

Mahler, Nietzsche and the Pernerstorfer Circle:
Philosophical Resonances in the *Wunderhorn* Symphonies

Leah K. Batstone

Schulich School of Music
McGill University, Montréal

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“To him who will get there! To those who will be there!”¹

- Gustav Mahler (Hamburg, 17 October 1896)

¹ “Dem der da kommen wird!/ Denen die da sein werden!” The composer’s manuscript inscription at the end of the first movement of the Third Symphony.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores Gustav Mahler's interest in the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche and the influence of this interest on his first four symphonies, works the composer himself identified as a group. Although Mahler's own comments about Nietzsche are few and far between, Nietzsche's reception amongst Mahler's university peers, members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, including Siegfried Lipiner, Victor Adler, and Richard von Kralik, is better documented and provides a more plentiful site for the investigation of the composer's interactions with the philosopher. In this study, I identify five elements of Nietzsche's reception by the Pernerstorfer Circle that influenced their own work as politicians, dramatists, and writers, through primary source research into their letters, essays, and unpublished manuscripts, and that can also be seen in Mahler's music as facets of his compositional style. These elements are the use of theatrical symbolism, which draws on Nietzsche's Dionysian-Apollonian dialectic to affect large and diverse groups; the juxtaposition of tragic and comic as an encouragement to persevere through life's deceptions and disappointments; the deployment of multiple narrative perspectives and the celebration of a plurality of voices to exemplify a more equitable and realistic view of society; the benevolent and divine characterization of the *Übermensch* and encouragement to overcome adversity within and surrounding the individual; and the use and interaction of various folk musics as demonstrative of a personal authenticity characteristic of Austria's multiethnic make-up. What this dissertation aims to do is not only to better understand what specific Nietzschean concepts meant to Mahler, but also to explore the extent of the philosopher's resonance in Mahler's music by examining particular musical techniques that can be connected to particular Nietzschean ideas. As a result, this dissertation effectively and concretely links Mahler's musical contributions to social and philosophical developments in fin-de-siècle Vienna.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse explore l'intérêt de Gustav Mahler pour le philosophe Friedrich Nietzsche ainsi que l'influence qu'a eue cet intérêt sur ses quatre symphonies, œuvres que le compositeur a lui-même identifiées comme faisant partie d'un seul et même groupe. Malgré le fait que les propres commentaires de Mahler à propos de Nietzsche soient rares, la réception de Nietzsche parmi les collègues universitaires de Mahler faisant partie du cercle de Pernerstorfer (Siegfried Lipiner, Victor Adler et Richard von Kralik, entre autres) est mieux documentée et offre une riche source de recherche pour l'étude des influences du philosophe chez le compositeur. Par le biais d'un travail de recherche basé sur des matériaux de sources primaires, cette étude identifie cinq éléments de la réception de Nietzsche dans les lettres, dissertations et manuscrits non publiés des membres du cercle de Pernerstorfer qui ont par la suite influencé leurs travaux de politiciens, de dramaturges et d'écrivains, et qui plus est se manifestent dans la musique de Mahler dans certaines facettes de son style de composition. Ces éléments sont utilisés par le théâtre symboliste qui, afin d'aller chercher un public plus large et plus divers, s'inspire de la dialectique nietzschéenne entre Apollon et Dionysos ; de la juxtaposition entre le tragique et le comique afin d'encourager la persévérance à travers les tromperies et les déceptions que la vie nous offre ; du déploiement de plusieurs points de vue de narration et de la célébration de la pluralité des voix pour incarner une vision plus équitable et plus réaliste de la société ; de la caractérisation divine et bienveillante du *Übermensch* et de l'incitation à surpasser l'adversité à l'intérieur et autour de l'individu ; ainsi que de l'utilisation et de l'interaction entre diverses musiques folkloriques pour démontrer l'authenticité personnelle propre au fard multiethnique de l'Autriche. En faisant l'examen de techniques musicales pouvant être reliées à certaines idées nietzschéennes, cette thèse ne se limite pas à mieux comprendre ce qu'un concept nietzschéen donné signifiait pour Mahler, mais explore également l'étendue de la résonance du philosophe dans la musique de Mahler. Ainsi, cette thèse fait un lien concret et efficace entre la contribution musicale de Mahler et les développements sociaux et philosophiques de la fin de siècle viennois.

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INTRODUCTION

For a nineteenth-century composer, the field of Mahler scholarship is still somewhat young. While the first scholarly biographies and secondary literature on Mahler appeared in the early 1900s, authored by writers such as Ludwig Schiedemair, Gustav Specht, and Paul Bekker, the field of Mahler studies only began to gain a firm musicological foothold in the second half of the twentieth century with the emergence of books by Dika Newlin (1954) and Kurt Blaukopf (1969) as well as the multivolume works of Constantin Floros (1977-85), Donald Mitchell (1958, 1975, 1985) and Henry-Louis de La Grange (1973, and 1979-84). While the first collection of Mahler's letters was edited and published by his wife in 1925, the revised edition by Herta Blaukopf did not appear until 1982, and the important collections *Unbekannte Briefe* and *The Mahler Family Letters* were only published in 1983 and 2006 respectively. The recollections of Mahler's friend and confidante, Natalie Bauer-Lechner, which have been essential to understanding the composer's personality and musical character, were first published in a woefully incomplete edition in 1923. A revised and extended version appeared in 1984, but has yet to be translated into English and still lacks a considerable amount of material from the original source (access to which is available exclusively through the Médiathèque Musicale Mahler in Paris).¹

Scholarship of the last twenty years has built rapidly upon the biographical studies mentioned above. James Zychowicz relates continued scholarly interest in Mahler to the music's "potent intertextuality."² It is not only Mahler's quotation of his own compositions and those of

¹ I know this because I have transcribed all extant versions of Bauer-Lechner's papers as part of a project with Morten Solvik and Stephen Hefling to revise and publish a new, complete version of Bauer-Lechner's recollections.

² James Zychowicz, "Gustav Mahler's Second Century: Achievements in Scholarship and Challenges for Research," *Notes* 67 Number 3 (March 2011), 476.

others, but the way in which these elements interact in his music that remains so attractive to students of Mahler's work. And in this vein, much of the scholarship has approached Mahler's music with a hermeneutical spirit, be it alert to form, program, quotation, or context. Individual books on Mahler have taken a number of paths, many of which place him within larger discussions of culture and identity. Peter Franklin's *The Life of Mahler* (1997) is an excellent overview of Mahler's personal history that weaves musical details together with important cultural contexts. K.M. Knittel's *Seeing Mahler: Music and the Language of Antisemitism in fin-de-siècle Vienna* (2010) also examines the culture surrounding Mahler's contemporary reception, but is less occupied with musical analysis or proposing new readings of the composer's works than with identifying commonly used codes for anti-semitism in fin-de-siècle Vienna musical criticism. Both Raymond Knapp's *Symphonic Metamorphoses: Subjectivity and Alienation in Mahler's Re-cycled Songs* (2003) and Julian Johnson's *Mahler's Voices: Expression and Irony in the Songs and Symphonies* (2009) approach the specific themes of irony and alienation in Mahler's works, combining analysis of the songs and symphonies into a reciprocal dialogue. The works of Thomas Peattie (*Gustav Mahler's Symphonic Landscapes*, 2015) and Seth Monahan (*Mahler's Symphonic Sonatas*, 2015) employ a more analytical approach in order to discuss Mahler's unique relationship to topics and forms.

Interest in Mahler and philosophical or literary movements has also appeared in German Studies in recent years, especially in the work of Carl Niekerk who has published several articles on Mahler as well as the book *Reading Mahler: German Culture and Jewish Identity in Fin-de-*

Siècle Vienna (2010).³ Niekerk's work offers a historical perspective on Mahler's relationship to German culture as both a member and an outsider, looking at the works of Jean Paul, Nietzsche and Goethe. Caroline Kita's 2011 dissertation in German Studies, "Jacob Struggling with the Angel: Siegfried Lipiner, Gustav Mahler, and the Search for Aesthetic-Religious Redemption in *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*" has provided a number of new insights on Mahler's close friend, Siegfried Lipiner, connecting Lipiner's literary and ideological inclinations to those of Mahler while demonstrating how both men sought a kind of religious aesthetic in their works. Studies on Mahler have also served as part of larger discussions of music and culture in the 19th and 20th centuries, including in Stephen Downes's *Music and Decadence in European Modernism: The Case of Central and Eastern Europe* (2010) and Kevin Karnes's *A Kingdom Not of This World: Wagner, the Arts and Utopian Visions in fin-de-siècle Vienna* (2013).

In the last two decades, musicological literature has also seen a number of edited collections on Mahler, including *Mahler Studies* (1997), *The Mahler Companion* (1999), *Mahler and his World* (2002), *Perspectives of Gustav Mahler* (2005), *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler* (2007), *Contextualizing Mahler* (2011), *Rethinking Mahler* (2017), and *Music and Modernism* (2011) in which Mahler features prominently. As James Zychowicz notes, these collections are a "measurement of the specific issues and interests at the time they were prepared"⁴ and they demonstrate the more recent preoccupations with the complications of the composer's identity, philosophical and literary influences, the aesthetics of modernism, the importance of cultural contexts, the role of text and narrative, and the composer's reception and

³ Carl Niekerk, *Reading Mahler: German culture and Jewish identity in fin-de-siècle Vienna*, (Rochester, NY: Camden House), 2010.

⁴ Zychowicz, "Mahler's Second Century," 477

influence. In the introduction of *Perspectives*, editor Jeremy Barham writes that, “if the collection is unified by a single theme then it is paradoxically one distinguished by those concepts of pluralism and heterogeneity so evident in Mahler’s own creative practice.”⁵

Scholarly articles have largely mirrored the topics discussed above. Recurring themes include depictions of modernity (Deruchie, 2009; Voigt, 2010; Draughon, 2003; Laura Dolp, 2010), the role and definition of Mahler’s identity (Kravitt, 2002; Sheinbaum, 2006), the influence of literary and philosophical movements (Niekerk, 2004 and 2006), the complementary use of distance and synthesis in Mahler’s music (Joseph Delaplace, 2006; Kinderman, 2005), the question of program and narrative (Lee, 2011; Kangas, 2015), and Mahler’s relevance for newer topics and figures of musicological study (McClatchie, 2000; Barham, 2010; Fairclough, 2001). In the sphere of music theory, Mahler’s music has remained a delightful puzzle for analysis, leading to several articles on the relationship of his songs and symphonies to theories of form and genre (Monahan, 2007, 2011 and 2014; Peteri, 2009; Darcy, 2001; Bauman, 2006; Agawu 1986, 1992, 1997, and 2014).

With the trends of Mahler scholarship moving largely towards more specific studies of Mahler’s musical characteristics in combination with a desire to further contextualize the composer’s life and works against his surroundings, especially fin-de-siècle Vienna, my study of Mahler’s interest in Nietzsche is well-timed. Nietzsche’s reception in fin-de-siècle Vienna was hugely important for various fields, including psychoanalysis, politics, and literature. I believe the concrete exploration of Mahler’s interest in Nietzsche will set the foundation for further

⁵ Jeremy Barham, “Introduction,” *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler* (Edited by Jeremy Barham. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), xxix.

studies of Mahler's musical innovations in comparison with the developments of these broader fields. The study of Mahler's reception of Nietzsche undertaken in this dissertation will also provide possible explanations for the motivation behind some of the composer's most individual compositional techniques, including the collision of musical voices, narrative ambiguity, and his unprecedented use of quotation.

In this dissertation, I present the contexts and analyze the details of Mahler's engagement with Nietzsche. I argue that the philosopher's ideas as they were interpreted by the group that introduced Mahler to his writings, the Pernerstorfer Circle, made a significant impact on the composer's early symphonic output. I trace the composer's involvement with the circle, as well as the activities of its members during Mahler's university years and beyond, and I identify five recurring topics that can be seen in the first four symphonies and in the work of others members of the group, and that can be linked to their reading and interpretation of Nietzsche's writings. Nearly all of the recurring ideas I explore derive from Mahler's own comments invoking Nietzsche. Furthermore, these elements of Mahler's musical style have been repeatedly discussed as unique to the composer. By connecting them to the reception of Nietzsche amongst Mahler and his peers, I offer evidence for the importance of Nietzsche on the composer's early output.

In what follows, I consider what has been written about Mahler's interactions with Nietzsche as well as the issues that have left this topic ripe for further exploration. I suggest that while Mahler's interest in Nietzsche is undeniable, the paucity of the composer's substantive comments on his reading of Nietzsche has made scholars cautious to offer a concrete interpretation of his engagement. I also consider how the ease with which Nietzsche's own

writings have been appropriated by diverse groups adds a layer of opacity to the project of discerning Mahler's interest in the philosopher.

The Mahler and Nietzsche Literature

Mahler's rather numerous comments to his friends and family about Nietzsche and Nietzschean concepts, in combination with his setting of "The Midnight Song" ["Mitternachtslied"] from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* in the Third Symphony make it difficult to ignore the composer's engagement with the philosopher. However, little has been written to address this topic specifically. The only book-length work of scholarship that engages with the topic of Nietzsche's importance to Mahler is Eveline Nikkel's 1989 *"Oh Mensch! Gib Acht! Friedrich Nietzsches Bedeutung for Gustav Mahler."*⁶ Nikkel explores the intriguing ways in which the two men's lives paralleled one another, mentally, physically, and geographically. Her study is the first and only to broach the topic in the musicological discipline, providing groundwork for my project on the more specific question of Mahler's particular Nietzsche reception and its influence on his early symphonies alone.

Far and away the most influential book dealing with Mahler's university years and his introduction to Nietzsche is cultural historian William McGrath's 1974 *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria.*⁷ McGrath seeks to outline the history of Mahler's group of colleagues at the University of Vienna, the Pernerstorfer Circle, a study that has inspired my own

⁶ Eveline Nikkel, *'Oh Mensch! Gib Acht!': Friedrich Nietzsches Bedeutung für Gustav Mahler.* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1989).

⁷ William McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

approach to deciphering Mahler's interest in Nietzsche. Whereas McGrath examines the broader topic of the group's early formation, its numerous philosophical influences and the effects of involvement in the group on the professional work of its members, I will focus on the group's reception of Nietzsche specifically and how this informs Mahler's cryptic references to the philosopher. McGrath devotes one full chapter to Mahler, looking only at the influences of the group's reading and discussion on Mahler's Third Symphony. McGrath acknowledges that he is departing from his own training to explore not just the political, social and historical, but also the psychological and the artistic. He correctly attributes, I believe, the absence of research done on this group as a whole to the interdisciplinary nature of its components. As McGrath admits, he is not a musicologist and hence his musical analyses, though relevant and valuable, are not grounded in knowledge of musical history or the language and literature of the musicological discipline.

Many musicologists have broached Mahler's philosophical interests, which have provided excellent models for my own synthesis of literary, philosophical and musical study. The subject of Jeremy Barham's Ph.D. dissertation is the influence of another philosopher on Mahler's music, that of Gustav Fechner. His analysis requires a discussion of Nietzsche's role in Mahler's philosophical encounters, which Barham elegantly and thoroughly provides in chapter nine of his study.⁸ While Barham acknowledges the opaqueness of the Mahler-Nietzsche question, he argues that musicians and musicologists who have been quick to discount Mahler's interest in the philosopher—particularly Bruno Walter and Constantin Floros—may have been

⁸ Jeremy Barham, "Mahler's Third Symphony and the Philosophy of Gustav Fechner: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Criticism, Analysis and Interpretation" (Ph.D. diss, University of Surrey, 1998).

motivated by other factors, such as the status of Nietzsche's work in the post-war period. Barham explores both Mahler's setting of Zarathustra's "Midnight Song" in the fourth movement of the Third, as well as his comment that the last movement could be considered as a representation of the *Übermensch*. Both of these discussions, while ultimately in the service of a comparison between the worldview expressed through Mahler's music and the ideas of Fechner, provide valuable information for my own discussion of Mahler's use of the term *Übermensch* and its connection to his Nietzsche reception.

Morten Solvik's doctoral dissertation also provides one of the first in-depth studies of the cultural context surrounding the creation of Mahler's Third Symphony.⁹ As Mahler's only work in which Nietzsche features explicitly, the dissertation touches on Nietzsche's importance to Mahler at several junctures. In his chapter on art as a mystical realm, Solvik discusses Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*, which presents a vision of the healing power that informed the view of Mahler and the Pernerstorfer Circle. In his chapter on Mahler and religion, Solvik also dissects Mahler's comparison of God to the *Übermensch* in his characterization of the Third Symphony's final movement. Finally, Mahler's setting of the "Midnight Song" features prominently in Solvik's seventh chapter, "The Questioning of Life, 'Movement 4: What the Night Tells Me'."

⁹ Morten Solvik Olsen, "Culture and the creative imagination: The genesis of Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony. (Volumes I and II)" (Ph.D. diss, University of Pennsylvania 1992).

The Mahler Problem

Part of the challenge for scholars of Mahler's music has been not only the paucity of the composer's comments on Nietzsche but their tone, which is often at the very least vague, if not outright contradictory. Early comments reveal Mahler to be an enthusiastic reader of Nietzsche. In late 1891, Mahler wrote to Emil Freund about Nietzsche's work, "In the last few weeks I have been reading something so remarkable and strange that it may very well have an *epoch*-making influence on my life."¹⁰ Mahler also used overtly Nietzschean terms to describe his works. In addition to setting the "Midnight Song" from Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* in his Third Symphony, in 1896, he wrote to Annie Mincieux that the final movement of the work can be thought of as, "God. Or if you like, the *Übermensch*!"¹¹ For a short time, the composer also considered giving the symphony the title, *Meine fröhliche Wissenschaft*, an explicit allusion to Nietzsche's *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*.

Mahler also used less overtly Nietzschean terms that can still be connected to his reading of the philosopher, such as "Dionysian." In 1899, Mahler received a copy of a new work by his friend and fellow circle member, Siegfried Lipiner. The work was the play *Adam*, the prelude to a dramatic trilogy by Lipiner called the *Christus Trilogy*. Upon its receipt, Mahler replied,

This is a truly Dionysian work! . . . *What* ever is it that delivers all living creatures into the power of Dionysus? Wine intoxicates, intensifying the drinker's condition. But *what* is wine?—No visual representation has ever yet succeeded in capturing what flowers

¹⁰ Letter to Emil Freund, late Autumn 1891, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, ed. Herta Blaukopf (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 1982), 96. ["Auch habe ich in diesen Wochen eine so merkwürdige Lektüre beendet, die wohl einen epochemachenden Einfluß auf mein Leben zu nehmen scheint."] Translation from *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, ed. Knud Martner, trans. Eitlen Wilkins, Ernst Kaiser, and Bill Hopkins (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), 139-140.

¹¹ "Gott: Oder wenn Sie wollen der Übermensch." See letter to Annie Mincieux, early November 1896, *Gustav Mahler Unbekannte Briefe* (Vienna/Hamburg 1983), 126-7.

spontaneously from every note of music. *This* music lives and breathes throughout your poetry in this work of yours. It is really unique.—Instead of telling of wine or describing its effects, it *is* wine, it *is* Dionysus! It seems to me, incidentally, that what Dionysus personified to the ancients was simply *instinct*, in the grandiose mystical sense in which you have interpreted it. In your music, as in the myth, those in ecstasy are driven forth to become one with the animals.—I do thank you, dear Siegfried. I shall always honor your work. But it is just as well that it is *I* who have it. I need it, and it needs me!¹²

I do not suggest that Mahler could not have encountered this term elsewhere, but its use in a letter to Lipiner in particular and the specifics of his description of the concept suggest the philosopher's *Birth of Tragedy*, which Mahler and Lipiner read together as students in Vienna.

Mahler's enthusiasm for Arnim and Bretano's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* poems can also serve as a less definite link to Nietzsche's philosophy. In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche suggests that the poetry of the folk stories might provide the foundations for a revival of ancient tragedy.¹³ For Nietzsche, the *Wunderhorn* collection was a particularly powerful example of the way in which the folk song served as "the musical mirror of the world."¹⁴ Mahler himself commented about the collection of poems, "I have committed myself utterly and with complete awareness to the type and tone of this poetry (which distinguishes itself considerably from every other type of 'literary poetry'; and could almost be more properly called nature and life—that is,

¹² "Das ist ein wahrhaft dionysisches Werk!... *Was* ist es denn, was alles Lebende in die Gewalt des Dionysos gibt? Der Wein berauscht und erhöht den Zustand des Trinkenden! *Was* aber ist der Wein?—Der Darstellung ist es bis jetzt noch nie gelungen, was sich in der Musik in jeder Note von selbst ergibt. In Deiner Dichtung weht *diese* Musik! Sie ist wirklich einzig auf der Welt. —Sie erzählt nicht vom Wein, sie *ist* Dionysos! Mir scheint es übrigens, daß die Gestalt des Dionysos bei den Alten eben der *Trieb* war, in diesem mystisch-grandiosen Sinn, wie Du ihn erfasst! Auch dort treibt es die Ergriffenen hinaus zu den Tieren, mit denen sie *eins* werden..—Ich danke Dir vielmals, lieber Siegfried, ich will Dein Werk in Ehren halten—aber es ist gut, daß gerade *ich* es habe. Ich brauch's und *es* braucht mich!" See letter to Siegfried Lipiner, June 1888, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, ed. Herta Blaukopf (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1982), 241. Translation from *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, ed. by Knud Martner and trans. by Eithne Wilkins & Ernst Kaiser and Bill Hopkins. (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), 236-7.

¹³ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy, Out of the Spirit of Music*, in *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, translated by Walter Kaufmann (New York: The Random House Publishing Group, 2000 [1872]), 6.

¹⁴ Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, 6, 53.

the source of all poetry—than art.)”¹⁵ According to Bauer-Lechner, in 1896 Mahler was even reading the poetry at the same time as Nietzsche. “With his coffee and cigarette, he reads a little. (*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, Goethe and Nietzsche occupied him at that time—though he would have nothing to do with newspapers).”¹⁶

The composer also appears to have served for a time as a true disciple of Nietzsche, disseminating his writings through prose and conversation. In a letter from Budapest to his friend Fritz Löhr’s sister, Bertha, dated January 1891, Mahler added as a postscript, “And this very day, too, a volume of Nietzsche goes into the post for you. You will then, I hope, cease to pelt me with mean filth.”¹⁷ Bruno Walter recalls that his own interest in Nietzsche came from Mahler. “It was he that aroused my interest in Nietzsche, with whose *Also sprach Zarathustra* he was deeply occupied at the time.”¹⁸ The time that Walter is referring to is most likely 1894—his next recollection of Mahler is that the composer gave him a copy of Schopenhauer’s works for Christmas that year. Mahler’s nephew recalled that the composer used to read from *Zarathustra* to friends and family in the period when he was writing the Second and Third Symphonies, the

¹⁵ Letter to Ludwig Karpath, 2 March 1905, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, ed. Herta Blaukopf (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 1982), 322. Translation by Solvik, “Culture and the creative imagination: The genesis of Gustav Mahler’s Third Symphony. (Volumes I and II).”

¹⁶ “Bei Kaffee und Zigarette ward erst ein wenig gelesen (‘*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*,’ Goethe und Nietzsche hatte er gerade vor—nur jede Zeitung hat er sich abgeschworen).” See Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler* (Hamburg, Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), 73. Translation from Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler*, translated by Dika Newlin (London: Faber & Faber, 1980), 73.

¹⁷ Letter to Bertha from January 1891, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 418. What exactly is meant by this comment is unclear.

¹⁸ Bruno Walter, *Theme and Variations: An Autobiography*, trans. by James A. Galston, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 85-6

years from 1888 to 1896.¹⁹ As late as 1906, Mahler defended both Nietzsche's late works of philosophy and his "amateurish" musical compositions.²⁰

By contrast Bruno Walter also wrote that Mahler, "was attracted by the poetic fire of *Zarathustra*, but repelled by the core of its intellectual content. Nietzsche's anti-Wagnerism made him indignant, and later he turned against him; the aphorist was bound to antagonize the master of symphonic form."²¹ Mahler's wife Alma recalled, upon finding Nietzsche's works on her bookshelf, that he immediately suggested that they should be thrown into the open fire.²²

The result of these paradoxical references is that scholars have taken positions arguing both for and against Mahler's interest in Nietzsche. In his monograph on the composer, Kurt Blaukopf's few mentions of Mahler's interactions with Nietzsche have a dismissive tone.²³ Taking his cues from the comments made by Walter, Blaukopf reports that while Mahler admired Nietzsche's "fiery language" he did not agree with its content, and that the composer of such monumental scale found Nietzsche's aphoristic style "irritating." In a more in-depth discussion of the meaning of Mahler's setting of the "Midnight Song," Blaukopf argues that the Third Symphony is in fact a critique of Nietzsche; the text Mahler chooses to set "shows no trace of the

¹⁹ Alfred Rosé, "Aus Gustav Mahlers Sturm- und Drangperiode: Wie die Zweite und Dritte Symphonie in Steinbach am Attersee entstanden sind" in *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), 215.

²⁰ Bernard Scharlitt, "Gespräch mit Mahler," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2/7-8 (1920), 310.

²¹ Bruno Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, trans. by Lotte Walter Lindt (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 155.

²² Alma Mahler, *Erinnerungen und Briefe* (Amsterdam: Allert de Lange, 1940), 28. Carl Niekerk, I believe rightly, suggests that this second recollection of Mahler on Nietzsche may in fact have more to do with Mahler's view of his young bride. He could not stand to have Alma pursue a career in composition, it is difficult to imagine that his idealized image of her included the reading of a complex and controversial philosopher. See Carl Niekerk, *Reading Mahler: German culture and Jewish identity in fin-de-siècle Vienna* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 125.

²³ Kurt Blaukopf, *Mahler*, translated by Inge Goodwin (London: Futura Publications Limited, 1973).

superman element” and that the whole concept of the *Übermensch* is rejected by the structure of the rest of the symphony. Blaukopf puts particular emphasis on the incongruence of the title of the last movement, “What Love Tells Me,” and Zarathustra’s repetition that, “Never yet have I found the woman whose children I should want; then be it this woman whom I love: for I love thee, Eternity!” but does not acknowledge Mahler’s own characterization of this movement as the “*Übermensch*.”²⁴

Constantin Floros also largely eschews Mahler’s interest in Nietzsche. Basing his view on Mahler’s anti-Nietzschean comments to Alma in 1901, Floros says that “what [Mahler] thought about Nietzsche at the time the Third was composed (1895,1896) is not specifically known.”²⁵ However he states that by 1901, Mahler was a “decided opponent of Nietzsche’s philosophy,” taking the position that the content of Mahler’s Third Symphony is in fact in “direct opposition” to Nietzsche’s philosophy in that Nietzsche characterizes himself as “Godless and Antimetaphysical.”²⁶ Floros ultimately takes Mahler’s one-time use of the title *Meine fröhliche Wissenschaft* for the Third to be a statement of opposition, a staking out of a philosophy of life that does *not* align with, but is rather an antidote to, Nietzsche’s *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*.

Taking the opposite stance, Peter Franklin has written that it would be “perverse” to suggest that Nietzsche’s Romantic and Wagnerian theories about nature in particular did not influence “Mahler’s creative personality.”²⁷ Franklin’s voluminous writings on Mahler have

²⁴ Blaukopf, *Mahler*, 120-4.

²⁵ Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 91.

²⁶ Floros, *The Symphonies*, 91.

²⁷ Peter Franklin, review of *Oh Mensch! Gib Acht!': Friedrich Nietzsches Bedeutung für Gustav Mahler*, by Eveline Nikkels, *Music and Letters* 71 No 4 (November 1990): 585.

yielded countless insights, leads, and models for the research and analysis performed in this dissertation, including the essay “A Stranger’s Story: Programmes, Politics and Mahler’s Third Symphony”, which introduces some of the actors and themes that are studied here.²⁸ Franklin mentions the variety of Nietzschean interpretations during the 1890s, the career trajectories of some of Mahler’s University of Vienna classmates and the ambiguity of the role of Nietzsche in Mahler’s thought. He also offers a political *and* Nietzschean reading of the first movement of the Third Symphony as part of an investigation into the obfuscated programmatic meaning of the work²⁹ which I interrogate in Chapter 2 in the context of the work of Mahler’s political acquaintances from the Pernerstorfer Circle.

Morten Solvik has also done important work on Mahler’s cultural and philosophical interests that serve as a model for my research. His essay “Mahler’s Untimely Modernism” examines the composer’s philosophical and literary interests and he considers the specific influence of literature of early nineteenth-century German Romanticism, as well as philosophical texts, in particular Schopenhauer’s *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, on Mahler compositions in the essay “The literary and philosophical worlds of Gustav Mahler.” Solvik draws an explicit connection between Mahler’s use of texts, literary and philosophical including those of Nietzsche, and the composer’s world view. He rightly claims the “intermingling of philosophy and music helps to explain the world-embracing ambitions of [Mahler’s] symphonies as well as the prominent use of texts in many of these works; the frequent programs, movement titles, Lied

²⁸ Peter Franklin, “A Stranger’s Story: Programmes, Politics and Mahler’s Third Symphony” in *The Mahler Companion* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1999), 171-186.

²⁹ Franklin, “A Stranger’s Story,” 178-182.

quotations, and vocal passages provide verbal indications of the composer's musico-philosophic aims."³⁰ I rely heavily upon this approach to music-text analysis in the work presented here.

Vera Micznik argues that Mahler the individual may not, in fact, be the best source for decoding his Nietzschean references. She has approached Mahler's Third Symphony and its Nietzschean elements by examining the contents of the work alone.³¹ Instead of using the positivist, source-study oriented approach that seeks to decipher the composer's thoughts and intentions through the circumstances of the composition, Micznik focuses on what the music conveys, today, to the listener. In so doing, she considers the texts Mahler employs, including individual songs from the *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* cycle as well as Mahler's setting of the "Midnight Song" from *Zarathustra*. I also employ this type of analysis in my own discussion of Mahler's music. Micznik critiques past accounts of the meaning of Mahler's use of Nietzsche's text, which have presented contradictory interpretations, a result she credits to the shortfall of not looking to the music itself. What she concludes is that Mahler's very combination of *Wunderhorn* poems and Nietzschean texts (and particularly Mahler's original title for the symphony, *Meine fröhliche Wissenschaft*) points to a desire to lighten the entire mood of discourse, as if to say that we can be serious without being weighed down.

In nearly all of these works of scholarship, there remains a dearth of study on Mahler and Nietzsche specifically—especially beyond his Third Symphony. This lacuna in the literature is, I

³⁰ Morten Solvik, "The literary and philosophical worlds of Gustav Mahler" in *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler*, edited by Jeremy Barham (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 31.

³¹ Vera Micznik, "'Ways of Telling' in Mahler's Music: The Third Symphony as Narrative Text." In *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, edited by Jeremy Barham. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005),

believe, a result not only of problems with Mahler's conflicting comments on the philosopher, but of those originating with the philosopher himself.

The Nietzsche Problem

Not unlike the problem of Mahler's interest in Nietzsche, the philosopher is himself an elusive subject. His works are notoriously ambiguous and their meaning remains the subject of ongoing debate.³² Nietzsche's versatility is also borne out historically. There have been a startling diversity of interpretations of Nietzsche's work between the philosopher's death and the fall of the Berlin Wall, as Steven Aschheim's book *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany: 1890-1990* shows.³³ Aschheim's chapters lay out a variety of contradictory interpretations of Nietzsche's thought across multiple political and social organizations, effectively demonstrating that constructions of Nietzsche are in the eye of the beholder.

Aschheim's book explores Nietzsche's relevance to fin-de-siècle Germany, the Weimar Republic, both liberal and conservative forms of socialism, religious organizations, the Third Reich, and Germany after World War II.³⁴ According to Aschheim, each of these groups read and appropriated Nietzsche for its own purposes (with Nietzsche's use by the Third Reich being most

³² There are countless examples of the hermeneutic flexibility of his writing in the secondary literature, but as an example, Wolfgang Müller-Lauter devoted his entire book, *Nietzsche: His Philosophy of Contradictions and the Contradictions of His Philosophy*, to this facet of Nietzsche's work. See Wolfgang Müller-Lauter, *Nietzsche*, trans. David J. Parent (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

³³ Steven E. Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany: 1890-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

³⁴ Although it is not within the scope of Aschheim's book, other examples of Nietzsche's multifaceted appeal include his importance to postmodernism and French thought. See Jean-Jacques Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History"; Jean-Paul Sartre, *La Nausée*; Jean Francois Lyotard, *Libidinal Economy*; among others.

famous and having done the most damage). For some German socialists, Nietzsche's rejection of the bourgeoisie and his call for personal authenticity was read as an endorsement of the value of all members of society, while capitalists and fascists were attracted by Nietzsche's critique of democracy and belief that the gifted should be encouraged to overcome all others in their pursuits. Nietzsche's engagement with religion was a central theme and Aschheim devotes an entire chapter to religious readings of Nietzsche (despite the philosopher's assertion that "God is dead" and his repeated aversion to Christian morality). In particular, the philosopher's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* has often been seen as a revised gospel with Zarathustra and his Higher Men serving as a corollary to Christ and his disciples.

In addition to the diverse readings of Nietzsche in Germany between 1890 and 1990 that Aschheim's book provides, a variety of Nietzsche receptions can also be found in fin-de-siècle Vienna outside the bounds of the Pernerstorfer Circle. Hermann Bahr, who would become a friend and correspondent of Mahler's and who traveled in similar circles as Mahler and his University of Vienna classmates published the scathing essay, "Der neue Nietzsche" in an 1895 edition of *Die Zeit*.³⁵ The essay, which sought to evaluate Nietzsche's late writings, included the following response to Nietzsche's rejection of both Wagner and Christianity.

There are those in this world who may only attain their sense of the world, their vision of creation, through a lover. Such people always need a beloved in order to feel through them, the very essence of their being and perceive its meaning. It is in a manner similar to this, that Nietzsche always needed someone or something to hate. To me it seems that his hatred did to its object what the emotion of love is apt to do to the beloved. He did not take care to investigate its truth but rather he looked within himself and transfigured it, making it replete with alterations and distortions until it was finally worthy of him. He did not care about how things really were, but rather how they had to be so he could revel in outrage and disgust. Wagnerians and Christians need not be alarmed. His Wagner and

³⁵ Hermann Bahr, "Der neue Nietzsche" in *Die Zeit* (12 Jan. 1895): 27-28.

his Christ are not the real ones. They are but the offspring of a monstrous rage that was crying out for want of a victim.

Bahr's review coincides exactly with Mahler's composition of the Third Symphony and his setting of Nietzsche's "Oh Mensch, Gib Acht!" from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. While Mahler is not likely to have agreed with Nietzsche's rejections of Wagner or Christianity, he was still combing Nietzsche's texts for meaning and insight. The contrasting evaluations of Nietzsche's worth even amongst Mahler's contemporaries at the fin-de-siècle is evidence of the difficulty in establishing the meaning of Nietzsche's presence in Mahler's writings.

An article from a 1900 edition of the *Deutsche Zeitung* provides a slightly more sympathetic reading of Nietzsche, but still relegates both his young and "modern" followers to the realm of unsophisticated and selfish children, destined to be looked upon unfavorably by future generations.³⁶ The anonymous author writes,

Perhaps the greatest misfortune for Nietzsche and his teachings was that his once so vibrant and active mind was submerged for so long in the dark night of insanity. The creator of *The Genealogy of Morals* and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* would be horrified by his "disciples." I do not know if he would have philosophized—"with the hammer"—with any of them. But he could not prevent his thinking from being reduced to a Salon and Cafe Philosophy, by a—may it be said in honor of the single productive Indo-Germanic race—practically Semitic collection of upstarts, to a world view for the unified self-obsessed epicureans.

The author writes disparagingly about Nietzsche's legacy and his largely Jewish disciples. Given that the Nietzsche disciple and Jewish-born youth, Siegfried Lipiner, had been a writer for the *Deutsche Zeitung* twenty years earlier, the tone of this author's evaluation of Nietzsche's modern

³⁶ "Friedrich Nietzsche und die Modernen," *Deutsche Zeitung*, no.10294 (28 August 1900), a primary source I uncovered while in Vienna.

followers is demonstrative of the variety of Nietzsche reception in fin-de-siècle Vienna, even in the same publication.

The project of identifying and exploring Mahler's interest in Nietzsche therefore requires not only a study of the composer and his references to Nietzsche, but also an examination of Nietzsche's reception amongst Mahler's peers. Regarding the study of Mahler and Nietzsche, Peter Franklin observed in his review of Eveline Nikkels' work that "what needs to be done is to extend and deepen William J. McGrath's fine study of Mahler's early philosophical position in the context of the radical student groups of Vienna in the 1870s and '80s."³⁷ This dissertation attempts to furnish such a study. It will reveal not only the elements of Nietzsche's reception within these student groups in fin-de-siècle Vienna and how Mahler employed these elements in his compositions, but will also place their reception within a broader context of Austrian identity politics of this era.

Chapter Overview

My dissertation combines musical analysis with historical research. I will illuminate Mahler's relationship to Nietzsche via the Pernerstorfer Circle by approaching the topic simultaneously from two directions. One is a historical examination of how the members of the circle who were close to Mahler interpreted and received the works of Nietzsche. The other is the interpretation of Mahler's music in light of its Nietzschean aspects, which I have identified through both the writings of other musicologists as well as my own reflection. This will include an examination of

³⁷ Peter Franklin, review of *Oh Mensch! Gib Acht!': Friedrich Nietzsches Bedeutung für Gustav Mahler*, by Eveline Nikkels, *Music and Letters* 71, no. 4 (November 1990): 585.

Nietzsche's reception by the group and its members in the period of the 1870s, as well as how Nietzsche's ideas informed the later work of many of these individuals. This combined approach will show an overlap in the reception of Nietzsche's thought by fin-de-siècle Viennese intellectuals in Mahler's milieu and Mahler's unique compositional techniques in his early symphonies.

I identify five distinct characteristics in Mahler's music that also reflect the group's Nietzsche reception, and each of these will serve as the basis for subsequent chapters. These five characteristics are (1) a stylistic evocation of the Dionysian-Apollonian dialectic of Greek tragedy in order to produce a cathartic experience; (2) the juxtaposition of tragedy and comedy as an experience of salvation; (3) the concept of the *Übermensch* as a musical descriptor as well as a narrative model; (4) Nietzsche's definition of "objectivity" and the unique use of plurality in Mahler's concept of narrative; and (5) the diversity of ethnic voices through folksong quotations in the early symphonies.

The first chapter will provide an overview of the Pernerstorfer Circle's history and capsule biographies of the members who will be discussed most frequently in the rest of the dissertation. These individuals include the socialist politicians Victor Adler, Engelbert Pernerstorfer and Heinrich Braun, philosopher and writer Siegfried Lipiner, dramatist Richard von Kralik, and historian Heinrich Friedjung. I will also introduce Natalie Bauer-Lechner, a close friend of Mahler and Siegfried Lipiner, whose recollections of both will feature prominently in the study that follows.

The second chapter explores the Apollonian-Dionysian dialectic, set forth in Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*, which appears in Mahler's first three symphonies and was characteristic of the

politics of Victor Adler, Heinrich Friedjung, and Engelbert Pernerstorfer, each of whom utilized the power of aesthetics, particularly drama, to unite their constituency around a socialist agenda. A comparison of Adler's, Friedjung's, and Pernerstorfer's politics with Mahler's musical style has already been offered by McGrath, drawing on a Dionysian element in both music and politics, and focusing on Mahler's most outrightly Nietzschean symphony, the Third. I will expand McGrath's interpretations of Mahler's titles for, and comments about, the Third Symphony into a more detailed discussion of Mahler's specific compositional techniques, and I will argue that the cathartic elements present in the Third Symphony can also be found in the First and Second Symphonies. The chapter will draw on Mahler's own references to the Dionysian spirit, as well as more general discussions of Nietzsche's concept in letters and conversations between Pernerstorfer Circle members.

The following chapter will examine the concept of salvation through a combination of comedy and tragedy in Mahler's first four symphonies, which he called "a perfectly self-contained tetralogy." Invoking Nietzsche's comments about the power of tragicomic juxtaposition in ancient Greek tetralogies (appearing in the form of three tragedies and a light-hearted satyr play), I will assert that Mahler's juxtaposition of opposites functions beyond simple irony and creates a dramatic experience that affirms human life. Mahler's use of this combination to engender a redemptive effect will be considered in relation to Siegfried Lipiner's admiration for the ability of the ancient Greeks to combine seriousness and humor and Richard von Kralik's own religious dramas.

The fourth chapter will examine the concept of the *Übermensch*. Evoked by Mahler in his own description of the final movement of the Third Symphony, I will explore what Nietzsche's

Superman and the idea of overcoming likely meant to Mahler and how it is also employed in the narratives of the First and Second Symphonies. The understanding of the *Übermensch* revealed by these references and narratives will also be explored in the work of other members of the Circle, including work by Victor Adler and Heinrich Braun as a socialist ideology, and by Richard von Kralik and Siegfried Lipiner as a religious ideal.

The penultimate chapter will focus on elements of Victor Adler's brand of socialism by examining the concept of plurality, as it was understood by members of the Pernerstorfer Circle. One of the unique facets of Mahler's compositional style, to which Theodor Adorno dedicated much of his monograph on the composer, is what has been interpreted as a use of multiple narrative voices. I will explore how each of Adorno's Mahlerian "characteristics" draws on the simultaneous exploration of more than one point of view, an idea that was a central component of the idealistic socialism pioneered by members of the Pernerstorfer Circle in the 1870s.

The final chapter will extend the original query, Who was Mahler's Nietzsche?, to the question of why Mahler and his peers read Nietzsche in the ways outlined in chapters two through five. I argue that the more open and generous reading of Nietzschean concepts exemplified by the Circle was a result of their own experience as ethnically divided and therefore existing to some degree on the margins of European society; being outsiders themselves they sought interpretations of works that were sympathetic to outsiders. Mahler's multi-faceted identity, which he once referred to as akin to being "thrice homeless"—as a member of the German-speaking community as well as a Bohemian and a Jew—is often used as an example of his isolated genius, but it was in fact something that he shared with many of his fellow Pernerstorfer Circle members. These men all experienced a sense of divided ethnic allegiances

and alienation and that was common in Austria given its diverse constituency. As a result, these readers identified with the Nietzsche-as-outsider myth and were particularly drawn to his call to personal authenticity as validation and permission to celebrate exactly those elements that otherwise alienated them. This is borne out in Nietzsche's reception amongst other minority groups, particularly in Eastern Europe. The final chapter will demonstrate how Mahler's use of diverse folksong quotations reflects his own multiethnic background and was mirrored in the consideration of multiple ethnic identities in the work of other members of the Pernerstorfer Circle.

CHAPTER 1:

The Pernerstorfer Circle

The men who can take credit for introducing Gustav Mahler to the writings of one of the nineteenth century's most important thinkers are largely unknown. Only limited information about most of them, often appearing in service to scholarship on Mahler, exists in English. Because so much of the study that will be presented here depends on the identities and work of these men, this chapter will serve as an introduction to the Pernerstorfer Circle and some of its members. It will take the form of an overview of the group, followed by capsule biographies of those who will be discussed most often in the chapters to come. Since the study of the life and works of each of these men could easily become full-length projects in themselves, I will limit my overview of these individuals to the general circumstances of their upbringing, their interactions with Mahler and Nietzsche to the extent that they have been documented, and the influence of these interactions on their work as professionals. I will also include a short biography of Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Mahler's close friend and confidante between his university years and 1900, when he met his wife-to-be Alma Schindler. Bauer-Lechner was also a close friend of another of the circle's members, Siegfried Lipiner, and was likely familiar with most of the individuals discussed here.

The Circle

Mahler's university interlocutors, students at the University of Vienna in the 1870s, made up a group known as the Pernerstorfer Circle. They were among the very first cohorts to read and consider seriously Nietzsche's ideas. According to R. Hinton Thomas, before 1890 "interest in

Nietzsche's work had been restricted, individuals apart, to a few coterie, such as the Pernerstorfer Circle [sic] in Vienna, the Olden circle in Weimar, the Dehmel circle, and the group founded in 1886 in Berlin known as 'Durch.'"¹ Because of its informality, the Pernerstorfer Circle possessed a fluid membership that had little official documentation, however William McGrath has identified key members of the group as Siegfried Lipiner, Richard von Kralik, Victor Adler, Engelbert Pernerstorfer, Gustav Mahler, Heinrich Friedjung, and Max Gruber, with brief discussions of Heinrich Braun and Hugo Wolf.² Those who were closest to Mahler, several of whom remained lifelong friends, and whose work is repeatedly explored in the following chapters are Lipiner, Adler, Kralik, Pernerstorfer, Friedjung, and Braun.

The Pernerstorfer Circle was born from discontent these young Viennese felt towards the political climate of their youth. By the mid-century, the predominating politics of Austrian liberalism were characterized by an individualism that abandoned many of the social concerns addressed by the politics of Franz Joseph I and Maria Theresa (what is called Josephinism) in exchange for the pursuit of ever-growing wealth, the abandonment of aspirations towards a united German-speaking land, and the preference for scholarship and intellectualism over the Romantic passions of the soul. The men of the Pernerstorfer Circle rejected the bourgeois preoccupations of their fathers in favor of a populist, what McGrath calls "völkisch," approach to

¹ R. Hinton Thomas, *Nietzsche in German politics and society: 1890-1918* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1983), 2.

² William McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974).

society. Several of the members became politicians and even leaders of Austrian Social Democracy.³

The alignment of Nietzschean ideas with the social concerns of the masses, what would become the cornerstone of Austrian Democratic Socialism, is not a version of the philosopher often held by the popular imagination. Yet Steven E. Aschheim's *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany 1890-1990* describes the number and variety of interpretations of Nietzsche that occurred in German-speaking lands in the century following the publication of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, including its role in the development of Austrian and German socialism. He writes, "Nietzschean socialism was part of an ongoing quest for new forms of politico-cultural integration, providing suggestive images of an idealized future transcending conventional class categories."⁴ In line with this ideal, the Pernerstorfer Circle sought a renaissance of social reforms and the cultivation of community built on a new religion of art.

The Pernerstorfer Circle's first incarnation was as the Telyn Society, a group formed in 1867 by Victor Adler and Engelbert Pernerstorfer, along with Adler's younger brother, Max Gruber and Heinrich Friedjung. At the time of its inception, the founding members were students at the Schottengymnasium, a high school run by the Benedictine monastery of Schottenkirche, established in Vienna by Scottish and Irish missionaries in the 12th century and given over to the monks of the Austrian Melk Abbey in the 15th century.⁵ Two of the most important components

³ McGrath provides a brief, but thorough history of liberality policies in Austria, which is not the primary concern of this study. For more detail see McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria*, 7-13.

⁴ Steven E. Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany: 1890-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 167.

⁵ Rudolph Ardel, *Friedrich Adler: Probleme einer Persönlichkeitsentwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag, 1984), 23.

of the philosophy of this early group were German nationalism and a sympathy for the labor movement that manifested as intense socialism—positions that placed the society in opposition to the contemporary government’s domestic and foreign policies.⁶ McGrath attributes some of the group’s German nationalist feelings to the culture of their Gymnasium. The educational traditions of the institution were deeply rooted in an admiration for the medieval period, “in which the German *Volk* had achieved cultural and political greatness.”⁷ The connection between medieval German achievement and the aspirations of the Telynen was further cemented through remarkable similarities between the middle-high German of works such as the *Nibelungenlied* and the Viennese dialect. The group’s sense of duty to their community in the form of socialist ideology was also, at least in part, a result of the tutelage of the Benedictine monks. “[T]he Benedictine order’s tradition of community involvement, the perpetuation of Josephine social concern, the fanciful association of the order with the heroes of the *Nibelungenlied* as symbols of a powerful Germanic community” were all components of the Telynen’s education that would shape their social and political outlook.⁸

As the students of the Schottengymnasium entered the University of Vienna, the Telyn Society developed into an informal gathering of many of the same men with the broader task of not merely considering social and political philosophies, but also the social role of art and literature. In the early days of the Pernerstorfer Circle, the group would meet at Adler’s house at 19 Berggasse, an address that would later belong to Sigmund Freud. According to the Austrian

⁶ McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 26.

⁷ Ibid, 29.

⁸ Ibid, 32.

historian and director of the Austrian State Archives, Wolfgang Maderthaner, “The circle had passionate discussions about literature and cultural theory and practiced the worship of Wagner and Nietzsche that could be called near fanatical. Nietzsche’s pessimism and cynicism, Schopenhauer’s subjectivism and the aesthetic religion of Wagner exercised the greatest fascination.”⁹ Maderthaner does not explain what he means by “Nietzsche’s pessimism and cynicism,” particularly given the philosopher’s seeming attempt to offer strategies to combat these elements of existence, but his inclusion in the list of important authors for the group is worth noting. The group was also interested in the works of Goethe, Jean-Paul and Beethoven, “unseen Gods of the Berggasse.”¹⁰

In 1874, Heinrich Braun and Siegfried Lipiner became a part of the group.¹¹ It is well-documented that the growing coterie read Nietzsche’s *The Birth of Tragedy Out of the Spirit of Music* and *Untimely Meditations*. The second meditation, “Schopenhauer as Educator,” was the inspiration for the group’s 1877 birthday letter to Nietzsche, in which they referred to “Nietzsche as Educator.”¹² According to McGrath, both Mahler and Kralik became members of the Pernerstorfer Circle in 1878 through Lipiner, the same year in which he delivered a talk to the

⁹ “Den Kreis einigten leidenschaftliche Diskussionen über Literatur und Kulturtheorie und eine nahezu fanatisch zu nennende Wagner- und Nietzscheverehrung. Nietzsches Pessimismus und Zynismus, Schopenhauers Subjektivismus sowie die ästhetische Religion eines Richard Wagner übten die größte Faszination aus.” See Wolfgang Maderthaner, “Victor Adler und die Politik der Symbole. Zum Entwurf einer ‘poetischen Politik’” in *Österreichs Politische Symbole*, ed. Norbert Leser (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1994) 149.

¹⁰ “neben Wagner, waren Goethe, Jean Paul und Beethoven die ‘unsichtbaren Götter’ in der Berggasse.” See Maderthaner, “Politik der Symbole,” 149.

¹¹ Rudolph G. Ardelt, *Friedrich Adler: Probleme einer Persönlichkeitsentwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984), 25.

¹² Members of the Circle to Nietzsche, 15 October 1877, *Nietzsche Briefwechsel, Kritische Gesamtausgabe* II, 6/2, ed. G. Colli and M. Montinari (Berlin: deGruyter, 1975), 737-8.

group titled, “On the Elements of a Renewal of Religious Ideas in the Present” (“Über die Elemente einer Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart”), that concerned religious renewal through art and drew heavily on Nietzschean ideas.¹³ Austrian historian Christian Pech claims that the Pernerstorfer Circle read *all* the works of Nietzsche,¹⁴ and the strong association between the group’s identity and the writings of Nietzsche is confirmed by their occasional identification as the “Vienna Nietzsche Society.”¹⁵

The members of this group also played an active role in the formal university organization the Reading Society of Viennese German Students (*Leseverein der Deutschen Studenten Wiens*). While none of the Pernerstorfer Circle members were part of the initial founding of the group, the Reading Society had a robust participation and many of its early members were graduates of the Schottengymnasium.¹⁶ This group, like the Telyn Society, shared many of the same social and political views inspired by their Benedictine teachers and would align itself closely with idealistic socialism and German nationalism.¹⁷ Adler, Pernerstorfer and Gruber, in particular, assumed important roles in the organization, (including librarian and secretary) that gave them a certain amount of influence over the intellectual direction of the group. Unlike the Pernerstorfer

¹³ The *Jahresbericht* for the Reading Society shows that Kralik was a member of the more formal society already in 1871.

¹⁴ “In diesen Kreisen wurde vor allem Werke von Nietzsche und Paul de Lagarde gelesen.” See Christian Pech, *Nur was sich ändert, bleibt!: Die österreichische Parlamentsbibliothek im Wandel der Zeit 1869-2002*, 24.

¹⁵ According to one of Lipiner’s early biographers, Harmut von Hartungen, the Reading Society of the 1870s was also sometimes known as the Vienna Nietzsche Society, as well as the Pernerstorfer Circle.

¹⁶ See *Jahresberichten des Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wien*, Austrian National Library [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek].

¹⁷ McGrath constructs the group’s social and political views through examination of the individuals honored by the society. See *Dionysian Art*, 35-38, 40-44, 48-52, 71.

Circle's meetings, these details were recorded in the annual reports of the Reading Society, which demonstrate a recurring interest in the Nietzschean topics, including the power of art to unite groups and the importance of individual authenticity.

The concerns of the Pernerstorfer Circle were political, social and artistic. The members were avid followers of Wagner—both Adler and Lipiner visited Bayreuth in the 1870s. Many practiced vegetarianism and all found ways of applying the dramatic and unifying nature of the symbolic to the work they pursued as adults. They were also pan-Germanists who believed in unifying the German-speaking lands of Europe. Among the documents given to the Vienna Municipal Library as part of his estate, is an essay by Richard von Kralik, in which he recalls a now famous instance of this fervent German nationalism: Kralik recounts a scene in which Adler, Friedjung and Pernerstorfer sang *Deutschland Deutschland über Alles!* to the tune of *Oh du Deutschland, ich muß marschieren* while Mahler accompanied them at the piano.¹⁸ The student organizations at the University of Vienna were supposed to remain apolitical, and the Reading Society was dissolved by the government in December of 1878 for becoming too politically vocal under the leadership of the Pernerstorfer Circle.

Following the Reading Society's dissolution, McGrath states that the group divided on the grounds of purpose; Lipiner, Kralik, and Mahler turned towards a more aesthetic and religious

¹⁸ Richard von Kralik, "Victor Adler und Pernerstorfer" *Gesichter und Gestalten*, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus. ["In jenem jugendlich Wiener Kreis präsierte damals Engelbert Pernerstorfer, ein gemütliches Haus, ob seines langen Bartes und seiner Statur "Bierzeus" genannt, sehr beliebt, aber nicht gerade als hervorragende Intelligenz anerkannt, gewiß mit Unrecht. Ihm zur Seitsaß sein intimer freund Viktor Adler und anderseits Heinrich Friedjung. Diese drei galten als entschiedene Deutschnationale, als aktive Schönredner. Diese deutsche Gesinnung sprach sich schon damals durch Absingung des Deutschlandliedes aus ('Deutschland, Deutschland, über Alles!') von Gustav Mahler, damals in stellunglosen Melodie des Haudegen kaiserliches, sondern nach der Melodies 'Oh du Deutschland, ich muß marschieren.'"]

redemption of the strong individual and rejected the social and political realms, while Adler, Pernerstorfer, Friedjung and Braun began to make progress as political activists. The “artists” formed a new group called the Saga Society in 1881, with the goal of “living, thinking, and working in myths, gods, and heroes, as say, the Ancient Greeks or the ancient Germans.”¹⁹ Adler, Friedjung and Pernerstorfer, the “politicians,” became involved in the creation of the Linz program, a political manifesto that sought to strengthen Austria and Austrian identity by calling for the autonomy of Galicia, the establishment of German as the official language of the state, a close alliance with Germany, and various social reforms that would benefit the general public. Braun moved to Berlin and joined the German Socialist Worker’s Party in 1879. While McGrath’s evidence for the practical division of the Pernerstorfer Circle is well-supported, Mahler remained in contact with some of the “politicians” late into his life, suggesting that the connection between the group’s political and artistic ideologies never quite eroded.

Engelbert Pernerstorfer

The member from whom the circle takes its name, Engelbert Pernerstorfer, was born in Vienna in 1850. Of the group’s original members, then high-school students at the Schottengymnasium, Pernerstorfer was the only one who did not come from a middle class background, but rather from a family of tailors.²⁰ Following his participation in the Telyn Society during his Gymnasium years, and the Pernerstorfer Circle and the Reading Society during university, Pernerstorfer built a career in socialist politics in Austria. In May 1881, shortly after his time at the University of

¹⁹ McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 101.

²⁰ Ibid, 18.

Vienna, Pernerstorfer began publishing the *Deutsche Worte* (German Words), a periodical that sought to be the voice of the populist-democratic opposition to the current politics of liberalism.²¹

Early in his career, Pernerstorfer served as the chairman of the German National Society (*Deutschnationaler Verein*) as well as the editor of the *Deutsche Worte*, which became the party paper.²² Pernerstorfer, like other members of the circle, appreciated a form of “aesthetic politics,” which was, according to its proponents, historically and culturally German. In an 1881 article in the *Deutsche Worte*, espousing the ideals of his brand of “Metapolitics” and echoing both Nietzsche and Wagner, Pernerstorfer wrote, “the preparation of friendly relations between German art and German politics has been definitely taken into our program,”²³ expressing the view that “art and religion cannot lead an existence separate from politics.”²⁴

His writings also demonstrated socialist principles, endorsing national solidarity that called on all people to overcome class boundaries in order to maintain social cohesiveness. One facet of this social involvement was a society-wide participation in not only a political movement, but in the nation’s intellectual and artistic life. Pernerstorfer’s belief in the power of drama to build community ties and in turn create political movements distinctly echoes the views

²¹ Ardelt, *Friedrich Adler*, 33.

²² McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 182.

²³ *Deutsche Worte: Politische Zeitschrift für das deutsche Volk in Österreich*, 1 May 1881, 1-2. Translated in McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 182.

²⁴ *Deutsche Worte: Monatshefte* 4, 1884, 250-52. Translated in McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 184.

expressed in Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* and Wagner's "Art and Revolution."²⁵ A committed bibliophile, Pernerstorfer once recalled that he spent all his money on books and all his time reading in order to understand the historical meaning and relevance of important writers.²⁶ Even long after his university years, the contents of Pernerstorfer's personal library included a copy of Nietzsche's complete works according to an article I found in the archives of the Austrian Parliament Library.²⁷

Pernerstorfer believed that the two political positions of pan-Germanism and socialism were wholly compatible. In 1892, he wrote, "Raised in a time of great national excitement and exaltation, while at the same time preoccupied from my youth onwards with democratic, indeed socialist thought, I imagined that the German nationalist movement, like the other national movements and like the national movement of the Napoleonic war of liberation [...] would be of an essentially democratic nature."²⁸ Pernerstorfer, along with Victor Adler, championed a political ideology that combined socialism with nationalism. Obvious contradictions lie in the combination of these two philosophies including, as Karl Kautsky noted, that militant nationalism was incompatible with Marxist theory, which held that the bonds of the international proletariats superseded and transcended national boundaries. Yet Adler explained Pernerstorfer's views in a letter, writing, "I might say further, that he who is seriously a nationalist must

²⁵ See *Deutsche Worte: Monatshefte*, 16 Sept 1882, 1-2; *D.W.* 4 (1884): 297. Translated in McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 185.

²⁶ Engelbert Pernerstorfer, "Reclam: Eine Jugenderinnerung," *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 22. Juli 1908, 1.

²⁷ Madeleine Wolensky, *Pernerstorfers Harem und Viktor Adlers liebster Besitz: oder zwei sozialistische Bibliophile, ihre Bücher und die Arbeiterkammerbibliothek* (Vienna: Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte für Wien), 93.

²⁸ *Deutsche Worte* 12, 1892: 1-2. Translation from McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 213.

consequently become a communist (a train of thought which causes gooseflesh to rise on the backs of our national Philistines when Pernerstorfer presents it in detail at electoral meetings).”²⁹ If one was truly a nationalist, truly a champion for his nation and his countrymen, he would want the best, most fair distribution of the nation’s possessions amongst all citizens equally. Of course, the reverse—that Marxists must consequently be nationalists—does not fit as neatly.

In the 1880s, the leadership of the pan-Germanists was wrested by an anti-semitic faction of Austrians led by Georg Schönerer, once himself a member of the Pernerstorfer Circle. This appropriation of Pernerstorfer’s nationalist politics—Schönerer was even responsible for the publication of a new paper that sought to replace the *Deutsche Worte*’s project called *Unverfälschte Deutsche Worte* (Uncorrupted German Words)—led Pernerstorfer to more emphatically advocate for social, rather than ethnic, cohesion. Consequently, Pernerstorfer served in Parliament as an independent, becoming closely aligned with Victor Adler and the Social Democrats. He was even elected to Parliament in 1885 with Adler’s financial backing,³⁰ before officially joining the Social Democratic party in 1896. A champion of the union of art and politics, the Social Democrats also did a great deal to bring art to the masses and Pernerstorfer participated in these efforts.³¹ He served as a theater critic for the socialist organ, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and became editor of the *Der Strom*, a magazine begun by the Viennese incarnation of Berlin’s *Freie Volksbühne* which sought to educate the working class about the importance of

²⁹ Victor Adler, *Victor Adlers Briefwechsel mit August Bebel und Karl Kautsky* (Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1954), 12. Translation from McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 212.

³⁰ McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 205.

³¹ Richard Charmatz, *Deutsch-österreichische Politik: Studien über den Liberalismus und über die auswärtige Politik Österreichs* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1907), 301; Charmatz, *Lebensbilder aus der Geschichte Österreichs* (Vienna: Danubia Verlag, 1947), 183.

theater.³² Among Pernerstorfer's other mature achievements are his nearly thirty years of service in the Austrian Parliament and his leadership of the socialist delegation of the institution's lower house.

Victor Adler

Pernerstorfer's relationship to Victor Adler dates from early in their school years. Victor Adler was born in Prague, the son of a Jewish merchant from Moravia who would grow up to be the first leader of the Austrian Social Democrats. The family moved to Vienna when Adler was six years old and the young Victor was sent to the non-Jewish Schottengymnasium by his father who wanted him to assimilate into Austrian society.³³ Adler was a co-founder of the Telyn Society and shared responsibility for continuing the group in its reincarnation as the Pernerstorfer Circle during his time at the University of Vienna. Adler's passion for Nietzsche is perhaps succinctly summarized in Rudolph Ardelt's book *Friedrich Adler*, by the politician's decision to name his son Friedrich Wolfgang, after the twin intellectual giants in his life, Nietzsche and Goethe.³⁴

In the 1870s, Adler was a Nietzschean disciple, much like Mahler would become, enthusiastically recommending Nietzsche's works to friends and acquaintances.³⁵ According to Pernerstorfer, Adler along with another member of the circle, Joseph Paneth, led the Reading

³² McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 216.

³³ Ardelt, *Friedrich Adler*, 20-27.

³⁴ Max Ermers, *Victor Adler: Aufstieg und Größe einer sozialistischen Partei* (Wien und Leipzig: Verlag Dr. Hans Epstein, 1932), 104.

³⁵ Adler warmly recommended the reading of Nietzsche to Johannes Volkelt, which he recalls in an article in the *Neue Freie Presse*, called "Einiges über Nietzsche" on January 3, 1926. See page 21.

Society's discussion on the second of Nietzsche's *Untimely Meditations*, "On the Use and Disadvantages of History."³⁶ According to Johannes Volkelt, despite his loyalty to Schopenhauer, Adler was deeply moved by Nietzsche and urged him to read the philosopher. In an article in the *Neue Freie Presse*, Volkelt recalled,

It was in 1875 that from the mouth of Victor Adler, with whom I then cultivated animated dealings in Vienna, I heard for the first time the name Nietzsche with momentous emphasis. I must by all means, so he said, read Nietzsche's writings: they will be an extraordinary experience for me. And so it came to be. When I had to qualify in Jena, a new world emerged for me in *Birth of Tragedy* and *Untimely Meditations*, in which I saw coalesced the depth and glory of spirit and scandalous risks of an agitated thinker battling against the spirit of the times...³⁷

Some commentators argue that Adler turned away from his early conceptions of Nietzsche later in life. However, there is much evidence that Nietzsche remained an important influence. In a letter to Kathia Adler, his son's wife, in 1905, Victor encouraged her to make sure that Friedrich (or Fritz, as he is called in the letter) become acquainted with the great thinkers "from Nietzsche to [Hermann von] Helmholtz."³⁸ McGrath demonstrates that Adler's work as the

³⁶ Engelbert Pernerstorfer, "Siegfried Lipiner Nekrolog." Its unclear from the Reading Society's records which talk this was, but it might have taken place on April 7, 1877, where records indicate Adler gave a talk to the society, "Über die neuesten Erscheinungen in unserem Vereinsleben." This also predates Lipiner's first talk to the society on April 28, 1877, which aligns with Pernerstorfer's recollection of events.

³⁷ *Neue Freie Presse*, 3 January 1926, 21. ["Victor Adler, damals noch im Banne Schopenhauers, war von Nietzsches Schriften tief ergriffen. 'Es war im Jahre 1875', so berichtete Professor Johannes Volkert, 'als ich aus dem Munde von Victor Adler, mit dem ich damals in Wien anregenden Umgang pflog, zum erstenmal den Namen Nietzsche mit bedeutsamer Betonung nennen hörte. Ich müsse durchaus, so sagte dieser, Nietzsches Schriften lesen: dies werde für mich ein außerordentliches Erlebnis sein. Und so kam es auch. Als ich mich kurz darauf in Jena habilitiert hatte, ging mir in der 'Geburt der Tragödie' und in den 'Unzeitgemäßen Betrachtungen' eine neue Welt auf, in der sich Tiefe und Pracht des Geistes vereinigt zeigte und unerhörte Wagnisse eines aufwühlenden Denkers gegen den Zeitgeist ankämpfen...'"] This passage is cited in *Victor Adlers Briefwechsel mit August Bebel und Karl Kautsky* (Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1954), 5.

³⁸ Letter to Kathia Adler (Friedrich's wife) on August 8, 1905. This letter is held in the Adler Archive at the Society for the History of the Austrian Labor Movement in Vienna [Verein für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, Wien].

leader of the Austrian Social Democrats in the same year draws heavily on the power of theatrical symbolism, inspired in part by Nietzsche's discussion of the role and importance of ancient drama to the fabric of community in *The Birth of Tragedy*. Adler played an important part in both establishing May Day as a worker's holiday and in campaigning for universal manhood suffrage in Austria. In both these endeavors, Adler's specific tactics for political achievement drew heavily on dramatic symbols and the power of brotherhood. These campaigns will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

Adler was one of the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle who became a close friend of Mahler. While at university together, Adler bought Mahler a piano to practice on and recruited students for him to teach.³⁹ According to Maderthaner, Mahler was also a frequent guest at the Adler's summer home on the Attersee and their relationship continued for many years beyond their time at the University of Vienna. In the parliamentary elections of 1901, while Mahler was director of the Wiener Staatsoper, he openly gave his vote to Victor Adler.⁴⁰

Siegfried Lipiner

Perhaps Mahler's closest acquaintance from the Pernerstorfer Circle was Siegfried Lipiner. Born Salomo Lipiner to a Jewish family in 1856, he grew up in what is modern-day Poland, first in

³⁹ Julius Braunthal, *Victor Adler und Friedrich Adler: Zwei Generationen Arbeiterbewegung*, (Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1965), 35.

⁴⁰ "Adler und Mahler sollten durch Jahre in fester Freundschaft miteinander verbunden sein. Mahler war des öfteren Sommergast bei den Adlers in Pauschalen am Attersee, und gab—obwohl politisch inaktiv—als Staatsoperndirektor anlässlich der Reichsratswahl 1901 eine Stimme offen für Victor Adler ab, was in der konservativen presse zu einem größeren Skandal aufgebauscht wurde." See Wolfgang Maderthaner, "Victor Adler und die Politik der Symbole. Zum Entwurf einer 'poetischen Politik'" in *Österreichs Politische Symbole*, ed. Norbert Leser (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1994), 149.

Jarosław in Galicia and then in Tarnów. Lipiner went to Vienna at the age of fifteen and enrolled in the Leopoldstadt Gymnasium in Vienna's second district. While attending the University of Vienna, Lipiner became known as something of a philosophical *Wunderkind*. He first came to the attention of the Pernerstorfer Circle as a commentator on Adler's discussion of "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History." From then on, he played an important role as the Circle's Nietzsche interpreter. While attending university in 1876, Lipiner wrote his *Prometheus Unbound* (*Der Unfesselte Prometheus*), a poem whose title was inspired by the image of Prometheus breaking free from his chains that adorned the cover of early editions of Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*. At the urging of another member of the Circle, Heinrich Braun, Lipiner sent his work to Nietzsche and upon receiving it, the philosopher wrote to Erwin Rohde, "If the author is not a veritable genius, then I no longer know what one is."⁴¹ An 1877 fragment from Nietzsche's *Nachlaß* characterized Lipiner's *Prometheus* as "a rainbow bridge hovering over the last millenia, the highest poem of culture [Cultur-Gedicht]."⁴² The records of the Reading Society held in the University of Vienna's archives show that in 1876-77 Lipiner gave a talk on Nietzsche's "Schopenhauer as Educator," the same essay that had inspired the group to pledge allegiance to Nietzsche's ideas in 1877.⁴³ The content of this presentation no longer survives, as far as I am aware, but the following year, Lipiner gave a talk that was published by the group. His "On the

⁴¹ Letter to Erwin Rohde, 28 August 1877, *Nietzsche Briefwechsel, Kritische Gesamtausgabe* Part II, Volume 5 "Briefe von Nietzsche: 1875-1879," ed. G. Colli and M. Montinari (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 277-278.

⁴² "Gef<esselter> Prom <etheus> als Regenbogenbrücke über den letzten Jahrtausenden schwebend, das höchste Kultur-Gedicht." See *Nietzsche Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Colli and Montari, pt. 4, vol.2, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches; Nachlaß 1876-77* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967), 490.

⁴³ According to the *Jahresbericht*, Lipiner gave a talk to the Reading Society on 28 April 1877, titled, "Über Nietzsche's unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen: Schopenhauer als Erzieher."

Elements of Renewal of Religious Ideas in the Present” deals largely with the Nietzschean conception of catharsis in classical drama and its possible modern rebirth as a form of secular religion, drawing heavily on ideas from Nietzsche’s *Birth of Tragedy*.⁴⁴

From December 1880 to August 1881, Lipiner wrote briefly for the *Deutsche Zeitung*. My study of the archival copies of the daily paper revealed that his contributions included an essay on the artistic innovations of Goethe’s *Faust*, a profile of two essays by the Bohemian physician and philosopher Carl von Rokitansky, a two-part review of a festival celebration of the Spanish poet and playwright Pedro Calderon in Madrid, broad topics of cultural importance such as “Life without Art” and “The Eternal Peace,” as well as recollections of the German Romantic writer Friedrich Hölderlin and poet Adalbert von Chamisso.⁴⁵ In 1881, Lipiner was appointed as the librarian of the Austrian Parliament by the Polish president of the House of Representatives and the leader of Parliament’s Polish club, Franciszek Smolka.⁴⁶ Of the many projects he undertook in his thirty years as the parliamentary librarian, Lipiner worked to develop the modern library catalogue that is still housed today in the Parliament’s Ringstrasse location. One of the challenges he faced were the multiple languages spoken by the members of Parliament and

⁴⁴ There is some disagreement about the content of this talk. Martin Liebscher believes the topic was the third of Nietzsche’s *Untimely Meditations*, while Stephen Hefling contends it was the second. See Liebscher, “‘Lauter ausgesuchte Intelligenzen’: Admiration for Nietzsche in 1870s Vienna,” *Austrian Studies* 16 (2008): 39; Hefling, “Siegfried Lipiner’s *On the Elements of a Renewal of Religious Ideas in the Present*” in *Contextualizing Mahler*, ed. Erich Wolfgang Partsch and Morten Solvik. (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2011), 92. I do not believe either is correct and that they are confusing this published talk with the one specifically on the *Untimely Meditations* given the year before. On that score, Liebscher would be correct as the title in the *Jahresbericht* indicates that Lipiner discussed “Schopenhauer as Educator.”

⁴⁵ I located and catalogued all of Lipiner’s essays for the *Deutsche Zeitung* through the newspaper archives at the Austrian National Library in Vienna.

⁴⁶ Robert Kann, “Siegfried Lipiner (1856-1911) als Vertreter einer polnisch-deutschösterreichischen kulturellen Synthese” (*Studia Austro-Polonica* 2, Krakow 1980), 103.

he sought to increase the number of books held in the library in the languages of the empire other than German, including Bohemian, Italian, Croatian, Romanian and Slovenian.⁴⁷

Lipiner himself was a fluent Polish speaker and is responsible for translating into German a number of important works of Polish literature, including Adam Mickiewicz's *Dziady*, called *Todtenfeier*. It is unlikely, given the titles, that this translation was not at least temporarily an influence on Mahler's tone poem of the same name. Discussion of the extent to which Lipiner's "Todtenfeier" was a model for what would become the first movement of Mahler's Second Symphony has been taken up by Stephen Hefling and Peter Franklin.⁴⁸ Mahler and Lipiner remained good friends for many years. Their letters, as well as recollections of their mutual friend Natalie Bauer-Lechner, reveal the extent to which the two discussed artistic and philosophical ideas. Lipiner and Alma Mahler immediately disliked one another and the relationship consequently suffered after Mahler's marriage to Alma. However they reconciled and began communicating again towards the end of their lives. Both men died in 1911.

⁴⁷ Christian Pech, *Nur was sich ändert, bleibt!: Die österreichische Parlamentsbibliothek im Wandel der Zeit 1869-2002* (Vienna, 2002), 47. ["Allerdings wurde durch das k.k. Ministerium des Inneren im Jahr 1909 entschieden, 'von nun an zwei Exemplare der deutschen Ausgabe und je ein weiteres Exemplar aller anderssprachigen Ausgaben des Reichsgesetzblattes, ferner die seit 1. Jänner 1870 erschienenen Stücke des Reichsgesetzblattes in böhmischer, italienischer, kroatischer, rumänischer und slowenischer Ausgabe zur Verfügung zu stellen.' So war es der Bibliothek wenigstens gelungen, eine sichere Quelle zur Bestandvermehrung in den verschiedenen Sprachen zu gewinnen."]

⁴⁸ See Stephen Hefling, "Mahler's 'Todtenfeier' and the Problem of Program Music" *19th-Century Music* 12/1 (Summer 1988): 27-53; and Peter Franklin, "Funeral Rites: Mahler and Mickiewicz," *Music & Letters* 55/2 (1974).

*Richard von Kralik*⁴⁹

Another member of the Circle's "artistic" subsection was the writer and dramatist Richard Kralik, Ritter von Meyrswalden. Kralik was born in 1852 in Eleonorenhain, a small town in the Bohemian woods that is known today as Lenora, in the Czech Republic. When he was four years old, Kralik's family moved to Linz, so that he and his brothers could receive a high quality education. At the age of eight, Kralik learned Greek and Latin in order to read the classical works. During his Gymnasium years, he also took German literature, religious courses, history, natural science, art and music. He began his studies at the University of Vienna, passing his exams in Law in 1874 and receiving his doctorate in March 1876. Before World War I, Kralik participated significantly in and contributed heavily to the ideology of the Pernerstorfer Circle, particularly the religious power of art modeled by Wagner. Alongside Mahler and Lipiner, Kralik helped to found the Saga Society, a group interested in legends and the folk, in 1881. Donald Mitchell notes that Kralik took credit for introducing Mahler to folk-song,⁵⁰ an unlikely claim but one that illustrates one basis of the relationship between the two men.

Kralik was considered the "poet laureate of Christian Socialism" during the First Austrian Republic from 1918-1938 and he is credited with the revival of the genre of Austrian Catholic drama, through which he could express his religious views and his lifelong affection for the

⁴⁹ Although he was born Richard Kralik Ritter von Meyrswalden and a number of his own publications appear under the name "Richard Kralik," I am following the convention of scholars Judith Beniston and Richard S. Geehr by using the nobiliary particle "von Kralik" where his full name appears in this dissertation.

⁵⁰ Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years Chronicles and Commentaries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 118.

Wagnerian total art work.⁵¹ The main salon of this home was reportedly decorated with images of pagan gods and heroes and, while first distancing himself from his Bohemian roots, he came to glorify this upbringing as evidence of his ties to the Austro-Hungarian soil. Kralik was a staunch supporter of a united German speaking nation, like many of his colleagues in the Pernerstorfer Circle. While he was at the University of Vienna, he associated himself with socialism, writing in his diary in 1878, “I’m mad about [*schwärme für*] Lipiner and Social Democracy,” however, the socialist pan-Germanism that he shared with his classmates in the late 1870s would eventually turn Kralik towards anti-semitism, anti-Communism and Christian misogyny.⁵² As a dramatist, Kralik’s most influential creative work came from this later period.

Like Mahler, Kralik was introduced to Nietzsche by Lipiner when he joined the Pernerstorfer Circle. This introduction would prove to be a long-lasting influence on the writer and dramatist; among the many handwritten documents in Kralik’s estate, held by the Vienna Municipal Library, are essays from as late as 1909 that discuss Nietzsche and Nietzschean ideas specifically. In some ways, Kralik was even more attracted to Nietzsche’s ideas than Lipiner. In his autobiography, Kralik recalls a letter regarding Nietzsche’s *Human, all too Human*.

I know Nietzsche’s latest book well and nothing has shaken me so quickly and deeply as the sudden change of this interesting man. He is tipping the scales of the times. His inner fate must be truly tragic. Lipiner is quite unhappy about the change. To me it is more understandable and more closely related. [...] To be sure, I found in Nietzsche something

⁵¹ Richard S. Geehr, *The Aesthetics of Horror: The Life and Thought of Richard on Kralik* (Boston and Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2003), passim.

⁵² David C. Large, “Richard Kralik’s Search for a Fatherland,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 17/18 (1981-82): 143-55.

that began developing to the same extent in me—an emphasis on the personality, opposition to the sentimental pity of Schopenhauer’s theory.⁵³

Kralik also dealt repeatedly with Nietzsche’s *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. I unearthed two essays from Kralik’s collection at the Vienna Municipal Library that deal with the character of Zarathustra specifically: an essay about the mystic roots of Nietzsche’s figure, titled “Nietzsche und Zarathustra,” and a short story about attaining the *Übermensch* called “Überaffe und Übermensch.” These will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Heinrich Braun

Many of the details of Heinrich Braun’s life can only be found in the biography *Ein Menschenleben* written by his second wife, Julie Braun-Vogelstein. According to her biography, Braun was born in Budapest, Hungary in 1854. His mother was a pious woman, some of whose ancestors were rabbinical scholars from Germany, and his father was from a small Moravian village.⁵⁴ His family moved frequently throughout Austria-Hungary because Braun’s father, Ignaz, along with his uncles and grandfather, were employed as railroad contractors.⁵⁵ The family moved to Vienna when Heinrich was sixteen, where he attended that Akademische Gymnasium and befriended Sigmund Freud.⁵⁶ He attended the University of Vienna, becoming a

⁵³ Richard von Kralik, *Tage und Werke: Lebenserinnerungen* (Vienna: Vogelsang Verlag, 1922), 61. Translated in Jeremy Barham, “Mahler’s Third Symphony and the Philosophy of Gustav Fechner: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Criticism, Analysis and Interpretation” (Ph.D. diss, University of Surrey, 1998), 99-100.

⁵⁴ Julie Braun-Vogelstein, *Ein Menschenleben: Heinrich Braun und sein Schicksal* (Tübingen: R. Wunderlich, 1932), 9-10.

⁵⁵ Braun-Vogelstein, *Ein Menschenleben*, 2-6.

⁵⁶ Braunthal, *Victor Adler und Friedrich Adler*, 28.

member of the Pernerstorfer Circle and a fervent socialist. His doctoral dissertation was dedicated to the socialist thinker Albert Lange, and Braun worked in socialist politics through the Social Democratic Party of Germany until his death in 1927.⁵⁷ According to R. Hinton Thomas, “Heinrich Braun shared [Lipiner’s] mystical and philosophical interests, and together they read *The Birth of Tragedy*. It was at Braun’s instigation, it was said, that Lipiner sent Nietzsche a copy of *Der Entfesselte Prometheus*.”⁵⁸ Nietzsche’s ideas loomed large in Braun’s political thinking and his work with the socialist party was centered largely around championing Nietzschean individualism. He was wary that theories of socialism would extinguish the fire of uniqueness and that this would have a detrimental effect on the movement as a whole. Braun believed socialists had to harness the brilliance of individuals if only to redirect it towards communal goals.⁵⁹

Nietzsche’s emphasis on the will and individuality played an important role in Braun’s personal life as well. Braun married a German feminist and socialist Lily Gizycki (née von Kretschman), who was also a fervent Nietzschean. Her own writings about the importance of individuality, especially to projects such as socialist politics will be discussed further in Chapter 4. Both Brauns imprinted these ideals on their son Otto, who Braun described as having a “splendidly bold manifestation of *Individualität*” and who he told that everything “depends on

⁵⁷ Ibid, 29.

⁵⁸ Thomas, *Nietzsche in German Politics and Society*, 32. Thomas cites page 30 in Braun-Vogelstein, *Ein Menschenleben*.

⁵⁹ Thomas, *Nietzsche in German Politics and Society*, 33. Thomas cites pages 374-5 from Braun-Vogelstein, *Ein Menschenleben*.

the Will that shapes things.”⁶⁰ Heinrich is also famously reported as saying that there were only two men that deserved to marry his sister Emma (the only girl of six children): Friedrich Nietzsche and Victor Adler,⁶¹ and Emma did in fact marry the latter. Although the details of their relationship are not well known, Mahler and Braun became acquainted as members of the Pernerstorfer Circle and remained in contact several years after Mahler left university. Mahler even spent some time with Braun during a visit to Berlin in January 1887.⁶²

Heinrich Friedjung

Heinrich Friedjung is often described as Austria’s greatest historian. He was born in the Moravian village of Roštín to Jewish parents in 1851. At the age of six, he moved to Vienna and, as a teenager, attended the Schottengymnasium with Adler and Pernerstorfer. He initially moved to Prague for his university training in history and philosophy, but returned to the University of Vienna. As a young teacher of history and German at the Handelsakademie from 1873 to 1879, he joined the Reading Society and became a part of the Pernerstorfer Circle.⁶³ Friedjung was a kind of “elder statesman” of the group; his *Compromise with Hungary (Der Ausgleich mit Ungarn)* brought the basic ideas of cultural regeneration to bear on the specific political

⁶⁰ Braun-Vogelstein, *Ein Menschenleben*, 370.

⁶¹ Friedrich Adler, “Emma Adler zum Gedächtnis,” *Der Sonntag* 11 No. 10 (1935). [“Emma Adler war das einzige Mädchen Inder fünf Brüdern. Von ihnen wurde sie verwöhnt, geradezu vergöttert. Heinrich Braun, ihr ältester Bruder, sinnt nach wer wert sei, sie zur Frau zu bekommen. Nur zwei kennt er: Friedrich Nietzsche, damals in der Öffentlichkeit noch wenig bekannt, aber in ihrem Kreise hochgeschätzt, und Victor Adler”]

⁶² Letter to Friedrich Löhr, January 1887, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, ed. Herta Blaukopf (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1982), 61.

⁶³ Franz Graf, “Heinrich Friedjung und die Südslawische Frage” (Ph.D. diss, University of Vienna, 1950).

problems of Austria.⁶⁴ According to McGrath, the “theoretical framework for bringing the power of art to bear on political reality” was first advanced by Friedjung in this 1877 book. Like the other members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, Friedjung was reacting to the unsatisfactory politics of the liberal generation that preceded him and he argued that the power of art could affect the kind of radical political change that his generation was seeking.⁶⁵ In his *Compromise*, Friedjung set the tone for a new political style, writing, “Orpheus only dared to walk with his lyre among the powers of the underworld because he knew there lives in the obscure masses a feeling which will be awakened to thundering emotion by a full tone.”⁶⁶ Friedjung was not only an important influence on Adler as a result of their shared approach to politics, but because Friedjung also nursed the same enthusiasm for the power of Nietzsche’s language.⁶⁷

In his most famous work, *The Struggle for Supremacy in Germany (Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland 1859 bis 1866)*, Friedjung proposed a massive return of repressed communities, writing “every individual of our *entire* nation, filled with noble aims, joins actively in its regeneration.”⁶⁸ Much like Heinrich (and Lily) Braun, Friedjung argued that the role of

⁶⁴ McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 74.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 182.

⁶⁶ Heinrich Friedjung, *Der Ausgleich mit Ungarn: Politische Studie über das Verhältnis Österreichs zu Ungarn und Deutschland* (Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand, 1878), 1. Translation from McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, .

⁶⁷ “Victor Adlers Freundschaft mit Heinrich Braun wurde für ihn von Bedeutung, nicht weil er den Enthusiasmus für Nietzsche, die jener für ihn hegte, auf ihn übertrug—Victor wäre wohl auch selbst auf Nietzsche gestoßen und von ihm allein durch die Gewalt seiner Sprache gefesselt worden—, sondern weil er in Heinrichs Schwester Emma seine Lebensgefährtin fand; auch war es Heinrich Braun, der Karl Kautsky zu Victor Adler einführte und so eine für Victor’s zukünftige Lebensaufgabe entscheidende Freundschaft begründete.” See Braunthal, *Victor und Friedrich Adler*, 28-29.

⁶⁸ Heinrich Friedjung, *The Struggle for Supremacy in Germany, 1859-1866*, trans. A.J.P. Taylor and W.L. McElwee (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), 28-31.

individuals could shape the course of history in the short run (while long-term change needed institutional direction).⁶⁹

Friedjung championed the importance of feeling and emotion in politics, but tried to balance emotional appeals with reason, offering an alternative to the more base instincts of Schönerer's pan-Germanism.⁷⁰ Friedjung joined the men of the *schärfere Tonart* (sharper key) and explained the political philosophy of the group in an 1885 article for the *Deutsche Wochenschrift*, a paper he edited and published, the following way: "This is what is meant by sharper key: the previous hesitation will be replaced by national energy—but in no way by political narrow-mindedness or recklessness."⁷¹ In another edition, written several weeks later, he wrote "feeling and emotion have their proper place in politics, and without this strong support in the better parts of human nature, the life of the state degenerates only too easily into a game of ambition and a contest of intrigue [...] not just excess of soft, sloppy overflowing of the heart, not just enjoyment of iridescent, empty slogans."⁷²

Along with Pernerstorfer and Adler, Friedjung participated in the early framing of the Linz program, an effort to germanize Austria in reaction to the growing status of Slavic peoples within Austria-Hungary. He was nevertheless a staunch supporter of independence for the Slavic states and he believed that this would connect, rather than drive away, Slavs to the double

⁶⁹ Fredrik Lindström, "Heinrich Friedjung: History and Politics" in *Empire and Identity: Biographies of the Austrian State Problem in the Late Habsburg Empire* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2008).

⁷⁰ McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 204.

⁷¹ Friedjung, *Deutsche Wochenschrift*, 10 May 1885. Translated from McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 204.

⁷² Friedjung, *Deutsche Wochenschrift*, 31 May 1885. Translated adapted from McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 204.

monarchy of Austria-Hungary.⁷³ Friedjung also wrote for the *Deutsche Zeitung* between 1878 until at least 1881,⁷⁴ overlapping with Lipiner's work for the paper as a contributor between December 1880 and September 1881. Although McGrath claims that the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle split along political-artistic lines, with Pernerstorfer and Adler moving on to focus on their political careers and Lipiner, Mahler and Kralik turning away from politics and focusing on the arts, Friedjung, one of the politicians, was still in occasional attendance at the meetings of the Saga Society.

Mahler's relationship with Friedjung is again not well documented beyond their interactions in the Reading Society and the Pernerstorfer Circle. The bond established as members of these groups, however, led Mahler to suggest in an 1885 letter to a mutual friend that Friedjung might be able to arrange the publication of an announcement of his new post at the Leipzig Stadttheater in the Viennese newspapers.⁷⁵

Natalie Bauer-Lechner

While not an official member of the Pernerstorfer Circle, Natalie Bauer-Lechner is an important figure whose writings will be drawn upon in the investigation of Mahler's interest in Nietzsche. She was good friends with both Mahler and Lipiner in the period before 1900 and her recollections of Mahler have proven to be some of the most reliable and invaluable sources of

⁷³ Graf, "Heinrich Friedjung und die Südslawische Frage," 9.

⁷⁴ An article by Friedjung, *Feuilleton*: "Zwei Tödt," appears on the first two pages of the issue from Sunday March 6, 1881. *Deutsche Zeitung*, Sonntag 6. März 1881, 1-2.

⁷⁵ Letter to Albert Spiegler, Postmarked 23 January 1885, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 36.

information concerning the composer's worldview and compositional process. Many of the details of her life are not yet published, but are being prepared as part of a revised edition of her recollections of the composer by Stephen Hefling, Morten Solvik and myself. As part of this larger project, a letter detailing Bauer-Lechner's brief and largely unrequited romantic relationship with Mahler has been recently located and published in *The Musical Quarterly*.⁷⁶ Beyond these contributions to Mahler scholarship, little is known about her beyond a few key details.

My study of the *Adolph Lehmann allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger* at the Vienna Municipal Library reveals that Bauer-Lechner made a living as a member of a women's string quartet in 1900, and then as a violinist and violist generally until 1914. Her name, address and occupation details are missing from Lehmann directory in 1915 and 1916, a period of time in which she most likely was imprisoned for publishing an essay about the First World War. When she reappears in the directory in 1917, her occupation is listed as a bank teller, possibly a career change to lower her profile.

Her friendship with Mahler before his university years and his marriage to Alma resulted in a book of recollections, first titled *Mahleriana*, and later *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler*. As a classmate and fellow musician at the Vienna Conservatory, Mahler's conversations with Bauer-Lechner delve into musical details that might have been too complex to share with a non-musician. As a close friend and admirer of Lipiner too, her recollections of Mahler often include conversations between the three of them. Bauer-Lechner also kept detailed records of these

⁷⁶ See Solvik, Morten and Stephen Hefling. "Natalie Bauer-Lechner on Mahler and Women: A Newly Discovered Document." *The Musical Quarterly* 79, Issue 1, 1 March 2014: 12-65.

conversations, which have proven to be accurate when they can be substantiated by another source.

As the following chapters will demonstrate, documents written by and about these colleagues and friends of Mahler's provide indispensable insight into the composer's university years and the influence of various ideas, authors, and artists on the young composer. More specifically, the lives and works of the members of this group provide both direct and indirect clues to a subject that has consistently featured in Mahler scholarship but has yet to be adequately explored: Mahler's engagement with Nietzsche's philosophy. The history of this group and their influence on Gustav Mahler will help to construct a sense of Nietzsche's significance to the composer and the effect of this influence on his early symphonies.

CHAPTER 2: Theatrical Symbolism and the Apollonian-Dionysian Dialectic

One of the most convincing readings of Nietzsche's influence on Mahler's music is found in William McGrath's *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria*. McGrath's chapter on Mahler is largely an interpretation of the composer's Third Symphony as a two-part tragic drama, based on the Apollonian-Dionysian dialectic of the genre introduced in Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy Out of the Spirit of Music* (*Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Musik*). McGrath reads the symphony as a Nietzschean proto-tragedy, with the first part, the first movement originally titled "Dionysus' Procession, or Summer Marches In" ("Zug zu Dionysos oder Sommer marschirt ein"), acting as just that, the Dionysian procession that draws in the audience, while the movements of the second part constitute the Apollonian explication of the world:

The proto-tragedy consisted of a chorus of Satyrs whose Bacchic celebration first drew the aesthetically participating audience into the chorus, and then projected its Apollonian [sic] vision of the god into the center of the celebration. The effect of this, according to Nietzsche, was to make the individual aware of himself as a part of all being (the assumption into the chorus) and then to allow him to transcend willing and find peace in reunion with the All (the Apollonian vision).¹

McGrath neatly draws together Nietzsche's description of the effect of the Dionysian with Mahler's description of the first movement, and Nietzsche's Apollonian to the overall trajectory of the second part, in which essential truths are expressed to the participants; Mahler told Anna von Mildenburg that in the work, "all nature finds a voice and speaks such profound secrets as one perhaps intuitively in dreams"—like the dream visions of Nietzsche's Apollo.²

¹ William McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 137.

² Gustav Mahler, *Briefe 1879-1911*, ed. Alma Mahler, (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1925), 163.

McGrath's interpretation is intriguing, yet I find it attempts to provide a singular explanation of Mahler's narrative and structural choices that requires the rejection of other compelling readings of the Third Symphony. In my study of the relationship between Nietzschean ideas and Mahler's music, I instead use this chapter to consider how a Apollonian-Dionysian duality described by Nietzsche in his exploration of Attic tragedy characterizes some of Mahler's more untraditional compositional choices. For me, Mahler's employment of the Apollonian and Dionysian is not a one-time event realized in the structure of the Third Symphony, but rather it is an explanation for the composer's unique compositional devices, which appear in all three of Mahler's early symphonies. In addition to being capable of co-existing with other readings of the Third, my interpretation illustrates the connection Mahler himself drew when he referred to them as a "trilogy" and demonstrates how Nietzsche's Dionysian-Apollonian interpretation of Greek drama was more than a one-time influence on the composer.

McGrath's suggestion that Mahler only used this important Nietzschean duality in the Third Symphony also provides a less than satisfactory connection between Mahler's reading of *The Birth of Tragedy* and the work of other members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, a claim that McGrath himself prepares in his book's introduction. He writes that that the two most important intellectual bonds formed between members of the group were "a shared psychological framework and a sophisticated use of theatrical symbolism."³ Mahler's particular interest in the theatrical, surely stemming in part from his work as an opera director, permeates his compositions beyond the Third Symphony. In this chapter, I show how the unique use of the

³ McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics*, 1.

theatrical based on Nietzsche's Dionysian-Apollonian interpretation of ancient drama can be seen as both an element of the political strategies employed by the group's socialist politicians and a compositional approach featured in all of Mahler's early symphonies.

Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy Out of the Spirit of Music*

Of the works written by Nietzsche, the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle most certainly read the philosopher's *Birth of Tragedy*. One of the seminal arguments this work provides is that Greek tragic drama is constructed from a dialogue between the "Apollonian" and the "Dionysian:" a veiling of the world in understandable illusion and the intoxication of frenzied self-nullification, respectively. Apollo is a "ruler over the beautiful illusion of the inner world of fantasy [...] the symbolical analogue of the soothsaying faculty and of the arts generally, which makes life possible and worth living."⁴ The Apollonian veil allows us to see the world's struggles and disappointments as valuable rather than meaningless. Dionysus meanwhile intoxicates, inspiring a sense of community through the struggle of human existence, reaffirming man's oneness with others through a frenzied, self-forgetting state. Nietzsche writes of the Dionysian,

Now the slave is a free man; now all the rigid, hostile barriers that necessity, caprice, or "impudent convention" have fixed between man and man are broken. Now, with the gospel of universal harmony, each one feels himself not only united, reconciled, and fused with his neighbor, but as one with him, as if the veil of *maya* had been torn aside and were now merely fluttering in tatters before the mysterious primordial unity.⁵

While the Apollonian serves the dramatic action of Greek tragedy, providing a narrative for the audience to follow, it is the result of the Dionysian chorus, "that the state and society and, quite

⁴ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy, Out of the Spirit of Music, Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann, (New York, 2000 [1872]), 35.

⁵ Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, 37.

generally, the gulfs between man and man give way to an overwhelming feeling of unity leading back to the very heart of nature.”⁶ Nietzsche credits the Dionysian with tragedy’s ability to allow the viewer a feeling of empathy and awe, a sense of connection to the characters of the drama and to other human beings more generally.⁷

One of the reasons Greek tragedy was such an important topic for Nietzsche, as well as countless authors before and after him including Richard Wagner, has to do with its role in the everyday life of Athenians. It was much more than an isolated dramatic display, in part because of its ability to touch on topics that extended far beyond the specifics of any one drama. Because so many tragedies deal with common human struggles—heartbreak, loss, divided allegiances, the abuse of power, among others—the conclusion of any one individual display could have widespread applicability. Italian classicist Oddone Longo emphasizes the “collective character of ancient drama and its pertinence to the citizen community [...] The theatrical event in ancient Athens was a public event par excellence. The Athenians’ dramatic performances were not conceivable as autonomous productions, in some indifferent point in time or space, but were firmly located within the framework of a civic festival, at a time specified according to the community calendar, and in a special place expressly reserved for this function.”⁸ John J.

⁶ Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, 59.

⁷ Eugene Garver’s glossary to S.H. Butcher’s translation of Aristotle’s *Poetics* lists the work kathartis as interchangeable with purgation, purification, and clarification. Catharsis comes from the Greek *kathairein* ‘to purify, purge’ and from *katharos* ‘pure, clear of dirt, clean, spotless; open, free; clear of shame or guilt; purified.’ This etymology suggests the experience of fear and pity is one through which our own consciences are purified, as we observe our inherent flaws aggrandized in performance. See Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. S.H. Butcher, (New York, 2005), 506

⁸ Oddone Longo, “The Theater of the *Polis*,” *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*, ed. John J. Winkler and From I. Zeitlin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 15.

Winkler further details the social and political dimensions of the performance of tragedy through a description of the audience's seating:

the audience's character [is] as a civic assembly—not a fortuitous gathering of “theatergoers” but a quasi-official gathering of citizens. They were seated in tribal order, one tribe per wedge, which was evidently the seating arrangement for the Athenian Assembly when it met [...] The more prominent citizens sat toward the front, with a special section for the Council. The layout of the auditorium thus displayed the organization of the body politic in terms of both tribal equality and of social hierarchy.⁹

The contributions of ancient drama to the functions of the *polis* is one aspect of its unique importance in the ancient world and its recurrence as a model for musical styles and genres throughout Western history.

The specific complementary relationship between the Apollonian and the Dionysian as the cornerstone of tragedy is an idea that arises not from ancient literature but from Nietzsche's discussion in *The Birth of Tragedy*; Dionysus' frenzied intoxication and affirmation of man's relationship to other men through commiseration over life's great struggles, and Apollo's explanatory veil through which we must see the world in order to carry on living come specifically from Nietzsche's interpretation of the ancient genre.¹⁰ The presence, therefore, of these figures and the employment of their duality in the works of members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, including Mahler, connects these men not just to the aesthetics of ancient Greece—of which there were other interpreters, including Wagner—but more formally to their reading of Nietzsche and his unique view of the power of ancient drama.

⁹ John J. Winkler, “The Ephebes' Song: Tragôidia and Polis,” *Representations* No. 11 (Summer 1985): 22-23.

¹⁰ See Ian C. Storey and Arlene Allen, *A Guide to Ancient Greek Drama* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 53-54.

Lipiner as Interpreter

The influence of Nietzsche's view of tragic drama can be seen mostly plainly in the works of Siegfried Lipiner, the Pernerstorfer Circle's resident Nietzsche expert and philosophical *Wunderkind*. On February 19, 1878, Lipiner delivered a talk to his university peers titled "On the Elements of Renewal of Religious Ideas in the Present" ("Über die Elemente einer Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart") that dealt largely with the Nietzschean conception of the effects of classical tragedy, as well as its possible modern rebirth as a form of secular religion.¹¹ Like Nietzsche, Lipiner saw tragedy as a source of regeneration. The text of this talk, which survives, includes the following quotation:

The will that has absorbed divinity into itself, the willing person who accomplishes what is enormous, who overcomes [*überwindet*] his mortality, transformed into the god-man by struggling with himself, the willing person who, suffering, conquering, beholding the prize of victory, the approaching peace—who is man, intercessor, and god all at once, him do I see in the tragic hero, I see lost divinity rising again [*auferstehen*] in tragedy. Tragedy is religion, and in the presence of tragic art man becomes religious. For in tragic art he sees himself, sees how he negates reality and as phenomenon joyfully passes away—joyfully, for precisely in this passing away, and only in it, does he feel what cannot pass away, and as a man dying away, he feels his resurrection as God.¹²

Lipiner also conceived of the experience of observing tragedy in much the same way as Nietzsche. Complementing the Apollonian narrative of tragic drama, Lipiner viewed the effect of

¹¹ There is some disagreement about the content of this talk. Martin Liebscher believes the topic was the third of Nietzsche's *Untimely Meditations*, while Stephen Hefling contends it was the second. (Liebscher, "Admiration for Nietzsche in 1870s Vienna", 39; Hefling, "Siegfried Lipiner's On the Elements of a Renewal of Religious Ideas in the Present" in *Contextualizing Mahler* ed. by Erich Wolfgang Partsch and Morten Solvik. (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2011). I do not believe either is correct and that they are confusing this published talk with the one specifically on the *Untimely Meditations* given the year before. On that score, Liebscher would be correct as the title in the *Jahresbericht* indicates that Lipiner discussed "Schopenhauer as Educator."

¹² Siegfried Lipiner, "Über die Elemente einer Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart," 10-11. Translated in Hefling, "Lipiner's On the Elements," 111.

the Dionysian in the same self-nullifying terms, which he explicitly linked to a religious experience:

We grasp true and serious pantheism only when we see this Nature from within, when the great transformation has proceeded within us, when we have ceased to know and to feel ourselves as individual beings: then we are Pan, the All-One, and then we are Theos, the divine,—and this great transformation is the tragic unfolding, the tragedy; in it we suffer most deeply, for only bleeding does man wrest himself from his transitory self, and in [tragedy] the joy of all joys rushes through us, for in this bleeding tearing-one-self-away we feel the omnipotence and magnificence of the higher self, our own godliness.¹³

Many of Lipiner's other writings contained the seed of Nietzsche's praise for the power and components of Greek drama. Lipiner's first publication, *Prometheus Unbound* (*Der entfesselte Prometheus*), even took its name from the illustration on the cover of the original publication of the *Birth of Tragedy*, an image of the god Prometheus breaking free from his chains. One of Lipiner's early biographers, Harmut von Hartungen, observes that his *Hippolytes*, a tragedy in three acts written in 1900, also shows the influence of Nietzsche's Apollonian-Dionysian duality. Hartungen writes,

The idea of the conflict and eventual melding of the two forces, the "life urge" and the "stillness of eternity" which Lipiner makes into the central motif of the work points straight to Nietzsche's influence. ... In Lipiner's work we can quite easily recognize the same dichotomy of Dionysus and Apollo in the two drives, "the life urge" and "the stillness of the soul." One cannot deny Nietzsche's influence if one considers how Lipiner captures the spirit of Antiquity.¹⁴

¹³ Lipiner, "Über die Elemente," 11. Translated in Hefling, "Lipiner's On the Elements," 137.

¹⁴ "Die Idee des Widerstreits und der Verschmelzung der beiden Seelenkräfte 'Lebensdrang' und 'Ruhe in Ewigen,' die Lipiner zum Grundmotiv seiner Dichtung macht, deutet stark auf Nietzsches Einfluss ... so erkennen wir bei Lipiner in den beiden Trieben 'Lebensdrang' und 'Seelenstille' dieselbe Duplizität des Dionysischen und Apollinischen wieder. Einerseits ist im Erfassen des Geistes der Antike Nietzsches Einfluß nicht zu verleugnen." See Harmut von Hartungen, "Der Dichter Siegfried Lipiner (1856-1911)" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ludwig Maximilians Universität Munich, 1932), 62-3.

As an important arbiter of Nietzsche's ideas within Mahler's university circle, Lipiner's use of the Apollonian-Dionysian dialectic serves as evidence for its relevance to the group members more generally.

The Birth of Politics Out of the Spirit of Tragedy

Nietzsche's conception of tragedy, in its ability to unite individuals through a shared dramatic experience, created a new approach to the practice of politics for the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle that went on to found and lead the Austrian Social Democrats.¹⁵ These individuals were attracted not only to the professed power of the tragic spectacle Nietzsche described but also to its ability to direct society's attention towards particular projects, such as cultural unification,¹⁶ thereby making it a useful political tool.

It is furthermore the specific combination of Dionysian and Apollonian elements that contributed to the Greeks' political success. In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche writes,

But let us ask by means of what remedy it was possible for the Greeks during their great period, in spite of the extraordinary strength of their Dionysian and political instincts, not to exhaust themselves either in ecstatic brooding or in a consuming chase after worldly power and worldly honor, but rather to attain that splendid mixture which resembles a noble wine in making one feel fiery and contemplative at the same time. Here we must

¹⁵ The leftist reception of Nietzsche's ideas is explored, among others, by Steven E. Aschheim. His book, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany: 1890-1990*, particularly Chapter 6 "Nietzschean Socialism: Left and Right," deals most comprehensively with this topic.

¹⁶ The philosopher writes that the doctrine of tragedy is "the fundamental knowledge of the oneness of everything existent, the conception of individuation as the primal cause of evil and of art as the joyous hope that the spell of individuation may be broken in augury of a restored oneness." See Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, 74.

clearly think of the tremendous power that stimulated, purified, and discharged the whole life of the people: *tragedy*.¹⁷

Only in tragedy's combination of the powerful Dionysian with its other half, the Apollonian veil, could frenzied, primal emotions be focused on a particular subject or experience. The members of the Pernerstorfer Circle who became politicians used this model to direct the force of communal unity towards their particular political goals.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Engelbert Pernerstorfer's political socialism was intricately linked to an appreciation of the theatrical and the development of a working class that understood and enjoyed the theater.¹⁸ McGrath summarizes the politician's brand of "Metapolitics" by writing that he sought to bring "the power of art to bear on political reality."¹⁹ In an article in an 1884 issue of the periodical *Deutsche Worte*, Pernerstorfer emphasized the communitarian foundation of the pan-Germanist movement and its aim to develop a cultural community that would be centered around theatrical art and its many political implications.²⁰ Pernerstorfer served as a theater critic for the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and became the editor of a periodical whose sole purpose was to educate the working class about the stage, *Der Strom*.

¹⁷ Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, 125. In this portion of the book, section 21, Nietzsche describes how the Greeks managed to strike the correct balance of Dionysian and Apollonian in the form of tragedy meant avoiding both India's undervaluation of politics, leading to orgy and Buddhism, and Rome's overvaluation of politics, leading to secularization. See Tracy B. Strong, "Tyranny and Tragedy in Nietzsche's Understanding of the Greek Polis" in *The Greek Polis and the Invention of Democracy: A Politico-Cultural Transformation and Its Interpretations*, ed. Johann P. Arnason, Kurt A. Raaflaub, and Peter Wagner (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

¹⁸ This is perhaps difficult to reconcile with Nietzsche's view of the masses, however the philosopher ideas were appropriated by many different groups, parts of whose ideologies appear to be in conflict with sections of Nietzsche's writings. For a detailed discussion of how socialism was reconciled with Nietzsche's ideas, see Chapter 6 "Nietzschean Socialism: Left and Right" in Steven E. Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany: 1890-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

¹⁹ McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 182.

²⁰ Engelbert Pernerstorfer, "Nationale Solidarität," *Deutsche Worte*, September 16, 1882, 1-2.

Following the break with the antisemitic pan-Germanism of Schönerer in 1883, Pernerstorfer, along with Heinrich Friedjung, also became part of a group known as the “men of the sharper key” (*schärfere Tonart*). According to McGrath, the men of this group believed in marshaling the emotional nature of their constituency to affect certain political changes.

What Wagner had done for music, the men of the *schärfere Tonart* hoped to accomplish in politics, and in their efforts they profited greatly from the psychological theories of the Wagnerian theater. Just as Wagner’s operas had attempted to direct and focus the general emotions which music aroused by making the music articulate the precise emotional response appropriate to the words and actions of the drama; so the speeches of the *schärfere Tonart* attempted not only to stimulate emotion, but also to focus it on the specific aims of the party program. Neither Wagner nor the men of the sharper key believed in arousing undefined, undirected emotion.²¹

McGrath compares these efforts to the theatrical techniques of Wagner’s music dramas. While Wagner does mention the duality of the two gods in the creation of drama in the essay “Art and Revolution” (“Kunst und Revolution”), it is Nietzsche’s *Birth of Tragedy* that takes pains to trace the history of both and the timing and details of their union..²² To the extent that Wagner can be credited with inspiring this approach to politics, Nietzsche deserves equal acknowledgement.

Like Pernerstorfer, Victor Adler also believed firmly in the power of the arts and music to bind communities and to mobilize political action. As early as 1873, Adler joined the Vienna Academic Wagner Society and made a pilgrimage to Bayreuth in 1874. In his biography of Adler, Max Ermers writes,

As much as it was not a house of politics, Adler’s house was an “art house” through and through. Here, the greatest minds in poetry and music were always being celebrated. [...] Goethe, Jean Paul, Richard Wagner and Beethoven were the invisible Gods in this house

²¹ McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 203.

²² See Richard Wagner, “Art and Revolution” in *The Art-Work of the Future and Other Works*, trans. William Ashton Ellis (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 21-68.

on the Berggasse. At least once a year, the Adler family would treat themselves to a new production of *Faust* or *Titan*. There was a time when neither Beethoven's Ninth Symphony nor *Tristan and Isolde* were performed without Adler himself or [fellow Social Democrat] Wilhelm Ellenbogen being in attendance. The enigma of Bayreuth, this socialist musician of the future [Wagner] was seen for a long time by Adler as a shining light heralding the nation of the future. Having this intellectual position, he celebrated the young worker's choirs and the worker's symphony concerts which were spreading rapidly throughout Austria, particularly in Vienna. Through his friendship with Mahler as a young man, he became a Mahlerian.²³

Complimented by the Pernerstorfer Circle's reading and discussion of Nietzsche, particularly *The Birth of Tragedy*, Adler carried this view of arts and society into his political career as leader of the Austrian Social Democrats. The party mirrored his championship of the union of arts and politics, and took part in promoting and extending a number of programs to help bring the arts to the masses.

According to G.D.H. Cole's *A History of Socialist Thought*, "Socialism became, above all in Vienna, a way of life and developed its own cultural institutions in both the intellectual and the artistic field. It had its own music, in a centre in which musical talent was highly developed and enthusiasm for music exceptionally strong."²⁴ Indeed Adler's view of music in particular was closely aligned with its benefits to community. At a performance of Josef Scheu's *Das Lied der Arbeit*, he said, "It is, moreover, the power of music ... which leads us to the highest peak of feeling, where all particulars disappear, and only the great, the sublime, meets our gaze. The

²³ Max Ermers, *Victor Adler: Aufstieg und Größe einer sozialistischen Partei* (Wien und Leipzig: Verlag Dr. Hans Epstein, 1932), 236. Translation by Oisín Woods.

²⁴ G.D.H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought, Vol 3, part 2: The Second International 1889-1914* (New York: MacMillan and Co., 1956), 542.

highest expression of our solidarity, the inspiration for the holy cause around which the masses assemble as brothers— ... one cannot speak of that, one must sing it.”²⁵

Adler not only believed in the power of music and championed access to the arts for working-class Austrians, but his style of politics was heavily influenced by the Nietzschean view that communities could be built and mobilized through shared dramatic experiences. Socialist contemporaries of Adler, Emile Vandeveld and Karl Kautsky, both noted Adler’s appreciation of the dramatic dimension of politics. McGrath provides excellent explorations of two particular instances when Adler invoked the use of symbol and drama as part of a successful political campaign: the campaign for an eight-hour workday that occurred on May Day of 1890-92, and the demonstration for universal manhood suffrage in 1905 that included a parade of Vienna’s workers proceeding along the Ringstrasse in silence as a demonstration of their voicelessness.²⁶

While some of Adler’s tactics of spectacle might have drawn on an Austrian tradition of parades and pageantry, the politician has been discussed in the Austrian studies literature as bringing a new dimension to the aesthetics of the political process. David Josef Bach, the cultural editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and the founder of the Worker’s Symphony recalled in his essay, “Victor Adler, the artist,”

But life form and art form are one. Victor Adler has accomplished the Revolution of the Heart. So he became an artist. His life is tragic: he who suffered for you who died for you! His life is victorious; he did not die for nothing! He advanced the struggle to near the point where the highest work of art speaks: Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, which Victor Adler so loved. Fight, lament, victory: All people become brothers! The community-building feeling, which emanates from this symphony, enhances the desire to

²⁵ Victor Adler, *Victor Adler: Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe, Vol. II* (Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1922), 27-29. Translation by McGrath.

²⁶ See McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics*, in particular the chapter, “Victor Adler: The Politician as Artist and Psychologist,” 208-237.

build the new community. The first funeral service of the Vienna Proletariats for Victor Adler became crowned in the wishes of the heroes of the Ninth Symphony. A life is lost. But in the underworld to drink the shadows blood, to come alive, his life is the artwork. The artwork is man himself, the revolutionary, the artist. No more sorrow! Oh friends, not these tones, rather let us praise one another and be joyful: All men become brothers!²⁷

This description of Adler and his project could easily be applied to Nietzsche's characterization of the power of attic tragedy: through its experience all men become brothers, life is realized as a work of art, and the abolition of sorrow occurs through the celebration of art.

Wolfgang Maderthaner, a contemporary Austrian historian and the head of the Austrian Workers' Movement archives, also acknowledges Adler's dramatic political techniques as unique and attributable to the politician's fondness for Wagner and Nietzsche. "Adler has never theoretically justified this policy of the symbolically guided and charged anticipation of a prospective improvement, the foundations and principal policies of the so-called 'culturalist' political concept he conceived. He who owed Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and above all Wagner

²⁷ "Aber Lebensformen und Kunstformen sind eins. Victor Adler hat die Revolutionierung der Herzen vollbracht. So ist er ein Künstler gewesen. Sein Leben ist tragisch: der für euch litt, der für euch starb! Sein Leben ist siegreich; er starb nicht umsonst! Er hat den Kampf weitergeführt bis nahe an jenen Punkt, von dem das höchste Kunstwerk spricht: Beethovens Neunte Symphonie, die Victor Adler so sehr geliebt hat. Kampf, Klage, Sieg: Alle Menschen werden Brüder! Das gemeinschaftsbildende Gefühl, das diese Symphonie ausstrahlt, steigert den Willen, die neue Gemeinschaft aufzubauen. Die erste Trauerfeier des Wiener Proletariats für Victor Adler ward im Sinne des Helden von der Neunten Symphonie gekrönt. Ein Leben ist untergegangen. Aber in der Unterwelt trinken die Schatten Blut, um lebendig zu werden, ihr Leben ist das Kunstwerk. Das Kunstwerk ist der Mensch selbst, der Revolutionär, der Künstler. Keine Klage mehr! O Freunde, nicht diese Töne, sondern laßt uns andere anstimmen und freudenvollere: Alle Menschen werden Brüder!" See David Josef Bach, "Victor Adler, dem Künstler" in *Victor Adler im Spiegel seiner Zeitgenossen*, ed. by Wanda Lanzer and Ernst K. Herlitzka (Wien: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1968), 37. The opening sentences of this tribute bear a striking resemblance to the language Mahler used to describe the finale of the Second Symphony. Given its date of publication, one can only imagine that perhaps Bach saw a reflection of Adler in Mahler's work.

more for his intellectual biography than the theorists of early socialism or the First International understood above all as a political practitioner.”²⁸

Mahler’s Apollo and Dionysus

Of the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, Mahler was especially close to Siegfried Lipiner. The men maintained a correspondence long past their university years and even reconnected after a hiatus in their relationship (caused largely by Alma) right before their deaths. One would therefore expect that the elements of Nietzsche’s philosophy that were most pertinent to Lipiner, such as the Apollonian-Dionysian dialectic, would also influence Mahler’s reading of the philosopher. And they did.

The figure of Dionysus appeared frequently in Mahler’s letters. Table 2.1 shows the instances where Mahler used the terms “Dionysus” or “Dionysian” in his correspondence. The most frequently quoted appearance of Dionysus refers to the program of the Third Symphony, often used interchangeably with the figure of Pan. Other mentions refer to Dionysus’s association with wine and debauchery. Mahler also used the term to describe the work of others. In a letter to Lipiner, upon receiving a copy of his new drama, *Adam*, the composer raved about Lipiner’s “music” as uniting man and animal, a characterization that bears a striking resemblance to Nietzsche’s own description of the music of Dionysus: “Under the charm of the Dionysian not

²⁸ “Adler hat diese Politik der symbolisch angeleiteten und aufgeladenen Vorwegnahme eines künftigen Besseren, die Grundlagen und prinzipiellen Leitlinien der von ihm entworfenen, sozusagen ‘kulturalistischen’ politischen Konzeption niemals theoretisch begründet. Er, der Schopenhauer, Nietzsche und vor allem Wagner mehr für seine intellektuelle Biographie zu verdanken hatte als den Theoretikern des Frühsozialismus oder der Ersten Internationale, verstand sich vor allem anderen als ein politischer Praktiker.” See Wolfgang Maderthaner, “Victor Adler und die Religion des Ästhetischen: Bemerkungen zur Wagner-Rezeption im Wien des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts” in *Studien zu Wiener Geschichte* (Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Band 66, 2010).

only is the union between man and man reaffirmed, but nature which has become alienated, hostile, or subjugated, celebrates once more her reconciliation with her lost son, man.”²⁹

Table 2.1 Appearances of the terms “Dionysus” and “Dionysian” in Mahler’s letters

Quotations come from *Gustav Mahler Briefe* (Vienna, 1982), and *Gustav Mahler Selected Letters*, translated by Eithne Wilkins, Ernst Kaiser and Bill Hopkins (London, 1979), respectively

Date and Addressee	German	English
18 November 1896 to Richard Batka	Daß diese Natur alles in sich birgt, was an Schauerlichem, Großem, und auch Lieblichem ist (eben das wollte ich in dem ganzen Werk in einer Art evolutionistischer Entwicklung zum Aussprechen bringen), davon erfährt natürlich niemand etwas. Mich berührt es ja immer seltsam, daß die meisten, wenn sie von “Natur” sprechen, nur immer an Blumen, Vöglein, Waldesduft etc. denken. Denn Gott Dionysus , den großen Pan kennt niemand.	Of course no one gets an inkling that for me Nature includes all that is terrifying, great and also lovely (it is precisely this that I wanted to express in the whole work, in a kind of evolutionary development). I always feel it strange that when most people speak of “Nature” what they mean is flowers, little birds, the scent of the pinewoods, etc. No one knows the god Dionysus , or great Pan.
June 1899 to Lipiner	Das ist ein wahrhaft dionysisches Werk! Glaub mir, das versteht außer mir kein Lebender. In den Backen des Euripides finde ich einen verwandten Zug. Nur spricht Euripides immer zu sehr von den Dingen, aber er gibt sie nicht. — <i>Was</i> ist es denn, was alles Lebende in die Gewalt des Dionysos gibt? Der Wein berauscht und erhöht den Zustand des Trinkenden! <i>Was</i> aber ist der Wein?—Der Darstellung ist es bis jetzt noch nie gelungen, was sich in der Musik in jeder Note von selbst ergibt. In Deiner Dichtung weht <i>diese</i> Musik! Sie ist wirklich einzig auf der Welt. —Sie erzählt nicht vom Wein, sie <i>ist</i> Dionysos ! Mir scheint es übrigens, daß die Gestalt des Dionysos bei den Alten eben der <i>Trieb</i> war, in diesem mystisch-grandiosen Sinn, wie Du ihn erfasst!	This is a truly Dionysian work! Believe me, no one else alive today, except me, will understand it. There is some affinity with it, to my mind, in Euripides’ <i>Bacchae</i> . Only Euripides always has too much talk about things instead of the things themselves— <i>What</i> ever is it that delivers all living creatures into the power of Dionysus ? Wine intoxicates, intensifying the drinker’s condition. But <i>what</i> is wine?—No visual representation has ever yet succeeded in capturing what flowers spontaneously from every note of music. <i>This</i> music lives and breathes throughout your poetry in this work of yours. It is really unique.—Instead of telling of wine or describing its effects, it <i>is</i> wine, <i>is</i> Dionysus ! It seems to me, incidentally, that what Dionysus personified to the ancients was simply <i>instinct</i> , in the grandiose mystical sense in which you have interpreted it.

²⁹ Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, 37.

July 1899 to Lipiner	Ich muß leider schon am 1. August in Wien sein, weil die Meisterhand Fuchs's sich beim Weinabzeihen verletzt hat. Auch ein Opfer des Dionysos !	It's too bad, but I have to be in Vienna by 1 August, because that master-hand of Fuchs's had an accident while bottling wine. Another sacrifice to Dionysus !
14 July 1899 to Nanna Spiegler	[I am unable to locate the original German text of this letter. It appears in neither the 1982 nor 1996 edition of Mahler's letters]	On 1 August I must return to the struggle, Richter being in Bayreuth and Fuchs's maestro-hand being in no fit state as a result of a broken wine-bottle (the only connection the worthy man has with Dionysus). Oh! Oh! Oh! Ah! Ah! AAAAAAA! [page 239]

Natalie Bauer-Lechner also notes a number of instances in which Mahler used the words

“Dionysus” or “Dionysian” in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Appearances of the terms “Dionysus” and “Dionysian” in Natalie Bauer-Lechner’s recollections of Mahler			
Quotations come from Natalie Bauer-Lechner, <i>Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler</i> (Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984) and <i>Recollections of Gustav Mahler</i> , translated by Dika Newlin (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), respectively			
Heading	Date	German	English
Brief von Gustav Mahler an Natalie Bauer-Lechner	September 3, 1895	I-? (Zug zu Dionysos oder Sommer marschiert ein) II Was mir die Blumen auf d. Wiese erzählen III Was mir die Tiere im Wald erz. IV Was mir die Nacht erzählt (der Mensch) V Was mir die Morgenglocken erz. (die Engel) VI Was mir die Liebe erzählt Motto: Vater, sieh an die Wunden, mein kein Wesen lass verloren sein VII Was mir das Kind erzählt	I-? (Procession of Dionysus or Summer Marches In) II What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me III What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me IV What the Night Tells Me (Man) V What the Morning Bells Tell Me (Angels) VI What Love Tells Me Motto: Father, Look upon my wounds, Let no creature be lost VII What the Child Tells Me
Gespräche über die Dritte Symphonie	June 1896	Der Titel: ‚Der Sommer marschiert ein‘, paßt nicht mehr nach dieser Gestaltung der Dinge im Vorspiel; eher vielleicht ‚Pans Zug‘ - nicht Dionysos - zug! Es ist keine dionysische Stimmung, vielmehr treiben sich Satyrn und derlei derbe Naturgesellen herum."	The Title: “The Summer Marches In,” no longer fits the shape of things in this introduction; “Pan’s Procession” would possibly be better—not the procession of Dionysus ! It is not in dionysian mood; on the contrary, satyrs and other such rough children of nature disport themselves in it.

Beethovens Siebente Symphonie	March-April 1899	Mahler erzählte mir von seiner Aufführung der Siebenten Beethovenschen Symphonie, daß der letzte Satz eine dionysische Wirkung auf alle Hörenden ausgeübt habe; die Leute seien wie betrunken hinausgegangen. "Und so muß es sein", sagte er. "Du hättest aber auch hören sollen, welche Kraft ich dabei entfesselte, die doch nicht unverhältnismäßig klang, weil die Singstimme absolut die Oberhand behielt und auch jede Figurierung, Passage und Verzierung aufs deutlichste und hellste herauskam.	Mahler told me that in his performance of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, the last movement had a dionysian effect on the audience; everybody went out as if intoxicated. "And that's the way it has to be" he said. "But you should have heard the power I unleashed! And yet it didn't sound out of proportion, because the melody kept the upper hand; but, in addition, every figuration, passage and ornament came through as clearly and distinctly as possible.
Über Mahlers Erste Symphonie	October-November 1900	Im ersten Satz reißt uns eine dionysische , noch durch nichts gebrochene und getrübte Jubelstimmung mit sich fort.	In the first movement we are carried away by a Dionysian mood of jubilation, as yet unbroken and untroubled.
Aus einem Briefe vom 26. Juli 1900	July 26, 1900	Aber Ihr müßt auch die Lage sehen, ja nur den Weg zu seinem Häuschen! Von allen Wundern und allem Grauen des Waldes ist er da umfungen, wie nur einer, der Stunde um Stunde drin lebt. Das Gefühl, wenn er hier seine beiden Gittertüre hinter sich zuschließt, könne ihm niemand nachfühlen. Hier übertrifft es an Ruhe und Sicherheit und dionysischen Wundern und Entzückungen bei weitem selbst das von ihm so geliebte Steinbacher Wiesen-Häuschen. Hier arbeitet er bei allen vier weit offenen Fenstern und atmet so fortwährend die köstlichen Waldeslüfte und-düftein (indes er in Steinbach nur hinter doppelten Türen und Fenstern die doch noch zudringlichen nach : Laute abzuhalten vermochte).	But you should see the location of his summer composing hut, or at least the path up to it! There, he is surrounded by all the miracles and all the mystery of the forest as only one who lives in it hour after hour can be. No one can imagine the feeling he has when he shuts his two wrought-iron gates behind him. The peace and security, the dionysian marvels and enchantments, far surpass even those of the little cottage on the meadow at Steinbach which he so loved. Here he works with all four window wide open, so that he can breathe in the precious air and fragrance of the woods (whereas, in Steinbach, he could ward off the still too-penetrating sounds only by shutting himself in behind double doors and windows).

Again, Mahler uses the term in his movement titles for Third Symphony. It is also used to characterize the first movement of the composer's First Symphony and the final movement of

Beethoven's Seventh Symphony. Bauer-Lechner herself uses it to characterize Mahler's composing hut in Maiernigg, where he summered between 1900 and 1907.

To my knowledge, only one record of Mahler's evocation of Apollo exists. Stepping, for a moment, beyond the temporal boundaries of this project, I would like to briefly examine Mahler's dedication of the finale of his Ninth Symphony to "my brothers in Apollo." Given the discussion of Nietzsche's Apollonian-Dionysian duality with respect to Mahler's compositions presented here, I return again to Nietzsche for an explanation of Mahler's inscription. In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche describes the Apollonian as "the beautiful illusion of the dream worlds, in the creation of which every man is truly an artist."³⁰ Whether the brothers Mahler refers to include the canonical composers of Western art music (Donald Mitchell suggests that J.S. Bach was among them,³¹ and the dedication of a finale to a Ninth Symphony makes it difficult not to think of Beethoven), or those who worked contemporaneously with Mahler, as Edward R. Reilly has suggested,³² the notion of a brotherhood under the banner of Apollo evokes the Nietzschean vision of the Apollonian state, in which the pinnacle of true artistry is attained.

McGrath bases his interpretation of the Third Symphony as an Apollonian-Dionysian display on a two-part structure, dividing the symphony into two halves, one Dionysian and one Apollonian. He aligns the first part, the first movement of the Third, with the opening Dionysian chorus of the proto-tragedy and therefore it embodies the Dionysian component of the work. The

³⁰ Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, 34.

³¹ Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years Chronicles and Commentaries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 346.

³² Edward R. Reilly, *Gustav Mahler and Guido Adler: Records of a Friendship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 59.

second part of the symphony, movements two through six, are akin to the Apollonian vision complete with a change in tone and the revelatory nature of their programmatic content.

McGrath describes these as two halves of the tragedy, and while they may each account for half of the composition, they are not delineated into two consecutive parts in the ancient practice. The Dionysian music of the chorus, while it often introduced the dramas, also recurred in the middle and at the end of these works and so it is rather their repeated interaction that is responsible for the effects of ancient tragedy.

McGrath's discussion of the musical details of Mahler's Third is limited. As a cultural historian, this is not surprising and the author admits as much. Rather than focus on the work's formal and programmatic components, which do not in fact provide the best corollary to Nietzsche's tragic duality, I will refine and extend McGrath's discussion of Mahler's use of this dialectic into recurring compositional techniques in the early symphonies: narrative, the chorus, and the use of symphonic space. In addition to recreating a powerful dramatic display that both Nietzsche and Wagner promoted as the only possibility for a renewal of German culture, it seems to me that Mahler's use of Dionysian-Apollonian elements also sought to invoke a sense of brotherhood. While Mahler was not particularly political in his post-university years, the compositional techniques used in his early symphonies still sought to promote the same values that would be important political ideals for other members of the circle.

Narrative

Much ink has been spilled about the idea of program and narrative in Mahler's music.³³ Mahler's works both resist and accommodate programs, an issue complicated further by the composer's initial assignment of narratives to his first three symphonies and later rejection of these and any future programs altogether. The programs Mahler did initially provide for his early symphonies are not nearly as prescribed and detailed as program music by Franz Liszt or Hector Berlioz, which is of most importance here. Many have observed that Mahler's music lies somewhere in a no-man's land between the territories of absolute and program music. Stephen Hefling has written that Mahler wrote "programs, but no program music," noting that Mahler insisted he did not write program music and denounced Liszt and Richard Strauss for doing so.³⁴ Yet Mahler himself said that "There is no modern music, from Beethoven onwards, that does not have an inner program."³⁵ Constantin Floros and Derrick Puffett have both insisted that all of Mahler's symphonies are, in some respect, program symphonies.³⁶ While Julian Johnson critiques this

³³ See Vera Micznik's "Music and aesthetics: the programmatic issue" in *The Cambridge Companion to Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) for a thorough survey of the program versus absolute music discussion of Mahler's symphonies; see also Carolyn Abbate "Mahler's Deafness: Opera and the Scene of Narration in *Todtenfeier*" in *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).; Stephen Hefling, "Mahler's 'Todtenfeier' and the Problem of Program Music" *19th-Century Music* 12/1 (Summer 1988): 27-53.; Peter Franklin, "A Stranger's Story: Programmes, Politics and Mahler's Third Symphony" in *The Mahler Companion* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1999) among others.

³⁴ Stephen Hefling, "Mahler's 'Todtenfeier' and the Problem of Program Music," 27.

³⁵ "[E]s gibt von Beethoven angefangen keine moderne Musik, die nicht ihre inneres Programm hat." See letter from Mahler to Max Kalbeck, January 1901, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, ed. Herta Blaukopf (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 1982), 254.

³⁶ See Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler I: Die geistige Welt Gustav Mahlers in systematischer Darstellung*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1987), 10; Derrick Puffett, "Berg, Mahler, and the Three Orchestral Pieces Op. 6" in *The Cambridge Companion to Berg*, ed. Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 116.

sweeping statement, he notes that the manuscripts of symphonies as late as the Ninth and Tenth reveal extramusical inspirations. Johnson writes, “[Mahler] invited the listener to consider that his music reached beyond itself but resisted the idea of any reductive reading of it as merely the narrative of external events.”³⁷ As evidence, scholars have offered a number of compelling interpretations of individual programs, the coexistence of which is made possible by the vagueness of the composer’s narratives.³⁸

I would like to propose a different explanation for, or means by which to understand, the quasi-programmatic nature of Mahler’s early symphonies, based on a balance between the Apollonian and Dionysian. Much of the music we have come to view as “program music” is based on pre-existing stories or images, works that stand alone with or without a musical incarnation. With perhaps the exception of Liszt’s *Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe*, I have not been able to identify any pieces of nineteenth-century program music that predate Mahler’s first three symphonies with pithy programs that do not reference a pre-existing extramusical element (myth, landscape, poetry, painting, sound) that can be consulted for greater detail if the musical program does not suffice.³⁹ Musical works for which the composer developed his own unique narrative—here I think specifically of Berlioz’s *Symphonie Fantastique*—are very detailed and specific. Though it is certainly a pleasure to hear, the music is not necessary to understand the

³⁷ Johnson, *Mahler’s Voices*, 240.

³⁸ See Peter Franklin, “A Stranger’s Story,” and Vera Mizcnik, “‘Ways of Telling’ in Mahler’s Music: The Third Symphony as Narrative Text,” in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Stephen Hefling, “Mahler’s ‘Todtenfeier’ and the Problem of Program Music” and Peter Franklin, “Funeral Rites: Mahler and Mickiewicz,” *Music & Letters* 55/2 (1974), among others for an example of the variety of readings of Mahler’s programs.

³⁹ Composed after Mahler’s Third Symphony in 1898, Strauss’s *Ein Heldenleben* does present a original narrative that is fairly vague.

narrative as a cohesive and complete artwork in itself; the narrative is explicit. As Julian Johnson notes, “Mahler’s music presents itself *as if* it followed a program where in fact there is none. Federico Celestini underlines this in a comparison of the third movement of Mahler’s First Symphony and Berlioz’s *Symphonie Fantastique*. The latter, he suggests, ‘depicts clear scenes that the audience, armed with the program, believes they follow. But Mahler’s music (for all its scenic disposition) does not work in this way.’”⁴⁰ It is my view that Mahler’s narratives require the music to be understood. The music is not necessarily a bearer of semantic specificity, but it connects aspects of the program that do not otherwise logically unfold from one point to another. Even Mahler’s most detailed programs lack the kind of specificity that we receive from Berlioz and therefore *need* the complement of the music to make their elements part of a unified whole. It is this symbiotic relationship between the programs and Mahler’s music that reflects the Apollonian-Dionysian duality: the programs provide an illusion of some kind, while the music pulls the work together into an affecting and consuming whole. Any single interpretation of the music and its accompanying program is by no means the only correct one, but the music is necessary to establish any sense of completeness in terms of the verbal narrative.⁴¹

Even before Mahler renounced his early programs the details that accompanied the initial performances of the first three symphonies are not much more than “a few milestones and signposts for the journey.”⁴² In an article that appeared in the *Pester Lloyd* preceding the

⁴⁰ Johnson, *Mahler’s Voices*, 240.

⁴¹ According to all accounts, ancient and modern, the full power of Greek tragedy lies in its performance and in particular the musical element, despite the absence of extant musical documents.

⁴² “einige Wegtafeln und Meilenzeiger auf die Reise.” This is Mahler’s own famous characterization of his programs written in a letter to Max Marschalk on March 26, 1896. See *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 149. For translation, see *Selected Letters*, ed. Knud Martner, trans. Eithne Wilkins, Ernst Kaiser, and Bill Hopkins (New York: Faber and Faber, 1979), 178-181.

premiere of the First Symphony in Budapest in 1888, Mahler provided the following programmatic notes (which at that point included the original second movement, “Blumine”).

The first movement is described as “spring sounds,” the second as a “serenade” evoking love’s rapture, the third as a “bridal procession expressing boundless joy and delight,” and the fourth as a funeral march inspired by the “Huntsman’s Funeral,” representing the burial of the symphonic hero’s illusions. The finale was “the victory of the hero who has been beaten to the ground, but who rises anew and triumphs because he has succeeded in creating his own inner world, which neither life nor death can take away from him . . . in the course of this transformation, the memory of lost illusions, contained in all the previous themes, returns, as if the sun were suddenly emerging after a stormy night.”⁴³

When compared to the program of Berlioz’s *Symphonie Fantastique*—again, the only work of program music, to my knowledge, that predates Mahler’s first three symphonies and contains an original narrative not based on an extramusical source that can be consulted for greater detail regarding what the music is trying to relay—Mahler’s narrative is vague. The composer’s descriptions for each movement are in themselves cryptic and there is no explication of how we get from one to the next. The narrative appears to vacillate between different moments in the life of the hero, and certainly different emotional registers, without an explanation for the journey between.

The Second Symphony initially seems to provide more in the way of detail, but the scene-setting does not include material details easily realized and identified in the music.

Symphony in C minor

1st movement. We stand by the coffin of a well-loved person. His life, struggles, passions and aspirations once more, for the last time, pass before our mind’s eye—And now in the moment of gravity and of emotion which convulses our deepest being, when we lay aside like a covering everything that from day to day

⁴³ Henry-Louis de la Grange, *Mahler: Volume One* (Garden City, New Jersey: Double Day & Company, Inc, 1973), 746. This summary comes from an article in the *Pester Lloyd* prior to the first performance of the First Symphony in Budapest in 1888. At the time, the work was entitled “Symphonic poems in two parts.”

perplexes us and drags us down, our heart is gripped by a dreadfully serious voice which always passes us by in the deafening bustle of daily life: What now? What is this life—and this death? Do we have an existence beyond it? Is all this only a confused dream, or do life and this death have a meaning?—And we must answer this question if we are to live on.

The next three movements are conceived as intermezzi.

2nd movement—Andante: a happy moment from the life of his beloved departed one, and a sad recollection of his youth and lost innocence.

3rd movement—Scherzo: the spirit of unbelief, of presumption, has taken possession of him, he beholds the tumult of appearances and together with the child's pure understanding he loses the firm footing that love alone affords; he despairs of himself and of God. The world and life become for him a disorderly apparition; disgust for all being and becoming lays hold of him with an iron grip and drives him to cry out in desperation.

4th movement Urlicht (alto solo). The moving voice of naive faith sounds in his ear.

‘I am God, and desire to return to God!

God will give me a lamp, will light me unto the life of eternal bliss!’

5th movement.

[?...the cry of desperation starts up...?]

We again confront all the dreadful questions and the mood of the end of the 1st movement.—The voice of the caller is heard: the end of all living things is at hand, the last judgement is announced and [all] the whole horror of that day or days has set in.—The earth trembles, graves bust open, the dead arise and step forth in [long] endless files. The great and the small of this earth, kings and beggars, the just and the ungodly—all are making that pilgrimage, [shuddering and (?) in endless files]; the cry for mercy and grace falls terrifyingly on our ear.—The crying becomes ever more dreadful—our senses forsake us and all consciousness fades at the approach of eternal judgement. The ‘*great summons*’ is heard; in trumpets from the Apocalypse call [every body and every soul]’—in the midst of the awful silence we think we hear in the farthest distance a nightingale, like a last quivering echo of earthly life! Softly there rings out a chorus of the holy and the heavenly;

‘Risen again, yea thou shalt be risen again!’ There appears the glory of God! A wonderful gentle light permeates us to our very heart—all is quiet and blissful!—And behold: there is no judgement—There is no sinner, no righteous man—no great and no small—There is no punishment and no reward! An almighty feeling of love illumines us with blessed knowing and being!⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Transcribed from Mitchell, *The Wunderhorn Years*, 183-4. Mahler's program was handwritten in a letter from Berlin in December 1901.

The description of the first movement devolves quickly into existential questions, while the second gives nothing about the details of the beloved's recollections. In the third and fourth movements, the state of the beloved's mind is again described but the connection between these movements and others, as well as extramusical details with common musical realizations, such as geography or landscape, are absent. The final movement provides more of a narrative that can be linked to specific musical events—the trumpets of the apocalypse, the call of the nightingale, and the entry of the hymn—but the sense of a singular and distinct image or narrative that encompasses the entire work and is clearly reflected by the composition as a whole is absent.

The Third Symphony is even less narrative driven than the first two symphonies, lacking a central hero or conflict.

Part One

- I. "Pan Awakes, Summer Marches In"

Part Two

- II. "What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me"
- III. "What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me"
- IV. "What Man Tells Me"
- V. "What the Angels Tell Me"
- VI. "What Love Tells Me"

The very nature of the program for the second part only gives clues as to what one should decipher from the music. The listener does not know what the flowers or the animals or man or love will tell him or her from reading the program, one must listen to it. Even the similarly titled movements of Beethoven's Symphony No. 6 tell the listener what to expect in terms of the

movement's content.⁴⁵ Mahler's programs are an Apollonian explanatory veil that need the Dionysian musical component to intoxicate and unite members of the audience and in so doing are a musical construction based on the combination of the Apollonian imagery and the Dionysian music that Nietzsche identifies in his *Birth of Tragedy*. It is only through a unique application of Nietzsche's tragic dialectic that the effect of Mahler's immense symphonies are fully realized.

The Chorus

While McGrath identifies the presence of the Ancient chorus in the opening movement of the Third Symphony in the form of an instrumental choir, Mahler does actually employ a chorus of human voices in the Third, a practice that was still somewhat new in 1896.⁴⁶ I will first discuss the choral movement of the Third Symphony and then the choral finale of the Second Symphony before turning to the First Symphony, which more conventionally features no choir but implies a choral finale in the last movement. Mahler's use of chorus, like its ancient counterpart, combine the two faculties of Nietzsche's ancient drama: the music of the Dionysian with Apollonian description.

⁴⁵ The movement subtitles are "Awakening of cheerful feelings upon arrival in the countryside," "Scene by the brook," "Merry gathering of country folk," "Thunder, storm," and "Shepherd's song; cheerful and thankful feelings after the storm."

⁴⁶ While Liszt and Sibelius both wrote symphonies with choral parts in the intervening years between Beethoven and Mahler, each were distinctly programmatic and were given programmatic names rather than the title "Symphony" and a number.

The role of the chorus in the genre of ancient Greek tragedy was to comment on the action on the stage and reflect on the lessons one might learn from the mistakes of its characters.

The structure of Greek tragedies was as follows.

1. Prologue: a monologue (or dialogue) preceding the chorus's entry, presenting the circumstances of the tragedy
2. *Parode* (or Entrance Ode): the entrance song of the chorus in which the chorus identifies itself within the play
3. Episode: the interaction of one or two actors
4. *Stasimon* (or Standing Song): a choral ode in which the chorus reacts or comments on the action of the preceding episode
5. *Exode* (or Exit Ode): the exit song of the chorus

According to Ruth Scodel, the content of the *parodes*, *stasimons*, and *exodes* functioned in two ways: "it could serve to move the singer(s) slightly away from the immediate action, to a different plane on which the singers could try to make sense of the action, or it could express emotions too powerful for ordinary speech."⁴⁷ An examination of the programs of the Second and Third Symphonies in combination with the function of Second's choral finale and the chorus in the penultimate movement of the Third reveals that the choruses of Mahler's early symphonies function much in the same way that ancient Greek choruses did in tragedy.

Interpretations of what the chorus of Greek tragedy represents abound.⁴⁸ These include the view of the chorus as "ideal spectator,"⁴⁹ as the voice of the general public,⁵⁰ the voice of the

⁴⁷ Ruth Scodel, *An Introduction to Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4.

⁴⁸ For a detailed overview of the classical scholarship on this topic, see Helene Foley, "Choral Identity in Greek Tragedy" *Classical Philology* 98, No. 1 (January 2003): 1-30.

⁴⁹ See A.W. Schlegel, *Über dramatische Kunst und Literatur: Vorlesungen* (Mohr & Zimmer, 1809-11).

⁵⁰ See Longo, "The Theater of *Polis*," among others.

author, and as young men in early military training know as “ephebes,”⁵¹ among others. In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche rejects the view of the chorus as a representation of the general public on the basis of tragedy’s growth from religious ceremony, with which the socio-political sphere did not interact.⁵² He also dismisses as absurd Schlegel’s reading of the chorus as “ideal spectator” on the basis that the drama of tragedy arose from the chorus itself. If there was originally no spectacle, Nietzsche asks, on what could the chorus of ideal spectators be commenting? In typically brazen fashion, Nietzsche’s rejections of these views may not be immune to critique, but the establishment of his view of the chorus’s role, and its possible influence on Mahler, is important here. Nietzsche is much more amenable to what he describes as Schiller’s view that the chorus creates a necessary boundary between the poetic and real worlds and that this boundary is crucial to the rejection of artistic naturalism. “[Schiller] regards the chorus as a living wall that tragedy constructs in order to close itself off from the world reality and to preserve its ideal domain and its poetical freedom.”⁵³ Furthermore, the individual man is nullified in the presence of the chorus. To extend a quotation provided earlier, Nietzsche writes,

[T]his is the most immediate effect of the Dionysian tragedy, that the state and society, and quite generally, the gulfs between man and man give way to an overwhelming feeling of unity leading back to the very heart of nature. The metaphysical comfort—with which,

⁵¹ See Winkler, “The Ephebes’ Song,” 57. Winkler argues that the Pronomos vase depicts the chorus as young, beardless men and that therefore “the ephebes are cast in the most ‘disciplined’ part of the tragedy—disciplined in the exacting demands of unison movement, subordinated to the more prominent actors, and characterized as social dependents (women, slaves, old men)—while the actors who are no longer ephebes, perform a tale showing the risks, the misfortunes, and sometimes the glory of ephebic experience.” Tragedy therefore is responsible for nurturing the discipline of these young warriors, while simultaneously warning them against potentials for downfall.

⁵² Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, 56.

⁵³ Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, 58. Nietzsche cites the Preface to Schiller’s *Bride of Messina*.

I am suggesting even now, every true tragedy leaves us—that life is at the bottom of things, despite all the changes of appearances, indestructibly powerful and pleasurable—this comfort appears in incarnate clarity in the chorus of satyrs, a chorus of natural beings who live ineradicably, as it were, behind all civilization and remain eternally the same, despite the changes of generations and of the history of nations.⁵⁴

The choral movements of Mahler's first three symphonies, as I will show, can also be viewed as playing a similar role: nullifying the individual and unifying mankind around the most essential human struggles, encouraging the pursuit of life regardless.

McGrath interprets the first movement of the Third Symphony as performing a function similar to that of the chorus of Greek tragedy, basing his understanding of the drama on “proto-tragedies” in which the chorus began the event, drawing the audience into the performance's self-nullifying power.

The symphony is divided into a long first movement which performs the role of the ancient Greek chorus by evoking the tremendous power of Dionysian emotion, and this is followed by an Apollonian vision in which movements two through six reveal how the hierarchy of being reflects the inner relationship between the underlying Dionysian unity and the particular forms in which life appears.⁵⁵

Yet Mahler's use of a real chorus of voices, both a women's choir and a boy's choir, in its penultimate movement, titled “What the Angels Tell Me,” can also be considered in terms of the odes of the chorus of Ancient Greece, such as the *stasimon* responding to the action that has just preceded it.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, 59.

⁵⁵ William McGrath, “Mahler and the Vienna Nietzsche Society,” in *Nietzsche and Jewish Culture*, ed. Jacob Golomb (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 228.

⁵⁶ The songs that followed the chorus's song of entry, called the *parodos* or “arrival,” were known as *stasima*, or “standing song” as reference to the chorus's standing placement on the stage. See Alan H. Sommerstein, *Greek Drama and Dramatists* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 20.

Mahler's human chorus appears at a crucial moment in the symphony and is a kind of commentary on both mankind and his search for knowledge, the core of the symphony's narrative according to Mahler's program. The chorus appears in the penultimate movement titled "What the Angels Tell Me," between the fourth movement, "What Man Tells Me," and the attainment of the ultimate level of knowledge in the final movement, "What Love Tells Me." Just as the *stasimon* are choral odes that react in some way to the words or actions of the drama's characters, the movement's tone and content can be heard as a response to the alto soloist's "Oh Mensch, Gib Acht!," a setting of the "Midnight Song" ("Mitternachtslied") from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (*Also sprach Zarathustra*), in the preceding movement. Nietzsche's "Midnight Song" is shown at the end of *Zarathustra* to be an adumbration of the Eternal Recurrence, the secret to living a satisfying life. The chorus of the fifth movement responds to this creed for earthly fulfillment with a celebratory tale of its heavenly counterpart: the movement is a setting of the *Wunderhorn* song, "Es sungen drei Engel," which relates Christ's forgiveness of Peter and the absolution of man's sins more generally. It is a turning point in the overall program because it is positioned following the accumulation of knowledge from the flowers, the animals, mankind—all the sources of earthly knowledge—but before the final ascent into divine love.⁵⁷

The text sung by the chorus further unites mankind under the redemption of God's love, despite doubts about our collective worth. The chorus "draws the audience up onto another plane" as a way to make sense of what has just unfolded and what it means for the journey of the narrative and, in so doing, inspires a life-affirming connection between men. In this way, the

⁵⁷ Mahler famously explained the final movement of the Third Symphony by saying, "It is the last stage of differentiation: God! or if you like, the *Übermensch*!" This quotation is explored further in Chapter 4.

appearance of the physical chorus in Mahler's Third Symphony functions similarly to the choruses of Greek tragedy broadly, and in particular to the tragic chorus as Nietzsche conceives of it.

Text of "Es sungen drei Engel"

Knabenchor

Bimm bamm, bimm, bamm...

Frauenchor:

Es sungen drei Engel einen süßen Gesang,
Mit Freuden es selig in den Himmel klang.
Sie jauchzten fröhlich auch dabei,
Daß Petrus sei von Sünden frei.
Und als der Herr Jesus zu Tische saß,
Mit seinen zwölf Jüngern das Abendmahl aß,
Da sprach der Herr Jesus: "Was stehst du den hier?
Wenn ich dich anseh', so weinest du mir."

Alt:

"Und sollt' ich nicht weinen, du gütiger Gott" . . .

Frauenchor

Du sollst ja nicht weinen!

Alt:

"Ich habe übertreten die Zehn Gebot;
Ich gehe und weine ja bitterlich,
Ach komm und erbarme dich über mich."

Frauenchor:

Has du denn übertreten die Zehen Gebot,
So fall auf die Knie und bete zu Gott!
Liebe nur Gott in alle Zeit,
So wirst du erlangen die himmlische Freud!
Die himmlische Freud, die Selige Stadt;
Die himmlische Freud, die kein Ende mehr hat.
Die himmlische Freude war Petro bereit'
Durch Jesum und allen zur Seligkeit.

Boys' choir:

Bimm, bamm, bimm, bamm ...

Women's choir:

There were three angels singing a sweet song
ringing joyfully to heaven.
They rejoiced happily as well,
that Peter be free of sins.
And when the Lord Jesus sat down at the table
together with his twelve apostles to eat dinner
thus spoke the Lord Jesus: "Why are you standing here?
When I look at you, you weep before me."

Alto/Peter:

"And why should I not weep, kindly God" ...

Women's choir

Thou shalt not weep!

Alto/Peter:

I have violated the ten commandments;
I go and do weep bitterly,
Oh, come and have pity on me.

Women's choir:

You have violated the ten commandments,
so fall to your knees and pray to God!
Love only God at all times,
thus you will receive heavenly joy!
The heavenly joy, the blessed city;
The heavenly joy, that has no end.
The heavenly joy was given to Peter
Through Jesus and as a blessing to all.

Mahler's Second Symphony also employs a chorus in an important role. In the work's powerful finale, a choir sings a modified version of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's hymn *Aufersteh'n* ("Resurrection"), a treatment that recalls the "Ode to Joy" of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. While there exist different views on the relationship between the work's program and

the tale “Todtenfeier,” a German translation of the Polish story *Dziady*,⁵⁸ Mahler wrote the following to Max Marschalk about the program: “It may interest you to know that it is the hero of my D major symphony who is being borne to his grave, his life reflected, as in a clear mirror from a lofty vantage point.”⁵⁹ This short description provides a context for the work’s final chorus. The text, to which Mahler added his own stanzas, is an encouraging commentary on overcoming struggle and reconstructing a new life, what we can presume is a response to the tribulations of the work’s hero.

Text of “Auferstehen, ja Auferstehen” from Mahler, Symphony No. 2

Aufersteh’n, ja aufersteh’n wirst du,
Mein Staub, nach kurzer Ruh!
Unsterblich Leben! Unsterblich Leben Wird,
der dich rief, dir geben.

Wieder aufzublüh’n, wirst du gesät!
Der Herr der Ernte geht
Und sammelt Garben
Uns ein, die starben.
— Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock

O glaube, mein Herz, o glaube:
Es geht dir nichts verloren!
Dein ist, ja Dein, was du gesehnt,
Dein, was du geliebt,
Was du gestritten!

O glaube:
Du warst nicht umsonst geboren!
Hast nicht umsonst gelebt, gelitten!

Was entstanden ist, das muss vergehen!
Was vergangen, auferstehen!
Hör’ auf zu beben!
Bereite dich zu leben!

Rise again, yes, you will rise again,
My dust, after brief rest!
Immortal life! Immortal life
Will He, who called you, grant you.

To bloom again, you were sown!
The Lord of the Harvest goes
And gathers like sheaves,
Us, who died.

O believe, my heart, believe:
Nothing will be lost to you!
Yours, yes, yours is what you longed for,
Yours what you loved,
What you fought for!

O believe:
You were not born in vain!
You have not lived in vain, nor suffered!

All that has come into being must perish!
All that has perished must rise again!
Cease from trembling!
Prepare to live!

⁵⁸ See Hefling, “Mahler’s ‘Todtenfeier’ and the Problem of Program Music;” and Franklin, “Funeral Rites: Mahler and Mickiewicz,”

⁵⁹ “wenn Sie wissen wollen, so ist es der Held meiner D-dur-Symph[onie], den ich da zu Grab trage, und dessen Leben ich, von einer höheren Warte aus, in einem reinen Spiegel auffange.” See letter to Max Marschalk, March 26, 1896, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 149.

O Schmerz! Du Alldurchdringer!
Dir bin ich entrungen!
O Tod! Du Allbezwinger!
Nun bist du bezwungen!

Mit Flügeln, die ich mir errungen,
In heissem Liebesstreben
Werd' ich entschweben
Zum Licht, zu dem kein Aug' gedrungen!
Sterben werd' ich, um zu leben!

Aufersteh'n, ja aufersteh'n wirst du,
Mein Herz, in einem Nu!
Was du geschlagen,
Zu Gott wird es dich tragen!
— Gustav Mahler

O Pain, piercer of all things!
From you I have been wrested!
O Death, conqueror of all things!
Now you are conquered!

With wings I won for myself,
In love's ardent struggle,
I shall fly upwards
To that light which no eye has penetrated!
I shall die so as to live!

Rise again, yes, you will rise again,
My heart, in the twinkling of an eye!
What you have conquered,
Will bear you to God!

This text is explored in more detail in Chapter 4, but several elements regarding the chorus should be addressed here. First is the placement of the choral movement. Mahler places the chorus at the very end of the symphony. In addition to the entrance ode that McGrath identifies in his description of the Third Symphony's first movement, Greek tragedies also ended with a final word from the chorus, the *exode*. These songs were sung as the chorus exited the stage and were meant to impart some form of wisdom, commenting on the events of the tragedy and indicating the message of the drama. The "lesson" of the Second Symphony concerns the tragic hero's ability to overcome. As we see from the narrative above, the work interrogates the meaning of life and death, which must be determined "if we are to live on." The final chorus is a response to the opening's "dreadful questions." In the wake of Judgment Day, the chorus reveals that there is "no judgment, no sinner, no righteous man" and instead "a wonderful gentle light permeates us to our very heart." The conclusion of the work depicts the redemptive outcome of the trials of the narrative's hero and provides the audience with the encouragement to live triumphantly despite earthly struggles.

The second element that must be addressed regarding Mahler's use of chorus in the finale of the Second Symphony is the genre he draws upon. Unlike the Third Symphony, the chorus of the Second does not sing a folk song, but a hymn.⁶⁰ The connotations of this religious genre invoke a sense of community and nullification of the individual that is characteristic of music's role in religious ceremonies. This use of the chorus again mirrors the ancient tradition in its effect, and seems to strive for an outcome akin to Nietzsche's description of the chorus: uniting mankind to persevere.

The First Symphony, more traditionally, does not employ a physical chorus of human voices. It is not wholly surprising that Mahler used a more traditional approach to symphonic structure in his first foray into the genre. Without an actual choral movement, Mark Evan Bonds interprets the finale of the First Symphony as a form of instrumental chorus, writing, "although purely instrumental, the movement ends with a chorale-like theme whose character is decidedly vocal."⁶¹ Julian Johnson has also explored Mahler's use of instrumental voices, writing, "The persistent interweaving of vocal and instrumental genres is one of the ways in which Mahler foregrounds the idea of musical voice. Often, a vocal quality is invoked by instrumental music, as is underlined by frequent performance directions to instrumental players, such as *zart gesungen* (sweetly sung) or *gesangvoll* (songful)."⁶² Johnson also cites Theodor Adorno's description of Mahler's overall style as "language-like" (*Sprachähnlichkeit*), insisting that both

⁶⁰ "Hymn" here should be taken in the modern sense of a religious song or Christian worship appearing first in Latin and then in the vernacular.

⁶¹ Mark Evan Bonds, *After Beethoven* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 176.

⁶² Julian Johnson, *Mahler's Voices*, 18.

songs and symphonies utilize “speech gestures” that unite the works under a single stylistic banner.

Given the program of the First Symphony, the finale, which portrays “the victory of the hero who has been beaten to the ground, but who rises anew and triumphs because he has succeeded in creating his own inner world, which neither life nor death can take away from him,” is a celebratory reflection of the hero’s ability to overcome his struggles, like the finale of the Second. Again, this finale can be considered in terms of both the chorus’s main functions in the ancient world: allowing the audience to experience the hero’s journey without living it themselves, and expressing the inexpressible emotions that result from the hero’s experiences.

The use of the chorus, particularly within the symphonic genre is itself a combination of Dionysian and Apollonian elements. While Nietzsche speaks of the music of the chorus as belonging to Dionysus in its power to nullify the individual and reaffirm bonds between men, the setting of poetry also makes it part-Apollonian according to the philosopher. It is precisely the combination of an explanatory veil in the form of the text set to powerful, choral music that is the synthesis of Apollonian and Dionysian.

Symphonic Space

Despite making his living as an opera house director for much of his life, Mahler never wrote an original opera. Yet theatrical elements are found throughout his symphonies and the employment of dramatic tactics absorbs the audience into the experience of the music. Mahler’s use of symphonic space in his first three symphonies is a technique that also employs both Dionysian

and Apollonian elements in the service of enveloping the audience and cultivating a connection between individuals not merely by creating a three-dimensional musical space, but by consistently doing so through the use of musical excerpts with extramusical connotations. In this section, I will discuss how Mahler's use of off-stage orchestrations performed by instruments with established historic roles in public events invokes Nietzsche's Apollonian and Dionysian.

In each of the first three symphonies, there are instances of off-stage orchestration. At the start of the First Symphony, horn calls are instructed to play "in the distance" ["in der Ferne"] and "in the far distance" ["in weiter Entfernung"] and are now typically performed from back-stage or elsewhere in the theater.⁶³ In the finale of the Second Symphony, the score lists horns and trumpets "in the distance" ["in der Ferne"] among the movement's instruments. At their first entry at Rehearsal 3, Mahler further instructs that they "be placed in the furthest distance" ["in weiter Entfernung aufgestellt"]. At Rehearsal 22, an ensemble of trumpets, triangle, cymbals and bass drum are given the same instructions. In the Scherzo of the Third Symphony, the famous posthorn solo is to be played "as if from a far distance" ["Wie aus ein weiter Ferne"] at Rehearsal 14 and then "in the far distance" ["in weiter Entfernung"] at Rehearsal 27. As Thomas Peattie has noted, "While the use of off-stage instruments is not without precedent in nineteenth-century symphonic writing, Mahler's precision in locating a part of the orchestral apparatus within a space that is not just 'distant' but carefully articulated reveals a spatial conception that is far more complex than we find in the symphonies of his predecessors."⁶⁴ Peattie's essay

⁶³ Thomas Peattie explores the variety of descriptions of distance that Mahler uses in the first movement in "The Expansion of Symphonic Space in Mahler's First Symphony," *Journal of the Royal Music Association* 136, no.1 (2011): 73-96.

⁶⁴ Peattie, "Expansion of Symphonic Space," 80.

examines the First Symphony, but as the instructions listed indicate, Mahler continued this use of precise and varied distinctions of space in his Second and Third Symphonies.

Both Peattie and Laura Dolp interpret the opening instructions in the First Symphony as staging the symphony, or dramatizing the musical space.⁶⁵ Peattie writes that the First Symphony's off-stage horn calls do not serve the intended program, but rather that Mahler's incorporation of such a device "powerfully reestablished the vitality of the genre [of the symphony] at the intersection between waning symphonic tradition and the immediacy of operatic convention."⁶⁶ By incorporating a musical device from opera, such as theatrical placement of instruments, into the symphonic genre, Mahler gave his audience something more accessible with which to connect and reinvigorate the symphony. Not only does this off-stage orchestration recall contemporary opera in its theatricality, but it imitates to some degree the atmosphere of the Greek theater. What Mahler creates in his scoring of off-stage parts is not merely the sense that there is something in the distance of the narrative, but the manipulation of symphonic space makes the listener a part of the musical event. Situating the listener within the musical performance enables an immersion that links audience members as part of the creative event, possibly to the point of Dionysian self-nullification.

Johnson has also considered the meaning of Mahler's off-stage orchestrations. "At the opening of the first movement of the First Symphony and the Finale of the Second Symphony, where the gradual coalescence of elements within a static field frames the entry of the protagonist onto the 'stage,' the offstage or distance voice serves to underline a process of calling

⁶⁵ Peattie, "Expansion of Symphonic Space," and Laura Dolp, "Viennese *Moderne* and Its Spatial Planes, Sounded" *19th-Century Music* 33/3 (Spring 2010): 247-269.

⁶⁶ See Peattie, "Expansion of Symphonic Space," 74.

forth or drawing out a voice from the silence.”⁶⁷ Mahler creates a multi-dimensional narrative by using on-stage and off-stage voices, and thereby frames the entry of yet another voice, the protagonist. The narrative’s three-dimensional quality facilitates a cathartic connection to the characters, particularly the tragic hero. “The fact of spectatorship [within the theater]” Oddone Longo writes “sets in motion the mechanisms of identification with the dramatic characters and with the theatrical space.”⁶⁸ The use of three-dimensional sonic space at the beginning or end of the work’s musical journey in particular allows the audience to become a part of the action, rather than simply its observer; As McGrath notes in his analysis of the First Symphony’s opening as an instrumental chorus, such devices employed at the start of the work function to pull the audience into the experience, dimming the lights of the theater and carrying them away with the unfolding drama. Similarly, an enveloping experience at the end of a drama unites the audience around the final outcome, be it tragic or celebratory.

In his exploration of Mahler’s off-stage orchestration, Peattie cites the famous moment from Beethoven’s *Fidelio* when an off-stage trumpet signals the arrival of an intervenor, Don Fernando, and therefore the rescue of the work’s hero, Florestan. Peattie quotes Luca Zoppelli’s essay, “‘Stage Music’ in Early Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera,” characterizing the effect of this off-stage instrument. “Stage music also has implications for the audience, which in its presence ‘abandon[s] the omniscient composer’s point of view, and enter[s], so to speak, into the theatrical action, seeing things exactly as the characters onstage see [and hear] them.’”⁶⁹ The

⁶⁷ See Johnson, *Mahler’s Voices*, 181.

⁶⁸ Longo, “The Theater of *Polis*,” 18.

⁶⁹ See Peattie, “Expansion of Symphonic Space,” 85; and Luca Zopelli, “‘Stage Music’ in Early Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990): 29-39.

music is not being performed before the audience from one place which can be identified visually, but it surrounds the listener, bringing them into the narrative. This technique is much like the surround sound of modern movie theaters, and its effect is a self-nullifying absorption into the drama, the definition of Nietzsche's Dionysian condition. Kurt Blaukopf further specifies the operatic equivalence by comparing Mahler's treatment of off-stage instrumentation with Wagner's specially constructed theater at Bayreuth, designed to realize the composer's new genre of *Gesamtkunstwerk*.⁷⁰ More specifically, Peattie notes that the off-stage chorus of hunting horns at the start of Act 2 of *Tristan und Isolde* are also instructed to be mobile, like those in Mahler's first three symphonies.⁷¹ The praise heaped on Wagner in Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* suggests this important comparison: if Mahler's off-stage instruments are not only operatic, but specifically Wagnerian, then their use draws his conception of the dramatic even closer to the ideal Nietzsche described in *The Birth of Tragedy*.

The Apollonian element of these instances of three-dimensional sonic space depends on the extramusical connotations of the off-stage instruments used: in each instance it is a horn being played in the distance. Horns in particular evoke certain social circumstances, those of the court, the hunt and the military. In each of these social situations, issues of rank, power and negotiations between groups and individuals are at play—politics at its most basic level. Just as the narrative of ancient Greek tragedy could be applied or considered in terms of the *polis*, the use of an instrument so closely associated with social space creates not only a clear extra-musical association, but one that is connected to the function of society. Given the ambiguity of Mahler's

⁷⁰ Kurt Blaukopf, *Mahler*, trans. Inge Goodwin (London: Futura Publications, 1974), 250.

⁷¹ Peattie, "Expansion of Symphonic Space," 96.

narratives, discussed above, there is no one interpretation of these instruments, and while scholars have discussed them in a number of ways, all involve societal space and the ritual of community.

Scholarship on the First Symphony routinely characterizes the off-stage trumpets at the start of the First Symphony as a fanfare, a set of runs and arpeggios associated with state occasion and celebration.⁷² Peattie's insightful observations about the mobility of the off-stage fanfare add to the programmatic sense that they belong to an extra-musical source. The horns are not merely sounding in the distance, but we hear them approach as part of some form of mobile ensemble. Whether militaristic or pastoral, the fanfare evokes grandeur and occasion with a clear and well-established communal practice. By utilizing such a passage as part of the off-stage orchestration (rather than, say, the clarinet's cuckoo call) the audience is not only enveloped in the music, but can link social function to the musical landscape in which they find themselves.

Mahler's own programs for the Second Symphony describe the off-stage horns of the finale as signs of the Apocalypse, announcing the arrival of Judgment Day from on high.⁷³ While this is not an extramusical association anyone has heard and lived to tell about, the association between horns and judgment is a correlation well-rooted in the social consciousness. Peter Franklin interprets Mahler's use of horns in this multi-dimensional symphonic space as dialogic evocations of power on earth. According to Franklin, the distant off-stage instruments of the

⁷² See Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years*, 215-217; Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 33; and Peattie, "Expansion of Symphonic Space," *passim*.

⁷³ See Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen*, 40; and Mahler's letter to Justi on 13 December 1901, in *The Mahler Family Letters*, ed. Stephen McClatchie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 362.

Second's finale evoke powerful members of the terrestrial, hunters or nobles, through established sonic conventions.⁷⁴

The connotations of the hunt, the military, and the court cannot be so easily applied to the posthorn solo of the Third Symphony. Both Morten Solvik and Constantin Floros have linked Mahler's posthorn to the poem *Der Postillion* by Nikolaus Lenau, which describes the instrument as a lonely sound, drifting through the woods.⁷⁵ The imagery evoked by the posthorn does not bear the same grandeur of the First Symphony's fanfare or sense of authority described by Mahler himself, but it invokes elements of social ritual nonetheless: Lenau's poem tells of a traveler on a postal stagecoach whose horn melody interrupts the silent slumber of the villages and calls out to a deceased friend buried in a nearby cemetery. For the sake of comparison, the sound of a lone trumpet performing "Taps" is distinctly evocative of particular American social rituals. Recently, Timothy Freeze has considered the posthorn solo in terms of its allusions to popular music, yet another social marker.⁷⁶ Freeze further considers the colloquial tone of the posthorn as an important example of the the symphony's earthly contrasts to its overall preoccupation with the heavenly. "Whatever veiled references the marches and posthorn solos might contain to classical forebears, and regardless of the specific sphere of music-making they

⁷⁴ Peter Franklin, "The Politics of Distance in Mahler's Musical Landscape," *Musik in der Moderne*, ed. Federico Celestini (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2011), 71. Franklin argues that the finale of the Second Symphony reverses the traditional power dynamic, banishing the off-stage instruments and finding salvation for all in the on-stage chorus.

⁷⁵ See Floros, *The Symphonies*, 102 and Solvik, "Biography and Musical Meaning in the Posthorn Solo of Mahler's Third Symphony" in *Neue Mahleriana: Essays in Honor of Henry-Louis de La Grange on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Gunther Weiss (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997), 344-9.

⁷⁶ Timothy Freeze, "Popular Music and the Colloquial Tone in the Posthorn Solos of Mahler's Third Symphony," *Rethinking Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 183-201.

are thought to invoke, they are above all marked by the residue of everyday experience.”⁷⁷ In order to be effective, these everyday experiences must by virtue of the function Freeze describes be recognizable allusions to a social practice. Each possible reading of the posthorn’s allusion, be it to popular music, mail deliveries or in tribute, is one that by definition exists as part of a community ritual.

In each instance, the use of off-stage instrumentation not only surrounds the listener, making him a part of the music’s drama, the Dionysian self-nullification, but the use of an instrument with specific social connotations creates possibilities for inferring specific meaning, an Apollonian veil. Franklin’s relation of Mahler’s off-stage horns to socio-political dynamics, in particular, bears a likeness to the undercurrents of social discourse at work in the observation of ancient tragedy.⁷⁸ Just as Nietzsche demonstrates how the experience of tragic drama in the ancient world also belonged to the sphere of politics, in Franklin’s analysis the ominous sounding and consequent dispelling of representations of authority in the off-stage horns in the finale of the Second both serve to unite and inspire a sense of the community within the audience.

The use of dramatic techniques in the work of members of the Pernerstorfer Circle is prevalent. In addition to cultural spheres where an emphasis on the dramatic might be expected, theatrical symbolism was also invoked in the ideological approach and political practices of the group. The use of dramatic symbolism is not only common in the works of circle members, but the

⁷⁷ Freeze, “Popular Music in the Posthorn Solos,” 197.

⁷⁸ Franklin, “The Politics of Distance in Mahler’s Music Landscape.”

particular approach to drama taken by Mahler and Adler has a distinctively Nietzschean “ring” that first appears in the author’s *Birth of Tragedy*. The interpretation of tragedy and its importance to the cultural and political life of the ancient world was a central component in the group’s discussions of art and society, and included important commentary from Nietzsche.

The basis of Mahler’s Nietzscheanism explored here, as well as in McGrath, is the Dionysian-Apollonian element presented in *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872). Despite the profound influence of the earlier text, Mahler chose the much later *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1891) when he set Nietzsche’s words to music. One reason for this might be that the text of *Zarathustra* is simply easier to set, it is far more poetic than *The Birth of Tragedy*’s prose and it rhymes. However Nietzsche’s writings include sections of poetry as early as *The Gay Science* (*Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*), the first edition of which was published in 1882 and a book that once inspired the working title of the Third.⁷⁹ In 1906, Mahler reportedly told Bernhard Scharlitt, a music journalist for the *Neue Freie Presse*, that “[Nietzsche’s] Zarathustra was born completely out of the spirit of music, indeed constructed absolutely ‘symphonically.’”⁸⁰ If Scharlitt’s quotation is correct, two elements of Mahler’s characterization of *Zarathustra* are particularly telling. First, Mahler uses the phrase born “out of the spirit of music,” the subtitle for Nietzsche’s *Birth of Tragedy* encompassing the philosopher’s essential view that the root of Greek tragic

⁷⁹ The second edition was published in 1887 with an expansion and addition of songs and has the greatest number of poems of all his works.

⁸⁰ “Sein ‘Zarathustra’ ist ganz aus dem Geiste der Musik geboren, ja geradezu ‘symphonisch’ aufgebaut.” See B. Scharlitt, “Gespräch mit Mahler,” *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2/7-8 (*Sonderheft Gustav Mahler*): 309-10 [First published as “Aus einem Gespräch mit Gustav Mahler,” *Neue Freie Presse* 25 May 1911: 11] Cited in and translated by Barham, “Mahler’s Third Symphony and the Philosophy of Gustav Fechner: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Criticism, Analysis and Interpretation” (Ph.D. diss, University of Surrey, 1998), 484.

drama, with all its power and consequences for community-building and social function, is derived from music.

Mahler's view that *Zarathustra* too was born from the spirit of music suggests that the composer viewed its content as at least related to the genre of Greek tragedy, a view that Nietzsche scholars have also defended.⁸¹ While both works could be derived from music in their own, different, ways, it is the specificity of Mahler's wording that connects the content of *Zarathustra* to the content of the earlier book. Given Mahler's familiarity with the two works, to suggest that his use of the phrase "born out of the spirit of music" ["aus dem Geiste der Musik geboren"] is not meant to invoke *The Birth of Tragedy* as part of a description of *Zarathustra* seems implausible. Mahler also characterizes *Zarathustra*'s construction as more than just musical, but in fact symphonic. If *Zarathustra*'s construction is symphonic *and* akin to ancient tragedy then Mahler's own comments invite a reading of his symphonic works in Nietzsche's tragic terms, most distinctively, the Dionysian-Apollonian dialectic.

⁸¹ For discussions of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* as a form of tragedy described in Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*, see Paul S. Loeb *The Death of Nietzsche's Zarathustra* (2010), and Kathleen Marie Higgins *Nietzsche's Zarathustra* (2010) among others.

CHAPTER 3: Juxtapositions of Tragic and Comic

In conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner during the summer of 1900, Gustav Mahler referred to his first four symphonies as “a perfectly self-contained tetralogy.”¹ Scholars have often recognized this grouping as a reflection of Mahler’s quotation of his own early song cycles in each of these works. According to Donald Mitchell, “If they are such—and perhaps ‘perfectly-self contained’ is something of an exaggeration—it is surely because they all in various ways employ song, and more particularly *Wunderhorn* songs, or songs in the *Wunderhorn* manner (i.e. the *Gesellen* cycle), as a principal compositional technique.”² Constantin Floros’s short chapter, “The Fundamentals of ‘Tetralogy’” in *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies*, Floros writes, “The concept of ‘tetralogy,’ of course, focuses more on the ideological connection between the four works. These are so close that they allow one symphony to appear as a continuation of another.”³ The idea of a continued narrative across the four works might tempt us to look to Wagner as an inspiration for the grouping given his own characterization of the four *Ring* cycle operas as a tetralogy and Mahler’s enthusiasm for the operatic master. Yet Wagner’s finale, *Götterdämmerung*, differs quite severely in tone from Mahler’s Fourth Symphony. Instead the four part structure of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and the model upon which it is based, the ancient Greek tetralogy, provide a far better corollary.

¹ “eine durchaus in sich geschlossene Tetralogie.” See Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler* (Hamburg: Verlag der Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), 154.

² Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: Vol II: The Wunderhorn Years* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 311.

³ Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 21-23.

The explanations of Floros and Mitchell do not properly consider the characterization “perfectly self-contained,” a formal distinction not one regarding content. Rather ample evidence demonstrates that a more compelling understanding of Mahler’s “tetralogy” should involve the tetralogies of ancient Greek Dionysian festivals, a specific formal construction that featured the performance of three serious tragedies and one concluding light-hearted satyr play. While Mahler is likely to have learned about the ancient Greeks, including Dionysian festivals, as part of the neohumanist curriculum that became popular in Austrian schools in the 1780s,⁴ the composer’s interactions with the writing of Friedrich Nietzsche, especially *The Birth of Tragedy Out of the Spirit of Music* and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, are arguably a more important part of this reading of Mahler’s early works.

Nietzsche’s discussion of the dramatic tetralogy in *The Birth of Tragedy* gives considerable weight and crucial importance to the fourth, humorous work—the satyr play—and the specifically jovial element of Mahler’s Fourth Symphony was a clear part of the composer’s conception for the final quarter of his grouping. Scholars of Nietzsche’s work have also argued that the philosopher used the structure of the ancient tetralogy as the basis of his own *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, a work with which Mahler was clearly familiar as evidenced by the setting of its “Midnight Song” in the fourth movement of the Third Symphony. In this chapter, I will argue that Mahler’s characterization of his first four symphonies as a tetralogy was inspired by Nietzsche’s description of the ancient dramatic structure and the redemptive power of its juxtaposition of tragic and light-hearted both discussed and employed in the writings of

⁴ According to Ernst Krenek, Mahler’s high school education was a “public school” standard curriculum, “with an emphasis on the classical languages.” Mahler’s high school transcript shows courses in Mosaic Religion, German, and Greek, among others. See Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: The Early Years* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 24.

Nietzsche's with which Mahler was most familiar, *The Birth of Tragedy* and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*.

Nietzsche and Satyr Play

The performances at Dionysian festivals consisted of a presentation of three tragedies and a fourth comic drama called the satyr play. This four-part structure of the tetralogy was most prevalent during the fifth century BCE, with works of Aeschylus serving as examples. "In the fifth century each tragic poet would present three tragedies (connected or unconnected) and then a fourth drama, called in the official records 'Satyrs.'"⁵ The satyr play is perhaps of crucial importance to the ancient element of Mahler's tetralogical comment as it is the final light-hearted drama that differentiates the ancient (and I believe, Mahler's) tetralogy from other tetralogies such as Wagner's *Ring* cycle. Ancient satyr plays derived their name from the male followers of Dionysus, a cross between man and goat, who reveled in food, wine, sex and money. Although innately funny, satyr plays are distinguished from comedies, a differentiation based on subject matter. As an alleviating finale after three heavy tragedies, satyr plays typically provided a more cheerful perspective on the same subject matter approached in the three tragedies, rather than pure comedy in the form of slapstick or farce.

Mark Griffith has written comprehensively about the role of the satyr play, a long neglected area of research.⁶ Griffith discusses a number of characteristics that define satyr play and differentiate it from both tragedy and comedy, including tone, character relationships, and a

⁵ Ian C. Storey and Arlene Allen, *A Guide to Ancient Greek Drama* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 156.

⁶ For a thorough discussion about the literature on satyr play and the various possibilities for its social function, see Mark Griffith, *Greek Satyr Play: Five Studies* (Berkeley, CA: California Classical Studies, 2015).

mixture of humor and seriousness. According to Griffith, many scholars have observed that the tone of the satyr play is similar to that of fairytales. These plays often take place “out in the wilds; amazing and delightful discoveries are made (a baby in a floating box, fire in a fennel-stalk, the first lyre made from a tortoise-shell, etc.).”⁷ Beyond the whimsical, satyr plays also invoke a something akin to a moral. Rather than mere entertainment, the jovial nature of the satyr play comes with an underlying lesson about life. The relationship between characters is also unique to the satyr genre. The interactions of the story are based on “two groups of characters, sharply distinct, yet incongruously and inextricably linked. Or we could say, in Aristotle’s terms, that a single ‘action’ (*praxis*) or ‘story’ (*muthos*) is ‘imitated’ (enacted, represented) simultaneously by two different classes of performer, one ‘serious’ (*spoudaios*), the other ‘low’ (*paulos*) or ‘ridiculous’ (*geloios*).”⁸ Given that the satyr play comprises a part of a whole, the tetralogy, it often deals with the same or similar themes to the tragedies that precede it. These themes are serious and satyr play’s connection to the topics of tragedy results in moments of seriousness even within the final playful piece. The heroes of the satyr play are “often found delivering speeches of quite serious ethical and rhetorical content (unlike those of Old Comedy, where even morally and politically serious speeches always have to be spiced up with jokes, allusions, and some comic hyperbole).”⁹

The importance of the satyr play has often been overlooked in philological scholarship in favor of the emotional and serious tragedies. In the Classical literature on the elements of

⁷ Griffith, *Greek Satyr Play*, 22.

⁸ Griffith, *Greek Satyr Play*, 23.

⁹ Griffith, *Greek Satyr Play*, 23.

tetralogy, “Satyr-drama is often lost in the excitement over the more serious tragedies, and when it is considered, it is seen as a pleasant way to cheer up an emotionally drained audience.”¹⁰ Griffith also notes, “The social function and aesthetic-emotional appeal of the Athenian fifth-century satyr plays have been of only marginal interest to most scholars of tragedy” and that “the satyric component of the annual tragedy-competition has been downplayed.”¹¹ However, a philosopher who placed a considerable weight on the role of the satyr play, and its effect in combination with more serious tragedies also happens to be one in which Mahler demonstrably engaged.

In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche writes,

Here, when the danger to his will is greatest, *art* approaches as a saving sorceress, expert at healing. She alone knows how to turn these nauseous thoughts about the horror or absurdity of existence into notions with which one can live: these are the *sublime* as the artistic taming of the horrible, and the *comic* as the artistic discharge of the nausea of absurdity. The satyr chorus of the dithyramb is the saving deed of Greek art.¹²

According to Nietzsche, the combination of tragedy and humor had the power of salvation that man desperately needs. When we see the truth about what life entails through the strife of three tragedies, it is only by looking at the same struggles from a comical perspective that we are inspired to keep living.

¹⁰ Storey and Allen, *A Guide to Ancient Greek Drama*, 159.

¹¹ Griffith, *Greek Satyr Play*, 23.

¹² “Hier, in dieser höchsten Gefahr des Willens, naht sich, als rettende, heilkundige Zauberin, die Kunst; sie allein vermag jene Ekelgedanken über das Entsetzliche oder Absurde des Daseins in Vorstellungen umzubiegen, mit denen sich leben lässt: diese sind das Erhabene als die künstlerische Bändigung des Entsetzlichen und das Komische als die künstlerische Entladung vom Ekel des Absurden. Der Satyrchor des Dithyrambus ist die rettende That der griechischen Kunst.” See Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, in *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 60.

Christina Tarnopolsky has made the same observations regarding this passage, which she notes is frequently overlooked:

According to Nietzsche, the cure for this awful nausea is once again art, but this time the art-form that cures man is described in terms that bit the sayr-play and not tragedy [...] In other words, the fourth play of the Greek tetralogy, the satyr-play, is the one that Nietzsche slyly credits with performing the cure for nihilism, which threatens the audience at the Theater of Dionysus. [...] it is only with the *combination* sublimity and comedy, which characterizes the satyr-play and the satyr chorus that the Greek audience member is actually restored to the ability to act, and this is effected, in part, through the restorative powers of sublime laughter.¹³

Tarnopolsky's reading of the passage makes clear that Nietzsche's emphasis is on the power of the humorous juxtaposed against tragedy and that this view of the combination of tragic and satyr play is a rather uncommon focal point of the discussions of ancient dramatic displays.

James Porter too acknowledges the drawing together of tragic and comic in Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* as one of its "least expected and most overlooked features."¹⁴

Scholars of Nietzsche's work have argued that Nietzsche's view of the laughter was not limited to his analysis of tragedy and its origins. Lawrence J. Hatab identifies the combination of laughter with tragedy as an essential component of *all* of Nietzsche's writings. Hatab identifies laughter as a "fundamental issue" in Nietzsche's worldview and links it to

another central issue in Nietzsche's thought, namely the tragic. When we consider the drama of Zarathustra, we witness a surprising mixture of images and attitudes: a confrontation with the terror of existence and many terrible thoughts, fierce attacks on traditional beliefs, playful parodies and a call for joy and laughter in response to the terror life. Indeed, this mixture is found in all of Nietzsche's writings. One clue to the sense of

¹³ Christina Tarnopolsky, "Satyr-Play, Sarcasm, and Suffering in Plato's *Republic* and Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*", 28-9. I am grateful to Prof. Tarnopolsky for sending me a draft version of this article prior to its publication. One of the central arguments of Tarnopolsky's essay is that *The Birth of Tragedy* can itself be considered in terms of satyr-play. Its a fascinating study, though one that very likely went beyond the philosophical abilities and knowledge of Mahler.

¹⁴ James I. Porter, *The Invention of Dionysus: An Essay on The Birth of Tragedy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 113.

such a combination of attitudes is to be found in the Greek experience of tragedy and comedy.¹⁵

Hatab continues, “For the Greeks, tragedy and comedy expressed a two-sided affirmative response to negation, limits and finitude. Nietzsche’s philosophy of becoming inherits this mixture, and calls for laughter as an expression of, and an affirmative response to, the negation of ‘being.’” Hatab’s characterization of this combination as a means of transcending the “negation, limits and finitude” of existence might just as easily be understood as a form of secular redemption.

Nietzsche’s *Zarathustra* depicts this relationship most clearly and Mahler’s use of text from *Zarathustra*, a work that repeatedly celebrates humor and laughter, connects him in yet another way to Nietzsche’s praise for the structure of the Greek tetralogy. In addition to his comments in *The Birth of Tragedy*, the regard Nietzsche held for the juxtaposition of the tragic and lighthearted can be seen in the philosopher’s own writing; it has been specifically suggested that the four parts of *Zarathustra* bear a striking resemblance to the tetralogical structure established in ancient Greece. In 1973, Eugen Fink was the first to suggest this structural reading and other scholars have followed.¹⁶ Paul Loeb has been the most overt proponent of this reading, saying,

Nietzsche provides clues that his design of the entire *Zarathustra* was modeled from the start on a particular kind of Aeschylean tragedy; and also that his design of Part IV was

¹⁵ Lawrence J. Hatab, “Laughter in Nietzsche’s Thought: A Philosophical Tragicomedy,” *International Studies in Philosophy* 20, no. 2 (1988): 67-79.

¹⁶ Eugen Fink, *Nietzsche’s Philosophy* (New York, 2003), 102; Kathleen Higgins, *Nietzsche’s Zarathustra* (Plymouth, UK, 1987), 273, n.2; Gary Shapiro, *Nietzschean Narratives* (Bloomington, IN, 1989), 97-100, 102; Alexander Nehamas, *Nietzsche: Life as Literature* (Cambridge, MA, 2000), 181; ed. Robert Pippin, *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (Cambridge, UK, 2006), viii, xxxiii.

modeled on the satyr play at the end of the tetralogy that parodied the thematically related material in the preceding trilogy.¹⁷

The emphasis Zarathustra places on laughter is, furthermore, undeniable. In Part IV, he tells his disciples of the qualities possessed by “higher men.” Even if the disciples cannot overcome themselves and become *Übermenschen*, the most important trait they can possess is a distrust towards everything, learning to simply laugh and dance.

Lift up your hearts, my brothers, high, higher! And do not forget your legs! Lift up your legs, too, you fine dancers! Even better, stand on your heads!

This crown of the laughing one, this rosary-crown: I myself set this crown on my head, I myself have sanctified my laughter. I could find no one else today strong enough to do so.

Zarathustra the dancer, Zarathustra the light one, he who beckons with his wings, he who is ready to fly, beckoning to all the birds, prepared and ready, he who is blissfully frivolous.

Zarathustra who speaks the truth, who laughs the truth, not impatient, not unconditional, one who loves leaps and deviations: I myself set this crown on my head!

This crown of the laughing one, this rosary-crown; to you, my brothers, I throw this crown! I have sanctified laughter; you higher men, learn to laugh, I beseech you!¹⁸

The idea that the ultimate response to life, one that is capable of a certain kind of salvation or redemption, is to be able to laugh aligns with the satyr play’s light-hearted approach to the same themes as the tragedies that precede it.

The centrality of laughter to Nietzsche’s philosophy is undeniable. Vera Micznik has pointed out that the preface to *The Gay Science*, a title Mahler once considered appropriating for his Third Symphony, reads, “if we convalescents still need art, it is another kind of art—a

¹⁷ Paul Loeb, *The Death of Nietzsche’s Zarathustra* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 92f.

¹⁸ Friedrich Nietzsche, “Part IV, On Higher Men” in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, trans. by Ronald Speirs, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

mocking, light, fleeting, divinely untroubled, divinely artificial art that, like a pure flame, licks into unclouded skies. ... what above all is needed for this: [is] cheerfulness.”¹⁹ In an essay titled, “Nietzschean Laughter,” Pete Gunter has suggested that the *leitmotif* of laughter is so prevalent and integral to the philosopher’s work, “that with certain qualifications Nietzsche’s thought may be said to comprise not a tragic but a ‘comic’ philosophy.”²⁰ Given these readings of Nietzsche and quotations from his work, it is no surprise that the philosopher put a unique emphasis on the cheerful finale of ancient tetralogies, or that Mahler and his peers, trained in the Classics, would appreciate Nietzsche’s perspective on the generic mixture and its effects, even imitating it in their own works.

Mahler’s “Characteristic” Fourth Symphony

The ancient interpretation of Mahler’s 1900 grouping relies on the crux that the Fourth Symphony can be correlated to a satyr play, for which I believe there is much evidence. To begin, Mahler gave an early sketch of the Fourth Symphony the title “Humoreske.”²¹ Deriving originally from a term for literary sketches, works entitled “humoresque” (or “Humoreske”) were capricious in mood. Pieces of music given the same title gave composers an opportunity to show a lively and witty side. While Mahler eventually eliminated the symphony’s title, the final movement, a setting of “Das himmlische Leben”—towards which the entire symphony builds—maintains the humorous quality suggested by the original title. Raymond Knapp has pointed out

¹⁹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, trans. Josefine Nauckhoff (Cambridge, UK, 2001 [1887]), 7. Quoted in Vera Micznik, “The Third Symphony as Narrative Text,” *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Aldershot, 2005), 305.

²⁰ Pete A. Gunter, “Nietzschean Laughter,” *The Sewanee Review* 76, no. 6 (1968).

²¹ Paul Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien* (Berlin: Schuster and Loeffler, 1921), 358.

that the depiction of saints in “Das himmlische Leben” is “the activity of domesticating these rather scary religious figures, so that the child might laugh at what must normally be either taken seriously or even feared.” The text of the song demonstrates the very characteristics of ancient humor: the humanizing and domesticating, even de-sublimation, of god-like beings. Not only is this song comic from the modern perspective, but its manner of comedy is also befitting the ancient world.²²

Much of the literature about Mahler’s Fourth Symphony has emphasized the role of childhood and innocence, and this is not incongruous with that of the satyr play. As Griffith notes, “In a much more blatant manner than tragedies, satyr plays reaffirm the childish and/or slavish dependency of the majority of the surrounding community (i.e., satyrs and audience) upon the resolute and responsible actions of their masterful leaders.”²³ A correlation between children and satyrs recurs numerous times. Again, according to Griffith, satyrs are “permanently childish” and “impressionable, ineffectual, pleasure-seeking” beings who attempt to “draw the audience down with them, to share a more childish fantasy of dependence, pretence [sic], desire, irresponsible spectatorship, and instant gratification.”²⁴ This characterization may seem to bear a tone of judgment that is more negative than the image of children explored in discussions of childhood in Mahler’s Fourth Symphony, but Griffith also notes that satyrs “are not present or perceived as the audience’s enemies, not as the objects of strong disapproval or antipathy: rather,

²² In the *Republic*, Plato accuses comedy of making a mockery of gods and values. Comedies tell stories in which the gods act foolishly, leading their audience to “excuse himself when he’s bad, if he is persuaded that similar things both are being done now and have been done in the past by *close descendants of the gods*.” See Plato, *Republic*, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1992), 68.

²³ Griffith, *Greek Satyr Play*, 24-5

²⁴ Ibid, 46.

they are the audience's friends, and in certain respects the projections and embodiments of some of its most childish and simple desires."²⁵ Given "Das himmlische Leben"'s text, the projection of childish desires is arguably exactly what Mahler creates.

Text of "Das himmlische Leben"

Wir genießen die himmlischen Freuden,
D'rum tun wir das Irdische meiden.
Kein weltlich' Getümmel
Hört man nicht im Himmel!
Lebt alles in sanfterster Ruh'.
Wir führen ein englisches Leben,
Sind dennoch ganz lustig daneben;
Wir tanzen und springen,
Wir hüpfen und singen,
Sankt Peter im Himmel sieht zu.

Johannes das Lämmlein auslasset,
Der Metzger Herodes d'rauf passet.
Wir führen ein geduldig's,
Unschuldig's, geduldig's,
Ein liebliches Lämmlein zu Tod.
Sankt Lucas den Ochsen tät schlachten
Ohn' einig's Bedenken und Achten.
Der Wein kost' kein Heller
Im himmlischen Keller;
Die Englein, die backen das Brot.

Gut' Kräuter von allerhand Arten,
Die wachsen im himmlischen Garten,
Gut' Spargel, Fisolen
Und was wir nur wollen.
Ganze Schüsseln voll sind uns bereit!
Gut' Äpfel, gut' Birn' und gut' Trauben;
Die Gärtner, die alles erlauben.
Willst Rehbock, willst Hasen,
Auf offener Straßen
Sie laufen herbei!

We enjoy heavenly pleasures
and therefore avoid earthly ones.
No worldly tumult
is to be heard in heaven.
All live in greatest peace.
We lead angelic lives,
yet have a merry time of it besides.
We dance and we spring,
We skip and we sing.
Saint Peter in heaven looks on.

John lets the lambkin out,
and Herod the Butcher lies in wait for it.
We lead a patient,
an innocent, patient,
dear little lamb to its death.
Saint Luke slaughters the ox
without any thought or concern.
Wine doesn't cost a penny
in the heavenly cellars;
The angels bake the bread.

Good greens of every sort
grow in the heavenly vegetable patch,
good asparagus, string beans,
and whatever we want.
Whole dishfuls are set for us!
Good apples, good pears and good grapes,
and gardeners who allow everything!
If you want roebuck or hare,
on the public streets
they come running right up.

²⁵ Ibid, 88.

Sollt' ein Fasttag etwa kommen,
 Alle Fische gleich mit Freuden
 angeschwommen!
 Dort läuft schon Sankt Peter
 Mit Netz und mit Köder
 Zum himmlischen Weiher hinein.
 Sankt Martha die Köchin muß sein.

Should a fast day come along,
 all the fishes at once come swimming with
 joy.
 There goes Saint Peter running
 with his net and his bait
 to the heavenly pond.
 Saint Martha must be the cook.

Kein' Musik ist ja nicht auf Erden,
 Die unsrer verglichen kann werden.
 Elftausend Jungfrauen
 Zu tanzen sich trauen.
 Sankt Ursula selbst dazu lacht.
 Kein' Musik ist ja nicht auf Erden,
 Die unsrer verglichen kann werden.
 Cäcilia mit ihren Verwandten
 Sind treffliche Hofmusikanten!
 Die englischen Stimmen
 Ermuntern die Sinnen,
 Daß alles für Freuden erwacht.

There is just no music on earth
 that can compare to ours.
 Even the eleven thousand virgins
 venture to dance,
 and Saint Ursula herself has to laugh.
 There is just no music on earth
 that can compare to ours.
 Cecilia and all her relations
 make excellent court musicians.
 The angelic voices
 gladden our senses,
 so that all awaken for joy.

In response to the frequency of the “childhood” reading of the Fourth, Raymond Knapp, writes, “There would seem to be little room within this sentimentalized world for the symphony’s many contrasting and often contradictory elements, which therefore appear oddly dissonant, together serving as an example of Mahler’s eclectic mixing of perspectives in his symphonies.”²⁶ While Knapp’s article goes on to offer a reading of childhood in the Fourth that is not so innocent and peaceful but rather filled with ambivalence and suffering, it is his observation about mixed perspectives and contradictory elements that I want to address here.

The Fourth Symphony makes great use, perhaps greater than Mahler’s preceding symphonies, of intersecting perspectives and the juxtaposition of inner and outer worlds, a style

²⁶ Raymond Knapp, “Suffering Children: Perspectives on Innocence and Vulnerability in Mahler’s Fourth Symphony” in *19th-Century Music* 22, no. 3 (1999): 233-4. Knapp also gives a nice summary of the literature that has dealt with the topic of innocence and childhood in Mahler’s Fourth.

of humor that bridges together aspects of experience normally independently of one another. According to Elisabeth Schmierer, “Humor [in the aesthetic manner of Jean-Paul and E.T.A. Hoffman] as a poetic category connects the terrestrial with the extraterrestrial, the ‘small’ world with the ‘infinite’, the lowly with the sublime; this comparison allows the recognition of the totality of the real world.”²⁷ In his discussion of Mahler’s particular interest in the work of Hoffmann, Mitchell quotes a remarkable passage on Hoffmann’s style that appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 21 May 1970.

[Hoffmann’s] vivid evocation of vanished historical periods; his original blend of art-criticism and storytelling; his startling transitions from immersion in horror to ironic contemplation; his mingling of the tragic and the ridiculous, the grotesque and the sublime, the fantastic and the real—all these make up a genuine and recognizable style which should assure him of a permanent place in the European pantheon. No one has depicted more successfully than he that narrow border between where the fantastic meets the everyday.²⁸

Mahler certainly depicted this same narrow border in his music. Furthermore this duality is remarkably similar to one of Griffith’s identified components of satyr play: the interaction between two unrelated and even opposing characters.

The dialogic facet of Mahler’s style has been discussed by various musicologists. In his dissertation, “Mahler’s Third Symphony and the Philosophy of Gustav Fechner: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Criticism, Analysis and Interpretation,” Jeremy Barham considers Mahler’s music in terms of what Barham calls “Fechnerian ‘cognitive contrast’” in the third movement of the

²⁷ Elisabeth Schmierer, “Mahler’s Concept of Humor and Its Use in the *Wunderhorn* Lieder” in *News about Mahler Research* 62 (2011): 57.

²⁸ Siegbert Salomon Prawer, “Hoffmann: Where the Fantastic Meets the Everyday,” *Times Literary Supplement*, May 21 1970. This article is quoted in Mitchell, *The Wunderhorn Years*, 236.

Third Symphony.²⁹ More recently, Julian Johnson's book on the topic, *Mahler's Voices: Expression and Irony in the Songs and Symphonies*, suggests that Mahler's music is built on a simultaneous dialectic between the genuine and the artificial.³⁰

Theodor Adorno has also discussed the combination of contrasting characters in Mahler's music. Adorno notes that Mahler's symphonies embody a duality between the subject and object, writing, "[In Mahler's music] The subject is yoked into the world's course without finding himself reflected in it or being able to change it."³¹ The coexistence of the world's course in contrast to the perspective of the subject articulates the unrelated, sometimes opposing, characters typical of satyr play. This sonic interaction between the perspective of the subject and a contrasting portrayal of the world around him, what Adorno calls the world's course (*Weltlauf*), whether it be antagonistic, pleading, or compromising, is uniquely articulated in Mahler's works. Unlike his predecessors, Mahler's music does not always portray a single narrative of events, led by the actions of the hero. Instead the composer often depicts a subject who feels disconnected or at odds with the narrative surrounding him, which Mahler simultaneously relates. The sense of dichotomy is so typical of and prevalent in Mahler's music that its discussion is also one of the primary foci of Adorno's monograph on the composer.

In *Gustav Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, Adorno adumbrates a series of "characters"—breakthrough (*Durchbruch*), suspension (*Suspension*) and fulfillment (*Erfüllung*)—solely attributable to Mahler's style that require the interaction of two distinct components, as

²⁹ Jeremy Barham, 'Mahler's Third Symphony and the Philosophy of Gustav Fechner: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Criticism, Analysis and Interpretation' (Ph.D, dissertation, University of Surrey, 1996), 180-214.

³⁰ Julian Johnson, *Mahler's Voices: Expression and Irony in the Songs and Symphonies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³¹ Theodor Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992 [1960]), 6-7.

in the humor of Hoffmann and the drama of satyr play.³² Each of these characters involves the introduction of new and unexpected material and a consequent dialectic: an interaction of two different points of view. Although these Mahlerian characters appear throughout the composer's works, Adorno referred to the Fourth as "the extreme example of the character symphony," a reference, I believe to its saturation with the "characters" he identifies.³³

Mark Evan Bonds has also noted that "the strategy of interruption and juxtaposition" characterizes the entire symphony.³⁴ Bonds further interprets the entire work as subverting the grandness of the symphonic genre, writing, "For the first time in his symphonic output, Mahler abjures the idea of grand victory" and that the outcome is "antithetical to the symphony's traditional aesthetic of monumentality."³⁵ The following analysis outlines Mahler's use of contrasting perspectives throughout the work as well as it offers a musical basis for why the Fourth Symphony should be considered more humorous than the *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* that precedes it.

Movement I: Bedächtig, Nicht Eilen

More than Mahler's earlier works, the Fourth Symphony employs Classical movement structures that provide a neat framework for contrast and the comic interaction of opposing sentiments. In

³² *Durchbruch* is a dynamic quality where new musical material interrupts the momentum, seeming to break into the music from without or to break out beyond itself from within. Suspension is defined by the moments when the music lacks a forward movement, most often appearing as "sedimented episodes." During a suspension's temporary delay of forward momentum, new musical material is explored. Once a suspension ends, the music resumes where it left off. Fulfillment is likened to the B material following the repeated (typically twice) A material of the traditional *Abgesang*. This material is related but new, completing the preceding repeated statement in an unexpected way.

³³ Adorno, *Mahler*, 52.

³⁴ Mark Evan Bonds, *After Beethoven* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 187.

³⁵ Bonds, *After Beethoven*, 177.

the first movement, Mahler uses the structure of sonata form to take expository melodies that would normally be merely varied in the development and place them in contexts where they become legitimately incongruous and ill-fitted. Mahler also makes use of several distinctive *Naturlaute* that, by alluding to life out-of-doors and in motion, contribute to the musical constructions of space that allow for impressions of being simultaneously within and without. These elements allow the composer to create a sense of dialogue between musical and extramusical worlds, a symphonic version of Hoffmann's literary style.

The primary theme area of the first movement's exposition begins with the sound of sleigh bells, which give way to a cheerful melody, played mostly in the high strings and accompanied by complementary melodic fragments in the winds, particularly the oboe (see Example 3.1).

Example 3.1. Symphony no. 4, movement I, primary theme in violin, bars 3-7.



The sleigh bells that introduce this opening passage, and consequently in each of their recurrences throughout the symphony, can be considered a form of *Naturlaut*. The bells recall the image of sledding, a sense of being outdoors and experiencing nature. The use of the sleigh bells operates in much the same way as hunting horns evoking the pastoral; man-made, even musical, sounds that nonetheless conjure a sense of the outdoors. The second thematic area begins at Rehearsal 3, measure 38. Conventionally, it is a slower and more lyrical theme, and the melody is traded between the winds and strings (Example 3.2a and 3.2b).

Example 3.2a. Symphony no. 4, movement I, secondary theme in cello, bars 38- 46.

3 **Breit gesungen.**
espress.
Ton!
pizz.
p
pp
arco
p espress.
pizz.
arco
f
p
poco rit.
a tempo
Schwungvoll
a tempo
p
f
p
poco rit.

Example 3.2b. Symphony no. 4, movement I, secondary theme in oboe, bars 41-46.

Nicht eilen.
p espress.
fp
p
p

The development section, also introduced by sleigh bells at Rehearsal 8, measure 102, begins with a restatement of the primary theme. No longer in tune with its accompaniment, however, the opening melody, formerly cheerful, becomes dark and twisted. The brass emerges from the supporting role it played in the exposition and cuts across the light classical melodies in the development; the support the winds lent the strings in the exposition deteriorates and is replaced with the forceful entry of more prominent melodic functions. At the start of the development, the complementary melodic fragments introduced by the winds in the exposition are not only played by the brass, but are developed into their own melodic line and with it, a bid for dominance. (Example 3.3). The strings and brass spar for control of the melodic line,

Example 3.3. Symphony no. 4, movement I, alpine cattle call in flute, bars 125-131.

By measure 210, the alpine cattle call finds itself straining to be heard over the conflict between the strings and brass. While the horns and trumpets repeatedly punch out a marching quarter-note melody, the strings first try to compete with *fortissimo* chords. When they fail to impede the blasting brass, cellos, violas and violins begin an assault via sixteenth-note runs and high-pitched tremolos. Ultimately, both forces gradually relinquish their grasp on the direction of the movement, fading from *fortississimo* whole notes and runs to *piano* shortly before the recapitulation. The opening cheerfulness, undermined by a sense of unease, is exemplary of the contradictory elements that are characteristic of satyr play and of humor in the style of Hoffmann and Jean Paul.

Throughout the development, the sleigh bells appear periodically above the melody, sprinkling the conflict with irony. Instead of the buoyant introduction of the exposition, they appear taunting and satirical. The recapitulation, which is immediately preceded by the horn call from the opening funeral march of the Fifth Symphony, makes this point especially clear; the opening sleigh bells also accompany this funereal and capitulating introduction, a poignant illustration of the change in their role. After an abrupt fermata on the bar line at Rehearsal 18, the expository material returns with strings and brass, antagonism resolved. At measure ..., a glimmer of the ominous landscape of the development resurfaces, but its reappearance is cut short. Instead, the movement ends with an almost exaggerated resolution.

The first movement's sense of comic duality is created primarily by two aspects: the competitive and conflicting interaction of the thematic actors—strings and brass—in the development, and the changing role of the *Naturlaute* from complementary parts of the melody to alien intrusions. Mahler's themes are not merely developed and varied in the development, they come into conflict with one another. The direction of the music becomes obscured and forward momentum is replaced by conflicting perspectives. When the nature sounds are a part of the melody, they evoke certain traditional relationships between music and landscape. However, when juxtaposed against the melodic line, the presence of the *Naturlaute* create a sense of being alternatively within and without; by appearing in conflict with the melodic line their allusions to the countryside place the melody as distinctly apart from this formerly cohesive, pastoral landscape. The change in the music's sense of space also creates another explicitly Hoffmannian duality: the terrestrial and the extra-terrestrial.

Movement II: In gemächlicher Bewegung

The second movement is a scherzo and trio, borrowing its structure from what is often the form used in the third movement of sonatas or symphonies.³⁶ Comically endowed by its literal meaning “to joke”, scherzos are faster and more playful than minuets, while remaining in a triple meter. The scherzo, as the minuet that preceded it, is paired with a contrasting trio, which maintains the more dignified dance atmosphere of the earlier form; in the 17th century, the trio was merely the second of two alternating dances. Although not uncommon in other Romantic works, Mahler’s scherzo and trio pairs two almost opposing situations into one movement: a joke and a stately dance. What is more, the scherzo sections of the work feature a solo violin, to be played in the style of a fiddle, lowering the tone of the “joke” further by its instrumentation; the sound of aristocracy and patriarchy encapsulated in the trio section is placed at odds with the acoustic definition of folk culture, the fiddle.

The structural chart created by James Zychowicz and replicated in Table 3.1 adumbrates the alternation between thematic areas, key areas, and scherzo and trio.³⁷ While the material in the two trios is cohesive and consonant, at times even swooning, the two thematic areas of the recurring scherzo feature a disjunction that never manages to shake its awkwardness and develop; even at the end of the movement, the material from Area A seems to resolve itself to its own division before flippantly signing off. The scherzo’s first appearance features an alternation

³⁶ The entry regarding the “Scherzo” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Music* notes that, as a movement type, “generally it is the 3rd (or 2nd) movement of a symphony or string quartet” and, in his entry on the scherzo in *Grove Music Online*, Hugh MacDonald writes that third movement is the “more traditional (but by no means invariable)” place for the scherzo to be found.

³⁷ James L. Zychowicz, *Mahler’s Fourth Symphony* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005).

TABLE 3.1 STRUCTURE OF THE SECOND MOVEMENT

Scherzo with two trios

Section	Bar	Tonality
Scherzo		
Introduction	1	C minor
Area A	7	C major
Area B	34	
Area A	46	C minor
Coda (Introduction)	64	
Trio I		
Area C	69	F major
Area D	94	
Coda (Introduction)	109	
Scherzo	110	C minor
Area A	145	C major
Area B	157	C minor
Area A	185	C major
Area B	201	modulatory
Transition		
Trio 2		
Area C	203	F major
Area D	254	D major
Coda (Introduction)	275	
Scherzo		
Area A	281	D major
Area B	314	C major
Coda (A with Introduction)	329	

between parallel key areas, as shown in the table. The key areas are not distantly related, but parallel: C major and C minor. Resorting to an overly simplified distinction between the two modes, this creates a see-saw between “happy” and “sad” key areas, a vacillation that has promise for comedic effect. In addition to its shifting modes, the scherzo's soloist is a scordatura violin whose strings are each tuned a whole step higher than concert pitch. The “mistuned” fiddle first enters in measure 7 and, while picking up the “right” rhythms and figures from the orchestral introduction, the repetition of diminished fourths and fifths creates the sense that the

Example 3.4. Symphony no. 4, movement II, solo violin, mm. 6-22.

NB. 1. Solo-Violine gestimmt ia: 

In gemächlicher Bewegung. Ohne Hast.

ohne Dämpfer
sehr zufahrend

1. Solo. *immer sehr hervortretend*

f *mf* *p* *f* *p*

1. Horn.

(Wie ein Fidel)

f *p* *mf* *p* *f* *p*

p *mf* *sf* *sf* *ff* *p*

³⁸ Letter from Bruno Walter to Ludwig Schiedermair, 5 December 1901, *Bruno Walter: Briefe*, ed. Lindt (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1969), 51. Translation from Knapp, "Suffering Children," 252.

“*Totentanz Holbein: Der Tod führt uns*” in his score of Mahler’s Fourth Symphony in reference to Holbein’s series of woodcuts called *Bilder des Todes*.³⁹ According to Alma Mahler, the composer was “under the spell of the self-portrait by Arnold Böcklin [1827-1901], in which Death fiddles into the painter’s ear while the latter is entranced.”⁴⁰ The figure of Freund Hein, as it is realized by Böcklin especially, possesses a jolly and humorous character in its own right. “The diabolical cheerfulness of Böcklin’s Death,” Knapp writes, “drawing like so much of his work on familiar topics of fantasy, combines with the suggestive intimacy of the word *Freund* attached to this character, and with the casual insolence of the phrase, ‘Freund Hein spielt auf’, to convert death into something more playful than threatening.”⁴¹

Mahler’s mistuned fiddle disappears during both of the trios, the more formal and stately dance sections of the movement, but there is still room for a different kind of violin soloist: a serenading part that might entertain aristocratic dancers at one of Vienna’s carnival season balls. The violin section plays an almost crooning melody featuring glissandi and grace notes (Example 3.5) and whose stark juxtaposition with the preceding solo fiddle is made explicit by the conventional switch of the concertmaster between two different instruments.

The form of the movement, featuring the duality of two alternating sections, is itself exaggerated; the normal three part minuet and trio (Minuet-Trio-Minuet) is expanded into five parts (Scherzo-Trio-Scherzo-Trio-Scherzo). Examples of expanded minuets (or scherzos) and

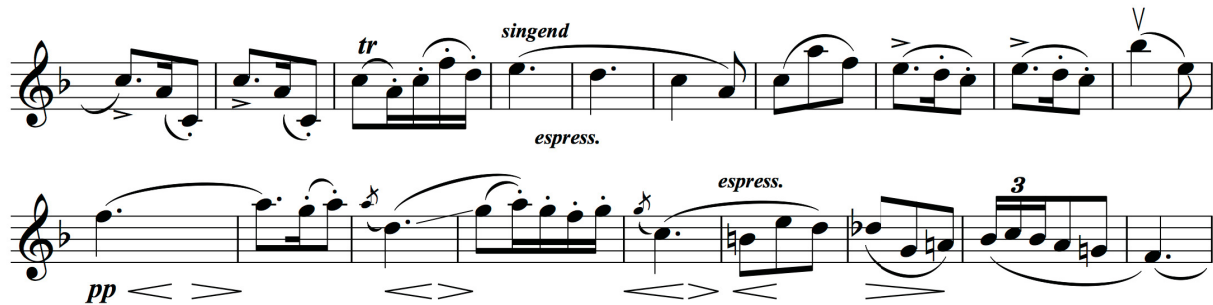
³⁹ Henry-Louis de la Grange, *Gustav Mahler II Vienna: The Years of Challenge, 1897-1904* (Oxford, 1995), 764.

⁴⁰ Notes to *Levine Conducts Mahler: Symphony No. 4 in G*, (RCA ARL1-0895, 1975). Like Knapp, I have not found any other source for this description.

⁴¹ Knapp, “Suffering Children,” 257.

trios do appear in the musical repertory before Mahler's Fourth, but the repetition here emphasizes the absurdity of relationship of the two sections.

Example 3.5. Symphony no. 4, movement II, violin I, mm. 85-103.



The piece is not merely a scherzo, with an out of tune fiddle, broken up by a trio that parrots the sentimentality of the Viennese waltz. The bizarre scherzo is interrupted *twice* with the charming melodies of the trio, accentuating the lowliness of the scherzo's soloist. Even the end of the movement, a half-hearted restatement of Area A followed by a lively conclusion sounds as if it has embraced its own ridiculousness.

Movement III: Ruhevoll

The most important differentiation between comedies and satyr plays in the ancient world was subject matter; satyr plays tended to deal with the same serious material approached by the preceding tragedies, but with a droll approach. Unlike outright comedies, these works bore a connection to the weighty contents of tragedies, which typically dealt with essential human struggles. The Fourth Symphony's momentum towards the song of the final movement addresses a theme, a child's vision of heaven, that is not meant to be funny. The third movement, serene and beautiful, lacks much of the humor that has been discussed in the first two movements. This

transcendental movement fits nicely against the reading of the work as a satyr play, by reminding the listener of the serious and moving subject matter with which the work ultimately deals. The third movement's slow and celestial opening theme in particular evokes not only earnestness but also the romantic, which can be heard in the swooning strings. At rehearsal two, the melody is taken over by the oboe and a change in harmony evokes a more melancholic tone. The character of both themes harken back to the subject of the earlier symphonies: life, death, and eternal love.

There are however still some remnants of humor in the third movement. Its structure is a set of double theme and variations, a movement type most closely associated with Haydn, who used the same structure in many of his symphonies; Haydn's Symphonies no. 53, 70, 63, 82, 90 and 103 all utilize the double variation form.⁴² In Mahler's case, like the second movement of the Fourth, the double variation movement does not appear in its conventional place. In Haydn's symphonies, the form almost always appears as the second movement of the work, where Mahler has placed his scherzo and trio. Otherwise, Mahler's theme and variations adhere closely to the model established by Haydn. The form of the movements listed above are nearly all $ABA_1B_1A_2B_2$ (with the exception of the Symphony no. 53, whose form is $ABA_1B_1A_2A_3$).⁴³ Mahler's third movement form is $ABA_1B_1A_2$ followed by a Coda.⁴⁴ Although the reverse ordering is not particularly marked by the late 19th-century, Mahler's double variations movement and its adherence to Haydn's model allows for a reading of the reverse ordering as a

⁴² Elaine R. Sisman, "Tradition and transformation in the alternating variations of Haydn and Beethoven." *Acta Musicologica* 62 (1990):152-182.

⁴³ Ibid, 181.

⁴⁴ See Table 2.3 in Zychowicz, *Mahler's Fourth Symphony*, 15.

play on form worthy of Papa Haydn himself.⁴⁵ Alma Mahler even compared the Fourth Symphony to the symphonies of Haydn, telling the composer after hearing him play it through, “I feel Haydn has done that better.”⁴⁶ Whether Haydn did it better or not, Mahler reflects the elder composer operating unconventionally within well-established genre forms to bring a sense of humor to the music.

Aside from the issue of conventional ordering, there is one moment between Rehearsal numbers ten and eleven where the movement features a comic connection to the rest of the piece. As the serenity of the movement builds towards a kind of intensity, the musical character begins to run away with itself, shown in Example 3.6. High winds and strings both break into sixteenth-note runs while the composer instructs the players to play *Allegro molto (subito) Wieder mit plotzlichem Übergange*. The suddenly increased speed and abrupt transitions give the aural impression of a cartoon sequence, in which the protagonist’s feet have gotten away from his control just in time to careen into something explosive. Yet ten measures later, the movement quickly returns to its tranquil quality.

As previously discussed, dramatic moments also define the satyr play genre. Among the elements that Griffith cites as distinguishing satyr play from comedy are both the more serious subject-matter, which satyr play shares with tragedy, and a resulting combination of both comic and serious moments in the satyr play. The only complete extant satyr play we have is Euripides’s *The Cyclops*, of which O.B. Hardison, Jr. and Leon Golden write that it “combines

⁴⁵ For example, the basis for the joke of Haydn’s String Quartet in E-flat major, Op. 33, no. 2 is the composer’s play with form, not adhering to audience expectations as they have been established by formal tradition.

⁴⁶ Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters* (Seattle, 1975 [1946]), 24.

Example 3.6 Symphony no. 4, movement III, bars 255-260.

Allegro molto (subito) Wieder mit plötzlichem Übergange

Andante subito. Ganz plötzlich das Anfangs tempo der Variation (♩ wie vorher ♩) **rit.**

1.2 Fl. *zu2* *p* *cresc.* *molto cresc.* *ff* *nehmen 3,4 Flöte*

1.2 Picc. *zu2* *p* *cresc.* *molto cresc.* *ff*

1,2,3 Ob. *zu3* *pp* *cresc.* *molto cresc.* *ff*

1. Cl. in A *zu2* *pp* *cresc.* *molto cresc.* *ff* *f* *p* *mf*

2.3 Cl. in B *zu2* *pp* *cresc.* *molto cresc.* *ff* *f* *p* *mf*

1,2 Fag. *zu2* *pp* *cresc.* *molto cresc.* *ff* *f* *p* *mf*

3 Fag. *pp* *cresc.* *ff* *f* *p* *mf* **rit.**

1,2 Horn in F *zu2* *Langsam.* *f* *p* *pp*

3,4 Horn in F *zu2* *Langsam.* *f* *p* *pp*

Allegro molto (subito) Wieder mit plötzlichem Übergange

1,3 Trp. in B *p* *f* **11**

2. Trp. in B *p* *f*

Pk. *tr* A nach H.

Glspl. o. Bck. *Glspl.* *p* *Bck.* *f* **11**

Allegro molto (subito) Wieder mit plötzlichem Übergange

Andante subito. Ganz plötzlich das Anfangs tempo der Variation (♩ wie vorher ♩)

1 VL. *pp spiccato* *cresc.* *f* *ff* *pp subito* **rit.**

2 VL. *pp spiccato* *cresc.* *molto cresc.* *ff* *p*

Vla. *pp* *cresc.* *molto cresc.* *ff*

Vlc. geth. *pp* *cresc.* *molto cresc.* *ff*

Cb. *pp* *cresc.* *f molto cresc.* *ff* **11** *pp subito* *morendo*

serious moments with the grotesque drunkenness of Polyphemus.”⁴⁷ What differentiates the satyr play genre from comedy are the moments of seriousness that can appear amidst the humor of the former. Like the satyr play genre, the Fourth Symphony is also not purely comedic, but presents moments of serious contemplation. Mahler himself said about the Andante, “There is a divinely cheerful and deeply sad melody throughout the whole that will cause you to laugh and cry simultaneously.”⁴⁸

Movement IV: Sehr Behaglich

The finale of the Fourth begins with a reappearance of the sleigh bells from the opening of the symphony. In addition to the reappearance of the first movement’s bells, Zychowicz has noted that there are fragments of the finale’s music in each of the preceding movements. These quotations were intentional and Mahler relayed their presence to the conductor Georg Goehler, saying, “[e]ach of the first three movements is thematically most closely and most meaningfully related to the last.”⁴⁹ Zychowicz concludes that, “Through it Mahler is able to reveal the song gradually, leading to it through increasingly more explicit fragments. Allowing the song thus to pervade the work, he is able to strengthen the function of “Das himmlische Leben” as the goal and source of the Symphony.”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ O.B. Hardison, Jr. and Leon Golden, *Horace for Students of Literature: The “Ars Poetica” and its Tradition* (Gainesville, FL, 1995), 64. *The Cyclops* is the only complete satyr play that has survived. It is a comical rendering of the serious tale of Odysseus’s capture by the one-eyed giant, Polyphemus, which is described in Homer’s *The Odyssey*. The rendering of a monstrous character who has captured our hero and threatens his survival as a drunken buffoon is characteristic of the collision of serious and comic elements in the satyr play genre.

⁴⁸ Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler*, 163.

⁴⁹ “Jeder der 3 ersten Sätze hängt thematisch aufs innigste und bedeutungsvollste mit dem letzten zusammen.” See letter to Georg Goehler, February 8, 1911, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 403.

⁵⁰ Zychowicz, *Mahler’s Fourth Symphony*, 65.

The idea that the finale is the source of the symphony is borne out by the chronology of the work's composition; as one of the songs from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, the finale was completed in 1896, three years before Mahler began the rest of the symphony. More importantly, Zychowicz's suggestion that the finale was also the goal of the symphony, revealed through moments in earlier movements, emphasizes the finale's pivotal importance to the entire work and therefore the importance of its content: the humorous text "Das himmlische Leben." Knapp writes,

The joke of casting Herod as butcher is surely not above the heads of most children, nor is St. Peter's eager reversion to his former profession of fisherman ('Dort lauft schon Sankt Peter / Mit Netz und mit Koder / Zum himmlischen Weiher hinein'). Even if the irony of St. Luke slaughtering his ox for food, or of St. Ursula being provoked to laughter, is above the heads of most children (and, today, most adults), the spirit of fun that infects the whole, with its absurdist modeling of dreamlike irrationality, makes the ethos of these references, if not their specific referential content, accessible to all (cf. Lewis Carroll's sometimes sophisticated political satire).⁵¹

For Knapp, the "spirit of fun" has to do with the traditional portrayal of each saint mentioned in the text of "Das himmlische Leben," taking what is normally a serious subject and giving it a comical bent. For example, John the Baptist is frequently portrayed with a lamb, a symbol of Christ and the gospel that he spread. For John to let out his lamb poses to children that even the most revered saints sometimes make mistakes, lose track of those most important things. Portraying Herod as a(n animal) butcher lends a light-hearted slant to the biblical tale of the Massacre of the Innocents, Herod's attempt to prevent Jesus, the true "King of the Jews" from growing to adulthood. Saint Luke, the patron saint of physicians, as well as butchers, is often represented or accompanied by an ox. The poem's implication that he would butcher his companion, or a representation of himself, in order to cater a heavenly feast is playfully

⁵¹ Knapp, *Symphonic Metamorphoses*, 20-21.

sacrilegious. The depiction of Saint Ursula, who laughs while eleven thousand maidens dance, takes the story of the martyr who was slain by the Huns along with the eleven thousand virgins who accompanied her on their pilgrimage to Rome and turns it around; the victims of terrible violence can be instead joyous and gay. Bonds interprets these juxtapositions as emphasizing violence and therefore to some extent as macabre.⁵² While I find Knapp's overall reading of the poem as playful and domesticating more compelling, I see the violent and somewhat grotesque component of the text, which aligns in yet another way with the topics of satyr play. For instance, casting Herod as a butcher of animals alludes to his Biblical role without invoking the more explicit attempted homicide of Christ. Further, according to Bauer-Lechner, Mahler spoke enthusiastically about the poem, saying, 'What mischief is combined with the deepest mysticism! It is everything turned on its head',⁵³ a characterization that relays a playful rather than grisly interpretation.

It should be acknowledged that Mahler initially planned to use 'Das himmlische Leben' as the final movement of the Third Symphony. Early in its composition, in the summer of 1895, Mahler included it as part of an outline of movements under the title, 'What the child tells me'. During this period, he also spoke frequently of the Third Symphony's humour, a characterization that appears to have faded with time and perhaps with the relocation of the humorous finale. While he was still envisioning 'Das himmlische Leben' as the culmination of a humorous

⁵² Bonds, *After Beethoven*, 178.

⁵³ "Was für eine Schelmerei verbunden mit dem tiefsten Mystizismus, steckt darin! Es ist alles auf den Kopf gestellt." See Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen*, 185.

Symphony no. 3, he characterized of the opening movement as ‘humorous, even grotesque’,⁵⁴ further aligning some of his ideas about humour with the light-hearted nature of the satyr play.

The music itself, an almost unaltered presentation of ‘Das himmlische Leben’ from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, also contains a dialogue between contrasting moods. The song alternates between lively and soaring melodies, and dark and frenzied episodes accompanied by the sleigh bells of the work’s opening without an obvious correlation to what is occurring in the text.⁵⁵ Bonds suggests that these alternations between joyous and solemn are indicative of an ambivalence towards the finale’s depiction of utopia, ‘in which the comforting and terrifying coexist’, a result of there being ‘no true synthesis [of the themes]’.⁵⁶ I believe a kind of synthesis of the themes lies in the coexistence of comforting and terrifying. It is yet another appearance of the tragicomic juxtaposition that, according to Nietzsche, provides the inspiration to pursue a human existence. As Bonds himself notes, “Indeed, every account of the Fourth emanating from Mahler or his immediate circle (Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Bruno Walter) consistently emphasizes

⁵⁴ “humoristisch, ja barock gehalten” See Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen*, 35. Translation from Bauer-Lechner, *Recollections*, 41. The German word used is “barock” and has been translated in this edition by Dika Newlin as “grotesque.”

⁵⁵ Bonds has also noted this bizarre juxtaposition and its seeming textual disconnection. “On more than one occasion, words and music seem utterly unsuited to one another, at least on a conventional level. Why, for example, is there such a note of urgency at the words ‘Gut Äpfel, gut’ Birne und gut’ Trauben! Die Gärtner, die Alles erlauben!’ [Good apples, good pears, and good grapes! The gardeners grant everything] (m.91-94)?” See Bonds, *After Beethoven*, 190.

⁵⁶ Bonds, *After Beethoven*, 182. Bonds is comparing the structure and content of Mahler’s Fourth to Beethoven’s Ninth, both of which end with a choral representation of heaven. Yet the fact that ‘Das himmlische Leben’ was composed long before the rest of the Fourth and its appearance in the symphony is as an almost unaltered presentation of the *Wunderhorn* song, makes the comparison to the finale of Beethoven’s Ninth tenuous. The chronology of composition means that song, as it appears in the symphony, was not written as a reinvention of the “Ode to Joy” chorus, but rather as part of the *Wunderhorn* song cycle.

the contrast of light and shadow, calmness and panic, laughter and tears”⁵⁷ and Nietzsche’s characterization of the life-affirming results of observing ancient tetralogies explains why Mahler might do such a thing.

The Preceding Trilogy

The satyr play followed a performance of three tragedies as part of Dionysian festivals. My suggestion, therefore, that Mahler’s tetralogical comment corresponds to the ancient tradition requires that the first three symphonies be understood to some extent as tragedies. Mahler’s unusual use of theatrical devices in his orchestral works, including the use of symphonic space, accompanying programs, voice and choral parts, and folksong quotations, all contribute to a reception of his works as part of a dramatic tradition and have been discussed by other authors and in an earlier chapter of this dissertation,⁵⁸ Beyond these, William McGrath offers an

⁵⁷ Bonds, *After Beethoven*, 191. Bonds cites a letter from Bruno Walter to Ludwig Schiedermair dated December 5, 1901, in which Mahler describes the third movement of the Fourth symphony as containing “deep, painful contrasts as well as an exaltation of cheerfulness.” [“feierliche, selige Ruhe, ernst milde Heiterkeit ist der Charakter dieser Satzes, der auch tief schmerzliche Kontraste und eine Steigerung der Heiterkeit ins Lebhaftes nicht fehlen.”] Bonds incorrectly lists the date as December 3, 1901. For the full letter, see Rudolph Stephan, *Gustav Mahler: IV. Symphonie G-Dur*, 33-35.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 2, “Theatrical Symbolism and the Apollonian-Dionysian Dialectic.” See also Thomas Peattie, “The Expansion of Symphonic Space in Mahler’s First Symphony”; Laura Dolp, “Sonoristic Space in Mahler’s First Symphony” for discussions of symphonic space. For an excellent exploration of Mahler’s use of voice, see Julian Johnson, *Mahler’s Voices: Expression and Irony in the Songs and Symphonies*. See Vera Micznik, “‘Ways of Telling’ in Mahler’s Music: The Third Symphony as Narrative Text”; Carolyn Abbate ‘Mahler’s Deafness: Opera and the Scene of Narration in *Todtenfeier*’; Stephen Hefling, “Mahler’s ‘Todtenfeier’ and the Problem of Program Music”; Peter Franklin, “A Stranger’s Story: Program, Politics and the Third Symphony”, among others, for discussions of Mahler’s programs. Raymond Knapp’s *Symphonic Metamorphoses: Subjectivity and Alienation in Mahler’s Recycled Songs and Symphonies* provides an invaluable examination of Mahler’s folk song self-quotation.

interpretation of the Third Symphony as a tragedy, based in Nietzsche's description of the genre.

McGrath writes,

The symphony is divided into a long first movement which performs the role of the ancient Greek chorus by evoking the tremendous power of Dionysian emotion, and this is followed by an Apollonian vision in which movements two through six reveal how the hierarchy of being reflects the inner relationship between the underlying Dionysian unity and the particular forms in which life appears. [...] Mahler created a Nietzschean framework to convey an idea of community that is expanded to embrace not only all of humanity but all levels of being in the world of nature.⁵⁹

I find that the elements of Attic tragedy in Mahler's first three symphonies are not to be found in their formal construction as much as in their narrative content and desired effect. While any interpretation of the Third as tragic seems to overlook Mahler's reported concern that the public would not understand the humor of the symphony,^{60,61} the following discussion will show a closer correlation between Mahler's programmatic early works and the characteristics of tragedy than might be obvious at first glance.

The programs published to accompany the first two symphonies deal with tragic topics.

Both symphonies depict the narrative of a heart-broken lover, a semi-autobiographical character,

⁵⁹ William McGrath, 'Mahler and the Vienna Nietzsche Society', in *Nietzsche and Jewish Culture*, ed. Jacob Golomb (London and New York, 1997), 228. This reading is expanded upon in full in McGrath's book *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

⁶⁰ *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1996), 190. He also said to Bauer-Lechner in the summer of 1895 that the first movement was "thoroughly humorous." The amount of humor in the Third Symphony may have changed over the course of its composition, however. Bauer-Lechner also recalls, though, that after the completion of the symphony, a year before his tetralogy comment, Mahler described humor in the Scherzo movement in the following way: "The piece is really a sort of face-pulling and tongue-poking on the part of all Nature. But there is such a gruesome Panic humour in it that one is likely to be overcome by horror than laughter." See Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler*, trans. Dika Newlin (London, 1980), 41, 129.

⁶¹ He also told Bauer-Lechner, "The content of all these works [the first three symphonies] is, in the main, profoundly tragic. Mahler himself said that anyone hearing them would be totally shattered." "Der Inhalt all dieser Stücke ist, der Hauptsache nach, ein so tief schmerzlicher, daß Mahler selbst sagte, es müsse einer ganz zerschmettert sein, der dies gehört habe." See Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler* (Hamburg, 1984), 46. Translation from Bauer-Lechner, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), 50.

and one who is forced to overcome the heartbreak of requited love. Natalie Bauer-Lechner recalled that in the First Symphony Mahler meant to depict “a powerfully heroic individual, his life and suffering, struggles, and defeat at the hands of fate.”⁶² In the Second Symphony, the same hero continues to grapple with the tribulation of unrequited love, considering this time even suicide in the face of adversity.⁶³ Like the three tragedies of the Dionysian festival, Mahler’s first three symphonies are inter-related. They presented the same characters or developments of the same story. The first two symphonies share treatment of the same hero, while the connection between the content of the first two symphonies and the third is more rhetorical, dealing with a series of revelations from various forms of life, terrestrial and otherwise. In 1896, Mahler himself linked the Third Symphony to the first two, saying, “it’s the best and most mature of my works. With it I shall conclude my ‘*Trilogie der Leidenschaft*’,” a term the composer used to bookend his first three symphonies.⁶⁴ Peter Franklin explains his interpretation of the connection between the works, saying, “[the Third] was to celebrate the ‘happy life’ that the Second had inaugurated after dispelling apocalyptic hours [the heartbreak and contemplation of suicide in the symphony’s earlier movements] with its concluding choral hymn to the individual spirit.”⁶⁵ Objections to the comparison of these programs to those of tragedy will likely hinge on the observation that they seem to have un-tragic conclusions. Yet they deal with essentially human

⁶² “Er hatte aber einfach einen kraftvoll-heldenhaften Menschen im Sinne, sein Leben und Leiden, Ringen und Unterliegen gegen das Geschick.” See Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler*, 173. Translation from *Recollections*, 157. Use of the words “suffering”, “struggles”, and “defeat” strongly suggests that the hero of the First Symphony is someone experiencing something tragic.

⁶³ See Chapter 2 for the fully replicated programs of the early symphonies.

⁶⁴ Mahler to Annie Mincieux, May 1896, in *Mahler’s Unknown Letters*, ed. Herta Blaukopf (London, 1986), 122. [German edition: *Gustav Mahler Unbekannte Briefe* (Vienna and Hamburg, 1983), 126.]

⁶⁵ Peter Franklin, *Mahler: Symphony no. 3* (Cambridge, 1991), 41.

struggles and, perhaps more importantly, seek the same effect on their audience as the displays of Attic tragedy.

The practice of tragedy in ancient Greece, wherein the idea of tetralogy was first developed, was meant to reaffirm man's connection to others through the cathartic experience of witnessing a hero wrestle with basic human difficulties, which these programs do. According to Aristotle's *Poetics*, part of the social purpose of tragedy is catharsis. While the proper definition of this term is heavily disputed, it is nonetheless necessarily boiled down here to the following: by viewing the tragic circumstances of a hero on stage, we empathize with the hero's trial and are also purified through the observation of the hero's fate. We experience the consequences of his actions—very often inspired by common impulses—without having to suffer them ourselves.⁶⁶ Aristotle eloquently describes the result of experience the cathartic effect of tragedy:

Tragedy, then, is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation [catharsis] of these emotions.⁶⁷

The subject of a tragic drama would be sorrowful in a way that was easily accessible to members of the audience, the population of the city. The struggle of the protagonist would therefore need to be an essentially human one: heartbreak, loss, the cost of hubris, divided allegiances. Not only would the audience be able to empathize with these types of emotional hardship, but it would find the display therapeutic and educational by seeing the consequences played out in the theatrical circumstances of the Dionysian festival. In each of Mahler's three symphonies the

⁶⁶ Aristotle's word *katharsis*, or catharsis, is used interchangeably with purgation, purification, and clarification in Eugene Garver's glossary to S.H. Butcher's translation of the *Poetics*. Catharsis comes from the Greek *kathairein* 'to purify, purge' and from *katharos* 'pure, clear of dirt, clean, spotless; open, free; clear of shame or guilt; purified.' See Aristotle, *Poetics*, in *Poetics and Rhetoric*, trans. S.H. Butcher (New York, 2005), 506.

⁶⁷ Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1449b24-32.

ability to overcome adversity, a theme that aligns with those common to tragedies listed above, serves as the basis and ultimate achievement of the narrative.⁶⁸

Despite the genre's name, like these symphonies, not all tragedies of the ancient Greek genre end tragically. In fact a number of ancient tragedies have something of a triumphant ending. Among these works is Euripides' *Orestes*, which ends with the intervention of a *deus ex machina* who puts all things right and *The Bacchae*, also by Euripides, in which the protagonist of drama himself, Dionysus, prevails by obtaining his deserved recognition through, albeit, gruesome consequences for his family members.⁶⁹ Ancient tragedies might be productively viewed in terms of a conclusion that is often, in fact, victorious. The struggle through deception and ultimate arrival at a positive outcome that is modeled by the narrative of Mahler's First Symphony is mirrored in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.⁷⁰ In Aeschylus's *Eumenides*, justice ultimately triumphs with the establishment of the judicial system. The victor of these works is not necessarily individual human actors, but rather that of a particular ethos. It is the victory of a certain attitude towards the world and a consequent way of being that is also reflected in Mahler's symphonies. Further examples include the conclusion of Sophocles's *Ajax*, in which the final line reads, "there is nothing here that is not Zeus," a sentiment that might be posited as a

⁶⁸ The relationship between this thread in Mahler's early programs and Nietzsche's conceptions of overcoming are discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶⁹ Not only is it interesting to note here that the complete works of Euripides were among the few works of classical literature in Mahler's library, but according to Bauer-Lechner, he was reading *The Bacchae* in the summer of 1899: a year before Mahler described the first four symphonies as a "tetralogy" and the year he began composing the Fourth. 'M. las in den Ferien 99. Schiller-Goethe, Briefsachsel Eckermann Gespräche mit Goethe, Lipiner's "Adam" und die "Bacchen" von Euripides, Franz von Assisi von Paul Sabastien; einen Band Goethe "Kunst" und die "Wahlverwandschaften."' Natalie Bauer-Lechner. *Mahleriana* manuscript, Mahler Médiathèque Collection.

⁷⁰ In this play, Odysseus must retrieve Philoctetes, a soldier he left behind after he was injured, in order to win the Trojan war. Trickery is involved on the part of Odysseus and his companion Neoptolemus to convince Philoctetes to rejoin with them. Even after he realizes he has been tricked, he agrees to accompany the two men to Troy in order to help win the war for the Greeks.

corollary to the resurrection in the finale of the Second. Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* may be the most illuminating, the conclusion of which expresses a view of the world that is essentially tragic: we suffer, we die, but in the end, there is something triumphant about our existence.⁷¹

Mahler's early programs express a very similar sentiment: man certainly suffers in both the First and Second Symphonies, he even dies in the Second, but he ultimately triumphs. Even without "getting the girl," humankind can overcome pain and find meaning in life.

Juxtapositions in the Pernerstorfer Circle: Lipiner and Kralik

The men of Pernerstorfer Circle also admired and utilized the combination of tragic and humor in their own works. In fin-de-siècle Vienna, an appreciation of the juxtaposition of contrasting sentiments was common. As Barham notes, Jean Paul and his brand of satire experienced a renaissance in Vienna in the 1880s. Other fin-de-siècle figures, including Hermann Bahr, a friend of Mahler's, Hugo von Hoffmannsthal and Arthur Schnitzler were considered part of the *Junge Wien* literary movement characterized by "humour [sic], keen irony and astute satire."⁷² It might be suggested, then, that the juxtaposition between light and serious in the overall structure of Mahler's tetralogy be read as ironic and Mahler's music has been repeatedly considered in ironic terms. The composer himself used the term to describe the third movement of the First Symphony in a letter to Max Marschalk.⁷³ However, the large-scale juxtaposition of sober and

⁷¹ *Oedipus at Colonus* ends with the death of Oedipus, a tragedy for his daughters Antigone and Ismene, but one that also allows Antigone to return to Thebes and to protect her country from future harm.

⁷² Barham, "Mahler's Third Symphony and the Philosophy of Gustav Fechner," 178.

⁷³ See *Gustav Mahler: Unbekannte Briefe*, ed. Herta Blaukopf (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 1983), 147.

gay do not quite fit the definitions of irony that have been previously used to describe Mahler's music.

Zoltan Roman's essay "Connotative Irony in Mahler's Todtenmarsch in 'Callots Manier'" explores the ironic facet of the third movement of the First Symphony as does Floros's "Tragische Ironie und Ambivalenz bei Mahler."⁷⁴ However, both authors draw on a view of irony that uses humor to subvert the seriousness. Cultural historian Carl Niekerk discusses—and rejects—the "ironic" reading of the text and music of "Das himmlische Leben," the *Wunderhorn* song that Mahler sets in the final movement of the Fourth Symphony. Niekerk uses Jean Paul's formulation of the term irony; on the surface the ironic is always serious, yet what is happening beneath the surface sends an entirely different message, a definition that, given the source and Mahler's knowledge and enjoyment of Jean Paul's writings, seems apt.⁷⁵ The juxtaposition of tragic and light-hearted across Mahler's first four symphonies does not attempt, I believe, to subvert serious subject matter with a hidden humorous message. For instance, the experiences of heartbreak and overcoming of the hero of Mahler's first two symphonies should be taken with complete seriousness, not least because they have been discussed in the context of Mahler's own biographical experiences. The ultimate light-hearted Fourth Symphony is not meant to undermine the messages of the first three symphonies but to compliment profound meditations on existence and human struggle with the child-like joy that can also be found in life.

⁷⁴ See Zoltan Roman, "Connotative Irony in Mahler's Todtenmarsch in 'Callots Manier,'" *The Musical Quarterly* 59/2 (1973), 207-222; Constantin Floros, "Tragische Ironie und Ambivalenz bei Mahler," *Musik-Konzepte Sonderband: Gustav Mahler* (1989), 213-220.

⁷⁵ Carl Niekerk, *Reading Mahler: German Culture and Jewish Identity in Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (Rochester, NY, 2010), 121.

Julian Johnson discusses the irony of Mahler's music in terms of the combination of two contrasting emotions, in particular the artificial and the genuine. Two distinctions arise here as well. First, many of the juxtapositions considered humorous or ironic in Mahler's works are not necessarily between tragedy and comedy, as I am suggesting is the case in Mahler's tetralogy. The combination of two contrasting moods is not an exact corollary for serious versus light-hearted; for example, neither solemn and shrill nor refined and grotesque present such a binary. The second difference between the tragicomic juxtaposition discussed here and the conflicting voices of Mahler's musical irony has to do with the resulting effect. Irony, when executed correctly, might induce eye-rolling, snickering or outright laughter. For this reason, moments of irony are often read as comic. However, what Mahler and two of his fellow Circle members, were seeking with their tragicomic juxtaposition was something else entirely: a feeling of redemption and restored faith in the human condition by relieving the despair associated with the struggles of existence with those beautiful moments of wit and comic banter that inspire us despite life's difficulties. This was also the aim of ancient tragedies and their juxtaposition with the tetralogy's satyr play finale. What Nietzsche valued in satyr play and the juxtaposition of tragic and comic more generally was not what we associate with the response to irony, a dismissal of the serious, but rather inspiration to face the serious that came as a result of viewing the truth of life's struggles through the complements of humor.

While no other members of the Pernerstorfer Circle used the genre of tetralogy, several of Mahler's contemporaries did, however, express an interest in and appreciation for the

combination of tragic and comic and for its redemptive potential.⁷⁶ Natalie Bauer-Lechner

recorded the following exchange in her recollections:

Lipiner spoke to us about the Platonic Dialogues. “It is unheard of and completely unique, the grace which, united with the greatest pensiveness, the Greeks possessed. Is the speech of the drunken Alcibiades to Socrates in the *Symposium* not the loveliest and sweetest there ever was? Or the description of nature in the *Phaidros*, where the account of the robbery of Orestia, with which the dialogue begins in the sweetest breadth and in which we believe to breathe the air and aroma of this place and mood that blissfully surrounds her: what magic emanates! And completely unhurried with the seriousness and philosophy, which is loosely braided in the freest and most cheerful wreath of humor and personal exchange unconcerned, that one sees that Plato is much more concerned with the human and artistic than the scholarly.”⁷⁷

Lipiner’s characterization of this weaving together of serious and comic as magical, “concerned with the human and artistic,” possesses an echo of Nietzsche’s appreciation of the juxtaposition of comic and tragic in the tetralogy; both men saw this combination as profoundly speaking to the human experience.

Lipiner’s interest in the redemptive, religious element of art is the subject of Caroline Kita’s dissertation, titled “Jacob Struggling with the Angel: Gustav Mahler and Siegfried Lipiner’s Shared Aesthetics of Redemption.” In it she writes that Lipiner’s lecture to the German Reading Society on Nietzsche’s “On the Uses and Disadvantages of History” “earned Lipiner acclaim as the prophet of a new art-religion that drew bold connections between secular philosophy, tragic art, and Christian myth as a cure for the problem of the modern fragmented self.” In a very Nietzschean way, Lipiner blamed the constructions of modern religious

⁷⁶ Siegfried Lipiner did in fact write a set of four related works, however it is known as his *Christus* trilogy because it follows a model more like the Wagnerian tetralogy: an introductory work that is more of a prelude followed by three large-scale works. Unfortunately, nothing of the fourth work in this set, *Paul in Rom*, survives and I can therefore not discuss whether it follows the ancient Greek tetralogical model. See Caroline Kita, “Jacob Struggling with the Angel: Siegfried Lipiner, Gustav Mahler, and the Search for Aesthetic-Religious Redemption in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna” (PhD diss., Duke University, 2011).

⁷⁷ *Mahleriana* manuscript. Mahler Médiathèque Collection.

institutions for the crisis of faith and expanded the definition of religion to include “anything that goes beyond the ‘so-called’ world of reality, in so far as it is experience in feeling.”⁷⁸ This interest in a religious renewal of society through experiences such as art, coupled with Lipiner’s admiration for Nietzsche, leads me to draw suggestive parallels between Lipiner’s appreciation of the mixture of serious and comic in the writings of the ancient Greeks and to the redemptive effect identified by Nietzsche in this juxtaposition.⁷⁹

Another member of the Pernerstorfer Circle, Richard von Kralik, was, like Lipiner, committed to reviving a form of religious aesthetics and used tragicomic juxtaposition in his own works. Unlike Lipiner and Mahler, who were interested in a more generalized experience of redemption, Kralik’s religious views were firmly aligned with the modern institution of the Austrian Catholic church. Credited with leading the revival of Austrian Catholic drama, Kralik wrote a number of stage works, some of which also demonstrated a mixture of ebullient and serious sentiments. Such an example can be found in Kralik’s *Zarathustra, Blaubart und der liebe Augustin*, a *Volkstück* play that depicted a story similar to that of *Bluebeard’s Castle*. Kralik’s main character fuses together the magician Zarathustra and the legendary character Bluebeard, whose seventh wife is saved from being murdered by Bluebeard’s servant, Augustin. In a review of the work, one critic wrote, “how true, dramatic blood pulses through Kralik’s scripts, such a delicious mixture of profoundness and humor is to be found therein. The jack-of-

⁷⁸ Kita, “Jacob Struggling with the Angel,” 21.

⁷⁹ Lipiner and other members of the Pernerstorfer Circle wrote a letter to Nietzsche declaring their allegiance. Lipiner also sent the philosopher a copy of his first work *Prometheus Unbound*, and sought an ultimately unrequited relationship with the philosopher. See Nietzsche correspondence from 1877 to 1878.

all-trades Kralik also possesses such knowledge in the legislation of the stage and its effect.”⁸⁰

The author of this critique does not specify what “effect” Kralik is creating, but based on his work in the genre of Catholic drama and his own proclaimed interest in religious renewal, it is plausible that here, like with Lipiner’s comments, the dramatist was utilizing the combination of serious and light-hearted to serve the redemptive purposes of his work.

Nietzsche’s writings both describe and demonstrate the redemptive power of the juxtaposition of tragic and light-hearted. For members of Mahler’s circle, who sought a form of salvation in the secular religion of art, this particular combination was most attractive. Given its light-hearted conclusion, Mahler’s use of the term “tetralogy,” which might be easily connected to Wagner’s *Ring*, to describe the works of his first major compositional period begs an explanation separate from the operatic master and I believe Nietzsche’s unique emphasis on the lighthearted conclusion of the ancient tetralogy serves as a better and more powerful model for Mahler’s early works. Both Lipiner and Kralik’s demonstrated enthusiasm for Nietzsche, coupled with their appreciation for tragicomic juxtaposition and their search for their own means of contributing to a new secular religion in the form of artistic production further solidify the connections between the use of this unique technique by members of the Pernerstorfer Circle and their reading of Nietzsche’s *Birth of Tragedy* and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*.

⁸⁰ “wie echtes dramatisches Blut in Kraliks Bühnendichtungen pulsiert, welche köstliche Mischung von Tiefsinn und Humor darin zu finden ist, welches Wissen der Vielwisser Kralik auch um die Gesetze der Bühne und ihre Wirkung besitzt.” B., “Zarathustra Blaubart und der liebe Augustin,” *Reichspost*, 14 September 1933, 9. Judith Beniston identifies the author as Hans Brečka, see *Welttheater: Hofmannsthal, Richard von Kralik, and the Revival of Catholic Drama in Austria, 1890-1934* (London: W.S. Maney & Son Ltd, 1998), 191.

CHAPTER 4: Divine Conceptions of Overcoming and the *Übermensch*

In 1896, Mahler wrote a letter to Annie Mincieux in which he explained the finale of his Third Symphony, “It is the last stage of differentiation: *God!* Or, if you like, the *Übermensch*.”¹ Nietzsche, who famously declared “God is dead!” in both *The Gay Science*, as well as *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and railed against Christian morality, claiming it to be a life-denying force discouraging natural curiosity and skepticism throughout his works, is unlikely to have endorsed Mahler’s suggestion that the *Übermensch* resembles in one system of beliefs anything like the figure of God in another. However, the utilization of Nietzsche as a kind of “religious” philosopher was not an uncommon event in fin-de-siècle Vienna.²

This equivalence of Nietzsche’s *Übermensch*, a figure characterized in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* by an egoistic striving for greatness, with God suggests Mahler interpreted Nietzsche’s version of ambition as both compassionate and encouraging. This conception of the *Übermensch*, and of achievement more broadly, seems initially strange, so much so that some scholars have suggested that perhaps the equation says more about Mahler’s idea of God than about his conception of the Nietzschean figure; the composer’s Jewish heritage might point to the less forgiving and vengeful God of the Old Testament. However, the rest of the letter suggests the opposite; Mahler includes the title he gave the movement, “What Love Tells Me,”

¹ “Es ist die letzte Stufe der Differenzierung[sic]: *Gott!* Oder wenn Sie wollen der *Übermensch*.” See letter to Annie Mincieux, early November 1896, *Unbekannte Briefe*, ed. Herta Blaukopf (Vienna and Hamburg: Paul Zsolnay, 1983), 127.

² Morten Solvik has discussed the use of Nietzschean ideas in the service of religious ideology at the time, demonstrating that Mahler’s comparison is likely to have been more of an equivalence. Solvik, “Culture and the creative imagination: The genesis of Gustav Mahler’s Third Symphony. (Volumes I and II)” (Ph.D. diss, University of Pennsylvania 1992), 109-113.

along with a quotation describing a plea for divine absolution, a context that all but confirms that Mahler's comparison was meant to draw Nietzsche's *Übermensch* closer to a benevolent and encouraging deity rather than to imply a wrathful and self-interested portrayal of the divine.

A generous conception of the *Übermensch* is echoed in the writings of members of the Pernerstorfer Circle as an encouraging view of ambition and achievement that has religious connotations and expresses concern not merely for the individual, but for all people. This appears to be a distinctive facet of their Nietzsche reception. The work of both the artists and politicians of this group reveal similar ideas about human achievement and the Nietzschean figures of Zarathustra and the *Übermensch*. While it is only the finale of the Third Symphony that Mahler characterizes explicitly in these terms, the narrative of achievement that is inclusive and benevolent, rather than individualistic and exclusionary, portrayed therein can be traced in both of his earlier symphonies, demonstrating a history of this idea and a ideological connection between the components of what Mahler called his "Trilogie der Leidenschaft."³ Considering the notion of ambition depicted in Mahler's first three symphonies alongside the political writings of Victor Adler and Heinrich and Lily Braun, as well as of the dramatic works of Richard von Kralik and Siegfried Lipiner, the benevolent but striving individual is revealed as another element of the Circle's unique Nietzsche reception.

Symphony No. 3

Intertextual References

³ From a letter to Annie Mincieux, May 1896. See *Gustav Mahler Unbekannte Briefe* (Vienna/Hamburg: Paul Zsolnay, 1983), 126.

Mahler's use of the term *Übermensch* in his letter to Mincieux appears as part of a longer paragraph that provides a network of references; the interaction of the texts Mahler quotes in his explanation of the Third Symphony's final movement provide a basis for understanding his use of the Nietzschean term. The composer wrote,

It should be nothing less than the "Macrocosmos"; the motto of the last movement:
"What love tells me" is:

"Father, look upon my wounds
Let no creature be lost."

It is the last stage of differentiation: *God!* Or, if you like, the *Übermensch*.⁴

In addition to including the movement's programmatic title, "What Love Tells Me," Mahler wrote to his friend Fritz Löhr that the motto he was quoting for his description of the last movement came from a *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* poem. While Mahler's exact phrase, "Father, look upon my wounds, Let no creature be lost," does not appear anywhere in the *Wunderhorn* poetry, the text of the poem "Erlösung" uses similar words and expresses the same sentiment.

Text of "Erlösung" from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*

Erlösung

Maria:

Mein Kind, sieh an die Brüste mein,
Kein'n Sünder laß verloren sein.

Christus:

Mutter, sieh an die Wunden,
Die ich für dein Sind trag alle Stunden
Vater, La die die Wunden mein
Ein Opfer für die Sünde sein.

Vater:

Sohn, lieber Sohn mein,
Alles, was du begehrt, das soll sein.

Redemption

Mary:

My child, look upon my soul:
permit no sinner to go astray

Christ:

Mother, look upon the wounds
that I endure every moment for your sins.
Father, grant that my wounds be a sacrifice for all
sins.

Father:

Son, my dear son,
all that you have asked, shall be.

⁴ "Es soll nichts weniger als der "Macrocosmos" sein: dass Motto zum letzten Satz: 'Was mir die Liebe erzählt' ist: 'Vater, sieh an die Wunden mein! Kein Wesen lass verloren.' Es ist die letzte Stufe der Differenzierung: Gott! Oder wenn Sie wollen, der Übermensch!"

The text of the poem is distinctly religious; Christ asks Mary and the Father to look upon his wounds, to have mercy on the world's sinners—a sentiment in opposition to the traditional view of the *Übermensch*. Mahler's misremembered quotation of the *Wunderhorn* poetry as "Let *no creature* be lost," rather than "no sinner" further extends the absolution of the poem beyond that of man.

In addition to his Nietzsche and *Wunderhorn* references, Mahler alludes to another text in his letter when he refers to the "Macrocosmos." Given the composer's familiarity with and fondness for Goethe—and because he offers the term in quotation marks—it is safe to draw a connection between Mahler's use of the term and its appearance in the author's *Faust*. In Goethe's drama, Faust consults Nostradamus in an attempt to gain all knowledge, coming first across the sign of the Macrocosmos. This magic ideogram is, as Gerald Holton writes, "the ancient symbol of the connection between part and whole, man and nature."⁵ Although Faust's thirst is not quenched by the knowledge revealed by the sign, Mahler's use of the term evokes a sense of global interconnectedness and an inclusive portrayal of existence. The sum of Mahler's references in his letter to Mincieux reinforces a benevolent and encouraging vision of the *Übermensch*: a connection between man and nature is evoked, the redemption of all of God's creatures is requested, and the ultimate achievement of the Third Symphony's quest for knowledge is obtained through the wisdom of love.

The final version of the program accompanying Mahler's Third Symphony depicts a series of revelations gathered from a variety of sources: nature, man and, ultimately, the divine.

⁵ Gerald Holton, "Einstein and the Cultural Roots of Modern Science," in *Science in Culture* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2001), 33.

Mahler's program details a striving for knowledge that must be accumulated not within a vacuum but from creatures of all walks of life. The ultimate achievement of this accumulation of knowledge is not heroics or power, but love.

<i>Ein Sommermittagstraum</i>	<i>A Summer Noontime's Dream</i>
I. Abteilung	Part I.
Einleitung: Pan erwacht	Introduction: Pan Awakens
Nr. I: Der Sommer marschiert ein (Bacchuszug)	Nr. I: Summer Marches In (Bacchus Processional)
II. Abteilung	Part II.
Nr. II: Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen	Nr. II: What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me
Nr. III: Was mir die Tiere im Walde erzählen	Nr. III: What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me
Nr. IV: Was mir der Mensch erzählt	Nr. IV: What Man Tells Me
Nr. V: Was mir die Engel erzählen	Nr. V: What the Angels Tell Me
Nr. VI: Was mir die Liebe erzählt.	Nr. VI: What Love Tells Me.

Even after his withdrawal of the early narrative guides, texts set in the symphony serve to unite the work's content towards a benevolent conclusion. In the fourth and fifth movements Mahler sets two texts that contribute to the encouraging portrayal of the *Übermensch* featured in the finale. The fourth movement, titled "What Man Tells Me," is a setting of the "Midnight Song" that appears twice in Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. The text shows a concern for mankind and speaks of deep eternity. The poem first occurs just before "The Seven Seals" at the end of Book Three, and in the penultimate chapter of the work, "The Drunken Song." In the latter, Zarathustra explains that the poem's meaning is an abridgment of the characteristics of the Eternal Recurrence, a means of owning one's choices in such a way that the thought of having to live and relive one's life is a wonderful, rather than a daunting, one. Nietzsche himself identified

the Eternal Recurrence in *Ecce Homo* as the “fundamental conception” of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, and hence, the *Übermensch*. The song itself reveals Zarathustra’s altruism, as a part of his desire to teach man the best way of life and how to become an *Übermensch*. Mahler’s selection of this particular poetry to set in the fourth movement therefore also suggests an emphasis on the philanthropic.

The following movement, “What the Angels Tell Me,” utilizes Mahler’s own setting of the *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* poem “Es Sungen Drei Engel,” from the composer’s early orchestral songs.⁶ Both of these texts contribute to the concept of ambition Mahler describes in the final movement. The text of “Es Sungen Drei Engel” celebrates receipt of the Lord’s Blessing. Redemption is first bestowed upon Peter and then extended to all of mankind.

Text of “Es sungen drei Engel”

Knabenchor

Bimm bamm, bimm, bamm...

Boys' choir:

Bimm, bamm, bimm, bamm...

Frauenchor:

Es sungen drei Engel einen süßen Gesang,
Mit Freuden es selig in den Himmel klang.
Sie jauchzten fröhlich auch dabei,
Daß Petrus sei von Sünden frei.
Und als der Herr Jesus zu Tische saß,
Mit seinen zwölf Jüngern das Abendmahl aß,
Da sprach der Herr Jesus: "Was stehst du den hier?
Wenn ich dich anseh', so weinst du mir."

Women's choir:

There were three angels singing a sweet song
ringing joyfully to heaven.
They rejoiced happily as well,
that St. Peter be free of sins.
And when the Lord Jesus sat down at the table
Together with his 12 apostles eating dinner
Thus spoke the Lord Jesus: "Why are you
standing in front of me?
Looking so sad and weeping."

Alt:

"Und sollt' ich nicht weinen, du gütiger Gott" . . .

Alto/Peter:

"And why should I weep not, you, God so kindly..."

Frauenchor

Du sollst ja nicht weinen!

Women's choir

Thou shalt not weep!

⁶ Donald Mitchell has made a convincing argument for the song becoming part of the composer’s *Wunderhorn* lieder after it was scored for the Third Symphony. See Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years: Chronicles and Commentaries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 127-132.

Alt:

"Ich habe übertreten die Zehn Gebot;
Ich gehe und weine ja bitterlich,
Ach komm und erbarme dich über mich."

Frauenchor:

Has du denn übertreten die Zehen Gebot,
So fall auf die Knie und bete zu Gott!
Liebe nur Gott in alle Zeit,
So wirst du erlangen die himmlische Freud!
Die himmlische Freud, die Selige Stadt;
Die himmlische Freud, die kein Ende mehr hat.
Die himmlische Freude war Petro bereit'
Durch Jesum und allen zur Seligkeit.

Alto/Peter:

"I have violated the ten commandments;
I go and do weep bitterly,
Oh, come and have pity on me."

Women's choir:

You, who have violated the ten commandments,
fall to your knees and pray to God!
Love God at all times,
Thus you will receive the heavenly joy!
The heavenly joy, the blessed city;
The heavenly joy, never ending.
The heavenly joy was given to St. Peter
Through Jesus and as a blessing for all.

The order of these movements, with the celebration of absolution occurring after the "Midnight Song," depicts a development from one to the next. The last three movements therefore portray a concern for fellow man, in which a philosophy of fulfilling existence is embedded, a celebration of salvation, not just by a single individual, but by all mankind, and the ultimate achievement of the *Übermensch* through the teachings of love.

Though he acknowledges and discusses the religious interpretations of Nietzsche's writing at the end of the nineteenth-century, Morten Solvik suggests a slightly different version of the succession of texts in Mahler's Third Symphony. For him, the setting of Nietzsche's "Midnight Song" represents "the tortured doubt of humankind" and serves as a turning point before the final two movements which reveal a vision of redemption, "a celestial setting that justified the tribulations of earthly life with the assurance of a high existence in bliss and harmony."⁷ Solvik discusses the fourth movement in terms of a depiction of night based in the Romantic tradition of writers such as Jean Paul, imagery that contained both allusions to death and the terrible, as well as relief and retreat. According to Solvik, "In the scheme of the Third

⁷ Solvik, "Culture and the creative imagination," 301.

Symphony, Nietzsche's poem represents not a point of arrival, but a moment of resignation in the unfolding of life towards celestial bliss. Nietzsche provided Mahler with a meditation on human existence—not a doctrine of deliverance.”⁸ Solvik further argues that “[Mahler's setting of the Midnight Song] constituted merely an attempt to grasp meaning and reassurance out of the darkness of mortal despair.”⁹ While the movement is not the symphony's point of arrival and does appear as part of an unfolding towards the work's ultimate aim, “What Love Tells Me,” the importance of Zarathustra's “Midnight Song” to the philosophy of the *Übermensch* calls into question the view that it is a moment of resignation, even though Solvik acknowledges the song's expansion at the end of *Zarathustra* and its containment of the formulation of the Eternal Recurrence. The Eternal Recurrence is a requirement of the existence of the *Übermensch*, therefore I believe it is more likely foreshadowing the symphony's ultimate achievement rather than signaling a moment of reflection along the way to heavenly fulfillment.

Ultimately, I agree with Solvik that Mahler's movements are meant to portray a “rendering of his philosophy of life's overcoming,”¹⁰ however I conceive of the role of Nietzsche's text differently. What makes the movement “What Man Tells Me”—and the knowledge collected from this source—different from the other sources of existence that inform Mahler's philosophy of overcoming? Why is it filled with “tortured doubt”? “What Man Tells Me” appears as part of the journey towards ultimate fulfillment and, to that end, “Man” might even be Nietzsche himself. Mahler's comment about the finale of the Third seems to endorse

⁸ Solvik, “Culture and the creative imagination,” 256.

⁹ Ibid, 268.

¹⁰ Ibid, 301.

Nietzsche's philosophy as instrumental in the attainment of satisfaction and a form of earthly deliverance.

Peter Franklin also considers the role of these texts in his handbook to the Third Symphony. Unlike Solvik, he considers the last three movements together as part of a musical and ideological unit. "Mahler directs that they should follow on from each other without breaks and, both musically and conceptually, they comprise a kind of 'third part' to the symphony."¹¹ This third part unfolds from one movement to the other not unlike the analysis provided above. "The hope of eternal joy and the denying fatalism of 'woe' (and the philosophical and religious systems that derive from it) are here presented as elemental modes of human experience before being musically personified (as suppliant and responding angels) in the reconciling fifth movement and then explored to the full in the concluding Adagio."¹² I would only add to Franklin's poetic analysis that the exploration of the religious and philosophical systems derived from the hope for eternal happiness become one in the final movement: God, or interchangeably, the *Übermensch*.

Jeremy Barham takes up the discussion of Mahler's *Übermensch* comment as part of his dissertation on Mahler's interest in a different philosopher, Gustav Fechner. Like Franklin, he considers the last three movements as inter-related, given Mahler's instructions for their performance. Barham sees the progression from the fourth to the final movement of the Third Symphony as a teleological process, considering it in a number of contemporary ways including man's achievement as a replacement of the divine and the Nietzschean Eternal Recurrence as a

¹¹ Peter Franklin, *Symphony No. 3* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 66.

¹² Franklin, *Symphony No.3*, 66.

form of religious transcendence.¹³ Ultimately, Barham suggests that the fourth, fifth and sixth movements act as an embodiment of Fechner's philosophy. Specifically, he argues that Mahler's use of particular harmonic structures and processes convey a form of Fechnerian panentheism. Panentheism takes the view that God can be seen in nature and adds the reciprocal, that nature can be seen in God.¹⁴ Fechner developed this philosophy through the combination of *Naturphilosophie* and his own Christianity, something that is also at work in Mahler. Building upon Barham's panentheistic reading, I will show that musical allusion to the natural world in the final movement of Mahler's Third Symphony creates a link between nature, the divine, and the *Übermensch*.

Musical Topics

The religious connotations of the Third Symphony's finale can also be seen by looking at the Mahler's use of musical topics. The final movement utilizes well-established "chorale-like" elements in the work's opening and recurring theme that can be linked to the chorale's musical topicality, a cultural signifier well-established by the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Beginning in the Classical period, the chorale was one of the strongest signifiers of religious music. In the

¹³ Among his many receptions, Nietzsche was also used as a way to reinvigorate a variety of religious views, including Protestant Christianity. See Aschheim, "After the Death of God: Varieties of Nietzschean Religion" in *Nietzsche-Studien* XVII (1988): 218-249.

¹⁴ See Jeremy Barham, "Mahler's Third Symphony and the Philosophy of Gustav Fechner: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Criticism, Analysis and Interpretation" (Ph.D. diss, University of Surrey, 1998).

¹⁵ See Kofi Agawu, *Music as Discourse: Semiotic Adventures in Romantic Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 41-47; Julian Horton, *Bruckner's Symphonies: Analysis, Reception and Cultural Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Protestant tradition in particular, Johann Adam Hiller undertook a reform of choral music that was too complex and returned the genre to its simpler roots. “[Hiller’s] settings for four-part chorus with continuo represented a drastic simplification, an interpretation of the strict style that eliminated any touch of 18th-century artifices, learned or galant.”¹⁶ While this can be easily identified in music with text, the idiom of the simply set four part melody also infiltrated instrumental music and provides another topic associated with religious ideas. Bruckner and Brahms both utilized instrumental incarnations of the chorale, which Mahler’s setting recalls (See Example 4.1). The structure of the final movement begins as a series of variations with the return of the chorale melody after each interlude. Franklin characterizes the role of the returning melody as one of sacred cleansing. “[T]he seraphic chorale returns, as ever it must. The movement’s victory over conflictual ‘development’ will indeed be signalled [sic] by increasingly intense experiences of this theme’s ability to return and bless us after no matter what torments.”¹⁷ Franklin’s characterization of the opening theme as chorale-like derives in part from the simple, four-part melody set in the strings.

The movement’s serenity is punctuated by Mahler’s use of a musical topic that evokes the pastoral. While the use of *Naturlaut* and the traditional evocations of the pastoral are not the same, the sound of the panpipes makes a clear musical allusion to the rural landscape. At Rehearsal 25, a flute solo in a high register breaks into the fabric of the movement, recalling the sound of panpipes historically associated with the countryside (Example 4.2). It is largely unprepared and is left unresolved, appearing as a kind of haunting moment suspended in time,

¹⁶ Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980), 169-70.

¹⁷ Franklin, *Symphony No. 3*, 73.

Example 4.1 Symphony no. 3, movement VI: Chorale-like opening melody, mm. 1-9

Langsam. Ruhevoll. Empfinden.

G-Saite. _ _ _ _ D-Saite. _ _ _

Sehr gebunden sehr ausdrucks- voll gesungen. 1

1. Violine.
(ohne Dämpfer) *pp*

2. Violine.
(ohne Dämpfer) *pp*

Viola
geth.
(ohne Dämpfer) *pp*

Violoncell
geth.
(ohne Dämpfer) *pp* *molto espress.* *pp* *pp* *sempre pp*

Contrabass
(ohne Dämpfer) *pp* *molto espress.* *pp* *pp* *sempre pp*

immer G-Saite.

sehr gebunden

sehr gebunden

sehr gebunden

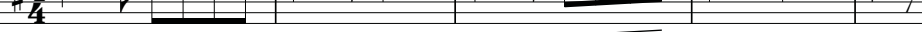
sehr ausdrucks-
voll und ge-

before ushering in a recapitulation of the opening melody, now in the brass. The disconnection between this *Naturlaut* and the rest of the movement isolates the melody in a bizarre way that nonetheless appears in Mahler's other works.

Example 4.2 Symphony no. 3, movement VI: Flute solo, mm. 246-250

Wieder Viertel schlagen!
Langsam.
Tempo I. (♩ = wie eben die ♩)

Etwas zurückhaltend.

1. Fl. 

As Thomas Peattie has demonstrated, Mahler's pastoral topics often undermine their traditional significance by subverting the idealization of nature, a position suggested by Mahler's own comments about the frightening elements of the natural world.¹⁸ Peattie connects the power of nature in itself to the desirable, but unattainable. In his essay, "In Search of Lost Time: Memory and Mahler's Broken Pastoral," Peattie examines the oscillation between the pastoral posthorn episodes and an intrusive *perpetuum mobile* in the Scherzo of Mahler's Third.¹⁹ The interruption of the posthorn, preceded first by a trumpet fanfare, creates a brokenness that Peattie relates to the idea of recollection captured in Marcel Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*. The recurring posthorn episodes of the Scherzo reflect the elusive process of recollection and the distance of memory; with each hearing of the horn (or taste of the madeleine), the past that it evokes becomes more elusive. The longing for something past created by the interrupted pastoral correlates to an escape from the present that is always in some way unattainable. That Mahler saw nature as capable of possessing this escape is embodied by the composer's distaste for the busy and dirty metropolis and the relief of the natural landscape. Mahler's broken pastoral, as Peattie describes, yearns for an escape from the present, be that chronological or geographical. In

¹⁸ For example, in a letter to Richard Batka about the Third Symphony, Mahler wrote, "Of course no one gets an inkling that for me Nature includes all that is terrifying, great and also lovely (it is precisely this that I wanted to express in the whole work, in a kind of evolutionary development). I always feel it strange that when most people speak of 'Nature' what they mean is flowers, little birds, the scent of the pinewoods, etc. No one knows the god Dionysus, or great Pan." See *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, ed. by Knud Martner, trans. by Eithne Wilkins & Ernst Kaiser and Bill Hopkins (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), 197.

¹⁹ Thomas Peattie, "In Search of Lost Time: Memory and Mahler's Broken Pastoral" in *Mahler and his World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 185-198. Other examples of pastoral moments discussed by Peattie include the first movement of the First Symphony, the fourth movement of the Third, and the Scherzo of the Second.

the context of this particular movement, it may very well be a longing for the ultimate escape, Heaven.

In Mahler's musical depiction of the *Übermensch*, the appearance of the flute's *Naturlaut* solo makes it an apt musical topic for the evocation of a glorious context, such as heaven or a fulfilled existence on Earth. The correlation between nature and the divine is well-documented in both music and literature, especially during the Romantic period.²⁰ As Julian Johnson notes, "The idyllic in Jean Paul is generally conceived in terms of a heavenly landscape: 'Sometimes this is a vast meadow or a sea of blossom, more often than not an ocean or stream ... [or] an illimitable expanse of sky, containing whole chains or perspectives of suns or planets. Everything is light and fluid; matter is constantly dissolving, transforming itself into lighter, freer substances or otherwise participating in the movement towards pure spirit.'"²¹ The image of Christ as the lamb of God, the name "pastor" for the leaders of Christian congregations and the congregations themselves being otherwise referred to as a "flock" all indicate the relationships between religious and pastoral imagery.

In his study of topics, Raymond Monelle notes that this connection between Christian religion and the pastoral was particularly prevalent in the nineteenth century, replacing

²⁰ See Linda Siegel, *Caspar David Friedrich and the Age of German Romanticism* (Boston: Branden Press, 1978); Frederick C. Beiser, *The Early Political Writings of the German Romantics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996); ed. Nicholas Saul, *The Cambridge Companion to German Romanticism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), among others. The table in Morten Solvik, "The literary and philosophical worlds of Gustav Mahler" in *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002) further shows Mahler to have been very familiar with German literature of the early nineteenth century and its appearances in his musical works.

²¹ Julian Johnson, *Mahler's Voices: Expressionism and Irony in the Songs and Symphonies* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 208. Johnson is quoting from J.W. Smeed's *Jean Paul's Dreams* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 38.

traditional pastoral signifiers of Classical shepherds and satyrs. He writes, “[T]he protagonist was now the landscape, the woods and fields and brooks, the mountains, sunshine, moonlight, and distant vistas that formed the setting. There was a new kind of religious vision, but instead of adapting Virgil’s Golden Age as an image of the Christian heaven, these writers found God in the landscape itself.”²² Mahler’s demonstrable pantheism, the belief that God exists in nature, supports this corollary between the divine and the pastoral. Johnson again compares Mahler’s orchestration of the alto voice, harp and harmonium to Jean Paul’s identification of the *viola d’amore*, Aeolian harp and a glass harmonium as instruments that were particularly evocative of the mystical.²³ Alma Mahler reports that her husband was also familiar with and influenced by Josef von Eichendorff, whose poetry describes the landscape with a certain sense of religiosity.²⁴ The similarities between Mahler and Eichendorff’s depiction of landscape has also been discussed by Julian Johnson.²⁵ Arnim and Bretano’s *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* also display this divine view of the natural world, Mahler’s investment in those works being obvious.²⁶

Both chorale and pastoral topoi provide not only religious allusion, but one specifically located within our relationship to a larger community. The chorale, unlike other forms of

²² Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 202.

²³ Johnson, *Mahler’s Voices*, 208

²⁴ Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters*, ed. Donald Mitchell (London: John Murray Ltd, 1973), 89.

²⁵ See Johnson, *Mahler’s Voices*, 207-8.

²⁶ This has been discussed as both pantheism and *panentheism* in relationship to Mahler’s interest in Fechner. See Caroline Kita, “Jacob Struggling with the Angel” (Ph.D. diss, Duke University, 2011) and Jeremy Barham, “Mahler’s Third Symphony and the Philosophy of Gustav Fechner: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Criticism, Analysis and Interpretation.”

religious music, requires multiple voices to be realized and therefore its performance to take place in a communal setting. A similar significance appears in the use of pastoral topics and is implied in Monelle's quotation: the religious vision of the pastoral draws specifically on our relationship to the world around us. We see God symbolized in the nature that accompanies our terrestrial journey. God is to be located in our experience on Earth and not merely in the pious's imagined vision of Heaven. The pastoral signifier especially implies others beings, both human and animal; the sound of panpipes, the call of a bird, or hunting horns requires the presence of another, out in the landscape, performing. The religious, communal topics employed in the finale of Mahler's Third Symphony not only make clear the composer's sacred characterization of the *Übermensch*, but conceive of overcoming as an act that takes place within a community.

The Rest of the Trilogy

While the Third Symphony is unique in its *Übermensch* characterization, the narratives of each of the first two symphonies can also be considered in terms of what the *Übermensch* appears to have represented for Mahler; both earlier symphonies deal to some extent with ambition, overcoming, and the divine rewards of this ability. Mark Evan Bonds has compared all three symphonies to Beethoven's Ninth, noting that "each incorporates broader philosophical ideas and culminates in a transcendental finale that brings back themes from earlier movements."²⁷ The First Symphony begins the *Trilogie* with a more traditional Romantic struggle and triumph of the individual hero, while the Second takes the individual's overcoming as a model for human perseverance and its rewards. This trajectory not only reveals a history for Mahler's concept of

²⁷ Mark Evan Bonds, *After Beethoven* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 176.

benevolent ambition as it appears in the Third Symphony, but also follows a logical development from a young composer attentive to the symphonic models of the past to one more confident and established who approaches form and program, as well as the expression of philosophical ideas, in novel ways. By the end of his trilogy, Mahler uses Nietzsche's poetry as part of a narrative that is in itself something of a philosophical revelation on the meaning of life instead of couching the idea of benevolent ambition and the divine rewards of overcoming in the well-worn narrative of broken-hearted lover that appears in the First and Second Symphonies.

The music of the final movements of the first two symphonies also foreshadows the Third, whose finale features a lush expansiveness, unhurried by passion or hubris and periodically defined by pastoral topoi. The final movements of both the First and Second Symphonies also utilize topics associated with the divine, linking the three works not only in terms of ideology, but compositional techniques as well. The hymn setting of the Second Symphony's finale uses the well-established chorale topic and the tone closely resembles the meditative tone of the conclusion of the Third. The final movement of the First Symphony also uses pastoral topics similar to the Third's finale. The First Symphony's more traditional form creates the need for a final movement that balances the first, but the intensity of its opening is offset with long sections of pastoral serenity. The following section interrogates these resonances further, working chronologically.

Symphony No. 1

Mahler's First Symphony depicts the struggles of a heartbroken lover and his ultimate triumph to overcome his grief and build a new life. Mahler was urged to give the local papers a few

programmatic clues prior to the work's premiere and, in what was published in the *Pester Lloyd* as a result, the fourth movement was described as the "burial of the symphonic hero's illusions" while the finale depicts "the victory of the hero who has been beaten to the ground, but who rises anew and triumphs because he has succeeded in creating his own inner world, which neither life nor death can take away from him."²⁸ Mahler's narrative draws on the Romantic, Beethovenian aesthetic of heroic struggle and individual triumph, one that also contains a number of parallels to the idea of the Nietzschean *Übermensch*. Yet the music also expresses a benevolence alluded to by Mahler's equivalence of the *Übermensch* with the divine.

The hero's ability to create his own inner world, one that is affected by neither life nor death, is very much a Zarathustrian ideal. The ultimate aim of the *Übermensch*, the Eternal Recurrence, is only achieved when one is able to not only overcome societal restrictions, but also one's own individual instincts, should it be necessitated by a change in circumstance or perspective. It is only this approach towards existence and expectation that creates a life that one would happily live and relive eternally. Mahler himself espoused the philosophy of the Eternal Recurrence, strengthening the connection between the *Übermensch* model and the semi-autobiographical hero of the First Symphony. According to Richard Specht, Mahler proclaimed, "We all return. Life only has meaning through this certainty ... *For this reason* I have to live ethically in order to spare my returning soul some part of its journey."²⁹ The idea that neither the life one has chosen nor the possibility of death intimidates the protagonist correlates to the

²⁸ These quotations come from an article written by Kornél Ábrányi for the *Pester Lloyd* in 1888. While I have not been able to find a copy of the article in full, portions are quoted in Henry-Louis de la Grange, *Mahler: Volume One*. (Garden City, New Jersey: Double Day & Company, Inc, 1973), 746.

²⁹ Richard Specht, *Gustav Mahler* (Berlin/Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1913), 73.

achievement of the *Übermensch*. Yet the narrative is also encouraging and sympathetic. The protagonist is not an infallible figure immune to emotion and failure; instead he wrestles with one of the most essentially human struggles, to which listeners can broadly relate. His ability, therefore, to overcome his disappointment and “rise anew” serves not as a tale of superhuman achievement, but one that is rather portrayed as possible for any heart-broken lover.³⁰ Mahler’s particular portrayal of the individual’s ability to overcome in relationship to a hymn concerning resurrection again links overcoming with the divine.

By using Constantin Floros’s analysis of the finale of the First Symphony as a starting point, I will demonstrate how the narrative and the music of the First’s conclusion foreshadow the *Übermensch* of the Third. Like its narrative, Mahler’s First Symphony relies heavily on established symphonic traditions. It is a four-movement work whose structure follows the conventional forms of Classical and Romantic symphonists, unsurprising for a young composer’s first foray into the symphonic genre. As such, the final movement of the First Symphony balances in tone and tempo the first movement, not yet using the approach of a slow and sensuous final movement, as in the Second and Third Symphonies. The finale was at one point titled *Dall’ Inferno al Paradiso*, a name that Floros notes implies a trajectory: the movement does not end in the key in which it began and his analysis shows how motives representing the inferno

³⁰ Despite giving the symphony the original title of “Titan” and Mahler’s admiration for Jean Paul, according to Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Mahler did not name the symphony after the hero of Jean Paul’s novel but rather that he intended only to depict “a powerfully heroic individual, his life and suffering, struggles, and defeat at the hands of fate.” Quoted in Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years*, 225.

and paradise intersect in order to tell the finale's story.³¹ Mahler described the final movement to Bauer-Lechner in the following way.

The last movement, which follows the preceding one without a break, begins with a horrible outcry. Our hero is completely abandoned, engaged in a most dreadful battle with all the sorrow of this world. Time and again he—and the victorious motif with him—is dealt a blow by fate whenever he rises about it and seems to get hold of it, and only in death, when he has become victorious over himself, does he gain victory. Then the wonderful allusion to his youth rings out once again with the theme of the first movement. (Glorious Victory Chorale!)³²

Floros's analysis characterizes the exposition (mm. 1-253) as being entirely in the inferno, despite the "Secondary section" in D-flat major, which is song-like. In the development (mm. 254-457) the "victorious" motive (Example 4.3) appears twice but is unable to yet obtain its ultimate success. The first instance is quiet and fleeting. The motive is played *pianissimo* in the trumpets. Its second entrance at measure 370 is more successful as it is followed by a portion of a D major "Chorale theme" that will ultimately conclude the movement. In the recapitulation (mm. 458-731) the motive is finally truly victorious in measure 631 as it ushers in the final, glorious measures of the movement. The "Chorale theme" that, according to Floros, represents paradise brings the symphony to a close.

³¹ This movement title was part of the concert notes that accompanied the Hamburg performance of the First Symphony. Floros cites a facsimile of the Hamburg program in Henri-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Volume One*, 47.

³² Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), 174-5. ["Mit einem entsetzlichen Aufschrei beginnt, ohne Unterbrechung an den vorigen anschließend, der letzte Satz, in dem wir nun unseren Heros völlig preisgeben, mit allem Leid dieser Welt im furchtbarsten Kampfe sehen. 'Immer wieder bekommt er—und das sieghafte Motiv mit ihm—eins auf den Kopf vom Schicksal.' wenn er sich darüber zu erheben und seiner Herr zu werden scheint, und erst im Tode—da er sich selbst besiegt hat und der wundervolle Anklang an seine Jugend mit dem Thema des ersten Satzes wieder auftaucht—erringt er den Sieg. (Herrlicher Siegeschoral!)"] Translation from Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 44.

Example 4.3 Symphony no. 1, movement IV: “Victorious” motive, mm. 296-302

The movement’s opening is tempestuous, beginning with winds and brass playing a *fortissimo* G diminished chord while the strings follow along with anxiously running eighth- and sixteenth-note sextuplets. The brass lead the music over stormy waves of tremolo scales in the strings establishing a turbulence in the primary theme area. The secondary theme area begins at Rehearsal 16, initiated by the dreamy sound of the harp. Despite its drastic change in mood, Floros does not interrogate the second theme of the finale other than to characterize it as Mahler does, “very songlike.” Not only is the new theme songlike, but the music finds itself at peace in an aural landscape indicated by pastoral topics. Quiet, *aber espressiv*, string melodies are accompanied by octave and fifth drones in the horns (see Example 4.4). While Floros only notes that this is the “Secondary section” in D-flat major, I believe it is the first glimpse of where the movement is going, *al Paradiso*. The pastoral portrayal of paradise portends the musical topics used by Mahler in the final movement of the Third Symphony. The secondary theme presages the chorale in the development and recapitulation. The octaves played in the horns as

accompaniment to the soaring string melody of the second theme are transformed into the broad victory-induced octaves of the chorale section played in all seven horn parts (Example 4.5).

Example 4.4 Symphony no. 1, movement IV: Secondary Theme Area, mm. 175-90

16

1.2. Horn *pp*

3.4. Horn *ppp* *molto rit.* *Sehr gesangvoll.*

1. Viol. *pp* *sempre pp* *aber espress.*

Viola *geth.* *pp*

Cello *geth.* *pizz.* *pp* *sempre pp*

Bass *p* *pizz.*

17 *Poco rit.*

1.2. Horn *Poco rit.*

3.4. Horn *Poco rit.*

1. Viol. *espress.*

Viola *espress.*

Cello *geth.* *espress.* *ppp*

Bass *espress.*

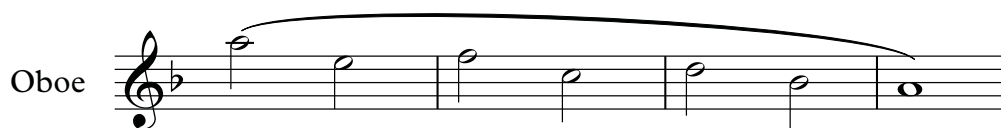
Example 4.5 Symphony no. 1, movement IV: Chorale Theme, Horn section, mm. 388-95



The relationship between the secondary theme and the chorale melody creates an explicit connection between pastoral and sacred topics. The pastoral character of the second theme is transformed into the religious quality of the chorale, the work's ultimate arrival in paradise. Floros further strengthens the connection between nature and the divine in Mahler's musical language by demonstrating that the chorale theme itself is derived from the nature theme of the first movement (Example 4.6).

Example 4.6 Floros' comparison of themes³³

Nature theme, first movement, mm. 18-21



Chorale theme (first line), Finale, mm. 388-391



The finale of the First Symphony, with its themes of overcoming and its ultimate triumph set musically with religious and pastoral topics, foreshadows not only Mahler's characterization

³³ Reproduced from Floros, *the Symphonies*, 46.

of the ability to overcome as being akin to the divine, and the divine as represented through the natural world, but to the possible musical portrayal of the *Übermensch* of the Third Symphony.

Symphony No. 2

In a letter to Max Marschall about the Second Symphony, Mahler writes that the work concerns the same hero from the program of his First. Like his earlier work, the program of the Second also depicts a trajectory towards achievement and overcoming. Mahler wrote, “It may interest you to know that it is the hero of my D major symphony who is being borne to his grave, his life being reflected, as in a clear mirror from a lofty vantage point.”³⁴ Mahler’s description of the final movement’s purpose distinctly mirrors the mission of Zarathustra and the *Übermensch*. He continues, “Here too the question is asked: *What did you live for?* Why did you suffer? Is it all only a vast, terrifying joke?—We *have* to answer these questions somehow if we are to go on living—indeed, even if we are only to go on dying! The person in whose life this call has resounded, even if it was only once, must give an answer. And it is this answer I give in the last movement.” As in the First and Third Symphonies, Mahler uses the final movement of the Second to express a philosophy for overcoming and obtaining a meaningful existence, and he draws on similar techniques to those used in the First and Third to do so. I will look at the text of the finale, particularly the verses written by Mahler, its musical setting, and the musical topics generally used in order to draw the comparison between the finales of the first three symphonies.

The last movement of the Second, the culmination of the symphony, is a setting of the

³⁴ “wenn Sie wissen wollen, so ist es der Held meiner D-dur-Symph[onie], den ich da zu Grab trage, und dessen Leben ich, von einer höheren Warte aus, in einem reinen Spiegel auffange.” See Letter to Max Marschall, March 26, 1896, *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, 149.

Klopstock hymn “Auferstehen, ja Auferstehen.” The first two verses are attributed to Klopstock while the last six were written and added by the composer. The content of Mahler’s authored verses provides insight into his understanding of the hymn’s message and the culmination of the symphony’s trajectory. Both of the Klopstock verses make clear allusion to God, while Mahler only returns to an explicit idea of the divine in the final verse; the rest of Mahler’s text focuses on the abilities of man to survive, to conquer, and to overcome. Even the return of the word “Gott” appears not as an active intervener on the part of the protagonist, but as the inevitable reward for his journey through suffering. This focus on the achievement and potential of the individual reframes the hymn in particular—as well as the genre more broadly—by suggesting that man’s ability to overcome is what will deliver him to the divine.

Mahler’s text uses phrases that echo the ideas expressed in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. The phrase “all that has come into being must perish! All that has perished must rise again!” bears a distinctive resemblance to Nietzsche’s theory of the Eternal Recurrence. In “On the Vision and the Riddle” (“Vom Gesicht und Rätsel”), Zarathustra exclaims, “Was that life? Well then! Once more!”³⁵ Other parts of Mahler’s text recall the figure of the *Übermensch* specifically. The line “With wings I won for myself, In love’s ardent struggle, I shall fly upwards” suggests not a divine endowment but a hard-won achievement of the protagonist.

The original setting of the hymn “Auferstehen, ja Auferstehen”—and the version Mahler probably heard at Hans von Bülow’s funeral—is most likely a setting by Karl Heinrich Graun published in 1758. Graun’s Baroque setting of Klopstock’s text uses traditional German

³⁵ “War das das Leben? Wohlan! Noch einmal!” Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra* (Munich: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1958), 120.

Protestant chorale techniques by setting a vernacular text in a largely note-against-note, four-part SATB texture. Given that its publication date is the same year as the publication of Klopstock's first volume of *Geistliche Lieder*, in which the hymn first appears, this is likely to have been the original setting.

Text of “Auferstehen, ja Auferstehen” from Mahler, Symphony No. 2

Aufersteh'n, ja aufersteh'n wirst du,
Mein Staub, nach kurzer Ruh!
Unsterblich Leben! Unsterblich Leben Wird,
der dich rief, dir geben.

Wieder aufzublüh'n, wirst du gesät!
Der Herr der Ernte geht
Und sammelt Garben
Uns ein, die starben.
— Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock

O glaube, mein Herz, o glaube:
Es geht dir nichts verloren!
Dein ist, ja Dein, was du geseht,
Dein, was du geliebt,
Was du gestritten!

O glaube:
Du warst nicht umsonst geboren!
Hast nicht umsonst gelebt, gelitten!

Was entstanden ist, das muss vergehen!
Was vergangen, auferstehen!
Hör' auf zu beben!
Bereite dich zu leben!

O Schmerz! Du Alldurchdringer!
Dir bin ich entrungen!
O Tod! Du Allbezwinger!
Nun bist du bezwungen!

Mit Flügeln, die ich mir errungen,
In heissem Liebestreben
Werd' ich entschweben
Zum Licht, zu dem kein Aug' gedrunken!
Sterben werd' ich, um zu leben!

Aufersteh'n, ja aufersteh'n wirst du,
Mein Herz, in einem Nu!
Was du geschlagen,
Zu Gott wird es dich tragen!
— Gustav Mahler

Rise again, yes, you will rise again,
My dust, after brief rest!
Immortal life! Immortal life
Will He, who called you, grant you.

To bloom again, you were sown!
The Lord of the Harvest goes
And gathers like sheaves,
Us, who died.

O believe, my heart, believe:
Nothing will be lost to you!
Yours, yes, yours is what you longed for,
Yours what you loved,
What you fought for!

O believe:
You were not born in vain!
You have not lived in vain, nor suffered!

All that has come into being must perish!
All that has perished must rise again!
Cease from trembling!
Prepare to live!

O Pain, piercer of all things!
From you I have been wrested!
O Death, conqueror of all things!
Now you are conquered!

With wings I won for myself,
In love's ardent struggle,
I shall fly upwards
To that light which no eye has penetrated!
I shall die so as to live!

Rise again, yes, you will rise again,
My heart, in the twinkling of an eye!
What you have conquered,
Will bear you to God!

Example 4.7 “Die Auferstehung” by Karl Heinrich Graun

116. Die Auferstehung.

Feierlich froh.

Karl Heinrich Graun. 1758.

f

1. Auf = er = stehn, ja auf = er = stehn wirst du, mein
 2. Wie = der auf = zu = blühn, werd' ich ge = fät! Der
 3. Tag des Danks, der Freu = den = trä = nen Tag! du
 4. Ach, ins Al = ler = hei = lig = ste führt mich mein

mf *cresc.*

1. Staub, nach kur = zer Ruh'! Un = sterb = lich Le = ben wird, der dich
 2. Herr der Ern = te geht und sam = melt Gar = ben uns ein, uns
 3. mei = nes Got = tes Tag! Wenn ich im Gra = be ge = nug ge =
 4. Wirt = ler dann! Lebt' ich im Hei = lig = tu = me zu sei = nes

f *cresc.*

1. schuf, dir ge = ben. Hal = le = lu = ja! Hal = le = lu = ja!
 2. ein, die star = ben! Hal = le = lu = ja! Hal = le = lu = ja!
 3. schlum = mert ha = be, er = weckst du mich, er = weckst du mich!
 4. Na = mens Ruh = me! Hal = le = lu = ja! Hal = le = lu = ja!

Friedr. Gottlieb Klopstock. 1758.

Where Graun's setting is more polyphonic, Mahler further evokes the Protestant chorale tradition by placing the main melody in the highest part of the choral texture and doubling it with a solo soprano part for the stanzas of Klopstock's text.³⁶ In addition, Mahler sets his own portion of the text not in a note-to-note setting, but uses the choir's multiple parts to further suggest a communal expression of encouragement. In particular, the difference in the approach he takes to setting Klopstock's original stanzas versus his own reinforces the communal reading as *his own* interpretation of the divine. The stanzas original to Klopstock are set in unison, with the soprano soloist largely doubling the upper voices of the choir. However, with the start of Mahler's original text at Rehearsal 39, the vocal parts utilize their plurality; the alto and soprano soloists alternate with the chorus and the choir itself even engages in a canon at Rehearsal 46. Rather than singing in unison throughout the movement, Mahler's setting of his own text implies community.

Unlike the finales of the First and Third Symphonies, the concluding chorus of the Second Symphony does not rely on the pastoral topic for its evocation of the divine, but uses a chorale that connects elements of the conclusion of the First to the tone of the finale of the Third. The finale of the Second uses text to characterize the divine image evoked in terms of encouragement, rendering the pastoral imagery of the First and Third finales unnecessary for its sense of community. The tone of the trilogy's finales also resemble one another. The two-part finale of the Second Symphony serves as a near-perfect intermediary between the conclusions of Symphonies Nos. 1 and 3. While the opening of the Second's final movement is, like the First

³⁶ See *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 4th ed., s.v. "Chorale" (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 169-170.

Symphony, forceful and brassy, recordings often split the movement into two parts with a separate track initiating the start of the “Auferstehen” chorus. Much like the start of the Third Symphony’s finale, the beginning of the chorus is so soft as to be almost imperceptible. The chorus, again like the finale of the Third, eventually gives way to soaring lyricism and cumulates with a grandiose finish that closes all three symphonies.

Eveline Nikkels has also correlated the final movement of the Second Symphony to the ideas of Nietzsche’s *Übermensch* as well as to concepts of community.³⁷ She looks specifically to the story of *Todtenfeier* for the content of this comparison. Nikkels argues that Mahler knew *Todtenfeier* well, that he sensed an affinity with the work’s main character (first called Gustav, then resurrected as Conrad), and saw a connection between the resurrection of the story and the *Übermensch*.³⁸ The moment in which Gustav becomes Conrad, the heart-broken lover becomes the iconic fighter, the moment of Resurrection and the achievement of the *Übermensch* all become one-and-the-same in the choral part of the Second Symphony’s finale. Nikkels also points out the conspicuous similarities between the verses Mahler added to the Klopstock hymn and the text of Brahms’s German Requiem. Often remarked upon for its avoidance of the traditional dogmatic content of the Mass, Brahms himself said that he would have happily called the work “A Human Requiem.”³⁹ The importance of this observation for my own argument lies in its position towards community: the sentiment that the Mass need not be only for Christians or

³⁷ Eveline Nikkels, ‘*Oh Mensch! Gib Acht!*’: *Friedrich Nietzsches Bedeutung für Gustav Mahler* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1989), 64.

³⁸ Nikkels, ‘*Oh Mensch! Gib Acht!*’, 65.

³⁹ Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. 2 (Vienna and Leipzig: Wiener Verlag, 1904), 262-263.

believers, or even Germans, but for all mankind echoes the encouraging and communally associated reading of the *Übermensch* expressed in Mahler's music.

The Pernerstorfer Circle: "Klub der Übermenschen"

The Viennese writer Rosa Mayreder published a story in 1897 titled, *Klub der Übermenschen*. It is a less-than-flattering portrayal of a fictional group of young students dangerously swept away by Nietzschean ideas.⁴⁰ Austrian historian and journalist Franz zu Solms-Laubach has provided evidence for Mayreder's awareness of the Pernerstorfer Circle and the possible modeling of her club on these members.⁴¹ Mayreder's name for the fictional club bears a real connection not only to comments by Mahler, but to the interests and writings of the Pernerstorfer Circle in general. Several of those associated with the Circle wrote about Nietzsche's concept of the *Übermensch* specifically. In his fictional short story "Überaffe und Übermensch," Richard von Kralik portrays the discussion of the *Übermensch* concept amongst a group of young university intellectuals, a detail that in itself mirrors the circumstances of the philosophical discussions of the Pernerstorfer Circle. Kralik makes the parallels even more stark through his introduction to the story of two sisters named Lia and Maria Hinter-Lechner, violinists with ties to the society. Given her proximity to the circle, her profession, and her name, as well as the fact that Natalie's own sister Ellen used to sit in with her on the conservatory orchestra rehearsals,⁴² to suggest that this is not

⁴⁰ Rosa Mayreder, "Klub der Übermenschen," *Wider die Tyrannei der Norm*, ed. Hanna Bubenicek, (Vienna: n.p., 1986), 157-186. See discussion in Franz zu Solms-Laubach, *Nietzsche and Early German and Austrian Sociology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2007).

⁴¹ Solms-Laubach, *Nietzsche and Early German and Austrian Sociology*.

⁴² Helmut Brenner and Reinhold Kubik, *Mahlers Menschen: Freunde und Weggefährten* (St. Pölten, Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 2014), 19.

a character based in Mahler and Lipiner's friendship with the violinist Natalie Bauer-Lechner is difficult to believe.⁴³ The insertion of a thinly-veiled depictions of members of the university group allows the informed reader to deduct information about the real Pernerstorfer Circle and its topics of discussion.

While other members of the Pernerstorfer Circle also made allusions to Nietzsche's Zarathustra, they are often less explicit. However, as we shall see below, the sum of these writings reveals a circle of individuals for whom the idea of the *Übermensch* was not only a powerful influence, but one that took on the strangely benevolent and encouraging character expressed by Mahler in his comparison of the figure with God.

The Politicians

Of the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, Mayreder was, at the very least, familiar with both Mahler and Victor Adler.⁴⁴ In Adler's youth, he held that Nietzschean philosophy informed his socialist political beliefs as it "incurred dual obligations of personal self-transcendence and social activism."⁴⁵ These qualities are both displayed by the figure of Zarathustra. Nietzsche's title character manages to achieve a form of self-transcendence, but instead of reveling in his achievement in solitude, he comes down from the mountain and attempts to share his wisdom with his fellow man. It seems that Zarathustra is seeking to create a community of enlightened

⁴³"Überaffe und Übermensch," Richard von Kralik Papers, Vienna Municipal Library.

⁴⁴ Solms-Laubach, *Nietzsche and Early German and Austrian Sociology*, 199.

⁴⁵ William J. McGrath, 'Student radicalism in Vienna' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2 no. 3 (1967): 183.

individuals through this philanthropy. His attempt to share his knowledge and to help people better understand life's meaning represents a kind of humanistic care for others that was central to the doctrines of left-leaning socialists like Adler.

Engelbert Pernerstorfer effectively proclaims the connection between the individual's overcoming and the achievements in community in an essay he wrote in 1882 for the *Deutsche Worte*. Describing his brand of socialism, Pernerstorfer writes, "What we are today, we owe to the work of past centuries. We are deeply grateful to the people who were able to *overcoming* [my emphasis] through struggle. To enable everyone to have human dignity, that is our goal."⁴⁶

Heinrich Braun took a slightly different approach to the application of the Übermensch to socialist politics. Braun was concerned that socialism in Austria was too concerned with the masses and not enough with the developing the individual; He believed that the individual also needs to be nurtured so that he or she is appropriately motivated to bring his talents to bear on surrounding events. Only when individuals were encouraged to nurture their own individualism would each be capable of contributing the most to his community. If socialism focused too much on the masses, it would only tamp out the unique talents of society's members that could instead help improve the life of the entire community. This political perspective bears a distinctly Nietzschean and particularly Zarathustrian stamp, and Braun's concerns for the future of Austrian socialism also appeared in his interactions with and hopes for his own progeny. Braun

⁴⁶ "Was wir heute sind, wir verdanken es der Arbeit vieler vergangener Jahrhunderte; wir danken aber mit einer Innigkeit ohne Gleichen unserem Volke dafür, das es in schwerem Ringen das Überkommene getreulich aufgenommen und wieder auf uns gebracht hat." Pernerstorfer, "Nationale Solidarität," *Deutsche Worte: Monatshefte* 2, no. 18 (16 Sept 1882).

told his son Otto that everything “depends on the will that shapes things”⁴⁷ and proudly described his son, who demonstrated a “splendidly bold manifestation of *Individualität*.”⁴⁸ According to Braun, his son had become “the ‘fulfilment of my dream of a man of noble being (*Adelsmensch*), who has to enter the struggle of life in magnificent armour, certain of his strengths and sure of victory, whether he triumphs or succumbs.’”⁴⁹ These words bear a striking resemblance to Mahler’s description of the hero in the First Symphony and to Zarathustra’s *Übermensch*.

The term “individuality” appears frequently in fin-de-siècle writing and Peter Altenberg’s essay “Individualität” is demonstrative of yet another connection between the term’s use in fin-de-siècle Vienna and the aims of Nietzsche’s *Übermensch*. Altenberg’s essay illustrates that connection:

If individuality gives one authority or even the illusion of authority on a particular matter, it is based solely on the fact that the poet is the first, a pioneer and this is simply a part of the natural development of all human beings. To be the “*only one*” is a nothing but the random fate of an individual.

To *be the first* is everything because as a pioneer, one has a mission, acts as leader and knows that all of humanity comes after him. He has just been sent in front by God.

In all people, a gentle, sad and idealistic poet is concealed. All people will one day become refined, gentle and caring. All people carry within them the exalted heart of a poet.

⁴⁷ “von dem gestaltenden Willen hängt alles ab.” Julie Braun-Vogelstein, *Ein Menschenleben: Heinrich Braun und sein Schicksal* (Tübingen: R. Wunderlich, 1932), 370.

⁴⁸ Braun-Vogelstein, *Ein Menschenleben*, 374-5.

⁴⁹ “Und Ottochen kehrt mit Dir zurück, mein einziges Kind, die Erfüllung meines Traumes von Adelsmenschen, der in herrlicher Rüstung und sicherer Kraft in den Lebenskampf ziehen soll, seines Sieges gewiss, mag er äußerlich triumphieren oder unterliegen.” See Braun-Vogelstein, *Ein Menschenleben*, 394. Translation in R. Hinton Thomas, *Nietzsche in German Politics and Society: 1890-1918* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1983), 33.

The poet is not the “*only one*.” If he were, he would be worthless, a freak. He is the first. He feels it and knows that others will follow because they carry so much buried in their souls. [...]

True individualism is to be alone merely by being ahead in terms of what the others must all later become.⁵⁰

The proximity of all these figures is sweetly illustrated at Vienna’s Cafe Central, where Adler was a frequent guest and Altenberg’s patronage is memorialized by his smiling statue, which now greets visitors and tourists.

Heinrich Braun’s wife also saw a fluid interchange between Nietzschean values of individualism and socialist political ideology. Lily Braun was a prominent Nietzschean feminist and active member of the German Social Democratic party, who once declared, “Socialism is the necessary precondition for individualism just as much as individualism must be the necessary complement to socialism.”⁵¹ She was as inspired as her husband by the role of the individual against the crowd, which she saw as a responsibility of humankind, believing that society benefitted most when selfhood was appreciated and encouraged.⁵² While on a Socialist party visit

⁵⁰ “Denn insofern eine Individualität nach irgend einer Richtung hin eine Berechtigung, ja auch nur den Schein einer Berechtigung hat, darf sie nichts anderes sein als ein Erster, ein Vorläufer in irgend einer organischen Entwicklung des Menschlichen überhaupt, die aber auf dem naturgemäßen Wege der möglichen Entwicklung für alle Menschen liegt! Der ‘Einzige’ sein ist wertlos, ein armselige Spielerei des Schicksals mit einem Individuum. Der ‘Erste’ sein ist alles! Denn er hat eine Mission, er ist eine Führer, er weiß, die ganze Menschheit kommt hinter ihm! Er ist nur von Gott vorausgeschickt! In *allen* Menschen liegt ein zarter, trauriger, Ideale träumender Dichter tief verborgen. *Alle* Menschen werden einst ganz fein, ganz zart, ganz liebevoll sein, und die Natur, die Frau, das Kind, mit allen Zärtlichkeiten lieb haben eines exaltierten Dichterherzens. Der Dichter ist nicht der ‘Einzige.’ Dann wäre er wertlos, ein Seelen-Freak! Er ist der ‘Erste.’ Er fühlt es, er weiß es, daß die anderen nachkommen, weil sie bereits in sich verborgen die Keime seiner eigenen Seele tragen! [...] *Wahre Individualität ist, das im voraus allein zu sein, was später alle, alle werden müssen!*” See Peter Altenberg, “Individualität,” *Die Wiener Moderne*, ed. Gotthart Wunberg and Johannes J. Braakenburg (Stuttgart: Universal-Bibliothek, 1981), 424-435. Translation by Oisín Woods.

⁵¹ Quoted in Steven E. Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany: 1890-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 174.

⁵² Julie Vogelstein-Braun, *Lily Braun: Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 1, *Lily Braun: Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin: H. Klemm, 1923), 34.

to England, Braun concentrated specifically on Nietzsche's ideas including "the will to power, the highest possible development of *Persönlichkeit*, and the Superman as the goal of mankind."⁵³

In her memoirs, Lily Braun provides a detailed explanation of how she reconciled the Nietzsche who championed master morality and scorned slave revolts with a beacon for the Socialist cause. Braun writes,

All of [Nietzsche's] great ideas live within us [the Socialists]. The urge to *Persönlichkeit*, the revaluation of values, the affirmation of life, the will to power. We need only seize these glittering weapons from his armory. And we ought to do it. With the goal of the greatest happiness for the largest number of people—in this we all believe—we will create a society of proud citizens. And do you not sense the spirit of negation in everything that is alive and wishes to move forwards. Art and Literature, science and politics all state their opposition to the past that seeks to persist as the present. That which is false to you—deference, humility, bowing to fate, being disobedient to the self while obeying authority appears to us now as a weakness as well as an injustice. The belief in a God-given order where the servile classes are impoverished while those in power are wealthy has already been destroyed far outside the limits of this party. All of this belief which we have consciously or unconsciously rid ourselves of now armors the giant of the reactionary movement. One thousand and nine hundred years ago Christian morality became dominant over the pagan world. The Renaissance and the Revolution struggled vainly against it. —The time was not yet ripe. But today it is. Socialism has paved the way for it. Were its flag to be fully unfurled all would swarm towards it, from the cowardly to the brave, from the weak to the strong, everyone with a young spirit who has

⁵³ Lily Braun, *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin: H. Klemm, 1923), 3:521.

a future. The way towards our goal can only be found when the idea of an ethical revolution lends its wings to the idea of social upheaval...⁵⁴

Braun's recollections demonstrate how liberal politicians believed the development of a more sophisticated and liberated society did not come from the transformation of a single individual, but that part of the success of achieving the status of the *Übermensch* was the Zarathustrian impulse to impart one's wisdom to the rest of society. Fin-de-siècle leftist political associations in both Austria and Germany not only reconciled Nietzsche with socialism, but used his writings as a model for benevolent political aspirations. The religious portrayal of Mahler's *Übermensch* functions in the same way as the encouragement of the individual in the Brauns and Adler's socialist politics: individuality is valuable and should be fostered so that all individuals can achieve the best version of themselves, encourage their peers to do the same, and in so doing create a more authentic and better served community.

⁵⁴ "Alle seine großen Ideen leben in uns: der Trieb zur Persönlichkeit, die Umwertung aller Werte, das Jasagen zum Leben, der Wille zur Macht. Wir brauchen die blitzenden Waffen aus seiner Rüstkammer nur zu nehmen, —und wir sollten es tun. Mit dem Ziel des größten Glücks der größten Anzahl,—an das ich glaubte wir Sie alle,—schaffen wir eine Gesellschaft behäbiger Kleinbürger . . . Und spüren Sie den Geist der Verneinung nicht in allem, was heute lebenskräftig ist und vorwärts will? Kunst und Literature, Wissenschaft und Politik setzten ihr Nein der Vergangenheit entgegen, die noch Gegenwart sein will. Was ihr Lugend war,—Unterwürfigkeit, Demut, Ergebung in das Schicksal, Ungehorsam gegen sich selbst, wenn der Gehorsam gegen Obere es fordert,—erscheint uns mindestens als Schwäche, wenn nicht als Unrecht. Der Glaube an die gottgewollten Zustände von Armut und Reichtum von Herrschaft und Dienstbarkeit ist weit über die Kreise der Partei hinaus zerstört. Und mir alledem, das wir unbewusst und bewußt von uns geworfen haben, panzert sich der Riese der Reaktion. Vor neunzehnhundert Jahren unterwarf die Moral des Christentums die heidnische Welt. Vergebens hat die Renaissance und die Revolution sich gegen sie empört,—die Zeit war noch nicht reif. Heute aber ist sie es; der Sozialismus hat ihr den Boden bereitet. Wäre ihre Fahne vol entfaltet, so würden sich vor ihr die Feigen von den Mutigen, die Schwachen von den Starken sondern, und alles würde ihr zuströmen, was jungen Geistes ist, was Zukunft in sich hat. Den Weg zu unserem Ziel finden wir nur, wenn die Idee der ethischen Revolution der Idee der komischen Umwälzung Flügel verleiht. . ." See Lily Braun, *Memoiren eine Sozialistin* (Munich: Albert Langen, 1909), 535-6. Translation by Oisín Woods.

The Artists

In the archive collection of the Vienna Municipal Library is a handwritten essay by Richard von Kralik entitled “Zarathustra und Nietzsche,” in which the author connects Nietzsche’s figure with its mystical roots.⁵⁵ The name Zarathustra comes from an ancient Persian prophet, also known as Zoroaster. Kralik explains that Zoroastrianism and its teachings are the national religion of the Persians, and that Zarathustra’s arrival is one of a savior for the greater good and a champion for good over evil, truth over lie.⁵⁶ As with Mahler’s equivalence between God and the *Übermensch*, Nietzsche’s comments on good and evil and the concept of truth would lead us to surmise that he is not likely to have endorsed Kralik’s description of Zarathustra. Setting aside whether Kralik’s connection would be upheld by Nietzsche, or is even representative of the Persian prophet, the essay demonstrates how another member of Mahler’s circle drew a connection between Zarathustra and a religious ideal.

Similar subterranean connections between religion and Zarathustra can be found in Siegfried Lipiner’s work. Lipiner was also drawn to religious themes, as outlined in the discussion of religion and tragedy in his paper, “On the Elements of a Renewal of Religious Ideas in the Present,” discussed in Chapter 3,⁵⁷ and a quotation from his surviving lecture specifically compares the ability to overcome to that of the divine.

The will that has absorbed divinity into itself, the willing person who accomplishes what is enormous, who overcomes [*überwindet*] his mortality, transformed into the god-man

⁵⁵ “Zarathustra und Nietzsche,” Richard von Kralik Papers, Vienna Municipal Library.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Caroline Kita’s dissertation also takes up the project of identifying the aesthetics of religious redemption in Lipiner and Mahler’s works. See Kita, “Jacob Struggling with the Angel.”

by struggling with himself, the willing person who, suffering, conquering, beholding the prize of victory, the approaching peace—who is man, intercessor, and god all at once, him do I see in the tragic hero, I see lost divinity rising again [*auferstehen*] in tragedy. Tragedy is religion, and in the presence of tragic art man becomes religious. For in tragic art he sees himself, see how he negates reality and as phenomenon joyfully passes away—joyfully, for precisely in this passing away, and only in it, does he feel what cannot pass away, and as a man dying away, he feels his resurrection as God.⁵⁸

Not only does Lipiner's depiction of the overcoming intersect with divine imagery, but this excerpt further connects the idea of the *Übermensch* to each of Mahler's symphonic finales through his description and specific use of the term "auferstehen," to rise up.

While Lipiner does not explicitly discuss Zarathustra or the *Übermensch* in any of his surviving writings, Kita has noted that both Zarathustra and Abel, the protagonist of Lipiner's drama *Adam*, perform a midnight song. Abel's midnight poem calls upon God to give him hope, but conjures up an image of a man seeking an absent, unreachable God. By contrast, Zarathustra's "Midnight Song" expresses concern for mankind and contains the outline for the Eternal Recurrence, advice for man to live the most fulfilling life for himself—one not led in service to God or according to the expectations of a community. Abel's midnight poem seems to request the advice expressed in Zarathustra's and Zarathustra's eternal recurrence provides a credo for the meaning Abel is seeking. As the member of the Circle closest to Nietzsche, Lipiner's use of this particular genre and the way in which the two poems fit together makes it difficult to suggest that there is not meant to be a connection between Lipiner's Abel and Nietzsche's Zarathustra.

⁵⁸ Siegfried Lipiner, "Über die Elemente einer Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart," 10-11. Translation from Stephen Hefling, "Siegfried Lipiner's On the Elements of a Renewal of Religious Ideas in the Present" in *Contextualizing Mahler*, ed. by Erich Wolfgang Partsch and Morten Solvik. (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2011).

Abel's Midnight Prayer

Tritt aus dem Dunkel,—sag', dass du hier bist,
Dass nicht so einsam das Herz in mir weine,
Lass mich dich schauen, wenn du bei mir bist,
Nimm meine Hand, Herr,—reich' mir die deine.

Denn alle Lichter des Himmels entschwinden,
Schauerlich schweigt die schlafende Herde,
Fernes Gestöhn in den schwellenden Winden,
Fliegendes Laub weht über die Erde.

Lass deine Stimme, lass Antwort mich hören:
Siehe, das Leben gabst du uns Allen,
Musst du denn Alle wieder zerstören?
Ist denn nicht Einer dir zu Gefallen?

Ach, und ist Jedem sein Ende beschieden,
Magst doch mit eigener Hand sie verderben!
Kann es nicht sein, dass sie blühen in Frieden,
Sage, muss Eins durchs Andere sterben?

Hast du dem Vogel den Atem gegeben,
Ihn zu ersticken im Rachen der Schlange,
Nimm meinen Atem, o nimm mein Leben!
Bang ist mir, Herr, o traurig und bange!—

Oder ist Torheit vor dir mein Grämen, —
Der du so hoch über Sternen ragest,
Weisst du mir Trost, mich ganz zu beschämen:
Sag' ihn! dir glaub' ich, was du auch sagest!

Wolken zerteilst du, Windhauch stillst du,
Pochen des Herzens findet dein Kommen, —
Hast mich vernommen—und reden willst du:
Rede! rede! wenn du vernommen!

Aber du schweigst,—und es wölket sich wieder;
Nimmer wohl sprichst du zu Meinesgleichen, —
Nicht auf die Erde steigst du hernieder,
Und in den Himmel kann ich nicht reichen.

Step out of the darkness, —say that you're here,
That my heart does not cry so alone,
Let me see you, if you're with me,
Take my hand, God,—give me yours.

For all the lights in heaven vanish,
Hauntingly the sleeping flock keeps silent
Far off groans in the swelling wind,
Flying foliage floats over the earth.

Let me hear your voice, your answer:
See, you gave us all life,
Must you then destroy them all again?
Is there not one who pleases you?

Ah, and is everyone allotted their end,
Do you yet wish to blight them with your own hand!
Can they not flourish in peace,
Tell me, must one die through others?

Have you given the bird its breath,
Just to choke him in the throat of the snake,
Take my breath, oh take my life!
I'm afraid, Lord, oh sad and afraid!—

Or is my grieving before you folly,—
that you soar so high over the stars,
Do you know my consolation,
Tell him! I believe you, what you also say!

You dissipate clouds, you silence the wisps of the
wind,
The throbbing of the heart finds your Coming,—
Have you heard me—and do you wish to speak:
Speak! speak! if you heard!

But you are silent, and it becomes cloudy again;
Indeed, you never speak to my kind.
You do not descend to the earth
and I cannot reach the heavens.

This places Zarathustra and the teachings of the Übermensch as the answer to Abel's prayer to the divine: "God! Or if you like, the *Übermensch*!"

Zarathustra's Midnight Song⁵⁹

O Mensch! Gib acht!
Was spricht die tiefe Mitternacht?
»Ich schlief, ich schlief—
Aus tiefem Traum bin ich erwacht:—
Die Welt ist tief,
Und tiefer als der Tag gedacht.
Tief ist ihr Weh—,
Lust—tiefer noch als Herzeleid:
Weh spricht: Vergeh!
Doch alle Lust will Ewigkeit—,
—will tiefe, tiefe Ewigkeit!«

O man, take care!
What does the deep midnight declare?
"I was asleep—
From a deep dream I woke and swear:
The world is deep,
Deeper than day had been aware.
Deep is its woe;
Joy—deeper yet than agony:
Woe implores: Go!
But all joy wants eternity—
Wants deep, wants deep eternity."

Outside the Circle: Contemporary Visions of the *Übermensch*

Richard Strauss

Although the Pernerstorfer Circle were some of Nietzsche's earliest readers and enthusiasts, by the end of the nineteenth-century, other thinkers and artists were also engaging with Nietzsche's concepts. Any discussion of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*'s influence on music in fin-de-siècle Vienna would be remiss if it did not look at Richard Strauss's tone poem by the same name. Written in 1896, the same year as Mahler's Third Symphony, Strauss based his work on portions of one of Nietzsche's most famous books. Given the close timing of the two works and the friendship of the men behind each work, it is imperative to take a moment to compare them.

Strauss's depiction of the same Nietzschean character is quite different from the incarnations of the *Übermensch* addressed by Mahler and his circle. According to Charles Youmans, Strauss looked initially to Nietzsche as an alternative to the ideas he had come to find unsatisfying in Schopenhauer's philosophy. Nietzsche's affirmation of the Will and his encouragement of individualism was something Strauss found supremely attractive. Strauss also

⁵⁹ English translation by Walter Kauffmann.

identified with Nietzsche's rejection of the metaphysical in favor of the concept of physicality and its limitations.⁶⁰ Finally, Strauss's antidemocratic tendencies were mirrored in portions of Nietzsche's writings, a fact he told Cosima Wagner he found "highly congenial."⁶¹

Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* exemplifies the encouragement of the Will, the ability of those naturally superior to overcome societal constructs (a concept that might be read as antidemocratic), and the limits of physicality. Whereas Mahler's *Übermensch* left no creature behind in his pursuit of greater self-understanding, Strauss's tone poem deviates from this philanthropic impulse and focuses instead on a narrative of individual striving in the form of a common Straussian trope: the tragic hero.

Instead of reflecting the exact details of Nietzsche's text, John Williamson writes that Strauss's tone poem,

is a fragmentary overlay to another narrative, which can be described crudely as "Dawn (of man and also the individual), encounter with nature and religion, awareness of further longings, of joys and passions and their transience in the grave, awareness and rejection of the scientific life, the overcoming of disgust at man and of man himself, and the coming of the Superman (who knows the Eternal Recurrence) in dance and song."

Much like Strauss' other tone poems of this period, *Till Eulenspiegel*, *Don Quixote*, and of course *Ein Heldenleben*, the narrative expressed is that of a hero's development. What Williamson's

⁶⁰ In a letter to Rösch, Strauss praised Nietzsche's rejection of the metaphysical in favor of objectivity, though he acknowledged that "over such objectivity the first trail-blazer, Nietzsche, had gone insane." See Charles Youmans, *Richard Strauss's Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition: The Philosophical Roots of Musical Modernism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 82-3. Nietzsche did reject the idea of a duality between body and spirit, settling only for the limitations of one's physical existence. In section 7 of the first essay of the *Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche compares the merits of the knightly-aristocratic class to that of the priestly-noble class, focusing on the physical abilities of one over the other.

⁶¹ Youmans, *Strauss's Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition*, 93.

description omits is the tragic nature of this heroic narrative, that the *Übermensch* must be constantly overcoming in order to maintain his existence as such.

Musically, Strauss's tone poem provides a contrast to Mahler's symphony. What Strauss presents is not a collection of teachings garnered from multiple perspectives, but a more-or-less straightforward narrative built largely on a kind of musical physicality, that is blatant pictorial representation in the music. As Williamson has outlined, Strauss' musical physicality is typically aligned with the emotions or imagery of the *Zarathustra* passage he is referencing. This begins with the rising sun Zarathustra seeks to imitate. The opening's ascending horn line and forceful brass and timpani elicit the sun's tremendous growth over the horizon. In another example, "Das Grablied," Zarathustra describes a journey across the sea to the graves of his youth. Strauss's music under the same heading conjures the imagery of ominous swelling seas.⁶² In "Das Tanzlied" Zarathustra and his disciples come across a group of dancing maidens in the forest. While the disciples dance, Zarathustra sings a "mocking-song on the Spirit of Gravity." In this section of the tone poem, Strauss evokes Zarathustra's song with the solo violin and dancing with turning figures in the orchestra.

The hero of Strauss's narrative wrestles with a number of obstacles, including the conflict between human desire and physical limitation, which is mirrored by the work's central tonal conflict: B and C. In their descriptions of Strauss's tone poem, Hans Merian and Arthur Hahn identify a number of recurring themes which are used to specifically to illustrate the narrative of

⁶² John Williamson, *Also sprach Zarathustra* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 59.

the individual's struggle and so represent another aspect of Strauss's musical physicality.⁶³ In addition to the employment of these motives to blatantly depict a specific narrative, many of these connote physical sensations or impulses only felt within the individual, particularly Faith, Disgust, Dread, Passion, and Longing. With these themes especially, Strauss uses his tone poem to build a vivid depiction of the *individual's* experience of heroic striving against the struggles of existence.⁶⁴

Zeitlin, Herzl and Buber

While Strauss's depiction of Nietzsche's Zarathustra is more aligned with the individualistic image of Nietzsche's blonde beast that emerged after the Second World War and largely prevails in the modern imagination, the benevolent and religious reading of the *Übermensch* seen in the Pernerstorfer Circle was not limited to the students of the University of Vienna. As Aschheim demonstrates, Nietzsche's writings were frequently utilized by religious groups to reinvigorate fading flocks. One such redemptive version of the *Übermensch* can be seen in the writings of certain Jewish intellectuals of Mahler's generation, including Hillel Zeitlin, Theodor Herzl, and Martin Buber.

⁶³ See Hans Merian, *Richard Strauss' Tondichtung Also Sprach Zarathustra: Eine Studie über die Moderne Programmsymphonie* (Leipzig: Carl Meyer, 1899) and Arthur Hahn, *Richard Strauss, Also Sprach Zarathustra* (Frankfurt a.M.: H. Bechhold, 1897).

⁶⁴ Nietzsche does make distinct differentiations between the individual and the herd. "Alongside this goes a variety of dark references to the herd that extend to a consideration of slavery; here is the dark side of Nietzsche's teaching with a vengeance. While the view that Nietzsche was a prime originator of fascism is clearly untenable, the more refined charge--the aesthetic similarity to fascism of his approach to the individual and the working class whose enslavement had made the modern individual possible--is a weighty one. It is hardly surprising that Strauss found his 'anti-democratic' leanings reinforced by reading Nietzsche." See Williamson, *Also sprach Zarathustra*, 26.

Zeitlin was born in 1871 in a Russian governorate adjacent to the Habsburg empire, what is now Karlin, Belarus. He died in the Holocaust at Treblinka and is the most religious figure considered in Jacob Golomb's book *Nietzsche and Zion*. More of a territorialist than a Zionist, he believed in the gathering of Jewish exiles away from Palestine and resettling them in any number of places. He preferred a "history-free" location for the resettlement of the Jewish people because it would free them from the burden of tradition and "therefore symbolized the Nietzschean philosophy of life."⁶⁵ He also wrote the first book-length monograph about Nietzsche in Hebrew, in which he sought to justify the interest of religious men in such a staunch atheist. In his monograph, Zeitlin characterized the essence of Nietzsche's writings as "religious enthusiasm and religious poetry."⁶⁶ Zeitlin's writings reveal that for him, Nietzsche's *Übermensch* represented not a godless, self-interested figure, but a beacon of authenticity and confirmation of one's true self in the face of external pressures.

Golomb writes, "Every stage in Zeitlin's life was a lived experience that reflected Nietzsche's attitude: in order to attain full personal authenticity, you must overcome in yourself what is not you."⁶⁷ The *Übermensch* represented a form of personal authenticity that spoke to Zeitlin, which became a form of religion. The *Übermensch* becomes an equivalent of the Almighty because of its unique ability to be completely true to himself. Zeitlin's own writings confirm this interpretation of his reading of Nietzsche. In his second and final essay on

⁶⁵ Jacob Golomb, "Hillel Zeitlin: From Nietzsche *Übermensch* to Jewish Almighty God," in *Nietzsche and Zion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 190.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Golomb, "Hillel Zeitlin," 207.

⁶⁷ Golomb, "Hillel Zeitlin," 194.

Nietzsche, Zeitlin repeatedly writes of “Nietzsche’s religious feeling,” while in his autobiography, he wrote that the “so-called absolute heretics [Schopenhauer, Nietzsche] brought me closer to my own inner selfhood.”⁶⁸ Zeitlin also quoted approvingly Nietzsche’s recurring motto from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, that “man is a thing that must overcome himself.”

Theodor Herzl, seen by many as the father of Zionism, was born in Pest in the Habsburg Empire. While Herzl was close to the Pernerstorfer Circle, he was not a member, participating instead in the more eclectic *Akademische Lesehalle*, which include a mixture of German, Slav, Hungarian and Jewish students. Herzl’s writings provide another example of this redemptive interpretation of the *Übermensch* amongst Jewish intellectuals of Mahler’s generation. His ideal of the “new Jew,” written about in *Altneuland*, also resembles the Nietzschean *Übermensch*; the liberation of returning to Zion meant that the “new Jew” would be able to return to his most authentic self, control his own destiny, and “freely shape the course of his life and the history of his people.”⁶⁹

Nietzsche permeated the larger Jewish intellectual community through an essay by Martin Buber titled “Jüdische Renaissance” in the Berlin periodical, *Ost und West: Illustrierte Monatsschrift für Modernes Judentum*, which called for a return of Jewish creativity based in part on Buber’s reading of *Birth of Tragedy*.⁷⁰ Buber was also influenced by Nietzsche’s *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. He first read the work at the age of 17 and, like Zeitlin, was moved to make it

⁶⁸ Ibid, 194.

⁶⁹ Jacob Golomb, “‘Thus Spoke Herzl’: Nietzsche’s Presence in Theodor Herzl’s Life and Work,” in *Nietzsche and Zion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 25.

⁷⁰ Martin Buber, “Jüdische Renaissance,” *Ost und West* 1 (1901): 7-10.

available to a broader audience, translating the first part into Polish. Buber also turned to Nietzsche's Zarathustra as a model for personal authenticity, much the way Nietzsche used Schopenhauer as a model in "Schopenhauer as Educator."⁷¹ However, Buber was a notorious pacifist, making his admiration for Nietzsche and Zarathustra a similar dilemma to that of Mahler's equation of the *Übermensch* with God; Zarathustra is a warrior who declares his love for his "brethren in war!" However, Golomb argues, rightly I believe, that this war need not be a physical violent war, but might very well refer to the internal struggles we experience, such as the struggle to overcome. Much like Mahler's own characterization of his fraught search for belonging, Golomb writes, "Such internal wars were familiar to Buber, who during his life was immersed in a struggle to overcome his multi-marginality and to attain solid personal identity, 'unity,' sense of 'belonging,' and authenticity."⁷²

Each of these men were key figures of the Zionist movement, who attempted to rethink and rebuild a sense of Jewish community. Zeitlin argued that personal authenticity was the most important element of any religion as it brings us closer to God and used the *Übermensch* as a model for this expression of individualism. Theodor Herzl's "new Jew," a figure liberated in Zion to be their authentic self also bears a striking resemblance to Zarathustra's *Übermensch*. Buber, too, bases his vision of personal authenticity and the return of Jewish artistry on Nietzsche's Zarathustra. These men not only understood Nietzsche's concept of the *Übermensch* in a similar way to the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, as a benevolent and encouraging

⁷¹ Jacob Golomb, "Martin Buber's 'Liberation' from Nietzsche's 'Invasion,'" in *Nietzsche and Zion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 162.

⁷² Ibid, 171.

figure for personal authenticity, but also as one that promotes a communal rejuvenation—in the case of Herzl, Buber and Zeitlin, the Jewish community.

What accounts for the difference between the reception of Nietzsche by Richard Strauss and the fin-de-siècle thinkers beyond Mahler's immediate circle? The answer lies, I believe at least in part, in the differing identities of Strauss and the Zionists. The former was comfortably German and Christian, born in Munich to a family of court musicians. It is difficult to imagine that these elements of his identity ever gave him cause to question his place in society. While the Zionists, by contrast, were at a loss for a sense of belonging. Zeitlin, Buber and Herzl can all be considered, to some extent, border Jews or *Grenzjuden*. Golomb uses this term to describe Jewish intellectuals who found themselves caught between identities, thinkers that were no longer religiously observant Jews but were not completely assimilated into the German or Austrian culture of their surroundings.⁷³ For these individuals, Nietzsche had a particular appeal. As Golomb writes, "Both the marginality of the *Grenzjuden*, and Nietzsche's congeniality to the need for personal authenticity aroused by this marginality, contributed to the irresistible attraction his works has [sic] for these Jews."⁷⁴ The relationship between the identities of Mahler and his peers to their reception of Nietzsche will be explored further in the final chapter.

Mahler's characterization of the *Übermensch* is demonstrative of how many of his peers saw the Nietzschean figure, as a benevolent and encouraging deity. Zarathustra's actions suggest that his

⁷³ Jacob Golomb, "Nietzsche and the Marginal Jews," in *Nietzsche and Jewish Culture* (London: Routledge, 1997), 158.

⁷⁴ Golomb, "Nietzsche and the Marginal Jews," 158.

teachings were not only intended for a certain superior few, but were available and applicable to communities as a whole, and the *Übermensch* therefore served as a promising beacon for many young men. Zarathustra's *Übermensch*, like God, is the answer to the question of how to achieve a fulfilled existence and how one should interact with their neighbors. Like the Christian God, his teachings are available to anyone who seeks them. Zarathustra also encourages the pursuit of our most authentic self, and this promotion of personal authenticity can be correlated to our creation in God's image; embracing all elements of our identity honors our Creator.

Mahler's use of established musical topoi in his depiction of the *Übermensch* evokes religious imagery and confirms the God-like equation he makes in the letter to Mincieux. While he only uses the term "*Übermensch*" to describe the finale of the Third Symphony, the work's narrative of struggle to uncover life's meaning and its final attainment through a form of self care that imitates the divine, was not a new trajectory for Mahler. Themes of encouragement, overcoming and attaining the most fulfilling existence also appear in the First and Second Symphonies, suggesting that Mahler felt strongly about this philosophy for an extended period in his youth. Mahler's identification of this narrative with the Nietzschean *Übermensch* connects lasting elements of his worldview—what we can gather from examining his musical works—to the contemporary receptions of Nietzsche.

CHAPTER 5: Embracing the World through Plural Voices

Julian Johnson writes that “Mahler’s music speaks with many voices, even within the same movement. Music that appears to be solemn or heartfelt one moment is suddenly ironic or brash the next.” He asks, “how do we make sense of this famous plurality of musical voices, and how do we understand a music that is urgently expressive and sincere one moment, but ironic and self-conscious the next?”¹ I believe this symphonic technique was based in the composer’s own appreciation of plurality. Mahler famously claimed to be “thrice homeless: as a Bohemian in Austria, as an Austrian amongst Germans, and as a Jew throughout the world. Nowhere accepted, everywhere an outsider.”² Mahler’s experience “on the margins” of society, as his friend the Czech music critic Richard Batka wrote in 1910, might account for the composer’s apparent desire to portray plural experiences in his music, even those that appear contradictory or unable to communicate with one another. In portraying a plurality of voices, Mahler often incorporates as many different experiences as possible, those of the alienated and heartbroken, the unsuccessful alongside the joyful, the parodistic with the genuine. In a famous exchange with Jean Sibelius, Mahler wrote, “the symphony must be like the world. It must be all-embracing.”³

Linking Mahler’s plural voices to his own requirement that the symphony embrace the world also mirrors an appreciation of plurality through perspectivism found in Nietzsche’s writing. The philosopher who did not believe in an absolute truth nonetheless argued that the

¹ Julian Johnson, *Mahler’s Voices: Expressionism and Irony in the Songs and Symphonies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4.

² Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Erinnerungen und Briefe* (Amsterdam, Allert de Lange, 1940). Translations are author’s own unless otherwise noted.

³ Erik Tawaststjerna, *Sibelius*, vol. 2, *1904-1914*, trans. Robert Layton (London: Faber & Faber, 2013 [1967]), 76-7.

closest we can come to understanding something objectively is through the insight of multiple sources, a view that resonates with the idea that the closest we might come to embracing the world is to give voice to as many of its occupants as possible. Other members of the Pernerstorfer Circle also appear to have assumed this Nietzschean view; the value of a variety of differing voices also aligns with some of the political philosophies of Austrian Democratic Socialists under the leadership of Victor Adler. Up until this point, it has been possible to draw quite neat connections between interpretations of Nietzschean ideas in the works of Circle members and their corresponding incarnations in Mahler's music through quotations or references. I hope this has provided me with some latitude to examine the penultimate element of Mahler's interest in Nietzsche, the value of plural perspectives. In this chapter, I will connect Mahler's multiplicity of voices to the foundations of Austrian Social Democracy, which I believe both took inspiration from Nietzschean ideas.

This chapter will first explore Nietzsche's discussions of plurality in works such as *Beyond Good and Evil*, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, and *The Gay Science*. I will also explore how scholars of Nietzsche's work have considered his discussions of pluralism and Nietzsche's writing about plurality, as well as democratic governments specifically, will be considered in terms of Adler's Social Democrats. I then will turn my attention to Mahler's unique use of plural voices in his music. In addition to contemporary scholarship from the field of musicology that characterizes this as a unique Mahlerian compositional technique, the observations of Theodor Adorno on Mahler's music will help to draw connections between the composer and the pluralism described by Nietzsche and championed by Adler and Austrian Social Democracy.

Nietzschean Plurality

In his 1934 essay “Discourse in the Novel,” Mikhail Bakhtin outlines the different styles of voice that appear in the titular genre. Bakhtin argues that the novel, more than any other literary form, is the most fertile site for the expression of multiple viewpoints through both style and genre and he identifies five different types of “speech” that appear in novels: authorial narration, stylizations of everyday narration, semiliterate narrations such as letters and diaries, extra-artistic authorial speech including moral and philosophical statements, and the individual stylistic language of characters.⁴ The very essence of the novel is derived from the interactions and conflicts between different voices and perspectives. “The style of a novel is to be found in the combination of its styles; the language of a novel is the system of its ‘languages.’”⁵ In this essay, he introduces the term “heteroglossia,” defined as the conflicting discourses of various voices and he uses Dostoyevsky as an example of this literary phenomenon, a figure that scholars have been frequently compared to Mahler.

Among them, Julian Johnson notes the similarity between author and composer, writing that Bakhtin’s observations of Dostoyevsky’s style could be equally applicable to Mahler.

Mahler’s work, like Dostoyevsky’s, might be seen as responding to “the objective complexity, contradictoriness and multi-voicedness” of the society in which he lived. One aesthetic manifestation of this in Dostoyevsky’s work is the frequent occurrences of paired doubles, presented as simultaneity of opposites. [...] Mahler’s music may often be read productively as just such a conversation “with his own double, with the devil, with his own alter ego, with his own caricature.”⁶

⁴ Mikhail Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel” in *Dialogic Imagination* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 262.

⁵ Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel,” 262.

⁶ Johnson, *Mahler’s Voices*, 198.

Johnson continues, “Mahler’s symphonies surely come close to Bakhtin’s idea of the novels defined by ‘a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even a diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized.’” Mahler’s juxtaposition of contrasting styles and genres is a unique compositional technique and has been compared to a variety of writers, Dostoyevsky, Flaubert, and Balzac among them.

Rather than using the novel as a model for Mahler’s plural voices, Johnson argues that other literary genres might be more appropriate, including the fairytale, idyll or dream. These genres more easily facilitate Mahler’s narrative techniques, in which the segue between emotions or voices is abrupt. However, another model or source of inspiration might be fitting for Mahler’s exploration of plural voices, that of Nietzsche’s philosophy. Johnson summarizes Mahler’s interest in Nietzsche, providing a concise evaluation of Mahler’s relationship to the philosopher including his introduction via Siegfried Lipiner, his later rejection of Nietzschean thought according to Bruno Walter, and his comment about the symphonic conception of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* to Bernhard Scharlitt in 1906 that nonetheless demonstrates a residual admiration for the philosopher. What is not noted, however, is Nietzsche’s own appreciation of the plurality of voices and the philosopher’s unique employment of various styles in his own writings, a departure from the standard philosophical treatises and essays that preceded him.

It is not entirely clear that Nietzsche believed that possessing the closest approximation of an “objective” view was truly desirable. Nevertheless, to the extent that this desire for truth ruled Western thinking since the writings of Plato, Nietzsche argued that anything resembling such a view could only be located by seeing an object or experience from as many different positions as possible. In *The Gay Science*, Nietzsche writes,

[T]he human intellect cannot avoid seeing itself in its own perspectives, and *only* in these. We cannot look around our own corner: it is a hopeless curiosity that wants to know what other kinds of intellects and perspectives there *might* be [...] I should think that today we are at least far from the ridiculous immodesty that would be involved in decreeing from our corner that perspectives are permitted only from our corner. Rather has the world become “infinite” for us all over again, inasmuch as we cannot reject the possibility that it may include infinite interpretations.⁷

Following the publication of *The Gay Science*, Nietzsche’s philosophy dealt frequently with pluralism and the value of various contributing perspectives.

In the Preface to *Beyond Good and Evil*, the philosopher introduces his critique of the myth of truth and its beginnings with the writings of Plato. Nietzsche accuses this philosophy of “denying *perspective*, the basic condition of all life, when one spoke of spirit and the good as Plato did.”⁸ The title of the work encapsulates its effort to criticize traditional ideas of morality, acknowledging that any such concept is merely a matter of individual perspective. In Section 34, Nietzsche writes,

It is no more than a moral prejudice that truth is worth more than mere appearance; it is even the worst proved assumption there is in the world. Let at least this much be admitted: there would be no life at all if not on the basis of perspective estimates and appearances; and if, with the virtuous enthusiasm and clumsiness of some philosophers, one wanted to abolish the “apparent world” altogether—well, supposing *you* could do that, at least nothing would be left of your “truth” either.⁹

Nietzsche argues that in addition to the relativity of concrete truths, even our own conceptions of this virtue are based in our perspective. Nietzsche’s view of perspective, closely linked to some

⁷ Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, trans. by Josefine Nauckhoff (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001 [1887]).

⁸ Friedrich Nietzsche, “Preface” to *Beyond Good and Evil* (New York: Modern Library Edition, 2000), 193.

⁹ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, 236.

of his most important statements regarding the fallacy of truth, was also an essential component of his critique of both the Platonic system of philosophy and the Christian religion.

In *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche again rebuffs the idea of absolute truth and again argues that the closest we can come to any sense of objectivity is through the combination of a plurality of individual perspectives. “There is *only* a perspective seeing, *only* a perspective ‘knowing’; and the *more* eyes, different eyes, we can use to observe one thing, the more complete will our ‘concept’ of this thing, our ‘objectivity’ be.”¹⁰ Among the posthumously published fragments from the period between 1885 and 1887, Nietzsche puts his view of perspective simply, writing, “Task: to see things *as they are!* Means: to look on them from a hundred eyes, from many persons.”¹¹ I would argue that the ability to see things from a variety of perspectives or to be able to value a plurality of insights is in itself a good thing in the philosopher’s view.

In the Literature

The value of pluralism in Nietzsche’s writing is frequently considered in the secondary literature.

Alexander Nehamas has been an important contributor to the discussion of Nietzsche and perspectivism and according to his essay “Immanent and Transcendent Perspectivism in

¹⁰ Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Random House, Inc., 1989), 119. Third Essay, Section 11 -14. Although the *Genealogy of Morals* was not published until 1887, after the era of the Pernerstorfer Circle, these anti-Platonic ideals are present in all his works.

¹¹ *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 12, *Nachlass 1885-1887* (Leipzig: Naumann, 1898), 13. Here it should be noted that Mahler owned the complete works of Nietzsche and that the library donated by Alma Mahler shows that each volume was read and studied. Many statements on perspectivism also appear in *Der Will zur Macht*, a posthumous publication of fragments collected and arranged by Nietzsche’s sister, Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche. Nevertheless, given their late publication date, these fragments were not a part of the Nietzsche literature read by Mahler and Adler before 1900.

Nietzsche,” “the most fruitful way of construing Nietzsche’s immanent perspectivism is as we have been doing here, as asserting that no branch of knowledge is foundational, that no *particular* way of representing the world is privileged.”¹² Nehamas continues, “No brand of knowledge of the world, no mode of interacting with it, is privileged in constituting an accurate representation of reality as it is in itself, and which therefore allows us to specify in neutral terms the object common to all our interpretations.” Nehamas details Nietzsche’s view that every part of our experience of the world is always informed by our own perspective, even a seemingly dry and scientific phenomenon such as lightning.¹³

According to Nehamas, “Nietzsche thinks of all specifically human ways of interacting with the world together and claims that, *as a whole*, they constitute but one among many perspectives or interpretations.”¹⁴ That is to say, in addition to each individual perspective, each type of human experience and any over-arching “human perspective” that might be determined through our broad conspecific similarities is also only one view amongst many. If individuals each possess a non-privileged view of the world informed by their experiences then so too must all species, an idea that has important consequences for Mahler’s music and is discussed in the context of his early symphonies below.

Not only did Nietzsche champion pluralism in philosophical theory, but he exemplified it in his philosophical style. Breaking with traditions of essay and treatise-writing, Nietzsche complemented these well-worn methods with the use of aphorisms, narratives, and poetry, his

¹² Alexander Nehamas, “Immanent and Transcendent Perspectivism in Nietzsche,” *Nietzsche-Studien* 12 (1983): 486.

¹³ Nehamas, “Immanent and Transcendent Perspectivism,” 482

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 474.

own style of writing favoring a pluralistic turn. In the first chapter of his book, *Nietzsche: Life as Literature*, Nehamas addresses Nietzsche's "most multifarious art of style." For Nehamas, the question regarding Nietzsche's unusual style "addresses not the style of individual works or passages but the fact that he shifts styles and genres as often as he [Nietzsche] does. It addresses not so much his style but, as he puts it himself, his 'stylistic possibilities.'" Nehamas's answer to this eternal stylistic query, "is that Nietzsche's stylistic pluralism is another facet of his perspectivism: it is one of this essential weapons in his effort to distinguish himself from the philosophical tradition as he conceives it, while at the same time he tries to criticize it and to offer alternatives to it."¹⁵

Discussions of pluralism also form a central component of Richard Schacht's book on Nietzsche, which was meant to introduce members of the English-speaking analytic tradition of philosophy to a thinker who proceeds in such an extreme variety of styles, mixing detached commentary with impassioned outbursts.¹⁶ Among his opening remarks, Schacht notes that Nietzsche's philosophical style is also different in its construction on the idea of interpretation rather than fact-finding. The result of this form of philosophizing is a discussion of subjectivity and relativity of beliefs. Discussion of the value and motivations of various interpretations, the utility of certain perceived "truths," and Nietzsche's vision of a new form of philosophizing comprise a significant portion of Schacht's book and result in the view that Nietzsche calls for an "objectivity" that is based in plurality, on the contributions of as many viewpoints as possible.

¹⁵ Nehamas, "Immanent and Transcendent Perspectivism," 19-20

¹⁶ Richard Schacht, *Nietzsche* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1983).

Nietzsche's philosophical perspectivism and resulting pluralism, stylistic and intellectual, are foundational elements such that his contributions to a wide range of philosophical discussions cannot be discussed without their consideration. According to R. Lanier Anderson's entry on Nietzsche in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, "In fact, Nietzsche's commitment to pluralism helps us understand how his diverse positive values fit together. From his pluralistic point of view, it is a selling point, not a drawback, that he has many other value commitments, and that they interact in complex patterns to support, inform, and sometimes to oppose or limit one another, rather than being parts of a single, hierarchically ordered, systematic axiology."¹⁷ The French philosopher, Jean Granier, describes Nietzschean pluralism in terms of a positive evaluation of chaos. Granier writes, "When Nietzsche talks about 'chaos,' then, he means that Being is not reducible to a human ideal, whatever that may be. It is mobility itself, it is the flux of interpretations that constitute the 'world.'"¹⁸ He further cites a passage from *The Gay Science* in which Nietzsche writes, "[t]he total character of the world ... is for all eternity chaos, not in the sense of a lack of necessity but of a lack of order, organization, form, beauty, wisdom, and whatever else our aesthetic anthropomorphisms are called."¹⁹

The variety of responses to our variety of perspectives is what in and of itself creates the world in which we all exist. This "chaos," along with other facets of Nietzsche's pluralism, are reflected in both Mahler's music and the political aims of the Austrian Social Democrats. The view that a semblance of "truth" can only be located in the chaos of myriad contributions can be

¹⁷ R. Lanier Anderson, "Friedrich Nietzsche," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, March 17, 2017.

¹⁸ Jean Granier, "Perspectivism and Interpretation," in *The New Nietzsche: Contemporary Styles of Interpretation*, edited and introduced by David B. Allison (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 198.

¹⁹ Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, 109.

seen in the Social Democrats insistence on the inclusion and celebration of Austria's diverse working class in the parliamentary process and in Mahler's plural, and often conflicting, voices.

The Austrian Social Democrats

The task of connecting Nietzschean philosophy with the foundations of democratic socialism is a slippery one. After all, the philosopher wrote explicitly and disdainfully about socialism.²⁰ In his study of Nietzsche's role in German society and politics between 1890 and 1918, R. Hinton Thomas expresses what many think of when Nietzsche's philosophy is allied with socialism; in introducing the importance of Nietzsche to the socialist *Jungen* movement in Germany, Thomas writes,

This raises the question, important in this particular connection, as to how Nietzsche of all people could possibly be attractive to anyone on the left. He was, after all, a declared enemy of socialism and spoke of it with contempt. Egalitarianism of any sort was anathema to him. What he championed above all was the aristocratic principle. This might seem to rule him out of court, as far as socialists were concerned. Things, however, were not quite as simple as that.²¹

Thomas continues by adumbrating various Nietzschean positions concerning the bourgeoisie and materialism that were also commonplace among socialists. Even Nietzsche's characterization of socialism as subordinating individuality to the masses was taken on board by younger socialists who were critical of the older generation and were frustrated by their lack of urgency, creativity,

²⁰ Nietzsche often refers disparagingly to socialism. See sections of *The Gay Science*, *The Antichrist* and *The Will to Power*.

²¹ R. Hinton Thomas, *Nietzsche in German Politics and Society: 1890-1918* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1983), 3.

and individual energy—all reflections found in Nietzsche’s assessment. As Chapter 4 demonstrates, individuality in particular played an important role in fin-de-siècle socialism.

Problematic though it might be for socialist campaigns such as centralizing the means of production, Nietzschean emphasis on individualism and creativity informed new approaches within the Austrian socialist party. I believe, however, that at base it was another Nietzschean idea that was responsible for the most pronounced difference between the governance of the dual monarchy and a vision of democratic socialism: that of plurality. In Nietzsche’s writings, all experiences, and each of their individual perspectives, belong to the individual, with no group or species holding the same exact view. Christoph Cox has noted that “Nietzsche argues that the human species itself does not have a unified worldview, but rather is divided into a host of antagonistic ‘perspectives’ or ‘interpretations’: eg. master and slave, Dionysian and Christian, Homeric and Platonic, Roman and Judaic, and various hybrids of these.”²² A tenet of democratic socialism, particularly in reaction to Austrian liberalism, would be the consideration of the plurality of human experience. For Austrian Social Democrats, it was especially important to give voice to the diverse working-class individuals whose needs had to be folded into a new approach to governance.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Victor Adler’s Austrian Social Democrats campaigned for a variety of worker benefits, including an eight-hour work day and universal suffrage. While social democratic movements in other countries sought the same kinds of change, the Austrian campaign for universal suffrage in particular was an acknowledgement of the value of plurality. The Austrian constituency was uniquely more diverse than other European countries, making the

²² Christoph Cox, “The ‘Subject’ of Nietzsche’s Perspectivism” *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 35, no. 2 (April 1997): 275.

call for universal suffrage one that drew upon a more complicated mosaic of ethnic and social diversity than anywhere else.²³ The call for universal suffrage under Adler's leadership sought a voice and representation for a diverse group with diverse experiences, as Nietzsche describes in *The Gay Science*.

Although both Adler and Pernerstorfer started their political activism under the banner of pan-German nationalism, the party's growing racism and antisemitism under Georg Schönerer forced them not only to search for new political associations, but also to publicly move away from a chauvinistic view of German Austrians. Adler saw that Austria's multi-ethnic citizenry required the Social Democrats to champion the views not only of German Austrians, which Adler favored and saw himself a part, but also other ethnicities of the dual monarchy. According to Hans Mommsen's history of the Austrian Social Democrats, "In contrast to his slightly opportunist style at the beginning of the eighties, [Adler] later became fully aware of the explosive force of national thought in the Austrian multi-ethnic state; he gained a clear idea of the historically-based national sensitivity of the Czech people. As party leader he tirelessly endeavored to accommodate as far as possible the wishes of the non-German socialist groups."²⁴ According to historian Jakub Benes, Austria's first universal and direct elections, held in May 1907, "resulted in an immense victory for the Social Democratic party, the only political movement cutting across ethnic-national boundaries in a political culture increasingly riven by

²³ See Chapter 2. For detailed discussion of Adler's political campaigns, see William McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974).

²⁴ Hans Mommsen, *Die Sozialdemokratie und die Nationalitätenfrage im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat* (Munich: Europa Verlag, 1963), 123. ["Im Unterschied zu seiner noch leicht opportunistisch gefärbten Haltung am Anfang der achtziger Jahre wurde er sich der Sprengkraft des nationalen Gedankens im österreichischen Vielvölkerstaat später vollauf bewußt; er gewann eine klare Vorstellung von der historisch begründeten nationalen Empfindlichkeit des tschechischen Volkes. Als Parteiführer wird er unermüdlich bestrebt sein, den Wünschen der nichtdeutschen sozialistischen Gruppen so weit wie möglich entgegenzukommen"]

intransigent nationalism.”²⁵ Austria’s unique multinational state required that Adler not only champion the rights and views of the working class, but that he be attuned to the different needs of the pluralism of that very group.

The many voices of democratic socialism, particularly the ethnic variety of Austria’s Social Democrats, comes dangerously close to another subject of Nietzsche’s disdain: democracy, which was a frequent target of the philosopher’s criticism. However, H.W. Siemens has qualified this critique in a way that allies Nietzsche’s view with the particular political practices of the Austrian Social Democrats. Siemens shows that Nietzsche, too, is more sympathetic towards democracy when it is identified with pluralism. It is a democracy that excludes genuine pluralism that becomes an associate of tyranny.²⁶ Siemens notes that Nietzsche explores the positive contributions of democracy in two, related ways: “the first is the Greek *agon*, conceived as a regime of reciprocal stimulation and restraint among a plurality of forces or geniuses; the second is contemporary democracy, identified in *HH* [*Human, All-Too-Human*] as the site of pluralism, of resistance and emancipation from tyrannical forces.”²⁷ Several aphorisms in the section titled “The Wanderer and his Shadow” speak of democracy as a “quarantine” against tyrannical desires and a protection of modernity against the “enslavement of body and mind.”²⁸ There remains some continuity between Nietzsche’s expressed view of democracy in

²⁵ Jakub S. Beneš, *Workers and Nationalism: Czech and German Social Democracy in Habsburg Austria, 1890-1918* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017), 2.

²⁶ See H.W. Siemens, “Nietzsche’s Critique of Democracy (1870-1886),” *Journal of Nietzsche Studies* 38 (Fall 2009): 20-37.

²⁷ Siemens, “Nietzsche’s Critique of Democracy,” 23.

²⁸ Nietzsche, “The Wanderer and His Shadow” in *Human, All-Too-Human*, trans. Helen Zimmer and Paul V. Cohn (Hertfordshire, UK: Wordsworth Editions, 2008 [1878]), 496, 487-88.

Human, All-Too-Human and his earlier statements about democracy; he does not wholeheartedly endorse democracy, instead suggesting that only a democracy of the future will be able to achieve what he envisions. One way in which contemporary democracy seems to have fallen short for Nietzsche is in its inability to actually articulate a plurality of perspectives. In *Beyond Good and Evil*, Nietzsche writes that democratic governments merely become “a function of the one and only sovereign, the people,” thereby running the risk of becoming a kind of dictatorship.²⁹ Siemens writes, “It is that Nietzsche doubts—while expressing—democracy’s claim to be the site of *genuine pluralism*; and without genuine pluralism, there can be no genuine freedom for Nietzsche, no effective resistance to tyranny, be it a single genius or a singular ‘people.’”³⁰

Although socialism and Marxism generally tend towards more universal and international identities, the multiculturalism of the Austrian Socialists was such that it was a point of pride for members and noted by outside observers. In his history of socialism in the West, G.D.H. Cole writes,

For their own part, the Austrian Socialists were very proud of their party; and the greatest source of their pride was its internationalism. They liked to think of it, and to call it, a “Little International” within the wide International to which it was attached. They pointed with high satisfaction to its success in holding together the Socialists of all the national groups of which the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or rather the Austrian part of it, was composed. Within the party, as within Greater Austria, there were Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Italians, Ruthenes—representatives of all the medley of peoples subject to Austrian rule; and each group was entitled to its own national organisation within the wider unity. The Austrian party prided itself on being internationalist almost by instinct;

²⁹ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, 202

³⁰ Siemens, “Nietzsche’s Critique of Democracy,” 25.

where other parties had to learn to transcend their national limitations, it found the knowledge ready-made for it in the daily struggle.³¹

Perhaps, then, more so than other Democratic Socialists, the Austrians practiced the only kind of democracy that was acceptable to Nietzsche. The May Day worker's procession in Vienna, which exhibited a genuine pluralism amongst the Socialist Democrats, drew not merely on the idea that a single hitherto overlooked population should be given a voice, but in fact that such a population is made up of and speaks with many voices, like Mahler's music.³²

Mahlerian Plurality

Much scholarship on Mahler's music has addressed the composer's use of plural voices. The symphonies especially provide examples of contrasting emotions, experiences and narratives, and are explored in depth in Julian Johnson's book, quoted at the beginning of this chapter. What, however, motivated Mahler's pluralism? Without explicit comments from the composer or primary accounts of his inspiration by others, we might turn to the literary and philosophical influences of Mahler's time, influences that were equally felt in a new style of Austrian socialism. Mahler's use of plural voices not only imitates Nietzsche's "most multifarious art of style," but his presentation of conflicting voices also serves a pluralistic vision of society in which different, even conflicting experiences, share the stage.

To discuss Mahler's first four symphonies in terms of voice might appear to limit the discussion to movements featuring the composer's unusual, albeit limited, vocal parts: the fourth

³¹ G.D.H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, vol. 3, pt. 2, *The Second International 1889-1914* (New York: MacMillan and Co., 1956), 519

³² The details of the ethnic diversity of these voices will be explored in further detail in the final chapter.

and fifth movements of the Second Symphony, the fourth and fifth movements of the Third, and the finale of the Fourth. Yet, Mahler's instrumental music also speaks. As Johnson observes, not only do Mahler's instruments have voices, but he frequently utilizes the orchestra to throw particular instrumental voices into relief. "The idea of voice is highlighted at certain points in symphony movements by the suspension or dissolution of the collective orchestral voice. In its place, Mahler allows a single, exposed voice to come to the fore."³³ Yet this exposed voice appears alongside many others over the course of a Mahler symphony, such that the variety of voices that appear in Mahler's works undermines the idea of any one authorial telling.³⁴

Musical voice considered in the context of Mahler's symphonies refers not to an actual physical voice but to a "character" or "persona" that is expressed by the music. These "voices," often defined melodically, can appear in any individual instrument or combination thereof that directs the momentum or emotion of the music. In Mahler's works especially, these voices are many, frequently "speaking" over one another. Johnson observes that "the deployment of voices in a Mahler song, let alone a symphony, erodes the sense of an implied authorial persona behind the personae of voice and accompaniment [as Edward T. Cone proposes in the songs of other composers in his book, *The Composer's Voice*]. Instead the bewildering array of plural voices, fragmentation in a carnivalesque assortment of different materials and kaleidoscopic orchestration, makes any sense of a unitary voice elusive."³⁵ Johnson argues that Mahler's use of plural voices is not about the expression of any one sentiment or the quotation of any particular

³³ Johnson, *Mahler's Voices*, 8.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

style or composer, but rather exemplifies the weaving together of different threads of Mahler's world.³⁶ Apropos, in describing his Third Symphony, Mahler once wrote to Anna von Mildenburg, "But just try to imagine such a major work, literally reflecting the whole universe,"³⁷ a more specific version of his famous comment to Sibelius. Johnson continues, "While the division of the musical voice for expressive purpose is by no means new, the self-conscious extremes of Mahler's stylistic ventriloquy are startling. His music underlines its own theatricality, its tendency to stage itself by frequent changes of scene, character, and viewpoint."³⁸

The division of musical voice can not only represent different voices, but often depicts the conflict between the inner and outer worlds experienced by a work's protagonist. Johnson provides the reader with an example: "In 'Wenn mein Schatz Hochzeit macht,' [...] the first of the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*, a dramatic dissonance between interior lyric and external situation is presented in condensed form. The external reality of the village band playing the wedding dance music stands repeatedly in stark contrast to the internal lyrical voice of the protagonist, though both are joined by their different versions of the same material."³⁹ Such scenes also appear frequently in the composer's early symphonies. By combining distinct and contrasting musical material, the composer approaches a musical depiction of the most heterogeneous "thing" we know: the world.

³⁶ Johnson, *Mahler's Voices*, See specifically the chapter on "Plural Voices."

³⁷ Letter to Anna v. Mildenburg, 18 July 1896, *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, ed. Knud Martner, trans. by Eithne Wilkins & Ernst Kaiser and Bill Hopkins (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), 190.

³⁸ Johnson, *Mahler's Voices*, 5.

³⁹ Johnson, *Mahler's Voices*, 6.

Carolyn Abbate's writing on Mahler and voice is similarly instructive, approaching the depictions of internal and external voice from the perspective of opera studies and suggesting an operatic reading of Mahler's voices as capable of expressing both the narration of the plot and the lived experience of the protagonist. In her essay, "Mahler's Deafness: Opera and the Scene of Narration in *Todtenfeier*," Abbate outlines a distinction between phenomenal and noumenal musical worlds present in opera that also appears in Mahler's programmatic symphonies. Abbate writes specifically about the Second and its use of oscillation between "performing narration on the one hand and enacting dramatic events on the other" thus traversing a "discursive space" by sounding different *types* of voice.⁴⁰

Abbate focuses much of her discussion on the third movement of Mahler's Second Symphony. In his letter to Max Marschalk in March 1896, Mahler described the movement as follows.

When you wake out of this sad dream, and must re-enter life, confused as it is, it happens easily that this always-stirring, never-resting, never-comprehensible pushing that is life becomes horrible to you, like the motion of dancing figures in a brightly-lit ballroom, into which you are peering from outside, in the dark night—from such a distance that you can't hear the music they dance to! Then life seems meaningless to you, like a horrible chimera, that you wrench yourself out of with a horrible cry of disgust.⁴¹

The music of this movement has been interpreted in a variety of ways: Constantin Floros writes that the music depicts the scene of a brightly lit ballroom, the very music the hero is unable to hear, according to Mahler's description.⁴² Suzanne Vill suggests the inverse, that the *perpetuum*

⁴⁰ Carolyn Abbate, "Mahler's Deafness: Opera and the Scene of Narration in *Todtenfeier*" in *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 123.

⁴¹ Letter to Marschalk, 26 March 1896, *Mahler-Briefe 1879-1911*, ed. Alma Mahler (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1925), 189. For the sake of continuity with my citation of her article, I have used Abbate's translation here.

⁴² Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler III: Die Symphonien* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1985), 60-62.

mobile is not expressing the triple meter of a waltz, but the dizzying heartsickness experienced internally by the protagonist, what can be considered phenomenal music. The movement also features a quotation of Mahler's *Wunderhorn* song "Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt," in which St. Anthony futilely preaches his sermon to a school of fish. The use of a song whose topic is misunderstanding and exclusion contributes to the operatic strategy Abbate claims is at work by providing a noumenal narrative description of the protagonist's experience.

According to Abbate, the music does not depict individual events on a one-to-one correlation with the program of the work, but uses multiple voices to create an overall impression of the outsider looking in.

[The *Musik aus die Ferne*] might well be conceptualized as a *specific* representation of an event, a composing-out of "Gustav strains against the glass and hears toasts, songs, music from afar." What seems significant about the passage, however, is nothing so concrete, but rather its dispersed intimation of *otherness*. Reading such an effect in *operatic* terms, it becomes the intruding phenomenal music that breaks the body of the piece. In its effect as music "heard from outside" this moment draws to itself associations that resonate from Mickiewicz's image of the spy outside the wedding, from Mahler's recreation of that image in his program note for the third movement, to phenomenal song's intrusion as a site of narration.⁴³

Abbate dismisses the interpretation of Mahler's *Todtenfeier* as a narration of the literary tale—realized as a mapping of the text onto music—arguing that instead, like opera, the music both narrates the protagonist's heartbreak with the song quotation and enacts the protagonist's confusion and exclusion through the senseless *perpetuum mobile*. The layering of plural voices in Abbate's study of the third movement of the Second does not present the straightforward narrative of the tragic hero, as in Beethoven or Strauss, but creates the experience of the hero himself, including his experience of alienation.

⁴³ Abbate, "Mahler's Deafness," 141.

Mahler's plural voices certainly offer a unique insight into the mind (and ear) of the alienated subject, a recurring topic in his early symphonies. However, this plurality also represents a variety of distinct and independent voices that, when woven together, present a kind of realistic depiction of the world, a depiction that Mahler appears to have been seeking given his comments to Sibelius and Mildenburg. Raymond Monelle has approached the issue of voice in Mahler's music by identifying four different types that are repeatedly employed in the symphonies: the voice of the *Volk* speaking for itself as well as for nature, the voice of the Classical composer, the voice of everyday roles via musical topics, and the tragic orator. Monelle, too, relates the fractured voices of Mahler's symphonies to an attempt to depict the whole world, writing, "[t]hus the undigested trumpet calls and hunting horns, the crude march tunes, the warbling birds and shepherds' pipes, the out-of-tune fiddles, the theatrical tirades, the gentle dances, are all reflections of the many-sidedness of life."⁴⁴ In this way, Mahler's music, like Adler's politics, takes up the charge of giving voice not only to the alienated but to multiple, differing, views of society.

Generic Pluralism

A specific technique through which Mahler conjures multiple voices is his combination of genres. By drawing on the established conventions and the connections between genres and social function, Mahler's peculiar generic combinations are capable of representing multiple perspectives at once. Vera Micznik's article, "Mahler and 'The Power of Genre,'" explores the composer's use of genre to create meaning. She writes,

⁴⁴ Raymond Monelle, "Mahler and Gustav," *The Sense of Music* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 172.

It has often been pointed out that the concept of genre presupposes the sharing of some common knowledge between composer and audience. This knowledge consists not only the recognition of the purely musical characteristics of a genre, but also of a broader spectrum of attributes encoded in the musical entities, which are not originally “musical.” The codification which renders possible the recognition of most genres is often dependent upon an original association of a musical formation with a particular occasion or function. Funeral march, dance, lament, or symphony, all subscribe to this requirement: they were born of a specific purpose, corresponding to a specific social class, and even though the relationship between the occasion and the music might have originally been arbitrary, it became “natural” or conventionalized to the extent that the music bears at some level association with those given circumstances.⁴⁵

I find that these inherited signifiers of meaning allow the representation of plural voices in Mahler’s music.

As an example, in the third movement of the First Symphony, Mahler combines the genres of funeral march, dance, and folksong into one movement meant to depiction the burial of “the symphonic hero’s illusions.” Based on the social and cultural significations evoked by each of these genres, contrasting musical characters appear within a single narrative moment. Hans Redlich uses this particular juxtaposition as an example of what he identifies as a specifically “Mahlerian” compositional technique.⁴⁶ According to Redlich, the two interacting characters of Mahler’s music derive from what he has characterized as “the Hungaric-Slavonic side of [Mahler’s] character,” on the one hand, and on the other, “a decidedly German type of *Volksweise* with manifold undertones and associations with other melodies, stored up in the subconscious memory of every German.”⁴⁷ Redlich identifies the “Mit Parodie” section of the

⁴⁵ Vera Micznik, “Mahler and ‘The Power of Genre,’” *Journal of Musicology* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 121-2.

⁴⁶ See Hans Redlich, *Mahler and Bruckner* (London: J.M. Dent, 1970), 147

⁴⁷ Redlich, *Mahler and Bruckner*, 147. The author suggests with this statement the exact basis of understanding between composer and listener that Micznik is describing.

third movement as an example of Mahler's "Hungaric-Slavonic" side, yet his examples of Mahler's German folk music come from other movements and symphonies. Nonetheless, using Redlich's terms, I would like to suggest that within the third movement of the First, the use of what Mahler himself calls a *Volkswaise* (Example 5.1) is experienced as a foil to the more Slavic dance music.

Ex. 5.1 Symphony no.1, movement III: *Volkswaise* melody, mm. 85-93

The musical score for Example 5.1, Symphony no. 1, movement III, measures 85-93, is presented in a standard musical notation format. The score includes parts for the following instruments:

- 1. Fl. (Flute)
- 2. 3. Fl. (Flute)
- 1. Clar. in B. (Clarinet in B-flat)
- 2. 3. Clar. in B. (Clarinet in B-flat)
- 1. Fag. (Bassoon)
- 1. Viol. Solo (Violin Solo)
- 2. Viol. Solo (Violin Solo)
- 1. Viol. in drei gleichen Theilen (Violin in three equal parts)
- 2. Viol. in drei gleichen Theilen (Violin in three equal parts)

The score is written in the key of D major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The woodwinds (Flute, Clarinet in B-flat, Bassoon) and strings (Violins, Viola) play a melodic line with various dynamics (pp, p, p espress.) and articulations (gliss., ohne Dämpfer). The Fagott plays a rhythmic accompaniment.

Redlich's identification of these two components of Mahler's music as being allied to two different parts of his character fits the composer's own acknowledgement of being a part of a variety of cultures. If Mahler's unique upbringing allows him a Slavonic side as well as a German one, then their interaction can be compared to the interacting of two distinct cultures, and therein, two distinct experiences of the world.

Mahler's first four symphonies provide other examples of pluralism through the interaction of two different musical genres. While generic mixing was common in nineteenth-

century music, Mahler was an exemplar of the trend. Federico Celestini has written, “In the Austro-Germanic symphonic tradition, the presence of stylised folk tunes is as old as the tradition itself, if we think of Haydn, for instance. But echoes of urban popular music of the time, like marching bands, songs from operettas, and trivial dances in Mahler’s symphonic works constituted a real shock in music culture in which the symphony was considered to be the highest genre.”⁴⁸ Not only do the contrasting dances of the second movement of the Fourth Symphony provide the scherzo and trio with an element of humor, but the two genres that are called upon come from distinctly different worlds.⁴⁹ The mistuned opening fiddle of the scherzo (See Example 3.4 in Chapter 3) might again be heard as representing Mahler’s Slavic influences, while the trio section (Example 5.2) recalls a stately dance in the style Austro-German entertainment better suited to the Hofburg ballrooms than the tavern dance floor.

Ex. 5.2 Symphony No. 4: movement II, Violin melody, Trio section

Quotation of his own music also allows Mahler to elicit multiple viewpoints. While Mahler’s music typically offers a plurality of voices, in some instances, these can be read specifically as different perspectives, different observations of the same event. An example of this kind of musical perspectivism appears in the third movement of the Second Symphony.

⁴⁸ Federico Celestini, “Aesthetics of De-Identification” in *Rethinking Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 247-8.

⁴⁹ See the musical analysis of the second movement of the Fourth Symphony in Chapter 3.

Focusing again on the moment of deafness described to Marschalk, I would like to offer an alternative reading to that of Abbate. Rather than representing an internal narrative of dizzying confusion, I find Floros's hearing of the waltz itself within the movement compelling. Mahler's program note tells us he is observing a waltz and we are shown that in the music. It is its dizzying repetition that allows it to become a symbol for the protagonist's confusion, especially when complemented by the quotation of "Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt."⁵⁰ The combination of this internal drama with waltz music that genuinely belongs to the ballroom allows the listener to both be on the dance floor amidst the celebrations as well as embody the alienated protagonist, "that hungry figure out there in dark," to use Abbate's description. It allows the listener to see (or hear) the scene from multiple positions.

Eggebrecht further identifies an orchestral "scream" at measure 465 (Example 5.3) that breaks into the waltz as a depiction of the composer-protagonist's frustration with the futility of the repeating *perpetuum mobile* throughout the movement.⁵¹ The "scream" might be heard as interrupting the hero's dizzying confusion, or else an objection to the gaiety of the ballroom dance floor. The creation of an intrusion into the fabric of the broader narrative is unusual in symphonic music and one of Mahler's unique means of compositional expression. It is further realized through a number of techniques other than the use of generic coding.

⁵⁰ This is also noted in Hans-Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers* (Munich: Piper, 1982), 199-226.

⁵¹ The expression of multiple, contrasting and simultaneous perspectives in Mahler's symphonies in the form of outbursts into or out of the status quo is often a result of the subject being frustratingly unreflected in the world that surrounds him. Similarly, the youth of fin-de-siècle Vienna felt an increasing frustration at not seeing their own values and perspectives reflected in the political workings of Austrian social life.

Ex. 5.3 Symphony no. 2, movement III: "Orchestral Scream," mm. 465

116

460

1.2. Piccolo

1. 2. Fl.

1. Ob

2. 3.

1.2.3. in B Clar.

1.2. in Es

1.2. Fg. Contralg.

1. 2.

3. 4.

5. 6.

1. 2. 3. 4. Trmp. in F.

1. 2.

3. 4.

Tuba

Becken

Gr. Tr.

Tam-tam (tief.)

1. Pauke

2.

Alle Harfen vereinigt

1. Viol. geth.

2. Viol. geth.

Viola

Celli

Bässe geth.

U.E. 2933.

Montage

Raymond Knapp explores how Mahler's self-quotation evokes multiple perspectives, with an effect similar to that of film montage. By quoting early songs and thereby alluding to their original frameworks, Mahler provides a site for deducing meaning that comes from the positioning of quoted material in its new context.⁵² An example that creates the potential for expressing plural perspectives appears at the start of the First Symphony. Mahler recycles melodic material from his *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* song "Ging heut' morgen übers Feld," the setting of a poem that depicts the cycle's wayfarer heading out into the meadow as the day begins.

The first movement, meant to depict "spring sounds" according to Mahler's program, grows slowly out of shimmering pedal tones in the strings. Adorno refers to this opening as an attempt to see the world through a "threadbare but densely woven" curtain, a description that evokes an otherworldly state between sleeping and waking.⁵³ Knapp further characterizes the opening music as "mysteries of primordial nature."⁵⁴ Julian Horton uses the same terminology to describe the opening,⁵⁵ and the term's repeated use is fitting.

The opalescent pedal tones of the orchestra evoke a world that is only just developing its own consciousness. Accompanied by hunting horns in the distance, the gradual introduction of *Naturlauten* into the foreground of the movement further suggest nature's daily awakening.

⁵² Raymond Knapp, *Symphonic Metamorphoses: Subjectivity and Alienation in Mahler's Re-Cycled Songs* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2003). See especially Chapter 2 for a discussion of montage.

⁵³ Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992 [1960]), 5.

⁵⁴ Knapp, *Symphonic Metamorphoses*, 131.

⁵⁵ Julian Horton, "Cyclical Thematic Process in the Nineteenth-Century Symphony" in *Cambridge Companion to the Symphony* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 219.

Text of “Ging heut morgen übers Feld”⁵⁶

Ging heut morgen übers Feld,
Tau noch auf den Gräsern hing;
Sprach zu mir der lust'ge Fink:
"Ei du! Gelt? Guten Morgen! Ei gelt? Du!
Wird's nicht eine schöne Welt?
Zink! Zink! Schön und flink!
Wie mir doch die Welt gefällt!"

Auch die Glockenblum' am Feld
Hat mir lustig, guter Ding',
Mit den Glöckchen, klinge, kling,
Ihren Morgengruß geschellt:
"Wird's nicht eine schöne Welt?
Kling, kling! Schönes Ding!
Wie mir doch die Welt gefällt! Heia!"

Und da fing im Sonnenschein
Gleich die Welt zu funkeln an;
Alles Ton und Farbe gewann
Im Sonnenschein!
Blum' und Vogel, groß und klein!
"Guten Tag, ist's nicht eine schöne Welt?
Ei du, gelt? Schöne Welt?"

Nun fängt auch mein Glück wohl an?
Nein, nein, das ich mein',
Mir nimmer blühen kann!

I walked across the fields this morning,
Dew still hung on the grass,
The merry finch said to me:
"You there, hey –Good morning! Hey, you there!
Isn't it a lovely world?
Tweet! Tweet! Bright and sweet!
O how I love the world!"

And the harebell at the field's edge,
Merrily and in good spirits,
Ding-ding with its tiny bell
Rang out its morning greeting:
"Isn't it a lovely world?
Ding-ding! Beautiful thing!
O how I love the world!"

And then in the gleaming sun
The world at once began to sparkle;
All things gained in tone and colour!
In the sunshine!
Flower and bird, great and small.
"Good day! Isn't it a lovely world?
Hey, you there?! A lovely world!"

Will my happiness now begin?
No! No! The happiness I mean
Can never bloom for me!

The quotation from *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* then provides the listener with a second comment on the same awakening landscape. The entry of Mahler's self-quotation introduces the wayfarer's view of the dawning day, an evocation of the human voice through the folksong. The return of the opening music at Rehearsal 14 reinforces the autonomy of its contrast to the song quotation and the consequent duality between nature's enlivening and man's morning jaunt. In this example from the First Symphony, the two perspectives that are expressed belong to different species, as Nehamas's interpretation of the variety of Nietzsche's perspectives suggests. Such a reading becomes increasingly plausible when considered in the context of Mahler's movement titles for the Third Symphony, such as "What the Flowers in the Meadow

⁵⁶ English translation by Richard Stokes, author of *The Book of Lieder* (Faber, 2005), <https://www.oxfordlieder.co.uk/song/1082>

Tell Me,” and “What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me.” From these early programmatic cues, it is clear that the composer imagined all species as having a perspective and that their accumulation was part of knowing the world.

Simultaneous Depictions/Chaos

Robert Morgan has compared depictions of plural voices in the music of Mahler to that of Charles Ives. For Morgan, these are realized not through particular genres and their place in society, but rather their jarringly simultaneous expression.⁵⁷ In the music of both Mahler and Ives, Morgan observes that space is made for interjections that have no precedent in preceding works of Western art music. Morgan discusses this compositional technique in terms of formal disjunction. “In Ives and Mahler this is often accomplished by a kind of *force majeure*: the structure is simply broken into, cut open to allow for the insertion of extraneous elements,” a description that bears striking similarities to Theodor Adorno’s exploration of Mahler’s style discussed below.⁵⁸ Morgan continues,

Such juxtaposed components can occur not only sequentially but also simultaneously. The band music in the finale of Mahler’s Second Symphony first appears as a momentary interruption of the prevailing musical continuity; but later it recurs in simultaneous opposition with the latter, creating a multileveled structure made up of two independent but connected textual strands, each with its own rhythmic structure, tempo, instrumentation and general character. In this latter form it provides a striking parallel to those moments in Ives—*Putnam’s Camp*, the *Decoration Day*—where two independent “musics” collide in mutual and simultaneous confrontation.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Robert Morgan, “Mahler and Ives: Mutual Responses at the End of an Era,” *19th Century Music* 2, no. 1 (July 1978): 72-81.

⁵⁸ Morgan, “Mahler and Ives,” 76.

⁵⁹ Morgan, “Mahler and Ives,” 76.

The second movement of the Second Symphony provides another example. Mahler's own program for the movement reveals its multiple perspectives, that provide a counterpoint to one another: "a happy moment from the life of his beloved departed one, and a sad recollection of his youth and lost innocence." An unhurried melody in the high strings and winds, and playful tutti pizzicato at Rehearsal 12, represent the happy moments. These alternate with passages of chromatic triplets in the strings accompanying a forlorn melody in the violins and winds. The music consequently depicts not merely two contrasting recollections, but at Rehearsal 7, the two overlap with the happy melody from the winds appearing atop the chromatic triplets in the strings (Example 5.4).

Ex. 5.4 Symphony No. 2, movement II, mm. 151-156

7

1.2.3. Fl.

1.2.3. Ob.

1.2.3. in C
Clar.

1. in Es

1.2. Fag.

The overlap of these contrasting states gives each an autonomy; they exist separately and are not merely vacillating. The first movement of the Fourth Symphony's comic duality based on the strings and brass also features moments when the two perspectives try to be heard

simultaneously. For example at Rehearsal 15, the brass cuts into the string melody and the alpine flute strains to be heard above both.⁶⁰

In his assessment, Morgan too associates the use of simultaneous musics with a realistic depiction of life. Morgan explains this in a passage that merits full quotation here.

The composition [by Mahler and Ives] is opened up—made permeable, as it were, so as to be subject to outside influences. It becomes a more inclusionary whole, vulnerable to the ambiguities and contradictions of everyday experience, both musical and otherwise, and more truly reflective of the manifold conditions of human activity. Although the musical result may seem less consistent—and thus considerably more resistant to the kind of systematic analysis that we now seem to view as the only legitimate kind—it is both richer in possibilities and broader in perspective.⁶¹

If we return to Granier's discussion of chaos and its description in *The Gay Science*, we see that it is exactly this simultaneity that Nietzsche too identified as the closest depiction to reality. It is surely not accidental that both modern and contemporary commentators have used the term “chaos” to describe moments in the music of both composers.⁶² Through this chaos I believe Mahler has depicted exactly what he felt the symphony should be—the world—and he has done so in just the way Nietzsche describes.

Given the composer's demonstrated interactions with other Nietzschean ideas outlined in previous chapters, I would like to suggest that Nietzsche may have provided an influence for this

⁶⁰ For detailed discussion of the thematic interactions of this movement, see Chapter 3.

⁶¹ Morgan, “Mahler and Ives,” 78.

⁶² On Mahler and chaos, see Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Erinnerungen und Briefe* (Amsterdam: Allert de Lage, 1940); Bruno Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, trans. by Lotte Walter Lindt (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958); Thomas Peattie, *Symphonic Landscapes* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Seth Monahan, *Mahler's Symphonic Sonatas* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015); among others. On Ives and chaos, see Wilfrid Mellers, “Realism and Transcendentalism: Charles Ives as American Hero” in *Music in a New Found Land: Themes and Developments in the History of American Music*, (New York: Routledge, 2017 [1964]); Stuart Feder, *The Life of Charles Ives* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Philip Lambert, *The Music of Charles Ives* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); Vivian Perlis, *Charles Ives Remembered: An Oral History* (Champaign-Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1974), among others.

peculiarly Mahlerian element. While the secondary literature quoted above is demonstrative of the extensive commentary devoted to this element of Mahler's compositional technique, it becomes important to ask not only how Mahler's music uniquely depicts plural voices but why. It is one of Nietzsche's most important contributions to Western thinking that the idea of a single narrative is a fallacy. In light of the influence of Nietzschean ideas demonstrated in previous chapters, Mahler's decision to endow his musical voice with such contrasting and colliding depictions of existence can be productively considered in terms of Nietzsche's writings.

Adornian Plurality

Characters

An important volume belonging to the Mahler secondary literature is Theodor Adorno's book, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*. One of the central elements of the work is Adorno's own characterization of Mahler's plural voices, which he discusses in the form of three distinctive "characters:" breakthrough (*Durchbruch*), suspension (*Suspension*) and fulfillment (*Erfüllung*). I briefly discussed these characters and their juxtapositions in terms of Hoffmannian comic relief in Chapter 3; their presence in Mahler's Fourth Symphony in particular serves a comic reading of the composer's musical style that imitates light-hearted juxtapositions in the writing of Jean Paul and E.T.A. Hoffmann. Nevertheless, in addition to their often amusing abruptness and the comical chasm between emotions they present, these compositional techniques also serve the depiction of simultaneous plurality and help to define the use of different voices in Mahler's early works.

By comparing the examples Adorno cites with what he says about *Durchbruch*, the character can be defined as a dramatic musical break from what has preceded. It is a dynamic quality that breaks in from without, or breaks out beyond itself from within. *Durchbruch* is a dissension from formal expectations. For Adorno, the structure of the First Symphony is exemplary. Adorno writes,

at the height of the [first] movement, six measures before the return to the tonic D [nine measures after Rehearsal 25], the fanfare explodes in the trumpets, horns, and high woodwinds, quite out of scale with the orchestra's previous sound or even the preceding crescendo. It is not so much that this crescendo has reached a climax as that the music has expanded with a physical jolt. The rupture originates from beyond the music's intrinsic movement, intervening from the outside.⁶³

Following this moment of *Durchbruch*, the overall trajectory of the movement is unable to “restore the balance demanded by the sonata form” in the recapitulation.⁶⁴

Adorno introduces the two other “essential genres in [Mahler's] idea of form”—suspension (*Suspension*) and fulfillment (*Erfüllung*)—in chapter three. Suspension is defined by the moments when the music lacks a forward momentum, most often appearing as “sedimented episodes.” Following the suspension, the music picks up and moves forward unchanged by the interruption. The episodic material therefore does not function to give the work any momentum or direction, but interjects an entirely new and unconnected voice into the music. Adorno refers to suspension as “composing out the old *senza tempo* within the main progression as against

⁶³ Adorno, *Mahler*, 4-5.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 5-6.

‘extra-territorial’ parts,” citing the “Bird of Death” passage before the introduction of the final chorus in the Second Symphony and the Posthorn episode in the third movement of the Third.⁶⁵

Another example of suspension can be found in the first movement of the First Symphony, shown in Example 5.5. After the repeat of the material from Rehearsal 4 through 12, the music’s momentum is suspended while a playful gesture in the flute and the cuckoo call of the piccolo appear above suspended pedal tones in the strings and brass. At Rehearsal 14, the suspension ends and the opening material recommences.

Example 5.5 Symphony no. 1, movement I: Flute and Piccolo, mm. 166-171

Adorno’s third character, fulfillment (*Erfüllung*), is compared to the *Abgesang* form. It is specifically equated with the B section following the repeated A material of the traditional AAB form. This material is related but new and completes the preceding repeated statement. Examples in Mahler’s music include the “short close of the exposition in the first movement of the Third Symphony.”⁶⁶ An example of fulfillment can also be heard in the third movement of the Second Symphony in what Eggebrecht describes as Mahler’s “orchestral scream” (Example 5.4). The melodic figures that begin at Rehearsal 47 appear to accumulate numbers and momentum in one direction, but three measures after Rehearsal 50 the point of arrival is something of a surprise.

⁶⁵ Adorno, *Mahler*, 41.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 42.

Instead of reaching a climax on C major, prepared by the last twenty bars, Mahler instead shifts to a B flat minor. The material that follows fulfills the momentum that began several rehearsal numbers earlier, but not in the way that the listener expects. For Adorno, the challenges to traditional expectations of form that result from the structure of *Durchbruch*, *Suspension*, and *Erfüllung* become characters in and of themselves employed throughout Mahler's music.

Each of these "characters," or tropes, depends upon the interaction of contrasting musical material. As the musical examples show, the intervening material in each case is new and distinct from the music that precedes it. Through this juxtaposition, Mahler provides a plurality of voices, their abrupt positioning further articulates their individuality. In addition to these particular types of juxtaposition, Adorno broadly notes that Mahler's symphonies often appear to simultaneously embody an objective narrative as well as the portrayal of a subjective experience that differs considerably from that narrative. These two voices are described as the "world's course" and the "subject," respectively, and the once unified narrative of human heroics that embodied the symphonies of Beethoven becomes fractured into two points of view in Mahler's music. "Nowhere do [Mahler's symphonies] patch over the rift between subject and object; they would rather be shattered themselves than counterfeit an achieved reconciliation."⁶⁷ In Mahler's music, the objective narrative is interrupted by something foreign that fundamentally disturbs the conventional formal process. Unlike the beginning of the final movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9, in which the sequence of interruptions to quotations from earlier movements (that flaunts formal conventions in its own right) eventually coalesces into a heroic finale, the rift between Mahler's voices never fully mends.

⁶⁷ Adorno, *Mahler*, 7.

In many of the examples offered by Adorno, the articulation of subject-object conflict is realized through Mahler's folksong quotation, which often reveal the plural perspectives not only of subject and surroundings but also a separate voice belonging to nature. In the third movement of the Second Symphony, which quotes "Des Antonius des Padua Fischpredigt," Adorno writes that "[t]he musical self, the 'we' that sounds from the symphony, breaks down. [...] Hegelian justice so far guides the composer's pen that the world's course takes on something of the self-propagating, enduring, death-resisting force of life itself, as a corrective to the endlessly protesting subject."⁶⁸ The subject's heartbreak and confusion is mirrored in St. Anthony's inability to communicate, staging the subject-object duality amongst and in comparison with nature. Similarly, the Scherzo movement of the Third Symphony, and its quotation of the *Wunderhorn* song "Ablösung im Sommer," "has the same quality of confused bustle as the fish sermon."⁶⁹ Adorno points out that this movement too relies on a depiction of subject and object constructed amidst animal life. These interactions in Mahler's music not only suggest the composer's pantheistic views, but they also reveal an important facet of pluralism shared by Nietzsche: the value of another species' perspective, outlined by in the earlier quotation from Nehamas. The self-consciousness of alienation is often a result of Mahler's juxtapositions of the natural world with the human, such as the entry of the postilion horn in the third movement of the Third Symphony. Adorno's poetic observations of this particular moment deserve full quotation here.

⁶⁸ Adorno, *Mahler*, 7.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 8.

When the postilion's horn is heard, the hush of the seething hubbub is composed as its background. It has a human timbre against the attenuated muted strings, the residue of creaturely bondage to which the alien voice would do no harm. When two French horns melodiously annotate the phrase, the precarious artistic moment reconciles the irreconcilable. But the menacing rhythm of the tramping animals, oxen with linked hoofs dancing triumphal rounds, prophetically mocks the thin fragility of culture, as long as it nurtures catastrophes that could swiftly invite the force to devour the devastated cities. [...] Through animals humanity becomes aware of itself as impeded nature and of its activity as deluded natural history; for this reason Mahler meditates on them.⁷⁰

Adorno's discussion of Mahler's music consistently highlights the composer's use of plurality—the subject amidst the world, man and nature—going so far as to identify these compositional techniques as integral to Mahler's style.

Constellations

In addition to being attracted to multiplicity in Mahler's music, Adorno is also drawn to Nietzsche's pluralism. The need for this kind of approach to the world becomes an essential part of Adorno's own philosophy, a trait he called constellations. According to Karin Bauer, Adorno's constellations arise as a response to the inadequacy of identity concepts, something the philosopher shares with Nietzsche. Identity thinking for both Adorno and Nietzsche is guilty of universalizing and generalizing, ultimately likening the non-synonymous, equating “the merely similar.”⁷¹ Nietzsche's famous discussion of the word “leaf” in “On Truth and Lie in an Extramoral Sense” illustrates such shortcomings. In Section 1 of the essay, Nietzsche writes,

⁷⁰ Adorno, *Mahler*, 8-9.

⁷¹ Karin Bauer, *Adorno's Nietzschean Narratives: Critiques of Ideology, Readings of Wagner* (Albany: State University of New York, 1999), 85.

Every concept originates through our equating what is unequal. No leaf ever wholly equals another, and the concept “leaf” is formed through an arbitrary abstraction from these individual differences, through forgetting the distinctions; and now it gives rise to the idea that in nature there might be something besides the leaves which would be “leaf”—some kind of original form after which all leaves have been woven, marked, copied, colored, curled, and painted, but by unskilled hands, so that no copy turned out to be a correct, reliable, and faithful image of the original form.⁷²

For Adorno, whose views are informed by Marxist theory, identity thinking is a tool of oppression that encourages conformity and “robs the non-identical of the possibility of expression.”⁷³

Bauer writes, “Identity thinking excludes the different, foreign, diverse, and heterogeneous, while non-identity thinking, for which Adorno uses the model of constellations, gives expression to the concepts (*das Begriffslös*), and to what is repressed, reduced, forgotten, and eliminated by the abstract nature of concepts and categories.”⁷⁴ According to Bauer, “In the realm of philosophy, Adorno envisions constellations of thoughts as an alternative to the hierarchical order of philosophical and metaphysical systems. Like the constellation of the stars, a constellation of thought and phenomena constitutes a mobile relation between things unfixed by hierarchies and categories.”⁷⁵ This view of an approximation of “truth” approaching reality most closely through the inclusion of the repressed, the forgotten and the non-conforming not only possesses an echo of Mahler’s heartbroken hero, but also of Nietzsche’s definition of “objectivity.”

⁷² Nietzsche, “On Truth and Lie in an Extra-Moral Sense,” *The Portable Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Viking Press, 1954), 45-46..

⁷³ Bauer, *Adorno’s Nietzschean Narratives*, 86.

⁷⁴ Bauer, *Adorno’s Nietzschean Narratives*, 85

⁷⁵ Bauer, *Adorno’s Nietzschean Narratives*, 85.

Adorno himself indicates that Nietzsche played an influential role in the formation of his idea of constellations.⁷⁶ In addition to the ideas about “truth” that informed Adorno’s constellations, the elder philosopher also provided an artistic model for combatting hierarchies and concepts in the form of a stylistic pluralism. As Bauer has observed, Nietzsche’s stylistic pluralism was his own attempt to represent a range of perspectives, to get as close as possible to a reflection of all human experience.

Stylistic pluralism is one significant facet of Nietzsche’s perspectivism and Adorno’s constellation. Alexander Nehamas’s study of Nietzsche’s life as literature establishes a relationship between Nietzsche’s style, his perspectivism, and his rejection of the philosophical tradition. Nehamas rejects the notion that Nietzsche’s search for styles reflects his effort to find a single “adequate means of expression” and argues that Nietzsche’s stylistic pluralism is another facet of his perspectivism and “one of his essential weapons in his effort to distinguish himself from the philosophical tradition.” The same motivation underlies Adorno’s practice and his efforts to criticize and subvert traditional philosophy by reestablishing a connection between philosophy and social reality.⁷⁷

Adorno’s appreciation of the “characters” in Mahler’s symphonies as well as the pluralism of Nietzsche’s philosophical style provides another bridge that connects the unique compositional facets of their work.

Mahler’s attempt to “embrace the world” and his unique, and largely unprecedented, portrayal of simultaneous and contrasting perspectives in his compositions echoes Nietzsche’s perspectivist approach to understanding and seeing objectively. Not only does it echo Nietzsche’s view, but the technique he employs reflects a stylistic pluralism that was also utilized by the

⁷⁶ Theodor Adorno, “A Portrait of Walter Benjamin,” *Prisms*, trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 1981), Quoted in Bauer, *Adorno’s Nietzschean Narratives*, 86-7.

⁷⁷ Bauer, *Adorno’s Nietzschean Narratives*, 212.

philosopher to the same end. Finally, one of the central elements and contributions of Adorno's *Mahler* is the discussion of the very techniques that his music employs in the service of pluralism, in embracing the world, and in so doing resisting a depiction of human experience that flattens all character streams into the service of a single narrative.

“My Gay Science”

As the preceding pages have demonstrated, some of the most important sites for Nietzsche's discussion of plurality appear in *The Gay Science*. In the case of Mahler and the Austrian Social Democrats, this particular volume is especially noteworthy. In 1895 Mahler referred to his Third Symphony with the working title “Die fröhliche Wissenschaft” and “Meine fröhliche Wissenschaft,” appropriated variations on Nietzsche's 1882 text. In letters to Arnold Berliner and Friedrich Löhr in August 1895, the composer included the title “Die fröhliche Wissenschaft” with an outline of the movements.⁷⁸ In his next letter to Berliner, the composer referred again to “meine fröhliche Wissenschaft.”⁷⁹ In Natalie Bauer-Lechner's recollections, she quotes Mahler describing the Third Symphony. “And I will call the whole thing ‘My Gay Science’—and that's what it is.”⁸⁰

Scholars have disputed the meaning of this appropriation. In Peter Franklin's handbook to the Third Symphony, he relates a passage from *The Gay Science* to Mahler's use of the title in which Nietzsche describes the work of the artist as a creator of the world, a view Mahler is likely

⁷⁸ Letter to Arnold Berliner, postdated 17 August 1895; Letter to Fritz Löhr, 29 August 1895, in *Gustav Mahler Briefe* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 1982), 126-7.

⁷⁹ Letter to Arnold Berliner, end of August, beginning of September 1895, *Mahler Briefe*, 129.

⁸⁰ “Und das Ganze werde ich ‘Meine fröhliche Wissenschaft’ nennen—die ist es auch!” Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), 36.

to have shared.⁸¹ Constantin Floros offers an entirely different reading, writing the following about the Third Symphony's content and its consequent connection to Nietzsche's book.

[T]he Third Symphony proclaims the message of love to be understood as charity. Mahler had adapted Schopenhauer's idea that all love (*agape, caritas*) is compassion, as expressed by this statement: "It means essentially, that we can never be completely happy as long as there are others who are unhappy" (AME 278). On the contrary, the concept of love was suspect for Nietzsche. In *The Happy Science*, Nietzsche insists—in contrast to Schopenhauer—that from sexual love one "had taken the concept of love as an opposite of egoism, whereas it may be precisely that most unabashed expression of egoism." It may therefore be concluded that the intellectual content of the Third Symphony is diametrically opposed to Nietzsche's philosophy, leading Mahler to toy from time to time with the idea of calling the work *My Happy Science*.⁸²

Rather than being diametrically opposed to Nietzsche's philosophy, Mahler's program for the symphony once given this Nietzschean title indicates not only his familiarity with the volume but, as has been demonstrated, its significant contribution to the importance of plurality. While the Third is not unique in its use of musical pluralism described above, its program does offer a narrative uniquely based in multiple perspectives. The program that originally accompanied the premiere is replicated below.

⁸¹ Peter Franklin, *Symphony No. 3* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 17.

⁸² Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 92. Unfortunately, I find that Floros offers a misrepresentation of both Mahler and Nietzsche in this excerpt. He mischaracterizes the message of *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* and therefore Mahler's possible response to Nietzsche's work. The one sentence that he quotes as representative of the work comes nowhere near summarizing the entire volume. As any reader of Nietzsche will know, any given sentence fragment cannot be taken as representative of the whole of any of his works. By reducing *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* to this particular phrase, he is omitting important elements of what Mahler might have meant when appropriating the work's title. I believe he also mischaracterizes Mahler's statement. In the second letter to Berliner the phrase "*meine fröhliche Wissenschaft*" it is not given as a title but appears as part of a question, I believe, in reference to Mahler's previous letter. Given that the preceding letter does present the work's program with the title "Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft," it is just more plausible that he is merely making clear that he is referring to his aforementioned program than that he is rejecting the Nietzschean connotations of the name. It is only Bauer-Lechner's recollection that truly suggests that Mahler considered "*Meine fröhliche Wissenschaft*" as a working title, an instance that cannot be described as "from time to time."

Part One

I. "Pan Awakes, Summer Marches In"

Part Two

II. "What the Flowers in the Meadow Tell Me"

III. "What the Animals in the Forest Tell Me"

IV. "What Man Tells Me"

V. "What the Angels Tell Me"

VI. "What Love Tells Me"

Each movement relates a view of the world, a form of knowledge, from various sources.

Emphasizing once again the philosopher's view that perspectives belong not only to individual humans or to the human species but to others, including life forms that share our planet, the second part of the symphony consults myriad perspectives, even those of the plants and animals. One might argue that Mahler's use of the modified Nietzschean title for the Third Symphony was not as sophisticated as to relate his program to the plurality of Nietzsche's work, but it does provide a compelling explanation for the composer's selection of this particular title.

The Gay Science was also an influential work for Adler's Social Democrats. In his history of the Austrian worker's movement, Jacques Hannak, an Austrian journalist and functionary of the Austrian Social Democratic party shortly after Adler's death, as well as a member of the Austrian Labor Committees, and the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ), writes,

The Social Democratic Party grew and prospered, gained much opposition as well as honor, became an ornament of the Socialist International and a center of the intellectual development of Marxism, but at the same time it remained the party of "the gay science," of humanity, of closeness to reality. This was only possible thanks to the school of Victor

Adler, to tolerance and freedom of thought, to smiling quotidian skepticism and to absolute action in important hours.⁸³

While I have been unable to find further explanation for Hannak's Nietzschean characterization of the party, his membership and involvement in the organization makes his description of the party as that of "the gay science" and its direct relationship to the leadership of Victor Adler one that should be considered seriously.

Not only did both Mahler's music and the policies of the Austrian Social Democrats draw on multiple perspectives and use specific allusions to *The Gay Science*, but the two even intersected in fin-de-siècle Vienna. Not at all unlike the experience of Mahler's heartbroken lover, the Austrian Social Democrats were responsible for giving a voice to those who were alienated and whose needs were ignored, a fact that may account for the composer's enthusiasm for the 1905 May Day parade. As Alma Mahler describes in her recollections, Mahler was caught in the parade on his way home from the opera house and returned home full of energy. She writes, "A short time later Mahler arrived. [...] He too had run into the worker's demonstration on the Ring and had followed it for a while. They had all looked at him in such a brotherly fashion! There really *were* his brothers! These men were the future!"⁸⁴ Alma's anecdote reveals a particular facet of Mahler's character as it is presented in contrast to fellow composer Hans Pfitzner's absolute frustration and feelings of animosity towards the very same protestors.

⁸³ "Der Sozialdemokratische Partei wuchs und gedieh, gewann viel Feind' und viel Ehr', wurde eine Zierde der Internationale und ein Geisteszentrum der Fortbildung des Marxismus, aber zugleich blieb sie die Partei der 'fröhlichen Wissenschaft,' der Menschlichkeit, der Lebensnähe. Das war nur möglich dank der Schule Victor Adlers, dank der Toleranz und Denkfreiheit, dank der lächelnden Skepsis im Alltag und der Unbedingtheit des Handelns in großen Stunden." See Jacques Hannak, *Männer und Taten: zur Geschichte der österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung* (Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1963), 16.

⁸⁴ Alma Mahler, *Erinnerungen und Briefe*, 106.

While there is only circumstantial evidence that Mahler or Adler were inspired by Nietzsche's pluralism specifically, what is presented in preceding chapters shows that engagement with Nietzsche was an important component of the philosophical worldview of members of the Pernerstorfer Circle. Given the Austrian Social Democrats's particularly multifaceted constituency and Mahler's unprecedented use of multiple musical voices, it is difficult to imagine that Nietzsche's own novel ideas about the importance of plurality did not influence these men to some degree. Should influence and proximity not convince the reader of the connection between Nietzsche and the perspectivism of Adler and Mahler, Adorno's observations serve, to some degree, to demonstrate the links between the three.

CHAPTER 6: Outsiders and Transnationalism in the *Wunderhorn* Symphonies

Each of the preceding chapters addresses the question of how Mahler read and responded to Nietzsche. Each uses Nietzsche's reception by the Pernerstorfer Circle as a way to better understand Mahler's comments concerning Nietzschean ideas, and suggests a Nietzschean influence for some of Mahler's unique compositional techniques. In so doing, these chapters demonstrate a reading of Nietzsche's philosophy that is community-based, sympathetic, socialist, encouraging, pluralist, and whose goal for mankind, the *Übermensch*, is akin to the divine. While those familiar with the man who banned his wife from composing and who worked his musicians without mercy may baulk, the philosophical worldview revealed by the Pernerstorfer Circle's reception of Nietzsche and Mahler's own musical techniques is nonetheless a generous one quite different from the more familiar Nietzsche of the National Socialists. Steven E. Aschheim's detailed study of the variety of Nietzsche reception in Germany between 1890 and 1990 demonstrates that the philosopher's interpretation has much to do with the ideological stance of his reader, which begs the question of why Mahler and his contemporaries read Nietzsche in this way.

According to Alma Mahler, her husband once described himself as "thrice homeless: as a Bohemian in Austria, as an Austrian amongst Germans, and as a Jew throughout the world. Always an outsider, never belonging."¹ Despite frequent use of this quotation as proof of Mahler's isolated genius, this threefold mixture of ethnic identities was not unique to the composer. Many members of the Pernerstorfer Circle also struggled with multiple allegiances.

¹ Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Erinnerungen und Briefe* (Amsterdam: Aller de Lange, 1940). ["Ich bin dreifach heimatlos: als Böhme unter den Österreichern, als Österreicher unter den Deutschen und als Jude in der ganzen Welt. Überall ist man Eindringling, nirgends 'erwünscht.'"]

Most of the group's Jewish members came from Austria's more provincial territories: Lipiner from Galicia, Friedjung from Moravia, Braun from Hungary and, of course, Mahler from Bohemia. Even those who were not Jewish found themselves caught between Austro-Germanness and the minority ethnicities of the empire—Richard von Kralik especially had an emotionally charged relationship with his Czech upbringing and possible heritage. Consequently, those in Mahler's university circle also felt a sense of homelessness and alienation, especially compared to the citizens of Europe's more homogenized countries.

In this final chapter, I will show how Mahler's sense of alienation and divided ethnic allegiances was shared by members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, how the work of members of the Circle was uniquely considerate of the transnational and multiethnic, and how the hermeneutically flexible writings of Nietzsche, who was himself often considered an outsider, provided an ideal site for the philosophical encouragement of a complex identity. It is my view that in the absence of a sense of belonging, these readers might easily find in Nietzsche's texts encouragement to be confident in their identities, however unique. This reading of Nietzsche is further borne out in the scholarship on his reception amongst other minority groups including Slavs under the rule of Russian or Austrian empires, and Zionists throughout central and eastern Europe.

Nietzsche as Outsider

In his essay, "The hero as outsider," R.J. Hollingdale explores what has become Nietzsche's identity to the modern world through legend: that he was a "proud and lonely truth-finder," to use Nietzsche's own characterization of Heraclitus. Hollingdale unravels the concept of legend,

providing a much more even-handed evaluation of Nietzsche's experiences within and outside of societal norms. In so doing, though, Hollingdale emphasizes the legend's importance and, more essential to this project, its relevance to Nietzsche's readers:

The Nietzsche legend is the modern legend of the isolate [sic] and embattled individual: the hero as outsider. He thinks more, knows more, and suffers more than other men do, and is as a consequence elevated above them. Whatever he has of value he has created out of himself, for apart from himself there is only "the compact majority," which is always wrong. When he speaks he is usually misunderstood, but he can in any case be understood only by isolated and embattled individuals such as himself. In the end he removes himself to a distance at which he and the compact majority become mutually invisible, but his image is preserved in his icon: the man who goes alone.²

Mahler's many comments about the misunderstanding of his work by contemporary audiences echo this description.

As Chapter 5 demonstrates, early in the reception of his work Nietzsche was attractive not only to the Pernerstorfer Circle, but to other groups of outsiders, such as European Zionists. These individuals also shared the Pernerstorfer Circle's divided ethnic allegiances. Hillel Zeitlin navigated both Polish and Jewish identities, as did Theodor Herzl with the addition of a certain Austrian-ness resulting from his education at the University of Vienna. Ernst Simon referred to Martin Buber as an East-Western Jew or a West-Eastern Jew because his upbringing resulted in a unique synthesis of both the cosmopolitan, educated and assimilated Jews of Vienna and the more provincial and pious Jews of Eastern Europe.³ Jacob Golomb even unknowingly invokes Mahler's own self-characterization by suggesting that Nietzscheanism was Buber's first attempt

² R.J. Hollingdale, "The hero as outsider" in *Cambridge Companion to Nietzsche* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 87.

³ Jacob Golomb, "Martin Buber's 'Liberation' from Nietzsche's 'Invasion'" in *Nietzsche and Zion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 160.

to “mend his threefold identity” of Jew, Pole, and Austro-German, claiming that “Buber’s initial passionate endorsement of Nietzsche had its roots in his peculiar form of multi marginality.”⁴

Nietzsche’s writing encouraged Buber to possess and be proud of his tripartite ethnic mixture, to embrace his identity:

Above everything else, Nietzsche encouraged Buber to bemuse what he was, to dare to be his own self, to create freely this self as an artist creates his own sublime creations. Hence the concrete doctrine was not crucial for Buber, nor “the Overman dream,” but the why and the how. In Buber’s eyes this was Nietzsche’s “true” and greatest insight, which is forever irrefutable because one cannot refute life itself, on (if at all) its intellectual products and dogmas. The fact that young Buber discovered this insight through and in Nietzsche—the very insight that assisted him to shape his “coherence” and harmony, to overcome his shaky triple identity—was in my view the main pole of attraction that so irresistibly invaded his soul and his whole being.⁵

Nietzsche’s call to personal authenticity gave Buber and men like him permission to celebrate his unique identities.⁶

Nietzsche’s attraction for marginalized groups also extended further east. In the preface to *East Europe reads Nietzsche*, Peter Bergmann cites Nietzsche’s writing as the “linchpin for a national cultural awakening in the Slavic world,” that he “provoked [his readers there] to voice their individuality in their native languages while connecting them to an international avant-

⁴ Golomb, “Buber’s ‘Liberation,’” 164.

⁵ Golomb, “Buber’s ‘Liberation,’” 164.

⁶ Furthermore, Nietzsche’s philosophy glorifies the experience struggle to achieve a meaningful existence, which repeated alienation would ensure. Lily Braun, German social democrat, feminist, Nietzsche enthusiast and wife of Pernerstorfer Circle member, Heinrich Braun recalled in her autobiography that, on one occasion of “near despair,” Heinrich took reached for their copy of Nietzsche and read to her what the philosopher had said about important individuals; “that they should suffer and be maltreated. He would not feel pity for them ‘because I desire for them the one thing which today can prove whether a person has value or not—namely, that he should stand firm.’” Braun, *Gesammelte Werke, III* Berlin-Grunewald: H. Klemm, 1922), 505. Translated by R. Hinton Thomas. For the reference to Nietzsche, see Braun, *Gesammelte Werke, III*, 599.

garde.”⁷ Despite Nietzsche’s positioning of north versus south, Bergmann writes that it was “along the east-west axis [that] the unresolved tensions of [Nietzsche’s] time [ran].” This can be seen in the linguistic shifts in cities like Prague and Budapest from German to Czech and Hungarian.⁸ For Slavic nations, Nietzsche’s call to personal authenticity also led to a cultural celebration of ethnic identity, especially in places where Slavic peoples were subsumed into non-Slavic empires.

Nietzsche’s reception at the turn of the century demonstrates that his writing was repeatedly received as not only demanding personal authenticity from the individual, but that his works inspired cultural awakenings throughout communities that had been oppressed or occupied. According to Diane Morgen, “This is an empowering discourse for would-be nations, looking for cultural expression and social justice [...], who are not so much interested in empire-building as in affirming their will and in need of a strong thinker to overcome, for instance, the intimidating specters of Prussian and Austro-Hungarian domination.”⁹ One particular example of this occurred in what is now Romania: “Lucian Blaga, philosopher and poet, who came from one such remote place, a small village in Transylvania (which of course belonged to the [Habsburg] Empire until the end of the First World War), [...] constructed his own version of a Zarathustra prophet-figure in *Zamolxe* (1921) who encourages his people to free themselves from obsolete beliefs and revive their rich Slavic and Dionysian Dacian heritage which underlies their

⁷ Peter Bergmann, “Introduction” to *East Europe reads Nietzsche* (New York: East European Monographs, 1998), vi.

⁸ See Diane Morgen, “Outside the Gates of Vienna: Nietzsche and National Independence Movements in the Austro-Hungarian Empire” *Nietzsche and the Austrian Culture*, ed. Jacob Golomb (Vienna: Facultas Universitätsverlag, 2004.), 148-9. Mahler experienced and negotiated these linguistically shifts firsthand as a young conductor in Prague and Budapest.

⁹ Morgen, “Outside the Gates of Vienna,” 149.

classically Latinate stratum.”¹⁰ Nietzsche appeared as a model to the alienated and promoted a generalized personal authenticity, in part, because he himself advocated adversarial culture, overturning the traditional (imperial) values and beliefs forced on a population in the name of self-affirmation and personal authenticity.¹¹

Transnational Heritage and Alienation in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna

A form of transnationalism was particularly pervasive in Vienna, given the city’s diverse ethnic mixture. Federico Celestini writes, “In 1883, the geographer Friedrich Umlauf described the Habsburg monarchy as the most diverse mixture of peoples in Europe, totaling twelve different nationalities and five religious denominations.” Celestini continues, “Of course there had been awareness of national and linguistic plurality in the Habsburg monarchy since the late eighteenth century. But the urbanisation process during the nineteenth century resulted in a cultural and religious diversity that was concentrated in the dense area of the city.”¹² Vienna was a striking exemplar of ethnic mixture, the most densely and diversely populated locale in the most pluralistic of nineteenth-century empires. The sense of alienation that resulted from ethnic minority or divided allegiances might therefore be considered in terms of the Austrian

¹⁰ Morgen, “Outside the Gates of Vienna,” 152.

¹¹ Nietzsche even personally celebrated a cultural heritage other than that of Germany, claiming in *Ecce Homo*, “And yet my ancestors were Polish noblemen: I have many racial instincts in my body from that source.” See Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, in *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: The Modern Library, 2000 [1908]) 681. He also wrote with pride to Georg Brandes, “Abroad I customarily pass for a Pole, in fact this winter’s foreign register in Nice lists me as Polish.” See Letter to Georg Brandes, 10 April 1888, *Nietzsche Briefwechsel, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Part III, Volume 5. “Briefe von Nietzsche: 1887-1889.” ed. Colli and Montinari. (Berlin: deGruyter, 1980), 286-290. [“Im Auslande gelte ich gewöhnlich als Pole; noch diesen Winter verzeichnete mich die Fremdenliste Nizza’s comme Polonais.”]

¹² Federico Celestini, “Gustav Mahler and the Aesthetics of De-Identification,” *Rethinking Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 241.

experience. If, as Umlauf notes, Austria was the most diverse place in Europe, cosmopolitan Austrians who made themselves aware of the intellectual culture of other countries, like England, France and Germany, might have struggled to define their Austrian-ness in ways that compared to traditional ideas of national identity. While the alienated image of Mahler often accompanies a myth of isolated genius, Mahler was in fact part of a whole generation of Austrians with similar identity struggles. Although Celestini uses the identity crisis of modern Vienna as the basis for an attraction to Nietzsche's Dionysian-Apollonian duality which nullifies the individual—and with it issues of identity—I believe that the multiethnic component of the Habsburg capital was an important reflection of the identities of its residents and that Nietzsche's call to personal authenticity encouraged some of these individuals to reclaim and celebrate a transnational culture.

Social historian Marsha Rozenblit has devoted much of her career to the study of Central European Jewry at the fin-de-siècle. In her 2001 book *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria During World War I*, Rozenblit explores the unusual conglomeration of identities in fin-de-siècle Austria and coins the term “tripartite identity” in order to describe Jewish residents of this time and place. Rozenblit writes, “Jews in Habsburg Austria developed a tripartite identity in which they were Austrian by political loyalty, German (or Czech or Polish) by cultural affiliation, and Jewish in an ethnic sense.”¹³ According to Rozenblit, this unique combination was only possible in Austria in the final days of Habsburg rule. The idea of a

¹³ Marsha Rozenblit, *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria During World War I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 4.

tripartite identity fits my study of the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle but with somewhat different components.

The members of the Pernerstorfer Circle maintained a strong connection to cultural and social German-ness; they were German-speakers, pan-German activists, and they saw themselves as inheritors of figures such as Beethoven, Goethe and Bismarck. They were nonetheless also acutely aware and invested in the places of their upbringing: mostly Slavic speaking regions of the empire such as Bohemian, Moravia, Bukovina and Galicia, whose cultures and languages maintained an influence on their careers long after they came to the cosmopolitan capital. While several of the Jewish members of the group converted to different forms of Christianity, Judaism continued to inform their spiritual and philosophical beliefs, helping to shape their artistic and political identities. In the case of the Pernerstorfer Circle, I would revise Rozenblit's tripartite identity to be culturally German, ethnically Slavic, and spiritually Jewish. The diversity of these three influences—German, Jewish, and Slavic—is in itself uniquely Austrian. While German-speaking Jews in Germany also maintained something of a divided identity, the vastness and diversity of the Habsburg Empire was unmatched and added a Slavic element to the complex heritages of its citizens.

A sense of German cultural identity was of extreme importance to the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle. They were instrumental in the forming of the pan-German movement at the University of Vienna and they admired and sought to recreate what they viewed as a uniquely German ability to blend politics and the arts. Articles appearing in *Deutsche Worte*, Engelbert Pernerstorfer's paper, show a distinct identification with German-ness. Some even go so far as to distinguish between being a German in Austria and being an "German Austrian," a term the

paper's writers disliked and felt marginalized their German cultural heritage.¹⁴ Other articles make clear that if there was to be a struggle between the Germans and the Slavs in a bid for power over the Dual Monarchy, they would fight for the Germans without hesitation. Yet the influence of multiethnic Austria, that included large regions belonging to the Slavic world, also played an important role in the identity of the group and cannot be ignored when evaluating their shared psychology.

Almost all of the Pernerstorfer Circle members who have featured prominently in this dissertation interacted in some way with multiple ethnic identities, even those who were not Jewish or did not come from provincial parts of the empire, or both, as in the case of Engelbert Pernerstorfer. Pernerstorfer's "metapolitics" were based in part around an idea of the *Volk* as a cultural identity rather than racial one. When Georg Schönerer's leadership of the pan-Germanist movement led to virulent anti-Semitism, Pernerstorfer left the group, evidence that he was uncomfortable with Schönerer's chauvinistic and exclusionary approach. Using his editorship at the *Deutsche Worte* to publish his ideas about politics, Pernerstorfer revealed that his conception of the Austrian community was reflected through a cultural or spiritual connection, rather than one rooted in race. In *Deutsche Worte*, Pernerstorfer called for a "national solidarity" that was not only about "overcoming class and economic barriers to attain social cohesiveness, but it also demanded the participation of *all* in the national community's spiritual-intellectual concerns [my emphasis]." Although Pernerstorfer himself associated with German identity, the call was for *every* individual to lay claim to Austrian national identity. As a lifelong friend of people like

¹⁴ Specifically, the articles "'German' and 'Austro German': Among the Viennese Students" which is signed "P." and may have even been written by Pernerstorfer himself, and Dr. August Meixner's "German Words about the 'Also-Germans'" in *Deutsche Worte* (16 May 1881), 3-6.

Victor Adler and Heinrich Friedjung, as well as a resident of the cosmopolitan Vienna, Pernerstorfer must have been well-acquainted with the fact that the many individuals of Austria upon whom he was calling came from multicultural ethnic and racial backgrounds. Given the members of his circle, he would be amply aware that the Austrian constituency would include many groups who did not identify only as German. While Pernerstorfer clearly saw the German model for a symbiotic relationship between arts and politics as superior to other approaches, he did not endorse the view that only ethnic Germans and born Christians could partake in its construction.

Unlike Pernerstorfer, Victor Adler was Jewish and therefore had some personal experience with the alienation that arose from being an outsider. Many Jews who experienced mistreatment at the hands of their gentile countrymen turned in response towards Zionism but such occasions made Adler an even firmer believer in the integration of Jewish Austrians into Austrian culture. Adler was committed to an assimilationist position and thought Zionism to be as reactionary as anti-Semitism. He did not see the Jewish people as a nation separate from Austria and he was criticized heavily by the Austrian labor Zionists for this position.¹⁵ Yet he was a unique representative of Austrian-ness because of it.

Adler identified his own folk culture as that of Vienna. In an essay titled “Wiener Dialekt und Wiener Volksmusik” that appeared in the edited volume *Victor Adler im Spiegel seiner Zeitgenossen*,¹⁶ one of Adler’s political colleagues, August Forstner recounts how Adler told him

¹⁵ Jack Jacobs, “Victor Adler, Jewish National Identity, and the Jewish Socialist Parties of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires” in *Archiv. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* 6 (1990), 123-35.

¹⁶ A collection compiled in November 1933, many of whose recollections come from the 1890s or older. It was objectively revised for errors of recollection and to bring dates and events into congruence.

that he proudly spoke Wienerisch, the city's infamous dialect, and that he only reserved his high German for speaking before Parliament. He also wrote about Adler's love of Viennese folk music.

It is likely to be news to many that Adler loved Viennese folk music. He often spoke with me about it, but once in particular he expressed his interest in it. I sat alone on a bench in the hallway of Parliament, as Adler suddenly approached and sat next to me. He was cheerful, spoke about this and that. He suddenly said, "Is it true that you enjoy going to the Heurigers?" I said to him that I come and go, if I have worked hard, to calm my nerves, but not because of the wine. After that, Adler said: "That makes sense to me. I also like to hear these Viennese things, but one has no time. One sits there, rests, thinks of nothing and listens. This music calms the nerves, because it is easily digestible and one is not put out [auslangen] as a listener. By the way, these are very nice things that please me very much. I would be very happy to go with you some time."¹⁷

Adler, a Jewish politician born in Prague to a Moravian family became not only an admirer, but a guardian of Austrian culture, and ultimately one of the most important crusaders for the rights of the Austrian people.

More than a personal identification with Viennese culture, Adler was also well aware of Austria's uniquely varied ethnic make up, and consequently of the familiar feelings of alienation that plagued many Austrians. In a speech given to the Constance Fraternity Celebration in 1905, Adler said, "We Austrians like to cross the border—we have land, but we do not have a fatherland. There is no state of Austria. A German poet once said, 'The Austrian has a fatherland,

¹⁷ August Forstner, "Wiener Dialekt und Wiener Volksmusik" in Lanzer, Wanda and Ernst K. Herlitzka, eds. *Victor Adler im Spiegel seiner Zeitgenossen*. (Wien: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1968), 81. ["Vielen dürfte es neu sein, daß Adler die Wiener Volksmusik liebte. Oft sprach er mit mir darüber. Aber einmal kam dies besonders zum Ausdruck. Ich saß allein auf einer Bank im Couloir des Parlaments, als Adler plötzlich herankam und sich neben mich setzte. Er war gut gelaunt, sprach über dies und das und plötzlich sagte er: 'Ist's wahr, daß Sie gerne zum "Heurigen" gehen?' Ich sagte ihm, daß ich ab und zu gehe, wenn ich recht abgerackert bin, um meine Nerven zu beruhigen, nicht wegen des Weins. Darauf sagte Adler: 'Das leuchtet mir ein. Ich höre diese wienerischen Sachen auch ganz gerne, aber man hat ja keine Zeit. Man sitzt dort, ruht auch aus, denkt an nichts und hört zu. Diese Musik beruhigt die Nerven, weil sie leicht verdaulich ist und man bei Zuhören nicht auslangt. Übrigens gibt's ja sehr schöne Sachen, die mir wenigstens sehr gut gefallen. Ich würde sehr gerne einmal mit Ihnen gehen.'"]

he loves it and also has cause to love it.’ But, comrades, he who said that was not an Austrian but a poet.”¹⁸ The experience of alienation became a two-sided coin that most Austrians both experienced as a shared national phenomenon, but one that also alienated them from other more cohesive and homogenous European states.

Political historian Heinrich Friedjung authored the books *The Struggle for Supremacy in Austria* and *The Compromise with Hungary*, which were largely preoccupied with the status of Austria with regard to Germany and the future of German-speaking countries. However he also paid attention the struggles and needs of the Slavic communities that were part of the Austrian empire. Friedjung himself was born in a Moravian village into a Jewish family and historian Fredrik Linström has used Rozenblit’s tripartite construction to describe Friedjung’s divided loyalties.

Rozenblit has identified a pattern in which many Austrian Jews in the last phase of the Habsburg Monarchy were Austrian in a political sense, German (or Czech, or Polish) in a cultural sense, and members of the Jewish people (in an ethnic and/or religious sense). According to Rozenblit, this was a peculiarly Austrian matrix, possible only at this time in multinational Austria. This political and cultural matrix may have served to make possible Friedjung’s peculiar mix of a strong German (cultural) identity closely tied to an Austrian (political) loyalty together with the maintenance of his Jewish identity.¹⁹

¹⁸ See Hans Mommsen, *Arbeiterbewegung und Nationale Frage: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011[1979]), 191. [“Wir Österreicher kommen so gern über die Grenze--wir haben Land, aber ein Vaterland haben wir nicht. Es gibt keinen Staat Österreich. Ein deutscher Dichter hat zwar einmal gesagt: Der Österreicher hat ein Vaterland, er liebt's und hat auch Ursach,' es zu lieben. 'Aber, Genossen, der das gesagt hat, war kein Österreicher und war--ein Dichter.'”]

¹⁹ Fredrik Linström, “Heinrich Friedjung: History and Politics” (Part I) in *Empire and Identity: Biographies of the Austrian State Problem in the Late Habsburg Empire* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2008), 82.

My amendment to Rozenblit's division with respect to the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, that there was also a connection to Slavic culture for many in the group, can be seen in Friedjung's political philosophies.

Linström argues that Friedjung was concerned with the supremacy of Austrian Germans, yet much of his writing also sought to incorporate the non-German minorities of Austria-Hungary into the empire's political discourse. Friedjung's life project was the creation of "Mitteleuropa," which would consist of an amalgamation of the states in the German Federation and multi-ethnic Austrian Empire under the leadership of the Habsburgs. Specifically, Friedjung proposed that Western Austria would be linked to Germany, while South-Slavic countries would be connected to the empire through Vienna, including Galicia and Bukovina (both regions are part of modern day Ukraine).²⁰

Friedjung became a member of the *Deutschen Volkspartei* and, despite its German-centered approach to politics, support for the independence of Slavic peoples within the Austrian empire was a part of the party's official position. The following comes from a statement of the group's political position published in the *Deutsche Zeitung*.

The Deutsche Volkspartei recognizes the aspiration of the people of the Balkan half-island to be entitled to political independence. We regard it as one of the necessary, leading points of view of the Austro-German federation, that it supports this inescapable development in a sympathetic, and non-violent way. The Balkan states should be able to

²⁰ Linström, "Heinrich Friedjung," 80.

join the great *Mitteleuropa* alliance without concern for their political freedom and without fear of annexation.²¹

While Friedjung clearly had ambitions of Germanizing Austria, he also considered the consequences and outcomes for the members of the dual monarchy who did not share his German cultural heritage. Friedjung's work to negotiate the relationships among the many diverse languages and cultures of the Habsburg empire was acknowledged by his peers. A friend and former classmate, Anton Bettelheim, known for founding the *Deutschen Biographischen Jahrbuchs* and the *Neuen Österreichischen Biographie*, characterized Friedjung in an essay in honor of his 60th birthday as dealing with the important (Austrian) political-historical topic of the "German-Bohemian question."²²

The role of multiethnic identity in Richard von Kralik's background is no less present than for other members of the group, but much more personally fraught. Kralik, whose full title was Richard Ritter Kralik von Meyrswalden, was born and raised in Bohemia but claimed that he was a descendant of German nobility, writing "I feel only German and nothing else."²³ As an adult, Kralik's concerns over the purity of his ethnic heritage caused him to react to multiethnic identity in almost the opposite way to other members of the circle. He identified heavily with Wagner and therefore despite believing that Austria was the bastion of true German Catholicism

²¹ "Die Entstehung des Linzer Programmes," *Deutsche Zeitung* (31 January 1901). ["Die 'Deutsche Volkspartei' erkennt das Streben der Völker auf der Balkan Halbinsel nach politischer Selbständigkeit als berechtigt an. Sie betrachtet es als einen der notwendig leitenden Gesichtspunkte des österreichisch-deutschen Bundes, daß er diese unabwendbare Entwicklung in sympathischer, doch nicht in gewaltsamer Weise fördere, auf daß die Balkanstaaten sich der großen mitteleuropäischen Allianz ohne Sorge für ihre politische Freiheit und ohne Furcht vor Annexionen anzuschließen vermögen."]

²² Anton Bettelheim, "Heinrich Friedjung. Zum 60. Geburtstag" *Österreichische Rundschau* 26 (1911), 103-112.

²³ Richard Kralik, *Tage und Werke: Lebenserinnerungen*. (Vienna: Vogelsang Verlag, 1922), 8.

—superior to the *Reich*-German Catholics—and the historical capital of the true German culture, he was unwilling to separate Austrian identity from that of Germany.²⁴ In his youth, Kralik had an early flirtation with socialism, writing in his diary on October 12, 1878, “I’m mad about [schwärme für] Lipiner and Social Democracy.”²⁵ However, he came to despise Communism and Socialism and blamed them for the loss of World War I, which he had seen as the opportunity for Austria to be reunited with Germany and to consequently provide its German sibling with a cultural sophistication that was distinctly Viennese. He became not only anti-Socialist but he saw the non-Christian literature of writers like Thomas Mann as a debasement kept afloat by Jewish intellectuals. He further displayed anti-Semitism when he blamed Jewish members of the publishing industry for his trouble getting published later in life.²⁶

David C. Large suggests that Kralik’s militant German-ness was partly a defense against his own insecurities regarding identity. Kralik took pains to explain away his Czech surname and borderland upbringing as nonetheless part of a pure German heritage. In his autobiography, Kralik claimed that his forefathers included the fourteenth-century Wenzel Kralik of Burnitz, Patriarch of Antiochien, Bishop of Olmütz, and chancellor to the German and Bohemian King Wenzel des “Faulen.” Yet the dramatist’s heritage was publicly disputed. On May 18, 1877, Rudolf von Eitelberger published an article in the *Wiener Zeitung* about Kralik’s father’s work as a glass artist, noting that the name “Meyrswalden” belonged to a Bohemian family famous for

²⁴ David C. Large, “Richard Kralik’s Search for a Fatherland” in *Austrian History Yearbook* 17/18 (1981-82): 143-55. This essay examines what it meant to be Austrian in the post-imperial era. Kralik has been called the “founder of Austrianism” and “Austrian anthropology” in Stanley Suval’s “The search for a Fatherland.” in *Austrian History Yearbook* 4/5 (1968-69).

²⁵ Richard S. Geehr. *The Aesthetics of Horror: The Life and Thought of Richard von Kralik* (Boston and Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2003), 107.

²⁶ Large, “Kralik’s Search for a Fatherland,” 153-4.

working in this trade. In an etymological effort to separate his surname from its Czech translation as “rabbit,” he argued that in fact his name was derived from Charlemagne, which became Karl and eventually Kralik.²⁷

As a dramatist, Kralik was heavily invested in the ethnic symbols of folk mythology. “[Kralik] decorated the main salon of his villa with pictures of pagan gods and heroes.”²⁸ According to Richard S. Geehr, “Never a politician in the usual sense, Kralik nonetheless grasped that culture was a most important vessel for political indoctrination during a period of collapsing values.”²⁹ He was initially devoted to the importance of German culture at the expense of all others, reportedly stating that “Siegfried and Dietrich [were] nobler than Achilles and Aeneas.”³⁰ Yet later in life, Kralik came to glorify his upbringing in the Bohemian woods as evidence of his ties to the land, evidence of his *Völkisch*-ness.

Unlike Kralik, many of the members of the group, including Mahler, embraced their transnational backgrounds. Siegfried Lipiner’s career is probably the most heavily marked by a transnational identity and upbringing. Despite the philosophical and scholarly promise Lipiner showed as a young man, his literary career never really developed. His first work, *Prometheus Unbound*, was his most famous. Instead of becoming a prolific writer, he took a job at the Parliamentary library in 1881 and worked there until his death in 1911. Among his projects at the library, Lipiner worked with members of Parliament to develop the modern library catalogue that

²⁷ Kralik denied having “any Czech blood in his veins.” See Geehr, *Aesthetics of Horror*, 2.

²⁸ Ibid, 2.

²⁹ Ibid, 3.

³⁰ Ibid, 4.

is now housed in the Ringstrasse building. In 1909, Lipiner increased the number of items available in all the languages spoken in the Habsburg realm, including Bohemian, Italian, Croatian, Romanian and Slovenian.³¹ He also made a name for himself as a translator of Polish literature into German. Having been raised in Galicia, Lipiner was a good enough Polish speaker to render its meaning into poetic German editions. One of his most widespread translations was that of Adam Mickiewicz's *Dziady*, a work whose German translation "Todtenfeier" was likely an early influence on Mahler's tone poem by the same name.³² Lipiner's decision to translate this particular work is interesting as the original "became a seminal text of the Polish nationalist movement in the nineteenth century and sealed Mickiewicz's reputation as a poet-prophet whose literary works called on myth and folk traditions to inspire a rebirth of Polish culture during the nation's partition and occupation by foreign powers."³³ Nietzsche, who often claimed Polish heritage, as noted above, even read Lipiner's translation.³⁴

An interesting artifact from the Austrian Parliament library is an essay by Robert A. Kann about Lipiner's transnationalism titled "Lipiner as Representative of a Polish-Austro-German

³¹ Christian Pech, *Nur was sich ändert, bleibt!: Die österreichische Parlamentsbibliothek im Wandel der Zeit 1869-2002*, 47. ["Allerdings wurde durch das k.k. Ministerium des Inneren im Jahr 1909 entschieden, 'von nun an zwei Exemplare der deutschen Ausgabe und je ein weiteres Exemplar aller anderssprachigen Ausgaben des Reichsgesetzblattes, ferner die seit 1. Jänner 1870 erschienenen Stücke des Reichsgesetzblattes in böhmischer, italienischer, kroatischer, rumänischer und slowenischer Ausgabe zur Verfügung zu stellen.' So war es der Bibliothek wenigstens gelungen, eine sichere Quelle zur Bestandvermehrung in den verschiedenen Sprachen zu gewinnen."]

³² Discussion of the extent to which Lipiner's "Todtenfeier" was a model for what would become the first movement of Mahler's Second Symphony has been taken up by Stephen Hefling and Peter Franklin. See Stephen E. Hefling, "Mahler's 'Todtenfeier' and the Problem of Program Music" *19th-Century Music* 12/1 (Summer 1988): 27-53; and Peter Franklin, "Funeral Rites: Mahler and Mickiewicz" *Music & Letters* 55/2 (1974).

³³ Caroline Kita, "Jacob Struggling with the Angel: Siegfried Lipiner, Gustav Mahler, and the Search for Aesthetic-Religious Redemption in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna" (Ph.D. diss, Duke University, 2011).

³⁴ Kita, "Jacob Struggling with the Angel," 64.

Cultural Synthesis” (“Siegfried Lipiner (1856-1911) als Vertreter einer polnisch-deutschösterreichischen kulturellen Synthese”). It is written in German but was published in 1980 in a Polish journal, the Scientific Journal of Jagiellonian University in Krakow, the oldest and highest ranked university in Poland. Unlike many of the Polish Jews who migrated to Vienna and felt no ties to the culture of their former residence, Lipiner maintained, and even championed, Polish cultural identity during his life in Vienna. Kann concludes his survey of Lipiner’s life and works by writing, “Lipiner belonged not only to the many who have migrated from the Polish language arena to the West and have therefore changed their cultural heritage to enrich Western culture. He belonged at the same time to the numerical minority, a choice group, which has returned to Polish culture in rich masses what they took with them to the West.”³⁵

The isolated interactions that each of these individuals had with ideas of identity and the negotiations of Austria’s multiethnic roots should be complemented and contextualized by the group’s interest in Karl Emil Franzos, an Austrian writer born in 1848 in what is now the region of Galicia-Bukovina in Ukraine. As a Jewish, German-speaking member of one of the Austrian Empire’s more far-flung outposts, he wrote many stories and essays that dealt with German-Jewish-Slavic identity. Archival documents belonging to the Reading Society at the University of Vienna show that Franzos was made an honorary member of the organization in 1877, while the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle were leaders in the group.³⁶ Despite the location of his

³⁵ See Robert A. Kann, “Siegfried Lipiner (1856-1911) als Vertreter einer Polnisch-Deutschösterreichischen kulturellen Synthese” in *Studia Austro-Polonica* 2 (1980): 99-107. [“Damit aber gehört Lipiner nicht nur zu den vielen, die aus dem polnischen Sprachbereich nach Westen abgewandert sind und ihr kulturelles Erbe dazu verwendet haben, die westliche Kultur zu bereichern. Er gehört gleichzeitig der zahlenmäßig kleinen, erlesenen Gruppe an, die der polnischen Kultur in reichem Maße das zurückgegeben hat, was sie mit sich nach dem Westen trug.”]

³⁶ Reading Society, Annual Reports, University of Vienna archive.

upbringing and the fact that his first language was Ukrainian, Franzos developed a sense of German-ness from his father and wrote exclusively in German. He was likely given the Reading Society's honorific for this facet of his work, but he was not merely an Austrian Germanist. His writing focuses in particular on the interactions of diverse cultures within the Austrian empire provides an interesting "twist" on his selection for honorary membership under the Pernerstorfer Circle's leadership. According to Frederick Matthew Sommer's dissertation on Franzos, "his chief literary and historical significance is as portraitist of the cultures—traditional Jewish, Polish, Ukrainian and Rumanian—lying at and around the eastern end of the Habsburg monarchy, southwest of the Russian linguistic boundary."³⁷ Franzos coined the, generally negative, term "Halb-Asien" or "half asian" to refer to this part of the world.

Franzos spent the first eleven years of his life in Czortkow, now in modern Ukraine. Franzos's mother was Ukrainian and came from Odesa and, even as a self-proclaimed German, Franzos's father ingratiated himself with the local population. A regional doctor, he was elected by his Ukrainian neighbors to represent them in the constitutional assembly in Vienna, but he declined as he thought he was needed more in Czortkow.³⁸ Franzos moved to Czernowitz at the age of eleven when his father died to attend the German gymnasium there. Franzos's writings clearly identify the German influence as civilizing and desirable, not merely on Slavic peasantry and eastern Jews, but even on Austrians. However, like the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, his German chauvinism was not without certain ambiguities. Franzos's three-volume work, *Halb-Asien*, was published between 1876 and 1888, and many of the essays and novellas

³⁷ Frederick Matthew Sommer, "'Halb-Asien': German Nationalism and the Eastern European Works of Karl Emil Franzos" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1983), 1-2.

³⁸ Sommer, "Halb-Asien," 17.

appeared first in newspapers, especially Vienna's *Neue Freie Presse*.³⁹ The depictions of Germans, Jews and Slavs (Ukrainians and Poles), in Franzos's writing are both caricature and complex. Jewish characters are never happy and lack the native immediacy of the Ukrainian "Naturvolk," but they also show the delicate tension of a people caught between conflicting cultural expectations. Ukrainians and Poles are shown to be backwards and corrupt, but are often also portrayed as victims of their own circumstances, including a lack of educational opportunities and the oppression of Tsarism. Ukrainians in particular can be depicted quite positively, likely a result of Franzos's maternal Ukrainian heritage. Overall, in Franzos's writings "human emotions and anthropomorphized landscape unite into a larger unity of Schopenhauerian cosmic suffering [...] these images emphasize the unity of humanity and nature in the universal struggle Franzos called *Ananke*, a Greek word meaning necessity, a blind Schopenhauerian force."⁴⁰ While promoting a German cultural agenda, Franzos was simultaneously sensitive to the diversity of cultures within Austria and sought, at bottom, to promote a national, even supra-national, unity.

Kralik and Lipiner, both Austrian authors with Slavic roots, had personal correspondence with the slightly older thinker; Lipiner was even featured in Franzos's *German Book of Austrian Poets* (*Deutsche Dichterbuch aus Österreich*) and they corresponded about his contribution in the summer of 1882.⁴¹ The suggestion that the three-part ethnic allegiances of the Pernerstorfer Circle members explored above were a particularly Austrian phenomenon is borne out both in

³⁹ Anna-Dorothea Ludwig, *Zwischen Czernowitz und Berlin: Deutsch-jüdische Identitätskonstruktionen im Leben und Werk von Karl Emil Franzos* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2008), 88.

⁴⁰ Sommer, "Halb-Asien," 44.

⁴¹ These letters are held in archive of the Vienna Municipal Library, my primary source research.

Franzos's role as the editor of the *German Book of Austrian Poets* and in his selection of writers like Lipiner to fill it.⁴²

As the preceding pages demonstrate, each of the members of Mahler's cohort either expressed concern for or identified personally with the multiethnic cohort of Austria. Consequently, their sense of identity would have been complicated by Austria's unique ethnic mixture, an element that I believe informed a certain approach to the world and a certain reading of Nietzsche's philosophy. Mahler's music, perhaps most clearly, shows the interactions and representations of various identities, a reflection of the composer's own complex identity and one that was shared by members of the Pernerstorfer Circle.

Mahler's Transnational Music

Mahler's famous comment to Alma that he was thrice homeless is the most pointed example of the composer's own recognition of his divided allegiances. However more than his own characterization, Mahler's music suggests his divided allegiances. The literature on Mahler's sense of musical identities has been largely limited to the identification of Jewish melodies or sentiments in his music. He is otherwise seen as the natural inheritor of a long line of Viennese composers whose works define the canon of not only German music, but classical music generally. Very few English and German-language scholars have discussed the influence of Mahler's Bohemian background and his relationship to other composers from Bohemia despite Mahler's own characterization that he was a Bohemian in Austria.

⁴² According to Hartungen, Lipiner's poem "Bruder Rausch" was featured in Franzos's anthology in 1883. See Harmut von Hartungen, "Der Dichter Siegfried Lipiner (1856-1911)" (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1932), 9.

Bohemian Elements

Mahler himself identified traces of Bohemia in his music when he described the Scherzo of the Second Symphony to Bauer-Lechner, saying, “The Bohemian music of my childhood home has found its way into many of my compositions. I’ve noticed it especially in the ‘Fischpredigt.’”

The underlying national element there can be heard, in its most crude and basic form, in the tootling of the Bohemian musicians [aus dem Gedudel der böhmischen Musikanten].”⁴³

Although he does not identify exactly what part of the movement he means, the arpeggiated lines of the clarinet and flutes could be described as “tootling,” shown in Example 6.1.

Example 6.1. Symphony no. 2, movement III: Flutes, Clarinets, mm. 21-32

The musical score for Example 6.1 shows three staves: 1.2. Fl. (Flute), 1. Clar. in B. (Clarinet in B-flat), and 2. Clar. in B. (Clarinet in B-flat). The music is in 3/4 time and features arpeggiated lines. The flute part has a dynamic marking of *pp* and a 'zu 2' marking. The clarinet parts have a dynamic marking of *p*.

He also characterized the funeral procession in the third movement of the First Symphony as being following by a band of (not very good) Bohemian musicians.⁴⁴ Some scholars, Vladimir

⁴³ Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler*, trans. by Dika Newlin (London: Faber & Faber, 1980), 33.

⁴⁴ Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler* (Hamburg: Verlag der Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), 174. [“Äußerlich mag man sich den Vorgang hier etwa so vorstellen: An unserem Helden zieht ein Leichenbegängnis vorbei und das ganze Elend, der ganze Jammer der Welt mit ihren schneidenden Kontrasten und der gräßlichen Ironie faßt ihn an. Den Trauermarsch des "Bruder Martin" hat man sich von einer ganz schlechten Musikkapelle, wie sie solchen Leichenbegängnissen zu folgen pflegen, dumpf abgespielt zu denken. Dazwischen tönt die ganze Roheit, Lustigkeit und Banalität der Welt in den Klängen irgend einer sich dreinmischenden "böhmischen Musikantenkapelle" hinein, zugleich die furchtbar schmerzliche Klage des Helden.”]

Karbusicky in particular, have discussed this section in terms of Klezmer music, a type of Jewish folk music from Central and Eastern Europe. Mahler's own description of this passage identifies the musicians as folk players from Eastern Europe, but does not specify their religious affiliation.⁴⁵ While the quotation bears a resemblance to klezmer music, it also sounds like Eastern European folk music generally, two traditions that are difficult to disentangle for the purposes of musical analysis. The only indication Mahler gives regarding the section's ethnic origins is its performance by Bohemian musicians and the proximity of the two styles is discussed in the following section.

Many of Mahler's contemporaries also noted the influence of Austria's Slavic population on the composer's music. The first monograph on Mahler, written by Ludwig Schiedermair in 1900, identifies the composer as Bohemian, as well as Jewish, and notes that in his music "Germanness is mixed with Hungarian elements, in which the sounds of the far East are also heard."⁴⁶ Emil Freund reported to Bauer-Lechner that in his building on Salesianergasse, Mahler was known only as "the Bohemian musician."⁴⁷ During Mahler's first visit to a synagogue as a child in Iglau, it is reported that "he interrupted the singing of the community with shouts and

⁴⁵ Vladimir Karbusicky, "Mahler's Musical Jewishness" in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). Jens Malte Fischer has further disputed this characterization, claiming that klezmer music was found much more commonly in Jewish communities further east than Iglau, see Fischer, *Gustav Mahler: Der fremde Vertraute* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2003), 31. Henry-Louis de La Grange also critiques Karbusicky's claims and writes that it's possible that Mahler did not even come into contact with klezmer music in his youth, a suggestion which is probably unlikely. See de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, Vol 4, *A New Life Cut Short (1907-1911)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 [1984]), 474-5.

⁴⁶ Ludwig Schiedermair, *Gustav Mahler: Eine biographisch-kritische Würdigung* (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1905), 5.

⁴⁷ ["In einer anderen Wohnung, in der Salesianergasse, erzählte mir Dr. Freund wurde G. verächtlich nur immer 'der böhmische Musikant' genannt."] This quotation appears in a manuscript in the possession of the Ritus family. As far as I can tell, it is not currently published.[Riethus Collation 8]

screams. ‘Be quiet! Be quiet! That’s horrible!’ And when, from his mother’s arms, he succeeded in stopping everything, when the whole community was in consternation and had stopped singing, he demanded—singing a verse for them—that they should all sing ‘Eits a blinkel Kasi [Hrasi?],’ one of his favourite songs.”⁴⁸ Jiri Rychetsky, the founder and curator of the Mahler museum in Humpolec, Czech Republic has argued that this favorite song is likely to have been the Czech folksong about a wayfarer, called “At’ se pinkl házi,” or “Let the Knapsack Rock.”⁴⁹ Dr. František Malý of the Moravian Museum in Brno further identified the “Polka tremblante” for country band as most likely what the young Mahler meant. and notes that the song was extremely popular in the nineteenth century. “The poet Jan Neruda relates that, when the Prussians occupied Prague in 1866 after their crushing defeat of the Austrians, they tried to gain goodwill by having their pipers play *Let the Knapsack Rock*, imagining it to be a Czech national song. A Czech writer, Ladislav Quis, mentions that people used to greet one another with the salutation ‘Let the Knapsack rock!’—to which the reply was, ‘let it rock.’”⁵⁰ The similarities in the title’s name as well as the wayfarer imagery and the popularity of the song all indicate that Mahler’s request was for this Czech folksong.

Ernst Klusen, writing in 1963, asked the question, what kind of folk music was Mahler familiar with?⁵¹ He rightly acknowledged that almost no one who writes about Mahler omits

⁴⁸ Unedited typescript of Mahleriana by Natalie Bauer-Lechner, circa 1912. The typescript is reproduced in Norman Lebrecht, *Mahler Remembered* (London, 1987), 11-12. The manuscript is in the possession of the Médiathèque Musicale Mahler and discussed in Henry-Louis de La Grange’s *Mahler*, Vol.1 (Garden City, NJ: Double day & Company, Inc., 1973), 15.

⁴⁹ Jiri Rychetsky, “Mahler’s Favorite Song” *Musical Times* 130/1762 (Dec. 1989): 729

⁵⁰ Rychetsky, “Mahler’s Favorite Song,” 729.

⁵¹ Ernst Klusen, “Mahler und das Volkslied seiner Heimat,” *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 15 (1963): 29.

mention of his use of folk song, but that no one has yet to perform a detailed analysis of the folk song elements of Mahler's works and relate them to folksongs that Mahler would have known. More than 50 years later, the state of this particular literature has improved little. Biographers including Richard Specht, Guido Adler and Paul Stefan have noted that by the age of four, Mahler already knew more than 200 folksongs, but Klusen argues that given Iglau's cultural location, the young composer would have been introduced to a particular mixture of different folk styles: Czech, north Moravian, and German. The "folk song" of Mahler's music is not simply German as characterized by Paul Stefan (1911) but rather it is folk music from his homeland, the border on which these cultures came together.

The similarities between Mahler's music and that of the styles of his homeland are not direct quotations, but rather formulas, including rhythmic, melodic, tonal and formal structures, as well as instrumental techniques, that appear throughout Mahler's works.⁵² According to Klusen,

The songs of [Mahler's] homeland, on the border between Bohemia and Moravia, include (a) Moravian songs with archaic features, (b) Czech and German-Bohemian folk songs with clearly defined stylistic elements from the eighteenth century, and (c) songs of the bordering German lands of Bavaria and Silesia. Analysis has shown that Mahler used formulae from Moravian folk song, including the lydian fourth, and that there is a basic relationship between his music and the folk songs of his homeland. His melodies tend to be rhythmically free and to use repeated notes. Rhythmic features, such as short notes on strong beats, syncopation, and feminine endings, point to Czech folk song. Repetition of short formulae, and chain- or open forms occur, as in Czech and Moravian folk song.⁵³

One way in which Mahler's music embodies the meeting of German and Czech styles is in the combination of triadic melodies and *ostinati* figures. Example 6.2, reproduced from Klusen,

⁵² Klusen, "Mahler und das Volkslied seiner Heimat," 31.

⁵³ Ibid, 29.

Example 6.2 Reciprocal influences in German and Czech folk songs

Z Čech



Ne - jsi, ne - jsi, jak jsi se dě - la - la, Ne - jsi,

Fine

ne - jsi, jak jsi dě - láš. fa - leš né srd ce máš
dar - mo - to za - pí - ráš

Iglauer Sprachinsel



Bin i net ein lu-sti-ger Fuhr manns gsell, Fuhr manns gsell, ver - dien mein Geld auf der



Strass auf der Strass, ver - dien mein Geld auf der Strass auf der Strass.

Example 6.3 Mahler's use of both German and Czech Influences

Mahler, "Starke Einbildungskraft" from *Lieder und Gesänge*

(Vorspiel)



Hast ge - sagt du willst mich neh men so -



bald der Som mer kommt! Der Som-mer ist ge-kom-men, ge-kom-men! du hast mich nicht ge



nom - men, ge - nom - men! Geh, Büb - le, geh, geh nimm mich! Geh



Büb-le geh, geh nimm mich! Gelt ja? Gelt ja? Gelt ja du-nimmst mich noch?

shows the influence of the broken triadic melodies of northern Bavaria on a Czech folk song, the influence of the obstinate repetition of Czech folksong on a German song from the Iglau, and an excerpt from Mahler showing his elemental affinity for both national styles and his ability to unify the two.⁵⁴

Klusen further characterizes Mahler's orchestration in terms of heterophony, which he defines as a play with various colorations of a melody⁵⁵. The example given by the author is reproduced below in Example 6.4, and demonstrates similar techniques of coloring a single melody in a Czech folksong and in the finale of Mahler's Fourth Symphony. The reduction of the first violin and flute parts accompanying the vocal melody shows Mahler utilizing stepwise triplets and groupings of sixteenth notes to embellish the central melody in much the same way as the folksong collected by Bartoš.

Finally, Klusen argues that Mahler writes for strings so as to reproduce the characteristic tone of the Iglau folk fiddle. The Iglau fiddle comes from a family of stringed instruments with a trapezoid-shaped, flat body, which play with a bright and penetrating tone.⁵⁶ According to the author, any place in Mahler's scores where he uses the instructions "grell" or "wie eine Fiedel," especially where he has tuned the instrument a whole step higher than the rest of the orchestra,

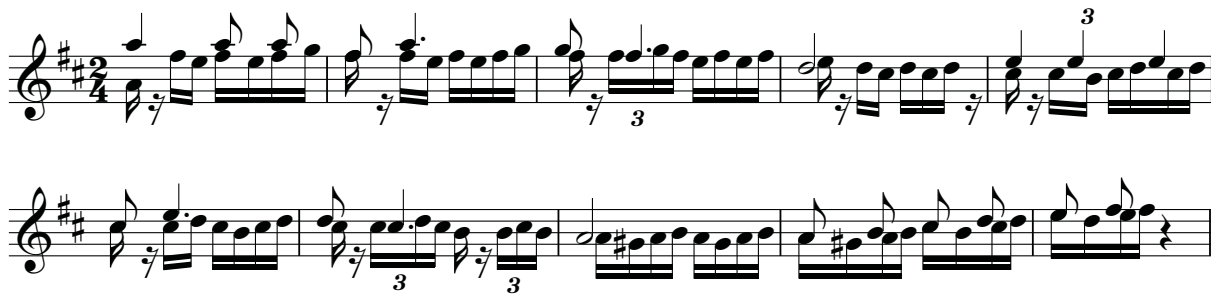
⁵⁴ Klusen, "Mahler und das Volkslied seiner Heimat," 34. ["Das Beispiel zeigt beim zweiten Teil des tschechischen Volksliedes den Einfluss der gebrochenen Dreiklangsmelodik aus Nordbayern, während das deutsche Lied aus der Iglauer Sprachinsel in seinem melodischen Duktus von der ostinaten Tonwiederholung des tschechischen Volksliedes beeinflusst ist. Das abschliessende Lied Mahlers aber zeigt die elementare Verwandtschaft Mahlers zu den beiden nationalen Stiltypen in der gegenseitigen Durchdringung der eben bezeichneten stilistischen Einzelheiten."]

⁵⁵ See also Guido Adler, "Heterophony" in Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: Songs and Symphonies of Life and : Interpretations and Annotations* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002), 624-634.

⁵⁶ Klusen, "Mahler und das Volkslied seiner Heimat," 36.

Example 6.4 Comparison of Bartoš No. 1734 to Symphony no. 4

Bartoš, No. 1734



Mahler, Symphony no. 4, movement IV, mm. 18-22

such as the start of the Scherzo in the Fourth Symphony, is an evocation of the musical instrument of his homeland.⁵⁷ Many of Klusen's examples relate more directly to the composer's lieder, but given his frequent quotation of his own early songs in the *Wunderhorn* symphonies, the techniques Klusen demonstrates as absorbed from Bohemia's unique mixture of folk influences play a prominent role in the symphonic works as well.

In addition to the understudied Bohemian influences on Mahler's music, the composer showed an interest in the music of Bohemian composer, Bedřich Smetana.⁵⁸ Donald Mitchell wrote a short piece exploring Mahler's interest in Smetana in which he considers Mahler's

⁵⁷ Klusen, "Mahler und das Volkslied seiner Heimat," 36

⁵⁸ Donald Mitchell, "Mahler and Smetana: significant influences or accidental parallels?" in *Mahler Studies*, ed. Stephen Hefling (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 110-121.

rewriting and premiering of Smetana's works. Mahler did indeed seem to take exceptional interest in Smetana's operas, which he performed as a conductor in Vienna as well as New York. In 1894, after the success of *The Bartered Bride* in Hamburg, Mahler revived another Smetana opera, *Two Widows* and continued with a premiere of *The Kiss* in Hamburg in February 1895. "Indeed, during the 1894-95 season Hamburg witnessed virtually a miniature festival of Smetana operas conducted by Mahler—a self-contained event that is surely worth attention in its own right, particularly as regards the reception of these operas by both public and critics."⁵⁹ Perhaps especially telling of Mahler's view of Bohemian music and its place within the larger repertoire of Austria is the composer's choice for his first performance as director of the Vienna Court Opera in October of 1897. Peter Franklin writes, "Mahler so arranged things that the first performance he conducted after his official appointment [as director of the court opera] ... was of a new production, on the Emperor's name-day (October 4), of Smetana's *Dalibor*."⁶⁰ Franklin further notes that the timing of the production meant that it came amidst heated political debates over the use of the Czech language in the Czech-speaking lands of Bohemia and Moravia. Nonetheless, in his debut as the director of the Vienna Court Opera—and on the Emperor's day name—Mahler selected a "Czech nationalist opera about a Czech national folk hero."⁶¹

Mahler's new production of *Dalibor* struck Bauer-Lechner as quite exceptional. She wrote, "Mahler had accentuated and even altered many expression marks and had touched up the

⁵⁹ Donald Mitchell, "Mahler and Smetana," 112

⁶⁰ Peter Franklin, "A Stranger's Story: Programmes, Politics, and Mahler's Third Symphony" in *The Mahler Companion*, ed. Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 178.

⁶¹ Franklin, "A Stranger's Story," 178.

orchestration here and there. As [concertmaster Arnold] Rosé observed to me recently, no other conductor, however outstanding, has ever done such perfect justice, not only to the broad outlines but also to the most delicate, finest and subtlest points of a score. Thus, although *Dalibor* had never been able to get a footing elsewhere, Mahler not only gave it a brilliant first night, but also assured it a genuine success.”⁶² Mahler’s interest and dedication to the performance of Smetana’s works was already well-established by 1897. As early as 1886, Mahler wrote to Max Staegemann, the director of the Leipzig Stadttheater, where he had accepted a position as assistant conductor for the upcoming season, that he had heard works of Smetana’s at the National Bohemian Theater during his time in Prague, that they struck him as “remarkable,” suggesting their performance in Leipzig as part of the coming season.⁶³

Mitchell also notes a number of possible compelling similarities between the compositions of Smetana and Mahler. There are striking parallels between the transition to the recapitulation of the finale of Mahler’s First Symphony and the overture to *The Bartered Bride*, “music with which he would have been thoroughly familiar.”⁶⁴ The viola’s entrance in measure 540 of the fourth movement of the First Symphony is nearly identical to the string parts of opening of the overture to *The Bartered Bride*. The comparison is shown in Examples 6.5.

⁶² Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler*, trans. Dika Newlin (), 102. Passages in NBLE, pp.101-102, NBL2, pp.100 and 225, n.113

⁶³ Letter to Max Staegemann, June or July, 1886. *Gustav Mahler Briefe*, ed. Herta Blaukopf (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1982), 50-1.

⁶⁴ Mitchell, “Mahler and Smetana,” 112.

Example 6.5a Symphony no. 1, movement IV: Violas, mm. 540-546



Example 6.5b Smetana, *Overture to The Bartered Bride*: Violins I and II, mm.8-12



Mitchell also notes a resemblance between the ending of the lullaby Vendulka sings at the close of Act 1, Scene 7 of Smetana's *The Kiss* and Mahler's *Wunderhorn* song "Der schildwache Nachtlied," shown in Examples 6.5a and 6.5b. In both songs, the singer seems to sing themselves to sleep despite their purpose: cradling a child in the case of Vendulka and keeping watch over the battlefield in "Der schildwache Nachtlied." This manifests as a conclusion that lingers on the dominant before dissolving, without any firm sense of conclusion. While Mahler did not stage *The Kiss* in Hamburg until February 1895, he is likely to have known it from other sources, such that it influenced the composition of his *Wunderhorn* song. Vendullka's lullaby may have also been performed on its own, and the vocal score to the opera was published in 1880. Mahler was also in Prague in 1886, the year the Czech national theater performed the work.

Ex. 6.6a Smetana, *The Kiss*, Vendulka's Lullaby, Act I, mm. 1598-1602

[illegible]

Ex. 6.6b Ending of “Die Schildwache Nachtlied”

[illegible]

Mitchell also compares the *Nachtstück* from *The Kiss* to a passage from the development in the first movement of the Second Symphony. The symphony's original incarnation as the tone poem "Todtenfeier" was written in Prague, where Mahler had already heard Smetana's works. In the opera, a night patrol travels through the forest, featuring a chorus of smugglers. Excerpts from both, shown in Examples 6.7, feature a "combination of the ostinato plus a tapestry of winds (bassoons, horns, clarinets, flutes and oboes) projected above the insistent bass tread." Each of Mitchell's examples are compelling. Given the proximity of the performances of Smetana's works to Mahler, it is difficult to argue that the operas did not exert some influence on Mahler's musical language.

Example 6.7a Symphony no. 2, movement I: mm. 155-162

16 Sehr langsam beginnend.

engl. Horn

Cello

Bass

engl. Horn

2. Viol.

Viola

Cello

Bass

nur die Hälfte

pp

nur die Hälfte

pp

nur die Hälfte

p

nur die Hälfte

ppp

nur die Hälfte

ppp

Example 6.7b Smetana, *The Kiss*, Opening Act II

Cl. I. II. A

Fag. I. II.

Cor. I. II. D

Vlc. I. II.

Cb.

Fl. I. II.

Ob. I. II.

Cl. I. II. A

Fag. I. II.

Cor. I. II. D

(obráť se zpět, tajemně a přitlumeně)

Matouš

T. Sbor

B.

Vlc. I. II.

Cb.

Jen dál!

Jen dál! (v dálce)

Jen dál! (v dálce) Jen dál! (zadnější) piu p

Jen dál! Jen

Michael Beckerman, one of the foremost experts of Czech music, contributes some thoughts to the definition of “musical Czechness” that are useful to the discussion at hand. The conclusion of Beckerman’s essay “In Search of Czechness in Music” is that the characteristic is

as elusive as any national musical identity and only comes into focus when all the elements are considered as a whole.⁶⁵

One of the most pronounced elements shared by composers such as Dvořák, Janáček, Foerster, Novák, Suk and Martinů is an acknowledgement of Smetana's contribution to Czech music. Beckerman provides a number of examples in which musical material introduced by Smetana reappears in the music of generations that follow.⁶⁶ The connections between Mahler's music and Smetana's illustrated by Mitchell might be considered in this context. Another element of "Czechness" discussed by Beckerman is the very mixture of styles that was the topic of the previous chapter on pluralism. Beckerman writes,

Mark Germer has discussed how the Czech pastoral tradition cuts across all conventional lines, mixing sacred and secular, urban and rural, and local and universal elements. This interpenetration is also a characteristic of Czech music [generally], and it occurs at the deepest level of what we have called "Czechness," where conventional barriers between urban sophistication and rural naïveté, progressive and conservative approaches, and popular and serious styles are dissolved. In this approach then, the eternal is mixed with the quotidian, and the utterly ingenuous coexists with the most stylized.⁶⁷

Beckerman might just as easily be talking about Mahler's music here.

August Beer's review of the 1889 Budapest premiere of Mahler's First Symphony is frequently cited for its characterization of the second movement of the symphony. Beer describes the movement as "a genuine peasant dance, a piece full of healthy, true-to-life realism with whirring, humming basses, screeching violins and squealing clarinets to which the peasants

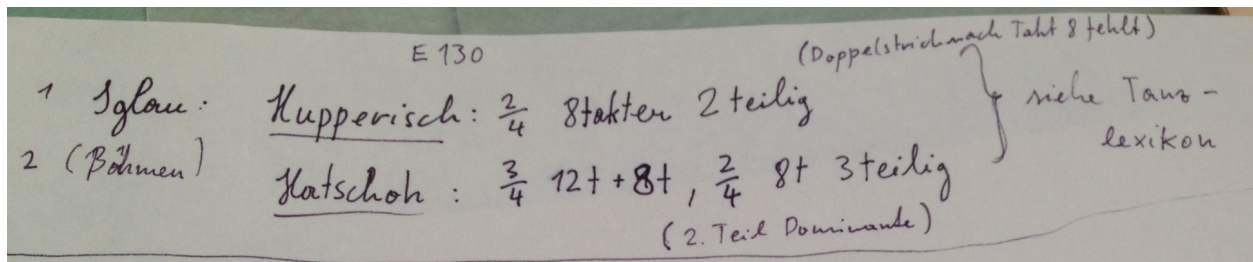
⁶⁵ Michael Beckerman, "In Search of Czechness in Music," *19th-Century Music* 10, No. 1 (Summer 1986): 61-73.

⁶⁶ See Beckerman, "In Search of Czechness," particularly pages 67-70.

⁶⁷ Beckerman, "In Search of Czechness," 71.

dance their ‘hops.’”⁶⁸ What Beer evokes with this description is not just any “peasant dance,” but a form of Bohemian folk dance specific to the village of Iglau. In the Volkslied Archiv in Vienna there is documentation of two particular Bohemian folk dances that come from Iglau. The first is called a Hupperisch (a jumping dance) and the second is called the Hatschoh. According to an outline accompanying handwritten transcriptions of folk melodies, the Hupperisch is a two-part dance featuring eight bars of music in 2/4 time. The Hatschoh is a three-part dance, whose form is depicted in the following figure.⁶⁹ The sketch is not completely clear, but it does indicate that the Hatschoh begins in 3/4 time, that it is a three part dance, and that the second part appears in the dominant. Theodor Fischer, a childhood friend of Mahler’s from Iglau, reportedly noted that the movement reminded him of something called “the *hatschoh*.”⁷⁰

Figure 6.1. Outline of Hatschoh and Hupperisch



According to Herbert Kremser, a member of the Iglau Singing Circle between 1956 and 1970, the dance was so popular that its name can be used as a catch-all to describe many of

⁶⁸ August Beer, “Theater, Kunst und Literature” in *Pester Lloyd*, No. 321, Thursday, 21 November 1889. Translation by Donald Mitchell, *The Wunderhorn Years Chronicles and Commentaries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 154.

⁶⁹ This is the product of original source research done in the Volkslied Archiv in Vienna. I am very grateful to Morten Solvik for pointing me in this direction.

⁷⁰ Jens Malte Fischer, *Gustav Mahler: Der fremde Vertraute* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2003), 31.

Iglau's dances.⁷¹ Kremser reports that his knowledge of the dance comes from his father's testimony, an Iglauer who would have presumably been roughly contemporary in age with Mahler. Kremser also claims that the dance has only been maintained thanks to a group of Iglau Singing Circles. His description of the Hatschoh is similar to the diagram above, though it does not mention any duple meter section. "Beginning with a solemn 'rustic sound' in slow, swinging triple meter, the dance gradually accelerates until the twirling twists of the pairs in jumping [hupperischen] polka-step and the departure into the wild gallop is announced by the call of 'hatscho' by the lead-dancers."⁷² Kremser's description also notes that the second part of the dance was often the "German" part, a *Ländler*, with the final section spiraling into an ever faster polka step. The final polka section is even referred to by Kremser as a "Hupperisch." According to Kremser, dancers were urged on to faster and faster steps by cries of "Aufhauen" or "Voraus." ("Forwards, onwards!")

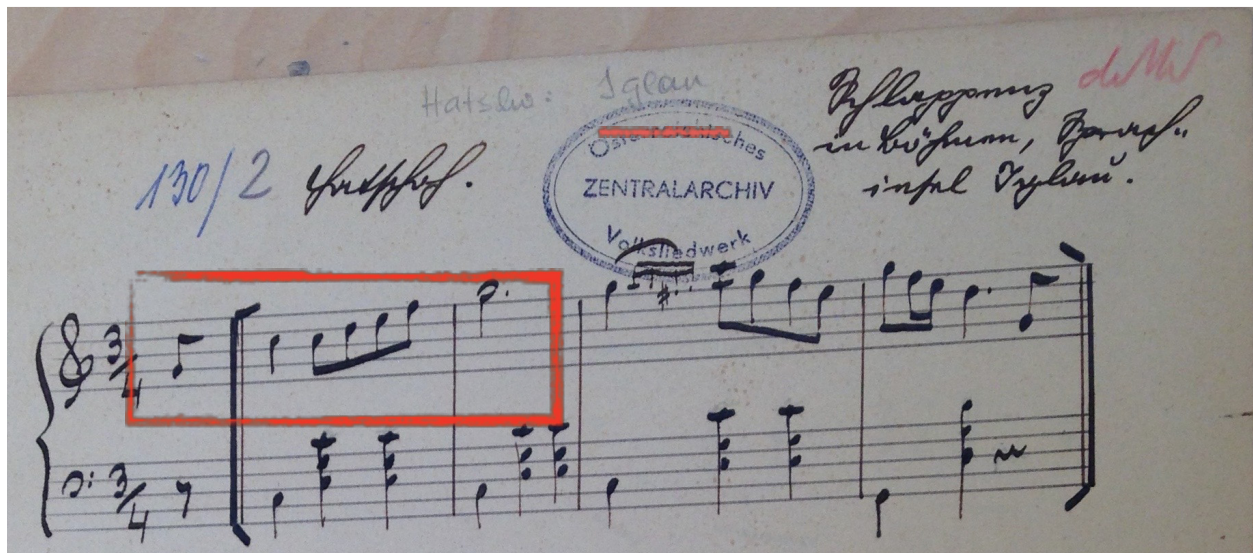
There are several pieces of evidence that suggest that this particular Iglau folk dance influenced the second movement of Mahler's First Symphony. One of the transcribed examples of the Hatschoh held by the Volkslied Archiv in Vienna bears a striking resemblance to the opening of the second movement of Mahler's First Symphony. Although it is only a couple of bars, the opening of the symphony is set in the same meter and uses the exact same melodic formulation as the Hatschoh on record, shown in Figure 6.2. Given that it is listed as coming

⁷¹ Herbert Kremser, "Iglauer Tanz- und Musikbrauchtum: Unser Hatscho," <http://www.iglau.de/hatscho.htm>

⁷² "Beginnend mit dem getragenen 'Bäurischen' im langsamen, schwingenden Dreiertakt steigert sich der Tanz allmählich bis zum wirbelnden Drehen der Paare im hupperischen Polkaschritt und dem Abgang im wilden Galopp, der durch den 'Hatscho'-Ruf des Vortänzers angekündigt wird." See Kremser, "Iglauer Tanz."

from Iglau and that Mahler grew up above the family tavern where folk music would be consistently played, it is difficult to suggest that Mahler was not familiar with the melodic gesture of the original folk song.

Figure 6.2 Opening bars of Hatschoh



Example 6.8 Symphony no. 1, movement II: Flute and Oboe, mm. 8-14,



The structure of the overall movement also imitates the three-part structure features of the Hatschoh, as Kremser describes them. Broadly, the movement is divided into three parts, according to Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. Structure of the second movement

Section	Bar	Tonality
A		
Opening material	1	A major
Middle section	44	E major, modulatory
Return of opening material	102	A major
B (Trio)		
	159	F major (\flat VI)
A		
	260	A major

Elements of the Iglauer Hatschoh are reflected in a number of ways in Mahler's music. Given the descriptions provided by Kremser and the documentation from the Volkslied Archiv, the A section of the movement recalls elements of the Hatschoh, as does the entire movement as a whole. The song's structure is a standard ternary form whose middle section modulates to the dominant. However, what might make the Hatschoh a better model for this movement than the established Classical form is the gradual increase in tempo in the return of the A section. Following the return of the opening material at measure 102, markings in the score indicate that the music be played "Vorwärts," an instruction towards increasing to increase the speed that echoes the Iglauer peasants calls of "Voraus!" to the Hatschoh dancers. This directive appears at measures 117, followed by "Immer vorwärts" at measure 138 and instructions to accelerate until measure 53 ("*accelerando al Segno*"), the end of the A section.

The movement's complete structure also imitates the Hatschoh. Again, the whole movement is in ternary form. The movement's B section is completely different and might more rightly be considered in terms of the *Ländler*, as Kremser describes. Floros indicates as much

when he writes, “the trio, however, combines a slow *ländler* with a *Valse*.”⁷³ Compared, for instance to Mozart’s *Sechs Ländler* (K.606), the characteristics of the B section, including the heavy emphasis on the down beat of each measure and passages of arpeggiating eighth notes, are demonstrative of the similarities between Mahler’s Trio section and the *Ländler* genre. The return of the A material at measure 260 produces a truncated version of the opening, but also completes the movement with propulsion towards the end. Beginning, in measure 297, the orchestra is again instructed ever forwards until the spinning figures of the final ten bars echo the spiraling finale of the Hatschoh Kremser describes.

Musical Jewishness

Charges of “sounding Jewish,” irrelevant of their validity, were often used to criticize Mahler’s music. A well-known anti-Semitic critique of the Second Symphony was written by Rudolf Louis and published in 1909 in *Die deutsche Musik der Gegenwart*. Louis writes, “If Mahler’s music would speak Yiddish it would be perhaps unintelligible to me. But it is repulsive because it *acts* Jewish [“Aber sie ist mir widerlich, weil sie *jüdeln*”]. This is to say that it speaks musical German, but with an accent, with an inflection, and above all, with the gestures of an eastern, all too eastern Jew.”⁷⁴ Though Louis is using inflammatory stereotypes to discredit Mahler’s music, earnest scholars have also heard elements of “musical Jewishness” in the composer’s works.

⁷³ Floros, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 37.

⁷⁴ English translation by Nicolas Slonimsky, *Lexicon of Musical Invective: Critical Assaults on Composers Since Beethoven’s Time* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000 [1953]), 121. The formula of characterization used by Louis recalls Nietzsche’s *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*.

Vladimir Karbusicky writes extensively on the influence of Jewish music on Mahler.⁷⁵

One of his main arguments for reading Mahler's works as revealing the composer's Jewish identity appears in his discussion of the Second Symphony. While the entire work is given the title "Resurrection," Karbusicky argues that this is a gloss on what is in fact a depiction of apocalypse and *then* resurrection, a trope from Jewish literature, in the work's final movement.

Karbusicky writes,

Apocalyptic images connected with the promise of resurrection can be found in chapters 6-12 of the [Old Testament's] Book of David, written in the second century BC [...] Belief in resurrection is thus not something purely Christian, and is not a sign of the division between Christian and Jew. The *Mishnah* Books, edited in the third century—of which the *Talmud* is the exegesis—excludes from the redeemed world those who do not believe in resurrection. The vision of resurrection has been anchored in Judaism since the Middle Ages; for Mahler it was of contemporary importance.⁷⁶

Furthermore, Karbusicky argues that the trumpet calls of the final movement are not really the brass horn called for in the orchestration, but rather the shofar, a Jewish instrument used in worship. The shofar is a primal sounding instrument, made from a ram's horn and blown only twice a year in the synagogue: once on Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, and once at the end of Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement that completes the holy days, or *Yamim Nora'im*, that begin with Rosh Hashanah. On Rosh Hashanah, the book of judgment is opened and during the period between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, Jews make amend for wrongs that have

⁷⁵ See Vladimir Karbusicky, "Mahler's Musical Jewishness" in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 195-216.

⁷⁶ Karbusicky, "Mahler's Musical Jewishness," 198. As a member of a family of practicing Ashkenazic Jews, I find Karbusicky's argument to be a bit of a stretch. As far as my own experience with the Jewish community extends, the idea of resurrection has never played a prominent part in informing conceptions of the world, present and future.

committed during the year in the hopes of being forgiven by God before his verdict on their fate is entered in the heavenly books.

Beyond this possible example of synagogal tradition in Mahler's music, Karbusicky discusses what he calls the "Yiddishness" of Mahler's music. Unlike songs that would appear in Jewish worship services throughout the world, the sounds of Yiddish jewry were specific to the Ashkenazic Jews from Central and Eastern Europe, and were therefore heavily influenced by other folk cultures from those places. Among others, Leonard Bernstein, a champion of Mahler's music and Jew raised in the Ashkenazic tradition emphasized a particular moment in the third movement of the First Symphony as having a Yiddish sound. According to Karbusicky, Bernstein emphasized the oboe melody beginning in bar 38 of the third movement of the First Symphony. The melody's distinctive scale, F-G-A-B flat-C sharp-D, played against "sobbing" descending intervals in the trumpet, Karbusicky claims is typical of Yiddish music. Peter Gradenwitz has argued that the augmented second is a typical Jewish interval, characterizing many Hasidic songs. He notes that the first four bars of oboe part use an augmented second (B flat to C sharp) and an ascending leap of a sixth that can be heard as the "shout for joy" common in Hasidic music. This passage is shown in Example 6.9.

Example 6.9 Symphony no. 1, movement III: Oboe and Trumpet, mm. 39-42

5 a tempo. Ziemlich langsam.

1.2. Ob. *p subito* ausdrucksvoll

1.2. Trp. in F. *p*

According to Theodor Adorno, “Synagogal or secular Jewish melodies are rare [in Mahler’s music]; a passage in the Scherzo of the Fourth Symphony might most readily point in that direction.” Karbusicky notes that the oboe part in bars 23-27 of this movement, shown in Example 6.10, also depict a characteristic “shout for joy” from the Hasidic-Yiddish music tradition.⁷⁷

Example 6.10 Symphony no. 4, movement II: Oboe, mm. 23-27



Karbusicky also characterizes abrupt changes from exuberant joy to serious lament as typical of Hasidic music.⁷⁸ Gestures such as major/minor ambivalence, minor-mode cadential figures and march rhythms that become dance rhythms are Hasidic indicators because they combine the Ashkenazic Jewish experience of adjacent terror and joy.⁷⁹ As Ruth Rubin observes, the use of irony and parody particularly through the use of primitive and secular tunes, passing military bands and non-Jewish songs of the countryside are also characteristic of Hasidic melodies.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Karbusicky, “Mahler’s Musical Jewishness,” 200-1; Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992 [1960]), 149.

⁷⁸ Karbusicky, “Mahler’s Musical Jewishness,” 201.

⁷⁹ Karbusicky, “Mahler’s Musical Jewishness,” 203.

⁸⁰ Ruth Rubin, *Voices of a People* (New York: Yoseloff, 1963), 233.

The Israeli musicologist Max Brod, originally a German-speaker from the Czech Republic, also devoted an essay to the Jewish elements of Mahler's music. He writes that despite Mahler's love for German-ness and his identification with German culture, his music still reveals his Jewish identity, and that as a result he is truly a synthesis of German and Jewish musics.⁸¹ Brod also characterizes Mahler as not only being a paradigm of Jewish music, but an example of deeply Jewish creativity.⁸² Brod explains how upon hearing the religious music of First World War refugees from Galicia in Prague, he better understood the music of Mahler and he focuses on Mahler's use of marches specifically, claiming that Hasidic folk songs "often display sharply defined march rhythms, even if the text sings of the highest things, God and Eternity."⁸³ Brod connects this to Mahler's use of march rhythms in nearly all his symphonies (I., II., III., V., VI., VII.) While the connection between march rhythms in Mahler's music and the character of Hasidic folk music is compelling, the location of Mahler's Iglau home just steps from a square where the military band practiced and performed, cannot be discounted as an equally plausible explanation for Mahler's use of this topic. Addressing Mahler's most overtly Christian topic, Brod even reframes the "veni creator spiritus" portion of the Eighth Symphony, arguing that the spirit of the text is identical to the Jewish "ruach hakodesh" (Hebrew for "Divine Inspiration") and therefore not Christian in its origin.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Max Brod, *Gustav Mahler: Beispiel einer deutsch-jüdischen Symbiose* (Frankfurt am Main: Ner Tamid, 1961), 20.

⁸² "dass er auch da und gerade da das hervorragendste Paradigma jüdischer Musik, tiefjüdischer Schöpferkraft bietet." See Brod, *Gustav Mahler*, 25.

⁸³ "diese Lieder einen oft scharf ausgeprägten Marschrhythmus aufweisen, auch dann, wenn der Text die allerhöchsten Dinge, Gott und Ewigkeit, besingt." See Brod, *Gustav Mahler*, 25.

⁸⁴ Brod, *Gustav Mahler*, 29.

Peter Gradenwitz includes Mahler in his history of Jewish music and musicians, *The Music of Israel: From the Biblical Era to Modern Times*. Though he characterizes the composer as being “possessed by the mysticism of the Catholic world,” he also acknowledges elements of Mahler music that have an Eastern European Jewish sound. He gives no specific examples, but writes that “strange melancholy strains transform [Mahler’s] melodies and march rhythms to such a degree that they almost resemble the plaintive Jewish songs of eastern Europe.”⁸⁵ Gradenwitz is rightly careful to qualify the recognition of eastern European Jewish melodies in Mahler’s music, writing, “we must not forget that the Hassidic [sic] songs were as much indebted to Slav melodies as the popular music and march tunes young Mahler heard in his native town. When comparing such melodic strains in the symphonies of Antonin Dvořak and Gustav Mahler, we are inclined to doubt ‘Hassidic influence.’”⁸⁶ However, he does note that Mahler was familiar with and drawn to the synagogal melodies of Jewish worship, whose influence may have seeped into the composer’s symphonic language.

Austrian Tradition

Though much less pronounced, Mahler’s early symphonies also reveal some allusions to specifically Austrian musical traditions. The second movements of both the First and Second Symphonies are both usually seen as derivative of the *Ländler*, “[a] folkdance in 3/4 time of varying speed: generally fast in the west (Switzerland and the Tyrol) and slow in the east (Styria,

⁸⁵ Peter Gradenwitz, *The Music of Israel: From the Biblical Era to Modern Times* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1996), 203.

⁸⁶ Gradenwitz, *The Music of Israel*, 210.

Upper and Lower Austria).”⁸⁷ According to Mosco Carner, “Before the dissemination of the waltz, mazurka and polka in the 19th century, the *ländler* was the most common folk dance in Austria, south Germany and German Switzerland. It also existed in Bohemia, Moravia, Slovenia and northern Italy [all formerly regions of the Habsburg Empire].” Although I have provided evidence for a more suitable reading of the second movement of the First Symphony as a *Hatschoh*, the middle section might still be considered in terms of the *Ländler*, a genre that appeared in the symphonic tradition at the hands of Austrian composers, such as Mozart, Haydn and Bruckner, before Mahler. Among other specifically austrian musical materials, Ernst Krenek has argued that the opening phrase of the Third Symphony, scored for eight French horns, “is literally identical to the first phrase of a marching song which all Austrian school children used to sing.”⁸⁸

Ultimately, it is my position that the meaning of being “an Austrian amongst Germans” has less to do with using the *Ländler* rather than a folk tune from Thuringia or Saxony and more to do with the use of a mixture of ethnic influences, a reflection of the multicultural identity of the Austrian state that appears the works of the Pernerstorfer Circle. This manifests in Mahler’s music not in any one quotation of Viennese folk song (though it certainly might draw inspiration from a Viennese folk style such as Schrammelmusik, which is played by a quartet of two fiddles, a contraguitar, and a clarinet and was heard frequently in the wine taverns of nineteenth-century

⁸⁷ Mosco Carner, “Ländler,” *Grove Music Online*. <https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.15945>.

⁸⁸ Ernst Krenek, “Bohemian, Jew, German, Austrian” in Bruno Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, trans. James Galston (New York: The Greystone Press, 1941), 193. See also Henry A. Lea, *Gustav Mahler: Man on the Margin* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1985), 71-73 as well as Chapter 5: “Transnational Music.”

Vienna), but rather that what is Austrian and not German *is* the conglomeration of these different elements in one place, and the possibility of allowing them to co-exist.

Ernst Krenek's biographical essay, which accompanies the 1941 publication of Bruno Walter's *Gustav Mahler* begins with the sentence "Many peculiar traits in Gustav Mahler's life and work become clear and understandable once one realizes that he was Austrian."⁸⁹ Krenek continues, "The full implication of this simple fact hardly occurs to the minds of most commentators on Mahler because the notion of what 'Austrianity' means is almost forgotten in a generation that cherishes the illusion of clear-cut national discriminations. In the light of such simplifying views Mahler was either a German, or a Bohemian, or a Jew." In fact, Mahler was all three and this was part of being Austrian.

Krenek explains the relationship between Bruckner and Mahler as "mutual attraction between Jewish intellectuality and endemic *naïveté* is also a peculiar Austrian phenomenon."⁹⁰ As part of Mahler's early conducting appointments he took posts throughout the dual monarchy. Krenek writes, "we may assume that his activities in various parts of the polyglot Empire enhanced his sense of universality, which is so characteristic of Mahler's music as well as of all truly symphonic music since Beethoven. It is certainly more than a mere coincidence that this symphonic style was first developed in Vienna and remained at home there as long as the Empire lasted."⁹¹ Krenek does not fully explore what he implies at the start of his essay—that being Austrian was of unique importance to Mahler's works—but he does repeatedly refer to the

⁸⁹ Krenek, "Bohemian, Jew, German, Austrian," 157.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 162-3.

⁹¹ Ibid, 167-8.

Empire in terms of universalism, pointing out that in a place ruled by Catholic orientation and the German language, Poles and Czechs had representation in the cabinet and a Bohemian Jew “ruled with absolute power for ten years over the foremost artistic institution of the Empire.”⁹²

If we examine how the various folk influences interact in Mahler’s music they do not overpower each other, one silencing another. They simply each contribute to the overall musical discourse. They do not always respond to, or even blend with, one another but they are each a part of the work’s impression. Unlike the occasional quotations of ethnic music seen in earlier Austro-German composers, such as Beethoven’s janissary music or Brahms’s Hungarian dances, ethnic folk musics appear throughout Mahler’s early symphonies, as shown in Table 6.2. In addition to the quotations from the *Wunderhorn* songs themselves, folk music quotation is an integral part of Mahler’s overall style, not as part of character pieces or selections depicting of other cultures, as might be the case with Beethoven and Brahms. The folk music that Mahler quotes tends to also be from his own multiethnic background and does not have the same “quotation marks” as the Beethoven or Brahms examples. Beethoven might have used Turkish military music, but it was not a musical reminiscence of his own Turkish heritage and while Brahms spent most of his career in Austria-Hungary’s capital, he himself was not drawing on personal experiences in his Hungarian folk songs as a member of the Hungarian folk.

⁹² Krenek, “Bohemian, Jew, German, Austrian,” 198.

Table 6.2 Folk music quotations in Mahler's *Wunderhorn* symphonies

Symphony	Folk Music Quotation	Movement
No. 1	"Ging heut morgen ubers Feld"	I
	<i>Ländler</i>	II
	Iglau Hatschoh	II
	Bruder Martin	III
	Eastern European band music	III
No. 2	<i>Ländler</i>	II
	"Des Antonius des Fischpredigt"	III
	"Urlicht"	IV
No. 3	Austrian marching song	I
	Posthorn solo	III
	"Es Sungen drei Engel"	V
No. 4	Fiddle section	II
	"Das himmlische Leben"	IV

In his essay, "Socio-political landscapes: reception and biography," Peter Franklin makes a revealing comment about how Mahler's use of folk musics even serves to unite multiple cultures. At one point, Mahler had planned to have the Turkish march from the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony played from off-stage. At the time, many of Vienna's residents would have had a familial memory of the Turks' latest siege of the city in 1683. Mahler's use of the military fanfare from off-stage in the Second Symphony might recall this performance of Beethoven's Ninth, and with it the encroaching Turkish army. Franklin suggests that what might have been initially heard as a musical representation of threat was, in the context of the Second

Symphony's divine absolution, "converted into an inclusive, multi-national and multi-cultural brotherhood."⁹³

For the members of Mahler's circle, being torn between multiple ethnic allegiances was an alienating personal experience, but it was also one shared by many Austrians as a result of the transnational character of the empire. Mahler's famous statement that he was thrice homeless is also echoed in the evaluations of the identities of the Zionists, Slavs living in the crown lands, and Victor Adler's characterization of Austria's absence of a fatherland. It is not difficult to imagine that the experience of being an outsider might lead readers of Nietzsche's philosophy—by its nature paradoxical and therefore hermeneutically flexible—to an interpretation that was generous to outsiders. For these individuals who experienced both alienation at the personal level as well as part of a uniquely diverse state, Nietzsche's writing was an affirmation of the self and a loyalty to one's personal authenticity, empowering readers to "own" their identities and experiences, even when they were in the minority.

In the Introduction to *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics*, William McGrath writes that the two most important intellectual bonds formed among members of the Pernerstorfer Circle were "a shared psychological framework and a sophisticated use of theatrical symbolism."⁹⁴ Their use of theatrical symbolism, and several other approaches to politics and art, have already been examined in earlier chapters, but McGrath's acknowledgement of the group's shared

⁹³ Peter Franklin, "Socio-political landscapes: reception and biography" in *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 14.

⁹⁴ William McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 1.

psychological framework introduces a pathway into their shared reading of philosophy. The relationship between the members of the circle and transnational identity appears repeatedly, both in their political considerations of multiple nationalities within Austria and in their own complex ethnic heritage. I suggest that this was an integral part of the group's shared psychological framework and that the connection forged through these shared experiences in fin-de-siècle Vienna contributes significantly to the Pernerstorfer Circle's reading of Nietzsche.

EPILOGUE

The Pernerstorfer Circle's interactions with Nietzsche's writings in the 1870s shaped Gustav Mahler's interactions with the philosopher for decades to come. The composer made explicit references to Nietzsche with regard to his compositions as late as 1896, almost two decades after he finished his studies at the University of Vienna. Yet these references were pithy, and often cryptic. Furthermore, an author's own explanation of his or her influences and intentions is not always very useful. We are frequently not the most reliable judges of, or commentators on, our own actions. Through the examination of the work and communications of Mahler's university circle, I have been able to construct a more reliable view of the meaning of Nietzschean ideas to the group as a whole and to Mahler individually. By combining an analysis of exchanges among members and their literary production as well as political actions, I have identified five facets of Nietzsche's ideas that resonated with the group and produced a lasting influence.

Members of the Pernerstorfer Circle were especially interested in theatrics and, although Nietzsche would vehemently break with Wagner in his later writings, the two thinkers shared the view that art could redeem society. Consequently, and perhaps counterintuitively, many of the Circle's members were both Nietzscheans and enthusiastic Wagnerians.¹ Victor Adler and Siegfried Lipiner both made pilgrimages to Bayreuth. Lipiner even befriended Wagner. The use of the theatrical to comment upon and influence the direction of contemporary social and political views appears in the work of several Circle members. More specifically, Adler drew

¹ I do not, in fact, find this to be a particularly counterintuitive position. Many of Nietzsche's writings are in dialogue with Wagner—if not in agreement, then in reaction. The closely linked nature of these writings, and in particular their early consensus, makes the dual influence of these men on members of the Circle logical. See Mark Berry, "The Positive Influence of Wagner Upon Nietzsche," *The Wagner Journal* 2, No. 2 (July 2008): 11-28. Furthermore the Circle's positive reception of many of Nietzsche's ideas does not necessitate the wholesale on-boarding of every idea the philosopher had.

heavily on symbolic and theatrical demonstrations to unite Austria's workers into a movement that successfully demanded universal manhood suffrage and an eight-hour work day. Both Lipiner and Richard von Kralik became authors who devoted much of their writing to theater. Kralik was ultimately a more successful dramatist and is credited not only with several successes on the Austrian stage, but with the revival of the genre of Austrian Catholic drama, with its own perspectives and messages regarding society. Mahler, who made his career as an opera director, also utilized many theatrical elements in his compositions that might have been germane to the opera house but not to the symphony hall.

The theatrical emphasis of Mahler and Adler's work in particular was built on a Dionysian-Apollonian duality described and championed in Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*. Nietzsche argued that the power of ancient drama, and its concomitant utility to the republic, was the result of the combined forces of Dionysian self-nullification and affirmation of the connections between men directed towards specific aims through the narrative-driven Apollonian veil. In Adler's politics, this became manifest as the use of dramatic displays based on the theater and the traditions of Austrian pageantry in service to specific political goals for workers. The Apollonian-Dionysian duality also serves as a productive model for many of Mahler's more theatrical musical techniques. Through the evocation of a specific narrative or social artifact, Mahler's programs inspire self-nullification and affirm universal brotherhood.

In his study of ancient Greek drama and in a number of following works including *The Gay Science* and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Nietzsche emphasized the importance of humor and its juxtaposition against the more sobering views of tragedy. Juxtapositions of tragic and comic were also popular in fin-de-siècle Vienna through the renaissance in popularity of works by

E.T.A. Hoffmann and Jean Paul. Rather than simply produce a contrast, though, Nietzsche's tragicomic combinations were meant to serve specifically as encouragement in the face of nihilism. By complementing any deep meditation on existence, and its inevitable lack of meaning, humor could inspire us to keep living. Mahler's music is rife with these juxtapositions. Given the ultimate aim of all his early symphonies, a heavenly vision of overcoming and self-acceptance, his placement of comic and tragic, cheek by jowl, aligns with Nietzsche's emphasis on the power of tragicomic combination. Mahler further characterized the entire grouping of his first four symphonies as "a perfectly self-contained tetralogy," suggesting the ancient Greek tetralogical practice of performing three tragedies followed by a light-hearted satyr play to largely the same end as Nietzsche's juxtaposition, and one that the philosopher himself identifies the importance of in *The Birth of Tragedy*.

The other dramatists in the group, Richard von Kralik and Siegfried Lipiner, similarly invoked the redemptive effects of tragicomic juxtaposition. In conversation with Mahler and Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Lipiner described this very juxtaposition in Classical literature as magical, complementing the Nietzschean belief in the redemption of society through art, which Lipiner held dear, and the use of the ancient world as a model for this project. Leading the revival of Austrian Catholic drama, Kralik's works for the stage were also part of a redemptive agenda for Austrian society. Regarding his drama *Zarathustra, Blaubart und der liebe Augustin* specifically, one reviewer noted Kralik's own use tragicomic juxtaposition and described it as characteristic of the author's writing generally.

One of Mahler's most Nietzschean (and most puzzling) comments about the Third Symphony is that the finale could be considered as "God! Or if you like, the *Übermensch*." The

equivalence of these two figures, seeing as it runs so contrary to Nietzsche's many proclamations disparaging religion, has provided an interesting scholarly puzzle. Rather than suggest that Mahler was being insincere or that he was appealing to the views of his audience rather than expressing his own interpretation of the Nietzschean figure, the religious weight that Mahler and his peers attached to the arts generally suggests that the composer saw a true equivalence between the figures. In his symphonic programs, redemption often comes as a result of or in combination with the ability to overcome, the *Übermensch*'s most powerful quality. The finales of the first two symphonies deal specifically with the hero's ability to overcome heartbreak and reframe his own existence as a part of his redemption.

Lipiner's writing also reveals connections between the idea of the *Übermensch* and the ultimate and redeeming achievements of man. The Eternal Recurrence, the ability to live one's life in such a way that the thought of reliving it for eternity is a joyful one, is the ultimate achievement of the *Übermensch*. The formula for Nietzsche's Eternal Recurrence is embedded in Zarathustra's "Midnight Song" and through the use of a "Midnight Song" in his own drama, *Adam*, Lipiner invokes Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*. Lipiner's Adam calls out for God and for the wisdom to pursue a fulfilling existence. By using a midnight song, the author too suggests that the *Übermensch* might function as a substitute for or an equivalent to God. The importance of this genre to a reading of the *Übermensch* is further underlined by Mahler's setting of the "Midnight Song" in the Third Symphony.

The *Übermensch* specifically served as a socialist ideal for Heinrich Braun and his wife Lily. Both believed in the importance of fostering individual greatness as an integral part of improving the overall community. Rosa Mayreder further characterized the Pernerstorfer Circle

as a “Klub der *Übermenschen*” and, in a late short story written by Kralik, he describes a group similar to that of Circle involved in deep debate about the meaning of the *Übermensch*. Other members of fin-de-siècle Viennese society, moving in nearby circles to that of Pernerstorfer, are also documented as reading the *Übermensch* as a religious figure and the ideal of overcoming as man’s highest possible achievement.

The work of the Pernerstorfer Circle’s artists, Lipiner, Kralik and Mahler, can also be connected to the work of its politicians through Nietzsche’s ideas. Mahler’s music famously and frequently uses a number of musical voices that interact and interrupt, bucking traditional ideas of theme and form and evoking a kind of chaos that mirrored the reality of the world, a goal Mahler himself pronounced for his symphonies. These plural voices were also an important facet of Austrian Social Democratic policy. Victor Adler, Engelbert Pernerstorfer and Heinrich Friedjung all fought to raise the voices of Austria’s large and diverse population in the pursuit of the most equitable form of governance. The interaction of plural voices in Mahler’s music that mingle freely irrespective of social origins—be they military, peasant, aristocratic, or religious—as well as the rejection of established formal conventions provide a suitable musical mirror of the equitable society envisioned by Social Democrats across Europe.

The interpretation of Nietzsche that appears as a result of Mahler and his Circle’s reception of the author is one quite different to the striving, merciless, and self-interested version of the philosopher often allied with his use by the National Socialists. Steven E. Aschheim has shown that extremely varied receptions of Nietzsche appeared throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is neither surprising nor unthinkable that one of these readings would be a generous interpretation of Nietzsche: as a figure who is encouraging, seeks the equitable, and

whose philosophical goals for mankind are akin to the divine. Without challenging the validity of this reading with respect to the author's intentions, the final chapter of the dissertation asks why this group formed this reception. Why did they read Nietzsche in this way?

A theme that recurred throughout my primary source research into Austrian periodicals and the archival collections of the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle was the difference between Austrians and Germans, with other ethnicities also mentioned on occasion. Even in modern Austria, the pride associated with a distinct Austrian-ness not only springs from the more melodious Austrian dialect, but from the country's multiethnic identity and history. I was told on countless occasions by Austrians that no modern member of the Austrian state would have to dig very far into their family history to uncover Slavic, Jewish, or Turkish roots, and that this made them different from some of Western Europe's more homogenized countries.² The Pernerstorfer Circle, too, not only seemed to value this aspect of Austrian culture, an attribute that surfaced in their work in politics and the arts, but many of the members were themselves exemplars.

Anyone who is a member of a diasporic culture knows that it is a complex identity. You are a member of multiple cultures and simultaneously a member of none.³ Mahler famously invoked a similar sentiment when he wrote that he was "thrice homeless." While this is often used as evidence of his isolation, many of Mahler's peers had similar backgrounds and

² It should be noted that as of the writing of this dissertation Austria has sadly, and in rejection of this diverse history, elected a coalition government built on a partnership between the center-right Austrian People's party (ÖVP) with the far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ), one of whose top priorities is to limit immigration. I can only point to election data that shows an urban-rural divide amongst voters and a rejection of this new approach to defining Austrian identity in the country's cities, the primary residence of ethnically diverse communities.

³ Ijeoma Umebinyuo, the Nigerian poet, sums up the experience beautifully in her *Diaspora Blues*. The poem reads, "So, here you are, too foreign for home, too foreign for here. never enough for both."

experienced similarly complex emotions of multiple allegiances and alienation. It is my view that those who both experience a diversity of cultures and are therefore receptive and sensitive to those who are different from them, and who have the experience of having a stake in multiple cultures and consequently belonging to none exclusively, are more likely to respond to the world with sensitivity and generosity. The example of Mahler and Strauss provided in Chapter 4 and their apparent different interpretations of Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* serves as an example. The former was the eternal outsider, while the latter was Christian, German, comfortable, "belonged." Consequently, Mahler's *Zarathustra* is much more benevolent, as the research in this dissertation shows, while Strauss's is less multidimensional, more self-interested and striving at the expense of others. The final chapter of the dissertation traces multiethnic elements in Mahler's compositions and in the work of other members of the Circle as part of an explanation for their particular reading of Nietzsche.

This study of Mahler's circle at the University of Vienna and their Nietzsche reception reveals that an important influence on their engagement with the philosopher was their own multiethnic identity. Yet the three ethnic identities mentioned by Mahler have only been partially interrogated. Excellent work has been undertaken by Max Brod, Dika Newlin, Peter Gradenwitz, and Vladimir Karbusicky on the influence of Mahler's Jewish identity on his compositions, but research on the impact of Mahler's Bohemian upbringing on his music is largely lacking. Despite scholarship on his place in the canon of Austro-German composers, the cultural details that Mahler felt distinguished him as Austrian—and not German—have been largely overlooked.

Further research on Mahler's social and philosophical worldview might begin with a better construction of the composer's various identities and their combined influence.

Scholarship on the specific Bohemian musical influences on Mahler's music predominantly divides into two types: Mahler scholars who have devoted their research careers to the study of the individual composer generally view him as part of the long Austro-German symphonic tradition with his Bohemian background contributing to his overall sense of being an outsider, while musicologists of the Czech Republic include Mahler in the broad history of Czech musical traditions but rarely focus on him individually. For instance, Donald Mitchell has posed the question of whether Mahler's interest in Smetana was "a significant influence or an accidental parallel," but he does not provide much of an answer. Zdenka Fischmann includes a short biography of Mahler in her essays on Czech music, but only mentions isolated details about Mahler's Czech-ness, such as his language skills, his correspondence with Janáček, and his performance of Czech composers during his career. These two approaches have suggested a dearth of research on the topic of Mahler and Bohemia and are also unfortunately in little dialogue, limiting the degree to which these two areas illuminate one another. I hope that my analysis of the second movement of Mahler's First Symphony in comparison to the Bohemian *Hatschoh* from Iglau is exemplary of the further research that could be performed in this vein.

Mahler's claim to be "an Austrian among Germans" could also have many meanings, but one way in which Austria differed from Germany at the *fin-de-siècle* is precisely the multiethnic constituency that left the composer feeling homeless. Expanding upon the study of the final chapter, which examines the importance of multiple ethnicities in the work of all the Pernerstorfer Circle members, the interaction between the musics of Mahler's different

influences—Bohemian village music, Jewish synagogal melodies, Austrian folk music, as well as the influence of art music traditions established chiefly by German-speaking composers—could be explored further in order to illuminate not only the composer’s multiethnic heritage but a kind of multiethnic character that mirrored Austrian society at the time. Mahler has been treated as a solitary example of marginal multiethnicity, rather than part of a whole generation of German-speaking, Austrian Jews born and raised in Slavic outposts of the Habsburg empire who experienced a similar alienation. The interacting depictions of Bohemia, Judaism, and Austria alongside pan-Germanic musical traditions should be explored not only because they are a part of the composer’s own self-identification, but because the negotiations taken on by Mahler and other multiethnic Austrians of his generation can provide important insights into the relationship between sense of self (particularly in increasingly heterogeneous communities) and artistic production. The question of Mahler’s identity and its constructions in his music is not one with a single answer, but rather the interactions and articulations of his self-identified allegiances can be studied as a way of better understanding the composer and his world.

A word about the ongoing importance of this topic seems appropriate here not only because the archival researcher must always justify her concern with things of the past, but also because this research might seem at first blush to revolve around a tired topic, that of a group of Caucasian men and their interest in another. Nonetheless, this dissertation is urgently relevant to current interests and concerns in musicology with issues of identity, race, and the promotion of minority musics and cultures. In the milieu of fin-de-siècle Europe, these individuals were not only

minorities who often sought to erase the evidence of their difference (religion in the case of Lipiner and Mahler, and location of upbringing in the case of Kralik), but their experiences on the margins of society played a significant role in their reception of contemporary philosophy and their social and political world views, and is demonstrated by this research to be a palpable influence on their own creations, be they musical, literary or civic.

The current political climate in the West bears a striking resemblance to that of fin-de-siècle Vienna. The Pernerstorfer Circle rejected the contemporary system of nineteenth-century Austrian liberalism—associated with industrialization, bourgeois capitalism, individualism, and social darwinism—and championed instead a turn towards populism, the nucleus of which was pan-Germanic, community-based and passionately engaged in art and ideas. In the 1880s, the pan-German national party, which members of the Pernerstorfer Circle had helped to establish, came under the leadership of Georg Schönerer, an Austrian politician who has been called Hitler’s “spiritual father.” Under Schönerer’s watch, the sense of cultural inheritance that had once inspired unity amongst German-speaking Austrians of all backgrounds gave way to racism, xenophobia and antisemitism, alienating the mostly Jewish members of the Pernerstorfer Circle in the process. Despite this bitter disappointment, members of the Circle nevertheless persisted, both in politics and the arts, managing to turn their revolutionary ideas of unity and community into works of lasting beauty. In the process, they provided a valiant demonstration of resistance in a time and place hurtling towards instability and war.

Like the population of today’s North America, and increasingly Western Europe, Habsburg Austria was a unique mixture of cultures, ethnicities, and religions, a result of the empire’s vast constituency that stretched from northern Italy to modern-day Ukraine, and from

the Czech Republic to the edge of Montenegro. A striking characteristic of Mahler's circle was that despite their interest in community building, many of the group's members, including Mahler himself, were social outsiders. They were all German-speaking Austrians—that is to say, subjects of the Austrian empire—but many came from outside cosmopolitan Vienna, often from the Empire's furthest Slavic outposts. Many were also Jewish, living in a time and place when Jews were unable to hold important positions in society (Mahler, for example, converted to Catholicism prior to his appointment as director of the Vienna State Opera). Despite their experience of being excluded, both societally and politically, their work promoted themes of inclusion through political action as well as artistic representation. Despite, or perhaps because of their own experience as outsiders, they were responsible for such influential social and political events as the establishment of a new political party, the Austrian Social Democrats, and for the creation of powerful dramatic and musical works that graced the stages of Vienna's theaters.

The narratives that Mahler initially provided to guide listeners through his early symphonies, some of the most performed and sought-after music in today's orchestral repertoire, feature inclusive and encouraging messages. They star a sometimes painfully human protagonist rather than a valiant and infallible hero. Despite a tense social atmosphere, Mahler's works focus on the human flaws that bind us together and a benevolent response to the conundrums they produce. Each of his symphonies also pays homage to Mahler's own multifaceted identity, revealing influences of Bohemian and Jewish musical cultures, while incorporating them into the genres of traditional Austro-German art music. Mahler's early works, which grew in part from the painful experiences of disappointment and exclusion in a social climate fraught with

impatience and discontent, repeatedly rally around the themes of encouragement and community, mobilizing a response to life filled with hope rather than hate.

It is a somewhat tired trope that those who do not study history are doomed to repeat it, but as historian Timothy Snyder has championed in recent years, both in his capacity as a professor at Yale University and as a public intellectual, history is important beyond comparison because it illuminates for the present ways of responding to eternal human struggles. The reading of Nietzsche that this dissertation demonstrates within the Pernerstorfer Circle and its artistic manifestation in the music of Mahler especially, is a beacon for bridging the concerns of communities that have heretofore been divided by party politics. The issues with which Mahler struggled are perennial, but his response to the complexities of modern life as he found it allowed him to produce some of the most affecting and perpetually performed music in the classical repertoire. Though no longer fin-de-siècle Vienna, the modern West is equally plagued by questions of belonging, and with an equal opportunity for discussion and creation.

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