Articles

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Herder's Nineteenth Century

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'Edward' (Child Ballad 13)

Dein Schwert, wie ists von Blut so rot?
Edward, Edward!
Dein Schwert, wie ists von Blut so rot
und gehst so traurig da! – O!
Ich hab geschlagen meinen Geier tot!
Mutter, Mutter!
Ich hab geschlagen meinen Geier tot,
Und das, das geht mir nah! – O!
Dein's Geiers Blut ist nicht so rot!
Edward, Edward!
Dein's Geiers Blut ist nicht so rot,
Mein Sohn, bekenn mir frei! – O!
Ich hab geschlagen mein Rotroß tot!
Mutter, Mutter!
Ich hab beschlagen mein Rotroß tot!
Und's war so stolz und treu! O!
Dein Roß war alt und hasts nicht not!
Edward, Edward,
Dein Roß war alt und hasts nicht not,
Dich drückt ein ander Schmerz! O!
Ich hab geschlagen meinen Vater tot,
Mutter, Mutter!
Ich hab geschlagen meinen Vater tot,
Und das, das quält mein Herz! O!

Your sword, why is it so red with blood?
Edward, Edward!
Your sword, why is it so red with blood?
and you so deeply saddened! – O!
I've struck dead my falcon!
Mother, mother!
I've struck dead my falcon!
and that affects me deeply! – O!
Your falcon's blood is not that red,
Edward, Edward!
Your falcon's blood is not that red,
My son, confess to me! – O!
I've killed my red steed!
Mother, mother!
I've killed my red steed!
and it was so proud and loyal! O!
Your steed was old and no longer of use!
Edward, Edward!
Your steed was old and no longer of use!
There's another pain pressing upon you! O!
I've struck my father dead!
Mother, mother!
I've struck my father dead!
and that, that strikes deep into my heart! O!
…

Und was soll deine Mutter tun?
Edward, Edward!
Und was soll deine Mutter tun?
Mein Sohn, das sage mir! O!
Der Fluch der Hölle soll auf Euch ruhn,
Mutter, Mutter!
Der Fluch der Hölle soll auf Euch ruhn,
Denn Ihr, Ihr rietets mir! O.

And what should your mother do?
Edward, Edward!
And what should your mother do?
My son, do tell me! O!
The flight to Hell should bring you peace,
Mother, mother!
The flight to Hell should bring you peace,
For it was you who advised me! O.

Fig. 1 'Edward' in J. G. Herder's 'Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker' (1773)[1]

[1] In Johann Gottfried Herder, 'Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker', in *idem*, *Von deutscher Art und Kunst: Einige fliegende Blätter*, in *Johann*

Nineteenth-Century Music Review, 7/1 (2010): 3–21.

Foundation Myths

I begin this essay epigrammatically with song, with a single song that came to tell an historical tale of the nineteenth century (Fig. 1, p. 3). We know this single song in many versions, though it is perhaps the second version that most musicians and scholars of the nineteenth century, more accustomed to playing or hearing the keyboard music of Johannes Brahms than singing Child ballads, know best (Ex. 1). In the Brahms setting, the first of his op. 10 *Balladen* for solo piano, it may perhaps no longer be a song at all, for its narrative has been stripped of words. Brahms attributes his setting to Herder ('Nach der schottischen Ballade "Edward" in Herders "Stimmen der Völker"'), but by the mid-nineteenth century, when Brahms composed his early set of four ballads for piano, the logogenic genre of the ballad for solo piano had long loosened its dependence on an accompanying text. Modern perception of the patricide or fratricide in the tale of Edward may depend on the ballad's words, though modern meaning is more likely to depend on the geography and history of transmission. By the time the song had reached the second half of the nineteenth century, passing through settings by, among others, Franz Schubert (Exx. 2 and 3), its telling had transformed history. The song had arisen from oral tradition, from a tradition that unfolded in almost countless variants. Entering written tradition, 'Edward' also passed from myth to history, and it was through history that it was re-inscribed and re-sounded until it again reached the borders between history and myth. Between these versions, the ballad's tale had proliferated, forming a rich narrative of histories, some spreading across Europe, others across England and Scotland, and still others reaching across oceans to North America and the lands of British colonialism (Fig. 2 is one of the best-known variants from the American Appalachians, collected in North Carolina by the English collectors, Cecil Sharp and Maud Karpeles, in 1918).[2] Together, these musical tales entered and re-entered history, the history, that is, of Herder's nineteenth century.

It is surely a rather hefty claim on my part that these versions and variants, these fragments, came to constitute a narrative of ownership on nineteenth-century history. I am confident myself in making such a claim, for it is a claim that Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) himself would have made. Indeed, to a considerable degree, he did make that claim by drawing the 'Edward' ballad into his earliest writings on song, the 1773 'Extract from Correspondence about Ossian and the Songs of Ancient People', and then reusing it in slightly altered

Gottfried Herder Werke, vol. 2, *Johann Gottfried Herder Schriften zur Ästhetik und Literatur 1767–1781*, ed. Günter E. Grimm (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1993): 461–62. Unless otherwise indicated, I have used the modern edition of Herder's writings, *Johann Gottfried Herder Werke*, 10 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1985–2000), throughout this article, which will be hereafter cited as JGHW. All translations in this article are my own.

[2] Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, Comprising Two Hundred and Seventy-Three Songs and Ballads with Nine Hundred and Sixty-Eight Tunes, Including Thirty-Nine Tunes Contributed by Olive Dame Campbell*, ed. Maud Karpeles, vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1932): 53. For the melodic variants of 'Edward' see Bertrand Bronson, *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads*, 4 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959–72).

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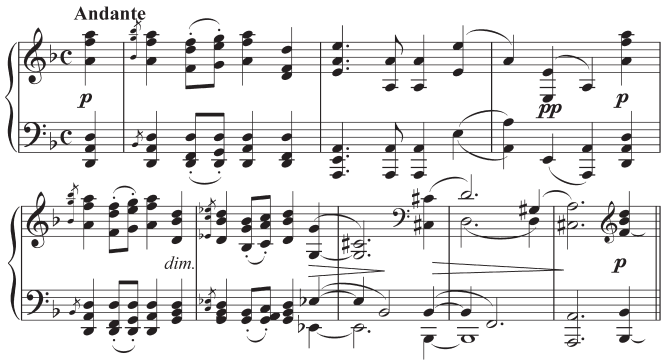
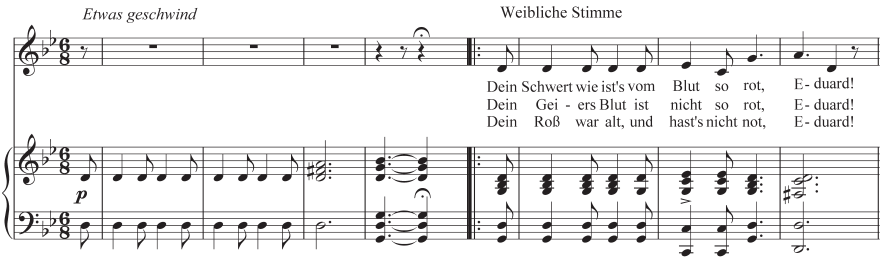
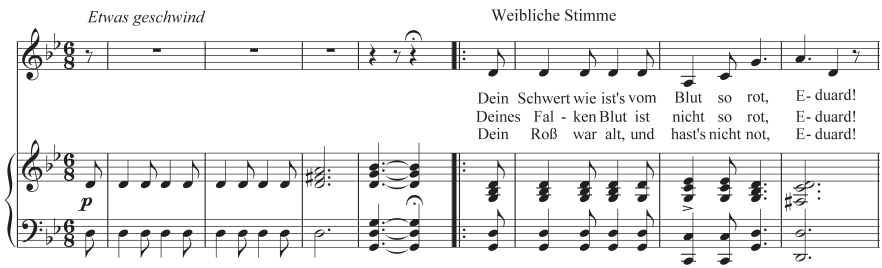
Ex. 1 Brahms 'Edward Ballad', Op. 10, No. 1



Ex. 2 'Edward' as Franz Schubert's first variant as 'Eine altschottische Ballade' (D 923)



Ex. 3 'Edward' as Franz Schubert's third variant as 'Eine altschottische Ballade' (D 923)



form in his 1778/1779 *'Stimmen der Völker in Liedern'* (Voices of the People in Songs) and *Volkslieder* (Folk Songs).[3]

'Edward' had found its way to Herder in ways no less complex than Herder had found his way to 'Edward'. The ballad entered the proto-canons of English balladry from the presumed Gaelic original in Scottish oral tradition, but

[3] Originally published in two volumes of pamphlets gathered in anthology: *'Stimmen der Völker in Liedern'* and *Volkslieder*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Weygandsche Buchhandlung, 1778 and 1779); in JGHW, vol. 3, 69–430.

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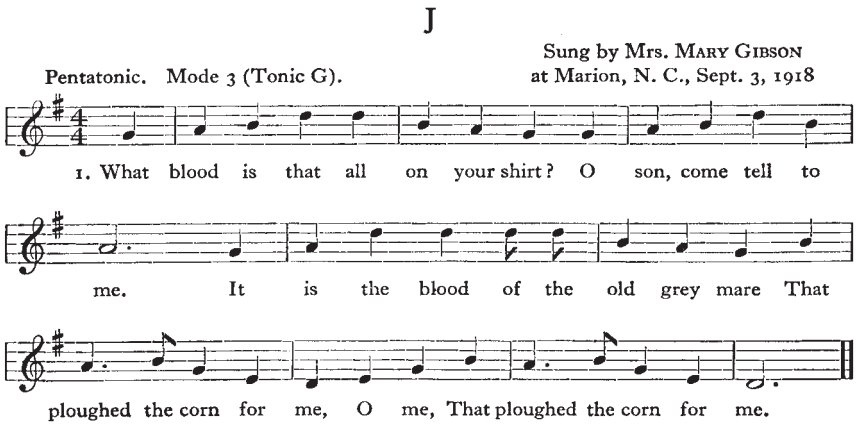

2 It is too red for the old grey mare.
O son, etc.
It is the blood of the old grey hound
That run the deer for me, etc.

Fig. 2 Edward

from there it passed through the mythical vessel of the Scottish bard, Ossian, imagined and invented by James Macpherson (1736–96).[4] Herder would seize 'Edward' on the fly, fascinated not so much by Ossian as oracle or Macpherson as forger, but by Michael Denis's translations of the Gaelic-Scottish-English songs into German. Herder fussed over 'Edward's' patrimony and legitimacy on the continent, stole from Percy and inveighed against Denis, whose translations Herder believed had failed to make Ossian German, and by the late 1770s, he had made 'Edward' his own, a philological mirror on myth into which he would gaze throughout the rest of his life.[5] For Herder, 'Edward's' meaning lay not in an exegetical revisiting of the past but in a provocative turn towards the future. His interest lay in establishing meaning for the formation of a contemporary European literary tradition, forged from the possibilities of common meaning among many languages. Herder's fascination turned towards what might come after 'Edward', not for the authenticity of its antecedents. Herder projected 'Edward' on to the nineteenth century, thereby projecting narrative claims on the century. It is, I believe, not by chance that the other setting that musicians steeped in the Romantic tradition of the century might know, Franz Schubert's D 923, 'Eine altschottische Ballade', exists in three variants, composed over the span of the year 1827–28.

Herder turned his vision towards the future, and he made no small plans; rather, he believed that what he gathered from the people – his vision of a *Volk* –

[4] James Macpherson, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Galic or Erse Language* (Edinburgh: G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1760).

[5] For another German translation of Macpherson's *Fragments* in the immediate aftermath of their appearance in Edinburgh see James Macpherson, *Fragmente der alten Hochschottländischen Dichtkunst, nebst einigen andern Gedichten Ossians, eines Schottischen Barden*, trans. Johann Andreas Engelbrecht (Hamburg: Michael Christian Bock, 1764).

possessed transformative power, which could be exercised through translation, and above all, the creation of wholes from parts, of history from its fragments. We witness Herder musing about the history that lay before him as he sailed from Riga, the city in which he had held his first position as Lutheran pastor for the German-speaking community from 1764 to 1969, across the North Sea to the future he imagined he might claim as his own. This is a passage from the journal he kept on that sea voyage in 1769:

> If it was possible for Lycurgus and Solon to found a republic, why should I not be able to found a republic for the next generation? … Who will be my inspiration? Passion for the best for humanity, the greatness of the youthful soul, love for the fatherland, desire to be immortal in the most valued way possible, to pass from words to realities, and beyond to the institutions of a vital world, to engage in intercourse with greatness … . Oh, goal! Oh, goal of greatness! Take all my strength, my energy, my passion! As I make my way through the world, what can I possess of it if I do not make myself immortal?[6]

It is precisely because Herder's exhortations were so heady and hyperbolic that they resonated so powerfully through the nineteenth century. Their resonance beyond Herder's own day, however, resulted not from the culmination or completeness that they might bring to a larger eighteenth-century Enlightenment project. Even from early writings, such as the 1769 journal and 1773 Ossian essay, Herder preferred incompleteness and fragments, the wholeness of which must await the future. It is with this dynamic in mind that the present essay, too, grows from my own attempts to contribute to the completeness that Herder himself projected upon the future. This essay represents a fragment from my own Herder project, a fragment necessary for the wholeness I hope that my Herder project might achieve, a translation of and my own critical essays on Herder's writings on music and nationalism.[7] Herder's writings form from fragments of different sizes and genres, some as extensive as the *Volkslieder* volumes, others extracts and epigraphs from larger works that do not exist, or at least did not exist in the written *œuvre* Herder produced in his lifetime. My goal, far more modest than Herder's in 1769, is to find the ways these fragments cohered in the nineteenth century, indeed the ways they in concert narrated a much larger historical project, which Herder believed might take full shape after his death in 1803, a project that, fully possessed, would ensure immortality.

A note of forewarning is also necessary at the outset of this essay because, during its course, I reflect also upon the darker side of Herder's nineteenth century, which becomes evident at its close. The darker side, too, results from the claims of many who followed Herder to own history. The historical work that seemed so promising at the end of Herder's life – rescuing history and nation for different peoples – had already assumed darker shades by the turn of the nineteenth century. Ironically, those darker shades are adumbrated in Herder's late work, especially in work that appeared in his final years or posthumously.

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[6] Johann Gottfried Herder, *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769*, JGHW, vol. 9 (Band 9/2): 9–126, cited in Gordon A. Craig, 'Herder: The Legacy', in *Herder Today: Contributions from the International Herder Conference*, ed. Kurt Mueller-Vollmer (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990): 19. Herder never published his travel journal during his lifetime.

[7] Tentatively entitled, *Herder on Music and Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, in preparation).

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It is a darkness, in other words, that formed coevally as the nineteenth century was ushered in.

The Nineteenth Century's Herder

> Herder can claim to have virtually established whole disciplines which we nowadays take for granted.[8]

In the Herder reception of the past two centuries there is a sweeping complementarity, I should go so far as to say, a parallel, between Herder's capacities as a polymath and his skill at generating intellectual disciplines as if from whole cloth. It is as if, when Herder put his mind to a problem in a particular intellectual domain, he created a system of thinking that transformed the domain into a field of systematic inquiry that one entered by possessing it. Herder's intellectual capaciousness was not unique in the Enlightenment, in which the life of the mind was not bounded by disciplinary methods or specialized readerships. Those to whom we refer as philosophers or literati today usually had much broader pursuits in the eighteenth century. One of Herder's own teachers at the University of Königsberg, Immanuel Kant, is surely an obvious example of a thinker whose works are most often claimed by historians of philosophy, even though his own scholarship extended far beyond philosophy, surely to history and anthropology, for which fields he is now acknowledged as one of the modern Nestors.[9] The discursive boundaries between the humanities, the social sciences and the fine arts too, were far more fluid on the eve of the nineteenth century. To write history and poetry, to explore truth in theology and fiction in novels, were surely possible, and to practise all together was part and partial of establishing one's position as a public intellectual. Goethe, who would play a significant role in Herder's years in Weimar, was not simply a poet and a playwright, but also a natural scientist whose paintings of nature were well respected by early nineteenth-century scientists. The Herderian difference, as we might call it, grew from the ways in which he sought to establish the foundations of scientific study and then to systematize the discourses of disciplines as constitutive of a new universal science. He recognized that interdisciplinarity itself was only possible when the languages of disciplines were carefully crafted. In Herder's eighteenth century, such polyglot and polymath disciplinarity found its greatest potential outside the university.[10]

In the twenty-first century, we may not fully appreciate the full sweep of Herder's interdisciplinary vision, for we often regard his discipline-building capacity from our own disciplinary perspectives. As an ethnomusicologist, my awareness of Herder began when I studied folk music and began to recognize the impact of Herder's term *Volkslied* on the formation of modern folklore

[8] Michael N. Forster, 'Introduction', in Johann Gottfried Herder, *Herder: Philosophical Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): vii.

[9] See, for example, John H. Zammito, *Kant, Herder, and the Birth of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[10] The full intellectual range of disciplinary discourses that Herder was willing to explore during the final years of his life is easiest to survey in the writings he contributed to his own literary journal, *Adrastea*, the first volume of which appeared in 1801, the very threshold of Herder's nineteenth century. Many of Herder's contributions to *Adrastea* constitute the final volume of his complete works, JGHW, vol. 10, ed. Günter Arnold (2000).

studies, and his collection and exegetical undertakings, the two volumes of folk songs from 1778 and 1779, on what would become comparative musicology. Anthropologists, philosophers and historians could with no less ease identify the disciplinary moments to which Herder crucially contributed. Linguists and theologians regard his writings in their fields as fundamental, just as nineteenth-century nationalist poets and orientalists relied on Herderian ideas for what they claimed as the scientific underpinnings of the growing literature of their own fields.[11]

Herder, if we follow the general set of frameworks in his nineteenth-century reception, had the power to systematize thought by thinking about it – touching it, almost, but surely by writing about it. His tactile encounter with the objects in the fields in which he worked imbued his work with a physicality that transformed those objects to reflect the subject positions he sought to find in his own age.[12] In this way, moreover, he came to possess it. Michael N. Forster, the modern translator of Herder's philosophical works, gives us a modest taste of the influence on philosophy:

> Hegel's philosophy turns out to be an elaborate systematic extension of Herderian ideas (especially concerning God, the mind, and history); so too does Schleiermacher's (concerning God, the mind, interpretation, translation, and art); Nietzsche is strongly influenced by Herder (concerning the mind, history, and morals); so too is Dilthey (in his theory of Human sciences); J S Mill has important debts to Herder (in political philosophy); Goethe not only received his philosophical outlook from Herder but was also transformed from being merely a clever but conventional poet into a great artist mainly through the early impact on him of Herder's ideas.[13]

This remarkable disciplinary power derives from what I should like to call the 'Herder and fill in the blank Phenomenon', in which we can fill in the blank after 'Herder and' with virtually anything and everything. Herder studies overflow with the ways of adding one more dimension to the 'Herder and ____ Phenomenon'.[14] Many of these dimensions follow in ways we expect. Others follow in ways that seem at once to generate and justify an intellectual history that we have imagined into existence, that we impose upon a nineteenth-century history that we want Herder to presage, albeit in our own terms. Nationalism, to take one of the most extreme cases, could not exist without his systematic thought on the nation state or the *Kulturnation*, much less his coinage of terms such as *Volksgeist* and *Volkslied.* We want his nineteenth century to reflect our

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[11] See, for example, Pranabendra Nath Ghosh, *Johann Gottfried Herder's Image of India* (Santiniketan: Visva-Bharati Research Publications, 1990); Peter Andraschke and Helmut Loos, eds, *Ideen und Ideale: Johann Gottfried Herder in Ost und West* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 2002).

[12] For the physicality of his encounter with culture and art see Herder, *Journal meiner Reise* and Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sculpture: Some Observations on Shape and Form from Pygmalion's Creative Dream*, ed. and trans. Jason Gaiger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[13] Michael N. Forster, 'Introduction', in Herder, *Herder*: vii.

[14] See, for example, Hans Adler, *Die Prägnanz des Dunklen: Gnoseologie – Ästhetik – Geschichtsphilosophie bei Johann Gottfried Herder* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1990); Kurt Mueller-Vollmer, ed., *Herder Today*; Wolfgang Nufer, *Herders Ideen zur Verbindung von Poesie, Musik und Tanz* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1929).

nineteenth century – musically, aesthetically, and politically – and when it does not, we muster another set of connectives for disciplinary service.

Another way to consider this phenomenon is to think of Herder – as a name that can be attached to ideas – as a free-floating signifier. As such, the signifier 'Herder' provides a pre-existing process of systematizing thought and scientific investigation. His writings, attached to the signifier 'Herder', acquire even more flexibility, in other words, an increasingly vast range of signification itself, particularly as the nineteenth century progresses. Considering Herder in this way, we need not, therefore, think of him as a seer, whose thought was so universal that it would apply to a future that he magically perceived. The free-floating signifiers were not the products of Herder's will but of those who followed, those who took Herder's writings in dissembled, signifying form and reassembled his thought, systematically according to their own will, to speak for the nineteenth century. Accordingly, it is possible to celebrate him for the ways we use his concepts constructively, but to blame others when his concepts and ideas are misused.

The 'Herder and ____ Phenomenon', thus, provides us with a means of understanding the reception and discourse histories that transformed Herder into a nineteenth-century figure. I do not mean to deprive Herder of his own will to signify history *avant la lettre*. The 'Herder and ____ Phenomenon', however, may well not be about the formation of systematic disciplines, but rather about unsystematically formed fragments, whose meaning formed first as they cohered in the discourses of the nineteenth century.

Herder's Fragments

Johann Gottfried Herder was not simply imagined into the role of a free-floating signifier in the course of nineteenth-century reception history. Indeed, it would be totally uncharacteristic of Herder ever simply to assume his historical writings would follow a single path. His own working methods and his own concepts of literary production, instead, were shaped and reshaped in order that he could create a multifaceted, if often enigmatic, language for transforming parts into wholes: his historiographic methods, for example, to postulate the coexistence of different histories, emanating from multiple geographical centres. Any notion of a universal history must break away from the previous central authority of Christianity and undergo a transformation to a whole – a new universal history – with contrasting, even radically different parts.[15] In other words, Herder chose his ethnographic materials carefully and deliberately so that he could create a language forged from transcription and translation, a language whose wholeness itself had been formed of fragments.

The fragment as aesthetic and narrative genre was by no means new in the mid-eighteenth century, when Herder studied in Königsberg and began his career as a pastor in Riga, Latvia. Fundamental to an aesthetic of the classical was the conviction that the past was recoverable by gathering those fragments that

[15] Herder wrote extensively about the nature of history writing, weaving historiographic essays together with case studies. The set of essays that most extensively contains essays about different European and non-European peoples appeared between 1784 and 1791 as *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, published in a modern edition as JGHW, vol. 6, ed. Martin Bollacher (1989). For a summary of Herder's historical methods, see Jens Heise, *Johann Gottfried Herder zur Einführung* (Hamburg: Junius, 1998): 65–82.

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survived and by imagining the ways in which they could be sutured together to provide some semblance of the present. The fragment assumed its meaning through a dialectic with wholeness. Friedrich Hölderlin, writing in 1801, would recognize the dynamic of that dialectic, and thereby summarize the attraction to genre that had captivated his generation: 'There is only one quarrel in the world, namely, which has greater meaning, the whole or the part?'[16]

If Herder's fascination with fragments was a response to his own era, it also owed a debt to Protestant theology. Indeed, Herder's most far-ranging ideas about the many disciplinary areas in which he worked grew from the practical influence of his primary profession, the fact that he was a pastor throughout his life, from Riga to Weimar. In his theological works, his concern for the fragment was expressed in a distinction between *spiritus* and *littera*, a distinction that dominated eighteenth-century Protestant thought. It is precisely this distinction, moreover, that appears again and again in the aesthetic works. It converges in two books from 1778, those devoted to sculpture (*Plastik*) and folk songs (*'Stimmen der Völker in Liedern'*), and thereafter assumes new forms as theological underpinnings for the dialectic that shaped his historical writings in the 1780s and 1790s.[17]

Why did Herder regard the fragment as having such great narrative potential? First of all, the fragment is 'open-ended'. It can move around, not just from the past to the present, but from one song to another. The dissemination, translation and general mobility of the ballad 'Edward' could not illustrate the adaptability of fragments more effectively. As a genre, the ballad comprises strophes that contain parts that fit together in a larger narrative, the tale of the eponymous Edward in the case of Child Ballad 13. Each strophe functions as a chapter in a larger story, and similarly the story of each ballad variant is part of a still larger story. The various story levels themselves depend on the ways fragments cohere as verses, which then become complete enough in the retelling, or resinging, in oral tradition to afford the story sufficient wholeness. The ballad, so remarkably fecund for poets and musicians, was constituted of fragments, strophes and motifs, which moved from one ballad to another, crossing cultural and class borders, but shaping the narrative and national canon.[18] Second, the use of fragments afforded hybridity and allowed genres to proliferate. We could take virtually any literary or musical genre of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century and describe the emergence of hybridity – the novel would be a prime example, so, too, would be the epic, which I discuss below. By the end of the eighteenth century, the works of James Macpherson, both the Ossian songs and his epic work, *Fingal*, had become two of the most widely recognized and controversial sources for

[16] Letter from March 1801, in Friedrich Hölderlin, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Friedrich Beissner and Adolf Beck (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1943–85): vol. 6, 419; for a modern translation, particularly of Hölderlin's fragmentary works, see Friedrich Hölderlin, *Poems and Fragments*, trans. Michael Hamburger (London: Anvil Poetry Press, 2004).

[17] Herder, *Sculpture* and Herder, *'Stimmen der Völker'*. For a collection of his theological writings, see Johann Gottfried Herder, *Theologische Schriften*, JGHW vol. 9 (Band 9/1), ed. Christoph Bultmann and Thomas Zippert (1994). See also Eva Schmidt, ed., *Herder im geistlichen Amt: Untersuchungen/Quellen/Dokumente* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1956).

[18] The ballad variants that constitute national repertories depend on language and dialect, but also on nation-specific formal distinctions. English-language ballads, for example, stretch across Scotland and England, and extend to North America, but they are relatively uncharacteristic of Ireland. German-language ballads circulate, or are at least collected, in High German, rather than in dialect, and accordingly they are relatively uncommon in Austria, where dialect is a primary determinant of folk-song style and repertory.

hybrid forms.[19] Third, the fragment contained what Novalis in 1798 would call 'the seeds' of narrativity and history: 'Literary fragments result from the sowing of seeds. Some seeds never do fully take root, but there are enough seeds that some of them will grow into complete plants.'[20] Fragments define past history, taken as they are from its incomplete contexts, and they shape it in the future, creating context anew. By adding fragments again and again to his diverse and polymath writings, by translating and transforming the past, Herder imagined a nineteenth century that would accommodate the surfeit of fragments he was repositioning in the present.

Herder's History

> Herder's contribution was enormous, for his *'Voices of the People in Song'* transformed folk poetry into the most important source for understanding the folk psyche. Because the folk song exists in its simple form of imagination, viewpoint, memory and expectation of this or that people, because the folk song reflected the everyday life and its relation to everything happening in the surrounding world, it draws us into the intimate world of folklife and proves itself to be valuable material for history as well as for ethnography. The ideas that were fundamental to Herder's work exercised a profound influence on the emerging interest in the study of the poetic creativity of all the diverse peoples in the world … . The increased interest focused on Herder's impact on all these things has recently become particularly noticeable among the West European Jews.[21]

Writing in 1901, at the turn of the twentieth century, Shaul Ginsburg and Pesach Marek gave Johann Gottfried Herder credit for laying the foundations for the musical discourse that would retrieve history for the Jews of Europe. Ginsburg and Marek's magnum opus, *Evreiskie narodnye pesni v Rossii* (Jewish Folk Songs from Russia), contains quite correctly a rich and sweeping historical realization of a truly European Jewry, with the Yiddish texts gathered in both Hebrew and Latin orthography. 'Hinter Poilen wohnt a Jid' (Beyond Poland There Lives a Jew), to take one example of the ballad 'Die Jüdin' (The Jewish Woman), which appears in Fig. 3 in a Yiddish variant, crosses historical, linguistic and national boundaries that reach as far into the past as the late-medieval *Glogauer Liederbuch* through Arnim and Brentano's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and Brahms's 1893 *Deutsche Volkslieder* to the oral repertories of Holocaust survivors.[22] Ginsburg and Marek gathered it for Yiddish-language tradition in Russia, translating it from oral tradition into orthographies that rendered it both Jewish and European, thus endowing it with the nation-building potential that Jewish folklorists and musicians, as well as cultural Zionists, sought in the newly exhumed Jewish

[19] For a discussion of hybridity in Ossian, see Mary-Ann Constantine and Gerald Porter, *Fragments and Meaning in Traditional Song: From the Blues to the Baltic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 22–30.

[20] *Novalis, Schriften II: Das philosophische Werk I*, ed. Richard Samuel (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965): 463.

[21] S.M. Ginsburg and P.S. Marek, *Evreiskie narodnye pesni v. Rossii* (St Petersburg: Voskhod, 1901): III. My German translation of this seminal text, originally in Russian, appears in Philip V. Bohlman, *Jüdische Volksmusik – Eine mitteleuropäische Geistesgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005): 59–65.

[22] For the analysis of multiple versions, see Philip V. Bohlman and Otto Holzapfel, *The Folk Songs of Ashkenaz* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2001): 15–23.

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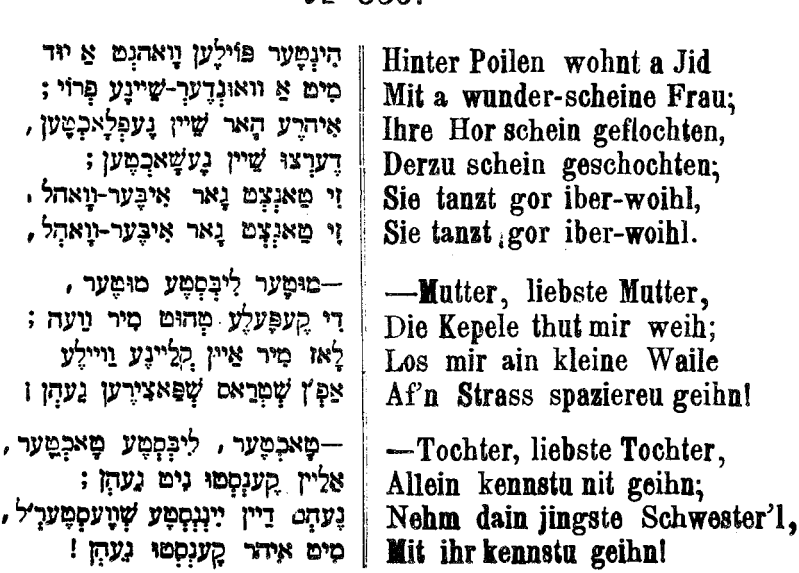

№ 356.

הינטער פוילען וואהנט אַ יוד
מיט אַ וואונדער-שיינע פֿרוי ;
איהרע האר שיין געפלאכטען ,
דערצו שיין געשאכטען ;
זי טאנצט גאר איבער-וואהל ,
זי טאנצט גאר איבער-וואהל ,

—מוטער ליבסטע מוטער ,
די קעפעלע טהוט מיר וועה ;
לאז מיר ציין קלייגע וויילע
אפ'ן שטראס שפאצירען גיהן !

—טאכטער , ליבסטע טאכטער ,
אליין קענסטו נים גיהן ;
נעהם דיין יינגסטע שוועסטערל ,
מיט איהר קענסטו גיהן !

Hinter Poilen wohnt a Jid
Mit a wunder-scheine Frau;
Ihre Hor schein geflochten,
Derzu schein geschochten;
Sie tanzt gor iber-woihl,
Sie tanzt gor iber-woihl.

—Mutter, liebste Mutter,
Die Kepele thut mir weih;
Los mir ain kleine Waile
Af'n Strass spaziereu geihn!

—Tochter, liebste Tochter,
Allein kennstu nit geihn;
Nehm dain jingste Schwester'l,
Mit ihr kennstu geihn!

Fig. 3 'Hinter Poilen wohnt a Yid' (Beyond Poland There Lives a Jew)[23]

folk song of the nineteenth century. The history of 'Die Jüdin', crucial to the musical scripting of German history, would yield new historical possibilities for European Jews.

This Jewish history of modern Europe owed several debts to Herder and his nineteenth century, and Ginsburg, Marek and the generations of Jewish musical scholars who followed them and took up their cultural cause recognized those debts. The individual cases of Abraham Zvi Idelsohn, Martin Buber and indeed of the klezmer revival are well known today. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Jews, pushed to the margins of modernity and the peripheries of Europe, exemplified what Eric Wolf called a 'people without history'.[24] At the end of Herder's nineteenth century, that history, narrated through so many of the cultural processes to which he had given historical meaning, had been returned to European Jewry.

Herder's history – the history of his nineteenth century – was marked by loss and return to rightful ownership. Herder wrote history in many different registers, which together form a complex historiographic counterpoint and make it difficult if not impossible to reduce him to single meanings and methods.[25] There were the deep, universal registers, especially in his earliest writings on history, not least among them his 1774 *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (Also a Philosophy of History for the Advancement of

[23] Ibid., 313–14.

[24] Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

[25] Multiple histories and historiographic methods make it hard to trace a single reception history; see Tilman Borsche, ed., *Herder im Spiegel der Zeiten: Verwerfungen der Rezeptionsgeschichte und Chance einer Relektüre* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006).

Humanity).[26] There were the histories of local moments, notably his studies of the origins of speech, in which music contributed its catalytic role.[27] There were the multiple histories of genre that provided the polyphonic texture for his aesthetic works, not least among them his insistently historical treatment of folk song, which are evident in the frequency with which folk song appears throughout this essay. Among the most obvious of these histories – these counter-histories – might be the following:

- Reception history
- Wirkungsgeschichte (history of Herder's influence)
- Universal history (global history)
- National history
- Style history
- Composer's biographical history
- Folk-music and folk-song history (the relation between folk and art music)[28]

These histories emerge from Herder's polyglot and polymath approach as fragments that are woven together as a whole. Do counter-histories, however, create counter-publics and counter-reception?

Herder's insistence on the ownership of history reveals a deep anxiety about loss. That anxiety is, I should argue, only rarely about nostalgia and sentiment, and in this sense he differs markedly from his contemporary, Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805). Herder's anxiety, instead, resulted from an awareness that to retrieve and inscribe history inevitably led to an instantiation of the conditions that would lead to its loss. To turn historically to the 'people without history' – and this Herder did again and again – in order to create a space for them in history, was to substitute a space in the future for one in the past.[29] The history of the present he opened through his writings on folk music was, therefore, but a surrogate for the history of the past that had been lost.

My reading of Herder's history, which slips precariously close to a dark reading, informed retrospectively by foreboding about the future, is not that of Ginsburg and Marek. For the folklorists and scholars responding to the anxiety about a lost Jewish past, Herder's nineteenth century had reified the past and revealed the very real prospects of restoring history to European Jews at the beginning of the twentieth century. Guided by the Herderian spirit they claimed and appropriated for a Jewish modernity, they turned to the Jewish music that

[26] Published in JGHW vol. 4, ed. Jürgen Brummack and Martin Bollacher (1994), 9–107.

[27] See especially Johann Gottfried Herder, *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*, in JGHW vol. 1, ed. Ulrich Gaier (1985): 695–810.

[28] Nineteenth-century folk-song and folk-music scholars argued that individual songs and the style traits of repertories moved across linguistic, national and class borders, and we witness this in the German-language approaches to understanding folk music – for example, *gesunkenes Kulturgut* (fallen cultural commodity) or *Kunstlied im Volksmund* (art song in the mouths of the people), as well as in the pedagogical and social agendas of the English folk song and dance movement.

[29] For his use of history to turn towards the future Herder deliberately, even prominently, chose to write in fragments, notably in his 'Letters for the Advancement of Humanity'; see Johann Gottfried Herder, *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*, JGHW, vol. 7, ed. Hans Dietrich Irmscher (1991).

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their own generation, at the end of the nineteenth century, was the first to know. They collected Jewish folk music, edited it for new anthologies, translated it into modern Yiddish and modern Hebrew, as well as High German, and they performed it, as Jewish music, in the liberal public sphere that emerged in the late nineteenth century.[30] Like many other peoples without history who listened, selectively or not, to Herder's voices, that is, his *'Stimmen der Völker'*, they found the past and envoiced it to possess it as their own.

Herder's Epic Project

> Flutes, drums and clarinets
> Announce Cid's return
> To the encampment. The sounds
> Angered Don Sancho's ears;
> Indeed his mouth – he spoke no words.[31]
>
> Ruy means Rodrigo. No singer of romances, moreover, needs to tell a tale in an *historical manner* from the outset, for it is the listener herself that should experience the romance as *romantic*. She hears. Whoever is not a lover of poesy should simply regard the following romances as little tales and read them as prose. They are historical.[32]

With an enigmatic passage on the title page, rendered more as a footnote than an epigraph, Herder offers advice to the future reader of his largest epic project, a translation of the Spanish epic *El Cid*. Throughout his life, Herder was fascinated by epic, precisely because it articulated the gap between the historical and the romantic. The epic was a bridge from the past to the future, for in Herder's concept the epic began with fragments that, through performance, could cohere as a larger form.[33] The epic drew Herder to the Mediterranean and at the same time to the timeless past. He turned to the epic, nonetheless, not as a journey to the past, but rather as an attempt to retrieve fragments from the past in order that they might lay claim on the future.[34] In smaller experimental essays, such as 'Homer und Ossian', he sought out the common ground between fragments and wholes, but it was with the *Cid* translation that his experiments yielded a type of historical truth that would be foundational for the nineteenth century.[35]

Herder's work on *El Cid* may not be well known today outside the German-speaking humanistic tradition, but its reception in the nineteenth century was extensive; indeed, it became a model for nation-building projects throughout Europe. As a theologian and scholar of classics, Herder cultivated a deep familiarity with epic from the eastern Mediterranean. Whereas modern epic

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30 See Bohlman, *Jüdische Volksmusik*.

31 Final strophe of the 31st romance in *Der Cid, Geschichte des Don Ruy Diaz, Grafen von Bivar, nach spanischen Romanzen*, in JGHW, vol. 3, ed. Ulrich Gaier (1990), 599.

32 Title page of ibid., 545.

33 See, for example, his various studies of Homeric epic, particularly those that connected Mediterranean to northern European epic, such as 'Homer und Ossian', in JGHW, vol. 8, ed. Hans Dietrich Irmscher (1998), 71–87.

34 He referred to Homer as a 'favourite of all times' in 'Homer, ein Günstling der Zeit', in ibid., 89–115.

35 Herder, 'Homer und Ossian'.

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theory emphasizes the stichic structures of epic, with its relatively fluid course of narrative structure,[36] Herder turned his attention to the narrative fragments within the epic itself, particularly the structural ways in which these cohered as strophes, which together formed the many scenes that unfolded in the course of the epic. Herder's *Cid* was a collection of ballads, of Spanish *romances*, whose formal logic was internal and distinctive in the anthology of 70 total tales within the epic history.

Herder drew his romances from a wide array of sources, and he shuffled them about in contrasting ways. The first 13 were recycled from his massive aesthetic work *Adrastea*. His translation – nineteenth-century publications claimed that the epic was *besungen* by Herder, meaning something like 'sung into existence' – came from both French and Spanish versions, more the former (romances 1–52) than the latter. The *romance*, too, could have different meanings and functions as genre, fully a poetic androgyny in Herder's vision of the epic project. We might wonder whether Herder is not being cavalier with this androgyny. The *Cid*, after all, is serious stuff, the Spanish national epic, which hardly should lend itself to readings as both poetry and prose, historical and romantic narrative. It may presage the modern conflict between Christianity and Islam in Europe, but in Herder's epic version religious and clan identities in al-Andalus blur as political alliances are subjected to the tests of history.

Again, we recognize that Herder's epic project was not about the nation as it had been, but rather as it would become in the nineteenth century. It was in the nineteenth century, moreover, that the epic would assert itself as the musical and poetic genre of the nation and of nationalism. The epic contained the poetic language that allowed the nation to possess a history previously denied it. It was in the nineteenth century, of course, that the Serbian *Kosovo Cycle* was *besungen* by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić[37] and the *Nibelungen* epic was *besungen* by Richard Wagner. The nineteenth century became the era of epic history, and it did so with no small debt to Herder's *Cid* translation, which had made explicit the goal of closing the gap between the 'historical' and the 'romantic'.

Herder's epic project quickly influenced nation after nation in the first half of the nineteenth century. The invention of new national epics was particularly striking in the case of the Finnish *Kalevala*. The national epic of Finland was an invention of the 1830s, when Finnish nationalists, long opposed to Swedish domination, were forced instead to seek ways of freeing Finland from the domination of the Russian Empire. A lawyer turned folk-song collector, Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884), scoured the border regions of Finland, not just those in the north in which Saami lived, but also those of the Karelian border region in the east, overlapping with Russia. Lönnrot collected fragments, the *runes* of Finland's border cultures, folk songs and ballads, and sutured them together in 1835 to form the large epic called the *Kalevala*.[38] The tales recounted in the *Kalevala*'s cantos, fused as song and poem, as history and romance, constituted the tale of creation itself, that is,

[36] The oral-formulaic theory of improvisation and composition, for example, takes the line of Balkan epics as its prototypical unit. The classic study of the oral-formulaic theory is Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960).

[37] For a modern edition, with translations of Serbian epic songs into English, see Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Songs of the Serbian People: From the Collections of Vuk Karadžić*, trans. and ed. Milne Holton and Vasa D. Mihailovich (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997).

[38] The best modern edition in English translation is Elias Lönnrot, *The Kalevala: An Epic Poem after Oral Tradition*, trans. Keith Bosley (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

a singular creation that embraced humankind, music and musical instruments. Lönnrot's cantos lend themselves to direct comparison with Herder's *Romanzen*.[39] It is difficult for me as a scholar of Jewish music not to refer here to another great epic that contains such sweeping acts of creation, also of music and musical instruments – the *Torah*, or five books of Moses, the interpretation of which bears witness to the influence of Herder's epic project.[40]

It may seem an exaggeration to suggest that Herder invented the epic, even the 'modern epic', should something like that properly exist.[41] Herder himself would reject such a claim out of hand, for he knew his Homer far too well. What Herder did, however, was to re-imagine the epic *for* the nineteenth century. Formally, he repositioned the epic between oral and written tradition. He re-inscribed it as a new and different genre of performance, whose narrative structure shifted from the stich to the strophe, and whose creator shifted from the Homeric singer of tales to the *Romanzensänger* of Herder's *Cid*, or the folk singer whose ballads increasingly employed the conventions of High German during the nineteenth century.

Herder's Map of the World

Music charted the map of Herder's nineteenth-century world in radically different ways. Its defining landscapes shifted from the centre to the peripheries and borders, where they accounted for difference and diversity by re-imagining the past as present. I should go so far as to suggest, even, that the cartographic dynamic of Herder's map of the world fully contrasted with that implicit in Hegel's universal history. Herder turned to music to chart a global history opening outward, rather than a universal history closing in upon itself in Central Europe. Whereas Hegel sought to chart an historical dynamic that began in East Asia, with a telos that inevitably led to the present, Herder saw the historical dynamic moving in multiple directions from multiple centres. Hegel's universal history was increasingly predicated on the bolstering of selfness, Herder's on an otherness rendered inchoate and fragile in the face of empire.[42]

In the course of his life, a series of musical landscapes, formed by language and history, spread across Herder's map of the world. The Baltic, the lands where he had grown up and come of age, became for Herder the site of great northern epic. The Mediterranean, biblical and mythic, generated the texts of southern epic. The borders of Herder's map were charted by folk song, that is, by the mobility of folk song, the processes of border crossing so crucial to understanding world music today. On his map, Herder historicizes the relation between rural and urban, and by doing so he presages the historical theories of folk song that would be advocated by early twentieth-century folk-song scholars, John Meier (1864–1953), founder

[39] Thomas A. DuBois examines the use of smaller lyrical forms in the epic in his *Lyric, Meaning, and Audience in the Oral Tradition of Northern Europe* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006): 37–64.

[40] See, e.g., Martin Buber, *Die Rede, die Lehre und das Lied: Drei Beispiele* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1920).

[41] The case for the persistence of epic traditions today, however, is convincingly made by the essays in Margaret Beissinger, Jane Tylus and Susanne Wofford, eds, *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World: The Poetics of Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[42] The standard collection of Hegel's essays on universal history is Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Dover, 1956).

of the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv in Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany, for example, and especially Béla Bartók, with his Old, New and Mixed Styles of folk song.

On the map Herder left to the nineteenth century, people without history were drawn into history, not least in Franz Liszt's writings on Roma,[43] or the St Petersburg School's attention to Jewish folk music.[44] In similar ways, the Herderian map of world music bore direct witness to empire, identifying the masses at the edge of empire, who were poised to cross its boundaries.[45] To the map of Herder's nineteenth century accrued more and more global dimensions and detail, many of them etched by colonialism and nationalism. As folk song became more audible on a global scale in Herder's final writings, it increasingly represented the conditions of modernity in the nineteenth century, not least among them empire.

Herder's Empire

> But why must some people disturb the peace of others, nation against nation? One says that such actions advance civilization; the book of history, however, says something completely different![46]

> O, if justice could only look down from heaven,
> It would see black people finding peace with the whites.[47]

It is with his critique of imperialism and colonialism that Herder most forcefully broke with the Enlightenment tradition he had inherited from Johann Georg Hamann's and Immanuel Kant's lectures at Königsberg. Rather than a universalism that historically reached its zenith to confirm the Christian principles of Europe in his day, Herder's global understanding was the product of encounter, philological and ethnographic, historical and anthropological. The encounter began with his sea journey in 1769, and it stretched far beyond the littoral of Europe, which is to say it accelerated throughout his life, intensifying particularly in the writings from his final years, many of which would appear in print only posthumously. Interpreted as a whole, Herder's writings on culture beyond Europe turn presciently and passionately towards the future. They adumbrate, even predict, the deleterious impact that empire would have on Europe in the nineteenth century and that music would become one of the most sensitive measures of that impact. As such they constitute an early body of post-colonial criticism.

The imperial and post-colonial project depended on encounter, but no less on translation, textual, cultural and musical ways of claiming history. The convergence of Herder's practices of textual and cultural translation appears

[43] Franz Liszt, *The Gipsy in Music*, trans. Edwin Evans (London: William Reeves; 1926; original French edition published 1859).

[44] See, for example, Jascha Nemtsov, *Die Neue Jüdische Schule in der Musik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004).

[45] This concept comes from Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

[46] Letter 114 in Johann Gottfried Herder, *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*; published as JGHW, vol. 7, 671. In this letter Herder not only discusses cultural and, especially, racial difference, but includes four poems, *Neger-Idyllen* (Idylls on Black People), on the encounter between Europeans and Africans; ibid., 674–83.

[47] 'Die Brüder' (Brothers), from *Neger-Idyllen*, in ibid., 679.

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already in 1784, with his *Ideas on the Philosophy of History of Humanity*[48] in which he uses fragments (called *Ideen*, ideas) to write essays, some of them mini-ethnographies, on non-Western cultures and traditions. Because of his philological engagement with the Indo-European traditions, he turns especially towards India, translating extensive passages of the *Bhagavadgita* from Sanskrit.[49] His knowledge of Indian music derived from secondary sources – he had read William Jones's writings on *raga*[50] – but also for the direct familiarity of passionate translator with the four canons of Vedic hymns. On one hand, it was surely the case that Herder's approach to India bore witness to the same Orientalist spirit that would motivate the British encounter with India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a spirit that still haunts British post-colonial writing. On the other, Herder's writings contained an incipient reflexivity, in which the culture of the colonized Other was perceived as speaking back to the colonizer.

From this dialogue grew a discourse history in the nineteenth century, which extends through the century to figures such as Rabindranath Tagore. Music, too, would increasingly provide the mirror for the encounter and its inversion through reflexivity. Consistent with his concepts of musical perception, music paved an alternative path into the nineteenth century, from which encounter resulted not in the creation of new forms of beauty, but rather the vessel that measured the horror of encounter.[51]

Possessing Herder

> Have no pity for the white people, you who live along the coasts! The whites landed on our island in the time of our fathers. One said to them: Here is the land your wives want to build; be just, be good, and be our brothers.
>
> The whites made their promise and then turned nonetheless with their tails in the air. A threatening fortress appeared; the thunder was trapped in perpetual abyss; their priests wanted to give us a god we did not know; they spoke incessantly about obedience and servitude.
>
> Death would be preferable! – The massacre was long and dreadful; but despite the thunder they unleashed to crush entire armies, they were not all destroyed. Have no pity for the white people.
>
> We have seen new, stronger, and more numerous tyrants plant their flags on our shores. The skies fought on our behalf. Downpours, thunderstorms and poisoned winds were sent to sweep over them, so that they were no more. But we live, and live in freedom.
>
> Have no pity for the whites, you who live along the coasts.[52]

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[48] JGHW, vol. 6.

[49] Ghosh, *Johann Gottfried Herder's Image of India*.

[50] William Jones, 'On the Modes of the Hindoos', in Sourindro Mohun Tagore, ed., *Hindu Music from Various Authors* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1964): 88–112; original published in *Asiatick Researches* (1784). See also Gerry Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Martin Clayton, 'Musical Renaissance and Its Margins in England and India, 1874–1914', in Gerry Farrell and Bennett Zon, eds, *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780s–1940s: Portrayal of the East* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007): 71–93.

[51] For essays on the forms assumed by reflexivity and response in colonialism and imperialism see Edward D. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993): especially 191–281.

[52] 'Trauet den Weißen nicht', in Herder, *'Stimmen der Völker'*. The appendix, 'Zu den Liedern der Madagasker' (On the Songs of the People of Madagascar), from Herder's

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Throughout this essay I have retained the possessive structure that explicitly raises questions of ownership. I have navigated a series of themes that were united because of their implications of ownership and possession. Does anyone possess a century, or music, or the people who make music but have no history? Do those who seek to possess, as the kings of Madagascar intone in the song whose text, in the epigraph to this concluding section, entered the 1807 edition of the folk-song volumes, only after Herder's death? Does the ownership of music and culture and history beget possession, say, when Herder and his nineteenth century were used and abused by destructive forms of fascism and nationalism? National Socialism in Germany, we must not forget, exploitatively repossessed Herder to its own ends.[53]

Increasingly, as we follow the unfolding narrative that runs through Herder's collections of songs, the songs gathered previously from colonial encounters proliferate, and so too does the number of laments and songs of death. The laments record sadness and terror, the loss that occurs at moments of encounter. In the posthumously published appendix to *'Stimmen der Völker in Liedern'*, the violence of colonial encounter overwhelms Herder's folk songs, particularly in the concluding folio of songs from and about the colonization of Madagascar, 11 songs – vocal commentaries in various genres – that Herder translated from the French accounts of the French Count Parny. The terror in colonial Madagascar, in the heart of darkness, is that of encounter with the armies and the missionaries of the Europeans, the racialized 'whites' whose presence is vilified in the songs. We witness this in the lament, 'Totenklage', for the fallen son of the King of Madagascar, sung by King Ampanani himself, and in call and response by the people of Madagascar:

> Ampanani: My son has fallen in battle! Oh, my friends, weep over the son of your leader. Take his body to the place in which the dead live. A high wall will protect him, for there will be the heads of bulls on that wall,which will be armed with threatening horns. Respect the place in which the dead live. Their sadness is terrible, and their revenge is gruesome. Weep over my son.
>
> The Men: Never again will the blood of the enemies turn his arm red.
>
> The Women: Never again will his lips kiss those of another.
>
> The Men: Never again will fruit ripen for him.
>
> The Women: Never again will his head rest on a tender bosom.
>
> The Men: Never again will he sing, resting under a tree thick with leaves.
>
> The Women: Never again will he whisper new enticements to his beloved.
>
> Ampanani: Cease, now, with your weeping over my son! Happiness should follow the mourning! Tomorrow, perhaps, we too will follow to the place he has gone.[54]

Nachlaß (literary estate) appears in a modern, paperback edition (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1975): 391–98.

[53] See the essays in Jost Schneider, ed., *Herder im 'Dritten Reich'* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, 1994).

[54] 'Todtenklage, um des Königs Sohn', in Herder, *'Stimmen der Völker'*, 393. See also Philip V. Bohlman, 'Becoming Ethnomusicologists: On Colonialism and Its Aftermaths', *Ethnomusicology Newsletter* 41/1 (2007): 4–5.

Johann Gottfried Herder lived only four years into the nineteenth century, but in the work he produced as he entered the century there is a distinctive and troubling turn towards the dark shadows to which I alluded at the beginning of this essay. The great goals upon which he had earlier embarked now had shadows cast across them. The folk songs that he gathered for a new edition of the folk-song volumes become darker and darker. Far in the distance, beyond perhaps even the nineteenth century, the struggle to possess – people, lands and history – had the potential to lead to a degree of tragedy as yet unknown to the German Idealists and the Romantics.

Or was it entirely unknown? Had they not been possessed by it? We return in closing to the ballad 'Edward', whose versions and variants began the essay and with which Herder began his nineteenth-century project; 'Edward', in turn, resonated through Schubert and Brahms and beyond. It is a tale of patricide and fratricide, the destruction of those whose human legacy the song's narrators share. The ballad, in its English, North American, and German versions, narrates an act of attempted ownership whereby Edward condemns his children to wander the earth. There is an indescribable darkness that the ballad, so meaningful to Herder, unleashes when it crosses from myth to history, when Herder enters his nineteenth century and sees what lies beyond.

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