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As music reviewer for The Nation *in 1934, Kenneth Burke attended the New York premiere of Paul Hindemith's* Mathis der Maler, *a symphony that Burke felt had the dangerous potential to merge Nazi ideology with other dissenting German voices. Through this review and his introduction of the theoretical term "identification" in* Attitudes Toward History, *Burke joins a growing body of sonic rhetorics scholarship that investigates the semiotics of sound. Burke's attention to* sonic identifications *reveals the fragile nature of sound, meaning, and division.*

"'Pure' art tends to promote a state of acceptance."
—"The Nature of Art Under Capitalism," Burke 320

"There is no 'no' in music."
—*Attitudes Toward History*, Burke 22

In the fall of 1934 after attending the New York debut of Paul Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler* symphony, Kenneth Burke marveled at the work's ability to compel Germans to identify with Hitler.[1] Hindemith, who was a member of the Nazi music organization the *Reichsmusikkammer*, appeared to integrate musical forms that joined conflicting German ideologies such as those held by Nazis and German pastors. While Hindemith's musical composition does not intentionally advocate Nazism, Burke's review identifies elements in the work that would appeal to Germans and Nazis alike, uniting religious pacifists and war-crazed radicals in Germany through their identification with musical form.[2] In this way Burke witnessed how Hindemith's symphony could serve as a symbolic bridge that merged diverse attitudes under one representative symphony, and was troubled by the way in which the symphony merged these attitudes under the ideology of Nazism. Burke's review of Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler* serves as a concrete example of his distrust of *sonic identifications* that are capable of dangerously eliding necessary ideological divisions in a fascist state. The term "identification," which is often thought of as a positive move or resolution toward unity in rhetorical studies, takes on a negative connotation from the outset of Burke's 1937 definition in *Attitudes Toward History* as he attempts to reconcile the "normal tendency of the Germans, for instance, to identify themselves with Hitler" (263). In the context of the rise of Nazi Germany, Burke's initial definition of the term implies that identification is at times a problematic state from which to move away.

However, scholars have traditionally emphasized Burke's theory of identification as a process or negotiation *toward* identification and *away* from division. For instance, in *Civic Jazz* Gregory Clark describes this process of change as "the next step . . . of finding for oneself a fit in a shared situation" (18). Clark's project uses Burkean identification to illuminate how jazz music can bind people together in the art of getting along and, as a result, identification becomes the ideal goal. Perhaps most notably, Burke's own 1950 definition of the term in *A Rhetoric of Motives* emphasizes unity, claiming "you persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his" (55). Following World War II after disastrous identifications had been resolved, Burke claims, "Identification is affirmed with earnestness precisely because there is division. Identification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity" (22). In a time of unity and peace, Burke's positive definition of identification in *A Rhetoric of Motives* was influenced by the need to bring the country and the world together. Though scholars such as John Belk have continued to emphasize identification as an "unending process that must be constantly maintained through negotiation," few have focused on the negotiation away from identification and toward preserving needed divisions (365). While sound may do the rhetorical work of unification, as in the case of Hindemith's symphony, the rhetorical work of division is much more difficult to navigate through sonic symbols.

This essay, then, aims to understand Burke's more balanced approach between advocating what I will call *sonic identification* while also preserving division through a close analysis of his encounter with the 1934 German music scene.[3] I argue for the term *sonic identification* to both intentionally bring together Burkean studies with the field of sonic rhetorics and to draw attention to the precarious relationship between sound, meaning, and division within music and other sonic symbols.[4] In paying attention to the role of music in Burke's theory of identification, we also see Burke as an early contributor to sonic rhetorics—a field that attempts to understand the semiotic dimensions of sound (Gunn et al. 476). Burke, like other contemporary sonic rhetorics scholars, also made "the case for sound as a significant rhetorical resource," yet focused more directly on the psychology of the audience when examining the semiotics of sound (Comstock and Hocks 166). In an earlier 1925 *Dial* article titled "Psychology and Form," Burke problematizes the relationship between artistic expression and meaning through attention to the psychology of an audience. For Burke, an audience interprets language and artistic expression through both the psychology of information and the psychology of form. Thus audience attention is at times divided between the informational nature and the formal nature of a sonic symbol. Within the article Burke makes this proposition: "The hypertrophy of the psychology of information is accompanied by the corresponding atrophy of the psychology of form" (37). That is, when audiences focus primarily on the informational meaning of a sonic symbol, they shift attention away from formal appeals and vice versa. Burke's *The Nation* review of Hindemith reveals a critic working to shift an audience's *sonic identification* away from the formal appeals of a symbol and toward the informational meanings residing in the symphony.

During the rise of Nazi Germany in 1934, Burke closely engaged with leftist American and Nazi German music through his role as the music critic for *The Nation*, and his *Attitudes Toward History* definition of identification reveals a side of Burke's theory that values the preservation of division in sonic symbols. As a result of my investigation of Burke's connection with these two music scenes, I will offer a Burkean theory of identification that more fully accommodates sonic symbols such as music. After discussing Burke's involvement with the early 1930s American music, I will examine his participation in the music scene of pre-war Nazi Germany before

returning to his *Attitudes Toward History* definition of identification. Taken together, my analysis of these two music scenes will demonstrate the creative tension between the advantages and perils of *sonic identifications* in music.

Burke and the Composers' Collective

As early as 1931, when Burke was considering a shift from literary criticism to openly advocating socialism, many leftist artists were arguing for the development of a proletarian culture through literature, painting, music, and other forms of art. During this transition into socialist criticism, Burke witnessed writers and artists attempting to create identification between a working class audience and socialist ideals well before he developed the term identification in *Attitudes Toward History*.[5] In particular while serving as music reviewer for *The Nation*, Burke was attuned to the ways musicians used identification as a rhetorical strategy in the social debate of the early 1930s. Burke reviewed several prominent American musicians such as Roy Harris, Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, and Hans Eisler who joined in the socialist effort by actively creating proletarian songs that were, according to historian Robbie Lieberman, "by, for, and about the working class" (35). While affiliated with the Communist Party's music wing called the Composers' Collective, these musicians strived, according to musicologist David K. Dunaway, to "create a new music, simultaneously revolutionary in content and form, which would inspire class struggle and uplift the musical tastes of American workers" (159–60). In other words, the group pursued two sometimes-conflicting goals: (1) to create music by, for, and about the working class and (2) to elevate the musical tastes of the working class.

In the span of two *The Nation* reviews, Burke affirmed *sonic identification* between an American audience and a socialistic ideology while elevating the role of the critic for negotiating the identification/division pair. First, in his 1934 review of Roy Harris's "A Song for Occupations"—a fifteen-minute eight-part a cappella chorus of mixed voices set to words of Walt Whitman's poem of the same name—Burke suggests that Harris's combination of "tonal and ideological symbolism" provides "a more wholesome cultural solution for the issues of the day by musically accentuating the tonalities and rhythms of Whitman's ecstatically conversational prose, the record of men busied with their tasks" ("Music: A Most Useful Composition" 719). In this instance, Burke is in favor of sonic identifications in part because the music is anchored to lyrics that stress "the constructive, non-competitive, *communicative* aspect of work". Harris uses Whitman's lyrics from the poem "A Song for Occupations" to provide an overt identity appeal to the working class through words that name occupations:

> House-building, measuring, sawing the boards,
> Blacksmithing, glass-blowing, nail-making, coopering, tin-roofing, shingle-dressing,
> Ship-joining, dock-building, fish-curing, the flagging of sidewalks by flaggers. (176)

Though for Burke the tonal appeals serve a secondary role in creating identification with a working class audience, the combination of words with sound allows the audience to negotiate the identifications and divisions in the work.

In another review for *The Nation*, Burke publicly engaged with the Composers' Collective through an account of a December 1935 concert and symposium of four speakers titled "Music in the Crisis," which included Collective-affiliated composers Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, and Hans Eisler.[6] Throughout the review titled "A Bright Evening, with Musicians" Burke primarily

reported on each speaker's position in addressing the economic and socio-political crisis during the Great Depression without offering much in the way of analysis. He reported on Eisler's claim that "music itself must help in removing the crisis" (qtd. in "A Bright Evening" 27). Similarly, he examined Copland's claim for a closer connection between music and society, which argued for new music "that is somehow an expression of the times". Though Burke appears to acknowledge the challenge of Copland's aim to uplift the musical tastes of the working class, he largely avoids adding his own perspective in this review with the exception of his criticism of Oscar Thompson's speech. Thompson, the second speaker of the symposium and music critic for *The New York Times*, argued the critic must not represent "some group, some clique, some movement." Burke characterizes Thompson as "impartial, aloof, and Olympian," suggesting his own view that the music critic should also be involved in advancing ideology.

Burke viewed the critic's role, as evidenced in his comments about Thompson, as a way to reveal the divisions inherent in ideologies forwarded through *sonic identification*. As the opening epigraph to my article suggests, music often presents a problem for preserving divisions because of its tendency to "promote a state of acceptance," but the critic can draw attention to the informational meanings within a sonic symbol (320). At times the music critic must negotiate away from identification, while in other moments the musical propagandist might include lyrics to more cohesively integrate verbal meanings in coordination with sound. However, not all critics or artists in 1934 wanted to make apparent the divisions in a musical work as evidenced in the German music scene.

German Music and Nazi Critics

While Burkean scholars are relatively familiar with Burke's criticism of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in his 1939 essay "The Rhetoric of Hitler's 'Battle,'" few have explored the implications of the rise of Nazism on his rhetorical theory during the mid 1930s, particularly in *Attitudes Toward History* published in 1937.[7] Burke's early engagement with the Nazi German music scene reveals a music critic deeply troubled by the way *sonic identification* merged problematic ideologies while concealing divisions. In the summer of 1934, Burke was actively aware of the German music and political scene as a result of his close study and translation of works by German writer Thomas Mann, his study of German music critics, and his review of Paul Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler* symphony. These encounters led Burke to consider a more balanced approach between advocating *sonic identification* while preserving division as well.

According to George and Selzer, Burke was beginning to conceive of ideas for *Permanence and Change* as Hitler rose to power in early 1933, yet events in Germany did not appear to directly influence Burke's ideas about what changes and what remains the same over time. Burke submitted a draft of *Permanence and Change* in May 1934, over a year after Adolf Hitler was installed as the chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933.[8] With the burning of the Reichstag building in Berlin one month later, Hitler assumed dictatorial power over Germany.[9] Even as many artists and writers fled Germany at this time to avoid persecution by the Third Reich, Burke struggled to take stock of the spread of fascism in Europe, avoiding any reference to fascist events abroad in *Permanence and Change*.[10] By May 1933, book burnings in Germany had become a regular occurrence, with works by authors Burke translated such as Thomas Mann, Emil Ludwig, and Stefan Zweig thrown into the burning piles.[11] Eventually, Burke joined a protest at the German consulate in New York in October 1933 to contest the trial of communists blamed in the burning of the Reichstag building. While these events were not addressed as a part of Burke's critical theory in *Permanence and Change*, Burke shifts his focus to the political situation in Europe as he contemplates ideas for *Attitudes Toward History*.

In the summer of 1934, following his submission of the *Permanence and Change* manuscript to Harcourt Brace, Burke turned his attention more directly toward fascist Germany. At this particular moment in June 1934, as Burke began to conceive of ideas for *Attitudes Toward History*, Hitler escalated the activities of his fascist regime, meeting with Mussolini for the first time and arresting or exiling hundreds of so called "plotters" against him soon after. While Burke's participation in German politics was limited by geography and foreign language, he pondered the problem of *sonic identifications* through examining works by Thomas Mann, German music critics, and Paul Hindemith.

Burke had already become quite familiar with Thomas Mann, reviewing and translating many of his works for the *New Republic* and *The Dial* before Mann came into conflict with the Nazi regime in 1933. Mann was not only a highly accomplished and widely praised German novelist but also a respected critic and champion of German music. On the fiftieth anniversary of Richard Wagner's death in February 1933 and, coincidentally, one month after Hitler's rise to power, Thomas Mann took the stage at the University of Munich to deliver a speech titled "The Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner." Though, according to Mann scholar Hans Rudolf Vaget, Mann had protested "the misappropriation of Wagner by the Nazis and their sympathizers" (163) as early as 1925, this 1933 speech "provided a subtle and critical analysis of Wagner and his work, obliquely attacking the Nazi view of Wagner as a prophet of German nationalism and indeed of National Socialism," as argued by James Joll. Mann's expansive speech, according to Joll, is often considered by contemporary musicologists to be one of the "best things written about Wagner." Following this event, Mann traveled to Amsterdam, Brussels, and Paris to deliver the same speech while a group of enemies used the opportunity to oppose Mann's critique in "Protest from Richard Wagner's Own City of Munich," published in the magazine *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* in April 16, 1933.[12] Fearing for his own safety, Mann never returned to Germany, moving to Switzerland and later to America.

Burke witnessed Mann's problems within the political and music scenes in 1933 Germany, which were indicative of the larger problem of identity crisis involving Germans and their music. In *Music & German National Identity*, Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter claim German identity was intimately tied to music during this time. Mann's own words from his book *Im Schatten Wagners* reveal his claim that music is central to the German identity, that music is "Germany's national art" more than any other art and that "more than literature and politics, it has the power to bind and unite" (63). Since German musicians and audiences privileged instrumental music above vocal music, the appeal of German music appeared to be universal, crossing language barriers to unite diverse cultures. German philosophers from Nietzsche to Adorno believed that, prior to the rise of Nazism, German music would unite rather than divide. Similarly, according to Vaget, Mann remained uncritical of what many Germans took for granted: "[T]hat great music produced by German composers was universal; that German music spoke to all the world ('*diesen Kuß der ganzen Welt*') and was appreciated by everyone" (173). However, facing political exile and the rise of the Nazi party, "Mann now considered it his responsibility to caution against the cult of music and warn against its political exploitation" (Vaget 162). As Burke witnessed Mann's situation, he watched as German music united a diverse group of Germans while failing to preserve important divisions, which he would later attempt to reconcile in his review of *Mathis der Maler* and later in *Attitudes Toward History*.

As further evidence of Burke's deep engagement with the 1934 German music scene, Burke praised Mann's exile as an "honor" in his January 1934 review of Mann's *Past Masters and Other Papers* for the *New Republic*. Here, Burke claimed that Mann eloquently "warns the Nazis that they are choosing the way of darkness," while simultaneously identifying with the "cult of darkness"

surrounding the Nazi attitude (452). Burke admired Mann's duality in these essays, which resembled his own praise of and resistance to the Communist party. However, in July 1934, Burke began rejecting this duality. For Burke this was a turning point in which he valued division over identification. In other words, he recognized in Mann's situation a need to oppose the unifying forces of fascism, and preserve divisions necessary to oppose the Nazi regime. After he reviewed Mann's novel *Joseph and His Brothers* for the *New Republic* and was equipped with a greater understanding of the Nazi and fascist threat, Burke urged Thomas Mann to oppose Hitler more directly through a petition (George and Selzer 215).[13] Though Burke never publicly discussed Mann's speech "The Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner," his urging of Mann to oppose Hitler as well as his review of *Past Masters* reveals his close engagement with Mann's anti-Nazi criticism.

In addition to his awareness of Thomas Mann, Burke also encountered the 1934 German music scene through reading German music criticism. Though Burke may have only encountered German critics while researching his music review of the *Mathis der Maler* symphony, he disagrees with an unnamed critic in his Hindemith review. At the beginning of his October 6, 1934 review for *The Nation* titled "Hindemith Does His Part," Burke claims to have read a German music critic who "was imbued with the typical Nazi attitude, the notion that there is some fundamental psychological conversion and purification involved in the acceptance of Hitler's state" (487). As Nazi music critics started turning on Hindemith in the musical presses in early 1934, Burke was engaged with Nazi music criticism that highly suspected Hindemith, a reluctant member of the Nazi music organization *Reichsmusikkammer*, of national treason. Burke claims in his Hindemith review that the article—most likely "*Hindemith eine kulturpolitische Betrechtung*" by Friedich Welter—"publicly questions Hindemith's ability to quickly remake himself in accordance with the 'new' pattern" (487).[14] On the contrary, Burke argues that Hindemith successfully conveys the Nazi attitude in *Mathis der Maler* by merging disparate attitudes through music.

The New York Premiere of *Mathis der Maler*

This section will first introduce Hindemith's New York premiere before turning to Burke's *The Nation* review. On October 6, 1934, Burke attended the U.S. premiere of Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler* symphony performed by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra.[15] As a German composer in pre-war Nazi Germany, Hindemith was contemplating the political uses and reception of his work, and Burke was particularly attuned to the ideological themes in the symphony. Though contrary to Hindemith's intention, Burke's interpretation of the musical forms within the *Mathis der Maler* symphony suggested the symphony united diverse German attitudes by integrating both ancient and modern musical practices. Through this symphony, Burke observed the unifying power of *sonic identification*, by bridging Nazi extremists and anti-war German pastors, and became concerned by the implications of a united fascist Germany.

In his review of the same performance for *The New York Times*, Olin Downes recognizes Hindemith's attempt in this work to integrate the classical Austro-German musical forms of his previous compositions with modern forms, claiming: "[T]his music is a curious compound of the style of the younger and the older Hindemith" (28). Downes claims the musical forms in the work are "nearer that of the 'sinfonia' or, in some details, the 'concerto grosso' of the eighteenth century" (28). In reviving the Austro-German symphonic tradition, Hindemith's work, according to musicologist Giselher Schubert, even imitates "traditional structures" such as "Gregorian chant" and "sonata form" while integrating forms popular in the early twentieth century. The success of the symphony led to further scrutiny of Hindemith's political beliefs since he was already under the suspicion of Nazi officials.[16]

In addition to the musical forms, Hindemith's work also integrates religious themes through "tonal symbols, associated with thoughts of the paintings" (Downes 28). Hindemith's twentieth-century symphony is inspired by three archaic fourteenth-century triptych paintings by Matthias Grunewald for the Monastery of St. Anthony's Isenheim Altar at Colmar, Alsace. The three movements of the work represent the three main themes from the triptych: An Angelic Concert, the Entombment, and a Hallelujah Hymn. In the program notes Burke held in his hand while listening to the 1934 performance, musicologist Lawrence Gilman claimed, "the dynamic curse descends from the festive and happy Angelic Concert of the beginning to the quiet elegy of the Entombment, and then proceeds, after the music of the Saint's ordeal, to the concluding Hallelujah Hymn of the final visionary exaltation" (8). In Burke's interpretation of Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler*, these tonal images of paintings as well as the musical forms appeared to convey an integrative work that merged German, archaic, devotional, and militaristic ideologies under Nazism.

Sonic Identification in Burke's *The Nation* Review

Burke's participation in the 1934 German music scene culminates in his *The Nation* review of Paul Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler*, which reveals Burke's resistance to *sonic identifications* in the face of fascism. The review points to Burke's early development of identification as a tool for bridging conflicting attitudes *without* resolving conflict or addressing needed divisions in sonic symbols. Burke claims that Hindemith's work integrates four differing attitudes that conceal and reveal the underlying Nazi ideology of the work, combining musical symbols that appeal to Nazism and pre-Nazi Germany. Burke concludes that the work "seems fully to sum up the requirements of the German psyche at the moment" because its musical symbolism integrates four key attitudes in the Nazi frame of acceptance: German, archaic, devotional, and militaristic (488). According to Burke, each of the represented attitudes within the work merge or bridge conflicting identities in pre-war Nazi Germany. For instance, Burke claims Hitler's Nazi identity was in conflict with the religious identity of German pastors. By employing Gregorian chant in the first movement, which is commonly associated with a devotional attitude *shared* by Nazis and pastors, Hindemith subtly merges religious attitudes with Nazi attitudes.

Burke contends that Hindemith's work effectively creates what I term *sonic identification* between a wide variety of German values, coordinating these values under Nazism. Hindemith repeated, reiterated, or reinvented classical and romantic musical forms in the *Mathis der Maler* symphony to pay homage to his Austro-German musical heritage. Burke claims that Hindemith successfully retains his "archaistic mannerisms . . . without the earlier effrontery" of his previous works, and *Mathis der Maler* can be more fully identified with "the period of German decadence preceding the Hitlerite 'sanitation'" (488, 487). Nazi German music critics, such as the one cited at the beginning of Burke's review, believed that Hindemith needed to undergo a psychological conversion and purification to accept Hitler's state. This conversion might require Hindemith to abandon his Austro-German musical heritage by avoiding the archaic German musical forms and inventing new Nazi musical forms. However, Burke asserts that Hindemith's integration of pre-Nazi German musical forms (German and archaic) with forms that advocated the current Nazi ideology (devotional and militaristic) represented a much more "devious" symbolism because audiences with differing ideologies merge without resolving important conflicting ideas. Burke claims that Hindemith's incorporation of these four musical forms into one symbolic synthesis allows him to "integrate a political attitude which requires disintegration" (488). In other words, Hindemith's work uses musical symbols to obscure important differences that should be acknowledged by a

polarized German audience instead of uniting those ideological differences under one work of art. In the end, Burke claims that all good art should have a coordinating capacity, but that Hindemith's work dangerously coordinates values shared by Nazi supporters and detractors while concealing the economic and racial divisions that were the epitome of Nazi ideology.

In addition to the two attitudes Hindemith's work already exhibits—German and archaic—Burke claims that *Mathis der Maler* also integrates two attitudes not typically found in a Hindemith composition: devotional and militaristic. According to Burke, the *Mathis der Maler* symphony exhibits a devotional attitude through the hymn qualities of the first movement, which is based on Grunewald's "Concert of Angels" painting. Hindemith "is prompt to draw upon the hymnal for its obviously associational effects," though Burke concedes that other Hindemith adherents might disagree (488). For Burke, Hindemith's use of the hymn form creates a "fusion of religious and nationalistic attitudes," effectively creating identification between two ideologies that Hitler struggled to bring together. Furthermore, Burke declares that Hindemith establishes a militaristic attitude through the third and final movement, which is based upon the "Temptation of Saint Anthony." While the thematic focus of the music is on the religious conflict between good and evil in the painting, Burke claims the movement has been reimagined "in secular music-drama: the battlefield of tonal conflicts above which some favored theme of the composer eventually proclaims itself victorious". At the end of the movement, Hindemith's preferred musical theme, a final devotional hallelujah "blared by the brasses," triumphs over the other conflicting tonalities. While this militaristic element may have been present as a result of Hindemith's experience as a bass drum player for the German regimental band during WWI, Burke's interpretation points out the possible uses for Nazi propaganda. As the Nazis beat the drum to war, Burke viewed Hindemith's piece as a representation of their militaristic attitude, which was on display only weeks before Burke attended the concert with Hitler's violation of the treaty of Versailles.

Burke's review reveals a second term that emerges when he uses *identification* to theorize sonic symbols: *integration*. That is, music *integrates* a variety of musical forms and the many disparate experiences of the audience into one symbolic synthesis, while erasing any reference to prior divisions. When discussing "frames of acceptance" in the opening chapter of *Attitudes Toward History*, Burke concedes, "there is no 'no' in music" (22). In other words, sonic symbols lack the linguistic material of "the negative." Burke would elaborate on "the negative" in his 1966 "Definition of Man" essay in *Language as Symbolic Action*, claiming "the quickest way to demonstrate the sheer symbolicity of the negative is to look at any object, say, a table, and to remind yourself that, though it is exactly what it is, you could go on for the rest of your life saying all the things that it is not" (9). For Burke, this puts "the symbolist of change at [a] tactical disadvantage" because *sonic identification* merges divisions and distinctions that are largely present exclusively within words (22). Without linguistic symbols, Burke suggests that pure art and instrumental music lack a "negative" and the ability to create division. Therefore, music and other so-called "pure" art forms tend to rely on other less ambiguous symbol systems such as words to create division. Following his encounter with the German music scene, Burke's review of Roy Harris's "A Song for Occupations" advocates for the combination of words with sound, which should not be misunderstood as intolerance for ambiguity. Instead, Burke's review of Hindemith suggests that in certain revolutionary situations, artists and critics should rely more fully on words to create the identification/division pair in sonic symbols. Thus, in these special revolutionary occasions, words limit ambiguity and communicate more specifically as an accompaniment to music.

While Burke praises the rhetorical function of *integration* within sonic symbols, he is also wary of the ideology which *integration* is used to support. The four attitudes exhibited in Hindemith's work—

German, archaic, devotional, and militaristic—represented conflicting attitudes within Nazi Germany at the time, but Burke claims that Hindemith's work effectively integrates these four attitudes into a cohesive and coordinated whole. Burke resists this *sonic identification* as a critic, claiming that within a fascist state, "where there is need of revolution, it is not until the revolution has occurred that the integrative function of art can fully operate without tending to obscure issues and alignments that should be sharpened" (488). Rather than reveal the distinctions in diverse attitudes within pre-war Nazi Germany, Burke claims that Hindemith's instrumental work unites these attitudes by concealing their important differences. As the final movement of the piece enacts the militaristic war between tonalities, all four attitudes are united in the triumph of the brass finale, silencing the German, archaic, and devotional attitudes in favor of the victorious military state.

Toward a Rhetoric of *Sonic Identification*

In this article, I have argued for the term *sonic identification* to highlight Burke's contribution to sonic rhetorics and to emphasize the fragile nature of sound, meaning, and division in sonic symbols. *Sonic identification* provides a tool for the critic who becomes the psychologist, guiding audiences through the dreaming and waking states induced by sonic symbols by making divisions apparent when they are concealed. In the opening chapter to part three of *Attitudes Toward History*, Burke extends his psychological critique of audience by nodding to the dualistic nature of all humans who exist in corresponding states of sleeping and waking. Drawing on psychoanalysis, Burke claims "man is 'dualistic' at least in the sense that his sleeping self is radically dissociated from his waking self. Each morning and each night, he crosses and recrosses a threshold, thereby changing his identity" (180). For Burke, sound functions in these sleeping and waking states, unifying audiences in powerful ways by drawing attention away from informational appeals and toward form. Having just encountered the *Mathis der Maler* symphony alongside the 1934 German music scene, Burke witnessed how musical form could tap into an audience's "sleeping" self, gaining acceptance from a variety of audience members without preserving needed divisions.

As a result, form takes a leading role in Burke's definition of identification in *A Rhetoric of Motives*, and I argue that Burke's theory of form should take a more prominent role in the field of sonic rhetorics as well. In *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke claims,

> Once you grasp the trend of the form, it invites participation regardless of the subject matter. Formally, you will find yourself swinging along with the succession of antitheses, even though you may not agree with the proposition that is being presented in this form . . . Thus, you are drawn to the form, not in your capacity as a partisan, but because of some universal appeal in it. And this attitude of assent may then be transferred to the matter which happens to be associated with the form. (58)

As the above quotation suggests, *sonic identifications* can draw attention away from the subject matter of a symbol and sneak in informational identifications regardless of an audience's conscious assent to them. However, in some instances, such as in his reviews of Composers' Collective works, Burke argued for the use of *sonic identifications* as a part of the overall persuasive appeal for convincing audiences of socialist causes. In these moments, musicians used sonic symbols to covertly create identification while critics more overtly made the case for socialist solutions in the 1930s.

While Burke's review of Hindemith's symphony may label him as a rhetorician with a linguistic bias who privileges words over other symbols, I argue that his approach to sound and identification is much more complex and situational. In *Non-Discursive Rhetoric: Image and Affect in Multimodal Composition*, Joddy Murray draws attention to this "strong bias toward alphacentric, or word-based, discursive symbol systems, especially in rhetoric and composition" (3). To be fair, Burke, a self-proclaimed "word man," continued to advocate for words with music through his subsequent *The Nation* review of Roy Harris's "A Song for Occupations," wrestling with the problem posed by *sonic identifications* in the Hindemith symphony. Taken together, both the Hindemith and Harris reviews reveal Burke's linguistic bias in this situation, but I argue that his endorsement of Harris's "A Song for Occupations" was an attempt to reintroduce needed division into the 1934 music scene involving the Composers' Collective. In the Harris review, Burke claimed the *Mathis der Maler* symphony "provoked a sweet melancholy which, through a permanent aspect of our nature, cannot serve adequately the central business of idealizing our present concerns" (719). In other words, the revolutionary situation in 1934 required the use of words to draw audiences *away* from identification and *toward* preserving needed divisions that an audience consciously acknowledges.[17] In this way, Burke lauded Harris's "A Song for Occupations," a work that used both words and sound, as "a most useful composition" because the music reaffirmed linguistic qualities in lyrics, which Burke needed for the present moment.

Notes

[1] I offer gratitude for the supportive and detailed feedback from *RR* reviewers Benjamin Hedin and Gregory Clark. I also thank Eric Detweiler, Jayme Yeo, Sharon A. Harris, and Ann George for their help on multiple versions of this work.

[2] Many critics who initially reviewed the work also believed Hindemith was attempting to advance a Nazi ideology, and though a brief examination of Hindemith's life leading up to the composition of the *Mathis der Maler* symphony contradicts their assertions, composer intent has no bearing on Burke's ultimate conclusion.

[3] The term "sonic" has come to refer to a wide range of sounds beyond simply music. While I will focus primarily on how Burke's theory of identification emerged through the sonic symbol of music, I would argue that the term *sonic identification* illuminates the persuasive appeals of all non-verbal sounds.

[4] Recent work by Cynthia Selfe, Thomas Rickert, Michelle Comstock and Mary E. Hocks, and Bump Halbritter have defined the field using a variety of names such as aural rhetoric, aurality, sound studies, and sonic rhetoric. However, the field seems to be rallying around the term sonic rhetorics as evidenced by the Gunn et al. review and the name of an upcoming Rhetoric Society of America (RSA) Institute Workshop.

[5] Scholars trace Burke's transition into a social critic to both his 1931 essay titled "Boring from Within" and his 1932 sonically-titled and unpublished book *Auscultation, Creation, Revision*.

[6] Copland only visited the group (Dunaway) and contributed a song or two to the Songbook (Lieberman).

[7] Though M. Elizabeth Weiser provides a useful look into the effects of WWII on Burke's work in the 1940s, her historiographic study only goes as far back as 1938.

[8] Burke finished a draft of *Permanence and Change* for submission to Harcourt Brace and Company. After they rejected the work, Burke continued to tinker with the draft through July 1934.

[9] The Reichstag building housed the German parliament, and the fire served as a symbolic destruction of plurality within the German government.

[10] Though Burke appears to ignore the spread of fascism in Europe, he mentions "the coming war in Japan" in an early 1933 draft of *Permanence and Change* for an overview of "metabiology" ("Metabiology, Outline for a Minimized Ethic" 3; (Tm, 3pp, P9c).

[11] Burke translated Mann's *Death in Venice*, Ludwig's *Genius and Character*, and Zweig's article "Charles Dickens."

[12] While many sources attribute this uproar to a group of Nazi critics, Vaget claims that of the forty who signed the document only a handful were local Nazi officials. Instead, Vaget claims Mann's exile was largely a result of personal vendettas with Richard Strauss and Hans Pfitzner in particular.

¹³Mann was in the middle of composing this work when he was exiled to Switzerland in 1933. His children and friends had to rescue this manuscript and forward it to his new address ("The Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner" 91).

¹⁴In late 1933, nominated by Nazi officials to become a representative of a new generation, Hindemith appeared to be placating the Nazi party by joining the *Reichsmusikkammer*, a Nazi institution founded by Joseph Goebbels to promote German music. Nazi leaders hoped that Hindemith would be a model of conformity to the Nazi party for other contemporary German composers.

¹⁵The *Mathis der Maler* symphony is an early iteration of Hindemith's opera of the same name, which premiered in 1938. Otto Klemperer was the conductor for the performance that night.

¹⁶Further evidence of Hindemith's disapproval of the Nazi party can be found in the plot of the *Mathis der Maler* opera, which premiered four years later in Zurich, Switzerland. The protagonist of the opera, sixteenth century painter Matthias Grünewald, decides to give up painting and join the peasants in a revolt against those in power. Throughout the staging of the opera, Hindemith overtly indicts Nazi practices such as in scene four, where in a restaging of the Peasant's War of 1524, the federal army overpowers the peasant army and burns Lutheran literature, evoking the Nazi burning of "politically and morally un-German writings" (Kemp 30).

¹⁷In this revolutionary situation in 1934, Burke viewed words as the primary way for reestablishing division. However, in our contemporary multimedia moment, non-linguistic symbols such as image and gesture could potentially preserve divisions as well.

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