Jacob Struggling with the Angel: Siegfried Lipiner, Gustav Mahler, and the Search for Aesthetic-Religious Redemption in

*Fin-de-siècle* Vienna

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of German in the Graduate School of Duke University

2011
ABSTRACT

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This dissertation explores the meaning of art and religion in fin-de-siècle Vienna through the symphonies of the composer Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) and the philosophical and dramatic works of the poet Siegfried Lipiner (1856-1911). Using as a framework aesthetic discourses concerning the ability of music to be “read” as a narrative text, this study highlights the significant role of both poet and composer in the cultural and intellectual world of Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century. In this study, I compare and contrast Lipiner’s vision of religious renewal with the redemptive narratives in the programs of Mahler’s first four symphonies, which were composed during a period when the poet and composer shared a close friendship and intellectual exchange. Furthermore, I also discuss Mahler and Lipiner’s works in relation to the writings of the Polish Romantic poet, Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1835), the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), and the composer and cultural critic, Richard Wagner (1813-1883), demonstrating how the images of the heroic martyr, the Übermensch and the Volk, play a role in the re-conception of man’s relationship to the divine, which is central to Mahler and Lipiner’s idea of redemption. However, I also claim that the political and cultural climate of Vienna around 1900 played an important role in their interpretation of these ideas. Despite their public conversion and cultural assimilation, Mahler and Lipiner’s Jewish heritage distinctly shaped their interest in artistic-religious redemption both to cope with their own personal feelings of alienation in the society in which they lived, and as a cure for the existential malaise of their time. This study demonstrates not only the significant impact of Lipiner’s aesthetic-religious philosophy on Mahler’s music, but also portrays their vision of redemption as an re-envisioning of man’s relationship to God, which stands in contrast to the modern trend of secularism, and reflects a little-explored dimension of aesthetic and religious culture in fin-de-siècle Vienna.
To my parents, Bill and Kathy,

who inspired my passion for music, my curiosity for the unanswered question, and my determination to see a project through to the end.
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List of Abbreviations


GSW Goethes Sämtliche Werke. Vol. 27. Stuttgart: Verlag der Cottaschen Buchhandlung. 1895


OEAW Lipiner, Siegfried. Transcript of Audio Recording. 5 Mar. 1907. Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria.


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Last, but not least, my most heartfelt thanks go out to my family and friends for their love and support, and especially to the band, for reminding me that the beat goes on.
Figure 1: Jakob ringt mit dem Engel, Rembrandt van Rijn (1659/1660)

Copyright: Die Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Gemäldegalerie,
eine Einrichtung der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Foto: Jörg P. Anders
Introduction: Jacob Struggling with the Angel


Paul Natorp, Introduction to Lipiner’s Adam, 1913.

Später, als Mahlers Gedanken von seinem Werk auf das Schaffen im allgemeinen weiter schweiften, sagte er: "Ein großartiges Bild für den Schaffenden ist Jakob, der mit Gott ringt, bis er ihn segnet. Wenn die Juden nichts als das erfunden hätten, müßten sie kolossale Leute gewesen sein. – Mich will Gott auch nicht segnen; nur im fürchterlichen Kampfe ums Werden meiner Werke ring ich es ihm ab." (NBL 76)

Natalie Bauer-Lechner, 1896

In a story from the Hebrew Scriptures and Old Testament, the patriarch Jacob wrestles with an angel and demands his blessing. This encounter with the divine is the climax of Jacob’s life-long search for identity and self-legitimization, from his struggles against his twin brother Esau in the womb, to tricking Esau into giving up his birthright, and then ultimately Jacob’s

1 “From his first poem onward, Lipiner captured the problems of Christianity as few Christians had, as few had at all. To bring this problem in the height of perfection, as it stood before his eyes, also to an outer, life-like depiction, was his true and last artistic goal. Jacob Struggling with the Angel, one of his most beloved images from Rembrandt, is like a symbol of his own struggles with this great task, which almost bled him to death.” All translations in this document that are not cited are mine.

2 “Later, when Mahler’s thoughts were roving farther afield to the creative impulse in general, he said, ‘A magnificent symbol of the creator is Jacob, wrestling with God until He blesses him. If the Jews had been responsible for nothing but this image, they would still inevitably have grown to be a formidable people – God similarly withholds his blessing from me. I can only extort is from Him in my terrible struggles to bring my works into being’” (NBLE 76).
deception of their father Isaac to receive his blessing. Jacob’s struggle was of particular symbolic importance for the composer Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) and the writer Siegfried Lipiner (1856-1911). They saw Jacob as a symbol of the outsider desiring to belong, of a fallen hero demanding redemption from God. For Lipiner, this image was encapsulated in Rembrandt von Rijn’s painting, *Jakob ringt mit dem Engel* (1659/60), shown on page 1.

In Rembrandt’s rendition, Jacob and the angel are locked together in what appears to be both a struggle and an embrace. The angel’s grasp is the firm, steadying force in the picture. His body wraps around Jacob’s, anchored by his leg in the bottom left corner and his right hand, rested gently on the young man’s neck. Jacob, positioned at a diagonal with body and head twisted in opposite directions, strives to raise himself up to the angel’s height, or perhaps to bring the angel down to his level. As Hermann Spieckermann has noted, Jacob’s head does not lie on the angel’s breast, but rather is held at a distance, further emphasizing his resistance against the angel’s grasp (87). Yet despite Jacob’s efforts, the angel remains steadfast, a beacon of white light against the dark, indistinct background. The contrast of light and dark, movement and stillness, in this painting suggests that this encounter is a moment of transformation. Spieckermann claims that in Rembrandt’s image, “es ist der Wandel von der Überwältigung zur Berührung aus Liebe” (100);³ the moment in which God’s blessing is bestowed marks the evolution of struggle into a loving embrace.

What made this image so appealing to Lipiner and Mahler? For both poet and composer, Jacob’s encounter with a divine being was intimately connected to their experience of artistic creation. Paul Natorp, a philosopher and close friend of Lipiner, who published three of the poet’s

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³ “It is the transformation from overcoming to the encounter of love”
works after his death, claimed that Jacob symbolized Lipiner’s greatest artistic goal, to represent the problems of Christianity through his art. For Mahler, as Natalie Bauer-Lechner reports, Jacob’s struggle was linked to the process of composition; each work was born of a personal battle, and made possible only by the grace of God. Both testimonials reveal that Lipiner and Mahler saw artistic creation as a sacred experience, one that brought them into contact with a divine being. Their works, therefore, bore the mark of a holy mission, one that was closely connected to their own individual struggles and sacrifices.

The fact that Lipiner and Mahler were drawn to this biblical image is unsurprising when one considers their mutual fascination with the intersections of art and religion, and the omnipresence of these themes in their works. The issue is complicated, however, by the fact that both poet and composer were assimilated Jews who converted to Christianity, and although neither practiced these beliefs in a traditional fashion, both had conflicted relationships to their religious identity. Steven Beller writes that the story of Jacob has a particular importance for the concept of ethics in the Jewish tradition:

On the one hand there is the idea that God must be held to account for his side of the covenant, that to wrestle with the unjust fate which God may have decreed is in itself a duty of man; the image of Jacob wrestling with the angel comes to mind here. On the other is the fact of belief that there is a higher order to things despite the present chaos in the world; that one day the Messiah will come, that God is ultimately good and a friend. In this sense, then, the wrestling with God is but a moment in the condition of being chosen, of having direct contact with God. (116)

The idea that being “chosen” is linked not just to seeing God, but also to a physical encounter with a divine being, is significant. While the biblical story indicates that Jacob’s wrestling with the angel begins as an act of aggression, the divine response is not destruction,
which an all-powerful godhead could most certainly inflict. Rather, the confrontation results in the blessing of Jacob and the granting of a new name, Israel, which means that he has struggled with God and man and overcome (Genesis 32:28).

However, the image of struggle and rebirth also calls to mind an idea that is close to the Christian tradition and that returns as a leitmotif in the works of Lipiner and Mahler: redemption. J.K. Ratislav writes that for Lipiner, the idea of redemption is intimately connected to the divine encounter: “Die Erlösung muß ein Ausgleich zwischen Gott und Mensch bringen. Durch die Menschwerdung Gottes wird der Mensch der Gottheit näher gebracht, an Stelle des Gehorsams des Geschöpfes gegen den Schöpfer tritt die Liebe des Kindes zum Vater” (221).4 Ratislav’s comments suggest that redemption, like Jacob’s struggle, is a process of transformation and a re-conception of man’s relationship to God. In this context, the German term, “Erlösung,” is perhaps even more appropriate than it’s English equivalent, “Redemption.” The etymological root of “Erlösung” suggests a letting go, a loosening of bonds and setting free, whereas “Redemption” indicates payment, buying back, or an exchange.5 For Lipiner and Mahler, the encounter with God was not about earning one’s way into heaven. Rather, it was a necessary step to liberate oneself from the constraints imposed by society, religious tradition, and their particular historical moment in time.

4 “Redemption must bring a balance between God and man. Through God becoming man, divinity is brought closer to mankind; the love of a child to its father takes the place of obedience of the created via the creator.”

5 See Duden Herkunftswörterbuch, erlösen: “vom Schmerzen, Not, Sünde oder dgl. befreien” from Mittelhochdeutsch “erloesen,” Althochdeutsch “irlisan,” meaning “losmachen, freimachen, befreien” (“Erlösen” 494); Oxford English Dictionary, redemption: “from Anglo-Norman “redempcioun” meaning “payment in order to ransom a person or thing” or “action of discharging or paying off a debt, obligation or charge” (“Redemption”).
Moreover, it is clear for both Mahler and Lipiner that this process was closely linked to artistic creation. They believed that art and life could not be separated, and it was the blessing of God that made artistic creation possible, a blessing that was only granted through challenge, struggle, defiance, and finally the bringing of God closer to man, through an understanding of the all-encompassing pure love that unites the earthly and heavenly worlds. In this love, redemption is finally achieved. Redemption was therefore not just a personal goal for Lipiner and Mahler, rather the creation of a redemptive, religious experience open to all people was the aim of their artistic output.

Siegfried Lipiner was born on 24 October 1856 as Salomo Lipiner to a Jewish family living in the town of Jarosław in Galicia, the region of Poland, which was at that time part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Jarosław, a trade port on the San River, had a significant German-speaking population, and Lipiner would later claim that his parents, Gottlieb Godel Lipiner and Agathe Gitel Franzos, were of German extraction. As his writings and translations demonstrate, however, he was a master of both the German and Polish languages. In 1862 Lipiner moved with his mother to the larger town of Tarnów, a city in central Galicia with a larger Jewish population (Meyers 10: 817). It is unknown what happened to Lipiner's father and mother after 1870.

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6 Gabriele Brezina, in her 1925 dissertation on Lipiner, claims that his family was of German descent (4) and on a document completed for the Österreichische Phonogrammarchiv in 1907, Lipiner wrote that his birthplace and the birthplace of his parents was in Jarosław, but their "Stamm" or lineage, was German (OEAW). Jarosław was part of the region between Wisłoka and the San River where many German speakers settled from the 14th to 16th centuries. These people were known as the Walddeutsche, or "speechless people" in Polish because they spoke German. Therefore it is likely that Lipiner grew up speaking German at home.

7 According to the records of the United States Holocaust Museum, before World War II an estimated 25,000 Jews lived in Tarnów, a diverse population that included both religious Hasidic Jews and secular
According to the Meyers Konversations-Lexikon of 1888, the young Lipiner moved to Vienna in 1871, where he had to "care for himself" (10: 817), finishing his secondary school studies at the Leopoldstädtergymnasium in Vienna just two years after Sigmund Freud. Leopoldstadt, the second district of Vienna, located just east of the city center, was an area with a high population of Jews, many of whom were immigrants from the eastern regions of the empire.

Already at the age of fifteen, Lipiner had proved himself to be something of a Wunderkind. He was granted permission by school authorities to take the school's final exam a year early (after the seventh class instead of the eighth) and began attending university lectures in 1875. Also during this time Lipiner began work on a number of epic poems, including Der entfesselte Prometheus (Prometheus Unbound), which was published by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1876.

At the University of Vienna, Lipiner studied philosophy and also attended lectures in natural sciences, history and literature. He soon made a name for himself as a leading member of a number of student organizations, including the Pernerstorfer Circle and the Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens (the Reading Society of the German Students of Vienna). Lipiner gave a number of lectures as a member of these groups. His success as a writer and speaker soon caught the attention of Friedrich Nietzsche and Richard Wagner, among others. Nietzsche received a copy of Der entfesselte Prometheus in 1877 and was greatly impressed by the work.  

Zionists (United States Holocaust Museum). It is unknown whether Lipiner's family were practicing Jews as he was a child, although it is clear that he held no ties to religious Judaism after he moved to Vienna.

8 According to Julie Braun-Vogelstein, Lipiner sent Nietzsche his text at the suggestion of Heinrich Braun, another member of the Pernerstorfer Circle and admirer of the philosopher’s works (30).
He and Lipiner exchanged letters in 1877-1878, during which time Lipiner was named spokesperson for the Pernerstorfer Circle in their contacts with the philosopher. Lipiner was also an active member of the Wiener akademischer Wagner Verein (The Viennese Academic Wagner Society) and even received an invitation from the composer to visit him in Bayreuth in 1878. However, Lipiner’s personal and professional contacts with both Nietzsche and Wagner would prove to be short-lived.

In 1876 Lipiner studied with the noted experimental psychologist and founder of psychophysics, Gustav Theodor Fechner, in Leipzig; in Jena he met Erwin Rhode, who later connected him to Nietzsche; and in 1879 he studied in Strasbourg where he made the acquaintance of the noted Neo-Kantian philosopher Paul Natorp. Natorp was to become a lifelong friend and admirer of Lipiner’s works and served as co-executor of his literary estate. Also at this time, at the home of a mutual friend, Dr. Albert Spiegler, Lipiner made the acquaintance of the young composer and musician, Gustav Mahler.

Plagued with financial woes throughout the course of his young life (he tutored other students at the university in order to earn a living), Lipiner finally received his break when Franciszek Smolka, president of the House of Representatives and leader of the Polish club, nominated him in 1881 for the position of librarian of the Austrian Parliament library, where he would work for the next thirty years (Kann 103). Although it was often difficult for those of Jewish heritage to find work in the Catholic Habsburg government of Vienna (Lipiner’s friend Mahler was to encounter similar opposition in his quest for the directorship of the Court Opera),
Lipiner came highly recommended by Smolka, who described him to the Minister President as “nicht nur ein vorzüglicher wissenschaftlich gebildeter und geistvolle, sondern auch mit der Literatur aller Kulturepochen vertrauter Mann” (quoted in Pech 27). 9

In 1881 Lipiner had married Nina Hoffmann, the daughter of a well-known Viennese businessman; however, their marriage was lasted only a short time. His withdrawal from the Isrealitische Kultusgemeinde Wien in 1885 suggests that the divorce occurred in this year. 10 In 1891, Lipiner converted to Protestantism and married again, this time to Clemetine Spiegler, the sister of his good friend Albert Spiegler. 11

Aside from his new bureaucratic position, Lipiner also undertook a number of other artistic and literary projects over the following decade. Most notable were his translations of the works of the great Polish Romantic poet, Adam Mickiewicz, and a series of feuilleton articles for the Deutsche Zeitung, an outlet for Lipiner to voice his critiques of modern culture, literature, and society. Over the course of the 1890s, Lipiner continued academic and literary pursuits, earning his doctorate in philosophy at the University of Vienna, with a dissertation entitled: Homonculus, eine Studie über Faust und die Philosophie Goethes, (Homonculus, a Study of Faust and the Philosophy of Goethe). His degree was granted to him on 7 July 1894, and this same year the Austrian Government presented him with the distinguished title of Regierungsrat. During this

9 “Not only an excellent scholarly-educated and brilliant man, but one also conversant in the literature of all epochs.”
10 According to Gerhard Stourzh, records show that Lipiner returned to the Kultusgemeinde in 1890, only to withdraw again in 1891 when he converted to Protestantism (54). Lipiner's religious affiliations and beliefs will be discussed later in this study.
11 Lipiner’s ex-wife, Nina Hoffmann, would later marry Albert Spiegler, and all four remained in the same circle of friends. Mahler was also close to Nina Spiegler, as their correspondence reveals.
time he also worked on what he hoped would be his great masterpiece, a trilogy of religious plays, entitled *Christus*.

Although Lipiner’s works failed to become ingrained in the German literary canon, his name has lived on through his friendship with the composer Gustav Mahler. Mahler was born on 7 July 1860 in the town of Kalsicht in Moravia. His family moved to the larger town of Iglau in Bohemia a few years later and it was there that he first attended school and where his great musical gifts were discovered. At age fifteen he was permitted to attend the conservatory in Vienna, where he studied piano and composition. Following his studies at the conservatory, Mahler went on to the University of Vienna to take courses in philosophy and art history. In 1878 he met Lipiner, and over the course of the next 24 years, the two maintained a close personal and intellectual friendship. Lipiner, the elder of the two and true scholar, was the teacher and Mahler looked up to him and turned to him for inspiration, guidance and support at many points during his early career.

In the late 1870s and 1880s, when Lipiner was at the peak of his fame as a poet and translator, Mahler was just beginning to make his career as a composer and music director. He held a number of conducting positions, in Bad Hall in 1880, Laibach (Ljubljana) in 1881-1882, Olmütz in 1883-1885, Kassel and Prague in 1885, Leipzig in 1886-1888, and Budapest in 1888-1891. These appointments were followed by the achievement of being named chief opera conductor in Hamburg from 1891-1897.

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12 For a list of Mahler and Lipiner’s works, see Appendix A
Lipiner and Mahler had much contact during the 1890s, as the composer was completing work on his first three symphonies. The two friends spent summers together at Steinbach am Attersee, one of Mahler’s retreats where he went to compose at the close of opera season. The memoirs of Natalie Bauer-Lechner reveal the closeness of Mahler and Lipiner’s professional and personal relationship at this time. A violist who made Mahler’s acquaintance in 1880, Bauer-Lechner soon became an intimate friend of both composer and poet and almost a personal assistant or secretary to Mahler during the period of his early compositions. It is also suspected that she was in love with both Mahler and had an affair with Lipiner, yet nothing ever developed from either relationship. In her writings, Bauer-Lechner recorded down to the very detail Mahler’s reflections on his works, the experience of conducting, and his general musings on life and the world. She also included her own commentary about his habits of composition, and the recurrent references to Lipiner in the texts suggest that he was also often present at their meetings. The letter exchange between Mahler and Lipiner provides further evidence of their influence on each other’s works. It is known, for example, that Lipiner had the text of Mahler’s first and only opera, the unpublished Rübezahle, for a time, and that Mahler read and gave his commentary on two of Lipiner’s dramatic works, Adam of 1898 and Hippolytos of 1900.

In 1897, Mahler was appointed Kapellmeister of the court opera in Vienna and a few months later, Director. In 1901 he completed his Fourth Symphony. At the same time, Lipiner was still working on his Christus trilogy, and his correspondence with Mahler alludes to a severe case of writer’s block that prevented him from finishing the work. Mahler made great efforts to encourage his mentor, but had little success.
Mahler and Lipiner's close friendship became further strained when the composer met the beautiful Alma Schindler in 1901. The daughter of the famous painter Emil Schindler and stepdaughter of the co-founder of the Viennese Secession, Carl Moll, Alma was a society child, known for her beauty, wit and charm. The composer was smitten on the spot, and despite Lipiner’s reservations about her (which he not-so-kindly expressed in a lengthy letter after his first meeting with Alma), Mahler decided to marry her after a short three-month courtship. Their wedding in 1902 marks the end of correspondence and contact between poet and composer until their reconciliation in 1910, less than a year before their untimely deaths, Mahler of heart disease and Lipiner of cancer, in 1911.

In this study, I have specifically chosen to focus on Mahler and Lipiner’s artistic output from the late 1870s (around the time they first met at the University of Vienna) until their estrangement in 1902, as this was the period of time in which they were in close contact and, as many friends and acquaintances will attest, were intimately involved in each others musical and literary projects. I examine Mahler’s first four symphonies alongside the poetic and dramatic works of Lipiner, to demonstrate how their works reveal a cross-fertilization of the idea of a new spirituality for the modern world, a metaphysics that combines both secular aesthetic philosophy with traditional religious motifs and mysticism. I trace the origins of these ideas to the works of three significant figures in the development of Lipiner and Mahler’s Weltanschauung, Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1835), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), and Richard Wagner (1813-1883). Mickiewicz’s heroic martyr, Nietzsche’s Übermensch and Wagner’s Volk became models for the encounters between the human and divine that Lipiner and Mahler explore in their works.
The connections between Lipiner and these writers are clear; as previously mentioned, the poet translated Mickiewicz’s poetry and dramatic works into German in the 1880s and 90s, corresponded with Nietzsche, and visited Wagner in Bayreuth in 1878. Yet until now, Lipiner’s significant role as the mediator of their ideas to Mahler has not been thoroughly explored. That is to say, Mahler’s reception of the aesthetic and religious philosophies of these writers was filtered through Lipiner’s lens and likely reflects the poet’s own literary agenda, to inspire a renewal of religious spirit in the modern age. This vision was not a return to traditional religious doctrine and practice, but rather a rebirth of spirituality through art, specifically tragedy and music. As I demonstrate in this dissertation, Lipiner’s philosophy was more than a mere reiteration of ideas presented the works of his own intellectual mentors, Richard Wagner, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Arthur Schopenhauer. In fact, he engaged in a life-long study of philosophy and theology, as evidenced by his close readings and revisions of biblical stories in Christus; as well as a yearning for art to take on a mission of social justice, a theme that emerges as a leitmotif in his speeches and personal correspondence.

A closer look at Mahler’s symphonic programs and the extensive correspondence and anecdotes in which he indicated the meaning behind his musical works, reveals similar motives. Each of Mahler’s early symphonies alludes to or presents religious themes and texts, from the epic struggles of the Titan in the First Symphony, to the resurrection of the Second, to the choir of angels in the Third, to the song describing the heavenly life in the Fourth Symphony. Moreover, Mahler’s claim to Natalie Bauer-Lechner, regarding his first two symphonies, that they “erschöpfen den Inhalt meines ganzen lebens; es ist Erfahrenes und Erlittenes, was ich darin niedergelegt habe, Wahrheit und Dichtung in Tönen. Und wenn einer gut zu lesen verstünde,
müßte ihm in der Tat mein Leben darin durchsichtig erscheinen” (NBL 26),\(^{13}\) suggests that he was drawn to these religious themes from his own personal experience.

In this dissertation, I analyze Mahler’s music in relation to Lipiner’s writings and the intellectual and cultural climate of turn-of-the-century Vienna. My reading of Mahler’s symphonies engages with a discourse on narrative in instrumental music, based on the studies of Theodor Adorno, Edward Cone, Carolyn Abbate, and Julian Johnson, among others.\(^{14}\) In particular, Adorno’s claim that Mahler’s music can be likened to a novel, informs my interpretation of the specific narrative quality of Mahler’s orchestration, form, and use of both human and instrumental voice. Moreover, I also refer to a number of texts that provide evidence for this discussion, including the composer’s own programs and anecdotes concerning his symphonic works, and the texts and ideas that inspired them. Although I do not undertake an extensive tonal analysis of his music, I discuss how musical figures, such as themes and orchestration, reflect the ideas that Mahler spoke of in his programs and to his contemporaries.

In order to understand the context in which Mahler and Lipiner were composing and writing, my first chapter discusses debates on art and religion in fin-de-siècle Vienna. I investigate Mahler and Lipiner’s interest in redemption in light of the cultural trend of secularization and the emergence of theories of art as the new religion. Beginning with Lipiner’s critique of traditional religious practice, I go on to explain the place of religion in popular discourses of this time to which they were exposed, including: mysticism and the occult, mysticism and the occult,

\(^{13}\) My two symphonies contain the inner aspect of my whole life; I have written into them everything that I have experience and endured – Truth and Poetry in music. To understand these works properly would be to see my life transparently revealed in them” (NBLE 30).

philosophical and scientific theories of nature and the divine, and myth and mythology. Then I turn to aesthetic discourses, in particular, the metaphysics of music and the ability of music to express philosophical or programmatic ideas. Finally, I explain the role that anti-Semitism played in complicating debates on art and religion, and reflect on how Mahler’s and Lipiner’s identity as assimilated Jews and converts to Christianity placed them in a unique position to criticize traditional religion as well as dogma and the social constructions that accompanied it. While a complete analysis of the trends of cultural and intellectual life in fin-de-siècle Vienna is certainly beyond the limits of this study, this chapter aims to provide an introduction to some of the key personalities and ideas that shaped the Weltanschauung of Mahler and Lipiner. Moreover, while I engage with issues of religion in this study, I wish to distance myself from debates regarding whether or not Mahler’s music can be described as Jewish music.¹⁵ My concern is rather to show how Mahler’s music and Lipiner’s literary and philosophical works express an inner struggle with their own beliefs and their own understanding of the political and cultural implications of religion as an identity moniker in their time. In the face of persecution for their Jewish cultural identity, Mahler and Lipiner chose not to reject religious belief altogether, but instead to propose a new version of man’s relationship to the divine in the modern world.

In the second chapter, I explore the role of the heroic martyr in their vision of redemption by examining Lipiner’s epic poem Der entfesselte Prometheus (1876) and Mahler’s Second Symphony, “Auferstehung” (1888-1894). I trace the narrative of the hero, who struggles with God’s authority, transforms into a martyr, and who through this pain and suffering is born again as a divine being. This chapter investigates Mahler and Lipiner’s understanding of the hero and his relationship to God through their connection to the Polish Romantic poet, Adam Mickiewicz,

¹⁵ For more on this topic, see Bernstein (1967) and Draughon and Knapp (2001)
and his poem Dziady, which Lipiner translated into German in the 1870s. By comparing and contrasting the narrative of the defiant revolutionary, Konrad, in the second half of Mickiewicz’s work, to that of the heroes in Prometheus and in the programs for the First and Second symphonies, I claim that Mickiewicz establishes a model for heroic martyrdom and an idea of a non-dogmatic mystical view of religion that finds resonance in Lipiner’s and Mahler’s works.

In the third chapter, I turn to another figure that inspired their vision of artistic-religious redemption: the Übermensch. Friedrich Nietzsche coined this term in his philosophical novel, Also sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen (Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for All and None, 1883/1885), and in this chapter, I explain Mahler’s controversial setting of the text of Zarathustra’s Midnight Song in the fourth movement of his Third Symphony (1896), by examining the literary parallels found between Zarathustra and Lipiner’s dramatic work, Adam (1898). I claim that Lipiner and Mahler are in fact commenting on Zarathustra in their works; they borrow certain imagery and text from Nietzsche in order to reinterpret Nietzsche’s ideas of Ewige Wiederkunft and the Übermensch. In Adam and the Third Symphony, Love, understood as compassion and forgiveness, is the central point on which Lipiner and Mahler break from Nietzsche. They read the Übermensch not as the culmination of man’s development, but as merely a step on the way toward reconciliation with God.

The final chapter focuses on Lipiner’s epic poem Renatus (1878), his trilogy of dramas, Christus (1898) and Mahler’s Fourth Symphony (1901), to explore the redemption of the Volk. In this chapter, I demonstrate that these works were inspired by a socialistic concept of art taken from Wagner’s early journalistic essay, “Die Kunst und die Revolution” (“Art and Revolution,” 1849) and the religious imagery of two works from the composer’s oeuvre, the unfinished sketch
of Jesus von Nazareth (1848-1849) and his final masterpiece, Parsifal (1877-1883). Moreover, Lipiner’s Christus was conceived as a dramatic cycle, and Mahler’s referred to his Fourth Symphony as the conclusion of a tetrology, a format indebted to Richard Wagner’s music dramas, Der Ring des Nibelungen (1847-1872). However, Mahler and Lipiner go beyond Wagner, in that unlike Parsifal, their vision of redemption is not focused on the renewal of ritual and transcendence to a phenomenal realm, but rather remains a message of social justice to be realized on earth. Moreover, their vision of redemption does not involve a destruction of gods, but rather affirms a strengthening of the bonds between the divine and the human, the heavenly life and the earthly life, as the means by which humanity will be redeemed.

In this dissertation, I claim that Lipiner and Mahler used their art as a means to work through their own struggles for faith. These struggles were born first and foremost of their experiences of alienation in the modern world. Yet the fact that Lipiner and Mahler were of Jewish heritage, facing the persecution of Vienna’s anti-Semitic political and social environment at the turn of the century cannot be discounted as a formative factor in this search for God. Therefore, Mahler and Lipiner present a particular movement in Austrian cultural history. On the cusp of Viennese Modernism, they were calling for the formation of a spiritual and artistic community grounded in the myths and traditions of religion, yet also in dialogue with modern discourses and trends in philosophy and the natural sciences. Most importantly, their vision of Erlösung, or, redemption, was not just reserved for the chosen few, but was rather a blessing open to all.
Chapter 1: Redefining Religion and Art in *Fin-de-siècle* Vienna

Religiös nenne ich Alles, was über die der menschlichen Gattung gemeinsame Vorstellungswelt, die sogenannte Wirklichkeit, hinausgeht, sofern es in Gefühle erlebt wird ("Über die Elemente" 1).\(^1\)

Siegfried Lipiner, 1878

Wenn wir längere Zeit allein sind, so gelangen wir zu einer Einheit mit uns und der Natur, die allerdings eine bequemere Umgebung ist als die gewohnten Menschen. Dann werden wir positiv (statt wie sonst in der Negation stecken zu bleiben) und schließlich produktiv. Dies ist der gewöhnlichen Weg; dieser führt uns von uns, das Alleinsein zu uns selbst, und von uns zu Gott ist nur ein Schritt (quoted in Nikkels 21).\(^2\)

Gustav Mahler to Alma Mahler, 1905.

In his 2008 monograph, *Sacred Spring: God and the Birth of Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, Robert Wheldon Whalen declares that Viennese modernism was "at root a religious phenomenon" (4). Whalen’s claim is substantiated by a number of counter arguments, such as those by George Williamson and M.H. Abrams, to the long-running thesis that the nineteenth century was a period of increased secularization throughout Europe. It is true that church attendance was declining at this time and the growing interest in discoveries in the natural sciences, in particular, Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution, led to a questioning of previously held beliefs about human nature and to the challenging of religious doctrine. Moreover, as Owen

\(^1\) "I call religious everything that extends beyond the common perceptual world of the human race, so-called reality, *insofar as it is experienced in feeling*" ("On the Elements" 129).

\(^2\) "When one spends longer periods on one’s own, one comes to forge a unity with nature – admittedly a more tranquil ‘surrounding’ than the people to whom one is accustomed. This state of mind engenders a positive outlook (as opposed to our normal attitude, which is a quagmire of negations) and, in the long run, a creative one. This is only normal. Isolation hence helps us to find ourselves, and from there it is but a small step to God” (AMM 207).
Chadwick has noted, the impact of industrialization on society, and the changes in customs and habits that accompanied these developments, could also have contributed to the trend of decreased church attendance (15). Yet Whalen’s study is concerned not with religious practice, but with religious belief, which he describes as the spark that leaps between humanity’s conception of what is, and what we believe ought be (14); and while the fin-de-siècle may have been identified with a turn away from dogma and ritual, a fascination for the spiritual, supernatural, or divine, was certainly on the rise.

This chapter, therefore, will discuss Mahler and Lipiner’s interest in God and faith at a time in which traditional religion was fading into the background and art was being raised to a divine or sacred status. To understand their concept of redemption, it is useful to explain how they framed their own belief system in the context of the intellectual and artistic world in which they lived. Therefore, in this chapter, I discuss Lipiner’s critique of traditional religious practice and explain the place of religion in popular discourses of the time to which he and Mahler were exposed during their studies, including: the revival of materialism, philosophical and scientific theories of nature and the divine, the trend toward mysticism and occult spirituality, and the “longing for myth.” Then I turn to Mahler and Lipiner’s reception of aesthetic discourses in Viennese culture at this time, in particular, the metaphysics of music and the ability of music to express philosophical or programmatic ideas. These discourses were certainly not new; but they were reinvented at the fin de siècle, reflecting the assimilation of older ideas with modern theories

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3 This chapter intends to provide an overview of some of the key thinkers and ideas with which Mahler and Lipiner interacted in their artistic pursuits. It does not claim to be a comprehensive study of intellectual life in Vienna at this time, for that would extend beyond the bounds of this project. Rather, it aims to provide a background and context for Mahler and Lipiner’s vision of redemption, which will be explored in greater depth in the following three chapters.
of science, politics and art. Finally, I discuss the historical context of Vienna at this time, in particular, the rise of anti-Semitism in public debate. I claim that, despite the fact that they converted to Christianity, Mahler and Lipiner’s religious identity remained complex, and played a role in the formation of their unique vision of artistic-religious redemption.

1.1. Materialist Philosophy and Critiques of Religion

Mahler and Lipiner’s fascination for the historical and cultural roots of religion was fostered during their studies at the University of Vienna. The poet and composer met through a mutual friend in 1878, and through their involvement with the Pernerstorfer Circle, a student intellectual society, they engaged in critiques of liberal politics as well as discussions about German nationalism and the importance of folk culture (Dionysian Art 89). The members of the Pernerstorfer Circle became the core of the Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens, a cultural and political student organization at the university. Founded in 1871, the Leseverein claimed to “adhere to and represent the German character of the University of Vienna at every opportunity” (quoted in Dionysian Art 33-34), and it offered members a forum to discuss modern trends in literature, science, religion, and society. Until it was disbanded on 18 December 1878, because of the increasing political nature of its activities, the Leseverein was a mainstay of university intellectual life. Moreover, through the Leseverin, Mahler and Lipiner were exposed to a unique intersection of ideas and thinkers that would come to play a formative role in the development of their Weltanschauung.

4 Engelbert Pernerstorfer and Victor Adler established the Pernerstorfer Circle at the Schottengymnasium in Vienna in 1873. They would later become key personalities of Austrian socialist politics. For more on the influence of socialism on Mahler and Lipiner, see Chapter 4.

5 The Leseverein organized two lecture series. The first was a cycle of “popular scientific lectures,” presented by such professors as Theodor Meynert, Theodor Gomperz, Johannes Volkelt and Franz Brentano. The other was the Redehalle, in which students presented talks to their peers. For more on the
Lipiner was a gifted speaker and he gave a number of lectures as a part of the Redeklub, a sub-group of the Leseverein, which the members of the Pernerstorfer Circle came to dominate.\(^6\) In his speech entitled “Über die Elemente einer Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart,” presented to the club on 19 February 1878, Lipiner voiced his opinions on the current state of society by synthesizing his own vision of religious and cultural renewal with popular philosophical discourses, including materialism, neo-Kantianism, panentheism, and the aesthetic philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer, Richard Wagner and Friedrich Nietzsche.\(^7\) This lecture 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 his speech, Lipiner widened the definition of religion to include anything that goes beyond the “so-called” world of reality, in so far as it is experienced in feeling. Reason, on the other hand, leads to the degeneration of religion into “Dogmatismus und Fetischismus” (“Über

development of the Pernerstorfer Circle and the Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens, see McGrath (1974) and Güdde (1991).

\(^6\) According to Güdde, Penerstorfer and Adler took on the organization of the Leseverein’s lecture series and served as librarians for the organization, as well as initiators of the Redeklub (97).

\(^7\) Panentheism is distinguished from Pantheism; in the latter, God is equated with the natural world, while the former allows for a reciprocal relationship, in which God is both part of the natural world, and the world exists within God. Unlike Pantheism, Panentheism “maintains the identity and significance of the non-divine” (Culp). For more on Mahler and Lipiner’s understanding of Panentheism, see Sections 1.2 and 3.7.
According to Lipiner, the outward, human-created tenets of religion are the cause of the modern crisis of faith. He claims:

Die kirchliche Ceremonie, das Dogma und die Formel, kurz Alles, was im Beginne eines religiösen Lebens fast unschädlich ist, den religiösen Organismus entschieden stärkt und dem schwankenden Gefühle derbe Stützen bietet, Alles dies wird im Laufe der Zeit zu hohlen, marklosen Knochen, zu einer Fratze des Lebens. (7)

The task that Lipiner proposes, therefore, is “nicht Glaubensartikel eines neuen Glaubens, nicht Reformartikel einer neuen Reformation aufzustellen,” but rather the identification of the elements of religious renewal and an understanding of how they must take effect in order to breathe new life into religious spirit in the modern age (4).

In identifying this opposition between feeling and reason, Lipiner was tapping into a discourse of his Romantic philosophical and literary predecessors. Reacting to the rationalist spirit of the Enlightenment, the Romantics of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century drew attention to the power of human emotion to access essential truths about the world and human experience that science and reason could not explain. Lipiner’s lecture, however, does not promote a rejection of rationality altogether, nor does he lobby for a complete turn away from material reality. Instead, his commentary affirms that the religious spirit inhabits the realms of the experience that transcend the bounds of human reason. Furthermore, one must turn to art, rather

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8 “dogmatism and fetishism” (“On the Elements” 130). All English quotations cited as “On the Elements” are taken from Stephen Hefling’s translation of Lipiner’s speech, which will appear in the forthcoming volume edited by Erich Wolfgang Partsch and Morton Solvik (2012). They are reprinted here thanks to the generous permission of Professor Hefling.

9 “Ecclesiastical ceremony, dogma and formula, in short, everything which at the beginning of a religious life is almost harmless, which decisively strengthens the religious organism and offers weakening feelings stout support, all of this will in the course of time turn into hollow bones without marrow, into a caricature of life” (“On the Elements” 135).

10 “Our task is not to put forward the articles of belief of a new faith or the articles of reformation of a new Reformation” (“On the Elements” 131).
than dogmatic church practices, to bring the truth of man’s religious nature to its fullest expression.

Lipiner’s discussion of the religious spirit reflects a central opposition that was emerging in intellectual and public life at this time: the role of religion in society versus the individual religious experience. Lipiner’s critique must also be considered in the context of the discipline of comparative religion, which became established as an academic field of study at the fin de siècle. Whalen writes that, at this time, Émile Durkheim in France was investigating the history of religious belief and practice, identifying the sociological origins of religion and its meaning for human development over time (11). Max Weber, a German sociologist, would further develop these ideas in his work, Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus (1904-1905). Around the same time, William James published his seminal work, The Varieties of Religious Experience (1902), studying religion as an individual phenomenon. James, like Lipiner, identified religion as “the feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they consider the divine” (31-32).

Magee summarizes Feuerbach’s thesis in the following way: “Beyond man and Nature nothing exists, and the higher beings that our religious fantasies have created are nothing but the imagined reflections of our own individual existence” (49). Moreover, according to George Williamson, Strauss sought to discredit the central belief of Christianity, by calling the incarnation a myth “which gave historical expression to the religious idea that animated the early Christian community” (16). For more on the connections between mythology and religion, see section 1.4.
“Not only an affront to religion and Idealism alongside metaphysics, but furthermore a questioning of philosophy as science in general.”

See Freud’s letter to Eduard Silberstein, 30 January 1875 (Boehlich 100), regarding the journal that he and Lipiner published together. Freud would later write of Lipiner: “ich habe ein längeres Gespräch mit ihm gehabt und werde seine Bekanntschaft vielleicht, d.h. wenn er mir Gelegenheit gibt, kultivieren. Ich bin gar nicht einig, was ich aus ihm machen soll, ich habe weder das Maß seines Geistes genommen, noch das Gewicht seiner Persönlichkeit bestimmt.” See letter of 7. September 1877 (190) / “I had a lengthy conversation with him and will perhaps cultivate an acquaintance with him – that is, if he gives me the opportunity. I have no idea what to make of him; I have neither taken the measure of his accomplishments nor determined the weight of his personality” (Freud’s Discovery of Psychoanalysis 138).

Lipiner and Freud do not appear to have stayed in contact after their university years. Mahler, however, took an interest in Freud’s later contributions to the study of dreams and the subconscious, seeking a personal consultation in 1910, following the discovery of his wife Alma’s infidelity. Freud’s investigation into the human psyche as a source of explanation for human actions and emotions, rather than turning to external factors (a Supreme Being or Fate) in Die Traumdeutung (The Interpretation of Dreams, 1899), presented another important and controversial voice in debates on religion, philosophy and science at the fin de siècle. For more on Freud and materialist philosophy see McGrath (1986) and Güdde (1991), and for his role in fin-de-siècle culture, see Schorske (1981).

Lange had inspired the founders of the Neo-Kantian school of thought at the University of Marburg, whose members included Ernst Cassirer and Paul Natorp. Lipiner and Natorp met in Strasbourg in 1879. Natorp helped to publish three of Lipiner’s dramatic works after his death.
Lange used Kant’s critiques to demonstrate the limits of materialism to answer epistemological questions. Lange’s work was discussed in the Leseverein (Venturelli 451) and is reflected in Lipiner’s speech, “Über die Elemente,” when in his comments about the restrictions of empirical knowledge. He writes:

Über die wahre Wesen der Dinge vermag die Wissenschaft Nichts zu sagen; die Anmassung, die Welt als Vorstellung zu behandeln, als ob sie etwas von uns ganz Unabhängiges, ausserhalb unserer Vorstellung ebenso wie in unserer Vorstellung Existierendes wäre, also die Grundvoraussetzung des Materialismus, ist zurückgewiesen. (“On the Elements” 14)

Lipiner, like Lange, believed that the world couldn’t be observed completely objectively, that that there must be a point when rational explanations can no longer satisfy human needs. And it is at this point when religious feeling must take over.

The relationship between religion and science was an essential element of Lange’s philosophy. While he acknowledged that Christianity had established ethical standards for humanity, he decried the dogmatic nature of the church and its institutions as leading to society’s detriment. According to George J. Stack, Lange envisioned a “religion of the future,” that would “satisfy the deeply rooted spiritual needs of mankind” (5). This idea clearly resonates with Lipiner’s call for a rebirth of a religion of the spirit in his speech, and apparently had a strong influence on Nietzsche.

Nadeem J.Z. Hussain writes that Lange drew many of his ideas from Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-1894), who “had argued that contemporary science was confirming on empirical grounds insights that Kant had had, but that Kant took as supported by a priori considerations” (Hussain).

“about the true essence of things science is able to say nothing; the presumption of treating the world as representation, as though it were something entirely independent from us, something existing outside of our conception just as much as in our conception – thus, the fundamental premise of materialism – has been repudiated” (“On the Elements” 141). For more on the connection between Lipiner and Lange, see Hefling’s footnote in his translation of “On the Elements,” p. 141.

Lange was also an influential figure for another of Lipiner’s intellectual mentors, Friedrich Nietzsche. According to Stack, Nietzsche not only read Lange’s Geschichte des Materialismus, but he was “more thoroughly influenced by, and more deeply impressed by, this single work than by anything else he ever read” (Stack 4). Nietzsche’s conflicted relationship to Christianity will be explored in Chapter 3.
impact on Mahler as well. Bruno Walter writes that Mahler eagerly read Lange’s text and recommended it to him: “Ein Buch will ich noch erwähnen, das ich auf Mahlers Empfehlung hin las; es war Albert Langes ‘Geschichte des Materialismus,’ das klassische Werk über die älteste Denkkrankheit des Menschen, das jeder derartigen Anfälligkeit in meinem eigenen Denken definitive ein Ende machte” (Thema und Variationen 116).

Lipiner and Mahler were therefore actively engaging with critiques of religion from a variety of different sources, philosophical, theological, and anthropological. As this study will show, the religious aesthetics that emerges in Lipiner’s poetic works and in the programs of Mahler’s symphonies reflect a similar critical eye toward the social constructs of religious practice.

1.2. From Brentano to Fechner: Religionsphilosophie, Naturphilosophie, and Beyond

In the late nineteenth century, developments in the natural sciences, such as evolutionary theory, also significantly impacted the fields of philosophy and theology, raising new questions about man’s relationship to nature and the divine. During the course of their studies, Mahler and Lipiner attended lectures in philosophy and the natural sciences. They were particularly fascinated with the idea of using scientific, empirical methods, not to discredit religion as superstitious or irrational, but rather to establish proof for faith or the existence of a divine power.

20 “I want to mention one more book that I read upon Mahler’s recommendation; it was Albert Lange’s ‘History of Materialism,’ the classic work about the oldest mental illness of mankind, that brought all such susceptibility in my own thinking to a definitive end”
One of the most significant influences on Mahler and Lipiner was the philosopher Franz Brentano (1838-1917), an ex-priest who served as professor at the University of Vienna from 1874-1880. A scholar of Aristotle, Brentano also engaged in research in empirical psychology, epistemology and ethics (Johnston 292). Among Brentano’s great achievements was his *Religionsphilosophie*, in which he attempted to ground his religious beliefs with methods of reasoning based in his study of theology, metaphysics, and positive science. In his emphasis on logic and reason, Brentano continued in a long line of intellectuals in Austria who sought to distance themselves from German Idealism by establishing a tradition that was “Catholic, rationalist, realist, and actively hostile to post-Kantian thought” (Luft 60). Thus, Brentano was a vocal opponent of Arthur Schopenhauer, who based his idea that human beings are driven not by reason, but by an unseen, irrational force, known as the Will, on Kant’s transcendental metaphysics. In contrast to Schopenhauer, Brentano remained a staunch believer in positivism, turning to the scientific method to establish proofs for the existence of God. As Güdde writes, “empirisch-naturwissenschaftliches Vorgehen und strenge Logik dienten ihm als Methoden für

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21 For more on Brentano and his methodology, particularly his response to Auguste Comte, see Burgess (1974).

22 Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716) is considered the father of Austrian empiricism. He had envisioned a harmonious universe, whose elements (which he called “monads”) were ruled to a certain degree by free will. He claimed in his *Monadologie* (1718), “every individual substance contains in its perfect notion, the entire universe” (Jolley 54). Yet while these monads are self-sustaining, they are also interconnected and exist in a state of equilibrium with God and nature (Johnston 274). Leibniz’s philosophy promoted the idea of free will and “Wahrheit an sich,” ideas that were carried on in the writings of Bernard Bolzano (1781-1848), Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) and Franz Exner (1802-1853). Another important voice in the Austrian empirical tradition was Robert Zimmerman (1824-1898), professor of Philosophy at the University of Vienna from 1861-1895, who was Lipiner’s *Doktorvater*. Malachi Hacohen writes that it was Zimmerman who carried on Exner’s legacy, creating “an Austrian tradition: empiricist, sensationalist, anticlerical, anti-Hegelian, probabilistic, focusing on pedagogy and the formation of the liberal subject” (376).

23 Schopenhauer was impressed by Kant’s *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (Critique of Pure Reason, 1781), however he also seriously qualified Kant’s arguments regarding the distinction between the noumenal and the phenomenal. See Safranski (1987).
seine Beweisführung, während er bloße Spekulation kategorisch ablehnt” (87). Lipiner and Mahler both attended lectures with Brentano and were profoundly impacted by this method of inquiry in the study of philosophy and religion.

In 1876, shortly after his encounter with Brentano’s Religionsphilosophie in Vienna, Lipiner traveled to Leipzig to study with the renowned psychophysicist Gustav Theodor Fechner (1801-1887), and astronomer Johann Karl Friedrich Zöllner (1834-1882), who were exploring another method of scientific investigation into the existence of God and religion. According to a letter from Thomas Garrigue Masaryk to Alexius Meinong, two of Lipiner’s classmates from Brentano’s lectures in Vienna, Lipiner was highly impressed by Zöllner’s knowledge of the philosophy of Kant and Schopenhauer. Masaryk writes that Lipiner commented to him after class: “No, das war was! Etwas Anderes als das Geschwefel (sic) Brentanos, der hält den Schopenhauer für Nichts! Lächerlich!” (Kindinger 2-3). This comment reveals Lipiner’s desire to reconcile his interest in the natural and physical sciences with the metaphysics of Schopenhauer and Wagner,

24 “Empirical, scientific advancement and strict logic served him as methods for his argumentation, while he categorically rejected mere speculation”

25 Herta Blaukopf writes that although Schopenhauer’s philosophy maintained a strong hold on Mahler throughout his life, Brentano “cannot have remained without influence on Mahler.” She writes further: “like Brentano, [Mahler] was concerned about Modern natural science, and, with a view to both the message of Christ and scientific knowledge, he conferred renunciation on cultural pessimism” (“The Young Mahler” 19). Regarding Schopenhauer’s reception in Austria, despite the trend that privileged empiricism above metaphysics in Austrian intellectual circles, Luft explains that Schopenhauer’s writings in fact had much in common with the Austrian tradition, for as an anti-Hegelian and anti-historicist, Schopenhauer’s “view was static and ahistorical, and the ethic of resignation and quientism that underlay Austrian philosophic optimism was always likely to find affinities with Schopenhauer” (61).

26 Fügner (1881) suggests that Lipiner was sent to Leipzig at the recommendation of Heinrich Laube, one of the leaders of the revolutionary Junges Deutschland movement. Lipiner had dedicated his poem Der entfesselte Prometheus (1876) to Laube. For more on Lipiner and Laube, see Chapter 4.

27 “Well that was something! Something other than the gibberisch of Brentano, who thinks nothing of Schopenhauer! Laughable!”
whose writings he discussed in the Leseverein and Pernerstorfer Circle, and which will be explored in more depth later in this chapter.

Fechner was a German physicist who served for a number of years as a professor at the University of Leipzig, making his name in the field of experimental psychology. Lipiner, along with Sigmund Freud and other members of the Leseverein, likely heard about Fechner from Brentano’s lectures, as Brentano had been in contact with Fechner regarding his work, *Psychologie vom empirischen Standpunkt* (*Psychology from an Empirical Standpoint* 1874). According to Michael Heidelberger, there was a close connection between intellectual circles in Vienna and Leipzig at this time, and it could be said that Fechner’s works received more acclaim in Austria-Hungary, than in his native Germany (63). Fechner’s interests in science and philosophy were vast, and included studies of Materialism and Idealism. After a debilitating illness that left him temporarily blind, he took an interest in mysticism, forays that were supported by his friend Zöllner, but which eventually discredited him with some of his early followers. His prolific writings reflect his broad range of interests, connecting his expertise in the natural and physical sciences to spiritualism and eschatology.

Fechner’s ideas were originally rooted in the *Naturphilosophie* of Friedrich Schelling (1775-1854) and Lorenz Oken (1779-1851).²⁸ *Naturphilosophie* proposed that nature was an “animated organism,” continuously evolving and intimately connected to the processes of the human mind. Eventually, Fechner turned away from this view to a more materialistic conception of the world and attempted to explain faith and religion by empirical methods. His aim was to

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provide an explanation for how God and faith could exist by drawing on human experience, rather than by merely accepting religious doctrines (Lowrie 53). Heidelberger writes that this “bottom up” explanation for the relation of mind and body is what distinguishes Fechner’s philosophy from Naturphilosophie, particularly in Schelling’s interpretation, which establishes the identity view through speculative justification, “from above” (114). Zend-Avesta (1851) and Drei Motive und Grunde des Glaubens (Three Motives and Reasons for Belief, 1863) are two such works in which Fechner establishes this unique epistemology.

Lipiner had a very personal connection to Fechner. Joseph Breuer claims that, beyond taking courses with the professor, Lipiner also played a key role in convincing Fechner to finish his great treatise on religion and science, Die Tagesansicht gegnüber die Nachtansicht (The Dayview Against the Nightview, 1878). Breuer wrote to Brentano in 1903, “es rühmt Lipiner, er habe durch sein Drängen Fechner dazu bewogen, seine recht diffus zwischen poetischer und logischer Darstellung schwankenden Bücher in ein kompendiöses, les- und übersehbares Buch zu verdichten; so sei die Tagesansicht entstanden” (Hirschmüller 312).29 In Die Tagesansicht, Fechner outlined the tenets of this “natural” faith by contrasting the Day View, which he defined as “der Glaube an einen einigen Gott, dessen Bewußtsein das menschliche eben so an Weite überreicht, als an Höhe übersteigt,” with the Night View, which claims “statt im göttlichen, vielmehr im menschlichen, Bewußtsein das höchste von Bewußtsein, was es giebt” (Die

29 “Lipiner can pride himself on being the one have urged Fechner to condense his otherwise quite diffuse exposition, oscillating as it does between poetry and logical explanation, into a compendious, readable, and comprehensible book; this is how the “day view” was produced” (quoted in Heidelberger 62). Breuer is referring to Die Tagesansicht as a condensed version of ideas that Fechner had expressed earlier in Zend-Avesta.
Tagesansicht 21). The Day View is so named because those who perceive the world in this way find that God is omnipresent, that “die Welt [ist] von seinem Sehen durchleuchtet, von seinem Hören durchtönt” (5). For Fechner, God’s being illuminates all aspects of humanity and nature; even plants are in possession of a soul. Like Brentano, Fechner’s goal was to reconcile natural science and reason with religion. Drawing on man’s experience in the natural world, Fechner believed that he could establish proof for the existence of God and for the need for faith in the modern world.

Lipiner was fascinated by Fechner’s scientific approaches to answering questions about man’s impulse toward the religious as well as his Panentheistic concept of the world, in which God is both in the world and the world exists within the divine being. In his speech, “Über die Elemente,” Lipiner alludes to Fechner’s idea that metaphysics is directly related to the natural sciences and empirical observation of the world. He writes:

Wie die Wissenschaft, von welchem Punkte immer man beginnen mag, endlich auf ihre enggezogenen Grenzen stösst, wie diese Grenzen die ernstesten und mächtigsten Fragen nicht umfassen, wie uns alles auf ein Metaphysisches hinweist ohne es doch selbst zu erreichen, wie endlich die Hauptlehren aller echten Religion gemäss ihrer Natur und der Natur der Wisschenschaft dieser letzteren nicht widersprechen, ja die Wissenschaft selbst, z.B. bei Zöllner und Fechner, zu idealistischen und selbst theistischen Ideen leitet: Alles dies kann hier selbstverständlich nicht behandelt werden (“Über die Elemente” 14).33

30 “Belief in one only God, whose consciousness extends in breadth as far beyond that of men as in height it excels human consciousness…according to the Night View, naturally, the human consciousness, instead of the divine consciousness, is regarded as the highest that exists” (Lowrie 222).
31 “The world is illuminated by his sight and resounded by his hearing.”
32 This idea is elaborated upon in his work, Nanna oder das geistliche Leben der Pflanzen (Nanna and the Soul Life of Plants 1848).
33 “How science, from whatever point one may begin, ultimately bumps us up against its narrowly drawn boundaries, how these boundaries do not encompass the most serious and powerful of questions, how everything points us to the metaphysical, without, however, itself being able to reach it, how finally the
Mahler was likewise fascinated with the scientific-religious philosophy of Fechner. Both Natalie Bauer-Lechner and Bruno Walter attest that the composer was deeply moved by Fechner’s writings and particularly cherished his copy of *Das Büchlein vom Leben nach dem Tode* (The Little Book of Life After Death 1836), in which Fechner, writing under the pseudonym Dr. Mises, describes life as moving through three stages, evolving from sleeping to waking, and from darkness to light.\(^{34}\) Constantin Floros writes that Mahler’s *Wiederkunftsglaube*, particularly as expressed in the Second Symphony drew on the ideas expressed in this book (Mahler I: 110). The role of Fechner’s religion “from below” will be discussed in Chapter 3 of this study, in relation to Mahler’s Third Symphony.

Brentano and Fechner are just two examples of a larger trend within nineteenth-century culture to justify religion by using methods of scientific inquiry. These ideas came to play an important role in the unique vision of art and religion that appear in Lipiner’s poetic works and the musical world of Mahler’s symphonies.

### 1.3. Mysticism and Occult Spirituality

In addition to their forays into philosophy and the natural sciences, Lipiner and Mahler were both drawn to their study and practice of mysticism. According to Louis Bouyer, mysticism, which

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main teachings of all true religion, in accordance with its nature and the nature of science, do *not* contradict the latter, indeed, that even science, for e.g. Zöllner and Fechner, leads to idealistic and even theistic ideas: All of this, it goes without saying, cannot be dealt with here” (“On the Elements” 141)

\(^{34}\) See Barham (1998) and Solvik Olsen (1992) for an in-depth study of Mahler’s understanding of Fechner’s writings and an overview of the literature on this topic.
comes from the Greek, meaning “to close the eyes,” originally referred to Mystery religious rituals, and was later used to describe allegorical meanings in the Bible or “doctrines which touch on the profoundest point of faith” (49). Origen (c. 185-254), an early Christian theologian, eventually developed the idea of the “mystical” as a direct experience of knowing God (50), which is the interpretation that Mahler and Lipiner assimilated into their vision of aesthetic-religious redemption. Poet and composer were likely drawn to mysticism via the Romantics, whose emphasis on emotion and feeling over reason ushered in a revival of interest in a non-dogmatic spirituality.

The Romantics were particularly interested in the idea that humanity is descended from an original whole, but has become separated from its origin and longs to return to this lost unity. Such theories were outlined in the writings of Plotinus (ca. AD 204/5-270), who claimed that the world is a creation of the first principle “The One” and that all being is a result of emanations from “The One.” All evolution away from the source is countered by a return to it (Abrams 148). This schema was taken over by Proclus (AD 412-485) in the fifth century and identified as a circular movement. Later, Neo-Platonic interpretation sought to merge these ideas with the Christian tradition, identifying Israel’s separation from God and promise of reunion with Him as another kind of circular journey.

According to Abrams, the Romantics reinvented this circular movement, merging it with the nineteenth century modern ideals of progress and Bildung. He identifies this paradigm as a “Circuitous Journey,” that takes the form of the following narrative:

Man, who was once well, is now ill, and at the core of the modern malaise lies his fragmentation, dissociation, estrangement, or…alienation…The individual…has become radically split in three main aspects. He is divided within
himself, he is divided from other men, and he is divided from his environment; his only hope for recovery...is to find the way to reintegration which will restore unity with himself, his community with his fellow men, and his companionability with an alien and hostile outer world (Abrams 145).

This paradigm of alienation and return is found in the literature of the Romantics and became a foundational argument of the German Idealist philosophers at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, particularly in the writings of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel.

Of special interest to the German Romantics and their predecessors was the manifestation of man’s direct experience of the divine in religious texts. At the fin de siècle in particular, there was a revival of interest in the Kabbalah, the Jewish mystical tradition, which reinterpreted scripture through the lens of philosophy and myth. The idea of divided and reunited man is essential to the Kabbalah tradition, in which sin is defined as a disruption of union, a break with God that is healed by a return to divine unity (Abrams 155). The writings of the mystic Jakob Böhme (1575-1624) reflect a similar cosmology in the Christian tradition. Böhme wrote in his work Die Morgenröte im Aufgang (Aurora, 1600) that man’s break from God was necessary in order to evolve into a new and higher level of perfection upon returning to this unity. According to Abrams, Böhme envisioned Adam’s fall as a “turn away from God to nature.” Man drifts further into the material world and away from God, “until he has become a fragment (Bruchstück), utterly separated from God in an isolation from which he can only be rescued by the intervention of that grace which gave him his Redeemer” (161-162).

Böhme was a Protestant, yet his writings were also influential in the Catholic mystical tradition, particularly in the writings of Angelius Silesius (born Johann Scheffler, 1624-1677). In
Cherubinischer Wandersmann (1675, originally published as Geistreiche Sinn- und Schlussreime, 1657), Silesius expressed his belief in the mystical and direct experience of God in a series of paradoxical epigrams. Bruno Walter wrote that Mahler was a great admirer of Silesius (Thema und Variationen 119), while the memoirs of Alma, Mahler’s wife, also refer to his interest in Catholic mysticism. Lipiner may have become acquainted with medieval mystical texts through the writings of the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz. In 1836, Mickiewicz translated excerpts from Böhme and Silesius in a compilation entitled Zdania i uwagi (Apothegms and Sayings) (Ferber 340). Lipiner translated several of Mickiewicz’s dramatic works into German in the 1880s and was familiar with the poet’s unique take on mysticism and religion. As Chapter 2 will discuss, Mickiewicz could well have inspired Mahler and Lipiner’s interest in the expression of a direct experience of the divine through literature and music.

Along with their study of medieval mystical texts, Lipiner and Mahler also took an interest for a short time in occult spiritual practices, which were a popular trend amongst the Viennese bourgeois at the fin de siècle. Through the Pernerstorfer Circle, they became acquainted with Friedrich Eckstein, a scholar of German and Spanish mysticism, as well as oriental religions (The Occult Roots of Nazism 28). Both composer and poet joined Eckstein’s Pythagorean group, which promoted vegetarianism as a means to cleanse the body and renew a religious spirit. Eckstein and his followers believed that human consumption of meat had caused the decline of the Christian religion, which they had read about in the essay Richard Wagner’s essay, “Religion und Kunst” (1880) (Stefan, quoted in Mitchell 48). The Pythagorean society met at a restaurant at the corner of the Wallnerstrasse and Fahnengasse in Vienna’s city center (Dionysian Art 95). Mahler’s experience with vegetarianism is documented in his letter to Emil Freund of 1880, in which he claimed,
For a month now I have been an out-and-out vegetarian. The moral effect of this way of life, with its voluntary castigation of the body, causing one’s material needs to dwindle away, is enormous. You can judge for yourself how utterly I {am} convinced of it, when I tell you that I expect of it no less than the regeneration of humanity” (GMBE 65).

Rudolph Steiner met Eckstein in 1889 and studied oriental thought, medieval mysticism, Neo-Platonism and the Kabbala under the influence of the Theosophists (“The Modern Occult Revival in Vienna, 1880-1910” 107).
sich diesen Einflüssen völlig zu entwinden” (Eckstein 102). One possible explanation for Lipiner’s disavowal of this particular brand of mysticism could be the general turn of the Theosophy movement toward German nationalist and racial politics in the first decade of the twentieth century, and the group’s adoption of the proto-fascist “Ariosophy” of Jörf Lanz von Liebenfels (“The Modern Occult Revival in Vienna, 1880-1919” 109).

Therefore, there was a strong countermovement to traditional religion in fin-de-siècle society through the study of mystical writings and unorthodox spiritual practices. Mahler and Lipiner’s concept of aesthetic-religious redemption must therefore be understood in light of the unique influences of this cultural trend.

1.4. “The Longing for Myth”

Complementing the turn to mysticism was what George Williamson calls, “the longing for myth.” According to Williamson, myths, like religion, provide an explanation for the crises and conflicts of human experience that are common to a group of people and promote their identification with one another. Mahler and Lipiner’s interests in mythology and culture were piqued through their association with Pan-Germanist movements at the University of Vienna.

37 “He also suggested that I turn away from the study of mysticism, which, at the time, had captured me...he had himself at one time been completely taken in by mysticism, but had luckily managed to wrest himself from these influences”

38 Referring to a trend within nineteenth-century German Christian culture to turn to myth as a way to confront “the cultural and political challenges of European modernity,” George Williamson defines myth as a “category to denote a sacred narrative of gods, heroes, or cosmogony that reflects the fundamental values and beliefs of a community or nation” (4, 6). Manfred Frank, in his Vorlesungen über die Mythologie, affirms the importance of myth for a society and its connection to religion, claiming: “Mythen (und religiöse Weltbilder) dienen dazu, den Bestand und die Verfassung einer Gesellschaft aus einem obersten Wert zu beglaubigen, d.h. rechtfertigen (11). Moreover, Frank also believes that Myths have a particular goal, not only to justify the establishment of a community, but also to unify it: “Wenn ich von der Leistung des Mythos spreche, dann meine ich damit den Zweck, den eine Gesellschaft damit verbindet, dass sie Mythen überliefert und für die Deutung ihrer Probleme, Konflikte und Lebensformen einsetzt” (80-81).
goals of both the Pernerstorfer circle and the Leseverein became increasingly political throughout the course of the 1870s. The students at the university, many of them the children of the vanguards of Austrian liberalism, were drawn to the question of German nationalism, which had dominated European political discourses since the French Revolution. While the Austro-Hungarian Empire’s defeat by the Prussians at Königgratz in 1866 destroyed any hope for the creation of a *Großdeutschland*, this setback did not dampen the spirits of Austria’s young artists and intellectuals. They turned to myths as part of a nationalist agenda, to articulate a shared history and tradition with Germany, even while Austria remained a politically separate entity.

Lipiner and Mahler eventually abandoned political activism, as Pan-Germanist movements, such as the *Deutschnationalebewegung* led by Georg von Schönerer, increasingly came to embrace an anti-Semitic rhetoric. Yet they continued to elevate myth to a divine and sacred status at this time, incorporating it as an essential element of their reenvisioned aesthetic religion.

In exploring the role of myth in art, Mahler and Lipiner were drawn to two authoritative voices on this topic: Friedrich Nietzsche and Richard Wagner. In *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Musik* (1872), Nietzsche claimed that myth is the lifeblood of culture, for “ohne Mythus aber geht jede Cultur ihrer gesunden schöpferischen Naturkraft verlustig: erst ein mit Mythen umsteller Horizont schliesst eine ganze Culturbewegung zur Einheit an” (140). He turned in particular to Greek mythology for inspiration, claiming that Greek tragedy reached the pinnacle of artistic expression, because it embodied both polarities of the Apollonian force (the contemplative, ideal representation of art) and the Dionysian, (the transcendent, ecstatic moment

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39 See Schorske, “Politics in a New Key” for more information on the Pan-Germanist politics of von Schönerer, and McGrath’s *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria*, particularly for connections between the Pernerstorfer Circle and the Linz Program.

40 “Without myth every culture loses the healthy natural power of its creativity: only a horizon defined by myths completes and unifies a whole cultural movement” (“The Birth of Tragedy” 135).
of art). The narrative of the mythical tragedy inspires the audience, first to empathize with the characters, and then to “experience” the tragedy personally and to thereby reconnect with their fellow man and the world around them. In this way, myth provides the gateway for the recreation of a spirit of community through art.

Lipiner’s speech to the Leseverein reveals the influence of Die Geburt der Tragödie on his own philosophy of myth and art, a topic that will be explored further in Chapter 3. Here Lipiner redefines Nietzsche’s mystical reunion through myth and tragic art as a deeply religious experience:

\[ \text{die Tragödie ist Religion, und vor der tragischen Kunst wird der Mensch religiös. Denn in der tragischen Kunst sieht er sich selbst, wie er die Wirklichkeit vernichtet und als Erscheinung freudig vergeht – freudig, denn eben in diesem Vergehen und nur in ihm fühlt er, was nicht vergehen kann, und als Mensch dahinsterbend, fühlt er seine Auferstehung als Gott (“Über die Elemente” 11).} \]

Myth, in its incarnation as tragedy, enables man to experience religion in the most direct way possible, by discovering the divine within himself.

The composer Richard Wagner also played a seminal role in the spread of myth in German culture at the end of the nineteenth century. He based a number of his music dramas on old Germanic myths, including the operatic cycle Der Ring des Nibelungen (1847-1872). Wagner was particularly interested in the role of the artist who creates this transcendent experience by molding the myth into its greatest artistic expression. He wrote in his essay, “Oper und Drama”

\[ \text{“Tragedy is religion, and in the presence of tragic art man becomes religious. For in tragic art he sees himself, sees how he negates reality and as phenomenon joyfully passes away – joyfully, for precisely in this passing away, and only in it, does he feel what cannot pass away, and as a man dying away, he feels his resurrection as God” (“On the Elements” 138).} \]
(1852) that “Der tragische Dichter theilte den Inhalt und das Wesen des Mythos nur am überzeugendsten und verständlichsten mit, und die Tragödie ist nichts Anderes, als die künstlerische Vollendung des Mythos selbst, der Mythos aber das Gedicht einer gemeinsamen Lebensanschauung” (WGS IV: 34).\(^{42}\) Wagner’s turn to medieval Christian legends for inspiration in *Parsifal* (1877-1883), discussed in Chapter 4, reflects his own synthesis of myth and religion in the modern artwork.

Perhaps the most compelling evidence for Mahler and Lipiner’s interest in Nietzsche and Wagner’s new mythology is their founding of the *Sagengesellschaft* (Saga Society) with friends from the University of Vienna in 1880. According to Richard von Kralik, a writer, as well as music and theater critic who co-organized the group, the goal of this society was “so zu leben und zu denken und zu arbeiten in Mythen, in Göttern, und Helden” (98).\(^{43}\) Among the group’s activities were the readings of mythical works. McGrath writes that the *Sagengesellschaft* discussed a number of texts, such as the *Nibelungenlied*, *Gudrun*, and the *Edda*, along with Lipiner’s libretto of *Merlin*, a dramatic adaption of the myth that was set to music by Karl Goldmark and performed at the Vienna Opera, as well as the Metropolitan Opera in New York (Dionysian Art 102).\(^{44}\) Kralik’s later forays into Catholicism reveal another connection between

\(^{42}\) “The tragic-poet merely imparted the content and essence of the myth in the most conclusive and intelligible manner. His tragedy is nothing other than the artistic completion of the myth itself; while the myth is the poem of a life-view in common” (“Opera and Drama” 87).

\(^{43}\) “So to live and to think and to work in myths, gods, and heroes.”

\(^{44}\) *Merlin* premiered at the Vienna Court Opera on 19 November 1886, receiving high praise from the music critic Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904). Parts of Hanslick’s review (which originally appeared in the Feuilleton section of the Neue Freie Presse) were reprinted in the *New York Times* on 10 December 1886 prior to the opera’s 3 January 1887 premiere at the Metropolitan Opera. Hanslick called the work “skillfully constructed, intelligible throughout, and written in an elegant and poetical language” (“Goldmark’s ‘Merlin’”). Praise for the performance in the United States, however, was somewhat more subdued. A reviewer in The Musical Times called the text “cleverly made” and praised the “dramatic vitality” of the title character, but in the end relegated the work to a “succès d’estime” (“Music in America” 94).
the revival of medieval myth and a renewed interest in a mystical religious spirit. After the
_Sagengesellschaft_ disbanded, Kralik formed the _Gralbund_ (Grail Brotherhood) in 1905.
According to McGrath, Kralik believed that “the shallow rationalism of his culture was to be
transcended in a Grail culture where religious faith would point the way to the realm beyond
phenomenal reality” (105). The _Sagengesellschaft_ and _Gralbund_, therefore, provide evidence of a
turn to myth in Vienna, not necessarily for nationalist or political reasons, but in an effort to
revive cultural life. The way in which the meetings of such societies were treated as rituals, and
the texts as sacred, suggests that mythology was providing yet another alternative to tradition
religion. The “longing for myth,” therefore, reveals a _Sehnsucht_ for the community and common
belief system of religion. It provided the ideal context for Mahler and Lipiner to explore religious
ideas within an established discourse that was closely tied to the German culture with which they
self-identified.

1.5. The Sacredness of Art, the “Spirit Realm” of Music

In his series of essays published first independently and then in monograph form under the title
_Non-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture_ in 1981, historian Carl Schorske claims that the
flowering of artistic culture in turn of the century Austria reflects a retreat from politics into the
“garden” of art. Citing examples from the visual arts (Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele, and Oskar
Kokoschka), literature (Arthur Schnitzler and Hugo von Hofmannstahl), music (Arnold

45 Hubert Lengauer writes of another mythical regeneration movement in Viennese society, led by the art
historian Albert Ilg, which refused the participation of both Jews and women. According to Lengauer, “die
Erneuerung des gesellschaftlich-politischen Lebens war also mit solchen Reinigungsakten verbunden; das
religiöse Moment war dabei, auch im Sinne des Antisemitismus, instrumental einsetzbar” (1243).
Schoenberg), and architecture (Adolf Loos, Otto Wagner, Camille Sitte), Schorske provides an overview of artistic achievements in this period, placing them in the context of bourgeois disillusionment with political culture. According to Schorske, “as civic action became increasingly futile, art became almost a religion, the source of meaning and food for the soul” (9). Whalen, however, takes Schorske’s claim one step further, writing that “Religious experience occurred within the context of art, meaning not that religion took on the form of the human, but that art took on the echo of the divine” (15). Whereas Whalen’s study takes a more all-encompassing look at the variety of ways that art manifested itself as sacred at the fin de siècle, this study will focus primarily on Mahler’s music and Lipiner’s musically inspired form of theatre. Their artistic vision of the divine and sacred drew on a number of sources, including Schopenhauer’s Will, Nietzsche’s vision of tragic art, and Wagner’s poet-priest. Through these writers and others, Mahler and Lipiner tapped into a larger cultural discourse on the primacy of music among the arts.

Mahler and Lipiner believed that music was a sacred art form, possessing the ability to express emotion, to transcend the listener beyond the everyday world, and to create the experience of a mystical union with nature. Many of these ideas were gleaned from the writings of the German Romantics. One of the leading figures in this movement was William Heinrich Wackenroder (1773-1798), who wrote about music in regard to an aesthetic religion of sentiment, an idea rooted in late eighteenth-century pietism.46 Wackenroder’s contemporary, the writer and music critic, E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776-1822), furthered this idea by claiming that music had the

46 As David Charlton writes, Wackenroder’s “Doctrine of the Soul” was grounded in the idea of that there existed an “ineplicable sympathy…between modern music and the human heart, music had gone beyond the power of the reasoners and pendants and attained inherent capability to transport ot a new world, those who knew how to submit to it” (Charlton 13).
ability to transcend the listener to a “spirit-realm” above and beyond the world of temporal reality. He wrote in *Kreisleriana* (1814) of music:

> Aber wohnt sie nicht in der Brust des Menschen selbst und erfüllt sein Inneres so mit ihren holdseligen Erscheinungen, daß sein ganzer Sinn sich ihnen zuwendet und ein neues verklärtes Leben ihn schon hienieden dem Drange, der nieddrückenden Qual des Irdischen entreißt? Ja, eine göttliche Kraft durchdringt ihn, und mit kindlichem, frommen Gemüte sich dem hingebend, was der Geist in ihm erregt, vermag er die Sprache jenes unbekannten romantischen Geisterreichs zu reden” (Hoffmann 47).

Mahler was particularly fond of Hoffmann’s writings and was often compared by contemporaries to the character of Kapellmeister Johannes Kreisler from this work.48

Music continued to hold its unique place among the arts in treatises on philosophy and aesthetics throughout the nineteenth century. Mahler and Lipiner were particularly drawn to the incarnation of these ideas in the writings of Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), who described music as a direct embodiment of the Will.49 He wrote in *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (*The World as Will and Representation* 1819) that, “die Musik ist also keineswegs gleich den andern

47 “But does it not reside in the breast of man himself and fill his heart with its enchanting images, so that all his senses respond to them, and a radiant new life transports him from his enslavement here below, from the oppressive torment of his earthly existence? Indeed he is suffused by a divine power, and by abandoning himself with a childlike and pious mind to whatever influence the spirit arouses within him, he is able to speak the language of that unknown, romantic spirit-realm” (Charlton 88).

48 For the numerous references to Mahler and Kreisler, see Johnson (2009) p. 202. Mahler also referred to the third movement of his *First Symphony*, as being composed in the “manner of Callot,” another reference to an essay by Hoffmann.

49 Schopenhauer wrote that the Will is “das innerste, der Kern jedes Einzelnen und ebenso des Ganzen: er erscheint in jeder blindwirkenden Naturkraft: er auch erscheint im überlegten Handeln des Menschen” (Schopenhauer I: 170) / “It is the innermost essence, the kernel, of every particular thing and also of the whole. It appears in ever blindly acting force of nature, and also in the deliberate conduct of man” (Payne I: 110). According to Schopenhauer, the Will is completely separate from human intellect, morals, or reason; it is insatiable and always seeking a fulfillment that cannot be achieved. This endless drive is the cause of all suffering and unhappiness in the world, and the only way to escape the tragedy of existence is through the temporary denial of the Will, a reprieve granted through aesthetic contemplation or Buddhist-like asceticism.
Künsten das Abbild der Ideen; sondern *Abbild des Willens selbst*” (I: 359).\(^{50}\) Music’s non-representational quality made it a more direct means of expression than other art forms, such as poetry or the plastic arts.

A half a century later, Friedrich Nietzsche elaborated on Schopenhauer’s ideas about the power of music in his work, *Die Geburt der Tragödie* (1872). Nietzsche wrote that by the musical impulse “wird der Mensch zur höchsten Steigerung aller seiner symbolischen Fähigkeiten gereizt; etwas Nieempfundenes drängt sich zur Äusserung, die Vernichtung des Schleiers der Maja, das Einssein als Genius der Gattung, ja der Natur” (27).\(^{51}\) The image of Maya’s veil is a reference to Schopenhauer’s *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, which refers to the *principium individuationis* that separates mankind from the Dionysian *Rausch*, or ecstasy of unity with nature. Music tears away this veil of appearances, facilitating man’s return to unity with the natural world. The powerful urge toward unification with nature is a force beyond reason and understanding; by appealing directly to man’s emotions, music is capable of revealing the truths of human existence in a direct, unmediated way. In his speech to the Leseverein, Lipiner again identified this temporary moment of artistic longing as religious, writing:

Und so mag es wohl in dem erleuchtetesten Augenblicken, in Momenten tiefster Kunstsehnsucht den grössten Gedanken, die Welt als Kunstwerk ahnen. In solchen Momenten ist das Gemüth von den heiligsten religiösen Schauern erfüllt, und die Welt als Kunstwerk, die gewiss nicht die Welt der Wirklichkeit ist, diese Welt des religiösen Anschauens wird es glaubend und anbetend Gott nennen (“Über die Elemente” 9).\(^{52}\)

\(^{50}\) “Music is by no means like the other arts, namely a copy of the Ideas, but a *copy of the will itself*” (Payne I: 257)

\(^{51}\) “Man is incited to the greatest exaltation of all his symbolic faculties; something never before experienced struggles for utterance – the annihilation of the veil of *maya*, onness as the soul of the race and of nature itself” (“The Birth of Tragedy” 40).

\(^{52}\) “And so in the most enlightened moments, at instants of the greatest longing for art, it may well divine the greatest thought, *the world as a work of art*. In such moments our sensibility is filled by the most sacred
In a similar way, Mahler also described the role of music in his *Third Symphony* as facilitating a unique kind of Dionysian, mystical communion with the natural world. He describes the first movement of this work in the following way:

> Wenn ich es sonst auch in Worten noch andeuten und einigermaßen beschreiben und schildern konnte, was in den verschiedenen Sätzen vorgeht, so hört das hier völlig auf; du müßtest in die Natur selbst dich mit mir versenken, die von der Musik so tief an der Wurzel gefaßt wird wie von keiner Kunst und keiner Wissenschaft (59).\(^{53}\)

Moreover, as music came to claim a divine or sacred status in intellectual discourses of the time, the artist also became elevated to the status of priest or prophet. Schopenhahuer wrote of the composer as a medium for the Will that works through him like divine inspiration. He claimed that, “der Komponist offenbart das innerste Wesen der Welt und spricht die tiefste Weisheit aus, in einer Sprache, die seine Vernunft nicht versteht” (I: 363).\(^{54}\) Schopenhauer likened the musician to the ascetic, as both are able to temporarily ease the constant yearning of the striving Will through a form of meditation. In his poem, “Der Musiker Spricht,” written for Mahler on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday, Lipiner describes the musician as literally transformed by the sound he creates. Serving as an intermediary for this divine art, in the final religious shudder, and the world as artwork, which is assuredly not the world of reality, this world of religious intuition it [our sensibility] will faithfully and reverently call God. (“On the Elements” 136).

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\(^{53}\) “Whereas I could clarify and to a certain extent “describe” in words what happens in the other movements, that is no longer possible here; you would have to plunge with me into the very depths of Nature, whose roots are grasped by music at a depth that neither art nor science can otherwise reach” (NBLE 62)

\(^{54}\) “The composer reveals the innermost nature of the world, and expresses the profoundest wisdom in a language that his reasoning faculty does not understand” (Payne I: 260).

In his essay, “Beethoven” (1870), Richard Wagner extended Schopenhauer’s description of the composer or musician to that of a saint or martyr, because the creation of great art entails great suffering; the artist must constantly oscillate between his experience of the world and the transcendent consciousness of inspiration. Later, in “Religion und Kunst” (“Religion and Art,” 1880), he wrote that the poet takes on the role of the priest in a religious service; he is the “dichterischer Priester,” who is the “Vermittler des zerschmetternd Erhabenen” (X: 248). In this mediating role, the poet-priest provides in his artwork the audience’s point of access to the message of the work, the revelation of a universal human truth. In this way, Wagner believed that only the artist could save the spirit of religion, by revealing the “in ihnen verborgene tiefe Wahrheit” through “ideale Darstellung” (211).

Wagner’s writings on the artist as a poet-priest achieved widespread readership throughout Germany and Austria, impacting philosophical circles as well as in the field of musicology. Friedrich Hausegger (1837-1899) drew upon similar...

55 “The radiant path, that resounds along, I am also in a dance and also a tone!”
56 “Artistic teller of the great World-tragedy” / “mediator of the crushingly sublime” (“Religion und Kunst” 247). Wagner was of course not the first to claim the religious nature of the artist’s work. Abrams writes that already in his work The Ages of the World (1811), Schelling had written of a poet-prophet, who would herald “the restoration of a lost unity of the human intellect with itself and with nature” (225). Wagner’s idea of the sublime was likely divined from that of Immanuel Kant, via Arthur Schopenhauer, who both saw the sublime as the experience of something so vast and overpowering, that it inspires fear in the observer. The dynamic power of nature encapsulated the sublime, a theme found frequently in the writings of the German Romantics, in particular, Friedrich Schiller, in his essay, “Über das Erhabene” (1801) and later, Friedrich Schlegel.
57 “The deep hidden truth” “through ideal presentation” (“Religion and Art” 213).
58 However, as I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 4, Wagner’s adoption of religious rhetoric in his writings and Christian symbolism in his music dramas was hardly an affirmation of religion, but rather a manipulation of these recognizable concepts and images to support his own definition of the sacred position of music amongst the arts. In contrast, Mahler’s use of such terminology to describe the mission of music, expresses a more complex relationship to religion, one that reflects the influence of Lipiner as well as a number of other writers and philosophers, who will be discussed in this dissertation.
religious imagery in his essay, **Musik als Ausdruck** (*Music as Expression* 1885), in which he identified artists as “appointed priests” and “guardians of eternal light”, writing:

Denn ihnen, Euren Künstler, ist das hehrste Kleinod zur Huth übergeben; sie sind die Wächter des ewigen Lichtes, welches der Menschheit strahlen soll, damit sie nicht versinke in Trostlosigkeit und Elend; in ihren Händen ruht der Trost der Gegenwart, die Hoffnung der Zukunft; sie sind Eure berufene Priester; denn wahre Kunst ist wahre Religion (Hausegger 236-237).

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Mahler and Lipiner were both attracted to the idea of the musician or poet as an inspired prophet of a new **Kunstreligion**. Mahler, who often described his own experience of composing as a kind of martyrdom, went so far as to self-identify with the figure of Christ. As he commented to his close friend Natalie Bauer-Lechner, while composing the **Third Symphony**:

Heute ist mir, wie einem manchmal durch eigenes Erleben etwas längst bekanntes aufleuchtet und offenbar wird, plötzlich blitzartig aufgegangen: Christus auf dem Ölberg, der den Leidenskelch bis zur Neige leeren mußte und – wollte. Wem dieser Kelch bestimmt ist, der kann und will ihn nicht zurückweisen, doch muß ihn zu Zeiten eine Todesangst überkommen, wenn er denkt, was ihm noch bevorsteht. (NBL 59)
The idea that music possesses a kind of divine and immediate power that has the ability to transform the artist who creates it and the audience that hears it played a formative role in Mahler and Lipiner’s conception of their role as artists and the meaning of their works.

1.6 Music and Word – Forming the Musical Narrative

In identifying the divine role of music among the arts, Mahler and Lipiner were also drawn to the idea that music can communicate a kind of message or tell a story in a manner akin to a literary narrative. They were particularly interested in the precedent set by Richard Wagner’s music dramas, which expanded the form of the operatic genre to showcase the narrative power of music. In his early journalistic writings on art, Wagner had embraced the idea of the Gesamtkunstwerk, in which music was considered to be equal to all other media of artistic expression. If anything, music was subservient to the text, through which the human voice articulated a clear message to the audience. Wagner praised Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) for exemplifying this compositional technique in his use of Friedrich Schiller’s poem “An die Freude” in the final movement of his Ninth Symphony (1824). However, after reading Schopenhauer’s claims about music in Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, Wagner reevaluated his position on this issue. Schopenhauer wrote that language is secondary to music in its ability to express the essential human truths, for “die Wirkung der Töne ungleich mächtiger, unfehlbarer und schneller ist als die

62 Carl Dahlhaus writes of this contradiction in Wagner’s writings on music and text between his early and late writings, particularly regarding the idea of Absolute Music. While in essays such as “Oper und Drama” (1851) written before he read Schopenhauer, Wagner claims that the music is determined by the drama, he later claims in “Beethoven” (1870) that “music includes drama entirely within itself, since drama in turn expresses the only idea of the world which is commensurate with music” (quoted in Between Romanticism and Modernism 35). This quotation reveals that Wagner is trying to defend his original point, while reconciling it with Schopenhauer’s idea of the transcendental power of music. Dahlhaus summarizes the late Wagner’s view of Absolute Music in the following way: “Metaphysically, the music is the ‘origin’ of the drama; empirically, in compositional practice, it is ‘conditioned’ by the drama” (36).
Henceforth Wagner went on to praise the primacy of music among the arts, identifying music’s ability to speak directly to the listener, requiring no translation or mediation: “Hier spricht die äußere Welt so unvergleichlich verständlich zu uns, weil sie durch das Gehör vermöge der Klangwirkung uns ganz dasselbe mittheilt, was wir aus tiefstem Inneren selbst ihr zurufen” (WGS IX: 71). The expressive power of music in Wagner’s music dramas drives the dramatic narrative of the story, as the music provides the listener with a deeper knowledge or understanding beyond the words of the text being sung.

Lipiner and Mahler were well acquainted with debates concerning the role of word and tone in operatic, as well as symphonic works. Lipiner had experience writing librettos (his text for Goldmark’s opera, Merlin, was well received) and there is speculation that his unfinished masterpiece, the Christus trilogy, was intended as a cycle of operatic works like Wagner’s Der Ring des Nibelungen (although Adam, the only finished section, was never performed as such). Mahler certainly recognized his friend’s affinity toward music in his writings. In a letter to Lipiner written in 1898, after reading his play, Adam, Mahler claimed, “Mein lieber Siegfried: Du musizierst ja! Dich wird nie jemand besser verstehen können als ein Musiker, und ich kann wohl speziell hinzufügen, als ich!” (GMBE 283).

63 “The effect of the tones is incomparably more powerful, more infallible, and more rapid than that of the words” (Payne II 448).
64 “Here the outside world speaks to us in terms intelligible beyond compare, since its sounding to our ear is of the selfsame nature as the cry sent forth to it from the depths of our own inner heart” (“Beethoven”)
65 One way that Wagner accomplishes this task is by the use of musical leitmotifs, which often reference characters, objects, events or ideas of which the characters on stage may or may not be cognizant. Hans von Wolzogen is credited as having first applied the term leitmotif to Wagner’s works to refer particular musical structures that vary and develop throughout the work. For more on Wagner’s leitmotifs, see Deathridge and Dahlhaus (1984).
66 “My dear Siegfried: you do make music! No one will ever be able to understand you better than a musician, and I may specifically add: than myself” (GMBE 243).
Although Mahler focused primarily on the genre of the symphony, rather than the opera, for his artistic output, he frequently integrated the singing voice into his works by setting Volkslieder and other poetic texts as movements within these pieces. Moreover, in his first four symphonies in which many of these songs were set, these texts are part of a larger musical narrative, often framed by programs or programmatic titles that he occasionally published for performances. The idea of using the musical genre of the symphony to express narrative ideas, or of giving titles to specific works and movements, was based in a tradition dating long before Mahler. Karen Painter writes of the precedent that Beethoven had set for symphonic composers of the nineteenth century:

The symphony represented both an individual and an ideal for all humankind…[it] claimed to portray the actions and emotions of a heroic figure, and therefore of an individual who spoke for the collective…in practical terms, a symphony was felt in terms of a protagonist, but had to be interpreted as the actions and aspirations of mankind. It was a narrative that gained a moral imperative (26).

Mahler and his contemporaries inherited this legacy, and thus they sought to expand the possibilities of the symphony as a narrative form by experimenting with various forms and musical structures. Franz Liszt (1811-1886), for example, popularized the symphonic poem, and his works were often based on or inspired by literary texts, such as his Eine Faust-Symphonie (1856) and Eine Symphonie zu Dantes Divina Comedia (1856-1859). Another contemporary of Mahler, Richard Strauss (1864-1949), composed tone poems, in which he not only drew on

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67 Mahler did experiment with the opera genre with Rübezahl (1881) but he never completed this work. Instead he focused on the symphony and the lied. For Mahler’s thoughts on the role of music and text in the setting of his lieder, see Chapter 4.

68 An example of Beethoven’s “programmatic” works is his groundbreaking Third Symphony, which he entitled “Eroica,” and at one point dedicated to Napoleon.
literary texts (Don Juan, 1889; Also Sprach Zarathustra, 1896), but also used tone painting to recreate real-life effects through the sounds of the orchestra.  

Mahler’s comments to friends and colleagues about the literary and programmatic influences and inspirations for his works reveal him to be continuing in this tradition. For example, he often referred to his First and Second symphonies as the death and resurrection of the hero, his Third Symphony as the organic progression and development of nature, and his Fourth as a vision of heaven. Yet despite the fact that Mahler’s first four symphonies all have some kind of program or idea behind them (or did at one stage or another of composition), one must distinguish Mahler from his contemporaries in that, while he spoke openly about his music and the ideas that he had while composing, Mahler’s programs were often written years after he completed the composition of the works. These programs evolved over time, reflecting his changing perspectives and making it difficult to give one explanation for a work’s meaning. Moreover, Mahler was wary of providing his audiences with too much information about his interpretation of the piece for fear that they might take it to be a literal explanation of the scenes that he described. Yet he did claim to Max Marschalk that such texts were intended to provide guidance for his listeners: “Gut ist es deshalb immerhin, wenn für die erste Zeit, als meine Art noch befremdet, der Zuhörer einige Wegtafeln und Meilenzeiger auf die Reise mit erhält” (GMB 188).  

And while he may have wavered on the importance of programs, Mahler did believe throughout his life that music was directly linked to his own personal experience.  

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69 One example of this is Strauss’ Symphonie Domestica, in which the concert program reveals themes for each of the “characters” (husband, wife, child).

70 “So it is on the whole just as well if in the early stages, as long as my way of doing things is felt to be disconcerting, the listener is provided with signposts and milestones on his journey” (GMBE 179-180).

71 See quotation in Introduction from the memoirs of Natalie Bauer-Lechner.
programs remain important sources for understanding the composer’s conception of his work at a particular moment in time. Because Mahler’s fascination with religion and philosophy is so closely linked to his artistic output, these programs will serve as important sources for the analysis of his music in this study.

1.7. The Jewish Question

The debates and discourses that have been presented in this chapter reflect, for the most part, a critique of religion vis-à-vis science and art in the context of Christian culture, which in the traditional baroque city of Vienna meant, primarily, Catholic culture. However, it must be acknowledged that the two main figures of this study were Jews, albeit non-practicing ones. Lipiner does not appear to have been raised as an Orthodox Jew, although he did live in the predominately Jewish second district of Vienna, the Leopoldstadt, during his years as a student. Mahler, born four years later in Moravia, was also culturally assimilated at an early age. Mahler’s family belonged to the temple in Iglau, the town where he spent his early years; however, they were not particularly religious. Both poet and composer converted, Lipiner to the Evangelical (Protestant) Church in 1891 and Mahler to Catholicism in 1897, though these conversions were motivated by personal and political motives (particularly Mahler’s conversion, which was essential for his receiving the appointment of director of the Court Opera in Vienna).

As assimilated, converted Jews, expressing ambivalence toward traditional religion in fin-de-siècle Vienna, Mahler and Lipiner hardly stood alone. Rather, they were part of a large Jewish

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72 According to Gerald Stourzh, Mahler’s conversion was “one of the unspoken, or rather unwritten, prerequisites” of receiving the position at the Court Opera. Mahler even claimed in a letter to Ödön von Mihalovich of December 1896 that he had converted almost five years earlier, after leaving the opera in Budapest (52). This claim has been disproved, however, by official church records, which date the baptism to February 23, 1897, at the Kleine Michaeliskirche in Hamburg (LaGrange I: 411).
middle class that, as a number of studies have shown, played a significant role in promoting and creating the cultural and intellectual achievements of the day. Yet it must also be acknowledged that despite the large number of assimilated Jews into Viennese society at the turn of the century, this period was also marked by the rise of a virulent, racial anti-Semitism. An anti-Jewish religious and cultural discourse was certainly not new; while Jews had been discriminated against for their beliefs for centuries, cultural prejudices were largely a response to the Jewish Enlightenment and emancipation at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. When the market crash of 1873 signaled the failure of the Austrian liberal government and their laissez-faire capitalist policies, associated with Jewish entrepreneurs and bankers, new political parties emerged that used religious rhetoric to unite different social classes under their banner. Among these was the Pan-Germanist movement, which in its early stages had widespread support from young Jewish university students, including Mahler and Lipiner. Yet under the leadership of Georg von Schoenerer, this party adopted an anti-Semitic policy that alienated many of its original members. In the end this party was unable to achieve any real political success. The Christian Socialist movement, on the other hand, was able to reinforce religion “both as a criterion for determining social status and identity for the individual and as a criterion limiting access to certain governing positions” (Pollak 64). By focusing their political rhetoric on religion, rather than class, the Christian Socialists were able to unite a disparate populace, and in 1895, with the election of their leader Karl Lueger as the mayor of Vienna, they became “the most successful modern political movement based on anti-Semitism to emerge anywhere in nineteenth-century Europe” (Wistrich 205).

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Moreover, despite scientific studies into racial biology and attempts to define and classify Jews with specific biological characteristics, in practice, Jewish identity was hardly so clearly defined. Lueger said it best when he claimed, “Wer Jud ist, bestimm’ ich”: that is to say, Jewishness became an ambiguous, subjective label that was determined by the fears and insecurities of non-Jews. In this situation, even assimilated, non-religious Jews were unable to escape a cultural discourse that portrayed them as outsiders, social parasites and a culturally depraved people. Thus, as Beller writes, even Jews who tried to be totally assimilated into Austrian culture so as not to be perceived as Jewish were still “self-consciously Jewish”; for, “not wanting to be regarded as Jewish, but still being treated as such, is not the same thing as being totally unaffected in any way by the Jewish problem, that is to say, being totally unconscious that there is a problem” (74). Therefore, the “Jewish Question” came to permeate Viennese society at the fin de siècle; for the likes of Mahler and Lipiner, it was inescapable.

In the context of this study, the psychological impact of the Jewish Question plays an important role. Even though the new anti-Semitism was a racial discourse, this did not mean that it was entirely separate from an anti-Jewish religious prejudice that had existed for centuries and become culturally ingrained. Despite the increasingly secular society of fin-de-siècle Vienna, religion was still defined by institutional terms. First, there was a deeply rooted imperial Catholic tradition, a community to which one had to belong (if only on paper) in order to receive certain positions and benefits within the empire. Then there was the Evangelical or Protestant tradition, less powerful but still established amongst the liberal middle-class, particularly amongst Jews

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75 Arthur Schnitzler was one of the many authors explored the conflicting experiences of Austrian Jews toward their religious and cultural identity in his novel, Der Weg ins Freie (The Road to the Open, 1908).
because it did not require a public confession in order to convert. Finally there was the Jewish faith, which had its own divisions of conservative orthodox and reformed communities.\footnote{There was the option to withdraw from religious communities altogether and become Konfessionslos. However, as Stourzh writes, Austrian law prohibited intermarriage, meaning that “marriages between Christians and ‘Konfessionslose,’ and even more important, between Christians and persons belonging to the Jewish faith, were not possible” (66).}

However, with the emergence of the racial question in politics and cultural life, the religious Jew became identified by his racial category; liberal and orthodox were grouped alike under the image of the Eastern Jew, the immigrant from the shtetls in the eastern reaches of the Empire. Such prejudices were exacerbated, Robert Wistrich notes, by a number of “blood libel” cases that exploded in the media at the turn of the century and further spread the mixture of racial and religious anti-Semitic propaganda.\footnote{Blood libel was the accusation that Jews used the blood of Christian children for their rituals. Wistrich writes: “in the years between 1898 and 1905 alone, there were no less than thirty blood libels recorded in different parts of the Empire” (339).}

In this study, I claim that Lipiner and Mahler’s interest in a renewal of religious spirit must be understood in the context of the racial and religious prejudice that they experienced as Jews in the anti-Semitic society of fin-de-siècle Vienna. Their search for meaning through art was distinctly motivated by their experience as permanent outsiders in the society in which they lived. Mahler’s comment, “Ich bin dreifach Heimatlos…als Böhme unter den Österreicichern, als Österreicher unter den Deutschen, und als Jude unter der ganzen Welt” (AME 137)\footnote{“I am thrice homeless…as a native of Bohemia in Austria, as an Austrian among Germans, and as a Jew throughout the world; everywhere an intruder, never welcomed” (AMM 98)} reflects his own personal crisis at this time, his search for a home or community in which he would be accepted. While on the one hand, one could view this search as just a part of the modern experience, I believe that the historical context of fin-de-siècle Vienna makes the religious and cultural identity of the seekers a significant factor in understanding why they reached the
conclusions that they did about the nature of humanity and the divine. Beller remarks in his study that, in their efforts to assimilate, Jews were often overzealous in their desire to be seen as cultural Germans. As he writes, “The German culture and values which the Jews in the Austrian Empire worshipped were something other than reality. They had assimilated into a great and glorious culture but the society for that culture did not exist” (Beller 164). This study will show that Lipiner and Mahler approached the project of redefining religion and art at the turn of the century with a zeal and dedication that sets them apart from non-Jewish counterparts. For Jews such as Lipiner and Mahler, there was much more at stake. To redefine religion was to redefine humanity, or rather, to restore the humanity that had been stripped of them by society because they were Jews. Their goal was a universal ideal that would transcend the political, racial, and social divisions of the world in which they lived. And art, in particular tragic art and music, would provide the means by which this goal would be achieved.

Mahler and Lipiner notably chose not to reclaim their Jewish identity in the face of this persecution, as some of their contemporaries did. There is no evidence that they were drawn to political Zionism, although Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) established the movement in Vienna at this time. Nor were they interested in Martin Buber’s (1878-1965) cultural Zionism, which sought to reclaim Jewish mystical traditions and popularize them as an antidote to the crises of modernity. Rather, they chose a middle way, turning to modern philosophy and empirical inquiry to find the answers to their questions of life’s meaning. The following chapters will explore Mahler’s and Lipiner’s search for God by examining the impact of three important figures on their artistic output: Adam Mickiewicz, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Richard Wagner. As this study will show, Mahler and Lipiner’s solution to this problem of renewing religious spirit was to explore the rebirth of religious spirit through tragic art and symphonic music. In their works, they
reestablish the image of God as a loving father figure and forge a new connection between the human and the divine. This mission is accomplished through the heroic actions of man, his reconnection with nature, and finally, the overcoming of his individual alienation by a reunion with a universal Gotteskinder, a community in which even they, as Jews, would be welcomed.
In 1896 Gustav Mahler expressed his frustration to his friend Natalie Bauer-Lechner that audiences and musicians continuously misunderstood his musical language; the experience of creating art was for him, a martyrdom, inflicting pain comparable to that felt by Christ on the cross. For Mahler, composing was not just an occupation, but also his whole life’s endeavor, and every work was born from the titanic struggle of his own experience. The idea of art as an expression of life and the artist as a martyr for its cause was also espoused by Mahler’s friend Siegfried Lipiner, who claimed in his speech “Über die Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart” in 1878 that art is “eine symbolische Abbreviatur des Lebens” (9). Lipiner and Mahler both saw themselves as incarnations of what Richard Wagner called in his essay “Religion und Kunst” of 1880 the “poet-priest,” an artist who expressed the great truths of human existence through his works. For Mahler and Lipiner, however, the title “priest” was not to be taken lightly – they truly saw themselves as mediators between mankind and the heavens, and saw their art as a way to both challenge and communicate with God.

1 “Why do I have to suffer all this? Why must I take this fearful martyrdom upon myself? I was overwhelmed by boundless grief, not only for myself, but for all those who were nailed to the cross before me, because they wanted to give their best to the world, and for all those who will suffer the same fate after me” (NBLE 54).

2 “a symbolic abbreviation of life” (“On the Elements” 136)
The idea of heroic martyrdom and salvation comes to the fore specifically in Lipiner’s epic poem Der entfesselte Prometheus (1876) and Mahler’s Second Symphony, “Auferstehung” (1888-1894). In the narrative of Lipiner’s poem and Mahler’s program, the hero struggles with God’s authority, but through this encounter he is transformed into a martyr. This death is tragic and painful, but leads to a joyous rebirth as a divine being. In this chapter, I trace back Mahler and Lipiner’s understanding of the hero and his relationship to God to the Polish Romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz, whose works Lipiner translated into German in the 1880s. Mickiewicz was not only a poet but also a philosopher and mystic, who believed in the possibility of redemption for all mankind, achieved through the martyrdom and suffering of a heroic figure. He expressed these ideas in a number of poetic and dramatic works, including Dziady (1823/1832), which Lipiner translated into German as Todtenfeier in 1887. Lipiner’s own creative works, including his epic poem, Der entfesselte Prometheus and his speech to the Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens at the University of Vienna feature a similar message to Todtenfeier: In order to be reborn, to discover divinity within himself, the hero must accept great pain and sacrifice himself for all humanity. Mahler, who often discussed literature and philosophy with Lipiner, was likely exposed to Mickiewicz’s poetry and mystical ideas through his friend’s writings, evidenced by his composition of a symphonic poem entitled “Todtenfeier” a year after Lipiner’s translation appeared, a work which eventually became the opening movement of his Second Symphony, subtitled “Auferstehung” (“Resurrection”).

3 For a more on the influence of Wagner’s writings on Mahler and Lipiner, see Chapters 1 and 4.
My analysis of the connection between Lipiner, Mickiewicz, and Mahler builds on Stephen Heffling’s 1988 article, “Mahler’s ‘Todtenfeier’ and the Problem of Program Music.” Heffling reveals a close connection between the first three movements of Mahler’s symphony and Mickiewicz’s Todtenfeier, by focusing on romantic tragedy as the prominent theme linking these works. This chapter, however, addresses the question of redemption, which is so key to the second half of Mickiewicz’s poem and the last two movements of Mahler’s symphony, and elaborates on the key role that Lipiner played in making these ideas available to Mahler. In doing so, I demonstrate how Mickiewicz’s idea of the transformation of the hero from rebel to martyr and his subsequent redemption through God, figures first in Lipiner’s writings, and then, through this filter, comes to play a significant role in the program of Mahler’s Second Symphony.

2.1. Lipiner’s Promethean Redemption

Lipiner wrote the epic poem Der entfesselte Prometheus when he was still a student at the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium in Vienna and it was published in 1876 by Breitkopf und Härtel in Leipzig. The work immediately caught the attention of a number of important figures in the literary and artistic scenes of the time. When it was published, the young poet was studying for a semester at the University of Leipzig. It was there that he met Erwin Rhode, who passed on a copy of the poem to his good friend Friedrich Nietzsche. Nietzsche was impressed by the work; he called Lipiner “ein veritable Genius” and proclaimed the poem “ein wahrer Weihtag” (NGB II: 538). The writer Malwida von Meysenbug introduced the composer Richard Wagner to Lipiner’s work and he was so intrigued that he invited the poet to Bayreuth a few years later. Der

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4 “A veritable genius” and “a true day of consecration”
entfesselte Prometheus was also well read throughout university circles in Vienna and earned Lipiner a reputation as a gifted writer and philosopher.\(^5\)

Lipiner’s poem is based on the Greek myth of the Titan Prometheus who created mankind and brought them fire against the orders of Zeus. As punishment, he was chained to a rock while birds ate out his liver. The myth was popularized by Aeschylus, who is credited as the author of three dramas about the Titan hero written around the 5\(^{th}\) century BC: Prometheus Bound, Prometheus Unbound, and Prometheus the Fire-Bringer. Lipiner’s Der entfesselte Prometheus is an epic poem consisting of five “Gesänge” (“songs”) with a prelude or “Vorgesang.” The songs are narrated by a poet, who is also an active character in the story - it is he who is called to awaken Prometheus and convince him to set himself free and to save mankind. The Titan, however, has lost his confidence; he no longer believes in his abilities to save the people that he created, he has succumbed to the power of fate. He observes the hopelessness and existential anguish of mankind through a number of allegorical characters: the “Ich”, or the purse egoist; the representative of pure science, (“reine Wissenschaft”) who believes only in observation rather than action, the father and son, who debate the meaning of nature and art; and the revolutionaries, Victor, the “Geniesser,” who wants only to enjoy life, and Wolmar, who takes on the problems of the world, searching for peace and freedom, but finding only sorrow and the neverending longing for redemption (“die grenzenlose Sehnsucht nach Erlösung” (Der entfesselte Prometheus 57)). Prometheus watches a battle of revolutionaries trying to bring down the gods and men of power and establish a society of equals. But the leaders of this movement are corrupt and this revolution leads in the end to self-destruction.

\(^5\) Among the many young writers that Lipiner’s poem is said to have influenced is Gerhart Hauptmann in his autobiographical epic poem Promethidenlos of 1885. See Hirsch (1935).
The Titan hero is transformed, however, in the third song, “die Entfesselten,” as he receives a vision of the suffering Christ standing before him with a crown of thorns on his head, surrounded by an ocean of fire. Prometheus begins to question the Son of God, asking whom he has fought and why he must suffer. Christ tells the Titan that it is he who caused him this pain and that soon he will be the one who will die for the sins of others: “Es naht die Zeit, da du nicht sünd’gen wirst! Da zu morsch dein Leib wird, um die Schuld zu tragen, und dein Geist zu siech, um zu wirken die Sühne” (109).\(^6\) This is Prometheus’ punishment for trying to be his own creator, comfortor and savior. Then the flames die down and all is silent. In this moment, Christ transforms before Prometheus’ eyes into a regal figure with a diadem upon his head. This new sovereign Christ proclaims that he will judge Prometheus. A verbal battle follows, as Prometheus demands that the Son of God reveal himself, for only then can the Titan believe in and submit to him. Christ tells him, however, that he can only be saved if he agrees not to create anymore and to sacrifice his life for his people. Then will he finally see God, who reveals himself only to those who seek him and struggle with him: “Nur wer ihn ersehnt dem strahlt sein Auge. Nur wer ihn errungen, hat ihn erkannt“ (115).\(^7\) Prometheus agrees to accept this challenge to become a martyr for all of humanity and to inspire his people to return to God. The poem concludes with Prometheus’ condemnation of the power of the fates, his sacrificial death, and the poet’s call to the Prometheans to follow their leader and return to God.

\(^6\) “The time draws near when you will not sin, for your body will decay in order to carry the sins, and your spirit will be too weak to atone!”

\(^7\) “Only he who longs for Him, To him gleams His eye, only he who has defeated Him, and recognized Him”
Lipiner’s Prometheus poem is one of many interpretation of the myth of the Titan in western literature. In many versions he is seen as a mediator between man and the gods because he is the son of a Titan and a goddess. Tertullian, a Christian writer from the first century, connected the Prometheus myth to Christian tradition, calling the crucified Christ the “true Prometheus,” and interpreting the Titan’s sufferings as “a mystical symbol of the Passion” (Grant 196). In the Enlightenment period, Prometheus was valorized as the creator, while for the English and German Romantics he symbolized rebellion against great power, becoming immortalized in the writings of Herder, Goethe, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Shelley, and Lord Byron.

Lipiner, who studied literature and philosophy extensively, undoubtedly drew his interpretation of the myth from a number of these sources; yet perhaps the most influential was Nietzsche’s commentary on Aeschylus in Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Musik (1872). The image of the Titan struggling to free himself was featured on the cover of the first edition of this work, which Lipiner had read and discussed both in the Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens and the Pernerstorfer Circle. Friedrich Nietzsche was also especially fond of Goethe’s poem “Prometheus,” written in the 1770s during the poet’s “Sturm und Drang” period, which emphasized the Titan as a rebellious creator, who challenges God’s power in the lines:

Hier sitz ich, forme Menschen
Nach meinem Bilde,
Ein Geschlecht, das mir gleich sei,
Zu leiden, zu weinen,
Zu genießen und zu freuen sich,
Und dein nicht zu achten,
Wie ich! (Goethe 19)

8 See McGrath (1974) for more information on Nietzsche, Lipiner, Mahler and the Pernerstorfer Circle.
9 Here I sit, making men in my own image, a race that shall resemble me, a race that shall suffer and weep, and know joy and delight, and be heedless of you, as I am! (Goethe 19)
Nietzsche remarked that the poem encapsulated the essence of Aeschylus’ drama, in which “der Mensch, in’s Titanische sich steigernd, erkämpft sich selbst seine Cultur und zwingt die Götter sich mit ihm zu verbinden” (Die Geburt der Tragödie 61). Furthermore Nietzsche also identified the suffering of Prometheus with the trials and tribulations of the artist – “das herrliche ‘Können’ des grossen Genius, das selbst mit ewigem Leide zu gering bezahlt ist” (62). It is no surprise, therefore, that Nietzsche was so taken with Lipiner’s poem, which expressed poetically the image of a defiant creator redeemed through his own struggle and suffering. He commented to Erwin Rhode in a letter of 28 August 1877, that in Lipiner’s Der entfesselte Prometheus: “alles ist wunderbar, und mir ist, als ob ich meinem erhöhten und verhimmlischen Selbst darin begegnete. Ich beuge mich tief vor einem, der so etwas in sich erleben und herausstellen kann” (NGB II: 538).

2.2. Lipiner and Mickiewicz’s Todtenfeier

In 1887, nearly a decade after completing Der entfesselte Prometheus, Lipiner published his translation of Adam Mickiewicz’s drama Dziady (Todtenfeier). Lipiner was likely first introduced to Mickiewicz’s works as a child growing up in the Austrian occupied Polish town of Tarnów, where he attended school until he was fourteen. He became actively engaged with the

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10 “Man, rising to Titanic stature, gains culture by his own efforts and forces the gods to enter into an alliance with him” (“The Birth of Tragedy” 69)

11 “The splendid ‘ability’ of the great genius for which even eternal suffering is a slight price” (“The Birth of Tragedy” 70).

12 “Everything is wonderful and it is as though I encountered my elevated and apotheosized Self in it. I bow deeply before one who can experience something like this inwardly and present it” (quoted in “Siegfried Lipiner’s ‘On the Elements’” 94). According to Andrzej Walicki, who refers to a 1906 publication by of Bernard Szarlitt on Nietzsche’s Polish roots, Nietzsche modeled the literary form of Also Sprach Zarathustra (1883) after Lipiner’s Der entfesselte Prometheus (See Chapter 3). Nietzsche also came to know and admire Mickiewicz’s works, which he read in Lipiner’s translation (Walicki 59).
poet’s works in 1881, when Franz Smolka, the president of the Polish club, appointed him director of the Parliament library in Vienna. Around the same time, a Polish aristocrat, Count Karol Lanckoronski-Brzezie asked Lipiner to translate Mickiewicz’s works into German.\textsuperscript{13} Lipiner completed two volumes during his lifetime: the first was a translation of Pan Tadeusz, (Herr Thaddäus oder der letzte Einritt in Lithauen) which was published by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1882; the second volume, Mickiewicz’s epic Todtenfeier, followed in 1887. A poem by Mickiewicz, Faris (Der Wüstenreiter) appeared in translation by Lipiner in the Süddeutsche Monatshefte in 1905. As a result, Lipiner was occupied with Mickiewicz’s work over the course of almost twenty-five years.

Mickiewicz (1798-1855) was a Romantic poet and revolutionary, considered to be one of the greatest writers in Polish-Lithuanian literary history. His works inspired a nationalist spirit for generations of Poles during the years that their country was divided and occupied by foreign troops. Mickiewicz’s nationalism was also closely linked to his religious beliefs, which reflected both a devotion to the Catholic faith as well as an interest in mysticism and messianism. The poet was born in 1798 in Nowogródek, which at that time was controlled by Russia due to the final partition of Poland into Russian, Prussian and Austrian territory three years earlier. Mickiewicz became interested in nationalist politics early on, and the French occupation of Poland under Napoleon’s troops between 1807-1814 was a formative event in his life. Like many of his contemporaries, Mickiewicz admired the newly formed French Republic and placed his hopes for an independent, sovereign Poland, free from the oppression of foreign empires, in their hands. Although Napoleon’s satellite state failed, and Poland remained divided for another century,

\textsuperscript{13} For more information on Lipiner’s relationship to his Polish heritage see Kann (1980).
Mickiewicz remained a Francophile all his life and spent many of his years in exile in France, teaching at universities in Paris and Lausanne. As a young man, Mickiewicz studied literature, ancient languages and history and was influenced both by the French encyclopedists and by the English and German Romantics – in particular Goethe, Schiller, Lord Byron, and Sir Walter Scott. In the 1820s, Mickiewicz was deported to Russia after his involvement in the Philomaths, a revolutionary student organization, was discovered. At this time he met a number of mystical scholars and these ideas permeated his later writings. According to Harold B. Segel, Mickiewicz saw himself as a “wieszcz,” or a writer who is also a seer (39). His mission was to be both poet and prophet, to bring a message of hope to his people through his works. Drama for Mickiewicz must be both “visionary and monumental” (43), expressing Poland’s destiny to break free from oppression and promising redemption for the Polish people.

In the 1840s, Mickiewicz came under the influence of the mystic, Andrzej Towianski, who claimed to be sent from God to inspire a spiritual rebirth amongst the Poles in exile and to announce the coming redemption of the Polish nation. The poet became a leading member of Towianski’s sect in Paris, known as “The Circle of God’s Cause” (Koropeckyj 298). In the last fifteen years of his life, Mickiewicz devoted himself solely to religious and political activism, rather than poetry, although he continued to promote literature as a means of inspiring the Polish people to action, in order to realize their goal of freedom.

At the time he wrote Todtenfeier, Mickiewicz had not yet met Towianski and the mystics of the Polish brotherhood in Paris, yet one can already see in this work that his vision of nationalism was closely tied to his belief in religious redemption. In the introduction to the 1823 publication, Mickiewicz gave an explanation for his title Dziady, which literally means
“grandfather,” and refers to a festival of ancestor worship that was a widespread practice throughout Eastern Europe (quoted in Todtenfeier IX). During this celebration people came together to bring food and drink to the spirits of their deceased loved ones. Important for Mickiewicz was that the relation of this pagan festival to the Christian All Soul’s Day, demonstrating “dass mit den heidnischen Festgebräuchen christliche Vorstellung vermengt sind” (IX). Just as Lipiner was drawn to connect the myths of the ancient Greeks with Christian beliefs in his Prometheus-Christ saga, so too was Mickiewicz inspired to connect Christian messianism with the stories and traditions of the ancient Slavic people. As he wrote in his introduction: “ich hörte die Sagen, Erzählungen und Lieder von den Verstorbenen, die mit Bitten oder Warnungen auf die Erde wiederkommen; und aus allen den ungeheuerlichen Erdichtungen waren gewisse moralische Tendenzen, gewisse Lehren herauszufinden, nach Volksweise in sinnlichem Gewande dargestellt” (IX-X). Moreover, as Manfred Kridl writes, for Mickiewicz “folklore and the supernatural here become symbols of a general moral philosophy and an expression of individual and national experience” (13).

Mickiewicz had originally planned Todtenfeier as a tetrology, however he only finished three sections in his lifetime: Parts II and IV were published in 1823 and Part III followed almost ten years later in 1832. The first section remained fragmentary but was published in the 1860s after the poet’s death. All four sections appeared in Lipiner’s German translation of 1887.

14 Lipiner’s title for his translation of Dziady is Todtenfeier, the direct translation of “festival of the dead” in German. The title in English is Forefather’s Eve.
15 “that the heathen festival customs were mixed with Christian ceremony”
16 “I heard the sagas, tales and songs of the dead, who returned to the earth with pleas and warnings; and out of these terrible fictions were certain moral tendencies, certain lessons to be found, depicted in the way of the folk, in a sensual guise”
17 Lipiner explains the chronology of the work in the introduction to his 1887 translation. Mickiewicz abandoned his original idea for the part to go between Parts II and IV, so that in fact they can be seen,
Parts I, II and IV, referred to as the Gustav poem, reflect the influence of the German Romantics. They tell the story of a young man who is driven to suicide after his love marries another. This story is an allusion to Goethe’s Die Leiden des jungen Werthers (1774), yet it was also autobiographical: Gustav’s love for Maria in Todtenfeier was likely inspired by Mickiewicz’s own failed romance with Maria Wereszczak in 1818.  

In this chapter, I would like to focus on Part III of Mickiewicz’s Todtenfeier, written by the poet in 1832 when he was living in exile in Dresden, directly after the failed November revolution of the Poles against the Russians. In this section of the play, Gustav, the tragic romantic figure of the first section has died and has been reincarnated as Konrad, a defiant young man who is imprisoned for his role in an insurrection against the Russian government. As in the Gustav poem, Konrad’s story also reflects aspects of Mickiewicz’s own life experience. The opening scene in the prison was undoubtedly influenced by the author’s own internment in Wilnow in the 1820s after the discovery of his association with the Philomaths. According to Lipiner’s introduction to his translation, Mickiewicz’s imprisonment was a turning point in the poet’s life, reflecting a turn from the idealism of youth to activism (Todtenfeier XXII-XXIII). This shift is also reflected in his characters: Gustav was a tragic, romantic hero, fated to wander the earth and tell his story of heartbreak, to wallow in his regret. Konrad, however, is a man of action, destined to lead his people to freedom.

along with the later Part I, as one section (the Gustav poem). The next section, referred to as Part III, is the Konrad poem: “Der Dichter sagte uns also, durch diese Anordnung, dass man sich um die...Lücke zwischen II und IV, um den in einen ganz anderen Plan gehörigen Theil III., nicht zu kümmern habe. – So haben wir denn in den polnischen Ausgaben folgende Eintheilung: I., II., IV., III., wobei I., II., und IV., der Gustav-Dichtung, III., der Konrad-Dichtung entsprechen (Todtenfeier VIII-IX).

18 Mickiewicz met Goethe at his eightieth birthday celebration in Weimar in 1829. He also discussed the Werther novel with Maria Wereszczak, who was translating it into Polish around the time she got to know Mickiewicz (Korpeckyj 38).
The lengthy introduction to Todtenfeier provides an insight into Lipiner’s own interpretation of the work. His discussion of the characters of Konrad and Bruder Petrus suggest that he was particularly drawn to these figures, and, as will be shown in the next two sections, they may have provided inspiration for his poem, Der entfesselte Prometheus, and Mahler’s Second Symphony. Particularly interesting for Lipiner was “The Great Improvisation” scene, where Konrad has a dream in which he becomes possessed by an evil spirit and has an encounter with God. Konrad confronts God because he wants to ascend to him, to stand next to him as “ein Schöpfer neben einen Schöpfer!” (XXVI).19 Interesting is Lipiner’s understanding of the scene in his introduction; he sees Konrad as rebellious and yet still inwardly devout. He claims of Konrad, “nicht mit der Lästerung des Verstandes droht er Gott; an Ihm zweifelt er nicht, noch an seiner Weisheit” (XXVI).20

Lipiner also focuses in his introduction on the character of Bruder Petrus, whom he believes represents Konrads “Gegenbild,” a figure who is piously devoted to God and who exorcises the demons from the hero. He is portrayed in Mickiewicz’s work as a Christ figure, whose self-sacrifice for his nation and devotion to God Konrad must emulate. Lipiner writes “Zu der lechten Höhe, auf der Bruder Petrus steht, sollte Konrad hinanstreben. In seiner Reinheit sollten sich alle Schlacken, in seiner ruhigen Kraft alles Gewaltsame, in seiner religiösen Erhebung alle Zweifel lösen” (XXIX).21 It is Bruder Petrus who prays to be allowed to take on

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19 “a creator next to a creator!”
20 “not with the sacrilege of reason does he threaten God; he does not doubt him, nor his wisdom.”
21 “Konrad should strive to the easy heights upon which Brother Peter stands. In his purity he should set himself free from all waste, in his serene power from all that is violent, in his religious exaltation, from all doubt.”
the sins of Konrad, so that the hero might come to know and serve God. After exorcising the
demons from the hero, he crys out to the heavens: “Weih’ ihn zum Dienst des Glaubens an
meiner Statt, - ich aber nehm’ auf mich die Strafen all’ für seine Schuld” (165).22

Konrad’s encounter with God and with Bruder Petrus is particularly relevant for an
understanding of the titanic redemption portrayed in Lipiner’s Prometheus poem and the program
of Mahler’s Second Symphony. All three works depict a hero who feels alienated from God,
accuses the deity of being a tyrannical or a negligent, absentee ruler, rebels against him, and then
returns to him by identifying with a Christ-like figure and becoming a martyr for the masses,
redeeming both himself and all of mankind.

2.3. The Transformation of the Hero: Konrad and Prometheus

Although Lipiner didn’t complete his translation of Todtenfeier until 1887, almost ten years after
he published Der entfesselte Prometheus, a number of striking parallels between the two works
suggest the Lipiner likely read Mickiewicz’s drama much earlier and incorporated its theme of
redemption through Christ-like martyrdom into his own epic poem.

The first connection can be seen in the characters of Prometheus and Konrad, who are
both heroic characters that see themselves as possessing creative powers rivaling those of God.
In Lipiner’s poem, Prometheus refuses to submit to God’s power, wanting to know who it is that
will judge him. Christ replies „Der Liebende“, but Prometheus is not satisfied. „Ich bin ein
Liebender – wer will mich richten?“ Christ says, „Der Leidende!“ but again the Titan must retort

22 “Consecrate him to the service of belief in my place – I will take upon myself all the punishment for his
sins.”
„Ich leide namenlos, - wer will mich richten?“ Christ replies, „Der Schaffende!“, to which Prometheus again challenges him, saying, „Ich bin ein Schöpfer auch, - wer will mich richten?“ (Der entfesselte Prometheus 111). The Titan refuses to accept the authority of this deity. Konrad likewise expresses his godlike abilities in “the Great Improvisation,” calling himself “Meister,” and claiming, “Ich füh’ Unsterblichkeit, ich schaff Unsterblichkeit” (Todtenfeier 142-143) and “Ich bin ein Schöpfer geboren!” (146).

Furthermore, both Prometheus and Konrad go on to challenge God, whom they believe is a tyrannical sovereign, distant and disconnected from his people. In Lipiner’s poem, Prometheus describes God as “der launenhafte, mitleidlose Gott, der über diesen Dingen sitzt und stösst…Ohnmächtig ist er, oder wild und grausam” (Der entfesselte Prometheus 29). In the scene where he encounters Christ, the Titan calls out to this deity, demanding for him to reveal himself before he agrees to sacrifice himself as a martyr: “Enthülle dich! Enthülle dich!...Ich will dich schau’n! Und beugen will ich meinen stolzen Nacken und furchtbar sühnen meine schwere Schuld, wenn du größer bist, als ich!” (113). In Todtenfeier, Konrad sees God in a similar way and compares him to the foreign rulers occupying Poland, as he cries out the accusation “Dass du der Vater nicht der Welt, dass du ihr – Zar!” (Todtenfeier 152). In his “Great Improvisation,” Konrad conveys his anger at this despotic deity who is silent and removed from the world: “Du

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23 “The Lover” / “I am a lover, who wants to judge me?” / “The Sufferer!” / “I suffer in secret – who wants to judge me?” / “The Creator!” / “I am also a creator, who wants to judge me?”

24 “I feel immortality, I create immortality… I was born a creator!”

25 “The moody, uncompassionate God, who sits above these things and prods them… is he impotent, or wild and terrible.”

26 “Reveal yourself! Reveal yourself!” “I want to see you! And I want to bow my proud neck and terribly atone for my great sin, if you are greater than I!”

27 You are not the father of the world – you are her Tsar.”
You are silent, you are silent! – Now it will be clear to me! Now you stand before me openly! I see your being as it is, and how your enforce; I have recognized you, a liar.”

“Yes I recognize you, mighty one, you are the one from the martyr’s cross who cried out to the godless ether, you are the comrade of my agony, my brother!”

“Strange! Never before have I seen this figure – and yet I know him, as if he were one of my brothers”
this conversion occurs during his encounter with the deity, as Christ proclaims that he will judge him:

Und dem Titanen ward’s,
Als rissen laut aufschreien
Alle Saiten seiner Seele.
Als wählt’ ein ungeheuerer Sturm
Und dräng’ und tobt’ in seiner Brust,
Als wollt’s sein Herz zersprengen
In unsagbarer qual,
Als öffneten sich blutend
Seiner Adern alle –
Als wär’ sein ganzes Wesen
Eine heisse Wunde! (Der entfesselte Prometheus 112)31

For Lipiner, pain is directly linked to the experience of redemption. When Prometheus accepts the challenge of Christ to emulate the action of self-sacrifice and bring redemption to mankind, he again feels terrible pain: “grenzenlos Weh wählt in des Titanen Brust” (117). Yet Prometheus’ experience of pain is what brings him closer to God, it is this struggle that ensures his own personal redemption, as well as the redemption of his people.

Konrad’s acceptance of martyrdom and redemption through pain does not happen on stage, but it is revealed through the messianic vision of Bruder Petrus and at the festival for the dead at the end of the play. In a dream-like scene that parallels “the Great Improvisation,” Bruder Petrus receives the vision of Poland’s redemption through the coming of a messiah, whom he recognizes as Konrad. Bruder Petrus sees Konrad as symbolizing the nation of Poland, bound and sacrificed by the other nations of Europe, like Christ on the cross. The priest calls out to God, “Ach, Herr, dort seh ich das Kreuz! – Der Dulder, wie lange muss er es tragen!” (Todtenfeier

31 “And to the Titan it was / as if all the strings of his soul snapped, / crying out aloud. / As though a monstrous storm / tossed and turned and surged and raged in his chest, / as though it wanted his heart / to burst in unspeakable agony, / As though all his veins / opened themselves, bleeding – / As though his whole being were / a scalding wound!"
Yet Bruder Petrus also sees that Konrad’s resurrection will come, as will the redemption of the Polish nation. Just before he is led away by the soldier, Bruder Petrus passes on this mission to Konrad, telling him that his role as the chosen one will be revealed to him: “Hingeh’n wirst du auf weitem unbekanntem Weg…suche den Mann, der mehr versteht, als sie. Erkennen wirst du ihn, denn er begrüßt dich zuerst im Namen Gottes” (230). Konrad’s transformation is made clear to the audience when he reappears in the final scene as a spirit returning for the Dziady festival. Here the image of the wound reappears as the wizard and the woman see the spirit of Konrad/Gustav wandering past in the graveyard. The wizard comments on the hero’s grusome appearance:

Und seine Brust war blutig roth,
Denn da sind Wunden ohne Zahl:
Erleidet übermächt’ge Qual.
Hundert Schwerter bohrten ihn wund,
Alle bis in der Seele Grund –
Die Wunden heilt wohl nur der Tod (Todtenfeier 237).

Konrad’s wounds, inflicted on him, according to the wizard, by the enemies of his people, cannot be healed in the course of Mickiewicz’s drama – as he wrote this work Poland’s redemption had not yet been realized. Yet for Mickiewicz, the transformation of the hero to martyr was an essential step in this process toward the spiritual and political rebirth of the nation.

Lipiner may not have adopted Mickiewicz’s political message, but the redemption of the hero through the acceptance of pain and the emulation of Christ’s self-sacrifice was an image that

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32 “Oh Lord, there I see the cross! The sufferer, how long must he carry it?”
33 “You will go along an unknown path. Look for the man who understands more than they. You will recognize him because he will greet you in the name of God.”
34 “And his breast was blood red / For there are innumerable wounds, / He suffers overpowering agony. / A hundred swords gouged him raw / all into the depths of the soul – / Only death heals these wounds.”
continued to influence his own writings and philosophy throughout his life. These ideas were also significant for Lipiner’s intellectual protégé, the young composer Gustav Mahler, who incorporated similar images into the programs and music of his early symphonies.

2.4. From “Titan” to “Totenfeier”: Mahler’s “Heroic” Symphonic Poems

As a composer, Mahler believed in the strong connection between literary narrative and music, and the expression of these ideas became an underlying motivation for many of his compositions. Mahler’s first major orchestral work was a symphonic poem in five movements, which he completed in 1888 and later, in 1893, entitled “Titan: eine Tondichtung in Symphonie-form.” It has been widely accepted that this title was a reference to the novel Titan (1802) written by one of Mahler’s favorite Romantic authors Jean Paul (1763-1825). In Mahler’s later description of the work, however, he avoided relating the work to Jean Paul, preferring to describe the music as expressing “einfach einen kraftvoll-heldenfaften Menschen…sein Leben und Leiden, Ringen und Unterliegen gegen das Geschick” (NBL 173). This image of heroic struggle calls to mind the story of another Titan: Prometheus, of Lipiner’s poem, Der entfesselte Prometheus. Such a parallel becomes even more likely when one considers that in 1887, the year that Lipiner’s translation was published by Breitkopf and Härtel in Leipzig, Mahler was serving as second conductor at the municipal theater in the same city. As he was more than likely aware of his

35 Mahler’s interchangeable use of both “symphonic poem” (“symphonische Dichtung”) which implies music inspired by a literary idea and “tone poem” (“Tondichtung”), a term which suggests music that directly represents or expresses a narrative, even to the extent of mimicking sounds in the instrumentation of the piece, indicates that he had not yet decided how to classify his own musical style. See Section 1.6 for more on the role of narrative and music in the nineteenth century.

36 “a powerfully heroic individual, his life and sugerung, struggles and defeats at the hand of fate” (NBLE 239).
friend’s work and perhaps had even saw drafts of it, it appears to be more than a coincidence that a few months later, Mahler entitled his symphonic poem “Todtenfeier.”

The development of “Titan” and “Todtenfeier” from symphonic poems to symphonies with programs reveals a breakthrough in Mahler’s composing career, as he began to redefine the expressive possibilities of the symphonic form. His solution was the song-symphony, a multi-movement orchestral work that would combine forms of the traditional symphony genre and yet also expand it, by incorporating movements with vocal arrangements, often based on folk songs or romantic poetry. In the summer of 1893, Mahler and his sister rented a house near the town of Steinbach am Attersee near Salzburg in the Austrian Alps. At this time he began working on three other movements to accompany “Todtenfeier,” including a setting of the poem “Urlicht” from Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Although Mahler had included themes from folk songs in his previous works, this would be the first time that a song would actually become a movement within a symphony. 37 By the winter of 1893-1894 Todtenfeier had become the catalyst for a large-scale symphonic work, but Mahler had not yet found a proper conclusion. The inspiration finally came to him in March of 1894, at the funeral for the conductor Hans von Bülow. At the service, Mahler heard “Die Auferstehung,” a hymn with text by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724-1803). In a letter from Mahler to Arthur Seidl on 17 February 1897 the composer recounted to his friend how his idea for the finale emerged from this experience:

Da intonierte der Chor von der Orgel den Klopstock-Choral “Auferstehen”! – Wie ein Blitz traf mich dies und alles stand

37 An example of Mahler’s incorporation of song themes in to symphonies is the melody of “Ging heut’ morgen über’s Feld” from his song cycle “Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen,” in the first movement of his First Symphony.
The final score for this five-movement work, with “Todtenfeier” as its opening and a setting of Klopstock’s “Auferstehung” chorale (expanded with additional verses written by Mahler) as the finale, was completed in 1894 and was premiered in Berlin as the Second Symphony with Mahler conducting in 1895. The same year “Titan” became known as Mahler’s First Symphony.

Finally, Mahler’s First and Second symphonies not only underwent a parallel development from symphonic poems into symphonies, the composer also linked them together programatically. Mahler’s letter to Marschalk in 1896 reveals this connection, as he wrote of the Second: “Ich habe den ersten Satz ‘Todtenfeier’ genannt, und wenn Sie es wissen wollen, so ist es der Held meiner D-dur-Symphonie, den ich da zu Grabe trage, und dessen Leben ich, von einer höheren Warte aus, in einem reinen Spiegel auffange” (GMBE 188-189). “Todtenfeier,” therefore, became the turning point of a musical narrative leading the heroic figure of the First Symphony to his resurrection in the Second.

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38 Then the choir up in the organ loft, intoned Klopstock’s Resurrection chorale. – It flashed on me like lightning, and everywhere became plain and clear in my mind! It was the flash that all creative artists wait for – ‘conceived by the Holy Ghost’” (GMBE 212)

39 Richard Strauss conducted a performance of the first three movements of the Second Symphony on 4 March 1895. Mahler conducted the premier of the completed work with all five movements on 13 December 1895. Both performances took place in Berlin. See Blaukopf (1980), p. 44.

40 See Donald Mitchell, Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years, for more information as to the chronology of Symphonies 1 and 2 and their musical and ideological connections.

41 “I have called the first movement ‘Todtenfeier.’ 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 point of vantage.” (GMBE 180).
2.5. From “Totenfeier” to “Auferstehung”: The Redemption of the Hero in Mahler’s Second Symphony

The relationship of Mahler’s Second Symphony, to Lipiner’s Der entfesselte Prometheus and translation of Mickiewicz’s Todtenfeier, can be found in an examination of the music and texts of the fourth and fifth movements of this orchestral work. The texts concerned here are both the songs that Mahler included in the work (the fourth movement is “Urlicht” from the folk-song collection, Des Knaben Wunderhorn, and the fifth movement is the “Auferstehung” chorale with verses by Klopstock and Mahler) and the three published programs or descriptions of the meaning of the work. These documents include Mahler’s letter to Max Marschalk of 26 March 1896, his comments to Natalie Bauer-Lechner in the summer of 1896, recorded in her memoirs, and the official published program from the performance of the Second Symphony in Dresden in 1901 (excerpted here from the memoirs of Mahler’s wife, Alma).

In all three versions of Mahler’s program, a common theme emerges: the search for the meaning of life and death. Both in his letter to Marschalk and in the Dresden program, Mahler raises a number of questions: “Warum hast du gelebt? Warum hast du gelitten? Ist das alles nur ein großer, furchtbarer Spaß?” (GMB 189) and “Was ist dieses Leben – und dieser Tod? Gibt es für uns eine Fortdauer?” (AME 261). In order to explain his understanding of the answers to these questions, he provides us with “Wegtafeln” or signposts – in the form of the narrative of a hero. To Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Mahler described the first movement as “das Titanenhaften

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42 The programs for Mahler’s Second Symphony can be found in Appendix B. The song texts can be found in Appendix C.
43 Mahler was reluctant to publish a program for this work, as by this time he had already moved away from giving his works programmatic titles, but the King of Saxony requested it for this performance. For a discussion of Mahler and program music, see Chapter 1.
44 “What did you live for? Why did you suffer? Is it all only a vast, terrifying joke?” (GMBE 180)
45 “What is life – and what is death? Have we any continuing existence?” (AMM 192)
Ringen eines in der Welt noch befangenen kolossalen Menschen mit dem Leben und dem Geschick, dem er immer wieder unterliegt” (NBL 40); to Marshalk he called this figure the hero of his *First Symphony*; in the Dresden program, this is a “geliebter Mensch” (AME 262). In all three programs, the first movement is the death of this character, and the second and third movements are referred to as episodes, interludes, or intermezzi, reflecting back on his life. The Andante presents the idea of love or happy memories; the Scherzo reflects the hero’s realization that life is meaningless, like “die Welt wie im Hohlspiegel, verkehrt und wahnsinnig” (NBL 40). The final two movements depict the hero’s appeal to God, followed by Judgment Day and finally what Mahler called, “die Auflösung der furchtbaren Lebensfrage, die Erlösung” (40). According to Mahler’s programs, the conclusion that his music expresses differs radically from the image of heaven and hell in the Hebrew Scriptures and New Testament. To Bauer-Lechner he claimed “nun kommt nichts von all dem Erwarteten; kein himmlisches Gericht, keine Begnadeten und keine Verdammten; kein Guter, kein Böser, kein Richter!” (40). In the Dresden program, Mahler describes the moment of resurrection as “ein allmächtiges Liebesgefühl durchleuchtet uns mit seligem Wissen und Sein” (AME 262).

A number of Mahler scholars have already made the connection between Mahler’s *Second Symphony*, Lipiner’s poetry and philosophy, and Mickiewicz’s *Todtenfeier*. Among the

46 “The titanic struggles of a mighty being still caught in the toils of this world” (NBLE 43)
47 “A man beloved” (AMM 192)
48 “The world looks like this – distorted and crazy, as if reflected in a concave mirror” (NBLE 44)
49 “The resolution of the terrible problem of life – redemption” (NBLE 44)
50 “There now follows nothing of what had been expected: no Last Judgment, no souls saved and none damned: no just man, no evil-doer, no judge!” (NBLE 44)
51 “An overwhelming love lightens our being. We know and are” (AMM 193)
52 See Reilly (1999) p. 92-94, and Abbate (1991). Reilly mentions the possibility of a connection between Mickiewicz’s poem and Mahler’s symphony, but does not believe that there is enough proof to establish a
most prominent arguments is Stephen Hefling’s article “Mahler’s ‘Todtenfeier’ and the Problem of Program Music,” published in the journal 19th Century Music in 1988, which mentions Lipiner’s speech “Über die Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart,” as well as the Der entfesselte Prometheus as providing the ideological background for the entire symphony.

In his article, Hefling reads Mahler’s work as musically expressing the romantic tragedy of the Gustav poem. He makes a number of connections between the dramatic action of the tragedy and the musical ideas expressed in Mahler’s work: for example, the drama is divided into three sections, marked by the chiming of a clock, which appear to be mimicked by the strokes of the tam-tam that marks the three parts of Mahler’s tripartite sonata form movement (“Mahler’s ‘Todtenfeier’” 32). Furthermore, Hefling also comments on the similarities between Mahler’s program for other movements of the Second Symphony and Mickiewicz’s text. For example, his description of the third movement as expressing the image of looking “at a dance from afar through a window but being unable to hear the music, the turning and commotion of the couple seems absurd and pointless” (38) seems to relate to the Gustav poem, when Gustav witnesses Maria’s wedding feast before he commits suicide. Despite a number of possible musical gestures that appear to reference the drama’s action, however, Hefling draws the conclusion that Mahler’s firm connection between the two works. Abbate, on the other hand, sees no “one-for-one mapping of plot events” as Hefling does, but does claims that there are “certain oscillations that the symphony shares with the play” and makes connections between the juxtaposition in both Mickiewicz’s text and Mahler’s composition, between action that is narrated and enacted, between spoken text and sung text, and between music musical styles that seem to contradict each other, such as the funeral march and the melodic “Gesang” theme (Abbate 141). Abbate does not address the Konrad story of Mickiewicz’s work, nor Lipiner’s work.

53 Hefling also addresses a number of parallels between Mickiewicz’s and Mahler’s works and personal lives, as reflected in the drama and symphonic poem. For example, the tragic story of Gustav seems to reflect their own personal experiences with unrequited love: both poet and composer fell in love with a woman who married another, a heartbreak that almost drove them to suicide.
movement was composed not directly from Mickiewicz’s text; rather the poem was a catalyst (41) and Mahler’s main concern was always the “expression of feeling” (43) instead of an attempt to translate the narrative directly into music.54

Hefling’s argument for his connection of the first three movements of the Second Symphony to Mickiewicz’s drama and his Lipiner’s philosophy is convincing, yet he does not extend his argument either to the final two movements of Mahler’s work, or to the next section of Todtenfeier, the story of Konrad. Other than musicologist Peter Franklin, few Mahler scholars have delved into Part III of the poem at all. It was Franklin’s 1974 article “Mahler and Mickiewicz” that drew attention to a letter that Mahler wrote to his conductor protégé Bruno Walter in 1909, reflecting on the experience of conducting the Todtenfeier movement. Mahler wrote, “so was wie der Trauermarsch und der darauf ausbrechende Sturm scheint mir wie eine brennende Anklage an den Schöpfer. Und in jedem neuen Werk von mir…erhebt sich dieser Ruf von neuem: ‘Dass du ihr Vater nicht, dass du ihr Zar!’” (GMB 419).55 In this letter Mahler quotes directly from Lipiner’s translation of Konrad’s “Improvisation,” and this is the first piece of

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54 One possible criticism of Hefling’s article that is also relevant for this study, is the question, if Mahler’s Second Symphony can be linked so closely through text, program and musical narrative to Lipiner’s Der entfesselte Prometheus and Mickiewicz’s Todtenfeier, than why did he never overtly discuss this connection between the music and these works? Hefling’s answer is that Mahler may have suppressed a program mentioning Mickiewicz because of personal reasons. First, like Mickiewicz and the character Gustav in Part II of Todtenfeier, he was also involved in a love triangle with a married woman in 1888, Marion von Weber, an affair to which he likely did not want to draw attention. Furthermore, when the Second Symphony was first performed in 1895, his brother Otto had just committed suicide after an unhappy love affair, which would have made the narrative of death due to thwarted love a difficult subject for the composer. However, the most likely reason for Mahler’s silence on the subject is that already by the mid-1890s he was growing wary of program music. His comments to Bauer-Lechner in 1901 reflect his exasperation at the audience who wanted to relate his First Symphony to Jean Paul’s Titan because he wanted his music to be appreciated in its own right (NBL 172).

55 “The Trauermarsch [funeral march] and the following outburst of storm seemed to me a flaming indictment of the Creator. And in each successive work of mine…this call is raised ever anew! ‘That thou are not the Father – But the Tsar!’” (quoted in “‘Funeral Rites’: Mahler and Mickiewicz” 206). See reference in section 2.3 for the context of this quote in Mickiewicz’s play.
concrete evidence that directly links Mahler’s work to Mickiewicz’s drama. However, Franklin also did not elaborate on a possible deeper connection between this section of the drama and Mahler’s work, even though, as I have already demonstrated, this scene proved to be particularly influential for Mahler’s mentor at this time, Siegfried Lipiner. But a closer examination of the texts and music of the final movements of the Second Symphony suggest that such a link may exist, as these documents reveal a vision of heroic redemption similar to that which can be seen in Lipiner’s and Mickiewicz’s works. This comparison provides a new explanation for the conclusion to Mahler’s “heroic narrative” in this work and how his particular musical setting of the “Urlicht” and “Auferstehung” texts fit into the larger context of the symphony.

The fourth movement of Mahler’s Second Symphony is a setting of the poem “Urlicht,” taken from Des Knaben Wunderhorn. The opening words of the text are the speaker’s plea for humanity: “Der Mensch liegt in grösster Not! Der Mensch liegt in grösster Pein!”\(^56\) In the second stanza the speaker tells of an encounter with a heavenly being, an angel who attempts to turn her away from heaven. The speaker, however, refuses to back down and demands to be let by with the words “Ach nein! Ich liess mich nicht abweisen!”\(^57\) The last stanza concludes with the speaker’s confession of belief that God will save her by giving her a light that will lead to eternal life. In the Bauer-Lechner program, Mahler referred to “Urlicht” as “das Fragen und Ringen der Seele um Gott und ihre eigene ewige Existenz” (NBL 40).\(^58\) The Dresden program however, states that this movement is “die rührende Stimme des naiven Glaubens” (AME 262).\(^59\) Mahler’s

\(^{56}\) “Man lies in great need! Man lies is great pain!”
\(^{57}\) “Alas no! I will not let myself be turned away!”
\(^{58}\) “The soul’s striving and questioning attitude toward God and its own immortality” (NBLE 44)
\(^{59}\) “Voice of ingenuous belief” (AMM 193)
descriptions, therefore, reflect two contrasting attitudes toward God, one of a soul questioning and struggling, and one of pure devotion.

A number of parallels can be drawn between Mahler’s programs and song texts and themes found in Der entfesselte Prometheus and Todtenfeier. First, what we see depicted in this text is an encounter between an earthly and a heavenly being. The words “O Röschen rot” are the speaker’s appeal to Christ. A representation of both beauty and suffering, the red rose indicates the dual image of Christ as sufferer and savior. This encounter, therefore, bears much in common with Konrad’s petition to God for the salvation of the Poles and Prometheus’ desire to save mankind, whose turn from God has led them to self-destruction. The speaker of the poem is a representative for the masses, a hero (or heroine – in Mahler’s musical setting, the song is sung by an alto soloist) who must overcome the meaningless of the world (experienced in the third movement) in order to transcend to the divine. However, this transcendence will not occur without conflict. The narrator meets an angel with whom she must struggle, demanding to be redeemed. Her claim “Ich bin von Gott und will wieder zu Gott!” and that God’s light “wird leuchten mir bis in das ewig selig Leben” echoes the belief, both of the Titan and of Konrad, that the hero is both immortal and deserves a place amongst heavenly beings.60

The fifth movement is divided into two parts. The first half, an extended orchestral introduction, depicts the Last Judgment (described by Mahler in the Bauer-Lechner and Dresden programs), and it is followed by the resurrection chorale in the second half. To Bauer-Lechner, Mahler referred to the first part of this movement as a commentary on organized religion, “wie

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60 “I am from God and will return to God” / “will light me to the eternal, blessed life”
Glaube und Kirche sie sich über dieses Leben hinaus schufen” (NBL 40).\(^{61}\) He envisioned a mighty procession: “Bettler und Reiche, Volk und Könige, die ecclesia militans, die Päpste…vor Gott ist keiner gerecht” (40).\(^{62}\) The Dresden program also mentions this pilgrimage: “Die Erde bebt, die Gräber springen auf, die Toten erheben sich und schreiten und endlosem Zug daher. Die Grossen und die Kleinen dieser Erde – die Könige und die Bettler, die Gerechten und die Gottlosen” (AME 262).\(^{63}\) This image of a procession of spirits rising from the grave and “der Ruf nach Erbarmen und Gnade” resounding “schrecklich an unser Ohr” (262)\(^{64}\) brings to mind the celebration of the dead in Mickiewicz’s Todtenfeier, particularly in the final scene, as the wizard and woman observe the spirits emerging from their tombs. The phantom’s plea for salvation, “zur Kirche, zur Kirche, wo Gott wird verehrt! Ach zeig’ mir, Mensch, wo die Kirche ist!” (Todtenfeier 233),\(^{65}\) and the image of the corpses running to escape the devil, compose a horrifying scene of death that seems closely akin to Mahler’s Last Judgment scene.

The second half of the movement, however, presents the moment of resurrection, expressed through the words of the chorale “Auferstehung.” Mahler took the first three verses from Klopstock’s hymn and composed the last five himself. While the vision of Judgment Day in Mahler’s program seems to reflect Mickiewicz’s procession of the dead, the scene that the composer depicts in the “Auferstehung” chorale relates more closely to Lipiner’s idea of redemption in Der entfesselte Prometheus.

\(^{61}\) “In the form created by faith and the Church” (NBLE 44)
\(^{62}\) “Beggars and rich men, common folk and kings, the Church Militant…the Popes” (NBLE 44)
\(^{63}\) “The earth quakes, the graves burst open, the dead arise and stream on in endless procession. The great and the little ones of the earth – kings and beggars, righteous and godless – all press on” (AMM 193)
\(^{64}\) “Cry for mercy” / “strikes fearfully on our ears” (AMM193)
\(^{65}\) “To the church, to the church, where God is worshipped! Oh show me, man, where the church is!”

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The first common image is that of resurrection as rebirth, as expressed in the organic life cycle of nature. The text that Mahler took from Klopstock: “Wieder aufzublühen wirst du gesät! Der Herr der Ernte geht und sammelt Garben uns ein, die starben!” bears a close resemblance to the motto that Lipiner had printed on the title page of Der entfesselte Prometheus, from I Corinthians 15:36: “Das du säest, wird nicht lebendig, es sterbe denn” (Der entfesselte Prometheus 2).

Secondly, the image of struggle and pain, which plays such a prominent role in the transformation of the hero into a martyr, also appears in the text. The words “O glaube, du wardst nicht umsonst geboren! Hast nicht umsonst gelebt, gelitten!” are a message of comfort that mirrors the poet’s message in the final song of Lipiner’s poem:

Heil dir! Preis dir!
Ehre und Liebe dir!
Der du leidest, der du schaffst,
Der du ringst und bebst und zweifelst –
Und, tausendfach gekreuziget,
Aus ungezählten Wunden blutest,
Und ewig stehst in ungebeugter Hoheit
Und nimmermüde streitest
Und schaust mit allsehendem Blick
Die Sonne des Siegs!” (Der entfesselte Prometheus 154)

Moreover, the image of redemption as a painful process that must be confronted and overcome is found both in Mahler’s verses “O Schmerz! Du Alldurchdringer! Dir bin ich entrungen! O Tod!

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66 “To bloom again you were sown! The Lord of the Harvest goes and collects us like sheaves, those who died.”
67 “That which you sow, will not live, unless it dies!”
68 “O believe, you were not born in vain, have not suffered in vain!”
69 “Restore thee! Praise thee! / Worship and love thee! / You who suffers, you who creates, you who wrestles, trembles and doubts – / and who a thousand times crucified, / bled out of innumerable wounds and eternally stands in unbending highness / and tirelessly strives / and looks with an all-seeing glance / at the sun of victory!”
Du Allbezwinger! Nun bist du bezwungen!” and in the last section of Lipiner’s poem “Umschlingt den Schmerz, umschlinget ihn, und nah und näher zieht ihn bis an’s Herz – dann stirbt er hin, und Tod und Hölle flieht!” (174). As previously mentioned, the experience of physical pain was a central aspect of both Lipiner and Mickiewicz’s vision of redemption. One must accept the burden of pain that comes with martyrdom, yet eventually this pain will be overcome and lead to redemption.

The final image of Mahler’s poem, that of wings leading the hero to the light of heaven (“mit Flügeln, die ich mir errungen / werde ich entschweben / zum Licht zu dem kein Aug’ gedrungen”) is also found in Lipiner’s poem, as the Titan is redeemed by Christ:

Und stärker fasst’ ihn
Des Sturmwind’s Flügel,
Ueber die Flammen aufgeschleudert,
Fühlt er sich schwebend
Zwischen Himmel und Erde
...
Und wie von küssenden Lippen
Fühlt er sein Auge sich gelöst
Und aufgewacht,
Sah er in’s lächelnde Antlitz des Tages (118).73

There is much textual evidence to support a connection between the narrative of heroic redemption depicted in Lipiner’s Der entfesselte Prometheus, Mickiewicz’s Todtenfeier, and in the programs of Mahler’s Second Symphony. But how does the music factor into this study?

70 Oh Pain, you piercer of all things, I have been wrested from thee, Oh death, you all-conquerer, now you are conquered”
71 “Grasp the pain, grasp it and draw it near and nearer to your heart, then it dies and death and hell flee”
72 “With wings that I have won / I will soar / to the light to which no eye has striven”
73 “And the wings of the stormy winds / held him / steadily above the flames. / Spinning upwards he felt himself soaring / between heaven and earth /.../ and as from kissing lips / he felt his eye set free, / and, awakened, / he looked into the smiling countenance of the day”
What is it about Mickiewicz’s and Lipiner’s texts that might have inspired Mahler to mold his vision of resurrection after their stories? And how can we look at Mahler’s orchestration as supporting or adding to the ideas expressed in this heroic narrative?

As I discussed earlier, Mahler’s interest in literature is revealed in the incorporation of narrative text into his compositions, both symphonic poems and symphonies. Lipiner and Mickiewicz were also interested in this intersection of the arts, but from the opposite perspective, as they chose to integrate music and musical imagery into the structure and content of their narratives. Mickiewicz’s *Todtenfeier*, for example, is written in the style of a ballad. At a number of points in the story, the characters sing their lines – such as the wizard in Part I or Gustav in Part II. In Part III, the song is closely linked to the rebellious moment of the hero. Konrad’s claim to power in his Improvisation is also expressed as his song: “Du Gott! Du Natur! Vernehmt mich und hört! Ein würdiges Lied ist’s und euer wohl werth: Ich bin Meister! (Todtenfeier 142).”

Furthermore, Konrad compares the process of creation to that of conducting or composing. The image of him raising his hands up high to touch the stars, directing the musical movement of the heavens with his own powers, is reflected in the lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bis an der Himmel äußerstes Ende} \\
\text{Wie auf Harmonika-Glocken, leg’ ich} \\
\text{Auf die Gestirne die Hände.} \\
\text{Eilend beweg’ ich, langsam beweg’ ich} \\
\text{Siehe, sie wandeln, wie ich sie wende;} \\
\text{Millionen Töne wallen:} \\
\text{In den Millionen allen} \\
\text{Jeglichen schuf ich, jeglichen kenn’ ich}
\end{align*}
\]

74 You, God! You, Nature! Question me and hear! It is a precious song and you are all wholly worthy of it. I am Master!”
It is no surprise, then, that Mahler mentioned Todtenfeier to Bruno Walter in reference to conducting, for the image of man challenging God through musical creation would likely have appealed to him, as we will see in an analysis of his music (GMB 419).

Just as Mickiewicz uses the ballad as a form for his drama, Lipiner organizes his epic poem, Der entfesselte Prometheus into a prelude and five “Gesänge.” The poet, who narrates the story, claims that he will sing a song to the sons of Prometheus: “das Lied von eurem Fall und eurem Siege!” (Der entfesselte Prometheus 3). Like a bard in a Homeric epic, he is not the creator of this story, rather he is “nur Leier in des Sängers Hand,” the instrument through which the story will be told (60). Moreover, music also plays a role in Lipiner’s text at the moments of judgment and redemption. As Christ claims he will judge the Titan, Lipiner writes that millions of sounds rang out (111) and when Prometheus learns that he must become a martyr, the poet proclaims that the strings of his soul broke (113). Finally, the moment of Prometheus’ redemption is also accompanied by music – a chorus of voices calling out for redemption:

Und ein mächtiges Echo
Erkläng ringsum

... 
Und von Thal zu Thal
Von Gebirg zu Gebirg
Tönchte der gewaltige Chor:
Erlösung! Erlösung! (136)

75 “To the earth’s furthest end, as on the harmonica bells, / I lay my hands upon the heavenly bodies. / Hurridly I move, slowly I move, See they transform, as I turn them; / Millions of tones surge, of the millions of those that I created, / Of those that I know, I tune them in accord, I bind and divide them”

76 “The song of your fall and your victory” / “only a lyre in the singer’s hand”

77 “And a powerful echo / rang out all around / … / and from valley to valley / from mountain to mountain / intoned the powerful choir: / Redemption! Redemption!”
Lipiner may not have been a musician, but Mahler, his intellectual protégé, did have the abilities to take the vision of a musical redemption expressed in poetry and transform it into a “Resurrection” symphony.

Mahler was not only inspired by narrative texts. Just as he saw his friend Lipiner’s poetry as music, so too can Mahler’s music be “read” as a kind of literary text, expressing a narrative not only through words, but also through music. One of the scholars who promoted such an analysis of Mahler’s compositions was Theodor Adorno, who compared the composer’s music to a novel in Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik (1976). In describing the music as “novelistic,” Adorno does not mean that the music narrates a particular story, but rather that Mahler “will Musik machen, wie sonst einer erzählt” (Adorno 86). Mahler’s musical themes are characters in themselves that grow and develop throughout the work. As Adorno writes:

Darin differiert er vom klassizistischen Musikideal, wo der Vorrang des Ganzen über die Teile der unbestrittene des Werdens über alles Seiende ist; wo das Ganze virtuell die Themen selber hervorbringt und sie dialektisch durchdringt. Umgekehrt aber ist bei Mahler die thematische Gestalt auch so wenig gleichgültig gegen den symphonischen Verlauf wie Romanfiguren gegen die Zeit, in der sie agieren. Impulse treiben sie an, als gleiche werden sie zu anderen, schrumpfen, erweitern sich, altern wohl gar (101)

Particularly interesting for Adorno, and for this study of Mahler’s Second Symphony, is how these musical characters reveal themselves in the composer’s songs, and how their integration into the symphonic form suggests a deeper meaning behind the text. Adorno writes

78 “wants to make music in the way that others narrate” (Jephcott 62)
79 “He departs from the classical ideal of music, in which the precedence of the whole over the parts is the uncontested priority of becoming over being, in which the whole itself virtually produces the themes and penetrates them dialectically. In Mahler, conversely, the thematic figure is not more indifferent to the symphonic flow than are the characters in the novel, to the dimension of time in which they act. Driven on by impulses, as the same beings, they yet become different, shrink, expand, even age” (Jephcott 72).
that in Mahler’s songs the music both tells a story and comments on it, yet he also notes at the same time “dass die Musik sich selber vortrage, sich selbst zum Inhalt habe, ohne Erzähltes erzähle, ist keine Tautologie, auch keine Metapher für den Habitus des Erzählenden” (106). For Adorno, Mahler’s music is not about expressing one particular story, but about the process of narration, the growth and development of the musical subject.

The orchestral accompaniment is central to this musical evolution, for, as Adorno writes, “der bloße Klang stellt ein Wir als musikalisches Subjekt vor.” That is, the orchestra presents a voice of the collective that goes above and beyond the subjective, individual voice that was the hallmark of the nineteenth-century Lied tradition (107). The texts in Mahler’s music therefore cannot be considered without their musical setting, which adds a deeper level of meaning to our understanding of the heroic redemptive narrative.

Mahler’s unique orchestration of song and symphony can be seen first in the fourth movement, his setting of the “Urlicht” poem for alto solo and orchestra accompaniment. This song begins with the voice’s plea “O Röschen Rot” followed by an eleven bar horn chorale. In his score, Mahler indicates the mood of the movement as “sehr feierlich, aber schlicht, choralmässig” (“Very ceremonious, yet simple, as a choir”). The music sets the scene here for a contemplative prayer to God, the tonal instability of second inversion chords adds to the mystical, ethereal

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80 “The music recites itself, is its own content, narrates without narrative, is no tautology, nor a metaphor for the habitus of the narrator” (Jephcott 76). Abbate is also interested in Adorno’s claim that music can narrate, however she believes that music cannot be diacritic, that is, it cannot directly comment upon a narrative, without language or discourse. She sees music’s narrative rather in the juxtaposition of a musical voice from the continuum that surrounds it (Abbate 29)

81 “the mere sound elicits a We as the musical subject” (Jephcott 77).

82 The third movement of Mahler’s Second Symphony was also inspired by a song: “Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt,” like “Urlicht” from the collection Des Knaben Wunderhorn. However, since Mahler did not compose a vocal part for this movement, and because Heffing has already discussed its connection to Todtenfeier, I omit an analysis of this work from my study.
atmosphere of the movement. In this second stanza of the poem, however, the style of the movement changes. In the previous analysis of the texts of Mahler’s symphony, it was shown that the story of the encounter with the angel in “Urlicht” finds a corollation in Konrad’s vision in “The Great Improvisation” and Prometheus’ conversation with Christ in Lipiner’s poem. In both of these texts there is a dialogue: between Konrad and the evil and good spirits, and between the Titan and the Son of God. Mahler creates the impression of a dialogue, which is itself missing from the text of the poem (only one speaker recounts what happened), in his orchestration, as the voice interacts musically with the “character” of the solo violin. After the voice sings “da kam ich auf einen breiten weg” (“I came upon a wide path”) the violin reacts with a playful dance-like melody, which also provides the transition from the key of B-flat minor to A-Major.

![Figure 2: Symphony No. 2, Movement IV, mm. 40-44](image)

The major key suggests an optimism that fades away in the next line as the voice sings “da kam ein Engelein und wollt’ mich abweisen” (“Then a little angel came and wanted to turn me away”). The violin responds with two glissando figures from A to F#, a sighing motif that also signals the shift of the key back into the minor mode.

![Figure 3: Symphony No. 2, Movement IV, mm. 44-51](image)

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All musical examples in this chapter and the following chapters were excerpted from scores found on the website of IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, http://imslp.org/wiki/Main_Page, and are in the public domain.
Yet neither in the text of the poem, nor in the music, will this story end in resignation. In the next line, the tempo quickens and the voice demands “ach nein, ich liess mich nicht abweisen” (“oh no, I will not let myself be turned away”) to which the answer comes not from the high-pitched violins, but from the upward moving line of the oboe which mimics the melodic line that accompanies the word “abweisen” in the vocal line. Then as the voice sings “ich bin von Gott und will wieder zu Gott” (“I am from God and want to return to God”), the violin’s tied quarter and two eighth notes compliment the alto line fragmentally, creating a sense of urgency and suspense. The final lines of the poem “wird leuchten mir bis in das ewig, selig Leben!” (“Will light me to eternal, blessed life”), is a return to the slow, contemplative mood of the movement’s opening.

This line is the moment of epiphany, what Mahler refers to in his Dresden program as the “Stimme des naiven Glaubens” (“voice of naïve faith”). The expression of faith is emphasized by violin and vocal lines coming together on the word “Leben,” accompanied by a return to the home key of D-flat minor.

The musical dialogue that began with the opposition of two musical “characters,” expressed both in their call-and-answer reaction to one another and in the progressive modulation of tonality, has resolved in harmony and an affirmation of eternal life. Therefore, Mahler’s music provides a commentary on the text of the poem, as the musical struggle between the alto voice and solo violin presents a dialogue analogous to the hero’s encounter with God. Such a reading provides a deeper connection between this song and the symphonic narrative in which it it placed.
To continue this analysis, Mahler commented that the “Urlicht” movement represents the questioning soul, begging to know “Why did you live? Why did you suffer?” These questions must find their conclusion in the final movement of the work; and it is here that Mahler’s musical dialogue reappears, connecting the plea to God expressed in the “Urlicht” poem to the resolution of the resurrection chorale.

After the great vision of Judgment Day, a lengthy orchestral prelude which introduces a number of different musical leitmotifs, the voices reappear to resolve the questions raised in his program and the demands voiced by the heroic figure in the Urlicht poem. The chorus enters quietly with the words “auftersteh’n, ja auferstehen” (“rise again, yes rise again”) without accompaniment from the orchestra. At the words, “Unsterblich leben!” (“Immortal life!”), the string instruments enter. Also at this point, slowly emerging above the chorale, Mahler introduces another musical character: the voice of the solo soprano whose descant soars above the melody line, a foreshadowing of the heavenly ascent at the end of the movement. The orchestra answers this line from the chorus, “Unsterblich Leben wird der dich rief dir geben” (“Immortal life will he who called you, give you”), with an arrangement of the resurrection melody in the strings. A similar call and answer with the chorale, led by the soprano solo, occurs in the second stanza. Mahler’s music is setting the stage for the dramatic resurrection scene to come.

In Mickiewicz’s Todtenfeier and Lipiner’s Prometheus, the central image of the narrative was the encounter with God, the acceptance of martyrdom, and redemption through the

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84 See Floros (2000) for an explanation of these musical figures, their origins and development in the first part of the work.
experience of pain and self-sacrifice. Through the process of martyrdom, the hero is moved beyond himself, his own rebellious desire to be like God evolves into a greater purpose, the giving of his own life to redeem all of humanity. Mahler depicts this transformation of the hero musically by shifting the setting of the musical dialogue, thereby developing the musical character to further the greater narrative of the entire work. This transformation of character is a central aspect of Adorno’s views on Mahler’s musical novels: Adorno claims that “gleich dem Erzähler sagt Mahlers Musik nie zweimal das Gleiche gleich” (106) and the reintegration of the musical dialogue style of the “Urlicht” poem into the third verse of the “Auferstehung” chorale provides evidence for this development. Here the alto solo returns at the lines, “O glaube, mein Herz, O glaube” (“Oh believe, my heart, Oh believe”), in the same minor key as the solo of the fourth movement, expressed in a similar chromatic melodic line. The voice is the same of the defiant hero of “Urlicht” who demanded to be let into heaven, but a change has occurred; now the voice of questioning and struggling with God has become the one who comforts others. The subjective voice of the previous movement who claimed, “ich liess mich nicht abweisen,” is now directing its voice outward, presenting a message to the world: “Es geht dir nichts verloren!” (“Nothing is lost to you!”). The question is no longer the individual salvation of the hero, but the redemption of all humanity. To illustrate this, Mahler again composes a dialogue between the voice and the solo violin. This time, however, the vocal line shifts to the soprano (again indicative of the ascent to heaven to come in the resurrection finale) and the characters are in harmony with one another: the violin answers the soprano voice’s claim “du hast nicht umsonst gelebt, gelitten” with a descending variation in the same key.

86 “Like the storyteller, Mahler’s music never says the same thing in the same way” (Jephcott 76).
Just as the text reflects a shift in perspective, so too does Mahler’s music. In the final stanzas, the dialogue will complete its transformation from a conversation between the hero and the heavens (depicted musically in the voice and violin) to one between the hero and all of mankind.

Mickiewicz and Lipiner’s heroic stories do not end with the transformation of the hero, and in a similar way, Mahler’s musical narrative is far from over. The breakthrough of the chorus in the fifth stanza with the call, “Bereite dich zum Leben!” (“Prepare yourself to live!”), indicates another shift in the text and the music. This declaration is emphasized by Mahler’s orchestration: the tenor and bass voices join the alto and soprano solo without the accompaniment of the orchestra. The contrast of the sudden disappearance of the other instruments and the fortissimo entrance of the voices, first singing out “Bereite dich,” followed by a grand pause and then repeating “Bereite dich zu leben,” slower and fading away to silence, prepare the listener for the dramatic finale.

While the beginning of the “Auferstehen” poem was a message of comfort, the next lines will be a message of triumph. Mahler expresses this idea musically in the overlapping lines of the solo
soprano and alto: “O Schmerz! Du Alldurchdringer” and “O Tod! Du Allbezwinger!” (“Oh pain, you all-penetrator, Oh death, you all-conquerer”).

Figure 7: Symphony No. 2, Movement V, mm. 648-658

It seems that dialogue has broken down into musical chaos, as the melodic lines of the solo voices struggling to overcome one another, become louder and more powerful, and then finally resolve, coming together at the lines “werd’ ich entschweben zum Licht, zu dem kein Aug’ gedrungen” (“I will soar upwards to the light, to which no eye has striven”). Mahler’s setting of the text is significant here because it emphasizes the image of “entschweben” – to soar.

Figure 8: Symphony No. 2, Movement V, mm. 659-671

In the next section, the chorus chimes in repeating the lines, “Mit Flügeln, die ich mir errungen, in heissem Liebesstreben, werd’ ich entschweben.” Mahler creates this musical effect of rising and collapsing and rising again with a fugue-like overlapping of voices: the basses begin almost silently (the dynamic marking is ppp), the higher ranges are slowly added in and gradually get louder as the tempo increases (Langsam steigernd), presenting the musical effect of the ascent to heaven.
The climax is reached as all voices sing together the lines “Sterben werd’ ich um zu leben,” announcing the message of redemption.

The final lines, “Was du geschlagen zu Gott wird es dich tragen” (“what you have fought for, will carry you to God”), are the conclusion of the text’s narrative: heroic struggle leading to redemption with God. But Mahler’s music has also expressed a similar story; it has both accompanied the text and can be seen as existing as its own epic narrative. Mahler’s orchestration, the very interaction of voices and musical characters, has depicted dialogue, struggle, and the ascension to harmonic resolution. Both of these stories play into Mahler’s redemption novel, a symphony with epic intentions on par with those of Mickiewicz’s Todtenfeier and Lipiner’s Der entfesselte Prometheus.
In this study I have looked at Lipiner’s *Der entfesselte Prometheus* and Mahler’s *Second Symphony* as presenting heroic narratives that reflect the influence of the Polish Romantic poet, Adam Mickiewicz in his drama *Todtenfeier*. The mystical vision of redemption that this work portrays, however, is also part of his larger political agenda: to inspire the rebirth of the Polish nation by appealing to a particular aspect of his people’s culture, Catholicism. How then, does this religious element play out in the works of Lipiner and Mahler? Can their vision of redemption be seen as a part of the Catholic tradition?

Although both Lipiner and Mahler converted (Lipiner to the Protestant faith in 1891 and Mahler to Catholicism in 1897), neither was a practicing Christian. Furthermore, the image of resurrection and redemption portrayed in their works does not appear to be particularly orthodox. Mahler’s vision of Judgment Day in the end draws no distinction between saints and sinners, and according to the Dresden program, “es ist nicht Strafe und nicht Lohn!” (AME 262). Lipiner’s poem also avoids a direct discussion of personal judgment and redemption – it is only Prometheus who must suffer and through him all of mankind is redeemed.

A closer look at Mickiewicz religious philosophy, however, reveals that his idea of redemption was likewise non-traditional. His goal was to transform religion from a system of unjust hierarchies and outdated dogmas. Moreover, his interest in ancient festivals of the dead suggests that he was inspired by the pagan sources of modern religion. Above all, however,  

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87 “There is no punishment and no reward!” (AMM 193)
88 Lengauer suggests that Lipiner’s *Der entfesselte Prometheus* can be read as “Realisierung der gesellschaftlich verfügbaren Assimilations- und Integrationsmöglichkeiten, nämlich Bildung und Konversion” (1244).
Mickiewicz believed that the key to inspiring action and reviving the faith community was to redefine the vision of Christ that was portrayed in religious teachings. Rather than focusing on Christ as a victim, Mickiewicz’s spiritual mentor, the mystic Andrzej Towianski, claimed that Christ was a heroic martyr whose sacrificial acts should be emulated (Herr Thaddäus XIV). Mickiewicz preached this idea in a series of lectures at the Collège de France between 1842-1844. According to Gerardo Cunico, the most important element in all of Mickiewicz lectures at this time was “der zentrale Glaube an Christus als Gottmensch, als Versöhnner von Gott und Menschen, als Lehrer und Muster der Selbstbefreiung der Menschheit durch unbedingtes Selbstopfer” (184).89

This vision of a rebirth of religion through action and the emulation of Christ’s sacrifice was very appealing to both Lipiner and Mahler. In his 1878 lecture, “Über die Elemente religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart,” Lipiner also emphasized Christ as the central character in his vision of a renewal of religious feeling. Calling Christ a “Gottmensch,” Lipiner claimed that the Son of God should be the central focus of this new religion and that there should be a fundamental restructuring of the hierarchy of heaven. The distant, tyrannical God must be overthrown, but Christ will remain to inspire great men to self-sacrifice and redemption. As Lipiner declares: “Und muss ich etwas von der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit opfern, so opfere ich gern den Gott-Vater und den heiligen Geist, den Gott-Sohn aber opfere ich nicht (“Über die Elemente” 12).90 Although Mahler did not speak out on this mission of religious renewal as Mickiewicz and Lipiner did, he did engage with questions of the meaning of life and death and religion.

89 “The central belief in Christ as God-man, as reconciler of God and man, as teacher and example of the self-liberation of mankind through unconditional self-sacrifice.”

90 “And if I must sacrifice something from the Holy Trinity, I would gladly sacrifice the god-father and the Holy Spirit, but the god-son I would not sacrifice” (“On the Elements” 139).

Therefore, what Mickiewicz, Lipiner, and Mahler all had in common was the belief in a spiritual revolution, a fundamental renegotiation of man’s relationship to God. Moreover, they saw artists and poets as playing a key role in this transformation. In his Paris lectures, Mickiewicz claimed that the poet had a mission to be the new prophet of the age, the new model of spiritual renewal and that his works must inspire a call to action as the art of the ancient Greeks once did: “La poésie…est une inspiration sérieuse…la veritable poésie, chez les Grecs mêmes, ne signifie autre chose que l’action” (L’Église et le Messianisme 29). Lipiner agreed with this idea that art could inspire religious rebirth. Much in the spirit of Nietzsche’s Die Geburt der Tragödie, he stated in “Über die Elemente:” “in der tragischen Kunst sieht [man] sich selbst, wie er die Wirklichkeit vernichtet und als Erscheinung freudig vergeht – und als Mensch dahinsterbend, fühlt er sich seine Auferstehung als Gott” (11). Mahler also believed in the power of his compositions to affect change. He remarked rather unmodestly to Arnold Berliner of his Second

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91 “A mystic, a God-seeker. His imagination circled incessantly around these matters, around God and the world, around life and death, around spiritual matters and nature. Eternity and immortality were at the centre of his thoughts. Death and eternity are the great theme of his art. He wanted to believe, belief at any price” (Lebrecht 94).

92 “Poetry…is a serious inspiration…true poetry, like that of the Greeks, signifies nothing other than action”

93 “In tragic art [man] sees himself, sees how he negates reality and as phenomenon joyfully passes away…and as a man dying away he feels his resurrection as God” (“On the Elements” 128).
This message of a renewal of religion, a reevaluation of man’s relationship to God, and the power of music and the written word to inspire this spiritual rebirth, forms a common link between Mickiewicz, Lipiner and Mahler. The redemption that they depict in their works is therefore not religious in a traditional Catholic sense, yet it does not embrace nihilism or atheism either. It does, however, reflect the desire to understand the meaning of life through the exploration of the possibility of a new relationship to a divine creator.

94 For me there is no doubt whatsoever that it enlarges the *fundus instructus* of mankind” (GMBE158)
Chapter 3: The Redemption of the Übermensch

Es ist die letzte Stufe der Differenzierung: Gott! Oder wenn Sie wollen, der Übermensch! (GMUB 127)\(^1\)

Gustav Mahler to Annie Mincieux, 1896

In the above quotation, Mahler describes the final movement of his Third Symphony as embodying the spirit of the Übermensch (the Overman), a term coined by Friedrich Nietzsche to describe the man who has transcended a God-centered metaphysics. This is not the only allusion to Nietzsche in the symphony; the text of the Midnight Song from the philosophical novel, Also sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen (1883/1885) is set to music in the fourth movement. So how does one reconcile Mahler’s choice to include this text, which has typically been associated with Nietzsche’s overtly anti-Christian philosophy, and his interest in the Übermensch, with his comments that the Third Symphony presents the organic development of nature, culminating in “God’s love” (GMB 188)?

The answer may be found by looking to Lipiner. In this chapter, I will show that Lipiner was not just an admirer of Nietzsche, but in fact the young writer and philosopher had a symbiotic artistic relationship that is exemplified in the literary parallels between Zarathustra and Lipiner’s dramatic work, Adam (1898). Lipiner’s play can be seen as a kind of commentary on Zarathustra; and a closer look at Mahler’s setting of the Midnight Song within the context of the entire symphony reveals a number of similarities to Lipiner’s interpretation.

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\(^1\) “It is the highest level of the structure: God! Or if you like, The Superman” (GMUL 123)
One common theme that emerges in Also sprach Zarathustra, Adam, and the Third Symphony is the examination of humanity through man’s interaction with nature, and in particular, animals. Animals have an important function in Zarathustra; particularly in regard to Nietzsche’s ideas of the Übermensch and Ewige Wiederkunft (Eternal Recurrence) expressed in this work. Through his interaction with animals, Zarathustra comes to understand the meaning of life and death, and his own purpose. The cyclical nature of time that animals experience allows for an affirmation of earthly life and a concept of natural unity in which a divine ruler is absent, an idea that is central to Nietzsche’s vitalistic understanding of the world.

In Adam and in the programs and descriptions of the Third Symphony, there are numerous references to animals and their relationship to humans. As in Zarathustra, animals provide a means by which man can reconnect to nature and rediscover an essential primal aspect of his being. However, a closer look at these works reveals that Mahler and Lipiner in fact reinterpret Nietzsche’s ideas of Ewige Wiederkunft and the Übermensch. The conclusions of Adam and the Third Symphony reveal not a transcendence of God, but rather a reconnection with the divine. They view the Übermensch a divine-man who possesses not the Will to Power but rather, the Will to Love. Love, understood as compassion and forgiveness, is central to their vision of redemption.

Therefore for Mahler and Lipiner, the Übermensch is not the pinnacle of man’s development, but a step on his way toward reconciliation with God, who is viewed both as a presence within nature and mankind, and as a distinct and separate divine being. Such ideas appear to invoke a panentheistic view of the world, reminiscent of the writings of Gustav Theodor Fechner. Examing Adam and the Third Symphony in this light thus reveals Lipiner and
Mahler’s understanding of Nietzsche’s philosophy, and its importance for their idea of aesthetic-religious redemption.

3.1. Also sprach Zarathustra: Nietzsche’s Affirmation of the Earth

Also sprach Zarathustra is a philosophical novel that tells of a modern-day prophet who returns from ten years living in the mountains to proclaim the death of God and the doctrine of the Übermensch. The novel is organized into four parts with each chapter presenting Zarathustra’s musings on the state of the human condition. Nietzsche wrote the first three books between 1883 and 1884 and published them together in 1887. The fourth part was originally not intended for the public; Nietzsche published it privately and it only appeared with the first three volumes in 1892.

In the first book, Zarathustra proclaims that man is “ein Seil, geknüpft zwischen Tier und Übermensch, - ein Seil über einen Abgrund…ein Übergang und ein Untergang” (NKG VI/1: 10-11). He is a being in transition, either evolving toward the Übermensch or devolving to der letzte Mensch, who is no more than a beast driven purely by instinct, an animal. Zarathustra explains that the Übermensch will provide a new way of thinking for mankind; because there is no God, and no heavenly realm beyond the reality that he experiences, the Übermensch does not seek salvation elsewhere but rather remains true to the earth (9).

The road to becoming the Übermensch is a difficult one, Zarathustra proclaims; a progression of stages in which mankind overthrows those who attempt to oppress him. Man’s development into the Übermensch is explained in the chapter “Von den drei Verwandlungen”

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1 “Man is a rope tied between beast and overman – a rope over an abyss…an overture and a going under” (“Thus Spoke Zarathustra” 126-127).
(“On the Three Metamorphoses”) in which Zarathustra describes three stages of the spirit: the camel, the lion, and finally, the child. In the form of the camel, the spirit takes the heaviest burdens upon itself. The camel represents those who blindly believe in God and adhere to the doctrines of organized religion. The first metamorphosis, therefore, is a rejection of these values, as the camel becomes the lion that rebels against this forced obedience. But although the lion wills its own freedom, it has not yet reached the highest transformation. This form of the spirit is the child, who supersedes the lion because of his innocence: “Unschuld ist das Kind und Vergessen, ein Neubeginnen, ein Spiel, ein aus sich rollendes Rad, eine erste Bewegung, ein heiliges Ja-sagen” (27). The child is the embodiment of the spirit that has tossed off the burden of submission, claimed its own freedom, but now also is able to forge a new beginning because he has destroyed the old values of the past to create his own.

This development culminates in the chapter, “Von der Selbst-Überwindung” (“On Self-Overcoming”) in the second book, in which man must rise above his own humanity. The key to this transformation is the Will to Power, which requires self-mastery over the conflicting passions within oneself. Moreover, such power can only be harnessed when one accepts the the reality of Ewige Wiederkunft, the notion that life is an eternally repeating cycle from which there is no redemption or escape. Zarathustra comes to understand this truth in the chapter, “Vom Gesicht und Rätsel” (“On the Vision and the Riddle”), when he stops at a gateway on a mountain and sees that two paths come together – one leads backwards toward one eternity and the other forward to another eternity. It is clear to him that these paths cannot always contradict one another. Rather, as the dwarf who accompanies him proclaims, “Alles Gerade lügt…die Zeit selber ist ein Kreis”

3 “The child is innocence and forgetting, a new beginning, a game, a self-propelled wheel, a first movement, a sacred ‘Yes’” (“Thus Spoke Zarathustra” 139).
Time moves in a continuous circular motion, so that rather than progressing forward, everything that was will be again, both joyful moments and those of great sorrow.

The acceptance of *Ewige Wiederkunft* is a necessary stage in Zarathustra’s journey toward becoming the *Übermensch*. While at first such a vision of the world evokes hopelessness and despair, he soon overcomes these emotions and joyfully proclaims “Denn ich liebe dich, oh Ewigkeit” (283). By consciously affirming Eternal Recurrence, Zarathustra no longer dreads the cyclical nature of time, but rather takes solace in it. Comparing eternity to a wedding band, “O wie sollte ich nicht nach der Ewigkeit brünstig sein und nach dem hochzeitlichen Ring der Ring, - dem Ring der Wiederkunft!” (287), he finds unity with the earth, and thus joy and happiness in this life, instead of seeking redemption in heaven or a metaphysical realm.

3.2. Lipiner and Nietzsche’s Poetic Symbiosis: Animals in *Adam* and *Zarathustra*

Siegfried Lipiner first came into contact with the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche as a student at the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium in Vienna in the early 1870s. In the following years, Lipiner became well known in Viennese intellectual circles as an eminent Nietzsche scholar; so much so that in an article dedicated to him in the Viennese newspaper, *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, shortly after his death, Lipiner was described as “einer der ersten, die Nietzsches Bedeutung erkannten, in Wien vielleicht der erste” (Bach). The philosopher’s early writings, particularly his seminal work, *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Musik* (1872) and his essays in *Unzeitgemäße*...
Betrachtungen (1876) proved to be the most interesting for the young Lipiner and his circle. Lipiner presented a talk at the Leseverin on 28 April 1877, entitled “Ueber Nietzsche’s unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen: Schopenhauer als Erzieher” (“On Nietzsche’s Untimely Meditations: Schopenhauer as Educator”) and authored a letter to Nietzsche, cosigned by fellow university students Max Gruber, Victor and Sigmund Adler, Heinrich Braun and Engelbert Pernerstorfer, personally expressing their high regard for this work (KGB II/6: 737-738).

The admiration was not entirely one sided, either. While they never met personally, Lipiner and Nietzsche carried on a correspondence throughout 1877-1878, in which they exchanged manuscripts with each other. As discussed in the previous chapter, for example, Nietzsche received a copy of Lipiner’s epic poem Der entfesselte Prometheus, a work greatly influenced by his own Die Geburt der Tragödie, and enthusiastically proclaimed it “ein wahrer Weihetag” (“a true day of consecration” NGB II: 538).  

Another work that appears to have had a significant impact on Nietzsche was a poem called Echo that Lipiner wrote in 1874, but never published. In this work, the poet Dion is separated from his muse, Echo, when the evil King Nort puts a spell on him, making the poet desire reason and knowledge. Echo no longer has the power to inspire Dion, but can only repeat

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8 A number of scholars have found parallels between Lipiner’s Der entfesselte Prometheus and Nietzsche’s Also sprach Zarathustra. J.K. Ratislav claims that Nietzsche modeled the Philosopher, Scientist and Politician that appear in the fourth book of Zarathustra after the characters that Prometheus encounters in Lipiner’s poem (162). Furthermore, Andrej Walicki suggests that it was through Lipiner’s translations of Adam Mickiewicz’s dramas that Nietzsche became acquainted with the Polish Romantics, who greatly influenced the development of his idea of the Übermensch and the philosophical-poetical literary style of Zarathustra (Walicki 59).

9 Lipiner’s Echo, written when the poet was still in Gymnasium, was considered lost until it was found recently at a flea market in Graz. The owner, Dipl. Ing. Gottfried Unger, typed a version of the original manuscript, which can now be found in the Parliament Library in Vienna.
his own words. The King banishes Echo from the kingdom and Dion must search for her, along the way overcoming the deception of the King, and battling a gigantic serpent. Lipiner described this scene in a letter to Nietzsche from 3 November 1877:

Den Sarg der verzauberten Echo bewacht eine gewaltige Schlange, mit deren Gifte alle Bösen Geister der Welt sich nähren und die Wesen erfüllen. Wer ihren Biss gefühlt hat, der erleidet in seinem Busen alle Qualen der Erde als eine einzige Riesenqual zugleich. Dion, der Held und Sänger, hat die Schlange erlegt, aber von ihrem Gifte getroffen, verwandelt sich in ungeheuerstem Schmerz, sein ganzer Leib (KGB II/6 755).\(^{10}\)

In this scene, the young hero triumphs, however the snake bite turns him into an old man:

Dion schlug die Augen auf und sah
Verwirrt umher; ihn zehrte heiße Qual.
Weh! Welch ein Wandel ihm geschah!
...
Verschwunden war der Jugendröte Prangen,
Und tiefe Furchten zeichnete die Wangen.
Sein Lockenhaar ward, wie der Schnee, so weiß:
So lag der junge Held, ein wunder Greis (Echo 81).\(^{11}\)

According to Siegfried Mandel, this work made such an impression on Nietzsche that the image of the shepherd who bites off the head of the serpent and spits it out in *Also sprach Zarathustra*, symbolizing the affirmation of Eternal Recurrence, is an allusion to this scene (129). Yet while Dion becomes an old man, the shepherd in Nietzsche’s work transforms from this encounter into the *Übermensch*, and his reaction is ultimate expression of joy - laugh: “Nicht mehr Hirt, nicht mehr Mensch, - ein Verwandelter, ein Umleuchteter, welcher lachte! Niemals noch auf Erden

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\(^{10}\) “The coffin of the bewitched Echo is guarded by an enormous snake whose poison nourishes every evil spirit in the world. Whoever has felt its bite has experienced in his bosom all earthly pain. Dion, the hero and singer, vanquishes the snake but his body, wracked with pain, is transformed” (Mandel 129).

\(^{11}\) Dion threw open his eyes and looked around, confused; great agony gnawed at him…woe! How he had transformed! The resplendence of youth had disappeared, cheeks drawn in deep fear, his locks of hair were as white as snow. The young hero had, astonishingly, become an old man.”
lachte je ein Mensch, wie er lachte!” (Zarathustra 198). Mandel refers to the shepherd image in Zarathustra as “Nietzsche’s and Lipiner’s poetic psychopathology meshed” (129), for it reflects the philosopher’s appropriation of the poet’s image of redemption through painful transformation, but modified to fit his philosophy of Ewige Wiederkunft.

Although it is unknown whether Lipiner knew the extent to which Nietzsche was influenced by Der entfesselte Prometheus and Echo, it is clear that Nietzsche was aware of his important role in the early development of Lipiner’s artistic-religious philosophy. Yet this direct intellectual exchange between them would only last for a short time. Although Nietzsche admired Lipiner’s talent at first, he soon grew tired of the young poet's obsequiousness and his insistent offers to help him edit his works. Moreover, around 1878, Nietzsche formalized his break with Wagner, after becoming disillusioned with the composer’s religious-infused metaphysics of art in his opera, Parsifal. At the same time, Nietzsche became highly critical of Lipiner’s emphasis on religious themes, particularly in the epic poem Renatus (1878), which Nietzsche criticized as "greulich unsympathisch, eine Verirrung" (NGB V/I 235).

Nietzsche’s first declaration of his new naturalist philosophy, which he would later develop in Zarathustra, was proposed in his book of aphorisms, Menschliches, Allzumenschliches

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12 “No longer shepherd, no longer human – one changed, radiant, laughing! Never yet on earth has a human being laughed as he laughed (“Thus Spoke Zarathustra” 272).
13 See, for example, the numerous references to Nietzsche’s theories of tragic art in Lipiner’s speech “Über die Elemente einer Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart,” discussed in Chapter 1. Venturelli suggests that Nietzsche was drawn to Lipiner’s writings because he recognized something of his earlier idealistic self in the young poet: “Man könnte fast sagen, daß Nietzsche bei der Lektüre von Lipiner einen Teil der eigenen Vergangenheit, des ihm eigenen Vertrauens in die Kunst nachempfindet, die er hinter sich lassen muß und zu der er jedoch ein rechtes neues Verhältnis suchen will” (457).
14 Nietzsche voiced these critiques in his essay, Der Fall Wagner (The Case of Wagner), published in 1888.
15 “Horribly disagreeable, an aberration”
Predictably, this text was not well received by Lipiner, who bluntly offended Nietzsche by sending him a 32-page letter containing his critique of the work that summer. Lipiner summarized the content of this letter on 8 August 1878 to Malwida von Meysenbug, a writer and friend both of Nietzsche and Wagner, in whom the young poet often confided. Lipiner wrote:

Denn Nietzsche habe ich verloren. Er ist nicht mehr Er – sein letztes Buch is nicht Nietzsche. Ein Geist der Flachheit, der philosophischen Ignoranz der durchaus widerwissenschaftlichen Dilettantenweisheit: das ist der Geist des “Menschliches” und so weiter. “Für freie Geister!” Die ganze Hölle lacht, wenn sie das hört (SLMM2)\(^\text{16}\)

Nietzsche’s reaction can be found in a letter that he wrote to his mother and sister five days later:

"Von Lipiner ein Brief, lang, bedeutend für ihn sprechend, aber von unglaublicher Impertinenz gegen mich. Den ‘Verehrer’ und seinen Kreis bin ich nun los, - ich athme dabei auf" (NGB V/I 220). \(^\text{17}\)

One might suppose that Lipiner and Nietzsche’s intellectual symbiosis ended with the conclusion of their personal correspondence, yet in fact, further correlations can be found in the philosopher and poet’s later works. Most significant for this study is Lipiner’s drama, Adam (1898), originally envisioned as the prelude to a trilogy of plays called Christus. William McGrath has suggested that Adam was directly influenced by Nietzsche’s philosophy, in particular, his theory of the Dionysian and Apollonian duality in Die Geburt der Tragödie. However, while he presents a convincing argument in support of this thesis, McGrath neglects to

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\(^\text{16}\) "Because I’ve lost Nietzsche. He is not himself anymore – his last book is not Nietzsche. A spirit of flatness, of the philosophical ignorance of the thoroughly anti-scientific dilettant’s wisdom: that is the spirit of the “Human” and so forth. “For free spirits!” All of hell laughs, when they hear this.”

\(^\text{17}\) “A letter from Lipiner, long, considerable for him, but unbelievably impertinent to me. I am finished with the ‘admirer’ and his circle. I breathe a sigh of relief”
comment on the fact that Adam makes a number of references to Also sprach Zarathustra, both in a parallel narrative structure and in the use of animal imagery. These allusions suggest that Lipiner chose to actively engage with the anti-metaphysical turn in Nietzsche’s philosophy. Moreover, Lipiner’s revision and inversion of the images in this work offer evidence that Adam, when viewed in the context of the greater plan for Christus, challenges Nietzsche’s claims and provides an alternative interpretation of the philosopher’s world-view.

Adam recounts the tale of the brothers Cain and Abel from the Bible and Hebrew Scriptures. In Lipiner’s version, their father, Adam, is a central character. Adam is portrayed as a conflicted protagonist, torn by two opposing sides of his nature: his instinct and his desire for knowledge. This inner schism is a direct result of his sin, eating from the fruit of knowledge in the Garden of Eden. His two sons embody the polarities of his personality to the extreme. Abel is driven completely by emotion, and his passionate whims remind Adam of his own innocent state before he ate the fruit from the tree of knowledge. Thus, Adam treats Abel’s naivété with leniency and understanding. To Cain, however, Adam is much more severe. Having inherited his father’s rationality and intellect, Cain tries to restrain his passions by strictly obeying God’s laws. Although Cain is often the more dutiful son, Adam judges him harshly. He fears the emotions lying beneath the surface of Cain’s respectful demeanor, and worries that this repression will result in an eruption of passion, as it does indeed in the second act, when Cain kills Abel in a jealous rage. At the conclusion of Lipiner’s drama, Adam is attacked by wild animals and torn to pieces when he tries to enact revenge on Cain for Abel’s death. Cain is then banished by Eva to wander in the wilderness alone.

18 The serpent that tempted Adam and Eve in the biblical story plays no role in Lipiner’s work and Eve appears to take little or no responsibility for her role in the expulsion from the garden. The play rather focuses on Adam’s psyche, as he battles with the burden of guilt for his sin.
Nietzsche’s naturalist philosophy is most clearly evident in *Adam* in the role that animals and animal imagery play in defining the conflict between the two brothers. In particular, a number of specific animal images from *Also sprach Zarathustra* appear repeated and inverted in this work. T.J. Reed has suggested that Nietzsche’s animal imagery reflects the philosopher’s belief that man is not derived from a higher being, as Christianity preaches, but rather from creatures of the earth. He writes, “the basic animal nature is not seen as of lower value…but as the necessary starting-point for a different and healthier culture which it is Nietzsche’s ultimate aim to bring about” (Reed 160). Vanessa Lemm claims that in Nietzsche’s works, the philosopher “rediscovering the centrality of animal life to the self-understanding of the human being” (9). Indeed, Zarathustra’s evolving relationship to animals does appear to reflect his own journey to find meaning for his life on earth, rather than in heaven or with a divine being. In a similar way, in *Adam*, Abel’s close connection to animals and Cain’s disgust for them reveal their differing relationship to nature and to God.

In Lipiner’s *Adam*, Abel is a shepherd who has a special relationship to animals, particularly those in the wild. After he stumbles upon the path back to the Garden of Eden, two animals follow him home: a wolf and an eagle. Abel explains this event to Cain, “Ein Wolf, der hinter mir schlich, ein Adler, der ob meinem Haupte strich; fast schäm’ ich mich, sie anzublicken, als hätte mein Antlitz sie betrügen, Sie aber folgten, folgten meinem Schritte ... sie folgten mir, bis her, bis an die Tür” (*Adam* 35). Similarly, Zarathustra also has two animal companions during his journey in the wilderness, an eagle and a serpent: “Ein Adler zog in

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19 “A wolf, that crept behind me, an eagle, that swept above me, I was almost ashamed to look at them, as though my countenance would have betrayed them. But they followed, followed my steps, they followed me until here, until the door.”
An eagle soared through the sky in wide circles, and on him there hung a serpent, not like prey but like a friend: for she kept herself wound around his neck” (Thus Spoke Zarathustra”137).

21 The serpent’s embrace is also a foreshadowing of the ring of Eternal Recurrence. See Heidegger (1967) p. 413.
are driven by *Trieb*, or instinct; they lack knowledge and the ability to know right from wrong, posing a threat to the family and their sheep. When Abel returns home with the eagle and wolf, Cain chastises his brother:

So sprach der Vater: Scheut euch vor den Tieren! Geschieden hat der Ew’ge sie und euch! Stumm sind sie, taub, - und fremd ist ihrer Art das Wort, darin der Geist sich offenbart. Blind sind sie: durch ihr Aug’ blickt nicht der Geist…Fühlsm, ohne Seele, Regsam, nicht lebend, Blättern gleich im Wind, hintreiben sie, wohin der Trieb sie reißt…sie kennen nicht den Herrn und sein Gebot, sie wissen nicht, was Bös und Gut (*Adam* 32)\(^{22}\)

Rather than feeling a connection to these animals, and the animal nature within himself, Cain claims: “ich habe ausgetilgt die Sünd’ aus meinem Blut, und ausgetan das Tier aus meinem Leibe” (25).\(^{23}\) Yet this suppression of instinct only makes him more dangerous. In fact, Cain appears to embody the image of the repressed hunter who Zarathustra mentions in the chapter “Von den Erhabenen” (“On Those Who Are Sublime”). Zarathustra describes the hunter as one who has not learned the laughter of the *Übermensch*, the surfeit of joy that comes from embracing, not suppressing, the animal instinct within man: “Finster kam dieser Jäger aus dem Wald der Erkenntnis. Vom Kampfe kehrte er heim mit wilden Tieren: aber aus seinem Ernst blickt auch noch ein wildes Tier – ein unüberwundenes! Wie ein Tiger steht er immer noch da, der springen will” (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra* 229)\(^{24}\). Lipiner uses similar imagery when Cain describes his fear he will be overtaken by his passions, like a predator upon its innocent victim. Rather than a tiger,

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\(^{22}\) “Thus spoke the father: avoid animals! The Eternal has divided you from them! They are mute, deaf – and the word in which the spirit reveals itself is foreign to their way. They are blind, through their eyes the spirit does not shine…feeling - without a soul, active - not living, like leaves in the wind, they are driven wherever their desire pulls them…they know not the Father and his law, they do not know what is evil and what is good.”

\(^{23}\) “I have wiped out the sin from my blood, and driven the animal from my body”

\(^{24}\) “Gloomy this hunter returned from the woods of knowledge. He came home from a fight with savage beasts; but out of his seriousness there also peers a savage beast – one not overcome. He stands there like a tiger who wants to leap” (“Thus Spoke Zarathustra” 229).
however, it is a panther to which he refers. He comments to his father, Adam, “Wie beb’ ich vor des Panthers Sprunge! Denn wie der Panther springt der Hindin aufs Genick, so, sagst du, kommt die Sünde – O dass er nicht springt! (Adam 24). In the end, Cain succumbs to his animal instincts; in a fit of jealousy and rage he kills his brother in cold blood.

The scene of the shepherd and serpent in Zarathustra, earlier referred to as an allusion to Lipiner’s Echo, also reveals the violent side of animal instinct in humanity. Here Zarathustra recounts his vision, describing how the shepherd manages to free himself from the serpent’s deadly grasp:

Da kroch ihm die Schlange in den Schlund – da biss sie sich fest. Meine Hand riss die Schlange und riss: umsonst! Sie riss die Schlange nicht aus dem Schlund. Da schrie es aus mir: Beiß zu! Beiß zu!

... Der Hirt biss, wie mein Schrei ihm riet: er biss mit gutem Bisse! Weit weg spie er den Kopf der Schlange: und sprang empor. (NKG VI/1: 169-170)

At Zarathustra’s command, the shepherd refuses to be choked by the serpent; he bites off its head and spits it out. This violent action leads to his transformation from man to Übermensch. The joyous laughter that emanates from the shepherd is intoxicating to Zarathustra, for it symbolizes the affirmation of life that is central to Nietzsche’s philosophy.

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25 This image is also found in a poem by Rainer Maria Rilke, “The Panther,” in his collection Neue Gedichte (New Poems 1907). According to Reed, Rilke’s poetic description of a caged panther is a play on Nietzsche’s idea of man’s animal nature (192).

26 How I fear the leap of the panther! For as the panther leaps upon the neck of the doe, so, you say, comes sin – Oh, that he does not leap!”

27 “The snake crawled into his throat, and there bit itself fast. My hand tore at the snake and tore in vain; it did not tear the snake out of his throat. Then it cried out of me: ‘Bite! Bite its head off! Bite!’...the shepherd...bit as my cry counseled him; he bit with a good bite. Far away he spewed the head of the snake – and he jumped up” (“Thus Spoke Zarathustra” 272).
However the shepherd anecdote also implies that the acceptance of death and violence as a part of life is a necessary step on this journey. As Zarathustra explains in the parable of the three metamorphoses, man must become a lion before he can become a child. He must overthrow the old order before he can be “reborn.” Moreover, the Übermensch must not only accept eternal return; rather he must consciously will it. Michael Gillespie writes:

To will the eternal recurrence is thus to will the whole, and in this way to reverse absolute resignation…into absolute affirmation…such affirmation, however, is not just a passive acceptance, a mere saying of the word “yes” but a willing, and as such it is also a taking on of absolute responsibility for the whole, for everything that has been and will be” (“Slouching toward Bethlehem” 62)

Therefore, for Nietzsche, the solution to the problem of man’s alienation from the world around him is to embrace his animal nature and to harness this power to achieve his own ends. Man does not passively return to nature, rather he actively desires and brings about this reunion, by willing Ewige Wiederkunft.

In Adam, Lipiner borrows Nietzsche’s serpent-shepherd imagery (or perhaps reappropriates it – as the original idea may have come from Dion’s encounter with the snake in Echo) to make his own statement about the violent nature of animals and of Trieb in human begins. The image appears in Lipiner’s play when Abel, recounts his journey to the Garden of Eden. Along the way, he has a vision of a serpent with a bird hanging out of its mouth: “Ein Vogel hing ihr aus dem Schlunde, Kopfeinwärts ins Gebiß gezwängt” (Adam 37).28 Here we see Nietzsche’s imagery turned around – it is not the snake being ingested by a man, but rather a bird

28 “A bird hang out of his mouth, head inwards, forced into its bite”
that is head first down the serpent’s throat. Yet, Lipiner uses this image to express something quite different. In Adam, when Abel sees the serpent eating the bird, he is horrified by the essentially violent essence of animal nature. The image of the bird and serpent returns again in Abel’s midnight prayer to God, when he asks, “muss Eins durchs Andere sterben? Hast du dem Vogel den Atem gegeben, ihn zu ersticken im Rachen der Schlange?” (43). For Nietzsche the serpent becomes an image of Eternal Recurrence and affirmation of the Earth, an acceptance that the circularity of time reinforces the cycle of life and death, even death inflicted by the violence inherent in nature. In contrast, Abel’s reaction to the violence is one of repulsion. Similarly, the feeling of freedom that Cain experiences after he kills Abel also fails to inspire the joyous laughter of the shepherd in Nietzsche’s work. Instead, the relief he feels from the emancipation of his animal instinct is soon tempered by a feeling of guilt for what he has done. For Lipiner, there must be another solution, the idea of redemption through love, which will be explored later in this chapter.

Despite their brutal nature, however, animals are also celebrated in both Zarathustra and Adam as innocent creatures, privy to essential truths about the world that are inaccessible to humans because their knowledge and ability to reason separates them from their natural state. In the chapter called “Das Genesende” (“The Convalescent”) in Part III of Nietzsche’s work, the animals try to draw Zarathustra out of the cave and into nature, but the prophet is too downtrodden. He calls the animals “Shalks-Narren und Drehorgeln” (“Wags and barrel-organs!”) and criticizes them for their naiveté (NKG VI/1: 269). But the animals in this scene possess knowledge of Zarathustra’s destiny that he does not yet understand. They speak to him, saying:

29 This image also recalls Zarathustra’s animal companions, who first appear to him with the eagle with the serpent wrapped around its neck.
30 “Must one die by another? Have you given a bird breath for him to choke in the mouth of a serpent?”
It is only after this moment of communion with the animals that Zarathustra finally embraces the circular nature of time. The animals appear in this scene as the prophet’s teachers. In their innocence, they can see a truth that he cannot, because he is overwhelmed by the nihilistic implications of Eternal Return.

Lipiner’s reflections on animal innocence in *Adam*, suggest a similar idea. Here the animals express their connection to the earth in a primal dance, to which Abel is welcomed because he is the brother driven by feeling rather than reason; in his innocence, he is one of them. Abel recalls this even to Cain and Adam:

Und lange nicht währt’s: von unten, von oben Schwärmen sie an, umhüpfen, umschweben mich, - scharenweis naht’s, mehr, immer mehr, hoch aus den Lüften stürzt es daher, und vom untersten Wald und vom höchsten Schnee mit Hörnern und Hauern und Zackengeweih’n, - und ringelnd und züngelnd aus Kluft und Gestein, - und seltsam gurgelt’s weit auf dem See, es plätschern die Fische und tauchen zur Höh’, und stürzen zum Strand – und die Andern all Rings um mich her, zu Häupten, zu Füßen, springen und schwingend, - und allüberall hebt sich ein Hall, hebt sich ein grausig-gewaltiges Grüßen! (*Adam* 33-34).32

Like Zarathustra’s animal companions, the wild beasts have come to teach Abel about the elemental unity of mankind and nature. Moreover, this scene is also important for Lipiner’s critique of Nietzsche, in that it make direct reference to two of the philosopher’s earlier works.

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31 "For your animals know well, O Zarathustra, who you are and must become: behold, you are the teacher of the eternal recurrence – that is your destiny! ("Thus Spoke Zarathustra" 332)

32 "It did not last long: from below, from above they swarmed, skipping about, surrounding me – in droves nearing, ever more, plunging high out of the air and from the deepest forest and from the highest snow with horns and tusks and antlers – and wrestling and lambent out of chasms and bedrock, - and strangely gurgeling far out at sea, the fish rippling and diving to the heights and falling to the beach – and the others all surrounding me from head to foot, jumping and swinging – and all around a great sound rises up, a gruesome-powerful greeting!"
First, the loud and raucous dance scene clearly mirrors the moment of Bacchic revelry that Nietzsche describes in Die Geburt der Tragödie, when man overcomes his individuality and feels his reconciliation with nature: “Singend und tanzende äussert sich der Mensch als Mitglied einer höheren Gemeinsamkeit” (Die Geburt der Tragödie 23). Secondly, it recalls Nietzsche’s description of animals in his essay, “Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben” (“On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life,” 1874). Here the philosopher wrote that animals are un-self-conscious and therefore possess a freedom that humans do not:

Betrachte die Heerde, die an die vorüberweidet: sie weiß nicht, was Gestern, was Heute ist, springt umher, frißt, ruht, verdaut, springt wieder, und so vom Morgen bis zur Nacht und von Tage zu Tage, kurz angebunden mit ihrer Lust und Unlust, nämlich an den Pflock des Augenblicks, und deshalb weder schwermütig noch überdrüssig (Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen 77)

Animals live entirely in the present moment, which keeps them from being burdened by the past, or worried about the future. This is significant in both Zarathustra and Adam, because the animals’ simplicity grants them access to a higher truth that human beings, with all their knowledge, cannot grasp.

Animals in Adam and Also sprach Zarathustra therefore represent a blind, vitalistic force that does not regard the laws or the moral code of mankind. Both Abel and Zarathustra are drawn to animals, yet at the same time they feel their distinct separateness from them. In animals they sense a lost innocence and a primordial connection to the earth. Yet while for animals the

33 In song and in dance man expresses himself as a member of a higher community” (“The Birth of Tragedy” 37)
34 “Consider the cattle, grazing as they pass you by; they do not know what is meant by yesterday or today, they leap about, eat, rest, digest, leap about again, and so from morn till night and from day to day, fettered to the moment and its pleasure or displeasure, and thus neither melancholy or bored” (Untimely Meditations 60).
violence and necessity of death and the idea of eternal recurrence is natural, for humans, the acceptance of such brutality is more difficult.

### 3.3. Mahler’s Nietzschean Symphony

Mahler’s Third Symphony was composed over the course of two summers, 1895 and 1896, at the same time that Lipiner was writing his drama, Adam. According to the memoirs of Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Lipiner and Mahler met in Steinbach am Attersee near Salzburg on 1 August 1896, just after Mahler had finished composing the complete symphony. Over the course of a four-hour long discussion, Lipiner outlined his entire Christus trilogy to the composer (NBL 68). Even as a downpour began on their walk home, Mahler and Lipiner remained standing in the rain to finish their conversation:

Lipiner und Mahler [blieben], mitten in ihrem Christusgespräch, unten im ärgsten Guss stehen, nur ihre beiden Schirme über sich haltend, wobei man Lipiner in ununterbrochener Rede gegen Mahler vorgebeugt und mit dem einen freien Arm wie mit Haupt und Körper lebhaft gestikulieren sah, während Mahler, in der Haltung des tief Zuhörenden, wie in den Boden hineingebohrt dastand und nur zuweilen, wie es seine Art ist, wenn ihn etwas besonders tief ergreift und erregt, mit den Füßen aufstieß und wie ein Eber stampfte (68).

This anecdote reveals the close contact of poet and composer during this time, and provide evidence that they were deeply invested in each other’s artistic endeavors.  

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35 “Lipiner and Mahler stood out in the heaviest of downpours, protected only by their umbrella, absorbed in their discussion of Christus. Lipiner, talking incessantly, was leaning slightly towards Mahler and gesticulating animatedly, as much with his one free arm as his head and body. Mahler, meanwhile, stood still, in the attitude of one listening intently, as if rooted to the ground. Occasionally, as happens when he is deeply moved and excited by something, he would give the ground a kick and stamp like a wild boar” (NBLE 71-72).

36 Further references to Mahler and Lipiner’s contact during the 1890s can be found in La Grange (1995).
Already from the earliest conception of the *Third Symphony* we can see Mahler intentionally engaging with Nietzsche’s philosophy. One of the first titles he gave the symphony, found in a letter to Arnold Berliner on 17 August 1895, was “Die fröhliche Wissenschaft” (“The Joyful Science”) presumably referencing Nietzsche’s 1882 work of the same name, which introduces the naturalist philosophy that he would elaborate in *Also sprach Zarathustra*. Bauer-Lechner’s memoirs from the same period state that Mahler called the work “Meine fröhliche Wissenschaft” (NBL 20), and suggest that Mahler planned to include a setting of Nietzsche’s “Midnight Song” from *Zarathustra*, along with songs from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, a work that Nietzsche had praised in *Die Geburt der Tragödie*.³⁷

Mahler envisioned his *Third Symphony* as a monumental work. He commented to Bauer-Lechner that composing symphonic music was a means of constructing a world: “Symphonie heißt mir eben: mit allen Mitteln der vorhandenen Technik einen Welt aufbauen” (NBL 35).³⁸ The world of the *Third Symphony* was to be hierarchical in structure, reflecting stages of organic development and the direct connection between earth and the heavens. This vision is revealed in Mahler’s letter to Berlin on 17 August 1895 in which he included the following outline for the symphony:

“Die fröhliche Wissenschaft”
Ein Sommermorgentraum

1. Der Sommer marschiert ein

³⁷ In the summer of 1895, as Mahler was beginning to compose the work, he claimed “In der Dritten genieere ich mich aber nicht mehr und lege zwei Gedichte aus ‘Des Knaben Wunderhorn’ und ein herrliches Gedicht von Nietzsche den Gesängen der kurzen Sätze zugrunde” (NBL 35) / “In the Third I feel no more hesitation about it. I’m basing the songs of the short movements on two pieces from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and a glorious poem of Nietzsche’s” (NBLE 40). Nietzsche’s relationship to *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* is discussed in section 4.3.

³⁸ “To me ‘symphony’ means constructing a world with all the technical means at one’s disposal” (NBLE 40).
Bauer-Lechner’s memoirs of 1895 reveal a similar seven-movement plan, with slightly altered titles: the fourth movement is followed by “der Mensch” (“mankind”) in parentheses, the fifth by “der Engel” (“the angel”) and the seventh with a different name altogether, “Was mir das Kind erzählt” (“What the child tells me”) (NBL 20). These programs are significant because they reveal that despite the grand aspirations of this work, Mahler also conceived of the symphony on deeply personal terms. The movement titles indicate that each section was to demonstrate what different aspects of nature “tell him” and suggest that the work was meant not only to express the development of his musical world, but in particular the development of mankind in relationship to it. By emphasizing the idea of nature speaking to man, Mahler indicates his belief in the close bond between humans and the natural world.

However, like his conception of the universe, Mahler’s program also evolved throughout the course of its composition. In his letter to Berliner we see that Mahler originally had planned for seven movements, ending with a child-like vision of heaven, expressed in a folk-song called

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39 A Summer Morning’s Dream
   I. Summer marches in
   II. What the flowers of the meadow tell me
   III. What the animals of the forest tell me
   IV. What the night tells me
   V. What the morning bells tell me
   VI. What love tells me
   VII. The heavenly life

40 The editor of Bauer-Lechner’s memoirs note, however, that under this last title is a sketch of the “Flower” Movement, so it is unclear if this last movement is the same one to which Mahler referred in his letter to Berliner (NBL 36).
“The Heavenly Life” from Des Knaben Wunderhorn. However, in a letter to music critic Max Marschalk on 6 August 1896, Mahler’s program revealed some changes:

Ein Sommermittagstraum
I. Abteilung
Einleitung: Pan erwacht
Nr. I: Der Sommer marschiert ein (Bacchuszug)
II. Abteilung
Nr. II: Was mir die Blumen auf der Wiese erzählen
Nr. III: Was mir die Tiere im Walde erzählen
Nr. IV: Was mir der Mensch erzählt
Nr. V: Was mir die Engel erzählen
Nr. VI: Was mir die Liebe erzählt

(GMB 198)⁴¹

In this program, Mahler cut the seventh movement and organized the work into two sections.⁴² He also changed his main title, discarding the direct reference to Die fröhliche Wissenschaft, while inserting subtitles such as “Pan erwacht” (“Pan awakens”) and “Bacchuszug” (“Parade of Bacchus”), which Eveline Nikkels suggests, allude to an aphorism from Nietzsche’s Menschliches, Allzumenschliches (1878).⁴³ Such alterations are interesting when one considers that Mahler’s letter to Marschalk is dated five days after his famous conversation with Lipiner,

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⁴¹ A Summer Afternoon’s Dream
I. Part
Introduction: Pan Awakens
Nr. I: Summer marches in (Parade of Bacchus)
II. Part
Nr. II: What the flowers of the meadow tell me
Nr. III: What the animals of the forest tell me
Nr. IV: What mankind tells me
Nr. V: What the angels tell me
Nr. VI: What love tells me

⁴² One likely reason for this division was due to the evolution of the first movement, which became such a enormous work in its own right (in most performances it lasts at least 30 minutes).

⁴³ “Auf einer verborgenen Waldwiede sieht er den großen Pan schlafend; alle Dinge der Natur sind mit ihm eingeschlafen, einen Ausdruck von Ewigkeit im Gesicht. / … / Da endlich erhebt sich der Wind in den Bäumen, Mittag ist vorbei, das Leben reißt ihn wieder an sich” (quoted in Nikkels 80) / “Upon a concealed woodland meadow he sees the great Pan sleeping; all things of nature have fallen asleep with him, an expression of eternity on their face…then at length the wind rises in the trees, noon has gone by, life again draws him to it” (Human, All Too Human 387).
who, as previously stated, was working on *Adam*, and actively engaging with Nietzsche’s philosophy at this time.

Furthmore, the numerous references to Pan, Dionysus and Satyrs also suggest that Mahler was revising the program with an earlier work of Nietzsche’s in mind: *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Musik*. Mahler wrote to Richard Batka in November of 1896:


In Greek mythology, Pan is the nature god, often described as a half man-half animal, with the legs and horns of a goat and the upper body of a human. Pan is also linked to music, and according to myth he once challenged the god Apollo to a competition of musical skill, his pipe versus Apollo’s lyre. In his statement to Batka, Mahler appears to combine his conception of Pan with that of Dionysus, as described in Nietzsche’s *Die Geburt der Tragödie*: “der bärtige Satyr, dem der Boch Namen und Attribute Verlieh” (*Die Geburt der Tragödie* 25).

Later, Mahler would contradict this fusion of Dionysus and Pan, commenting to Bauer-Lechner in 1896 that in this movement: “Der Titel: ‘Der Sommer marschiert ein’, passt nicht mehr nach dieser Gestaltung der Dinge im Vorspiel; eher vielleicht ‘Pans Zug’ – nicht Dionysoszug! Es ist keine dionysische Stimmung, vielmehr trieben sich Satyrn und derlei derbe Naturgesellen herum” (NBL 56) / “The title ‘Summer marches in’ no longer fits the shape of things in this introduction; ‘Pan’s Procession’ would possibly by better – not the procession of Dionysos! It is not in a Dionysian mood; on the contrary, satyrs and other such rough children of nature disport themselves in it” (NBLE 59). The reason for Mahler’s rejection here

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44 “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 find it strange that when most people speak of ‘Nature’ what they mean is flowers, little birds, the scent of pinewoods, etc. No one knows the god Dionysos, or the great Pan” (GMBE 197).

45 “The bearded satyr, who borrowed his name and attributes from the goat” (“The Birth of Tragedy” 39). Later, Mahler would contradict this fusion of Dionysus and Pan, commenting to Bauer-Lechner in 1896 that in this movement: “The title ‘Summer marches in’ no longer fits the shape of things in this introduction; ‘Pan’s Procession’ would possibly by better – not the procession of Dionysos! It is not in a Dionysian mood; on the contrary, satyrs and other such rough children of nature disport themselves in it” (NBLE 59). The reason for Mahler’s rejection here
represented for Nietzsche the intoxicating, communal experience of art, exemplified in music. The experience of Dionysian music is frightening and grotesque: “insbesondere erregte die dionysische Musik Schrenken und Grausen,” yet at the same time powerfully harmonious: “die erschütternde Gewalt des Tones, der einheitliche Strom des Melos und die durchaus unvergleichliche Welt der Harmonie” (27).46 This contradiction of the melodious and the grotesque has a clear resonance in Mahler’s conception of nature, as revealed not only in the first movement, “Pan marches in,” but also in the “Animal” movement, which will be discussed in the next section.

Finally, the image of Pan/Dionysus that appears in Mahler’s revised program can also be directly linked back to Lipiner, specifically the poet’s work, Adam. Mahler wrote in a letter to Lipiner in 1898, upon reading the complete manuscript:

Das ist ein wahrhaft dionysisches Werk! Glaub’ mir, das versteht außer mir kein Lebender…
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 von Wein und schildert seine Wirkungen – sondern sie ist der Wein, sie ist Dionysos! Mir scheint es übrigens, dass die Gestat 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 (GMB 279).47

46 “Dionysian music in particular excited awe and terror…the emotional power of the tone, the uniform flow of the melody, and the utterly incomparable world of harmony” (The Birth of Tragedy 40).
47 “This is a truly Dionysian work! Believe me, no one else alive today, except me, will understand it…What ever is it that delivers all living creatures into the power of Dionysos? Wine intoxicates, intensifying the drinker’s condition. But what is wine? – No visual representation has ever yet succeeded in
This letter reveals that Mahler envisioned Lipiner’s *Adam* as an attempt to create an immediate  
reconnection with nature through the mystical sense of *Trieb*. Moreover, this work was fused in  
his mind his *Third Symphony* and with the ideal moment of tragic art that Nietzsche wrote about  
in *Die Geburt der Tragödie*. Yet the ambiguous references to Nietzsche’s later works (such as *Die  
fröhliche Wissenschaft*) in different versions of the program for his symphony also suggest that  
Mahler, like Lipiner, had a conflicted relationship to the philosopher’s evolving *Weltanschauung*.  
An investigation of the last three movements of the *Third Symphony*, in light of Lipiner’s *Adam*  
and Nietzsche’s *Zarathustra*, reveals how the composer specifically interacted with the  
naturalistic view of the world presented in the philosopher’s later works, and reconciled these  
ideas with a vision of artistic-religious redemption.

### 3.4. Man, Animals and Mahler’s Musical Metaphor

The third movement of Mahler’s *Third Symphony*, entitled, “*Was mir die Tiere im Walde  
erzählen,*” presents a musical depiction of the interaction of man and animals, a theme that  
appears in *Also sprach Zarathustra* and in Lipiner’s *Adam*. Mahler’s animal movement is a  
variation on a rondo form; that is, he uses a structure that presents a series of thematic episodes,  
the first of which recurs between each of the following episodes, to “round off” the composition  

capturing what flowers 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 Dionysos! It seems to me, incidentally, that what Dionysos 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*” (*GMBE* 236).
In the following analysis I discuss how Mahler creates the narrative of animal and human realms interacting with one another through literary reference and orchestration: first by relating both of his two major themes to texts that depict animals and humans, respectively, and secondly by creating two musical “realms” that can be distinguished by their unique tempi and instrumentation. I mentioned earlier that in the program for the Third Symphony, Mahler gave each of the movements titles referring to what these elements of nature “tell him.” Therefore, I show in the following sections how the sharp juxtaposition that Mahler establishes between the plurality of musical voices in the animal realm and the singularity of voice in the human realm creates a musical narrative that finds ideological parallels in the literary narratives of Nietzsche and Lipiner.

The first theme in Mahler’s movement presents the animal realm and is taken from a song from Des Knaben Wunderhorn, which Mahler had composed in the summer of 1892, entitled “Ablösung im Sommer.” The text for this song is as follows:

Kuckuck hat sich zu Tode gefallen, Tode gefallen
An einer grünen Weiden, Weiden! Weiden!
Kuckuck ist tot! Kuckuck ist tot!
Wer soll uns jetzt denn den Sommer lang
Die Zeit und Weil vertreiben?
Kuckuk! Kuckuk!
Wer soll uns denn den Sommer lang
Die Zeit ung Weil vertreiben?
Ei, das soll tun Frau Nachtigall,
Die sitzt auf grünem Zweige!
Die kleine, feine Nachtigall,
Die liebe, süße Nachtigall!
Sie singt und springt, ist all’zeit froh,
Wenn andre Vögel schweigen!

48 Constantin Floros, in his analysis of the movement, points out that this is not an exact rondo form, which would require the return of the same “A” theme, following each contrasting second theme. Instead, Mahler’s first theme also develops along the way (Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies 100).

49 Also from the collection, Des Knaben Wunderhorn, edited by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano.
In this song about the passing of life in nature; a cuckoo bird dies, but rather than being mourned, he is quickly replaced by the nightingale. In the Third Symphony, Mahler omitted the vocal part but instead orchestrated the syncopated rhythm of this vocal melody in the winds, embellishing it with trills and imitation cuckoo calls.

Mahler intended for the music to evoke a number of different moods; his score is marked with comments such as “Lustigkeit” (merriment), “Übermut (boistrousness) and even “Grobheit” (rudeness) (Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies 101). Adorno claims in his analysis of the work that “Musik benimmt sich wie Tiere…den Sprachlosen schenkt sie den Laut durch tönende Imitation ihre Gehabes” (16). Indeed, the audience was apparently quick to pick up on this idea, as one critic of the Berlin performance of this movement in 1897 went so far as to “hear” actual animal sounds in the music, such as “a bleating, whistling, crying, screaming, groaning and raving”

50 Solvik italicizes the lines that were added to the original text by Mahler. Cuckoo has fallen to his death, fallen to death / On a green willow! Willow! Willow! / Cuckoo is dead! Cuckoo is dead! / Who then is going to pass the time for us / The whole summer long / Cuckoo! Cuckoo! / Who, then, is going to pass the time for us the whole summer long? / Ah! That Miss Nightingale shall do! / She sits on a green branch! / The fine little nightingale, / The dear, sweet nightingale! / She sings and springs, is always happy, / When other birds are silent, / We wait for Miss Nightingale / who lives in the green grove / And when the Cuckoo has met his end, / then she will begin to sing! (Solvik 350)

51 “The music comports itself like animals…it confers utterance on the speechless by imitating their ways in sound” (Jephcott 8).
(Solvik 352). To Bauer-Lechner, Mahler described the movement as “als ob die ganze Natur Fratzen schnitte und die Zunge herausstreckte.” (NBL 136)\textsuperscript{52}, indicating that the comical tone in the work was intentional.

However, the multiplicity of voices in the animal realm is contrasted against a second theme, the melancholic sound of the solo post-horn, representing the realm of humans. Just as Mahler used the melody of “Ablösung im Summer” for the first theme, the post-horn also has a textual reference: the poem “Der Postillion” by Niklaus Lenau (1802-1850), a Hungarian-Austrian Romantic poet. In these verses, the speaker tells of a coachman passing by a cemetery on an evening in May. Approaching the grave of a fallen comrade, the coachman remembers him fondly, saluting his friend with the sound of his horn. The final verses of the poem are as follows:

Hier ich immer halten muß,
Dem dort unterm Rasen
Zum getreuen Brudergruß
Sein Leiblied zu blasen!"

Und dem Kirchhof sandt´ er zu
Frohe Wandersänge,
Daß es in die Grabesruh
Seinem Bruder dränge.

Und des Hornes heller Ton
Klang vom Berge wieder,
Ob der tote Postillion
Stimmt´ in seine Lieder.

Weiter ging´s durch Feld und Hag
Mit verhängtem Zügel;

\textsuperscript{52} “It is as if Nature herself were pulling faces and putting out her tounge” (NBLE 129)
Lang mir noch im Ohre lag
Jener Klang vom Hügel (Solvik 346).\textsuperscript{53}

In the original score Mahler wrote the words “Der Postillion” above the post horn’s first entrance and, according to Ernst Decsey, a music critic with whom Mahler was well acquainted, the composer claimed that he had exactly this poem in mind when he was composing the theme.\textsuperscript{54} Indeed the traditional positioning of the post-horn off-stage so as to accentuate the fact that the sound should reflect the “wie aus weiter Ferne” (“as from a great distance”) note in score does indeed evoke the idea of the clear tone of the horn that “klang vom Berge wieder” in the text of the poem. Moreover, the post-horn section is sharply differentiated from the scherzo by its singularity of voice. Its mournful solo rings out above the muted long tones of the strings and emphasizes the absence of the winds and percussion, which characterize the animal realm.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure12.png}
\caption{Symphony No. 3, Movement III, mm. 256-264}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{53} “Here I have to stop / For him who lies under the grass / And in a devoted brother’s greeting / Play his favorite piece.
And toward the cemetery he sent out / such happy songs of the wanderer / that they might break through / the silence of his brother’s grave.
And the horn’s bright tine / resounced from the mountains, / As if the dead postilion / Joined in his songs.
On through field and grove it went / with loose reins; / Long did that sound / From the hill lay in my ear (Solvik 347).

\textsuperscript{54} Decsey reports that when he mentioned upon hearing the horn solo that he thought of Lenau’s poem, Mahler replied, “That’s precisely what I had in mind…I was thinking of the same poem, the same mood. How did you know?” (Lebrecht 257). Olsen Solvik also remarks that this poem likely would have appeared in Mahler’s school textbook, given its popularity in the nineteenth century (Olsen 211).
Mahler’s two themes are differentiated not only by the contrast between the multiple musical voices in the scherzo and the singular mournful melody of the post-horn, but also by two separate temporal atmospheres. The Animal theme is a scherzo, marked by a feeling of perpetual motion accentuated by running sixteenth notes, triplet rhythms and trills.55

![Figure 13: Symphony No. 3, Movement III, mm. 437-435](image)

On the other hand, the post-horn solo creates a feeling of timelessness; at both entrances this solo is heralded by a trumpet fanfare that signals the slowing of tempo and gradual fading away of the other instruments into the background. Unlike the rhythmic melody of the animal theme, the post-horn part is marked in the score as “frei vorgetragen” (“freely delivered”) and with directions such as “Zeit lassen!” “zurückhaltend” and “ohne rücksicht auf den Takt” (“Take time!”, “held back,” and “without regard for the tempo”). These notes indicate that Mahler clearly intended for the music of this section to convey the idea of time in suspension, a feeling that is certainly evoked by the desire of the coachman in Lenau’s poem to halt the passing of time. Moreover,

55 A similar atmosphere is created in the perpetual motion of the third movement of Mahler’s Second Symphony. This movement is also a scherzo inspired by a song from Des Knaben Wunderhorn that he composed in 1892. This melody, from the song “Sankt Antonius Fischpredigt” is also marked by a running sixteenth note melody, in this instance in the clarinets. As in the animal movement of the Third Symphony, the Second Symphony’s perpetual motion melody also erupts in a “cry of despair.” For a further analysis, See Floros, Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies, p. 102.
according to Monika Tibbe, the signals that post-horns played were standard, familiar melodies in nineteenth century society and thus the tune also would have evoked the memory of a time gone by and perhaps feelings of nostalgia in the audience, as well (Solvik 360).

If we consider these two musical themes as representing the realms of animals and humans, then it is possible to draw a parallel to the texts of Lipiner’s Adam and Nietzsche’s Zarathustra. Bauer-Lechner’s memoirs reveal that Mahler and Lipiner discussed aspects of animal’s psychology in relation to humans:

Lipiner behauptete von Mahler, dass er Tierpsychologie betrieb. Und tatsächlich ging an keinem Hund und keiner Katze vorüber, ohne auf die Äußerung ihres Wesens zu achten und sich damit zu unterhalten. “Dass so ein Tier immer absolut in der Gegenwart lebt, jeden Augenblick ohne Rest darin aufgeht” zog ihn so an.

“Ebenso wie die Unmittelbarkeit fällt mir immer die absolute Wahrhaftigkeit eines Tieres, zum Unterschied vom Menschen, so wohltuend auf” (NBL 139).

This conversation reveals that Mahler took a great interest in animals and their perception of time. Similar to Nietzsche’s comments in “Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das

56 Solvik also suggests that the post-horn may have been inspired by the post-horn melodies Mahler would have heard as a child growing up in a town on the mail route between Vienna and Prague. He describes the theme as a “recollection of innocence” (360)

57 “Lipiner claimed that Mahler pursued the study of animal psychology. And in fact he never passed by a dog or cat without paying attention to their manner of being and to discuss it. ‘That such an animal always lives absolutely in the present, each moment without carryover participates in it’ drew his attention. ‘Just like their directness, the absolute truthfulness of an animal, as differentiated from mankind, strikes me as pleasant’”

58 Mahler’s interest in representing the interaction between animals and man in his compositions can be traced back to his First Symphony (1884-1888). In a program for this work written in 1893, Mahler
Leben,” quoted earlier in this chapter, Mahler remarks that animals live completely in the present moment, and therefore possess an essential truthfulness (“Wahrhaftigkeit”) that humans do not.

In the previous section, I discussed how Lipiner’s Adam and Nietzsche’s Zarathustra revealed that despite the fact that humans are also driven to a certain extent by instinct, or Trieb, they still feel a separation from animals. Mahler establishes this idea musically by the interaction and juxtaposition of his two musical realms. For the Berlin performance of this movement under Felix Weingartner on 9 March 1897, Mahler wrote a program in which he described this piece as “the quiet undisturbed life of the forest before the appearance of man. Then the animals catch sign of the first human being and, although he walks calmly beside them, the terrified sense that future trouble will come from him” (quoted in Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies 102). To this end, the harmonizing of the post-horn with the French horn chorale does seem to evoke this image of humans and animals walking beside one another, a moment of communion between man and beast.

Explanations for the third movement by referring to a woodcarving known as “The Huntsman’s Funeral” that he remembered from his childhood days. In the scene depicted, all the animals of the forest line up to escort the coffin of a hunter to his grave. The irony of this scene, in which the hunter’s preys bury their predator, was not lost on Mahler. His creation of a funeral march out of the children’s song “Bruder Martin,” transferred into the minor mode, reflects the juxtaposition of the tragic and the humorous that he saw in this image.
Their contact is further emphasized by Mahler’s marking of the brief interlude of the violins at rehearsal 28 with the words “Wie nachhorchend!” (“as if listening or obeying”) in the score, indicating that their melody is a reaction to the mournful sounds of the human realm that the post-horn represents. Julian Johnson calls this moment “the possibility of a fragile mediation between the two worlds, a liminal crossing of the musical threshold” (57). But in Mahler’s forest the reconciliation does not last long; the hectic sixteenth note rhythm of the scherzo soon returns, eventually erupting into an explosion of sound.

Mahler describes this outburst, and the whole tones in the horns that follow it, as harkening back to the origins of nature expressed in the first movement. He commented to Natalie Bauer-Lechner, “Nur auf den Schluß der ‘Tiere’ fällt noch einmal der schwere Schatten der leblosen Natur, der noch unkristallisierten, unorganischen Materie (NBL 56).” The return of the opening fanfare of the first movement also draws a link back to the image of Pan. This is clear from

Raymond Knapp notes that in both the Second and the Third symphonies Mahler composed slow movements (“Urlicht” and “O Mensch”), which are both preceded by scherzos derived from Des Knaben Wunderhorn songs (“Sankt Antonius Fischpredigt” and “Ablösung im Sommer”). He claims that this form was inspired by Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, which elaborates on a “song without words” (the instrumental treatment of the Freudenthema), whose abstract development provokes an orchestral ‘cry of pain’…which is succeeded by an actual song that first affirms joy as an alternative to a preceding condition of pain and eventually proceeds to a contemplation of eternity” (Knapp 123)
Mahler’s comment to Bauer-Lechner, that in the third movement, “es steckt ein so schauerlicher Pan’scher Humor darin, dass einen mehr das Entsetzen als das Lachen dabei überkommt” (Mahleriana V, 132). This reference to Pan-like humor suggests that Mahler intended to connect his “animal” theme to the origins of the universe and the mythical figure of Pan, the god who represented for the composer the complete merging of animal and human worlds in one being. Therefore Mahler’s movement “Was mir die Tiere erzählen” concludes with a clear musical statement that harkens back to a lost unity between mankind and nature, depicted in the Garden of Eden in Adam and preached by the animals in Zarathustra.

3.5. Midnight Revelations: Die Ewige Wiederkunft in Lipiner, Nietzsche and Mahler

In the previous section, I mentioned that Lipiner, Nietzsche and Mahler all believed that animals, in their innocence, have access to a higher truth about nature and the world, which man, despite his knowledge, cannot easily understand. In Adam, Zarathustra and the Third Symphony, the experience of confusion and doubt that humans experience when faced with this realization is highlighted by a moment of meditation, directly following an interaction with animals. It is significant that this song or prayer takes place in the dark of night, for the symbolism of day versus night and light versus dark is important for all three works for understanding the opposing drives of instinct and intellect in human beings. In order for one to return to unity with the earth, one must reconnect to the primordial instinct that reveals itself at night, and embrace a conception of the world that is beyond the bounds of human rationality.

In Lipiner’s Adam, this moment of meditation is Abel’s midnight prayer, which he offers to God after he finds the path back to the Garden of Eden. In his solitude, Abel articulates the great contradiction between the animal and human worlds – their opposing perceptions of death,
which became evident to him when he observed the violent predatory nature of animals in the
Garden. He questions why God allows such death and destruction in the world, saying:

> Siehe, das Leben gabst du uns Allen,
> Musst du denn Alle wieder zerstören?
> Ist denn nicht Einer dir zu Gefallen? (Adam 43)\(^60\)

The imagery of night versus day is also important for this scene, a dichotomy clearly
established in Lipiner’s play from the beginning by Adam’s split personality. In the light of day,
Adam is driven by rationality and intellect; he follows God’s laws, claiming: “Ich bin dem Licht
erkoren” (Adam 20).\(^61\) Yet at night, his instinct leads him out of his home in search of the lost
Garden of Eden; he is drawn to the wilderness, where he communes with nature and the animals,
even though religious law declares them unclean. Therefore, Abel, the son who embodies the
emotional, passionate side of his father’s nature, naturally speaks his words of prayer at night. Yet
this is also the time when his doubt and despair is revealed, as he begs of God, “Nimm meinen
Atem, o nimm mein Leben! Bang ist mir, Herr, o traurig und bange!” (Adam 43).\(^62\) In the dark of
night, Abel seeks truth and understanding of his own human nature, a truth that is only accessible
to those who are in touch with their instinct, and in touch with the earth. But, while the night
appears to inspire the moment of reflection, it does not yet offer any concrete answers for Abel.

A number of parallels can be seen between Abel’s midnight prayer and Zarathustra’s
famous Midnight Song, from the chapter “Das andere Tanzlied” (“The Other Dancing Song”).
Just as Abel’s prayer follows his communion with the animals in the Garden, Zarathustra’s song
follow a conversation with animals, in which they tell him that it is his destiny to preach the truth

\(^{60}\) “See, you gave life to us all / must you then destroy us all? Can not one please you?”
\(^{61}\) “I have been chosen by the light”
\(^{62}\) “Take my breath, oh take my life! I am afraid, Lord, oh sad and afraid!”
of Eternal Recurrence. In this scene of contemplation, Zarathustra speaks not to God, but to Life, yet as for Abel, the idea that there is no escape from the sorrows of the world nearly drives Zarathustra to despair. In this scene, Life accuses the prophet of nihilistic thoughts, claiming “O Zarathustra, du bist mir nicht treu genug! Du liebst mich lange nicht so sehr, wie du redest; ich weiß, du denkst daran, dass du mich bald verlassen willst” (NKG VI/1: 280-281). In fact, Zarathustra is saved from thoughts of death by the idea of Eternal Recurrence. In his Midnight Song, “Lust” (like Trieb for Abel) represents the animal force of instinct that longs for a continuation of life, for eternity. As Peter R. Sedwick explains, here the problem of humanity’s temporality is diffused as “all that is transient is rendered eternal and life is thereby celebrated” (Sedgwick 53).

Like Abel’s prayer, it is significant that Zarathustra’s song takes place at night, specifically at midnight, with each line broken up by the chiming of the clock’s bells. This moment of solemn meditation presents a significant contrast to the image of midday, which, according to Heidegger, had a particular meaning for Nietzsche: “Midday is the luminous point in the history of humanity, a moment of transition in the cheering light of eternity, when the sky is deep and the fore-noon and past-noon confront each other and thus come to a decision” (Nietzsche II: 79-80). In Part I of Zarathustra, Nietzsche describes this moment in the following way, “das ist der grosse Mittag, da der Mensch auf der Mitte seiner Bahn steht zwischen Tier und Ubermensch und seinen Weg zum Abende als seine höchste Hoffnung feiert: denn es ist der Weg

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63 “O Zarathustra, you are not faithful enough to me! You do not love me nearly as much as you say; I know you are thinking of leaving me soon” (“Thus Spoke Zarathustra” 338)

64 See Figure 17 for complete text.
zu einem neuen Morgen” (VI/1: 98).

While midday, or noon, is the moment of action and transition; midnight remains a time of reflection.

Finally, Lipiner and Nietzsche’s texts are both also closely tied to music. In Adam, Abel’s midnight prayer is written in the style of musical verse; it is separated from the rest of the text by its appearance in eight, four-line stanzas with a regular rhythm and rhyme. In a similar way, in letters written in 1883 and 1884, Nietzsche referred to Zarathustra as a symphony and the third book (which ends with the Midnight Song and the “Seven Seals”) as the finale (Barham 384). Such comments are unsurprising when one considers how the philosopher closely tied his own philosophy of art to music. Michael Gillespie writes that the philosopher understood music as “world harmony,” which, like tragic art, embodied both the beauty and the suffering of the world. He claims that this concept of music is essential for understanding the great affirmation of life in the Will to Power because, “for Nietzsche, this concept of music as world harmony is the basis for the transformation of nihilism, which recognizes contradiction only as meaninglessness, into tragic culture, which understands contradiction as characteristic of a harmonious cosmos” (Nietzsche’s Musical Politics 145). Zarathustra’s Midnight Song, therefore, embodies both the joys and sorrows of the continuation of life in Eternal Return.

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65 “That is the great noon when man stands in the middle of his way between beast and overman and celebrates his way to the new evening as his highest hope: for it is the way to a new morning” (“Thus Spoke Zarathustra” 190).

66 Elizabeth Abbate writes that the image of midday was also linked to the god Pan in Nietzsche’s writings. She makes reference to the chapter “Mittags” (“At Noon”) in Part IV of Zarathustra, in which the prophet falls asleep under a tree and dreams of eternity. When he awakens, it is noon. According to Abbate, this chapter recalls the previously mentioned image of Pan sleeping in Menschliches Allzumenschliches, cited in section 3.3. See Abbate (1996), p. 147-148.
Like Lipiner and Nietzsche in their texts, Mahler also creates a contemplative moment in his symphony, immediately following his musical meditation on man and animals, “Was mir die Tiere im Wald erzählen.” Mahler called his setting of Nietzsche’s text “Was mir der Mensch erzählt,” and he altered the text slightly for both his own musical and literary purposes (see Figure 17). First, the twelve strikes of the clock present in Nietzsche’s text become subsumed into Mahler’s music, in the low tones of the harp. More specifically to the text, Mahler’s insertion of another line of “O Mensch”, immediately following the line, “Und tiefer als der Tag gedacht,” turns Nietzsche’s Midnight Song into a two stanzas with a parallel structure. The repetition of “O Mensch” emphasizes Mahler’s concern with the subjective experience of the speaker, reorienting the listener back to man; the depth and woes of the world expressed in the first stanza with the words “Die Welt ist tief” (“The world is deep”), and in the second stanza with the lines “Tief ist ihr weh” (“Its woes are deep”) are thereby intimately associated with mankind (“Mensch”). The repetition of “Tief” and emphasis on “weh” (“woe”) and “Herzeleid” (“agony”) clarify that the version of the Midnight Song that Mahler used for his Third Symphony comes from “Das andere Tanzlied,” Zarathustra’s nighttime musings. This is an important distinction, because the song appears again, in Part IV, where the song is a joyous confirmation of Eternal Recurrence. However, Mahler’s setting of the text reflects more a moment of reflection and possible doubt, rather than one of affirmation.67

67 The second version of the “Midnight Song” appears in the chapter, “Das Nachtwanderlied” (“The Drunken Song”) in Part IV. As previously mentioned, Part IV of Zarathustra was not published with the other sections until 1892, five years after Parts I, III and III appeared separately. The break between the genesis of these works accounts for the different contexts in which this song appears. In “Das Nachtwanderlied,” the song is no longer an expression of doubt, but rather one of ecstatic affirmation, in which Zarathustra teaches the words of the song to the “higher men” and they, in return, sing it back to him. Given Mahler’s contemplative setting of the work and the similarities with Abel’s midnight prayer, it is more likely the first version of the song, Zarathustra’s midnight musings with Life, to which the composer and poet were referring in their works.
Finally, the image of night was also significant for Mahler’s musical setting of the movement. As previously discussed, Mahler had originally titled it, “Was mir die Nacht erzählt.” Moreover, the title “Sommer Mittagstraum,” which he gave the symphony in 1896, suggests a reference to Nietzsche’s midday, the moment of the Übermensch’s transformation. Undoubtedly, Mahler intended this movement to stand out from the others, in particular the first movement,
which he described as Pan’s procession and a joyous expression of unity with the universe.\textsuperscript{68} In the light of midday, this joy is evident, but at midnight, the moment of questioning returns.

Moreover, the dream image in Nietzsche’s text also has an important resonance in this work. Mahler described his movement as “aus dem wirren Traum das Erwachen” (NBL 136)\textsuperscript{69}, clearly referring to the words of the text “aus tiefem Traum bin ich erwacht.” Schopenhauer had emphasized the significance of dreams as providing access and knowledge to the truths of human existence. Wagner, in his essay “Beethoven” (1870), elaborated on this idea when he wrote that the inner life of dreams “ist nun aber, durch welches wir der ganzen Natur unmittelbar verwandt, somit des Wesens der Dinge in einer Weise theilhaftig sind” (WGS IX 69).\textsuperscript{70} According to Wagner, music awakens us from dreams and into the consciousness of this truth. In a similar vein, Nietzsche wrote in \textit{Die Geburt der Tragödie} of the Apollonian dream, the ideal representation through which the “Rausch” of Dionysian music breaks forth (\textit{Die Geburt der Tragödie} 9). Mahler’s emphasis on night and dreams in his program for the fourth movement reveals the importance of these images for his own aesthetic philosophy and in particular his conception of the universe’s development in this symphony.

\textsuperscript{68} The mention of summer not only in Mahler’s titles has references in Nietzsche’s works but also particularly in Lipiner’s writings. In 1896, Mahler made a reference of Hölderlin’s poem “Der Rhein” to Bauer-Lechner when describing the “Summer marches in” program of the first movement: “Dazwischen jammert, um Erlösung ringend, der Jüngling, das gefesselte Leben, aus dem Abgrund der noch leblos-starren Natur (wie in Hölderlins ‘Rhein’), bis er zum Durchbruch und Siege kommt” (NBL 56). Fifteen years earlier, Lipiner quoted the same poem in his Feuilleton article in the \textit{Deutsche Zeitung} (“Der Sommer”), referring to the “Sommerstimmung” of these verses, which he saw as a true expression of pantheism.

\textsuperscript{69} “The moment of awakening after a confused dream” (NBLE 129)

\textsuperscript{70} “We are directly allied with the whole of nature, and thus are brought into a relation with the Essence of things that eludes the forms of outer knowledge” (“Beethoven” 12)
In order to express musically the atmosphere of the Midnight Song, Mahler creates another sonic “world,” which in its orchestration provides a stark contrast to the animal movement. This movement is orchestrated primarily in the strings and horns, in contrast to the heavy wind instrumentation that characterized the scherzo theme of the animals. Mahler described the mood of this movement as “im mystischen Anklang” as the “als höchst seltsame, geheimnisvolle Ruhepunkte” (NBL 60). He creates this feeling of a dreamlike state by opening the movement with an oscillating figure in the celli and bass.

Jeremy Barham remarks in his dissertation that the movement is musically centered on instability, from the back and forth movement in the low strings to the questioning rising third in the oboe, marked by Mahler in the score “wie ein Naturlaut” (“like a sound of nature”) (427).

Moreover, the vocal line is highly chromatic, often rising a half step and returning to the original tone, which provides further musical evidence of the underlying emotion of longing and resignation in the text.

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"Mystical presentiments…as infinitely strange, mysterious interludes of repose” (NBLE 64).
An examination of the development of musical voice from the third to the fourth movements shows how Mahler’s music establishes the psychological transformation of mankind within the context of the organic development of his symphonic “universe.” Stylistically, the alto solo in the fourth movement recalls the post-horn solo of the previous movement. As in the third movement, the tempo of the fourth is marked “zurückhaltend” (“held back”) and the sense of time in suspension is also prevalent. Johnson describes the post-horn in the “Animal” movement as a voice that emerges from the horn fanfare and “gradually turns into a self-contained lyrical statement” (57). If the post-horn is the voice of man in its early stages, than we can see this voice taking on an even more distinctive form in the setting of Nietzsche’s Midnight Song in the fourth movement, when it begins to articulate its fears and desires in words. To Bauer-Lechner Mahler referred to the movement as “ein leises Sich-seiner-selbst-bewußt-werden” (NBL 136). Paul Bekker likewise describes Mahler’s setting of Nietzsche’s text as expressing “die Erweckung der Psyche” (Bekker 129), an awakening, or coming to consciousness, that is emphasized by the interaction of the voice with the solo violin in a kind of dialogue. Bekker refers to the violin as the “Weh” motiv, as it follows the alto-solo’s words “Tief ist ihr Weh!”

![Figure 21: Symphony No. 3, Movement IV, mm. 99-115](image)

This call and answer affect creates a tension that is resolved by the voice and violin coming together on the words “Lust tiefer noch als Herzeleid.” A similar pattern is repeated in the next lines “Weh spricht, Vergeh” followed by a harmonization on the lines “alle Lust will Ewigkeit.”

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72 “A gentle return to consciousness of one’s own reality” (NBLE 129)
This orchestration of the solo voice and violin allows Mahler to place emphasis on the words most central to his message of humanity’s moment of crisis: Lust, the desire to live, is deeper than the heart’s deepest woes. Here in the dark of night, one must understand that to long for eternity is to affirm life, to accept Ewige Wiederkunft as part of one’s reconnection with the earth.

![Figure 22: Symphony No. 3, Movement IV, mm. 116-122](image)

The message of both the Midnight Song in Nietzsche’s *Zarathustra* is that life must be affirmed despite the eternal return of all its woes: this is the essential doctrine of the Übermensch. The references in both Lipiner’s *Adam* and in Mahler’s *Third Symphony* to the Midnight Song suggest that Lipiner and Mahler interacted with his philosophy and the concept of Ewige Wiederkunft in their works. Yet their vision of eternity differs from Nietzsche’s and their conclusions will be discussed in the next section.

### 3.6. Übermensch redeemed: Lipiner and Mahler’s Nietzsche Interpretation

Despite the numerous allusions to Nietzsche’s *Also sprach Zarathustra* that appear to affirm the concepts of the Übermensch and Ewige Wiederkunft, a closer look at Lipiner’s drama and Mahler’s symphony reveals that they in fact reinterpret Nietzsche’s naturalism to reflect their own idea of artistic-religious redemption. However, it is important to note that although they call for a reconnection with God through love and forgiveness, this idea of redemption is not to be found in traditional religion. In this way, they can be seen as trying to reconcile Nietzsche’s earthly affirmation with the belief in a divine spirit, free from dogmatic conventions.
Lipiner’s *Adam* is in many ways an affirmation of both Nietzsche’s naturalism and the philosopher’s critique of organized religion. For example, both Lipiner and Nietzsche allude to or revise the texts of sacred scriptures in order to comment on them. Nietzsche referred to *Zarathustra* (with great irony) as the “fifth Gospel” (Mandel 165) and many of protagonist’s sermons are allusions to Christ’s speeches, which have been turned on their head to reflect *Zarathustra*’s decidedly anti-Christian doctrine. In a similar way, *Adam* and the other dramas of the *Christus* trilogy, *Maria Magdalena*, *Judas Ischariot*, and *Paul in Rom*, are free interpretations of biblical stories. The remaining fragments of *Christus* reveal that Lipiner intended take a number of Christ’s speeches directly from the Gospels and set them to verse in the other works of the trilogy as well.

Furthermore, the protagonists of *Zarathustra* and *Adam* both can be interpreted as Christ-like figures. Zarathustra is often conceptualized as the modern-day Christ – he too is thirty years old when he begins to preach to the people his “Gospel,” and just as Christ’s message is at first rejected by the masses, so too is Zarathustra rebuffed in the marketplace and therefore sets off for the wilderness, wandering and speaking his “Good News” to whomever he meets. Although Christ himself does not actually appear in Lipiner’s trilogy until *Maria Magdalena*, in *Adam*, we

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73 Maurice-Ruben Hayoun traces a number of these references in *Zarathustra* to their source in the Bible in his essay (1997).

74 Another example of Lipiner’s poetic adaption of biblical verses is found in Natalie Bauer-Lechner’s memoirs *Gelerntes und Geliebtes*, in which she includes his poem “Paulus’ liebesgesang,” a version of the text from 1 Corinthians 13 (58). Helmut von Hartungen also writes that Lipiner published an essay entitled “Weihnachten” in the Deutsche Zeitung Wien (1880, No. 3219) in which he also set the text of a Luther Bible translation to verse.
see already his doppelganger in the character of Abel, the pure-hearted man of feeling, who is innocently put to death by his brother, who does not understand his message.\(^75\)

Nietzsche and Lipiner also both confront man’s relationship to a divine, creative spirit through organized religion. In Also sprach Zarathustra, God is dead and man must find an alternative understanding of his existence. In Lipiner’s work, God is not “dead” but he is portrayed as distant from man – a tyrannical lawgiver who has separated himself from the world and creatures he created. Abel articulates this idea in his midnight prayer to God, in which he expresses his feeling of distance from the deity: “Aber du schweigst, - und es wölket sich wieder; nimmer wohl sprichst du zu Meinesgleichen, - Nicht auf die Erde steigst du hiernieder, und in den Himmel kann ich nicht reichen” (Adam 43).\(^76\) Lipiner also uses Adam to critique the idea of sin and justice, particularly as it is put forth in orthodox Jewish law. Rather than portraying Cain as a villain, Lipiner establishes him as a conflicted character who has been taught to follow a law that forces him to suppress his passions. Cain blames his father, Adam, for teaching him these laws and forcing him to obey, for turning him into “ein wissend Tier” (“a knowing animal”) (75). God’s failure to answer either Abel’s midnight prayer, or Cain’s lament as he is banished to wander in the desert, further emphasizes Lipiner’s critique of the outcome of religious laws that perpetuate man’s feeling of isolation and alienation from nature and the divine.

However, there is hope for affirmation of life in Lipiner’s play and that comes through the violent death of the father, Adam. After Cain kills Abel, Adam tries to enact revenge for his

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\(^75\) Another allegory for Christ in Lipiner’s works is of course Prometheus, in his epic poem Der entfesselte Prometheus (see Chapter 2).

\(^76\) “But you are silent, and it becomes cloudy again; never again will you speak to one of my kind. You do not descend to the earth and I can not reach the heavens”
son’s death. Yet before he can kill Cain, animals attack Adam and his body is torn to pieces. This violent death has a number of meanings in the context of Lipiner’s Nietzsche interpretation and his own aesthetic-religious philosophy. First, Adam’s dismemberment mirrors the dismantling of religious structures that Lipiner called for in his speech to the Leseverein, in which he claims “darum ist es gut, dass jetzt der Leib der Religion in Stücke gerissen wird, denn ihr Geist wird nicht untergehen” (“Über die Elemente” 8). Only when the religion casts off its rules and laws can its spirit be saved. Thus, Lipiner alludes to this image of religion as a body being torn to pieces (in Stücke gerissen) in Adam’s violent death. As the first man, the original patriarch in Christian and Jewish scripture, Adam’s sin created the first break between man and God. In order for this rupture to be repaired, for man to return to God and for religious spirit to be renewed, the vengeful, law-giving father must be overthrown. Secondly, the father’s destruction has further implications for Lipiner’s critique of religion, signaling a moment of rupture in the family’s cycle of death. Just as in Nietzsche’s metamorphoses, when the lion must transform into the child, in Lipiner’s play, the violence must also come to an end, in order for there to be a rebirth. Adam is torn to pieces and his son is cast out to wander in the wilderness, but there is a glimmer of hope in that Eva still lives and carries a child, whose innocence from this tragedy brings the promise of new life.

Lipiner therefore turns to Christ, whose coming is alluded to by Eva’s pregnancy, at the end of Adam, as the redemptive figure for mankind. For Lipiner, Christ is the incarnation of

77 “Therefore it is good that now the body of religion is torn to pieces, for her spirit will never perish” (“On the Elements” 135).
78 This argument is presented in more depth in my article, see Kita (2010).
Nietzsche’s Übermensch. This is revealed first in Adam, as Abel, the prefigurer of Christ, is the one who embraces his inner Trieb and finds his reconnection to the earth in the Garden of Eden. Abel’s death, however, demonstrates that although the Garden can be glimpsed, a return to this innocence is not possible. As J.K. Ratislav wrote in his 1917 review of Adam, “hier wird ja erst der Konflikt, der unendlichen Abstand zwischen Mensch und Gott, entwickelt, der in Christus seine Lösung finden sollte” (221). Like the Übermensch, Christ comes to destroy the old values that have been corrupted by institutions such as the Church, symbolized in Adam by God’s law. These values keep God as a tyrannical father, separate from humanity. But according to Lipiner, the destruction of these values does not bring more violence; rather, Gabriele Brezina writes that the plan of the Christus trilogy was to show how Christ brings an end to conflict in humanity: “erst der durch Christus neugefestigte Glaube und das Leben und Wirken des Heilands auf der Erde sollte den Menschen…die Lösung aller Konflikte bringen” (65). The arrival of Christ not only helps man to overcome this alienation from God, finding unity with himself and with nature, but also signals the end of the circle of violence begun with the first sin and the murder of Abel.

Like Lipiner, Mahler also interprets Nietzsche’s philosophy of naturalism and the Übermensch as reconcilable with the belief in God. This is revealed in the fifth movement of his Third Symphony, a folk song taken from the collection Des Knaben Wunderhorn, titled in the program, “Was mir die Engeln erzählen.” The song describes Jesus and his disciples sitting at

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79 According to Michael Gillespie, Nietzsche characterizes the Übermensch as “Caesar with the soul of Christ” (“Slouching Toward Bethlehem” 63) He writes that “Christ here stands for innocence…in Nietzsche’s anti-Christian vision it is thus not God who redeems man through the crucifixion, but man who redeems himself by willing the crucifixion, and thus by crucifying God (69 n. 17).

80 “Here the conflict is developed for the first time, the infinate distance between mankind and God that will find its solution in Christ”

81 “Faith, newly strengthened by Christ and the life and actions of the Savior on the earth should bring the solution of all conflicts to mankind.”
table, and Peter’s plea for forgiveness for having broken the Ten Commandments. At first glance, this movement appears to mirror Nietzsche’s religious critique: the humor of the music seems to turn the text’s message of atonement into a parody, a tone that was not appreciated by all of Mahler’s listeners. He told Bauer-Lechner that a friend for whom he played the piece, was disturbed by the contrast of this movement with the solemn setting of Nietzsche’s Midnight Song that preceded it. Mahler claimed, however that: “der Humor hier [muss] nur für das Höchste einsetzen, das anders nicht mehr auszudrücken ist” (NBL 57). Mahler’s reference to humor as the highest means of expression calls to mind the jubilant response of the shepherd in Zarathustra. This transformation into the Übermensch, the acceptance of Ewige Wiederkunft, symbolized by the biting off of the serpent’s head inspires an immediate expression of joy that can only manifest itself through laughter. Since Mahler himself claimed that this movement was intended to be humorous, in contrast to the solemnity of the Midnight Song preceding it, and the Adagio finale following it, many scholars have questioned whether this message of this song was intended to be taken seriously. Peter Franklin describes the angelic voices of the women’s choir as speaking of “a matter-of-fact world of sprightliness and guttersnipe effrontery,” referring to Mahler’s markings in the score of “Lustig im Tempo und keck im Ausdruck” (“Cheerful in tempo and cheeky in expression”) (Mahler Symphony No. 3 70). Is the claim of the angels, that simply falling on one’s knees and praying to God, the key to salvation? Or is Mahler here trying to critique this naïve concept of redemption?

82 See Appendix C for full song text of “Es sungen drei Engel”
83 „The humour here has to aim at such heights of expression where all other means fall short” (NBLE 60).
The change of the musical style following the singer’s confession “Ich hab’ übertreten die zehn Gebot” and “ach komm und erbarme mich,” suggests an answer to these questions. Here the penitent’s pleas for mercy are followed by the swelling sounds of the orchestra in the style of a funeral march, indicated by the sound of tam-tams, which Floros writes, “symbolize horror as well as the fear of spiritual death” (Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies 105). But this dark moment soon subsides and Christ’s answer is set to the melody of the angel’s opening lines, demonstrating that the fear of judgment or “spiritual death” expected by the penitent is diffused by the joy of love and forgiveness. Mahler’s suggests, therefore, that redemption is still possible through the reparation of the broken relationship between humanity and God caused by the first sin. Moreover, this redemption is open to all, without the fear of judgment.

This conclusion is reached in the final movement of Mahler’s Third Symphony, in which the composer conflates the images of God and the Übermensch. As mentioned previously, Mahler had originally intended to compose seven movements for the symphony and end conclude with the folk song, Das himmlische Leben. In the summer of 1896, however, he decided to lay the final song aside and conclude with an adagio, which he referred to as “Was mir die Liebe erzählt.” To Anna Bahr Mildenburg, an opera singer and wife of the writer Hermann Bahr, Mahler wrote the following description of the final movement:

Das Motive zu diesem Satz (Nr. 7) lautet:
“Vater sieh an die Wunden mein!
Kein Wesen laß verloren sein!
Verstehst du also, um was es sich da handelt? Es soll damit die Spitze und die höchste Stufe bezeichnet werden, von der aus die Welt gesehen werden kann. Ungefähr könnte ich den Satz auch

84 These lines are also interesting because they have a direct musical reference in the song Das himmlische Leben, which Mahler originally intende as the finale to the Third Symphony. This will be discussed in more depth in the following chapter.
85 The Nr. 7 must be a misprint on Mahler’s part, since at this point the symphony had only six movements.
Mahler envisioned the love of God to be the highest level of development in this symphony. The quotation from the beginning of this letter, “Vater sieh an die Wunden mein!” is another reference to song from Des Knaben Wunderhorn, called “Erlösung” (“Redemption”). The text for this poem is a dialogue between Mary, Christ, and God, as Christ hangs from the cross. In response to his Son’s plea for redemption, the Father answers “Sohn, lieber Sohn mein, Alles was du begehrest, das soll sein” (Arnim and Brentano III: 193). Mahler’s allusion to this poem in his description of the movement to Bahr-Mildenburg suggest that, just as in Lipiner’s Christus, he had the relationship of fathers and sons mirroring that of God with humanity in mind when composing this work. Moreover, the Father’s promise to let no creature be lost, affirms the image of a loving, compassionate father figure, as well as the absence of judgment and redemption for all, ideas that underly Lipiner and Mahler’s aesthetic-religious philosophy.

86 “The motto of this movement (no. 7) is: [Father, look upon my wounds! Let no being be lost!] Now do you understand what it is about? It is an attempt to show the summit, the highest level from which the world can be surveyed. I could equally well call the movement something like: ‘What God tells me!’ And this in the sense that God can, after all, only be comprehended as ‘love.’ And so my work is a musical poem that ages through all the stages of evolution, step by step. It begins with inanimate Nature and progresses to God’s love!” (GMB 188). Translation in brackets is mine.

87 “Son, dear son of mine, all that you desire shall be”

88 Richard Strauss, a composer contemporary of Mahler’s, who composed his own Nietzsche-inspired piece, a tone poem entitled Also sprach Zarathustra (1896) around the same time, was disappointed by Mahler’s turn toward the spiritual in his Third Symphony. Strauss, whose music and philosophy were decidedly anti-metaphysical, had hoped that Mahler would return to the Dionysian spirit of his opening movement. According to the memoirs of Mahler’s wife, Alma, Strauss walked out of the premiere performance of the work in Krefeld in 1902 in disgust. See AME pp. 67 and Charles Youmans (2000).
Mahler’s choice to end the symphony with this Adagio, rather than a vocal movement is significant because it shows that his symphony enacts its own version of *Ewige Wiederkunft*, as the evolution of the movements begins with purely instrumental music and evolves through the introduction of human voice and choirs, returning to an orchestral finale in the sixth movement. The singular voice of humanity, which emerged from the solo post-horn of the third movement, achieved its articulation in the alto solo of the fourth movement and entered into a dialogue with the choir of the fifth movement, is now silenced by the overflow of instrumental sound. Yet this return to “pure” music was not exactly a return of the same. Despite the musical motives that connect the first and last movements, such as the rising fourth that Henry-Louis de La Grange identifies both in the main theme of the Finale and in the march theme of “Pan erwacht” (LaGrange 810), it is just as impossible to return to Pan’s idyllic, untouched nature as it is for Lipiner’s Adam to find his way back to the Garden of Eden.\textsuperscript{89}

![Figure 23: Symphony No.3, Movement VI, mm. 1-4](image1)

![Figure 24: Symphony No. 3, Movement I, mm. 1-3](image2)

Rather, Mahler claims that he chose to end with an Adagio because it was a higher form of musical expression. He commented to Natalie Bauer-Lechner about this connection between the

\textsuperscript{89} This is motive is also an illusion to Opus 135, the last string quartet that Beethoven composed. His inscription on the autograph of this work, “Der schwer gefasste Entschluß: Muss es sein? Es muss sein!” reveals that, like Mahler, he too was coping with the great questions of life and death when composing this work (Lockwood 479).
first and last movements: “was dort dumpf und starr, ist hier zum höchsten Bewußtsein gediehen, die unartikulierten Laute zur höchsten Artikulation geworden” (NBL 56).  

Mahler’s Adagio, therefore, is the ultimate conflation of his belief in an eternally recurring view of time and a teleological progression of natural development. Mahler’s comment to Annie Mincieux, in which he wrote that the Adagio was the last stage – God or the Übermensch - symbolizes his combination of these two worldviews. For this reason, the reference to the “Tief ist ihr Weh” theme from the fourth movement at the climax of the finale is significant; even in Mahler’s heavenly conclusion, the sense of Eternal Return, the ongoing cycle of life with all its great trials and sufferings (embodied in Christ’s sacrificial earthly death) is still present. Yet the composer’s claim that in the Adagio “ist alles aufgelöst in Ruhe und Sein; das Ixionsrad der Erscheinung ist endlich zum Stillstand gebracht” (NBL 68) suggests the possibility of a reconciliation between the heavens and earth, embodied in the movement’s triumphant conclusion affirming the motto of the symphony: Christ’s plea that “no being be lost.”

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90 “What was heavy and inert at the beginning has, at the end, advanced to the highest state of awareness: inarticulate sounds have become the most perfectly articulate” (NBLE 59). Mahler’s understanding of the Adagio as a higher musical-form undoubtedly comes from Schopenhauer’s philosophy of music in Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung. In this work Schopenhauer suggests that there is a hierarchy of stylistic forms in music that evolves from dance music that “scheinen nur vom leicht zu erreichenden, gemeinen Glück zu reden” towards the adagio, which “spricht vom Leiden eines großen udn edlen Strebens, welches alles kleinliche Gluuck verschmächt” (Schopenahuer I 364) / “The short, intelligible phrases of rapid dance music seem to speak only of ordinary happiness which is easy of attainment,” / “The Adagio speaks of the suffering of a great and noble endeavor that disdains all trifling happiness” (Payne I 260-261).

91 “In the Adagio, everything is resolved into quiet ‘being;’ the Ixion-wheel of appearances has at last been brought to a standstill” (NBLE 59).

92 Mahler’s mention of the “Ixionrad” is another allusion to Schopenhauer’s Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, in which the philosopher writes that “the subject of willing is constantly lying on the revolving wheel of Ixion, is always drawing water in the sieve of the Daniads, and is the eternally thirsting Tantalus”
In this sense, Mahler’s Adagio signals a shift of consciousness within mankind. The Übermensch has become aware of his divinity by reconnecting with the earth. In this awareness, however, he does not transcend God, but rather he moves closer to the deity by repairing the severed father-son relationship. This reconciliation is accomplished not by the Will to Power, but, as the title of the movement suggests, by the Will to Love.

3.7. Nietzsche Through a Panentheistic Lens: Mahler and Lipiner’s Übermensch

This analysis of Adam and the Third Symphony has demonstrated that Lipiner and Mahler were clearly confronting and integrating Nietzsche’s philosophy into their works. While they espoused the idea of a reconnection with nature and in particular, animals, in order to understand humanity, they also provided another solution to the problem of man’s conflicting drives toward instinct and reason.

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93 Such an interpretation of Nietzsche’s philosophy was not entirely unique, of course. Morton Solvik writes that despite Nietzsche’s outward disdain for the Christian religion, his later writings were often understood to be in support of a new spirituality. He writes “for many Nietzsche enthusiasts at the turn of the century such inversions of religious symbols often read like modern adaptations of an essential religious-mystical impulse” (Olsen 264).
Most important to Lipiner and Mahler was the need to reestablish a loving father-son relationship between God and humanity that was closely tied to earth, rather than involving the escape or transcendence to a heavenly, otherworldly realm. They found a paradigm for this vision of redemption that was not at odds with the natural world, but rather supported by it, in the writings of the physicist and philosopher, Gustav Theodor Fechner. Fechner’s ideas played a significant role in the development of Lipiner and Mahler’s Weltanschauung.94 His panentheistic philosophy claimed to establish through scientific, logical proofs, the existence of a deity who was fully present in the world, while at the same time tapping into the tradition of an anthropomorphic God, who is father and creator of humanity. Fechner’s ideas, therefore, helped to shape Mahler and Lipiner’s unorthodox stance toward religion, which both affirms the belief in God, and allows for its reconciliation with Nietzsche’s naturalist philosophy and the self-empowering model of the Übermensch.

Two key elements of Fechner’s philosophy that appear to resonate with Mahler’s conclusion of the Third Symphony and Lipiner’s Adam are the idea of the “göttlicher Keim” and the panentheistic understanding of God. Just as Mahler envisioned his symphony as a series of stages of the earth’s development, Fechner also envisioned life as a series of three steps. He wrote in Das Büchlein vom Leben nach dem Tode (1853), that, like a plant, whose life begins with the planting of a single seed, so too is humanity born from one single source, what Fechner calls the “divine seed,” or “der göttliche Keim“ (2). According to Fechner,

Auf der ersten Stufe entwickelt sich der Körper aus dem Keime und erschafft sich seine Werkzeuge für die zweite; auf der zweiten entwickelt sich der Geist aus dem Keime und erschafft sich seine Werkzeuge für die dritte; auf der dritten entwickelt sich der göttliche Keim, der in jedes Menschen Geiste liegt, und

94 For more details on Mahler and Lipiner’s connection to Fechner, see Chapter 1. 
155
In each stage of development, humanity gains greater enlightenment; each level is a preparation for the next, and the third and final stage is the moment of great illumination.

Fechner’s use of a natural metaphor to explain the development of human consciousness demystified the idea of death. Rather than being a tragic end to life, Fechner portrayed death as simply another transition in the development of consciousness, for “der Tod ist nur eine zweite Geburt zu einem freieren Sein” (Büchlein 3). Moreover, like Lipiner and Mahler, Fechner also criticized the Christian ideas of heaven and hell and Last Judgment. He wrote in Die Tagesansicht, the work that Lipiner helped him to finish and publish:

Es gibt keinen Himmel und keine Hölle im gewöhnlichen Sinne der Christen, Juden und Heiden, wohin die Seele nach dem Tode käme...sondern nachdem sie die grosse Stufenkrankheit, den Tod, überstanden, entwickelt sie sich...zu einem höhern Sein (Die Tagesansicht 10-11).

For Fechner, man’s life in the next stage of development is the result of his actions in the previous stage and will be determined by his own choices. Lipiner alludes to such an idea of free will at the conclusion of Adam, when Cain, no longer sheltered, nor enchained by God’s law, is free to do as he likes. But he must also accept the consequences of his decisions: by killing Abel, he has severed his relationship with his family and must wander in the desert alone. Abel, on the

95 “In the first stage the body is developed from the germ and evolves its equipment for the second; in the second, the spirit unfolds from its seed-bud and realizes its powers for the third; in the third is developed the divine spark which lies in every human soul, and which, already here through perception, faith, feeling, the intuition of Genius, demonstrates the world beyond man” (Wadsworth 23).

96 “Death is only a second birth into a freer existence” (Wadsworth 24).

97 “There is no heaven and no hell in the traditional sense of the Christians, Jews and pagans, to where the soul would come after death...rather after they endure the great sickness-stage, death, they develop…to a higher being”
other hand, who died an innocent death, will be redeemed, and his legacy will live on in the trilogy in Lipiner’s vision of Christ, the protagonist for the next three dramas of the trilogy.

Fechner’s philosophy was distinct from the idea of pantheism, which equated God or a divine spirit with nature. In Die Tagesansicht, Fechner explains his panentheistic vision of the deity, that God is both present in world and exists above it as a loving father figure. As Fechner writes,

Den Kern und Keim, gleichsam das punctum saliens, dieser Entwicklung bietet jener zwischen oben und unten vermittelnde Gesichtspunkt, daß unser Gegenüber gegen Gott nicht ein äußeres, wie das des Teiles gegen den Teil, der Stufe gegen die Stufe, sondern ein inneres, wie das des Teiles gegen das Ganze, der Stufe gegen die Treppe, ist (Tagesansicht 16).  

Rather than viewing God as a separate being from man, Fechner again evokes the metaphor of stages of development, this time referring to the divinity as a kind of staircase, of which humanity is an integral step.

As Lipiner had studied with Fechner in Leipzig, it is unsurprising that such an idea resonates with his and Mahler’s vision of man’s relationship to God in Adam and the Third Symphony. Lipiner had already explained his vision of the close connection between man, nature, and tragic art in his speech to the Leseverein when he claimed:

Die Natur aber, wie sie von aussen gesehen wird, ist nicht Gott...den wahren und ernsten Pantheismus erfassen wir nur, wenn wir diese Natur von innen sehen, wenn in unserem Innern die grosse Wandlung vorgegangen ist, wenn wir aufgehört haben, uns als

98 “The kernel and germ, the punctum saliens we might call it...is the mediating point between above and below at which we recognize that the contrast in which we stand to God is not an outward one, like that of part to part, or one step of a stair to another, but an outward one, like that of a part to the whole, or that of a step to the flight of steps” (Lowrie 246)
Einzelwesen zu wissen und zu fühlen: dann sind wir Pan, das All-Eine, und dann sind wir Theos, das Göttliche – und jene grosse Wandlung ist der tragische Vorgang ("Über die Elemente" 11).

Here Lipiner references Fechner’s philosophy of seeing nature from “within,” an idea central to the philosopher’s “Aesthetik von Unten,” discussed in Chapter 1. However Lipiner also elaborates on this idea and combines it with Nietzsche’s vision of tragedy, putting forth the idea that mankind’s great transformation is the result of a twofold process, the return to unity with the earth, and the discovery of Pan/God within, made possible by the feeling of compassion experienced through tragic art. The conclusion of Adam reflects this goal. Cain, having killed Abel, is forced to follow in his brother’s footsteps, wandering into the wilderness in search of the wholeness that his fragmented self desires. His tragedy is the basis for the redemption of all humanity, which will come in the form of Christ in the remaining dramas of the trilogy ("Vorwort zu Adam" 11).

The impact of these ideas on Mahler’s works is revealed in his description of the Third Symphony to Natalie Bauer-Lechner, which suggests a similar panentheistic vision of man’s relationship to God and nature:

Das All selbst, in dessen unermesslichen Abgrund du versinkst, in dessen ewige Räume du dich schwingst, dass Erde und Menschenschicksal wie ein Pünktchen unkenntlich klein dir zurückbleiben und vergehen. Die höchsten Menschheitsfragen, die ich in der Zweiten stellte und zu beantworten suchte: Wozu sind wir? Und: Werden wir sein auch über dieses Leben hinaus? – sie können mich hier nicht mehr bewegen. Denn was hat das im All zu bedeuten, wo alles lebt und leben muss und wird? Kann ein Geist, der den ewigen Schöpfungsgedanken der Gottheit in einer Symphonie wie dieser nachdenkt, sterben?...In

99 “Nature, however, as perceived from without, is not God...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” ("On the Elements" 138).
Here Mahler describes his Third as building directly upon his Second Symphony. However, the idea of God presented in this work has dissolved; he is no longer a patriarchal, imposing figure, a tyrant who must be challenged. Neither is the question of mankind’s survival a viable question. The Eternal Return of time is an affirmation of the ongoing cycle of life, which transcends the death of the hero. What remains is the “All,” which Mahler equates with Pan, and in the finale of his Third Symphony, with God and Love.

Mahler’s symphony, therefore, appears to draw on Lipiner’s reinterpretation of Nietzsche’s naturalist philosophy via Fechner. In nature, man comes to the fullest understanding of the divine within, thereby evolving into the Übermensch. Yet this is not the end of his development. His Will to Power must be transformed into the Will of Love. The Übermensch, is therefore redeemed when he finds a new understanding of God and himself in the natural world.

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100 The Universe itself, into whose infinite depth you sink, through whose eternal spaces you soar, so that the earth and human destiny shrink behind you into an indiscernibly tiny point and disappear. The greatest human questions, which I posed and attempted to answer in my Second: ‘Why do we exist?’ and ‘Will we continue to exist in an after-life?’ – these questions can no longer concern me here. For what can they signify in the totality of things in which everything lives; will and must live? Can a spirit that has dwelt upon the eternal creation-thoughts of the deity in such a symphony as this, die? …Such regions does this work inhabit…I now want to call the whole thing ‘Pan, Symphonic Poems’.” (NBLE 62-63).
Chapter 4: The Redemption of the Volk

Wie führt man das Höchste in die Hütten der Niedrigsten, wie presst man den Himmel mit allen Gestirnen in die engel Schädel der Armen im Geiste? – das ist die Frage meines Lebens. (SLMM1)

Siegfried Lipiner to Malwida von Meysenburg, 1878

Er hat die musikalische Darstellungswelt, die bis dahin Liebe, Krieg, Religion, Natur, Humanität zum Inhalt hatte, um den einsamen Menschen bereichert, der unerlöst auf dieser Erde durch das Universum kreist, um das verlassene Kind, das stillversunken im dämmernden Grün seines Vaters harrt. Er hat die Dostojewski-Frage an das Leben musiziert: “Wie kann ich denn glücklich sein, wenn irgendwo ein anderes Geschöpf noch leidet?” (GMB XIV)

Alma Mahler on Gustav Mahler

In the previous chapters I discussed Lipiner and Mahler’s interpretation of redemption as a reconnection with the divine, born from heroic martyrdom and a return to nature, and made possible by the sacrifice and struggle of the individual. Focusing on Lipiner’s *Renatus* (1878) and his trilogy of dramas, *Christus* (1880-1911), as well as Mahler’s *Fourth Symphony* (1899-1901), this chapter explores the idea of the redemption of the *Volk* – the ideal community of *Gotteskinder* to which both writer and composer desired to belong. According to Mahler and Lipiner, when the *Volk* is redeemed, the heavenly life will be realized on earth.

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1 “How does one bring the highest into the hovels of the lowliest, how does one force heaven with all its stars into the narrow skulls of the poor in spirit? That is the question of my life.”

2 “He enriched the symbolic world of music, which had until then comprehended love, war, religion, nature and mankind, by including Man as the solitary being circling, unredeemed on earth, throughout the universe – Man as the forlorn child forever waiting in meditative quietude, amidst Greenwood twilight, for the coming of the father. He set to music Dostoevsky’s question to life: ‘How should I be happy so long as anywhere some other creature suffers?’” (GMBE 28)
An important figure for understanding Mahler and Lipiner’s idea of the heavenly life is the composer, Richard Wagner. As members of the Wiener akademischer Wagnerverein, Lipiner and Mahler were great admirers of the composer and took a keen interest in his essays on the meaning of art. However, in this chapter, I will show that although the evocation of Christian imagery and myth in *Renatus, Christus*, and the *Fourth Symphony* suggests the influence of Wagner’s music drama *Parsifal* (1877-1883), Mahler and Lipiner use religious imagery in their works for a different purpose. In *Parsifal*, the focus is on the purification of ritual, symbolized by the grail, and the redemption envisioned at the end is achieved not through action, but by the denial of earthly desires. Mahler and Lipiner, on the other hand, pictured a universal redemption in their works that is clearly linked to the earthly life, reflecting a message of social justice that harkens back to Wagner’s essay, “Die Kunst und die Revolution” (“Art and Revolution,” 1849) and two of his earlier music dramas, the tetralogy, *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (1847-1872), and the sketch of *Jesus von Nazareth* (1848-1849). But unlike the *Ring*, which ends with death of the hero, Siegfried, and the destruction of the gods, both Mahler and Lipiner focus on a strengthening of the bonds between the divine and the human, the heavenly life and the earthly life, as the means by which humanity will be redeemed.

### 4.1. Art and Revolution: The Social Mission of the Artwork

In September of 1878, after reading Lipiner’s speech, “Über die Elemente einer Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart,” Richard Wagner invited the young poet to Villa Wahnfried in Bayreuth. A letter from Cosima Wagner to Lipiner following this visit reveals that the young poet was asked to write essays for the newly established journal, the *Bayreuther Blätter*, summarizing Wagner’s thoughts on art and philosophy for a popular audience. Cosima wrote: “Mein Mann
möchte nämlich, dass diese Werke, den Mitgliedern des Vereins in möglichst nüchterner Weise analysiert würden” (CWSL).³ Lipiner hoped that this project would be his ticket to Wagner’s inner circle, but disagreements about socialism, Schopenhauer’s philosophy, and religion jeopardized their intellectual relationship. When the essays that Lipiner wrote for the Bayreuther Blätter were rejected a few months later, the break was complete; Lipiner continued to admire Wagner’s musical works and writings, but communication between them ceased.

The cause of the argument was Lipiner’s interpretation of the composer’s early theoretical writings, in particular, the essay, “Die Kunst und der Revolution,” which Wagner had written immediately following his involvement in the 1848 student revolts in Dresden. Wagner’s essay reflects the influence of Hegel and the historical materialism espoused by Ludwig Feuerbach and such revolutionary groups as Junges Deutschland, who promoted utopian socialism and advocated a return to an original, ideal state of nature, in which love would ensure the moral order of society.

Wagner’s political ideas also transferred to his theories of art. In “Die Kunst und die Revolution,” Wagner lauds the ancient Greeks for having created the model artwork, drama, which unified diverse art forms and brought the community together. The art of Christian Europe, on the other hand, had destroyed the unity of the arts, dividing them into distinct genres. The revolutionary Wagner calls in this essay for a revival of art inspired by the model of the Greeks:

Nur die große Menschheitsrevolution, deren Beginn die griechische Tragödie einst zertrümmerte, kann auch dieses

³ “My husband would like in particular that these works be analyzed for the members of the society in the most matter-of-fact way.” In a footnote to this statement, Cosima specifies the following works “K und R, O und D, das K der Z”; presumably, “Die Kunst und die Revolution,” “Oper und Drama,” und “Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft.”
Wagner believed that the social and political revolution should extend to an artistic revolution; the conservative spirit of art should be destroyed and a new, revolutionary and universal art reborn, in the style of Greek tragedy.

Wagner explained this philosophy of art further in two other essays, “Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft” (“The Artwork of the Future” 1849) and “Oper und Drama” (“Opera and Drama” 1852). At this time, in the late 1840s and early 1850s, Wagner began to use the term Gesamtkunstwerk in association with his operas, meaning the overcoming of the “the history of the ‘separate’ arts in mutual isolation” to unite poetry, music and painting in one artwork, the music drama (Deathridge and Dahlhaus 117). According to “Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft,” the creator of this ideal artwork would be none other than the Volk. The Volk were those who would unite in the spirit of necessity and “widerstehen, sich empören und angreifen,” bearing great suffering, and sacrificing their lives for a greater purpose (WGS III: 174) Therefore, the Gesamtkunstwerk was truly envisioned as an “egalitarianism of the arts” (Magee 239), in line

4 “Only the great Revolution of Mankind, whose beginnings erstwhile shattered Grecian Tragedy, can win for us this Art-work. For only this Revolution can bring forth from its hidden depths, in the new beauty of a nobler Universalism, that which it once tore from the conservative spirit of a time of beautiful but narrow-meted culture” (“Art and Revolution” 22)

5 Wagner did not actually invent the term Gesamtkunstwerk. According to Alfred R. Neumann, it first appears in Aesthetik oder Lehre von der Weltanschauung und Kunst (1827) by Karl F. E. Trahndorff (1782-1863), a late-Romantic philosopher, who described the Gesamtkunstwerk as the possibility of the four art forms, “Kunst des Wortklanges, die Musik, Mimik, und Tanzkunst…zu einer Darstellung zusammen zu fliessen” (Trahndorff II: 312, quoted in Neumann 192).

6 “He then who must withstand, revolt, and deal assault, and openly avows this plain necessity in that he gladly suffers every other sorrow for its sake, and if need should be, will even offer up his life, he, and he alone belongs to the Folk” (“The Art-Work of the Future” 87).
with Wagner’s interest at the time in social equality and the destruction of hierarchies. The artwork of the Volk would be born of the peoples’ own sufferings and would present an equal representation of all art forms – poetry, music, plastic arts – in the service of its greatest goal: drama.

Wagner’s interest in true political change was fleeting, however. Deathridge and Dahlhaus suggest that art always stood in the forefront of the composer’s mind, while “political convictions meant nothing…except in relation to the idea of musical drama, the measure of all things for him” (95). Therefore, Wagner’s political revolutionary phase was a means for him to call attention to changes that he envisioned for the theater; he used political language in his essays to structure the ideological framework that would justify his own musical and dramatic choices. For the young Wagner, the revolutionary vision of an egalitarian Gesamtkunstwerk formed the basis for the epic music drama that he conceived at the same time, Der Ring des Nibelungen.

Der Ring des Nibelungen is a cycle of four music dramas that Wagner worked on for a period of over twenty-five years, from 1848-1876. The operas are traditionally performed in sequence, beginning with Das Rheingold (the prelude), followed by die Walküre, Siegfried, and ending with Götzterdämmerung. Wagner originally intended to compose one work entitled Siegfried’s Tod, loosely based on a hero from Old Norse and Germanic sagas. The project eventually evolved into an epic tetralogy, beginning with the robbery of the Rhinemaidens’ gold, and ending with the destruction of the palace of the gods, Valhalla.⁷ In a letter to August Röckel

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⁷ Daniel Foster compares the epic nature of Wagner’s Ring to that of Homer’s Odyssey; in both tales it is a scar (for Odysseus) or a wound (for Siegfried) that links the hero to his past, and provides the motivation for the telling of the hero’s history and origins. See Foster, pp. 45-52.
from 23 August 1856, Wagner explained that the original intention of the saga was to comment on the moral injustice of this quest for wealth and power:

Noch glaubte ich mich deutlich auszudrücken in der Darstellung des ganzen Nibelungen-Mythos, mit der Aufdeckung des ersten Unrechtes, aus dem eine ganze Welt des Unrechtes entsteht, die deshalb zu Grunde geht, um – uns eine Lehre zu geben, wie wir das Unrecht erkennen, seine Wurzel ausrotten und eine rechtliche Welt an ihrer Stelle gründen sollen (WSB VIII: 153).\(^8\)

This work is particularly significant for a study of Mahler and Lipiner because, not only were they influenced by Wagner’s epics forms and innovative musical structures, but also by the socialist concept of the work as a whole. The *Ring* is a work that promises change and proposes the chance for a new beginning, a new order established by love. As Dalhaus writes, in this work, “erscheint der Rückgang in eine mythische Vergangenheit zugleich als Antizipation einer utopischen Zukunft” (Richard Wagners Musikdramen 119).\(^9\) The death of the hero and heroine, Siegfried and Brünnhilde, makes possible this rebirth and hope for a future established on high moral ideals. Wagner’s focus on the restoration of justice in his comments to Röckel reflects the revolutionary political leanings of the time when he wrote the libretti for these works. However, after his discover of Schopenhauer, the egalitarian vision of the *Volk*, which had been so central to Wagner’s conception of the meaning of his art in his early years of composition, soon faded into the background, and the social and political mission of the *Ring* became secondary to a metaphysical-philosophical message. This chapter will demonstrate how Lipiner and Mahler reconciled this paradigm shift in their own vision of artistic-religious redemption in their works.

\(^8\) “But I meant in the presentment of the whole Niebelung myth to express my meaning even more clearly, by showing how from the first wrongdoing a whole world of injustice arose, and consequently fell to pieces in order to teach us the lesson that we must recognize injustice and tear it up by the roots, and raise in its stead a righteous world” (Magee 188-189)

\(^9\) “The return to a mythological past simultaneously looked forward to a utopian future” (Wittall 81).
4.2 Lipiner in Bayreuth: Socialist Art and Religious Spirit

Siegfried Lipiner became interested in Wagner as both a composer and writer as a student at the University of Vienna in the late 1870s, where he soon became an active member of the Wiener akademischer Wagnerverein. At the same time, Lipiner became acquainted with Engelbert Pernerstorfer and with Victor Adler, who would later establish the Austrian Social Democratic Party. In Vienna in the late 1870s, student socialist movements were directed against the liberal politics of their fathers’ generation. Liberal pro-business policies were believed to have caused the great stock market crash of 1873, which wrecked havoc on the empire’s economy and drew attention to social inequalities brought about by the capitalist system.\(^\text{10}\) The influence of revolutionary politics on Lipiner’s writings is revealed in the young poet’s dedication of his first published work, the epic poem, *Der entfesselte Prometheus* (1876) to Heinrich Laube, leader of the Junges Deutschland movement of which Wagner was a part. Given this background, it is likely that Lipiner identified with the ideas in Wagner’s early writings, such as “Die Kunst und die Revolution,” which were also composed during a time of social and political upheaval.

Moreover, Lipiner also shared Wagner’s critique of art and religion. Wagner had complained in “Die Kunst und die Revolution” that the ideal, communal experience of art had been “in ihrem teifsten Innern, zwischen Gewissen und Lebenstrieb, zwischen Einbildung und Wirklichkeit, unheilbar und unversöhnbar gespalten” (WGS III: 16).\(^\text{11}\) This break destroyed the concept of artistic harmony characteristic of Greek art. Lipiner, who claimed in his speech “Über die Elemente einer Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart,” that art is a “symbolic

\(^{10}\) For a more on the crisis of liberal politics in fin-de-siècle Vienna, see Schorske (1981) and McGrath (1973).

\(^{11}\) “Its inmost being was incurably and irreconcilably split up between the force of conscience and the instinct of life, between the ideal and the reality” (“Art and Revolution” 15)
abbreviation of life,” believed that this “Spaltung” could only be overcome by tragic art. According to Lipiner, tragedy would replace old religious forms, thereby inspiring a new community and regeneration of society.

However, Wagner’s discovery of the philosophical writings of Arthur Schopenhauer, particularly the work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (1819), while in exile in Switzerland following the 1848 revolutions in Germany, marked a turning point in the composer’s *Weltanschauung* and interpretation of the art. The composer was so moved by these ideas that he wrote later in his autobiography, *Mein Leben*, “Von jetzt an verliess mich das Buch viele Jahre hindurch nie gänzlich…Die hierdurch allmählich auf mich sich einstellende Wirkung war ausserordentlich, und jedenfalls für mein ganzes Leben entscheidend” (*Mein Leben* 2: 604).

Wagner was particularly drawn to Schopenhauer’s theory of the Will, the blind force that drives all life forms. Schopenhauer wrote that the Will had been divided into individual parts, and its insatiable longing for unity was the cause of all suffering and pain in the world. One possible source of relief from this eternal striving, however, was the contemplation of art. Schopenhauer valued music in particular as the most important art form because it was the direct voice of the will, and as it was non-representational, it could “speak” the great truths of the existence directly to the listener. As a result of reading Schopenhauer, Wagner turned away from social issues and the problems of the “phenomenal realm” or earthly life, to focus on the idea that truth and meaning is found not in this world, but in a “noumenal realm” beyond everyday perception.

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12 “From now on this book never left me entirely through the years…its gradual effect on me was extraordinary and, at any rate, decisive for the rest of my life” (Magee 136).
Furthermore, Wagner began to distance himself from his previous egalitarian theory of art, and instead turned to music to take on the most important role in the music drama.\textsuperscript{13}

Wagner saw the discovery of Schopenhauer as a break from his previous thought. Lipiner, however, did not see such a contradiction, and herein lay the cause of their misunderstanding in Bayreuth. Lipiner’s letters to Malwida von Meysenbug, a close friend of Wagner and Nietzsche, provide revealing information about the nature of Lipiner and Wagner’s disagreement during their meeting of 20-21 September 1878 at Villa Wahnfried in Bayreuth.\textsuperscript{14}

In a letter to Meysenbug in October 1878, written a little over a week after his return from Bayreuth, Lipiner expressed his concerns about a conversation he had with Wagner referring to the social mission of the work of art. The subjects of his critique were the Ring dramas and the ideas proclaimed in “Die Kunst und die Revolution.” Lipiner wrote:

\begin{quote}
“Siegfried” and “Götterdämmerung” haben gewisse Menschen gesehen und haben gesagt, was sie gesagt – und leben, wie sie leben! Dieser Blick von der höchsten Höhe in die niedrigste Niedrigkeit, diese Ausmessen des Abgrundes, den das principium individuationis in die Welt reisst, hat etwas Todesängstliches für mich…es wird mit aller Gestalt daran gearbeitet, dem Volk die Erlösung zu wehren.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{13} For a more in-depth explanation of Schopenhauer’s philosophy and its influence on Wagner and Lipiner, see Chapter 1.

\textsuperscript{14} Meysenbug’s memoir, Memoirs of an Idealist, which reflects her interpretation of Schopenhauer’s philosophy, was a work that Lipiner greatly admired; he even quotes a section in his speech to the Leseverein of 1878. Meysenbug introduced Lipiner to both Wagner and Nietzsche, and the letter exchange between Lipiner and Meysenbug reveals a close relationship. Lipiner looked up to the Baroness, highly valued her opinion and even referred to her by the affectionate title “Tante Malwida.”

\textsuperscript{15} “Certain people have seen “Siegfried” and “Twilight of the Gods” and have said what they said – and live, as they live! This view from the highest heights into the lowest baseness, this measure of the abyss, that the principium individuationis severs in the world, holds a deathly fear for me…All forms are to be used to defend the redemption for the Folk.”

168
Lipiner makes reference here to Schopenhauer, who wrote in *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* that the *principium individuationis* is man’s conception of himself as an individual and separate being, as phenomenon. According to Schopenhauer, only he who sees through the principle of individuation can comprehend justice:

Die ewige Gerechtigkeit wird nur der begreifen und erfassen, der ...an die einzelnen Dinge gebundene Erkenntnis sich erhebt, die Ideen erkennt, das principium individationis durchschaunt und innewird, dass dem Dinge an sich die Formen der Erscheinung nicht zukommen...er sieht ein, dass die Verschiedenheit zwischen dem, der das Leiden verhängt, und dem, welcher es dulden muss, nur Phänomen ist und nicht das Ding an sich trifft, welches der in beiden lebende Wille ist...der Quäler und der Gequälte sind eines (Schopenhauer I: 483-484).

According to Schopenhauer, because all living beings are part of one world Will, any pain and suffering felt or inflicted by one, will affect all. This is the lesson that Lipiner took from Wagner’s *Ring* and which he felt needed to be relayed to the *Volk*. Lipiner reports:

Wagner einmal sagte: ‘Was hat das Volk davon?’ (Er sprach von den ‘Literaturgedichten’). Nun, ich frage: was hat das Volk von diesem volkstümlichsten aller deutschen Werke, von diesem Nibelungenring?

Ich stelle in Abrede, dass, Das, das bis jetzt dem “Volk” von Wagner gesagt und offenbart wurde, irgendwie in nennenswerter Weise gewirkt hat...und niemals, niemals, so lange das Volk lebt, wie es heute lebt, so lange die ‘Zuchthausarbeit des Willens’ so, wie heutzutage, auf dem Volke lastet, wird jene Wirkung sich einstellen.” (SLMM4).

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16 “Eternal justice will be grasped and comprehended only by the man who...recognizes the Ideas, who seen through the *principium individuationis*, and who is aware that the forms of the phenomenon do not apply to the thing-in-itself...he sees that the difference between the inflicter of suffering and he who must endure it is only phenomenon, and does not concern the thing-in-itself which is the will that lives in both...tormentor and tormented are one” (Payne I: 354).

17 “Wagner once said, “What does the Volk know of that?” (He spoke of ‘Literary poetry’). But I ask: what does the Volk know of this most popular of all German works, from this Ring of the Nibelung?” / “I deny that, that which until now has been spoken of and revealed to the “Volk” has somehow, in a noteworthy way, taken effect...and never, never, so long as the Volk lives as it lives today, so long as the “servitude of the will” weighs on the Volk as it does today, will they become attuned to such effects.”
Lipiner’s interest here is the reception of the Ring by the Volk, whom Wagner has defined in “Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft” as those who feel “eine gemeinsamen Noth” (“a common Need”) (175). In his earlier writings, Wagner had written that this Volk would be the creator of the ideal artwork, inspiring all people to unity through art. However, Lipiner suggests that this Ring is not a work for the people; that it is not achieving its goal, to inspire change in the viewers and to teach a moral lesson to apply to their daily lives. His mentioning of the “Zuchthausarbeit des Wollens,” is another reference to Schopenhauer, who claimed that art would provide a temporary relief from the experience of suffering, caused by the Will’s striving.\(^\text{18}\) At their meeting in Bayreuth, Wagner no longer appeared concerned about the Volk. Lipiner’s explains his critique further in the following statement:

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\text{Nun das ist’s, was ich gegen Wagner’s socialistische Ausführungen hauptsächlich zu sagen habe. Er sagte, der Socialismus sei in Grunde genommen, ein Versuch, recht weltlich zu leben und sich’s auf dieser Erde behaglich zu machen. Der flache Optimismus, durch “besseres” Leben werde man glücklich, werde hier dem Volke aufgebunden (SLMM4).}^{19}
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Lipiner felt the Wagner’s operas should present not an optimistic hope for the future, but rather the idea that the trials and tribulations of earthly life are themselves the key to salvation. His next claim, “es muss dem Menschen ad occlus demonstriert werden, dass das Heil im leiden und nicht im “Wohlstande” liegt” (SLMM4)\(^\text{20}\) reveals his concern that the audience should might identify with the wrong characters and misunderstand the message of the entire work. This would undermine what he believed to be the goal of tragic art: to make the audience sympathize with the

\(^{18}\text{Schopenhauer wrote that humanity will be driven by the force of the Will until the “wheel of Ixion stands still” (Schopenhauer I 280). Mahler referred to Adagio of his Third Symphony “the Ixion-wheel of appearances has at last been brought to a standstill” (NBLE 59).}\)

\(^{19}\text{“This is all I generally have to say again Wagner’s socialist statements. He says, socialism is in its essence, an attempt to live in the world and to make life comfortable on earth. The shallow optimism, that through ‘better’ life man will be happy is a mere hoax to the Volk.”}\)

\(^{20}\text{It must visually presented to the Folk, that salvation lies in suffering, not in wealth”}\)
characters and to see their own life and struggles revealed on the stage. Lipiner feared that the average person would not understand the revolutionary message of the Ring, claiming “Da geht ihm das Herz auf, wenn er vom Rheingold hört, und nicht Wotans Entsagung oder Siegfrieds Unschuld oder Brünnhildes Liebe wird in seinen Träumen walten, sonder die zauberhafte ’masslose Macht’…er wird wähnen…dass gerade darin das Heil liege, was Wagner dem Fluche geweiht” (SLMM4). Finally, Lipiner also critiqued the theater in Bayreuth as, “eine Staatsangelegenheit (eine Volksangelegenheit kann sie jetzt gar nicht werden)” (SLMM4).

Rather than being a theater for the Volk, open to the whole community according to the ideal of Greek tragedy, Wagner’s theater had become an affair of the state, closing off the experience of art from the people for whom Lipiner believed its message was intended.

Lipiner’s solution to the problem of the Volk, which he outlines to Meysenbug in his letter, is a renewal of religious spirit:

Ja, es wäre doch anders, es wäre nicht nötig, erst das vernichtbare Leiden zu vernichten, um durch das Unvernichtbare zu erlösen, wenn es eine wirkliche Religion gäbe! Wenn noch einmal die Apostel durch die Welt wandern und wirken könnten, wie einstmal; aber das geht nicht mehr. Man wird ihnen nicht glauben, bis nicht die Taten des auf das Irdische gerichteten Verstandes und Willens getan sind; das Volk wird den ewigen unbewussten Wunsch aller Wesen nicht fühlen, bis nicht sein bewusster Wunsch, soweit es geht, befriedigt ist (SLMM4).23

21 “His heart swells, when he hears of the Rhinegold, yet Wotan’s renunciation, Siegfried’s innocence or Brünnhilde’s Love will not dominate his dreams, but rather the magical “excessive power”…he will believe that salvation lies in what Wagner called accursed”

22 “A state affair (it can hardly become an affair of the Folk)”

23 “However it would be different, it wouldn’t be necessary, to destroy this undestroyable suffering, in order to redeem through the undestroyable, when there would be a true religion! If once again the Apostels could wander through the world and act as they once did; but that is no longer possible. They will not be believed, not until the actions of those minds and wills aimed at the earth are accomplished; the Folk will not feel the eternal unconscious wish of all beings until its conscious wish, as far as it goes, is satisfied.” Lipiner’s use of unconscious and conscious wish is interesting, given how important these terms would become for Sigmund Freud in his work, Die Traumdeutung (The Interpretation of Dreams 1899), published
Here Lipiner emphasizes *Leiden* or suffering, as the fundamental means by which man experiences isolation or individuation in the world. Religion is identified here with action, specifically the actions of the Apostels, who would bring about the end of this suffering by spreading the message of Christ. Such claims refer back to his speech to the Leseverein, in which Lipiner linked the communion of suffering individuals, not to religious dogma, but rather with *Mitleid*, or compassion:

> So lange eine Religion auf die historische Wahrheit ihrer kanonischen Schriften Werth legt, ist sie unwirksam und nichtig. Hell und leuchtend steht der nackte Kern da, wenn die modernen Fetzen von ihm gefallen sind. Der abgeschmakten und flachen physischen Wunder beraubt, flieht das Gemüth zum unvergänglichen Wunder, das nie die Pfeile der Wissenschaft zu fürchten hat, zum Wunder des heiligsten Mitleids, zum Wunder der Überwindung des Selbst. ("Über die Elemente" 8)\footnote{24}

Lipiner’s vision of religion is therefore clearly undogmatic. Dismissing a vision of religion in which biblical texts are accepted as historical truth, he identifies instead *Mitleid* and the overcoming of the self as the keys to redemption, ideas that are clearly linked to Schopenhauer’s philosophy.

Lipiner’s ideas here appear to resonate with Wagner’s own ideas of art and religion, which would appear in the essay “Religion und Kunst” (“Religion and Art” 1880). It is therefore significant that this essay, considered to be the Wagner’s most significant contribution to the idea twenty years later. Freud and Lipiner knew each other from high school and the Leseverein at the University of Vienna. See Chapter 1.

\footnote{24}{"As long as a religion places value in the historical truth of its canonical scripture, it is ineffective and void. Bright and glowing stands the naked core when the moldering tatters have fallen from it. Robbed of tasteless and insipid physical wonders, the soul flees to the undying wonder that never need fear the arrows of science, to the wonder of holiest compassion, to the wonder of self-overcoming" (“On the Elements” 135-136).}
of a *Kunstreligion*, was written after he read Lipiner’s speech to the Leseverein, “Über die Elemente” (1878). Lipiner had drawn heavily from Nietzsche’s *Die Geburt der Tragödie* and other philosophical and scientific writings of the time in this work to explain that the artwork would provide a transcendental experience and connection with a noumenal unity, fulfilling the purpose the religion had once served. Unfortunately, due to Lipiner’s failure to subsequently produce any other philosophical writings, and his withdrawl from public intellectual life in the 1880s, these theories thus became associated with Wagner, who published his essay on the same topic two years later.

Moreover, a closer look at Wagner’s essay and his last music drama for which these ideas supply the framework, *Parsifal* (1883), reveal that Wagner’s interest in religion was much like his interest in politics, serving as means to an end, as a vehicle for communicating his own artistic message. Dahlhaus writes,


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25 Cosima’s diaries reveal that Wagner read Lipiner’s essay on 9 September 1878, shortly before he invited the poet to Bayreuth.

26 Nietzsche had dedicated *Die Geburt der Tragödie* to Wagner, so the composer obviously knew about these ideas. But one must consider that the arguments presented in “Religion und Kunst” could well have been inspired by Lipiner’s speech, and not the reverse, as has previously been assumed. For more on Lipiner’s speech, see Chapter 1.

27 “Wagner’s faith was philosophical, not religious, a metaphysic of compassion and renunciation, deriving its essential elements from Schopenhauer’s *World as Will and Idea* and – via Schopenhauer – from Buddhism. Wagner found these elements also present in Christianity, and to that extent he was a Christian. But the predominant spirit of the nineteenth century had become alien to fundamentalist faith, and he too
Religion, for Wagner, was only a stage in a larger cultural development. In his mind, the new artwork would replace religion, taking over its role as the revealer of truth. As he wrote in the essay “Religion und Kunst” in 1880:

Man könnte sagen, dass da, wo die Religion künstlich wird, der Kunst es vorbehalten sei, den Kern der Religion zu retten, in dem sie die mythischen Symbole, welche die erste im eigentlichen Sinne als wahr geglaubt wissen will, ihrem sinnbildlichen Werte nach erfasst, um durch ideale Darstellung derselben die in ihnen verborgene tiefe Wahrheit erkennen zu lassen” (WGS X: 211).

Therefore, transferring Christian ritual to art would breathe new life into a tradition that had become corrupted and lost its meaning.

Wagner’s creative use of Christian symbolism, myth and ritual are revealed in his last music drama, Parsifal (1883). Wagner called Parsifal “ein Bühnenweihfestpiel,” which Deathridge and Dahlhaus translate as “a festival of consecration in a theater” (161). Inspired by the medieval epic by Wolfram von Eschenbach, Wagner focuses the dramatic action of his opera on sacrament and ritual. Ritual is central to the Knights of the Grail, whose order begins to decline when Amfortas, their King, succumbs to the temptation of Kundry and is pierced in the side by his spear, a wound that will not heal. According to Robert A. Davis,

From its opening scenes onwards, Parsifal trades in a ceremonial symbolism redolent of the medieval Christian liturgy and ritual...litany, prayer, processional progression, sacral gesture and action, holy objects, choral responseries and, above all,

took a historico-philosophical view of the traditions of religion as an evolving truth, changing its outer shape throughout history” (Whittall 143).

28 “One might say that where Religion becomes artificial, it is reserved for Art to save the spirit of Religion by recognizing the figurative value of the mythic symbols which the former would have us believe in their literal sense, and revealing their deep and hidden truth through ideal presentation” (“Religion and Art” 7)
sacramental formulae accord the opera’s characters and setting the static formalism associated visually with a Book of Hours and aurally with a Benediction. (101)

The reenacting of ritual is a key to Wagner’s drama, culminating in the final act, in which Parsifal, the innocent hero, restores meaning to the ritual by healing the wound of Amfortas and raising the grail, proclaiming, “Höchsten Heiles Wunder! Erlösung dem Erlöser” (Parsifal 334). Moreover, Dahlhaus comments that Wagner’s leitmotivic orchestration supports the symbolism of ritualistic action. The first several motifs of the work, particularly those related to Kundry’s appearance on stage are “gestisch-szensiche Musik,” that is, they are related to gesture, not word (Richard Wagners Musikdramen 212).

In Parsifal, Wagner combines Schopenhauer’s concept of Mitleid with religious imagery to express his idea of redemption. This is highlighted in his work by the recurrence of the Torenmotiv, the musical theme that accompanies the text “Durch Mitleid wissend, der reine Tor.” The “reine Tor” is Parsifal, the pure and innocent fool capable of great compassion. His refusal of Kundry is motivated by her kiss; in this moment he feels a great pain that he associates with the wound of Amfortas and also with the suffering of the entire world. He is inspired to reject this worldly temptation and pursue the greater cause for which he was intended. In this sense, Parsifal has often been critiqued as a passive hero; his redemption and the ultimate redemption of the Knights of the Grail are achieved not through heroism, but through denial of action. This inaction is the key to the drama; Simon Williams describes Parsifal as, “an abstract of action…for the action can only be fully understood on a metaphysical plane that can best be summoned up through ritual and the imaginative construction of an immaterial world” (130). To tell the legend of his protagonist, therefore, Wagner focuses on symbols, such as the wound that represents the

29 “Highest sacred wonder! Redemption to the Redeemer!”

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suffering of the world, and the reenactment of the Last Supper, which symbolizes the restoration of the sacred ritual and renewal of the Knights’ society.

Lipiner’s reception of Parsifal was mixed. The lengthy quotation from the libretto in his speech to the Leseverein of 1878 reveals that he read the libretto as soon as it was published in 1877, and was familiar with the work. He was particularly drawn to the character of Kundry, as he focuses in his speech on the scene that is the crucial turning point at the end of the second act, when Kundry attempts to seduce Parsifal. Upon being rejected by the young hero, Kundry explains to him her torment, how she has wandered the earth in great pain and sadness since the day she saw Christ suffering and laughed at him. She begs Parsifal to redeem her, which she believes can be achieved by their physical union. In his speech, Lipiner points to Kundry as an example of the great tragic figure who “von den Schmerz, Angst, und Begier…nach Erlösung dürstet und doch die gekrümmten Finger von dem Irdischen nicht losreissen kann” (“Über die Elemente” 12). For Lipiner, Kundry is an example of those who suffer from the “ewige Wunde des Menschen,” a pain of earthly life that can only be healed by the communal experience of tragic art.

Yet after his visit to Bayreuth, Lipiner’s letters to Meysenbug reveal that he was actually quite critical of Parsifal. In his last letter to Meysenbug Lipiner wrote, “die Leere zwischen dem 2ten und dem 3ten Akt Parsifal ist zu gross” (SLMM6), expressing his dissatisfaction with Wagner’s development of plot and character in the drama. In Parsifal, the greatest action takes place in the second act, in which Kundry tempts Parsifal. The final act, in contrast, is

30 “The man harried by pain, anxiety and desire, who thirsts after redemption and yet cannot tear his contorted fingers free from the earthly” (“On the Elements” 12)
31 “The void between the second and third acts of Parsifal is too great”
characterized by ritual: the baptism, Titurel’s funeral rites, the revealing of the grail. A look at one of Lipiner’s earlier works, the epic poem, Renatus (1879), reveals that the poet had in mind quite a different vision of redemption.

At the meeting in Bayreuth, at which Malwida von Meysenbug was also present, Lipiner read aloud excerpts from Renatus, the story of the hero Hilarion’s search for happiness, his love for Angelika, triumph over Satan, and resurrection.32 As in Parsifal, where the hero is presented as an innocent, pure soul, whose naïve nature and ability to be led by feeling makes possible the redemption of the Knights of the Grail, Hilarion is described as having a “Kindesnatur,” that will be the “Rechtfertigung der Welt” (SLMM5).33 But in Lipiner’s poem, Hilarion’s rebirth as Renatus is made possible not through denial, but rather by the action of the hero. Hilarion must confront Satan and face death. Only then is he redeemed through the great act of Love, motivated by Angelika. This active self-overcoming leads to the redemption of the world. In the final scene, Hilarion (now, Renatus) rejoices with his beloved, as the dead rise from the graves around them:

Und klimrend springen die Pförtent der Grüfte,
Und die Todten stehen auf
Und die Erd’ überwallt durch tausend Klüfte
Der Höle entfesselter Lauf
…
Und die Wiedergebor’ nen sinken erbebend
Zur Erd’ aufs Angesicht (Renatus 160-161).34

32 Lipiner also dedicated this work to Meysenbug and discussed it with her in their letters.
33 “Childlike nature” / “Vindication of the world”
34 And the gates of the crypts spring open, clasping / The dead rise up / And unbound current overflows the earth through a thousand chasms of hell / … / and the born-again sink upon their faces, quaking, to the earth"
Lipiner’s focus on the active hero, his return to nature and the glorification of Love as the key to redemption, reflects the utopian socialist ideals of Wagner’s youthful forays into politics and the ideas that the composer had expressed in “Die Kunst und die Revolution.”

Moreover, while Lipiner also drew the connection between Schopenhauerian *Mitleid* and redemption, his vision was clearly tied to a more concrete idea of religion that was not well received by Wagner or his wife. Cosima’s diaries reveal that at their meeting in Bayreuth, Lipiner and Wagner engaged in a discussion on religion, in which the young poet bolstered his argument with support from the biblical scholar Paul de Lagarde. Lagarde promoted a German nationalist church, and given Lipiner’s associations with German nationalist movements in Austria around the same time, it is hardly surprising that he would be drawn to these ideas. Moreover, Lagarde was known for his rejection of traditional Christian dogma and an organic concept of religious belief, ideas that resonated with the religion of feeling that Lipiner discussed in his speech, “Über die Elemente einer Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart.” Cosima, however, was not impressed by Lipiner’s defense of Lagarde, writing in her diary: “R. gibt mir darin recht, dass ich Verwahrung einlegen möchte gegen alles Konstruktive auf diesem Gebiete” (CWT II: 179).

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35 Cosima voiced her critique of Lipiner’s *Renatus* in her diaries, in which she wrote: “ich höre mit Malwida der Vorlesung eines Teils des “Renatus” von Herrn Lipiner [zu] und muß über die Verirrungen staunen” (CWT II: 179). Lipiner later wrote to Meysenbug that Cosima was not pleased with the “Naturszene (zwischen Renatus und Angelika)” (SLMM5).

36 Lipiner’s admiration for Lagarde is expressed in a letter to Heinrich Köselitz, a close friend of Nietzsche, on 22 February 1878. Lipiner wrote, “are you familiar with Paul de Lagarde? If not – you should make up for this as soon as possible. His paper “On the Present State of the German Reich” (Göttingen, Dieterich, 1876) is brilliant; I love and adore him in the highest” (Yalom 303-304)

37 R. thinks I am right in wanting to protest against all constructional arguments in this sphere” (CWD 152).
Despite his disagreements with “the Master”, Lipiner went on to send a number of articles to the *Bayreuther Blätter*, the last of which compared Lagarde’s writings directly to Wagner’s. It is no surprise that this essay, as with all of his previous attempts at publication in this periodical, were rejected. Lipiner’s last letter to Meysenbug reveals the reason, which apparently lay in the article’s religious message:


This final rebuff marked the end of Lipiner’s attempts to earn Wagner’s approval. In the following section, I will explore the young poet’s endeavor to create an epic drama in the style of Wagner’s *Ring* that would encapsulate his own ideas of the social mission of religion and art, a true Artwork of the *Volk*.

### 4.3. A New Tetrology: Lipiner’s *Christus*

After *Renatus* and the debacle in Bayreuth, Lipiner began writing a series of religious plays, entitled *Christus*.\(^{39}\) The work was to consist of three dramas, *Maria Magdelene*, *Judas Ischariot*, *Christus*.\(^{39}\)

\(^{38}\)“Wolzogen demands, that I, for the Master’s sake, leave out the religious part – what do you say to this. That means leave out Lagarde. Admittedly, the gospel of Lagarde does not tolerate the Gospel of Wagner; they are hostile brothers. And that is the true reason, why my essay does not fit in the *Bayreuther Blätter*. The whole turbulence of the times turns around the struggle of these hostile brothers.” Hans von Wolzogen was the editor of the *Bayreuther Blätter*.

\(^{39}\)Some scholars, such as Constantin Floros, have speculated that Lipiner’s work was inspired by another trilogy of religious plays composed by Felix Weingartner, entitled, *Die Erlösung* (1895). Weingartner’s cycle, like Lipiner’s, also begins with the Cain and Abel story. It is possible that Lipiner knew of the work but there is no mention of it in Lipiner’s writings to indicate that it influenced *Christus*. Furthermore, as Floros notes, Lipiner had been dealing with the idea of redemption and rebirth since his earliest works, in particular, *Renatus* (Mahler I: 79).
and Paul in Rom, opened by a prelude called Adam, discussed in Chapter 3. Like Wagner’s operatic cycle, Der Ring der Nibelungen, Lipiner envisioned these works to be performed in sequence over four nights. According to Natorp, Christus was in fact twice completed, thrown out and begun again (“Siegfried Lipiners Adam” 802) and Mahler’s letters to Lipiner between 1898 and 1900 attest to the poet’s struggles to finish the work (GMB 284). Moreover, Ida Schein, in her 1936 dissertation at the University of Vienna, found in Lipiner’s estate several different versions of the work, suggesting that at the time of his death, Lipiner was still undecided as to which version he would use. In the end, only the prelude, Adam, was completed and published as an independent work in 1913 after Lipiner’s death. The fragments of the main trilogy were lost, most likely during the family’s emigration to Sweden before the Second World War. Therefore, I will use as the basis of my study three documents written by those who read and analyzed these manuscripts before their disappearance: Schein’s work, the articles of Paul Natorp, co-executor of Lipiner’s estate, and another dissertation written by Helmut von Hartungen in 1932 at the University of Munich.

40 According to Castle (1930), Lipiner considered at one time calling the final play Ahasver, rather than Paul in Rom (1569). A letter from Mahler to Lipiner of 19 August 1900, however, refers to the final part as Johannes (GMB 284). These discrepancies provide further evidence that Lipiner continually revised the work, and that it was not clearly laid out in his mind from the beginning.

41 In the preface to Schein’s dissertation she writes regarding the fragments, that: “sie alle aber sind, mit der alleinigen Ausnahme der dreiaktigen “Maria Magdalena” die, obzwar Fragment geblieben, doch vollkommen druckreif ist, für eine Veröffentlichung gänzlich ungesignet. Sind doch sowohl der dreiaktige wie der fünfaaktige “Judas Iskariot” ebenso wie die zwei fünfaaktigen Maria Magdalenenfassungen nur in meist unzusammenhängenden Sätzen, ja zum grossen Teil sogar nur in einzelnen, abgerissenen Worten skizziert” (Schein 1) / “They are all wholly unsuited for publication, with the only exception being the three-act “Maria Magdalena,” which, although remaining a fragment, is completely ready for press. The three-act, and the five-act “Judas Iscariot,” as well as the two five-act “Maria Magdalena” versions are at the most unconnected compositions, for the most part just sketched in mere isolated, abrupt words”
Lipiner’s *Christus* is greatly indebted to Wagner’s music dramas. First of all, the format of the work, a tetrology, or trilogy with a prelude, recalls the format of Wagner’s *Ring* cycle. Secondly, the themes of redemption and of religious myth are clearly central to the poet’s artistic vision. For example, Hartungen’s description of the original plot of *Maria Magdalena* reveals a number of similarities to the dramatic narrative of *Parsifal*:


This summary reveals an important triad of characters: Christ, John the Baptist, and Mary Magdalene. A similar grouping can be found in the final act of Wagner’s drama, in which *Parsifal*, Gurnemanz (the narrator), and Kundry appear. As in the biblical story upon which Lipiner would base his saga, *Parsifal* (Christ) returns after years of wandering and is met by Gurnemanz (John the Baptist), who baptizes him with water from the spring. Afterward, Kundry (Mary Magdalene) washes and anoints the feet of Parsifal, who in return, baptizes her with the words, “Mein erstes Amt verricht’ ich so, die Taufe nimm und glaub; an den Erlöser!” (*Parsifal* 326). Lipiner had planned to include the baptism scene in *Maria Magdalena*, and it is possible that he drew inspiration from the scene in Wagner’s drama.

Yet rather than focusing on ritual and symbolism as Wagner does in *Parsifal*, Lipiner’s *Christus* draws on themes from Wagner’s early works, suggesting that his intention in evoking

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42 “The Drama begins with the appearance and acts of John the Baptist. In the following scenes, Christ will appear, his baptism and the temptation by the devil presented. At the middle-point of the work is the Sermon on the Mount. Loosely connected to this plot is the figure of Mary Magdalene. She appears as a sinner, in whom pure love for Jesus awakens.”

43 “My first task I perform in this way: take this baptism and believe in the Redeemer!”
religious myths was to express his revolutionary ideas for the renewal of religious spirit in the modern world. For example, Christ’s message throughout the remaining plays of the trilogy focuses on a new approach to the old religious laws. In *Maria Magdalena* Christ proclaims:

\[
\text{Wähnt nicht, gesendet sei ich euch in’s Leben} \\
\text{Um das Gesetz der Alten aufzuheben} \\
\text{Gesendet bin ich durch des Vaters Willen} \\
\text{Nicht aufzuheben, sondern zu erfüllen}
\]

(3. Akt Maria quoted in Schein 44)\(^{44}\)

These lines are a poetic revision of Christ’s Sermon on the Mount, found in the Book of Matthew in the New Testament (5:17). In the context of *Adam*, the prelude to *Christus*, discussed in Chapter 3, the old laws referred to here are those which Cain believees to be based on empty ritual, such as the building of altars and the sacrificing of animals. Christ’s new law is the law of fulfillment established from within, the law of loving one’s neighbor as oneself. This idea is mentioned in *Adam*, but not fully realized until the Christ comes to earth in the following segments of the trilogy.

While the establishment of new laws calls to mind Wagner’s *Ring* cycle and the destruction of the gods, in *Christus*, they are meant to renew God’s presence on earth. The heavenly realm that once seemed so distant from man is, with the arrival of Christ, brought closer to humanity. Christ’s claim in *Maria Magdalena*, “der Himmel schliesst sich rings um euch -- die Erde ist im Himmelreich” (3. Akt Maria s. 66, quoted in Schein 53)\(^{45}\) is significant because it shows that Lipiner had a vision of heaven that was closely tied to the earthly life. Schein writes: “L[ipiner] wollte damit wohl die Möglichkeit einer Verwirklichung des Himmels schon auf Erden zum Ausdruck bringen, die in der Macht aller Menschen gelegen ist, wenn nur die Wille dazu

\(^{44}\) “Do not think wrongly, that I am sent to you in life, to abolish the laws of old. I am sent through the fathers Will not to abolish, but to fullfil”

\(^{45}\) “Heaven closes in around you – the earth is in the realm of heaven”
vorhanden” (Schein 53). The Will spoken of here, or *Trieb* as it is called in *Adam*, is therefore not just blind instinct. Rather, Schein suggests that for Lipiner humanity is empowered, and that their Will has a direction, towards God.

This moment is significant because it makes a clear break between Lipiner’s philosophy and that of Wagner. Here we see that Lipiner has taken over Wagner’s terminology, as borrowed from Schopenhauer: he incorporates the idea of a Will that longs for unity of its individuated parts. However, the redemption scene in *Parsifal* amounts to a moment of transcendence that is entirely not of the world. As Magee writes, the revelation of the grail in the final scene is an “enactment dedicated wholly to something outside and beyond the participants, through self-effacement in the transcendental, and hence through self-transcendence in the most literal sense” (Magee 269).

If *Parsifal* and the *Ring* were not the only inspirations for Lipiner’s work, than another possible source, could have been Wagner’s unfinished opera, *Jesus von Nazareth*. The sketches for *Jesus* date from 1848-1849, as Wagner was writing the libretti for *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, and his son Siegfried published them in 1887, four years after Wagner’s death. According to Abbé Marcel Hebert, in a text written on Wagner’s music dramas in 1895, Wagner “hat es verstanden, die Erzählung des Evangeliums zu entwickeln und zu bereichern” (44). This also

46 “Lipiner wanted with this to bring to expression the realization of heaven on earth, which is established in the power of all humanity, when only they have the desire for it.”

47 Paul Schofield does write in his work, *The Redeemer Reborn*, that Parsifal could be interpreted as a transcendence of Schopenhauer’s philosophy: “The whole point of the Grail ceremony is to give regeneration and renewed life, both physical and spiritual, to the knights and the Order of the Grail….we cannot watch, contemplate, and comprehend a sacred religious ceremony symbolizing renewed life and spiritual regeneration while at the same time interpreting the opera as a representation of a philosophy of denial and extinction” (Schofield 33). Yet even if this reading of *Parsifal* is accurate, it is unlikely that Wagner would have extended his understanding of spiritual regeneration to a religious regeneration on earth, in the way that Lipiner envisioned it.
appears to be the goal of Christus, which, according to Hartungen’s summary and Schein’s analysis, focuses on several specific events from the life of Jesus taken from scripture, and includes freely poeticized verses from the Old and New Testaments.

Hébert’s monograph also reveals another possible connection between the Jesus and Lipiner’s Christus: the revolutionary principles of justice and love. As Jesus was written during Wagner’s involvement in the revolutionary independence movements in Germany, it reflects the values of the philosophy of Junges Deutschland with which he was associated at this time. Hébert writes,

Durch Umsturz dieses künstlichen und verbrecherischen Systems, und durch die so ermöglichte Rückkehr zur Natur werde sich die reine Liebe, der es obliegt, in natürlicher Weise das Herz des Menschen zu erfüllen, in Strömen über das Weltall ergiessen. Sie werden fortan alle Verträge, die der menschlichen Egoismus erfunden, ersetzen, und das einzige und völlig hinreichende Gesetz werden (Hébert 49). 48

The themes that Hébert highlights, the destruction of an old system, a return to nature and the establishment of a new law based on pure love, are all ideas that Wagner would later elaborate on in his Ring libretti and which also emerge in Christus.

Yet there is one other aspect of Lipiner’s work that is unique, that was discussed previously in the prelude, Adam: the idea that redemption will be achieved by the discovery of God within mankind and the reestablishment of a father-son (or father-child) relationship. Schein refers to this idea as “Gotteskindschaft.” She claims that: “Im Mittelpunkt des L[ipiner]schen

48 “Through the downfall of this artificial and criminal system and through the return to nature made possible through this, will pure love, which is incumbent upon it, in a natural way fulfill the heart of mankind, pouring out in gushes over the universe. It will replace all contracts founded upon human egoism, and become the only, perfect acceptable law.”
Gedenkenkomplexes steht das Sohn Vaterverhältnis, aus diesem erst ergibt sich dann als notwendige Folge die geänderte Konstellation innerhalb der menschlichen Gesellschaft” (Schein 57-58). This idea is introduced in Adam, by the conflict between Adam and his sons, and continued in Maria Magdalena, when Christ claims that when the child returns to the father he will be filled with “den heil’gen Liebeswillen” (“the sacred loving will”) of God (3.Akt Maria Magdalena, s. 41, quoted in Schein 55). Here Christ appears as a mediator between God and man, in fact, he is the ultimate middle-man because of his divine and human nature; it is his mission to help mend the broken bond between God and humanity. Therefore, while in previous works, such as Renatus, Lipiner focused on romantic love as the motivating force for redemption, in Christus it is the reunion of parent and child, creator and creation, through the discovery of God’s divine love present within humanity that will bring about the renewal of religious spirit.

Furthermore, the vision of heaven that Lipiner portrays, in which the father and child are reunited, is open to all and free from judgment, harkening back to a similar heavenly vision in Lipiner’s epic poem Der entfesselte Prometheus, discussed in Chapter 2. In Prometheus, the heroic Titan sacrifices himself to bring redemption to all humanity and the poem closes with his ascent to the heavens. In the Christus trilogy, however, Christ descends from the heavens, and the reconnection with God that he preaches is not to be achieved in another realm but rather on the earth, made possible through the Law of Love.

Lipiner envisioned redemption not as an escape from the world, but a return to it. Rather than directly adopting Wagner’s religious symbolism into his own work, Lipiner’s interaction with the composer’s ideas was far more critical. He chose instead to combine aspects of the composer’s later works, such as Schopenhauerian Mitleid as the key to redemption, and to
incorporate them with his belief in the revolutionary social mission of art, based on Wagner’s early writings and operatic works. For Lipiner, the concept of redeeming the Volk that so inspired him as a young student became realized in his own work through the transformation of the Volk into Gotteskinder, or children of God. This development marks a turn away from the nationalistic, politically charged vocabulary of his youth, resulting in a clearer expression of his ultimate goal, a universal redemption and renewal of religious spirit.

Perhaps Lipiner’s rejection by Wagner at such a young and idealistic stage of his life was too great to overcome, for despite nearly thirty years of work, Lipiner was unable to finish Christus. Yet his vision for this work was to live on in another form, in the symphonies of his close friend and confidant, the composer, Gustav Mahler.

4.3. From the Earthly to the Heavenly Life: Mahler’s Volkslieder

In the previous chapters, Mahler’s music has been read as a narrative that drew its ideological inspiration from the writings of his friend and mentor, Siegfried Lipiner. This music narrative was gleaned from the interaction of instrumental and singing voices in the composer’s unique orchestration. Mahler’s tactic in the Fourth Symphony, however, is somewhat different. Here the original inspiration for the work came from two songs, which frame the entire symphony. The following section explores how “Das irdische Leben” and “Das himmlische Leben” were conceived as parallel works and how, although the song “Das irdische Leben” is not actually included in the Fourth Symphony, the numerous musical references to it make it a “silent speaker,” or in the words of Carolyn Abbate, an “unsung voice,” in the program of the work. Therefore, like Lipiner in his Christus trilogy, Mahler was making a statement about his vision of life after death. The earthly life is always present in the heavenly life – the dichotomy of heaven
and earth, of the body and spirit, is merely an illusion. Moreover, the voice of the child, or the innocent, is omnipresent – it is this voice that speaks the truth of human existence.

In the early stage of his career as a composer, Gustav Mahler was greatly inspired by *Volkslieder*. The emergence of nationalist political movements of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, and the anti-French sentiment resulting from the Napoleonic occupations, inspired an interest in the *Volkslied* as representative of the voice of the German people, an idea expressed in the writings of Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), who coined the term. Riding the tide of this nationalist interest in the music of the *Volk* were Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim, who began in the early 1800s to travel around Germany collecting songs for an anthology, which they would call *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder*. Published in three volumes between 1805 and 1808, this collection brought the voice of the *Volk* to a wider audience.

In addition to their simplicity, which evokes nostalgic emotions in the listener, *Volkslieder* are characterized by their unique rhythms and tonal structures, which pose a contrast to the formalism of traditional art music. According to Ann Schmiesing, Arnim was particularly inspired to conduct this project by political motives; his idea was to “reconcile the split between high culture and folk art” for “only through such a reconciliation…could the German-speaking lands achieve a national confederation and truly national German culture” (Schmiesing). Although both Arnim and Brentano made considerable revisions to the songs, the final printed versions earned the reputation of representing the true “voice” of the *Volk*. Goethe, to whom *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* was dedicated, lauded the work in his review, claiming that all should own a copy, for then “Würden dann diese Lieder, nach und nach, in ihrem eigenen Ton- und
Klangelemente von Ohr zu Ohr, von Mund zu Mund getragen, kehrten sie, allmählich, belebt und verherrlicht, zum Volke zurück, von dem sie zum Theil gewissermaßen ausgegangen” (GSW 27:111).\textsuperscript{49} Arnim and Brentano’s goal, therefore, was not to present a collection of historical artifacts, but rather a “timeless manifestation of national culture” (Schmiesing).

Nietzsche also wrote about Des Knaben Wunderhorn in his work, Die Geburt der Tragödie, a text that played a significant role in forming Mahler’s understanding of the meaning of art. Nietzsche wrote:

Das Volkslied aber gilt uns zu allernächst als musikalischer Weltspiegel, als ursprüngliche Melodie...Wer eine Sammlung von Volksliedern z.B. des Knaben Wunderhorn auf diese Theorie hinansieht, der wird unzählige Beispiele finden, wie die fortwährend gebärende Melodie Bilderfunken um sich aussprüht: die in ihrer Buntheit, ihrem jähen Wechsel, ja ihrem tollen Sichüberstürzen eine dem epischen Scheine und seinem ruhigen Forströmen wildfremde Kraft offenbaren.” (Die Geburt der Tragödie 42-43)\textsuperscript{50}

For Nietzsche, the irregularity and inconsistency of Volkslieder made them a more true-to-life representation of the “naïve” voice of the Volk. Like Wagner, in “Die Kunst und die Revolution,” Nietzsche also turned to Greek tragedy as the model for the new Artwork of the people. As we will see in this chapter, Mahler saw Volkslieder as presenting a particularly naïve and pure voice in his music. Moreover, the musical settings of these texts and integration of these songs into his symphonic works present a new type of narration, which simultaneously holds the piece together

\textsuperscript{49} “These songs would be continuously carried in their own tone and sound elements from ear to ear and mouth to mouth, returning gradually, animated, and exalted to the Folk, from which they partly, in a manner of speaking, emanated.”

\textsuperscript{50} “However, we must conceive the folk song as the musical mirror of the world, as the original melody...anyone who in accordance with this theory examines a collection of folk songs, such as Des Knaben Wunderhorn, will find innumerable instances of the way the continuously generating melody scatters image sparks all around, which in their variegation, their abrupt change, their mad precipitation, manifest a power” (“The Birth of Tragedy” 53).
structurally, and presents a disruption and challenge to the listener’s expectations of a classical programmatic symphony.

Mahler, like Lipiner, was certainly not oblivious to the political implications of engaging with the idea of the *Volk* and *Volkslieder*. He too was an active member of the Pernerstorfer Circle and the Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens, and through his involvement with these groups he was exposed to the German nationalist movements in Vienna in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Richard von Kralik, a friend of Mahler and Lipiner from the University of Vienna, claims that at one meeting of the Pernerstorfer Circle, the members all sang the nationalist hymn “Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles!” to Mahler’s accompaniment of “O du Deutschland, ich muss marschieren” on the piano (*Dionysian Art* 89). In addition to his interest in nationalist movements, Mahler (like Kralik and Lipiner) was also drawn to socialism through his connections to Pernerstorfer and Victor Adler, who were key leaders of this movement.\(^{51}\) McGrath writes that Kralik was actually intending to create a new “proletarian Christianity” and even composed hymns and “gospels” for this religion (94). Yet while one can see the influence of socialism, nationalism and religion in Lipiner and Mahler’s works, their goal was above all to perfect the artwork, not to recreate the structures of religion. Mahler’s turn to *Volkslieder* was therefore linked more closely to Wagner’s idea of the artwork of the *Volk*, as interpretated by Lipiner.

\(^{51}\) It is also interesting that although Mahler’s connections to political socialism were not particularly strong, Social Democrats later took a liking to his music and even performed his works at party sponsored events. An example is the performance of the *Second Symphony*, directed by Oskar Fried at a concert for “Die deutsche-österreichische Sozialdemokraten” on 1 July 1919 in Vienna (“Leider bleibe ich ein eingefleischter Wiener: Gustav Mahler und Wien”).
Mahler discovered the Des Knaben Wunderhorn collection in the 1880s. According to Donald Mitchell, he was likely introduced to the work either while conducting in Leipzig in 1886-1887, at the house of Hauptmann von Weber (the grandson of composer Carl Maria von Weber) or through Kralik (Mitchell 118-119),\(^\text{52}\) with whom Mahler and Lipiner founded the Sagengesellschaft in 1880. Although the influence of Volkslieder in Mahler’s music is most prominent in his first four symphonies (hence their popular designation as the “Wunderhorn symphonies”), the composer took an interest in the integration of popular culture with art music forms throughout his life. For example, Das klagende Lied (1878-1880), a cantata that Mahler composed in 1878, is based on a fairy tale by the Brothers Grimm; and Rübezahl (1881), Mahler’s first and only opera, which was never completed, draws inspiration from German folklore.\(^\text{53}\) His first attempt at composing his own Volkslieder came in 1884, when he completed the song cycle “Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen.” While Mahler wrote the song texts himself, they imitate the style and simplicity of those found in Arnim and Brentano’s collection. Mahler stated his opinions on the subject of Volkslieder in an interview with the magazine Etude, shortly before his death in 1911, in which he remarked, “composers realized that in order to make their work understandable and more readily received, it behooved them to employ the folk themes as the basis for some of their more complicated works, so that the public that heard them could…grasp the significance of the work more readily” (“Influence of Folksong” 301). This comment suggests that Mahler envisioned his target audience to extend beyond the typical upper-

\(^{52}\) Mahler became acquainted with the von Weber family as he was arranging Carl Maria von Weber’s Die drei Pintos.

\(^{53}\) According to La Grange, Mahler sent either the score or the text of Rübezahl to Lipiner, so we know that he was aware of Mahler’s project. Nothing ever came of the opera, although Mahler did finish the libretto. Moreover, Rübezahl was likely the cause in the break of Mahler’s friendship with the composer Hugo Wolf; Wolf had discovered the story and wanted to compose a serious opera based on the text, while Mahler preferred to write a humorous tale. When Mahler finished first, Wolf was enraged at him for having stolen the idea (La Grange I: 72-73).
or middle-class concertgoer, echoing Lipiner’s belief that tragic drama should be made accessible to the public. The composer believed that the integration of Volkslieder into his symphonies would bridge the gap between high art and the art of the people, just as Goethe envisioned that publishing folksongs in the Wunderhorn collection would turn what had been an oral tradition into a literary tradition, so that these songs could be preserved for future generations.

In 1888, Mahler began setting the songs from Des Knaben Wunderhorn to music. These Volkslieder would inspire his compositions for a period of thirteen years, during which time he would set twenty-two of them in varied musical arrangements. La Grange writes that the first nine songs were written for voice and piano and were partly composed for the von Weber family in Leipzig (I: 760). In 1892, he began composing orchestra settings for some of the songs. Included in his output from this collection are two songs that will be examined in this chapter “Das himmlische Leben” (“The Heavenly Life,” composed in February 1892) and “Das irdische Leben” (“The Earthly Life”), which followed sometime in the spring or summer of 1893.

“Das himmlische Leben,” is based on a Bavarian folk song called “Der Himmel hängt voll Geigen.” The original title, “Heaven is full of violins,” is an ironic phrase that suggests a kind of foolish optimism, encapsulating the naïvity of childlike innocence (Knapp 68). Indeed the image of life after death presented in the song text differs greatly from the Judgment Day vision of the finale of Mahler’s Second Symphony. While the opening lines proclaim, “Wir geniessen die himmlische Freuden, d’rum tun wir das Irdische meiden,” (“We enjoy the heavenly delights, therefore we shun the earthly”) in fact throughout the entire song, the child describes the daily

54 Included in this first collection is “Ablösung im Sommer,” the song whose melody would inspire the scherzo of the Third Symphony.
55 See full text of “Das himmlische Leben” in Appendix C.
events of heavenly life in distinctly “earthly” terms. Food is the focus of this child’s vision of heaven; Herod is described as a butcher, leading the lamb to his slaughter, the angels bake bread in the kitchen, and even Saint Peter catches fish.\(^56\)

“Das himmlische Leben” was originally part of a series of five “Humoresques,” a term which Mahler would later use in the original sketch of the Fourth Symphony. La Grange writes that in using the term “Humoresque,” Mahler intended not to create a new musical genre, but rather to emphasize the element of humor in the compositions (II: 731). Mahler described the humor of “Das himmlische Leben,” to Natalie Bauer-Lechner in 1901 in the following way: “Was für eine Schelmerei verbunden mit dem tiefsten Mystizismus, steckt darin! Es ist alles auf den Kopf gestellt, die Kausalität hat ganz und gar keine Gültigkeit! Es ist, wie wenn du plötzlich auf jene uns abgewandte Seite des Mondes blicktest” (NBL 185).\(^57\) This unique mixture of devilment and mysticism enchanted Mahler and he immediately linked this expression to the image of the child. The note in the vocal score reads “Singstimme mit kindlich heiterem Ausdruck; durchaus ohne Parodie” (“vocal line with cheerful, child-like expression, completely without parody!”). Only in the voice of the child could this playfulness and purity of spirit find full expression.

However, the parallel to this song, “Das irdische Leben,” presents quite a different childlike voice. The song tells of a hungry child begging his mother for bread; tragically the

\(^56\) Knapp suggests this idea in his study of “Das himmlische Leben,” writing that “significantly, no food is actually consumed in ‘Das himmlische Leben,’ we are instead tantalized by a continuous series of descriptions of how food might be produced” (25).

\(^57\) “What devilment combined with the deepest mysticism one finds within! Everything is turned on its head, causality has no validity anymore! Is is, as if you suddenly looked at the side of the moon turned away from us!”
mother does not heed his request, but says that he must wait, for first the wheat must be reaped and sowed and the bread baked. In the end, the child dies of starvation. According to La Grange, Arnim and Brentano originally published “Das irdische Leben” under the title “Verspätung” (“Tardiness”) and Mahler suppressed two stanzas from the original with the aim to emphasize the drama of the song. In addition, the “qualvoller Angstruf” of the child’s cry, is created by a constant modulation, while the mother’s reply remains monotonous throughout the song (La Grange I: 773).

Mahler described Das irdische Leben to Natalie Bauer-Lechner in 1893 in the following way:


This explanation reveals that already in his first conception of the song, Mahler connected the child’s longing for bread to the suffering of all humanity, and the longing for salvation. The image of the spiritual and physical hunger of the Volk was also significant for Lipiner, who wrote in a letter to Malwida von Meysenburg, “denn so lange [der Mensch] hungert, wähnt er, das Heil

58 The eeriness of the song was not lost on Mahler; in fact, he would revisit the theme of the death of the innocent child later in his setting of texts by Friedrich Rückert, known as the Kindertotenlieder (1901).

59 “I feel that human life…is symbolized by the child’s crying for bread and the answer of the mother, consoling it with promises again and again. In life, everyting that one most needs for the growth of the spirit and body is withheld – as with the dead child – until it is too late. And I believe that this is characteristically and frightenngly expressed in the uncanny notes of the accompaniment, which bluster past as in a storm; in the child’s anguished cry of fear, and the slow, monotonous responses of the mother – of Fate, which is in no particular hurry to satisfy our cries for bread” (NBLE 32).
sei in der Bäckerei.” This desire makes the people as “unmenschlich” as the Liberal establishment against which Lipiner protested during his participation in the student socialist movements; their “Übersättigung” (“surfeit”) is as terrible as the “Hunger” of the Volk (SLMM4).60

Comments by Mahler to Bauer-Lechner in 1893 reveal a connection that he found between “Das himmlische Leben” and “Das irdische Leben.” Mahler spoke of both of these works regarding the particular role of songs in symphonies, that the music, “doch viel mehr ausdrücken kann, als die Worte unmittelbar sagen…Der Text bildet eigentlich nur die Andeutung des tieferen Gehaltes, der herauszuholen, des Schatzes, der zu heben ist” (NBL 27).61 The song texts obviously are linked in that they both present a child’s perspective. Yet, as Mahler comments, it is the music and not the text that suggests the true “Schatz” - the deeper connection between the two songs. One such example, which Knapp also mentions, is the rhythmic figure in the two works, a consistent pulsating sound created by sleighbells and wind instruments. The use of sleighbells in a classical symphonic composition was unique in Mahler’s time. The sound evokes at once a feeling of nostalgia or memory (consistent with an adult’s reminiscence of childhood) and also the sense of intrusion, the idea that something is out of place in the tonal context of the symphony (Knapp 217). In “Das himmlische Leben,” which was composed first, the sleighbells enter at moments of transition: between the first and second verse (following the lines, “Sankt Peter im Himmel sieht zu!”), the second and third verses (“die Englein, die Backen das Brot”), and finally following the third verse (“Sankt Martha die Köchin sieht zu”), where the bells mark the shift to a slow lullaby-like interlude before the final verse. The pulsing sound of

60 “As long as humanity hungers, he falsely believes that salvation is in the bakery”
61 “You can express so much more in the music than the words directly say…the text is actually a mere indication of the deeper significance to be extracted from it, of hidden treasure within” (NBLE 32)
sleighbells, doubled by the wind instruments, is echoed in “Das irdische Leben” by the alternating eighth notes in the flute and oboe at the opening.

Figure 27: Symphony No. 4, Movement IV, mm. 34-40

Figure 28: "Das irdische Leben," mm. 1-5

To extend this argument further, in each section in which the sleighbells appear in “das himmlische Leben,” they introduce a quickened tempo, emphasized by chromatic sixteenth note runs in the winds and strings. This sound can be likened to the similar rhythmic figures in the accompaniment of “Das irdische Leben” to the child’s cries “Mutter, ach Mutter, es hungert mich!” As Knapp writes, this musical link suggests a connection between the texts of the songs, so that “‘Das himmlische Leben’ seems to be less about heaven than about food preparation, presenting a feverish parody of the mechanical obsessions of ‘Das irdische Leben,’ inspired, presumably, by the delirium of prolonged hunger” (22).
The double meaning that emerges between the texts for the songs and Mahler’s orchestration suggests another significant technique of Mahler’s composition: irony. Stuart Feder writes that music expresses irony so well because of its “fluid ambiguity” and ability to be interpreted in a variety of different ways, thereby revealing layers of meaning (62). Moreover, according to Stephen Hefling, Mahler is “the first composer for whom irony is a fundamental and restlessly recurring element of his works” (“Techniques of Irony in Mahler’s Oeuvre” 99). Indeed Mahler’s music style, which so often employs the techniques of juxtaposition, both within the orchestration, and between the text and the musical setting, does lend itself to the expression of irony. In particular, Hefling refers to Mahler’s technique in the Fourth Symphony as ingénue.

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62 Prominent examples in his early symphonies are the parodic funeral march of the First Symphony and the scherzo of the Second Symphony. Both of these movements had extra-musical references in Mahler’s mind. In the third movement of the First Symphony, he manipulated the child’s song “Bruder Martin” into
irony, which is when “the ironist creates a naïve innocent who lures the victims into his ironizing; the ingénu poses questions or makes comments, the full import of which he or she does not realize” (114). One can see this type of irony clearly at work in both “Das himmlische Leben” and “Das irdische Leben.” For example, in “Das himmlische Leben,” the child who sings appears to be unaware of the innate contradiction in the text of the song, such as the claim that there is “kein weltlich’ Getümmel” in heaven, while later describing the brutal sacrifice of the lamb. In “Das irdische Leben,” the child is likewise innocent and completely trusting of the mother to care for its needs, while the narrator, giving voice to both the mother and child, is fully aware of the increasing direness of the situation. It is in this light that we must also understand Mahler’s choice of the sleighbells and pulsating rhythmical figures in both works. They serve to accentuate the second meaning beneath the surface that the innocent child cannot fully grasp, that life is continually overshadowed by an alienating sense of our ultimate fate, death. According to Feder, fate “embodies a fundamental existential irony: we live, we strive, but in the end we die in spite of it all” (70). Yet as will be discussed further in this paper, while Mahler’s irony is omnipresent in his musical works, it does not signal a kind of resignation. While he is clearly invested in a funeral dirge and referred to the woodcut image of “The Huntsman’s Funeral,” where the animals of the forest lead the hunter to his grave. In the scherzo of the Second Symphony, the Wunderhorn song “Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt” inspires the melody of the movement. In the text of this song St. Anthony goes to the church to preach, but finding no one there he preaches instead to the fish. However, like humans, the fish pretend to listen and then return to their ordinary ways immediately after he finishes his speech. Both movements are musical examples of dramatic irony, in which the audience grasps the innate contradiction between the intention of what should be happening (a funeral march and a sermon) and the reality that undermines it, but the characters within do not.

63 Carl Niekerk writes that Mahler’s irony “illustrates Nietzsche’s philosophical print that a return to religion, to old mythologies, can only be illusory” (“Mahler contra Wagner” 202). It is true that Mahler did not advocate a return to dogmatic religion, but while he questions these old mythologies, his belief in the inherent truthfulness of the voice of the Volk, and their expression of these ideas through Volkslieder, suggests that he did not give up on the desire for redemption that remains their underlying message.
depicting the world as it is, what Adorno would call *Weltschmerz*, his consistent return to the idea of redemption suggests that he never believed that all hope was lost.\textsuperscript{64}

Therefore, Mahler’s interest in these two *Volkslieder* is unsurprising, when one considers the context of his concerns with nationalism (albeit an apolitical nationalist spirit of the *Volk*) and social justice.\textsuperscript{65} His desire to create music for the people that would reflect their concerns resonates with Lipiner’s view of art, stated in the letters to Malwida von Meysenbug, that it is through the suffering and hunger of the people that redemption is achieved. Moreover, this message would be made apparent to his listeners through their own language, the *Volkslied*.

### 4.4. Mahler’s Symphony of Life after Death

Mahler’s *Fourth Symphony* was composed in the summers between 1899 and 1901, but according to Paul Bekker, sketches dating back to 1895 suggest that it was probably conceived simultaneously with the *Third Symphony*. The original organization of the work, published in Bekker’s 1916 monograph on Mahler and his music appear as follows:

- Symphony No. 4 (Humoreske)
- No 1: Die Welt als ewige Jetztzeit
- No 2: Das irdische Leben
- No 3: Caritas (Adagio)
- No 4: Morgenglocken

\textsuperscript{64} Adorno writes: “Mahler ist ein spätes Glied der Tradition des europäischen Weltschmerzes. Gleichnisse des Welträns sind bei ihm durchweg die ziellos in sich kreisenden, unaufhaltsamen Sätze, das perpetuum mobile. Das leere Getriebe ohne Selbstbestimmung ist das Immergleiche” (Adorno 14) / “Mahler is a late link in the tradition of European Weltschmerz. The aimlessly circling, irresistible movements, the perpetual motion of his music, are always images of the world’s course. Empty activity devoid of autonomy is the never-changing” (Jephcott 6).

\textsuperscript{65} Here Mahler’s notion of community is closer to that expressed by Schlegel in his *Rede über die Mythologie* (1800), in which the ideal community of the Volk should transcend nationalism (“Mahler contra Wagner” 195). For more on Mahler’s relationship to German nationalism and nationalist music, see Jason Heilman’s dissertation “O du mein Österreich: Patriotic Music and Multinational Identity in the Austro-Hungarian Empire” (2009).
Like the Third Symphony, discussed in the previous chapter, this sketch reveals numbered movements with programmatic titles. Several scholars have linked these titles to other works of Mahler; for example, “Morgenglocken” probably became the fifth movement of the Third Symphony which Mahler also gave the same name, before changing it to “Was mir die Engeln erzählen.” Moreover, this sketch also shows the song “Das himmlische Leben” as the finale for the work, while other drafts reveal that for a time Mahler considered making it the seventh movement and finale if the Third.\(^\text{67}\) In the end, however, he settled on a four-movement work organized in the form of a classical symphonic style, with a sonata-allegro opening movement, a scherzo, slow movement and a finale. Moreover, the length of the work (the complete Fourth Symphony can be performed in the same amount of time as the first movement of his Third

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\(^\text{66}\) Symphony No. 4 (Humoresque)  
No. 1: The World as Eternal Now  
No. 2 The Earthly Life  
No. 3 Caritas (Adagio)  
No. 4 Morning bells  
No. 5 The World Without Gravity  
No. 6 The Heavenly Life  

\(^\text{67}\) Mahler held on to the idea of using “Das himmlische Leben” as the finale for the Third Symphony during the composition of a number of the other movements for this work. Therefore, even though he eventually rejected this plan, a number of musical references to the song can still be found in the Third Symphony. For example, in the fifth movement of this work, the song “Es sungen drei Engel,” as in “Das himmlische Leben,” the children’s voices evoke similar ideas of innocence and naivété, and in both songs it is the voice of the child, who reveals the truths of heavenly joy. In the “Engel” movement, the boys’ choir articulates the key message of the song in the final bars: “Liebe nur Gott!” “Die himmlische Freud’ ist eine selige Stadt, die himmlische Freud’, die kein Ende mehr hat.” Similarly, in “Das himmlische Leben,” which in the program of the Third Symphony would have been called, “Was mir das Kind erzählt,” the soprano voice embodies the voice of the child, revealing the message of “die himmlische Freude” that is to be found in this heavenly realm. Furthermore, Donald Mitchell writes that the alto-solo’s lines in “Es sungen drei Engel,” “Ich hab’ übertreten die zehn Gebot” and “ach komm und erbarme mich,” have a direct reference in “Das himmlische Leben” in the lines: “Wir führen ein geduldig’s, unschuldig’s, geduldig’s, ein liebliches Lämmlein zu Tod!” According to Mitchell, the “sobbing” oboe line and the running sixteenth notes in the clarinet and violins links these two images musically: that of the penitent and that of the sacrifice of an innocent lamb (315). This image therefore also draws a connection between the suffering sinner and Christ, who is often represented by the image of the sacrificial lamb.
Symphony) is much more in line with the “classical norm” (Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies 116).  

Most significant, however, is that Mahler placed “Das irdische Leben” as the second movement, a plan that he eventually rejected. Instead, he chose to include the song in a collection of *Wunderhorn* Lieder that he published in 1899. If Mahler ever spoke of his reasons for removing “Das irdische Leben” from the *Fourth Symphony*, these remarks were never published or recorded, but a letter from Bruno Walter to the musicologist Ludwig Scheidermair in 1901 reveal one possibility. Walter emphasizes to Scheidermair, that the music was not intended to be programmatic: “durch kein Programm würde man zum Verständnis dieses Werkes oder einer andern Mahler’schen Symphonie gelangen; es ist absolute Musik und unlitterarisch von Anfang bis Ende” (BWB 50). Therefore, it is possible that Mahler was worried that two songs, which present the voice of a dying child and the second that of a child in heaven, would be perceived as an attempt to create a narrative for his music.

Such a claim seems even more plausible when one looks at the structure of the songs. “Das irdische Leben” is in a ballad form, much like that of Goethe’s poem “Der Erlkönig.”

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68 Despite appearances, however, Mahler’s *Fourth* is hardly a “classical” symphony in the style of Haydn or Mozart. Julian Johnson writes that the *Fourth Symphony* is “a self-conscious piece of stylistic artifice,” that is, it gives the impression of following classical norms while in fact distancing itself from the model with “subtle exaggerations and deformations” (107). Furthermore, Mahler’s remarks to Natalie Bauer-Lechner reveal that the designations of style that mark the movements of classical symphonies were insignificant to him. In reference to the third movement, Bauer-Lechner writes: “Mahler sprach von diesem Satze bald als ‘Adagio’, bald als “Andante. Als ich ihn darüber fragte, antwortete er, er könnte es ebenso gut Moderato, Allegro oder Presto nennen, denn alles komme darin vor” (NBL 163) / “Mahler sometimes called this movement ‘Adagio,’ sometimes ‘Andante.’ When I questioned him about this, he replied that he could just as well call it Moderato, Allegro or Presto, for it includes them all” (NBLE 153).

69 “Through no program would one come to an understanding of this work or any other Mahlerian symphonie; it is absolute music from beginning to end.”

70 See Chapter 1 regarding Mahler’s ambivalent feelings toward program music.
popularized as a song by Franz Schubert’s setting in 1815. In “Das irdische Leben,” two voices are present, the narrator, who explains the events of the song, and voice of the child, pleading to its mother, “Mutter, ach Mutter, es hungert mich.” The fact that Mahler set the text for one voice (much as Schubert did with “Der Erlkönig”) suggests that the singer should have a certain distance from the text, that he or she is “an uninvolved, disinterested spectator” (Cone 6). Yet a number of scholars, including John Williamson, have drawn attention to Mahler’s setting of the narrator’s lines, particularly the repetition of the phrase “rief das Kind noch immerdar” in which parallel six-three chords create a sharp dissonance that suggests “a loss of the narrator’s impartiality, a sudden declaration of sympathy with the suffering child” (La Grange II: 743).

Figure 31: "Das irdische Leben," mm. 70-74

This would appear to correspond to Edward T. Cone’s concept of lyrical narrative that he uses to describe “Der Erlkönig,” in which the accompaniment functions as a narrator, “not one who is a participating character in his own story, but one who...describes events in which he does not want to take part” (12). Of the multiple speakers in Das irdische Leben: the child, the narrator, and the music, the expendible voice for Mahler was the narrator, for as Mahler claimed to Max Kalbeck around the time he was composing the Fourth Symphony, “keine Musik ist etwas wert,

Knapp also suggests a connection between Mahler’s Fourth Symphony and “Der Erlkönig,” but he relates it to the scherzo second movement of the work, which will be discussed later in this chapter (244).
von der man dem Hörer zuerst berichten muß, was darin erlebt ist” (GMB 296). An omnicient narrator’s voice, however, is not present in “Das himmlische Leben,” where the whole song is sung from one perspective, that of a child. Therefore, it is not surprising that, given his desire to move away from programs and programmatic music, Mahler would be hesitant to include the balladic song in his symphony. By removing the voice of the narrator, Mahler allows the music to set the stage for the listener. Moreover, by saving “Das himmlische Leben” for the finale, this Volkslied became the centerpoint and climax of the Fourth Symphony.

However, even though Mahler omitted the voice of the dying child from the symphony, there are slight references to “Das irdische Leben” throughout the work, suggesting that this image of the suffering, hungering Volk was not far from his mind. Carolyn Abbate suggests that “unsung voices” are omnipresent in nineteenth-century instrumental music; that is to say, the music has a narrating voice akin to that of the singing voice in opera. Moreover, this voice is “not merely an instrumental imitation of singing, but rather is marked by multiple disjunctions with the music surrounding it” (Abbate 19). Therefore, the references to “Das irdische Leben” are not overt, but rather similarities in rhythm and melody that either create an atmosphere or mark a moment of rupture with the music around it. These subtle hints to the earthly tragedy of the child’s death reveal a more complete vision of Mahler’s idea of life after death – heavenly redemption is not an escape from the earthly, but a transformation of being that brings resolution to these sufferings.

I mentioned earlier that “Das himmlische Leben” and “Das irdische Leben” were composed as parallel works, and that Mahler linked the two together musically through the

72 “No music is worth it, when one must report to the listener, what is experienced in it”
rhythmic figure of pulsing, percussive eighth notes in the sleighbells and winds. The development of rhythmical figures was important for Mahler’s Lied composition. Monika Tibbe writes that for Mahler’s Volkslieder “ist Sinn und Ausdrucksgehalt des Textes weniger wichtig als das metrische Gerüst” (15).\(^73\) In this way, many of his songs are linked back to their origins in dance. Tibbe notes, for example, that both the scherzos of the Second and Third symphonies were inspired by Volkslieder from Des Knaben Wunderhorn, “Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt” and “Ablösung im Sommer.”\(^74\) “Das irdische Leben,” while not following the strict form of a dance, does have dance-like rhythmical figures in it. In addition to the alternating eighth-note figure in the opening, which establishes a hopping or skipping feel to the music, Mahler also designates the strings to play saltando, bouncing the bow low across the strings as though leaping or jumping.

![Figure 32: "Das irdische Leben," mm. 63-64](image)

Furthermore, the chromatic sixteenth-note runs and arpeggio figures, what Mahler described as the “unheimlichen, wie im Sturm dahinsausenden Tönen der Begleitung,” (“the uncanny accompaniment, dashing in like a storm”), call to mind Mahler’s previous scherzos, which all accentuate the feeling of perpetual motion that he associated with the mechanistic passing of time on earth. Finally, as Knapp notes, the dactylic rhythm of the child’s lines “Mutter, ach Mutter, es hungert mich,” recalls another image of dancing in the final verse of “Das himmlische Leben”

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\(^73\) “The meaning and expressive content of the text is less important than the metrical framework”

\(^74\) Mahler specifically links the image of dancing to the song “Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt” in the Second when he describes the movement as though one were looking in at ballroom dancers “from a distance so great that you can no longer hear the music (GMBE 189).
when the child sings “Elf tausend Jungfrauen zu tanzen sich trauen!” The reference in this song is to St. Ursula, who died a virgin martyr (24). Mahler’s emphasizes the line of the poem that speaks of innocent martyrs, by echoing it in the melody of “Das irdische Leben,” as the innocent child cries for help, linking the image of a heavenly waltz to a much more grim kind of dance, the dance of death.

This idea is further supported by the fact that although in the end Mahler decided not to include “Das irdische Leben,” in the **Fourth Symphony**, he instead composed a scherzo inspired by the idea of a Todentanz, or a dance of death. According to Bruno Walter, Mahler once described the second movement as “Freund Hein spielt zum Tanz auf; der Tod streicht recht absonderlich die Fiedel und geigt uns in den Himmel hinauf” (BWB 51). Paul Bekker also describes this movement as evoking the image of the “im freundlich legendären Sinne aufgefaßt als der mit seiner Fidel lockende Führer, der seine Herde musizierung aus dem Diesseits ins

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75 For more on the life of Saint Ursula, see Calomino (2006)
76 I say “echoed” because “Das himmlische Leben” was composed first; therefore the motive must have been borrowed from it for “Das irdische Leben.”
77 “Freund Hein strikes up the dance; death bows strangely upon the fiddle, playing us up to heaven.” In a performance of the **Fourth Symphony** in Amsterdam on 23 October 1904, Mahler also made reference to this image by listing the second movement as “Scherzo. In gemächlicher Bewegung (Todentanz),” however this reference to the dance of death is missing in the autograph and first edition (**Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies** 122).
Instead of recalling the story of the dying child (too literal for the symphony), Mahler chose instead to evoke the popular image of Death as the fiddler. In order to create this image musically Mahler ordered that the violin soloist tune his instrument a tone higher (Scordatura) in order to make it screeching and rough sounding “wie wenn der Tod aufspielt” (“as when death strikes up”) (NBL 162). The out of tune violin, like the sleighbells, creates a disturbing atmosphere for the movement, emphasized even more by the contrast of this opening theme with a gentle Ländler-inspired second theme (which, as Floros notes, anticipates the theme from the final verse of “Das himmlische Leben,”), suggesting that death is not always frightening, but rather two-faced (Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies 125). This gentle melody contrasts the opening theme, which Frederic Celestini claims, is characterized by elements of the musical grotesque: “col legno-Stelle der Streicher, chromatische Verzerrungen, starre Tonwiederholung, plötzliche Pizzicatos in sehr hohen Lagen, weite Glissandos der Celli sowie schrille Klänge” (86). Moreover, Mahler’s description of the scherzo as “mystisch, verworren und unheimlich, dass euch dabei die Haare zu Berge stehen werden” (NBL 163), suggests that he was hoping to evoke the same type of emotion as “Das irdische Leben,” where the tempo and style marking “unheimlich bewegt,” calls to mind uneasiness or eeriness.  

78 “The leader with his fiddle, grasped in the friendly legendary means, who musically accompanies the herd from this world to the next” 
79 According to Constantin Floros, Mahler could have been inspired by such literary texts as Franz Grillparzer’s Der arme Spielmann (1848) or artworks, such as Böckleins’ Self-portrait with Fiddling Death (1872) (Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies 122). Another similar image can be found in Hugo von Hofmannstahl’s Der Tor und der Tod (1893). 
80 “The Col-legno (on the wood) bow placement of the strings, chromatic runs, fixed tone repetition, sudden pizzicatos in high ranges, wide glissandos of the celli, as well as shrill sounds” 
81 “So mystical, confused, and uncanny that it will make your hair stand on end” (NBLE 152) 
82 Celestini also notes that Freud’s definition of “das Unheimliche”, “jene Art des Schreckenhaften, welche auf das Altbekannte, Längstvertraute zurückgeht” (quoted in Celestini 78) certainly plays a role here – the music of “Das irdische Leben” is disturbing because it is somehow familiar. The whirling perpetual motion theme recalls the emotions of despair and longing for escape from the never-ending struggle of everyday life. This is what Adorno calls Weltschmerz.
The image of the child appears again in Mahler’s description of the third movement of the Fourth Symphony. According to Bruno Walter’s letter to Scheidermair, this movement expresses similar emotions:

“Sankt Ursula selbst dazu lacht” könnte der dritte Satz genannt werden, die ernsteste der Heiligen lacht, so heiter ist dieser Sphäre; d.h. sie lächelt nur, und zwar lächelt sie so, erzählte mir Mahler, wie die Monumente der alten Ritter oder Prälaten, die man beim Durchschreiten alter Kirchen mit über der Brust gefalteten Händen sieht, und die das kaum bemerkbare, friedenvolle Lächeln des zu ruhiger Seligkeit hinübergeschlummerten Menschenkindes haben; feierliche selige Ruhe, ernste, milde, Heiterkeit ist der Charakter dieses Satzes, dem auch teif schmerzliche Kontraste – wenn Sie so wollen, als Reminiszenzen des Erdenlebens – sowie eine Steigerung der Heiterkeit ins Lebhafte nicht fehlen.83

Here Mahler’s description introduces the image of Saint Ursula, who will be mentioned in the final movement, in the song “Das himmlische Leben.” In his comments to Natalie Bauer-Lechner, he elaborates further on the meaning of this symbolic saint. Bauer-Lechner writes:

“einmal nannte er das Andante auch das Lächeln der heiligen Ursula und sagte, dass ihm dabei aus der Kindheit das mit tiefer Traurigkeit und wie durch Tränen lachende Antlitz seiner Mutter vorschwebe, die auch unendlich gelitten, aber alles immer liebend aufgelöst und vergeben habe” (NBL 163).84 In Mahler’s “program,” therefore, Saint Ursula is identified not only as an innocent martyr, but also as a mother, laughing through tears. This description calls to mind another

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83 “‘St. Ursula Stands by Laughing’ could be the title of the third movement. The most serious of the saints is laughing, so cheerful is this life. Actually, she only smiles – a smile, as Mahler told me, like the ones on monuments of old knights or prelates (seen when walking through old churches), with their hands folded over their chests and the faint, peaceful smile of the departed who has found calm bliss. Solemn rest and serious gentle cheerfulness characterizes this movement, but it also contains deep, painful contrasts, like reminiscences of earthly life. At times cheerfulness grows into vivacity” (Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies 114).

84 “Another time, he called the Andante ‘St. Ursula’s smile,’ and said that in it, his mother’s face, recalled from childhood, had hovered before his mind’s eye: sad and yet laughing, as if through tears. For she, too, had suffered endlessly, but had always resolved everything in love and forgiveness” (NBLE 152-153).
mother, that of the child in “Das irdische Leben” who continually ignored her child’s pleas for food in “Das irdische Leben.” But while the mother in the song appeared heartless and unresponsive (emphasized by the monotonous tone of her replies “Warte nur, warte nur mein liebes Kind”), this mother is suffering, perhaps from the loss of her child. This explanation is even more plausible when one considers Mahler’s personal identification of Saint Ursula with his mother, who lost seven children in infancy. Moreover, Mahler’s comment that his mother resolved everything in love and forgiveness, suggests another underlying theme of the symphony, the restoration of the relationship between parent and child, which is also central to Lipiner’s Christus.

Therefore, when the symphony reaches its culmination in the song, “Das himmlische Leben,” the goal is much more than just a child’s vision of heaven. The heavenly life offers the opportunity for the hungering, suffering Volk to return to a kind of child-like innocence. However, this is not a regression to childhood, but a rediscovery of the child within humanity in relation to a parental divinity, further emphasizing the reconciliation suggested in the Adagio conclusion to Mahler’s Third Symphony. That this vision of heaven in not entirely separate from the earthly life is emphasized by the consistent juxtaposition between the hymn-like gesture at the end of each strophe and the return of the sleighbells, a contrast that appears strident and almost violent. Yet the resolution of this conflict between the earthly and heavenly is achieved in the final stanza of “das himmlische Leben,” when the sleighbells cease and there is a transition from the bodily to the spiritual in the text of the poem. The final lines,

Kein Musik ist ja nicht auf Erden,
Die uns’rer verglichen kann werden.
Cäcilia mit ihren Verwandten
Sind treffliche Hofmusikanten!
reveal a shift in focus from food for the body, to food for the soul: music.

The intention of Lipiner’s Christus trilogy was to create the dramatic moment of redemption on stage through the lives of such important biblical figures as Mary Magdalene, Judas and Saint Paul. His goal was to reestablish the vision of humanity as Gotteskinder by showing how, through Christ, the heavenly realm could be brought to earth, relieving the suffering of the Volk. However, this work remained without a satisfactory conclusion.

Mahler, in a similar way, turned to images of religious, saintly figures encapsulated in folk music to illustrate his vision of life after death. The image of the Volk as Gotteskinder is implied by his use of Volkslieder and folk music elements to evoke the image of the child, reconciled with his parent and redeemed through his innocent, naïve nature. The resolution of the symphony with the redemption power of music is immortalized in the text of the song by the image of Saint Cecilia and the voices of the angels and in the tonal transition from the home or “earthly” key of G major to the “heavenly” key of E, outside of the diatonic realm of G. However, like the redemption brought by Christ in Lipiner’s dramatic tetralogy, this redemption will be realized on earth. This idea is demonstrated in the music, as the final notes of the song that echo after the voice has died away are the oscillating motive played by the harp. Again, it is a simple, dance-like figure that remains in the listeners mind; while the text leads us to believe that we have ascended to realm beyond the earth, this folk element, first introduced in “Das irdische

\[85\text{“No music exists on earth, / That could be compared to ours. / Cecilia with her relatives / Are splendid court musicians! / The angelic voices / Enliven the senses! / So that everything awakens to joy!” (Knapp 19).} \]
Leben,” suggests that we are back where we began, yet rather than the urgent pulsating figure of sleighbells, we are lulled to sleep in a gentle rocking motion.

Figure 35: Symphony No. 4, Movement IV, mm. 175-184

The final link that brings together Lipiner’s tetrology and Mahler’s symphonic works is the idea of a tetrology, inspired by Wagner’s Der Ring der Nibelung. According to Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Mahler believed that his first four symphonies could be conceived of as a cycle. She writes: “in Bezug auf die drei vorhergehenden Symphonien betonte Mahler den engen Zusammenhang der Vierten mit jenen, die erst durch diese ihren Abschluß erhalten. Sie seien zu viert dem Inhalt und Aufbau nach eine durchaus in sich geschlossene Tetralogie” (NBL 164). It is likely that Mahler inherited this idea from Lipiner’s Christus. Correspondance between the writer and composer between 1898 and 1900 refer to this work, and we know that Mahler at least read Adam in full, which he greatly admired. In particular, a letter dated 19. August 1900, written while Mahler was in the middle of composing the Fourth Symphony, reveals that he was also aware of the increasing difficulty his friend was having in finishing his tetrology. Mahler wrote to Lipiner: “Ich habe immer die Empfindung, als ob das 4. Drama Deines Christus die Barriere ware, über die es Dir zunächst so schwer ist, hinüberzuspringen...Einfach die Magdalena hinschreiben – und später die Judas, und dann wird der Johannes klar vor Deinen Augen stehen!”

86 “Referring to the three preceding symphonies, Mahler emphasized the close connection of the Fourth with these, to which it forms a conclusion. In their content and structure, the four of them form a perfectly self-contained tetralogy” (NBLE 154).
Unlike Lipiner’s *Christus*, which was conceived from the beginning as a cycle, Mahler’s claim that his first four symphonies are a tetralogy was made after the works were already completed. Yet it suggests that Mahler was influenced by the idea of a dramatic cycle and demonstrates that, with the *Fourth Symphony*, he believed that had finally achieved what had been the goal of each of his previous works: to encapsulate the emotive experience of universal redemption through his artwork, the symphony.

4.5. The Redemption of Mahler and Lipiner’s *Gotteskinder*

The message that the artwork should be an expression of the people is a recurrent message throughout Mahler and Lipiner’s commentaries on their works. Wagner’s early socialist writings and the epic structure of *Der Ring des Nibelungen* provided an important framework for their understanding of art as the work of a utopian community, offering a means of redemption from the struggles of earthly life. However, in the end, Mahler and Lipiner took their vision of redemption in a different direction from Wagner’s ritual-infused *Parsifal*. Their emphasis on the restoration of the parent-child relationship with a divine being can be traced back to a unique and personal struggle that they continually related to their artistic output: namely their experience as Jewish converts to Christianity.

Lipiner and Mahler both had conflicted relationships to their Jewish heritage. Lipiner spent his adult life trying to disassociate himself from his Jewish cultural identity and both poet and composer were actively involved in the nationalist, Pan-German student movements in

87 “I can’t help feeling that the fourth drama in your *Christus* cycle is the barrier you are still finding it so hard to get over…just write the *Magdalene* and *Judas* and after a while *John* will suddenly stand revealed before your eyes” (GMBE 244).
Vienna. Lipiner’s relationship to his Jewish identity is revealed in two important documents. The first is a letter to Nietzsche from 10 September 1877 in which he confesses to the philosopher “Ich bin Jude,” and claims, “ich wandere einsam meinen Weg,” describing his own sufferings as an artist and his inner pain and loneliness (KGB II/6: 695). The second instance is a letter to his friend, the publisher Moritz Necker in 1885 in which he encourages his friend “dein verfluctes Judentum loszuwerden” (MN). However, while Lipiner might have encouraged conversion, a step that he himself finally took in 1891, he did not voice his feelings about his Jewish identity publicly, nor did he address this issue overtly in his works.

In a similar way, Mahler was highly aware of his Jewish background, yet did not proudly self-identify as a Jew. When he took the position as the Director of the Vienna Court Opera, however, his identity became a publicly discussed issue, as much of the critique voiced against him in the Viennese press, was expressed through anti-Semitic stereotypes and slanders. Given the fact that the *Fourth Symphony* was the first work composed after Mahler took this position, this issue of his Jewish identity could not have been far from his mind at this time.\(^8\)

Moreover, it must also be mentioned that Wagner’s place as a formative role model for Mahler and Lipiner was also complicated by the popular appropriation of Wagner’s writings on Jews in art into the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the turn of the century. A number of scholars have explored Wagner’s relationship to Jews, looking back to his conflicted relationship with the Jewish composer Giacomo Meyerbeer, and uncertainty about the possible Jewish identity of his

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\(^8\) See Alma’s memoirs for Mahler’s specific comments on Jews while they were living in New York (AMM 199). The question of whether or not Mahler consciously or unconsciously composed “Jewish” music is of course tangential to this argument, but cannot be discussed in depth here. See Knapp and Draughon, (2001) and Niekerk (2010).
Wagner voiced his opinions in the essay, “Das Judentum und die Musik” (“Jews and Music,” published anonymously in 1850 and then again in 1869 under his own name) in which he attacked Jews as foreigners and imposters and therefore unable to create true art. While is true that Wagner’s comments against Jews were motivated by deep-seeded cultural stereotypes and not based in a clear scientific, anti-Semitic racial theory, they were still well publicized, widely read, and certainly known to Lipiner and Mahler. Natalie Bauer-Lechner recalls a conversation with Mahler during rehearsals for a performance of Wagner’s Ring in September 1898, in which the composer made reference to the Jewish characteristics that Wagner intentionally attributed to the character of Mime. Mahler identified himself with this character, commenting, “Ich weiß nur einen Mimen…und der bin ich!” (NBL 122). As Carl Niekerk writes, such a comment provides evidence that Mahler was indeed conscious of Wagner’s use of Jewish cultural stereotypes and interacting with them (Reading Mahler 15).

Moreover, the concept of the Volk, to which Lipiner was particularly drawn in Wagner’s early writings, also become more and more problematic at the fin-de-siècle, as nationalist movements increasingly excluded Jews from being considered members of this traditional German cultural community. Therefore, as Mahler and Lipiner were composing works that were

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89 It must also be noted that despite Wagner’s vocal statements against Jews, he had a number of Jewish admirers and even friends, including the conductor Hermann Levi. For more on this topic see, for example, Weiner (1995), Werner (1985), and Magee (2000).

90 Niekerk writes that “at the core of Wagner’s cultural agenda is the idea that German culture needs to be cleansed from foreign influences: this means not just the French and Italians, but especially the Jews, the foreigners dwelling within German culture” (Reading Mahler 17).

91 “I know only one Mime…and I am him!”

92 Mahler was also personally affected by the anti-Jewish prejudices of Wagner’s wife, Cosima; she tried to prevent his appointment as director of the Vienna Court Opera.
clearly influenced by Christian texts and German folk culture, it was necessary to redefine the *Volk* in a vision of redemption that would be open to all.

They accomplished this task by turning once again to an unorthodox aesthetic-religion, inspired by Christianity and yet hardly dogmatic. In *Christus* and the *Fourth Symphony* we see a return to religions’s roots; Lipiner’s work is inspired by Biblical stories, but clearly imprinted with his own philosophy of art, while Mahler replaces the fire and brimstone of Judgment Day by images of folk and religious legends (Freund Hein and the comical litany of saints in “Das himmlische Leben”). In both cases, the figure of the child returning to the parent is central, emphasizing once again the reimaging of God from absent tyrant, to a heroic martyr, to a being one with nature, and finally to a loving father. This return is not an easy journey; Mahler makes this evident by the constant presence of irony in his orchestration, which suggests that the longing for redemption is innately contradictory to the world’s course, the “weltlich getummel” that characterizes the earthly life. Most importantly, however, the redemption that Lipiner and Mahler envision is clearly universal, designed to provide hope to suffering *Gotteskinder* everywhere, a community that was neither exclusively Jewish nor Christian, but rather, all-encompassing.

In the end, only Mahler was successful in completing his tetralogy and these works were the last to be composed under the guiding vision of Lipiner. In 1902, Mahler met and married Alma Schindler, and Alma and Lipiner’s immediate dislike for one another was the straw that broke the camels back in the already-strained relationship between poet and composer. After Mahler and Alma’s marriage, Lipiner became estranged from the composer, a rift that would not be bridged for another eight years. In this time, Lipiner apparently continued work on the *Christus* trilogy, but no longer published any more original works, for reasons that are still
unknown. Perhaps it was his rejection by Wagner and Nietzsche at such a young age which permanently shattered his confidence; perhaps it was what Engelbert Pernerstorfer called his “kritischer Kopf,” which kept him from every being satisfied with the final project (124). Mahler, on the other hand, went on to compose six more symphonies and a number of song cycles, yet his artistic output was to be significantly different. The Volkslieder of Des Knaben Wunderhorn no longer played a role in his symphonies and he ceased altogether from writing programs for his works, particularly ones with such literary redemptive narratives.

The two statements at the beginning of this chapter reveal that at the heart of Lipiner and Mahler’s artworks was a desire to connect to their audiences in a very personal way. Art was not to provide an escape, but rather was meant to inspire change in the world. Although their close working relationship ended with Christus and the Fourth Symphony, these words reveal that for both poet and composer, the creation of art was a very personal mission for them, one that reflected their own need to find meaning and to set to right the injustices that they experienced in their everyday lives.
Epilogue

Was Mahler an Lipiner gefesselt hat, ob es nur die Superiorität des Wissens war, ob er in dem Geist des anderen Wesenheiten fand, die ihn wirklich bereicherten, vermag ich aus eigener Wahrnehmung nicht zu sagen, und was die Freunde berichten, ist so widerspruchsvoll, dass es kein Bild gibt. Wenn Lipiners Werke der Öffentlichkeit übergeben werden, wird man auch dieses “Stück Mahler” besser verstehen. Aber wenn man sie nebeneinander sah, war es, als ob sie einander bedurften, um sich selbst betätigen zu können, und gerade ihr Unterscheidendes hat die Freundschaft der beiden Männer möglich gemacht. (Specht 37)¹

Richard Specht, Gustav Mahler, 1926

By the turn of the century, Mahler and Lipiner’s personal and intellectual friendship had begun to suffer significant strain. As director of the opera in Vienna, Mahler rose to fame and success just as Lipiner’s literary career was waning, circumstances that undoubtedly bruised the ego of the legendarily proud and self-confident poet. Their correspondence reflects a shift in their mentor-mentee relationship at this time; a letter from August 1900 reveals Mahler encouraging Lipiner to continue work on the Christus trilogy, despite an apparent case of writer’s block. A short time later, he wrote again with some hesitant suggestions for character development in the poet’s play Hippolytos (1900/1913). Lipiner did not take kindly to his protégé’s criticism and demanded that the manuscript be returned. In response, Mahler wrote a more deferent letter, praising Lipiner’s work, and respectfully acknowledging his inferior knowledge on the subject.

¹ “What fascinated Mahler about Lipiner, whether it was only the superiority of knowledge, whether he found in him an essence that truly enriched him, I cannot say from my own perception, and what friends report is so contradictory that it does not present us with a picture of it. When Lipiner’s works are made public, this ‘piece of Mahler’ will be better understood. But when one saw them beside one another, it was as though they needed one another, in order to be able work, and it was exactly their difference that made their friendship possible.”
with the comment, “Sollte ich jedoch nicht richtig verstanden haben, so bitte ich um ein aufklärendes Wort” (287).  

In Mahler’s personal life, other developments added to the tensions with Lipiner. In November of 1901, the composer met the young Alma Schindler, stepdaughter of the famous painter and founder of the Viennese Secession, Carl Moll, at a dinner party at the home of the Zuckerkandls. The speedy courtship, which led to a proposal of marriage by the end of December, caused something of a scandal amongst Mahler’s friends. Bruno Walter writes that many of them, including Lipiner, learned of the engagement by reading about it in the newspaper, suggesting that the composer may have anticipated their critiques of a bride nearly twenty years his junior. Perhaps Mahler’s intuition was correct, as Alma, opinionated and stubborn, made no attempt to ingratiate herself to her fiancé’s inner circle. In early January 1902, Mahler held a dinner party to introduce Alma to his friends, including Lipiner and his wife, the Spieglers, Mahler’s sister Justine, and the singer Anna von Mildenburg. In addition to being rather outspoken in her thoughts on art and philosophy, Alma greatly offended the company by responding to an inquiry about Mahler’s music with the quip: “Ich kenne wenig, aber was ich kenne, gefällt mir nicht” (AME 50). In her memoirs, Alma expresses her particular disdain for Lipiner, whom she found to be patronizing and condescending. She describes him as “ein böses, hartes Tier, die Augen viel zu nah beisammen, darüber ein enormer kahler Schädel. Er stieß beim

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2 “If I should not have understood aright, do please enlighten me” (GMBE 246).

3 Berta Zuckerkandl was married to a professor at the University of Vienna, and hosted a salon that was frequented by many important figures of art and society at the time. At the dinner party where Mahler met Alma on 7 November 1901, the Secessionist painter Gustav Klimt and former director of the Burgtheater, Max Burckhardt, were both in attendance (LaGrange II: 418).

4 Walter wrote to his parents on 30 December 1901 that Mahler “hat alle mit seiner Verlobung überrascht; selbst Lipiners und Spieglers habe es durch die Zeitung erfahren; auch wir natürlich” (BWB 53).

5 “I know very little of it, but what I do know I don’t like” (AMM 24).
Reden mit der Zunge an. Er goethelte, wenn er schreibe und mauschelte, wenn er sprach” (AME 51). The animosity was mutual, as revealed by a lengthy letter that Lipiner wrote to Mahler following the meeting: “Von Alma muss ich reden…das brennt mir auf der Seele, denn ich bin an dem Abend mit ihr fertig geworden” (SLGM). Lipiner was scandalized by Alma’s behavior toward the other guests and rebuked her lack of respect: “von Deiner Braut aber war zu erwarten, dass sie nicht bloss diese Unnatur, Seichtigkeit und Lieblosigkeit gegenüber Menschen, die sich noch gar nicht persönlich kennt, perhorresciere (sic), sondern dass sie in einen Kreis von Menschen, die sie durch Dich schon kennt, im besten Sinne, als Deine alten von dir gehätzten Freunden kennt, mit Herzlichkeit, mit Freudigkeit, mit Vertrauen…eintrete” (SLGM). According to Lipiner, Mahler’s attitude was also inappropriate, as the composer spent the entire evening talking to Alma, to the neglect of his friends. Although Lipiner later followed up with a more conciliatory letter, offering to forgive Mahler for his offenses that evening, the friendship suffered a great blow. Alma and Mahler were married on 9 March 1902 at the Karlskirche in Vienna, but Lipiner was not present. They would not meet again until 1909, in a reconciliation brought about by their mutual friend, the conductor Bruno Walter.

During the nearly eight years of their estrangement, Mahler composed prolifically (both symphonies and lieder), and continued his responsibilities as director of the court opera, and for a short time, the Vienna Philharmonic. His musical style is noticeably different in this middle

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6 “He was an ill-natured, harsh-tempered brute – his eyes much too close together and surmounted by an enormous bald skull. He had a stammer; he was a bogus Goethe in his writing and a haggling Oriental in his talk” (AMM 25).

7 “I must speak of Alma… it burns my soul, for I am, as of this evening, finished with her”

8 “From your bride it was expected that she not just abominate this artificiality, shallowness and uncharitableness against people that she does not know personally at all, rather that she join with cordiality, joyfulness, and trust into a circle of people that she knows through you, in the best case, that she knows as your old, treasured friends.”
period; the programs, texts and redemptive narratives, which have been shown in this dissertation to be so closely linked to Lipiner’s vision of aesthetic-religious redemption, are conspicuously missing from Mahler’s Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh symphonies. Moreover, the rift seems to have also had a significant impact on the poet as well. After Hippolytos, the last dramatic work that he showed to Mahler, Lipiner appears to have resigned himself to his bureaucratic duties at the Parliament library in Vienna. He no longer sought to publish any more of his poetic works.

Although Mahler was not in direct contact with Lipiner during this time, it is possible that his former mentor was not far from his thoughts. One intriguing piece of evidence in support of this claim is a letter from Lipiner to Alma, dated 12 March 1906, apparently responding to a request for a manuscript on Goethe’s Faust that Lipiner had written. The document to which she refers is likely Lipiner’s dissertation, “Homonculus, eine Studie über Faust und die Philosophie Goethes” from 1894. The timing of this letter corresponds with the composition of Mahler’s Eighth Symphony (1906), a work which pairs the Catholic hymn “Veni Creator Spiritus,” with a setting of the final scene from Goethe’s Faust II. In this letter, Lipiner denies Alma’s request, writing of the document: “für deren Inhalt also ich Verdienst und Verantwortlichkeit ablehnen muss…so ganz anders sehe ich jetzt, wie Welt und Leben überhaupt, so auch die Kunst und speciell dieses Werk der Kunst” (AMS). This letter is puzzling for a number of reasons; first, it is strange that Mahler should not have written to Lipiner himself, as he had had such a close relationship with the composer for over twenty years. Second, of all the people to write this letter, Alma seems the most unlikely; given the fact that she expressed such disdain for the poet from the moment she met him. Mahler remained in contact with a number of their mutual friends.

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9 For the content of [this work] I must deny credit and responsibility…I see the world and life altogether, not to mention art, and especially this work of art, so differently now"
(Bruno Walter, for example, or his sister, Justine), who would have been much more likely to receive a positive response from the poet. As the original letter cannot be found, this correspondence remains a mystery. Yet, the letter does suggest that despite the break in their friendship, Mahler still considered Lipiner to be an authority on subjects of philosophy and literature, and instinctively turned to him when he wanted to express such ideas in his musical works.\textsuperscript{10}

Although Mahler did not receive Lipiner’s text on \textit{Faust}, the \textit{Eighth Symphony} does appear to be composed in homage to his former mentor.\textsuperscript{11} First, the format of the work is a return to the style of his first four symphonies, in which he integrates the human voice into a large-scale orchestral work. The first half of the piece is a cantata, based on a religious text, the hymn “\textit{Veni Creator Spiritus},” while the second is the setting of Goethe’s dramatic verses, which Floros claims, recalls “the realm of music drama and the redemption mystery reminiscent of \textit{Parsifal}” (\textit{Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies} 227). The juxtaposition of these two texts, and the reference to Wagner’s \textit{Bühnenweihfestspiel} would likely have intrigued Lipiner, whose fascination for the integration of sacred and secular texts occupied him throughout his life. Moreover, the theme of these two texts also resonates with the leitmotif of aesthetic-religious redemption in Lipiner’s (and Mahler’s early symphonic) oeuvre. In Mahler’s \textit{Eighth Symphony}, “\textit{Veni Creator Spiritus}” praises earthly love (Eros) and spiritual love (caritas), while the final scene of Goethe’s work depicts a man of the world (Faust), who strives and searches for ultimate knowledge, power, and

\textsuperscript{10} It is also possible that Lipiner did not possess a copy of the dissertation to share with Alma. There was a copy of the work in the archives of the University of Vienna, at least up until shortly after Lipiner’s death. In a letter to the Dean of the philosophy department in early 1912, Lipiner’s widow, Clementine, requests to borrow the document in order to make a copy for herself. Whether or not she returned the document is unknown. While the letter remains in the university archives, the actual manuscript can no longer be found.

\textsuperscript{11} For more on Lipiner’s possible influence on the \textit{Eighth Symphony}, see Niekerk (2010).
happiness, and ultimately achieves his goal in heaven, where he is redeemed by the higher spiritual force of a woman’s (Gretchen’s) love.

It is possible, however, that Mahler recalled another work by Lipiner, in which the poet had presented a Goethe-infused interpretation of the union of heavenly and earthly love: Hippolytos (1900/1913). As previously mentioned, Mahler had read and commented on this drama, in which the heroine, Phaedra, falls passionately in love with her stepson, the contemplative dreamer Hippolytos, who worships the virgin goddess Artemis. While Phaedra’s love for Hippolytos is earthly and sensual, resulting from a spell of lust put on her by the goddess Aphrodite, Hippolytos has a loftier, higher image of love. However, when tragic circumstances bring about Phaedra’s death, their souls “switch” - she comes to embody the "Seelenstille" (calm soul) for which Hippolytos now yearns. He must experience a passionate earthly desire for her, in order to be redeemed. At the end of the play, Hippolytos is comforted by the words of Artemis, who promises that Phaedra “will dich heben, will dich tragen – in das Heim der stillsten Göttin” (Hippolytos 153). These words seem to refer directly to “das ewig Weibliche zieht uns hinan” (“the Eternal Feminine draws us onward”), the final words of Goethe’s Faust II and of Mahler’s symphony. The central theme of both of Hippolytos and the Eighth Symphony, then, is that the love through which mankind will be redeemed is the perfect union of striving and stillness, the masculine and the feminine, an earthly passionate love and a holy, spiritual, compassionate love.

Mahler’s letter to Lipiner from 7 July 1910 provides evidence that he connected Lipiner’s philosophy with his work. Inviting the poet to the premiere of the Eighth Symphony in Munich that fall, Mahler wrote: “Es wäre herrlich, wenn Du kommen könntest. Du hättest sicherlich was

12 Hippolytos was not actually published until 1913, two years after Lipiner’s death; however, Mahler read the manuscript in 1900.
13 “Wants to lift you, to carry you into the home of the tranquil Goddess”
When one examines the themes of the two sections of the Eighth Symphony, this “piece of Lipiner’s soul” becomes clear. As Whalen writes: “Part I is liturgical and medieval, Part II is secular and modern. Yet the two texts carefully woven together musically are complementary. Part I calls for the descent of the divine to the Human. Part II recounts the ascent of the human to the divine” (213). This meeting of humanity with a sacred being or spirit is exactly what Mahler and Lipiner envisioned as the impetus for aesthetic-religious redemption, discussed in this study through the narratives of the heroic martyr, the Übermensch and the Volk.

Lipiner and Mahler’s estrangement came to an end sometime in 1909-1910. Letters from the composer to Bruno Walter from this time reveal that Mahler began asking for Lipiner while he was working in New York as Director of the Metropolitan Opera. At one point, Mahler mentions specifically that he was thinking of a conversation he had had with Lipiner back in 1901, shortly after he suffered a near fatal hemorrhage, an event that had marked a moment of personal crisis in his life, just months before his last disagreement with Lipiner. Mahler wrote: “An Lipiner muß ich sehr oft denken. Warum schreiben Sie mir nichts über ihn? Ich möchte wissen, ob er über den Tod noch ebenso denkt wie vor acht Jahren, als er mir über seine höchst merkwürdigen Anschauungen Auskunft gab (auf mein etwas zudringliches Befragen – ich war gerade von meinem Blutsturz Rekonvaleszent)” (GMB 414-415). As it happens, just as Mahler

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14 “It would be marvelous if you could come. I’m sure you would enjoy it. I think you would recognize part of your own mind. The hymn, especially, might have come out of your own soul” (GMBE 362).

15 “I can’t help thinking very often of Lipiner. Why don’t you ever write anything about him? I should like to know whether he still thinks the same way about death as he did eight years ago, when he told me about his very peculiar views (at my somewhat importunate request – I was just convalescent after my hemorrhage)” (GMBE 329). Stuart Feder remarks that Mahler’s haemorrhage was one of a number of
was contemplating this discussion, which concerned the poet’s ideas on death, Lipiner was diagnosed with tongue cancer and began undergoing intensive radiation treatment and other operations. Walter recalls meeting Lipiner on the streetcar in Vienna at this time and was shocked at his decline in health. The meeting was fortuitous, however; Walter mentioned to Lipiner that he was compiling a collection of notes and texts dedicated to Mahler, which he planned to present to the composer for his fiftieth birthday. A short time later, Lipiner sent a poem entitled “Der Musiker Spricht” (“The Musician Speaks”) as his contribution, which, according to Walter, was the poet’s reflections on a theme that he and Mahler had often discussed – the immortality of the soul. It was Walter who arranged the meeting and reconciliation of the estranged friends:

In den letzten Jahren hatten sie nicht viel von einander gesehen, teils weil Mahler zwischen seinen Amerikareisen nicht lange in Wien verweilte, teils weil eine Art Entfremdung zwischen ihnen eingetreten war. Es gelang mir, sie in Lipinners Bureau im Reichsrat wieder zusammen zu bringen, und Mahler war bei jenem ersten Wiedersehen so glücklich, und unersättlich im Fragen, wie Lipiner gütig und ergiebig in Gegenfrage und Antworten. (Thema und Variationen 193)16

The reunion of poet and composer was a great success; Walter claims that Mahler was so pleased with the poem, which had been the impetus for this reconciliation, that he carried it with him from then on wherever he went.17

16 “In the previous years that had not seen much of each other, partly because Mahler did not spend much time in Vienna between his trips to America, partly because a kind of estrangement had come between them. I succeeded in bringing them together again in Lipiner’s office in the Parliament and Mahler was so happy at this first reunion and insatiable in questions, as Lipiner was gracious and yielding in counter-questions and answers”

17 Jens Malte Fischer claims that the images in Der Musiker Spricht, particularly that of the Schöpfer Geist (“Creative Spirit”), are reminiscent of the song of the Knabenchor in the final scene of Faust II, the text that Mahler used in his Eighth Symphony, which, as previously mentioned, was so significant for the Weltanschauung of poet and composer (737-738).
Finally, in the months before his death, Mahler made one last nod to his mentor Lipiner in his final composition, the unfinished *Tenth Symphony*. In the sketch of the third movement of this work, Mahler wrote “Purgatorio oder Inferno” at the top, and then crossed out “Inferno.” The title page of the manuscript was cut in half, perhaps by Alma, some scholars have suggested, as the movement was composed after Mahler’s discovery of her affair with the Bauhaus architect, Walter Gropius. David Matthews speculates that the missing half-page may have included verses by Lipiner and that the title “Purgatorio” refers in fact to a series of poems published in his collection, *Buch der Freude* (1880). Many of the poems in this work focus on the themes of tragic love lost and betrayal, ideas that certainly would have resonated with the composer’s wounded heart after learning of his wife’s infidelity (Matthews 508-509). It is unknown whether Lipiner knew of this reference in Mahler’s last work; the composer died in May 1911 before he could finish it. Perhaps in the most fitting coincidence of their long, close and personal friendship, Lipiner passed away just seven months after Mahler, in December of 1911.

The goal of this dissertation has been to show how Gustav Mahler’s first four symphonies can be read as narratives, drawing their ideological inspiration from the writings of his friend and mentor, Siegfried Lipiner. The theme that returns consistently in these works and in their personal correspondence is the idea of redemption, envisioned as a personal connection between the human and divine, made possible by the power of art, in particular, tragic art and music. Art was closely linked for both poet and composer to a religious spirit, not tied to any dogmatic religion, but drawing on the myths and traditions of Christianity and Judaism, and infusing them with the images and ideas of modern secular philosophy. The common themes that emerge in the works
discussed in this dissertation suggest that poet and composer had the same goal in mind, to both
discover this divine creator spirit in themselves, and to express it to the world, through their art.

As this study has demonstrated, Lipiner was more than just a teacher or mentor to the
composer. Ida Schein writes that “die Lösung von Rätsel und Zweifel, denen [Mahler] hilflos
gegenüberstand, forderte er vom Dichter. War ja beiden das Ringen und Suchen nach dem
Glauben gemeinsam…wobei der Dichter fand und zur Ruhe kam, der Musiker aber ewig
Gottsucher bliebe” (10). Oskar Fried (1871-1941), a composer and friend of Mahler, attests to
this idea in the following reflection:

[Mahler] war ein Gottsucher. Mit einem unerhörten Fanatismus,
mit einer beispiellosen Hingabe, mit einer unerschütterlichen
Liebe war er, stets auf der Suche im Mensche, in einem jeden,
nach dem Göttlichen. Sich selbst aber betrachtete er als göttliche
Sendung und war ganz von ihr erfüllt. Eine durch und durch
religiöse Natur im mystischen, nicht aber im dogmatischen Sinn.
(17)

According to Fried, the struggle waged on within Mahler, he was “ein Kämpfer und ein
Ringer…auch übermenschlich rein. Ein Heiland seines Berufs” (17). The struggle for belief,
and the need for his art to express this struggle, which both Mahler and Lipiner imagined in the
figure of Jacob, remained with the composer all his life. Perhaps this is what Richard Specht, a
close mutual friend of poet and composer, meant, when he speculated that it was perhaps this
great difference between Mahler and Lipiner that inspired such an intense friendship and artistic

18 “The solution of mystery and doubt, which [Mahler] helplessly confronted, he looked for from the poet
[Lipiner]. Though both had the struggle and search for faith in common, the poet found it and came to
peace with it, while the musician remained an eternal God-seeker”

19 “[Mahler] was a God-seeker. With incredible fanaticism, with unparalleled dedication and with
unshakeable love he pursued a constant search for the divine, both in the individual and in man as a whole.
He saw himself bearing a sacred trust; it suffused his whole being. His nature was religious through and
through in a mystical, not a dogmatic, sense” (Lebrecht 174-175).

20 “He was always a fighter and a wrestler…superhumanly pure. A redeemer in his profession” (Lebrecht
175)
symbiosis. Lipiner was the man of faith, and Mahler, the eternal seeker. It was Lipiner who served as a touchtone for Mahler, a source of comfort and strength both in the composer’s young, idealistic days as a student, and later in life, when personal and professional crises weighed on his mind.

Yet, in the end, it was Mahler who achieved the greatest success and, over the course of the twentieth century, he became appropriated as “a prophet of modernism,” “a model of progressive innovation,” and later, as an emblem of post-modernism (Botstein 4). Lipiner, on the other hand, has been nearly forgotten. There are many possible reasons for their different fates. The poet’s heavy-handed philosophical (and often pedantic) style of writing proved to be his downfall. Despite the advocacy of Paul Natorp, co-executor of Lipiner’s Nachlass, who published Adam, Hippolytos, and Don Juan after the poet’s death, only Adam was ever performed on stage (on 14 November 1915 in Dresden, see Figure 36) and Lipiner’s works failed to receive widespread readership after his death.21

Lipiner longed to create an artwork that would be accessible to people; that would evoke compassion for the human plight and inspire action and belief in a better world. In the end, however, it was his protégé, Mahler, who found the means to accomplish this mission. Yet, Mahler’s symphonies were not composed in a vacuum; rather, Lipiner was an important part of this process, and their intellectual exchange served as a fruitful breeding ground for the ideas that would inspire his creative works. Lipiner may have been the man of inspiration, but it was

21 Natorp went to great lengths to promote Lipiner’s works after his death. The letters from his Nachlass reveal that he contacted a number of publishers on behalf on Lipiner’s widow, Clementine, in the hopes of publishing more of Lipiner’s works, possibly even his dissertation on Faust II.
Mahler’s music, soaring above speech and language, that would give voice to the spirit of his time.

Lipiner and Mahler represented a particular movement within the intellectual and cultural life of Vienna around 1900. Their fascination with religion and a religious spirit countered the trend of secularism and responded to the modern crisis of meaning in a unique way. If, as Russell A. Berman claims, “the search for meaning is always, ultimately, a search for God – even if for the moderns it takes place in a godless world” (80), then Lipiner and Mahler were seeking to bring God back into the world, in a way that would resonate with the culture and society in which they lived. Redemption offered hope for absolute truth and faith in man’s ability to face the challenges of a modern world as he charged forward to an uncertain future. Their works reflect what Matei Calinescu defines as the modern religious quest, one that he claims “is no longer measured or valued by its results, but by its sheer intensity, a quest that is on its way to becoming an end in itself” (62). The necessity of this quest was, for Mahler and Lipiner, the greatest human endeavor, and it fueled their artistic spirit and inspired their works.

The image of Jacob struggling with the angel is therefore essential for understanding Mahler and Lipiner’s Weltanschauung because this story embodies the idea of blessing through struggle, and redemption made possible through human empowerment, which defines their art. Moreover, they were not the last of their time to indentify with this Biblical figure as a symbol of the human desire to know and understand the divine. Richard Beer-Hofmann (1866-1945) wrote in his drama Jaákobs Traum (1918), the prelude to his dramatic cycle Die Historie von König David, of the patriarch as the chosen one who comes, through his struggle with the angel, to be a “Gesprächspartner Gottes.” The composer Arnold Schönberg (1874-1951), a contemporary and
friend of Mahler, was also drawn to the image of Jacob, as his unfinished oratorio, *Die Jakobsleiter* (1916/1917) attests. Yet while Beer-Hofmann and Schönberg eventually came to embrace and celebrate their Jewish heritage, Mahler and Lipiner never chose this path. Their identity as assimilated Jews defined their experience in the society in which they lived; yet they did not wish to turn to the Jewish faith or culture for a solution. Furthermore, in light of their situation, both Mahler and Lipiner could well have turned away from their faith altogether, or have openly critiqued religious beliefs in their works. Yet they chose instead to propose a reconciliation of the human and divine, found in a utopian art-religion, that would respond to the existential crises of their time, and to their personal experiences of prejudice and persecution. In the face of the modern experience of “disruption, confusion, alienation” and “metaphysical homelessness” (Berman 79), Mahler and Lipiner still asserted a belief that the world could be redeemed and humanity made whole again, and that it was through the aesthetic and religious that this *Erlösung* would be possible.
Figure 36: Poster for the Production of *Adam* in Dresden, 14 November 1915

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Marburg, Nachlass Paul Natorp
Appendix A: Mahler and Lipiner - List of Works (1875-1911)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahler(^1)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lipiner</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Echo (epic poem, unpublished)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arnold von Brescia (unpublished)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Transcendente Spekulation über das Erhabene und das Tragische aus</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Schopenhauerische Principien (unpublished)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Der entfesselte Prometheus (epic poem, published by Breitkopf und HärTEL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das klagende Lied</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Renatus (epic poem, published by Breitkopf und HärTEL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cantata, unsuccessful entry by Mahler for Beethoven Prize at Vienna Conservatory in 1881, revised numerous times throughout his life)</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Über die Elemente einer Erneuerung religiöser Ideen in der Gegenwart”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Speech to Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens, published by society as pamphlet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rübezahl (unfinished opera libretto)</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Der neue Don Juan (drama, intended for production at Burgtheater in Wien but Lipiner withdrew it, published in 1913 by W. Spemann)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Buch der Freude (poetry, published by Breitkopf und HärTEL)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feuilleton Articles for Deutsche Zeitung (Vienna)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Herr Thaddäus (Translation of Adam Mickiewicz’s Pan Tadeusz)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Die Glosse der hieligen Theresa” (Translation of poem by Sigmund Graf Krasinski, unfinished)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Listed are compositions mentioned in this dissertation, in addition to major symphonic works and lieder of Mahler’s later period. See La Grange, Vols. I-IV, for a complete list and explanation of works.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen (1883-1885)</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Bruder Rausch (epic poem, first song published in Karl Emil Franzos’ collection, Deutsches Dichterbuch aus Österreich)</td>
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<tr>
<td>First Symphony (1884-1888)</td>
<td>1884</td>
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<tr>
<td>Die drei Pintos (1886-1887, completion of opera by Carl Maria von Weber)</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieder und Gesänge, Vols. 2 and 3 (1887-1890, including “Ablösung im Sommer”)</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Todtenfeier (Translation of Mickiewicz’s Dziady)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Todtenfeier (Symphonic Poem)</td>
<td>1888</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second Symphony (1888-1894)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wunderhorn Lieder (1892-1893, including “Das himmlische Leben,” “Das irdische Leben,” “Urlicht,” “Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt”)</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Christus (Dramatic Trilogy including Maria Magdalena, Judas Ischariot, Paul in Rom, possibly begun as early as 1880, worked on until death in 1911, unfinished)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Third Symphony (1893-1896)</td>
<td>1893</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fourth Symphony (1899-1900)</td>
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<td>Fifth Symphony (1901-1902)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rückert Lieder</td>
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<td>Kindertotenlieder (1901-1904)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sixth Symphony (1903-1904)</td>
<td>1903</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seventh Symphony (1904-1905)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eighth Symphony (1906-1907)</td>
<td>1906</td>
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<tr>
<td>Das Lied von der Erde (1908-1909, orchestral song cycle)</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Kassandra (opera libretto, unfinished)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ninth Symphony</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth Symphony (unfinished)</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>“Der Musiker Spricht” (poem for Mahler for his 50th birthday)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Programs

Second Symphony (1888-1894)

I. Comments to Natalie Bauer-Lechner, January 1896


Das “Urlicht” ist das Fragen und Ringen der Seele um Gott und ihre eigene ewige Existenz.


(NBL 40)

1 The first movement depicts the titanic struggles of a mighty being still caught in the toils of this world; grappling with life and with the fate to which he must succumb – his death. The second and third movements, Andante and Scherzo, are episodes from the life of the fallen hero. The Andante tells of love. The experience of the Scherzo I can describe only in terms of the following image: if, at a distance, you hear the music, then the turning and twisting movement of the couples seems senseless, because you are not catching the rhythm that is the key to it all. You must imagine that to one who has lost his identity and his happiness, the world looks like this – distorted and crazy, as if reflected in a concave mirror. The Scherzo ends with the appalling shriek of this tortured soul.

The “Urlicht” represents the soul’s striving and questioning attitude towards God and its own immortality.

While the first three movements are narrative in character, in the last movement everything is inward experience. It begins with the death-shriek of the Scherzo. And now the resolution of the terrible problem of life – redemption. At first, we see it in the form created by faith and the Church – in their struggle to transcend this present life. The earth trembles. Just listen to the drum-roll, and your hair will stand on end! The Last Trump sounds; the graves spring open, and all creation comes writing out of the bowels of the
II. Letter to Max Marschalk, March 26, 1896


Also eigentlich knüpft meine 2. Symphonie direkt an die 1. an!

(GMB 189-190)²

earth, with wailing and gnashing of teeth. Now they all come marching along in a mighty procession: beggars and rich men, common folk and kings, the Church Militant, the Popes. All give vent to the same terror, the same lamentations, and paroxysms; for none is just in the sight of God. Breaking in again and again – as if from another world – the Last Trump sounds from Beyond. At last, after everyone has shouted and screamed in indescribable confusion, nothing is heard by the long drawn-out call of the Bird of Death above the last grave – finally that, too, fades awa. There now follows nothing of what had been expected: no Last Judgment, no souls saved and none damned; no just man, no evil-doer, no judge! Everything has ceased to be. And softly there beings: “Rise again, yea, rise again” – and the words themselves are sufficient commentary (NBLE 43-44).

² I called the first movement “Todtenfeier.” It may interes 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 point of vantage. 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.

The second and third movements are intended as an interlude, the second being a memory! A ray of sunlight, pure and cloudless, out of that hero’s life.

You must surely have had the experience of burying someone dear to you, and then, perhaps, on the way back some long-forgotten hour of shared happiness suddenly rose before your inner eye, sending as it were a sunbeam into your soul – not overcast by any shadow – and you almost forgot what had just taken place.
III. Program Published for Performance in Dresden, December 15, 1901

Programm zur 2. Symphonie von Gustav Mahler


2. Satz Andante
Ein seliger Augenblick aus dem Leben diese theueren Toten und eine wehmütige Erinnerung an seine Jugend und verlorene Unschuld.

3. Satz Scherzo
Der Geist des Unglaubens, der Verneinung hat sich seiner bemächtigt, er blickt in das Gewühl der Erscheinungen und verliert mit dem reinen Kindersinn den festen Halt, den allein die Leben gibt; er verzweifelt an sich und Gott. Die Welt und das Leben wird ihm zum wirren Spuk; der Ekel vor allem Sein und Werden packt ihn mit eiserner Faust und jagt ihn bis zum Aufschrei der Verzweiflung.

4. Satz Urlicht (Altsolo)
Die rührende Stimme des naiven Glaubens tönt an unser Ohr. „Ich bin von Gott, und will wieder zu Gott! Der liebe Gott wird mir ein Lichtchen geben, wird leuchten mir bis in das ewig selig Leben!“

5. Satz
Wir stehen wieder vor allen furchtbaren Fragen, - und der Stimmung am Ende dessl. Satzes. Es ertönt die Stimme des Rufers: Das Ende alles Lebendigen ist gekommen – das jüngste Gericht kündigt sich an, und der ganze Schrecken des Tages aller Tage ist hereingebrochen.

Die Erde bebt, die Gräber springen auf, die Toten erheben sich und schreiten und endlosem Zug daher. Die Grossen und die Kleinen dieser Erde – die Könige und die Bettler, die Gerechten und

There you have the second movement! – When you then awaken from that melancholy dream and are forced to return to this tangled life of ours, it may easily happen that this surge of life ceaselessly in motion, never resting, never comprehensible, suddenly seems eerie, like the billowing of dancing figures in a brightly lit ball-room that you gaze into from outside in the dark – and from a distance so great that you can no longer hear the music! Life then becomes meaningless, an eerie phantom state out of which you may start up with a cry of disgust. – There you have the third movement. What follows need not be explained to you!

There you have the second movement! – When you then awaken from that melancholy dream and are forced to return to this tangled life of ours, it may easily happen that this surge of life ceaselessly in motion, never resting, never comprehensible, suddenly seems eerie, like the billowing of dancing figures in a brightly lit ball-room that you gaze into from outside in the dark – and from a distance so great that you can no longer hear the music! Life then becomes meaningless, an eerie phantom state out of which you may start up with a cry of disgust. – There you have the third movement. What follows need not be explained to you!

What it comes to, then, is that my Second Symphony grows directly out of the First! (GMBE 180).


(AME 261-262)³

³ Program of the Second Symphony by Gustav Mahler

We are standing by the coffin of a man beloved. For the last time his life, his battles, his sufferings and his purpose pass before the mind’s eye. And now, at this solemn and deeply stirring moment, when we are released from the paltry distractions of everyday life, our hearts are gripped by a voice of awe-inspiring solemnity, which we seldom or never hear above the deafening traffic of mundane affairs. What next? it says. What is life – and what is death? Have we any continuing existence? Is it all an empty dream, or has this life of ours, and our death, a meaning? If we are to go on living, we must answer this question.

The next three movements are conceived as intermezzi.

Second Movement. Andante.

A blissful moment in his life and a mournful memory of youth and lost innocence.

Third Movement. Scherzo.

The Spirit of unbelief and negation has taken possession of him. Looking into the turmoil of appearances, he loses together with the clear eyes of childhood the sure foothold which love alone gives. He despairs of himself and of God. The world and life become a witch’s brew; disgust of existence in every form strikes him with iron fist and drives him to an outburst of despair.

Fourth Movement. The Primal Dawn. (Alto Solo)

The mourning voice of ingenuous belief sounds in our ears. “I am from God and will return to God! God will give me a candle to light me to the bliss of eternal life.”

Fifth Movement. We are confronted once more by terrifying questions. A voice is heard crying aloud: “The end of all living beings is come – the Last Judgment is at hand and the horror of the day of days has broken forth.” The earth quakes and graves burst open, the dead arise and stream on in endless procession. The great and the little ones of the earth – kings and beggars, righteous and godless – all press on – the cry for mercy and forgiveness strikes fearfully on our ears. The wailing rises higher – our sense desert us, consciousness dies at the approach of the eternal spirit. The “Last Trump” is heard – the trumpets of the Apocalypse ring out; in the eerie silence that follows we can just catch the distant, barely audible song of a nightingale, a last tremulous echo of earthly life! A chorus of saints and heavenly beings softly breaks forth: “Thou shalt arise, surely thou shalt arise.” Then appears the glory of God! A wondrous, soft light penetrates us to the heart – all is holy and calm! And behold – it is no judgment – there are no sinners, no just. None is great, none is small. There is no punishment and no reward. An overwhelming love lightens our being. We know and are (AMM 192-193).
Appendix C: Songtexts

Second Symphony (1888-1894)

Movement IV
URLICHT

PRIMEVAL LIGHT

O Röschen roth!
Oh little red rose!

Der Mensch liegt in größter Noth!
Man lies in deepest need!

Der Mensch liegt in größter Pein!
Man lies in deepest pain!

Je lieber möcht’ ich in Himmel sein!
O how I would rather be in heaven!

Da kam ich auf einen breiten Weg;
I came along a wide pathway;

Da kam ein Engelein und wollt’ mich abweisen.
A little angel came and wanted to send me away

Ach nein! Ich ließ mich nicht abweisen:
On no! I will not let myself be turned away:

Ich bin von Gott und will wieder zu Gott!
The dear God will give me a little light,

Wird leuchten mir bis in das ewig selig Leben!
Will light me to the eternal, blessed life!


Movement V
AUFERSTEHEN

RESURRECTION

Aufersteh’n, ja aufersteh’n wirst du,
Rise again, yes you will rise again,

Mein Staub, nach kurzer Ruh!
My dust, after brief rest!

Unsterblich Leben
Eternal life

Wird der dich rief dich geben.
Will he who called you, give you.

Wieder aufzublüh’n wirst du gesät!
To bloom again, you were sown

Der Herr der Ernte geht
The Lord of the Harvest goes

Und sammelt Garben
And collects like sheaves

Uns ein, die starben.
Us, who died.

O glaube, mein Herz, o glaube:
Oh believe, my heart, oh believe:

Es geht dir nichts verloren!
Nothing is lost to you!

Dein ist, was du gesehnt!
Yours is, what you longed for!

Dein, was du geliebt, was du gestritten!
Yours, what you loved, what you fought for

O glaube:
Oh believe:

Du wardst nicht umsonst geboren!
You were not born in vain!

Hast nich umsonst gelebt, gelitten!
Have not lived in vain, suffered!

Was entstanden ist, das muss vergehen!
What was created, must die!

Was vergangen, auferstehen!
What has died, must rise again!

Friedrich Klopstock (1724-1803)
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 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!

Cease to tremble!
Prepare yourself to live!

Oh pain! You all-penetrator!
I am free of you!
Oh death! You all-conquerer!
Now you are conquered!
With wings that I have won for myself
In the passionate striving of love
I will soar
To the light, to which no eye has striven!
I will die, to live!

Rise again, yes you will rise again,
My heart, in an instant!
What you have fought for
Will carry you to God!

**Gustav Mahler (1860-1911)**

*Third Symphony (1895-1896)*

**Movement IV**

**FROM ALSO SPRACH ZARATHUSTRA**

Oh Man! Take care!
What does the deep midnight declare?
I was asleep -
From a deep dream I awoke
The world is deep,
Deeper than day had been aware
Oh Man! Deep, deep is its woe;
Joy – deeper yet than agony:
Woe implores: Go!
But all joy wants eternity!
Wants deep, deep eternity. ¹

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¹ Adapted from Kaufmann (1954), p. 339.
**Movement V**

**ARMER KINDER BETTERLIED**

Es sungen drei Engel einen süßen Gesang;  
Mit Freuden es selig in dem Himmel klang,  
Sie jauchzten fröhlich auch dabei,  
Dass Petrus sei von Sünden frei,  
Er 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 denn hier?  
Wenn ich dich ansch’, so weinest du mir!  
Und sollt’ ich nicht weinen, du gütiger Gott.  
(Du sollst ja nicht weinen! Sollst ja nicht weinen!)  
Ich hab’ übertreten die zehn Gebot.  
Ich gehe und weine ja bitterlich.  
Ach komm und erbarme dich über mich!  
Hast du den übertreten die zehn Gebot,  
So fall auf die Kniee und bete zu Gott!  
Liebe nur Gott in alle Zeit!  
So wirst du erlangen die himmlische Freude,  
Die himmlische Freude war Petro bereit’t,  
Durch Jesum und allen zur Seligkeit.

**THE POOR CHILDREN’S BEGGING SONG**

Three angels sang a sweet song;  
With joy it rang blessedly in heaven,  
They also cheered happily  
That Peter was free from sin,  
He was free from sin.  
And as the Lord Jesus sat at table  
eating supper with his twelve disciples  
Said Lord Jesus why do you stand here?  
When I look at you, you weep at me!  
And should I not weep, gracious God  
(You truly should not weep!)  
I have broken the Ten Commandments  
I go and weep bitterly.  
Oh come and have mercy on me!  
If you have broken the Commandments,  
Then fall on your knee and pray to God!  
Love only God for all time!  
So will you achieve the heavenly joy,  
The heavenly joy, the blessed city,  
The heavenly joy, for Peter prepared  
By Jesus and to all for eternal bliss.

*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*

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**Movement IV**

**DAS HIMMLISCHE LEBEN**

Wir genießen die himmlische Freuden,  
D’rum tun wir das Erdische meiden.  
Kein weltlich’ Getümmel hört man nicht im Himmel!  
Lebt Alles in saftester Ruh’!  
Wir führen ein englisches Leben!  
Sind dennoch ganz lustig daneben!  
Wir tanzen und springen, wir hüpfen und singen!  
Sanct Peter im Himmel sieht zu!  
Johannes das Lämmelin auslasset  
Der Metzger Herodes drauf passet!  
Wir führen ein geduldig’s, unschuldig’s, gedulig’s  
Ein liebliches Lämmlein zu Tod!  
Sanct Lucas den Ochsen tät schlachten  
Ohn’ einig’s Bedenken und Achten,  
Der Wein kost kein Heller im himmlischen Keller,

**THE HEAVENLY LIFE**

We enjoy the heavenly delights,  
So we avoid the earthly.  
No worldly tumult is heard in heaven!  
All live in gentle peace!  
We lead an angelic life!  
Are also quite merry besides!  
We dance and jump, hop and sing!  
Saint Peter in heaven looks on!  
John lets out the little lamb  
Herod the butcher waits for it!  
We lead a patient, innocent, patient  
A sweet little lamb to death!  
Saint Luke slaughters the ox  
Without hesitation or concern,  
Wine is free in the heavenly cellar
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 Apfel, gut’ Birn’ und gut’ Trauben!
Die Gärtner, die Alles erlauben!
Willst Rehbock, willst Hasen auf offener Strassen
Sie laufen herbei! Sollt ein Festtag etwa kommen
Alle Fische gleich mit Freuden angeschwommen!
Dort läuft schon Sanct Peter mit Netz und mit Köder
Zum himmlischen Weiher hinein.
Sanct Martha die Köchin muss sein!
Kein Musik ist ja nicht auf Erden,
Die uns’rer verglichen kann werden.
Elf tausend Jungfrauen zu tanzen sich trauen!
Sanct Ursula selbst dazu lacht!
Kein Musik ist ja nicht auf Erden,
Die uns’rer verglichen kann werden.
Cäcilia mit ihren Verwandten
Sind treffliche Hofmusikanten!
Die englischen Stimmen ermuntern die Sinnen,
Dass Alles für Freuden erwacht.

The angels, they bake the bread
Good herbs of every kind,
They grow in the heavenly garden!
Good asparagus, beans, what we want!
Whole bowls fill are ready for us!
Good apples, good pears and grapes!
The gardeners allow for everything!
If you want deer or hare they run on the open street! Should a fastday come,
All the fish swim happily by!

Des Knaben Wunderhorn

Gesänge aus Des Knaben Wunderhorn (1892)

DAS IRDISCHE LEBEN

“Mutter, ach Mutter, es hungert mich!
Gib mir Brot, sonst sterbe ich.”

“Warte nur! Warte nur, mein liebes Kind!
Morgen wollen wir ernten geschwind!”

Und als das Korn geerntet war
Rief das Kind noch immerdar:

“Mutter, ach Mutter, es hungert mich!
Gib mir Brot, sonst sterbe ich.”

“Warte nur! Warte nur, mein liebes Kind!
Morgen wollen wir dreschen geschwind!”

Und als das Korn gedroschen war

THE EARTHLY LIFE

“Mother, oh Mother, I’m hungry!
Give me bread, or I will die.”

“Wait, oh wait, my dear child!
Tomorrow we will quickly harvest!”

And as the grain was harvested
the child cried out again

“Mother, oh Mother, I am hungry!
Give me bread, or I will die.”

“Wait, oh wait, my dear child!
Tomorrow we will quickly thresh!”

And as the grain was threshed
Rief das Kind noch immerdar:

“Mutter, ach Mutter, es hungert mich!
Gib mir Brot, sonst sterbe ich.”

“Warte nur! Warte nur, mein liebes Kind!
Morgen wollen wir backen geschwind!”

Und als das Brot gebacken war
Lag das Kind auf dem Totenbar!

The child cried out again:

“Mother, oh Mother, I am hungry!
Give me bread, or I will die.”

“Wait, oh wait, my dear child!
Tomorrow we will quickly bake!”

And as the bread was baked
The child lay on his deathbed!

*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*
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Biography

Caroline A. Kita was born in Buffalo, New York on November 1, 1982. She earned her Bachelor of Arts in History from Boston College in 2004 and her Ph.D. in German Studies from Duke University in 2011. She has received a number of fellowships and awards for advanced study and research, including a Fulbright Student Grant to study at the University of Vienna in Austria (2004-2005), as well as fellowships to Germany for study at the University of Potsdam (2007-2008) and to participate in an exchange program with the University of Duisburg-Essen (May 2006, June 2007). Caroline traveled to Marburg, Germany; Vienna, Austria; and Stockholm, Sweden with the support of a Dissertation Research Travel Fellowship from Duke University (2009-2010), and received funding from the Austrian Cultural Forum of New York to present a paper based on her research at the German Studies Association Annual Conference (2010). Her article, “Sins of the Father: Cain’s Search for Redemption in Siegfried Lipiner’s Adam,” was published in andererseits: Yearbook of Transatlantic German Studies in 2010.