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Enthusiasm, Contemplation, and Romantic Longing

Reconsidering Schubert's Sectional Songs in the Light of Historical Context

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Enthusiasm, Contemplation, and Romantic Longing

Reconsidering Schubert's
Sectional Songs in the
Light of Historical
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Cover: A mildly melancholic garden scene from C.C.L. Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Leipzig 1779-85)

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For Emma

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Preface

The first incentive to writing this thesis occurred in the year 2000, in a music analysis class at the University of Hull, UK. Having been given the task of analysing a piece of my own choice from the perspective of tonal prolongation, I settled on *Liedesend*, a song written in 1816 by the nineteen-year-old Franz Schubert. This rarely heard composition I had chanced upon in connection with an essay that I had written the year before. What now made me think of it was the fact that it seemed to be composed with so *little* regard for prolongation. In *Liedesend*, as in many other songs that Schubert wrote in the 1810s, a succession of keys, melodies, accompanimental patterns and tempi forms a sectional structure that seems inimical to musical restatement and to all but fairly local prolongation. Paradoxically, I did my best to analyse the music as an elaboration of a single, fundamental harmonic and melodic progression, and it cannot be denied that the result seemed rather forced. Non-musicologist readers should feel reassured by this fact, for I will not mention tonal prolongation again in the entire thesis.

However, when studying the song I also found something more interesting, something that I had not expected. It was sufficiently well hidden to be easily overlooked, but it was also apparent enough to justify the supposition that it had been consciously crafted by the composer. My eagerness was soon awoken to make similar finds in Schubert's many other early songs of the sectional kind, and this was where I started as a doctoral student at Lund University, Sweden.

In the years to come, disappointments alternated with the pleasures of discovery. And, again, what I discovered was usually things for which I was not looking. The feature that had so surprised me in *Liedesend* I found in only one more song. To be fair, though, after some time I stopped seeking, for now haphazard finds of quite other kinds caught my attention and lured me to pursue new paths. In retrospect, I sometimes think that however winding these paths, and however much I went back and forth, I was all the time wandering towards the thesis as it stands today. It is a pleasant thought, but I know it is at least partly an illusion. For the present thesis, which is concerned with cultural history and which discusses not only music but also poetry, painting and landscape, is far removed from the purely music-analytical study that I envisaged at the start. A few months ago, when I returned to *Liedesend* with the aim of writing my Chapter 5, I felt strongly impelled to discuss the song in rather different terms than in 2000.

One of the implications of this discrepancy between the beginning and the end of my work is that if someone were to ask me what I wanted to achieve during my first years as a doctoral student, referring her or him to the present thesis would not be a satisfying answer. While my strivings in the final years of study partly depended on

experiences made in the first years, my activities in those first years were in themselves mainly guided by other concerns.

As will become clear, I think that a similar discrepancy should be considered with regard to Schubert as a composer of songs. It is probably true that when you want to find out how he regarded the songs that he wrote in the later years of his short life, it is productive to compare these songs to his earlier output. For, in all likelihood, these earlier works formed part of the background against which he and those around him conceptualized his more recent compositional choices. The opposite is less obviously true, however. Since the teleological approach characteristic of so much twentieth-century scholarship on Schubert's songs began to seem untenable – an approach which said that Schubert's œuvre of songs should be regarded as a single quest reaching its apotheosis in the mature masterworks – the late songs can no longer be presupposed to form the most important point of reference for the understanding of the early songs. I do think that as performers, listeners, and even as scholars we should be free to treat Schubert's songs in many different ways. But in so far as we want to know how Schubert conceived of his songs at the age of 18 to 20 (when he composed the works on which I will focus), we should first of all try to find out what were his concerns at that time. When I started to work on this thesis, I took for granted that Schubert held a single set of aesthetic concerns throughout his life. I also took for granted that those concerns were the same as the ones reflected in the music analysis with which I was familiar. I am not so sure any longer.

The project has generously been funded by Lund University, Vetenskaps societeten i Lund, Crafoordska stiftelsen, Stiftelsen Birgit och Erik Björkmans fond till Tobias Norlinds minne, and the Royal Swedish Academy of Music. I am grateful to my supervisors Professor Bengt Edlund and Professor Greger Andersson, as well as to other colleagues at Lund University, for sharing with me their time and their knowledge. At different stages of my work I have received essential guidance from Dr Alastair Borthwick, Hull, Professor Sten Dahlstedt, Uppsala, Dr Ursula Geisler, Lund, Professor Kacke Götrick, Lund, and Professor Brian Newbould, Hesse. My thanks also go to Lektor Norman Davies, Linköping, for correcting my English and to my mother Ingrid Lund for proof-reading.

I am obliged to my family for never wavering in their patience and support and to friends for giving me crucial impulses at crucial moments. A main source of both self-confidence and intellectual challenge has been my fiancée Emma Paulsson, to whom this volume is dedicated. With her I discuss everything, no matter how trivial or how decisive.

Lund, January 2009

Tobias Lund

1. Introduction

In front of him, [Schubert] had several heaps of Lieder by Zumsteeg, and he told me that these Lieder move him in the most profound way. “Just listen”, he said to me, “to the song that I have here”, and then he sang “Colma” with a voice which almost broke; then he showed me “Die Erwartung“ ~~“Maria Stuart”~~, “Ritter Toggenburg“ etc. He said that he could revel in these Lieder all day.

Josef von Spaun in 1858, on an encounter with Schubert in 1811.¹

Already [Schubert’s first] songs of the year 1811 are evidence of the danger of merely putting illustrating accompanimental motives in a row. For the more markedly this principle of accompaniment appeared, the more it had to withdraw from every kind of unity.

Edith Schnapper, 1937.²

As indicated by the first of these quotations, in 1811 the fourteen-year-old Franz Schubert was much moved by some of the lengthy compositions for voice and piano by the Swabian composer Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg (1760-1802). Schubert engaged in this particular kind of art song not only as a performer, though. Beginning in 1811 and continuing towards the end of the decade, he himself composed a large number of songs which were similar in style to Zumsteeg’s. These are the songs to which Edith Schnapper refers in the second quotation. The music in a song of this kind consists of a sequence of sections which are often separated by double bars and which may differ from each other in tempo, metre, key, accompanimental pattern, melodic type etc. In some songs the music does not even begin and end in the same key. Recitative, arioso, and other vocal styles are contrasted to each other and to purely instrumental passages. Tone painting is used abundantly.³ The poems which were put to such music

¹ “[Schubert] hatte mehrere Päckchen Zumsteegscher Lieder vor sich und sagte mir, daß ihn diese Lieder auf das tiefste ergreifen. ‘Hören Sie’, sagte er, ‘einmal das Lied, das ich hier habe’, und da sang er mit schon halb brechender Stimme ‘Colma’, dann zeigte er mir ‘Die Erwartung’ (die ‘Maria Stuart’), den ‘Ritter Toggenburg’ etc. Er sagte, er könne tagelang in diesen Liedern schwelgen“. Josef von Spaun, *Aufzeichnungen über meinen Verkehr mit Franz Schubert*, 1858, quoted in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert. Die Erinnerungen seiner Freunde* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel Musikverlag, 1957), p. 149. Deutsch notes that the parenthesis which he has put around “Maria Stuart” indicates that these words were crossed out by von Spaun.

² “Schon [Schuberts erste] Gesänge des Jahres 1811 zeigen die Gefahr, die in der bloßen Aneinanderreihung illustrativer Begleitmotive liegt; denn je ausgeprägter dieses Begleitprinzip auftrat, um so mehr mußte es sich von jeder musikalischen Einheit entfernen“. Edith Schnapper, *Die Gesänge des jungen Schubert vor dem Durchbruch des romantischen Liedprinzips* (Bern and Leipzig: Paul Haupt, 1937), p. 117.

³ In 1811, the same year as the encounter which Josef von Spaun describes in the first quotation above, Schubert wrote a setting of Clemens August Schücking’s “Hagars Klage” which was modelled on Zumsteeg’s setting of the same poem. Walther Dürr shows that the major difference between the two

normally contain some action, or at least emotional contrasts or changes of scene. Many of the poems are ballads, but also other kinds of text, such as excerpts from the prose poetry of Ossian, were put to sectional music. I will refer to works of this kind as *sectional songs*.

When singing, playing and composing sectional songs, Schubert linked to a tradition which can be traced at least to K. Lambo's *Oden (Odes)* (Hamburg 1754) and August Bernhard Valentin Herbing's *Musikalischer Versuch in Fabeln und Erzählungen des Herrn Professor Gellerts (Musical Essay in Fables and Narrations of Herr Professor Gellert)* (1759), Christian Benjamin Über's *Ode aus der Geschichte der "Fanny Wilkes" (Ode from the Story of "Fanny Wilkes")* (Leipzig 1772) and Johann André's *Lenore* (1775), a setting of Gottfried August Bürger's then-famous ballad. The practice of putting poems to sectional music became more common around 1780, and by Schubert's time the genre had a famous representative not only in Zumsteeg, but also in the composers Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758-1832), Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (1761-1817), and Václav Jan Tomásek (1774-1850).⁴

Judging from the two quotations at the top of this chapter, if Schubert of 1811 and Schnapper of 1937 were to meet, they would disagree on the merits of sectional songs. Schubert put several songs of this kind on his music stand and said that he could revel in them all day, and when he sang them he was apparently so deeply moved that his voice almost broke. When Schnapper's comment is read against the background of her study as a whole (a work to which I will return), it implicitly compares the style of 1811 to the style which Schubert was to start developing a few years later – and the comparison is not a favourable one for the earlier songs. Indeed, to undertake such a comparison has been the normal way for twentieth-century writers on Schubert to approach the subject of his early songs. Especially, *Gretchen am Spinnrade* (1814) and *Erlkönig* (1815) have been presented as decisive points in what has been described as Schubert's progression from being merely a gifted writer of songs which are either sectional or purely strophic to his achievement of mastery in art song. More concretely, in *Gretchen am Spinnrade* and *Erlkönig*, Schubert has been considered to accomplish a fusion of through-composed and strophic styles, a fusion thereafter refined and reaching new heights in his later songs, culminating in the 1820s in what has often been regarded as Schubert's greatest masterworks in art song.

Hagars Klage is that Schubert uses *even more* tone painting than Zumsteeg. Walther Dürr, "Hagars Klage' in der Vertonung von Zumsteeg und Schubert: zu Eigenart und Wirkungsgeschichte der 'schwäbischen Liedschule'", in *Studien zum deutschen weltlichen Kunstlied des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Gudrun Busch and Anthony J. Harper (Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 1992), p. 326. In the following, I will distinguish between a poem and a song bearing the same title by putting the poem's title within quotation marks and writing the song's title in italics.

⁴ Heinrich W. Schwab, *Sangbarkeit, Popularität und Kunstlied. Studien zu Lied und Liedästhetik der mittleren Goethezeit 1770 – 1814* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1965), pp. 54f; James Parsons, "The eighteenth-century Lied", in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 55f. Also see Marjorie Wing Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), pp. 68f, and David Charles Ossenkop's wide-ranging "The Earliest Settings of German Ballads for Voice and Clavier" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1968).

The notion of this stylistic change as an aesthetic advance has coloured not only the modern view of Schubert's own oeuvre of songs. The change has also been regarded as constituting the decisive moment in the entire history of art song since the early eighteenth century, a moment which allegedly inaugurated a golden age of song writing in Austria and Germany lasting until the early twentieth century and leaving its mark on Lied recitals until this day.

This pre-eminent position of some of Schubert's songs has made it possible for a later time to use them as points of reference when discussing the value of any art song, be it by Schubert or by someone else. To be sure, merits have sometimes been found also in songs from the eighteenth century and the earliest years of the nineteenth (including some of Schubert's sectional songs), but this has normally happened in cases where a song in some way prefigures the style which Schubert was later to "perfect", or when, as it were, it provides stylistic raw material for Schubert's generic remoulding. More often, songs written before the turning point have been blamed for either of two things: the purely strophic songs are boring and the sectional ones lack the unity regarded as necessary in all music.

The historiographic construction of progress in art song is probably both a cause and an effect of the lack of interest in finding out how earlier songs by Schubert and other composers were interpreted at the time when they were composed. In *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied* (2004), James Parsons rightly remarks that twentieth-century scholarship has tended to privilege Schubert's songs at the cost of the works of preceding composers, to which we may add that also many of Schubert's early songs, being indebted to eighteenth-century models, have been subjected to far fewer and less penetrating studies than have those of his songs that are stylistically more "advanced". The nineteenth century, Parsons writes, "worshipped at the shrine of progress", and also later this outlook has "all too often [...] been an unexamined article of historiographic faith". He then calls for a renewed study of eighteenth-century songs, a call which we may extend to include many early songs by Schubert himself:

[...] an inquiry impartially coming to terms with German song (to the extent that this is possible) from Johann André to Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg might show how the bad press beginning at the end of the nineteenth century has fostered a wealth of misinformation. The latter has concealed the genre's origins, obscured its place within musical life, and obfuscated the fact that, like the nineteenth-century Lied, that of the previous century was propelled by German poets wishing to strike out on untried paths.⁵

Already Carl Dahlhaus (1980) pointed out that it is inimical to an historical study of Schubert's songs to assume that a particular kind of song forms the ideal type against which all other songs must be compared. A study which departs from such an assumption turns the other songs into "imperfect variants" (unvollkommenen

⁵ Parsons, "The eighteenth-century Lied", 2004, p. 36.

Varietäten) instead of exposing their aesthetic independence. An attempt to grasp the historical character of “the Schubert Lied” must therefore start “from the multiplicity of traditions, not from a single concept of the Lied”.⁶

The purpose of the present dissertation is to contribute to an inquiry of the kind which Dahlhaus recommends and for which Parsons calls, centring on how Schubert’s circle of friends – the group which normally constituted the composer’s primary audience – interpreted three of his sectional songs. The constitution and character of the circle of friends is a topic to which I will soon turn, and also the term “interpretation” will be subjected to some elucidation below. Here it should merely be mentioned that by “interpretation” I refer to the attribution of meaning to a thing. Thus I am not primarily talking about the rendering of a musical composition in performance (the current meaning of the word in music parlance), although such renderings are closely connected to interpretation in the first sense of the word.

The three songs which will form the focal points of the study are *Die Bürgerschaft* (*The Bond*, D.246), *Die Nacht* (*The Night*, D.534), and *Liedesend* (*Song’s End*, D.473). When the first two of them are seen in the light of the latter-day historiographic model of progress in art song, they seem curiously reactionary. These long, sectional songs were composed in 1815 (*Die Bürgerschaft*) and 1817 (*Die Nacht*), at a time, that is, when Schubert is known already to have commenced that well-known fusion of genres which resulted in a less sectional kind of song. This was a time, one could argue, when there ought to have been no reason for him to continue composing in a style which now had had its day.⁷ However, rather than taking the fact that these large-scale songs seem to contradict what is normally regarded as Schubert’s development as a song composer as an excuse for denying them thorough attention, I regard it as something that makes them particularly intriguing objects of study. For when facts appear to contradict a historiographic construction, an explanation which belittles these facts begs for an alternative view that claims that the construction is not historically relevant, or at least that it does not tell the whole story. Such deviating facts may thus form points of departure for investigations which challenge established views of history.

The main part of the study (Chapters 2–5) is devoted to investigations which aim to suggest how the circle conceived of *Die Bürgerschaft*, *Die Nacht*, and *Liedesend* generically and what they regarded as the particular utterance of each song. As we shall see later in the present chapter, and then in Chapter 2, sources which are of immediate relevance for such investigations are fairly scarce and have to be complemented with other material. With this intention, the aesthetic tenets and

⁶ “von der Mannigfaltigkeit der Traditionen, nicht von der Einheit einer Liedidee”. Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 6 of *Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag Müller-Buscher, 1980), p. 79.

⁷ For an example of such an argument, see Jürgen Mainka, “Das Liedschaffen Franz Schuberts in den Jahren 1815 und 1816. Schuberts Auseinandersetzung mit der Liedtradition des 18. Jahrhunderts” (PhD diss., Humboldt-Universität, 1957).

political views and aims of Schubert's circle will be considered. Material will also be used which stems from other parts of Viennese society and beyond but which may contribute to a reconstruction of the context within which the circle interpreted Schubert's songs.⁸ This means that the study should be of interest also to those who are concerned with the cultural history of early-nineteenth-century Vienna at large. The discussion of *Die Bürgschaft* in Chapter 3 will partly be based on a study of trends and currents of ideas in the art of declamation, the artful reading of poetry. Chapter 4, where *Die Nacht* forms the focal point, will take into consideration the English landscape garden and the musical free fantasia. In Chapter 5, I raise the question of how the circle interpreted Schubert's attempt to fuse sectional and strophic form in *Liedesend* (1816). From a perspective of today, it would be easy to argue that the innovative structure of this song is a praiseworthy step away from the "purely" sectional style and towards the mature masterworks but that the music still contains some aesthetic flaws. Instead of following that line of reasoning, however, I will argue that when the Romantic aspects of the thinking in Schubert's circle are taken into account, there is reason to believe that the song was considered to be aesthetically meaningful in its own right.

As a complement to this main part of the study, in Chapter 6 I attempt to identify the cultural situatedness of the negative evaluations of sectional songs typical of the twentieth century – examples, that is, of what Parsons names "the bad press". I also assess the importance that the kinds of historical insight gained in the preceding parts of the thesis may have in our time, both with regard to our historical awareness and to our relationship to Schubert's sectional songs as aesthetic objects. Finally, I attempt to catch a sight of the cultural situatedness of my own way of discussing Schubert's sectional songs.

As has become clear, the issue of value is a question to which I will return repeatedly. The explicit devaluation of sectional songs in twentieth-century literature raises questions about what value the songs could have in Schubert's time, about the reasons why modern scholars have considered them to be of so little value, and about what value the songs could possibly have today. In discussing these questions I will start from the assumption that the evaluation of a work of art is related to the purpose (in a wide sense of the word) that the work is thought to have.

Terminology

In Schubert's time, a number of terms were used to designate what I refer to as sectional songs.⁹ Some held that a distinction should be made between "Lied", as a

⁸ This thesis will contain a large number of translations from German to English. In most cases I include the German originals, but in certain cases, where the translations are not controversial or where the exact German wording is not of decisive importance, I leave them out in order to save space. If not otherwise stated, when a quotation appears in both languages or when no English source is given, I have undertaken the translations myself.

⁹ Cf. Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, p. 1.

strophic song, and “Gesang”, as a song with a more elaborate musical structure, but others seem to have used the two terms synonymously.¹⁰ A fairly common practice was to use the genre headings of the poems which were put to music. For example, a sectional song could be referred to as a “Ballade”, a “Romanze”, or a “Lied”. But since Schubert wrote sectional settings of various kinds of poetry, and since he sometimes put poems of these kinds to *strophic* music, none of these terms can be used to refer with any precision to the group of works which I think of as the “sectional songs”.

In our time, the word “Lied” is used internationally to refer to all kinds of (mainly German) non-operatic art songs from the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. But in an historical study this term may cause confusion since, as we have just seen, in Schubert’s days it could be used to refer more exclusively to strophic songs, the very opposite of sectional songs, and since it was also used to refer to a particular kind of poem. The word “song”, on the other hand, has the advantage that, being an English word, it less obviously privileges one of the German terms which were used in Schubert’s time. The problem with “song”, of course, is that it is in itself too broad a term. If it is to be useful it therefore has to be qualified.

Modern scholarship offers a number of candidates for such qualification. Authors frequently use terms which highlight the sectional structure, such as when Jürgen Mainka (1957) speaks of “songs in several parts” (mehrteilige Gesänge). Others speak of works in “cantata-form”, another designation which can be taken to suggest a sectional form.¹¹ “Monody” is another term that has been used.¹² The term “through composition” normally covers Schubert’s sectional songs, but since many other kinds of song have also been referred to as through-composed, this term would itself have to be qualified. Walter Wiora (1971) suggests such a qualification by speaking of Schubert’s “additive kind of through composition” (additive Art der Durchkomposition).¹³ E.D. West (1989) holds that a “many-sectioned ballad structure” should be

¹⁰ Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968, p. 107. See also Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 56 and Heinrich W. Schwab, “Kompositorische Individualität durch Vermischung der Gattungen. Zu Johann Friedrich Reichardts Gattungstypus *Deklamation*”, in *Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814). Zwischen Anpassung und Provokation. Goethes Lieder und Singspiele in Reichardts Vertonung*, ed. Kathrin Eberl, Konstanze Musketa und Wolfgang Ruf (Halle an der Saale: Händel-Haus, 2003), p. 182.

¹¹ Franz Szymichowski uses the term “cantata form” (Kantatenform) in *Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg als Komponist von Balladen und Monodien* (Frankfurt a. M., 1932), a usage which is continued in Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968. John Reed speaks of “cantata-like songs” in *Schubert*, in the series *The Master Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1988, first published in 1987), p. 7.

¹² Matthias Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung in der musikalischen Komposition* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1994), p. 100.

¹³ Walter Wiora, *Das deutsche Lied: Zur Geschichte und Ästhetik einer musikalischen Gattung* (Wolfenbüttel and Zürich: Möseler Verlag, 1971), pp. 134f. Wiora refers also to the cantata when describing this kind of through composition: “[Schubert] piled details and linked Lied-like passages, recitative, and arioso sections together. Some of these loose complexes are to be designated as free songs, some as solo cantatas, and some as hybrid forms; they are not yet Lieder in the true sense of the word”. ([Schubert] häufte Details und kettete liedhafte, rezitativische und ariose Stücke aneinander. Solche losen Zusammenhänge sind teils als freie Gesänge, teils als Solokantaten, teils als Mischformen zu bezeichnen; sie sind noch nicht Lieder im vollen Sinn.)

distinguished from “the single tempo form which might be more properly described as through-composed”.¹⁴ Marjorie Wing Hirsch (1993) deviates from most modern scholars in that she draws solely on poetic genres when formulating her genre names. What I refer to as sectional songs emerge as two groups in her presentation: “dramatic scenes” and “dramatic ballads”.¹⁵ Matthias Wessel (1994) uses the term “recitativic song” (*rezitativischer Gesang*) for most of Schubert’s Ossian songs and says that these songs are similar to Schubert’s “other songs in several parts” (*anderen mehrteiligen Gesängen*).¹⁶

A number of these terms specifically refer to the sectional quality, and, as we shall see, this is in accordance with how the songs have been described in much twentieth-century literature. “Sectional song” is thus an appropriate term when the aim is to speak about how these works have been conceptualized in modern literature. This is important to note, for the very idea that some of Schubert’s songs belong to a genre which is characterized by sectional structure is based on modern writings and so cannot a priori be assumed to be valid for Schubert’s time. Indeed, this probably partly explains the difficulty of finding an historical term which covers all “sectional songs”. However, rather than hiding this modern point of departure for my study by simply substituting a term from Schubert’s time for the modern term (a manoeuvre which would most probably violate the historical meaning of the older term), I think the latter ought to be retained as a reminder that the generic assumptions on which my study is based may not have been shared by Schubert and his friends. It is my intention is to inquire into the historical validity of this modern construction of a genre, but, as is well known, it is also difficult to deal critically with something without referring to it and thus, unintentionally, reinforcing it. Despite this, in the following chapters I will do my best to remain open to the possibility that, within Schubert’s circle, the “sectional” quality was not perceived to be the most important property of a “sectional song”.

The act of interpretation

Interpretation as the attribution of meaning to a thing is an activity which necessarily takes place within, and depends upon, what may be called *context*, or *horizon of expectations*,¹⁷ or *web of culture*.¹⁸ Employing the simplest possible semiotic terminology,

¹⁴ Ewan Donald West, “Schubert’s Lieder in Context: Aspects of Song in Vienna 1778-1828” (PhD diss., University of Oxford 1989) vol. 1, p. 218.

¹⁵ Hirsch, *Schubert’s Dramatic Lieder*, 1993.

¹⁶ Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, pp. 100, 107f. For more terms used by modern writers, see Hirsch, *Schubert’s Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, p. 17.

¹⁷ This term stems from Hans-Georg Gadamer and is brought into musicology for example in Mark Everist, “Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value”, in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: OUP, second edition, 2001), pp. 382f.

¹⁸ This term stems from Clifford Geertz and is brought into musicology for example in Gary Tomlinson, “The Web of Culture: A Context for Musicology”, in *Nineteenth-Century Music* 7, No. 3 (April 1984), pp. 350-362.

Gary Tomlinson puts the point clearly: “[m]eanings arise from the connections of one sign to others in its context; without such a cultural context there is no meaning, no communication”.¹⁹ But this is not to say that an interpreter is merely carrying out the orders of a stable and autocratic context. Indeed, from the perspective of the work of art, the interpreter is *part* of the context in which the work takes on meaning, a context which pulls and stretches the object and which is full of internal relationships of both love and hatred. Tomlinson’s claim that “[a] hypothetical fully conceived context would be absolutely coherent and completely intelligible”²⁰ is thus misleading in so far as it leaves out of account the uncertainties and contradictions which can never be completely extrapolated from a cultural web within which interpretations take place.

It is as part of such a web that an interpreter exercises her freedom. The philosopher Christoph Hubig (1991) stresses that reception of a work of art, as interpretation, is an *act*, an act in which the recipient employs a selection of the conditions present (“e.g. the material condition of tools, abilities and gifts, strata of knowledge, sensibility etc”) to make a decision concerning the work.²¹ Put more simply, an interpreter of a work of art chooses to interpret it in one or more of the many ways in which it is *possible* to interpret it considering the contextual charges which her memory tells her that the object may have, considering the actual features of the object, considering the abilities and the imagination which she happens to possess, and, also, considering the needs which she happens to experience.

The interpreter’s memory tells her how the thing, and things perceived to be similar to it, has been interpreted before, and sometimes also in what contexts. Even an attempt to interpret the object in a radically new way is dependent on earlier interpretations as its antitheses. Her memory may also provide her with certain canonic interpretations; if an interpretation has proved useful in a particular historical context it is possible for it to achieve canonic status and, in due course, even to be referred to as telling the truth.²² The survival of a canonic interpretation may thereafter be brought about by a mix of continued usefulness and mere routine.

The interpreter’s memory also determines with what other objects, processes, habits etc. she is able to connect when interpreting the object. (Indeed, her horizon of expectations can never be expanded to cover the entire web of human culture in which she lives.) This outcome of the memory is what Hubig names the

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 351.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 355.

²¹ “z.B. die dingliche Verfaßtheit von Werkzeugen, Fähigkeiten und Begabungen, Wissenslagen, Sensibilität etc”. Christoph Hubig, “Rezeption und Interpretation als Handlungen. Zum Verhältnis von Rezeptionsästhetik und Hermeneutik,” in *Rezeptionsästhetik und Rezeptionsgeschichte in der Musikwissenschaft*, ed. Hermann Danuser and Friedhelm Krummacher, vol. 3 of *Publikationen der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991), p. 41.

²² See for example Zofia Lissa, “Zur Theorie der musikalischen Rezeption”, in *Neue Aufsätze zur Musikästhetik* (Wilhelmshafen: Heinrichshofen’s Verlag, 1975), p. 118.

“field of possibilities” (Möglichkeitsfeld),²³ and what Lawrence Kramer describes as “the available resources of sense making”.²⁴ Within this field of possibilities, the interpreter is guided by what Hubig calls “values as rules for finding a purpose” (Werte als Regeln der Zweckfindung) which are manifested in traditions and institutions.²⁵ Such traditions and institutions may make the interpreter inclined to make certain kinds of interpretation rather than others.

Earlier interpretations of a thing contribute to what the interpreter’s memory has to tell her about it, but they also affect a new interpretation via their participation in the reshaping of the material substance which is to be interpreted.²⁶ This is part of the process which German reception theories refer to as *Wirkung*. While *Rezeption* (reception) is what a recipient makes out of an object, *Wirkung* is the (changing) state of the thing itself, its condition and accessibility.²⁷ And indeed, interpretations participate in deciding in what form, in what circumstances, and with what frequency the thing will appear in the future. Interpretations also determine if the thing will be presented to new interpreters as something which is well known, rarely heard of, or as deliberately ignored, if it will appear as having had an influence on the production of other things, if, in the case of music, it should be used for instance as chamber music, film music or muzak, and if it will be surrounded by metatexts such as accounts of its creation, instructions for use, and claims about its meaning.

A work of art is interpreted not only by audiences and critics, but also, and already, by those who are involved in performance, printing, recording, and other types of mediation. Whether through their conscious decisions or merely as a result of the idiosyncrasies of the media they use (concert hall, gramophone, radio, CD, DVD, Internet, verbal description etc.), the object’s physical substance is partly reshaped. In the field of art song, arrangements and other types of reworking (instances of which we will encounter recurrently in this thesis) are obvious examples of this. Changes as to the performance forces, the wording, or the structure of the text and the music all include interpretation, for a reworking either makes the song even more what it already “is”, or turns it into what it “has” the potential of becoming. The degree to which a particular reworking is a palpable alteration of the song’s nature is a matter of

²³ Hubig, “Rezeption und Interpretation”, 1991, p. 42.

²⁴ Lawrence Kramer, “Subjectivity Rampant! Music, Hermeneutics, and History”, in *The Cultural Study of Music. A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, Richard Middleton (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), p. 133.

²⁵ Hubig, “Rezeption und Interpretation”, 1991, p. 42.

²⁶ That a theory of interpretation must not conjure away the thing itself is pointed out for example in Nicholas Cook’s comment on metaphoric descriptions of music: “Metaphors focus music. They give a specific expression to its latent qualities. But these latent qualities must in the first place be there in the music, in its patterns of similarity, divergence, and so on; otherwise the metaphor will be entirely unpersuasive”. Nicholas Cook, *Music. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: OUP, second edition, 2000), p. 121.

²⁷ See Everist, “Reception Theories”, 2001, pp. 379-385. Everist suggests “effect” as the English term for *Wirkung*, but also deems it inadequate and goes on using the German term in the rest of his article.

discussion among interpreters. While the reworker may find that she changes none of the *defining* features of the song, but simply makes it even more what it already “is”, someone who interprets the work differently may think that this particular reworking changes the object most decisively. Crucial in such disputes are what features of the song are fundamental to a particular interpretation.

As Hubig points out, decisions as to what are the characteristic features of an object are arrived at in an interplay between an interpreter’s reception and the object’s *Wirkung*. When we interpret we partake in a double relationship where different wills may meet, or even clash, for while the work of art may be crafted by its author with the intention of making it serve a certain purpose, an interpreter can use the work as a means towards another end.²⁸ With regard to this fact, it can be assumed but not always taken for granted that the more different the lives that the author and the interpreter lead, the more different their instinctive interpretations of the work are likely to be. Conversely, when the lives that they lead are fairly similar – and in particular when the author made the work for a particular recipient or group of recipients (as in the case of Schubert’s sectional songs) – their interpretations are likely to be more similar.

At a given point in history, all and every earlier interpretation does not participate in the shaping of the object. The interpretations that do so are those that for some reason have left a mark in the memory of a future interpreter or in the substance of the thing which is to be interpreted. Our knowledge of the background of these earlier interpretations which affect us is often very limited, however. This, I will argue in the last chapter of the book, is one reason why the study of interpretation history is so important.

Memory and material substance are preconditions for the interpretation of a thing like a song. Playing within these realms, or at least having its point of departure within them, the interpreter’s inventiveness decides the degree to which she is able to provide the thing with a new or partly new meaning, thus departing from the canonic interpretations. This play may include the skill to combine the thing which is to be interpreted with knowledge and other memories which initially seem incompatible with the thing – listening to a Schubert song in accordance with the conventions of film music might serve as an example. It also includes the willingness to seek new knowledge which will expand the field of possibilities within which the interpretation takes place. Such expansion may follow from the encounter with an object which initially makes no sense to us. Referring to the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, Tomlinson writes that “[e]very attempt at understanding involves an act of translation, the entangling, so to speak, of slightly or greatly differing webs, one man enriching his web of significant signs with the novelties that he perceives in another’s”.²⁹ Within such an enriched web, the thing may take on a new meaning.

²⁸ Hubig, “Rezeption und Interpretation”, 1991, p. 41.

²⁹ Tomlinson, “The Web of Culture”, 1984, pp. 351f.

The play of inventiveness is related to the performative aspect of utterances and other acts of which Quentin Skinner speaks in his article “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas” (1969). Referring to John Langshaw Austin’s notion of illocutionary force, Skinner stresses that the significance of an utterance rests in part on “what a given agent may be *doing* in uttering his utterance”.³⁰

The degree to which an interpretation of a particular object is accepted by the interpreter herself and by those to whom she presents her interpretation partly depends on her use of rhetoric. In cases where an interpretation seems “self-evident”, only a minimum of rhetoric is needed. Such “self-evidence” is a sign that the object can be interpreted with little or no friction. In other cases, when an interpreter makes use of much of her inventiveness, considerably more rhetoric may be needed. To draw on an unexpected context may for example be presented as “finally revealing the author’s intentions”, as “making the object relevant to the world of today”, or simply as “revealing the truth”.

Material and method

Since interpretation takes place within and makes use of context, the historical study of interpretations of sectional songs should be based on an attempt to arrive at what Clifford Geertz, borrowing a concept from Gilbert Ryle, calls *thick description*. The denser and the more comprehensive the description of the relevant contexts, the better the prospects of a nuanced discussion of the interpretations of the songs. Using two of Geertz’ expressions, the aim of such a description can be said to be to understand what the people under consideration were “up to” by letting us grasp “the imaginative universe” within which their acts were signs.³¹

In practice, this means going back and forth between text and context, letting one suggest what should be looked for in the other. It is a fact, though, that the historian’s own fields of interest are likely to influence what course the investigation will take. Indeed, “[t]he web [of culture] is a construction of the historian”,³² and thick description can never be turned into a *complete* description.³³ Therefore the investigations by two historians may lead to different conclusions, which is not to say that either of them is necessarily flawed as historical scholarship.

Part of what I will do is actually rather thick assumption than thick description, for, as will become evident, I will try to reconstruct the content of acts of interpretation within Schubert’s circle in spite of the fact that there is little primary material which explicitly tells us anything about those acts. Using other material from

³⁰ Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas”, in *History and Theory* 8, No. 1 (1969), p. 46.

³¹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, first published in 1973 (London: Fontana Press, 1993), p. 13.

³² Tomlinson, “The Web of Culture”, 1984, p. 357.

³³ “Cultural analysis”, Geertz says, “is intrinsically incomplete”. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1993, p. 29.

the circle itself and beyond, I will attempt to infer their interpretation of the three songs that I have chosen. This may seem a risky business, not least when one considers the freedom of the interpreter which I mentioned above. Writing about possible musical influences between Schubert and those of his friends who composed music, Gernot Gruber (1999) warns of the temptation of treating influence as a matter of causality. Caution is necessary, he says, for “the state of affairs is complicated” and “we may not be able to grasp important relationships in essential issues”.³⁴ The same is certainly true with regard to the circle’s interpretations of sectional songs.

How, for example, can I, with any degree of certainty, move from the knowledge that one of the circle’s members wrote an article in which he expresses certain opinions on the nature of friendship to the assumption that members of the circle – quite generally – used these opinions as a basis for their interpretation of a song in which friendship can be said to be a central poetic theme? (I will do this in Chapter 3.) How can I be sure that they did not conceive of the song in some other way? Indeed, it must be assumed that the opinions on friendship expressed in the article did not form the only basis for an interpretation of the song in question. But at least the opinions on friendship were part of the circle’s “imaginative universe”, and the mere possibility to interpret the song according to those opinions is therefore likely to have appeared to the members of the circle as – already – part of the song’s field of possibilities and thus as contributing to determine the song’s nature. Ideally, as many complementary or alternative but always contextually-based interpretations as possible should be included in a thick description. By such procedure, we may at least come closer to the interpretations made within Schubert’s circle than we are at present.

Many interpretations stay in the minds of the interpreters and therefore cannot be analysed by an outsider. The interpretations which can be studied are those which are manifested in some sort of retrievable acts. In the case of songs in early-nineteenth-century Vienna, such acts are mainly the written comments on a song or on its performance, or the publishing of the song. As we shall see, some comments remain from Schubert’s circle, but unfortunately most of them are not particularly revealing. When attempting to reconstruct an interpretation context for sectional songs, I will therefore also trace opinions of such songs in reviews and other texts in Viennese periodicals. As we shall also see, however, Schubert’s sectional songs are rarely mentioned in the periodicals, an obvious reason being that the composer was still very young. The compass of the study therefore has to be widened even more to include also reviews and other texts on sectional songs by other composers. It certainly cannot be taken for granted that such texts plainly reveal how Schubert’s circle interpreted sectional songs. But, as Mary Sue Morrow comments in her article on

³⁴ “der Sachverhalt ist kompliziert, die Wechselbezüge lassen sich vielleicht gerade in wesentlichen Fragen von uns überhaupt nicht durchschauen”. Gernot Gruber, “Zur Frage der gegenseitigen Beeinflussung von Schubert und seinen komponierenden Freunden”, in *Schubert und seine Freunde*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda, Gerold W. Gruber, Walburga Litschauer, Carmen Ottner (Wien: Böhlau, 1999), p. 229.

concert criticism in early nineteenth-century Vienna, the examination of as many reviews as possible from a particular time will help to distinguish between the critical mainstream and more singular commentaries as well as provide us with “concepts that reveal the aesthetic background guiding the critics’ comments”.³⁵ Having identified currents in the interpretation and evaluation of sectional songs in the press, it is then possible to consider whether Schubert’s circle is likely to have embraced these ideas or not, considering their own intellectual programme and their other aims.

According to Carl Dahlhaus, though, this choice of method is not the most felicitous one. According to him, the judgements in journals carry less information related to the history of ideas than does the place where a performance takes place: “[w]hether a work of art was admitted to certain institutions or occasions or whether it remained excluded indicates more, and is above all more unequivocal, than the muddle of written testimonies”.³⁶ And, indeed, performance – and publishing too – are acts which may reveal how works of art were conceptualized, especially if one has access to information about how and in what circumstances a song was performed as well as to details about the visual appearance and the distribution of the print. And yet Dahlhaus’ doubts about the “muddle” of written testimonies seem exaggerated. If a body of such texts seems a muddle, it may be because, either, we do not understand them as they were once understood, or, there was simply no consensus among the commentators. Such a lack of agreement becomes a problem only when one presupposes that an individual, an audience, or a whole period in history basically held a single view on the object under consideration. As will become evident, this is a presupposition which I do not share (nor did Dahlhaus, presumably). Conversely, I believe that it is possible, and also valuable, to extract from the muddle a form of polyphony of views, or at least a “two-voice” structure – and this, I think, applies also to the study of a single comment. (More about this below, and then in Chapter 6.)

To get as much as possible out of reviews and other articles in journals, they should themselves be contextualized. “The particular [...] bias of the reviewer, the audience to which the review was directed, and the standards and criteria used” ought to be considered,³⁷ to which may be added the personal background and aspirations of the individual reviewer. For the sake of thoroughness, one possibility would therefore be to restrict the investigation to a deep study of just a few reviews. For such a procedure to be fruitful, however, it would be necessary to find very specific links between these few reviews and Schubert’s circle. Therefore, to start mapping the circle’s “imaginative universe”, I choose instead to read as many reviews and other texts as possible that mention sectional songs, and also to read as many texts as

³⁵ Mary Sue Morrow, “Of Unity and Passion: The Aesthetics of Concert Criticism in Early Nineteenth-Century Vienna”, in *19th-Century Music* 13, No. 3 (Spring 1990), p. 195.

³⁶ “Ob ein Werk zu bestimmten Institutionen oder Gelegenheiten zugelassen oder von ihnen ausgeschlossen blieb, besagt mehr und ist vor allem eindeutiger als das Durcheinander der schriftlichen Zeugnisse”. Carl Dahlhaus, “Textgeschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte”, in *Rezeptionsästhetik und Rezeptionsgeschichte in der Musikwissenschaft*, 1991, p. 113.

³⁷ Morrow, “Of Unity and Passion”, 1990, p. 193.

possible that mention certain phenomena which seem to have been related to sectional songs. While this procedure arguably does not do full justice to the individual texts, it may help to identify trends within the web of culture in which Schubert's circle interpreted sectional songs. In general, it can be assumed that texts in periodicals were written by, and for, members of the middle and upper classes. The ideals of *Bildung* permeates many texts. As we shall see, this is a circumstance which makes it even more likely that the periodicals and Schubert's circle were threads in at least roughly the same part of that larger web of culture which was Vienna at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

A text in a journal which interprets and evaluates a certain object may be of double interest, for, apart from positive claims, such texts often contain information on interpretations and evaluations which the authors consider to be wrong. Reviews written in early-nineteenth-century Viennese journals are cases in point. Since many critics saw it as their duty to elevate the supposedly degenerate taste of the public, they often wrote in a polemical style.³⁸ This offers opportunities to study not only the opinions of the critics, but also to get some idea of the interpretations and evaluations of parts of the audiences at large whose comments are otherwise difficult to obtain today. One has to bear in mind, of course, that what one gets to read is always the critic's version, and that it is quite possible that that version is at least partly a misunderstanding. Complementary material on what one may call the popular interpretation and evaluation would therefore be most valuable. But it is also likely that a critic might actually have a knowledge of some depth of the interpretations within other parts of the public. After all, it is not a question of completely different cultures, but only of different sub-cultures within the middle and upper classes in Vienna of the first decades of the nineteenth century.

During a five-month stay in Vienna, I scanned through a number of Viennese periodicals and a few from other parts of the Austrian empire, all of which are devoted wholly or in part to music and most of which were issued in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.³⁹ In some cases I was not able to browse all annual

³⁸ In 1819, the composer and writer on music Ignaz Franz von Mosel specified the duty of a music critic in the following way: "Also, the fact that the learned criticism must sometimes condemn the very thing which earned loud applause by some dazzling magic is a state of things which should prove that the duty of a critic is rather to guide, by means of well-founded persuasion, the opinion of the *gebildete* world on the works and the accomplishments of art than to echo that opinion. (Auch dürfte die Tatsache, dass die wissenschaftliche Kritik zuweilen gerade das verdammen muss, was durch irgend einen blendenden Zauber stürmischen Beyfall gewann, den Beweis liefern, dass das Amt eines Recensenten vielmehr darin bestehe, die Meinung der gebildeten Welt über Werke und Leistungen der Kunst durch gründliche Überzeugung zu leiten, als sie nachzubethen.) I.F. von Mosel, "Über Kritik der Tonkunst" (On Criticism of Music), in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, No. 43, 29 May 1819, cols. 341-8. Quotation from col. 347.

³⁹ The journals are kept at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus (previously known as Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek), and the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.

volumes. The following list states the volumes that I did study. In some cases I introduce abbreviations that I will use henceforth.

Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat (*General Music Journal with Particular Regard to the Austrian Empire*), Vienna, 1817-1819. Abbr.: *AmZöK*.

Allgemeines Theater-Journal (*General Theatre Journal*), Vienna, 1806-1807.

Der Sammler. Ein Unterhaltungsblatt (*The Collector. A Paper of Entertainment*), Vienna, 1809-1819.

Dramaturgischer Beobachter (*Dramaturgic Observer*), Vienna, November 1813-March 1814.

Ein musikalisches Blättchen zur Zeit für Alle, die nicht musikalisch sind (*A Little Musical Paper in the Present Time for Everyone who is not Musical*), Linz, 1810.

Monatschrift für Theaterfreunde (*Monthly Periodical for Friends of the Theatre*), Vienna, 1805-1806.

Musikalische Notizen (*Musical Notices*), which became *Musikalische Zeitung für die österreichischen Staaten* (*Musical Journal for the Austrian States*), Linz, 1812-1813.

Musikalische Monatschrift (*Musical Monthly Periodical*), Linz, 1803.

Neue Thalia (*New Thalia*), Vienna and Trieste, 1812.

Thalia. Ein Abendblatt, den Freunden der dramatischen Muse geweiht (*Thalia. An Evening Paper dedicated to the Friends of the Dramatic Muse*), Vienna, 1810-1813.

Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat (*Patriotic Papers for the Austrian Empire*), Vienna, 1808-1810, 1813, 1816, 1819-1820.

Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung (*Viennese General Musical Paper*), Vienna, 1813. Abbr.: *WamZ*.

Wiener Hof-Theater-Almanach (*Diary of the Viennese Court Theatre*) which then became *Wiener Hof-Theater Taschenbuch* (*Pocket Book of the Viennese Court Theatre*), Vienna, 1804-1816.

Wiener Journal für Theater, Musik und Mode (*Viennese Journal for Theatre, Music, and Fashion*), Vienna, 1806. Abbr.: *WJTMM*.

Wiener Theaterzeitung (*Viennese Theatre Paper*), Vienna, July 1806-June 1808, August 1811-April 1819. This journal appeared under a number of titles. The ones to which I will refer are: *Wiener Theaterzeitung*; *Zeitung für Theater, Musik und Poesie* (*Paper for Theatre, Music, and Poetry*); *Theater-Zeitung* (*Theatre Paper*); *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung* (*Viennese General Theatre Paper*).

Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode (*Viennese Magazine for Art, Literature, Theatre, and Fashion*), Vienna, 1816-1819 and first quarter of 1822. This journal first appeared under the title *Wiener Modenzeitung und Zeitschrift für Kunst, schöne Literatur, und Theater* (*Viennese Paper of Fashion and Magazine for Art, Fine Literature, and Theatre*) Abbr.: *WZKLTMM*.

Most of these periodicals contain not only texts on music but also cover other aspects of cultural life. It might be worth going through more volumes of some of these periodicals, as well as studying any Viennese periodicals that I have left out altogether.⁴⁰ But, even so, it is likely that, taken together, the issues which I have browsed give a fairly representative view of trends in the press concerning art song and related cultural phenomena.

For several reasons, I have chosen not to study the reports on musical life in Vienna that were printed in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) and other non-Austrian journals and periodicals.⁴¹ Since my study concerns inhabitants of cities in Austria and their contacts with and opinions on sectional songs, I have primarily used texts which were not only written in Austria but also intended for Austrian readers. These texts had the possibility both to reflect and to affect thinking among Austrians. If sectional songs (as well as other phenomena that I will discuss) were interpreted differently for instance in Vienna, Leipzig and Berlin, it cannot be ruled out that correspondents writing for German periodicals reflected the tastes and concerns of their periodical and its readership rather than the tastes and concerns of Viennese audiences. For the same reason I sometimes do make use of texts by the correspondents writing on musical life abroad for the readership of the Viennese journals. Nevertheless, a study of non-Austrian journals, to the extent that they include comments on Viennese matters, might have added to the picture. Ultimately, therefore, the choice has been a question of time. Having to prioritize, I have chosen to concentrate on the sources that seemed most relevant. Also, the fact that the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) has been used so much in studies of musical life around 1800 gives further cause for mainly using other sources. In some cases, however, I do use texts with little or no direct relationship to Vienna. I do this when I think they further illuminate something that can be found in the Viennese sources.

Taking advantage of what I can gather about interpretation of sectional songs within Schubert's circle and elsewhere, I will offer analyses of the three songs which form the focal points of my study. These analyses are intended to offer insights into what meaning particular sectional songs could have within Schubert's circle. In undertaking the analyses I will assume that not only Schubert but also his friends (who took a keen interest in many forms of art) were familiar with poetical and musical conventions which were well-known to Austrian audiences. Such conventions attached meaning of different kinds for example to emotional utterance in language,

⁴⁰ For lists of, and information on, Viennese periodicals with articles on music, see Morrow, "Of Unity and Passion", 1990; Imogen Fellinger, *Verzeichnis der Musikzeitschriften des 19. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 10 of *Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1968); Wilhelm Freystätter, *Die Musikalischen Zeitschriften seit ihrer Entstehung bis zur Gegenwart. Chronologisches Verzeichnis der periodischen Schriften über Musik* (München: Literarisch-artistische Anstalt Theodor Riedel, 1884).

⁴¹ For example, *Der Freimüthige* (Berlin) and *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* (Leipzig) had musical correspondents in Vienna from 1803 until around 1808. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) established a regular Vienna column in 1804. Morrow, "Of Unity and Passion", 1990, pp. 196, 198.

to keys, rhythms and types of melodic movement, as well as to larger poetical and musical forms. Associations that were conventionally attached to such larger forms connected them to other cultural artefacts, also in other media, and could infuse them with philosophical and social implications.

Review of previous scholarship

Facts

Several Schubert studies have been governed by a drive to establish positive facts about the composer's life and works. A volume like Otto Erich Deutsch's *Franz Schubert. Thematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke in chronologischer Folge* (Kassel 1978), which among other things provides information on dates of composition and publication, is essential to any study of interpretations of Schubert's songs. For if, at a given time, a certain song was not known, or not even composed, it could of course not be interpreted.⁴² But attempts have also been made to establish positive facts about opinions on Schubert's works. The classic studies of this kind are Otto Erich Deutsch's collections of documents from Schubert's lifetime.⁴³ Similar contributions have later been provided by Otto Brusatti, Walburga Litschauer and, above all, by Till Gerrit Waidelich.⁴⁴ These collections provide a number of sources to the early reception of Schubert's sectional songs. When the aim is to approach an understanding of how Schubert's works were interpreted, however, such collections are not sufficient in themselves. The relevant documents and the songs to which they refer have to be related to each other on the basis of historical contextualization.

⁴² Facts about concert life in Vienna at Schubert's time are found in Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1989) and in Dexter Edge, "Review of Mary Sue Morrow: Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna", in *Haydn Yearbook* 17 (1992), pp. 108-66. Information about the spread of Schubert's works in other regions is offered by Christopher H. Gibbs, "German Reception: Schubert's 'journey to immortality'", John Reed, "Schubert's Reception History in nineteenth-century England", and Xavier Hascher, "Schubert's reception in France: a chronology (1828-1928)", all in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: CUP, 1997).

⁴³ Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert. Die Erinnerungen seiner Freunde* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel Musikverlag, 1957); Deutsch, ed., *Schubert. Memoirs by his friends*, Rosamund Ley and John Nowell, trans. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1958); Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert. Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1964); Deutsch, ed., *Schubert. A Documentary Biography*, Eric Blom, trans. (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1946).

⁴⁴ Otto Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz. Dokumente 1829-1848* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1978); Walburga Litschauer, *Neue Dokumente zum Schubert-Kreis. Aus Briefen und Tagebüchern seiner Freunde* (Vienna, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1986); Walburga Litschauer, *Neue Dokumente zum Schubert-Kreis. Aus Briefen und Tagebüchern seiner Freunde*, vol. 2: *Dokumente zum Leben der Anna von Revertera* (Vienna, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1993); Till Gerrit Waidelich, ed., *Franz Schubert, Dokumente 1817-1830*, vol. 1: *Texte. Programme, Rezensionen, Anzeigen, Nekrologe, Musikbeilagen und andere gedruckte Quellen*, vol 10 (1) of *Veröffentlichungen des Internationalen Franz Schubert Instituts*, ed. Ernst Hilmar (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993).

Progress

When scholarship has made an effort to put Schubert's sectional songs in relation to something in their historical vicinity, thus creating a historical context for them, it has most often been done (1) by acknowledging the influence on the young Schubert of certain earlier composers, most notably Zumsteeg, while observing that Schubert soon surpassed his models, and (2) by comparing the sectional songs to songs of other kinds which Schubert himself wrote in later years. Indeed, as I have already remarked, it seems that for a long time it has been almost obligatory for writers on Schubert's songs to describe his sectional songs as a budding composer's first step towards another and a better kind of song. A notion of Schubert's oeuvre in its entirety has then been employed – and thus confirmed – according to which Schubert made a start by composing sectional songs, that, after a few years, he showed a growing interest in purely strophic settings, and that, beginning already with *Gretchen am Spinnrade* (1814) and continuing for the rest of his life, although with certain backlashes, he achieved mastery by ingeniously combining the passion and flexibility of sectional form with the unity of the strophic style. Scholars who have adopted this scheme of progress normally have made little attempt at contextualization beyond the sphere of purely stylistic relationships.

This approach to sectional songs can be found for instance in Edith Schnapper, *Die Gesänge des jungen Schubert vor dem Durchbruch des romantischen Liedprinzips* (Bern and Leipzig 1937), Paul Mies, *Franz Schubert* (Leipzig 1954), Jürgen Mainka, "Das Liedschaffen Franz Schuberts in den Jahren 1815 und 1816. Schuberts Auseinandersetzung mit der Liedtradition des 18. Jahrhunderts" (Berlin 1957), David Ossenkop, "The Earliest Settings of German Ballads for Voice and Clavier" (Columbia University 1968), Walter Wiora, *Das deutsche Lied. Geschichte und Ästhetik einer musikalischen Gattung* (Wolfenbüttel and Zürich 1972), John Reed, *Schubert* (London 1987), Marjorie Wing Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder* (Cambridge 1993), and Elisabeth Schmierer, *Geschichte des Liedes* (Laaber 2007).

The facts that Schubert gradually turned away from lengthy narrative poems, that he abandoned sectional form in favour of other ways of setting poems to music, and that, when songs of his were published from 1821 on, he chose to publish very few of his early, sectional songs, have often been used as evidence that Schubert "himself" attached little value to these songs.⁴⁵ It would be rash to claim that this has no relevance for the study of the interpretation of sectional songs before Schubert's invention of the new and "better" kind of song. A dissatisfaction on the part of Schubert and/or his audience with some aspects of sectional song, and a search for something else, most probably constituted at least part of Schubert's incentive to change the way he put poems to music.⁴⁶ But even so, the evolutionary scheme should

⁴⁵ For an example of such argumentation, see Paul Mies, *Franz Schubert* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel Musikverlag, 1954), p. 170.

⁴⁶ The beginning of such search is what Edith Schnapper (1937) wants to describe. According to her, the songs which Schubert wrote as a boy (his "Knabenlieder") – ranging from 1811 until *Gretchen am*

not be allowed to tell the only story about how sectional songs were interpreted. For the web of culture of which they were parts and with which they interacted must have been complex, and the songs must have had more points of reference than merely a kind of song which did not yet exist. Such other points of reference will be brought up for discussion in Chapters 2–5.

Indeed, any dissatisfaction with the sectional songs at hand and any search for something else must also have been *part* of this web. Therefore it cannot be taken for granted, as is done in several of the studies mentioned above, that Schubert's change in compositional style is exhaustively explained by merely referring to "musical unity" as a thing of particular value, at least not when no attempt is made to historicize the concept. To be sure, unity was a central issue also in aesthetic writings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But when twentieth-century music scholars refer to "unity" without discussing whether what they mean by it is relevant for the historical period in question, it can only be assumed that the concept of unity to which they refer derives from their own time.

In Chapter 5, where I return to the question of Schubert's stylistic change in song writing, I will propose alternative views of this change, views stemming not (so much) from the perspective of today – when Schubert's "improvements" have been lauded for so long that it seems that we no longer ask why we endorse them – but from the perspective of those who took part of Schubert's beginning change as something that worked within a context with which they were familiar.

My way of reading modern comments on sectional songs has been formed partly by studies on the reception history of Schubert as a composer, although none of these studies deals with reception of sectional songs. Christopher H. Gibbs, David Gramit, Susan McClary, Walther Dürr, Michael Kohlhäufl and Marie-Agnes Dittrich have strived to make explicit the ideological situatedness of later-nineteenth-century and twentieth-century notions of Schubert and his works.⁴⁷ I will return to this group

Spinnrade in 1814 – contain "those first signs of that developing Lied form [...] which can only be recognized and interpreted from the perspective of the romantic Lied" (jene ersten Anzeichen der sich neu bildenden Liedform [...], die nur von dem romantischen Lied aus erkannt und gedeutet werden können). And, she continues with regard to her own work: "These most delicate, initial movements of a search for a new expression are what this piece of work [...] strives to exhibit" (Diese feinsten Anfangsschwüngen des Suchens nach neuem Ausdruck bestrebt sich diese Arbeit [...] aufzuzeigen). Schnapper, *Die Gesänge des jungen Schubert*, 1937, p. 8.

⁴⁷ Christopher H. Gibbs, "The presence of *Erlkönig*: Reception and reworkings of a Schubert Lied" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1992); Christopher H. Gibbs, "Poor Schubert: images and legends of the composer," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, 1997, pp. 36-55; David Gramit, "Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values", in *19th-Century Music* 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), pp. 65-78; Susan McClary, "Constructions of Subjectivity in Schubert's Music", in *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, ed. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, Gary C. Thomas (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 205-233; Walther Dürr, "Urteile und Vorurteile im 19. Jahrhundert", in *Schubert-Handbuch*, ed. Walther Dürr and Andreas Krause (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997), pp. 114-131; Michael Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland. Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999); Marie-Agnes Dittrich, "Jenem imponierenden Heroismus entzogen" – Franz

of studies in Chapter 6, where I will suggest reasons why such low value was often attributed to Schubert's sectional songs in the twentieth century.

It is important to mention here that when studying interpretation history, one has to caution not to become unreflectingly reactionary. It is all too easy to run wild in an historicist zeal, claiming that a modern interpretation is inherently wrong when it does not agree with an interpretation which was made at the time of the object's conception. Ideally, interpretation history should carry through equally thorough contextualization and critical examination of all interpretations, irrespective of when they were made.

Towards contextualization

Some authors make a start towards further contextualization of sectional songs by briefly suggesting what their ideological background was and what their purpose was considered to be. Heinrich W. Schwab, in *Sangbarkeit, Popularität und Kunstlied. Studien zu Lied und Liedästhetik der mittleren Goethezeit 1770 – 1814* (1965), claims that through composition (a concept which, in his usage, includes sectional song) served a "higher" purpose than strophic setting. For by means of through composition, music could now "illuminate" delicate details of a text, and, beside the "main emotion", it was possible "musically to enjoy to the full an entire range of different spheres of expression".⁴⁸ By through-composing a poem, the composer thus gained a degree of liberty which the strophic style did not allow, a style which demanded that the music should keep strictly to a narrowly codified folk-idiom and that the same music should be used for all strophes. Similarly, in *Geschichte des Liedes* (2007), Elisabeth Schmierer regards the increased use of strophic variation and through composition after 1800 in both the Northern and Southern German lands as connected to a change of attitude: "The Lied was no longer a composition which was easy to sing and which was also intended for sociable music making. Rather, it was elevated to the realm of art".⁴⁹ Indeed, the notion among Schubert's friends – several of whom were both skilled and inspired poets – that he composed a song as "a poem on a poem"⁵⁰ implies that they regarded his works as high art. The notion of a poem on a poem also seems to presuppose some of that artistic liberty which a sectional form and other types of through composition allowed. Although this does not reveal with any precision how Schubert's circle interpreted his sectional songs, it indicates

Schubert und das Österreich-Bild nach Königgrätz", in *Schubert-Jahrbuch* 1999, ed. Dietrich Berke, Walther Dürr, Walburga Litschauer, Christiane Schumann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), pp. 3-21.

⁴⁸ "Mit diesem Verfahren [i.e. through composition] stellte sich der Musik [...] eine höhere künstlerische Aufgabe, da es hier möglich wurde, die feinsten Textdetails 'auszumahlen' und neben der 'Hauptempfindung' eine ganze Skala von in sich unterschiedlichen Ausdruckssphären musikalisch auskosten zu können". Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 58.

⁴⁹ "Das Lied war nicht mehr länger [sic] die einfach zu singende Komposition, die auch zum geselligen Musizieren gedacht war; es wurde vielmehr in die Sphäre der Kunst erhoben". Elisabeth Schmierer, *Geschichte des Liedes* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007), p. 85.

⁵⁰ See Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 40, and the section "Works: Songs" in Robert Winter's article "Schubert, Franz" in *Grove Music Online* (accessed 7 January 2008).

that such songs could be regarded as works of art which should be subjected to an exegesis similar to that used for poetry.

David Ossenkop (1968) remarks that sectional songs by Schubert and other composers reflect “a philosophic attitude that is also in evidence in much of the proto-Romantic, or *Sturm und Drang*, literature of the last three decades of the eighteenth century”, namely the attitude that “expressivity of content is of primary importance” and that “structural coherence is relegated to a subordinate position”.⁵¹ Ossenkop assumes that the wide-spread favourable reception of Zumsteeg’s ballads in the German lands was due to the vivid musical depiction of supernatural and other shocking occurrences, as well as to the sentimental character of many lyric episodes.⁵² The proto-Romantic, or *Sturm-und-Drang* period between around 1770 and the beginning of the 1810s, he writes, was a time when “[w]riters began to express a desire to abandon the artificialities of style and content characteristic of the literature of the previous generation in favor of giving fervent expression to their feelings in simple, unaffected language”.⁵³

Jürgen Mainka (1957) is a little more specific. He, too, attributes the birth of sectional songs, which he names “songs in several parts” (mehrteilige Gesänge), to the late-eighteenth-century participants in the *Sturm-und-Drang* movement who “wanted to create a song which should flow from the soul immediately, without a detour over reason”.⁵⁴ He also links these songs to the desire for a bond with nature in the time just before the French Revolution and to the belief in the possibility to create a free and beautiful humanity.⁵⁵ In the present study, the questions of a natural expression of emotions and of a free and beautiful humanity will be topics for discussion in Chapters 3 and 4.

Also Marie-Agnes Dittrich, in the *Schubert-Handbuch* (1997), locates the ideological conception of sectional song and other kinds of through-composed “Lied” to the eighteenth-century *Sturm und Drang* with its rejection of the fashion of entertaining, anacreontic drinking songs and love songs. She specifically refers to Klopstock who foresaw the abandonment of the strophic style of composition in favour of a style where the composer lets the poem “reel freely out of the creating soul” (frei aus der schaffenden Seele taumeln).⁵⁶ The possibility that at least some of

⁵¹ Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968, pp. 629f.

⁵² Zumsteeg’s sectional ballad settings were esteemed by the public and by most critics, and actually continued to be popular until the third decade of the nineteenth century.

⁵³ Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968, p. 43.

⁵⁴ “wollten einen Gesang schaffen, der unmittelbar, ohne Umwege über die Ratio, aus der Seele quellen sollte”. Mainka, “Das Liedschaffen”, 1957, p. 6. Also see pp. 11f, 47, 62.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 95.

⁵⁶ Marie-Agnes Dittrich, “Für Menschenohren sind es Harmonien”. Die Lieder”, in *Schubert-Handbuch*, 1997, p. 145. Dittrich’s only hint as to how a particular sectional song was interpreted and evaluated concerns Schubert’s *Leichenfantasie* (D.7), which she presents as belonging to a group of settings, written from 1811 through 1813, which is united by its uncanny and morbid subjects and by its death wish. She assumes that the “sharp contrasts” of Schiller’s poem were “attractive” to Schubert. (Dittrich, “Für Menschenohren”, 1997, pp. 176-9.) Also James Parsons makes a connection between sectional setting

Schubert's sectional songs were conceived of in such a way is an issue on which I will expand in Chapter 4.

John Reed (1987) claims that the appeal of Zumsteeg's "extended ballads", on which Schubert modelled his earliest sectional songs, "rested on the literary taste of the age, on the fascination which the macabre and the horrific held for poets like Bürger and Schiller".⁵⁷

Perceptive as such brief and generalizing comments may be, it cannot be taken for granted that they exhaust the subject of how Schubert's circle interpreted sectional songs. A further discussion on that topic needs to be more thoroughly based on what we know about the circle and their situatedness among currents of ideas and other circumstances in Vienna. If it is true that Schubert's friends thought of his songs as poems on poems it is also necessary to move beyond generalizing statements about large groups of works in order to undertake detailed, contextualizing studies of individual songs.

A work which explicitly aims to compensate for a lack of historical inquiry in earlier Schubert studies is Ewan Donald West's "Schubert's Lieder in Context: Aspects of Song in Vienna 1778-1828" (1989). West complains that research on Schubert songs "has taken little account of contextual matters" and that "instead we are generally offered detailed analyses of individual songs or more speculative essays on Schubert's style and aspirations".⁵⁸ Through such studies, he says, "Schubert has [...] been divorced from the background against which he composed and from the literary and musical influences which worked upon him".⁵⁹ West's aim, therefore, is "to provide a Viennese context for Schubert's own song-writing activities which have for too long been treated in isolation".⁶⁰ More precisely, West's aim seems to be a double one: firstly, to map the composition and printing of songs for a single voice with piano accompaniment in Vienna from 1778 to 1828 (primarily resulting in an impressive catalogue of printed works), and, secondly, to show that "at least part of Schubert's greatness" lies in the fact that, although he was raised in the same environment as his fellow Viennese song composers, "in so many ways [he] found radically different solutions and paths".⁶¹ Schubert's songs, West writes, "must be seen as the richest of many strands in a complex and largely unexamined tapestry".⁶² Indeed, in West's book, the context of Schubert's songs is presented mainly as something with which we should be familiar so that we can appreciate, firstly, to what degree Schubert was influenced by other composers and, secondly, how very original and, indeed, fantastic his achievement was. West's mapping of song in Vienna could

and *Sturm und Drang*. James Parsons, "The eighteenth-century Lied", in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. James Parsons (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), p. 50.

⁵⁷ Reed, *Schubert* (1987), 1988, p. 31.

⁵⁸ West, "Schubert's Lieder in Context", 1989, vol. 1, p. 10.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 245f.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 12.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 2.

⁶² *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 246.

certainly become part of contextualizations of the kind which I will pursue, but closer analyses of individual Schubert songs would still have to be done if we are to approach an understanding of how Schubert's songs were interpreted. It would have to be shown much more specifically how interpretations of Schubert's songs were linked to the context of trends and individual achievements in the culture(s) of song and singing in Vienna. I will not attempt such a comprehensive study here, but the question of songs by other Viennese composers as parts of the context in which Schubert's circle of friends interpreted his sectional songs will surface in Chapters 2–5.

Another study which aims at contextualization and which, furthermore, pays unusually close attention to sectional songs, is Marjorie Wing Hirsch's *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder* (Cambridge 1993). Hirsch's book contributed considerably to stirring my interest in this repertory of songs. It has the merits of bringing up for discussion groups of works which tend to be forgotten and of indicating a method with which they could be studied. Hirsch's category "dramatic Lied" is based on the notion that a great number of Schubert's songs, from all periods of his life as a composer, contain elements of dramatic genres, especially opera. The "dramatic Lieder", she writes, contain an attempt "to mimic the acts of impersonation and portrayal of action that take place on the theatrical or operatic stage. Schubert's dramatic songs depict one or several personae, often identifiable by name, engaged in a particular course of action. Between the first measure and the last, the personae experience a change of circumstance. Simple or complex, physical or psychological, something 'happens'".⁶³ Hirsch presents the genre "dramatic Lied" as consisting of several subcategories. Two such subcategories are "dramatic ballads" and "dramatic scenes", peaking in number within Schubert's oeuvre in 1815 and 1817 respectively.⁶⁴ Dramatic scenes portray "identifiable personae [usually derived from myth, legend or drama] engaged in action through the use of arioso and recitative, throughcomposed form, progressive tonal structures, illustrative accompaniments, and changing moods". Dramatic ballads tell complete stories "with a definite beginning, middle, and end" and are also characterized by the inclusion of a narrator. But the narrative mode is downplayed in favour of the depiction of action through dialogue, which makes the dramatic ballad "tend toward" the dramatic scene.⁶⁵ When it comes to the music, Hirsch does not distinguish between dramatic ballads and dramatic scenes. The songs in both groups are what I refer to as "sectional".

In agreement with the teleological notion of Schubert's development as a composer of songs, Hirsch shows that, "beginning around 1814-15 and continuing throughout the 1820s", Schubert wrote songs in which features of dramatic scenes and dramatic ballads are combined with lyrical traits such as "strophic repetitions, closed tonal structures, characteristic melodic or rhythmic patterns, subordinate accompaniment, periodic phrasing, and unity of mood", features which Schubert imported from

⁶³ Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, p. 2.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 60, 89, 63.

strophic Lieder.⁶⁶ Hirsch refers to the resulting songs as “mixed-genre Lieder”, a group of works which she further subdivides into “lyrical songs with admixtures of dramatic traits”, “dramatic songs with admixtures of lyrical traits” and “lyrico-dramatic” songs. The large group of “mixed-genre Lieder” constitutes a gradual move away from the clearly sectional form and hence does not constitute a major object of my study, although *Liedesend*, which I discuss in Chapter 5, could be characterized as a dramatic song with an admixture of lyrical traits.⁶⁷

The purpose of Hirsch’s book is to present a new perspective on the “dramatic Lieder”, songs which have been “misunderstood and devalued”, by exploring “the crucial role of genre”⁶⁸ in the interpretation of such works:

For Schubert’s dramatic songs to be appreciated, they must be analyzed in context. They should be studied not only in relation to Volkslieder, with which they share just a few traits, but in relation to many dramatic vocal genres of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Before a particular song can be understood and evaluated, we must know what kind of a work it represents, i.e., what musical traditions or compositional conventions it engages. Without recognizing the genre (or fusion of genres in the later settings), we cannot understand how these songs communicate meaning.⁶⁹

In practice, however, Hirsch employs a rather restricted concept of context, or at least so it seems from a perspective inspired by anthropology and cultural history. She remains firmly on the level of stylistic relationships between individual songs and genres, pointing out similarities between Schubert’s “dramatic Lieder” and other genres, most often opera, but also cantata, concert scena, declamation and melodrama. This need not be regarded so much as a flaw as a restriction of the kind necessary in all studies, and not least in broad surveys like hers. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the naming of genres on which a musical setting was drawing can only be regarded as a beginning if the aim is to get a more specific idea of how the setting was interpreted. To acquire such a deeper understanding, wider contexts have to be considered. Hirsch’s analyses of Schubert’s combination of genres in the “mixed-genre Lieder” *Schäfers Klagelied*, *Die junge Nonne*, and *Pause* are sharp-eyed on the level of internal, structural relationships, showing Schubert’s mixed-genre settings to be “appropriate” musical responses to their poems.⁷⁰ But she hardly contextualizes beyond the level of style. This limits the results of her analyses. If she had considered the cultural situatedness of the genres on which the songs were drawing, and if she had considered how works within these genres were listened to and what purposes they served, then her analytical insights may have become more profound. If we are to get beyond establishing stylistic kinships, we must take into account the associations,

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶⁷ Hirsch refers to this song as a dramatic ballad, however. *ibid.*, p. 64.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 137.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 125.

expectations, and ideologies connected to the genres alluded to and include them in analyses of the individual songs.

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The studies discussed so far do not pay any close attention to what Schubert's circle of friends may have had to say about his sectional songs. In order to approach Chapters 2–5, it is now time to present this circle. Since the 1980s, a number of studies on this topic have appeared, several of which provide information which may be used when trying to reconstruct an evaluation context for Schubert's sectional songs. The most useful studies are those that present and discuss a relatively broad field of personal, ideological and social factors which were part of the circle's web of culture. I will turn to these studies in due course.

Schubert's circle of friends

The constitution of the circle

It has long been known that friends constituted the primary audience for most of Schubert's songs. Indeed, as a song composer, Schubert was typical for his generation in that he "wrote for a ready-made market, comprising [...] friends and acquaintances, from which publication occasionally followed".⁷¹ Writing in 1858, Schubert's friend Josef von Spaun (1788-1865) seems to confirm this by ending his essay "Aufzeichnungen über meinen Verkehr mit Franz Schubert" (Notes on my relationship with Franz Schubert) by expressing gratitude for what Schubert did, not for the Viennese, the Austrians, or for the world, but for what he did for von Spaun himself and for the other friends: "May his ashes rest in peace, and let him have thanks for how by his creations he beautified the lives of his friends".⁷²

Since the 1980s, it has repeatedly been pointed out, firstly, that the circle of friends was not centred around Schubert,⁷³ and, secondly, that "the circle" really consisted of several overlapping circles, the make-up and activities of which differed over the years.⁷⁴ The centre of my attention will be the more or less held-together group of young men from lower aristocratic and educated middle-class families to

⁷¹ West, "Schubert's Lieder in Context", 1989, vol. 1, p. 265.

⁷² "Ruhe seine Asche und Dank ihm dafür, daß er seinen Freunden durch seine Schöpfungen ihr Leben verschönerte" (Quoted from Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 164.) On Schubert presenting his works to his friends, also see Walburga Litschauer, "Ein vereintes Streben nach dem Schönsten", in *Schubert und seine Freunde*, 1999, p. 224.

⁷³ David Edward Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets of Franz Schubert's circle" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1987), p. 79; Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, pp. 38, 189.

⁷⁴ For concise overviews, see Walther Dürr, "Die Freundeskreise", in *Schubert-Handbuch*, 1997, pp. 19-45; Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 37ff; and the articles "Freunde", "Linz", "Kremsmünster", and "Stadtkonvikt" in Ernst Hilmar and Margret Jestremski, ed., *Schubert-Lexikon* (Graz: Akademische Druch- u. Verlagsanstalt, second edition, 1997), as well as the articles in that volume which concern the individual members of the circle.

which Schubert was introduced by Josef von Spaun. Henceforth, when I speak of Schubert's circle of friends, this is the group to which I refer.

In 1808, the eleven-year-old Schubert moved to the k. k. Stadtkonvikt as a choir boy. This institution, located at the Universitätsplatz, was run by *Piaristen*-monks and offered accommodation and boarding for students at the Akademische Gymnasium – the Austrian state's main institution for academic education of civil servants⁷⁵ – and at the University. Schubert's position as a court singer (he was a *Hofsängerknabe*) granted him a free place at the Stadtkonvikt and at the Gymnasium.⁷⁶ The Stadtkonvikt kept a high musical profile by offering musical tuition and running its own orchestra. The violin section of this orchestra was where Schubert met Josef von Spaun, who had been staying in the Stadtkonvikt as a law student since 1805. Much to Schubert's regret, von Spaun left for a position in his home town of Linz in 1809, but in 1811 von Spaun, who was then twenty-five, returned to Vienna and became something of a mentor to the fourteen-year-old Schubert. This was when von Spaun encountered Schubert playing sectional songs by Zumsteeg in the music room (see page 7).

In Linz, also in 1811, a faction of young men united by an intense interest in politics, history, philosophy, and the arts formed what Josef von Spaun referred to as a "Tugendbund" (alliance of virtue), a circle which took on the task of furthering ideas of freedom, friendship and fatherland. (This task and these ideas will be discussed in Chapters 2–5.) The central figure of the group was Josef's brother Anton von Spaun (1790-1849).⁷⁷ He, Franz von Schober (1796-1882), Franz Schlechta von Wssehrd (1796-1875), Joseph Kenner (1794-1868) and Albert Stadler (1794-1888) then formed a sort of branch to the Linz group at the Gymnasium in Kremsmünster, before Schober, Schlechta, Kenner, and Stadler went to pursue higher studies in Vienna, where, most of the time, they lodged at the Stadtkonvikt. Anton von Spaun instead moved back to Linz where he and Anton Ottenwalt (1789-1845) carried on the Linz group. Not least through the efforts of Josef von Spaun there was to be much contact between Linz and Vienna.

In the years between 1811 and 1816, Josef von Spaun introduced Schubert to all these young men, and also to Johann Mayrhofer (1787-1836) who had been part of the circle in Linz and who had come directly to Vienna as a law student in 1810. Johann Chrysostomus Senn (1795-1857), who moved to the Stadtkonvikt the year before Schubert and who, like him, had not been part of the circles in Linz nor Kremsmünster, was also introduced to the circle around 1815. Schubert moved from the Stadtkonvikt already in November 1813, but he regularly returned as a visitor.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Eva Badura-Skoda, "Schuberts Konviktszeit, seine Schulfreunde und Schulbekanntschaften", in *Schubert und seine Freunde*, 1999, p. 89.

⁷⁶ Walther Dürr, "Schubert, Franz (Peter)", in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, second edition, *Personenteil*, vol. 15 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006), col. 76.

⁷⁷ Ilija Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat. Dichtung und Literatur-Rezeption der Schubert-Freunde* (Wien: Böhlau, 1999), p. 22.

⁷⁸ Litschauer, "Ein vereintes Streben", 1999, p. 223.

Several of the friends were talented poets, but Schubert was by far the most skilled and prolific composer.⁷⁹

Mayrhofer soon took on a leading role in the Viennese part of the circle, a role which was later taken over by Senn. When Senn was arrested in 1820 and sent off to his home province Tyrol (an event to which I will return in Chapter 4), Schober became the leading figure in Vienna. Schober, who became Schubert's most intimate friend, initiated so-called "Lesegesellschaften" (reading gatherings), where poems, dramas and novels were recited, as well as the now-famous "Schubertiads" (Schubertiaden), larger gatherings which included dancing as well as concentrated listening to music by Schubert. But in the ensuing years, Schober could not prevent the circle of friends from falling apart.⁸⁰ Some of the old friends remained in contact, and new friendships were made. In some periods, art and philosophy were discussed, just as in the old days, while at other times "you hear, for hours on end [...], nothing but talk about riding and fencing, about horses and hounds", as Schubert complained in a letter to Schober when the latter stayed in Breslau in the hope of gaining a career as an actor.⁸¹ After Schober's return to Vienna in 1825, he, Schubert, Eduard von Bauernfeld (1802-1890), and the painter Moritz von Schwind (1804-1871) formed a new kernel group which was now to constitute Schubert's closest circle of friends. However, these later developments took place several years after the period with which I am concerned in the present study. What, then, was the character of Schubert's circle of friends in its earlier years?

The character of the circle

In the introduction to a projected volume of poetry written in 1849, Senn provides some information on the intellectual and social character of his old circle of friends. As in other parts of the German lands, he writes, the German "struggles for liberation" (Befreiungskämpfe) in 1813-1815 – the so-called liberation wars against Napoleon's forces – left "a considerable spiritual elevation" (eine bedeutende geistige Erhebung) in Austria, and, as a part of this, a "splendid, *sociable* circle of young writers, poets, artists, and *Gebildete*" was formed in Vienna.⁸² "In this circle", Senn says, "Franz *Schubert* wrote his songs".⁸³ As Senn observes, the patriotism of the circle was part of a *German* movement – not an exclusively Austrian one. And, indeed, a particular

⁷⁹ The only other composer was Albert Stadler who wrote a few songs and is said to have spent much of his spare time composing. Ernst Hilmar, "Stadler[,] Albert", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 441; Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz*, 1978, §199.

⁸⁰ Ernst Hilmar, "Freunde", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 142.

⁸¹ "hört man Stundenlang [...] nichts anders als ewig von Reiten u[nd] Fechten, von Pferden u[nd] Hunden reden". Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, p. 207.

⁸² "ein großartiger *geselliger* Kreis von jungen Literaten, Dichtern, Künstlern und Gebildeten". Johann Senn, introduction to a projected volume of poetry, quoted in Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, pp. 38f. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 39, 130f.

⁸³ "In diesem Kreise dichtete Franz *Schubert* seine Gesänge". The fact that Senn uses the verb "dichten", and not for example the more neutral "schreiben", strengthens the assumption to which I have referred above that the friends regarded Schubert's songs as high art equivalent to poetry.

Austro-nationalism hardly existed until the 1820s.⁸⁴ The circle took as its models other circles which worked to stir German national feelings and to further popular education. Such circles were the Prussian “Tugendbund” (Alliance of Virtue) which had been forbidden in 1808 and the “deutsche Gesellschaften” (German Societies) which were founded by Ernst Moritz Arndt in 1814 and which were the forerunners of the German “Burschenschaften”, associations which formed a national and, at the time, liberal students’ movement.⁸⁵ As in these groups, patriotism was intimately connected with liberalism and anti-feudalism. Especially in the early years of Schubert’s circle, its members regarded themselves as constituting an élite of morality and *Bildung* with a sense for “higher” values. Strongly influenced by Neo-Humanism they made efforts to perfect the moral nature of man through aesthetic cultivation and ennobling of the sensibility. Also in accordance with Neo-Humanism, they considered the task of the arts to be edification through the presentation of an ideal world to the senses.⁸⁶

In 1817-18, the circle published a yearbook in two issues, *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, which, in the words of Josef von Spaun, contained “essays with moral, philosophical, or historical contents, excellent poetical outpourings, translations from the works of classical authors, small accounts of journeys etc”.⁸⁷ Anton von Spaun was the driving force among the editors. This publication, where Neo-Platonic idealism was mixed with nationalism, was intended to counter despotism and to teach youths “manly, civic virtue” (männlicher bürgerlicher Tugend) and the true meaning of the word “fatherland” (Vaterland), as it is said in the introduction to the first volume. The means were the presentation of models from history and the teachings “about the true, the good and the beautiful” (vom Wahren, Guten und Schönen).⁸⁸ Written and compiled in the years after the Congress of Vienna (October 1814-June 1815), when the period of decreasing political liberty known as the Restoration began, the *Beyträge* were meant to contribute to the survival of the national and liberal ideology which had been able to thrive during the liberation wars. Not least, the aim was to revive the spirit of the double concept “word and deed” (Wort und Tat) with which, during the wars, the patriotic movement had referred to its strived-for unity of political ideas and concrete action.⁸⁹ But while the *Beyträge* were meant to contribute to the revival of the spirit of the 1813 Battle of Leipzig, where Napoleon had been decisively defeated, and to the spread of the ideology of the “Wartburgfest” – the feast at the castle Wartburg in Thuringia on 18 October 1817 which formed the beginning of the *Burschenschaften* – the political circumstances in

⁸⁴ Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 273.

⁸⁵ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 40.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 51-3.

⁸⁷ “Aufsätze moralischen, philosophischen oder historischen Inhalts, sehr gelungene poetische Ergüsse, Uebersetzungen aus Classikern, kleine Reisebeschreibungen etc”. Quoted from Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 188.

⁸⁸ Quoted in Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 40f.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 187, 192.

Restoration Austria meant that the editors had to make sure that they avoided any clear exhortation to political action.⁹⁰

In his 1829 obituary over Schubert, Bauernfeld clearly states that his friend was much influenced by “[t]he mutual communication of these youths and by their discussions on art”.⁹¹ Although the composer was stirred not so much “to speak”, the discussions in the circle inspired him to “the most various musical products”.⁹² Indeed, whereas in the time before Schubert became a part of the circle, he had set music exclusively to works by poets included in *Institutio ad eloquentiam*, a compulsory textbook in Austrian schools, his choice now changed according to the circle’s preferences.⁹³ But if Bauernfeld described Schubert, whom he met for the first time in 1822, as not participating in discussions, at least in 1825 another account of the composer was also possible. After a visit of Schubert to Linz in 1825, Ottenwalt wrote to Josef von Spaun about a much more eloquent Schubert and argued that the cliché image of the composer’s mind (an image which was to prevail until our time) was false:

[...] I have never seen nor heard him like that before; serious, profound, and enthusiastic. How he spoke about art, about poetry, about his youth, about friends and other important persons, about the relationship of the ideal to life, and the like. I was more and more astonished at this mind, of whom it has been said that his achievement in art is so unconscious, hardly apparent and understandable to himself, and so on.⁹⁴

Linz and Vienna – two circles or one?

In his works on Schubert’s friends, Ilija Dürhammer emphasizes an increasing difference in outlook, beginning in 1815 and then becoming more prominent from 1817 and 1818, between what he distinguishes as the “Upper Austrian” or “Linz” circle on the one hand and the “Vienna” circle on the other.⁹⁵ The Vienna circle, he

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 202.

⁹¹ “Die wechselseitige Mitteilung dieser Jünglinge und ihre Kunstgespräche”. Eduard von Bauernfeld, “Über Franz Schubert”, in *WZKLTM*, 9, 11, and 13 June 1829. Quoted from Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, pp. 41f. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 37f.

⁹² “den verschiedenartigsten musikalischen Erzeugnissen”.

⁹³ Dittrich, “Für Menschenohren”, 1997, p. 170.

⁹⁴ “[...] nie hab’ ich ihn so gesehen, noch gehört; ernst, tief, und wie begeistert. Wie er von der Kunst sprach, von Poesie, von seiner Jugend, von Freunden und andern bedeutenden Menschen, vom Verhältnis des Ideals zum Leben u. dgl. Ich mußte immer mehr erstaunen über diesen Geist, dem man nachsagte, seine Kunstleistung sei so unbewußt, ihm selbst oft kaum offenbar und verständlich u. so weiter”. Letter from Anton Ottenwalt to Josef von Spaun, 27 July 1825. Quoted from Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, p. 304.

⁹⁵ Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999; Ilija Dürhammer, “‘Von den lachenden Fluren des Ideenreiches’ oder: ‘Die schlafenden Jünglinge’”. Schuberts oberösterreichische Dichter-Freunde”, in *Schubert und seine Freunde*, 1999, pp. 119-36; Ilija Dürhammer, “‘Affectionen einer lebhaft begehrenden Sinnlichkeit’”. Der ‘Schobert’-Kreis zwischen ‘neuer Schule’ und Weltschmerz”, in *Schuberts Lieder nach Gedichten aus seinem literarischen Freundeskreis. Auf der Suche nach dem Ton der Dichtung in der Musik*, ed. Walther Dürr, Sigfried Schmalzriedt and Thomas Seyboldt (Frankfurt am Main etc: Peter Lang 1999), pp. 39-58.

points out, was centred around Franz von Schober and came to treat the optimistic idealism they had learnt from the leading figures in Linz (Anton von Spaun and Anton Ottenwalt) satirically when participating in the so-called “Unsinnsgesellschaft” (Society of Nonsense), which was active in 1817 and 1818.⁹⁶ Also Walther Dürr points out an increasing intellectual and emotional distance between Linz and Vienna. The “Utopian-Jacobinian” circle in Linz, he says, regarded utopia as a goal which should be realized in society and which was attainable through aesthetic education in Schiller’s sense. Schober and his “Utopian-Romantic” circle in Vienna, on the other hand, regarded works of art as fragments pointing towards the whole of a better world, an abstract utopia which exists only “in the boundless, in the eternal”.⁹⁷ In Vienna, enlightened idealism thus seems to have been replaced by Romanticism.

It is true that some of the friends in Linz regarded Schober’s character as dangerously unsteady, that Schober became attracted by Romanticism, that a conflict arose in the years 1815-18, and that from about 1818 an estrangement took place at least between Anton von Spaun and Ottenwalt on the one hand and Schober on the other.⁹⁸ But this is not to say that the friends in Linz never wavered in their optimistic idealism, nor that such idealism was erased from the minds of the friends in Vienna.

Like Dürhammer and Dürr, Michael Kohlhäfl points out conflicting attitudes to life and art among Schubert’s friends. But instead of claiming that these conflicts were based on a fundamental difference between the friends in Linz and those in Vienna, he presents the circle as a whole as being characterized by increasing doubt concerning its own initial optimism. After 1819, he says, all that remained from the circle’s “secular religion of politics” (politische Sekulärreligion) was its transcendent aspects:

A “better world” and “torrents of deeds” were now offered only by the “Fatherland of Beauty” as a representative of the absolute. This direction brought about the unity of Schubert’s circle of friends. A distinction between a Spaun-circle in Linz and a Schober-circle in Vienna, between an alliance of virtue and a community of artists, obstructs the view not only of the many personal interrelations but also of a convictional fellowship which sympathized with the tendencies of the time, with aestheticism, patriotism, and liberalism.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Dürhammer, “Affectionen einer lebhaft begehrenden Sinnlichkeit”, 1999, pp. 46f.

⁹⁷ “im Grenzenlosen, in der Unendlichkeit”. Dürr, “Die Freundeskreise”, 1997, p. 26. Also see Walther Dürr, “‘Tatenfluten’ und ‘bessere Welt’. Zu Schuberts Freundeskreisen”, in *Schuberts Lieder nach Gedichten aus seinem literarischen Freundeskreis*, 1999, pp. 33f.

⁹⁸ See Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 117-25; Dürhammer, “Affectionen einer lebhaft begehrenden Sinnlichkeit”, 1999, pp. 39-58. 1818 was a year when also Schubert turned to the poetry of Romanticism. Dürr, “Schubert, Franz (Peter)”, 2006, col. 155.

⁹⁹ “Eine ‘beß’re Welt’ und ‘Thatenfluten’ bot nur noch das ‘Vaterland des Schönen’ als Repräsentanz des Absoluten. Diese Orientierung stiftete die Einheit von Schuberts Freundeskreis. Eine Trennung in einen Linzer (Spaun-)Kreis und einen Wiener (Schober-)Kreis, in Tugendbund und Künstlergemeinde verstellt daher – von den vielfältigen persönlichen Wechselbeziehungen ganz abgesehen – den Blick auf eine Gesinnungsgemeinschaft, die an den Tendenzen des Zeitalters, Ästhetismus, Patriotismus und

Poems by Ottenwalt and Mayrhofer show that, “from the beginning”, the patriotic poetry was accompanied by a poetry of longing and transcendence; only in the 1820s had the latter supplanted the former.¹⁰⁰ Dürhammer points out that parts of the handwritten journal of the Viennese *Unsinnsgesellschaft* may have been intended as a parody of the *Beyträge*, which were issued in the very same years,¹⁰¹ but he also concedes that, about ten years later, the optimism which had been prominent in the group’s thinking was treated satirically also in Linz.¹⁰² More important for the years 1815-17 is that Schober, who was not among the authors of the *Beyträge* and whom Dürhammer portrays as the main opponent of the Linz group, seems to have shown some appreciation for the first volume of the yearbook.¹⁰³ What is more, with its quotations from Jean Paul the second volume of the *Beyträge* contains a turn away from the optimistic idealism and patriotism of the first volume, in favour of romantic transcendentalism.¹⁰⁴

There are further indications that the notion of a complete intellectual rift between “Enlightened” Linz and “Romantic” Vienna is an oversimplification. In 1817, Anton von Spaun wrote to Schober that “I have had some of your poems read to our friends here [in Linz], and they were all very well received”.¹⁰⁵ And still in 1821, when Schober and Schubert started to work on their joint opera project *Alfonso und Estrella*, Schober conceived of a plot which expressed those values which Dürhammer regards as belonging solely to the Linz circle.¹⁰⁶

Yet another sign that Linz and Vienna continued to share enough of a common basis at least for a fruitful conversation on aesthetics and metaphysics to take place is found in the passage which I quoted above where Ottenwalt is so impressed by what seems to have been Schubert’s fiery expounding on his youth, on friends, on art and on an issue which was central both in Linz and in Vienna, although they may sometimes have regarded it differently: “the relationship of the ideal to life”. As we know, Schubert lived in Vienna, not in Linz, and in 1825, when the passage was written, he was a most intimate friend of Schober’s, the spiritual leader in the Viennese part of the group.

Liberalismus, Anteil nahm“. Kohlhäufel, “‘Das Schönste’ und ‘das Herrlichste’ – Freiheitsgedanke und Ästhetik im literarischen Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts”, in *Schubert und seine Freunde*, 1999, p. 142.

¹⁰⁰ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 160. Also see pp. 143f. Even Dürhammer remarks that motifs of longing and melancholy are found in vocal works from all years of Schubert’s activity as a composer. Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 352f.

¹⁰¹ Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 79-90.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, pp. 251-267; Michael Kohlhäufel, “‘Im Bild’ die Zeit der Kraft u. That zu schildern’[.] Literarisches und politisches Bewußtsein im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts”, in *Schuberts Lieder nach Gedichten aus seinem literarischen Freundeskreis*, 1999, p. 125.

¹⁰³ Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 55.

¹⁰⁴ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 198, 209, 267.

¹⁰⁵ “[i]ch habe unseren Freunden hier einige von deinen Gedichten lesen lassen, die alle sehr wohl gefielen”. Quoted in Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 50.

¹⁰⁶ Kohlhäufel, “‘Im Bild’ die Zeit der Kraft u. That”, 1999, p. 132.

In my study I will regard the three years when Schubert composed *Die Bürgschaft* (1815), *Liedesend* (1816) and *Die Nacht* (1817) as a time of intense activity among, and contact between, the friends,¹⁰⁷ and as a time of increasing ideological and emotional unsettlement, both in Linz and in Vienna. The optimistic idealism and political patriotism of the circle's earliest years were becoming less tenable and was being rivalled by *Weltschmerz*, romanticism and satire, although perhaps with different degrees of fervour in the two towns. In the course of my study, I will try to keep in mind the alternative views and ideological contradictions within Schubert's circle of friends, but I will not attempt to maintain a sharp distinction between Linz and Vienna.

The music in Schubert's songs from the perspective of the circle

Among the scholarly works mentioned above, the literary studies *Poetisches Vaterland. Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (Kassel 1999) by Michael Kohlhäufel and *Schuberts literarische Heimat. Dichtung und Literaturrezeption der Schubert-Freunde* (Vienna 1999) by Ilija Dürhammer stand out as the ones which offer the most information and the most contextualizing interpretations of poems, letters, diary entries and other literary leftovers from Schubert's circle. This makes them invaluable for the reconstruction of a context in which the friends interpreted Schubert's sectional songs. Kohlhäufel's book includes a survey, which is both broad and penetrating, of how the circle was influenced by and how they responded to ideological currents and political circumstances in their time. In particular, he shows that questions of politics merged with aesthetics in the circle's thinking about art, and that the resulting moods and approaches to life and art were heterogeneous and partly contradictory. This will have a crucial influence on the approaches that I adopt to the songs discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. What neither Kohlhäufel's nor Dürhammer's studies contain is a contextualizing and analytical discussion of Schubert's music. David Gramit's "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets of Franz Schubert's circle" (1987), which was a pioneering work when it appeared, fills this gap to some degree.¹⁰⁸ Gramit argues that Schubert used his musical language to express the artistic and intellectual ideals of the circle, but also professes that the relationship of many of the sectional songs to these ideals is one of tension. This observation will form one of the points of departure of my work.

¹⁰⁷ The years 1814 to 1817 were the most productive years in the circle. Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 49.

¹⁰⁸ Attempts to analyse Schubert's music against the background of the circle's thinking can also be found in the contributions of several authors in *Schuberts Lieder nach Gedichten aus seinem literarischen Freundeskreis. Auf der Suche nach dem Ton der Dichtung in der Musik*, ed. Walther Dürr, Sigfried Schmalzriedt and Thomas Seyboldt (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 1999).

Opera and cantata

Certain phenomena which may seem self-evident parts of an early nineteenth-century interpretation context of sectional songs will not receive a thorough discussion in the present study. One such phenomenon is the cantata, from which a number of authors have established a link to sectional songs.¹⁰⁹ Another one is opera. In the review of previous scholarship I mentioned that Hirsch (1993) regards Schubert's sectional songs as being closely related to opera and other dramatic genres with music. Other authors have called attention to this generic similarity too, and that with reason.¹¹⁰ In a review in a Viennese journal from 1831, Anton Schindler regards Schubert's large settings of Ossian poetry and of ballads by for instance Schiller as preparations for opera projects. Schindler actually refers to *Die Bürgschaft* as being in itself almost an opera: "Die Bürgschaft' is in itself already an opera, it contains almost everything that is required from such a one, and numerous beauties; thereby it proves a priori that Schubert's calling was to be an opera composer".¹¹¹ Indeed, the dramatic progression of events and the alternation between recitative and arioso sections in many of these songs make for associations to opera. In 1816, Schubert actually worked on the project to turn a libretto based on Schiller's "Die Bürgschaft" into an opera and then even borrowed a musical passage from his own sectional song on the same theme.¹¹² "Possibly", Hirsch writes, "Schubert viewed his dramatic songs as a compositional prelude to writing operas, i.e. as a small-scale musical arena in which to explore various techniques of dramatic composition. It seems no coincidence that shortly after his interest in composing dramatic scenes and dramatic ballads reached its peak, Schubert devoted much more of his time to opera".¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ See Schnapper, *Die Gesänge des jungen Schubert*, 1937, p. 19 et passim; Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 54; West, "Schubert's Lieder in Context", 1989, vol. 1, pp. 260f; Marie-Agnes Dittrich, *Harmonik und Sprachvertonung in Schuberts Liedern* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 1991), p. 43; Dittrich, "Für Menschenohren", 1997, p. 146; Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, pp. 20f; Walther Dürr, *Das deutsche Sololied im 19. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zu Sprache und Musik* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1984), pp. 186-193; Dürr, "Hagars Klage", 1992, p. 315.

¹¹⁰ See Schnapper, *Die Gesänge des jungen Schubert*, 1937, p. 19 et passim; Mainka, "Das Liedschaffen", 1957, p. 29; Reed, *Schubert* (1987), 1988, p. 31; West, "Schubert's Lieder in Context", 1989, vol. 1, pp. 260f; Dittrich, "The Lieder of Schubert", in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, 2004, p. 91; Brian Locke, "Ever More Fearful Grows the Confusion': Genre and the problem of musical narrative in Schubert's *Fierrabras*", in *The Unknown Schubert*, ed. Barbara M. Reul and Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 99-117.

¹¹¹ "Die Bürgschaft' für sich allein ist schon eine Oper, enthält fast alle Anforderungen an dieselbe, und unzählige Schönheiten; beweist daher schon a priori den Beruf Schuberts zum Opern-Komponisten." Anton Schindler, "Geistliche Lieder von Franz Schubert. Nebst einem Beywort über dessen musikalischen Nachlaß.", in *Musikalische Zeitung (Beilage zur Theaterzeitung)*, No. 1, 1 March 1831, pp. 1-3. Quotation from p. 3. The article is partly reprinted in Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz*, 1978, §35. Also see Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, p. 108.

¹¹² Elizabeth Norman McKay and Ernst Hilmar, "Die Bürgschaft D 435", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, pp. 84f; Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 224.

¹¹³ Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, pp. 11f.

Schubert's brother Ferdinand sought to make *Der Taucher*, along with several other songs of Franz's, even more operatic by reworking it for a larger ensemble. According to Ferdinand, he had suggested such a reworking to his brother, and had also got his approval for doing so.¹¹⁴ A somewhat similar conception of a sectional song seems to have appeared to Goethe. Visiting Zumsteeg in his home in 1797, Goethe described this composer's sectional Ossian song *Colma* (for which he had himself provided the German translation) as a "cantata, but only with the accompaniment of a piano". But Goethe, who attended a performance of *Colma* and then thought that it "has a very good effect", also described it as leaning towards theatre:

[Zumsteeg's *Colma*] could perhaps be put on stage. This I have to think about after my return home. If one were to let Fingal and his heroes gather in the hall, if one were to introduce Minona, who would sing, and Ossian, who would accompany her on the harp, and if one were to hide the pianoforte in the theatre, then the performance should not be without effect.¹¹⁵

When sectional songs were likened to opera, associations are likely to have gone in the direction of the "German" opera of Gluck and Mozart, with its through-composed scenes and "natural" lack of vocal virtuosity, a kind of opera which Schubert himself participated in developing.¹¹⁶ Along with "German" opera, sectional songs may have been regarded as an alternative to "Italian" opera with its set numbers of vocal display, and thus as statements in the ongoing so-called opera war (Opernkrieg).¹¹⁷ Indeed, in a review in *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1813), the signature "—ch" takes his time to develop a binary opposition between "national, German song", exemplified for example by "Zumsteeg's Lieder and Ballads", and Italian "small cavatinas" and arias.¹¹⁸ In so doing, he employs several of the dichotomies inner vs. outer, unique vs. copy, hard work vs. easiness, truth/nature vs. artificiality, soul vs. sense, and eternity vs. pleasure of the moment, dichotomies which were habitually used in the press by those who advocated "German opera" and who were adverse to

¹¹⁴ Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz*, 1978, §27.

¹¹⁵ Zumsteeg's *Colma* "wird vielleicht auf das Theater zu arrangieren sein, worüber ich nach meiner Rückkunft denken muß. Wenn man Fingal und seine Helden sich in der Halle versammeln ließe, Minona, die sänge, und Ossian, der sie auf der Harfe akkompagnierte, vorstellte, und das Pianoforte auf dem Theater versteckte, so müßte die Aufführung nicht ohne Effekt sein". Goethe, diary entry, 2 September 1797. Quoted from Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, p. 101.

¹¹⁶ Ossenkop, "The Earliest Settings", 1968, pp. 141f, and Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 94f, 162f, 166f, 231ff.

¹¹⁷ Compare Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 232.

¹¹⁸ "—ch", review of "*Die Sehnsucht*, gedichtet von Tiedge, in Musik gesetzt von Fr. Hr. Himmel königl. preußischen Hofkapellmeister und Kammer-Compositeur. Wien bei Pietro Mechetti.", in *WamZ*, No. 18, 1 May, 1813, pp. 143-5. When referring to this journal, I use the new, consistent pagination found in the facsimile print available as vol. 14 in the series *Wiener musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge*, ed. Othmar Wessely (Wien-Köln-Graz: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1986).

“Italian opera”.¹¹⁹ According to the author of the review, the reason that Italian song (“an *Ombra adorata*, an *Ah tu sei mio dolce amore*, an *Ingrata*, or a *Crudele* etc”) outnumbers German song in domestic performance is that, “due to fashion and inclination to what is foreign” (aus Mode und Hang zum Fremden), most singing instruction in Vienna is done by Italian teachers, who do not master the German language and who are not skilled enough as pianoforte players to accompany German songs, songs which are “usually more substantial and accompanied with richer harmony” (meist gehaltvoller und harmoniereicher begleitet) than the Italian cavatinas and canzonettas.¹²⁰ Describing Italian song as shallow, he finds this state of affairs regrettable. An Italian “shining trifle” (schimmernde Bagatelle), with its “notes of embellishment, or rather of disfigurement” (Verzierungs- oder vielmehr Entstellungsnoten), is easy to master and immediately appeals to the masses, he writes. “German” song, on the other hand, requires from the singer not a mere achievement of manners, but also, and more importantly, an inner transformation through the building of a “great, difficult foundation” (großes schwieriges Fundament). The author hopes that the (unspecified) past will return when singing was less overladen and more true and sincere, and when a singing student was not allowed to progress beyond the “foundation” until he or she quite mastered it. When that return comes, he continues, there may be “fewer people who sing” (weniger Singende) but, instead, “more true singers” (mehr wahre Sänger). Then, he promises, the sublime works of Mozart, Zumsteeg and Beethoven will be sought once more.

Other authors in the press distinguished between “German” and “Italian” song on account of their relations to the text. In line with Gluck’s opera reform, “German” song was given the task of being faithful to the text and making the words easy for the listeners to perceive.¹²¹ Indeed, the article “Glaubensbekenntniß von einem Liebhaber der Tonkunst, in vorzüglicher Hinsicht auf die italienische Oper”

¹¹⁹ A text which uses all of these dichotomies is the “Glaubensbekenntniß von einem Liebhaber der Tonkunst, in vorzüglicher Hinsicht auf die italienische Oper. an Herrn de la Harpe” to which I will soon return. For examples of these dichotomies, also see the anonymous review “Liederkranz; eine Sammlung von Liedern, und Rundgesängen für eine oder mehrere Singstimmen, mit und ohne Begleitung von Guitarre oder Pianoforte, in Musik gesetzt von Gottfried Weber. 31. Werk. Drey Hefte; Mainz, in der grossherzogl. hessischen Hofmusikhandlung von B. Schotts Söhnen.”, in *AmZöK*, No. 36, 5 May 1819, cols. 291f. A particularly foaming snub of Italian opera and its advocates is found under the heading “Wiener-Bühnen” in *AmZöK*, No. 66, 18 August 1819, cols. 530f.

¹²⁰ As we shall see in Chapter 2, the author is probably exaggerating when he says that, in Vienna, German songs by Mozart, Zumsteeg and Beethoven are hardly even known by name and are rarely found “on the piano music stands of our amateurs of music” (auf den Clavierpulten unserer Musik-Liebhaber).

¹²¹ See the review of the oratorio *Die Befreyung von Jerusalem* (words by Heinrich und Matthäus von Collin and music by Maximilian Stadler) in *AmZöK*, No. 104, 29 December 1819, cols. 833-9, where it is said that “the *great style* of singing (the declamatory style) is by far superior to the *embellished style*” (der *grosse Styl* im Gesange [der declamatorische] über den *verzierten* bey weitem den Vorrang hat) (col. 835) and that “the *German* song, closely connecting text and music, can only be fully enjoyed when the listener can hear the poem just as clearly as the melody” (der *deutsche* Gesang, welcher eine enge Verbindung des Textes mit der Musik ist, nur dann vollkommen genossen werden kann, wenn das Gedicht dem Zuhörer eben so klar wird als die Melodie) (col. 837). Also see “Tagebuch der Wiener Bühnen”, in *Thalia* No. 41, 21 November 1810, p. 164.

(Confession of faith of an amateur of music, with particular regard to the Italian opera) (1813), which borrows its rhetorical form from the world of religion, contains a passage which could have been a manifesto for sectional songs:

I believe and say [...] [t]hat – instead of regarding the words merely as a means to the application of frivolous embellishments and to the shining of the singer's voice – before the composer takes up his feather, permeated by the spirit of the poem he should place himself in the position of the poet. Then, in that he keeps closely to the accent and the movements of the language, he should, using all means of his art, faithfully express all those situations and emotions which the poet could only present with words, thus he should, as it were, create for the second time.¹²²

The extent to which the interpretation and evaluation of sectional songs was influenced by the ideological foundations of the conflict between “Italian” and “German” opera, styles which, in the strongly biased words of one author (1813) honour “pathos of frills and passages” (Schnürkel- und Passagen-Pathos) and “simple, heartfelt delivery” (einfachen, herzlichen V[o]rtrag) respectively,¹²³ is an issue which deserves further investigation. But the result of such an investigation would probably not be entirely different from what one finds when one studies reviews and other texts on declamation, as I will do in Chapter 3. For declamation could be regarded as being fundamental both to settings of poetry for voice and pianoforte and to all kinds of theatre, including opera. Much of the conflicts on what theatre should be like on Viennese stages can be found also in debates on declamation. As we shall see, several of the dichotomies which were used to distinguish between different kinds of opera were used also to distinguish between kinds of declamation. But there is one crucial difference between the debates on opera and those on declamation. For one question debated was whether declamation (here understood in a narrow sense of the word, as the practice of reading poetry aloud without costumes, scenography etc), should at all be allowed to turn into something like theatre, and, if not, where the appropriate border between declamation and theatre was located. Such discussions indicate that sectional songs, if considered as a sort of declamation, could be regarded as related to, but not identical with, theatrical genres. In my discussion of declamation as part of the

¹²² “Ich glaube, und sage [...] [d]aß – statt die Worte bloß als Mittel zu betrachten, um eitle Verzierungen anzubringen, und die Stimme des Sängers glänzen zu machen – Der Tonsetzer vielmehr, eh er noch die Feder zur Hand nimmt, sich von dem Geiste des Gedichts durchdrungen, sich an die Stelle des Dichters setzen, und so, indem er sich genau an den Accent und die Bewegungen der Sprache hält, durch alle Mittel seiner Kunst jene Situationen und Gefühle, welche der Dichter nur durch Worte geben konnte, getreu ausdrücken, und, so zu sagen, zum zweyten Mahle schaffen sollte”. “Glaubensbekenntniß von einem Liebhaber der Tonkunst, in vorzüglicher Hinsicht auf die italienische Oper. an Herrn de la Harpe.”, translated from French by the Viennese opera “reformer” Ignaz Franz von Mosel (1772-1844) and published in *Wiener Hof-Theater Taschenbuch*, 1813, pp. 159-167. Quotation from p. 162.

¹²³ “D. R-r.”, “Ein Wort über den Zustand der Musik in Wien. (Briefe eines Reisenden.)”, in *WamZ*, No. 13, 27 March 1813, pp. 97f; No. 25, 19 June 1813, pp. 198f. Quotation from p. 199.

interpretation context of sectional songs, issues of theatre in Vienna, if not specifically opera, will therefore be unavoidable although they do not form the main focus.

Another reason why in the following I will prioritize declamation and free fantasia over opera is that, although declamation could take place in front of large audiences, it was also practiced in the smaller gatherings, or even solitude, in which I have assumed that sectional songs were normally performed. The performing forces needed are also similar or even identical. Schubert's sectional songs were written for one voice and pianoforte accompaniment. Declamation was normally performed by a single person, at times with accompaniment on the pianoforte or another chordal instrument. With regard to Johann Friedrich Reichardt's pieces which he referred to as "Deklamation" – vocal compositions sharing many features with Schubert's sectional songs and whose conception was influenced by declamation with pianoforte accompaniment which Reichardt heard in Vienna (more about this in Chapter 3) – Heinrich W. Schwab argues that such works should not be regarded as theatrical or operatic:

Placing Reichardt's composition in the vicinity of theatre music is just as wrong as it is to think – due to the shadowy similarity to recitative and aria – of an opera scene. Reichardt's "declamation" is no public genre. It is intended for reading and music evenings in the private salons. Regarded in that way, it is rather an exalted "song" which undertakes to put a speech or a piece of prosa to music. Thereby, consciously applied "lyricisms" come to light, in spite of all dramatizing through composition.¹²⁴

The same may have applied to the sectional songs which Schubert wrote for performance within his circle of friends. Indeed, the fact that "something 'happens'"¹²⁵ in a song cannot be taken as a positive sign that the song was associated with theatre or opera. "Action" was found not only on stage. As we shall see, it was an aspect also of declamation, and of the English landscape garden and the free fantasia. It can be argued that I unjustly underplay theatre and opera in my study, but the reason for doing so is that I want to highlight other things that I think were part of the interpretation context of Schubert's sectional songs, things which may today seem less obvious parts of such a context.

¹²⁴ "Reichardts Komposition in die Nähe einer Schauspielmusik zu rücken, ist ebenso verfehlt wie – aufgrund der schemenhaften Analogie von Rezitativ [...] und Arie [...] – an eine Opernszene zu denken. Reichardts 'Deklamation' ist kein öffentliches Genre. Bestimmt ist sie für Lese- und Musikabende in den Privaten Salons. So gesehen ist sie eher ein exaltierter 'Gesang', der es unternimmt, einen Rede- oder Prosatext in Musik zu setzen. Dabei treten, aller dramatisierenden Durchkomposition zum Trotz, sogar bewußt gesetzte 'Lyrizismen' zutage [...]". Heinrich W. Schwab, "Musikalische Lyrik im 18. Jahrhundert", in *Musikalische Lyrik. Teil 1: Von der Antike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hermann Danuser, vol. 8/1 in *Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen*, ed. Hermann Danuser (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2001), p. 387.

¹²⁵ Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, p. 2.

2. Contemporaneous Comments on Sectional Songs

In this chapter, I will present material which directly reveals something about the interpretation of sectional songs within Schubert's circle or in Vienna at large. I will also present material which is suggestive as to the web of culture in which such interpretation took place. The aim is to raise questions which will then be further developed and discussed in Chapters 3–5.

Comments from within Schubert's circle of friends

Several comments made by Schubert and his friends indicate that his sectional songs were appreciated. Beyond that, however, these comments reveal little about how the songs were interpreted. In a letter written in Linz in 1817, for example, Anton von Spaun tells his brother Josef (who was in Vienna) that the bass singer Münch, a member of his company in Linz, very much appreciates *Antigone und Oedip*, one of Schubert's sectional songs: "He is extraordinarily fond of Oedipus".¹²⁶ Schubert is himself of equally little help when, in a letter written during a stay in Zelez in the following year, he writes to his friends that *Einsamkeit* (D.620) is now finished, another sectional setting of a poem by his friend Johann Mayrhofer, and that "I believe this is the best that I have done, for I had *no sorrows*".¹²⁷

Further indications that sectional songs could be considered valuable are found in a letter which in April 1816 was sent to Goethe on Schubert's behalf. In this letter, Josef von Spaun asks the poet to accept the dedication of a planned eight-volume edition of Schubert songs.¹²⁸ The last two volumes of the edition were to contain Schubert's settings of excerpts from James Macpherson's Ossian poems, a group of songs which, von Spaun told Goethe, "distinguish themselves above all the others" (welche [...] sich vor allen auszeichnen). Most of the Ossian settings are highly sectional. We cannot know what Goethe's response to those two volumes would have been, for he was sent only a preliminary version of volume one, a volume which – not surprisingly – contained settings of his own poetry. Indeed, it is even unclear whether he ever received that volume and von Spaun's letter. In any case, he never answered

¹²⁶ "Ödipus [...] gefällt ihm außerordentlich". Letter dated 19 July 1817. Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, p. 53. *Antigone und Oedip* (D.542) was composed in 1817. Deutsch assumes that "Münch" refers to Konstantin Freiherr Münch von Bellinghausen, who was a colleague of Anton von Spaun's.

¹²⁷ "wie ich glaube, so ist's mein Bestes, was ich gemacht habe, denn ich war ja *ohne Sorge*". Letter dated 3 August 1818. Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, p. 63.

¹²⁸ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, pp. 40f. Also see Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, pp. 112ff.

and the edition came to nothing. But although receiving no reply from Goethe, Schubert's friends kept the songs by their composer friend in high esteem, and not least the ones whose texts were drawn from Ossian. In their memoirs, members of the circle referred to these songs as "several of his most ingenious works"¹²⁹ and as "one of the most outstanding products of the *mature* artist".¹³⁰ After Schubert's death in 1828, the Viennese publishing firm Diabelli & Comp. published a Schubert edition under the title *Franz Schubert's nachgelassene musikalische Dichtungen* (*Franz Schubert's Posthumous Musical Poetry*). During work on this edition, Leopold von Sonnleithner, another of Schubert's friends, was frequently asked to recommend what works should be published, and, as he wrote later, he vividly recommended the publication of the Ossian songs, songs "whose most brilliant musical comprehension highly attracted me".¹³¹ As a result, in 1830 these songs were published for the first time, as volumes one to five of the Diabelli edition. The Ossian songs are excellent, Schubert's circle seems to have thought. What reasons they may have had for valuing them so highly is a question which I will discuss at length in Chapter 4, with particular regard to *Die Nacht*.

Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg was famous for his sectional songs, and it is well known that the young Schubert used some of them as models.¹³² Several reports tell us that Schubert appreciated songs by Zumsteeg and that they were in vogue among the students at the Stadtkonvikt by the time Schubert studied there, but these sources tell us little about how the songs were interpreted.¹³³ The most revealing comment is the one that I quoted at the beginning of Chapter 1, in which Schubert is reported to have said that he could "revel in these Lieder all day". Josef von Spaun, who wrote the report, also writes that these songs moved Schubert "in the most profound way" and that he sang Zumsteeg's *Colma* "with a voice which almost broke". Schubert's involvement in these sectional songs by Zumsteeg seems at least partly to have been framed by the cult of sensibility, a cult which had reached Vienna in the last decades of the eighteenth century. The possibility that this cult was part of the interpretation context of *Die Nacht* will be considered in Chapter 4.

¹²⁹ "mehrere seiner genialsten Arbeiten". Anton Holzapfel, 1858. Quoted in Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 69.

¹³⁰ "eines des hervorragendsten Produkte des *reifen* Künstlers". Anton Schindler, 1857. Quoted in Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 367. Italic original.

¹³¹ "deren höchst geistreiche musikalische Auffassung mich in hohem Grade anzog". Leopold von Sonnleithner 1867. Quoted in Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 511.

¹³² See Margret Jestremski, "Zumsteeg [,] Johann Rudolf", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 522, for a summary of, and bibliographical notes on, the musical relationships between Schubert and Zumsteeg.

¹³³ The sources are quoted in Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, pp. 34, 67, 95, 99, 149, 421.

Comments in periodicals

To what extent were sectional songs used in Vienna at large?

Comments on sectional songs in Austrian periodicals from the first two decades of the nineteenth century are rare finds.¹³⁴ It is difficult to say exactly how many they are, since one cannot always tell whether a comment refers to a song in sectional form or not.¹³⁵ But even if it is assumed that all of these uncertain comments are about sectional songs, the total number is still not very high. One conceivable explanation of the fact that sectional songs were rarely written about is, simply, that they were also rarely performed. This is probably true about public concerts, which were regularly reviewed. In her study of concert life in Vienna in the period 1760 to 1810, Mary Sue Morrow comes to the conclusion that, at least in public concerts, “[n]on-operatic solo and ensemble vocal works were so scarce as to almost be non-existent. Only a handful *Lieder* can be found, all in the last ten years of the period”.¹³⁶ The impression I get from reading concert reviews from 1810 to 1819 is that *Lieder* and other art songs, as opposed for instance to opera arias, were still rarely performed in public concerts, although more often than in the preceding decade.

An 1812 review of a rare public performance of a sectional song shows that such a song could be considered suitable for performance in a small and select circle rather than in front of the numerous audience of a theatre or other large hall. The song performed was Zumsteeg’s sectional setting of an excerpt from Schiller’s “Maria Stuart” (one of the songs that Schubert had on his music stand in 1811) and the venue was an evening entertainment at the Kärnthnerthor theatre. The critic comments that “[i]n front of a select circle in a smaller room, it may make an impression!”¹³⁷ Hence, sectional songs may have been performed less often in public than in the private spheres of amateur life, the realm which Heinrich W. Schwab identifies as the home of the *Lied* in the years 1770 to 1814.¹³⁸ But also with regard to private performance there are few Viennese reports of sectional songs.¹³⁹ The problem here, however, is that so much private music making was not documented in the

¹³⁴ West, “Schubert’s *Lieder* in Context”, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 268f.

¹³⁵ For instance, in a concert review from 1806 it is merely reported that “a very beautiful [...] *Romanze* by Zumsteeg” (eine sehr schöne [...] *Zumsteegsche Romanze*) was performed. (“Musiknachrichten”, in *WJTMM*, No. 11, 1 June 1806, pp. 338f.) Zumsteeg composed many songs which could be referred to as *Romanzen*. Some of them, but not all, are sectional in structure.

¹³⁶ Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna*, 1989, pp. 150f.

¹³⁷ “Vor einem gewählten Kreise in einem beschränktern Raume mag er seine Wirkung machen!” *Thalia* No. 28, 4 April 1812, p. 112.

¹³⁸ Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 151.

¹³⁹ At least such comments are very rarely found in the printed material that I have consulted. Morrow, too, claims that “sources of information about private concerts are [...] spotty and incomplete” (Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna*, 1989, p. 14). It is possible, though, that valuable information may be found in letters and diaries written by Viennese amateurs of music. My attempts to work with such material proved so time-consuming that I had to forgo it as part of the present project.

periodicals. Such music making ranged from solitary playing or singing to performance among larger groups of people in salons. To be sure, the travelling North-German composer Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814) famously complained that in Vienna, even at such smaller events where performance is restricted to singing by the pianoforte, you get to hear almost nothing but Italian opera, and that the locals seem totally to dispense with “the refined and sincere pleasure” of the Lied, the *Romanze*, and the cantata.¹⁴⁰ This suggests, once again, that, along with other types of non-operatic song, sectional songs were not much used in Viennese homes. But although Reichardt visited many musical homes in Vienna, he must have missed most of them. The article “Uebersicht des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Tonkunst in Wien” (Survey of the Present State of Music in Vienna), printed in *Vaterländische Blätter* in 1808, lists 21 dilettante singers and 73 dilettante instrumentalists. The additional information is added, however, that there are at least a further hundred female amateurs of song who are all excellent but who perform solely among their acquaintances.¹⁴¹ That some Viennese amateur singers and pianists had a high technical level is further indicated by Carl Gottlieb Küttner who visited Vienna in 1799 and who reported that there are female pianists and singers who would count as virtuosos if they had been professionals.¹⁴² This is of some importance, for whereas some sectional songs are simple enough to have been performed by “[t]he many amateurs [...] who do not possess any very developed skills but who still like to use music as a means of entertainment in a company”,¹⁴³ other songs demanded much skill from both singer and accompanist. Schubert’s *Der Taucher*, which takes about half an hour in performance, is an example of a particularly taxing sectional song. Writing in 1842, Schubert’s brother Ferdinand remembers that he and Franz once performed *Der Taucher* on their own and that, almost half way through, singing had made him so exhausted that he “decided that they must have a glass of beer as an intermezzo”.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ “Den feinen und innigen Genuß des Liedes, der Romanze und Kantate scheint man hier ganz zu entbehren”. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Österreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, ed. Gustav Gugitz (München: Georg Müller, 1915), vol. 1, p. 314.

¹⁴¹ “Uebersicht des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Tonkunst in Wien. (Beschluß)”, in *Vaterländische Blätter*, No. VII, 31 May 1808, p. 51. Also see West, “Schubert’s Lieder in Context”, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 45f.

¹⁴² Carl Gottlieb Küttner, *Reise durch Deutschland, Dänemark, Schweden, Norwegen, und einen Theil von Italien, in den Jahren 1797, 1798, 1799* (Leipzig 1801, 1804), vol. 3, letter 17. Quoted in Peter Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise. Geschmacksbildung, Gesprächsstoff und musikalische Unterhaltung in der bürgerlichen Salongesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), p. 187.

¹⁴³ “Den zahlreichen Liebhabern [...], die gerade keine großen sehr ausgebildeten Kunstfertigkeiten besitzen, und doch Musik gern zu einem gesellschaftlichen Unterhaltungsmittel machen”. “Musikalische Anzeige”, in *WZKLTM*, No. 128, 24 October 1818, p. 1041.

¹⁴⁴ “ein Glas Bier zum Intermezzo bestimmte”. This, Ferdinand writes, was when he suggested to Franz that *Der Taucher* should be arranged for a larger ensemble (see p. 40). Ferdinand Schubert, unpublished biographical sketch. Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz*, 1978, §27.

A more compelling indication that sectional songs were in demand in Vienna is the printing and selling of such songs. The 1799 catalogue of the Traeg music firm and the supplement of this catalogue of 1804 list several sectional songs by Zumsteeg.¹⁴⁵ But, above all, it is the reprint of sectional songs by Zumsteeg undertaken by the Viennese firm Tranquillo Mollo in 1806, 1807 and 1810 which indicates a growing interest in these songs.¹⁴⁶ Several of Zumsteeg's large sectional settings of ballads were reprinted, as well as the seven volumes of the *Kleine Balladen und Lieder (Small Ballads and Lieder)*, a collection which contains many shorter sectional songs. Sectional songs by other composers were also printed in Vienna, some of which will be mentioned below. All in all, there is reason to believe that sectional songs were used not only in Schubert's circle, but also elsewhere in Vienna. A further indication of this is that, by 1820, at least one of Schubert's sectional songs, *Der Kampf* (D.594), circulated in the city in hand-written copies.¹⁴⁷

To my knowledge, the Viennese press from the time before 1821 contains not a single remark on sectional songs by Schubert. One explanation is probably that Schubert was still very young and therefore less known to the larger public than for instance Zumsteeg. A few of Schubert's shorter songs were published in 1818 and 1820,¹⁴⁸ but his first public success with a song (*Erlkönig*) as well as his first larger publication came in 1821.¹⁴⁹ In the aftermath of the success with *Erlkönig*, most comments concern this particular song, a song which bears traits of sectional song but which also constitutes a major step away from the sectional style.

None of the few Schubert songs which were published until 1820 are of the highly sectional kind that forms the centre of interest in this study. It is tempting to interpret this fact as implying a general disapproval, but the mere length of songs like *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht* may have made publication seem too risky. If a print failed on the market, the negative financial consequences must have depended not only on the number of unsold copies, but also on how many printing plates had been made and how many sheets of paper had been used in vain. When choosing between printing one long composition or several shorter ones by a little-known composer, the latter may have seemed preferable from an economic point of view.

¹⁴⁵ West, "Schubert's Lieder in Context", 1989, vol. 1, p. 76. Widening the view to include other parts of Austria, it should be mentioned that in 1803 Franz Xaver Glöggel's *Musik- Kunst- und Instrumenten-handlung* in Linz offered several of Zumsteeg's sectional songs. The catalogues of the firm, *Erste Fortsetzung des Verzeichniss von Musikalien, welche nebst vielen andern Artikeln in der Musik- Kunst- und Instrumenten-Handlung des Franz Xav. Glöggel in Linz am obern Graben Nro. 46 zu haben sind*, and *Zweyte Fortsetzung* [etc.], are themselves undated, but they were published along with an *Ankündigung einer musikalischen Monatschrift* which is dated May 1803.

¹⁴⁶ West, "Schubert's Lieder in Context", 1989, vol. 1, p. 76 and vol. 2, pp. 74, 75, 85.

¹⁴⁷ Waidelich, *Dokumente 1817-1830*, 1993, §69.

¹⁴⁸ *Erlafsee* (D.586), *Die Forelle* (D.550) and *Widerschein* (D.639).

¹⁴⁹ On the furore that *Erlkönig* provoked, see Gibbs, "The presence of *Erlkönig*", 1992, 58ff. On the earliest publications of Schubert songs, see the Ernst Hilmar, "Cappi (Verlag)" and "Erstdrucke", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, pp. 56f and 114f.

Although large sectional songs such as *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht* were not printed, some of the actually printed songs are sectional enough to make extant reviews potentially interesting in the present context. In 1822, after the publication of Schubert songs by Cappi and Diabelli, substantial essays appeared which comment also on sectional songs.¹⁵⁰ In 1829, Schubert's friend Johann Mayrhofer looked back on 1822 and wrote that "[c]riticism, usually superficial, and beneficial neither to those who create nor to those who enjoy, in 1822 made a valiant and gratifying beginning towards a better understanding of Schubert's songs".¹⁵¹ Beyond these reviews, reviews and discussions of sectional songs by other composers may be used as a complement, since they may bring to light issues which were of importance also in the interpretation of Schubert's sectional songs. In the following pages I will present a selection of such topics. Some of them will then be subjected to further discussion in Chapters 3–5.

Characterization and unity

In one of the reviews of Schubert songs, published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* in 1822 and probably written by Friedrich August Kanne, a whole passage is devoted to Schubert's sectional *Antigone und Oedip* (D.542).¹⁵² (This, by the way, was the song that the bass singer Münch in Linz so appreciated.) The verbal text of this song was written by Mayrhofer and is a poetic treatment of an excerpt from the myth of Oedipus. In the myth, Oedipus, after blinding himself, retires to Kolonos with his daughters (Antigone being one of them) to seek final peace in the grave. In the first part of Mayrhofer's poem, Antigone pleads to the Erinyes to comfort her father and to punish herself instead. In the second part, Oedipus awakes from a bad dream, only to lament his loss both of power and of sight and to apprehend his near death. Schubert's music parallels this change of content with shifts of melodic style, accompanimental pattern, tempo and key.¹⁵³ Kanne praises the setting for its moving "truth" (Wahrheit) in the musical construction:

Antigone's prayer is full of childlike, pious emotion, it is kept in the melodic style, and it expresses in the most touching way the emotions of the daughter who willingly offers herself as a sacrifice for her father. The prayer is disrupted by two intermediate bars which, alternating with short recitatives, portray the anxious groaning of the awaking old man in a most expressive way. The song of

¹⁵⁰ Gibbs, "The presence of *Erlkönig*", 1992, pp. 96f.

¹⁵¹ Quoted from Gibbs, "The presence of *Erlkönig*", 1992, p. 97. Gibbs' translation.

¹⁵² On the differing suggestions as to who wrote the review, see Gibbs, "The presence of *Erlkönig*", 1992, p. 97.

¹⁵³ For a detailed description and discussion of this song, see Werner Thomas, *Schubert-Studien* (Frankfurt a M: Verlag Peter Lang, 1990), pp. 81-114.

Oedipus which now follows, and which ends appropriately with the ghostly exclamation accompanied by gruesome chords, is truly royal and sublime.¹⁵⁴

“Truth”, it seems, here refers to the musical delineation of the characters in the poem. In a poem like the present one, which represents more than one character, sectional form offers a possibility to provide each of the characters with a specific musical attire. This is what Schubert did, and Kanne fully approves. Such musical delineation was normally referred to with terms imported from the visual arts. In “Über die musikalische Mahlerey” (On Musical Painting), in an 1818 issue of the same periodical, Kanne writes with estimation about musical “painting” (Mahlerey) spread “like diamonds” (wie Diamanten) in Zumsteeg’s songs.¹⁵⁵ In 1820, Höhler, a correspondent for the *Abend-Zeitung* in Dresden, wrote with unsullied appreciation about the “truth” (Wahrheit) resulting from Schubert’s skill in musical painting: Schubert “knows how to paint with tones, and when it comes to characteristic truth the Lieder ‘Die Forelle’, ‘Gretchen am Spinnrade’ (from *Faust*), and ‘Der Kampf’, by *Schiller*, surpass everything that one could point to in the realm of Lieder”.¹⁵⁶ With a phrase which takes the analogy with painting even further, Schubert’s highly sectional *Ballade* (D.134) was described in 1830 as “a precious relic from the remains of the deceased singer” and as a “melancholically dark piece of the night, coloured with Rembrandt’s excited imagination”.¹⁵⁷

A different view on word painting is found in another discussion of *Antigone und Oedip*, published in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* in 1822, only two months after Kanne’s review. In the article “Blick auf Schubert’s Lieder” (A View of Schubert’s Lieder), Friedrich von Hentl argues that Schubert’s setting contains too much individual characterization and too little “higher poetic unity”: *Antigone und Oedip* “should be reproached for sacrificing the higher poetic

¹⁵⁴ “Antigones Gebeth ist voll kindlich frommen Gefühles in melodischem Style gehalten, und spricht die Gefühle der sich willig zum Opfer für den Vater darbiethenden Tochter auf das rührendste aus. Es wird durch zwey mit kurzem Recitative abwechselnde Zwischentacte, welche das bange Stöhnen des erwachenden Greises auf das ausdrucksvollste schildern, unterbrochen. Wahrhaft königlich und erhaben ist der nun folgende Gesang Ödips gehalten, der mit dem von schauerlichen Accorden begleiteten Geisterrufe würdig schliesst”. Friedrich August Kanne (?), “Neue Gesangmusik mit Fortepiano-Begleitung”, in *AmZöK*, 19 January 1822. Quoted in Waidelich, *Dokumente 1817-1830*, 1993, §142.

¹⁵⁵ Friedrich August Kanne, “Über die musikalische Mahlerey.”, in *AmZöK*, No. 41, 10 October 1818, cols. [373]-380; No. 42, 17 October 1818, cols. [385]-391; No. 43, 24 October 1818, cols. [393]-397; No. 44, 31 October 1818, cols. [401]-405. Quotation from col. 388. Also see Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968, p. 432.

¹⁵⁶ “[Schubert] versteht es, mit Tönen zu malen und die Lieder: ‘Die Forelle’, ‘Gretchen am Spinnrad’ (aus *Faust*), und: ‘Der Kampf’, von *Schiller*, übertreffen an charakteristischer Wahrheit Alles, was man im Liederfache aufzuweisen hat”. *Abend-Zeitung* (Dresden), No. 26, 30 January 1821. Quoted in Waidelich, *Dokumente 1817-1830*, 1993, §69.

¹⁵⁷ “Ein köstliches Überbleibsel aus dem Nachlasse des entschlafenen Sängers”, “schweremüthig düsteres Nachtstück mit Rembrandt’s aufgeregter Phantasie colorirt”. *Allgemeiner Musikalischer Anzeiger* (Vienna), No. 7, 13 February 1830. Quoted in Waidelich, *Dokumente 1817-1830*, 1993, §765.

unity in favour of too affected a musical painting of the details”.¹⁵⁸ Vivid characterization is here regarded as threatening the poetic unity of the work. von Hentl’s ideal is the combination of characterization and unity, a task which he finds realized in *Erkönig*, Schubert’s “most brilliant” work. His evaluation is close to that of many modern writers on Schubert – he even speaks about the “organic coherence” (organischen Zusammenhang) in *Erkönig* – but, importantly, he locates the basis and motivation for musical coherence in the poem rather than in a concept of absolute music. According to him, the reason why the music must have “a uniform tone” (einen gleichförmig gehaltenen Ton) is that Goethe’s poem has a steady “tone of the *Romanze*” (Romanzenton).

Apparently, though, a sectional song *could* be considered to strike a balance between painting and unity. In a comment on Carl Blum’s sectional *Aus Axel und Walburg*, a setting of a text by Adam Oehlenschläger, it is remarked not only that the song contains the true *Romanzenton*, but also that there are beautiful melodies, that the accompaniment “not seldom” is interesting, and that “all way through the eight fully written out strophes” the song “varies [...] in declamation and accompaniment as well as in key and metre”, all of which contributes excellently to the “colouring” (Colorit) of the song as a whole.¹⁵⁹ According to the aesthete Johann Georg Sulzer’s definition of the term in his *Allgemeine Theorie der Künste*, “Colorit” (colouring) is “that part of the art of painting which gives to each and every object the colours that they must have so that the whole may appear as an object which exists in nature”.¹⁶⁰ If this is how the critic understood the term, what he meant was probably that the form of Blum’s music, which we may today characterize as sectional, is necessary if the song as a whole is to be what it should.

But terminology imported from painting could also be used to describe the relationship between unity and individual characterization in a more detailed way. Kanne, being impressed by Schubert’s ability to “bring forth the poet’s images in the mind of the receptive listener so that they can be the subject of deeply moving

¹⁵⁸ “[*Antigone und Oedip*] dürfte der Tadel treffen, daß die höhere, poetische Einheit einer zu gesuchten musikalischen Malerey des Einzelnen aufgeopfert sey”. Friedrich von Hentl, “Blick auf Schubert’s Lieder”, in *WZKLTM*, No. 36, 25 March 1822, pp. 289ff. Quoted in Waidelich, *Dokumente 1817-1830*, 1993, §146. Also see Gibbs, “The presence of *Erkönig*”, 1992, p. 100.

¹⁵⁹ “Nro. 5. *Gesang* aus *Oehlenschlägers: Axel und Walburg* [...] wechselt die 8 ausgeschriebenen Strophen hindurch sowohl in der Declamation und Begleitung, als in der Ton- und Tactart, was zum Colorit des Ganzen vorzüglich wirkt”. “Literarische Anzeige. Romanzen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte, in Musik gesetzt [...] von Carl Blum, 32. Werk. Wien, bey A. S. Steiner und Comp.”, in *AmZöK*, No. 75, 18 December 1819, col. 604. A copy of Carl Blum’s *Aus Axel und Walburg* is held at the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, catalogue number VI 2126, Q 4489.

¹⁶⁰ “Mit diesem Namen [i.e. Colorit] bezeichnet man den Theil der Malerey, der jedem Gegenstand die Farben zu geben weiß, die er haben muß, damit das Ganze, als ein in der Natur vorhandener Gegenstand in die Augen falle”. Johann Georg Sulzer, “Colorit”, in *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Weidemanns Erben und Reich, 1771), reissued as vol. 67 of *Digitale Bibliothek* (Berlin: Directmedia, 2002), p. 209. The digital issue of this work employs a double pagination system. I refer to the page numbers which are in accordance with the original print.

contemplation”,¹⁶¹ takes as an example *Gretchen am Spinnrade*. In this song, Schubert’s “picturesque imitation” (mahlerische Nachbildung) of a spinning wheel serves as a “most characteristic background in Rembrandtesque chiaroscuro” (höchst Charakteristischen in Rembrandischen Helldunkel gehaltenen Hintergrunde) to the depiction of Gretchen’s soul, a soul which is now lost in “gloomy images of the present time and of the future” (düstere Bilder der Gegenwart und Zukunft), now in “melancholically sweet memories of the past” (wehmütig süsse Erinnerungen der Vergangenheit). The musical painting of a “succession of emotions” (Wechsel der Gefühle) is here combined with a stable pictorial background.¹⁶² Similarly, in his discussion on *Erlkönig*, von Hentl writes that “the harmonious expression, the tone” (der harmonische Ausdruck, der Ton) in the accompaniment brings about the organic unity and constitutes “the foundation upon which the tonepainting is executed” (die Grundlage, auf welche das Tongemälde aufgetragen ist). With “deeply penetrating truth” (tief eingreifender Wahrheit), the melody characterizes the “inner aspects of the plot” (das Innere der Handlung), that is to say the alternating emotions of the father, the child and the Erlking. But this characterization is fully integrated in an unbroken *Romanzenton* which results when the accompaniment expresses “the outer aspects of the plot, namely the horse’s gallop and the rage of the storm”.¹⁶³ According to von Hentl, characterization is here successfully contained within poetic unity.

These reviews indicate that different views on the ideal relationship between foreground illustration and background unity coexisted. On what ideas were these views based? Why did some think that a “higher poetic unity” was so important? What, really, is a “Ton”? Can the ways in which painting was used as a metaphor tell us something more about how sectional songs were interpreted? And what was the position of Schubert’s circle on these matters? These questions will be discussed in Chapter 3, in which Schubert’s *Die Bürgschaft* is considered in relation to the practice and theory of declamation, an art whose appropriate relationship to painting was a topic of much debate.

Further questions about the relationship between characterization and sense of unity in sectional songs arise when one reads a fairly brief article from 1818, “Deutsche Lieder mit Musik” (German Lieder with Music) by the signature “B. v. M.”¹⁶⁴ In contrast to the articles on Schubert from 1822, this text was written and published before Schubert’s public break-through with *Erlkönig* and its modified sectional form. The title of the article is presented as one which is to recur in future

¹⁶¹ “des Dichters Gebilde in dem Gemüthe des empfänglichen Zuhörers zur tief ergreifenden Anschauung zu bringen”.

¹⁶² Friedrich August Kanne (?) “Neue Gesangsmusik mit Fortepiano-Begleitung”, 1822. Quoted in Waidelich, *Dokumente 1817-1830*, 1993, §142.

¹⁶³ “das Äußere der Handlung, nämlich der Galopp des Pferdes und das Dazwischenbrausen des Sturmes“. Friedrich von Hentl, “Blick auf Schubert’s Lieder”, 1822. Quoted in Waidelich, *Dokumente 1817-1830*, 1993, §146.

¹⁶⁴ B. v. M., “Deutsche Lieder mit Musik”, in *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, No. 111, 15 September 1818, p. 442.

issues of *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung* to provide space for the presentation of new “German Lieder with musical accompaniment” (deutschen Lieder mit Musikbegleitung). This intention seems not to have been realized, however. At least, the following issues of 1818 contain neither this heading, nor any other articles on “Lieder”. But the extant article is in itself interesting enough, for it is written as a brief manifesto for the writing of “Lieder” – a term which is here used in an inclusive way – and also constitutes a miniature historical exposé of the genre, based, it seems, on what was available in the local music shops.¹⁶⁵ The article is clearly sympathetic to sectional songs. According to the author, the “Lied” experienced a down period after the death of Johann André (1741-1799), a composer who was particularly famous for his *Lenore*, a sectional setting of Bürger’s ballad with the same title.¹⁶⁶ A single strophic setting is mentioned in the article, and then with regret: Beethoven put Friedrich August Kleinschmid’s poem “Der Mann von Wort” (The Man of His Word) to strophic music and thereby “far from developed what the poet so heartily and ingeniously put into his verses”.¹⁶⁷ But lately, it is said, several successful works have been composed, one of which is the (sectional) *Die Rückkehr aus Westphalen* (*The Return from Westphalia*), a work which is an example of “exactly how one should write [poetry] and sing”.¹⁶⁸ The poem put to music was written by Friedrich August Kanne, the very man whose articles on Schubert and on painting in music I have referred to, and the music was added by Adalbert Gyrowetz, a conductor at the Vienna Court Theatre. In the article, the model for Gyrowetz’s music is said to be Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg, and it is implied that Zumsteeg and his followers were able to achieve what Beethoven did not achieve in his strophic setting of “Der Mann von Wort”:

For the sake of their true poetical value and their pure comprehensibility, it would be desirable that more [...] poems by the revered Herr author [i.e. Kanne] be used by talented composers, that they be ingeniously composed with the proper expression for the word and the emotion, as *Zumsteeg* did with the poems by Bürger and Stollberg.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ At the end of the article, it is said that “[t]he poems cited above can here be obtained at *Steiner’s* music-shop and at *Cappi* in the Kohlmarkt”. (Die bereits oben angeführten Gedichte sind hierorts in *Steiners* Musikalienhandlung und bey *Cappi* am Kohlmarkt zu haben.) *ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ André’s *Lenore* was published in five different versions between 1775 and 1800 (Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968, p. 209) and “deeply impressed an entire generation” (Wolfgang Plath, “Johann [Jean] André”, in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 31 January 2006). For a description of the musical structure of this song, see Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968, pp. 207-213.

¹⁶⁷ “lange das nicht entwickelt, was der Dichter so herz- und geistvoll in seine Verse legte”. B. v. M., “Deutsche Lieder mit Musik”, 1818, p. 442.

¹⁶⁸ “Ganz so, wie man dichten und singen soll, ist ‘*die Rückkehr aus Westphalen*,’ mit Musik von Kapellmeister *Gyrowetz*”. (*ibid.*) A copy of *Die Rückkehr aus Westphalen* is held at the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, catalogue number VI 12346, Q5819.

¹⁶⁹ “Es wäre zu wünschen, daß mehrere [...] Gedichte des verehrten Herr Verfassers [Kanne], ihres wahren poetischen Werthes und ihrer reinen Faßlichkeit wegen von talentvollen Tonsetzern benützt, und wie *Zumsteeg* die Bürger- und Stollberg’schen Gedichte in Musik setzte, geistvoll mit dem eigentlichen Ausdruck für das Wort und die Empfindung componirt würden”. *ibid.*

The Zumsteeg songs referred to here are probably his large-scale, sectional settings of ballads by Gottfried August Bürger (*Des Pfarrers Tochter von Taubenhayn*, *Die Entführung* and *Lenore*) and by Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg (*Die Büßende*), songs which were well-known well into the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁰

Of particular interest is the short discussion of how Kanne's various poems condition musical setting. The writing of a poem to be set to music and the setting of that poem to music are here presented as being of equal importance for the end result. Kanne is said to show in several ways that he is able to write "for the song" (für den Gesang). Firstly, his poems "speak to the heart and are full of pure, warm emotion" (sprechen innig an und sind voll reiner, warmer Empfindung), qualities which are prerequisites for a successful musical setting, for "music demands such traits" (solche Eigenheiten fordert die Musik). A further merit is that his verses are "pure, unforced, and melodic" (rein, zwanglos und melodisch), a good thing for the composer since such poems "dictate the song, as it were" (dictiren den Gesang gleichsam). So far the argument is easy to follow, but it becomes slightly more opaque when Kanne's poems are said also to be

full of cordial effusion, fiery fantasy, and *Haltung*. This is another advantage for the composer, who is not being forced to break the boundaries of the character or to cut a song in two pieces in order suddenly to pass from seriousness to something like naivety, a procedure which we have often witnessed!¹⁷¹

Apparently, the author regards *Die Rückkehr aus Westphalen*, which I would characterize as a sectional song, as constituting a unity, a unity of character, to be precise. But what, exactly, is meant by "character" here? And what is "Haltung"? In "Blick auf Schubert's Lieder" (1822), von Hentl employs the word "Haltung" too, in combination with "tone" (Ton), when he describes Schubert's somewhat sectional *Memnon* (D.541): In *Memnon* "the sound of the Memnon column is suitably woven into the accompaniment: this gives tone and *Haltung* to the whole".¹⁷²

What is missing in almost all comments that I have quoted in this chapter is both explanations of certain technical terms and indications as to why the features to which the terms refer should be present in a song. What are "character", "tone" and "*Haltung*", and why are they so important? And could as sectional a song as Schubert's *Die Bürgschaft* be considered to have these features? These are questions to which I will turn in the following chapter.

¹⁷⁰ Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, p. 69.

¹⁷¹ "voll herzlicher Ergießung, feuriger Phantasie und Haltung; wieder ein Vorteil für den Tonsetzer, der nicht gezwungen wird, aus dem Charakter zu fallen oder ein Gesangstück in zwey Theile zu schneiden, um von dem Ernsthaften etwa plötzlich ins Naive überzugehen, wie wir das oft schon erlebt haben!" B. v. M., "Deutsche Lieder mit Musik", 1818, p. 442.

¹⁷² "[In *Memnon*] ist das Klingen der Memnonssäule treffend in die Begleitung verwebt: es gibt dem Ganzen Ton und Haltung". von Hentl, "Blick auf Schubert's Lieder", 1822. Quoted in Waidelich, *Dokumente 1817-1830*, 1993, §146.

3. Freedom and Captivity: *Die Bürgschaft* (D.246) and the Art of Declamation

A contradiction in the circle's thinking?

In his 1987 thesis about the “intellectual and aesthetic tenets” of Schubert’s circle of friends, David Gramit points out what he regards as a contradiction in the circle’s thinking in the early years. On the one hand, he says, the circle cherished songs in which Schubert employed an “episodic approach” to musical setting. As examples of such songs he mentions *Die Bürgschaft*, *Uranien’s Flucht*, and “several of the songs of Ossian”, songs which “seem to the modern listener to be little more than successive episodes strung together one after another”.¹⁷³ On the other hand, he says, the circle asserted that art should be characterized by simplicity and clarity, qualities regarded by the intellectual élite to which the circle considered itself as belonging as characteristics of “beautiful” unity in multiplicity. Indeed, the idea that all art should be beautiful is a “point that none of the circle’s principal members ever appear to question”.¹⁷⁴ In order to dissolve this contradiction, Gramit suggests that the aesthetic qualities of a song did not have to be perfect as long as the song expressed cherished values. “Apparently”, he writes, the friends’ “desire for music expressing their will to action and respect for noble deeds overrode their aesthetic values”.¹⁷⁵ Moral content, that is, was more important than aesthetics.

I think Gramit settles this matter too soon, for in order to say something about whether or not the circle perceived a contradiction between aesthetic theory and artistic practice in some of Schubert’s sectional songs, we need a more detailed knowledge both about their notion of the nature and purpose of beautiful simplicity and clarity and about how (if at all) they thought that these qualities could be realized in the musical setting of a lengthy poem. In the following, I will seek such knowledge with particular regard to one of the songs which Gramit mentions: *Die Bürgschaft* (*The Bond*, D.246), Schubert’s 452-bar setting from August 1815 of Friedrich Schiller’s twenty-strophe ballad with the same name.¹⁷⁶ (Appendix 1.)

This particular song leads to a further, but related reason why I think Gramit is too hasty in defusing the potential conflict between content and form. For,

¹⁷³ Gramit, “The intellectual and aesthetic tenets”, 1987, pp. 127f.

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁷⁶ Following my practice in this study, I will refer to Schiller’s poem as “*Die Bürgschaft*” and Schubert’s setting as *Die Bürgschaft*. The poem is found in *Schillers Werke: Nationalausgabe*, vol. 1, ed. Julius Petersen and Friedrich Reißner (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1943), pp. 421-5. Schubert’s setting (D.246) has not yet appeared in the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe* but is available in *Franz Schubert. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Eusebius Mandyczewski (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894-1895), Series 20, No. 109, pp. 11-29.

as we shall see, not only was beauty of art in itself highly valued within the circle. Beauty was also closely related to a particular concept of friendship which is likely to have framed the friends' reading of Schiller's poem. Therefore, if the circle perceived the song's form as lacking in beauty, to accept that lack can hardly have been as unproblematic as Gramit intimates. For such a deficiency would mean not only that an aesthetic theory was being compromised in an actual composition. It would also imply an explicit contradiction between the poem's semantic content and the music's form. That potential conflict is the topic around which I will structure the present chapter. Here follows Schiller's poem, which was finished on 30 August 1798.¹⁷⁷ It is accompanied by a highly selective outline of Schubert's sectional music.

	Die Bürgschaft	The Bond
Schnell, Recitative C minor, <i>p</i> , <i>ff</i> , <i>mf</i> , <i>fz</i>	¹ Zu Dionys, dem Tyrannen, schlich Möros, den Dolch im Gewande; Ihn schlugen die Häscher in Bande. "Was wolltest du mit dem Dolche? sprich!" Entgegnet ihm finster der Wüterich. "Die Stadt vom Tyrannen befreien!" "Das sollst du am Kreuze bereuen."	Moros, his dagger concealed in his cloak, Stealthily approached the tyrant Dinosos. The henchmen clapped him in irons. 'What did you intend with you r dagger, speak! The evil tyrant asked menacingly. 'To free this city from the tyrant.' 'You shall rue this on the cross.'
im Takte, D minor		
Arioso, D minor	² "Ich bin," spricht jener, "zu sterben bereit Und bitte nicht um mein Leben; Doch willst du Gnade mir geben, Ich flehe dich um drei Tage Zeit, Bis ich die Schwester dem Gatten gefreit; Ich lasse den Freund dir als Bürgen – Ihn magst du, entrinn' ich, erwürgen."	'I am', he said, 'ready to die. And do not beg for my life. But if you will show me clemency I ask from you three days' grace Until I have given my sister in marriage As surety I will leave you my friend – If I fail, then hang him.'
C major		
Recitative, <i>p</i>	³ Da lächelt der König mit arger List Und spricht nach kurzem Bedenken: "Drei Tage will ich dir schenken. Doch wisse! wenn sie verstrichen die Frist, Eh' du zurück mir gegeben bist, So muß er statt deiner erlassen, Doch dir ist die Strafe erlassen."	The king smiled with evil cunning, And after reflecting awhile spoke: 'I will grant you three days But know this: if the time runs out Before you are returned to me, He must die instead of you, But you will be spared punishment.'
Arioso, <i>f</i> , B minor		
<i>p</i> Ruhig, pi. interl.		
Recitative, <i>p</i> ; Arioso, Mässig, D major	⁴ Und er kommt zum Freunde: "Der König gebeut, Daß ich am Kreuz mit dem Leben Bezahle das frevelnde Streben; Doch will er mir gönnen drei Tage Zeit,	He went to his friend. 'The king decrees That I am to pay on the cross with my life For my attempted crime. But he is willing to grant me three days' grace

¹⁷⁷ Schiller's "Die Bürgschaft" is here quoted from Maximilian and Lilly Schochow, ed., *Franz Schubert. Die Texte seiner einstimmig komponierten Lieder und ihre Dichter* (Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974), vol. 2, pp. 523-526. Schubert made only minute changes to the text, all of which Schochow and Schochow account for on p. 526. The English translation is quoted from Richard Wigmore, ed. and trans., *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1992), pp. 144-148.

	Bis ich die Schwester dem Gatten gefreit. So bleib du dem König zum Pfande, Bis ich komme, zu lösen die Bande.”	Until I have married my sister to her spouse. Stand surety with the king Until I return to redeem the bond.’
Piano interlude Recitative	⁵ Und schweigend umarmt ihn der treue Freund Und liefert sich aus dem Tyrannen; Der andere ziehet von dannen. Und ehe das dritte Morgenrot scheint, Hat er schnell mit dem Gatten die Schwester vereint, Eilt heim mit sorgender Seele, Damit er die Frist nicht verfehle.	Silently his faithful friend embraced him, And gave himself up to the tyrant. Moros departed. Before the third day dawned He had quickly married his sister to her betrothed. He now hastened home with troubled soul Lest he should fail to meet the appointed time.
Lieblich, pi. interl. Recit, B♭ major, im Takt, ohne Takt, Geschwind, mf, pi. interlude, Arioso, ff, D minor and then various keys. Agitated tone painting.	⁶ Da gießt unendlicher Regen herab, Von den Bergen stürzen die Quellen, Und die Bäche, die Ströme schwellen. Und er kommt ans Ufer mit wanderndem Stab – Da reißet die Brücke der Strudel hinab, Und donnernd sprengen die Wogen Des Gewölbes krachenden Bogen.	The rain poured down ceaselessly Torrents streamed down the mountains, Brooks and rivers swelled. When he came to the bank, staff in hand, The bridge was swept down by the whirlpool, And the thundering waves destroyed Its crashing arches.
	⁷ Und trostlos irrt er an Ufers Rand: Wie weit er auch spähet und blicket Und die Stimme, die rufende, schicket – Da stößt kein Nachen vom sichern Strand, Der ihn setze an das gewünschte Land, Kein Schiffer lenket die Fähre, Und der wilde Strom wird zum Meere.	Disconsolate, he trudged along the bank. However far his eyes travelled, And his shouts resounded, No boat left the safety of the banks To carry him to the shore he sought. No boatman steered his ferry, And the turbulent river became a sea.
decrecendo Recitative, fz, im Takte, schnell, taktlos, im Takte, wie oben, piano inter- lude; Arioso, ff, D minor, agitated tone painting.	⁸ Da sinkt er ans Ufer und weint und fleht, Die Hände zum Zeus erhoben: “O hemme des Stromes Toben! Es eilen die Stunden, im Mittag steht Die Sonne, und wenn sie niedergeht Und ich kann die Stadt nicht erreichen, So muß der Freund mir erleichen.”	He fell on to the bank, sobbing and imploing, His hands raised to Zeus: ‘O curb the raging torrent! The hours speed by, the sun stands At its zenith, and when it sets And I cannot reach the city, My friend will die for me.[]’
ffz, decrescendo, p	⁹ Doch wachsend erneut sich des Stromes Wuth, Und Welle auf Welle zerrinet, Und Stunde an Stunde entrinnet. Da treibt ihn die Angst, da faßt er sich Muth Und wirft sich hinein in die brausende Flut, Und teilt mit gewaltigen Armen Den Strom, und ein Gott hat Erbarmen.	But the river grew ever more angry, Wave upon wave broke, And hour upon hour flew by. Gripped with fear, he took courage And flung himself into the seething flood; With powerful arms he clove The waters, and a god had mercy on him.
G♯ major, mf Geschwinder, f	¹⁰ Und gewinnt das Ufer und eilet fort Und danket dem rettenden Gotte; Da stürzt die raubende Rotte Hervor aus des Waldes nächtlichem Ort,	He reached the bank and hastened on, Thanking the god that saved him. Then a band of robbers Stormed from the dark recesses of the forest,

<p>Noch geschwin- der</p>	<p>Den Pfad ihm sperrend, und schnaubet Mord Und hemmet des Wanderers Eile Mit drohend geschwungener Keule.</p>	<p>Blocking his path and threatening death. They halted the traveller's swift course With their menacing clubs.</p>
<p>Recitative im Takte, wie oben</p>	<p>¹¹“Was wollt ihr?” ruft er, für Schrecken bleich, “Ich habe nichts als mein Leben, Das muß ich dem Könige geben!” Und entreißt die Keule dem nächsten gleich: “Um des Freundes willen erbarmet euch!” Und drei mit gewaltigen Streichen Erlegt er, die andern entweichen.</p>	<p>‘What do you want?’ he cried, pale with terror, ‘I have nothing but my life, And that I must give to the king!’ He seized the club of the one nearest him: ‘For the sake of my friend, have mercy!’ Then with mighty blows he felled three of them, And the others escaped.</p>
<p>B minor</p>	<p>¹²Und die Sonne versendet glühenden Brand, Und von der unendlichen Mühe Ermattet sinken die Knie: “O hast du mich gnädig aus Räubers Hand, Aus dem Strom mich gerettet ans heilige Land, Und soll hier verschmachtet verderben, Und der Freund mir, der liebende, sterben!”</p>	<p>The sun shed its glowing fire, And from their ceaseless exertion His weary knees gave way. ‘You have mercifully saved me from the hands of robbers, You have saved me from the river and brought me to sacred land. Am I to die of thirst here, And is my devoted friend to perish?’</p>
<p>Recitative, <i>pp</i>,</p>	<p>¹³Und horch! da sprudelt es silberhell Ganz nahe, wie rieselndes Rauschen, Und stille hält er, zu lauschen; Und sieh, aus dem Felsen, geschwätzig, schnell, Springt murrend hervor ein lebendiger Quell, Und freudig bückt er sich nieder Und erfrischt die brennenden Glieder.</p>	<p>But hark, a silvery bubbling sound Close by, like rippling water. He stopped and listened quietly; And lo, bubbling from the rock, A living spring gushed forth. Joyfully he stopped To refresh his burning body.</p>
<p>Arioso, Langsam, mit Ausdruck, E minor</p>	<p>¹⁴Und die Sonne blickt durch der Zweige Grün Und malt auf den glänzenden Matten Der Bäume gigantische Schatten; Und zwei Wanderer sieht er die Straße ziehn, Will eilenden Laufes vorüber fliehn, Da hört er die Worte sie sagen: “Jetzt wird er ans Kreuz geschlagen.”</p>	<p>Now the sun shone through green branches And upon the radiant fields The trees' gigantic shadows. He saw two travellers on the road, And with rapid steps was about to overtake them When he heard them speak these words: ‘Now he is being bound to the cross.’</p>
<p>Etwas ge- schwinder, <i>p</i>, D major</p>	<p>¹⁵Und die Angst beflügelt den eilenden Fuß, Und ihn jagen der Sorge Qualen; Da schimmern in Abendroths Strahlen Von ferne die Zinnen von Syrakus, Und entgegen kommt ihm Philostratus, Des Hauses redlicher Hüter, Der erkennt entsetzt den Gebieter:</p>	<p>Fear quickened his steps, He was driven on by torments of anxiety; Then, in the sun's dying rays, The towers of Syracuse glinted from afar, And Philostratus, his household's faithful steward, Came towards him. With horror he recognized his master.</p>
<p>Langsam, <i>f</i>, B major</p>	<p>¹⁶“Zurück! du rettest den Freund nicht mehr, So rette das eigene Leben! Den Tod erleidet er eben.</p>	<p>‘Turn back! You will not save you friend now, So save your own life! At this moment he meets his death.</p>
<p>Geschwind, <i>p</i>, C major</p>	<p>¹⁵Und die Angst beflügelt den eilenden Fuß, Und ihn jagen der Sorge Qualen; Da schimmern in Abendroths Strahlen Von ferne die Zinnen von Syrakus, Und entgegen kommt ihm Philostratus, Des Hauses redlicher Hüter, Der erkennt entsetzt den Gebieter:</p>	<p>Fear quickened his steps, He was driven on by torments of anxiety; Then, in the sun's dying rays, The towers of Syracuse glinted from afar, And Philostratus, his household's faithful steward, Came towards him. With horror he recognized his master.</p>
<p><i>f</i> Piano interlude <i>p</i> <i>f</i> <i>ff</i> Etwas langsamer</p>	<p>¹⁵Und die Angst beflügelt den eilenden Fuß, Und ihn jagen der Sorge Qualen; Da schimmern in Abendroths Strahlen Von ferne die Zinnen von Syrakus, Und entgegen kommt ihm Philostratus, Des Hauses redlicher Hüter, Der erkennt entsetzt den Gebieter:</p>	<p>Fear quickened his steps, He was driven on by torments of anxiety; Then, in the sun's dying rays, The towers of Syracuse glinted from afar, And Philostratus, his household's faithful steward, Came towards him. With horror he recognized his master.</p>
<p>Recitative, <i>ffz</i></p>	<p>¹⁶“Zurück! du rettest den Freund nicht mehr, So rette das eigene Leben! Den Tod erleidet er eben.</p>	<p>‘Turn back! You will not save you friend now, So save your own life! At this moment he meets his death.</p>

<p>Arioso, <i>p</i>, G major <i>f</i></p>	<p>Von Stunde zu Stunde gewartet' er Mit hoffender Seele der Wiederkehr, Ihm konnte den mutigen Glauben Der Hohn des Tyrannen nicht rauben." –</p>	<p>From hour to hour he awaited Your return with hope in his soul, The tyrant's derision could not weaken His courageous faith.' –</p>
<p><i>ffz</i> <i>ffz</i></p> <p>F major Piano interlude</p>	<p>¹⁷“Und ist es zu spät und kann ich ihm nicht Ein Retter willkommen erscheinen, So soll mich der Tod ihm vereinen. Deß rühme der blut'ge Tyrann sich nicht, Daß der Freund dem Freunde gebrochen die Pflicht – Er schlachte der Opfer zweie Und glaube an Liebe und Treue.”</p>	<p>'If it is too late, if I cannot Appear before him as his welcome saviour, Then let death unite us. The bloodthirsty tyrant shall never gloat That one friend broke his pledge to another – Let him slaughter two victims And believe in love and loyalty.'</p>
<p>Recitative, <i>p</i>, E♭ major; im Takt, wie oben</p> <p><i>ff</i></p>	<p>¹⁸ Und die Sonne geht unter, da steht er am Tor Und sieht das Kreuz schon erhöht, Das die Menge gaffend umstehet; An dem Seile schon zieht man den Freund empor, Da zertrennt er gewaltig den dichter Chor:</p>	<p>The sun set as he reached the gate And saw the cross already raised, Surrounded by a gaping throng. His friend was already being hoisted up by the ropes, When he forced his way through the dense crowd.</p>
<p><i>ffz, ffz, ffz</i> A♭ major Piano interlude <i>pp</i></p>	<p>“Mich, Henker”, ruft er, “erwürget! Da bin ich, für den er gebürget!”</p>	<p>'Kill me, hangman!' he cried, []It is I, for whom he stood surety.'</p>
<p>Recitative Etwas langsam</p>	<p>¹⁹ Und Erstaunen ergreift das Volk umher, In den Armen liegen sich beide Und weinen vor Schmerzen und Freude. Da sieht man kein Auge thränenleer, Und zum Könige bringt man die Wundemär; Der fühlt ein menschliches Rühren, Läßt schnell vor den Thron sie führen.</p>	<p>The people standing by were seized with astonishment; The two friends were in each other's arms, Weeping with grief and joy. No eye was without tears; The wondrous tidings reached the king; He was stirred by humane feelings, And at once summoned the friends before his throne.</p>
<p><i>ff</i>, diminuendo, Recitative Arioso, Mässig, G major. <i>p, f</i></p>	<p>²⁰ Und blicket sie lange verwundert an; Drauf spricht er: “Es ist euch gelungen, Ihr habt das Herz mir bezwungen, – Und die Treue, sie ist doch kein leerer Wahn – So nehmet auch mich zum Genossen an: Ich sey, gewährt mir die Bitte, In eurem Bunde der Dritte.”</p>	<p>He looked at them long, amazed, Then spoke: "You have succeeded, You have conquered this heart of mine. Loyalty is no vain delusion – Then take me, too, as a friend. Grant me this request: Admit me As the third in your fellowship.'</p>
<p><i>ff, mf</i>, diminuendo.</p>		

Freedom and ideal in friendship and art

Schiller's "Die Bürgerschaft" is set in Ancient Sicily, but it can be assumed that Schubert's circle read it as a parallel to their own time, just as they did with many of their own poems set in Antiquity.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, their reading of Schiller's poem was probably at least partly framed by their participation in the youth movement burgeoning during the popular rising and the wars against Napoleon's forces in 1813-1814. This movement was not merely opposing French occupation. It was also characterized by a longing for a united German nation founded on principles of freedom and equality. The movement's perception that the German "people", not the "cowardly" nobility, had defeated Napoleon made the national and liberal demands seem legitimate. Patriotism and nationalism became synonymous with love of freedom and national sovereignty as well as with opposition against tyranny.¹⁷⁹ During the wars, but also afterwards, the movement sought to promote unselfishness and "manly" eagerness to accomplish deeds for the common weal.¹⁸⁰ Poetry was to serve as a call for political action, as expressed in the motto "word and deed".¹⁸¹ The main idol of the movement was the soldier-poet Theodor Körner (1791-1813), whose collected works were published the year after his death under a title modelled on the motto: *Leyer und Schwerdt* (*Lyre and Sword*). Körner was not only extremely well-known by the time Schubert composed *Die Bürgerschaft*. He had also been a close friend of Josef von Spaun's, and Schubert had met him in 1813, the year of Körner's allegedly heroic death.¹⁸² Beside Körner, Schiller (a close friend of Körner's father Christian Gottfried Körner, by the way) was the most cherished poet in the national movement. A complete edition of his works was produced in Vienna between 1805 and 1812, a copy of which was in Schober's possession from 1812.¹⁸³

Nationalism is not obviously present in "Die Bürgerschaft", but love of freedom and resistance against tyranny are. During the liberation wars, the tyrant Dionys in Schiller's poem may have been associated primarily with Napoleon. But in due course, for Schubert's liberal friends this character probably came to signify any oppressor or oppressive system, including the Austrian state apparatus. For one of the results of the Congress of Vienna – the international political meeting lasting from October 1814 to June 1815 at which European leaders sought to establish the order of post-Napoleonic Europe – was that liberal claims were silenced through censorship and persecution.¹⁸⁴ After the Congress, the ideal unity of word and deed thus became difficult to maintain. In Austria, as elsewhere, the national youth movement had to

¹⁷⁸ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 201, 204, 265.

¹⁷⁹ Dittrich, "Für Menschenohren", 1997, pp. 169.

¹⁸⁰ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 72, 191.

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁸² *ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 129.

move under ground. In Schubert's circle of friends it lived on, under cover,¹⁸⁵ but it did not remain undetected. The month before Schubert composed *Die Bürgschaft*, just as the Congress was being closed, the circle was informed that the authorities suspected them to be revolutionaries and that they were being observed.¹⁸⁶ During the wars it had at least been conceivable for the members of the circle to follow the example of Körner by joining the campaigns against Napoleon as soldiers, although none of them did so. In the politically bleak peace which followed, such concrete "deeds" were no longer feasible. The fight for freedom could not be fought on the battlefield, nor in politics, and so had either to be called off or to find other fields of action. At least until around 1815 the circle chose the latter option. (I will turn to the subsequent development in Chapter 4.) Indeed, already during the liberation wars they sought other means than participating in the actual fighting. In a letter to Schober, written on 16 May 1813, Ottenwalt speaks about times "when outward action is more and more restricted, when there is less and less happiness and noble freedom for man and the burgher" and about the possibility "to work the more vigorously inwards, in order to resist the paralysing impression of cowardly dejection and to raise us to that degree of perfection which diligence and talent allows".¹⁸⁷

In part this meant to prepare for the coming of a better time by studying historical models.¹⁸⁸ A main source of such models was Greek history, where the friends found a degree of patriotism, political virtue, and self-denial in favour of a cause which, they thought, had no equal in later times.¹⁸⁹ Self-sacrifice in favour of a higher purpose was a way of life which they regarded as both politically and aesthetically valuable.¹⁹⁰ But the circle's quiet fight for freedom amounted to more than the study of history. It also included the building of their minds according to principles without which, they thought, real political freedom could never be achieved. This is what Ottenwalt refers to when he writes that he wants to work "inwards". The two main fields in which the circle sought to accomplish freedom and perfection were *friendship* and *art*. *Die Bürgschaft* was clearly connected to both. Let us turn to each field in turn.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁸⁶ Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, pp. 147f.

¹⁸⁷ "für Zeiten, wo die Wirkung nach aussen immer mehr eingeengt, wo Glück und edle Freiheit des Menschen und Bürger immer weniger wird, desto kräftiger [...] nach innen zu arbeiten, dem lähmenden Eindrücke des feigen Unmuths zu widerstehen, und uns auf jenen Grad von Vollkommenheit emporzuschwingen, den Fleiß und Anlage nur immer erreichen können". Letter from Anton Ottenwalt to Franz Schober, 16 May 1813. Quoted in Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 60f. A somewhat larger part of the letter is quoted in Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, pp. 378-80.

¹⁸⁸ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 194.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 61, 65.

Friendship

Schiller's "Die Bürgschaft" must have been read as an expression of the notion that, when the aim is to get rid of a dictator, friendship may actually be a more effective means than violence. The plot is set around 400 BC and starts with the attempt of Möros (the main character) to stab the tyrant Dionys and thus to free the city of Syracuse from its oppressor.¹⁹¹ Möros is immediately caught and sentenced to death by crucifixion. He does not protest, but, promising to leave his friend as security, he asks for a respite of three days so that he can travel home to marry off his sister. Dionys allows Möros to leave but adds "mit arger List" (with malicious cunning) that if he has not returned in three days time his friend will be crucified while Möros himself will be let off. Later, Möros' friend agrees without hesitation to be Möros' security, and Möros departs. Thereby the moral examination of Möros takes its beginning. Will he return to set his friend free, at the cost of his own life, or will he take advantage of the cynic Dionys' shrewd plan to prove for himself and for others that friendship is nothing but hypocrisy, thus saving his own skin but also showing that the tyrant is right? Once Möros has married off his sister he hurries back towards Syracuse, but on his way he is delayed by flood, drought and robbers. With utmost exertion he manages to return just as his friend is about to be crucified. Dionys is so moved by the friends' loyalty that he softens and humbly asks for the favour of being accepted as a third member in their bond of friendship.

The plot thus begins with a failed attempt at violent struggle for freedom and ends with freedom instead being achieved by means of friendship. Thereby the poem could serve as a programmatic statement of the notion in Schubert's circle that a bond of friendship is the model for how, utopically, society as a whole should be united.¹⁹² Indeed, the fact that a social border is erased when Dionys joins the bond of his subjects makes the poem a potential metonym for the uniting of a society. Importantly, though, in contrast for example to Mozart's last opera *La clemenza di Tito* (*The Clemency of Titus*) where the king is the guarantee of state-wide friendship,¹⁹³ in "Die Bürgschaft" it is the monarch who is drawn into a state of friendship by his subjects. Friendship is thus shown to be a quality with which burghers may demonstrate their superiority to the tyranny and scheming of the court.

That Schubert's circle could consider friendship and freedom to be fundamentally connected is evident in Anton von Spaun's essay "Ueber Freundschaft" (On Friendship), published in the first issue of the circle's yearbook *Beiträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge* (1817). But although the freedom of which von Spaun speaks

¹⁹¹ The historical Dionysios I (about 430–367 BC) was tyrant of Syracuse and the most powerful autocrat in the Greek world before Alexander the Great.

¹⁹² With utopian aims, the circle projected its own friendship on "people and fatherland" as a whole. Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 195.

¹⁹³ Jette Barnholdt Hansen, "Mozart som epideiktisk retor. Dydens og lastens repræsentation i *Titus*" (Mozart as Epideictic Rhetor. The Representation of Virtue and Vice in *Titus*), in *Rhetorica Scandinavica* 36 (2005), pp. 25-37.

has political implications, it is based on notions of the relationships between and the relative importance of the different faculties of the human mind.

In his essay, von Spaun devotes a couple of pages to the distinction between love and friendship. The crucial difference between the two, he writes, is the role played by sensual impressions. In love, physical beauty plays an important role and causes an emotion which is heightened “to a certain degree of infatuation”.¹⁹⁴ Friendship, on the other hand, is “that higher alliance of two souls which does not need the medium of sensuous beauty and pleasurable forms in order mutually to know, esteem, and take pleasure in each other”.¹⁹⁵ According to von Spaun, friendship in this emphatic sense of the word is more important than love, for the reason that friendship’s liberation from the power of sensual impressions and passions over the mind leads to a kind of inner freedom which makes it possible to glimpse the world of ideas. One must not forget, he writes, that “the beauty of virtuous souls is elevated above the beauty of outer forms, just as that which is eternal and unchanging is elevated above the perishable blossom of the body”.¹⁹⁶ Indeed, his very definition of friendship is based on Neo-Platonic philosophy: “The pleasure or the illusion of finding a realization of this higher ideal also in the outside world, an ideal which has always only appeared as an image in our minds, is the feeling of friendship”.¹⁹⁷ As we shall see, realizations, or at least reflections, of the world of ideas could be sought also in objects of art, but when the place for such search was a living human being, it was thought that true friendship was stirring.¹⁹⁸

Poems from the circle exemplify this concept of friendship. In a poem named “An Schober ins Stammbuch” (To Schober into the Poetry Album), Ottenwalt plainly presents his friend Schober as a person whose heart is a carrier of the world of ideas. In Ottenwalt’s poetic vision, the infant Schober is visited by the smiling Charis (a goddess connected to Aphrodite and Apollo), who, putting a garland on the child’s head and kissing him, consecrates his heart “dem Schönen / Wahren und Guten” (to the beautiful, the true, and the good).¹⁹⁹ Similarly, in 1812 Joseph Kreil – who was a member of the circles in Linz and Kremsmünster – wrote a poem under the title “An Jos. Spaun” (To Jos[ef von] Spaun) in which he wishes that his and von Spaun’s

¹⁹⁴ “zu einem gewissen Grad der Schwärmerey”. Anton von Spaun, “Ueber Freundschaft”, in *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge* 1 (Vienna 1817), p. 10. Also see Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 196f.

¹⁹⁵ “jenen höhern Bund zweyer Seelen, welche des Mediums sinnlicher Schönheit, gefälliger Formen, nicht bedürfen, sich wechselseitig zu kennen, zu achten und zu genießen”. Anton von Spaun, “Ueber Freundschaft”, 1817, p. 12.

¹⁹⁶ “daß die Schönheit tugendhafter Seelen über die Schönheit der äußern Formen so erhaben ist, wie das Ewige, Unveränderliche über die vergängliche Blüthe des Körpers”. *ibid.*, pp. 10f.

¹⁹⁷ “Die Freude oder der Wahn, dieses Höhere Ideal, das uns immer nur im Innern vorschwebte – auch außer uns verwicklicht gefunden zu haben, ist Gefühl der Freundschaft”. *ibid.*, p. 6. Also see Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 196.

¹⁹⁸ “Im Alter ego des Freundes, in Leib und Seele, wurde [...] der Abglanz einer ewigen Idee gesehen und gesucht. So stieg die Freundschaft zu einer Angelegenheit schöner Seelen auf [...]”. Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 62.

¹⁹⁹ Quoted from Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 55.

friendship may be everlasting and remain unaffected by unsteady earthly life: “Let a ribbon of eternal friendship / Fold around our kindred hearts! – / Then let change rule on earth, / That which is eternal – will forever not grow old!”²⁰⁰

When Schiller’s “Die Bürgschaft” is interpreted against this background, Möros and his friend, due to their exemplary unselfishness, faithfulness, and valour, can both be seen as allowing the other the pleasure of sensing the presence of ideal loyalty. This is the particular virtue which Dionys believes is only humbug, although in the end he is convinced of the opposite: “Es ist euch gelungen, / Ihr habt das Herz mir bezwungen, – / Und die Treue, sie ist doch kein leerer Wahn”.²⁰¹ Especially Möros has the opportunity of incarnating ideal loyalty, for neither the force of nature nor robbers manage to distract him from his determination not to let his friend down. We know nothing about Möros’ outer appearance (which would have been necessary if the relationship were to be presented as one of love, in von Spaun’s sense), but with every clarity Möros shows that he has the inner freedom necessary to put aside passing distractions in order to pursue a cause which is greater than himself. At least until around 1815, Schubert’s circle thought that inner freedom, just like the struggle for outer, political freedom, comes down to just this restraining of momentary, base urges and passions in favour of a higher purpose.²⁰² Friendship thus constituted the link between inner freedom and the freedom of subjects in a society, for man may become the object of friendship when he has enough inner freedom to disregard fleeting sensual impressions and the throngs of basic instincts in favour of “grand ideas and deeds” (“grosse Ideen und Thaten”), “self-sacrifice in favour of the whole” (“Selbstaufopferung für das Ganze”),²⁰³ and the realization of ideal virtues. A society which is an extended bond of friendship thus implies a comprehensive realization of ideal virtues, and it forms the foundation for true and stable political freedom.

²⁰⁰ “Laß einer ew’gen Freundschaft Bande sich / Um unsere verwandten Herzen falten! – / Dann laß den Wechsel hier auf Erden walten, / Was ewig ist – wird ewig nicht veralten!” Quoted from Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 55.

²⁰¹ “You have succeeded, / You have conquered this heart of mine. / Loyalty is no vain delusion”.

²⁰² A similar stance towards friendship on the one hand and love on the other is found in Mozart’s *La clemenza di Tito*. (The libretto by Pietro Metastasio was adapted by Caterino Mazzolà.) As Barnhold Hansen (2005) shows, the opera, which was written for the coronation of Leopold II in Prague in 1791, was an attempt to convince the people that Leopold’s society was to be characterized by the lofty ideals of friendship and equality which they associated with the French Revolution. (Thus, the message was, there was no need for a revolution against Leopold.) In the opera, the Roman emperor Tito takes every opportunity to make clear that, unlike the kings of the Baroque period, he is no god, but that, instead, his relationship to the people is that of a friend and a caring father. However, the stability of this ideal state (in a double sense of the word) is threatened at its very core as Vitellia, daughter of the former emperor, driven by envy uses her female charm to seduce Tito’s closest friend Sesto with the aim of urging him to murder Tito. In the end the plot fails and Tito has the opportunity to show his mildness (“clemenza”) by forgiving all involved. Friendship is restored and the allegedly destructive force of female seduction fails. Here, as in Anton von Spaun’s essay, the ideal human alliance is male friendship, not love which rouses capricious and potentially dangerous desires. For the good of the state as a whole, accidental passions must be kept in control.

²⁰³ Letter from Ottenwalt to Schober, 16 May 1813. Quoted from Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 61. Also see p. 65.

A cruel and capricious tyrant was thus the very opposite of everything associated with friendship. But, in the end, even Dionys cannot remain unaffected. If Anton von Spaun's definition of friendship is taken at its word, the very fact that Dionys senses the presence of ideal loyalty in the two friends means that the feeling of friendship stirs in him. And since friendship is possible only among good people, this in turn means that tyranny is overcome. Through its freedom and its link to the world of ideas, friendship makes the human race both united and godlike. Whereas sensuous love rules like a dictator, friendship makes the heart a place where there is room and reverence for the godlike quality in everyone, von Spaun claims in a poetical passage of his essay on friendship:

Stellest du Kypris²⁰⁴ auf in des Herzens Tempel,
 sie herrschet
 Einsam, Tyrannen gleich, über der Freyheit Ge-
 bieth;
 Aber zum Pantheon weihet das Herz die edlere
 Freundschaft,
 Jedem Göttlichen flammt reiner ihr Bundesaltar.²⁰⁵

(If you erect *Kypris* in the temple of the heart,
 She rules
 Alone, tyrannously, over the realm of free-
 dom;
 But the more noble friendship ordains the heart
 a pantheon,
 Its altar of union flames for everyone who is
 godlike.)

Art

With regard to the circle's writings from around 1810 until *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge* (1817/18), Kohlhäüfl shows that an essential part of their view on art was founded on a Neo-Platonic doctrine of ideas, just as was Anton von Spaun's concept of friendship. Art was to contribute to the aesthetic *Bildung* of man, the transcendence of the dull and even hostile present, and the representation of an ideal world.²⁰⁶ During the liberation wars, and thereafter culminating in the *Beyträge*, these aims increasingly merged with patriotism so that the circle came to participate in the trend of regarding the nation as a godlike idea.²⁰⁷

In accord with Neo-Humanism of around 1800, the circle attributed to art the capacity to present an ideal world to the senses. By studying such art, they thought, man's inner nature could be cultivated, his sensibility refined, and his moral nature perfected. This meant a re-evaluation of the aesthetic experience in relation to the rationalism of the Enlightenment, and even an attribution of a new, priestly function to art.²⁰⁸ Sometime between 1813 and 1815, Anton von Spaun wrote that

[a]lso beauty has a powerful, strengthening and elevating effect on the heart of man, and the tones of music, a *Madonna* by *Raphael*, an Apollo, [and] the song of a divinely inspired poet pull towards heaven with unknown force. Let us

²⁰⁴ Kypris is a Greek name for Aphrodite.

²⁰⁵ Anton von Spaun, "Ueber Freundschaft", 1817, p. 12.

²⁰⁶ Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 59, 73.

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 60, 153, 156.

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 52, 68.

therefore dedicate our lives also to [beauty], and flee from nothing more decisively than from the excess of destructive passions and the lack and emptiness of a languid mind.²⁰⁹

That such force could be attributed to a poem by Schiller is shown by a letter from 1812 written by Ottenwalt and directed to Schober. Schiller's poetry, Ottenwalt writes, "is no light, funny game", but instead constitutes a heralding of "the true and the good" (des Wahren und Guten) in the "harmonious language of enthusiasm" (in der harmonischen Sprache der Begeisterung). Schiller's poetry does not merely entertain; it "ennobles and elevates" (veredelt und erhebt).²¹⁰

Aesthetic objects could thus be highly valued among Schubert's friends, but members of the circle also criticised the unrestrained longing and weakly thinking which they found in some art, such as in Goethe's *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers*. In 1817, Anton von Spaun deplored "the totally unspecified, chaotic longing of the heart" which he found that even the better poets made a theme of their poetry.²¹¹ Kohlhäufel regards this as an example of that attempt to balance "dreaming" (Schwärmerei) and "manly" virtue which occupied also such a Romantic as Friedrich Schlegel, whose influence on Viennese intellectual life was considerable.²¹² The circle held that within man there is a rift between head and heart, sense and sensibility, a rift which, in Anton von Spaun's words, makes man "deceived and wretched" (bethört und elend macht).²¹³ Good art, the friends thought, may help to heal this rift by working as a liberation from passions.

To regard art as a force which may heal a destructive rift in the human mind and liberate from destructive passions was not at all unique for Schubert's circle. At the time, it was famously expressed in Schiller's philosophical work *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen* (*On the Aesthetic Education of Man in a Series of Letters*), a work which we know was read in the circle and which was quoted in the *Beyträge*.²¹⁴ While one could imagine that Schiller's philosophical

²⁰⁹ "Auch die Schönheit wirkt mächtig, kräftigend, und erhebend auf die Herzen der Menschen, und die Töne der Musik, eine *Madonna* von *Raphael*, ein *Apollo*, der Gesang eines Gottbegeisterten Dichters, reißt mit unbekanntem Kräften himmelw[ä]rts, darum laßt auch ihr uns unser Leben weihn, und nichts m[e]hr fliehen als das Übermaß von zerstörenden Leidenschaften, und den Mangel und Leere des Gemüths-Trägheit". Anton von Spaun to Franz Schober, ca. 1813-1815. The letter is quoted in full in Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, appendix 1, pp. 377f. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 66.

²¹⁰ Ottenwalt to Schober, 18 October 1812. Quoted from Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 329.

²¹¹ "die völlig unbestimmte, chaotische Sehnsucht des Herzens". Letter from Anton von Spaun to Schober, 15 May 1817. Quoted from Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 71.

²¹² Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 64.

²¹³ Anton von Spaun to Franz Schober, ca. 1813-1815. The letter is quoted in full in Gramit 1987, pp. 377f. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 65.

²¹⁴ In 1813 Anton Ottenwalt describes his daily reading scheme: "I begin every day with Caesar [which was Ottenwalt's own drama project] [...]. Then I read, normally in Herder's *Ideen [zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit]* or Schiller's *Ästhetik*, until around 9 o' clock". (Ich beginne täglich mit Caesar [...], dann lese ich, gew[ö]hnlich in Herders *Ideen* oder Schillers *Ästhetik* bis 9 Uhr ungefähr.) Letter

writings were of particular relevance for the circle in their reception of Schiller's own poems, it must be noted that Schiller's overall argument in *Ästhetische Erziehung* differs substantially from the aesthetic and philosophic positions held in Schubert's circle. Dürhammer seems to be right in claiming that, in the circle's earlier years, the friends were chiefly engaged in Platonic idealism and Socratic ethics and that they were not particularly influenced by Kant,²¹⁵ but he is less obviously accurate when he claims that their interest in Schiller's *Ästhetische Erziehung* is explained by the fact that Schiller was in accordance with their Platonic idealism.²¹⁶ For the *Ästhetische Erziehung* is very much influenced by Kant and thus contains a philosophy of the human mind which is far more intricate than the fairly straight-forward Neo-Platonic distinction between earthly phenomena and heavenly ideas which characterizes so much of the circle's writings.

This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that the circle could use certain passages from *Ästhetische Erziehung* in support of their own ideas. For example, Schiller's assertion that aesthetic education is a prerequisite for the creation of a new and free society is in itself in accordance with the liberal and pedagogic zeal of Schubert's circle. It must also have been fairly easy for the circle to connect to those passages in which Schiller puts particular emphasis on man's need to move away from the pure state of nature in which he is being dominated by his sensuous drive and instead approach a state in which he has enough inner freedom not merely to perceive the world as raw sensual impressions, but also to play with these impressions using his rational form drive. Such a passage is found for example in the 25th letter, where Schiller distinguishes between "desire" (Begierde) and "contemplation" (Betrachtung), linking the latter concept to inner freedom and a world of ideas:

Contemplation (or reflection) is the first liberal relation which man establishes with the universe around him. If desire seizes directly upon its object, contemplation removes *its* object to a distance, and makes it into a true and inalienable possession by putting it beyond the reach of passion. The necessity of nature, which in the stage of mere sensation ruled him with undivided authority, begins at the stage of reflection to relax its hold upon him. In his senses there results a momentary peace; time itself, the eternally moving, stands

from Anton Ottenwalt to Franz Schober, 16 May 1813. Quoted from Gramit 1987, p. 378. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 60f. On the quotation of Schiller's *Ästhetische Erziehung* in the *Beyträge*, see Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 329f. Schiller's *Ästhetische Erziehung* was published in installments in *Die Horen*, Schiller's own journal, in 1794 and 1795. In 1801 a somewhat revised version was published as part of Schiller's *Kleinere prosaische Schriften: Aus mehreren Zeitschriften vom Verfasser selbst gesammelt und verbessert*. This version was then reprinted in 1813 as part of the first Collected Works. It seems most likely that Ottenwalt read either the 1801 or the 1813 print.

²¹⁵ Dürhammer, "Philosophie", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 346.

²¹⁶ Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 330.

still; and, as the divergent rays of consciousness converge, there is reflected against a background of transience an image of the infinite, namely *form*.²¹⁷

Anton von Spaun's rhetorical question "What is most important in a poem, subject or form?", written to spur reflection among fellow members of the circle, may imply an answer derived from a simplified understanding of Schiller's theory.²¹⁸ The 26th letter of *Ästhetische Erziehung*, for example, contains a passage which, in isolation, could easily be extracted to fit von Spaun's thinking: "a respect for *substance as such* [...] is unworthy of man, who is meant to value matter only to the extent that it is capable of taking on form and extending the realm of ideas".²¹⁹

If such passages are highlighted, where Schiller argues that man must not be dominated by the force of the physical world, a connection can also be established between Schiller and Anton von Spaun's notion of the effect of friendship. For, as we have seen, von Spaun's friendship liberates man from the passions stirred by the physical realm and the "abyss" (Abgrund) towards which "the desire of the moment" (die Begierde des Augenblicks) is pulling, allowing instead the perception of an ideal world.²²⁰ The fact that *Ästhetische Erziehung* also contains many passages in which Schiller makes great efforts to *defend* the sensuous drive from the domination of the formal drive – a project less obviously appealing to Schubert's circle – is an issue to which I shall return at the end of the present chapter.

A typical expression of the circle's view of art is found in a letter written by Joseph Kenner in 1813. The purpose of all art, he writes, is to improve our condition – to perfect and ennoble us. Poetry, which is the particular art form which he discusses, may do this by providing us not with a copy of the real world, but instead with examples from a "world of concepts" and an "ideal life". Art should speak "a true word to man [...] – from the prophetic mouth of an inspired singer, (*vatis*) or of a hero".²²¹ Merely to repeat the wretchedness of the present times, or faithfully to represent an historical past which once was also nothing but dull presence, does not give humanity any hope of finding its ideal. While it was possible to find some support for such a position in Schiller's *Ästhetische Erziehung*, it rests more unequivocally on the differentiation between nature and ideal found for example in Johann

²¹⁷ Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man in a Series of Letters* [1801]. *English and German Facing*, ed. and trans., Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L.A. Willoughby (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982, first printed in 1967), p. 183.

²¹⁸ "Was ist das erste in einem Gedichte, Stoff, oder Form?" The question is part of two sheets of questions probably written by Anton von Spaun sometime between 1813-1818 and intended as intellectual exercises for the younger members of the circle. Quoted from Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, p. 380.

²¹⁹ Schiller, *Aesthetic Education* (1801), 1982, p. 201.

²²⁰ Anton von Spaun, "Ueber Freundschaft", 1817, p. 14. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 196f.

²²¹ "ein wahres Wort zum Menschen [...] – aus dem prophetischem Munde des geweihten Sängers, (*vatis*) oder eines Helden". Letter from Kenner to Schober, 16 February 1813. The letter is quoted in Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, pp. 383f, in Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 67, and in Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 30.

Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*, a work which influenced much aesthetic thinking in Vienna, at least among critics.²²² In Sulzer's article "Ideal" it is said that whereas an artist who wishes to represent a particular person must cling to nature, an artist who wishes instead to portray characteristics *in themselves* (the concepts of goodness, self denial, etc) must seek the ideals. The potential of such art to bridge the gap between sensibility and reason is implied by Sulzer's comment that "the ideal serves the sensuous construction of abstract concepts in their highest accuracy".²²³ In accordance with this, Kenner regards art which presents the ideal world as a more efficient means than philosophy towards the improvement of man. For whereas philosophy with its syllogisms and speculations is directed only to "the head", poetry has its effect on the fantasy, and through it on the sensibility, and finally on the will. When poetry presents an ideal world, it speaks the "language of the heart" and works "on the whole person".²²⁴

To present an ideal is not easy, Franz Schlechta noted in a letter to Schober in 1814: "the ideal inside me I am still not able to express".²²⁵ But, as Kohlhäufel argues, the circle thought that Schubert succeeded in providing access to a such a higher reality. The first strophe of "Geheimnis" (Secret), Mayrhofer's poem to Schubert which the composer set in 1816, praises just this aspect of Schubert's art:

Sag an, wer lehrt dich Lieder,	(Tell me, who teaches you songs
So schmeichelnd und so zart?	That are so gentle and tender?
Sie zaubern einen Himmel	They conjure forth a heaven
Aus trüber Gegenwart.	Out of the gloomy present times.
Erst lag das Land, verschleyert,	At first the land lay, veiled,
Im Nebel vor uns da –	Before us in the mist –
Du singst – und Sonnen leuchten,	You sing – and suns shine,
Und Frühling ist uns nah. ²²⁶	And spring is near.)

This interpretation of Schubert's activity as a composer is in adherence with Kenner's notion of art as prophecy and, more specifically, with the widely-spread notion of the declaimer (an artful reciter of poetry) as an "inspired singer" (geweihter Sänger) who

²²² Morrow, "Of Unity and Passion", 1990, p. 206. Also see Matthew Riley, *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment. Attention, Wonder and Astonishment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 70.

²²³ "Ueberhaupt dienet das Ideal um abgezogene Begriffe in ihrer höchsten Richtigkeit sinnlich zu bilden". Sulzer, "Ideal", in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 555. As is well known, Sulzer did not write all articles in his *Allgemeine Theorie* himself. But since most articles were published anonymously and since Sulzer decided what articles were to be written and even revised them when they had been delivered, I will refer to articles from this work as being Sulzer's. Cf. Johannes Leo, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der "Allgemeinen Theorie der Schönen Künste" J. G. Sulzers*, first part, (Berlin: Paul, 1906), p. 37.

²²⁴ Letter from Kenner to Schober, 16 February 1813. Quoted from Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 67. Also see p 68.

²²⁵ "es auszusprechen das Ideal in mir vermag ich noch nicht". Quoted from Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 59.

²²⁶ Quoted from Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 1, p. 327. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 70.

combines lyric expression of emotions with the preaching of moral ideas and who therefore is not only a “bard” (Barde) but also a “priestly servant of aesthetically mediated truth” (priesterlicher Diener ästhetisch vermittelter Wahrheit).²²⁷ According to this view of poetry, the poet’s heart is a sacred space for the revelation of a higher reality, a reality which the poet may then spread to his audience by means of his lyric expression.

This concept of an inspired singer is clearly in evidence for example in Johann Ludwig Ferdinand Deinhardstein’s anthology *Dichtungen für Kunstredner* (*Poetry for Declaimers*, Vienna and Triest 1815), a work which, Kohlhäufl argues, Schubert may have used as a source of texts for some of his songs. In his introduction, Deinhardstein emphasizes the importance of freedom for the declaiming “singer” (Sänger): declamation is a “free art” (freye Kunst) in part because its content should be “grandeur of idea and depth of feeling” (Größe der Idee und Tiefe des Gefühls).²²⁸ Like Schubert’s circle, Deinhardstein presents freedom as connected to the realm of ideas. In his “Prolog”-poem, he writes that “Frey will er [der Sänger] seyn, und frey will er sich geben, / Und sagen, was sein heilig Herz bewegt: / Was höher ist, und tiefer, als das Leben, / Was nur die Glut des Genius erregt”.²²⁹ In one of his own poems, “Der Geist der Welt” (The Spirit of the World, 1820), Schubert indicates that he regarded himself as such a “singer”. As a poet, Schubert lets the spirit of the world look at earthly life and say: “Menschlich ist ihr Weltsystem, / Göttlich, bin ich’s mir bewußt”.²³⁰

Much indicates that the purpose which Schubert’s friends expected Schubert’s setting of “Die Bürgschaft” to serve was the bringing of the good, the holy and the beautiful to the happy circle of listeners (to paraphrase a passage from Deinhardstein’s “Prolog”).²³¹ Schubert’s song would then have to be like the old minstrel’s singing in Goethe’s ballad “Der Sänger” (The Singer), a poem which Schubert set half a year before setting “Die Bürgschaft”. Goethe’s minstrel closes his eyes (“drückt’ die Augen ein”), thus turning his gaze towards his own heart instead of the world of physical appearance, and he sings as freely as a bird (“Ich singe, wie der Vogel singt, / der in den Zweigen wohnt”). Having sung, he can only decline the king’s futile attempt to reward him with something as earthly as a golden chain.²³² But how could Schubert accomplish the task of providing his friends with such art? In

²²⁷ Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 102.

²²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 95f.

²²⁹ “Free he [the singer] wants to be, and freely he wants to appear, / And tell what moves his holy heart: / That which is higher and deeper than life, / That which is awakened only by the glow of a genius”. German original quoted from Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 102.

²³⁰ “Earthly is their world system, / Divine, I am aware of that”. German original quoted from Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, p. 110. Also see Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 115f.

²³¹ “The good, the holy and the beautiful / The singer brings into the happy circle of listeners” (Das Gute bringt, das Heilige, das Schöne, / Der Sänger in der Hörer frohen Kreis). German original quoted from Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 102.

²³² Goethe, “Der Sänger”. Quoted from Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 106f.

order to approach an answer to this question, we need to move closer to compositional practice.

For this purpose, Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* may be useful. This work was written in the tradition of the pioneer philosophers in the field of aesthetics such as Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714-1762), Georg Friedrich Meier (1718–1777), Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818) and Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749-1816). According to them, the individual parts of a work of art must come together as a whole in an act of “beautiful” thought, an act which provides sensual pleasure but which is also characterized by a kind of attention which is wider in scope and more prolonged than the attention they associated with animals and aesthetically untrained humans.²³³ As in Anton von Spaun's theory of friendship, art is to allow freedom from potentially captivating physical details. And, as also Schiller would later claim, Sulzer held that the task of a work of art is to cultivate and refine the inner human being. According to Sulzer, art does this “by stimulating the soul with aesthetic forces in such a way that the attention is fixed on inner sentiments and we become conscious of ourselves as moral beings”, Riley (2004) summarizes.²³⁴ An object which has aesthetic force turns our attention from its make-up and makes us attend instead to the effect that the object has on our mind.²³⁵

In Sulzer's aesthetic system, there are two kinds of aesthetic force: “accidental” (zufällige) force and “essential” (wesentliche) force. The accidental force relies on the effect of local events and leads to reactions like wonder and astonishment. This force includes the unexpected, the extraordinary, the new and the wonderful, which all work as a “disruption to the even flow of representations in the soul which makes it suddenly aware of itself; in other words, the disruption deflects the attention inwards”.²³⁶ But although such inward deflection is in itself commendable, Sulzer is suspicious of art whose effect rests on “accidental” forces. For, he claims, the freedom of the mind is threatened by “the contingency of the external world, which may impinge upon the body and senses in unexpected and unwanted ways”.²³⁷ Indeed, “wonder and astonishment” are reactions which he regards as belonging to the world of animals.²³⁸

Thus, accidental force is not enough to refine the human inner. The power of art should depend not only on local effects but also on forces connected to its overall form. One such “essential” force is “the beautiful” (das Schöne), a force which mixes pleasure with desire by presenting many good things as a whole. The desire

²³³ Riley, *Musical Listening*, 2004.

²³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 78.

²³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 69.

²³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 69.

²³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 29. Also see p. 14.

²³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 70.

follows from the impression that more good things will come, an impression which may result when the recipient perceives that a structure is both varied and unified.²³⁹

Sulzer puts more emphasis on the force of art itself than Schiller does, who instead emphasizes the activity of the recipient, but a certain similarity can still be found between Sulzer's beautiful force and Schiller's "urge of form", and, above all, the latter's notion of "urge of play" as a mediating force between matter and form. Like Schiller, Sulzer finds that art which works with such force can educate man and protect him from a threatening relapse into the state of animals.²⁴⁰

For Sulzer, the educational force of art is related to the ability to idealize, a fact which makes explicit the similarity between this aesthetic and Anton von Spaun's concept of friendship. In the article "Ideal" in the *Allgemeine Theorie*, Sulzer writes that an ideal is a thing which is completely what it should be. In nature, creation is subject to many accidental forces and never works to one end only. This means that a purely natural object cannot form an ideal. For that reason, art of the highest rank must not work as "a dead mirror" but must instead unite all those things which an object needs in order to become exactly "what it should be" (was er seyn soll), and take away all those things which contradict that purpose.²⁴¹ This turn of phrase links the discussion to the concept of "unity" (Einheit), defined as "that [something] through which we imagine many things as parts of one thing", and thereby back to the concept "beauty".²⁴² If an object is to be united, it must have an "essence" (Wesen), which means that it must be possible to say "what it should be".²⁴³ Since an object is what it should be only when all parts needed are present, unity is the basis of "perfection" (Vollkommenheit) and "beauty" (Schönheit), for "an object is perfect which, completely and without lack, is what it should be" and "an object is beautiful whose perfection one perceives by the senses".²⁴⁴

Sulzer names the notion of what an object should be the object's "ideal", and it is with such an ideal in mind, he says, that we compare and evaluate an actual object. Just as in the article "Ideal", he comments that no unnecessary part must be present if an object is to be what it should: "From this follows [...] that every single part of a work [of art] which does not fit into the concept of the whole, which has no connection to the other parts, and which therefore is opposed to unity, is an imperfection and a drawback which also causes displeasure".²⁴⁵ Without doubt, he says, we judge every object according to a concept related to an ideal (an "Idealbe-

²³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 70, 78.

²⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 66.

²⁴¹ Sulzer, "Ideal", in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, pp. 554f.

²⁴² "Dasjenige, wodurch wir uns viel Dinge als Theile eines Dinges vorstellen". Sulzer, "Einheit", in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 302.

²⁴³ *ibid.*

²⁴⁴ "vollkommen ist das, was gänzlich und ohne Mangel das ist, was es seyn soll; schön ist das, dessen Vollkommenheit man sinnlich fühlt oder empfindet". *ibid.*

²⁴⁵ "Hieraus folget [...], daß jeder einzelne Theil eines Werks, der in den Begriff des Ganzen nicht hineinpaßt, der keine Verbindung mit den andern hat, und also der Einheit entgegen steht, eine Unvollkommenheit und ein Uebelstand sey, der auch Mißfallen erweket [sic]". *ibid.*, p. 303.

griff”), which has its home inside us. This corresponds exactly to Anton von Spaun’s definition of friendship, according to which friendship is the feeling aroused when one senses the realization in a physical person of an ideal which normally resides only in the mind. Those who cannot form an ideal in their inner, Sulzer continues, do not know how to judge an object and will therefore not be able to perceive its parts as a whole. Thus, if you cannot form an ideal in your mind, you cannot perceive an object as a unity, a perception which in turn is a prerequisite for the perception of the object’s relationship to its ideal. To perceive a unity and to perceive an ideal therefore cannot be separated.

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With regard to this context of politics, philosophy, and theory of art, it is likely that Schubert’s circle of friends considered it highly desirable that a musical setting of Schiller’s “Die Bürgschaft” should serve not merely as a reference to ideal loyalty as a foundation for friendship, but also as an emphatically artful representation of that ideal. In other words, they are likely to have found that if the setting is to teach the merits of loyalty as a basis of friendship in the most effective way, it must not merely speak about it in a loose way, but, more importantly, *show it to the senses*. If they conceived of *Die Bürgschaft* in this way, they are likely to have thought, with Sulzer, that the song should contain all parts necessary for the formation of ideal loyalty, and no superfluous parts, and that it should be constructed in such a way that the constituent parts do not obstruct the perception of the whole. For without a sense of the whole, the ideal literally falls to pieces.

To be sure, Sulzer writes that not all art needs to seek the ideals. Ideals have to be sought only when “not persons, but virtues, good or bad characteristics in themselves are to be portrayed”.²⁴⁶ This means that there would be no need for *Die Bürgschaft* to seek an ideal if it is regarded as a representation of actual people. But since Greek Antiquity, in which the poem is set, was regarded as the time when patriotism, political virtue, and self-denial existed in their most pure forms, since Greek Antiquity was seen as the only time when artists had been able to grasp the highest ideals,²⁴⁷ and since Schubert’s circle sought the ideal world as a means towards the bridging of the unfortunate gap between sense and sensibility, it is most likely that Schubert’s setting of “Die Bürgschaft” was expected to strive towards a representation of an ideal.

How well did *Die Bürgschaft* succeed in accomplishing this task? Did the friends think of the song as a beautiful whole being exactly what it should be, namely a representation of ideal loyalty as the foundation of friendship? In order to answer this question we still need a more detailed theory of song writing. As intimated in

²⁴⁶ “nicht Personen, sondern Tugenden, wo gute oder böse Eigenschaften selbst, zu schildern sind”. Sulzer, “Ideal”, in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 555.

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 556.

Chapter 1, many twentieth-century musicological studies have treated the music in Schubert's songs as, basically, absolute music. If also Schubert's circle regarded the music in *Die Bürgschaft* in that way, they are not likely to have regarded it as being characterized by a "beautiful" unity in variety, at least if they thought about music in accordance with the article "Hauptsatz" (Main Theme) in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*. There, Riley (2004) points out, it is explained that a musical theme which is presented and then varied in different ways and wisely complemented by other themes can arouse and then sustain the listeners' attention on a single sentiment. "This", Riley comments, "is nothing less than a description of the beautiful at work in music".²⁴⁸ To be sure, such a musical procedure which is centred around a single theme would be hard to find in *Die Bürgschaft*. Moreover, among the examples of accidental force which Sulzer lists are some musical ones: sudden dynamic changes, long pauses, changes of key, and the reharmonization of familiar phrases.²⁴⁹ Several of these phenomena, which Sulzer regards as pulling the attention away from the totality of the music, are found in *Die Bürgschaft* as well as in many other sectional songs.

However, there are many indications that, in Vienna at the time of *Die Bürgschaft*, a musical setting of a poem for voice and an accompanying instrument was regarded not primarily as absolute music but, rather, as a kind of declamation.²⁵⁰ This increases the relevance of drawing on Deinhardstein's *Dichtungen für Kunstredner*, as I did above. It also makes it worth while to investigate further the practices and theories of declamation current in Schubert's Vienna and then to interpret *Die Bürgschaft* with them as parts of its context.

The study of declamation allows us to bridge the interpretative gap between the circle's ideology of art and friendship on the one hand and the specific compositional choices manifested in *Die Bürgschaft* on the other. For, as we shall see in due course, in the social layer in which Schubert's circle of friends was at home, a certain kind of declamation was considered fit to serve the aesthetic education of man whereas other forms of declamation were not. A crucial question will therefore be with what kind of declamation the circle associated *Die Bürgschaft*.

This chapter is by far the longest one in my study, and it is the one which is most heavily loaded with details and references to sources from Schubert's time. The reason why I have chosen to retain this imbalance is that, while recognized as a relevant field of inquiry by a number of writers, to my knowledge the art of declamation in Vienna is still a relatively unexplored field, as is the relationship

²⁴⁸ Riley, *Musical Listening*, 2004, p. 70.

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 70.

²⁵⁰ E.D. West writes that "the performance of song was effectively seen as another means of reciting the verse". West, "Schubert's Lieder in Context", 1989, vol. 1, p. 36. Also see Steven Paul Scher, "The German Lied. A Genre and Its European Reception", in *Essays on Literature and Music (1967-2004)* by Steven Paul Scher, ed. Walter Bernhart and Werner Wolf (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2004) pp. 286f. In a Viennese review from 1818, songs composed by Anton Diabelli are presented as written "quite in the manner of Zumsteeg" and as belonging to a genre in which "basically, the text is the main thing". "Musikalische Anzeige", in *WZKLTM*, No. 128, 24 October 1818, pp. 1041f.

between declamation and Schubert's songs. The concrete research that has been undertaken on styles of declamation and on how they were conceptualized has left much to be discovered, and much is left to do when it comes to the application of the results of such research in the study of particular songs. I believe that the following investigation will throw some light on the interpretation of *Die Bürgschaft* within Schubert's circle of friends, but I also hope that it may serve further to bring out declamation as an issue which is vital for our understanding of how art songs (and not only sectional ones, and not only ones by Schubert) were conceived of by early-nineteenth-century poets, composers, and audiences.

Song setting as declamation

To read poetry in front of an audience was a frequently practiced form of art in Vienna, both in public and in private. This kind of reading was referred to as "Rezitation" (recitation) or, more often, "Deklamation" (declamation).²⁵¹ At least in public events such as *Abendunterhaltungen* (evening entertainments) and *Akademien*, declamation of German poetry was considerably more frequent than the performance of musical settings of such poems.²⁵² Ballads were often read aloud in this way, and there is evidence that "Die Bürgschaft" was declaimed in public.²⁵³ The well-known anecdote about how Schubert enthusiastically read Goethe's ballad "Erkönig" aloud just before putting it to music indicates that the art of declamation had an influence

²⁵¹ In 1812, J. Erichson, the editor of the Viennese journal *Neue Thalia*, referred to "the prevailing fancy for declamation in sociable circles" (dem gegenwärtig herrschenden Hange zum Declamiren in gesellschaftlichen Kreisen). *Neue Thalia*, No. 25 and 26, 2 December 1812, p. 197. According to Günter Häntzschel, since the end of the eighteenth century the term "Deklamation" referred to an artful reading aloud of a poetic text whereas "Rezitation" referred to the reading aloud of any text. Günter Häntzschel, "Deklamation", in *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Klaus Weimar (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), vol. 1, p. 333. For a contemporary text which indicates the lack of consensus on the relationship between recitation and declamation, see the anonymous "Einige Gedanken über Deklamation", *WamZ*, No. 38, 22 September 1813, pp. 301-5. See especially pp. 303f. On the multiple uses of the term "Deklamation", also see Reinhold Brinkmann, "Musikalische Lyrik im 19. Jahrhundert", vol. 8/2 in *Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen*, ed. Hermann Danuser (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag 2004), pp. 46f. To my knowledge, the most comprehensive treatment of declamation in the German-speaking lands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is still found in Irmgard Weithase's *Anschauungen über das Wesen der Sprechkunst von 1775-1825* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1930).

²⁵² Apparently some still found that they were too few: "Unfortunately we are rarely granted the high delight of musical-declamatory academies" (Leider wird uns der hohe Kunstgenuss musikalisch-declamatorischer Akademien nur selten zu Theil), it was said in a review of just such an academy in *Thalia*. "Zum Vortheile des Armen-Institutes: eine musikalisch-declamatorische Academie, gegeben den 13. April 1813," in *Thalia*, No. 48, 22 April 1813, p. 189.

²⁵³ For contemporary comments on declamations of "Die Bürgschaft" in Vienna, see the review "Über die declamatorische und musikalische Abendunterhaltung, welche der k. k. Hof-Schauspieler, Hr. *Reil* zu seinem Vortheile am 8. April 1811, im Hof-Theater nächst dem Kärnthnerthor gab", by "A.-Z.", in *Thalia*, No. 30, 13 April 1811, pp. 117-120. Also see "Musikalische Akademien", in *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, No. 42, 8 April 1817, p. 168. Moreover, "Die Bürgschaft" is included in Johann Carl Wötzel, *Unmittelbar praktische Declamirschule, oder Auswahl der schönsten Gedichte ernsthaften und launigen Inhalts, so deutlich und declamatorisch richtig gezeichnet, daß sie auch ohne Vorbereitung schön vorgelesen, oder declamirt werden können* (Vienna 1816). More about this work below.

on the art of song setting.²⁵⁴ The vocal style which Schubert employed was even referred to as “declamatory song”, a style which Heinrich W. Schwab (1965) characterizes, in opposition to Italian *bel canto*, as a “song which takes the articulation and the nuanced expression of meanings far more seriously, a more ‘speaking’ song [...], a song which cultivates ‘speech’”.²⁵⁵

Johann Michael Vogl (1768-1840), the singer whom Schubert probably got to know personally in 1817²⁵⁶ and who is today mainly known for having been a pioneering champion and first-class singer of Schubert’s songs, also links Schubert’s songs to declamation. This link consists not only of the fact that Vogl was a guardian of the “declamatory style” in singing and that he used to declaim poems himself, but also of the fact that his declamation and Schubert’s composition seem to have been intertwined in a very tangible way. In 1858, Vogl’s friend Anton Steinbüchel von Rheinwall remembered:

How did Vogl influence Schubert? Determining? Guiding? Instructing? For that to happen, Vogl had too profound and respectful a shyness for an autonomously creative mind. But the way in which he delivered [i.e. declaimed] poems made every poem an organized whole in which each part filled its allotted space without one part falling over the other; a few introductory words brought about the adequate mood. Whether chance, friends, Vogl, or Schubert himself had chosen [the poem which Vogl declaimed], he [i.e. Schubert] listened, and not always was the effect in agreement with him. But when one of the strings of his sentiment was touched, then the musical storm began in his soul and the slumbering ocean of harmonies was stirred in its very depths until the pearl of a Lied broke loose and drifted to the surface. Then Vogl sang Schubert’s Lieder, like when a skiff is being conducted on a stream which is now even, now rippled, and Schubert could take pleasure in his creation. The way in which

²⁵⁴ “we found Schubert glowing, loudly reading ‘Erlkönig’ from the book. [...] suddenly he sat down, and in a short while, as quickly as it is possible to write, the glorious ballad was to be read on the paper”, Josef von Spaun remembered in 1858. (wir fanden Schubert ganz glühend, den ‘Erlkönig’ aus dem Buche laut lesend. [...] plötzlich setzte er sich, und in der kürzesten Zeit, so schnell man nur schreiben kann, stand die herrliche Ballade nun auf dem Papier.) Quoted from Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 153. The method of reading a poem aloud before setting it to music, with the aim of making the setting true to all aspects of the poem, was practiced already by Johann Friedrich Reichardt and Carl Friedrich Zelter. In 1809, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) claimed that the reading aloud of a poem is a necessary first step also in the assessment of a musical setting. Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, pp. 48ff.

²⁵⁵ “die Artikulation und das Nüancieren der Sinnzusammenhänge ungleich gewichtiger nehmenden, mehr ‘sprechenden’ Gesang [...], ein das ‘Sprechen’ kultivierender Gesang”. (Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 180.) Schwab presents Wilhelm Ehlers (1774-1847), singer, actor and “professor of song and declamation” as the pioneer of declamatory singing. Ehlers performed at the Kärntner-Theater in Vienna from 1805, which was also Johann Michael Vogl’s home stage. (Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, pp. 180f.) On “declamatory song”, also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 94f and 162, and Gibbs, “The presence of *Erlkönig*”, 1992, pp. 63-66.

²⁵⁶ Dittrich, “Für Menschenohren”, 1997, p. 206.

Vogl sang the Lieder was what first established the reputation of Schubert's Lieder.²⁵⁷

Here, declamation, composition and performance are presented as constituting a unity. The creative process in which Vogl and Schubert seem to have been engaged is not far removed from the practice of providing declamation with a musical accompaniment, a practice to which I shall return.

In an article with the title "Einige Gedanken über Deklamation" (Some Thoughts on Declamation), published in 1813, it is said that song is "higher" than declamation, but that, still, "the music must *firstly* be *faithful declamation*".²⁵⁸ This does not withdraw song from speech nor from music. On the contrary, for, in song, music was to be like speech, and vice versa. Musical composition was seen as the goal of declamation, and declamation as the song composer's point of departure. It had long been a common notion that a poem needs a musical component if it is to affect man's inner life.²⁵⁹ By employing and developing the musical qualities of language, not least its emotionally charged sounds (or "tones", as the term was), declamation approached musical composition.²⁶⁰ On the other hand, in 1813 the *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* described the composer of vocal music as a declaimer:

The composer is the poet's most perfect declaimer. Using [musical] measure, he gives to each syllable its proper weight, [and] he chooses a key which is appropriate for the poem's governing passion. Moreover, using the colours of tones, he has the power to develop the painting, or illuminate, as it were, the sketches of the poetic images.²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ "Wie wirkte Vogl auf Schubert? Bestimmend? Anleitend? Belehrend? Dazu hatte Vogl viel zu tiefe, achtungsvolle Scheu vor dem selbstwirkenden Geiste; aber wie Vogl Gedichte vortrug, gab jedes ein gegliedertes Ganzes, wo jeder der einzelnen Teile den ihm zukommenden Raum füllte, ohne daß eines das andere überstürzte; ein paar [sic] einleitende Worte versetzten in die entsprechende Stimmung. Hatte nun Zufall, hatten Freunde, Vogl, Schubert selbst die Wahl getroffen, er horchte, und nicht immer entsprach die Wirkung: war aber eine Saite seines Gefühls berührt, dann begann im Innern der Seele der musikalische Sturm, das schlummernde Meer der Harmonien wurde aufgewühlt bis in seine Tiefen, bis sich die Perle des Liedes losriß und auf die Oberfläche trieb; dann trug Vogl im Gesange die Lieder Schuberts vor, wie ein Nachen auf der jetzt glatten, jetzt sich kräuselnden Flut einhergeleitet, Schubert konnte sich seiner Schöpfung erfreuen; wie aber Vogl die Lieder sang, das begründete zuerst den Ruf Schubertscher Lieder". Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 189.

²⁵⁸ "daß die Musik *vorher treue Deklamation* seyn müsse". "Einige Gedanken über Deklamation", in *WamZ*, No. 38, 22 September 1813, pp. 301-5. Quotation from p. 305.

²⁵⁹ See for example Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, pp. 20-34. Also see Schwab, "Kompositorische Individualität", 2003, pp. 179-194.

²⁶⁰ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 93.

²⁶¹ "Der Tonkünstler ist der vollkommenste Declamator des Dichters, giebt jeder Sylbe vermöge des Tactes ihr gehöriges Gewicht, wählt die Tonart, je nachdem sie der im Gedichte herrschenden Leidenschaft angemessen ist, und hat es dabey zugleich in seiner Gewalt, die Skizzen der Dichterischen Bilder mit den Farben der Töne weiter auszumahlen oder gleichsam zu illuminieren". [Anon.], "In wie fern kann die Erkennung der Musik etwas zur sittlichen und gelehrten Erziehung beitragen?", in *WamZ*, No. 23, 5 June 1813, pp. 179-183; No. 24, 12 June 1813, pp. 187-192. Quotation from p. 188.

Writers on German art song were acutely aware that not all who composed for the voice were adhering to this notion of song. Indeed, the choice between the bel canto of "Italian" opera (which could very well be written in Austria for an Austrian audience) and the declamatory style of "German" opera and art song provoked much animosity. At least on one occasion, Schubert, Theodor Körner and Josef von Spaun participated with all but physical violence on the German side of this so-called opera war.²⁶² The debate frequently had nationalist overtones,²⁶³ and the German-Italian opera war even had a political side to it, since Napoleon's political invasion was thought to be paralleled by Rossini's "invasion" in the field of music.²⁶⁴ Here, as in Schubert's circle, nationalism could be combined with idealism. This is exemplified in a review from 1819 of *Die Befreyung von Jerusalem (The Liberation of Jerusalem)*, an oratorio with text by Heinrich and Matthäus von Collin and music by Maximilian Stadler.²⁶⁵ The critic refers to this work as a "patriotic work of art" but also characterizes its declamatory style of song as "grand" (groß), a style which is to be preferred to the Italian style: "the *grand style* in song (the declamatory style) is by far superior to the *ornamented one*".²⁶⁶ "Grand style" was an expression which had been used by Schiller as a term for poetry which was characterized by a "dismissal of that which is accidental" and a "pure expression of that which is necessary", a poetry which served the representation of the ideals.²⁶⁷ As we have seen, the "grand", declamatory style in song was said to form a symbiosis with the poetry, which means that it could

²⁶² For details, see Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 151. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 232. The evaluative comparison of Italian and German music seems to have been a recurring topic in general parlance. In an article from 1813, the anonymous author claims that "[i]n social life one does not seldom hear the question: What music do you prefer, the German or the Italian one?" (Nicht selten hört man in Gesellschaft die Frage: Welche Musik ziehen sie vor, die deutsche oder die italienische?). "Was ist deutsche, was italienische Musik, und welche verdient den Vorzug?" (What is German [music, and] what is Italian music, and which of them merits to be preferred?), in *Thalia*, No. 72, 17 June 1813, pp. 285f; No. 73, 19 June 1813 pp. 289f. Quotation from p. 285.

²⁶³ See for example the following articles: the review of Fr. Hr. Himmel's *Die Sehnsucht* in *WamZ*, No. 18, 1 May, 1813, pp. 143-145; the review of Gottfried Weber's *Liederkrantz; eine Sammlung von Liedern, und Rundgesängen für eine oder mehrere Singstimmen, mit und ohne Begleitung von Guitarre oder Pianoforte* in *AmZöK*, No. 36, 5 May 1819, cols. 291f; the review of Rossini's *Die diebische Elster* in *AmZöK*, No. 37, 8 May 1819, cols. 298-300; the review of Pavesi's opera *Selanire* in *AmZöK*, No. 66, 18 August 1819, cols. 530f; Dr. Franz Rudolf Hermann's article "Über die Oper" in *WZKLTM*, No. 107, 7 September 1819, pp. 874-876.

²⁶⁴ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 234.

²⁶⁵ "Concerte", in *AmZöK*, No. 104, 29 December 1819, cols. 833-839. The brothers von Collin and the brothers von Spaun were cousins, and at least Matthäus von Collin was an acquaintance of Schubert's. (Ilija Dürhammer and Ernst Hilmar, "Collin[,] Matthäus Karl Edler von", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 63.) Schubert put five of Matthäus' texts to music between 1816 (?) and 1823. Like the members of Schubert's circle, the latter was a nationalist and regarded poetry as an expression of "enthusiasm" (Begeisterung) and as the "elevated mind's free outpouring" (freyer Erguß des erhobenen Gemüths). Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 87f.

²⁶⁶ "der *grosse Styl* im Gesange (der declamatorische) [hat] über den *verzierten* bey weitem den Vorrang". "Concerte", in *AmZöK*, No. 104, 29 December 1819, col. 835.

²⁶⁷ "Wegwerfung des Zufälligen" and "reine[r] Ausdruck des Notwendigen". Quoted from Dittrich, "Für Menschenohren", 1997, p. 181.

be considered a heightened version of the “grand” style in poetry. (In the review of *Die Befreyung von Jerusalem*, “German song” is defined as constituting “a close connection of text with music” and as failing unless “the poem comes out as clearly as the melody”.²⁶⁸)

Just as Anton von Spaun described love in its basest form as being interested only in physical attraction, “Italian” song was disapprovingly described as a “shimmering trifle” with “degenerated and exaggerated ornamentation”,²⁶⁹ and as being characterized merely by “superficial charm and a surface which flatters the senses”.²⁷⁰ “German” song, on the other hand, like von Spaun’s “friendship”, was thought to be characterized by “inner beauty, organic construction” and by a “connection [...] with that which is the highest in man”.²⁷¹

Thus, the style of song in *Die Bürgschaft*, with its close word-music relationship and its lack of ornamentation and virtuoso passages in the style of Italian opera, may have been regarded as “grand” and as fit to express the idealist content of Schiller’s poem. It may, yes, but we cannot be sure. For if the declamatory style of singing was closely related to declamation, it must be assumed that a particular song and a particular instance of singing could adopt one of the two, or maybe three, major styles of declamation which coexisted in Vienna and elsewhere. Considering the ideological charge of these styles, it was probably not enough for *Die Bürgschaft* to be located on the right side of the German-Italian border of song; it also had to employ the right kind of declamation.

Declamation culture in Vienna was characterized by a conflict as to how declamation should be executed. Texts about declamation, in journals, theoretical works and handbooks, were normally directed to the *Bildung* élite, that is to a social layer of which Schubert’s circle was a part. As we shall see, the aesthetic that dominated among the authors of these texts had much in common with important conceptions in Schubert’s circle. The authors often wrote in sharply polemical terms about declamation which they perceived to be flawed. In some cases it is difficult to grasp the ideological background of their bias, but in other cases it is clear that concepts of unity and beauty are at work, as well as ideas about human *Bildung* and perfection. The common ideological basis of these texts and Schubert’s circle makes it plausible that the circle agreed, at least in principle, with the notion of declamation which the texts convey and with the practice of declamation which they advocate.

²⁶⁸ “[...] da der *deutsche* Gesang, welcher eine enge Verbindung des Textes mit der Musik ist, nur dann vollkommen genossen werden kann, wenn das Gedicht dem Zuhörer eben so klar wird als die Melodie”. “Concerte”, in *AmZöK*, No. 104, 29 December 1819, col. 837.

²⁶⁹ “schimmernde Bagatelle; Ausartung und Uebertreibung der Verzierungen”. Review of Fr. Hr. Himmel’s *Die Sehnsucht* in *WamZ*, No. 18, 1 May, 1813, pp. 143-145.

²⁷⁰ “oberflächlicher Reitz und eine den Sinnen schmeichelnde Aussenseite”. A.—B., “Zeichen der Zeit”, in *AmZöK*, No. 42, 26 May 1819, cols. 336-338. Quotation from col. 338.

²⁷¹ “innere Schönheit, organischen Bau” and “Beziehung [...] auf das Höchste im Menschen”. *ibid.*, col. 338.

The crucial tasks now are to appreciate the degree of stylistic relationship of *Die Bürgschaft* to the conflicting styles of declamation, and, thereafter, to discuss how well these relationships agree with what I have presented as the circle's understanding of Schiller's "Die Bürgschaft". To be able to set about these tasks we must take a fairly close look at each style of declamation.

Extensive declamation

As in other parts of Europe, some Viennese declaimers employed a style of declamation which contained "strongly dramatic rises, large digressions in dynamics and tempo, and pronounced expressions of the different affects".²⁷² When the French tragedienne "Mlle. George" (stage-name of Marguerite Joséphine Weimer, born in 1787) played at a Viennese theatre towards the end of 1808, a critic in *Der Sammler* commented that her contrasts in vocal expression were too "glaringly protruding" (grell abstechend) and that she often went "quickly from the most sublime, solemn dignity to worthless, rapid, and mean chattiness". The critic disapproved of this style, but, importantly, he recognized that his opinion might not be that of the Viennese majority: "I regard this as a flaw – which may, however, depend on my personal taste, for there are enough people here to whom it appeals".²⁷³ Often declaimers used not only their voice, but also extravagant body language and, sometimes, other spectacular effects. "Her declamation is often very much accompanied [...] by a play with facial expressions and the hands", a critic noticed concerning the declaimer "Dlle. Krüger" in 1812.²⁷⁴ With Jørgen Fafner (1991) I will refer to this vocally and bodily powerful style as "extensive" declamation.²⁷⁵

According to Weithase, declaimers in middle Germany who used such a style were particularly eager to declaim poems by Schiller and Gottfried August Bürger.²⁷⁶ Also in Vienna poems by Schiller, such as "Der Kampf mit dem Drachen" (The Fight with the Dragon), "Ritter Toggenburg" ([The] Knight Toggenburg), "Das Lied von der Glocke" (The Song of the Bell), "Der Handschuh" (The Glove), "Der Taucher" (The Diver), and "Die Bürgschaft" were declaimed publicly.²⁷⁷ It can be

²⁷² "stærkt dramatiske stigninger, store dynamiske og tempomæssige udsving og et prononceret udtryk for de varierende affekter". Jørgen Fafner, *Tanke og tale. Den retoriske tradition i Vesteuropa* (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 1991), p. 386.

²⁷³ "geht oft schnell aus der erhabensten, feyerlichen Würde in unnütze, schnell laufende, niedrige Geschwätzigkeit. [...] Dieß ist meiner Meinung nach ein Flecken – doch kann es an meinem eigenthümlichen Geschmacke liegen; denn es gibt hier Menschen genug, denen es gefällt". "Notitzen", in *Der Sammler*, No. 3, 7 January 1809, p. 12.

²⁷⁴ "Ihre Declamation begleitet [...] sehr das Mienen- und Händenspiel [...]". *Thalia*, No. 30, 12 April 1812, pp. 119f.

²⁷⁵ Fafner attributes the designation "extensive" to Irmgard Weithase, but I have not been able to find the term in her works.

²⁷⁶ Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, p. 144.

²⁷⁷ *Zeitung für Theater, Musik und Poesie*, No. 8, 29 August 1807, pp. 122-124; *Thalia*, No. 30, 13 April 1811, pp. 117-120; *Theater-Zeitung*, No. 50, 1 June 1815, pp. 197f; *Theater-Zeitung*, No. 125 and 126, 30 December 1815, pp. 390f; *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, No. 42, 8 April 1817, p. 168; *AmZöK*,

assumed that poems by Schiller were declaimed also in private. Also Bürger's "Das Lied vom braven Manne" (The Song of the Brave Man) seems to have been declaimed now and then.²⁷⁸ Bürger himself used a style of declamation which was extensive indeed. Once declaiming his ballad "Lenore" to an audience in a garden house, he made a special arrangement in order to illustrate the passage "Mit schwanker Gert ein Schlag hervor, zersprengte Schloß und Riegel" (With swinging horsewhip a lash went forward, breaking lock and bolt). As he reached these lines of the poem, "the twin door of the garden house, in which the listeners were sitting behind shut windows and doors, suddenly opened at a real lash with the horsewhip". A young Count Stolberg is said once to have "leaped from his chair in terror at the bang of that effect".²⁷⁹ Also Elise Bürger (1769-1833), a famous touring declaimer and artist of *attitudes* (an art form to which I will return) who was married to Gottfried August for two years, employed an extensive style.²⁸⁰ A review of one of her declamatoria in Vienna in 1807 shows that her style was not necessarily regarded as exaggerated. The critic "v. Möser" appreciatively observes that Bürger declaimed "with vivid emotion, made considerable pauses, and knew how to insert many a well-estimated shading".²⁸¹

The visual aspect of declamation was highlighted in an obvious way when declamation was combined with tableaux vivants. After an *Abendunterhaltung* on 1 July 1818 in the Hoftheater, a critic in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* was happy to tell that "finally we were granted a wonderful pleasure by a romance by Herr Reil, spoken by Dlle. Hruschka: *[T]he Mother in the Tyrol Valley*, whose child is preyed by a Lammergeyer, to which Madame Schröder had invented a *tableau* in four [consecutive] moments, which once again made her invaluable to us". The tableau was performed by Schröder and her children.²⁸² The body language, which could be performed by the declaimer, was here left to persons with particular skills in that field.

No. 15, 10 April 1817, cols. 115f; *Außerordentliche Beylage zur Wiener allgemeinen Theaterzeitung*, No. 4, 14 March 1818, pp. 13f; *AmZöK*, No. 12, 21 March 1818, col. 103.

²⁷⁸ *Zeitung für Theater, Musik und Poesie*, No. 8, 29 August 1807, pp. 122-124; *Thalia* No. 30, 13 April 1811, pp. 117-120.

²⁷⁹ "taten sich plötzlich auf einen wirklichen Schlag mit der Reitpeitsche die Flügeltüren des Gartenhauses auf, in welchem die Zuhörer bei verschlossenen Fenstern und Türen saßen. Sehr natürlich, daß der junge Graf Stolberg einmal bei solchem Knalleffekt erschrocken vom Stuhl aufsprang". Emil Palleske, *Die Kunst des Vortrags* (Stuttgart 1920). Quoted from Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, p. 137.

²⁸⁰ Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, pp. 125ff.

²⁸¹ "mit lebendiger Empfindung, pausirte bedeutend, und wußte manche wohl berechnete Schattirung anzubringen". v. Möser, "Deklamatorium mit Madame Bürger", in *Zeitung für Theater, Musik und Poesie*, No. 8, 29 August 1807, p. 123.

²⁸² "Einen herrlichen Genuss gewährte zuletzt eine *Romanze* von Hrn Reil, gesprochen von Dlle. Hruschka: *die Mutter im Tyrolerthale*, deren Kind von einem Lämmergeyer geraubt wird, wozu Madame Schröder ein *Tableau* in 4 Momenten erfunden, das sie uns neuerdings unschätzbar macht". *AmZöK*, No. 29, 18 July 1818, col. 258. Also see Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, p. 148. For more reviews of combinations of declamation and tableau, see "Grosse musikalische Akademie, mit Declamation und Gemählde-darstellungen am 4. Febr. im k. k. Hoftheater nächst dem Kärnthnerthore", in *AmZöK*, No. 7, 14 February 1818, cols. 56f; "Musikalisch-deklamatorische Abendunterhaltung", in *Wiener allgemeine*

At least three of the poems by Schiller mentioned above existed also as sectional songs: “Ritter Toggenburg” was set in sectional form by both Zumsteeg and Schubert, and “Der Taucher”, like “Die Bürgschaft”, was set in such form by Schubert. Bürger’s “Lenore” was set by Zumsteeg and several other composers. But more importantly, songs in sectional form were often based on poems which, just like those mentioned above, contain several characters and what may be perceived as dramatic action. Many of the most frequently declaimed poems are ballads, just as are many of the poems put to music in sectional form. A ballad normally contains several characters, an adventurous plot, and emotional contrasts. That made them a rewarding choice for extensive declamation²⁸³.

Influence of theatre

At a musical academy in 1817, “Dem.[oiselle] *Blum*” seems to have declaimed “Die Bürgschaft” in the extensive manner. According to one critic she “made so many gestures and movements that one was tempted to believe that she wanted to present the whole story visually”.²⁸⁴ If this and several other reviews of declamation are to be believed, some declaimers were not satisfied to *tell* a story, but also wanted to let the audience experience the content of the poem with more of the senses, thus approaching the realm of theatre. In 1815, for example, in a review of an *Akademie* in which the declaimer Theodor von Sydow performed, the critic says that Mahlmann’s poem “Saul und David” was “not so much declaimed as theatrically played”.²⁸⁵ And, in a text on declamation taken from Ulrich Hegner’s *Die Molkenkur* and published in *Thalia* in 1812, the complaint is made that “the new declaimers” think that their art is mainly about “illusion” (Täuschung) and that they therefore “represent” (darstellen), using their whole “nature” (Wesen). “These declaimers want to explode when agitation prevails and melt away at tender feelings”, Hegner complains and observes that most declaimers “accompany everything with a play of gestures and facial expressions which belongs on the stage”.²⁸⁶

What audiences appreciative of such declamation sought was a vocal style which was, at least in Vienna, generally more accepted in theatre than in declamation.

Theaterzeitung, No. 39, 31 March 1818, pp. 155f; “Schauspiel”, in *Wiener Modenzeitung und Zeitschrift für Kunst, schöne Literatur, und Theater*, No. 23, 5 June 1816, pp. 234f.

²⁸³ In a review of an *Abendunterhaltung* in April 1811 it is reported that the declaimer was so fierce in his declamation of Bürger’s ‘*Lied vom braven Manne*’ that it resulted in screaming. *Thalia* No. 30, 13 April 1811, p. 117.

²⁸⁴ “Dem. *Blum* deklamirte ‘die Bürgschaft’ von *Schiller*, und machte hiezu so viele Gesten und Bewegungen, daß man versucht war zu glauben, sie wolle die ganze Geschichte bildlich darstellen”. “Musikalische Akademien,” in *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, No. 42, 8 April 1817, p. 168.

²⁸⁵ “nicht sowohl declamirt, als theatralisch gespielt”. *Der Sammler*, No. 19, 14 February 1815, p. 83.

²⁸⁶ “Er macht es, (dieser Declamator), wie die Meisten, die sein Geschäft treiben; er begleitet alles mit einem Geberden- und Mienenspiel, das auf die Schaubühne gehört. [...] Diese neuen Declamatoren [...] wollen aus der Haut fahren, wo Unruhe herrscht, und schmelzen dahin bey zärtlichen Gefühlen”. “Etwas über Deklamation, durch einen reisenden Declamator veranlasst”, in *Neue Thalia*, No. 2, 17 October 1812, pp. 14-16. According to a footnote, the text is drawn from Ulrich Hegner’s *Die Molkenkur*.

Reviewing guest performances of the actor Gordemann from Weimar in 1805 or 1806, an anonymous critic is not pleased with the guest's attainment in the play *Der Spieler*: "The varied, manifold passions" of the character which Gordemann played "demand a perfect artist, [but] Herr Gordemann did not appear as such a one. Already the form of his face is not advantageous for these roles, his vocal delivery was very monotonous, and his gestures did not have the hallmarks of plastic beauty". The critic then attempts to explain this by referring to a geographical difference in character: "In Northern Germany, the habit of playing tragic roles in the conversational tone prevails. But to us [Austrians], who are of a warmer temperament, this is just as offensive as is the declamation in a comedy to them. That is the reason why, on our stage, only few foreigners meet with approval in the serious branch [of theatre]".²⁸⁷ "Declamation" here seems to imply an exalted and emotionally flexible type of speech. The influence of theatrical techniques on declamation does not surprise when one considers the fact that many Viennese declaimers were also actors. Sophie Schröder (1781-1868), Nikolaus Heurteur (1781-1844), Katharina Ennöckl (1789-1869), Maximilian Korn (1782-1854), Wilhelmine Korn (1786-1843), and "Dlle Maaß" were all actors who appeared as declaimers in Vienna.²⁸⁸ Also "Hr. Stein actor in the Josephstadt" appeared as a declaimer.²⁸⁹ Fafner (1991) even claims that, in this period, declamation almost completely merged with acting,²⁹⁰ but, as we have already noticed, this was a development which did not please all critics.

In late-eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century Vienna, ballads sometimes became theatre in a very manifest way. In the 1770s, J.F. Göz made a stage adaptation of Bürger's ballad "Lenardo und Blandine".²⁹¹ From 1806 and until the 1830s, F.J. von Holbein's stage adaptations of Schiller's ballads "Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer" (The Walk to the Ironworks Forge), performed under the name of *Fridolin*, and "Die Bürgschaft", performed as *Der Tyrann von Syrakus* (*The Tyrant of Syracuse*), enjoyed considerable success. *Fridolin* was performed 59 times in the period

²⁸⁷ "Die abwechselnden mannigfaltigen Leidenschaften dieses Characters [i.e. der Spieler] fordern einen vollendeten Künstler; als solchen zeigte sich Herr Gordemann nicht. Schon seine Gesichtsbildung ist zu diesen Rollen nicht vortheilhaft, sein Vortrag war sehr eintönig, und sein Geberdenspiel trug nicht die Merkmale des Plastischen Schönen an sich. – Im nördlichen Deutschland herrscht die Gewohnheit, tragische Charaktere im Conversationston zu spielen; allein uns, die wir wärmeren Temperaments sind, ist dieß eben so zuwider, wie ihnen das Deklamiren im Lustspiele. Daher kömmt es, daß nur wenige Fremde auf unserer Bühne im ernsthaften Fache Beyfall finden". [Anon.], "Gordemanns Gastrollen", in *Monatschrift für Theaterfreunde*, ed. Friedrich Linde, Vienna, 1805 or 1806, No. 7, pp. [1]-2.

²⁸⁸ Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, pp. 133-6. Also see pp. 124 and 157.

²⁸⁹ "Der brave Mann, von Bürger, declamirt von Hr. Stein Schauspieler in der Josephstadt". *Musikalische Zeitung für die österreichischen Staaten*, No. 4, 31 May 1812, p. 24.

²⁹⁰ Fafner, *Tanke og tale*, 1991, pp. 378f, 386.

²⁹¹ According to his memoirs, Göz's work on this ballad began in Vienna. For an extensive discussion of Göz's *Lenardo und Blandine*, see Kirsten Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants. Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion 1770-1815* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967), pp. 55ff.

1806 to 1831 and *Der Tyrann von Syrakus* at least 13 times from 1806/07 on.²⁹² As is well known, also Schubert worked on, but did not finish, an opera founded on “Die Bürgschaft”.²⁹³

Maybe such dramatization of ballads influenced the way some declaimers and some audiences conceived of the original ballads. When a story known from a ballad was performed by costumed actors on a stage with scenography and props, and when that performance enjoyed much popularity and was frequently repeated, it is conceivable that audiences increasingly expected also declamations of ballads to be theatrical. Perhaps the dramatization of ballads even contributed to changing expectations on declamation of ballads in general. Or was the dramatic style of ballad declamation so self-evident to some that the influence went the other way? A review of an 1813 performance of von Holbein’s *Fridolin* shows that extensive emotional expression could actually be thought of as more legitimate in a ballad than in a play. Having criticized one of the actors, the critic suggests that “[p]erhaps *Schiller’s* well-known ballad, after which the piece is written, justifies the bursts of passion which are sometimes too vehement and in which he is so over-excited that it leads to hoarseness”.²⁹⁴

Some declaimers sought not only vividly to represent different aspects of a single character, but also, in ballads and other poems where it was possible to do so, to simulate the presence of several characters. When dealing with a poem in which more than one character speaks, a single declaimer could try to create an illusion of the presence of these characters by giving to each of them their appropriate voice and body language. In this context it is interesting to note that, at least once, Schubert’s *Erlkönig* was performed with the lines of the different characters being sung by different singers. Recording memories of his friend Schubert, in 1858 Albert Stadler (who had been part of the circle and had contributed to the *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*) remembered that during a visit in 1819 to the family of the tradesman Josef von Koller in Steyr, Schubert, Vogl, von Koller’s daughter Josefine, and Stadler himself all participated in a single performance of Schubert’s *Erlkönig*:

In the house of the merchant Josef von Koller, the muse was paid homage to only *alla camera*, and normally in the evening after a sociable stroll or a finished day’s work. Josefine, the very talented elder daughter of the house, Schubert, Vogl, and I then rejoiced in the most pleasurable hours, alternately performing Lieder and piano pieces by Schubert, and also many pieces from operas of Vogl’s most brilliant period. Of peculiar effect, I still remember clearly, was the attempt (naturally only among ourselves) to perform “Erlkönig” with three

²⁹² Heinz Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas*, vol. 5, part 2: *Von der Aufklärung zur Romantik* (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1962), p. 102.

²⁹³ Elizabeth Norman McKay and Ernst Hillmar, “Die Bürgschaft D 435”, in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, pp. 84f.

²⁹⁴ “*Schillers* bekannte Ballade, nach welcher das Stück gearbeitet ist, rechtfertiget vielleicht die manchmahl zu heftigen Ausbrüche der Leidenschaft, bey welcher er sich bis zur Heiserkeit überreizt”. “Notitzen,” in *Der Sammler*, No. 45, 20 March 1813, p. 180.

singers. Schubert sang the father, Vogl the Erlking, Josefine the child, I played.²⁹⁵

The possibility cannot be ruled out that Schubert and his friends performed also other songs in this manner. Indeed, as has often been pointed out, the unifying accompaniment and uninterrupted forceful drive in *Erlkönig* form one of Schubert's first major steps towards a *less* sectional style. If this song could be found suitable for performance with separate singers for the different characters, it is all the more likely that such a procedure might sometimes have been employed in the performance of songs like *Die Bürgschaft*, in which the characters are given much more differentiated music.²⁹⁶ Hirsch (1993) and Kohlhäufl (1999) mention the possibility that sectional settings of poems by Mayrhofer were performed with "casting" (Rollenbesetzung), and Wessel (1994) may be right in arguing that several of Schubert's Ossian songs were performed with more than one singer.²⁹⁷

But it cannot simply be assumed that this was the normal procedure in Schubert's circle. Stadler is careful to stress that the performance of *Erlkönig* was an experiment and that no audience was present. In Chapter 1, I referred to Ferdinand Schubert's project of arranging *Der Taucher* and other songs by his brother for soloist, choir and orchestra. It must be noted, though, that Ferdinand admits that Franz's friends (with whom he was himself not intimate) disapproved of what he was doing.²⁹⁸ Therefore, Anton Schindler's comment from 1831, after the first publication of *Die Bürgschaft*, that this song "is in itself virtually an opera" and that it "contains almost

²⁹⁵ "Im Hause des Kaufmannes Josef von Koller wurde der Muse nur alla camera gehuldigt, und zwar in der Regel abends nach einem geselligen Spaziergange oder vollbrachtem Tageswerke. Die sehr talentierte ältere Tochter des Hauses, Josefine, Schubert, Vogl und ich erfreuten uns da der angenehmsten Stunden im abwechselnden Vortrage Schubertscher Lieder und Klavierstücke, und auch vieler Piecen von Opern aus der Voglschen Glanzperiode. Von eigentümlicher Wirkung war, wie ich mich noch gut erinnere, der Versuch (natürlich nur unter uns), den 'Erlkönig' zu Dreien zu singen. Schubert sang den Vater, Vogl den Erlkönig, Josefine das Kind, ich spielte". Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 178. Also see Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 97 and Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, p. 83.

²⁹⁶ A project undertaken at Malmö Academy of Music in 2008 shows that it is possible to adapt *Die Bürgschaft* for such a performance. Under the leading of pianist Conny Antonov the song was publicly performed in a dramatized version with Möros' lines being sung by the tenor Kalle Leander, Dionys' as well as some of the narrator's lines by the barytone Martin Rask, and other lines of the narrator by the soprano Kristina Karlsson. Moreover, using simple means of costume and scenography the singers, and the pianist too, could act the silent roles of the guards, Möros' friend, the robbers, and Philostratus.

²⁹⁷ Hirsch 1993, pp. 32f; Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 163 and 166; Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, p. 108. Such performance seems to have taken place also in one of the many entertainments provided by the court for the distinguished guests who gathered for the Congress of Vienna (1814-15). One of the participants of the congress, Count Auguste de La Garde-Chambonas, reports that songs were both sung and put into action. Three songs were performed. The first, *Partant pour la Syrie* was sung by a Mlle. Goubault while Princess de Hesse Philipstadt and Count Schönfeldt represented the characters pantomimically. The second song, "Young Troubadour singing and making war", was performed by Count Schönborn and Countess Marassi. In the third song, "Do what you ought, let come what may", both singing and acting were undertaken by Countess Zamoyka and Prince Radziwill. Comte A. de La Garde-Chambonas, *Anecdotal Recollections of the Congress of Vienna* (1820), ed. Comte Fleury (London: Chapman & Hall, 1902), pp. 139-144.

²⁹⁸ Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz*, 1978, §27.

everything that one demands from such a one” cannot simply be assumed to be valid for Schubert’s closest circle of friends, to which Schindler did not belong.²⁹⁹ Still, the possibility remains that, even though they were normally not performed with more than one singer, *Die Bürgschaft* and other sectional songs were thought of as *tending* towards a theatrical performance with several actors.

So far, it is easy to perceive a stylistic relationship between extensive declamation and Schubert’s *Die Bürgschaft*, a song which contains differentiation between characters, varied and emotionally charged declamation, and musical imitation of natural forces and other movements. From the very beginning of the song, both the vocal line and the accompaniment are composed in such a way that each of the poem’s characters is given an expression which helps distinguishing his personality from the others. For example, when Möros has just been captured by Dionys’ guards, the tyrant’s jagged and upset recitative in bars 16f, with pointed emphases on the most important syllables, is contrasted by Möros’ equally forceful but considerably more even and controlled *arioso* reply in bars 19-22. This steady melodic movement of speech is then continued in bars 27-55, where Möros declares that he is ready to die but asks for a delay of three days. In contrast to his earlier line of speech, Dionys’ reply to Möros’ request (bars 59-72) has more of royal firmness and grandeur, a change in tone which may seem appropriate. For, apparently, during Möros’ speech the king has calmed down sufficiently to be able to work out the malevolent plan which he is now putting into execution. His “malicious cunning”, to which the narrator refers in bars 57ff, is reflected by the fact that Dionys utters the crucial ingredient in his plan, “doch dir ist die Strafe erlassen” (but you will be spared punishment), in piano nuance, as in passing (bars 68-70).

Declamation which is particularly charged with emotion is found later in the song, when Möros struggles to return to Syracuse. His cry to the robbers in bars 233-235, consisting mainly of a repeated high e in *forte* nuance, is a case in point. In this part of the song, but also elsewhere, many passages are found which may be regarded as substitutes for proper acting and scenography. For example, the sudden fortissimo chords in bars 11-12 depict the violent arrest of Möros, whereas in the soft and intimate bars 102-107 Möros and his friend seem to fall into each other’s arms. In bar 127 the rain starts to pour in the piano part’s monotonous semiquavers. From bar 184 on, the stream of water becomes more and more violent, as indicated by the chromatically rising sequences and the pounding quavers. Later, when the weather has changed most decisively, the powerful and exhausting rays of the sun are illustrated with a tremolo in bass register (bars 242-246) and the rescuing water of the miraculously appearing spring with winding lines in both the melody and the

²⁹⁹ “Die Bürgschaft’ für sich allein ist schon eine Oper, enthält fast alle Anforderungen an dieselbe [...]”. Anton Schindler, “Geistliche Lieder von Franz Schubert. Nebst einem Beywort über dessen musikalischen Nachlaß”, in *Musikalische Zeitung (Beilage zur Theaterzeitung)* (Vienna), No. 1, 1 March 1831, pp. 1-3. Quotation from p. 3. The article is partly reprinted in Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz*, 1978, §35. Also see Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, p. 108.

accompaniment (bars 253-267). Approaching the end of the story, in bars 364-374 Schubert's music makes clear that Möros *sprints* the final distance to the city gate and that he then, in bars 375-379, recovers his breath just as the sun disappears behind the horizon. Soon after, the narrator seems to use a high peak note ($e\flat^2$ in bar 388) to indicate the visual impression of the friend being raised to the cross. In what can easily be perceived as an instance of extensive declamation, Möros then tops this high note when he shouts to the hangman to kill him instead, reaching f^2 and a *ffz*-chord in bar 393.

To further explore the connection between extensive, theatrical declamation and *Die Bürgschaft*, along with other sectional songs, the genre of *melodrama* should be taken into account. For the melodrama employed not only extensive declamation (including vivid gestures) but also sectional music. Of particular interest is the impression that the scenic melodrama was linked to non-scenic declamation via the practice of fitting such declamation with a musical accompaniment.

Melodrama as a model for sectional songs

In the review of Elise Bürger's declamatorium referred to above, the critic finds that, good as she is, Bürger's powers are too limited for the declamation of Schiller's "Das Lied von der Glocke". In this long poem about the founding of a bell, instructions from the master founder to his journeymen are intermingled with meditations on different aspects of human life. In particular, the critic finds that the passages where the master speaks cannot be declaimed with enough dignity by a woman. But other parts of the poem he does find suitable for her, it seems, for he suggests that both a man and a woman should participate in the declamation of the poem.³⁰⁰ But this is only the simple solution for declaiming "Das Lied von der Glocke". The critic thinks that it can also be done "more dramatically" and envisages the master and his journeymen standing around the casting and a wide circle of spectators surrounding them. Each spectator is to say that part of the meditations which suits him or her best. In that way, for example, the meditations on wild fire, on baptism, and on death will all be declaimed appropriately. The words of the master are to be said by a man in the middle of the circle. The employment of several declaimers and a scenic arrangement links this imagined performance of Schiller's poem to theatre. Further, the critic's suggestion that the poem should be combined with music makes the performance of the poem a kind of melodrama: "One could imagine a piano in the middle of the orchestra, at which Beethoven, Hummel etc. improvises and, thus, accompanies [and]

³⁰⁰ A declamation of Schiller's 'Das Lied von der Glocke' in which both a man and a woman participated actually took place in Vienna six years later, at a musical-declamatory academy at the Kärnthnertor theatre. See the review in *Thalia*, No. 48, 22 April 1813, pp. 189f. Weithase provides several examples from outside Vienna of declamation with several participants. Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, pp. 122 and 148ff.

introduces the emotions, and let them die away. One could imagine well-chosen sextets, quartets in appropriate intermezzos”.³⁰¹

The music to the declamation of “Das Lied von der Glocke”, as here described, was the fantasy of a critic, but there is much evidence that musical accompaniment was actually used for declamations. Mary Sue Morrow writes that declamation with musical accompaniment “enjoyed a brief popularity in the period from 1800 to 1810”.³⁰² In my investigation I have found that declamation with music took place now and then also during the second decade of the nineteenth century.³⁰³ According to one critic, the sole purpose of such music is “to reinforce the effect of many a passage suitable for musical expression, after it has been said by the declaimer, through imitation of the emotion”.³⁰⁴ This practice may have been inspired by the scenic melodramas which were often performed on Viennese stages.³⁰⁵ But did the similarity to melodrama include also the structure of the music, which, in melodramas, was influenced by emotional contrasts on the stage? As we know, emotional contrasts could be highly valued also in non-scenic declamation. In *Thalia* of 1811, a critic even makes a general statement that a public declamatorium is mainly about the expression of different emotions: “Herr Lange [declaimed] the poem *Kaiser Rudolph und sein Sohn* [Emperor Rudolph and His Son]. The choice of this poem seemed not quite fortunate. It is a tender dialogue without great, blazing passion and thus provides the artist [i.e. the declaimer] with no opportunity to develop his art

³⁰¹ “Man denke sich nur ein Clavier in die Mitte des Orchesters, an welchem Beethoven, Hummel ec. die Empfindungen phantasierend begleitet, einführt, verhallen läßt. Man denke sich wohlgewählte Sextetts, Quartetts in passenden Intermezzos”. v. Möser, “Deklamatorium mit Madame Bürger,” in *Zeitung für Theater, Musik und Poesie*, No. 8, 29 August 1807, p. 123.

³⁰² Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*, 1989, p. 151, footnote 16.

³⁰³ See *WJTMM*, No. 9, 1 May 1806, p. 284; *Der Sammler*, No. 27, 2 March 1811, pp. 107f; *Thalia*, No. 30, 13 April 1811, pp. 117-120; *Der Sammler*, No. 62, 23 May 1811, p. 250; *Thalia*, No. 1, January 1812, p. 3; *Wiener Modenzeitung und Zeitschrift für Kunst, schöne Literatur, und Theater*, No. 21, 22 May 1816, pp. 203f, and No. 18, 1 March 1817, p. 146; *AmZöK*, No. 10, 6 March 1817, col. 77; *AmZöK*, No. 16, 17 April 1817, col. 133; *AmZöK* No. 21, 23 May 1818, col. 183; and *AmZöK*, No. 29, 18 July 1818, cols. 257f. Also see Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe* (1808/09), 1915, vol. 2, p. 49. Music to declamation could take large proportions. In a review from 1811, “Der Tod Jesu” (Jesu’s Death) from Klopstock’s *Messias* is reported to have been declaimed with a musical accompaniment which took up three fourths of the time and that sometimes 20 or 30 bars of music followed upon four or five words. (“Notitzen”, in *Der Sammler*, No. 27, 2 March 1811, pp. 107f.) This declamation was reviewed also in *Thalia*, No. 19, 6 March 1811, pp. 73-75. A declamation of Klopstock’s “Frühlingsfeyer” (Feast of Spring) with Zumsteeg’s music is reviewed in *Thalia*, No. 30, 13 April 1811, pp. 117-120. A declamation of the same poem, this time with pianoforte accompaniment, is reviewed in *AmZöK*, No. 54, 7 July 1819, cols. 432-434.

³⁰⁴ “die Wirkung mancher, des musikalischen Ausdrucks fähigen Stelle, nachdem der Declamator sie gesagt hat, durch die Nachahmung des Gefühles zu verstärken”. “Notitzen”, in *Der Sammler*, No. 27, 2 March 1811, p. 108.

³⁰⁵ For an overview of melodramas performed in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Vienna, see Peter Branscombe, “Schubert and the melodrama”, in *Schubert Studies. Problems of Style and Chronology*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda and Peter Branscombe (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), pp. 105-141. Schubert himself wrote melodramatic passages in five of his stage works. Ernst Hilmar, “Melodram”, in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 297.

through the expression of different emotions, whereupon, after all, declamatory performances mainly depend. It seems more fit for solitary reading than for a public delivery”.³⁰⁶

When such an ideal of contrast in declamation was employed, it is likely that the supporting music was affected by it. Judging from a review in *Thalia*, the declamation of “Der Tod Jesu” from Klopstock’s *Messias* on 27 February 1811 in the Burgtheater was combined with music which included contrasts as extensive as in scenic melodramas: “*Der Tod Jesu* from the tenth song of Klopstock’s *Messias* was declaimed by Mlle. Adamberger, who was accompanied by the excellent music of Baron von Dalberg. Here I could take the opportunity to speak excellently about the composition and to eulogize, but who does not [already] know Dalberg’s merits? How profoundly, like the fluty sound of a glass harmonica, did the wind harmony touch, accompanied only by contrabass! How the storm and thunder upset.”³⁰⁷

The emotional contrasts and the separation of verbal phrases by short, illustrating musical interludes found here and there in *Die Bürgschaft* (and even more in *Die Nacht*), may very well have been perceived as being related to the melodrama.³⁰⁸ Indeed, the decisive shifts in emotion between bars 72 and 73, and also between bars 267 and 268, are stylistically highly reminiscent of Jiri Antonín Benda’s melodramas *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1774), *Medea* (1775), and *Pygmalion*, where orchestral turnovers of that kind mediate between emotionally contrasting portions of declamation and mime.³⁰⁹ That the melodramatic style probably had an influence on non-scenic declamation makes such a link between melodrama and sectional song only more likely. To appreciate more fully the significance of such a stylistic link, however, we must turn to the issue of so-called natural signs.

³⁰⁶ “Herr Lange [declamirte] das Gedicht: *Kaiser Rudolph und sein Sohn*. Die Wahl dieses Gedichtes schien nicht ganz glücklich. Es ist ein zärtliches Zweygespräch ohne große aufflammende Leidenschaft, und gibt daher dem Künstler keine Gelegenheit, seine Kunst durch den Ausdruck verschiedener Empfindungen zu entwickeln, worauf es bey Declamatorien doch hauptsächlich ankömmt. Es scheint mehr zu einer einsamen Lectüre, als für einen öffentlichen Vortrag geeignet”. *Thalia*, No. 101, 18 December 1811, p. 404.

³⁰⁷ “*Der Tod Jesu*, aus Klopstock’s *Messias* 10. Gesang, ward unter Begleitung der trefflichen Musik des Freyherrn von Dalberg von Mlle. Adamberger declamirt. Ich hätte hier Gelegenheit, vorzüglich von der Composition zu sprechen und zu rühmen; allein wer kennt Dalberg’s Verdienste nicht? Wie sehr ergriff nicht gleich Harmonika-Geflöte, die bloß mit dem Contrebaß begleitete Harmonie? Wie erschütterte der Sturm und Donner?” A-Z, “Ein Declamatorium und ein großes Concert”, in *Thalia*, No. 19, 6 March 1811, pp. 73-75. Quotation from pp. 74f. Benjamin Franklin’s type of glass harmonica was known simply as “Harmonika” in the German speaking world. Cf. Sascha Reckert, “Glasharmonika”, in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, second edition, *Sachteil*, vol. 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), col. 1404. “Harmonie” refers to “Harmoniemusik”. Cf. Achim Hofer’s article “Harmoniemusik” in the same work, *Sachteil*, vol. 4, col. 153.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Mainka, “Das Liedschaffen”, 1957, p. 8 and Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968, pp. 376-378.

³⁰⁹ In the period 1788 to 1816, Benda’s *Medea* was performed 44 times in the court theatres of Vienna. In addition, it was performed in at least three more theatres. It was also parodied, as was so often the case with successful stage works. Branscombe, “Schubert and the melodrama”, 1982, p. 107.

Natural signs

The call to nature had resounded in European cultural life since the middle of the eighteenth century. An obvious example in Vienna is the English style in garden planning which began to be employed by members of the Viennese aristocracy in the 1770s. (This style will form a major topic of discussion in Chapter 4.) But the ideal of nature had an influence also on thinking about language. An example is found in the fiftieth letter of *Handbuch der deutschen Dicht- und Redekunst* (*Handbook of the German Art of Poetry and Speech*, Vienna 1817), where K.L. Schaller emphasizes the importance of gestures, facial expressions, and vocal tones to public speech:

When a written work is intended also for oral delivery, much depends on the latter. For it is the gestures, the facial expressions, and the tones which move us sympathetically, which immediately reach the heart while words, which are arbitrary signs, reach our feeling only via the intellect.³¹⁰

Schaller here exemplifies a way of regarding communication that was widely spread at the time. The referential quality of words was considered to be based on convention and thus as working only via the intellect. Words were therefore categorized as “arbitrary signs” (willkürliche Zeichen). Body language and the non-lexical sounds of the voice, on the other hand, were considered to be “natural signs” (natürliche Zeichen) since it was believed that nature itself had given to each emotion a particular bodily expression and a particular vocal sound.³¹¹ In agreement with Rousseau and Herder, natural sounds and natural gestures were thought to be particularly efficient means for the communication of feeling.³¹² “Natural” sounds of that kind were regularly referred to as “emotion tones” (Empfindungstöne) or simply as “tones” (Töne).³¹³

As we shall see, the idea of bodily gestures and tones of the voice as natural signs had an influence on melodrama and declamation in Vienna, and may thus have been of importance for the interpretation and evaluation of sectional songs. For the

³¹⁰ “Wenn eine schriftliche Ausarbeitung auch zum mündlichen Vortrage bestimmt ist, so kommt vieles dabei auf den letzteren an. Denn die Geberden, das Mienenspiel, die Töne sind es, die uns sympathisch ergreifen, die unmittelbar zum Herzen dringen, während die Worte als willkürliche Zeichen erst durch den Verstand zu unserem Gemüthe gelangen”. K. L. Schaller, *Handbuch der deutschen Dicht- und Redekunst. Aus Beyspielen entwickelt von K. L. Schaller. Zweyte verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage*, first published in 1806 (Vienna: Anton Doll 1817), vol. 2, p. 284.

³¹¹ “Jede Bewegung des Gemüthes, jede Empfindung hat die Natur auch mit einem eignen Ausdrucke des Gesichtes, mit einer passenden Geberde verbunden, man wird also auch von dem vollendetem Redner fodern, daß er seine Worte mit schicklichen Geberden begleite.” *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 287.

³¹² Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 93.

³¹³ A familiar use of this term is found at the turning point of Beethoven’s ninth symphony, where a soloist turns to the brooding mankind with the words: “O Freunde, nicht diese Töne!” (O, friends, not these tones!)

sake of clarity I will discuss both kinds of “natural” signs in turn, although in practice they were closely related.³¹⁴

Bodily gestures as natural signs

The theory of a natural body language had been a driving force in the change in acting style which took place at the Paris *Comédie Française* in the mid-eighteenth century. Whereas before, actors had used only controlled movements of arms and head, they now started to use the whole body in much more vigorous movements.³¹⁵ In the second half of the eighteenth century, this trend influenced German theorists of bodily gestures and of pantomime. These theorists were inspired also by medicine and anatomy, as well as by more recently developed disciplines. The idea that observations of a person’s body can lead to conclusions as to his or her emotional state and character of mind was what lay at the heart of pathonomics and physiognomy, disciplines which were extremely fashionable in cultivated circles in Germany in the 1770s and 1780s.³¹⁶ The discipline of phrenology, which was invented in Vienna by Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828), rested on similar assumptions.

A notion of the signifying possibilities of bodily gestures was also part of the theory and practice of the influential choreographer and ballet theorist Jean-Georges Noverre (1727–1810). Noverre, in whose dance dramas pantomime was a key feature, worked with great success in Vienna between 1767 and 1774, and again in 1776.³¹⁷ Others attempted to systematize the “natural” body language. In 1818 the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* published a “preliminary announcement of a mimic work and a mimic notation used in that connection” by the actor and musician Herr Markwort from Darmstadt. Markwort claims that his project has many benefits, one of them being that “this notation of moved forms is in many respects, when it describes the inner part of the human mind, more precise, more clear, and more suggestive than the writing with letters itself”.³¹⁸ Thus he links his system to the theory of natural signs. An indication that the interest in bodily expression of emotions was not restricted to individual artists and authors of theoretical treatises is found in the appendix to *Thalia* on 27

³¹⁴ The style of speech of the Goethe period was intimately related to the interest in bodily expression. Fafner, *Tanke og tale*, 1991, p. 386.

³¹⁵ Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 1967, pp. 15ff.

³¹⁶ Heide Eilert, “...allein durch die stumme Sprache der Gebärden’: Erscheinungsformen der Pantomime im 18. Jahrhundert”, in *Theater im Kulturwandel des 18. Jahrhunderts. Inszenierung und Wahrnehmung von Körper – Musik – Sprache*, ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte and Jörg Schönert (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1999), pp. 356f. Also see Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 1967, p. 84.

³¹⁷ Eilert, “...allein durch die stumme Sprache der Gebärden”, 1999, p. 353; Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol 5:2, 1962, pp. 53-60.

³¹⁸ “Diese Beweggestaltungsschrift ist in mancher Hinsicht, wenn sie das Innere des menschlichen Gemüthes beschreibt, bestimmter, deutlicher und zugleich mehr andeutender, als die Buchstabenschrift selbst”. Herr Markwort, “Vorläufige Ankündigung eines mimischen Werkes, und einer dabey angewandten mimischen Notenschrift”, in *AmZöK*, No. 25, 20 June 1818, cols. 213-217. Quotation from col. 215.

March 1811, where eight heads with different facial expressions are on display. (Figure 1.) The picture is announced as “Mimic heads” (Mimische Köpfe) and each of the heads is commented on with a few words stating the emotion being expressed. Although one may want to object that verbal explanation should not be necessary if body language were really the better language for the expression of emotions, the comments are so brief that these mimic heads were probably meant not as illustrations to a text, but mainly to be looked at in their own right.

Another indication of a general interest in bodily expression of emotions is the numerous tableaux vivants which (as mentioned above) took place at Viennese academies and other entertainments. The tableau vivant was a genre in which a piece of visual art (usually a well-known one) was represented to an audience by an arrangement of props and costumed actors. A study of reviews in Viennese periodicals indicates that mimic performances, and especially tableaux vivants, enjoyed a boom towards the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century.³¹⁹ The general interest in tableaux vivants was launched primarily by Goethe’s novel *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809).³²⁰ In Vienna, tableaux vivants were lauded for their naturalness and their vividness of expression. After a performance of tableaux vivants in the Kärnthnerthor theatre on 20 May 1813, a critic commented that such performance should no longer be neglected, for, when performed with precision, “the naturalness of form and the liveliness of expression in such tableaux are greater than in the most splendid painting”.³²¹

In contrast to a tableau vivant, an attitude was performed by a single individual, most often a woman. One of the most famous artists of attitudes, Henriette Hendel-Schütz, repeatedly performed in Vienna in 1809 as well as during the Congress of 1814 and 1815.³²² In her performances, Hendel-Schütz attempted to

³¹⁹ In reviews from 1812, I found only two mentions of tableaux vivants. In one of these reviews it is claimed that the tableau is a kind of spectacle which had now for the first time been performed at the Kärnthnerthor theatre and which was quite new to the largest part of the audience. (*Der Sammler*, No. 21, 18 February 1812, pp. 83f. The other mentioning of a tableau vivant can be found in *Thalia*, No. 30, 12 April 1812, pp. 119f.) This novelty was clearly a success, for, according to the review, the whole audience granted each of the tableaux loud acclamation and demanded to see it again. Also in the following years the tableau vivant is rarely mentioned in the press. But then, in 1817, the genre is suddenly mentioned ten times, in 1818 eight times and in 1819 six times. An 1818 review of a “musical evening entertainment” (musikalische Abendunterhaltung) in the Josephstadt theatre further indicates an abundance both of tableaux vivants and of declamation at such events, as well as a certain lack of enthusiasm on the part of the critic who describes the event as a “musical evening entertainment at which, since it has now become a current habit, we also had to listen to declamation and look at tableaux [vivants]” (musikalische Abendunterhaltung, wobey wir, weil es nun einmahl gang und gebe [sic] ist, auch Deklamation hören und Tableau’s sehen mußten). “Theater und Musik auf der Josephstädter Bühne” in *WZKLTM*, No. 34, 19 March 1818, p. 276.

³²⁰ Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 1967, p. 216.

³²¹ “sie überwiegen durch die Natürlichkeit der Formen und Lebendigkeit des Ausdrucks auch das herrlichste Gemälde”. *Thalia*, No. 66, 3 June 1813, pp. 261f.

³²² *Der Sammler*, No. 9, 21 January 1809, p. 36; *Der Sammler*, No. 26, 2 March 1809, p. 104; Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe* (1808/09), 1915, vol. 2, pp. 12-13; Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 1967, p. 185.



Figure 1. Supplement to *Thalia*, No. 25, 27 March 1811. “No. 1. Inner painful struggle at the bounds of womanliness. 2. Braggart who is vain about his ancestry. 3. Wrath and wilfulness which quickly blazes up. 4. Malicious pleasure of a villain. 5. The moment of revenge. 6. Vindictiveness and despair. (Medea) 7. Wrath and unyielding decision. 8. Contempt.”³²³

“reproduce with the body the different styles of art history”.³²⁴ She claimed herself that she did not actually copy existing works of art, but that, rather, she created her attitudes within the framework of a given historical style. Her performances consisted of a succession of attitudes, and in a review after one of her Viennese appearances in

³²³ “Nro. 1. Innerer schmerzlicher Kampf in der Gränze der Weiblichkeit. 2. Ahnenstolzer Poltron. 3. Schnell auflodernder Zorn und Eigensinn. 4. Schadenfreude eines Bösewichts. 5. Der Moment der Rache. 6. Rachsucht und Verzweiflung. (Medea) 7. Zorn und unbeweglicher Entschluß. 8. Verachtung.” (“Erklärung des beyliegenden Kupfer-Blattes. Mimische Köpfe”, in *Thalia*, No. 25, 27 March 1811, p. 100.) The image is reprinted with permission from the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus.

³²⁴ Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 1967, p. 200.

1809, her ability of “natural” expression of emotions is prized. Her performance was here reported to be “evidence of the highest study, not only of art, but also of living nature – of the expression of the passions”.³²⁵ Performance of attitudes in Vienna could also take the form of a mere gallery of bodily emotional expressions, roughly equivalent to the mimic heads in Figure 1, instead of a representation of particular works of art or of styles from art history. At a “declamatory-dramatic and mimic-plastic midday entertainment” in November 1816, for instance, Sophie Schröder performed a number of “mimic-plastic representations” (mimisch plastische Darstellungen), one of which was referred to in an ensuing review simply as “Twelve emotions” (Zwölf Gemüthsbewegungen).³²⁶ “Natural” bodily expression of emotions seems to have been an attraction both in tableaux vivants and in attitudes.

As we have seen, body language was used also by declaimers. Declamation often took place in the same events as tableaux and attitudes, and in some cases the same person was known both as a declaimer and as a mime artist. Mme. Hendel-Schütz herself is one such example, and according to Weithase she made use of her mimic skills also when declaiming.³²⁷ Of the other declaimers who appeared in Vienna, at least Sophie Schröder, Elise Bürger and Gustav Anton Freiherr von Seckendorff were active also as artists of attitudes.³²⁸ Considering the theoretical writings on the allegedly natural signifying force of the body, as well as the familiarity of many Viennese with tableaux vivants and attitudes, it is probable that the extensive use that some declaimers made of body language could be interpreted as natural expressions of emotions, or as attempts at such expression.

When a declamation of a poem with accompanying music or a song setting included (or at least implied) a chain of bodily expressions of feelings, it is likely that at least some thought that the music should in some way parallel this chain. This likelihood is strengthened when one considers the music which could accompany tableaux vivants.³²⁹ Most reviews of tableaux vivants do not mention any musical accompaniment, however. The one exception that I have found is all the more interesting since it concerns a performance of two tableaux “in several sections” (in mehreren Abtheilungen). This is an example of a tableau vivant which was not merely a static representation of a work of visual art, but, just like the performances of Hendel-Schütz, included one or more changes of posture or other rearrangements.³³⁰

³²⁵ “[...] Beweise des höchsten Studiums, nicht nur der Kunst, sondern der lebenden Natur – des Ausdrucks der Leidenschaften”. *Der Sammler*, No. 26, 2 March 1809, p. 104.

³²⁶ “Deklamatorisch-dramatisch [sic] und mimisch-plastische Mittagsunterhaltung”, in *Wiener Moden-Zeitung und Zeitschrift für Kunst, schöne Literatur, und Theater*, No. 63, 6 November 1816, pp. 591f.

³²⁷ Weithase, *Anschaungen*, 1930, p. 127.

³²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 125-131; Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 1967, p. 207.

³²⁹ Musical accompaniment of a tableau vivant is mentioned already in Goethe’s *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809). *Goethe Werke. Jubiläumsausgabe*, vol. 3, ed. Albrecht Schöne and Waltraud Wiethölter (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Frankfurt a.M., Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1998), p. 527.

³³⁰ Such rearrangements could be referred to as “changes” (“Veränderungen”, see *AmZöK*, No. 1, 3 January 1818, col. 6), “sections” (“Abtheilungen”, see *AmZöK*, No. 38, 18 September 1817, col. 331),

The music, the anonymous critic writes, remained the same in the different situations and was all the time repeated. This, he bluntly concludes, was “a serious mistake”.³³¹ To be adequate, that is, the music must change when the tableau does.

Indeed, also in the melodrama, music was expected to be appropriate to a chain of bodily expressions of emotion. As exemplified by one of the mimic heads shown in Figure 1, that of the despairing and revengeful Medea, a character which was well-known in Vienna from Benda’s melodrama *Medea*, bodily expression of emotions was an important ingredient in melodrama. Melodramas by Benda and the many composers who followed his example were based on the primacy of visual communication typical for that time. The body language was usually presented in contrasting sections, and the music was set to support it.³³² A negative indication of the existence of this aesthetic in Vienna is found in a review of the melodrama “*Omasis, oder Joseph in Egypten*”, performed at the Leopoldstadt theatre on 23 December 1811. The critic comments first on the actors, who he thinks were excellent, and only thereafter on the music, which he found was pleasant and well orchestrated but “not characteristic enough in the course of passions”.³³³

Melodramas by Benda and his imitators were often available in piano transcription, which made possible off-stage performances.³³⁴ But also works which were originally written for declamation with piano accompaniment and which were not intended to be performed fully staged could be referred to as melodramas. On 1 May 1806, for example, the *Wiener Journal für Theater, Musik und Mode* reported that Joseph Haydn’s cantata *Die Sieben Worte des Heilands (The Saviour’s Seven Words)* had been performed at the Hoftheater and that, between the first and second parts of the work, the actress Betty Roose, had she not been ill, would have declaimed the “Abschied” (Farewell) from *Johanna d’Arc* with glass-harmonica accompaniment composed by Reicha and played by Mademoiselle Kirchgeßner. This declamation with accompaniment is referred to as a “Melodram”.³³⁵ In 1826 Schubert himself composed a “melodrama” for declamation and piano, the *Abschied von der Erde* (D.829).

But, in such less obviously theatrical melodramas, was the music still linked to the bodily movements and gestures of the declamation, just as in the large

“movements” (“Bewegungen”, see *AmZöK*, No. 12, 21 March 1818, col. 103) or “moments” (“Momente”, see *AmZöK*, No. 29, 18 July 1818, col. 258).

³³¹ “Die Musik dazu, welche sich in den verschiedenen Situationen immer gleich bleibt, und deren Abschnitte immer nur wiederholt werden, ist ein bedeutender Missgriff”. *AmZöK*, No. 38, 18 September 1817, col. 331.

³³² Reiner Nägele, “Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg – der andere Mozart? Versuch über die ‘Stuttgarter Klassik,’” in *Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg (1760-1802) Der andere Mozart?* ed. Reiner Nägele (Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 2002), p. 59. Also see Sabine Henze-Döhring, “‘Ausdruck’ und ‘Körperlichkeit’: Das deutsche Melodram des späten 18. Jahrhunderts”, in *Theater im Kulturwandel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 1999, pp. 215-226, and Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 1967, p. 48.

³³³ “zu wenig charakteristisch im Gange der Leidenschaften”. *Thalia*, No. 1, January 1812, p. 4.

³³⁴ Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 1967, p. 53.

³³⁵ *WJTM*, No. 9, 1 May 1806, p. 284.

melodramas by Benda and his colleagues? An instance when this may very well have been the case is Friedrich August Kanne's *Die Schlacht von Belle–Alliance, oder: Hermann's Herabkunft aus Walhalla* (*The Battle of Belle–Alliance, or: Herrman's Descent from Valhalla*), for one declaimer and piano, referred to as a melodrama on the title page of Artaria's edition.³³⁶ This melodrama was performed at least once, at a musical-declamatory academy in the imperial "small masquerade hall" (kleiner Redoutensaal) in 1816.³³⁷ The music is sectional in structure and contains much tone painting of the kind that was conventionally used in battle music. The review of the performance in 1816 recognizes the form of the work as appropriate but complains that the performance was "without effect" and "did not suffice", and that the length of the work was tiring. It is of course impossible to tell with certainty what brought about this criticism. But since Kanne's music is sectional and contains dramatic tone painting just like the large melodramas that were performed on stage with orchestral accompaniment, it is conceivable that the reason why the performance "did not suffice" was that the performers did not employ the conventions of the large melodramas. For example, there may have been a lack of connection between the music and the declaimer's bodily expression.

Also in opera the combination of pantomime and music was considered highly potent for the expression of passions. In "Ueber das Rezitativ" (On the Recitative), an anonymous article published in 1813, it is recommended that, when a character is overwhelmed by a chaotic stream of emotions, passionate speech should alternate with silence. The silence should be filled with facial expressions and gestures, and with music characteristic of the momentary state of the soul. This is said to make an effect which is even above that of declamation.³³⁸

But was also music in sectional songs received as being connected to "natural", bodily expression of emotions? Nägele (2002) suggests as much with regard to Zumsteeg's sectional setting of Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg's ballad "Die Büssende" (The Penitent, composed in 1797), a song which he interprets as being based on a principle of contrasting gestures, just like a melodrama.³³⁹ To support this, Nägele quotes a passage from Christian Albrecht Leopold Siebigke's work *Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg. Nebst einer kurzen Darstellung seiner Manier* (*Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg. Together with a Short Account of his Manner*), printed in Breslau in 1801. In a comment on Zumsteeg's *Die Büssende*, Siebigke makes the following complaint: "Instead of narrating the event, the composer abandons his poet entirely in making out of his ballad a theatrical drama, or rather a theatrical painting which, at the most,

³³⁶ "Die Schlacht von Belle–Alliance, oder: Hermann's Herabkunft aus Walhalla. Ein Melodram gedichtet, und in Musik gesetzt, den unsterblichen Helden und Siegern Wellington und Blücher in tiefster Ehrfurcht gewidmet von F. A. Kanne". A copy of this work is kept at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. Catalogue number: IV 9559; H28962.

³³⁷ As reported in *Wiener Modenzeitung und Zeitschrift für Kunst, schöne Literatur, und Theater*, No. 21, 22 May 1816, pp. 203f.

³³⁸ [Anon.] "Ueber das Rezitativ", in *WamZ*, No. 1, 2 January 1813, pp. 7f.

³³⁹ Nägele, "Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg", 2002, p. 59.

could serve to illustrate the movements of pantomimic actors, but which in no way – due to the too sudden and unordered joining of conflicting emotions – may be called a musical whole”.³⁴⁰ Nägele interprets Zumsteeg’s song as connecting to an eighteenth-century notion of the primacy of visual expression over word and tone, a notion with which Siebigke clearly did not agree. Moreover, it may be worth noticing that Zumsteeg actually studied Benda’s melodramas, and that he was thereby inspired to write his melodramatic music for Klopstock’s “Die Frühlingsfeier”.³⁴¹

It is likely that, also in Vienna, some sectional songs, or at least parts of them, could be heard as being related to bodily gestures of emotion. In *Die Bürgschaft* there are a few obvious cases. One of them is the passage where Möros, being delayed by a violent flood, drops to the shore and then lifts his hands in a prayer to Zeus. This passage begins with a chromatic circulation in the vocal line at the words “Da sinkt er an’s Ufer” (He falls on to the bank), ending with a *Seufzer*-motiv (bars 168-170), a movement which can be heard as suggesting a slow and gradual dropping of the body. Then the vocal line turns upwards again and culminates through a rising diminished seventh at “Zeus” (bar 172), a melodic jump which can be heard as representing the gesture of despair of which the text speaks: “die Hände zum Zeus erhoben” (his hands raised to Zeus). Shortly after, when Möros has thrown himself into the waves, his movements of determined activity can be heard in the large-interval, but regular and sequentially rising melody (bars 203-206). Once Möros has reached the other shore, robbers halt him “mit drohend geschwungener Keule” (with their menacing clubs, bars 224-226), the threatening movement of which can be heard in the swaying melody. Later, Philostratus (the warden of Möros’ house) urges his master not to continue to the tyrant, singing the word “Zurück!” (Turn back!) as a rising diminished fifth which leads to a *fz*-chord, a figure which suggests a movement of desperate warning (bars 324-325). Once these comparatively obvious parallels between music and body language are recognized, more passages may be heard as related to emotionally charged postures and gestures. Close to the beginning of the song, for example, when Möros declares that he is ready to die but that he wishes three days postponement and promises to leave his friend as security, the melody can be heard as initially suggesting the visual appearance of a certain humbleness, but thereafter as implying a more and more confident but unimpassioned attitude (bars 27-55).

³⁴⁰ “Statt die Begebenheit zu erzählen, verläßt der Componist seinen Dichter ganz, indem er aus dessen Ballade ein theatralisches Drama macht; oder vielmehr ein theatralisches Gemälde, das höchstens zur Erläuterung der Bewegungen pantomimischer Schauspieler dienen könnte, keineswegs aber – wegen der allzuplötzlichen und unordentlichen Verbindung widerstreitender Gefühle ein musikalisches Ganzes genannt werden darf”. Christian Albrecht Leopold Siebigke, *Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg. Nebst einer kurzen Darstellung seiner Manier*, in Siebigke, *Museum berühmter Tonkünstler in Kupfern und schriftlichen Abrissen*, vol. 2 (Breslau: August Schalls Buch und Kunsthandlung, 1801), p. 18. Also see Nägele, “Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg”, 2002, p. 59.

³⁴¹ Edgar Istel, *Die Entstehung des deutschen Melodramas* (Berlin und Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1906), p. 87.

In the context of a theory of natural signs, these features of *Die Bürgerschaft* could be regarded as valuable because they enhanced the emotional impact of the song. Maybe the music of the song as a whole could even be regarded as constituting a necessary parallel to a series of bodily movements associated with the progression of events in the poem, just like in a melodrama or in a tableau vivant in several sections.

Vocal sounds as natural signs

Schubert's Viennese contemporary Johann Carl Wötzel, a prolific author on the theory and practice of declamation, pairs natural body language with emotionally charged tones in his *Dr. Wötzel's Schöne Vorlesekunst für alle gebildeten Personen beiderlei Geschlechts* (*Dr. Wötzel's Fine Art of Declamation for all gebildete Persons of both Sexes*), a work which was published in Vienna in 1817, the same year as Schaller's *Handbuch der deutschen Dicht- und Redekunst*. The natural tones and gestures of emotion, Wötzel writes, constituted "mankind's very first *audible* and *viewable* language (the only true *primitive language*)", a language which has been "commonly understood and used (in part even by animals)".³⁴² Advocating the use of natural tones of emotion, Wötzel repeats the theory of natural and arbitrary signs:

However, 1) the language of *idea*, or of *thought* and *reason* (word language) is arbitrary in so far as the signifying words (as signs which stand for thoughts and things) often have no natural connection to the objects which they faintly outline, but, instead, in most cases depend on the arbitrary agreement of social persons. 2) The natural language of emotion tones, though, is in no way delegated to our mere discretion. Instead it is so constantly necessary that it confers on every emotion and mental excitement its natural, suitable tone, a tone which bursts forth quite unarbitrarily and therefore conjures forth the same emotions in the minds of other persons of a similar mood.³⁴³

Wötzel proposes that emotions are deeply rooted in our nature (indeed in our nature as animals) and therefore cannot easily be suppressed. An emotional state will be revealed by the tone of the voice, and the emotional content of this tone will be understood by everyone:

³⁴² "Die natürlichen Gefühls- oder Empfindungstöne sind mit den Geberden von jeher die allererste *hör-* und *sichtbare* Sprache (die einzig wahre *Ursprache*) des Menschengeschlechtes gewesen, allgemein (selbst zum Theil von Thieren) verstanden und angewendet worden". [Johann Carl Wötzel], *Dr. Wötzel's Schöne Vorlesekunst für alle gebildeten Personen beiderlei Geschlechts. Ein allgemein interessantes und nützliches Lesebuch auch für die oberen Classen in Akademien, Gymnasien, Seminarien, Real- und Bürgerschulen*, second edition (Vienna, 1817), pp. 186f.

³⁴³ "Doch ist 1) die *Ideen-* oder *Gedanken-* und *Verstandessprache* (Wortsprache) in sofern willkürlich, als die bezeichnenden Worte (als Zeichen der Gedanken und Dinge) mit den hiedurch angedeuteten Gegenständen oft in keinem natürlichen Zusammenhange stehen, sondern meistentheils nur von der willkürlichen Uebereinkunft geselliger Menschen abhängen. 2) Die natürliche Empfindungstonsprache hingegen ist keineswegs unserer bloßen Willkühr überlassen, sondern so unabänderlich nothwendig, daß sie vielmehr jeder Empfindung und Gemüthsbewegung ihren natürlichen passenden Ton verleihet, welcher ganz unwillkürlich hervorbricht und daher auch in den Gemüthern anderer Personen von ähnlicher Stimmung dieselben Gefühle hervorzaubert". *ibid.*, p. 196.

Also in social life, the communication of these inner emotions and feelings is far more important than the mere delivery of our ideas. Thence, the language of *natural emotion tones* is left not to our discretion, as is the language of *idea* or *word*, but, on the contrary, is left with such necessity to the *whole nature of the animal kingdom* – which always expresses its feelings in suitable natural tones (of for example *pain* and *pleasure*, of *love* and *anger*) – that the emotions of all living nature in the whole animal kingdom are not crippled by human artificiality but are instead expressed naturally, genuinely, and beautifully, and thus may transport to sympathy. The feelings do not let themselves be arbitrarily suppressed and hidden as readily as the ideas. Instead they often manifest themselves with such overwhelming force that ruler and beggar alike, at *overwhelming feelings* of pleasure, rapture, terror, and horror, have to laugh, weep, lament, sob and wail.³⁴⁴

Weithase (1930) has studied many discussions of tone by authors in the German area, and she concludes that tone was conceptualized as “the uniform vocal flow which extends over a whole poem and which has to be a true expression of artistic perception and power of insight”.³⁴⁵ But, in practice, the emphasis on unity of tone seems not always to have been as strong as Weithase suggests. A single, unarticulated sound can express an emotion, Sulzer says in his article “Ton der Stimme” (Tone of the voice), and so he does not preclude the possibility that one poem may contain many tones. The emotional content of the tone depends in part on the “degree of strength, on the slowness and quickness, on the emphasis or flightiness with which it is articulated, in part on the pulling, or pushing, or swelling, or other kinds of generation; in part on the place where it is formed or where it seems to originate [...]”.³⁴⁶ The phenomenon *tone* seems to have harboured the possibility of a sequence of tones as well as of a single, unifying tone. Bringing the issue into a romantic context, Friedrich Schlegel (with whom Schubert and his friends were to become acquainted and to whom I will return in Chapter 5) indicates that the two kinds of tone could coexist and that the dominance of one over the other depends on the attention of the recipient:

³⁴⁴ “Die Mittheilung dieser innern Empfindungen und Gefühle überhaupt ist auch für das gesellschaftliche Leben weit wichtiger, als der bloße Vortrag unserer Ideen. Daher ist die Sprache der *Naturgefühlstöne* nicht, wie die *Ideen-* oder *Wortsprache*, unserer Willkühr, sondern vielmehr der *ganzen Natur des Thierreiches*, welches durchgehends seine Gefühle durch passende Naturtöne (z. B. des *Schmerzes* und der *Freude*, der *Liebe* und des *Zornes*) ausdrückt, so nothwendig überlassen, damit die Gefühle aller belebten Natur des ganzen Thierreiches durch keine menschliche Künstelei verkrüppelt, sondern vielmehr natürlich, wahr und schön ausgedrückt werden, folglich zur Theilnahme hinreißen können. Die Gefühle lassen sich nicht so leicht, wie die Gedanken, willkührlich unterdrücken und verbergen, sondern äußern sich oft mit einer solchen überwältigenden Stärke und Macht, daß der Regent wie der Bettler, bei *überwältigendem Gefühle* der Freude, des Entzückens, des Schreckens und des Entsetzens lachen, oder weinen, jammern, schluchzen und wehklagen muß.” *ibid.*, p. 194.

³⁴⁵ “das stimmlich einheitliche Fluidum, das über einem Gedicht lagert, und das ein echter Ausdruck von künstlerischer Empfindung und Nacherlebenskraft sein muß”. Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, p. 71.

³⁴⁶ “von dem Grad der Stärke, von der Langsamkeit und Schnelligkeit, von dem Nachdruck oder der Flüchtigkeit, womit er ausgesprochen wird, theils von dem Ziehen, oder Stoßen, oder Anschwellen, oder andern Arten seiner Erzeugung; theils von dem Ort, wo er gebildet wird, oder wo er zu entstehen scheint [...]”. Sulzer, “Vortrag (Redende Künste)”, in Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 2 (1774), 2002, p. 1245.

<p>[...] Durch alle Töne tönet Im bunten Erdentraume, Ein leiser Ton gezogen, Für den, der heimlich lauschet.³⁴⁷</p>	<p>[...] Through all tones sounds, In the motley earthly dream, A soft tone drawn For him who secretly listens.)</p>
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Tones in music

The “natural” tones were sometimes explicitly associated with music, both in theory and in practice. In Adolf Bäuerle’s article “Ueber die Darstellung in der Musik” (On Representation in Music), first published in his *Zeitung für Theater, Musik und Poesie* in January to March 1807 and then anonymously reprinted in *WamZ* in 1813, music is described as being able to imitate natural, vocal, nonverbal expression of emotions, just as do cultivated forms of declamation such as eloquence and theatrical declamation:

All the heart’s passions and emotions have their natural declamation (language). By natural declamation I understand, firstly, the expression of great passions which manifest themselves either in inarticulate sounds such as scream, sigh, sob, or in words which form no continuous speech, like interjections. Secondly, the altering of the voice in a continuous speech when strong passions or feelings of the heart are to be expressed. I name this declamation a natural one in order to distinguish it from eloquence and theatrical declamation, which in turn are based on the outbursts of great passion and on those tones which the practice of language attaches to certain words. Therefore I say that the natural declamation is the pattern which the imitating art of music copies.³⁴⁸

Wötzel’s teacher, Christian Gotthold Schocher (1736-1810), who was considered the founder of the concept of a musicalized declamation, planned to construct a system for notation of the tones, a project which was taken up by another student of his, Heinrich August Kerndörffer. Like his teacher, Kerndörffer paralleled the basic tones

³⁴⁷ Friedrich von Schlegel’s poem “Die Gebüsch”, set by Schubert in 1819 (D.646). Quoted from Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 2, p. 583. On the relationship between Schubert’s circle and Friedrich von Schlegel, see Ilija Dürhammer and Ernst Hilmar, “Schlegel[,] Friedrich von”, in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, pp. 395f. The portion of Schlegel’s poem quoted here was later used by Schumann as a motto for his *Fantasie* in C major, Op. 17.

³⁴⁸ “Alle Leidenschaften und Gefühle des Herzens haben ihre natürliche Deklamazion (Sprache). Ich verstehe unter natürlicher Deklamazion; Erstens: den Ausdruck großer Leidenschaften die sich entweder durch unartikulierte Klänge wie durch Geschrey, Seufzen, Schluchzen, oder auch durch Worte äußern, die keine fortlaufende Rede bilden, wie durch Interjectionen. Zweytens: Die Veränderung der Stimme in einer fortgehenden Rede, wenn durch sie starke Leidenschaften oder Empfindungen des Herzens sollen ausgedrückt werden. Ich nenne diese Deklamazion eine natürliche um sie von der oratorischen und theatralischen zu unterscheiden, welche selbst wieder auf die Ausbrüche großer Leidenschaften und auf solche Töne, welche der Sprachgebrauch an gewisse Worte knüpft, gegründet ist; daher sage ich, daß die natürliche Deklamazion das Muster ist, welches die nachahmende Tonkunst kopirt“. [Adolf Bäuerle,] “Ueber die Darstellung in der Musik,” in *WamZ*, No. 4, 23 January 1813, pp. 30-32; No. 5, 30 January 1813, pp. 38-40; No. 6, 6 February 1813, pp. 46-48; No. 7, 13 February 1813, pp. 54f; No. 8, 20 February 1813, pp. 63f; No. 10, 6 March 1813, pp. 73-76. Quotation from p. 47.

of language with the vowels and claimed that a catalogue could be made of their emotional content. Importantly, he also associated each vowel with a certain musical harmony. The goal was to find a recipe for achieving an identity of expression and effect of human speech.³⁴⁹

In the letters which the North-German composer Johann Friedrich Reichardt wrote in connection with his visit to Vienna and other parts of Austria in 1808-1809, an indication can be found that, also in practice, music and the tones of the voice could be intimately related. In March 1809, Reichardt reports, he visited a declamatorium at which the declaimer Herr Peale (pseudonym for Gustav Anton Freiherr von Seckendorff, who was also artist of attitudes³⁵⁰) attempted to fuse the modulations between different tones of the voice with chords which he played on the fortepiano (“to accompany the declamation with chords on the pianoforte and to support the modulations of the voice with the harmonic modulations of the accompaniment, and to fuse the two”).³⁵¹ The possibility that also the contrasting sections of a sectional song could be thought of as musical imitations of tones which would be used in a declamation of the poem is supported by some of Reichardt’s own compositions. These works, which were mentioned in Chapter 1, are likely to have been inspired by the fusion of declamation and music which he experienced in Vienna. Shortly after this experience, which, Reichardt claimed, shook his concepts of the complete difference between speech and song and led him on to new contemplations,³⁵² he published what he termed “declamation pieces” (Deklamations-Stücke) for voice and fortepiano or harp, intended as fusions of declamation and music.³⁵³ Such a composition is the Goethe-setting *Gott (Aus dem Faust)* (*God [From Faust]*). Shifts in key, time signature, and accompanimental pattern make the structure of this piece clearly sectional. The song part is written in normal musical notation but is provided with the instruction “pathetically declaimed” ([p]athetisch deklamiert). Stylistically, the vocal part is similar to the recitatives and less florid arioso sections in Schubert’s sectional songs. Hirsch (1993) points out that Reichardt’s songs became well known in Vienna and that Schubert’s *Prometheus* (D.674) and *Ganymed*

³⁴⁹ Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 96f; Kohlhäufl, “Die Rede – ein dunkler Gesang? Kleists ‘Robert Guiskard’ und die Deklamationstheorie um 1800”, in *Kleist-Jahrbuch* 1996, p. 154.

³⁵⁰ Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 1967, p. 207.

³⁵¹ “die Deklamation mit Akkorden auf dem Fortepiano zu begleiten, und die Modulationen der Stimme den harmonischen Modulationen der Begleitung anzuneigen und mit ihr zu verschmelzen”. Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe* (1808/09), 1915 vol. 2, p. 49. The author and musician Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart is said to have done something similar, as is Gluck. In an obituary after the death of C.F.D. Schubart the emotional impact of his art is described: “[...] I know only that my heart beat loudly inside me and that my cheek glowed ardently when, at the harmonies which he played on his piano, he declaimed Klopstock’s ‘Frühlingsfeyer’” (“[...] nur das weiss ich, dass mein Herz laut in mir schlug, und meine Wange heiss glühte, wenn er zu den Harmonien, die er an seinem Flügel schuf, Klopstocks Frühlingsfeyer deklamierte.”) Quoted from Manka, “Das Liedschaffen”, 1957, p. 6.

³⁵² Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe* (1808/09), 1915, vol. 2, p. 49.

³⁵³ See Schwab, “Kompositorische Individualität”, 2003. Also see Hirsch, *Schubert’s Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, pp. 23f.

(D.544) show conspicuous similarities to Reichardt's declamatory settings of the same poems.³⁵⁴ It is also known that songs by Reichardt were performed in Schubert's circle.³⁵⁵

As do most sectional songs, *Die Bürgschaft* contains shifts in tempo and time signature, shifts which may have been thought of as a parallel to the "natural" expression of emotions in declamation. In Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie* it is said that not only the tone has to be right if the sound of a declamation is to correspond to the poem's content, but also the "movement" (Bewegung).³⁵⁶ Sulzer actually says that the way composers use different tempi is something that declaimers should imitate. Some terms, such as *Vivace*, *Moderato*, *Grave*, *Grazioso*, and *con Tenerezza*, indicate not only tempo, he writes, but also emotional character. Dance melodies, he continues, are further evidence that "movement" contributes to the expression of the different emotions. The composer has all these changes of expression in his power, and is therefore the model which the declaimer should imitate. According to Sulzer, every expression in declamation needs to have the right movement also because this is a prerequisite for the production of the adequate tones. When a particular type of movement makes a certain syllable fall on a weak beat, he writes, it is not possible to give to the syllable its appropriate emotional emphasis. In every part of a speech, Sulzer writes, the declaimer "must know how to find the most appropriate rhythm for the expression which is implied by the meaning [of the words]", or else "it is not possible everywhere to arrive at the right declamation".³⁵⁷

It seems not too far-fetched to assume that the employment of different keys, expression marks, tempi, time signatures, melodic types etc. within a sectional song could be perceived as a parallel to the use of different tones in the declamation of a single poem. At the beginning of *Die Bürgschaft*, the musical distinctions between Dionys and Möros (which I mentioned on page 86) could very well be described in terms of tone. Later, bars 248 (with upbeat) to 252 may be regarded as employing a tone which is suitable for Möros' prayer. The tempo slows down, the nuance is *piano*, the key is E minor, and the accompaniment is as simple as any – except for its slightly painful off-main-beat accents. The melody of the prayer differs from the narrator's preceding recitative by consistently being placed in a higher register (in this musical context suggestive of entreaty?) and by the floating character which it acquires by beginning and ending on the fifth scale-step.

A brief but striking use of a highly characteristic tone is found in bars 289 (with upbeat) to 292, where Möros overhears two wanderers saying that his friend is now being crucified. The vocal line's syllabic monotones and the homophonic

³⁵⁴ Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, p. 24.

³⁵⁵ Mainka, "Das Liedschaffen", 1957, p. 48.

³⁵⁶ Sulzer, "Vortrag (Redende Künste)", in Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 2 (1774), 2002, p. 1245.

³⁵⁷ "[Der Redner] muß für jede Periode der Rede, nach dem in dem Sinne liegenden Ausdruck [sic], den schicklichsten Rhythmus zu wählen wissen, sonst ist es nicht möglich, daß er überall die wahre Deklamation treffe". Sulzer, "Vortrag (Redende Künste)", in Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 2 (1774), 2002, p. 1246.

accompaniment in the style of a brass choir form a tone which was conventionally associated with oracles and other numinous voices.³⁵⁸ Schubert's choice to use this tone indicates that the wanderers are not merely two individuals who happen to know what is going on in Syracuse, but that they are also heralds of death.

The subtlety with which Schubert was able to superimpose different tones is exemplified by the passage where Philostratus tells Möros about how his friend has been waiting faithfully without being affected by the tyrant's attempts to scorn him (bars 331-347). Philostratus here starts in a tone which seems basically to express innocence and mildness. The nuance is *piano*, the key at the outset is G major, and the melody and the accompaniment are very simple. In two steps, the tone is muddled, however. While the consistent use of a single accompanimental figure and the continuous rhythmic pattern in the vocal line account for the unity of tone, in bar 336 A minor adds a little anxiousness, and, in bars 340f, dissonances and a crescendo put the tone under even more strain. The tension leads to a culmination in bar 342, but there, at the word "Glauben" (faith), the vocal line reaches a high f^2 at the top of a radiant F-major chord, as if to suggest the power of faith in friendship. Right after, at the words "der Hohn des Tyrannen" (the tyrant's derision), darker tonalities briefly return, along with unpleasant parallel octaves and a descent in both voice and piano to the relatively low note of $d\sharp^1$ (bars 343-345). These two and a half bars are directed towards A minor, but what follows is instead a clear and powerful cadence in A major, beginning with a high e^2 (bar 346) which is linked through voice-leading to the bright f^2 in bar 342. Thus, the passage ends with a triumphant version of the tone heard at the beginning of the passage, and the tyrant's tone of mean mocking appears in retrospect as nothing more than a parenthesis.

"German" multiplicity

One function of a notation of vocal tones like that projected by Schocher and Kerndörffer is that it may help a non-expert to find the particular tones considered right for the declamation of a certain text. But on a more basic level, such notation may have worked to spur declaimers to eschew monotony. Good "German" declamation was often defined in opposition to "French" declamation, as when Wötzel writes that "as is well known, the French read quite monotonously".³⁵⁹ Wötzel even claims that his own teacher, Schocher, was too "French" in his style since he sometimes "forgot" the beautiful reading which is in accord with "head and heart", "mind and feeling", "nature and truth", thus degenerating to a "mere rational *reading out* or *accounting*".³⁶⁰ These notions go back to the German historian Justus Möser who complained, in *Über die deutsche Sprache und Literatur* (*On the German Language*

³⁵⁸ Cf. Marjorie Hirsch, "Mayrhofer, Schubert, and the myth of 'Vocal Memnon'", in *The Unknown Schubert*, 2008, p. 21.

³⁵⁹ "die Franzosen [...] lesen bekanntlich ganz monotonisch". Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, p. XVI.

³⁶⁰ "das *schöne Vorlesen* (nach Kopf und Herz, nach Verstand und Gefühl, natur- und wahrheit [sic] gemäs [sic]). "das bloß verständige *Herlesen* oder *Referiren*". Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, p. XVI.

and Literature, 1781), that German culture had been so influenced by Latin culture. Möser advised German artists to avoid the "uniformity" and "poverty" of French classical aesthetics and instead take a "path to multiplicity".³⁶¹ As an example of the success of such multiplicity, Möser mentions the English landscape garden which, at the time, supplanted many French-style Baroque gardens in Germany. With this nationalist ideology as a background, sectional songs with as much multiplicity as *Die Bürgschaft* may have been received as emphatically "German" works of art.

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I have proposed that declamation which includes extensive body language and vocal contrasts was associated with theatre. I have also suggested that declamation which was not monotonous, but which included instead different "natural signs" in the form of emotionally charged tones of the voice and real or suggested bodily movements was appreciated for its immediate and powerful emotional impact. But, so far, I have paid too little attention to substantial aspects of the notion of declamation that was current among theorists and critics. Firstly, while it could hardly be denied that declamation and theatre shared many features, theorists and critics were often at pains to distinguish between the two. This indicates both that, in practice, such a difference did not always exist, and that those who sought to establish it believed that non-theatrical declamation was an important thing and/or that, for some reason, theatrical declamation was undesirable. Secondly, while scarcely anyone questioned the value of natural signs, the way such signs should be used was not at all a settled issue.

The following presentation of a kind of declamation which was more restrained than the "extensive" type with which I have dealt so far, and of critical stances towards extensive declamation, will lead back to a discussion of notions of freedom and the ideal, notions which we have seen were of importance to Schubert's circle. This, eventually, will set the stage for a discussion on these issues with regard to *Die Bürgschaft*.

Restrained declamation

After 1800, a style of declamation which was characterized by "a restraint of the dramatic impulse" had gradually spread in the German lands, both in private and in public spheres.³⁶² By Schubert's time, also in Vienna the restrained style made up an alternative to the more extensive one. An example of the severity with which proponents of the restrained style could criticize the extensive style is found in the article "Einige Gedanken über Deklamation" (Some Thoughts on Declamation, *WamZ*, 22 September 1813). There, the anonymous author claims that the use of

³⁶¹ Quoted from Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp. 65f.

³⁶² "ein Beherrschen des dramatischen Aeußerungswillens". Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, p. 157.

“exaggerated” expression and contrasts in declamation indicates a distrust both in the audience and in the poetry itself. Such declamation, he writes, gives too little freedom to the listeners’ own imagination:

An exaggerated expression, too strong an accentuation, a glaring contrast, [and] too vivid a delineation of the affects and personal characters [...] indicate an *obtrusiveness* on the part of the declaimer, a mistrust in the sensitivity of the listeners as well as in the poetry’s own, inner force, whereby the declamation becomes adverse, repulsive, [and] often laughable. [...] The listeners’ imagination is left with [...] too little freedom itself to paint the whole [to the inner eye], which is always needed for the enjoyment of aesthetic ideas.³⁶³

It is, the author goes on, as if the declaimer had no confidence in the ability of the listeners to identify the different interlocutors from the poem’s total organization. With a clear reference to declamation which tends towards theatre, the author says that it is ridiculous when a declaimer tries to imitate and differentiate the characters in an epic or partly lyric and “describing” (schildernden) poem, by employing for example higher and lower voices, as if he wanted to perform a real play using only his own person, thus bypassing the “rule of ideal beauty” (Gesetz idealischer Schönheit) in order to slavishly imitate nature. The author objects against this practice, for “since he [the declaimer] does not stand on a stage [...] and since outer conditions prevent him from doing a downright theatrical performance, he will, with his incomplete attempt which conflicts with the circumstances, easily become ridiculous”.³⁶⁴

Such a distinction between theatre and declamation was not uncommon among critics in Vienna. On 8 February 1815 an *Akademie* was given at which the theatrical and the non-theatrical styles of declamation were both represented. In fact, the two styles were used by the very same declaimer, Theodor von Sydow. The critic in *Der Sammler* writes with appreciation about von Sydow’s declamation of the poem *Rückkehr des angebetheten Landesvaters in seine Residenz* (*Return of the Adored Father of the People to his Capital*), emphasizing the declaimer’s restrained use of gestures: “Herr Theodor Baron v. Sydow declaimed [...] really well and accompanied his delivery only with few gestures”. Later the same evening von Sydow declaimed another poem, but, according to the critic, he now committed a serious mistake: “Later *Saul und David*, by *Mahlmann*, was less declaimed by him than theatrically played. It is possible that, by means of an automatic connection of ideas, the place where he was standing [i.e.

³⁶³ “Ein übertriebener Ausdruck, eine zu starke Accentuation, eine schneidende Kontrastirung, eine zu lebhaftes Abschilderung der Affekte und persönlichen Characteres, in der Sprache, zeigt ein *Zudringlichkeit* des Deklamators, ein Mißtrauen in das Zartgefühl der Zuhörer, und in die eigene innere Kraft der Poesie, wodurch die Deklamation widrig, eckelhaft, oft lächerlich wird. [...] Die Einbildungskraft der Zuhörer behält [...] zu wenige Freiheit, sich das Ganze selbst auszumahlen, welches immer zum Genuß ästhetischer Ideen erfordert wird”. “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation”, in *WamZ*, No. 38, 22 September 1813, p. 303.

³⁶⁴ “Da er aber jetzt nicht auf der Bühne steht, da er durch äußere Verhältnisse in der vollkommenen theatralischen Darstellung gehindert ist; so wird er durch seinen ha[!]ben, unvollständigen, mit den übrigen Umständen in Widerspruch stehenden, Versuche leicht ins lächerliche fallen”. *ibid.*

the stage at the Kärnthnerthor theatre] may have caused this acting. However, being a master of the art of speech [...], surely his delivery could and should be in accordance with the concept and essence of declamation, since otherwise the theory will be in outright conflict with the practice”.³⁶⁵ Apparently, to some critics it was important to keep theatre and declamation apart. Why this was so is a question which I will try to answer in the following sections. The question is an important one, for if, for some reason, extensive declamation could be criticized for being theatrical, the same may have happened to a sectional song like *Die Bürgschaft*.

Genre expectations

At least on the surface, the difference in appreciation between von Sydow’s two declamations, as well as the critique of theatrical declamation provided by the author of “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation”, are based on genre expectations. Poetry and theatre are simply not the same thing, the argument goes, and therefore a poem should not be acted, even when it happens to be delivered on a stage.

The claim that there is a difference between poetry and theatre which must not be overlooked is akin to the aesthetics of the Lied which favoured strophic musical settings over sectional and other through-composed ones, an aesthetic which dominated in the northern part of the German-speaking area but which was also not without influence further south. According to this aesthetic, a through-composed setting of a lyric poem constituted a dramatization which destroyed the unity of emotion that was considered the mainstay of lyric poetry.³⁶⁶ A frequently cited expression of this favouring of strophic settings is found in an article in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) of 1803. There it is claimed that however much scenes may change, in a poem belonging to the genre of *Romanze*, unity has to be preserved by the use of a single meter and a regular construction of the strophes. (The terms

³⁶⁵ “Herr Theodor Baron v. Sydow sprach die *Rückkehr des angebetheten Landesvaters in seine Residenz* recht gut, und begleitete den Vortrag nur mit wenigen Gesten. [...] Später wurde: *Saul und David*, von *Mahlmann*, von ihm nicht sowohl declamirt, als theatralisch gespielt. Es ist möglich, daß der Ort, auf welchem er stand, durch eine unwillkürliche Ideenverbindung dieses Agiren bewirkt haben mag; allein als Meister der Kunstrede oder des Kunstredens, oder (ad analogiam: Darstellkunst) der Darsprechkunst könnte und sollte doch wohl sein Vortrag dem Begriff und Wesen der Declamation entsprechen, weil sonst die Theorie mit der Ausübung in geradem Widerspruch steht”. (“Tonkunst,” in *Der Sammler*, No. 19, 14 February 1815, p. 83. The style of writing in this review, with its piling of synonyms which I have not attempted to translate into English, is strongly reminiscent of the works of Johann Carl Wötzel. It would not come as a surprise if Wötzel, who published books on declamation in Vienna at the time, worked also as a critic.) Similar negative comments on declamation considered to be theatrical can be found in the following articles: *Thalia*, No. 30, 12 April 1812, p. 120; *Thalia*, No. 48, 22 April 1813, pp. 189f; Möser, “Ueber den Unterschied zwischen Gestikulation des Redners, theatralischer Darstellung und Pantomime”, in *Theater-Zeitung*, No. 84, 15 July 1813, pp. 325f and No. 86, 20 July 1813, pp. 333f; “Declamation”, in *Der Sammler*, No. 28, 7 March 1815, p. 122; “Musikalische Akademien in Prag”, in *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, No. 34, 20 March 1819, p. 135. For a summary of many similar comments from (mainly) German treatises on declamation, see Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, pp. 99-101.

³⁶⁶ Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 65.

Romanze and *Ballade* were normally used synonymously at the time.³⁶⁷ Such unity, the article claims, not only makes the romance more beautiful; it is even a necessary ingredient in such a poem. The unity is destroyed, however, when a composer puts the poem to music in which he lets keys and meter (“Taktarten”) change, and in which he mixes recitative and arioso. The author here clearly refers to sectional songs. In such a setting, he goes on, the music becomes dramatic and the unity of the poem is destroyed.³⁶⁸ The motivation provided is simply that “a romance is not a drama” (eine Romanze ist doch kein Drama).³⁶⁹ This article is representative of a notion, widely spread already in the eighteenth century, according to which “through composition was mistaken as it threatened to dramatize that which is lyric by depicting all the details”.³⁷⁰

The strophic Lied did not have the same strong position in the southern parts of the German area, but it can be assumed that, even there, a musical setting with markedly theatrical features could be regarded as a failure. Those who considered the poem to be the main carrier of value in a song probably applied the same principles of evaluation to a musical setting of a poem that they applied to a declamation of that poem. If there was an antitheatrical stance to declamation of poetry, there was probably also an antitheatrical stance to musical settings of poetry.

Active preservation of genre boundaries may sometimes simply have been based on a wish to avoid confusion or, as a result of mere conservatism, on a desire to be able to comfortably interpret poems in an established way. Such a desire might account for the demand that Theodor von Sydow’s declamation should be in accord with the concept and the theory of declamation as otherwise “the theory will be in outright conflict with the practice”. But it is also possible that an intrusion of theatre into poetry could be conceived of as having more serious consequences than a mere loss of conventional behaviour.

In the article “Lyrisch” (Lyric) in Sulzer’s *Allgemeine Theorie*, lyric poetry is presented as having at its disposal particular means to accomplish the tasks of “the fine arts” (die schönen Künste). In comparison to other kinds of poetry – probably a reference mainly to dramatic poetry intended for the theatre – lyric poems are said to provide a much closer access to thoughts, temperaments and emotions. Implicitly, a

³⁶⁷ Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968, p. 35.

³⁶⁸ “Das sogenannte Durchkomponiren” carries with it “eine neue, nie ganz zu besiegende Schwierigkeit. Es verschönert nicht nur die Romanze des Dichters, sondern es ist ihr nothwendig, dass er, wie auch die Scenen in seinem Gedicht wechseln mögen, durch gleiches Sylbenmaas, durch gleichen Bau der Verse und Strophen usw. fest an der *Einheit* hält – was nun der Musiker, durch wechsel der Ton-, der Taktarten, durch Beybringung mehrerer Formen seiner Stücke, (Wechsel des Recitativs mit Arienmässigen Gesang u. dergl.) zerstört, und die Musik ins Dramatische ziehet. Aber eine Romanze ist doch kein Drama”. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 5, 1803, cols. 494f. Quoted from Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, pp. 65f.

³⁶⁹ This view was also advocated by Goethe. Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 1967, p. 117.

³⁷⁰ “Ein ‘Durchkomponieren’ war verfehlt, da es das vorgestellt Lyrische durch das detaillierte Ausmahlen des je Einzelnen zu dramatisieren drohte”. Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 54.

theatrical performance of such a poem would be inappropriate.³⁷¹ Other writers on declamation even declared that visual aspects, or, indeed, any sensual ones, should not play a role in this art, thus making a clear distinction from theatre and many other arts. In the epilogue to his *Dichtungen für Kunstredner*, Deinhardstein writes:

Dieß ziert des *Redners* Kunst vor andern allen,
 Daß sie die *Sinnen* buhlend nicht besticht;
 Ihr fehlt der Schmuck, dem Auge zu gefallen,
 Der eitel uns mit buntem Trug umflieht;
 Und wenn sie nicht im *Herzen* wiederhallen,
 Dem Ohre schmeichelt ihre Klänge nicht;–
 Nur in der Brust verborgensten Bezirken
 Ist ihr's vergönnt mit stiller Kraft zu wirken.³⁷²

(This adorns the *declaimer's* art before all others,
 That it does not fondlingly bribe the *senses*;
 It lacks the adornment of pleasing the eye,
 [An adornment] which vainly enfolds us in many-coloured delusion;
 And if it does not resound in the *heart*,
 Its sounds do not caress the ear;–
 Only in the heart's most secret regions
 Is it given to [this art] to work with quiet force.)

The notion that the sound of declamation must reverberate in the heart was probably partly related to the commonly shared theory of natural signs. But, in addition to that, Deinhardstein's claim that declamation is unable to please the eye should probably be seen as an attempt to clear declamation from what he regarded as irrelevant or even harmful components. Other authors held that declamation had a legitimate visual aspect, but agreed that it is the heart, and not the senses, to which declamation should speak. This notion of declamation fits well with the Neo-Platonic concept of art within Schubert's circle and forms a parallel to Anton von Spaun's notion of friendship as a type of relationship which frees humans from their enslaving dependence on the senses. Thus it is a notion which may have been of relevance for the interpretation of *Die Bürgerschaft*. But what, in practice, was meant by speaking to the heart, and not to the senses? Strictly, of course, it is an impossible task. Moreover, whereas the earlier

³⁷¹ "Here we will merely make the general observation that, while other kinds of poetry let us see thoughts, temperaments, and feelings only as they are manifested in effects, mostly only very generally, and as if from a distance, lyric poetry delineates these things closely, in their most secret aspects, and in the most vivid manner. Therefore we feel them most clearly in ourselves, so that, thereby, every good and healing emotion may be lastingly awoken." (Hier merken wir nur überhaupt an, daß die lyrische Dichtkunst, die Gedanken, Gesinnungen und Empfindungen, welche wir in andern Dichtungsarten, in ihren Wirkungen, und meistentheils nur überhaupt, und wie von weitem sehen, in der Nähe, in ihren geheimsten Wendungen, auf das lebhafteste schildere, und daß wir sie dadurch auf das deutlichste in uns selbst empfinden, so daß jede gute und heilsame Regung auf eine dauerhafte Weise dadurch erweckt werden kann.) Sulzer, "Lyrisch", in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 2 (1774), 2002, p. 727.

³⁷² Quoted from Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 103.

Enlightenment had emphasized the paramount value of pure reasoning, the fairly new discipline of aesthetics, which seems to have informed at least some of the discourse around restrained declamation, regarded the senses not only as potentially enslaving if not controlled by a higher faculty in the human mind, but also as indispensable sources of emotion. “The senses” thereby came to be a term for man’s five channels of sensation, which are necessary tools in the aesthetic process, as well as a symbol for what is temporal, for the temptation and depravation of the moment.³⁷³ The senses were thus both vital and dangerous. The aesthetic solution to this conflict consisted in playing down individual sensual impressions in favour of the whole. As we shall see, a notion of declamation which followed this principle could be combined not only with Neo-Platonic thinking on the representation of ideals, but also with ideas of human dignity and with social distinction.

Aesthetic freedom and human ennoblement

As will be remembered, in “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation” (*Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1813) it is said that declamation which includes exaggerated expression, too strong an accentuation, garish contrasts and too vivid a depiction of passions and personal characters indicates that the declaimer mistrusts both the sensitivity of the listeners and the inner power of the poetry. (See pages 104f.) It is also said that “[t]he violent assail of unrestrained passion” (das heftige Bestürmen mit dem ungezügelter Affekt) – an extreme to which theatre-style declamation is necessarily closer than concert-hall declamation – has the unfortunate result of granting the listener’s imagination too little “freedom” (Freiheit) itself to paint the whole to the inner eye, a freedom which is necessary for the enjoyment of “aesthetic ideas”.³⁷⁴ The term “aesthetics” had been introduced in modern philosophical discourse by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten in 1735. Baumgarten advocated a re-evaluation of “aesthetica”, the indistinct knowledge of the senses which rationalist philosophy had despised. To a rationalist like Christian von Wolff, perception which does not render each feature distinct was nothing more than a regrettable lack of clear thought. To Baumgarten, however – as well as to followers of his like Sulzer – indistinct perception of many good things *as a whole* served a desirable purpose which was not mainly related to logical thought. This purpose was the rise of “beautiful” thought, and the primary providers of material for such perception were the arts.³⁷⁵ “The whole”, in “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation”, probably referred to the object of such beautiful thought.

³⁷³ Klopstock’s ode “Die Sängerin und der Zuhörer” exemplifies the notion that the senses must be used in reception of art but that they do not form art’s final destination: “[...] Ich war ganz Ohr, und ich hörte / Alles; denn Herz war ich auch” (I was all ears, and I heard / Everything; for I was also all heart). Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Oden*, vol. 2, ed. Paul Merker (Leipzig: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1913), p. 237.

³⁷⁴ “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation”, *WamZ*, No. 38, 22 September 1813, p. 303.

³⁷⁵ Riley, *Musical Listening*, 2004, p. 14.

The implication that a listener's aesthetic perception is made unfree by exaggerated declamation also links the article to Kant and to his follower Schiller. In Kant's philosophy, Riggs (1997) summarizes, an object of art "should not be represented with too much detail or distinctness because this would leave nothing for the imagination to complete". Also, "during the aesthetic experience, the imagination must be active rather than passive, because it is this active contemplation (or free play) that makes it possible for art to bridge the gap between the faculties of understanding and reason".³⁷⁶ This may be taken to imply that if the declaimer is too explicit in the expression of every single detail of a poem, the listener is forced to be passive and his attention is being distracted from the consideration of the whole.

An early writer on declamation as an aesthetic object which should be perceived as a unity was Theodor Körner's father, the German philosopher and jurist Christian Gottfried Körner (1756-1831). C.G. Körner, who was a close friend of Schiller and who took a passionate interest in the arts, adopted some of Schiller's ideas on aesthetics and applied them to music and declamation. His essays "Ideen über Deklamation" (Ideas on Declamation) and "Ueber Charakterdarstellung in der Musik" (On the Representation of Character in Music) were published in Schiller's *Neue Thalia* in 1793 and 1795 respectively. For Körner, a declamatory performance or a piece of music which presents many emotions as a unity becomes a symbol of man's ideal inner character, a character which has enough freedom not to be governed by accidental, outer phenomena, and which is therefore constant in spite of affective swings.³⁷⁷ In a letter to Schiller, Körner defined "character" as "a row of actions subordinate to a ruling will".³⁷⁸ In practice, the character was to appear to the listener as the unity which results from the succession of emotions expressed in the declamation of a poem.³⁷⁹ The declaimer's task, therefore, was to make sure that every emotional nuance used could be explained by "the particular connections of ideas, opinions, urges, habits, fates, [...] which together shape the *individual* form of a human disposition".³⁸⁰ The ability of music and declamation to construct a character

³⁷⁶ Robert Riggs, "On the Representation of Character in Music': Christian Gottfried Körner's Aesthetics of Instrumental Music", in *The Musical Quarterly* 81, No. 4 (Winter 1997), p. 605.

³⁷⁷ Kohlhäufel, "Die Rede – ein dunkler Gesang?", 1996, p. 161; Riggs, "On the Representation of Character in Music", 1997, p. 602.

³⁷⁸ "eine Reihe von Handlungen einem herrschenden Willen subordinirt". Letter from Körner to Schiller, 4 February 1793. Quoted from Christiane Krautscheid, "Gesetze der Kunst und der Menschheit. Christian Gottfried Körners Beitrag zur Ästhetik der Goethe-Zeit" (PhD. diss., Technische Universität Berlin, 1998), p. 144.

³⁷⁹ "The declaimer cannot immediately portray the character itself. First of all he endeavours to make the emotions which accompany the train of thought perceptible by the senses, and from the unity of these emotions then emerges the total conception of the character". (Den Charakter selbst kann der Vorleser nicht unmittelbar darstellen. Er sucht zunächst die *Gefühle* zu versinnlichen, welche die Gedankenreihe begleiten, und aus der Einheit dieser Gefühle entspringt sodann die Total-Vorstellung des Charakters.) Christian Gottfried Körner, "Ideen über Deklamation" (1793), in *Ästhetische Ansichten. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Joseph P. Bauke (Marbach a. N.: Schiller-Nationalmuseum, 1964), p. 19.

³⁸⁰ "den besonderen Ideenverbindungen, Meinungen, Trieben, Gewohnheiten, Schicksalen [...] die zusammen genommen, die *individuelle Form* eines menschlichen Wesens bilden". *ibid.*, p. 21.

means that both of them can fulfil the task of art, a task which is not the imitation of the world which surrounds us but instead the representation of *ideal* character and, thereby, of the moral development which man ought to go through.³⁸¹ “The artistic aspect of declamation”, Körner writes, is “the realization of an ideal”.³⁸²

In his article on the representation of character in music, Körner elaborates on the elevated world of ideals which art is capable of opening to man. An artist should “complete that which we fail to see in the reality of an individual phenomenon; he should *idealize* his material [...] The power, which asserts its independence from all influence of the exterior world and against all inner storms of passion, exceeds every known dimension. It is this freedom that is made sensible to us through the representation of character”.³⁸³ The freedom from the potentially overwhelming force of raw sensual impressions on the human mind, as well as the sensing of an ideal, are issues which Körner shares with the anonymous article “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation” as well as with Anton von Spaun’s concept of friendship. Like friendship, declamation and music are here attributed with the power to ennoble the mind.³⁸⁴

Ideas resembling Körner’s view of declamation as the representation of an ideally unified character are found in Wötzel’s *Vorlesekunst* (1817). Like several other authors whose texts we have encountered, Wötzel distinguishes between the art of the actor and the art of the declaimer (“Redner”). An actor, he says, “personifies” (personificirt) in that he portrays the specific character of a certain person. Such personification, though, “obviously belongs only on the stage”.³⁸⁵ A declaimer, on the other hand, “characterizes [...] *generally*” (charakterisirt [...] *im Allgemeinen*) which means that although a poem contains several persons and emotions, the declaimer is able to form his declamation in such a way that the totality is in accordance with the

³⁸¹ Kohlhäufel, “Die Rede – ein dunkler Gesang?”, 1996, pp. 160f.

³⁸² “Das Kunstmäßige in der Deklamation – die Versinnlichung eines Ideals”. C.G. Körner, “Ideen über Deklamation” (1793), 1964, p. 17.

³⁸³ Christian Gottfried Körner, “Ueber Charakterdarstellung in der Musik” (1795), in *Ästhetische Ansichten. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Joseph P. Bauke (Marbach a. N.: Schiller-Nationalmuseum, 1964), pp. 24-47. Translation quoted from Riggs, “On the Representation of Character in Music”, 1997, p. 603.

³⁸⁴ Schiller strongly objected against his friend Körner’s essay on the representation of character in music. According to Schiller, the essay puts too much stress on music’s form and too little (actually none at all) on its purely material aspect – the tone. If music is to be discussed as an aesthetic object and not merely as an object of reason, Schiller says, form (which is connected to reason) and tone (which is connected to passion) have to be equally taken into account. As I have mentioned, Schiller’s aesthetic presupposes a balance between the form drive and the sensuous drive, which means that both drives have to be maintained. The more old-fashioned, Neo-Platonic writings from Schubert’s circle of friends, on the other hand, mainly emphasise the potential of form to liberate the mind from the passions stirred by matter. At least in this respect, Körner and Schubert’s friends alike seem to have been representatives of an aesthetic which Schiller considered to be overcome. I will return to Schiller’s aesthetic at the very end of this chapter. Schiller’s critique of Körner’s essay on character in music is found in *Schillers Werke. Nationalausgabe*, vol. 22, ed. Herbert Meyer (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1958), pp. 293-295.

³⁸⁵ “Personification gehört natürlich bloß auf die Schaubühne”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §73, pp. 244f.

“consistent state of mind” (gleichartige Gemüthsstimmung) which is the “final effect and purpose (an aim), a final goal” of the declamation of that particular poem.³⁸⁶ The declaimer, “filled with the total effect of his delivery”, always “speaks in the general, fundamental tone in which his mind is set by the maintained feeling of this [total] effect, a tone which, consequently, spreads more or less over the whole delivery”.³⁸⁷ In such a “characterizing delivery” (*charakterisirende[r]* Vortrag), what is aimed at is the effect of “the whole piece” (des ganzen Stücks), not merely the portrayal of a particular person within it. In practice, the multiple forms of the expression associated with the effect of the poem as a whole is “harmoniously” (harmonisch) spread over the delivery in such a way that “from this, the total effect [...] appears”.³⁸⁸ In other words, the declaimer has to find the character which gives the declamation an emotional unity in multiplicity.

Like Körner, Wötzel finds that declamation, just as other arts, “has to, can, and must every time make it its goal to realize some *idea*”.³⁸⁹ The qualities of mind which Wötzel presents as being necessary for declamation of the right kind link such “characterizing” delivery of a poem to a kind of aesthetic education related to that advocated within Schubert’s circle. For “only by means of a refined *feeling for beauty* and a *sense for art*, with which one so willingly gives way to the influence of truth, goodness, and beauty in the works of nature and of art of all kinds”, Wötzel says, “can the declamatory delivery retain the necessary warm colouring, life, nature, truth, and beauty”. The declaimer’s mind has to be “educated” (ausgebildet) according to the principles of a “proper, well refined taste” so that his emotional expression “pleases only under the auspices of reason and a fine discernment, in order not to harm the beauty of the declamation”. It is necessary to acquire “fine powers of observation” and “a refined aesthetic feeling for all that is appropriate (suitable, proper, adequate, fitting), well adapted to its purpose, and beautiful”.³⁹⁰ In parallel to Körner’s view of

³⁸⁶ “[ein] letzte[r] Effect und Zweck (eine Tendenz), ein letztes Ziel”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §73, p. 242.

³⁸⁷ “Der Redner, durchdrungen von der Totalwirkung seines Vortrags, spricht allemal nur in dem allgemeinen Grundtone, in welchen sein Gemüth durch die erhaltene Empfindung dieser Wirkung versetzt ist, welcher sich daher auch über den ganzen Vortrag mehr, oder weniger verbreitet”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §73, p. 243.

³⁸⁸ “Bei dem *charakterisirenden* Vortrage des Vorlesers und Redners [...] wird die Wirkung des ganzen Stücks dargelegt und dessen Ausdruck in mannichfaltigen Formen über die einzelnen Theile des Ganzen so harmonisch verbreitet, daß hieraus die Gesamtwirkung (der Totalaffect oder Ausdruck) hervorgeht”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §73, pp. 244f.

³⁸⁹ “Denn auch diese schöne Kunst soll, kann und muß sich jedesmal die Verwirklichung [...] irgend einer *Idee* zum Ziele setzen”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §11, pp. 12f.

³⁹⁰ “Denn nur vermittelt eines feingebildeten *Schönheitsgeföhls* und *Kunstsinn*, mit welchem man sich den Einwirkungen des Wahren, Guten und Schönen in den Werken der Natur und der Kunst aller Art so gern überläßt, kann der declamatorische Vortrag erst das nöthige warme Colorit, Leben, Natur, Wahrheit und Schönheit erhalten [...] Daher muß dieses *Schönheitsgeföhls* nach Grundsätzen eines richtigen, fein geläuterten Geschmacks ausgebildet und geleitet werden, damit auch der Empfindungsausdruck des Vorlesers nur unter der Oberherrschaft der Vernunft und einer feiner Urtheilskraft passend anspricht, um nie die Schönheit des Vorlesens zu verletzen. Der *Geschmack* des Richtigen und Schönen ist nämlich das Vermögen und die Fertigkeit, jedesmal die Zweckmäßigkeit der Form aller Natur- und Kunstprodukte

beauty as a symbol of ideal character,³⁹¹ Wötzel sees the freedom of an aesthetically developed mind as a prerequisite for a characterizing declamation in which multiplicity is steered towards a single goal.

Similar views were expressed in the Viennese press. In a note to a poem published in an issue of *Neue Thalia* in 1812, the year after “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation”, J. Erichson expands on the merits of declamation. Since declamation of good poetry has such a beneficial effect on the “sensibility” (Gefühl) and the “taste” (Geschmack), he writes, it is one of the most praiseworthy of all public entertainments. Through the exercise of declamation, he concludes, “spirit and fantasy are most beautifully activated and *gebildet*”.³⁹²

As we have seen, writers on declamation in Vienna normally regarded poetry as a means to ennoblement, and it seems that this view was linked to their anti-theatrical position towards declamation. The use of theatrical means in declamation seems to have appeared as impeding the particular means with which poetry was to fulfil its aesthetic task. One reason for this was probably the relatively high degree of explicitness of a theatrical performance of a poem, an explicitness which was felt to be adversary to the perception of the poem as a unity and thus to its potential to form a cohesive representation of an ideal. In the light of this, is Schubert’s circle not likely to have perceived his setting of “Die Bürgschaft” as being too explicit in its representation of individual characters, events and emotions, and thus as impeding the poem’s ability to fulfil its task by, wrongly, turning it into something that resembled a theatrical performance? Before further considering this question I will turn to two further but related reasons for Schubert’s circle and other members of the *Bildung* élite to eschew a theatrical declamation: firstly, theatre’s reputation for being a base entertainment, and, secondly, ideas about the nature of *gebildete* expression.

Theatre as base entertainment

Theatre was a contested form of art at the time. Especially the spectacular, often very comic, and highly popular kind of theatre which had a stronghold at the Viennese suburb theatres was regarded with utmost suspicion by many critics. With its roots in the Baroque, such theatre offered plays with spectacular visual and auditory effects,

durch das angenehme, oder widrige *Gefühl* (der *Lust* und *Unlust*) in Verbindung mit dem Schönheitssinne gehörig zu beurtheilen, folglich die *ästhetische Urtheilskraft* oder Beurteilungsfähigkeit des Schicklichen, Passenden, Anständigen und Angemessenen, des Zweckmäßigen und Schönen in dem Gebiete der Natur und Kunst. Da nun dieser Geschmack eine eigenthümliche Verrichtung (Thätigkeit) der ganzen Urtheilskraft und des Verstandes überhaupt ist; so kann auch seine Bildung nur durch Ausbildung des obern Erkenntnisvermögens nach richtigen Grundsätzen zweckmäßig erfolgen, welche letztern auf einem feinen Beobachtungsgeiste und einem geläuterten ästhetischen Kunstgeföhle für alles Schickliche (Passende, Anständige, Angemessene), Zweckmässige und Schöne vorzüglich beruhen”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §13, pp. 28f.

³⁹¹ “Körner sieht im Kunstschönen der Deklamation ein Symbol der Idealität des Charakters”. Kohlhäufel, “Die Rede – ein dunkler Gesang?”, 1996, p. 161.

³⁹² “Geist und Phantasie auf das Schönste angeregt und gebildet”. *Neue Thalia*, No. 25 and 26, 2 December 1812, p. 197.

surprises, transformations of scene, colourful costumes, and actors who improvised and used large gestures.³⁹³ By means of strict rules and hierarchies in theatre organization, as well as of censorship, theatre reformers wanted to do away with what was spectacular or comic for its own sake, and, most urgently, with what was spectacular or comic and at the same time had a content considered to be immoral.

Attempts at such theatre reform had been undertaken since the early eighteenth century.³⁹⁴ Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790, in reign from 1780), for example, wanted to form Austrian theatre according to the principle which he thought should characterize all parts of life: noble simplicity. This principle had a prominent influence on the playing style at the Burgtheater from his time on, not least through the efforts of Joseph von Sonnenfels.³⁹⁵ But despite all efforts of reformers, most theatre remained incompatible with the ideal of a school of manners.³⁹⁶ This circumstance may form part of the explanation why members of the *Bildung* élite considered a theatrical style to be inappropriate for declamation intent on moral cultivation. The ideology behind the non-theatrical declamation, it seems, was a more radical version of the ideology of those who advocated a theatre reform.

In popular theatre in Vienna, a particular pleasure seems to have been taken in the very transformation of one scene into another. Heinz Kindermann (1962) describes it as a “theatre of transformation, magic, and surprise”.³⁹⁷ An audience used to this kind of theatre may have been receptive also to extensive declamation and to sectional songs which contained striking contrasts. More specifically, the success in Vienna of some sectional songs by more established composers than Schubert could be explained by their similarity to popular plays of horror, suspense and the grotesque. That the taste for horror and the unexpected had an influence on declamation and even on the concept “ballad” is indicated by a parody of a “notice announcing a musical academy” (Anschlagzettel zu einer musikalischen Accademie [sic]), published in 1812 in *Musikalische Zeitung für die österreichischen Staaten*. This anonymous parody is said to be written by “a Berliner”, but the original text is edited in such a way that it can be read as a parody also on musical academies in Vienna. Almost everywhere, the journal’s editor writes, charlatanism triumphs over “true art” (die wahre Kunst), and therefore this satire of musical academies is as true as it is bitter. The items on the programme are said to be designed according to the “spirit of the time” (Zeitgeist) and will surely “fill the house to the point of bursting”.³⁹⁸ After an overture with “grapeshots” and “bomb hits”, a bass aria in which “Dlle. N. trills until

³⁹³ For a description of performances at the suburb theatres, see Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol 5:2, 1962, especially pp. 69 and 307.

³⁹⁴ Erika Fischer-Lichte, “Zur Einleitung,” in *Theater im Kulturwandel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 1999, p. 11.

³⁹⁵ Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol 5:2, 1962, pp. 51f, 66f, 71f, 109.

³⁹⁶ On the plurality of theatre genres and on the relatively limited impact that theatre reformers had in practice, see Fischer-Lichte, “Zur Einleitung”, 1999.

³⁹⁷ “Verwandlungs-, Zauber- und Überraschungstheater”. Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol 5:2, 1962, p. 307.

³⁹⁸ *Musikalische Zeitung für die österreichischen Staaten*, No. 5, 15 June 1812, p. 38.

she swoons” (here Italian opera is being mocked at), a march in which a four-footed animal plays the timpani, and a brilliant aria composed and sung by a “Demoisell of three years at the most”, and before the “finale, in which Dsllle. N. blows the trombone”, comes what seems a grotesque and horrible counterpart to the elaborate, imagined declamation of “Das Lied von der Glocke” which I mentioned earlier in this chapter (see page 87):

5) The Blood-Stained, Speaking Glove which Roams among Subterranean, Floating, Sticky, and Trembling Ruins. A murder-ballad with seventeen inexplicable ghost choirs, declaimed by a deaf mute.³⁹⁹

This item on the programme alludes to certain theatre and declamation, and probably also to the genre of the gothic novel. More specifically, readers will have associated the long title to Horace Walpole’s paradigmatic gothic novel *The Castle of Otranto* (1765), which is partly set in subterranean galleries and vaults, and in which a gigantic, walking, and murderous glove plays an important role. The inclusion of a deaf-and-dumb declaimer, and of infant prodigies earlier in the programme, was probably meant to mock events like the concert which *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* reviewed in 1817 and which featured a 5-year-old, an 11-year-old, and a blind performer.⁴⁰⁰

The public success of the ballad as a literary genre had greatly increased in the last decades of the eighteenth century. The centre of this development was Gottfried August Bürger and his “Lenore”, a paradigm of the popular horror ballad.⁴⁰¹ “Lenore” has a clear moral message, but it can be assumed that the horror-scenes which it also contains in themselves accounted for some of the poem’s attraction. To an audience which was attuned to the spectacular effects and horrors of the suburb theatres, and to gothic novels and declamation in the style parodied above, the centre of attention in Zumsteeg’s and other composer’s sectional settings of “Lenore” may have been not the moral lesson but the colourful musical renderings of for example the deadly ride and the ghost choir at the end. (The reference to ghost choirs in the parody above may actually have been an allusion to the ghost choir in “Lenore”.) This assumption is strengthened by a contemporary edition from Prague of Václav Jan Tomásek’s sectional setting of “Lenore” for voice and piano, composed in 1801. The edition is furnished with a large engraved illustration of the poem’s horrid ending, showing Lenore and her already dead lover at mid-night, arriving on horse-back at the churchyard as the flesh falls from the lover’s head, revealing him as Death. Lenore shows her terror with a scream and violent movements of the arms (natural signs!)

³⁹⁹ “5) Der in unterirdischen, schwebenden, klebenden und bebenden Ruinen herumwandelnde, blutige und redende Handschuh. Eine Mordballade mit siebzehn unerklärbaren Gespenster-Chören, declamirt von einem Taubstummen”. *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁰ *AmZöK*, No. 17, 24 April 1817, cols. 142f.

⁴⁰¹ Brinkmann, “Musikalische Lyrik im 19. Jahrhundert”, 2004, p. 41. Parsons (2004) describes Bürger’s poem as a “populist potboiler of sin, sex, guilt, and death, all filtered through the lens of nail-biting Gothic horror”. Parsons, “The eighteenth-century Lied”, 2004, p. 56.

while the dead gather around them, singing out their doom of Lenore's immoral behaviour.⁴⁰² (Figure 2.)



Figure 2. Illustration to Haas' edition of Tomášek's *Lenore*. (Catalogue number MS 75.817 –qu.4° at the Austrian National Library. Reprinted with permission.)

That vivid musical settings of such poems could be seen as a threat to that aesthetic experience of freedom which was so important in Schubert's circle is indicated by Siebigke's (1801) discussion of Zumsteeg's setting of "Lenore". According to Siebigke, poems of that kind, by "Bürger and most of his imitators", should rather be left alone by composers. Even without music they are "too long" and "so glaring and so terribly gloomy that for lovers of such kinds of poetry they can hardly be very aesthetic". But

⁴⁰² "Lenore; Ballade von G: A: Bürger. In Musik gesetzt für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Claviers von W: Tomaschek [...]", Prague: Haas. A copy of the print is kept at the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, catalogue number MS 75.817 –qu.4°. Zumsteeg's *Lenore* was known in Vienna at least from 1806, when it was issued by the Viennese firm Tranquillo Mollo. (West, "Schubert's Lieder in Context", 1989, vol. 2, p. 74.) Lenore's crime consists in her lack of patience with God when her lover does not return from war.

when intensified by a musical setting, Siebigke goes on, they “affect the heart too violently” and thus really cease to be aesthetic objects.⁴⁰³ The mind’s freedom from overpowering emotions was, as we have seen, considered both a condition for and a result of the aesthetic experience. According to Siebigke, “Lenore” forces upon the listener the passion from which art is supposed to be a liberation. Schiller, too, writes in his *Ästhetische Erziehung* that “uncultivated taste” is characterized by its seizing upon “what is new and startling – on the colourful, fantastic, and bizarre, the violent and the savage” and that it “fashions grotesque shapes, loves swift transitions, exuberant forms, glaring contrasts, garish lights, and a song full of feeling”.⁴⁰⁴

Schiller’s “Die Bürgschaft” contains no details as strikingly grotesque as those in Bürger’s “Lenore”. But it can still be assumed that if the storm, the flood, the breaking bridge and the fight with the robbers were given too much emphasis in declamation or in musical setting, it would, in the context of antitheatricalism and the aesthetic of freedom, be regarded as a base search for spectacular and horrible effects.

Elitism and *gebildete* expression

[...]one must [...] never want to paint without having sufficient reason to do so; otherwise, if one paints every word, one easily verges on the ridiculous.

Wötzel, 1817.⁴⁰⁵

Humans indicate their character with nothing more clearly than with what they find ridiculous.

Goethe, 1809.⁴⁰⁶

The pedagogical aims and the desire for self-cultivation found in journals and other parts of middle- and upper-class society, including Schubert’s circle, easily combined with elitism.⁴⁰⁷ A clear example is found in the article “Zeichen der Zeit” (Signs of the Times, in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, 1819), where the pseudonym “A.–B.” complains about the popularity of Rossini’s music among “the masses” (die Menge) and about the lack of understanding for Mozart’s and Haydn’s “art of music *in the true sense of the word*”

⁴⁰³ “[...] deßwegen hätte man auch die Balladen des unsterblichen Bürger, und der Meisten seiner Nachahmer fein uncomponirt lassen sollen. Denn diese Balladen sind theils viel zu lang, theils, aufrichtig gesagt, so grell und so fürchterlich düster, daß sie für Liebhaber solcher Dichtungsarten recht ästhetisch seyn mögen, aber, sobald sie in taktmäßige Melodien oder in Recitative gesetzt werden, das Herz zu gewaltsam affiziren, und eben dadurch aufhören, ästhetisch zu seyn”. Siebigke, *Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg*, 1801, pp. 17f.

⁴⁰⁴ Schiller, *Aesthetic Education* (1801), 1982, p. 211.

⁴⁰⁵ “[...] man darf [...] ohne hinlängliche Veranlassung niemals malen wollen; sonst fällt man bei dem Malen jedes Wortes leicht in’s Lächerliche”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §72, p. 241.

⁴⁰⁶ “Durch nichts bezeichnen die Menschen mehr ihren Charakter als durch das was sie lächerlich finden”. Goethe, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809), 1998, p. 531.

⁴⁰⁷ Writing about music education in Germany between 1770 and 1848, Gramit argues that the skills taught “remained prerogatives of the still quite small educated classes” and that, therefore, “proper speech and music retained their potency as class markers”. David Gramit, *Cultivating Music. The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: UCP, 2002), p. 112.

(Tonkunst *im wahren Sinne des Worts*). Superficial, sensual, flattering art which serves merely to appease a sense of spiritual thirst is here opposed to art which is characterized by inner beauty and which is modelled on an ideal which hovers before the eyes of the human élite:

One does know the ease with which the great masses usually appease their spiritual thirst for delights of art, and one daily sees that, to them, a superficial stimulus and a surface which caresses the senses make dispensable every inner beauty and organic construction, and all spiritual connection of the work of art to the highest in man. For with the masses it is the novelties of the day that count, [and] the stimulus of the new more than all the laws derived from the ideal which hovers before the eyes of the bloom of humanity.⁴⁰⁸

So far, it is possible to read the article as voicing a concern for those who are still uncultivated. But then, rather than attempting to educate the crowd, the author resorts to elitism, writing that the rabble should not be invited as worshippers in the “imperishable temple” of true art. It would be easy, he says, to pull the masses away from the “thin, faded copperplate engravings in aquatint manner” around which they habitually throng in the streets, and make them appreciate instead a “masterpiece” by Raphael. Yes, this could easily be done, if only the “connoisseur” (Kenner) found that it was “worth the effort to admire one and the same object as the masses”.⁴⁰⁹

Strategies of exclusion seem to have coexisted with humanism and idealism also in the culture surrounding the practice of declamation. If the humanist and idealist projects of education, which informed the activities in Schubert’s circle as well as Schiller’s aesthetic education and Wötzel’s instructions for declamation, were to be implemented according to their own basic premises, the first and most important task would be to “develop” the individual mind’s perception of, and attitude to, its surrounding world. For it was on this development that the happiness of the individual and the birth of utopia were both supposed to hinge. Every effort would have to be made to ennoble the minds of the people by shaping them as ideal syntheses of nature and reason. The manners of the physical man would have to change too, but that would come as a necessary result of a successfully ennobled mind – changing manners would thus merely signify a changing mind. Still, it is difficult to escape the impression that, in practice, at least some of those who adopted the discourses of these educational projects took an unproportionately great interest in the

⁴⁰⁸ “Man kennt ja wohl die Leichtigkeit mit der die grosse Menge ihren geistigen Durst nach Kunstgenüssen zu löschen pflegt, und sieht es täglich, dass oberflächlicher Reitz und eine den Sinnen schmeichelnde Aussenseite alle innere Schönheit, organischen Bau, und alle geistige Beziehung des Kunstwerks auf das höchste im Menschen bey ihr entbehrllich machen; denn bey der Menge gelten die Erscheinungen des Tages, der Reitz der Neuheit mehr als alle Gesetze, die aus dem, der Blüthe der Menschheit vor Augen schwebenden Ideal abgeleitet wurden”. A.—B., “Zeichen der Zeit”, in *AmZöK*, No. 42, 26 May 1819, cols. 336-338. Quotation from col. 338.

⁴⁰⁹ “Leicht wäre es, die Menge auch davon ab, und auf *Raphaels* Gemählde hinzuziehen, wenn der Kenner es der Mühe werth hielte, mit der Menge einen und denselben Gegenstand zu bewundern”. *ibid.*, col. 338.

signs themselves, and that they regarded these signs as items to be acquired for their value as social markers.

In his *Vorlesekunst*, Wötzel specifies that his book is written “not for the country-side youth” but instead for students “principally in towns and even in the learned schools where one strives to educate oneself perfectly in this fine art [i.e. declamation]”.⁴¹⁰ In accordance with this declaration, he employs the concept of *Bildung* to differentiate between more and less valuable declamation. Reading aloud, he writes, can only be quite right, good, and beautiful when it comes as close as possible to the correct, clean, and good way in which a truly *gebildete* person speaks.⁴¹¹ Consequently, his book contains much advice on how to read aloud in a *gebildet* way. While on the one hand Wötzel describes this kind of speech as something that comes naturally with *Bildung*, on the other hand he is at great pains to describe just what characterizes such speaking.

The acquisition of certain declamatory signs could probably be employed to create a desired affiliation with a certain group and to distance oneself from other groups. By behaving in a certain way, and by ridiculing certain other behaviours, the social self could be given a desired definition. Indeed, the nature of the differentiation which was made between acting and declamation must have made declamation a particularly good opportunity (and a risky one too) to show the signs of a *gebildet* inner. For whereas an actor was expected to hide in the role which was to be played, a declaimer was never to be “completely pushed aside by any other figure”.⁴¹² Being stirred by the poet’s verses, it was thought that the declaimer expressed something which was actually taking place inside her or him. Some declamation theorists were careful to point out that their art was not about “presentation” (*Darstellung*), but about “expression” (*Ausdruck*) by means of natural signs revealing the declaimer’s inner state.⁴¹³ Among other things, this implies that, in the eyes of an audience, a declaimer could succeed or fail in *being* a *gebildete* person whereas an actor could only succeed or fail in *playing* one. It can therefore be assumed that the acquisition of the right declamatory signifiers could be highly desirable in the social life of middle- and upper-class Vienna. As we shall see in the following, Wötzel’s and other writers’ advice as to what declamatory signs should be acquired and what signs should be avoided

⁴¹⁰ The book is intended “[...] nicht etwa für die Jugend auf dem Lande” but instead for students “vorzüglich in Städten und selbst in gelehrten Schulen aller Arten [...], wo man sich in dieser schönen Kunst ganz vollkommen zu bilden sucht”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, p. XX. Already the full title of the work indicates the intended readership: *Dr. Wötzel’s Schöne Vorlesekunst für alle gebildeten Personen beiderlei Geschlechts. Ein allgemein interessantes und nützliches Lesebuch auch für die oberen Classen in Akademien, Gymnasien, Seminarien, Real- und Bürgerschulen* (*Dr. Wötzel’s Fine Art of Declamation for all gebildete Persons of Both Sexes. A Generally Interesting and Useful Reader also for the Upper Classes in Academies, Gymnasia, Seminars, Real- and Bürgerschulen*). Also Deinhardstein’s *Dichtungen für Kunstredner* (1815) was intended for “the foremost residents of the town” (den vorzüglichsten Bewohnern der Stadt), the *Gebildeten*. Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 98.

⁴¹¹ Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §3, p. 2.

⁴¹² “wenigstens von keiner neuen Gestalt ganz verdrängt”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §73, p. 245.

⁴¹³ Kohlhäufel, “Die Rede – ein dunkler Gesang?”, 1996, p. 149.

may seem to imply that sectional songs like *Die Bürgschaft* constituted dangerous ground for those who wanted to pass as *gebildet*.

Painting in speech and music

According to Wötzel, an ambitious student of declamation should use “vocal painting” (Mahlerey der Stimme) only sparingly, an effect which he defined as “the sensuous representation of the *thing itself* of which the soul thinks” by means of the vocal suggestion of height, depth, light, darkness, speed, hesitation, strength, weakness, or any other characteristics of objects, including persons, events and processes.⁴¹⁴ This was a position which he shared with most declamation theorists of the time.⁴¹⁵ Wötzel also stresses that students should restrain their suggestion of objects through the use of bodily gestures. As we have seen, *Die Bürgschaft* contains a number of passages which seem to paint for example forms and movements, so it can be assumed that a negative evaluation of such effects in declamation could lead to a negative evaluation also of *Die Bürgschaft*. Wötzel’s call for restraint of painting is based on his assumption that the final goal of declamation is the representation of the inner human being, not of physical objects.⁴¹⁶ If this goal is to be reached, he argues, vocal painting of an object is legitimate only when the object makes such a strong impression that one can no longer distinguish between it and one’s own self. To paint when there is no such intimate connection would be to wrongly put the stress on the outer instead of the inner.⁴¹⁷ Of crucial importance for Wötzel’s intended readership, however, is the fact that he points out that such complete identification between inner and outer is less likely to occur in the minds of *gebildete* persons. The more developed the “powers of reason” (Verstandeskräfte) and the freer and the more active these powers in relation to the object, the clearer and more complete the conception of the object will be, and the more the vocal expression will stay within proper limits.⁴¹⁸ The

⁴¹⁴ “die sinnliche Darstellung der *Sache selbst*, welche die Seele denkt”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §72, pp. 239f. Also see Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, p. 57.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, pp. 56-61.

⁴¹⁶ Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §11, p. 12. In this he agreed with C.G. Körner, who had claimed that “only human nature is an [appropriate] object for the representation of declamation. Imitation of a sound is here, as in music, the profanation of an art which is ordained only to paint the soul”. (Nur *menschliche Natur* ist ein Gegenstand für die Darstellung der Deklamation. Nachahmung eines Geräusches ist hier, wie in der Musik, Entweihung der Kunst, die bloß zu Seelengemälden bestimmt ist.) C.G. Körner, “Ideen über Deklamation” (1793), 1964, p. 21.

⁴¹⁷ Weithase provides several examples of German theorists of declamation who denounced painterly declamation and who claimed that the purpose of true declamation was to be an expression of the soul, not a depiction of sounds and physical objects. If painting was to be used, it should not be exaggerated and it had to be in accordance with the whole and with the character of the speaker. Weithase, *Anschauungen*, 1930, pp. 59f.

⁴¹⁸ “Je ausgebildeter hiebei die Verstandeskräfte eines Menschen sind; je freier und fesselloser sie bei der Vorstellung eines Gegenstandes (einer Person, oder Sache) ihre Wirksamkeit äussern, um so deutlicher und vollständiger ist auch mit vollem Bewußtseyn des von ihm gedachten Gegenstandes seine Vorstellung hievon; um so mehr bleibt auch sein Ausdruck und seine mündliche Darstellung in den gehörigen Schranken”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §72, pp. 239f.

strong and free mind of a *gebildete* person, he claims, may get a very full impression of an object while remaining aware of its own activity and therefore not being completely filled up with that impression. Persons who are less *gebildet*, however, do not have this ability. The less the mind is able to imagine and judge and the more it is carried away by a strong and sudden affect which lets it pay attention only to the thing and not to itself, the more painting there will be in the oral delivery.⁴¹⁹ This is the reason, Wötzel writes, why *ungebildete* or drunk persons, children, and those who are fervently impassioned paint the outer form of the objects of which they speak and even imitate other people's voices.⁴²⁰ Again, Wötzel can be read as only uncovering that a certain human constitution leads to a certain kind of speech, but his overall object, to teach students to read aloud in a *gebildet* way, makes his argument prescriptive too. If one does not want to be regarded as *ungebildet*, drunk, childish, or excessively impassioned, one had better refrain from too much painting. As we have seen, in a passage which seems to be formulated as a piece of advice for those who want to come out as *gebildet* Wötzel writes that "one must [...] never want to paint without having sufficient reason to do so; otherwise, if one paints every word, one easily verges on the ridiculous".⁴²¹ (See page 117.) This perspective adds an overbearing tone to some of the reviews that I have quoted above, such as that which says that "Dem[oiselle]. Blum" declaimed Schiller's "Die Bürgschaft" with "so many gestures and movements that one was tempted to believe that she wanted to present the whole story visually". (See page 82.)

The question of painting in speech seems to have been related to the question of the hierarchical relationship between theatre and declamation, and, more generally, between forms of art which employ several media and those that are more restricted in their means of expression. After a public delivery of music and declamation in 1811, a critic in *Der Sammler* took the opportunity to complain about the limited abilities of Viennese audiences:

Who doubts [...] that the local audience knows how to appreciate a play and its performance? However, firstly, this cannot be said about the *masses* of theatre lovers (as is proven by the suburb theatres, which are well-attended although they often perform miserable works). Secondly, a much higher degree of literary and aesthetic *Bildung* is required to take a delight in a declamatorium than to

⁴¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 239f.

⁴²⁰ "Dieses ist daher der Grund, warum ungebildete [sic], oder berauschte, betrunkene Personen, Kinder und heftig leidenschaftliche Menschen in dieser Stimmung in ihrem mündlichen Ausdrucke nicht nur die Gegenstände ihrer Worte, Gedanken und Empfindungen selbst, sondern auch ihre äußere Form und Gestalt, oder bis auf den Ton die Sprache anderer Personen malerisch nachahmend ausdrücken, oder im Zorne gegen andere deren Stimme spöttisch verhöhrend nachahmen". *ibid.*, pp. 239f.

⁴²¹ Already H.B.B. Francke's *Ueber Deklamation* (Göttingen 1789) presents such painting as laughable. See Weithase 1930, p. 60.

derive pleasure from a good play, which is able to work upon the spectator by so multifarious means.⁴²²

In short, most people lack sophistication and go to miserable entertainments at the suburban theatres. Some are more sophisticated and enjoy good plays. Only a few have the degree of sophistication needed to take a delight in a declamatorium. Such an elitist view of declamation is not uncommon in Viennese reviews from this time. What is of particular interest to us is that, according to the critic, the more restricted the means of expression, the more sophisticated the form of art. The theatre of the more restricted kind which the critic refers to is probably the disciplined and stylized high-culture theatre which was practiced at the imperial Burgtheater.⁴²³ Declamation, however, where scenography, props and costumes are wholly absent, is treated by the critic as an even higher form of art.⁴²⁴

An indication that this aesthetic and social differentiation between declamation and theatre was endorsed by Schubert's circle of friends is given by Josef von Spaun, who observed in 1858 that the masses of the people remained, and still remains, indifferent to Schubert's works, and that a proper audience for Schubert's song "must be totally different from the one which fills the theatres and the concert halls".⁴²⁵ Also Eduard von Bauernfeld remembered that Schubert's audiences in the *gebildete* circles of the middle class perceived a difference between their own reception of art and that characteristic of the masses. Schubert's and Vogl's performances of songs were "received with delight", he says, "and in the small, intimate circles one gladly forgot in what tasteless monsters the general public took pleasure".⁴²⁶

In the article "Auge und Ohr. Rezeptionsweisen im deutschen Musiktheater des späten 18. Jahrhunderts" (Eye and Ear. Modes of Reception in German Musical Theatre of the Late Eighteenth Century, 1999), Jörg Krämer contrasts the dominance

⁴²² "Daß das hiesige Theaterliebende Publicum ein Schauspiel, und dessen Aufführung zu würdigen wisse; [wer] kann [...] daran zweifeln? Allein, theils läßt sich das nicht von der *Masse* der Theaterfreunde sagen, (wie die, oft bey elenden Machwerken, dennoch stark besuchten Vorstadt-Theater beweisen) theils gehört noch ein weit vollendeter Grad von literarischer und ästhetischer Bildung dazu, um ein Declamatorium zu goutiren, als um an einem guten Schauspiele Vergnügen zu finden, das durch so mancherley Mittel auf den Zuseher zu wirken vermag". "Notitzen", in *Der Sammler*, No. 27, 2 March 1811, pp. 107f.

⁴²³ Cf. Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol 5:2, 1962, p. 271.

⁴²⁴ In an 1811 article signed "-ei-" in *Thalia*, the closely related opinion is expressed that it is more difficult to be an orator than to be an actor. Also here it is emphasized that the means of expression which may be used by an orator are much more restricted than those available to an actor. "Parallele zwischen dem Schauspieler und dem Redner. (Von Einem, der gute Redner wieder zu hören wünscht.)" (Parallels between the Actor and the Declaimer. [By someone who would like to hear good declaimers again]), in *Thalia*, No. 60, 27 July 1811, pp. 238f.

⁴²⁵ "muß ein ganz anderes sein als dasjenige, das die Theater und Konzertsäle füllt". Josef von Spaun, "Aufzeichnungen über meinen Verkehr mit Franz Schubert", 1858. Quoted from Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 163.

⁴²⁶ "mit Entzücken aufgenommen, und man vergaß gerne in den kleinen traulichen Kreisen, an welchen geschmacklosen Ungeheuern das große Publikum sich ergötzte". Eduard von Bauernfeld, "Erinnerungen an Johann Michael Vogl", in *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, Vienna, 4 and 5 May 1841. Quoted from Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 259.

of visual perception in the Enlightened eighteenth century, the “siècle des lumières”, with a beginning new mode of perception towards the end of the century. At this point in history, he writes, “art generally begins to be an autonomous system for creation of meaning, and not primarily a representational one”.⁴²⁷ Especially, acoustic codes and their potential as art in their own right began to be more appreciated. This can be recognized as a characteristic of early musical Romanticism, an issue to which I shall return in Chapter 5. But Krämer suggests that lying behind this development is a constant in human reception of multimedial art, namely the condition that a higher degree of reception experience is needed to derive meaning from acoustic sign systems than from many visual ones. This, he writes, is why the visual code will always dominate when new recipients come into contact with a multimedial form of art and why, when recipients have gathered much experience of that particular form of art, they may want to turn their attention to the putatively more sophisticated acoustic code. Anton von Spaun’s notion of painting as not being as good as music because it depicts “the crude objects” (die rohern Gegenstände) can be regarded as being informed by this differentiation.⁴²⁸ While a human who is not yet quite *gebildet* is being pulled by the flickering impressions of the world, the *gebildete* human seeks the freedom and harmony which is to be found in music, it was possible to argue.

With such a hierarchy as a background, to restrain the multimedial impulse in the declamation or musical setting of a poem had the potential to signify maturity and a *gebildete* mind. The opposite of such restraint would be to turn the poem into a quasi-theatrical performance, or even to approach the *Bänkelgesang*, a multimedial genre which, by the latter part of the eighteenth century, was regularly performed in streets and taverns and which was regarded with condescending distance by the cultured élite. Especially those musical settings which emphasize horrific or even macabre details of a narrative poem must easily have been associated with the *Bänkelgesang*.⁴²⁹ A *Bänkelsänger* was normally a male folk singer who performed ballads, usually of a gruesome or macabre kind, to the accompaniment of harp, barrel-organ or guitar. Often someone – normally the singer’s wife – would participate by pointing out the different stages of the story on a series of illustrations, thus giving to the performance an obviously visual aspect.⁴³⁰

Auditive painting occurred not only in declamation, but also, and perhaps more obviously, in instrumental programme music. The attraction that such music had on many concert-goers is indicated by its inclusion in the programmes at the

⁴²⁷ “Kunst differenziert sich tendenziell aus zu einem nicht mehr primär abbildenden, sondern eigengesetzlichen System der Sinnerzeugung”. Jörg Krämer, “Auge und Ohr. Rezeptionsweisen im deutschen Musiktheater des späten 18. Jahrhunderts” (1999), in *Theater im Kulturwandel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 1999, p. 130.

⁴²⁸ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 69.

⁴²⁹ West, “Schubert’s Lieder in Context”, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 105f. Also see Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 34. On the attitude of the élite towards “Bänkelgesang”, see Wolfgang Braungart, “Bänkelsang”, in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, second edition, *Sachteil*, vol. 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994), col. 1199.

⁴³⁰ West, “Schubert’s Lieder in Context”, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 105f. Also see Schwab 1965, p. 34.

folksy suburb theatres.⁴³¹ As could be expected, those who regarded music as a refuge from the dominance of what Anton von Spaun called the “crude objects” were often severely critical of programme music. In 1809, for example, it was argued in *Der Sammler* that the task of music is to express emotions and to allow close contact with the highest spirit, that “fountain-head of the true”, and that music abandons this important duty when it attempts to paint the physical world.⁴³² A few years later, a critic in the same journal complains that Beethoven’s *Wellingtons Sieg bey Vittoria* (*Wellington’s Victory at Vittoria*) disregards the task of music to express emotions: “cavalry attacks, cannon thunder, and the rage of storm are not fit for musical declamation. Music must paint only passions; everything else is above or below its incidence”.⁴³³ Indeed, most music theorists, at least since the mid-eighteenth century, agreed that music’s task is to express or arouse emotions and not to imitate sounds, movements or physical objects.⁴³⁴

The fact that programme music could be used as a social watershed is exemplified by a review in *Thalia* of a concert given in Vienna in 1813 by the German organ star Abbé Vogler. According to the critic, the audience consisted both of connoisseurs and less expert listeners (“Kenner” and “Nichtkenner”). The critic himself appreciated the fugues above all and would gladly have done without some of the other pieces in order to further admire “the serious beauty of the contrapuntal music”.⁴³⁵ These other pieces were spectacular programme music full of tone painting, a kind of music for which Vogler was well known. The critic acknowledges that to “the masses” (die Menge) musical representations of “the siege of Jericho and the tearing down of the walls” are more attractive than fugues, but he also claims that “the true master does not need such garish means”.⁴³⁶

⁴³¹ Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius. Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: UCP, 1995), p. 33; Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna*, 1989, pp. 156-158.

⁴³² “[der] Urquell des Wahren”. [Anon.], “Musikideen”, in *Der Sammler*, No. 47, 20 April 1809, pp. 187-188; No. 48, 22 April 1809, pp. 190-191. Quotation from p. 187.

⁴³³ “Reiteryangriffe, Kanonendonner, Sturmgeheul passen nicht für die musikalische Declamation. Die Musik soll nur Leidenschaften mahlen; alles Übrige ist über oder unter ihrem Wirkungskreise”. “Tonkunst,” in *Der Sammler*, No. 201, 18 December 1813, p. 804.

⁴³⁴ John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language. Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 70-75; Riley, *Musical Listening*, 2004, p. 135. However, in his article “Ueber die Darstellung in der Musik” (see p. 100) Bäuerle defends the representation of objects in music. Here it is argued that the fact that music is not able to copy objects which exist in the physical world with any exactitude means nothing less than that music can idealize these objects. Thus music is attributed with the ability to fulfil the task of art in the same way as poetry and painting. Musical painting is brought back into the discourse of idealization, a discourse which was more often employed to dismiss musical painting altogether.

⁴³⁵ “[...]die ernste Schönheit der contrapunktischen Musik”. “*Concert spirituel*, Aufgeführt auf der Orgel der evangelischen Kirche, den 9. April, von Abt Vogler”, review in *Thalia*, No. 46, 17 April 1813, pp. 181f.

⁴³⁶ “[...] daß der wahre Meister solcher schreienden Mittel nicht bedürfe”. A very similar review of a concert with Abbé Vogler can be found in *WJTMM*, No. 10, 15 May 1806, p. 304. The review concerns a concert in München where Vogler played “so-called tonepaintings” (sogenannte Tongemählde) such as

Thus, it seems that, in the cultured élite, painting could be regarded as an undesirable ingredient in a musical setting of a poem irrespective of whether the setting was regarded mainly as declamation or mainly as music. This, one could assume, ought to have rendered *Die Bürgschaft* and other sectional songs problematic within Schubert's circle.

Expression of feelings with tones and gestures

From Wötzel's perspective, in order to seem *gebildet* it is not enough to give all attention to the inner. Also the expression of your own feelings must be moderated. As we have seen, Wötzel regarded gestures and tones of the voice as a natural language of emotions, a language which is used even by animals. Especially the tones, he writes, are necessary in order to enliven the "lifeless [...] word language of cold reason".⁴³⁷ But although he recognizes the importance of tones and gestures, he is careful to differentiate between their use by animals, humans, and the most *gebildete* humans:

Certainly, a *gebildete* person's tones of joy and mourning, like his gestural signs for these emotions, are more moderate than those of the *ungebildete* or completely uncultivated man, whose tone of *passion*, on the other hand, is one degree more noble than that of the mere animal. For, by virtue of our faculty of *reason*, the *human language* is infinitely more significant than the *natural language* of animals.⁴³⁸

Having described the emotional expressions of an uncorrupted person who speaks monotonously when calm and with violent natural tones when impassioned, Wötzel adds an instruction which says that every change of tone in the spoken language of a *gebildete* person must be more refined than in the "*ungebildete*, emphatic natural language of feelings" (*ungebildete* emphatische Naturgefühlssprache):

[...] we must moderate for example the violently screaming and wild expressions of natural tones; we must soften their abruptness by means of euphonious proportions and make our language of feeling so useful that, by means of it, we can express audibly all processes of the human soul and heart [...]⁴³⁹

"a thunderstorm on the Rhine" and "a terrace song of the Africans as they whitewash their flat roofs in which, alternately, one chorus sings and the other stamp their feet". The critic claims that these "trifles" (*Kleinlichkeiten*) were much less pleasing than the fugal development of Handel's Halleluja theme from the *Messiah*.

⁴³⁷ "Wir brauchen [...] vorzüglich die natürlichen Gefühlstöne noch jetzt zur zweckmäßig wirksamen Belebung der an sich leblosen, todtten (schriftlichen und mündlichen) Wortsprache des kalten Verstandes". Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §62, pp. 186f.

⁴³⁸ "Freilich ist des gebildeten Menschen Freuden- und Trauertone, gleich den Geberdenzeichen dafür, gemäßiger, als der des ungebildeten, oder des ganz rohen Menschen, dessen Ton der *Leidenschaft* aber wiederum einen Grad edler ist, als der des bloßen Thieres, weil die *menschlichen Sprache* [sic], vermöge unserer *vernünftigen* Natur, auch unendlich bedeutender ist, als die *Natursprache* der Thiere". Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, p. 194.

⁴³⁹ "Wir müssen [...] z. B. die heftig schreienden und wilden Ausdrücke von Naturtönen mäßigen, ihre Härten durch wohlklingende Verhältnisse mildern und unsere Gefühlssprache so nützlich anwendbar

Thus, if one does not want to risk being looked upon as a quite *ungebildete* person, or as something even more lowly than that, unmodified natural tones should be avoided. Again, while in Wötzel's *theory* it is the particular constitution of a mind that decides the character of its expressions, here he provides an instruction for how one can work on the expression itself in order to seem *gebildet*. What Wötzel teaches is a language which is in accordance with human nature, but which still indicates that its speaker is not a primitive person.

It is unlikely that Schubert's circle, which definitely regarded itself as belonging to the cultured *élite*, was not influenced by such norms. This raises questions concerning *Die Bürgschaft*. Were Möros' impassioned exclamations in bars 226f ("Was wollt ihr?"), 233-235 ("Um des Freundes Willen erbarmt euch!"), and 391-394 ("Mich, Henker! [...] erwürget!") appropriately decent, or were they perceived as approaching *ungebildet* expression? Or could they even be taken to indicate that Möros had had too much to drink at his sister's wedding party? The same can be asked with regard to the implied gesture of desperate prayer in bar 172. If these and similar exclamations and gestures seemed exaggerated, it is likely to have put Schubert as a declamatory performer in an unfavourable light.

As we have seen earlier in this chapter, the importance which Wötzel attributed to *the whole* of an artwork was connected to the fairly new discipline of aesthetics. However, his interpretation of detailed painting and forceful emotional expression, properties which constituted a threat against successful unification, probably depended also on the older, Enlightened idea that reflection, as the capacity to reason freely on different impressions and ideas, was a mainstay of human dignity, and according to which the opposite, to follow any attractive sensation that happens to appear and any desire that happens to arise, was a characteristic of animals.⁴⁴⁰ It can be assumed that, among Viennese recipients of declamation and art song, a mix of older and newer and partially related interpretations of the same human expressions was still the rule rather than the exception.

As exemplified by the review in *Der Sammler* of von Sydow's declamations (see pages 82 and 105), the use of extensive, emotionally charged gestures in the reading of poetry was an issue of complaint in the Viennese press.⁴⁴¹ But critics even found that some actors who performed in plays used their bodies in too uncivilized a manner. Just as Wötzel associated indiscriminate vocal painting to *ungebildete* or drunk persons and to others who are not in control of themselves, in 1806 a critic

bilden, daß wir durch dieselbe alle Vorgänge des menschlichen Geistes und Herzens hörbar ausdrücken". *ibid.*, p. 196. A similar view of the proper use of natural tones and gestures is found in the article "Vortrag (Redende Künste)" in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*, an article which Wötzel is likely to have read.

⁴⁴⁰ On this aspect of Enlightenment, see Riley, *Musical Listening*, 2004, pp. 14 and 65ff. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 196.

⁴⁴¹ Another example is found in *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, No. 125, 17 October 1818, p. 500, where a critic complains about declaimers who "lash with hands and feet while neglecting the contribution of the head" (mit Händen und Füßen [herumschlagen], während sie die Mitwirkung des Kopfes außer Acht lassen).

complained that the actor Klingmann, who performed in Benda's melodrama *Medea*, gestured "as one who is drunk" and that, therefore, he could lay claim to no prize.⁴⁴² Evidently, gestures could be perceived as exaggerated even in the context of melodrama, despite the fact that this genre was founded on a theory of the expressive power of natural signs. That also a singer's use of body language could be interpreted socially in Schubert's Vienna is shown by a review of a performance in 1818 by a Herr Hübsch who was presented as imperial court singer from St. Petersburg, an information questioned by the reviewer. Among other things, Hübsch sang a "Romanze" by Michael Umlauf, and, judging from the review, he accompanied all of his singing with extensive miming. The reviewer seems almost insulted, for he says that such grimacing belongs on a "Kreuzer-Bühne in a village barn" – probably a reference to performances of travelling theatre companies and other kinds of theatrical entertainments for villagers – or on "Thespis' carriages", that is on the combined scene and transport vehicle on which Thespis, the travelling fifth-century (B.C.) Greek who was long referred to as the very first actor, is supposed to have performed.⁴⁴³

As so often, critics disagreed with large portions of the audience. Many visitors to the theatres seem to have used the concept "nature" as a pretext as well as a word of praise for extensive gestures and facial expressions. This made the playwright and actor August Wilhelm Iffland complain that "[e]verything that easily catches the eye" is "thoughtlessly" praised as "nature", and wish that "the gross abuse" of this word should come to an end.⁴⁴⁴ The *Wiener Theaterzeitung* even published a satire in which it is said that the "big crowd" regards the grimaces "which deface the malefactor on the rack" as "true features of nature" and that, therefore, actors should not fail to visit the torture-chambers "to learn nature from the tormented". Here, exaggerated expression of emotion is definitely denied the status as art, for "[a] grimace maker is one who pulls wry faces and who does so for a living. Many an actor basically does not do much else for the money".⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² "Medea. Ein Drama mit Musik von Herrn Georg Benda", in *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, No. 2, 8 July 1806, pp. 21f.

⁴⁴³ "[...] wenn er heut zu Tage glaubt, mit empörenden Grimassen irgend einen Effekt im musikalischen Wien hervorzubringen, so täuscht er sich denn doch zu arg. [...] So etwas gehört auf eine Kreuzer-Bühne in einer Dorf-Scheuer, oder auf Thespis Karren". M-p-r., "Große musikalisch-dramatische Akademie," in *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, No. 138, 17 November 1818, p. 551.

⁴⁴⁴ "Natur? – ich wünschte, daß der arge Mißbrauch dieses Worts aufgehoben seyn möchte. Alles, was leicht in die Augen fällt, wird ohne Bedenken damit gepriesen [...]". August Wilhelm Iffland, "Was ist Natur? und wie weit geht ihre Gränze auf der Bühne?", in *Allgemeines Theater-Journal*, vol. 3 (1806), pp. 146-149, 167-170, 200-203. Quotation from p. 146. The text is a reprint of a section from Ifflands *Fragmente über die Menschendarstellung*, 1785.

⁴⁴⁵ "Verzerrung (Grimasse, Outvirren)[.] Der grosse Haufe nimmt
-Verzerrungen, sie die
den Missethäter auf der Folterbank
entstellt, für treue Züge der Natur.

Unsere Damen und Herrn der Bühne, vorzüglich die im Hochtragischen zu agiren haben, sollten daher die Folterkammern nicht unbesucht lassen, um dem Gequälten und Torturirten – Natur abzulernen. [...] Ein *Grimassier* heißt einer, der für Geld Gesichter schneidet, und darauf reist. Manche Schauspieler tun

The ideal of controlled gestures which we have encountered is a Viennese counterpart to certain elements in Goethe's influential *Regeln für Schauspieler* (*Rules for Actors*). There, Goethe demands that an actor should work as a *gebildete* model for other citizens and that, therefore, he must learn to get his bodily expression in his own power and use only gestures which are moderate and somewhat solemn.⁴⁴⁶ A beginner, therefore, should practice control of his movements by having his arms tied to his body, and Goethe even had the stage floor at Weimar chequered so that at any time he could name the exact positions and movements of the actors. This he did, in his own words, so that "in passionate parts" of a play, an actor "does not rush around carelessly" but instead "adds beauty" to the "signifying" aspect of his acting.⁴⁴⁷ Again, natural signs are not excluded from performance, but they are used in a moderate form.

The systems for notation of mime and tones of the voice which I mentioned earlier in this chapter could, I said, have the purpose of eschewing monotony. (See pages 91, 100 and 103). But the opposite, that their purpose was to make the contrasts between tones and gestures more moderate, is of course also quite conceivable. In Markwort's announcement of his system for the notation of mime, he states that one of the main benefits of his system is that it allows the poet of a drama to notate his words and thoughts not only verbally, but also mimically, and that it therefore provides an instrument with which the poet can decide how much liberty, if any at all, that is to be granted to the actors.⁴⁴⁸ His notational system thus offered the possibility to control a parameter which was so often a popular attraction in the theatres. The two functions of notation are not necessarily exclusive, for notation may work to avoid monotony and exaggeration alike. Such a use of notation would be in line with Wötzel's ideal of a middle road between monotonous and extensive declamation.⁴⁴⁹

im Grunde auch nicht viel anders für Geld". "Erklärung einiger Theaterausdrucke. (Aus Herr Bäuerl's [sic] bereits noch ungedruckten Versuchen einer satyrisch-ästhetischen Encyclopädie nach Schützens Meinungen, für Schauspieler und Theaterfreunde", in *Wiener Theaterzeitung* No. 10, 17 September 1806, pp. 158-160. Quotation from p. 160.

⁴⁴⁶ Klaus Schwind, "'Regeln für Schauspieler' – 'Saat von Göthe gesäet': aufgegangen in der Uraufführung des 'Zerbroch(e)nen Krugs' 1808 in Weimar?," in *Theater im Kulturwandel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 1999, pp. 155, 159f, 168f.

⁴⁴⁷ "bei leidenschaftlichen Stellen nicht kunstlos hin und wider stürmt, sondern das Schöne zum Bedeutenden gesellet". Quoted from Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol 5:2, 1962, p. 210.

⁴⁴⁸ "Der dramatische Dichter kann seine Worte und Gedanken zugleich mimisch bezeichnen, und bestimmen, ob und wie viel noch dem darstellenden Künstler zur Aufführung übrig bleibe". Herr Markwort, "Vorläufige Ankündigung eines mimischen Werkes, und einer dabey angewandten mimischen Notenschrift", in *AmZöK*, No. 25, 20 June 1818, col. 215.

⁴⁴⁹ The ideal of such a middle road is implicit also in the review "Eine deklamatorisch-musikalische Abendunterhaltung nebst der Darstellung eines Gemählde zum Vortheile der öffentlichen Wohlthätigkeits-Anstalten", in *Thalia*, No. 30, 12 April 1812, pp. 119f, and in the article "Einige Gedanken über Deklamation", in *WamZ*, No. 38, 22 September 1813, pp. 301-305, both discussed above.

The attempts to teach the use of natural but civilized tones, gestures, and facial expressions can be regarded as parts of a larger process of civilization which demanded from its subjects control of emotions (“Affektkontrolle”) and distance to the body (“Körperdistanzierung”).⁴⁵⁰ In accordance with this interpretation, but in the nationalist terminology of the time, these attempts can be seen as aiming at the construction of what some regarded as the ideal “German man”. In Gustav Freyer’s article “Was ist teutsche Bildung?” (What is German *Bildung*?), in an 1814 issue of *Der Sammler*, the aspirations are summarized in a single vision. In the Teutonic man, simple but noble movements are combined with a voice and a discourse strongly reminiscent of the “German”, “declamatory”, and “grand” style in singing:

Behold the Teutonic man, how, simply and with noble manners, with dignity and respectability, he enters into the public domain, hear him speak with inspiring [begeisternder] warmth, in his sonorous and manly beautiful language, about the grand and the beautiful in man and nature [...]; how he, loving freedom and at the same time being dutiful, [...] hating violent upheavals but furthering every beneficial change, more slowly but also more steadily than many an other people approaches the goal of human perfection!⁴⁵¹

Schubert’s own singing voice was described by Eduard von Bauernfeld in similar terms:

The voice (*une voix de compositeur*) was something between a smooth tenor and a baritone, the delivery was simple and natural, sincere, without any coquetry”.⁴⁵²

Bildung as a basis for the evaluation of sectional songs

If Schubert and his friends wanted to be “German men” who spoke and moved in a manner which was founded on nature but which also showed a certain decency, it is difficult to escape the suspicion that *Die Bürgschaft* did not quite match their ambition. Like many other sectional songs, *Die Bürgschaft* contains musical painting, characterizations of the different persons appearing in the poem, and strong emotional outbursts which may imply bodily gestures, as in a melodrama. Indeed, the sectional structure of many songs may be regarded as a result of the composer’s use of these

⁴⁵⁰ This is how Schwind interprets Goethe’s *Regeln für Schauspieler*. Schwind, “Regeln für Schauspieler”, 1999, p. 168.

⁴⁵¹ “Seht da den teutschen Mann, wie er einfach und edel in seinen Manieren, mit Würde und Anstand in den Kreis der Gesellschaft tritt, hört ihn über das Große und Schöne in der Menschheit und Natur mit begeisternder Wärme in seiner volltönenden, männlich schönen Sprache reden, [...] wie er Freyheit liebend und gehorsam zugleich, [...] gewaltsame Umwälzungen hassend, doch jede nützliche Veränderung befördernd, dem Ziele menschlicher Vollkommenheit langsamer, aber sicherer als manches andere Volk entgegen geht!” Gustav Freyer, “Was ist teutsche Bildung?”, in *Der Sammler*, No. 69, 30 April 1814, pp. 273-276. Quotation from pp. 275f.

⁴⁵² “Die Stimme (*une voix de compositeur*) war ein Mittelding von sanftem Tenor und Bariton, der Vortrag einfach und natürlich, innig, ohne alle Koketterie”. Eduard von Bauernfeld, “Einiges von Franz Schubert”, 1869. Quoted from Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 260.

means of expression. Interpreted against the background of the social charge of these phenomena, it must have been necessary for the composer to show discrimination and restraint if he were not to risk being accused of using a kind of expression characteristic of those who are *ungebildet*, drunk, etc. Sectional songs may sometimes have been looked upon not only as tending towards theatre, and thereby as frustrating certain generic expectations, but also as an impediment to aesthetic freedom and as an embarrassing example of an *ungebildet* way of expression. In a section from *Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg. Nebst einer kurzen Darstellung seiner Manier* (1801) which I cited above, Siebigke criticizes Zumsteeg's sectional setting of Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stollberg's ballad "Die Büssende" on just these grounds. Instead of "narrating" the story, Zumsteeg makes it a "theatrical drama, or rather a theatrical painting which, at the most, could serve to illustrate the movements of pantomimic actors, but which in no way – due to the too sudden and unordered joining of conflicting emotions – may be called a musical whole". (See page 96.) The social charge of such a composition is made clear when Siebigke compares *Die Büssende* to the "Hanswurst", a main attraction of popular theatre in Vienna:

It is [...] distasteful when the narrator, as long as he is just that, wants, so to speak, to enter completely into and copy his own feelings or the feelings of those who constitute the subject of his narration. With perfect justice I think this can be called a musical *Hanswurstiade*.⁴⁵³

The figure Hanswurst (or Hans Wurst) was a clown-like, rustic character related to Harlequin of the *commedia dell'arte*. This character had become a major, popular attraction at theatres across Austria and Germany since the time of its most influential interpreter, Joseph Anton Stranitzky (1676-1726).⁴⁵⁴ Not least in Vienna Hanswurst frequently appeared as the main character in improvised comedies with contents both enjoyed and condemned for their offensiveness. Siebigke's depreciating simile between *Die Büssende* and a "Hanswurstiade" should be seen against the background of the so-called Hanswurst-battle which began in the second half of the eighteenth century through advocates of a literary and morally edifying theatre. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, for example, opposed the Hanswurst-theatre in his journal *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1769) for the reason that its structure obstructed the unity of the spectators' impressions, a unity which he considered necessary for the play to have its full effect.⁴⁵⁵ Siebigke's critique of *Die Büssende* is similar, for not only does he imply

⁴⁵³ "Es ist [...] abgeschmackt, wenn der Erzählende, so lange er das ist, seine eignen Gefühle, oder die Gefühle derer gleichsam ganz nachempfinden und copiren wollte, welche den Gegenstand seiner Erzählung ausmachen. Mit allem rechte glaube ich dieses eine musikalische Hanswurstiade nennen zu können". *ibid.*, pp. 14f.

⁴⁵⁴ Oscar G. Brockett, *History of the Theatre* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1991), p. 345.

⁴⁵⁵ "Hanswurst", in Theo Girshausen et al., *Theaterlexikon. Epochen, Ensembles, Figuren, Spielformen, Begriffe, Theorien*, vol. 2, ed. Bernd Sucher (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1996), p. 202. Lessing criticized so-called "Haupt- und Staatsaktionen" (the kind of performance where Hanswurst appeared) for being merely an imitation of the chaotic life which "most people" lead. Gotthold Ephraim

that too much emphasis on individual emotions signifies a low social standing. He also says that the sudden and confused connection of conflicting emotions makes impossible the perception of a “musical whole”. Thus, when a song setting approached a *Hanswurstiade*, its status as high art could be seriously called into question.

Schubert's *Die Bürgschaft*

Did the Neo-Humanist, Neo-Platonic, and social aims of Schubert's friends mean that they did not value *Die Bürgschaft* so highly after all? Or did they appreciate this song in spite of their own aesthetics, as Gramit suggests? The circle's thinking about art indicates that they embraced the ideology of declamation according to which it was the task of a poem to testify to an ideal world, and which advocated naturalness but also unity and a certain restraint. As we have seen, this ideology also had much in common with Anton von Spaun's theory of friendship.

I have noted that it is easy to imagine that Schubert's setting of “Die Bürgschaft” could be accused of using too much painting and of being too forceful in its expressions of emotion. Is not Schubert's circle likely to have perceived this song as an example of extensive declamation with a lack of inner freedom and as employing an embarrassing, *ungebildet* mode of communication flying in the face of the human ideal which the poem takes as its subject? To be sure, Schnapper (1937) points out that Schubert's use of very large intervals in the vocal parts of his songs decreased considerably by 1814, the year when Schubert was introduced to the circle. Also the “steep declamatory curves” which Schubert had earlier used “everywhere” in the service of “pure on-the-spot accounts” now appeared more seldom.⁴⁵⁶ These stylistic changes may at least partly have depended on Schubert's internalization of his friends' aesthetic ideology as well as his own increasing command of social codes. Nevertheless, *Die Bürgschaft* can be regarded as containing much painting and intense expression of emotion, the most obvious example being the extended and colourful musical rendering of the troubles with which Möros is faced on his way back to Syracuse (bars 127ff).

To determine with more precision whether or not Schubert could be accused of being too explicit in the representation of characters, events and emotions – and thus of wrongfully turning “Die Bürgschaft” into a piece of theatre and of using a low-status mode of communication – we need to be able to compare in a more concrete way aspects of Schubert's setting with an idealizing and *gebildete* declamation. One point of departure for such a comparison is Wötzel's most hands-on book about declamation, his *Unmittelbar praktische Declamirschule (Immediately Practical School of Declamation)* from 1816.

Lessing, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1769), vol. 2 in *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Wolfgang Stammler (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1959), p. 626.

⁴⁵⁶ Schnapper, *Die Gesänge des jungen Schubert*, 1937, pp. 30, 40.

Ingenious intimation

The main part of Wötzel's *Declamirschule* has the form of an annotated anthology of poetry to be used by declaimers. To facilitate "correct" declamation, stressed syllables are marked with spaced-out letters and silences are indicated with single or double dashes. Also, every poem is introduced with directions about its purpose and about the emotional tone to be used. Longer poems, such as "Die Bürgschaft", are even fitted with footnotes containing instructions for the individual parts of the poem. Wötzel hopes that this "pocket book of the *Muses* and *Graces*" will be found "even on the dressing-table of every truly *gebildete* lady or high noblefolk".⁴⁵⁷ His intentions seem to be in consonance with his own *Vorlesekunst* of the year after, for he writes that he wants to counteract "lack of restraint" (Zügellosigkeit) and "exaggerated, naturalistic [...] declamation" (naturalistische [...] Declamiererei) in favour of "adherence to laws" (Gesetzmäßigkeit), "purposeful order" (zweckmäßige Ordnung), "adherence to rules" (Regelmäßigkeit), "correctness" (Correctheit), "symmetry" (Symmetrie), "ennobled nature" (veredelte Natur), "truth" (Wahrheit), "beauty" (Schönheit) and "perfection" (Vollkommenheit).⁴⁵⁸ With regard to these preconditions, his instructions for "Die Bürgschaft" may come as a surprise, for, at least on the surface, they fit very well with Schubert's sectional setting of the poem.⁴⁵⁹ Like Schubert, Wötzel indicates a large number of declamatory contrasts as the poem proceeds, and the two even shape many parts of the poem in similar ways. Here are a few examples.

According to Wötzel's instructions, Dionys' first line ("Was w o l ltest du mit dem D o l che? – sp r i c h!", as it is spelled in Wötzel's orthography⁴⁶⁰) is to be declaimed "rapidly with dismal, darkly sullen and brutal tone" whereas Möros' answer ("Ich b i n' – [spricht Jener,] 'zu sterben be r e i t'" etc⁴⁶¹) is to be characterized by the "calm and firm, but unimpassioned tone of noble, manly candour which is aware of its own noble-mindedness".⁴⁶² Both instructions could have been descriptions of Schubert's musical setting of these passages. (Compare pages 86 and 102 where I describe Schubert's rendering of this dialogue.) Concerning Möros' struggle in streaming waters (strophe 9), Wötzel writes that one has to declaim "with raucous, gradually rising voice suggestive of the unfriendly, inexorably hard destiny, until the words 'A god has mercy', when the voice descends softly and becomes more slow".⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁷ "[...] daß ein solches *Taschenbuch* der *Musen* und *Grazien* selbst auf der Toilette jeder wahrhaft gebildeten Dame oder hohen Herrschaft leicht zu finden seyn werde". Wötzel, *Declamirschule*, 1816, p. V.

⁴⁵⁸ *ibid.*, pp. XI-XII.

⁴⁵⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 57-70.

⁴⁶⁰ "What did you int e n d with your d a g ger, sp e a k!"

⁴⁶¹ "I a m', [he says,] 'r e a dy to die'".

⁴⁶² "Rasch im düstern, finster mürrischen und rauhen Tone" and "mit ruhigem und festem, aber leidenschaftslosem Tone einer edlen männlichen Freihmüthigkeit im Bewußtseyn eines reinen Edel-muths". *ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴⁶³ "[...]mit rauher, gradweise steigender Stimme zur Andeutung des unfreundlichen, unerbittlich harten Schicksals bis zu den Worten: 'Ein Gott hat erbarmen'" wobei die Stimme sanft herabsinkt und langsamer wird". *ibid.*, p. 62.

In Schubert's setting, this passage (bars 192-210) starts in the piano part with sequentially rising chords in pounding quaver rhythm, fortissimo in D minor. The voice soon enters with a melody which forms three large waves that rise sequentially in parallel to the movement in the piano. Thereafter both piano and voice continue to rise step-by-step, but now faster than before and often chromatically, every step being marked with a *forzando*. Just as in Wötzel's instructions, the rise continues until "Gott" as in "ein Gott hat Erbarmen"⁴⁶⁴, which is sung on a high *g*^b supported by a *forte-forzando* chord (bars 206f). After this culmination the vocal line descends, the notes are longer than before and the section ends in an extended, reassuring cadence in *G*^b major. As to the rest, in both Wötzel's and Schubert's adaptations of the poem, expressions of despair and vigorous effort continue to alternate until the end of the poem.

Schubert composed his song the year before the appearance of the *Declamirschule*, so it cannot be ruled out that it might have had an influence on Wötzel. On the other hand, Schubert's song was not yet printed and there are no indications that Wötzel ever appeared in the same circles as Schubert. Therefore it is more likely that both Schubert and Wötzel employed common declamatory know-how.

Of particular interest to us, as we try to appreciate whether or not Schubert's setting could be regarded as exaggerated, is the fact that Wötzel encourages fairly colourful declamation and yet uses the verb "intimate" (*andeuten*). In an instruction for the whole part of the poem in which Möros faces different hindrances, Wötzel says that

[t]he narrative tone has to intimate the vivid interest in the multiply enumerated hindrances which the hurrying [Möros] encounters as well as the mounting hardships and increasing hindrances through flood, robbers, and prostration.⁴⁶⁵

At the end of the poem, also the transformation of Dionys is to be "intimated". The words "b l i kket sie l a n ge – ver w u n dert an. – –" (l o o ked at them l o n g – am a z ed. – –) have to be said "with a slowly drawn emotion tone of great wonder" whereas the following words, "drauf spricht er" (then spoke), must be said "more quickly and with steady voice, since they "intimate" the king's firm belief in the love between the true friends who stand before him".⁴⁶⁶ Was the "lack of restraint" and "exaggerated, naturalistic declamation" which Wötzel sought to counteract thus reached only by means of *even more* explicit effects than the ones which he prescribes? From the perspective of much twentieth-century scholarship it would be easy to assume that all

⁴⁶⁴ "a god had mercy on him".

⁴⁶⁵ "Das lebhafteste Interesse an den vielfältig aufgezählten Hindernissen des Eilenden muß der erzählende Ton eben sowohl andeuten, als die steigenden Bedrängnisse und zunehmenden Hindernisse durch Ueberschwemmung, Räuber und Ermatten". Wötzel, *Declamirschule*, 1816, p. 61.

⁴⁶⁶ "mit langsam gezogenem Empfindungstone hoher Verwunderung" and "rascher mit fester Stimme, weil sie die Ueberzeugung des Königs von der Liebe der vor sich sehenden treuen Freunde andeuten". *ibid.*, p. 69.

sectional songs composed before Schubert's *Erlkönig* (1815), and also many after it, were too extensive in these respects. But although individuals in early nineteenth-century Vienna certainly disagreed as to the limits beyond which painting and expressions of emotion became exaggerated, it is conceivable that, generally, those limits were less confinedly set than in the Western musicological community of our time.⁴⁶⁷ Thus, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Schubert's setting demonstrates a degree of declamatory painting and emotional expression which was acceptable in Viennese *Bildung* circles, and which was not in contradiction with the verb "intimate". Nor can it be taken for granted that what we may perceive as theatrical qualified for that categorization also among Schubert and his friends.

However, two things need to be noted when we now search a deeper understanding of Wötzel's instructions. Firstly, it is easier to indicate differences in expression between parts of a poem than it is to indicate a subtle unity of these parts. Indeed, in his "Ideen über Deklamation" C.G. Körner says that to give a poem as a whole a unity of character is "one of the declaimer's most difficult tasks".⁴⁶⁸ Secondly, an antitheatrical stance to poetry did not necessarily mean that declamation had to be a low-voiced, introvert thing. Poetry was by definition devoted to the artist's inner life, but at the same time it had an important extrovert side in that its task was to project this inner life in a lively way. Ottenwalt's comment that Schiller's poetry is the heralding of the true and the good in the harmonious language of enthusiasm, and not merely a light and funny game (see page 66), indicates such spirited reading.

⁴⁶⁷ The anonymous author of "Einige Gedanken über Deklamation" (1813) advocates "a wise moderation in declamation" (eine weise Mäßigung im Deklamiren) but recognizes that "the concepts of this moderation are also relative to the greater or lesser vividness of temperament of the nation" ([daß] die Begriffe von dieser Mäßigung nach der größeren oder geringeren Lebhaftigkeit des Temperamentes der Nation auch relativ [sind]). Therefore, "a German will readily perceive an exaggeration where a Frenchman or an Italian merely finds that nature has been successfully represented" (der Teutsche wird da leicht Uebertreibung empfinden, wo dem Franzosen oder Italiener bloß die Natur getroffen zu seyn scheint). (*WamZ*, No. 38, 22 September 1813, p. 303.) This probably applies also to different periods in history.

⁴⁶⁸ "eine der schwersten Aufgaben für den Vorleser". C.G. Körner, "Ideen über Deklamation" (1793), 1964, p. 21. In the review "Über die declamatorische und musikalische Abendunterhaltung welche der k. Hof-Schauspieler, Hr. *Reil* zu seinem Vortheile am 8. Aprill 1811, im Hof-Theater nächst dem Kärnthnerthor gab" (*Thalia*, No. 30, 13 April 1811, pp. 117-120), the reviewer indicates the difficulty also of *speaking* about the whole, for he is much vaguer concerning the whole (which he simply refers to as "satisfying") than when speaking about the details: "I am full of praise for Herr *Krüger*, who declaimed *Die Bürgschaft* by Schiller. He bore away the palm of victory from today's singing competition, and I am happy to be able to nominate *him*, who so clearly distinguished and performed moments of rest, modulations, transitions, rises and falls, all according to the affect, the narrative, the action, and the dialogue. He achieved a satisfying total impression – and the small faulty nuances, especially at the end of the poem, were perhaps hardly noticeable, or were even correct according to his individual view of the matter". (Vom Hrn. *Krüger*, welcher: *Die Bürgschaft* von Schiller, declamirte, habe ich alles Lob zu sagen. Er trug die Palme des heutigen Wettgesanges davon, und ich bin froh, *ihn* aufstellen zu können, welcher Ruhepunkte, Modulationen, Übergänge, Steigen und Fallen nach dem Affecte, Erzählung, Handlung und Wechselgespräch so deutlich ausschied und darstellte. Er bewirkte einen befriedigenden Total-Eindruck, und vielleicht kleine verfehlt Nüancirungen, besonders zum Schlusse des Gedichtes, könnten kaum bemerkbar, auch sogar nach seiner individuellen Ansicht vielleicht richtig gewesen seyn.) pp. 118f.

Ottenwalt here employs a discourse of idealization and enthusiasm which is used in a more elaborate way in a text to which I have referred repeatedly in this chapter, the *Thalia* review of a “declamatory and musical evening entertainment” which took place at the Kärnthnerthor theatre in April 1811. After having complained about the way “Hr. Reil” declaimed Bürger’s “Lied vom Braven Mann” (The Song of the Brave Man), the critic goes on to criticize even more severely Reil’s declamation of Klopstock’s ode “Die Frühlingsfeyer” (The Feast of Spring). In so doing he provides a fairly comprehensive picture of how he conceives of the ode, a poetic genre which he treats as equivalent with “lyric poetry” (lyrische Poesie):

Herr R[eil] pleased me even less in *Klopstock’s ode Die Frühlingsfeyer*, which, at the end of the first section, he declaimed along with the music by *Zumstegg*. It is true that he softened his impetuous voice here [...], but I missed the verve of the ode [Odenschwung]. Lyric poetry is the most perfect expression of an emotion in the highest euphony of language. The lyric poet plays no role; his person disappears, for the *Muse* sings through him. To the lyric poet emotion is everything; he wants to do nothing but unburden his heart and agitate our hearts. – Does this not apply also to the declaimer? – Everyone who was ever carried away by the ingenious verve [dem genialischen Schwunge] of a poet of odes senses that, in the great moment of true enthusiasm [Begeisterung], the ideal object can be intimated [angedeutet] only with strong, heartfelt features, by means of which the subjective *inner* image can be transformed into an *outer* representation.⁴⁶⁹

In the “Lied vom Braven Mann” the critic, disapprovingly, had found that Reil used both voice and body in too extensive a way: “I [...] noticed that the impetuosity (I could say the screaming), which even transferred to his entire body, was not appropriate for this narrative, the full theatre notwithstanding”.⁴⁷⁰ In “Die Frühlingsfeyer” Reil used his voice in a more restrained way, but, as we see, this was not enough to please the critic, for he missed the “Odenschwung”. The concept of *Odenschwung* (approximately “verve of the ode”) was probably less vague than it seems today. Its meaning becomes a little clearer already when the critic refers to the “ingenious”

⁴⁶⁹ “Noch weniger befriedigte mich Hr. R[eil] in der *Ode von Klopstock: Die Frühlingsfeyer*, welche er am Schlusse der ersten Abtheilung bey der Musik von *Zumstegg* vortrug. Hier dämpfte er wohl seine heftige Stimme [...]; allein ich vermißte den Odenschwung. Die lyrische Poesie ist der vollendete Ausdruck einer Empfindung im höchsten Wohlk[la]ng der Sprache. Der lyrische Dichter hat keine Rolle; seine Person verschwindet; denn durch ihn singt die *Muse*. Dem lyrischen Dichter ist die Rührung Alles; er will nur sein volles Herz entschütten, und unsere Herzen erschüttern. – Ist dieß nicht auch auf den Declamator anzuwenden? – Daß in dem großen Augenblicke der wahren Begeisterung der idealische Gegenstand nur mit starken, innigen Zügen angedeutet, und mittelst derselben das subjective *innere* Bild in eine *äußere* Darstellung übergehen kann, fühlt jeder, der je von dem genialischen Schwunge eines Odendichters fortgerissen wurde”. *Thalia*, No. 30, 13 April 1811, p. 117.

⁴⁷⁰ “Auch bemerkte ich, daß die Heftigkeit (ich könnte das Schreyen sagen) die sich sogar dem ganzen Leibe mittheilte, dieser Erzählung, ungeachtet des vollen Theaters, nicht angemessen war”. (ibid.) In Dr. Anton’s *Die Kunst des äußeren Vortrags* (Berlin 1823), it is remarked that declamatory painting was often used in this very poem, and especially in the passages which describe “fearful events of nature” (schrecklichen Naturbegebenheiten). Quoted from Weithase, *Anschaunngen*, 1930, p. 60.

Schwung of a poet of odes, thus linking *Schwung* and ode to the poetical mode of the genius. According to Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*, a genius is a mind which has the ability "to produce ideal forms, which surpass in excellence the forms which are available in nature".⁴⁷¹ The greatest geniuses are those who have "a grand soul" (eine große Seele) in the form of "a grand philosophical genius" (ein großes philosophisches Genie) which leads to "grand inventions, grand thoughts" (große Erfindungen, große Gedanken).⁴⁷² (Compare Schiller's use of the term "grand style" as a reference to poetry characterized by "dismissal of that which is accidental" in favour of a "pure expression of that which is necessary", an essential part of the representation of the ideals. See page 78.)

The fiery activity of the mind and the strong effect on recipients which the *Thalia* review prescribes for the declamation of odes like "Die Frühlingsfeyer" fit well with Sulzer's description of the inner revelation characteristic of a genius. "The ideal is always the work of a genius", Sulzer writes in the article "Ideal", "and often it is the result of a fortunate moment when the powers of the soul – heightened through enthusiasm – suddenly unify to form it [the ideal]".⁴⁷³ In the article "Genie", Sulzer speaks about a ravishing effect on the listeners which also the reviewer in *Thalia* associated with the ode: "the man of genius feels a fire which arouses enthusiasm [begeisterndes Feuer] and which sets his whole activity in motion. He discovers thoughts, images of fantasy, and emotions in himself, all of which arouse admiration in others; he himself does not admire them since, with no laborious search, he has observed rather than invented them".⁴⁷⁴

This is probably at least partly what is meant in the *Thalia* review both by *Odenschwung* and *Begeisterung*. We may recognize this conception of poetry also from Anton von Spaun's assertion that "the song of a divinely inspired poet pull[s] towards heaven with unknown force" (see page 65), from Kenner's notion of "the prophetic mouth of an inspired singer" (see page 68), from the account of Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's declamation of Klopstock's "Frühlingsfeyer" with musical accompaniment (see footnote 351), as well as from the "inspiring" (begeisternder) warmth with which the Teutonic man is said to speak about "the grand and the beautiful in man and nature" (see page 129).

But according to Ottenwalt, Schiller's language is not characterized by "enthusiasm" (Begeisterung) only; it is also "harmonious" (harmonisch). Or, rather,

⁴⁷¹ "ideale Formen zu bilden, die an Fürtrefflichkeit die in der Natur vorhandenen übertreffen". Sulzer, "Ideal", in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 555.

⁴⁷² Sulzer, "Genie", in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 458.

⁴⁷³ "Das Ideal ist allemal das Werk des Genies und ofte die Frucht eines glüklichen Augenblicks, da die durch Begeisterung erhöhten Seelenkräfte, plötzlich sich zur Bildung desselben vereinen". Sulzer, "Ideal", in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 555.

⁴⁷⁴ "der Mann von Genie empfindet ein begeisterndes Feuer, das seine ganze Würksamkeit rege macht, er entdeket in sich selbst Gedanken, Bilder der Phantasie und Empfindungen, die andre Menschen in Bewundrung setzen; er selbst bewundert sie nicht, weil er sie, ohne mühesames Suchen, in sich mehr wahrgenommen, als erfunden hat". Sulzer, "Genie", in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 457.

the language of enthusiasm *is* harmonious. Also in the *Thalia* review, lyric poetry is defined as “the most perfect expression of an emotion in the highest *euphony* of language” [my emphasis], which indicates a beautiful relationship between parts and the whole.

The same holds true for Sulzer. According to him, the genius finds images which put those who surround him in a state of admiration, but since the force of these images rests on their relation to the ideals, there must necessarily be unity in them. The images stun not because they are strange and haphazard, but because they are more clear and more true than normal images: “A light day reigns in the soul of the man of genius, a complete light which presents every object to him as a painting which is positioned closely before his eyes and which is well lit, a painting which he can easily survey and in which he can accurately observe every single part”.⁴⁷⁵

The *Thalia* review helps to explain Wötzel’s apparent contradiction between colourful details and his use of the verb “intimate”. For, in “the great moments of true enthusiasm”, it is said there, the ideal object may be “intimated [angedeutet] only with strong, heartfelt features”, transforming “the subjective *inner* image” into “an *outer* representation”. The ideal is intimated, but in a strong way. Lyric poetry is not theatre, but it is also not everyday conversation.⁴⁷⁶ Sulzer describes the genius as seeing the whole and the individual parts with the same, high degree of clarity, but, as I wrote earlier, the aesthetic ideology launched by Baumgarten and other philosophers in the mid-eighteenth century held that the development of beautiful thought depended on the organization of details into a whole. Such beautiful thought was intended to counteract a mode of thinking which was too much directed towards the individual parts. Also Sulzer many times states the crucial role of the whole for the estimation of the relationship between an object and its ideal. In the article “Ideal” he indicates that, even though the preparation of the mind may be long and detailed, the inner revelation of the ideal occurs in one moment: “It must be assumed that only the best brains, after they have long unyieldingly united all faculties of the mind in striving perfectly to construct a single idea, *in a brighter moment* may complete the

⁴⁷⁵ “In der Seele des Mannes von Genie herrscht ein heller Tag, ein volles Licht, das ihm jeden Gegenstand wie ein nahe vor Augen liegendes und wol erleuchtetes Gemähd vorstellt, das er leicht übersehen, und darin er jedes Einzele genau bemerken kann”. *ibid.*, p. 457.

⁴⁷⁶ “Nothing is more tedious than an ode in which a great number of ideas are found which are good but which are [also] declaimed in an ordinary tone”, Sulzer writes in his article “Lyrisch” (Lyric). “That the particularly passionate tone constitutes a necessary feature of the lyric poem can be gathered most clearly from the fact that the most beautiful ode loses all its power in a verbatim translation in which this tone is missing”. (Nichts ist langweiliger, als eine Ode, darin eine Menge zwar guter, aber in einem gemeinen Ton vorgetragene Gedanken vorkommt. Daß der besonders leidenschaftliche Ton bey dem lyrischen Gedicht eine wesentliche Eigenschaft ausmache, sieht man am deutlichsten daraus, daß die schönste Ode in einer wörtlichen Uebersetzung wo dieser Ton fehlet alle ihre Kraft völlig verliert.) Sulzer, “Lyrisch”, in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 2 (1774), 2002, p. 727. Criticizing the actor Friedrich Roose’s declamation, *Thalia* asks rhetorically: “Is there no difference between a declaimer and an actor? And what is the difference between the best of conversational tones and the poetic-lyric declamation?” (Ist denn kein Unterschied zwischen Declamator und Schauspieler? – Und welcher ist zwischen dem besten Conversationston und der poetisch-lyrischen Declamation?) *Thalia*, No. 30, 13 April 1811, p. 118.

creation of the ideal”.⁴⁷⁷ Sulzer takes the Corinthian sculptor Euphranor’s representation of Jupiter as his example of how the appearance of the ideal is the result of a fortunate moment: “after long having reflected on the concept of the highest majesty, Euphranor created the sublime image of Jupiter in the very moment when Homer provided him with a few features necessary for the purpose”.⁴⁷⁸ Stirred by Homer’s brief but ingenious verbal sketch, in a single moment Euphranor’s inner eye could see Jupiter as a godlike ideal. Euphranor being a genius too, he was able to form his stone after this ideal.

The relation between work of art and audience referred to in “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation” (1813) (see page 104) is probably similar to that between Homer’s text and Euphranor’s active reception. For, in this article, the inner power of poetry is said not to be able to have its aesthetic effect on the listener if the declamation treats its poem in too detailed a manner. If the declaimer does too much, listeners are denied the opportunity to perceive the idealizing image which constitutes that power. This notion of the balance between details and the whole we may recognize also in the description of how Schubert’s friend Johann Michael Vogl used to declaim (see page 76). Vogl made every poem “an organized whole in which each part filled its allotted space without one part falling over the other”. His declamation was also perceived as offering the mood of the whole as a momentary experience: “a few introductory words brought about the adequate mood”.

Thus, it seems that a theory of “lyric” poetry existed according to which a declaimer should use an “enthusiastic” language which is powerful (although screaming should be avoided) but which is also characterized by beautiful unity in multiplicity, a language which is not too detailed and the goal of which is the appearance of the ideal in the minds of the listeners. No small demands.

This ideology is given a fiery and high-flown promotion in a part of *Vorlesekunst* where Wötzel accounts for the effect of “harmoniously beautiful declamation”.⁴⁷⁹ Of particular interest in relation to Schubert’s circle and to “Die Bürgerschaft” is the fact that the elevating function of declamation here merges with friendship and the longing for political action. “Word and deed” come together with all but the explicitness of the poet-soldier Theodor Körner. In “our social and friendly gatherings” (unsern gesell- und freundschaftlichen Zusammenkünften), Wötzel says, the harmoniously beautiful declamation has such a beneficial effect on everyone present that the declaimer, the listeners and the author “embrace each other, as it were” (sich gleichsam gegenseitig umschlingen). At such a joint experience of declamation, when “masterworks for the *Bildung* of mind, reason, sense of beauty or

⁴⁷⁷ “Es ist zu vermuthen, daß nur die besten Köpfe, nachdem sie alle Seelenkräfte lang anhaltend, auf die vollkommene Bildung einer einzigen Idee, vereiniget haben, *in einem hellern Augenblicke*, die Schöpfung des Ideals vollenden” (my emphasis). Sulzer, “Ideal”, in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 555.

⁴⁷⁸ “So schuff Euphranor, nachdem er lange dem Begriff der höchsten Majestät nachgedacht hatte, das erhabene Bild Jupiters, in dem Augenblick, da ihm Homer ein paar Züge dazu gab”. *ibid.*, p. 555.

⁴⁷⁹ “harmonisch schöne[s] Vorlesen”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §13, pp. 14ff.

taste, feeling, and heart” (Meisterwerke zur Bildung des Geistes, Verstandes, Schönheitssinnes oder Geschmacks, Gefühls und Herzens) are being read, everyone shares with the others the “true, good, and beautiful” (Wahre, Gute und Schöne) which he discovers. Revealed “truth” (Wahrheit) is made the object of “reflection” (Nachdenke[n]) and is taken to heart (Beherrigung), and everyone helps the other to “ennoble” (veredeln) his character and taste. In a particularly inspired part of this flowing text, Wötzel’s talk about declamation is transformed into something which contemporary readers must have read as almost revolutionary in tone:

For he [i.e. the declaimer] occasions the sweetly flattering pleasure of putting himself and other members [of the company] in a state of enthusiasm [Begeisterung] in which every member reveres himself in the other, imitates great ideas and virtues, but finally also satisfies the soul, which thirsts in sweet dreams for great deeds and which now easily escapes the fetters of social class, of occupations, and of the restricting outer circumstances. For, when surrounded by nothing but heroes, or virtuous and *gebildete* persons, courage gleams also in every listener’s eye and virtue takes visual shape. Everyone loves the other, embracing each other as a result of sympathy [...] and being intoxicated by the mutually perceived beauty at which everyone is *good* and *great*, and all drink from a magic chalice whereby the most heartfelt intimacy springs forth, and this pleasant illusion causes a wonderful state of mind in which the germ of emotion easily ripens into any great deed, since sparks remain from thoughts and feelings, sparks which, at the least breath of an occasion, easily blaze up and become an oncoming flame.⁴⁸⁰

Here, even a notion of social equality surfaces, a thing which the imperial government regarded with utmost suspicion. When declamation has had its effect, so that everyone wants to imitate the great ideas and virtues, Wötzel says, it is possible to flee the fetters of social class, occupation, and other external circumstances. Wötzel here exemplifies how important declamation could be considered to be for the process which leads from the perception of ideals to political freedom, a process with which Schubert’s circle was much concerned. Indeed, Wötzel’s aesthetic jubilation could have served as a programmatic statement of the desired function of art in Schubert’s circle of friends, at least in its earlier years of confident Neo-Humanism.

⁴⁸⁰ “Denn er bewirkt hiedurch das süß schmeichelnde Vergnügen, sich und andere Mitglieder in eine solche Begeisterung zu versetzen, in welcher jedes Mitglied sich in dem andern verehrt, große Ideen und Tugenden nachahmt, zuletzt aber auch den (in süßen Träumen nach großen Thaten dürstenden) Geist befriedigt, welcher nun leicht den Fesseln des Standes, der Beschäftigungen und der einengenden äußern Verhältnisse entfliehet. Denn, mit lauter Helden, oder Tugendhaften [sic] und gebildeten Menschen umgeben, glänzt auch in dem Auge jedes Zuhörers Tapferkeit und die Tugend wandelt in sichtbarer Gestalt; alle lieben sich, von der Sympathie (Theilnahme, Mitleidenschaft) in einander verschlungen und berauscht von der gemeinschaftlich empfundener Schönheit, wobei jeder *gut*, jeder *groß* ist und alle aus einem Zauberkelche trinken wodurch die innigste Vertraulichkeit entspringt und diese angenehme Täuschung eine herrliche Gemüthstimmung bewirkt, in welche jede große That aus dem Keime der Empfindung leicht reift, weil von Gedanken und Gefühlen noch Funken zurück bleiben, welche bei dem geringsten Hauche der Veranlassung zur ausbrechenden Flamme leicht empor lodern”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §13, p. 16.

An effect of declamation similar to that which Wötzel describes seems also to be suggested by a letter from 1817 in which Anton von Spaun tells Schober about the effect that the declamation of some of Schober's poems had had on their mutual friends: "I have had some of your poems read to our friends here, and they were all very well received. Your 'Kriegslied' in particular, which put everyone in a state of enthusiasm [Begeisterung] of a sort".⁴⁸¹ Seven years later, when Schubert was already mourning the loss of these meetings devoted to friendship and art, he, too, wrote to Schober in terms reminiscent of Wötzel's:

I would like to exclaim with Goethe: "Who will bring back but one hour of that sweet time!" That time when we sat intimately together and each of us unveiled his budding works of art with motherly shyness, awaiting the judgement not without some anxiety, a judgement which would express love and truth. That time when one aroused enthusiasm [Begeisterung] in the other and when, therefore, a united endeavour for the most beautiful animated us all.⁴⁸²

During Johann Friedrich Reichardt's stay in Vienna in 1808 and 1809, he heard the poet Heinrich von Collin declaiming his opera poem *Bradamante*. Reichardt describes Collin's way of declaiming in terms of lyricism and enthusiasm, while also indicating that such reading was not appreciated by all audiences:

He read it, or rather declaimed it, [...] with more fire and expression than most poets normally [do when they] deliver their verses. In strong places and painterly verses [he declaimed] with true poetic enthusiasm and with the multiplicity of tones without which a rich, vivid poem cannot be delivered truthfully, a multiplicity which, however, most declaimers seem to avoid as something indecent, maybe being shy of their prosaic listeners. Many German voices also do not have the flexibility and the range which are needed for poetic declamation.⁴⁸³

Reichardt's description agrees with Sulzer's notion of certain odes as "a high, poetic dizziness [...] in whose multiple turns [Wendungen] we hardly perceive any

⁴⁸¹ "Ich habe unseren Freunden hier einige von deinen Gedichten lesen lassen, die alle sehr wohl gefielen. Dein Kriegslied besonders, das alle in eine Art von Begeisterung setzte". Anton von Spaun, letter to Schober, 15 May 1817. Quoted in Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 50.

⁴⁸² "Ich möchte mit Göthe ausrufen: 'Wer bringt nur eine Stunde jener holden Zeit zurück!' Jener Zeit, wo wir traulich beyeinander saßen, u[nd] jeder seine Kunstkinder den andern mit mütterlicher Scheu aufdeckte, das Urtheil welches Liebe und Wahrheit aussprechen würden, nicht ohne einige Sorge erwartend; jener Zeit, wo einer den andern begeisterte, u. so ein vereintes Streben nach dem Schönsten alle beseelte". Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, p. 258. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 33f and 55.

⁴⁸³ "Er las, oder vielmehr deklamierte, es [...] mit mehr Feuer und Ausdruck, als die meisten Dichter ihre Verse gewöhnlich vorzutragen pflegen; in starken stellen [sic] und malerischen Versen mit echt dichterischem Enthusiasmus und der großen Mannigfaltigkeit in Tönen, ohne welche ein reiches, lebenvolles Gedicht nicht mit Wahrheit vorgetragen werden kann, welche aber die meisten Deklamatoren, vielleicht aus Scheu für ihre prosaischen Zuhörer, als unanständig zu vermeiden scheinen. Viele deutsche Stimmen haben aber auch wohl nicht die Biegsamkeit und den Umfang, der zur poetischen Deklamation erfordert wird". Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe* (1808/09), 1915, vol. 1, pp. 119f.

coherence”.⁴⁸⁴ But Reichardt also indicates that such declamation was a controversial thing and that ”prosaic listeners” regarded it as indecent. Once again we see how complex the issue of declamation was in early-nineteenth-century Vienna. Extensive declamation could be criticized for approaching the expression of animals and for limiting the audience’s aesthetic freedom. But on the other hand, ”enthusiastic” high-art declamation had to push – although not break – the limits of a more unified, restrained declamation. This means that it is fairly difficult for us today to discern whether a particular declamatory rendering of a poem, such as Schubert’s *Die Bürgschaft*, was perceived to be unduly extensive or not.

Obviously, there were many opportunities for disputes over whether a declamation was too restrained or not, or whether the limit at the other end of the scale was being broken or merely pushed. The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that ideals differed, as I have indicated in previous parts of this chapter. It must be assumed that one dividing line ran between those who were familiar with aesthetic theory of idealizing art and those who were not, between those who regarded themselves as the *Bildung* élite and those to whom Reichardt referred as ”prosaic listeners”. The latter listeners probably interpreted what a declaimer did in a context where ”aesthetic freedom” and ”enthusiasm” were not key concepts but where ”decent” and ”indecent”, ”human” and ”animal-like” most probably were. Using such concepts, those listeners distinguished themselves from audiences who enjoyed declamation which contained spectacular effects reminiscent of popular theatre. Between the two, it seems, were those who favoured enthusiastic declamation. As evidenced by Wötzel, they, too, wanted to counter *ungebildet* speech, but at the same time they considered powerful expression to be highly important. To them, a dignified behaviour was simply not enough.

But did this theory of *Odenschwung* and enthusiasm apply to “Die Bürgschaft”? One may suspect that it did not, for “Die Bürgschaft” is a ballad, in which a story is told, not a lyric monologue like for example Klopstock’s “Die Frühlingsfeyer”. The author of the review in *Thalia* calls attention to the difference between these two kinds of poem, although he does not further specify it: “Monologue and ballad are just as different as my judgements of them therefore have to be; each stands apart”.⁴⁸⁵ But the fact that a specialist on declamation found generic differences between poems is not to say that a ballad and a monologue had nothing in common. A generic difference on one level does not preclude a similarity, regarded as self-evident, on another level. In “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation”, a poem with different interlocutors (one of the characteristic traits of a ballad) was referred to as a

⁴⁸⁴ ”ei[n] hoh[er], poetisch[er] Taumel, [...] unter dessen mannigfaltigen Wendungen wir kaum einen Zusammenhang erblicken”. Sulzer, “Ode. (*Dichtkunst*)”, in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 2 (1774), 2002, p. 832.

⁴⁸⁵ “Monolog und Ballade sind eben so verschieden, als mein Urtheil deßwegen über sie seyn muß; jedes steht für sich”. “Über die declamatorische und musikalische Abendunterhaltung”, *Thalia*, No. 30, 13 April 1811, p. 119.

“partly lyric and describing poem” and the declamation of that poem as having to strive for “ideal beauty”.⁴⁸⁶ And although a ballad is more obviously narrative than an ode, it still seems that the declamation of a ballad could be influenced by the ode’s enthusiastic lyricism and its unity pushed-to-the-limits. Wötzel seems to count ballads to the lyric side rather than to the narrative,⁴⁸⁷ and, furthermore, in his rapturous description of the effect of declamation, he does not distinguish between genres of poetry. Rather, he here seems to provide a framework valid for all declamation. Also the introductory “Prolog”-poem in Deinhardstein’s *Dichtungen für Kunstredner*, a volume which includes ballads as well as other kinds of poem, employs the discourse of “the programme of Klopstockian poetship” (das Programm Klopstockschen Bardentums) without distinguishing between genres.⁴⁸⁸ Indeed, at least in the *Bildungs-élite*, the practice of declamation *as a whole* “served the needs of a newer culture of emotions and speech which was based on the classicist notion of man as well as on the tone of Klopstock’s odes”.⁴⁸⁹ C.G. Körner, too, speaks about the art of declamation as a whole when he says that “the image of the author in the moment of enthusiasm shall hover before our fantasy through the art of declamation”.⁴⁹⁰

When discussing Bürger’s ballad “Die Entführung” (The Abduction) in the section “Vom handelnden Gedichte” (On the poem of action) in *Handbuch der deutschen Dicht- und Redekunst* (1817), Schaller actually uses a discourse which we recognize from comments on the ode. Our interest in Bürger’s ballad, he says, depends not merely on the impression that the “desires” (Begierden) of the main characters are of a spiritual nature, but also on “the hardships which block the fulfilment of the wishes”. These difficulties create suspense, but also have a favourable effect on the mind of the listeners, for, “along with the strain of the acting persons, our soul too attains a higher *verve* [Schwung], it is *extended* and *elevated*, we suffer with the subdued person and, finally, rejoice with him at his victory” [my emphases].⁴⁹¹ The effect is thus not unlike that of an ode. Schaller also emphasizes the importance of unity in variety. In a ballad with several characters it must be possible

⁴⁸⁶ “zum Theil lyrische[s] und schildernde[s] Gedicht [...] idealisch[e] Schönheit”. “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation”, in *WamZ*, No. 38, 22 September 1813, p. 303.

⁴⁸⁷ Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §71, p. 238.

⁴⁸⁸ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 103.

⁴⁸⁹ “[...] die Deklamation bediente die Bedürfnisse einer am klassizistischen Menschenbild sowie an der Tonlage der Oden Klopstocks geschulten, neueren Empfindungs- und Sprechkultur”. Kohlhäufel, “Die Rede – ein dunkler Gesang?”, 1996, p. 161.

⁴⁹⁰ “Das Bild des Verfassers im Augenblicke der Begeisterung soll unserer Phantasie durch die Kunst der Deklamation vorschweben”. C.G. Körner, “Ideen über Deklamation” (1793), 1964, p. 19.

⁴⁹¹ “die Schwierigkeiten, welche sich der Erfüllung der Wünsche in den Weg stellen”. “mit der Anstrengung der handelnden Personen nimmt auch unsere Seele einen höhern Schwung, wird erweitert und erhöht, wir leiden mit dem Gebeugten und erfreuen uns mit ihm am Ende seines Sieges”. Schaller, *Handbuch*, 1817, vol. 1, pp. 258f. Schaller was aware of the connection of this discourse to the ode, as indicated by his introduction to Klopstock’s “Die Frühlingsfeier”: “Immediately and with high verve, Klopstock, seized by enthusiasm, begins to pour out the most powerful emotions of his possessed soul” (Klopstock, von Begeisterung ergriffen, fängt gleich mit hohem Schwunge an die kräftigsten Gefühle seiner durchdrungenen Seele auszuströmen). *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 159.

for the reader to focus his attention on *one* of the characters, and (as in Körner's theory of character in declamation) this character must appear as always one and the same: "Not only the unity of the story, but also the consistency or bearing of the characters is [...] essentially necessary. This consistency is present when the character always appears as one and the same, irrespective of how differentiated the aspects of that character that are presented to the reader".⁴⁹² Thus, there must be unity in multiplicity in a way that makes the poem varied but also guarantees that it is projected to the audience as a single, cohesive poetical expression.

If Schiller's "Die Bürgschaft" was perceived to be characterized at least partly by the enthusiastic, lyric tone, it can only be expected that Schubert wanted to use a similar musical style. An intimation that this was what he did is found in the anonymous article "Was ist deutsche, was italienische Musik, und welche verdient den Vorzug?" (What is German [music, and] what is Italian music, and which of them merits to be preferred?), published in *Thalia* in 1813, two years after the review in the same journal to which I have repeatedly referred. Here the whole discourse of lyric poetry is carried over to music and is also given a nationalist interpretation. Like Schiller, the article's anonymous author holds that real beauty belongs exclusively neither to the senses nor to reason, but instead comes into existence when these realms of the mind are *both* activated. Such comprehensive activation happens when "those objects, which normally please our senses, unite for a particular purpose and show, as a whole, a particular organization or, with one word, *harmony*".⁴⁹³ The interpretation of unity as being, so to speak, centred around a purpose we recognize from Sulzer. And, like Wötzel and several others whom we have encountered, the author equates "beauty" with "harmony", defining both terms as "unity in multiplicity" (Einheit in der Mannigfaltigkeit). In accordance with the ideology of the ode and similar lyric poetry, and adopting also a concept of "play" (Spiel) reminiscent of Schiller, the author claims that the degree of pleasure to be had from a work of art depends, firstly, on the proportions of multiplicity and unity and, secondly, on the ability of the receiving mind to perceive a subtle unity: "The pleasure [...] derived from a harmonious whole is greater the more complex it is, since the play [Spiel] of reason which consists in discerning the individual relationships thereby becomes more vivid. This, that is to say, presupposes that, through practice, the reason has become sufficiently *gebildet* for the discovery of the harmony".⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹² "Nicht nur die Einheit der Handlung, auch die Konsequenz oder Haltung der Charaktere ist [...] wesentlich nothwendig. Diese Konsequenz ist vorhanden, wenn der Charakter, von so verschiedenen Seiten er auch dem Leser vorgestellt werden mag, doch immer als einer und der nämliche erscheint". *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 277.

⁴⁹³ "Dieß [...] geschieht dann, wenn diejenigen Gegenstände, welche sonst unsern Sinnen gefallen, zu einem bestimmten Zwecke sich vereinigen, und in ihrem Ganzen eine bestimmte Anordnung, oder mit einem Worte *Harmonie* zeigen". "Was ist deutsche, was italienische Musik, und welche verdient den Vorzug?", in *Thalia*, No. 72, 17 June 1813, pp. 285f; No. 73, 19 June 1813 pp. 289f. Quotation from pp. 285f.

⁴⁹⁴ "Das Vergnügen [...] an einem harmonischen Ganzen ist um desto größer, je zusammengesetzter es ist, weil das Spiel des Verstandes, die einzelnen Verhältnisse wahrzunehmen, dabey lebhafter wird;

Turning first to poetry, the author remarks that this is exactly the character of lyric poems, the genre of poetry which he considers to be the highest. Such poetry consists of “a strong and quick variety of ideas, a bold flight of the thoughts, a verve [Schwung] which demands almost lightning speed to be followed. The imagination has barely picked up one image when it is seized by another one. It floats ever higher until finally it disappears in the distance”. Still, a perfect harmony must reign: “And yet the most perfect coherence must reign among all these images; the quieter and the more invisible it is, the more beautiful, the more sublime. Thus there is always a harmony among such many-coloured images [...]. If this harmony fails, a flaw results which is called leap [Sprung]”.⁴⁹⁵ Here, again, a difference is established between surprising but legitimate progressions and progressions which destroy the unity.

Turning then to music, the author presents German music as having particularly much in common with lyric poetry. Here he brings in the concept of “the sublime” (das Erhabene) to account for the flight of a lyric “verve” (Schwung). “Sublime” was a concept which the time normally associated with what is too great for man to grasp. It thus formed the opposite of the concept “beautiful”, which was associated with clarity, unity, and finiteness. (It must be noted, though, that these à-la-mode concepts were sometimes used with little rigour.) All music contains “quality” (Qualität) and “quantity” (Quantität), the author of the article says, simply assigning the aspect of quality to the parameter of melody and quantity to harmony. Music with much quality and little quantity is pleasing and easy to understand, whereas music with more quantity is sublime: “the flight in music is nothing else than a quick variety of harmony: the more complex that variety, or the quieter its coherence, the more sublime it is”. In such music by “Mozart, Haydn and their followers”, the “truly beautiful and sublime” (das wahre Schöne und Erhabene) is to be found.⁴⁹⁶ This conception of “lyric” music shows the two notions of “German” art which we have encountered earlier in this chapter as not necessarily being in conflict: Justus Möser’s request that German art should take a “path to multiplicity” (see page 103) and the claim in “Zeichen der Zeit” (*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht*

vorausgesetzt, nämlich, daß der Verstand durch Uebung weit genug gebildet ist, um die Harmonie zu entdecken”. *ibid.*, p. 286.

⁴⁹⁵ “[...]eine starke und schnelle Abwechslung der Ideen, ein kühner Flug der Gedanken, ein Schwung, zu dessen Verfolgung gleichsam Blitzschnelle gehört. Kaum hat die Phantasie ein Bild erhascht, so ergreift sie schon ein anderes. Immer höher schwebt sie, bis sie zuletzt in der Entfernung verschwindet. Und doch muß unter allen diesen Bildern der vollkommenste Zusammenhang herrschen; je leiser, je unsichtbarer, desto schöner, desto erhabener. Es ist also unter so vielfarbigen Bildern immer eine Harmonie [...]; fehlt diese, so entsteht ein Fehler, den man Sprung nennt”. *ibid.*, p. 289.

⁴⁹⁶ “der Flug in der Musik ist nichts anders als eine schnelle Abwechslung der Harmonie: je zusammengesetzter das Verhältnis derselben, oder je leiser ihr Zusammenhang unter einander ist, desto erhabener sind sie”. *ibid.*, p. 290. Also in the anonymous article “Vermischte Bemerkungen über Musik” (Assorted Remarks on Music), in *WamZ*, No. 43, 27 October 1813, pp. 343-347, lyric music is described as having a high degree of multiplicity: “The *lyric* composition [...] allows us to gather the meaning of the whole from the sequence, the variations and contrasts of the multiplicity” (Die *lyrische* Composition [...] läßt uns aus der Folge, den Abstufungen und Kontrasten des Mannigfaltigen die Bedeutung des Ganzen abnehmen). p. 345.

auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat 1819) that it should be characterized by "inner beauty, organic construction" and by a "connection [...] with that which is the highest in man" (see page 79). In truly German art, the sublime and the beautiful were supposed to find their ideal balance.

This sense of "lyric" music contrasts with the sense which I mentioned earlier in this chapter and which, not least through Goethe's agency, is often found in modern discussions about Lied aesthetics. Goethe famously preferred strophic musical setting to through-composition with the motivation that the latter does away with "the general lyric character" in favour of "a mistaken participation in the individual part".⁴⁹⁷ The concept of lyric music which we have here encountered is also in contrast to the aesthetic of simplicity and clarity which Gramit (1987), too hastily perhaps, claims for Schubert's circle.

The many modulations in *Die Bürgschaft* may have been heard as an attempt to bring about lyric music related to the ode. If Schubert wanted to write music in the lyric style, it further indicates that he was an ambitious young composer who wrote for a sophisticated audience. For the author of "Was ist deutsche, was italienische Musik" observes that the ability to appreciate such art depends on age, degree of *Bildung*, and nationality. "He who does not have the skill to understand a compound harmony at once", he writes, "will yawn where someone else receives the greatest pleasure".⁴⁹⁸ And there is no question as to the author's priorities, for he contrasts the "lower kinds of poetry" (die niedern Dichtungsarten) to the "highest of all kinds of poetry, the lyric one" ([die] höchst[e] aller Dichtungsarten, d[ie] lyrisch[e]), as well as a youthful mind to a mature mind. And a "mean ear" (gemeines Ohr), which is not "flexible" (beweglich) enough, and a listener who "does not understand" (nicht begreift) to a listener with "a keen eye" (Scharfblick) and "a quite excellent *Bildung*" (eine ganz vorzügliche Bildung).⁴⁹⁹ The stylistic difference is also given a national interpretation which, in the context of Schubert's circle and other parts of the German *Bildung*-élite, could not have been more value-laden: Italians, it is said, are quite out of sympathy with "an audacious flight of thoughts, a certain verve" (ein kühner Flug der Gedanken, ein gewisser Schwung), that is with just those qualities which the author regards as the essential ingredients of German music.⁵⁰⁰ Indeed, according to this article, the task of the greatest German artists is to fly freely and to disregard remarks and complaints from lesser minds. As we have seen, the noun *Schwung* (verve) was habitually used in connection with lyric poetry and music. Here the author seems to use it as a pun – *Schwung* is related to *Schwinge*, meaning

⁴⁹⁷ "der allgemein lyrische Character [...] eine falsche Theilnahme am Einzelnen". Goethe, in the "Tag- und Jahreshften" of 1801. Quoted from Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 69.

⁴⁹⁸ "[...] wer nicht geübt genug ist, um eine zusammengesetzte Harmonie sogleich zu erkennen, der wird da gähnen, wo ein anderer das größte Vergnügen empfindet". "Was ist deutsche, was italienische Musik, und welche verdient den Vorzug?" (1813), p. 286.

⁴⁹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 289f.

⁵⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 289.

wing of a big bird – in order to construct an image of the relationship between great artists and recipients with a lack of understanding for high art:

Our foremost artists may therefore continue to fly their flight without letting themselves be deceived by such arguments. To be sure, the spectators below, who follow their *Schwung* through the telescope, will not always be able to grasp the coherence and the harmony of their course. [...] The moon also does not ask the astronomers if it runs correctly according to their calculations. On the contrary, it goes its path, thereby making them very busy.⁵⁰¹

This is a shrewd and provocative article, and yet it does not answer all the questions it raises. As I remarked earlier, whereas it is comparatively easy to describe contrasts between parts of a work of art, it is more difficult to account for its underlying coherence. The author says that the ear has to be able to perceive coherence in spite of “audacious digressions” (verwegenen Ausweichungen) and a quick sequence of chords, but he does not tell his readers how they are to distinguish between progressions that are coherent and such that are not.⁵⁰²

Without denying the possibility that harmonic progressions in sectional songs could be heard according to conventions of harmony in absolute music (a question to which I will turn in Chapter 5), in the following I will return to my point of departure, that is to regard a musical setting of a poem as a form of declamation. When considered in this way, the adequacy of a series of modulations cannot be judged primarily according to absolute-musical rules. Instead, such judgements have to consider the relationship between the emotional states which the modulations, along with other musical parameters, bring into contact.

How, then, could Schiller’s sparkling and varied “Die Bürgschaft” come together as a whole, as declamation and as musical setting? Was it possible to provide every part of the poem with music that is locally adequate, as Schubert seems to do, and still create unity in such a multiplicity? In 1801, Siebigke expressed his doubts about the possibility for a composer to achieve “a unity of feeling” (eine Einheit der Empfindung) when using the sectional technique, as Zumsteeg did in his *Lenore*:

What a multitude of the most diverse feelings must he then assemble [and] what keys of the most contradictory kinds must he seek to connect in order now to

⁵⁰¹ “Unsre ersten Künstler mögen daher, ohne sich durch dergleichen Raisonements irre machen zu lassen, nur fortfahren ihren Flug zu fliegen. Die unten stehenden Zuschauer, die ihren Schwung mit dem Fernrohre verfolgen, werden freylich nicht immer den Zusammenhang und die Harmonie ihres Wegs begreifen. [...] Der Mond fragt die Astronomen auch nicht, ob er so recht laufe, wie sie es ausgerechnet haben: im Gegenteile, er geht seinen Gang fort, und gibt ihnen gerade recht viel zu schaffen”. *ibid.*, p. 290.

⁵⁰² *ibid.*, p. 290.

sound a merry country dance, now a solemn church song, all according to the presence in the text of delights, or of a skeleton and ghost choirs!⁵⁰³

But, returning to Wötzel, it seems that his instructions for “Die Bürgschaft” were based on a theory according to which contrasts were not inimical to unity. The determining factors for the emergence of unity were instead what was brought out and what was not, and the hierarchical relationship between different parts of the poem. I now turn to this theory and its close relationship to theories of visual art.

Foreground and background in painting and poetry

Wötzel’s introduction to “Die Bürgschaft” in his *Declamirschule* starts with a summary of the poem’s subject. Here, Wötzel mentions nothing but the extraordinary friendship between Möros and his friend and the positive effect it has on the “depraved” (lasterhafte) Dionys. Other characters, such as Dionys’ guards and Möros’ sister, are not brought up. In his first instruction, Wötzel writes that this subject makes it necessary for the declaimer to express “the amiable, strong force” of the friends’ “virtuous friendship”,⁵⁰⁴ an instruction which agrees with my assumption that ideal loyalty is the particular virtue which is to be presented as the foundation of their friendship. The expression of this force, Wötzel says, requires “a serious, dignified bearing [*Haltung*]” at which “the vivid colouring [*Colorit*] of the representation” and “the true, precise drawing [*Zeichnung*] of the three set-up characters” can easily be carried out and perceived.⁵⁰⁵ Thus, the overall aim of the declamation of this poem – the expression of the force of the friends’ friendship – leads to a *Haltung* which includes *Colorit* and *Zeichnung* and which then, one must assume, permeates Wötzel’s instructions concerning the individual parts of the poem.

In spite of the distrust with which painting is treated in many texts which use the discourse of *gebildete* declamation, Wötzel here uses terms imported precisely from the art of painting. These are terms which designate relationships between a painting’s parts and whole. The word *Haltung*, which I preliminarily translated with ‘bearing’, may today make us think of bodily posture, but, although it could probably have that meaning in Schubert’s time too, in the context of art theory the word basically seems to have stood for something else. In painting, *Haltung* referred to the circumstances on the canvas which make some objects seem closer to the viewer than others. But already in Sulzer’s *Allgemeine Theorie* it is said that *Haltung* is necessary in all forms of art, and that also a poet and a speaker must make sure that objects that are

⁵⁰³ “Welch eine Menge der entgegengesetztesten Gefühle muß er da zusammenstellen, wie muß er da die widerstreitendsten Tonarten mit einander zu verbinden suchen, um jetzt einen muntern Contretanz, dann einen feyerlichen Kirchengesang hören zu lassen, je nachdem im Texte Saus und Schmaus, oder Todtengerippe und Geisterchöre vorkommen!” Siebigke, *Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg*, 1801, p. 16.

⁵⁰⁴ “die lebenswürdige, starke Gewalt dieser tugendhaften Freundschaft”. Wötzel, *Declamirschule*, 1816, p. 57.

⁵⁰⁵ “Daher erfordert dieses Gedicht eine ernste, würdevolle Haltung, wobei das lebhafteste Colorit der Darstellung und die wahre, bestimmte Zeichnung der drei aufgestellten Charaktere, wodurch das Interesse dieser Erzählung ungemein erhöht wird, gut aufzufassen und durchzuführen ist”. *ibid.*, pp. 57f.

to appear to be close are “carefully drawn” (genau ausgezeichnet) – compare Wötzel’s “the true, precise drawing” – and “treated fully as to the colouring” (im Colorit ausführlich bearbeitet) – compare Wötzel’s “the vivid colouring”. Objects which are to seem further removed, on the other hand, are to be “only shown in broad outline and only faintly depicted” (nur im Ganzen angezeigt und nur schwach ausgemahlt).⁵⁰⁶ A poem or a speech which is read in a single tone, or in which all ideas are presented with the same emphasis, becomes as flat as a painting without perspective. To Sulzer, an object’s appropriate degree of closeness depends on what importance it has for the fulfilling of the purpose of the whole. The less important parts are to provide the representation with its background colour whereas the more important ones are to be worked out in more detail in order to attract attention. Sulzer explains what he means by closeness and distance in a poem by taking the works of Homer as an example. In Homer, he says, it is as if the main characters were standing right in front of us so that we can hear them speak in their own tone and see all the details of their faces and armours. The minor characters, on the other hand, seem to be so far removed that we cannot distinguish any details.

By using the concept *Haltung*, Wötzel thus refers to a structural type in which multiplicity is arranged into a lucid pattern by the coming forward of some objects and the withdrawing of others. Also Christian Gottfried Körner employs this concept to account for the construction of an appropriate whole in declamation: “The beauty of the whole is brought about by organization – *Haltung* – contrasts”.⁵⁰⁷ Körner distinguishes not merely between individual objects of more and less significance, but also between “groups” (Gruppen) of objects with such a difference. This is an aspect which Wötzel does not mention in his brief introduction to “Die Bürgerschaft”. A long poem, Körner says, can be perceived as a unity only if its many constituent parts are organized in such a way that they form a number of groups, each of which can be perceived as a unity. Also Sulzer’s article “*Haltung*” refers to “Gruppe” (Group) as a related concept. The article “Gruppe”, in turn, prescribes that, in a work of art, a multiplicity must be organized in a hierarchic structure so that it can be perceived as one instead of as isolated unities. If you want to write a story with many “individual occurrences” (einzeln Vorfällen), Sulzer says, you have to group the material in such a way that listeners are not perplexed.⁵⁰⁸ In so doing, the most important parts must form the centres of the main groups, to which, in turn, subsidiary groups may be connected. The whole becomes what it should only when every part is located at the level in the hierarchy to which it is entitled by its degree of importance. The author of a story in which many things happen must “briefly relate the main parts, which together constitute the whole, as if at once one grasped the

⁵⁰⁶ Sulzer, “*Haltung*”, in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 508.

⁵⁰⁷ “Die Schönheit des Ganzen wird bewirkt, durch Anordnung – *Haltung* – Kontraste”. C.G. Körner, “Ideen über Deklamation” (1793), 1964, p. 22.

⁵⁰⁸ Note that the story is written for listeners, not for silent readers. The written story thus requires some kind of performance.

event as a whole. Thereafter he must develop every single main group in particular”.⁵⁰⁹ Schiller does something of the kind in “Die Bürgschaft”, one could argue, since he presents the main characters and the plot in the first five strophes and thereafter elaborates what he has presented by introducing subsidiary characters and incidents. Thanks to its grouping, Sulzer says, a work of art acquires the “simplicity” (Einfalt) which it needs “in order to have its effect at once”.⁵¹⁰ And, as we know from discussions of lyric poetry and lyric music, it was as a unity in multiplicity that a work should be perceived by a recipient.

Sulzer regards unity as being allied with the ideal, for whether or not an object is characterized by unity basically depends on whether or not the object has an essence, that is whether or not it is possible to say what the object “should be” (was sie seyn soll).⁵¹¹ When an object is formed in accordance with its ideal it is both perfect and beautiful; it is characterized by “multiplicity tied together in unity”.⁵¹² In the arts, the conception of an object’s ultimate essence is often veiled, Sulzer says. States of mind are examples of such objects, but that does not keep us from perceiving beauty in “a song, an ode, or an elegy which is to express this state of mind”.⁵¹³ This means that the poetical expression of “the amiable, strong force” of the friends’ “virtuous friendship” (which is what Wötzel assigns as the essence decisive for the declamation of “Die Bürgschaft”) can be done in an ideal way. By containing and uniting all parts necessary for the representation of that essence, the poem can become just what it needs to be in order to fulfil this task.

In this aesthetic theory, beauty in the form of unity in multiplicity is necessary if a work of art or other object is to have its designated effect. Wötzel seems to find this highly relevant for declamation, for, he writes, in the declaimer’s “characterizing” delivery (as opposed to the actor’s “personification”), “the effect of the piece as a whole is exhibited, and its expression – in multiple shapes – is spread over the individual parts of the whole in such a harmonious way that the total effect (the total affect or expression) emerges”.⁵¹⁴

Thus, when Wötzel assigns *Haltung* for “Die Bürgschaft”, he probably means that most weight should be put on a few components which together may be perceived as a unity and which, then, realize the poem’s task of expressing the force of Möros’ and his friend’s friendship. Everything else should then withdraw and form a background, so that “the vivid colouring [*Colorit*] of the representation” and “the true,

⁵⁰⁹ “Er muß kurz die Hauptparthien, die zusammen genommen das Ganze ausmachen, vorstellen, als wenn man auf einmal die Begebenheit im Ganzen übersähe, und hernach muß er jede Hauptgruppe nach und nach besonders entwickeln”. Sulzer, “Gruppe”, in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 502.

⁵¹⁰ “um auf einmal zu wirken”. *ibid.*, p. 501.

⁵¹¹ Sulzer, “Einheit”, in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 302.

⁵¹² “Mannigfaltigkeit in Einheit verbunden”. *ibid.*, p. 302.

⁵¹³ “einen Gesang, eine Ode, oder eine Elegie, welche diese Gemüthslage ausdrücken soll”. *ibid.*, p. 303.

⁵¹⁴ “Bei dem *charakterisirenden* Vortrage des Vorlesers und Redners hingegen wird die Wirkung des ganzen Stücks dargelegt und dessen Ausdruck in mannichfaltigen Formen über die einzelnen Theile des Ganzen so harmonisch verbreitet, daß hieraus die Gesamtwirkung (der Totalaffect oder Ausdruck) hervorgeht”. Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, p. 245.

precise drawing of the three set-up characters” becomes easy for the declaimer to accomplish and for the listeners to perceive, as he writes in his introduction. The fact that Wötzel points out that the *Haltung* must be of a serious and noble kind in a declamation of “Die Bürgschaft” indicates that he realized that it was possible instead to accentuate other parts of the poem and that, in such a case, the poem was at risk of receiving an inappropriate or even improper character. When dealing with a poem which advocates loyalty, friendship, and freedom from tyranny it would be wrong, he is likely to have argued, to accentuate components which have the potential to counteract that content.

Foreground and background in musical settings of poems

As will be remembered from Chapter 2, the concept *Haltung*, or at least the phenomenon, formed part of a discourse within which songs by Schubert were discussed. One instance is the article from 1822 in which Friedrich August Kanne lauds Schubert’s ability to “bring forth the poet’s images in the mind of the receptive listener so that they can be the subject of deeply moving contemplation”. (See page 51.) His example is *Gretchen am Spinnrade*, where Schubert’s “picturesque imitation” of the movement of the spinning wheel works as a “most characteristic background in Rembrandtesque chiaroscuro” against which Gretchen’s soul appears, a soul which loses itself now in “gloomy images of the present time and of the future”, now in “melancholically sweet memories of the past”.⁵¹⁵ In Sulzer’s terminology, Kanne here identifies a hierarchic *Gruppe*-structure, a structure in which the gloomy images and the melancholically sweet memories constitute two main groups which together form Gretchen’s soul. He also identifies an example of *Haltung*, since the soul appears against a background. Also Friedrich von Hentl, in 1822, wrote that the tone which the accompaniment gives to *Erlkönig* is “the foundation upon which the tonepainting is executed”. On this foundation the melody draws with “deeply penetrating truth” the inner aspects of the plot, namely the emotions of the father, the son, and the Erlking.⁵¹⁶ (See page 52.)

⁵¹⁵ “[...] Gretchens Liede am Spinnrade von *Goethe*, wo die mahlerische Nachbildung des Geräusches eines Spinnrads, der, aus der innersten Tiefe eines weiblichen, bald in düstere Bilder der Gegenwart und Zukunft, bald in wehmüthig süsse Erinnerungen der Vergangenheit versunkenen Gemüthes genommenen Schilderung, zum höchst charakteristischen in Rembrandischen Helldunkel gehaltenen Hintergrunde, dient”. Friedrich August Kanne (?), “Neue Gesangmusik mit Fortepiano-Begleitung”, in *AmZöK*, 19 January 1822. Quoted in Waidelich, *Dokumente 1817-1830*, 1993, §142. More reviews in which Schubert songs are described with metaphors of painting are quoted in Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 64, footnote 217.

⁵¹⁶ Also Goethe referred to Schubert’s setting of his ballad “Erlkönig” as a unified picture. In addition, he emphasized the role of the performers for the result. In 1830, after having heard Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient sing *Erlkönig*, he kissed her brow and said: “I have heard this composition once before, but then it did not appeal to me at all. However, when performed like this the whole takes the form of a visible image”. (Ich habe diese Komposition früher einmal gehört, wo sie mir gar nicht zusagen wollte; aber so vorgetragen, gestaltet sich das Ganze zu einem sichtbaren Bild.) Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, p. 582. Also see Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 73, footnote 247.

An indication that also songs of a more sectional kind than *Gretchen am Spinnrade* and *Erlkönig* could be conceived of in such terms is found in another article which I briefly discussed in Chapter 2, “Deutsche Lieder mit Musik” (German Lieder with Music), written by ”B. v. M.” and published in *Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung* in 1818. (See pages 52ff.) As I pointed out, this article claims that the (sectional) *Die Rückkehr aus Westphalen* (The Return from Westphalia), with words by Friedrich August Kanne and music by Adalbert Gyrowetz, is a good example of ”exactly how one should write [poetry] and sing”. The poetical I of the poem is a soldier on his way back to Vienna from the liberation of Westphalia, Napoleon’s satellite state which was overthrown in 1813. Here, patriotism is combined with impatient longing for the family back home, with interpretation of natural phenomena as harbingers to or from this family, and, finally, with the triumphant home-coming. Gyrowetz’s through-composed setting fills six pages.⁵¹⁷ In likeness to Schubert’s *Die Bürgschaft*, it consists of sections which differ in melody, accompaniment, tempo, key and nuance. It also contains tone painting. Still, the author of “Deutsche Lieder mit Musik” lauds Kanne for his ability to write the poem in a way that makes it possible for the composer to maintain the necessary unity. As we saw in Chapter 2, Kanne’s poetry is said to be

full of cordial effusion, fiery fantasy, and *Haltung*. This is another advantage for the composer, who is not being forced to break the boundaries of the character or to cut a song into two pieces in order suddenly to pass from seriousness to something like naivety, a procedure which we have often witnessed.

Unless the aim of the article “Deutsche Lieder mit Musik” is to imply that the composer Gyrowetz manages to fluff away the excellent preconditions which Kanne’s poems offer, an aim which the tone of the article does not suggest although very little is said about the music, it must be assumed that ”B. v. M.” thought that it was possible for a song constructed like *Die Rückkehr aus Westphalen* to have a unified character.

Kanne’s poem can be said to be characterized by *Haltung* in the form of a hierarchic relationship between the soldier’s fundamental eagerness and longing on the one hand and his fantasies and reflections on the other. For the latter stand out without for that matter contradicting the fundamental or background mood. Thus, the soldier’s ”cordial effusion” and ”fiery fantasy” are contained within a unified character. This interpretation is in accordance with Schaller’s notion of the ode. The poet of an ode, Schaller says, is so powerfully seized by the impression of the images shaped by his “creative imagination” (schöpferische Einbildungskraft) that his soul leaps “from the greatest to the smallest” (vom Größten zum Kleinsten). But Schaller also remarks that the poet is not allowed to make any other emotional leaps than those which the high level of feeling occasions. What governs the contrasts, which take place

⁵¹⁷ A copy of the work is kept at the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, catalogue number VI 12346; Q5819.

on a foreground level, is the “main emotion” (Hauptempfindung).⁵¹⁸ Thus, in the ode there is fiery fantasy, but also a fundamental order.

Gyrowetz’s piano accompaniment in *Die Rückkehr aus Westphalen* begins and ends with triplets illustrating the gallop of the soldier’s horse while at the same time creating a mood. Here is an apparent similarity to the “foundation upon which the tonepainting is executed” which von Hentl found in Schubert’s *Erkönig*.⁵¹⁹ But there is also a difference. For whereas in *Erkönig* the triplets gallop from beginning to end, in *Die Rückkehr aus Westphalen* other music comes in between. Still, it seems, it was possible for “B. v. M.” to regard the song as being characterized by *Haltung* and as constituting a unified character.

Judging from Sulzer’s, Körner’s, Wötzel’s, and Kanne’s comments, as well as from those of “B. v. M.”, there is reason to assume that if *Die Bürgschaft* was perceived to be incoherent, the criticism did not stem from a theory of absolute-musical unity of the kind current in twentieth-century musicology. Rather, the perception of incoherence would be based on concepts like *Haltung* and *Gruppe*, and from a line of argument about the essence of the whole of a performance of a poem and about the relationships of the parts to that essence. If Schubert’s music contributes to the poem’s *Haltung* by painting with varying degrees of detail and brightness of colour in order to bring out some parts of the poem and let others serve as background, and if this procedure creates a hierarchic structure which is motivated by the poem’s “essence”, then the result is another kind of unity than the motivic or harmonic web which a later time has often demanded from song settings.

Haltung and Gruppe in Die Bürgschaft

Are the right things brought out in Schubert’s *Die Bürgschaft*? And do the parts of the song come together in such a way that they express “the amiable, strong force” of the friends’ “virtuous friendship”? In later times *Gretchen am Spinnrade* and *Erkönig* have often been presented as epoch-making in their creation of balance between colourful

⁵¹⁸ Schaller, *Handbuch*, 1817, vol. 2, pp. 168f. Maybe it is the lack of such a governing main emotion, and not the presence of just any emotional contrast, that Schubert criticizes in a seemingly bewildering diary entry from 16 June 1816. In this entry, Schubert complains about an “oddity [...] which reigns in the music of most composers nowadays”, an “oddity which unites the tragic with the comic, the agreeable with the forbidding, the heroic with blubbery, the most holy with the harlequin” ([eine] Bizarrerie [...], welche bey den meisten Tonsetzern jetzt zu herrschen pflegt, [...] [diese] Bizarrerie, welche das Tragische mit dem Komischen, das Angenehme mit dem Widrigen, das Heroische mit Heulerey, das Heiligste mit dem Harlequin vereint). Quoted from Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, p. 45. When considering the sectional songs that Schubert wrote around 1816, it is tempting to agree with Harry Goldschmidt (1964) and Dittrich (1997) that Schubert’s comment is an “unbelievable derailment and artificial self-denial” (unfaßliche Entgleisung und künstliche Selbstverleugnung). Quoted from Dittrich, “Für Menschenohren”, 1997, p. 153. But if Schubert adhered to a notion of unity and contrast like that advocated by Schaller, according to which emotional contrasts are legitimate as long as they can be integrated in the sphere of a single “main emotion”, his comment was not necessarily as antithetical to his own compositional practice as Goldschmidt and Dittrich suggest.

⁵¹⁹ Friedrich von Hentl, “Blick auf Schubert’s Lieder”, 1822. Quoted from Waidelich, *Dokumente 1817-1830*, 1993, §146.

representation and musical unity. Also in Schubert's time his more sectional songs were sometimes regarded as failures. As we saw in Chapter 2, von Hentl criticized *Antigone und Oedip* (composed in March 1817) for inadequately sacrificing a "higher poetic unity" in favour of "too affected a musical painting of the details".

In *Die Bürgschaft* there is no all-pervading accompanimental figure, as in *Gretchen am Spinnrade* and *Erlkönig*, and not even one which sets the mood at the beginning and then returns at the end, as in *Die Rückkehr aus Westphalen*. Still, it may be possible to perceive both a background and a foreground in the song. In strophe 1, Schiller does away with most of the events which put the plot in motion, events which in themselves could easily have enticed a more extended treatment: Möros' attempt to murder Dionys, the seizing of Möros and the summary death sentence. Schubert is efficient too when he puts the strophe as a quick recitative of 27 bars. The piano part intimates what happens, but only very briefly and there is no detailed musical painting.

In the poem's second strophe, light falls on Möros, who speaks all way through. He declares that he does not ask for mercy but begs for a respite of three days so that he can marry off his sister, and he promises to leave his friend as security. Here the portrait of Möros' soul begins. As we have seen, Schubert makes the strophe an arioso of 28 bars with a simple melody and a continuous, somewhat (but not very) anxious accompanimental figure. The harmony proceeds from D minor to a clear C major, and at the end the accompanimental figure is exchanged for calm crotchet chords. After this verbal and musical close-up, in which it is possible to observe different nuances of emotion within a coherent character, the more sketch-like images in the preceding part of the song can be perceived as background. Such *Haltung* is reasonable when the purpose of the poem is to express the power of friendship, and not that of violence.

This potential distinction between background and foreground is found also later on in the song. Schubert often uses arioso for longer lines of speech that reveal the emotional states of the main characters and recitative for short comments and for the narrator's delineation of outer events. A substantial exception is the passage of about 200 bars in which Möros is exposed to different obstacles on his way back to Syracuse. Here, outer events are described by painterly and strongly emotional music, resulting in a kind of programme music with song which can hardly be perceived merely as a background. But since these obstacles play such an important role for our appreciation of the exceptional strength of Möros' friendship, it can still be argued that these external circumstances have to be stressed in order for the portrait of Möros' soul to become what it should. Indeed, as Schaller said, the difficulties that characters in a ballad encounter when pursuing their spiritual aims make the poem's moral impact on the listeners more profound. In the case of *Die Bürgschaft*, this presupposes, of course, that the verbal and musical rendering of Möros' troubles do not become adventures in their own right, but that they are always kept in relation to his wish loyally to free his friend. If this link is maintained – a task which must be assigned also

to the attention of the listeners – the portrait of Möros’ soul becomes the most substantive topic in the song. Also Möros’ friend and Dionys are shown in fairly detailed verbal and musical close-ups, though. With Möros at the centre, together the three men may be said to constitute the song’s main group, to which everything else is subordinate. Such a structure could probably be regarded as being well suited for the task of expressing the power of friendship. And thus, Schubert’s circle need not have perceived a dissonance between the poem’s moral content and the form of its musical setting.

Freedom from distracting details and freedom from a captivating whole

But maybe it is not quite as simple. To conclude this chapter, I would like to bring up for discussion a part of the song which may be found to be particularly difficult to subsume into this unified, hierarchic structure.

Schiller mentions the marriage between Möros’ sister and her groom only in passing. Actually, he never refers to it in the present tense, for while in strophes 2 and 4 it is referred to as something which Möros wants to happen in the near future, when mentioned the next time, at the middle of strophe 5, it has already taken place. Schubert composes all text in strophe 5 as a recitative, but, importantly, between the strophe’s lines three and four he inserts a passage for solo piano spanning ten bars and a crotchet (bars 112-122). In her book about Schubert’s “dramatic Lieder”, Marjorie Wing Hirsch (1993) interprets this passage as marking the time that passes between Möros’ meeting with his friend and the sister’s wedding.⁵²⁰ But the passage is more than an intermission, for its musical style explicitly associates it with the sister. A pause and an unexpected progression from the dominant of D major (bar 111) to the tonic of B♭ major (bar 112) separate it from the preceding meeting of the friends (lines 1-3 of strophe 5) and link it instead to the ensuing B♭-major recitative where the wedding is referred to as being already settled (lines 4-5, bars 122-125). The ten inserted bars make up a small, unified section which, according to the musical conventions of Schubert’s time, can be described as feminine.⁵²¹ The music is set in a fairly high register and is to be played with a character that Schubert marks “lieblich” (meaning

⁵²⁰ Hirsch, *Schubert’s Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, p. 89.

⁵²¹ The character of the “feminine genre in music” (weibliche Gattung der Musik) is described in the anonymous article “Vermischte Bemerkungen über Musik” (Assorted Remarks on Music), in *WamZ*, No. 43, 27 October 1813, pp. 343-347. Bars 112-122 in *Die Bürgschaft* fit very well with this description: “A soft, moderate movement, a mild tone, a pleasing, easily flowing melody, a natural succession of chords, transitions and digressions which present themselves without bold changes, and a calm regularity of modulation are distinctive features of this genre. Pieces which are more or less animated by the female character are normally designated by the terms Andante, Andantino, Allegretto grazioso, Innocentemente[,] Adagio, Largo, Larghetto, Siciliano”. (Sanfte, gemäßigte Bewegung, milder Ton, gefällige, leicht fließende Melodie, ungesuchte Folge der Akkorde, Uebergänge und Ausweichungen, welche sich ohne kühne Wendungen darbieten, und eine ruhige Gleichmäßigkeit der Modulation, sind Kennzeichen dieser Gattung. Gewöhnlich sind die Stücke, welche der weibliche Charakter mehr oder weniger beseelt, durch Andante, Andantino, Allegretto grazioso, Innocentemente[,] Adagio, Largo, Larghetto, Siciliano, bezeichnet.) pp. 346f.

“tenderly”, “gracefully”, “lovably”). Basically the melody is rather simple, but it is adorned with comparatively many ornaments. The impression that the passage constitutes a self-contained unit is reinforced by its internal tonal stability. This predominantly gentle and light music contains two bars which hint at somewhat darker feelings (bars 116-117), but since the fundamental mood is reinstated with soft emphasis through the doubling of the final cadence (bars 118-121), the inclusion of the darker bars merely underlines the roundedness of this little piano piece. Schubert thus gives an emphasis to the sister, or at least to “feminine” emotions, which has no counterpart in Schiller’s poem.

Do these ten bars fit into the song as a whole, when the purpose of that whole is the expression of ideal loyalty as a basis for the power of friendship between Möros and his friend? They do, one could claim, if the section is interpreted as an intimation of Möros’ first trial, a trial which would consist in the temptation to stay with his family instead of returning to Syracuse to free his friend. But that interpretation would be more convincing if the section had ended with some suggestion that Möros has to struggle to get away. Instead one may claim that the music merely indicates that the first part of Möros’ task – to marry off his sister – is now completed. But is it not enough to say so in the recitative, thus maintaining the brevity with which it is mentioned in the poem? Schubert did not think so, apparently, and so he brings out an event which Schiller seems to have thought of as unimportant. Wötzel appears to have agreed with Schiller, for, as I said, in his summary of the poem he does not even mention the sister. Regarding Schiller’s poem the way Wötzel does, it seems an inappropriate *Haltung* to expose a musically closed little piano piece with a “feminine” character just because the poem happens to mention a marriage. Bars 112-122 may thus have appeared not only as irrelevant but also as a threat to the unity and thus to the essence of the song.

As noted, in the article “Einheit” in Sulzer’s *Allgemeine Theorie*, the inclusion in a work of art of a component which cannot form a part of the unity which that work’s aimed-at essence demands is severely dissuaded: “every single part of a work [of art] which does not fit into the concept of the whole, which has no connection to the other parts, and which therefore is opposed to unity, is an imperfection and a drawback which also causes displeasure. Thus, in a narrative, a circumstance which does not contribute to the spirit of the matter and to what is essential is an offence against the unity, as is a person in a play who does not at all fit in with the others”.⁵²²

⁵²² “[...] jeder einzele Theil eines Werks, der in den Begriff des Ganzen nicht hineinpaßt, der keine Verbindung mit den andern hat, und also der Einheit entgegen steht, [ist] eine Unvollkommenheit und ein Uebelstand [...], der auch Mißfallen erweket. So macht in einer Erzählung ein Umstand, der zu dem Geist der Sache, zu dem Wesentlichen nichts beyträgt; im Drama eine Person, die mit den übrigen gar nicht zusammenpaßt, einen Fehler gegen die Einheit”. Sulzer, “Einheit”, in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 303.

In one of Schubert's longest songs, his sectional *Der Taucher* (D.77, composed in 1813-14), Schubert actually changed a similar passage in what seems an attempt to concentrate on the main characters. Towards the end of the first version of the song, when the king cruelly urges his young squire to dive into a cleft a second time promising him his daughter as a bride, Schubert comes up with music in *piano*-nuance with soft appoggiaturas and melismas serving as a representation of the princess, a minor character in the poem as a whole. In the second version, however, Schubert instead lets the king speak of his daughter in a tone which suits the king's own unscrupulous intentions.⁵²³ In *Die Bürgerschaft*, on the other hand, he did not remove the "female" music. Thus it could remain an anomaly in the poetic whole.

To be sure, when a declamation or musical setting of a poem was conceived of as "enthusiastic" (*begeistert*), to decide whether a certain passage fitted into the work of art as a whole – or whether it was an example of an *ungebildet* wish for local effect with no concern for unity – must often have meant to engage in hairsplitting. For the decisive factor seems to have been less one of style than one dependent on logical connections (sometimes subtle ones) between different emotions and poetic topics. In another song – say one whose topic is a man's concern for his family – the ten bars discussed here could have been most justified. But in *Die Bürgerschaft* they are not, at least as long as the poem is read as Wötzel did and as I have assumed that also Schubert's circle did.

Schubert's friends may have regarded the ten bars as a charming although ultimately unfortunate *faux pas*, and as a sign that Schubert still lacked in *Bildung* and inner freedom. For just as friendship was to free man from the accidental forces of nature and from overpowering sensual impressions and passions, the hierarchic unity of the aesthetic experience was to keep worldly details and potentially distracting non-essentials in check, making sure that everything in the work of art was subordinated to a single governing, morally edifying expression. In the terminology of the article "Was ist deutsche, was italienische Musik, und welche verdient den Vorzug?" (1813; see pages 143f), the ten bars could be referred to as an unauthorized "leap" (*Sprung*) which cannot be subsumed under the main emotion. Perhaps Schubert's highlighting of a relatively "unimportant" component of the story even had the potential to put the song on the track towards a *Hanswurstiade* (to speak with Siebigke), thus signifying a lower social and intellectual standing than the one to which the circle aspired.

Hence the circle may have felt that they had reason to reproach Schubert for being too flighty in this part of the song, a criticism similar to that which we know that they levelled against Schober. As we have seen, in his poem "An Schober ins Stammbuch" (To Schober into the Poetry Album), Ottenwalt presented Schober as an initiate in the world of the beautiful, the true, and the good. (See page 63.) In a letter to Schober written on 26 September 1812, however, Ottenwalt professes not only feelings of intimate friendship, but also expresses worries regarding the younger

⁵²³ Dittrich, "Für Menschenohren", 1997, p. 179.

friend's character: "how often I was sorry for you when I heard that your heart is good but that an unfortunate flightiness tears you from one thing to another [...] That the new fascinates you so much [...] Truly, my dear, I was very sorry for you".⁵²⁴ Four years later, in a letter to Josef von Spaun, Ottenwalt describes Schober's lack of inner discipline as a disease which threatens the favourable development of this highly gifted youth. Schober had fallen in love with Josef's and Anton's sister Marie, but the relation had been thwarted by the von Spaun family. But, Ottenwalt writes, just as in the case of Goethe's *Werther* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther* was Schober's favourite book) it is not this single unfortunate passion which makes Schober's inner life stormy and unhappy.⁵²⁵ The evil, which has seized the "noblest" (edelsten) parts of his being, is more deeply rooted and consists of "the weak, yielding, dreaming [character], [and] the [habit of being] virtuous from inclination, [a habit] which never knew anything about self-denial, surmounting, and obedience" and which now battles with that heart which used to live only for "a fiery, irresistible love of the beautiful and the good".⁵²⁶ A lack of inner freedom here threatened the development of a beautiful soul.

Perhaps a similar critique was levelled against bars 112-122 in *Die Bürgschaft*, a passage where Schubert seems to yield to the temptation of composing a piano miniature which is in itself lovely but which is difficult to integrate into a "beautiful" whole since it does not contribute to the formation of ideal loyalty as a foundation for friendship between the two men.

In themselves the ten bars may seem insignificant, but their importance grows by their ability to open for an alternative way of listening also to other parts of the song. I have argued that it was possible to regard the long portion of the song where flood, drought and robbers ravage as not unduly extensive in expression and as a part of a unity whose task it was to express ideal loyalty. But, even so, it is likely that the declamatory expression in this part of the song was sufficiently close to deviating from the stipulated whole that all that was needed for it to stand out as something like a disconnected, "extensive" adventure story (rather than as a prerequisite for the demonstration of Möros' virtue) was a further exertion on the part of the singer and the pianist, or a slight change in the direction of the listener's attention. Such a change of attention becomes only more likely if the ten charming piano bars in the middle of

⁵²⁴ "wie oft war mir's leid um Dich, wenn ich hörte, Dein Herz sei gut; aber eine unglückliche Flatterhaftigkeit reiße Dich tändelnd von Einem zum Andern dahin [...] Das Neue reize Dich so sehr [...] Wahrlich, Lieber, mir war's sehr leid um Dich". Quoted from Dürhammer, "Affectionen einer lebhaft begehrenden Sinnlichkeit", 1999, p. 39. Also see Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 172f.

⁵²⁵ Letter from Anton Ottenwalt to Josef von Spaun. Quoted in Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, p. 388. Also see *ibid.*, pp. 142-147 and Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 63f.

⁵²⁶ "Das Übel liegt tiefer; es ist das Weiche, Nachgebende, schwärmende, die Tugend aus Neigung, die von Selbstverläugnung, Überwindung und Gehorsam so lang nichts wußte, und nun auf einmahl mit dem Herzen streiten sollte, das sich doch nur einer feurigen unwiderstehlichen Liebe zum Schönen und Guten bewußt war". Letter from Ottenwalt to Josef von Spaun, 14 July 1816. Quoted from Dürhammer, "Affectionen einer lebhaft begehrenden Sinnlichkeit", 1999, p. 41. Also see Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 62.

strophe 5 have already made performers and listeners forget their concentration on "essentials" and on the "whole".

Still, the ten bars need not have been regarded as a mistake only. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Gramit (1987) assumes that aesthetics was, as it were, on leave from *Die Bürgschaft* in that Schubert's circle decided that deviations from their own aesthetic norms were not so important in this case. I have tried to show that, basically, a structure like that in *Die Bürgschaft* was not necessarily in conflict with the circle's aesthetics, but if, after all, some parts of the song – like the one associated with the sister's wedding – did bring forth such a conflict, it is possible that precisely the failure of these parts to adhere to the rules accounted for their attraction. For what precludes the possibility that the circle both appreciated the song on aesthetic terms *and* found that parts of it did not adhere to the aesthetic norms they would normally claim? Indeed, such inconsistency was not unusual in the life of the circle. Although Schober came to be regarded as the circle's black (though beloved) sheep, the states of mind for which he was criticized were not restricted to him. Gramit himself notes that members of the circle sometimes indulged in the kind of emotional excesses which they themselves eloquently sought to counteract.⁵²⁷

Indeed, as we saw in Chapter 1, to hover between passion and reason seems to have been a characteristic of the circle. In a letter to Schober from 28 July 1817, Ottenwalt himself reveals a split attitude to Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*, a work in which Schober took a passionate interest. Ottenwalt warns against the glorifying of a character like Tasso,

who, being gifted with a susceptibility for grand things, with pure fantasy, and deep feeling, becomes proud of his talents, and is constantly anxious and discontented, who despises men and life, who walks through the world claiming that his dreaming about ideals is a merit and his privilege, while actually being irresolute and passionate, who disturbs his own peace and that of others, who is deeply desolate, who cannot attain real manly virtue and a firm character, and who clings with his entire glowing nature to anything which can be regarded at all poetically.⁵²⁸

And yet he admits that "Tasso is very dear to me, as he is to you, and I have often defended him against [Anton von] Spaun".⁵²⁹ A few months earlier, on 15 May 1817,

⁵²⁷ Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, p. 141.

⁵²⁸ "[...]der mit Empfänglichkeit für grosse Dinge, mit reiner Phantasie und tiefer Empfindung begabt, auf seine Gaben stolz wird, beständig unruhig, ungenügsam, die Menschen und das Leben geringschätzend, durch die Welt geht, sein ideales Träumen sich für Verdienst und Vorrecht ausgibt, indeß er wankelmüthig, leidenschaftlich, eigenen und fremden Frieden störend, innerlich zerrüttet, zu eigentlicher Mannestugend, zu festem Charakter nicht gelangen kann, der an alles mit seinem ganzen glühenden Wesen sich anhängt, das nur irgend poetisch angeschaut werden mag". Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 62f.

⁵²⁹ "Dennoch ist mir Tasso, gleich Dir, sehr werth, und ich hab' ihn wohl oft schon gegen [Anton von] Spaun verfochten". Quoted from Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 63. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 64.

Anton von Spaun had written to Schober that he and Kenner had made it quite clear to Ottenwalt that “the completely unspecified, chaotic longing of the heart” is a really disgusting thing which, unfortunately, even the better poets frequently make the topic of their poetry.⁵³⁰ Apparently von Spaun and Kenner found that Ottenwalt needed to be reminded of this.

But even Anton von Spaun seems not always to have been able to keep his passion in check. As we have seen, his theory of friendship values friendship higher than love on the basis of friendship’s connection to the ideals and its freedom from the potentially overpowering passions to which outer beauty, as an aspect of the physical world, threatens to lead. But this notion does not totally permeate his output, for, as Dürhammer points out, in von Spaun’s essay the “sensuous element constantly returns to the surface from its suppressed position”, and his letters to Schober – as well as those from other members of the circle – witness the love-like passion that Schober’s charm awoke in him.⁵³¹

There is also no reason to assume that a total implementation of an aesthetic like those of Sulzer, C.G. Körner, and Wötzel – and of Anton von Spaun’s theory of friendship – would have been entirely welcome. Indeed, in 1815 Schober complained to his friends that they loved only “their idea of what he should be”, not him as he actually was.⁵³² Schober, it seems, wanted to attain some freedom from the captivating ideological whole which especially Anton von Spaun and Ottenwalt were struggling to build and in which they sought to integrate themselves and their disciples. The inconsistencies in the behaviour of the members of the circle, including Anton von Spaun and Ottenwalt themselves, indicate that the streak of claustrophobia within the utopian dream need not have been restricted to Schober, although perhaps he felt it most acutely.

I do not claim that the young men in Schubert’s circle did not “really” embrace the notions of aesthetics and friendship as they have been presented in this chapter. But, still, there are elements in *Die Bürgerschaft* that seem to have been fit to fulfil the function of offering a temporary refuge from the construction of an aesthetic and a *gebildet* subjectivity which disapproved of, and sought to suppress, certain experiences and feelings and which demanded discipline and the building of an unambiguous, hierarchic structure of the mind. While, on the whole, the hierarchically ordered unity in Schubert’s *Die Bürgerschaft* seems to have been able to provide a coherent presentation of ideal loyalty as a foundation for friendship, one of the song’s details, one which may seem irrelevant for the construction of that unity, may have been able to open a window in this hierarchic edifice by inviting an alternative mode

⁵³⁰ “die völlig unbestimmte, chaotische Sehnsucht des Herzens”. Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 71f.

⁵³¹ “Das sinnliche Moment taucht [...] immer wieder aus dem Unterdrückten empor”. Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 155. Also see p. 178.

⁵³² Gramit, “The intellectual and aesthetic tenets”, 1987, p. 143.

of performance and listening. That invitation may have provided a sense of freedom too, although of another kind.

A Schillerian perspective

Earlier in this chapter I pointed out that the dominant position of Neo-Platonic thought in Schubert's circle in the years leading up to the time of *Die Bürgschaft* makes it unlikely that the members of the circle embraced the more complex Kantian and post-Kantian philosophy in Schiller's *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen*. When referring to this work – which we know was read within the circle – I have therefore done so in a way which does little justice to Schiller as a philosopher but which on the other hand may approach the way his work was understood by the Schubert circle. However, as a postscript to the present chapter I would like to consider an implication of the possibility that, after all, the circle understood more of the work than I have assumed. Interestingly, the relationship between matter, form, and morality which Schiller envisages in the *Ästhetische Erziehung* may be taken to provide a framework within which Schubert's ten bars of music associated with Möros' sister can be heard as an important ingredient in the song's presentation of Möros as an ideal character. Schiller's philosophy, that is, could be used to defend Schubert's somewhat irreverent treatment of Schiller's own poem.

While Anton von Spaun regards the ideal man as an incarnation (real or imagined) of a static concept belonging to a separate world of ideas ("that which is eternal and unchanging"),⁵³³ thus following the example of Sulzer and other upholders of Neo-Platonic idealism, Schiller, in *Ästhetische Erziehung*, conceives of the ideal man in a considerably more dynamic way.⁵³⁴ The creation of such ideal human nature is the overall task which he proposes, claiming that it is fundamental for the creation of a harmonious society.

In order to fulfil this task, Schiller says, it is necessary first to ennoble the whole man by developing in him an *aesthetic character* and, then, to achieve a sensible and fruitful relationship between aesthetic character and morality. The aesthetic character to be developed is, in Schiller's theory, a state of creative balance between the mind's *sensuous drive* (sinnlicher Trieb) – the drive to be led by sensual impressions of the surrounding world – and its *formal drive* (Formtrieb) – the drive of reason to project its forms on the world. This state of balance is intended to liberate man from the negative consequences of the domination of either force. What Schiller wants to do is thus not, for example, to free man's formal drive from every influence of his sensuous drive – a task which seems to have been adopted as a principle in Schubert's circle (see page 63). According to Schiller, such a task, which can be linked to Sulzer's Neo-Platonic notion of the ideal, would not lead to any real harmony in man. Instead, Schiller says, it ought to be "the task of *culture* [...] to do justice to both

⁵³³ See page 63 above.

⁵³⁴ The following reading of Schiller's *Ästhetische Erziehung* is based on Elizabeth M. Wilkinson's and L.A. Willoughby's substantial critical introduction in Schiller, *Aesthetic Education* (1801), 1982, pp. xi-cxcvi.

drives equally". Culture must "preserve the life of Sense against the encroachments of Freedom" and "secure the Personality against the forces of Sensation. The former is achieved by developing our capacity for feeling, the latter by developing our capacity for reason".⁵³⁵ Thus, the sensuous drive (which accounts for the occurrence of change in human life) and the formal drive (which accounts for continuity and personal autonomy) must be kept in balance. This is of crucial importance, for Schiller presents the two drives as being dependent on each other in such a way that only when they are kept in balance does either of them really exist: "In a single word, only inasmuch as [the person] is autonomous, is there reality outside him and is he receptive to it; and only inasmuch as he is receptive, is there reality within him and is he a thinking force".⁵³⁶

Thus, to be human, man must maintain a genuine and open relationship with the world that surrounds him while not aborting the autonomy endowed to him by reason, an autonomy which is manifested in the active forming of the material supplied by his senses. The annulling of either condition would annul also the other. In order to achieve a fruitful balance, both the sense drive and the formal drive "need to have limits set to them and [...] need to be relaxed" so that one drive does not usurp the other in its proper domain.⁵³⁷ This relaxing must be done in a way which ensures maximum freedom of movement for both.

Considering the possibility that certain aspects of *Die Bürgschaft* could be taken to be superfluous in relation to the poem's purpose, it is of particular interest to note Schiller's warnings concerning the prejudice and rigidity which he thinks follows when the formal drive is allowed to rule alone. In a footnote to letter 13, he provides a concrete example of the unfortunate consequences of such sovereignty. The "slow progress" of the natural sciences is, he claims, the result of an unfortunate trespassing of the formal drive on the territory of the sensuous drive, a trespassing which consists of "the universal, and almost uncontrollable, propensity to teleological judgements, in which [...] the determining faculty is substituted for the receptive". The result, he says, is that "[h]owever strong and however varied the impact made upon our organs by nature, all her manifold variety is then entirely lost upon us, because we are seeking nothing in her but what we have put into her; because, instead of letting her come *in upon us*, we are thrusting ourselves *out upon her* with all the impatient anticipations of our reason. [...] This premature hankering after harmony before we have even got together the individual sounds which are to go to its making, this violent usurping of authority by ratiocination in a field where its right to give orders is by no means unconditional, is the reason why so many thinking minds fail to have any fruitful effect upon the advancement of science".⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ Schiller, *Aesthetic Education* (1801), 1982, p. 87.

⁵³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 91.

⁵³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 91.

⁵³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 89.

According to Schiller, this criticism of a "premature hankering after harmony" is valid not only for the natural sciences, but also for social relationships, morality, and art – topics which are all relevant for *Die Bürgerschaft*. Firstly, right after his complaint about the slow progress of the natural sciences, Schiller identifies two equal impediments to the practice of "brotherly love" – a social relationship which should be of particular interest in the present context. One impediment is due to an overemphasis on the sensuous drive and is described as an "egotism of our senses" and as a "violence of our passions" which "disturbs" the brotherly love. That far, Schiller is in accordance with Anton von Spaun, who identified a danger in the sensuousness of physical love. But Schiller also warns of an opposite impediment, one which forms a parallel to the discussion about the natural sciences. This impediment is said to be the overemphasis on the formal drive and is described as an "egotism of our reason" and as a "rigidity of our principles" which "chills" brotherly love.⁵³⁹ If man is to perfect his social relationships, Schiller says, his formal drive, associated with reason and principles, has to work in balance with his receptive, sensuous drive, which is associated with feeling. In his criticism of traditional education, Schiller's emphasis falls on the disadvantages of blunting the sensuous drive:

How can we, however laudable our precepts, how can we be just, kindly, and human towards others, if we lack the power of receiving into ourselves, faithfully and truly, natures unlike ours, of feeling our way into the situation of others, of making other people's feelings our own? But in the education we receive, no less than in that we give ourselves, this power gets repressed in exactly the measure that we seek to break the force of passions, and strengthen character by means of principles. Since it costs effort to remain true to one's principles when feeling is easily stirred, we take the easier way out and try to make character secure by blunting feeling; for it is, of course, infinitely easier to have peace and quiet from an adversary you have disarmed than to master a spirited and active foe. And this, for the most part, is the operation that is meant when people speak of *forming character* [...]. A man so formed will, without doubt, be immune from the danger of being crude nature or of appearing as such; but he will at the same time be armoured by principle against all natural feeling [...].⁵⁴⁰

Schiller here opposes a human character which strives to become an incarnation of an unchangeable concept, a character which wants to be rigidly formed and therefore acts according to certain fixed principles and with no real regard to what is going on in the surrounding world. While man must not react to the world by means of mere reflexes, Schiller wants to say, he must also not annihilate his natural feelings.

What Schiller recommends, Wilkinson and Willoughby (1982) summarize, is instead "a dynamic and highly complex behaviour-pattern: reciprocal sub- and co-ordination".⁵⁴¹ In Schiller's ideal man, sense and sensibility keep to their appropriate

⁵³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 89.

⁵⁴⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 89-91.

⁵⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. lxxix.

spheres of activity but may both, when necessary, subordinate (not suppress) the other. The hierarchy between the faculties of the mind is changeable, that is, and the decision as to what faculty should be at the top of the hierarchy at a particular moment is to be based on a consideration of the totality of the present situation. With such inner flexibility, man is able to encounter the outside world with a happy mix of receptivity and creativity, a mix which allows him to avoid the equally machine-like states of the purely sensuous and the purely reasonable man.

With regard to *Die Bürgschaft*, it could thus be argued that Möros' position in a world where he is engaged in a variety of social relationships and responsibilities, and where he encounters humans as well as raw, natural forces, is an opportunity for him (i.e. for the poem) to show an example of this ideal paradigm of reciprocal sub- and co-ordination based on a consideration of the totality of the present situation. If we still assume that the main moral quality which Möros is to exemplify through his actions is loyalty, his refusal to allow the force of dead nature to prevent him from realising the form of loyalty towards his friend can only be regarded as praiseworthy. But could he not also be accused of lacking an important kind of sensitivity if, in his eagerness to act according to the rational form of loyalty, he did not allow himself to spend ten bars of intimate emotion with his sister (whom, it must be assumed, he expects never to meet again) before rushing back to Syracuse? Möros' short stay with his sister, it could be argued, only makes him more "compassionate, helpful, just, kindly, and human towards others", to use one of Schiller's phrases cited above.

It could be claimed that if Möros had applied the form of loyalty in such a rigid way that it had prevented him from approaching his sister with emotional sensitivity, it would have made him less virtuous than he could otherwise be. It is true, of course, that although most of the poem is about Möros' attempts to maintain his loyalty towards his friend, the fact that he puts his friend in danger in the first place is due to his loyalty towards his sister. But in the poem, Möros' fulfilment of his responsibility as a brother is put forward in a quite business-like manner ("Before the third day dawned / He had quickly married his sister to her betrothed") and serves only to set the stage for Möros' more violent trials. What Schubert adds is a portion of music that lets the meeting between Möros and his sister take some time and that has a sensitive and warm emotional quality not strictly necessary for the presentation of loyalty.

This addition of Schubert's becomes particularly meaningful when heard against the background of Schiller's own views in *Ästhetische Erziehung* on the relationship between the moral and the aesthetic qualities in man. For Schiller envisages morality and man's aesthetic state of mind as, ideally, being engaged in a close and fruitful collaboration in which they come to the fore by turns. On the one hand, Schiller argues that if man is at all to have the choice of acting morally or not, his mind must first reach the level of aesthetic education in which he can move freely between matter and form. On the other hand, he also claims that, although the aesthetic state of mind has the power to activate our total potential, it cannot in itself

provide man with instructions for moral behaviour and that, therefore, the aesthetic has to interact with received moral principles. But not only must the aesthetic state of mind be enrolled to support existing moral laws. For if morality is to remain genuine and vital it must itself be subject to renewal. Products of the aesthetic state of mind are efficient agents for such renewal, and this is especially true about those works of art which treat tradition with superb irreverence. Such art stretches our imagination and challenges us to question even our dearest and most established attitudes. As a result of this interplay between aesthetic and moral, man can reach new and higher levels of morality.⁵⁴² Just as the ideal man which Schiller envisages is able to let his sensuous and his formal drives engage in a creative, aesthetic play, a play which is neither moral nor immoral, that man is able to let the results of this epistemologically fundamental play engage in a fruitful relationship with inherited moral laws.

Schubert's inclusion of the ten bars could be regarded as such an aesthetic challenge to inherited morality. For in ignoring the fact that the sister never comes to the fore in Schiller's poem, Schubert challenges his listeners to question and re-shape the poem's notion of morality. (It must be remembered that the poem was well-known before Schubert put it to music.) By providing Möros with the flexibility of mind needed to meet his sister in an appropriately sensitive way, he questions the rigidity of Möros' virtue as Schiller the poet portrays it.

Ästhetische Erziehung contains very little on how works of art should be constructed. But Schiller's contention that his thoughts about the potential importance of seemingly incongruous elements in nature and social life are relevant also for the generation of meaning in works of art is exemplified in a letter that he wrote to C.G. Körner in 1788. Schiller elsewhere claims that "the form of a work is the organization of all its elements towards a specific end",⁵⁴³ a notion which is at least in superficial accord with Sulzer's notion of the presentation of an ideal. But while Sulzer stresses the need to take away from the work of art everything that does not belong to the ideal, in his letter to Körner – quite characteristically – Schiller stresses instead that recipients must be prepared to include unexpected features into the whole. Schiller does not abandon the notion of wholeness upheld by Sulzer and other aestheticians of an earlier generation, but he expands it in order to save art from the cold hand of conventions having become too powerful. Schiller favours art which is original *and* highly meaningful:

It seems not to be a good thing, and prejudicial to the creative work of the psyche, if the understanding submits the onrush of ideas to over-sharp scrutiny at the very gates, as it were. An idea considered in isolation may seem very unimportant or very extravagant; but it will perhaps gain weight from another which follows hard upon it; and perhaps, in a certain conjunction with other ideas, which in themselves seem no less insipid, turn out to be a very serviceable link [in the imaginative chain]: the understanding cannot judge of any of this

⁵⁴² *ibid.*, p. lxxxvii.

⁵⁴³ *ibid.*, p. ci.

unless it holds it fast long enough to view it in conjunction with these other ideas.

Then comes a brief summary of the artistic process, along with an intimation of a claim to an avant-garde position for the artist:

In the creative mind [...], so it seems to me, the understanding has withdrawn its sentinels from the gates, the ideas rush in *pêle-mêle*, and only then does it scrutinize and review the whole company of them. – You critics, or whatever you may like to call yourselves, are ashamed of, or fear, those fleeting moments of inspired frenzy which are characteristic of truly creative minds, and the longer or shorter duration of which distinguishes the thinking artist from the mere dreamer. Hence your complaints of barrenness; it is because you reject too soon and discriminate too severely.⁵⁴⁴

Wilkinson and Willoughby (1982) here see an example of Schiller's distinction between *Verstand* (understanding) and *Denken* (thought). According to Schiller, a "critic" is characterized by too prompt a use of *understanding*, an analytic process of the mind which – at least when used too early in the interpretation process – may wrongfully tell him that certain parts of the work of art are unduly unimportant or extravagant. An "artist", on the other hand, is characterized by his use of *thought*, a process which is not only analytic, but synthetic as well. Thus, the possibility that Schubert's ten added bars of music were the result of an inspired whim might, from Schiller's perspective, only be taken as a sign of Schubert's fruitful creativity – granted that a mind which does not refrain from the strain of synthetic thinking may understand in retrospect how the ten bars fit into the song as a whole. This means that, in a work of art, a moment which initially seems "unimportant or very extravagant" can be shown either to be just that and thus to be the outflow of a "dreamer", or it can be shown in retrospect to be a necessary though unexpected ingredient and thus to be the work of a thinking artist.

Hence, in accordance with Schiller's theory of the relation between the moral and the aesthetic, the presumably sensuous pleasure for a nineteenth-century composer like Schubert to write a portion of "female" music in the middle of a setting of a poem which is concerned only with men may in the end be said to be of artistic value since it may serve to encourage a refinement of a moral concept, a concept, in turn, whose novel form becomes the basis for an interpretation of the relationship between the ten bars and the song as a whole.

While Schiller himself did not overthrow the aesthetic principles of his predecessors, he was at pains to make them more inclusive. Beauty and the ideal were no longer to exist only as the results of a curbing of everything earthly. Instead, the earthly should be invited and made an ally in the process of human ennoblement. Therefore Schiller harboured no unconditional suspicions against the emotional chaos

⁵⁴⁴ Schiller, letter to C.G. Körner, 1 december 1788. Translation quoted from the editors' Commentary in Schiller, *Aesthetic Education* (1801), 1982, pp. 292f.

which Anton von Spaun was sad to find in certain modern poetry. Nor was he necessarily negative towards those features in art that Sulzer attributed to the “accidental force”. According to Schiller, such features should at least not be condemned with too much haste, for if we do we are likely to find nothing in works of art but what we, as recipients, put into them.

I have chosen to discuss the ten bars associated with Möros’ sister at particular length because this passage exemplifies Schubert’s sectional style at its most sectional. Interpretational strategies applied to this passage are likely to have been relevant for many other (at least seemingly) deviating passages in sectional songs. Ending this chapter, we may use Schiller’s concepts of critic, dreamer, and thinking artist to characterize possible responses to the ten bars and their relation to *Die Bürgschaft* as a whole. Following the Neo-Platonic aesthetics of for example Sulzer and Wötzel, the ten bars may be deemed out of place. This is an interpretation which, I have argued, may have been held at least by some of Schubert’s friends. From Schiller’s more modern perspective, however, such an interpretation could be regarded as a “premature hankering after harmony” characteristic of dry critics. I have also argued that the ten bars could be appreciated in their own right and irrespective of their successful or unsuccessful integration in the song as a whole. Some of Schubert’s friends seem to have agreed with Schiller that such a reception comes down to a mere dreaming – at least they may have thought so in their more Classically-minded moments. Finally, the ten bars could, in retrospect, be considered an appropriate part of a whole which depends for its unity on a concept of virtue which is dynamic in the sense that it is open for modification through the agency of the work of art itself. From Schiller’s perspective, such reception would bear the characteristics of a thinking artist.

If Schubert’s circle received *Die Bürgschaft* in the latter manner, it implies that it was conceivable for them to regard Schubert not as a musical tailor whose task it was to be unconditionally faithful to the form of a poem, and also not as a realizer of pre-existing ideals in the Neo-Platonic sense, but instead as an artist whose task it was to work creatively and irreverently even with a poem of one of the greatest authorities of recent German literature, pursuing a refinement of man’s notions of morality. Speaking against this is the fact that there is so little to indicate an exchange within the circle of the static idealism for a more dynamic one, a change which lies at the heart of Schiller’s thinking. Speaking for it is the fact that Schiller’s notion of art as stemming from a creative and thinking artist shares with the “enthusiastic” high-art poetic style associated with the ode the contention that seemingly incongruous elements may in fact be highly purposeful parts of a work of art.⁵⁴⁵ Whatever the circle’s relationship to these Schillerian thoughts, the possibility should not be ruled out that Schubert, through his art, sometimes put the ideology and the aesthetics of his circle of friends under a certain strain, a strain which he might have justified by referring to Schiller.

⁵⁴⁵ In his early years as a poet, Schiller was much influenced by Klopstock’s odes. Benno von Wiese, *Friedrich Schiller* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959), pp. 31, 33, 115-117, 132.

4. From the Darkness of Night to the Light of Day? *Die Nacht* (D.534), the English Landscape Garden, and the Free Fantasia

As we saw in Chapter 2, a number of sources show without doubt that members of Schubert's circle of friends very much appreciated his settings of excerpts from James Macpherson's Ossian poems. (See page 44.) In the twentieth century, however, Schubert's eleven Ossian songs, which were composed between 1815 and 1817, have normally met with more resistance. Frequent changes of keys, time signatures, tempi, expression marks, melodies, accompanimental figures etc make for colourful but, arguably, very loosely integrated musical structures. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the musicologist David Gramit (1987) observes that "several of the songs of Ossian seem to the modern listener to be little more than successive episodes strung together one after another". (See page 55.) Probably basing his value-judgement on a similar observation, John Reed (also in 1987) speaks of "the exaggerated rating given to Schubert's [Ossian] settings among his friends".⁵⁴⁶ Had those friends known that future scholars would thus question their aesthetic discernment, they might have made an effort to reveal more of how they conceived of the Ossian songs. What they left were positive value judgements, but no more detailed accounts of why they thought that the songs were so valuable. Schubert's own views on the matter are equally buried in mist. The very fact that he wrote several Ossian songs in a sectional style should indicate that he perceived such songs as being in some sense valuable, but he left no comments which could tell us more about what he thought of them.

Attempts to answer the question of how the circle and the period in general interpreted and evaluated the Ossian songs have been made, if sweepingly. Much of what has been said is summarized in Natalie Rebecca Meggison's master thesis "Situating Schubert's Ossian Settings: Music, Literature, and Culture" (2001), which is probably the largest study to take Schubert's Ossian-songs as its main theme. Meggison draws both on general currents within the formidable vogue that the Ossian poems enjoyed all over Europe at the time and on agendas within Schubert's circle of friends.⁵⁴⁷ She suggests that, within the circle, the task of Schubert's Ossian settings was to provide dramatic realizations of texts which in themselves exercised a

⁵⁴⁶ Reed, *Schubert* (1987), 1988, p. 37. Similarly, Barbara Kinsey holds that the "[w]orks that resulted from the union of Schubert and Macpherson are not of prime importance". Barbara Kinsey, "Schubert and the Poems of Ossian", in *The Music Review* 34 (February 1973), p. 29.

⁵⁴⁷ Natalie Rebecca Meggison, "Situating Schubert's Ossian Settings: Music, Literature, and Culture" (Master thesis, University of Alberta, 2001). On the Ossian vogue in Europe, also see for instance John Daverio, "Schumann's Ossianic Manner", in *19th-Century Music* 21, No. 3 (Spring 1998), p. 248, and Corinna Laughlin, "The Lawless Language of Macpherson's 'Ossian'", in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 40 (No. 3, Summer, 2000: *Restoration and Eighteenth Century*), pp. 511-537.

multilayered appeal. As we know, the members of the circle regarded the times in which they lived as seriously degraded and longed for, and themselves worked to accomplish, a freer and more active life for the “German” people. Like many of their contemporaries, Schubert’s friends were eager to find individuals and whole peoples in history and literature who were fit to serve as models when forming a brighter future. Much of what was perceived as stiff and superficial in the present times was blamed on the dominance of French culture. Paradoxical as it may seem, to overthrow this dominance and to let a “German” spirit blossom, yet other countries could be employed as models. In the Scottish Ossian poems, for instance, Germans “recognized many of what they imagined to be their own traits of vigour, social feeling, and primitive virtue” as well as the roots for some of their own national literary traditions.⁵⁴⁸ Considering the circle’s idealization of youthful activity, the heroic, brave, and virtuous youths in these poems must have held a strong appeal, Meggison argues.⁵⁴⁹ But, she continues, the German idolization of the people of Ossian was also characterized by a “joy of grief” – an expression which can be found in the Ossian poems themselves – a pleasingly sentimental feeling that resulted from the immersion into the pleasures and sorrows of a “great” people which was for ever lost.⁵⁵⁰

Even further towards the dark side, the unfriendly landscapes, howling winds, ghosts, etc. that appear in the poems appealed to the taste for horror and ghost stories.⁵⁵¹ To many readers of the period, Meggison points out, Ossian was a form of entertainment or even a distraction. Even though Schubert’s friends regarded them-

⁵⁴⁸ Meggison, “Situating Schubert’s Ossian Settings”, 2001, p. 31. Also see Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968, p. 43; Daverio, “Schumann’s Ossianic Manner”, 1998, p. 248; and Sandro Jung, “The Reception and Reworking of *Ossian* in Klopstock’s *Hermanns Schlacht*”, in *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, ed. Howard Gaskill (London: Thoemmes, 2004), p. 143. In the mid-eighteenth century the opposite was true too: The “strength, physical courage and austere lifestyle” of ancient German tribes appealed to Scottish intellectuals who were anxious about the “corrupting effects of luxury and refinement on civilised states”. (Fiona Stafford, “Introduction”, in *The Poems of Ossian and related works*, ed. Howard Gaskill [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996], p. xi.) Even French patriots found affinities between the Celts and their own forefathers, the Gauls. (Christopher Smith, “Ossian in Music”, in *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, 2004, p. 379.) Indeed, in his “A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian” (1765), Hugh Blair assumes that there are poems among “the antiquities of all nations” and that these poems most likely resemble each other: “In a similar state of manners, similar objects and passions operating upon the imaginations of men, will stamp their productions with the same general character”. (Blair, “Critical Dissertation” [1765], 1996, p. 347. Blair’s “dissertation” is fully quoted in *The Poems of Ossian and related works*, 1996, pp. 345-408. Blair was Professor of Rhetoric at the University of Edinburgh. For more information on his “Critical Dissertation”, see *ibid.*, pp. 542f.)

⁵⁴⁹ Meggison, “Situating Schubert’s Ossian Settings”, 2001, p. 48.

⁵⁵⁰ Already Blair stressed “joy of grief” as an important aspect of the Ossian poems. Blair, “Critical Dissertation” (1765), 1996, pp. 381f, 396.

⁵⁵¹ Meggison, “Situating Schubert’s Ossian Settings”, 2001, p. 49. Also Wolf Gerhard Schmidt recognizes that the discourse of the *Schrecklich-Erhabenen* accounted for much of the success of the Ossian poems, both in the British Isles and on the Continent. Wolf Gerhard Schmidt, “Ossian, Oisín”, in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, second edition, *Personenteil*, vol. 12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), cols. 1447-1449.

selves as part of an élite readership, reading for entertainment probably partly accounted for their enthusiasm for Ossian, she assumes.⁵⁵²

These observations and assumptions are probably all relevant, but in order to suggest what more specific meaning was attributed to the individual Ossian songs in their earliest context, it is necessary to undertake a close study of both text and music and to discuss how they may have worked within this context. Like other commentators on Schubert's Ossian settings, Meggison does not offer much detailed analysis and interpretation. In her analysis of the music, she claims that Schubert frustrated listeners' expectations by ignoring, or at least expanding the "Lied" genre as it had been established by earlier German composers such as Reichardt, Zelter and Neefe. Unfortunately she does not proceed beyond recognizing the complete disagreement between Schubert's settings and the ideals established by those composers. A basic problem with her procedure is that she does not examine whether or not works by these North-German composers really determined the generic expectations of Schubert's recipients. To be sure, also Hirsch (1993) claims that "in Schubert's day, 'actual song' meant a simple, strophic Lied, such as those of the Berlin composers Reichardt and Zelter", and that the failure of many of Schubert's songs to adhere to the rules of such "actual song" led to a negative reception.⁵⁵³ But it must not be forgotten that the strophic form of composition was not as much in use in Southern Germany and Austria as it was in Northern Germany,⁵⁵⁴ and that Vienna saw the publication and, it seems from reviews in the local press, appreciative reception of sectional songs. Indeed, comments in the Viennese press and in Schubert's circle contradict Hirsch's generalization that "Schubert's increasingly experimental approach to song composition perplexed his contemporaries" and that "[t]he mixture of genres was generally frowned upon".⁵⁵⁵

In the following I will therefore avoid the assumption that the strophic Lied formed the generic background against which Schubert's circle interpreted his Ossian songs. Instead I will investigate similarities between one of these songs and quite other cultural phenomena: the English landscape garden and the musical free fantasia. This procedure will allow the construction of a composite (though necessarily incomplete) context in which the song seems to have been fit to fulfil several, possibly contradictory purposes. The song that I will discuss is *Die Nacht* (*The Night*, D.534;

⁵⁵² Meggison, "Situating Schubert's Ossian Settings", 2001, pp. 68f.

⁵⁵³ Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, p. 7. Also see Dittrich, "Für Menschenohren", 1997, p. 146 for a summary of German criticism of through composition.

⁵⁵⁴ Ossenkop, "The Earliest Settings", 1968, pp. 406f.

⁵⁵⁵ Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder*, 1993, p. 10. The basis of Hirsch's generalization seems to be an effect of her choice of sources. She rarely cites reviews or other reception material from Viennese sources. Instead she collects much material from *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig). Such a choice is perfectly justifiable if the perspective sought is the reception of Schubert's "dramatic Lieder" in Leipzig, but it cannot automatically be assumed to provide a generally valid picture. To be sure, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) kept correspondents in Vienna, but, as I argued in the section on material and method in Chapter 1, there is a difference between that journal and those printed in Vienna in that only the latter were intended mainly for a Viennese (or at least Austrian) readership.

see Appendix 2). Before turning to gardens and fantasias, however, let us consider the song's verbal text and its more obvious relationships to activities and agendas within Schubert's circle.

The text of *Die Nacht* and Schubert's circle

Schubert's *Die Nacht*, composed in February 1817, is a setting of a text found in a footnote in *Croma*, one of Macpherson's Ossian poems.⁵⁵⁶ Macpherson's (1736-1796) status as translator, transcriber of aural tradition, or, indeed, as author of the Ossian poems has been disputed since his days.⁵⁵⁷ The German translation that Schubert used was made by Edmund von Harold, an Irishman, and was published in Mannheim in 1782 as part of *Die Gedichte Ossians des Celtischen Helden und Barden (The Poems of Ossian, the Celtic Hero and Bard)*.⁵⁵⁸ In *Croma*, the aged Ossian tells the story of how in his youth he went from Scotland to Ireland to defend Crothar, king of Croma, against the invader Rothmar. The footnote which interests us here is attached to a sentence in Ossian's description of how his victory over Rothmar was celebrated: "Ten harps are strung; five bards advance, and sing, by turns, the praise of Ossian: they poured forth their burning souls, and the harp answered to their voice".⁵⁵⁹ The introduction to the footnote refers to these celebratory songs as works which were composed and performed without preparation, so readers of *Croma* are likely to have imagined improvised vocal compositions in which both voice and accompanying harps expressed the bards' emotions in an intense manner. Macpherson declares that these works were imitated by later generations of bards, and in the rest of the footnote he offers a poem which he claims to be an unusually fine example of this tradition. Following Macpherson's own argument, the poem may be referred to as Ossianic even

⁵⁵⁶ When first published in 1830, the song had been partly altered by Diabelli. (John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985], p. 175.) Here I mainly discuss the autograph version, which is now available in the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, series iv, vol. 11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), pp. 90-104. Diabelli's version will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

⁵⁵⁷ Fiona Stafford (1996) offers an introduction to the debate. She also participates in it by arguing that Macpherson "seems to have regarded his sources", i.e. the many heroic ballads that he found during his travels in the Highlands, "as the broken remains of great Celtic epics, and to have seen the task of recovery in the light of sympathetic restoration, rather than as a painstaking translation of the miscellaneous mass". Stafford, "Introduction", 1996, p. xiv.

⁵⁵⁸ Edmund von Harold, trans., *Die Gedichte Ossians des Celtischen Helden und Barden* (Mannheim 1782). For notes on von Harold's life and works, see Howard Gaskill, "Introduction: 'Genuine poetry ... like gold'", in *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, 2004, pp. 15f. In an 1858 letter to Ferdinand Luib, who planned to write a Schubert biography, Schubert's friend Anton Holzapfel wrote that he had bought von Harold's Ossian volume from an antiquarian and that he had lent it to Schubert. To cover up for the fact that he had provided Schubert with a translation generally considered to be of low quality, he informed Luib that he was himself not able to read English and that he heard only later that the translation was so miserable. He did not dispute the quality of Schubert's settings, though. Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 69.

⁵⁵⁹ "Zehn Harfen werden gespannt; fünf Barden rücken voran, und singen wechselweis Ossians Lob: sie gossen ihre brennenden Seelen heraus, und die Sayten erschollen zu ihren Stimmen". von Harold, *Die Gedichte Ossians*, 1782, pp. 180f.

though it is a “thousand years” younger than Ossian. Indeed, the style of poetic composition and much of the imagery is highly reminiscent of the “authentic” Ossian poems. The title “Die Nacht. Ossian.” at the top of Schubert’s autograph suggests that also Schubert regarded the text which he set as an “Ossian” poem.⁵⁶⁰

The poem, which neither Macpherson nor von Harold gave a title but which has later come to be referred to as “The Six Bards”, consists of six monologues. In the words of Macpherson’s own introduction, the situation is this: “Five bards, who passed the night in the castle of a master, who was himself a poet, one after another went to make their observations on the night, and returned with an immediate description”.⁵⁶¹ The first five monologues belong to the five bards, and the sixth constitutes the master’s concluding comments. Schubert put to music only the first bard’s monologue (minus a few lines) and the master’s monologue. When, in the following, I mention the text of *Die Nacht*, I refer to Schubert’s selection from von Harold’s German translation. The bard’s part of the text describes a night which initially is dark and almost completely still but which becomes increasingly wild and dangerous. Prominent themes are ghosts, the dead, and the fear experienced by a wanderer who gets lost in darkness. In his last line, the bard urges his friends to receive him from the night.⁵⁶² Thereafter, in short, the master encourages everyone not to worry about the night. He recognizes that humans, along with their deeds, will disappear and be forgotten, and yet he summons everyone to live life in an active way instead of falling prey to gloom or terror.

Below, the text of *Die Nacht* is quoted in full. The spelling and interpunction is intended to be as faithful as possible to Schubert’s autograph, which differs from von Harold’s text in certain details.⁵⁶³ Since I have not had the opportunity to study the autograph, which is kept in the Hungarian National Library, I started out from the text as it is presented in the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, then reversing the modifications of spelling and interpunction which were undertaken during the preparation of that edition and which are all accounted for in Walter Dürr’s *Kritischer*

⁵⁶⁰ The title of the autograph is quoted in István Kecskeméti, “Eine wieder aufgetauchte Eigenschrift Schuberts”, in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 23 (1968), p. 71.

⁵⁶¹ von Harold writes: “Fünf Barden, die die Nacht im Schloß eines Gebieters, der selber ein Dichter war, zubrachten, giengen nacheinander, ihre Bemerkungen über die Nacht zu machen, und kamen mit einer plötzlichen Beschreibung zurück”. (von Harold, *Die Gedichte Ossians*, 1782, p. 181.) Macpherson writes that the bards pass the night in the house of a “chief”. von Harold translates “chief” not with “Häuptling”, as could be expected, but instead with “Gebieter” (meaning *master* or *lord*). As I am concerned here with a setting of von Harold’s version, I will refer to the bards’ host as the “master”. This is worth noticing to avoid confusion in relation to other literature on Ossian, where the bards’ host is normally referred to as the “chief” or the “chieftain”. Macpherson’s version of the footnote is found in *The Poems of Ossian and related works*, 1996, pp. 189-192.

⁵⁶² The reference to the friends is bewildering unless one knows that the bard’s company is not only the master, but also four other bards. Also present in the master’s castle are maidens and youths, but they are mentioned only in the master’s own monologue.

⁵⁶³ The text as it appears in von Harold’s translation, and also as it appears in Macpherson’s original English version, can be found in Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 2, pp. 439-443.

*Bericht.*⁵⁶⁴ Those of the modifications that I have chosen to retain, I have put in square brackets. The paragraph structure is derived from von Harold. With the aim of giving at least a faint impression of the sectional structure of Schubert's music, which I will discuss later, I have inserted his tempo marks in bold letters. The English version which follows is a re-translation into English of the text as it appears in Schubert's autograph. In undertaking this re-translation, I could use many passages from Macpherson's text, but I had to change individual words, and sometimes the syntax, to make the resulting text approach von Harold's sometimes rather idiosyncratic translation.

Barde:

- [§1] [**Langsam**] [**Recit.**] Die Nacht ist dumpfig und finster. An den Hügeln ruhn die [**a tempo**] Wolken, kein Stern mit grünzitterndem Strahl; kein Mond schaut durch die Luft. Im Walde hör ich den Hauch; aber ich hör ihn weit in der Ferne[.] Der Strom des Tals erbraust, aber sein Brausen ist stürmisch⁵⁶⁵ und trüb. [**Sehr langsam**] Vom Baum beim Grabe der Toten hört man lang die krächzende Eul'. [**Etwas geschwind**] An der Ebne erblick ich eine dämmernde Bildung! Es ist ein Geist[,] er schwindet, er flieht! [**Langsam**] Durch diesen Weg wird eine Leiche getragen[,] ihren Pfad bezeichnet das Luftbild. [**Etwas geschwind**] Der fernere Dogge heult von der Hütte des Hügels. [**Ruhig**] Der Hirsch liegt am Moose des Bergs. Neben ihm ruht die [**Geschwinder**] [Hindin]⁵⁶⁶; in seinem astigten Geweihe hört sie den Wind; fährt auf [**Langsam**] und legt sich zur Ruhe wieder nieder.⁵⁶⁷
- [§2] [**Etwas geschwinder**] Duster und keuchend[,] zitternd und traurig verlor der Wanderer den Weg.⁵⁶⁸ Er irrt durch Gebüsche, durch Dornen längs der sprudelnden Quelle, er fürchtet die Klippe und den Sumpf. Er fürchtet den Geist der Nacht. Der alte Baum ächzt zu dem Windstoß. Der fallende Ast erschallt. [**Geschwind**] Die verwelkte[,] zusammen verworrene Klette treibt der Wind über das Gras. Es ist der leichte [**Langsam**] Tritt eines Geists; er bebt in der Mitte der Nacht.
- [§3] [**Wie oben**, i.e. **Langsam**] Die Nacht ist düster, dunkel, und heulend, wolkigt[,] stürmisch und schwanger mit Geistern[.] [**Sehr langsam**] Die Toten streifen umher. Empfängt mich von der Nacht, meine Freunde.

Der Gebieter:

- [§4] [**Mäßig**] Laß Wolken an Hügeln ruhn, Geister fliegen und Wanderer beben[,] laß die Winde der Wälder sich heben, brausende Stürme herabsteigen. Ströme brüllen, Fenster klirren, grünbeflügelte Dämpfe fliegen. den bleichen Mond sich hinter seinen Hügeln erheben, oder sein Haupt in Wolken einhüllen. [**Recit.**] Die Nacht gilt mir gleich,

⁵⁶⁴ Walther Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht to Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, series iv, vol. 11 (Tübingen: Internationale Schubert-Gesellschaft, 2005), pp. 159-161.

⁵⁶⁵ von Harold writes "störrisch".

⁵⁶⁶ von Harold writes "Hindin", which is in accordance with Macpherson. What Schubert writes in his autograph must be difficult to read, for Dürr suggests that Schubert writes "Hümdinn" or "Hinndinn" whereas Schochow and Schochow (*Die Texte*, 1974, p. 441) read it as "Hündinn". "Hümdinn" makes little sense, but the other options are both conceivable. I will return to this question later in this chapter.

⁵⁶⁷ von Harold writes "fährt auf, legt sich wieder zur Ruhe". Schubert omits a short section which follows after this sentence.

⁵⁶⁸ von Harold writes "Duster, keuchend, zitternd und traurig".

die Luft sei blau, stürmisch oder dunkel. Die Nacht fliegt vorm Strahl, wenn er am Hügel sich gießt. Der junge Tag kehrt von seinen Wolken, aber [**Langsam**] wir kehren nimmer zurück.

[§5] [**„Geschwind“**] [**„Recit.“**] Wo sind unsre Führer der Vorwelt? Wo sind unsre weit berühmten Gebieter? [**„Nicht zu langsam“**] Schweigend sind die Felder ihrer Schlachten[.] Kaum sind ihre moosigten Gräber noch übrig. Man wird auch unser vergessen. [**„Recit.“**] Dies erhabene Gebäu wird zerfallen, unsre Söhne werden die Trümmer im Grase nicht erblicken, sie werden die Greisen befragen, wo standen die Mauern unsrer Väter?

[§6] [**„Mäßig“**] [**„Recit.“**] Ertönet das Lied, und schlaget die [**„a tempo“**] Harfen! [**„Recit.“**] Sendet die fröhlichen Muscheln herum. Stellt hundert Kerzen in die Höhe. [**„Recit.“**] Jünglinge, Mädchen[.] beginnet den Tanz! Nah sei ein graulockiger Barde, mir die Taten der Vorwelt zu singen, von Königen[.] berühmt in unserm Land, von Gebietern, die wir nicht mehr sehn. Laß die Nacht also vergehen, bis der Morgen in unsern Hallen erscheine[.] Dann seien nicht ferne der Bogen, die Doggen, die Jünglinge der Jagd. Wir werden die Hügel mit dem Morgen besteigen und die Hirsche erwecken.

Bard:

[§1] [**Slowly**] [**Recit.**] Night is dark and gloomy. The clouds rest on the [**a tempo**] hills, no star with green trembling beam; no moon looks through the air. I hear the breeze in the wood; but I hear it distant far. The stream of the valley roars; but its roaring is stormy and sullen. [**Very slowly**] From the tree at the grave of the dead the long-howling owl is heard. [**Somewhat fast**] I see a dim form on the plain! It is a ghost, it fades, it flies! [**Slowly**] A corpse is carried past this place, a vision marks the path. [**Somewhat fast**] The distant dog is howling from the hut of the hill. [**Peacefully**] The stag lies on the mountain moss. The [hind] rests at his [**Faster**] side; she hears the wind in his branchy horns; she starts [**Slowly**] and lies down to rest again.

[§2] [**Somewhat faster**] Dismal and panting, trembling and sad the wanderer lost his way. He goes astray through shrubs, through thorns along the gurgling fountain, he fears the rock and the fen. He fears the ghost of night. The old tree groans to the blast. The falling branch resounds. [**Fast**] The wind drives the withered burs, clung together, along the grass. It is the light [**Slowly**] tread of a ghost; he trembles amidst the night.

[§3] [**As above, i.e. Slowly**] Night is dismal, dusky, and howling, cloudy, stormy and full of ghosts. [**Very slowly**] The dead are abroad. Receive me from the night, my friends.

The Master:

[§4] [**Moderately**] Let clouds rest on the hills: spirits fly and wanderer tremble, let the winds of the woods arise, roaring storms descend. [Let] streams thunder, windows clatter, and green-winged vapours fly. [Let] the pale moon rise behind his hills, or inclose his head in clouds. [**Recit.**] Night is alike to me, blue, stormy, or gloomy the air. Night flies before the beam, when it is poured on the hill. The young day returns from his clouds, but [**Slowly**] we return no more.

[§5] [**Fast**] [**Recit.**] Where are our leaders of old? Where are our widely renowned masters? [**Not too slowly**] Silent are the fields of their battles. Scarce their mossy tombs remain. We shall also be forgot. [**Recit.**] This lofty house shall fall, our sons shall not behold the ruins in grass, they shall ask of the aged, where stood the walls of our fathers?

[S6] [Moderately] [Recit.] Raise the song, and strike the [a tempo] harps! [Recit.] Send round the merry shells. Suspend a hundred tapers on high. [Recit.] Youths, maids, begin the dance! Let a grey-haired bard be near me to tell the deeds of other times, of kings renowned in our land, of masters we behold no more. Thus let the night pass until morning shall appear in our halls. Then let the bow be at hand, the hounds, the youths of the chase. We shall ascend the hill with the morning and awake the deer.

It is probably at least partly true that Schubert's circle of friends considered the characters of the Ossian poems to be models for the future. In a time when, they felt, youths were trapped in destructive passions and indolence, the study of great men and ideas of times past was to turn boys into noble and active men who loved the good, the true, and the beautiful, and who were beneficial to society. Poetry was no longer merely to be enjoyed, but was also to encourage its readers to take action. The explicit reference to active young men and the recording of their great deeds were features of the Ossian poems which made them fit into this programme.⁵⁶⁹ Still, Ossian could seem a surprising source of texts when one considers the fact that members of Schubert's circle sometimes warned against products of Romanticism which they saw as dangerously caught in an idle dream world. In a letter written in July 1817, Anton Ottenwalt complains about those who "know of nothing but the dreary night of the absolute everything-and-nothing doctrine, over which the will-o'-the-wisps and spooks of Romanticism hover" and then exclaims: "God grant us soon a great spirit who will remedy this mischief!"⁵⁷⁰ Paradoxically, features of Romanticism appear in the circle's own poetical writings and, in the case of Schubert, in the choice of poetry for musical setting. The Ossian texts can be seen as examples of this. As we shall see in this chapter, and even more in Chapter 5, Romantic thought was a far more important part of the circle's intellectual life than Ottenwalt's comment suggests. Not even in their more anti-Romantic moments did members of the circle unconditionally reject all topics of Romantic art. What they objected against was the use of such topics for what was perceived as incoherent and chaotic longing. Poets should focus on how happiness can be furthered, they often claimed, and as long as the misty past was drawn upon for that purpose, there was no reason to object.⁵⁷¹ Similarly, they did not ban the expression of emotion from poetry, but held that such expression must be to a noble end. Poetry must not be mere "plays of fantasy" and, in particular, it must not play on the reader's emotions in a destructive way.⁵⁷² One of the questions to be discussed in this chapter is whether *Die Nacht* could be regarded as using topics of Romanticism for such a commendable purpose.

A clear sign that features of Romanticism were in no way scorned in the circle is the fact that substantial parts of the *Beyträge* demonstrate the friends' belief in the socially unifying and regenerative power of heroic legends. Beside anecdotes about

⁵⁶⁹ Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, pp. 102f.

⁵⁷⁰ Translation from German quoted from Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, p. 68.

⁵⁷¹ *ibid.*, pp. 69f.

⁵⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 58f.

the exemplary characters of certain German kings and emperors, and beside Ottenwalt's poetic eulogy of Herrmann der Cherusker (one of the favourite paragons of the German national movement),⁵⁷³ 56 pages in the first volume and 67 in the second one are dedicated to a reprint of the tale "Von Wittich dem Starcken" (On Wittich the Strong). This choice of topic forms a parallel to the passage in *Die Nacht* where the master demands that a bard be near him "to tell the deeds of other times, of kings renowned in our land". *Die Nacht* thus contains not only youths who may in themselves have been regarded as models for the future, but also a reminder of the importance of old tales as a regenerative force.

Wittich the Strong is a figure from the *Dietrichsage* who, along for example with Siegfried in the *Nibelungenlied*, fitted well with German nationalist dreams of heroic deeds.⁵⁷⁴ Kohlhäufel notes that in order to emphasize the value of such a German heroic tale for the present times, the editors of the *Beiträge* quote a passage from Friedrich Schlegel's *Deutsches Museum* (1812). Here, Schlegel says that "the ancient legends" (die uralten Sagen) reveal the specific natures and the primordial characteristics of the different nations and that legend may thus provide the Germans with "a poetic background" (einen dichterischen Hintergrund). With specific relevance for the circle's project of youth education, Schlegel contends that the times of which the legends tell are particularly well suited "to foster patriotic and manly sentiments" (vaterländische und männliche Gesinnungen zu bilden), and that, therefore, youths ought to be led "out in the open air" (ins Freye hinaus), to the "half weathered primary rock of legend where the fountain of heroic poetry, pregnant with iron, still lively spouts".⁵⁷⁵

The way towards this Romantic fascination with mythology was paved in part by eighteenth-century ethnographic studies of foreign cultures,⁵⁷⁶ and the notion of mythology as having the capacity to heal and unify a society which was being torn to pieces by the dry reasoning of Enlightenment had an early and influential champion in Herder. Herder repudiated the traditional, scholarly approach to mythology by claiming that what matters is the poetic use to which mythology can be put in the present times, not the rationalist historical study of myths as things of the past. Schiller and Goethe took part in the new trend, and it was developed by Friedrich Hegel, who wanted to use a "new mythology" to spread the insights of

⁵⁷³ Arminius, or Herrmann der Cherusker, was the leader of the Germanic forces in the so-called *Varusschlacht* of year 9 AD, as a result of which Rome lost its Germanic conquests.

⁵⁷⁴ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 203f. A presumably good-humoured aspect of the circle's interest in the *Nibelungenlied* is that, at least in 1823 and 1824, some of the friends could call each other by names from this tale. For example, Schober was "the grim Hagen" (der grimme Hagen) and Schubert was "Volker the minstrel" (Volker der Spielmann). Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, pp. 204f, 209, 238f.

⁵⁷⁵ "an den halb verwitterten Urfels der Sage, wo der mit Eisen geschwängerte Quell der Heldendichtung noch lebendig hervorsprudelt". Quoted from Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 203.

⁵⁷⁶ Christoph Jamme, *Einführung in die Philosophie des Mythos*, vol. 2: *Neuzeit und Gegenwart* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1991), p. 20.

Enlightenment to the large crowds. Finally, the new mythology was enthusiastically taken on by early Romantics such as Friedrich Schlegel and Friedrich von Schelling.⁵⁷⁷ Schlegel's "romantic fiction of a primordial German mythology",⁵⁷⁸ according to which the mythology is a foundation which may provide the *Volk* with a common identity and from which a new generation of heroes may spring forth, must have helped shaping the Schubert circle's interpretation of *Die Nacht*. For the Ossian poems, which, when they appeared in the 1760s, had constituted the first major focal point of what was to become the Romantic interest in *Volksdichtung*, were received in Germany as a poetic treasure which had the capacity to even out the political and social tensions in British society.⁵⁷⁹ And, as we have seen, old British, and not least Scottish culture was considered to have much in common with what was considered to be the original German culture. On a more literal level, Schlegel's metaphor of the folk tale as a "half weathered primary rock" on to which the youths ought to be led may have been put in relation to the master's demand for a bard singing of "deeds of other times" and his heralding of his and the youths' hunting on the hill in the morning.

What, then, was the relationship of Schubert's *Die Nacht* to the Ossian poetry as it was understood at the time, and to the convictions and aims of Schubert's circle of friends? In order to approach an answer to these questions, it is important to recognize that the song, as Schubert chose to conceive it, has many points of contact with the *English landscape garden* and with the musical *free fantasia*, genres of landscape and music which were in turn related to the Ossian poems and which were heavily charged with ideas and habits of high relevance to the Schubert circle.

Connections between Ossian-reception and the English landscape garden

Schubert's selection from the poem in the footnote makes considerable reference to features of landscape. Ossian was intimately connected with the Scottish Highlands, and the introduction to the footnote specifically states Northern Scotland, in October, as the scene of the monologues, so there is every reason to assume that the verbal landscape description in *Die Nacht* was taken as a reference to the Highlands. But then, of course, the question is what the Highlands were thought to be like. I know of no extant mentioning of the Highlands from Schubert's circle, so I will assume that, basically, they shared commonly held views.

The early nineteenth century was a time when interest in wild landscapes was still a fairly recent phenomenon. Only in the 1790s had the Highlands become

⁵⁷⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 26ff, and Markus Schwering, "Die Neue Mythologie", in *Romantik-Handbuch*, ed. Helmut Schanze, second edition (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2003), pp. 381f.

⁵⁷⁸ "romantisch[e] Fiktion einer ursprünglichen deutschen Mythologie". Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 203.

⁵⁷⁹ Stefan Greif, "Märchen/Volksdichtung", in *Romantik-Handbuch*, 2003, p. 259.

the destination of tourists, a phenomenon which was itself inspired by the Ossian cult and the taste for the Sublime.⁵⁸⁰ In *Die Ossian-Dichtung in der musikalischen Komposition* (1994), Matthias Wessel suggests that accounts of journeys into the Scottish landscape had an influence on stage productions based on Ossian texts.⁵⁸¹ But when discussing the conception of Ossian's landscape, there is also reason to be interested in the English landscape garden, a type of garden which in the eighteenth century had become a major provider of the experience of "natural" landscape. For, as John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (1988) put it, "the habits of mind and patterns of meditation" that were relied upon in the landscape outside the gardens "were precisely those learnt inside [English] landscape gardens".⁵⁸² Tourists' desire for certain sights, their movements in the landscape, and also the so-called "improvements" of the Scottish landscape which were undertaken by landlords had their background in the English garden. Such habits, patterns and desires will be important topics in this chapter.

The Picturesque

Much reception of the Highlands and of English gardens was framed by the so-called *Picturesque*. The landscape, that is, was to be experienced aesthetically as a number of pictorial scenes in which the beautiful and the sublime were judiciously blended.⁵⁸³ The genre of the English garden had been constructed as a modern alternative to the strict and symmetrical French Baroque garden.⁵⁸⁴ Instead of the stable and static solar-system lay-out characteristic of the French style, gardens of the English type were arranged to be experienced as successions of contrasting scenes connected by winding paths. Pastoral scenes alternated with gloomy groves, fearful or mysterious grottoes, dreamy lakes, and points with a view. English gardens were carefully planned and crafted areas, although they were thought of as more "natural" than the "over-cultivated" French gardens. The most obviously constructed parts were scenographic elements such as temples, fake antique or medieval ruins, fake or real grave monuments, grottoes etc. But also the terrain itself and its selection of plants were results of careful planning and the work of many hands.

The landscape of the Scottish Highlands could be arranged for heightened effect in a manner much reminiscent of the physical construction of English

⁵⁸⁰ Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque. Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990, first published in 1989), p. 198.

⁵⁸¹ Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, pp. 193ff.

⁵⁸² John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, ed., *The Genius of the Place. The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820*, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), pp. 38f.

⁵⁸³ See Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 1990, on William Gilpin (1724-1804), whose *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain; particularly the High-Lands of Scotland* (1789) influenced many tourists' reception of the Highlands. Also see Hunt and Willis, *The Genius of the Place*, 1988, pp. 337f. On the concept 'Picturesque', see Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 1990, and Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 1-15.

⁵⁸⁴ Siegmund Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur. Die literarische Kontroverse um den Landschaftsgarten des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1981), pp. 106f.

gardens.⁵⁸⁵ Scottish landowners were sometimes encouraged to improve the picturesque quality of their estates by introducing elements that would soften the harshness of the landscape.⁵⁸⁶ In other cases, sublime qualities were enhanced. For example, when, around 1800, tourists came to see one of the great waterfalls of the river Bran, they were normally guided by the landowner's gardener. This gardener would lead them towards the waterfall in such a way that the sight of it was constantly obscured while the sound of it grew louder. The sublime effect of the eventual visual impression of the fall was then magnified by an intricate construction known first as the "Hermitage" (a frequent topos in English gardens) and then, in the time of the Ossian cult and after some modifications, as "Ossian's Hall". Entering the dark antechamber of Ossian's Hall, the visitor saw a painting which represented the ancient bard singing to a group of women. Without notice, the gardener would then pull a lever which made the painting suddenly disappear and reveal a room which was not only equipped with large windows facing the waterfall, but which was also furnished with a large number of mirrors which magnified the effect of the falling masses of water.⁵⁸⁷

The reception and physical construction of the Highlands was considerably influenced by the English garden, but, as we shall see, it seems that English gardens could also work as substitutes for the Highlands. It must be assumed that, to most readers of Ossian, including those in Vienna, English gardens were more likely visits than the real wilderness. From around 1770 the Viennese had seen the laying out of a large number of English landscape gardens around their city.⁵⁸⁸ The genre had been imported from England to Northern Germany in the 1760s and 1770s,⁵⁸⁹ and by Schubert's time it was an established part of Viennese culture. Emperor Joseph II had opened the Prater to the public in 1766 and the Augarten in 1775. Most aristocrats followed suit and even arranged guided tours of their gardens, many of which were of the English kind. The Viennese, it is true, may have associated Ossian's landscape with the Alps, but they were probably more familiar with the close-at-hand English gardens than with the fairly remote and potentially dangerous mountains. Andrews observes, with regard to Britain, that picturesque tourism was available mainly to "the leisured connoisseur élite".⁵⁹⁰ That probably holds true also for Vienna.

Almost every Picturesque-seeking tourist to the Highlands brought Ossian poems as an appropriate read, and the combination of landscape and Ossianic poetry "provoked rapturous recitations by the sides of waterfalls, or on the mountain tops".⁵⁹¹ An Ossian edition like the one shown in Figure 3 could easily be brought in a

⁵⁸⁵ Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 1990, pp. 197-240.

⁵⁸⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 199f, 218.

⁵⁸⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 214-216.

⁵⁸⁸ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 143. On English landscape gardens in Vienna, see Géza Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung. Englische Landschaftskultur des 18. Jahrhunderts in und um Wien* (Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau, 1989).

⁵⁸⁹ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 27.

⁵⁹⁰ Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 1990, p. 236.

⁵⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 202.

normally-sized pocket. But also in English gardens in Vienna, Ossian poems were used as *Sehhilfe*, that is as a help for the eye to experience the landscape in an appropriate way.⁵⁹² Such a practice probably worked in two directions, making Ossian

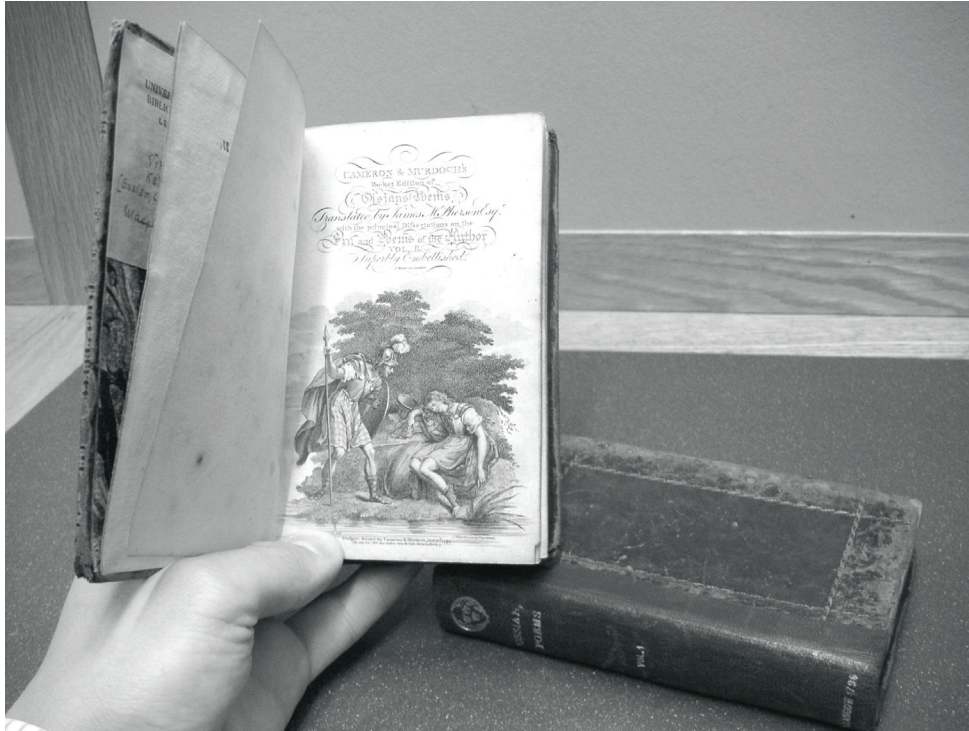


Figure 3. Cameron & Murdoch's *Pocket Edition of Ossian's Poems* (Glasgow: Cameron and Murdoch, 1797). The copy is kept at Lund University Library. Photograph by the author.

a literature of the English garden and turning the English garden into a landscape of Ossian. In short, I think there is reason to believe that, in the minds of many Ossian recipients, the visualization of the Ossianic landscape drew on experiences of the English landscape garden. At least on a superficial level, a similarity could probably be perceived between the picturesque succession of scenes in the Highlands or in an English garden, the varying scenery in the text of *Die Nacht*, and, indeed, the “successive episodes strung together one after another” in Schubert’s setting of that text (to use Gramit’s modern expression). But the English garden was associated with much more than merely a succession of scenes. Let us consider a few of these associations and raise the question about their possible importance for the interpretation of *Die Nacht*.

⁵⁹² Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 69.

A garden and a language of nature and freedom

Siegmar Gerndt points out that in German literature from the period 1770 to 1810, French and English gardens alike became symbols for political, psychological, and metaphysical ideas. In such writings, the English landscape garden was normally charged with “various cherished dreams” whereas the French garden was used as a negative contrast.⁵⁹³ Especially, the English garden was used as a metaphor for several related but not identical concepts of freedom. In an English garden, a tree, for example, should not be cut in an “unnatural” way, as was habitually done in French gardens, but should instead be free to follow what was thought of as its inner law. A tree wants to be a tree and must be allowed to follow that desire, the idea was. When a garden was constructed according to the idea that every plant and every part of a landscape should be free to develop according to its inner law, but that the individual parts must not destroy “the beautiful whole” (das schöne Ganze), it could be thought of as an example of the aesthetic freedom of an “ideal character”, a concept of freedom which we encountered in Chapter 3.⁵⁹⁴ The English garden could also be thought of as a politically charged realm where revolutionary ideas of freedom, equality and brotherhood took physical shape, or as a manifestation of a desired liberation of Germans from the alleged cultural colonization by France.

Also the Ossian poems were associated with ideas of nature and freedom, an obvious reason being their descriptions of wild landscapes. But also their poetic mode – a “prose-poetry” that “resists any attempt to break it up into a recognizable poetic form” and in which “[a]gain and again, awkward, strange, or otherwise ‘unpoetic’ phrases upset the poetic rhythms” – was perceived as an exponent of nature untamed by culture.⁵⁹⁵ The Ossianic language could thus be considered to be authentic and free from the restraints of an over-formalized society. In his “A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian” (1765), which was attached to most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of Ossian and which became highly influential also on the Continent, the rhetorician Hugh Blair reflected on the relation between nature, primitivity, and the language of Ossian:

In the infancy of societies, men live scattered and dispersed, in the midst of solitary rural scenes, where the beauties of nature are their chief entertainment. They meet with many objects, to them new and strange; their wonder and surprise are frequently excited; and by the sudden changes of fortune occurring in their unsettled state of life, their passions are raised to the utmost. Their passions have nothing to restrain them: their imagination has nothing to check it. They display themselves to one another without disguise: and converse and act in the uncovered simplicity of nature. As their feelings are strong, so their

⁵⁹³ “verschiedenartigen Wunschbildern”. Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, p. 7.

⁵⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 106ff.

⁵⁹⁵ Laughlin, “The Lawless Language”, 2000, p. 512.

language, of itself, assumes a poetical turn. Prone to exaggerate, they describe every thing in the strongest colours [...]⁵⁹⁶

The result is a verbal style which, in Blair's words, lacks "artful transitions" and "full and extended connection of parts; such as we find among the poets of later times", and which is instead "always rapid and vehement; in narration concise even to abruptness, and leaving several circumstances to be supplied by the reader's imagination".⁵⁹⁷ Similarly, Herder regarded the frequently abrupt exclamations put in rows in the Ossian poems as remnants of the *cry* which he considered to be the historical beginning of both music and language and with which, he thought, primordial man had spontaneously expressed his emotions.⁵⁹⁸

If this was how Schubert's circle thought about the language of Ossian, it is easy to imagine that his illustrative and emotionally flexible setting in *Die Nacht* was perceived as at least historically adequate. But, as we saw in Chapter 3, the circle hardly desired a return to a pure state of nature, or even to the first step of civilization. According to Wötzel's *Vorlesekunst* (1817), with which I have assumed that they agreed, the language of uncivilized man is admirable for its authenticity but too coarse for the more delicate inner life of an educated person.

And, according to Schiller's *Ästhetische Erziehung*, when man reacts too promptly and with too much emotion to every change that occurs in the outside world, it is an impediment to his aesthetic freedom. Schiller, who took considerable interest in the Ossian poems, regarded the figures of Ossian and Fingal as having many of the necessary characteristics of a "beautiful soul", but he also regarded the fragmentary form of the poems as a flaw. Thus, in 1788 and 1789 he advised his future wife Charlotte von Lengefeld, who was translating Ossian poems, to fill in the syntactic gaps of the original text so that the whole would make a more harmonious effect.⁵⁹⁹ Similarly, in the late 1790s, it was a perceived lack of order which made Schiller advocate a middle road between the "ruleless freedom" of the English garden and the "rigidity" of the French garden, a middle road which would make of the garden a "characteristic whole".⁶⁰⁰

Was *Die Nacht* fit to be used as a manifestation not only of "natural", short-breathed expression of emotions, but also of an inner freedom in which expressions, in one way or another, come together as a whole? I will return to this question in due course. Let us now turn to other concepts which were associated with the English

⁵⁹⁶ Blair, "Critical Dissertation" (1765), 1996, p. 345. Blair finds in the Ossian poems a combination of "the fire and the enthusiasm of the most early times", "an amazing degree of regularity and art", and "tenderness, and even delicacy of sentiment". *ibid.*, p. 349.

⁵⁹⁷ Blair, "Critical Dissertation" (1765), 1996, p. 354.

⁵⁹⁸ Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, pp. 58f.

⁵⁹⁹ Wolf Gerhard Schmidt, "'Menschlichschön' and 'kolossalisch': The Discursive Function of *Ossian* in Schiller's Poetry and Aesthetics", in *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, 2004, pp. 187-191, 196.

⁶⁰⁰ Schiller, letter written on 30 September, 1794. Quoted from Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, p. 140. My translation. Also see Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 189.

garden and which are also likely to have been of relevance for the interpretation of *Die Nacht* within Schubert's circle.

Areas of melancholy and terror

The bard's narration of sorrow and fear which takes up the first half of *Die Nacht* is typical of the Ossianic style in that the landscape and the emotions of its inhabitant are densely intermingled.⁶⁰¹ A similar mingling took place in English gardens, where the succession of scenes was expected to provoke a corresponding succession of emotions. In the decades around 1800, especially the evocation of melancholy had a strong appeal on many garden visitors.⁶⁰² The European vogue of melancholy had reached Vienna in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and soon left its mark on gardens.⁶⁰³ After Johann Graf Fries' suicide in 1785, committed "due to melancholy", his family mausoleum in a secluded grove of the English garden at Vöslau in Lower Austria became a site of pilgrimage for the more sentimental inhabitants of Vienna. By 1800, graves and ruins (fake or real) which reminded visitors of times past had become standard elements in English gardens around Vienna, and the concept of melancholy had gained some prominence in garden descriptions.⁶⁰⁴

The kinds of thought which could be aroused by a visit to a melancholic part of a garden is exemplified by Franz de Paula Anton Gaheis' report on the Vöslau garden. Gaheis visited the garden in October 1800 and the report appeared in his *Wanderungen und Spazierfahrten in die Gegenden Wiens (Wanderings and Walks in the Surroundings of Vienna)*, which was published in the following years. After having walked a dark, winding path in the middle of a "sombre, secluded grove" (düstern abseitigen Gehölze), he enters the mausoleum and delivers a short sentimental monologue on transitoriness: "What emotions form at the sight of the graves on all sides which, open, wait for their prey! Here, the bones will be gathered of those who, being the grace of the capital, inhabit the splendid palace at the Josephsplatz! What narrow room finally encloses a person's whole glory! Everything – except the renown of great deeds, the blessings of noble humanity, and the rays of wisdom – are here covered by a slab of marble."⁶⁰⁵ The closest parallel in *Die Nacht* is the master's

⁶⁰¹ Compare Laughlin, "The Lawless Language", 2000, pp. 513f.

⁶⁰² Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, pp. 71-80, 82.

⁶⁰³ The 1770s and -80s are recognized as the main phase of German sensibility ("Empfindsamkeit"). Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, p. 74. But, although criticized, the practices of this movement were not abruptly discontinued, but were carried on well into the nineteenth century. On early-nineteenth-century examples of sensibility in English gardens, see *ibid.*, pp. 61, 89.

⁶⁰⁴ Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, pp. 91ff; Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, pp. 51-56. Gerndt shows that the tradition of burial in landscape gardens continued well into the second decade of the nineteenth century.

⁶⁰⁵ "Welche Empfindungen bilden sich bey dem Anblicke der rund herum gemauerten, offenen Gräber, die ihrer Beute harren! Hieher sollen sich die Gebeine derer versammeln, die als die Zierde der Hauptstadt den prächtigen Pallast am Josephsplatze bewohnen! Welch enger Raum umschließt zu letzt die ganze Herrlichkeit eines Menschen! Alles – nur der Ruhm großer Thaten, die Segnungen edler Menschenliebe, die Strahlen der Weisheit nicht – verhüllet hier eine Marmorplatte." – Franz de Paula Anton Gaheis,

reflection on death (§§4-5). To be sure, the master is even more pessimistic than Gaheis, for, according to him, not even the memory of the dead remain for ever and our sons will not see the ruins of our buildings. But in both cases darkness and the sense of being in the realm of the dead leads to thoughts on human evanescence.

The quiet night scene at the beginning of *Die Nacht* has conspicuously much in common with the particular kind of scene in an English garden that Christian Cay Laurenz Hirschfeld, one of the period's foremost German authorities on English gardens, in his highly influential *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (*Theory of the art of the garden*) refers to as a "mildly melancholic area" (sanftmelancholische Gegend) or a "mildly melancholic garden" (sanftmelancholischer Garten).⁶⁰⁶ Such an area, he writes, is characterized by its darkness and obstruction of free view which comes about as a result of its thick shrubbery and groups of tree with dark-green or blackish leaves hanging low. He even mentions a "hollow stir" (hohles Geräusch) heard from the trees, to be compared to the beginning of *Die Nacht*: "I hear the breeze in the wood; but I hear it distant far".⁶⁰⁷ Hirschfeld's "muffledly murmuring waters, the sight of which is blocked" (dumpfmurmeldes Gewässer, dessen Anblick versteckt ist) also has an approximate correspondence in *Die Nacht*: "The stream of the valley roars; but its roaring is stormy and sullen".⁶⁰⁸ In both cases, the water is referred to as a sad sound, but in *Die Nacht* it is also stormy, which, if we follow Hirschfeld's chapter "Water", mixes melancholy with a sense of strength or even of sublimity and fear.⁶⁰⁹ Hirschfeld's mildly melancholic area is characterized by the absence of everything "that may announce life and activity" (was Leben und Wirksamkeit ankündigen kann), a description which could do also for the beginning of *Die Nacht*.⁶¹⁰ Hirschfeld makes an exception for an "incomprehensible whirring of unfamiliar beings" (unverständliches Geschwirre unbekannter Geschöpfe), which suggests that the fickle movements of a ghost and of "withered burs, clung together" in the first two paragraphs of *Die Nacht* could fit into a mildly melancholic realm of a garden.⁶¹¹ Also, Hirschfeld writes, a dove may coo in a tree and an owl may fly, in parallel to *Die Nacht* where an owl hoots, sitting in a tree by a grave. Certain types of building, such as graves, ruins (both mentioned in *Die Nacht*) and temples may add to the atmosphere, Hirschfeld writes.

The cover of the present volume shows an engraving which serves as one of Hirschfeld's illustrations of the mildly melancholic type of garden scene.⁶¹² There, a

Wanderungen und Spazierfahrten in die Gegenden Wiens (Vienna 1801-8). Quoted from Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, pp. 165f.

⁶⁰⁶ Christian Cay Laurenz Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: W.G. Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1779), pp. 211-13. On Hirschfeld's influence, see Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, p. 13.

⁶⁰⁷ Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 1, 1779, p. 211.

⁶⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 211.

⁶⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p. 201.

⁶¹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 211f.

⁶¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 212.

⁶¹² Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 4, 1782, p. 86. Reprinted with permission from Lund University Library. The image is slightly cut.

“temple of melancholy” (Tempel der Melancholie) is “already half foundered”. Its “decayed and overgrown stonework” suggests the temple’s approaching downfall, while some pillars still remind of its former beauty. “Thick bushes” envelop this “low place” in twilight, and the rising moon spreads a “solemn shimmer” over the tree tops and over the front of the temple. The sentimental mood is underscored by an inscription (probably on the temple): “Manibus Amicorum” – In the arms of the friends.⁶¹³

Just as Macpherson did in *Die Nacht*, Hirschfeld introduces a roving movement into his landscape: “In the darkness [...] the melancholic garden should wind its labyrinthine paths about”,⁶¹⁴ now to dusky depths, now to the shadows under overhanging cliffs, now past the shore of a silent water “on which the surrounding trees cast an eternal night”,⁶¹⁵ now to a dark open space, now to a bench under thick leafage, now to a mossy seat under a crooked oak-tree which is half destroyed by time and storm, now to a massive cliff from the inner of which comes the mournful sound of hidden, flowing waters.⁶¹⁶ But in contrast to the bard’s narration in *Die Nacht*, Hirschfeld’s movement through the darkness does not lead to any scene which stirs fear and anxiety. “Seclusion, introversion, darkness and stillness must here prevail throughout and prove their powerful effects on the soul”,⁶¹⁷ Hirschfeld writes, but, importantly, he makes clear that the aim of a sweetly melancholic area is not to rouse unpleasant sentiments. Instead, the effect is to be a sweet delight in peace, solitude, inwardness and sentimental remembrance.⁶¹⁸ The solitary dweller in such surroundings takes pleasure in himself, for, here “a flattering conception of self-sufficiency” arises as well as forgetfulness of the worldly things that otherwise disturb one’s peace.⁶¹⁹ The area, a “confidant of love” (Vertraute der Liebe), “supports the secret tenderness of the heart and flatters the sorrow until it falls silent”.⁶²⁰ The “mild” emotions that arise – “tenderness” (Zärtlichkeit), “sympathy” (Sympathie), “melancholy” (Wehmuth), and “grief” (Betrübnis) – are, in the sentimental tradition in

⁶¹³ “Er ist schon halb versunken. Sein zerfallenes und bewachsenes Mauerwerk kündigt die Annäherung seines Unterganges an, indessen noch einige Säulen auf seine vorige Schönheit zurückwinken. Dichte Gebüsche umdämmern den niedrigen Platz; und das sich erhebende Licht des Mondes verbreitet über die Gipfel der Bäume und die Vorderseite des Tempels einen feyerlichen Schimmer. Die Inschrift: [/] Manibus Amicorum [/] verstärkt den Eindruck des Gebäudes und seiner Scene”. Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 4, 1782, p. 86.

⁶¹⁴ “Unter der Finsterniß [...] winde der melancholische Garten seine labyrinthische Gänge umher”

⁶¹⁵ “worauf die umherstehenden Bäume eine ewige Nacht werfen”

⁶¹⁶ Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 4, 1782, p. 83.

⁶¹⁷ “Eingezogenheit, Verslossenheit, Dunkelheit und Stille müssen hier durchgängig herrschen, und ihren mächtigen Einwirkungen auf die Seele beweisen”. *ibid.*, p. 82.

⁶¹⁸ On Hirschfeld’s notion that a grave in a park can be used to support moral emotions, see Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 92.

⁶¹⁹ “eine schmeichelhafte Vorstellung von Selbstgenügsamkeit”. Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 1, 1779, p. 212.

⁶²⁰ “unterhält die geheime Zärtlichkeit des Herzens, und schmeichelt dem Kummer, bis er stumm wird”. *ibid.*, p. 212.

which Hirschfeld writes, “the nobility and bliss of humanity”.⁶²¹ It also stimulates a rare degree of freedom of fantasy: “the fantasy rises to an exceptional flight in a new sphere of images, among which it roves about with secret rapture”.⁶²² In short, the mildly melancholic area is a realm for flattering self-centredness and for the experience of a series of emotions of particular profundity and of fantasies of unusual genius.

Hirschfeld points out that such an area loses its “mild effect” when it is exaggerated in such a way that it acquires “gruesome or terrible” qualities (“das Schaudervolle oder Schreckliche”). In a mildly melancholic area, therefore, overpowering sorrow and fear should be avoided by the inclusion of faint rays of light.⁶²³ Here is a disagreement between Hirschfeld’s mildly melancholic area and the landscape in *Die Nacht*, for, in the bard’s description of the night, the water is stormy and there are no rays of light (“no star [...] no moon”).⁶²⁴ In paragraph 2, the night becomes more troubled and even threatening, as marked by the dangerous rock and marsh, the gathering wind, the falling branch, the appearance of ghosts, and the explicit reference to the wanderer’s emotions: “Dismal and panting, trembling and sad”, “he fears”.

In spite of Hirschfeld’s warnings, though, fear was sometimes included in English gardens. Sulzer, in the influential article “Gartenkunst” (The art of the garden) in his *Allgemeine Theorie*, writes that a landscape garden should contain both “smiling”, “enchanted”, and “terrifying” scenes.⁶²⁵ And, with a mix of dismissal and fascination, Hirschfeld himself describes a garden in Denbigh (Surrey, England) which contains a “Tempel of Death” (Tempel des Todes). In this temple, a doorway with skeletons attached on either side leads to a “Valley of Death” (Thal des Todes), an arrangement which, Hirschfeld writes, “some sensitive garden enthusiasts” might find reprehensible.⁶²⁶ In another section of his *Theorie*, he describes a type of nature similar both in structure and effect to the more dangerous aspects of the landscape in *Die Nacht*: “Extended, wildly growing wastes filled with marshes, swamps and darkness, or mere stretches of rough cliffs and desert rocks, [...] cause discouragement, fear, dread. [...] the thought of loneliness here grows into terror, and man is seized by a depressing sensation of his own weakness”. Hirschfeld regards this type of landscape as essentially unfit for inclusion in gardens. In nature it can make a good effect as a contrasting element in otherwise beautiful surroundings, he writes, but adds that the

⁶²¹ “der Adel und das Glück des Menschheit”. Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 4, 1782, p. 81.

⁶²² “die Phantasie erhebt sich zu einem ungewöhnlichen Flug in eine neue Sphäre von Bildern, unter welchen sie mit einem geheimen Entzücken umherirrt”. Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 1, 1779, p. 212. On the notion that loneliness and melancholy are prerequisites of originality, see Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 92.

⁶²³ Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 1, 1779, p. 212.

⁶²⁴ In Macpherson’s English text, the path of the funeral procession is marked by a meteor, which implies a starry sky. In von Harold’s German version, however, it is simply marked by a vision (“Luftbild”).

⁶²⁵ “lachende, fürchterliche und bezaubernde [Scenen]”. Sulzer, “Gartenkunst”, in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 422. Also see Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 64f.

⁶²⁶ “einige Gartenfreunde von sanftem Gefühl”. Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 4, 1782, p. 87.

“garden artist” (Gartenkünstler) must, in this case, not be rash to imitate the doings of Nature, a force which works with so much grander areas than he does.⁶²⁷

The paradigmatic English garden at Wörlitz (Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany) contained a fake volcano whose fire and black smoke astounded and frightened visitors.⁶²⁸ There are also hints that fear was sometimes included in English gardens around Vienna. Acutely scaring, although potentially also comical, a mechanical puppet hermit sprang to its feet as visitors stepped on a loose threshold in a cell at the *Einsiedelei* (hermitage) of the Laxenburg garden in Niederösterreich. The cell was also fitted with a sofa that disappeared at any attempt to sit down. The effect of a visit to this room in 1800 is related by Gaheis: “[o]ne screamed, the other was frightened, most laughed”.⁶²⁹ But it was probably more common that fearful images were present only in the minds of visitors. In another part of the already mentioned garden at Vöslau, Gaheis visited an hermitage which was surrounded by rocks and dark vegetation which gave to the scene “a sombre look” (ein düsteres Ansehen). Inside the building, which contained a statue and a hermit-bed, gloom seems to have been touched by fear: “A deep silence surrounds this ghastly darkness; one believes that one lives in the company of ghosts”.⁶³⁰ Finally, the use of *Sehhilfe* in the form of Ossian poems and other mediaevalist literature must have had the potential of populating gardens with frightening appearances.⁶³¹

How was the gloomy transformation of the night scene within the bard’s narration in *Die Nacht* interpreted in Schubert’s circle? What role, in their view, did that transformation play in the song as a whole? And what was for them the attitude of that whole towards the experience of melancholy and fear? In order to approach an

⁶²⁷ “Ausgedehnte, wildverwachsene, mit Morästen und Sümpfen, mit Finsterniß erfüllte Wüsteneien [...] oder lauter Strecken von rauhen Klippen und öden Felsen [...] erregen Unmuth, Furcht, Schauer. [...] der Gedanke der Einsamkeit geht hier in das Schreckhafte über, und ein niederdrückendes Gefühl seiner Schwäche bemächtigt sich des Menschen”. Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 1, 1779, pp. 209f.

⁶²⁸ Götz Pochat, “Gartenkunst und Landschaftsgarten vor Wörlitz”, in *Weltbild Wörlitz. Entwurf einer Kulturlandschaft, (Eine Ausstellung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten Wörlitz, Oranienbaum, Luisium im Deutschen Architektur-Museum Frankfurt am Main 22. März bis 2. Juni 1996)*, ed. Frank-Andreas Bechtoldt and Thomas Weiss (Ostfildern: Hatje Verlag, 1996), p. 44. Also see Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, pp. 89, 171.

⁶²⁹ “Eines schrie, das andere erschrak, die meisten lachten”. Gaheis, *Wanderungen und Spazierfahrten in die Gegenden Wiens*, Wien 1801-8. Quoted from Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 223. On puppet hermits, also see Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, pp. 37f. Such puppets succeeded real people as hermit-actors since it was thought that they were more likely to behave well and stay in place for long periods of time. According to Gerndt, the primary task of a flesh-and-blood hermit (normally a hired inhabitant of the local community) was to say blessings to garden visitors and to serve as an example of true piety. The mechanical hermit of Laxenburg, however, seems to have been no more successful in fulfilling these tasks than were many live garden hermits, who were often drunk or even absent. It may be assumed that whereas a live but drunk hermit could provoke irony and maybe pity, a mechanical one of the kind found in Laxenburg verged on the comical, the Grotesque and the Gothic.

⁶³⁰ “Eine tiefe Stille umgibt dieses schauerliche Dunkel; man meint in Gesellschaft von Geistern zu leben”. Gaheis, *Wanderungen und Spazierfahrten in die Gegenden Wiens*, Vienna 1801-8. Quoted from Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 164.

⁶³¹ Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 69.

answer to these questions, we must first turn to the references to daytime which *Die Nacht* also contains and the relation of these references to the English garden.

Night-scenes versus day-scenes

Die Nacht contains not only a description of night, but also vivid references to daytime. The contrast of darkness and light was a well-known topic in English gardens, and extant comments indicate that a progression from night to day, both in a scenic and in an emotional sense, could be part of the garden experience.

The Livonian *Sturm-und-Drang* poet Jacob Michael Reinhold Lenz's short drama-theoretical note *Für Wagnern (For Wagner)*, probably written in 1774 when he lived in Strassburg and intended for his friend and colleague Wilhelm Wagner, contains a notion of the garden experience as a process which leads towards a pleasing prospect. Moreover, it is an instance of a metaphorical use of that process in the description of an object composed in another medium. Lenz compares a *Sturm-und-Drang* drama to a garden in which "one has to climb up and down like in nature". If the "roughness of the area" (Rauhigkeit der Gegend) is not worth while, the drama is bad. A good drama is one in which the "prospect" which the poet opens up "at the end of the path" is such that "our whole soul rejoices and experiences a sense of bliss which it has not felt before".⁶³²

In his *Wanderungen und Spazierfahrten in die Gegenden Wiens*, Gaheis describes a part of the English garden at Cobenzl as an "immense night of trees and valleys" in which the wanderer is at risk of getting lost.⁶³³ The Prussian Johann Georg Adam Forster visited the same park in 1784 and reported that there were "small, lonely places and dark tracks consecrated to meditation, narrow footpaths for the unaccompanied wanderer who surrenders to the outpourings and poems of his heart!". He also saw a grotto at the entrance of which "holy dread seizes us".⁶³⁴ The result of leaving this nightly realm was described by F. Nicolai in his *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781 (Description of a journey through Germany and Switzerland in the year 1781)*. After having stayed for a while in the grotto, Nicolai and his company "climbed a few steps of stone and came out into a dark path which led us around the mountain and past an *ice house*. And now, as we ascended a little further and turned around, we were at once out of the dark, lonely

⁶³² "Und ist die Aussicht die er [der Dichter] am Ende des Ganges eröffnet, von der Art daß unsere ganze Seele sich darüber erfreut und in ein Wonnegefühl gerät das sie vorher nicht gespürt hat". Quoted from Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, p. 109. Also see Bert Kasties, *J.M.R. Lenz unter dem Einfluß des frühkritischen Kant. Ein Beitrag zur Neubestimmung des Sturm und Drang* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), p. 21.

⁶³³ "dies[e] unabsehbar[e] Nacht von Bäumen und Thälern". Franz de Paula Anton Gaheis, *Wanderungen und Spazierfahrten in die Gegenden Wiens* (Vienna, 1801-8). Quoted from Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 161.

⁶³⁴ "Kleine einsame Plätzchen, dunkle Gänge, ganz der Betrachtung heilig, schmale Fußpfade für den unbegleiteten Wanderer, der sich der Ergießungen und Dichtungen seines Herzens überläßt!"; "heilige Schauer uns ergreifen". Quoted from Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 158. Hajós quotes Wilhelm Bauer, *Alt-Wien in Briefen und Erinnerungen* (Vienna 1924), pp. 50f.

area and found ourselves in a valley which is surrounded by mountains covered with leafy trees". The free view of the surroundings made a "good effect [...], after we had so long wandered about on romantic, lonely paths".⁶³⁵ Similarly, in 1808 Joseph Wiedemann reported that, in the garden at Pötzleinsdorf, "arcades of lindens, lilacs and beech, avenues of poplar and spruce, waterfalls, lawns, benches for resting, groups of trees and shrubbery, now spread over the park the still night of yearning, now the bright clearness of delight".⁶³⁶ That a progression from darkness to light could be revitalizing is indicated by a poem which Gabriele von Baumberg wrote in 1787, in which she describes a walk through the park at Neuwaldegg, north-west of Vienna. Here, the darkness and confusion of a mildly melancholic area is succeeded by insight and new life:

[...]
 Ein grüner dunkler Gang, schmahl, aber breit genug,
 Um Arm in Arm zu wandeln, führt zur Quelle,
 Die nach und nach sich theilt, sanft, wie ein Thränenzug
 Von Wang' auf Busen rollt – in stufengleiche Fälle.

[...]
 Ein reizend Labyrinth von Rosen und von Reben,
 Nach englischem Geschmack verworren angelegt,
 Gibt dem verwirrten Aug am Ende neues Leben,
 Wenn man den inneren Plan von oben ganz entdeckt.
 [...]⁶³⁷

([...]
 A green, shadowy path, narrow, but wide enough
 To wander arm-in-arm, leads to the spring
 Which divides, softly, like a flow of tears
 Rolls from cheek to bosom – in step-like falls.

[...]
 An enchanting labyrinth of roses and of vines,
 Intricately laid out, in English taste,

⁶³⁵ "stiegen [...] einige steinerne Staffeln hinauf, und kamen in einen dunklen Weg, der am Berge herum und neben einem *Eiskeller* vorbeiführte. Und nun, indem wir noch etwas hinauf stiegen, und uns wendeten, waren wir mit einemahl aus der dunklen einsamen Gegend heraus, und befanden uns in einem Thale, rund herum mit Bergen umkränzt, welche dicht mit hoch belaubten Bäumen besetzt sind". "welches eine schöne Wirkung that, nachdem wir solange in romantischen einsamen Gängen herum gewandelt hatten". F. Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781* (Berlin and Stettin, 1784). Quoted from Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 156.

⁶³⁶ "Bogengänge von Linden, Flieder und Buchen, Alleen von Pappeln, Tannen und Fichten, Wasserfälle, Rasenplätze, Ruhebänke, Gruppen von Bäumen und Strauchwerk, verbreiten über den Park bald die stille Nacht der Sehnsucht, bald die helle Heiterkeit des Genusses". Joseph Wiedemann, *Mahlerische Streifzüge durch die interessantesten Gegenden um Wien* (1808). Quoted from Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 216.

⁶³⁷ Quoted from Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 147.

Finally gives new life to the puzzled eye,
When, from above, one unveils its inner plan.
[...])

Hence, it is likely that the first three paragraphs of the text of *Die Nacht* could be interpreted as being related to fashionable experiences in the darker realms of English gardens, and that, more specifically, the progression within the bard's narration where a wanderer gets lost in dark vegetation was perceived as a literal walk from a mildly melancholic scene to a more fearful one. The following paragraphs, ending with the master's promise that he and his companions will ascend the hill in the morning, are then likely to have been associated with a somewhat serpentine progression from such darker realms towards a morning scene.

But these are only cursory observations of the text. A more detailed interpretation of the progressions noted, and their relations to different concepts of a garden of freedom and nature, and of areas of melancholy and terror, will concern us in the rest of this chapter. Before turning to the analysis of *Die Nacht*, however, we need to discuss a link between Ossian, the English garden, and the musical style that Schubert chose for his setting: the free fantasia. This, in turn, will lead us to the important but problematic image of a thread that guides the wanderer.

The free fantasia

Not much familiarity with the musical conventions of Schubert's time is needed to discover that the music in *Die Nacht* parallels the progression from night to day which can be found in the text by contrasting a musical "darkness", dominating the very beginning of the song (flat minor keys, narrow voice leading, slow tempo), to a musical "light" towards its end (G and C major, triadic movement, moderate tempo [*Mäßig*]). The song also contains text-painting, such as the swift and volatile figures at "es ist ein Geist, er schwindet, er flieht!" (It is a ghost, it fades, it flies!, bars 27-29) and the four accented half-note *Seufzer* at "Der fernere Dogge heult von der Hütte des Hügels" (The distant dog is howling from the hut of the hill, bars 40-43). The music is full of conventional topoi that correspond to emotions, forms, movements, and concepts referred to in the text. The evocation of a funeral march (bars 30-39), of dance music (bars 163-172 and 175-184), and of fanfares (bars 118 and 193-207) are cases in point.

But it is equally important to note that the music of the song as a whole can be interpreted as belonging to the genre *free fantasia*, a genre characterized by its freedom from standard compositional norms.⁶³⁸ Considered as an opportunity for the

⁶³⁸ Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen notes that many of Schubert's early ballad settings share the sectional structure and tonal openness with the fantasia. Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, "Fantasie", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 120. Ossenkop identifies such a similarity already in sectional songs from the middle of the eighteenth century. Ossenkop, "The Earliest Settings", 1968, p. 147. On similarities between songs and free fantasias, also see Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, p. 95.

artist's unrestrained development of his whole range of emotions, the free fantasia, which in its paradigmatic form was performed on the clavichord or the pianoforte, was expected to include surprising harmonic progressions, sudden changes of texture and other material, as well as bewildering pauses. The artist was even allowed to include music of different styles, and so to "wander from one genre to the other".⁶³⁹ The result was sectional and unpredictable musical structures, sometimes not unlike that of *Die Nacht*.

The free fantasia must have been well-known in the circle around Schubert. A study of Viennese concert reviews from the first two decades of the nineteenth century shows that, time and again, public performances contained music termed *Fantasia*. By that time, the term had come also to denote variations on and juxtapositions of famous melodies, but the older notion of fantasia lived on in parallel with this new genre.⁶⁴⁰ As a mirror of the artist's soul, a free fantasia of the older kind should ideally be improvised, but written compositions which were improvisatory in style could pass as free fantasias too. Along with many other musicians of their time, Beethoven and the young Schubert improvised and composed fantasias in this older sense of the term.⁶⁴¹

To use a musical genre that was defined by its improvisatory style and its emotional immediacy when setting the text of *Die Nacht* must have seemed appropriate at least in one respect. As I said, Macpherson presents the monologues of his footnote as having been invented and performed "without preparation" (ohne Vorbereitung) and as imitating songs, referred to in the main text of *Croma*, in which bards "poured out their burning souls" while "the strings [of the harps] resonated with their voices".⁶⁴² The improvisatory style of the free fantasia was described as providing an open pathway to the inner life of the performer, a music "which [...] lets one gaze deeply into the artist's individuality, and which, so to say, makes the form of the art a mirror of his inner being".⁶⁴³ And, also in parallel to the Ossianic combination of poem and harp, in Schubert's time it was not uncommon to combine declamation (which was defined partly by its emotional authenticity) with a musical fantasia. In Chapter 3, I claimed that the use of music in von Möser's fictitious declamatory performance of Schiller's poem "Das Lied von der Glocke" constituted a link to the

⁶³⁹ "schweifen von einer Gattung in die andere aus". G.F. Wolf, "Fantasie", in *Allgemeines Musikalisches Lexikon*, ed. Georg Friedrich Wolf (Vienna, 1800), p. 40.

⁶⁴⁰ On the nineteenth-century "Salon- und Opernfantasien", see Dagmar Teepe, "Fantasie", in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, second edition, *Sachteil*, vol. 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), cols. 339f.

⁶⁴¹ Like *Die Nacht* and many other of his sectional songs, Schubert's early fantasias (D.1, D.2E, D.9 and D.48, composed between 1811 and 1813) are sectional in form and all but one (D.2E) begin and end in different keys. Hinrichsen, "Fantasie", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 120.

⁶⁴² "gossen ihre brennenden Seelen heraus, und die Sayten erschollen zu ihren Stimmen". von Harold, *Die Gedichte Ossians*, 1782, p. 181.

⁶⁴³ "dass [...] tief in die Individualität des Künstlers blicken lässt, und die Form der Kunst gleichsam zum Reflectir-Spiegel seines Inneren macht". "Musikalische Unterhaltung in Baden zum Vortheile der Herren Moscheles und Mayseder am 17. August im Redouten-Saale daselbst", in *AmZöK*, No. 35, 28 August 1817, cols. 302f.

theatre since it turned the declamation into a melodrama. But the description of that music also relates it to the free fantasia, for von Möser imagined a “Clavier” in the middle of the orchestra, “at which, improvising, Beethoven, Hummel etc. accompanies, introduces and lets die away the emotions”.⁶⁴⁴ Another example of the combination of declamation and fantasia is found in a review where it is said that, at a concert in Graz in 1819, the declamation of Klopstock’s *Frühlingsfeier* was “accompanied by [Ignaz] Moscheles in an improvised fantasia”.⁶⁴⁵

However, since the free fantasia originated as a purely instrumental genre it may seem an unlikely find in a vocal composition. To be sure, beginning with Beethoven, to some listeners the fantasia style seemed to “invade” other instrumental genres such as the sonata and the symphony,⁶⁴⁶ but it has also been claimed that, with few exceptions, the free fantasia was not brought into Lied accompaniment. Annette Richards (2001) argues that the simple, strophic structure expected from a Lied and the irregular music of a fantasia must simply have seemed impossible to combine.

But, as we know, in settings for voice and keyboard instrument, poems were not always combined with simple, strophic music. An experiment which took place in the 1760s, and which may have been of seminal importance for the future composition of fantasia-like songs, was Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg’s extracting and verbal underlaying of two alternative (!) vocal lines in C.P.E Bach’s C-minor fantasia.⁶⁴⁷ The alternation between sections of recitative and arioso used by von Gerstenberg is similar to the structure found in *Die Nacht* and some of Schubert’s other sectional songs. The assumption that song settings by Schubert could be regarded as being closely related to the free fantasia is strengthened by a critical review in an 1824 issue of *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) where it is remarked that Schubert “writes no actual Lieder, and has no wish to do so, but instead free songs, some of them so free that one perhaps could call them capriccios or fantasias”.⁶⁴⁸ The

⁶⁴⁴ “an welchem Beethoven, Hummel ec. die Empfindungen phantasirend begleitet, einführt, verhallen läßt”. v. Möser, “Deklamatorium mit Madame Bürger”, in *Zeitung für Theater, Musik und Poesie*, No. 8, 29 August 1807, p. 123.

⁶⁴⁵ “von Moscheles in einer improvisirten Phantasie begleitet”. ”Zweytes Concert des Herrn Moscheles in Grätz”, in *AmZöK*, No. 54, 7 July 1819, cols. 432-434. Quotation from col. 433.

⁶⁴⁶ See Teepe, “Fantasie”, 1995, cols. 338f. In a letter of 1817, Ernst Ludwig Gerber complained that “It appears to me as if the fantasy, like a despot, has seized absolute power over music [...] One can no longer perceive either any definite musical forms or any limits to the influence of the fantasy. [...] In such a way we hear and play nothing but Fantasies. Our sonatas are Fantasies, our overtures are Fantasies and even our symphonies, at least those of Beethoven and his like, are Fantasies”. Quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p 199.

⁶⁴⁷ On this experiment, see Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 95-100, and Arnfried Edler, “Freies Spiel von Geist und Hand: Fantasie und Capriccio”, in *Gattungen der Musik für Tasteninstrumente, Teil 2: Von 1750 bis 1830*, vol. 7/12 in *Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen*, ed. Siegfried Mauser (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), pp. 68-70.

⁶⁴⁸ “schreibt keine eigentlichen Lieder und will keine schreiben [...], sondern freye Gesänge, manche so frey, daß man sie allenfalls Capricen oder Phantasien nennen kann”. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 26 (1824), col. 426. Quoted from Schwab 1965, p 56. *Capriccio* was sometimes used as an alternative term for *free fantasia*. See Edler, “Freies Spiel von Geist und Hand”, 2003, pp. 73f, 88.

year before, it was said in *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* that a song may be either strophic or “closer to a free musical fantasy, in which the poetry is not so much set, but rather used as the inspiration for a musical piece, during the course of which the text is presented”.⁶⁴⁹ In 1831, Beethoven’s friend Anton Schindler made the parallel explicit between Beethoven’s renewal of the symphony and Schubert’s renewal of the “Lied”. After much debating, he says, criticism has finally recognized “that, in the symphony, *Beethoven* has gone farther than *Haydn* and *Mozart*, yes, that therein he has dared and also succeeded in the boldest, most undreamt-of flight”. Soon, he continues to say, criticism will also recognize – and has already partly done so – “that *Schubert* has dared the flight of fantasy in the Lied, and that in this he has surpassed *Mozart* and *Beethoven*”.⁶⁵⁰ Judging from these comments from Schubert’s time, *Die Nacht* and several of the other Ossian songs can be regarded as belonging to a genre which we may feel inclined to call *fantasia song*.

When Schubert composed *Die Nacht*, the free fantasia had been associated with the English landscape garden for decades.⁶⁵¹ Like an English garden, a free fantasia was to be seemingly free from artifice, “a site of freedom and imagination, the place for unconstrained indulgence in fantasy”,⁶⁵² and should ideally be experienced in solitude. The freedom of imagination that an English garden was to inspire was paralleled by the fantasia’s “ingenious sketching of original ideas”.⁶⁵³ By the beginning of the nineteenth century, both phenomena were deeply involved in the cult of sensibility, and both English gardens and free fantasias could be referred to as mirrors of the soul.⁶⁵⁴ Both phenomena could offer the opportunity of a solitary and self-reflective walk through changing scenes equivalent to “the complex terrain of the ever-changing emotions”.⁶⁵⁵

Richards shows not only that English gardens and free fantasias were used in similar ways, but also that critical discourse overtly used the English garden as a supply of metaphors for describing the design and effect of free fantasias. In the 1780s, Joseph Anton Samburga, who was tutor to Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, wrote that “[t]he *free fantasy* – seemed to me like a pleasant garden, where one comes upon

⁶⁴⁹ West’s rephrasing. West, “Schubert’s Lieder in Context”, 1989, vol. 1, p. 280.

⁶⁵⁰ “daß *Beethoven* in der Sinfonie weiter als *Haydn* und *Mozart* gegangen, ja, daß er den kühnsten, nie geahnten Flug der Fantasie darin gewagt, und reusirt habe. [...] daß *Schubert* den Flug der Fantasie im Liede gewagt, und hierin *Mozart* und *Beethoven* überflügelt habe”. Anton Schindler, “Geistliche Lieder von Franz Schubert. Nebst einem Beywort über dessen musikalischen Nachlaß”, in *Musikalische Zeitung*. (Beilage zur Theaterzeitung.), Vienna, No. 1, 1 March 1831, pp. 1-3. Quotation from p. 1.

⁶⁵¹ The connection between free fantasia and English garden has been discussed by Annette Richards. The following discussion builds considerably on her study *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).

⁶⁵² Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 10.

⁶⁵³ “Mittheilungen aus dem Tagebuche eines Tonkünstlers”, in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 15 (10 November 1813), cols. 732-3. Quoted in Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 191f. The article was reprinted in the *WamZ*, No. 48-52, 15-29 December 1813.

⁶⁵⁴ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 29, pp. 156f; Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 181.

⁶⁵⁵ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 173.

flowers of every kind, shrubberies, wildernesses, waterfalls, desolate places, and one finds everywhere the true imitation of nature or nature herself". And, he continues, the inventor of such a free fantasia "seems to me to be like a thinker, who descends from the pleasant hill, where nature appears to him friendly and smiling, to the deep valleys and ravines and nourishes his spirit with the shuddering fright of the shadow, the rushing streams, the overhanging pieces of rock and out of it all creates great ideas, which he expresses in tones".⁶⁵⁶ (This, by the way, shows that other progressions than night leading to day were possible in gardens and fantasias.) Slightly more on the technical side, C.P.E. Bach's close associate Carl Friedrich Cramer, a Kiel linguist, composer and writer on music, in an issue of his *Magazin der Musik* (Hamburg 1787) describes a skilfully achieved harmonic digression in a fantasia as a deviation from "the wide highway" into "hidden romantic regions".⁶⁵⁷ The association between the fantasia and the English garden held sway in the early nineteenth century, as exemplified by reviews of Beethoven's music.⁶⁵⁸

In short, if the text of *Die Nacht* was received as drawing on a discourse of the English garden, Schubert's use of fantasia-like music is most likely to have been considered generically appropriate. Putting this non-strophic text to simple, strophic music for the sake of an ideal of simplicity and clarity would not only have been extremely difficult. It would also have led to an aesthetic disagreement between text and music. But in order to appreciate how *Die Nacht* may have been interpreted in Schubert's circle, another aspect of the discourse and use of English gardens and free fantasias has to be considered. For although both phenomena were defined by their free structures and their "ingenious sketching of original ideas",⁶⁵⁹ some critics demanded that they should also contain a "tight hidden thread" which "runs through the whole".⁶⁶⁰

Freedom and coherence in English gardens and free fantasias

The relative importance of freedom of imagination and formal coherence was a key issue in early-nineteenth-century German critical discourse of the English garden as well as of the free fantasia.⁶⁶¹ As late as in 1836, Carl Czerny claimed that "a [fantasia] well done is akin to a beautiful English garden, seemingly irregular, and full of surprising variety, but executed rationally, meaningfully, and according to plan".⁶⁶² Some critics found that composers went too far in the direction of freedom, ignoring

⁶⁵⁶ Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 72.

⁶⁵⁷ Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 41. Also see p. 71.

⁶⁵⁸ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 206.

⁶⁵⁹ "Mittheilungen aus dem Tagebuche eines Tonkünstlers", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 15 (10 November 1813), cols 732-3. Translation quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 192.

⁶⁶⁰ Review of Anton Eberl, "Caprice et Rondeau", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 6 (29 August 1804), col. 809. Translation quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 191.

⁶⁶¹ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 191.

⁶⁶² Carl Czerny, *Systematische Anleitung zum Fantasieren auf dem Pianoforte*, Op. 200 [1836]. Quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 71.

“clarity, comprehensibility and order” and thus leaving what these critics regarded as the realm of art.⁶⁶³ Others agreed that a governing plan was vital, but had no objection against the possibility that it could be cleverly hidden and difficult to perceive for untrained listeners. Writing in 1813 about Beethoven’s fantasia-like Piano Trio, Op. 70 No. 1, E.T.A. Hoffmann speaks about how delightful it is to become deeply absorbed in its labyrinthine structure, but also stresses that the main theme of the first movement “impresses itself firmly and distinctly upon the listener, who does then not lose sight of it but follows its amazing twists and turns as though it were a silvery stream”. According to Hoffmann, also the first movement of Beethoven’s Op. 70 No. 2 is “a perfect and compelling whole, and the truly musical listener will easily follow the admittedly complicated course of the Allegro, even if many things may not be clear at first to the less practised ear”. The last movement of Op. 70 No. 2, finally, is described by Hoffmann as one in which “[i]deas and images rush past in ceaseless flight, coruscating and vanishing like flashes of lightning [...]. And yet, this movement is again fashioned from a few short ideas and closely related figures”.⁶⁶⁴ Indeed, some thought that a fantasia deserved the more praise the more cleverly hidden its governing plan, thus claiming for it an esoteric quality: “subtle connections” were to be enjoyed by those who “have the intellect and inclination for the deeper art”.⁶⁶⁵ (This esotericism is an issue to which I will return in Chapter 5.) A similar view on what constituted a well-made fantasia is found in the review of the aforementioned concert in Graz at which the pianoforte virtuoso Ignaz Moscheles improvised a fantasia as accompaniment to a declamation of Klopstock’s *Frühlingsfeier*. At the end of the concert, Moscheles played a solo fantasia, and among the things that the critic chooses to mention are his “striking modulations” and his “harmony which indicates a deep knowledge of the art”.⁶⁶⁶ This could very well have been a characterization of the art of C.P.E. Bach, the paradigmatic creator of free fantasias. He, and Moscheles too it seems, made surprising harmonic kick turns and detours but still, on a deeper structural level, constructed their music according to a harmonic plan which could be thought of as rational.⁶⁶⁷

In an article full of metaphors of the English landscape garden, published in 1824 in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig), an unnamed reviewer considers Beethoven’s last three piano sonatas (Op. 109, 110 and 111) and speaks about the

⁶⁶³ Amadeus Wendt, “Gedanken über die neuere Tonkunst, und van Beethovens Musik, namentlich dessen Fidelio”, in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 17 (7 June 1815), cols. 385f. Quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 207.

⁶⁶⁴ E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Fantasiestücke in Callot’s Manier*. Quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 208f.

⁶⁶⁵ Review of Johann Nepomuk Hummel, “Fantasie”, Op. 18, in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 7 (4 September 1805), col. 780. Quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 191. On the free fantasia as an art for the intellect, also see Edler, “Freies Spiel von Geist und Hand”, 2003, pp. 68f.

⁶⁶⁶ “frappante Modulationen”; “tiefe Kunst beurkundende Harmonie”. “Zweytes Concert des Herrn Moscheles in Grätz”, in *AmZöK*, No. 54, 7 July 1819, col. 433.

⁶⁶⁷ On C.P.E. Bach and the free fantasia, see Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 40ff.

frustration felt when being “diverted from the direction in which many an enjoyment was to be awaited” and about the satisfaction experienced when eventually being led to those enjoyments.⁶⁶⁸ (Beethoven, it will be remembered, was regarded as the composer who was mainly responsible for bringing the fantasia into the sonata and the symphony.) It is implied, that is, that the music both transgresses and, at least to a degree, adheres to the rules of beauty as theorized by eighteenth-century aestheticians such as Baumgarten, Sulzer and Meier (see Chapter 3). In line with thinking about the English garden, it was thought that the transgression of beauty had the power to excite the attention of the listener.⁶⁶⁹ But the discipline of aesthetics also taught that if attention was to be maintained over a period of time, and if the aim is to affect the heart and the sensibility, the object must bring about desire by presenting many good things as a whole.⁶⁷⁰ In the case of a free fantasia, or of some other piece written in the style of a fantasia, this raises the question of how tightly integrated the many good things have to be for this effect to come about. How many digressions can an object take and still be perceived as a unity? How much nature can art withstand, and how much sublimity can be contained within beauty?⁶⁷¹ Answers to these questions clearly differed, but many critics still seem to have agreed that some sort of governing plan for the whole is necessary if the music of a fantasia is to have maximum effect.

According to one group of critics, in a good free fantasia the rule of unity in multiplicity is not disregarded, only momentarily concealed by bewildering detours. Beauty is thus not abandoned, but spiced-up by a tendency towards the sublime. Likewise, the aesthetic of multiplicity that Justus Möser thought should supplant the French aesthetic of “uniformity” and “poverty” (see page 103) did not imply that unity was to be left out. On the contrary, Möser found that “[...] a thousand diverse elements tending towards unity have a greater effect than a unity in which only five are collected [...]”.⁶⁷² Indeed, in a garden and in a piece of music, the digressions could themselves be regarded as important parts of the overall plan. Following a winding path in a landscape garden or in Beethoven’s fantastic music, a wanderer or listener could believe that he was walking back again, or getting lost, whereas in the end it would turn out that he had been going the right way all along. For an apparently misleading path could very well be part of “a coherent and inexorable, if mysterious, programme”.⁶⁷³ In the 1824 review of Beethoven’s last three piano

⁶⁶⁸ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 26 (1 April 1824), col. 124. Quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 210f.

⁶⁶⁹ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 8.

⁶⁷⁰ Riley, *Musical Listening*, 2004, pp. 19f.

⁶⁷¹ Morrow (“Of Unity and Passion”, 1990) observes that Viennese critics writing about instrumental music employ concepts belonging to the discourse of the beautiful (with its finality and clarity of form) and the sublime (with its limitlessness). Most critics sought a balance between the two and were concerned when, in the newer music, they felt that the sublime was seizing power over the beautiful.

⁶⁷² Quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 66. Also see Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, p. 109. Sulzer’s article “Gartenkunst” in his *Allgemeine Theorie* contains a similar argument. On this article, see Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 64f.

⁶⁷³ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 212.

sonatas, the reviewer portrays the mind as moving along an endless spiral: walking from the centre of the spiral, someone with no sense of its totality may mistake a curve for a retrogression while, in fact, the curve is ultimately leading forwards. Not surprisingly, the free fantasia was sometimes compared to the ode, which we encountered in Chapter 3, for also the ode was expected to contain a secret order beneath a surface characterized by disorder.⁶⁷⁴

Richards argues that the idea of a tight but hidden thread in free fantasias was related to the topos of Ariadne's thread used in garden literature.⁶⁷⁵ The use of Ariadne's thread as a metaphor suggests that the thread perceived in gardens and in fantasias leads the wanderer not only from one scene to the next, but, more importantly, shows the *right* way through a labyrinth. Progressions from night to day and from confusion to clarity fit well with this idea. Moreover, the Masonic symbols which were sometimes explicit in English gardens, in Vienna and elsewhere, suggest that the shadowy parts of a garden could be interpreted as a series of trials which has to be passed in order to reach a higher level of enlightenment.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 37ff, 71, 212. Also see Heinrich W. Schwab, "Glücklicher wurden selten Dichtkunst und Musik vereinet, als hier". Zu Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Vertonung von *Klopstocks Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste* (1783)", in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Geistliche Musik*, ed. Ulrich Leisinger and Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Frankfurt an der Oder: Konzerthalle "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach", 2001), p. 163; Dittrich, "Für Menschenohren", 1997, p. 145 and Heinrich W. Schwab, "Musikalische Lyrik im 18. Jahrhundert", 2001, pp. 393-400.

⁶⁷⁵ This topos is used for example in Joseph Wiedemann's description of Neuwaldegg, the first English garden in the vicinity of Vienna, in his *Mahlerische Streifzüge durch die interessantesten Gegenden um Wien* (1805-8). Quoted in Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 209.

⁶⁷⁶ In a future study, the possibility should be further explored that Masonic rituals, or at least ideas and allegory connected to Freemasonry, were part of the interpretation context of *Die Nacht*. To be sure, from 1794 to 1848, Masonic Lodges were prohibited to meet in Vienna, but, as West points out, there is evidence that they continued under ground. (West, "Schubert's Lieder in Context", 1989, vol. 1, pp. 83f.) Although one must remember that Freemasonry was only one of many exponents of current ideas, it is evident that some gardens contained outright references to this phenomenon. The most notable example in Vienna is probably the "Tempel der Nacht" (Temple of the Night) in the garden at Schönau. Masonic ideas were well-known to Schubert and his friends, and traces of them can be found in their writings. Although Josef von Spaun wrote in 1864 that the circle had been "an association without a name, without articles, without formalities" (ein Verein, ohne Nahmen, ohne Statuten, ohne Formalitäten) (quoted from Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 40), Anton Ottenwalt's note from 1817 about the initial formation of the circle may indicate at least an influence from Freemasonry: "It was in the year of the comet 1811 that we said that we want to be brothers and that we are therefore to carry the name Love of the Good" (Im Kometenjahr [1]811 war's, wo wir sagten, wir wollen Brüder sein und heissen wegen dergleichen Liebe zum Guten) (quoted from *ibid.*, p. 41). On Masonic aspects of English gardens, including descriptions of the "Tempel der Nacht" at Schönau, see Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, pp. 45-59 and 201-9. Also see Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 216-223 and Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, pp. 31f. On relationships between Freemasonry and Schubert's circle of friends, see Dürhammer, "Freimaurerei", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 141, and Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 75-77.

Night and day in *Die Nacht*

Let us now return to *Die Nacht*. The theme of wandering becomes explicit in paragraph 2, when the bard describes the movements of “the wanderer” (der Wanderer). But what kind of wandering is referred to or represented in the song? Is it one that progresses from darkness to light, led by a guiding thread? This question is related to my earlier questions about the circle’s interpretation of and stance to freedom, melancholy and fear.⁶⁷⁷ As we shall see, the answer is not as self-evident as it may seem.

The bard

Paragraph 1

The first paragraph of the text is a description of an out-of-doors night scene. Movements and sounds are referred to, but they lead to nothing but the arousing of dismal feelings, feelings which are then named at the beginning of the second paragraph. There is no progression of thought or event, but only the enumeration of

⁶⁷⁷ Before discussing the song in detail, it must be mentioned that it has been claimed that Schubert left it unfinished. Meggison, who writes that “unfortunately, Schubert did not complete this setting”, does not support her claim in any clear way, but her conjecture that Schubert “chose to stop where he did” because of the substantial length of the footnote’s six monologues implies that the setting is to be regarded as incomplete for the reason that not all monologues were put to music. (Meggison, “Situating Schubert’s Ossian Settings”, 2001, p. 63). But the fact that the monologues that Schubert did put to music are the first and the last ones, and that all but one of the left-out monologues repeat the mood of the first one suggests, I think, that Schubert’s omission of text was the result of an aesthetic choice rather than of a mere discontinuation of too comprehensive a project. But the song has been said to be incomplete also in another sense, a claim which seems to be based on misinformation spread by *Franz Schubert’s Werke*, the first complete edition of Schubert’s works. In this collection, the print of *Die Nacht* was based on the first edition from 1830, in which the song had been given a new ending through the addition of *Jagdlied* (D.521), one of Schubert’s short, strophic songs. (See Appendix 3. This addition will be a topic of discussion at the end of the present chapter.) In *Franz Schubert’s Werke*, published at the end of the nineteenth century, small print was used for *Jagdlied* to indicate its status as addition. But for some reason also the preceding seven bars of fanfares were marked in such a way, so as to indicate that they too had been added by Diabelli. As a result of this mistake, it has been claimed that Schubert’s composition “ends with the unaccompanied word, *erwecken*” (Kinsey, “Schubert and the Poems of Ossian”, 1973, p. 27) and that Diabelli “provided a kind of fanfare link” between *Die Nacht* and *Jagdlied* (Crawford Howie, “Schubert and the ‘Exotic’. The Macpherson [‘Ossian’] and Walter Scott settings, Part 1”, in *The Schubertian* No. 39, April 2003, p. 21). While Kinsey and Howie do not claim that there is anything incomplete about the song as Schubert (allegedly) wrote it, Christopher Smith regards Diabelli’s addition as a completion of a work which Schubert left “unfinished” (Smith, “Ossian in Music”, 2004, p. 387). However, as early as 1968, after the rediscovery of Schubert’s autograph in the Hungarian National Library, István Kecskeméti could show that the autograph does contain the concluding seven bars of fanfares and that these bars are followed by a double bar and the word “Fine”. (Kecskeméti, “Eine wieder aufgetauchte Eigenschrift”, 1968, pp. 70-74.) The edition of the song in the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, appearing in 1999, appropriately ends with the seven bars of fanfares without any intimation that they are not by Schubert or, for that matter, that Schubert left the song unfinished in any other respect. It is true that Smith claims that the rediscovered manuscript “does not [...] resolve all the difficulties”, but he makes no hint as to what these remaining difficulties are. (Smith, “Ossian in Music”, 2004, p. 388.) In the following, I will assume that Schubert did not put aside *Die Nacht* as a discontinued project.

loosely connected observations. Some of the observations concern things which are actually absent: “kein Stern mit grünzitterndem Strahl; kein Mond schaut durch die Luft” (no star with green trembling beam; no moon looks through the air). Some of the movements and sounds observed are far away: a hound howls in the distance and “Im Walde hör ich den Hauch; aber ich hör ihn weit in der Ferne” (I hear the breeze in the wood; but I hear it distant far). Others disappear as quickly as they appear: “An der Ebne erblick ich eine dämmernde Bildung! Es ist ein Geist, er schwindet, er flieht!” (I see a dim form on the plain! It is a ghost, it fades, it flies!). At the end of the first paragraph, a hind, lying beside a hart, jumps to her feet at hearing the wind whining in the horns of her neighbour, only to lie down to rest again.⁶⁷⁸ Activity starts but is thwarted. Apart from registering and interpreting the surroundings as being for instance “dark and gloomy”, the lyrical *I* is passive too. He takes no action, either to undertake something within the scene, or to leave it. The only impression of some progression is the order of observations, beginning high up with the hills and the absent stars, continuing downwards via the forest to the valley and the plain and finally returning to the hills and the sky. To a degree, however, the order of observations is determined not by the *I*, but by stimuli that catch the eye or the ear – the hooting owl, the appearing ghost, the passing funeral procession, the howling dog, and the starting hind. Structural properties of the first paragraph add to the feeling of stasis and disorientation. The piling of mainly rather short main clauses and the irregular metrical structure lead to a sense of heaviness and a lack of forward motion. The absence of rhyme adds to the unpredictability of the text.

Schubert reinforces all of this. The music starts heavily. The key is G minor, key of “*displeasure, unpleasantness, [...] grudge and uneasiness*” according to Christoph Friedrich Daniel Schubart,⁶⁷⁹ and the tempo is slow (“Langsam”). After a threefold narrow, circular motion, the melody reaches a high point in bar 2 and then starts a four-bar, mainly chromatic descent. The first line of the poem is then sung as a slow

⁶⁷⁸ As noted in footnote 566, it is unclear whether Schubert meant to write “Hindinn” (hind) or “Hündinn” (bitch). The first alternative would be in accordance with Macpherson and von Harold, but the other also makes sense. The mentioning at this point of the poem of a hart and a bitch lying passively beside one another emphasizes the difference between night and the morning later to be promised by the master, a morning when hounds will be used for awakening (i.e. stalking) the deer. A biblically-inspired interpretation of the hart and bitch is also conceivable but is difficult to sustain for the reason that the wanderer is struck by fear in the very landscape in which the animals rest.

⁶⁷⁹ “*Missvergnügen, Unbehaglichkeit, [...] Groll und Unlust*”. The author and musician Schubart’s “Charakteristikstück der Töne”, in which every key is attributed with a particular character, was published in Vienna in 1806 as part of Schubart’s *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna: J. V. Degen). Quotation from p. 377, where “G moll” is misprinted as “H moll”. Schubert put to music four of Schubart’s poems and some assume that Schubart’s *Ideen* were read in Schubert’s circle. (Ilija Dürhammer and Lucia Porhansl, “Schubart[,] Christian Friedrich Daniel”, in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 403.) Even if Schubert’s circle did not read Schubart’s *Ideen*, they encountered his theory about the characters of keys in practice, for Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg was a friend of Schubart’s and seems consciously to have followed Schubart’s theory in his songs. (Dürr, “Schubert, Franz [Peter]”, 2006, col. 154.) Schubart’s *Ideen* are available as a facsimile reprint, ed. Fritz and Margrit Kaiser (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1990).

and narrow recitative with *Seufzer* on “dumpfig” (dark) and “finster” (gloomy).⁶⁸⁰ In combination with its text, “kein Stern mit grünzitterndem Strahl; kein Mond schaut durch die Luft” (no star with green trembling beam; no moon looks through the air), the semiquaver accompaniment and major keys of the following arioso (bars 8-11) may be heard as giving a hint of the nocturnal light that could have been, had the sky not been covered by clouds. The distant wind and the joyless stream down in the valley are treated pictorially in short musical passages that are not further developed (bars 12-17). Thereafter, a passage follows which is even slower than the beginning of the song (bars 18-21). The short appearance of the ghost is accompanied by scalar movements which become more fragmented until, in bars 28f, the music seems to fold up into nothing. A completely different music follows, forming a representation of a ghostly funeral procession (bars 30-39). Clinging to the conventions of funeral marches, this music is basically very stable, but it also contains chromatic voice-leading which adds an eerie quality.

Also the music to the rest of the poem’s first paragraph consists of a row of sections which are dissimilar both in length and content. Musical illustration is abundant. A dog howls uneasily in bars 40-43, and “horn” fifths in bars 46 and 48 indicate the pastoral peace of the resting deer. The wining wind and the jumping up of the hind are illustrated with short semiquaver passages (bars 50-53) and the hind’s lying down again is paired with an extended cadence replete with resolutions of dissonance (bars 53-56).

So far, both text and music are unpredictable and lack development, but, to a higher degree than the poem, the music also creates disorientation. Already the beginning of the song is harmonically bewildering. Starting in G minor, the music has reached E♭ minor in bar 17, at the first double bar. In between, both A♭ major and G♭ major have been visited. Harmonic jumps of a major third (bars 6-7 and 16) or a tritone (bars 16-17) create surprise. This harmonic style is a feature of the free fantasia, as are melodic fragments (for example bars 6, 46 and 48), sudden stops in the form of pauses (which appear later in the composition) and long chords, and the sudden opposition between textures (see for instance bars 15-16).

By the double bar after bar 17, E♭ minor has only been loosely established as a tonic, but the next musical section starts out clearly in that key. Bars 18-29 hint at tonal closure but eventually eschew it: Bar 20 contains a ray of light in the form of a D♭7 before the darkness of E♭ minor returns. The harmonic progression A♭m – E♭ – F♭ – B♭ in bars 26-28 is reminiscent of the progression A♭m – F♭ – B♭7 in bars 16-17 and therefore implies that, as in the earlier passage, B♭ will be followed by E♭-minor. But E♭ appears only very briefly towards the end of bar 28, and instead the section

⁶⁸⁰ The instruction “a tempo” in bar 8 signals a return to the slow tempo of the piano introduction (bars 1-4) and, thus, that the intervening recitative (bars 5-7) may fluctuate in tempo. Describing the recitative as “slow”, I assume that, although its tempo is not strict and regular, its motion does not contradict the mood established in the introduction.

ends in G \flat major in bar 29. The listener is lead astray even more when, retrospectively, G \flat -major is reinterpreted as the dominant of B minor in bar 30.

The ghostly B-minor funeral procession that follows is in itself harmonically straightforward. Bar 46 sheds a little light in G major, but, echoing an earlier procedure, the same music is almost immediately played in another key (A minor, bar 48). Via F minor (bar 54), the music cadences in G minor (bar 57), having now reached the end of the poem's first paragraph.

So far, the harmony has been a serpentine, perplexing progression leading away from G minor (bar 1) and back again (bar 57). Together, text and music create disorientation on a basically static ground. On one level things happen all the time – animals howl, a funeral procession passes, a spirit makes a short visit, the music changes character and proceeds from one key to another. On another level nothing happens. The lyrical *I* registers what happens but is not himself an active force. As in the concept of a pure state of nature found for example in Schiller's philosophy, the *I* is a mere recipient, exposed to the impact of forces which he does not control. At the return to G minor the *I* seems not to have moved an inch, but has only taken in with eyes and ears fragments of extraordinary, or even sublime surroundings.

Paragraph 2

In the second paragraph of the text, the pure first-person perspective is complemented with the continuous third-person reference to the wanderer. A conventional metaphor for the human mind, "the wanderer" is likely to have been interpreted as providing an example of what may happen to anyone in the night. If the second paragraph, like the first one, had been written in the bard's first-person perspective (Dismal and panting, trembling and sad *I* lost my way. *I* go astray...), the facts that the bard's narration ends with a direct address to the friends and that the master's monologue contains references to the bard's monologue would have implied that the bard got lost and then, eventually, found his way back. The introduction of the wanderer, however, allows the bard to describe an *example* of getting lost – seemingly irretrievably – and then, without mentioning any possibility of finding the way back, to step into the circle of his friends.

In this paragraph, human movement is referred to for the first time. A sense of motion is created also by the less staccato-like piling of short clauses and by the more consistent meter, with the frequent use of the pattern $\text{— } \check{\text{—}} \check{\text{—}} \text{— } \check{\text{—}}$, here bracketed:

Düster und keuchend, zitternd und traurig, verlor der Wanderer den Weg. Er irrt durch
 [— $\check{\text{—}}$ $\check{\text{—}}$ — $\check{\text{—}}$] [— $\check{\text{—}}$ $\check{\text{—}}$ — $\check{\text{—}}$] [— $\check{\text{—}}$ $\check{\text{—}}$]
 Gebüsch, durch Dornen längs der sprudelnden Quelle, er fürchtet die Klippe und den
 $\check{\text{—}}$ — $\check{\text{—}}$] [— $\check{\text{—}}$ $\check{\text{—}}$ — $\check{\text{—}}$] [— $\check{\text{—}}$ $\check{\text{—}}$ — $\check{\text{—}}$]
 Sumpf. Er fürchtet den Geist der Nacht.
 [— $\check{\text{—}}$ $\check{\text{—}}$ — $\check{\text{—}}$]

Schubert actually increases the metrical consistency by changing von Harold's "Düster, keuchend, [...]" into "Düster und keuchend, [...]" (see footnote 568). He also lets the vocal line emphasize the recurring metrical pattern and even squeezes one of the departures from it, "durch Dornen längs der", in such a way that it does fit after all (bars 63-65). This first half of the second paragraph constitutes the song's longest coherent musical section so far (bars 57-70) and is also the section with the most forward drive, a drive which partly comes about as a result of the pervading accompanimental figure which is a rhythmically diminished variant of the recurring metric pattern in the vocal line. The whole section is marked "Somewhat faster" (Etwas geschwinder), and while the harmonic progression from G minor (bar 57) to F major (bar 70) is less striking than many other progressions in the song, it is executed more thoroughly so that it may give the impression of a stepwise move rather than of for instance a start or a fall.

An example of the latter follows just afterwards, when the wind, which has hitherto been heard only in the distance, breaks a branch off an old tree. In five bars (71-75), a most dramatic harmonic progression is accomplished: F – B7 – G – C#7 – F#m. The metrical structure of the text, at least as rendered in Schubert's recitative setting, also breaks the relative coherence of the earlier lines of the paragraph. The pattern $\bar{\sim}\sim\bar{\sim}\sim$ can still be traced if one really wants to, but it is intermingled with so many irregular metrical combinations that the forward motion is halted:

Der alte Baum ächzt zu dem Windstoß. Der fallende Ast erschallt. Die verwelkte
 $\quad\quad\quad [\bar{\sim}\sim\bar{\sim}\sim] \quad [\bar{\sim}\sim\bar{\sim}\sim]$
 zusammen verworrene Klette treibt der Wind über das Gras. Es ist der leichte Tritt eines
 Geists; er bebt in der Mitte der Nacht.
 $\quad\quad\quad [\bar{\sim}\sim\bar{\sim}\sim]$

The music is now full of brief illustrating passages: *forzando*-chords and startling modulations when the tree shakes and a branch hits the ground (bars 71-75), a soft, sweeping triplet motion as the entangled burdock drifts across the grass (bars 75-80), and small, isolated groups of repeated chords, *pianissimo*, at "Es ist der leichte Tritt eines Geists; er bebt in der Mitte der Nacht" (It is the light tread of a ghost; he trembles amidst the night, bars 81-85).⁶⁸¹ In this sentence, "er" (he) can be interpreted as referring either to the ghost or to the wanderer, but considering the metrical and semantic hindrance of the forward motion, it makes sense to read the line as a description of the wanderer's state. After having wandered about, losing the track, the wind forces him to halt. He shivers, still in the middle of the night.

⁶⁸¹ Such isolated groups of repeated chords are identified by Schnapper as a topos "of the terrible and the uncanny" (des Schaurigen und Unheimlichen) in Schubert's songs. Schnapper, *Die Gesänge des jungen Schubert*, 1937, p. 119.

Paragraph 3

The poem's third paragraph constitutes a return to the descriptive mode and first-person perspective of paragraph one. More specifically, it starts as a variant of the beginning of the first paragraph's first sentence:

§ 1: "Die Nacht ist dumpfig und finster". (Night is dark and gloomy.)

§ 3: "Die Nacht ist düster, dunkel, und heulend, wolkigt[,] stürmisch und schwanger mit Geistern[.] Die Toten streifen umher". (Night is dismal, dusky, and howling, cloudy, stormy and full of ghosts.)

This return seals the basically unchanging nature of the scene. The only development that has taken place since the beginning of the song is the gradual discovery of more gloomy aspects of the night, including the presence of the dead. As could be expected, the verbal parallel between paragraphs one and three is reinforced by a musical one. The music from bar 86 until the beginning of bar 92 is almost exactly the same as in bars 1-7. Marked "Wie oben" (As above), the only differences are the nuance and the key. Instead of *piano*, the nuance is now *pianissimo*, and instead of G minor, the music now starts in F# minor, a key described by C.F.D. Schubart as "a gloomy tone: it tears the passion, like a fierce dog tears a dress. *Grudge* and *dissatisfaction* is its language. It seems to be not at all well".⁶⁸²

How did the music reach that remote key? As noted, at the beginning of the poem's second paragraph (bar 59) the music returns to G minor. I also mentioned that, as the wanderer loses his way ("verlor der Wanderer den Weg"), G minor modulates into F major (bar 68). In bars 71-75, dramatic progressions by tritones and a major third lead from F major to F# minor. In what follows, F# and B fight for the position as tonic. Finally, in bar 85, B minor has become loosely tonicized and the music comes to a standstill on a dominant F#-major chord. Paradoxically, the next bar, which is the beginning of the passage in which the music from bars 1ff is reiterated, starts with F# minor as a clear tonic. In its poetical context, this chain of musical events may be interpreted as contributing to a somewhat complex image of an experience in a nightly landscape. For while the harmony is literally getting lost, the coming back of the thematic material with which the song began gives the impression of a return. Moreover, the fact that G minor has been substituted by its lower neighbour F# minor may indicate that the night is now even darker than at the song's outset. It is as if the tour of the gloomy landscape has had the form of that circle which is said sometimes to be the result when humans go astray, geographically ending at its point of departure (as indicated by the return of the thematic material) but temporally ending deeper into the night (as indicated by the harmony).

⁶⁸² "Ein finsterner Ton: er zerrt an der Leidenschaft, wie der bissige Hund am Gewande. *Groll* und *Missvergnügen* ist seine Sprache. Es scheint ihm ordentlich in seiner Lage nicht wohl zu seyn". Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (1806) 1990, p. 379.

After the return of the song's introductory material, three bars (94-96) constitute the song's nadir. A double statement of the words "Die Toten streifen umher" (The dead are abroad) is sung in two consecutive, dull monotones, the second of them at the vocal part's second-to-lowest pitch. The three bars are marked "Sehr langsam" (Very slowly) and *pianissimo*, and the accompaniment consists of a movement in quavers winding downwards, landing in bar 96 on a B-major chord with both hands in the piano's bass register.

Then, when the bard seems to be sinking into the ground of the dark landscape, he suddenly returns to his friends in a bright and unproblematic G major (key of "every tender gratitude for *genuine friendship* and *true love*"⁶⁸³), exclaiming: "Empfangt mich von der Nacht, meine Freunde" (Receive me from the night, my friends, bars 97-100). These are the final words that the bard speaks. Just as at the beginning of the poem's second paragraph, G is tonicized, but now in the major mode. Darkness yields to light.

What kind of wandering is it that is being represented in the bard's part of the poem, before he turns to his friends? Here I am afraid we need a further excursion, for not everyone who walked the gloomier parts of English gardens or free fantasias sought a hidden thread that would lead them away from the realm of night and melancholy. The fact that the early English landscape gardens of William Kent and Lancelot Brown had been invented as a realm for calm contemplation on the reason and benevolence of God does not preclude that, in the early nineteenth century, some visitors to English gardens were more interested in dwelling in sceneries which reminded them of the melancholic, foreboding or even forcefully sublime landscapes found in the works of painters such as Henry Fuseli and Caspar David Friedrich, in works of gothic literature, and, indeed, in certain parts of the *Ossian* poems.⁶⁸⁴ When loneliness and melancholy became objects of cult, it seems that some visitors were mainly interested in walking around in the gloomier parts of a garden, ignoring summits of light and free view.

Hirschfeld indicates the occurrence of such non-teleological movement in English gardens when, in a passage which I have already quoted, he writes that a mildly melancholic area leads the visitor's imagination to a sphere of images "among

⁶⁸³ "jeder zärtliche Dank für aufrichtige Freundschaft und treue Liebe". Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (1806) 1990, p. 380.

⁶⁸⁴ The early eighteenth-century construction of landscape gardens in England had been a product of the "Age of Reason". The variety of surprising and pleasing, but always incomplete, views that were laid out in English gardens was meant to evoke the idea of an underlying principle of reason. In likeness to Leibniz's optimistic explanation of the theodicy, the limitation of always seeing only parts of the whole, and the resulting difficulty of discovering a governing principle, was intended to raise a constantly stronger faith in the positive force of nature and its Creator. Although it is difficult to grasp the coherence of the world, everything is there for a good reason, the argument goes. According to Enge and Schröer, the very purpose of this type of garden was to include the individual into a world characterized by goodness. Hence, they claim, tragedy and terror were absent from English gardens. Torsten Olaf Enge and Carl Friedrich Schröer, *Gartenkunst in Europa 1450-1800. Vom Villengarten der italienischen Renaissance bis zum englischem Landschaftsgarten* (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 1994), pp. 226-231.

which [the fantasy] roves about with secret rapture”.⁶⁸⁵ The strong attraction that a particularly gloomy part of a garden could have on visitors is indicated also by a report on a mausoleum which had been erected in 1812 as the centre of a lonely part of the forest in the Neuwaldegg park outside Vienna. The site, described as an “eternal, deep twilight of shadows” in which visitors from the nearby village Neuwaldegg often came to turn their “eye, full of tears” to the grave of their lord and late “benefactor” Graf Browne, was reported to be the most attractive part of the whole garden, a part which “captivates the wanderer’s attention, and which must set his affection in motion”.⁶⁸⁶ The melancholic part of a garden seems to have been a place where, not without a certain pleasure, visitors could rove about, rather than pass, and where they could let their attention be arrested by a single, emotionally particularly charged object.

A similar preference is expressed in some comments on the free fantasia and, more generally, on the solitary playing of keyboard music. In Justus Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariae’s poem “Das Clavier” (The Clavichord), the lyrical *I* recognizes the potentially curative force of playing the clavichord at night, letting the instrument follow “der Phantasie” (the fantasy). And yet the *I* rejects this force in order not to lose the dear pain:

Du Echo meiner Klagen,
Mein treues Saitenspiel,
Nun kömmt nach trüben Tagen
Die Nacht, der Sorgen Ziel.
Gehorcht mir, sanfte Saiten,
Und helft mein Leid bestreiten –
Doch nein[,] laß mir mein Leid,
Und meine Zärtlichkeit.

(You, echo of my laments,
My faithful stringed instrument,
Now, after bitter days, comes
Night, the goal of sorrows.
Obey me, mild strings,
And help me to combat my sorrow –
But no, leave me my sorrow
And my tenderness.

Wenn ich untröstbar scheine,
Lieb ich doch meinen Schmerz;
Und wenn ich einsam weine,
Weint doch ein liebend Herz.
[...]⁶⁸⁷

Should I appear inconsolable,
I still love my pain;
And when I weep alone,
A loving heart is weeping.
[...]

⁶⁸⁵ Also the young Goethe employed such terms when, during a visit to the paradigmatic English garden in Wörlitz in 1778, he wrote to Charlotte von Stein: “Here it is now infinitely beautiful. [...] one thing flows into the other in the most soft multiplicity; no hill pulls the eye and the desire to a single spot; one roves about without asking where one set out and where one arrives”. (Hier ists iezt unendlich schön. [...] in der sachttesten Manigfaltigkeit fließt eines in das andre, keine Höhe zieht das Aug und das Verlangen auf einen einzigen Punkt, man streicht herum ohne zu fragen wo man ausgegangen ist und hinkommt.) Quoted in Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, pp. 132f.

⁶⁸⁶ “die immerwährende tiefe Schattendämmerung”. “des Wanderers Aufmerksamkeit fesseln, und sein Gefühl rege machen muß”. Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 91.

⁶⁸⁷ Justus Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä, “Das Clavier”, in *Poetische Schriften*, vol. 1 (Carlsruhe: Christian Gottlieb Schmieder, 1777), pp. 415f. Also see Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 156. The poem was first published in 1754 under the title “An mein Clavier”.

Also some Viennese texts which deal with free fantasias refer to a mode of music making in which the goal seems to be to dwell in a state of emotion rather than to experience a teleological musical process. In his *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (*Yearbook of Music in Vienna and Prague*) from 1796, Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld writes that, when in solitude, Franz Kreibig of the Viennese Hofkapelle is able to improvise on the violin in such a manner that those who chance to overhear him are totally “enchanted” (hingerissen), and also that Kreibig is himself affected by “sentimental, languishing music” (empfindsame, schmelzende Musik) in such a way that he “melts away [...] in sweet, dreamy sentiment to such a degree that he, so to speak, forgets himself”.⁶⁸⁸ Almost forty years later, in 1834, the German author Adalbert Stifter, who had moved to Vienna as a student and who became a friend of Anton von Spaun’s, longingly apprehended how, once he had married his fiancée, in a moon-lit room he would listen to her as she “dreamed around” on the piano “in fantasies of her own”.⁶⁸⁹ However, the most interesting example in the present context is Josef von Spaun’s 1858 report of his encounter in 1811 with the fourteen-year-old Schubert, who at the time had not yet become part of the circle of friends which was later to become so important for him. Alone in the music room of the Stadtkonvikt, where he was a student, Schubert was almost moved to tears by playing songs by Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg, songs with sentimental themes (one of them was *Colma, ein Gesang Ossians*) and, it could later be observed, with music roughly in the style of *Die Nacht*. As we have seen, according to von Spaun Schubert said that he could “revel in these Lieder all day long”.⁶⁹⁰

These examples of the pleasurable lingering in a state of intense emotion are related to the eighteenth-century cult of the clavichord, an instrument which had been established as one of the foremost vehicles for expressing private emotions. “The [clavichord] and its songs suited both the confines of female domesticity, as well as the curiously repressive emotionalism of the contemporary culture of sensibility, with its

⁶⁸⁸ “zerfließt [...] dermaßen in süßer schwärmerischer Empfindung, daß er, so zu sagen, sich selbst vergißt”. Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna 1796), facsimile reprint, ed. Otto Biba (Munich, Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzschler, 1976), pp. 36f.

⁶⁸⁹ “[...] schwärmte in eigenen Phantasien herum”. Adalbert Stifter, *Studien*, 25 April 1834. Quoted from Gabriele Busch-Salmen, “Häusliches Musizieren einst und jetzt”, in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 48, No. 7-8 (July-August 1993), p. 391. On Stifter, see Leo Krell and Leonhard Fiedler, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte* (Bamberg: C.C. Buchners Verlag, 1960), p. 268; Kohlhäufel 1999, p. 67.

⁶⁹⁰ “tagelang in diesen Liedern schwelgen” (Josef von Spaun, *Aufzeichnungen über meinen Verkehr mit Franz Schubert*, 1858. Quoted from Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 149.) Already in an obituary after Zumsteeg’s death in 1802, Friedrich von Schlichtegroll wrote about the effect of playing Zumsteeg’s songs in solitude: “How many noble souls at the lonely clavier felt that through his Lieder they were put in that sublime state of devotion which is so indescribably sweet and which is a token of the dignity of our nature”. (Wie manche edele Seele fühlte sich beim einsamen Klavier durch seine [Zumsteeg’s] Lieder in jene erhabene Andacht versetzt, die so unbeschreiblich süß und ein Unterpand von der Würde unserer Natur ist.) The obituary is reprinted in Schlichtegroll, *Musiker-Nekrologe. Job. Chr. Friedrich Bach, G. Benda, J. J. Ch. Bode, M. Gerbert, W. A. Mozart, F. Ch. Neubaur, E. W. Wolf, J. R. Zumsteeg*, ed. Richard Schaal (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1954), p. 111. Spelling modernized by Schaal.

version of the male hero the effeminate and tearful Man of Sentiment”.⁶⁹¹ The way Schubert used Zumsteeg’s songs in 1811 was probably linked to the use of music in certain parts of the contemporaneous salon culture, a culture which featured both sentimental, tearful listening to music and, on the literary side, the shedding of tears over works such as Goethe’s *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* and imitations of that novel, as well as over novels of chivalry and terror.⁶⁹² Many of the poems that Zumsteeg and Schubert put to sectional music must easily have fulfilled the demands of such a readership.⁶⁹³ Peter Gradenwitz (1991) claims that there was at that time no music of the salon which corresponded to the fashionable literature,⁶⁹⁴ but it seems not far-fetched to assume that the sectional, fantasia-like settings of such texts could serve as a provider of just that kind of music.

The fourteen-year-old Schubert’s Zumsteeg-reception may thus have been part of a non-esoteric version of the cult of sentimental imagination, a version in which Ariadne’s thread and the striving towards more elevated degrees of enlightenment were less important than the very dwelling in states of intense emotion. Just as in Zachariae’s poem and Stifter’s daydream, Schubert of 1811 may have used music (or rather, in his case, text and music) to reach a state of sweet melancholy, and perhaps other, more violent emotions on the dismal side, making no active attempt to leave that state. Indeed, the comment that he could dwell in Zumsteeg’s songs all day may indicate that he left them only when outer circumstances forced him to do so.⁶⁹⁵ Until bar 96, *Die Nacht* – which was composed five years later – could be regarded as representing such sombre, circular roaming.⁶⁹⁶ The inclusion of fear in the bard’s narration could be seen as adding features of the horror gothic, with its combination of repulsion and attraction. In that case, the subsequent turn *away* from the night could be regarded as an instance of culture critique, bringing forth the message that the fashionable sentimental roaming, be it in parks, at the clavichord, pianoforte or elsewhere, was destructive and that one should break that habit and instead let oneself

⁶⁹¹ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 170.

⁶⁹² Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise*, 1991, p. 256.

⁶⁹³ Schnapper, *Die Gesänge des jungen Schubert*, 1937, p. 14. Dürhammer finds a tendency towards “Schauerromantik” in about eight percent of Schubert’s vocal works, most appearing in 1815 or earlier. Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 356.

⁶⁹⁴ “es gab damals noch keine für ihren Salon bestimmte und darin vorgetragene Musik, deren Stil dem der Modeliteratur entsprach”. (Gradenwitz 1991, pp. 256f.)

⁶⁹⁵ Wessel cautions that von Spaun’s comment, which was written more than forty years after the encounter with Schubert, may be more the handing over of a stereotyped Ossian reception coined by Goethe’s *Werther* (1774) than a true account of what Schubert was doing in 1811. (Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, p. 104.) But, to take the argument a step further, it is possible that already Schubert’s response to Zumsteeg’s songs in 1811 was modelled on Werther’s fashionable mode of Ossian reception.

⁶⁹⁶ The fact that the song’s structure is similar not only to that of a free fantasia but also to that of a melodrama may then have been thought of as particularly adequate. According to Wessel, the beginning of the Ossian-vogue in Germany and the spread of the staged melodrama both had a part of their background in the penchant for melancholy. In the melodrama, man was displayed as an isolated being who is exposed to destiny and whose laments fall on deaf ears (Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, p. 61), much as in the bard’s monologue in *Die Nacht*.

be enlivened by the rays of daylight. Such a critique would be in line with the educatory programme of Schubert's circle of friends. The emphasis on productive activity and on fight against destructive passions and indolence which can be found in the circle's writings makes it reasonable to believe that they could agree with the master's subsequent claim that "Night is alike to me, blue, stormy, or gloomy the air". With him, they could claim that the night has nothing important to tell them and that it therefore should be ignored.

Not only Schubert's circle thought that an excessive degree of sentiment could be dangerous and could lead to moral inertia. Some critics of the free fantasia described the genre as indecorous and pathological, and accused it of having a quasi-erotic effect on the body.⁶⁹⁷ In 1818, a text named "Gedanken über Musik" (Thoughts on music) in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* elaborated on the reprehensible effects of over-sentimental, "melting" (schmelzende) music (this, it will be remembered, was what the violinist Kreibe was reported to dwell in), describing those who submit to it as suffering from an illness which slackens man and deprives him of his "freedom" (Freyheit). It is worth noticing the opposition presented between, on the one hand, a "noble, manly taste" (edler männlicher Geschmack) and, on the other hand, the concept "to revel" (schwelgen) – the very word with which, according to von Spaun, the fourteen-year-old Schubert described his own involvement in Zumsteeg's songs:

At melting passages, an even animal-like expression of sensuousness appears on the faces of the listeners, the drunk eyes swim, the open mouth is all desire, a voluptuous trembling spreads over the entire body, the breath is quick and weak. In short, all symptoms of intoxication present themselves, which is a clear evidence that the senses revel whereas the mind succumbs to the power of sensuous impression. However, a noble, manly taste justly excludes such emotion from art since it pleases only the senses, with which art has nothing to do lest it become a one-sided means to man's pleasure.⁶⁹⁸

This passage is more than reminiscent of Schiller's thoughts on man's freedom which we encountered in Chapter 3, for, except for a few words, it is actually copied from Schiller's "Ueber das Pathetische" (On the Pathetic), one of the essays where his early

⁶⁹⁷ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 81 and 175.

⁶⁹⁸ "Ein bis ins Thierische gehender Ausdruck der Sinnlichkeit erscheint bey schmelzenden Passagen auf den Gesichtern der Zuhörer, die trunknen Augen schwimmen, der offene Mund ist ganz Begierde, ein wollüstiges Zittern verbreitet sich über den ganzen Körper, der Athem ist schnell und schwach, kurz alle Symptome der Berausung stellen sich ein, ein deutlicher Beweiss dass die Sinne schwelgen, der Geist aber der Gewalt des sinnlichen Eindruckes unterliege; der edle männliche Geschmack aber schliesst solche Rührung mit Recht von der Kunst aus, weil sie nur den Sinnen gefällt, mit denen die Kunst, als einem einseitigen Mittel den Menschen zu vergnügen, nichts zu verkehren hat". J.K., "Gedanken über Musik", in *AmZöK*, No. 9, 28 February 1818, cols. [69]-[70]. My translation of the final sentence is not obviously correct, but when the sentence is read in the context of the article as a whole, the onesidedness of art must be taken to be not a fundamental quality of all art but a regrettable result of the overemphasis on sensual pleasure.

training as a physician is most clearly manifested. The use of a discourse of pathology here makes the description a spiteful version of contemporary accounts of the dream-like state and the bodily pose (mouth half-open and gaze in the distance) that was associated with the free fantasia. After having heard and seen C.P.E. Bach improvising, Charles Burney, employing a discourse connected to the cult of genius, wrote that the artist's "soul appeared to be wholly absent, his eyes swam as if in a sweet dream, the under-lip hung down over the chin, face and body suspended almost lifeless over the clavichord".⁶⁹⁹ The similarity between the two descriptions suggests that being, so to speak, carried away by music could be interpreted both as indicating a pathological state and as a sign of genius. In the spirit of Schiller (but now without quoting), "Gedanken über Musik" goes as far as claiming that the lack of intellectual control results not merely in an unmanly reception of music, but even in an inhuman one:

In his pleasures, man must never succumb to affect and art must never pull him down into this position which is so disgraceful to human dignity, for man enjoys real pleasure only when he is aware that he is doing it. If he is not, he deteriorates to the level of an animal or falls into a moral lethargy which deprives him of the finest moments of human life, the moments of pleasure.⁷⁰⁰

Returning now to *Die Nacht*, if "the wanderer" was supposed to follow an Ariadne's thread through the dark labyrinth, the thread may have been interpreted as ending, or as snapping, as he came to a standstill, shivering in the middle of the night. To some, such a development must have been one of considerable pleasure. To others, it must have been an example of a pitiable human destiny, or even of a behaviour worthy of contempt. But either value-judgement need not have persisted when the whole of the bard's part of the song was considered. For if, as I have assumed, "the wanderer" was not regarded as being identical with the bard but was instead assumed to be a product of the bard's reflections on what *could* happen to him, or anyone else, if he were to stay out in the night, it is possible to find a thread which does not end nor snap. After having *reflected* on an alternative route, a route which would have led him astray (after all, English gardens were said to be a realm for self reflection), the bard considers it fit, or necessary, to leave the darkness and re-enter into the company of his friends. G minor at the beginnings of paragraphs 1 and 2 is transformed to G major and the intermediary confusion can be dispatched, with disappointment or relief, to a subordinate position in the structure of the song as a whole.

⁶⁹⁹ Quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 56.

⁷⁰⁰ "Der Mensch darf in seinen Vergnügen nie dem Affecte unterliegen, und die Kunst darf ihn nie in diese, die Menschenwürde entehrende Lage herabziehen, weil der Mensch nur dann wahres Vergnügen genießt, wenn er sich bewusst ist, dass er sich vergnüge; im entgegengesetzten Fall sinkt er zum Thier herab, oder fällt in eine moralische Lethargie, die ihm die schönsten Momente des menschlichen Daseyns raubt, die Momente des Vergnügens". J.K., "Gedanken über Musik", col. 69.

The master

Paragraph 4

The master starts on a bright note in the poem's fourth paragraph. Mentioning a number of things from the preceding part of the poem, he assures that he is quite indifferent to them. The occurrence of rhyme (beben – heben), alliteration (Wolken – Wanderer – Winde – Wälder), and assonance (brüllen – grünbeflügelte) contribute to the impression that order is now starting to replace chaos. The music adds to the effect by forcing most of paragraph 4 (“Laß Wolken” until “einhüllen”) into a consistent metrical pattern (bars 101-114). This whole passage is turned into a comparatively long arioso section in major tonalities, introduced by *fortissimo* chords in E \flat major (a key which is regularly associated with verbal expressions of confidence in Schubert's songs⁷⁰¹) followed by an unceasing triplet motion, maybe suggesting the playing of a harp,⁷⁰² and a regular marking of the 4/4-pulse in the bass, sometimes as affirmative octaves. In this musical context, the progression from G major (bar 100) via E \flat major (bar 101) and C major (bar 105) to A \flat major (bar 110) gives the impression less of misguided wandering than of resolute movement. Also, the progression is linear (moving in thirds) rather than serpentine. The passage contains agitated tone painting at the words “Ströme brüllen, Fenster klirren” (streams thunder, windows clatter), but, in contrast to many instances of such painting in the bard's part of the song, it is submerged in a flow which is, basically, of a brighter kind. The emotional state becomes even brighter when, in the next few lines of the poem, the master apprehends that the night will flee from the rays of the rising sun. These words are sung as a powerful recitative with frequent major triads and rising fourths (bars 114-120). A friendly fanfare in bars 118f heralds the idea of the rising sun.

Paragraph 5

But suddenly the mood shifts again. In the last clause of the poem's fourth paragraph (“aber wir kehren nimmer zurück”), the master turns to brooding reflection and then remains in that state throughout the fifth paragraph. He draws on topics of the grandeur of past ages and of transitoriness, standard responses to a mildly melancholic landscape like the one in the beginning of the bard's narration.⁷⁰³ He declares that the masters of times past are all gone, that even their graves are hardly to be seen, and that the same fate awaits us. The ruins of our halls will disappear and, just as we do, our sons will look in vain for traces of their fathers.⁷⁰⁴ (A real or artificial ruin was a

⁷⁰¹ Dürr, “Schubert, Franz (Peter)”, 2006, col. 154.

⁷⁰² Kinsey, “Schubert and the Poems of Ossian”, 1973, p. 26.

⁷⁰³ Cf. Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, pp. 78f and Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 94.

⁷⁰⁴ This part of the master's monologue (“wir kehren nimmer zurück”) *could* in itself be interpreted as a somewhat drastic and ultimately cheerful assurance that there are, and always will be, no ghosts to fear. But as we will see, Schubert's setting precludes this possibility in favour of an interpretation which emphasizes the sorrowful aspects of this part of the poem.

conventional feature of English gardens. In Hirschfeld's words, such a building provoked "recollection of times past and a certain feeling of regret mixed with melancholy".⁷⁰⁵ When, in Schubert's setting, the master first recognizes that we humans will never return from death (bars 121f), the music changes character and, in bar 123, slowly ("langsam") and *pianissimo*, comes to a standstill in B \flat minor. In sublime contrast, in bar 124 the "Führer der Vorwelt" (leaders of old) seem to jump out of the darkness, represented by strong, fast and arousing music in B major. This almost shocking transition may have been regarded as a musical equivalent to the sublime oppositions between darkness and glimpses of light that were found in the manmade grottoes in English gardens.⁷⁰⁶ It could also be taken to represent the vividness of the master's envisagement of the "leaders of old", in accordance with the flash-like inner revelation of the ideal which, according to Sulzer, was characteristic of a genius (see page 137). The following description of decay – "Schweigend sind die Felder ihrer Schlachten[.] Kaum sind ihre moosigten Gräber noch übrig. Man wird auch unser vergessen" (Silent are the fields of their battles. Scarce their mossy tombs remain. We shall also be forgot) – is put to music which sounds like a fragment from a plaintive slow movement of a baroque cantata (bars 132-141). The final sentence of the poem's fifth paragraph is then sung in a forceful recitative which ends in B minor, the key used for the funeral procession in bars 30-39, and is followed by a pause (bar 147) which gives the thought of transitoriness time to settle.

Paragraph 6

Having thus recognized that we cannot ultimately escape the night of our own death, in the sixth paragraph of the poem the master's mood shifts again. Here the text is full of verbs in the imperative tense – "ertönet" (raise, as in "raise the song"), "sendet" (send), "stellt" (suspend or put), "beginnet" (begin), "laß" (let) – a mode of expression which, for the first time in the song, gives a sense of a strong will. The broody passivity of the text's first, second and third paragraphs, which was rebutted in the fourth paragraph and which returned in the fifth, is now emphatically put aside. Firstly, the master orders the sound of harps and "happy shells" (fröhliche Muscheln),⁷⁰⁷ the light of a hundred candles (as a nightly substitute for the sun, one may assume), and the dance of youths and girls. Secondly, a grey-haired bard is to sing

⁷⁰⁵ "Zurückerinnerung an die vergangenen Zeiten und ein gewisses mit Melancholie vermishtes Gefühl des Bedauerns". Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 3. 1780, p. 110. On ruins in English gardens in Germany, also see Gerndt, *Idealisierte Natur*, 1981, pp. 40-43, and Carl Fehrman, *Ruinernas romantik* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1956), pp. 85-102.

⁷⁰⁶ In Count Cobenzl's garden on the Reisenberg, for example, there was a grotto with a waterfall and walls "fissured with sudden cracks through which the visitor was able to catch wondrous glimpses of extensive views across the Danube, capturing the quintessential experience of contrast and opposition, claustrophobic darkness enhanced for a moment by intensely brilliant distances". Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 214.

⁷⁰⁷ Also the main text of *Croma*, and several of the other Ossian poems, mentions "Muscheln" (shells). In the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe* (series iv, vol. 11, p. 268), Walther Dürr interprets this as a reference to shells used as musical horns.

to him about those very masters of times past whose absence he regretted in the fifth paragraph. In such a manner, the night is to pass: “Laß die Nacht also vergehen, bis der Morgen in unsern Hallen erscheine” (Thus let the night pass until morning shall appear in our halls). Referring to the dog and the hind of the bard’s narration and to the youths now dancing in his hall, he finally anticipates the coming of morning and the activity that it allows: “Dann seien nicht ferne der Bogen, die Doggen, die Jünglinge der Jagd. Wir werden die Hügel mit dem Morgen besteigen und die Hirsche erwecken” (Then let the bow be at hand, the hounds, the youths of the chase. We shall ascend the hill with the morning and awake the deer).

The master’s changing state of mind may seem confusing. But what he says may also be interpreted as accomplishing a logical dissociation between death on the one hand and night, along with all its conventional attributes, on the other. Night and death are not the same thing, he claims, for whereas day always returns (“Der junge Tag kehrt von seinen Wolken”), we do not (“aber wir kehren nimmer zurück”). This means that we do have reason to be concerned about our own perishing, but also that we need not be scared by the night. The distinction is important to make, one may argue, for if we get trapped in sullen, nocturnal pondering because of the conventional association between night and death (a common thing in the age of sentimentality), it has the destructive consequence of preventing us from living our lives when we have the possibility to do so.

The music boosts the lively character of the poem’s last paragraph. Fanfares interleave the master’s orders at the beginning of the paragraph (bars 148-150, 153-155, and 157-159) and his heralding of the morning in its last sentences (bars 193-207). In between we are granted a two-fold statement of a dance tune (bars 163-172 and 175-184) and a recitative built on a confident harmonic sequence (bars 185-193). This progression, at which the master speaks euphorically about the coming of morning, includes a rare restatement of material: the piano part in bar 190 is a transposed version of the highly characteristic descent in bar 116. Also, just as bar 116, bar 190 is followed by a secco recitative and then a fanfare. In both of these parallel passages, the master speaks with courage. But whereas in the first case he soon turns to speaking about death, now he does not let himself fall into such brooding. Instead he continues praising the morning and the deeds that it allows us to undertake, singing in G major (the key with which the bard returned from the night) and C major. In between, minor keys appear in a manner that gives a slightly modal character to parts of the music, a procedure which may have been interpreted as underlining the (assumed) old age of the poem and its content.⁷⁰⁸ Indeed, Daverio

⁷⁰⁸ The same music is played in G major (bars 148-150), A minor (bars 153-155) and C major (bars 157-159). From bar 163 onwards the dance tune is played first in D major modulating to E minor, then in A minor modulating to B minor. The fanfares at the end also hint at modal relationships when C major is followed by D minor in bars 193-197 and, more directly, in 201-203. The turn from major to minor in the song’s last three bars adds to the character.

(1998) identifies both modality and fanfare-like motives as “Ossianic” manners in music by Mendelssohn, Niels Gade and Schumann.⁷⁰⁹

Where does the wandering lead?

With a point of departure in the context that I have constructed, and in the basic interpretation that I have undertaken on the basis of that context, it is possible to conceive of *Die Nacht* as representing either of two coherent and ideologically charged motions in a landscape. Firstly, the song can be heard as constituting a move from darkness to light, with detours on a less fundamental structural level. Secondly, it can be heard as a circular move which stays in the darkness, with flashes of light being inserted only to make possible the representation of illusion or longing. In the one case, the wandering leads towards dawn. In the other, night prevails.

Towards dawn

In this interpretation, prime importance is attached to the bard’s turn towards his friends and away from night, to the master’s promise that a morning full of activity will come, to the increasing use of major keys (especially G and C major), and to the rousing fanfares towards the end of the song. Thus, the song’s outcome can be seen as being not so different from that of *Die Bürgschaft*, where, finally, tyranny is overcome and friendship is extended in a happy G major.⁷¹⁰ In the context of Anton von Spaun’s essay on friendship, which was discussed in Chapter 3, this interpretation of *Die Nacht* acquires a political and a utopian charge. And when morning is considered to be close at hand, the songs which the master asks a grey-haired bard to sing – “until morning shall appear in our halls” – can serve as a manifestation of that optimistically prophetic power of art which Theodor Körner eulogized in his poem “Sängers Morgenlied” (The Singer’s Morning Song):

Süßes Licht! Aus goldnen Pforten
Brichst du siegend durch die Nacht.
Schöner Tag! Du bist erwacht.
Mit geheimnisvollen Worten,
In melodischen Accorden
Grüß’ ich deine Rosenpracht!

[...]

Des Gesanges muntern Söhnen
Weicht im Leben jeder Schmerz,
Und nur Liebe schwellt ihr Herz,

(Sweet light! From golden gates
You break victoriously through the night.
Beautiful day! You are awake.
With mysterious words,
In melodic chords
I greet your rosy splendour!

[...]

In life, every pain gives in
To the merry sons of song,
And only love makes their hearts swell,

⁷⁰⁹ Daverio, “Schumann’s Ossianic Manner”, 1998, pp. 251ff.

⁷¹⁰ In Schubert’s music, G major is often associated with “appeased passion” (befriedigte Leidenschaft) and C major “seems to be the ‘pure’ key, a key which may form the beginning of many things – in particular a wandering into the unknown” (scheint die ‘reine’ Tonart zu sein, von der aus vieles möglich ist – insb[esondere] eine Wanderung in die Fremde). Dürr, “Schubert, Franz (Peter)”, 2006, col. 154.

In des Liedes heil'gen Tönen
Und im Morgenglanz des Schönen
Fliegt die Seele himmelwärts.⁷¹¹

In the holy tones of song
And in the morning lustre of beauty
The soul flies towards heaven.)

At the time, “morning” was a conventional metaphor both for increasing political freedom and for poetic heralding of a better world.⁷¹² Also the master’s vision of how the hunting party is going to climb the hill in the morning fits in with a utopian interpretation of the song. In his poem “Das Ideal und das Leben” (The ideal and life), for example, Schiller had used the hill as an appropriate symbol for the mediation between the world and the ideals.⁷¹³ The progression in *Die Nacht* from the dark and threatening labyrinth via the master’s mortal dread to the confident climbing of the hill in the morning sun may even be seen as a parallel to Tamino’s and Pamina’s course in the sun-worshipping opera *The Magic Flute*, a course sententiously summarized in the words of the two armoured men:

Der, welcher wandert diese Straße voll Beschwerden,
wird rein durch Feuer, Wasser, Luft und Erden;
wenn er des Todes Schrecken überwinden kann,
schwingt er sich aus der Erde himmelan.
Erleuchtet wird er dann imstande sein,
sich den Mysterien der Isis ganz zu weihn.⁷¹⁴

(He who travels this path with burdens
is purified by fire, water, air and earth;
if he but conquers the fears of death,
he will ascend from earth to heaven.
Enlightened he will then be able
to devote himself to the service of Isis.⁷¹⁵)

To be sure, in *Die Nacht* the music ends not in C or G major, as one might have expected, but in A minor. In the present interpretation, however, the listener chooses not to make too much of this fact. Instead, A minor is heard simply as part of the modal touch of the last fanfare. The only thing A minor does is to finish off the whole tone painting with a dash of local and period colour, in much the same way as Schubert was to do ten years later in *Der Wallensteiner Lanzknecht beym Trunk* (D.931). Also, in this interpretation, the many other parts of the song which seem to

⁷¹¹ Quoted from Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 228f. Schubert put this poem to music in February 1815.

⁷¹² Mayrhofer used this metaphor in “Geheimnis” (Secret), a poem directed to Schubert. (See page 69.) Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 60, 106, 168, 255, and Hans-Wolf Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik im Jakobinismus und im Vormärz* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971), pp. 16-20.

⁷¹³ See Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 150.

⁷¹⁴ Emanuel Schikaneder’s libretto to *The Magic Flute*, 1791. Quoted from *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Trollflöjten. Die Zauberflöte.*, Operans textböcker, No. 4, ed. Klas Ralf (Stockholm: Operan, 19??), p. 47.

⁷¹⁵ Translation quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 214f.

work against the coming of morning should, at least in retrospect, be seen as detours on a less fundamental structural level. As we have seen, in free fantasias and English gardens, turning the wrong way was sometimes thought of as a prerequisite for ultimately going the right way. In the already mentioned article in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) (1824) on Beethoven's last three piano sonatas (works much influenced by the free fantasia), the reviewer says that there are moments when, just like in a "magnificent landscape garden", "the path turns abruptly [...] in the opposite direction, so that one may think at first that one is walking back, or that one has been diverted from the direction in which many an enjoyment was to be awaited, the lack of which now fills one with concern". But, he continues, both in a garden and in Beethoven's work "one should let oneself, willingly and devotedly, be led by the creator (who could be a better guide than he?), and one will find to one's gratification that not every turning point is a point of culmination".⁷¹⁶ While at a given point it may seem that one has been led quite astray, it will turn out in the end that one was going the right way all along. In accordance with the use of the path in an English garden as a metaphor for the path of life,⁷¹⁷ the wanderer's tearful, and finally also fearful, experience, as well as the master's brooding in paragraph five, can be regarded as examples of the simple wisdom known for instance from the expression *per aspera ad astra* and from Beethoven's fifth and ninth symphonies that mistakes, drawbacks and other experiences which are in themselves negative may be prerequisites for reaching a state of satisfaction which would otherwise be barred.

Gramit suggests that Schubert's choice of texts from Ossian should be understood as "examples of the circle's enthusiasm for the heroic deeds of brave and virtuous youths".⁷¹⁸ The youths in *Die Nacht*, who will go hunting on the hill in the morning, are likely to have been regarded as a healthy contrast to those in contemporary life who preferred to stay in the darkness of passive melancholy. For although *Die Nacht* has parts which belong to the genre of sentimental contemplation on transitoriness, it also contains the brave request that, even though everything we do will disappear, we must not get stuck in melancholy but should instead engage in productive activity. Considering the song's evocation of sentimental roaming in a gloomy park, its use of fantasia-like music, and, above all, the likelihood that these features would make the first part of the song useful for exactly that kind of lonely, sentimental dreaming at the keyboards of Viennese drawing rooms, *Die Nacht* as a whole may have had the potential of telling its performers to stop doing what they were doing. (That is, to stop doing what Schubert himself had probably done when

⁷¹⁶ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 26 (1 April 1824), col. 214. Quoted from Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, pp. 210f.

⁷¹⁷ At the entrance of a winding, rising and falling path in the grotto in the garden at Schönau, close to Baden, the words "Dunkel, wie der Pfad des Lebens" (Dark, as the path of life) could be read on a marble tablet. Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung*, 1989, p. 204.

⁷¹⁸ Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, p. 102. Napoleon, too, is said to have esteemed the Ossian poems as representations of a military ideal of honour, courage, discipline and other heroic virtues. Stafford, "Introduction", 1996, p. vi.

Josef von Spaun entered the music room at the Stadtkonvikt in 1811.) The song may have been fit to encourage them to leave the pianoforte and its lonely chamber and walk out into the sun to accomplish something. Thus Schubert's setting could be considered to contribute to the task which upholders of the nationalist, pre- and early Romantic notion of mythology gave to Ossian poems as examples of "Nordic" *Volksdichtung*, namely the creation of a new generation of heroes.

The progression within the bard's narration in the first half of the song may not only have been interpreted as a transition from a melancholic part of a garden to one arranged to be frightening, but also as a path that the imagination of a dweller in dark, lonely surroundings was himself likely to take – a path which leads from a mere observance of darkness and difficulty of orientation to the trembling imagining of the presence of ghosts. Whereas Hirschfeld writes that it is indeed healthy to ponder in solitude in a "sweetly melancholic area", *Die Nacht* may be interpreted as saying the opposite, namely that such dwelling leads to horror and despair. The planless wandering into darkness in the first part of the song may then be regarded as a warning example of what can happen when control is lost. The cheerful parts of the second half of the song, on the other hand, could be interpreted as the realm towards which a wanderer ought to be heading. Emotions which Schubert's circle thought of as destructive are drawn upon in the song, but only to be refuted. Thus, in the context of the circle's optimistic ideology, the song could be thought of as using topics of Romanticism for a noble end and thus as serving a commendable purpose. The song might then even have been heard as containing a critique of a certain "degenerate" variety of the Ossian cult itself. The critique in Goethe's autobiography of his own youthful enthusiasm for Ossian comes to mind, a sentimental enthusiasm which famously had left its mark on *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*:

[...] Ossian lured us off to Ultima Thule, where we roamed about on the infinite grey heath amidst protruding mossy gravestones, looking around us at the grass blown by a chill wind, and above us at the heavily clouded sky. Only by moonlight did this Caledonian night really become day: perished heroes and vanished maidens hovered about us, and we actually began to believe that we had seen the ghost of Loda in its fearsome form.⁷¹⁹

Night prevails

It is on purpose that I have isolated an interpretation of *Die Nacht* which is in accordance with the optimistic tenets which dominated in the circle's early years of existence. I have done this because we know that while challenges which the circle faced around the time when Schubert composed *Die Nacht* led to a shift in emphasis in the circle's emotional and intellectual outlook, it did not erase the earlier concerns from their minds – as if such a thing were possible. The earlier tenets remained, partly intact, partly as memories, partly as points of departure for a modified but not

⁷¹⁹ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Translation quoted from Laughlin, "The Lawless Language", 2000, p. 529.

radically new worldview. Also, as Kohlhäufl argues, the change consisted of a shift in emphasis within a spectrum of thoughts and emotions which was present in the circle from its early days. We should therefore keep the optimistic interpretation in mind when we now turn to an alternative reading.

The years around 1817 were a time when the circle was becoming considerably less optimistic about the possibility of positive, productive activity. The reasons for this were acute disappointments, both political and personal. As early as 1815 the friends were being observed by paranoid authorities who regarded them as a dangerous secret society.⁷²⁰ In 1819 their year book *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, which expressed a wish for freedom of thought and which was received as a manifestation of the national thinking which had characterized the liberation wars,⁷²¹ was to be discontinued, probably as a result of pressure from the authorities.⁷²² Also, several of the circle's members now had families, a circumstance that, considering their social background, more or less forced them to take on official positions. This meant both that they had less time for the circle's activities and that they worked in the service of a state apparatus to which they were themselves opposed. Mayrhofer, for example, who was a passionate proponent of the freedom of the mind, earned his living as a censor – a state of things which was to be regarded as part of the background of his suicide in 1836.⁷²³ A few years after the composition of *Die Nacht*, the circle was to become the object of a raid by the secret police, as a result of which Johann Senn was imprisoned and thereafter expelled from Vienna.⁷²⁴ The hopes of really doing something to change the world gradually faded.

Indeed, since the promise of increased political freedom which the Austrian government had made in order to spur the popular rising against Napoleon was withheld once the wars were over, it was a common experience of a whole generation of youths that their efforts in the wars had been in vain.⁷²⁵ While during the rising and the liberation wars, the nationalist movement and the volunteer corps were welcomed by the Austrian authorities, after the Congress of Vienna, in the beginning Restoration era, everything of the kind was repressed.⁷²⁶ The optimism of the time of the liberation wars was succeeded by a paralyzing feeling of no longer being able to undertake the deeds which were to lead to the real “liberation” of the German “nation”. The “deeds of other times”, about which the master in *Die Nacht* orders a bard to sing, could probably be heard as a reference not only to a golden age in a mythological past,

⁷²⁰ Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 43f, 190.

⁷²¹ *ibid.*, p. 45. Also see pp. 200, 206.

⁷²² *ibid.*, pp. 158, 191.

⁷²³ Gramit, “The intellectual and aesthetic tenets”, 1987, pp. 147ff. Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 56f.

⁷²⁴ Gramit, “The intellectual and aesthetic tenets”, 1987, pp. 154f; Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 39, 130, 158, 280; Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 309-319; Margret Jestremski, “Senn[,] Johann Chrysostomus”, in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, pp. 425f.

⁷²⁵ Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 192.

⁷²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 200.

but also as a reference to the very recent deeds of the liberation wars. In Ottenwalt's poem "Der Jüngling an sein Vaterland" (The Youth to his Fatherland), which precedes Anton von Spaun's article on friendship in the first volume of the *Beyträge*, the lyrical *I* turns to his "fatherland", assuring that he "learnt the meaning of deeds" only "[w]hen the glorious fought for you".⁷²⁷ But in that same year, 1817, those deeds started to seem very distant indeed and Ottenwalt himself apprehended that youth and the love of freedom were now beginning to pass away.⁷²⁸

In 1849, in the introduction to a planned volume of poetry, Senn described what the change in outlook had been like. At first, "outer freedom was actually gained by fighting" and "inner freedom seemed to be guaranteed through solemn promises".⁷²⁹ "Outer" freedom here refers to the freedom from French occupation and "inner" freedom to the political freedom of the citizens. Senn describes a state of frenzy in which even the realization of a godlike existence on earth was envisaged:

These promises were already fulfilled here and there, and it was still possible to look forward with confidence to their complete fulfilment. One rested on laurel and roses; it was easy to indulge in contemplation rich in insights, in the life of thoughts, and in the proud conviction of secured rights one already wanted to assert oneself and others. *Freedom releases the soul, transforming it into spirit, and turns man into god, and Olympus descends upon every place where free men gather.*⁷³⁰

But then, he goes on, his generation had been disappointed:

But alas – what disappointment! What had only been promised was withheld, what had already been given was taken back or spoiled, what rested on trust was deceived. The abodes of Earth became prisons, men became prisoners. The contemplative, god-like life was over, and what remained was nothing but lament, resignation, [and] the manly composure in regard to the more beautiful future which just could not fail to come.⁷³¹

⁷²⁷ "Ich lernte Thaten erst verstehen, / Während die Herrlichen für dich kämpften". Anton Ottenwalt, "Der Jüngling an sein Vaterland", in *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1817), p. 2. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 192-194.

⁷²⁸ Dürhammer, "Von den lachenden Fluren des Ideenreiches", 1999, p. 130.

⁷²⁹ "Die Freiheit nach außen war durch Vernichtung der Fremdherrschaft wirklich erkämpft, die innere Freiheit durch feierliche Verheißungen, wie es schien, verbürgt". The introduction is quoted in full in Gramit, "The intellectual and aesthetic tenets", 1987, pp. 381f.

⁷³⁰ "Diese Verheißungen wurden schon hie und da erfüllt, und man konnte der gänzlichen Erfüllung noch mit Vertrauen entgegensehen. Man ruhte auf Lorbern und Rosen, leicht gab man sich der erkenntnißreichen Beschaulichkeit, dem Gedankenleben hin, und in dem stolzen Bewußtseyn gesicherter Berechtigung mochte man sich und Andern schon etwas gelten lassen. *Die Freiheit entfesselt die Seele zum Geist und macht den Menschen zum Gott, und der Olymp senkt sich auf jede Stätte nieder, wo freie Menschen sich versammeln*". *ibid.*

⁷³¹ "Aber ach – welche Enttäuschung! Das nur noch Verheißene wurde vorenthalten, das schon Gegebene zurückgenommen oder verkümmert, das Vertrauene hintergangen. Die Stätten der Erde wurden Kerker, die Menschen zu Gefangenen. Aus [war] es mit beschaulichem Götterleben, und übrig blieb nur die

The reference to “prisons” and “prisoners” was probably meant to be understood both metaphorically and literally. Metaphorically, in that censorship and persecution of dissidents, if successful, shackled the minds of the people and prevented them from fulfilling their transformation from man to god. Instead of attaining a citizenship in Olympia, the people were imprisoned in a bleak, earth-bound life. Literally, because Senn had himself been imprisoned for more than a year before being deported from Vienna. To be sure, apart from complaint and resignation, Senn says, a “manly self-possession” remained which was fed by the thought of that better future which had to come, sooner or later. But while, before, it was felt that the brave new world had already come, this world now seemed distant indeed.

Die Nacht can be interpreted accordingly. In such a reading, the darkness of the A-minor ending is not simply explained away as a stroke of period and local colour. After all, although G and C major gradually spread, minor keys take up much space in the song, also in the part that belongs to the master. Most of the song’s longer sections which stay within one key are in the minor mode. The master says his last words in C major, but, although nothing would have been easier for Schubert than to end also the piano part in that key, the piano part, and thus the whole song, ends in A minor – a key which often signifies “the sad reality” (die traurige Realität) in Schubert’s songs.⁷³² The final harmonic progression rounds the piece off by letting it end in a key more attuned to the darker tonalities which dominate it. It is true that the song contains passages in the major mode, but minor always returns. This puts the master’s confident words about the coming of morning within distancing quotation marks, as it were, and it can even be interpreted as suggesting that the bards and the master and the youths and all the rest have long since had to succumb to the darkness of transitoriness, or at least as a hint that, even at the end of the poem, night has not passed in any definite sense.⁷³³

Also, although the text of *Die Nacht* ends on a bright note, and although other Ossian texts contain bright promises too, when Macpherson’s Ossian poetry is regarded in its entirety, disappointment is a highly prominent feature. Heroes fail to protect those whom they have promised to protect and, above all, the people of

Klage, die Resignation, die männliche Fassung im Hinblick auf die denn doch unausbleibliche schönere Zukunft”. *ibid.*

⁷³² Dürr, “Schubert, Franz (Peter)”, 2006, col. 154.

⁷³³ Dittrich claims that in Schubert’s oeuvre, a return of minor in the piano postlude of a song in which the vocal part ends in major is to be regarded as a set sign of “scepis” or “contradiction”. (Dittrich, “Für Menschenohren”, 1997, p. 152.) In *Die Nacht*, it could be argued that the A-minor ending will not be regarded as sombre because that key has already appeared twice in the allegedly light part of the song where the master orders song, dance and the light of candles (beginning in bar 148). A minor appeared in the second statement of the fanfare-like music announcing the master’s orders (bars 153-155) and in the second statement of the dance music (bars 175ff). On the other hand, also these secondary A-minor statements of material appearing first in G major (bars 148ff) and D major (bars 163ff) respectively can be interpreted as indications that the night has not disappeared (which, as is clear in the verbal text, it has not) but is merely kept in check.

Ossian are a dying race.⁷³⁴ In *Die Nacht*, although the master speaks of the light of day as something that *will* come, in the context of the other Ossian poems and of a musical totality in which major tonalities always yield to minor ones, the envisaging of morning can easily be interpreted as a mere passing blaze before the return of darkness. The appearing sun which the master heralds is then much the same as the evening sun at the beginning of “Calthon and Colmal”, another of Macpherson’s Ossian poems. In the first paragraph of that poem, when the aged and blind Ossian announces the story which he is about to tell, he uses the appearance of the sun in the west after a storm as a metaphor for himself looking back on his youth:⁷³⁵ “Wilt thou not listen [...] to the song of Ossian? My soul is full of other times; the joy of my youth returns. Thus the sun appears in the west, after the steps of his brightness have moved behind a storm; the green hills lift their dewy heads: the blue streams rejoice in the vale. The aged hero comes forth on his staff, and his grey hair glitters in the beam”.⁷³⁶ When the sun appears, it is already setting so that the end of day is contained in light itself. In the context of English gardens, something similar is intimated by the inscription which Hirschfeld suggests could meet a wanderer as he enters a cheerful field full of roses and other flowers after having stayed in a melancholic realm:

Rosen auf den Weg gestreut, Und des Grams vergessen! Eine kleine Spanne Zeit Ward uns zugemessen. ⁷³⁷	(Roses spread on the path, And sorrow forgotten! For a short space of time This was allotted to us.)
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To Schubert’s circle, *Die Nacht* may have contained not only an invitation to dream about a time when there was still a promise of the coming of morning. It may also have contained hints that that promise had in fact never been reliable. Such hints are likely to have been underscored by the circle’s knowledge of the larger Ossianic context and, most acutely, by their own recent history and the political developments in Austria. At the song’s very end, the path which it has itself invited listeners to take can be heard as turning back towards darker realms. The aesthetic model of a path leading from darkness to light could thus be said to be both present and rejected. Interpreted like this, *Die Nacht*, as an example of the “ancient legends” which Friedrich Schlegel charged with the task of fostering “patriotic and manly sentiments” (see page 175), embodies a portion of doubt in its own ability to fulfil that very task,

⁷³⁴ Dafydd Moore, “Heroic Incoherence in James Macpherson’s *The Poems of Ossian*”, in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, No. 1 (2000), pp. 43-59. Indeed, in much Ossian reception, Ossian had become the “archetype of a sentimental poet who looks back with melancholy on the great past” (Urbild des sentimentalischen Dichters, der mit Wehmut auf die große Vergangenheit zurückblickt). Schmidt, “Ossian, Oisín”, 2004, col. 1448.

⁷³⁵ At least, that was Blair’s interpretation of the passage. Blair, “Critical Dissertation” (1765), 1996, p. 383.

⁷³⁶ *The Poems of Ossian and related works*, 1996, p. 171.

⁷³⁷ Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 4, 1782, p. 84.

at least if this task is understood as the prerequisite for the concrete improvement of society summarized in the old catchphrase “word and deed”. Although the circle had turned to art and friendship in an effort to make possible and prepare themselves for the coming of a time of freedom and national unity, it can only be expected that, in practice, some of their art (and surely some of their friendships too) were perceived as being tainted by the very disillusionment against which they were supposed to be a remedy.

A temporary space of freedom

Disillusionment led to a certain cult of pain and melancholy within the circle, but rather than bringing their Neo-Platonic idealism to nothing these sentiments helped romanticizing it.⁷³⁸ Instead of working as a concrete preparation for a better everyday world, art was now to serve as a gate to otherworldly experiences, experiences which were bound to be limited in time by the intrusion of the harsh facts of life. Romanticism can be found in some of the circle’s poetry from an early date, but it increased in importance as the years passed.⁷³⁹ Mayrhofer’s poem “Sehnsucht” (Longing) for example, which Schubert set in 1816 or 1817, is part of this romantic trend, as is Ottenwalt’s poem with the same title.⁷⁴⁰ In this Romantic poetry, the actual striving for a realization of utopia, as manifested for instance in *Die Bürgschaft*, was supplanted by pain and longing resulting from a perceived dissonance between a necessarily earth-bound existence and a heavenly destination. The function of art was not to remedy the loss in a direct and simple manner – indeed, that would not be possible – but to evoke the image of an ideal world to the dwellers in the present exile and make this image their object of longing.

In this context, it is worth noticing that *Die Nacht* willingly lets itself be interpreted according to the tripartite structure of history which had been articulated by Kant and which was adopted by Romanticism. Romantic poets of Schubert’s generation lived and conceived their works in what they thought of as the second historical phase, a vale of tears cheered only by the sentimental remembrance of an allegedly ideal Arcadia and the longing for the dawn of Elysium, a better world beyond the present one.⁷⁴¹ In the 1820s, this structure was to permeate much of Schubert’s work in the form of two alternative poetic modes: remembrance and rapture.⁷⁴²

Kohlhäüfl takes as an example of the tripartite model of history three sonnets by Joseph Christian von Zedlitz (1790-1862) – one of Schubert’s admirers – which were published on the first page of *Wiener-Moden-Zeitung und Zeitschrift für*

⁷³⁸ Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 36, 52, 56f, 71, 126.

⁷³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 138, 149, 160, 271.

⁷⁴⁰ Ottenwalt’s “Sehnsucht” is quoted in Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 143f.

⁷⁴¹ Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 136, 266; Svante Nordin, *Filosofins historia* (Lund: Studentlitteratur 1995), p. 402.

⁷⁴² Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 293.

Kunst, schöne Literatur und Theater on 1 January 1817 and which bear the titles “Vergangenheit” (The Past), “Gegenwart” (The Present), and “Zukunft” (The Future).⁷⁴³ In the second sonnet, “Gegenwart”, the present time in history is described in terms of landscape. More specifically, an imagery is being used which we recognize from the bard’s opening narration in *Die Nacht*:

[...]	([...])
Und vor uns starrt ein unbekanntes Land,	And before us an unknown land towers up,
Aus dem zurück noch nie ein Wanderer fand,	From which yet no wanderer found his way back,
Auf das sich Nacht und Finsterniß verbreiten;	In which night and gloom are spreading;
[...] ⁷⁴⁴	[...]

While I have argued that the bard’s narration could serve as a critique of circular sentimental roaming, it could, it seems, also be interpreted as a representation of the bleak present period in history. The first of von Zedlitz’s sonnets, “Vergangenheit”, shares some imagery with a part of the *master’s* monologue in *Die Nacht*. As will be remembered, the master rhetorically asks: “Where are our leaders of old? Where are our widely renowned masters?” and later commands: “Let a grey-haired bard be near me to tell the deeds of other times, of kings renowned in our land, of masters we behold no more“. Likewise, von Zedlitz addresses history herself, writing:

Seh’ ich deine Schleyer sich entfalten,	(When I see thy veil unfold,
Heil’ge Vorzeit, Weltbegluckerinn;	Holy ancient times, thou who bless the world;
Seh’ ich, durch die Nebelhülle hin,	When I see, through the cover of mist,
Deiner Söhn’ ehrwürdige Gestalten,	The venerable forms of thy sons
Die im Glanze deiner Tage wallten,	Who wandered in the brightness of thy days
Ruhmgekrönt und hehr vorüber ziehn;	Passing by, crowned with glory and exalted;
Horcht die Seele mit Begeistrungs Glühn	If the soul hears, with the glow of enthusiasm,
Tönen, die verklangen und verhallten:	Tones which died and faded away:
Dann vom Hauche deines Geist’s durchbebt,	Then, shaken by the breath of thy spirit,
Fühl’ ich’s an dem frisch bewegten Schlage	I feel at the vigorous beat
Meines Herzens: jener schönen Tage	Of my heart: the idol of those beautiful days
Götterbild, das hold vorüber schwebt,	which graciously soars away
Ist der Freyheit Kind [...] ⁷⁴⁵	is the child of freedom. [...])

Against the background of this historiographic model and of a music which intimates light but constantly returns to darkness, the master’s future-oriented final sentences can be interpreted as being charged with Romantic longing for deliverance rather than with Enlightened optimism. The night, which the master wants to pass (“Thus let the night pass until morning shall appear in our halls”) becomes a symbol not of particular years or occurrences in modern history but of modern history as a whole, or

⁷⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 126f.

⁷⁴⁴ Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 127.

⁷⁴⁵ Quoted from *ibid.*, pp. 126f.

even of earthly existence. In von Zedlitz's final sonnet, "Zukunft", the futility of striving in this world is clearly expressed:

Was ich thue, ist vergeblich Streben, Dunkel nur und zweifelhaft mein Wissen; Was ich wünsche, muß ich stets vermissen, Täuschung nur und Trug will mich umschweben.	(What I do is idle strain, Dim and doubtful is my knowledge; What I wish I must always miss, Deception only and deceit surround me.)
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To be sure, light will finally triumph over darkness, but it will not happen in the present, earth-bound life. For, the sonnet continues:

Aber Dauer weilet nicht beym Leben, Und so werd' ich's endlich auch beschliessen; Diesem Nachtgewölk des Wahns entrissen, Wird mir hell're Klarheit einst umgeben. Nahen Tag verkündet uns Aurore, Licht muß siegend durch den Schatten dringen; Wenn wir mühsam nach der Wahrheit ringen, Öffnen sich die goldnen Flügelthore Ihrer Heimath, und hinüber bringen Wird den Sehrenden die nächste Hore. ⁷⁴⁶	(But duration does not stay with life, And thus I will finally end it; When this nightly cloud of illusion is torn away, Some time a brighter clarity will surround me. Aurora announces the near day, Victoriously, light must pierce the shadows; When we struggle hard to find the truth, The golden twin doors of her homeland open And he who longs will be brought across By the next Hora.)
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Whereas landscape in the early English gardens had been constructed according to a Leibnizean principle, in order to convince man of the ungraspable but ultimately rational and benevolent character of God, and whereas the darker parts of such gardens were later used for sentimental or pleasingly fearful roaming and as a realm for creativity, the nightly landscape in *Die Nacht* could also be interpreted as a symbol of human alienation from a heavenly homeland, a land thought to constitute man's origin as well as his destination. Earlier in this chapter, I assumed that night could be used as a symbol of death. In von Zedlitz's words, however, it is life that is a mere "nightly cloud of illusion", our only source of light in that misty night being our own longing for what will come after it. Similarly, in the second volume of the *Beyträge*, a passage from Jean Paul is quoted which employs the contrast between mountain top and valley as part of a metaphor for the feeling of romantic alienation and longing: "In low regions, strangers who were born on mountains are consumed by an incurable homesickness: – we belong to a higher place, and therefore an eternal longing gnaws us".⁷⁴⁷

In this interpretation of *Die Nacht*, art does not actually let us in through the golden twin doors, closing them behind us. But nor does it yield to the night without effort. What it does is to open a space between night and day where it is

⁷⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 127.

⁷⁴⁷ "Fremdlinge, die auf Bergen geboren sind, zehret in niedrigen Gegenden ein unheilbares Heimweh aus: – wir gehören für einen höhern Ort, und darum zernagt uns ein ewiges Sehnen". Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 209.

possible to play creatively with the harsh facts of life, producing images of ideal existence – images which, certainly, remain images. Although the optimism which can be found in Schiller's *Ästhetische Erziehung* is here lost, the opening of such a space – a space for play – is in accordance with Schiller's notion of a space of freedom between matter and form and his desire for liberation from overpowering grief. Indeed, although *Die Nacht* ends on a dark note, it does not return to the unrestrained, solitary melancholy and fear that the wanderer experiences in the bard's narration. Actually, at the end there are no verbal references to fear at all, nor any clear musical ones.

Thus, while the circle may have interpreted the song in a non-optimistic way, they may still have found some relief at its end, in the form of a resolution from the acute sorrow, fear and paralysis of the second half of the bard's monologue. For looking forward towards a morning in which the fear and passivity of night will be overcome could have a warming moral quality in itself, irrespective of the ultimate futility of the promise. As Hugh Blair noted in his "Critical Dissertation" on Ossian (1765), "if [Ossian] be thought too melancholy, yet he is always moral. [...] his writings are remarkably favourable to virtue. They awake the tenderest sympathies, and inspire the most generous emotions. No reader can rise from him, without being warmed with the sentiments of humanity, virtue and honour".⁷⁴⁸ According to Schiller, melancholy and nostalgia are the results of the work of reason on overpowering grief. Wolf Gerhardt Schmidt (2004) summarizes Schiller's position, a position which is not unlike Hirschfeld's on the mildly melancholic area of an English garden: "The sensitive restraint of suffering as it is to be found in *Ossian* is [...] for Schiller a sign of human dignity", and "[t]he calm suffering, which actually produces that dignity, thus becomes a manifestation of man's intelligence and his moral freedom".⁷⁴⁹ Melancholy thus becomes a viable approach to life for those who strive towards freedom of the mind in a sense similar to Schiller's. (Compare Chapter 3.) When this view of melancholy is combined with the image of the English landscape garden, the following interpretation of the end of the song becomes possible:

At the end of *Die Nacht* we return to a mildly melancholic area after having visited both a fearful scene and a morning scene. Or, rather, the mildly melancholic area was never actually left, for the "wanderer" is not a real wanderer but only a wandering mind, and the morning referred to is not a real morning, but only the idea of morning. Both wandering and morning can therefore be contained *within* the mildly melancholic area, an interpretation which is strengthened by a passage which I quoted earlier in this chapter, in which Hirschfeld writes that, in the mildly melancholic area, "the fantasy rises to an exceptional flight in a new sphere of images" (see page 185). The A-minor ending may then work as a sign both that the whole motley song takes place within the mildly melancholic area *and* that the subject who

⁷⁴⁸ Blair, "Critical Dissertation" (1765), 1996, pp. 398f.

⁷⁴⁹ Schmidt, "'Menschlichschön' and 'kolossalisch'", 2004, p. 193.

experiences it (who “is”, in turn, both bard, wanderer, and master) is not totally carried away by his fantasies, but is able to return to his outset at the end. He reflects on evanescence and enjoys sweet remembrance while retaining a certain detachment: reflection on fear and evanescence does not make him despair or yield to any other over-powering emotion – when it is on its way to doing so, he resolutely leaves that state of mind – and he never really makes himself believe that he has found a way past the ultimate darkness of human life. He reflects freely, without being trapped by individual thoughts and without losing the sense of the whole and his own position within it. When the song is interpreted in this way, it may actually be taken as a manifestation of that unity and inner freedom which the friends probably still regarded as a hallmark of a beautiful artwork and a beautiful soul.

When sorrow and fear could not simply be substituted by happiness, at least the distress could be alleviated by the right sort of melancholy. Interpreted within Schubert’s circle of friends, *Die Nacht* may have contained not only a deterrent representation of melancholy which leads to fear, but also an example of a more inviting melancholy which approaches Romanticism and which is based on reflection on history and on the present times with their faltering optimism concerning the future. The latter melancholy may have seemed to the circle at least an acceptable position between the confidently active life which was fast dying away and the fearful paralysis which threatened to supplant that allegedly ideal state of manly vigour.

Conclusion

If I am right in claiming that *Die Nacht* was received as drawing on aesthetics associated with English gardens and free fantasias, the song’s motley appearance ought to have been regarded as appropriate. It is important to remember, though, that such an aesthetic did not necessarily exclude the topic of clarity. But was there, at the end of *Die Nacht*, at all any clarity of structure and meaning to be discovered? I believe that such clarity was considered to be thematized rather than simply to be present. Also, the attraction of the song may have been the possibility to perceive several alternative and even contradictory structures, meanings and uses, just as was possible with English gardens and free fantasias. The song may have been valuable to the members of Schubert’s circle because, in one single act, it could speak to a whole set of contradictory ideals, memories, desires, and hopes, a set which seems to have characterized their thinking in the upsetting years around 1817. As Gramit observes, the early intellectual programme of the circle “rested on a fragile balance of tensions”. The friends “lauded determined activity while recognizing their inability to engage in it”, and they “were prone to melancholy reflections while at the same time strongly suspicious of them”.⁷⁵⁰ In May 1817, Dürhammer remarks, the “concept of longing, which was associated with Romanticism, was fervidly discussed within the circle and was vehemently rejected by Anton [von] Spaun, who was particularly devoted to the

⁷⁵⁰ Gramit, “The intellectual and aesthetic tenets”, 1987, p. 141.

Enlightenment. And yet, the most significant friends (Mayrhofer, Schober, and Ottenwalt) wrote poems of longing”.⁷⁵¹ *Die Nacht* was composed in February of the same year. What song could be better as a means for living through and reflecting on these uncertainties concerning aesthetics, history, and human destiny?

Excursion: Diabelli’s version of *Die Nacht* (1830)

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, *Die Nacht* was published for the first time in 1830 as volume one in the edition *Franz Schubert’s Nachgelassene musikalische Dichtungen* (Diabelli & Co. in Vienna). In the twentieth century, this edition of *Die Nacht* was infamous for not being faithful to Schubert’s manuscript. Rather than being based on aesthetic concerns, in which case some modern scholars would probably argue that a little tampering could hardly make this song any worse, this reaction seems to have been a result of the fairly consistent favouring of “original” versions in twentieth-century musicology. Instead of restricting my discussion of this edition to merely blaming the editor Anton Diabelli for being so treacherous, however, I will regard his editorial decisions as attempts to clarify his own interpretation of the song. Diabelli may or may not have considered this interpretation to be in accordance with Schubert’s intentions, but being a commercial editor he most probably thought that his elucidations or real modifications (as the case may be) would make the song more appealing to potential buyers.

In a letter written in 1867 and directed to Selmar Bagge, editor of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig), Schubert’s friend Leopold von Sonnleithner “confesses” that, when Diabelli’s edition was being prepared, he had, at the request of Anton Diabelli himself, undertaken some changes to *Lodas Gespenst* (D.150), one of Schubert’s Ossian songs.⁷⁵² In Schubert’s manuscript, *Lodas Gespenst* ends with a recitative and with the words “Heldengeschichten wurden erzehlt” (heroic tales were told).⁷⁵³ According to von Sonnleithner, Diabelli thought that at least one of the heroic tales thus referred to has to follow if the song is to be fit for performance and if the song as a whole is to have “a satisfactory ending” (einen befriedigenden Abschluß). Diabelli therefore put Schubert’s *Punschlied* (D.277), a composition for male voices, in von Sonnleithner’s hands and asked him to supply it with a new, heroic text so that it could work as an appropriate ending. von Sonnleithner conceded to Diabelli’s wish and in 1830 *Lodas Gespenst* was published with the new ending.

Die Nacht went through a similar transformation, although von Sonnleithner does not mention it in his letter to Bagge. Minor changes were made to the song

⁷⁵¹ “[...] im Mai 1817 [...] wurde im Freundeskreis der mit der Romantik assoziierte Sehnsuchtsbegriff heiß diskutiert und etwa von Anton Spaun, der der Aufklärung besonders zugetan war, vehement abgelehnt. Dennoch schrieben die bedeutendsten Freunde (Mayrhofer, Schober und Ottenwalt) Sehnsuchts-Gedichte”. Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 354.

⁷⁵² Leopold von Sonnleithner, “Reumütiges Bekenntnis”, letter to Selmar Bagge, 30 January 1867. Quoted in Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, pp. 510-512.

⁷⁵³ Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 2, p. 421.

proper and then, after its final bars, Schubert's *Jagdlied* (D.521) was added, a strophic setting of a poem by Zacharias Werner. This time, only parts of the added song's original text were changed.⁷⁵⁴ One result of this two-strophe, sixtyfive-bar addition (which is found in Appendix 3) is that it makes the end of *Die Nacht* plainly optimistic. The altered text sounds the hunting horns – “Trarah! Trarah!” – and speaks of the fleeing night and mist, the victorious sun and glowing mountain tops, all in the present tense. What the master promised in the latter part of *Die Nacht* is now taking place. Only the hunt has not yet started, but that will soon happen too:

Trarah! Trarah! Wir ziehen hinaus, Uns locket die Beute der Jagd! Es flieht die Nacht, Es siegt der Sonne Pracht; Das Licht hat über das Dunkel Macht! Trarah! Trarah! auf, auf auf! Der junge Tag uns lacht!	(Trarah! Trarah! We march out We are tempted by the quarry of hunt! Night flees, The splendour of the sun triumphs; Light has power over darkness! Trarah! Trarah! up, up, up! The young day smiles upon us!
Trarah! Trarah! das Jagdhorn ertönt, Die Hirsche ins Thal herab zieh'n, Die Nebel entflieh'n, Der Berge Gipfel glüh'n, Wir scheuen nicht der Jagdlust Müh'n. Trarah! Trarah! auf, auf auf! Zum Walde laßt uns zieh'n! ⁷⁵⁵	Trarah! Trarah! the hunting horn sounds, The deer move down into the valley, The mists take flight, The mountain tops glow, We shun not the efforts of hunting joy. Trarah! Trarah! up, up, up! Let us go to the forest!

Schubert's music in this hunting song contains rousing music with imitations of fanfares, and it ends confidently in F major. To be sure, each strophe has a middle section ending with a cadence that, *pianissimo* and *ritardando* and finally on a pause, hints at F minor. But each time this hint of darkness is emphatically put aside by 16 bars of F major, *fortissimo*. If, by 1830, Schubert's friends had become used to the musical language and bleak world-view of the composer's last years in life – a time when, as in *Winterreise*, “a full-bodied resonance of sound with major harmonies” was often reserved for “dreams, visions, or bright recollections” – to end *Die Nacht* in such a straightforwardly bright way may have seemed outrightly dishonest.⁷⁵⁶

But the edition was obviously not meant to be used by Schubert's friends only. As a publisher, Diabelli had to consider the tastes and interests of a much larger market. Many buyers of the edition are likely to have interpreted the new ending of the song (an ending which they must have believed to be part of Schubert's composition) as drawing on a politically charged phenomenon which, by that time,

⁷⁵⁴ Walter Dürr, *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, series iv, vol. 11, pp. XXIII-XXIV.

⁷⁵⁵ Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 2, p. 441.

⁷⁵⁶ Quotation from William Kinderman, “Wandering Archetypes in Schubert's Instrumental Music”, in *19th-Century Music* 21, No. 2 (Autumn 1997), p. 211. Also see Amanda Roggero, “Retracing the Journey of Franz Schubert's Wanderer: Musical Fingerprints in the B-flat Piano Sonata, D. 960” (PhD. diss., University of Cincinnati, 2004), chapter 2.

was spreading in Germany. Although the *Jagdlied* has only one voice part, the pronoun “wir” (we), the subject of hunting, and the stirring character of the music suggest that it could be sung by a group of men. Men’s choirs, the so-called *Männergesangvereine*, had taken on political significance in the 1820s when, in the wake of the *Karlsbader Beschlüsse* of 1819, *Turnvereine* and *Burschenschaften* were prohibited.⁷⁵⁷ These organizations had served as rallying points for the national movement, a role which the men’s choirs now took on. The notion among the uprising middle class was that the “people”, not the aristocrats, had fought and won the liberation wars. This pride, mixed with contempt of what they thought of as blue-blooded cowards (who had always imitated French manners, what is more), resulted in claims for political influence. The demands were extended civil rights, a new constitution, and German national unification. This, of course, was a threat to the aristocracy, and their refusal to concede to the demands led to a prolonged and intensified conflict. As we saw earlier in this chapter, these demands were repressed by the authorities after the Congress of Vienna. 1830, however, was the year of the French July Revolution and a number of other popular risings which were received by the German liberal and national movement as highly encouraging events. In Vienna, police spies reported that fervent speeches about the introduction of a republic and of freedom of the press were being delivered in the wine bars, and in August it came to blows between the police and a large crowd – reports differ between 4000 and 20000 people – during which, as chief of police Sedlnitzky said, “wicked allusions to the latest revolutionary mob scenes in Paris” were being uttered. Vienna also received reports about threatening risings in other parts of the empire, and the authorities made exceptional arrangements to keep the situation under control, ranging from the preparation to use military force against the people to the avoidance of potentially provocative severity in tax enforcement.⁷⁵⁸

Already in the 1810s, patriotic songs were sung by participants in the liberation wars as well as within the *Turnvereine* and the *Burschenschaften*. After the fall of Napoleon, the continuation of this practice in the *Männergesangvereine* expressed the mainly middle-class singers’ pride over past achievements and their longing for a united German fatherland. The songs of the liberation wars renewed the memory of past triumphs and, with their arousing character and aura of youth and comradeship, prepared for new achievements. Schubert’s *Jagdlied*, at least as it appeared in Diabelli’s edition, has much in common with paradigmatic nationalist songs in the *Männergesangvereine*, whereby it ought to have had the potential to charge *Die Nacht* with explicitly political significance. Like patriotic songs meant to

⁷⁵⁷ The following description of the mens’ choir movement builds on Dietmar Klenke, *Der singende “deutsche Mann”. Gesangvereine und deutsches Nationalbewußtsein von Napoleon bis Hitler* (Münster, New York, Munich, Berlin: Waxmann, 1998).

⁷⁵⁸ Helmut Bleiber, “Auswirkungen der Julirevolution auf die Entwicklung der antifeudalen Oppositionsbewegung in Preußen und Österreich”, in *Die französische Julirevolution von 1830 und Europa*, ed. Manfred Kossok and Werner Loch (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), pp. 177-181. Quotation from p. 179.

stir a will to struggle, the *Jagdlied* is strophic and has a lively melody. To be sure, in contrast to the one-voiced *Jagdlied*, many of the paradigmatic songs such as Carl Maria von Weber's settings from 1814 of poems by Theodor Körner are four-part compositions. But to put a four-part hunting song at the end of *Die Nacht* would probably be to beg for being censored. As Kohlhäufel points out with regard to the Schubertiaden of the 1820s, singing was always done solo since the police had learned to associate part songs and choirs with the national movement. To avoid interferences from the authorities, therefore, it was imperative that performances maintained a traditional salon character.⁷⁵⁹ However, it was surely remembered that, during the liberation wars, the singing of nationalist songs had sometimes been done in unison. By 1817, therefore, a single-voice composition could probably connote collective, nationalist singing even if performed by a single singer, granted, of course, that it had the appropriately stirring character.⁷⁶⁰

One of the constituting elements of *Jagdlied* is the imitation of hunting horns. In the context of the national movement, this aspect of the song is likely to have been associated with the hunting of other things than deer, for, generally, "trumpets stood for the departure for battle".⁷⁶¹ The triadic melody and dotted rhythms in von Weber's setting of Theodor Körner's poem "Lützows wilde Jagd", a poem about the assaulting "black hunters" led by Adolf Wilhelm Freiherr von Lützow, is a case in point, as is the hunters' chorus in *Der Freischütz*. Also, the hunting horn was a main prop of the German national romanticism.⁷⁶² During the wars, poems and songs with topics related to hunting, such as "early-morning departure, secured quarry, free life, adventures in nature, and the privilege of carrying weapons", were used to boost self-confidence in the volunteer corps. Körner's poem "Jägerlied" (Hunters' song) is a case in point, explicitly linking the topos of hunting to those of fighting and nation: "Frisch auf ihr Jäger, frei und flink / [...] / Frisch auf den Feind! frisch in das Feld / Fürs deutsche Vaterland!" (Be brisk, you hunters, free and quick / [...] / Briskly on the enemy! briskly take the field / For the German fatherland!).⁷⁶³ The forests, hills and mountains which hunting implied were also in themselves current symbols within the national movement. There they stood for an uncorrupted life in nature, a life regarded as purged from the "perverted" lifestyle of modern, French-inspired society.⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁵⁹ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 252.

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. Klenke, *Der singende deutsche Mann*, 1998, p. 22. It is conceivable that when a song of that kind was performed by a single singer it could spur listeners to sing along, thus stretching the limits of that all-important salon character. In the case of Diabelli's edition of *Die Nacht*, a performance could be imagined in which the bard's and the master's sections are sung by two different singers and the concluding *Jagdlied*, in unison, by several singers or even by everyone present.

⁷⁶¹ "Trompeten standen für den Aufbruch in die Schlacht". *ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷⁶² Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 316.

⁷⁶³ *ibid.*, pp. 316f.

⁷⁶⁴ Klenke, *Der singende deutsche Mann*, 1998, p. 41.

In the song *Im Wald, im Wald* (In the forest, in the forest), von Weber integrated into the composition the echo that the singers would produce in an appropriate landscape, and the text explicitly presents singers and nature as singing together: “Die Welt, die Welt, die große weite Welt, die Welt ist unser Zelt! Und wandern wir singend, so schallen die Lüfte, die Wälder, die Täler, die felsigen Klüfte“ (The world, the world, the great wide world, the world is our tent! And when we wander singing, then the air, the forests, the valleys, the rocky clefts resound).⁷⁶⁵ Also in the version of *Jagdlied* which was attached to *Die Nacht*, men and nature are in harmony. In contrast to the wanderer’s fearful experience in a hostile nature, but in accordance with the master’s promise that “We shall ascend the hill *with the morning*” [my emphasis], nature and the hunters’ wishes are there in unison: the weather is good, there are deer to hunt and “[t]he young day smiles upon us!”. While the wanderer in *Die Nacht*, and perhaps even the whole song (as Schubert wrote it, that is), could be interpreted as an expression of that “increasing sense of existential isolation” in a mechanized, impersonal nature which William Kindermann (1997) regards as a background of the romantic wanderer archetype, the new ending precludes that interpretation by presenting a world in which man and nature are tied together in a harmonious relationship.⁷⁶⁶

But *Jagdlied* also makes clear that hunting presupposes strain: “We shun not the efforts of hunting joy”. This strengthens the text’s evocation of the “German man”, the central image of the national movement, with his braveness, industry, sense of community, fighting spirit, disregard of risk, and love of freedom. Theodor Körner’s poems are full of such more militant versions of the “Teutonic man” which we encountered in Chapter 3 (see page 129). In “Lützows wilde Jagd”, for example, every strophe ends with a reference to “Lützows wilde, verwegene Jagd” (Lützow’s wild, daring hunt).⁷⁶⁷

With its undifferentiated subject “we”, *Jagdlied* also firmly establishes the sense of equality and joint effort which the master (in *Die Nacht*) promised and which the national movement presented as the core of being German. In Diabelli’s edition, the ending of *Die Nacht* is thoroughly removed from the solitary melancholy exemplified and problematized in the original version. Thereby it was probably more likely to be embraced by those who still longed not for individual, Romantic deliverance, but for a more tangible, collective, and even national one.

Also the optimistic reference in the *Jagdlied* to the sun could be read as a feature of the national movement. In Mozart’s *Bundeslied* (another song which was central to the movement), brotherhood is presented as leading to an elevated state of light: “Brüder, reicht die Hand zum Bunde! Diese schöne Feierstunde führ uns hin zu

⁷⁶⁵ Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷⁶⁶ Kinderman, “Wandering Archetypes in Schubert’s Instrumental Music”, 1997, p. 208. At least the relationship may seem a harmonious one from the perspective of the hunters. The fleeing deer might be of another opinion.

⁷⁶⁷ *Theodor Körners Werke* (Leipzig: Der Tempel-Verlag, 19??), vol. 1, pp. 38f.

lichten Höhn! Laßt, was irdisch ist, entfliehen! Unsrer Freundschaft Harmonien dauern ewig fest und schön“.⁷⁶⁸ In “Lützows wilde Jagd”, again, the soldiers appear at first as something that “glänzt [...] im Sonnenschein”, and, just like in Schubert’s *Jagdlied*, each strophe of von Weber’s setting of that poem contains a darker middle part which ends, uncertainly, with a pause and which is then overpowered by forceful music in clear major. That *Die Nacht*, as refashioned by Diabelli, could be considered to be optimistic is indicated in a review by Anton Schindler which I have quoted earlier in this chapter. Schindler, who was very positive towards Schubert’s Ossian songs as they appeared in the Diabelli edition, commented that the “forest streams, swamps, moors, visions, and hunting calls” (Waldströme, Moore, Heiden, Luftgebilde und Jagdrufe) in *Die Nacht* will stir the fantasy of the performer or listener powerfully and bind him “to the almost ideal land” (das fast ideale Land).⁷⁶⁹ The “hunting calls” must refer to *Jagdlied*, for *Die Nacht* in itself contains no such calls.

It is true that the ending with which *Die Nacht* appeared in Diabelli’s edition contains no straightforward references to German unification, civil rights, freedom from oppression, or any other of the political issues of the national movement. But it contains so much of the movement’s mood and imagery that recipients are likely to have made the connection anyway. Political censorship meant that the patriotic songs of the national movement could not be very specific. The *Karlsbader Beschlüsse* of 1819 were renewed in 1824 and were not discontinued until the revolution of 1848.⁷⁷⁰ The word “freedom”, for example, had to be used in such a way that it could be understood, officially, as a reference to the already accomplished liberation from Napoleon’s armies and, only unofficially, as an appeal to freedom from the oppression of the domestic aristocracy. In Austria, censorship was particularly severe, so it is highly probable that if Diabelli wanted to print a song which would satisfy a middle-class audience inclined to nationalism (exposing it as volume one of his Schubert edition, at that), he would have to make sure that the authorities could find nothing too objectionable in the song. This may have been one of the reasons why he decided that the original text of Schubert’s *Jagdlied* had to be revised. Here is the original text, by Zacharias Werner:

Trarah, trarah! Wir kehren daheim, –	(Trarah, trarah! We return home, –
Wir bringen die Beute der Jagd! –	We bring the quarry of hunt! –
Es sinket die Nacht, drum halten wir Wacht;	Night descends, therefore we keep guard;
Das Licht hat über das Dunkel Macht!	Light has power over darkness!

⁷⁶⁸ “Brothers, give your hands to form the union! Let this beautiful festive hour bring us to the shining heights! Let the earthly things pass away! The harmonies of our friendship last for ever, firmly and beautifully”. German original quoted from Klenke, *Der singende deutsche Mann*, 1998, p. 4.

⁷⁶⁹ Anton Schindler, “Geistliche Lieder von Franz Schubert. Nebst einem Beywort über dessen musikalischen Nachlaß”, in *Musikalische Zeitung*. (Beilage zur *Theaterzeitung*.), Vienna, No. 1, 1 March 1831, p. 2. Schindler also writes that those who know the Scottish Highlands from Walter Scott will feel at home in *Die Nacht*. The reception of Scott may thus be a further clue to an interpretation context of the song.

⁷⁷⁰ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 131.

Trarah, trarah! Auf, auf!
Das Feuer angefacht!

Trarah! trarah! Up, up!
Fan the fire!

Trarah, trarah! Wir zechen im Kreis!
Wir spotten des Dunkels, der Nacht!
Des Menchen Macht,
In freudiger Pracht,
Die Qual verhöhnnet, des Todes lacht! –
Trarah, trarah! Auf! auf!
Die Gluth ist angefacht!⁷⁷¹

Trarah, trarah! We tipple together!
We scoff at darkness, at night!
At the power of men,
In all its glory[.]
Jeer at the torment, laugh at death! –
Trarah! trarah! Up, up!
The glowing coal has been blown into a flame!)

It is evident that the time of day had to be changed. *Die Nacht* takes place in the night and contains a promise of morning while in the original version of *Jagdlied* it is evening. “Zechen” (tipple), in strophe two, line one, also had to be changed to fit into the Ossianic context. Macpherson’s heroes are no total abstainers, but they don’t booze. However, it is not self-evident that the overall mood had to be changed. It would have been possible to substitute evening with night (the night in *Die Nacht* would then continue throughout its new ending) and to keep the aggressiveness of tone. But if this character of Werner’s poem, which is more a spell against the forces of night, death and powerful people than an expression of pure confidence in the power of sun and daytime, had been retained, a political interpretation, or even a revolutionary one, may have been too close at hand, especially in the second strophe. So instead of letting loose a bunch of coarse revolutionaries who scoff at “[d]es Menschen Macht, / In freudiger Pracht” (At the power of men, / In all its glory), the master, in Diabelli’s version of *Die Nacht*, leads a group of cheerful, collectively-minded, vigorous and optimistic “German men” to their joint hunt. To middle-class recipients with a taste for German unity and “reawakening”, that ought to have been enough to make the song an affirmation and an exponent of their desire.⁷⁷²

Finally returning to the topic of English landscape gardens, the reworking of *Die Nacht* for Diabelli’s edition can be regarded as a parallel to a trend in the German reception of the ruin. In the nineteenth century, Carl Fehrman writes in his book on the Romantic ruin, the ruin changed as a symbol: “The ruinous quality and the sentimentally melancholic aspect are eclipsed by national, historical and heroic associations. In the national current within German Romanticism, the ruin is made heroic: it becomes an emblem of a heroic time and of heroic deeds”.⁷⁷³ While in 1817 Schubert’s friends may still have perceived *Die Nacht* as being contained mainly in a

⁷⁷¹ Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 2, p. 701.

⁷⁷² “Rousseauistic or utopic-liberal thinking was operative in the seemingly harmless ‘sociable and idyllic’ qualities of many a Lied text” (Im scheinbar harmlosen ‘Geselligen und Idyllischen’ mancher Liedertexte war rousseauistisches oder utopisch-freiheitliches Denken wirksam). Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 131.

⁷⁷³ “Det ruinmässiga, det sentimentalt melankoliska träder i bakgrunden. De nationella, historiska och heroiska associationerna tränger sig fram. I den nationella strömningen i tysk romantik heroiseras ruinen: blir till en sinnebild för hjältetid och hjältedåd”. Fehrman, *Ruinernas romantik*, 1956, p. 97.

pensive, melancholic, and Romantic mood, by 1830 Diabelli seems to have felt that the song was unfinished and could not fulfil its purpose unless the tales of old were allowed to flow into an unequivocally heroic hunting song.

Although in later times the Diabelli ending of *Die Nacht* has usually been despised as an unforgivable tampering with Schubert's intentions, it may have influenced reception of the song more than Schubert scholarship would perhaps like to recognize. In the article "Ossian in Music" (2004), for example, Christopher Smith claims that "the completion offered by Diabelli [...], which was never highly regarded, has lost all validity since the discovery of an original manuscript". But he also assumes that "if Schubert had been able to reach a conclusion" (Smith regards the song as unfinished, see footnote 677 above), it is likely that the master's part of the song, which has "more variety of tone" than the bard's part, "would have been more positive".⁷⁷⁴ Presumably, Smith here implies that the turn to A minor in the final bars does not form an emotionally appropriate ending. However, as I think I have shown, within Schubert's circle a dark ending probably made as much sense as a bright one. Indeed, the assumption that Schubert's intention was to make the ending more positive may in fact have a background in Diabelli's version of the song. Forming a typical example of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, Diabelli's disdained amendment may have affected recipients' instinctive interpretation of Schubert's original.

⁷⁷⁴ Smith, "Ossian in Music", 2004, p. 388.

5. The End of Song? Exhaustion and Emerging “deep” Structure in *Liedesend* (D.473)

In a way, choosing *Liedesend* (*Song's End*, D.473) as my third and final song for closer study is a conventional thing to do. For, as will become clear, this setting of a poem by Johann Mayrhofer could easily be conceived of as a “welcome” step towards a more “advanced” stage in the scheme of progress which twentieth-century studies on Schubert and art song have tended to construct. (This scheme is discussed in Chapters 1 and 6.) As we shall see, in *Liedesend* Schubert organized substantial parts of the music in a way that made it sectional and strophic at the same time, thus inventing a particular kind of strophic variation, the principle which he was to “perfect” in the “masterworks” of the later years of his short life.

While it is not my intention unreflectingly to underscore this twentieth-century notion of progress, it would be wrong to rule out the possibility that Schubert and his circle of friends perceived *Liedesend* as being crucially different from songs like *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht*. However, such a difference must have taken on meaning primarily in relation to a context with which the circle was familiar. Declamation and the free fantasia, issues which we have encountered in earlier chapters, probably formed parts of that context. As I will argue in this chapter, the particular features of *Liedesend* may have invited an interpretation which drew on other aspects of these issues than the ones with which I have not dealt so far.

Mayrhofer's “Liedesend”

As noted in Chapter 1, Schubert was introduced to Mayrhofer by Josef von Spaun. After having met for the first time in 1814, in the following years Schubert put about fifty of Mayrhofer's poems to music, the years 1815, 1816, and 1817 resulting in particularly many settings.⁷⁷⁵ Mayrhofer, who had studied theology, classical philology, law, and history, was a talented poet and took an interest also in music. Writing in 1829, Mayrhofer described his and Schubert's most productive time together as a period of intimate collaboration: “I wrote poetry, he composed what I wrote, of which much owes its generation, development and dissemination to his melodies”.⁷⁷⁶ It is not known when Mayrhofer wrote “Liedesend”, but Schubert put it to music in

⁷⁷⁵ Ernst Hilmar, “Mayrhofer [,] Johann”, in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 292.

⁷⁷⁶ “ich dichtete, er komponierte, was ich dichtete und wovon vieles seinen Melodien Entstehung, Fortbildung und Verbreitung verdankt”. Deutsch, *Erinnerungen*, 1957, p. 18. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 42.

September 1816 under the title *Liedesend. Ballade von Mayerhofer* [sic] (*Liedesend. Ballad by Mayerhofer*).⁷⁷⁷

Mayrhofer's "Liedesend" is set in medieval times and takes as its subject the futility of song in the face of death. An old king sits on his throne, staring into the setting sun. The minstrel of the court attempts to raise his master's spirits by playing (and presumably singing) first a "song of victory", then "sweet tunes". Both attempts fail. The king is as sullen as ever and, bitterly, the minstrel breaks his harp asunder. At the "scream" of the torn silver strings everyone awaits the fury of their ruler, but the king is not angry. Instead he gives the minstrel the recognition that in his youth his singing made him happy. Now, however, as death approaches, the magic of song slips from his cold heart. In the following, the text is quoted in full along with an indication of the sectional structure of Schubert's music.⁷⁷⁸

	Liedesend	Song's End
Majestätisch, nicht zu langsam, <i>f</i> , C minor, Eb major, C♭ major.	¹ Auf seinem goldnen Throne Der graue König sitzt – Er starret in die Sonne, Die roth im Westen blitzt.	On his golden throne The grey king sits, Staring into the sun That glows red in the west.
Feurig, <i>ff</i> , D major <i>p</i> , C major	² Der Sänger rührt die Harfe, Sie rauschet Siegessang; Der Ernst jedoch, der scharfe, Er trotzt dem vollen Klang.	The minstrel strokes his harp, A song of victory resounds; But austere solemnity Defies the swelling tones.
Sanft, <i>pp</i> , Ab major.	³ Nun stimmt er süße Weisen, An's Herz sich klammernd an: Ob er ihn nicht mit leisen Versuchen mildern kann.	Now he plays sweet tunes Which touch the heart; To see if he can soothe the king With gentle strains.
Geschwind, <i>f</i> , F minor <i>ff</i> , E major	⁴ Vergeblich ist sein Mühen, Erschöpft des Liedes Reich – Und auf der Stirne ziehen Die Sorgen wettergleich.	His efforts are in vain, The realm of song is exhausted, And, like stormclouds, Cares form upon the king's brow.
<i>ffz</i> , D♭ major <i>p</i> , F# minor	⁵ Der Barde, tief erbittert, schlägt seine Harf' entzwey: Und durch die Halle zittert Der Silbersaiten Schrey.	The bard, sorely embittered, Breaks his harp in two, And through the [hall] vibrates The cry of the silver strings.

⁷⁷⁷ The second version of *Liedesend*, which is the one that I discuss here, is found in the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, series iv, vol. 10 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), pp. 219-225. Schubert's manuscript can be studied at www.schubert-online.at

⁷⁷⁸ Mayrhofer's "Liedesend" is here quoted from Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 322f. Schubert made only minute changes to the text – see *ibid.*, p. 323. The English translation is quoted from Wigmore, *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts*, 1992, pp. 276f.

<i>p</i> , F# major	⁶ Doch wie auch alle beben, Der Herrscher zürnet nicht; Der Gnade Strahlen schweben Auf seinem Angesicht.	But, though all tremble, The ruler is not enraged; The light of mercy Lingers on his countenance.
Mit Würde, doch herzlich, <i>p</i> , B major,	⁷ Du wolle mich nicht zeihen ⁷ Der Unempfindlichkeit: ⁷ In lang verblühten Mayen ⁷ Wie hast du mich erfreut!"	'Do not reproach me With insensitivity; In months of May long past How you have gladdened me!
<i>f</i> , <i>p</i> , D major	⁸ Wie jede Lust gesteigert, ⁸ Die aus der Urne fiel! ⁸ Was mir ein Gott verweigert, ⁸ Erstattete dein Spiel."	'How you enhanced every joy Which fell from fate's urn! What a god denied me Your playing restored to me.
<i>f</i> , B major. Etwas geschwinder, <i>pp</i> , E minor.	⁹ Vom kalten Herzen gleitet ⁹ Nun Liedeszauber ab; ⁹ Und immer näher schreitet ⁹ Vergänglichkeit und Grab."	'From a cold heart The magic of song now steals away, And ever closer step Transience and the grave.'

The emergence of a strophic musical structure

At first sight, Schubert's setting (which is found in Appendix 4) results in as sectional a song as any. It starts in C minor, goes through C \flat major, D major, C major, A \flat major, F minor, E major, D \flat major, F# minor, F# major, B major, D major, and B major before ending in E minor. A variety of melodies and accompanimental figures are used, and Schubert prescribes a progression of characters which goes from "Majestic, not too slow" (Majestätisch, nicht zu langsam) via "Fiery" (Feurig), "Gently" (Sanft), "Swiftly" (Geschwind) and "With dignity, though cordially" (Mit Würde, doch herzlich) to "Somewhat swifter" (Etwas geschwinder). But as indicated in Figure 4, on a middle-ground level the song contains harmonic and motivic parallelisms organized in such a way that a strophic structure emerges.⁷⁷⁹ This particular strophic structure is flexible in every sense. For example, the musical

⁷⁷⁹ Figure 4 should be read from left to right, like ordinary musical writing. The bold, vertical lines that tie together boxes of notes indicate parallelisms between different parts of the music. The figure is constructed according to a quasi-Schenkerian principle. My reduction has not been undertaken following strict rules for voice-leading, however, but has instead been based on more intuitive observations of salient notes. Nor have I made any attempt to force the music into a single Schenkerian *Ursatz*. Instead I have left the analysis at what might be regarded as a short-sightedly constructed middle-ground level. Whatever the limitations of this procedure, it has the benefit of allowing me to point out in a reasonably straightforward way what I think is the music's strophic structure. In *Orest auf Tauris* (D.548; March 1817), another setting of a Mayrhofer poem, I have found a "hidden" strophic structure akin to the one shown in Figure 4. Marjorie Wing Hirsch (1993) has found something similar in *Pause*, composed in 1823 and constituting the twelfth song in the song cycle *Die schöne Müllerin* (D.795).

strophes are of increasing length and contain more and more verbal text. This sounds strange, but it is made possible by the conditions that, firstly, what is repeated is less an actual portion of music than a principle, or an elastic skeleton (if that be possible), allowing of many foreground realisations. Secondly, the music's strophic structure is not dependent on the strophes in the poem. Actually, while the poem consists of nine strophes, the music consists of two, or rather two-and-a-half since the strophic design is not present in the whole song but takes shape only gradually. The strophic structure in *Liedesend* is unusual also in that it cannot be perceived until around bar 80 (of a total 114), at the earliest. After that, it may become more apparent, but it may still pass many a listener, and perhaps even performers, without notice.⁷⁸⁰ I will try to elucidate all of this in the following.

The vocal line of bars 1-10 (containing the text of the poem's strophe 1) can be described as constituting an elaboration of a descending whole-tone scale of five steps. This scale starts on g^1 , as $\hat{5}$ in C minor. As it continues to f^1 (bar 4) and e^1 (bar 5), the harmony modulates to $E\flat$ major so that the vocal line lands on $\hat{1}$ in bar 5. In bar 6, e^1 is reinterpreted as $\hat{3}$ in $C\flat$ -major, and the vocal line thereafter continues through $\hat{2}$ (bar 8) to $\hat{1}$ (bar 9) in that key. This progression, consisting of two cadences both separated and tied together by a downward enharmonic modulation of a major third, will emerge as an important element as the song continues.

Following upon this first portion of the song is a harmonic structure which will not recur, or at least the beginning of it will not. Starting twice on $\hat{1}$ in D major (bars 11 and 18, respectively), fortissimo and "Fiery", the melody moves upwards in the style of a trumpet or hunting horn, landing on $\hat{5}$, supported by a dominant A-major chord in bar 24. Having turned downwards (bars 26-30), the vocal line finishes the section with a descending fifth, from $\hat{5}$ to $\hat{1}$ in C major (bars 29f).

The harmony once again leaping a major third downwards, from C major (bar 31) to $A\flat$ major (bar 32), and the melodic $\hat{1}$ again being reinterpreted as $\hat{3}$ in a new key, a section starts which in hindsight will be possible to recognize as the beginning of the first of the song's musical strophes, a strophe which uses material from the song's beginning as building blocks.

After an $A\flat$ -major cadence ending in bar 46 come two consecutive enharmonic reinterpretations of $a\flat^1$. First, the $a\flat^1$ is reinterpreted as $\hat{3}$ in F minor by means of the harmony's downward leap of a minor third (bar 47). After two and a half bars of F minor (bars 47-49), however, the harmony starts to wander again and lands on E major in bar 53. This E-major cadence contains a melodic $\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ -descent in which the former $a\flat^1$, now respelled as $g\sharp^1$ (bar 52), is reinterpreted as $\hat{3}$ in E major. In

⁷⁸⁰ *Liedesend* is rarely mentioned in the Schubert literature and so far I have not found a text which mentions its hidden strophic structure. In the Schubert article of the first edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1878-89), George Grove gives the progression of keys in *Liedesend*, but he does so only to support his assertion that while modulation is one of Schubert's "great means of expression", the composer sometimes "carries it to an exaggerated degree". Quoted from the reprint in Sir George Grove, *Beethoven*[,] *Schubert*[,] *Mendelssohn* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1951), pp. 241f.

Figure 4, I have marked the E-major cadence as a parallel to the cadence in bars 6-10, thus implying that the two cadences which constitute bars 1-10 have now both been

verbal strophes: ① | ②

bar numbers: 1 3 4 5 | 6 8 9-10 | 11 | 24-6 29 | 30-7

musical Strophe I

musical Strophe II

The figure displays a musical score for 'Liedesend' with three systems of notation. The top system, labeled 'verbal strophes', shows two strophes: ① (bars 1-10) and ② (bars 11-30). The middle system, 'musical Strophe I', covers bars 32-63 and includes a dashed box around bars 47-49. The bottom system, 'musical Strophe II', covers bars 63-114. Each system features a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment with chords. Annotations include fingerings (e.g., 3̂, 2̂, 1̂), bar numbers, and chord symbols (e.g., Cm, Eb, Cb, D, C, Ab, Eb, Ab, Fm, E, Db9, F#m, F#, B, D, Em, B, Em). Bold vertical lines connect the two musical strophes, indicating transpositions. A double bar line is present between bars 10 and 11, and between bars 30 and 31.

Figure 4. The emerging strophic structure in *Liedesend*.

transposed a major third downwards, maintaining their internal major-third relationship. In the figure, these transpositions are marked by bold vertical lines. At this point in the song such an interpretation must be said to be far-fetched in several respects, however. It is true that the melodies in bars 1-10 and 32-53 can both be said to be made up of two consecutive $\hat{3}\text{-}\hat{2}\text{-}\hat{1}$ -descents, and that, in both cases, the chords to which the two descents lead are related to each other as mediant. ($E\flat - C\flat$ in the first case; $A\flat - E$ in the second.) But it must also be observed that bars 1-5 move from C minor to $E\flat$ major via a fall of fifths whereas bars 32-46 stay within a single key, $A\flat$ major. Moreover, the two cadences in bars 32-55 are kept apart by the passage in F minor (bars 47-49), a procedure which has no counterpart in bars 1-10.

Indeed, when performing or listening to the song, so far nothing suggests that *Liedesend* is not an ordinary sectional song. What has been heard is a motley array of cadences, melodic descents (and one ascent), and a number of mediant relationships, all common features in Schubert's sectional songs and other music. And thus it continues. For following the cadence in E major (which ends in bar 55) is a slightly deceptive one in D \flat major (bars 55-59), immediately followed by a cadence in F \sharp -minor (bars 60-63). Chromatically side-slipping in bars 63-66, the harmony approaches a fairly extended portion in F \sharp major (ending in bar 78).

But, as we shall see, this seemingly casual progression towards F \sharp major smoothly brings us into the part of the song which will show that most of the composition is organized according to a strophic principle. As at the beginning of the song, and as in bars 32-46, the vocal line contained in the F \sharp -major section (bars 66-78) is built around a $\hat{3}$ - $\hat{2}$ - $\hat{1}$ -descent, this time preceded by a motion from $\hat{5}$. Furthermore, as in bars 6 and 47, in bar 79 the $\hat{1}$ of the preceding cadence (in this case \sharp^1) is reinterpreted. Not as $\hat{3}$ of one of the submediants, however, but instead as $\hat{5}$ of B major. (A root-position B major chord does not appear until bars 96 and 98, but the key is made immediately clear from the key signature shift in bar 78.) Nevertheless, in bar 93 \sharp^1 is reinterpreted again, now as $\hat{3}$ in a cadence in D major (ending in bar 94, i.e. within the B-major tonality), the key located a major third below F \sharp major of bar 78. Thus bars 66-94 imitate the procedure in bars 32-55, where the harmonic and melodic structure of bars 1-10 is transposed to another position in the key system and where an alien key and an alien enharmonic reinterpretation of the $\hat{3}$ are inserted in the middle of that structure. (In Figure 4, I have marked these insertions with broken squares.) This time, however, the harmonic structure in bars 1-5 is imitated more faithfully than in bars 32-46, for the progression from C to E \flat via a fall of fifths (bars 1-5) is now mirrored by a progression from D \sharp in bar 66 to F \sharp in bar 75.

Imitation continues. For following on the cadence in D major which ends in bar 94 is one which lands a minor third below (B major, bar 98) and which is combined with a quick $\hat{5}$ - $\hat{1}$ -drop in the vocal line, all as in bars 55-59. The parallelism is carried on as the vocal line's b in bar 98 ($\hat{1}$ in B major) is reinterpreted as $\hat{5}$ in E minor (bar 99). Going back to bar 61, we may now call attention to the fact that, there, the pitch-class c \sharp ($\hat{5}$ in F \sharp minor) had been $\hat{1}$ in D \flat -minor two bars ago. In bar 61, this c \sharp started a step-wise descent in the vocal line from $\hat{5}$ to $\hat{1}$ in the new key (bars 61-63). A corresponding descent we find in bars 99-100, but here it is played in octaves by the piano, leading down to the lower part of the instrument's register. The descent is also spelled with shorter note-values than in bars 61-63, but the difference in tempo ("With dignity" instead of "Swift") decreases the difference in actual speed. The song's final section (bars 100-114) stays in E minor, the key reached by the final $\hat{5}$ - $\hat{4}$ - $\hat{3}$ - $\hat{2}$ - $\hat{1}$ -descent.

This study of the harmony and the melodic tendencies in *Liedesend* shows that a large-scale strophic structure emerges as the song progresses. We may now refer

to bars 32-63 as the music's Strophe I and to bars 66-114 as its Strophe II. Bars 1-31 then appear as pre-strophic music, although they contain material which will be used in the strophes proper. Bars 63-65 (imitating the descent from $\hat{5}$ in bars 61-63) appear as a short bridge between the two strophes.

Arguably, very much else is going on in the song harmonically as well as melodically, so that one may feel urged to ask how well this structure manages to hold the music together – if indeed that is the task it is to fulfil. However, the emerging strophic structure is somewhat strengthened when one takes a closer look at other musical parameters. The beginnings of Strophes I and II (bars 32-46 and 66-78 respectively) share a comparatively melismatic melodic style. Also, the accompanimental figure used in bars 66-67 (beginning already in bar 64) is a two-hand version of the left hand accompaniment in bars 33-35. Finally, both cadences come to an end in four-bar postludes (bars 43-46 and 75-78) containing accents on other beats than the main beat and ending with a pause.

The following parts of Strophes I and II show no such parallelisms, just as they are not in direct parallel harmonically. Quite the contrary, actually, for whereas the accompanimental figure in bars 47-49 is a variant of the royally stubborn one at the very beginning of the song (where the king is still merely sullen and turned into himself), bars 79-94 continue the melismatic melodic style established in bars 66-75 and, until bar 88, the flowing accompaniment of bars 64-67. Thus bars 79-94 prolong the stylistic parallel established between the beginnings of Strophes I and II. But the very beginning of the song is drawn upon too. As observed, already the harmonic progression in bars 66-78, with its fall of fifths, is a parallel rather to bars 1-5, where such a fall also occurs, than to the tonally more stable bars 32-46. Also, the contour of the melody in bars 79-80 is similar to the one in bars 2-3 (upbeats included), an affinity that is even more apparent in bars 87-88. Indeed, the general character of the music in bars 79-94 is a blend between that of the beginning of the song and that of the beginning of Strophe I (bars 32ff), as also indicated by Schubert's instructions: "Majestic, not too slow" at the song's beginning, "Gently" at the beginning of strophe I, and "With dignity, though cordially" at bar 79. In such manner, the king's mood at the song's beginning and the minstrel's "süße Weisen" (sweet tunes) merge in the king's soothing words directed to the minstrel: "Du wolle mich nicht zeihen" (Do not reproach me) etc.

As the song reaches bar 94, Strophe II starts to move more unequivocally along with Strophe I again. As we have seen, the cadence and $\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ -descent in bars 93-94 forms a parallel to bars 52-55. As the two descents reach their first scale-steps, the piano part plays two bars of repeated chords in relatively short note-values (bars 53-54 and 94-95). Thereafter, and quite conspicuously, both vocal lines ascend a diminished seventh (e^1 to db^2 in bars 55-57 and a^\sharp to g^1 in bars 95-97), accompanied

by accented chords at crotchet distance, and then finish with a falling fifth (bars 58f and 97f).⁷⁸¹

The relationship between poem and music in *Liedesend* will be a topic for recurring discussion in this chapter. At this stage merely a few things should be pointed out. The song's musical surface is largely mimetic, representing for example states of mind such as majestic seriousness (bars 1-10), impetuosity (bars 47-63), and benevolence (bars 64-94), the musical genres "song of victory" (bars 11-26) and "sweet tunes" (bars 32-46), and also movements and sounds such as the breaking of a harp (bars 55-63) – all of which is referred to or implied by the poem. On a deeper structural level, those parts of the strophic musical structure which are involved in the merge of moods in bars 79-94 are related to the semantic content of the poem too. But since the emerging strophic structure comprises also parts of the song which are not involved in this merge (I am referring here to bars 29-31, 47-63, and 95-114), this mimetic aspect can hardly be regarded as the structure's sole purpose. Nor can the structure's purpose be taken to be the mirroring of the strophic structure which is present in the poem, for, as I have observed, there is no simple agreement between the two. What I have called the pre-strophic music (bars 1-31) comprises the poem's strophes 1 and 2, the musical Strophe I comprises the poem's strophes 3, 4, and 5, while the musical Strophe II comprises the poem's strophes 6, 7, 8, and 9. What, then, did Schubert's circle make of this peculiar musical construction?

Unified *Liedesend*

In trying to answer this question, we may first consider the possibility that the emerging strophic structure was thought of as a concession to the demand for unity in declamation which I discussed in Chapter 3. In line with Christian Gottfried Körner's theory of declamation, the structure may have made the song more fit to appear as a unified character in the form of "a row of actions subordinate to a ruling will", and not as an example of moral chaos (see page 110). This, in turn, would make the song fit to work as an index of the composer's and the performers' own unified characters. In *Gretchen am Spinnrade* and *Erlkönig* the continuous use of a single accompanimental motif was perceived as a background constituting the basis of a unified work of art, and in *Die Bürgschaft*, I argued, the recitative sections were fit to be perceived as

⁷⁸¹ The version of *Liedesend* discussed here is Schubert's second one. A comparison with the first version (*Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, series iv, vol. 10, pp. 213-219), which was also written in September 1816, indicates that the possibility of giving the music a strophic shape appeared to Schubert as he was working on the first version. There, the structures of what I call Strophes I and II are already present. However, the $\hat{5}-\hat{4}-\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ -descent at the end of Strophe II is lacking and the harmonic and melodic parallels between the beginning of the song and the beginnings of Strophes I and II are less marked. At the beginning of the first version the harmony moves from C minor to E \flat major in combination with a $\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ -descent in the latter key, just as in version two. But then the harmony moves *via* C \flat major to G \flat major, forming a structure which will not be repeated later in the song. Version two thus came to strengthen the strophic aspect of the music.

the background of the arioso sections. In *Liedesend*, perhaps, the strophic design served to provide the song with a unifying background of yet another kind.

However, at least two features of the strophic musical structure make such an interpretation problematic. Firstly, the structure is too well-hidden. If art is given the educational task of working as a model of unified character, it seems a bad idea to hide the unity so well that it is likely to pass unnoticed by many of those whom it is set to inspire. Secondly, the strophic structure does not comprise the whole song. The lack of strophic rigour in the song's first 31 bars may actually be taken to make the song's character less than perfectly unified. These observations may make one suspect either that Schubert's circle considered *Liedesend* an ambitious and innovative but ultimately failed song, or that they interpreted it in some other way, a way that made the potentially problematic features become purposeful. In the following I will inquire into the second option, suggesting that the circle interpreted *Liedesend* as an esoteric and a Romantic work of art.

Esoteric *Liedesend*

The subtle, fairly hard-to-perceive strophic design in *Liedesend* may link the song to an esoteric and elitist culture of music and declamation which we have briefly encountered in earlier chapters. Writing about "lyric" music equivalent to the ode, the anonymous author of "Was ist deutsche, was italienische Musik, und welche verdient den Vorzug?" (1813; see page 143 above) describes sublimity in music as resulting from a harmonic structure which is complex but which nevertheless has a delicate internal unity. Indeed, the more complex the harmony and the more delicate the unity, the more sublime the music.⁷⁸² Importantly, the author points out that the appreciation of such music requires training. A listener who does not possess the necessary skills of perception, he says, should keep to the more easy-listening Italian music. There he will "find satisfaction", but will not receive "the real lyric verve, the truly beautiful and sublime" which is to be found in the German music of "Mozart, Haydn, and their followers".⁷⁸³

This example of a polarization between a higher and a lower art, and between the few, skilled listeners who understand complex works of art and the many who do not, must be regarded as related to an aesthetic conflict which arose in the late eighteenth century. On the one hand, Bernd Sponheuer (1991) writes, the emancipation of art from state and church after the Baroque made possible the development of a new, Enlightened relationship between music and audience, a relationship which aimed at ennobling man through music. On the other hand, those who embraced this

⁷⁸² "Was ist deutsche, was italienische Musik, und welche verdient den Vorzug?", in *Thalia*, No. 72, 17 June 1813, pp. 285f; No. 73, 19 June 1813 pp. 289f.

⁷⁸³ "[...] wer nicht geübt genug ist, um sich unter kühnen gewagten Harmonien nicht zu verlieren, der gehe zu den Italienern, und er wird Befriedigung finden: wer aber den eigentlichen lyrischen Schwung, das wahre Schöne und Erhabene liebt, der kann nur Mozart, Haydn und ihre Nachfolger verehren". *ibid.*, pp. 289f.

function of music often found that the attempt at ennoblement was overrun by the increasingly commercial character of cultural life, so that their “enlightened ideal image of an audience which *reasons about music*” soon was transformed into a “caricature of an audience which *consumes music*”.⁷⁸⁴ As a reaction, theoretical interest was turned towards “the immanent objectivity of the aesthetic object” (die immanente Objektivität des ästhetischen Gegenstandes), and a notion of the true work of art as an “autonomous” object.⁷⁸⁵ On the basis of this aesthetic principle, distinctions were made between “correct” and “false” approaches to art. An over-sensuous reception of art, described as passive and scornfully likened to self-centred deriving of pleasure from food, was contrasted to a devotional contemplation of the structural properties of the work of art as a whole, a contemplation which offered the opportunity to forget about both self and world.

The reaction against what was perceived as superficial consumption of music sharpened the well-known distinction between *Kenner* and *Liebhaber*. While in the middle of the eighteenth century the “natural” competence of a *Liebhaber* had generally been considered to be highly valuable, Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818), for example, now used an “almost cabalistic tone” when speaking of the “hidden” stimuli which had the capacity to appeal to the *Kenner*.⁷⁸⁶

Writing about “musical politics” in Vienna in the period 1792-1803, Tia DeNora (1995) identifies a strategy within the high nobility which must be seen as being related to the conflict which Sponheuer describes. This strategy worked to “consolidate and cordon off the ‘true’ from the ‘false’ music audiences at a time when these distinctions were becoming blurred”.⁷⁸⁷ Undertaking a sociological analysis, DeNora shows that desires as to social association and distinction in different layers of the rigidly hierarchical late-eighteenth-century Viennese society were part of the driving force behind the strategy. Before, members of the high nobility had been able to distinguish themselves musically from their newly ennobled counterparts by following the practice of the court, namely to employ a fine orchestra. Now, when the lower nobility entered the same field of lavish musical life by attending public concerts, sponsoring musicians, and organizing private salons, and when the court *disbanded* its orchestra, the high nobility needed new means of musical distinction. Such a new means, DeNora argues, was to concentrate attention on a few musicians. The paradigmatic example of such attention was the support of Beethoven undertaken by noblemen such as Baron Gottfried van Swieten (1734-1803). These patrons supported Beethoven financially and formed an élite audience who listened devoutly

⁷⁸⁴ “die wachsende kommerzielle Besetzung des Kulturlebens, die das aufklärerische Idealbild vom ‘*kulturräsonierenden*’ allzubald in das real existierende Zerrbild des ‘*kulturkonsumierenden*’ Publikums verwandelte”. Bernd Sponheuer, “Der ‘Gott der Harmonien’ und die ‘Pfeife des Pan’. Über richtiges und falsches Hören in der Musikästhetik des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts”, in *Rezeptionsästhetik und Rezeptionsgeschichte in der Musikwissenschaft*, 1991, p. 182.

⁷⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁷⁸⁶ Riley, *Musical Listening*, 2004, p. 92.

⁷⁸⁷ DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, 1995, p. 57.

to his serious and formally complex chamber music. In line with the trend that Sponheuer identifies, the mode of reception considered appropriate for Beethoven's "higher" music was to listen for "internal aesthetic unity" instead of "adherence to external compositional conventions". Beethoven's idiosyncratic music was thus to be judged not according to its relation to inherited genres, but instead "on its own terms" [...], as a discontinuous 'object' which, within itself, makes sense".⁷⁸⁸ This music and this approach became efficient means of distinction from the socially ever widening music audience whose decadence, it was thought, was expressed not least in the extreme popularity of the musical showmanship of the virtuosos – including, presumably, the vocal bravura of Italian opera.

Just like Forkel, Beethoven and his patrons thus sharpened the inherited distinction between *Kenner* and *Liebhaber*. The "difficult, disorderly, [...] startling [...] expressive and self-consciously profound" music was proclaimed the domain of the *Kenner*, in opposition to the "accessible, orderly, [...] pleasant [...], rapid, light, bright, and entertaining" music of the *Liebhaber*.⁷⁸⁹ Through the efforts of Beethoven and his patrons, not only new musical forms were introduced, but also a new mode of audience conduct. Whereas it was normal behaviour for late-eighteenth-century audiences to "talk, move about the room or hall, eat and drink, play card games and other games of chance, and (in the privacy of opera boxes) meet with courtesans and lovers", Beethoven wanted the listening situation to be one of "ritualistically solemn devotion to the performance".⁷⁹⁰ A key figure in this process of changing habits was Baron van Swieten, who had encountered an ideology of "serious" and "great" music when positioned as a diplomat in Berlin in the 1770s. This ideology was connected to the literary *Sturm und Drang* with its extolling of the unconventional creativity of the genius and the organic unity of the work of art. Having returned to Vienna, van Swieten sought to spread his new convictions concerning the nature of music and how music should be listened to by means of his activities as a patron of music and as an organizer of concerts.

It should be observed that the serious, reverential, esoteric, and relatively non-sensuous turn in music reception which Sponheuer and DeNora identify was paralleled by a similar development in the culture of declamation, a development which I discussed in Chapter 3. In a review of a declamatorium in an issue of *Thalia* from 1811, for example, declamation is described as an art "which can be developed perfectly only by a smaller, select company, at soundless attention".⁷⁹¹ The reviewer implicitly refers to such declamation as high art when, angrily, he opposes it to the masked ball which was going on next door. The ball was disturbing because loud, but also because of its "mixed company" (*gemischt[e] Gesellschaft*) and the "moral laxity

⁷⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 182f.

⁷⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 161.

⁷⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 146.

⁷⁹¹ "welche sich nur von einer kleineren gewählten Versammlung, bey lautloser Aufmerksamkeit, vollkommen entwickeln kann". *Thalia*, No. 90, 9 November 1811, p. 360.

of the masks” (Leichtvertigkeiten der Masken).⁷⁹² Apparently, the reviewer’s annoyance was not only due to the fact that he could not hear the declaimers, but also to his understanding that the disturbing noise was the result of an inferior activity. Declamation is an art for the few and select, he thought, and it requires complete concentration. A masked ball, on the other hand, is a rash entertainment for large and rude companies.

This parallel development of esotericism in the cultures of music and declamation makes it reasonable to assume that the realm of art song was affected too. It is therefore interesting to note a similarity in how the relationship between multiplicity and unity is treated in Schubert’s *Liedesend* and in one of Beethoven’s most idiosyncratic instrumental works, the “Fantasie”, Op. 77 (1809). (This is the work, by the way, which, according to Carl Czerny, most clearly reflects Beethoven’s style of improvisation, the style, in turn, in which Beethoven was considered to be the most ingenious and profound.⁷⁹³) As we have seen, in *Liedesend* a chain of sections which at first seem musically disconnected is eventually revealed to account for the work’s large-scale musical coherence. Something similar takes place in Beethoven’s Op. 77, a work which, on the surface, is made up of “a motley collection of topics, juxtaposed for maximum contrast, each merely a short-lived fragment, a hint of a tale”. There, “the constant tonal surprises themselves” actually “hint at an ordering principle”, Richards (2001) writes, a principle “that might underlie the apparent chaos of the surface progress”. Indeed, “for all its restless shifting among topics and affects” the work is “replete with repetition, restatement and reformulation”.⁷⁹⁴ For example, the theme of the theme-and-variations at the end of the piece is, Richards points out, derived from a declamatory Adagio fragment which appears three times in the preceding parts of the work and which, in turn, echoes “that quintessential moment of emptiness at which all direction had been lost in the reiteration of E♭ at bars 25-8”. Hence, “what had appeared to embody aimless wandering and disorientation turns out to have been a moment of seminal importance for the generation of the rest of the work”.⁷⁹⁵ This observation holds true for *Liedesend* as well, where the harmonically bewildering progression in bars 1-10 plays a defining role for the structure of much of what is to come.

As could be expected, the ideal of serious, esoteric music spread from the high nobility to other strata of society, including the *Bildungsbürger*. Schubert himself, for example, was an ardent admirer of Beethoven, and when, at the beginning of 1817, he stopped taking lessons with Salieri, he could “give full scope to his Beethoven enthusiasm”.⁷⁹⁶ Also, on the basis of iconographic material, Heinrich W.

⁷⁹² *ibid.*

⁷⁹³ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 192.

⁷⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 193-195.

⁷⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 198.

⁷⁹⁶ “seiner Beethoven-Begeisterung freien Lauf lassen”. Dittrich, “Für Menschenohren”, 1997, p. 206. Also see Mainka, “Das Liedschaffen”, 1957, pp. 27f and Wolfram Steinbeck, “Schubert und Beethoven – aus der Sicht der Freunde”, in *Schubert und seine Freunde* 1999, p. 298.

Schwab (1965) gathers that play, talk, eating, and dancing alternated with devout silence and attentive listening in the circles where most of Schubert's works were performed for the first time.⁷⁹⁷ If *Liedesend* invited listening of the kind developed around Beethoven and in certain parts of Viennese declamation culture, it was fit to make a person who appreciated it emerge as a *Kenner* in the new emphatic sense of the word, and thus as a person of high intellectual and moral rank. Schubert here composed music that more clearly than *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht* was not only characterized by a multiplicity similar to that of the free fantasia, but which also had the inherent, hidden ordering plan that the esoteric aesthetic demanded from such music. It is likely, at least, that in Schubert's circle, with its high cultural and intellectual ambitions, this song could be regarded as being better suited to serve certain desirable purposes than were sectional songs lacking a subtle ordering plan.

While we have now observed that *Liedesend* contains an eccentric kind of strophic structure which may have appealed to an esoteric mode of art reception, we still know little about the relationship between text and music in the song. In turning to this relationship, I will consider the possibility that the song was interpreted Romantically.

Romantic *Liedesend*

Mayrhofer's poem speaks about the ultimate futility of song. In the king's youth, we are told, the minstrel's art enhanced his every pleasure and even substituted those pleasures that he was denied. But now, in the face of transience and the grave, the magic of song slips from the king's cold heart. As the poem ends, the realm of song is exhausted. The minstrel's harp is broken and its strings lie scattered in the hall. Is it not strange that Schubert gave to his sectional form a new kind of structural coherence precisely in the setting of a poem which takes as its theme the end of song, letting the strophic structure emerge concurrently with the minstrel's failure to raise the king's spirits with a "song of victory" and with "sweet tunes"? If an aesthetic demanding a simple agreement between text and music were to be applied here, it would seem that Schubert ought to have let the musical process go the other way, making the music an image of the exhaustion of song to which the poem refers. But such a simple agreement need not have been a prerequisite for appreciation in Schubert's circle. If *Liedesend* is seen in the light of the Romantic tendencies in the group, the contradiction between words and music may actually become highly relevant. I will comment on this contradiction in more detail, but let us first turn to the question of Romantic tendencies within the circle.

Already around 1813, Vienna had become the centre of a late flourish of *Frühromantik*, a fact which forms part of the background of the increasing tendency towards "visions of all-embracing cosmic redemption" (kosmischen Allerlösungs-

⁷⁹⁷ Schwab, *Sangbarkeit*, 1965, p. 178.

phantasien) in Schubert's choice of poems for musical setting.⁷⁹⁸ Around 1820, Kohlhäüfl summarizes, in Schubert's choice of texts the optimistic "Apollonian inspiration" (apollonischer Inspiration) of Enlightenment had given way to the "mystic absorption" (mystische Versenkung) of a reawakened *Frühromantik*.⁷⁹⁹ Also Dürhammer recognizes the influence of Romanticism in the circle. Especially, he writes, Romanticism came to the fore between 1818 and 1822 when Johann Senn and Franz Bruchmann (the latter joined the circle of friends only in 1819) turned to the pantheistic Romanticism that had developed in Jena around 1800.⁸⁰⁰ But already in 1816, Schober, who was becoming Schubert's closest friend and with whom the composer was living in 1816-1817,⁸⁰¹ was drawn towards this kind of Romanticism. For example, Schober employed Novalis' image of the blue flower – although perhaps in a banalized form – in his poem "Am Bache", a poem which Schubert put to music in 1816 as *Am Bache im Frühling* (D.361).⁸⁰² Actually, Kohlhäüfl observes that the patriotic poetry in which the young friends in the circle are known to have been much engaged was accompanied by a poetry of transcendence from the circle's early days.⁸⁰³

It should also be mentioned that Friedrich Schlegel, who had been a central figure among the Romantics in Jena in the years around 1800, moved to Vienna in 1808 where he had a considerable influence on the intellectual life.⁸⁰⁴ In the 1820s he met Schubert and made friends with some of the members of the circle as they came together in the salon of Karoline Pichler.⁸⁰⁵ His philosophy, however, was then no longer quite the same as it had been in his Jena period.⁸⁰⁶

While Dürhammer regards Mayrhofer as an unwavering representative of Enlightenment and classicism,⁸⁰⁷ and while it does seem that Mayrhofer disliked some of the features of the Romantic movement,⁸⁰⁸ Kohlhäüfl – convincingly, I think – interprets several of the poems which Mayrhofer wrote on themes from Greek Antiquity and which Schubert put to music in 1817 as examples of Romantic longing for metaphysic transcendence. Such longing is found also in other Mayrhofer poems, however. "Sehnsucht", which Schubert set in 1816 or 1817, D.516 is one such poem. Mayrhofer, Kohlhäüfl writes, no longer believed in a realization of "noble freedom"

⁷⁹⁸ Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 298f. Also see pp. 110f.

⁷⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 299.

⁸⁰⁰ Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 94, 101, 104, and 343. Also see the articles "Bruchmann", "Senn", "Philosophie", and "Pantheismus" in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997.

⁸⁰¹ Ernst Hilmar, "Schober [,] (Adolf Friedrich) Franz von", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 399.

⁸⁰² Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 15, 119, 124.

⁸⁰³ Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 160.

⁸⁰⁴ Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 100; Birgit Gottschalk, "Bio-Bibliographien", in *Romantik-Handbuch*, 2003, p. 751.

⁸⁰⁵ Ernst Hilmar, "Pichler[,] Karoline, geb. von Greiner", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 346; Dürhammer and Hilmar, "Schlegel[,] Friedrich von", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 395; Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 93, 125.

⁸⁰⁶ Harro Segeberg, "Phasen der Romantik", in *Romantik-Handbuch*, 2003, pp. 67ff.

⁸⁰⁷ Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 91-97.

⁸⁰⁸ Susan Youens, *Schubert's poets and the making of lieder* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), p. 176.

and “pure love” in earthly life. He and Schubert were both stirred by Goethe’s poetry which, in accordance with August Wilhelm Schlegel’s concept of a poetry of longing, they interpreted as an expression of human need for transcendence.⁸⁰⁹ One of the consequences was that Mayrhofer and Schubert re-evaluated the night. In contrast to the Enlightened depreciation of night as deception and dangerous irrationality, Romanticism regarded the night as the more artful and creative part of human life. When the manifestation of God in the world as we know it was doubted, night offered an “inner experience of an invisible divine presence”.⁸¹⁰ Taking Mayrhofer’s poem “Freywilliges Versinken” (Voluntary Absorption) as an example (a poem which Schubert put to music in 1820), Kohlhäufel identifies an attitude according to which “[o]nly the shine of twilight, i.e. the downfall of the inspiring deity, makes possible the aesthetic view of a soulful, unearthly world: the night”.⁸¹¹ In the last strophe of “Freywilliges Versinken”, the setting sun announces the appearance of a world of proportions larger than its own orbit:

Wie bleich der Mond, wie matt die Sterne!
 So lang ich kräftig mich bewege,
 Erst wenn ich ab die Krone lege,
 Wird ihnen Muth und Glanz in ihrer Ferne.⁸¹²

(How pale the moon, how faint the stars!
 As long as I move with vigour,
 Only when I lay off the crown,
 Do they take on courage and brightness in their distance.)

More explicitly referring to the metaphysically liberating force of night, Mayrhofer’s “Nachtstück” (Night piece) presents night as the equivalent of death, the “long slumber” (langen Schlummer) which redeems from “every sorrow” (jedem Kummer).⁸¹³ Schubert composed also this poem in 1820 (D.672). Around the same time, Schubert found similar Romantic visions of nightly revelation and dissolution of the self in the poetry of Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis.⁸¹⁴

Although the Romantic potentialization of night and death was emphasized to a new degree around 1820, it was not a novelty in Schubert’s circle. For example, Josef von Spaun’s poem “Der Jüngling und der Tod”, which Schubert put to music in 1817 (D.545), must be seen as an example of that poetic paradigm. The treatment of night and death in Mayrhofer’s “Liedesend”, however, may seem to offer little

⁸⁰⁹ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 160-169.

⁸¹⁰ “innere[s] Erleben einer unsichtbaren göttlichen Gegenwart”. *ibid.*, p. 303.

⁸¹¹ “Erst der Schein der Abenddämmerung, d.h. der Untergang der inspirierenden Gottheit, ermöglicht den ästhetischen Anblick einer beseelten, überirdischen Welt: der Nacht”. *ibid.*, pp. 298f.

⁸¹² Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 1, p. 353.

⁸¹³ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 299f. Also see Brinkmann, “Musikalische Lyrik im 19. Jahrhundert”, 2004, p. 57.

⁸¹⁴ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 298f.

opportunity for the development of such emotions. The king's staring into the setting sun could be fitted into such a scheme of metaphysic longing, but there is no talk of liberation through night or death, only of the approaching transience and grave. Actually, in itself "Liedesend" appears to be one of Mayrhofer's purely pessimistic poems, another example of which is "Fahrt zum Hades" which Schubert set in 1817 (D.526).⁸¹⁵ Also Schubert's music in *Liedesend* can be considered darkly pessimistic rather than Romantic since it ends with 15 bars of E minor in a relatively low register, and not with something like the sweet music with which the old minstrel in *Nachstück* leaves his earthbound existence. Moreover, the many musical descents – ranging from the local $\hat{5}-\hat{4}-\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ -descent in bars 99f to the one which results from the fact that Strophe I ends in F# minor and Strophe II in E minor – could be considered to bear an affinity to the falling bass line associated with death and sorrow since the Baroque.⁸¹⁶ If the strophic structure is seen as the song's Ariadne's thread (compare page 196), here, it could be argued, the thread is leading towards the grave.

Maybe *Liedesend* should therefore be regarded as an early example of a trend normally associated with the 1820s, namely Schubert's turning to texts in which death was at best a promise of rest.⁸¹⁷ Schubert was eventually to adopt a worldview which his friends found to be too bleak, the song-cycle *Winterreise* (1827) being a case in point. If *Liedesend* evoked such feelings, it is likely to have lessened the song's value among the friends (if not in the eyes of Mayrhofer), a circumstance which could explain why the collections of documents from the circle contain no comments on this song.

Still, I think there is reason to consider the possibility that the circle interpreted *Liedesend* as not only expressing dark feelings at the end of life but also as an intimation of metaphysic escape in accordance with the Romantic scheme referred to above. Such doubleness would not be a unique thing, for, at the time, fear of extinction and longing for apotheosis were close neighbours.⁸¹⁸ Johann Senn concisely expresses the twin status of these emotions in his poem "Schwanenlied", which Schubert set in 1822 under the title *Schwanengesang* (D.744):

"Wie klag' ich's aus	('How shall I lament
"Das Sterbegefühl,	The presentiment of death,
"Das auflösend	The dissolution
"Durch die Glieder rinnt?	That flows through my limbs?

⁸¹⁵ For a discussion on *Fahrt zum Hades*, see Youens, *Schubert's poets and the making of lieder*, 1996, pp. 183-187.

⁸¹⁶ Compare Schubert's setting from 1817 of Mayrhofer's poem *Auf der Donau*, where the theme of human destruction is paralleled by music in which "descent permeates structural details both large and small". *ibid.*, p. 190.

⁸¹⁷ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 171.

⁸¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 182f.

”Wie sing’ ich’s aus
”Das Werdegefühl,
”Das erlösend
”Dich, o Geist anweht?”

Es klagt’, es sang
Vernichtungsbang,
Verklärungsfroh,
Bis das Leben floh.

Das ist des Schwanen Gesang!⁸¹⁹

How shall I sing
Of the feeling of new life
That redeems
You with its breath, o spirit?’

It lamented, it sang,
Fearful of extinction,
Joyously awaiting transfiguration,
Until life fled.

That is the meaning of the swan’s song!⁸²⁰

To approach the Romantic side of such a double understanding of *Liedesend*, a start can be made by considering how the relationship between the visual and the aural realms are presented in the song. In the context of the Romantic potentialization of night, the image of the setting sun can be understood as signifying the abdication of seeing in favour of hearing. Mayrhofer’s “Nachtstück” is a good example of such a Romantic employment of the fact that night extinguishes visual but not aural perception. At the beginning of this poem, visual impressions fade as mist spreads over the mountains, the moon fights with the clouds, and the minstrel starts to sing into the presumably dark forest (“waldeinwärts”). As he sings, accompanying himself on his harp, nature answers in the aural realm: trees rush, grass whispers, and birds call. The minstrel “listens” (horcht) to these sounds of nature, then passes away. It is true, of course, that in “Liedesend” also the realm of song is said to be exhausted. But due to the peculiar musical structure which Schubert added, there is still reason to consider the possibility that *Liedesend* was understood as ending in a Romantic and emphatically *aural* mode, a mode in which the most important use of sounds is not to represent or refer to anything which could be pinned down by words or images. This is the topic which I will discuss in the rest of this chapter.

As will be remembered from Chapter 3, the relationship between the visual and the aural realms was a topic of discussion among writers on declamation. We saw that some writers, such as Wötzel and Sulzer, argued that the visual aspects of declamation should not be exaggerated. Others went further, though, demanding that declamation should be completely rid of visual means. Already around 1810, at least a small part of the culture surrounding declamation in Vienna moved towards a musicalized concept of declamation which included a more radical inversion of the Enlightened hierarchy of visual and aural perception. In so doing, a connection seems to have been established between declamation and the writings of Romantic authors like E.T.A. Hoffmann and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, who “believed in a realm of inner experience accessible by sound alone”, a belief which they, in turn, received

⁸¹⁹ Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 2, p. 664.

⁸²⁰ Wigmore, *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts*, 1992, pp. 317f.

from Johann Gottfried Herder and the religious tradition of Pietism.⁸²¹ Declamation was still regarded as a revealer of ideals, but in defining declamation as a purely auditive art, writers on declamation also linked it to Herder's notion of hearing as "the sense best suited to penetrate into the subject's deepest inner realms".⁸²² Instead of projecting an ideal image on to the actual world, declaimers and their audiences were now supposed to turn their ear towards the inner.

A few articles from the early nineteenth century will serve to exemplify the radically anti-visual notion of declamation in the Viennese press. In the article "Ein Paar Worte über Deklamation" (A couple of words on declamation), published in *Der Sammler* in 1809 and probably written by the German author Karl Friedrich Pockels (1757-1814), a declaimer's highest task is said to be to enter into "the poet's romanticism and enthusiasm" (die Romantik und Begeisterung des Dichters). In the following, Pockels argues that a "mimic" declamation is a meagre substitute for the higher domain of beautiful speech. This is a domain, it seems, which can be reached only by auditive means, for a declaimer is said to be very much mistaken "when he wants to attract the listener's eyes rather than his hearing. If he [i.e. the declaimer] would really understand his art, he would have to be able to make himself invisible to all eyes yet enchant all ears".⁸²³

Also in "Etwas über Deklamation, durch einen reisenden Declamator veranlasst" (Something about declamation, occasioned by a travelling declaimer) in an issue of *Thalia* in 1812, being actually a section from the Swiss author Ulrich Hegner's novel *Die Molkenkur* (1812), hearing is related as the only appropriate means for receiving declamation. Summarizing what he thinks is the nature of declamation, Hegner approaches the Romantic view on *music* as a secret, religious force. In his words,

[t]he true poetry is too holy for mimic liveliness and too spiritual for visual presentation; it comes from the invisible and tones alone are its organ.⁸²⁴

It should be noted that Hegner writes that *tones* alone are its organ, not words. To the more conservative Wötzel, the musical part of declamation was a prerequisite, not an

⁸²¹ Holly Watkins, "From the Mine to the Shrine: The Critical Origins of Musical Depth", in *19th-Century Music* 27, No. 3 (2004), p. 181.

⁸²² *ibid.*, p. 185.

⁸²³ "[...]wenn er mehr die Augen, als das Gehör des Zuhörers gewinnen will. Er müßte, wenn er seine Kunst recht verstünde, aller Augen unsichtbar, doch aller Ohren bezaubern können". [Karl Friedrich] Pockels, "Ein Paar Worte über Deklamation", in *Der Sammler*, No. 44, 13 April 1809, pp. 175f. The name of the author given in *Der Sammler* is "E. T. Pockels". But since *Karl Friedrich Pockels'* poem "Das Land der Phantasie" was printed in *Der Sammler* in the same year as "Ein Paar Worte über Deklamation", and since the extensive *Deutsches Biographisches Archiv* (Munich: K.G. Saur Verlag, 1982) contains no E.T. Pockels, I take the initials E.T. to be a misprint.

⁸²⁴ "[d]ie Wahre Poesie ist zu heilig für mimische Lebhaftigkeit, und zu geistig für sichtbare Darstellung; sie kommt aus dem Unsichtbaren, und Töne allein sind ihr Organ". Ulrich Hegner, "Etwas über Deklamation, durch einen reisenden Declamator veranlasst", in *Neue Thalia*, No. 2, 17 October 1812, pp. 14-16. Quotation from p. 15.

end.⁸²⁵ Also Sulzer warned of making the pure sound of declamation more important than its verbal content.⁸²⁶

In Chapter 3, I used the article “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation” (*WamZ*, 1813) as an example of the notion that the music in a song must first of all be a faithful declamation of the poem. But “the true song” ([d]er wahre Gesang) is here also said to be “higher” than declamation. In such song, “the words are only a vehicle for the *music*: in song the words vanish in the emotion; their effect is first of all *musical*, and only more remotely *poetic* and *logical*”.⁸²⁷ This musicalized notion of declamation can be seen as part of “the tradition of anti-Enlightenment thought that links Herder to later Romantic authors”, a tradition which imagined and favoured “an area of feeling or experience beyond the descriptive reach of linguistic concepts”. For the supporters of this notion, purely instrumental music “was the perfect emblem of the subject’s unknowable inner regions”.⁸²⁸

It can be assumed that the notions of declamation and of song setting held in Schubert’s circle were affected by their Romantic tendencies, at least in cases when a poem or a musical setting invited a Romantic interpretation. If they heard *Liedesend* via the Romantic notion of declamation, the inclusion in that song of a musical structure which is partly independent of the formal and the semantic properties of the poem is likely to have been regarded as highly meaningful.

Analysing Schubert’s first of the three Goethe-settings *Gesänge des Harfners aus “Wilhelm Meister”* (D.478), composed in the same year as *Liedesend*, Walther Dürr (1984) points out a word-music relationship which bears a certain similarity to that in *Liedesend*. Goethe’s poem indicates a movement towards dissolution of pain in death, and Schubert’s music develops in such a way that it can be understood as constituting the very realm into which painful life dissolves:

While at first the singer dominates and the instrument merely accompanies and supports, later the instrument becomes a partner and then comes into a state of open opposition to the vocal part, and itself dominates at the end. [...] To be sure – while in his last lines the poet speaks about death as the redemption of the person, the harper, from torment and suffering and thus still relates death to the individual (*me*’ is the penultimate word of the Lied), the musician leads the song into a dominance of generally musical principles in which the suffering and singing person dissolves.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁵ Wötzel, *Vorlesekunst*, 1817, §§13 and 10.

⁸²⁶ Kohlhäufel, “Die Rede – ein dunkler Gesang?”, 1996, p. 150.

⁸²⁷ “Im Gesänge [...] sind die Worte nur Vehikel der *Musik*: bei dem Gesänge verlieren sich Worte in der *Empfindung*; sie wirken zunächst und zuerst *musikalisch*, und nur entfernter *poetisch* und *logisch*”. “Einige Gedanken über Deklamation”, in *WamZ*, No. 38, 22 September 1813, p. 302.

⁸²⁸ Watkins, “From the Mine to the Shrine”, 2004, p. 191.

⁸²⁹ “Während der Sänger zunächst dominiert, das Instrument nur begleitet, stützt, wird das Instrument später zum Partner, gerät dann in offenen Gegensatz zur Singstimme und dominiert selbst am Ende. [...] Freilich – während der Dichter in seinen letzten Versen vom Tode als der Erlösung der Person, des Harfners, von Qual und Leiden spricht, dabei immer noch den Tod auf den Einzelnen bezieht (*mich*’ ist

Music can be said to take over also in *Liedesend*. While in the poem the king's life fades away not only along with the setting sun but also with the failure of conventional genres of song ("song of victory" and "sweet tunes"), Schubert's strophic musical structure becomes only clearer in shape. Starting from a Romantic notion of musicalized declamation, the song could be considered to achieve a degree of musicalization which was out of reach for declamation alone. If regarded as largely non-mimetic and as an instance of a predominantly musical design, the "tone"-structure in Schubert's music can even be said to correspond to the unconventional and profound instrumental music which, in E.T.A. Hoffmann's words, calls forth an ineffable longing. Indeed, Kohlhäufl identifies some of the writings from Schubert's circle as cases of such Romanticism of music, exemplified for example in Schober's poem "An die Musik" which Schubert put to music in 1817.⁸³⁰ As an instance of Romantic music the strophic structure in *Liedesend* could be considered a non-mimetic reference to a reality which is hidden within the sensual muddle of a seemingly disenchanting and dying world, a reality which our earthly life allows us merely to divine. It may have been considered not a musical structure uniting the different parts of the song into a harmonious, classicist whole, but instead a musical structure emerging from the earthly confusion only at the moment of death, indicating an unfathomable coherence. The song may thus have been interpreted as containing hope in spite of the gloom with which the verbal text ends.

As I have already suggested, in such an interpretation of *Liedesend*, a telling opposition can be identified between the kinds of music at play in the song, that is between the failing, conventional types of vocal music and the subtle, large-scale strophic design, a design which comprises certain details of the largely mimetic musical surface but whose overall development does not mirror the course of the poem. The contradiction between words and music in *Liedesend* is at its most conspicuous in bars 98-99, where the piano repeats the motif with which the words "Liedeszauber ab" (magic of song [steals] away) have just been sung. On the one hand, this repeat emphasizes the verbal message that the art of song has now lost its magic. On the other hand, it accentuates the point in the song where the musical parallelism between Strophes I and II most obviously surfaces. The descending fifth, as part of a cadential figure in the vocal line, has been used twice before in the song. First in bars 29-30, just before the strophic structure is beginning to take shape, then in bars 58-59, that is towards the end of the first full strophe. Now, this characteristic gesture is first stated in the vocal line (bars 97-98), then repeated by the piano, *rallentando*, as if asking "do you recognize this motif?" Here, art is being born at the very moment it is declared dead. It is as if the music can say what it has to say only after having made clear that its message is not of the conventional, musico-poetical kind. What we are

das vorletzte Wort des Liedes) führt der Musiker den Gesang in eine Dominanz allgemein musikalische Prinzipien, in der die Person des Leidenden, Singenden, aufgeht". Dürr, *Das deutsche Sololied im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1984, p. 120.

⁸³⁰ Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 137.

invited to discover retrospectively when we have reached bars 98-99 is music, but it is neither a song of military triumph nor a sweet love song. To a Romantically-minded listener it may stand, instead, for something less “superficial”; it may stand for “the revelation of the divine in the ‘eternally beautiful’”, as Kohlhäufel formulates the role of art in Mayrhofer’s poem “Memnon”.⁸³¹ Romantic writers sometimes described such revelation in terms of music. Friedrich Schlegel’s poem “Die Gebüsch” (The bushes), which I quoted on page 100, is a case in point. Similarly, but more painfully, in Mayrhofer’s poem “Auflösung” (Dissolution) the poetical *I* wants to do away with the merely disturbing sights and sounds of the world in order to perceive another dimension of sound, the inner, “sweet ethereal choirs” associated with night and death:

Verbirg dich, Sonne, Denn die Gluthen der Wonne Versengen mein Gebein; Verstummet Töne, Frühlings Schöne Flüchte dich, und laß mich allein!	(Hide yourself, sun, For the fires of rapture Burn through my whole being. Be silent, sounds; Spring beauty, Flee, and let me be alone!
Quillen doch aus allen Falten Meiner Seele liebliche Gewalten; Die mich umschlingen, Himmlisch singen – Geh’ unter Welt, und störe Nimmer die süßen ätherischen Chöre! ⁸³²	From every recess of my soul Gentle powers well up And envelop me With celestial song. Dissolve, world, and never more Disturb the sweet ethereal choirs. ⁸³³)

Mayrhofer’s notion of music here resembles the one found in Johann Friedrich Hugo Dalberg’s early Romantic work *Blicke eines Tonkünstlers in die Musik der Geister* (1787), where the author, suffering from illness and melancholia, reaches a state of curative dream in which he discovers a new and higher kind of music: “there the spirit of harmony hovered around my bed and whispered to me presentiments of the elevated mysteries of the spiritual art of music. I never had a more heavenly delight”.⁸³⁴

These notions of a hidden, mysterious tone, notions in which “deep” and “high” may be used synonymously, are related to the Romantic notion of depth as establishing a connection with the divine, a notion paradigmatically expressed in Novalis’ *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1800). Heinrich, the protagonist in Novalis’ novel, literally travels into the depth when, having met an old miner, he descends into the

⁸³¹ “die Offenbarung des Göttlichen in der ‘unendliche[n] Schöne’”. Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 168.

⁸³² Schochow, *Die Texte*, 1974, vol. 1, p. 358. Also see Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 300.

⁸³³ Wigmore, *Shubert: The Complete Song Texts*, 1992, p. 63.

⁸³⁴ “[d]a umschwebte der Genius der Harmonie mein Lager und lispelte mir Ahndungen aus den hohen Mysterien der geistigen Tonkunst zu. Nie hatte ich einen himmlischeren Genuß”. Quoted from Walter Dimter, “Musikalische Romantik”, in *Romantik-Handbuch*, 2003, p. 410.

dark chambers of the subterranean world. In the “solemn, quiet company of the primeval rocks inside nature’s dark and marvelous chambers”, the miners, it seems to Heinrich, are able to “receive heavenly gifts and to be joyfully elevated above the earth and its difficulties”.⁸³⁵ This, Holly Watkins (2004) observes, is an inversion of the image of Plato’s cave, where the cavernous existence allows man to see merely the shadows of truth. In contrast to Plato, Novalis implies that “truth – especially the truth of the self – is to be sought in the depths”.⁸³⁶ Interestingly, Watkins finds that the rise of instrumental music as a prestigious form of art was paralleled by an increase in the use of metaphors of depth by German music critics. Instrumental music came to be considered the “deepest” of the arts, and it was thought that, like the human subject (and like the subterranean world, one may want to add), such music was “both mysterious and penetrable, [...] fathomless yet harboring treasures attainable by those able to reach them”.⁸³⁷

In this Romantic context it is tempting to describe the descending strophic structure in *Liedesend* as an undercurrent in the sense both of an underlying, contrary feeling and of a subterranean river. Perhaps *Liedesend* was considered to contain a strain of “deep”, absolute music, a music which can scarcely be heard as long as the painful clamour of the world (including conventional genres of vocal music) has not yet fallen silent.

But what was musical “depth”, more concretely? Was the Romantic notion of musical depth at all compatible with an underlying strophic structure like the one in *Liedesend*? Watkins shows how in the Romanticism of Wackenroder and Hoffmann the esoteric notion of a hidden rationality in apparently chaotic music merged with the Romantic notion of audition into the infinite space opening in the subject’s self and in the music. Hoffmann implied that musical depth consists of the “rationality he believed to be hidden in the works, accessible only by a ‘penetrating study’ of their ‘inner structure’”.⁸³⁸ Such hidden rationality was extolled, it will be remembered, also in the article “Was ist deutsche, was italienische Musik, und welche verdient den Vorzug?” quoted above. The best music, according to that article, becomes sublime as the result of a harmonic structure which is complex on the surface while containing a delicate unity to be perceived by those whose ears are adequately attuned. This further links the article to the Romantic notion of deep music, for, “the cultivation of feelings termed sublime played a formative role in the creation of the modern notion of inner depth”.⁸³⁹ At least since Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant, depth, as a category of sensual impression, was connected with the sublime, that is with the effort to grasp that which cannot be grasped.⁸⁴⁰ Hidden rationality as depth in music also fits with

⁸³⁵ Translation quoted from Watkins, “From the Mine to the Shrine”, 2004, p. 179.

⁸³⁶ Watkins, “From the Mine to the Shrine”, 2004, p. 180.

⁸³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 182.

⁸³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 195.

⁸³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 193.

⁸⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 193.

Friedrich von Schelling's early philosophy, a philosophy which the Schubert friends Senn and Bruchmann passionately studied from around 1818.⁸⁴¹ Schelling regarded every part of nature as a micro-cosmos, and the understanding of it as the reading of a hieroglyphic document containing holy signs and secret correspondences between the tiny and the great.⁸⁴²

Hoffmann sought to demonstrate Beethoven's genius by taking a "deeper look" into the "inner structure" of his works, works which were often accused of being "bizarre" and of lacking inner coherence.⁸⁴³ In practice, this search for unity in seemingly haphazard music furthered the development of techniques for the detection of hidden motivic and thematic relationships. In that sense, my tracing of a unifying but hard-to-perceive underlying strophic design in *Liedesend* should be in line with the kind of musical inquiry that Hoffmann advocated – although my inquiry pays somewhat less attention to motifs and more to harmony.

But, beyond technical analysis, Hoffmann also calls upon affective unity to account for the deep coherence of Beethoven's music. In his famous review of the fifth symphony, he claims that the music is unified for the listener by the feeling of "ineffable longing" to which its opening of unknown inner realms gives rise. Especially, it is the "moments when the direction of music is uncertain" which spur Hoffmann's quest for that "innermost nature".⁸⁴⁴ Perhaps *Liedesend* was unified in a similar manner. Since the music is constructed in such a way that the musically fairly chaotic surface contains hints of an underlying structure, a structure which can be uncovered only in retrospect, the song may give rise to a certain sense of wonder, a feeling which, it could be argued, unifies the work for the listener. Here it is worth remembering that the English landscape garden could be constructed in a similar way, and that it was often conceived of as a realm where the wanderer was able to look deeply into the mysteries of nature and his or her own self. The opposition between darkness and light in such gardens could be slightly more complicated than I claimed in Chapter 4, for darkness and introspection could be considered necessary for the acquisition of profound insights. Thus, when Gabriele von Baumberg wrote that "An enchanting labyrinth of roses and of vines, / Intricately laid out, in English taste, / Finally gives new life to the puzzled eye, / When, from above, one unveils its inner plan" (see page 188), she expresses no simple relief of getting out of the confusion of the labyrinth, but rather revels in the insight to which that confusion has given rise. Such a feeling could probably lend a certain retrospective affective unity to both gardens and to a song like *Liedesend*.

But how Romantic are the insights gained when, from above, one is able simply to unveil the inner plan of an art work or a garden? After all, the core of

⁸⁴¹ Dürhammer, "Pantheismus", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, pp. 337f; Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, p. 106.

⁸⁴² Nordin, *Filosofins historia*, 1995, p. 413.

⁸⁴³ Watkins, "From the Mine to the Shrine", 2004, p. 196.

⁸⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 197.

Romanticism was a directedness towards *eternal* and *ineffable* coherence. Let us think also of my scheme in Figure 4. Or perhaps I should say my “graph”, in order to emphasize more clearly the obviously visual nature of my drawing. Is not the making of such a graph, which allows us to unveil the hidden strophic plan and view it as a synchronic structure, a contradiction both of the anti-visual stance of Romanticism and of its search for a unity which cannot be represented? One of the reasons why I started to analyze the song by such visual means was the faint impression that when I listened to the song, it was as if I heard certain passages more than once – in spite of my chief impression that this was a musically chaotic song. Perhaps I should have left it at that if I wanted to come as close as possible to a Romantic premonition of an ungraspable unity, for once on paper the structure loses much of its allure. On the other hand, without that analysis I would not have had much to write about the song in a musicological dissertation. Hoffmann exposed himself to a similar conflict of interests when he wanted to demonstrate the deep unity of Beethoven’s music in order to defend it against what he thought was illegitimate critique, while also claiming that the depth of that music is impossible to grasp. In a Romantic context, when elucidation goes too far it is at risk of disenchanting the music whose depth it has set out to demonstrate.

Luckily, perhaps, there are aspects of the strophic structure in *Liedesend* which may add to the Romantic interpretation and which, when interpreted in such a way, are slippery enough to elude attempts at exhaustive rationalization. For the assumption that *Liedesend* could be heard as indicating something ungraspable is strengthened by the fact that the unusual structure of the music can be interpreted as a Romantic fragment. As a “consciously destroyed finiteness” (bewußt vernichtete Endlichkeit), a Romantic fragment points at its own lack of conclusion by employing features such as hints, abrupt endings and open questions.⁸⁴⁵ The motivating force of the fragment was the Romantic longing for total and eternal coherence. Such coherence was considered to be irrepresentable, but since a fragment systematically denied itself every kind of conclusiveness, it could at least point towards that coherence in a negative sense.⁸⁴⁶ In Friedrich Schlegel’s words, the Romantic poetry “is still developing; yes, its true nature is that it can only develop eternally and never be finished”.⁸⁴⁷ The fragmentary could thus work as a negative representation of depth, as exemplified in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* where Novalis lets Heinrich, still in the subterranean world, find a book which contains the truth about himself, a book, though, of which the end is missing.⁸⁴⁸ The Romantic fragment could not heal the wounds of the world, but it could make man aware of the possibility of redemption

⁸⁴⁵ Eberhard Ostermann, “Fragment/Aphorismus”, in *Romantik-Handbuch*, 2003, p. 283. Also see p. 317 in the same volume.

⁸⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 281.

⁸⁴⁷ “Die romantische Dichtart ist noch im Werden; ja das ist ihr eigentliches Wesen, daß sie ewig nur werden, nie vollendet sein kann”. Quoted from John Fetzer, “Die Romantische Lyrik”, in *Romantik-Handbuch*, 2003, p. 317.

⁸⁴⁸ Watkins, “From the Mine to the Shrine”, 2004, p. 180.

and make transfiguration the object of longing.⁸⁴⁹ Whereas before, and at least in principle, man's redemption had seemed attainable through successful *Bildung*, in the *Frühromantik* it was postponed to a distant horizon of longing.⁸⁵⁰ The utopia towards which fragments were thought to point was considered as existing only "in the limitless, in eternity" (im Grenzenlosen, in der Unendlichkeit).⁸⁵¹

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Walther Dürr (1997 and 1999) sees in the "Vienna" circle around Schober just such a tendency to regard works of art as Romantic fragments. However, as Kohlhäüfl argues, there is reason not to make a definite aesthetic, philosophical, and emotional distinction between the friends in Vienna and those in Linz. An example of a reference to the longing to which music was thought to give rise may be found in a letter written by the leader of the circle in Linz, Anton von Spaun. In this letter, written in 1816 (the same year as *Liedesend*), von Spaun describes how Schubert's "tones" (Töne) make his heart "even more longing" (noch sehnsüchtiger) and "even happier" (noch glücklicher).⁸⁵² That the tones lead to a mix of happiness and longing indicates that happiness is not simply fulfilled but rather held up as a destination.

To be sure, Ernst Hilmar and Margret Jestremiski (1997) regard the claim that some of Schubert's works were conceived as Romantic fragments as extremely doubtful and hold that the extant material and Schubert's manner of creation offer no fruitful point of departure for such a contention.⁸⁵³ Still, the particular features of *Liedesend* in combination with the Romantic tendencies in the circle make an interpretation of this song as a Romantic fragment seem historically not too far-fetched. Firstly, once discovered, the strophic aspect of the music has the potential of drawing attention to itself by exercising a certain independence from the structure of the text and, also, by simply being such an unusual feature in a sectional song. Secondly, in so doing it vexes listeners by having no clear-cut beginning and by being ultimately inconclusive. A firm-enough strophic structure gradually takes shape, but then, once it has presented itself, it stops without achieving the harmonic closure expected from strophic songs. The construction of the music in *Liedesend* according to a strophic principle thus emphasizes the fact that the song does not begin and end in the same key, for while such a lack of harmonic closure is found in many sectional songs it is not to be expected in the genre of strophic song. *Liedesend* employs the model of strophic design but undermines the sense of stability that such a design normally conveys. The sequential layout of the two strophes – the first ends in F# minor and the second in E minor – means that E minor does not provide a point of return. Therefore nothing precludes a third strophe which moves towards D minor

⁸⁴⁹ Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 147f.

⁸⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 145.

⁸⁵¹ Dürr, "Die Freundeskreise", 1997, p. 26; Dürr, "'Tatenfluten' und 'bessere Welt'. Zu Schuberts Freundeskreisen", 1999, pp. 33f.

⁸⁵² Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 1964, p. 39. Also see Kohlhäüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 58, 150.

⁸⁵³ Ernst Hilmar and Margret Jestremiski, "Fragmente", in *Schubert-Lexikon*, 1997, p. 136.

and thus continues the large-scale stepwise descent, potentially infinitely so. The interpretation of this stepwise descent as related to a Baroque falling bass line of lament may thus be modified by the addition of the Romantic notions of depth and infinity.

As we have seen, the strophic aspect of the music, which forms an undercurrent beneath the music's clearly mimetic surface, cannot itself easily be interpreted as being solely mimetic in intent. The signs of fragmentation built into this strophic structure instead make it fit to be interpreted as part of something which is greater than the song itself. *Liedesend* could thus be taken to include *both* of the concepts of music between which E.T.A. Hoffmann distinguishes in an article in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) in 1812:

Music opens to man an unknown realm, a world that has nothing in common with the outer sensual world surrounding him, a world in which he leaves behind all feelings determinable by concepts in order to surrender to the inexpressible. How little was this peculiar nature [of music] understood by those instrumental-music composers who sought to portray determinate feelings, or even events, and thus to treat sculpturally the art absolutely opposed to sculpture!⁸⁵⁴

On the mimetic surface of *Liedesend*, one could claim, Schubert is sculpturing with music, while, deeper into its musical structure, he is opening an unknown realm. Thus the sense of wonder to which the deep structure may give rise may be mixed with Romantic longing.

So far, I have presupposed that the claim of the futility of song which the poem thematizes, and which is implied already in its title, has in view only conventional genres of vocal music such as those to which the poem itself refers ("song of victory" and "sweet tunes"). But what if this claim was taken to aim also at that underlying, strophic music which Schubert added and which has no obvious counterpart in the poem? There is no reason to rule out the possibility of such an understanding. To be sure, modern musicological analyses of word-music relationships in art songs often regard a song as a musical "reading" of a verbal text. But while this is a sensible perspective in many cases, it should not be forgotten (and I do not claim that it always is) that the text may also form a comment on the music. From a reception perspective it is always *possible* to search for such comments, even in a case where the text was written long before the music. When songs stemming from the collaboration between Schubert and Mayrhofer were performed among their friends, however, such a search is likely to have seemed especially relevant. Mayrhofer's remark that "I wrote poetry, he composed what I wrote, of which much owes its generation, development and dissemination to his melodies" (see page 233) shows that the collaboration was of a particularly close kind.

⁸⁵⁴ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 12, 4 July 1810. Translation quoted from Watkins, "From the Mine to the Shrine", 2004, p. 192.

The reciprocity which Mayrhofer implies is likely to have made it near at hand for his and Schubert's friends to interpret a song like *Liedesend* as a work of art in which text and music could interact in a complex way. What, one may therefore ask, did it mean to a Romantic interpretation of *Liedesend* if the text was taken to question the ability of Schubert's music to move towards the infinite? Actually, it would only strengthen the song's Romantic character, for it would add to it an aspect of that irony which often formed a part of Romantic fragments. Indeed, it was a characteristic of Romantic poetry that it struggled to break the fetters of mundane existence while also reminding its readers of the impossibility of doing just that. By means of wilful acts of illusion-breaking, the earthly ground was allowed to slip back in under the recipient's feet, as it were. Instead of aiming to present an ideal to the senses with the highest clarity possible (a task for art which we encountered in Chapter 3), Romantic fragments were conceived as strange and difficult "germs of thought" (Denkkeime) or "leaven of understanding" (Gärmittel der Erkenntnis) intended to provoke a continuous process of interpretation. As a means to that end, a multi-layered structure of inconclusiveness and irony could be highly welcome. In the Jena-period, Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel regarded the lack of thorough understanding to which the esoteric, ironic, and incomprehensible style of Romantic fragments was intended to lead as an important part in the process towards real understanding.⁸⁵⁵ At the "exposed fractures" of language, Ostermann (2003) summarizes this Romantic position, the reader's fantasy and efforts to understand were to be ignited so that they developed "in the direction of an infinite context of meaning".⁸⁵⁶ If the strange and contradictory *Liedesend* served that purpose in Schubert's circle, its evaluation must have been as inconclusive as was the circle's stance towards Romanticism.

Conclusion

According to Dürhammer's scheme, Schubert's Romantic phase as a song writer did not begin until Autumn 1818.⁸⁵⁷ However, the almost hidden strophic structure in *Liedesend* suggests that this song could be interpreted not only esoterically but also Romantically as early as in 1816, at a time when Romanticism was beginning to emerge in the circle. On the whole, the esoteric and the Romantic interpretations are not in conflict. For a tendency towards "absolute or autonomous poetry for an élite readership was from the beginning an important aspect of the Romantic project of art as an attack against philistinism", as exemplified for example by the Romantic poet Clemens Brentano who, around the time that Schubert composed *Liedesend*, became so reluctant to reveal his inner life through his art that he invented a secret poetic

⁸⁵⁵ Ostermann, "Fragment/Aphorismus", 2003, pp. 287f.

⁸⁵⁶ "An den offengelegten Bruchstellen der Sprache sollen sich Phantasie und Verstehensbemühungen der Leser entzünden und in Richtung auf einen unendlichen Bedeutungszusammenhang entfalten". *ibid.*, p. 288.

⁸⁵⁷ Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 1999, pp. 94, 343.

language which was understood only by a small circle of initiates.⁸⁵⁸ Also, the esoteric mode of listening furthered by Beethoven and van Swieten is similar to the “new kind of audition divorced from social activity and preoccupied with inner feeling” which Wackenroder meditated upon in his romantic *Phantasien über die Kunst für Freunde der Kunst* (*Fantasies on Art for the Friends of Art*), published 1799.⁸⁵⁹ To be sure, the emphasis between Romanticism and esoteric elitism may have varied within a single subject, as exemplified by Hoffmann who seems sometimes mainly to have directed his energies towards telling others that they were too dull to understand Beethoven’s deep art.⁸⁶⁰

If interpreted as an esoteric and a Romantic song, *Liedesend* brought Schubert’s friends a long way from the Classicist clarity and optimism which they are likely to have found to be at least partially realized in *Die Bürgschaft*. A part of the difference between the two songs lies in the fact that *Liedesend* can be heard as exemplifying that modification of the notion of music which Watkins identifies at the beginning of the nineteenth century and which came about by the addition of a notion of surface versus depth to the eighteenth-century conception of music as sequence. Analysts, Watkins says, “began to view the musical work as analogous to a three-dimensional object, one possessing length (duration), width (registral distribution), and depth”.⁸⁶¹ One of the results of the difference of *Liedesend* from *Die Bürgschaft*, and also from *Die Nacht*, is that it makes up a more rewarding target for the analytical approaches and systems which were constructed to deal with musical depth, and the use of which, Watkins argues, came to characterize much of the modern music analytical project. Indeed, the fact that I have myself so much enjoyed analyzing *Liedesend* is probably at least partly explained by the fact that, although much has changed, the song and my musical understanding belong to the same historical process.

⁸⁵⁸ “Die Tendenz zu solcher absoluten oder autonomen Poesie für eine elitäre Leserschaft war von Anfang an ein wichtiger Aspekt des romantischen Kunstprogramms als Angriff gegen das Philistertum”. Fetzer, “Die Romantische Lyrik”, 2003, p. 331.

⁸⁵⁹ Watkins, “From the Mine to the Shrine”, 2004, p. 188.

⁸⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 201f.

⁸⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 204.

6. Sectional Songs Past and Present

In this chapter I will move forward in history, suggesting the outline of an historical contextualization of the depreciation of sectional songs in the twentieth century, and also offering a few reflections on my own stance to these works. But let me begin by drawing some conclusions from the preceding chapters.

Conclusions on the interpretation of sectional songs within Schubert's circle of friends

A thing that spurred my interest in Schubert's sectional songs was the comparatively low value attributed to them in twentieth-century writings. In my introductory chapter I drew attention to the fact that this initial spur has influenced my whole conception of the genre. Indeed, the mere fact that I have been referring to these (mainly) non-strophic songs as belonging to a single genre is due to how they have been dealt with in later times. Also the name by which I refer to that genre – “sectional song” – is dependent on the writings of twentieth-century scholars, for I have deliberately formulated it to highlight what these authors have presented as a defining feature, and also the main flaw, of the songs in question. In my introduction I pointed out the importance of not presupposing that this construction of a genre reflects the interpretation of these songs within Schubert's circle of friends.

Having now studied what members of Schubert's circle and their Viennese contemporaries had to say about sectional songs (Chapter 2), and having then contextualized and analyzed three sample works (Chapters 3, 4, and 5), I think at least two things have become clear. Firstly, the use of multiple changes of key, tempo, nuance, accompanimental pattern, melodic style, etc. in the setting of a poem was not necessarily regarded as a negative thing. Secondly, the “sectional songs” could be regarded as a much more heterogeneous group than we are inclined to assume today. The heading “sectional song” therefore seems to be insufficient to account for the generic aspects which informed interpretations of these songs.

The generic dissimilarities between my three sample works – *Die Bürgschaft*, *Die Nacht*, and *Liedesend* – become the most apparent when one considers the relationships of these songs to other types of cultural artefact. *Die Bürgschaft* was probably regarded as an intensified version of a kind of idealizing and “enthusiastic” declamation, a declamation which in turn shared structural features with strikingly clear and colourful paintings. *Die Nacht* was presumably reminiscent of an English landscape garden and of the inner, changeable musical landscape of a free fantasia. *Liedesend*, finally, could probably be related to absolute music and to the Romantic concept of depth. While the three works could surely all be referred to as songs, and maybe even as belonging to a single though broad subcategory of song, their

individual links to declamation, painting, landscape, absolute music, and depth may have been of equal or more importance for how they were actually interpreted and evaluated. Thus, while the three songs may today appear to belong mainly to a single group of strange, “sectional” songs, within Schubert’s circle they were probably heard as individual works of art with more or less different genre affiliations.

Along with these affiliations, also the songs’ characters and purposes are likely to have been perceived as dissimilar. Via its Enlightened, idealizing representation of loyalty as a basis for friendship, *Die Bürgschaft* could probably be considered to encourage individual moral improvement as well as a harmonious unification of society as a whole. *Die Nacht* may have been interpreted as being more ambiguous, thematizing the tension between a prevailing dark confusion, the remembrance of allegedly more heroic times, and uncertainties concerning human destiny. Interpreted in that way, this song was fit to work as a realm for sentimental contemplation, a mode of thinking which could have a certain liberating effect in a time of political bleakness. *Liedesend* may have been heard as emotionally ambiguous too, but unlike *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht* it hides away within itself, esoterically withholding substantial elements of its own musical form. This structural subtlety is likely to have invited that devotional listening which Viennese connoisseurs cultivated in both music and declamation, a mode of listening upheld as a counter current to the allegedly superficial approach of the general public. Also, the possibility to interpret the structure of *Liedesend* as a fragment suggests that it could appeal to the Romantic vein within Schubert’s circle.

To approach an understanding of how Schubert’s “sectional songs” were interpreted and evaluated in the environment for which they were composed, we need to be able to appreciate such differences of genre and character. Every song that we wish to consider must be subjected to individual scrutiny, and in so doing we must try to find out what features were regarded as decisive in that particular song, and we must engage in the endless process of reconstructing the context(s) within which these features were attributed with meaning. This includes going back and forth between text and context, letting one suggest what we should look for in the other. (The fact that there is a necessarily subjective aspect to such an undertaking is a fact to which I will turn later in this chapter.) When a sectional song other than *Die Bürgschaft*, *Die Nacht*, or *Liedesend* is studied, one may very well find that other generic affiliations than those which I have discussed are likely to have been of essential importance for the interpretation of the song in question.

The fact that Schubert’s circle probably regarded “sectional songs” as forming a rather heterogeneous group of works does not mean that they cannot have perceived any points of contact between two songs. In further studies of Schubert songs, the issues which I have raised in the preceding chapters – declamation, English garden, free fantasia and Romantic depth, to name some of the main headings – should be kept in mind as potential but not compulsory parts of a context in which a particular song was interpreted. Considering the individual properties of *Die Bürg-*

schaft, *Die Nacht*, and *Liedesend*, I think it has been justified to take rather different perspectives when dealing with them, but it must be assumed that, in fact, a perspective which I have applied to one of the songs only could have a certain relevance also for one or both of the others. For example, the question of freedom which I allotted so much space when discussing *Die Bürgschaft* was probably relevant also for the interpretation of *Die Nacht*. In the first part of the song, the minstrel's verbal-musical narration of the fate of the "wanderer" could be taken as an almost over-explicit illustration of the idea of a suffering human whose mind is being dominated and held in captivity by his senses and who therefore succumbs to destructive passions. Another example concerns the Romantic notion of depth which we encountered in connection with *Liedesend*. This notion may have influenced the interpretation of *Die Nacht*, for the envisaging in this song of a redeeming destination beyond the musico-poetical labyrinth may have made the song appear as an instance of that Romantic quest which, when bravely pursued in spite of the ultimate futility of the undertaking, results in an endless process of self-discovery. The interpretation of the whole of *Die Nacht* as a realm for free reflection may thus have taken on a Romantic charge.

A further conclusion to be drawn from the preceding chapters is of particular relevance for a discussion on the value of "sectional songs". This conclusion has been somewhat veiled by the order in which I have chosen to deal with the three songs. The reason for presenting *Liedesend* as number three despite the fact that it was composed between *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht* was my wish first to present two "purely sectional" songs – songs, that is, which belong to the group of works which has been most criticized in twentieth-century scholarship and to which I therefore wanted to give my main attention. Only thereafter, I decided, would I turn to a sectional song which, according to that scholarship, could be regarded as a first step towards those "better" songs which were yet to come. The presentation of *Liedesend* as the third and final song has thus been conditioned by the value-laden model of progress which the twentieth century has projected on Schubert's oeuvre of songs. One of my aims, however, has been to expose some of the historiographic limitations of that model. If one wants to approach an understanding of how sectional songs were interpreted within the circle of friends, the fact that Schubert wrote *Die Nacht* after he had already composed the musically more "structured" *Liedesend* should probably not be taken to indicate that Schubert and his friends were unable to appreciate that his structural novelty in *Liedesend* constituted an aesthetic gain. If not further supported, such an explanation rests on fragile ground indeed. A more simple explanation of the chronology is that, in 1817 and in Schubert's cultural context, the existence of *Liedesend* (and of *Gretchen am Spinnrade* and *Erlkönig* too) had not robbed a song like *Die Nacht* of its potential to be interpreted as a meaningful work of art.

It must also be noted, though, that the twentieth-century notion of progress in Schubert's songwriting is likely to distort our historical view not only of "purely" sectional songs such as *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht*, but also of *Liedesend* and other

works which seem more progressive from the modern perspective. Indeed, it is when we approach familiar ground, when we think that we intuitively understand the historical object as it was once understood, that we are at particular risk to violate historical differences. It is true that, today, *Liedesend* can be regarded as an early precursor of that particular aesthetic of absolute music which has governed much twentieth-century music scholarship. But the aesthetic of absolute music which Schubert's circle seems to have embraced, and which they are likely to have applied on *Liedesend*, was still charged with Romantic ideas which had lost much of their grip by the twentieth century.

Missing unity: Depreciation of Schubert's sectional songs in twentieth-century music literature

In his 1957 book on Schubert's song writing in the years 1815 and 1816, Jürgen Mainka assesses the reception of Schubert's sectional songs since the late nineteenth century: At the end of that century, the singer Ludwig Wüllner tried to "give new life to Schubert's extended, multi-sectional songs",⁸⁶² and Ludwig Scheibler, author of *Franz Schuberts einstimmige Lieder, Gesänge und Balladen mit Texten von Schiller* (Bonn 1905), "stood up for them with eloquent words".⁸⁶³ But Mainka still concludes that, on the whole, these songs have been treated unfavourably. This observation holds true also for music literature from the decades following after Mainka's dissertation. The main impression when going through literature from that time is that sectional songs were not particularly esteemed.⁸⁶⁴ In Chapter 1 I gave several examples of the depreciation of sectional songs, but there I did not attempt to shed any light on its background. Here I will take a few steps towards such an elucidation, mainly by discussing the implications for sectional songs of the fairly rich late-twentieth-century historical scholarship on the reception of Schubert's oeuvre as a whole.

Musical autonomy

In *The Schubert Song Companion* (1985), John Reed suggests a solution to the "problem" of *Die Nacht*. According to him, the early sections of this song are "wonderfully atmospheric" with "kaleidoscopic key changes" and "oppressively 'dark' themes", but then, in the final pages, "the musical interest falls away", leaving nothing

⁸⁶² "Schuberts ausgedehnte, mehrteilige Gesänge zu neues Leben zu erwecken".

⁸⁶³ "hat sich mit beredten Worten für sie eingesetzt". Quoted from Mainka, "Das Liedschaffen", 1957, pp. 84f.

⁸⁶⁴ Exceptions exist. For example, Brian Newbould offers sympathetic interpretations of the sectional songs *Minona* (D.152, 1815) and *Der Sänger* (D.149, 1815) in his book *Schubert. The Music and the Man* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1997), pp. 48-51. For more exceptions, see my Review of previous scholarship, in Chapter 1. On the performance side, several recent recordings suggest a growing interest in sectional songs.

but triviality.⁸⁶⁵ As will be remembered from Chapter 4, the Diabelli edition of year 1830 fitted a new ending to the song, but Reed regards this “attempt to give *Die Nacht* a suitably rousing finale” as merely “misguided”. A better solution, he argues, would be for performers to stop at bar 100, since it would isolate “almost all of the best music” and let the song end in G major. The comment about the key should probably be viewed in light of the fact that the song, as Schubert wrote it, begins in G minor but ends in A minor. If performers were to stop at bar 100, that is, they would allow the music to begin and end on G, thus allowing the “wonderfully atmospheric”, “kaleidoscopic” and “oppressively ‘dark’” qualities to be contained within a frame of harmonic unity, however rudimentary.

With regard to the verbal text in *Die Nacht*, Reed’s suggestion to stop at bar 100 means that the song will end with the minstrel’s last words: “Receive me from the night, my friends”. A listener who pays attention to the text may find this a somewhat open ending, wondering who the friends are to whom the singer unexpectedly refers just as the song ends.⁸⁶⁶ But Reed does not mention this aspect of the issue. As a matter of fact, although he quotes the verbal text of *Die Nacht* in full, his comments on the song concern the music only. For him, it seems, the text is simply less important than the music. What Reed says about *Die Nacht* may have been framed by the old saying that Schubert wrote excellent songs but unfortunately often used bad poems. Following the implications of that saying, one could argue that *Die Nacht* is not necessarily impaired by the fact that its shortened version seems strange from a literary perspective, since what really matters in Schubert is the quality of the music as such.⁸⁶⁷

More generally, it was long a widely-spread practice among scholars to evaluate Schubert’s songs on the basis of how well they fulfil the demands of absolute music. As early as 1866, in a comment on Schubert’s Ossian songs, Karl Debrois van Bruyck claimed that the lack of roundedness of Schubert’s music and its disintegration into “a row of solitary but certainly most ingenious paintings” account for the limited dissemination of these songs.⁸⁶⁸ Looking back on the nineteenth century, Matthias Wessel (1994) draws attention to the fact that music criticism became increasingly fixed on motivic-thematic unity in instrumental music, above all in sonata form, and that, when such unity formed the basis of musical judgements, “a rhapsodic, fantasia-like form” had to be rejected even in cases when the form “was made up of a sequence

⁸⁶⁵ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 1985, p. 175.

⁸⁶⁶ Anton Diabelli, for one, would hardly approve of Reed’s suggestion. In line with his opinion that at least one of the heroic tales referred to at the end of *Lodas Gespenst* has to follow if that song is to be fit for performance and if it is to have “a satisfactory ending” (see page 225), he would probably object against Reed’s cut that *Die Nacht* will not end in a satisfactory way unless listeners are allowed to meet the friends referred to.

⁸⁶⁷ In theory, a text can be highly valued on account of its open-endedness, but there is nothing in Reed’s text to suggest that he conceives of the shortened version of *Die Nacht* in such a way.

⁸⁶⁸ “eine Reihe allerdings höchst genialer Einzelmalereien”. Karl Debrois van Bruyck, “Franz Schuberts Ossian-Gesänge”, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 44, 31 October 1866. Quoted in Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, p. 113.

of ingenious particulars”.⁸⁶⁹ In a passage which I have already quoted several times, David Gramit makes the same assumption about the twentieth century: “several of the songs of Ossian seem to the modern listener to be little more than successive episodes strung together one after another”.⁸⁷⁰

Twentieth-century examples of the absolute-musical approach are not hard to find. In her 1937 book on Schubert’s early songs, Edith Schnapper speaks of the “danger” of aiming for dramatic expression by supplying each part of a poem with its own, descriptive accompaniment. By ignoring this danger, she claims, the young Schubert wrote songs which seriously withdraw “from the inner law of music”, so that his experiment had to fail.⁸⁷¹ A few years later, in what can be read as an attempt to rescue Schubert from his sins of youth, Sydney Northcote (1942) writes that “[i]t is the disciple of Zumsteeg who disappoints us, and then, being Schubert, he charms us”. When Schubert was still a “disciple of Zumsteeg”, as in *Hagars Klage*, *Der Taucher*, *Die Bürgerschaft* and *Ritter Toggenburg*, Northcote writes, “unity was often lost even though there were lovely fragments to be found here and there”. Later, the *real* Schubert managed to write songs like *Der Zwerg* (D.771, 1823), a setting of a miserable poem, according to Northcote, but one in which the music “obtains a remarkable unity and vividness with an astonishing thematic economy”.⁸⁷² Similarly, in 1954 Paul Mies comments that Schubert’s early songs were written at a time when the composer did not yet realize that it is not enough to “give the text an emotionally adequate musical underlay”, but that one has also to pay regard to “the purely musical construction, to the musical relationships within the individual melodies and the entire songs”.⁸⁷³ Mies contrasts these early songs to those that Schubert wrote in his “master years” (Meisterjahre), from 1819 on, songs in which Schubert allegedly excelled in combining emotional adequacy with purely musical construction. For these later songs Mies invents the genre headings “symphonic Lied” (sinfonisches Lied) and “variation Lied” (Variationenlied) and so links them directly to paradigmatic genres of absolute music.⁸⁷⁴

Ossenkop (1968) recognizes that *Der Taucher*, *Die Bürgerschaft*, “and some of the other longer compositions” contain “several dramatically effective melodies and many passages in which imaginative use is made of astonishingly bold harmonies”, but

⁸⁶⁹ “Bei einer solchen Auffassung mußte man einer rhapsodischen, fantasiartigen Form ablehnend gegenüberstehen, selbst wenn sie sich aus einer Folge genialer Einzelheiten konstituierte”. Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung*, 1994, p. 113.

⁸⁷⁰ Gramit, “The intellectual and aesthetic tenets”, 1987, p. 127.

⁸⁷¹ “von der musikalischen Eigengesetzlichkeit”. Schnapper, *Die Gesänge des jungen Schubert*, 1937, p. 117.

⁸⁷² Sydney Northcote, *The Ballad in Music* (Oxford: OUP, 1942), pp. 50f.

⁸⁷³ “Schubert verstand noch nicht, dem Text eine empfindungsgemäße musikalische Unterlage zu geben, dabei aber auch den rein musikalischen Bau, die musikalischen Beziehungen innerhalb der einzelnen Melodien und der ganzen Gesänge zu beachten”. Mies, *Franz Schubert*, 1954, p. 175.

⁸⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 178. According to Mies, the whole of *Die schöne Müllerin* is unified through the variation of a few musical motifs. Another song to which he pays much attention is *Der Doppelgänger*, where Schubert reached the level of “the strictest variation” (strengster Variierung). *ibid.*, pp. 179f.

he also regrets that, “like the longer settings of Zumsteeg”, these songs have “structural patterns that are very loosely organized”. He does not mention any non-musical reason for this regret and so implies that the basis of his value-judgement is a purely musical one. Significantly, he mentions “the dramatic, yet compact” *Liedesend* as a song “in which Schubert’s genius is fully revealed”.⁸⁷⁵ He does not further develop this comment, but it is at least conceivable that, for him, the underlying strophic structure which I discussed in Chapter 5 (a feature which he does not mention) constituted the aesthetically decisive difference between this song and works like *Der Taucher* and *Die Bürgschaft*.

It is in the context of this scholarly tradition that Reed’s parenthetical comment about the G-major ending of his shortened version of *Die Nacht* becomes value-laden. Indeed, elsewhere in his book Reed himself connects to the tradition by stating that “the establishment of the Lied as an autonomous musical form was by far the greatest achievement of Schubert’s early years”.⁸⁷⁶ Making *Die Nacht* begin and end on the same central note would thus mean helping it to acquire some of that musical autonomy which Schubert failed to give it himself.

Unity and craft as aesthetic and social watersheds

The idea of “absolute” or “autonomous” music, and of unity as a primary criterion for such music, has been a topic of much critical study in later decades. The subject is probably not exhausted, but I do think it has been argued persuasively that music scholars’ involvement in, and promotion of, absolute music has been able to serve social ends. Tomlinson (2003) summarizes the claim when he writes that the conception of musical autonomy “appears as a powerful philosophical assertion by elite Europe of its own unique achievement and status”.⁸⁷⁷ William Weber (2001) regards this phenomenon as a result of the fact that the broadened musical patronage in the nineteenth century raised the question of authority in musical questions.⁸⁷⁸ Thus we are brought back to a development which we encountered in Chapter 5. Members of the upper classes who felt that the lower classes were trespassing on their cultural grounds constructed a canonic framework which allowed them to differentiate not only between good and bad music, but also between levels of listening, and thus to support their own distinguished status in cultural matters.⁸⁷⁹ “Great” works from the past became a category of praise and an antithesis to more popular music. At the

⁸⁷⁵ Ossenkop, “The Earliest Settings”, 1968, pp. 558f.

⁸⁷⁶ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 1985, p. 31.

⁸⁷⁷ Gary Tomlinson, “Musicology, Anthropology, History”, in *The Cultural Study of Music*, 2003, p. 38.

⁸⁷⁸ William Weber, “The History of Musical Canon”, in *Rethinking Music*, 2001, pp. 336-355. Also see Weber, “Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870”, in *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 8, No. 1 (1977), pp. 5-22.

⁸⁷⁹ Weber claims that an ideologically motivated hierarchy of musical genres appeared only by the middle of the nineteenth century (ibid.). As we saw in Chapter 5, however, Tia DeNora has shown that such a hierarchy developed already in the 1790s among the high aristocracy in Vienna, and that it thereafter spread to the lower aristocracy and the middle class. DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, 1995.

top of the canonic hierarchy was absolute music and music whose construction required a high degree of craft from its composers – Beethoven being the paradigmatic figure. Weber names counterpoint as the craft which was considered to be most important, but if he is right in claiming that the canonic framework accounts not only for comments on music by nineteenth-century *Kenner*, but also for studies written by many twentieth-century music scholars, motivic transformation and harmonic unity in multitude must be added as canonic crafts. For also these musical features have been used to differentiate between music of greater and lesser value, and, indeed, between listeners of greater and lesser competence. In the music theory of Heinrich Schenker, which is highly relevant in the present context, counterpoint, motif and harmony cannot be separated. And, as mentioned in Chapter 5, already E.T.A. Hoffmann looked for motivic transformations in Beethoven's music.

A perceived incompatibility between this aesthetic and Schubert's sectional songs probably forms part of the explanation for the succinct and unfavourable treatment of these works in twentieth-century music literature. However, a further motivation for the choice to sweep sectional songs under the carpet has probably been a wish to counter a particular image of Schubert and his music which has been spread by Schubert biographers. Allowing for exceptions, I believe that a conflict has taken place between, on the one hand, music analysts personally interested in Schubert but professionally committed to absolute music, to "great" works, and to particular compositional crafts, and, on the other hand, biographers taking part in the creation and the passing on of the myth according to which Schubert was a friendly, intuitive, and unintellectual person – in short, that he was a typical "Austrian".

Without discussing the reception of specific groups of work, Kohlhäufel shows how in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Schubert was presented as a typically tender and cheerful Austrian and as a stock opposite to the "titanic-German" (titanisch-deutsch) Beethoven. He also shows that this opposition between the two composers was used to negotiate the relationship of Austria to a larger "German" cultural and political identity.⁸⁸⁰ Such a nationalist use of cliché images of Schubert and Beethoven, having their roots in a Romantic notion of the unity of nature, nation, and mentality, is identified also by Dittrich (2001), although she studies more specifically the fairly aggressive Prussian Othering of Austria that took place in the late nineteenth century.⁸⁸¹ Prussia and Austria had been rivalling centres of power in the German Confederation which was established at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, but the scale of power definitely swung to the Prussian side when Austria was defeated in the Seven Weeks War of 1866. The year after, a North German Confederation, totally dominated by Prussia, was formed. Not surprisingly, it was to shape its self-image partly by using Austria as a contrast. This North-German strategy, Dittrich says, included presenting Beethoven (who was born in Bonn) as one of the great Germanic

⁸⁸⁰ Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, pp. 1-28.

⁸⁸¹ Dittrich, "Jenem imponierenden Heroismus entzogen", 2001.

heroes and as possessing the essential “German” characteristics of reason, intellect, diligence, and manliness. Schubert, on the other hand, “the protagonist of the losing side”, was presented as the musical titan’s polar opposite and as being characterized by the allegedly disgraceful and genuinely “Austrian” traits of sensuousness, intuition, delight, and childishness or femininity.⁸⁸² Politics and the politically informed Beethoven cult thus probably formed part of the background of many patronizing comments on Schubert in German literature from the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, Dittrich also suggests that the very characterization of Schubert that was used in Germany to portray him as being of a lower kind than Beethoven could actually put him in a favourable light in the eyes of many Austrians. For Schubert the unheroic, as opposed to Beethoven the heroic, could be interpreted as a symbol of the less powerful but more peaceful and democratic Austria that appeared after its defeats in war. These nineteenth-century political uses of the cliché image of Schubert were forgotten in the twentieth century, Dittrich says, but the image itself lived on so that, even today, our notion of Schubert is “marked by the Prussian attitude”.⁸⁸³

For twentieth-century writers of biographies, this Schubert cliché has been profitable, if only for the reason that its long cultivation has resulted in a supply of charming anecdotes to be drawn upon. For writers more intent on studying Schubert’s music than his person, however, the cliché is likely to have meant trouble since their analytical models have not been constructed to deal with charming music, but instead to underscore Beethoven’s “central” music as a paradigm of human greatness. In this analytical tradition, the status of a composer has been dependent on the proximity of his works to the Beethoven paradigm. Thus, while many texts which are mainly biographical convey the notion of Schubert as Beethoven’s polar opposite (an efficient strategy for writing colourful prose), many texts which deal mainly with Schubert’s *works* are at pains to show that the difference between the two composers is not as great as is being claimed in the biographies. Concerns about Schubert’s composer persona seem to have spurred music analysts to adopt a vindictory strategy, a strategy which has included the bringing out of Schubert’s later works at the cost of his earlier ones.

Examples of the countering of the Schubertian cliché are found in Paul Mies’ *Franz Schubert* (1954), a work to which I have referred above. Mies tackles the notion of Schubert as Beethoven’s opposite by reinterpreting some of the inherited anecdotes and by using Schubert’s later works to draw conclusions as to the composer’s character. It is true, Mies says, that Schubert sometimes avoided talking to strangers, but the reason was not that he was *shy* (this was the standard interpretation of certain Schubert anecdotes), but rather that he was *rude*. Nor can it be true, he says, that Schubert lacked energy and received his music in a kind of clairvoyance (those

⁸⁸² *ibid.*, pp. 7 and 12f.

⁸⁸³ “vom preußischen Standpunkt geprägt”. *ibid.*, p. 3.

were also common notions), for his many masterworks can only be the results of great diligence and an enormous mental strain.⁸⁸⁴ In his “master years”, Mies says, when Schubert composed “symphonic” songs and “variation” songs, he no longer simply responded to a sequence of emotional impulses in a poem, as he had done earlier. While the settings which he now wrote were still emotionally sympathetic to their poems, they also constituted unified pieces of music. Thus, the unreflective nature which had been attributed to Schubert is here presented as being of relevance only with regard to Schubert’s earliest years as a composer. This means that Schubert’s composer persona could, after all, be included in the Beethoven paradigm, at least as long as early works such as sectional songs are presented as belonging to a preliminary stage in a strenuous process of self-development, a process which ends with Schubert’s acquisition of a complete control over musical structures. The Schubert whom Mies presents is the heir rather than the antipode of Beethoven. According to Mies, many works from Schubert’s early years (such as the sectional songs) are of no lasting value, but, in the context of the Beethoven paradigm, this very judgement can in fact be regarded as something positive for Schubert’s persona. For the less perfect the earlier works and the more perfect the later ones, the more diligence, self-tuition, and mental strain can be assumed to have come in-between.

David Gramit (1993) has observed a similar line of reasoning in twentieth-century Anglophone Schubert scholarship.⁸⁸⁵ Gramit traces the governing ideology of these writings to Victorian England, where music was regarded as a feminine activity and as a waste of time for men. In this cultural context, the image of Schubert as a dreamer and as an intuitive composer was adverse for the appreciation of his works, for if composition was to be an acceptable occupation for a man, it was vital for the composer to show Beethovenian “technical and intellectual mastery, especially if gained through industrious study and unceasing self-criticism and revision”.⁸⁸⁶ Rumours about Schubert as a quick and intuitive composer, rumours which were at first probably related to an eighteenth-century concept of genius, now led to the notion that he was lazy, feminine and that he was lacking in craft. According to Gramit, this has meant, and still (in the 1990s) means, that Schubert’s vindicators struggle to show that such accusations are false.⁸⁸⁷ The works used for this purpose have usually been drawn from the later part of Schubert’s life, a time when Schubert no longer used the sectional form, at least as we know it from works like *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht*.

Beside possibly unselfish concerns for Schubert’s composer persona, it is conceivable that scholars have had more private reasons to choose other Schubert songs than the sectional ones as objects for close study. Surveys of Schubert’s song

⁸⁸⁴ Mies, *Franz Schubert*, 1954, p. 84.

⁸⁸⁵ Gramit, “Constructing a Victorian Schubert”, 1993.

⁸⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p. 69.

⁸⁸⁷ On the construction of Schubert as a feminine composer, also see Dittrich, “Der emphatische Freundschaftsbegriff der Schubert-Zeit”, in *Schubert und seine Freunde*, 1999, pp. 51-58.

œuvre like that offered by Mies (1954) may then be read as recommendations for other scholars as to where they should look for suitable works to write about. Mies' (1954) favouring of the "symphonic" and "variation" songs of the "master years" over the earlier songs contributes to the creation of a Schubert discourse which could serve to guide music scholars who want to study Schubert's music without risking being looked upon with condescension by colleagues. With the Beethoven paradigm as a background, a "symphonic Lied" from the "master years" should be a safer ground than an early song in which Schubert had not yet realized the importance of "the purely musical construction" in the form of "musical relationships within the individual melodies and the entire songs". If some of Schubert's later songs are almost symphonies, a reader of Mies' book could argue, no one can ridicule you for studying them as closely as Beethoven's instrumental music.

In the context of such concern for appropriate behaviour in the musicological community, Reed's brief comment about the G-major ending of his shortened version of *Die Nacht* may take on further significance. For while the suggestion to end at bar 100 cannot "free" Schubert from accusations of having been over-intuitive in his conception of the music, it does show that Reed has observed the "problem" of the song's open-ended tonality, and that he does not simply let himself be swept away by its heterogeneous chain of musical events. (Reed, it must be remembered, could not simply avoid *Die Nacht*, since the project of his book was to comment on all of Schubert's songs.) Perhaps Reed was concerned also with listeners. If his advice to stop at bar 100 were to be followed, not only would it allow listeners to hear the "wonderfully atmospheric" and "impressive" earlier parts of the song without then being embarrassed by the "trivial" and "perfunctory" final parts.⁸⁸⁸ It would also, Reed may have thought, give listeners (with a very good ear) the opportunity to sense the personal satisfaction of recognizing at least the outline of a rationally constructed tonal structure.

Following one of the branches of the fairly recent study of music analysis as an ideologically charged activity, the problems that scholars have had with sectional songs can also be regarded as gendered. In his article "Masculine Discourse in Music Theory" (1993), Fred Everett Maus points out that privileged and unprivileged concepts in what he names American mainstream music theory are closely related to binary oppositions traditionally associated with masculinity and femininity. As we shall see, these oppositions are reminiscent of the German-Austrian dichotomy which Kohlhäufel and Dittrich have observed in writings on Schubert, a fact which may explain the survival of the Beethoven and Schubert clichés in times and countries where the old conflict between Germany and Austria is hardly a topic of the day. Maus argues that, in music theory, a certain discourse has remained marginalized because it has been considered "feminine".⁸⁸⁹ This discourse, which Maus claims is

⁸⁸⁸ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 1985, p. 175.

⁸⁸⁹ Fred Everett Maus, "Masculine Discourse in Music Theory", in *Perspectives of New Music* 31 (Summer 1993), pp. 264-293.

based on how most people listen to music, is “data-driven”, “bottom-up”, and “in-time” since it conceives of music as the diachronic experience of its actual details and not as a synchronic structure derived as much from a pre-existent theory as from the music itself.⁸⁹⁰ It can certainly be argued that Maus is oversimplifying the “feminine” discourse when he claims that it is void of a governing theory,⁸⁹¹ but this does not make invalid his analysis of the aims and anxieties within the “masculine” discourse. With a point of departure in gender analysis of the discourse of the natural sciences, Maus argues that the dominating part of the American music theory profession regards the “feminine” way of approaching music as being all too passive and thus as being of little value. What upholders of the “masculine” discourse want to do, he says, is to control the music by finding its basic, synchronic structure. When a theorist or analyst writes about music in a way that allows him to be the active party and which makes the music a passive object of study, he allows himself to behave in a way which has traditionally been associated with masculinity.⁸⁹²

If Maus is right, already the choice of an object for analysis may be influenced by the “masculine” discourse, for it can be assumed that the analyst strives to find an object which allows him (or, indeed, *her*) to behave in the generally accepted, “masculine” way. Mies’ category of “symphonic” songs should be a safe choice. On the other hand, a music analyst who is a strong advocate of the masculine discourse *and* of Schubert may choose to invert Mies’ recommendations, choosing a song as his/her object for study for the very reason that it has not been recommended. For if it can be shown that a song which is normally considered to allow no other approach than the “feminine” one does, after all, contain a deep-level, diachronic structure, the greater the gain for Schubert as a “masculine” composer and the greater the triumph on the part of the “masculine” analyst. (I do not claim that such a driving force cannot have been part of my own studies.)

An inherent paradox in this theory of masculinity in music analysis is that an analyst who wants to be the “active” party in relation to the music will be “active” with the most success when studying pieces which are themselves constructed in an “active” way, at least as long as he stays within the framework of traditional analytical systems. For if the composer has consciously put a synchronic harmonic or motivic

⁸⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 269ff.

⁸⁹¹ Maus proposes that theorists/analysts should recognize the way they normally listen to music and let this influence their professional work. “As I see it”, he writes, “an aspiration to masculinity has distorted many writers’ images of music, insulating their account of music from common facts of musical experience”. *ibid.*, p. 265.

⁸⁹² Maus interprets the active-passive dichotomy in explicitly erotic terms and attributes to music theorists who strive to be “purely” masculine the following fear concerning their own “data-driven”, “bottom-up”, and “in-time” experiences as listeners: “When I listen, it’s sort of like the piece is fucking me! Yikes! I’m not going to write about *that!*” (*ibid.*, p. 281.) If Maus is right in attributing an erotic anxiety to the active-passive dichotomy in music analysis, it must be assumed that a further anxiety could arise if an analyst, who, with the aim of remaining active, rigidly applies for example Schenker’s *Ursatz*-theory to pieces of music, were to turn his attention to the relationship between himself and his theoretical Commander.

structure into the music, the greater the chances that the analyst will find such a structure. Perhaps, therefore, a notion of intimate, sworn brotherhood between an “active” analyst and an “active” composer is more apt to describe the driving force in the analytical enterprise than the idea of masculine domination over a feminine counterpart. This image also fits more easily with the fact that Beethoven veneration forms the historical background of much modern music analysis.

While I do think that these perspectives are relevant for the aim of understanding the depreciation of sectional songs, there is no reason to believe that they exhaust the subject. In order to arrive at a wider and/or deeper understanding, it may prove productive to consider other notions in twentieth-century society as parts of the context in which the depreciation took place. One such complementary notion is “progress”. As we saw in the review of previous scholarship, many twentieth-century texts on Schubert conceive of his *œuvre* according to such a scheme. The habit of thinking in such terms, which is evident for example in Mies’ (1954) discussion of Schubert’s *œuvre* of songs, was inherited from the nineteenth century, a time which “worshipped at the shrine of progress” as James Parsons (2004) puts it when discussing the question why so many writers “have disparaged the Lied before Schubert”.⁸⁹³ (In scholarly reception, what is true of art song before Schubert is normally true also of many of Schubert’s early songs.) The results of studies of the notion of progress in modern society, undertaken not only within musicology and literary history but also within disciplines such as psychology, sociology, and economic history, might enrich our understanding of the depreciation of sectional songs. A concept which is related to “progress” and which would probably also be worth considering in this context is “maturity”. For example, when attempting to pin down what distinguishes Schubert’s later songs from the earlier ones, George Grove claims that “there is more maturity in the treatment. His modulations are fewer”.⁸⁹⁴

It might also prove productive to study more closely the relationship between the Romantic notion of “depth” and twentieth-century analytical models. Earlier in this chapter I claimed that while *Liedesend* can be regarded as an early precursor of the aesthetic of absolute music which has governed much twentieth-century music analysis, the Romantic charge of the notion of absolute music had lost much of its grip by the twentieth century. But maybe more of it remained than I have assumed. Watkins (2004) claims not only that “[t]he concept of music’s ‘inner structure,’ so crucial to the twentieth century’s most prestigious analytical methods, has its origins in [E.T.A.] Hoffmann’s highly metaphorical fantasy of interiority”, but also that “[t]he depths that continue to tantalize analysts still contain the traces of Pietism, acoustical speculation, the discourse of the sublime, and geological stratification that were integral to Hoffmann’s conceptual framework”.⁸⁹⁵ Indeed, while it would be absurd to claim that twentieth-century music analysts who used

⁸⁹³ Parsons, “The eighteenth-century Lied”, 2004, p. 36.

⁸⁹⁴ Grove, *Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn*, 1951, p. 239.

⁸⁹⁵ Watkins, “From the Mine to the Shrine”, 2004, p. 207.

these “most prestigious analytical methods” were all equivalents of Hoffmann, or of Novalis’ Romantic hero Heinrich von Ofterdingen, their desire for “deep” musical structures may still have been tinted by a wish to protest against a modern world perceived to be shallow and depressingly disenchanting, and by a desire to relieve their minds of the strictures associated with that world. Pointing out a parallel between the idea of absolute music in early Romanticism and the idea of absolute poetry (or *poésie pure*) among later poets such as Edgar Allan Poe, Charles Baudelaire and Stéphane Mallarmé, Carl Dahlhaus identifies a concern whose relevance for many a twentieth-century music analyst would be worth investigating: “Absolute poetry, like absolute music, is esoteric: it appears as a thing of the avant-garde that, so to speak, is always fleeing the banal that it sees surrounding itself. And as the attacks on sentimentalism, beginning with those of Novalis and [Friedrich] Schlegel, show, the sentimental was considered to be the most vulnerable to trivialization”.⁸⁹⁶ Perhaps the music in a sectional song could appear to music analysts of the twentieth century as regrettably subservient to the whims of a text which seemed emotionally overwrought, a subservience felt to make the song as a whole a shallowly sentimental thing instead of a profoundly musical one. To show whether or not this was the case, however, it would be necessary to undertake more detailed studies and more detailed contextualizations of the scholarly texts in question.

What we can do with sectional songs today

It is a commonplace today that the reconstruction of an interpretation from a past era does not automatically make invalid later, diverging interpretations. And indeed, the idea which says that a modern interpretation of an old object or event is necessarily wrong if it is not in accordance with how the object or event was interpreted in its first context is as untenable as the presumption that our own interpretations are valid for everyone, in all times, and in all contexts. This means that the results of my attempts to reconstruct interpretations of sectional songs from Schubert’s circle of friends cannot simply be taken as mandatory instructions for how we, in our time, ought to listen to such songs. But what, then, are the consequences of my study? And what could be done to make sectional songs seem more valuable today?

I believe that my attempts to reconstruct historical interpretations have several consequences which may be regarded as valuable. Some of them can be considered aesthetic gains whereas others become valuable in relation to tasks which our time attributes to the discipline of history. In the following I will present some of each. Finally, I will discuss the good reasons for – and the ultimate impracticability of – separating personal, aesthetic concerns from historiographic ones when studying things of the past. In doing that, I will also put forward what I, personally, think is one of the aesthetic attractions of Schubert’s sectional songs.

⁸⁹⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 148.

Increasing a song's fitness to adhere to present criteria of value

The reconstruction of an historical interpretation of a sectional song may increase the song's value by helping it to adhere to aesthetic criteria of our time. For example, I have argued that it was possible to hear sectional songs as being unified in Schubert's time, although the unity was conceived of in other ways than in much modern music analysis. In a modern context in which unity in art is highly valued, this could be taken as good news since it makes it possible to argue that there is at least a fundamental similarity between sectional songs and canonic works of unified art. Sectional songs like *Die Bürgschaft*, *Die Nacht* and *Liedesend* are not constructed according to a unifying pattern such as sonata form, but they are still unified, one may claim. Conversely, those in our time who are equally or more interested in heterogeneity (not a rare thing in musicological writings from the last decades) may find that the attraction of *Die Bürgschaft* grows by the claim that certain passages in this song may have been heard as deviating from the whole.⁸⁹⁷

Turning to other aesthetic fields, my claim that Schubert's circle could hear at least parts of *Die Nacht* as being related to the solitary dwelling in a land of darkness, melancholy, and even of lugubriousness might help the song appeal to present-day readers of fantasy literature as well as to members of the Goth subculture.

Also the political aspects which I have argued were part of the interpretations of *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht* within Schubert's circle may serve to make these songs more attractive to recipients of today, granted that these recipients can identify with the political issues at stake. According to Dittrich (1997), the resistance that some of Schubert's songs encounter in our time is due mostly to the impression that the verbal texts of for example Klopstock, Schiller, and Ossian are no longer very relevant. (By the way, this contradicts the notion that the texts are of little importance for the appreciation of Schubert's songs.) But this impression is partly an illusion, she argues, for, "behind the surface of the text", many songs are "of greater immediate interest than one may think at first sight. Above all, very many texts should be understood as being political, namely as criticism of the Metternich Restoration".⁸⁹⁸

Hence, attempts to reconstruct interpretations from Schubert's circle may make sectional songs more fit to be accepted on the basis of present-day criteria of value. But, as we shall see, such attempts may also provoke a modification of those very criteria.

⁸⁹⁷ Rose Rosengard Subotnik's chapter "How Could Chopin's A-Major Prelude be Deconstructed?" may serve as an example of the interest in heterogeneity in parts of recent musicology. The chapter is found in her *Deconstructive Variations: Music and Reason in Western Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 39-147.

⁸⁹⁸ "[...] hinter der Oberfläche des Textes sind sie aktueller, als es auf den ersten Blick scheinen mag. Vor allem sind sehr viele Texte politisch, nämlich als Kritik an der Metternichschen Restauration zu verstehen". Dittrich, "Für Menschenohren", 1997, p. 167.

Widening our understanding of ourselves as well as of the past

The reconstruction of an interpretation of a past era, along with its cultural context(s), may serve an end obviously associated with the discipline of history, namely the increased understanding of actions of the past. Such increase may take the form of a reciprocal process, however, leading to a heightened awareness also of one's own interpretations and their historical situatedness. For if an interpretation of a work of art in the past appears to have depended on a complex pattern of aesthetic, philosophical, social, and other relationships, the same ought to be true about interpretations today. This insight may inspire us to study and make transparent our own interpretations of works of art, so that present-day aesthetic ideals are no longer allowed to govern tacitly. In the long run, this may inspire us to modify the criteria of value which we habitually employ. Such a modification would be the result of an "enlargement of the universe of human discourse" like that which Clifford Geertz regards as the desirable outcome of anthropology.⁸⁹⁹ With less obvious a confidence in cross-cultural understanding, but with a similar esteem for the widening of the personal horizon, the philosopher Christoph Hubig (1991), building on Hans-Robert Jauß, sees the recognition of the selective nature of acts of reception as a precondition for a process of reflection which takes away the very limitations of such acts.⁹⁰⁰ Recognizing that the modern interpretations of sectional songs are based on certain choices may thus form a first step towards less limited interpretations, although the aspect of choice will always be a constitutive element in interpretation. (The appeal of the illusion that restrictive choice-making can be overcome in interpretation is an issue to which I will soon turn.)

The study of old interpretations has the potential to teach us as much about ourselves as about the past, but for that potential to be fully realized, thorough comparison between interpretations old and new has to be undertaken. Such comparison should include a continuous discussion of the temporal, geographical, and social comprehensiveness or restrictedness of physical conditions of life, cultural habits, and whatever else constitutes what is referred to as contexts. To undertake such comparison means to strive to find ever finer degrees of contextual similarity and difference and, on the basis of that, ever finer degrees of similarity and difference between the interpretations. It may quite reasonably be remarked that the result of such comparison depends on the perspective of the person who compares. This, of course, is a basic truth about all interpretation, and to compare is in itself an interpretive act. Indeed, experience suggests that the search for cultural similarity or difference between self and other easily becomes an activity in which the comparing self sees what he wants to see. In the name of for instance progress or nationalism, an other may become an Other without any thorough comparison being undertaken. Attempts to *counter* such creation of difference may result in a similarly subjective

⁸⁹⁹ Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1993, p. 14.

⁹⁰⁰ Hubig, "Rezeption und Interpretation", 1991, p. 46.

choice to establish sameness.⁹⁰¹ But the subjective aspect does not have to become too serious a problem as long as a comparison is regarded as being always incomplete.⁹⁰² To compare two evaluations should be to go back and forth with no end, making thick descriptions of the interpretations compared, looking for ever finer nuances of similarity and difference.

The enlargement of our universe and the exposure of the limitations of any one interpretation may increase our experience and liberate our imagination.⁹⁰³ The composer and conductor Hans Zender (to whom I will return) considers the main significance of attempts at so-called historically faithful performance on original instruments to be the “breaking” (Brechung) of the prevailing, simple image of the music, and the “alienation” (Verfremdung) of what we as listeners are used to hearing. When listening to such a performance, one suddenly sees “the image of a dear master two- and threefold, from different sides, as it were, from different perspectives. And this is also the point of departure for a totally unorthodox treatment of old texts, for what the French name ‘lecture’ and which one could translate with ‘individually interpretative reading’”.⁹⁰⁴ Such liberation of the imagination may result not only from attempts at reconstruction in performance, but also from attempts to reconstruct historical interpretations.

The historian and the artist

According to Tomlinson (1984), works of art should be regarded as “signs (or rather complexes of signs), communications to our culture from the more or less foreign

⁹⁰¹ Such “an explicitly political stance”, as the author himself names his choice to favour sameness over difference, is found in Kofi Agawu, “Contesting Difference. A Critique of Africanist Ethnomusicology”, in *The Cultural Study of Music*, 2003, pp. 227-237. Quotation from p. 228.

⁹⁰² This is supported by Dahlhaus’ claim that “[...] history can withstand what Jürgen Habermas has called the dialectics of ‘knowledge and interest’ – i.e. the difficulty that an ineradicably subjective element is apparently both a condition for and a barrier to historical insight – by subjecting them [=the dialectics] to a continuing process of reflection. Historians can keep the problem at bay, as it were, by probing it with ever greater refinement. [...] In a rational discussion, the claim that an historian is holding to the notions of objectivity and impartiality means no more than that he has made his own interests and his own partiality themselves the object of historical reflection. (For history, like philosophy, is by nature a self-reflecting discipline that can use the tools at its disposal to objectify and study its own premises.)” Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robison (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), pp. 86f. (Originally published in German as *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte*, 1967.)

⁹⁰³ That the task of scholarship is to offer alternatives to our own interpretations, and, in the first place, to our own questions, is advocated by Geertz: “The essential vocation of interpretive anthropology is not to answer our deepest questions, but to make available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys, have given, and thus to include them in the consultable record of what man has said”. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1993, p. 30.

⁹⁰⁴ “Man sieht das Bild eines geliebten Meisters plötzlich doppelt und dreifach, sozusagen von verschiedenen Seiten, aus verschiedenen Perspektiven. Und hier ist auch der Ansatz für einen völlig unorthodoxen Umgang mit alten Texten, für das, was die Franzosen ‘lecture’ nennen, und was man mit ‘individuell-interpretierender Lesart’ übersetzen könnte”. Hans Zender, “Schuberts ‘Winterreise’. Notizen zu meiner ‘komponierten Interpretation’”, in the author’s *Wir steigen niemals in denselben Fluß. Wie Musikhören sich wandelt* (Freiburg, Basel, Vienna: Herder, 1996), p. 84.

cultures we imagine to have given them rise”.⁹⁰⁵ New interpretations of works of art are conceivable, he admits, but “we should resist this approach” unless we are to “run the risk, greater or less according to the distance of their original context from ours, of arbitrarily assigning them meaning derived from our own culture but not necessarily imaginable in theirs”.⁹⁰⁶ It is certainly important that historians strive to avoid arbitrary attribution of meaning. But, apart from the fact that works of art are normally not conceived as communications to a later period in history, a general neglect of new interpretations results in an impoverished view of history and creativity. For if historical studies of interpretations of works of art are to tell us something about differences and similarities between times in history, and also if they are to serve as starting points for new interpretations, it is necessary that we do not restrict our attention to the “original context”.

Approaching a death of the composer similar to the death of the author which took place in literary studies already in the 1960s, Lawrence Kramer (2003) presents the recipient as the composer’s creative equal. With his concept of “constructive description” – referring to verbal statements which fill in the hermeneutic gaps in a piece of music and which therefore do not “decode the music or reproduce a meaning already there in it” but which instead “attach themselves to the music as an independent form or layer of appearance” – Kramer pinpoints the way music, like other objects, takes on new meanings through the agency of its interpreters.⁹⁰⁷ Such views on meaning in art, I think, ideally have different implications for performers and audiences on the one hand and for historians on the other. While performers and audiences may let historiographic aims govern their interpretations if they like, they should also feel free to interpret objects in new ways and so to participate creatively (and not *re-creatively*) in the formation of culture. To interpret a song (or some other object) without attempting to come close to how the composer and his intended audience interpreted it could be referred to as *artistic interpretation*. Such interpretation, which may be related to personal aesthetic taste or political views, may be expressed through singing and playing, but it can also be manifested in speech or writing. When undertaken openly, with no pretence to tell the truth about the past, it is nothing more and nothing less than a necessary constituent of our lives as interpretive beings.

But when artistic interpretations make unscrupulous use of history, they may be as dangerous as they are creative. Narrations in which temporally remote events are drawn upon in order to support a claim or an action in the present time tend towards a kind of colonialism if they use a rhetoric which suggests a historiographic angle in spite of the fact that little attempt at historical study has been made. Narrations about the history of art song work in this way when they try to attribute a specific notion of stylistic progress to Schubert in spite of the fact that there

⁹⁰⁵ Tomlinson, “The Web of Culture”, 1984, p. 358.

⁹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 358.

⁹⁰⁷ Kramer, “Subjectivity Rampant!”, 2003, p. 128.

is much to suggest that this notion does not account for his concerns as a composer of songs. In this respect Tomlinson is right in warning against attributing to historical objects meanings that they did not have at the time when they were created, and against attributing to historical subjects ideas which were never theirs.

One of the most important tasks of historians is thus constantly to problematize artistic interpretations. An historian interprets too, but a part of her job must be to fathom the interpretations of historical subjects. Importantly, though, such historiographic endeavour need not be restricted to the study of interpretations within an object's very first context. Artistic interpretations of a single object at different points in history may also be subjected to historical study, as is done within the field of reception history.

Moreover, a profound historiographic knowledge of the interpretation history of an object has much to contribute to new, artistic interpretations. For, as Zender says, such knowledge may provide other interpretations than those which we intuitively consider to be normal, so that history serves as a source of provocation for the creative use of historical objects. Hence, historical study has the potential not only to identify artistic interpretations of Schubert's songs in our time as being of the artistic kind, but also of vitalizing such artistic interpretation. A development like the one which has taken place in opera is quite conceivable also in the realm of art song. In opera, contemporary directors feel free to shape scenery and acting in new ways in order to give the performance a meaning deviating more or less clearly from the author's and the composer's intentions.⁹⁰⁸ That performances of art song are normally more conservative than many opera performances is hardly a controversial claim. Whereas an opera may be relocated to another time in history, and while parts of it may be omitted, art songs are normally performed in the familiar format of a Lied recital and with no obvious modifications of the songs. Cuts such as that which John Reed suggests for *Die Nacht* (see page 265) have in no way become a common feature in performance.

Exceptions to the standardized performance of art song do exist, though. A case in point is Hans Zender's *Schubert's Winterreise. A Composed Interpretation*, a reworking of Schubert's song cycle first performed in 1993 and recorded the year after. Zender's "composed interpretation" is to be performed by a singer accompanied by an orchestra with a wide variety of instruments. The score is full of added repeats and even newly composed portions of music. Zender has also undertaken a large number of stylistic modifications, such as introducing explicit folk idioms and folk instruments, expressionist *Sprechgesang*, and pictorial effects like a wind machine. In a short essay, Zender describes his undertaking as being based on a wish to take Schubert's ideas a step further, and also to blend "several aesthetic perspectives"

⁹⁰⁸ If a particular new artistic interpretation is repeated many times and has many imitators, it may itself certainly become a standard against which other interpretations may rebel. Today, the most provocative way of performing *Der Ring des Nibelungen* would probably be to let the characters appear in furs and feathered helmets, just as in Richard Wagner's days.

(mehrere ästhetische Perspektiven) in order to make manifest the many stylistic references in Schubert's music, including those which can be perceived as such only in our time.⁹⁰⁹

Any lively and engaging performance of a piece of music, Zender says, "requires the interpreter's creative effort, his temperament, his intelligence, his sensibility which has developed via the aesthetic of his own time". With a phrase reminiscent of Kramer's "constructive description", Zender refers to the interpreting performer as a co-author who engages in "creative modification" (schöpferische Veränderung).⁹¹⁰ Therefore it is a little surprising to note that Zender, at the very end of his essay, implies that the mission of his "composed interpretation" is, after all, to break through "the aesthetic routine of our reception of the classics" (die ästhetische Routine unserer Klassiker-Rezeption) in order to regain the "fundamental impulse" (Ur-Impulse) and "existential force of the original" (existentielle Wucht des Originals), namely the sense of dread which he assumes was provoked by the first performances of the cycle.⁹¹¹

Another creative encounter with *Winterreise* was undertaken in Sweden by the director and dramaturge Jesper Hall, the singer Sven Kristersson, and the pianist Olof Höjer in *En vinterresa (A Winter's Journey)*, performed for the first time in 1999. In several respects the project constituted a deviation from the typical twentieth-century Lied recital. Most notably, fourteen songs of a total twenty-four in Schubert's cycle were selected to form part of a story of a modern winter's journey that was told, sung and acted. Certain stylistic departures from the classical vocal tradition were made, and the last song, *Der Leiermann*, was sung without piano accompaniment. The physical setting was unusual too, in that the audience was to be seated around café tables instead of sitting in rows. But while the project – which Kristersson refers to as a "musical stand-up tragedy" (musikalisk ståupptragedi)⁹¹² – deviated in many ways from what is normally expected from a performance of *Winterreise*, the intention was to "create an atmosphere approaching that which arose when Schubert and his friends gathered to make music".⁹¹³ Using modern means, Hall, Kristersson and Höjer wanted to "make Schubert's and Müller's poetic-musical universe accessible" to "an audience which lacks a preconception of Lieder and the form of the Lied recital".⁹¹⁴ Hence, as in the case of Zender's "composed interpretation", the aim was to use a performance with a partly novel form to project to a modern audience an effect which

⁹⁰⁹ Zender, "Schuberts 'Winterreise'", 1996, p. 86.

⁹¹⁰ "Es bedarf des schöpferischen Einsatzes des Interpretierenden, seines Temperamentes, seiner Intelligenz, seiner durch die Aesthetik der eigenen Zeit entwickelten Sensibilität". *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁹¹² www.svenkristersson.se

⁹¹³ "skapa en atmosfär som närmade sig den som uppstod då Schubert samlades med sina vänner för att musicera". Sven Kristersson, "En vinterresa – arbetet med en musikteaterföreställning" (Master thesis, Academy of Music and Drama, Gothenburg, 2001), p. 5.

⁹¹⁴ "Hur kommunicerar man då *Winterreise* till en publik som saknar förförståelse för lieder och romanskonstformen? För att göra Schuberts och Müllers poetiskt-musikaliska universum tillgängligt för dem, skulle det knappast fungera att framföra cykeln på vanligt vis [...]". *ibid.*, p. 4.

Winterreise is thought to have had when performed among Schubert's friends. While one may instinctively assume that the two reworkings of *Winterreise* here mentioned were based on what I have called artistic interpretations of the historical object, Zender's and Kristersson's essays suggest that their intentions were related to historiography.

Such cases apart, I want to emphasize the legitimacy of using Schubert's art songs to make something more emphatically new. Claes Olsson's short film *M.A. Numminen Meets Schubert* (Finland, 1996) seems to be an example of that. There the Finnish singer M.A. Numminen sings Schubert's *Ständchen* (D.957/4) in his deliberately choking voice while circling with a car in a garden where links to Schubert's time (women in *Biedermeier* dresses) and works (the recurring image of a goldfish may refer to the captured fish in *Die Forelle*, D.550) intermingle with satirical references to gender clichés in the twentieth century. The film can easily be seen as questioning such uniforming gender stereotypes, a task which it would be difficult to claim that Schubert and his friends associated with his *Ständchen*.

But neither *Ständchen*, nor the songs in *Winterreise* are sectional songs. In what new ways could *Die Bürgschaft*, *Die Nacht*, and *Liedesend* be used today? Actually, I think I have already provided an example. For not only have I made these songs serve as objects for historical study. When writing about them I have treated them artistically too, thus doing what I have claimed that historians should avoid. Let me turn once more to the question of unity versus heterogeneity to show what I mean.

***Die Bürgschaft*, *Die Nacht*, and *Liedesend* for our time**

From the perspective of the twentieth-century Schubert scholarship which regarded musical unity as a mainstay of any valuable song, it could be argued that my tracing of a recurrent harmonic and partly thematic scheme in *Liedesend* is the most important thing that I have accomplished. In Schubert's time also *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht* could probably be perceived to be unified, but, more than in *Liedesend*, the unities in those songs were of other kinds than those with which modern music analysis has normally been concerned. I have argued that *Die Bürgschaft* could be heard as being unified in the manner of a hierarchically constructed painting, and that *Die Nacht* could be heard as being emotionally unified in the manner of a "sweetly melancholic realm" of an English garden. However, perhaps a renewed analytical endeavour could show *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Nacht* to be unified in ways which were more familiar to twentieth-century music scholarship. For example, with regard to *Die Nacht* it was once suggested to me that I should consider the stepwise descent of a perfect fourth. This motif appears reasonably clearly at a few points (bars 4f, 26-29, 32f, 204f) and it can be traced also elsewhere, especially if one allows for all sorts of motivic transformation and for inclusion in other motifs. It is notoriously difficult to show that such motivic transformations were consciously crafted by the composer, but this fact does not lessen the potential significance of such analysis for listeners and analysts of a later time.

But be this as it may, for, as I hinted before, unification has gone out of fashion in parts of musicology. Unifying harmonic schemes or webs of motifs are not totally disregarded, but such unity may now be considered as only one of several aspects at play within a piece of music, other aspects indicating that there are other, complementary or contradictory unities, or that the song should be experienced in quite other terms. I do not refer here to the fact that different or contradictory things *may* be found in a single song. What I refer to is the notion that to hear a polyphony of aspects which rebuts every claim to a single, unified and all-embracing structure is an inherent part of everyone's experience of a song or other work of art. The literature theorist Robert Scholes proceeds from this notion in his critique of Stanley Fish's concept of "interpretive communities", arguing that the lack of unity within the reader reflects on the text: "Different, even conflicting, assumptions may preside over any reading of a single text by a single person. It is in fact these very differences – differences *within* the reader, who is never a unified member of a single unified group – it is these very differences that create the space in which the reader exercises a measure of interpretive freedom".⁹¹⁵

Have I not in this book presented *Die Bürgschaft*, *Die Nacht*, and *Liedesend* in a way which is in accordance with this notion of the necessarily plural nature of interpretation, pointing out layers of meaning, double messages, and uncertainties? For example, in *Die Nacht* I hear dread, pleasure of sweet melancholy, critique of those who revel in tearful sentiment, Enlightened desire to reach the realm of the sun, resignation, Romantic longing for what cannot be reached, and also a certain calm and reflective melancholy. Being familiar with Diabelli's addition, I can also perceive a certain open quality in Schubert's ending as well as nationalist overtones in the fanfares that accompany the master's last words. I also hear the absence of "normal" musical unity and the possible presence of alternative unities.

To be sure, considering the Neo-Platonic aesthetics in Schubert's circle, the search for such multiple meanings could be regarded as an anachronism. In his article "Einheit", Sulzer writes that a work of art "which is to be perfect or beautiful" must have "a definite nature [...], whereby it becomes *One* thing, of which one can form a definite idea", and that, together, the manifold parts of the work must "form the thing which the work should be, according to that idea".⁹¹⁶ However, one must not forget that while Sulzer attributes a low degree of value to art which does not constitute a unity and which does not form an ideal (which by definition is unified), he does not deny that such art exists. It is thus not anachronistic to regard works of art as being imperfect. But could such "imperfection" have some attraction in Sulzer's time too?

⁹¹⁵ Robert Scholes, *Textual Power. Literary Theory and the Teaching of English* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 154.

⁹¹⁶ "[...] daß jedes Werk, das vollkommen oder das schön seyn soll, ein bestimmtes Wesen haben müsse, wodurch es zu *Einem* Ding wird, davon man sich einen bestimmten Begriff machen kann; daß die mannigfaltigen Theile desselben so seyn müssen, daß eben dadurch das Werk zu dem Ding wird, das es nach jenem Begriff seyn soll". Sulzer, "Einheit", in *Allgemeine Theorie*, vol. 1 (1771), 2002, p. 302.

This is a more difficult question, but the mere strain that Sulzer and some of his contemporaries invest in arguing for unity, idealization etc. might perhaps be taken as an indication that what they sought to master had something deeply attractive to it. Also, I think that Dürhammer's and, especially, Kohlhäuf's studies indicate that the interpretations of works of art within Schubert's circle were not always consistent. Thus Scholes' assumption that different or even conflicting assumptions may govern a single reading seems to have at least some historical relevance.

In short, I think it is historically sound to assume that, to some degree, Schubert's circle perceived layers of meaning in sectional songs and other works of art. But this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that an historian, if her writings are to be valuable as historical scholarship, *must* emphasize the layers of meaning and the inherent contradictions to the extent that I have chosen to do. The internal differences and conflicts which Scholes attributes to every interpretation of a work of art are probably more acutely present in some cases of interpretation than in others. And what, we may ask, was more important to Schubert's circle: the unifying aspects of a song or its layers of meaning? I simply do not know. But I do know that I find the search for a polyphony of aspects within an object highly attractive. And this taste is most likely to have influenced the preoccupations and the rhetoric of my historical studies.⁹¹⁷

Without claiming complete insight into my own mind, I think I dare say that the appeal of this fashionable kind of polyphony is – (oh, yes) – multiple. Working according to its principles gives me the flattering impression of not having a one-track mind. Also, the search for a polyphonic structure appeals to a present-day ideology according to which dominating interpretations should be undermined, and perhaps even to the modern ideal of social equality. Dahlhaus makes a similar point when discussing the relative merits of, on the one hand, a historiographic strategy which gives priority to an *Urtext* or a *Fassung letzter Hand* at the cost of other versions of a composition, and, on the other hand, one which regards all versions as equally interesting. It is true, he admits, that the former strategy builds on a metaphysic with links to a classicist aesthetic of inspiration and genius. But it must also be acknowledged, he continues, that the notion that all versions and all interpretations are equally valid is no less dogmatic, since it comes so close to the instincts of a democratic society. “It is a fact that different versions co-exist, but that they may lay claim to equal aesthetic rights is a value judgement whose substance is no less metaphysic than the opposite value judgement”.⁹¹⁸ If the choice to regard all versions of a work of art as equally valid (say, the three versions of *Die Nacht*: Schubert's,

⁹¹⁷ A similar taste may be divined in David Gramit's recent “Afterword” to *The Unknown Schubert*, 2008, pp. 251-254. Especially see p. 252.

⁹¹⁸ “Daß verschiedene Versionen nebeneinander existieren, ist eine Tatsache; daß sie aber gleiches ästhetisches Recht beanspruchen dürfen, ist ein Werturteil, dessen Substanz nicht weniger metaphysisch ist als die des entgegengesetzten Werturteils”. Dahlhaus, “Textgeschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte”, 1991, p. 110.

Diabelli's, and Reed's) is dependent on instincts characteristic of democracy, the same should be true about the choice to regard all layers of meaning found in a work as being equally relevant. Moreover, beside its affinity to democracy, a polyphonic and, in particular, a contradictory structure may have some of that "post-modern appeal" which Annette Richards (2001) attributes to the free fantasia: "Fragmentary, subjective, open-ended", the free fantasia "simultaneously resists interpretation and offers itself promiscuously to multiple readings".⁹¹⁹

Paradoxically, I think that the choice to prioritize multiple meanings at the cost of unity allows me as an interpreter to enjoy a sense of comprehensiveness, a sense stemming from the intention to question the dominance of any one layer of meaning and the illusion that the interpretation is therefore ready to acknowledge all conceivable perspectives. This flattering and potentially hubristic sensation may shed light upon the fact that I find those sectional songs most interesting which invite Romantic interpretations. For the principle of not letting one layer of meaning remain unchallenged is reminiscent of the "infinite irony" of Romanticism and the resulting inner plurality of the Romantic interpretative subject. The infinite irony, an "unsettled hovering to and fro between contradictory views of the world" and a dismissal of "the usual notion of a uniform personal identity", can in turn be linked "to the humanist ideal of a *homo universalis*".⁹²⁰ This is a relationship which suggests that my choice to bring out multiple layers of meaning has at least part of its background in an age-old current in Western civilization. The manifestation may be different, but the human ideal may be mainly the same.

In short, I believe that some of the choices which I have made in my studies of three of Schubert's sectional songs are related to qualities which I would like to find in myself and in others. Since these qualities are in no way controversial in our time, it could certainly be argued that my thinking is characterized by a "Political Correctness" similar to that which Dittrich (1997) sees in those Schubert studies from the 1990s which present Schubert's oeuvre as constituting a relieving alternative to the allegedly sexist musical discourse associated with Beethoven.⁹²¹

Beyond the desire to engage in Schubert's works in a way that highlights qualities which I myself find desirable, my inclination to seek and underscore unresolved conflicts of interpretation has doubtless been influenced by the modern image of Schubert as a homeless wanderer, an image which Kohlhäufel recognizes as the cliché which has succeeded that of Schubert the typical Austrian.⁹²² The rise of this

⁹¹⁹ Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, 2001, p. 15.

⁹²⁰ "[...] die infinite Ironik – als unfixiertes Hin- und Herschweben zwischen gegensätzlichen Weltansichten – [gewinnt] den Charakter einer existentiellen Idealfigur. Diese verabschiedet die gewöhnliche Vorstellung uniformer personaler Identität [...] Der ironische Idealismus Schlegels besitzt mit seinem Existenzideal der allseitig gebildeten Persönlichkeit eine unverkennbare Affinität zum humanistischen Ideal des *homo universalis*". Peter L. Oesterreich, "Ironie", in *Romantik-Handbuch*, 2003, pp. 358f.

⁹²¹ Dittrich, "Für Menschenohren", 1997, pp. 173f.

⁹²² Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 1999, p. 28.

cliché was probably related to the fascination with *Winterreise* in the late twentieth century, for this song cycle is the one of Schubert's large-scale works which is most obviously about a homeless wanderer. That Zender's *Schubert's Winterreise. A Composed Interpretation* is informed by and contributes to the wanderer image is indicated by a passage in Zender's essay where he says that he wanted his version of the cycle to be "like an adventurous wandering" (wie eine abenteuerliche Wanderung) rather than "like a well-defined stroll" (wie ein wohldefinierter Spaziergang).⁹²³ In my case, around the time when I started to work on my dissertation, a fairly intense Schubert reception within my circle of friends in Lund started with late-night listening to *Winterreise*, a work which we regarded as absolutely central for the understanding of Schubert's oeuvre. I remember our annoyance when we listened to Zender's "composed interpretation" of the work. Importantly, this discontent did not stem from an impression that Zender was being unfaithful to the character of the cycle. On the contrary, we found the reworking totally redundant. We were convinced that the pain, insecurity, and restlessness which Zender exposes was clear enough in the original and that it was only being diminished when spelled out in such bold musical letters.⁹²⁴

All of this means that my study, which was intended to be a purely historiographic one, has also been marked by other concerns. In the choice between finality and clarity on the one hand and openness, confusion, and expansion on the other hand, I have chosen the latter. The term "cognitive tastes" which the literary theorist Barbara Herrnstein Smith employs to describe the relation between relativism and objectivism may be relevant also for this choice.⁹²⁵ And with Christoph Hubig we may regard some of my interpretative choices as being governed by particular "values as rules for finding a purpose" (see page 15), values manifested in traditions and institutions upon which I have relied in my thinking.

These constructivist insights are not new. In 1789, Schiller, building on Kant, wrote to his friend C.G. Körner that a person in whom the "feeling for beauty, for euphony and harmony" (Gefühl für Schönheit, für Wohlklang und Ebenmaaß) has awoken and become dominant cannot rest until "he resolves everything around him into unity, makes whole all fragments, completes everything that is defective".⁹²⁶

⁹²³ Zender, "Schuberts 'Winterreise'", 1996, p. 86.

⁹²⁴ Apart from our perception that the "wanderer" character was clear enough in Schubert's original, I think our negative reception of Zender's version was conditioned by a general embarrassment concerning his painterly effects and the general force of his musical utterance. With a Viennese critic whose review of Abbé Vogler's organ recital I quoted in Chapter 3, we might have claimed that "the true master does not need such garish means". The social implications of our discontent may have been similar to what I suggested with regard to the negative view of extensive declamation and musical painting held among high-brows in early-nineteenth-century Vienna.

⁹²⁵ Quoted in Everist, "Reception Theories", 2001, p. 401.

⁹²⁶ "[...] nicht ruhen kann bis er alles um sich in Einheit auflöst, alle Bruchstücke ganz macht, alles mangelhafte vollendet". Schiller, letter to C.G. Körner, 30 May, 1789. Quoted in Schmidt, "Menschlichschön' and 'kolossalisch'", 2004, pp. 188f.

The same probably applies to the discovery of multiple meanings and contradictions in an object of investigation.

This is not to say that I was lying or being overly pretentious when, in the introductory chapter, I said that I would attempt to reconstruct historically plausible interpretations of *Die Bürgschaft*, *Die Nacht*, and *Liedesend*. I do think there is reason to assume that *Die Bürgschaft* was interpreted as a kind of declamation, that *Die Nacht* was interpreted against the backdrop of the English garden and the free fantasia, and that Romantic notions of absolute music and of depth were of importance for the interpretation of *Liedesend*. It is also likely that some of my more detailed interpretations of the songs come close enough to those that were made within Schubert's circle of friends. At least, I have made no interpretation that I think *cannot* have been made by them. Still, historical and artistic interpretations of the songs intermingle in my book. And this is partly for the simple reason, I think, that while I have all along been eager to know how Schubert and his friends were thinking, spending so much time with the three songs I have also wanted them to provide me with personal aesthetic satisfaction. A more fundamental reason is probably that historical analyses of the kind that I have undertaken, analyses which go back and forth between text and context letting the one suggest what should be looked for in the other, do not proceed from (and will never reach) a full knowledge of the historical context of the interpretation. Hence, what I did was to try to make sense of the songs, and when my historical knowledge of the context did not tell me how this should be done, I had to fill in the blanks myself. In doing so, I used my own imagination and taste, marked by late-twentieth-century and early-twentyfirst-century culture.

This has not necessarily led to grave historical distortions, but it most probably means that I have not told the whole story about the interpretations of *Die Bürgschaft*, *Die Nacht*, and *Liedesend* within Schubert's circle. As I said in Chapter 1, it would be rash to hold that the evolutionary perspective which the twentieth century so often took when studying Schubert's sectional songs has no relevance for how his songs were interpreted within Schubert's circle. But it is not rash, I think, to claim that the historical relevance of that perspective was exaggerated. In offering alternative perspectives, I have probably also offered alternative exaggerations. Dahlhaus concisely formulates the limited and exaggerated, but not necessarily flawed nature of historical accounts:

It is a universally accepted commonplace that written history bears the imprint of the age in which it is written. Yet this does not necessarily mean that the past is distorted or maligned. It can also mean that not all insights into the past are possible at all times.⁹²⁷

I do believe that historical studies of interpretations of works of art can teach us something about the past and about ourselves, that they can liberate us as interpreters

⁹²⁷ Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, 1983, p. 107.

by showing that no interpretation is a given, and that they can remind us of the responsibility which comes with the freedom of what I have called artistic interpretation. Historiography should remind us that our interpretations are part of the play of life, that we *do* things when we interpret. This, in turn, ought to inspire reflection on what we achieve by the interpretations that we make and on what we could achieve by means of quite other interpretations. I do believe in all of this, but if historical studies are to serve these ends, one must always bear in mind that they are not themselves rid of artistic interpretation. For not only are historians likely to see mainly what their previous experiences predispose them to see. Historians are artists too, with convictions, demands, and aspirations which are not easily kept at bay.

Sammanfattning

Många av de sånger för en röst och piano som Franz Schubert (1797-1828) skrev under 1810-talet kom inom nittonhundralets musikforskning att framställas som estetiskt bristfälliga verk vars främsta värde ligger i att Schubert där övade upp vissa av de färdigheter som han senare behövde för att skapa sina egentliga "mästerverk". Särskilt otillfredsställande i sig själv, menade man, är de många långa sånger där den unge Schubert låter diktens semantiska innehåll ge upphov till ständiga byten av tempo, taktart, tonart, ackompanjemangsfiguration och melodisk stil, till recitativ, arioso och rent instrumentala passager, och till färgstarkt och omväxlande tonmåleri. Schuberts flitiga tillämpande av denna kompositionsprincip innebär att ett stort antal av hans tidiga sånger består av en rad på varandra följande sektioner. Dessa "sektionella" sånger ("sectional songs"), med vilka Schubert anknöt till en tradition med rötter i 1700-talet, utgör ämnet för min avhandling. Det överordnade syftet är att bidra till att avhjälpa den brist på historisk kunskap som nittonhundralets styvmoderliga behandling av sektionella sånger haft som följd. För att uppfylla det syftet försöker jag ta reda på hur tre av de sektionella sångerna tolkades inom den vänkrets som vanligtvis utgjorde Schuberts primära publik. Med "tolkning" syftar jag här inte primärt på musikens personliga förhållningssätt till ett musikverk, vilket ofta är vad som avses med ordet, utan på det att tillskriva någonting en mening.

Bevarade brev och andra anteckningar från Schubertkretsen indikerar att vännerna värdesatte Schuberts sektionella sånger, men det är ont om källor som avslöjar mer om hur de tolkade dessa verk. Därför undersöker jag också material från den samtida pressen i Wien med syftet att samla kunskap om hur sektionella sånger av Schubert och andra kompositörer betraktades i det wienska kulturlivet i stort. Denna kunskap, i kombination med resultaten av den grundliga litteratur- och idéhistoriska forskning om vänkretsens estetiska, filosofiska och politiska liv som genomfördes under de sista decennierna av 1900-talet, använder jag sedan för att försöka rekonstruera delar av den kontext inom vilken vänkretsen tolkade de aktuella sångerna. Att noggrant studera de tre sångerna i sig själva är förstås också en viktig del av arbetet, eftersom litterära och musikaliska stildrag som anknyter till genrer som samtiden kände väl till bör ha haft betydelse för kretsens tolkningar. Men kontextualisering är inte i sig nog för att låta oss komma nära vänkretsens tolkningar. Detta blir möjligt först när den insamlade kunskapen får ligga till grund för analyser som syftar till att lyfta fram specifika meningar som de enskilda sångerna kan ha tillskrivits inom vänkretsen.

Kapitel 1 rymmer avsnitt om terminologi, om tolkning som handling, om material och metod, om tidigare forskning, och avslutas med en presentation av Schubertkretsen. Den krets som här avses är en grupp unga män från bildad medelklass och lägre adel till vilken Schubert introducerades 1814. Dessa studenter

och nyblivna tjänstemän studerade gemensamt historia och filosofi och de både studerade och utövade flera konstarter. Ett av vännernas främsta syften var att forma en ungdom som kombinerade känsla för ”högre” värden med beredskap för konkret handling. Denna strävan var nära förbunden med idéer inom den tyska studentrörelsen och med Napoleonkrigens tysknationella patos. Den byggde också på en nyplatonisk estetik enligt vilken konsten ska förädla människan genom att vittna om en ideal värld. Redan från början fanns dock också romantiska tendenser i kretsen.

De källor som direkt säger något om hur kretsen tolkade Schuberts sektionella sånger diskuteras i kapitel 2. Dessa källor tyder på att en sektionell form inte var något hinder för uppskattning; tvärtom uttalade sig vännerna flera gånger mycket positivt om enskilda sektionella sånger. Tyvärr är det dock svårt att utläsa vad det var som gjorde att dessa sånger framstod som så värdefulla. Att sektionella sånger av mer etablerade kompositörer trycktes och såldes i Wien tyder på att sånger av det slaget uppskattades också utanför Schubertkretsen. Förklaringen till att sektionella sånger så pass sällan omskrevs i pressen är förmodligen att de främst framfördes i hemmen. Några tidningstexter som diskuterar sektionella sånger finns dock. De ger förmodligen inte någon fullständig bild av hur sektionella sånger tolkades i dåtidens Wien, men de anger åtminstone vissa begrepp som kunde anses relevanta i en diskussion om sådana verk. Begrepp som används är ”måleri”, ”högre, poetisk enhet”, ”ton”, ”karaktär” och ”hållning”. Eftersom läsarna förutsattes vara bekanta med begreppen är tidningstexterna numera bitvis svårförståeliga. Jag återkommer till dem i kapitel 3, 4 och 5.

I kapitel 3 diskuterar jag *Die Bürgschaft* (D.246), Schuberts sektionella tonsättning från 1815 av Friedrich Schillers ballad med samma namn. I Schillers dikt sätts vänskapen mellan två män på prov, men till slut segrar denna över tyranni och cynism. Musikforskaren David Gramit (1987) hävdar att den sektionella form med vilken Schubert tog sig an det omväxlande innehållet i denna dikt stod i kontrast till vänkretsens estetik, en estetik som han menar gick ut på enkelhet och klarhet. För att förklara varför vännerna ändå uppskattade *Die Bürgschaft* och liknande sånger antar Gramit att de ansåg det vara viktigare att en sång uttryckte moraliska ideal (till exempel viljan till ädla dåd) än att den var estetiskt fullödig. Denna förklaring är problematisk eftersom skönhet, av tiden definierad som enhet i mångfald, var så nära knuten till kretsens moral och inte minst till dess vänskapsbegrepp. Detta vänskapsbegrepp behandlas i en artikel i kretsens årsbok *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge* (vol. 1, 1817) och bör ha varit en viktig bakgrund för deras tolkning av Schillers ”Die Bürgschaft”. Enligt artikeln uppstår känslan av vänskap när man i en annan människa ser en representation av ett mänskligt ideal. Närvaron av idealet må vara en illusion – det är skenet som skapar känslan av vänskap. Redan vänskapen i sig var alltså beroende av representationen av ett ideal, konstens högsta uppgift. Att representera vänskap på ett estetiskt bristfälligt sätt bör därmed ha betraktats som en självmotsägelse.

Men hur skulle då en tonsättning av Schillers dikt vara beskaffad för att representera ett ideal som kunde ge upphov till vänskap? Enligt kretsens nyplatoniska estetik måste ett konstverk som ska representera ett ideal föra samman till en enhet alla de delar som hör till idealet och utesluta allt som inte hör dit. Naturen skulle således förädlas, inte speglas. För att försöka sätta Schuberts sångtonsättning i relation till denna uppgift vänder jag mig till den samtida deklamationen, alltså till det konstfulla uppläsandet av dikt. Uppgifter från Schubertkretsen och texter i pressen tyder på att sångtonsättning kunde betraktas just som en form av deklamation. Källäget är gynnsamt eftersom deklamation, till skillnad från sångtonsättning, var ett ofta och grundligt omskrivet ämne.

Deklamationskulturen i Wien präglades bland annat av en motsättning mellan anhängare och kritiker av en extensiv stil med stora vokala kontraster och häftigt gestikulerande. Åtminstone i efterhand är det lätt att finna likheter mellan den extensiva stilen och Schuberts *Die Bürgschaft*, en sång med tydliga musikaliska distinktioner mellan diktens olika roller, med omväxlande tonmåleri och med starka känsloutbrott. Det är troligt att sången bland annat anknöt till den teori om ”naturliga tecken” som rönt stor uppmärksamhet alltsedan 1700-talet och som hade en av sina främsta konstnärliga uttrycksformer i melodramens kombination av deklamation, pantomim och musik. I motsats till orden, vars meningsinnehåll är ”arbiträrt”, ansågs röstens toner och kroppens rörelser uttrycka människans känslor på ett ”naturligt” och därför särskilt gripande sätt.

Kritiker av den extensiva deklamationsstilen påpekade ofta att användandet av naturliga tecken inte får drivas för långt, att deklamationen inte får övergå i teater och att diktens detaljer inte får framhävas på bekostnad av helheten. Dessa ståndpunkter anknyter till den konstsyn Schubertkretsen företrädde. Ett uttryck som talar till människans ”inre” med hjälp av en skön helhet, och som inte enbart kittlar sinnena med färgstarka detaljer, ansågs vara bäst lämpat att representera ett ideal och att åstadkomma den förädling av människosinnet som kretsen eftersträvade. ”Karakterisering” var ett begrepp som syftade på framställandet av en sådan helhet och som stod i kontrast till den ”personifiering” av enskilda roller som skådespelare förväntades ägna sig åt.

Ansåg alltså Schubertkretsen att *Die Bürgschaft* lade för mycket vikt vid enskildheterna och för litet vid helheten? Ytterligare skäl för vännerna att ta avstånd från denna sång vore i så fall det dåliga rykte som den effektsökande teatern på Wiens förortsscener hade inom bildningseliten och uppfattningen inom denna elit att kraftiga känslouttryck, ljudhärming och stora gester hör hemma hos mindre bildade människor och hos djur.

En hjälp för att komma närmare ett svar på frågan hur Schubertkretsen uppfattade Schuberts tonsättning är att jämföra denna med de konkreta instruktioner för hur just Schillers ”Die Bürgschaft” ska deklamerats som man finner i den wienske deklamationsteoretikern Johann Carl Wötzels *Unmittelbar praktische Declamirschule* (1816). Intressant nog ger Wötzel instruktioner som påminner starkt om hur Schubert

tonsatte dikten, trots att han också säger sig vilja motverka överdrifter till förmån för skönhet och förädling. Wötzel talar noga om hur olika delar av dikten ska få sina adekvata uttryck, och åtminstone ur ett nutida perspektiv är det inte några små effekter han eftersträvar. Man måste dock lägga märke till att han säger att allt detta har till uppgift att "antyda" innehållet i dikten. Kanske var uttrycken i det som bildningseliten betraktade som överdriven deklamation därmed *ännu* större än de Wötzel angav och de Schubert skrev in i sin sång.

Hur som helst bör man komma ihåg att de som beklagade sig över "teatralisk" och "överdriven" deklamation inte nödvändigtvis förespråkade ett stillsamt mumlande. När deklamationens uppgift var att uttrycka en inre uppenbarelse av ett ideal fick den visserligen inte göra stor sak av oviktiga yttre detaljer, men den var i sin fulla rätt att använda ett språk karakteriserat av vad man kallade "entusiasm" och "schvung". Ett sådant uttryck skulle vara kraftfullt men det skulle också utgöra en enhet, för begreppen entusiasm och schvung var knutna till det Klopstockska odets högtflygande, så kallat "lyriska" stil och därigenom till det genibegrepp som associerades med förmågan att klart och tydligt föreställa sig ett ideal. I Wötzels *Schöne Vorlesekunst* (1817) beskrivs effekten av sådan deklamation som något som binder samman åhörarna i en exalterad sinnesstämning med politiskt radikala implikationer. Deklamation som är entusiastisk men inte överdrivet extensiv stämmer därför väl överens med Schubertkretsens strävanden.

Den omväxlande musiken i *Die Bürgschaft* bör åtminstone delvis ha kunnat uppfattas som en parallell till sådan deklamation, för "lyrisk" dikt ansågs ha en motsvarighet i musik där en stor mångfald ryms inom en fast enhet. Mångfald finns det i Schuberts sång, och förmodligen också ett slags enhet. En ledtråd till denna enhet finns återigen i Wötzels instruktioner till den som ska deklamera Schillers dikt. Syftet med deklamationen av denna dikt, säger han, är att uttrycka kraften hos vänskapen mellan huvudpersonen Möros och hans vän. Detta uttryck, som också är vad Schubertkretsen bör ha förknippat med dikten, kräver enligt Wötzel en allvarlig och värdig "hållning" (*Haltung*). Begreppet "hållning", så som det här används, utgör en länk till målarkonsten där det stod för förhållandet mellan det som tycks befinna sig nära betraktaren och det som tycks vara längre bort. Inom tidens måleriestetik var sådan "hållning" nära knuten till en typ av hierarkisk struktur i tavlan där detaljerna utgör ett mindre antal grupper som alla är underordnade en enda klart framträdande huvudgrupp. När Wötzel talar om "hållning" tycks han alltså implicera ett helt system för att åstadkomma enhet i mångfald. Viktigt är att redan estetikern Georg Friedrich Sulzer hävdade att detta system ska användas också inom andra konstarter än måleriet. Med detta som utgångspunkt argumenterar jag för att Schuberts växling mellan recitativ och arioso bör ha kunnat åstadkomma en "hållning" som exponerar den ideala lojalitet Möros och hans vän visar mot varandra.

Det finns dock problem med en sådan tolkning. Särskilt gäller det ett väl avgränsat pianomellanspel (nästan ett pianostycke i mikroformat) som tar fasta på bröllopet mellan huvudpersonen Möros syster och hennes fästman, en händelse som

nämns i dikten men som både Schiller och Wötzel låter passera helt utan målade beskrivningar. Genom sitt pianomellanspel i tidstypiskt ”kvinnlig” stil låter Schubert bruden och bröllopet rycka fram mot åhöraren och ger därmed dikten som helhet en något annorlunda ”hållning” än den fick av Schiller och än den får när den deklameras enligt Wötzels instruktioner. Schuberts tilltag att lyfta fram denna detalj kan ses som ett brott mot den hierarkiska enhet vars syfte var att representera vänskapen mellan de båda männen, så Schubertkretsen bör ha kunnat betrakta mellanspelet som något som drar ner totalintrycket. Men det kan också tänkas att det hade en viss attraktionskraft, för det finns flera exempel på att medlemmar av kretsen själva inte levde upp till den estetiska och medvetandemässiga disciplin som de ansåg att mänskligheten behövde. Särskilt gällde det en av Schuberts närmaste vänner, Franz von Schober, vars utsvävningar starkt bekymrade de äldre vännerna.

Som avslutning på kapitlet om *Die Bürgerschaft* diskuterar jag den potentiella betydelsen av Schillers filosofiska skrift *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen*. Det är känt att den lästes i Schubertkretsen, men eftersom den är så influerad av Kant, vars filosofi kretsen inte tycks ha studerat, är det inte troligt att de tog till sig hela dess innehåll. Här prövar jag dock möjligheten att Schillers dynamiska moralbegrepp, där en av konstens uppgifter är att förfina redan känd moral, skulle kunna användas som försvar för Schuberts förändring av ”hållningen” i Schillers dikt. I dikten är Möros lojalitet och emotionella känslighet nästan enbart riktad mot vännen. Genom att framhäva bröllopet antyder dock Schubert att Möros inte bara rusar iväg från bröllopet när det är avklarat, vilket man kan få en uppfattning av i dikten, utan att han faktiskt har förmåga att reagera på ett känslomässigt adekvat sätt i förhållande till systemen. Schubert gör alltså Möros mer flexibel och inkännande, egenskaper som Schiller själv ansåg att människan bör sträva efter. Även om inte Schubert eller någon av hans vänner tog Schillers dynamiska konst- och moralfilosofi till sig så kan denna filosofi mycket väl beskriva vad Schubert faktiskt gjorde – att han med sin konst ibland ifrågasatte de strikta principer kretsen höll sig med.

Av Schuberts sektionella sånger tycks vänkretsen ha varit särskilt förtjust i Ossian-tonsättningarna. Kapitel 4 ägnas en av dessa, *Die Nacht* (D.534), en tonsättning från 1817 av ett utdrag ur en tysk översättning av en av James Macphersons Ossian-dikter. Texten består av två monologer. I den första beskriver en bard hur det är att vara ute i nattens dystra mörker. I den andra svarar en hövding att människan inte kommer tillbaka efter sin död men att natten i alla fall alltid följs av morgon. Hövdingen avslutar med att mana till sång och dans i väntan på gryningen, då han och ynglingarna han omger sig med ska bestiga kullarna för att jaga. Schuberts tonsättning av texter som denna kan sättas i samband med det höga värde vänkretsen tillskrev mytologi och gamla sagor. I årsboken *Beiträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge* citeras Friedrich Schlegel som tillskriver sagan en särskild kraft att väcka patriotiska och manliga stämningar. Detta stämmer väl med kretsens ambitioner. Viktigt i sammanhanget är att man i det tyska området kunde betrakta det skotska som en besläktad kraft i ”frigörelsen” från fransk kulturell dominans.

Texten i *Die Nacht* är full av referenser till skogen, vattnen och kullarna i Ossians landskap, de skotska Högländerna. Den kulturella konstruktionen av Högländernas struktur var i sin tur beroende av en annan landskapsgenre, den "naturliga", engelska landskapsträdgården som uppstått under 1700-talet som en reaktion mot den symmetriska franska barockträdgården. I likhet med den engelska trädgården var Högländerna tänkta att upplevas som en serie scener, ordnade efter varandra för bästa känslomässiga effekt. I Wien hade engelska trädgårdar börjat anläggas på 1770-talet, och det hände att Ossian-dikter lästes där som hjälp för ögat att uppfatta landskapet på rätt sätt.

Den landskapsscenen som målas upp i bardens monolog i första halvan av *Die Nacht* har många likheter med vad C.C.L. Hirschfeld, en av 1700-talets inflytelserika trädgårdsteoretiker, kallade ett "milt melankoliskt område". När barden berättar om en omkringirrande vandrare blir landskapsbeskrivningen dock mer skrämmande, vilket kulminerar i bardens begäran att få komma in till sina vänner. Hövdingens monolog kan sedan förstås som en förflyttning i riktning mot en ljus och skön morgonscen, en typ av rörelse som var en av många möjliga i engelska trädgårdar.

Schuberts musik i *Die Nacht* anknyter till landskapsbeskrivningen genom att anta formen av en fri fantasi. Den fria fantasin var en improvisatorisk genre som brukade beskrivas som en musikalisk motsvarighet till just den engelska trädgården. Liksom stigen i en sådan trädgård vindlade fantasin hit och dit och lät åhörarna uppleva den ena känslan efter den andra. Ett av tidens diskussionsämnen vad gäller såväl fria fantasier som engelska trädgårdar var förhållandet mellan frihet och sammanhang. Enligt många kritiker borde regeln om enhet i mångfald inte upphävas av den vindlande vandrigen mellan olika scener. Enheten fick gärna vara mindre uppenbar, men den skulle finnas kvar. Ibland beskrevs enheten som en Ariadnetråd som leder vandraren rätt väg genom labyrinten.

Efter att ha analyserat texten och musiken i *Die Nacht* som en vandring genom ett landskap lägger jag fram några tolkningar som bör ha kunnat få stöd i Schubertkretsen. Enligt en av dem utgör sången en vandring från mörker och passivitet till ljus och aktivitet. En sådan tolkning stämmer väl med den optimism som dominerade under kretsens tidiga år. Vid den tid när Schubert skrev *Die Nacht* hade optimismen emellertid mattats, delvis som en följd av det repressiva österrikiska styret som följde efter Napoleonkrigen. Kretsens medlemmar kände väl till att myndigheterna betraktade dem som revolutionärer och att de hölls under uppsikt. En mindre optimistisk tolkning av *Die Nacht* är också möjlig, eftersom den ljusare delen av sången innehåller flera avsnitt i moll och eftersom musiken, efter att triumfatoriskt ha trumpetat i C-dur, till sist faktiskt slutar i a-moll.

De negativa politiska och personliga upplevelserna gjorde dock inte vänkretsen till cyniker, åtminstone inte omedelbart. Istället bidrog upplevelserna till att romantisera det nyplatoniska förhållandet till idévärlden. Idealen väntades inte längre framträda här och nu för att förädla jordelivet utan framhölls istället som föremål för längtan. *Die Nacht* låter sig lätt tolkas i enlighet med romantikens

tre delade historiska modell, enligt vilken nuet är en mörk jämmerdal mellan ett tänkt, forntida Arkadien och ett hägrande Elysium. Hövdingens löfte om morgonens jakt kan då uppfattas som ett uttryck för romantisk längtan snarare än upplyst optimism.

Det ska dock poängteras att trots att *Die Nacht* återvänder till mörkret så finns det inga referenser till skräck mot slutet. Sången skulle därför kunna tolkas på ytterligare ett sätt. Enligt trädgårdsteoretikern Hirschfeld är ett milt melankoliskt område (den typ av scen där sången börjar) en plats som inspirerar fantasin till en särskilt fri flykt, så man skulle kunna hävda att hela sången äger rum i en sådan scen. När fantasierna om nattens gruvligheter blir för hemska väljer barden att i tanken stiga in till sina vänner, men den slutliga återgången från dur till moll blir ett tecken på att scenen i grunden fortfarande är densamma och att barden inte låter sig fullständigt föras bort av sina fantasier. Därmed skulle sången faktiskt kunna ha drag av den fattning och enhet i karaktären som kretsen fortfarande bör ha haft som ideal, alla besvikelser till trots. Enligt Schiller är melankoli förnuftets sätt att hantera överväldigande sorg. *Die Nacht* kan ha erbjudit kretsen en sådan melankoli, som ett acceptabelt läge mellan optimistisk aktivitet och skräckslagen passivitet.

I en kortare exkurs efter kapitel 4 behandlar jag det tillägg till *Die Nacht* som genomfördes inför förstautgåvan 1830, två år efter Schuberts död. En otvetydigt optimistisk jägarsång fick nu utgöra sångens slut, vilket kan sättas i samband med den förnyade optimism som den tysknationella rörelsen upplevde detta revolutionsår.

Kapitel 5 behandlar *Liedesend* (D.473), en tonsättning från 1816 av en dikt skriven av en medlem av vänkretsen, Johann Mayrhofer. Dikten berättar om en gammal kung som dystert stirrar in i den nedåtgående solen. Hans trubadur försöker liva upp honom, men kungen konstaterar att sångens trollkraft nu tagit slut. Schuberts tonsättning avviker från *Die Bürgschaft* och *Die Nacht* på så sätt att det under dess sektionella yta finns en strofisk struktur. Denna struktur är märklig på flera sätt. Den är svår att upptäcka, den överensstämmer inte med diktens strofer, den har ingen tydlig början och den är inte tonalt sammanhållen.

Vänkretsen kunde förmodligen tolka den underliggande strofiskheten på flera sätt. Inom både musik och deklamation fanns det i Wien en esoterisk riktning som hade sin bakgrund i en reaktion på den utbredning och kommersialisering som konsterna hade upplevt efter barockens slut. De som gärna ville höja folkmassornas bildning med hjälp av konst kunde bli besvikna när de såg vilken konst dessa människor faktiskt föredrog. Just det skedde i Schubertkretsen. En annan orsak för bildningseliten att ägna sig åt esoterisk konst hade att göra med dess egen status, för när fler och fler ägnade sig åt konst blev elitens egen position mindre exklusiv. Inom musikkulturen blev Beethovens svårbegripliga verk elitens nya mått på musik för verkliga kännare. Schubert var en stor anhängare av Beethoven, och eftersom *Liedesend* döljer en strofisk struktur som det krävs koncentration och lyhördhet för att vaska fram kan den ha uppfattats som ett bidrag till den esoteriska musikkulturen.

Det är lätt att finna drag av ren pessimism i *Liedesend*. Kungen väntar på sin egen död, trubadurens konst har slutat verka, och musikens underliggande strofiska

struktur vandrar nedåt i tonarterna. Men det är också möjligt att Schubertkretsen uppfattade ett romantiskt innehåll i sången. Att den strofiska strukturen blir fastare i konturerna efterhand som sången fortskrider är en egenskap som motsäger textens tal om att sångkonsten är tömd på sin kraft. Just denna diskrepans gör att Schuberts musik kan uppfattas som delvis fristående från texten. *Liedesend* kan därmed sättas i samband med den romantiska variant av deklamation som en del kännare förespråkade, också i Wien. Detta slags deklamation skulle vara en rent auditiv konst som närmade sig den inom den tidiga romantiken så laddade absoluta musiken. Att den strofiska aspekten av Schuberts musik i *Liedesend* är dold bör ha gjort den än mer lämpad för romantisk tolkning, för just sökandet efter det som finns förborgat i de stora "djupa" ansåg romantikerna utgöra vägen till kontakt med det gudomliga. Att strukturen är som lättast att uppfatta nära slutet på denna dödstyngda sång bör ha kunnat knytas till en romantisk tanke som kommer till uttryck i dikter som skrevs i Schubertkretsen, nämligen att människan först i döden, när jordelivets stök försvinner, kan höra evighetens ljuva och tysta musik.

En romantisk tolkning av *Liedesend* kan också ha tagit fasta på att den strofiska strukturen varken har någon tydlig början eller något tydligt slut och att den därmed kan uppfattas som ett romantiskt fragment. Jag argumenterar också för att Schubertkretsen bör ha kunnat finna ett inslag av romantisk ironi i sången. Musikens strofiskhet kan visserligen uppfattas som någonting djupt och evigt i motsats till de världsliga musikgenrer som enligt kungen inte längre har någon effekt på honom, men det är också möjligt att uppfatta kungens ord om sångkonstens förlorade trollkraft som riktade mot Schuberts tonsättning. En sådan tolkning skulle vara ett exempel på den romantiska ironins ständiga poängterande av att människan, i all sin längtan och trots alla sina försök till transcendens genom konsten, är dömd till jordbundenhet.

Kapitel 6 inleds med några slutsatser av föregående kapitel. Redan i kapitel 2 konstaterades att en sektionell struktur inte var något hinder för att en sång skulle uppskattas i Schubertkretsen. Undersökningarna av *Die Bürgschaft*, *Die Nacht* och *Liedesend* ger vid handen att Schuberts sektionella sånger i samtiden framstod som en betydligt mer heterogen grupp av verk än de gör i vår tid. De tre sångerna har förstås gemensamma drag, men de skiljs också åt av sina genremässiga band till exempelvis deklamation, måleri, landskap och absolut musik. Också syftet med de tre sångerna bör ha vara olika. Ett annat resultat av undersökningarna är att nittonhundratalets framstegsinriktade sätt att undersöka och diskutera Schuberts sånger stämmer dåligt med hans faktiska arbete med de tre sångerna. Enligt denna sentida modell borde *Liedesend* betraktas som mer värdefull än *Die Bürgschaft* och *Die Nacht*, eftersom den i större utsträckning kan sägas äga musikalisk autonomi och enhet. Att *Liedesend* skrevs mellan de båda andra sångerna skulle därför kunna tas som ett tecken på att Schubert inte förstod det stora värdet i det sätt att kombinera sektionell och strofisk form som han själv skapat i *Liedesend*. En enklare förklaring till kronologin är dock att det faktum att *Liedesend* tillkommit inte innebar att andra, rent sektionella sånger hade

förlorat sin kraft att fungera som meningsfulla konstverk. Analysen av *Die Nacht* torde stödja den förklaringen.

Kapitel 6 behandlar också senare tiders förhållande till Schuberts sektionella sånger. Den negativa värdering och kortfattade behandling av dem som man finner i litteratur från nittonhundratalet hänger förmodligen bland annat samman med en intressekonflikt mellan biografiskt inriktade författare och författare som främst ägnat sig åt Schuberts verk. De förra har vanligtvis använt sig av en både nationellt och genusmässigt laddad kliché med tillhörande anekdotsamling. Enligt denna kliché var Schubert intuitiv, lättsam, flickaktig och typiskt ”österrikisk”, i motsats till den ”tyskt” intellektuelle, heroiskt arbetsamme och manlige Beethoven. För biografisterna har klichén varit tacksam eftersom den låtit dem skriva färgstark prosa. För författare som velat analysera Schuberts verk bör den däremot ha inneburit problem. Det moderna musikanalytiska projektet har till stor del varit en historisk fortsättning på den reaktion mot musikalisk ”ytlighet” som pågick inom delar av kultureliten på Schuberts tid. Som sådan konstruerade projektet metoder som skulle påvisa den geniala musikaliska enheten i beethovens musik. Därmed bör det för musikanalytiker som inte bara velat vara detta projekt trogna, utan som också velat framställa Schubert i positiv dager, ha framstått som nödvändigt att visa att Schuberts kompositioner egentligen inte är så olika Beethovens. Vid sådan musikanalytisk äreräddning har främst Schuberts senare, mer beethovenskt konstruerade verk lyfts fram. Hans sektionella sånger, och mågna andra tidiga verk som ur ett nittonhundratalsperspektiv framstår som strukturellt lösliga, har däremot framställts som mindre viktiga.

Allra sist i avhandlingen försöker jag rikta sökljuset mot min egen behandling av Schuberts sektionella sånger. Jag argumenterar för att en historisk undersökning som den jag genomfört kan fylla flera funktioner. Den kan hjälpa sångerna att leva upp till nutida värdekriterier, den kan bidra till att förändra dessa moderna värdekriterier, och den kan hjälpa oss till ökade historiska insikter både om det förgångna och om oss själva. Den senare funktionen kan realiseras om vi genomför djupgående, kontextualiserande jämförelser mellan dåtida och nutida tolkningar. I ett sådant sammanhang är det viktigt att skilja på två olika förhållningssätt till sektionella sånger och andra konstverk. Vi kan inta en konstnärligt kreativ attityd och tolka dem på nya sätt, helt eller delvis utan hänsyn till hur de tolkades i den miljö där de kom till. Men vi kan också välja att göra en historiserande tolkning som går in för att rekonstruera och åter tillämpa tänkesätt från en gången tid. Båda slagen av tolkning är nödvändiga. Den första för att motsatsen innebär en konservatism som inte bara vore olidlig utan som också är omöjlig i ett mänskligt samhälle. All kreativitet består ju delvis av omtolkningar av historiskt material. Den andra, historiserande typen av tolkning är nödvändig för att vi ska komma ihåg att omtolkningar är just omtolkningar och för att vi inte ska riskera att reducera historien till ett enda utsträckt nu där våra egna önskningar, ideal och syften utgör alltings grund. En av historikerns viktigaste uppgifter är alltså att problematisera våra konstnärligt kreativa omtolkningar av historiskt material.

Konstnärliga och historiserande tolkningar är emellertid förbundna på flera sätt. Konstnärliga tolkningar kan provocera fram historiska tolkningar, och historiska tolkningar kan inspirera till förnyad konstnärlig tolkning. Det är förstås också så, att det i praktiken knappast går att renodla något av dessa slags tolkning, ett faktum som denna avhandling är ett exempel på. Ett par genomgående drag i min behandling av de tre sektionella sångerna (drag som jag bara kunnat antyda i denna sammanfattning) är att jag lägger lager på lager av kompletterande eller rent motstridiga tolkningar och att jag framhåller sådant som kan ha gjort motstånd mot att integreras i en viss tolkning. Jag tror visserligen det är rimligt att anta att Schubertkretsens tolkningar av sångerna bestod av flera lager och innehöll en del motstridigheter (det gäller förmodligen för all tolkning), men om detta verkligen var så viktigt som jag låtit påskina är en öppen fråga. En delförklaring till mitt sätt att behandla sångerna är förmodligen att jag själv, vilket är typiskt för det tidiga tjugohundratalets humaniora, dras till det mångbottnade och motsägelsefulla. Denna estetik, som en del skulle kalla postmodern, kan förmodligen kopplas till nutida ideal som jämlikhet och socialt likaberättigande. Den kan förmodligen också kopplas till det gamla västerländska idealet om den obegränsade människan och hennes kapacitet att förstå hela världen. Personliga preferenser har alltså troligen påverkat min behandling av det historiska materialet.

Detta innebär dock inte nödvändigtvis att mina undersökningar förlorar sitt värde som historieforskning. Nittonhundratalets Schubertlitteratur kan kritiseras för att den överdriver framstegstanken. Den kritiken tror jag är rättmätig, men det betyder förstås inte att en strävan efter något som liknar de sena sångerna inte kan ha utgjort en av Schuberts drivkrafter under den tidiga period som jag behandlat. Min kritik gäller just överdriften. Det är troligt att min forskning kommer att kunna bedömas på samma sätt, det vill säga som något som överdriver ett perspektiv som i sig har åtminstone en viss historisk relevans.

Appendix 1: *Die Bürgschaft* (D.246)

Reprinted from *Franz Schubert. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Eusebius Mandyczewski (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894-1895), Series 20, No. 109, pp. 11-29.

Die Bürgschaft.

Ballade von Fr. v. Schiller.

Für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte

Schubert's Werke.

componirt von

Serie 20. N^o 409.

FRANZ SCHUBERT.

August 1815.

1 Schnell.

Singstimme.

Pianoforte.

p

5 Recit.
Zu Dionys, dem Ty - rannen, schlich Möros, den Dolch im Ge - wande;

cresc. *fp*

10 ihm schlugen die Häscher in Bande.

ff *mf*

15 „Was wolltest du mit dem Dolche? sprich! entgegnet ihm fin - ster der Wü - therich.

cresc. *ff* *ff*

F. S. 422.

19 im Takte

„Die Stadt vom Ty - ran - nen be - freien!“ „Das sollst du am Kreuze be - reu - en!“

25 „Ich bin!“ spricht je - ner, „zu ster - ben be - reit, und

32 bit - te nicht um mein Le - ben; doch willst du Gna - de mir ge - ben,

39 ich fle - he dich um drei Ta - ge Zeit, bis ich die Schwe - ster dem

46 Gat - ten ge - freit, ich las - se den Freund dir als Bür - gen, ihn

magst du, ent - rinn' ich, er - würgen!" Da lächelt der König mit ar - ger

Recit.

List und spricht nach kurzem Be - den - ken: „Drei Ta - ge will ich dir schenken, doch

wis - se, wenn sie ver - stri - chen, die Frist, eh du zu - rück mir ge - ben bist, so

muss er statt deiner er - lassen, doch dir ist die Strafe er - lassen."

Ruhig. Und er kommt zum Freunde: „Der

Recit.

Mässig.

Kö - nig ge - beut, dass ich am Kreuz mit dem Le - ben be - zah - le das fre - veln.de

84

Stre - ben, doch will er mir gön - nen drei Ta - ge Zeit, bis ich die

91

Schwe - ster dem Gat - ten ge - freit; so blei - be du - dem - Kö - nig zum

97

Pfan - de, bis ich kom - me zu lö - sen die Ban - de.

103

Recit.

Und schweigend umarmt ihn der treue

Freund und liefert sich aus dem Ty - rannen, der andre zieht von dammen.

112 Lieblich.

117

122 Recit.

Und eh' noch das drit - te Mor - gen - roth er - scheint, hat er schnell mit dem Gat - ten die

im Takt

125 ohne Takt

Schwe - ster ver - eint, eilt heim mit sor - gender See - le, da - mit er die Frist nicht ver -

Geschwind.

feh-le!

mf *cre - scen - do -*

fz *fz*

130

Da

f *cresc.* *fz* *fz*

133

giesst un - end - li - cher Re - gen her - ab, von den Ber - gen stür - zen die

ff

136

Quel - len her - ab, und die Bä - che, die Strö - me schwel - len.

f

139

Und er kommt aus U - fer mit wan - derndem Stab, da

fz *fz*

144

reisset die Brücke der Strudel hin ab, und donnernd sprengen die Wo - gen des Ge - wölbes krachenden

149

Bo - gen. Und trost - los irrt er an U - fers Rand; wie

154

weit er auch spähet und bli - eket, und die Stimme, die ru - fende, schickt, da stüsst kein Na - chen vom

159

si - chern Strand, der ihn se - tze an das ge - wünsch - te Land. Kein Schif - fer len - ket die

163

Fäh - re, und der wil - de Strom wird zum Meere. Da

F. S. 422.

169 **Recit.**

sinkt er an's U - fer und weint und fleht, die Hän - de zum Zeus er -

173 **im Takte, schnell**

ho - ben: „O hem - me des Stro - mes To - ben! Es ei - len die Stun - den, im

177 **taktlos** **im Takte, wie oben**

Mit - tag steht die Son - ne, und wenn sie nieder - geht, und ich kann die Stadt nicht er -

180

reichen, so muss der Freund mir er - blei - - - - - chen.“

185

189

Doch

193

wach-send erneut sich des Stro - mes To - ben, und Wel - le auf Wel - le zer - rin - net, und

197

Stun - de an Stun - de ent - rin - net; da treibt ihn die Angst, da

201

fasst er sich Muth, und wirft sich hin - ein in die brau - sen - de Fluth, und

204

theilt mit ge - wal - tigen Ar - men den Strom, und ein Gott hat Er - bar -

F. S. 422.

210

men. Und ge-winnt das U-fer und ei-let fort, und dan-ke dem ret-tenden

mf *cresc.*

214 **Geschwinder.**

Got-te; da stür-zet die rau-ben-de Rot-te hervor aus des Wal-des nächtl'ichem

f

218 **Noch geschwinder.**

Ort, den Pfad ihm sper-rend, und schnau-bet Mord, und

f

223 **Recit.**

hem-met des Wan-derers Ei-le mit dro-hend ge-schwunge-ner Keu-le. „Was

f

227 **im Takte, wie oben**

wollt ihr?“ ruft er vor Schrecken bleich, „ich ha-be nichts als mein Le-ben, das

f

230
 muss ich dem Künigegeben! Und entreisst die Keule dem

233
 Nächsten gleich: „Um des Freundes Willen erbarmt euch!“ Und drei, mit gewaltigen

237
 Streichen, erlegt er, die andern entweichen.

241 *Recit.*
 Und die Sonne versendet glühenden Brand, und

245
 von der unendlichen Mühe ermattet sinken die Knie. „O

F. S. 422.

Langsam, mit Ausdruck.

hast du mich gnä - - - dig aus Räu - bers - hand, aus dem Strom mich ge - ret - tet an's

250
hei - li - ge Land, und soll hier verschmachtet ver - der - ben, und der Freund mir, der lie - ben - de,

252 **Etwas geschwinder.**
sterben!“ Und horch! da

255
spru - delt es sil - - ber - hell, ganz na - he, wie rie - seln des

257
Rau - - schen, und stille hält er zu lauschen, und sieh, aus dem Fel - sen, ge -

260
 schwä - tzig - schnell, springt mur - melnd her - vor ein le - ben - - di - ger

263
 Quell, und freu - - dig bückt er sich nie - - der, und er -

265
 fri - schet die bren - nen - den Glie - - der.

268 **Langsam.**
 Und die Son - ne blickt durch der Zwei - ge Grün und malt auf

272
 glän - zen den Mat - ten der Bäu - me gi - gan - - tische Schat - ten.

pp dim.
mf
fp *fp* *fp* *fp*
p

F. S. 422.

24 276
Geschwind.

Und zwei Wand' - rer sieht er die

p

281
Stra - sse ziehn, will ei - len - den Lau - fes vor - ü - ber

cresc.

286
fliehn, da hört er die Wor-te sie sa-gen: „Jetzt wird er an's Kreuz ge - schla -

292
gen.“ Und die Angst be-flü-gelt den ei - lenden Fuss, ihn ja - gender Sor - ge Qua - len;

cresc. *f* *cresc.*

297

ff *fz* *fz* *fz*

302

da schimmern in A - bendroths Strah - len von Fer - ne die

308

Zin - nen von Sy - ra - cus,

313

und ent - ge - gen kommt ihm Phi -

318

lo - stratus, des Hau - ses red - li - cher Hü - ter, der er -

323 Etwas langsamer.

kennet entsetzten Ge - bie - ter: „Zu - rück! du rettetest den Freund nicht mehr, so ret - te das ei - ge - ne

328

Leben! den Tod er-lei - det er e-ben. Von Stun - de zu Stun - de ge - war - - tet'

335

er mit hof - fen der See - le der Wie - der - kehr, ihm konn - te den

341

mu - thi - gen Glau - - ben der Hohn des Ty - ran - nen nicht rau -

347

ben.' „Und ist es zu spät, und kann ich ihm nicht ein Ret - ter will kom - men er -

352

schei - nen, so soll mich der Tod mit ihm ver - ei - nen. Dess rüh - me der blut' - ge Ty -

358

rann sich nicht, dass der Freund dem Freunde ge - brochen die Pflicht, er schlachte der Opfer zwei - e und

363

glau - be an Lieb und Treue!"

369

375

Recit. im Takte, wie oben.

Und die Sonne geht unter, da steht er am Thor und

382

sieht das Kreuz schon er - höht, das die Men - ge gaffend um - ste - het, und an dem Sei - le schon

387

zieht man den Freund em - por; da zer-trennt er ge-wal-tig den dichten Chor: „Mich, Hen-ker!“

cresc. *ff* *ff*

392

ruft er, „er - wür - get! da bin ich, für den er ge - bür - get!“

ff *ff* *pp*

400

Und Er-staunen er-greift das Volk um - her,

pp

411

in - den Ar-men lie - gen sich Bei-de, und wei-nen vor Schmerzen und Freu-de. Da

420

sieht man kein Au-ge thränen-leer, und zum Kö-nig bringt man die Wundermähr, der

Recit. *Etwas*

428 *langsam.*

29

Musical score for measures 428-432. The vocal line is in a major key with a flat in the bass clef. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand. Dynamics include *ff* at the end of the system.

fühlt ein menschlich Rüh-ren, lässt schnell vor den Thron sie füh-ren.

Musical score for measures 433-436. The vocal line has a long rest in measure 433. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and some melodic movement. Dynamics include *ff*.

Und blickt sie lange verwundert an, drauf spricht er: „Es

437 *Mässig.*

Musical score for measures 437-441. The tempo is *Mässig.* The key signature changes to one sharp. The piano accompaniment has a more active eighth-note bass line. Dynamics include *p* and *f*.

ist euch ge-lun-gen, ihr habt das Herz mir be-zwungen, und die Treu-e ist doch kein

Musical score for measures 442-446. The piano accompaniment features a consistent eighth-note bass line. Dynamics include *f*.

lec-rer Wahn, so nehmt auch mich zum Ge-nos-sen an, ich sei, gewährt mir die

Musical score for measures 447-451. The piano accompaniment has a more active eighth-note bass line. Dynamics include *f* and *mf*.

Bit-te, in eu-rem Bun-de der Drit-te!“

F. S. 422.

Appendix 2: *Die Nacht* (D.534)

Reprinted, with permission, from *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, series iv, vol. 11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), pp. 90-104.

30. Die Nacht

James Macpherson, deutsch von Edmund Baron de Harold
D 534

Februar 1817

Langsam

Piano introduction in B-flat major, 3/4 time. The music begins with a piano (p) dynamic, featuring a series of chords in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand. The dynamics increase through a crescendo (cresc.) to a forte (f) section, and then return to piano (p) at the end of the introduction.

Recit.

Barde

Recitativo section starting at measure 5. The vocal line (Barde) is in a recitativo style. The piano accompaniment consists of simple chords. The lyrics are: *) Die Nacht ist dump-fig und fin-ster. An den Hü-geln ruhn die

a tempo

Section starting at measure 8, marked **a tempo**. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: Wol - ken, kein Stern mit grün - zit - tern-dem Strahl; kein

Section starting at measure 11, marked **a tempo**. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: Mond - schaut durch die Luft. Im Wal-de hör ich den

*) Takt 5ff., Singstimme: Zu Textänderungen in der Erstausgabe vgl. im Anhang Notenbeispiel 11.

13

Hauch; a - ber ich hör ihn weit in der Fer - ne.

fp

15

Der Strom des Tals er-braust, a-ber sein

fp

17

Sehr langsam

Brau-sen ist stür-misch und trüb.

fz

p

20

Etwas geschwind

Vom Baum beim Gra-be der To-ten hört man lang die kräch-zen-de Eul.

p

f

23

An der Eb-ne er-blick ich ei-ne däm-mern-de

p

f

26

Bil-dung! es ist ein Geist, er schwindet,

28 **Langsam**

er flieht!

pp

32

Durch die-sen Weg wird ei-ne Lei-che ge -

35

tra-gen, ih-ren Pfad be-zeich-net das Luft-bild.

38 **Etwas geschwind**

43

Der fer - ne - re Dog - ge heult von der Hüt - te des Hü - gels. -

46 **Ruhig**

Der Hirsch liegt am Moo - se des Bergs.

48 **Geschwinder**

Ne - ben ihm ruht die Hin - din; in sei - nem

51 **Langsam**

a-stig-ten Ge-wei-he hört sie den Wind; fährt auf und legt sich zur

54 **Etwas geschwinder**

Ru-he wie-der-nie-der.

58

Dü - ster und keu - chend, zit - tern und trau - rig ver -

61

lor der Wand - rer den Weg. Er irrt durch Ge-bü - sche, durch

64

Dor - nen längs der spru - deln-den Quel - le, er fürchtet die Klip - pe und den Sumpf. Er

67

fürch - tet den Geist der Nacht.

71

Der al - te Baum ächzt zu dem Wind - stoß. Der fal - len - de Ast er -

75 **Geschwind**

schallt. Die ver - welk - te, zu - sam - men ver - wor - re - ne

78

Klet-te treibt der Wind ü-ber das Gras.

81 **Langsam**

Es ist der leich-te Tritt eines Geists; er

83

bebt in der Mit - te der Nacht.

85 **Wie oben**

Wie oben

88

Die Nacht ist dü-ster, dun-ke-l und

cresc. f

91

heu-lend, wol-kigt, stür-misch und schwan-ger mit Gei-ster-n.

94 **Sehr langsam**

Die To-ten strei-fen um-her, die To-ten strei-fen um-her.

pp

97

Emp-fangt mich von der Nacht, mei-ne Freun-de.

mf

*) Takt 90, Singstimme: 4. Achtel in der Erstausgabe $\sharp g'$ statt gis' ; vgl. *Quellen und Lesarten*.

Mäßig

Der Gebieter

101
Laß Wol - ken an Hü - geln ruhn,

103
Gei - - ster flie - gen und Wand - - rer be - ben, laß die

105
Win - de der Wäl - der sich he - ben, brau - sen-de Stür - me her-ab - stei -

107
gen, Strö - - me brül - len, Fen - - ster

109
klir - ren, grün - be - flü - gel-te Dämp - fe flie - gen, den blei - chen

111

Mond sich hin - ter sei - nen Hü - geln er - he - ben, o - der sein

113 **Recit.**

Haupt in Wol - ken ein - hül - - - len. Die Nacht gilt mir

115

gleich, die Luft sei blau, stür - misch o - der dun - kel. Die Nacht fliegt vorm

117

Strahl, wenn er am Hü - gel sich gießt. Der jun - ge Tag kehrt von sei - nen Wol - ken, a - ber

121 **Langsam**

wir, a - ber wir keh - ren nim - mer zu - rück.

124 **Geschwind** **Recit.**

Wo sind uns-re Füh-er der

127

Vor-welt? Wo sind uns-re weit be-rühmten Ge-

131 **Nicht zu langsam**

bie-ter? Schweigend sind die Fel-der ih-rer Schlachten.

137

Kaum sind ih-re moo-sig-ten Grä-ber noch üb- rig. Man wird auch un-ser ver- ges-sen.

142 **Recit.**

Dies er-ha-be-ne Ge-bäu wird zer-fal-len, uns-re Söh-ne wer-den die Trüm-mer im Gra-se nicht er-

145

bli-cken, sie wer-den die Grei-se be - fra-gen, wo stan-den die Mau-ern uns-rer Vä-ter?

148 **Mäßig** **Recit.**

Er-tö-net das Lied und schla-get die

a tempo

153 **Recit.**

Har-fen! Sen-det die fröh-li-chen Mu-scheln her-

157

um. Stellt hun-dert Ker-zen in die

161

Hö-he.

166

173 **Recit.**

Jüng-lin-ge, Mäd-chen, be-gin-net den Tanz!

*) Takt 163, 175: Tempobezeichnung in der Erstausgabe „Munter“.

177

Recit.
185

Nah sei ein grau - lo - cki - ger Bar - de, mir die Ta - ten der Vor - welt zu sin - gen, von Kö - ni - gen, be -

188

rühmt in un - serm Land, von Ge - bie - tern, die wir nicht mehr sehn. Laß die

191

Nacht al - so ver - ge - hen, bis der Mor - gen in un - serm Hal - len er - schei - ne.

194

Dann sei-en nicht fer-ne der Bo-gen, die Dog-gen, die Jüng-lin-ge der Jagd.

197

Wir wer-den die Hü-gel mit dem Mor-gen be-stei-gen und die

200

Hir-sche er-we-cken.

204

Appendix 3: Diabelli's addition to *Die Nacht*

Reprinted from *Franz Schubert. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Eusebius Mandyczewski (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894-1895), Series 20, No. 305, pp. (51) 13 – (53) 15.

rü-stet zur Jagd-lust den Bo-gen, die Doggen, das mu-thi-ge Ross!

Wir wer-den die Hü-gel im Früh-roth be-stei-gen, und die Hir-sche er-we-cken.

Feurig.
Tra-rah! — Tra-rah! — Wir

zie-hen hin-aus, — uns lo-cket die Beu-te der Jagd, uns lo-cket die Beu-te der Jagd! — Es

ritard.

flie - het_ die Nacht, es siegt der Son - ne Pracht; das Licht hat ü - ber das

pp Dun - kel Macht! *ff* Tra - rah! — Tra - rah! — Auf, auf, auf! — der

a tempo

pp *ff*

jun - ge Tag uns lacht! — Tra - rah! — Tra - rah! — Auf, auf, auf! — der

jun - ge Tag uns lacht! — Tra -

f

rah! — Tra - rah! — Das Jagd - horn er - tönt, — die Hir - sche ins Thal her - ab

p

zieh'n, die Hir-sche ins Thal her-ab zieh'n. — Die Ne-bel-ent-flieh'n, der

fz *p*

ritard. *pp* *a tempo*

Ber-ge Gi-pfel glüh'n, wir scheu-en nicht der Jagd-lust Mü'h'n. Tra-

ritard. *pp* *a tempo*

rah! — Tra-rah! — Auf, auf, auf! — Zum Wal-de lasst uns

zieh'n! — Tra-rah! — Tra-rah! — Auf, auf, auf! — Zum

Wal-de lasst uns zieh'n!

F. S. 645.

Appendix 4: *Liedesend* (D.473), version 2

Reprinted, with permission, from *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, series iv, vol. 10 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), pp. 219-225.

62b. Liedesend

Johann Mayrhofer

D 473

Zweite Fassung

September 1816

Majestätisch, nicht zu langsam

Auf sei - nem gold - nen Thro - ne der grau - e Kö - nig sitzt, er

star - ret in die Son - ne, die rot in - We - sten blitzt.

ff

**)*

**)* Zu Takt 8, Klavier unten, vgl. *Quellen und Lesarten*.

11 **Feurig**

11 **Feurig**

18

18
Der Sän-ger rührt die Har-fe, sie rau-schet Sie-ges-sang, sie rau-schet Sie-ges-

24

24
sang. Der Ernst je-doch, der schar-fe, er trotz-t

29

29
— dem vol-len Klang.

Sanft

34

Nun stimmt er sü - ße

fp *fp* *fp* *fp* *fp* *fp* *p*

37

Wei-sen, ans Herz sich klam-mernd an;

p

40

ob er ihn nicht mit lei - - sen Ver-su - chen mil - - dern

pp

43

kann.

> *>* *ff*

47 **Geschwind**

Ver-geb-lich ist sein Mü-hen, erschöpft des Lie-des Reich, und auf _____

50

— der Stir-ne zie-hen die Sor-gen wet-ter-gleich.*)

54

Der Bar-de, tief er-bit-tert, schlägt die

58

Harf ent-zwei, und durch die Lüf-te zit-tert der

ff mit Pedal ff ohne Pedal p

*) Takt 52-53, Text bei Schubert: „wetterschwer“.

**) Zu Takt 59, Klavier oben, vgl. *Quellen und Lesarten*.

62

Sil - ber - sai - ten Schrei. Und wie auch al - le

65

be - ben, der Herr - scher zür - net nicht, der Gna - - de Strah - len

69

schwe - ben auf sei - nem An - ge - sicht, der Gna - de Strah - len schwe - ben auf

74

sei - nem An - ge - sicht.

Mit Würde, doch herzlich

79

„Du wol - le mich nicht zei - hen der Un - emp - find - lich - keit; in

83

lang ver - blüh - ten Mai - en wie hast du mich er - freut, wie je - de Lust ge -

88

stei - gert, die aus der Ur - ne fiel; was mir ein Gott ver -

92

wei - gert, *) er - stat - te - te dein Spiel. Vom

*) Takt 91-92, Text bei Schubert: „geweigert“

96

kal - ten Her - zen glei - tet nun Lie - des - zau - ber ab; und

fp fp fp fp fp f

rallentando

100 **Etwas geschwinder**

im - mer nä - her schrei - tet nun Ver - gäng - lich - keit und

pp *f*

legato

cre - - - scen - - do

105

Grab."

p *f*

cre - - - scen - - do

110

p *pp* *ppp*

dimin.

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