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ABSTRACT

The compositions of the Jewish-Austrian composer Alexander Zemlinsky (1871–1942) are often read as responding to Wagner's music and ideas, but for Zemlinsky, his mentor Gustav Mahler was a more logical point of orientation. This paper shows how a number of works by Zemlinsky that use fairy-tale plots—the symphonic poem *Die Seejungfrau* (1905), the opera *Der Zwerg* (1922), and the song "Das bucklichte Männlein" (1934)— respond to models provided by Mahler. The paper focuses, in particular, on traces of the Jewish body in Zemlinsky's musical fairy tales and their relation to aesthetic modernism. Through its insistence on the deficient and damaged body and its cultural frames, Zemlinsky's music demonstrates the untenability of Mahler's modernist aesthetics when confronted with the racial politics of (early) fascism.

At first sight, Alexander Zemlinsky's artistic output and professional development resemble those of Gustav Mahler. This goes especially for the choices both composers made in navigating German culture and their own Jewish identity. Alexander Zemlinsky (1871–1942) was Mahler's junior by eleven years. Like Mahler (1860–1911), he was born into a Jewish family with roots in the rural parts of the Habsburg empire. Zemlinsky was a prolific and extraordinarily diverse composer (his work was in many respects more varied than Mahler's). Zemlinsky, like Mahler, was active as a conductor as well as a composer. But to some extent, the similarities stop there. During most of his life, Zemlinsky had trouble getting his own music performed. While he was certainly successful as a conductor, this was by no means matched by an interest in his own music. Zemlinsky died mostly forgotten in exile on March 15, 1942, in Larchmont, New York.

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To Zemlinsky and many of his contemporaries, it may have seemed that Mahler had found a successful way of navigating German culture—and with it, Austrian society—neither by assimilating into it nor by responding to German culture with self-hatred in the form of a permanent awareness of the tension between what is considered the center of that culture and the insight that that same culture has confined oneself to its margins, a masochistic dynamic that has been analyzed in detail by Sander Gilman.[1] Mahler aimed to adopt a critical attitude toward German culture without homogenizing it or giving up his own autonomy in relation to it (although traces of the tensions underlying this relationship are certainly there). In his compositions, he rewrote German cultural history in such a way that it created space for the outsider, for figures in the margins, for critical rewritings of the trajectory that German cultural history had taken; in later works, such as the Eighth Symphony and the *Lied von der Erde* (*Song of the Earth*), he envisioned a model of cultural communication and understanding that enabled a notion of community allowing for both commonality and individuality.[2]

To be sure, in his professional and in everyday life Mahler was discriminated against as a Jew. Even the visual everyday perception of Mahler as a person was pervaded by anti-Jewish stereotypes.[3] In particular, his tenure at the Vienna Court Opera starting in 1897—when emperor Franz Joseph allowed his appointment just before he finally agreed, after having refused several times to do so, to appoint the notorious antisemite Karl Lueger as mayor of Vienna—was marred by antisemitic incidents.[4] But Mahler could maintain the illusion that his art was able to overcome such adversity. In terms of public impact and recognition, one high point of Mahler's career as a composer was the premiere in Munich of his Eighth Symphony, a public spectacle with over 1,000 musicians conducted by the composer himself on September 12, 1910, in the presence of many illustrious artists and intellectuals, among them Alexander Zemlinsky.[5]

To some extent, Mahler could attempt to ignore the public controversy that developed around the perception of his Jewishness (without denying his Jewish heritage)[6] because of his successes as a conductor and his well-established position in society. But what about those Austrian Jews who did not make it to the artistic top? What I propose in the following is a case study that allows us to come to a more complex view of Jewish identity in Vienna by focusing on someone who not only had to contend with antisemitic discourse and practice but also needed to develop an artistic identity of his own, with Mahler's choices and successes in mind.

Zemlinsky's work is often interpreted in the context of Wagner's music and ideas, in part because Zemlinsky, like Wagner, composed operas and Mahler did not. Initially, however, Zemlinsky identified with the anti-Wagnerian forces associated with the critic Eduard Hanslick and the composer Johannes Brahms (who gave him a grand piano); this anti-Wagnerian tendency is also visible in the young Zemlinsky's pref-

erence for the symphony, counterpoint, instrumental and chamber music.[7] Among the people who recognized the affinity between Zemlinsky and Mahler was Theodor W. Adorno. In his view, Mahler and Zemlinsky share an eclecticism, a borrowing of musical material and forms already used by others, and a focus on the past.[8] By characterizing their compositional technique as "eclectic," Adorno reproduces one of Wagner's stereotypes about Jewish music: its lack of originality and authenticity.[9] It also means that for Adorno, Mahler and Zemlinsky are both placed outside musical language's progression toward a more complex tonal language, the emancipation of dissonance,[10] exemplified by Schoenberg's twelve-tone theory and, before that, by Wagner's move away from traditional tonality and toward atonality in his Tristan-chord. Although he recognizes the importance of Mahler for Zemlinsky, in Adorno's essay on Zemlinsky, too, the influence of Wagner looms large.

As much as Zemlinsky admired Mahler, his presence and, after his early death in 1911, his artistic legacy also presented a problem for Zemlinsky. Was the trajectory followed by Mahler also viable for Zemlinsky himself? Was it possible for Zemlinsky to critique Mahler or, alternatively, to further develop critical impulses in Mahler's oeuvre? To what extent did antisemitism and the discourse on race affect Zemlinsky in ways different from Mahler? Because of his premature death in 1911, Mahler did not have to face the increased racial antisemitism of the 1920s and 1930s, when the Jewish-German dialogue of which Mahler had been a part became increasingly endangered, but Zemlinsky did.

Modernism and Race

Fame did not come easily to Zemlinsky, although he is now recognized as part of the canon of Vienna modernism and at least a number of his works (among them the *Seejungfrau* and the *Lyrische Symphonie*, the latter inspired by Mahler's *Lied von der Erde*[11]) are performed with some frequency. The life stories of Gustav Mahler and Alexander Zemlinsky intersected in several ways. Mahler was on friendly terms with Zemlinsky and the latter's friend and brother-in-law Arnold Schoenberg, and, within the limits of what was reasonably possible, he did much to support both of their careers during his tenure at the Vienna Court Opera.

Before this friendship developed, however, Zemlinsky was Alma Schindler's music teacher starting in the spring of 1900,[12] after her relationship with Gustav Klimt had ended, and before she got to know Gustav Mahler (in 1901), whom she would marry relatively soon after that. Under Zemlinsky's guidance, Alma Schindler composed a number of songs, and a romantic relationship (although not a sexual one) developed between the two. Their relationship was characterized by many doubts on both sides,[13] and one factor in Alma's reservations about Zemlinsky had to do with his Jewish background. Alma let Zemlinsky know what she and people in general ("die Leute") thought of him; Zemlinsky refers to this in two letters he sent to her in response:

> Ich habe immer wieder gehört von Dir und was die Leute Dir gesagt: ich sei fürchterlich häßlich, ich hab' kein Geld, vielleicht auch kein Talent und zuletzt bin ich auch schrecklich dumm! . . . ich muß, ein Bettler, danken, daß du mich liebst—ein wenig. Es ist fabelhaft unnatürlich, ja direkt wider die Natur. Ich höre und lese jetzt immerfort: Du bist häßlich,—zu klein, weiß Gott, was für Unsinn noch alles! Du kannst mir nicht oft genug sagen, welches großes Opfer Du bringen willst.[14]

Alma's reservations concern Zemlinsky's physical appearance in particular (his alleged ugliness and the fact he was quite short: 5 ft. 3 in.). But does that alone suffice to characterize their relationship as unnatural? Alma's family was against this relationship and her mother even threatened to bar Zemlinsky from their house.[15] One of Alma's fatherly friends, the director of the Burgtheater Max Burckhard, who briefly entertained an erotic interest in Alma as well, had advised her against marrying Zemlinsky, because it would ruin her race ("Verderben Sie nicht die *gute* Rasse . . . / Da schlugs innen bei mir an. Er hat recht—mein Körper ist 10 mal zu schön für den seinen").[16] Alma herself was afraid that, even though she was in love with Zemlinsky, by marrying him she would "kleine, degenerierte Judenkinder zur Welt bringen."[17]

Alma's rejection of Zemlinsky, in which race played a role, was deeply traumatic to him. But it was also a catalyst for Zemlinsky as a composer. It is important to be aware that the conflict identified here is not one of Zemlinsky's biography alone—it is foundational for understanding his relationship with modernism and, beyond that, for understanding the links between modernism and perceptions of Jewishness more broadly. There is a randomness to Alma's antisemitic attitudes: Gustav Mahler was Jewish as well, but that did not keep her from pursuing a relationship with him even though she felt ambivalent about him because of what she perceived as his racial traits.[18] For Zemlinsky, it is impossible to separate biological racism, antisemitism, and culture. The very physical nature of Alma's comments posits a corporality that, by necessity, cancels any cultural achievement; music cannot overcome race. It is precisely the issue of the deficient body and its link to the realm of music in Zemlinsky's compositions that demonstrate this.

In a number of compositions, Zemlinsky works through the traumatic event of being left by Alma for a more glamorous and successful albeit also Jewish man. In the following, I am interested in those compositions that use a specific fairy-tale setting. In these, Zemlinsky can play through different scenarios and envision different endings for the conflicts Alma's behavior has evoked in him. In his music, Zemlinsky plays through experimental situations in which the body perceived as dysfunctional is central. On the one hand, Zemlinsky uses the fairy-tale form to live out aggressive corporeal fantasies of revenge; on the other hand, these fairy tales also allow him to come to terms with these fantasies. In addition, the fairy-tale form—creating an alternative reality, a space of imagination—allows Zemlinsky to reflect on the function

of the aesthetic, of culture, in relation to not only corporality but also the public sphere. Finally, the fairy-tale form allows Zemlinsky to move beyond the legacy of Wagner (even though Wagner's work contains fairy-tale elements as well).[19]

Die Seejungfrau and the Contradictions of Aesthetic Modernism

Zemlinsky's first artistic response to his traumatic break with Alma Schindler (soon to be Alma Mahler) was a symphonic poem entitled *Die Seejungfrau* (*The Mermaid*). Stylistically it resembles Richard Strauss's *Ein Heldenleben* (*A Hero's Life*) from 1898,[20] which, like *Die Seejungfrau*, narrates a musical autobiography, albeit of an artist who can look back ironically from the position of someone who has successfully accomplished his aesthetic goals. Zemlinsky had originally planned *Die Seejungfrau* as a symphony in two parts, each consisting of different sections,[21] not unlike the original five-movement version of Mahler's First Symphony, which was also conceived as a symphonic poem (one iteration is called "TITAN, eine Tondichtung in Symphonieform")[22] and comprised two parts with subsections. Both works, each in their own way, share a highly critical view of the German aesthetic tradition—they take that tradition apart rather than reinforcing it. At the end of both works, we do not find a hero who has accomplished a certain development and reached their goal, but rather someone being moved back and forth between different impulses. The final movements of both symphonic poems, in particular, quote from and refer back to the first movements of both orchestral works.[23]

When looking at *Die Seejungfrau* through the lens of his relationship with Gustav Mahler, the timing of Zemlinsky's composition is relevant as well. Alma Schindler's relationship with Gustav Mahler started in November 1901; around the same time, her interest in Zemlinsky waned. Zemlinsky started work on his symphonic poem a few months later in February 1902, a few days before Alma and Gustav's wedding.[24] It has often been assumed—correctly in my view—that *Die Seejungfrau* was an immediate response to the break-up with Alma. The composition modulates between A-minor and E-flat, in German A and "Es," something that could be interpreted as referring to Alma Schindler.[25] Zemlinsky finished work on the full score in March 1903, and it was first performed on January 25, 1905, in a concert that also featured the premiere of his friend Arnold Schoenberg's symphonic poem *Pelleas und Melisande*.[26] The Zemlinsky scholar Antony Beaumont argues that Andersen's mermaid is a identificatory figure for Zemlinsky himself and that her pain is his pain: "In forfeiting her tongue to the knife of the Mer-witch, the Mermaid proved herself willing, for love of a mortal, to bear excruciating pain; in punishment for daring to penetrate Alma's high society Zemlinsky had suffered the pain of belittlement."[27] What interests me here is how the mermaid in the process of scholarly interpretation changes gender: Beaumont decides that this fairy tale (about a mermaid) is really about another man (Zemlinsky) who is the victim in this story. Does the music of the last movement, when the mer-

maid is part of the new world, away from the sea, support such a reading and indeed portray a hostile "high society"? The music of the third movement is perhaps more melancholy than the earlier movements; it has its dark and threatening moments, but the lightness and dance-like rhythms are still present in ways reminiscent of the first and second movements (the first movement, by the way, has its dark moments as well). The music does not lend itself well to a linear reading emphasizing a transition from an ideal and light sea world into a dark and threatening atmosphere dominated by "high society."[28]

To understand the precise symbolism associated with the mermaid, it is relevant to remember that Alexander Zemlinsky was Alma Schindler's composition teacher. We also know that Gustav Mahler, as part of his agreement to marry Alma, demanded that she abandon composing and forbade Zemlinsky to enter his house[29]—two commands she indeed followed. Alma left, in other words, not only the world of sound associated with Zemlinsky but also the world in which she could produce her own sounds. Precisely this transition can also be found in Andersen's fairy tale. The underwater world, the mermaid's natural habitat we encounter in the first movement, is a world of beauty, community, and, for her fellow mermaids who don't care about humans, of deep contentment. It is also primarily a world of sound. In her old underwater world the mermaid "sang more beautifully than all the others."[30] It is her voice that the sea witch wants in exchange for making the little mermaid human (407), and for that reason she cuts out the mermaid's tongue so that she can neither sing nor speak (408). In addition, her feet bleed as if she is walking on knives (410–411, 418). The witch turns the mermaid into a damaged body. The new world the mermaid now enters is one of violence, fragmented bodies, an unwholesome public sphere, and it is a world without art, while her old world is associated with intact bodies, a protective private sphere, and the ability to produce art. After turning into a human being, the mermaid manages to connect with the prince whom she had saved earlier, but even though he seems to love her he does not choose her as his bride, preferring another instead. In the end, the mermaid is given the chance to return to the water world, but only if she kills the prince. She refuses to do so and then is given another chance to receive an immortal soul (in three hundred years) if she does good deeds (420–421).

If Alma, according to Zemlinsky's diagnosis, gives in to the temptations of the world and its superficiality—a frequent topic in Zemlinsky's correspondence with Alma[31]—she will have to abandon her artistic ambitions and be unhappy, damaged, incomplete, and will be living in between worlds, like Andersen's mermaid. She may very well end up with a prince, but he could leave her for someone else (Alma had been warned by her stepfather that Mahler had the reputation of having many liaisons with singers).[32] The mermaid in this reading is not primarily an identificatory character for Zemlinsky himself, but rather offers a cautionary tale of what may happen

to Alma now that she has given in to Zemlinsky's rival and abandoned her ambition to compose music herself. It is not his body that will be damaged, but hers.

And yet, *Die Seejungfrau* is more than a phantasy of revenge. There is an alternative way of reading Andersen's fairy tale (that, one could argue, complements rather than replaces the earlier one). Nora Alter and Lutz Koepnick in their introduction to the collection *Sound Matters* read Andersen's *Mermaid* as a commentary on living in a modern society and, more specifically, as an artistic expression informed by "a particularly modern anxiety about corporeal and perceptual disintegration, a fear caused by the shock-like separation of sights and sounds in industrial culture."[33] Andersen's fairy-tale world—the world in which the mermaid grows up—is meant as an alternative world provided by art, an aesthetic community in which one can be an observer of the real world and yet also accomplish one's artistic goals without becoming part of the "inauthenticity," "non-spontaneity," or "loss and fragmentation" that characterize the modern world in which one "has to stage one's own body according to dominant expectations and shared aesthetic standards."[34] Alter and Koepnick's insights apply to Zemlinsky's interpretation of Andersen's fairy tale as well. *Die Seejungfrau* posits a clear separation between an aesthetic world of art associated with authenticity and a world of fragmented sounds and images associated with loss and anxiety. The modern, fragmented world is geared toward the visual. Even though the mermaid no longer has the ability to sing, she still has what the witch calls her "beautiful appearance," which will allow her to "capture a human heart"; the suggestion here and elsewhere in the fairy tale is that the human world is more interested in visuality than in sound.[35] Zemlinsky's diagnosis differs from Alter and Koepnick in that the loss of art as a utopian space and the fragmentation of the body are the result of a racist reading of society's body politic that makes any attempt to bridge the gap between art and society futile.

The fairy tale conceives of art and society as separate. And yet, simultaneously, this separation is also endangered; it is a source of constant tension. Those inhabiting the aesthetic world look at the outside world and idealize it as much as those in the outside world idealize the aesthetic world. In spite of Andersen's effort to give the text a sort of happy ending—after a new trial period, the mermaid may still come into possession of an immortal soul—the undertone of cruelty and disintegration in the story is hard to overlook.

In the version of aesthetic modernism articulated in *Die Seejungfrau*, art no longer serves as a guiding force in society but will remain in the margins of that world, looking at reality from the outside. In Zemlinsky's interpretation, from the moment of their tragic rupture caused by her giving up her aesthetic ambitions in the world of sound, he and Alma live in separate spheres. By holding on to the world of sound and having been rejected by the visual world, Zemlinsky has become an outsider to her world of "high society." Yet, as a composer, he is also capable of articulating this rupture

and he insists on the simultaneous presence of these worlds—hence the presence of very different and conflicting impulses in the final movement of the symphonic poem. Zemlinsky's mermaid's fragile femininity stands in sharp contrast to the very masculine hero of Strauss's *Ein Heldenleben*, who in spite of Strauss's irony toward his hero is, in the end, capable of navigating and being successful in the modern world. It is the irony of a man who is secure in himself by standing above it all, in contrast to the ironic, split existence of the person whose identity has been taken away by its environment.[36] The best Zemlinsky's mermaid can hope for is empathy based on the history of violence and suffering she has undergone. *Die Seejungfrau* envisions an aesthetic community of outcasts, of those with a body that is perceived as imperfect and inferior.

Der Zwerg—Modernism and Violence

The basic constellation that can be found in *Die Seejungfrau*—a tension between an inside world in which song and art dominate and an outside world that is inauthentic, primarily interested in superficial sociability, visually oriented, and hostile to sound—is very similar to the main antagonism in Zemlinsky's fairy-tale opera *Der Zwerg* (*The Dwarf*). *Der Zwerg* is an opera in one act composed by Zemlinsky from 1919 to 1921 and based on a free adaptation of Oscar Wilde's *The Birthday of the Infanta* by the librettist Georg C. Klaren.[37] *Der Zwerg* tells the story of a dwarf, a gift from a Moorish sultan to the Spanish infanta, Donna Clara, who is about to celebrate her eighteenth birthday. The dwarf intends to court her and hopes to convince her of his love for her through his song; he has a great reputation as a singer. The hostile outside world, in this case, is represented by the Spanish court where the plot takes place, a location where power and abuse are closely intertwined.

Scholarship has looked at *Der Zwerg* in its relation to Wagner's operas,[38] which is certainly legitimate but also limits one's perspective. One of Zemlinsky's models was, without a doubt, Mahler's cantata *Das klagende Lied* (*Song of Lament*),[39] Mahler's first mature work and his only major composition based on a fairy tale, "Der singende Knochen" ("The Singing Bone"), of which versions exist by Ludwig Bechstein and the brothers Grimm. It is a narrative of two brothers desiring the possession of a red flower to court a young, unmarried queen at a neighboring court; after one of them finds the flower, the other brother kills him and hastily buries the body under a tree. However, a wandering minstrel finds a bone of the murdered brother, fashions it into a flute, and takes it to the queen's castle, where the wedding celebrations between the queen and the remaining brother are interrupted by the flute telling the story of the fratricide. Like *Die Seejungfrau* and *Der Zwerg, Das klagende Lied* tells a story of violence as something structural and fundamentally unjust, but it is also a story of redemption through art: art that is rooted in suffering can speak for the abused and serve as a counternarrative to "official" versions of history.

Zemlinsky was familiar with Mahler's (relatively little known) cantata, which he conducted several times around the time he composed *Der Zwerg*.[40] *Der Zwerg* engages with the idea of art rooted in suffering and its ability to offer a counternarrative but it also demonstrates that such a concept of art must fail. While Zemlinsky's *Seejungfrau* suggests a clear distinction between the inauthentic outside world and the authentic realm of aesthetics, such a separation is harder to make in *Der Zwerg*. The world of the court is one of play, song, and dance—of art, in other words, of which the primary function is to serve as social and therefore superficial entertainment. It is a space characterized by extravagance and opulence but also a world in which everything is fake and reality is covered up: the mirrors of the loggia where the drama takes place are concealed. The veil of aesthetics serves to hide the body's physical appearance.

And yet there is also something like authentic art in *Der Zwerg*. Art can be used in the service of articulating one's real feelings: the opera's protagonist dressed up as a knight who believes—and is made to believe—that he is the infanta's real love interest sings a song accompanying himself on guitar. It is intended to be a love song but, in reality, tells a rather sad story of a love that dies. The song ends "mit einem schrillen Akkord," an articulation of real suffering rather than what musical convention demands.[41] The infanta and her companions make the impression of being captivated by the song and, after a lengthy dialogue, the infanta seems to return his affection, gives him a white rose, and then leaves. Thus far, the plot of *Der Zwerg* is quite similar to that of *Das klagende Lied*; in both cases, men court powerful women and a flower plays a key role, but the endings are quite different. In *Das klagende Lied*, after the truth comes out, the queen collapses and the suggestion is that she dies; in *Der Zwerg,* it is the dwarf who dies. Awaiting the return of his beloved one, the infanta, the dwarf climbs on a chair, unintentionally loosening the cover of one of the mirrors and discovering his real and supposedly hideous appearance. When the infanta then returns and he asks her to confirm her love for him, it becomes clear her interest in him was only feigned and the dwarf dies with the rose she gave him in his hand. In Mahler's cantata, the communicative power of art prevails over injustice, but in Zemlinsky's opera, art fails to communicate and is defeated by injustice. This failure has medial grounds: The infanta and her entourage are not interested in the dwarf's song; they prefer the domain of the visual and, in that world, the dwarf fails. *Der Zwerg* brings back the separation between sound (associated with authenticity) and a fixation on visuality that characterizes the superficial, social world of *Die Seejungfrau*, but in *Der Zwerg,* the world of sound collapses when its protagonist dies.

Antony Beaumont points out that the librettist Georg Klaren modeled the dwarf at the center of the opera after Zemlinsky himself (they share a fictitious noble title, a background in the Orient, and are both composers), while the infanta shares "many negative traits" with Alma.[42] After completion of the score, Zemlinsky sent

copies to Arnold Schoenberg and Alma Mahler; Alma also attended the opera's dress rehearsal.[43] Klaren was an avowed admirer of Otto Weininger, the author of *Geschlecht und Charakter* (1903), on whom he was in the process of writing a dissertation. In an essay on *Der Zwerg,* Klaren made clear that he had reworked Oscar Wilde's text following Weininger's theories.[44] Weininger's influence explains the hostility between man and woman, a certain misogyny that is thematized, and the liminal position of the protagonist. Although the dwarf is, without a doubt, the victim in the opera, he is also, following Weininger's logic, designed to be a better person than the other characters (with the possible exception of Ghita, the infanta's favorite servant and, throughout the opera, a moderating and mediating force). Not only is the dwarf an artist and therefore superior, he also represents spiritual love (Eros), which is coded as masculine by Weininger, while the women at the court, including the infanta, are driven by a typically feminine physical love or sexual lust (with Ghita again being the exception).[45] The dwarf is sincere in his feelings and ambitions. Importantly, Ghita observes that he is not driven by malice or deceitfulness (*Arglist*), even though she initially thought so; the infanta, too, states that there is no *Arglist* in the dwarf's love for her.[46]

A Weiningerian reading of *Der Zwerg* is bound to understand the opera as demonstrating the "impossibility of any real relation between the sexes,"[47] but that should not lead us to assume that the opera is about communication between the sexes alone. In turn-of-the-century Vienna, Weininger also theorized and exemplified Jewish self-hatred. As Sander L. Gilman has shown, in Weininger's work, misogyny and antisemitism are closely linked: "Jews, like women, not only have no center within their perception of the world but do not have a center in the world itself. For the woman, the man is the center, a center she must find outside herself; the Jew has no such ability. The Jew is thus a degenerate woman!"[48] In the case of the protagonist of *Der Zwerg*, not only is his center (the infanta) taken away but society treats him as inferior. The lack of a dialogue between men and women is replicated through other hierarchies based in race and culture.

Scholarship has done little to nothing with the intercultural dimension of the conflict at the core of *Der Zwerg*. The dwarf marrying the infanta would imply a reconciliation of Islam and Christianity since he is a present from the sultan. The opera is set in a "Loggia in maurischem Stil,"[49] pointing to the presence of the still recent Islamic past in Madrid; the presents for the infanta, however, include a prayer book, a crucifix of topaz and ivory, and a golden rose from the pope, pointing to the Catholic present. For the Hofmeister, "die Religion und die Moral" forbid the dwarf marrying any of the women present.[50] In the performance of *Der Zwerg* conducted by James Conlon and directed by Darko Tresnjak, the role of the dwarf was sung by a black tenor (Rodrick Dixon); this is not without logic since the dwarf comes from a Moorish court and was enslaved there. Here, too, the body is a marker of differ-

ence, but this time the conflict is staged with the historical background of Europe's relationship with Islam and its colonial history in Africa in mind, underscoring how culture and race are intertwined.

In an important respect, the protagonist of *Der Zwerg* refuses to confirm a Wagnerian-Weiningerian diagnosis of Jewishness. Wagner denies the ability of Jews to produce authentic art and, following Wagner's lead, Weininger argues that Jews' inability or disinclination to sing is an expression of their absence of a sense of inner worth ("seiner *inneren Würdelosigkeit*").[51] But Zemlinsky's protagonist neither doubts his talent nor his position in society until he looks in the mirror. This is also clear from the central love song in the opera, which the dwarf sings for the infanta. While in *Die Meistersinger* Beckmesser is made laughable through his musically deficient song that goes against all rules, in *Der Zwerg* the protagonist's song is described by the infanta as "sehr schön"[52] and he is laughed at by the others because of the discrepancy between the song's topic and his appearance, not because of his musical inability.[53] The problem is not the deficiency of the dwarf himself but rather how his environment responds to him.

At stake in the dwarf's song for the infanta is love as a desire for inclusion and the fear of being excluded. The image the dwarf uses is that of a blood orange, symbolizing the dwarf's heart, love, and art, that is pierced and killed by the silver needle his lover takes out of her hair—a variation of a scene that the librettist, Klaren, has taken from Eduard Mörike's novella *Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag* in a way that is not dissimilar to Mahler's use of material from literary history for his compositions.[54] The song, with its focus on thoughtless violence, is one of several attempts by the dwarf to assert his love for the infanta. Subsequently, he invents a (vaguely Wagnerian) story in which the infanta is kept captive by a dragon ("Lindwurm") and he, "ein strahlender Held," saves her on a "feuriges Roß" and with a spear.[55] Neither the narrative, in which the dwarf depicts himself as a victim, nor his heroic narrative convince the infanta, which leads the dwarf to propose a third option: "Ich weiß nicht, was Liebe ist . . . aber wenn es die Furcht ist, Prinzessin, dann liebe ich dich!"[56] Building on this, the infanta sketches a masochistic scenario, in which the dwarf with his art will not only be her servant but also that of the men courting her. What she proposes is a form of love that may not really be very different from hatred: "Vielleicht hasse ich dich, und du hältst es für Liebe," the infanta says.[57] The only future in which the dwarf can exist with the infanta is hierarchical. The fact that the crisis is then triggered by the dwarf for the first time seeing himself in the mirror and the subsequent rejection of his love by the infanta shows that there is no place for his song in her world of images—it shows his principal exclusion from her world.

While in the *Seejungfrau* the female antagonist ended up with her body dismembered, in *Der Zwerg* this happens to the male protagonist. The belief in art as a bridge between people (and the backgrounds or cultures associated with them) is questioned

in this fairy tale, as is the existence of an aesthetic counterworld—the belief in such a world is characterized as naive and unrealistic. Race trumps art; there is no aesthetic community. In the end, the expectations of the public sphere crush the establishment of an ideal private sphere in *Der Zwerg*. This means that we look sympathetically at the main character who is the clear underdog in the story. *Der Zwerg* problematizes the status of the modernist work of art after Wagner from the perspective of its racial agenda—a racial reading of modernism that goes clearly beyond Mahler's critique of that same tradition. *Der Zwerg* emphasizes the break between art and reality, between vision and sound, and refuses to see art as the cure to the ills of society.

"Das bucklichte Männlein"—Revisiting the *Wunderhorn* songs in 1934

My third example of Zemlinsky's use of fairy-tale material to think through basic questions about modernism, the body, and the possibility of community is a song for voice and piano, "Das bucklichte Männlein" ("The Hunchbacked Manikin") composed in December 1934 and based on a text from Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano's collection of folk songs *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806–1808, The youth's magic horn), that were important for many of Mahler's compositions as well. "Das bucklichte Männlein" is one of the best known songs in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, and during the nineteenth century was popular, in particular as a children's song (Thomas Mann and Walter Benjamin both worked childhood memories of the song into their texts).[58] The fact that the text was commonly known is important because it shows that Zemlinsky incorporated an image of physical otherness, of a "countertype" of German masculinity, in the form of a hunchbacked manikin that had long been part of German cultural history.[59] When Zemlinsky composed his song in 1934 after he had fled Germany the year before because of the Nazis' takeover, he wanted to point to that tradition. The song thus offers an archaeology of the biocentric and racist thinking that came to the surface in 1933 but had existed long before that.

In "Das bucklichte Männlein," we are confronted with an outsider, but not the kind of outsider we are accustomed to from Mahler's *Wunderhorn*-songs: wandering craftsmen, the incarcerated, soldiers down on their luck, the persecuted, and a starving child. The song breaks with the iconography in Mahler's songs through its emphasis on the outsider's physical appearance. It is in fact the protagonist's looks that are central. We learn little more about the man than what can be seen—that he is little and has a hunchback. In the song, the visual and physical presence of this outsider intrudes on the domestic life and daily routines of a young woman. He keeps her from yard work, cooking, eating, spinning wool, and praying.[60] There is some sexual innuendo as well: in the unmarried woman's bedroom the hunchbacked little man keeps her from making her bed and laughs at her ("Geh ich in mein Kämmerlein, / will mein Bettlein machen, / steht ein bucklicht' Männlein da, / fängt als an zu lachen").[61]

The visual element in the song itself is mirrored in its reception. When Zemlinsky

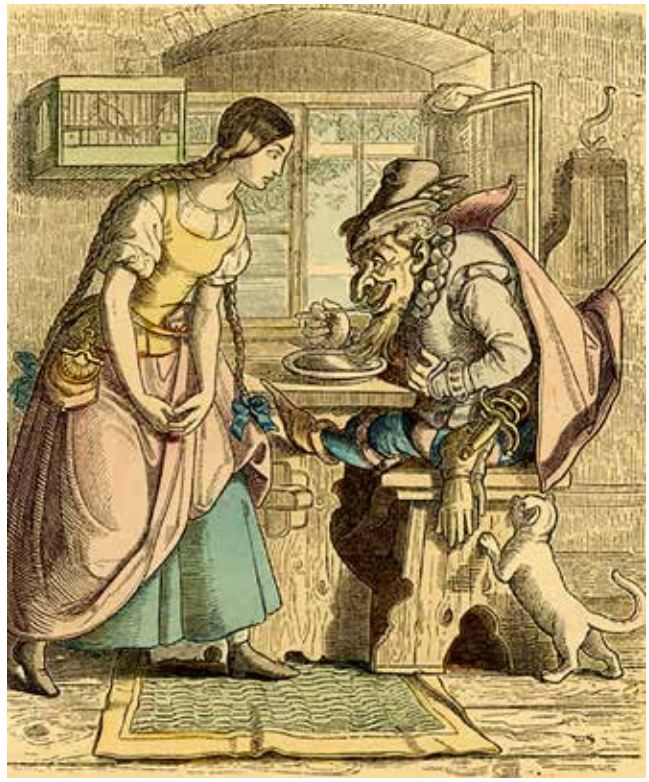

Figure 1. "Das bucklichte Männlein," in *Münchener Bilderbogen*, no. 69 (Munich: Braun & Schneider, 1851). Drawing: Eduard Ille.

decided to set this *Wunderhorn* poem to music, he not only had textual sources at his disposal but was also dealing with an iconographic tradition. Take, for instance, the illustration from 1851 (see Figure 1) from the popular nineteenth-century *Münchener Bilderbogen*—a magazine offering illustrations of popular folk songs.[62]

Illustrations like these raise some important questions about German culture. It creates a series of opposites: the woman is tall, carefully dressed, and chaste in her demeanor and gestures, whereas the small man's clothes and hair are unkempt, he knows no modesty, and his behavior is invasive. As scholars have shown, this depiction relies on antisemitic clichés.[63] While the woman holds her hands chastely in front of her lower body, the manikin's left foot is protruding into her domain in a phallic way with her skirt halfway lifted. The element of sexual uninhibitedness and intrusion is part of the cliché.

It is only at the end of the song, in the last two lines, that the hunchbacked manikin speaks: "Liebes Kindlein, ach ich bitt', / bet' fürs bucklicht Männlein mit."[64] With these words, text enters the image world in an interesting way; here, too, sound and image interact. The image world of the song, until these last two lines, is shown from

the perspective of the young woman, not that of the hunchbacked manikin. The music seems lighthearted, as a children's song is supposed to be, but is also restless and jumpy. In every strophe the voice moves twice from a low register to a higher register—giving the narrative voice something slightly uncertain or insecure as if it is asking a question rather than narrating a sequence of events. The moment the manikin's text breaks into the image world, things change and the singer is asked to slow down ("langsam") and to sing the final lines very softly ("ppp ganz leise").[65] While both characters thus far have been adversaries, the words spoken by the hunchbacked manikin are about community, not belonging to that community, and the wish to be part of the community which, in these lines, is explicitly addressed as a Christian community. The manikin is no longer the outsider or enemy but someone who uncertainly asks to be part of a community. The song asks, in a soft and slow voice, at its end for a dialogue that, in the real world, was no longer an option.

* * *

The three compositions by Zemlinsky discussed here have in common that they use strategies similar to Mahler's early compositions: the symphonic poem *Titan*, *Das klagende Lied*, and the *Wunderhorn*-songs. Zemlinsky seeks to capitalize on a critical potential present in Mahler's compositions that questions the normative mobilization of German literature as homogeneous and in the service of a national community. And yet, this critical dimension also plays out in a very different way in Zemlinsky's work, in part because he was composing during a different political era. Zemlinsky's compositions offer a rereading and critique of Mahler's oeuvre. This is, in particular, clear in Zemlinsky's insistence on the body as stigmatized, vulnerable, and fragmented—based on a specific historical perception of what it means to be Jewish. His work with fairy tales allows Zemlinsky to thematize the physicality of the racialized, damaged, and deficient body in ways that Mahler's music did not (even though media at the time did use the same tropes in relation to Mahler's body, as K.M. Knittel has shown). Zemlinsky's music provides us with images that resist an easy integration into a communal experience, or even a critical participation in such a community. This disruption at the root of Zemlinsky's composing manifests also as a rupture between image and sound—as *Die Seejungfrau*, *Der Zwerg*, and "Das bucklichte Männlein" show. These compositions portray an image-obsessed modern world in which the world of sound is powerless and marginalized. In the compositions discussed here, the world of images pretends to be without ideology and therefore innocent, but Zemlinsky identifies a deeply exclusionary mechanism at the root of this world that is deeply racist. Image reinforces existing hierarchies, while sound is associated with memory and a counter-reading of society. In Zemlinsky's understanding, modernism is fragmented, with clear centers and margins. But Zemlinsky himself also created modernist works that recall the world of sound and identify the

mechanisms of exclusion. In particular, his music's eclecticism and engagement with the past—features that for Adorno make Zemlinsky's music out of sync with the trajectory of musical history—make it possible to read this music as a form of memory.

By articulating the experience of the Jewish body as vulnerable and the accompanying split between image and sound, Zemlinsky's music stipulates the impossibility of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* offered by Wagner's major operas or Mahler's Eighth Symphony.[66] Or, to phrase it another way, Zemlinsky's music is deeply skeptical of this kind of aesthetic community, either in Wagner's nationalist version or as promoted by Mahler's cosmopolitan Eighth. Mahler was able to rewrite German culture and the Wagnerian legacy in a way that certainly acknowledged its dark side and had few illusions about the antisemitic potential of German culture. Nevertheless, Mahler believed in the ability of art to bridge differences. Mahler, as a Jew, sought not assimilation but a critical participation in German culture. Zemlinsky discovered early on that for him this would not be an option. Zemlinsky's fairy tales demonstrate the impossibility of an aesthetic community or, more modestly, the ability of art to serve as a form of intercultural communication or critique. In "Das bucklichte Männlein" there is no space for art and culture anymore; it is about society alone.

To some extent, Zemlinsky's compositions articulate an inability of Mahler's aesthetic program to survive after 1911 (the year of Mahler's death) and certainly after 1933. Zemlinsky's development as a composer illustrates the eventual fate of the Mahlerian paradigm. Zemlinsky shows that at the core of German culture is an act of excluding those deemed not worthy of it. Culture and violence are closely related. Even though cultures are hybrid entities, and one may think one has a choice in relation to the culture(s) one is surrounded by, the reality may be that there is no choice. Jewish composers related to aesthetic modernism in many different ways,[67] something that in an exemplary way is demonstrated by the different choices Mahler and Zemlinsky made.

Notes

1. See Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 2–5; Gilman points to the roots of the discourse on Jewish self-hatred in the period around 1900 (286–303).
2. This is the main thesis of Carl Niekerk, *Reading Mahler: German Culture and Jewish Identity in Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013).
3. See K.M. Knittel, *Seeing Mahler: Music and the Language of Antisemitism in Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 10–11, 13, and, in particular, her discussion of Alfred Roller's *Die Bildnisse von Gustav Mahler*, 23–35.
4. Henry-Louis de La Grange in *Gustav Mahler. Volume 2. Vienna: The Years of Challenge (1897–1904)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) and *Gustav Mahler: Volume 3. Vienna: Triumph and Disillusion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) reports on the antisemitic incidents surrounding Mahler's tenure in Vienna in great detail. See also Jens Malte Fischer, *Gustav Mahler*, trans. Stewart Spencer (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 288–289, for the details of Mahler's appointment.

5. Stephen Johnson, *The Eighth: Mahler and the World in 1910* (London: Faber & Faber, 2020), 76–80. Mahler's favorable reception among modernist artists, authors, and intellectuals in Vienna after 1897 is documented in Kevin C. Karnes, "Reception in Vienna," in *Mahler in Context*, ed. Charles Youmans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 154–161.
6. See Fischer, *Gustav Mahler*, 259, 263–264.
7. See Horst Weber, "Zemlinsky in Wien 1871–1911," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 28, no. 2 (1971): 77–96, here 79–81. Only later did Zemlinsky start to appreciate Brahms and Wagner equally, but he did not break with his earlier classicism (85–86). Zemlinsky highlights the importance of Brahms, also for Schoenberg, in his "Jugenderinnerungen," in *Arnold Schönberg zum 60. Geburtstag* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1934), 33–35, here 34.
8. Theodor W. Adorno, "Zemlinsky." *Quasi una fantasia*, in *Musikalische Schriften I–II. Gesammelte Schriften* 16, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997), 351–367, here 351–354.
9. See Richard Wagner, "Das Judentum in der Musik," in Jens Malte Fischer, *Richard Wagners "Das Judentum in der Musik"* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 2000), 139–196, here 161.
10. See Adorno, "Zemlinsky," 352, 355; Adorno does however note that Schoenberg and his students respected Zemlinsky highly (355). The relationship between Zemlinsky and Schoenberg is discussed in detail by Lorraine Gorrell, *Discordant Melody: Alexander Zemlinsky, his Songs, and the Second Viennese School* (Westport, CO: Greenwood, 2002), 75–97. While Zemlinsky's music was affected by Schoenberg's twelve-tone experiments, he never abandoned tonality (94). See also Hermann Danuser, *Weltanschauungsmusik* (Schliengen: Argus, 2009), 356.
11. For the similarities of and differences between both works, see Danuser, 351–362.
12. See Oliver Hilmes, *Witwe im Wahn. Das Leben der Alma Mahler-Werfel* (Munich: Siedler, 2004), 46; Marc D. Moskovitz, *Alexander Zemlinsky: A Lyric Symphony* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 69, 72–73.
13. See Hilmes, *Witwe im Wahn*, 46–52, and Cate Haste, *Passionate Spirit: The Life of Alma Mahler* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 96–121, 143–144.
14. Zemlinsky, letter to Alma, May 22, 1901, in *Ein Glück ohne Ruh'. Die Briefe Gustav Mahlers an Alma*, ed. Henry-Louis de la Grange and Günther Weiß (Berlin: Siedler, 1995), 60, and Zemlinsky, letter to Alma, May 27, 1901, in *Ein Glück ohne Ruh'*, 61.
15. Hilmes, *Witwe im Wahn*, 50.
16. Burckhard, quoted in Alma Mahler-Werfel, *Tagebuch-Suiten 1898–1902*, ed. Antony Beaumont and Susanne Rode-Breymann (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1997), 669; see Oliver Hilmes, *Witwe im Wahn*, 50. Regarding Burckhard's love interest in Alma, see Haste, *Passionate Spirit*, 103–105.
17. Alma Mahler, *Tagebuch-Suiten*, 694. Regarding Alma's antisemitism at this time and its Viennese contexts, see Hilmes, *Witwe im Wahn*, 62–64.
18. See Knittel, *Seeing Mahler*, 36–39, 41–46, who explains that Alma resolved the issue of Gustav Mahler's Jewishness by giving herself an intermediary, acculturating role (44, 47); Knittel discusses Alma's racialized view of Zemlinsky (39–41).
19. There is a fairy-tale element present in Wagner as well; see Daub's discussion of Wagner's *Siegfried* in *Tristan's Shadows: Sexuality and the Total Work of Art after Wagner* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 30–32. Daub later speaks of the fairy tale as a "defective form of myth" and of "Siegfried's emancipation from the fairy tale world" (34, 41). While in Wagner the fairy tale is increasingly masked as myth, in Zemlinsky's case the myth is decoded as a fairy tale.
20. A letter to Schoenberg from February 18[?], 1902, documents that Zemlinsky borrowed the score of *Ein Heldenleben*; later in the same letter he discusses *Seejungfrau* (*Briefwechsel mit Arnold Schönberg, Anton Webern, Alban Berg und Franz Schreker*, ed. Horst Weber [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995], 8–9).
21. Letter to Schoenberg, in Weber, *Briefwechsel*, 9.

22. See Niekerk, *Reading Mahler*, 53–54 and 30–31.
23. See Constantin Floros, *Mahler: The Symphonies* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Amadeus, 2000), 48, regarding Mahler's First Symphony, and Robert Taylor, *The Completed Symphonic Compositions of Alexander Zemlinsky* (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1995), 242, 250. Taylor includes a specific thematic analysis of the final movement that identifies all continuities (292–308); see also Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 129.
24. See Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, 125.
25. Moskovitz, *Alexander Zemlinsky*, 84.
26. Moskovitz, *Alexander Zemlinsky*, 92–93; Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, 125, 133–134; Weber "Zemlinsky in Wien," 88.
27. Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, 126.
28. In terms of harmony and motivic structure, Zemlinsky's compositions do not develop toward a clear endpoint, but resist goals and aim for multiplicity; Peter Wessel, *Im Schatten Schönbergs. Rezeptionshistorische und analytische Studien zum Problem der Originalität bei Alexander Zemlinsky* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 107.
29. Letter of December 19, 1901, in *Ein Glück ohne Ruh'*, 108, and Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, 124.
30. "The Little Mermaid," 402, in Hans Christian Andersen, *Fairy Tales*, trans. Marte Hvam Hult; introduction and commentaries by Jack Zipes (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2007), 384–422. Hereafter, citations to this volume will be given parenthetically in the text.
31. "Du willst glänzen in erster Linie. Dazu brauchst Du vor allem Geld, dann einen ebenbürtig schönen Mann" (Zemlinsky, quoted in *Ein Glück ohne Ruh*,' 61).
32. Hilmes, *Witwe im Wahn*, 65.
33. See Nora M. Alter and Lutz. P. Koepnick, "Introduction: Sound Matters," in *Sound Matters: Essays on the Acoustics of Modern German Culture* (New York: Berghahn, 2004), 1–29, here 7.
34. Alter and Koepnick, "Introduction: Sound Matters," 8.
35. Andersen, 408 (quote). See in this context also Jonathan Crary's thesis concerning the emergence during the nineteenth century of a specifically modern mode of the visual as a force that reshapes subjectivity in *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 12–14.
36. Martin Walser distinguishes between these forms of irony from above and below in *Selbstbewußtsein und Ironie. Frankfurter Vorlesungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1981), for instance 177–179.
37. Georg C. Klaren (1900–1962) is mostly known for his film scripts (see de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_C._Klaren). Klaren was born in Vienna and, as a student, was active in the communist party. In 1924, he published a text, a series of five dialogues, on Otto Weininger. On Zemlinsky's relationship with Klaren, see also Beaumont, 259–260.
38. For Adrian Daub, *Der Zwerg* is one of the post-Wagnerian operas that tells "Mime's side of the story" (*Tristan's Shadows*, 60; see also 53, 61–68); David J. Levin compares Zemlinsky's dwarf to Beckmesser in *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* in "The *Gesamtkunstwerk* and its Discontents: The Wounded Voice in (and around) Alexander von Zemlinsky's *The Dwarf*," in *The Voice as Something more: Essays towards Materiality*, ed. Martha Feldman and Judith T. Zeitlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 210–211; Zemlinsky's protagonist is, however, not scheming and manipulative like Beckmesser.
39. See Henry-Louis de La Grange in *Gustav Mahler: The Arduous Road to Vienna (1860–1897)*, ed. Sybille Werner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 156–161. Mahler was also contemplating a composition on the basis of the fairy tale "Rübezahl" (117, 158–159), possibly using a fragment by Carl Maria von Weber. A facsimile of Mahler's libretto can be found at collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2057556.
40. Zemlinsky performed it on June 8, 1918, and also in the five years after the end of World War I (Beaumont, 258, 287)—covering the time during which he worked on *Der Zwerg*.

41. Alex[ander] Zemlinsky and Georg C. Klaren, *Der Zwerg. Ein tragisches Märchen für Musik in einem Akt, frei nach O. Wilde's "Geburtstag der Infantin"* (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1921), 74.
42. See Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, 301–302.
43. Zemlinsky to Schoenberg, Letter, April 22, 1921, in *Briefwechsel*, 225; Gorrell, *Discordant Melody*, 95.
44. Uta Wilhelm, "Zum Einfluß der Theorien Otto Weiningers auf die Figurenkonzeption in Alexander Zemlinskys Einakter 'Der Zwerg,'" in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 54, no. 1 (1997): 84–89, here 86.
45. See Wilhelm, "Zum Einfluß der Theorien Otto Weiningers," 86.
46. Zemlinsky and Klaren, *Der Zwerg* [libretto], 121 and 114; this is one indication that Zemlinsky takes this figure in a direction very different from Wagner's Mime or Beckmesser. David Levin has pointed out that Klaren and Zemlinsky in *Der Zwerg* seek to steer audience response ("The *Gesamtkunstwerk* and its Discontents," 218–219). Ghita's and the infanta's comments are to be understood as instructions for the audience not to make the mistake of seeing the dwarf as intentionally duplicitous.
47. Levin, "The *Gesamtkunstwerk* and its Discontents," 213.
48. See Gilman, *Jewish Self-hatred*, 245; see also Otto Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter. Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung*, 6th ed. (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1905), 438.
49. Zemlinsky and Klaren, *Der Zwerg* [score], 4.
50. Zemlinsky and Klaren, *Der Zwerg* [score], 79.
51. Wagner, "Das Judentum," 153, 156, 158–164; Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter*, 443; see Gilman, 247. Georg Klaren, who discusses Jews' lack of musicality in *Otto Weininger. Der Mensch, sein Werk und sein Leben* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1924), 205, exempts Mahler because of his desire to be Christian; earlier he had called Mahler and Weininger examples of Jews who have unhappily attempted to assimilate (203).
52. Zemlinsky and Klaren, *Der Zwerg* [score], 87.
53. See Ulrich Wilker, *"Das Schönste ist scheußlich". Alexander Zemlinskys Operneinakter Der Zwerg* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013), 201.
54. Zemlinsky and Klaren, *Der Zwerg* [score], 72–74; Wilker has identified Mörike as the source of this imagery (198–199).
55. Zemlinsky and Klaren, *Der Zwerg* [score], 92–93; the Wagnerian dimension of the story, which does not point to any specific opera by Wagner, has been identified by Wilker (*Das Schönste*, 168).
56. Zemlinsky and Klaren, *Der Zwerg* [score], 100.
57. Zemlinsky and Klaren, *Der Zwerg* [score], 110.
58. See Tobias Widmaier, "Will ich in mein Gärtlein gehn (2008)," *Populäre und traditionelle Lieder. Historisch-kritisches Liederlexikon*, www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/will_ich_in_mein_gaertlein_gehn/. Regarding the importance of the manikin as part of a memory process in Benjamin that includes both conscious and unconscious elements, see Irving Wohlfahrt, "Märchen für Dialektiker. Walter Benjamin und sein 'bucklicht Männlein,'" in *Walter Benjamin und die Kinderliteratur. Aspekte der Kinderliteratur in den zwanziger Jahren* (Weinheim: Juventa, 1988), 121–176, here 145–51.
59. Regarding these countertypes of German masculinity (often using antisemitic stereotypes), see George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 56–76; in particular, Walter Benjamin's text shows how the internalization of these images, through the mother, functioned to the extent that it is no longer clear whether the hunchbacked manikin is an external or internal figure—see Benjamin, "Das bucklichte Männlein," in *Berliner Kindheit um* 1900 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2010, 78–79).
60. See "Das bucklige Männlein," in Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Alte deutsche Lieder 3*, critical edition, ed. Heinz Rölleke (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1987),

276–277. Zemlinsky leaves out stanzas 4 and 5. The complete score can be found in Beaumont, 385–399.

61. Zemlinsky, "Das bucklichte Männlein" [score], in Beaumont, *Zemlinsky,* 388; von Arnim and Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* 3, 276.
62. Jutta Assel and Georg Jäger, "Das bucklicht Männlein," www.goethezeitportal.de/wissen/illustrationen/volkslied-motive/das-bucklicht-maennlein.html.
63. See Assel and Jäger, "Das bucklicht Männlein."
64. Zemlinsky, "Das bucklichte Männlein" [score], in Beaumont, *Zemlinsky*, 389.
65. Zemlinsky, "Das bucklichte Männlein" [score], in Beaumont, *Zemlinsky,* 389.
66. See in this context Adrian Daub's deliberations on the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as reflecting the "logic of desire and repulsion, of inclusion and exclusion" (*Tristan's Shadows*, 12), and also the overarching argument of his study about the disintegration of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* after Richard Wagner.
67. This point has been made by Philip Bohlman in his "Introduction" to the volume *Jewish Musical Modernism: Old and New* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 1–29, esp. 16.