



# The New Shudder

---

About the Fantastic of Musical  
Romanticism

---

Christian Kämpf

palgrave  
macmillan

# The New Shudder

Christian Kämpf

# The New Shudder

About the Fantastic of Musical Romanticism

palgrave  
macmillan

Christian Kämpf  
Bremen, Germany

ISBN 978-3-476-05935-2      ISBN 978-3-476-05936-9 (eBook)  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-476-05936-9>

Translation from the German language edition: “Der neue Schauder” by Christian Kämpf, © Der/die Herausgeber bzw. der/die Autor(en), exklusiv lizenziert durch Springer-Verlag GmbH, DE, ein Teil von Springer Nature 2021. Published by J.B. Metzler. All Rights Reserved.

This book is a translation of the original German edition „Der neue Schauder“ by Kämpf, Christian, published by Springer-Verlag GmbH, DE in 2021. The translation was done with the help of artificial intelligence (machine translation by the service DeepL.com). A subsequent human revision was done primarily in terms of content, so that the book will read stylistically differently from a conventional translation. Springer Nature works continuously to further the development of tools for the production of books and on the related technologies to support the authors.

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer-Verlag GmbH, DE, part of Springer Nature 2024

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors, and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer-Verlag GmbH, DE, part of Springer Nature.

The registered company address is: Heidelberger Platz 3, 14197 Berlin, Germany

If disposing of this product, please recycle the paper.

*I do not believe in ghosts, but I am afraid of them.*

Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia in  
conversation with Joseph von Radowitz

*The man with the stronger imagination forces a richer world. This is not fraud and no magic.*

Baron Münchhausen in the 1943 UFA film with script by Erich Kästner.

(Erich Kästner: “Münchhausen. Ein Drehbuch”. In: Erich Kästner. Werke. Ed. v. Franz Josef Görtz. Vol. 5: Trojanischer Esel. Theater, Hörspiel, Film. Ed. v. Thomas Anz in cooperation with Matthias Springer and Stefan Neuhaus. Munich—Vienna 1998. p. 45–325. Here: p. 194. © Thomas Kästner)

*Sincere thanks  
to my doctoral advisor  
Professor Ulrich Tadday*

# On the Program of the Present Study

“It is a new shudder, but not an old fear.”<sup>1</sup> Jean Paul’s sentence about what he calls the “feeling of the miraculous or the realm of miracles”, something that “most vividly appears to us in the feeling of the realm of spirits or ghostly fear”<sup>2</sup> contains the aesthetics of the fantastic *in nuce*. This sentence and, with it, the title of the present work are taken from the preface of *Des deutschen Mittelalters Volksglauben und Heroen-Sagen* (1815), in which Jean Paul once again condensed his thoughts on the fantastic, which he had already elaborated on in the earlier *Vorschule der Ästhetik* (2nd ed.: 1813)<sup>3</sup>. Above all, he was able to draw on the paragraphs on the poetic treatment of the marvelous, on fantasy, on Romantic poetry, and on superstition for the *preface* from the *Vorschule*. However, the fantastic is repeatedly problematized in the *Vorschule* through more than merely the details of the various programs and paragraphs. In the overall context of this writing, it becomes even more clear that the fantastic is deeply inscribed in Jean Paul’s aesthetics as a whole. Especially with regard to decisive individual aspects of art production and reception, Jean Paul based his conception of art on the fantastic and, with this, also determined what in his view constituted the essence of Romanticism. Behind Jean Paul’s reflections on the fantastic, a philosophical dimension is to be sounded out, whose dimensions extend beyond aesthetics to, among other things, epistemology and metaphysics, and also to questions of religious and moral philosophy. Behind the ‘new shudder’ is a worldview whose

---

<sup>1</sup>Jean PAUL, “Vorwort”, in: Friedrich Ludwig Ferdinand von Dobeneck, *Des deutschen Mittelalters Volksglauben und Heroen-Sagen*, ed. and with a preface by Jean Paul, 2 vols., Berlin 1815.—Quoted from *Jean Paul. Sämtliche Werke*, section 2: *Jugendwerke und vermischte Schriften*, Vol. 3: *Vermischte Schriften II*, ed. by Norbert Miller, München 2009 (2nd ed.), pp. 625–633, here: 627.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>*Id.*, *Vorschule der Aesthetik nebst einigen Vorlesungen in Leipzig über die Parteien der Zeit*, 3 Vol., Stuttgart—Tübingen 1813 (2nd, increased and improved ed.).—Subsequently cited from *Jean Paul. Sämtliche Werke*, section 1: *Erzählende und theoretische Werke*, Vol. 5: *Vorschule der Ästhetik, Levana oder Erziehlehre, Politische Schriften*, ed. by Norbert Miller, München 1987 (5th ed.), p. 7–456.



first points of reference are to be found above all in the philosophy of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, particularly in his critique of criticalism after Kant<sup>4</sup> and the belief in the reasoning of the Enlightenment in general,<sup>5</sup> as well as in his criticism of the transcendental and early romantic idealism of Fichte, Schelling and Friedrich Schlegel, against which Jacobi—with notable reference to “other accomplices”<sup>6</sup>, Johann Georg Hamann, Carl Leonhard Reinhold, Johann Gottfried Herder and Matthias Claudius namely—has set his emotional and religious philosophy. Behind Jean Paul’s ‘new shudder’ is the “suspicion of the truth”<sup>7</sup> in Jacobi’s sense.

In line with the history of the concept of Romanticism—with the history, themes and motifs of discourse on the Romantic—I understand the fantastic as an essential element of musical Romanticism and recognize in Jean Paul’s foundation of the phenomenon the philosophical anchor upon which the fantastic of musical Romanticism also depends. The core problems of art philosophy, especially of the aesthetics of imitation, genius and emotion, which Jean Paul deals with and mediates in his reflections on the fantastic, also shape the discourse and debates about the fantastic of musical Romanticism. Jean Paul brings them mainly into the ‘poetic imitation’ of nature and the ‘formative power or imagination’ of genius, and into a special feeling, the ‘longing for the infinite’ and the opposite feeling of the ghostly realm, this ‘new shudder’ as a particular fear “to lose the infinite”<sup>8</sup>.

In the context of higher philosophical development it is also claimed that the musical Romanticism in its recourse to Jean Paul and Jacobi can also be seen as a compensatory discourse which, via the fantastic, continued to negotiate the problem of the *commercium mentis et corporis* as the philosophical guiding theme of the 18th century in the aftermath of the Cartesian separation between *res cogitans* and *res extensa* in the 19th century in the field of aesthetics, and with precisely the same tendency towards mediation between mind and senses which is characteristic of the thinking of Jacobi and Jean Paul. The acknowledgement of this mediation prevents musical Romanticism from falling victim to misguided attacks

---

<sup>4</sup>Cf. e.g. Wilhelm METZ, “Die Objektivität des Wissens. Jacobis Kritik an Kants theoretischer Philosophie”, in: *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi. Ein Wendepunkt der geistigen Bildung der Zeit*, ed. by Walter Jaeschke and Birgit Sandkaulen, Hamburg 2004 (= Vol. 29 of *Studien zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts), pp. 3–18.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Walter JAESCHKE, “Eine Vernunft, welche nicht die Vernunft ist. Jacobis Kritik der Aufklärung”, in: *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi. Ein Wendepunkt der geistigen Bildung der Zeit*, ed. by Walter Jaeschke and Birgit Sandkaulen, Hamburg 2004 (= Vol. 29 of *Studien zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts), pp. 199–216.

<sup>6</sup>Friedrich Heinrich JACOBI, “Vorrede”, in: *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi’s Werke*, ed. by himself, Vol. 3, Leipzig 1816, pp. III–XXXVI, here: p. XV.

<sup>7</sup>Id., *Jacobi an Fichte*, Hamburg 1799.—Cit. from *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi’s Werke*, ed. by the same, Vol. 3, Leipzig 1816, p. 1–57, here: p. 32.

<sup>8</sup>J. Paul, *Sämtliche Werke*, section 2, Vol. 3, p. 628.

of the sort, launched by Eduard Hanslick<sup>9</sup>, who accused it of a “rotten feeling aesthetics”<sup>10</sup>.

A dedicated examination of the fantastic in musical Romanticism has, to a large extent, not taken place in German-language musical research. Rather, music scholarship in this respect has largely remained in the tradition of a Romantic criticism, which either tabooed or at least trivialized the fantastic and therefore excluded a deeper investigation. I am addressing this eminent research gap with the present work, in which I turn to the previously neglected object against the background of Jean Paul’s aesthetics from a discourse-historical perspective. Music scholarship has generally fallen behind other disciplines in terms of the fantastic, especially of philology, which began theoretical work on the fantastic in the 1960s, but also other cultural and media studies, which have increasingly made the fantastic the subject of primary research in recent decades. Music scholarship must catch up in this area<sup>11</sup> and should like to participate in the increasingly interdisciplinary discourse on the fantastic, of which the *Phantastik-Handbuch*<sup>12</sup> from 2013 is evident of the advantages of such. With the present work, I am hoping to take a step in this direction.

I am concluding my work with the foundational Romantic studies by Karl Heinz Bohrer and Ulrich Taddays, in particular with *Die Kritik der Romantik* (1989)<sup>13</sup>, in which Bohrer qualifies the reflexivity of the artwork and the fantastic as the two central figures of romantic consciousness and, with them, the modernity of romanticism against the romantic criticism, and in *The Beautiful Infinite* (1999)<sup>14</sup>, in which Tadday has brought the reflexivity of the artwork into the center of the consideration as an aesthetic mode of thought on romanticism, the importance of which for musical Romanticism had previously been largely ignored and remained untouched by the musicological Romanticism research until then. In this

---

<sup>9</sup>Eduard HANSLICK, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen. Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Aesthetik der Tonkunst*, Leipzig 1854, p. V.

<sup>10</sup>See Carl DAHLHAUS, *Die Idee der absoluten Musik*, Kassel et al. 1978.—Subsequently cited from *Carl Dahlhaus. Gesammelte Schriften in 10 Bänden*, ed. by Hermann Danuser, vol. 4: *19. Jahrhundert I. Theorie/Ästhetik/Geschichte: Monographien*, Laaber 2002, pp. 9–126.

<sup>11</sup>Mention should be made in this regard of Frank HENTSCHEL, *Töne der Angst. Musik im Horrorfilm*, Berlin 2011; id., “Musik und das Unheimliche im 19. Jahrhundert,” in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 73 (2016), pp. 9–50, as well as the anthology *Die Musik—eine Kunst des Imaginären?*, ed. by Ulrich Tadday, Munich 2016 (= Special Issue 2016 of *Musik-Konzepte. Neue Folge*, ed. by the same), in particular the introductory essay by Oliver WIENER and Martin ZENCK, “Szenen und Räume des musikalisch Imaginären im Diskursfeld von Einbildungskraft und Phantastik. Versuch einer Grundlegung mit fünf musikalischen wie bildnerischen Modellen,” pp. 5–52.

<sup>12</sup>*Phantastik. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. by Hans Richard Brittnacher and Markus May, Stuttgart—Weimar 2013.

<sup>13</sup>Karl Heinz BOHRER, *Die Kritik der Romantik. Der Verdacht der Philosophie gegen die literarische Moderne*, Frankfurt/Main 1989.

<sup>14</sup>Ulrich TADDAY, *Das schöne Unendliche. Ästhetik, Kritik, Geschichte der romantischen Musikanschauung*, Stuttgart—Weimar 1999.

context, Tadday consistently emphasizes the outstanding importance, as Appel had already done in previous approaches,<sup>15</sup> which the aesthetic thinking of Jean Paul took for the musical Romanticism and covers their philosophical conditions with Jacobi with their relevance, in particular, for the understanding of the aesthetics of Robert Schumann.<sup>16</sup> In subsequent studies, Tadday has consolidated this position.<sup>17</sup> This is further corroborated by his work. In doing so, he does not at all comply with the verdict of Romanticism criticism, which regards the epoch as a visionary, anti-Enlightenment, anti-modern trend of intellectual history through profiling the thinking of Jacobi as a significant philosophical foundation of musical Romanticism. On the contrary, the claim to modernity of Romanticism is rather confirmed by this. It is precisely in recent times that the philosophy of Jacobi has undergone a fundamental and emphatic re-evaluation by research, with the result that the alleged “visionary”, whose work the tradition of philosophical historiography “unjustifiably marginalised and buried under the title ‘philosophy of faith’”<sup>18</sup>, is not only understood as a trailblazing impulse-giver and contributor to the epochal philosophical debates around 1800,<sup>19</sup> but also recognized as an important reference point for 20th century thought, e.g. with Martin Heidegger<sup>20</sup>. Within this background, I plead for an understanding of musical romanticism in this work, according to which it does not lose its belonging to modernity and its effectiveness for the present due to the fantastic, but rather *because* of the fantastic with its hidden references to the thinking of Jean Paul and Jacobi. For this purpose, I first begin my study with an approach to origin and use of the term, which indicates the “fantastic” as an essential predicate of the “Romantic” within the Romantic and post-Romantic discourse, before I conclude the first chapter with the philosophical foundation of the phenomenon with Jacobi and Jean Paul. I begin the second chapter with a brief overview of the discourse on mimetic

---

<sup>15</sup>Bernhard R. APPEL, *Schumanns Humoreske für Klavier op. 20. Zum musikalischen Humor in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Formproblems*, Saarbrücken 1981.

<sup>16</sup>See U. Tadday, *Das schöne Unendliche*, p. 104–106.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. e.g. Ulrich TADDAY, “Abschied von der Romantik?”, in: *Der späte Schumann*, ed. by id., Munich 2006 (= Special Volume 2006 of *Musik-Konzepte. Neue Folge*, ed. by id.), pp. 5–18 and Ulrich TADDAY, “Zur Musikästhetik Robert Schumanns”, in: *Schumann-Handbuch*, ed. by id., Stuttgart—Weimar 2006, pp. 127–138.

<sup>18</sup>Walter JAESCHKE and Birgit SANDKAULEN, “Vorwort”, in: *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi. Ein Wendepunkt der geistigen Bildung der Zeit*, ed. by them, Hamburg 2004 (= Vol. 29 of *Studien zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. by the German Society for the Research of the Eighteenth Century), pp. IX–XI, here: p. X.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. e.g. in addition to the above-mentioned collected volume also Carmen GÖTZ, *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi im Kontext der Aufklärung. Diskurse zwischen Philosophie, Medizin und Literatur*, Hamburg 2008 (= Vol. 30 of *Studien zum Achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. by the German Society for the Research of the Eighteenth Century) and Birgit SANDKAULEN, *Jacobis Philosophie. Über den Widerspruch zwischen System und Freiheit*, Hamburg 2019.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Konstanze SOMMER, *Zwischen Metaphysik und Metaphysikkritik. Heidegger, Schelling und Jacobi*, Hamburg 2015.

aesthetics. It is there where, already in the course of the 18th century, the discursive discussion of such concepts as the “similar”, the “possible”, the “deception” and the “wonderful” takes the dogma of the *imitatio naturae* from the art theoretical principle and the starting point for the aesthetic debate about the fantastic also appears in music. I follow the discourse on the fantastic of musical Romanticism thereafter with selected paradigmatic contributions. They come from Ludwig Tieck, Franz Horn and E. T. A. Hoffmann, Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, Ferdinand Hand, Friedrich Bouterwek and Christian Hermann Weisse as well as by Adolph Bernhard Marx, Gustav Otto Nauenburg and Johann Amadeus Wendt. In recourse to the considerations of Jean Paul and Jacobi as well as in reference to the works of Shakespeare, Gozzi and Mozart, which serve as models and justification for the fantastic as they discuss the world of ghosts and goblins represented in particular in the romantic opera by Spohr, Spontini, Weber and Marschner, and highlight the role that fantasy as a ‘fantastic educational force’ plays in the reception of the fantastic of musical Romanticism. In the third chapter, I start from the turn of discourse around 1848. To the extent that music-aesthetic discourse in the second half of the eighteenth-century begins to open up to what can be conceptualized with predications from the “word field” of the fantastic, it begins to close itself off in the middle of the nineteenth century to what is now brought into opposition against new guiding concepts such as ‘present’ and ‘history’, ‘reality’ and ‘objectivity’, ‘progress’ and ‘freedom’. The change from the musical discourse of Romanticism to the discourse of musical realism is exemplified in the massive attack on the fantastic in opera, as Wolfgang Robert Griepenkerl stated in his speech at the first Tonkünstler-Versammlung in Leipzig in 1847. Under the new conditions, Franz Brendel, Johann Christian Lobe, Friedrich Hinrichs and Richard Pohl participated in the discussion of the fantastic in music with paradigmatic works. Robert Schumann’s work becomes the focus of criticism. With his Opus 115, he made a contribution of his own kind to the musical-aesthetic debate about fantasy and what the fantastic now demands from the ‘work of contemporary art’. A reflection on Schumann’s *Manfred* is therefore at the end of the third chapter. I conclude my study with a reference to the network of relations in which the music of the 20th century is connected to the music of the Romantic period. In turn it is in this way that musical Romanticism is precisely continued over the fantastic in musical modernity after 1900—among others by Strauss and Hofmannsthal, Pfitzner, Busoni, Braunsfels, Hindemith and Henze -, with which the modernity of Romanticism is also asserted positively.

# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Concept, State of Research, Problem</b> .....	1
1.1	The Fantastic and the Romantic: Intentions, Extensions, Relations of the Concepts .....	4
1.2	Text Structures, Order Conflicts, Genre Definitions: Criticism of Structuralist Fantastic Literature Research .....	25
1.3	Current Relevance and Traditional Deficit of Phantastik-Forschung .....	31
1.4	The Fantastic and the Infinite as Central Figures of Romantic Consciousness: A Philosophical Foundation .....	39
<b>2</b>	<b>The Fantastic Between Nature Imitation and Poetic Truth</b> .....	57
2.1	Deception in Beauty as the Main Task of Artistic Fantasy in Gottfried Weber .....	61
2.2	The Fantastic and the Ugly with Fink, Bouterwek, Weisse and Hand .....	81
2.3	The Distant Realm of Romanticism, the Fantastic and Real Life with E. T. A. Hoffmann .....	103
2.4	Illusion and Splendor in the Romantic Magic Opera by Spontini, Spohr, Weber, and Marschner .....	123
2.5	Tieck and Horn on the Fantastic in Shakespeare and Mozart .....	137
<b>3</b>	<b>The Fantastic Between Social Reality and Musical Progress</b> .....	165
3.1	The Call for Reality in Music by Brendel and Griepenkerl .....	169
3.2	Brendel Against Lobe: For and Against Progress in Music .....	184
3.3	Wagner and Schumann Under Suspicion of Subjectivism By Hinrichs and Pohl .....	198
<b>4</b>	<b>Outlook: The Fantastic and Musical Modernism After 1900</b> .....	233
	<b>References</b> .....	239

# Chapter 1

## Concept, State of Research, Problem



“Where there are no gods, ghosts reign,” explained Novalis in his 1799 fragment *Europe*<sup>1</sup>,” and “the actual period of origin of European ghosts, which also explains their shape quite completely, is the period of transition from Greek mythology to Christianity.”<sup>2</sup> Superstition of the fantastic, particularly the fear of ghosts and goblins, thus appears as the flip side of Christian monotheism and is considered a consequence of the loss of a pictorial, poet-created mythology that was able to create meaning comprehensively for scholars and non-scholars alike. Emanuel Geibel, whose poems were set to music, inter alia, by Robert and Clara Schumann, formulated a similar thought to Novalis in the middle of the 19th century:

Belief, to which the door is denied,  
Climbs as superstition in through the window.  
  
When the gods have banished it,  
The ghosts come.<sup>3</sup>

The classicist Schiller lamented in view of this change in world view from Greek antiquity to Christian modernity above all an accompanying aesthetic decline, this also observable in the poem *The Gods of Greece* (1788/1800)<sup>4</sup>: In place of the beautiful genius with the lowered torch, the ugly skeleton

---

<sup>1</sup>First complete printing: NOVALIS, “Die Christenheit oder Europa. Ein Fragment” in: *Novalis Schriften*, ed. by Ludwig Tieck and Friedrich Schlegel, Vol. 1, Berlin 1826 (4th, enlarged edition), pp. 187–208.—Subsequently cited according to *Novalis Schriften. Die Werke Friedrich von Hardenbergs*, ed. by Paul Kluckhohn and Richard Samuel, Vol. 3: *Das philosophische Werk II*, ed. by Richard Samuel in cooperation with Hans-Joachim Mähl and Gerhard Schulz, Stuttgart et al. 1983 (3rd, revised and updated edition), pp. 507–524.

<sup>2</sup>Novalis, *Schriften*, Vol. 3, pp. 520 f.

<sup>3</sup>Emanuel GEIBEL, *Gedichte und Gedenklblätter*; Stuttgart 1864, p. 199.

<sup>4</sup>First printing: Friedrich SCHILLER, “Die Götter Griechenlandes”, in: *Der Teutsche Merkur* 1788, 1st Quarter, pp. 250–260.

man appears in Christian times.<sup>5</sup> The early Romantics, on the other hand, missed the universality and integration power of the old mythology in rational Enlightenment Christianity, in which faith, history, poetry, philosophy and state merged into one and projected, as for example Friedrich Schlegel in the *Dialogue on Poetry* (1800)<sup>6</sup>, an ‘artificial new mythology’ which may have to be implemented under certain circumstances. Not least, Richard Wagner’s idea of the total work of art is connected to this, whose claim to universality was accentuated by Nietzsche in his fourth *Unzeitgemässer Betrachtung* (1876)<sup>7</sup> as opposed to a Christian culture which splits society into educated and uneducated people. Heine also repeatedly emphasized this, e.g. in *Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* (1834)<sup>8</sup>, in the *Elementargeistern*<sup>9</sup> which were written in 1834 and 1837, and in *Die Götter im Exil* (1853)<sup>10</sup>, being the social and socio-political aspect of this juxtaposition: Jewish-Christian culture with its demonology and superstitious-romantic ghost realm on the one hand, hostile to life, ascetic, otherworldly—Greek culture on the other hand, world-oriented, hedonistic, and realistic.<sup>11</sup> This dichotomy between the Greek world of gods and heroes and the Christian-romantic ghost world, much discussed from the second half of the 18th century, can also be found in Jean Paul. In contrast to Weimar Classicism, the idealistic early Romantics and the realistic Romantic critics, however, he takes the side of (Christian) modernity which, in his opinion, arises from and corresponds to the romantic spirit: It wasn’t “the Greek mythology, this deified world of the body”, but rather “the Romantic, this embodied world of the spirit”<sup>12</sup>, which answered and awakened the modern feeling for “the relationship of our meager finiteness to the glory hall and starry sky of infinity” with the “new shudder” of the fantastic.<sup>13</sup> There is a crack running through the modern world,

<sup>5</sup>Cf. introductory Jürgen BROKOFF, “Die Götter Griechenlands (1788)”, in: *Schiller-Handbuch*, ed. by Matthias Luserke-Jaqui in collaboration with Grit Dommies, Stuttgart—Weimar 2005, pp. 262–265.

<sup>6</sup>Friedrich SCHLEGEL, “Gespräch über die Poesie”, in: *Athenaeum. Eine Zeitschrift* 3 (1800), pp. 58–128 and pp. 169–187.

<sup>7</sup>Friedrich NIETZSCHE, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*, 4. Stück: *Richard Wagner in Bayreuth*, Leipzig 1876.

<sup>8</sup>First German publication: Heinrich HEINE, “Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland”, in: id., *Der Salon*, Vol. 2, Hamburg 1835.

<sup>9</sup>First German publication: Heinrich HEINE, “Elementargeister”, in: id., *Der Salon*, Vol. 3, Hamburg 1837, pp. 145–279.

<sup>10</sup>First German publication: Heinrich HEINE, “Die Götter im Elend”, in: *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* 28 (1853), 1st vol.: *Januar bis Juni*, pp. 409–417.

<sup>11</sup>See also Dieter BORCHMEYER, “Heines Götter”, in: *Harry ... Heinrich ... Henri ... Heine. Deutscher, Jude, Europäer*, ed. by Dietmar Goltschnigg, Charlotte Grollegg-Edler and Peter Revers, Berlin 2008, pp. 141–150 and Rüdiger GÖRNER, “Religion im Exil. Zu Heines Götterlehre”, in: the same, pp. 151–162.

<sup>12</sup>J. Paul, *Sämtliche Werke*, section 1, Vol. 5, p. 62.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 88.



which one can only follow with the feeling that it is not sealed by enlightened natural sciences and transcendental philosophical systems, but is rather broken open by them. It, at the same time, contains the ‘suspicion of truth’ that, however, the classical antiquity—the “sharply delimiting Greeks lay the twilight of the Romantic [ ... ] far and foreign”—<sup>14</sup> should not have known in this way since it is fundamentally excluded by mythical thinking itself. “Fruit and food of the romantic spirit”<sup>15</sup> is, according to Jean Paul, superstition, which in turn has Christianity (or related theologies, he mentions elsewhere the Indian and Old Norse religion) and the exile of the ancient gods as a prerequisite:

The origin and character of the whole new poetry can be so easily derived from Christianity that one could just as well call it Christian as romantic. Christianity, like the Last Judgment, eradicated the entire world of the senses with all its attractions, compressed it into a grave mound, into a ladder to heaven, and set a new world of spirits in its place. Demonology became the actual mythology of the world of the body, and devils as tempters entered into human and divine statuary; all earthly presence was dissolved into heavenly future. What, then, was left for the poetic spirit after this collapse of the external world?—The one in which it collapsed, the *inner* one. The spirit rose within itself and its night and saw spirits. But since finitude clings only to bodies and since everything in spirits is infinite or unending: then in poetry the realm of the infinite bloomed above the funeral pyre of finitude; angels, devils, saints, blessed spirits, and the infinite had no bodily forms and divine bodies; in their place the immense and immeasurable opened its depths; instead of the Greek cheerful joy either infinite yearning or ineffable blessedness appeared—the timeless and boundless damnation—the ghostly fear that shudders before itself—the visionary love—the unlimited monkish renunciation—the Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy.<sup>16</sup>

This is also how ghosts operate in modern poetry, where not long ago the classical gods primarily determined the course of action. This change of subject can also be observed on the opera stage, as Dieter Borchmeyer summarized:

Novalis’ famous words could also apply to the ‘transition’ from Opera seria to Romantic Opera. They replace the gods and heroes of ancient mythology and history with the ghosts and spirits of the North. While the gods in Italian-French opera were representatives of the prevailing world order, they completely disappear in German-Romantic opera or—as in Wagner’s Venusberg *Tannhäuser*—become ghosts themselves, the shadows of a lost world figure antiquated by Christianity.<sup>17</sup>

Before I shed light on Jean Paul’s ‘new shudder’ in connection with the considerations of Karl Heinz Bohrer and Ulrich Taddays against the background of the feeling philosophy and philosophy of faith of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi and thus set in relation to the reflexivity of the work of art and the ‘beautiful infinite’, with the fantastic and the ghost fear, the ‘infinite longing’ and the ‘sensing of the true’,

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>16</sup> J. Paul, *Sämtliche Werke*, section 1, Vol. 5, p. 93.

<sup>17</sup> Dieter BORCHMEYER, “‘Wo keine Götter sind, walten Gespenster’. Heines und Wagners Geisterwelt“, in: *Aurora* 63 (2003), pp. 99–113, here: p. 99;—see also id., *Richard Wagner. Ahavers Wandlungen*, Frankfurt/Main—Leipzig 2002, pp. 143–196.



I begin my work on the fantastic of musical Romanticism with a short conceptual history, the content layers, connecting links and separation lines of the terms ‘imagination’, ‘fantastic’, and similar words, with a preliminary finding, which regards to the history of the term ‘Romanticism’, on the discourse history of Romanticism or romantic criticism and on the objects and themes of Romanticism the fantastic as an essential element of the romantic confirmed positive, with an indication of the state of research and a criticism of the literary and musicological research tradition.

## 1.1 The Fantastic and the Romantic: Intentions, Extensions, and Relations of the Concepts

In the following, I draw the main trends of the term ‘fantastic’ with particular consideration of its use as an attribute of the ‘Romantic’. The release of the term ‘fantasy’ from a synonymous meaning domain with the term ‘imagination’ in the course of the 18th century, which was generally associated with a devaluation while the early Romantics of Jena and Jean Paul upgraded the ‘fantasy’ as their own term, the dichotomous use of the adjective ‘fantastic’ and the reason for this is why both the Romantics and the Romantic critics could talk about the fantastic of the Romantic to this day. But the word is used meliorative, not at least to speak emphatically of what goes beyond mere imitation of nature and recognized models in the artistic production, reproduction and reception process as an ingredient of genius and the post-creative recipient. This called for a verdict against the ‘Romantic’ with a pejorative use of the term and thus insisted on all the subjective, unrestrained, unnatural, unreal and trivial of this direction, which, in their opinion, excludes the Romantic as a pathological case from the sphere of ‘true art’.

### *Fantasy—Fantastic—Fantastic*

The adjective ‘fantastic’ is derived from the Latin “phantasticus”, meaning ‘imaginary’. In German, the adjective ‘phantastisch’ is derived from the substantives ‘Phantast’ (visionary) and ‘Phantasie’ (fantasy). According to the German, the adverb characterizes a property “in the way of a fantastic (‘Phantast’), only extant in the fantasy (‘Phantasie’).”<sup>18</sup> The ‘fantasy’, in Greek: ‘φαντασία’, is first a word of the ancient world of thought, philosophically first introduced by Plato

---

<sup>18</sup> Hans KRAH and Marianne WÜNSCH, “Phantastisch/Phantastik”, in: *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*, ed. by Karlheinz Barck, Martin Fontius, Dieter Schlenstedt, Burckhart Steinwachs and Friedrich Wolfzettel, Vol. 4: *Medien—populär*, Stuttgart—Weimar 2002, p. 798–814, here: p. 799.

in his middle dialogues as a supplement to the terms ‘αἴσθησις’ (sensual impression, sensation) and ‘δόξα’ (Opinion, judgement). While ‘αἴσθησις’ stands for the external sense impression, ‘φαντασία’ means the internal image of this sense impression. It is, as Friedrich Schleiermacher translated the pair of words into German, as “Vorstellung” the opposite of “Wahrnehmung”.<sup>19</sup> Based on the historical definitions, the term ‘Phantasie’, which entered German via Italian and French, was used to denote two different concepts from, at the latest, the end of the 18th century: not only the imagination (lat. ‘imaginatio’) as the content of consciousness, but also the imaginative faculty (lat. ‘vis imaginationis’ or ‘facultas imaginandi’), essentially both the “creative, especially poetic imaginative power”, which has a positive connotation, and its creatures—the imaginary—as it is described in the corresponding volume of the *German dictionary* of 1889, namely “something produced by the imagination in us, an image of thought that occupies us, especially an empty and false representation”, with “a delusion in contrast to reality”<sup>20</sup>, not as the opponent of perception. In addition to playing music from memory, termed as the “mood game” (German: ‘Lauenspiel’) by Joachim Heinrich Campe, ‘fantasy’ is also the result of imagination in “air shape, air mold, figure of the imagination, brainchild, apparition, imagination and poetry, or with Kindling delusion, with Göthe air painting, with Lenz shadow image, with Voß air mold, with Herder hallucination”, with which clearly negatively connoted, ‘fantasy’ is not least “the irregular ideas of a sick person”<sup>21</sup>

The ontological, epistemological, aesthetic and moral reservations that the quoted dictionary passages from the original German terms make against the fantasy illustrate the conceptual history that took place during the 18th century, through which the previous mostly used terms in German-speaking realms were “*Einbildungskraft*” (imaginativeness), “*Imagination*” (imagination) and “*Phantasie*” (fantasy) have experienced a conceptual differentiation. The term *Einbildungskraft* will henceforth be utilized to best describe the historical conceptualization of ‘imaginativeness’ as it was utilized in the germanic philosophical contextualization in the variations of ‘fantasy’ and ‘imagination’, particularly as it best reflects the early understanding of the imaginary as described by *Einbildung*, or the internalized formation of thought. *Einbildungskraft*, still synonymous with “imagination”, had experienced a sort of ‘upgrade’ in the course of this as a reflexive and future-oriented, therefore action-guiding power, also as an image-creating,

<sup>19</sup>See Jochen SCHULTE-SASSE, “Phantasie”, in: *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*, ed. by Karlheinz Barck, Martin Fontius, Dieter Schlenstedt, Burckhart Steinwachs and Friedrich Wolfzettel, Vol. 4: *Medien—populär*, Stuttgart—Weimar 2002, pp. 778–798, here: pp. 779.

<sup>20</sup>“phantasei, phantasie”, in: Jacob and Wilhelm GRIMM, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, edited by Matthias von Lexer, Vol. 7: *N, O, P, Q*, Leipzig 1889, cols. 1821–1823, here: col. 1822.

<sup>21</sup>Joachim Heinrich CAMPE, “Fantasie”, in: id., *Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke. Ein Ergänzungsband zu Adelung’s und Campe’s Wörterbüchern*, Braunschweig 1813 (New, greatly increased and consistently improved edition), pp. 312 f., here: p. 312.

creative-poetic power,<sup>22</sup> while ‘fantasy’ was devalued and now meant the perversion of the *Einbildungskraft* into the uncontrolled and unregulated, it being without reference to reality.<sup>23</sup>

In contrast to this conceptual disqualification of the “fantasy”, of which the German ‘*Phantasie*’ manifested itself in the lexicons of the 19th century, is the special interest of the early Romantics in Jena in the unbounded, unlimited, chaotic, infinite, absolute. As the actual poetic power of man—which is not obliged to the real, probable, or possible and is beyond the limits of the finite — the term experienced a revaluation by Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel, Novalis et al. while *Einbildungskraft* was mainly reduced to the main task of memory.<sup>24</sup> Jean Paul also emphasizes at the beginning of his *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, the first edition of which appeared in 1804, the value reversal of *Einbildungskraft* and ‘fantasy’ compared to the general and lexicalized language usage, for which he creates a meaningful neologism with ‘*Bildungskraft*’ (educational power) as a Germanization of ‘*Phantasie*’ (fantasy):

*Einbildungskraft* is the prose of *Bildungskraft*, or imagination. It is nothing but a potent, brighter memory that animals also have because they dream and because they fear. [...] But something higher is *Bildungskraft*, it is the world soul of the soul and the elemental spirit of the other forces; Therefore, a great fantasy can be dug up and derived in the direction of individual forces, e.g. wit, acumen, etc., but none of these forces can be extended to fantasy. If wit is the playing *anagram* of nature: then fantasy is the *hieroglyphic alphabet* of the same, of which it is expressed with few images. The fantasy makes all parts whole—instead of the other forces and experience only tearing leaves from the nature book—and all world parts to worlds, it totalizes everything, also the infinite; Therefore, the poetic optimism, the beauty of the figures that inhabit it, and the freedom with which the beings move like suns in its ether enter its realm.<sup>25</sup>

Starting from these acts of totalization and delinearization, through which parts become wholes and the finite is surrounded by the infinite, the fantasy in its various stages—from a low degree, a receptive fantasy, to the highest degree, genius—is essential for Jean Paul both for the production and reception of artistic beauty, especially since romantic art is defined by Jean Paul precisely as “the beautiful without limit, or the *beautiful infinite*”<sup>26</sup>:

But since there is no mere reception without generation or creation; since everyone only chemically and in parts receives the poetic beauty which he must form organically into a

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Jochen SCHULTE-SASSE, “Einbildungskraft/Imagination”, in: *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*, ed. by Karlheinz Barck, Martin Fontius, Dieter Schlenstedt, Burckhart Steinwachs and Friedrich Wolfzettel, Vol. 2: *Decadent—grotesque*, Stuttgart—Weimar 2001, pp. 88–120, here: especially pp. 89–103.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. Schulte-Sasse, *Phantasie*, especially pp. 781–787.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 787 f.

<sup>25</sup> J. Paul, *Sämtliche Werke*, section 1, Vol. 5, pp. 47 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

whole in order to look at it: everyone who once said: that is beautiful, even if he was mistaken in the object, has the fantastic power of formation (*Bildungskraft*).<sup>27</sup>

Conversely, this also means that art production and reception do not differ in principle with regard to the mental power that makes them possible, but only gradually. To the extent that the imagination, as a formative power in Jean Paul, is not absolutely opposed to reality, as it is in Novalis and the Schlegels, but rather sets this reality absolutely through totalization and de-limitation, the mimetic principle is not abolished, but rather raised in a beautiful and spiritual, i.e. “poetic imitation”.<sup>28</sup> The Fantasy in this sense is therefore the central concept of Jean Paul’s aesthetics. The theses established in the mimetic aesthetics of the 18th century, which were determined, among other things, by the disputes about the so-called tonal painting, lose their dogmatism in this context but not their entire relevance. Jean Paul’s aesthetics, which mediates the *commercium mentis et corporis*, is also of importance for the romantic music discourse. The understanding and evaluation of the “imagination” on the one hand and the “natural imitation” on the other hand as well as their relationship to each other are of high importance with regard to the fantastic in the music-aesthetic negotiation process of Romanticism, which will be discussed below.

In contrast to the early Romantics and Jean Paul, who valued the power of fantasy to destroy or poetize reality, the devaluation of the term in general language usage in the 19th century prevailed. With reference to the negative connotations of the term ‘fantasy’, the less frequently used words ‘*Phantast*’ and ‘*phantastisch*’ were used in a majority of cases in a pejorative way in the entire 19th century German realm<sup>29</sup> and mostly spoke of the insufficient reference to reality as a deficit of this mental power and its products: “*Phantast* is the name given to a man”, as found in *Ersch-Gruber* in 1846, “who allows himself to be guided by such ideas, which often lack all reality, loves and believes in the striking and unusual in his appearance, even in the adventurous.”<sup>30</sup> Similarly, as already explained by Johann Christoph Adelung in 1796, the *Phantast* is someone “who has and nourishes tasteless fantasies, who loves and believes in the adventurous.”<sup>31</sup>, which he takes from a

---

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the same, pp. 40–43 and *passim*.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Karl-Heinz STAHL, “Wunderbar, das; Phantastische, das”, in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. by Joachim Ritter, Karlfried Gründer and Gottfried Gabriel, vol. 12: *W–Z*, Darmstadt 2004, pp. 1071–1077, here: p. 1074.

<sup>30</sup> “*Phantast*”, in: *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste von genannten Schriftstellern bearbeitet*, ed. by Johann Samuel Ersch and Johann Gottfried Gruber, 3rd Section: *O–Z*, Part 22: *Phantast-Philipp (Kings)*, ed. by Moritz Hermann Eduard Meier, Leipzig 1846, p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Johann Christoph ADELUNG, “*Fantast*”, in: *id.*, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart, mit beständiger Vergleichung der übrigen Mundarten, besonders aber der Oberdeutschen*, Vol. 2: *F–L*, Leipzig 1796 (2nd, increased and improved edition), col. 41.

formulation by Immanuel Kant in his *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen* of 1764.<sup>32</sup> Zedler regards the *Phantast* as a ‘fool’ as early as 1735.<sup>33</sup>

The term ‘*Phantast*’ could, however, also mean (artistic) genius and the thin line between the two, in addition to foolishness and madness. Because of his political insults, which sometimes contained even seditious statements and could easily have landed him in prison, Beethoven was not persecuted: “The police knew,” as Wilhelm Christian Müller reported in the obituary in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1827, “but they left him alone, whether because he was a *Phantast* or out of respect for his brilliant artistry.”<sup>34</sup> Accordingly, the adjective ‘*phantastisch*’ first “indicates an incorrect or excessive use” of the imagination, as “in everyday life” as well as “in the fine arts”<sup>35</sup>, noted Campein 1813. “*Phantastisch* in the broadest sense is everything,” as was still made clear in Meyer in 1896, “that as a product of unrestrained imagination, contradicts logical norms, appears excessive, monstrous, and improbable.”<sup>36</sup> For the Romantic Robert Schumann the use of the adjective ‘*phantastisch*’ was not aimed at a negative artistic judgment: For him, for example, the Zwickau Marienkirche was one of “the most curious buildings in Saxony”, precisely because the church building appeared to him “not in the purest style”, but rather “dark and somewhat fantastic in appearance”.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> See Immanuel KANT, *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen*, Königsberg 1764.—Cit. from *Kant's gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by Königlich-Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, section 1: *Werke*, Vol. 2: *Vorkritische Schriften II: 1757–1777*, Berlin 1912, pp. 205–256, here: pp. 213 f.: “There are never praiseworthy qualities in human nature without at the same time variations of them passing through infinite shades to the utmost imperfection. The quality of the terrible sublime, when it becomes completely unnatural, is adventurous. Unnatural things, insofar as the sublime is meant therein, whether it is encountered little or not at all, are grimaces. Anyone who loves and believes in adventurous things is a fantasist; a tendency to make faces makes them a cricket catcher.”

<sup>33</sup> See “*Fantasiren*”, in: *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste, Welche bißhero durch menschlichen Verstand und Witz erfunden und verbessert worden [...]*, ed. by Johann Heinrich Zedler, Vol. 9, Halle—Leipzig 1735, col. 220.

<sup>34</sup> Wilhelm Christian MÜLLER, “*Etwas über Ludwig van Beethoven*,” in: *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 29 (1827), pp. 345–354, here: p. 350.

<sup>35</sup> Joachim Heinrich CAMPE, “*Fantastisch*,” in: id., *Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke. Ein Ergänzungsband zu Adelung's und Campe's Wörterbüchern*, Braunschweig 1813 (New, greatly increased and consistently improved edition), p. 313.

<sup>36</sup> “*Phantast*”, in: *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon. A reference work of general knowledge*, ed. by Bibliographisches Institut, Vol. 13: *Nordseekanal-Politesse*, Leipzig—Vienna 1896 (5th, completely revised edition), p. 824.

<sup>37</sup> [Robert SCHUMANN], “*Fest in Zwickau. Am 12ten Juli*”, in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 4 (1837), Vol. 7 (July to December 1837), pp. 31 f.—Quoted from *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker von Robert Schumann*, with the revised addenda and explanations to the 4th edition and others ed. by Martin Kreisig, Vol. 1, Leipzig 1914 (5th edition), pp. 265–267, here: p. 265.

In light of this brief historical overview of the term, it can be seen that the adjectival term ‘fantastic’ delineates less of a closed sense than it leads into a wide and open field of words, the extent of which is ultimately dependent on the part terms connoted positively and negatively, as the imagination is evaluated with regard to its epistemological, aesthetic, and ethical meanings: The fantastic stands in opposition to reality, is extraordinary, disorderly, irregular, unreasonable, unconscious, improbable, unreal, unreal, nonsensical. But it is also meaningful, as it is supernatural, extraterrestrial, surreal, magical, wonderful, spiritual, mythical, mystical, and thus modulates and creates reality. The fantastic is the perversion of reality, is incoherent, grotesque, bizarre, absurd, morbid, adventurous, gigantic, decadent, curious, caricaturing and comical. It supplements and complements reality with the sayings and fairy tales, with the dreamlike and nightmare-like, with all the imaginary which is sometimes uncanny, eerie, creepy, terrible, ghostly, evil, even devilish, dizzy and frightening. The fantastic is wonderful, strange, dreamy and crazy. It stands by its somnambulism and lives in ecstasy, is crazy and demonic, but despite its chimeras and phantasms also idealistic, innovative, poetic, genius. With its fictions and illusions, it renews reality and creates utopias, but usually remains subjective and romantic.

### *The Fantastic as a Characteristic of the Romantic*

The fantastic is sometimes romantic as the fantastic is an essential element of the romantic, but the epithets are not mutually substitutable. With regard to the history of the term ‘romantic’ and with regard to the history of the discourse of romanticism, especially in the form of romantic and post-romantic criticism of romanticism, as well as with regard to the romantic work and its effects — especially with regard to the subjects, programs, titles, etc. and the modes of production and reception that determine them and are determined by them — this can serve as a preliminary finding.

In the general meaning of the word described above, behind which in particular the deliberate contradiction to reality and/or the (sometimes pathologically founded) loss of reality as an accusation stands, the fantastic has become the primary characteristic of the romantic artist and romantic art. After all, it was “the enthusiasm for the Middle Ages”, which one “conceived from the side of the fantastic, adventurous and visionary.”<sup>38</sup> Its characteristics are “the overgrowth of subjectivity, a strong emergence of feeling, passion, unboundedness of imagination”<sup>39</sup>, “the supernatural and fantastic, the incorporeal, nebulous and

---

<sup>38</sup>“ Romantisch”, in: Hugo RIEMANN, *Musik-Lexikon. Theorie und Geschichte der Musik, die Tonkünstler alter und neuer Zeit mit Angabe ihrer Werke, nebst einer vollständigen Instrumentenkunde*, Leipzig 1882, pp. 777 f., here: p. 777.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

nonsensical”, “the fantastic world of geniuses and demons”<sup>40</sup> is considered to be their substance. The romantic artist through and through (here Robert Schumann) shapes “even where he lets the real world act on him, these generated images just as fantastic” from “as those of the dreamed world.”<sup>41</sup> —Finally, romanticism is “a conscious diving below the level of clear intellectual activity and regulated form-giving”<sup>42</sup>, which is why its influence “must necessarily damage and stop the development of music”<sup>43</sup>

The remarks, which here serve as an example from the Riemann Lexicon (1882) and the *Mendel-Reissmann* (1877) and which determine the fantastic as an essential element of the romantic, are in the tradition of a romantic criticism, which is to be taken into account in the course of this work. This would be, for example, Goethe in the well-known sentence from the romantic as the sick,<sup>44</sup> Hegel in the *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807),<sup>45</sup> but especially in his *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik* (1835–1838) published by Heinrich Gustav Hotho.<sup>46</sup> It is also

---

<sup>40</sup>“Romantik”, in: *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon. Eine Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften. Für Gebildete aller Stände*, founded by Hermann Mendel, continued by August Reissmann, vol. 8, Berlin 1877, pp. 396–401, here: p. 398.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 400.

<sup>42</sup>H. Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon*, p. 777.

<sup>43</sup>H. Mendel, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*, Vol. 8, p. 401.

<sup>44</sup>See Johann Peter ECKERMAN, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens. 1823–1832*, Vol. 2, Leipzig 1836, p. 92: “I call the classical the healthy, and the romantic the sick.”

<sup>45</sup>Georg Wilhelm Friedrich HEGEL, *System der Wissenschaft*, Vol. 1: *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, Bamberg—Würzburg 1807.—Hereafter cit. from *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Werke*, newly edited edition based on the works of 1832–1845, edited by Eva Moldenhauer and Karl Markus Michel, vol. 3, Frankfurt/Main 1970.—See here, for example, pp. 483 f. on the loss of reality and the empty subjectivity of Romanticism: “It [sc. the Romantic consciousness] lacks the power of divestiture, the power to make itself into a thing and to endure being. It lives in the fear of staining the glory of its interior by action and existence, and in order to preserve the purity of its heart, it flees the touch of reality and persists in the obstinate powerlessness to renounce its self, which has been sharpened to the last abstraction, and to give itself substantiality, or to transform its thinking into being and to entrust itself to the absolute difference. The hollow object, which it produces for itself, therefore fills it only with the consciousness of emptiness; its action is the longing, which in the becoming of itself to the insubstantial object only loses itself, and falling beyond this loss and back to itself, finds itself only as lost;—in this transparent purity of its moments an unfortunate so-called *beautiful soul*, it glows within itself, and vanishes as a shapeless vapor, dissolving into air.”

<sup>46</sup>*Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegels Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik*, ed. by Heinrich Gustav Hotho, 3 vols., Berlin 1835–1838.—Hereafter cit. from *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Werke*, newly edited edition based on the works of 1832–1845, ed. by Eva Moldenhauer and Karl Markus Michel, vol. 13–15, Frankfurt/Main 1970.—See, for example, vol. 13, p. 289 on the inner tornness of Romanticism, which brings forth evil and ugliness: “Above all, however, the inner aimless tornness, which goes through all disagreeable dissonances, has become fashionable and has produced a humor of abhorrence and a grimace of irony that [Ernst] Theodor [Amadeus] Hoffmann, for example, found pleasing.”—In another passage of the *Ästhetik*, Hegel has already applied his Romanticism criticism concretely to Weber’s *Oberon* and *Der Freischütz*, focusing on the sharp characteristic in the abstract laughter and tears, which, according to his view, are



from Heine in his work *The Romantic School* (1836)<sup>47</sup> and, inter alia, researched by Karl Heinz Bohrer in *The Critique of Romanticism*, as well as in the tradition of the concept of Romanticism itself, namely with regard to its oldest, but not lost, trivial literary meaning, which, as Ulrich Tadday has shown in his *Aesthetics, Criticism, History of Romantic Music Thought* first referring to “the medieval and Renaissance poems written in ‘romance’ language,” then to novels, “which freely imitated and trivialized the adventurous, exotic and passionate, fairy-tale, fantastic and wonderful poems of the Middle Ages.”<sup>48</sup> The Romantic as the Romanesque could then already be a property of other art forms in the first half of the 18th century: The abolition of all rules “of good tragedy and comedy” in the opera was already criticized by Johann Christoph Gottsched in 1730 as “fantastic Roman love.”<sup>49</sup> This level of meaning, the Romantic as the Fantastic-Romanesque, still feeds the concept of Romanticism today. The ‘fantastic’ and the ‘romantic’ have a common history of concepts and their respective histories of concepts, especially the wave-like history of their qualification and disqualification, run parallel over stages.

The quoted remarks about Romanticism and the Romantic from the Riemann Lexicon and *Mendel-Reissmann* simply reflect the positive finding before the history of the concepts. Namely, if ‘Romanticism’ is also used as a music historical

---

no longer captured by the melodic here, thus revealing a tornness that is outside of beauty;—see G. W. F. Hegel, *Werke*, vol. 15, pp. 208 ff.—To the extent that music is at the center of the Romantic arts here with Hegel and the musical is even partially identified with the Romantic, the criticism of musical Romanticism is paradigmatic for Romanticism criticism in general. In his study of Hegel’s Romanticism criticism, Otto Pöggeler summarizes the philosopher’s thoughts on music as follows: “Since the material is set most negatively in music, subjective inwardness can be grasped most freely in it; and the objectless inward, the abstract subjectivity as such, the self without further content, is best suited for musical expression.”—See Otto PÖGgeler, *Hegels Kritik der Romantik*, Munich 1999 (= *Philosophie an der Jahrtausendwende*, ed. by Peter Koslowski), p. 214.

<sup>47</sup> Heinrich HEINE, *Die romantische Schule*, Hamburg 1836.—Subsequently cited according to *Heinrich Heine. Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. by Manfred Windfuhr, vol. 8/1: *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland, Die romantische Schule*, Hamburg 1979, pp. 121–249.—See, for example, p. 165 on the lack of contemporary relevance of Romanticism: “Fr. Schlegel was a deep-thinking man. He recognized all the glory of the past and felt all the pain of the present. But he did not understand the sanctity of these pains and their necessity for the future salvation of the world. He saw the sun go down and looked wistfully at the place of this setting and lamented the night darkness that he saw approaching; and he did not notice that already a new morning red was shining on the opposite side. Fr. Schlegel once called the historian ‘a reversed prophet.’ This word is the best description for himself. The present was hateful to him, the future scared him, and only in the past, which he loved, did his revealing seer’s eyes penetrate.”

<sup>48</sup> U. Tadday, *Das schöne Unendliche*, p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> Johann Christoph GOTTSCHED, *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen; Darinnen erstlich die allgemeinen Regeln der Poesie, hernach alle besonderen Gattungen der Gedichte, abgehandelt und mit Exempeln erläutert werden* [...], Leipzig 1730, p. 604.



style or epoch concept in general use, which (as today) by convention and despite all doubts somehow spans a long century of Romantics (Neo-Romantics and Late Romantics between Beethoven and Mahler, Weber and Strauss, Schubert and Pfitzner and may even include the Classical Haydn and Mozart)<sup>50</sup> then there is no question that the musical Romanticism is not limited to merely a few works which have the attribute ‘fantastic’. After all, “especially the art of sound seems to gain its most favorable objects of representation” from a productive, independently creating imagination that populates “water and air, the depths and heights of the earth with beings”, creates a world “in which good and evil spirits, demons and angels, goblins and elves, mermaids and dragons, giants and dwarfs rule and seek to gain influence on the course of the reality of life”.<sup>51</sup>

Examples include the operas *Undine* by E. T. A. Hoffmann (UA: Berlin, 1816) with Kühleborn’s palace (Fig. 1.1) and “the eerie choirs of the earth and water spirits in crowded, strange progressions”<sup>52</sup>, *Faust* by Louis Spohr (UA: Prag, 1816) with the witch’s chorus, in which “deep, German-fantastic nature-view”<sup>53</sup> is to be discovered, *Der Freischütz* by Carl Maria von Weber (UA: Berlin, 1821), “the culmination point of the romantic opera”<sup>54</sup>, or *Der Vampyr* by Heinrich Marschner (UA: Leipzig, 1828), whose characters “come from a deeper hell,” “offspring of lies, who find their daring pleasure in the vulgar evil.”<sup>55</sup> Already with the many adaptations of the Rübzahl saga circle<sup>56</sup> or with the numerous

---

<sup>50</sup>See Friedrich BLUME, Art. “Romantik”, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, with the collaboration of numerous music researchers from home and abroad ed. by himself, Vol. 11: *Rasch—Schnyder von Wartensee*, Kassel et al. 1963, cols. 785–845, here: esp. cols. 802–806 and Signe ROTTER-BROMAN, “Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Spätromantik für die Musikhistoriographie”, in: *Die Musikforschung* 68 (2015), pp. 165–182.

<sup>51</sup>H. Mendel, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*, Vol. 8, Berlin 1877, p. 69.

<sup>52</sup>Carl Maria von WEBER, “Ueber die Oper, Undine, nach dem Märchen gleichen Namens [...]”, in: *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 19 (1817), pp. 201–208, here: p. 206.—Other operatic settings of the Undine story come from for example Christian Friedrich Johann Girschner (UA: Danzig, 1837), Johann Peter Emilius Hartmann (UA: Kopenhagen, 1842) and Albert Lortzing (UA: Magdeburg, 1845).

<sup>53</sup>Franz BRENDL, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich. Von den ersten christlichen Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart. Zweiundzwanzig Vorlesungen gehalten in Leipzig im Jahre 1850*, Leipzig 1852, p. 438.

<sup>54</sup>From a review already attributed to E. T. A. Hoffmann by contemporaries in: *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung* 1821, No. 76/77.—The review was also later reprinted in collected volumes as Today, Hoffmann’s authorship is considered unlikely.

<sup>55</sup>Gottfried Wilhelm FINK, review of “Der Vampyr, grosse romantische Oper [...]”, in: *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 30 (1828), cols. 253–259 and 269–274, here: col. 255.

<sup>56</sup>Among others, the Rübzahl tales provide the subject for the following operas: *Der Berggeist oder Schicksal und Treue* by Franz Danzi (UA: Karlsruhe, 1813), *Rübzahl* by Wilhelm Würfel (UA: Prag, 1824), *Der Berggeist* by Louis Spohr (UA: Kassel, 1825), *Rübzahl* by Friedrich von Flotow (UA: Frankfurt/Main, 1853).—Carl Maria von Webers Oper *Rübzahl* remained a fragment, the overture, reworked in 1811 as Opus 27, is titled *Der Beherrscher der Geister*.



**Fig. 1.1** Kühleborn's Water Palace. Decorative design by Karl Friedrich Schinkel for Hoffmann's *Undine*.—The romantic opera *Undine* by E. T. A. Hoffmann was premiered in 1816 at the Königliches Schauspielhaus in Berlin on the birthday of Friedrich Wilhelm III. Through Undine's kiss of love, Knight Huldbrand himself becomes a water spirit. (With him, the mermaid goes to the subterranean realm of her uncle Kühleborn, the prince of the water spirits. © Kupferstichkabinett. Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Inv.-Nr.: SM 22c.173 = SM C.30 (alt))

interpretations of the works of William Shakespeare for the musical theater,<sup>57</sup> the list of fantastic figures in opera<sup>58</sup> can be easily continued until the middle of the

<sup>57</sup>For example, I would like to mention the works *Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor* by Peter Ritter (UA: Mannheim, 1794) and Carl Ditters by Dittersdorf (UA: Oels, 1796), *Der Sturm* by Peter von Winter (UA: München, 1798) and Wenzel Müller (UA: Wien, 1798), *Die Geisterinsel* by Johann Friedrich Reichardt (UA: Berlin, 1798) and Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg (UA: Stuttgart, 1798), *Der Sturm oder Prospero's Geisterinsel* by Philipp Jakob Riotte (UA: Brünn, 1834), *Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor* by Otto Nicolai (UA: Berlin, 1849), the latter a “comic-fantastic opera”;—see in detail Andreas WACZKAT, “Shakespeare im deutschsprachigen Musiktheater des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts”, in: *Shakespeare im Spiegelkabinett. Zur produktiven Vielfalt seiner Rezeption*, ed. by Sarah Alam and Barbara Schaff, Göttingen 2016, pp. 117–129 as well as Thomas RADECKE, “Shakespeares *Sturm* als Opernlibretto” in: *Aufbrüche – Fluchtwege. Musik in Weimar um 1800*, ed. by Helen Geyer and Thomas Radecke, Cologne et al. 2003 (= Vol. 3 of the *Schriftenreihe der Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt Weimar*), pp. 215–220.

<sup>58</sup>So far, the fantastic figures of German opera have only become the subject of musicological research in Vera REISING, *Phantastische Gestalten in der deutschen Oper von 1790 bis 1830*, 2 vols., typewritten dissertation, Humboldt-Universität Berlin 1975. —She draws on operas by Hoffmann, Weber, Spohr, Marschner et al. and seeks “to first grasp the basic idea of the content and the associated function of the fantastic figures from the material [...] in order then to analyze the musical means assigned to the relevant figures and to relate them to the content of the work” (pp. 8 f.). However, she argues in the sense of historical materialism and sees the function of the fantastic figures primarily “determined by the socio-economic formation, by the level of development of the productive forces [...] as well as by the class standpoint of their creators” (p. 4). In addition, she does not come to an ideational or discourse-historical classification of the phenomenon.



**Fig. 1.2** The storm. Title engraving of the opera by Karl Friedrich Hensler and Wenzel Müller.—Müller's heroic-comic opera, premiered in Vienna in 1798, adapts Shakespeare's *Storm*. (With the sorcerer Prospero, the wild slave Caliban and all kinds of crawling creatures, the fantastic element of the story is already brought to the title page. Source: Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Signature: 440778-A.61,4)