10 Remembrance and prognosis in the music of György Ligeti

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There is little repetition in the oeuvre of the Hungarian composer György Ligeti (1923–2006). The expressive contrasts are vast and there are few conventions by which to gain a sense of orientation. Yet a sense of stylistic continuity can be detected in the transitions or transformations that his compositional development might be said to perform, and in the characteristic play between past and present and association and prognosis, which seek reconciliation in the ear of the listener. References to the past are abundant, sometimes explicit but often concealed, sometimes reminiscent of a stream of consciousness, at other times frozen into stasis and pushed to the brink of silence. Yet the listener gains little from striving to disentangle these indices, for the signs and signals of the past in themselves point to their own fragmented, withdrawn or concealed state as a condition of their existence.

Any attempt to explain the pastness in Ligeti's music in abstract terms detracts from its most alluring quality: the manner by which the music acknowledges its own self-production in response to the past and the contradictions that this incurs. For the listener it is not a question of what is or is not heard in terms of musical content, but the patterns and processes by which the music achieves its otherness in response to the past. This is perhaps the root of the ever-increasing popularity of Ligeti's music. For this music, with its profound diversity, confounds classification: each work challenges perception and interpretation in new ways. Moreover, the broad trend away from structural analysis and the excavation of rigorous precompositional systems that characterize the early reception of post-war musical modernism in Central Europe and towards critical musicology, strategies of listening and philosophical aesthetics casts the rich multiplicity of the music in a whole new light. Previously unexplored qualities of Ligeti's music are now receiving attention as a result of these transformations in scholarly work on musical modernism, contributing to a level of interest in his music that shows little sign of abating.[1] So how might we

[1] Two recent studies featuring Ligeti's music highlight this trend. David Metzer (*Musical Modernism at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2009))

begin to understand the appeal of the music, the modes of listening to it and the ambiguities with which we are confronted in attempts to 'read' Ligeti's oeuvre? A brief examination of selected works invites interpretation from the perspective of how the past is enacted in the present in Ligeti's music.

In the orchestral work *Atmosphères* (1961), famed for its inclusion in Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), a multitude of past musical styles are transformed and concealed. Seemingly representative of the high-modernist values of aesthetic consistency and rigorous constructive principles, the work subverts the canonic style of renaissance counterpoint, transforming it into a supersaturated echo of an entire epoch. The chromatic strands that participate in the countless layers of the canon, spread over several octaves, effectuate an irreversible process of change. The inner life of the work teems with energy – the complex polyphonic weave can be felt but is not heard directly.[2] Subtle changes in orchestration and instrumentation transform the texture – the chiaroscuro effect altering the perspective on the massive sound object as it is gradually unveiled and one sound event melts into another. In the surging flow of events, occasional moments of orchestral colour and intervallic transparency recall the music of Debussy. The work labours forward, weighing the burden of history, as if it were the echo of the entire polyphonic tradition sounded out simultaneously. The excess of expression inters its inner workings in a web so dense that only the contours of sound shapes are perceived.

The expressive identity of *Atmosphères* can be better comprehended in light of a subsequent work which creates an even greater sense of stasis: the organ piece *Volumina* (1961–2). Ligeti describes the piece as consisting of the 'remains of the entire organ literature. Somewhere you can feel certain baroque figurations, albeit digested whole, Liszt and Reger and the Romantic sound of the organ also play a part subliminally.'[3] Yet here there is no supersaturated canon as in *Atmosphères* and no clear musical

advocates an approach to compositional states, shifting emphasis from musical material to composition and the ideals and idioms which inform the creative processes of composers (see p. 10). The lament is one such ideal discussed in relation to the music of Ligeti (Chapter 4). Amy Bauer examines the fundamental significance of the lament in Ligeti's music as emblematic of the paradoxical, expressive power of the past in the present. Her extensive study brings new insight to the deep critical significance of Ligeti's involution with the past throughout the vast span of his oeuvre. Amy Bauer, *Ligeti's Laments: Nostalgia, Exoticism and the Absolute* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

[2] The gradual crescendo onset of the melodic strands and their sheer number make it impossible to hear the voices individually or 'directly'. See Jonathan W. Bernard, 'Voice Leading as a Spatial Function in the Music of Ligeti', *Music Analysis*, 13/2–3 (1994), 227–53, pp. 228–9.

[3] Ove Nordwall, *György Ligeti: Eine Monographie* (Mainz: Schott, 1971), p. 129 (my translation).

language on a constituent level to give rise to the sculpted sound: the graphic score defines only the sound on a gestural level, as shapes, spaces and densities. The impression is again of the sedimentation of tradition, and in this case an imagined, never-ending reverberation that hangs in a room after all of the music once performed there has ceased to be played. *Volumina* refers to the void that remains, an articulation of the negation of the past. The music does not express the past in any direct form; it articulates the paradoxical nature of its own position in relation to its past, as Ligeti suggests when he refers to the 'great works by Bach like the Passacaglia [being] present, but very, very hidden', perhaps in some psychological state.[4] The expressive force of *Volumina* does not lie in any explicit celebration of the allusions to which Ligeti refers. Instead, his comments address the consequences of history, which are digested whole into the fabric of the work in its dialogue with tradition. This is not about the musical materials of tradition, but the reception of the organ sound – the augmentation of a moment in Bach's Toccata and Fugue in D minor or Reger's Passacaglia in D minor as the keys are released and the cathedral is filled with reverberating dissonances as the chords envelop one another.

The material is no longer simply the notes on a constituent level, but the very performance space itself and the patina of age. It is the overloaded memory of all that has come before: unable to sift through the overwhelming back catalogue of history, it conscientiously forges a futile attempt to not forget, and to acknowledge, the debt it owes. *Volumina* expresses the success of its own failure, for it draws its energy from remembering, yet prerequisite to remembrance is forgetting. In articulating the overabundance of memory, the work offers a critique of the kind of history that might lead us to believe that we might truly become archivists of our past and make sense of the teleological culmination and consequences of such a history. However, such a process would no longer be remembrance. The most supreme of all archives, the internet, accumulates where the mind differentiates, and failure to differentiate or sift through the sheer wealth of information brings about the effects of data smog – a symptom of a world in which the presence of all data becomes overwhelming and impossible for the subjective mind to reconcile.[5] For only against that which is forgotten does that which is remembered stand out, and what is remembered is not controlled by the will, but is contingent on forces much greater

[4] Péter Várnai, Josef Häusler, Claude Samuel and György Ligeti, *György Ligeti in Conversation with Péter Várnai, Josef Häusler, Claude Samuel and Himself* (London: Eulenburg Books, 1983), p. 105.

[5] David Shenk describes this effect in his book *Data Smog*: *Surviving the Information Glut* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997).

than the self. As the counterpart to remembering, forgetting becomes concealment – that which is necessarily absent in order that the narratives of memory can establish any sense of order. In both *Volumina* and *Atmosphères*, overabundance becomes a sign of concealment, reminding us of our inability to perceive all with which we are confronted. As a result, these works resist the listener's attempts to 'read' them – the past is purposefully hidden in overabundance. It is this concealment and absence that offers the point of departure for an expression that exists as a semblance of that which has come before. Instead the listener can only surrender to the open horizons that the works offer.

The musical theatre works *Aventures* (1962) and *Nouvelles Aventures* (1962–5) are plays of associations in a different way. The indecipherable phonetic librettos build on a mimetic impulse and encompass a vast range of human affects.[6] The sounds are alienated from their semantic context, removed from the human condition which they articulate and recompose as expressive states. The eruptions and dramatic gestures are perhaps familiar, yet a new musical imperative arises from the relationships that evolve between expressive conditions as the works unfold; rather than develop in any linear fashion, expressive states become like coordinates in a reference system.[7]

The states in *Aventures* are suggested in the score with remarks such as 'aggressivo', 'with longing' (*mit Sehnsucht*) and 'contemptuous laughter' (*geringschätziges Lachen*), characters which correspond to the associations that they elicit in a listener. The first scene fluctuates between 'excitedness', 'longing', 'joyfulness', 'irony', 'sadness' and 'aggression'. These states nevertheless remain correlative to an underlying expression of angst.[8] The series of expressions presented in the first scene lay the foundation for the initiation of a formal process that sees the sound layers applied in various combinations and superimpositions, each state returning to be embellished at greater length later on. The pedal clusters at the beginning return at the end of the first scene and at various stages throughout the work, offering an underlying tension and backdrop to the onset of varying expressive characters. The ecstatic breathing effects of the first bars also return in an altered state in bar 89. The depth of the form derives from the differing proximity of the expressive states to the central angst trope.

[6] See Bauer, *Ligeti's Laments* for a close reading of the opening scene of *Aventures* (pp. 44–55).
[7] Martin Zenck, 'Auswirkungen einer "musique informelle" auf die neue Musik: Zu Theodor W. Adornos Formvorstellung', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 10/2 (1979), 137–65, p. 161.
[8] Ibid., p. 158.

A fitting analogy is found in Bergson's notion that laughter is not an expression of joy but a form of suppressed angst, and therefore correlative.[9]

The stream-of-consciousness-like expressive states in the opera *Le Grand Macabre* (1974–77, revised 1996) are not unrelated to the recomposed affective associations of *Aventures*. One expressive type intersects another, building relationships between contrastive characters that are correlative to the underlying 'fear of death' in the opera. As we follow the people of the gluttonous world of Breughelland, they display varying levels of concern with a threat made to their existence, from mockery to deep-seated angst. Their capriciousness is reflected in the divergent musical expressions. Ligeti refers to the contrasting expressive states of *Le Grand Macabre* as 'leit-characteristics',[10] marking a contrast to the kind of motivic development associated with Wagner's leitmotifs. The roles and their arias exhibit a vast expressive range, from sardonic indifference and humorous sarcasm (Piet the Pot) to neurotic anxiety (Gepopo); the way these highly distinctive roles are aligned like expressive coordinates provides the momentum in the unfolding drama. Moreover, the 'leit-characteristics' of the vocal parts and the orchestral score engage with and transform past expressive models, numerous references to which are found in remarks in interviews and in the form of verbal comments and notation in the source sketches: from Machaut, Beethoven and Mahler to Ives, Schwitters, Scott Joplin and Ella Fitzgerald.[11] Some references feature as overt, albeit harmonically distorted, citations. Yet many remain hidden from the listener. Astradamors's 'mad baroque aria'[12] and Gepopo's coloratura bravura – intended to outstrip the most demanding of Mozart's and Rossini's arias[13] – verge on becoming connotative references but are at the same time the withdrawn, personal reminiscences of the composer. And while the allusions to Monteverdi's baroque trumpet fanfare in *L'Orfeo* are suggested in Ligeti's car horn prelude, the abstract quantity of any affinities is difficult to determine.

In *L'Orfeo*, shrill natural baroque trumpets mark the commencement of a grand spectacle. In Ligeti's opera, the car horns elicit a sense of urban decay, cacophony, chaos and irony, as they deliver a postindustrial answer to Monteverdi's trumpets. There are further subtle connections between the preludes of Ligeti and Monteverdi. Ligeti calls for twelve differently

[9] Ibid., p. 159. [10] Várnai et al., *György Ligeti in Conversation*, p. 120.
[11] The Sketches for Ligeti's *Le Grand Macabre* are housed at the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel.
[12] As described in the score at rehearsal 161.
[13] Peter von Seherr-Thoss, *György Ligetis Oper Le Grand Macabre: Erste Fassung: Entstehung und Deutung: von der Imagination bis zur Realisation einer musikdramatischen Idee* (Eisenach: Wagner, 1998), p. 300.

pitched car horns, four for each of the three players, two in hand and two on the floor to be played by each foot. The first horn is pitched highest, while the twelfth is lowest and the rest are distributed accordingly: the first percussionist plays the high-pitched horns, the second percussionist the mid-range horns and the third percussionist the lowest-pitched horns, while the third percussionist's horn in the right hand should be higher than the first percussionist's horn held in the left hand.[14] This division of register loosely corresponds with the division of Monteverdi's toccata into *Alto e Basso* (third, fourth and fifth partials above the fundamental), *Quinta* (fourth to eighth) and *Clarino* (eighth and above). Also, Ligeti's request for twelve horns of different pitches would seem to signal the influence of serialism, perhaps connoting an attempt to bring the consequences of the recent musical past to bear on Monteverdi's toccata. The strong downbeat, the semiquaver repeated notes and the duration of both Ligeti's and Monteverdi's toccatas, all strengthen a sense of affinity between the two works. Moreover, the trumpets in Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* perform the specific function of signalling the start of the opera and are not called on again. Ligeti's car horns do feature once more, but only to provide a short interlude between the first and second scenes. Heard in isolation – Ligeti's prelude is sometimes performed as a concert work in its own right – the idea that the prelude refers to Monteverdi might seem obscure to some listeners. However, performed in the context of the opera, with the curtain rising as the prelude comes to an end, its hidden legacy is rendered more ostensible.

The listener, preoccupied with the classification of references to the past, remains detached from the dramatic nucleus of the opera and the relationships that develop between contrasting expressions, both within the work and with other works. The contours of this underlying musico-dramatic form and the correlation of states is reflected in the draft sketches for the opera, which suggest the stream of consciousness at work in its creation. The musical sketches have all the hallmarks of 'continuity drafts', sketches created rapidly during a short space of time, in order to capture the dramatic essence of the form of the entire work, before the sections are then filled out in greater detail.[15] The stream of consciousness accentuates

[14] Score p. 1.

[15] I examine the form of the opera and present an analysis of the continuity drafts found among Ligeti's sketches in Peter Edwards, *György Ligeti's Le Grand Macabre* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016, forthcoming). Ligeti spent more than a decade considering ideas for the opera. However, the continuity drafts represent a method with which to assimilate the dramatic contours of the music and the leit-characteristics in a burst of creativity, along the same lines that Donizetti approached the composition of his operas, as described by Luca Zoppelli in 'Processo

and conceals its past, and to become attuned to the opera we too must become sensitive to the temporality of this process. Just as we remember and forget, so too the opera conceals and reveals to varying degrees an awareness of its own past, embedded in the conception of the dynamic musical form.

In a later work, the Violin Concerto (1989–93), the listener is again met with the stream of memory and a boundless fluctuation between expressions. The narrative of memory arranges the contrasts around the constituted identity of the piece, and it is through this identity, by way of empathy with the stream of remembering, that our own associative mind might follow the trajectory of the unfolding vision. Ligeti has cited his influences across genres and epochs; yet the means are clearly transcended by the overall form, which is closer to the kind of musico-dramatic forms of *Aventures* and *Le Grand Macabre* than the fixed forms of the classical concerto. The opening portamento violin harmonics perform a dramatic core – an ephemeral shimmering expressive theme – which dissipates into the background to re-emerge at various points. A range of expressive contrasts is offset against the violin portamento, which resonates in the ear, recalling instances of the effect in past works. Only here the portamento is not simply an effect: it is a primary motif, an orientating coordinate.

The portamento effect can be traced to its earliest usage in Rimsky-Korsakov's 'Demonic Carol' from the suite *Christmas Eve* (1895), where it is performed by the cellos. The technique subsequently features in Ravel's *Rapsodie espagnole* (1908), before it is revisited in Stravinsky's *The Firebird* (1910) (for two bars before Figure 1).[16] While previously this feature was used sparingly as an effect in the context of Ravel's impressionism and Rimsky-Korsakov's and Stravinsky's more vigorously contrastive colouristic harmonies, it is transformed by Ligeti into a significant structuring element, as if it were the augmentation of a fragmented memory suspended in time. The effect makes sense in a whole new way, emerging and fading into concealment. The portamento is transformed into an expressive focal point, informing the intervallic material on which the concerto is based and also translating into the scordatura tunings of the second solo violin and viola, which draw support from naturally tuned ocarinas and horns along the way.

compositivo, "furor poeticus" e Werkcharakter nell'opera romantica italiana: Osservazioni su un "continuity draft" di Donizetti', *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, 12/2 (2005), 301–38.

[16] Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works through Mavra*, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1996), vol. I, p. 311.

The ocarinas in the second movement (bar 75) wake further associations. Their entry recalls the Bolivian flute motif from Harry Partch's 'The Quiet Hobo Meal' (Act II of *Delusion of the Fury: A Ritual of Dream and Delusion*).[17] This striking moment of clarity nevertheless merges into the harmonic and expressive context of the movement and of the Violin Concerto as a whole. The folky whole-tone flavour of the initial violin melody in the movement, echoed by the ocarinas, connects the disparate sounds as the relationships between the expressions evolve. Whatever residue of allusions to past expressions we may trace in the Concerto, their sedimentation cannot be extricated from the new, emergent formal hierarchies within which they become sealed and concealed. Even the opening bars of the first movement, as it commences with the solo violin alone rapidly alternating between open A- and D-string harmonics, recall the single note and single interval entries in several of Ligeti's prior works, including the Cello Concerto (1966), *Lontano* (1967), both movements of the Double Concerto (1972) and the first movement of the Hamburg Concerto (1998–9, rev. 2003). Yet to the listener, these familiar incipient characteristics are soon engulfed by a new narrative of remembering.

Ligeti's Trio for Violin, Horn and Piano (1982) represents yet another vision of memory, a vision of the past that provoked critical reaction in the wake of its premiere in some quarters for its overt debts to the classical-romantic tradition and especially the works of Brahms, Beethoven and Schumann (the subtitle is 'Hommage à Brahms').[18] The homage displays a consistency and clarity of memory, with room for melodic expansion, sonority and formal cohesion. Above all the instrumentation renders tangible the influence of Brahms's Horn Trio Op. 40. Yet the memory is distorted; despite the lucidity of vision, the representation is of the shadowy trace of Brahms and Beethoven. The very opening, a distorted rendition of the *Lebewohl* motif from Beethoven's Op. 81a, *Les Adieux* Sonata, signals that this is a transition into unfamiliar territory, in which what might on the surface appear familiar becomes the tangible absence of the original.[19] Even the form of the Trio reflects a sense of lack or loss and comprises a critique of the act of recollection and the inability of the mind to conjure forth true repetition. The first movement, the Andante, closes with a recapitulation of the *AB* section, and, as Amy Bauer points out, this apparent retreat into the classical ternary form was likely more shocking than skewed references to Beethoven. Yet subtle differences in voicing,

[17] Harry Partch, *Delusions of the Fury*, for voices and large ensemble. First recording available as *Delusions of the Fury,* Innova Records B000035X6C (1999).
[18] For an analysis of the Horn Trio see Bauer, *Ligeti's Laments*, pp. 160–74.
[19] See Bauer, *Ligeti's Laments*, p. 161.

register and muted horn and violin confer 'a strange sublimity on the return of *A*'.[20] Moreover, as Bauer argues, the repeated *A* section engages with the paradoxical nature of classical ternary form and its inevitable inability to fulfil its original function of introducing the movement's themes and harmonic tensions.[21] By shrinking from the task and receding into the background as a shadow of itself, the repeated *A* section acknowledges the contradiction immanent in its own self-production, and even becomes an analogy for understanding the Trio as a whole. For the expression of modernist melancholy and lacking surpasses the echoes of what once was, underlining the insufficiency of memory and the illusion that any kind of revisitation might be possible. Any criticism of retrospective tendencies that the piece triggered following its premiere is challenged by the critical sentiment of the music, which not only underlines 'the pure difference that separates *A* from *A*'[22] but also draws on the contradiction it contains as a creative impulse. The memory of the past becomes only as true as its constitution in the present.

This brief encounter with Ligeti's oeuvre identifies the past in the music as one of three things: as saturated present, as associative stream and as vivid, yet contorted reminiscence. In *Atmosphères* and *Volumina* the overabundance of the past becomes a frozen, augmented moment; in *Aventures, Nouvelles Aventures, Le Grand Macabre* and the Violin Concerto the flux of states seeks narrative consolidation; and with the Horn Trio we hear an extended, distorted vision of remembrance. Yet each is contained in the other. Each exhibits a fragmented past accessible only by memory. And all rely not on the abstract materials of the past but on a creative impetus drawn from the contradictory nature of any attempt to disengage the past from the remembering present. It is this contradiction that is etched into the expressive identity of much of Ligeti's music. The weaknesses of an objective signification of the past are exposed by their fragmentation, a fragmentation emphasized in the frozen moment of subjective memory – a memory stream mirrored in the music and in the listener. Allusions to the past point to structures and conditions beyond the individual, but even these are subsumed into Ligeti's personal style, their fragmentation and indeterminacy emphasized by their concomitance with other expressions. The music cannot be considered either a subjective expressive impulse or an objective reification of the cumulative consequences of an abundant past, for it is in the process of transition between the two that the music comes into being. It does not exhibit pure subjective

[20] Ibid., pp. 165–6. [21] Ibid., p. 166. [22] Ibid., p. 165.

urgency or objective force, but is drawn from the recognition of its self-production in response to the past.

The spatially conceived formal structures and the expressive coordinates therein are perceived as coherent as a response to past music, not in terms of abstract qualities or the gradual permutation of rules of musical languages, but in the wake of historically contingent expressive faculties. Ligeti describes this developmental progress of form in the following way: 'by involuntarily comparing each new aspect that enters our consciousness with those aspects already experienced, and by drawing conclusions from this comparison about what is to come, we pass through the construction of the music as if it were present in its entirety. It is the interaction of association, abstraction, remembrance and prognosis which elicits in the first place the nexus of relations that makes the conception of musical form possible.'[23] Not only are works constituted in the ear of the listener by way of the correlations between the aspects or parts of a composition, or expressive states, and the relationship of these states with the whole, but also by the involuntary predictions the listener makes in comparing the works to other works and potentially the entirety of music history. Form takes the guise of memory; the contours of the musical landscape take form as a result of the differentiation of explicit and hidden connections to the past. Yet the motives for what is remembered or forgotten are, as Freud describes in *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*,[24] the result of processes hidden from us. Forgetting and the failures of memory, and the unconscious, provide the necessary dynamic for form to emerge. The narratives that arise are differentiated against that which is suppressed.

The dynamic through which we identify with the music elicits a sense of familiarity that requires no validation through 'reading'. The creative impetus is not one that conceives abstract moments, autonomous works or eternal monuments from the associations or experience of the composer. Instead, the music draws on what lies behind the identifying features that the mind so readily acknowledges. This is the imprint of a memory in flux. The Heraclitean stream that flows in the music also flows in us: it is in affinity with the dynamic of remembrance and forgetting that our listening is intensified.

Sometimes we can still divine the signs and traces of the past, and sometimes these are covered over or sedimented beyond recognition. As

[23] György Ligeti, 'Form' in Ernst Thomas (ed.), *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* (Mainz: Schott, 1966), pp. 23–35. English translation in Ruth Katz and Carl Dahlhaus (eds.), *Contemplating Music: Source Readings in the Aesthetics of Music* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1992), pp. 781–95. Here p. 783.

[24] Sigmund Freud, *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (Seattle: Pacific Publishing Studio, 2010).

a consequence, we detect a sense of loss or nostalgia for that which is unknown. Something is withdrawn and remains beyond reach. Yet this ambivalence is nonetheless accompanied by an affirmative sense of new, indeterminate and emergent meanings. The presence of memory and the surrealist stream is here more intense even than in the music of Stravinsky, and Ligeti's allusions to the past, even when sometimes exposed, hang in the balance to a greater degree: the presentation of fragments is countermanded by the prospect of their dissolution into an absorptive, voluminous background. This is not a straightforward presentation of the memory, but the memory's critical awareness of its remembering – forgetting is an immediate and inevitable prospect. It is on the basis of this understanding that the expressive force of the music is minted. Ligeti's music seems to act upon the past and alter its character. The past is mediated, but the trace elements of which this past might consist are second to the creative force of the memory in itself – its self-awareness of its own role in the alteration of the past. In this resistance to closure memory redeems its fingerprint, its style – style measured not according to self-contained, closed, identifying features, but by the idiosyncrasies and gradually evolving manner of responding to the past. This awareness of self-production contends just as much with what is remembered as with what is forgotten. In this engagement with history, memory mirrors history: remembrance is, as Benjamin pointed out, history's vocation, not discrete or autonomous history, but history mediated in the present.[25] In Ligeti's music, with its submerged, sedimented content, and its absence and concealment, it is not the de facto past but the expression of the dynamic of the remembering and forgetting memory that remains.

[25] Walter Benjamin, 'Über den Begriff der Geschichte' in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1974), vol. I, p. 695 and 1231.