *Lalla Rûkh*, p. 6.
[220] Cf. MA, xx/1, p. 599: 'es kommt darauf an den Hörer in die Stimmung zu versetzen welche das Gedicht angibt…'.

frozen visual medium providing an adequate match for the engrossed absorption of lyrical affect. The 1836 *Stammbuch* that Felix presented to Cécile contains an entry from Marianne von Willemer, dated 25 June 1839, in which she pressed a wreath of flowers with a note 'in memory of the Midsummer Night's Dream'.[221] Willemer's wreath and message refer to a salon production of *tableaux* in which Felix took part, as he wrote to Lea:

> After we had made some music, played and sung, a dark room opened, and from quite another side my overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* resounded, and in the middle, the curtain went up and showed a most lovely tableau on it.
>
> Then, there followed a whole series of such tableaux with my music. The second was an 'old-German' girl in her room, to whom a lover sang under the window 'leucht't heller als die Sonne' in the rain and snow, and who seemed to like it very much.
>
> [...]
>
> Hereupon a Persian room with a pretty Suleika, who began to sing herself, and very daintily and beautifully performed my song in E minor, without leaving her position.[222]

The song in E minor was Felix's 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' (op. 34, no. 4, publ. 1837), the same text that the Hensels had set for Cécile's album in 1836.

The two sets of Orientalist *tableaux* mentioned above, the visually documented poses of the *Festspiel* in Berlin in 1821 and the textually described scene of Suleika singing a song in a Persian room in Frankfurt in 1839, provide a combinative model according to which the performative potential of Wilhelm's *Divan* images can be gauged. Wilhelm's drawings in the 1844 album, the first representing Suleika singing alone, the second a miniature diptych, do not simply contextualise the notes on the page or place

[221] MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 21, fol. 165[r].
[222] Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, VI, ed. by Kadja Grönke and Alexander Staub (2012), p. 424; see also Dieter Martin, 'Vertonungen', in *'Symbolik',* ed. by Jung, p. 142, n. 26.

them in a particular setting. Nor do they merely abstract Mendelssohn's notation into visual symbolism, turning her score into an icon of Orientalist musical-visual *Phantasie* that extends as a speech bubble from Suleika's lute. Just as Mendelssohn's notes provide a script for a musical performance, Wilhelm's drawings provide the sketch for a visual performance practice, moving beyond their material context to outline poses that could be revived. As 'frozen' images that, once animated, could 'suspend life' in an 'artistically fixed moment', Wilhelm's drawings present hypothetical originals of ephemeral and musically accompanied *tableaux*. The documented text of the whole song, music and image, was an instruction.

There were professional benefits to Wilhelm's engagement with *Lalla Rûkh*. In 1829, Wilhelm remarked in his *Lebenslauf* that the event gave him the opportunity to develop his craft.[223] The *Festspiel* also cemented his reputation as a painter and portraitist.[224] But there was also a personal boon to the whole affair. It was in the context of *Lalla Rûkh* that Wilhelm met Fanny for the first time. The story changes slightly from source to source. Theodor Fontane, on the one hand, claimed that the Mendelssohns attended a performance of the *Festspiel*.[225] Sebastian Hensel noted, on the other, that the two met when the Mendelssohn family visited Wilhelm's atelier to look at the artistic reproductions hung on the walls.[226] Either way, *vivant* or frozen, Wilhelm and Fanny met at an exhibition of Orientalist pictures.

[223] Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, 'Wilhelm Hensels "Lebenslauf" von 1829', *Mendelssohn-Studien*, 3 (1979), 175–179 (p. 178).
[224] Lowenthal-Hensel and Arnold, *Wilhelm Hensel*, p. 80.
[225] Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, 'Theodor Fontane über Wilhelm Hensel', *Mendelssohn-Studien*, 3 (1979), 181–199 (p. 185).
[226] Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family*, trans. by Klingemann, I, p. 95.

In their 1844 *Stammbuch* context, the two *Divan* songs build a 'phantom' dyad. 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' represents Suleika in the midst of a self-accompanied song. 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand' shows the two figures together after the pain of separation, singing to each other. The two sets of images, read as a dyad, are symmetrically ordered. Each Suleika faces in the other's direction, heads down, across several leaves. The 1825 narrative in which 'An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand' comes before 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen' would not do. Felix appropriately reverses Fanny's original narrative to close the cycle, completing it with a lyric of union. But most moving of all is the possibility of the memory of a first encounter to translate into art and amplify another Orientalist act of 'silent communication', as Goethe put it in his essay on *Blumensprache* in the *NuA*. Just as *Lalla Rûkh* had brought the future Hensels together in 1821, the *Divan* was used in 1836 to mark the union of Felix and Cécile. With that the markers of life itself were suspended in an 'artistically fixed moment', a *tableau* composed by the two hands of Orientalism and the Lied.

Chapter 3: Stieglitz and Marx

Death in Berlin

Following a performance of *Der Freischütz* in March 1827, a 'remembrance service' was held in Leipzig in honour of Carl Maria von Weber.[1] Weber's music was not represented by concert performances but by five *tableaux vivants*. These were themselves represented by a narrator, who declaimed a poem written for the occasion by Heinrich Stieglitz. It is difficult to imagine how such a performance could have worked in practice, but it seems as though poem, music, and mime took place simultaneously. Like Spontini's romances, here as well the music sounded 'behind the scene' out of eyeshot, the *tableaux* and recitation performed in full view. Most of the musical excerpts were taken from works for the stage: the second and third scenes from *Euryanthe*, the fourth from *Preciosa*, the fifth from *Oberon*. But the first scene depicted a song, Weber's male-voice setting of a Theodor Körner poem about the Lützow Hunters battling French tyranny during the Wars of Liberation between 1813 and 1815. Viewed in the context of the 'German-Italian opera wars' of the 1820s in which Weber's operas, *Der Freischütz* in particular, were held up by one set of belligerents as standard-bearers for a national musical culture, the use of the Weber-Körner song could only stress a musical-political programme.[2] As Marx noted at mid-century, 'Körner's war songs made [Weber] the bard of our nation'.[3] The war against Napoleon might have ended, with Europe restored to a state of pre- and counter-revolutionary order, but Weber's operas were still embroiled in

[1] Heinrich Stieglitz, 'Webers Todtenfeier', *Berliner Conversations-Blatt für Poesie, Literatur und Kritik,* 1 (1827), pp. 241–243.
[2] Cf. Richard Engländer, 'The Struggle between German and Italian Opera at the Time of Weber', *The Musical Quarterly*, 31 (1945), 479–491.
[3] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *The Music of the Nineteenth Century and its Culture*, trans. by August Heinrich Wehrhan (London: Robert Cocks, 1855), p. 63.

a war over the German stage. This was one of the *Lyre*, not the *Sword*, the two words that made up the title of Körner's posthumously published collection of patriotic poems (*Leyer und Schwert*).

The event sought to demonstrate how Weber's music could commune intermedially with the fantasies of image and text. But in this friendly cooperation of the arts, it was poetry that had the upper hand. Stieglitz's poem had the privilege of mediating between the sonic (music) and the plastic (mime and gesture), interpreting the scene for the spectator's eye while delighting their ear through the musical interplay of rhyme and syllable. Stieglitz described his task as 'harmonising' in 'sense' and 'tone' with Weber's compositions. The poem was 'interwoven' with tableaux to 'make [the images] visible'.[4] In the poem, programmatically titled 'Webers Todtenfeier', Stieglitz's actor shifts between presentational modes. He functions as a narrator, demanding that the audience 'hear' the sound of oncoming troupers and 'see' the images presented on stage; and plays role of the chorus, articulating the public's opinion on the enduring afterlife of the characters themselves.

The fifth and final scene, from *Oberon*, gave Stieglitz the opportunity to represent Orientalism, then very much on his mind. Weber's *Oberon* features a panoramic cast of characters, including courtiers, a caliph, and a corsair.[5] Ralph Locke describes the work as a 'voyage musicale', containing 'a rich and varied display of explicitly exotic music'.[6] Some of the music Weber took from travelogues in a rare instance of German musical

[4] Heinrich Stieglitz, *Eine Selbstbiographie*, ed. and compl. by Louis Curtze (Gotha: Perthes, 1865), p. 90.
[5] On the motifs of Christoph Martin Wieland's *Oberon*, see W. Daniel Wilson, *Humanität und Kreuzzugsideologie um 1780: Die "Türkenoper" im 18. Jahrhundert und das Rettungsmotiv in Wielands 'Oberon', Lessings 'Nathan' und Goethes 'Iphigenie'* (Frankfurt. a.M.: Lang, 1984), pp. 39–59, esp. pp. 41.
[6] Ralph Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancer, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East', *19th-Century Music*, 22 (1998), 20–53, p. 26.

Orientalist *Werktreue*.[7] None of these characters appears in the excerpt selected for the event, the opening chorus from Act I ('Light as fairy foot can fall'), but the long-standing late eighteenth-century and Romantic association between the neverlands of fantasy and the Orient nevertheless permitted Stieglitz to deploy imaginative verse. Having described the fleet-footed fairies, Stieglitz moves on to comment on Oberon himself:

> Oberon, dein Zauberstab vereinet,
> Herrlich Orient und Occident,
> Und entlockt, wenn seine Macht erscheinet,
> Lieder selbst dem feuchten Element.[8]

The image of Oberon of unravelling or extracting song from an elemental source functions as a metaphor for the compositional process. As Oberon is mentioned by name and the scene selected is the first of the opera, this compositional process specifically relates to *Oberon* itself. Stieglitz suggests that the character Oberon conjures up the music of his eponymous work (*Oberon*).

But Stieglitz's programmatic intention was also to elide Weber with his poetic and musical creations. He noted that the 'pictures of life' that 'cheerfully suspend themselves over grave and death' should have prompted the audience to think about how '[Weber] and his art' are given new life by his characters. The performance ended with Weber's characters decorating a bust of the composer placed onstage. The same principle of character blurring applies to the extract on *Oberon*. That Oberon extracts 'songs… from the wet element' not only refers to the character, Oberon, but chimes with a series of river images Stieglitz invokes earlier to remind the audience that it was Weber ('our master') who composed the opera, *Oberon*, for the London stage in 1825–1826:

> Aber unser, unser ist der Meister,

[7] Ibid., p. 27.
[8] Heinrich Stieglitz, 'Webers Todtenfeier', p. 242.

Der mit Seinem Geiste voll und tief,
An der düstern Themse luft'ge Geister
Zarter Elfen in das Leben rief.[9]

As authors, Oberon and Weber are thus interchangeable. Oberon's 'magic wand' becomes a metaphor for Weber's magic quill. It is Weber as much as Oberon who 'unites' Orient and Occident by dominating the elements. In this blurring of boundaries between creator and created, the topics of Orientalism and song both are both invoked as instruments of 'his power'.

This panegyric provides a thematic entrance to the work of Heinrich Stieglitz. The poet is not known for his Orientalism or for his embeddedness within musical culture in scholarship today.[10] But with grim irony he is known for a death. The Stieglitz whom literary scholarship knows is Charlotte Willhöft, Heinrich's wife, who committed suicide in 1834.[11] The event was a sensation – not simply because Charlotte, a respected figure in Berlin, had taken her own life, but because of how and why she had chosen to do so. Charlotte apparently took the dagger Heinrich gifted her and stabbed herself.[12] In a letter written moments before the suicide, she listed the reason as wanting to provoke in Heinrich poetry through tragedy, to spur him onto great things.[13] The symbolism of the act was clear enough: the bed linen was white; she was dressed in white; the moon shone

[9] Ibid.
[10] For an introduction to Heinrich Stieglitz, see Michael Hinze, '"Ich habe viel Energisches an ihm bemerkt…": Begegnungen mit dem Schriftsteller Heinrich Stieglitz', in *Goethe in Korbach*, ed. by Hans-Rudolf Ruppel (Korbach: Wilhelm Bing Verlag, 1990), pp. 25–32; and Karl Goedecke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*, 18 vols, 2nd edn, rev. by Edmund Goetze and others (Hannover: Ehlermann, 1859–1881, repr. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998), VIII, pp. 305–312; Maria Behrendt has recently discussed Stieglitz settings in *Brücken in die Gegenwelt: Romantische Aspekte im deutschen Kunstlied der 1830er Jahre*, 2 vols (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2020), I, pp. 162–195
[11] On Charlotte Stieglitz, see Lynne Tatlock, 'Grim Wives' Tales: Mundt's Stieglitz, Stieglitz's Goethe', *Monatshefte*, 82 (1990), 467–486.
[12] Cf. 'Stieglitz', in *Damen Conversations-Lexicon,* ed. by Carl Herloßsohn, 10 vols (Adorf: Verlags-Bureau, 1834–1838), IX (1837), which begins, 'the husband of the unlucky Charlotte', p. 424.
[13] Theodor Mundt, *Charlotte Stieglitz: Ein Denkmal* (Berlin: Veit, 1835), p. 310.

brightly. As the consequences for the reception of her husband's poetry were just as fatal – 'the eyes of the nation were now on him', wrote Joseph Meyer in his *Conversations-Lexicon* at mid-century – it is worth lingering here awhile.[14]

The initial chroniclers of the event and those who would champion Charlotte's posthumous reception were members of Young Germany, a loose organisation of radical writers, including Heine, who were prevented from publishing in the German Confederation.[15] Charlotte's letters, including her suicide note, became the stuff of historical-documentary and novelistic record. Theodor Mundt, a close friend of the Stieglitzes told all in his *Charlotte Stieglitz: Ein Denkmal* (1835). Karl Gutzkow's *Wally, die Zweiflerin*, the work that had the Young Germans placed under an interdict in the same year, was also inspired by the tragedy.[16] Later anthologies and historiographic accounts would go so far as to classify Charlotte as a Young German herself, the woman behind whom a phalanx of liberal German writers could rally in an epoch of spoiled hopes and political conservatism.[17]

While Charlotte was pushed forwards with the Young Germans, her widower Heinrich was pushed back further into literary history. His work and person were pathologized to advance an imperative for literature in the 1830s to become aware of itself, to march with progress, particularly following the death of Goethe in 1832.[18] Gutzkow framed the matter in a series of oppositions between the Orient and 'Vaterland':

> When [Charlotte] encountered a limp, weary, self-tormenting nature, when she had in her arms a poet with worn-out images, a scholar with gaping holes in his

[14] 'Stieglitz', in *Das große Conversations-Lexicon für die gebildeten Stände,* ed. by Joseph Meyer, 46 vols (Hildburghausen: Bibliographisches Institut, 1840–1854), XL (1852), p. 389.
[15] Ritchie Robertson, *Heine* (London: Peter Halban, 1988), pp. 20–21.
[16] Tatlock, 'Grim Wives' Tales', p. 468.
[17] Cf. *Das Junge Deutschland: Texte und Dokumente*, ed. by Jost Hermand (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1966), p. 26.
[18] For their Goethe criticism, see Helmut Koopmann, *Das Junge Deutschland: Analyse seines Selbstverständnisses* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1970), pp. 114–131.

> knowledge, when the past instead of the present, the Orient instead of the fatherland, Göthe's reminiscence instead of genius spoke from his mouth, she gave him up as he was, and continued to go astray, believing that he could be different.[19]

This dichotomy can be likewise mapped on to Mundt's recognition of a temporal dislocation in Heinrich's sticking to an 'old route', while searching for 'newer tones', resulting in a crippling sense of inactivity.[20] Heinrich Laube was more ambivalent in his writing about Stieglitz. Stieglitz was the critic's 'favourite among all *Preßfreiheitspoeten*'. It is perhaps tempting to see Laube lumping Stieglitz in with the *Biedermeier* poets untouched by censorial hands, though his advocacy of Stieglitz's oft-attributed 'emotional language for justice and freedom' could equally have been genuine.[21] If Laube tends towards a positive reception, Gutzkow and Mundt use Stieglitz as a motif of literary criticism, an historical case-study that anticipated the inevitable tragedy of two conflicting positions, a modernity still emerging and an increasingly 'trivialised' reactionary Romanticism in decline.[22] The former still had to be fought for and Stieglitz was read as its antithesis.

The so-called Young Germans hit on something that has since attended Stieglitz's reception. Stieglitz was late. In terms of Karl Immermann's *Die Epigonen* (1836), he was one of the '*Spätlinge*', '*nachgeboren*'.[23] The victimhood that these writers saw in

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[19] Karl Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Balz, 1839), II, pp. 128–129.

[20] Quoted in Wulf Wülfing, *Schlagworte des jungen Deutschland: Mit einer Einführung in der Schlagwortforschung* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1982), p. 118.

[21] Heinrich Laube, 'Deutsche Lyriker', *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 34 (1834), p. 428; for more on Laube's reviews for the *Zeitung*, see Andrew Cusack, 'Heinrich Laube's European moment', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 91 (2022), 211–228.

[22] Cf. John Fetzer, 'Die Romantische Lyrik', in *Romantik-Handbuch*, ed. by Helmut Schanze (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1994), pp. 311–335, esp. pp. 312–313; for their critique of Romanticism, see Koopmann, *Das Junge Deutschland*, pp. 153–164.

[23] Virgil Nemoianu, *The Taming of Romanticism: European Literature and the Age of Biedermeier* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 1–2; Ben Hutchinson, *Lateness and Modern European Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), esp. pp. 96–98.

Charlotte, the imbrication of personal tragedy and cultural-political stasis, was extended to Heinrich himself, whose inability to 'create' represented 'the general state of affairs in the German-speaking world of the "Vormärz" which constantly lamented its "Epigonentum"', as Lynne Tatlock has argued.[24] They read in him, and themselves demonstrated to a degree, an 'anxiety of lateness' that Ben Hutchinson has analysed in the literature of the 1830s, 'induced… by the fear that there is nothing new left to say, that the weight of precedence precludes the author from being original'.[25] Stieglitz's Orientalism, as much as his reverence for Goethe, was mobilised as part of the narrative.

But that was also the motive of an historiographically influential but loosely organised critical camp who saw history and politics as the necessary baggage of literature. How did Stieglitz measure himself productively and anxiously against the discourses of Orientalism before 1833, the year in which he published the last of his four volumes of the *Bilder des Orients*?[26] This first of three chapters to deal with the *Bilder des Orients* will chart the poet's turn to Orientalism in the mid-1820s in broad strokes using both posthumously published material, including his correspondence and autobiography, and historical reviews. After briefly outlining his Orientalist conversion, I will explore Stieglitz's Orientalist location against the epochal forces of Goethe and Hegel, two figures who repeatedly surface in his reception, before concluding with settings of the collection by Adolph Bernhard Marx, which were begun in 1826.

[24] Lynne Tatlock, 'The Young Germans in Praise of Famous Women: Ambivalent Advocates', *German Life and Letters,* 39 (1986), 193–209, p. 204.
[25] Hutchinson, *Lateness and Modern European Literature*, p. 14.
[26] There is some confusion about the publication date of the *Bilder des Orients*. The frontispiece of the first two volumes states 1831; the third 1832; and the fourth 1833. But the reviews of the first volume began in 1830.

From Greeks to Turks

Stieglitz came to writing Orientalism from the other side in 1824. As he relayed to Charlotte:

> You have, dear girl, seen your young boy enter the gardens of the Orient; at first not so much out of pleasure in the pure splendour of its blossoms, as determined by external reasons; only a presentiment was his future delight, not yet pure consciousness.[27]

'External reasons' refer to a collection of Philhellenic poems put out with his friend Ernst Große in 1823, which campaigned for Greek Independence from Ottoman rule.[28] Like many young Philhellenes who nourished ambitions to go to the front but for whatever reason could not make the trip across, Stieglitz sang his support from home, composing poems whose profits would be funnelled into charitable organisations to further the Greek cause.[29] Stieglitz made no effort to the hide the fact his Philhellenic poems were linked to contemporary events. On the contrary, he argued in a press announcement that the 'holiness of the purpose' justified his entrance into the poetic arena.[30] Stieglitz noted in the preface to the edition that the Greeks found themselves in a battle for 'freedom' and 'civic honour' against a 'horde of barbarians' who 'in religion, customs and culture' were as out of place as those 'untenable ruins of older centuries' in a 'rapidly emergent present'.[31]

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[27] Heinrich Stieglitz, *Briefe von Heinrich Stieglitz an seine Braut Charlotte,* ed. by Louis Curtze, 2 vols (Leipzig: Brockhaus 1859), I, p. 353; hereafter *Briefe*.
[28] Heinrich Stieglitz and Ernst Große, *Gedichte. Herausgegeben zum Besten der Griechen* (Leipzig: Mittler, 1823); Stieglitz published bilingually a modern Greek poem as an example of the 'frische Blüte neugriechischer Dichtung' (p. vi) with endnotes on pp. 50–72.
[29] *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 58–59; for more on '*Griechensänger'*, see Constanze Güthenke, *Placing Modern Greece: The Dynamics of Romantic Hellenism*, *1770–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 93–139.
[30] Heinrich Stieglitz, 'Gedichte', *Leipziger Literatur-Zeitung*, [n. vol.] 90 (1823), col. 717.
[31] Stieglitz, *zum Besten der Griechen*, p. v.

Stieglitz's *Griechenlieder* were not simply the products of youthful politics. They sprang from the idealistic belief that ancient Greece set an 'eternal, unsurpassable example' of the productive influence that the '*Bildung*' of the 'purely human' could have on art.[32] The German legacy of this vein of thought is rich. Stieglitz must have been familiar with the idolisation of Greece in the writings of Winckelmann and Schiller and with the discursive parallels between the mosaic-like political organisation of ancient Greece and the splintered contemporary national geography of Germany, whose most recent belligerent, France, found an imperial cognate in Rome.[33] When he moved to study for a doctorate in Classical philology in Berlin (1824–26), after spells in Göttingen and Leipzig, and later as a secondary school teacher, the poet would also experience first-hand Wilhelm von Humboldt's Philhellenic policies of educational reform.[34] For an educated German in the 1820s, supporting the Greeks could have been understood as a defence of widely held ideas of German cultural patrimony. To his critics, though, such Philhellenism was also a trend.[35]

Stieglitz's earliest Orientalisms emerged out of these early feelings of European guardianship. With a hint of irony, he related to Charlotte in 1824:

> Will you believe it, my dearest, that Heinrich Stieglitz, the enthusiastic *Griechensänger*, who in his songs boldly measured himself against all the new songs sung in Greece, that your Heinrich now sings *Türkenlieder* that are not inferior to any of his Greek songs in vigour, abundance, and vitality, indeed, will surpass many in fervour and fullness? And so it is.[36]

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Helen Roche, 'The Peculiarities of German Philhellenism', *The Historical Journal*, 61 (2018), 541–560, esp. pp. 542–546.
[34] Ibid, p. 546.
[35] Eckermann wrote to Stieglitz in 1824 with a degree of scepticism about the Philhellenic literary cause, see Herbert Baum, 'Unbekannte Briefe von Johann Peter Eckermann an Heinrich Stieglitz', *Geschichtsblätter für Waldeck*, 50 (1958), 100–109 (p. 101).
[36] *Briefe*, I, 299.

Perhaps to avoid the charge of committing a defection that classical philologists and Philhellenes feared in their own disciplines, the turn to the field of Orientalism, Stieglitz first published his *Türkenlieder* serially as part of *Türken-und Griechenlieder* in *Der Gesellschafter* in 1825.[37] Stieglitz noted to Eckermann, Goethe's secretary, that his aim was to rise above partisanship and represent 'a double life of peoples in a series of images'.[38] Two cultures were 'dramatically juxtaposed', 'a lively *Morgenland* and *Abendland*' as the poet would write in a paralipomenon to Charlotte, each zone consisting of eleven poems, rounded off by a 'conclusion'.[39]

The Greeks are represented as a people of moderation, activity, and nobility. Carrying forward the tone of *Gedichte zum Besten der Griechen*, Stieglitz at once invokes history and myth in the resistance to foreign occupation and allows a classicising Philhellenism to rub shoulders with its contemporary political counterpart. Generals, in such poems as 'Bozzaris Grab' honouring the Greek revolutionary, Markos Botsaris (1790–1823), are given historicised paeans.[40] Another poem, 'Nikitas Turkophagos' (literally, Turk-Eater) provides a gloss on how Nikitaras (1781–1849) received his epithet.[41] The Turks are the opposite. In 'Jussuf Pascha', for example, the titular despot is depicted lounging on a divan surrounded by the accoutrements of pleasure, pipe on one side and sabre on the other. He quickly succumbs to violent impulse and splits the skull of a messenger, 'als Gegengruß dem Sultan!'.[42] Beside these stereotypes of despotic

[37] Cf. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down From Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. xxii.
[38] *Aus Goethes Lebenskreise: J. P. Eckermanns Nachlaß*, ed. by Friedrich Tewes (Berlin: Reimer, 1905; repr. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), p. 170.
[39] *Selbstbiographie,* p. 73; in the poem 'Zueignung an Charlotte als Abschiedsruf am Schlusse der Griechen-und Türkenlieder', which did not make it into the collection, see *Briefe,* I, pp. 346–347.
[40] Heinrich Stieglitz, 'Türken- und Griechen-Lieder', *Der Gesellschafter oder Blätter für Geist und Herz*, 9 (1825), p. 639.
[41] Ibid., p. 641.
[42] Ibid., p. 613

arbitrariness, the poems on ritual and prayer ('Schlachtgebet' and 'Treu dem Koran'), which show Stieglitz's nascent interest in the 'inner life of the adherents of Islam', as he would write in the preface to the first edition of the *Bilder*, ring hollow.[43]

Stieglitz's *Türkenlieder* could never quite throw off their political contingency. When many of these poems were taken up for publication in volume three of the *Bilder des Orients* (1832), along with a newly formed five-act play, 'Sultan Selim der Dritte', itself prefaced by an historical epic on European-Ottoman conflict, Stieglitz still remembered 'a lively participation in events of the time'.[44] The *Türkenlieder*'s significance for Stieglitz's Orientalist practice is nevertheless important from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Viewed synchronically in the context of the published *Bilder des Orients*, the coherence of the *Türkenlieder* in the politics of the Greek War of Independence stands in 'dramatic juxtaposition' to the aesthetic isolation and historical consistency of his other Orients, the desert poetry of Arabia in volume one and the love poetry of Persia in volume two. The two Orients are geographically and culturally split, 'internally differentiated'.[45] In this case, the politically antagonistic Turks are dissociated from their amorous and philosophising Orientalist counterparts.[46] But internal differentiation happens only up to a point. While the homogeneous Orient splinters into its temporarily heterogeneous contemporary and historical particularities, the totalising act of Stieglitz's Orientalism, the publication of the *Türkenlieder* under the rubric of the *Bilder des Orients,* left the whole collection open to political construal.[47] This could work both ways. On the one hand, the poetry on Arabia and Persia could be politicised by the Turks' threat to

[43] Heinrich Stieglitz, *Bilder des Orients*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Cnobloch, c. 1831–1833), I (c. 1831), p. xi.
[44] *Selbstbiographie,* pp. 121, 124.
[45] Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus*, pp. 102ff.
[46] For their differentiation, see *Briefe,* II, p. 87.
[47] Cf. *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 82–83.

European patrimony. The site of the Greek battlefield becomes a caution against and a representative reversal of the colonial 'contact zone' where 'cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other'.[48] On the other, whether specifically contemporary or historical, politically motivated or aesthetically inclined, Stieglitz's turn towards the Orient as such risked being interpreted on the 'Christian-patriotic side' as a change of allegiance, as the turn away from European in general and the *Vaterland* in particular.[49] This was all the more dangerous for a former *Griechensänger*. For critics could taint Stieglitz's Orientalism with the charge of irresponsible politics, while echoing the poet's own proclamation in 1823 that it was possible to fight for the Greeks with the lyre, not the sword, for proof in the negative.

Viewed diachronically within the arc of his defection to the Orient, Stieglitz's *Türkenlieder* occasioned a shift from one type of politically contemporary Orientalism that relied on a visible European crutch to another type that could stand on its own two feet without the need for an explicitly 'dramatized' European comparator. The European in the latter instantiation is not absent. His presence and perspective are rather subsumed and then unfurled. This second type of Orientalism emerged from the Turk's transitional passage, as Stieglitz would recall in the preface to the first volume:

> No longer: Türkenlieder – this name was already outgrown – a far more comprehensive label was to characterise the whole thing, and after many changes I finally decided on: *Bilder des Orients*.
>
> To this one word, from then on, was linked the whole, gradually expanded idea of the Orient as a multifaceted life of peoples in larger spheres.[50]

[48] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 7ff.
[49] *Bilder,* I, p. xii.
[50] Ibid., xiii.

This widening of focus, a guiltless relaxing in Orientalist experience, brought with it a change of method. Stieglitz's putatively non-partisan poetic gloss on geopolitical events would not work for an Orient that lay further away in time and space. The road he took leads back to Goethe.

Goethe, Hero

Goethe was Stieglitz's '*Dichterheros*'.[51] Like many aspirant writers, Stieglitz went on pilgrimage to Weimar, where Eckermann brokered an introduction to the elder statesman in 1823.[52] Stieglitz described to Charlotte how he 'approached the threshold' of Goethe's residence with 'holy reverence' and described the man himself in tones divine.[53] Goethe's commendation resounded like no other, 'penetrating into his soul with such sweet harmony'.[54] Though this would be the only the time the two would meet, Stieglitz's idolisation of Goethe's work persisted through the decade. Stieglitz claimed that the triad of Charlotte, Goethe, and '*Natur*' provided the 'highest guide' and 'richest material' 'in imagining and creating'.[55] The poet also managed to secure the first publication of Goethe's Orientalist cycle, the *Chinesisch-deutsche Jahres- und Tageszeiten*, for his *Berliner Musen-Almanach*, which he put out with Moritz Veit and Karl Werder in 1830.[56] Goethe's late cycle, which Heinrich Detering has argued belongs to the '*Divan*-complex' because of its inception in the 1810s, occupied pride of place at the head of the

[51] *Selbstbiographie*, p. 67.
[52] For Goethe's response to Stieglitz, see *Eckermanns Nachlaß*, pp. 131–132.
[53] *Briefe*, I, p. 82.
[54] Ibid., p. 83.
[55] Ibid., p. 156.
[56] Heinrich Stieglitz, Moritz Veit, and Karl Werder, *Berliner Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1830* (Berlin: Fink, c. 1829), pp. 1–16.

collection.[57] This was a literary coup by any measure. The reading public, however, must have been aware of Stieglitz's Goetheanism before the publication of the *Berliner Musen-Almanach*. The poet published paeans to Goethe in the *Dresdner Abendzeitung* (1823), *Der Gesellschafter* (1825), and *Das Goethe-Fest in Berlin* (1826). While all of these are couched in the most devoted of terms, in the last hero-worship takes on an Orientalist hue, and brings Zelter once again into the fold.

The *Goethe-Fest* was put on and published by the *Mittwochs-Gesellschaft* in 1826 to mark Goethe's seventy-seventh birthday. The society, one of the many groups and salons in Berlin that participated in a kind of 'Goethe-Cult', honoured the poet with a competition.[58] Twelve anonymous competitors submitted poems to be adjudicated, specifically 'the German *Lied* brought back to honour by Goethe'.[59] The judge was none other than Zelter, who was said by the group's de facto leader Willibald Alexis to have distinguished himself as an expert on both Goethe's Lieder and Goethe the man.[60] The poems were each headed by a motto and interwove reflections on Goethe with intertextual references to the poet's oeuvre. One poem, 'Tafellied', set Goethean praise into the form of a *geselliges Lied,* thereby staging the *Mittwochgesellschaft*'s continuation of the tradition of sociable singing, as explored in Chapter 1.[61] Another poem, 'Gesang für Geweihte', took a Goethean reference beyond the poem itself by ending with the rubric 'Besserem Verständniss' after the first edition of the *Divan*.[62] The

[57] Heinrich Detering, '"Im Islam leben und sterben wir alle": Goethes *Divan* im Context', *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 136 (2019), 27–30 (p. 27).
[58] For more, see Peter Seibert, *Der literarische Salon: Literatur und Geselligkeit zwischen Aufklärung und Vormärz* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1993), pp. 405–425.
[59] [Anon.], *Das Goethe-Fest in Berlin: Gefeiert von der Mittwochs-Gesellschaft am 28 August 1826* (Berlin: Hayn, 1826), p. 3.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., pp. 11–12.
[62] Ibid., p. 25.

Divan's elite and effete literary standing here provided a concept to match the group's hermetic self-conception as 'the consecrated ones'.

The red thread that runs through Stieglitz's poem is what Todd Kontje has termed Goethe's world-literary 'cosmopolitan inclusiveness'.[63] An unnamed 'Er' rides through 'the flock of the nations'.[64] He has known their '*Bildung'*, their 'deeds', their 'mores' to such an extent that Stieglitz asks whether 'he' was born in the '*Morgenland* [...] on the banks of the Euphrates or the Ganges', or whether he was summoned and selected by 'Hesperia' or 'Hellas' to speak on their behalf. Blessed with the 'consecrated kiss' of 'nature', 'he' belongs everywhere and travels freely and openly 'from country to country'. 'He is greeted by the song of every tongue'. 'Hafis and Anakreon' sing him 'their most beautiful songs'. 'He' in turn takes these up, shapes the 'spirit of the world [*Weltgeist*]', and sings such powerful songs 'that it shook in the choir of the universe [*Chor des Weltalls*]'. So the poem runs for eleven eight-line stanzas until the pronoun is matched with its subject:

> Wer hat das herrliche errungen,
> Was hier und dort gleich ewig lebt? –
> In Flammentodes Morgenröthe
> Dringt hell zum reinsten Lichtstrahl Goethe.

Goethe as a bright ray of light must have been a common trope in Berlin. In 1827, Marx also gave Goethe the epithet, 'Der Taghelle'.[65]

[63] Ibid., pp. 32–35; Todd Kontje, 'Germany's Local Orientalisms', in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe,* ed. by James Hodkinson and John Walker (London: Camden House, 2013), pp. 55–77 (p. 67).
[64] [Anon.], *Das Goethe-Fest,* pp. 3ff.
[65] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 4 (1827), p. 179.

Stieglitz's 1826 Goethe poem differs from his previous paeans. Neither the 1823 and nor 1825 Goethe poems make a feature of Goethe's Orientalism.[66] By contrast, Stieglitz's 1826 paean frames Goethe in terms of Orientalist production, images and motifs. The choice or need to Orientalise *Gelegenheitsdichtungen*, which extends to his *Oberon* tableau in 1827, curiously mirrors Goethe's own Orientalisation of occasional poems during his '*Divan*-Jahre'.[67] His own Orientalist defection firmly underway, Stieglitz surveys the world-literary spectrum of Goethe's productions, referencing the Ganges, the Euphrates, and the transfiguration of 'myths of the Indus'.[68] The poet also specifically plays with Goethe's *Divan* practice. Stieglitz first anticipates the explicit naming of Hafis by the '*Wechselliebe*' between the nightingale and rose, two symbols of Persian literature that made up Goethe's motivic repertoire.[69] He then builds in specific *Divan* allusions: to the 'Flammentod' of transubstantiation in 'Selige Sehnsucht' from the *Buch des Sängers* that had bewildered Zelter's *Tafelbrüder*;[70] and to the poem 'Locken! Haltet mich gefangen' from the *Buch Suleika* in which Goethe substitutes Hatem's name for his own when rhyming 'Morgenröthe'.[71] The latter rhyme even adopts the *Divan*'s poetic function as an authorial reveal. In 'Locken! Haltet mich gefangen', the replacement of Hatem with Goethe inscribed autobiography into the *Divan*. In Stieglitz's poem, the rhyme that follows announces the deified hero.

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[66] Heinrich Stieglitz, 'Gedichte an Göthe, durch seine Krankheit veranlaßt', [*Dresdener] Abendzeitung*, [n. vol.] 76 (1823), p. 302, in which Goethe is represented as the 'royal eagle' that watches over the empire of nature; Heinrich Stieglitz, 'Dem edlen Meister deutscher Kunst zum sechsundsiebzigsten Geburtstage', *Der Gesellschafter,* 9 (1825), p. 685.

[67] For Goethe's, see Anke Bosse, *Meine Schatzkammer füllt sich täglich: Die Nachlassstücke zu Goethes "West–östlichem Divan"*, 2 vols (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1999), I, p. 180.

[68] *Das Goethe-Fest*, p. 34.

[69] '*Wechselliebe'* is Stieglitz's own term, see *Briefe,* I, p. 369; FA, III/1, p. 181, for Goethe's comments on the relationship between the two.

[70] FA, III/1, pp. 24–25.

[71] FA, III/1, pp. 88–89.

Zelter had a difficult decision to make. He felt that Stieglitz's poem and that of Ernst von Houwald were equally deserving of the prize, a 'ring with the likeness of the celebrated [Goethe]',[72] on account of their presentation of Goethe as a 'son of nature'.[73] The determining criterion by which Zelter judged the final two candidates was their suitability for musical setting. Stieglitz's poem was, in Zelter's words:

> because of its larger form, with regard to the subject matter, and its very skilful melodic texture, quite excellent; though the poem would only succeed completely for the musician in his happiest hour.[74]

Houwald's poem, rendered in the same iambic tetrameter but with four-line stanzas, was apparently easier to set, perhaps because of its more modest scope. Stieglitz's many intertextual references to Goethe's creations must have, in Zelter's assimilated *Divan* vocabulary, prompted 'reflection'. But there were caveats with Houwald's poem as well. Zelter demanded that the composer be aware of 'doing harm to the poem through too pleasing a play with notes':

> For just as the poem [...] reveals an image dwelling within, so the composer, who is no longer entirely his own here, should be able to grasp this image, indeed even to find the melody which the poet himself had in mind.[75]

The committee eventually decided on Houwald's poem because of the 'main condition that it [was better suited] to composition'.[76] Although Zelter set none of the texts, the possibility of Stieglitz's meta-Orientalist success is nevertheless tantalising. Stieglitz's Orientalised occasional poem, which thematises Goethe's Orientalism, Zelter momentarily imagines becoming song in his 'happiest hour'.

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[72] [Anon.], *Das Goethe-Fest*, p. 3.
[73] Ibid., p. 36.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., p. 37.

Stieglitz's sensitive grouping of Hafis with Anacreon in the 1826 paean shows that the poet possessed a keen understanding of the periods of Goethe's oeuvre and the poetological dynamics of Hafizian poetry in particular. Hafis and Anacreon are often mentioned in the same scholarly breath: Goethe's Hafizian 'rejuvenation' during the '*Divan*-Jahre' hearkened back to the poet's 'anacreontic beginnings'.[77] Stieglitz elsewhere acquits himself as a keen and personal *Divan* reader. Like Beethoven, the poet read the *Divan* as a kind of *Lebensbuch*. The poet internalised passages as proverbs and aphorisms that were then deployed to beautify quotidian scenarios. Leaning on a balustrade on a bridge over the River Spree, triggered by a bird fluttering to its nightly branch, the poet was reminded of a quatrain from the *Schenkenbuch,* which he quoted to Charlotte:

> Denn vor Gott ist alles herrlich,
> Eben weil er ist der Beste,
> Und so schläft [denn] aller Vogel
> In dem groß und kleinen Neste.[78]

Stieglitz also personalised *Divan* poems in another instance of a Zelterian *Auf-Sich-Beziehen*. On one occasion, when reciting early examples of the *Bilder* to a circle of intimates in 1825, Charlotte's image came before his mind-eye.[79] Only then, in the middle of a recitation of his own Orientalist poetry, did Stieglitz understand 'what the poet wants when he lets the girl sing' in 'Nimmer will ich dich verlieren!' from the *Buch Suleika*:

> Ach! wie schmeichelt's meinem Triebe,
> Wenn man meinen Dichter preist:
> Denn das Leben ist die Liebe,
> Und des Lebens Leben Geist. [80]

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[77] Hendrik Birus, 'Goethe's "*Divan*-Jahre"', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 89 (2020), 116–136 (p. 122).
[78] *Briefe,* I, pp. 153–154; FA, III/1, p. 112 has 'nun' instead of 'denn'.
[79] *Briefe*, I, p. 365; the recital included 'Zueignung', 'Abdallah', Die 'Morgenandacht der Mekkawaller', den 'Morgengruß der Parsen', 'Mameluckenknaben', 'Mehmed und Laila'.
[80] FA, III/1, p. 88; he also quoted the lines to Eckermann, *Eckermanns Nachlaß*, p. 182.

The lines take on significance when one considers that Stieglitz, in the first instance, was a poet who continually sang the praises of a beloved reminded of her function as his muse at every turn; and, in the second instance, encouraged Charlotte to sing settings of his texts.[81] Stieglitz need not have strayed very far to effect a literal identification with the authorial personae of the *Divan*.

If these are occasional examples of personalised *Divan* quotation, Stieglitz's *Bilder* reveals a more anxious engagement with the *Divan* model. Stieglitz explicitly compared poetic ensembles in his collection to a *Divan* precedent. Writing to Charlotte in 1827, Stieglitz noted that he had consulted Goethe's *Schenkenbuch* when penning his own *Schach und Schenke*, published in the second volume of the *Bilder* on Persia:

> With the poem 'Schenke und Schach' opens a new series for the *Bilder des Orients*. A happy thought matured the first one earlier than I myself suspected. You will find the relations of the Schenke very clearly illustrated in the prose to the *Divan*, where the *Schenkenbuch* is explained under the rubric 'Künftiger Divan'. In all his songs relating to it, Goethe has recorded the relationship of the poet to the Schenke, as the objects rejuvenate themselves in the old man [and] in the youthful comrade; my task is the love of the prince for his Schenke, and the goal a total forgetting of the ruler's duties in the love for the beautiful boy.[82]

Stieglitz is being slightly disingenuous here. The comparison is structural, the model determined not after the fact, but in the design.[83] Both Goethe's *Schenkenbuch* and Stieglitz's *Schach und Schenke* represent the 'pedagogical relationship' of a young boy and an older man in dialogic ensemble form.[84] In the *Divan,* an unnamed 'Dichter' and

[81] *Briefe,* I, p. 311.
[82] *Briefe,* II, pp. 85–86.
[83] *Bilder*, II, p. 38, also contains a naming of the 'Schenke', which also takes place in the *Schenkenbuch*: FA, III/1, p. 107.
[84] FA, III/1, p. 224.

'Der Schenke' dialogue in a tavern. In the *Bilder,* the Shah and his 'Schenke' named Akil are transposed up a register to a courtly environment.[85]

Goethe's *Schenkenbuch* contains a streak of homoeroticism, which was highlighted in the prosaic gloss in the *NuA* that Stieglitz studied closely.[86] As W. Daniel Wilson has shown, the topic of homosexuality in the *Divan* moves beyond an explicit adaptation of Orientalist anecdote to engage the discourse of 'Greek love',[87] which *Divan* followers, most notably August von Platen, would pick up on.[88] Though surely attentive to the discursive elision as a classical philologist, Stieglitz took a more ambivalent view. At first, the poet does not shy away from broaching homoeroticism. In his opening poem, the Schenke demonstrates how he has already learned to sensualise wisdom:

> Und ich lausche seinen Worten,
> Und ich hang' an seinen Lippen;
> Weisheit träuft von seinen Lippen
> Nieder in mein schwellend Herz![89]

Dripping, swelling – Stieglitz makes explicit the sense of pedagogical titillation that the *Divan* gives over to allusion. But that is as much as Stieglitz can countenance. The poet seems to have wanted to protect himself from moral rebuke, taking Goethe's lines in the *NuA* as a warning:

> Neither the intemperate inclination to the semi-forbidden wine, nor the delicacy of feeling for the beauty of an adolescent boy could be missed in the *Divan*; the latter, however, wanted to be treated in all purity according to our customs.[90]

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[85] Judging by his earlier announcements and the Persian title *Saki-Nameh*, Goethe probably meant the 'Buch des Schenken', see FA, III/1, p. 551; FA, III/2, pp. 1321–1323; and MA, XI/1.2, p. 655; but the meaning is left ambiguous in the published version.
[86] Robert Tobin, *Warm Brothers: Queer Theory in the Age of Goethe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 2000), pp. 101–106.
[87] W. Daniel Wilson, *Goethe Männer Knaben* (Berlin: Insel, 2012), pp. 204ff.
[88] Cf. Kristina Muxfeldt, 'Schubert, Platen, and the Myth of Narcissus', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 49 (1996), 480–527.
[89] *Bilder,* II, p. 30.
[90] FA, III/1, p. 224.

Both the conditions and contexts of pleasure in Goethe's *Schenkenbuch* are made to conform to social expectations. The space of the tavern (*Die Schenke*) bends to courtly protocol.[91] The cupbearer (*Der Schenke*) is likewise plotted into a familiar tale. No longer a reminder of 'mischief [*Schalkheit*]', which is Goethe's euphemistic term, Stieglitz's young boy, suffering from a case of unrequited heterosexual love, flees the Shah's court.[92]

Goethe's revelling in winks and ironies depends on the intellectual background of the theologically doctrinaire, the 'half-forbidden' in the socio-cultural context of Islamic Persia. Stieglitz, however, makes one crucial temporal alteration that was to provide an historical defence for circumventing Goethe's homoeroticism in the *Schenkenbuch*. He backdates the *Schach und Schenke* to the time of the *Parsen*, to pre-Islamic Persia. Besides the many references to Ormuzd, the Zoroastrian deity, the clearest signifier of the cycle's context comes in the final historicising poem, 'Das Schlachtfeld von Nehawend', which stages a war between the 'Ormuzddiener' and the 'Islamsstreiter'.[93] Goethe's heterodox literary play with Islamic mores and morality, the source of the *Schenkenbuch*'s thematization of drunkenness and homosexual coquetry, itself compounded by the possibility of mystical interpretation, thus finds no world-historical place in Stieglitz's cycle.[94] Stieglitz may have succeeded in representing 'a complete forgetting of the ruler's duties in the love for the beautiful boy'. But his motivations themselves appear rather *bieder*, as some critics were wont to call him.[95] Unlike Goethe, who gladly skirmished with authority in the *Schenkenbuch*, Stieglitz acquits himself as safe, tame, even a little prudish.

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[91] *Bilder*, II, pp. 37–38.
[92] Ibid., p. 44; cf. Wilson, *Goethe Männer Knaben*, p. 211.
[93] *Bilder*, II, pp. 55–56.
[94] MA, XI/1.2, p. 656.
[95] Cf. Heinrich Laube, 'Deutsche Lyriker', *Zeitung für die Elegante Welt*, 34 (1834), p. 427.

Stieglitz clearly read the *NuA* closely. He in fact seems to have used the whole *Divan* as a textbook and bibliography for Orientalist material, encouraging Charlotte to do the same. 'Just read the *Divan* diligently', he wrote.[96] To better understand the historiography of Orientalism, the poet consulted the works of Pietro della Valle in translation, 'so highly recommended by Goethe'.[97] Stieglitz does not mention the *Divan* by name, but he could only have been referring to the sizeable chapter on della Vale in the *NuA*.[98] The correspondence also shows that Stieglitz also made use of Hammer's *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* (1818), one of Goethe's principal sources for the *NuA*.[99] One can assume that Stieglitz, with the punctiliousness of a philologist, made his way through the texts cited in the fourth section of the *NuA*, even if they do not appear in the correspondence, and that the poet's engagement with Hammer and della Vale, two documented instances of bibliographic sharing, was only the tip of the *Divan* iceberg.

Stieglitz was already nicely situated to consult the growing bibliography of Orientalist material as a student at the University of Berlin until 1826. His being appointed custodian at the Royal Library in Berlin in 1827 provided yet another point of access to Orientalism, as he relayed to Charlotte:

> All the best sources are available to me there in a series of more than a thousand works concerning the Orient alone, and I can turn to these treasure troves [*Fundgruben*] of knowledge for advice and instruction every free quarter. [100]

Stieglitz's designation of 'works concerning the Orient' indicates that he had a catholic conception of Orientalist representational authority. The poet combed through an

[96] *Briefe,* II, p. 96.
[97] Ibid., p. 91.
[98] FA, III/1, pp. 251–266.
[99] FA, III/2, p. 1422; *Briefe*, II, 136–137.
[100] *Briefe*, II, 157.

international Orientalist repertoire of scholarly and literary works to find the material for poetic re-working, chiefly travelogues and historical sources.[101] Stieglitz had an equally catholic approach to Orientalist media, mining material not only from visual images, copperplates in particular, but also from the fantasies of the Berlin stage. Included in this theatrical Orientalism was Calderon's *The Constant Prince*, whose '*Gebilde*' were said to have represented the 'flowering of the Orient';[102] and Mozart's ubiquitous *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.[103] A fondness for Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, which had become a local Berlin product by the time Stieglitz turned to the Orient in 1824, resulted in the poet borrowing and lightly retouching portions from the English original in his almanac poetry from 1829, something not lost on reviewers.[104]

The core of Stieglitz's engagement with the *Divan* is thus not simply to be found in the poet's explicit modelling of particular complexes, as in *Schach und Schenke*. More interesting is the principle that impelled the comparison. Stieglitz's methodological approach to the composition of Orientalist poetry, which involved a total immersion in Orientalist discourses through practices of reading and recreation, bears the hallmarks of the Goethean imperative of 'self-Orientalising'. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Goethe's idea promoted the textual and empathetic transformation of the Western reader into someone who could participate in the 'productions' of Eastern poetry.[105] This involved the two complementary and dynamic tasks of familiarising oneself with the motivic

[101] These include Lady Montague's letters, *Briefe*, II, pp. 96, 132–133; translations of *1001 Nights*, II, pp. 87 and 104; and *Sakontala*, II, pp. 136–137.
[102] *Briefe*, I, 356.
[103] *Briefe*, I, 363.
[104] Johann Ferdinand, 'Kritik', *Aurora: Literarische Zeitschrift*, 14 (1829), p. 110; Heinrich Houben, *Zeitschriften des jungen Deutschlands*, 2 vols (Berlin: Behr, 1906), I, cols 31–32; Stieglitz's poems were published in the *Musenalmanach für das Jahr 1830,* ed. by Amadeus Wendt (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1830), pp. 94–102.
[105] FA, III/1, p. 200.

foreignness and disparate connections of Eastern poetry and defamiliarizing oneself to adopt and appreciate the 'foreign ways of the country', 'use of language', 'attitudes', and 'customs'.[106] Stieglitz, however, was writing ten years after the fact. He could not but broaden Orientalist discursive influence to include a rapidly developing canon of literary works. *Philologie* and *Phantasie*, two seemingly antithetical Orientalist mechanisms, were understood by Stieglitz as reconstructing equally valid truths about Orientals themselves. Both he found in the *Divan*.

There are a number of methodological and discursive parallels between Stieglitz's and Goethe's Orientalist work that move beyond motivic paraphrase and reworking. Stieglitz bills himself as a poetic traveller. Goethe uses the word 'Reisender' in the *NuA*.[107] Stieglitz prefers the more Romantically charged 'Wandrer' in the opening poem of volume one.[108] Both collections were brought on by real travel. Stieglitz was impelled to Orientalism while on a trip to Copenhagen via the Baltic coast.[109] Goethe's earliest Hafizian poems were written in a carriage travelling towards the Rhine and Main.[110] For both, historical sources became the stuff of poetry, though with Stieglitz history itself becomes a poetic motif.[111] Both tried and failed to learn Eastern languages. Stieglitz engaged the Arabist Wilhelm Schott.[112] Both adapted philological translations. Stieglitz freely rendered lines from Hammer's *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*.[113]

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[106] FA, III/1, p. 138.
[107] FA, III/1, p. 138.
[108] *Bilder,* I, [unpag.], 'Wandrer im Osten'.
[109] Ibid., p. x.
[110] FA, III/1, pp. 725ff.
[111] Stieglitz's historicism was criticised as being inaccessible, see *Kurzer Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Jacobs und Heinrich Stieglitz*, ed. by Ludwig Curtze (Leipzig: Dyk, 1863), p. 88.
[112] *Selbstbiographie*, p. 125.
[113] Cf. Chapter 4, p. 241, n. 90.

Both underwent a kind of subjective reimagination brought on from an empathetic textual self-Orientalisation. Stieglitz turned himself and Charlotte into his Orientalist characters:

> Should there be a name for you in the 'Orient' so dear to me, my beloved Lottchen, who permeates every form born in love as a soul, then I prefer to call you Nahid; she is the most soulful of all the girls…
>
> Now tell me whether you would like to be my embodied Nahid and whether you consider this Omar worthy of his Nahid? Perhaps some buds will still blossom in her garden; but it is not necessary.[114]

Stieglitz would go on to compare himself to Melek and Charlotte to Maisuna from volume one of the *Bilder*: 'Maisuna you and Melek I the faithful'.[115]. Charlotte apparently gifted her husband some slippers from Sultan Selim's '*Nachlaß*'. [116] Willemer gave Goethe a pair of slippers with Suleika inscribed in Arabic.[117] From the posthumous side of reception history, Charlotte herself authored some of Maisuna's poetry, which like Willemer's was published without attribution.[118] Some of these may be circumstantial, but the correspondences are certainly telling. They frame the imaginative outcomes of Goethe's practice of 'self-Orientalising' as much as suggesting a conscious imitation of the great poet, for much of the documentary and philological material pertaining to the *Divan*'s genesis had yet to be uncovered and published. The *Divan* method appears to have impelled such a subjective manoeuvre.

The most telling correspondence, however, is one that never came to fruition. Stieglitz toyed with the idea of following Goethe's novel decision to publish a set of philological notes to the poetry. Writing about his Arabian cycle, 'Melek und Maisuna', he noted to Charlotte:

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[114] *Briefe*, II, 135–137.
[115] Ibid., p. 170.
[116] *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 121–122.
[117] FA, III/1, 'Bildteil', 'Abb. 19'.
[118] Theodor Mundt, *Denkmal*, p. 42.

> I stand for the correctness of the country's customs and nature down to the smallest detail; indeed one could learn Arab customs from this poem – for the whole is a poem – and that is how they are held. I have made considerable studies of them, as I have of India; but no one, I think, shall realise that they are studies; what I have learned has become mine and flows into the poem as one with the centre of poetry. Thus must the true poet create. Here I ask you now: does everything come to manifestation through itself, or does it require a special explanation for others? The latter is always a flaw and most unpleasant for the poet; but if you wish it, my girl, then let it happen. To me the strangeness of it all seemed sufficiently motivated; but I have not judgement here, since I stand in the midst of it like the Arab himself, and know his life almost better than the native one.[119]

Stieglitz's essentialist and to his mind personally assimilated understanding of Arabic culture revolved around, in the poet's words, 'the serious and the melancholy [...] vitality for noble deeds, even to the point of exuberance [...] supreme pride in unrestricted freedom'.[120] These characteristics Stieglitz believed could shoot through every one of his poems because Arabia itself remained unchanging.[121] The poet ultimately opted against publishing the notes, though he did on occasion gloss more unfamiliar titles after names he encountered in the latest translation of the *Arabian Nights* published in 1825.[122] But he also did not let the issue of philology pass by without remark. The poet thematised the *non-writing* of notes in the preface to volume one, subtly referencing Goethe's own defence of the publishing of the *NuA* as the second part of the poetic *Divan*:

> There is something enchanting in the thought of sending out a work of poetry all alone as its own representative and adding its interpreter to the language that is its own nature; and woe to the poem that still needs an interpreter for its understanding![123]

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[119] *Briefe*, II, p. 188.
[120] *Briefe*, II, p. 87.
[121] *Bilder*, I, p. xiii.
[122] See, for example, *Bilder*, II, p. 109: 'Fulqulmaghur (Unverschleierte Morgenröthe)', which comes from the notes to *Tausend und eine Nacht*, ed. by Maximilian Habicht, Friedrich von der Hagen, and Karl Schall, 15 vols (Breslau: Josef Max, 1825), IV, p. 308.
[123] *Bilder,* I, p. vii.

Stieglitz bolstered the non-comment by drawing attention to his indebtedness to the collections of the Royal Library in the published work.[124] Although this was the middle ground, neither releasing the poetry to the public without comment nor explicitly providing historical and historiographical guidelines for their interpretation, the mere hint at Orientalist philology must have prompted more informed readers to locate his practice within a *Divan* framework.

This latter point, an interpretative framework, the critics filled in. The critical press discursively related the Orientalisms of Stieglitz and Goethe after the publication of the first two volumes in 1831. Some of these, as mentioned at the outset, sought to emphasise the epigonism of Stieglitz's poetry by stressing a Goethean affiliation. But other comparisons, from those sympathetic and antipathetic to Orientalism, variously invoked Goethe's *Divan* as an origin, model, and measure.[125] In a review article of the *Bilder* in the *Literaturblatt* of the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, Wolfgang Menzel was altogether dismissive. He accused Goethe of starting a trend of Orientalising 'affectation' that paved the way for Stieglitz's impoverished imitations.[126] Writing for the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* in 1830, the Hegelian aesthetician Heinrich Gustav Hotho used the *Divan* as a point of orientation. Hotho interpreted Stieglitz as not wanting to give 'a new, expanded west-östlicher Divan', the techniques of which he parsed as the 'carrying over' of the 'individuality', 'attitudes', and 'habits' of the 'late West' to the Orient in order to create a 'fusion' that could be brought home again.[127] Stieglitz rather 'thinks

[124] *Bilder,* I, p. xv.
[125] A list of excerpts of contemporary responses to the *Bilder* is reproduced in *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 441–454.
[126] Wolfgang Menzel, 'Bilder des Orients… von Heinrich Stieglitz', *Literaturblatt*, [n. vol.] 107 (1830), p. 428.
[127] Heinrich Gustav Hotho, 'Bilder des Orients… von Heinrich Stieglitz', *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, [n. vol.] 74 (1830), col. 590.

himself so much into [its] conditions' that the 'departed spirit of the East should wield the etching needle to engrave the figures in the poet's mind'. In Hotho's scheme, Rückert, with his professorial knowledge of Eastern languages and Goethe, by retaining his characteristic individuality in the representation of the foreign, exerted two discursive influences of poetic Orientalism. Robert Schumann would agree with Hotho here. He noted in 1838 that 'in the *Divan* Goethe wrote himself [*sich hineindichten*] into Oriental customs and feelings'.[128] Hotho's implication is that Stieglitz's contribution, possessing neither Goethe's powerful 'poet-individuality' and ability to engage in 'plastic visualisation' nor a Rückertian 'thoroughness' and scholarly recognition, was to show us his 'love for his object'.[129] The compositional and critical relationship of Stieglitz's *Bilder* to Goethe's *Divan* thus seems to have approached the 'circumpolar', to appropriate Carl Dahlhaus' characterisation of the symphony post-Beethoven – one not of 'evolution' through a series of stages, but 'evaluation', clustering around an emanating and referential 'midpoint' that one could simply not ignore.[130]

An Imperfect Hegelian

Karl Rosenkranz was among the score of contemporary critics who observed the discursive indebtedness of Stieglitz's project to Goethe's *Divan*. Reviewing the fourth volume of the *Bilder des Orients* for the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* (*JfwK*) in 1834, Rosenkranz noted that the collection 'belongs to the direction of our literature

[128] Clara and Robert Schumann*, Briefwechsel: 1832–1838*, ed. by Eva Weissweiler, 2 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Roter Stern, 1984), I, p. 152.
[129] Hotho, 'Bilder des Orients', *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 75 (1830), cols 597–599.
[130] Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. by Mary Whittall (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 152–153.

which found its decisive fixation in Goethe's *westöstlicher Divan*'.[131] Later, in his memoirs, where considerable space is devoted to Stieglitz, Rosenkranz is both more concise and more detailed:

> Following the example of Göthe and Rückert in their westeastern poems, Stieglitz published *Bilder des Orients* in four volumes, in which he portrayed a gallery of its nations from China to Turkey [...] There is a tremendous amount of work in them. Its physiognomy bears an unmistakable trait [*trägt einen unverkennbaren Zug*] from Hegel's conception of world history.[132]

Rosenkranz notes that Goethe and Rückert gave Stieglitz the impulse for the *Bilder*. But he adds that Hegel gave the *Bilder* their 'physiognomy'. Like Hotho, Rosenkranz was Hegelian in his outlook. Stieglitz himself wryly labelled Rosenkranz the '*Sprachreichsverweser der absoluten Schule*'.[133] The periodical Rosenkranz reviewed for, the *JfwK*, became one of the public organs of Hegelian thought.[134] Rosenkranz's comments should thus perhaps be taken with a pinch of salt. The critic morphs his own westering process to the progression through Stieglitz's national 'gallery' that the poet himself did not design. Rosenkranz's temporal sweep moves from China to Turkey, whereas Stieglitz portrayed China in his fourth and final volume. Rosenkranz nevertheless identifies another important facet of Stieglitz's approach to Orientalism that contemporaries in Berlin would likely have understood. This concerned periodising and historicising not only the Orient, but the Orientalising German. Both were in vogue in the Prussian capital in the 1820s and 1830s.[135]

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[131] Karl Rosenkranz, 'Schi-King... und Bilder des Orients', *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, [n. vol.] 118 (1834), col. 1007.
[132] Karl Rosenkranz, *Von Magdeburg bis Königsberg* (Berlin: Heimann, 1873), p. 469.
[133] Heinrich Stieglitz, *Gruß an Berlin: Ein Zukunftstraum* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1838), p. 178.
[134] John Toews, 'Transformations of Hegelianism, 1805–1846', in *The Cambridge Companion to Hegel*, ed. by Frederick C. Beiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 378–413 (p. 382).
[135] On this historicity, see John Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-century Berlin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. pp. 13–16.

Stieglitz would have known Hegel as a contemporary thinker. The poet had the opportunity to audit Hegel's lectures on world history in its numerous iterations in the 1820s, first as a doctoral student at the University of Berlin, then as one of the unenrolled members of the lettered class who attended out of philosophical interest.[136] Stieglitz would also have had occasion to attend the professor's lectures on the history of philosophy and aesthetics as part of faculty lectures.[137] The poet's correspondence reveals that Stieglitz was more than Hegel's diligent student. The two figures appear to have engaged in friendly sociability. Stieglitz's letter to the philosopher in 1827, on his twenty-fifth birthday, gives a measure of their warmth:

> Only since your teaching has touched me more powerfully has 'the absolute discipline and formation of consciousness' got out for me, and only now does the open heart live true life in the fullness of thought.
>
> Please accept my warmest thanks, honoured master, and with it a wave from the stream of the spirit [*Geist*], which was only reborn in its unity through you.[138]

The 'wave' to which Stieglitz refers was a set of poems appended to the letter.[139] The two would even go on to exchange dedicatory verse, Hegel penning a poem titled 'An Stieglitz' in 1831 and Stieglitz a 'Mitternachtsgruß an Hegel'.[140] The philosopher must have been aware of Stieglitz's Orientalist poetry as early as the latter's gushing letter. Stieglitz apparently wanted to declaim his *Weltgräber*, a poetic cycle on the moments and

[136] Hegel delivered his course on world history five times between 1822/23 and 1830/31, see Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Werke*, ed. by Eva Moldenhauer and Karl Markus Michel, 20 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1993–1996), XII, p. 561.
[137] Cf. Pierre Garniron and Friedrich Hogemann, 'Hegels Vorlesungen zur Geschichte der Philosophie', *Hegel-Studien*, 26 (1991),110–119 (p. 110); and Hegel, *Werke*, XV, p. 575.
[138] *Briefe von und an Hegel*, ed. by Johannes Hoffmeister, 3rd edn, 4 vols (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1952–1977), III (1954, repr. 1970), p. 153. The quote is from Hegel's *Logik*.
[139] *Briefe*, II, p. 123: 'Gott ist das All", 'Das All ist Gott', 'Waltende Mächte', and 'Bewährung'.
[140] *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 129–130 and 432–434.

monuments of history, to a 'select circle of listeners', supposedly at Hegel's request.[141] The poet ultimately decided on excerpts from 'Arabien' included in his *Bilder*.[142]

There is a philological problem with Stieglitz's first-generation Hegelianism. Hegel did not publish a definitive edition of the lectures on world history, aesthetics, or history of philosophy during his lifetime. The first published versions of Hegel's lectures on world history and aesthetics were put together posthumously, the editors, some of whom were Stieglitz's associates, creating a patchwork from Hegel's own lecture notes and those of his students, which was then put forward as an authoritative textual copy.[143] With the exception of the published *Philosophy of Right* (1820–1821), whose last section contains a condensed scheme of world history,[144] Stieglitz's fullest modes of engaging with Hegel's world-historical ideas were the transcription and circulation of lecture notes, formal and informal discussion, and the almost sociable experience 'in the Hegelian lecture theatre'.[145] Whether these forms of transmission taken together led to a systematic and conceptually thorough assimilation of Hegel's thought or a simplified appropriation, a 'vulgarised version', only an expert can diagnose.[146]

And yet one reasonably digestible Hegelian idea comes to the fore in Stieglitz's published material, which has importance for the method and ethics of his Orientalism. In the poet's own words, this idea is the 'the great process of the advancing spirit [*des*

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[141] Portions were published in the *Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1831*, ed. by Moritz Veit (Berlin: Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1831), pp. 268–276, and included such figures as 'Attila', 'Alarich', and 'Dchingis-Chan'.
[142] *Briefe*, II, p. 260.
[143] Hegel, *Werke*, XII, p. 563; the *Philosophie der Geschichte,* edited by Eduard Gans, was published in 1837; Stieglitz recalled having a conversation with Hegel in 1831 about publishing the volume, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 129.
[144] Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (Berlin: Nicolai, c.1821), §341–§360, pp. 344–355
[145] *Briefe*, II, p. 122.
[146] Ian Almond, *History of Islam in German Thought from Leibniz to Nietzsche* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 111.

fortschreitenden Geistes]'.[147] With particular reference to the theatre of world history, *Geist* is expressed in manners, traditions, customs, language, and government of a particular group of people or *nation*, which is in turn conceived as a 'systematic unity'.[148] The process of the progression of *Geist* to which Stieglitz alludes concerns the development of the spirit in attaining consciousness of freedom. This moves geographically from east to west, electing one pre-eminent *Volksgeist* to carry the world spirit to its maturity, before disintegrating.[149] Hegel traced the teleology of spirit across four specific world-historical realms – the Oriental, the Greek, the Roman, and the Germanic. While the Oriental realms are further subdivided into China, India, and Persia, each internally differentiated and occupying a position relative to or within world history,[150] they share the common traits of pastness, stasis, and from a world-historical perspective being subjectively unfree.[151] The point at which world history has arrived ('*bis hierher'*), when the freedom of the subject is reflected and made substantial in institutions as both end and goal, is the Prussia of Stieglitz's time, the final division of the Germanic.[152] It is in this second sense that Stieglitz would have understood Hegel as a contemporary thinker.

Stieglitz's pointedly Orientalist adoption of Hegel's world history could comprise two interdependent facets. The first, looking back and east, would concern the spiritual historicity of the Oriental realms, 'the life of the Eastern peoples and their pastness

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[147] *Briefe,* II, p. 113.
[148] Frederick C. Beiser, 'Hegel's Historicism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Hegel*, ed. by Frederick C. Beiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 270–300 (p. 274).
[149] Ernst Schulin, *Die weltgeschichtliche Erfassung des Orients bei Hegel und Ranke* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1958), p. 44. The geographical idea Hegel took from Carl Ritter, see ibid., p. 39; Stieglitz also attended Ritter's lectures, *Briefe*, I, pp. 382ff.
[150] Schulin, *Die weltgeschichtliche Erfassung*, p. 52ff and 64.
[151]Vittorio Hösle, 'The Search for the Orient in German Idealism', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 163 (2013), 431–454, esp. pp. 440–446.
[152] Hegel, *Werke*, XII, pp. 524ff and 539.

[*Vergangenheit*]', as Hotho put it in his 1830 review.[153] The second, from the standpoint of the Prussian 1820s, would acknowledge the freedom and subjectivity of the German subject who is in a position to make objective claims about and look back upon that 'departed *Geist*' in full consciousness of their world-historical end, to use Hotho once again. Stieglitz's engagement with Hegel's reflections on history involved both and took on a characteristically personal aspect. The poet saw in history a model for understanding his own personal development:

> In the *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Hegel once uttered the significant word that the German nations, in order to be receptive to the splendour of Christianity, first had to become sullen and put off the foolishness of their own natures; that is, the power of their powerful personality had to break so that something higher and more powerful could enter into them. Something similar seems to be happening to me, although I am gradually learning to fit into relationships that do not belong to me, though many a foreign, oppressive thing that sometimes presses me, sometimes lets me go again, and is preparing me for receptivity to a more comprehensive view of the world.[154]

The *Geist* of world history in particular gave the poet another template into which he could 'read himself [*sich hineinlesen*]'.[155] Stieglitz also inscribed Charlotte into these histories. On one occasion, having 'sunk himself 'into the Hegelian book on the philosophy of world history', Charlotte became the manifestation of thought, the concrete spirit that gives meaning and location.[156] Stieglitz went as far as composing a paralipomenon, 'Eins in Allem', inspired by Hegel, in which Charlotte takes over the historically necessary function of the *Weltgeist*, the periods of his creativity mapped as

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[153] Hotho, 'Bilder des Orients', *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, [n. vol.] 74 (1830), col. 590.
[154] *Briefe*, II, p. 43–44. Hegel thought similarly about the adoption of the foreign with specific reference to the *Divan*, see Hegel, *Werke*, XII, pp. 433–434; see Barbara Stemmrich-Köhler, *Zur Funktion der orientalischen Poesie bei Goethe, Herder, Hegel: Exotische Klassik und ästhetische Systematik in den "Noten und Abhandlungen zu besserem Verständnis des West-östlichen Divans" Goethes, in Frühschriften Herders und in Hegels Vorlesungen zur Ästhetik* (Frankfurt, a.M.: Lang, 1990), p. 187, for a gloss.
[155] *Briefe*, II, p. 73
[156] *Briefe*, II, p. 72.

individualised world-historical epochs that reveal a dialectical synthesis of thought and feeling into one object of love:[157]

> Wenn mit mächtigem Durchdringen
> Mich der Weltgeist faßt und trägt,
> Doch in allen seinen Schwingen
> Immer nur Dein Geist sich regt.
> [...]
> Meinem ungestillten Triebe
> Hat Dein Blick das All enthüllt,
> Und ich fühl' in Deiner Liebe
> Mich von Brahma's Geist erfüllt.[158]

Stieglitz rationalised his own characters according to their world-historical location. Muhammad, one of those destined for the *Weltgräber*, the poet describes as living 'his youth in the premonition of his world-historical destiny [*welthistorische Bestimmung*]'.[159] 'Welthistorische Bestimmung', the idea that the essence and significance of a place and a person are to be determined by a westering world-historical scheme, does not exist singly. Shortly after his foray into world-historicising, Stieglitz located himself in the sweep of history. 'I feel like a servant of the general spirit, of which I am myself a part', he mused.[160] Though unspoken, Stieglitz's own 'welthistorische Bestimmung' as a creator of characters could be understood as the national aggregate of his own self-conscious subjecthood. This was the awakening of a Prussian burden of service and history that assumed the privilege to manipulate the pastness of Oriental material according to its mature *Phantasie*.

What exactly Rosenkranz meant with his comment that one could find the 'physiognomy' of Hegel's world history in Stieglitz's *Bilder* is difficult to determine. It is

[157] *Briefe*, II, p. 354.
[158] *Briefe*, II, p. 75
[159] *Briefe*, II, p. 249.
[160] *Briefe,* II, p. 250.

unclear whether he understands 'physiognomy' as external characteristics that semiotically represent an inner state after Johann Caspar Lavater or whether 'physiognomy' refers to the poetic '*Glieder*', the limbs and joints of a corpus that Goethe used to describe the extension of his *Divan* to Zelter in 1815.[161] There is also an ambiguity about his use of the word '*Zug*', which could mean both a characteristic and a sense of progression or train. But there is one basic world-historical tracing of the facial contours of each volume that can be put forward. Rosenkranz might have observed the poetic staging of history's logical progression. The first volume on Arabia Stieglitz plots historically in two cycles, pre- and post-Islamic.[162] The first centres on Turan and Fitne, the second on Melek and Maisuna, the continuities between them as strong as the threshold at which Islam makes an appearance.[163] The second volume moves from the *Parsen,* through the '*Dichterhallen*' that emerged following Islamic conquest, to the contemporary drama *Ein Tag in Ispahan*.[164] In volume three, Stieglitz gives an account of Islam's 'fanaticism' through an epic retelling of Ottoman conquest in the 'Heldenbuch'. By invoking Islam within the temporal frame of the Germanic, Stieglitz can be seen to come to terms with Hegel's own problematic insertion of '*Mohammadenismus*' as a '*Revolution des Orients*' within the final period of world history.[165] Reading out a programme from the *Weltgräber*, perhaps the desire to unite the 'Occident' with 'the ancient mighty figures from the tombs of the Orient' to create a '*Weltganzes*' suggests a

[161] It was unlikely that Rosenkranz was thinking of Hegel here, who critiqued both physiognomy and phrenology, cf. Richard T. Gray, *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz* (Detroit: Wayne State University press, 2004), pp. 90–96; MA, XX/1, p. 393.
[162] *Bilder*, I, p. xiii.
[163] *Bilder*, I, p. 80: 'Morgengesang: vorüberziehender Pilger'
[164] Cf. Goethe's 'Dichterkönige' from the *NuA*, FA, III/1, pp. 166ff.
[165] Hegel, *Werke*, XII, pp. 428–434.

summative process of dialectical synthesis, though unequal, for the former's departed spirit is given a new consciousness by the latter's living power.[166]

There is yet another dynamic at play between Hegel and Stieglitz that Rosenkranz might have recognised, this time concerning Goethe. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, scholars have listed Hegel among the few outspoken contemporary admirers of the *Divan* in the decades following its publication in 1819. The philosopher commented widely on Persian poetry and the *Divan* in lectures from the 1820s on aesthetics. The philological problem of determining the extent and transmission of Stieglitz's Hegelianism is here reversed. For Hegel's comments were abridged and altered in the published versions of the *Ästhetik* by Hotho in the later 1830s.[167] As a first-generation Hegelian, Stieglitz would have been exposed to the range of the philosopher's thoughts on the contemporary aesthetic position of the *Divan,* not simply those that were posthumously canonised by Hotho.

There are two schemes into which Hegel slots the *Divan* in the *Ästhetik*. The first is that of 'Mohammedan poetry', the type that Stieglitz represents in the 'hall of poets' and Goethe charts in his 'poet-kings [*Dichterkönige*]' from the *NuA*, which provided a positive example of both the sublime and of pantheism in the first Oriental period of art, the Symbolic. In Lydia L. Moland's gloss, the poet in this iteration 'sees himself as an instance of the divine' and praises the divine in objects around him.[168] According to Hegel, pantheistic poetry is characterised by 'serene inwardness' and 'carefree serenity' borne

[166] *Bilder*, I, p. xiv.
[167] For a full comparison of Hegel's views on the *Divan,* see Stemmrich-Köhler, *Zur Funktion der orientalischen Poesie*, pp. 177–198.
[168] Lydia L. Moland, *Hegel's Aesthetics: The Art of Idealism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 69.

of ‘the love of God… which radiates in the widest way in every direction and region’.[169] Hegel regards Goethe’s *Divan* as a ‘product of such a free feeling and abandon’, the poet himself ‘filled with a boundless bliss’.[170] The *Divan* represented nothing less than a new iteration of Oriental pantheism.

The second idea that Hegel brings to the *Divan* is its peculiar historical novelty, its modernity, and ‘objective humour’.[171] A way out of the aesthetic cul-de-sac of imitation and subjective humour in the final Romantic period of art, what ‘objective humour’ requires is a ‘sensitive abandonment of the heart in the object’.[172] Hegel notes, in terms that faintly recall the absorptive aspects of Goethe’s ‘self-Orientalising’:

> the heart, with its depth of feeling, and the spirit and a rich consciousness shall be entirely absorbed [*hineinleben*] in the circumstances, situation, etc., tarry there, and so make out of the object something new, beautiful, and intrinsically valuable.[173]

The unspoken generic requirements for this kind of representation find abstract form in the *Divan*, both in its status as a bounded ‘Lied’ and in the enlivening of individual components as ‘part of a greater whole’.[174] Hegel’s praise is in fact uncompromising. As Barbara Stemmrich-Köhler has shown, he cites the *Divan* in an 1826 lecture as offering the ‘highest accomplishment of poetry’, one of meditation, reflection, and the elevation of the mundane that stems from a total immersion in the object.[175] Stieglitz himself

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[169] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Aesthetics,* trans. by T. M. Knox, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), I, pp. 368–369; *Werke,* XIII, pp. 474–475; ‘carefree serenity’ [*Kummerlose Heiterkeit*] comes from Hegel’s comments on the *Divan*, Hegel/Knox, I, p. 370; *Werke*, XIII, p. 477.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Cf. Moland, *Hegel’s Aesthetics*, pp. 138–144, esp. pp 141–144.
[172] Hegel/Knox, p. 609; *Werke,* XIV, p. 240.
[173] Hegel/Knox, p. 610.; *Werke,* XIV, p. 241.
[174] Hegel/Knox p. 609. *Werke,* XIV, p. 240:
[175] Stemmrich-Köhler, *Zur Funktion der orientalischen Poesie*, p. 184.

followed this latter designation by terming Goethe's '*Objektivität*' as '*Sich-dem-Stoff hingeben*'.[176] Extrapolating from the poem, 'Wiederfinden', Hegel writes:

> In general, in similar productions of this kind we have before us no subjective longing, no being in love, no desire, but a pure delight in the topics, an inexhaustible self-yielding of imagination [*Phantasie*], a harmless play, a freedom in toying alike with rhyme and ingenious metres – and, with all this, a depth of feeling and a cheerfulness of the inwardly self-moving heart which through the serenity of the outward shape lift the soul high above all painful entanglement in the restriction of the real world.[177]

By engaging the category of objective humour that itself 'suggests the *kind* of criteria that will apply to the art of the future', as Moland has put it, the *Divan* was also a vehicle for the continued relevance of art as such.[178]

Hegel's influence on Stieglitz's Orientalism is likely to have been wide-reaching. Firstly, the philosopher gave Stieglitz an acute sense of a self-implicating world-historical consciousness. Reading and listening to Hegel, Stieglitz would have understood world history as a condition of possibility for the poetic representation of the historicity and totality of the Orient from the perspective of a German subject looking backwards towards cultural youth and historical beginning. Rosenkranz need not have schemed his own westering progression to Stieglitz's poetry in his earlier gloss. For it is the imperfect rendering of Hegel's teleological scheme, moving back and backwards through the Orient in search of a historical sunrise, that most reveals Stieglitz's engagement with Hegelian Orientalism. Secondly, the philosopher would have validated the poet's use of the Goethe's *Divan,* a text that carried epochal aesthetic significance, as an Orientalist model. But with that same validation came a raising of the stakes of Orientalism in general and Stieglitz's practice in particular. The implicit danger of all Orientalist poetry

[176] *Briefe*, II, p. 315.
[177] Hegel/Knox, pp. 610–611, *Werke,* XIV, p. 242.
[178] Moland, *Hegel's Aesthetics*, p. 143.

without 'objective humour' to a dogmatic Hegelian was an entrapment or enfolding in the teleological death of art. Orientalism could quickly become undone by Romanticism's subjectivity which inclined towards the inward and the ill. Hegel in fact made Goethe's shoes even harder to fill and the task of writing Orientalism in the 1820s and 1830s a genealogically anxious affair.

The Composing Critic

While Stieglitz was coming to terms with Hegel and himself, the musical reception of his collection was beginning. Stieglitz wrote to Charlotte in 1826:

> Marx has set the poem 'Nahid' to music in a very significant way with full orchestral accompaniment, a marvellous *Nachtphantasie*; but he also wants to make a piano reduction for my Lottchen; I would like to hear you sing it. So we'll be singing together soon? – I enclose *Omars Nachtlied* for you; it is – judge for yourself; Omar has not become a Nahid, but neither should he be; only he must not be cool, otherwise it is not worthy of blissful contemplation and must be destroyed.[179]

The poet was here referring to Adolph Bernhard Marx, known both then and now principally as a voluble theorist, critic, and pedagogue, the person responsible for the codification of sonata form and for tirelessly promoting the works of Beethoven in 1820s and 1830s Berlin.[180] But here we have a different Marx, the composer of 'Nahid'.

Marx was one of Stieglitz's intimates. The two had grown close in the mid-1820s, Marx a young lawyer with musical ambitions, Stieglitz a philologist with poetic ones.[181] Marx also knew Charlotte, whom he retrospectively described in rapturous terms.[182] Stieglitz's and Marx's relationship was not simply friendly, but productively artistic in the Goethe-Zelter mould. Stieglitz would send poems for Marx to set, including the

[179] *Briefe*, II, p. 60.
[180] Cf., [anon.], 'A. B. Marx als Componist', *NZfM*, 20 (1844), pp. 105–106 and 110.
[181] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, 2 vols (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1865), I, p. 161.
[182] Ibid., pp. 189–190.

occasional Orientalist poem, such as 'Morgengesang der Parsen', which Marx subsequently published as the first *gesellig* choral number of his op. 1 in 1830, with a dedication to the Hensels, who had married the year before.[183] Marx additionally set poems that appeared in Stieglitz's *Musen-Almanach* in 1830. These settings would appear in his *Zwölf Gesänge*, op. 2, published over two volumes in 1830, and included the ballad number, 'Eine Nacht auf Kamtschatka', which Stieglitz would republish in the fourth volume of his *Bilder*, as well as the satirical Orientalist poem, 'Sinescher Poetenklub'.[184] Stieglitz was clearly of the opinion that the publication of Lieder on his texts would aid the reception of his Orientalism.

Marx's critical worldview provides a means of understanding the discursive tendencies of his compositions. Like Stieglitz, Marx was a first-generation Hegelian. It is tempting to suggest that Marx too was involved in furnishing Stieglitz's world-historical 'Hegelian textbook'. And like Stieglitz, whom Rosenkranz termed as one of the 'Goethe-Hegelians [*Göthohegelianer*]', Marx appropriated Hegel.[185] As Scott Burnham has argued, Marx combined the philosopher's modes of aesthetic and historical criticism in which an artwork reveals its position in time with the hermeneutics of Friedrich Schleiermacher to advance a distinctive style of music criticism that responded to the demands of modern art.[186] Sanna Pederson has also argued that Marx's historical standpoint is indebted to

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[183] Leopold Hirschberg, 'Der Tondichter Adolph Bernhard Marx', *Sammelband der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 10 (1908), 1–72, esp. pp. 8–11; Adolph Bernhard, Marx, *Drey Chorgesänge, vier- und sechsstimmig mit Pianofortebegleitung* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1830); Stieglitz sent '*Chöre*' for Marx to compose in July 1828, *Briefe*, II, p. 456.

[184] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Zwölf Gesänge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1830); nos. 1 ('Schlummerlied'), 4 ('Sinescher Poetenklub'), 5 ('In der Ferne'), 7 ('Auf der Wanderung'), and 12 ('Eine Nacht auf Kamtschatka') came from Stieglitz, as well as the Virgil translation, no. 8; Marx also set no. VIII of Goethe's *Chinesisch-deutsche Jahres- und Tageszeiten* (VII) as no. 10.

[185] Karl Rosenkranz, *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Leben* (Berlin: Duncker und Hublot, 1844), p. 379.

[186] Scott Burnham, 'Aesthetics, History and Theory in the Works of Adolph Bernhard Marx' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1988), pp. 35ff.

Hegel's consciousness of a world-historical progression.[187] Within this teleological scheme, one of the musically transposed injunctions was to rid the German stage of foreign products, Italian music and Rossinian 'sensuality' in particular. Criticism in the Marxian guise was thus politically charged. The public was tutored in cultural and historical self-understanding through music, particularly German works. If the fact that Marx composed is strange enough from an historiographical point of view, that Marx composed Orientalist songs, which involved German involvement with the foreign, seems at first glance baffling indeed.

Marx's corpus of writings is voluminous. It would be impossible to do justice to his shifting views on music and history across the decades. One document, however, provides a snapshot of Marx's thinking about Orientalism and song, the treatise *Die Kunst des Gesanges: theoretisch-praktisch*, which was published in 1826, the same year that he sent 'Nahid' to Stieglitz. As indicated by its subtitle, the treatise was intended as a comprehensive guide to the theoretical and practical 'art of singing'. Marx's reflections spanned much ground – from vocal physiology and technique and the laws of harmony and counterpoint to the socio-historical conditions that underlay all the vocal genres, which included opera, cantata, and song. But this is not a dry and leaden work and Marx does not hesitate from stressing a nationalist animus. The first line of the treatise reads:

> We are now at the end of a period of musical art in which Italian music has filled all countries, including Germany, and has almost made us forget what German art is and what music is to the German.[188]

[187] Sanna Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism, 1800–1850' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1995), esp. pp. 121–129; see also, Elisabeth Eleonore Bauer, *Wie Beethoven auf den Sockel kam: die Entstehung eines musikalischen Mythos* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1992), pp. 75ff.

[188] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Die Kunst des Gesanges, theoretisch-praktisch* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1826), p. iii.

Across Marx's three periods of music history, the contrapuntal, the melodic, and the present moment 'in the process of becoming',[189] Italian music acquires hegemonic status, 'extending from the smallest to the largest [idea and component]'.[190] The purpose of the treatise was thus socially and culturally corrective. Marx aimed to provide a theory and practice of song that was both worthy of the 'depth, expressiveness, intimacy and tenderness' of the German language, which had long been dismissed by the French and Italians, and accorded with the higher intellectual demands of the German *Geist*.[191]

Marx argues early on in *Die Kunst des Gesanges* that the German contains an element of syncretism within him. Mozart was the first to raise an eighteenth-century 'Italian' principle to another level:

> This is the fruit of that immersion of German music into the foreign*;* that Mozart, without essentially leaving Italian territory, rose above the sphere of the Italians with German power.[192]

The German essentially emerged from this moment of Hegelian sublation, the reconciliation of two principles, the sensuous and the spiritual:

> In order for the idiosyncratically German to emerge purely from this mixture of two such heterogeneous nationalities, the foreign and its recognition in us had to come to perfection.[193]

Later in the treatise, similar arguments are put forward. Marx then derives the aspirations of the German '*Volk*', codified under the heading '*Verstandesprinzip*':

> As great as the love of music and the strength for it has always been in the Germans, it was nevertheless necessary, according to the task of our people: to absorb, appropriate and mature everything foreign – that in a period of our musical art (that from Handel to Mozart) the music of a foreign people inclined towards song – the Italian – was received and cherished among us as a foreign thing and

[189] Burnham, 'Aesthetics', p. 4.
[190] Marx, *Die Kunst des Gesanges*, p. v.
[191] Ibid., pp. vi, and iv.
[192] Ibid., p. iv.
[193] Ibid.

> that for a time the consciousness of our own music-spirit [*Musikgeist*] was darkened by the inclination towards the foreigner.[194]

German art itself has reached such a degree of maturity that the German knows the foreign better than he knows himself. Marx goes on. Under the heading 'Deutschland', he noted how the Germans of the present were imbued with an ability to reproduce and represent after the fact:

> The tendency of German art is to absorb everything and recreate it into a true and perfect life.[195]

Indeed, Germany's ideal geographical location 'in the centre [*in der Mitte*]', which is not a neutral but a political determination, enables it to both assimilate the foreign and propagate its own form of influence:

> Situated in the centre of the other European countries, Germany's task seems to be to receive influences from all of them and to influence all of them in turn.[196]

Stieglitz had the same culturally and politically 'Germanocentric' idea.[197] 'Germania', the poet fantasised in his *Stimmen der Zeit in Liedern*, published as a pendant to the *Bilder* in 1834, 'you Europe's heart of peoples [*Europas Völkerherz*]', with all the connotations of eminence and emanation that such a statement brings.[198]

Brief as they are, the excerpts above are representative of the 'internationalist' nationalism of Marx's thinking about the historical position of Germans.[199] In *Die Kunst des Gesanges*, Marx anxiously argues for German privilege and difference. The German's

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[194] Ibid., § 657, p. 170.
[195] Ibid., § 782, p. 226.
[196] Ibid., § 783, p. 226.
[197] For more on this with regard to Friedrich Schlegel, see Michael Dusche, 'Friedrich Schlegel's Writings on India: Reimagining Germany as Europe's True Oriental Self', in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe,* ed. by James Hodkinson and John Walker (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), pp. 31–54, esp. pp. 34–35; for 'Germanocentric', see Jürgen Osterhammel, *Unfabling the East: The Enlightenment's Encounter with Asia*, trans. by Robert Savage (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), pp. 10–11.
[198] Heinrich Stieglitz, *Stimmen der Zeit in Liedern* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1834), p. 20.
[199] Celia Applegate, 'The Internationalism of Nationalism: Adolf Bernhard Marx and German Music in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Modern European History*, 5 (2007), 139–159.

syncretic cultural past, their depth and inwardness, their northern climate that breeds severity and seriousness, their fragmented contemporary situation that euphemises an inverse correlation between political strength and cultural objectivity – all apparently pointed towards a '*Höheres*' in both need and aspiration.[200] But Marx's exclusivity does not rest on an inward-looking isolationism. As his comments above show, the German should be outward-looking, with nationalism itself opening an entrance into the world.[201] The German should assimilate that which lies around him and fulfil his destiny to wield cultural influence further afield. This was to be achieved by his music, which in Marx's writing could be understood as advocating a 'universalist' position – 'either universally understood or superior to that of all other nations', in Bernd Sponheuer's words.[202]

Marx's thinking about German cultural nationalism approaches Orientalism from the other side. Although he does not mention Orientalism by name, Marx replicates the affirmative and retaliatory dynamics of its discourse. As Germana and Kontje have noted, Orientalism in a German context was often grasped in a literary and intellectual context through the issue of nation. Whether as an 'ideal mirror' for national self-conceptions or as an idea through which one could sublimate oppositional or affiliative constructions of their various national selves, the Orient supported a comparative identity.[203] The familiar Orientalist bind of *'Aneignung'* and '*Abgrenzung*' Marx holds in tension, if not in fully

[200] Marx, *Die Kunst des Gesanges,* esp. pp. i– ix.
[201] Cf. Celia Applegate's comments on Robert Schumann's politically progressive nationalism in 'Robert Schumann and the Culture of German Nationhood', in *Rethinking Schumann*, ed. by Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 3–14, esp. pp. 4–6.
[202] Bernd Sponheuer, 'Reconstructing Ideal Types of the German in Music', in *Music and German National Identity,* ed. by Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 36–58 (p. 41).
[203] For more, see Nicholas Germana, *The Orient of Europe: The Mythical Image of India and Competing Images of German National Identity* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2009), esp. pp. 45–46 and 204–205ff.

dialectical fashion, at once advocating the assimilation of the foreign and promoting an endotic German art that should be wary of the same phenomenon.[204]

Marx's comments about a German appropriative spirit have particular consequences for the capacities of German Orientalist art. After the example of Goethe, whom Marx describes as 'clearly reflecting the life of the Italians' in a passage about how climate influences customs and biology, [205] one can deduce that German Orientalists were understood to have had the capacity to revive and recreate their objects of inquiry, scientific or cultural, because of a world-historical privilege. They could penetrate into the Orient not merely because they could understand that which lay beyond them, but because their historical-cultural development involved a necessary overcoming that conditioned an openness to interaction. Citing Franz Bopp, whom the composer would have heard lecturing as a professor of Sanskrit in Berlin in 1820s, Marx seemingly believed that the 'primordial homeland of our [German] *Volk* and our language' was to be found 'on the holy waters of the Ganges'.'[206] German Orientalism was thus less a contradiction in terms and more a tautology. In one sense, the German not only had the history of the Oriental contained in the 'delicacy' and 'depth' of his linguistic system. In another sense, he addressed both the nations of Europe ('*Germanen*') and the world ('*Orient*') with his universality.

What Marx decided to include in *Die Kunst des Gesanges* was essential socio-cultural knowledge for the practical performance of vocal genres. These ideas were also

[204] Cf. Todd Kontje, 'Aneignung oder Abgrenzung? Über den Umgang mit dem Fremden in Friedrich Schlegel, *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* und Goethe*, West-östlicher Divan*', in *Persien im Spiegel Deutschlands: Konstruktionsvarianten von Persien-Bildern in der deutschsprachigen Literatur vom 18. bis in das 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Christine Maillard and Hamid Tafazoli (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2018), pp. 189–202.
[205] Marx, *Die Kunst des Gesanges*, §722, p. 196.
[206] Marx, *Erinnerungen*, II, p. 190.

meant to condition Marx's by now more familiar theory of the Lied that emerges quite late on in the treatise. Marx rehearses the distinctions between the aria and the Lied, which one suspects were also to be tacitly mapped onto the musico-nationalist dichotomy between the Italian and the German that the composer had been at pains to stress hitherto. Marx conceives of the relationship between music and text in what he termed the *Liedesform* as that of a 'theme' and its 'exposition'.[207] He argues that because music is the constant while the text builds its subtle delineation in time the poem's various 'lines' are to be sung to 'one and the same melody'.[208] Marx insisted that capturing and expressing the poem's *Grundidee*, its 'spiritual quintessence', was central to each successful song composition.[209] Paying attention to the definitions of the strophic ideal, the successful Lied composer took up 'in themselves' the 'soul of the poem'.[210] They pursued 'the sensual and spiritual *Empfinden* of the *Idee*', which was to lay out the individuality of song composition for both critic and audience.[211]

Although 'Nahid' was composed in 1826, making it contemporaneous with *Die Kunst des Gesanges,* it was first published in 1844, as part of the much longer *Nahid und Omar: eine Novelle*. The genesis of the work is something of a mystery. It is unclear whether the 'Nahid' and 'Omars Nachtlied' to which Stieglitz refers were the dramatic kernel of the *Novelle* or whether these were excerpted from a much larger whole. What is

[207] Marx, *Die Kunst des Gesanges*, II, §939, p. 279; Marx derives the 'duchkomponiertes Lied' and the ballad from recitative and aria form, see II, §980, p. 380.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid., §939, p. 279.
[210] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 2 (1825), p. 393.
[211] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Ein paar Worte über Liederkomposition', *BamZ*, 2 (1825), p. 393; Marx's instrumental *Idee* is complex and ambiguous, see Scott Burnham, 'Criticism, Faith and the "Idee": A.B. Marx's Early Reception of Beethoven', *19th-Century Music*, 13 (1990), 183–192.

clear, as Leopold Hirschberg notes, is that Marx must have had the eventual nine-song work completed by 1834, citing the composer's comments:

> I wrote my Nahid and Omar for [Charlotte's] blissful voice, for her soul full of the noblest singing. She was the first and most unique singer for Nahid, as beautifully as I later heard it from famous singers.[212]

Heinrich Houben also cites an 1834 letter from Theodor Mundt to Charlotte that mentions rehearsals for a 'Marxian novella concert' at a private gathering.[213] With Hirschberg, it can therefore be assumed that the work was finished early in the 1830s, just as Stieglitz's *Bilder* were being reviewed in the critical press.

Marx conceived *Nahid und Omar* as a hybrid genre composed of both lyric and dramatic elements. In his memoirs, the composer wrote:

> From the *Bilder des Orients* I have formed Nahid and Omar, a musical novella, a dramatic progression [*Vorgang*], not intended for theatrical representation, but only captured in the main lyrical moments, which enter into an inner relationship with each other and thus form a coherent whole.[214]

The suggestion that a dramatic progression could be contained in its 'main lyrical moments' was reinforced by the subtitle, *eine Novelle aus den Bildern des Orients erlesen*. The first part of the subtitle, '*eine Novelle*', suggests a continuation of the subgenre of the *Liedroman* but departs from its lyric determinacy by shedding the generic marker of *Lied*.[215] Struggling for a categorical descriptor, a critic for *Der Freihafen* in 1844 settled on a comparison. Marx's 'musical novella' was the 'fragrant *Nebenbild* of the

[212] Leopold Hirschberg, 'Der Tondichter', p. 21; Marx, *Erinnerungen*, I, p. 199.
[213] Heinrich Houben, 'Jungdeutsche Lebenswirren', *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 10 (1906), 1–17 (pp. 15–16).
[214] Marx, *Erinnerungen*, I, p. 189.
[215] Dr. K [?], 'Recension', *AmZ*, 46 (1844), col. 329; for more, see Ruth Bingham, 'The Early Nineteenth-Century Song Cycle', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. by James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 101–119 (pp. 110–112).

musical drama', which was itself compared to the ballad.[216] The critic for the *AmZ* meanwhile argued that it 'rather forms a genre in its own right'. This 'novel' genre included both arias and Lied-like numbers, harbingers in theory of the dramatic and the lyric.[217] The second part, *erlesen*, suggests most clearly Marx's role as a textual editor. Rather than choosing a particular cycle from the *Bilder*, Marx read a novel out of its various portions, piecing together poems from volume two on Persia, including the lyric cycle, 'Ali und Fatme', the drama *Ein Tag in Ispahan*, and mixed-model *Schach und Schenke* to create a rapidly accelerating dramatic narrative over nine songs with an introduction.[218]

All the action takes place in a single evening. The first two numbers, 'Omar' and 'Nahid', set up the two lovers, each pining for the other from a distance. The third to seventh numbers, which are signalled by descriptive titles, 'Unterm Fenster', 'Mit Omars Selam', 'Im Garten', 'Lauschende Feen', and 'Getäuschtes Erwachen', are expositions of the 'lyrical main moments'. Omar sings two serenades in the third and fifth numbers, both underneath Nahid's window before and after Nahid has divined the meaning of Omar's *Blumensprache* in the fourth number. In the third, 'Unterm Fenster', Omar appears with his male '*Begleiter*' who sing in chorus as he folds his secretly communicative bouquet. With the sixth song, 'Lauschende Feen', a chorus of female voices appears, who sing 'long, thirsty kisses' that the lovers 'suck'. The seventh number comes after the rather graphic assignation. Omar wakes up by the brook to find his lover asleep. The eight number, 'Nachts', is a dramatic scene that Marx took from *Ein Tag in Ispahan*. Omar is caught by spies in the employ of Nahid's father, who have been waiting there all along.

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[216] G[?], W[?], 'Vermischte Nachrichten', in *Der Freihafen: Galerie von Unterhaltungsbildern aus den Kreisen der Literatur, Gesellschaft und Wissenschaft*, ed. by Theodor Mundt (Altona: Hammerich, 1844), pp. 293–295.
[217] Dr. K[eferstein?], 'Recension', *AmZ*, 46 (1844), col. 329.
[218] For a full breakdown of textual sources, see Hirschberg, 'Der Tondichter', pp. 21–26.

After a skirmish, he is killed. It seems that the reason, one of the murderers tells us, is an interreligious conflict that Marx brings into play rather late in the scene ('Seid nur Schlag sechs beim Haus der Juden'). The final number, 'Heimwärts', which represents Omar's ascent to paradise after his death, is sung by a chorus of Peris.

Marx is ambitious in the scoring of his vocal lines. Omar and Nahid, first performed by Eduard Mantius and Leopoldine Tuczek in Berlin in 1844 with Marx at the piano, are both big roles.[219] The 'Feen' and the contract killers were not to be sung by a full choir, but a chorus of individual voices, as indicated in the second title page of the first edition.[220] Practically, the decision to have solo voices must have helped keep the numbers down, turning the piece into a reproducible work that could be performed in both public and private performances. Although Marx notes that the work was not designed for 'theatrical representation', neither the concert nor the private entertainment precluded dressing up in Orientalist costume. The decision to have solo voices also had a dramatic purpose within the framework of the *Novelle*. The characters could step out and progress the narrative from song to song. Each of the killers is given a name – Kerim, Babu, and Scherr – and their own line of music, providing a tonal contrast to the continuing and unsuspecting lyricism of Omar and Nahid. The fairies and Peris were also conceived as individual characters with their own lines of music that moved the work along.

The genesis of the piano accompaniment is also shrouded in mystery. Stieglitz mentions a piano reduction for 'Nahid' that Marx had specifically made for Charlotte in 1826. Advertisements from 1844 also specifically refer the publication of a 'piano

[219] [Anon.], 'Nachrichten', *AmZ*, 46 (1844), col. 318.
[220] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Nahid und Omar: eine Novelle* (Berlin: Challier, 1844), [n. p.].

arrangement' published by Challier, which implies an orchestral original.[221] The title page of the first edition, however, does not mention anything about an arrangement, noting simply that the work was 'für Gesang und Pianoforte'. Marx himself is rather ambiguous on the point. In his *Lehre der musikalischen Komposition* (1847), he notes how a piano part is to be preferred to an orchestral one, indicating that an orchestra would have given the work a 'plastic objectivity' that would have made the 'poetic progression' and the 'fleeting *Phantasiebild*' too concrete.[222] In the same passage, Marx describes the work as an 'opera or operetta', which implies an orchestral or at least chamber accompaniment. The unwieldy piano part does read like an orchestral arrangement, but so does much of Marx's keyboard writing. The *NZfM* reviewer argued that his pianism was 'not entirely *handgerecht*'.[223] The introduction for example is full of awkward and dense arpeggios and grandiose horn calls that invoke orchestral timbres (see Figure 10). The composer's decision to use the piano is perhaps best understood as part of his play with formal boundaries. By turning the piano into another dramatic persona, Marx could more easily signal a departure from the artful simplicity of the *Liedroman* while keeping it within the broader remit of larger cyclical song forms.

[221] [Anon.], 'Ankündigungen', *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, 2 (1844), p. 120; and [Anon.], 'Nachrichten', *AmZ*, 46 (1444), cols 318–319.
[222] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, *praktisch-theoretisch,* 4 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1844–1847), IV (1847), pp. 473–474.
[223] [Anon.], 'Für Pianoforte zu vier und zwei Händen', *NZfM*, 23 (1845), p. 29.
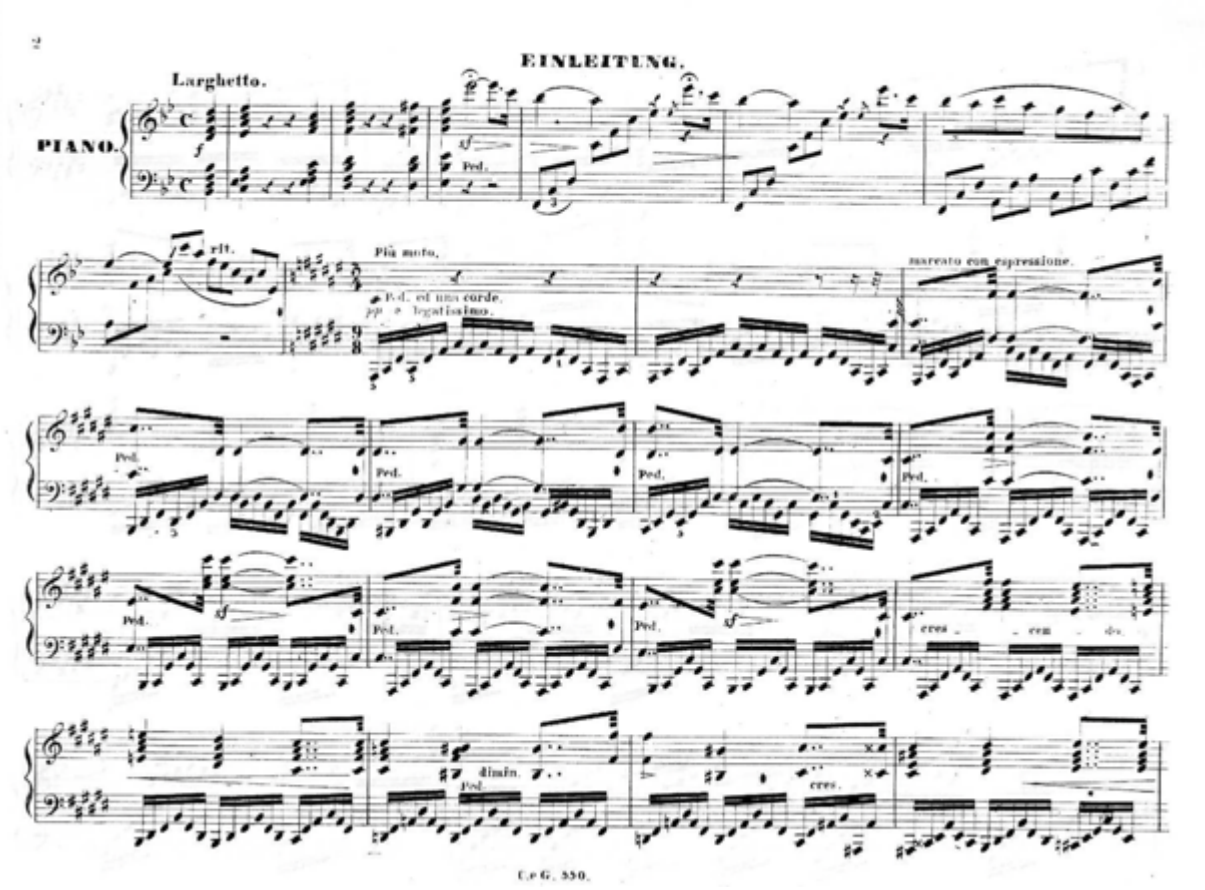


Figure 10: Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Einleitung', *Nahid und Omar* (Berlin: Challier, 1844), p. 2

Marx was more conversant with the burgeoning field of Eastern music research than the majority of his composing contemporaries, conducting research into antique modes and contributing historical articles to musical encyclopaedia in the later 1830s.[224] Some of his theoretical research must have inflected his musical language. Apropos his oratorio *Mose*, which was published a year after *Nahid und Omar* in 1845, Marx wrote that 'in the first aria… the original scale of the Orient unconsciously presented itself to me'.[225] 'Unconscious' is the key word here. Marx implies that the idea of an Eastern modal music stemmed from the *Idee* of the work, generating it from without while mandating it from

[224] For more, see David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002), esp. pp. 43ff.
[225] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Music of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. by Wehrhan, p. 43.

within. In a process that recalls the ethnographic Orientalist detail that Edward Said describes went into the original production of Verdi's *Aida* later in the century,[226] Marx apparently made frequent visits to the 'Egyptian museum' in Berlin where he stood admiring the 'colossal statues' that 'expressed the immutability of the Egyptian spirit'.[227] One imagines that this also fed back into the work's grand *Idee,* as it was revealed to him from the text that Marx put together from Biblical excerpts, retaining its antiquated and prophetic 'Wort' and 'Ausdruck'.[228]

None of this historicising Orientalising modality can be found in *Nahid und Omar*. Marx's technique is a rich tone-painting, which the composer defended in his polemic, *Ueber die Malerei in der Tonkunst* (1828), on the basis of the *Idee*.[229] Marx recognised that the *Grundidee* of Stieglitz's poetry demanded the representation in music of a certain 'colour that the object requires'.[230] Each moment serves to represent sensuously the feeling of the Orient's splendour by a kind of *Klangfarbe*. Critics almost unanimously commented on the painterly qualities of the work. One argued that the introduction 'presents Persia's wonderlands with wordless eloquence'.[231] Another claimed that 'the whole painting is bathed in the most brilliant colours of the Orient'.'[232] The gentle motion of the arpeggiated chords in the introduction gives the floral 'fragrance' of the poetry a dynamic musical figure. There are also tingling trills to represent the 'Sterne' in the accompaniment in the second song, 'Omars Nachtlied'. The 'säuselnder Abendwind' of

[226] Edward Said, 'The Imperial Spectacle', *Grand Street*, 6 (1987), 82–104.
[227] Marx, *Erinnerungen*, II, p. 174–175; this was only three years after Richard Lepsius planted the Prussian flag in Egyptian soil after his state-sponsored expedition, see Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, pp. 62–65.
[228] Hirschberg, 'Der Tondichter Marx', p. 27.
[229] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Über die Malerei in der Tonkunst*. *Ein Maigruß an die Kunstphilosophen* (Berlin: Fink, 1828); Burnham, 'Aesthetics', pp. 16–18.
[230] Dr. K [eferstein?], 'Recension', *AmZ*, 46 (1844), col. 331.
[231] G[?], W[?], 'Vermischte Nachrichten', in *Der Freihafen*, p. 294.
[232] [Anon.], 'A. B. Marx als Componist', *NZfM*, 20 (1844), p. 106.

‘Nahid’, the background of the third number, is given a shimmering neighbour-note figure in the accompaniment. The vocal line in ‘im Garten’, the fifth number, has as its main motif an ascending arpeggio which represents Omar calling up towards Nahid. These are just a few of the more obvious examples.

Marx’s tone-painting was not confined to the representation of extra-musical phenomena. Complementing the differentiated understanding of the Orient and Orientalism in Stieglitz's Hegelianism, Marx employed harmonic and tonal elements that could both contribute ‘spiritually’ to the tone-painting of the Orient and reflect the national claims made for German musical procedures in criticism and theory. As Holly Watkins has argued, Marx made a national connection between depth and spirituality. The deeper structures of German instrumental music’s harmonic complexity supposedly reflected the deeper spirit of the German mind.[233] Marx’s harmonic nationalism also applied to the Lied. In a review of C. L. Winter’s *Sechs deutsche Lieder* in 1830, for example, he noted that the songs were not ‘merely German’ because they had German texts or because they follow the ‘aspirations of the poet’ and ‘awaken’ the *Empfindung* of the poem. The songs were ‘ultimately’ German because ‘the composer displays a harmonic proficiency that is unique to the German [...]’.[234]

The introduction to *Nahid und Omar* engages in a deliberate performance of this complexity. Marx almost constantly shifts between enharmonic third relations (B flat to F sharp, F sharp to E flat, A flat to F major, F major to D major), which assume new tonal functions in their respective gridlocks. The same third relationships predominate in the second song, ‘Omars Nachtlied’ whose middle section rests in the flattened submediant

[233] Cf. Holly Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought: From E.T.A. Hoffmann to Arnold Schoenberg* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), esp. pp. 51–85.
[234] Adolph Bernhard Marx, ‘Beurtheilungen’, *BamZ*, 7 (1830), p. 269.

(F major) of the tonic A major. The long musical interlude in ‘Lauschende Feen’ is particularly mutable. Designed to give graphic expression to the ‘union’ of the two lovers, the music snakes down the chromatic scale, again with block-like shifts, the left hand’s demi-semiquaver arpeggios turning on an enharmonic axis (see Figure 11). The manipulation of such patterns seems to have fulfilled two functions at once: the ‘harmonic proficiency’ of the German (for Marx) and the imagined colours of the Orient (for his listeners).

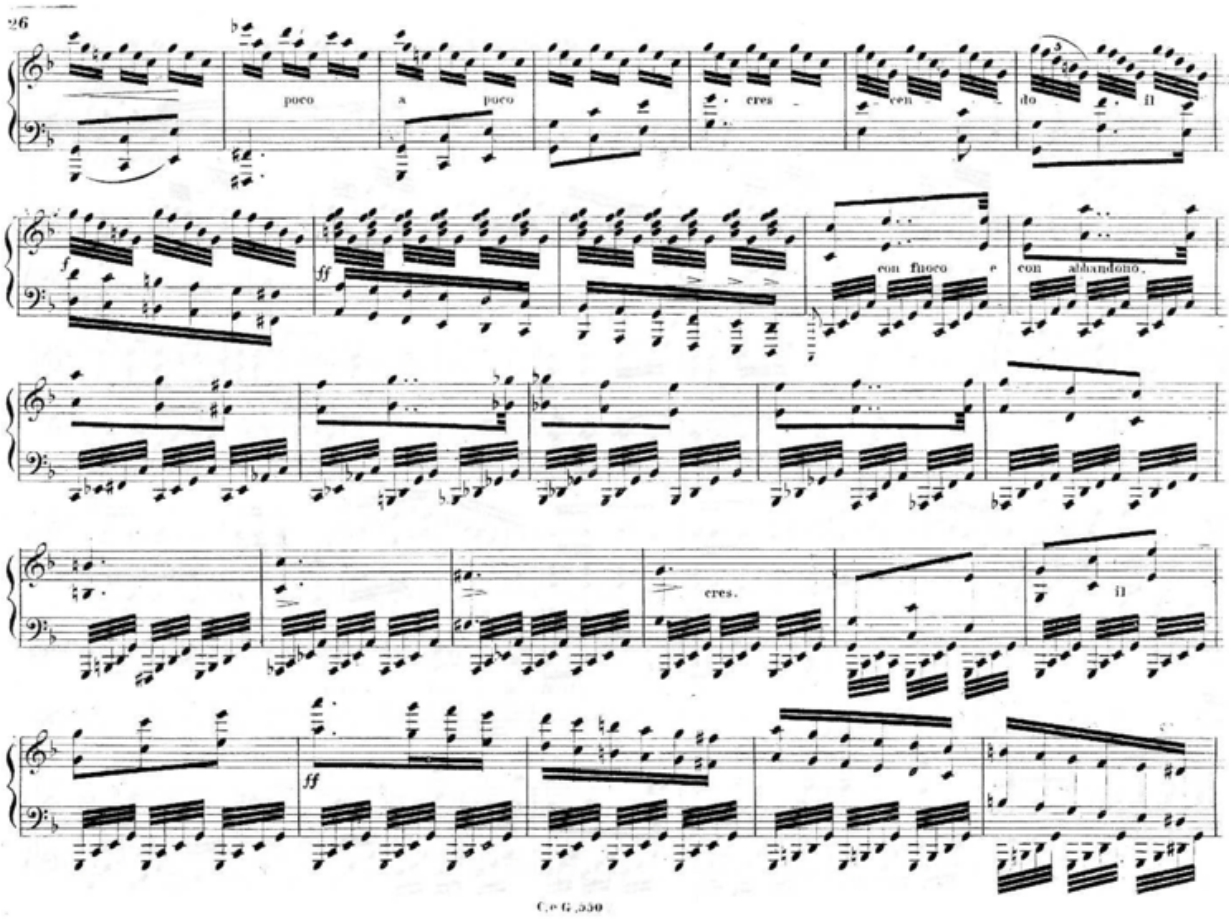


Figure 11: Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Lauschende Feen', *Nahid und Omar*, p. 26 (Public Domain)

In the last example Marx clearly has Beethoven in mind. Critics consistently drew attention to how Marx’s critical theory and compositional practice were guided by an

engagement with his own canon of composers spanning the three periods of musical history. Marx's chronicler in the *NzfM* put it thus:

> Marx bases his science and art on the solid ground of the past. History and the immortal works of our heroes are his teachers.[235]

Marx makes one specific intertextual reference to Beethoven in 'Nahid'. He quotes the opening musical material of 'Es kehret der Mayen' from *An die ferne Geliebte* (see Figures 12 and 13).
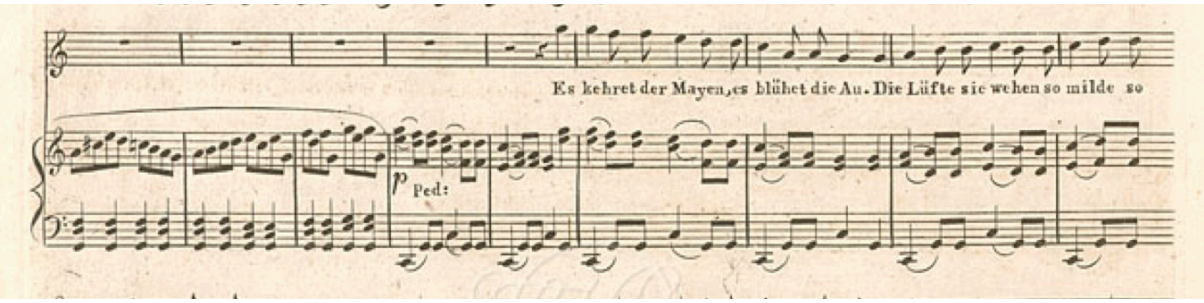


Figure 12: Ludwig van Beethoven, 'Es kehret er Mayen', *An die ferne Geliebte* (Vienna: S. A. Steiner, c. 1816), p. 14 (Public Domain)
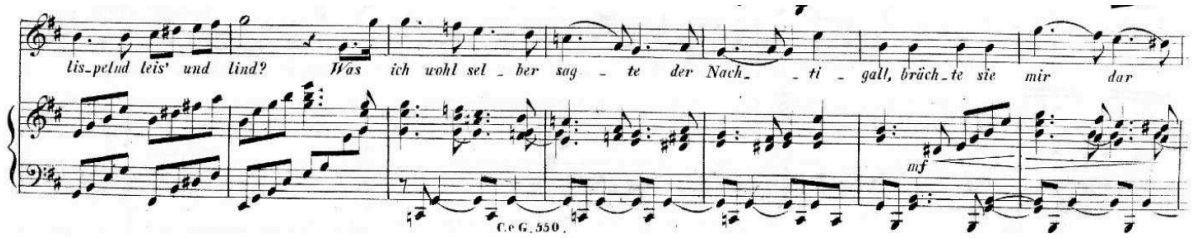


Figure 13: Marx, 'Nahid', *Nahid und Omar*, p. 11

The use of the quotation is appropriate. Adolph Jeitelles' poetic line on pastoral springtime and the larger cycle's theme of separation fold nicely into the thematics of the Orientalist *Novelle*. Further appropriations of Beethoven's fingerprints can be detected elsewhere. The arpeggiated accompanimental figures of the introduction; the cascading, chunked dominant sevenths at the beginning of 'Nahid'; the characteristic Beethovenian progression that moves from I – vii^{b} – I^{b} only to be interrupted by a dominant seventh in

[235] [Anon.], 'A. B. Marx als Componist', *NZfM*, 20 (1844), p. 106.

fourth inversion; the thickly scored left-hand chords; the deathly stasis of ‘Heimwärts’, marked ‘Harfenklang’, that reminds of the late piano works; the reappearance and conclusion of lyrical motifs in syncretic musical process in the dramatic eighth number – all show that Marx looked to the hero of his present historical period for musical inspiration for his Orientalist *Novelle*, just as Stieglitz pursued his Goethean hero when he put together his *Bilder*.

Chapter 4: '*Kleinmeister*'

Stieglitz sent copies of the first two volumes of the *Bilder des Orients* to Goethe soon after their publication in 1830 along with copies of the *Musen-Almanach*.[1] Goethe's putative response, mediated after the elder poet's death by Eckermann two years later, was by turns warm, vague, and ominous:

> Goethe regretted that your Orient appeared at a time that could not be more unfavourable. He judged the volume, from which he read various things during a meal in my presence, very favourably.[2]

It is difficult to interpret these comments. Goethe could have been referring to the disenchantment with parts of his more 'passionate' *Divan* Orientalism that he admitted to Eckermann in 1827 after a performance of Eberwein's 'Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen'.[3] The poet could have been hinting at the belatedness of Stieglitz's project, having already promoted a school of poet-philologists, Rückert and Platen, who heeded Goethe's call for a continuation of Orientalist practice a decade before. There might also have been an allusion to the latter's public imbroglio with Heine, the 'Platen Affair', which resulted in both their respective (and self-imposed) exiles in France and Italy, as well as Orientalism's discursive Othering of identity politics.[4]

Stieglitz certainly knew of the 'Platen Affair'. In his autobiography, he described his friendly relations with Heine in the late 1820s, noting how the poet was writing 'the third volume of his *Reisebilder*, which contains the not always clean polemic against Platen'.[5] But he refused to restrict Goethe's friendly caution to the publication of Orientalism in

[1] *Aus Goethes Lebenskreise: J. P. Eckermanns Nachlaß*, ed. by Friedrich Tewes (Berlin: Reimer, 1905; repr. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), pp. 199–200.
[2] Ibid., p. 201
[3] FA, XXXIX, p. 197.
[4] Hans Mayer, *Außenseiter* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1981), pp. 207–223.
[5] Stieglitz, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 112.

particular. Stieglitz attached a certain spin, conflating Orientalism with the category of the poetic. In 1843, he glossed Goethe's comments to Eckermann, noting that his *Bilder* '[appeared] at a time that could not be more unfavourable to *poetic* works'.[6] Yet another gloss from the same year shows that Stieglitz construed 'time' politically. The poet there parenthetically invoked the conditions that the July Revolution in Paris and unrest in Poland had placed on contemporary literary criticism and practice.[7]

Thinking back to the indifference with which his *Divan* was received a decade earlier, Goethe foresaw that the literary reception of Stieglitz's *Bilder* would reflect the heterogeneous makeup of Orientalist readers around 1830. There were those, such as Menzel, who thought the industrial number of philological translations that had made the originals available rendered Stieglitz's poetic enterprise redundant,[8] and others who felt that there was still much value in the poetic 'divination' of the Orient, but chiefly through Orientalist 'emulations' or through approaching the 'form' and 'colour' of 'foreign national poetry'.[9] There were those, such as Rosenkranz, who felt that Stieglitz's poetry was weighed down by the 'foundation of learned study',[10] and others who argued that the poet succeeded on that very same count, offering not the product of a 'heated *Phantasie*', but the fruits of philological study.[11] And then there was Felix Mendelssohn, who simply could not believe what he read. He sought the opinion of a mutual friend, the professional Orientalist Friedrich Rosen in London, on the reality of the dreamworld that Stieglitz conjured up in *Ein Tag in Ispahan*:

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[6] Cf. ibid, p. 120; *Eckermanns Nachlaß*, p. 203.
[7] Ibid., pp. 207–208.
[8] Menzel, 'Bilder des Orients… von Heinrich Stieglitz', *Literatur-Blatt*, [n. vol.] 107 (1830) p. 428.
[9] [Anon.], *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 2 (1830), p. 1163.
[10] Karl Rosenkranz, 'Schi-King… und Bilder des Orients', *JfwK*, [n. vol.] 118 (1834), col. 1006.
[11] Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren, 'Bilder des Orients von Heinrich Stieglitz', *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, [n. vol.] 137 (1830), p. 1367.

> Stieglitz has sent some new volumes of the Orient into the world; as I do not know the old ones, I maintain that these are weaker by far, indeed they are the weakest thing one can read, such sickly sweet Orient! And Ispahan so displaced to the fair of Plundersweiler! And such a limp stretching-out [*Rekelhaftigkeit*], such delicate elemental force inside! […] But please tell me, does it really look as humdrum [*schlafstubenmässig*] in Ispahan as it does in Stieglitz? Do people really lie there on beds of roses and sip jasmine sherbert while the slave girls dance, and meanwhile the vizier is thrown into the water, and another is barbered, and a third is taught the Koran, and another is murdered, and another writes poetry, all in the open street? I don't believe it. But you probably know better.[12]

Does it really look like that? Mendelssohn repeatedly asks, with reference to Goethe's merry-go-round of entertainments, *Das Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern* (1778). Mendelssohn's incredulity leads back to the collection's title, '*Bilder*', which in his mind demanded a more realistic portrayal of images, whether in the form of the subjective retelling of Orientalist travel or in the construction of prosaic vignettes, both of which were on the rise in the 1830s. At least to Mendelssohn, *Phantasie* worked duplicitously in a medium that tended towards visual authentication. Unsurprisingly, he did not set the collection.

Mendelssohn's unbelief highlights one of the reasons why the *Bilder des Orients* has been termed a literary 'failure'.[13] The collection's musical reception beyond Mendelssohn, however, tells a different story. Along with Marx, a number of composers set poems from the collection in the 1830s, including Friedrich Wilhelm Jähns (1809–1888);[14] Georg Müller (1808–1855);[15] Hubert Ries (1802–1886);[16] Carl Gottlieb Reissiger

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[12] *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys Briefwechsel mit Legationsrat Karl Klingemann*, ed. by Karl Klingemann [the younger] (Essen: Baedeker, 1909), p. 104.
[13] Ludwig Ammann, *Östliche Spiegel Ansichten vom Orient im Zeitalter seiner Entdeckung durch den deutschen Leser*, 1800–1850 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1989), p. 18.
[14] Carl von Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexicon Berlin's von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin: Rauh, 1861), pp. 265–266.
[15] Georg Müller is likely one of the Müller brothers, the string quartet who toured Berlin in 1832. Georg was later Kapellmeister in Braunschweig, see Werner Greve, *Braunschweiger Stadtmusikanten: Geschichte eines Berufstandes 1227–1828* (Braunschweig: Stadtarchiv und Stadtbibliothek Braunschweig, 1991), p. 311.
[16] *MGG*^{2}, XIV, p. 88; Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexicon*, pp. 461–462.

(1798–1859);[17] Wilhelm Taubert (1811–1891)[18] Bernhard Klein (1793–1832);[19] A. F. Wustrow (1786–1852);[20] Rudolf von Hertzberg (1818–1893);[21] Ludwig Berger (1777–1839);[22] and Norbert Burgmüller (1810–1836).[23] With few exceptions, all of these composers would largely be silently lumped together under the term, '*Kleinmeister*', a twentieth-century byword for an unimportant functionary of the *Biedermeier*, the period of anxiety and repression that followed the Congress of Vienna.[24] Only the songs of Ludwig Berger and Norbert Burgmüller have any resonance in scholarship.[25] The rest sit at the margins of Lied history.

Whether the list of composers above counted among the '*Tageskomponisten*' whose 'ephemeral productions' disappeared as quickly as they emerged, as one critic put it for the *BamZ* in 1828, is moot.[26] Some, such as Wustrow, a dilettante who worked at the ministry of foreign affairs in Berlin, had their brief moment, before vanishing without much of a musical trace. But others, such as Berger and Klein, founder-members of the *jüngere Berliner Liedertafel*, were highly regarded in their day. Berger's setting of Goethe's 'Der Fischer' was extolled by Marx in 1825 as being not only the best setting of Goethe's text that he had encountered, but 'one of the most beautiful and satisfying German songs that we delight in'.[27] What is clear is that these composers' paradoxical

[17] Ibid., pp. 444–450.
[18] Ibid., pp. 583–592.
[19] Ibid., pp. 287–289.
[20] Ibid., p. 657.
[21] Ibid., p. 239.
[22] Ibid., pp. 48–51.
[23] *MGG*[2], III, cols 1290–1295.
[24] Virgil Nemoianu, *The Taming of Romanticism: European Literature and the Age of Biedermeier* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); see Carl Dahlhaus, 'Romantik und Biedermeier. Zur musikgeschichtlichen Charakteristik der Restaurationszeit', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 31 (1974), 22–41, (p. 39).
[25] In Burgmüller's case, this is because of the legacy of the *NZfM*, see [anon.], 'Norbert Burgmüller', *NZfM*,11 (1839), pp. 70–71, and Robert Schumann, 'Drei Gute Liederhefte', *NZfM*, 13 (1840), pp. 118–119.
[26] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Allerlei', *BamZ,* 5 (1828), p. 426.
[27] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 2 (1825), pp. 394–395.

position both of and beyond history, the historiographical consequences of their *Kleinmeisterschaft,* distorts any proper recognition of their contemporary cultural significance. That many of their works led a rich material life in albums and songbooks through the nineteenth century and were routinely summoned as reference points should be reason enough to give pause.[28] And yet the dailiness of the *Kleinmeister*, the lingering suspicion that they could be '*Tageskomponisten*' capitalising musically on Menzel's diagnosis of an 'Orientalising affectation', dealing with songs not simply as artworks but as print commodities, renders critical responses to their works ideal documents from which to glean how Orientalism in song was seen to function in the contested critical environment of the 1830s.[29] This chapter will explore a selection of Stieglitz settings against their contemporary critical reception by the musical press in the 1830s. This charged and polyvocal press balanced their ideal claims for the Orientalist Lied with the realities of the songs in front of them. Reviews thus became pocket aesthetic manifestos both for exposing the ambitions and limitations of musical Orientalist representation and for adjudicating the ideals and problems of Stieglitz's Orientalist poetry.

Greetings to Berlin

The relatively long list of composers who set the collection is deceptive if only because of the boundedness of their sphere of activity. Many were based in Berlin or had significant ties to the city, singing and socialising in its houses, circles, and institutions. Stieglitz himself glowingly draws attention to their collective local identity in his epic

[28] Werner Oehlmann, *Reclams Liedführer* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1973), p. 315; as an example, Reissiger's setting of the *Bilder*'s 'Lied eines Vögleins in der Oasis' was copied into the song album, SBB – PK, Mus. ms. 30057, no. 46, fols 41^{r} and 41^{v}. The album was put together between 1840 and 1860.

[29] David Gramit, 'The Circulation of the Lied: The Double Life of an Artwork and a Commodity', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. by James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 301–314.

paean to Berlin's cultural personalities, *Gruß an Berlin: Ein Zukunftstraum* (1838). Stieglitz moves seamlessly from one social-artistic group to another. In one passage, Berlin musicians are piled together:

> Was Taubert componirt, was Curschmann bringt,
> Ob noch in Jähns melodischer Hauch erklingt,
> Ob Kreutzer man, ob Löwe lieber singt,
> Ob Ludwig Berger noch zum Herzen dringt,
> Ob Bach noch seines Großohms hehre Klänge
> Darbietet einer andachtfähigen Menge,
> Ob Rungenhagen in den heiligen Hallen
> Noch Händels Chöre herrlich läßt erschallen,
> Ob Schneider noch im Ueben Schwerer Pflicht
> Erglüht für seines Vetters "Weltgericht",
> Ob Möser mit Beethovens Siegerkranze
> Sich schlau erhält im eignen Ruhmesglanze,
> Indeß schon vielfach Jüngere durch Fertigkeit
> Und feines Spiel erregt des alten Fuchses Neid,
> Ob Grauns man noch sich freuen darf, indessen
> Die Zeit getauscht so manches Modekleid,
> Und ob man bei der Wechselfluth der Messen
> Im Haschen nach dem Neusten nicht vergessen,
> Was man an Bernhard Klein und Radzivil besessen [...].[30]

The register at the back of the collection, a paratextual poetic pendant, variously gives epithets to the figures that appear.[31] Beethoven, who had become an honorary Berliner on account of the critical support he received in the city, was variously nicknamed a 'hero in victory' that buttressed the reputation of contemporary performers and 'someone who cannot be pursued'.[32] Friedrich Rosen, Stieglitz's and Mendelssohn's recently deceased Indologist friend in London, 'who went home too soon to the eternal Orient',[33] was summoned with 'the silent flower of the Ganges on the Thames'.[34] The group of musicians

[30] Heinrich Stieglitz, *Gruß an Berlin: Ein Zukunftstraum* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1838), p. 74.
[31] Ibid. pp. 163–181.
[32] Ibid., p. 164.
[33] Ibid., p. 131.
[34] Ibid., p. 178.

listed above was described as the 'choir of Lieder composers'.[35] Loewe is styled 'the balladic', a nod to his fame as a composer, singer, and improvisor of German ballads.[36] Bernhard Klein is billed as 'a belatedly recognised jewel', which at once plays on the German word for 'jewel [*Kleinod*]' and for Klein's reputation as a connoisseur's composer who sought musicality in the unassuming representation of poetic detail and declamation that had clearly begun to fall out of fashion.[37] Ludwig Berger is termed the 'melancholy songsmith'.[38] Jähns is invoked with a line from Ludwig Uhland's patriotic poem, 'Freie Kunst': "'Singe, wem Gesang gegeben!"'.[39] Stieglitz did not write himself into the cultural landscape, but does reference his sponsor and uncle, the Baron Ludwig von Stieglitz to whom the *Bilder des Orients* were dedicated. Ludwig von Stieglitz, who had made his fortune as a banker in St Petersburg, is described as the 'Steurer von Illusionen',[40] an indication that the younger Stieglitz had grown to view his own Orientalist poetry in the dismissive and fabulous terms of some of his critics, Felix Mendelssohn included, four years after Charlotte's suicide. It seems that by 1838 Stieglitz had left his Orientalist enthusiasm behind. The knowledge of the growing cleft between the poetic 'Fabelwelt' and prosaic 'Postillon' proved too great.[41]

As interesting as the portraits are in determining an alternative canon of song composers in 1830s Berlin, Stieglitz's survey of Berlin's song scene points to two social factors that may have motivated composers to engage with Stieglitz's Orientalist work. Stieglitz firstly had become an important poetic-musical figure in his own right by the time

[35] Ibid., p. 181.
[36] Ibid., p. 174.
[37] Ibid., p. 172.
[38] Ibid., p. 164.
[39] Ibid., p. 171.
[40] Ibid., p. 180.
[41] Ibid., pp. 102–103.

the first volume of the *Bilder* appeared in the early 1830s. This has already been seen in his commissioned musical panegyrics, which brought his poetry onto the German stage and won publication in prominent cultural newspapers.[42] Stieglitz's social standing is also reflected in the broadness of his musical networks. The poet's intimacy with the Mendelssohns, with whom he socialised in the 1820s, shines through in his intimate portrait of Felix's apprentice years in the *Gruß*:

> So durfte denn sein überraschend Leisten
> Schon früh zu kühnstem Hoffen Freund' erdreisten,
> Und in des Elternhauses reichem Kreise
> That auf ein Hof sich zu des Knaben Preise,
> So daß gar bald in Allem, was erlernbar,
> Er weit und breit ein vielgepriesner Stern war.[43]

Stieglitz's networks were expansive enough in the middle of the 1820s for him to send Orientalist songs to Weber in 1826 after a chance meeting in Berlin. The songs, composed by 'Zur Hoven from Cologne', were settings of his early Orientalist trilogy *Der Mamelucken-Knabe*, which Stieglitz notes had been rehearsed several times in a 'small musical society' with mixed results.[44] In the same letter, Stieglitz even proposes to write Weber a libretto to set to music.[45] It came to nothing. The Stieglitzes would soon become fixtures of the Berlin social scene, Charlotte in particular delighting many with her fine voice, including Hegel and Zelter.[46] Conradin Kreutzer, another of those mentioned in the

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[42] Heinrich Stieglitz, 'Webers Todtenfeier', *Berliner Conversations-Blatt für Poesie, Literatur und Kritik,* 1 (1827), pp. 241–243; cf. Heinrich Stieglitz, 'Beethoven', *BamZ,* 4 (1827), p. 115; and Marx, 'Berichte', *BamZ*, 5 (1828), p. 487.

[43] Stieglitz, *Gruß an Berlin*, p. 109.

[44] The poems were published in *Der Gesellschafter*, 9 (1825), pp. 981ff. The precise identity of 'Zur Hoven' remains a mystery. It could be Johann Vesque von Püttlingen (1803–1883), who went under the pseudonym 'Johann Hoven', but he was from Vienna.

[45] The letter, Mus. ms. autogr. theor. C. M. v. Weber WFN 6 (III), Bl. 30A, has been cited from the *Complete Works of Weber,* Digital Edition: https://weber-gesamtausgabe.de/A047180 (Version 4.11.0 of July 1, 2024), last accessed 26 March 2025.

[46] *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 110 and 128; Petra Wilhelmy has placed the Stieglitzes in the context of the Staegemanns, see *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780–1914)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989), pp. 859 and 949.

Gruß, was certainly taken by her singing. Although he did not set the *Bilder*, he dedicated his *Frühlingsgrüße*, twelve settings of Stieglitz's texts, to Charlotte in the early 1830s after hearing her perform some of his Uhland songs.[47]

Stieglitz secondly styled himself as a musician's poet. This too has a Goethean provenance. Stieglitz regarded music as an addition, sometimes even a necessity, to 'singable' poetry. He was a flautist, and composed simple tunes to his own poems, which were sometimes appended to letters. Stieglitz went as far as to claim to Charlotte in 1825 that he would henceforth aim only to send over 'singable' poems with music.[48] This was not completely empty talk. Stieglitz actively searched for composers willing to set his occasional and anthologised work. An example of the latter comes with the *Berliner Musen-Almanach* in 1830, the same publication that premiered Goethe's *Chinesisch-deutsche Jahres- und Tageszeiten,* in which Stieglitz engaged the top Berlin composers of his day, including Berger, Max Eberwein, Klein, Reissiger, Mendelssohn, and Zelter for *Musikbeilagen*.[49] The *Musen-Almanach* would have brought these and other composers into contact with portions of the *Bilder* that were printed in the anthology for the first time.[50] Since three of the composers who featured in the almanac would eventually go on to set poems from the *Bilder* (Berger, Klein, and Reissiger), the forces of friendly sociability and musical-poetic prestige as much explain the circulation and composition of Stieglitz's Orientalist poems as any inherent Orientalist singable virtue. Musicians in

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[47] *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 147–148; Conradin Kreutzer, *Frühlingsgrüße. Zwölf Lieder von Heinrich Stieglitz mit Begleitung des Pianoforte in Musik gesetzt und der Frau Dr. Charlotte Stieglitz in Berlin freundschaftlichst zugeeignet* (Berlin: Wagenführ, c. 1833).

[48] *Briefe,* I, p. 380.

[49] *Eckermanns Nachlaß*, p. 198; Stieglitz and others, *Berliner Musen-Almanach für das Jahr* 1830 (Berlin: Fink, 1830): Berger set Stieglitz's 'Liebestrauer' (p. 256); Zelter his 'Zu "*Vespera Lutheri*"' (p. 281); and Klein, his 'Frühling' (p. 319).

[50] The *Musen-Almanach* was popular enough to be satirised, see Helfgott οὐτις Nemo [Karl Halling], *Anderer Berliner Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1830 oder Geographie der neuendeckten weltberühmten Musenerdkugel* (Landsberg: Ende, 1829).

Berlin would have approached Stieglitz's poetry sympathetically as the products of a willing participant in the city's musical culture. Each song potentially represents orally and ideally the line Fanny Mendelssohn appended to her setting of Goethe's 'Dir zu eröffnen' cited in Chapter 2: 'composed on request'.

Berlin is important in a second regard. The *Bilder*'s musical-critical *Gruß* also came from the city. Two announcements appeared in the *BamZ* in 1830 encouraging musicians to turn to the work. The first, under the generic heading 'Miscellaneous', sought to make musicians aware of the collection.[51] The correspondent, probably Carl Girschner, spends a good deal of space attempting to dispel any criticism that may arise from publicising a poetic collection in a musical organ by drawing attention to the work's 'good themes for music[al] composition'.[52] Apology out of the way, Girschner then turns his attention towards the poet, implying that Stieglitz's reception in the 1820s seems to have predestined his Orientalist collection for musical setting.[53] The logic of arguing a poet's future singability by reference to the scores of songs they have inspired, a tactic that would be reproduced a decade later in Ludwig Rellstab's *Iris*, squares with the aims of a periodical that placed an emphasis on promoting the views of working composers and musicians.[54]

If the first announcement does not dwell on what exactly makes the *Bilder* appropriate for composition, the second, which appeared later that year under the

[51] C[arl] G[irschner], 'Allerlei', *BamZ*, 7 (1830), p. 288.
[52] Girschner wrote some song reviews for the paper, cf. [Anon.], 'Inhalts-Verzeichniss zu dem fünften Jahrgange…', *BamZ*, 5 (1828) [unpag.].
[53] Writing about Eduard Voigt's setting of Stieglitz's *Griechenlieder*, Rellstab was less than complimentary, noting that the songs were the products of 'well-meaning dilettantes', Ludwig Rellstab, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 3 (1826), p. 35.
[54] Ludwig Rellstab, 'Ueberblick der Erzeugnisse', *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*, 12 (1841), p. 125.

heading ‘Material for Composition’, goes into further detail.[55] The correspondent of the second announcement notes that the *Bilder* offers ‘rich material’:

> The Orient offers an infinitely rich field of feeling and *Phantasie*, which, as far as I know, has been used only little in our music, giving us every reason to expect the richest booty here.

While commentators such as Menzel and Rosenkranz, and even other writers for the *BamZ,* diagnosed a surfeit of Orientalist poetry in the 1820s, this particular writer, a self-confessed ‘layman in music’, laments the lack of an Orientalist repertoire in song.[56] This dearth is all the stranger because, not unlike Goethe’s Orientalist recommendation of Rückertian ‘dazzling eyes and captivating curls’ in *Kunst und Altertum* in 1822,[57] musicians would find a ‘new world’ in a series of Orientalist images, states, and experiences in untapped form:

> A luxuriant nature, resplendent with the most varied beauties, people full of ardent and deep feeling, moved by all the passions that a hotter zone generates, and at the same time still full of vigour with unaffected and simple manners, finally poets who form a peculiar kind of poetry very different from our own, what a rich prospect they offer for artistic expression![58]

But this kind of Orientalism in the raw was not simply rich for the cultivation of a Romantic *Phantasie* that could representationally run away with its material. Nor was it merely a source of refreshment for a sense of cultural exhaustion with ‘all directions of Western religion, customs and nature’, all symptoms of a European disenchantment that goes at least as far back as Goethe’s *Divanic* escape in the 1810s. The virtue of Stieglitz’s collection in particular, and one of the reasons why it was presumably suitable for composition, was that his Orientalism consisted of mediated images of an originally

[55] [Anon.], ‘Stoff zu Kompositionen’, *BamZ*, 7 (1830), pp. 366–367.
[56] A correspondent, possibly Marx himself, lampooned the ‘666 Dutzend Orientlieder’ that lost their effect by virtue of their volume in a review of Schubert’s *Winterreise*, ‘Beurtheilungen’, *BamZ*, 5 (1828), p. 207.
[57] FA, XXI, pp. 294–95.
[58] [Anon.], ‘Stoff zu Kompositionen’, *BamZ*, 7 (1830), p. 366.

poetic 'material'. Stieglitz represented 'a new world, *but* appropriately for our sense and perception'. To this reviewer at least, the *Bilder* were sentimentally accessible because their images glistened in a language one could understand:

> They are almost all shot through with the deepest feeling and represented in classical language, in the most varied forms of words and versification, which each time follow the pathway of feeling [*Gang der Empfindung*].[59]

The imagistic poetry from Stieglitz's collection was apparently ready to set to music precisely because a musician would be able to trace the 'pathway of feeling'. The 'but' of the critic's sentence does much comparative work. It is difficult not to see this as a musical slight on Goethe's *Divan*, whose foreignizing paratexts and philological poetry threatened to engage a type of '*Verstand*' and '*Reflexion*' that had hampered the search for Orientalist musical understanding a decade earlier.

The correspondent singles out one cycle for assessment *Die Söhne der Wüste*, from the first volume on Arabia.[60] In contrast to 'Melek und Maisuna', the second cycle in the volume, which is more suited to 'description and observation [*Schilderung und Betrachtung*]', partly because of its massive length, *Die Söhne der Wüste* needs music to bring it to life.[61] The virtue of the cycle lies in its plot, which follows 'the events of three main characters' in illustrative form:

> Two friends form a bond in battle; one of them is consumed by love for the girl of a hostile tribe, hence new battles, rescue, then the happiness of love, finally tribal enmity, death, deep grief and blood revenge, these are the main features of the paintings.[62]

Each of the songs in the cycle 'gives a progress of the plot, its own situation, mostly with few words, but apt and penetrating'.[63] The result of this propulsive narrative motion is

[59] Ibid.
[60] *Bilder*, I, pp. 1–33.
[61] Ibid., pp. 37–149.
[62] [Anon.] 'Stoff zu Kompositionen', *BamZ*, 7 (1830), p. 366.
[63] Ibid.

drama: 'a tragedy in *Lieder* with introduction, conflict, and poignant resolution' that must be treated as a connective, coherent whole.[64] The reviewer even prescribes the musical forms that this 'tragedy in *Lieder*' should take:

> Each *Lied* would be suitable for a recitative or an aria, each would represent a scene of the plot, and the transition from one to the other would be introduced by appropriate musical tones.[65]

The ideal response was not to be a song cycle of lyric poems, but 'a kind of secular oratorio [*Weltliches Oratorium*], a larger cantata' which could cater to both the concert hall and 'the musical entertainments of private circles'.[66] Those who did not want to set a whole cycle would be able to find 'some individual songs of deep feeling' in the cycle on 'Melek and Maisuna': 'Des Knaben Traum'; 'Meleks Abendlied'; 'Lied eines Vögleins in der Oasis'; 'Maisuna am Brunnen'; and 'Maisuna im Zelte'.[67] From the second volume on Persia, the correspondent highlighted 'Gesang der Peris', 'Parsen-Hymnus', and 'Nahid' as other poems that could be set to music.[68] The critic listed the page numbers in the article so that readers need not flick through the whole collection. Stieglitz retrospectively remarked that the correspondent's comments were 'the most accurate [words]' that had ever been written about the cycle, demonstrating his own keen readership of the musical press.[69]

The position of this article in the newspaper was unusual. Throughout its seven-year existence between 1824 and 1830, the *BamZ* played host to a number of articles of song criticism. But these bore one principal topical and aesthetic refrain. Without being

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] *Bilder*, I, pp. 39–41, 42–43, 74–75, 88, and 108–109.
[68] Ibid., II, pp. 49–50, 22–23, and 97–99.
[69] *Selbstbiographie*, p. 84; Stieglitz contributed an article on the Spontini-Weber debate in the *Beilage* to *Der Gesellschafter*, 'Musikalisches', 10 (1826), pp. 694–695.

inflexibly dogmatic, critics insisted on respecting the integrity of the poetic form and word and distinguishing between poems that lent themselves to reception by 'thought [*Gedanken* or *Verstand*]' or by 'feeling [*Empfindung*]'.[70] Goethe draws attention to three 'natural forms of poetry' in an essay from the *NuA* in the *Divan*: the epic (or the 'clearly narrative'); lyric ('enthusiastically excited'); and drama ('the personally acting').[71] The three, Goethe notes, can often coexist in the smallest poem, particularly the ballad. The *BamZ* reviewers had a keen eye for both the distinctions between and the combinations of Goethe's poetic 'natural forms'. With regard to the dictum that 'in the *Lied* is the thought, the image of the whole', Rellstab wrote:

> This is also the reason why a whole song can, indeed must, be sung to the melody of one strophe if it has unity in itself.[72]

In an 1824 review of Weber's op. 80, another critic also pressed home the point:

> If the poem is a Lied, the melody of one verse must fit all, and the merit of the music will then consist in the fact that it stimulates the basic tone of the poem, which gives colour to the whole, in the feeling of the listener, and leaves it to the words of the poem to bring out the finer nuances.[73]

The *Bilder*'s poems 'of deep feeling' signalled a generic belonging to this category. If a poem departed from the *Liedform* by content and signification, however, the musical conditions of its setting would accordingly have to change. Apropos the third of *Sechs Gedichte von Tieck* by Carl Rungenhagen, one reviewer noted:

> If the poem [*Lied*] approaches the romance, i.e. if the lyrical motif is developed in epic form, as is the case in no. 3 of the present poems, for example, the composition is already easier, because images and actions, eternal phenomena

[70] Marx in particular was open to embracing more expansive *Gesänge* in the case of Weber and Sigismund Neukomm, but he too classed this type of song as a departure from a normative 'Liedesform', cf. Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 5 (1825), pp. 224–225.
[71] FA, III/1, p. 206.
[72] Ludwig Rellstab, 'Elementargedanken über die Vereinigung der Poesie mit der Musik', *BamZ*, 1 (1824), p. 241.
[73] [Anon.], 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 1 (1824), p. 27.

> in general, are more suitable for a general and objective conception [*Auffassung*] than an inner state of mind [*Gemüthszustand*].[74]

Much like the poetic category of the romance, which blended epic and lyric elements, according to this reviewer, the poetic subcategory of the ballad was also subject to a different set of musical procedures. A review of Carl Loewe's *Drei Balladen von Uhland und Herder* in 1827 put the matter both in terms of a negotiation between two existing overarching genres, the Lied and the melodrama, and the differentiation between the treatment of the former's poetic types:

> As in the earlier ones, we also find here a faithful understanding of the character of the ballad in general, a successful portrayal of the individuals appearing in it and musical painting that nowhere degenerates into affected play. In short: dramatic truth, dramatic life, through form, performance, and accompaniment, holding the middle between Lied and melodrama, which is the ballad [...].[75]

The reviewer later writes, somewhat contradictorily, that 'the ballad should have nothing in common with the Lied'.[76]

While all these excerpts explore the relationship between a musical setting and its poetic text, the initial context for commenting on the poetic work was the published musical opus, which then gave rise to aesthetic issues, such as the oft-debated 'musical potentialising' of Goethe and Schiller.[77] By contrast, the two announcements promoting the *Bilder* are isolated instances of anticipatory poetic promotion. This must have given the assiduous reader occasion to think. For the critical potential of the *Bilder* – the particular lyric-dramatic cyclicity of 'Die Söhne der Wüste', the imagistic character of the miniature, and the as yet untapped mine of Orientalist representation – appears to have resulted in the newspaper breaking its established protocol of song criticism.

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[74] N. G., 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 1 (1824), p. 298.
[75] 4., 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 4 (1827), pp. 28–29.
[76] Ibid, p. 29.
[77] [Anon.], 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 2 (1825), esp. p. 19.

Championing novelty was only part of the newspaper's motivations. Stieglitz would have been a familiar name to the readers of the *BamZ*. The founding editor and lifeblood of the newspaper was Marx, who as explored in the previous chapter was one of Stieglitz's close friends and early musical exponents. Marx was responsible for publishing another Stieglitz panegyric in the *BamZ* in 1827, this time to the composer's beloved Beethoven. Like Stieglitz's earlier Weber panegyric, this too was presented on the Leipzig stage as part of a multimedia event. His poem nestled in between the *Eroica* and *Fidelio*.[78] In 1829, Marx also drew attention to the publication of Stieglitz's *Musen-Almanach*. The critic notes that the collection was 'there to be composed', citing not only the poetry, but the iconography of the collection's title page.[79] In the same article, Marx would even subtly reference his comically simple setting of Stieglitz's 'Sinescher Poetenklub', published in 1830 in his op. 2, as an example of how an 'unmusical' text can be made singable by 'dramatizing' the 'mood' of the 'speaker' and turning it into the 'basic tone of the melody'.[80] Besides friendship and a respect for the qualities of the poet, then, another reason for extolling the *Bilder* in the *BamZ* was that Marx himself was one of the first composers to set portions of the collection to music. Extolling both Stieglitz and his Orientalist collection in the *BamZ* would have reflected back on Marx's own compositional nous, which was first coming to the wider public's attention in 1830 with the publication of his opp. 1 and 2. It also explains why in terms of its tragic design and mixed-model performative function, the self-confessed authorial layman's description of

[78] The version published in the *BamZ* was shortened, cf. n. 42. A longer autograph version is preserved in the Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, HCB ZBr 21; and is reproduced in *Drei Begräbnisse und ein Todesfall: Beethovens Ende und die Erinnerungskultur seiner Zeit*, ed. by Silke Bettermann (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2002), pp. 134–135; a report of the event in Leipzig is on pp. 77–78.
[79] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Beurtheilungen', *BamZ*, 6 (1829), pp. 313–314.
[80] Ibid., p. 314.

the ideal *Bilder* cycle starts to resemble Marx's own *Nahid und Omar*. Was the layman an alter ego for the learned Marx himself? The Orientalist aesthetician becomes the guarantor of the *Orientsänger*.

'*Kleinod*'

It is difficult to know how much the 1830 *BamZ* review took effect. Stieglitz and his posthumous editor Louis Curtze put much weight on the injunction at mid-century, claiming that the critical press had profitably impacted the composition of his Orientalist poetry.[81] Discounting Marx's *Nahid und Omar*, which was a hermetic production even by the already hermetic standards of Stieglitz's composers, the first spate of settings seems to have emerged in 1833, the same year that the final volume of the *Bilder* was published, but three years after the *BamZ* had been decommissioned when Marx took up a professorship at the University of Berlin. The reviews of these works, which were published in leading musical newspapers, including *Caecilia, Iris,* the *AmZ*, and the *NZfM*, provide critical contexts in which to judge both how writers beyond Stieglitz's intimate circle responded to the *Bilder* in the early 1830s and how questions surrounding the representation of Orientalism in the Lied had become a topic of public critical debate.

The frame for the investigation comes with an important piece of comparative criticism to emerge in the wake of the *Bilder*'s first settings. In 1834, Gustav Nauenburg, a freelance writer on song, reviewed three new publications from the year before:[82] an edited volume, put out by August Sundelin, featuring seven different songs by different

[81] Stieglitz, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 454.
[82] Gustav Nauenburg, 'Recensionen', *Caecilia*, 16 (1834), pp. 250–255. Nauenburg was friends with Klein; after studying theology, he turned to singing and music journalism, for more, see Hermann Erler, *Robert Schumann's Leben*, 2 vols (Berlin: Ries and Erler, 1887) I, p. 70.

composers spread over two volumes;[83] *Nahid* by Friedrich Jähns;[84] and *Nahid und Omars Nachtlied* by Georg Müller.[85] The purpose of Nauenburg's article was not to judge the poetic worth of the *Bilder*. This, the writer claims, had already been done. The guiding question was musically hermeneutic. Nauenburg aims to investigate the 'relationship between these poems and music'.[86] Since an answer to that question would provide an historicised account of Nauenburg's understanding of the musical representation of Stieglitz's Orientalism, it is worth considering the critic's aesthetic observations and his chain of thought in detail.

Nauenburg chooses not to evaluate Stieglitz's poetry according to an Orientalist school or against Goethe's *Divan* in the manner of a literary critic. He instead deduces the criteria of his review from aesthetic theory, namely the categorical distinction between a 'unity of thought [*Gedankeneinheit*]' and a 'unity of feeling [*Empfindungseinheit*]'. The two classes he claims to have taken from Schiller's 1794 essay 'Über Matthissons Gedichte', which argues that the formal properties of poetry could approach the receptive condition of the musical by imitating and expressing feeling.[87] Nauenburg distils Schiller's notion of formal imitation, distinguishing between two types of poetry, the 'plastic' and the 'musical'. The plastic is said to work like the fine arts, imitating 'a specific object'. The musical, by contrast, calls forth a particular 'condition of the spirit [*Gemüth*] without the necessity of a particular object'. By musical,

[83] *Bilder des Orients*, ed. by August Sundelin, 2 vols (Berlin: Grobenschütz and Seiler, c. 1833).
[84] Friedrich Jähns, *Nahid,* op. 6 (Berlin: Bechtold und Hartje, 1833): **http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001449900000000**.
[85] Georg Müller, *Nahid und Omars Nachtlied. Zwei Gedichte aus: Bildern des Orients,* op. 14 (Braunschweig: Meyer, 1833).
[86] Nauenburg, 'Recensionen', p. 251.
[87] Friedrich Schiller, *Schillers Werke: Nationalausgabe*, ed. by Julius Peterson and others, 43 vols (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1943–2006), XXII, ed. by Herbert Meyer (1958), p. 272.

Nauenburg does not 'merely refer to that which in poetry is really and materially music', but the construction of a musical effect without recourse to an actual object. If the poem *only* represents emotions, it works like music and is said to have a totalising 'musical content [*Gehalt*]'.

The potential problem for composers lay precisely in this musicality. Nauenburg thus found himself at a familiar crossroads. On the one hand, a musical poem could either be 'disfigured [*verunstaltet*]' by 'music coming from the outside' because it is already 'a work of art in its own right'. The result would approach a 'surfeit of musics' as Robert Hatten has elsewhere identified.[88] Music's addition paradoxically becomes the cause of poetry's musical disfigurement. On the other hand, although 'the composable poem' must have 'musical content', it must remain unfinished as an artwork, ready to be 'conditioned' by 'musical formalism'. Ludwig Rellstab found a nice metaphor for the poetic double nature in his *BamZ* article a decade earlier: 'the musical poem must be an amphibian'.[89]

Nauenburg claims that Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* provides a good example of this dilemma. The play is 'so completely musical in itself' that not only would 'additional music' be superfluous, but in some cases become 'burdensome'.[90] It would constitute a 'satire on *Phantasie*' to have a 'real' nightingale appear on the branch and start fluting away. Music here is supplementary. Poetry already works 'psychically' as music. Its musical rhythms, declamation, assonance, consonance – all reside in the grooves of the poetic form, and leave themselves open to literal music's accentuation,

[88] Robert S. Hatten, 'A Surfeit of Musics: What Goethe's Lyrics Concede when set to Schubert's Music', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 5 (2008), 7–18.
[89] Ludwig Rellstab, 'Elementargedanken', *BamZ*, 1 (1824), p. 233.
[90] Nauenburg, 'Recensionen', p. 252.

adjustment, and deformation. Stieglitz's *Bilder* apparently function in the same way. The poems are rich in 'musical content', which can now be glossed after Nauenburg as approaching a language of feeling without being mastered by any certain object. Because his compositions are also self-standing, Stieglitz's poems neither need nor expect musical treatment. The implication is that sounded music could just as much destroy as decorate Stieglitz's internally musical poetics. Nauenburg illustrates the point by deploying some Orientalist knowledge. He cites a few lines of the poet, Emir Chosru, which he did not take from Stieglitz's collection, but from Hammer's *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* (1818):

> Der Vers die Braut, das Brautgeschmeid die Töne
> Auch ohne Schmuck gefällt die Braut, die Schöne.[91]

The patchwork Orientalist distich on how tone beautifies an already beautiful bride was to provide the critical imperative for the adjudication of German song. Since composers were first and foremost Orientalist readers, they were told to bear 'Emir Chosru' in mind at all times. This was the Orientalist song-aesthetic equivalent of *prima le parole, dopo la musica*.

Before launching into his critique, Nauenburg brings two further conditions into play, which move from the broader relationships between text and music to the particular generic example of the Lied. Much like the *BamZ* layman, Nauenburg distinguishes between the setting of cyclical and non-cyclical poetry. 'Should the magic breath of this poetry be transfigured in sound', so the composer must 'select only those poems that leave behind a certain impression for themselves'.[92] Reminiscent of Goethe's comments

[91] Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* (Vienna: Heubner und Volke, 1818), p. 230; Stieglitz slightly alters the line in the poem 'Emir Chosru' from the *Bilder*, II, p. 92: 'Vers die Braut | Ton das Geschmeide'.
[92] Nauenburg, 'Recensionen', p. 253.

to Zelter in 1815, Nauenburg continues by arguing that poems whose effects are 'conditioned' by 'what comes before' or 'what comes after', which he sees as being principally the case in the *Bilder*, only produce a correspondingly limited 'impression' when set as an 'isolated tone-poem'.[93] The composer must look beyond the boundaries of the individual item and read cyclically in order to determine whether the text requires treatment as part of a connective unit or can be set independently.

The second point is an assumption about the boundaries of the genre. Nauenburg writes that even if a composer is able to rise to the task of surmounting the obstacles of non-musical forms, those which theoretically belong to a plastic and not internally musical form of poetry, the composition will remain aesthetically deficient.

> Furthermore, if the composer succeeds in overcoming the non-musical forms, if he paints the *Empfindungsausdruck* of these poetic outpourings psychologically true, even more, if he paints it beautifully, his work still lacks the aesthetic perfection [*ästhetische Vollendung*] – Oriental-national characterisation.
>
> [...]
>
> The second cannot be misinterpreted as soon as one thinks of all the national echoes in *Iphigenia*, *Joseph*, *Euryanthe*, *Oberon* and, above all, Spontini's *Cortez*, in which the songs of the Spaniards and Mexicans appear as quite distinct opposites.

The passage is striking in its brazen assumption of the Lied's limits of Orientalist representation. Nauenburg takes for granted the absence of an objective Orientalist national characteristic in the Lied, though not because these did not exist as categories of style. He lists a host of operas which employ local colour, including Stieglitz's beloved *Oberon*. Rather, the Lied's emphasis on the expression of *Empfindung* makes no room for surrounding dramatic Orientalist presentation, either singly or as the 'distinct opposites' that Stieglitz was also at pains to depict in his *Türken-und Griechenlieder*. This was a

[93] MA, xx/1, pp. 383–384.

matter of both truth and beauty. An Orientalist Lied will never approach the state of 'aesthetic perfection' because the genre itself, unlike opera, does not have the means or has not been understood as having the means to represent its Orientalist object.

Nauenburg was not alone in asking for 'characteristic' Orientalist technique.[94] Commentators on the *Bilder* working for other newspapers, such as Schumann's *NZfM*, also noted the demand to clothe and paint the collection's Orientalism in music. Reviewing Reissiger's *Bilder des Orients*, op. 87, one noted:

> The composer's task was to reproduce in sound the blue sky, the fragrant air, the glowing emotions, the shadows of the palm trees, the secret trickling of the springs, in short, all the luxuriant, enchanting charm of the south.[95]

This surely was an impossible task. But whereas for the undogmatic *NZfM* such a possibility could remain vital in theory, achieved either by philological engagement with the Orient's *Volkslieder* or through familiarity with its transmitted mores and customs, or by the 'characteristic' capture of each poetic word, Nauenburg's Orientalist Lied would always be deficient because of the representational conventions of the genre. These conventions are both aesthetic-theoretical, working their way forward from Schiller, and practical, the compositional precedents by which Nauenburg silently demarcates his field. Orientalism in the Lied was fated to fail – not because of Orientalism, but because of the classicising aesthetic discourses of Nauenburg's ideal Lied.

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[94] Rellstab used 'characteristic' in his review of Jähns' *Nahid*, 'Ueberblick der Erzeugnisse', *Iris*, 4 (1833), p. 33.

[95] 6. [Carl Banck], 'Gesänge und Lieder aus den Bildern des Orients… von Reissiger', *NZfM*, 1 (1834), p. 82; Carl Gottlieb Reissiger, *Gesänge und Lieder aus Stieglitz Bildern des Orients*, op. 87 (Berlin: Schlesinger, c. 1833); his *Lieder und Gesänge*, op. 89 (Dresden: Wilhelm Paul, c. 1833), contained two settings of the *Bilder*, no. 2 'Omars Nachtlied' and no. 6 'Ali und Fatme'; and his later *Gesänge und Lieder,* op. 107 (Dresden: Wilhelm Paul, 1836), contained 'Nahid'. Banck often signed his reviews with '6.', see Leon Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 13, n. 45.

The first publication Nauenburg reviewed was a collaborative effort. August Sundelin, a clarinettist at the Berlin court and sometime contributor to the *BamZ*,[96] edited a volume of seven songs from the *Bilder des Orients* and published it with the press that he apparently owned, the *Gröbenschütz und Seiler'sche Musikalienhandlung*.[97] Besides himself, the composers Sundelin either rearranged or commissioned had significant ties to Berlin, making the collection something of a local product. Four of them were mentioned in Stieglitz's *Gruß an Berlin* – Klein, Berger, Curschmann, and Taubert. The remaining composers were Eduard Mantius, the court opera singer who would premiere Marx's *Nahid und Omar* a decade later;[98] and probably Julius Griebel, *Kammermusikus* at the Prussian court.[99] The first volume contained four settings: Klein's 'Wandrer im Osten', the opening poem of the *Bilder*; Mantius' 'Omars Nachtlied' from the *Bilder*'s second volume on Persia; Griebel's 'Turans Zelt' from the *Bilder*'s first volume on Arabia; and Sundelin's 'Te deum laudamus', from the third volume on *Türken und Griechen*.[100] The second volume contained three further settings: one of Omars Nachtlied' by Ludwig Berger; Curschmann's 'Ständchen' from the *Bilder's* second volume; and Taubert's 'Blumengruß'.[101] The original publication is sadly lost, but Bernhard Klein's setting has survived in manuscript form, which gives an impression of the functional and hermeneutic aspects of the collection.

[96] Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexicon,* p. 583.
[97] [Anon.], 'Correspondenznachrichten', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung,* [n. vol.] 162 (1833), p. 668.
[98] Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexicon*, p. 340.
[99] There were a number of orchestral Griebels, see ibid., pp. 207–208; Julius, who played cello, composed songs, cf. [Gottfried Wilhelm Fink], 'Inhalt', *AmZ*, 35 (1833), col. x.
[100] *Bilder*, I, p. 1; II, pp. 100–101; I, pp. 14–16; III, p. 313.
[101] Ibid., II, pp. 140 and 154.

Sundelin likely chose Klein's setting to open the collection because of its poetic function.[102] Readers of Stieglitz's collection would have been aware of the poem's structural role as a post-Goethean 'Hegire' to the Orient.[103] 'Wandrer in Osten' stands apart from the cycle on Arabia proper, providing a poetic introduction to all the volumes in the series. The poem lists the various proleptic stages on the poetic journey – from 'Iran's halls of flowers', through the 'caravans' and 'Bedouin flocks' of the desert; and the Ganges, with its 'lotus of silent mourning'; before ending with the 'travelling hordes' of the Caucasus. Nauenburg aptly described it as 'a poetic overture in which the effect of the following poems is concentrated'.[104] Klein's song was similarly not intended to set up a narrative connection between the songs but was instead conceived as an extended paratext to a musical anthology – in the *Divan's* early terms, a '*Versammlung* […] in constant reference to the Orient'.[105] Klein's paratext conditions the Orientalist 'effect' of the songs, structuring and locating its terms of understanding.

Klein's songs were known for their understatement and controlled utterance. An *AmZ* reviewer noted in 1837 that 'calmness' and 'well-considered expression' were his songs' property.[106] His early biographer Rellstab similarly wrote that Klein's profiling of the declamatory surfaces and plumbing of the hermeneutic depths of the poem inspired a 'new genre of song' that found many imitators among the young.[107] Schumann was more ambivalent. He wrote only half in earnest that Klein exhibited a 'stubbornness' to indulge

[102] Klein's setting is preserved in SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Klein, B. 1N, fols 30^{v}–31^{r}; an incomplete handwritten title page of SBB – PK, Mus. ms. Autogr. Klein, B. 46N, which includes a listing for 'Wandrer im Osten', notes 'Salzbrunn, 1830'. Klein died in 1832, a year before the publication of Sundelin's collection.
[103] Cf. FA, III/1, p. 12.
[104] Nauenburg, 'Recensionen', p. 253.
[105] FA, III/1, p. 549.
[106] [Anon.], 'Recensionen', *AmZ*, 39 (1837), col. 297.
[107] Ludwig Rellstab, 'Ueberblick der Erzeugnisse', *Iris,* 4 (1833), p. 47; cf. Ludwig Rellstab, 'Bernhard Klein', in *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst*, ed. by Gustav Schilling, 7 vols (Stuttgart: Köhler, 1835–1838), IV (1837), pp. 139–147.

the representation of even the most 'sensual' of objects, as though, recalling Heine, giving in to the 'sensual arms' of Orientalism was a test of German prudery and morals.[108] 'Wandrer im Osten' is perhaps guilty of this blandness at first glance. For a poem that promises the riches of travel, Klein's music is measured, static, almost unenthused. The form is modified strophic, the first five stanzas noted under one line of music, with the exception of the last stanza, which is set to different music. The song is also comfortably rooted in its tonic, A flat. The word 'Wüsten' in the last stanza has a mildly threatening diminished coloration. Otherwise, the subdominant is Klein's preferred shift. Where it is present, motion is principally generated by the vocal line's declamatory rhythm and by the occasional triplet figure in the accompaniment. 'Unter Nacht-igall', for instance, sets up a clipped rhythmic motif that propels the voice to the end of each poetic line, with the exception of the final stanza (see Figures 14 and 15).

[108] Robert Schumann, 'Lied und Gesang', *NZfM*, 5 (1836), p. 144.

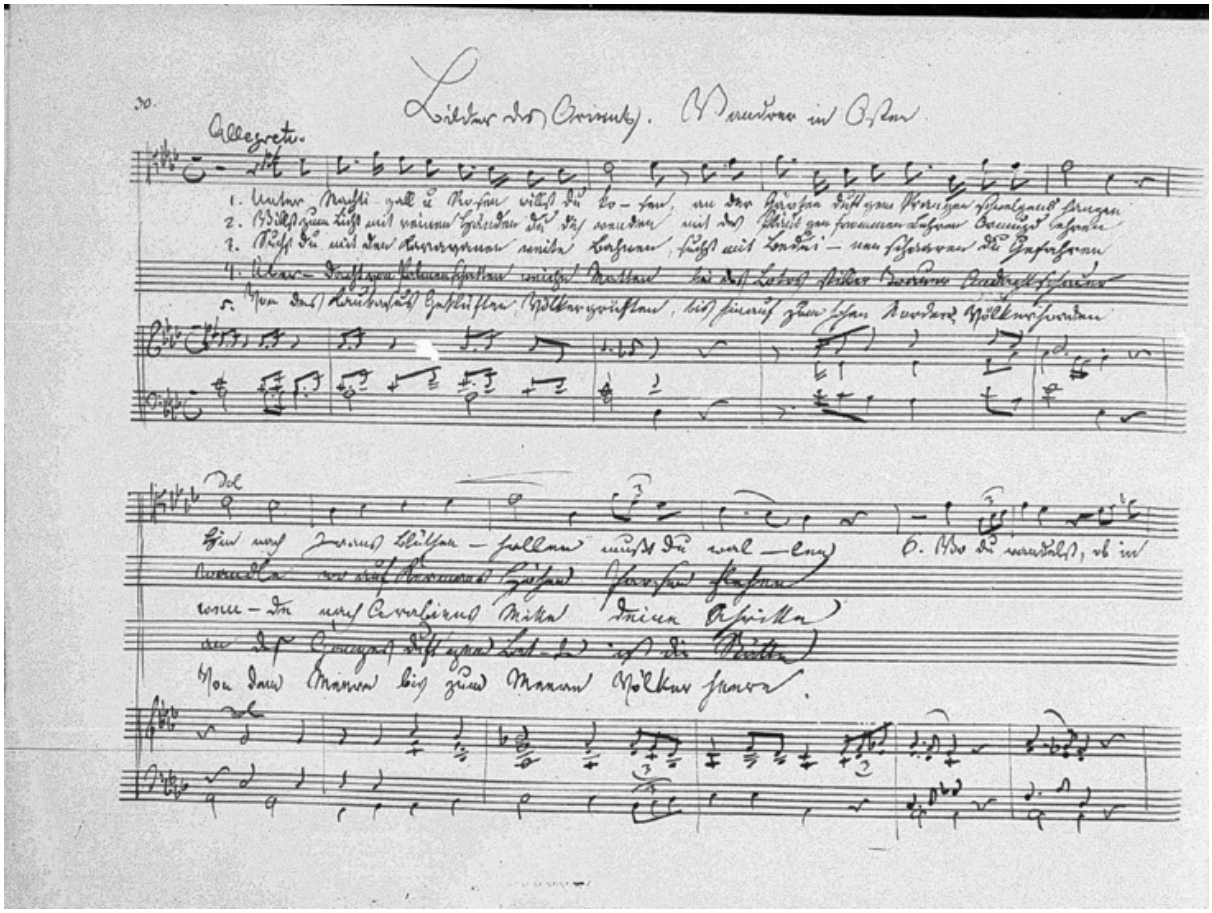


Figure 14: SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Klein, B. 1N, fol. 30^{v}

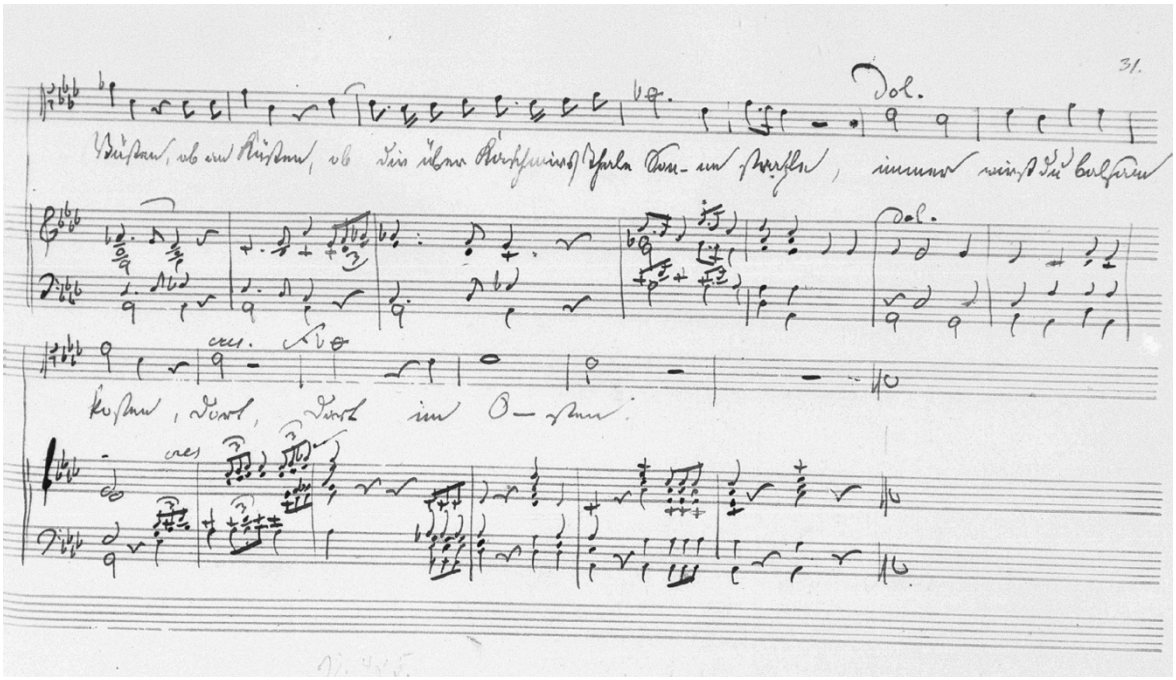


Figure 15: SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Klein, B. 1N, fol. 31^{r}

But impelling both the strophism and the tonal rootedness of Klein's 'Wandrer im Osten' are hermeneutic readings that represent the very same journeying promise. Strophism firstly provides an effective means of expressing the poem's *Grundgedanke*. Each part of the Orient is not 'internally differentiated', as they would be across Stieglitz's four volumes, but bracketed under the overarching concept of 'Osten'. The detachment of Klein's song secondly matches the readerly function of the poem in Stieglitz's corpus. Friedrich Jacobs, writing for the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* in 1830, claimed not only that the collection granted one a 'journey to the Orient', but that its format allowed the poetic journey to be undertaken 'in the most comfortable way and in the most pleasant company'. [109] One could engage in a kind of armchair dreaming with one's intimates at home. Klein's remove shows that same journey has yet to begin: '*Willst* du kosen'. In 'Wandrer im Osten', the sketching of an object's potential in 'the most necessary outlines', the technique that Schumann saw at work in Klein's oeuvre, is thus entirely appropriate to both the idea of Stieglitz's poem and the contexts of its reception.[110] We are still here. The Orient is 'dort'. Sundelin must have been attuned to how Klein's song represented musically what he aimed for editorially: *read on*.

Klein leaves a flourish for the final two lines and their address to the travelling reader: 'Immer wirst *du* Balsam kosten | Dort im Osten'. 'Dort' is broken up, sung twice, each separated by a tritone (C to G flat) and punctuated by rests. As poetic goal and destination, 'Osten' is given the longest note value (a semibreve), while the accompaniment rushes with triplet figures. The declamatory profiling of the deictic, 'dort', was a technique Klein would employ elsewhere, most tellingly in his setting of

[109] Friedrich Jacobs, 'Die Reise nach dem Orient', *Zeitung für die Elegante Welt*, 30 (1830), col. 2028.
[110] Schumann, 'Lieder und Gesänge', *NZfM*, 5 (1836), p. 144.

Goethe's 'Kennst du das Land', where 'Dahin' constitutes a refrain of longing for Italy: 'Dahin, Dahin, möchte ich ziehn'. In one manuscript, Klein's setting of Mignon's 'Kennst du das Land' even follows on directly from 'Wandrer im Osten'.[111] There may not be a relation between the two songs – the latter composed in 1830, the former in 1832 – but the connotations of south and east lent themselves to be gesticulated by two adverbs, 'dort' and 'dahin', precisely because they specified an indeterminate and thus ideal place of fantasy away (and yet visible) from one's subject position.[112] The potential of adverbial connotation must have been a common musical-literary read-across. The motto for the edition of the *NZfM*, which featured both a character portrait of 'Musical Life in Italy' and a review of Reissiger's *Bilder des Orients,* was Mignon's line: 'Dahin, Dahin –'.[113]

Klein set other examples of Stieglitz's Orientalist poetry that did not make it into Sundelin's collection. A whole posthumous volume was put out in 1837 that claimed to have featured four settings from the collection: 'Frühling'; 'Frühlingssehnsucht'; 'An Asra'; and 'Asra an Motalleb'.[114] In fact, only the final poem, 'Asra an Motalleb', can reliably claim origins in the *Bilder*, and then only with different characters.[115] The first two poems come from Stieglitz's earlier almanac work. 'Frühling' was a reprint of Klein's supplement to Stieglitz's *Musen-Almanach* in 1830.[116] 'Frühlingssehnsucht' was published under

[111] SBB – PK, Mus. ms. autogr. Klein, B. 46N, fols 28^{v} and 29^{r}.
[112] Klein and his wife Lili Parthey travelled to Rome in 1824–1825, where they came to know Wilhelm Hensel; cf. Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel and Jutta Arnold, *Wilhelm Hensel, Maler und Porträtist, 1794–1861: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Mann, 2004), p. 148.
[113] [Anon.], 'Italiänisches Musikleben', *NZfM,* 1 (1834), pp. 81– 82.
[114] Bernhard Klein, *Sieben Gesänge aus den Bildern des Orients und der Frithofs Sage*, ed. by [anon.] (Elberfeld: Betzhold, 1837).
[115] *Bilder*, II, p. 141: 'Ali und Fatme'. Stieglitz must therefore have passed these settings to Klein before publication.
[116] Stieglitz, Veit, and Werder, *Berliner Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1830,* c. p. 318 [unpag. insert], 'Der Frühling'.

'Stimmen des Frühlings' in *Der Gesellschafter* in 1826.[117] Klein's editors clearly capitalised on the elision of spring with the Orient, the former with its images of blossoming and fruition, the latter with its connotations of rejuvenation and regeneration in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Nobody thought anything odd about the philological indiscretion. Just as south and east could specify directions of fantasy, the discursive alliance of Orient and spring had evidently become familiar enough to pass by without comment.

Other composers had similar associative designs, including Wilhelm Taubert, an erstwhile student of Berger's and Klein's, who drew together Orientalism and spring in his *Sechs Lieder*, op. 22.[118] The second number of the collection, 'Frühling', to the same text as Klein's, was followed by a 'Ständchen' from the second volume of the *Bilder*. At first glance, Taubert's songs are complementary by virtue of their oppositeness. 'Frühling', a *vivace* in G major, is a daytime ditty, complete with chromatic passagework that shows off the pianism for which Taubert was renowned. The 'Ständchen' seems to mark spring's late-evening arrival. In the original poetic cycle sung by 'Ali unter Fatme's Balcon', Taubert rocks between E major and E minor with some notable exoticising signifiers, including a double-sharped ornamental turn in the vocal line on 'Abendlüfte'.[119] There is an almost Schubertian tonal oscillation between the dreamlike and the real, represented by major and minor, which Taubert highlights at the end with a coda on 'süssen Traum'.[120] But since

[117] Heinrich Stieglitz, 'Stimmen des Frühlings', *Der Gesellschafter,* 10 (1826), p. 319. I cannot find a source for 'An Asra'.
[118] He turned to the collection on numerous occasions; cf. Wilhelm Taubert, *Sechs deutsche Lieder*, op. 12 (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1834), of which nos. 2 'Wenn die Mandel blüht' and 6 'Es wehen die Winde' come from Stieglitz, the former from *Bilder,* IV, p. 160; *12 Lieder "Sang der Liebe"*, op. 17 (Berlin: Schlesinger, c. 1834), of which no. 3 'Blumengruß' came from the *Bilder*, II, p. 154; and *Sechs Lieder*, op. 22 (Leipzig: Hofmeister, c. 1834).
[119] This was Reissiger's title in his op. 87, no. 2.
[120] Cf. Susan Wollenberg, *Schubert's Fingerprints: Studies in the Instrumental Works* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 175ff.

the *Sechs Lieder* also featured such settings as 'Schaefer in Mai' and Wilhelm Müller's 'Des Müllers Blumen', the two songs, for all their differences, are gathered up by the organising principle of the collection, Orientalism and spring offering two interlocking cyclical promises.

As a third musical community to complement editors and composers, reviewers too forged parallels between the Orient and spring in their appraisals of the *Bilder*'s settings. One writer reviewing Sundelin's edited collection for the *AmZ* made the connection explicit. Using the Romantically charged adjective 'lenzig', he noted:

> This second book is more exquisite than the first, and deserves all the attention from *Liebhaber* of Oriental floral fragrances of springtime love.[121]

Writing about Reissiger's setting of 'Omar's Nachtlied', Carl Kloss likewise drew the reader's attention to how Stieglitz's poetry signalled itself by season, this time noting how tonality could work as a signifier of both times of the day and times of the year:

> Following the key [D-flat major], one would be tempted to believe that the shining of the stars during a winter's night was meant here, if the following words: 'Voll duften die Blumen im Abendthau' did not betray a more blissful season.[122]

To Kloss, D flat evidently must have carried both a warmth that climatically protected against colder months and a visual significance that moved from the page to the imagination, flats becoming stars. As the sights and scents of spring, 'Blumen' and 'duften' required sharper treatment.

Deep-lying discursive and sensory associations were not the only things to have helped Klein's editors merge Orient and spring into interchangeable topics. Stieglitz's Orientalist poetry all but asked to be placed into topical contexts. The text of Taubert's 'Ständchen' in particular points to the imagistic overlaps in the generally Romantic and

[121] [Anon.], 'Kurze Anzeigen', *AmZ*, 35 (1833), col. 724.
[122] Carl Kloss, 'Recension', *AmZ*, 36 (1834), cols 533–534.

specifically Orientalist poetic repertoire, which are not so much separate categories as stages of processual distillation. The tropology of Romanticism already carried within it the potential of Orientalism in the unarticulated form of the distant and in the negotiation of relative familiarities through a Novalisian 'qualitative potentialising'.[123] The merging also relates to how parts of the *Bilder* and the *Frühlingslieder* emerged concurrently, in 1825 and 1826, each reinforcing the other. The Orientalism of 'Ständchen' is conditioned by its paratext, its inclusion in a particular collection, and by the occasional individual reference to Orientalist flowers and names:

> Milde Abendlüfte wehen,
> Süßen Duft haucht der Jasmin,
> Und die goldnen Lichter seh' ich
> Leuchtend ihre Bahnen ziehn.
>
> Und der vollste Hauch der Blüthen
> Und der Sterne reinster Glanz
> Webt sich glühend ineinander
> Dir, du Liebliche, zum Kranz.
>
> Träume selig, du Geliebte,
> Süßen Traum die stille Nacht
> Während unter deinen Blumen
> Nahe dir dein Ali wacht.

The complement of a 'mediated' poetic language with an exoticising reference became a frequent topic for reviewers of the *Bilder*. Some saw possibility in the very familiarity of the image. It has been shown how the layman for the *BamZ* found Stieglitz's 'classical language' a sign of Orientalist accessibility and artistic possibility. Others put the same matter of poetic familiarity in negative terms. The writer for the *NZfM* reviewing Reissiger's op. 87 noted:

[123] Cf. Bernadette Malinowski, 'German Romantic Poetry in Theory and Practice: The Schlegel Brothers, Schelling, Tieck, Novalis, Eichendorff, Brentano, and Heine', in *The Literature of German Romanticism*, ed. by Dennis F. Mahoney (Rochester, NY: Camden house, 2004), pp. 147–169 (pp. 150ff).

> The fourth [poem, 'Blumengruss'] is as German as it gets [*stockdeutsch*], and what remains of the Orient if I delete the names Ali, Gulhinde, Assad, Allah in the second and third, for example?[124]

The question is rhetorical, the answer self-evident: 'the characteristic [*das Charakteristische*] of the south rests in a completely different way of thinking and expression'.[125] There is a philologising Goethean streak running through the description, as one might expect for a newspaper that employed *Divan* mottos in the 1830s under Schumann's editorship.[126] To this reviewer, as the Orient's ways of thinking were presented in representational terms as a matter of cultural difference, readers needed to feel a poetic departure from what was conventional, familiar, and mundane. The compositional imperative was to enact a border-crossing from one 'zone' into another. As Schumann seems to imply in his article on Klein's setting of Goethe's 'Der Gott und die Bajadere', the demand of music and poetry was to escape from 'general harmonies, common rhythms and melodies' in their twinned pursuit of the Orientalist object.[127] In fact, Schumann's criticism of Klein's settings of the *Bilder* was precisely that they needed to express more 'charm, warmth, and novelty'.[128]

Stieglitz's 'Ständchen' is not quite as 'stockdeutsch' as the fourth number, 'Blumengruß'. But it certainly comes close. The second stanza of the poem in particular could fit into any topical anthology of *Frühlingslieder*, *Tagelieder* or *Liebeslieder*. Yet it is precisely the very '*stock-deutschness*' of the lyric that attracted Taubert. Like the *NZfM* reviewer, he must have understood that since 'Ali' and 'Jasmin' do most of the exoticising

[124] 6. [Carl Banck], 'Gesänge und Lieder aus Stieglitz "Bildern des Orients"', *NZfM*, 1 (1834), p. 82.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Cf. Leander Hotaki, *Robert Schumanns Mottosammlung* (Freiburg i.Br.: Rombach, 1998), pp. 490ff and. 521–524.
[127] Schumann, 'Lieder und Gesänge', *NZfM*, 5 (1836), p. 144.
[128] Ibid.

work, the song's assimilation into an anthology could be easily achieved as one of many hermeneutic perspectives on a topical phenomenon. For him, the mere fact that the poem's Orientalism could extend beyond the isolated and autonomous category of the Orientalist lyric and into its filial and cognate categories – love, spring, pain, yearning – was a condition of its possibility, rather than the cause of its failure. At least in one sense, the contextual flexibility of the Orientalist poem meant that the composer could experiment with exoticising musical figures without feeling the weight of the interpretative obligation to interrogate directly the categories of difference and distance.

Klein's four songs from the *Bilder* are typically more understated than Taubert's. The first two *Frühlingslieder* are of the same joyful idea. Both are firmly anchored in A major – the first song, in fact, establishes a tonic pedal for a full half of the song, which sets up the brighter, sharpened, springtime mood. Each word is measured, intoned, with two sticking out in particular: 'Frühling' and 'Kehren'. These are structured in pairs, the first held for a longer value, the other clipped and shorter on three quavers. The other two settings build a small narrative dyad. The first song revolves around a question: 'Asra, wann erscheinst du mir?'. The protagonist lists by way of metaphors the symbols through which Asra appears: 'Sonne meiner Liebe'; 'Stern der Sterne'; 'die Rose glüht und duftet'. In the next song Asra responds. Only when night comes, which is evoked by the description of an Orientalist soundscape ('von dem Minaret erschallt'), can Motalleb ask the question of whether the two will be together.

Slight as they are, Klein's pair of songs provides examples of Nauenburg's category of Orientalist poetry 'with musical content' that awaited musical setting. The poems express 'unity of feeling' – an emotion or spiritual 'condition' that can be captured. Klein renders the first song in B major, with a motoric accompaniment, turning the category of

the lilting serenade into a restless entreaty that befits Motalleb's expectation. The second song is all flutter and filigree in G major, Klein choosing to remove the left hand entirely, the treble being the only pianistic accompaniment to Asra's coquetry. But both songs also direct the expression towards an object. A dialogic beloved, who is called forth by the vocative appeal and through the preposition in the title ('an') which signals the singing towards or to somebody, is held firmly in view, either implied in the scene or conjured in the song's bounds. The presence of the Orientalist beloved keeps the poem from folding in on itself and from running away with the visually non-representational – that is, to use Nauenburg's critical category, from becoming too musical and thus unsuited to music.

There is one final song of Klein's that deserves mention. Contemporaneous with his setting of 'Der Wandrer im Osten' is an unpublished setting of Stieglitz's poem, 'Der Bund' (see Figures 14–16).[129] 'Der Bund' opened 'Die Söhne in der Wüste' and depicted 'zwei Freunde', Turan and Jussuf, whose narrative drive in the larger cycle rested in the two figures '[closing] their bond in battle' in the words of the *BamZ* layman.[130] Klein set the poem singly but would have found the kernels of a narrative drive in miniature form. Although the characters are not introduced by reported speech, unlike in some of the better known ballad examples, the poem strikes an epic tone. An unnamed narrator retells the actions of Turan, who saves Jussuf from a wild hyena:

> Im glühnden Weg, auf dunklem Roß,
> Zieht Turan mit dem sichern Geschoß;
> Da dringt vom Palmenhain hervor
> Ein dumpfes Stöhnen an sein Ohr.
>
> Er sprengt zur Stätte. Benetzt von Blut
> Kämpft Jussuf mit der Hyäne Wuth;
> Die letzte Kraft der mächtigen Faust

[129] SBB – PK, N. Mus. ms. Klein, 217, fols 5^{r}–7^{r}.
[130] [Anon.], 'Stoff zu Komposition', *BamZ*, 7 (1830), pp. 366–367.

Hält nieder das Thier, daß es schäumt und braust.

Wie hebt sich Turan auf hohem Roß!
Wie trifft das Unthier sein scharf Geschoß!
Noch einmal bäumt es sich mit Gewalt,
Heult, daß es gellend in's Weite schallt.

Und Jussuf faßt des Retters Hand;
Der blick in's Aug' ihm unverwandt,
Drückt fest die Lipp' an seinen Mund;
Geschlossen ewig ist der Bund.[131]

Klein's setting displays a sensitivity to the change of poetic tone. He makes use of all the colourful effects that one could find in a ballad setting – painting, gesture, variation, and the interplay of both dramatic progression and lyrical repose (see Figures 16–18).
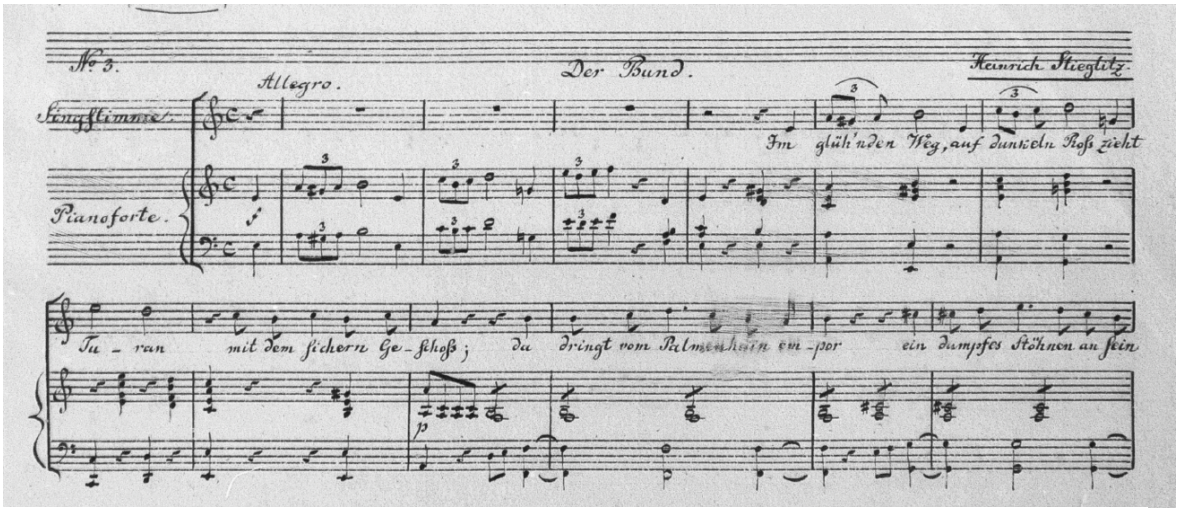


Figure 16: SBB – PK, N. Mus. ms. Klein, 217, fol. 5r

[131] *Bilder,* I, pp. 3–4.
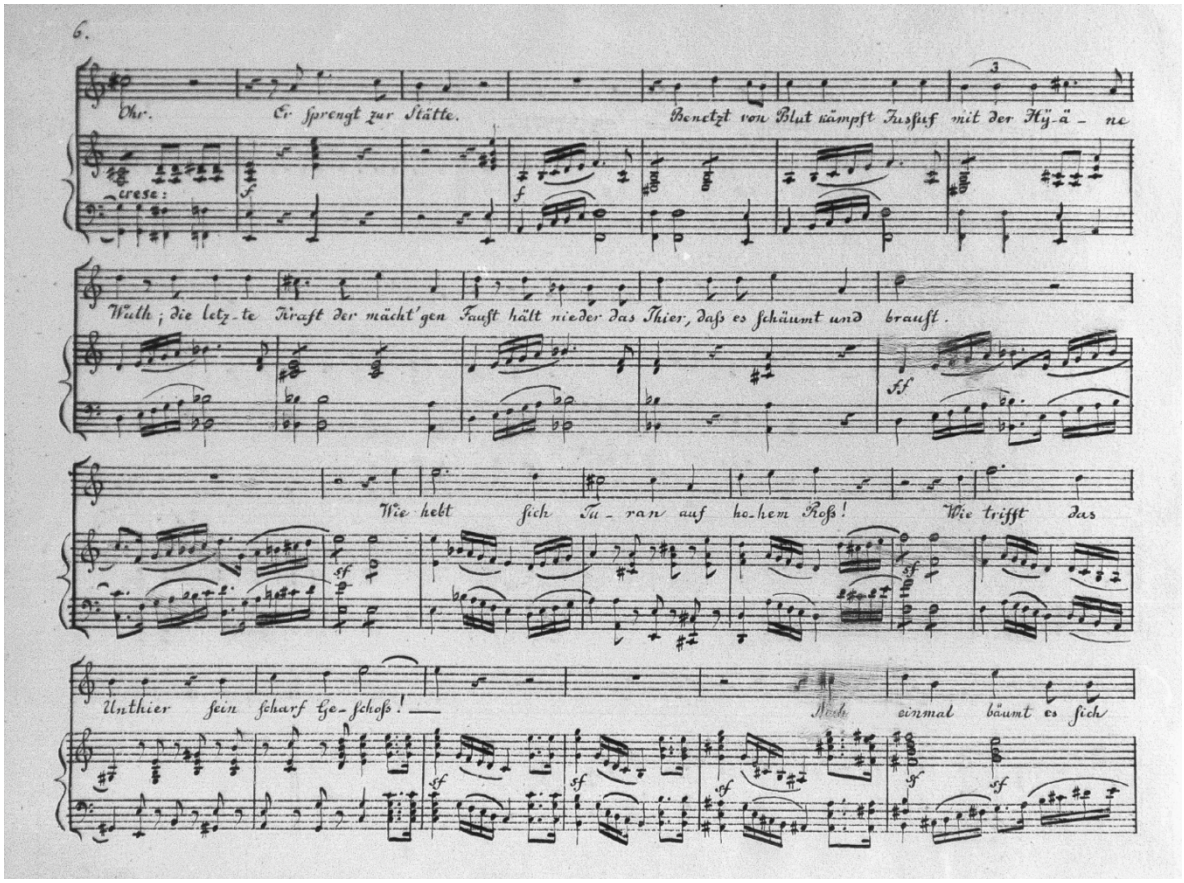


Figure 17: SBB – PK, N. Mus. ms. Klein, 217, fol. 6^{v}
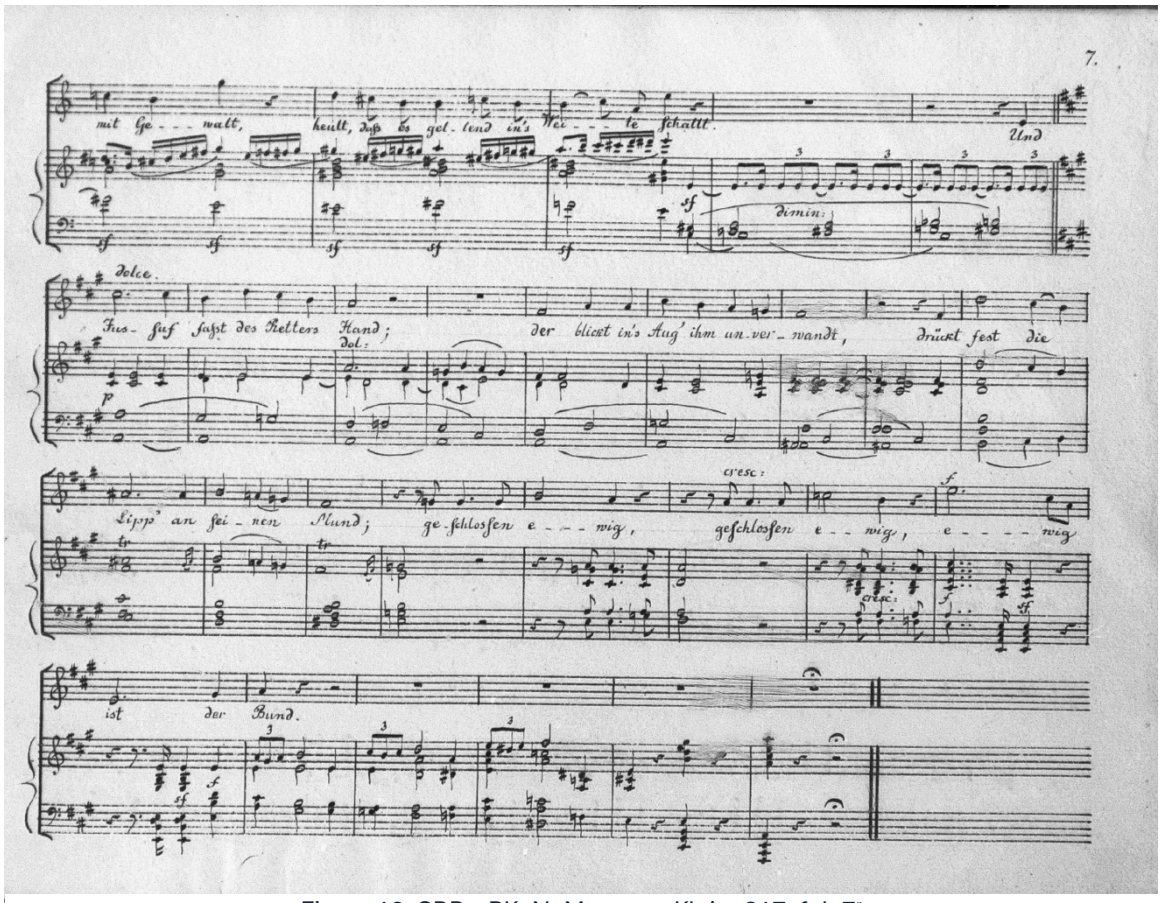


Figure 18: SBB – PK, N. Mus. ms. Klein, 217, fol. 7^{r}

The most extraordinary of Klein's techniques is the detail with which he musically paints. The clip-clopping rhythms of the horse are given a literal triplet figure from the outset, shooting up from the tonic A minor. One would expect a healthy, vigorous gallop. But Turan's horse is lame. The minim that follows the rising triplet figure indicates that fighting has taken place before the song. The first vocal utterance of 'Geschoß', after the stark intonation of 'Turan', has an almost onomatopoeic, 'ballistic' quality – a clap, helped by a '*scharfes S*' that falls down a minor third. The agogic figures continue as the shot has been fired, the left-hand rhythmic accents providing a musical complement to physical injury, as does the harmony, which shifts nebulously between half-diminished and diminished chords, one 'resolving' onto the other.

The list of painterly moments goes on. The 'dumpfes Stöhnen' of a danger as yet unknown gives the text's auditory knowledge the ambiguity of the half-diminished chord, pounded rather than coaxed out, with syncopated bass notes, which swiftly changes to a dominant seventh on A (and in D minor) in third inversion, eventually moving towards an augmented sixth. 'Sprengt' is likewise 'blasted' with the resolution of the augmented sixth to a second-inversion A-minor chord. Rising semi-quavers, interspersed with diminished harmonies (now a more definitely audible 'Stöhnen') show the rough-and-tumble between Jussuf and the Hyena. The creature's writhing moves sequentially upwards. A second 'Geschoß' brings more thunderous clapping of the weapon after the fact, rushing semiquavers punctuated by thickly scored thwacks, first in a bright C major, then, as there is still life in the animal yet, moving down the chromatics – the faintest outlines of a *passus duriusculus* – before settling in the dominant of E minor.

But the beast simply will not die. It writhes a little more. The narrator intones steadily, perfunctorily, 'noch einmal bäumt es sich mit Gewalt', the final syllable of 'Welt'

launching a rising sixth, while the left hand paints a chain of diminished chords over *sforzandi* chromaticisms: F sharp – E – E sharp – F sharp – F – E. The final stanza, in which Jussuf recognises his saviour Turan, brings a change of mood. Introduced by a articulations of a dominant pedal on E – repetitions of single tones constituted a ballad technique that Loewe would often employ to signal a change of section in longer forms – the final stanza basks in the tonic major. Marked *dolce*, the music represents Jussuf's and Turan's mingling limbs. One hand reaches down, their mouths touching in a brotherly embrace; the trills on 'Lippen' and 'Mund' and an inverted chromatic descent in the tenor voice of the accompaniment are all physical reminders of their brush with nature. And finally, the announcement of the driving narrative hook of the song in the context of the larger cycle: 'geschloßen ewig', the moment when the bond has been sealed, repeated three times, each iteration rising higher, until a top E on the first syllable of 'ewig' resounds. It echoes, like the hyena's cry, through the landscape. The clip-clopping of the horse returns in the postlude, still with a limp, but in A major. He will heal.

'*Chor der Liederkomponisten*'

Klein's contrasting approaches to setting the *Bilder* are representative of a reception-historical trend. The collection's array of poetic forms attracted composers on the search for diverse 'material'. Composers could find material for *eigentliche Lieder*, poems that made much of the artful virtue of simplicity and its ability to be captured by one musical affect. 'Omars Nachtlied' is one such example, which in the Sundelin volumes was set by both Eduard Mantius and Ludwig Berger. Mantius' setting has not survived, but it was said by the reviewer in the *AmZ* to appeal precisely because of its generalness:

> No less Omars Nachtlied von Mantius, which will probably appeal to even more people because of its generally appealing content.[132]

As the reviewer implies, the poem's meditation on an amorous moment, in three taut stanzas, shared the Lied's general communication of sentiment, striking parallels with Taubert's 'Ständchen':

> Hell glühn die Sterne
> Im dunklen Blau,
> Voll duften die Blumen
> Im Abendthau,
> Und in der Laube
> Von Bülbüls Lied
> Süß eingesungen
> Schlummert Nahid.
>
> Sanft bebt die Lippe
> Die Wangen glühn,
> Die schönste Rose
> Im Myrthengrün.
> Und schlüge sie erst
> Die Augen auf,
> Ihr Sterne hemmtet
> Den Strahlenlauf.
>
> Ihr Augen droben,
> Ihr Sterne hier,
> Ihr Blumenwangen,
> Du Blüthenzier,
> O weilt' ich ewig
> In deiner Pracht!
> O Blumen! Sterne!
> O sel'ge Nacht

Virtually every other composer followed suit in their setting of the poem. The aesthetic premise of Berger's setting was to communicate this sentiment.[133] The *AmZ* reviewer noted how Berger's version, a gentle serenade in D major, was 'beautiful, as though breathed in loving delight', specifying not only the appealing quality of the poem, but how

[132] [Anon.], 'Lieder und Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte', *AmZ*, 35 (1833), col. 624.
[133] The song was which was posthumously republished in *Zwölf Gesänge,* op. 33 (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1841).

representation was allied to the immediate, empathetic capture of emotion.[134] Norbert Burgmüller seems to have treated 'Omars Nachtlied' no differently from his other lyric songs, many of which tended towards a '*volksliedhaften Ton*', though here the accompanimental chromaticisms and major-minor inflections that characterise Taubert's 'Ständchen' reappear as decorative motifs at cadential points.[135]

The second class of poem was one with narrative drive. This was either aggregated into a lyrical-dramatic cycle in the *BamZ* layman's mould or tended towards the ballad. Stieglitz demonstrated a strong preference for what he termed in one poem a '*Wechselgesang*' – or in the vocabulary of the *Divan*, the '*Duodrama*' between lover and beloved.[136] The second volume on Persia in particular devotes much space to the representation of the Persian '*Liebespaare*' that Goethe thematised in the *NuA*.[137] Discounting *Schach und Schenke*, there are two paratextually demarcated duodramatic cycles in the second volume on Persia – 'Assad und Gulhinde' and 'Ali und Fatme' –[138] and one smaller dyad, comprising 'Nahid' and 'Omars Nachtlied'.[139] But there are also poems which contain '*Wechselgesänge*' within single lyrics, summoned either by narrative description through the use of the dialectic between the nightingale and the rose, or through the direct evocation of a beloved in the first person – from the 'Gärtnerknabe' who pines after 'Zoraja', or the 'Fischermädchen' who mentions her 'Hatem', to the philological poems which address the Orientalist parables of 'Ferhad' and 'Schirin',

[134] [Anon.], 'Kurze Anzeigen', *AmZ*, 35 (1833), col. 724.
[135] Norbert Burgmüller, *Sämtliche Lieder; Duo für Klarinette und Klavier; Ständchen für Klarinette, Viola und Gitarre*, ed. by Klaus Martin Kopitz (Cologne: Dohr, 2008), pp. 7 and p. 26 (for the setting); Norbert Burgmüller, *Fünf deutsche Lieder*, op. 6 [op. post.] (Leipzig: Hofmeister, c. 1838).
[136] *Bilder*, II, p. 112.
[137] FA, III/1, p. 218.
[138] *Bilder*, II, pp. 114–125 and 138-149.
[139] Ibid., pp. 97–101.

'Behramgur und Dilaram', 'Narzane', and 'Anahid'.[140] 'Omars Nachtlied' and Taubert's 'Ständchen' are two examples of individual poems that were integrated into complexes. The first followed on from 'Nahid', while the 'Ständchen' was included as the second number of 'Ali und Fatme'.

In his consideration of the two other compositions in the 1834 review, Nauenburg is more specific about how 'Nahid' and 'Omars Nachtlied' are to be set. While 'Omars Nachtlied' can be treated in isolation as a 'Ständchen', the more expansive 'Nahid' does not satisfy by itself:

> Nahid has a purely plastic attitude and, according to the poet's intention, cannot be separated from 'Omars Nachtlied'; the poem has no satisfying conclusion and only attains full meaning and poetic completion through the following poem; the first dramatic scene brings the second to life.[141]

To apply Nauenburg's earlier categorical distinction between the plastic and the musical, 'Nahid' is said to work less like music and more like the fine arts through the 'imitation of a specific object'. According to Nauenburg, this implied a mode of representation that tended towards drama. The lack of 'satisfying conclusion', the 'completion' of which brings the 'dramatic scene' into the sphere of the lyric poetic cycle, refers to the spate of questions Nahid asks of the 'Abendwind' as messenger and communicator:

> Hauchest so süßen Duft, säuselnder Abendwind,
> Schaukelst so hold dein Haupt, Rose, im Mondenstrahl,
> Klagest so selig drein, flötende Nachtigall,
> Daß feucht von Wonnethau Blumen und Sterne sind.
>
> Was wohl die Rose spricht zu der bewegten Luft?
> Was wohl die Nachtigall flötend der Rose klagt?
> Was zu der Sultaninn zitternd der Mond wohl sagt,
> Wenn von dem Purpursaum gleitet der süße Duft?–
>
> Was ich wohl selber sagte dem Abendwind,
> Wenn er mich fragte lispelnd und leis' und lind?

[140] Ibid., pp. 104–106, 112–113, 128–130, 131–134, 135, and 136–137.
[141] Nauenburg, 'Recensionen', *Caecilia*, 16 (1834), p. 254.

Was ich wohl selber spräche zur Nachtigall,
Brächte sie mir dar klagend der Lieder Schall? –

Schwieg' ich beschämt wohl? – Schwieg' auch dann, wenn du,
Omar, mich fragtest, was mir geraubt die Ruh? –
Omar, ach Omar, Palme des Frühlings du,
Wenn jetzt du nahtest, Mond meiner Seele du!

Ach, wie beseligt
Flög' ich in deinen Arm!
Ach, wie durchdränge
Dann, mich dein Kuß so warm!
Wärmender, bebender,
Als dein Hauch, Abendluft,
Süßer, belebender,
Selbst wie der Rose Duft.
Ach, und ich preßte
Bebend dich an mein Herz,
Und es erneute
Wechselnd sich Lust und Schmerz! –

Rose, du duftest, glühend im Purpursaum;
Bülbül, du flötest auf dem Granatenbaum;
Mond, du durchziehest schwimmend des Himmels Bahn;
Lufthauch, du zitterst; – Wann wird mein Omar nahn? –[142]

Nauenburg has little positive to say about Friedrich Jähns' setting of the poem. He decries the editorial play to have either a tenor or soprano sing Nahid's line – "'or" has no place here [...] if vocal characteristics are not to be an empty word'.[143] Nauenburg also calls out the music's 'trivialities'; the portrayal of psychological extremes; and the composer's imitation of Weber's dramatic musical style.[144] This last point Nauenburg expressed as the problem of the anxiety of tradition – 'an anxious imitator of Weber'.[145] Strangely for someone with an aesthetic axe to grind, Nauenburg did not mention Jähns' studious philological addition to the score. The title above the song, 'Nahid', is glossed with the

[142] *Bilder*, I, pp. 97–99.
[143] Ibid., p. 255.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.

footnote: 'Nahid: Persischer Frauenname'. This, we can imagine, had two functions: it was both helpful to the uninitiated German reader and a signal of transport.

Jähns' footnoted remark is telling. It not only shows how careful composers were in considering their paratexts, but how the margins of the score were as important as the notes themselves in transporting listeners and readers into an imagined Orientalist song space. Indeed, the music's ability to facilitate some kind of mental transport to a 'different zone' was the fundamental condition of the critical success of such as settings as Jähns'.[146] Even those who were largely antipathetic to Orientalism did not fail to mention whether the songs imaginatively moved readers and listeners. In an article on Hubert Ries' six settings of the *Bilder* published in the *AmZ*, one writer noted how the songs could speak all the more to a German audience because they did not stray very far from home, but ambivalently, in a language that suggests a yearning for that same generation of *Phantasie* that he felt compelled to put down:[147]

> If the sounds are not always Orientally coloured, their melodiousness [*Schmelz*] is perhaps even dearer to Hesperia's senses; for the *vaterländische Weise* appeals more quickly, while foreign names sing to us of foreign zones. In addition, a certain fragmentary nature of the content of these songs fires the fondly occupied *Phantasie*. This is confirmed in the very first song, 'Fatme'. 'Taubenpost' does not stimulate us enough; they do their job without much interest. We prefer 'Maisuna am Brunnen', even if she does not take us away from western meadows. 'Der Lautenspieler', with his belief in paradise, can be heard standing between hope and pain, but he does not bring the walk under palm trees.[148]

There was little consensus on how this kind of transport should be achieved. Carl Kloss thought that Reissiger's 'Ali und Fatme', the sixth of his op. 89, was successful, writing that 'the Oriental scene becomes visible in tones'.[149] Reissiger's setting is similar to

[146]Cf. 6., 'Gesänge', *NZfM*, 21 (1834), p. 82.
[147] Hubert Ries, *6 Gesänge v. Stieglitz,* op. 11 (Berlin: Trautwein, 1833).
[148] [Anon.], 'Kurze Anzeigen', *AmZ*, 36 (1834), col. 231.
[149] Kloss, 'Recension', *AmZ*, 36 (1834), col. 535.

Klein's 'Der Bund'. The poem features a cast of characters. There are the two lovers, Ali and Fatme, and the malcontent Abulhassan, recently betrothed to Fatme, who catches the two *in flagrante delicto*. But the characters are introduced by reported speech. They sing themselves. Kloss' cursory identification of Reissiger's Orientalism depends on the representation of the event, the dramatic progression from intimacy to skirmish, brought to life by Reissiger's painterly ballad technique. The condition of the song's Orientalism was the immersive '*Schauplatz* of the poetry', as Count Brühl wrote in preface to *Lalla Rûkh* in 1821.[150] To rephrase the *NZfM* reviewer, scrub out 'Ali' and 'Abulhassan' and the critical ascription of 'orientalisch' would probably disappear. Keep the names in, however, and all the musical techniques within the song's bounds could be understood as contributing to the representation of an 'oriental scene'. The most innocuous technique – in Reissiger's case, the *sforzando* clash of the sword, the demi-semiquaver scalar skirmishes, and the orthodox lyricism of an E major serenade – was Orientalised.

Kloss sees an Orientalist music in Reissiger's setting that a signifying tropological discourse of musical exoticism would not. There are none of the markers that speak to a musical Orientalism without text, yet the song 'could not have been sung otherwise'.[151] But perhaps more interesting is the inverse. Hubert Ries' 'Der Lautenspieler' does stand out by its exoticising markers. Ries makes much of modal-minor mixture and engages with the musical features of the Turkish style, namely octave doubling, harmonic stasis and duple metre.[152] Although the topic was long in circulation, the *AmZ* reviewer refused to consider such a resonance worthy of comment, referring only to the poetic vacillation

[150] Carl Brühl and Samuel Spiker, *Lalla Rûkh. Ein Festspiel mit Gesang und Tanz* (Berlin: Wittich, 1822), p. 1.
[151] Kloss, 'Recension', col. 535.
[152] For a full list of features, see Ralph Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 118–121.

between ‘hope and pain’. The denial of the signifier in this particular instance must have been polemical, for the reviewer mentions the Turk right at the end of his piece. ‘[He] who loves the *Morgenland* in the *Abendland*’, the reviewer wrote, ‘will Turk around [*türkeln*] with pleasure’. ‘Türkeln’ has a strongly negative connotation in German, which slightly dampens any outward feelings of toleration.[153] The position of this writer was clear:

> We confess to loving the cathedral more than the minaret, and German [*teutsch*] songs more than oriental-occidental ones [...].[154]

If not ironic or a play with alliteration, the ‘t’ of ‘teutsch’ builds an attempt at patriotism. In this reviewer’s mind, Germanness meant conservatism, a throwback to the *Teutschtum* of the poetry and music of the Wars of Liberation between 1813 and 1815. There is no space for dangerous, destabilising, hyphenated hybrids – *west-östlich, orientalisch-occidentalisch*.

Nauenburg would have perhaps been grateful for the exoticising signifier in Jähns’ *Nahid*, though his representational prejudice against the genre of the Lied would probably have blinded him to its presence were it there. Reviewing Jähns’ *Nahid* for the *Iris*, Rellstab held similar aspirations. He wanted Jähns to make visible in sounds what the poetry seems to have achieved in words, even if the task was itself beyond the representation of an earthly art:

> No art on earth would be so powerful in expressing the indulgent dreaminess, the fragrance and light that the figures that walk under the Arabian and Persian skies must carry with them despite their energetic plasticity. In this respect, the present composition does not quite satisfy us.[155]

Rellstab was confused. Although the representation of an ‘Oriental lover’ in the opening stanzas seems to inspire a ‘Romantic colour’, Rellstab hears and reads nothing of the sort

[153] [Anon.], ‘Kurze Anzeigen’, *AmZ*, 36 (1834), col. 231.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Rellstab, ‘Ueberblick der Erzeugnisse’, *Iris*, 4 (1833), p. 33.

in the music.[156] The opening three stanzas' 'southern description of nature' invited the music to represent both the heated atmosphere of an Orientalist love (*agitato*, rather than *andante sostenuto* in pianissimo whispers) and the imagined paradise of an Orientalist situation. If not the poetry, it was Jähns' strophic parsing of the three stanzas that was seen by Rellstab, to borrow the words of the critic in the *NZfM*, as '*stockdeutsch*':

> Only it is a German summer night that he [Jähns] depicts, not one under the eternally clear azure that stretches over the desert of the Orient and its oases, as over the gardens of Syria and Persia. The sentiment of love in the poem is also more German, which is generally a credit to the German composer, although not to the advantage of this particular work.[157]

While Nauenburg found the opening three verses to be the most successful from a song-aesthetic perspective, Rellstab saw them as conveying nothing of his own Orientalist *Phantasie*. Nauenburg, on the one hand, would have wanted an Orientalist Lied – in conventional, generic terms – to continue its course in view of its pre-conditioned limitations. Rellstab, on the other hand, tried to imagine the soundscape of Orientalist song, a background music not yet able to be given over to theorising, but theoretically possible if one obeys the tenets of musico-poetic hermeneutics and follows one's own imagination. Indeed, such was Rellstab's demand to pursue one's own *Phantasie* that aesthetic distinctions ceased to have weight. As he wrote in a review of Reissiger's op. 87 settings of the *Bilder*, the poetry challenged musicians to dissolve the boundaries between acceptability and deformation:

> The nature of the serious poem makes a more elaborate song necessary here, and we must not only allow this exception to our general demand that the song be confined within narrower limits, but even declare it necessary.[158]

[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ludwig Rellstab, 'Ueberlick der Erzeugnisse', *Iris*, 6 (1835), p. 35.

A ‘truly Oriental sumptuousness of *Phantasie*’ demanded an equally sumptuous setting.[159]

Jähns’ *Nahid* is not a ‘*wahres Lied*’ as Rellstab would put it.[160] It is an extended *Gesang* with multiple sections. The first three stanzas are set to the same music in a strophic *Liedform*. The fourth stanza is divided into two parts. The opening motif of the first three stanzas, a falling figure tracing a minor sixth, begins the fourth line, ‘Schweig’ ich beschämt wohl’. The vocal line then suddenly launches into a recitative, before returning to lyricism on the appeal to ‘Omar, ach Omar, Palme des Frühlings’. The fifth stanza, ‘Ach, wie beseligt’, closely follows Stieglitz’s textually demarcated insert with its own enclosed song in B flat. The final section returns to the variant of the opening strophic section by way of a sparsely scored transition in the Phrygian mode. The music then concludes with a half-close on the dominant. First the voice dies away, then the piano accompaniment echoes in the upper register (see Figure 19). Rellstab is particularly fond of this non-ending: ‘the indefinite half-close into which it fades is a Romantic turn that is very much in keeping with the character of the poem’.[161] The word ‘fades [*verklingt*]’ evokes the ending of Schumann’s *Papillons,* written as a Romantic response to Jean Paul’s *Flegeljahre* just a few years before and published in 1832, which peels back layers of sound into silence.[162] Rellstab argues that since the ‘character of the poem’ was itself Romantic, existing beyond any earthly art of representational form and persistence of sound, this kind of wistful disappearance was appropriate. It seemed to

[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid., p. 36.
[161] Rellstab, ‘Ueberblick der Erzeugnisse’, *Iris*, 4 (1833), p. 34.
[162] For more, see Berthold Hoeckner, ‘Schumann and Romantic Distance’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 50 (1997), 55–132, pp. 62ff.

admit Orientalism's elusiveness and music's yearning for representing the sensuous, the plastic, which Nauenburg had held up as an ephemeral and unachievable ideal.

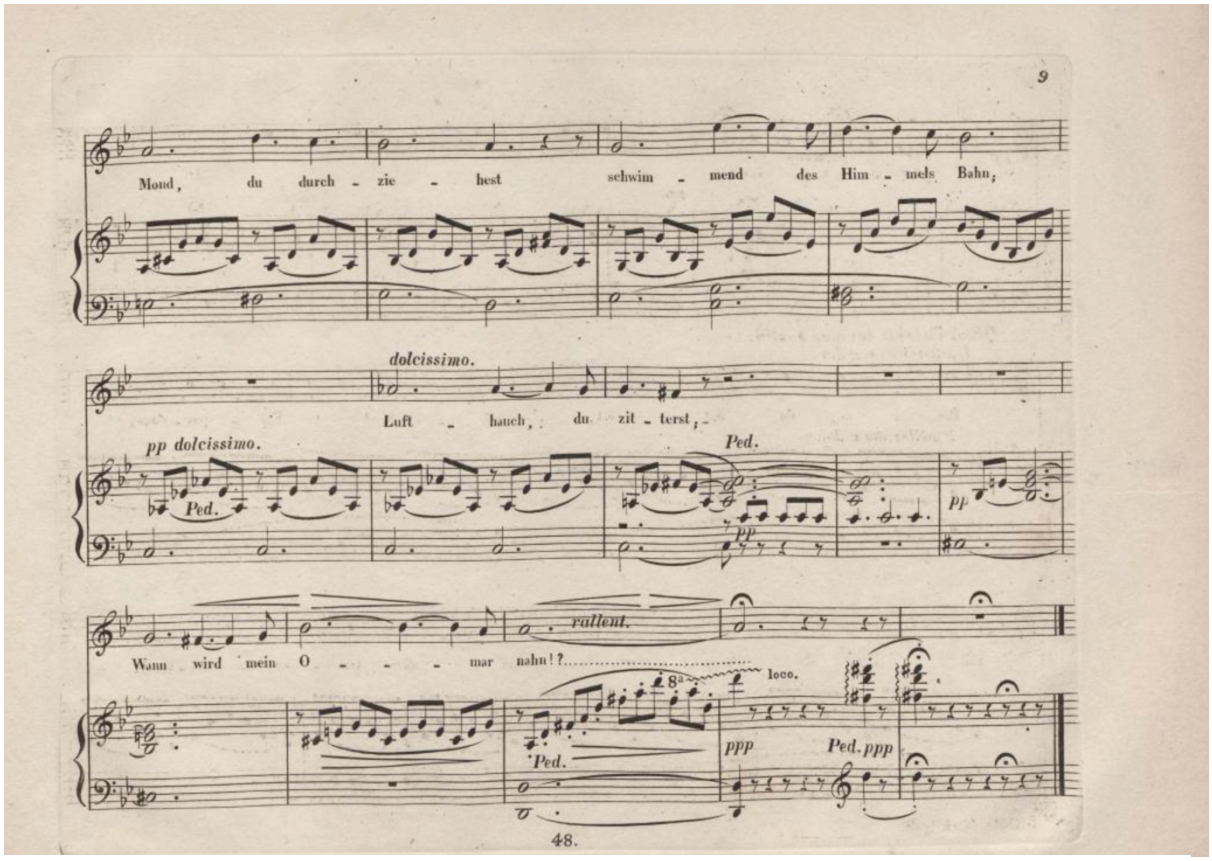


Figure 19: Friedrich Jähns, *Nahid,* op. 6 (Berlin: Bechtold und Hartje, 1833), p. 9: ***http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001449900000000***.

Rellstab sees another virtue in Jähns' *Nahid*. The music to the final stanza allows the performer to delight in singing, which is the 'essential condition of song'.[163] At the same time, Rellstab found the transitional passages rather 'too dramatic' and argued that the odd, declamatory accents bent the text out of shape. Interestingly, although both Rellstab and Nauenburg call out Jähns' declamatory deformation, neither relates the composer's oddities to poor technique. Rellstab rather suggested that the accent on the top G on 'Wenn' of 'Wenn jetzt du nahtest' offended because it would profile the singer's histrionics and disturb the song's fiction (see Figure 20). What Jähns does is engage with

[163] Rellstab, 'Ueberblick der Erzeugnisse', *Iris*, 4 (1833), p. 34.

the ‘expressive process [of] “overvocalizing”’, to use Lawrence Kramer’s term.[164] Throughout, the composer strives for the ‘purposeful effacement of text by voice’ in order to represent ‘emotional and metaphysical extremes, blurrings of ego boundaries, and transits of identity’.[165] Jähns contrasts high and low registers, silence, dynamics, swelling, and the withdrawal of accompanimental support to turn Stieglitz’s poem from a duodramatic pendant into an (psycho)dramatic scene and Nahid herself from Omar’s pining lover into a vector of instability and irrationality. It was this ‘extreme’ Orientalist ‘*Gefühlsausdruck*’ that Nauenburg saw as ‘unweiblich’.[166]

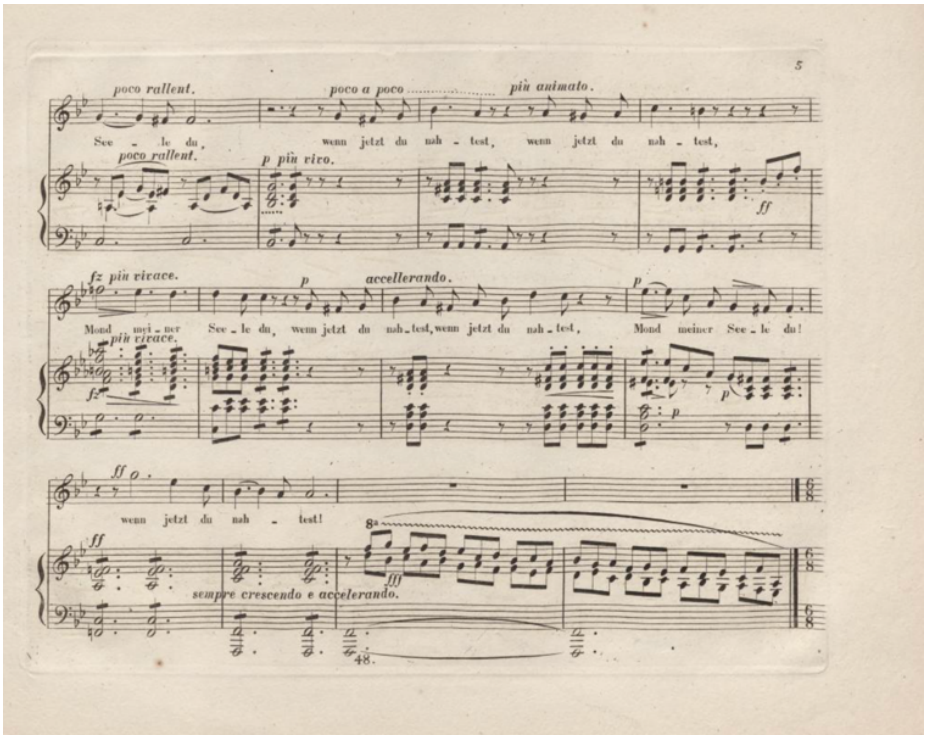


Figure 20: Friedrich Jähns, *Nahid,* op. 6, p. 5

This is the crux of Jähns’ representational technique. As Marx had attempted in *Nahid und Omar*, Jähns writes in a *Zwittergattung* that contained elements of drama centring around

[164] Lawrence Kramer, *Music and Poetry: The Nineteenth Century and After* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1984), p. 132.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Nauenburg, ‘Recensionen’, *Caecilia*, 16 (1834), p. 255.

a single 'acting person'. The *Liedform* of the opening stanzas is more characterised by the absence of accompaniment than by its presence, setting up a fragility that does not quite heal. The opening vocal motif is sung alone without piano support – not once, but three times, if one accounts for the strophic return. The fourth stanza approaches fragility from another extreme. Jähns inverts the opening descending minor sixth, placing it up an octave, and combining it with a chromatic ascent from D to G, before climaxing on the agogic 'Omar' at its peak. With its closed vowel, the first phoneme of 'Omar' is pure 'overvocalisation', whose resolution eventually may trail back to the beloved, but goes against the grain of the text, which speaks about a past silence.

Jähns has a taste for these ironies. He pings the words 'ach' and 'wechselnd' in the fifth stanza at the top of the texture. The first is an excuse for Nahid to sing. In his serialised article on poetry and song in the *BamZ* a decade before, Rellstab noted: 'For nothing can be composed better than for example "ah!"'.[167] The second is an excuse for Nahid to sing about her changeability. Jähns writes hairpin swells and dynamic markings on 'geraubt' to graphically convey the violence, both physical and emotional, of being 'robbed' of one's 'peace'. Once Nahid's peace has been robbed in the fourth stanza, the song is irremediably changed. The reappearance of the opening lyricism in the final stanza, with 'Rose, du duftest', the precursor to Rellstab's 'romantic turn', is not an unselfconscious return to the expression of a lyrical style. The final quotation is at once the ideal and memory of a unified *Grundempfindung* before a self-questioning 'dramatic turn'. In effect, Jähns distends the Lied. He dramatizes the shift from a sentimentally

[167] Ludwig Rellstab, 'Elementargedanken', *BamZ*, 1 (1824), p. 240.

sovereign form to a more changeable, expansive 'Gesang' to show the aesthetic madness of Orientalist love.

Much like Marx's experimental *Nahid und Omar*, which was written for an audience, Jähns' *Gesang* can only really work if someone is spectating. Rellstab's review makes much of the inevitability of performance, implicating both singer and audience, which suggests that the *Gesang* was one of those that would be at home in public or semi-private fora, either the 'private circle' or the paying concert platform. This was not music to be sung 'in private' [*unter vier Augen*], as Schumann would later write about intimate songs, but performed for a larger group of onlookers, persuading by 'instantaneous effect'.[168] Schumann wrote that intimate songs would 'freeze before an audience'.[169] Jähns' would have the inverse effect. Remove the audience and the song's play with overvocalisation would lose its force and freeze on the page. For all his focus on performance, however, Rellstab's spectator is on the outside witnessing Nahid's psychological regression as a moment of Lied drama. In the next chapter, I will explore how Carl Loewe and Heinrich Marschner used Stieglitz's poetic-visual novelties to bring the musical reader into the frame of the Orientalist *Bild* itself.

[168] Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Wigand, 1854), IV, p. 258.
[169] Ibid.

Chapter 5: Marschner and Loewe

Schumann dedicated the first half of an *NZfM* issue in 1836 to the discussion of two categories of song. The first was 'Lied and Gesang', a small review article of Heinrich Marschner's *Bilder des Orients* and a set of songs by Ferdinand Stegmayer.[1] The article was part of a serialised appraisal of the genre's latest products, conscientiously stressed in a paratext ('Fortsetzung von Nr. 36'), which included Loewe's *Esther: ein Liederkreis in Balladenform* and Bernhard Klein's posthumously published *Bilder des Orients*.[2] Marschner's Orientalist examples and those of Stegmayer were thus to be seen comparatively. The second category was 'Gesänge für Männerstimmen', which featured some more *Kleinmeister*: Häser, Grund, Zöllner, Meiners, Stolze, Mühling, Curschmann, and Speier, among others.[3]

Schumann's *NZfM* tended towards a fine-tuned *Journalpoetik*.[4] The mottos, quotations or excerpts that the critic systematically collected in books and used as epigraphs in the journal carried the function of encapsulating and introducing the contents of the main body proper.[5] In this edition, Schumann used the second and third stanzas from the *Divan* poem 'Elemente'. The use of this particular *Divan* quotation seems to have been doubly appropriate. Schumann could flaunt his literary pretensions by discursively anchoring a review of the representation of Stieglitz's poetry against the paratextual backdrop of Goethe's collection, as many other literary critics had done. By using 'Elemente' as a motto (and, moreover, without a title), Schumann was also

[1] For more on Marschner, see A. Dean Palmer, *Heinrich August Marschner, 1795–1861: His Life and Stage Works* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980).
[2] Robert Schumann, 'Lied und Gesang', *NZfM*, 5 (1836), pp. 143–144.
[3] Ibid., p. 167.
[4] The term comes from Astrid Dröse and Jörg Robert, 'Journalpoetik: Kleists *Erdbeben in Chili* in Cottas *Morgenblatt*', *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, 63 (2019), 197–216.
[5] Leander Hotaki, *Robert Schumanns Mottosammlung* (Freiburg i.Br.: Rombach, 1998), pp. 94ff.

adducing an Orientalist part-song that reflected on the genre itself. The poem would have been better known in musical circles under Zelter's heading 'Liederstoff', published in *Die Liedertafel* in 1818. Schumann thereby pays homage to two fathers and two origins: Goethe of Stieglitz's Orientalism and Zelter of the *Kleinmeister*'s *Liedertafel*.

Schumann's review of Marschner brings up an important strategy that attended the *Bilder*'s musical reception. Songs themselves provided a source of images for readers, with composers using the genre to engage the techniques of Orientalism that underlay such a recognition. In this chapter, I argue that two composers, Heinrich Marschner and Carl Loewe, took Stieglitz's *Bilder* as an opportunity to bring novel visual strategies into the realm of the Lied. I first use Schumann to comment on the former. The critic took the *Bild*'s paratextual novelty to touch on a contemporary medial strategy of Marschner's Orientalist representation that the musical public would have known: the *Guckkasten*. The second half deals with Carl Loewe, a composer whose reception history has always run a visual course. After dealing with Loewe's musical-visual prestige by the time his *Bilder* were published in 1834, I explore how the composer experimented with the visual perspectives of the panorama, a medium also employed in Orientalist representation.

Schumann's Reader

Schumann's notice about Marschner's *Bilder des Orients* reads like a piece of imaginative literature:

> *Bilder* are what you receive here, dear reader, – *Bilder* in silver and golden frames, in which you can see the love story between the rose and nightingale, or Hafis' blissful-looking figure [*seligschauende Gestalt*], or travelling caravans, or snorting Moorish steeds. Even the poems flow over pineapples as if from an Oriental spring, and the singer catches the flood in precious bowls! Everyone will be refreshed by such songs, by such a double life in language and music; here

> everything lives and whispers, every syllable, every tone has feeling; two masters met and understood each other. In the first song you stand before Fitne's tent in love-fuelled expectation. In the second song, the Husseinites ask 'who can boast of Turan's murderer'; in the third, Jussuff will avenge Turan. Then Fitne wants to awaken the slain lover with her kisses, – a song so painful, so true; the sounds are like falling tears. In the fifth, however, Maisuna stands at the well and waits for her beloved, – and just as she is certain of his possession, so too does the music reflect it firmly, mildly, thereby always Orientally. Thus, wherever one turns, the charm, the freshness, originality, and beauty of these songs seem to increase in all directions, so that I do not know which one deserves the prize. Honour therefore to the master! Everyone must have these songs.[6]

The seeming idiosyncrasy of the review is representative of the composer's early mode of criticism. As John Daverio has argued, Schumann promoted and practised a type of criticism that responded to the 'dilemma' of using a 'verbal medium to describe and evaluate tonal events'.[7] The 'highest kind of criticism', Schumann wrote in an 1835 review, was 'that which leaves an impression similar to the one created by the subject that stimulated it'.[8] The origins of this 'poetic criticism' lay with the early Romantics, particularly Friedrich Schlegel who, as Sanna Pederson notes, hoped that 'criticism of a work would recreate the work and provide the critic with an opportunity to respond to the artist by reflecting his ideas'.[9] Schumann claimed in 1840 that he did not want to 'argue about what a beautiful song is'; like a 'beautiful poem', the critic recalls Goethe's maxim that it is 'but a breath'.[10] One should now embrace each artwork, each song, on its own terms. These should be reflected as best as one can, so as to provide a critical-artistic

[6] Schumann, 'Lied und Gesang', *NZfM*, 5 (1836), p. 167.
[7] John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 118.
[8] Translation by Leon Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 72.
[9] Sanna Pederson, 'Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism, 1800–1850' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1995), pp. 9–10.
[10] Robert Schumann, 'Drei Gute Liederhefte', *NZfM*, 13 (1840), p. 118.

pendant.[11] Schumann's flight of poetic fancy in his review of Marschner was thus both a critical gambit and an artistic commendation. For the critic was to counter art with art.

The hermeneutic consequences for Schumann's reader are clear. One should theoretically be able to work back from his review and glean the subjective particulars of the artwork itself. In Marschner's case, Schumann's critical thrust is announced in the first line. Marschner's songs were not merely pristine examples of 'Lieder und Gesänge'. These were '*Bilder*', 'in silver and golden frames', which 'you', 'dear reader', are looking at.[12] The subjective impression that Schumann was keen to stress was the objectification and the literalisation of poetic-visual-musical miniatures. For the critic also notes how these images were composed of the 'double lives of language and music', which in syllable and tone revealed the generous 'encounter' of two spirits: poet and composer.[13] These were, moreover, *Bilder* that gave occasion to break free from technical analysis and indulge in comparatively colourful imagistic description. Perhaps taking his cue from Heine's fantasies of Goethe's *Divan* in *Die romantische Schule*, Schumann's *Bilder* layer Stieglitz's with new images of materially exotic pineapples.[14] To Schumann, the formal novelty of the sight of song was as stimulating as regarding the Orientalist content represented within the contained and disciplined boundaries of its four borders.

Schumann either had both of Marschner's volumes in front of him when he composed the review or had etched its images into his mind-eye, encouraging (if not

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[11] Cf. Edward A. Lippman, 'Theory and Practice in Schumann's Aesthetics', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 17 (1964), 310–345, esp. pp. 323–324.

[12] Schumann's early review of Hiller's *Etudes*, op. 15, 'Kritik', *NZfM*, 2 (1835), p. 6, inspires the critic to produce his own '*Bilder*', which are said to lack only the '*Rahmen*'. The review is likewise framed by a poem from the *Divan*, FA, III/1, p. 64.

[13] Schumann, 'Lied und Gesang', *NZfM*, 5 (1836), pp. 167.

[14] Cf. Chapter 2, p. 148, n. 153; there are a number of parallels between the two descriptions, including the verbs '*erlaben*', and the image of the '*Schale*'; Heine's polemic was published in 1835, before being swiftly censored, see Gerhard Höhn, *Heine-Handbuch: Zeit, Person, Werk* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1987), p. 250.

mandating) his readers to do the same. One 'sees' 'Hafis seligschauende Gestalt', which corresponds with the fourth and fifth songs of the second volume, 'Hafis' and 'Hafisens Scheiden', the former one of Stieglitz's rare dances with the ghazal form. One could also see the 'snorting Moorish horses' and 'travelling caravans' of the second and third songs of the same volume, 'Hordenlager' and 'Vorüberziehende Horden', each distilled into a singular image. Schumann then goes into particulars of the first volume, detailing each miniature in turn. In the first song, 'you stand before Fitne's tent in love-fuelled expectation'. The 'you' here is the 'dear reader' of the review who has already been addressed. The 'ich' of Stieglitz's poem 'Vor Fitnes Zelt' does not refer to any one of the characters, but to the spectator within the frame, silently and pruriently standing at the threshold of a poetic experience. The preposition 'vor' suggests both being in front of and being prior to. That is, one stands at the crossing of the picture's frame.

The second ('Das Todesloos'), third ('Jussuf'), and fourth songs ('Fitnes Klage') are grouped together: the first two represented the fight between Jussuf and those who have murdered Turan; the fourth brings Fitne in again, who wants to 'wake her lover with kisses', which Schumann describes as near-perfect, 'like falling tears', a poetic image prompted by Marschner's descending staccato piano arpeggiations. In the fifth, 'Maisuna' is at the *Brunnen*, waiting for Melek. The music here, in A major, marked 'sanft und leise', is said to convey the mood of musical Orientalism that Schumann seeks and that he himself would repeat, in the same key, in his 'Lied der Suleika' from *Myrthen* in 1840. The music was 'mild', 'firm' (more headstrong in love than cloying in tone) and 'thereby always *orientalisch*'. Like Gustav Nauenburg, Schumann wants Oriental women to sing softly, truly, and stubbornly about their male Oriental lovers who were inevitably killed in some internecine and no doubt pointless (but thus poetic) conflict.

Schumann's critical pendant ends here. But the reader, armed with the critical equipment and an interpretative model, was to apply his perspective to the rest of the settings. Marschner's images cross the threshold between the two volumes. 'Maisuna' gives way to a little vignette of a 'verschmachtender Pilger' on his way to Mecca. The pilgrim then makes way for 'Meleks Kampfgruss', in which Melek appeals to the courage of his 'steed' in rapid *moto perpetuo*. The second volume begins with 'Maisuna im Zelte' – an intricate parallel of scene, bridging the first and the second volumes. Both the opening songs give utterance to an 'ich' who is not part of the action proper. In the first volume, Schumann's 'du' becomes the anticipating 'ich' in Stieglitz's poems. Maisuna, in the second volume, has assumed this perspective. She is recounted in the third person (as a character who is watched and who does not sing herself, even within the questionable fiction of the song's frame), in contrast to 'Maisuna am Brunnen', in the middle of the previous book, which lyricises about 'mein Melek'. But there is a difference. There is no 'Erwartung' from the outside, only witnessing from the inside: 'Vor dem Zelte' to 'Im Zelte'.

The images then flit from left to right, the beauty increasing 'wherever one turns': through the 'Hordenlager' and the 'Vorüberziehende Horden'; through the two Hafis songs in a more domestic sphere; from there to the wrapping of an Orientalist *Selam* ('Blumengruß'); to a final song 'Leiermann unter Nuschabe's Balkon'. The Leiermann is not Müller's withdrawn psychologising persona, but someone who makes his amorous rounds before moving on: 'Da nahm ich mein Bündel und ging und dachte dein'. Each of Marschner's songs, as Thomas Lippert has argued, is characterised by a lack of movement. The presence of repetitively rhythmic piano figurations and the absence of

far-reaching modulations contribute to a sense of stasis.[15] Each action is also considered in concentration. Marschner gives in to the 'sensual' and 'painterly' world that Schumann wanted to see in Klein's setting of Goethe's 'Der Gott und die Bajadere' in no. 36 a few weeks before.[16] Fitne's falling tears never stop, the arpeggios tumbling until the end of the song; Melek's horse keeps riding in duple time.

Schumann's early critical technique was filled with 'framing strategies', as Pederson has called them.[17] Albeit with an openness and anti-prescriptivism that befitted subjective criticism, these 'functioned to describe Schumann's opinion of the effects of a piece on the listener and the atmosphere it conjured up', as well as how one should 'use this music, by naming it and giving it a context'.[18] There are a number of framing strategies at work in the Marschner review. In the first instance, the frame is coterminous with the paratext, the quotation of two stanzas from 'Elemente' about love and warring valour, both of which reflect some of the topics of Marschner's songs in the first volume. A second framing strategy involves the first line of the review, which calls the reader to see the songs as images. Schumann's critical frame in this second case is perhaps enriched by the feature of Marschner's poetic-visual-musical '*Rahmen*'. The frames of Marschner's pictures are mirrored rhetorically. The opening sentence provides an exhortation: 'Bilder sind es, Lieber Leser'; there then follows a description of the individual scenes; the review finally closes with praise for the master: 'Ehre also dem Meister!'. These serve to demarcate the described image within fixed rhetorical boundaries: a frame to complement that of the songs.

[15] Thomas Lippert, *Die Klavierlieder Heinrich Marschners* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1989), p. 86.
[16] Schumann, 'Lied und Gesang', *NZfM*, 5 (1836), pp. 143–144.
[17] Pederson, 'Musical Criticism', p. 83.
[18] Ibid.

Then there is a third frame. This provides a 'context', 'names' the song without necessarily dictating it, and suggests the mode of its consumption. The tone of the opening line is both knowing and hawking, an appeal and an apodictic: 'Bilder sind es, Lieber Leser, die du hier empfängst, Bilder in Silbernen und Goldenen Rahmen'. The phrase appears to invoke the trademark rhetorical strategy of the *Guckkastenlied* or peep-show song, which was a fixture of urban and semi-private spaces in the early nineteenth century.[19] The freely roving public would be called and coaxed to view the *Guckkasten*'s images, which depicted historical events, otherworldly scenes, and peopled Orientalist landscapes.[20] *Guckkastenlieder*, which stylised the cries of the operator of the machine, the *Guckkastenmann*, himself a foreigner, often began with a preamble, with the characteristic refrain 'schöne Raritäten' or a variation thereof. They then moved on to a description of the images, interacting with the audience by way of critique and self-promotion, before closing shop, often abruptly. Take the example of Ludwig Rellstab's 'Guckkastenmann', published under 'Welthistorischer Guckkasten' in 1837, the year after the publication of Schumann's review:

> Orgelum, Orgelei!
> Dudeldum Dudeldei!
> Herbei, Herbei!
> Heran, heran Männer, Kinder und Frauen
> Heran, meine neusten Bilder zu Schauen!
> Was das Jahr uns Merkwürdiges hat gebracht
> Das ist hier abgemahlt mit Pracht.
> Ja was es uns noch bringen soll
> Davon ist schon meine Leinwand voll!
> Ich zeige die rarsten Wunderdinge[21]

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[19] Walter Stengel, *Guckkasten: Altberliner Curiosa* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1962), p. 173; Schumann knew of optical inventions, such as the *laterna magica*, cf. *Gesammelte Schriften,* II, p. 12.

[20] See the collections of the Augsburg Kunstsammlung, https://kunstsammlungen-museen.augsburg.de/guckkastenbilder, last accessed 4 March 2025.

[21] Ludwig Rellstab*, Scherz und Ernst: zusammengenähte Schriften* (Leipzig: Köhler, 1837), pp. 79–94 (p.79).

Take also the first two stanzas of the poem 'Der Guckkasten', published in *Der Jahrmarkt* in 1843, which was meant to imitate the sights and sounds of the fairground's attractions and technologies:

> Raritäten sind zu sehn,
> Schöne Raritäten!
> Wollet nicht vorübergehn,
> Sondern zu mir treten!
> Durch die ganze weite Welt
> Macht ihr für ein kleines Geld
> Hier die Promenade.
>
> Schnell bringt uns die Eisenbahn
> Hin zu den Chinesen,
> Weiter über Hindostan
> Zu den Irokesen,
> Und hierauf durch's Kaffernland,
> Lissabon bleibt rechter Hand,
> G'raden Wegs nach Nürnberg.[22]

Guckkastenlieder underwent an epistemological and registral shift – from *curiosa* to folk songs, often in dialect, that one stumbles on in almanacs, collections, and anthologies. One popular 'Berlin Guckkastenlied' – whose dialect replaced 'j' for 'g' (in German pronunciation) – could be found in numerous publications, including the *Musikalischer Hausschatz der Deutschen*, put together by Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, the editor of the *AmZ*, in 1843. The refrain runs thus:

> Raritete sein zu sehn, schöne Raritete!
> [...]
> Komm zu mir, ihr liebe Leut'
> Kuck' mir in mein' Kasten.[23]

[22] [Anon.], *Der Jahrmarkt: Sehenswürdigkeiten in bunter Reihe* (Esslingen: Schreiber, 1843), no. 1 [unpag.].
[23] Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, *Musikalischer Hausschatz der Deutschen* (Leipzig: Mayer und Wigand, 1843), pp. 50–51, no. 83.

The whole song, which churns through a biblical 'Guckkastenlied', presents proleptic images. It is song of persuasion, seduction, and humorous expression, describing and singing the images with such vivid detail that one could not help but step up and look.

By Marschner's and Schumann's time, the *Guckkasten* had become an established topic of literature, art, and music. As Olaf Briese has mentioned, E.T.A. Hoffmann and Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué turned the *Guckkastenmann* into an exoticising mediator, his contraption offering a portal to the dangerous, the magical, the Romantic.[24] Critics here used the *Guckkasten* as a visual metaphor of comparison. In his review of the *Bilder* in 1834, Ferdinand Gustav Kühne described how although Stieglitz wanted to represent the 'colourful world traffic' of *Ein Tag in Ispahan,* he drew only unfinished pictures: 'life chases by in silhouettes as if in a *Guckkasten*'.[25] Deirdre Loughridge has also shown that the *Guckkasten*, as an object and mode of seeing, functioned as a meta-critique on the spectatorial medium of opera from the late eighteenth century.[26] The scenic and spectacular possibilities afforded by the opera were equally the subjects of social polemic, as exemplified in the poem, 'Gedanken eines Bauern bei dem Guckkasten', first published in 1798:

> Da werden doch die Abentheuer,
> Die Mordgeschichten dieser Welt
> Dem armen Mann, für einen Dreier,
> Schön und natürlich, nicht so theuer,
> Als in der Oper, vorgestellt.[27]

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[24] Olaf Briese, '"Bilder durch Buchstaben": Glaßbrenners Guckkästen', in *Zwischen Gattungsdisziplin und Gesamtkunstwerk: Literarische Intermedialität 1815–1848*, ed. by Stefan Keppler-Tasaki and Wolf Gerhard Schmidt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 123–142 (p. 126).
[25] Ferdinand Gustav Kühne, 'Bilder des Orients', *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, [n. vol.] 27 (1834), col. 212.
[26] Deirdre Loughridge, *Haydn's Sunrise, Beethoven's Shadow: Audiovisual Culture and the Emergence of Musical Romanticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), esp. pp. 62–122.
[27] [Anon.], *Poetisches Bouquet gepflückt in den Gärten der vorzüglichsten deutschen Dichter* (Breslau: Gehr, 1798), pp 18-19.

The *Guckkasten* could offer those from less privileged social strata opportunities to view new worlds inaccessible elsewhere, as well as provide a topic for the Romantic and thus high-literary exploration of the new textual worlds of Orientalism in comfortable domestic quarters. Such was its charge, in the years leading up to the revolutions of 1848, the *Guckkastenlied* itself worked as a frame for political dissent – in broadsides, pamphlets, or simply when heard sung.[28]

Schumann's critical gambit of imitating the hawker's cry, which invokes a medium and poetic form that had long been associated with the framing and presentation of their own 'Bilder des Orients' in the early nineteenth century, suggests that Marschner's songs were not merely *Bilder*. These were colourful (not black-and-white) 'schöne Raritäten', beautiful generic novelties. Optical techniques find musical-visual form. Stasis itself, the paratextual marker of positioning – all become signifiers of an experience of looking at and then being inside the image. One peeps in to view a small, bordered world, commensurate with the trim specifications of the Lied, which has been constructed by composer, critic, and poet. Part of this must have been Marschner responding to Stieglitz's poetry, the process of which Schumann also mimics by writing a dizzyingly intermedial fantasy that uses words to describe images that were themselves fashioned by music. This mode of appreciating the *Bilder* was clearly widespread. The *Damen Conversations-Lexicon*, for instance, described the collection in 1837 as 'poetic mosaic-images rolled out by a seer's hand', drawing attention to the bricolage of image and its unfurling by someone out of shot, but still very much in mind.[29] But part of this also

[28] Cf. Eckhard John and David Robb, *Songs for a Revolution: The 1848 Protest Song Tradition in Germany* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2020), pp. 160–174 (p. 166, n. 24).
[29] [Anon.], 'Stieglitz', *Damen Conversations-Lexicon,* ed. by Carl Herloßsohn, 10 vols (Adorf: Verlags-Bureau, 1834–1838), IX (1837), p. 424.

involves Marschner's curation of Stieglitz's texts. He sets up the frame in 'Vor Fitnes Zelt' in the first number, in which Schumann's language of 'expectation' represents what Loughridge has called the peep-show's 'distinctive audiovisual arrangement: a condition of listening toward, or in anticipation of, the act of looking'.[30] The frame is then closed in the last number, as the 'Leiermann' packs away his things, carries away his 'Bündel', and grinds elsewhere. If translated after Schubert as the hurdy-gurdy, the *Leier* was also one of the *Guckkastenmann*'s distinctive instruments.[31] What happened in between need not have followed in sequence. For the jump-cut approach – from 'Verschmachtende Pilger' to 'Meleks Kampfgruss' and 'Vorüberziehende Horden' to 'Hafis' – was to be marshalled by rhetorical triggers that one could hear, or imagine hearing, in Berlin's urban spaces after the *Guckkastenmann*'s characteristic refrain: 'Ein anderes Bild! Hür, meine Herrschaften, erblicken Sie…'.[32]

Schumann's presumed invocation of the *Guckkasten* raises questions about where an early-to-mid nineteenth-century German, musician or no, might have been able to access and look at Orientalist images. German Orientalist paintings of the sort that now fill galleries and exhibitions were then a relatively 'marginal phenomenon' by comparison with French types, as Polaschegg notes.[33] According to Karin Rhein, German painterly Orientalism only began in the 1830s, which gives Schumann's and Marschner's Orientalist imaginarium a certain medial contemporaneity.[34] Its climax was not to come

[30] Loughridge, *Haydn's Sunrise*, p. 64.
[31] Ibid., p. 63.
[32] Adolf Brennglas [Glaßbrenner], 'Berlin wie es ist und trinkt', *1844 im Berliner Guckkasten* (Leipzig: Jackowitz, 1845), p. 16.
[33] Andrea Polaschegg, 'Von chinesischen Teehäusern zu hebräischen Melodien: Parameter zu einer Gebrauchsgeschichte des deutschen Orientalismus', in *Orientdiskurse*, ed. by Bogdal, pp. 49–80 (p. 51, n. 5).
[34] Karin Rhein, 'Poetischer als Eisenbahnen: Orient-Aneignung durch deutsche Maler zur Zeit Friedrich Rückerts', *Rückert-Studien*, 22 (2016), 125–146 (p. 125).

for another fifty or so years, in the second half of the century, aided by the development of optical and archival technologies, increased opportunities for travel, and in conscious 'orientation' around the French models of Eugène Delacroix and Jean-Léon Gérôme.[35] There were, however, other means by which poets and composers could have encountered Orientalist images.

One important means was illustrated books. Decorating collected editions gave artists and engravers space to engage their own Orientalist fantasies. The earliest collected works of the *Divan* from 1827 that Schumann owned featured an illustration by Johann Heinrich Ramberg, titled 'Der Divan', with a gibberish Orientalising text framing the top of the image and an enraptured poet sitting on the eponymous piece of furniture that jarred with Goethe's own more 'un-iconic' visual programme.[36] Orientalist copperplates such as these quickly added a visual definition to textual description. As mentioned in Chapter 2, in his *Beschreibung*, Brühl made plain in 1821 how the copperplates in the Royal Library in Berlin informed his reproduction of the costumes in *Lalla Rûkh*. A decade later, in 1830, Stieglitz argued that his own poetic productions were indebted to the 'volumes filled with copperplates from the different regions of the Orient' in the same Royal Library.[37] In his now famed article in the *NZfM*, 'Drei gute Liederhefte' from 1840, Schumann presents an image of himself 'sitting before a pile of songs'. These he flicked through until he found something worth praising. If that mode of readerly

[35] Ibid., pp. 136–137.
[36] Waltraud Maierhofer, 'Illustrations for the *Divan* in Editions of Goethe's Works during his Lifetime', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 89 (2020), 137–156 (pp. 140 and 145); Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus 6068, 5–A4/C1.
[37] *Bilder*, I, p. xv.

critical appraisal serves as a paradigm, Marschner's *Bilder* would become *Buchkunst*, the page itself becoming a bordered image.[38]

Another form of transmission came with privately owned Orientalist pictures, which were circulated as handheld *exotica* in sociable environments. Some of these, such as the Hensel illustrations described in Chapter 2, were products of local artists, blurring boundaries between real and fictive personae. Others were apparently Eastern originals. Stieglitz argued in the preface to the *Bilder* that his earliest impressions of the Orient were kindled by a painting of an idyllic palm-bedecked landscape he was shown 'by a foreign man' at the Westphalian residence of Count Wilhelm Spiegel von Desenberg, Schloss Kanstein.[39] Marx too recalled an encounter with eroticising Indian miniatures in the salon of Amalia von Helvig in the mid-1820s. Helvig's great uncle, who was apparently the 'governor of an Indian province', sourced these for her.[40] The imagistic claims that Schumann makes for Marschner's songs, however, shows that songs themselves could become *Bilder*. There is one composer whose music was consistently related to the visual: Carl Loewe turned to Stieglitz's *Bilder* in 1833.

'*Der Balladische*'

Loewe is synonymous with visualism. Ever since the publication of his op. 1 in 1824, critics have understood Loewe's musical language as one composed of pictorial description in which each individual word, each moment, is in Schumann's analysis 'characteristically painted out'.[41] Marx described Loewe's 'Erlkönig' in the following terms:

[38] Schumann, 'Drei Gute Liederhefte', *NZfM*, 13 (1840), pp. 118–119.
[39] *Bilder*, I, p. viii.
[40] Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, 2 vols (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1865), I, pp. 181–184.
[41] Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, p. 132.

> The composer's idiosyncrasy appears brightest in 'Erlkönig'. The whispering of the leaves, the shimmering of the wind in the high treetops, the strange tinkling that seems to announce the proximity of spirits in the moonlit forest, form the picturesque to the action. The anxious voice of the frightened father, the eerie and yet so irresistibly tempting invitation of Erlkönig introduce us to the three characters in the most specific, characteristic outlines until the dialogue ends and the narrative continues to its enchanting conclusion.[42]

In Schumann's and Marx's writing, the word 'characteristic' does not principally denote the tenets of personal style. The term signals an aesthetic of 'description', in Mary Whittall's translation of Dahlhaus. Among its baroque usages, this descriptive aesthetic prefigures in its content an aesthetics of the ugly and realism, the latter term of musical critique only gaining sway from mid-century.[43] Even here, as far as the components of the 'characteristic' or the 'distinct [*bestimmt*]' constituting the hybrid genre of song are concerned, one of its technical means was 'musical painting', which was not divorced from but intimately involved with the expressive representation of the ontology of the individuals themselves. Marx himself had already explored this theoretically in *Die Kunst des Gesanges* and practically in his Orientalist *Novelle*.[44]

Marx's artistic and editorial backing of the composer was personal. The critic was a close friend of Loewe's. The two got to know each other in Halle at the end of the 1810s, where Loewe sang in the critic's *Gesangs-Quartett-Zirkel*.[45] Marx also apparently interceded on the composer's behalf to have his op. 1, which included both 'Edward' and

[42] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 1 (1824), p. 118.
[43] Carl Dahlhaus, *Realism in Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. by Mary Whittall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 29; for a critique of Dahlhaus' stance, see Matthew Pritchard, '"The Moral Background of the Work of Art": "Character" in German Musical Aesthetics, 1780–1850', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 9 (2012), 63–80.
[44] For more on musically 'bestimmt' and Marx, see Carl Dahlhaus, 'Die Kategorie des Charakteristischen in der Ästhetik des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Die Couleur Locale in der Oper des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Heinz Becker (Regensburg: Bosse, 1976), pp. 9–21 (p. 18).
[45] Carl Loewe, *Dr. Carl Loewe's Selbstbiographie,* ed. by C. H. Bitter (Berlin: Müller, 1870), p. 62.

'Erlkönig', printed with Schlesinger, taking on most of the costs.[46] Marx's *BamZ*, which was also published with Schlesinger, further provided Loewe with a forum for his music criticism, chiefly of instrumental music, at least until 1827. Loewe published under the pseudonym, 'v. d. O...r' in humorous reference to the composer's relative dislocation in the Prussian outpost of Stettin (now Szczecin in Poland) on the River Oder, where he had taken up the position of musical director.[47] Marx was helpful in this regard as well: along with Zelter and others, he wrote a letter of recommendation for Loewe in 1820.[48]

Marx's backing of Loewe did not contradict his own aesthetic claims for the representational integrity of song genres. In his day, Loewe was known for his ballads. Stieglitz termed him 'der Balladische' in his *Gruß an Berlin*.[49] Long before the revivalists at the turn of the twentieth century used the epithet 'Germany's ballad composer' to implicate Loewe in the nation's cultural-political progress, critics drew attention to Loewe's singularity in the field.[50] One reviewer writing in 1845 stated that Loewe had already become 'Germany's greatest ballad singer'.[51] A curious episode from Loewe's biography also involves the student composer telling Goethe in Jena how he preferred the ballad to all other 'poetic types'.[52] Loewe's emphasis on the ballad is important. For not only does Loewe's balladic pre-eminence begin to subdivide the 'Lied' into its constituent

[46] Cf. Udo Klement, 'Goethes "Erlkönig" – vertont von Schubert und Loewe, also vergleichbar?', in *Carl Loewe, 1796–1869: Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz anlässlich seines 200. Geburtstages vom 26. bis 28. September 1996 im Händel-Haus Halle,* ed. by Konstanze Musketa and Götz Traxdorf (Halle: Händel-Haus, 1997), pp. 80–94 (p. 80).
[47] Arno Forchert, 'Adolf Bernhard Marx und seine "Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung"', in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Bosse, 1980), pp. 381–404 (p. 385, n. 15).
[48] Klaus-Peter Koch, 'Carl Loewes Wirken für Stettin', in *Bericht*, ed. by Musketa and Traxdorf, pp. 258–274 (p. 260).
[49] Heinrich Stieglitz, *Gruß an Berlin: Ein Zukunftstraum* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1838), p. 174.
[50] Cf. Heinrich Bulthaupt, *Carl Loewe. Deutschlands Balladencomponist* (Berlin: Harmonie, 1898).
[51] [Anon.], 'Recensionen', *AmZ*, 47 (1845), p. 420.
[52] Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 76–77.

categories, with critics tailoring their reviews to the conventions and demands of each subtype, using propriety, contamination, and mixture as springboards for positive and negative valuation. The distinction also specifies the degree of Orientalist representational and poetic-tonal flexibility that ballads in particular were permitted to attain. The musical invocation of individual as much as general images and states had become integral to the construction of the *Balladenton*. Composers, Loewe chief among them, translated the sense of *epos* not only formally, into sectional structures, but through the use of a descriptive-visual music, so that the pain or pleasure of each moment could be conjured before one's eyes.[53] Loewe's ballads helped audiences and readers see the dramatic epics of the Orient re(told) to them, the mind-eye attaching itself to the moment of declamation.

Loewe, however, went further than most in embodying the ballad spirit. Dana Gooley has termed him the 'wandering balladeer'.[54] The composer was known to self-accompany his own ballads in concerts, playing on the image of the itinerant bard.[55] Loewe would even improvise songs at the audience's suggestion. The fact that Loewe played and sung his ballads in public was something of a novelty. Schumann promoted Loewe's concert in the *Leipziger Tageblatt* in 1835 by stressing 'the rare alliance, that composer, singer, and virtuoso have here formed in one person'.[56] This 'alliance' was critical to Loewe's musical-textual conception and no mere adjunct to the compositional

[53] On the 'Balladenton', see Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. by Mary Whittall (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1989), p. 105.
[54] Dana Gooley, *Fantasies of Improvisation: Free Playing in Nineteenth-Century Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 129.
[55] On his performances, see Klaus-Peter Koch, 'Carl Loewe in den südlichen Ostseeanrainerländern, in Schlesien und in Böhmen: Improvisation und Interpretation', in *Carl Loewe (1796–1869): Beiträge zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. by Ekkehard Ochs and Lutz Winkler (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1998), pp. 99–109.
[56] Robert Schumann, 'Musikalisches', *Leipziger Tageblatt und Anzeiger*, [n. vol.] 209 (1835), p. 1949.

act. The composer conceived of performance as an integral form of compositional hermeneutics. The drama of the eye, the finger, the voice, helped to clarify 'characteristic' musical techniques inscribed into the score. According to Heinrich Bulthaupt, Loewe performed with such 'ability of scenic painting' that 'the listeners saw the background of the poem and every painterly detail rise up before them'.[57] Julie, Loewe's daughter, similarly gives an impression of how he would use drama to bring his characters to life, to revive the '*Weltgräber*', to use a more Stieglitzian term, mobilising all the textual and performative techniques at his disposal to pursue an ideal of 'objectivity', which was the composer's 'first condition of the ballad':

> [...] as with all dramatic representations in general, that his appearance, the expression on his face, the look in his eye had such an effect on the listener as though figures who had long since disappeared, such as Napoleon, Goethe, Emperor Max, Prince Eugene, etc., had appeared in life and movement in front of their mind's eye.[58]

There is something of a paradox here that links back to genre. On the one hand, since the narrative epos of the ballad was better suited to 'public' utterance, Loewe could absorb descriptive and scenic techniques that lay beyond the intimate sphere of the Lied without overstepping critical boundaries.[59] On the other hand, Loewe's 'characteristic' ballad technique slipped into its prosaic definition, becoming a personal fingerprint that was searched for in all his songs, from *Lieder* to *Legende*.

Loewe's musical painting had become a truism by the mid-1830s. One particularly zany example of this reception-historical strand comes by way of a serialised musical novel, which appeared in *Caecilia* under the title *König Mys von Fidibus oder Drei Jahre*

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[57] Bulthaupt, *Deutschlands Balladencomponist*, p. 64.
[58] Karl Anton, 'Aus Karl Loewes noch unveröffentlichter Lehre des Balladengesangs: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Psychologie des Vortrags', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 2 (1919), 235–239 (p. 237).
[59] For more on the boundaries between genres, see Jennifer Ronyak, *Intimacy, Performance, and the Lied in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2018), p. 12.

auf der Universität at the same time as Nauenburg's early review of settings of the *Bilder* in 1834.[60] Authored by Gustav Keferstein, another of Loewe's friends from Halle, *König Mys* tends towards a *Schlüsselroman*, blending a narrative featuring celebrated cultural personalities with elements of fairytale Romanticism. The complex plot involves two kingdoms, that of the Hoffmann-inspired mouse-king, König Mys, and that of his cousin Königin Cantu. Superstar singers, such as Catalani, Sonntag, and Schröder-Devrient are mentioned by name. The hero of the story, 'Leo Tonleben', was modelled after Loewe.[61] Another character, 'Rollstaub', probably takes after Ludwig Rellstab, who got into trouble for lampooning the singer Henriette Sonntag and her fans in print under the pseudonym Freimund Zuschauer in 1826.[62] Loewe noted in his autobiography that the title itself stemmed from an anecdote. A mouse, who apparently took up residence in the composer's piano during his student days, jumped out and 'appeared to listen intently' whenever the instrument was played – hence, *König Mys*.[63]

Particularly pertinent is a passage with the subtitle, 'Musicalising Pictures'.[64] Keferstein details an episode in an image gallery in which Leo and Rollstaub encounter an apprentice, appropriately named 'Mählern', copying 'a large, marvellous painting'.[65] The aspirant painter to whom Leo feels 'attracted [...] in a mysterious way' leads Leo and Rollstaub around, which gives rise to a reflection on how the arts interact with and inspire each other:

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[60] K. Stein [Gustav Keferstein], 'König Mys von Fidibus', *Caecilia*, 16 (1834), 17–63, 103–134, 145–196, and 213–234.
[61] Henry Joachim Kühn, *Johann Gottfried Carl Loewe: Ein Lesebuch und Materialsammlung zu seiner Biographie* (Halle: Händel-Haus, 1996), pp. 31–32.
[62] Freimund Zuschauer [Ludwig Rellstab], *Henriette, oder die schöne Sängerin; eine Geschichte unserer Tage* (Leipzig: Herbig, 1826).
[63] Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 75.
[64] K. Stein, 'König Mys', *Caecilia*, 16 (1834), pp. 159–167.
[65] Ibid., p. 159.

> ‘Wonderful!’ said Leo, standing in front of a pair of excellent paintings hanging next to each other. ‘When I really immerse myself in these pictures, I feel as though a marvellous music is flowing out of them to me’.
>
> ‘You feel the same way’, replied Mählern, ‘as I do when I listen to music. It forms itself, especially in Mozart’s and Beethoven’s [music], into marvellous paintings in my inner eye’.[66]

Rollstaub moderates this intermedial discourse. He argues for what Jan Brachmann has elsewhere termed the ‘syncretic substance-community of all arts’, a component of a Romantic and ‘poetic’ programme that sees art as an expression of an ‘absolute’:[67]

> ‘Oh that is’, Rollstaub remarked, ‘clear proof that you are both true, genuine artists. The arts are all intertwined by a magical bond, so that whoever holds one of them close and warmly in their heart must embrace the others at the same time’.[68]

Keferstein’s description of Leo’s musical-visual process continues. The composer cannot ‘tear himself away’ from the images he sees in the gallery. His ‘imagination’ is continually ‘enriched with new marvellous treasures’. Leo is particularly struck by scenes ‘from Biblical history and mythology’, each of which:

> transformed [itself in him] into just as many magnificent tone-paintings [*Tongemälde*] corresponding to them, which appeared before his inner eye and which his creative genius seized, elaborated and continued with lightning speed.[69]

Henry Joachim Kühn has argued that despite its ‘*dichterische Verkleidung’* Keferstein’s novel rarely deviates from the particulars of Loewe’s biography and could thus offer important insights into the social and cultural worlds of the composer’s early life and work.[70] In this case, the message for reception history is unmistakably literal. Keferstein situates Loewe’s early compositional process in a gallery.

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[66] Ibid., p. 160.
[67] Jan Brachmann, *“Ins ungewisse hinauf…”: Johannes Brahms und Max Klinger im Zwiespalt von Kunst und Kommunikation* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), pp. 105–106.
[68] K. Stein, ‘König Mys’, *Caecilia,* 16 (1834), p. 160.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Henry Joachim Kühn, ‘Carl Loewe und Julie von Jacob (Bemerkungen zu einer sozialen Annäherung)’, in *Carl Loewe*, ed. by Ochs und Winkler, pp. 29–69 (pp. 31–32); cf. Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 75.

If the visual had become a truism in Loewe's burgeoning reception by the time the *Bilder* were published in 1834, so had claims about Loewe's objective scholasticism. Loewe was a Renaissance man. He taught music, the sciences, Greek, and 'universal history' at the grammar school in Stettin, the last of which has a vaguely Hegelian resonance.[71] The composer could also be found in print. He published a practical handbook of singing for pedagogical use in schools, featuring examples of popular Protestant tunes and his own music.[72] The first edition appeared in 1826, the same year as Marx's *Die Kunst des Gesanges*, and was useful enough to run through several editions during his lifetime. Remarkably, Loewe was also the first to publish a philological commentary of Goethe's *Faust II* in 1834, which became something of a cultivated lay pendant to Christian Wurm's commentary of the *Divan* published in the same year.[73] Loewe was familiar with other examples of late Goethe. He set at least one poem from the *Divan* to music, though he remained ambivalent about the capacity of the general reading public to connect with something beyond their cultural borders without proper mediation.[74] In his diary, the composer singled out Goethe's long poem 'Siebenschläfer' from the *Buch des Paradieses* as one of these borderline problematic examples.[75] Ludwig Giesebrecht, with whom he collaborated on oratorios, had furnished him with a libretto on the same topic:

> The legend of the Siebenschläfer goes through many peoples. I have just been reading Goethe's *westöstlicher Divan*, Book 'Chald Naweh', Buch des Paradieses. Here the legend is of little interest, especially if you know Giesebrecht's oratorio;

[71] *MGG*[2], XI, col. 390.
[72] Carl Loewe, *Gesang-Lehre, theoretisch und praktisch für Gymnasien, Seminarien und Bürgerschulen entworfen* (Berlin: Logier, 1826).
[73] Cf. Chapter 1, p. 78, n. 152; Carl Loewe, *Commentar zum zweiten Theile des Goethe'schen Faust* (Berlin: Logier, 1834); cf. Oliver Huck, 'Carl Loewe und Goethes *Faust II*: Kommentar und Komposition', in *Bericht*, ed. by Musketa and Traxdorf, pp. 426–446.
[74] Carl Loewe, *Geistliche Gesänge*, op. 22 (Berlin: Wagenführ, c. 1831, repr. 1834), no. 5, 'Gottes ist der Orient'.
[75] FA, III/1, pp. 133–136.

> the spirit of Christianity permeates everything much more vividly, explains things quite differently than the spirit of foreign peoples.[76]

But despite his *Divan* misgivings, Loewe looked to Goethe's collection for philological justification. In the preface to the *Faust* commentary, he borrowed an expedient expression that Goethe had used in his introduction to the *NuA*: '*ein unmittelbares Verständniss*'. Loewe in fact replicates Goethe's logical complex to signal the process whereby 'every educated person in general' would gain hermeneutic and philological understanding without expending too much physical energy:

> Loewe, 1834: Without pursuing the moral principle of the poet any further, our sole concern here is to bring about *ein unmittelbares Verständniß* of this second part by means of an explanatory commentary, so that even a non-scholar, and every educated person in general, can read this work without being subjected to the trouble of consulting a number of books on the most diverse subjects.[77]

> Goethe, 1819: But now I wish that nothing may hinder the first good impression of the present little book. I therefore decide to explain, to expound, to prove, and that only with the intention that *ein unmittelbares Verständniss* may arise from it for readers who are little or not at all familiar with the East.[78]

This learned reference was the product of 'Dr. Carl Loewe', after the honorary doctorate he received from the University of Greifswald in 1832.[79]

Following Marx, whose renown as a theoretician preceded and discursively informed critiques of his compositions, the extent to which Loewe's scholastic reputation conditioned contemporary responses to his Orientalism should not be underestimated. Loewe's *Bilder* were in fact described as '*"Fundgruben" des Orients*' by one reviewer for the *AmZ* in 1834.[80] These were philological products that worked in the manner of Hammer's publication, the *Fundgruben des Orients*, which provided a forum

[76] Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 160.
[77] Loewe, *Commentar,* p. 2.
[78] FA, III/1, p. 138.
[79] Lutz Winkler, 'Loewe-Rezeption in Greifswald', in *Carl Loewe*, ed. by Ochs and Winkler, pp. 117–129.
[80] W., 'Recensionen', *AmZ,* 36 (1834), col. 183.

for Orientalist research between 1809 and 1818.[81] The reviewer does not merely clarify Loewe's musical images against the real thing. Loewe's songs *were* the real thing, authoritative statements of truth that in turn constituted an Orientalist discourse that crossed disciplinary and medial boundaries. Another reviewer for the same newspaper in 1845 spoke in similarly learned terms in his discussion of Loewe's settings of Ferdinand Freiligrath's *Der Mohrenfürst* (1844). Loewe's ability to reproduce as many 'manners' as there 'were national classes' in his ballads ran against musical custom: 'the well-known saying or catchphrase: *le musicien lit peu*, suffers no application'.[82] Loewe's ancillary philological and pedagogical activities thus functioned as a receptive support mechanism for musical technique, constituting some of the broader 'contexts of significative and functional nexuses' that helped 'to perceive and transmit the substance of a reality beyond the narrow boundaries of Tonmalerei', in the words of Dahlhaus.[83] Hearing, reading or performing Loewe would lead to an '*unmittelbares Verständniss'* of Orientalist reality.

As the above example shows, the trope of Loewe as both a punctilious philologist and an observant painter was widespread in contemporary critical reports in the 1830s. The most potent scholarly influence, however, has been exercised by Max Runze in his collected edition of Loewe's songs. Still the primary edition used for the composer's music, Runze codified the composer's oeuvre not chronologically or by poet, but by genre and theme, with the exception of Goethe, who is given two volumes. Runze clarified and separated out 'national types' in Loewe's corpus, concretising a publication project that

[81] Cf. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 12.
[82] [Anon.], 'Recensionen', *AmZ*, 47 (1845), col. 421.
[83] Dahlhaus, *Realism in Nineteenth-Century Music,* trans. by Whittall, p. 5.

Loewe himself did not specifically pursue during his lifetime.[84] The impression this gives, as scholars have since pointed out, is a certain Herderian systematicity, which in turn suggests not so much invention as philological precision and scholarly endeavour, with the composer making his way through all the peoples, classes, flora, and fauna of the world.[85] The Orient here was accordingly one of a number of terrains and registers to scour in search of material and self-understanding. Orientalism likewise does not represent a special proclivity, but a division of a larger project that investigated foreign 'ways of thought'. This project included other nations considered 'European'.

In Loewe's textual cosmopolitanism, Runze rubbed up against a problem. He felt the need to discursively anchor Loewe's worldliness in his representative status as Germany's balladeer. Rather than defending Loewe against himself, Runze first divorces Loewe's Orientalism from his Germanness and then folds it back in as a personal characteristic, citing a conversation with the famed turn-of-the-century ballad-singer Eugen Gura:

> Loewe remains German everywhere; indeed he is the most German of all masters! – This was the judgement of the greatest singing master of the German nation, Eugen Gura, to me yesterday, a few hours after his masterly performance of the 'Nächtliche Heerschau'. And yet in this German master there is such a power of objectivity in the depiction of other peoples and countries, he knows how to reproduce the local tone of the most diverse nations with such incomparable fidelity and to portray their national characteristics so aptly that his art demands admiration.[86]

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[84] Carl Loewe, *Werke. Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden und Gesänge Loewes,* ed. by Max Runze, 17 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899–1904), III: SCHOTTISCHE, ENGLISCHE UND NORDISCHE BALLADEN, VI: FRANZÖSISCHE, SPANISCHE UND ORIENTALISCHE BALLADEN; VII: DIE POLNISCHEN BALLADEN.

[85] Cf. ibid., IX: SAGEN, MÄRCHEN UND FABELN AUS THIER- UND BLUMENWELT; on Johann Gottfried Herder and Loewe, see Heike Müns, 'Carl Loewe im Umfeld seiner Zeitgenossen: Balladendichtung als nationale Aufgabe', in *Carl Loewe*, ed. by Ochs and Winkler, pp. 287–296 (pp. 287–290); cf. Maria Behrendt, 'Ein "Orbis Pictus in Tönen"? Konzepte nationaler Stile in den Balladen Carl Loewes – ein alternativer Zugang', in *Der Stettiner Komponist Carl Loewe und sein Vokalwerk*, ed. by Sylwia Burnicka-Kalischewska (Stettin: Akademie der Künste, 2023), pp. 25–54 (esp. pp. 25–34).

[86] Loewe, *Gesamtausgabe*, VI, p. iii.

There is no evidence to suggest that Loewe used actual folksongs in his construction of Orientalist 'local tone', as he did in his Serbian folksongs, the texts for which were furnished by his sister-in-law, Therese Albertine Luise von Jacob, who published under the pseudonym Talvj.[87] As with the examples cited in the previous chapter, the cultivation of the balladic manner through an 'art of characterisation', as the revivalist Hans Kleeman termed Loewe's practice, set up markers of 'objectivity', 'fidelity', and a nascent 'realism' that had become the dominant hermeneutic paradigm for understanding Loewe's works.[88] Writing in a different political moment, a time of German imperialist policy at the end of the nineteenth century, Runze seemingly juxtaposes ethno-nationalism with an interest in other peoples of the world ('bleibt Deutsch [...] und doch'). But here too there is a continuity with Marx's thinking about the syncretic and absorptive German *Geist*. Runze reveals that ballad topics had become vectors of cultural, political, and ethnic-racial positions, both of the representer and the represented, and implies that the German musical ballad in particular offered universal *'Fundgruben'* that signified beyond its borders. This was the nature of the ballad *tout court*. The ballads 'of all peoples' were documents from which one could derive national characteristics.[89] Loewe's songs were thus not only understood to represent the Orientalist object with fidelity. His songs also became documents from which one could read a peculiar Germanness in that very construction.

Loewe's own thinking about the foreign is hard to reconstruct, not least because of Runze's militant nationalising. But, in all likelihood, the composer belonged to Celia

[87] Günter Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', in *Bericht*, ed. by Musketa and Traxdorf, pp. 154–197 (p. 158); Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 64, has 'Amalie' instead of 'Albertine'.
[88] Hans Kleemann, *Beiträge zur Ästhetik und Geschichte der Loeweschen Ballade* (Halle: Karras, 1913), p. 66.
[89] Cf. FA, III/1, pp. 206–208.

Applegate's German 'nation of provincials' whose identities were forged locally as well as globally, rather than being unilaterally national.[90] Loewe certainly thought of himself as a naturalised Prussian. As conservatism often burns stronger the further one moves from the centre of power, so the composer's insularity in Stettin seems to have bolstered his support for the House of Hohenzollern, which was unwavering, if not outspokenly anti-liberal.[91] 'God knows, I do not want to be or become anything other than a Prussian', he wrote from the Kantian seat of Königsberg in 1838.[92] What was 'foreign' thus had a broad constituency in Loewe's vocabulary. The 'foreign' could apply in a personal capacity to territories both within and beyond the political borders of the German Confederation. In 'ugly Hamburg', he felt '*wildfremd*' and thought 'with reluctance about the unpleasant impressions of the people there'.[93] On the culturally diverse ground of Prague, Loewe was flummoxed by the 'mixture' of German and 'böhmisch', which made it difficult to 'penetrate' into the '*Volksleben*'.[94] 'One hears but does not always know what they are saying', he wrote.[95] The outpost of Loewe's thinking about belonging and identity was in this sense defined provincially and protectively.

The appreciation of art provided one equalising way forward. Loewe believed in the cultural-national power of *Bildung* as a framework within which to conceive of the negotiation of the foreign and provide a standardised marker of German value. The

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[90] Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1990).
[91] Cf. Loewe, *Gesamtausgabe*, V: HOHENZOLLERNBALLADEN UND -LIEDER.
[92] Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 284; cf. Ekkehard Ochs, '"Ich möchte nichts Anders sein und werden als Preusse": Gedanken zum "Hohenzollernkomponisten" Carl Loewe', in *Bericht,* ed. by Musketa and Traxdorf, pp. 291–306. Marx gives a flavour of what this *Preußentum* meant in *Erinnerungen*, I, p. 146: 'Prussia was regarded by me, as by all, as the protective power under whose leadership Germany should unite, as the "state of the intelligentsia", in which intellectual life should find the freest development and most favourable support'.
[93] Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 248.
[94] Ibid., p. 330.
[95] Ibid.

valences of the local and the global could therefore exist simultaneously. Loewe noted in the *Balladenschule,* his unpublished manual on ballad practice, that central to any performance of song was 'a general *Bildung* that encompasses all times and countries', a nod perhaps to his background in universal history. This idea of *Bildung* drew on the relationship between the process of acquiring cultural knowledge and the construction of a fixed *Bild* that could help penetrate into the sense of a poetic text.[96] What Loewe's commitment to the ideal also engendered was an impatience with what he felt to be a cheap and futile modishness. After a largely disappointing visit to Berlin in 1832, Loewe noted that he did not have:

> the light sense of an artist, but the seriousness of a *Kunstkenner*; I am too high and too far from the spirit to chase harmlessly and childishly after palms. I see everything too sharply to see less than I would like to.[97]

Loewe uses the trivialities of Orientalist fashion to dismiss all artistic products considered '*leichtsinnig'*, which are antithetical to the severity on which self-cultivation depends. Yet it is also an affirmation of Loewe's belief that the pursuit and acknowledgement of *Bildung* on a cultural-national level, in its promotion of connoisseurship and its equalisation of taste, encouraged an approach to the assimilation of foreign elements that relied on the multiplications of personal negotiation. This affirmation, moreover, is articulated through a metaphor of seeing, and manifests itself in terms of a burden, which is a will to action. The visual once again rears its head here as a corrective ethic of Orientalist musical representation.

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[96] Karl Anton, 'Aus Karl Loewes noch unveröffentlichter Lehre des Balladengesangs', p. 237; cf. Antoine Berman, *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany*, trans. by S. Heyvaert (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 43–44 and 48.
[97] Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 130.

Questionable though they may appear to twenty-first-century eyes, Runze's editorial policies formalised a distinct tendency in Loewe's own practice. Loewe was indeed a keen cataloguer of his own oeuvre, though not according to national types. The composer was specific in his manipulation of titling and generic conventions. These functioned as explanatory frameworks for musical representation that could in turn condition an audience's response. One example of Loewe's specific titling practice has already been mentioned, the '*Liederkreis in Balladenform*', which as well as experimenting with cyclic principles of ordering explored ways of combining the lyricism of the Lied with the drama and epos of the ballad.[98] Another example comes in an article authored by Gustav Nauenburg, published in the *NZfM* in 1835, with the delightfully doubled title '*Lebende Bilder*', which includes a list all of Loewe's publications.[99] The list is extraordinarily diverse: *Balladen*; *Gesänge*; *Gesammelte Lieder, Gesänge, Romanzen und Balladen*; *Gedichte*; *Lieder; Serbenlieder; Geistliche Gesänge; Legenden; Fabellieder; Liederzyklus in Balladenform; Historische Balladen*; *Liedergabe*; *Bilder*. The decision to use such a range of titles is clearly not arbitrary. They show Loewe as the 'great systematiser of vocal music', as Runze has claimed, using paratexts to play with his own and his audience's expectations of a song's content.[100]

There is an exception to Runze's otherwise generous acknowledgment of Loewe's paratextual practice, namely his treatment of the last of the aforementioned titles, the *Bild*. Runze subtitles the two volumes of Loewe's *Bilder* with the generic marker,

[98] For more on Loewe's formal techniques, see Ruth O. Bingham, 'The Song Cycle in German-Speaking Countries, 1790–1840: Approaches to a Changing Genre' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1993), pp. 225–230.
[99] Gustav Nauenburg, 'Lebende Bilder', *NZfM*, 3 (1835), p. 98.
[100] Loewe, *Gesamtausgabe*, xv, p. iii.

Liederkreis.[101] Loewe's original publication, however, makes no mention of the *Liederkreis* as a category. The word 'Lied' appears only as the title of an individual song ('Lied eines Vögleins in der Oasis'). Loewe instead weaves two paratextual '*Kränze*', ambiguous and undefined, which are divided into 'Wanderbilder' (from Stieglitz's first volume on Arabia) and 'Bilder der Heimath' (chiefly from Stieglitz's second volume on Persia), each consisting of six numbers. Like Marschner, Loewe eschews the explanatory 'Gesänge aus [dem Orient]' or 'Lieder des [Orients]'. The *Bild* is thus left without any qualification, to be fashioned intermedially after the gallery scene in *König Mys*, and after the linear staging of the title page: '*Bilder des Orients*, written by Heinrich Stieglitz, composed by Carl Loewe'. These individual '*Bilder*' existed as facts antedating poetic and musical representation.

Runze also elides Loewe's seemingly awkward division between the groupings of six songs. The characters of Loewe's 'Wanderbilder' spill over into the first song of the second volume, with the first of the 'Bilder der Heimath', 'Maisuna am Brunnen', clearly referring back to the hero of the previous cycle, 'Melek'. According to Runze's paratexts, the second 'Kranz' proper begins only with 'Ali und Fatme', and even here only as a kind of prelude to the 'Liederkreis' that revolves around 'Assad und Gulhinde', which occupies the rest of the volume and is subdivided alphabetically. Runze, finally, adds a geographical paratext to each of the songs. The first he subtitles '*Aus Arabien*', the second '*Aus Persien*'. Runze thereby edits two Orientalist currents into Loewe's work. He first performs Orientalist "'dispatching"', to use Said's term, the scholarly 'seeing' and 'manipulation' of two levels of individual and general essences that simultaneously

[101] Ibid., VI, p. XV.

reunite Orientals in the past and present. Runze also continues with a philologically sanctioned 'internal differentiation' between Oriental peoples according to national characteristics.[102] Loewe, at least in his titling, was not so specific.

Runze's editorial amendments were designed to fit the *Bilder* within a prefabricated generic frame. This is not without historical precedent. An announcement in the *Hofmeister* catalogue from 1834 lists '*Wanderlieder*' instead of *'Wanderbilder'*, placing Loewe's 'songs of wandering' into an established epistemological tradition and 'poetic topos' that extends as far back as Conradin Kreutzer's *Wanderlieder* in 1818.[103] But others have been more accommodating of Loewe's paratextual play. At the turn of the twentieth century, Philipp Spitta argued for the *Bilder* to be viewed as a separate genre. If Schubert cultivated the 'lyrical monody' next to the 'lyrical *Gesang*', so Spitta reasons, then Loewe 'cultivated, alongside the ballad, the musical painting'.[104] On this dissolution of genre Runze was also in partial agreement. He admitted that a few numbers, such as 'Die Geister der Wüste' and 'Ali und Fatme', resemble ballads, while also noting that others, such as nos. 3–6 from the 'Bilder der Heimath', resemble '*Liederkreise in Balladenform*'.[105]

Spitta was tapping into a rich vein of Loewe reception when he advocated a 'musical painting' composed of song. In his review of *Esther*, Schumann wrote of Loewe's ability to 'unite [...] opposites in a painting', suggesting a simultaneous arrangement of musical action that takes into account the logic of successive musical presentation.[106] In

[102] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 234ff; Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus*, p. 102.
[103] Barbara Turchin, 'The Nineteenth-Century Wanderlieder Cycle', *The Journal of Musicology*, 5 (1987), 498–525 (p. 498); Adolph Hofmeister, *Musikalischer-Literarischer Monatsbericht* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1834), p. 11.
[104] Philipp Spitta, *Musikgeschichtliche Aufsätze* (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1894), p. 447.
[105] Loewe, *Gesamtausgabe*, VI, p. xv.
[106] Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, p. 131.

his review of 'Erlkönig', Marx also invoked the painting as the context and canvas of musical looking that allowed listeners and spectators to 'pass over' the composition 'with a glance' as though it were an image on display.[107] Schumann's appeal to the 'dear reader' and Loewe's weaving of two wreaths of pictures present an opportunity to consider the possibility of an Orientalist *Bild* unedited. Its potential was to provide a kind of host, an experimental subcategory of song, that not only allowed for Loewe's characteristic practice, but for the hybridisation of poetic-tonal connections. But just as Schumann plays with the rhetorical hawking of the *Guckkastenmann* to advocate a mode of Orientalist experience, so I think there is a specific type of 'musical painting' that Loewe is engaging with in his *Bilder*. This form doubles up as a category of Orientalist readerly understanding, as gleaned from a review of Stieglitz's collection quoted in the previous chapter, published in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* in 1830.

The review, authored by Friedrich Jacobs, presents a dialogue between two friends. One walks in to find the other in a state of total absorption in reading. On learning the title of the book, the narrator recommends Stieglitz's *Musen-Almanach*, which the friend says he will read, 'as soon as this *panorama* of the Orient releases me from its enchanted gardens'.[108] So real and penetrating were the images of this 'panorama des Orients' that the friend feels 'almost transformed into a son of the desert', that he 'was also encamped among the Bedouins', the presence of the poet overshadowed by the strength and realness of his creations. When the narrator tries to bring reason to the encounter, noting that Stieglitz never actually went to the Orient, the friend seems not to care, citing Jean Paul:

[107] Adolph Bernhard Marx, 'Recensionen', *BamZ*, 1 (1824), p. 118
[108] Friedrich Jacobs, 'Die Reise nach dem Orient', *Zeitung für die Elegante Welt*, 30 (1830), col. 2029.

> And what's your point? Our unforgettable Jean Paul told me one day that he could do no better than to describe countries and regions he had never seen. Oh, the imagination is not only a sorceress, it is also a prophetess; it divines and knows 'all that is and has been, and all that will happen in the future'. Like me, our friend carried a yearning for the Orient in his heart for years, which, as he told me, was awakened in his childhood by a picture that depicted scenes of the Orient with poignant truth.

The fantasy of the image is the 'prophetess' connecting early impressions ('was ist und war') to future representations ('künftig geschehen wird'), providing an apt complement to Stieglitz's intermedial process: from seeing physical images in books and hung on walls to producing poetry that could work plastically, to use Nauenburg's aesthetic categories, by imitating an object.

The friend's conflation of the real and the imagined is noteworthy in itself. The imagined here works according to the aesthetics of the lyrical Lied. It contains truth and thus reality because it emanates from the 'yearning [...] in his heart'. Yet more noteworthy is the use of the word 'panorama'. Ursula Storch has highlighted how the desire to travel and the demand for the visual gave rise to an industry of entertainments, contraptions, events, and media that could function as vehicles of 'imaginary journeys' to complement the mountains of poetry, travelogues, and the like.[109] Among these were two media adduced above, the *Guckkasten* and opera. One further category was the panorama. This, I think, was Loewe's medium. Before considering Loewe's *Bilder* themselves, it is worth exploring what this panorama was and how it could be represented in music.

Panoramaticism

The Greek etymology of the term 'panorama' is deceptive. Both the medium and the name were of late eighteenth-century coinage. Instituted by Robert Barker between 1787 and

[109] Ursula Storch, *Die Welt in Reichweite: Imaginäre Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Czernin, 2009).

1795, the panorama described a massive structure in which spectators would survey painted edifices of peopled or unpeopled scenes and cities from an elevated platform. These were 180- or 360-degree experiences that offered prototypical virtual realities. As Loewe noted on a trip to London in 1847, panoramas worked by the establishment of an 'illusion [*Täuschung*]'. The sense of deception immediately presents a complement to the ballad's deceptive invocation of the departed heroes before one's eyes.[110] The immersive experience would sometimes be enhanced by a key and accompanying literature, which enumerated not only the various attractions viewed from above, but the manners and customs of the people represented. Panoramas were thus not merely 'entertainment' or attractive mass media. As Ralph Hyde has pointed out, they were also didactic, coaching a particular way of seeing that encouraged surveying representation.[111] This didacticism conditioned, and emerged in step with, a way of looking around that could be used for the purpose of punitive control, not least in Jeremy Bentham's contemporaneous 'Panopticon'.[112]

The panorama took Berlin by storm. Figures such as Johann Adam Breysig, Carl Ludwig Kaaz, and Karl Friedrich Schinkel engaged with the medium. They painted backdrops of cities and used perspectival techniques in their scenic designs in the first decades of the nineteenth century.[113] The medium quickly engendered a number of spin-offs, which altered and corrected some of the form's perceived limitations, such as its stasis, two-dimensionality, and silence. One of these was the cosmorama, popular in

[110] Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 431.
[111] Ralph Hyde, *Panoramania!: The Art and Entertainment of the 'All-Embracing' View* (London: Trefoil, 1988), esp. pp. 37–39.
[112] Stephan Oettermann, *Das Panorama: Die Geschichte eines Massenmediums* (Frankfurt a.M.: Syndikat, 1980), p. 36.
[113] Hyde, *Panoramania!*, pp. 59–60.

Germany under the term *Zimmerpanorama*, something of a '*Zwitter*' between *Guckkasten* and a panorama.[114] As the German term suggests, these were propped up in rented rooms, where patrons peeped through a hole to see horizontal displays in miniature that did not sacrifice the panorama's claim to realism. Another of these developments was the diorama, which involved the realist presentation of three-dimensional objects. The name associated with Berlin developments of this form was Carl Wilhelm Gropius, who displayed no fewer than twenty-six different images between 1827 and 1850,[115] the first with the artistic help of Schinkel and the backing of the Prussian monarch, Friedrich Wilhelm III.[116] The name associated with the politics of pre-figurative dioramatic realism is Angelo Soliman. Once a person of considerable renown in Viennese society in the late eighteenth century, Soliman was posthumously stuffed and put on display in an ethnological museum.[117] If the panorama taught punishment in life through the panopticon, the diorama brought degradation and defilement in death.

Berlin was awash with neologisms. As Moritz Gottlieb Saphir put it satirically in *Der Berliner Courier* in 1829: 'in our era so rich in Pano-, Cosmo-, Neo-, Myrio-, Kigo-, and Dio-Ramen'.'[118] Berliners themselves were by turns intrigued and dismayed, Stieglitz included.[119] The poet reserves a portion of the *Gruß an Berlin* for Gropius' diorama, which

[114] Oettermann, *Das Panorama*, pp. 176–178; cf. Hyde, *Panoramania!*, pp. 125ff; for a contemporary response, see Carl Seidel, 'Über Panoramen, Dioramen und Neoramen', *Berliner Kunstblatt*, 2 (1828), esp. p. 68.
[115] Oettermann, *Das Panorama*, p. 67
[116] Hyde, *Panoramania!*, p. 114.
[117] For more, see Gabriele Schuster, 'Der "Mohr" als Schauobjekt im k.k. Naturalienkabinett Wien', in *Fremde Erfahrungen. Asiaten und Afrikaner in Deutschland, Österreich, und der Schweiz bis 1945,* ed. by Gerhard Höpp (Berlin: Das Arab. Buch, 1996), pp. 97–108.
[118] Moritz Gottlieb Saphir, 'Allbemerker', *Der Berliner Courier*, [n. vol.] 629 (1829), p. 4.
[119] On E.T.A. Hoffmann's engagement with the form in the mid-1810s, see Vance Byrd, *A Pedagogy of Observation: Nineteenth-Century Panoramas, German Literature, and Reading Culture* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2017), esp. pp. 97–132.

was said to 'present nature's living drama', in whose 'halls' 'art and industry move'.[120] The diorama represented one of the 'test drivers' of the 'present' that enabled the public to 'bathe, without getting wet', to 'ride, but on hobby-horses'.[121] Stieglitz's portrait from 1838, which also features a vignette on Johann Carl Enslen's 'Malerische Reisen', another of these substitutes for travel, is clearly a little ambivalent.[122] The poet fears the aesthetic consequences of technological modernity, the '*Dampfschiff-Eisenbahn-durchkreuzte Zeit'* that moves 'with the same witch-like speed'.[123] But as he was putting together his *Bilder* in the 1820s, Stieglitz was curious about the Orientalist perspectives offered by the panorama. In December 1826, he reminisced to Charlotte:

> Afterwards I saw a very vivid view of Constantinople, and walked in the narrow hall for half an hour among strangers, looking towards the Orient. I remembered that two years ago, on the last evening of 1824, I had first made the acquaintance of the Pinders in front of a Turkish tent; that a year ago, on New Year's Eve 1825, I had stood in front of Jerusalem: – three years ago, where and beside whom? – a year later, where, and perhaps beside whom?[124]

The 'figurative' use of the word 'panorama' was as widespread as the medium itself.[125] 'Panoramas' pinpointed a mode of seeing that could be applied to the most diverse phenomena and settings.[126] This was a metaphor of sight that moves round, or is glimpsed from above, that is both comprehensive and containing, without a frame and yet demarcated by the peripheries of one's field of vision. Authors and editors likewise used the term to organise or disorganise a variety of material that dealt with, in Stieglitzian

[120] Stieglitz, *Gruß an Berlin*, p. 57.
[121] Ibid., p. 58.
[122] A bill of Enslen's 'Malerische Reisen' can be found in Leipzig, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Inventory Number: II/97, https://sachsen.museum-digital.de/object/69989, last accessed 25 March 2025.
[123] Stieglitz, *Gruß an Berlin*, p. 58.
[124] *Briefe*, II, p. 66.
[125] Hyde, *Panoramania!*, pp. 41–42.
[126] Oettermann, *Das Panorama*, pp. 8ff.

terms, '*Weltgräber*' with an historicist bent.[127] The friend's invocation of the word 'panorama' in *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* in 1830 was thus shot through with contemporaneity. He could have been referring to the actual structure of the panorama, about the specifically constructed edifices or the transportable windows that displayed Orientalist scenes. But he also could have been putting into critical practice the mode of seeing that accompanied the invention.

Like the *Guckkasten*, the panorama had its own art-technological reactions in the 1820s and 1830s. In his *Arcades Project*, Walter Benjamin lists some of the broader ways in which the arts were touched by the panorama's novelties. For Benjamin, the panorama was an 'elegant variation of the *Traumhaus*'.[128] As Stieglitz himself outlined with the diorama, Benjamin also argues that both 'announced [...] a revolution in the relationship between art and technology', expressing 'a new feeling of life'.[129] The '*Demokratisierung* des *Blicks*' that Oettermann attributes to the innovation of the medium, but which could quickly spin negatively into a controlling panopticism, Benjamin saw in literature. [130] What emerged in Paris in the 1830s was a 'panoramatic literature' that worked socially: 'the worker, isolated from his class, appears as the staffage of an idyll'.[131] Benjamin does not restrict his 'panoramatic' comments to literature. He also mentions 'a music in the spirit of the arcades, a panoramatic music' that had been wrested from its context, the arcades, and left to atrophy in 'old-fashioned' and 'elegant' early twentieth-century concert halls, but whose meaning lies anchored in an exhibitionist style of presentation.

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[127] Cf. Andrew Cusack, *The Wanderer in Nineteenth-Century German Literature: Intellectual History and Cultural Criticism* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2008), esp. p. 147.
[128] Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, 14 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1972–1991), v (1982), p. 511.
[129] Ibid., p. 48
[130] Oettermann, *Das Panorama*, p. 26.
[131] Benjamin, *Werke*, v, p. 48.

Benjamin lists a few of these 'panoramatic compositions' from the 1840s, One of these is tellingly Félicien David's Orientalist 'ode symphonique', *Le Désert*.[132]

Although Benjamin does not detail how such 'panoramaticism' might work through musical technique, leaving music as a pleasure object in the halls of capital, Ralph Locke has described David's *Le Désert* in terms that could make up the aesthetic of a musically 'panoramatic' representation. In Locke's words, *Le Désert* 'tells the story – "in concert", without costumes or sets – of a caravan moving through an unspecified stretch of desert in the Arab world'.[133] The scoring is suitably rich: full orchestra, tenor, male chorus, and the addition of a narrator who 'evokes the successive scenes'.[134] These include 'the lumbering progress of the camel train [...] a desert sandstorm, women dancing in the evening, the sun's rise the next day, the muezzin's call to morning prayer'.[135] Coherence rested on the placement of people and things on a horizon. Perhaps there was also the assumption, encouraged by the temporal succession of each scene, that the train moves from left to right, which music's essential fold-on-fold contiguity could profitably represent. That David discursively mapped landscape with soundscape using pseudo-ethnographic tone-painting gleaned from the composer's own travels to North Africa only strengthened the sense of realism.[136]

A similar form of panoramaticism seems to be at work in Carl Loewe's *Bilder,* particularly his first *Kranz* of 'Wanderbilder'. Loewe's songs do three things. Firstly, the

[132] Ibid., p. 270.
[133] Ralph Locke, 'How Reliable Are Nineteenth-Century Reviews of Concerts and Operas? Félicien David's "Le Désert" and His Grand Opéra "Herculanum"', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 19 (2022), 217–233 (pp. 221–222).
[134] Ibid., p. 221.
[135] Ibid.
[136] For more, see Ralph Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancer, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East', *19th-Century Music*, 22 (1998), 20–53, esp. pp. 30–32.

songs depict a number of figures: 'Die Geister der Wüste' (no. 1), 'Der verschmachtende Pilger' (no. 2), and Melek (no. 3). These same figures move 'through an unspecified stretch of desert in the Arab world', to reapply Locke's words. While there is not the caravan that Schumann saw in one of Marschner's *Bilder*, the strategies of musical looking and listening that attended Loewe's song practice – calling forth the whole scene, striking up connections through one's creative *Phantasie* – could have filled in the gaps. Secondly, the songs describe the staging posts, the visual features, of that landscape. There is 'Die Oasis' (no. 4), a bird that sings in it ('Lied eines Vögleins in der Oasis', no. 5), and the 'Quell' (no. 6). The third thing that the songs do is play with singing perspectives. There is the presence of a narrator who marshals the scenes along, sometimes singing about figures and sometimes leaving them to sing for themselves. All of this replicates the act of survey, as though one were looking at a musical panorama. And all of this, owing to Loewe's reputation as a composer of visual and objective songs, an overhang of Stieglitz's epithet 'der Balladische', could have been understood as the illusory appearance of the real '*vors Auge*'. Loewe's reception history conditioned his panoramaticism to be understood as cultural ethnography.

Two Wreaths

The opening song, 'Die Geister der Wüste', employs a ballad technique. Loewe apparently remarked to Goethe in Jena that 'Erlkönig' was the best example of a ballad because all of the characters are '*redend eingeführt*'.[137] A similar principle of character introduction operates here. The three 'Geister' open and close together.[138] In between, each one steps

[137] Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 76.
[138] *Bilder*, I, pp. 20–21.

out to sing their own part. The song details the injuries inflicted by an inhospitable desert landscape, naming both the 'oasis' that is to provide 'Kühlung' later in the cycle and 'der Wandrer' on whose blood they will feast once he finally succumbs:

> Alle.
> Hui! Wie die Wolke
> Von Staub und Brand
> So wild sich stürzet
> Auf's dürre Land!
>
> Erster.
> Hui! Auf der Oasis
> Heult' ich und lag,
> Konnt' sie nicht dörren
> Den langen Tag.
>
> Zweiter.
> Mich trug der Wirbel
> Vorbei die Fluth;
> Ich schlürft' und schlürfte,
> Und blieb doch Gluth.
>
> Dritter.
> Mir dörrt die Hitze
> Den heißern Schlund,
> Nur Blut mag kühlen
> Den heißen Mund.
>
> Alle.
> Drum laßt tuns wirbeln
> Zum staub'gen Pfad,
> Wo matt erlechzend
> Der Wandrer naht.
>
> Hui! Den heißen Odem
> Er schlürft ihn ein,
> Sein starrend Blut mag
> Uns Kühlung seyn.

Loewe's decision to start with this number plays on 'Der Wandrer im Osten' that opens the poetic collection. Unlike that poem, which Bernhard Klein used to anticipate travel, Loewe's wreath begins *in medias res*. We are already 'dort', in the desert. Two bars of

dialogic counterpoint set up the gyrating head-motif proper, which shuttles between tonic and diminished or subordinate minor colorations. The opening bars do not move at all; a tonic pedal roots the song 'languidly' ('erlechzend') in one musical space. It is only with the performative interjection 'Hui' that the music first moves to B flat for the first 'Geist' to intone a transposed variant of the initial motif. Each of the 'Geister' does not so much lyrically sing as dramatically mimic the registral narrowness of speech. But despite the presence of characters and the outward tonal nod towards motion, the music turns and turns without actually going anywhere (see Figure 21). Profiling its text, the image lies in wait, an endless cycling.
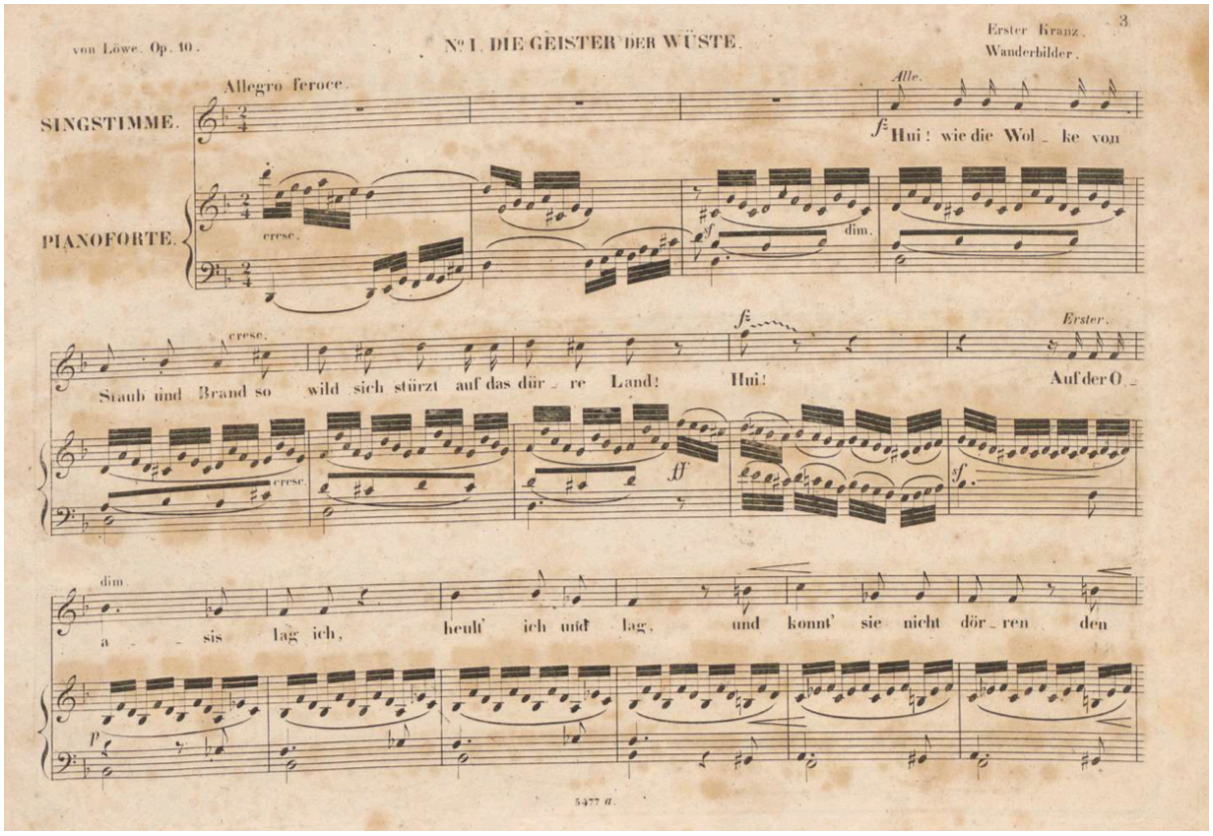


Figure 21: Loewe, 'Die Geister der Wüste', *Bilder des Orients* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1834), I, p. 3 (Public Domain)

Panning round, the second song is located further along the landscape. With no preamble, the image is now one of a 'verschmachtender Pilger' who is travelling to Mecca through the desert:

Einmal Mekka noch zu sehen
War mein Wunsch, bevor ich sterbe,
Dann wollt' ich als Mahoms Erbe
Ein in seine Pforten gehen.

Doch die müden Kräfte sinken,
Ruhe sucht' ich, kann nicht weiter;
Ferne dort ziehn die Begleiter,
Mekka's heil'ge Luft zu trinken.

Ist die Seele schon geschieden
Von dem müden Erdenstaube?
Allah, deine Schattenlaube
Sendet Kühlung mir und Frieden.

While the pilgrim in Stieglitz's poem, simply titled 'Der Verschmachtende', is embedded within the utterance of a narrator ('Spricht der Pilger, still ergeben: "Seinem […]"'), Loewe removes all evidence of reported speech, shortening the poem to its last three stanzas.[139] It seems that the composer's 'jump-cut' action was to imitate a visual turn of the head. One looks here and then there. The scenic coherence of the pilgrim rests on his placement on a panoramic horizon (see Figure 22).

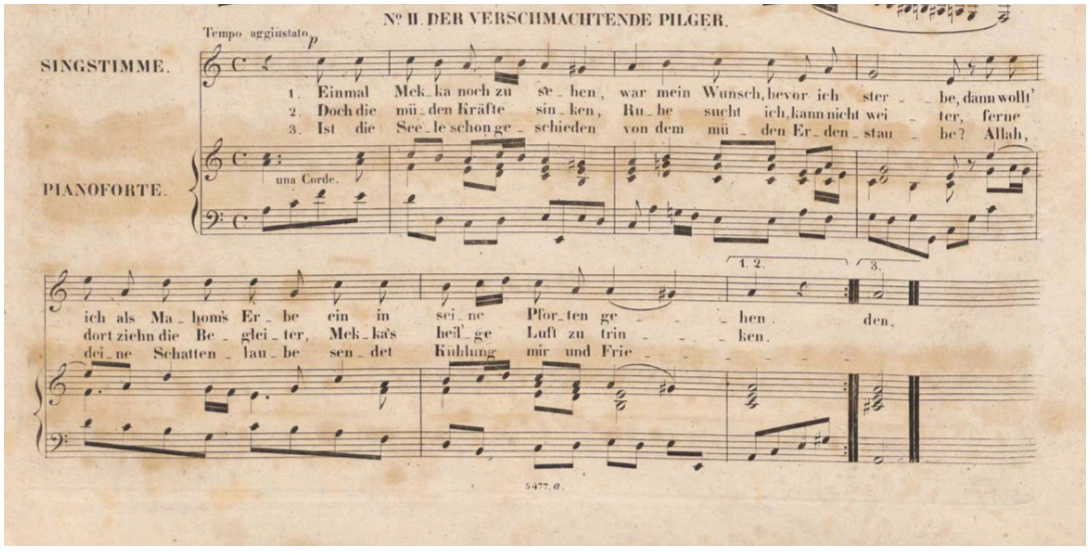


Figure 22: Loewe, 'Der verschmachtende Pilger', *Bilder des Orients*, I, p. 6

[139] *Bilder*, I, 94–95.

Rather than pseudo-ethnographically aping a call to prayer, Loewe understands the pilgrim's song through musical-cultural analogue. He represents the pilgrim's utterance through a number of archaising features: a trio-sonata texture (basso continuo with two upper voices) in A minor; a taut six-bar structure, with two punctuating cadences, first on the dominant in b. 2, then in the relative major in b. 4, sung strophically; and relatively strict contrapuntal voice-leading. The pilgrim thus sings a culturally mediated *Geistlicher Gesang*. This was a genre that Loewe had reserved for his setting of 'Talismane' from the *Divan* in 1832, which could be sung solo or with multiple voices, lending itself to performance in sociable contexts and thus guarding against the dangers of a 'foreign' spirit that threatened to derail the course of understanding.[140]

The third song, 'Melek in der Wüste', moves still further along the landscape. Recalling the *agitato* of the 'Geister in der Wüste', the third song brings two important figures into play: the narrator and Melek. That connections are both harmonically and motivically manipulated – the 'gyrating' tenor voice-leading in the left hand and the parallel tonal zone of B flat major in the B section – suggests that the 'Wandrer' evoked in 'Geister der Wüste' is not the 'Pilger' of the previous song, but Melek himself. The 'Pilger' is reframed as a passing miniature. In 'Melek in der Wüste', the narrator first gives a rich description of the landscape, before allowing Melek to sing (see Figure 23):[141]

> Heiß glüht der Pfad; am frühen Tag
> War Melek schon zum Wege wach;
> Nun zieht er lechzend im Mittagsbrand
> Von Durst verfolgt durch den sengenden Sand.
>
> Es heult die Hyäne, der Pardel brüllt,
> Des Gluthsands Strudel den Blick verhüllt: –

[140] [Anon.], 'Carl Löwe, Fünf Geistliche Gesänge', *NZfM*, 1 (1834), p. 296.
[141] *Bilder,* I, pp. 71-72.

‘Und trüg’ ich’s selbst auch länger noch,
Du treues Roß erlägest doch.’

Loewe once again relies on the ballad technique of reported speech. But the characters are not marked by paratexts, such as the ‘Alle’, ‘Erster’ in the first song. They are concealed in the poetic transcription by way of quotation marks. After Melek has sung his piece, the focus returns to the narrator, who gives another description:

Und höher der Wirbel den Sand aufwühlt
Kein Labetrunk, kein Schatten kühlt;
Da blickt er zum Himmel, sein Auge fleht,
Die lechzende Lippe wird Gebet:

At this point the music shifts to B section, which gives Melek the chance to sing his own ‘Gebet’. This is a more secular form of religiosity. Loewe couches this stretch of music in B flat major, then snakes down via chromatic accidentals to D major and C minor, in compound time, invoking the siciliano, although traces of the antique remain in the form of the Phrygian cadence (C – B flat – A flat – G) at the end of the phrase:

Der du die Gräser
Tränkest mit Thau
Der du in’s Gluthmeer starrenden Sandes
Hast die Oase gegossen,
Schenke Erquickung mir;
Wecker des Tags und der Nächte Hüther,
Nicht in dem Gluthsand hier
Laß mich verschmachten, des Lebens Gebiether!

The reintroduction of the A section’s ‘gyrating’ motif in C minor then brings about a reappearance of the opening motivic material. ‘Horch!’ – Melek says. The narrator has at this point seemingly ceded his introductory function, leaving Melek to sing from the B section through the repeat of the A.
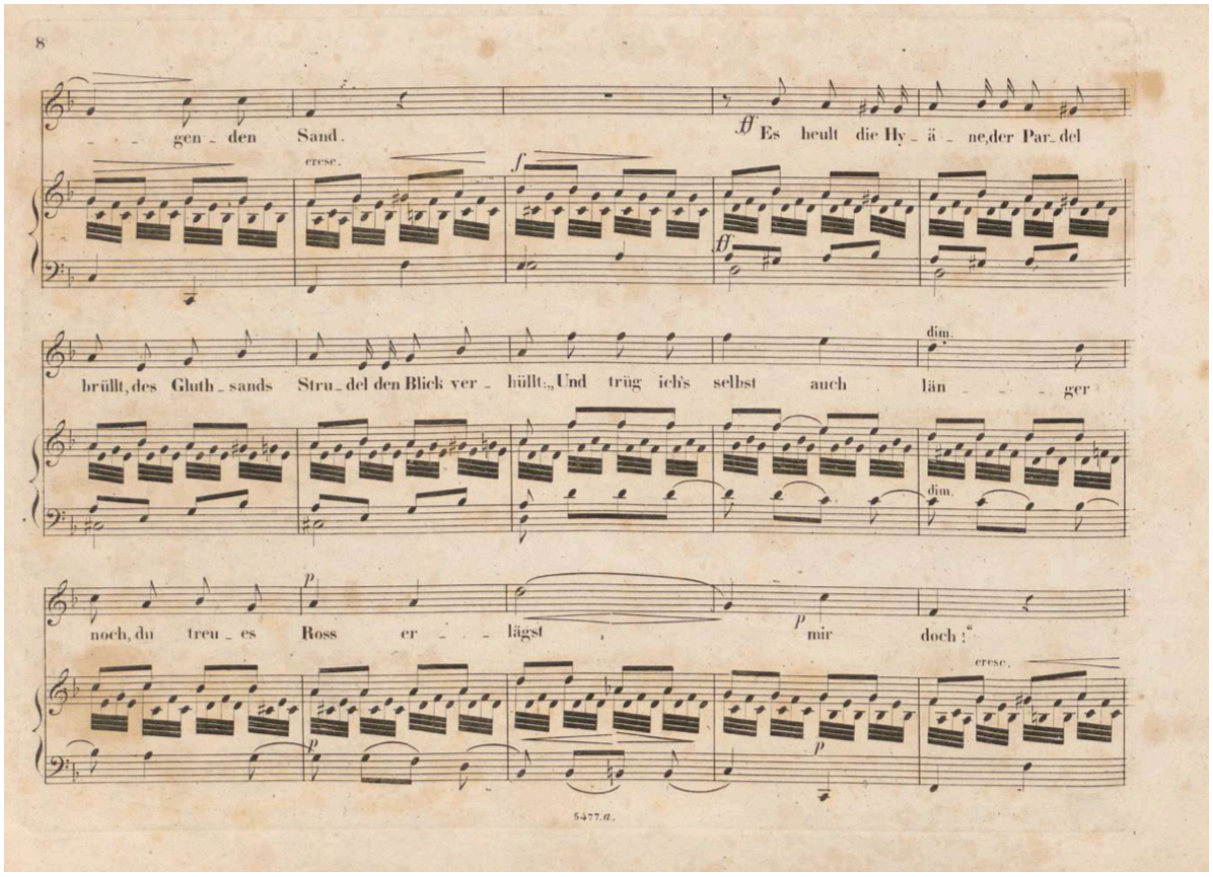


Figure 23: Loewe, 'Melek in der Wüste', *Bilder des Orients*, I, p. 8

But something else is at play that Loewe signals by way of musical structure. Firstly, because of the textual indication of Melek's song, the act of singing itself does not suggest agency. Singing is rather willed by the narrator. What is sung might appear to be spontaneous in the context of the ballad. But the genre's essential condition is its predetermination and careful choreography, all of which are subject to telling and retelling.[142] Secondly, this same narrator, who reveals himself as the agent of Melek's destiny, complicates the music's structural logic, which depends upon thematic memory and recall. The A section is associated with the narrator's description, with the burning sand of the landscape. Melek sings briefly here, but only by invitation. The B section, signalled by a change of key and metre, is all Melek's. His song is enclosed, demarcated

[142] For more, see Adrian Daub, *What the Ballad Knows: The Ballad Genre, Memory Culture and German Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

from the rest of the setting. The directionality of the 'Horch!', as a transposed variant of the A section, thus comes as something of a surprise. To whom is the imperative directed? To the audience by the narrator? To Melek by the narrator? From Melek to his horse? Has Melek recognised that predetermination is in fact coexistent with ballad representation itself? One reviewer for the *AmZ* even saw the return of the D minor as the reappearance of the 'Geister', staging the transition as 'like a silver spring, refreshing the languishing, until the demons drive us back into the maelstrom of the desert'.[143]

Loewe deliberately toys with his audience here. He collapses the frame of the song – in which the action takes place and by which the fiction is maintained – by turning 'Horch!' into a threshold moment that has no fixed addressee. 'Horch' is deliberately multiple. 'Horch!' – the narrator says to Melek as the hero's prayer has been answered. 'Horch!' – the narrator says to the ballad audience that occupies one point of the triangulated relationship between the represented (the people of the story), the representing (the person telling the story), and us (those receiving the story). But then Loewe also allows Melek to play his part and glimpse the working of his creators (the composer and bard). 'Horch!' – Melek says to himself and to his steed, perhaps looking up to the uppermost border of the picture frame, the signal to hear accompanied by the signal to look. The threshold moment alters the integrity of the song. Not Melek's speech, but the very uncertainty of address generated by the ambiguously directed 'Horch!' carries forward into the final stanza. The reference to 'uns' is broad enough to involve the audience, now chivvied along to the next scene. The music follows suit. Not a transposed version of the A section, but a repeat of the opening music in the final stanza with a small

[143] W., 'Recensionen', *AmZ,* 36 (1834), col. 182.

coda concludes the song. Since the song frame itself has been broken by a dispersal of narrative address, the closing moments of the song in fact function as an opening to what comes next. We end in the slipstream of Melek's departure and are being prepared for a change of scene (see Figure 24).
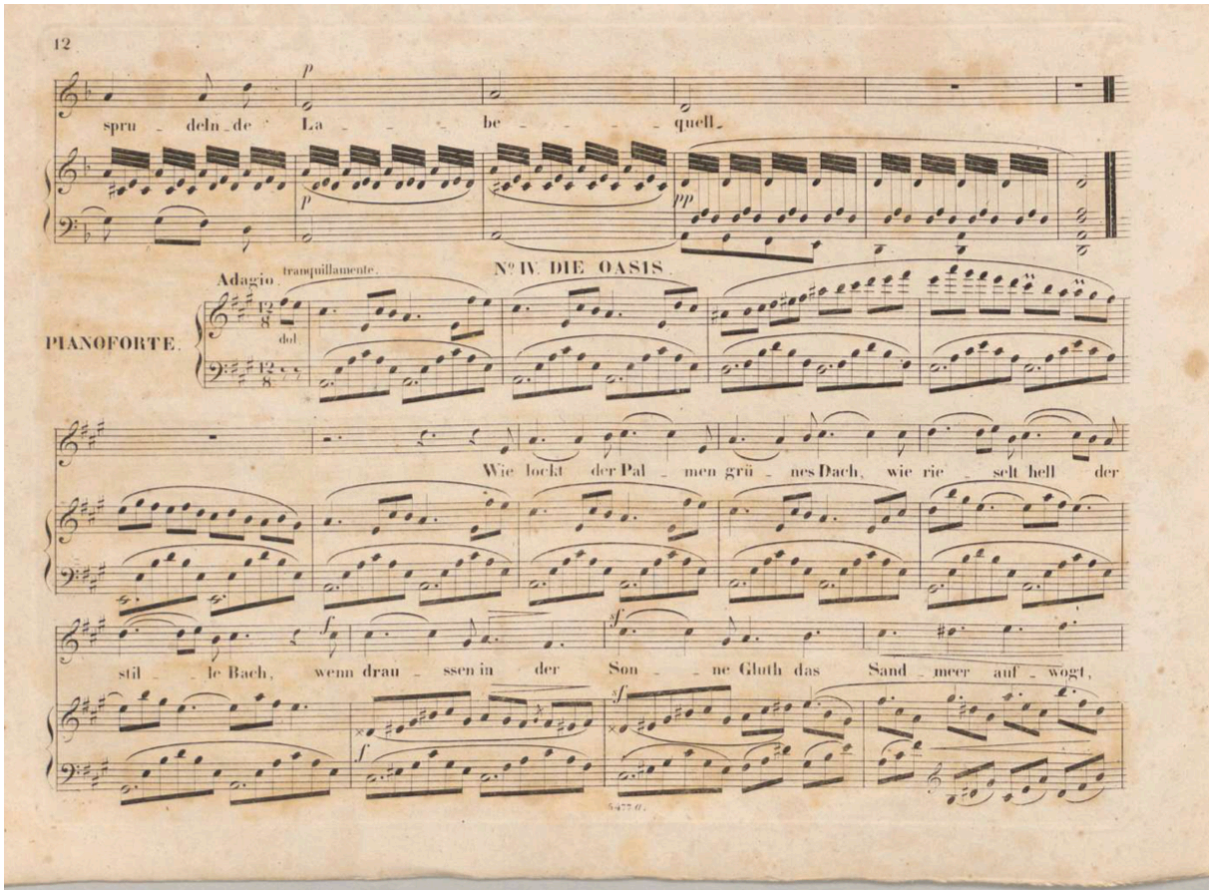


Figure 24: Carl Loewe, 'Die Oasis', *Bilder des Orients*, I, p. 12

Impelled by the forward motion of Melek's careering horse, we move further to the right of the landscape. The next image, 'Die Oasis', is pure painterly backdrop. The poem does not feature any of the aforementioned figures – the 'Geister', the pilgrim, or Melek. It is the narrator who sings:

> Wie lockt der Palmen grünes Dach,
> Wie rieselt hell der stille Bach,
> Wenn draußen in der Sonne Gluth
> Das Sandmeer aufwogt, Fluth bei Fluth!

Ein buntdurchwebtes Blüthenkleid
Ist auf den Boden hingestreut,
Und aus den Blüthen, rein und hell,
Springt murmelnd auf der frische Quell.

The song is in A major, marked *adagio* and *tranquillamente*. The left hand sets up the swaying 'murmelnd' ostinato. The right hand has the sole function of decorating the figure with chromaticisms, trills, and scalar figures that repeatedly land, bell-like, on the third and first degrees of the scale, on C sharp and A respectively. This is pure filigree. The compound time signature suggests the 'locken', forging a connection between Melek's 'Gebet' in the previous song through the invocation of dance forms. The key signature also moves from flat to sharp – from D minor to A major. The listener is encouraged to sit back and take in the delightful scene. Nine years after its publication, Seiffert for the *AmZ* noted how 'the accompaniment very successfully expresses cosy tranquillity, which may well be felt doubly sweet in such a place'.[144]

The next song, 'Lied eines Vögleins in der Oasis', is a close-up of the previous number. The song is not merely a pendant to the previous song. The specific marker of place – '*in* der Oasis' – suggests that the birdsong occurs simultaneously as musical landscape decoration. Loewe highlights this by writing both 'Die Oasis' and 'Lied eines Vögleins in der Oasis' in the same key, keeping the compound metre, and beginning the second song with the closing sixth of the previous number. The division from 12/8 to 6/16 makes little difference to the tempo, relating only to the subdivision of the larger image into smaller metrical chunks (see Figure 25).

[144] C. T. Seiffert, 'Die Lieder, Gesänge und Balladen des 19ten Jahrhunderts', *AmZ*, 45 (1843), (1843), col. 660.
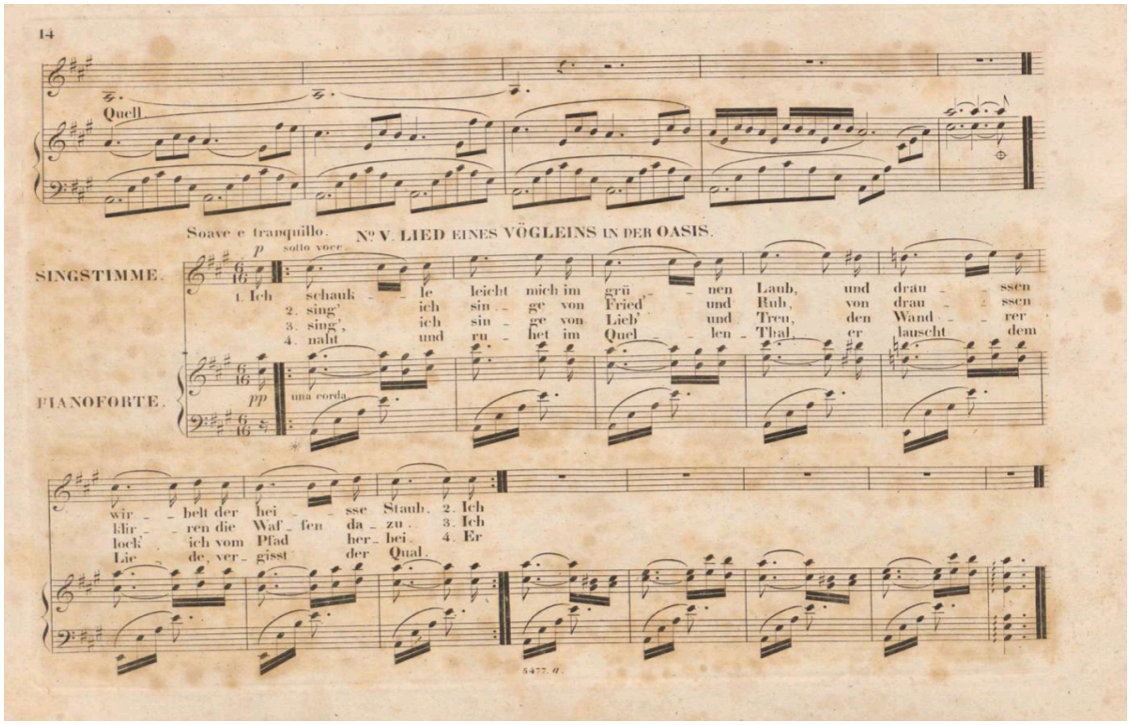


Figure 25*:* Carl Loewe, 'Lied eines Vögleins in der Oasis', *Bilder des Orients*, I, p. 14

The harmonies are in fact more static than in 'Die Oasis'. While 'Die Oasis' contains a move to F sharp minor on the dominant to gesture towards the 'Sonne Gluth' and the 'Sandmeer', which surge on to the left, the birdsong simply lilts between tonic and dominant, the sixths in the right hand doubling the voice. The narrator initially appears to retreat, letting the bird take centre stage. But here, too, there is a narrative intrusion. The first two stanzas of the poem juxtapose the calm of the oasis with what happens around – a technique matched in the poem by grouping distichs that contrast the 'seen' with its opposite 'scene' – clearly a reference to other sights and sounds to be spectated beyond the borders of this one particular image:

> Ich schaukle leicht mich
> Im grünen Laub,
> Und draußen wirbeln
> Der heiße Staub.
>
> Ich sing', ich singe
> Von Fried' und Ruh',
> Von draußen klirren

Die Waffen dazu.

As though with a glint in its eye, the bird then sings about how it beckons the wanderer using the repetition of the previous stanza's opening meta-reflection on music's elemental attraction:

Ich sing', ich singe
Von Lieb' und Treu',
Den Wandrer lock' ich
Vom Pfad herbei.

Er naht und ruhet
Im Quellenthal,
Er lauscht dem Liede,
Vergißt der Qual.

The culminating song, 'Melek am Quell', confirms that the unnamed 'er' referenced in the 'Die Oasis' is in fact Melek. Loewe makes a small paratextual amendment to Stieglitz's poem. Stieglitz titles the poem 'Am Quell', but Loewe adds 'Melek', strengthening the narrative arc. The key, D major, also completes an overall tonal architecture. Across the 'Wanderbilder', the songs chart the tonal plan: d – a – d – A – A – D. In this scheme the D major arrival works as a major-mode resolution.

In 'Melek am Quell', Loewe reverts to ballad technique. The original poetic source has two different figures, the unnamed narrator and Melek, who each sing their respective roles. Thus the opening two stanzas are Melek's, signalled by quotation marks:

'O wie du schnaubst aus voller Brust
Und stampfst vor Lust!
Hat dich's equicket, mein gutes Roß,
Du treuer Weggenoß?

O wie sich nun mein Herz erneut
Des Lebens freut!
Nun regt sicht jeder Puls in mir,
Allah, zum Danke Dir.'[145]

[145] *Bilder*, I, pp. 76–77.

The next two stanzas then bring the narrator into the frame once more. The narrator describes Melek's actions in a way that the hero, as the unselfconscious agent of the Orientalist narrative, cannot describe. He looks ahead (or across) to the next number:

> Und wie er's spricht, des Weges Sohn,
> Senkt nieder sich die Sonne schon,
> Und gießt vom duft'gen Himmelsrand
> Purpur weit über der Wüste Sand,
>
> Und wie ihr letzter Schein verschwimmt,
> Am Himmel Stern bei Stern erglimmt;
> Hinan blickt Melek von Luft entzückt,
> Aus jedem Sterne Maisuna blickt.

Melek then comes in with his closing stanza:

> 'O die ihr schwimmt in dem blauen Meer,
> Bringt Gruß ihr von der Geliebten her?
> Auf euch wohl blickend die Theure wacht,
> Drum strahlt so seliges Licht die Nacht.'

But the narrator has the final word, effectively bringing the narrative to a temporary close:

> Da schlummert Melek, dichtumlaubt,
> Gelehnt an seines Rosses Haupt.

Unlike the third image, where Melek's song is rendered in reported speech, the divisions between narrator and hero in the final song are excised in Loewe's 1834 publication. There are no punctuation marks. Runze's edition follows the interpunction of the original poetic source, standardising what he presumably understood to be editorial discrepancies. But the excision might have been judicious, continuing the manipulation of address signalled by 'Melek in der Wüste'. For Loewe leaves it open as to whether the narrator has completely arrogated Melek's persona, singing for him without indicating his origin, or whether the dispersal of singing subjects and addressed audience members applies here as well. Either way, Melek has reached his source and delights in his rest.

As mentioned, Runze changed Loewe's grouping of six 'Wanderbilder' and six 'Bilder der Heimath'. The edited 'Arabischer Liederkreis' consisted of seven numbers, including 'Maisuna am Brunnen', the first song of the second *Kranz*. Although the editorial changes make sense from a narrative perspective, Runze does not explain why Loewe decided to split up the two wreaths in the first place. Loewe could just as much have been motivated by the *Bild* – more particularly, the sites and contexts of the poems (see Figure 26). The six songs of 'Bilder der Heimath' present scenes that are supposed to build an opposite to the 'Wanderbilder'. The contrast is not just physical: songs on the move versus songs at home. It is not simply that if one is homed, one does not wander. The contrast is also hermeneutic. If one is homed, one presumes to encounter familiarity, which in turn suggests completion. As a title, 'Bilder der Heimath' thus signals to the reader the hermeneutic positions that govern the acts of wandering and staying put, between locating what is 'fremd' and what is 'vertraut' on an axis of Orientalist understanding.[146] Before encountering any of the songs, the paratext sets up an *a priori* position of 'familiarity' that makes itself open to cultural analogue. The boundary is not fixed. For as soon as one disturbs the established domestic familiar, one enters the domain of the unhomely.

[146] Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus*, pp. 44ff.

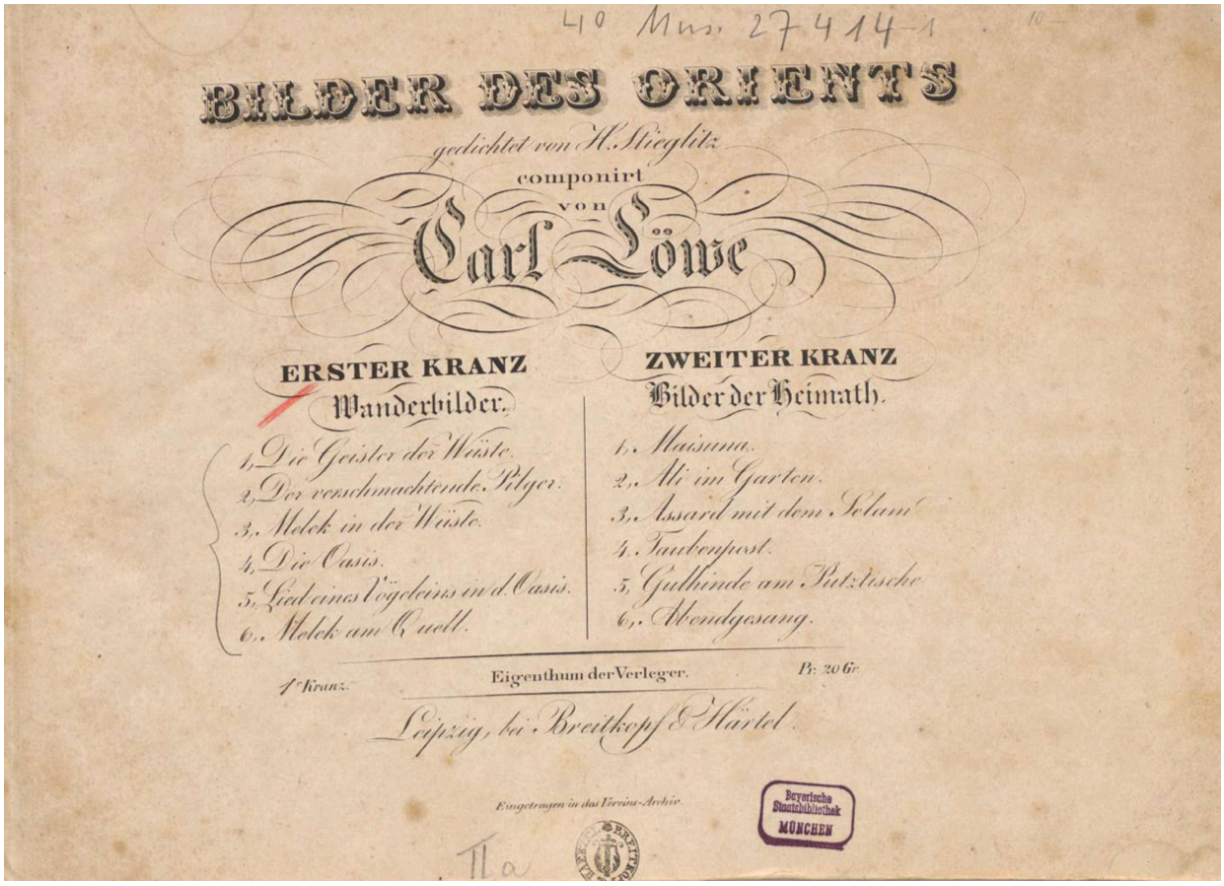


Figure 26: Carl Loewe, Title page, *Bilder des Orients* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1834)

The *Bilder* of the second *Kranz* comprise effete miniatures. The opening, 'Maisuna am Brunnen', marks a threshold. It at once forges connections to the previous cycle – through the invocation of Melek, the tonal reference to the A-major Oasis, and the 'gyrating' motivic figure of 'Die Geister der Wüste' – and departs from it by signalling a new site of domesticity. Maisuna shepherds her flock from home, meditating on her lover's fate. With the onset of the second dialogic number, 'Ali im Garten', the transition to the familiar site of culture is complete.
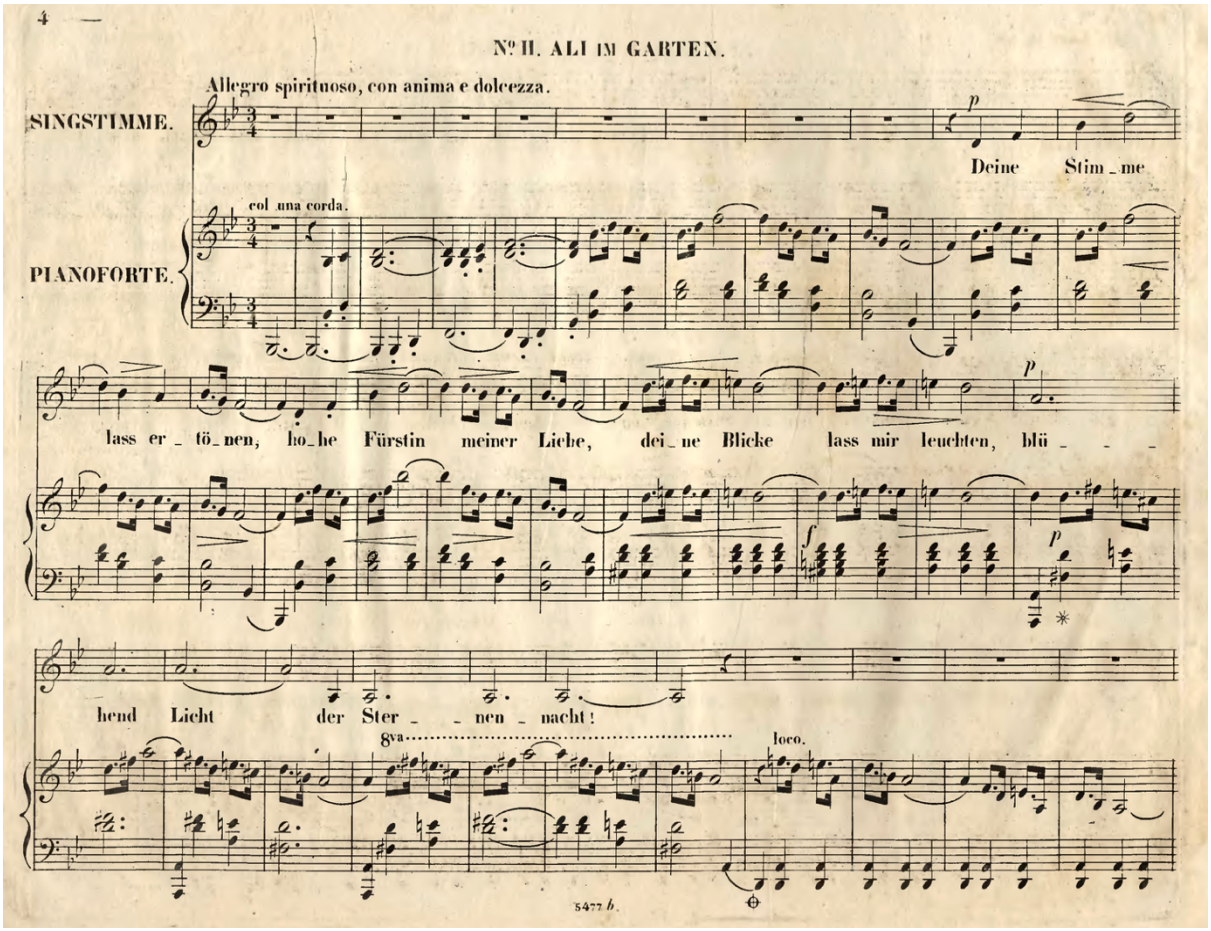


Figure 27: Carl Loewe, 'Ali im Garten', *Bilder des Orients* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1834), II, p. 4

The dialogue is spoken through *Blumensprache*. In Loewe's song, Ali sings of how the wreath of flowers, which plays both on the *Kranz* of the publication and the internal wreath of messaging, has intimated satisfaction. Responding 'Vom Balkone', Fatme notes that it was actually her deepest pain that the wreath was supposed to signify. The dichotomy is pointedly represented by Loewe. Ali, who sings *allegro spirituoso con anima e dolcezza*, sending his horn calls up towards the balcony on 'deine Stimme lass ertönen', and mimicking her 'Niederstrahlen' in octave jumps, has music in B flat major (see Figure 27). Fatme replies with a clipped *presto* in B flat minor, still sung from her balcony. The scene does not conclude, but remains locked in the moment of the lovers' simultaneous reading and misreading.

The third image maintains the structural principle of *Blumensprache*, but with a new protagonist. It is titled 'Assad mit dem Selam', another word for a wreath of flowers. Like Ali, who folded his wishes into a bouquet, Assad entrusts his messages to floral ciphers:

> Geht nun, ihr Blüten, meiner Fürstin Freude,
> Und naht bescheiden ihrer Hoheit Throne,
> Der Rose Schmelz im weichen Purpurkleide,
> Der Hyacinthe blaue Glockenkrone.
>
> Dann schlinge sich der leichte Kranz der Winde
> In's dunkle Haar der schattenden Cypresse,
> Die flüstern der Geliebten leis' und linde,
> Wie nirgend ich ihr holdes Bild vergesse.
>
> Und ein' ich nun die glühnde Amaranthe
> Dem reinen Gold der glänzenden Narcisse,
> Dann fühlt die Freundin, wie mein Herz entbrannte,
> Und wie ich schmerzlich ihre Näh' vermisse.
>
> So nahet denn bescheiden meiner Schönen,
> Und fragt sie euch, was Assads Herz empfinde,
> Dann sagt ihr mit den duft'gen Farbentönen:
> Er denkt, er fühlt, er atmet nur Gulhinde.

The song is in A flat major, the four stanzas divided into two pairs, grouped strophically. The intimacy – Loewe here discards the trappings of the dialogue scene or the ballad techniques of the previous *Kranz* – sets up the fourth song, 'Taubenpost'. Recalling the fourth number of the 'Wanderbilder', 'Taubenpost' is a character portrait. Here Loewe depicts the literal fluttering of a messenger bird as it delivers its messages from one lover to another.

With the fifth song, 'Gulhinde am Putztische', the *Bilder* move into the home. The finery and jewellery that the poem speaks of – Gulhinde is putting on her makeup at the dressing table in the company of a maidservant – is given a literal musical rendering in arpeggio flourishes, spanning the breadth of the keyboard, in A major, E major, and C

major. The first is marked *ad libitum*, suggesting most clearly an improvisatory, melodramatic technique (see Figure 28). The shimmering of the 'Schleier' that Elmina passes to Gulhinde is marked tremolando. The 'Falten' of the fabric 'folds' vocally with descending ornamental roulades – so, too, the word 'Seiden'.
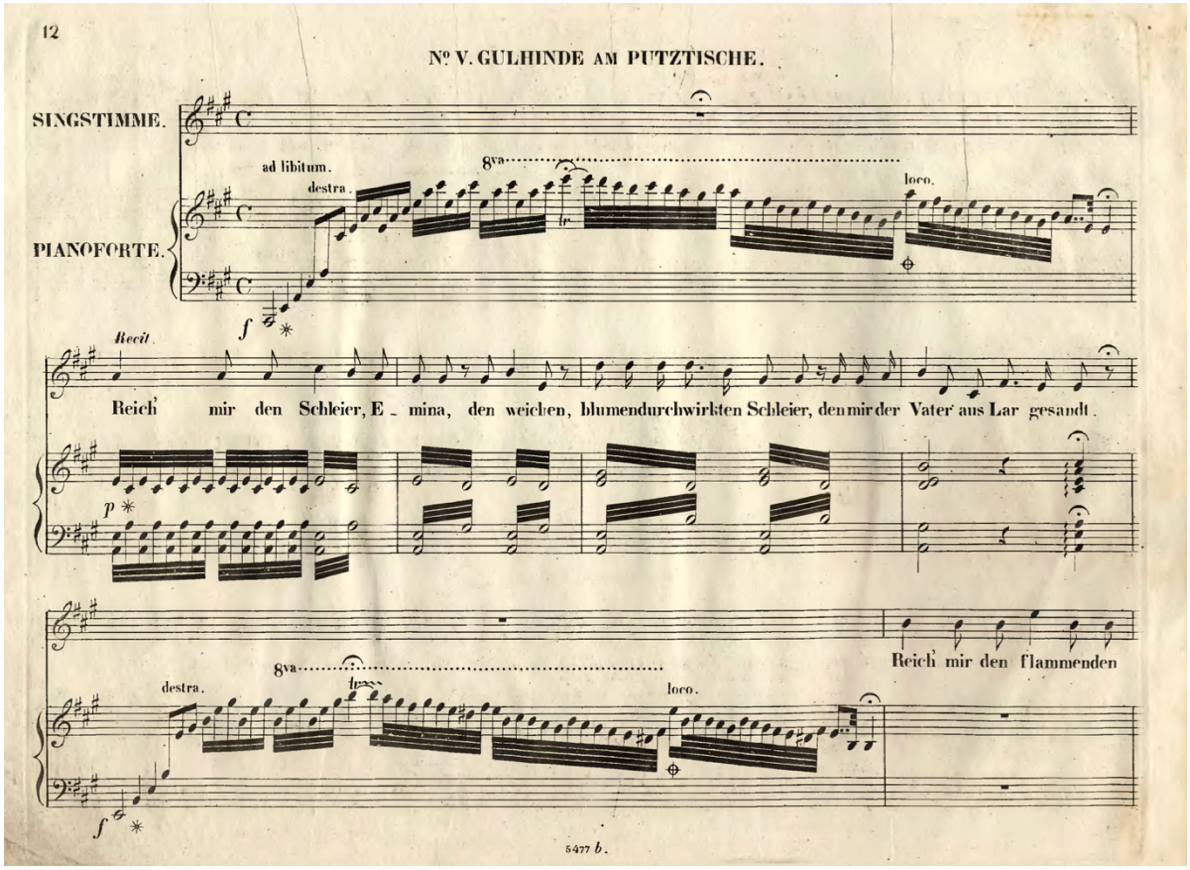


Figure 28: Carl Loewe, 'Gulhinde am Putztische', *Bilder des Orients*, II, p. 12

If this all forms the recitative as Loewe marks it in the score, the beginning of measured song comes with 'Aber die glühendste Rose gieb mir'. Here, the music breaks into a kind of cavatina in A major, divided into two sections. With all the richness, the 'reiche Instrumentirung', of this number, it may come as something of a surprise that the *AmZ* reviewer found not 'Gulhinde am Putztische', but 'Assad mit dem Selam' to offer one of the finest examples of 'erotic-musical literature'.[147] In 'Assad mit dem Selam,' the

[147] W., 'Recensionen', *AmZ,* 36 (1834), cols. 182–183.

concealing language of flowers, which only obliquely continues with the outburst of song on 'Aber die glühendste Rose', must have given Loewe's outwardly calm *eigentliches Lied* a sublimating quality. Unlike the literalness of Gulhinde's sumptuous dress, the *Blumensprache* of 'Assad mit dem Selam' left room for a euphemistic *Phantasie*, in the reviewer's eyes at least.

The narrator has been absent so far. Each of the characters sings their own song: Maisuna, Ali, Fatme, Assad, and Gulhinde. And the audience has reason to relate the singing 'ich' to their respective characters. Even the 'mir' of 'Taubenpost' is entrusted to a subject of the cycle, either Assad or Gulhinde. The final number, 'Abendgesang' however, adds a disturbing element. The narrator suddenly returns:

> Lege den Schmuck an,
> Schöne Gulhinde;
> Siehe, die Mädchen nahn
> Leise, geschwinde.
>
> Hier in dem Vaterhaus
> Stille zu leben,
> Damit ist's bald nun aus;
> Wirst doch nicht beben?
>
> Wisse, mit Herrschermacht
> Ziehst du zum Hafen;
> Dein wird nun all die Pracht,
> Güter und Sklaven.
>
> Schmücke dich, schöne Braut,
> Schmücke dich gerne,
> Denn der Geliebte schaut
> Schon aus der Ferne.

Rather than zooming in to the *Bild*, as is the case with 'Vöglein in der Oasis', the song steps back from the scene just described. This is both to offer spectatorial commentary and to highlight the presence of the person looking. In breach of Loewe's subjective protocol in

the ‘Bilder der Heimath’, the narrator looks at Gulhinde, instructs her to ‘Lege den Schmuck an’, and prophesies her future in marriage.

This intrusion is sinister, a moment when all is no longer as it seems: ‘Denn der Geliebte schaut | Schon aus der Ferne’. Who is this ‘Geliebter’? Why can he see Gulhinde getting ready? Indeed, after all the talk of coded floral messages within the song frame, why does the narrator feel compelled to bring in ‘seeing’ (‘siehe’, ‘schaut’) at all? The questions the last two lines pose suggest a kind of *Stimmungsbruch* that Heine often used to break the fragile fiction of the Lied. Working one’s way back from the moment of rupture to the middle of the poem, one finds other moments of disquiet. ‘Wirst doch nicht beben?’ – you will not be scared, will you? the narrator asks. His question is reminiscent of the ‘zittern’ in Heine’s ‘Lotosblume’ from the *Buch der Lieder*: not only a comment on deflowering, but also one of the most popular Orientalist poems in Heine’s oeuvre. ‘Schmücke dich, schöne… | Schmücke dich gerne’ – once might have been palatable, but twice, with the nasty-sounding ‘gerne’, smacks of voyeurism. Even the phrase ‘Aus der Ferne’ is emptied of its familiarity, estranged by a reversal of perspective. In this case, ‘fern’ is relative to the location of the Orientalist image. This is not a Western man being hailed by a mysterious Orient ‘aus der Ferne’, a call to bear witness to a Prussian proselytising mission. This is an Oriental woman being looked at from the West, ‘aus der Ferne’.

On the face of it, Loewe’s music is cheerful. The opening phrase, which provides the thematic material for the rest of the song, is composed of a varied musical sentence. The opening idea occurs in the tonic (bb. 1–2); a second statement modulates the idea to the relative minor (bb. 3-4); before setting up a cadential progression via development back in the tonic. The ballast of the musical structure is strengthened by a piano interlude

and postlude, whose scalar passages trickle off the top of the keyboard. But within this rather unassuming and brief setting – much like Marschner's 'Bündel', the song runs away rather than establishes conclusion – there are moments of strangeness. The first two bars of the piano interlude and postlude, for example, recall the clipped, chromatic patterns in the four-bar piano postlude to 'Ali und Fatme'. In 'Abendgesang' the paired slurs relate to 'wirst doch nicht beben?', whereas in 'Ali und Fatme' they follow on directly from
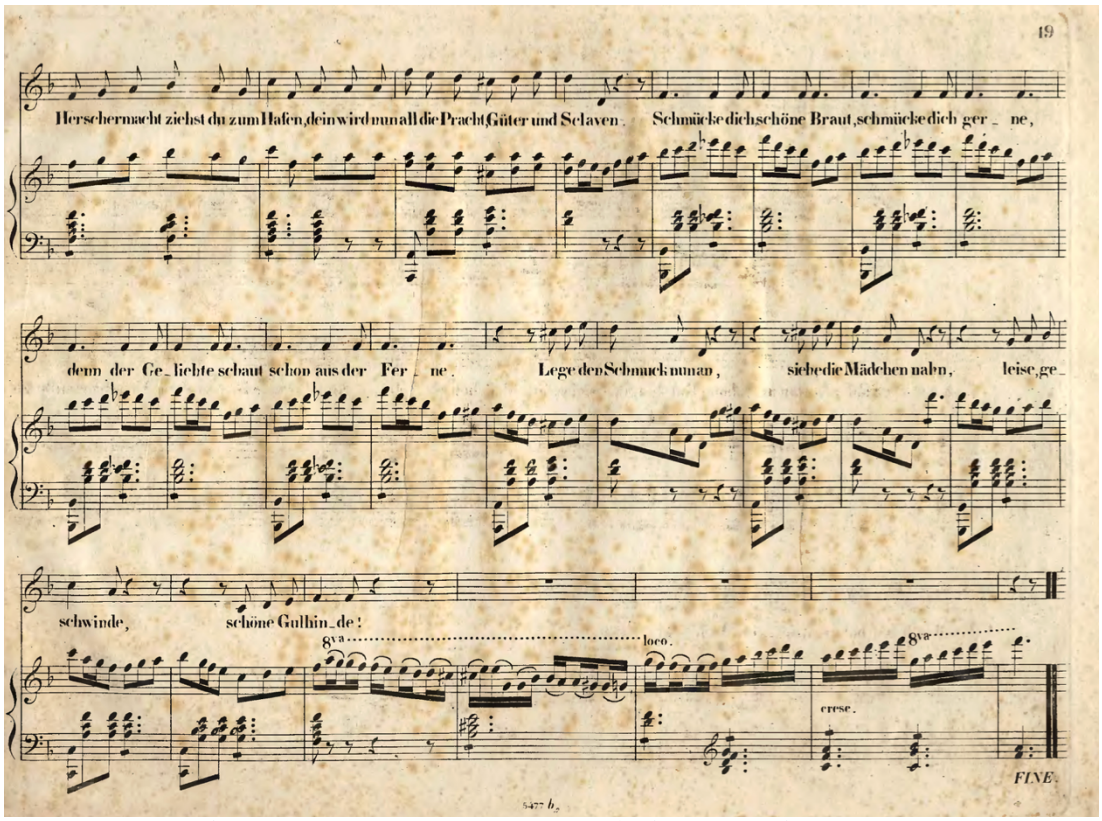


Figure 29: Carl Loewe, 'Abendgesang', *Bilder des Orients*, II, p. 19

Fatme's 'nimm ein zitternd Lebewohl'. The line would work equally well at the end of the 'Bilder der Heimath'.

Stranger still is Loewe's sudden departure from lyricism at the *Stimmungsbruch* itself. He sets the whole stanza (from 'Schmücke dich' to 'schon aus der Ferne') to a single F in the middle register (see Figure 29). Stieglitz's poetic instruction is paired with a deadpan musical incantation. This is not Loewe suggesting a change of mood through metrical or rhythmic distortion, even if the vocal line is all declamation (without the

accompanying melodic gloss). Neither is he engaging with diminished or augmented harmonies to suggest an otherworldly presence. This is a subtle tear in the fabric of the familiar, a kind of glitch in the representational system that causes the melody to malfunction. Loewe does not end there. In one final stroke, he tags on a truncated repeat of the opening stanza. But now the lines are broken up, the voice stuttering them out, the piano echoing. The attempt to keep up appearances in the song against the oddities of the vocal line renders the effect even more sinister. The final phrase – 'schöne Gulhinde!' – is sung with a wry, half-broken smile.

Loewe's two wreaths host the epistemology of the panorama as a total view. The novelty and representational flexibility of the still-unfixed *Bild* allowed the composer to fill the genre with his own plays on style and tone. The two wreaths display the full gamut of Lied types. There are ballad numbers; 'eigentliche Lieder'; dialogue songs; a *Geistliches Lied*; an improvised *Gesangszena*; and character portraits. The panorama of genre complements the way in which the songs are positioned 'panoramatically'. This seems most in evidence in the 'Wanderbilder', which move across the horizon. But it is also present in the miniature quality of the 'Bilder der Heimath', which rely on the contiguous presentation of largely static images. The 'dear reader' who watches, reads, and sings these songs would have had the Orient laid out in front of them, some of its characters central to the action, others, such as the pilgrim, a mere 'staffage of the [Orientalist] idyll'. Schumann might have found in Marschner perfectly framed Orientalist pictures. With Loewe, however, the Lied's charge to represent in microcosm the breadth of Orientalist visual perspective found its most strident and experimental expression.

Conclusion

A handful of composers turned to Stieglitz's collection in the late 1830s. Rudolf von Hertzberg published settings of the *Bilder* as his op. 1. Georg Müller went back to the collection in 1840. Marschner himself provided a 'neue Folge' of *Bilder* in 1849. Niels Gade belatedly set the *Bilder* in the 1850s. But the collection seems to have had its moment. The textual tides of Orientalism were changing in the 1840s. In 1838, Ferdinand Freiligrath published a collection of what he termed his 'Wüsten- und Löwenpoesie', which gave Loewe the material for his celebrated ballad trilogy, *Der Mohrenfürst* (1844).[1] Rückert's international reputation as both an Orientalist and a German poet was now at its zenith. Georg Daumer would publish his Hafizian *Nachdichtungen* in 1846. Friedrich Bodenstedt released his immensely popular *Die Lieder des Mirza Schaffy* in 1851. Stieglitz himself cuts a wistful figure in the 1840s. He died of cholera in Venice in 1849, likely still musing on Goethe's comments on the *Bilder*. His composers too would begin to disappear beyond the horizon.

But Stieglitz had a swansong. In 1848, almost twenty years after the poet published his paean to Beethoven in the *BamZ*, Stieglitz's name could be found next to his 'Siegesheld' once again. Friedrich Silcher, director of the *Tübinger Liedertafel*, put out a three-volume collection of piano arrangements of Beethoven's works with texts overlaid, *Melodien aus Beethovens Sonaten und Sinfonien zu Liedern*, which included a Stieglitz contrafactum. The publication itself should not surprise. Texting instrumental

[1] Kurt Roessler, 'Farbenpracht und bitterer Ernst im Mohrenfürsten: Zur Ballade von Ferdinand Freiligrath und Carl Loewe' in *Carl Loewe (1796–1869): Beiträge zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. by Ekkehard Ochs and Lutz Winkler (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1998), pp. 233–258 (p. 248).

music was common in salon environments.[2] What is surprising is that some critics, though aware of Silcher's ventriloquism, heralded the collection as a philological discovery. Silcher's songs were seen as Beethoven 'apocrypha', enticing exegeses sitting outside a canon of established masterworks.[3] The poem Silcher chose for the Allegretto of the Seventh Symphony, 'Gesang der Peris' from the second volume of the *Bilder*, was one of these confusingly natural confections. A Peri waits to be let in to paradise, performing a ritual to shepherd a man across into a new world. Silcher was keen to draw attention to the source of this mystical Orientalism in the published collection. 'Gesang der Peris' is said to have come 'aus den Bildern des Orients v. Heinrich Stieglitz' to hint at the strange, textual invocation of 'Ormuzd' and the social practice of staging hieratic *tableaux*.[4] The gestures of the Allegretto of the Seventh Symphony complement the poem's non-disclosive tone. The movement's strophic variation structure and homophonic textures call up the congregational practice of hymn-singing. The gently treading rhythmic pattern – crotchet, quaver, quaver – conveys a theatrical image of a processing funeral bier. The use of chromatic, modal-minor mixture in the main theme anticipates an Orientalist signifier that matches the invocation of a foreign vocabulary.

Silcher's 'Gesang der Peris' exists in two versions, for solo voice and for a choir of male voices. The latter version is unpublished, existing under a different title, 'Persischer Nachtgesang', in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach.[5] While the solo song was intended for a domestic market, 'Persischer Nachtgesang' was destined for an

[2] Heinrich Schwab, 'Carl Loewes Klaviersonate in E-Dur, op. 16: Gattungstradition und Unikum', in ibid., pp. 329–350 (p. 341).
[3] [Anon.], 'Beethoven'sche Lieder', *Signale für die Musikalische Welt*, 6 (1848), pp. 338–339.
[4] The song can be found in Friedrich Silcher, *Melodien aus Beethovens Sonaten und Sinfonien: zu Liedern für eine Singstimme eingerichtet*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Zumsteeg, c. 1848, repr. 1874), III, pp. 4–5: **http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00021E9800000000**.
[5] Marbach, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, DLA, 91.68.1457 and DLA, 90/974–90/977.

institution, specifically the *Tübinger Liedertafel*, which already boasted a repertoire of Orientalist works, including choral arrangements of Schumann's *Das Paradies und die Peri*.[6] As explored in Chapter 1, with its arcane rituals and custom of singing *gesellige Lieder* that played on the relationships between individual and collective, not to mention its ceremonial object-fetish that finds one textual correlate in Ormuzd's 'frothing cup', the *Liedertafel* would have provided an apt forum in which to reflect on a death rite. The imaginary body being shepherded home to the eternal Orient would only a year later find a vessel in Stieglitz's own death.

These contrafacta provide a fitting end. For many things are at play here that represent the mercurial relationships between Orientalism and the Lied in the early nineteenth century. Silcher firstly brings home Stieglitz's Orientalist images by giving them a point of reference in Beethoven's Allegretto. From the other side, Silcher in the most literal sense Orientalises Beethoven by envisioning his work through the Orientalist lens of Stieglitz's poem. Both sides of the negotiation reflect the movement of the poem – conveyance, transport, threshold – which in turn replicates the dynamics of the Orientalist Lied. Silcher, secondly, turns Beethoven's symphony into a song – not just any song, but two specific types with two different audiences, a *Tafellied* for a male institution in Tübingen and a solo song for the home or salon. The Orientalisation of Beethoven could have represented Silcher's own personal reading or, taking the potential of the practice of texting instrumental music, could have reflected widely held narrative or Orientalist readings of his work. Marx, for instance, prefaced his interpretation of the first movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony with a quotation from Wieland's *Oberon* and its

[6] Marbach, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, DLA, 90/1609.

invocation of an 'altes Romantisches Land'.[7] But Silcher's motivations are perhaps less important than the snapshot of a process that has lurked behind much of the material presented in this thesis. Silcher's Orientalist contrafactum is not an isolated example. Like Beethoven's *Divan* silence, 'Persischer Nachtgesang' is representative. It was common not only to make instrumental music song, but to make both Oriental.

This thesis has attempted to give a selective account of Orientalism and the Lied between 1814 and 1840 through a musical reception history of Goethe's *Divan* and Stieglitz's *Bilder des Orients*. Over the course of the preceding five chapters, I have shown that an investigation of how Orientalism is represented *in* the Lied necessarily engages social, aesthetic, and material concerns, but also how these concerns were heterogeneous, contested, and context-dependent – from Goethe and Zelter's initial dialogues about the *Divan*'s suitability for song; through the sociable, comic, and intermedial Orientalist practices in the Mendelssohn household; Stieglitz's and Marx's Hegelianism; the pocket aesthetic manifestos that attended the publication of settings of Stieglitz's poetry in the early 1830s; to Loewe's experiments with expanding the representational possibilities of the Lied through engagement with visual Orientalist media.

It is my hope that the contributions of this thesis will be varied. The first comes from the archival recovery of both publicly and privately conceived Orientalist material, the partial anglophone rehabilitation of Berlin-based composers, including Zelter, Marx, and Klein, and the attempt to set the era's supposedly minor authors in productive dialogue with those whose significance is, in terms of scholarly representation, well-

[7] Scott Burnham, 'Criticism, Faith and the "Idee": A.B. Marx's Early Reception of Beethoven', *19th-Century Music*, 13 (1990), 183–192 (p. 189).

established. The paradox is that although the *Divan* has lain at the centre of this narrative, providing a point of origin, stimulus, and comparison, an Orientalist musical reception history works to its detriment. It is arguably Stieglitz's poetry that pushed musicians further to determine and then expand the Lied's limits of Orientalist representation. The second contribution lies in the thesis's philological method that reciprocally situates the production and reception of Lieder in the rich and experimental culture of early nineteenth-century German Orientalism, and transforms the 'musical' problem of the absence of exoticising signifiers into an interdisciplinary invitation to piece together Orientalism's practices and discourses as seen through particular instances of song culture and the *Divan* between 1814 and 1840.

That some of the practices and discourses presented here – the dialogues about aesthetics and sociable song and poetic types; through discussions of song cyclicity; and the absorptive performative medium of the *tableaux vivants* – do not belong properly to an 'exoticising' Orientalist enquiry shows just how much early nineteenth-century German Orientalism was a field of activity and theory continually shaped by local aesthetic and cultural debates, and how these trends were subsequently manipulated by individual authors with their own networks of influences. Here, in the blurred lines between what constitutes Orientalism and what lies beyond it, one can find a profitable path for future research and development. Perhaps it is only when we define Orientalism against what it could not be, thereby dissolving the boundaries that may separate Orientalist works from their ostensible opposite, that we move closer towards accounting for a potentially boundless repertoire of song that could be Orientalised after Silcher's and Beethoven's model. It was, after all, Goethe who seemed to posit such a productive

ambiguity in ‘Gingo Biloba’ from the *Divan*, who seemed to hint at how the Lied could promote something that was both *deutsch* and *morgenländisch*, *west-östlich*:

> Solche Frage zu erwidern
> Fand ich wohl den rechten Sinn;
> Fühlst du nicht an meinen Liedern
> Daß ich eins und doppelt bin?[8]

[8] FA, III/1, p. 79.

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