

Sonorous Sublimes: An Introduction

SARAH HIBBERD AND MIRANDA STANYON

The sublime – that elusive encounter with overwhelming height, power or limits – has had a long relationship with music, from the early-modern rise of interest in the Longinian sublime to its saturation of European culture in the later nineteenth century and beyond. Music sits in productive tension with the sublime in many foundational texts.¹ Yet sustained attention to this relationship has been relatively uncommon. Scholars in other fields have called for a moratorium on studies of the sublime, yet there are remarkably few books dedicated to the sublime and music.² Drawing together perspectives from musicology, sound studies, literary studies, intellectual history and theology, this collection offers a perspective on music that responds to current understandings of the sublime as a pre-disciplinary category traversing the arts, sciences and humanities.³ It covers the period of the European revival of the sublime, from later seventeenth-century debate surrounding Boileau's translation of Pseudo-Longinus, *On the Sublime* (probably first century CE), to the nineteenth-

¹ For a survey, see Miranda Stanyon, *Resounding the Sublime: Music in English and German Literature, 1670–1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming).

² James Elkins, 'Against the Sublime' in Roald Hoffmann and Iain Boyd Whyte (eds.), *Beyond the Finite: The Sublime in Art and Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 75–90. Exceptions are Sophie Hache and Thierry Favier (eds.), *À La Croisée des arts: sublime et musique religieuse en Europe (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Garnier, 2015); Kiene Brillenburg Wurth, *Musically Sublime: Indeterminacy, Infinity, Irresolvability* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009); Michela Garda, *Musica sublime: metamorfosi di un'idea nel Settecento musicale* (Milan: Ricordi, 1995). Timothy M. Costelloe's interdisciplinary edited volume *The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) includes just one chapter on the fine arts, and touches on music remarkably briefly: Theodore Gracyk, 'The Sublime and the Fine Arts', 217–29, at 227–8. Single chapters about music appear in Hoffmann and Whyte (eds.), *Beyond the Finite* (by neuroscientist Jaak Panskeep); and Caroline van Eck, Stijn Bussels, Maarten Delbeke and Jürgen Pieters (eds.), *Translations of the Sublime: The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus' Peri Hupsous in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture and the Theatre* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) (where Bussels and Bram Van Oostveldt discuss theoretical writings on theatrical machinery, including in *tragédie en musique*). None of these three volumes considers the wider significance of music and sound to perceptions of the sublime.

³ See Anne Janowitz, 'The Sublime' in Joel Faflak and Julia Wright (eds.), *A Handbook of Romanticism Studies* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 55–68.

century world of Richard Wagner, for many the apogee of the sublime composer.

From Longinus's classical world onwards, sound has been represented as holding an almost unparalleled power to move us. Yet for that very reason, there have been sharp disagreements about how to manage and evaluate sonic power, and about the proper workings of music as a subset of the sonorous. At the turn of the seventeenth century, the sublime emerged as the central aesthetic category for thinking about strong movements and transfer of loftiness, power or energy, eventually coalescing as a foil for the experiences of immediate repose and pleasure generated by the beautiful. As Emma Gilby puts it, later seventeenth-century writers recognised Longinus's fascination with "la petitesse énergique des paroles" ("the energetic littleness of words"). Energy always carries a sense of transference: it turns to entropy unless it is reassigned as work done to or upon another. Longinian sublimity carries this sense of transference too. The "sublime" of the treatise's title is always an encounter.⁴ Pre-eminently unfolding in time and in performance, music is well placed to stage the sublime as encounter and event.

But of course this general, potential rapport between music and the sublime is only realised (and resisted) in particular times and places. Our focus in this volume therefore is on historically specific experiences of the sublime. Alongside cultural, social-historical and intellectual contexts – and their implications – we address in detail questions about the heard experience of sublimity: what were the sonic, aesthetic and formal qualities that made sounds sublime for listeners of the period? A clear sense emerges of the 'core' characteristics and musical signifiers of the sonorous sublime by the late eighteenth century: with notable exceptions, the genres in focus are large-scale, ceremonial and ambitious, even when the ambition is to convey sublime simplicity or fragility. Perhaps surprisingly, given its relative absence from existing research on the topic, opera emerges from this perspective as a striking locus for hearing and thinking the sublime. Indeed, the approach to opera in this volume speaks to an insistence that study of the sublime be separated from an aura of ineffable transcendence and rarefied aestheticism, and be located in specific, contextualised and contingent histories.

⁴ Emma Gilby, *Sublime Worlds: Early Modern French Literature* (London: Legenda, 2006), 1, quoting Boileau, 'Réflexions X' (c. 1710), a response to criticism of *Traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours, traduit du grec de Longin* (1674). Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Antoine Adam and Françoise Escal (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 543–558, at 550.

More concretely, from the late seventeenth to the late nineteenth centuries, in music as in other media, the sublime spoke to at least three interrelated concerns that resonate through the chapters in this volume.⁵ First, the nature of bodily experience. Aesthetics begins with corporeal sensations – following Lockean empiricists, the basic ‘ideas’ of pleasure and pain – feelings apparently (and paradoxically) mixed in the sublime. But bodily experience also involves the complex affective states of astonishment, transport, ravishment and inflation or exaltation that characterise narratives of the sublime. Even theories of the sublime that see it affirming the superiority of the human subject over her bodily dimensions rely on sense impressions to provide fodder for the sublime. Conversely, they look to the sublime in order to test the status and nature of physical sensations and faculties for processing them. Second, knowledge. How do we know things – infinity, God, the evils of war and terror, or simply the complex intersecting waves of sound spilling out from a concert stage – which lie beyond everyday powers of comprehension and control? Can we, as Immanuel Kant suggested, in fact use such extreme encounters to think beyond our normal limits and ground securer knowledge? Third, politics and ethics. How should societies handle and evaluate overpowering sounds – or overpowering political leaders, natural catastrophes or accesses of violence? Are they delusive and destructive, or do they have permissible roles in responding to loss and trauma, creating change, forging group identities (patriots, cognoscenti, the pious, people of sensibility), or improving certain groups (the laity, the uncultured, the traumatised)? If they are desirable, how can we create overpowering experiences? Finally, who has access to what is ‘most lofty’, and who decides what can and cannot count as sublime (intellectuals, musicians, the middle classes, unspoilt children of nature)?

Given the centrality of the concerns addressed by the sublime, and its renewed importance in postmodern theory, it is unsurprising that musicologists have increasingly looked to the term. Scholarship has often turned on rather well-worn debates about the relationship of theory to practice – notably the applicability to music of models of the sublime originating outside music theory and criticism. There has been related interest in chronology, with attempts to identify the emergence of a genuine musical sublime among composers and audiences in the late eighteenth century, separable from older ‘rhetorical’ categories of

⁵ On a similar set of concerns, see James Kirwan, *Sublimity: The Non-Rational and the Irrational in the History of Aesthetics* (New York: Routledge, 2005), vii.

splendour or magnificence. Existing musicological studies have covered significant ground in catching up on the near obsession with the sublime in other disciplines. Despite the paucity of dedicated books on the musical sublime, then, has scholarship on music, as in other disciplines, already reached saturation point? We believe not. One reason for this is the shifting terrain of music and our understanding of its scope, especially in relation to the larger category of sound, where the new field of sound studies is reminding scholars across the disciplines of the historical variability and importance of the sonorous for making social order, articulating personal and group identities, managing emotions in war and conflict and producing knowledge.⁶ The sublime, meanwhile, is likely to remain a concern for historians of all stripes interested in understanding European culture in our period, because it concerns a culture's assessment of superlatives – what is most lofty, most unfathomable, most excellent, terrifying, moving or bewildering – and how best to deal with them. The sublime therefore casts strong light on systems of value and points of crisis. This volume brings music and sound to the forefront of discussion to demonstrate their centrality to perceptions of the sublime.

The Sublime

The discourse of the sublime is rooted in *Peri hypsous* (*On the Sublime*), a fragmentary treatise usually attributed to a Greek rhetorician active in Rome in the first century CE, Pseudo-Longinus.⁷ The text combines literary and philosophical speculation about the powers of poetry and oratory with practical suggestions about how to achieve 'excellence and distinction of language'.⁸ Such language, akin to overwhelming forces of nature, does not 'persuade' but 'transport[s]', 'amaz[es]' and 'elevates' audiences with 'irresistible power'.⁹ Five sources of the sublime are identified, with examples for emulation from great past writers, such as Demosthenes, Homer, Sappho

⁶ See, most recently, Michael Bull (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Sound Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2019). Brillenburg Wurth similarly drew on media studies and interrogated the impressions of sonic matter on listeners.

⁷ This collection largely follows the shorthand of referring to the author as 'Longinus'. On dating and authorship, see James Porter, *The Sublime in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1–4; Russell's introduction to Longinus, 'On the Sublime', trans. W. Hamilton Fyfe, rev. Donald Russell, in *Aristotle: Poetics; Longinus: On the Sublime; Demetrius: On Style*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 143–308, at 145–8. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are from this edition, cited by section and subsection.

⁸ Longinus 1.3. ⁹ Longinus 1.4, 7.1.

and Plato: grandeur of thought and vivid passions, together with three rhetorical skills: effective use of figures of speech, elevated diction and harmonious structure. The text circulated, modestly, from the fifteenth century, but it acquired general currency in literary criticism across Europe following Boileau's French translation and preface of 1674, *Traité du sublime, ou du merveilleux dans le discours*. Boileau emphasised the power of discourse to move, regardless of what was being expressed, and beyond the formal characteristics of the 'sublime style'.¹⁰ Boileau's argumentative verve, his prominence as a critic within a nation that prided itself on leading Europe in cultural matters and his deployment of the sublime within the quarrel of the ancients and moderns all helped to popularise the sublime, but always (as the *querelle* suggests) as a question of rival theories and rival translations. Boileau's *Traité* indeed joined at least twenty-nine editions, commentaries and translations published in Europe before 1800 in classical and modern languages, including in Italian (1639), English (1652), Dutch (1719), German (1737) and Spanish (1770).¹¹ This is not to mention its interpretation and deployments in theology and preaching, art theory, moral philosophy, polite periodical writing, and literary and theatre criticism, notably (to think only of English writers) by William Sanderson, the First Earl of Shaftesbury, Joseph Addison and John Dennis.¹²

During the eighteenth century, the sublime emerged as a key concept in the new field of aesthetics, where it was increasingly contrasted with the beautiful and theorised in a number of widely received texts, especially Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757/59) and Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Judgement* (1790). In contrast to the beautiful, the sublime characteristically arouses painful or fearful feelings that nevertheless become a source of pleasure and delight. But while most eighteenth-century theorists gave substantial attention to the nature of overwhelming objects – whether in art, in nature or in encounters with the

¹⁰ Éva Madeleine Martin emphasises the distinction, which goes back to the original Greek, rather than the Latin translations of the sixteenth century, which are much less clear on this difference. 'The "Prehistory" of the Sublime in Early Modern France: An Interdisciplinary Perspective' in Costelloe (ed.), *The Sublime*, 77–101.

¹¹ Dietmar Till, *Das doppelte Erhabene: eine Argumentationsfigur von der Antike bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006), 413.

¹² See, for example, Samuel Holt Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England* (New York: Modern Languages Association, 1935); on Sanderson, Lydia Hamlett, 'The Longinian Sublime, Effect and Affect in "Baroque" British Visual Culture', in van Eck, Bussels, Delbeke and Pieters (eds.), *Translations of the Sublime*, 187–220. In this volume, see Hache on pastoral theology and preaching, and Head on Dennis.

divine – Kant decisively interiorised this notion. The complex feelings we experienced in the sublime were, he argued, our response to the limits of our faculties and bodies: the sublime was a state of mind. According to his analysis of what he called the mathematical sublime (associated with numerical excess), the sublime was aligned with the truly great, and hence with the limitless; it therefore could not be located in any object grasped by our limited senses, presented by imagination or processed by understanding, which classified objects under delimited concepts.¹³ But our ability to think like this – to think the infinite – presupposes a faculty which is superior to nature and our limits as natural creatures; it witnesses indirectly the existence of ‘supersensible’ reason, albeit at the expense of sacrificing ‘sensible’ imagination. This ‘sacrifice’ is an ethical sticking point for many late-twentieth-century critics, particularly given imagination’s female gendering.¹⁴ But for Kant, there is further philosophical pay-off for this experience. While the sensible world might be determined by Newtonian laws of motion and causality, giving grounds for scepticism about the possibility of thinking freely and acting morally, reason grounds hope in the possibility of human freedom.¹⁵ These are the high stakes of the Kantian sublime, and the reason why, although it takes up a relatively modest part of the *Critique of Judgement*, his ‘Analytic of the Sublime’ provoked such intense debate and revisions – especially, for Romantics, in understanding the remit of imagination – including by Friedrich Schelling, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche, whose writings helped to give aesthetics and art such an important place in nineteenth- and twentieth-century thought.¹⁶

Although the sublime largely fell out of favour as a philosophical concept for much of the twentieth century, it enjoyed a resurgence in the hands of postmodern theorists and artists from the 1970s.¹⁷ Jean-François Lyotard, Julia Kristeva, Slavoj Žižek, Jacques Derrida, Paul de Man, Gilles Deleuze and Fredric Jameson all engaged with Kant’s sublime. For the postmoderns, the conflict between presentation and what cannot be presented

¹³ Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft* (1790) in vol. 5 of *Kant’s Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Reimer, 1974), §§ 25–7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, § 29 (p. 269). For an assessment, see Judy Lochhead, ‘The Sublime, the Ineffable and Other Dangerous Aesthetic Concepts’, *Women and Music*, 12 (2008), 63–74.

¹⁵ See Frederick Beiser, ‘The Enlightenment and Idealism’ in Karl Ameriks (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to German Idealism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 18–37.

¹⁶ Paul Guyer, ‘The German Sublime After Kant’ in Costelloe (ed.), *The Sublime*, 102–17, at 102.

¹⁷ David B. Johnson, ‘The Postmodern Sublime: Presentation and Its Limits’ in Costelloe (ed.), *The Sublime*, 118–31, at 118–19.

generates a violent affective response that reveals a new mode of thinking or sensing – and thus new forms of intellectual and potentially political exertion.

What has Lyotard to do with Longinus? Is there an unchanging kernel of sublimity, transmitted through the ages like a bolt of lightning, or a history of ruptures and transformations? Robert Doran has argued recently for a ‘unified’ understanding of the sublime’s various faces, centring on Longinus’s identification of a ‘dual structure’ of ‘transcendence’ – simultaneous feelings of being ‘*overwhelmed* and ‘*exalted*’. This creates the ‘dynamism of the sublime’ and its complex blend of pleasure and pain, an affective intensity explored at length in the modern discourse.¹⁸ More commonly, however, scholars avoid stressing a coherent concept that reaches from Longinus to Kant and beyond, and instead take more particularised approaches, focusing especially on a ‘rhetorical sublime’ in Longinus/Boileau and an ‘aesthetic sublime’ emerging in eighteenth-century thought. Samuel Holt Monk’s pioneering and influential *The Sublime* (1935), a study of critical theories in eighteenth-century England, endorsed this division.¹⁹ With Monk, as critics have observed, the division was based on a teleological and nation-based view of progress, via British empiricism, towards Kantian transcendental idealism.²⁰ More recent accounts tend to reflect anti-teleological and pluralist thinking in intellectual history and theory. Importantly, the theory of the sublime is bound up with these tendencies. It was famously seen by Lyotard as a weapon in a postmodern struggle ‘to wage a war on totality’, stand as ‘witnesses to the unrepresentable’ and ‘activate the differences’.²¹ This postmodern idea radicalised Kant’s understanding of the sublime as a response to cognitive failure to reach totalised presentations and distinct concepts. This context makes it especially unsurprising that, in stressing differences between thinkers

¹⁸ Robert Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime from Longinus to Kant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 2, 4, 8, 10–11. This summary of course begs the question of the definition of transcendence, a bugbear of postmodern thought. We might better speak of the dual structure of limit experiences, which take us to or beyond some *limen*, the ‘threshold’ embedded within the ambiguous Latin term *sublime*. Brillenburg Wurth, *Musically Sublime*, pits her study against transcendence in favour of immanence; Porter, *Sublime in Antiquity*, 138–40, recently defends a version of transcendence.

¹⁹ Monk, *The Sublime*.

²⁰ Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla, *The Sublime: A Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2–3.

²¹ Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* [in French 1979], trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1984), 82.

and periods, recent scholarship has been wary of seeking a singular concept underpinning the long history of the sublime.

Music and the Sublime

Significantly, a strong strand of Romantic musical thought responded to the same (Kantian) complex of ideas concerning the presentation of impressions and formation of distinct concepts. Now, the strength of music could be located in the apparent fact that it was bad at representing things.²² In vocal music, music was a mere auxiliary to words with their determinate meanings, but in instrumental genres it could transcend imitations of objects in the external world and communication of concepts. In a much-cited formulation, music was ‘the most Romantic of all the arts . . . since only the infinite is its object’.²³ As this suggests, the rise of Kantian aesthetics and celebrations of instrumental music form an important part of the story of the musical sublime.

It is nonetheless only part of the story, as research has increasingly shown over the last three decades. The field has generally centred on a small group of canonical composers. Claudia Johnson has detected the birth of the musical sublime in mid-eighteenth-century British celebrations of Handel.²⁴ She argued that music critics appropriated the literary tradition of the sublime in order to champion Handel’s genius and articulate the acoustic effects of his music. The ‘torrent of sound’ produced by massed forces at the 1784 commemoration concerts in Westminster Abbey were so overwhelming that audiences were reportedly ‘elevated into a species of delirium’.²⁵ As Johnson explained, in Burke’s *Philosophical Enquiry* terror was closely related to the idea of (divine) power, and this came to be associated with Handel in the public imagination. His oratorios embodied the threats of nature, and the pivot from terror to relief epitomised the sublime feeling experienced by the listener. It was the Handeliens, for Johnson, who first sketched out the musical sublime and its attributes of bold design, extreme contrast, exceptional invention, massed harmony and

²² For a foundational account, see Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Idee der absoluten Musik* (Kassel: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1978).

²³ E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Beethovens Instrumentalmusik’, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 12 (1810), in Hartmut Steinecke et al. (eds.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Sämtliche Werke in sechs Bänden*, vol. 2.1 (Frankfurt: Deutsche Klassiker Verlag, 1993), 52.

²⁴ Claudia L. Johnson, ‘“Giant HANDEL” and the Musical Sublime’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 19/4 (1986), 515–33.

²⁵ Contemporary views cited in *ibid.*, 516.

large forces.²⁶ The religious and national context in which Handel's music was first created and received was also important, as Alexander Shapiro and Ruth Smith argued: the ceremonial music and biblical paraphrases of his early oratorios emerged from an English tradition of sublime art and owed their contemporary significance to this religious aesthetic.²⁷ In contrast, Ellen Harris has turned to Handel's text-setting and the compelling moments of silence in his mature works, which were condemned by some critics and considered sublime by others.²⁸ Such scholarship has strengthened our understanding of eighteenth-century choral music (and its spiritual elevation) as a primary locus of the sublime. Nonetheless, the idea that the musical sublime first emerged with Handel is difficult to sustain.²⁹ More recent research suggests that music was already implicated in the domain of the sublime in debates around Boileau's translation of Longinus in the seventeenth century. Thierry Favier has argued that these ideas had an impact on the development of sacred musical style at Versailles, as exemplified in Michel-Richard de Lalande's grand motets.³⁰ And in the next century, critics such as Abbé Dubos aligned the sublime with the pathetic in discussions about Marin Marais and Jean-Baptiste Lully.³¹ While Sophie Hache in this volume deepens our understanding of the fraught place of music and sound in French seventeenth-century religious culture, Suzanne Aspden shows us further dimensions of Handel's place in historical genealogies of sublime composers.

Haydn famously attended performances of Handel's oratorios in Westminster Abbey in the 1790s and wrote *The Creation* and *The Seasons* shortly afterwards. With its opening representation of chaos and subsequent emergence of light, *The Creation* (1798) was rapidly received across Europe as a prime site of the musical sublime.³² With the words

²⁶ Johnson, "'Giant HANDEL" and the Musical Sublime', 533.

²⁷ Alexander H. Shapiro, "'Drama of an Infinitely Superior Nature": Handel's Early English Oratorios and the Religious Sublime', *Music & Letters*, 74/2 (1993), 215–45; Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 108–26.

²⁸ Ellen T. Harris, 'Silence as Sound: Handel's Sublime Pauses', *Journal of Musicology*, 22/4 (2005), 521–58.

²⁹ See, for example, Stanyon, *Resounding the Sublime*, chaps. 1–2.

³⁰ Thierry Favier, *Le Motet à grand chœur* (Paris: Fayard, 2009). See also Hache and Favier, *À La Croisée des arts*.

³¹ Jean-Baptiste Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture* (1719), 6th edn (Paris: Pissot 1755). His discussion includes the storm scene in Marais's *Alcyone* (1706) and Lully's overtures; 'Le sublime de la poésie et de la peinture est de toucher et de plaire', vol. 2, 1.

³² See, for example, James Webster, 'The Sublime and the Pastoral in *The Creation* and *The Seasons*' in Caryl Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 150–63.

‘And there was light’, as Elaine Sisman has explained, Haydn created the effect of transport and awe with the brief shock of brilliant light after obscurity.³³ As Sisman and Benedict Taylor each emphasise in this volume, the translation of the visual effect of this moment into sound proved a potent ‘sonic image’ (in Taylor’s words) that reverberated through the coming centuries. Indeed, for James Webster, it was Haydn who elevated the sublime into a genuine aesthetic category within music.³⁴ He sees the composer at the heart of what he has termed provocatively ‘the age of the Kantian sublime in music’ (c. 1780–1815), a claim given theoretical underpinning by the series of writings on musical aesthetics published in 1801–5 by the dedicated Kantian, Christian Friedrich Michaelis.³⁵ Sisman and Webster trace the dynamical and mathematical sublime into Mozart and Beethoven and create a taxonomy of stylistic devices in emblematic works, extending the remit of the sublime from vocal to symphonic works.³⁶

Symphonic genres have themselves come to be seen as the pre-eminent site for modern musical subjectivities, including claims of freedom and autonomy for music and musicians. Perhaps *the* emblematic figure here is Beethoven. An oration by Franz Grillparzer at Beethoven’s grave epitomises one version of the trope of sublime genius: Beethoven was a terrifying creative/destructive force, a ‘Behemoth’ who ‘flew through the boundaries of music to the ‘fearful point, where what is formed [*das Gebildete*] crosses into the uncontrolled arbitrariness of battling powers of nature’. His successors would have to begin from scratch, because Beethoven ‘only stopped where art stops’.³⁷ Musicology has often seemed

³³ Elaine Sisman, ‘The Voice of God in Haydn’s Creation’ in László Vikárius and Vera Lampert (ed.), *Essays in Honour of László Somfai on his 70th Birthday: Studies in the Sources and the Interpretation of Music* (Lanhan, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 159–73. Sisman observes how Haydn took up the repeated notes and ascending fourth from Handel’s celebrated setting of ‘Let there be light’ in *Samson* but omitted the lugubrious setting and many repetitions of ‘and light was all over’.

³⁴ James Webster, ‘Between Enlightenment and Romanticism in Music History: “First Viennese Modernism” and the Delayed Nineteenth Century’, *19th-Century Music*, 25/2–3 (2001–2), 108–26, at 126; see also James Webster, ‘The Creation, Haydn’s Late Vocal Music, and the Musical Sublime’ in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and his World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 57–102.

³⁵ See also James Webster, *Haydn’s ‘Farewell’ Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

³⁶ Elaine Sisman, *Mozart: The ‘Jupiter’ Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); see also Mark Evan Bonds, ‘The Symphony as Pindaric Ode’ in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and his World*, 131–53.

³⁷ Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 3, ed. Peter Frank and Karl Pörnbacher (Munich: Hanser, 1960–5), 882.