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Many notable commentators have minimized or dismissed altogether the significance of the poetry. A. B. Marx, for one, claimed that Beethoven's finale was neither "a composition of Schiller's ode, nor the musical expression of its content or even of its words."¹ Nietzsche concurred. Even while viewing the Ninth as being "without equal" and "beyond analysis," he maintained that a "relation between poem and music" in the finale "makes no sense, for the worlds of tone and repre-

1. Marx, *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (22 November 1826), 375; trans. adapted from David Benjamin Levy, *Early Performances of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: A Documentary Study of Five Cities* (Ph.D. diss., Eastman School of Music, 1979), pp.406-07. Thirty-three years later, Marx had changed his mind not one whit: the Choral Finale's significance lies in the music alone, he argued, a fact that "precludes any idea that the meaning of the Symphony might have a connection with Schiller's Ode." See *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1859; rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1979), II, 268.

*"Deine Zauber binden wieder": Beethoven, Schiller,
and the Joyous Reconciliation of Opposites*

James Parsons

“**Z**ounds! I was never so bethump’d with words.” Philip the Bastard’s declaration, from act II of *King John*, might well serve as the epithet for any number of critical commentaries on the Choral Finale of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony. Since the work’s premiere in 1824, the text of the finale has had few defenders and no true champions. Even the Ninth’s most ardent advocates have consistently stopped short of embracing Beethoven’s choice of “An die Freude.” In much the same way that Shakespeare’s character fends off a series of fulsome speeches, critics time and again have sought relief (either tacitly or explicitly) from the rhetoric—if not the very presence—of Schiller’s text.

Many notable commentators have minimized or dismissed altogether the significance of the poetry. A. B. Marx, for one, claimed that Beethoven’s finale was neither “a composition of Schiller’s ode, nor the musical expression of its content or even of its words.”¹ Nietzsche concurred. Even while viewing the Ninth as being “without equal” and “beyond analysis,” he maintained that a “relation between poem and music” in the finale “makes no sense, for the worlds of tone and repre-

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sentation are an insulting externality" at odds with the "absolute sovereignty" of the music. Rather, the words are inundated by the music's "sea of flames," and we "simply do not hear anything of Schiller's poem."² Heinrich Schenker adopted a similar approach toward very different ends. Early on in his monograph on the Ninth, Schenker intoned the biblically inspired rallying cry "Am Anfang war der Inhalt"—in the beginning was the purely musical content and not, by pointed implication, the Word.³

In our own time, critics have tended to parse the structure of the finale in essentially musical terms, usually as a particular form or matrix of forms—variation, sonata form, concerto, etc.—superimposed on the text at hand. Charles Rosen, Leo Treitler, and Michael Tusa, to cite only a few who have addressed this movement in recent years, approach the finale as an intrinsically musical structure. Treitler, for example, acknowledges that although the finale "is the bearer of words," it is nonetheless "composed as an instrumental piece."⁴ Even James Webster, who has argued convincingly that the finale incorporates and transcends a variety of structural conventions, focuses primarily on issues of formal design that operate independently of the text.⁵

I do not wish to suggest even for a moment that such approaches are without value. Treitler, Rosen, Tusa, Webster, and others have substantially enhanced our understanding of this movement by relating its structure to a variety of formal conventions, and it probably goes without repeating at this late date that a movement as complex as the Choral Finale cannot, in the end, be "explained" by any one ap-

2. Friedrich Nietzsche, from the fragment known as "Über Musik und Wort," in *Sprache, Dichtung, Musik*, ed. Jakob Knaus (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1973), p.23; trans. Walter Kaufmann as "On Words and Music," in Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*, trans. Mary Whittall (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 1980), pp.112–13 (the emphasis is Nietzsche's). Richard Kurth discusses Nietzsche's fragment extensively in his "Music and Poetry, a Wilderness of Doubles: Heine—Nietzsche—Schubert—Derrida," *19CM* 21 (1997), 3–37; see esp. 8–17.

3. Schenker, *Beethoven: Neunte Sinfonie: Eine Darstellung des musikalischen Inhalts* (Vienna: Universal, 1912), p.vii; trans. John Rothgeb as *Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: A Portrayal of Its Musical Content, with Running Commentary on Performance and Literature as Well* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992), p.4.

4. Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (2nd edn. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), pp.439–40; Treitler, "History, Criticism, and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," in his *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1989), p.25; Michael C. Tusa, "Noch einmal: Form and Content in the Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," *Beethoven Forum* 7 (1999), 111–35.

5. James Webster, "The Form of the Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," *Beethoven Forum* 1 (1992), 36.

proach.⁶ Part of the Ninth's allure surely lies in what Maynard Solomon has identified as the work's ability to avoid terminal answers to the questions it poses. In the Ninth, Solomon observes, "history is kept open—as quest for the unreachable, for the as-yet-undiscovered, for the vision of an ultimate felicity." For Beethoven to have done otherwise, Solomon points out, would be to deny all that the finale, in particular, holds out for promise. "The search continues for a hidden God, a distant beloved, for brotherhood."⁷ Recognizing that the Ninth is capable of its own resistance—the resistance against a single reading—is a necessary first step toward acknowledging that the critical quest for unequivocal meaning has diminished our appreciation of what Beethoven's open-ended movement seeks to explore.

Schiller's poem nevertheless remains an essential starting point for any investigation of this finale, no matter how "bethumping" the words might seem. "An die Freude," after all, exerted a fascination on Beethoven for almost thirty years, and his choice of text here was scarcely a last-minute decision.⁸ In what follows, I shall argue—in keeping with the theme that lies at the heart of Schiller's poem—that the compendium of musical forms and styles found in the finale is in fact directly related to the Enlightenment's concept of joy, *Freude*, as the reconciliation of opposites.

Critical Perspectives on the Choral Finale

Like Beethoven's setting, Schiller's poem has invited manifold approaches over the years. "An die Freude" was enormously popular during its day and set to music no

6. The already substantial literature on the Ninth Symphony has been growing at an exponential rate in recent years. In addition to the valuable overviews offered by Tusa and Webster (see fn. 4 and 5, respectively), see also the recent articles by Stephen Hinton, "Not *Which* Tones? The Crux of Beethoven's Ninth," *19CM* 22 (1998), 61–77; and by Ernest H. Sanders, "The Sonata-Form Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," *19CM* 22 (1998), 54–60. I am grateful to Professors Tusa and Hinton for sharing copies of their respective essays with me in advance.

7. Maynard Solomon, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: A Search for Order," *19CM* 10 (1986), 23 (rpt. in Solomon, *Essays*, p. 32). Elsewhere within the same essay, Solomon states: "The encoded network of imagery . . . suggest[s] the outline of a narrative in minimal form, which is nonetheless sufficient to set in motion within each listener a process of imaginative probing for the potentialities of the entire design" (p. 10). Tusa ("*Noch einmal*," p. 112) has stated that "the finale possesses special properties that not only allow but actually invite the multiplicity" of interpretations it has occasioned.

8. The earliest documentary evidence for Beethoven's interest in Schiller's poem "An die Freude" is in a letter by the composer's friend Bartholomäus Ludwig Fischenich, a professor of philosophy and jurisprudence in Bonn, dated 26 January 1793, see Thayer-Forbes, pp. 120–21. Given the letter's date we may assume that Beethoven's preoccupation with Schiller's poem extends back at least to

fewer than forty different times by a variety of composers over the period 1786–1824 (see Appendix A).⁹ Still, the text has struck many later critics as strangely cryptic or even hollow. Viewed from the perspective of Freud's paradoxical use of the word *unheimlich* (for which "uncanny" is but a poor rendition), what is one to make of the ostensibly "weird" tales that populate the poem? The utopia of universal brotherhood celebrated in Schiller's poem of 1785 seems in many respects quaint at best, delusional at worst. Small wonder, then, that we have kept Schiller's poem at bay while simultaneously subscribing to a myth that calls into question the very title its author conferred on it.¹⁰

Schiller himself had doubts about "An die Freude." He later called it "a bad poem" (ein schlechtes Gedicht), perhaps in response to the widespread disillusionment unleashed in the years immediately following its creation, most notably by the Reign of Terror. Schiller nevertheless published a revised version of the text in 1803, the year after he had obtained a patent of nobility. Among other changes, he deleted the original ninth strophe telling of "deliverance from the chains of tyranny" (Rettung von Tirannenketten) and its plea for "mercy on the high court!" (Gnade auf dem Hochgericht!).¹¹ Although he may well have modified his opin-

1792. Maynard Solomon has argued convincingly that Beethoven's attraction to Schiller began a decade earlier (see his "Beethoven and Schiller," *Essays*, pp. 205–06).

9. For a more detailed account of these settings, along with the music for thirty of them, see my *Ode to the Ninth: The Poetic and Musical Tradition Behind the Finale of Beethoven's Choral Symphony* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, 1992).

10. I refer to the long-standing belief that Schiller's "An die Freude" was originally entitled "An die Freiheit" (To Freedom). Attractive as this idea clearly is to a great number of individuals, it does not stand up to scrutiny. Professor Werner Volke, Curator of Manuscripts at the Schiller Nationalmuseum Deutsches Literaturarchiv of the Deutsche Schillergesellschaft in Marbach am Neckar has graciously communicated to me that no earlier version of the poem with the title "An die Freiheit" (or with any title other than "An die Freude") has ever come to light. Such an idea, in the words of Professor Volke, "gehört im Reich der Phantasie." Even Thayer believed in this nonexistent earlier version (Thayer-Forbes, p. 895, n. 24) as did Ralph Vaughan Williams (*Some Thoughts on Beethoven's Choral Symphony* [London: Oxford UP, 1953], p. 13). For the celebrated performance of the Ninth led by Leonard Bernstein in Berlin on 25 December 1989, marking the reunification of Germany, the word *Freude* was of course replaced by *Freiheit*. Given the special significance of the moment, only the most intransigent of curmudgeons would condemn the license. Other ways in which Schiller's poem has been misunderstood and resisted are discussed in my "Footnotes, Fantasies, and *Freude*: Once More on Schiller's and Beethoven's 'An die Freude,'" *Beethoven Newsletter* 9/2–3 (1994), 114–18.

11. Schiller's appraisal was made in a letter of 21 October 1800; see Friedrich Schiller, *Schillers Werke: Nationalausgabe* [hereafter NA], ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1961), XXX, 206. Written in 1785, Schiller's "An die Freude" was first published the next year in his own literary journal, *Thalia* 2 ([Leipzig: Georg Joachim Göschen] 1786), 1–5. For more on the

ion of the poem, then, he certainly never disowned it. Along similar lines, Beethoven had second thoughts about the Ninth's Choral Finale. His pupil Carl Czerny reported that on at least one occasion the composer characterized the addition of words as a mistake, and that Beethoven had given serious thought to a different, wholly instrumental finale.¹²

All of this has combined to reinforce critical qualms about the nature of the Choral Finale. The musical concerns expressed by early critics consistently address the manner in which the finale clearly breaks with the traditional view of how a symphony ought to end. The innovation lies not so much in granting the last movement greater weight than the first: that had been worked out by Beethoven in his own Third and Fifth Symphonies and adumbrated by Haydn and Mozart as well (most notably in their Symphonies Nos. 45 and 41, respectively).¹³ What made the Ninth so different beyond the addition of a text was the sheer length of the last movement. The symphony as a whole tended to overwhelm early listeners, many of whom threw up their hands in incomprehension. "There is so much of it," one reviewer observed after the first London performance in 1825. "And to crown all, the deafening boisterous jollity of the concluding part . . . made even the very ground shake under us." At work's end this same critic experienced not elation but rather "a sort of painful, melancholy sensation, similar perhaps to those feel-

publication history, see Fritz Berresheim, *Schiller als Herausgeber der Rheinischen Thalia, Thalia, und Neuen Thalia und seine Mitarbeiter* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Buchhandlung, 1914), vol. 40, *Breslauer Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 26–27. Other than omitting the original ninth strophe, Schiller changed very little in the 1803 version: the sixth and seventh lines of the opening strophe were altered from "was der Mode Schwert getheilt; / Bettler werden Fürstenbrüder" to "was die Mode streng getheilt; / Alle Menschen werden Brüder"; also the third line of the choral antistrophe of strophe four was changed from "Laufet Brüder, eure Bahn" to "Wandelt Brüder, eure Bahn." Solomon ("Beethoven and Schiller," *Essays*, p. 209) states that the 1803 "version is what provides the basis for Beethoven's eventual setting of the ode in the Ninth Symphony," but this is not entirely accurate. A careful reading of the *Thalia* and 1803 versions reveals that Beethoven's drew on both versions: while he used the 1803 version of the opening strophe, he retained the earlier *Thalia* version for the third line of the fourth choral antistrophe—i.e., "Laufet" and not "Wandelt." Smaller, less substantive modifications in punctuation further indicate that the composer was working from what was, in effect, a conflated version of Schiller's poem.

12. See Solomon, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: The Sense of an Ending," *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991), 289–305.

13. See James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), esp. "The Finale Problem," 183–85; Bernd Sponheuer, "Haydn's Arbeit am Finalproblem," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 34 (1977), 199–224; and Elaine Sisman, *Mozart: The "Jupiter" Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993).

ings that an enthusiastic lover of the sublime in nature and art would experience on viewing some splendid ruin, a 'mournful tale of days long past,' which calls up in his mind so many associations of former state and magnificence, that the soul in 'much contemplation' is subdued and disturbed."¹⁴ A year later the correspondent for Leipzig's *AmZ* recoiled in horror from what he considered the work's prodigious and disturbing dynamism. "The last movement . . . plays entirely in the hapless realms of those cast down from heaven . . . as though the spirits of the deep were celebrating a festival of ridicule [*ein Fest des Hohnes*] of all that could be called human joy." Continuing with the charge that Beethoven had trivialized Schiller's poem, this critic maintained that as the movement unfolds "the dangerous hoard emerges and tears apart the human heart, terrorizing the divine spark of the gods with wildly noisy colossal mocking. Beethoven remains what he is, an exorcist, whom it has pleased this time to demand from us something superhuman."¹⁵

From Paris, in 1831, François-Joseph Fétis attempted to keep the piece at arm's length by asserting that "in advancing age" Beethoven had begun to cast off "the conventions of taste and the desire to please, which had limited the impulse of his imagination in his first works." Robbed as he was of his hearing, the composer increasingly cut himself off from the rest of the world. And the composition that utterly "severed the final links that had attached him to the school of his predecessors" was the Ninth. There, Fétis declared, the composer displayed a fondness for "bizarre novelty," one that yielded "a prodigious combination of the most sublime beauties and most offensive shortcomings of taste, of the best sense and of the most complete aberration." Such a work "could never be compared with any other, because even regarding those things that are least intelligible and most blameworthy, everything in it reveals a gigantic power."¹⁶ For later critics, such as August Schmidt, editor of the *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, there was simply too much to absorb. "There is perhaps no art work that has ever been created that has towered so high above its time in idea and form," he reflected in 1843. "Beethoven has demolished the old form with a titan's power and erected a new one large enough to contain the sublimity of his ideas; his daring spirit transcends the limitations of the ordinary."¹⁷ Awestruck in the sense that Wordsworth had in mind

14. Unsigned review, *Musical Quarterly Magazine and Review* 7 (1825), 80–84.

15. *AmZ* 28 (27 December 1826), 853–54; trans. adapted from Levy, *Early Performances*, pp. 363–64. Levy (p. 364) suggests that the author of this review may have been Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, who edited the journal until 1827.

16. François-Joseph Fétis, *Revue et Gazette musicale* 11 (2 April 1831), 68–70; trans. adapted from Levy, *Early Performances*, p. 288.

17. August Schmidt, *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 35, 36, and 37 (23, 25, and 28 March 1843), 142–43 and 149–50; trans. adapted from Levy, *Early Performances*, p. 133.

when he spoke of being confronted with “an abyss of idealism,” critics were left to back away, for to uncover even partially the meaning of this movement would be to invite a kind of “death by plenitude.”¹⁸

Beethoven’s treatment of Schiller’s text came in for no small degree of criticism as well, particularly from those who admired the original poem. Louis Spohr characterized the composer’s setting of the poem as “trivial.”¹⁹ The critic of the *AmZ*, in turn, found that the words were dragged down in “an inexplicable manner”: Beethoven had “mutilated” Schiller’s “lofty” poem by presenting “isolated strophes” that “follow one another in an entirely changed order like fragments that the composer found by chance in his memory.”²⁰ Fétis argued along similar lines that “if one pays attention to the meaning of Schiller’s verse, one finds nothing in the musical expression that relates to it.” Once again corroboration for this position was based on the perception that Beethoven had “disrupted” the poem’s internal order.²¹

Another way of withstanding Schiller’s poem has been to stress only selected aspects of the portion of the text he actually retained. For Chrétien Urhan, in an absorbing article for *Le Temps* in 1838, this entailed emphasizing the poem’s presumed religiosity. The entire symphony is nothing less than its composer’s “moral biography,” the key to which is provided by the finale. There one hears “the renunciation of everything that is material and earthly” set to the strains of the most “ethereal and religious melodies.” The finale therefore “is the music of the church, but for the churches of heaven.”²²

The finale of the Ninth, it would seem, is a perpetual *tabula rasa* on which meaning is inscribed according to the dictates of whatever agenda happens to be at hand. Richard Wagner, for one, claimed to have discovered in the work “the secret

18. Thomas Weiskel uses this phrase to account for the subject of his *The Romantic Sublime* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1976), p. 12.

19. Louis Spohr, *Lebenserinnerungen*, ed. Folker Göthel (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1968), p. 180.

20. *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (5 July 1826), 215; trans. adapted from Levy, *Early Performances*, pp. 361–62.

21. Fétis, *Revue et Gazette musicale* 11 (2 April 1831), 68–70; trans. in Levy, *Early Performances*, p. 290. While it is true that Beethoven drew from only portions of the poem, it remains to be seen whether or not that process was the result of caprice or faulty memory; I shall return to this point below.

22. Quoted in Levy, *Early Performances*, p. 330, pp. 333–34. August Schmidt would revive the thought that the Ninth represents a form of musical biography or, more accurately speaking, autobiography, in his previously cited review from 1843: “He who never knew Beethoven would have to recognize him in this symphony. The great master has registered his entire artistic life with fiery lines: the infinite suffering that burdened his artistic soul, but also he has sketched in tones the infinite joy of his enlightened existence, in those tones that harmonically echo in his world” (Levy, *Early Performances*, p. 133).

of all secrets," even though the substance of that oraclelike revelation ultimately had little to do with either Beethoven or his music.²³ For Wagner, the Ninth provided a means by which to stake out his own personal narrative as well as the jumping-off point for his theories about the "music of the future."²⁴ Wagner reflected that although instrumental music has about it "the mode of infinite, indefinite expression," the arrival of the human voice after the purely instrumental first three movements leads to "a sure and definite mode of utterance" in which, "supported by the conquered element of instrumental music," chaos yields to light. (The biblical reference to the Creation is revealing; Schenker, as noted earlier, would evoke the same authority for the opposing camp.) Such light pointed in but one direction, of course: the "universal drama," subsequently to be rechristened the music drama.²⁵

From here it was but a small step for the Ninth to be appropriated as a shield of righteousness by those who agreed with Wagner as well as by those who did not. Against such a backdrop, the words from Schiller's poem set by Beethoven counted for increasingly little. On one side, Wagner and the "New German School" could declare that the symphony as a genre had run its course, whereas the more conservative elements of musical society could point to the Ninth's finale as an aberration. "The whole confounded 'New German' movement," Hans von Bülow would later aver, was the direct result of the Ninth having "trespassed over music's boundaries."²⁶

Caught in the cross fire of conflicting convictions about the fundamental na-

23. Quoted in Klaus Kropfinger, *Wagner and Beethoven*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), p. 31.

24. "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven," 1840; program notes for the Dresden performance of the Ninth in 1846, in Richard Wagner, *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, Volks-Ausgabe, ed. Richard Sternfeld, 16 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1911-16), III, 96.

25. Quoted variously from Wagner, *Prose Works*, ed. and trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1892), VII, 41-42; VII, 251-52; and "Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft," in Wagner, *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, VI, 96. For more on the Ninth in such triumphal terms, see Andreas Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte ihrer Aufführung und Rezeption*, Kasseler Schriften zur Musik, vol. III (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993), pp. 204-16. Wagner's source for the creationist notion of chaos giving way to light, ultimately stems, it would seem, from Robert Schumann. Writing on 11 February 1841, Schumann described the Ninth as expressing "the story of mankind—first the chaos—then the call of God 'Let there be light'." See Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, vol. I, ed. Heinrich Simon (Leipzig: Reclam, 1888), p. 55.

26. On the aesthetic ideology of the mid-nineteenth-century symphony, see Mark Evan Bonds, *After Beethoven: Imperatives of Originality in the Symphony* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP), pp. 138-74. Bülow's letter of 17 November 1888 is quoted there on pp. 172-73.

ture of music and musical expression, the Choral Finale found no true champions, either as a work of vocal music or as a vehicle of ideas emanating from its text. Schiller's poem was orphaned by later generations. To recapture the implications of this remarkable text in Beethoven's own time we must first come to grips with Enlightenment conceptions of the poem's central topic: Joy.

The Cult of Joy

Eighteenth-century sources consistently agree that Joy was one, if not the most, important aim to which a person might aspire. As early as 1690, John Locke optimistically opined that "all Men desire Happiness, that's past doubt." Moreover, "God Almighty himself is under the necessity of being happy; and the more any intelligent Being is so, the nearer is its approach to infinite perfection and happiness."²⁷ In 1725 John Clarke asserted that "Mankind neither are, nor can be concerned for anything but Happiness and the Means of attaining it," and in 1739 William Dudgeon wrote of "bringing about the great and good Design of final *universal Happiness*."²⁸ Three years later the Scottish philosopher David Hume eloquently proclaimed "the attainment of happiness" to be "the great end of all human industry."

For this were arts invented, sciences cultivated, laws ordained, and societies modelled, by the most profound wisdom of patriots and legislators. Even the lonely savage, who lies exposed to the inclemency of the elements, and the fury of wild beasts, forgets not, for a moment, this grand object of his being. Ignorant as he is of every art of life, he still keeps in view the end of all those arts, and eagerly seeks for felicity amidst that darkness with which he is environed. But as much as the wildest savage is inferior to the polished citizen, who, under the protection of laws, enjoys every convenience which industry has invented; so much is this citizen himself inferior to the man of virtue, and the true philosopher, who governs his appetites, subdues his passions, and has learned, from reason, to set a just value on every pursuit and enjoyment. For is there an art and apprenticeship necessary for every other attainment? And is

27. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), section 21.68; 279 and section 21.50; 265.

28. John Clarke, *An Examination of the Notion of Moral Good and Evil, Advanced in a Late Book, Entitled The Religion of Nature Delineated* (London: A. Bettesworth, 1725; rpt. Delmar, N.Y.: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1974), p. 51. William Dudgeon, *A View of the Necessitarian or Best Scheme: Freed from the Objections of M. Crousaz, in His Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man* (London: T. Cooper, 1739), p. 24 (emphasis in the original).

there no art of life, nor rule, no precepts to direct us in this principal concern? Can no particular pleasure be attained without skill; and can the whole be regulated without reflection or intelligence, by the blind guidance of appetite and instinct? Surely then no mistakes are ever committed in this affair; but every man, however dissolute and negligent, proceeds in the *pursuit of happiness*, with as unerring a motion, as that which the celestial bodies observe.²⁹

In sum, there can be little argument that the "pursuit of happiness," as expressed by the framers of the American Declaration of Independence (a phrase that can now be credited to Hume), came to be seen as the final aspiration of the practice of reason within a clearly delineated philosophical system.³⁰

Such thinking found a particularly enthusiastic audience among eighteenth-century Freemasons, especially in German-speaking lands. Wilhelm Friedrich Goetz, for example, in the preface of a collection of poetry published for the Masonic Lodge "Balduin zur Linde" of Leipzig in 1824, expressed the wish that the volume might induce those who read it to be filled "with holy Joy," for it is Joy "to which the Mason's life is dedicated."³¹ Even more intensely than in German culture at large, Freemasons perceived Joy as that which is granted the person whose life is guided by reason and self-understanding. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Masonic collections of poetry and social songs frequently addressed the idea of *Freude* (see Appendix B).³²

A central aspect of this philosophical outlook was the view of happiness as a unification of diverse elements and energies. Immanuel Kant, one of the principal architects of the Enlightenment, noted in the second edition of his *Critique of Pure*

29. "The Stoic," in David Hume, *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1985), p. 148 (emphasis mine). The essay first appeared in vol. II of Hume, *Essays: Moral and Political* (Edinburgh: Alexander Kincaid, 1742).

30. English writers repeatedly took up this subject. Issues 381 and 387 of Joseph Addison's *The Spectator* are exclusively devoted to the subject of "Cheerfulness." In no. 381 Addison writes: "Cheerfulness" [sic] keeps up "a kind of Daylight in the Mind, and fills it with a . . . perpetual Serenity." To my knowledge this is the first time the phrase "pursuit of happiness" has been credited to Hume.

31. Wilhelm Friedrich Goetz, *Auswahl von Liedern für die Freimaurer-Loge Balduin zur Linde* (Leipzig: Zum Gebrauch in der Loge und als Manuscript für die Brüder gedruckt, 1824), pp. vii–viii.

32. Gotthold Deile, among others, has noted the similarities between specifically Masonic poems treating the topic of *Freude* and Schiller's "An die Freude." See Deile, *Freimaurerlieder als Quellen zu Schillers Lied "An die Freude." Wortgetreue Neudrucke bisher noch unbekannter Quellen mit einer Einleitung Ueber das Verhältnis der Freimaurer zu Schiller: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Liedes "An die Freude,"* Bibliothek litterarischer und culturhistorischer Selbheiten, no. 6 (Leipzig: Adolf Weigel, 1907).

Reason (1787) that "the entire pursuit of reason is to bring about a union of all the ends that are aimed at by our inclinations, into one ultimate end—that of happiness."³³ Kant's use of the word "union" (*Vereinigung*) is noteworthy, for the idea of harmony is a central concern of the Enlightenment, of Schiller's poem, and, I shall strive to show, of the finale of the Ninth.

Simply stated, the Enlightenment's concept of Joy hinges on the synthesis of two seemingly discordant forces, the rational and the sensual. This theme resonates throughout German poetry of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, both before and after Schiller's "An die Freude" (see Appendix C). As the poet and jurist Johann Peter Uz put it in his own poem "An die Freude" (1749), Joy is the "child of wisdom."³⁴ His friend Johann Peter Cronegk succinctly summarized the point when he asserted in his poem "Ermunterung zu weiser Freude" (Exhortation to Judicious Joy) that "wisdom" was the "sister of Joy."³⁵ "No heart should be unfeeling," the Hamburg poet Friedrich von Hagedorn declared in his poem "Der Tag der Freude" (The Day of Joy): "Ergebet euch mit freyem Herzen / Der jugendlichen Fröhlichkeit: Verschiebet nicht das süße Scherzen" (Deliver yourselves up with unfettered hearts to youthful joyfulness: Do not disdain sweet merri-ments).³⁶ More cautiously, Uz expressed the same conviction in his poem "Die Freude": "Lernt, wie sich finst'rer Unverstand, / Verhüllt in trauriges Gewand, / Von wahrer Weisheit unterscheide" (Learn how the gloomy lack of reason, disguised in sad attire, differs from true wisdom). True wisdom, Uz says, "directs the mind to the constant delights that spring from the heart."³⁷ Similarly, Hagedorn, in his poem "An die Freude" (1747), summoned Joy as the "goddess of noble hearts," the "cheerful sister of sweet love! child of Heaven! the strength of hearts! the half of life!" More important was his praise of "Gracious Joy" for "enlivening reason" (Du erheiterst, holde Freude! die Vernunft!).³⁸ In sum, even before Kant's central formulation, philosophers and poets agreed that *Freude* emanates from the fusion

33. Immanuel Kant, *Werke: Akademie-Textausgabe*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968), p. 520: "In der Lehre der Klugheit die Vereinigung aller Zwecke, die uns von unseren Neigungen aufgegeben sind, in den einigen, die Glückseligkeit . . . , um dazu zu gelangen."

34. Johann Peter Uz, *Lyrische Gedichte* (Berlin: Johann Jacob Weitbrecht, 1749), bk. 5, p. 283, line 1.

35. Cronegk, *Des freyherrn Johann Friederich von Cronegk Schriften*, ed. Johann Peter Uz (Anspach: Jakob Christoph Posch, 1761), pt. 1, p. 206.

36. Friedrich von Hagedorn, *Oden und Lieder in fünf Büchern* (Hamburg: Johann Carl Bohn, 1747), pt. 1, p. 17, lines 1–4.

37. Uz, *Lyrische und andere Gedichte: Neue und rechtmäßige Auflage* (Anspach: Jakob Christoph Posch, 1767), bk. 3, pp. 101–02, lines 8–10 and 30–31.

38. Hagedorn, *Oden und Lieder*, bk. 2, lines 1, 5, 7, and 17.

of heart and mind, a union that in turn inspires the spiritual balance that for many in the eighteenth century was Enlightenment.

Schiller's conception of *Freude* was somewhat more complex. Whereas poets of Hagedorn's and Uz's generation sought Joy exclusively within Arcadian nature, Schiller transcended the conventions of literary tradition with his numerous evocations of "the starry vault" (Schiller's "An die Freude" is given in its entirety, with an English translation, in Appendix D). First in his *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1795) and later in his essay "Concerning the Sublime" (1801), Schiller would grant *Freude* a clearly delineated place within his larger philosophical program. Further, it could be said that "An die Freude" served as a kind of rehearsal for ideas argued in greater detail in the two later works. In all three, Schiller stressed the Kantian conviction that Enlightenment entails not only a merging of head and heart but also a synthesis of those forces that motivate humanity as part of the worldly here and now and as moral beings—that is, as beings who aspire to the infinite, or what the eighteenth century invariably termed the sublime. (Beethoven's enthusiasm for exactly this aspiration may be gauged in part by the well-known entry in his conversation book from February 1820, in which he copied out a paraphrase from the conclusion of Kant's *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*: "The moral law within us, and the starry heavens above."³⁹)

Without tracing Schiller's often complex line of reasoning here, it is essential to recognize that he places the success of aesthetic education on the reconciliation of the two opposing forces that impel humankind as physical beings and as moral beings. In the fourteenth of his *Aesthetic Letters*, Schiller argues that such resolution hinges on a *Spieltrieb* (literally "play-drive") between the two. To the extent that this *Spieltrieb* "deprives feelings and passions of their dynamic power," he writes, "it will bring them into harmony with the ideas of reason; and to the extent that it deprives the laws of reason of their moral compulsion, it will reconcile them with the interests of the senses." Schiller lauds this union in the opening strophe of his "An die Freude" as well as in the first and sixth choral antistrophes: "Freude, . . . Deine Zauber binden wieder, / Was der Mode Schwert getheilt; . . . Seid umschlungen, Millionen! . . . ausgesöhnt die ganze Welt!" (Joy, your charm joins again that which custom rudely has divided. . . . Be embraced you millions! . . . The whole world reconciled!). It is beauty, as one reads in letter 18, that sets this *Spieltrieb* into motion. Reflection nevertheless remains a prerequisite for aesthetic

39. The passage was not copied directly from Kant's *Kritik*, but rather from the article "Kosmologische Betrachtungen" by the astronomer Joseph Kittrow, printed in the *Wiener Zeitung*, 20 January and 1 February 1820. See CB, I, 235.

wholeness. It is only "at the aesthetic stage," when mankind contemplates his position in the world, that the infinite can be glimpsed.⁴⁰

This point is refined in Schiller's essay "Concerning the Sublime." There, Schiller insists, Enlightenment is possible only if one breaks beyond the beauty of nature to the sublime, an idea that once again is prefigured in "An die Freude": "Freude heißt die starke Feder / in der ewigen Natur. / Freude, Freude treibt die Räder / in der großen Weltenuhr" (Joy is the name of the powerful spring in eternal nature. Joy, joy drives the wheels of the great world-clock). Again the outcome is the same: "Aus der Wahrheit Feuerspiegel / lächelt sie den Forscher an. / Zu der Tugend steilem Hügel / leitet sie des Dulders Bahn. / Auf des Glaubens Sonnenberge / sieht man ihre Fahnen wehn" (From the fiery mirror of Truth she [Joy] smiles on the seeker. To Virtue's steep hill she guides the sufferer's path. On the sunny mountain of faith one sees her banners wave). Yet for all that Schiller crowds into "An die Freude," he does not successfully unite the beauty of nature with the sublime of infinity, a unification that would allow one to be brought back to "the world of the senses." The poem lacks the reconciliation of those forces that motivate humanity both as physical and moral beings—in short, it lacks the *Spieltrieb* that resolves the inherent tension between reason and feeling. Nor is there a moment of reflection that permits the poetic persona the capacity to attain complete liberation. By placing—and then leaving there—Joy's "holy place" up "above the starry vault" in "An die Freude," and in failing to provide the opportunity for contemplation whereby the reader might reflect on what such heightened consciousness might mean, Schiller does not sufficiently treat the dual components on which aesthetic education, or Enlightenment, is premised. As he would write in his "Concerning the Sublime":

The sublime must complement the beautiful [of nature] in order to make aesthetic education into a complete whole and to enlarge the perceptive capacity of the human heart to the full extent of our vocation. . . . Only if the sublime is wedded to the beautiful and our sensitivity for both has been cultivated in equal measure are we perfect citizens of nature without thereby becoming her slaves and without squandering our citizenship in the intelligible world.⁴¹

40. Schiller, *On The Aesthetic Education of Man in a Series of Letters*, ed. and trans. Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L.A. Willoughby (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), letter no. 14, pp. 94–99; letter no. 18, pp. 122–27; letter no. 25, pp. 184–89.

41. Schiller, NA XXI, 52–53: "So muß das Erhabene zu dem Schönen hinzukommen, um die ästhetische Erziehung zu einem vollständigen Ganzen zu machen, und die Empfindungsfähigkeit

To comprehend this last point fully we must come to terms with one last philosophical precept: the role of the artist within Schiller's concept of aesthetic education. This idea is taken up in exhaustive detail in the prodigiously pleonastic poem of 1789, "Die Künstler" (The Artists). There, Schiller writes, it is the artist who possesses the *Kraft*—strength, fire, vitality—to liberate humanity from "the mindless bonds of brutishness" (der Tierheit dumpfe Schranke) and the "the instincts of the worm" (Wurmes Triebe). The artist alone is capable of leading humankind to "the lap of joy" and "the land of knowledge," to where "sublime virtue" inspires "the power of the strong and the loftiness of the graces" (starken Kraft, der edeln Grazie). It is art, uniquely the creation of humankind, that enables one to rise "to the radiant seat of the most lofty beauty."⁴² Or, as Goethe would restate the matter in the "Vorspiel auf dem Theater" of *Faust*, "Wer sichert den Olymp? vereinet Götter?" (Who secures Olympus, who unites the gods?). His answer: "Des Menschen Kraft, im Dichter offenbart!" (The power of humankind revealed in the poet!).⁴³ Thus empowered, it is the artist who leads "Dem üppigeren Harmonieenspiele, / Dem reichern Strom der Schönheit aufgetan— / Je schönre Glieder aus dem Weltenplan" (To a loftier play of harmonies / and more heavenly things, / And track the stream of Beauty to its springs) to a realm where "Der Waldes Melodie floß aus dem Haberrohr, / Und Siegestaten lebten in der Liebe" (the sylvan melody flowed from the oaken reed and victorious deeds dwelled within love).⁴⁴ Herald, mediator, and secular prophet rolled into one, it is the artist who directs humankind to where "selbstgefäll'ger, jugendlicher Freude / Leiht . . . [die] Harmonie" (self-delighted, youthful Joy imparts harmony).⁴⁵ It is the artist who inspires Enlightenment in others.⁴⁶

des menschlichen Herzens nach dem ganzen Umfang unsrer Bestimmung . . . zu erweitern. . . . Nur wenn das Erhabene mit dem Schönen sich gattet, und unsre Empfänglichkeit für beydes in gleichem Maaß ausgebildet worden ist, sind wir vollendete Bürger der Natur, ohne deswegen ihre Sklaven zu seyn, und ohne unser Bürgerrecht in der intelligibeln Welt zu verscherzen."

42. "Die Künstler" in Schiller, NA, I, 201–14; respectively from lines 183, 197, 182, 35, 24, 211, and 460 (emphasis mine).

43. Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche* (Zurich: Artemis, 1953), V, 146.

44. Lines 414–16 and 149–50. The translation here is by Edward Bulwer Lytton, *The Poems and Ballads of Schiller* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, n.d.), p. 324.

45. Schiller, NA, I, 209, lines 284–85 (emphasis mine).

46. Schiller's pithiest pronouncement on this topic is to be found in his review essay "On Bürger's Poems" (1791): "While the expanded sphere of knowledge, and the specialization of professional occupations, necessitate the isolation of our mental powers, and their separate functioning, it is poetry almost alone that reunites the separated powers of the soul, that occupies head and heart, acumen and wit, reason and imagination in a harmonious cooperation that, as it were, restores in us

Schiller was not alone in valorizing the artist in messianic terms. In Germany such accounts are to be found from Herder to Schopenhauer and beyond, particularly in conjunction with the concept of genius.⁴⁷ Edward Young, whose *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759) was widely read and enormously influential among German readers, expressed the thought that "genius has ever been supposed to partake of something Divine."⁴⁸ To this Goethe added, "In general we believe that genius does not imitate nature but rather itself creates like nature." The genius does not slavishly follow rules; rules are derived from the works of genius. The artist of genius creates not in dismembered fragments but with an animating force that flows forth in oneness. Divinely mitigating between nature and culture, it is given to the artist of genius to cross back and forth between the borders separating the finite and infinite, the subjective and objective, the rational and irrational.⁴⁹ "Such an art," Schiller wrote in 1803, "is dedicated to joy, and there is no higher and no more serious undertaking. . . . The right art is that alone which creates the highest enjoyment. But the highest enjoyment is the freedom of the spirit in the living play of all its powers."⁵⁰

human wholeness" (trans. in Schiller, "On Bürger's Poems," *Herder, Lenz, Lessing, and Others: Eighteenth-Century German Criticism*, ed. Timothy J. Chamberlain, The German Library, vol. 11 [New York: Continuum, 1992], p. 263). Werner Keller (*Das Pathos in Schillers Jugendlyrik* [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1964]) argues that all of Schiller's early lyric output, including "An die Freude," was predicated on a "dualism of pathos."

47. The vast secondary literature on this topic includes Herman Wolf, *Versuch einer Geschichte des Geniebegriffs in der deutschen Ästhetik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1923), Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler, *Genius: Zur Wirkungsgeschichte antiker Mythologeme in der Goethezeit* (Munich: Beck, 1978); and Jochen Schmidt, *Die Geschichte des Genie-Gedankens*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985).

48. Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition: In a Letter to the Author of Sir Charles Grandison* (London: A. Millar and R. and J. Dodsley, 1759), p. 27.

49. Quoted from *Der junge Goethe 1757–1775*, ed. Gerhard Sauder (Munich: Hansler, 1985–87), I/2: 363. Kant's definition of genius, in his *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (1790; modern edn., Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1974), p. 241 (section 46), recalls Goethe's: "Genius is the talent (natural endowment) which gives art its rule. Since talent, as inborn productive capacity of the artist, belongs itself to nature, then one may put it this way: genius is the innate mental aptitude (ingenium) through which nature gives art its rule" (trans. James Creed Meredith in Kant, *The Critique of Judgement* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1952], p. 168).

50. Schiller, preface to *Die Braut von Messina*, entitled "Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie," in Schiller, *NA*, X, 8: "Alle Kunst ist der Freude gewidmet, und es giebt keine höhere und kein ernsthaftere Aufgabe, als die Menschen zu beglücken. Die rechte Kunst ist nur diese, welche den höchsten Genuß verschafft. Der höchste Genuß aber ist die Freiheit des Gemüths in dem lebendigen Spiel aller seiner Kräfte."

Beethoven's Joyous Reconciliation

Kant's *Vereinigung* and Schiller's *Harmonie* were concepts that moved Beethoven deeply enough to coin the word *Kunstvereinigung* (artistic unification), a principle William Kinderman has discerned at work throughout the composer's entire career.⁵¹ Beethoven also endorsed the notion of the artist as messianic prophet. In 1812 he urged a young admirer to "not only practice your art, but endeavor also to fathom its inner meaning; it deserves this effort. For only art and science can raise men to the level of gods."⁵² Committed as he was to ideas of this kind, it is scarcely surprising that Schiller's "An die Freude," with its numerous exhortations to a Joy whose "charm joins again that which custom rudely has divided," should exercise such prolonged fascination on the composer.

If Schiller's "An die Freude" served as a kind of rehearsal for ideals worked out in greater detail in later writings, a similar scenario suggests itself for the Choral Finale in Beethoven's Choral Fantasy, op.80 (1808), together with the songs *Gegenliebe*, WoO 118, no.2 (ex.1), from 1794 or 1795, and *Mit einem gemalten Band*, op.83 (ex.2), from 1810. The most obvious link is of course thematic, in that each work adumbrates the Choral Finale's *Freude* tune (ex.3). Less apparent are the literary connections. Although the identity of the poet for the Choral Fantasy has never been conclusively established, Czerny recalled that when his former teacher had decided on the work, "he chose a song [*Gegenliebe*] which he had composed many years before [as the basis of the principal theme], planned the variations, the chorus, etc., and the poet . . . was called upon to write the words in a hurry according to Beethoven's hints."⁵³ The full text of the Choral Fantasy can help bring into sharper focus the composer's concept of *Kunstvereinigung* and its consequent implications for the idea of synthesis in the Ninth's finale:

51. William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 1995), pp.1-14. Beethoven's thoughts on the topic of *Kunstvereinigung* were made in a letter of 29 July 1819 to Archduke Rudolph. For a translation of the letter in its entirety together with a brief commentary, see Thayer-Forbes, pp.741-42.

52. Anderson, I, 381; Brandenburg II, 274-75. Otto Baensch uses this quotation as an epigram on the title page of his *Aufbau und Sinn des Chorfinals Beethovens neunter Symphonie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1930).

53. Cited in Thayer-Forbes, p.448. Czerny believed the poet to have been Christoph Kuffner, a sometime member of Beethoven's circle. Nottebohm (N II, pp.495-500) discounts Kuffner as poet for the Choral Fantasy and suggests instead Georg Friedrich Treitschke, who in 1814 undertook to alter the libretto for the final version of *Fidelio*.

Example 1: Beethoven,
"Gegenliebe," WoO 118, no. 2,
mm. 115-48.

The musical score is presented in three systems, each consisting of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4.

System 1 (mm. 115-120): The vocal line begins at measure 115 with the lyrics "Lie-be n h-ret Ge-gen - lie-be, und ent-flammt zur Feu-ers-brunst, was ein". The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the right hand and a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand.

System 2 (mm. 121-126): The vocal line continues at measure 121 with the lyrics "Asch-en-fnk - chen blie-be, und ent-flammt zur Feu-ers-brunst, was ein Asch-en-fnk-chen blie-be.". The piano accompaniment maintains its rhythmic texture, with some harmonic shifts in the right hand.

System 3 (mm. 127-132): The vocal line starts at measure 127 with the lyrics "Wsst' ich, wsst' ich, wsst' ich.". The piano accompaniment becomes more active, with the right hand playing a series of chords and the left hand continuing the eighth-note bass line.

Example 1 continued

133

wsst' ich, dass du mich lieb und wert ein biss-chen hiel-test, und von dem, was ich fr dich, nur ein

139

Hun-dert-theil-chen fhl-test; dass dein Dank hbsch mei-nem Gruss hal-ben Wegs ent-ge-gen-

144

k-me, und dein Mund den Wech-sel-kuss ger-ne g b' und wie-der n h-me

sf

Example 2: Beethoven, "Mit einem gemalten Band," op.83, mm.27-36.

27

F h - le, f h - le, was dies Herz emp - fin - det, rei - che

cresc. *pp*

31

frei mir dei - ne Hand, und das Band, das uns ver -

sempre pp *cresc.*

34

bin - det, sei kein schwa - ches Ro - sen - band,

sempre pp

Example 3: Beethoven, Choral Fantasy, op.80, principal tune.

Schmeichelnd hold und lieblich klingen
 Unsers Lebens Harmonien,
 Und dem Schönheitssinn entschwingen
 Blumen sich, die ewig blühn.
 Fried' und Freude gleiten freundlich
 Wie der Wellen Wechselspiel;
 Was sich drängte rauh und feindlich,
 Ordnet sich zu Hochgefühl.

Wenn der Töne Zauben wallen
 Und des Wortes Weihe spricht,
 Muß sich Herrliches gestalten,
 Nacht und Stürme werden Licht
 Äuß're Ruhe, inn're Wonne
 Herrschen für den Glücklichen.
 Doch der Künste Frühlingssonne
 Läßt uns beiden Licht entstehn.

Großes, das ins Herz gedrungen
 Blüht dann neu und schön empor,
 Hat ein Geist sich aufgeschwungen,
 Halbt ihm stets ein Geisterchor.
 Nehmt denn hin, ihr schönen Seelen,
 Froh die Gaben schöner Kunst.
 Wenn sich Lieb' und Kraft vermählen,
 Lohnt dem Menschen Göttergunst.⁵⁴

(Caressingly kind and lovely, our life's harmony resounds, and the disposition towards beauty yields flowers that bloom forever. Tranquillity and Joy cheerfully flow like the ripples of a tide that temper rude and hostile desires into lofty feeling.

When magic tones resound and exalted words pronounce, glorious things must then take shape; night and tempests brighten into light. Peace without and Joy within reign on behalf of the happy. Truly the springtime sun of the arts begets light from both.

54. Text from *Ludwig van Beethovens Werke: Vollständig kritisch durchgesehene überall berechnete Ausgabe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, n.d.), series 9, no. 71. The arrangement here into three strophes of eight lines each is my own. I base this ordering on the fact that each eight-line strophe, as in Schiller's "An die Freude," alternates eight- and seven-syllable lines with the rhyme scheme a b a b c d c d.

The grandeur that penetrates the heart thereupon flourishes anew and splendidly on high, when the spirit soars upwards, a choir of spirits always resounds. Therefore joyously seize, ye lovely spirits the gifts of the fine arts. When love and strength are united, godlike grace is humankind's reward.)

Far from addressing "the mystical spirit of eighteenth-century Freemasonry, the new religion of liberty, equality and fraternity," as Edward J. Dent would have it,⁵⁵ the Choral Fantasy's text is nothing less than a distillation of the Kantian and Schillerian notions that the "ultimate end" of Enlightenment is happiness—the Joy granted the person who unites the rational and sensuous as well as the beautiful and the sublime. Indeed, the text encapsulates the cardinal concerns of Schiller's *Aesthetic Letters*, "Concerning the Sublime," and the poem "Die Künstler": an abiding faith in art as the highest form of human expression and the conviction that it is the artist's duty to safeguard and nurture humanity. The similarities between the text of op.80 and the three works by Schiller strongly suggest that the poem of the Choral Fantasy was written under Schiller's influence. All four works underscore the union of nature's beauty and the sublime and the *Freude* that flows out of this union. Each text stresses the role of the artist as a mediator for humankind in the attainment of Joy; and each emphasizes a singular formulation of *Kraft* in league with *Liebe* as one of two essential elements that must be joined in the quest for Enlightenment—love and strength being yet another way of signifying a thing disjoined in need of being made whole, be it the divided self, mind and spirit, nature and infinity, or human passion and human reason. Thus *Kraft* is not merely "strength" but also the vitality given to a life that has "joyously" seized "the gifts of the fine arts" and discovered the harmony to be had when the sublime is wedded to the beautiful. Intriguingly enough, the texts of the two other works in which Beethoven anticipates the Ninth's *Freude* tune treat only one half of the larger whole on which Enlightenment is contingent. Whereas the Choral Fantasy's text extols the "godlike grace" granted when "Lieb' und Kraft" are united, *Gegenliebe* treats only one half of the requisite alliance. As the song's title makes clear, "mutual love" might induce the beloved to "meet my greeting halfway." In *Mit einem gemalten Band* the protagonist expresses the wish that the beloved might "freely extend" her hand in order that "the bond that unites us [will] not be a frail ribbon of roses."

Beyond the thematic and literary links between the Choral Fantasy and the finale of the Ninth, there are sonorous connections as well. The union of *Kraft* and *Liebe*

55. Edward J. Dent, "The Choral Fantasia," *ML* 8 (1927), 117.

specified in the Choral Fantasy elicited from Beethoven a striking Eb-major sonority heard twice at the conclusion of op.80 (ex.4). A similarly inflected chord, again on Eb, is heard in mm.643–46 of the Ninth's finale. Many points of contact between the Choral Finale and Choral Fantasy have of course been noted before. William Kinderman, in particular, has called attention to these Eb sonorities even while concluding that "there is no analogous musical symbolism."⁵⁶ Pointing to a "similar network of sonorities" in Beethoven's *Missa solemnis*, Kinderman argues instead that the composer "absorbed this network of referential sonorities from the Mass into his next great choral-orchestral composition," the finale of the Ninth.⁵⁷ An alternative interpretation suggests itself through the sonority's initial appearance in the Choral Fantasy in conjunction with the word *Kraft*. As noted earlier, the concept of artistic power or vitality was taken up repeatedly in the writings of

563

Wenn sich Lieb' und Kraft, und

Wenn sich Lieb' und Kraft, und

Wenn sich Lieb' und Kraft, und

Wenn sich Lieb' und Kraft, und

Example 4: Beethoven,
Choral Fantasy, op.80,
mm.563–74.

56. Kinderman, *Beethoven's Compositional Process* (Lincoln: U Nebraska P, 1991), p.174.

57. I quote respectively from Kinderman, *Beethoven's Compositional Process*, p.172, and "Beethoven's Symbol for the Deity in the *Missa Solemnis* and The Ninth Symphony," *19CM* 9(1985), pp.103 and 115. See also Kinderman, *Beethoven*, pp.238–40; 243–52; and 279–82.

[illegible][illegible]

Example 4 continued

Hagedorn, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, and it had more than passing significance for Beethoven and his contemporaries. “*Kraft* is the moral philosophy of those who distinguish themselves above others, and it is also mine,” the composer declared in 1798. Writing to Breitkopf and Härtel twelve years later, shortly before the publication of the Choral Fantasy, he expressed uncertainty as to whether or not the work ought to be altered in some way: “Perhaps you would like to have a different text, since both text and the music were composed at top speed, so much so that I could not even copy out a score. But if a different text were used, the word *Kraft* would have to be retained or replaced by some other exactly similar expression.”⁵⁸ It would thus seem that the musical symbolism in the Choral Fantasy and Choral Finale is quite similar on this point, and that the complex of referential sonorities in the *Missa solemnis* and the Ninth Symphony have their origin in the Choral Fantasy. In short, it is possible to see in the sonic parallels of all three works a “harmony” not only of the mundane and sublime but also of the secular and the sacred, the joyous union posited as necessary for “our life’s harmony.”

The imperative of synthesis helps explain the plethora of formal strategies and compositional procedures that have long been recognized in the Choral Finale. As early as 1824, Friedrich August Kanne noted the movement’s “manifold energies” and “heaping” of “heterogeneous material,” and since that time commentators have identified any number of conventional formal strategies, often in an attempt to defend the work against the charge of “formlessness.”⁵⁹ To be sure, the finale mobilizes an array of musical styles, including (but not restricted to) double-exposition concerto design, sonata-allegro, variation, rondo, fugue, double fugato with diminution, double fugue, as well as the union of instruments and voices. To this there is also the *Alla marcia* with its “Turkish” music and the “Seid umschlungen Millionen” section with its modal inflections and trombones suggesting the *stile*

58. Beethoven to Nikolaus Zmeskall von Domanovecz, 1798 (Anderson I, 32; Brandenburg I, 41); Beethoven to Breitkopf and Härtel, 21 August 1810 (Anderson I, 288; Brandenburg II, 151). In his *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* of 1771–74, the Swiss aesthetician Johann Georg Sulzer had emphasized the importance of *Kraft*, devoting no fewer than ten columns to its aesthetic application. Robert T. Clark (in his article “Herder’s Conception of ‘Kraft,’” *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 57 [1942], 739) observes that “in most of Herder’s works—in all of the greater ones—the term [*Kraft*] appears on an average of once on every page.”

59. Friedrich August Kanne, *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 8 (1824), no. 40, 157–59; modern edn. in Levy, *Early Performances*, p. 91. Among the nineteenth-century critics who sought to defend the finale from the allegation of formlessness, the most prominent are perhaps Selmar Bagge, “L. van Beethoven’s Neunte Symphonie,” *AmZ*, neue Folge, 12 (24 January 1877), 53; and K. R. Hennig, *Beethoven’s Neunte Symphonie: Eine Analyse* (Leipzig: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1888), pp. 51–66.

antico and *stile ecclesiastico*, plus instrumental and vocal recitative culminating in the Bacchanalian, triumphant operatic-like conclusion.

Once again, many of the factors adduced for the resistance to Schiller's poem and Beethoven's setting of it have obscured the relation of the purely verbal text to the composer's musical strategies. If, like A. B. Marx, one looks to the finale as Beethoven's "consummate immersion in instrumental music," one is unlikely to take Schiller's verses all that seriously. If, like Wagner, one interprets the work only as the "redemption of music from out of her own peculiar element into the realm of universal Art," one is unlikely to inquire what is meant by the cornucopia of compositional procedures. To the extent that the words are deemed important at all, they become, as Scott Burnham has trenchantly observed, "a kind of free-floating ideological force," which "waves in the winds of our Western world as a blank flag awaiting the colors of a cause."⁶⁰ By extension, Leo Treidler's provocative question—"How seamless is the synthesis of genres in the finale, and does it all resolve as a new total form into which the individual components are assimilated?"⁶¹—would seem to have attracted few serious takers.

To begin at the beginning: what does the violent explosion of the finale's opening measures convey? At its most elemental, it joins two different triads, one on D minor, the other on B♭ major, the same pitches that figure so prominently throughout the symphony: D minor in both the first and second movements and B♭ major, the tonality of the second key area of the first movement and of the primary key of the third movement (and later, of the finale's *Alla marcia*). Thus from one vertical sonority Beethoven may be said to have gathered up the principal or significant harmonic regions of the first three movements and, most ingenious of all, from discord attain concord. Simultaneously, the collision of triads may be heard as a backward glance at the equally wrath-drenched music from the first movement, specifically the tonic pedal in first inversion of mm. 301–07, which ushers in the recapitulation—a means of extending cyclic integration all the way back to the opening movement.⁶²

Just as important are the finale's opening ninety-one measures, the section marked first by the *Schreckensfanfare*, then the instrumental recitative, the return of the *Schreckensfanfare* and still more instrumental recitative, and then finally the re-

60. Scott Burnham, "Our Sublime Ninth," *Beethoven Forum* 5 (1996), 158.

61. Treidler, "History, Criticism, and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," p. 26.

62. With the exception perhaps of the third movement, all of Beethoven's opening gestures in this symphony are epoch making. Is it possible to hear in the first sixteen measures of the first movement a parallel conflict with the start of the finale? In the first movement, against the metric framework of its duple time signature the violas and cellos with their sextuplet figures thus go against the

call of music from the first three movements, each of which is interspersed with increasingly insistent instrumental recitative. Many critics have maintained that the function of this section is to pave the way for the human voice into the hallowed sphere of the instrumental symphony. Maynard Solomon has gone beyond this to argue that "the terror fanfare and the rehearsal of themes are a return to Chaos—a re-destruction, an alienation of the achievements of the first three movements." Moreover, "it is not merely that the pathways of these movements have been rejected; it is as though whatever progress had been made until then is overthrown, as though one must return once again to the deepest reaches of disorder to launch a last attempt to break through."⁶³ To take Solomon's interpretation still further, I would like to suggest that the finale's opening section possesses at least two additional layers of meaning.

The first layer of meaning relates to the way in which the constantly recurring

prevailing grain. The onset of the first movement's recapitulation has become a *cause célèbre* in recent musicological discourse. Susan McClary, "Getting Down Off the Beanstalk" *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1991), p. 128, calls it "one of the most horrifyingly violent episodes in the history of music. . . . The desire for cadential arrival that has finally built up over the course of the development finally erupts, as the subject necessarily (because of narrative tradition) finds itself in the throes of the initial void while refusing to relent: the entire first key area in the recapitulation is pockmarked with explosions. It is the consequent juxtaposition of desire and unspeakable violence in this moment that creates its unparalleled fusion of murderous rage." The passage began life as follows: "The point of recapitulation . . . is one of the most horrifying moments in music, as the carefully prepared cadence is frustrated, damming up energy which finally explodes in the throttling, murderous rage of a rapist incapable of attaining release" (quoted in Charles Rosen, "Music à la Mode," *New York Review of Books*, 61 [23 June 1994], p. 59). Rosen continues: "The phrase about the murderous rage of the rapist has since been withdrawn, which indicates that McClary realized it posed a problem, but it has the great merit of recognizing that something extraordinary is taking place here, and McClary's metaphor of sexual violence is a not a bad way to describe it. . . . To continue the sexual imagery, I cannot think that the rapist incapable of attaining release is an adequate analogue, but I hear the passage as if Beethoven had found a way of making an orgasm last for sixteen bars." Suggesting as I do that the *Schreckensfanfare* harks back to the first movement's recapitulation, I must confess to never having heard the first movement's recapitulation—nor its counterpart the *Schreckensfanfare*—in the manner suggested by either McClary or Rosen. At the risk of revealing myself as hopelessly out-of-date, I endorse Tovey's description: "Instead of a distant nebula we see the heavens on fire. There is something very terrible about this triumphant major tonic, and it is almost a relief when it turns into the minor as the orchestra crashes into the main theme" (Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis* [London: Oxford UP, 1935], II, 18).

63. Solomon, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: The Sense of an Ending," p. 296.

instrumental recitatives create a sense of sonic recycling. Following the angst-laden opening of the movement, the refrainlike repetition of the instrumental recitatives endow this section with a sense of formal shape. In other words, the music here is *strophic*, albeit in a highly individual manner, for the opening ninety-one measures cast not only a backward glance at the first three movements but also a prophetic glimpse into the future of the finale and its organizing intelligence: the master trope of the *Freude* tune. The strophic design is founded on successive, ongoing transformation, the same musical process on which much of the remainder of the movement will be based. Significantly, Joy's harmonizing abilities are for the moment denied, for each time the recitative is heard, the musical event that ought to come next does not. The recitatives are followed not by song but by reminiscences from the three earlier movements. Only after these bows to the past is song ushered in at last. The act of joining is intensified when the same instruments—cellos and basses—now take up the song itself. The opening strategy of this movement, predicated as it is on intentionally thwarting the expected formula of recitative followed by song—and for the moment at least, not vocal song but instrumental—allows Beethoven, even before the entry of the voices, to “join again that which custom rudely has divided.”

The second layer of meaning suggested by the finale's opening ninety-one measures, in its sense of sonic recycling, relates to the way in which the orchestral division of labors helps join that which “custom rudely has divided.” The first *Schreckensfanfare*, entrusted to winds, brass, and timpani, is countered by the cellos and contrabasses with recitative; the second *Schreckensfanfare* again is given to winds, brass, and timpani alone, followed by another statement of the recitative for low strings. The recall of music from the first movement, in turn, features the winds in a purely sustaining, accompanimental role while the strings sound the movement's characteristic descending fifths and sextuplets. For the recall of the scherzo the roles are reversed: here the winds are given the principal material while the strings support. For the return of the Adagio Beethoven relies once again on winds alone. Only with the instrumental rendering of the “Joy” melody do the strings and winds play together, beginning at the upbeat to m. 117 with the bassoon's glorious counterpoint. Nevertheless, the strings and winds do not come together as one orchestral voice until m. 208 and the reprise of the *Schreckensfanfare*, this time for both winds and strings.

Of all the many stylistic and generic procedures employed by Beethoven in the Ninth's finale, the one that has generated the most intense scrutiny is also surely the most urgently appealing: the studied simplicity emanating from the diatonic,

four-square regularity of the *Freude* tune. Even Marx, for all his talk about the work's instrumental superiority, gladly set aside that concern in the face of what he deferentially termed "this innocent, simple folksong," which springs "softly articulated" from the "dull deep basses" as if from "some long-buried memories of youth."⁶⁴ "In its simplicity combined with the highest spiritual content," Marx maintained, Beethoven "sought only melody, the simplest kind of human musical language."⁶⁵ For Wagner, in his *Oper und Drama* (1851), the *Freude* tune was significant well beyond the Ninth, for with this melody Beethoven laid the "natural foundation" for all future music, breaking the fetters of absolute music because of "the necessity he felt as Musician to throw himself into the arms of the Poet, in order to compass the act of begetting the true, the unfailingly real and redeeming Melody." The *Freude* tune thus was the starting point for the entire Symphony: Beethoven "shattered" the tune "into its component parts" at the start and "only in the progress of his tone-piece"—that is, in the finale—did he "set his full melody before us as a finished whole."⁶⁶ Rhapsodically fanciful and brilliantly intuitive as Wagner's interpretation might be, we now know he was right in asserting that the melody had already been created by the time Beethoven began work on the first three movements.⁶⁷

In an entry in his *Tagebuch* from 1815, Beethoven observed: "If only one wanted to separate oneself from the past, still the past has created the present."⁶⁸ In the Choral Finale, it is the past, as Wagner discerned, that creates the ever-occurring present. The "Joy" melody is the Symphony's "begetting tune," and its diatonic simplicity recalls the past in yet another way, for every setting of Schiller's poem before Beethoven had taken its cue from the self-effacing modesty of the eighteenth-century German Lied. Song, as Johann Friedrich Reichardt affirmed in 1786,

64. "Diese unschuldvoll einfältige Volksweise." "In den dumpfen Bässen geht diese Weise . . . und zutraulich still dahin, wie langverschüttete und übertäubte Jugenderinnerungen" (Marx, *Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen*, II, 285, 284).

65. Marx, *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (22 November 1826), 375; trans. adapted from Levy, "Early Performances," pp.406–07.

66. Wagner, "Opera and Drama," in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893), II, 107 and 290 (emphasis mine).

67. See Robert Winter, "The Sketches for the 'Ode to Joy,'" in *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics: The International Beethoven Congress Detroit, 1977*, ed. Robert Winter and Bruce Carr (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1980), p.184; and Sieghard Brandenburg, "Die Skizzen zur Neunten Symphonie," in *Zu Beethoven: Aufsätze und Dokumente*, vol. II, ed. Harry Goldschmidt (Berlin: Neue Musik, 1984), pp.88–129.

68. Solomon, "Beethoven's Tagebuch," in *Essays*, item no.44, p.258.

"should be the simple and comprehensible musical expression of a precise feeling so that it can thereby encourage every voice capable of natural singing. As a small artwork, easily grasped at a glance, it must necessarily be a correct, complete whole, whose particular effect consists of the individuality of the vocal part."⁶⁹ Reichardt's characterization of the Lied as a genre imbued with simplicity and naturalness was echoed throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Commentators uniformly described the genre as reflecting the essence of nature. Johann Christoph Gottsched, the self-appointed guardian of German classicism, noted that the Lied ought to aim at an "exact observation of nature."⁷⁰ Seeking to encourage the emerging genre in 1739, Gottsched's disciple Johann Adolph Scheibe advised the would-be Lied composer to fashion a "natural" melody adhering to "a moderate range" and exhibiting a "free, flowing, [and] pure" style, thereby making it possible for such a tune to "be sung at once and without particular effort by someone inexperienced in music."⁷¹ Reichardt even had a test for determining a melody's naturalness: if it "leaves an impression on one who is not a connoisseur and remains in his memory, this is unfailing proof it is *natural* and *unforced*."⁷²

Reflecting on the tradition of the German Lied as well as the preceding three movements of the Symphony, the *Freude* tune is heavy with history in yet another way, resonating as it does with the songs *Gegenliebe* and *Mit einem gemalten Band* as well as the Choral Fantasy. In a certain sense, then, "the past" specified by Beethoven in his 1815 *Tagebuch* entry "has created the present," for in the principal tunes of the Choral Fantasy and the finale of the Ninth, that "which would have remained a tiny spark amid the ashes," to cite the text of *Gegenliebe*, does indeed "flare up into a raging fire." In the Choral Fantasy simple song ascends to where "a choir of spirits always resounds," and "Lieb' und Kraft" are united. In the Ninth, unaccompanied song

69. Quoted in Ernst Bücken, *Das deutsche Lied: Probleme und Gestalten* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1939), p.44.

70. Gottsched, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst für die Deutschen* (3rd edn. Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1742; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962), p.144.

71. Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (Hamburg: Thomas von Wierings Erben, 1738), p.302: "Eine natürliche. . . Odenmelodie muß frey, fließend, rein und überhaupt natürliche seyn, damit sie so gleich und ohne sonderliche Mühe auch von einem, der in der Musik unerfahren ist, kann nachgesungen werden."

72. From Reichardt, *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden* (1774), in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. and trans. Oliver Strunk (New York: W.W. Norton, 1950), p.701 (the emphasis is Reichardt's). For an engaging discussion of the way in which the songlike became a guiding precept for music in the nineteenth century, see David E. Wellbery, *The Specular Moment: Goethe's Early Lyric and the Beginnings of Romanticism* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996), esp. chaps.6 and 7.

works its way up to the movement's climax: "Do you fall down, millions? Do you sense the creator, world? Seek him above the starry vault, he must live above the stars."

The trajectory of the Lied-like "Joy" melody from the "naturalness" and simplicity of its initial presentation through its subsequent elaborations suggests a narrative progression emanating from the realm of nature. In eighteenth-century thought, *Freude* was viewed as both a goal and a return to ultimate beginnings. For poets such as Hagedorn and Uz, the origins of poetry were perceived to stretch back to the ancients themselves and their goal of promoting, as Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim affirmed in the preface to Uz's *Lyrische Gedichte* (1749), "gentle feelings, the likeness of nature, the noble simplicity of unadorned expressions."⁷³ Music too was thought to spring from the same source. Christian Gottfried Krause, in his *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (1752), declared as much when he wrote, "Joy is the primary source of music—Joy taught the first people to sing."⁷⁴

As Nicholas Cook has remarked, the reprise of the *Schreckensfanfare* in m.208 is the "litmus test for different interpretations" of the finale.⁷⁵ On one side of the cataclysmic shriek, which now involves not merely the superimposing of two triads but all seven notes of the D-harmonic-minor scale, there is music for orchestra alone, and, on the other, that which bids voices and text entrance into the do-

73. Johann Peter Uz, *Lyrische Gedichte* (Berlin: Johann Jacob Weidbrecht, 1749), p.3: "Sänftere Empfindungen, . . . die Ähnlichkeit der Natur, . . . der edlen Einfalt, dem ungekünstelten Ausdrucke, oder der schönen Natur der Alten entfernt." At Uz's request, the introduction to this collection was written by his friend Gleim. See further Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, *Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Uz*, ed. Carl Schüddenkopf (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1899), p.179.

74. "Sobald es nur die damalige Armuth der Sprache zuließ, bemühte man sich, sinnreiche Worte mit den Melodien zu verknüpfen, und diese dadurch desto verständlicher zu machen. Und so wurden die Lieder; das vornehmste Opfer, so man dem Herrn der Natur brachte; der angenehmste Zeitvertreibe" (Christian Gottfried Krause, *Von der musikalischen Poesie* [Berlin: J. F. Voss, 1753; first publ. 1752, anonymously], p.2). In a similar vein, Sulzer wrote: "Ihr [music's] Zweck ist Erwekung der Empfindung. . . . Der Zweck ist keinen Zweifel unterworfen, da es gewiß ist daß die Lust, sich in Empfindung zu unterhalten und sie zu verstärken, den ersten Keim der Musik hervorgebracht hat. Von allen Empfindungen aber scheinent die Fröhlichkeit den ersten Schritt zum Gesang gethan zu haben." (Music's aim is the rousing of the emotions. . . . There is no doubt about music's purpose, for its first seeds clearly sprang from the delight that was felt in maintaining and intensifying an emotional state. The expression of joyousness was evidently a first step toward music.) (*Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* 3 [1771–74], 424).

75. Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony No. 9* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), p.86. Stephen Hinton provides an engaging reading of this section of the Choral Finale in his "Not Which Tones? The Crux of Beethoven's Ninth," *19CM* 22 (1998), 61–77. I am grateful to Professor Hinton for making available to me a prepublication copy of his article.

minion of the instrumental symphony. Is Beethoven casting suspicion on the models of Classicism? Are the baritone's opening words—"O Freunde, nicht diese Töne! sondern laßt uns angenehmere anstimmen, und freudenvollere"—a renunciation of "instrumental music in favor of vocal as the only justifiable category"?⁷⁶ In one sense, the proposition of texted music being more agreeable is itself something of a paradox, for it was precisely because instrumental music lacked concepts (to use Kant's formulation) that it was relegated to the "agreeable" rather than the fine arts.

It is nevertheless possible to interpret the word "angenehm" in additional ways, none of which concerns the aesthetic disputes of the nineteenth century or the relative merits of instrumental and vocal music. One way involves the concept of *Freude* and its relationship to the fine arts, as discussed in detail in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*: "Joy is a noble faculty penetrating the soul with pleasures. . . . It originates in an extraordinary or abrupt feeling of happiness. It seems to be the most lofty goal of humankind. . . . Since it stems from the imagination . . . it yields itself up completely to present enjoyment. Thus it happens that while a person is nourished by Joy he will be a good-natured, pleasing and thoroughly agreeable individual [*durchaus angenehmes Geschöpf*]."⁷⁷ In other words, a person who has attained the Joy of aesthetic education will experience the emotional state of "agreeableness." Similarly, in keeping with the joyous reconciliation of extremes, the interruption of the orchestra's continuously complex variations on the *Freude* tune brought about by the return of the *Schreckensfanfare* in m.208 may signal that the journey is not yet complete and in need of something that will make it so. Although the "gentle feelings" of nature provide the necessary start for this quest, they nonetheless must be overcome if the goal is to be achieved. Schiller exhorts the modern (reflective and abstract) as opposed to the naive (natural and sensuous) poet in his celebrated essay "On Naive and Sentimental Poetry" (1795–96) "not to lead us back to our childhood" but to "lead us onward to our coming of age, in order to allow us to feel the higher harmony which rewards" the seeker "for whom the way back to Arcadia is closed forever, onward toward Elysium."⁷⁸

Although it has been claimed that Beethoven's understanding of philosophy was

76. Schenker, *Beethoven: Neunte Sinfonie*, pp.268–69. This proposition was of course anathema to Schenker.

77. "Freude (Schöne Künste)," *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* 2 (1771–74), 267: "Die Freude ist ein hoher, die Seele durchdringender Grad des Vergnügens, das aus einem ungewöhnlichen, oder plötzlichen Gefühl der Glü[c]kseligkeit entsteht. Sie scheint das höchste Ziel der Wünsche des Menschen zu seyn. . . . Da sie aus der Vorstellung entsteht, . . . überläßt sich ganz dem gegenwärtigen Genuß. Daher kömmt es, daß der Mensch, indem er die Freude genießt, ein gutmüthiges, gefälliges und durchaus angenehmes Geschöpf ist."

perfunctory, his decision to begin Joy's journey anew in the Choral Finale reflects a keen understanding of some of the complex critical formulations of his day. Indeed, the stretch of music beginning in m.208 suggests that he sensed the lack of balance in Schiller's poem and that the finale from this point onward is an attempt to remedy these shortcomings. Schiller begins and then keeps "An die Freude" in the sublime; Beethoven, after the reminiscence of material from the previous three movements, begins with nature and advances to the sublime only in stages. Thus the exhortation "nicht diese Töne" may refer not to the inferiority of instrumental music but to the idea that instrumental music, at least in this instance, is equated with nature, a realm that must be transcended in order to reach Enlightenment's state of Joy. The new start here calls into question the contentions voiced by Fétis (among others) that Beethoven had "disrupted" Schiller's poem. (The critic writing for the *AmZ* in 1826 was less charitable: for him, Beethoven had "mutilated" the original text.) Far from being haphazard, Beethoven's arrangement of Schiller's verses hinges on a gradual progression toward the sublime. Such deliberateness parallels completely the *Bildungsweg* of Enlightenment as formulated by Lessing, Kant, Goethe, Schiller, Hölderlin, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, among others. As Hegel reflected in his *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), the spirit "must travel a long way and work its passage" if it is "to become genuine knowledge." Such a transformation is not accomplished "like the shot from a pistol," but "as stages on a way that has been made level with toil." This toil is imperative, just as is "the length of this path"; it "has to be endured, because, for one thing, each moment is necessary" in order that the whole might be pieced together.⁷⁹

An awareness of this "long way" provides an enticing clue for why Beethoven reordered Schiller's poem. Schiller's poem is organized into eight, eight-line strophes, each of which is followed by four-line antistrophes specifically labeled "Chor."⁸⁰ Starting in m.237, Beethoven sets only the strophes from stanzas I through III, but withholds the choral antistrophes (see table 1). To have included the antistrophes as

78. Schiller, *NA*, XX, 472.

79. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977), pp.15–16. M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1971), chap.4: "The Circuitous Journey: Through Alienation to Reintegration," traces the path of Enlightenment taken by each of these authors mentioned above. Janet Schmalfeldt ("Form as the Process of Becoming: The Beethoven-Hegelian Tradition and the 'Tempest' Sonata," *Beethoven Forum* 4 [1995], 46) notes the similarities between the *Bildungsweg* and the theoretical writings of A. B. Marx. See also Solomon's observations on the theme of self-realization as an arduous journey in his "Beethoven, Freemasonry, and the Tagebuch of 1812–1818," *Beethoven Forum* 8 (2000), 101–46.

Table 1: Structural Overview of Schiller's "An die Freude" and Beethoven's Ordering in Choral Finale

Schiller	Beethoven
Strophe I	Strophe I [m.237]
Antistrophe I	chorus repeats second half of strophe Antistrophe I omitted
Strophe II	Strophe II [m.269]
Antistrophe II	chorus repeats second half of strophe Antistrophe II omitted
Strophe III	Strophe III [m.297]
Antistrophe III	chorus repeats second half of strophe Antistrophe III omitted
Strophe IV	Strophe IV omitted
Antistrophe IV	Antistrophe IV [m.375]
Strophe V–VIII [IX] & Antistrophes from same	omitted
	Strophe I [m.543]
	Antistrophe I [m.595]
	Antistrophe III [m.631]
	Strophe I (lines 1–4 only) + Antistrophe I (lines 1–2 only) Strophe & Antistrophe layered [m.655]
	Antistrophe III (lines 1–3 [m.730])
	Antistrophe I (lines 3–4 [m.745])
	Strophe I (lines 1–2 / 5–8 [m.763])
	Antistrophe I (lines 1–4 [m.851])
	Strophe I (lines 1–2 [m.904])

set forth in the poem's original arrangement would have denied Beethoven the possibility of advancing along this path by degrees, for it is only in the choral antistrophes of the poem's first half that the sublime is specified: through the reference to "ein lieber Vater" above the stars in the first choral antistrophe; and in the second through "der Unbekannte" whose throne is among the stars. By editing out (for the moment) these portions of Schiller's text, Beethoven constructs an entirely different kind of progression, one wholly suited for the journey from nature to the sublime. Strophe I lauds Joy as the "beauteous spark of the gods" whose "charm joins again that which custom rudely has divided." Strophe II (mm.269ff.) treats the harmony to be had between one friend and another as well as between man and woman. Only with strophe III (mm.297ff.) does the journey reach fulfillment, beginning "An den Brüsten der Natur" and reaching the apogee (mm.321-30) "vor Gott."

As to Beethoven's process of selection, by which he set only thirty-six lines from a poem that ran to ninety-six lines as revised by Schiller for the 1803 edition (108 lines in the first publication of 1786), the most obvious reason is the poem's sheer length. To have set all ninety-six lines would have resulted in an even more "superhuman" work.⁸¹ Beyond this, however, one of the more compelling motivations for the thirty-six lines ultimately chosen concerns the imagery of "harmony," the desire to join or rejoin that which is in need of being made whole, be it the divided psyche or the realms of nature and of the sublime. Without exception,

80. Of the hundreds of German poems I have examined from the second half of the eighteenth century, only a handful of others include sections specifically labeled "Chorus." These include the following poems. (1) Friedrich von Hagedorn's "Das Heidelberger Faß." The poem comprises three sections, each of which divides into a nine-line strophe and a four-line choral antistrophe; it was set to music by Johann Valentin Görner and published in his *Sammlung neuer Oden und Lieder* (Hamburg: Johann Carl Bohn, 1744), II, 59. (2) The anonymous "Einsames Filet-Lied," in *Lieder eines Mädchens, bey dem Singen und Claviere*, no.29. (3) Christian Felix Weisse's "Das hat er gut gemacht," in Weisse's *Scherzhaften Liedern* (Berlin: Rüdiger, 1758); the poem was set twice to music: by Christian Ernst Rosenbaum and Johann André; see Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1903), II, 105-06. (4) Five others are contained in *Lieder geselliger Freude*, ed. J. F. Reichardt (Leipzig: G. Fleischer, 1796): no.6, pp.15-16; no.32, pp.73-74; no.42, pp.98-100; no.46, pp.106-07; and no.49, pp.13-14. The 1803 version of Schiller's "An die Freude," as transmitted in *Schillers Werke: Nationalausgabe*, lacks the designation "Chor." This is an editorial oversight. See Schiller, NA, II/1, 185-87. As examination of the 1803 publication of the poem makes clear, the designation "Chor" is included there; see further, *Gedichte von Friedrich Schiller* (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1803), pt.2, pp.121-27.

81. The size of Schiller's "An die Freude" and the challenge its sublime "great length" posed for the composer become clearer if one compares it to other well-known contemporaneous poems. Goethe's *Erkönig* contains eight four-line strophes totaling thirty-two lines and 225 words. Goethe's *Gretchen am Spinnrade* comprises eight four-line strophes totaling thirty-two lines and 107 words. The 108 lines of the original version of Schiller's "An die Freude" yield 490 words, more than half again as many as *Erkönig*.

the lines Beethoven did select deal with some type of union. After the progression from nature to the sublime in the first three strophes, the next section of Schiller's poem set by Beethoven is the choral antistrophe of stanza four, which tells of humankind running "joyfully, like a hero to victory!" The appearance of the previously omitted first choral antistrophe finally discloses: "Be embraced, you millions! This kiss to the entire world! Brothers—above the starry vault must dwell a loving father."

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of Beethoven's reordering of Schiller's poem and the influence it possibly exerted on the design of the Ninth's finale is the separation of the strophe and choral antistrophe in the opening stanza. Beethoven's decision to detach the first strophe from its choral antistrophe allows him yet another means of reuniting something in need of being put whole. In fact, the quest to rejoin the severed first stanza's strophe and choral antistrophe turns out to be one of the finale's principal goals.

Whereas the beauty of nature was typically depicted by means of "gentle feelings" and the "noble simplicity of unadorned expressions," the realm of the sublime was widely perceived as being fraught with "pain," "danger," and "terror."⁸² The "highest thing there is in art," according to Sulzer's dictionary of aesthetics, the sublime "works on us with vigorous jolts" whenever "the psyche is to be attacked . . . , when admiration, awe, powerful longing, lofty courage, or even fear or terror are to be aroused."⁸³ Yet even if the trajectory toward the sublime does assault one in this manner, the journey must be undertaken. "Everything that is called life should be sacrificed to the sublime and be a sanctuary of art," Beethoven remarked in his *Tagebuch* in 1815.⁸⁴ Once the clamorous and potentially terrifying entrance into Joy's "holy province" is accomplished, the tonality moves from minor to major, and in keeping with the injunction that what follows be "an-ge-nehm-ere," and "freudenvollere," the voices sing the first three strophes of Schiller's poem in ever more elaborate variations.

After the chorus's great burst of sound at the words "vor Gott" in m. 330 and the sonority that vividly denotes the sublime, the juxtaposition of the "Turkish March" could scarcely be more striking. On one side of the fermata the music rises steadily, in keeping with the words "vor Gott," as if to scale the heights of the sub-

82. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1757), p. 13.

83. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* 3 (1771–74), 97–98; trans. adapted from *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Peter le Huray and James Day (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981), pp. 138–39.

84. Cited in Solomon, "Beethoven's *Tagebuch*," in *Essays*, item no. 40, p. 258.

lime. On the other side of the fermata in m. 330 (marked *molto tenuto*), the music plunges five octaves, from the flute's high a^3 to the contrabassoon's low BBb . The fall in register, the drop in key from D major to Bb major, the change of meter from $\frac{4}{4}$ to $\frac{6}{8}$, the sudden change in dynamics from *ff* to *pp*, the reiterated emphasis on the weak part of the measure followed by a full measure of silence (mm. 330–31 and again in the succeeding two measures), along with the battery of "Janissary" or "Turkish" instruments comprising cymbals, triangle, and bass drum—all this suggests the worldly here and now with earthly (if exotic) authenticity.

In effecting this return it is clear that the exoticism of the Alla marcia is not the same variety of nature depicted previously. Having attained a presumably Christian sublime, the music now turns eastward—a move that allows Beethoven to fold non-European and non-Christian cultures into his musical vision of *Freude*. Beyond this, the return to earth signaled by the march also makes it possible for Beethoven to satisfy one further philosophical principle suggested by Schiller. In his "On Naive and Sentimental Poetry," Schiller had asserted that nature and the infinite must be united if the two in isolation are not to keep humanity locked in a perpetual tug of war. Yet this "higher harmony" is "never completely concluded." "Strive for unity, but seek it not in uniformity; strive for repose, but by means of equilibrium and not by the cessation of your activity."⁸⁵ In his essay "Concerning the Sublime," as noted earlier, Schiller had similarly postulated the need for the sublime to be wedded to nature and for both to be "cultivated in equal measure" if we are to become "perfect citizens of nature without thereby becoming her slaves and without squandering our citizenship in the intelligible world." Returning to the worldly here and now in order to journey not "back to Arcadia" but "onward toward Elysium," the Alla marcia thus stands as a kind of way station in the journey toward Joy's ennobling reward. The juxtaposition of the sublime and the earthly at the start of the march may well be Beethoven's way of setting right the lack of "harmony" in Schiller's poem, for the composer's reworking provides the listener that moment of reflection through which the divine can be reconciled with the human.

The Enlightenment's concept of Joy is linked to the idea of a self in the process of continual struggle, development, transformation, striving toward the harmony of perfection—what the planners and practitioners of the German *Aufklärung* spoke of as *Bildung* or self-cultivation. It is possible to hear a comparable process in the transformation of the *Freude* tune in the Alla marcia and the way in which the theme is subjected to continuous variation. As the sketches for the Symphony show, Beetho-

85. Schiller, NA, XX, 428.

ven saw the introduction of voices as a process of discovery, one he originally thought to usher in with a succession of verbal tags for the recitatives at the movement's start preceding the recall of music from the first three movements. The recollection of music from the opening Allegro was to have been renounced because it "reminds us too much of our despair." The reprise of material from the second movement was seen as "not better, only somewhat more cheerful," and the third was "too tender; one must seek something more animated." Only with the appearance of the *Freude* melody is satisfaction at last expressed. "This is it," Beethoven triumphantly recorded on the sketch leaf: "Ha! *It is now discovered*. I will myself intone it."⁸⁶

The possibility that the *Freude* tune can be associated with a "self"—be it Beethoven or one more general in nature—has important implications. In his "Religious Musings" (1794), Samuel Taylor Coleridge wrote: "'Tis the sublime of man, / Our noontide Majesty, to know ourselves. . . . / The whole one self! Self, that no alien knows! / Self, far diffused as Fancy's wing can travel! / Self spreading still! Oblivious of its own / Yet all of all possessing!" (lines 127–26; 153–56). Goethe, in his *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (bk. V, chap. 3), says through the character of Wilhelm: "To tell you in a word, my wish and my aim since childhood has been the cultivation of myself."⁸⁷ And the ultimate aim of self-cultivation is happiness, a point stressed by Wilhelm von Humboldt in his *Briefe an eine Freundin* when he observes that in striving to know and to master himself, he had aimed always at two things: "To be ready to welcome any joys that life may offer and yet . . . to remain independent, not to have need of anyone, nor of any favors from fate, but to stand on my own feet, and to build my happiness in and through myself."⁸⁸ Beethoven himself, in a letter of 1823 to Archduke Rudolph, the same year as his sketch annotations for the Choral Finale mentioned above, wrote of the "great pleasure" to be had "when one discovers oneself in art."⁸⁹

86. N II, pp. 189–91. Thayer also provides a diplomatic transcription of these sketches along with the words Beethoven at first thought of including; see further Thayer-Forbes, pp. 892–94 (trans. adapted, emphasis mine). The sketch for the first recitative is found in Landsberg 8/I, 69; the second and third in Artaria 201. As Kinderman points out (*Beethoven's Compositional Process*, p. 162), Beethoven had originally thought to anticipate the appearance of the human voice in the Choral Fantasy, op. 80, with the text "Hört Ihr wohl!" (Hear ye well), but eventually abandoned the idea in favor of the introductory horn call.

87. Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche*, ed. Ernst Beutler, 27 vols. (Zurich: Artemis, 1948–64), VII, 311. "Daß ich dir's mit einem Worte sage, mich selbst, . . . auszubilden, das war . . . von Jugend auf mein Wunsch und meine Absicht."

88. Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Briefe an eine Freundin*, ed. Albert Leitzmann (Leipzig: Insel, 1909), I, 50.

The possible connection between the *Freude* tune, its identification with a "self," and its relation to the continuously striving process of *Bildung* is persuasive in yet another way. Forty-four measures into the Alla marcia, the tenor sings: "Froh, wie seine Sonne fliegen / Durch des Himmels prächtgen Plan, / Laufet Brüder, eure Bahn, / Freudig, wie ein Held zum siegen" (Glad, as his suns fly through heaven's magnificent plane, run brothers, your course, joyfully like a hero to victory). James Webster has sensed in these words a "somewhat unattractive image of male sun-heroes storming through the heavens."⁹⁰ The unattractiveness is anachronistic. The literary tradition of which Schiller's poem is a part suggests another interpretation. The reference to a *Bahn*, or path, toward which one joyfully and heroically travels, recalls the "long journey" or *Weg* of Enlightenment; the reference to "suns" would appear to be but a metaphor for the clarity of *Aufklärung*. Support for this contention is lent by a comparable bit of poetic imagery from Mozart's *Magic Flute*, an opera deeply admired by Beethoven and which may have inspired certain compositional strategies in the finale of the Ninth, especially the encyclopedic compendium of styles. At the start of the act II finale, the three boys sing: "Soon, to announce the morning, the sun will arise on its golden path [*gold'ner Bahn*]. Soon superstition shall disappear, soon the wise man will conquer. O gracious peace, descend, return again to the hearts of men; then the earth will be a heavenly kingdom, and mortals like the gods."⁹¹ The sentiment would seem to look forward to Beethoven's similar formulation that "only art and science can raise men to the level of gods." Through the veneer of the fairy tale, Masonic trappings, and the comic antics of a Papageno, *The Magic Flute*, like the Choral Finale of the Ninth, projects

89. The statement forms the conclusion of Beethoven's recommendations to Rudolph as they pertain to the latter's study of musical composition. He proposes that the Archduke subject a chorale to various types of elaboration, none of which will give his imperial majesty a headache, "ja eher, wenn man sich so selbst mitten in der Kunst erblickt, [verursacht es] ein großes Vergnügen." See Anderson, III, 1054–56; Brandenburg, V, 163–66; the passage here is from p. 165 of Brandenburg's edition.

90. Webster, "The Form of the Finale," p. 35.

91. The imagery of the fourth choral antistrophe of Schiller's "An die Freude" resonates in the works of Schiller and Beethoven in other ways as well. One of the poems included in Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* (1757) and set by Beethoven as the fourth of his *Sechs Lieder von Gellert*, op. 48 (1801–02) clearly influenced Schiller's poetic language at this point. The second strophe of "Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur" reads: "Wer trägt der Himmel unzählbare Sterne? / Wer führt die Sonn' aus ihrem Zelt? / Sie kommt und leuchtet und lacht uns von ferne, / Und läuft den Weg, gleich als ein Held" (Who supports the infinite stars of the heavens? Who leads the sun from its tabernacle? She [the sun] comes, gleams, and smiles on us from afar, and like a hero runs its course).

the sonic equivalent of a *Bildungsgeschichte*. Sarastro's pronouncement toward the end of the opera, "The sun's rays drive away the night," and that of the chorus immediately thereafter, in praise of Tamino and Pamina's having "penetrated the darkness" and winning for themselves the crowns of "beauty and wisdom," emphasize similar ideas. These parallels raise an intriguing possibility. Beethoven's abiding admiration for Mozart's opera may stem not only from its gathering together of a multiplicity of compositional procedures, but also from its vast array of styles and idioms, again in anticipation of the Choral Finale, that represents the synthesis of opposites at the heart of the Enlightenment's concepts of Joy and self-fulfillment.

From the standpoint of musical process, the orchestra's double fugue (beginning in m. 431) in the Choral Finale is developmental in nature, with its dense texture, frequent syncopations, and wide range of modulations (yet another implication of the words *fliegen* and *laufen*). And where does this struggle lead? To the return of D major (m. 543), which in turn coincides with the return of Strophe I of Schiller's poem and the reprise of the *Freude* tune in powerful homophony. The music now advances, finally, to the heretofore severed Antistrophe I, which tells of Joy's transcendent "harmony" (mm. 595ff.): "*Be embraced* you millions! This kiss to the *entire world!* Brothers [i.e., a united humanity]—above the starry vault must a loving father dwell."⁹² In other words, the entire Alla marcia is enclosed by music that evokes the sublime. Juxtaposing, as Beethoven does the sublime of mm. 326–30 with the worldly here and now (mm. 331ff.), allows the sublime, as Schiller would have it, to "complement the beautiful [of nature] in order to make aesthetic education into a complete whole and to enlarge the perceptive capacity of the human heart to the full extent of our vocation."⁹³

After the Alla marcia and the questlike journey of the quasi development of mm. 431–542, Beethoven weds the sublime to the beautiful once again by synthesizing the *stile antico*-like music of the Andante maestoso (mm. 595ff.) with a version of the *Freude* theme in augmentation (mm. 655ff.). This offers an even more glorious affirmation of the way in which the sublime and the beautiful yield the "complete whole" of Enlightenment and augment "the perceptive capacity of the human heart to the full extent of our vocation." Thus stanza one's strophe and choral

92. For a different interpretation of the *Freude* tune's progression throughout the movement, see Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie*, pp. 268–71; for him the Joy melody is a "feierlich-erhabener Hymnus," and its advancement from low to high register and from momentous simplicity to increasingly complex variations reflects the move from the individually human to the universally human.

93. Schiller, NA XXI, 52–53.

antistrophe are heard simultaneously, a potent display of the way in which Joy's magic "joins again that which custom rudely has divided" (ex. 5).

In light of all this, the purely instrumental ending of the symphony might well seem out of place. Why does Beethoven's great paean to *Freude* end not with instruments *and* voices but with instruments alone? If Beethoven were subscribing to a particular notion of artistic *Vereinigung*, would he not have concluded with both voices and orchestra, that is, the type of *chiusa* or *stretta* that, as Lorenza Da Ponte famously noted, is "the great occasion for showing off the genius of the composer"?⁹⁴ As it happens, the triumphant, ever-quickening tempo of the Choral Finale's concluding measures suggests in every way an operatic *lieto fine*, that is the "joyous ending" familiar from such works as Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, or *The Magic Flute*—all of which end with music for orchestra alone. As Wye Jami-

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ff *f* *sf* *sf* *f*

Seid um - - - schlun - - - gen, Freu - de sch - ne G t - ter - fun - ken

Example 5: Beethoven, Symphony No. 9, op. 125, movt. IV, mm. 654-56.

94. See Da Ponte's *Memoires* as quoted in Edward J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study* (2nd edn. London: Oxford UP), pp. 104-05. But see Daniel Heartz's comments on an earlier version of this passage included in Da Ponte's *An Extract from the Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte*, in Heartz, "Constructing *Le Nozze di Figaro*," in his *Mozart's Operas*, ed. Thomas Bauman (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 1990), pp. 133-34.

son Allenbrook has noted, the purpose of the *lieto fine*, one of eighteenth-century opera's most conventional of formulations, is to allow music to comment "on music in a purely musical way." In much the same way as in *The Magic Flute*, where the "power of tones" effects "a sense of joyous commonality," an ending for both voices and instruments would break the illusion of this type of unity. "The word is a distinguisher, a divider," Allenbrook states. "At the moment when the barriers between audience and performers . . . are to be lowered, language is an alien influence, hindering complete surrender to the healing process of music."⁹⁵ In the finale of the Ninth, music's preeminent exemplar of joyous union, it is scarcely accidental that Beethoven should end with the most economical and most expedient means of uniting "again that which custom rudely has divided."

But does the Choral Finale effect Enlightenment's joyous reconciliation? Are all the loose ends really drawn together? Does it arrive at the unity prized by the *Aufklärung* as well as that stipulated by nineteenth- (and twentieth-) century music theory?⁹⁶ If the movement is indeed a kind of musical *Bildungsgeschichte*, one final observation deriving from the philosophy of Beethoven's era may provide an answer. One striking feature of the educational journey discussed above relates to the arduous path undertaken by the solitary seeker, be it the joyous hero of the fourth choral antistrophe of Schiller's "An die Freude" or that suggested by Humboldt's comment that the "happiness" of aesthetic education depends on independent self-mastery. Kant also in his well-known essay "What is Enlightenment?" (1784) said exactly this when he wrote that "Enlightenment is man's release from his self-incurred tutelage. Tutelage is the inability to make use of one's understanding without direction from another. Self-incurred is this tutelage when its origin lies not in lack of courage but in lack of resolution to use it without direction from another. *Sapere aude!* Have the courage to use your own reason!—this is the motto of Enlightenment."⁹⁷ In the fifth strophe of Schiller's "An die Freude" (not set by Beethoven), one reads that this *Weg* will demand exertion and a certain degree of suffering: "Aus der Wahrheit Feuerspiegel / Lächelt sie den Forscher an. / Zu

95. Wye J. Allenbrook, "Mozart's Happy Endings: A New Look at the 'Convention' of the 'lieto fine,'" *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1984/85* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1986), pp. 2–3.

96. A. B. Marx (*Die alte Musiklehre im Streit mit unserer Zeit* [1841]) was by no means alone in expressing the conviction that "the chief condition of artistic creation" is that it manifests "the unified oneness of spirit" (see the modern edn. in A. B. Marx, *Musical Form in the Age of Beethoven: Selected Writings on Theory and Method*, ed. and trans. Scott Burnham [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997], p. 30).

der Tugend steilem Hügel / Leitet sie des Dulders Bahn" (From the flaming mirror of truth she [Joy] smiles on the seeker. To Virtue's steep hill she guides the sufferer's path).

More than a glimmer of this struggle is to be encountered in Beethoven's written reflections. In 1794 he noted in his memorandum book: "Courage! In spite of all bodily weaknesses my spirit shall rule. . . . This year must determine the complete man. Nothing must remain undone." The passing of almost two decades seemed only to fortify such thinking. In 1812 he wrote: "Oh hard struggle! Do everything that still has to be done to arrange what is necessary for the long journey. You must find everything that your most cherished wish can grant, yet you must bend it to your will. . . . O God! give me the strength to conquer myself."⁹⁸ There can be little doubt that Beethoven's desire to set Schiller's "An die Freude" was an ambition he cherished for the greater part of his adult life, one that may be said to represent the longest artistic journey of his existence. Nor can there be any doubt that the Choral Finale, as well as the Ninth as a whole, makes huge demands on performers and listeners alike. It is difficult and most assuredly possesses the ability, as the London critic from 1825 stated, to subdue and disturb those who would perform or otherwise interpret it. This may not be a bad thing. The work's "gigantic power," while potentially overwhelming, also thwarts the possibility of any single interpretation and in so doing keeps it alive and free to exert its own resistance. As Schiller himself put it, the "higher harmony" on the way toward Elysium "is never completely concluded." The road to the *Freude* of Enlightenment thus demands, as Beethoven himself allowed, constant struggle. Whether or not the movement achieves reconciliation is thus as open-ended as the finale itself, dependent ultimately on each individual possessing the willingness "to arrange what is necessary for the long journey."

97. "Aufklärung ist der Ausgang des Menschen aus seiner selbst verschuldeten Unmündigkeit. Unmündigkeit ist das Unvermögen, sich seines Verstandes ohne Leitung eines anderen zu bedienen. Selbstverschuldet ist diese Unmündigkeit, wenn die Ursache derselben nicht am Mangel des Verstandes, sondern der Entschliebung und des Muthes liegt, sich seiner ohne Leitung eines anderen zu bedienen. Sapere aude! Habe Muth dich deines eigenen Verstandes zu bedienen! ist also der Wahlspruch der Aufklärung" (in *Kants Werke: Akademie-Textausgabe*, vol. 8, *Abhandlungen nach 1781* [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968], p. 35).

98. Thayer-Forbes, p. 182 (emphasis mine); Solomon, "Beethoven's Tagebuch" in *Essays*, p. 246 (emphasis mine).

Appendix A:

An Inventory of Musical Settings of Schiller's "An die Freude" from 1786 to 1824

1. Christian Gottfried Körner. In *Thalia: Herausgegeben von Schiller. Erster Band, Zweytes Heft*. Leipzig: Georg Joachim Göschen, 1786. Körner's setting is included as a fold-out item immediately preceding this, the first publication of Schiller's poem. Körner's Lied was republished six times, in 1786, 1791, 1796, 1799, 1800, and 1815. The 1800 publication is perhaps the most interesting, for it is a collection of fourteen different musical settings of Schiller's poem: *Vierzehn Compositionen zu Schillers Ode "An die Freude."* Hamburg: Johann August Böhme [1800]. Strophic Lied.
2. Johann Christian Müller. In *Friedrich Schillers Ode "An die Freude" in Musik gesetzt und der gerechten und vollkommen zu den drei Flammen in Görlitz mit Unterthänigkeit gewidmet von Johann Christian Müller*. Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1786. Republished three times, in 1789, 1799, and 1800. Strophic Lied.
3. Georg Wilhelm Gruber. In "An die Freude": Ein Rundgesang von Schiller. In *die Musik gesetzt von Gruber, Kapellmeister*. Nürnberg: s.n., s.d. [1788 according to *Musikalische Real Zeitung*, 17 December 1788]. Strophic Lied.
4. Johann Gottlieb Naumann. In *Vierzehn Compositionen zu Schiller's Ode "An die Freude,"* 1800 [composed 1787]. Republished three times, twice in 1800 and in an undated publication from early 19th century. Strophic Lied.
5. Friedrich Franz Hurka. In *Scherz und Ernst in zwölf Liedern*. Dresden: Hilscher, 1789. Republished six times in specifically Masonic song collections from 1799 to 1837. Strophic Lied.
6. Christoph Rheineck. In *Fünfte Lieder-Sammlung mit Klavier-Melodien: In die Musik gesetzt von Christophe Rheineck, Gastgeber zum weissen Ochsen in Memmingen*. Memmingen: Verlag des Componisten, 1790. Strophic Lied.
7. Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg. In *Musikalischer Potpourri*. Stuttgart: s.n., 1791. Strophic Lied. According to Max Friedlander, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert: Quellen und Studien*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. C. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1902), II, 391, this is the first of two settings by Zumsteeg; see also, below no. 16. Of the two, I have been unable to locate this one.
8. Anonymous. In: *Die Familie von Eden oder gemeinnüt[zi]ge Bibliothek des Christianismus für dessen Freunde und Gegner. . . Melodien zu den Ausgewählten Gesängen gesammelt von Johann Konrad Pfenninger*. Zürich: s.n., 1792. Strophic Lied.
9. Carl Friedrich Zelter. In *Journal für Gemeinde* (December 1792). Republished twice, in 1792 and 1800. Strophic setting for four-part men's chorus.
10. Wilhelm Friedrich Schulz. In *Lieder am Clavier: In Musik gesetzt und Ihro Königlichen Hoheit der Prinzessin Augusta von Preussen unterthänigst zugeeignet von W. F. Schulz, Hofmusikus bei Ihro Majestät der regierenden Königen von Preußen*. Berlin:

- Relstabschen Musikhandlung und Musikdruckerey, 1794. Republished twice, in 1799 and 1800. Strophic Lied.
11. C. G. Telonius. In *Freymaurer-Lieder mit Melodien*. Herausgegeben von F. M. Böheim. Berlin, s.n., 1795. Strophic Lied.
 12. Anonymous. In *Taschenbuch für Freunde des Gesanges*. Zweytes Bändchen. Stutt[*g*]art: Johann Friedrich Steinkopf, 1796. Strophic Lied.
 13. Peter Grönland. In *Notenbuch zu den akademischen Liederbuch herausgegeben von Grönland*. Zweyter Theil. Leipzig und Altona: J. H. Kaven, 1796. Republished in 1803. Strophic Lied.
 14. Carl Gottlob Hausius. In *Frohe und gesellige Lieder für das Clavier*. Leipzig: Breitkopfische Musikhandlung, 1796. Strophic Lied.
 15. Johann Friedrich Christmann. In: *Oden und Lieder für das Klavier*. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1796. Republished twice, in 1799 and 1800. Strophic Lied.
 16. Johann Friedrich Reichardt. In *Lieder geselliger Freude: Herausgegeben von Johann Friedrich Reichardt*. Leipzig: G. Fleischer, 1796. Republished three times, in 1799, 1800, and 1817. Strophic Lied.
 17. Johann Friedrich Reichardt. "Neue Melodie." In *Musikalischer Almanach herausgegeben von Johann Friedrich Reichardt*. Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1796. Republished in 1810. Strophic Lied.
 18. Friedrich Wilhelm Rust. In *Oden und Lieder aus den besten deutschen Dichtern, mit Begleitung des Claviers, in Musik gesetzt von Friedrich Wilhelm Rust*. Zweite Sammlung. Leipzig: Georg August Grieshammer, 1796. Strophic Lied
 19. Friedrich Wilhelm Rust. "Eine veränderte Melodie" (a different melody). In *Oden und Lieder aus den besten deutschen Dichtern mit Begleitung des Claviers in Musik gesetzt von Friedrich Wilhelm Rust*. Zweite Sammlung. Leipzig: Georg August Grieshammer, 1796. Strophic Lied with choral refrain for the antistrophe specifically labeled "Chor."
 20. Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg. In *Melodien zum Taschenbuch für Freunde des Gesanges*. Zweytes Bändchen. Stuttgart: Johann Friedrich Steinkopf, 1796. The second of two settings by Zumsteeg; see also no.6 above. Strophic Lied.
 21. Tepper von Ferguson. In *Schillers Ode "An die Freude," in Musik gesezt von Tepper von Ferguson*. Hamburg: Günther und Böhme [1797]. Through-composed setting for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass vocal soloists, four-part chorus, and keyboard.
 22. Joseph Anton Fehr. In *Friedens Lied—das Lied an die Freude [,] Nebst sechs deutsche Tänzen fürs Klavier*. Bergen: J. Brentano, 1798. Strophic Lied.
 23. Johann Friedrich Hugo Freiherr von Dalberg. In *Ode "An die Freude" von Schiller:*

- Musik von F. H. von Dalberg*. Bonn: N[ikolaus]. Simrock [1799]. Republished in 1799. Strophic Lied.
24. Friedrich Ludwig Seidel. In *Schillers Ode "An die Freude": In Musik gesetzt von 9 verschiedenen Componisten*. Berlin: Rellstab [1799]. Republished once, in 1800. Strophic Lied.
 25. Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab. In *Vierzehn Compositionen zu Schillers Ode an die Freude*. [1800] Strophic Lied.
 26. A. B. Schulz. In *Vierzehn Compositionen zu Schillers Ode an die Freude*. [1800] Strophic Lied.
 27. Carl Friedrich Zelter. In *Schillers Ode "An die Freude": In Musik gesetzt von 9 verschiedenen Componisten*. Republished once, in 1800. Strophic Lied.
 28. Johann Ludwig Willing. In *Vierzehn Compositionen zu Schillers Ode an die Freude*. Strophic Lied.
 29. Anonymous. In *Gesangboek voor Vrijmetselaaren*. Amsterdam: J. S. Van Esveldt-Holtrop, 1806. Strophic Lied.
 30. Hans Georg Nägeli. In *Teutonia. Rundgesänge und Liederchöre*. Zurich: published by the composer, 1808–14, pt. 6, pp. 135–39. Strophic setting for solo voice and chorus.
 31. Anonymous. In *Lieder für Freymaurer der Loge zur Ceder*. Hannover: Tafel-Logen, 1809. Strophic Lied.
 32. Anonymous. In *Vollständiges Gesangbuch für Freimaurer: Zum Gebrauch der grossen-National-Mutter-Loge Zu den drei Weltkugeln in Berlin, und aller mit ihr vereinigten Logen in Deutschland. Fünfte verbesserte und mit drei Anhängen vermehrte Auflage*. Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1813. Strophic Lied.
 33. Anonymous. In *Mildheimisches Lieder-Buch von acht hundert lustigen und ernsthaften Gesängen über alle Dinge in der Welt und alle Umstände des menschlichen Lebens, die man besingen kann. Neue vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe*. Gotha: Beckerschen Buchhandlung, 1815. Strophic Lied.
 34. Franz Schubert. Composed in 1815; first published in 1829. Strophic Lied.
 35. Peter von Winter. In *Freude, schöner Götterfunken von F. Schiller, für vier Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte in Musik gesetzt von Peter von Winter*. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel [1818]. Through-composed setting for four-part chorus.
 36. Anonymous. In *Vollständiges Gesangbuch für Freimaurer. Zum Gebrauch der grossen-National-Mutter-Loge Zu den drei Weltkugeln in Berlin und aller mit ihr vereinigten Logen in Deutschland*. Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1819. Strophic Lied.
 37. Anonymous. In *Liederbuch der Freimaurer-Loge Minerva zu den drei Palmen in Leipzig. Nur für Brüder zum Besten der Armenkasse käuflich*. Leipzig: Für die Loge gedruckt vom Br. Vögel, 1822. Strophic Lied.

38. Anonymous. In *Mildheimisches Lieder-Buch von acht hundert lustigen und ernsthaften Gesängen über alle Dinge in der Welt. . . . Gesammelt für Freunde erlaubter Fröhlichkeit und echter Tugend, die den Kopf nicht hängt. Neue vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe. Zweyte Auflage.* Gotha: Beckersche Buchhandlung, 1822. Strophic Lied.
39. Anonymous. In *Sammlung Maurerische Lieder zum Gebrauch der zum Sprengel der Provinzial-Loge von Niedersachsen gehörigen Logen.* Hamburg: J. C.W. Hanaan, 1823. Strophic Lied.
40. Franz Ignaz Danzi. In *Ode "An die Freude" von Schiller und Danzi.* Berlin: Günther, n.d. Modified strophic setting for four-part chorus.
41. Nikolaus Freiherr von Krufft. In *"An die Freude" von Friedrich Schiller für Stimme mit Chor und Clavier-Begleitung gesetzt und dem Herrn Grafen Moritz von Dietrichstein gewidmet von dem Freyherrn Niklas [sic] von Krufft.* Vienna and Pesth: s.n., s.d. [1803 to 1818?]. Strophic setting for solo voice and chorus.
42. Anonymous. In *Auswahl von Liedern für Freimaurer-Loge Balduin zur Linde in Leipzig. Zum Gebrauch in der Loge und als Manuscript für die Brüder gedruckt.* Leipzig: s.n., 1824. Strophic Lied.

Appendix B:

An Inventory of Freude-related Poems and Lieder in Eighteenth- and Early- Nineteenth- Century Masonic Publications

1. Anonymous. "Die Freude." In *Neue Freymäurer Lieder: Verfertigt und herausgegeben von einem Mitgliede der Loge Zorobabel*. Kopenhagen: Franz Christian Mumme, 1749. Also in *Freymäurerlieder mit Melodien*. Berlin: G. L. Winter, 1771, 32–33.
2. Heinrich Christian Schnoor, "Die Freude." In *Freymäurerlieder mit Melodien*. Berlin: G. L. Winter, 1771. Transmits four strophes only of a five-strophe poem. Also in: *Auswahl von Freymäurerlieder*. Frankfurt an der Oder: In Commission bey Strauss, 1781. Viertes Buch, p.82; *Freymaurer-Lieder mit Melodien: Erste Sammlung: Dritte Auflage*. Hamburg: s.n., 1782, p.38. *Lieder mit Melodien zum Gebrauch der Loge Zu den drey Degen in Halle*. Halle: Christian Gottlob Täubel; *Freimaurerlieder in Musik gesetzt zum Gebrauch einiger Logen in Riga und Livland*. Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, 1785, pp.100–01; *Allgemeines Gesangbuch für Freymäurer*. Danzig: Heinrich Carl Brückner, 1784, 124, under the heading "Aufmunterung zur Freude"; *Neue Freymäurer Lieder mit Melodien von J. T. S. S.l.*, s.n., pp.4–5, the only source to transmit all five strophes.
3. Anonymous. "Einladung." In *Freymaurer-Lieder*. S.l., s.n., 1775. no.2. Second strophe begins: "Genießt im Maurerschmuck auch heute, / Vor ungeweihten Blick versteckt, / Die weis' und unschuldvolle Freude."
4. Anonymous. Untitled poem beginning "Erkömmt, umkränzt mit Freude." In: *Auswahl von Freymäurerlieder: Zweytes Buch*. Frankfurt an der Oder: In Commission bey Strauss, 1781, pp.27–29.
5. Anonymous. "An meine Geschwister." In *Lieder, zu singen für Freimäurerlogen: Herausgegeben von Balthasar Ockel, substit: Redner der Loge Joseph Zu den drei Helmen: Erstes Theilchen*. Wetzlar: In Kommission bei dem ältern Krieger in Giessen, 1782, p.56. The third strophe begins: "So wallen wir auf sanfter Bahn / Der Freude stets entgegen!"
6. Anonymous. The poem with opening lines "Mit Freuden, ihr Brüder, betretet die Gleise zum Wege des Lebens," in *Gesänge für Maurer mit neuen Melodien*. Dresden: s.n., 1782, pp.38–39.
7. Anonymous. "Freuden des Maurers," with opening lines "Auf, die im Kreis erwählter Freude die stille Weisheit sich gewiecht," 102–05; and
8. Anonymous. "Die Freude," with opening lines "Willkommen, o Freude im rosigsten Kleide!," 106–09; and
9. Anonymous. The poem with opening lines "Die Freude flieh von unsren Mauern," 114–15, in *Freimaurerlieder in Musik gesetzt zum Gebrauch einiger Logen in Riga und Livland*. Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, 1785.
10. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Although not a Lied, Mozart's, *Die Maurensfreude*, K.471, a "Cantata für Solo-Tenor, Männerchor und Orchester," first performed at the Lodge "Zur gekrönten Hoffnung" on 24 April 1785, to a text by Franz

Petran, is included here because of the way in which it treats the topic of *Freude*. The text of the opening Allegro reads in part (in translation): "See how, step by step, nature reveals its countenance to the observing searcher's gaze, as it [nature] fills him with lofty wisdom full of understanding and a heart full of virtue. This is a pleasing sight to the Mason: the true ardent Mason's joy."

11. Mozart. Masonic Cantata, K.623, *Laut verkünde unsre Freude*, text by Emanuel Schikaneder (?), for two tenors and bass soloists, men's chorus, and orchestra. Katherine Thomson (*The Masonic Thread in Mozart* [London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1977], p.173) suggests that the text is by Karl Ludwig Giesecke. Included for the same reasons as given for no. 10. First performed on 18 November 1791 for the dedication of the Masonic Lodge "Zur gekrönten Hoffnung." The lengthy text includes the lines: "Begin the work joyfully, and he, too, who has begun already, let him begin afresh today. If we have completely attuned our hearts and words to virtue in this place, oh, then envy is silenced, and the wish that crowns our hope completely fulfilled."
12. Anonymous. "Free-Mason's Song." In *The German songster, or a collection of favourite airs, with their original music, done into English, by the translator of the German Erato*. 2nd edn. Berlin: G. C. Nauk, 1800, 10–11. The song is a simplified paraphrase of the first two phrases of "Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen" from Mozart's *Magical Flute*.
13. Johann Peter Uz. "An die Freude." In *Vollständiges Gesangbuch für Freimaurer: Zum Gebrauch der grossen-National-Mutter-Loge zu den drei Weltkugeln in Berlin in aller mit ihr vereinigten Logen in Deutschland*. Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1813, 104.
14. August Mahlmann. "Freude! Schwester edler Seelen." In *Neue Auswahl von Maurer Gesängen*. 1814. Music and poem on pp.203–05.
15. August Mahlmann. "Freude, holdes Götterkind." In *Liederbuch der Freimaurer-Loge Minerva zu den drei Palmen in Leipzig. Nur für Brüder zum Besten der Armenkasse käuflich*. Leipzig: Für die Loge gedruckt vom Br.Vögel, 1822. no.68, 95–96.
16. Johann Frierich von Hagedorn. "Unschuld und Freude," no.48, pp.107–08, and
17. Anonymous. "An die Freude." In *Liederkreis für Freimaurer*. Dresden: Br. Gärtner, 1823, no.25, pp.55–56.
18. Hagedorn. "An die Freude." In *Lieder zum Gebrauch der unter der Constitution der Grossen Provinzial-Loge von Hamburg und Nieder-Sachsen arbeitenden Logen*. Als Manuscript für Brüder. Hamburg: s.d. no.50, pp.92–92.
19. Anonymous. Poem with opening lines "Lass't uns ihm zu Ehren trinken." In *Liederbuch der ger. und vollk. Loge Carl zu den drey Schüsseln*. Regensburg: s.d., 41. The last stanza reads: "Freude, die im Himmel thronet / Kehrt auch oft auf Erden ein. / Wahrlich! Brüder, es verlohnet / Doch der mühe, Mensch zu sein!"

Appendix C:

An Inventory of Eighteenth- Century Poems Treating the Topic of Freude before Schiller

1. Barthold Heinrich Brockes. *Auszug der vornehmsten Gedichte aus dem irdischen Vergnügen in Gott, mit Genehmhaltung des Herrn Verfassers gesammelt und mit verschiedenen Kupfern licit gestalt*, ed. M. A. Wilken and Friedrich von Hagedorn. Hamburg: C. Herold, 1738; facs. edn. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1965.
2. Johann Friedrich von Hagedorn. "An die Freude." In *Oden und Lieder*. Hamburg: Johann Carl Bohn, 1744, vol. 2, pp. 41–42.
3. Hagedorn. "Der Tag der Freude." In *Oden und Lieder in fünf Büchern*. Hamburg: Johann Carl Bohn, 1747, vol. 1, p. 17.
4. Johann Peter Uz. "An die Freude." In *Lyrische Gedichte*. Berlin: Johann Jacob Weitbrecht, 1749, vol. 5, pp. 283–86.
5. Friedrich Klopstock. "Der Zürchersee" [1750]. In his *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Karl August Schleiden. Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1962. Quoting in part, beginning line 29: "Goddess of Joy, yourself! you, we felt you! Yes, it was you yourself, sister of humanity, playmate of your innocence. . . . Ah, you [Joy] make feeling victorious. . . . When it [Joy] penetrates the heart, and awakens every thought to resolve . . . ; when you teach one to scorn what is not worthy of the wise."
6. Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariae. "Das schlafende Mägdchen" [1751]. In *Oden und Lieder mit Melodien, nebst einer Cantate: Der Podagrist. In die Music [sic] gesetzt von Friedrich Gottlob Fleischer*. Braunschweig and Hildesheim, Lud. Schroeders Erben, 1756, "Neunzehntes Lied." First strophe: "Die Göttinn süßer Freuden, / Die nacht steige aus dem Meer, / Und sanfter Liebe Leiden / Sang keine Flöte mehr; / Der Mond, mit blassen Scheine, / Versilberte die stille Hayne."
7. Johann Peter Cronegk. "Ermunterung zu weiser Freude." In his *Schriften*, ed. Johann Peter Uz. Anspach: Jacob Christoph Posch, 1761, vol. 1, p. 206.
8. Uz. "Die Freude." In *Lyrische und andere Gedichte*. Anspach and Leipzig: Jacob Christophe Posche, 1767, vol. 3, p. 102.
9. Anonymous. "Die Freude." In *Lieder eines Mägdchens, bey dem Singen und Claviere*. Münster: Philipp Heinrich Perrenon, 1774, no. 6.
10. Ludwig Heinrich Christoph Hölty. "Aufmunterung zur Freude." In *Vossischen Musenalmanach auf 1777*. Set to music at least sixteen times thereafter. See further, Friedlander, *Das deutsche Lied*, 2: 273.
11. Anonymous. "Einladung zur Freude." In *Kleine, muntere und ernsthafte Sing-Stücke bey dem Klavier, componiert und herausgegeben von einem Liebhaber der Musik: C. G. Telonius*. Hamburg: Gottlieb Friedrich Schniebes, 1788, p. 7.

Appendix D:

Schiller, "An die

Freude"

Orthography, punctuation, text layout, and indention scheme are derived from the poem's first publication in Schiller's own journal, *Thalia* (Leipzig: G. J. Göschen), Erster Band, Zweytes Heft, 1786, 1-5; collated, where necessary (i.e., according to Beethoven's use of both the 1786 and 1803 versions of the poem), from the 1803 revision in *Gedichte von Friedrich Schiller: Zweyter Theil* (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1803), pp. 121-27. For authoritative modern editions, see respectively NA, I, 169-72 and II/1, 185-87. When these two versions differ in any way other than word choice, the 1786 has been given here. In the case of word changes made by Schiller in the 1803 revision, the 1786 version is given within parentheses; Beethoven's selection, in turn, is indicated by italics. The line numbers within brackets have been added for convenience's sake. One of the more significant changes Schiller made in the 1803 revision concerns the indentation scheme. The graphic design of the 1786 publication reflects the poem's rhyme scheme of a b a b c d c d in the strophes and a b b a in the choral antistrophes. In the 1803 revision Schiller indents the first line of each strophe while the remaining seven lines of a strophe appear flush with the margin; the choral antistrophes are uniformly indented five spaces. Additionally, the first word of each line in the 1803 revision is capitalized. For the 1803 revision, Schiller also deleted the concluding ninth strophe, for a total of eight strophes; the original concluding strophe of the 1786 version is included here within brackets. The English translation is mine.

I. Freude, schöner Götterfunken,
Tochter aus Elisium,
Wir betreten feuertrunken
Himmlische, dein Heiligthum.
Deine Zauber binden wieder,
(was der Mode Schwert getheilt;)
Was die Mode streng getheilt,
(Bettler werden Fürstenbrüder,)
Alle Menschen werden Brüder,
wo dein sanfter Flügel weilt.

Chor.

Seid umschlungen Millionen!
Diesen Kuß der ganzen Welt!
Brüder—überm Sterenzelt
muß ein lieber Vater wohnen.

II. Wem der große Wurf gelungen,
eines Freundes Freund zu seyn;
wer ein holdes Weib errungen,
mische seinen Jubel ein!
Ja—wer auch nur eine Seele
sein nennt auf dem Erdenrund!

Joy, beauteous spark of the gods,
daughter of Elysium,
we enter drunk with fire
your holy place.
[5] Your charm joins again,
(that which the sword of custom has divided;)
that which custom rudely has divided,
(beggars shall become brothers of princes,)
All men become brothers,
where your gentle wing abides.

Be embraced you millions!
[10] This kiss to the entire world!
Brothers—above the starry vault
must dwell a loving father.

Whoever has won the great fortune,
to be a friend to a friend;
[15] whoever has a fair woman,
should join in jubilation!
Yes—even he who calls only one soul
his on this earth!

Und wer's nie gekonnt, der stehle
weinend sich aus diesem Bund!

[20] And he who has never known this [jubilation]
should steal weeping from this league!

Chor.

Was den großen Ring bewohnt
huldige der Simpatie!
Zu den Sternen leitet sie,
Wo der Unbekante tronet.

That which inhabits the great ring
pays homage to sympathy!
You [Joy] lead to the stars,
where the unknown one is enthroned.

III. Freude trinken alle Wesen
an den Brüsten der Natur,
Alle Guten, alle Bösen
folgen ihrer Rosenspur.
Küße gab sie uns und Reben,
einen Freund, geprüft im Tod.
Wollust ward dem Wurm gegeben,
und der Cherub steht vor Gott.

[25] All creatures drink joy
at the breast of nature,
all the goods ones, all the evils ones
follow her rosy trail.
Kisses she gave us and grapes,
[30] a friend, proven even in death.
Bliss was given to the worm,
and the cherub stands before god.

Chor.

Ihr stürzt nieder, Millionen?
Ahndest du den Schöpfer, Welt?
Such' ihn überm Sternenzelt,
über Sternen muß er wohnen.

Do you fall down, you millions?
Do you sense the creator, world?
[35] Seek him above the starry vault,
above the stars he must dwell.

IV. Freude heißt die starke Feder
in der ewigen Natur.
Freude, Freude treibt die Räder
in der großen Weltenuhr.
Blumen lockt sie aus den Keimen,
Sonnen aus dem Firmament,
Sphären rollt sie in den Räumen,
die des Sehers Rohr nicht kennt!

Joy is the name of the powerful spring [font]
in eternal nature.
Joy, joy drives the wheels
[40] in the great world-clock.
She coaxes flowers from the buds,
suns from the firmament,
she rolls spheres in spaces
the gazer's glass knows not.

Chor.

Froh, wie seine Sonnen fliegen,
durch des Himmels prächtgen Plan
(*Laufet Brüder eure Bahn,*)
Wandelt Brüder eure Bahn,
freudig wie ein Held zum siegen.

[45] Glad, as his suns fly,
through heaven's magnificent plane,
(run brothers, your course,)
travel brothers, your course,
joyfully like a hero to victory.

V. Aus der Wahrheit Freuerspiegel
 lächelt sie den Forscher an.
 Zu der Tugend steilem Hügel
 leitet sie des Dulders Bahn.
 Auf des Glaubens Sonnenberge
 sieht man ihre Fahnen wehn,
 Durch den Riß gesprengter Särge
 sie im Chor der Engel stehn.

Chor.

Duldet mutig Millionen!
 Duldet für die beßre Welt!
 Droben überm Sternenzelt
 wird ein großer Gott belohnen.

VI. Göttern kann man nicht vergelten,
 schön ist ihnen gleich zu seyn.
 Gram und Armut soll sich melden
 mit den Frohen sich erfreun.
 Groll und Rache sei vergessen,
 unserm Todfeind sei verziehn.
 Keine Thräne soll ihn pressen,
 keine Reue nage ihn.

Chor.

Unser Schuldbuch sei vernichtet!
 ausgesöhnt die ganze Welt!
 Brüder—überm Sternenzelt
 richtet Gott wie wir gerichtet.

VII. Freude sprudelt in Pokalen,
 in der Traube goldem Blut
 trinken Sanftmut Kannibalen,
 Die Verzweiflung Heldenmut—
 Brüder fliegt von euren Sitzen,
 wenn der volle Römer kraißt,
 Laßt den Schaum zum Himmel sprützen:
 Dieses Glas dem guten Geist.

From the flaming mirror of truth
 [50] she [Joy] smiles on the seeker.
 To Virtue's steep hill
 she guides the sufferer's path.
 On the sunny mountain of faith
 one sees her banners wave
 [55] through the rift of shattered coffins
 one sees her standing among the choir of angels.

Endure courageously you millions!
 Endure for a better world!
 There above the starry vault
 [60] a great God will reward you.

One cannot repay the gods,
 beautiful it is to be like them.
 Grief and poverty shall come forward,
 and rejoice with the joyful.
 [65] Let anger and vengeance be forgotten,
 our deadly enemy forgiven.
 No tears shall oppress him,
 no remorse shall torment him.

Let our book of indebtedness be destroyed!
 [70] the whole world reconciled!
 Brothers—above the starry vault
 god judges as we would judge.

Joy bubbles in goblets,
 in the golden blood of grapes
 [75] cannibals drink gentleness,
 desperation [gives way to] heroic courage—
 Brothers, fly from your seats,
 when the full beaker goes around,
 let the foam spray to heaven:
 [80] this glass to the good spirit.

Chor.

Den der Sterne Wirbel loben,
den des Seraphs Hymne preist,
Dieses Glas dem guten Geist,
überm Sternenzelt dort oben!

Whom the stars' whirls praise,
whom the seraphs' hymn lauds,
this glass to the good spirit,
up above, beyond the starry vault!

VIII. Festen Mut in schwerem Leiden,
Hülfe, wo die Unschuld weint,
Ewigkeit geschwornen Eiden,
Wahrheit gegen Freund und Feind,
Männerstolz vor Königstronen,—
Brüder, gält' es Gut und Blut—
Dem Verdienste seine Kronen,
Untergang der Lügenbrut!

[85] Steadfast courage in heavy sorrows,
help where innocence weeps,
eternal duration for sworn oaths,
truth toward friend and foe,
manly pride before the thrones of kings,—
[90] brothers, should it cost belongings and blood—
to merit its crown,
down with the lying brood!

Chor.

Schließt den heiligen Zirkel dichter,
schwört bei diesem golden Wein:
Dem Gelübde treu zu sein,
schwört es bei dem Sternenrichter!

Draw the holy circle tighter,
swear by this golden wine,
[95] to be true to the vow,
swear it by the starry judge!

[IX. Rettung von Tirannenketten,
Großmut auch dem Bösewicht,
Hoffnung auf den Sterbebetten,
Gnade auf dem Hochgericht!
Auch die Toden sollen leben!
Brüder trinkt und stimmt ein,
Alle Sündern soll vergeben,
und die Hölle nicht mehr seyn.

[Deliverance from the chains of tyrants,
magnanimity even to the miscreant,
hope on deathbeds,
[100] mercy from the high court!
the dead shall also live!
Brothers drink to this accord,
all sinners shall be forgiven,
and hell shall be no more.

Chor.

Eine heitre Abschiedsstunde!
süßen Schlaf im Leichentuch!
Brüder—einen sanften Spruch
auch des Todtenrichters Munde!]

[105] A glad hour of parting!
sweet slumber in the shroud of death!
Brothers—here's a gentle promise
from the mouth of the judge of the dead!]