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At the Edge of Romanticism: An Intermedial Analysis of Eugen Neureuther’s *Randzeichnungen zu Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen*
Nowadays, the academic consensus is that Eugen Neureuther’s fall back onto the form of the Randzeichnung [margin drawing] made him one of the most influential Modernist illustrators. Consequently, Werner Busch devotes three chapters to Neureuther, a pupil of Peter Cornelius, in his fundamental study Die notwendige Arabeske. Wirklichkeitsaneignung und Stilisierung in der deutschen Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts [The Necessary Arabesque. Adaption of Reality and Stylisation in German Art in the 19th Century] (1985). Neureuther’s classical status was recently reinforced by a 2013 publication by Jutta Reinisch on the development of the Randzeichnung as a form over the course of the 19th century. Accordingly, her analysis is subtitled Die Randzeichnung des 19. Jahrhunderts seit Runge und Neureuther... [19th Century Randzeichnung since Runge and Neureuther]. Considering this appreciation for the Munich artist, it is surprising that his first work, the four folios Randzeichnungen zu Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen [Margin Drawings Accompanying Goethe’s Ballads and Romances] (1829–1830) (ill. 1), has not been adequately examined.

This careless treatment (particularly given the intensified academic attention towards Neureuther in recent years) is unfathomable for several reasons. Besides the fact


that this project was of great personal importance for the then only 23-year-old artist, it is regularly emphasised within the academic discourse that his early work is of great importance for his opus as a whole. Among others, Jutta Reinisch points out that the basic features of Neureuther’s aesthetics were already developed within the first years of his artistic experience, and that even in his later years Neureuther still fell back upon these early inventions.\(^4\) What, above all, makes the lack of academic interest surprising is the aesthetic innovation of the Randzeichnungen which had been clearly noted by his contemporaries already. The extensive journalistic noise caused by his 1829 publication serves as proof in this regard.\(^5\) In fact, there are two aesthetic conclusions which can be considered innovative: first is the decision to illustrate ballads and romances rather than the usual dramatic scenes.\(^6\) Second, the Randzeichnung format helps create a hitherto unknown, close relationship between text and image. In contrast to the conventional arrangement, which separates the two media on individual pages, Neureuther combines them on one.\(^7\) In this way, his illustrations acquire a rather playful nature, as the Randzeichnung and the poem embrace each other and are directly connected by the hand of the artist. Considering this aesthetic individuality, the initial critique thus must be understood from a methodical point of view. All previous works investigating the specific visuality of Neureuther’s illustrations, regardless of whether they zero in on the images of Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen or other texts, rely exclusively on the classical methods of art history. Generally, of course, this approach is feasible. However, it disregards essential creative and aesthetic characteristics of the Randzeichnungen. That this objection should be taken seriously becomes evident as soon as these characteristics are characterized in detail.

The four folios of Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen must be described as artefacts, which – from a quantitative point of view – consist equally of text and image. Their aesthetics are thus fundamentally based upon an intermedial interplay. Therefore, the combination and the functional relation of both forms of representation must be considered unique to the Randzeichnungen. Their special arrangement, above all in perspective to their spatial proximity, opens a semantic horizon which would not emerge

\(^4\) Reinisch 2013, 161.
\(^5\) Two examples are the recensions in Ludwig Schorn’s Kunst-Blatt (No. 21/16. March 1830) and Franz Kugler’s Museum. Ibid., 361 and 364.
\(^6\) Ibid., 180.
if both forms of art, even if externally identical, were experienced independently. The external and internal relation between text and image must hence be considered the aesthetic core of the Randzeichnungen. Any analysis dealing with all aspects of Neureuther’s illustrations and Goethe’s poems must therefore consider the correspondences and differences between the literal and pictorial representations. In other words, the perspectives of literary studies and art history must be combined. This essay seeks to develop a complementary approach which contextualises anew the previous academic results and thus gains a better comprehension of the Randzeichnungen zu Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen. Based upon the insight of the fundamental dependence between literal and pictorial aesthetics, the goal is to appreciate Neureuther’s opus as an intermedial artefact.

In this context, the following questions dictate my analytical guidelines. First, how are which elements depicted and what artistic traditions are referred to in doing so? Second, to which historico-cultural contexts do the individual forms of representation and the aesthetics constituted through them allude? Third, how can the relationship between the individual creation and the history of ideas be described with regard to common grounds and differences? Based on this examination, the organisation of the two media will be confronted and their internal relation will be described in order to uncover the aesthetic core of the Randzeichnungen. To complete the investigation, the following questions will then be considered: how do the text and the image indicate congruent or different semantic horizons by falling back upon specific formal conclusions? Was there an effort to create aesthetic equivalents, besides analogies in terms of content? And finally, how can the hierarchical relationship between the two media be described with regards to the process of reception?

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8 The general perspective of this paper and the expressions applied are due to Gottfried Willems. Gottfried Willems Anschaulichkeit. Zu Theorie und Geschichte der Wort-Bild-Beziehungen und des literarischen Darstellungsstils (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1989).

9 To prevent misunderstanding: I do not claim that the texts were entirely ignored by previous academic research. Jutta Reinisch, for example, initially considers the intermedial dimension. However, her examination of the sheet which illustrates Goethe’s Fischer [The Fisherman] remains almost exclusively in the sphere of the Randzeichnung. Reinisch 2013, 184 f.
The Pictorial Sources of Inspiration I – Philipp Otto Runge’s Zeiten-Arabesques

The fact that Neureuther’s contemporaries considered the *Randzeichnungen* to belong to the arabesque genre is easily proven by the wording of several reviews.\(^\text{10}\) Goethe says as much when he praises Neureuther in a letter to Cornelius (26 September 1828) as a ‘geistreichen Arabeskendichter’ [witty creator of arabesques].\(^\text{11}\) At first sight, this characterisation seems helpful for classifying the young artist’s aesthetics, but it actually complicates the precise designation of his forms as the term ‘arabesque’ covered a variety of modes of artistic expression in the historic discourse. It could refer to individual, usually floral-shaped ornaments as well as to whole pictorial systems, which – according to the present application of the academic termini – would have to be termed grotesques.\(^\text{12}\)

Furthermore, the arabesque’s range of application was radically extended by the early romantic movement. In this context, the visual form was enhanced to a general maxim of thinking and representation. It is this latter tradition which became relevant to Neureuther. However, the young student was not interested in the philosophical and poetological foundation of this concept in romantic theory, but in the arabesque-shaped visual language as developed by Philipp Otto Runge in his *Zeiten* [Times] cycle (1805).\(^\text{13}\)

Runge’s oeuvre consists of four individual sheets whose titles follow the times of day and which at first glance appear rather unclear. However, the different works gain internal connections thanks to thematic repetitions and a playful treatment of the conventional iconography. In addition, all four sheets have a symmetrical composition and a congruent structure which relates an exterior and interior image. It thus seems legitimate to examine just one of Runge’s visual systems as an example. The artefact is thereby investigated from the following perspective: which forms of representation are developed by Runge to constitute a pictorial equivalent for the philosophical and literary conception of the arabesque as theorised in the early years of romanticism? In order to answer this question, the sheet *Der Abend* [The Evening] (ill. 2) will be analysed.

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\(^\text{10}\) Cf. the publications listed in footnote five.


\(^\text{13}\) The *Zeiten* cycle is a cornerstone of the academic discourse on this period. From the wide variety of sources available, my examination is based upon Busch 1985, 49–55, Busch 2013, 329–338, VdW, 101–11 as well as Reinisch 2013, 112–30.
The composition of *Der Abend* exhibits all the particularities already described. It is based upon a symmetrical structure (although there are variations in the details of objects and poses) and the sheet is divided into an exterior and an interior picture. There are several features to consider in relation to these two structural elements. First, the wide frame which separates the two visual areas creates an almost three-dimensional appearance due to the varying thickness of its contours. This method of representation is probably an attempt to delineate a fundamental difference between the exterior and interior images. The iconographic difference between the two fields also supports this assumption. Specifically, an explicitly Christian semantic dimension is created within the frame through the use of symbols such as the cross, the lamb and the chalice. The juxtaposition of these first two in particular (alluding to the dialectics of salvation and sacrifice) establishes an eschatological perspective along the central axis. The interior image, in contrast, lacks this explicit Christian horizon. In fact, it appears to be even more independent from any iconographic traditions.

Nevertheless, it soon becomes evident that there are various features which connect the two pictorial areas. Their relationship is thus not only one of difference. First and foremost, some types of figures appear in both the interior and exterior image. In addition, the two fields are interrelated by the symmetrical composition. Finally, both pictures are characterised by a reverse dynamic of perception. The exterior image represents a dual direction of movement: from bottom to top (starting from the smoking torches) and in reverse from top to bottom (starting from the gloriole which embraces the boy and the lamb). Analogously, the lily sinks behind a curved horizon line in the lower part of the interior field. In the upper part a female figure – probably a personification of the night – emerges like a flower between the stalks. This dynamic is reinforced by the curvature of the French horns, which are orientated in the direction of the upper end of the sheet. Above that, the placement of the two main motifs along the central axis stresses this contrast of movement.

There are even parallels with regard to the lineament. Both the exterior and interior image exhibit an identical drawing style in which the figures and the space are presented to the observer. In both cases, Runge adopts a technique which emphasises the contours while reducing the interior linearity.\(^{14}\) The effect caused by this sort of representation can be clearly retraced by the trio balancing on top of the sinking lily. In general, there are

two contrasting intentions of representation. The bodies appear plastic because of the interior linearity. This, along with the interleaving of the figures, evokes an impression of spatiality. Conversely, the three children appear very flat, as their contours dominate in contrast to the interior linearity. They thus appear to the viewer as a single body. However, due to the reinforcement of the contours on the sheet’s white background, the representation raises from the actual object of the corpus. The signified hence steps back behind the line in its self-referential dimension. By and large, Runge’s lineament creates an interplay between concreteness and abstraction. In this way, the individual line is always perceptible as a fundamental pictorial element of Der Abend. In view of this observation, the previous thesis concerning the relationship between the exterior and interior fields has to be adjusted. At the same time, an analogy can be drawn between the romantic concept of the arabesque and Runge’s aesthetics.

Overall, the relationship between the two images is complementary. Although both create individual semantic horizons, they are connected by formal parallels. The fields thus influence each other in a constant interplay. A structure of mutual commentary is created. In this way, and due to the applied motifs and lineament, the pictorial system of Der Abend gains an allegorical character. All in all, in this way its aesthetics illustrate a lack of confidence in the common forms of representation. The figures of the children in particular represent an effort to develop a ‘natural form’ of pictorial representation, which emancipates itself from the previous iconographic traditions. The paradox posed in this formulation conveys the radical aesthetic ambitions of Runge’s Zeiten. Although he does not abandon the concept of the picture being a medium of insight, the four sheets make it clear that this aspiration can only be realised in the form of allegory – if at all. Furthermore, these considerations indicate a close relationship between the concept of the early romantic arabesque and Runge’s creations. Both compress the tension between an orientation towards the absolute and a principal transcendental critique and a scepticism towards conventional forms of representation. This iconological horizon then affects the Randzeichnungen zu Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen. There it is combined with another aesthetic tradition.

15 Runge’s representation was probably inspired by Rousseau’s conception of childhood and by the romantic idealisation of childishness. Albert Meier, Klassik und Romantik (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 2008), 15–20. Thus the children’s nudity both stresses an aesthetic independence and underlines the allegorical character of the figures. The naked children serve as placeholders for a form of representation which had not yet been developed.
17 Reinisch 2013, 181.
The Pictorial Sources of Inspiration II – Albrecht Dürer and the Prayer Book for Emperor Maximilian I

When the first three folios of Neureuther’s illustrations accompanying Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen were published in 1829, the Randzeichnung had already been re-established within the contemporary aesthetic consciousness for several years. As mentioned above, the innovative nature of the folios was thus not based upon the mere application of this form but upon the decision to literally link the Randzeichnung with this genre of text. In this way the two media interact with a new type of immediacy.

The actual foundation for the rediscovery of this type of representation was laid by Johann Nepomuk Strixner’s publication Albrecht Düers christlich-mythologische Handzeichnungen [Christian and Mythological Hand-drawings by Albrecht Dürer] in 1808.18 This edition was a facsimile version of an unfinished prayer book for Emperor Maximilian I. (approx. 1512–1515), which was, and still is, kept by the Bavarian State Library. Its 62 pages contain a large number of illustrations in coloured ink by Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach the Elder.19 In his publication, Strixner only included Dürer’s pictures and did not reproduce the text of the codex. However, it has to be emphasised that Neureuther knew of both Strixner’s reproductions and the original in the Munich Library.20 For an aesthetic characterisation of Dürer’s Randzeichnungen, the relationship between text and image must thus be considered as well.

Dürer’s pictorial creations are broadly structured as grotesques through combining different spatial logics, ornamental forms and types of figures. These conflicting features are usually integrated by a fleuronné, which, however, is more than just an abstract structure of association. In fact, when compared to Dürer’s role models that originate in the Late Gothic book illumination, it gains an autonomous status due to the rich decoration.21 This can be exemplified by the Randzeichnung on fol. 6v (ill. 3). There, the sophisticatedly branched fleuronné with its various forms of leaves and blooms is the

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18 Concerning the impact of this work on the visual art in Germany. Arthur Rühmann, Der Einfluss der Randzeichnungen Albrecht Düers auf die romantische Graphik in Deutschland, Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, vol. 3 (1936), 134–48. Cf. as well VdW, 72–83.
20 Reinisch 2013, 162.
21 GB, XV.
main structure in which all the other figures and elements are integrated. Its richness of
detail and the technical evenness of the drawing style and colouring prevent the interior
forms from dominating. Instead, the eye is invited to roam between them and the
fleuronné. In this way, for example, the monkey situated within the lower third of the
illustration disappears into the ‘thicket’ of imagery as soon as the gaze moves on.

Another particularity of Dürer’s Randzeichnungen is the so-called
Schreibmeisterschnörkel [scrivener’s scroll]. This term denotes a non-representing
arrangement of lines, which often follows the rules of symmetry. Dürer ties these scrolls
to the fleuronné, breaking the immersive aesthetics of the latter with a dimension of
formal reflexivity. That this reading of the illustrations is not just a postmodern
dégénération professionelle becomes evident in fol. 9r (ill. 4). Particularly, the left
Randzeichnung of this sheet exhibits the line as a technical feature, serving as a basis for
both objective and abstract representations. Beginning at the lower end as a seemingly
arbitrary structure, the stroke of the pen starts to form clusters as soon as the viewer’s
gaze moves upwards. Ultimately, the representational potential of the line is fully
realised. The Randzeichnung thereby follows the proposed logic of beholding very
consequently, as it first represents tendrils and leaves before depicting human
physiognomy. The parallel hatchings, used to evoke an impression of plasticity,
simultaneously anticipate the upper dispersal of the margin drawing. It ends with a free
play of lines, which stands in analogy to the lower end of the fleuronné.

Even if one declines to follow this progression against the reading direction of the
text in every detail, the change in the line between the poles of representation and
abstraction is conspicuous. This semantic horizon becomes undeniable when comparing
the left and the right Randzeichnungen on fol. 9r. The latter shows St. George clasping
the throat of the defeated dragon with a tight grip. The most peculiar thing about it –
besides the atypical representation of the group by itself – is the arrangement of the
beast’s body, which resembles a figura serpentinata. The depiction of the tail is also
rather extraordinary, taking several turns over the lower half of the sheet. The formal
correspondence with the opposite Schreibmeisterschnörkel is striking. This applies
particularly to the representation of the tail itself and the peculiarly snapped legs of the
dragon, which find an analogy in the symmetrical loops on the other side. An evident play

22 Sieveking stresses the ‘Eindruck des Artifiziellen’ [experience of artificality]. Ibid.
on the representing potential of the lines is thus established. However, Dürer does not aim to create a formal identity, but to generate similarities based upon the free handling of the lineament. In view of the reception, this sensitivity to the metamorphic character of the line stands in contrast to the immersive pictorial qualities of the Randzeichnungen. Taken together, the imagery of the prayer book hence generates an interplay between immersion and reflection.

The relationship between text and image can be expressed thus: the literal content (in this case the office of Mary and several psalters) opens a first fundamental semantic horizon, which is both illustrated and extended by the imagery. However, it does not function as a mere commentary or supplement, rather as a varying representation of the text’s content. Many mimetic and allegorical references prove this. The picture invites an alternative reception, which is especially apposite for a vivid illustration of abstract contents of faith. However, it remains subordinate to the fundamental theological importance of the text. Nevertheless, the Randzeichnungen possess an autonomous character due to many contrapuntal representations. This is especially underlined through the use of formal analogies, which can be understood as a reflection upon the representing potential of the line. The spiritual content of the office and the psalters is thus of course not questioned, yet the illustrations constitute an exclusively pictorial level of reception due to their self-referentiality. In this way, Dürer does not simply appear as a devout illuminator within the pictures of the prayer book, but also as an artist who is aware of his own creative power. The Munich codex hence revealed a new facet of Dürer’s personality to Neureuther’s contemporaries. This difference between the creator of the Randzeichnungen and his common image was of course noticed at once. In 1811, Goethe himself joyfully comments on Strixner’s publication in a letter to Peter Cornelius: ‘... nach meiner Überzeugung [beweist] sich Albrecht Dürer nirgends so frei, so geistreich, groß und schön [...] als in diesen gleichsam extemporierten Blättern’ [I am convinced there is no other work like these almost extemporised sheets in which Albrecht Dürer creates in an equally free, witty, great and beautiful manner].

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23 That this play on formal analogies is not just a coincidence can be proved on the basis of several other sheets. The Randzeichnung on fol. 7v is a further example, with Saint Barbara in the centre. On this sheet Dürer establishes the same game of formal analogies between two wisps of hair and a line, which is very conspicuously applied to a tendril embracing the Saint.

24 Reinisch 2013, 13.

25 Quoted according to Rühmann 1936, 136.
**Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen in relation to Herder’s Poetics of the Volkslied**

Having focused on the pictorial elements of the *Randzeichnungen* until now, it is hence necessary to turn to the text as the second branch of the intermedial investigation. The most initially striking feature of Goethe’s poems in the *Randzeichnungen* is their heterogeneity. The four folios incorporate works from several artistic periods with no clear preference. They originate evenly from between 1770 and 1813. In addition to this temporal diversity, the genre of the texts is peculiar. Although Neureuther’s opus is entitled *Balladen und Romanzen*, lots of other denominations such as *Lied* [song] or *Legende* [legend] can be found within the individual folios. Due to the historical openness of the expressions and their partially synonymous application, this is not a contradiction. Instead, it further reinforces the stylistic diversity of the texts. Given this broad poetic horizon, it would be inadequate to assess Herder’s impact upon Goethe on the basis of a single poem. A better approach would be to analyse two representative texts, marking the boundaries of the *Balladen und Romanzen* relative to the poetics of the *Volkslied* [popular song].

The first choice of text to explore this vast aesthetic area is the *Heidenröslein* [Heather Rose]. This poem was written following Goethe’s meeting with Herder in Strasbourg (September 1770 – April 1771) and in reaction to a voyage through the Upper Alsace (July/August 1770). It is orientated by a ‘kindischen Fabelliedchen’ [childisch fable-song] (this being Herder’s formulation) which the latter published in his treatise concerning *Ossian* two years later. Considering this biographical proximity, it is not surprising that the aesthetics of Goethe’s work is strongly inspired by the poetics of the *Volkslied*. This accounts for both the rhythmic organisation and the style of language. The *Heidenröslein* comprises three stanzas containing seven verses each. In every section, a...
refrain is formed by the two last lines which function as a pair. In addition, the second line of each stanza is the same (with a small exception in verse 16). This homogenous organisation, which Herder denotes as ‘musical’, is further emphasised by the metre and the structure of the rhyme. The former is characterised by a relatively free combination of alternating verses carrying either three or four accented syllables. Across the whole text, the latter stress structure slightly predominates. The end rhyme consists of a combination of embracing and pair structures (following an abaabxb pattern) and a Waise [thorn line] is used to stress the first verse of each refrain (verses 6, 13 and 20). These lines are further characterised by a threefold use of the word Röslein [small rose]. The structure of repetition which connects the stanzas is thus reflected on the level of the individual verses. Taken together, the overall macro- and microstructural shape of the Heidenröslein is clearly governed by Herder’s ideal of the Volkslied.

The same can be said of the linguistic organisation and general plot of the text. The language is generally simple and clear. The conversation between the two protagonists follows a strict scheme (‘Knabe sprach’ – ‘Röslein sprach’ [‘the boy spoke’ – ‘the small rose spoke’], verses 8 and 11). However, the uncertainty of the expression is notable. All the figures in the poem are archetypes (‘Knabe’, ‘Röslein’) accompanied by indefinite articles. While this maximises stylistic clarity, evoking great forcefulness, it is impossible to give a differentiated characterisation of the figures or to locate the plot within a precise historical context. In contrast, the aesthetic organisation indicates a situation which seems to be allegorical and hence released from the boundaries of time. This understanding becomes evident from the fact that the poem – staging a conversation between a boy and a girl – falls back upon the symbol of the rose. This linguistic shaping establishes a conjunction between an illustrative and explicit as well as an ideal and general dimension which is the core of the poetics of the popular song. By and large, the aesthetic shape of Goethe’s Heidenröslein appears to be strongly oriented towards Herder’s notion. In this way, it represents an example of all the texts within the Randzeichnungen, which are very close in form to the Volkslied.

To characterise the second type of work, which stands in opposition to the former in various ways, the poem Der Gott und die Bajadere [The God and the Bayadere] is examined. This text, subtitled Indische Legende [Indian Legend], was written in the so-called Balladenjahr [Year of the Ballad] (1797), and hence is about 25 years older than the Heidenröslein. In this context, it seems meaningful to determine the legend’s
proximity to Herder’s ideal via a juxtaposition with the text investigated in the first section of this essay.

Comparing the general arrangement, rhythmic shape and linguistic organisation of these two poems makes clear their differences. First, the mere length of Der Gott und die Bajadere makes it seem significantly more complex. While the Heidenröslein consists of three stanzas with seven verses each, this poem comprises nine standalone stanzas (i.e., not associated by structure of rhyme). Moreover, the general structure is far more sophisticated, since Goethe developed a unique stanza structure especially for this poem.31 Each section consists of eleven verses which again comprise two segments of eight and three lines respectively. In this sense, the text’s macrostructure is very clear; however, it makes it even more complicated to characterise the details. This augmented complexity is reflected in the shaping of the metre as well. While the Heidenröslein is marked by a comparatively free rhythmic organisation varying between three and four stressed syllables, Der Gott und die Bajadere exhibits a rather strict metric structure. The segments which incorporate eight verses consist of four stressed syllables expressed as trochees, while the parts with three verses also have four stressed syllables, but organised as dactyls. Thus the text appears highly sophisticated rather than simple and natural. However, the resoluteness of its rhythmic shape creates an immersive dynamic which – particularly in the case of recitation – is very similar to a mantra.

This latter observation already indicates that the aesthetic organisation of Der Gott und die Bajadere is not simply a dichotomy of the poetics of the Volkslied. Indeed, there are indications that Goethe did orientate himself using Herder’s model, at least with regard to some basic characteristics. In this context, the general subject has to be considered first, as Indian culture was strongly tied to concepts of originality among Goethe’s contemporaries. Goethe himself – in his essay Indische und chinesische Dichtung [Indian and Chinese Poetry] (1799) – emphasises the true ‘Naturell’ [natural temperament] of the Indians which shines through their ‘abstrusest[e] Philosophie’ [abstruse philosophy] and their ‘monstrosesten[sic] Religion’ [monstrous religion].32 At the same time, this characterisation hints at another feature of the poem which associates Der Gott und die Bajadere with Herder’s notion of the Volkslied. This text also tries to establish a tie between sensual concreteness and the ideal generality. Correspondingly, Goethe once again – as in the Heidenröslein – uses typological figures and avoids a

32 Quoted from GG, 1239.
detailed characterisation of the poem’s setting. Thus the action seems imbued with an aura of universal validity. In addition, the recourse to a mythological fable (‘a god tests a human whom he afterwards redeems’) immediately indicates that the events represented should be understood allegorically. In this context, the embellishment of the local scenery only plays a minor role within the text. While this is clear from the topographical ambiguity mentioned above, comparing the ballad with the mythological source on which Goethe based it reveals that the poem includes Christian motifs as well. The introductory verses, for example, rather obviously allude to the incarnation of Christ.33 By and large, it thus seems as if the Indian ‘colour’ of the ballad is just exotic trappings. The text itself discusses a general humanitarian perspective of salvation which takes human sensuality seriously.34 This sensual connection firmly situates Der Gott und die Bajadere within the succession of the Volkslied. The differences from Herder’s model described at the beginning of this chapter must therefore be augmented with crucial similarities.

However, the Indische Legende demonstrates a formal peculiarity which has not yet been discussed. There is a conspicuous discrepancy between the tercet of the last stanza and the earlier plot.35 In keeping with the scheme of a legend – as executed in the poem Legende [legend] contained in the first folio of the Randzeichnungen – the final verses of Der Gott und die Bajadere supply a sort of conclusion and interpretation to the preceding plot: ‘Es freut sich die Gottheit der reuigen Sünder, / Unsterbliche heben verlorene Kinder / Mit feurigen Armen zum Himmel empor’ [Divinity joys in a sinner repenting; / And the lost ones of earth, by immortals relenting, / Are wafted on pinions of fire to the sky].36 Yet, nowhere is the Bayadere depicted as repentant. In fact, her demeanour becomes more and more accusatory and demanding throughout the poem (especially from stanza seven). In addition, there is an obvious opposition between the universality of the conclusion, as claimed by the form of the plural and by the neutrality of the term which describes the deity, and the uniqueness of the previous storyline.37 How can this tension be interpreted?

This discrepancy between plot and conclusion is evidence of an aesthetic consciousness which critically reflects the artificiality of the purported natural form of representation. As the final tercet so to say bends the structure of the legend in relation to

33 GH, 292.
34 Ibid.
35 GG, 1240.
36 This translation follows: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Poems and Ballads, translated by W. Edmondstoune Aytoun & Theodore Martin (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and sons, 1859), 44.
37 Ibid.
the preceding plot, the poetic form becomes evident in its conventional character. In this offensive exposure of its own artificiality, Der Gott und die Bajadere stands in strong opposition to the Heidenröselin, which does not permit a similar reading. Thus the ballad of 1797 obviously breaks with the poetics of the Volkslied and Herder’s claim of an Einfältigung [simplification] of the German literature. A text which evidently marks itself as being part of an artistic tradition is only poorly compatible with the notion of a ‘natural’ work which organically arose among a collective of ‘simple’ humans.

This conclusion of course does not mean that the similarities to Herder’s conception described previously become obsolete. On the contrary, the poem’s perspective on the human condition is not undermined by the dimension of formal critique. In fact, the latter even emphasises the necessity of an allegorical reading of the ballad. Der Gott und die Bajadere hence appears as a complex, critical version of the Volkslied. Therefore this poem represents the second of the two poles between which the texts of the Randzeichnungen must be located. Based upon this characterisation of the poetic variability, it is now possible to proceed to an intermedial analysis using an example.
Between Naivety and Reflexivity – Intermedial Dimensions of Meaning in the *Erlkönig*

Having the previous explanation as a background it becomes clear that the *Erlkönig* [Erlking] (ill. 5) corresponds significantly with the *Volkslied* as theorised by Herder.\(^{38}\)

This is, for example, indicated by the dialogues, which in the stanzas three to seven follow a strict scheme of exchange (Erlking – child – father). In addition, the merely sketched background of the plot corresponds with Herder’s ideas. Although there are some ‘Nordic’ elements named in the text (willows, fog and of course the Erlking himself) – which thus definitively made it a ‘ballad’ in the contemporary understanding – neither the figures nor the historic or topographic setting are precisely characterised.\(^{39}\) This fundamental uncertainty of the plot is combined with a strongly rhythmic shaping of the text, which evokes a forceful atmosphere. Hence the aesthetics of the poem – loyal to the model of the *Volkslied* – shimmers between sensorial concreteness and ideal abstraction.

Despite this unambiguous characterisation, it is more difficult to explain precisely what subject is actually depicted through recourse to these forms. The basic tension of the Erlking is unquestionably created by the confrontation between a childish-mystical (i.e., animated and magical) and an adult-rational perception of nature. As a result, the point of the ballad can be found in the last stanza. The horror of the father (verse 29) indicates that he gradually begins to doubt his perception and interpretation of the child’s apprehension. While this verse limits the uncertainty to the perspective of a single figure, it is generalised by the actual death of the child (verse 32). The reader is thus left in uncertainty as the poem questions a rationalistic understanding of the world by confronting it with empirical facts. Yet, the text neither objectifies its fantastical content as the figure of the Erlking is strictly bound to the perspective of the child and hence does not reappear within the last stanza when only the neutral narrator speaks. All in all, the *Erlking* thus does not aim to illustrate an intersubjective truth, e.g. in the form of a moral aphorism, but to create an immersive representation of the bounds of human perception.\(^{40}\)

So how do the *Randzeichnungen* integrate text and image in this context? Neureuther’s illustration embraces the ballad – which is on the right of the sheet, slightly shifted from the central axis – from three sides. The image is designed as a coherent

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\(^{38}\) My reading of the *Erlkönig* is based on GG, 1022 ff as well as GH, 212–17. Reinisch dedicates two pages to the poem but does not exceed a superficial aesthetical characterisation. Reinisch 2013, 185 ff.

\(^{39}\) The ballad is understood to be ‘Nordic and gloomy’, while the romance is regarded as ‘southern and joyful’. Weißert 1993, 2 f. as well as Knörrich 1992, 193.

\(^{40}\) GH, 215 f.
pictorial space, which again consists of two single scenes. For the general location of the action, Neureuther choose a dense forest-scape. Although this has no basis in the ballad, it nevertheless matches the ‘Nordic’ flair of the text. In the upper part of the Randzeichnung, father and son are shown galloping above a sea of ferns and grass on a wooden bridge, neither of which can be found in the poem. The figures’ clothes are only designed on a very schematic level but seem to suggest a sort of rural simplicity. The Erlking – clearly identifiable by his crown – appears from a group of trees on the left, stretching out his comparatively gigantic left hand towards the boy, while the other performs a beckoning gesture. The lineament of this figure is notably much thinner than that of the father-son group. A pictorial equivalent is thus created to the ephemeral status of the Erlking within the ballad.41 The scene on the upper part of the sheet is easily associated with specific lines from the poem. The outstretched hand of the apparition, the face of the child distorted in fear with his mouth wide open and the galloping horse correspond to verses 25–29. In other words: the illustration takes up the peripeteia of the text. The bridge, added by Neureuther, underlines the transitional nature of the scene between rationality and phantasy, life and death.

It is remarkable that this moment, which can be very specifically related to the ballad, only occupies a third of the whole page. The remaining two-thirds illustrate an impenetrable undergrowth which extends almost to the bottom of the image. There, a small watercourse is placed on the left while a rather isolated Schreibmeisterschnörkel can be found on the right. The daughters of the Erlking are placed within the undergrowth, who Neureuther depicts as a ‘magic group of three’ (there is no number mentioned in the poem). These figures seem similar to sprites, wear wide robes and are adorned with necklaces. They are placed within the sea of ferns in a triangular composition. This arrangement is also characterised by an inner hierarchy, as the daughters above and on the right are orientated towards their sister, who plays the harp. This third sister occupies a key position in the whole composition, as she is the only figure who looks out from the image and whose wide open mouth attracts the attention of the observer. The ballad itself depicts no such ensemble, although the harp-playing daughter can be loosely associated with verse 20 (‘… und singen dich ein’ [and lullaby sing]).42 Hence it is all the more remarkable that they are granted so much space by Neureuther.

41 Reinisch 2013, 186.
42 This translation follows: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Selected Works, introduced by Nicholas Boyle (New York: Everyman’s Library, 2000) 1085. [Below as GEL.]
A further representation method must be noted. The lineament of the group of daughters does not correspond to the extremely thin, almost diaphanous line of the Erlking, but to that generally used within the illustration. Therefore, the three sisters appear – particularly due to their placement between the ferns – almost as organic entities or as individual plant species. The sprites seem to merge with their floral environment. This creates a tension between reality and unreality which is similar to the text’s exclusive connection between the Erlking and the perspective of the child. The effect is further strengthened by the fact that the daughter who occupies the space next to the poem is depicted as dissolving. Her gesture is similarly remarkable, seeming to refer to the ballad and connecting – combined with the movement of her head towards her sister on the left – the play of the harp and the text. The image thus refers to the supposed organic growth of the Erlkönig ballad and its almost mystical genesis from ‘the spirit of nature’.

It is remarkable that not only the actual Randzeichnung but the text itself seems to dissolve. Neureuther connects various Schreibmeisterschnörkel with the title of the ballad and several verses, which in each case match the typographical cut. These either consist of lines which flow parallel to the text or of loops which wind themselves around numerous rows. This depiction transfers the ambiguity surrounding the ontological status of some figures in the ballad to the poem itself. In other words, the ballad – like the mythical figures of the illustration – almost appears as a momentary accident which only gains reality within the gaze of the observer. At first sight this impression may seem arbitrary, based solely on a mood evoked by reading the Erlkönig. However, it is supported by reference to the Schreibmeisterschnörkel in the lower right corner of the image. First, this is unique, as it is the only scroll used within the Randzeichnung. Second, the scroll is placed in a focal point, marking either the beginning or the end of the contemplation. Due to the fact that the text is embraced by the image on three sides a circular dynamic of reading is established. Thus the Schreibmeisterschnörkel acts as a hinge between text, image and beholder, regardless of whether the illustration or the ballad is contemplated first. Neureuther therefore uses the line – similar to Dürer’s approach in the prayer book – as a self-reflexive form, demonstrating both its representational and signifying potential.

How can these observations be related to the previous analysis of the poem? When characterising the content of the Erlkönig, it was shown that the main subject of the ballad

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43 Reinisch 2013, 186.
is the boundaries of human perception. This is depicted via the conflict between naïve sensuality (embodied by the child) and critical rationality (embodied by the father), which goes unresolved in the text. Neither method of perception is generalised: both are given equal prominence. Neureuther responds to this tension by representing the fantastic figures either as diaphanous (the Erlking) or embedding them like sprites in their immediate environment (the three daughters).

By visually relating text and image with the help of the Schreibmeisterschnörkel, the Randzeichnung broadens the semantic horizon of the ballad. It becomes a reflection on the suggestive and illusory character of the artistic form itself. Thus the poem itself is cast in a new light. The dimension of formal reflexivity, which in this case is exclusively established by the image, becomes binding for the text as well. So, the Erlkönig gains a poetological dimension. In its presentation of different methods of perception, it seems to discuss the conflict between the ‘ naïve ’ form of the Volkslied and the sentimentalische ['sentimental', in Schiller’s understanding of the word] age. Adapting the words of Goethe himself in his review of the Wunderhorn, it could be said that the ballad depicts the dialectics of nature and art.

Consequently, the integration of text and image does not consist solely of creating a context of formal reflexivity for the ballad. In fact, it is remarkable how the sheet is dominated by the illustration. This impression is based, for one thing, on the spatial relation between the poem and the Randzeichnung and the contrast between the lineament and the comparatively thin typographical cut. For another, the Erlkönig illustration has a wealth of naturalistic details, which is typical for Neureuther. Just like the other Randzeichnungen, this one shows a wide range of plants which are combined within a small space yet are clearly separated by their contours. Theoretically, they all could be subject to a botanical examination. Thus the beholder is invited to literally explore the illustration, to contemplate the pictorial detail. In this way the intellectual dimensions of the Erlkönig sheet are embedded within a visual space, appealing equally to the reader’s and viewer’s aesthetic sensitivities. In his Randzeichnungen, Neureuther combines abstraction and naturalism. In doing so he on the one hand follows the aesthetics of the Volkslied. On the other he does justice to the fascination which these texts still radiate, even when the reader is aware of the constructive character of their naivety. Each time reading the Erlkönig, one is shaken by the final death of the son.

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44 This characterisation of Neureuther’s aesthetics is academic consensus. It was probably first given by Busch 1985, 57.
In his *Randzeichnungen*, Neureuther develops a method of representation which for one thing is closely governed by the historico-cultural foundation of the texts and their aesthetic characteristics. He tries to do justice to the occasionally contradictory relationship between Goethe’s poems and Herder’s *Volkslied* ideal. Specifically, this means that the illustrations aim for close links to the texts in terms of both their content and their fluctuation between abstraction and concreteness, trying to match the dual aesthetics of the popular song. For another, the function of this method of depiction, which is typical for Neureuther, is multifaceted. Especially in combination with the *Schreibmeisterschnörkel* – applied more broadly than by Dürer – the representation develops a dimension of formal reflexivity. In this way both text and image appear in their signifier status. However, this close link to the poems does not mean the illustrations are subordinated. The example of the *Erlkönig* shows how the *Randzeichnungen* can acquire a dominant position on an individual sheet. This aesthetic hierarchy also influences the reception of the ballad. In combination with the images the poem gains a poetological dimension, one which is not available through the text alone.

Overall, the ballad governs the content of the representation while the reception of said content is controlled by the image. The conspicuous dominance of the visual means that beholding the sheet does not end with a critical analysis of the representation of the two media. Instead, the integration of text and image justifies the *Volkslied* as an object of fascination, repeatedly beguiling the beholder, even if they have already seen through the constructed nature of the poem and illustration’s naivety. In this way, each beholding and reading inevitably reaches the turning point between reflection and immersion which Goethe depicts in verse 29 of the *Erlkönig*: ‘*Dem Vater grauset’s, er reitet geschwind* [Now struck with horror the father rides fast]’.

**On the Threshold of the Romanticisation of the Modern Conscience**

In a letter reacting to the successful receipt of the first sketches for the *Randzeichnungen*, Goethe encourages Neureuther to continue on his chosen artistic path. At the same time, he provides a characterisation of the relationship between text and image:

45 This translation follows: GEL 1085.
Mehr aber noch bitt’ ich: fahren Sie in diesen unerschöpflichen Mannichfaltigkeiten fort mit dem Dichter zu wetteifern, seine Absichten zu begünstigen und ihn durch eine so treue Theilnahme zu erfreuen und zu belohnen.

[Above all, I implore you to continue competing so creatively with the poet, favouring his intentions as well as pleasing and honouring him with your devotion.]\textsuperscript{46}

This appraisal broadly corresponds with the conclusion drawn in the previous section. Goethe very clearly recognises that Neureuther’s illustrations are closely aligned with the texts in terms of their form and content. However, he also emphasises that the Randzeichnungen display strong aesthetic independence, leading to competition between poem and image. This contention between the two media is worth highlighting once more, since it reveals an exemplary character which befits the position of the Randzeichnungen \textit{zu Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen} within the history of the relationship between text and image. Neureuther’s oeuvre is one of several milestones which can be used to illustrate the gradual pictorial emancipation of the textual paradigm. In this regard, the Randzeichnungen situate themselves in the succession of Lessing’s \textit{Laokoon oder Über die Grenzen der Mahlerey und Poesie} (1766) [Laocoon or On the Limits of Painting and Poetry]. They follow the postulate of the essential difference and principal equality between the two art forms, which – contrary to the tradition of \textit{ut pictura poesis} – are developed in this paper.\textsuperscript{47}

Undoubtedly, there are historic works of art in general and illustration in particular which even more fully emancipated themselves from the paradigm of the text. The most popular examples are unquestionably Runge’s illustrations for Tieck’s \textit{Minnelieder aus dem Schwäbischen Zeitalter} (1803) [Minne-Songs from the Swabian Age] and his sketches for Brentano’s novel (which remained a fragment) \textit{Romanzen vom Rosenkranz} (ca. 1810) [Romances of the Rosary].\textsuperscript{48} Compared to these illustrations, which for the most part can only be tied to the text via major interpretive effort, Neureuther’s creations may appear rather conventional. However, the Randzeichnungen represent the gradual disbanding of a classicist notion of art within the academic realm itself.\textsuperscript{49} To

\textsuperscript{46} GBW, 196.
\textsuperscript{47} Willems 1989, 132 and 203–15.
\textsuperscript{48} VdW, 116.
contemporaries, Neureuther’s *Randzeichnungen* belonged to the arabesque genre (in one way or another). In a traditional academic conception, they would only be allowed to fulfil an ornamental function. However, the illustrations evidently break with this restriction as their aesthetics is neither limited to the stimulation of a general *plaisir visuel* nor to the visual generalisation of the plot of the text. As the investigation of the *Erlkönig* sheet has made evident, the image clearly intends to draft a semantic horizon which is independent of the literal surface but still fundamental to the comprehension of the poem.

Neureuther’s *Randzeichnungen* are in another way symptomatic of the gradually rising tensions between Classical ideals and positions with a transcendental, that is to say romantic, foundation. While Peter Cornelius’s frescos address the tension between historically dependent aesthetics and the depiction of timeless notions within the grand format, the illustrations of his pupil present small-scale variations on this theme. In this way the *Randzeichnungen* correspond to the works of the director of the Munich academy and their Nazarene background. As the beholder is constantly required to change his attitude of reception due to the integration of text and image, the interplay between naturalness and artificiality is the aesthetic core of the *Randzeichnungen zu Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen*. In this respect, Neureuther’s illustrations have to be perceived as an oeuvre based on a *sentimentalische* worldview. Their artistic concept, as developed among the four folios, responds to the longing for renewed simplicity which is at the heart of *Volkslied* poetics by pointing out that naivety itself is a Modernist concept. Hence it can only be achieved via an interplay with reflexivity. In this respect, the experience of timelessness in an ‘entzweiten Jahrhundert’ [divided century] is only possible within the enjoyment of art. Emphasising the infinite interplay between identity and alterity of life and art, the *Randzeichnungen zu Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen* appear at the same time as an oeuvre of genuine romantic irony. Displaying this dialectics, Neureuther’s illustrations find themselves on the threshold between the romantic period and the fundamental romanticisation of the modern conscience.

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50 Ibid. 353.
52 This expression alludes to Werner Hofmann’s *Das entzweite Jahrhundert. Kunst zwischen 1750 und 1830*. Cf. as well Busch’s explanations for the ‘crises of art in the modern age’ in Busch 1985, 13–49 and Busch 1993, 9.
Illustrations

Illustration 1 [Eugen Neureuther, *Randzeichnungen zu Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen* – title page first folder, 1829. Lithography, Thuringian State and University Library (Jena).]
Illustration 2 [Philipp Otto Runge, *The Evening*, 1805. Engraving and copperplate print, 72 x 48 cm, Freies Deutsches Hochstift & Goethe Museum (Francfort).]  

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www.goethehaus-frankfurt.de
Illustration 3 [Munich part of the prayer book for Maximilian I., fol. 6v, 1514. Randzeichnung in coloured ink, Bavarian State Library (Munich).]
Illustration 4 [Munich part of the prayer book for Maximilian I., fol. 9r, 1514. Randzeichnung in coloured ink, Bavarian State Library (Munich).]
Illustration 5 [Eugen Neureuther, Randzeichnungen zu Goethe’s Balladen und Romanzen – The Erlking, 1829. Lithography, Thuringian State and University Library (Jena).]
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