

# **Disenchantment during the Biedermeier Period - Political Subtexts in Schubert's Songs**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Anke Theresa Caton**

**Cardiff University  
School of Music**

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## **Abstract**

Even today Franz Schubert is belittled by many music enthusiasts as a typical Biedermeier composer, whose works appear to be of a purely lyrical and innocent character. Schubert composed over 600 songs and his image as a song composer generally fosters the lighthearted and almost naïve view of his oeuvre. This thesis will enrich the common view of Schubert and his songs. It will show that some of his apparently innocent songs may bring forward direct political criticism or hold political implications; their seemingly lyrical and innocent appearance turning out to be a clever façade.

The motivation for the political voice in Schubert's songs is found in the composer's historical, political and social environment, which will be summarized at the beginning of this thesis. Thereafter, special attention will be drawn to songs by Schubert's close friend, Johann Mayrhofer. Schubert's Mayrhofer settings give evidence of a questioning liberal voice. They bring forward different ways in which political criticism can be voiced and show how the composer was willingly engaged with such matter. A look at Schubert settings by poets other than Mayrhofer suggests that political traces can also be found elsewhere in the composer's song oeuvre.

## **Note on Terms and Translations**

Brief reference needs to be made to translations and certain technical terms. The most important and ambiguous term that is used in this thesis is the one of the 'Biedermeier era'. Different terms exist for the time span between 1815 and 1848, which covers most of Schubert's adult life time: 'Vormärz' (Pre-March), 'Biedermeier' and 'Restauration' (Restoration) are frequently used to describe this era and are, despite their different connotations, interrelated terms. The term 'Vormärz' emphasizes the underground political movement of the time, which became more and more evident in the years leading up to the 1848 March Revolution. Some scholars only use this term for the years immediately leading up to the revolution, while others apply it to the whole time span, arguing that the political movement was also present during this time, albeit suppressed and with no actual and visible consequences. The development in Austria during this period is usually not furnished with the term of 'Vormärz', and Austrian historiography generally does not use this term. One reason for this is that the suppression in Austria tended to be stronger, and revolutionary ideas were thus gaining less ground – at least at a noticeable level. Another reason is that the term 'Vormärz' is usually used in a political context, and when the era between 1815-1848 in Austria is discussed, it is often more cultural affairs that are given priority. However, it has to be kept in mind that the March Revolution broke out in Vienna, which strongly suggests the hidden existence of liberal and progressive political ideas in Austria.

A more recent term is the one of 'Restauration', which very much grasps the backwardness of the time and also describes the endeavour of the authorities for returning to the old and established order. This term fits particularly well to the events in Austria, the state that put the most effort into returning to the good old order. The third, most widespread, but at the same time most ambiguous and problematic term, is that of the 'Biedermeier' or 'Biedermeier era'. This term came into being at the end of the nineteenth century, where people looked back with a romantic eye to what they



nostalgically regarded as the Golden Age of middle class virtue, where the home and the family stood at the centre of attention.<sup>1</sup>

The name 'Biedermeier' came into fashion with the enthusiasm for this era, which was not valued for a long time, due to its association with characteristics such as standstill, stagnation and blankness. This, however, changed after the Second World War, where the idyll and modesty of the era were elevated.<sup>2</sup> Originally the name 'Biedermaier' was the nom de plume of two German poets, Ludwig Eichrodt (1827-1892) and Adolf Kussmaul (1822-1902), who adopted it for publishing a selection of poems in a humorous and satirical Munich weekly with the name of 'Fliegende Blätter' (Flying Sheets). Their poems were inspired in style by the poetic collection of a schoolmaster, and the two men chose the name of 'Biedermaier' for its naïve, ordinary and pious petit bourgeois ring.<sup>3</sup> The ring of the name goes hand in hand with the association many people had with the time span between 1815 and 1848. This is why the name 'Biedermeier' became a common name describing an era that was often falsely reduced to a time of bourgeois inwardness and complacency in a quaint age of lighthearted amusements where many people saw their fulfillment in the small things of life. The political reality, with its side effects of harsh censorship control and incapacitation, was all too often left aside when referring to the time as the 'Biedermeier era'. Often the term 'Biedermeier' is used to describe the cultural side of the era, especially the visual and plastic arts, while 'Vormärz' or 'Restauration' focus more on the political side.

In this thesis, however, the term 'Biedermeier' will be applied throughout, despite the fact that it is a dangerous one to use due to its common association. One reason for this is that it is not possible to strictly differentiate between these technical terms, as their borders are fuzzy. To do so might cause more confusion than clarity. As William M. Johnston has formulated it, the term 'Biedermeier' captures the events in Austria during that time particularly well, as no other term would describe the peculiar combination of political resignation with aesthetic appreciation and Catholic piety of the Austrian people

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<sup>1</sup> Geraldine Norman, *Biedermeier Painting 1815-1848: Reality Observed in Genre, Portrait and Landscape* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 7

<sup>2</sup> Adam Wandruszka, 'Die politische und kulturelle Situation der Schubertzeit' in *Schubert Kongreß Wien 1978, Bericht*, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 16

<sup>3</sup> Norman, *Biedermeier Painting 1815-1848*, 8

better.<sup>4</sup> In actual fact, it is not so much the usage of the name that is important, but rather the right understanding and association that goes with it. A one-sided understanding of the term 'Biedermeier' will be avoided in this thesis, as the interconnected cultural and political background of the period will be outlined.

Another technical term requiring explanation is that of the 'Wars of Liberation' or 'Liberation Wars' (Befreiungskriege), a term that is widespread in the German-speaking world. English-speaking readers are less likely to be familiar with this term, as in the English language the term 'Napoleonic Wars' is generally used as its equivalent. Both terms describe the wars that were fought against the Napoleonic expansion in Europe, which set in shortly after the French Revolution in 1789. In this thesis the term 'Wars of Liberation' or 'Liberation Wars' will be used, despite its unfamiliarity, as this term is more precise. It specifically refers to the Wars against Napoleon between 1813 and 1815, whereas the term 'Napoleonic Wars' covers the Wars from 1799 onwards. In addition, the term 'Liberation Wars' fits particularly well to the political view that will be taken up, as it emphasizes the element of liberation and thus the strong wish for freedom that marks this time.

The term 'political' is a central one in this thesis and demands clarification. In the Biedermeier era this term had a different connotation, especially in its first half, where an active turn away from politics in the population was sought by the Austrian authorities. Biedermeier Austria did not tolerate any political thoughts, let alone any active political engagement or action of its citizens. The strict rule from above, the all-embracing censorship regulations and ruthless punishment for defiant individuals enforced this retreat from politics, and comments on the current situation could only be uttered in concealed ways. For this reason the term 'political' has to be broadly defined. Direct involvement was simply not possible at the time, which is why even subtle resonances of political indications have to be taken seriously. Political allusions could take on different forms, and often included the use of metaphors. The turn to a far away better land for instance was a wish often uttered at the time. Many works had the theme of longing at their heart and the turn to less definite art forms during the era, such as music, indicates

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<sup>4</sup> William M. Johnston, *Österreichische Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte: Gesellschaft und Ideen im Donauraum 1848 bis 1938*, 4th edn (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), 35

that the arts could become an aesthetic place of refuge from an oppressive present. This is particularly true for the first half of this era, which spans all of Schubert's adult lifetime. Ironically, the Biedermeier era, in its quest to keep away people from politics, was nevertheless an era that was marked by politics and every individual had to somehow take a stance on it in one way or another.

Translations are generally a difficult issue, as every translation unavoidably involves interpretation. The translations found in this thesis have been provided as a guide for non-German native speakers. The translations of poetry are all by the author and are intended to be as close as possible to their original German text. Existing translations have not been adopted for the reason that translations of poems and song texts are generally subject to different requirements. They are less oriented towards a close interpretation, as they have to consider different parameters, such as the flow of the language, its poetic sound and the distributions of single words to the voice line. In this thesis, however, close interpretations are of importance: in a political context, where the poetic language was often furnished with subtle political metaphors, a direct translation is indispensable in order to grasp a political subtext, which might easily become lost in a translation that follows different priorities.

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## **1. Introduction and Review of Background Literature**

### **Introduction**

The popular perception of Schubert as a typical song composer of the Biedermeier era is still pervasive today: the composer is generally perceived as a rather jovial individual who composed a vast number of light-hearted and innocent songs. Musicologists have gradually corrected this view and established a historically informed view on the composer. The 'Schubert-Jahrbücher' (Schubert yearbooks), which were often published after conferences and symposiums, as well as the discontinued Schubert journal 'Die Brille' document this development alongside many other publications. The more historically informed approach to the composer has also yielded research that addresses the conditions of Schubert's time as well as his direct social environment. It is here where the understanding of Schubert as a political figure begins to emerge.

This thesis will evaluate the political side of the Biedermeier era and show that Schubert, as an individual critical of his time, also had a political voice, which he expresses in his song oeuvre. Schubert's historical, political and social surroundings reinforce his political facet and suggest that his apparently light-hearted song oeuvre has to be viewed with different eyes. Relating the insights of Schubert's political understanding analytically to a selection of his songs essentially constitutes the novel approach of this thesis. The discussion of political traits in Schubert's songs opens up a new and more comprehensive understanding of his song oeuvre that also has implications of his works in general. In addition, it creates a new and revised picture of Schubert himself. In order to unfold the composer's political side, this work draws strongly on the composer's political voice and focuses on songs that can be read from a political perspective. This should not mislead the reader to jump to the conclusion that Schubert and his song oeuvre are solely governed by a political agenda. There are many Schubert songs that do not readily suggest a political tone, but rather invite an interpretation from a different angle. As this thesis will show, the political side of Schubert is an important one to take into consideration when dealing with the composer and his works, but it does not constitute the only viewpoint.

Songs that are likely to reveal a possible political meaning have been chosen for interpretation in this thesis. As stated, this selection should not convey the impression that the composer's whole song oeuvre is politically motivated. The themes in Schubert's song oeuvre are diverse. The composer's topics of love, death, various dramatic happenings, natural scenes, heroic acts and youth can be interpreted from different viewpoints. The political one is not always the most fitting and many settings indeed show no political traits at all. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe for instance is the poet set the most by Schubert. He was known to distance himself from political matters and Schubert's Goethe settings are thus unlikely to have been carriers of political thought. Some of Schubert's late songs, like songs by his contemporary Johann Gabriel Seidl, are similarly detached from any political substance. Yet already here it is debatable whether an overall light-hearted Seidl song like 'Im Freien' (In the open, D 880, op. 80,3) is free from any political weight or whether this type of flight into the open in a way also represents a flight from the restrictive present, and can thus also be perceived as an indirect political comment. This leads to the crucial question of what can be seen as political and ultimately the definition of 'political' during the Biedermeier era. As clarified in the note on terms, the term 'political' is to be understood in a different way than it is today. Especially in the first half of the era, any type of political engagement was strictly forbidden and persecuted ruthlessly in Austria. Therefore, even indirect allusions to politics, which could take on many different forms, have to be considered as political statements. The enforced elusiveness of many Biedermeier artworks, however, will deny an unambiguous understanding in many cases.

This thesis has two main parts. Its first part (chapters 2 and 3) captures the important background information that is crucial for unraveling the political subtext of the discussed Schubert songs in the second part. The starting point will be an outline of the historical context of the Biedermeier time, an era very much marked by its political upheavals and unrest as well as its changing social structure. Hereafter, attention will be drawn to Schubert's direct social environment: his circle of friends. It will be explored how his circle of friends was influenced by the restrictive surroundings and how its members influenced the composer with their political outlooks. Political statements by Schubert himself will also be presented and discussed.

The second and main part of the thesis (chapters 4 to 6) will turn to the political understanding of selected Schubert's songs. Songs by his friend Johann Mayrhofer stand in the centre of the discussion. Due to the political orientation of their poet, Schubert's Mayrhofer songs lend themselves as a good starting point for a political discussion. After a portrait of the poet in section 4.1, a variety of different Mayrhofer settings will be presented. Schubert's 'Liederheft' op. 8 ('Liederhefte' are small booklets of songs and a usual form of publishing at the time) will open the discussion. It mainly includes songs by Mayrhofer, conveys the political subject matter very convincingly and shows how the political theme can permeate a whole 'Liederheft'. All of its four songs, 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel', 'Sehnsucht', 'Erlafsee' and 'Am Strome' reveal a distinct political longing for a better land, which is expressed through different metaphors alluding to nature. A second 'Liederheft' with songs by Mayrhofer, op. 21, will be discussed thereafter to show that the political tone of Schubert's op. 8 is not a one-off in a single 'Liederheft'. The songs of op. 21, 'Auf der Donau', 'Der Schiffer' and 'Wie Ulfru fischt', demonstrate political longing in a more direct manner while also making use of naturalistic metaphors.

Following the discussion of two 'Liederhefte' in chapter 4, two individual songs by Mayrhofer, 'Zum Punsche' and 'Rückweg' will be discussed (section 5.1); both settings share an apparently simple and unsuspecting appearance, which nevertheless reveals a political substance. 'Zum Punsche' indulges in the apparent cheerfulness of a drinking song, while the melancholic 'Rückweg' seems to display harmless longing. The last Mayrhofer setting discussed in more detail is 'Einsamkeit' (section 5.2). This song already stands out by its length and form, both of which are heralding the upcoming song cycles. Although not published during the composer's lifetime, Schubert valued the long setting of 'Einsamkeit' very highly. It is interspersed with political allusions throughout, which are brought out clearly by Schubert's musical interpretation. The discussion of Schubert's Mayrhofer songs will be rounded off with a brief discussion of and outlook on his antique settings (section 5.3), a theme likely to bear political implications during the Biedermeier time. First, the political potential of the antique theme will be explored. Secondly, the political substance of the three Mayrhofer songs 'Iphegenia', 'Abendlied der Fürstin', and 'Memnon' will be indicated.

In chapter 6 two compact song discussions follow the presentation of the Mayrhofer songs. They demonstrate that Schubert songs by poets other than Johann Mayrhofer can bring forward a political message. Goethe's 'Prometheus' continues with the antique theme and illustrates how a poem from a slightly earlier period, which moreover is not politically oriented, can be re-interpreted to respond to the current political situation. With Franz von Schober's 'Viola' a song by another Schubert friend is presented. Although the political message of this song is not very distinct, a short introduction of the poet and the subsequent song discussion suggest its political undercurrent. The thesis will conclude with a summary of the findings and an outlook towards further research.

### **Review of Background Literature**

In its endeavor to show Schubert and some of his songs from a political angle, the background literature for this thesis has been sourced from different subject areas. Apart from the obvious musical one, the areas of history, literature, politics, cultural studies and sociology have been consulted and combined. Literature that is not directly connected to musical research of Schubert covers many additional aspects that are important for this thesis. Historical accounts of the Biedermeier era are the foundation of this work and can be found in plenty. A very useful historical account is the official catalogue for a historical exhibition in the Berlin Reichstag called *Questions on German History: Ideas, Forces, Decisions from 1800 to the Present*,<sup>1</sup> as it presents a consistently informative time line and raises important and relevant facts in a compact form. Numerous pictures and documents visualize the presented facts and facilitate an immersion into the era. In almost all of the historical accounts of the Biedermeier era, the political incapacitation of contemporaries and extensive and strict censorship take up a central place. They are also frequently emphasized in literary accounts of Biedermeier works, which, unlike many musicological studies, generally feature an interdisciplinary amalgamation of history and literature. An interesting social and political account that focuses on musical life and its restrictions during the Biedermeier era is Alice M. Hanson's *Musical Life in Biedermeier*

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<sup>1</sup> *Questions on German History: Ideas, Forces, Decisions from 1800 to the Present*, Historical Exhibition in the Berlin Reichstag, catalogue, English and 3rd updated edn (Bonn: German Bundestag, publications' section, 1989)



Vienna.<sup>2</sup> Hanson's work is a comprehensive study, which illustrates in particular how censorship as an enforced political means of control affected musical life during the Biedermeier era in Vienna. Numerous more general accounts on censorship during the era also exist. An early twentieth-century, lively portrayal is provided by H.H. Houben with his book *Der gefesselte Biedermeier: Literatur, Kultur, Zensur in der guten alten Zeit*.<sup>3</sup>

The understanding of political metaphors during the Biedermeier period is the key to unraveling the political content of Schubert's songs. The most comprehensive portrayal of political metaphors around Schubert's life time is Hans-Wolf Jäger's book *Politische Metaphorik im Jakobismus und im Vormärz*,<sup>4</sup> which gives an informative account of existing political metaphors from the time span surrounding the Biedermeier era. In this context, a chapter from the field of musicology has to be mentioned: 'Der Flug der Zeit: Zur Erstveröffentlichung der Schubertlieder und zu ihrer Rezeption' by Elmar Budde,<sup>5</sup> in which the author picks up on political metaphors in Schubert's music. He unmasks that some texts of Schubert's song settings are not to be mistaken for romantic poetry depicting nature: the allusions to the natural world would present direct references to the oppressive political conditions of Schubert's lifetime. Although Budde neither expands on his findings nor combines them with an analytical interpretation of Schubert's music, his revelation is of great importance. It hints at a more widespread use of political metaphors in Schubert's oeuvre.

A diary entry of the Schubert friend Eduard von Bauernfeld gives further proof of metaphorical communication and concealment within the Schubert circle. However, this diary entry, in which Bauernfeld wrote that Schubert was half ill and in need of young peacocks, has been linked to assumptions on Schubert's sexuality by Maynard Solomon in his article Franz 'Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini'.<sup>6</sup> Solomon's article

<sup>2</sup> Alice M. Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

<sup>3</sup> Heinrich Hubert Houben, *Der gefesselte Biedermeier: Literatur, Kultur, Zensur in der guten alten Zeit*, Reprint of the 1924 edn published by H. Haessel (Leipzig, Hildesheim: Dr. H.A. Gerstenberg, 1973)

<sup>4</sup> Hans-Wolf Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik im Jakobismus und im Vormärz* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971)

<sup>5</sup> Elmar Budde, 'Der Flug der Zeit: Zur Erstveröffentlichung der Schubertlieder und zu ihrer Rezeption' in *Von Dichtung und Musik 1797-1997*; 'Der Flug der Zeit'; *Franz Schubert. Ein Lesebuch*, Veröffentlichung der Internationalen Hugo-Wolf-Akademie für Gesang – Dichtung – Liedkunst e.V., ed. Elisabeth Hackenbracht (Stuttgart, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997)

<sup>6</sup> Maynard Solomon, 'Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini' in *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1989)

has aroused much attention. Susan McClary for instance has explored this field further and linked the composer's music to his possible homosexuality.<sup>7</sup> Yet Solomon's article has also invoked contrary and more critical replies. In her article 'The Peacock's Tale: Schubert's Sexuality Reconsidered',<sup>8</sup> Rita Steblin contests Solomon's findings and Christine Muxfeldt has offered further interesting thoughts on the subject matter in her article 'Political Crimes and Liberty, or Why Would Schubert Eat a Peacock?'.<sup>9</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer unrolls a historically grounded interpretation that backs up Solomon's take on Schubert's sexuality in his book *Geheime Botschaften: Homoerotische Subkulturen im Schubert-Kreis, bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Thomas Bernhard* by investigating in sexual practices of members of the Schubert circle.<sup>10</sup> The subject of Schubert's sexuality is not within the scope of this work. Notwithstanding, it is interesting to note that metaphorical communication and concealment seem to play an important role within the Schubert circle and may also, at least to some extent, permeate Schubert's oeuvre.

An investigation into political poetry has also been advantageous for this thesis. Here it is first and foremost Hans-Georg Werner's work *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts in Deutschland von 1815 bis 1840* that has to be mentioned.<sup>11</sup> Including Austria in his study, Werner deals with the topic of political poetry in a very grounded and detailed manner, depicting the social and political particularities within the overarching timeframe. Werner does not only give valuable information about the political situation at the time, but, most importantly, illustrates the features of the political poetry that were predominant during the repressive period. It becomes clear that even benign expressions, which appear harmless to the eyes of today's readers and probably even uncritical contemporaries, may entail a political explosiveness that is perceivable only when viewed in the right light. Werner's account is thus useful for the political understanding of

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<sup>7</sup> Susan McClary, 'Constructions of Subjectivity in Franz Schubert's Music' in *Queering the Pitch*, ed. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood and Gary C. Thomas (New York: Routledge, 1994)

<sup>8</sup> Rita Steblin, 'The Peacock's Tale: Schubert's Sexuality Reconsidered' in *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, vol. 17, no. 1, Schubert: Music, Sexuality, Culture (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1993)

<sup>9</sup> Kristina Muxfeldt, 'Political Crimes and Liberty, or Why Would Schubert Eat a Peacock?' in *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, vol. 17, no. 1, Schubert: Music, Sexuality, Culture, ed. Lawrence Kramer (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1993)

<sup>10</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, *Geheime Botschaften: Homoerotische Subkulturen im Schubert-Kreis, bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Thomas Bernhard* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006)

<sup>11</sup> Hans-Georg Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts in Deutschland von 1815 bis 1840* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969)

Schubert's songs in many respects, as his representation of different types of political poetry facilitates the tracing of political hints in Schubert's song oeuvre.

Another useful literary account of the Biedermeier period is part of a literary series that stems from the first half of the twentieth century. In its fourth volume, *Der österreichische Vormärz 1816 – 1847*, this series looks at political poetry from the Austrian Pre-March period.<sup>12</sup> The volume first gives an insightful introduction by giving an overview of the era and by presenting the most prominent political voices from the Austrian side. The heart of the volume is the collection of political poems and literary works from across the Habsburg Monarchy, also including critical political comments from Schubert's friend Eduard von Bauernfeld. This compilation of political poetry is of great importance for this thesis, as it presents a great number of original works with a political voice from Austria. It gives an impression of critical political poetry from Austria and proves that political discontentment was not only predominant in Germany during that time, but also seethed under the quaint and tranquilized surface of Biedermeier Austria.

Schubert scholars have produced much research that has initiated and inspired the work at hand. Many interesting contributions by different authors can for instance be found in the Schubert periodical *Schubert durch die Brille*.<sup>13</sup> Walther Dürr, with his many publications on Schubert, has contributed to a comprehensive understanding of the composer's context. Particularly valuable works for this thesis are the *Schubert Handbuch*,<sup>14</sup> which gives a lot of information on many issues surrounding Schubert in a lexical fashion, an article that focuses on the journal members of the Schubert journal published, 'Der Linzer Schubert-Kreis und seine 'Beiträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge'',<sup>15</sup> and the book *Schuberts Lieder nach seinem literarischen Freundeskreis*.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Otto Rommel, ed., *Der österreichische Vormärz 1816 – 1847*, series: Politische Dichtung, vol. 4, ed. Robert, F. Arnold, series: Deutsche Literatur: Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen, ed. Heinz Kindermann (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1931)

<sup>13</sup> *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut (Tutzing: Hans Schneider)

<sup>14</sup> Walther Dürr and Andreas Krause, eds, *Schubert Handbuch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Weimar: Metzler, 1997)

<sup>15</sup> Walther Dürr, 'Der Linzer Schubert-Kreis und seine Beiträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge' in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz 1985* (Linz: Archiv der Stadt Linz, 1986)

<sup>16</sup> Walther Dürr, ed., *Schuberts Lieder nach seinem literarischen Freundeskreis* (Frankfurt am Main, Vienna: Lang, 1999)

Different scholars have contributed to this book. Walther Dürr comments on the circle of friends around Schubert that also brings out its political orientation and Ruth Melkis-Bihler gives a very good and concise overview of the political aspects of Schubert's time. Two contributions that offer interpretations on Schubert's songs are to be found on this book as well. Siegfried Schmalzriedt discusses Franz Schober's lyrics in Schubert's settings, also including Schubert's musical interpretation. In this context he picks up on a strong longing and the cryptic language of these settings, which results from the censorial restrictions of the time. The other contribution that interprets Schubert's songs in this book is also kept general: Wilhelm Seidl's thoughts on Schubert settings after Johann Mayrhofer identifies a longing that is based on ideals, as well as a longing for freedom. Both contributions do not go into a possible political interpretation of the findings.

Susan Youens has undoubtedly contributed much valuable research on Schubert's songs. In her book *Schubert's Poets and the Making of Lieder*<sup>17</sup> Youens interprets Schubert songs by different poets, always viewing the songs of one particular poet in a group and by doing so also presenting less well-known Schubert songs. Her book is mainly concerned with the interplay of life and art, thus presenting extensive information on the respective poet and the world surrounding him. Some of the information provided in this context is of relevance for this thesis, as timely political issues come up as well. The author, however, does not focus on the political element when interpreting Schubert's songs, but follows an interpretation that concentrates more on the personal life of the artists. Her book *Schubert's Late Lieder: Beyond the Song-Cycles*<sup>18</sup> is written from a similar perspective. It also introduces the reader comprehensively to different poets and presents song interpretations that are viewed under a perspective concentrating on the life of Schubert's late years, years in which illness, death and departure played a far greater role in the composer's life. The interpretation of these songs shows yet another way to approach Schubert's songs.

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<sup>17</sup> Susan Youens, *Schubert's Poets and the Making of Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

<sup>18</sup> Susan Youens, *Schubert's Late Lieder: Beyond the Song-Cycles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Research on Schubert's close social environment, his circle of friends, has become more important during recent years and evoked many revealing insights. David Gramit's work *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle: Their Development and their Influence on his Music*,<sup>19</sup> is one of the first works to paint a comprehensive picture of the Schubert circle. Despite not paying much attention to the historical and political context, Gramit illustrates the great impact the ideas from the circle had on the composer and also touches its political component. Another major study is *Schuberts literarische Heimat* by the Austrian Ilijah Dürhammer.<sup>20</sup> Dürhammer very much integrates the historical and political context of the Biedermeier period into his work and amongst other topics he brings out the political orientation of the circle.

A work that has proven extremely fruitful for this thesis and can be described as its starting point is Michael Kohlhäufel's *Poetisches Vaterland: Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts*.<sup>21</sup> Kohlhäufel's groundbreaking study is a literary one, but touches a lot of different areas. Grounded in the historical and political context, it sets out to explore the political element that permeates the circle of friends around Schubert. Kohlhäufel gives evidence of the political orientation of many Schubert friends. The analysis of literary works by members of the Schubert circle gives evidence of the political spirit that was present within Schubert's social surroundings. Politically tainted acknowledgements by Schubert himself are similarly picked up upon, with the inclusion of some of his song texts. Due to the literary orientation of this work, musical interpretations of these political statements are only touched upon at a surface level. On the level of language, however, Kohlhäufel goes very much into detail. He uncovers political longing and hidden political exclamations behind apparently trivial texts, as well as metaphorical speech and irony. All in all, his work provides an excellent basis for the critical interpretation of Schubert's song text and the music accompanying them.

A single article which demonstrates a political force of expression in Schubert's music is Ludger Rehm's 'Walzer und Winterreise: Lyrik und Gesellschaft bei Wilhelm

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<sup>19</sup> David Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle: Their Development and their Influence on his Music*, Ph.D., Musicology (Duke University, 1987)

<sup>20</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999)

<sup>21</sup> Michael Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland: Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999)

Müller und Franz Schubert'.<sup>22</sup> Rehm reveals political criticism on a purely musical level, which makes his article an important and useful pointer and an example of how music itself can be a medium for political criticism. Moreover, Rehm touches up on the prevalence of political poetry, also addressing the necessity of decoding during the Biedermeier era, and, following, the existence of political metaphorical speech. His article thus gives a direction to the political interpretation of Schubert's songs. In addition, the fact that Rehm admits that political levels have seldom been verified in Schubert's music underlines the relevance of this thesis.

A chapter that follows the same interpretative approach is Reinhold Brinkmann's 'Monologie vom Tode, politische Allegorie und die heil'ge 'Kunst': Zur Landschaft von Schuberts Winterreise', in which the author comes to the conclusion that Schubert's song cycle can be interpreted from a political angle. On the way to this conclusion, Brinkmann refers to the particularities of the Biedermeier era with its censorship restrictions, biographical information on the poet of the cycle, Wilhelm Müller, Schubert's poem 'Klage an das Volk', political metaphors in this poem and the song cycle, and, finally, musical particularities of the last song in *Winterreise*, 'Der Leiermann'. In essence, Brinkmann thus shows how a political interpretation of Schubert's songs can be undertaken. Although both of these contributions follow up a political interpretation of Schubert's music, their scope is limited due to the restriction to a single article and a single chapter. The thought processes of these two authors invite further investigation and a more detailed investigation of the political subject matter in Schubert's works.<sup>23</sup>

Two critical biographies of Schubert pay tribute to the political element that was a part of Schubert's short life. One of them is Harry Goldschmidt's valuable biography *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild*.<sup>24</sup> From 1949 until his death in 1986 Goldschmidt lived in former East Germany, and was thus likely to have had a good understanding of art forms emerging from an oppressive system. First published in 1954, his book represents a critical and judicious account of Schubert's life. Goldschmidt is profoundly convinced

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<sup>22</sup> Ludger Rehm, 'Walzer und Winterreise: Lyrik und Gesellschaft bei Wilhelm Müller und Franz Schubert' in: *International Journal of Musicology*, vol. 6 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997)

<sup>23</sup> Reinhold Brinkmann, 'Monologie vom Tode, politische Allegorie und die heil'ge 'Kunst': Zur Landschaft von Schuberts Winterreise', in *Vom Pfeifen und von alten Dampfmaschinen: Aufsätze zur Musik von Beethoven bis Rihm* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 2006)

<sup>24</sup> Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1962)

that Schubert's life cannot be closely enough connected with the social forces of his time, defining the span between 1815 and 1830, which covers Schubert's adult life time, as the florescence of Biedermeier suppression under the Emperor. Goldschmidt provides the reader with valuable information about relevant historical, social, cultural and political particularities into which he embeds the composer's life. Schubert's art is described as reflecting political powerlessness and insatiable hopes, but actual musical interpretations are not part of this biography.

Another biographical account of Schubert that focuses strongly on the political element is *Franz Schubert und das Wirtshaus: Musik unter Metternich* by Frieder Reininghaus.<sup>25</sup> The title of the book explains itself near the beginning of Reininghaus's work: even when the censorship rules tightened, the big topic of freedom was still discussed within the Schubert circle and among intellectuals in general at meeting places that had kept their unsuspicious and legal flair, which were 'Wirtshäuser' (inns) and 'Kaffeehäuser' (coffee houses). What is of great relevance for this thesis is the indication of Reininghaus that language and pictures are encoded in Schubert's songs, a process which would leave a deep impact on the internal structure of his music. This circumstance and the historical distance would stand in the way of a direct understanding of Schubert's music. Reininghaus stresses that Schubert's music also shows elements of refusal, protest, subtle provocation and defiant parody and therefore ultimately speaks of freedom. Reininghaus states that the covering up of Schubert's more hopeful moments of revolt and his more optimistic tone would stand in the way of this realization, as does the uncritical selection of Schubert songs conforming to the ideal of rapture.

The above account of the literature provides an overview of the foundation that this thesis is built on. It gives an impression of the variety of different subject areas involved and comments on related works from the field of musicology, but does not claim to be comprehensive. A political understanding of Schubert's songs is critically dependent on an understanding of his historical context. In areas such as literature and art it is common practice to embed works into their historical context. The absence of this approach in the musical tradition, however, is significant. This thesis thus takes a new approach by applying a generally non-musical approach to music. It will shed new light

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<sup>25</sup> Frieder Reininghaus, *Schubert und das Wirtshaus: Musik unter Metternich* (Berlin: Oberbaum, 1980)

on the composer by presenting his political side, which is hidden in his song oeuvre. Applying Schubert's political and historical context to show how the composer musically expresses his political voice in his songs in a variety of ways is the major contribution of this work.



## **2. Historical, Political and Cultural Context**

This chapter sets the historical, political and cultural context in which Franz Schubert and his works will be viewed. The first section will provide a historical outline, which, in order to convey the particularities of the Biedermeier era and its spirit, also draws on the time and events leading up to this era. Whereas this section mainly focuses on the depiction of historical facts, events and correlations, the following section seeks to present the characteristics of Biedermeier Austria. Here, the political and cultural side of the Biedermeier era, which had a crucial impact on the living conditions of Biedermeier contemporaries, is illustrated.

### **2.1 From the Enlightenment to the Wars of Liberation and the Congress of Vienna**

The following historical outline will sketch the most important events around the turn of the nineteenth century up to the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15. It sets out to explain the political involvement and ultimate disappointment of people just before and during the Biedermeier period, and will particularly consider the happenings in the central lands of the Habsburg monarchy that are today known as 'Austria'. It is not always possible to draw a clear line between events and influences taking their course in 'Austria' in particular and other German states that were part of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation until its dissolution in 1806. Despite their independence and sometimes strong regional differences, most events and mentalities had an effect on all of the German-speaking states. The historical outline will thus not differentiate between Austria and the other German-speaking states, but focus on life in Austria during the time span in question.

The Enlightenment paved the way to political thinking and consciousness; its central ideas were far-reaching and strongly influential at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Enlightenment roughly encompasses the second half of the eighteenth century and is characterized by a new way of thinking. In essence, it strove for the emancipation of the people, to set them free from all types of physical and spiritual

servitude.<sup>1</sup> The Enlightenment started a process that, albeit slowly, changed the basic structure of society. Up to then this structure was a feudal one, marked by its strict and absolute rule from above.<sup>2</sup> The changes in the area of economy and work in the first half of the nineteenth century already indicate the change of the feudal society to a bourgeois and capitalistic one.<sup>3</sup> The class of the 'Bildungsbürger', the educated citizens, began to arise. No longer confined by the restrictions of class, these educated members of society often created communicative spaces through 'Vereine' (clubs) and reading societies.<sup>4</sup> The rise of the educated citizens marked the beginning of a time of change from a sociological perspective. In the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, Enlightenment was actively practised by Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790). Despite strictly holding on to the old feudal structure, Joseph II incorporated for many the ideal of an enlightened ruler. On the whole, he followed a style of reign that is often titled 'Enlightened Absolutism'.<sup>5</sup> He passed many reforms that not only eased the everyday life of his subjects, but also encouraged more responsibility and independent thinking. In the eyes of many, Joseph's reforms endangered the old order.<sup>6</sup> With the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the privileged classes saw their worst fears confirmed: that the enlightened changes of their ruler ultimately led society to a stronger, revolutionary change.<sup>7</sup>

Due to the opposition of the aristocracy, Joseph II could not progress with his reforms as he wished and was even forced to withdraw some of them before his death in 1790.<sup>8</sup> Joseph's successor as Habsburg ruler and Holy Roman Emperor was his brother

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<sup>1</sup> Gerhard Schulz, *Deutsche Literatur zwischen französischer Revolution und Restauration; Erster Teil: Das Zeitalter Der Französischen Revolution: 1789-1806*, series: Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, ed. Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald, vol. 7, no. 1, 2nd edn (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1983, 2000), 30, 50

<sup>2</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Translated by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005)

<sup>3</sup> Dirk Blasius, 'Epoche – sozialgeschichtlicher Abriss' in *Vormärz: Biedermeier, Junges Deutschland, Demokraten, 1815-1848*, ed. Bernd Witte, series: Deutsche Literatur: Eine Sozialgeschichte, vol. 6, ed. Horst Albert Glaser (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980), 23

<sup>4</sup> Bernhardt Gießen, *Intellectuals and the German Nation: Collective Identity of a German Axial Age*, Translated by Nicholas Levis and Amos Weisz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 71-73

<sup>5</sup> Antal Mádl, *Politische Dichtung in Österreich (1830-1848)* (Budapest: Kiadó, 1969), 19

<sup>6</sup> William E. Wright, 'Introduction' in *Austria and the Age of the French Revolution*, ed. Kinley Brauer and William E. Wright (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Center for Austrian Studies, University of Minnesota, 1990), XXI

<sup>7</sup> William E. Wright, 'Introduction', XXI

<sup>8</sup> Alfred Körner, *Die Wiener Jakobiner*, series: Deutsche revolutionäre Demokraten III, ed. Walter Grab (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler und Carl Ernst Poeschel, 1972), 2

Leopold II, whose reign is always somehow forgotten because of its brevity of only two years due to his sudden death in 1792. Leopold had been an enlightened and absolute regent of Tuscany before his nomination as Emperor, and was believed to be wise and well-disposed for the implementation of a constitution. Like his brother, he passed many reforms to better the life of his subjects and turned Tuscany into one of the most progressive countries in Europe. Liberal minds attached great hopes to his reign in Vienna. The reign of both enlightened emperors, Joseph II and Leopold II, was marked by the introduction of more rights for the citizens, relative intellectual freedom and a certain political tolerance within the Habsburg Monarchy, which also fostered the circulation of the ideas of the French Revolution.<sup>9</sup> With the exception of the Republic of Mainz in 1792 and 1793, no other city could show as many supporters of revolutionary ideas as Vienna at the time.<sup>10</sup>

The French Revolution proved to be a key event for many nations in Europe. Most intellectuals welcomed the Revolution in its early stages;<sup>11</sup> it boldly and radically implemented the freedom many people had dreamt of in previous decades. Even as Napoleon Bonaparte, the self-appointed 'Emperor of the French' from 1804 onwards and leader of the revolutionary movement, occupied the German-speaking lands in order to extend the new freedom and break apart the old feudal order, a positive perception of the revolution remained. Many people greeted Napoleon as their liberator. The famous Code Napoleon also took effect in the many occupied German states. It included new rights, such as freedom and security for the individual, equality before the law, abolition of class differences, security and inviolability of property, separation of Church and state as well as the separation of justice from administration.<sup>12</sup> These new rules explain why many educated citizens in the German states were in favour of the French Revolution in its beginnings and why many people had opposite opinions about Napoleon. Celebrated as a liberator by some, he was regarded as a threat by others. However, because of the hunger

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<sup>9</sup> Körner, *Die Wiener Jakobiner*, 2, 3, 5-6

<sup>10</sup> Stephan Tull, *Die politischen Zielvorstellungen der Wiener Freimaurer und Wiener Jakobiner im 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), 183

<sup>11</sup> Schulz, *Deutsche Literatur zwischen französischer Revolution und Restauration; Erster Teil*, 84

<sup>12</sup> *Questions on German History: Ideas, Forces, Decisions from 1800 to the Present*, Historical Exhibition in the Berlin Reichstag, catalogue, English and 3rd updated edn (Bonn: German Bundestag, publications' section, 1989), 38

for more power and Napoleon's increasing repression of the German states, the tables gradually turned, and many people that once celebrated him started to despise him.

The Enlightenment had not only brought with it the striving towards freedom, but also the awakening of national identity. The people of the German lands began to value their Fatherland and Germanness.<sup>13</sup> German authors began to see the then fragmented Germany as a whole, establishing an identity based on the common language and traditions.<sup>14</sup> During the Age of the Enlightenment, the German lands were superficially united by the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which was a loose confederation of independent and separatist powers. It consisted of more than 1,790 states, which made a common political stance impossible. Only the two major powers Austria (which consisted of the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy at the time) and Prussia could exert any influence beyond their geographical boundaries. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was traditionally the ruler of the Habsburg states, whose power relied solely upon his position of dominance over his lands. There was a severe absence of central institutions: most sovereigns made the decisions for their own land and were, due to conflicting interests, generally not co-operative when it came to external affairs.<sup>15</sup>

During the wars against Napoleon the identity of a united German Nation, which had started to develop during the Age of the Enlightenment, gathered in strength. Philosophers and poets supported the idea of a German nation. Their vision was the creation of a single free Germany, which was built on the grounds of a common culture, language and history.<sup>16</sup> The German monarchs took advantage of the increase in nationalist sentiment: it was in their interest to shake off the French threat, as this, after the invasion by the French armies, was the only possibility to regain their old status of power. They promised the people political rights for a say and established a short-term alliance between the crown and the people with the aim to defeat the French armies under Napoleon.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Jürgen Schröder, *Deutschland als Gedicht: Über berühmte und berüchtigte Gedichte aus fünf Jahrhunderten in fünfzehn Lektionen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2000), 124

<sup>14</sup> Schulz, *Deutsche Literatur zwischen französischer Revolution und Restauration; Erster Teil*, 30

<sup>15</sup> *Questions on German History*, 25

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 34

<sup>17</sup> *Questions on German History*, 21

The Habsburg ruler who had to maneuver his country through the difficult time of the war with France and the French occupation was Franz II. He was the eldest son of Leopold II and, at the age of twenty-four, took over office after the sudden death of his father in 1792. With Franz II a new era set in from a political perspective. Franz disapproved of the enlightened and progressive ideas of his predecessors. Strongly opposing the ideas of the French Revolution and any liberal orientation in general, he tightened censorship control, strengthened police authority and ruthlessly persecuted and punished any progressive minds that he regarded as a danger to the feudal order.<sup>18</sup> The Jacobin trials from 1794, which were also set up to act as a public show and as a deterrent for the population, give evidence of his determination to preserve the old power structure. The Viennese Jacobins were convicted because of their attitude of mind and not because of committed deeds. In Vienna the meaning of the term Jacobins differed from the original French term: it was used as a political term that captured every individual that was a supporter of either a revolutionary or a moderate opposition movement. Every individual that criticized the form of government, the Emperor, the privileges of the aristocracy and the clergy or the prevailing social conditions was therefore assumed to be a Jacobin.<sup>19</sup>

Many of the convicted individuals were not Jacobins in the accepted sense, but individuals that still adhered to the ideas of the two enlightened Emperors that had preceded Franz II. Many civil servants belonged to the group of Viennese Jacobins.<sup>20</sup> The Emperor strictly dictated the monarchical system of reign, in which the traditional ruling classes kept their places. For the numerous civil servants, this situation was not easy to bear, as they belonged to the critical intelligentsia but had to put aside their creative aspirations for their loyalty. For some of them, this conflict proved unbearable, as in the case of the Schubert friend Johann Mayrhofer, who committed suicide. During the Biedermeier period the whole education system was oriented to the production of loyal state servants and loyal subjects. The Emperor himself made clear to some Laibach professors in 1821 that he wished that they would stick to old ways, as they were good.

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<sup>18</sup> Alfred Körner, 'Andreas Riedel (1748-1837): Zur Lebensgeschichte eines Wiener Demokraten' in *Jahrbuch der Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, vol. 27, ed. Max Kratochwill (Horn: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne, 1971), 95

<sup>19</sup> Tull, *Die politischen Zielvorstellungen*, 183

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 183-184

He would not need any scholars, but well-behaved and upright citizens, whom they should educate in this way.<sup>21</sup>

When Schubert was born in 1797, Emperor Franz II was already at war with revolutionary France. In 1804, Napoleon gave himself the title 'Emperor of the French'. In turn, Emperor Franz II declared Austria an Empire, with himself as hereditary Emperor Franz I. For a short time he was thus the Emperor of Austria, as Franz I, and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, as Franz II. In 1806, after Vienna was conquered by the French in the Third War of Coalition, Emperor Franz II resigned as German Emperor, which meant the end of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.<sup>22</sup> In 1809, the high point of patriotic war sentiments was reached in Austria when an 'Aufruf an die Deutsche Nation' (Call to the German Nation) was issued to inspire all German nations to rise against Napoleon.<sup>23</sup> Yet Austria's initiative to free Europe from Napoleon had no lasting success: Napoleon succeeded once more in occupying Vienna in the same year, and his victories in other parts of Austria weakened the country further. In October of the same year the 'Peace of Vienna' was reached and in April 1810, Napoleon married the daughter of Emperor Franz, Archduchess Marie Louise – a diplomatic wedding from the Austrian side that was to reduce the territorial losses of the country.<sup>24</sup>

It was the alliance between the people and the crown that put an end to the Napoleonic suppression in 1814 with the Wars of Liberation. On the grander scheme these wars were the effort of Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia who united against France. The victorious Battle of the Nations at Leipzig in October 1813 and the marching in of the allies in Paris in 1814 ended Napoleon's foreign domination.<sup>25</sup> For the people, their participation in the Wars of Liberation had a strong patriotic element and was connected to ideas of greater political freedom, which had been stirred up by the ruling

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<sup>21</sup> Peter Csendes, ed., *Oesterreich 1780 – 1848: Kriege gegen Frankreich / Wiener Kongreß, Ära Metternich, Zeit des Biedermeier / Revolution von 1848* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 1987), 7-8, 13

<sup>22</sup> Mark Allinson, *Germany and Austria 1814-2000*, Modern History for Modern Languages (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1f.

<sup>23</sup> Gerd Müller, *Deutsche Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert I, ca. 1800-1848* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990), 79

<sup>24</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft, ed., and Werner Aderhold, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series 8, supplement, vol. 4, *Franz Schubert: Thematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke in chronologischer Folge von Otto Erich Deutsch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), Einleitung

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

classes. For the first time they felt that emancipation was within reach. With the Liberation Wars the unity of the German states became a matter of the politics of the day. The constitution many people were hoping for after the war accompanied the wish for national unity, one that would smooth down regional differences.<sup>26</sup> Patriotic works by writers and poets were commonplace and poets in general showed absolute faith in Germany's future.<sup>27</sup>

Alongside poetry, song had developed as a medium of political communication. A multitude of political songs captured the imagination of society. Often these songs adopted the melodies of well-known folk-tunes.<sup>28</sup> However, there was also a number of newly composed works. Carl Maria von Weber for example set Theodor Körner's famous poetic cycle 'Leyer und Schwerdt' (Lyre and Sword) and even known and established composers were carried away by the patriotic wave and paid tribute to the patriotic sentiment of the day with their compositions. Carl Maria von Weber and Ludwig van Beethoven are probably the most familiar names today. Patriotic poetry and song generally expressed political enthusiasm, and, at the same time, served as a means of political communication. Especially folk-like songs were employed to mobilize against the archenemy. Patriotic works were promoted by the ruling classes in order to keep the population inspired for the common war against the outside enemy.<sup>29</sup> However, the Austrian government soon toned down the national enthusiasm, with Emperor Franz I giving strict orders to avoid all forms of passionate outbreak.<sup>30</sup> National enthusiasm could easily put the unity and thus the existence of the Monarchy at risk, as it held the danger that its many different nationalities could become too conscious of their own national identity. In addition, the toning down of national enthusiasm might also have served the purpose to hold down the liberal forces within the country.

After the successful defeat of Napoleon in 1814, the now liberated Europe demanded reorganization. The foundations of the new system of powers were set by the

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<sup>26</sup> Blasius, 'Epoche – sozialgeschichtlicher Abriss', 14-15

<sup>27</sup> Hans-Georg Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts in Deutschland von 1815 bis 1840* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969), 19-20

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 19

<sup>29</sup> Mádl, *Politische Dichtung*, 20

<sup>30</sup> Hugo Schmidt, 'The Origin of the Austrian national Anthem and Austria's Literary War Effort' in *Austria and the Age of the French Revolution*, ed. Kinley Brauer and William E. Wright (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Center for Austrian Studies, University of Minnesota, 1990), 180

victorious allies (Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia) at the Congress of Vienna that took place from October 1814 until June 1815.<sup>31</sup> The people, who had played a substantial part in Napoleon's defeat and who had laid their trust in the promises of the rulers, were soon disappointed. Aroused by national sentiment, they had expected the Congress to end the fragmentation of the German-speaking lands and to put an end to the absolute rule by the sovereigns. Instead, the Congress re-established the old order, which contradicted the demands of the people for freedom and participation in the political decision making process. The feelings of nationalism and freedom that had been strengthened by the victory over Napoleon were undermined by the foundation of the German Confederation (Deutscher Bund).<sup>32</sup>

Consisting of thirty-nine independent and individual states, each headed by a sovereign, this alliance only represented a superficial unity. The only common institution between the sovereigns was the Federal Convention at Frankfurt am Main, which was chaired by Austria. It constituted an assembly of envoys from different governments, who gathered to discuss matters of common concern and to agree on laws of important issues. Dependent on the agreement of its two major and usually opposing powers, Austria and Prussia, the German Confederation was a rigid political body, which certainly did not bring the desired unity of the German states. However, one thing the sovereigns did agree on was the suppression of new political and social forces, as these endangered their existence. Liberals and nationalists who dared to express demands for a constitution, national representation and freedom of the press after the reactionary victory were persecuted without mercy.<sup>33</sup> Feelings of nationalism and freedom, which had been strengthened with Napoleon's defeat, quickly dissipated.<sup>34</sup>

Despite different constitutions existing in the German states, the authority of the state, as defined in the constitution of the German Confederation, was always united in the head of the state. This way it was made sure that the monarchical principle was preserved and democratic impulses thwarted.<sup>35</sup> In Vienna the 'Heilige Allianz' (Holy

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<sup>31</sup> Dieter Langewiesche, *Europa zwischen Restauration und Revolution 1815-1849*, series: Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte, vol. 13, 3rd edn (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1993), 6

<sup>32</sup> *Questions on German History*, 47, 21

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 21

<sup>34</sup> Schröder, *Deutschland als Gedicht*, 164

<sup>35</sup> Blasius, 'Epoche – sozialgeschichtlicher Abriss', 16



Alliance) was founded. It was an alliance of the three Christian Monarchs, the Catholic Emperor from Austria, the Orthodox Czar from Russia, and the Protestant King of Prussia. The effective power of this political alliance was to ensure the monarchical principle in Europe, as well as the suppression of all national and liberal movement.<sup>36</sup> In Austria the 'Heilige Allianz' was particularly directed against the German national movement and their ideas and ideals that had risen during the Wars of Liberation. As an Empire that embraced many different nationalities and languages, it was in its interest to suppress all nationalist feelings, including German ones.<sup>37</sup>

The Congress of Vienna initiated an era of restoration and reaction. In Austria, as well as in many other German states, democracy remained a taboo.<sup>38</sup> The dominant political figure was Clemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich, who served Franz I from 1809 onwards. Originally stemming from an enlightened Rhineland family, Metternich fully obeyed the wishes of his Emperor and became his extended arm.<sup>39</sup> Convinced that only the restoration of monarchical legitimacy could guarantee peace and order, he made the Confederation act as a principal organ against liberal forces of all kinds. Endeavoring to preserve monarchical authority, the Confederation prohibited any opposition throughout the German states. Metternich maintained a harsh authoritarian regime for more than three decades in Austria, to the extent that the era is often referred to as 'Metternichzeit' (Metternich time). He successfully prevented the establishment of a national parliament and, instead, created an authoritarian state.<sup>40</sup> Unpopular during his lifetime, he was feared by contemporaries as the man of the political police and a network of spies, as well as the initiator and guard of an all-embracing censorship. Metternich's system of suppression and control was represented most strongly in Austria, but he strove to extend it to the German Confederation in its entirety.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Karl Vocelka, 'Verbündete und Gegner' in *Damals: Das Magazin für Geschichte und Kultur*, vol. 41, no. 1 (Leinfelden-Echterdingen: Konradin-Verlag, 2009), 19

<sup>37</sup> Josef Mayerhöfer, 'Wiener Biedermeier und Vormärz' in *Wiener Theater des Biedermeier und des Vormärz*, Austellungs-Katalog, Österreichisches Theatermuseum, ed. Josef Mayerhöfer (Vienna: Friedrich Jasper, 1978), 11

<sup>38</sup> Allinson, *Germany and Austria 1814-2000*, 91

<sup>39</sup> Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 112

<sup>40</sup> Allinson, *Germany and Austria 1814-2000*, 13f.

<sup>41</sup> Vocelka, 'Verbündete und Gegner', 19

In 1819, with the sanction of the Carlsbad Decrees, Metternich tightened the existing censorship control within the German Confederation even further. The cause for this was the assassination of the conservative playwright and government agent August von Kotzebue by the radical fraternity member Karl Ludwig Sand. Metternich seized this incident as an opportunity to launch a wave of repression in order to preserve his 'legitimate' government from radical insurgents and to put an end to the reform movements in Prussia, which might have lead to a constitutional government. The harsh Carlsbad Decrees were aimed to wipe out the alleged threat to the social order throughout the German Confederation. Fraternities were banned, strict controls on university teachers and students were introduced and censorship was tightened with the general introduction of censorship for newspapers, journals and books.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, a special commission with powers to investigate and prosecute liberal opponents throughout the Confederation was established.<sup>43</sup> In practice, the Carlsbad Decrees were implemented with varying levels of efficiency and commitment by the different states of the Confederation.<sup>44</sup> In Austria, where Metternich exerted direct control, censorship was considerably stricter than in most of the German states, spreading a climate of fear and resentment. Emperor Franz held absolute control and the politically interested bourgeoisie had to give up any hope for political participation. The German Confederation had developed into a hateful symbol of conservative repression.<sup>45</sup>

Born on 31 January 1797, Schubert was fully involved in the political upheavals of his time. His country was already at war with revolutionary France in his year of birth and, apart from short-lived peace settlements, continued to be up to 1814. The young Schubert was thus not only accustomed to an environment influenced by depravation and military presence, but also caught in the patriotic enthusiasm that was to build up before and during the Wars of Liberation. The political disappointment and resentment that

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<sup>42</sup> Allinson, *Germany and Austria 1814-2000*, 16. David Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd edn (Padstow: Blackwell, 2003) 91. Manfred Botzenhardt, *Reform, Restauration, Krise: Deutschland 1789-1847*, *Moderne Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 4 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), 87. Brendan Simms, 'Political and diplomatic movements, 1800-1830: Napoleon, national uprising, restoration' in *Germany 1800-1870*, *Short Oxford History of Germany*, ed. Jonathan Sperber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 41

<sup>43</sup> Blasius, 'Epoche – sozialgeschichtlicher Abriss', 20

<sup>44</sup> Allinson, *Germany and Austria 1814-2000*, 16

<sup>45</sup> Langewiesche, *Europa zwischen Restauration und Revolution*, 61

resulted from the Congress of Vienna, as well as the following period of repression and surveillance, also weighed on Schubert. In the prime years of his life the composer had to tolerate an oppressive atmosphere that was to significantly influence him and his works. While these historical and political parameters are usually considered and integrated by Beethoven scholarship, they are all too often ignored when it comes to Schubert and his works. The following section gives an overview of the circumstances that affected Schubert during his adult life time.

## 2.2 Characteristics of Biedermeier Austria – A Deceptive Image

The onset of the political restoration enforced by strict censorship rules exerted an oppressive grip and already indicates the climate of the years that were to follow the Congress of Vienna. This era, usually defined to reach from 1815 until 1848, carries different names. One of the most familiar ones – its usage has been justified in the introductory ‘Note on Terms’ – is that of the Biedermeier era. However, the idyllic, naïve and quaint ring of the term should not mislead and reduce the era to its light-hearted side of concerts, amusements and festivals, its quaint impression with a focus on home and family life, and its abundance of cultural assets and achievements. All of these elements were undeniably characteristics of the era, but were generally connected to political constraints.<sup>46</sup> In the middle of a bleak present they opened up a pleasurable substitute world for a nation that had to go through a long period of war and deprivation only to be faced with repressive state control in the following decades. The lack of external opportunities and the suppression of any political activity fostered the turn of the people to light-hearted activities, the cultural sphere and domestic life that also gave rise to the abundance of petit bourgeois art forms during the era.<sup>47</sup> The petit bourgeois charm of the era all too often whitewashes its harsh political reality, which, ironically, contributed significantly to this idyllic image. This section illustrates the more sinister and less well known side of the Biedermeier era, which was very much influenced and shaken up by

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<sup>46</sup> Reinhard Göttl, *Franz Schubert und Moritz von Schwind: Freundschaft im Biedermeier* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1989), 33

<sup>47</sup> Geraldine Norman, *Biedermeier Painting 1815-1848: Reality Observed in Genre, Portrait and Landscape* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 13. Hans Bisanz, ‘Authentic Biedermeier Painting and Graphic Art’ in *Vienna and the Biedermeier Era 1815-1848*, ed. Robert Waissenberger (New York: Mallard Press, 1986), 163

political censorship. Particularly areas that are of interest and relevance when it comes to the understanding of Schubert's songs, such as literature and music, will be emphasized.

The Congress of Vienna forms the pompous, but at the same time disillusioning start of the Biedermeier era. The political event was surrounded by many public festivities and amusements and invited the Viennese population to celebrate the end of a long period of war. The festivities surrounding the Congress were also put in place to distract the population from its political negotiations and proceedings, as the outcome of the political negotiations was anything other than in the interest of most contemporaries,<sup>48</sup> who were soon struck by disappointment and resentment; especially as their national enthusiasm had been aroused during the Liberation Wars. The formation of voluntary fighting corps had fundamentally contributed to the breakdown of the Napoleonic domination and was, justifiably, connected to high expectations of political involvement. None of these expectations were to be fulfilled. Contemporaries across all classes of society criticized the outcome of the political decisions, most of all the class of the educated bourgeoisie, which was longing for political articulation and participation.<sup>49</sup> The two central verses of the poem 'Am 18. Oktober 1816' (On 18 October 1816) by Ludwig Uhland, written exactly three years after the deciding Battle of Nations near Leipzig, summarize the feelings particularly well from a contemporary viewpoint:

Ihr Fürsten! seid zuerst gefragt:  
Vergaßt ihr jenen Tag der Schlacht,  
An dem ihr auf den Knien laget  
Und huldiget der höhern Macht?  
Wenn eure Schmach die Völker lösten,  
Wenn ihre Treue sie erprobt,  
So ist's an euch, nicht zu verträgen,  
Zu leisten jetzt, was ihr gelobt.

Ihr Völker! die ihr viel gelitten,  
Vergaßt ihr auch den schwülen Tag?  
Das Herrlichste, was ihr erstritten,  
Wie kommt's, dass es nicht frommen mag?  
Zermalmt habt ihr die fremden Horden,  
Doch innen hat sich nichts gehellt,

You rulers shall be asked first:  
Have you forgotten this day of the battle  
On which you lay on your knees  
And rendered homage to the higher power.  
When the people released you from your humiliation,  
When they proved their faithfulness.  
Now it is for you to not put off their hopes  
And to now accomplish your pledge.

You peoples who have suffered much,  
Have you too forgotten the heated day?  
The most glorious thing that you achieved,  
How come that it is of no use?  
You crushed the foreign hordes,  
But inside nothing has brightened,  
And free you have not become

<sup>48</sup> Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1962), 92

<sup>49</sup> Blasius, 'Epoche – sozialgeschichtlicher Abriss', 16-19

Und freie seid ihr nicht geworden, Wenn ihr das Recht nicht festgestellt. <sup>50</sup>	As you did not secure the right.
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The years after the Congress were marked by disappointment and disillusionment and the situation worsened with the Carlsbad Decrees, which opened up a decade marked by political repression.<sup>51</sup> The monarchical system of reign was kept alive by all means, and censorship had a major contribution to this. Censorship was nothing new to Austria, but took on new dimensions and was crucially amended with the 1819 Carlsbad Decrees.<sup>52</sup> It first and foremost served the suppression of all liberal tendencies, and was anything other than quaint.<sup>53</sup> An overarching police net with many informers amongst the population kept watch on a grand scale.<sup>54</sup> Even Catholic priests were enlisted by the government as moral, cultural and political watchdogs. The Church always had a prominent role within Austrian society and during the Biedermeier period it worked closely with the state in order to thwart any revolutionary tendencies amongst the population.<sup>55</sup> Apart from all areas of public life, the censors also monitored the travel activities of Austrian citizens, private correspondence, and the educational sector (universities in particular). In addition, all published items, such as books, plays, libretti, newspaper items and music were subject to censorship.<sup>56</sup> The secretive nature of spy and police investigations and the harsh and exemplary punishment for convicted offenders created an atmosphere of distrust and tension in Viennese public life.<sup>57</sup> The strictness of

<sup>50</sup> Schröder, *Deutschland als Gedicht*, 176

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 179-180. Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert*, 437

<sup>52</sup> Leon Botstein, 'Realism transformed: Franz Schubert and Vienna' in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 23

<sup>53</sup> Hugo Schmidt, 'The Origin of the Austrian national Anthem', 169

<sup>54</sup> Sybille Obenhaus, 'Buchmarkt, Verlagswesen und Zeitschriften' in *Vormärz: Biedermeier, Junges Deutschland, Demokraten, 1815-1848*, ed. Bernd Witte, series: Deutsche Literatur: Eine Sozialgeschichte, vol. 6, ed. Horst Albert Glaser (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980), 51

<sup>55</sup> William D. Baumann, 'Popular Catholicism in Vormärz Austria, 1800-48' in *Catholicism and Austrian Culture*, Austrian Studies X, ed. Judith Beniston and Ritchie Robertson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 61. Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 235

<sup>56</sup> Alice M. Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 37-38, 40f.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 35, 38, 40

the censorship system was entirely due to the Emperor, who in public nurtured the picture of the 'Good Emperor Franz' that many contemporaries believed in.<sup>58</sup>

All literary and journalistic activities were monitored meticulously during the era, as the government feared their political influence. For one thing, this led to an endless production of short poems, which seemed politically innocuous and were popular with the audience.<sup>59</sup> The majority of the poems produced at the time were based on naturalistic scenes or happenings. This theme was often light-hearted and seemingly trivial and, from a later perspective, a characteristic product of the era. In reality, however, the naturalistic scenery presented the last resort for many people to express their unfulfilled wishes. The poetic naturalistic picture, in which the world is sleeping or dreaming, conceals a portrayal of the suppressed people. The naturalistic scenery became a pervasive metaphor through which wishes and hopes could be communicated, the literary quality and expressiveness of such poems becoming secondary.<sup>60</sup> Other literary works too often fell back on the naturalistic topic, which could hide criticism behind naïve and romanticised depictions of nature. Many writers and poets worked with hidden meanings and developed a language full of metaphors. An art of ciphering developed which enabled thoughts that the Metternich system would have persecuted to be expressed.<sup>61</sup> Sharp witticism and trenchant comments were other means politically interested writers made use of, as open criticism was not possible in Austria.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, satire and irony could be applied when authors wanted to avoid danger.<sup>63</sup> They were also utilized by so-called 'Ulkgesellschaften' (Hoax Societies), such as the 'Ludlamshöhle' (Ludlam's Den) in

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<sup>58</sup> Walter Obermeier, 'Schubert und die Zensur' in *Schubert Kongreß Wien 1978, Bericht*, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 117

<sup>59</sup> Blasius, 'Epoche – sozialgeschichtlicher Abriss', 22. Peter von Matt, 'Naturlyrik' in *Vormärz: Biedermeier, Junges Deutschland, Demokraten, 1815-1848*, ed. Bernd Witte, series: Deutsche Literatur: Eine Sozialgeschichte, vol. 6, ed. Horst Albert Glaser (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980), 205

<sup>60</sup> Matt von, 'Naturlyrik', 208

<sup>61</sup> Frieder Reininghaus, *Schubert und das Wirtshaus: Musik unter Metternich* (Berlin: Oberbaum, 1980), 140

<sup>62</sup> Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts*, 194

<sup>63</sup> Hanns-Peter Reisner, *Literatur unter der Zensur: Die politische Lyrik des Vormärz* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1975), 111

Vienna. Schubert almost became a member, had it not been denounced as a 'secret and dangerous society' before he officially entered.<sup>64</sup>

A safe way to communicate discontent was the reinterpretation of existing literature that accentuated liberal ideas, such as many literary works from the Enlightenment. These works were readily understood as responding to the current political situation. A prime example would be Friedrich Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell*, which exemplifies the fight for freedom from tyranny. The freedom proclaiming Schiller, who was stylized as a poet spiritually uniting the German lands, had always been suspicious to the authorities and many of his plays were not allowed to be performed in Vienna for a long time.<sup>65</sup> Some of his poems were officially banned, but could still be freely accessed in the complete editions of his work; the censors knew that these editions were not affordable for many contemporaries and that it was only a small circle of educated citizens who was interested in them.<sup>66</sup> Reinterpretation was also popular with contents referring to ancient times, Antiquity or the Middle Ages; all of these bygone times were subject matters through which authors often voiced indirect political criticism by integrating parallels to the current time.<sup>67</sup>

Another safe method to express discontentment was to declare one's solidarity with suppressed nations fighting for independence and freedom. Philhellenism was the most prominent movement of this type during the 1820s. Philhellenism supported the Greek struggle of independence from the Turks and was mainly spread amongst members of the educated bourgeoisie. The most well known poet who contributed enthusiastically to this topic was Wilhelm Müller (1794-1827), who also became known as the 'Griechen-Müller' (Greek Müller) and is best remembered today as the poet of Schubert's two song cycles *Die schöne Müllerin* and *Winterreise*. His poems *Lieder der Griechen* (Songs of the Greek) were published in consecutive booklets and celebrated the bravery of the

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<sup>64</sup> The name derives from a dramatic fairytale, 'Ludlam's Höhle' (Ludlam's Den), by A.H. Öhlenschläger that had its premiere at the 'Theater an der Wien' in 1817. Ernst Hilmar and Margret Jestremski, eds, *Schubert Lexikon* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1997), 286

<sup>65</sup> David Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle: Their Development and their Influence on his Music*, Ph.D., Musicology (Duke University, 1987), 50-51. Stefan Neuhaus, *Literatur und nationale Einheit in Deutschland* (Tübingen and Basel: A. Francke, 2002), 102

<sup>66</sup> Obermeier, 'Schubert und die Zensur', 123

<sup>67</sup> Walther Dürr and Andreas Krause, eds, *Schubert Handbuch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Weimar: Metzler, 1997), 147

Greek in the face of political repression. Greek poems represented a direct political connection to the conditions within the German States and often used catchwords that were generally familiar to oppositional minds, such as 'freedom', 'honour and right', 'slavery', 'burden' and 'sword of the free'. In Philhellenism, which was also a surrogate for suppressed nationalism, the elevated mood of the Liberation Wars lived on.<sup>68</sup>

Many literary Biedermeier works reflect the political discontentment of the time, but are too vague in their message to be recognized as distinct political poetry. A language full of metaphors, pictures and symbols can always hide a deeper core – or not. However, the wish for a better and ideal world that can be read from many Biedermeier works suggests that political discontentment was never far from the surface. The wish for a better or ideal world is expressed most innocently and innocuously in the great number of magic plays and operas at the time, such as Schubert's own *Zauberharfe* (Magic Harp). Built on fantasy and presenting themes that reflect the striving for an ideal world, they conformed to the desire for freedom.<sup>69</sup> At the same time, they were not regarded as suspicious by the authorities, as they projected an apolitical and neutral plot.<sup>70</sup> Decidedly influenced by Mozart's well known *Die Zauberflöte* (The Magic Flute), the genre was already successful at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, as it was also distracting the thoughts of the population from the bleak reality of war and occupation.

Examples for later fairy tale operas in Vienna are *Fortunas Wunschhütlein* (Fortuna's little Hat of Wishes, 1819) by Josef Kinsky (1790-1853), Wenzel Müller's (1767-1835) *Tischlein deck dich* (The table that lays itself, 1819) and Adalbert Gyrowetz's (1763-1850) *Aladin* from 1822.<sup>71</sup> Concerning the numerous theatre plays at the time, which often acted pieces that had conversion and betterment at their heart, one of the most successful magic plays was Ferdinand Raimund's (1790-1836) *Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind* (The King of the Alpes and the Foe of the Humans). The piece had moral betterment at heart and was also set as a singspiel by Wenzel Müller

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<sup>68</sup> Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts*, 118, 121-122, 134, 136

<sup>69</sup> Göttl, *Franz Schubert und Moritz von Schwind*, 20

<sup>70</sup> Helen Geyer-Kiefl, 'Die heroisch-komische Oper (ca. 1770-1820)' in *Würzburger Musikhistorische Beiträge*, vol. 9, ed. Wolfgang Osthoff (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1987), 155

<sup>71</sup> Leopold Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte der Märchenoper*, 2nd edn (Halle an der Saale: Otto Hendel, 1896), 32



in 1828.<sup>72</sup> Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* also enjoyed striking success in the 1820s. It was often performed and its excerpts found their way into the most unusual places. The piece maintained its popularity as an object of nostalgia, an innocent satirical weapon, and a screen for the oblique expression of dismay, detachment, criticism and discontent, since it masked serious political argument and critique as nearly incomprehensible childish fantasy and fairy tale.<sup>73</sup> Fantasy literature became equally popular, so that reading and listening to the patently unreal circumvented the limitations of reality. Although controls were tight, people found means and ways to express themselves, developing a special contemporary language that was hiding its subversive meaning behind the seemingly insignificant.

Music too was subject to censorship. Apart from librettos, song texts, dedications and accompanying illustrations, also melodies, which could for example play on themes from revolutionary songs, were screened for political implications.<sup>74</sup> Music was a favourite Biedermeier art; it could convey a distinct character while being simultaneously unassertive. Leon Botstein has made two observations regarding the role of music making in the social and political context of Schubert's Vienna, which define its importance as a medium of expression at the time.<sup>75</sup> First, he describes music as a vehicle of dialogue with oneself. Unlike other art forms it retained a social character by being audible; it was protected in its function as private communication because of its opaque meaning, particularly in its instrumental forms. Second, he states that music functioned as the nominal and seemingly politically neutral occasion for social gatherings. It therefore developed as a language of social communication among contemporaries, often of covert messages at odds with surface meanings and thus providing a vehicle of communication that was relatively incorruptible. Music offered the possibility of circumlocution and secret communication without dishonesty; it was an ideal medium for making a point without having made it. It enabled the politically disappointed to express themselves 'openly' and was similarly a 'better world', the vanishing point out of the potent plight.

<sup>72</sup> Alfred Koll, 'Wiener Theaterfolge' in *Wiener Theater des Biedermeier und des Vormärz*, Ausstellungskatalog, Österreichisches Theatrumuseum, ed. Josef Mayerhöfer (Vienna: Friedrich Jasper, 1978), 54-55

<sup>73</sup> Botstein, 'Realism transformed', 22f.

<sup>74</sup> Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 44f. James M. Brophy, 'The public sphere' in *Germany 1800-1870*, Short Oxford History of Germany, ed. Jonathan Sperber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 200

<sup>75</sup> Botstein, 'Realism transformed', 31f.

Furthermore, music possessed advantages from other art forms in its printed form, as it was bought and sold in a climate less characterized by fear. The political effectiveness that music could achieve, however, was accessible only to such small circle that it could only be of a marginal character for the censorship authorities.<sup>76</sup> The following lines by the famous Austrian poet Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872), a dramatist who was acquainted with Schubert, give testimony of music's unique position during the Biedermeier era:

<p>Tonkunst, dich preis ich vor allen, Höchstes Lob ist dir gefallen, Aus der Schwesternkünste drei, Du die Freiste, einzig frei!</p> <p>Denn das Wort es lässt sich fangen, Deuten lässt sich die Gestalt, Unter Ketten, Riegeln, Stangen, Hält sie menschliche Gewalt.</p> <p>Aber Du sprichst höhere Sprachen Die kein Häschchor versteht, Ungreifbar durch die Wachen Gehst Du wie ein Cherub geht.<sup>77</sup></p>	<p>Musical Art, thee I am praising above all, Highest praise is granted thee, Out of the three sister-arts, You are the freest, uniquely free!</p> <p>For the word can be caught, The form can be interpreted, Under chains, bars and rods They are held by human force.</p> <p>You, however, are speaking in elevated tongues, Which no bailiff understands, You walk unassailably past the guards, As a cherub does.</p>
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Musical life in Biedermeier Vienna also provided the aspiring bourgeoisie with a room for active participation, one it had not been able to assert in the political realm. Like many other art forms it opened up a beautiful substitute and a place of refuge from the bleak reality.<sup>78</sup> Schubert's famous 'An die Musik' (To Music) is a prime example for this, as it directly addresses the relief art offers from the miserable present. Light-hearted musical works and plays were widespread at the time and seemingly represented a jovial and carefree lifestyle to the audience of today. In reality, however, many of these works reflect the strong wish for a better existence. The fact that these light-hearted art forms were regarded as harmless by the authorities freed them from strict censorship restrictions and contributed to their florescence, which led to the understanding of the Biedermeier

<sup>76</sup> Obermeier, 'Schubert und die Zensur', 117

<sup>77</sup> Göttl, *Franz Schubert und Moritz von Schwind*, 37

<sup>78</sup> Theophil Antonicek, 'Biedermeier und Vormärz' in *Musikgeschichte Österreichs*, vol. 2, 2nd edn, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger and Gernot Gruber (Vienna: Böhlau: 1995), 281, 283, 285, 312. Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 173. Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert*, 122-124, 126. Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts*, 177. Michael Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland: Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 52, 148

era as a quaint, jovial and carefree era. The type of art that developed during the Biedermeier period is very much connected to particularities of its time. Censorship decidedly influenced its appearance, and, despite being a great burden for artists of all types, contributed to the emergence of a unique art form with a charm of its own. Viewed out of its context, Biedermeier art is unfortunately often reduced to its quaint appearance today. The historical distance, which approaches two hundred years, further facilitates a view on Biedermeier works that is reduced to their quaint outer appearance.

Schubert's works are unfortunately no exception when it comes to the widespread reception of Biedermeier art. Especially his songs are considered to be epitomes of idyllic and light-hearted Biedermeier entertainment in the popular perception. The historical and political context that surrounded the composition of these songs, however, is usually forgotten. As with many pieces of Biedermeier art, it is fair to assume that also Schubert's songs functioned as aesthetic pieces of refuge, which, in some cases, formulated criticism directed to current affairs. Embedding them into the historical, sociological and political context can reveal this type of criticism, which, in true Biedermeier fashion, generally hides itself behind a quaint, naïve and idyllic surface. The above outline and the following investigations of Schubert's closer milieu serve as the foundation for a more comprehensive interpretation of his songs, which seeks to demonstrate that the formulation of political criticism is a valid facet in Schubert's song oeuvre.

### 3. Schubert's Social Environment

The strong influence that Schubert's friends had on the composer has been acknowledged by a number of scholars. As David Gramit has put it, 'Schubert cannot be detached from his circle of friends'.<sup>1</sup> An exploration of Schubert's closest milieu affirms the influence that the ideas and ideals of his friends had on him. It reveals how these young people, Schubert included, suffered from the restrictions of their time. A revolutionary and oppositional spirit towards the Metternich regime undeniably pervaded the friends surrounding Schubert and can be traced in their literary and other written output. The following investigation of Schubert's closest environment will first look at the wider circle of Schubert friends before focusing on the political testimonies of some individuals. In a second section a journal, *Beiträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, published by some Schubert friends will give further evidence of the liberal, patriotic and oppositional spirit that was alive within the group. The chapter will conclude with a section that shines light on political statements by the composer himself.

#### 3.1 Schubert's Circle of Friends

The wider circle of friends around the composer is a typical one for the Biedermeier era. Friendship was frequently regarded as a stronghold against suppression,<sup>2</sup> and also the circle of friends around Schubert protected its members from the harsh circumstances of the time.<sup>3</sup> With the help of art and high ideals it was oriented towards a better world and therefore embodied a contrast to the bleak reality. True to the tendency of the era – almost all Biedermeier circles consisting exclusively of male members generally had political motives at heart<sup>4</sup> – the circle of friends around Schubert shows political traits. According to Kohlhäufel, correspondence between members of the circle suggests that the Wars of Liberation had politicized the group.<sup>5</sup> Reininghaus sees the Schubert circle as

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<sup>1</sup> David Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier: The Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer's 'Heliopolis'' in *Music and Letters*, vol. 74, no. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 355

<sup>2</sup> Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1962), 436

<sup>3</sup> Frieder Reininghaus, *Schubert und das Wirtshaus: Musik unter Metternich* (Berlin: Oberbaum, 1980), 155

<sup>4</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 147

<sup>5</sup> Michael Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland: Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 60

belonging to the oppositional circles of intellectuals at the time,<sup>6</sup> Kohlhäufel describes it as a carrier of liberal and national sentiments,<sup>7</sup> and Dürhammer remarks that the Schubert circle opposed the Metternich system.<sup>8</sup>

Contrary to common perception, the circle of friends surrounding Schubert was neither a closed one, nor did it consist of one coherent group. Two main groups of friends can be defined; they are complemented by smaller groups that were in contact with one or both circles. In his book *Schubert's literarische Heimat*, Ilijah Dürhammer gives a visual overview of the different groups of friends around Schubert.<sup>9</sup> Pointing out the connections between them, he also provides his overview with a chronological timeline, and thus captures the social network of the composer. The circle of friends that strongly influenced Schubert from his school days onwards was the so-called 'Oberösterreichischer Tugendbund' (Upper Austrian Virtue Association), which was centred in Linz and to which many friends from his school, the 'Stadtkonvikt' in Vienna, belonged. The 'Tugendbund' was an idealistic connection of young men around Anton von Spaun (1790-1849) and Anton Ottenwalt (1789-1845).<sup>10</sup> The circle followed the late eighteenth-century ideals of 'Bildung', a term probably translated best as self-improvement and education, and held high the virtues of freedom, fatherland and friendship with the help of role models from German and Greek history and philosophy. With time, a second group of friends established itself in Vienna, which, in its beginning, was closely connected to the Linz Circle. Following the same ideals, both groups, the Upper Austrian and the Viennese one, were relatively congruous until 1817.<sup>11</sup>

However, the Vienna circle of friends soon developed its own identity. Despite regarding the high ideals of virtue of the Linz Circle as outdated, it nevertheless strove for the common ideal of freedom. Many members of the Viennese circle belonged to the so-called 'Unsinnsgesellschaft' (Nonsense Society), of which Schubert too was a member

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<sup>6</sup> Reininghaus, *Schubert und das Wirtshaus*, 155

<sup>7</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 57

<sup>8</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer and Pia Janke, 'Erst wenn einer tot ist, ist er gut' in *'Erst wenn einer tot ist, ist er gut': Künstlerreliquien und Devotionalien*, ed. Ilijah Dürhammer and Pia Janke (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 2002), 11

<sup>9</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 21

<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 45. Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 21-22

in 1817 and 1818.<sup>12</sup> With hoax, satire and nonsense many of the Viennese friends followed a different liberal path.<sup>13</sup> Schubert was a member of both circles. He first moved at the centre of the Linz Circle, from which he drifted, with time, more and more towards the centre of the Viennese circle. Up to 1818 Schubert was mainly influenced by the high ideals of the Linz Circle, while already having close ties to his Viennese friends. Also after 1818, the influence of Spaun and the older members of the Linz Circle remained strong.<sup>14</sup> Despite developing an identity of their own, the different groups of friends around Schubert were nevertheless connected by the common ideals of love for the fatherland, freedom and friendship.<sup>15</sup> Kohlhäufel describes the idea of freedom as the spiritual band that connected both circles mutually with each other.<sup>16</sup> When referring to the 'Schubert circle' or 'Schubert's circle of friends' in this discussion, it therefore has to be kept in mind that these terms refer to the wider circle of friends around Schubert.

Even today the belief persists that Schubert was the centre of one big circle of friends, that was a solely sociable group and the audience for Schubert's light-hearted songs. It is commonly overlooked that Schubert and his friends belonged to the academically educated middle classes and lower aristocracy, and hence the social classes that were most disappointed by the results of Europe's reorganisation and most traumatized by the politics of the era. Having been mobilized to fight in the 'Landwehr' (an army of volunteers) during the Wars of Liberation, these young and enthusiastic patriots were afterwards excluded from any political participation.<sup>17</sup> David Gramit has stated that Schubert at first moved at the periphery of the Linz Circle. This view is strengthened by recent research by Michael Kohlhäufel, who has determined that the circle did not form itself around the person of Franz Schubert, but emerged from a group that had come into being during the last years of the Liberation Wars. The following statement by Johann Chrysostomus Senn (1795-1857, teacher and lyricist), an influential and highly patriotic and revolutionary Schubert friend, confirms this assumption:

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<sup>12</sup> Rita Steblin, *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft: Franz Schubert, Leopold Kupelwieser und ihr Freundeskreis* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 37

<sup>13</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 273, 90

<sup>14</sup> Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert*, 167

<sup>15</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 16

<sup>16</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 45

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 56. Leon Botstein, 'Realism transformed: Franz Schubert and Vienna' in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 22

‘Die deutschen Befreiungskämpfe von 1813 bis 1815 hatten auch in Österreich eine bedeutende geistige Erhebung zurückgelassen. Unter anderem hatte sich damals in Wien gleichsam instinktiert ohne alle Verabredung ein großartiger geselliger Kreis von jungen Dichtern, Künstlern und Gebildeten überhaupt zusammengefunden, desgleichen die Kaiserstadt schwerlich bis dahin je gesehen und der nach seiner Auflösung nach allen Richtungen Samen der Zukunft streute.

Viele der Genossen nahmen in der Folge in Wissenschaft, Kunst, Poesie wie im Staat ehrenvolle Stufen ein. Einige trug der neue Umschwung der Dinge seit März 1848 auch in der politischen Welt empor: (...) In diesem Kreis dichtete Franz Schubert seine Gesänge, die später auch durch Liszt zu europäischem Ruf gelangen, und sang Johann Mayrhofer seine Gedichte, an denen nachher ein Feuchtersleben (als Herausgeber) Patenstelle vertrat. (...) Auch meine Gedichte, von denen Schubert manche in Noten setzte, entstanden in diesem Kreis zum Teil oder stehen in Beziehung zu demselben oder sind als Nachklänge zu betrachten, wenn auch die wechselvolle Gegenwart ihr Recht behielt.’<sup>18</sup>

This evidence of Senn has to be slightly amended, as many members of the circle had already formed friendships during their school time at the ‘Kremsmünster Konvikt’ and the ‘Stadtkonvikt’ at Vienna. Also Joseph von Spaun (1788-1865), Schubert’s older mentor from his schooldays, describes the formation of the circle as a reaction to the Napoleonic occupation:

‘Es war eine ernste Zeit und die Welt stöhnte damals unter der Gewaltherrschaft eines mächtigen Tyrannen. Der Wunsch der Erlösung wirkte unter der besseren Jugend begeisternd, es entstand in Deutschland der sogenannte ‘Tugendbund’ als Vorbereitung zu besseren Tagen. Auch wir waren begeistert, und waren darüber einig, daß nur Fortschritte den Jüngling, in Tugend und Wissenschaft durch lange Zeit zurückgehalten, zum besseren führen können. (...) Es entstand auf diese Weise ein Verein, ohne Namen, ohne Statuten, ohne Formalitäten, der sich weiter und weiter ausbreitete. (...) Obwohl dieser Verein durchaus nicht als eine politische Verbindung angesehen werden konnte, fing er doch an, einigen Verdacht zu erregen ...’<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> ‘The German Wars of Liberation from 1813 to 1815 also left behind an intellectual exaltation in Austria. Among other things a great social circle of young poets, artists and intellectuals grouped, as if it were by instinct, with little sense of purpose. A circle like this has hardly be seen in the Emperor’s City before, and after its dissolution it sowed seeds for future development. / Many of its members subsequently took up respectable ranks in science, art, poetry and the state. Some were taken aloft in the political world by the new turnaround of things since March 1848: (...) In this circle Franz Schubert composed his songs, which later attained European reputation through Liszt. Johann Mayrhofer also sang his poems here, which were later promoted by Feuchtersleben as publisher. (...) My poems too, of which some were set by Schubert, partly arose in this circle, or are related to it, or are to be seen as resonant with it, even though the ever changing present kept its right.’ Kohlhaüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 39

<sup>19</sup> ‘It was a serious time and the world then suffered under the reign of violence of a powerful tyrant. The better youth was enthused by the wish for release. In Germany the so-called ‘Tugendbund’ (virtue association) came into being as a preparation for better days. We too were enthusiastic and agreed that only progress, which had been held back for a long time through virtue and science, could lead the youth to betterment. (...) In this way an association was formed, without name, without statutes, without formalities, that spread further and further. (...) Although this association can not at all be seen as a political club, it nevertheless started to raise quite some suspicion ...’ Ibid., 40

As a civil servant who was employed by the state it was not in Spaun's interest to ascribe political tendencies to the circle. Nevertheless, political ideas and ideals as well as discontentment about the political status quo were very much alive within the circle. The group of young men was very much shaped by the late Josephinist Enlightenment and the Napoleonic Wars, both of which had evoked a striving towards freedom<sup>20</sup> that is unlikely to have vanished into thin air after the outcome of the Congress of Vienna. A second statement by Senn outlines the feeling of disappointment that was widespread after the Liberation Wars and also affected Schubert and his friends:

'Uebrigens war auch jene Zeit eine Epoche der >Errungenschaften<. Die Freiheit nach außen war durch die Vernichtung der Fremdherrschaft wirklich erkämpft, die innere Freiheit durch feierliche Verheißungen, wie es schien, verbürgt, welche so ziemlich alles in sich fassten, was die Schlagwörter der Gegenwart andeuten. (...) Aber ach – welche Enttäuschung! Das nur noch Verheißene wurde vorenthalten, das schon Gegebene zurückgenommen oder verkümmert, das Vertrauen hintergangen, die Stätten der Erde wurden Kerker, die Menschen zu Gefangenen. Aus war es mit dem beschaulichen Götterleben und übrig blieb nur noch die Klage, die Ergebung, die männliche Fassung im Hinblick auf die denn doch unausbleibliche schönere Zukunft.'<sup>21</sup>

A disappointed liberal and political spirit thus influenced the outlook of the wider Schubert circle. The influential Linz Circle in particular was demonstrably based on high aesthetics and ideals and the activities of its members were serious in nature. The study of German language and culture took up an important role within the circle. Leading German intellectuals of the eighteenth century, such as the German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) or the famous German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) stood in the centre of their discussions. The circle was also aware of the historical development and national character, and most of its members were highly educated and refined in the field of literature.<sup>22</sup> They eagerly studied Greek literature and civilization, probably also because of the advanced political views that were predominant

<sup>20</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, *Geheime Botschaften: Homoerotische Subkulturen im Schubert-Kreis, bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Thomas Bernhard* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), 21

<sup>21</sup> By the way, also those times were an era of >achievements<. The outer freedom had been truly won through the destruction of the foreign domination and the inner freedom was, as it seemed, guaranteed through solemn promises, which incorporated everything the catch phrases of the day indicated. (...) But alas - what disappointment! What was only promised was withheld, what had already been given was taken back or was aborted, the trust was deceived, the sites of the earth were turned into dungeons, the people became captives. The placid lifestyle of the Gods was over and the only thing remaining was sorrow, acquiescence and the male composure with regard to the better future that now, after all, failed to materialize.' Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 57-58

<sup>22</sup> David Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle: Their Development and their Influence on his Music*, Ph.D., Musicology (Duke University, 1987), 46-47, 74



in Ancient Greece. In addition, the heroic and patriotic life of young Greek men was seen as exemplary for the conduct of life behind the background of the Napoleonic threat during the Liberation Wars.<sup>23</sup> Often not primarily political in its disposition, the study of Greece and the numerous works inspired by Philhellenism had a political force of expression during the repressive Biedermeier era. As Michael Kohlhäufl has stated, the Philhellenism of the circle was not primarily political, but never apolitical in nature.<sup>24</sup>

As stated earlier, the values of friendship, freedom and the fatherland were of great significance to all Schubert friends. Members of the Linz Circle also had a strong desire for self-improvement and education, and strove to spread these virtues further in order to promote the betterment of society.<sup>25</sup> Even friendship served to achieve the betterment of the individual by aiming for moral improvement.<sup>26</sup> Michael Kohlhäufl is of the opinion that the understanding of friendship in Schubert's social surroundings was originally based on the realization of freedom through virtue and art.<sup>27</sup> The arts in general and literary and pictorial arts in particular took up a role of central importance within the circle.<sup>28</sup> Joseph Kenner (1794-1868), one of the most virtuous members of the Linz Circle, was of the opinion that art should not only convey enjoyment, but also accomplish an improvement of the individual. The close Schubert friend Johann Mayrhofer (1787-1836) stated that every human form of art would also try to improve the state of the individual.<sup>29</sup> In addition, the circle was of the opinion that art was only of a real value if it influenced the beholder in a positive moral way.<sup>30</sup> Art was also a form of refuge, which helped the members of the circle to overcome the daily tribulations. It was able to sensually convey an ideal world and could thus also take up patriotic traits.<sup>31</sup> The wish for a heavenly fatherland or a better faraway land for example was frequently uttered

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<sup>23</sup> David Gramit, 'Schuberts bildender Umgang: Denken und Ästhetik bei Schuberts Jugendfreunden' in *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 8 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992), 10. Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 51

<sup>24</sup> Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 62

<sup>25</sup> Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 36, 37

<sup>26</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 190

<sup>27</sup> Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 55-56

<sup>28</sup> Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 35-36

<sup>29</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 29-30

<sup>30</sup> Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 59

<sup>31</sup> Kohlhäufl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 58, 52. Gramit, 'Schuberts bildender Umgang', 10

within the circle and was caused by the general political discontentment.<sup>32</sup> Within the Schubert circle, as among circles of intellectuals in general, the big theme of freedom was still alive after the Carlsbad Decrees, and art could be an encoded mean to express it with care.<sup>33</sup> Schubert himself stated that art offered respite from ‘a miserable reality, which I endeavour to beautify by my imagination (thank God)’.<sup>34</sup>

A respite from the ‘miserable reality’ was also provided by the well-known ‘Schubertiads’, one of the best known activities of the circle. They are generally portrayed as light-hearted evenings of song, dance, drink and conversation and are part of the familiar popular image of Schubert’s life.<sup>35</sup> With their unpretentious sociability they conform to the widespread stereotype of Biedermeier music-making in the home.<sup>36</sup> To some extent the Schubertiads probably lived up to their image and provided some welcomed entertainment during which the friends could leave the harsh reality aside. David Gramit has noticed that the Schubert friends took refuge in a boisterous cheerfulness that was sometimes genuine, sometimes forced. The close Schubert friend Eduard von Bauernfeld (1802-1890), for example, Gramit sees as one of the circle’s most active participants in carefree activities, although, at the same time, his diary reveals his frustrations with various aspects of life. Light-hearted cheerfulness could be a strategy to come to terms with the current situation. As in the case of the Schubert friend Bauernfeld, an individual could indulge in carefree cheerfulness and, at the same time, express a more serious side.<sup>37</sup>

Ernst Hilmar has raised questions about the seemingly innocent nature of the Schubertiads. He thinks it possible that these meetings of the circle also had a political nature. After all, they were meetings of leading intellectuals of the day, the group mostly affected by the political repression and also the group most capable of uttering concealed

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<sup>32</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 59

<sup>33</sup> Herbert Zeman, ‘Franz Schuberts Teilhabe an der österreichischen literarischen Kultur seiner Zeit’ in *Schubert Kongreß Wien 1978*, Bericht, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 20

<sup>34</sup> Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 365. Internationale Schubert-Gesellschaft, ed., *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series 8, supplement, vol. 5, Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964), 250

<sup>35</sup> Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 266-267

<sup>36</sup> Ernst Hilmar, *Franz Schubert in His Time* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus press, 1988), Translation from the Original: *Franz Schubert in seiner Zeit* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1985), 28

<sup>37</sup> Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 260, 266

criticism. According to Hilmar, the fact that there is no mention of irate discussions concerning political pressures does not mean that these did not exist: silence may be proof enough in itself.<sup>38</sup> Considering the liberal orientation of the Schubert friends, Hilmar's supposition is not far fetched. In this context a casual observation of Elisabeth Norman McKay in her Schubert biography further hints at the possibility that the Schubertiads could have been more than just entertainment and a flight from the restrictive present for the friends. When outlining a 1827 Schubertiad, McKay states that the event ended with gymnastics, which were fashionable amongst 'young men in Vienna, ever since physical education had been popularized by the nationalist and liberal publicist 'Turnvater' (literally: gymnastic father) Ludwig Jahn in the 1810s'.<sup>39</sup> This observation is of considerable interest from a political point of view. The gymnastic movement around Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852) strongly reflected a nationalist sentiment that pursued liberal aims.<sup>40</sup> Not only did it strive to proclaim equality, which was realized on a smaller scale by the equality of all gymnasts, but also stood in for political freedom. The numerous songs of the movement show that gymnastic activity was seen as preparation for a possible and necessary fight for freedom and the fatherland. Some songs even call out for a revolutionary uprising.<sup>41</sup> The gymnastics at the end of the Schubertiad are in all likelihood an expression of the liberal and political mindset of the circle.

The other established social and less known activity of the wider Schubert circle was the literary reading evenings. Held from 1822 onwards, they often alternated with the Schubertiads.<sup>42</sup> These literary evenings may have been gatherings of liberal discussion. The Schubert friend Franz von Bruchmann (1798-1867) confirms this supposition in his later biography. He states that these meetings discussed the state of the German Nation, its inner conflicts in a political, artistic, scientific, religious and bourgeois respect. Apart

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<sup>38</sup> Ernst Hilmar, 'Music in Biedermeier Vienna' in *Vienna and the Biedermeier Era 1815-1848*, ed. Robert Waissenberger (New York: Mallard Press, 1986), 256

<sup>39</sup> Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert*, 270

<sup>40</sup> *Questions on German History: Ideas, Forces, Decisions from 1800 to the Present*, Historical Exhibition in the Berlin Reichstag, catalogue, English and 3rd updated edn (Bonn: German Bundestag, publications' section, 1989) 42, 94f.

<sup>41</sup> Hans-Georg Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts in Deutschland von 1815 bis 1840* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969), 61

<sup>42</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, 'Schlegel, Schelling, Schubert: Romantische Beziehungen und Bezüge in Schuberts Freundeskreis' in *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 16/17 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1996), 30

from literary issues, the friends also discussed the missing universality of the Germans and the destruction of patriotism by the Catholic Church.<sup>43</sup> The liberal sentiments of the circle had to be kept a secret during Schubert's lifetime. However, a brief look at the time following the 1848 March Revolution confirms the liberal political orientation of the Schubert friends. According to Eduard von Bauernfeld, the Schubert circle still lived on in 1848 and was closely connected to the two well-known poetic freethinkers Anastasius Grün and Nikolaus Lenau. Bauernfeld further confirms that the members of the circle, everybody in his own way, fought for spiritual and intellectual freedom and against the Austrian system.<sup>44</sup>

The wider Schubert circle is described by Ilijah Dürhammer as an early Biedermeier association that was partly revolutionary and overall of a German national and liberal orientation.<sup>45</sup> That it was not as harmless as many members wanted it to appear is shown by the attention it received from the Habsburg authorities. Already in 1815, when the exaltation of the previous Liberation Wars was no longer welcomed and when repressive measures started to take hold, the circle was denounced to the police as an illegal secret society. As a result, the friends were singled out for close observation and harsh treatment at their school. Senior members of the Bildung Circle thus approached an influential friend, Michael Arneth, who was a respected churchman at a monastery. Due to Arneth's favourable report in the activities of the circle to the Austrian authorities, the friends, of whom many were visiting the 'Stadtkonvikt' in Vienna at the time, were allowed to continue with their activities.<sup>46</sup> After the Carlsbad Decrees, which were to work rigorously against any liberal tendencies, the Schubert circle was victim to the first harsh police measures of the Metternich regime in 1820. Members of the circle were spied on, as the authorities were suspicious of their liberal orientation and assumed a connection to fraternity circles. The officials discovered an inclination of the friends towards idealistic philosophy, which was forbidden at the time.<sup>47</sup>

The close observation of the Schubert circle was the result of the 'Senn affair' in March of the same year. Johann Senn was probably the most radical of the friends. He

<sup>43</sup> Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin: Henschel, 1960), 159-160

<sup>44</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 132

<sup>45</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 15

<sup>46</sup> Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert*, 54-55. Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 147

<sup>47</sup> Dürhammer, *Geheime Botschaften*, 28

was somebody who, following the Liberation War ideal of 'Word and Deed', really wanted to turn idealistic poetical words into deeds.<sup>48</sup> Senn seems to have been the leader of the fraternity movement in Vienna. A gathering to celebrate the departure of a fellow Tyrolean friend, at which an uninvited police spy was present, revealed this connection.<sup>49</sup> When police officials searched Senn's apartment because of this, they found badges with the inscription E (for 'Ehre' / honour), F (for 'Freiheit' / freedom) and V (for 'Vaterland' / fatherland).<sup>50</sup> This evidence was more than sufficient to the police for Senn's immediate arrest. During the search of Senn's apartment other members of the Schubert circle were present, among them Schubert himself, who, like the others, insulted the police officers and was thus taken in for questioning. In the heated dispute with the police Senn himself even gave away that the government would be too stupid to reveal his secrets. He was held in custody for two years without a trial and was then deported to his native Tyrol.<sup>51</sup> The circle of friends was not only shocked about the incident, but suffered from the loss of their friend with whom they stayed in touch after his deportation. The imprisonment of Senn was not an unusual measure by the state, but a frequent and everyday enforcement for the suppression of state opponents, also before the Carlsbad Decrees.<sup>52</sup> The incident strongly reflects the need of the Schubert friends to keep a low profile with regard to their liberal orientation. The 'Senn affair' had served its purpose: intimidation.<sup>53</sup>

The liberal orientation of other members of the circle is not as evident, but can still be traced. Anton Ottenwalt (1789-1845) was a central member of the Linz Circle and left quite a number of literary statements that show a distinct political voice. One of them is his poem 'Sehnsucht' (Longing), in which he longs for a fatherland high above the stars. The strong longing of the speaker for this heavenly fatherland hints at the unsatisfactory state he finds himself in and holds a connection to the dissatisfaction of the current time. In Ottenwalt's 'Das Land der Freiheit' (The Land of Freedom), which is

<sup>48</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 199, 309

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 311. Ruth Melkis-Bihler, 'Politische Aspekte der Schubertzeit', in *Schuberts Lieder nach seinem literarischen Freundeskreis*, ed. Walther Dürr (Frankfurt am Main, Vienna: Lang, 1999), 92. Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 124. Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 154

<sup>50</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 130

<sup>51</sup> Dürhammer, *Geheime Botschaften*, 28

<sup>52</sup> Melkis-Bihler, 'Politische Aspekte der Schubertzeit', 92

<sup>53</sup> Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin: Henschel, 1960), 158

modeled on Goethe's 'Mignon', this dissatisfaction emerges undeniably as a political one, as the seventh verse of the poem demonstrates:<sup>54</sup>

So ist kein Land der Freiheit mehr hienieden? - Ein Land ist doch, wo sie mit seligen Frieden Des unterdrückten Edlen Herz erfüllt, Und seine ruhelose Sehnsucht stillt. Kennst du es wohl? Dahin, dahin Möcht' ich auf Flügeln meiner Sehnsucht fliehn! - <sup>55</sup>	Is no land of freedom left down here? - A land, certainly, where with blissful peace The heart of the noble one is filled, And where his restless longing is stilled. Do you know it? There, there I want to escape to on the wings of my longing! -
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As Michael Kohlhäufel has stated, these lines bear clear witness to the political roots of the world-weariness at the time. One of the poem's previous verses connects the land of freedom to the Swiss freedom hero Winkelried, who is said to have heroically opposed the Habsburg armies in 1386. There is thus little doubt felt that Ottenwalt refers to a political freedom in his poem.<sup>56</sup>

Another member of the circle whose liberal and political orientation can be easily traced is Eduard von Bauernfeld (1802-1890), the court poet and comedy writer to whom Schubert was very close in the last years of his life. Bauernfeld had a talent for ironic criticism and often exposed the shortcomings of the prevailing system in that way. With his work *Die Republik der Tiere* (The Animal Republic) he directly criticized the Metternich system.<sup>57</sup> Bauernfeld had frequent run-ins with the police, as he was very vocal in his campaigns against censorship.<sup>58</sup> He also did not hide his commitment for the 1848 March Revolution and lost his position as a civil servant as a result.<sup>59</sup> A Schubert friend from the composer's earlier days whose political orientation cannot be overlooked is the censor and writer Johann Mayrhofer.<sup>60</sup> Mayrhofer was a productive poet, and many

<sup>54</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 148

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 149

<sup>57</sup> Walter Obermeier, 'Literature in the Biedermeier Period' in *Vienna and the Biedermeier Era 1815-1848*, ed. Robert Waissenberger (New York: Mallard Press, 1986), 163, 236. Hans Bisanz, 'Authentic Biedermeier Painting and Graphic Art' in *Vienna and the Biedermeier Era 1815-1848*, ed. Robert Waissenberger (New York: Mallard Press, 1986), 176

<sup>58</sup> Kristina Muxfeldt, 'Political Crimes and Liberty, or Why Would Schubert Eat a Peacock?' in *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, vol. 17, no. 1 (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1993), 61

<sup>59</sup> Gerd Müller, *Deutsche Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert I, ca. 1800-1848* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990), 89

<sup>60</sup> In his article on Mayrhofer, *Dokumente zur Biographie Johann Mayrhofer's*, Michael Lorenz refers to the poet as a 'Revisor', who, in his status, is to be placed below the 'Zensor' (censor). In her book *Schubert's Poets and the Making of Lieder*. Susan Youens calls Mayrhofer a censor. A contemporary poem on

of his poems were set to music by Schubert. Often these settings have a political message at heart, which is why a more detailed portrait of the poet and the songs that Schubert derived from his poetry will be presented in section 4. Despite his profession, Mayrhofer was a great liberal and freethinker who was sympathetic towards revolutionary ideas. Mayrhofer as a censor knew how to veil his criticism, which is why many of his poems are illusive in character and require interpretation to reveal their political substance.

One of Mayrhofer's most explicit national, patriotic and liberal poems is 'An die Deutschen' (To the Germans). It was widely distributed among his friends and, due to its content, was only published posthumously in the second volume of Mayrhofer poems from 1848. In 'An die Deutschen' Mayrhofer directly addresses the German nation and predicts its resurrection. The slogan 'Wort und That' (Word and Deed), which during the uprising against the Napoleonic suppression underpinned the eagerness of the people to turn their words into deeds, draws a direct connection to the Liberation Wars. The simple subtitle of the poem, the year '1813', establishes this connection right from the beginning and similarly reminds the reader of the demand for freedom that lies at the heart of this appeal 'to the Germans'. Mayrhofer was also friends with the great poet and war hero of the Liberation Wars, Theodor Körner (1791-1813), whom he integrated into the circle of friends while the latter stayed in Vienna. Körner was the author of numerous poems that not only inspired for the overcoming of the foreign enemy, but proclaimed a political freedom that was to follow this venture. Mayrhofer's membership in a 'Burschenschaft', which were notorious student fraternities in which the liberal and patriotic ideas were kept alive, gives further testimony of his liberal mind. Lists of fraternity members in German cities filled many pages. In Vienna, however, where a liberal orientation of any kind raised much more suspicion, only twelve individuals can be associated with a fraternity circle. Among them were Mayrhofer and the other Schubert friends Franz von

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Mayrhofer by Eduard von Bauernfeld is similarly called 'Ein Wiener Censor' ('A Viennese Censor'). In order to avoid any misunderstandings in translation the term 'censor' will be used throughout. The reader, however, should keep in mind that there is a distinction between the two German terms 'Revisor' and 'Zensor'. Michael Lorenz, 'Dokumente zur Biographie Johann Mayrhofer's' in *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 25 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2000). Susan Youens, *Schubert's Poets and the Making of Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Bruchmann (1798-1867), Anton von Doblhoff-Dier (1800-1872) and Johann Senn, who was regarded as the head of the circle.<sup>61</sup>

Above, different works by Schubert's friends that point to a political orientation of the Schubert circle have been outlined. In his book *Poetisches Vaterland: Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts*, Michael Kohlhäufel presents material that is indicative of the political mindset within the Schubert Circle and its members.<sup>62</sup> He for example quotes a letter from Anton Ottenwalt to Franz von Schober from 16 May 1813, which suggests that the Wars of Liberation enhanced the political side of the Bildung Circle. Kohlhäufel also points out that the reading matter of the circle evolves ideals of freedom in a broad variety: through the history of peoples and their development to humanity, through aesthetic education and through the merits of ancient Greece. Herder's 'Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit' (1784 ff.), Schiller's letters 'Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen' (1795) and the study of the Greek in the 'Handbuch der Geschichte der Staaten des Alterthums' (1799) of the historian Arnold Heeren (1760-1842) belonged to the works read by the members of the circle.<sup>63</sup>

The ideals of his friends greatly influenced the composer.<sup>64</sup> The circle formed the intellectual and social context for Schubert's song production.<sup>65</sup> It offered an enormously important resource, as its members were very much aware of the developments in contemporary literature.<sup>66</sup> In addition, the texts and poems that were written by members of the circle were also a compositional source for Schubert. Dürhammer has observed that up to 1818 many of the texts written by members of the circle were set to music.<sup>67</sup> Further, Gramit has come to the conclusion that Schubert employed his musical language to express the aesthetic and intellectual ideals of the circle. The circle was the audience for whom Schubert wrote his songs, which is why they are intimately related to its ideals and expectations.<sup>68</sup> The refuge that the members of the circle found in art is reflected in

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<sup>61</sup> Melkis-Bihler, 'Politische Aspekte der Schubertzeit', 92. Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 124

<sup>62</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 60-61

<sup>64</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 17

<sup>65</sup> Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert*, 45

<sup>66</sup> Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 91

<sup>67</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 326

<sup>68</sup> Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 119, 165



Schubert's music. It consoled the individual by projecting everything genuine, good and beautiful to the hereafter.<sup>69</sup> This artistic compensation in itself is an indirect political statement, as the flight to a better land through the realm of art is also a comment on the shortcomings of the present and the inability to express the dissatisfaction about the status quo openly.

Direct patriotic and political elements are not as apparent, both within the circle of friends and as an element in Schubert's songs. The cover the repressive present demanded masks this element, which was nevertheless very much alive within the circle and Schubert's song oeuvre alike. Like-minded people outside the circle, intellectual and liberal minds, were probably aware of the veiled criticism that seems to linger in some Schubert songs. The majority of Biedermeier contemporaries, however, might have perceived them on their respective surface level or regarded them as yet another output of longing that allowed for escapism. And yet the genre of the song was not an unusual carrier of political messages. Songs of national liberation and freedom were taken up by everybody before the liberal forces were held down by restrictive measures.<sup>70</sup> As the following discussions will unfold, it appears that the political element was also important to Schubert. The next section will have a closer look at a journal published by members of the Linz Circle, which contains political statements and thus gives further evidence of the politically aware milieu around Franz Schubert.

### 3.1.1 '*Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*' and their political leanings

*Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge* (Contributions to the Education of Young Men) was a journal that was put together by Schubert friends belonging to the idealistic Linz Circle. The young authors selected the texts and also wrote some of their own; the publisher and contributors, however, were not known to the public.<sup>71</sup> Two volumes of the journal were published with the publishing company Härter in Vienna, the first one in 1817 and the

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<sup>69</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 72

<sup>70</sup> George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, 3rd edn (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 138

<sup>71</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, 'Zu Schuberts Literaturästhetik: Entwickelt anhand seiner zu Lebzeiten veröffentlichten Vokalwerke' in *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 14 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1995), 28

second one in 1818.<sup>72</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer describes the 'Beyträge' as the official programme of the Upper Austrian friends, which mediates the strong and emotional bond of friendship, enthusiastic love for the fatherland and the unity of word and deed.<sup>73</sup> In his obituary for his friend Anton von Spaun, who was one of the main authors of the journal, Adalbert Stifter (1805-1868) gives the following information about the journal:

'... Daß ihn der Sinn für die Hebung der Menschen hauptsächlich beseelte, zeigte er schon in der Jugend, wo er mit gleichgesinnten Freunden eine Zeitschrift für Bildung der Jünglinge herausgab. Zwei Bände waren erschienen, als aber ein bekanntes Oppositionsblatt in Weimar das Erscheinen als eine Morgenröthe deutscher Gesinnung in Österreich begrüßte, wurde Spaun durch ernste Drohungen an der Fortsetzung gehindert, und das Erschienene verschwand aus dem Buchhandel.'<sup>74</sup>

Already the praise by a liberal German paper and the sudden and rigorous prohibition of the journal by the state in the year of the Carlsbad Decrees suggest that the content of the journal showed liberal political traits.<sup>75</sup> A closer look at its contents confirms this suspicion.

The preface of the journal describes history as a teacher of manly and bourgeois virtue. Through history, especially the testimony of great men who lived and died for the fatherland, young men should learn to value their fatherland. The patriotic feeling is intensified after the introduction with an ode by Anton Ottenwalt, 'Der Jüngling und sein Vaterland' (The Youth and his Fatherland). It ends with the proclamation that every word should mature into deeds and thus not only reminds of the amalgamation of word and deed during the Wars of Liberation, but also hints at the endeavour of the 'Beyträge' to update this unity during a time of political powerlessness.<sup>76</sup>

More than half of the journal consists of contributions that were not written by the friends and stemmed mainly from Antique and Greek literature as well as from the Age of the Enlightenment.<sup>77</sup> These contributions, which are by and large translations and

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<sup>72</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 189

<sup>73</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 57

<sup>74</sup> 'That he was mainly inspired by the sense for the improvement of mankind was already apparent in his youth, when he published a journal for the education of young men with similarly minded friends. However, after two volumes had appeared, the journal was welcomed as the dawn of German views by a liberal and well-known radical journal from Weimar. As a result, Spaun, facing serious threats, was prevented from working on a sequel and the published volumes vanished from the book trade.' Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 190

<sup>75</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 190

<sup>76</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 191-192

<sup>77</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 59

paraphrases of classical texts, not only serve as examples, but as a historical masquerade and thus allowed the friends to indirectly address topics that would not have passed censorship under normal circumstances.<sup>78</sup> One example of this is the portrayal of the liberal and democratic political system of the Greek states in a long footnote in the first volume of the journal. Many texts from previous times, whether antique, medieval or old-German, show an analogous reference to the present. Historical events, like the depiction of wars or heroes that stand in for freedom, are often taken up in the journal and generally build a bridge to the recent Liberation Wars. The Greek wars for freedom against the Persians for example are discussed in length in both volumes of the journal. Their portrayal inevitably reminds attentive readers of the similar and recent situation during the Wars of Liberation and the disappointed hopes and promises that belonged to this patriotic war.<sup>79</sup>

A more recent contribution that gives evidence of the liberal and oppositional character of the journal very clearly are citations by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852) and Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) about virtue and freedom in speech and deed.<sup>80</sup> As mentioned earlier, the gymnast movement of Jahn reflected nationalist sentiments and had liberal aims at heart. In 1811 Jahn had encouraged the people to revolt and to found a German national state. Arndt was an individual similarly well known for his liberal orientation. As the author of numerous patriotic works during the French occupation, amongst them his *Lieder für Teutsche* (Songs for Germans) from 1813, he also stood up for the foundation of a German national state. In addition, both men were strongly connected to liberal German student fraternities. As Ilijah Dürhammer puts it, the citations of these two liberal minds have to be understood as a clear provocation.<sup>81</sup>

The significant number of texts by other authors probably also served as a tool of distraction. These texts surround more suspect contributions by the authors from the Linz Circle themselves, who generally guised their criticism as well as their patriotic and liberal thoughts with themes from antiquity.<sup>82</sup> Scenes of Ottenwalt's drama *Caesar*,

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<sup>78</sup> Walther Dürr, "‘Thatenfluten’ und ‘bessere Welten’: Zu Schuberts Freundeskreisen" in *Schuberts Lieder nach seinem literarischen Freundeskreis*, ed. Walther Dürr (Frankfurt am Main, Vienna: Lang, 1999), 27

<sup>79</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 199f.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 206

<sup>81</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 57

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 64

which has been mentioned earlier, can be found in the first volume of the 'Beyträge'. In these scenes it is apparent that Ottenwalt opposes boundless power from above and ardently stands up for a constitutional state model.<sup>83</sup> The second volume of the journal contains an ode by Anton Ottenwalt titled 'An Klio' (To Klio), the Greek muse of history. The eleven verse long ode highly praises Greek democracy and names Greek freedom, the love of the fatherland and friendship between heroes as brilliant examples young men should pursue. In the last verse of the poem, a connection to German thoughts of freedom is established with the ancient war hero Hermann the Cheruski, a chieftain who defeated the Roman army in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest and who held an allied coalition of Germanic tribes together in opposition to the Romans.<sup>84</sup> Ottenwalt laments here that there is no second Hermann and therefore defines how the whole poem is to be understood: as a portrayal of ideals that he longs to gain a foothold in the present.

When the poem was written in 1812, this longing still seemed realistic; when parts of it were published in the second volume of the 'Beyträge', however, it was less likely to be fulfilled. In his dialogue 'Raphael', which was also published in the second volume of the journal, Johann Mayrhofer has commented on the longing for the Gothic period or the Old German Middle Ages. According to Mayrhofer, this longing is the result of the pain the Germans experienced due to the disgraceful situation of their fatherland with its political powerlessness. It would essentially be a longing for a time where the nation was more honest and vigorous. Michael Kohlhäufel sees the reference to the Old German Middle Ages in the 'Beyträge' as a portrayal of a Golden Age that was to legitimate a future national state.<sup>85</sup> The turn to ancient Greek traditions had similar roots. According to Dürhammer, it was a utopia directed to the past, which served to find a national reality.<sup>86</sup>

The contents of the *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, as well as numerous poems by Schubert friends – of which some were published in the journal – show that the liberal thoughts that had been roused during the Liberation Wars still lived on in

<sup>83</sup> Dürr, "'Thatenfluten' und 'bessere Welten'", 27. Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 206

<sup>84</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 64, 304. Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 200

<sup>85</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 204-205

<sup>86</sup> Dürhammer, *Geheime Botschaften*, 43

Vienna.<sup>87</sup> The journal and the Schubert friends responsible for its creation show a liberal orientation that is not able to come to terms with the current political situation. The journal is yet another component that gives further evidence of the liberal political spirit within the Schubert circle.

### 3.2 Indications of Schubert's Political Views

The discussion of Schubert's close social environment suggests that this group Schubert belonged to stood in opposition to the repressive Metternich system.<sup>88</sup> Schubert himself though is usually not regarded as a critical artist. On the contrary, the composer has been misconstrued by history under the influence of nostalgia and romantic glorification.

In Britain, a sentimental view on the composer first came into being during the Victorian age, where Schubert was purely associated with the genre of song, which then lacked prestige and was regarded as feminine. In addition, Grove's widely distributed article on Schubert from the first edition of Grove's dictionary from 1883 associated the composer with feminine qualities such as modesty, childish simplicity and naiveté, and it was thus widely assumed that his music had no heroic touch.<sup>89</sup> A romanticized view of Schubert also existed in the German-speaking countries, where the uncomplicated, lyrical and melodious side of his songs soon moved into the centre of interest, while any heroic traits were pushed aside. The Peters edition of his songs that came into being at the end of the nineteenth century and is still in use today is ordered according to popularity. It testifies the focus on Schubert's lyrical side from the late Romantic era onwards. The sentimental, simplistic and rather kitschy love story *Schwammerl* (literally: Mushroom) that Rudolf Heinz Bartsch created to retell Schubert's life in 1912 only intensified the harmless and trivialized image of the composer. Based on this novel, the successful 1916 operetta *Das Dreimäderlhaus* (The House of the Three Girls) even went one step further

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<sup>87</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 153

<sup>88</sup> Dürhammer and Janke, 'Erst wenn einer tot ist, ist er gut', 11

<sup>89</sup> David Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography and Cultural Values' in *19th-Century Music*, vol. 17, no. 1, Schubert: Music, Sexuality, Culture (California: University of California Press: Summer 1993), 66-68, 73

by presenting Schubert's music in a simplistically arranged form and out of context.<sup>90</sup> Despite Schubert scholars turning to a historically informed view on the composer, it is thus not surprising that even today popular perception imparts a rather romanticized and uncritical view of the composer, which the 'hit list' repertoire of many lieder recitals all too often emphasizes.

To see Schubert as a critical artist who opposed the repressive regime and expressed his political dissatisfaction seems strange for many people today. Yet the political situation of his time, as well as the liberal political spirit of his close social environment, suggest a very different personality. A critical look for evidence that confirms this statement uncovers various liberal political statements by the composer. Apart from the idealistic circles of friends Schubert belonged to, he was also a member of the 'Unsinnsgesellschaft' (Nonsense-Society), a society that also had political significance, and existed at least from April 1817 until December 1818 in Vienna.<sup>91</sup> The society interestingly ceased to exist in the year of the Carlsbad Decrees, which indicates that the officials grew suspicious of it. The Nonsense-Society had declared irony and nonsense to be their leading principles<sup>92</sup> and thus found a way to utter criticism with relative freedom. Schubert was one of its most active members. The 'Unsinnsgesellschaft' had set up their own newspaper, which was entitled *Archiv des menschlichen Unsinnns ein langweiliges Unterhaltungsblatt für Wahnwitzige* (Archive of Human Nonsense, a boring entertainment newspaper for crazy people). This newspaper was full of contributions that are characterized by their sharp spirit, cutting jokes and political permissiveness.<sup>93</sup> Rita Steblin was able to discover, collect and compile some contributions the society had published. Her book *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft: Franz Schubert, Leopold Kupelwieser und ihr Freundeskreis* gives a valuable insight into the ironic attacks of the 'Nonsense Brothers'.<sup>94</sup>

The following two examples demonstrate that the ironic statements of the society could also be of political significance. In a notice in issue 45 of the 'Archive of Human

<sup>90</sup> Pia Janke, 'Kult und Ideologie: Die Schubert-Feiern 1928 in Wien' in 'Erst wenn einer tot ist, ist er gut': *Künstlerreliquien und Devotionalien*, ed. Ilija Dürhammer and Pia Janke (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 2002), 67

<sup>91</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 89-90

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 79. Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 262

<sup>93</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 80, 88-89

<sup>94</sup> Steblin, *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft*

Nonsense' from November 1818, allowed and forbidden books were listed. While a book titled 'Multiplication from 1 to 1000 and back again in the Wrong Order' is listed amongst the forbidden books, a book titled 'Directions for the Art of Revolution, Paris 1792' heads the list of the allowed books.<sup>95</sup> This ironic twist is a clear mockery on political censorship. In issue 26 from July 1818 it is reported that mountains and rivers had been responsible for the greatest disorder and havoc of the police. The government saw the need to take the strictest and most powerful disciplinary action: the local mountains and streams are thus given strict orders to adhere to the civil order and to avoid all unnecessary and rebellious meetings and movements.<sup>96</sup> In the subsequent comments the described scenario is connected to the Swiss mountainside, which represented a symbol for an ideal landscape of freedom at the time. Next to the natural, majestic and free mountainside, the excessive power of the state thus adopts a grotesque, absurd and also ineffective form of surveillance.<sup>97</sup> The reference to the political present is easily drawn. The political criticism of these two examples is easily understood, yet most texts in the newspapers of the society were heavily encoded.<sup>98</sup> However, it has become clear that the Nonsense Society took up an oppositional position towards the Metternich regime. Schubert's membership in the Nonsense Society further suggests that he was part of a wider group of young men of liberal and oppositional convictions.

One of Schubert's best known political statements is his poem 'Klage an das Volk' (Lament to the Folk), which has often been linked with Schubert's personal life rather than political circumstances, but is a fully valid indication of the contemporary awareness of his life.<sup>99</sup> It thus has to be taken seriously from a political perspective.

Klage an das Volk <sup>100</sup>	Lament to the Folk
O Jugend unsrer Zeit, Du bist dahin! Die Kraft zahllosen Volks, sie ist vergeudet, Nicht <i>einer</i> von der Masse sich unterscheidet,	O youth of our time, you have gone! The strength of a numerous folk is trifled away, Not <i>one</i> distinguishes himself from the masses,

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 427-428

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 329

<sup>97</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 264

<sup>98</sup> Steblin, *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft*, 21

<sup>99</sup> Hans Joachim Kreutzer, 'Schubert und die literarische Situation seiner Zeit' in *Franz Schubert und die Jahre der Krise 1818-1823*, ed. Werner Aderhold (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985), 30

<sup>100</sup> Internationale Schubert-Gesellschaft, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Deutsch, Schubert: *Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, 258

Und nichtsbedeutend all' vorüberzieh'n.	And insignificantly all pass by.
Zu großer Schmerz, der mächtig mich verzehrt, Und nur als Letztes jener Kraft mir bleibt; Denn Thatlos auch diese Zeit verstäubet, Die Jedem Großes zu vollbringen wehrt.	Too great the pain, that powerfully devours me, And remains as the last thing of this strength; As without deeds also this time passes by, And prevents anybody accomplishing great deeds.
Im siechen Alter schleicht das Volk einher, Die Thaten seiner Jugend wähnt es in Träume, Ja spottet töricht jener gold'nen Reime, Nichtsahnend ihren kräft'gen Inhalt mehr.	In an invalid age the folk therefore creeps, Only dreaming of the deeds of its youth, Yes, ridicule foolishly these golden rhymes, Unaware of their powerful content anymore.
Nur Dir, o heil'ge Kunst ist's noch gegönnt Im Bild' die Zeit der Kraft und That zu schildern, Um wenigstens den großen Schmerz zu mildern, Der nimmer mit dem Schicksal sie versöhnt.	Only You, o holy art it is still granted To depict the time of strength and deed in an image, To at last alleviate the great pain, That never reconciles with fate.

The poem is part of a letter Schubert wrote to Schober in 1824.<sup>101</sup> It invokes the idealistic and energetic spirit the people had around the time of the recent Liberation Wars, which, to the great sorrow of the speaker, was not able to survive. Instead, the people have resigned and given in to the pressures from above. They go with the inactive crowd, who do not understand the idealistic spirit of recent times any more. The time of 'strength and deed' from before the Congress of Vienna only has a chance to survive in art, which is only able to alleviate the great pain, but not to reconcile with the fate. Frieder Reininghaus sees in Schubert's 'Klage and das Volk' a statement that castigates the false peacefulness of the Biedermeier era, which the majority of contemporaries fell into after the victory over Napoleon. Schubert's pessimism about the social situation from 1824 is aggravated by the fact that he sees no alternative within reach. All that has remained is the grim review of a missed historical chance and the sole positive outlook is a 'hibernation' of progressive ideas in art.<sup>102</sup> The dissatisfaction about the inactive political situation of his time clearly comes across in Schubert's poem and illustrates his dissatisfaction with the political circumstances. Reinhold Brinkmann describes this poem as a political lament, a dirge to the political and social situation in Austria, and to the intellectually paralysing consequences of the long lasting suppression of bourgeois liberties by the police state. He too sees the poem as a critique on a mentality of subservience, and connects the deeds of the youth to the liberal ideas of the French

<sup>101</sup> Dürhammer, *Geheime Botschaften*, 96

<sup>102</sup> Reininghaus, *Schubert und das Wirtshaus*, 33



Revolution and the Liberation Wars. Art is seen as the governor of a time of freedom by Brinkmann in this poem.<sup>103</sup>

Harry Goldschmidt has pointed out that the students' of the Stadtkonvikt in Vienna were fully caught up in the patriotic enthusiasm of the Liberation Wars; they even registered for volunteer student fighting corps, but were forced to resign shortly after their registration by high command from above. According to Goldschmidt, Schubert was very much moved by the patriotic war.<sup>104</sup> His Körner settings suggest that he, like most contemporaries, took part in the patriotic exaltation of his time, which, up to the time of the Congress of Vienna, could be displayed openly. Around and during the time of the Congress he set fourteen poems by the fallen patriotic war hero Theodor Körner (1791-1813), who was briefly part of the Schubert circle and stood for the amalgamation of word and deed during the Liberation Wars. The Körner settings pay tribute to the patriotic-martial character of the time. Amongst them were 'Jägerlied' (Hunting Song), 'Gebet während der Schlacht' (Prayer during Battle) and 'Lützows wilde Jagd' (Lützow's Wild Hunt) from Körner's cycle *Leyer und Schwert* (Lyre and Sword).<sup>105</sup> The connection of hunting and war, was a common one at the time and took on symbolic significance during the years of repression that were to follow the Congress, as will be further expanded in some song discussions of the following chapters. Other songs the young Schubert expressed his patriotic sentiments in were 'Auf den Sieg der Deutschen' (To the German Victory) that requests 'Drum jubelt hoch ihr Deutschen denn die verruchte Peitsche hat endlich ausgeknallt' (Therefore rejoice ye Germans, for the cursed whip at last no longer afflicts us), 'Die Befreier Europas in Paris' (Europe's Liberators in Paris) and the patriotic 'Grablied' (Song of the Grave) by his friend Josef Kenner (1794-1868). Schubert's patriotic exaltation indicates that he too had high expectations from the outcome of the patriotic war efforts and must have been all the more disappointed that these expectations remained unfulfilled. His poem 'Klage an das Volk' confirms this. The following table gives an overview of Schubert's obvious patriotic settings:

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<sup>103</sup> Reinhold Brinkmann, *Vom Pfeifen und von alten Dampfmaschinen: Aufsätze zur Musik von Beethoven bis Rihm* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 2006), 89-90

<sup>104</sup> Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin: Henschel, 1960), 56-57, 76

<sup>105</sup> Dürhammer, 'Schlegel, Schelling, Schubert', 59

Title	D/Op	Year	Poet	Type
'Auf den Sieg der Deutschen' (To the German Victory)	D 81	1813	Anonymus	Strophic song, accompanied by two violins and a cello
'Die Befreier Europas in Paris' (Europe's Liberators in Paris)	D 104	1814	Mikan, Johann Christian	Strophic song
'Trinklied vor der Schlacht'	D 169	1815	Körner, Theodor	Song for choir with piano accompaniment
'Schwertlied'	D 170	1815	Körner, Theodor	Song for choir with piano accompaniment
'Gebet während der Schlacht' (Prayer during Battle)	D 171 <i>Nachlass</i> <i>10/7</i> <i>(published</i> <i>1831)</i>	1815	Körner, Theodor	Song with piano accompaniment
'Jägerlied' (Hunting Song)	D 204	1815	Körner, Theodor	Duett (for two voices or two French Horns)
'Lützows wilde Jagd' (Lützow's Wild Hunt)	D 205	1815	Körner, Theodor	Duett (for two voices or two French Horns)
'Grablied' (Song of the Grave)	D 218 <i>Nachlass</i> <i>42/4</i> <i>(published</i> <i>1848)</i>	1815	Kenner, Josef	Strophic Song
'Die Schlacht' (The Battle) The second revision of this song, D 387, dates from 1816.	D 249	1815	Schiller, Friedrich von	Song for mixed voices with piano accompaniment
'Vaterlandslied' (Song of the Fatherland)	D 287	1815	Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb	Strophic Song
'Schlachtlied' (Battle Song)	D 443	1816	Klopstock,	Song for choir with

The second revision of this song, D 912 (post op. 151) dates from 1827.			Friedrich Gottlieb	piano accompaniment
'Lied eines Kriegers' (Song of a Warrior)	D 822 <i>Nachlass</i> 35/3 (published in 1842)	1824	Anonymous	Song for choir with piano accompaniment

It is interesting to note that none of these songs were published during Schubert's lifetime. The majority of Schubert's patriotic songs is grouped around the time of the Congress of Vienna, which is to be expected. Surprisingly, two later examples of patriotic songs with a martial character exist (the second version of 'Schlachtlied' and 'Lied eines Kriegers'). Despite the suppressive measures of the state, the patriotic cause that was once pursuing the ideal of freedom had not left the mind of the composer.

'Lied eines Kriegers' (Song of a Warrior) for bass voice and unison choir came into being in the same year as 'Klage an das Volk'. Schubert wrote it on New Year's Eve of 1824.<sup>106</sup> Similar to the poem, this song shows that the great time of activity is past.<sup>107</sup> The original text of the poem is not available. With the numerous repetitions of phrases, which Schubert probably added, the words of the song read as follows:

<b>Lied eines Kriegers<sup>108</sup></b>	<b>Song of a Warrior</b>
Des stolzen Männerlebens schönste Zeiten Sind Flammen, Donner und die Kraft der Eichen, Des stolzen Männerlebens schönste Zeiten Sind Flammen, Donner und die Kraft der Eichen.	The best times of a proud man's life Are flames, thunder and the strength of the oaks, The best times of a proud man's life Are flames, thunder and the strength of the oaks,.

<sup>106</sup> Franz Schubert, *Complete Songs 35*, Notes (London: Hyperion, 2000), 16. Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1962), 201

<sup>107</sup> Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert*, 201

<sup>108</sup> The song can be found in the Breitkopf and Härtel complete edition of Schubert's works, as the respective volume of the new complete edition has not been published yet. Franz Schubert, *Franz Schuberts Werke: Kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe*, series 20, Lieder und Gesänge no. 453-516, vol. 8, *Zwischen der 'Schönen Müllerin' und der 'Winterreise'*, 1823-1827 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1884-1897, Dover Reprint), series 20, no. 464, (33)2-(33)5

<p>Doch nichts mehr vom Eisenspiel  Und nichts mehr vom Spiel der Waffen,  Der ewge Frieden ward uns zugewendet,  Dem Schlafe ward die Kraft der Faust verpfändet,  Dem Schlafe ward die Kraft der Faust verpfändet.  <b>Der ewge Frieden ward uns zugewendet,</b>  <b>Dem Schlafe ward die Kraft der Faust verpfändet.</b></p> <p>Zwar jüngst noch haben wir das Schwert geschwungen  Und kühn auf Leben oder Tod gerungen.  Zwar jüngst noch haben wir das Schwert geschwungen  Und kühn auf Leben oder Tod gerungen.</p> <p>Jetzt aber sind die Tage hohen Kampfs verklungen,  und was uns blieb aus jenen Tagen,  Es ist vorbei, bald sind's ach nur noch Sagen,  Es ist vorbei, bald sind's ach nur noch Sagen.  <b>Und was uns blieb aus jenen Tagen,</b>  <b>Es ist vorbei, bald sind's nur Sagen.</b></p>	<p>But no more of the clash of steel  And no more of the clash of weapons,  Eternal peace has been granted to us,  The power of the fist has been condemned,  The power of the fist has been condemned.  <b>Eternal peace has been granted to us,</b>  <b>The power of the fist has been pledged to sleep.</b></p> <p>Only recently have we once more swung our sword  And boldly struggled for life or death.  Only recently we have once more swung our sword  And boldly struggled for life or death.</p> <p>But no the days of the high battle have died away,  And what remained from these days,  It is over, soon, alas, it will only be legends,  It is over, soon, alas, it will only be legends.  <b>And what has remained from these days,</b>  <b>It is over, soon it will only be legends.</b></p>
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The reference of the song to the active fight for freedom during the recent Wars of Liberation is obvious. Schubert's setting strongly emphasizes the active, heroic and martial ring of the words. The alternation of bass voice and male unison choir in the chorus, the incessant throbbing of dotted notes and the many tone repetitions in voice and accompaniment alike produce a manly and martial tone. While the solo parts of the song are written in A major, the two choir parts (marked bold in the text above) change to A minor and adopt a solemn character. The first choir part defines that the warrior cannot come to terms with the inactive time the eternal peace brings with it. This can be understood as a critical reference to the current time, where all that the peace settlements from the Congress resulted in an unbearable silencing of all liberal forces. In addition, the attentive listener might notice that the sentence 'And what remained from these days' is not finished satisfactorily, as all that follows is 'It is over, soon, alas, it will only be legends'. This phrase also ends the song and the minor mode of the choir part brings across the disappointment about this circumstance. Whether there is any critical significance attributed to the meaning of the more prominent choir parts or not, the martial and heroic reminder of recent activity alone brings into mind the lost chance of the Liberation Wars.

Two other Schubert songs that can be seen as political statements without any form of interpretation are his two Senn settings ‘Selige Welt’ (Blessed World, D 743) and ‘Schwanengesang’ (Swan Song, D 774) which he published in his *Liederheft* op. 23 as op. 23,2 and 23,3 in 1823. Why would somebody set poems by an author who was persecuted by the state? The setting of Johann Senn’s poems can be seen as an act of political solidarity as well as a testimony of similar thoughts and opinions.<sup>109</sup> The fact that the two Senn settings and the *Liederheft* as a whole indeed bear a political message confirms Schubert’s oppositional attitude. Until 1817 various songs with an obvious patriotic content can still be found in Schubert’s oeuvre, but after 1817 the number of these works declines rapidly. After the 1819 Carlsbad Decrees the patriotic theme can barely be found in his published songs, and if then only encoded.<sup>110</sup> The political resignation, hidden protest or the longing for a better world inherent in many Schubert songs is even harder to discover for contemporaries today, who are not familiar with the political and social context of Schubert’s time. Schubert was occupied with the same feelings of political resentment and disappointment as his contemporaries. Schubert never showed any active political engagement in the sense that he boldly and openly voiced a revolutionary political opinion. This, however, was almost impossible during the Biedermeier era, as the example of his friend Johann Senn demonstrates. The presented indications are as clear as it gets when approaching Schubert’s political orientation. However, the Körner setting suggest that Schubert was involved in a more active political activity before the time of repression set in. Hereafter, and latest with the Carlsbad Decrees, it was the composer’s resignation that seems to have gained the upper hand. With regard to the suppression of political activity, the censorship restrictions served their purpose. The subtle ways Schubert was forced to express his feelings and attitudes with are common for the time of the enchained Biedermeier. When the symptoms of his time changed to repression, he had to employ various means of encoding and it is mostly a voice of resignation that brings across the political disappointment and the inadequacies of the composer’s time. His vocal works can therefore hold numerous symbols and allegories that possibly hide a subversive meaning: an apparently innocent and trivial

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<sup>109</sup> Reininghaus, *Schubert und das Wirtshaus*, 139

<sup>110</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 350-352

surface may cover sentiments of political resignation. The following discussion of selected Schubert songs will seek to unravel a likely meaning of these metaphors and pay special attention to Schubert's musical interpretation of them.

#### **4. Schubert's *Liederhefte* after Mayrhofer – A Distinct Political Statement?**

This chapter is the centrepiece of the thesis. Here, the insights gained in the previous chapters are applied to Schubert's music for the first time in order to identify political traits in his songs. The chapter opens with a section on the Schubert friend Johann Mayrhofer, the poet of most songs discussed in this thesis. Mayrhofer was a genuine liberal, who frequently included his criticism on the current time in his poetic works; some of which were set by Schubert. Some of Schubert's Mayrhofer settings are grouped in little booklets of songs, *Liederhefte*, for publishing. Two of these *Liederhefte*, op. 8 and op. 21, contain mainly songs after Mayrhofer and bring out a possible political criticism particularly well. Section 4.2 focuses on the songs of *Liederheft* op. 8, where political criticism is mainly brought across as a longing for a better place. Section 4.3 groups the songs of *Liederheft* op. 21, which are more varied with regard to a likely political message. The discussion of the two *Liederhefte* will illustrate that Schubert responded musically to the political substance in Mayrhofer's poems. Furthermore, it will become obvious that his deliberate grouping of the songs in the respective *Liederheft* further underlines the potential political message of each song as well as each *Liederheft* as a whole.

##### **4.1 Johann Mayrhofer – The Inner Conflicts of a Liberal Civil Servant**

After Goethe, Johann Mayrhofer is the poet set the most by Schubert. His gloomy, suggestive, and elusive poems greatly interested the composer. As Susan Youens remarks, the friendship between the two men was assuredly a factor for this, but 'not even the closest friendship could compel Schubert to set almost fifty poems unless he considered them composable'.<sup>1</sup> Also, the detailed and deep musical interpretations Schubert assigns to his Mayrhofer settings affirms that they are not an obliging response to friendship, but reflect a deeper involvement of the composer in Mayrhofer's poetry. Other factors are thus responsible for Schubert's great interest in Mayrhofer's works. The political and social context of the composer suggests that the widespread political discontentment also has an influence on Schubert's song oeuvre. Mayrhofer was a man of great liberal beliefs and ideals. His poems in particular offer themselves as a refined mouthpiece for political criticism, which Schubert could take up in his music. The following portrait of the poet, as well as the interpretation of selected Mayrhofer settings by Schubert in the following sections confirm that Schubert held Mayrhofer's poems in high esteem for their deep substance and masterly concealed political criticism.

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<sup>1</sup> Susan Youens, *Schubert's Poets and the Making of Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 151

Today, Mayrhofer is mainly known as a friend of Franz Schubert, whose poems the latter frequently chose for his songs. Often classed as a second rate poet by modern critics, his strong liberal beliefs shine through on different levels. Mayrhofer's biographical data has recently been updated and corrected by Michael Lorenz and can be briefly summarized. Mayrhofer was born on 3 November 1787 in Steyr, a picturesque town in upper Austria. After pursuing a successful religious career at the monastery Saint Florian with the prospect of joining priesthood, Mayrhofer went on to study law in Vienna. According to his friend and contemporary Ernst von Feuchterleben (1806-1849), he felt the urge to get to know worldly life and to serve his fatherland as a citizen (Staatsbürger).<sup>2</sup> In 1813 Mayrhofer applied as a trainee at the 'Revisionsamt' (censorship office), where he first took up an unpaid post as a trainee. After a year he was appointed 'dritter Bücherrevisor' (third censor for books). His duties included, for example, the revision of German literature from abroad, the revision of music and of half of the private works that were handed into the 'Revisionsamt'. He also had to write the monthly records of forbidden books, prints and reprints.<sup>3</sup> Mayrhofer was a known hypochondriac<sup>4</sup> and his many illnesses eventually plunged him into financial difficulties. He died in 1836 as a result of his second suicide attempt, jumping out of the window of his workplace.<sup>5</sup> After his death his contemporary Eduard von Bauernfeld, also a poet and friend of Schubert, described Mayrhofer as a victim of the Austrian system.<sup>6</sup>

Mayrhofer was a member of the patriotically minded Linz Circle of Schubert friends. He also contributed works to both issues of their journal *Beiträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*. Mayrhofer published his first volume of poems in 1824, which included a biographical overview of the poet by his friend, the medical doctor and fellow poet Ernst von Feuchtersleben, who also helped him with the editing of his poems.<sup>7</sup> The latter also put together, edited and published the second and posthumous edition of Mayrhofer's poems in 1848. Today, Mayrhofer's poems are mainly known through Schubert's music. Mayrhofer was introduced to Schubert by their common friend Joseph von Spaun in 1814.<sup>8</sup> In 1815, poet and composer collaborated on a comic Singspiel *Die Freunde von Salamanka* (The Friends

<sup>2</sup> Johann Mayrhofer, *Gedichte* (Vienna: Friedrich Volke, 1824), ed. Michael Maria Rabenlechner (Vienna: Wiener Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft, 1938), 4

<sup>3</sup> Michael Lorenz, 'Dokumente zur Biographie Johann Mayrhofer's' in *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 25 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2000), 29-31

<sup>4</sup> Rita Steblin, 'Schubert's Problematic Relationship with Johann Mayrhofer: New Documentary Evidence' in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honour of Herbert Kellmann*, ed. Barbara Haagh (Paris: Minerve, 2001), 483

<sup>5</sup> Franz Schubert, *Complete Songs* 29, Notes (London: Hyperion, 1997), 53. Lorenz, 'Dokumente zur Biographie Johann Mayrhofer's', 48-49. Peter Csendes, ed., *Oesterreich 1780 – 1848: Kriege gegen Frankreich / Wiener Kongreß, Ära Metternich, Zeit des Biedermeier / Revolution von 1848* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 1987), 237

<sup>6</sup> Steblin, 'Schubert's Problematic Relationship', 490

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 485

<sup>8</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 157



from Salamanca). From 1816 Schubert's involvement with Mayrhofer's poetry intensified.<sup>9</sup> A great number of Schubert songs to Mayrhofer settings, twenty-eight altogether, came into being in 1816 and 1817. From autumn 1818 onwards, Schubert and Mayrhofer shared an apartment for about two years.<sup>10</sup> Apart from songs, Schubert also worked on an opera text by Mayrhofer, *Adrast*, during this time. The work remained unfinished, but the fact that Schubert almost pressured Mayrhofer to provide him with this operatic text further proves Schubert's strong interest in the poet's output.<sup>11</sup>

The poetic works of his friend stood in the centre of Schubert's vocal works during these years. However, when Schubert moved into his own apartment nearby between the end of autumn 1820 and spring 1821 (there is no agreement in Schubert scholarship about the exact date),<sup>12</sup> the close connection between the two men came to an end. Mayrhofer remarked that it was 'the cross currents of circumstances and society, of illnesses and changed views of life that had kept us apart later'.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, even after their estrangement Schubert held Mayrhofer's compositions in high esteem.<sup>14</sup> Mayrhofer was deeply affected by the loss of Schubert's friendship and, as a result, his poetic production suffered.<sup>15</sup> To Mayrhofer, Schubert's songs and the friendship to the composer constituted a great support in his life, which was clouded by the restrictions of his time. The following quote, which is an extract from a letter he wrote to the Schubert friend Franz von Schober (1796-1882) in September 1816, gives evidence of this:

Schubert and several friends are to come to me today and the fogs of the present time, which is somewhat laden, shall be lifted.<sup>16</sup>

Notwithstanding their estrangement, Schubert still found inspiration in Mayrhofer's poetry. His three settings from Mayrhofer's poetic cycle 'Heliopolis' in 1822 and his last four Mayrhofer songs in 1824 (one of these songs was also set as a vocal quartet), show that Mayrhofer's poetry still had something to offer the composer. Mayrhofer's works evidently

<sup>9</sup> Steblin, 'Schubert's Problematic Relationship', 468

<sup>10</sup> David Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier: The Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer's 'Heliopolis'' in *Music and Letters*, vol. 74, no. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 358

<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 104

<sup>12</sup> Lorenz, 'Dokumente zur Biographie Johann Mayrhofer's', 44

<sup>13</sup> Steblin, 'Schubert's Problematic Relationship', 479. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: Memoirs by his Friends*, Translated from the German by Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (London: Adam and Charles Black), 13-14. Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben, ed., *Gedichte von Johann Mayrhofer: Neue Sammlung* (Vienna: Ignaz Keller, 1843), 11

<sup>14</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 342

<sup>15</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 158

<sup>16</sup> Steblin, 'Schubert's Problematic Relationship', 469

constituted a strong centre of attraction for Schubert over a long period of his active time as a composer.

Despite his work at the censorship office, which he performed meticulously,<sup>17</sup> Mayrhofer was a great liberal who held the ideals of the Enlightenment highly and was interested in the freemason movement. However, as a civil servant, he had to give up or at least hide his ideals. The employment of liberal minds into the civil service was one way of the government to keep opposing minds under control.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, governmental posts were in high demand at the time, as they provided a secure form of income.<sup>19</sup> Mayrhofer's job and personal convictions surely created a collision of conscience. His friend Spaun was convinced that only the need to earn a living could have driven Mayrhofer into his governmental position.<sup>20</sup> To him he announced that that his personal opinions were one thing, his duties another.<sup>21</sup> However, the liberal thoughts Mayrhofer had to keep a secret due to his profession surely created a mental pressure that he could hardly bear.<sup>22</sup> His hypochondria, many illnesses and two suicide attempts indicate this. Mayrhofer was a known defender of enlightened ideals.<sup>23</sup> His friend Spaun described him as 'extraordinarily liberal, indeed democratic in his views... passionate about the freedom of the press'.<sup>24</sup> In 1819 and 1820 Mayrhofer, together with other Schubert friends, belonged to a fraternity circle that was headed by Johann Senn.<sup>25</sup> Mayrhofer was also close friends with Theodor Körner in 1812,<sup>26</sup> the patriotic poet who was a great inspiration for the German national cause in the Wars of Liberation and who was celebrated as a national hero after his death in battle in 1813. According to Feuchtersleben this friendship was very important to Mayrhofer and, despite its short duration, was an intimate one.<sup>27</sup>

Susan Youens refers to a prose portrait of Mayrhofer written by Eduard von Bauernfeld after the former's death. It summarizes Mayrhofer's character traits and convictions in a very sharp and clearly-cut way. It includes his admiration for the former Emperor, Joseph II, who was seen as the ideal of an enlightened ruler.

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<sup>17</sup> Mayrhofer ed. Rabenlechner, *Gedichte*, 16

<sup>18</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 275

<sup>19</sup> Lazarevich, Gardana, 'A Multiplicity of Talents Among Artists in the Biedermeier Period' in *Schubert und seine Freunde*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda, Gerold W. Gruber, Walburga Litschauer, and Carmen Ottner (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 43

<sup>20</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 154

<sup>21</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 275

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 273

<sup>23</sup> Steblin, 'Schubert's Problematic Relationship', 482

<sup>24</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 154

<sup>25</sup> Michael Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland: Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 124

<sup>26</sup> Steblin, 'Schubert's Problematic Relationship', 468

<sup>27</sup> Mayrhofer ed. Rabenlechner, *Gedichte*, 9

*Extract from Bauernfeld's 'Ein Wiener Censor' ('A Viennese Censor')<sup>28</sup>*

Dann ergreift ein großes Weinglas Majestätisch er, bedächtig, Füllt es bis zum Rande, stürzt es Flugs hinunter, rasch und mächtig.	Then he takes a large wineglass, Slowly, majestically, he fills it To the brim, hurls it down quickly, Bold and powerful.
Ward gesprächig da und geistreich, Ueberrascht', erfreute Jeden Durch die Frische der Gedanken - Ließen bald allein ihn reden.	He became talkative then and witty, Astonishingly, he entertained everyone Through the freshness of his thought - We soon let him speak alone.
Oesterreich wurde durchgesprochen Und sein künftiges Entfalten, Wie's vom Weg auch abgekommen, So von Kaiser Joseph's Walten.	Austria was thoroughly discussed, and its future development, How it had deviated from its course, Since Emperor Joseph's reign.
Kaiser Joseph war der Heros, Den der Dichter sich erkoren, Und er klagte patriotisch, Dass sein Oesterreich verloren.	Emperor Joseph was the hero, Whom the poet had chosen, And he patriotically lamented That his Austria was lost.
Alle Fehler der Regierung Setzt' er auseinander logisch, Immer feuriger die Rede, Ward zuletzt wild-demagogisch-	All the faults of the government, He sets forth in logical array The speech became ever more fiery, Was in the end wild and demagogic.
Daß er aufsprang so vom Tische, Und mit Worten, kecken, dreisten, Nur von Freiheit sprach und Volksthum, Schäumend, mit geballten Fäusten.	That he sprang from the table And with bold audacious words, Spoke only of freedom and nationhood, Foaming, with clenched fists.
Also sprach er, also tobt' er, Glas auf Glas hinunterstürzend, Und mit Witzen, mit Sarkasmen Seine wilde Rede würzend.	Thus he spoke, raged, Gulping down glass after glass, And with wit and sarcasm spicing his wild speech.
Und zum Schluss beiläufig sagt er. - 'Ja, der Geist hat seine Waffen, Wird sie einst damit zerschmettern Diese Knechte, diese Pfaffen!	And in conclusion, he said casually, 'Yes, the spirit has its weapons, One day they will be destroyed with them, These slaves, these clerics.

One clear advantage of Mayrhofer's duties at the censorship office was that they equipped him with a good eye for literary possibilities when it came to unsuspecting forms of

<sup>28</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 172-173. Her translation is slightly modified.

expressions that could pass the tight censorship controls.<sup>29</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer has observed that Mayrhofer often hides himself through a dark and arcane style in his lyrical output.<sup>30</sup> At times this can be identified as a precaution that Mayrhofer employed to express political criticism. David Gramit has observed in the context of Mayrhofer's poetic cycle 'Heliopolis' that the latter's poetry is at its most obscure when he comes to the direct discussion of oppression.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, in some of his poems his critical and patriotic voice comes through clearly. His friend Spaun implied that a number of Mayrhofer's poems could not be included in the 1824 volume of his poems due to their unacceptable political content. He further remarks that Mayrhofer's two verse tragedies 'Timoleon' and 'Ulrich von Hutten' would have resulted in dire consequences for the poet had they ever been published or publicly performed. It was probably no coincidence that both of them got lost, as it is likely that both dramas had a liberal political orientation. The historical figure of Ulrich von Hutten (1499-1523) with his fulminations against tyranny, attacks on Papacy and ardent patriotism very much indicates this.<sup>32</sup> Dürhammer points out that a poem called 'Huttens Denkmal' has survived, which Feuchtersleben did not dare to include in the 1848 edition of Mayrhofer's poems. The following verse of the poem, which has been quoted by Dürhammer, illustrates why this was the case:

Oft ertönt aus seinem Grabe Völkerweckend her die Frage: 'Lieget Deutschland noch in Banden?' 'Ist kein Retter noch erstanden?' <sup>33</sup>	Often from his grave there sounds The question that is to revive the people: 'Does Germany still lie in shackles?' 'Has not yet a saviour risen?'
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Mayrhofer's poem 'An die Deutschen' (To the Germans), published in the second volume of his poems, takes up the slogan 'Wort und That' (Word and Deed) which was characteristic for the Wars of Liberation, as it stood for the amalgamation of the political idea with the political action.<sup>34</sup> Many Mayrhofer poems give ample evidence of his liberal convictions and can be understood as a cut at the current time of repression.

Another work that is interesting to touch on is Mayrhofer's poetic cycle 'Heliopolis' from 1821. It brings Mayrhofer's convictions to the point, or, as Ilijah Dürhammer phrases it,

<sup>29</sup> Ludger Rehm, 'Walzer und Winterreise: Lyrik und Gesellschaft bei Wilhelm Müller und Franz Schubert' in: *International Journal of Musicology*, vol. 6 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 189

<sup>30</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 92

<sup>31</sup> Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier', 364

<sup>32</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 154

<sup>33</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 273

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 92

'Heliopolis' summarizes his ideology in an exemplary manner.<sup>35</sup> In his article 'Schubert and the Biedermeier: the Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer's 'Heliopolis'', David Gramit has discussed this poetic cycle and also provided the original 20 poems and their translations.<sup>36</sup> The cycle's preface gives a concrete idea of what Mayrhofer wanted to express with his work. Central to the cycle is the longing for the sun and a world that is surrounded by light. The title, 'Heliopolis', indicates this: the antique city of Heliopolis used to be a religious centre of Egypt, a holy shrine to the sun. At the beginning of the preface, Mayrhofer describes the topic of his cycle as an old one, which is often referred to in grey times. Straight away the suspicion arises that the 'grey times' mentioned here might be a reflection on the current era. Poem number 5 of the cycle exemplifies this strong longing for the sun, whose light produces 'Hoffnungspflanzen' and 'Thatenfluten' (literally 'plants of hope' and 'floods of deeds'). The city of the sun described in this poem provides a place that strongly contrasts the 'grey times' with its hope and activity. The 'shackles' of the Biedermeier period could provide neither.

Mayrhofer further mentions in the preface that it is hard to create something that strengthens like-minded individuals in their views. As society around him appears to be hostile towards activity, he creates something that is hidden to the incomprehensible and to the superficial one, but appreciated by the deeper one ('Dem Flachen unverständlich / Dem Tieferen erkenntlich'). This once again hints at the hostility of the present time surrounding the poet and is also a pointer towards Mayrhofer's poetic style and ability: the art to make himself understood to some, but not others. At the end of the preface, Mayrhofer turns his attention to art. According to him, people will embrace art in the same way the Persians embraced the sun. The role of art is further specified in verses two and three of poem number 11 of the cycle, where it is art that leads to light and reconciliation. Art is to bridge the gap between the bleak reality and a better place:

<p>Vom Rohen jeder Art, und Bösen, das uns umschwärmt nach Räubersitte, Muß uns zuletzt die Kunst erlösen Mit Farben, Marmor oder Mythe.</p> <p>Ja sprich es dankbar aus, nicht achtend Der eingeschrumpften Welt Verhöhnung, Die ward in Dunkel, furchtbar nachtend, Durch Kunst das Licht und auch Versöhnung.<sup>37</sup></p>	<p>From crudities of all sorts, and the evil, Which swarm around us in the manner of robbers, Art must rescue us at last With colours, marble or myth.</p> <p>Yes, speak it out thankfully, not respecting The contempt of the shrivelled world, Which was in the dark, terribly caught in the night, Through art the light and also Reconciliation.</p>
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<sup>35</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 92- 93

<sup>36</sup> Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier'

<sup>37</sup> Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier', 376

'Heliopolis' shows Mayrhofer's inner quarrel with his surroundings, his strong longing for a better and ideal place, and the important role art takes up in this context. As Michael Kohlhäufel sees it, it is art that leads the way to this transcendent utopia of a better and beatific world.<sup>38</sup> The critical relation of the work to the current time has been pointed out and this assumption is further fortified by the fact that Mayrhofer, probably due to censorship reasons, only published parts of his cycle in the 1824 edition of his poems.<sup>39</sup> 'Heliopolis' also underpins the depth and critical essence of Mayrhofer's poems in general, which is important with regard to Schubert's Mayrhofer settings that are to be discussed below.

#### 4.2 'Liederheft' op. 8 – The Longing for a Better Time

A suitable start for tracing political implications in Schubert's Mayrhofer settings is *Liederheft* op. 8, published in 1822. *Liederhefte* were small collections of songs and a common way of publishing songs at the time. They usually contained two to four songs, sometimes more, but could also consist of a single song. Published in landscape format that was slightly larger than A4 size, they had a very elaborately printed title page, with headings in different fonts and sizes, decorated letters and framing ornamentations, which can be seen as a piece of art in itself. It generally gave information about the name of the pieces, the poets, the instruments and voices involved, maybe a dedicatee, the name of composer and the opus number. Publisher details were issued in smaller print at the bottom of the page. Figure 1 serves as an example of such a title page. Of the songs Schubert published during his lifetime, almost all can be found in *Liederhefte*. Even the song cycle *Die schöne Müllerin* was published in five consecutive *Liederhefte*.

Walther Dürr has pointed out in the preface of the new complete edition of Schubert's songs that the choice as well as the order of the composer's published songs is of vital importance. Content and order within the prints were by no means left to chance, as widely assumed. While some of Schubert's very early *Liederhefte* still reflect his original idea of ordering the songs by a particular poet, the composer soon employed an order that was based on the contents of the poetic texts. Considerations for the dedicatee could also play some part in the choice of published songs.<sup>40</sup> After the composer's death publishers ignored Schubert's original order of songs, publishing his most popular works as single entities or within a

<sup>38</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 139

<sup>39</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 93

<sup>40</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft, ed., and Walther Dürr, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe*, series 4, songs, vol. 1a (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), XII, XVI

popular collection. As Schubert's original grouping is of importance for the understanding of his songs, the original structure of his *Liederhefte*, which is revived in the new complete edition, is to be taken into account for an informed interpretation.



Figure 1: Example of a title page, *Liederheft* op. 6.

Schubert's op. 8 is also his eighth *Liederheft*, as all of his early publications were songs. This particular *Liederheft* contains four songs, three of which are Mayrhofer settings: 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel' (H. Hüttenbrenner), 'Sehnsucht' (Mayrhofer), 'Erlafsee' (Mayrhofer) and 'Am Strome' (Mayrhofer). From a political perspective, it presents itself as a good starting point for a number of reasons. Most of the songs of op. 8 were composed in 1817, a time when the political theme was very relevant for Schubert. Society in general was still under the spell of the recent upheavals and, as censorship had not reached its highest point, political thoughts could be voiced with care. Schubert was enthralled by his circle of friends from Linz when setting the songs of op. 8. As demonstrated earlier, the circle's strong ideals of freedom, friendship and fatherland implied a distinctly political commitment.<sup>41</sup> 1817 was also the high point of Schubert's artistic collaboration with Mayrhofer, and it is therefore most likely that the poet's political attitude had an influence on Schubert and his works. Moreover, the publishing form of the *Liederheft* opens up the possibility that the songs within it can be interrelated or that a positioning of a song in a certain context might encourage an interpretation from a different angle or even open up a different view altogether. In *Liederheft* op. 8 the longing for a better future appears to be a traversing theme that connects the songs.

<sup>41</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 16

This theme may have a political core and thus presents an encompassing political theme throughout the *Liederheft*.

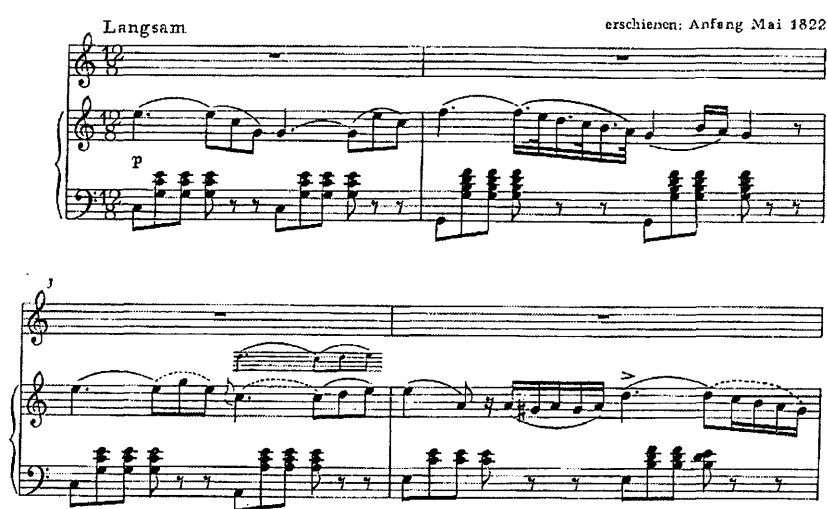
#### 4.2.1 'Sehnsucht', op. 8,2

Within op. 8, the Mayrhofer setting with the indicative title 'Sehnsucht' (D 516, longing) stands out the most from a political point of view. It is the second song in the *Liederheft* and is assumed to have been composed in 1816.<sup>42</sup> Schubert's musical setting will be viewed before Mayrhofer's text is taken into consideration. Approaching an analysis this way round shows that the overall interpretation of a song reflects the strong impact of the music itself and indicates how the composer may have understood and interpreted the poem. Immediately striking are the four contrasting moods of the setting, which mediate a feeling of brokenness. The song's melodic prelude introduces the melodic and expansive gesture of the voice, which is characteristic for the first part. After the voice entry, the simple bass accompaniment figure is overlaid by an upper part holding a light and jaunty motif, which stands out through the trill on its long first note.

op.8, 2 Sehnsucht  
Johann Mayrhofer  
D 516\*)

Langsam

erschienen: Anfang Mai 1822



73

<sup>42</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft and Dürr, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe*, vol. 1a, XXIII



Der Ler - che wol - ken -  
na - he Lie - der er - schmet - tern zu des

<sup>\*)</sup> Erster Entwurf, s. Teil b (Anhang), S. 290.

Figure 2: 'Sehnsucht', op. 8,2; bars 1-8.

The simple C major harmonization only obtains an interesting feature through the clouding modulation to A-flat major towards the end of this overall lighthearted part. A sudden change of mood separates the first and the second part. The harmony shifts immediately from A-flat major to E major, another leap on the key of the flattened sixth. The incision is further characterized through sudden double forte dynamics, stark harmonic unrest and rhythmical dominance in the following bars, which are intensified by forceful tone repetitions in the voice. The harmony finally sets in B major and oscillates between tonic and dominant (bar 18) through a simple motif, forming a bare and retracted accompaniment. The conjunct motion in the voice line with its downward pulling tendency creates an atmosphere of yearning, which is intensified by the many tone repetitions and step progressions. Especially eye-catching are the *passus duriusculus* (a downward leading line in half tone steps) in the bass of bar 17 and the long C-sharp in bar 21. The initial scene of contemplativeness has been taken off by an atmosphere of desperation and longing.

Frucht, Nur du, o sturm - be - weg - te

15 See - le, nur du bist blü - ten - los, in

16 dich ge - kehrt, und wirt in gold - - ner

20 Früh - lings - hel - le von tie - - - - - fer

22 Seh - - sucht auf - - ge - zehrt!

24 Nie wird, was du verlangst, ent - kei - men dem

Figure 3: 'Sehnsucht', op. 8,2; bars 13-25.

In bar 24 the next stark incision is to be found. Continuous tone repetitions in parallel octaves, which run in quaver groups of three, are mainly responsible for the new and forceful

mood. The added sforzati from the middle of bar 28 onwards intensify their force. The voice loses its melodic qualities and appears almost accusing and enraged. This part can certainly be described as the most agitated and intense of the whole song. Brigitte Massin has identified this part's main accompaniment pattern, the repeated quavers, as a typical one for Schubert, often denoting compulsion, storm and rage.<sup>43</sup> All of these feelings fit into the general mood of this part.

Wun - - sche hef - - - ti-ger entbrannt; mit —

Kra - ni - chen, — ein stre - ben - der — Ge - fähr - - - te, zu —

wan - - dern in — ein mil - - der Land —, zu

wan - - dern in — ein mil - - der Land.

<sup>43</sup> Brigitte Massin, 'Sur l'usage et la portée psychologique de certaines formule d'accompagnement dans le lied schubertian' in *Schubert Kongreß Wien 1978*, Bericht, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 343



Figure 4: 'Sehnsucht', op. 8,2; bars 32-42.

The song's last part stands out significantly. It is set in clear G major harmonies and the almost continuous tone repetitions on D in the bass appear as a pedal point. The voice finds its way back to a melodic line and is intensified by the upper part of the accompaniment, which imitates its course. The three different levels of bass repetition, upper hand imitation and voice part create a simple and transparent texture. Apart from the quiet and flowing character, the intervals of a third, sixth, fourth and fifth stand out horizontally as well as vertically. They create a strong reminiscence of horn sounds, which give this last part an almost peaceful, yet yearning quality.

Returning to Mayrhofer's song text, the first eye-catching observation is that the poem is based on lyric poetry depicting nature.

Sehnsucht <sup>44</sup>	Longing
Der Lerche wolkennahe Lieder Zerschmettern zu des Winters Flucht. Die Erde hüllt in Samt die Glieder, Und Blüten bilden rothe Frucht. Nur du, o sturmbewegte Seele, Bist blüthenlos, in dich gekehrt, Und wirst in goldner Frühlingshelle Von tiefer Sehnsucht aufgezehrt.	The lark's cloud soaring songs Are smashing to winter's flight; The earth wraps her limbs in velvet, And red fruit forms from the blossoms. You alone, storm-tossed soul, Do not flower; turned in on yourself, You are consumed by deep longing Amid spring's golden radiance.
Nie wird, was du verlangst, entkeimen Dem Boden, Idealen fremd; Der trotzig deinen schönsten Träumen Die rauhe <sup>45</sup> Kraft entgegen stemmt. Du ringst dich matt mit seiner Härte, Vom Wunsche heftiger entbrannt: Mit Kranichen ein strebender Gefährte Zu wandern in ein milder Land.	What you crave will never burgeon From this earth, alien to ideals, Which defiantly opposes its raw strength Against your fairest dreams. You grow weary struggling with its harshness, Ever more enflamed by the desire: With cranes an aspiring companion To journey to a milder land.

<sup>44</sup> Mayrhofer ed. Rabenlechner, *Gedichte*, 100

<sup>45</sup> Schubert changed Mayrhofer's 'rauhe' to 'rohe'. Both words can be translated with 'raw', but a better translation for Schubert's choice of 'roh' is probably 'rough'.

By the end of the eighteenth century, imagery of nature often possessed political explosiveness.<sup>46</sup> It is thus plausible that in the censorship-laden Biedermeier period a number of authors and poets drew on images of nature as a means of concealment and protection. While some used the natural sphere as an escape from reality, others employed it to voice their critical thoughts in indirect and subtle ways.

A closer look at Mayrhofer's 'Sehnsucht' indeed reveals a political level behind its naturalistic façade. Many of the natural elements that he employs in this poem were used as political metaphors at the time. Within the field of political imagery the lark and spring that are mentioned at the beginning of the poem are well known metaphors for freedom. Spring generally marks renewal, which, in its metaphorical meaning, was seen as political renewal embracing freedom and democracy. The lark belongs to the imagery of morning, which corresponds to the seasonal use of spring, and likewise indicates upcoming freedom and change.<sup>47</sup> The lark's song occurs when the poet refers to the passing of winter. Contrary to spring, the term winter symbolizes repression and despotism in this context. Going back to Schubert's musical setting, the striking trill motif that is so often repeated in the first part can without a doubt be attributed to the lark and the lighthearted and carefree setting of this part underlines the described scene as an ideal and aspired state. The clouding modulation towards the end of this part already unmasks the C major naivety as a sham.

Schubert's second part corresponds with the passage of the poem where the lonely storm-tossed soul is devoured by longing. The composer strongly intensifies this mood. The *passus duriusculus* that has been noted here appears underneath the word 'blütenlos' ('blossomless'). In the metaphorical sense this allegory depicts a human being that cannot flourish. The prominent long C-sharp in bar 21 that is followed by a narrow melodic line accentuates the soul's 'deep longing'. Schubert includes most of Mayrhofer's second verse in the song's stirring third part; to the end of the sixth line:

Nie wird, was du verlangst, entkeimen  
Dem Boden, Idealen fremd;  
Der trotzig deinen schönsten Träumen  
Die rauhe<sup>48</sup> Kraft entgegen stemmt.  
Du ringst dich matt mit seiner Härte,  
Vom Wunsche heftiger entbrannt:

<sup>46</sup> Hans-Wolf Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik im Jakobismus und im Vormärz* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971), 84f. Hartmut Kircher, *Naturlyrik als politische Lyrik – politische Lyrik als Naturlyrik*, Anmerkungen zu Gedichten zwischen Spätromantik und der 48er Revolution (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1977), 110, 115

<sup>47</sup> Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik*, 15-19

<sup>48</sup> Schubert: 'rohe', see footnote 45.

Bearing in mind the political construction of the poem, these words reflect the disappointment of the generation that had to give up their ideals and surrender to the harsh restrictions of the time. Schubert's enraged and accusing interpretation of this passage thus makes perfect sense in this context.

All of Schubert's last part emphasizes the last two lines of Mayrhofer's poem: the desire of the poor soul to accompany the cranes, birds seen as heralds of spring and light in Greek mythology, on their journey to a milder land. This longing is especially expressed through the horn sounds that dominate the part, drawing on the longing expression and intensity the instrument conveys. Yet the horn sounds also identify the longing for a milder land as a political one. In the Wars of Liberation hunting imagery and hunting songs were used as a common tool: reinterpreted as patriotic war songs they invoked victory over the foreign enemy, who was seen as fair game, and forthcoming freedom. The hunting horn was used as an instrument of political signals and the colour green symbolized national freedom and unity.<sup>49</sup> The poem 'Jägerlied' (Hunting song) by Theodor Körner, a close Mayrhofer friend and short-term member of the Schubert circle, exemplifies this and also underlines other issues that are central to the understanding of the political context, such as the perceived unity of the German-speaking states or the notion of freedom as the highest, most valued possession:

<b>Jägerlied<sup>50</sup></b>	<b>Hunting Song</b>
<p>Frisch auf, ihr Jäger, frei und flink!          Die Büchse von der Wand!          Der Mutige bekämpft die Welt.          Frisch auf den Feind! frisch in das Feld,          Fürs deutsche Vaterland!</p>	<p>Brisk, you hunters, free and swift!          The gun you take from the wall!          The courageous one fights the world.          Briskly upon the enemy! Briskly into the field,          For the German Fatherland!</p>
<p>Aus Westen, Norden, Süd und Ost          Treibt uns der Rache Strahl,          Vom Oderflusse, Weser, Main,          Vom Elbstrom und vom Vater Rhein          Und aus dem Donautal.</p>	<p>From West, North, South and East          The ray of vengeance urges us,          From the rivers Oder, Weser, Main,          From the Elbe stream and from Father Rhine          And from the Danube valley.</p>
<p>Doch Brüder sind wir allzusamm',          Und das schwellt unsern Mut.          Uns knüpft der Sprache heilig Band,          Uns knüpft ein Gott, ein Vaterland,          Ein treues, deutsches Blut.</p>	<p>Yet brothers we are altogether,          And this increases our courage.          We are connected by the holy band of language,          We are connected by one God, one Fatherland,          One faithful, German blood.</p>

<sup>49</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 316-317

<sup>50</sup> *Die Deutsche Gedichtebibliothek: Gesamtverzeichnis deutschsprachiger Gedichte*, [http://gedichte.xbib.de/-75635\\_28694\\_50437\\_58544\\_30069\\_58759-.htm](http://gedichte.xbib.de/-75635_28694_50437_58544_30069_58759-.htm), accessed: May 2011.

Nicht zum Erobern zogen wir vom väterlichen Herd; Die schändlichste Tyrannenmacht Bekämpfen wir in freud'ger Schlacht. Das ist des Blutes wert.	Not to capture we left The paternal home; The most disgraceful power of tyrants We fight in an elated battle. This is worth the blood.
Ihr aber, die uns treu liebt, Der Herr sei euer Schild, Bezahlen wir's mit unserm Blut! Denn Freiheit ist das höchste Gut, Ob's tausend Leben gilt.	But you, who have loved us faithfully, God be your shield, Let us pay it with our blood! Because freedom is the highest possession, Even if it requires thousands of lives.

In the following period of repression by the ruling powers, hunting signifiers could be redirected at the new enemy and hunting imagery in general symbolized the longed for freedom. The wandering to a milder land is thus to be understood as a desire for a better place – a major declaration, as it not only ends the song but is the only phrase of the poem Schubert chooses to repeat.

The choice of key for this final part is also of significance. Key characteristics were widely spread and there was a great importance attached to them by composers. Christian Daniel Friedrich Schubart's key characteristics in particular were very influential during the early nineteenth century. Often repeated, they 'became a well-established tradition in their own right.' Other authors who wrote about key characteristics usually copied heavily from Schubart's work.<sup>51</sup> Keys are not definitely linked to certain moods or subject matters. They rather present a choice of different moods and descriptions, which, most of the time, go in the same direction. In the following song interpretations some of Schubart's listed moods and descriptions fit particularly well with the interpretational path taken, and are thus pointed out. However, although they can additionally strengthen a point that is made, they are no definite indicators that can stand by themselves. Sometimes one of the moods that Schubart has pointed out for a particular key doesn't even fit at all with the character of a song. Schubert's key of G major in this last part is characterized by Schubart as a key that stands amongst other things for quiet and satisfied passion.<sup>52</sup> In this case it can therefore emphasize the longed for fulfillment of the troubled soul. That the wish for the ideal land remains a dream is suggested by the widening of the two hands<sup>53</sup> at the end of the postlude, which seems to portray the disparity of the actual and the ideal world. Michael Kohlhäufel, who too sees the song as relating to the events of the time, states that Schubert and his friends dreamed of an ideal

<sup>51</sup> Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: Umi Research Press, 1981), 153, 179-181

<sup>52</sup> Christian Daniel Friedrich Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, ed. Jürgen Mainka (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1977), 286

<sup>53</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 198

fatherland. He stresses that the longing in their poetry is generally to be understood as the expression of political disappointment.<sup>54</sup> In the case of 'Sehnsucht', Kohlhäufel's observation is very fitting, as Schubert's musical interpretation accentuates the political reading of the poem. The disparity of the song may well stand for the inner brokenness of the poor soul, which results from deep political disenchantment.

As mentioned above, the naturalistic metaphors of this poem correlate with common political metaphors during the French Revolution and the Vormärz era.<sup>55</sup> Anastasius Grün's poem 'Sieg der Freiheit' (Victory of Freedom), from his collection of poems 'Spaziergänge eines Wiener Poeten' (Strolls of a Viennese Poet), gives further evidence of this. Anastasius Grün was the pseudonym of Graf Alexander von Auersperg, a liberal aristocrat who, especially after Schubert's death, stood in close contact with members of Schubert's circle.<sup>56</sup> Grün's collection, which was published 1831, not long after Schubert's death, caused quite some uproar. The other German-speaking states were surprised to hear such clearly pronounced political criticism penned by an Austrian poet, as Austria was seen very much as the stronghold of repression. Although Grün's poem dates from the third decade of the nineteenth century, when his active career as a writer started, it can be assumed that the political metaphors he employs in his poem did not suddenly appear, but were known and used before then. What is new, however, is the clarity with which they are voiced – one can hardly describe them as metaphors any more, so apparent is their political connotation.

In the seventh verse of the fourteen verse long poem 'Sieg der Freiheit',<sup>57</sup> spring is mentioned as the hero of freedom, winning the fight against the tyrant winter. In the following verse the tyrannical traits of winter are specified. Amongst other things winter is described as an ore despot and a 'arger Zwingherr' (terrible oppressor), who oppresses the fresh springs that long for freedom. Spring with its attributes, on the other hand, is praised as a 'fröhlicher Rebell' (cheerful rebel) in the following ninth verse. Especially interesting in connection with 'Sehnsucht' is a description in the tenth verse, where it says about spring 'Seine Marseillaise pfeifen Lerchen hoch mit lautem Schall' (His Marseillaise is whistled highly by larks in a loud tone). The Marseillaise was widely known as a revolutionary song that stood for the liberal ideals of the French Revolution. Its mention in this freedom pleading spring song accentuates

<sup>54</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 149

<sup>55</sup> Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik*, 15f.

<sup>56</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 132

<sup>57</sup> Otto Rommel, ed., *Der österreichische Vormärz 1816 – 1847*, series: Politische Dichtung, vol. 4, ed. Robert, F. Arnold, series: Deutsche Literatur: Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen, ed. Heinz Kindermann (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1931), 47-48



the political direction of the poem and the fact that it is sung by the lark highlights the political association of this bird within the imagery of spring.

Freedom is again voiced in verses eleven and twelve, but most revealing is the last verse, which celebrates the arrival of spring and has a pronounced political meaning:

Und in grüne Farbe kleidet er Gebirge, Tal und Hain:  
Freiheit geb ich euch und Gleichheit! Gleich beglückt sollt all ihr sein! –  
Solch ein heit'rer Sieg des Lichtes kröne dich, mein Österreich,  
Und dem schönsten Frühlingstage werde deine Freiheit gleich!<sup>58</sup>

The second line of this verse attracts special attention. Here spring himself announced that he not only gives freedom, but also equality. Once more the liberal ideals of the French Revolution are called into mind. The victory of the light for Austria in the following line also attracts attention from a political viewpoint, as it seems to metaphorically speak in favour of an enlightened Austria. The last line portrays how spring, or the author, ideally pictures freedom in Austria: like the most beautiful day of spring. Interesting in connection with op. 8,2 is the clear political usage of spring in Grün's poem, his employment of naturalistic metaphors as a way to express political thought. Similar naturalistic metaphors can be made out in the fourth verse of Ludwig Tieck's poem 'An einen Liebenden im Frühling 1814' (To a Lover in Spring 1814), a poem that according to Kohlhäufel also signals a political spring.

Sieg und Freiheit blühen die Bäume,  
Heil dir, Vaterland! erschallt  
Jubelnd durch die grünen Räume,  
Freiheit! Braust der Eichenwald.<sup>59</sup>

The example of Grün's poem shows that naturalistic metaphors were used in a political context and Ludwig Tieck's poem from 1814 substantiates this existence. It can be assumed that these metaphors were already used in a subtler way from the Congress of Vienna onwards. The political subtext of 'Sehnsucht' is harder to detect than in Grün's poem. However, it seems more than likely that Mayrhofer employed the same metaphors in order to voice a critical political statement, which is enhanced in Schubert's song version.

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<sup>58</sup> And in green colour he clothes mountain ranges, vale and grove: / Freedom I give you and equality! You should all be happy to the same extent! – / Such a bright victory of light should crown you, my Austria, / And your freedom shall equal the most beautiful day of spring! Rommel, *Der österreichische Vormärz 1816 – 1847*, 47–48

<sup>59</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 89, 'Victory and freedom the trees are blossoming, / Hail thee, fatherland! resounding / jubilantly through the green rooms, / Freedom! roars the oak wood.'

#### 4.2.2 'Am Strome', op. 8,4

The setting that reveals a message very similar to 'Sehnsucht' is the final one in the *Liederheft*, 'Am Strome' (D 539), which Schubert composed in March 1817. In this Mayrhofer poem the speaker sees his life tied to a stream, on whose banks he felt joy as well as sorrow. He compares the stream with his soul and emphasizes the winds that rage within. The stream searches for the distant sea, and, in the same way, the speaker feels himself drawn to milder lands, because he cannot find happiness on earth:

<b>Am Strome.</b> <sup>60</sup>	<b>By the Stream</b>
Ist mir's doch, als sey mein Leben An den schönen Strom gebunden. Hab'ich frohes nicht am Ufer, Und Betrübtes hier empfunden?	I feel as if my life Is bound to the fair stream. Have I not felt joy And sorrow at the banks here?
Ja du gleichest meiner Seele; Manchmal grün und glatt gestaltet, Und zu Zeiten – herrschen Winde <sup>61</sup> – Schäumend, unruhvoll, gefaltet!	Yes you are like my soul; Sometimes shaped green and even, And at times – winds reign – Foaming, restless, folded! <sup>62</sup>
Fließest fort zum fernen Meere, Darfst allda nicht heimisch werden. Mich drängt's auch in mildre Lande – Finde nicht das Glück auf Erden.	You flow away to the distant sea, Are not allowed to settle down there. I am also drawn to milder lands – I cannot find happiness on earth.

The poem expresses a strong feeling of world-weariness through the medium of nature. The first verse establishes a connection between the speaker and the stream, and therefore already hints at the metaphorical potential of the poem. In the second verse this connection tightens in the first half, which furthermore describes the stream in a benign state. The second half, however, refers to the opposite state of the stream and is dominated by a disquiet linked to the natural element of winds. The poetic language is typically ambiguous here. The adjective 'grün' (green) for the positive state of the stream appears as a meaningful choice and is to be understood metaphorically. 'Grün' can certainly be interpreted as 'hopeful', relying on the common symbolism that this colour conveys. The following

<sup>60</sup> Mayrhofer ed. Rabenlechner, *Gedichte*, 78

<sup>61</sup> Schubert replaced Mayrhofer's 'Winde' (winds) with 'Stürme' (storms).

<sup>62</sup> The direct translation for 'gefaltet' is 'folded'. Yet the online edition of *Das Deutsche Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm* (<http://germazope.uni-trier.de/Projects/DWB>, accessed: October 2008), a good source of the meaning of words in the nineteenth century, suggests that the word can also be understood as 'meandering'. Depending on whether the stream or the winds are described here, one or the other translation is more fitting.

adjective 'glatt' (even) describes the state of the stream as placid. Freely flowing and raging streams were popular metaphors for freedom and revolution, as they conveyed the feeling of independence and freedom. The picture of the stream as a political metaphor was used from the end of the eighteenth century onwards and was especially popular during the 1848 revolution.<sup>63</sup> The affiliation of the speaker with the stream could symbolize his urge for freedom.

As in 'Sehnsucht', a political understanding of 'Am Strome' can be justified within the given historical and political context. Both settings reflect the feeling of *weltschmerz* and are connected by their wish for 'milder lands', which can be understood as an indirect complaint. It defines a discontentment that is likely to be linked to the political circumstances. David Gramit defines *weltschmerz* during the Biedermeier period as a general despair and disillusionment,<sup>64</sup> and it appears self-evident that its roots lie in the political realities of the time. Taking into consideration Mayrhofer's political disposition and his suggestive use of language in 'Am Strome', a political intention is likely. That Schubert understood 'Am Strome' in its political reading is again suggested by his musical setting.

This time Schubert adheres to the structure of the poem and presents a song in a simple A-B-A' form. The tonality is B major and perhaps an unusual choice for this simple and very natural appearing song. The accompaniment of the first and the last part plays tribute to the  $\frac{3}{4}$  metre of the song: while the right hand flows in triplets of arpeggio chords, the left hand, for most of the time, articulates a rhythm of a minim followed by a quaver. The harmonic rhythm follows this structure, and is dominated by the tonic and the dominant. Only at the end of the first part the relative minor G-sharp takes over. The triplet motion is also integrated into the voice part, which floats lightly and steadily.

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<sup>63</sup> Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik*, 20-26

<sup>64</sup> Gramit, 'Schubert and the Biedermeier', 365

op.8,4 Am Strome

Johann Mayrhofer  
D 539

Mäßig März 1817

Ist mir's doch, als sei mein Le - ben an den schö - nen Stromge-

Figure 5: 'Am Strome', op. 8,4; bars 1-6.

The music of the outer sections interprets the stream that is described in Mayrhofer's poem as a gentle one and also establishes it as a major element of the poem.

The middle section is markedly different: the time signature changes to common time and the accompaniment leaves its steadily flowing structure. The divide that has been noted within the second verse of the poem is deepened in the music. In the first half the accompaniment imitates the voice in the right hand, and even lies above it when this imitation is slightly postponed at the beginning. It seems as if Schubert responds musically to the comparison of the speaker's soul to the stream; especially as after the initial offset, the upper hand of the piano and the voice move together at the end of the first half in bar 18.

<sup>\*)</sup> Takt 25, Singstimme, ossia: So in Schuberts erster Niederschrift.

Figure 6: 'Am Strome', op. 8, 4; bars 18-31.

Their unison is echoed in a one bar interlude that follows in the treble clef. The stream and the speaker's soul seem to be musically established as a unit. What follows is a second part contrasting with an accompaniment that consists purely of fortissimo played chords in the bass register. Underlining the new forceful character, the voice sets in without accompaniment and is full of tone leaps, before it ends on a long low D accompanied by vigorous chord movement. A calmer interlude on the dominant leads back into the quietly flowing stability of the first section. Schubert changed Mayrhofer's 'Winde' (winds) to 'Stürme' (storms), and the music truly pays tribute to this more disquieting choice, as the second half of this part can indeed be described as stormy. In particular, he sees the adjectives 'schäumend, unruhvoll, gefaltet' (foaming, restless, folded) relating to his substitution of storms, as the voice line continues without a pause.

At the end of the setting, Schubert decides to repeat the poem's last line 'Finde nicht das Glück auf Erden' (I cannot find happiness on earth) in which he puts an emphasis on the word 'nicht' by placing it on the highest and longest note of the two-bar consequent.



Figure 7: 'Am Strome', op. 8,4; bars 35-44.

There is no musical reason (e.g. the finishing of a musical phrase) for the repetition of these words and it therefore has to be seen as a statement Schubert decides to stress. On its first occurrence this statement is set in G-sharp minor. The repetition, however, returns to the tonic of the piece, B major, and is followed by a short postlude of three bars that ends with a repeated horn motif. The contrast of the two keys appears to be significant here and a look at the key characteristics, which were widespread and indeed significant for musicians at the time, assists the interpretation. B major was seen as a strongly coloured key that heralds wild passions; anger, rage, jealousy, fury, despair and burdens of the heart were seen as common feelings it expressed. The relative minor G-sharp was believed to express feelings such as grief, a depressed heart, lamentation and struggle.<sup>65</sup> While the first utterance of the phrase in minor is very introverted and expresses lament, the apparent lift of mood to the major key can thus also be understood as lamentation turning into despair. The link of the B major key to despair and upcoming wild passions also explains Schubert's unusual choice of key for his

<sup>65</sup> Schubart ed. Mainka, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, 286

song. Taking into account the key characteristics, the ending of the setting emphasizes even more strongly how impossible it seems for the speaker to find the happiness he is looking for on earth. His strong longing for a better place is brought forth by the concluding horn sounds, which call into mind the ideal of freedom this instrument proclaimed during the Liberation Wars. The horn sounds, another parallel to 'Sehnsucht', are moreover a prominent element of the whole piece.

The simple and short postlude is congruent with the song's prelude. Already here the repeated horn motif stands out in the right hand of the piano and indicates the upcoming longing of the speaker. The music of the prelude is also used as an interlude between the first two parts. Here, however, the harmony is no longer B major, but its relative minor G-sharp. The ominous horn calls at the end of the prelude reflect the change of mood, the sorrow the speaker felt at the stream's banks, and also signal the upcoming disquiet in the B-part. Allusions to horn sounds can also be detected on a less prominent level. The horn motif sounds to the tonic B major at the beginning, but the chord notes also feature in the voicing of the opening tonic chord,  $b - f\# - b$ . This creates a strong sound of fourths and fifths, which further underlines the horn character of this motif. While the right hand moves on to arpeggio chords, the left hand accompaniment remains a stable element throughout the part, as it sounds almost every time the tonic occurs. The tonic often alternates with the dominant and is used frequently throughout both outer A sections. Its distinctive sound stands out because of the earlier described rhythmical structure of the accompaniment. The prominent horn sounds of the two framing parts can be described as an important element of the song. Their appearance at the very end of the song underlines their significance in particular. As neither horns nor hunting imagery is part of the poetic text, they have to be understood as musical metaphors, which bring out the political understanding of the song. The discussion of 'Sehnsucht' has already brought up the political significance this reference to hunting can take. The ending of the song, the strong wish of the speaker to leave for milder lands in order to escape the storms, stresses this supposition.

The above interpretation illustrates that Schubert's setting goes hand in hand with a political reading of Mayrhofer's poem. The unusual choice of the B major key and the horn calls from the beginning onwards indicate a deeper meaning right away. Schubert also strongly establishes the flowing stream on a musical level, as well as its connection to the speaker's soul, and thus opens up the metaphorical understanding of Mayrhofer's words. His strong and disruptive interpretation of the storm destroys any inclination to sentimentality and justifies the speaker's repeated wish for an escape to milder lands. Discussing 'Sehnsucht'

and ‘Am Strome’ after each other suggest a shared message and a political reading. Even the choice of words for the desired place, ‘milde Lande’, is the same and the allusion to horn calls in both settings builds a musical connection. Both settings thus reinforce each other in their meaning and Schubert’s choice to publish them in the same *Liederheft* is a statement in itself. However, the two songs do not follow each other directly in the *Liederheft*, but are separated by another Mayrhofer setting, ‘Erlafsee’.

#### 4.2.3 ‘Erlafsee’, op. 8,3

‘Erlafsee’ (D 586) was similarly composed by Schubert in 1817. Before being published as part of the *Liederheft*, it had been published as a single song in an almanac in 1818.<sup>66</sup> It differs decidedly from the other two Mayrhofer settings in the *Liederheft*, but has a connection to the following ‘Am Strome’ through the element of water. The lake that is depicted in this poem is a small mountain lake, less than 100 kilometres southwest of Vienna, close to the pilgrimage destination of Mariazell. The song adheres to one general mood throughout and devotes itself to the sensual depiction of pain. This surprisingly one-dimensional character results from the fact that Schubert selects only certain parts of Mayrhofer’s poem, the first and the third verse, for his setting. Both verses show little action and focus on the emotional condition of the speaker, as well as the description of the lake and its surroundings. The poem as a whole, however, shows many layers and indeed is often obscure in meaning:

Erlafsee <sup>67</sup>	Lake Erlaf
Mir ist so wohl, so weh Am stillen Erlafsee. Heilig Schweigen In Fichtenzweigen. Regungslos Der dunkle <sup>68</sup> Schooß; Nur der Wolken Schatten flieh’n Unterm glatten <sup>69</sup> Spiegel hin.	I feel so well, so miserable At the quiet Lake Erlaf. Holy silence In the pine branches. Motionless The dark sprig; Only the clouds’ shadows flee Under the even mirror.
Feenbild, was willst du mir,	Fairy picture, what do you want from me,

<sup>66</sup> Ernst Hilmar and Margret Jestremski, eds, *Schubert Lexikon* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1997), 112

<sup>67</sup> Mayrhofer ed. Rabenlechner, *Gedichte*, 94-95. The modern name of the lake is ‘Erlaufsee’ (Lake Erlauf).

<sup>68</sup> Schubert uses ‘blaue’ (blue) here.

<sup>69</sup> Schubert uses ‘dunklen’ (dark) here.



<p>So umschwebst du mich auch hier?  Weiche aus dem Land der Hirten.  Hier gedeihen keine Myrthen;  Schilfgras nur und Tannenwucht  Kränzen diese stille Bucht.</p>	<p>You also hover around me here?  Yield from the land of the shepherds.  Here no myrtles prosper;  Only reeds and the impact of firs  Encircle this quiet bay.</p>
<p>Frische Winde  Kräuseln leise<sup>70</sup>  Das Gewässer;  Und der Sonne  Guldne Krone  Flimmert blässer.</p>	<p>Fresh winds  Ruffle balmy  The Waters  And the sun's  Golden crown  Shimmers paler.</p>
<p>Ach, weine nicht, du süßes Bild!  Der Wellendrang ist bald gestillt,  Und glatter See, und Lüfte lau,  Erheitern dich, du Wunderfrau.</p>	<p>Oh, don't weep, you sweet picture!  The urge of the waves will soon be stilled,  And even lake, and breezes mild  Cheer you, miraculous woman.</p>
<p>Des Sees Rand  Umschlingt ein Band,  Aus lichtem Grün gewunden.  Es ist der Fluß,  Der treiben muß  Die Sägemühlen unten.</p>	<p>The lake's edge  Is embraced by a ribbon  Wound of bright green.  It is a stream,  That must drive  The sawmills below.</p>
<p>Unwillig krümmt er sich am Steg  Von seiner schönen Mutter weg,  Und fließt zu fernen Gründen.  Wirst, Liebe! Auch mit holder Hand,  Des Sängers ernstes Felsenland,  Mit Blütenroth umwinden?</p>	<p>Unwillingly he bends himself along the bridge  Away from his beautiful mother,  And flows to far-away depths.  Will you, love! With gentle hands too  Entwine the singer's grave mountain land,  with blossom-red?</p>

A consistent interpretation of the complete poem seems impossible; there are too many elusive meanings. Susan Youens remarks 'that Mayrhofer traffics in withheld information, implying profound meaning about profound matters but without supplying didactic clues or fully-adumbrated connections between thoughts and images, to disturbing effect.'<sup>71</sup> However, one cannot evade the poem's deeply emotional feeling and the gradual accumulation of religious metaphors. The 'holy silence' in the first verse, right after the mention of Lake Erlaf, is the most direct implication. More clouded is the apparition of the fairy picture at the beginning of the second verse and the use of the image of shepherds, which is often to be found in Christian contexts. The 'golden crown' of the sun brings up the association of a halo and the address to a miraculous woman at the end of the forth verse is suggestive of the Virgin Mary; as does the description of the beautiful mother in the last verse. There is thus the

<sup>70</sup> Schubert substitutes it for 'linde' (balmy).

<sup>71</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 200

possibility that the speaker is absorbed in questioning his faith, with the mirror at the end of the first verse relating to more than just the water. The close location of the 'Erlafsee' to a pilgrimage destination could be another indicator for this interpretative approach. The fact that 'Mariazell had become indelibly associated with the Habsburg family as a site of special devotion,' with the virgin being seen as the great mother and protector of Austria,<sup>72</sup> could further influence and maybe redirect the religious conception of the poem. However, due to the allusive and impalpable character of the religious metaphors it is difficult to deduce an overall religious interpretation with certainty. Likewise, Mayrhofer could have also used them to describe a different circumstance altogether. Maybe the ambiguity of the poem is the reason why Schubert chose only two verses for his song. There is also the possibility that Mayrhofer's poem existed in the form Schubert set it in, and that the poet later added the verses for his 1824 volume of poems.<sup>73</sup>

Unlike the complete Mayrhofer poem, Schubert's setting is very straightforward. It leaves out the verses that carry the action and restricts itself to the two mediating parts of the poem, verses one and three. A perceivable connection to the religious motif is therefore avoided; what remains is the reflective and melancholic character. The speaker's swaying between 'wohl und weh', which opens and ends the setting, seems to be its main agenda. Schubert repeats these first two lines each time and always emphasizes the word 'weh' through the B minor harmony and a flattened sixth in the voice the second time round. It seems that only then does the speaker acknowledge that the feeling of woe is the dominant one. The characteristic downward leap of the sixth in the voice, which appears frequently and sounds like a deep sigh, adds to the song's heavy-hearted touch. Out of the two chosen Mayrhofer verses Schubert created four parts that are divided into two sections, A-B / C-A'. The melancholy of the speaker is interpreted by Schubert so acutely, that it can be seen as an episode in itself. This first part, which captures the first two lines of the first verse, establishes the mood that more or less remains throughout the song, until it re-emerges emphatically with its recapitulation at the end.

Despite its depiction of nature, the following part, bar 11 to 27, evokes deep emotions. Its accompaniment strikes a lively tone, but the melancholic mood is carried on by the wistful voice line with its melismatic tendency. It also opens pianissimo in D minor with the contemplation of the holy silence in the pine branches, emphasising the solemn and reflective

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<sup>72</sup> William D. Baumann, 'Popular Catholicism in Vormärz Austria, 1800-48' in *Catholicism and Austrian Culture*, Austrian Studies X, ed. Judith Beniston and Ritchie Robertson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 60

<sup>73</sup> Hilmar and Jestremski, *Schubert Lexikon*, 112

character, before the rest of this section turns to B-flat major. Apart from the chordal pounding underneath the ‘motionless dark sprig’, both accompaniment and voice are lifted in mood for a bit. The dancing motif that occurs first underneath ‘*Wolken Schatten fliehn*’ in bar 17 dominates voice and piano alike and lightens the previous gravity. Yet the repetition of the phrase turns to G minor and also the added step of a minor second in the voice, the E-flat in bar 21, brings back the melancholy tone, before the part finishes on a positive note in B major. The B-part comes across as a confusing mixture of cheerfulness and melancholy, like a reflection of the speaker’s uncertainty.

78

# op.8,3 Erlafsee

Johann Mayrhofer  
D 586

Ziemlich langsam September 1817

Mir ist so wohl, so weh am

stil-len Er-laf-see, mir ist so wohl, so weh am stil-len Er-laf-

see. Hei-lig Schwei-gen in Fich-ten-zwei-gen,

re-gungs-los der blau-e Schoß, nur der Wol-ken Schat-ten fliehn

ü-berm dun-klen Spie-gel hin, nur der Wol-ken Schat-ten fliehn

ü-berm dun-klen Spiegel hin.

Figure 8: 'Erlafsee', op. 8,3; bars 1-27.

The faster third section (C) covers the third verse of the original poem and brings in 'fresh wind' with its lively depiction of the latter. Apart from one note the voice line it is crafted from some tone material as the opening phrase of 'Mir ist so wohl so weh',<sup>74</sup> and thus creates an implicit connection.

<sup>74</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 201

28 Geschwinder

Fri - sche Win - de kräu - seln lin - de das Ge -

33

wäs - ser, das Ge - wäs - ser, fri - sche Win - de

Figure 9: 'Erlafsee', op. 8,3; bars 28-37.

The light touch vanishes with the subsequent mentioning of the waters, where long notes in conjunct motion weigh heavily. When the voice turns to the description of the sun, the mood again changes to a lighter tune. With the following sunset a darkening mood takes over, due to the brief turn to minor harmonies and the long notes in the voice line that have already occurred at the description of the waters. Within the C-part Schubert repeats the depiction of the fresh winds and the following sunset. In this varied repetition the golden crown of the declining sun is illustrated with A major harmonies at the end. The sudden return to the tonic F major for the recapitulation of the A-part, a local flat sixth, thus has a darkening effect, which is also emphasized by the return to the slower initial tempo. The return to the outpour of 'wohl und weh' seals the overall melancholic tone of the piece. Through the pervasive sadness of the D-flat at the last mentioning of the two words and the sighing interval of a sixth in the short postlude, the heavy-hearted mood gains the upper hand at the end. It appears that the description of the natural scenery, which is framed by the two A-parts, merely serves for the illustration of the speaker's emotion between feeling well and feeling miserable.

68

göld - ne Kro - ne, und der Son - ne

72  
guld - ne Kro - ne flim - mert bläs - ser.

Im ersten Tempo

77  
Mir ist so wohl, so weh am stil-len Er-laf-see, mir ist so wohl, so

82  
weh am stil-len Er-laf-see.

Figure 10: 'Erlafsee', op. 8,3; bars 68-86.

Although different musical sections can be noticed within the piece, it retains its melancholic character throughout. The slow triplet motion within the 6/8 metre that is almost always present in the accompaniment emphasizes this consistency. The short and poignant opening phrase in the voice to 'Mir ist so wohl, so weh' not only returns in the final part of the song, but is also reminiscent in its third part. The often repeated opening motif of the third part, which sounds to 'Frische Winde', is modelled on the opening phrase of the song and can therefore be regarded as a uniting element. As noted, the song text shows little action, and Schubert's numerous repetitions of single phrases mirror the thoughtful state of the speaker. The music lays out the speaker's thoughtful and ever changing emotions, the only real 'action' of Schubert's shortened version of Mayrhofer's poem. Neither the words of Schubert's setting nor its music suggest a political statement of any kind. It appears that Schubert placed this song between two settings of a pronounced political message almost as a diversion, even a decoy.

Yet the positioning makes sense from the perspective that ‘Am Erlafsee’ fits well before the last song ‘Am Strome’. Both settings are not only connected through the element of water, but also share the triplet motion of the accompaniment. For those who knew the complete version of Mayrhofer’s poem, other similarities to ‘Am Strome’, like the mentioning of the river as a green band or its unwilling flow to far-away grounds, might have had an inherent ring and maybe opened up a different meaning. In Schubert’s ‘Erlafsee’ itself, it does not become clear why the speaker’s mood swings between ‘wohl and weh’. It seems to be a rather general expression of the encompassing feeling of *weltschmerz* that carried through all of the Biedermeier period. However, because of its positioning between two politically inclined settings in the *Liederheft*, it is certainly possible to interpret its lament as one that is related to the political theme of *weltschmerz* in the *Liederheft* as a whole.

#### 4.2.4 ‘Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel’, op. 8,1

This leaves the discussion of the *Liederheft*’s opening song ‘Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel’ (D 702). The poem of this song is by Heinrich Hüttenbrenner (1799-1830), a poet of whom not much is known apart from that he is the brother of Anselm and Josef Hüttenbrenner. Anselm (1794-1868) was one of Schubert’s very few composition friends, who, however, was not part of the idealistic Linz Circle.<sup>75</sup> His brother Josef (1796-1882) assisted Schubert for quite some time as a kind of secretary. His numerous tasks included looking after the composer’s finances, trying to help with the publication of the first *Liederhefte*, writing advertisements and reviews of the first works, contacting potential dedicatees, as well as general negotiations with publishers and directors. Schubert on the other hand became more and more irritated with his dedicated friend, as his initial help gradually turned into interference.<sup>76</sup> It has been assumed by Graham Johnson that ‘Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel’ was composed as a favour to Josef Hüttenbrenner and that it was written rather swiftly.<sup>77</sup> Yet already by viewing it in the context of the published *Liederheft*, this song seems anything other than a mere favour. The essence of the poem shows distinct similarities with the other songs of op. 8: great disappointment and a hope that is beyond this world, one that can only be found in the stars.

<sup>75</sup> Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert*, 92. Frieder Reininghaus, *Schubert und das Wirtshaus: Musik unter Metternich* (Berlin: Oberbaum, 1980), 152. Hilmar and Jestremski, *Schubert Lexikon*, 201f.

<sup>76</sup> Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert*, 103, 115, 123. Hilmar and Jestremski, *Schubert Lexikon*, 202f.

<sup>77</sup> Schubert, *Complete Songs* 29, 65-66

In this literary respect the song shares a common message with 'Sehnsucht' and 'Am Strome', where a better state is also ascribed to a far-away land.

<b>Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel<sup>78</sup></b>	<b>The Youth on the Hill</b>	
Ein Jüngling auf dem Hügel Mit seinem Kummer saß; Wohl ward der Augen Spiegel Ihm trüb'und tränennaß.	A youth sat on the hill With his sorrow; The gaze of his eyes Was bleak and wet with tears.	<b>A</b> <i>E minor, 6/8,</i> 'Nicht zu langsam' (Not too slow)
Sah frohe Lämmer spielen Am grünen Felsenhang, Sah frohe Bächlein quillen Das bunte Tal entlang,	He saw cheerful lambs playing On the green hillside, And cheerful brooks rippling Along the colourful valley,	<b>B</b> <i>C major, 4/4,</i> 'Mäßig' (Moderate)
Die Schmetterlinge sogen Am roten Blütenmund, Wie Morgenträume flogen Die Wolken in dem Rund,	The butterflies sipped At the red mouth of the blossom As morning dreams the clouds Were flying around,	
Und alles war so munter, Und alles schwamm im Glück, Nur in sein Herz hinunter Sah nicht der Freude Blick.	And everything was so cheerful, And everything swam in luck Only down to his heart The glimpse of joy was not looking.	
Ach, dumpfes Grabgeläute Im Dorfe nun erklang, Schon tönte aus der Weite Ein klagender Gesang,	Oh, gloomy grave ringing Sounded in the village now, Already from far away A lamenting chant was sounding,	<i>Turn to C minor</i>
Sah nun die Lichter scheinen, Den schwarzen Leichenzug, Fing bitter an zu weinen, Weil man sein Röschen trug.	He now saw the lights shining, The black funeral procession, He started to cry bitterly For his little Rose <sup>79</sup> was carried.	<b>C</b> <i>G minor, 4/4,</i> 'Langsam' (Slow)
Jetzt ließ den Sarg man nieder, Der Totengräber kam, Und gab der Erde wieder, Was Gott aus selber nahm.	Now the coffin was lowered, The gravedigger came, And returned to the earth, What God had taken from it.	
Da schwieg des Jünglings Klage, Und betend war sein Blick, Sah schon am schönern Tage Des Wiedersehens Glück.	Then the youth's lament silenced And his look was praying, He already saw on a happier day the luck of reunion.	<b>D</b> <i>G major, 6/8,</i> 'Etwas geschwinder' (Slightly faster)
Und wie die Sterne kamen, Der Mond heraufgeschifft,	And as the stars came, The moon sailing upwards,	

<sup>78</sup> Poem taken from: Franz Schubert, *The Complete Song Texts*, English translations by Richard Wigmore. Introduction and Schubert Calendar by Graham Johnson (London: Hyperion, 2005), 231-232. Punctuation and spelling are taken from the song text in the New Complete Schubert Edition. Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft, ed., and Walther Dürr, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series 4, songs, vol. 2a (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 68-72. Own translation.

<sup>79</sup> Used as a name here; literally meaning 'little rose'.



Da las er in den Sternen Der Hoffnung hohe Schrift.	There he read in the stars The high writing of hope.	
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As will be seen, Schubert invested much care in interpreting this poem and even employed musical ties to the other settings. In the absence of Hüttenbrenner's original version, it is difficult to know whether the above version is structured correctly. If this is the case, however, Schubert breaks this structure and, as indicated by the table, establishes one that orients itself around the four major atmospheres of the poem. Similar to 'Sehnsucht', the moods of the song are therefore almost cut off into four different sections. As visible in the score, the first verse forms one musical section, verses two to four the second one, five to seven the next one, and eight and nine the last one. The ominous scenery of the sad youth on the hill at the beginning is held in E minor, dominated by the distinct rhythm of crochet-quaver-crochet-quaver, which is intensified by the frequent tone repetitions in the voice.



Figure 11: 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel', op. 8,1; bars 1-10.

The second part with its simple C major idyll and the successive chord accompaniment figure with its triplet lightness is markedly different. Its simple and playful melody that often swings between notes of a major chord adds to the almost naïve and pastoral feel. The time signature changes from 6/8 to 'alla breve' and together with the new tempo indication 'Mäßig' it is one of the first perceived parameters of change.



Figure 12: 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel', op. 8,1; bars 21-23.

As in 'Sehnsucht' this change in mood is quite abrupt, with the second part set against the first one. At the end of the second part the mood darkens when the description returns from the joyful surrounding nature to the grief-stricken youth, who is unable to take in any of this joy.

Figure 13: 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel', op. 8,1; bars 39-48.

This state is illustrated by Schubert through the suddenly downward leading line in the melody in a conjunct motion, the tonal realm of flat keys around the C minor frame, the unexpected pianissimo, and the new chord throbbing accompaniment motive. This time the next section is prepared, as the end of this part leads into the funeral music of the next one.

The third section depicts the funeral of his 'Röschen' with dramatic musical means. In the first bars it is dominated by the bleak repetition of the low, bass doubled crochets in the

left hand (G'– G). The similarly repeated D's a fifth higher are set offbeat against this bass, imitating the sound of the death bell.

49 *Langsam*  
 Ach, dumpfes Grab-ge-läu - te im Dor - fe nun er-klang, schon  
 pp *simile*

53  
 tön - te aus der Wei - te ein kla - gen - der Gesang, sah nun die Lich - ter scheinen, den

56  
 schwar - zen Lei - chen - zug, fing bit - ter an zu wei - nen, weil man, weil man sein Rös - chen  
 cresc. *fz* *pp*

60  
 trug. Jetzt ließ den Sarg man nieder, der To - ten - gräber kum und

Figure 14: 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel', op. 8,1; bars 49-63.

The marked rhythm of dotted quavers in the voice brings in a third bleak level and substantiates the mood. This section experiences a cut when the cause of the youth's upset is mentioned – his dead 'Röschen'. The attention is forced with a sudden and accentuated diminished seventh chord in the accompaniment (bar 58), which resolves to an unstable F-sharp minor chord with fifth in the bass that moves to C-sharp major in dactylic rhythm and pianissimo. From here onwards the offbeat right hand has chords, which gives the now described act of the burial additional weight and depth. The extremely low leading conjunct



motion line in the voice at the word 'Totengräber' (gravedigger), doubled by the heavy bass octaves, even heightens the dramatic effect. After this emotional section the mood once more changes completely with the last part.

With the actual burial over, the youth has new hope for a reunion with his 'Röschen', and, as he looks upwards to the stars, becomes hopeful.

75 Ta - ge des Wie - der - se - hens Glück. Und wie die Ster - ne

79 ka - men, der Mond her - auf ge - schifft, da las er in - den

83 Ster - nen der Hoff - nung ho - he Schrift, der Hoff -

87 nung ho - he Schrift.

Figure 15: 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel', op. 8,1; bars 75-92.

This is reflected in the music by a change from G minor to G major, a return to the swinging 6/8 time from the beginning, a simple and light hearted melody and a 'G' pedal point in the bass of each bar. This pedal dotted minim is supported by the same note an octave higher,

which floats continuously in the dancing rhythm of a crochet followed by a quaver. The right hand of the accompaniment is initially often found a third or sixth apart from the melody, before it doubles the voice in the second half with underlying chords. This happens exactly at the time when the youth reads the high writing of hope in the stars. The voice itself evolves from a simple four-bar melody dancing around the notes of the C major triad, which is repeated in three different versions and extended by two echoes at the end, all of which iterate and thus emphasize hope's high writing. This texture gives the last part a stable, and at the same time almost ethereal and transcendental quality, which stands out in the same way as the finishing G major section in the following setting of 'Sehnsucht'. The almost continuous doubling of the voice, from when the youth reads the hope in the stars, conveys stability; and the already mentioned echo of the last line, which is followed by the slowly upwards swinging postlude, creates a very positive and indeed hopeful feeling at the end of this song.

Although Schubert employs rather simple appearing means to interpret this poem, a considerable amount of detail in the interpretation of the passages, single words and phrases can be detected. It is therefore reasonable to question Graham Johnson's remark that Schubert was tired of the poem towards the end or that it was composed out of duty to please the poet's brother Josef Hüttenbrenner.<sup>80</sup> As already mentioned, the Hüttenbrenner song fits well into the overall message of the complete *Liederheft*: it portrays a hope that reaches beyond this world. That this hope can be interpreted in a fashion similar to the following songs can once more be pinpointed by the music itself. From the beginning on everything is lined up for the funeral section at the heart of the piece. And although there is the light-hearted second section of the song, its main purpose is to show what the youth cannot enjoy. The blissful scenery thus creates a stark contrast to his misery. Graham Johnson remarks in his commentary on this song that the music of the funeral section is portentous enough to suggest that Napoleon is being buried here at the very least. He thus wonders whether 'Röschen' is an actual name or simply a flower metaphor. Furthermore, he questions the spirituality of the last section, as its simplicity kicks in so soon and automatically after the high drama of the burial scene.<sup>81</sup> An interpretation within the context of the *Liederheft* might offer an explanation for this musical discrepancy.

'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel' can admittedly be read and understood on its surface level, as a poem that contrasts the misery of a young man with a pastoral scenery, in which he also finds solace in the end. However, as in 'Sehnsucht' and 'Am Strome', it is also possible

<sup>80</sup> Schubert, *Complete Songs* 29, 65-66

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

to read an underlying political message into this setting. Such a message is not clear from the poem as it stands, and requires the willingness to regard certain passages in the text as metaphors. Earlier on, musical ties to the other songs in this *Liederheft* are mentioned and it is indeed not only the four-part structure and G major ending similar to 'Sehnsucht' that form a musical connection. The allusions to hunting signals that are already detected and interpreted in both 'Sehnsucht' and 'Am Strome' are similarly present in this setting and would thus contribute towards its political reading. The first of these allusions is to be found in the song's second section, where the joyful atmosphere is surrounding, but, at the same time, unattainable for the youth. The upper hand of the accompaniment consists of a repetitive horn call motive throughout. Although this motif lies in the middle voice of the accompaniment, it is more prominent than the first look into the score suggests.



Figure 16: 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel', op. 8,1; bars 21-23.

Against the lively structure of the upper hand of this accompaniment motif, the horn calls offer a stable and rhythmically perceivable constant for the singer to orient himself on. They are thus likely to be slightly accentuated and clearly perceptible. In addition, the final section conveys a hunting idyll with characteristics often found in hunting songs: the rhythm of 6/8, the simple voice line which orients itself around the triad tones, and the intervals of a third and a sixth that are created by the upper hand of the accompaniment in the first half.

These hunting allusions could point in a similar direction to that of the other two songs. The strong musical interpretation of the funeral scene and the song's ending, which creates a strong and abrupt contrast between these two parts, substantiate this assumption. Graham Johnson wonders rightly: who is this 'Röschen' that it inspires such dramatic epos? That this 'Röschen', the youth's beloved as it seems, is of importance, goes without question. It is heralded with a diminished seventh chord, is underlined by the dactylic rhythm that is typical for Schubert but appears nowhere else in this song and has a note in the voice that is incredibly hard for the singer to find after the preceding harmonic uncertainty. This musical

emphasis, together with the strong and almost pompous musical depiction of the burial, gives reason for the suspicion that Schubert read the 'Röschen' as a metaphor with a political touch.

Within the context of the songs to come it would make sense to see the 'Röschen' as a metaphor for freedom. This could explain the highly dramatic funeral scene, as well as the sudden turn towards hope in the following section. What substantiates this suspicion is the fact that the figure of a woman was commonly used at the time as a metaphor for freedom, or at least associated with it. Even in political speeches the figure of a woman was used as a representation of freedom. The end of Beethoven's 'Egmont' after Goethe, where Egmont sees freedom in the shape of his beloved in his final allusion, is one well known example from the literary and musical domain.<sup>82</sup> Another musical example is Florestan's liberation through Leonore at the end of Fidelio, which is notably accompanied by several horn calls. Today these passages are often overlooked as metaphors, which deprives listeners of an important level that reaches beyond the surface action. In Grün's poem 'Sieg der Freiheit' (Victory of Freedom), which has been presented to show the widespread use of naturalistic metaphors in connection with 'Sehnsucht', freedom is called a chosen virgin in the second verse.<sup>83</sup> It would therefore not be too far-fetched to bring the 'Röschen' in association with a metaphor of freedom. After the Wars of Liberation the hoped for freedom was indeed dead, and the dactylic rhythm under 'Röschen' would accentuate this circumstance. The diminutive form of the 'Röschen' also implies a certain innocence and naivety, which could furthermore be linked to the credulous hope for freedom that liberal parts of the population had put into the promises from above.

The connection of hunting allusions to freedom has been discussed earlier. In this song they only occur in the two light-hearted parts: amidst the joyfulness of the second part, which the youth cannot embrace, and in the last part, where hope is directed towards the stars in the sky. Again, the hunting allusions enrich the declarations in the text with a notion of freedom, which bridges a parallel to the historical situation. In the same way the youth cannot embrace the joyfulness, freedom was withheld after the Congress of Vienna, and as the youth can only direct his hope to the stars, so was freedom only an optimistic hope for the liberal Biedermeier contemporary. The fact that a hunter's beloved is often called 'Röschen' or 'Röslein' (both meaning little rose) in a number of traditional hunting songs might or might not be a coincidence. The poem itself does not directly encourage a politically inclined interpretation;

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<sup>82</sup> Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik*, 65-69, 115

<sup>83</sup> Rommel, *Der österreichische Vormärz 1816 – 1847*, 47

however, the positioning of the song in this particular *Liederheft* encourages its politically informed reading, as the ties between the songs do not seem to be coincidental.

#### 4.2.5 *The Liederheft as a Whole*

Reflecting on the *Liederheft* as a whole, it can be resumed that the overall topic of longing is a common theme. In every case this longing is expressed through metaphors of nature or loss and can be read as a political longing. The songs have been discussed in a different order to the one in the *Liederheft* to bring out the political message more clearly. The more pronounced political settings have been discussed at the beginning, as they open up a different view on the two remaining ones. As shown for each setting, Schubert's musical interpretation encourages the political interpretation. The third setting, 'Erlafsee', is an exception, but as the melancholic thoughtfulness of the speaker is not target-oriented, it can well be integrated into the political theme. The political message is most pronounced in the second and the last setting, 'Sehnsucht' and 'Am Strome', also because of their accentuation of 'mildre Lande' (milder lands). The first setting, 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel', is the only setting of op. 8 that is not by Mayrhofer. It nevertheless fits well into the common theme, as it can be interpreted from a political perspective. There is even the possibility that Schubert sought a suitable poem for his *Liederheft* from Hüttenbrenner. The fact that 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel' is most likely the last song of the *Liederheft* to be composed (in November 1820) leaves room for this assumption. The most obvious musical connection of the songs are the horn sounds, which ring through all of the settings apart from 'Erlafsee'. With the exception of 'Erlafsee', the strong musical interpretation of phrases or single words within each song (especially in the first two settings of 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel' and 'Sehnsucht') is also a common characteristic that ultimately aids to underline the political potential of each poem within op. 8.

It is possible to see a common political message permeating the *Liederheft*. Although the political theme is palpable behind its metaphors, it is not brought out as clearly as it possibly could. A different order of the songs, one that places one of the two more pronounced political settings with their mentioning of a 'milder land' at the beginning, would have left a stronger impression, as the following songs are then received from a different perspective. However, considering that this *Liederheft* was published in times of tightening state control, its overall political indications go probably as far as they could. Opening the



*Liederheft* with ‘Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel’, where the political content is loose, could therefore be due to censorship reasons. Although the complaint or lament is expressed through accepted *weltschmerz* in the *Liederheft*, a different order might have raised suspicion with the censors. The circumstance that the publication of op. 8 was deferred (the dances of op. 9 were published before op. 8), suggests the possibility that the *Liederheft* might have already stretched the boundaries of censorship in its published form. Ernst Hilmar sees either the publisher or censorship as responsible for the delay.<sup>84</sup>

### 4.3 *Liederheft* op. 21 – A Firmer Political Tone

Schubert’s op. 21, published one year after op. 8 in June 1823, is another good example of a *Liederheft* with a likely political content. All of its three songs are based on Mayrhofer poems, set in the bass clef and connected through the element of water. Elmar Budde states that the poems of op. 21 are not to be mistaken for romantic poetry depicting nature. The poetic pictures of the water and the stream are better understood as metaphors that refer directly to the oppressive political conditions of Schubert’s time.<sup>85</sup> Due to the summarizing manner of his article, Budde neither comments on this *Liederheft* in a detailed manner, explicitly clarifying the political content, nor does he provide a musical interpretation. Yet his observations draw attention to the political potential of these songs, which might show a different political statement than the previously discussed *Liederheft* op. 8. To discuss another *Liederheft* based on Mayrhofer songs might bring up another political angle that would furthermore substantiate the political scope of Schubert’s Mayrhofer settings in general. It also demonstrates that the connection of songs within a *Liederheft* is not a single occurrence. As will be shown with the interpretation of op. 21, its three songs ‘Auf der Donau’, ‘Der Schiffer’ and ‘Wie Ulfru fischt’ constitute another politically themed *Liederheft*.

<sup>84</sup> Ernst Hilmar, ed., and Werner Bodendorff, *Franz Schubert: Dokumente 1817-1830, Erster Band – Texte, Addenda und Kommentar*, Veröffentlichungen des Internationalen Franz Schubert Instituts, vol. 10, 2nd part (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2003), 71

<sup>85</sup> Elmar Budde, ‘Der Flug der Zeit: Zur Erstveröffentlichung der Schubertlieder und zu ihrer Rezeption’ in *Von Dichtung und Musik 1797-1997: ‘Der Flug der Zeit’, Franz Schubert: Ein Lesebuch*, Veröffentlichung der Internationalen Hugo-Wolf-Akademie für Gesang – Dichtung – Liedkunst e.V., ed. Elisabeth Hackenbrach (Stuttgart, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), 20

#### 4.3.1 'Auf der Donau', op. 21,1

Mayrhofer's poem 'Auf der Donau' (D 553) was set by Schubert in April 1817, around the same time as most of the songs in op. 8. Although not being able to communicate an unequivocal message, the musical setting of the song is rich in substance even when its text is ignored. The poetic text of 'Auf der Donau' comprises elements of quiet contemplation, disquiet, anxiety, rage and resignation. It is written in Mayrhofer's usual dense poetical style and requires closer contemplation for its understanding.

Auf der Donau <sup>86</sup>	On the Danube
<p>Auf der Wellen Spiegel Schwimmt der Kahn. Alte Burgen ragen Himmelan; Tannenwälder rauschen Geistergleich – Und das Herz im Busen Wird uns weich.</p>	<p>On the mirror of the waves Floats the boat. Old castles soar Heavenwards; Fir forests rustle Ghost like – And our heart within the breast Becomes soft.</p>
<p>Denn der Menschen Werke Sinken all': Wo ist Thurm und Pforte, Wo der Wall, Wo sie selbst, die Starken? Erzgeschirmt, Die in Krieg und Jagden Hingestürzt.</p>	<p>Because the works of men All decline: Where is tower and gate, Where the rampart, Where are the strong ones themselves? Armed in ore, Those in war and hunts Charged forth.</p>
<p>Trauriges Gestrüppe Wuchert fort, Während frommer Sage Kraft verdorrt. Und im kleinen Kahne Wird uns bang – Wellen droh'n, wie Zeiten, Untergang.</p>	<p>Desolate brushwood, Sprawls along, While the strength of devout myth Withers. And in the small boat We become afraid – Waves threaten, like times, Doom.</p>

The poem opens with the picture of a boat floating on the waves and continues to paint an almost romantic landscape picture that has a touch of bygone times with its mentioning of the old castles. The ghostlike rustling of the fir forests seems to prepare for the unexpected. Schubert's song setting is as intricate as Mayrhofer's poem and a difficult one to convey to

<sup>86</sup> Mayrhofer ed. Rabenlechner, *Gedichte*, 18

the reader. The composer sets this first verse as one part and evolves the picture of the boat on the waves with a wavelike semiquaver motion in the accompaniment. He also emphasizes the ghostlike fir rustle, which seems to open up the heart with the mysterious qualities of the *tremoli* and the harmonic turn towards C-flat major in bar 18, preparing for the disturbing happenings to come.

148

# op. 21,1 Auf der Donau

Johann Mayrhofer  
D 553

Langsam April 1817

Auf der

Wel - - len Spie - gel schwimmt der Kahn

Al - - te Bur - gen ra - - gen him - mel-an;

Tan - nen-wäl - der rau-schen gei - - ster - gleich -

*p* *cresc.* *p*

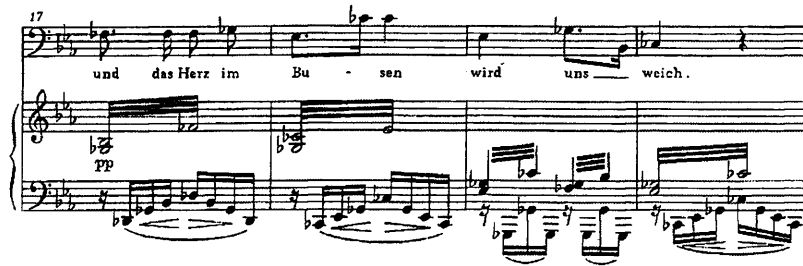


Figure 17: 'Auf der Donau', op. 21, 1; bars 1-20.

Already this opening landscape picture can be assigned a deeper meaning. Wilhelm Seidel argues that Mayrhofer's landscape painting has a higher, theologically grounded agenda. Mayrhofer would soften the soul of the listeners in order to make them responsive to the void of human deeds that are addressed in the next verse. The rhetorical questions he poses would only seemingly stay open, as the landscape at the end would have a connection to life.<sup>87</sup> Yet this connection to life pointed out by Seidel can already be established at the beginning of the poem and thus allows a different interpretation. Susan Youens believes that Mayrhofer resorts to a commonplace metaphor in which a small boat gliding on the water is emblematic of individual human life on the river of time.<sup>88</sup> In Mayrhofer's poetry, the opening theme of a boatman on the water, emphasized by Schubert through quietly flowing wave-like semiquavers in the accompaniment, was often used as an allegory of the human soul on its journey through life.<sup>89</sup> It is therefore not far-fetched to deduce a meaning from this poem that is related to life. Due to the poem's metaphorical qualities, this meaning unfolds with the poem and only becomes clearer with Mayrhofer's second verse.

Here the speaker questions where the 'works of men' have gone and wonders where the strong themselves, once active in wars and hunts, are. In relation to a real life context such works of men could be seen as emblematic for the great deeds that were anticipated with the Liberation Wars, but could ultimately not be achieved. The link to 'the strong ones', who charged forth in wars and hunt, would fit well into this picture. The referral to hunts in connection with wars is a strong indicator of the recent Liberation Wars, where the hunting motif was frequently used and where the war itself was often identified as hunt. The celebrated heroes who had fought in the Liberation Wars – be it with words or deeds, or both

<sup>87</sup> Wilhelm Seidel, "Die Erde ist gewaltig schön, doch sicher ist sie nicht: Über Joseph [recte: Johann] Mayrhofer's Lebensbilder" in *Schuberts Lieder nach seinem literarischen Freundeskreis*, ed. Walther Dürr (Frankfurt am Main, Vienna: Lang, 1999), 258

<sup>88</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 188

<sup>89</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, *Geheime Botschaften: Homoerotische Subkulturen im Schubert-Kreis, bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Thomas Bernhard* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), 104

as in the case of the famous Theodor Körner – were either forgotten or silenced through numerous restrictions after the Congress of Vienna. Schubert's very pronounced musical interpretation of this verse, which he sets as the middle and stirring part, would speak in favour of this interpretation.

Again Schubert sets the middle verse as one part and decides to contrast it strongly with the previous verse. The anxious knocking in the accompaniment from bar 22 onwards and the significance imparting trill motif in the bass, which swell to rage with Schubert's long crescendo, interrupt the wavelike flow and strongly interpret Mayrhofer's words.

The musical score for 'Auf der Donau', op. 21,1, bars 21-37, is presented in four systems. The first system (bars 21-24) shows the vocal line with lyrics 'Denn der Men - schen Wer - ke sin - ken all, wo ist' and the piano accompaniment with a crescendo and a trill motif in the bass. The second system (bars 25-28) continues the vocal line with lyrics 'Turm, wo Pfor - te, wo der Wall, wo sie selbst, die' and the piano accompaniment with a crescendo and a trill motif in the bass. The third system (bars 29-32) shows the vocal line with lyrics 'Star - ken, erz - geschirmt, die in Krieg und Jag - den hin - ge - stürmt?' and the piano accompaniment with a forte section and a trill motif in the bass. The fourth system (bars 33-37) shows the vocal line with lyrics 'Wo? Wo?' and the piano accompaniment with a piano section and a trill motif in the bass.

Figure 18: 'Auf der Donau', op. 21,1; bars 21-37.

In particular the beginning crescendo in bar 25 raises the intensity of the piece. With piano dynamics and sevenths chords Schubert employs a questioning touch at the beginning of this part, but the rage builds up with the empty questions about the declining works. A different tone is reached with the enharmonic change in keys in bar 29. Numerous dotted quavers can be found in the voice. The advanced crescendo and the harmonic stagnation, alternating mainly between C-sharp sevenths and F-sharp minor chords, change the character of the knocking accompaniment significantly. The trill in the bass adds to the furious character that is drawn out here. The voice reaches its highest point, a C-sharp', with the double forte dynamics in bar 32. The words here ask where the strong ones are and Schubert appears very angry about the absence of 'the strong ones'; especially as he interferes with Mayrhofer's text and adds the interrogative 'Wo?' (Where?) twice (bars 33 and 34). This interrogative is musically emphasized through a first accusing sounding single C-sharp' and the resigning one an octave lower, which affirms that 'the strong ones' cannot be found. The abrupt dying away of the music on the dominant afterwards makes sense in this context, as there is no answer to Schubert's 'Wo?'. Given Mayrhofer's political convictions, it is likely that he refers to the recent political disappointment in disguise here. It is thus not surprising that Schubert, very much influenced by political thoughts at the time of the setting, employs such a strong musical interpretation. He brings out all the anxious questioning, the rage about the loss held in this verse, as well as the final resignation that is to be expanded in the last verse.

In the last verse – also set as one part by Schubert – Mayrhofer initially returns to the landscape picture, constituting a counterpart to the opening verse: the sprawling of desolate brushwood and the withering strength of the devout myth bring across a truly bleak picture. Given the interpretive context of the second verse, the deserted landscape seems to represent a deserted soul and the withering strength of the devout myth appears to stand for ideals that lose their hold. Both are annunciations that can be related to the disappointment after the Liberation Wars. Looking back to the beginning of the poem, it can be deduced that its landscape too presents the metaphorical picture of the soul. While at the beginning this picture stands for contentment, its turn to the worse is to be attributed to the happenings in the middle part. After the description of the changed metaphorical landscape, Mayrhofer turns back to the boat from the very beginning. He states that waves threaten 'uns' (us) in the little boat, using a personal pronoun and one in the all-embracing plural rather than the singular form, as do times. Inevitably the feeling arises that the poet, halfway hidden amidst the metaphorical picture, addresses his own times as a threat and that these times are ultimately responsible for the final doom. Following the metaphorical picture of the 'river of time' that has been

suggested at the beginning of the poem, reference can be made to the current times. The current reality of censorship, the restriction of liberty and the unfulfilled hopes for a freer society that followed the enthusiasm of the Liberation Wars were experienced strongly by liberal contemporaries. They can certainly be brought into connection with 'the doom' in the song. The current reality was certainly a time of doom for a liberal mind such as Mayrhofer. In 'Auf der Donau' he indirectly addresses the deficiencies of his time and gives vent to his anger and resignation.

Again, Schubert's music can be seen as supporting the presented reading. After the withdrawal of the piano at the end of the second part, Schubert inserts a rest of a whole bar (bar 37) and then returns to the music from the beginning under a different omen by creating a bleak synthesis from the first two parts.

Figure 19: 'Auf der Donau', op. 21,1; bars 38-49.

He picks up the quiet flowing from the beginning in F-sharp minor, a key that can be described as sinister according to Schubart and his key characteristics,<sup>90</sup> and considerably alters the tranquil tone from the beginning. The syncopated chords in the right hand from bar

<sup>90</sup> Schubart ed. Mainka, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, 285-286

48 onwards, which replace the tremolo from the A-part, substantiate the uneasy character of this part. The change of key to the same accompaniment indicates straight away that the landscape of the soul, once more described in the text here, has changed after the middle part. Here the mood turned and the change to the minor key was visibly accomplished with the new dominant on 'Starken' in bar 29. Schubert's interpretation thus marks the bemoaned lack of men's deeds and the absence of the strong ones as the cause for the desolate turn. Scholars have noted that this turn comes as no surprise, as the keys that are passed in the first part (E-flat major, A-flat major and C-flat major) can also be interpreted as harmonies of the new minor dominant<sup>91</sup> in their enharmonic re-spelling. The layout for the desolate turn in the third part is therefore already set up at the beginning of the song. Furthermore, Schubert's musical structure of ABA' not only complies with the form of Mayrhofer's poem, but aids the understanding of the song. In this form thesis and antithesis often act as antagonistic spheres, while the repeat can be the summarizing and final act of realization.<sup>92</sup> In 'Auf der Donau', the first part can be seen as a dream, its awakening is forced by the antithesis of the second part. The third part, set as a musical synthesis by Schubert, thus presents the disillusioning reality – in a literal sense.

Apart from giving the quiet flowing from the beginning a negative connotation with the turn to the minor key, Schubert employs a number of other musical means to interpret the gloomy and desolate content of this last part. The movement of the syncopated chords in the right hand of the piano, which starts in bar 48 and is characteristic for this last part, correlates with the mentioning of the situation in the little boat. The music therefore stresses the fearful mood that Mayrhofer's lines indicate. Together with the syncopated chords, a line of falling fifths in the harmony, starting on D-sharp major seventh chord and returning to F-sharp minor in bar 51, sets in and attributes to the uneasy mood. Hereafter, the sudden forte dynamics in bar 53 are striking. They go hand in hand with an embellishment in the voice and emphasize the word 'Zeiten' (times), which establishes a reference to the current time in Mayrhofer's poem. The preceding bar 52 in a way builds up the tension with its tone repetitions on the 'F-sharp' that make the melodic embellishment on the higher and long 'A' in the following bar all the more prominent. With its musical emphasis the word 'Zeiten' is associated with the doom that closes the piece.

<sup>91</sup> Harald Krebs, 'Tonart und Text in Schuberts Liedern mit abweichenden Schlüssen' in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 27, no. 4 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 270. Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 189-190

<sup>92</sup> Ludwig Stoffels, 'Zur Funktion des Repriseverfahrens in Schubert-Liedern: Analyse und Deutung poetisch-musikalischer Reflexionsformen' in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 43, no. 1 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986), 49



50  
wird uns bang- Wel - lendrohn, wie Zei - ten,

54  
Un - ter - gang, Un - ter -

58  
gang, Un - ter - gang,

62  
fz pp fz pp pp

Figure 20: 'Auf der Donau', op. 21, 1; bars 50-66.

Susan Youens has rightly pointed out that Mayrhofer's poem is usually printed incorrectly in recordings and books of song texts, despite the original formal structure being integral to its meaning.<sup>93</sup> This is also the case for 'Auf der Donau', which is also quoted in a simplified and incorrect structure in *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts* that is part of the Hyperion collection of Schubert's songs.<sup>94</sup> Its correct formal structure as intended by Mayrhofer imparts a more profound understanding in places. The ending of the poem in particular illustrates this, as the single word 'Untergang' (doom) in the last line not only lends

<sup>93</sup> Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 188

<sup>94</sup> Franz Schubert, *The Complete Songs*, Forty Compact Discs (London: Hyperion, 2005)

it a heightened meaning, but also stresses its gloomy direction and outcome of the poem as a whole. Schubert goes through great lengths of effort to emphasize the final word of the poem. A change in the accompaniment takes place in bar 54 and correlates with the mention of 'Untergang', as does the cantabile emphasis in the voice line in bars 54 and 55. Right after the mention of 'doom' Schubert employs a painful chromatic descent (bars 55 and 56). While the syncopes in the right hand of the piano play in bare octaves here, the bass line, doubled by the alto voice from the middle of bar 55, sinks downwards. Schubert then decides to repeat the word two more times: the first time with a questioning melodic line that is followed by the same chromatic descent in the accompaniment with diminuendo dynamics. The second repetition occurs straight after the intermediate descent, with a downward leading voice line that is full of resignation. As the previous questioning line, it starts off on a C-sharp, but instead of reaching to the F-sharp above, it descends to the same note a fifth underneath. Schubert stresses the last word of the poem and provides it with a negative, painful and uneasy connotation. It is thus no surprise that Schubert ends his setting with a postlude full of resignation and unresolved tension. The sforzando accents on the syncopated chords that fall straight back into pianissimo maintain the feeling of unease.

Particularly in this last part it seems that Schubert's musical interpretation favours the suggested meaning that lurks behind the pictures of Mayrhofer's poem. The emphasis on 'Zeiten' that is followed by the lengthy interpretation of 'Untergang' encourages a present time reference. The turn to the minor key and thus the circumstance that the song finishes in a different key than it started in is also thought provoking. As Harald Krebs has stated, Schubert's songs with an ending in a different key hold, in any case, something which induces Schubert to change the tonal unity of a piece. Often the surprising ending of the respective poem is responsible for this unusual turn. In many cases a change in emotion, the suddenly changing mood, is responsible for the change in key. This includes emotions of a mood that are expressed in a figurative way,<sup>95</sup> as in the piece at hand: here it is the figurative landscape that changes significantly and actually portrays the speaker's stark change in mood. The change of mood takes hold after the middle part and is highlighted by Schubert with the change of key. It thus identifies the happenings of the central and middle part as responsible for the desperate turn. The final resignation of 'Auf der Donau' is therefore to be attributed to the middle part, which strongly suggests a political content. The speaker's outburst of anger in this part can be related to the recent and current state of affairs. Schubert heightens the anger with his accusing and ultimately resigning addition of 'Wo?' when the poem furiously

<sup>95</sup> Krebs, 'Tonart und Text', 267-268

laments the loss of the strong ones. A simple boat trip that contemplates the declining works of men is unlikely to arouse the emotional turmoil and the final desolateness and resignation Schubert evokes with his setting.

Reading the poem in connection to the Liberation Wars with its following period of disappointment and decline in liberal hopes adds sense to Mayrhofer's pictures. Schubert's music, which is linked to Mayrhofer's poetics, further emphasizes this supposition and discloses the poem's inherent political criticism. Michael Kohlhäufel states that Schubert's first Mayrhofer setting 'Am See' testifies that Schubert's circle of friends wistfully remembers the heroic times from 1814.<sup>96</sup> This also comes across in this setting, where a wish for a more positive outcome of the Liberation Wars seems to lurk behind the metaphorical picture. The two songs that follow 'Auf der Donau' will also suggest an underlying political message and support the political perception of the opening song and the *Liederheft* as a whole.

#### 4.3.2. 'Der Schiffer', op. 21,2

The next song in the *Liederheft* is Mayrhofer's 'Der Schiffer' (D 536). Although it appeared for the first time in 1823 within the *Liederheft* op. 21, Walther Dürr acknowledges the possibility that it might have been composed around the same time as the other two settings of op. 21, in 1817.<sup>97</sup> At first appearance, this song communicates a very different content to the resigning opening song. Most critics have highlighted its manly spirit, one that is full of boldness and confidence and which springs from its poetic text. As the many annotations show, Schubert either changed the poetic text in a number of cases or had another version of Mayrhofer's poem at hand when he composed 'Der Schiffer'. Some of the changes constitute a preferred expression, but others have the potential to subtly change and accentuate a specific meaning. This in turn suggests that Schubert changed the words himself (maybe in consultation with Mayrhofer, if the song was composed at the earlier date) to fit his interpretation of the poem. After all, Schubert is known to have changed the original poetic texts of his songs.<sup>98</sup> The differences in the poetic text for Schubert's song version are thus taken into account for the interpretation of the poem.

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<sup>96</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 181

<sup>97</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft and Dürr, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe*, vol. 1a, XVII

<sup>98</sup> Marius Flotthius, 'Franz Schubert – Vokal und Instrumental' in *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 27 sowie Bibliographie Teil III (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2001), 52. Jurij N. Chochlow, 'Zur Frage vom Verhältnis der Musik und des poetischen Textes in den Liedern Schuberts' in

Schiffer <sup>99</sup>	Boatman
<p>Im Winde, im Sturme befahr' ich den Fluß,  Die Kleider durchweicht der Regen im Guß;  Ich lenke – ich peitsche mit mächtigem Schlag  Die Wellen, erhoffend mir heiteren Tag.<sup>100</sup></p>	<p>In the wind, in the storm I row on the river,  The clothes are soaked by the pouring rain;  I direct – I lash with a powerful stroke  The waves, hoping for a bright day.</p>
<p>Die Fluthen<sup>101</sup>, sie jagen das schwankende<sup>102</sup> Schiff,  Es drohet der Strudel, es drohet der Riff,  Gesteine entkollern den felsigen Höh'n,  Und Fichten<sup>103</sup>, sie sausen<sup>104</sup> wie Geistergestöh'n.</p>	<p>The floods, they hunt the shaky ship,  The whirlpool threatens, the reef threatens,  Rocks roll down from the craggy heights,  And spruces, they rush like moaning ghosts.</p>
<p>So musste es kommen – ich hab es gewollt,  Ich hasse ein Leben behaglich entrollt;  Und schlägen die Fluthen<sup>105</sup> den dröhnenden<sup>106</sup> Kahn,  Ich priese doch immer die eigene Bahn.</p>	<p>It was bound to happen like this – I wanted it  I hate a life that unfurls comfortably;  And if the floods devoured the roaring boat,  I would still praise my own way.</p>
<p>Es<sup>107</sup> tose des Wassers ohnmächtiger Zorn,  Dem Herzen entquillet ein seliger Born,  Die Nerven erfrischend – o himmlische Lust!  Dem Sturme gebiethen<sup>108</sup> mit männlicher Brust.</p>	<p>The waters roar with tremendous rage,  A blissful spring pours from the heart,  Refreshing the nerves – oh heavenly joy!  To rule over the storm with a manly heart.</p>

Mayrhofer's 'Schiffer' consists of four verses with four lines each; its rhyming couplets add to the simple and symmetrical structure of the poem. The first verse sets the scene and the mood that leads through the whole poem. The speaker is a boatman on the river in a storm, who is confident in mastering the challenging situation. Despite the strength of the storm, his attitude is positive and he hopes for a bright day. For the song, Schubert opted for the following words in the second half of the poem, which differ from the published version of the poem above: 'I lash the waves with a powerful stroke, hoping for a bright day.' By leaving out the 'I direct' and giving the sentence a very focused structure, a more self-confident and defiant picture of the boatman is achieved. As at the end of 'Die Donau', the waves, which are part of the threatening storm, adopt a negative connotation and the speaker's lashing also comes across as a defending gesture. Their mentioning inevitably evokes associations with the preceding song.

*Schubert Kongreß Wien 1978*, Bericht, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 353. Steblin, 'Schubert's Problematic Relationship', 487

<sup>99</sup> Schubert: 'Der Schiffer' (The Boatman). Mayrhofer ed. Rabenlechner, *Gedichte*, 106

<sup>100</sup> Schubert leaves out 'Ich lenke' and changes the rest of the sentence to: 'Ich peitsche die Wellen mit mächtigem Schlag, erhoffend mir heiteren Tag' (I lash the waves with a powerful stroke, hoping for a brighter day).

<sup>101</sup> Schubert uses 'Wellen' (waves) here.

<sup>102</sup> Schubert: 'ächzend' (groaning).

<sup>103</sup> Schubert: 'Tannen' (firs).

<sup>104</sup> Schubert substitutes 'sie sausen' (they breeze) with 'erseufzen' (sigh).

<sup>105</sup> Schubert: Wellen (waves) here.

<sup>106</sup> Schubert: 'ächzend' (groaning).

<sup>107</sup> Schubert: 'drum' (therefore) here.

<sup>108</sup> Schubert: 'Dem Sturme zu trotzen' (to defy the storm).

The poem's second verse describes the menace of the storm through its effects on the ship and nature. In the song version it is the waves and not the floods that hunt the ship, and the ship itself is described as 'groaning' instead of 'shaky'. Schubert's re-current use of 'Wellen' (waves) emphasises the connection to 'Auf der Donau'. The ship's description as groaning gives the latter a more human quality and raises the attention for a possible metaphorical use, as was the case in the first setting. By far the most striking similarity to 'Auf der Donau' is to be found in the last line of the second verse, where fir trees (spruces in Mayrhofer's published poem) sigh with the groaning of ghosts. The fir trees too, adapt a more human quality: instead of breezing they are sighing. Schubert's replacement of the spruces for firs could be a measure to connect the two poems with each other. As in 'Auf der Donau', it is the fir trees that herald a major manifestation in the next verse.

Here the boatman makes a rather surprising announcement: Everything was bound to happen like this – he wanted it, as he hates a life that unfurls comfortably. And even if the waves devoured the groaning boat he would still praise his own ways. It appears conspicuous that the floods are once more substituted by the word 'Wellen' (waves) and that the word describing the boat is again replaced with the more human appearing 'ächzend' (groaning). Finally, the question arises whether the storm is yet again a metaphorical picture and in actual fact stands for something else. Together with the established connections to 'Auf der Donau' in the previous verses, it seems that the speaker tries to voice a similar message here. The appraisal of the speaker's own ways is thus likely to have a more in-depth meaning. The afresh attribution of a more human adjective to the boat suggests that the boat stands in reality for a way of life or life as such. The common metaphor of the boat on floating water – life floating on the river of time – has been elucidated in the interpretation of the previous poem and is relevant here. Within this metaphorical picture the last defiant appraisal of the boatman conveys a form of revolt and defiant attitude. The metaphorical picture of the boat on the water, as well as the connection to the first piece, suggests that the actual time of Mayrhofer himself is indirectly addressed with the storm once more; threatening his life and therefore him as a person. The unpleasant side of the Biedermeier era was very real for any liberal and opposing mind. The speaker in the poem does not want to be governed by the storm in the same way as the liberal Mayrhofer did not want to be governed by the restrictions of his time. The pursuit of the speaker's own ways, no matter how strong the opposition, might have served as a model of encouragement and orientation for the repressed poet. At the same time his defiance in the poem, covertly directed against his times, is in itself a kind of revolt. With

hindsight the lashing of the waves on the water from the first verse can also be understood as a blow against the times and a first indication of the protest that is to come.

In the last verse of the poem the interpretational outline can be sustained and continued. It starts with the comment that the waters roar with powerless rage. Schubert opts for the word 'Drum' (therefore) at the beginning of this sentence, and thus links the rage of the water to the boatman's annunciation in the second verse. Again, the human attributes that are ascribed to the water attract attention and raise the question why the waters should mind if the boatman follows his own ways. The Biedermeier state in the metaphorical transformation, however, would mind. The poem continues unimpressed by the waters' rage and counteracts with the picture of a blissful spring, which pours from the heart and refreshes the nerves. It appears as if the speaker holds his positive strength against the roaring waters. Mayrhofer finishes with another defiant statement, accentuating what heavenly joy it is to defy the storm with a manly heart. Schubert's substitution 'zu trotzen' (to defy), emphasizes the defiant attitude of the boatman, which has become ever clearer over the course of the poem. The speaker is proud of his resistance against the storm and its elements, which, in real terms, can be understood as the opposition against the constraints of his time.

Looking at the poem in its entirety, it can be subsumed that the defiant attitude of the boatman is present from the beginning onwards, but becomes clearer as the poem evolves. It is very strongly emphasized in the poem's second half. Almost all of Schubert's changes either ascribe human qualities to the boat or the elements of nature, or establish a connection with the previous poem. In the first case the ambiguous adjectives suggest the likelihood of a metaphorical meaning. The established connection to 'Auf der Donau' underpins the metaphorical understanding of both poems. 'Der Schiffer' thus commends itself as a reference to the Biedermeier era. As argued above, viewing the speaker's defiant gesture as a revolt against the Biedermeier restrictions proves an interpretation that fits all areas and nuances of the poetic text. Through the employment of the same metaphorical picture and a similarly critical stance towards current events, both poems demonstrate strong ties. Their overall mood however, could not be more different. While the first setting portrays helpless rage and ultimate resignation, the second one contrasts with confident defiance. Both refer to the events of the Biedermeier era with different attitudes. The other dissimilarity is the development of both poems. Whereas the mood develops in different directions in the first poem, it is more one-dimensional in 'Schiffer' with its one predominant mood. Its defiance therefore appears stronger and more grounded.

The one-dimensional mood of the poem is taken up by Schubert's setting, which further emphasizes its defiant character. Unlike most Mayrhofer settings, which generally comment clearly on, and hence interpret different aspects of a poem, Schubert decides to set the poem as a through-composed strophic song. This means that the song is essentially strophic with the same music occurring more or less for every verse. However, writing the strophic song out as a through-composed setting gives the composer the liberty to employ small changes for the single verses. Schubert's straightforward approach fits the linear character of the poem: the first and the third verse are musically identical, while the second and the fourth verse differ in their ending. For much of the piece the harmonic rhythm moves per bar and the harmony is dominated by the tonic E-flat major and the dominant B-flat major. Characteristic for the voice part is its positive and forceful nature, which is also brought across in the accompaniment. Here an energetic motif is introduced in the first bar of the prelude in forte dynamics, which subsequently forms the basis of the accompaniment.

op. 21,2 Der Schiffer  
Johann Mayrhofer  
D 536  
Zweite Fassung\*)

Geschwind und feurig erschienen: Juni 1823

Win - de, im Stur - me be - fahr ich den Fluß, die Klei - der durch-

Figure 21: 'Der Schiffer', op. 21,2; bars 1-9.

Through the arched shape of the accompaniment movement, the motion of the waves is indicated. However, they are not quietly flowing, as in 'Auf der Donau'. It is rather their roaring state which comes across here, backed up by the vigorous 2/4 measure and the rapid and fiery tempo.

Schubert achieves a very forceful and self-confident mood with his music, and thus mainly stresses the overall character of the poem. The dwelling on this single mood virtually emphasizes the defiance of the boatman in the text, as the absence of other emotions strengthens his firmness and determination. Yet Schubert also reaches for more subtle interpretational measures. The changes in the poetic text, which have been highlighted and interpreted earlier, are certainly one of them. A similar interpretational mean are the repetitions of single phrases in the song setting, which emphasize certain statements. Schubert always repeats most of the second last line as well as the last line of each verse. The fully repeated last line always holds an essential message, especially if the song is viewed from a political viewpoint. In the first verse the hope for a brighter day – metaphorically for a better time – is emphasized. In the second one it is the sighing of the firs, which builds a clear parallel to the preceding song and hence encourages a similar interpretational approach. The last line of the third verse consists of the speaker's confident appraisal of his own ways, a revolting statement in relation to the actual times. As will be explained later, the repetitions at the end of the last verse are slightly different. Yet overall they encompass the final expression of what heavenly joy it is to defy the storm with a manly breast, which can be read as a clear challenge from a political angle.

The repetition of each verse's final line seems almost circumstantial and was certainly not uncommon in song composition at the time. Usually associated with a distancing of perspective, phrase repetitions, particularly at the very end of the song or each particular verse, were frequently employed by composers. At the same time it has to be considered that in Schubert's music the repetition of words, phrases and verses can be understood as a textual interpretation by the composer;<sup>109</sup> especially in cases such as the current one, where there is no obvious reason in the musical structure for a repetition. After all, every text repetition inevitably achieves accentuation.<sup>110</sup> In the case of 'Der Schiffer' the repetitions stress the statements that are of importance from a political viewpoint. Moreover, the voice line flows more freely here, has more of a melodic touch and also reaches its highest note (an exception is the second verse, where the sighing of the fir trees, as in 'Auf der Donau', is given a more mysterious character with tone repetitions, chromatic movement in the voice, and the passing of flat keys.) The repetitions of the last lines, mostly ending on a melodic and freely flowing note, might appear as a rather circumstantial emphasis. However, part of the foregoing

<sup>109</sup> Kurt von Fischer, 'Zur semantischen Bedeutung von Textinterpretation in Schuberts Liederzyklen' in *Schubert Kongreß Wien 1978*, Bericht, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 341

<sup>110</sup> Chochlow, 'Zur Frage vom Verhältnis der Musik', 354



penultimate line is similarly repeated, so that the repetitions at the end of each verse come across as intentional accentuations. There is thus the likelihood that Schubert repeats the last phrases of each verse in order to highlight their textual content.

In addition to the repetition of each final first line, most of the penultimate line of each verse is repeated. This foregoing repetition is of a decidedly forceful character and stands out through a contrasting and forceful one-bar motif (see for example bar 13), which is present concurrently in the voice and the left hand of the accompaniment.

10  
wei - chet der Re - gen im Guß. Ich poit - sche die Wel - len mit

15  
mäch - ti - gem Schlag, die Wel - len mit mäch - ti - gem

\*) Erste Fassung s. Teil b, S. 263.

Figure 22: 'Der Schiffer', op. 21,1; bars 10-19.

In the accompaniment it shines through prominently with the accentuated first note and the two following chromatically downward leading staccato quavers, which are doubled in the octave. The concurrent presence of the motif in the voice and accompaniment, as well as its forte dynamics, increases its force. Every time this weighty approach communicates a statement of force. In the first verse it is the speaker's lashing of the waves, in the two middle verses the power of the menacing storm, and in the last verse it marks the speaker's defiance against the storm. On the one hand, it underlines the seriousness and force of the situation the boatman is in, and on the other hand, it indeed highlights the free flowing of the repeated ending phrases of each verse as a positive and liberating gesture.

As might have been noticed, the defiance against the storm has been mentioned twice in the song discussion: once with the freely flowing music at the end of each verse and once with the weighty and forceful accompaniment. In the poem this last statement stands out through its enjambment. Schubert decides to expand on it in length, not only repeating the

statement as a whole, but also to double the word 'heavenly' in the repetition and ending of the song with another 'o himmlische, himmlische Lust!' (oh heavenly, heavenly joy!). The final statement therefore spans over both types of musical style: it first comes across as a weighty and defiant statement, which flows seamlessly into the free and uplifting repetition with its liberating touch. The elated 'o himmlische, himmlische Lust!' at the end of the song leaves a very positive feeling and maybe also carries a spark of higher justice. There is no sentimentality in the music here, just positive confidence. This confidence also comes across in the short postlude, which is congruent with the introduction and ends the piece with a final forceful chord in the right hand of the piano.

89  
Her - zen ent - quill - let ein se - li - ger Born, die Ner - ven er -

94  
fri - schend, o himm - li - sche Lust! dem Stur - me zu

98  
trot - zen mit männ - li - cher Brust, o himm - li - sche,

103  
himm - li - sche Lust! dem Stur - me zu trot - zen mit

107  
männ - li - cher Brust, o himm - li - sche, himm - li - sche

111  
Lust!

Figure 23: 'Der Schiffer', op. 21,1; bars 89 – 115.

The last defying statement in the third verse reveals the kernel of the poem. As it is likely to hold a core of strong political defiance, Schubert's expansion on it and his final turn to heaven indicate political resistance. Throughout the setting, Schubert's musical interpretation is not as clear cut as for most Mayrhofer settings. However, the display of the defiant mood that his setting reflects strengthens the opposing attitude 'Der Schiffer' brings across. Schubert's substitution of certain words for his setting encourages a political reading, as do his repetitions and musical accentuation of phrases that are important from a political angle. Ilijah Dürhammer has pointed out that Mayrhofer's poem was first published in the

second volume of the journal *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge* from 1818. As outlined earlier, this journal was also a political manifestation, with much of its content having indirect criticism on the current time. Dürhammer states that Mayrhofer's 'Schiffer', which Schubert probably set from a handwritten manuscript before its publication in the journal, is not only a commendation for the composer. It would also contain an implicit challenge that pleads for 'own ways' and thus play a small trick on censorship.<sup>111</sup> Dürhammer does not clarify the political significance of his observance, but the political hint is obvious. The publication in the journal additionally heightens a political undercurrent. Continuing the indirect political theme from 'Auf der Donau', it sets a different accentuation and tone of political dissatisfaction and opens similar expectations for the last song of the *Liederheft*.

#### 4.3.3 'Wie Ulfru fischt', op. 21,3

The last song in the *Liederheft* is Mayrhofer's 'Wie Ulfru fischt' (D 525). Its relation to the other songs through the combining element of water is evident. Yet there are no other obvious similarities, at least not at first sight. However, this assessment soon changes, as there is an understanding that goes beyond the originally perceived fishing theme. As in the other two poems, ambiguity emerges and evolves with the progress of the poem.

Wie Ulfru fischt <sup>112</sup>	How Ulfru fishes
Der Angel zuckt, die Ruthe bebt, Doch leicht fährt sie heraus. Ihr eigensinn'gen Nixen gebt Dem Fischer keinen Schmaus! Was frommet ihm sein kluger Sinn, Die Fische baumeln spottend hin – Er steht am Ufer fest gebannt, Kann nicht in's Wasser, ihn hält das Land.	The fishing rod twitches, the rod trembles, But it comes out easily. You stubborn water nymphs give No treat to the fisherman, What use is his clever wit to him, The little fish glide along mockingly – He stands spellbound on the shore, Cannot enter the water, the land holds him.
Die glatte Fläche kräuselt sich, Vom Schuppenvolk bewegt, Das seine Glieder wonniglich In sichren Fluthen regt. Forellen zappeln hin und her, Doch bleibt des Fischers Angel leer. Sie fühlen, was die Freiheit ist; Fruchtlos ist Fischers alte List.	The smooth surface ruffles itself, Moved by the scaly folk, Which moves its limbs sweetly In the safe floods. Trout wriggle to and fro, But the fisherman's fishing rod stays untouched; They feel, what freedom is; In vain is the fisherman's old ruse.

<sup>111</sup> Ilija Dürhammer, 'Zu Schuberts Literaturästhetik: Entwickelt anhand seiner zu Lebzeiten veröffentlichten Vokalwerke' in *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 14 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1995), 29

<sup>112</sup> The poem is quoted after Schubert's song version, as there are only very few and minor deviations from Mayrhofer's original poem.

Die Erde ist gewaltig schön, Doch sicher ist sie nicht! Es senden Stürme Eishöh'n; Der Hagel und der Frost zerbricht Mit einem Schlage, einem Druck, Das gold'ne Korn, der Rosen Schmuck - Den Fischlein unterm weichen Dach, Kein Sturm folgt ihnen vom Lande nach.	The earth is mightily beautiful, But safe it is not! Storms send icy peaks; The hail and the frost destroy With one stroke, one push The golden corn, the roses' jewels - The little fish beneath the soft roof Are not pursued by any storm of the land.
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In the poem's first verse the scene of a fisherman, presumably Ulfru, trying to catch some fish, is set. However, the fish see through his clever wit and glide along mockingly. This is mysteriously linked to the stubborn water nymphs who do not give a treat to the fisherman. The ending of this first verse proposes a first conundrum: Ulfru cannot enter the water, as the land holds him. With the second verse the poem moves back to what appears to be a comprehensible natural picture. It depicts the relaxed movement of the fish in the safe waters. Yet although the trout wriggle to and fro, the fisherman's rod stays untouched, as the fish feel what freedom is and see through the fisherman's ruse. The second verse is virtually celebrating the freedom of the fish. The last verse of the poem abandons the naturalistic simplicity with its puzzling opening statement: Despite being mightily beautiful, the earth is not safe. Of course this could be understood as a truth that only affects the fish, which are after all dependent on the element of water, but the rest of the verse does not follow this direction. Rather the earth in general is described as an unsafe place, the impact of its storms destroying its gifts. The poem ends with the realization that no storm from the land pursues the fish under their soft roof.

The brief and cursory reflection questions whether the content of the poem is really about a man who is fishing. Too many crudities accumulate with the poem's progression. Especially the abandonment of the fishing theme in the last verse for the portrayal of the earth's unsafe state poses questions. The mentioning of the storms in the last verse furthermore constitutes a parallel to the two other settings of op. 21. As in these poems, they impose a threat. Whereas in the first two poems the speakers are directly threatened by the storm, also due to the fact that they are written in the first person account, the storm seems to threaten all of the earth in the last poem. The poem is obviously no longer about Ulfru here, especially not the fishing Ulfru, but the general menace of the storm. This strong hold of the storm intensifies the textual connections to 'Auf der Donau' and 'Der Schiffer' and encourages a similar interpretational approach. Another reason for the interpretation of this poem from a political perspective is the use of the word 'Freiheit' (freedom) in the second

verse. In times of political censorship the almost unrestricted mentioning of freedom rouses suspicion. Especially as the author of the poem is a well-known liberal figure and a master of disguise.

The disguise in this poem is the resigning fisherman and the cunning fish, through which the idea of freedom is enlarged and put forward. Notably, the second verse explores and stresses the happy state of the fish. Due to their instincts, the fish remain in the safe confines of the water, in which they move blissfully and which offers them protection from the raging storms. Ulfru on the other hand is held by the earth and cannot enter the water. He is thus not only exposed to the storms that make the land unsafe, but also refused the freedom and joy the safety of the water offers its inhabitants. Although it is not mentioned explicitly, it seems that Ulfru envies the fish for their freedom and security in the safe realm. The refusal of the water nymphs to help him is a first bad omen. These mystical figures are known to inflict men with danger, harm and death, and the poem does indeed not take a favourable turn for Ulfru, who is implicitly refused freedom and exposed to storms. Wilhelm Seidl stresses that Ulfru mainly suffers from the fact that he is refused what is granted to the fish: to live within a safe element.<sup>113</sup> His inability to catch some of the fish can also be seen as his inability to get hold of a portion of the freedom and safety the fish symbolize. There is no need for complicated decipherment, as the poem's themes readily offer themselves to be looked at from the topical theme of political constraint during Mayrhofer's lifetime, which went hand in hand with the restriction of freedom.

Michael Kohlhäufel sees the poem as a political statement, in which the notion of freedom is alluded to openly.<sup>114</sup> Indeed, the guise in this poem is not as comprehensive as in other poems of Mayrhofer, which are far more suggestive. The use of fish as a metaphor for freedom was common in political contexts: The German saying 'Wie ein Fisch im Wasser' (like the English 'like fish to water') stands for feeling at ease and could easily illustrate the enjoyment of freedom.<sup>115</sup> As becomes clear in the interpretation above, the poem essentially portrays freedom as an aspired state. It also expresses the unattainable state of this freedom – a very clear and open parallel to the restrictive Biedermeier period. On the basis of the first two settings in the *Liederheft*, the current time itself can be easily associated with the menacing storms that turn the earth into an unsafe place. As Ulfru, Mayrhofer and his contemporaries were exposed to the threats of their time, from which they could not escape. That the fishing theme serves first and foremost as a picture that aims to communicate the

<sup>113</sup> Seidel, 'Die Erde ist gewaltig schön', 259

<sup>114</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 184

<sup>115</sup> Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik*, 7, 31, 88

idea of freedom in the guise of a natural poem, is supported by the turnaround in the poem's last verse.

Here the apparent fishing theme is left completely and the danger on earth is put forward. For this purpose the storms present themselves as a much better picture to bring across the menacing impact of the Biedermeier period. Despite constituting the title of the poem, the fishing theme is left after it has created the state of freedom that Ulfru cannot achieve. However, the picture of the fish is still employed at the very end of poem, in order to point out their safe state under the roof of the water. This last reference creates a strong contrast to Ulfru. The fisherman, and in a credible metaphorical sense the Biedermeier contemporary, has lost out twice: not only can he not reach freedom, but is also surrounded by the threats of his time. Without difficulty the indirectly criticizing messages of the poem can be related to the Biedermeier era, and the succession of the song behind the two discussed settings only encourages this reading. The only constant that leaves room for disorientation is the name of the fisherman: Ulfru. Ulfru is not a German name or diminutive. Encoded texts or words were not unfamiliar to Schubert, who was a member of the 'Unsinnsgesellschaft' (Nonsense society) during the years of 1817 and 1818.<sup>116</sup> As Rita Steblin shows in her representation of this society, the articles of their handwritten weekly newsletter, 'Archiv des menschlichen Unsinnns' (Archive of Human Nonsense),<sup>117</sup> were written in a language that was full of wit, word plays and metaphors containing numerous expressions and contents impossible to decode for outsiders.<sup>118</sup> There is thus the likelihood that a hidden meaning lurks behind this unusual and striking name, perhaps as an acronym.

For his setting of 'Wie Ulfru fischt' Schubert decides for a strophic form, producing a simple appearing song of three verses, with a two-bar introduction that is also used as the interlude and postlude of the song. The right hand of the accompaniment flows through in stepwise quavers, while the left hand, mostly doubled in the octave, adds the harmonic frame with accentuating quavers on the full beats of the bar. This basic accompaniment model persists throughout the piece and gives it a stable quality and an agitated forward urge. The voice is of a rustic character, with its heavy upbeats, dotted notes and marching crochets. The short two-bar introduction and interlude/postlude too are simple in construction and are of a rough and moody character. They form more or less a downward leading line through the

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<sup>116</sup> Rita Steblin, *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft: Franz Schubert, Leopold Kupelwieser und ihr Freundeskreis* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 37

<sup>117</sup> Steblin, 'Schubert's Problematic Relationship', 473

<sup>118</sup> Steblin, *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft*, 13

notes on the full beat, which gain weight through an additional note in the right hand. Yet the simplicity that comes across at first sight is delusive.

Although a song in the classically strophic form is bound to be more uniform, there is nevertheless some scope for interpretational subtleties. The overall mood of the text, on the other hand, can be portrayed very clearly. As in 'Der Schiffer', Schubert emphasizes certain features of the poem with the simple mean of repeated phrases. For the first two verses it is the last two lines that Schubert elevates through repetition. In both cases these repetitions involve a statement that is important from a political viewpoint. For the first verse the repetition comprises the realisation that Ulfr finally remains on earth and cannot enter the water. This discovery is important from a political viewpoint, but only gains its political impact with the progression of the poem: namely, when in the second verse the freedom of the fish in the water is expanded, and at the very end of the poem, when the water is described as a safeguard, granting protection under its soft roof. In the second verse it is the fish's sense of freedom that is highlighted, again an important utterance from the political perspective. With the repetition in the third verse, it becomes apparent that Schubert chose deliberately which phrase he repeated, as he leaves the pattern of repeating the last two phrases. Instead he decides to repeat the first two phrases of the verse, where the earth is described as a wonderful, but unsafe place. Again, the repetition highlights a statement that is of importance from a political point of view. Throughout the song Schubert's repetitions accentuate phrases whose metaphorical picture encourages a political reading that critically reflects on the era. They might be a simple, and also non-musical, means to accentuate certain statements, but they are nevertheless effective.



# op. 21,3 Wie Ulfru fischt

Johann Mayrhofer

D 525

Zweite Fassung\*)

Mäßig

erschienen: Juni 1823

Der An - gel zuckt, die  
Die glat - te Flä - che  
Die Er - de ist ge -

Ru - te bebt, doch leicht fährt sie her - aus. Ihr ei - gen-sinn - gen  
kräu - selt sich, vom Schup - pen - volk be - wegt, das sei - ne Glie - der  
wal - tig schön, doch si - cher ist sie nicht, die Er - de ist ge -

Ni - xen gebt dem Fi - scher kei - nen Schmaus. Was from - met ihm sein  
won - nig - lich in si - chern Flu - ten regt. Fo - rel - len zap - peln  
wal - tig schön, doch si - cher ist sie nicht. Es sen - den Stür - me

\*) Erste Fassung s. Teil b, S. 269.

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klu - ger Sinn, die Fi - sche bau - meln spot - tend hin, er  
hin und her, doch bleibt des Fi - schers An - gel leer, sie  
Ei - ses - höhn, der Ha - gel und der Frost zer - bricht mit

15

steht am U - fer fest - ge - bannt, kann nicht ins Was - ser, ihn  
füh - len, was die Frei - heit ist, frucht - los ist Fi - schers  
ei - nem Schla - ge, ei - nem Druck, das gold - ne Korn, der

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hält das Land, er steht am U - fer fest - ge - bannt, kann  
al - te List, sie füh - len, was die Frei - heit ist, frucht -  
Ro - sen Schmuck. Den Fisch - lein un - term wei - chen Dach, kein

22

nicht ins Was - ser, ihn hält das Land.  
los ist Fi - schers al - te List.  
Sturm folgt ih - nen vom Lan - de nach.

Figure 24: 'Wie Ulfru fischt', op. 21,3.

The last phrase of the poem, also experiences a musical emphasis. Like most strophic settings, the song has a very symmetrical structure. Surrounded by the two-bar

introduction/interlude and postlude the song essentially builds itself from four-bar phrases. A first section can be made up from the first set of four bars (bars 3-6 and 7-10), a second one from the second four-bar pair (11-14 and 15-18). The repetition at the end of the song (bars 19-23), however, breaks this symmetry with its appended five bars. As if to attract attention, the repetition only starts on the second beat of bar 19, accompanied by an accent in the accompaniment. And instead of leaving the textual statement as one musical line (as in the previous bars 15-18) Schubert splits it into two halves. The first half ends with a minim on the dominant in bar 21 (which is C major/ C7 major here) and after a rest of a crotchet in the voice the verse resumes with the second half of the repetition. Once more there is an accentuation on the upbeat, which lends the beginning of the repeated last phrase additional potency. The division in the repetition puts more weight on each half of the sentence, and emphasizes its actual content. In this way, the unrepeated last remark of the song, which is also important from a political angle, similarly experiences a heightened impact.

The second half of the song shows a thicker texture in the accompaniment, and thus directs the attention to the political metaphors that can mainly be found in this part. In the first half of the song this thicker texture can only be found once, covering among others exactly the phrase in which the earth is described as unsafe. Together with the repetitions, the impression arises that even though 'Wie Ulfru fischt' is set as a strophic song, Schubert nevertheless tries to give prominence to certain statements. It does not appear coincidental that the statements he chooses to highlight are of importance for a political understanding of the song.

Where a strophic setting is restricted in detailed interpretational scope, it makes up for this by bringing across the overall character and mood of the piece. As has already been mentioned, the song is of a rather rustic quality and imparts an agitated forward urge. The described accompaniment and the heavy upbeat are partly responsible for this, as are the numerous accents on the traditionally weak beats of the bar, which are a prominent feature of the introduction and the interlude/postlude. They also occur more frequently in the second half of the song, where most of the politically interesting phrases are to be found. If the introduction is left aside, the only accent in the first half of the song appears underneath the word 'doch' (but) in the third verse, which initiates the addition that the world is not safe. Apart from emphasizing passages, these accents also transmit a certain roughness and restlessness (if actually adhered to by performers), which resonate the moody character from the introduction and oppose a naïve take on the words. Often performers significantly soften or partially ignore these accents, which results in a smoother musical realization. This,

however, counteracts the underlying political understanding, as it fosters a superficial take on the song.

Schubert's distinctive use of harmony also speaks in favour of a deeper understanding of the song. In the introduction the D minor harmony of the song is only fully established in its last bar. However, the song does not remain in D minor for long. The C seventh chord on the accent in bar four resolves to a somewhat undecided F sixth chord, which still holds traces of the old harmony. Yet from here onwards F major takes over as the main harmony up to the end of the verse. However, although the C seventh chord in bars 21 and 22 once more resolves to a F sixth chord, the ambiguity of the chord is used to lead back to D minor. With the interlude and the beginning of the next verse, the D minor harmony returns briefly, before F major takes over again. Due to its framing of the song, the D minor harmony ends the piece with the brusque fashion of the postlude, despite the fact that most of the setting is actually notated in F major. Similar to the rough and restless accents, Schubert's take on the harmony counteracts an understanding that focuses on the song's naturalistic façade. As introduction, interlude and postlude are identical, the song's ending comes across as abrupt. The listener is left in the air, not knowing whether there is another verse to follow or not. Therefore 'Wie Ulfru fischt' does not finish on a definite and contented note; maybe to show that there is no acceptance for its presented circumstances. The downward leading melodic line at the end of each verse, which is also taken up by the introduction/interlude and postlude, also suggests a rather downhearted and unfulfilled state.

Schubert's interpretational tools for this song are subtle, but nevertheless set an emphasis. The song's agitated and almost discontented mood emanates very prominently through its strophic setting and hints to its unfavourable content. The uncommon off beat accents and the unusual take in harmony as well as the abrupt ending make a naïve understanding of the setting impossible, and therefore also work in favour for the presented interpretation. It does not seem coincidental that Schubert renders prominence to phrases that are important from a political viewpoint. The thicker accompaniment layer underneath phrases of political importance and the musical treatment of the phrase repetitions fortify this assumption. In particular the song's phrase repetitions determine Schubert's interpretational conception of the poem and point towards a political understanding. The composer once more highlights the political meaning that is inherent in Mayrhofer's poem. Of course the connection to the previous settings plays an important role, as the recognition of the storms as a recurrent political metaphor feeds into the political perception of the song.

Overall, political statements that reflect metaphorically on the political deficiencies of the Biedermeier period can be read into this apparently innocent fishing song and the song's agitated and discontented mood can similarly be read as political discontentment. Maybe the decision to set this song as an apparently simple and innocent strophic setting was an additional measure of precaution – the poem's political message is subsumable and the song was part of a published *Liederheft* after all. Graham Johnson remarks in the notes to this specific song that the song set of op. 21 was advertised as *Drei Fischerlieder von Meyrhofer [sic.] für den Bass* (three fishing songs by Meyrhofer [sic.] for bass).<sup>119</sup> The Deutsch thematic catalogue of Schubert's works shows that the songs were not published under this title. Here all three songs are simply listed by name. In addition it is specified that they are set for bass voice and piano and Mayrhofer, as a friend of the composer, is mentioned as the dedicatee of op. 21.<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately Johnson does not give more information about the advertisement in question. It is possible that the description of the *Liederheft* as 'Drei Fischerlieder' restricted itself to an advertisement, maybe because it has an innocent ring. As has become obvious in the interpretation above, the three songs of the *Liederheft* are anything but fishing songs; especially not the first two, in which any reference to the fishing theme is absent. In fact, the suspicion arises that this public announcement acted as a camouflage, in the same way the heading of the last song does. At the same time it gives a clue to the initiated concerning its possible context.

#### 4.3.4 *The Liederheft as a Whole and Concluding Remarks*

Evaluating the *Liederheft* as a whole, it can be summarized that the political theme can be seen as running through all three settings, but with different implementations and focal points. In 'Auf der Donau' it is the feeling of resignation that is brought out most clearly. Schubert interprets this through-composed setting in a very detailed manner and brings out the political weight of the poem. The first careful, then furious and ultimately resigning questioning for the whereabouts of the strong ones, combined with the climax at the

<sup>119</sup> Franz Schubert, *Complete Songs* 2, Notes (London: Hyperion, 1988), 16. Unfortunately Graham does not detail which announcement he is referring to. The advertisement in the *Wiener Zeitung* (which can be found in the book quoted subsequently) simply describes the songs as poems by J. Mayrhofer, which are set into music for a bass voice with piano accompaniment. Till Gerrit Waidelich, *Franz Schubert: Dokumente 1817-1830*; first volume – Texte, Veröffentlichungen des Internationalen Franz Schubert Instituts, vol. 10, part I, ed. Ernst Hilmar (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993), 161

<sup>120</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft, ed., and Werner Aderhold, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series 8, supplement, vol. 4, *Franz Schubert: Thematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke in chronologischer Folge von Otto Erich Deutsch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 306-307, 312-313, 321-322

suggestive 'Krieg und Jagden' (wars and hunts) decidedly influences the political perception of the song. With its positive emanation 'Der Schiffer' imparts a different mood. Yet it soon becomes clear that the confident music underneath the active and challenging poem manifests defiance. The defiant attitude in the poem can be made out as a political one, and Schubert's phrase repetitions, as well as their musical treatment, support this understanding. In 'Wie Ulfru fischt' the musical interpretation is limited at first sight, because of its strophic setting. Yet the text alludes to freedom with its unachievable state, and Schubert subtly underlines all of the politically important statements; the phrase repetitions are once more the most eye-catching testimony for this. The impossibility of freedom is exposed and acknowledged with discontentment.

Although the element of water adopts different roles in the three settings of the *Liederheft*, it nevertheless establishes an obvious connection between them, which in turn strengthens their common message. A more significant common element is represented by the storm: with its repercussions it traverses all of the settings in the *Liederheft* and can be established as a political metaphor that resembles the Biedermeier threats from above. An obvious detail that has been left aside during the interpretation of the individual songs is their notation in the bass clef. This feature likewise encourages the perception of the three songs of op. 21 as one unit, as in the nineteenth century songs were typically written in the treble clef. An appointment for a certain voice type was unusual, but no particularity of Schubert. Thomas Seedorf draws attention to Friedrich Reichardt, Schubert's Viennese contemporary Nicolaus Krufft and Guiseppe Carpnis, all composers who too published songs for bass voice. Seedorf shows in a comprehensive table that Schubert decided for the bass voice in 32 song compositions. He further notices that Schubert's songs for bass spread evenly throughout his compositional time. However, he points out an accumulation of songs for bass in 1817 and identifies Mayrhofer as the poet whose lyrics were set to songs with bass voice most often, with eight songs. Seedorf believes that Schubert's songs for bass are too different for determining why the composer decided for this voice type. However, he thinks that it is likely to be the characteristics of the deep male voice that influenced Schubert to specify certain songs for bass.<sup>121</sup>

For op. 21 the adoption of the masculine tone brings up the political associations behind the metaphors, which concern the disappointment after the Liberation Wars, more

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<sup>121</sup> Thomas Seedorf, 'Eine komponierte 'Freigeisterei der Leidenschaft' - Schuberts Vertonung von Schillers Der Kampf (D594)' in *Schubert Jahrbuch 2003-2005: Dichtungen Friedrich Schillers im Werk Franz Schuberts*, Bericht über das Schubert-Symposium Weimar 2005, ed. Michael Kube (Duisburg: Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft, 2007), 88-89

easily. After all, the areas of warfare and politics fell into the male sphere of influence at the time. Through their common theme, the different musical settings of op. 21 not only strengthen each other in their political declarative, but also show how diverse indirect political comments can be voiced. Maybe it is also for reasons of concealment that Schubert provided the first and more allusive setting of op. 21 with a detailed musical interpretation, while furnishing the more direct political texts of the following two settings with a less conspicuous strophic structure. In contrast to op. 8, this *Liederheft* formulates a protesting attitude and demonstrates that under the right guise, discontentment about the political situation could also be expressed in a more direct way.

As mentioned at the beginning, the *Liederheft* was published in 1823, a year that also presented a downturn for Schubert, as he contracted venereal disease. Nevertheless, the disillusioning content of op. 21 cannot mainly be ascribed to his disease, as Schubert set most, and very likely all, of its songs in 1817. Schubert's *Liederheft* op. 23 furthermore speaks in favour of a political message within the *Liederheft*. Herein he integrates two songs after poems of his friend Johann Senn, who had been arrested and exiled from the country because of his political involvement. These songs were composed around the same time as the publication of op. 21, hold an indirect political message, and can be understood as a tribute to his radical friend. To commemorate a politically persecuted individual in such way was a risky undertaking during the Biedermeier period, which was not so quaint when it came to punishing and silencing oppositional voices. Schubert's setting of these songs can be seen as an act of protest and solidarity. It thus seems that the composer's mind was occupied with the political theme around the time of the publication of op. 21 (maybe also because of the recent 'Senn affair'), which in turn substantiates the political stance of the 'three fishing songs' of op. 21. Also the dedication of the *Liederheft* to Mayrhofer himself<sup>122</sup> gives some indication about the political orientation of the songs.

Another incidence that attracts attention is the delayed publication of op. 21, which took place after the one of op. 22. Hilmar states that Deutsch suspected that the delay in printing had its cause in the delayed arrival of the dedication permit, as Mayrhofer was on holiday in Upper Austria. However, the fact that the two publications of op. 8 and op. 21, both *Liederhefte* with a political disposition, were delayed also brings up censorship as a possible cause for the hold up. For op. 8 Hilmar raises the suspicion that it was either the publisher or

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<sup>122</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft and Aderhold, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe, Thematisches Verzeichnis*, 307, 313, 322

censorship that was responsible for the delay in publication.<sup>123</sup> After all, everything that was published or spread extensively in handwritten form had to pass censorship.<sup>124</sup> As the censorship process as such was a lengthy and comprehensive one,<sup>125</sup> the suspicion of a forbidden content could easily delay the procedure. Although it cannot be proven that the political subtext is the cause of the delay for both *Liederhefte*, it remains a distinct possibility.

Although the songs in *Liederheft* op. 21, as well as in the previously discussed *Liederheft* op. 8, do not feature an evolving story line, they may well be connected through a political undercurrent. In op. 8 this connection is stronger than in op. 21, as all four songs of this *Liederheft* occupy a sense of longing, which in three cases is very likely to be a political longing for a better place. The music of these four songs brings out, and thus reinforces, the longing tone of this opus. The framework of op. 21 is looser. Political criticism can be perceived in all the three songs of this *Liederheft*, yet with different political attitudes, and, consequently, very different musical interpretations. Nevertheless, regarding the songs as connected by a political theme gives each *Liederheft* a sense of coherence and strengthens the possible political subtext of each song. The songs of the *Liederheft* op. 23, which contains two settings after Schubert's revolutionary friend Johann Senn, are connected in a similar manner. Each of its songs seems to be governed by a political undercurrent and a musical analysis of the songs also reveals musical interdependencies in harmony and rhythm. The songs of this particular *Liederheft* were composed closer to their date of publication and very likely with their publication in a common *Liederheft* in mind. This in turn allowed Schubert to integrate musical ties.

The construction of Schubert's *Liederhefte* with a uniting theme thus represents an entity, which should be perceived as such, since it strengthens, and in some cases reveals, the core message of its single songs. The uniting theme of a *Liederheft* can exist regardless of its compilation of settings to different poets. The effect a song in a topical *Liederheft* achieves within its original compilation is much stronger, and hence the impact of the song is not the same when viewed or performed detached from it. However, as has become clear to some extent, the *Liederheft* can take on different functions with regard to the publication of politically suggestive songs. As shown in op. 8, it can open with a more innocuously appearing setting, and thus hide the overarching political theme. The same technique can be observed for op. 23, where the songs of the banned poet Senn, whose authorship is

<sup>123</sup> Hilmar and Bodendorff, *Franz Schubert: Dokumente*, 95, 71

<sup>124</sup> Walter Obermeier, 'Schubert und die Zensur' in *Schubert Kongreß Wien 1978*, Bericht, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 117

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 118



interestingly omitted, are surrounded by two less suspicious settings and placed in the middle of the *Liederheft*. A *Liederheft*, not necessarily one with a uniting (political) theme, can thus act as a form of concealment, which allows the publication of settings with a more obvious political tone.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> The publication of poems, on the other hand, was a slightly different matter. Like single songs, they were often published as single entities in almanacs at the time and, as censorship was far stricter with regard to literature, it was rather the complete edition of writers' works in which suggestive poems or works could be published. Examples for this would be the complete editions of Friedrich Schiller and the complete edition of poems of Johann Mayrhofer, both of which hold works that could possibly have never been published otherwise. See also footnote 66.

## 5. Mayrhofer Settings with a Different Political Voice

The discussion of the two *Liederhefte* has shown that a political theme, presented in different guises and with different focal points, can be perceived in both. This chapter will view differently themed Mayrhofer settings that are not part of a *Liederheft* and further extend the variability of a potential political subject matter. The first section discusses two different strophic settings, 'Zum Punsche' and 'Rückweg', which seem to hide a political message behind a simple façade. Both settings are different in theme and character, but can be subsumed under a common headline: the pretence of the simple. Their discussion brings across that the outer façade of a song, in this case a simple one, can be interpreted as deceptive and act as camouflage for a hidden political subtext. Hereafter, the lengthy and serious setting of 'Einsamkeit' will be analysed for political traces. 'Einsamkeit' does not resemble what is perceived as a typical Schubert song today and, probably for this reason, is little known. It almost has the characteristics of a small song cycle, and it will be interesting to see how a potential political theme is spread over such a lengthy piece. The chapter will conclude with an outlook to Schubert's antique settings by Mayrhofer, a subject matter that often hides political criticism and leads into chapter 6.

### 5.1. The Pretence of the Simple

The discussion of the second *Liederheft* has demonstrated that a simple appearing Schubert setting can hold a very tangible political message, which would not necessarily be expected from its outer form. The through-composed strophic song, 'Der Schiffer', and the strophic song 'Wie Ulfru fischt' indicates this. The two settings which are to be discussed in this chapter will further reinforce that even the music of a strophic song can play a part in pointing to a political content of a poetic text. They will show that a likely political subtext can be voiced through more than just the highlighting of single words or phrases. Expressing almost opposite facets of indirect political criticism, 'Zum Punsche' and 'Rückweg' could not be more different in character. While the former represents a rousing drinking song, the latter is of a melancholy character throughout. What connects both songs, apart from Mayrhofer as their author, is the year of their composition, their strophic form and their political traits.

### 5.1.1 'Zum Punsche'

To a contemporary audience Mayrhofer's 'Zum Punsche' (D 492), which Schubert set in 1816,<sup>1</sup> probably appears as an innocent and trivial drinking song. However, revolutionary texts were often hidden behind the popular form of drinking songs, as the following examples illustrate. The group around one of the first Viennese democrats, Andreas Riedel, a former mathematics teacher of the Emperor who was severely punished for his democratic undertakings by the latter,<sup>2</sup> made frequent use of this subversive propaganda tool. Male singing was furthermore highly esteemed in the German student fraternities, whose repertoire included patriotic drinking songs with political declarations. A Schubert contemporary who employed drinking songs as a medium of criticism, albeit in a more covert fashion, is the author of Schubert's two big song cycles, Wilhelm Müller (1794-1827). Müller, who was a great liberal and patriot as well as an advocate of the German liberation movement, created a form of political lyric poetry that was almost out of reach for censorial access when writing his social songs for the Dessauer Liedertafel (a club in Müller's hometown of Dessau that mainly consisted of civil servants, who liked to meet, sing and drink in a social context). In a playful and sometimes ironic fashion Müller could use vocabulary that was generally unutterable for a liberal writer. His verses are neither politically aggressive, nor do they appear oppositional. Yet on a hidden level they communicate contempt for feudal symbols and ideals,<sup>3</sup> which, in times of political suppression, displays an oppositional attitude to the rule and repression from above.

In one of Müller's drinking songs, 'Freiheit im Wein'<sup>4</sup> (Freedom in Wine), the surge for freedom is little concealed and builds the main topic of the song. Already in the first verse the first person narrator reveals very openly that if he knew where

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<sup>1</sup> The song in the 'Neue Gesamtausgabe' seems to be wrongly headed with October 1818. The very volume itself, however, states in its introduction that it contains songs from the years of 1816-1817. The thematic catalogue of Schubert works, which is similarly part of the 'Neue Gesamtausgabe' dates the song for October 1816. Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft, ed., and Walther Dürr, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series 4, songs, vol. 11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), XIX. Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft, ed., and Werner Aderhold, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series 8, supplement, vol. 4, *Franz Schubert: Thematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke in chronologischer Folge von Otto Erich Deutsch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 291

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Körner, 'Andreas Riedel (1748-1837): Zur Lebensgeschichte eines Wiener Demokraten' in *Jahrbuch der Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, vol. 27, ed. Max Kratochwill (Horn: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne, 1971), 322, 326, 330

<sup>3</sup> Hans-Georg Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts in Deutschland von 1815 bis 1840* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969), 50, 125, 128-29, 132

<sup>4</sup> Gustav Schwab, ed., *Gedichte von Wilhelm Müller*, 2. Bändchen (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1837), 44-46

circumstances were better, he would leave this world, where it is not worth staying. In the following verse he looks into the sky with a telescope to find a star that holds vines. Unfortunately he has not found one yet and thus worries of where to turn to in his distress should the world tease him even more. He then appeals to his brothers not to leave into the blue distance, as freedom in its best form is so close: the house of their innkeeper. Into his bomb-proof cellar they flee and defy the world. In the next two verses (verses six and seven) freedom and the free spirit – both to be found in the wine – are stressed.

Freiheit im Wein	Freedom in Wine
Und wüßt' ich, wo es besser wär', So zög' ich aus der Welt; 'S ist wahrlich keines Bleibens mehr In diesem Erdenzelt!	If I knew, where it would be better, I would march out of the world; It is truly not worth staying On this earth!
Hab' mit dem Teleskop von fern Des Himmels Rund besehn, Ob nicht in irgend einem Stern Weinstöcke sollten stehn.	With the telescope from far away I have viewed the sky all around, To find out whether there should be vines On some star.
Doch hab ich keine noch entdeckt, Und Herschel <sup>5</sup> ist nun todt! Wenn uns die Welt noch ärger neckt, Wohin aus unsrer Noth?	Yet so far I have not discovered any, And 'Herschel' is now dead! If the world is teasing us even more, Where to turn in our misery?
O Brüder, Brüder, schwebt mir ja In's Blaue nicht hinaus! Die beste Freiheit liegt so nah In unsres Wirthes Haus.	O brothers, brothers, do not hover away Into the blue distance! The best freedom lies so close In the house of our landlord.
In seinen Keller flüchten wir, Und der ist bombenfest. Potz alle Welt! wir trotzen dir, Wenn Sturm du blasen läßt!	Into his cellar we flee, And it is bombproof. Be surprised everybody on earth! We defy you, If you let the storm blow!
Wird auch die Freiheit vogelfrei Hier oben wohl genannt, da unten hat die Sultanei Sie noch nicht weggebannt.	Although freedom is named Outlawed up here, Down there, the realm of the sultan Has not banished it yet.
Noch braust sie auf im jungen Wein, So oft die Reben blühn: Dann will der Geist entfesselt sein Und in dem Becher glühn.	It still rushes on the young wine, Whenever the vines flourish: Then the spirit wants to be unleashed And glow in the goblet.
Und in dem Brausen toben sich Die wilden Hesen <sup>6</sup> aus: Der ächte Geist, er hält den Stich	And in the roaring The wild 'Hesen' have their fling: The real spirit, it repels the cut

<sup>5</sup> Probably a person, as 'Herschel' could be both, a first name or a surname.

<sup>6</sup> The word 'Hesen' might stand for 'Hessen' (Hessians). The principality of Hessen employed a very good army at the time.

Und triumphiert im Strauß.	And triumphs in the fight.
Auf Brüder, lösen wir den Spund, Und machen frei den Wein! Sein freier Geist weih' unsern Mund Zu freien Liedern ein!	Let us go brothers, let us remove the seal, And free the wine! His free spirit opens our mouth For free songs!

Although freedom is outlawed in the outside world above, it has not yet been banished down in the cellar by the rule of the sultan (the word 'Sultanei' literally describes the rule or the realm of a sultan, and it seems that it is used as a term paraphrasing the repressive rule from above). As in the previous verses, the spirit that wants to be unleashed and the freedom that is to be found in the wine signal a political criticism that is little concealed. The following verse accentuates that the real spirit triumphs in the fight and the last verse confirms that the companions gain their longed for freedom in songs and wine. The parallels to political criticism in Wilhelm Müller's 'Freiheit im Wein' are obvious, the content of the song speaking very much for itself. This example demonstrates that the drinking song genre lends itself as a platform for political criticism, which is voiced with the help of a jolly façade.

In view of this information about the drinking song genre, Schubert's take on 'Zum Punsche' might indeed strive to communicate a critical message. That the well-known liberal Mayrhofer chooses to write a poem in this genre also sounds alarm bells, particularly as he was likely to be familiar with the political use of drinking songs from his days as a student fraternity member. In the 1843 edition of his poems, a politically suggestive poem with the title 'Trinklied' (drinking song), which follows 'Zum Punsche,' substantiates the supposition of Mayrhofer's political take on the genre. Here he thunders against the suppression of the spirit in his elusive fashion. In 'Zum Punsche' signs of political discontentment are shown.

<b>Zum Punsche<sup>7</sup></b>	<b>To the Punch</b>
Woget brausend, Harmonien, Kehre wieder, alte Zeit; Punschgefüllte Becher, wandert In des Kreises Heiterkeit!	Swell with a roar, harmonies, Recur, old times; Punch filled goblets, wander In the cheerfulness of the circle!
Mich ergreifen schon die Wellen, Bin der Erde weit entrückt; Sterne winken, Lüfte säuseln,	Already the waves grasp me, I am carried away from the earth; Stars wave, breezes whisper,

<sup>7</sup> Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben, ed., *Gedichte von Johann Mayrhofer: Neue Sammlung* (Vienna: Ignaz Keller, 1843), 84

Und die Seele ist beglückt.	And the soul is delighted.
Was das Leben aufgebürdet, Liegt am Ufer nebelschwer; Steu're fort, ein rascher Schwimmer, In das hohe Friedensmeer.	What life has burdened, Lies as heavy as mist on the shore; Head away, a strong swimmer, To the high sea of peace.
Was des Schwimmers Lust vermehrt, Ist das Plätschern hinterdrein; Denn es folgen die Genossen, Keiner will der letzte sein.	What strengthens the swimmer's passion, Is the splashing behind him, For the companions are following, No one wants to be the last.

Already the first verse holds a conspicuous comment by asking for the return of the 'old times.' Many liberals, including Mayrhofer, looked back with wistfulness to the bygone times of Emperor Joseph II, who was seen as the ideal of an enlightened ruler and served as a contrast to the restorative system. There was a high cult around the figure of Joseph II during the Biedermeier period, with an upward trend.<sup>8</sup> Josephinism developed into a collective conception, with which progressive individuals associated their hopes for an improved national future.<sup>9</sup> Mayrhofer's adoration of the enlightened Emperor has been revealed most potently in the earlier presented verses of Bauernfeld's literary description of Mayrhofer in 'Ein Wiener Censor' (A Viennese Censor). It is somewhat ironic that, with the impending restorative hold, the wish for the good old enlightened times should even increase over the next years among liberal contemporaries. In the case of Mayrhofer, it is very likely that he too referred to the reign of Emperor Joseph II with his use of 'alte Zeiten.' Born in 1787, he was strongly influenced by the late effects of Joseph's enlightened reforms,<sup>10</sup> and most likely regarded the time of his reign as a lost ideal that was worthy of imitation with regard to Austria's future development. Bauernfeld's poem strongly suggests this and demonstrates that Josephinism was also Mayrhofer's conceivable model for a freer and more liberal future in Austria. By demanding for the recurrence of the old times, the poet likewise declares his discontentment with the current state of affairs. Embedded in the obvious drinking context of the first verse, the political subtext is veiled, but still perceivable.

In the following verse of the poem the topical reference to Mayrhofer's time is insinuated. The waves carry the speaker far away from the earth, to the delight of his

<sup>8</sup> Antal Mádl, *Politische Dichtung in Österreich (1830-1848)* (Budapest: Kiadó, 1969), 19

<sup>9</sup> Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts*, 197

<sup>10</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, *Geheime Botschaften: Homoerotische Subkulturen im Schubert-Kreis, bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Thomas Bernhard* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), 21

soul. On a superficial level this state of happiness is solely to be attributed to the consumption of the alcoholic punch, which can certainly achieve this effect. Yet the choice of words that leads to the happiness of the soul perplexes. The wish for a departure from earth is well known from two songs of the discussed *Liederheft* op. 8, 'Sehnsucht' and 'Am Strome', where the speaker seeks happiness in a milder land. As in these two songs, the departure can be brought into context with the political reality, its actual cause. Many Biedermeier contemporaries, especially intellectuals, were longing for better and freer circumstances. This wish was deemed to be impossible under the strict rule of the Metternich system and was therefore directed to a faraway land. The clue at the beginning, the aspired recurrence of the 'old times,' tightens the political significance of this verse and generates the political undercurrent of the speaker's unhappy state. From a political viewpoint the second verse thus stresses that happiness is unattainable under the timely circumstances. The grasp of the waves seems to initiate the way to the desired happier state, which is signified by the 'old times.'

In the third verse the political interpretation of the poem can be continued. Leaving the burdens of life behind him on the shore, a swimmer heads for the sea of peace. The picture of the swimmer is not surprising in a drinking song, in which the alcohol flows; and leaving behind the burdens of life does not appear unusual for a drinking song either. However, the swimmer's destination, the high sea of peace, is an elevated aim. Following the political threat of the first two verses, the picture that is evolved here also extends the metaphorical content of the second verse. The burdens of life can be understood literally, as the burdens of the Biedermeier period. It is thus for the well-known constraints of the time, that the speaker seeks to be carried away. The unhappy state on earth, which is indicated as the cause for the escape in the foregoing verse, is consequently confirmed. Through the political decipherment, the striving toward the high sea of peace reveals itself as nothing other than a striving toward the 'old times,' whose return is aspired in the first verse and whose positive effect, the delighted state of the soul, is visualized in the second.

The last verse of the poem describes the strengthening of the swimmer's passion, which is evoked by the following of his companions. As in the verses above, this emotion is entirely plausible from the perspective of a drinking song: who after all likes to drink alone? Yet the picture of the swimmer can also be transferred to an underlying political construction of the poem. The following of the companions may

be seen as like-minded support for the swimmer, who leads the way to the visualization of political improvement. The active approach that is taken by the swimmer is an unusual one for the Biedermeier period, where any active attempt for change was viewed as suspicious. Maybe it is for this reason that the experienced censor Mayrhofer leaves the first person perspective for the last two verses and puts forward the character of the swimmer. By doing so he takes up the role of an observer and slightly detaches himself from the active happenings, which also come across less forcefully through the change to a third person.

Similar to the quoted verses of Müller's poem 'Freiheit im Wein', a political gist is absorbed in the overt drinking theme of 'Zum Punsche', which acts as a guise. However, it is very likely that the poem's political undercurrent was far more obvious during Mayrhofer's lifetime than it is today. The referral to the good 'old times' of the Enlightened Emperor as a desirable political model for the present was common among discontented Biedermeier contemporaries and suggests the familiarity of this term. Voiced very much at the beginning of Mayrhofer's poem, it decidedly influences the perception of an attentive listener or reader.

For critical contemporaries the guise of the political message is likely to be insufficient, and it might be for this reason that Mayrhofer, in an act of self-censorship, did not include 'Zum Punsche' in the 1824 edition of his poems. Not only the demand for the return of the 'alte Zeit', but also the embodiment of the political declarative in the suspect form of a drinking song, could have easily raised suspicion. Graham Johnson similarly stresses the significance of the 'old times.' He, however, sees in them a typically 'Mayrhofian' longing for the athletic and manly world of antiquity, with its accepted male love.<sup>11</sup> Yet the overall content of the poem, and the widespread political use of the phrase in the Biedermeier era, as well as Mayrhofer's precautionary self-censorship, backs up the presented interpretation. Notably, the poem was published in Mayrhofer's posthumous poetry collection from 1843, which was edited by his friend, the literary scholar Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben. By this time, political criticism had taken a stronger hold in the works of Austrian poets, and especially the years towards the 1848 revolution were marked by a greater offensive from the liberal sides.<sup>12</sup> Taking into account the above information, it does not seem coincidental that Schubert's song version, albeit composed in 1816, was

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<sup>11</sup> Franz Schubert, *Complete Songs* 32, Notes (London: Hyperion, 1999), 20

<sup>12</sup> Mádl, *Politische Dichtung*, 12



only published in 1849, when comparative freedom prevailed after the revolutionary outburst from the 1848 March Revolution.

Schubert's setting of 'Zum Punsche' hardly represents a typical drinking song. Provided with the indication 'Feurig' (fiery) the song is initiated by a short introduction that solely exists of three arpeggiated D minor chords in forte, before it continues to communicate a rather serious, rigid and forceful mood. With the beginning of the verse double forte dynamics are taken up and the voice limits itself to the notes of the D minor chord. As the accompaniment just doubles the voice line with weighty unison octaves here, the firm and forceful mood is enhanced. A great emphasis is put on the 6/8 rhythm of the piece, as the beat emphasizing crochet – quaver succession dominates the song in voice and accompaniment alike.

## 8. Zum Punsche

Lied für einstimmigen Chor

Johann Mayrhofer

D 492

Oktober 1818

Feurig

Wo - get brau - send, Har - mo - nie - en, keh - re wie - der, al - te  
 Mich er - grei - fen schon die Wel - len, bin der Er - de weit ent -

Zeit;  
 rückt;  
 punsch - ge - füll - te Be - cher, wan - dert in des  
 Ster - ne win - ken, Lüf - te säu - seln, und die

Krei - ses Hei - ter - keit,  
 See - le ist be - glückt,  
 punsch - ge -  
 Ster - ne

15

füll - te Be - cher, wan - dert in — des Krei - ses Hei - ter - keit.  
win - ken, Lüf - te silu - seln, und — die See - le ist — be - glückt.

\*) Das Nachspiel am Ende jeder Strophe ist in einer Abschrift (a) und in der Erstausgabe (b) um einen Takt verlängert, s. Quellen und Lesarten.

a) 19/36

b) 19/36

20

Was das Le - ben auf - ge - bür - det, liegt am U - fer ne - bel - schwer:  
Was des Schwim - mers Lust ver - meh - ret, ist das Plär - schern hin - ter - drein,

24

steu - re fort, ein ra - scher Schwim - mer, in — das  
denn es fol - gen die Ge - nos - sen, kei - ner

28

ho - he Frie - dens - meer, steu - re  
will der Letz - te sein, denn es



Figure 25: 'Zum Punsche', D 492.

With its heavy chords, the accompaniment generally just follows the melody of the voice line. The strophic form in which the four verses of the song are presented does not give great variety. Moreover, the song builds itself from only three musical phrases, with the last one being a slightly varied repetition of the second one. Due to the strong cadence at the end of each phrase, they appear rather disconnected, especially as the short interludes between them, all similar in style, set them apart even further. A more positive touch emanates from the middle phrase of the song, with its loosened up voice line and major harmonies. Yet the varied repetition of this phrase brings disillusionment, as its minor harmonies return the serious mood. Despite the return to minor, the upward leading voice line at the end of the final phrase testifies sternness and determination.

The only noteworthy interpretational particularity from Schubert's side is the text distribution. Schubert decides to cover the first half of each poetic verse with the forceful first phrase of the song, while the second half sounds to the more positive musical second phrase, which, however, is then repeated in a variation in minor. The piece thus immediately returns to the more serious and forceful character. The final upward leading line in the voice at the end of the repetition in minor could communicate the sternness and determination that are part of the speaker's real endeavour. The repetitions, as well as the short interludes between the concise four-bar phrases, also aid the understanding of the text. The easy text apprehension of the song also facilitates the understanding of its political subtext. Overall the song is of a simple, albeit dissected, structure and its serious and forceful mood can be described as its most prominent feature.

A look at the usage of drinking songs has raised awareness of their critical potential during the time of political discontentment and unrest in the early nineteenth century. Schubert's musical interpretation too poses the question whether 'Zum Punsche' really represents an ordinary drinking song. Its rousing character and accessible structure speak in favour of this, but at the same time the good mood that drinking songs bring across in a masculine fashion does not permeate Schubert's interpretation of the poem. The gloom that proceeds from the D minor key does not allow a cheerful and confident mood, nor do its other major parameters like the forceful rhythm or the stiff accompaniment. The short turn to major does not decidedly lift the mood, especially as its repetition in minor has the final say. Schubert's unusual take on this song opens up the listener's susceptibility for the serious subtext of the poem, which in turn fits its firm and forceful mood. 'Zum Punsche' nevertheless comes across as a drinking song, because it still keeps some of the genre's characteristic features. Alongside its stirring, seizing and empathetic effect, it is the song's accessibility that qualifies it as such. There is hardly another Mayrhofer setting by Schubert that is kept so simple and straightforward. None of the song's basic parameters of harmony, melody and rhythm cross the boundaries of an ordinary song.

The forceful proclamation of Mayrhofer's words would have not been possible without the simple guise of the drinking song. Maybe it was not even at the time, which would explain the late publication of the song in 1849. The serious and forceful mood which is achieved has nothing to do with the longing or *weltschmerz* that could be read into the poem, but brings across the content of the poem as an invitation to act. Graham Johnson also misses 'real merrymaking' in 'Zum Punsche' and ascribes it an 'escapist philosophy'.<sup>13</sup> As has been argued above, the 'escapist philosophy' of the poem can be understood as a criticism of the timely circumstances. Walther Dürr points out that it is hard to say whether Schubert wanted this song to be performed perhaps exclusively as a choir or maybe optionally as a solo song. The indication 'Singst.' (abbreviation for voice) as well as the absence of an explicit reference in a manuscript and in the first edition would suggest the latter.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, the first

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<sup>13</sup> Schubert, *Complete Songs* 32, 20

<sup>14</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft and Dürr, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe*, vol. 11, XIX

transcript from October 1816 includes the reference to a choir.<sup>15</sup> The setting would certainly benefit from being sung by a (male) choir, which would accentuate its forcefulness and thus the sustainability of the political subtext. Maybe the exact indication was originally left out for this reason.

### 5.1.2 'Rückweg'

A Mayrhofer setting that is comparable to 'Zum Punsche' in its apparent simplicity is 'Rückweg' (D 476), which Schubert composed in September of the same year (1816). Also this setting voices criticism in a very direct form, if anything even more directly than the previously discussed 'Zum Punsche.' An interpretation of the poetic text of 'Rückweg' elucidates the melancholic tone of the poem, as well as its resonating political criticism. The four-versed poem with its alternate rhyme is written in the first person perspective, which gives it additional poignancy.

Rückweg <sup>16</sup>	The Way Back
Zum Donaustrom, zur Kaißerstadt Geh' ich in Bangigkeit: Denn was das Leben Schönes hat, Entschwindet weit und weit.	To the Danube stream, to the imperial city I go with apprehension: For the beauty life possesses, Vanishes far and wide.
Die Berge weichen allgemach, Mit ihnen Thal und Fluß; Der Kühe Glocken läuten nach, Und Hütten nicken Gruß.	The mountains gradually disappear, And with them the valley and river; The bells of the cows still ring, And huts nod their greeting.
Was starrt dein Auge thränenfeucht Hinaus in blaue Fern'? Ach, dorten weilt ich, unerreicht, Frey unter Freyen gern!	Why does your eye, moist with tears, Stare out into the blue distance? Alas, there I dwelt happily, unequalled, Free among free men.
Wo Liebe noch und Treue gilt, Da öffnet sich das Herz; Die Frucht an ihren Strahlen schwillt, Und strebet himmelwärts.	Where love and faith are still cherished, The heart will open, The fruit ripens in their rays, And strives towards heaven.

<sup>15</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft and Aderhold, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe, Thematisches Verzeichnis*, 291

<sup>16</sup> Johann Mayrhofer, *Gedichte* (Vienna: Friedrich Volke, 1824), ed. Michael Maria Rabenlechner (Vienna: Wiener Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft, 1938), 24

Although not directly mentioning it, the beginning of the poem defines Vienna as the destination of the speaker. The walk along the Danube stream to the imperial city leaves no doubt about this. However, it is peculiar that the speaker is accompanied by apprehensiveness on his way. All the beautiful things life has to offer vanish far and wide with the approach of the city: the mountains, valley and the stream. Moist with tears, the speaker's eye peers into the blue distance. There he likes to sojourn, free amongst free men. Latest with its last verse, the poem adopts an enigmatic level: where love and faithfulness are still cherished the heart would open. The fruit would increase due to their radiance and strive heavenwards. Graham Johnson connects the content of the poem with Mayrhofer's personal situation, concluding that for him the capital city meant politics and intrigue and a boring job. He adds that for the poet it also meant a place where political repression made it increasingly difficult to be 'a free man among free men'.<sup>17</sup>

Indeed, Mayrhofer's personal situation and hence his identification with the speaker is obvious. The liberal poet's unhappiness in his job as a censor and his discontentment about the political situation, ironically including the incisive censorship restrictions, have already been commented on. The bleak characterization of the imperial city is to be ascribed to the state of political repression, as the speaker's missed state in the third phrase, 'Frey unter Freyen gern', clarifies. Once more, nature is used to represent freedom and happiness, in this case their absence: the disappearing mountains, valley and stream are not only used to contrast the imperial city, they also embody the beautiful things of life. They thus already hint at the missed freedom, which is to be voiced in the following third verse. Here the description of the natural sphere reaches its culmination with the speaker's longing gaze to the blue distance, which symbolizes his lost freedom. The circumstance that freedom is associated with a blue distance is meaningful: the colour blue and the distance signify freedom as a longed for state that is out of reach for the speaker.

The poem's last verse can be seen as a depiction of a blissful condition. Its metaphysical indefiniteness creates an elusive end to the poem, but its positive and idealistic belief at the same time extends the contrast to the imperial city at the beginning. This verse might point to the compensating role of friendship, which could ease the restrictive condition of the present by creating a better world on a smaller

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<sup>17</sup> Franz Schubert, *Complete Songs 3*, Notes (London: Hyperion, 1989), 10

scale. Schubert and his friends too valued friendship for its compensating role. Some Schubert friends often equated the word 'Freundschaft' (friendship) with 'Liebe' (love).<sup>18</sup> There is thus the possibility that the last verse, with its trust in love and faithfulness (which let the heart ripen and lift it to a heavenly state), indirectly refers to friendship as a refuge from the hostilities of the disillusioning reality.

Mayrhofer's poem is of a mournful and longing tone. The speaker has to leave the unequalled state of freedom and proceed to the imperial city, which offers him none of the happiness he enjoyed before. It is certainly possible that the poem reflects on the feelings that inflicted Mayrhofer at the end of a holiday in the Austrian countryside, and at the same time represents his general attitude. Apart from Mayrhofer's personal situation, this scenario could similarly be understood as an exemplary statement, encompassing and portraying the situation of liberal Biedermeier contemporaries in general. Mayrhofer was not the only one who nourished an apprehensive feeling against the circumcision of his freedom. In any case, the poem refers to the oppressive circumstances prevailing in the imperial city. It thus comments on the restrictions Mayrhofer and other liberals had to get along with and confirms their experience as a great burden.

With 'Rückweg' Schubert once more decides to set a poem with a likely political message as a strophic setting. The four verses of the poem are turned into two strophic verses: the first half of the poem covers the first verse, the second half the second verse. Like the previously discussed 'drinking song', 'Rückweg' is notated in the D minor key, but its character does not show the same forcefulness. Rather, the key is used to communicate a melancholic and contemplative mood, which fits much better to its natural expression. Schubart ascribes a 'schwermütige Weiblichkeit' (melancholy femininity) that broods spleens and fumes to D minor,<sup>19</sup> a mood which is certainly appropriate for this setting. Already the introduction of the song communicates a mournful character with a melancholy motif in the right hand building the introduction. As the tempo indication 'Etwas geschwind' is given to the 6/8 rhythm, the walking quavers in the left hand convey the forward striding movement the speaker is going to adopt in this song. With the beginning of the verse

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<sup>18</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 154

<sup>19</sup> Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, ed. Jürgen Mainka (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1977), 284

the melancholy motif wanders into the voice and the accompaniment takes up a curious waltz rhythm in D minor.

As Oskár Frank has indicated, Schubert often used the rich potential of expression of the waltz rhythm for his accompaniments.<sup>20</sup> The waltz was a very popular dance during the Biedermeier era. It replaced the stilted and courtly minuet as a fashionable dance, and the first waltzes were entitled 'German dance' or simply 'Allemande'.<sup>21</sup> Vienna at the time was full of waltz composers,<sup>22</sup> who took advantage of the popularity of the upcoming genre and flooded the market with waltzes of any kind. Almost everything could be turned into a waltz. Even Schubert's first opus, the well known song of the 'Erlkönig', became the object for a chain of 'Erlkönig-Walzer'.<sup>23</sup> Joseph Lanner (1801-1843) and Johann Strauss (1804-1849) are only two famous names that began to emerge from the crowd of waltz composers during the Biedermeier years. Nineteenth century dance and the waltz in particular have often been discussed as a symbol of individualism, social freedom and anti-aristocratic values.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the dancing ecstasy in Vienna coincided with a period of social change and upheaval. Dancing not only blurred the class distinctions that were part of life, it also represented a major area of freedom for the Viennese by allowing them to remove themselves from everyday troubles.<sup>25</sup> The waltz was thus also a welcome flight from the censorship stricken reality. Ludger Rehm points out that the Viennese government made active use of the dance obsession, by using it along other amusements as a means of distraction,<sup>26</sup> which was to keep away people from politics and critical thinking.

Schubert composed about 130 waltzes during his lifetime; almost all of them have survived in print. However, a number of waltzes can also be found in manuscript form with the heading of 'Deutsche' (German dance). The German dance, of which

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<sup>20</sup> Oskár Frank, 'Der Zusammenhang von Poesie und Musik in Schuberts Liedern' in *Schubert Jahrbuch 1997*, Bericht über den internationalen Schubert Kongreß Duisburg 1997, ed. Dietrich Berke, Walther Dürr, Walburga Litschauer, and Christine Schumann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 29

<sup>21</sup> Reingard Witzmann, 'From Ecstasy to Dream: Social Dancing in the Biedermeier Era' in *Vienna and the Biedermeier Era*, ed. Robert Waissenberger (New York: Mallard Press, 1986), 93-94

<sup>22</sup> Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1962), 348

<sup>23</sup> Otto Biba, 'Schubert's Position in Viennese Musical Life' in *19th-Century Music*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1979), 111

<sup>24</sup> David Gramit, 'Between Täuschung and Seligkeit: Situating Schubert's Dances' in *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 84, no. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 230

<sup>25</sup> Witzmann, 'From Ecstasy to Dream', 93-94

<sup>26</sup> Ludger Rehm, 'Walzer und Winterreise: Lyrik und Gesellschaft bei Wilhelm Müller und Franz Schubert' in: *International Journal of Musicology*, vol. 6 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 194



Schubert composed about 160, was also a dance in triple metre and is commonly seen as the predecessor of the waltz, sharing a number of common characteristics with the latter. As 'waltzing' was the predominant type of movement to both dances, varying musical terms were not uncommon, and 'Deutscher' and 'Waltzer' were often used as interchangeable terms. Even at the time it was difficult to distinguish between the different dances in triple metre, namely the German dance or 'Deutscher', the minuet, the ländler and the waltz. The stylistic borders between the different dance genres were not fixed yet, but overlapped. In contemporary accounts the German dance can only be distinguished from the other dances in triple metre through its choreography. Until 1817 and hence around the time of the composition of 'Rückweg', it was the term of the German dance that was dominant in the Schubert circle. Since the second decade of the eighteenth century, however, it was waltzes that constituted the most printed dances. The waltz developed into the most popular dance of the Biedermeier era,<sup>27</sup> a development that went hand in hand with the well known dancing obsession of the Viennese at the time.

Despite the jovial association of the dance, the waltz allusions Schubert employs in his songs do not always adopt a purely light-hearted and jaunty tone. In 'Täuschung' (Illusion) from *Die Winterreise*, for example, dance is revealed as a delusive pleasure by 'providing a transparently artificial distraction.'<sup>28</sup> Ludger Rehm sees the 'dancing light' of that song as a political ghost light, which stands for the allurements of the restoration regime, for the exchange of political participation for private and jolly sociability.<sup>29</sup> In 'Der Atlas', which is part of Schubert posthumously compiled *Schwanengesang*, the waltz rhythm is alienated and reveals bitter irony.<sup>30</sup> Ludger Rehm has even deduced a political connotation from Schubert's waltzes for piano in the dances which have been published in 1830 under the title *Franz Schuberts letzte Walzer für das Piano-Forte* (Franz Schubert's last waltzes for the piano forte) as op. 127. Rehm points out that, as recently discovered, these dances, in fact, date from 1815 (D 135) and were titled *Zwölf Deutsche mit Coda* (Twelve German dances with coda.)<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Walburga Litschauer and Walter Deutsch, eds, *Franz Schubert und das Tanzvergnügen* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1997), 57, 65, 150

<sup>28</sup> Gramit, 'Between Täuschung and Seligkeit', 223, 225

<sup>29</sup> Rehm, 'Walzer und Winterreise', 203-204

<sup>30</sup> Marie-Agnes Dittrich, 'Für Menschenohren sind es Harmonien': Die Lieder in *Schubert Handbuch*, ed. Walther Dürr and Andreas Krause (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Weimar: Metzler, 1997), 155

<sup>31</sup> Rehm, 'Walzer und Winterreise', 196

The most prominent example for a political subtext amongst the waltzes appears to be the seventh dance in this group, where Rehm identifies drastic war music with brachial fanfare bursts and signal-like motifs. He finds it remarkable that Schubert composed this war music not in 1812, but in 1815, when peace had set in. He furthermore finds it peculiar that Schubert did not set this music as a military march or a battle song, but as a waltz, and thus a social dance that should function as entertainment. He sees the following trio of this dance as even more remarkable, which forms a counterpart to the war scenery. Intended to be played in 'pianissimo' and 'dolce' it presents a song-like theme in B-flat major. Rehm points out that the melody of the trio cites an old song from the sixteenth century, which is seen as a typical German song.<sup>32</sup> According to Rehm the text of the cited song comments on the preceding war music. As its title indicates, the song text of 'Es ritten drey Reiter' describes the parting of three riders. The pain their parting causes stands at the centre of the song, which also indicates that this parting might be a terminal one due to death.<sup>33</sup> Rehm concludes that the cited melody with its textual meaning tones down the former exaltation with death on a massive scale. A heroic depiction of the war is no longer possible here, as the hope for a freer society that has been connected with this war is illusive and untrue from the historical perspective.<sup>34</sup>

As Rehm has pointed out, it is indeed remarkable that Schubert uses this war music material in a waltz and furthermore comments on it with a citation in its trio part. The waltz and its association with pleasure and entertainment, as well as the commenting citation, lend this piece its critical edge. Schubert set this particular waltz in 1815 and thus in a time of peace. This seemingly peaceful and tranquil time, however, was marked by the tightening grip of censorship and restorative measures. The blossoming amusement industry, particularly potent in Vienna since the congress, could not belie this deplorable state of affairs for many contemporaries. It is thus likely that Schubert employs this particular waltz to express a criticism on the outcome of the recent war.

The above examples portray that the waltz can adapt a deeper meaning. They also show that Schubert employed this dance to express critical and time-referenced contents. Although the waltz rhythm in 'Rückweg' does not seem to convey the same

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 201

<sup>33</sup> Robert Klaaß, ed., *Das Goldene Buch der Lieder* (West Berlin: Globus Verlag, 1966), 228

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 201-202. Rehm, 'Walzer und Winterreise', 201

bitter irony or radical delusion as in some of Schubert's later songs, it nevertheless takes up a critical stance. Competent observers of the Biedermeier era have ascribed an almost scary melancholy to the waltz, which would lurk under its cheerful and light-hearted surface.<sup>35</sup> At the verse entry of Schubert's 'Rückweg' this melancholy is no longer an undercurrent, but the dominant sentiment. The melancholy motive from the introduction that now builds the voice line above the waltz accompaniment in D minor could not be further from the light-hearted pleasure the waltz is usually associated with. The alienated dance character accentuates the critical declarative in the text.

Already the four-bar introduction to both verses indicates a waltz gesture, which leads into the distinct waltz accompaniment to the first four bars of each verse. It is the beginning of the first and third verse of the poem which features the sad waltz accompaniment in D minor. The sad tone here is further intensified by the sudden drop of register in comparison to the introduction. The first verse above the sad waltz accompaniment announces the apprehensive walk to the imperial city; the second one describes the longing gaze of the speaker into the blue distance. The sounding of the waltz in connection with the imperial city is not surprising, given the obsession of the Viennese with this dance. As the speaker approaches his destination with apprehension, the sad take on the waltz seems only consequential. Yet by alienating the generally positive tone of the dance, the apprehension of the speaker towards the imperial city is intensified. The listener has to wonder what the cause for this apprehension is, which increases his attention for clarification. The sad dance music itself may give a partial and insinuated answer: the well known pleasures of the city appear meaningless to the speaker and the progression of the poem clarifies why, as it becomes clear that he has to give up his far higher valued freedom. The longing stare into the blue distance at the beginning of the second verse is similarly accompanied by the alienated waltz rhythm.

Here the sad dance recalls the dreaded apprehension of the imperial city, which the speaker is now closer to than his treasured blue distance. The sad waltz accompaniment, which covers the entire four-bar antecedent up to bar 8, also brings out the deep melancholy the speaker is afflicted with. For the second verse of the song Schubert shapes the voice line slightly differently at the end of the antecedent. He

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<sup>35</sup> Reinhard Göttl, *Franz Schubert und Moritz von Schwind: Freundschaft im Biedermeier* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1989) 96

integrates an upward sighing gesture of a small third on the word 'Fern' (distance), reinforcing the speaker's longing for the blue distance of freedom. Although it could be argued that the distinct waltz accompaniment covers only four bars of the song, it has to be remembered that waltzes at the time were only short pieces of two eight-bar long phrases.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the waltz rhythm permeates the whole song in its accompaniment and is also discernable in the voice part. Already the introduction bears distinct waltz characteristics. The high register in the right hand of the piano and the swinging movement in threes are strong attributes of waltzes and its flow into the unmistakable accompaniment figure at the beginning of the song affirms the waltz character.

## 2. Rückweg

Johann Mayrhofer  
D 476

September 1816

Etwas geschwind

Zum  
Was

Zweite Strophe: \*)

5 hin - aus in blau - e Fern' - ?

Do - nau-strom, zur Kai - ser-stadt geh ich in Ban - gig - keit - denn  
staut dein Au - ge trü - nen-feucht Ach

9 was - das Le - ben Schö - nes hat, ent - wei - chet weit und weit -  
dor - ten weilt' ich un - erreicht, frei un - ter Frei - en gern -

mf

\*) Takt 6-8: Zu Schuberts Notierungsweise s. das vorne wiedergegebene Faksimile.

<sup>36</sup> Litschauer and Deutsch, *Franz Schubert und das Tanzvergnügen*, 72

14  
Die Ber - ge schwin-den all - ge-mach, mit ih - nen  
Wo Lie - be noch - und Treu - e gilt, da öff - net

18  
Wald und Fluß, der Kü - he Glo - cken läu - ten nach, und Hüt - ten  
sich das Herz; die Frucht an ih - ren Strah - len schwillt und stre - bet

22  
ni - cken Gruß, der Kü - he Glo - cken läu - ten nach, und Hüt - ten ni - cken  
him - mel-wärts, die Frucht an ih - ren Strah - len schwillt und stre - bot him - mel -

26  
Gruß.  
wärts.

\*) Das Lied war ursprünglich ohne Nachspiel notiert; vgl. Quellen und Lesarten.

Figure 26: 'Rückweg', D 476.

The second half of verses one and three of the poem follows directly in the four-bar consequent of the first and second verse. Here the accompaniment doubles the voice line in its upper hand and turns its harmony to F major, which slightly lifts the melancholy gloom. Nonetheless, the voice still remains in a contemplative disposition, which is mediated by a repeated variation of the melancholy motif at the beginning of the consequent, the dropping chromatic motion in bar 10 and the withdrawn ending of a downward leading line. A look at the text of both verses

sounding to this passage explains the muted character of the voice: in the first verse the speaker remembers the beautiful things of life, which now vanish far and wide from him. In the second verse of the song the speaker dwells on his free state, which he had to give up. Schubert's 'bittersweet' interpretation thus pervades the forked sentence, a melancholy recollection of something pleasant, which accompanies those lines. One word in this phrase is highlighted for each verse, namely through the accent on the first beat in bar 10. The accent occurs on the highest note reached in this phrase and attracts further attention as a starting point of the dropping chromatic line. Both the stressing of the word 'Schönes' in the first verse and the word 'unerreicht' in the second verse intensify the mourning of the speaker's reluctantly dismissed state. It directs attention to the rest of the sentence, which, despite its unspectacular downward leading voice line, gains in significance this way. It is the end of both phrases 'Schönes hat, entweicht weit und breit' and 'unerreicht, frei unter Freien gern,' which are subtly and unobtrusively highlighted. Both phrases, especially the second one, are central for the political statement of the song. Their circumspensive emphasis on part of the composer might be due to their unequivocal declarations.

After the first half of the song, the structure loosens up a bit over the next bars. The melancholy motif that started the song above the walking gesture in the left hand first constitutes a short interlude and then forms the accompaniment. Above it the speaker laments about his lost luck in the first verse and mentions the opening of the heart to love and faithfulness in the second one. The passage from bars 19 to 22 protrudes with the interruption of the flowing melancholy motif and a gain in intensity. The accompaniment strongly features the sound of the cowbells, which are mentioned in the first verse at this point. The voice recites on a repeated note for most of the time, first D' and then C', while the accompaniment similarly stresses the repeated note. It underlines the voice with a forceful motif that covers half of the bar and is repeated three times before it comes to an end.

Hereafter, D-flat is used as a chromatic passing tone to lead to the repetition of the same procedure on the lower note. The motif doubles the repeated note of the voice line in its outer voices with a dotted crochet, which starts with an accent. The middle voices join on the two following beats of the bar, producing two different harmonies. These two harmonies leave the motif in an unresolved and forward striving state, as they consist of an intermediate dominant resolving to an unstable tonic: due to the resonance of the outer voices, which constitute the fifth of the

intermediate tonic, no satisfying resolution but forward movement is achieved. Only the last sounding of the motif in bar 22 brings the root of the chord in the bass, creating a satisfying ending point. It seems as if the ringing of the cowbells does not want to leave the speaker, who does not want to miss the familiar sound he associates with his beloved land.

The dropping of the motif to the lower note in bar 21 with its tone repetitions on the lower note in the voice gives the impression that the ringing bells recede, and communicates a dampening of the mood – despite the use of major harmonies. The following last four bars of the piece, to which Schubert repeats the same words, confirm the yearning mood that now has a somewhat melancholy touch. After the ringing of the bells has come to a hold in bar 22, the voice lunches out with an upbeat of a sixth, which is followed by a melodic gesture in the higher register. The right hand of the accompaniment doubles this voice line, while the bass proceeds in parallel tenths almost throughout, contributing to the yearning mood. The thirds and sixths, mainly formed between the top and the bottom set of voices in bar 23, intensify the yearning character of the ending. The second half of the final phrase sinks into melancholy; the low ‘D’ that ends the song indicates that the sound of the cowbells can no longer be heard by the speaker, who seems to be already far away from his beloved land now. Overall, the ringing of the bells can be regarded as a longing that points backwards to the land the speaker has to leave behind. The melancholic ending of the verse similarly fits this look backwards, whose importance takes shape with the following verse, where the speaker highlights the free life he was able to lead in his beloved land.

Due to its longing nature, the ringing of the cowbells also fits well with the second verse. Here the speaker alludes to the symbolic fruit of the heart that ripens and strives heavenwards due to the aforementioned love and faithfulness. The music seems to depict the urge of the speaker to aspire to this state, which is enabled through love and faithfulness. The intensity of the tone repetitions in the voice and the forceful and urging accompaniment movement convey this longing. While in the first verse the music with its prominent ringing seems to portray a longing that is directed backwards to the speaker’s beloved land, it seems to be directed forwards in this verse. Yet, as in the previous verse, the bells die away for this wish. The drop of the motif to the lower note and the yearning and melancholy character of the last four bars give the impression that the speaker is not within reach of his desired state. The

low 'D' on which the voice finishes does not point heavenward, as its accompanying text would suggest. Schubert's music emphasises the importance of the elusive last verse in Mayrhofer's poem, which he indeed interprets as a desirable place of refuge. However, the melancholic ending suggests that the speaker either has not reached this place of refuge yet, that it is not a full substitute to the free blue distance or that this state is harder to achieve than expected.

Schubert's 'Rückweg' is first and foremost a melancholy declaration, which accentuates the resignation of the speaker, who has to leave a place of freedom for the ill boding imperial city. The melancholy motif which opens the song, and which is present almost throughout, gives evidence of this. A musical interpretation that stresses loudly the political substance of the poem does not materialize in 'Rückweg'. Instead, Schubert highlights the political avowal of the text with subtle means. The alienated sad waltz rhythm at the beginning of each verse draws attention to the critical proclamation of the text it accompanies and the downward leading chromatic voice line with its initial accent in bar 10 draws unobtrusive and maybe cautious attention to the following political statement of each verse. The musical interpretation from bar 19 onwards expresses the longing state of the speaker, making it plain that he is not content with his present situation.

In the interpretation of the poem it has been presumed that the elusive and suggestive content at the end of the poem, which represents a desirable state of refuge, might point to the better state that can be achieved within a circle of friends and like-minded people. The music brings out the speaker's longing for this place, which ascertains it as a desirable place of refuge, but the melancholy ending of the song similarly indicates that this place is not within reach yet. Although it is not entirely clear what these last lines encompass exactly, the speaker's aspiration to this state emphasizes his urge to escape the hold of the imperial city and thus increases the negative association with his destination.

The title of the song can also be ascribed a negative association from a political viewpoint. In a metaphorical sense 'Rückweg' (The way back) can be seen as the political backward movement that set in with the Congress of Vienna. During the Enlightenment, the reign of Joseph II in Austria had put forward progressive politics, despite the remaining control from above. The Wars of Liberation further stirred up the hopes for a more liberal take in politics, especially amongst the educated circles. Many hoped for the right of codetermination in political matters. However, the return



to the old power structures that set in with the Congress of Vienna was experienced as a step back by liberal individuals. The poem 'Ein Krebs' (A Crayfish) by Wilhelm Müller criticises the political backward movement of the Biedermeier period in an ironic fashion and also attacks dutiful officialdom:

<b>Ein Krebs<sup>37</sup></b>	<b>A Crayfish</b>
Rückwärts! heißt das Wort der Zeit; Rückwärts laßt uns gehen, Nicht zu schnell und nicht zu weit, Wie's an mir zu sehen!	Backwards! is the word of the time; Backwards let us move, Not too fast and not too far, How you can see it on me!
Bin zum Kochen jetzt zu gut, Will nunmehr studieren Und in der reptilen Brut Mich brav distinguiren.	I am now too good for cooking, Now I want to study And in the reptile breed Well-behaved distinguish myself.
Mancher hat's schon weit gebracht Mit dem rückwärts Schreiten: Ehrensterne, Gold und Macht Bringt's den guten Leuten.	Some have already got far With going backward: Stars of honour, gold and power It gives to the good people
Politik, hilf du fort! Dir gehört mein Leben. Hand in Hand und Wort auf Wort, Rückwärts laß uns streben.	Politics help me along! To you my life belongs. Hand in hand and word upon word, Backwards let us strive.

Mayrhofer, and also Schubert, are likely to have viewed their time with similar eyes. On an overarching level 'Rückweg' thus potentially also comments on the political backwards step, which went hand in hand with the restriction of freedom.

In the literary interpretation of 'Rückweg', its political content has been marked as obvious. With the mention of 'free amongst free men,' the main reason for the speaker's apprehension to the imperial city is laid bare, as the link to the oppressions of censorship, including the repression of freedom of opinion, is easily made. Schubert's musical interpretation assists once more the political understanding of the poem, even though it is more subtle than in most of his through-composed settings of a political subtext. It can be speculated that Schubert decided for a subtle interpretation within the confines of a simple appearing strophic setting in order to balance out the directness of the text. After all, Mayrhofer's text shows little disguise in parts. The song was not published during Schubert's lifetime, most likely because

<sup>37</sup> Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts*, 130-131

the evident critique on the imperial city and the overtones of the curtailed freedom were far too obvious to pass the censorship restrictions. It is surprising that Mayrhofer's 'Rückweg' can be found in the earlier edition of his poems. Maybe the poem did not stand out enough amidst its surrounding poems due to its unsuspecting title. A song published on its own or in a smaller *Liederheft*, however, does not have the cover of many other works around it, and Schubert could have got into trouble by submitting it to the censorship office.

The presented strophic settings demonstrate that, apart from the more usual interpretational means, musical means of alienation – the unfitting drinking song character and the sad waltz accompaniment – can be used to call attention to the critical potential of a text and thus its political level of meaning. 'Zum Punsche' and 'Rückweg' bring forward differently voiced political messages, yet both allude to the restrictions of freedom in the Biedermeier era. Each of the settings also sees freedom removed and far away from the present reality. In 'Zum Punsche' the speaker finds himself in a state of happiness when carried away from the earth, in 'Rückweg' it is the 'blue distance' that stands for the lost and dearly missed freedom and the elusive place of love and faithfulness offers refuge. Schubert's musical means, subtle as they are in pointing to the political subtext, are nevertheless effective. Especially the aforementioned alienations lead away from a superficial and naïve understanding and point towards the serious core of both works. Yet again this disclosure can only be achieved from an attentive, critical and scrutinizing perspective. As both settings were composed as early as 1816, it can be speculated that they, to some extent, pave the way for more detailed political interpretations, which can also be found in the discussed *Liederhefte*.

## 5.2. 'Einsamkeit' – In Search of Freedom and Fulfillment

Schubert set Mayrhofer's 'Einsamkeit' (D 620) in the summer 1818 during his stay at the summer residency of count Johann Karl Esterházy (1777-1836) in Zseliz (then in Hungary), where he stayed from July until November. Recommended by a friend of the noble family, the Viennese lawyer Johann Karl Unger (1771-1836), he acted as the music teacher for the two daughters of the house. The appointment was a lucrative job that left him with plenty of time to compose, as proved by the twenty-two works he wrote during his first Zseliz stay.<sup>38</sup> It also helped him to escape from the hated school assistant duties at his father's school, which he still half-heartedly pursued at the time, as well as providing him with a great deal of independence and financial security.<sup>39</sup> The autograph of 'Einsamkeit' is actually dated later, 1822, yet the earlier composition date can be deduced from a letter Schubert wrote to his friends on 3 August 1818. Here Schubert mentions that he has just finished the composition of 'Einsamkeit'. He furthermore describes this piece as the best one he has composed so far, as he was 'without worries' during the time of composition. Deutsch attributes this last remark to Schubert's escape from his school duties,<sup>40</sup> a likely assumption as Schubert indeed enjoyed a time free of duties and financial worries. His letters to friends and family show that he felt very much at ease in Zseliz.<sup>41</sup>

'... Mayrhofer's 'Einsamkeit' ist fertig, und wie ich glaube, so ist's mein Bestes, was ich gemacht habe, denn ich war ja *ohne Sorge*.'<sup>42</sup>

As becomes clear in this quote, Schubert attributed a great deal of importance to this piece and it is thus surprising that it was not published during his lifetime, but only in 1840.<sup>43</sup> Walther Dürr too finds it surprising that Schubert did not arrange for 'Einsamkeit' to be published. Schubert's original version from 1818 is lost. The fact that the composer drew up a fair copy almost four years after the original composition

<sup>38</sup> Zuzana Vitálová, 'Schubert in Zseliz' in: *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 8 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992, 93-95, 97

<sup>39</sup> Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert*, 140-141. Vitálová, 'Schubert in Zseliz', 96

<sup>40</sup> Internationale Schubert-Gesellschaft, ed., *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series 8, supplement, vol. 5, Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964), 63. Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert*, 140-141

<sup>41</sup> Vitálová, 'Schubert in Zseliz', 96

<sup>42</sup> '... Mayrhofer's 'Einsamkeit' is finished, and I believe that it is the best I have made so far, because I was *without worries*.' Internationale Schubert-Gesellschaft, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe*, Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, 63

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

date, regardless whether it involves a transcript, a revision, or even a new version, would show that Schubert held 'Einsamkeit' in high esteem.<sup>44</sup> Today, this long piece is not well known and is seldom discussed by scholars, although its novel musical form has received some attention.<sup>45</sup> In the accompanying song notes to *Einsamkeit*, Graham Johnson remarks that during the period of 1818 to 1820 Schubert 'enlarged the boundaries of the lied by choosing to set contemporary texts for songs which were designed neither for narrative excitement nor melodic beauty – in short, not for mere musical entertainment.'<sup>46</sup> He also points out that after 1818 Schubert turned to writers nearer to home and remarks that his absorption in philosophical and metaphysical poetry at this time no doubt reflected the interests of Mayrhofer and the 'Bildungscircle' (Johnson seems to refer to the more intellectually oriented circle of Schubert friends from Linz here), where philosophy, the latest literature and politics were discussed.<sup>47</sup>

From a purely musical perspective, 'Einsamkeit' is certainly a piece which explores the boundaries of the lied. Its novel outer form can be seen as a first attempt in the direction of the song cycle. The fact that it does show very few of the characteristics that are often associated with Schubert songs nowadays, such as the flow of a light-hearted or dreamy melody, might be one reason for its low degree of familiarity. At the same time, it substantiates Graham's observation that Schubert was not writing for musical entertainment during this time. Also the poetic text by Mayrhofer, which signifies the opposite of light-hearted and easy-going song lyrics, is difficult to digest. Not only its length but also its rather heavy content, which is written in Mayrhofer's murky poetic style, complicate its absorption and understanding. Mayrhofer's lyrics immediately suggest a text that is not destined for entertainment, but holds a more serious message. As Graham Johnson has noted, Schubert was very much under the influence of the ideas and ideals of the 'Bildungscircle' close to the time of composition, and Mayrhofer in particular. This increases the likelihood that 'Einsamkeit' holds a deeper and possibly political undertone. Schubert's judgement of his work as the best he has produced so far could

<sup>44</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft, ed., and Walther Dürr, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series 4, songs, vol. 12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), XVII

<sup>45</sup> Wilhelm Seidel, "Die Erde ist gewaltig schön, doch sicher ist sie nicht: Über Joseph [recte: Johann] Mayrhofer's Lebensbilder" in *Schuberts Lieder nach seinem literarischen Freundeskreis*, ed. Walther Dürr (Frankfurt am Main, Vienna: Lang, 1999)

<sup>46</sup> Franz Schubert, *Complete Songs* 29, Notes (London: Hyperion, 1997), 42

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 4

certainly be made on the grounds of the purely musical achievement for this novel piece. However, the interpretation of Mayrhofer's poetic text might have been just as important to him as his musical innovation. After all, it is remarkable that Schubert set such a long and seemingly abstruse poem by his friend. A closer look at the poem and its musical interpretation will reveal that its content holds a critical stance commenting on current political events, which were of special interest to Schubert at the time of composition.

Einsamkeit <sup>48</sup>	Solitude	Tempo
<p>'Gib mir die Fülle der Einsamkeit!'  Im Thal von Blüthen überschneyt,  Da ragt ein Dom, und nebenbey  Im hohen Style die Abtei:  Wie ihr Begründer, fromm und still,  Der Müden Hafen und Asyl.  Hier kühlt mit heiliger Betaung,  Der nie versiegenden – Beschauung.</p>	<p>'Give me the fulfilment of solitude!  In the valley covered by blossoms  There a cathedral soars, and next to it  The abbey in noble style:  Like their founder, devout and quiet,  A haven and refuge for the weary.  Here the never ending contemplation  Cools with a holy dew.</p>	<p>Langsam (slow)</p>
<p>Doch den frischen Jüngling quälen  Selbst in Gott geweihten Zellen  Bilder, feuriger verjüngt;  Und ein wilder Strom entspringt  Seiner Brust, die er umdämmt:  Und in einem Augenblick,  Ist der Ruhe zartes Glück  Von den Wellen weggeschwemmt.</p>	<p>But the fresh young man is tortured,  Even in the cells dedicated to God,  by images, fiery rejuvenated;  And a wild stream emanates  From his breast, which he represses:  And in one moment  The gentle happiness of the quietude  Is swept away by the waves.</p>	<p>Geschwind (fast)</p>
<p>'Gib mir die Fülle der Tätigkeit!'  Sieh,<sup>49</sup> Menschen wimmeln weit und breit,  Gewühl der Wagen braust und stäubt,<sup>50</sup>  Der Käufer<sup>51</sup> sich um Läden treibt.  Es locket Gold und heller Stein,  Den Unentschiedenen hinein. –<sup>52</sup>  Entschädigung für Landesgrüne  Verheißen Maskenball und Bühne.</p>	<p>'Give me the fulfilment of activity!'  Look, people swarm far and wide,  The bustle of the coaches rushes and raises dust,  The customer hangs about around shops.  Gold and bright stones,  Entice the undecided ones inside. –  A substitute for the Greens of the Country  Offer masked balls and the stage.</p>	<p>Geschwind (fast)</p>
<p>Doch in prangenden Palästen,  Bey der Freude lauten Festen  Wird er ernst und trüb und stumm.  Sehnt sich nach dem Heiligthum:  Seiner Jugend Unschuldust; –  Wünscht zurück sein Hirtenland,  Mit der Quelle Silberband,  Ach das er hinweg gemußt!<sup>53</sup></p>	<p>But in the boasting palaces,  During the joy of the loud feasts  He becomes earnest and gloomy and silent.  Yearns for the sanctuary:  The innocent delight of his youth; –  Wishes back his shepherd land,  With the silver band of the spring,  Alas, that he had to depart.</p>	<p>Langsam (slow)</p>

<sup>48</sup> Mayrhofer ed. Rabenlechner, *Gedichte*, 35-39

<sup>49</sup> Schubert left out this word.

<sup>50</sup> Schubert: Wagen kreuzen sich und stäuben (Coaches cross each other and raise dust).

<sup>51</sup> Schubert uses the plural, 'die Käufer' (the customers), here.

<sup>52</sup> Schubert changes this phrase to 'Rotes Gold und heller Stein lockt die Zögernden hinein' (Red Gold and bright stone entices the hesitant one inside).

<p>'Gib mir das Glück der Geselligkeit!' Genossen freundlich angeriebt Der Tafel, stimmen Chorus an, Und ebenen die Felsenbahn. So gehts zum schönen Hügelkranz, Und abwärts zu des Stromes Tanz: Und immer weiter<sup>54</sup> verfestigt sich Neigung, Mit treuer kräftiger Verzweigung.</p> <p>Doch wenn die Genossen schieden, Ist's gethan um seinen Frieden. Ihn ergreift<sup>55</sup> der Sehnsucht Schmerz, Und er schauet himmelwärts: Das Gestirn der Liebe strahlt. Liebe – ruft die laue Luft, Liebe – athmet Blumenduft, Und sein Innres Liebe halt.</p> <p>'Gib mir die Fülle der Seligkeit!' Nun wandelt er in Trunkenheit, An ihrer Hand, in Lustgesprächen,<sup>56</sup> Im Buchengang, an weißen Bächen Und muß er auch durch Wüstenei'n: Ihm leuchtet süßer Augen Schein: Und in der feindlichsten Verwirrung Vertrauet er der holden Führung.<sup>57</sup></p> <p>Doch bis Särge großer Ahnen, Siegeskronen, Sturmesfahnen – Lassen ihn nicht fürder ruh'n: Und er will ein Gleiches thun, Will, wie sie, unsterblich seyn.<sup>58</sup> Sieh', er steigt aufs hohe Pferd, Schwingt und prüft das blanke Schwert – Reitet in die Schlacht hinein.</p> <p>'Gib mit die Fülle der Dürsterkeit!' Da liegen sie im Blute hingestreut, Die Lippe starr, das Aug' gebrochen – Das erst dem Schrecken Trotz gesprochen. Kein Vater kehrt den Seinen mehr, Und himmelwärts rückt ein anderes Heer. Das Liebste hat der Krieg genommen! Den Frieden grüßt ein bang Willkommen.<sup>59</sup></p>	<p>'Give me the happiness of companionability!' Companions, cheerfully seated at the table, Strike up a chorus And smooth the rocky way. Like this it goes to the fair corona of the hills, And downwards to the dance of the stream: And on and on our vein strengthens With faithful and strong ramification.</p> <p>Yet when the companions parted His peace leaves him. The pain of yearning takes hold of him, And he gazes heavenwards: The star of love shines. Love – the balmy air calls, Love – is breathed by the smell of flowers, And his innermost being resounds love.</p> <p>'Give me the fulfilment of blissfulness!' Now he strolls in blissfulness, At her hand, in pleasurable conversation, Along the beech path, next to white brooks And must he also go through desserts: Sweet eyes are shining for him: And in the most hostile bewilderment He trusts the fair guidance.</p> <p>But the coffins of the great ancestors, Crowns of victory, flags of storm – Do not let him rest further: And he wants to do as they did, Like them he wants to be immortal. Look, he mounts the high horse, Wilds and tests the shining sword – Rides into battle.</p> <p>'Give me the fulfilment of gloom!' There they lie scattered in blood. The lip rigid, the eye broken – Which first defied the horrors. No father returns to his family, And a different army moves heavenwards. The war has taken the most beloved! Peace is greeted by an anxious welcome.</p>	<p>Ziemlich Geschwind (Quite fast)</p> <p>Langsam (slow) → recitative part</p> <p>Langsam (slow)</p> <p>Feurig (fiery)</p> <p>Sehr langsam (very slow)</p>
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<sup>53</sup> Schubert changes the whole verse quite a bit: 'Doch in prangenden Palästen, / Bei der Freude lauten Festen, / sprießt empor der Schwermut Blume, / senkt ihr Haupt zum Heiligtume / seiner Jugend Unschuldslust, / zu dem blauen Hirtenland / und der lichten Quelle Rand. Ach das er hinweg gemußt' (But in the boasting palaces, with the joy of the loud feasts / the melancholy of the flower burgeons, / lowers down its head to the sanctuary, / the innocent delight of his youth, / to the blue shepherd land / and the edge of the light spring, / alas, that he had to depart).

<sup>54</sup> Schubert: 'Und immer mehr' (And more and more).

<sup>55</sup> Schubert 'bewegt' (he is *moved* by the pain of yearning).

<sup>56</sup> Schubert: 'in schweigenden Gesprächen' (in silent conversations).

<sup>57</sup> Schubert: 'Vertrauet er der Holden Führung, (he trusts the guidance of the fair one).

<sup>58</sup> Schubert: 'Und er muß ein Gleiches tun, / und wie sie unsterblich sein.' (And he must do as they did, / And like them be immortal.).

<p>Dünkt ihm Vaterlandeswächter Ein ergrimmtter Menschenschlächter, Der der Freyheit hohes Gut Düngt mit seiner Brüder Blut.<sup>60</sup> Und er flucht dem tollen Ruhm', Tausched<sup>61</sup> lärmendes Gewühl Mit dem Forste, grün und kühl, Mit dem Siedlerleben um.</p>	<p>The guard of the fatherland seems to him An angry slaughterer of men, Who mocks the high good of freedom With the blood of his brothers. And he curses the giddy fame, Swaps the noisy bustle with the forest, green and cool, with the life of a settler.</p>	<p>Geschwind (fast)</p>
<p>'Gib mir die Weihe der Einsamkeit!' Durch dichte Tannendunkelheit Dringt Sonnenblick nur halb und halb, Und färbet Nadelschichten falb. Der Guckuck ruft aus Zweiggeflecht, An grauer Rinde pickt der Specht: Und donnernd über Klippenhemmung Ergeht des Gießbachs<sup>62</sup> kühne Strömung.</p>	<p>'Give me the blessing of solitude!' Through the dense darkness of the firs The glimpse of the sun only pervades partly, And colours the layers of the needles fallow. The cuckoo calls from the netting of the branches, And the woodpecker pecks on the grey bark: And thundering over the barrier of the cliffs Flows the bold stream of the Gießbach.</p>	<p>Langsam (slow)</p>
<p>Was er wünschte, was er liebte, Ihn entzückte, ihn betrückte – Schwebt gelinder Schwärmerei<sup>63</sup> Wie im Abendroth vorbe. Jünglings Sehnsucht – Einsamkeit – Wird dem Greisen nun zu Theil; Und sein Leben<sup>64</sup> rau und steil, Führte doch zur Seligkeit.</p>	<p>What he wished, what he loved, Whatever delighted, afflicted him – Hovers in gentle enthusiasm Past as in red sunset. The yearning of the youth – solitude – Is now granted to the old man; And his life harsh and steep Nevertheless led to blissfulness.</p>	

Mayrhofer's lengthy poem consists of six verses that are each followed by a counter verse, a structure taken from a model of the antique ode.<sup>65</sup> The poem as a whole is gloomy, suggestive and hard to grasp; it portrays the long and desperate journey of its protagonist, a youth, for fulfilment. In essence, it consists of a number of different images, which, at first sight, do not seem connected at all. However, 'Einsamkeit' is marked by the strong coherence of verse and counter verse. The constantly repeated opening formula of each verse also achieves a uniting frame. With

<sup>59</sup> Schubert changes this verse slightly from line 3 onwards: 'Die Lippe starr, das Auge wild gebrochen, / die erst dem Schrecken Trotz gesprochen, / Kein Vater kehrt den seinen mehr, / Und heimwärts kehrt ein ander Heer, / und denen Krieg das Teuerste genommen, / begrüßen nun mit schmerzlichem Willkommen.' (The lip rigid, the eye broken wildly, / Which first defied the horrors. / No father returns to his family / And another army moves homewards, / And those of whom war has taken the dearest, / now greet with a painful Welcome.).

<sup>60</sup> Schubert: 'So dünkt ihn des Vaterlandes Wächter / Ein ergrimmtter Bruderschlächter / der der Freiheit edel Gut / düngt mit rotem Menschenblut; (The guard of the fatherland seems to him an angry murderer of his brothers, who mucks the noble good of freedom / with the red blood of humans;).

<sup>61</sup> Schubert: 'Und tauschet ...' (And swaps...).

<sup>62</sup> The 'Gießbach' is a mountain stream with an impressive waterfall. It is situated at the East end of the Brienzersee, a mountain lake on the border Alps, in the Bernese Oberland of Switzerland.

<sup>63</sup> Schubert: 'Was er wünschte, was er liebte, / ihn erfreute, ihn betrückte / schwebt mit sanfter Schwärmerei' (What he wished, what he loved, / whatever delighted, afflicted him / floats with gentle enthusiasm).

<sup>64</sup> Schubert: 'ein Leben' (a life).

<sup>65</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft and Dürr, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe*, vol.12, XVIII

its demanding words 'Gib mir' (Give me), after which a wish by the speaker is uttered, it almost appears to offer a toast. The different wishes that follow indicate the youth's constant search for fulfilment, which, as indicated by each counter verse, society around him withholds. While the verse with the description of its respective wish thus usually presents a positive picture, its positive build up is (with the exception of the last verse set) strongly negated in the following counter verse. This destruction of a positive outlook indicates the lost and desperate state of the youth, his inability to fulfil his desires. The circumstance that it is society around him that withholds everything he is longing for, brings the possibility within reach that Mayrhofer alludes to the actual world of repression, censorship and control in this poem. The novel musical approach Schubert applies for this piece is the creation of a musical structure that is almost reminiscent of a loosely connected song cycle.

The characteristic opening statement of each verse, which shows musical similarities in style, is prominently set apart at the beginning. As in the poetics, the directly following counter verse usually breaks in with a contrasting musical interpretation, generally one which negates the positive atmosphere that has been set up beforehand. Schubert thus creates a contrasting verse set, which is connected through the defining structure of its opening statement. Noteworthy is furthermore that Schubert responds to the atmosphere of each verse in a very detailed manner, which is visibly indicated by the different tempo designations that mark each verse and counter verse (an exception is the last set of verse and counter verse). Throughout the piece his vast usage of different harmonic colourings and keys, as well as the many different styles in the voice and accompaniment are hard to overlook. The composer therefore employs an array of diverse and expressive pictures within the verse and counter verse structure.

Although a detailed reflection of each verse and its counter verse, linked with Schubert's musical interpretation, would aid the comprehension of Mayrhofer's large scale work, this approach is, due to its dimension, unsuitable within the scope of this thesis. Although the poem as a whole is full of political insinuations with a reference to the Biedermeier era, it has to suffice in the following interpretation to focus on the most decisive points. In combination with Schubert's musical interpretation they will give a good impression of the critical essence of this work. The political tone of 'Einsamkeit' is not necessarily obvious at the beginning of the piece. Yet already the first set of verses can be read from a time-critical perspective, which is to develop



more and more with the progression of the piece. The political interpretation of the beginning only reaches credibility in hindsight, when it becomes clear that its political significance, which is firmly established by the end of the song, develops. At this stage, however, the political take has to be regarded as a well-grounded speculation.

On the surface, the first set of verses merely indicates that the youth looks for a deeper fulfilment than the one that this particular church, or maybe even the Church in general, has to offer. Looking for the fulfilment of solitude, the young protagonist of Mayrhofer's poem is drawn towards an abbey with its adjoining cathedral, which are blissfully described in the verse. However, in the following counter verse it becomes obvious that the soothing atmosphere of this place cannot be embraced by the youth. A wild stream emanates from his breast, clarifying that he cannot find the solitude he is looking for within the holy buildings. Mayrhofer's poetics here do not necessarily appear to be directed against the Church and could also have something to do with poet's personal situation. After all, he had once trained for priesthood, but then decided to follow a different career path.<sup>66</sup>

Nevertheless, it is a brave undertaking of Mayrhofer to point out the shortcomings of the Church for the youth at a time where this institution was assigned an extremely high degree of influence and respect. It can be suspected that the aversion that overcomes the youth in the 'holy cells' might not only be due to his search for a deeper and more fulfilling ideal, but is similarly likely to have a different source. Especially during the Biedermeier period the Catholic Church as an institution worked closely together with the government in Austria in order to undermine and prevent what they regarded as revolutionary thought.<sup>67</sup> This of course meant that the Church strove to suppress liberal ideas in general. Although Mayrhofer does not attack the Church directly, an aversion against this institution might well resonate here for this very reason and be a first indication for the contemporary stance of the poem.

Schubert's musical interpretation of this verse set corroborates the possibility of a political subtext. For the verse he takes up a chorale-like character, which, fitting to the ecclesiastical content, mediates a quiet and devout mood. However, he leaves the boundaries of an ordinary chorale with his treatment of harmony. The far-reaching

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<sup>66</sup> Michael Lorenz, 'Dokumente zur Biographie Johann Mayrhofer's' in *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 25 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2000), 23-25

<sup>67</sup> Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 235-236

modulations he employs (particularly at the end of the verse), not only serve to accentuate the holy and sublime atmosphere of the place. They similarly hint at a level that goes beyond a simple sacral surface. That this level might be an underlying political one is indicated by Schubert in the following counter verse. Here the composer focuses on the interpretation of the wild stream that emanates from the youth's breast and hinders him to find solitude in the sacred buildings. Schubert's roaring depiction of the wild stream stresses the aversion he develops toward the 'holy cells' musically. This is of further importance in this context, as the symbol of the stream can hold a revolutionary meaning. Schubert's stirring interpretation here inevitably reminds the listener of the revolutionary stream in 'Am Strome', where the symbol of the stream has been discussed in more detail.

69  
jüngst; und ein wil - - der Strom ent -

73  
springt, und ein wil - - der Strom ent -

77  
springt aus der Brust, die er um - dämmt.

Figure 27: 'Einsamkeit', D 620; bars 69-80.

The widening of the two hands in the piano that closes off the interpretation of this passage in bar 80 aptly emphasises the inner conflict of the youth in the counter verse; especially as it prominently ends on a diminished seventh chord. The repressive and controlling force of the Church could be the reason for the aversion of the youth that

is built up musically. Due to the highlighting of the potentially revolutionary metaphor of the stream, the happenings of the first verse set can be interpreted as a first sign of rebellion against the repression of the Biedermeier era.

The suspicion that Mayrhofer's poem is based on contemporaneous criticism is substantiated in the second verse, where the young protagonist asks for the fulfilment of activity. After the hustle and bustle of city life is described, the circumstance that masked balls and the stage are offered as a substitute for 'Landesgrüne' (literally the 'Greens of the Country') attracts attention. The naturalistic meaning of this phrase is obvious. However, in the contemporaneous context it is possible that the reference to the 'Greens of the Country' implies an ambiguity in this context, all the more so as it occurs as a connected noun (hence the capital letter for the word 'Greens' in the translation). The word 'Greens' has the potential to hint at 'hunters' in the sense of freedom fighters, referring to the soldiers who fought for the freedom of the Fatherland during the Liberation Wars. As already mentioned, hunting imagery was in common use during and also after the time of the Liberation Wars to express the striving for a freer fatherland that would include the voice of the people. In its wider usage as a metaphor for freedom it was for example used to proclaim scorn for the enemy, who was seen as fair game. The colour green in general was regarded as the colour of national unity and freedom. There was even a light infantry called 'Die Grünen' (the Greens).<sup>68</sup> The last verse of the poem 'Sieg der Freiheit' (Victory of Freedom) by the liberal Austrian poet Anastasius Grün, which has been discussed previously, also makes use of the suggested metaphorical meaning for this colour. Here the green of the liberating season of spring is metaphorically brought up in connection with freedom.<sup>69</sup>

Especially when bearing in mind Mayrhofer's political orientation and his ambiguous and profound written style, it appears perfectly possible that the obvious naturalistic meaning of the expression 'Landesgrüne' can similarly refer to the former freedom fighters. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the suggestive noun occurs in the context of masked balls and the stage. In the assumed reference to real life, amusements such as masked balls and various stage performances were used by

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<sup>68</sup> Michael Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland: Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 316

<sup>69</sup> Otto Rommel, ed., *Der österreichische Vormärz 1816 – 1847*, series: Politische Dichtung, vol. 4, ed. Robert, F. Arnold, series: Deutsche Literatur: Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen, ed. Heinz Kindermann (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1931), 48

the government to superficially satisfy and tranquilize the population, as well as serving as a distraction from the repressive measures of the state.<sup>70</sup> The symbolism proceeding from the masked balls themselves also plays in the direction of this supposition, as they portray something that is not reality. Reality sets in when the masks are taken off. In the figurative sense this means that reality sets in when the true function of the offered distraction is understood. And exactly this realization, the inadequacy of the amusements, comes through musically at the very end of the verse and in the following counter verse.

It is Schubert's musical interpretation that suggests that the youth ultimately becomes aware of the superficial nature of the offered amusements. The light-hearted motif he employs in the piano from bar 130 onwards, and on which the following accompaniment is built, summarizes the cheerful and mesmerizing mood that proceeds from the amusements. Its spell eminently echoes in the long interlude at the end of the verse. At the very end of this interlude, however, the cheerful motif sinks into melancholy and dejection (bars 153-154): the low register, pianissimo dynamics and the minor harmony it turns to at the very end change its character significantly. Schubert thus brings out the disillusionment that overcomes the youth once he has looked through the deceptive dazzle of the distraction. It is solely his music that conveys the final strong feeling of disappointment and disillusionment at the very end of the interlude. Schubert's interpretation thus encourages a reference to the current time, which was likely to be obvious to critical liberal contemporaries. At least some of them were able to unmask the pleasures that were provided by the state as unfulfilling and deceptive distractions.

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<sup>70</sup> Rehm, 'Walzer und Winterreise', 194

130  **Geschwinder**  
satz für Lan-des - grü - ne bie - ten Mas - ken-ball und Bühne.

135

141

147

153

dimin.

Figure 28: 'Einsamkeit', D. 620; bars 130-155.

The musical interpretation of the following counter verse strengthens this hypothesis. Here the youth yearns for his sanctuary, the innocent delight of his youth that is represented by the blue shepherd land he had to leave.

**Langsam**

Doch in pran - gen-den Pa-  
läs-ten, bei der Freu - de lau - ten Fe-sten, sprießt em - por — der  
Schwer - mut Blu - me, senkt ihr Haupt zum Hei - lig - tu - me sei - ner  
Ju - gend Unschuld - lust, zu dem blau - en Hir - ten - land und der  
lich - ten Quel - le Rand, zu dem blau - en Hir - ten - land und der  
lich - ten Quel - le Rand. Ach, daß er hin - weg - gründe!  
Ach, daß er hin - genuß!

\*) Zu Takt 178-179, ossia, vgl. Quellen und Lesarten.

Figure 29: 'Einsamkeit', D 620; bars 156-179.

Schubert has slightly changed Mayrhofer's wording here and amongst other things added the word 'blue' to describe the land the youth had to leave. This addition underlines the strong yearning of the youth towards this land and also emphasizes the longing note of the counter verse in general, which Schubert brings out fully with his music. The new slow tempo and key, the change to the  $\frac{3}{4}$  metre and the turn to flat keys from bar 158 onwards are mainly responsible for the change in mood and emphasize the strong longing of the youth towards his lost shepherd land. The sudden brightening to D major when the text turns to the blue shepherd land strongly brings out the positive and ideal association with this place. As the longing counter verse directly follows the disillusionment at the end of the verse, it suggests that the longing of the young protagonist is deeper than the superficial satisfaction of masked balls and the stage that is offered to him in the verse. The faraway blue shepherd land may well symbolize a form of freedom transferable to the contemporary political context; especially as in Schubert's song oeuvre freedom is often portrayed through the metaphor of an ideal land or an ideal world. His two popular and well-known songs 'Der Wanderer' (The Wanderer, D 489; op. 4,1) by Georg Philip Schmidt of Lübeck and Schiller's 'Die Götter Griechenlands (The Gods of Greece, D 677) are prominent examples of this. The blue shepherd land with its symbolism of a lost freedom, musically interpreted by Schubert with a strong longing tone, may well indicate a general longing for freedom that has its roots in the socio-political context of the period.

The third set of verses too exhibits a reference to the current time with a critical edge. Here the youth looks for the happiness of companionability and the singing with his companions indeed lifts his spirit. Yet with the parting of the companions in the counter verse his peace leaves him and the pain of yearning takes hold of him once more. The companionability of his friends represents a personal space of refuge without which the world around him looks bleak, and it is this circumstance that once more indicates a parallel to the current events. It has been suggested that for Biedermeier contemporaries, circles of friends acted as a haven amidst the constraints of time, as a small ideal world. They represented a place of refuge, a form of social stronghold against the hostile surroundings of repression and control. The happiness of companionability that is responsible for the carefree mood of the youth might therefore also hint at the current time: in the Biedermeier period

circles of friends provided a place of refuge from the hostile circumstance of the outer world and were representative of an ideal world on a smaller scale.

180 Frisch Ziemlich geschwind  
 „Gib mir das Glück der Ge - sel - lig - keit.“  
 mf stacc.

185  
 Ge-nos-sen, freund-lich an - gereiht der Ta - fel, stimmen

191  
 Cho-rus an und e - benen die Fel - sen-bahn, und e - be-nen die Fel - sen-bahn.

Figure 30: 'Einsamkeit', D 620; bars 180-196.

Schubert strengthens this supposition by choosing a carefree waltz accompaniment to portray the carefree mood of this verse. The waltz accompaniment in the piano, above which a lively motif stands out in the right hand, immediately conveys the typical atmosphere of the dance. The rustic and self-assertive manner of the voice further adds to the character of this light-hearted and popular amusement. By choosing an accompaniment that pays tribute to the waltz obsession of his time, Schubert recalls a reference to the Biedermeier era. In addition, he brings out the important bond of friendship: for one thing he repeats the two lines of the poem which describe the strong bond of friendship, and for another thing he emphasizes important key words in this context, such as 'und immer mehr' (and more and more), 'treuer' (faithful) and 'kräftiger' (strong) with various musical means. He thus emphasizes that the youth is very found of the stronghold friendship provides. However, in the counter verse the bleak reality breaks in with the leaving of his friends. Schubert closes the verse with a cheerful interlude that pays tribute to the cheerful mood



amongst the friends. The sudden musical turn with the alienation of the cheerful waltz motif at the very end thus comes out all the stronger.

The alienation is carried further in a number of variations: occurring in lower register the waltz motif is now broken up and sounds to the harmony of a diminished seventh chord or in the minor.

Recit.

232

Doch, wenn die Ge-nos-sen schie-den, ist's ge-

235

tan um sei-nen Frieden!

240

Figure 31: 'Einsamkeit', D 620; bars 232-242.

The music therefore reflects the sad circumstance that the youth is again deprived of a refuge place. It furthermore expresses that the waltz does not provide lasting joy. The melancholic and sometimes illusionary element that can be found in this dance repeatedly breaks through. Its sad alienation with the leaving of the youth's companions strengthens the suggested reference to the current time. The amusement

industry in Vienna was part of Metternich's politics of corruption and also the popularity of the famous waltz was, at least partly, due to political reasons: dance music was promoted by the state, as it constituted a carefree and light-hearted enjoyment that distracted from political affairs.<sup>71</sup> The alienation of the waltz itself may thus imply a political meaning. The rest of the counter verse turns to the youth finding a new refuge in the star of love. His contentment about this circumstance is brought out musically by Schubert, who illustrates the importance of this dream-like anchor from above. It constitutes a place of refuge in an otherwise bleak reality. Therefore, the third set of verses too brings a reference to the Biedermeier era musically within reach. Poetically this interpretation is backed up by the fact that during the Biedermeier period stars were generally regarded as places of refuge. They portrayed an idealized place or the image of a faraway better world. The great number of Schubert songs depicting stars gives evidence of this phenomenon.

In the fourth verse, where the youth asks for the fulfilment of blissfulness, the joyful mood that has been reached at the end of the previous counter verse continues. His wish for blissfulness seems to be temporarily granted in this verse, as he strolls happily hand in hand with an unknown female. That women could represent a symbol for freedom has been pointed out in the discussion of the Hüttenbrenner song 'Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel'. Schubert mainly underlines the visionary quality of this verse, which appears to play solely in the imagination of the youth. In the counter verse the youth has to leave his imaginary place of refuge and it is here that another concrete reference to the Biedermeier era can be deduced. The youth suddenly has the strong urge to follow his ancestors' suit. Feeling obliged to emulate their heroic deeds, he ultimately rides into battle to achieve this goal, probably longing for the 'good old times' where the world was still in order. It seems as if the youth has been woken up from a dream world to achieve something significant. Schubert intensifies the urge of the youth in the counter verse by substituting Mayrhofer's 'want' for 'must': the youth must do as his ancestors did, which equates this line with a mission the youth has to fulfil. The reference to the deeds of the great ancestors hints at an idealistic goal, which evokes associations with the recent Wars of Liberation.

The strong martial character that Schubert brings out in this verse intensifies this impression. By stressing the heroic deeds of the ancestors musically – Schubert

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<sup>71</sup> Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert*, 345-347

sets this passage apart in the unusual key of G-flat major – this look into the past suggests a noble and heroic atmosphere of bygone times and further strengthens the connection to the Liberation Wars. Also the urge of the youth to follow his ancestors' example is intensified by Schubert. This is not only achieved through the substitution of Mayrhofer's 'wants' for 'must' that has been noted in the poetic text, but also through musical means. Schubert's musical interpretation with its forte and double forte dynamics is not only of a strong martial character, but also reflects heroism and determination. It is noteworthy that Schubert returns to flat keys when the youth rides into battle (bar 307 ff.), as this establishes a musical link to the glory of his ancestors, which has been remembered in the unusual G-flat major key.

295  
Sär-ge gro-ßer Ah-nen, Sieger-kronen, Stur-mes-fahnen las-sen ihn nicht für-der

300  
ruhn, und er muß ein Gleiches tun, und wie sie unsterblich sein, wie sie unsterblich

306  
sein. Sieh, er steigt auf's ho-he Pferd, schwingt und prüft das blan-ke Schwert,

Figure 32: 'Einsamkeit', D 620; bars 295-310.

A connection to the recent Wars of Liberation, where the noble ideals of the forefathers were held in high esteem, already shines through from Mayrhofer's poetic text. Schubert's musical interpretation draws the possible connection to the recent

Liberation Wars even nearer. The action taking attitude of the youth, the strong link to war and the heroic deeds of the past are intensified by the composer.

The likely connection to the Liberation Wars is of importance for the rest of the poem, where a connection to the Biedermeier era becomes clearer and more meaningful. With the fifth verse, where the youth has the very sinister wish for the fulfilment of gloom, the war theme is continued; this time, however, from its horrific side. Mayrhofer's poetics do not shy away from describing the horrors of war in detail. Of particular interest are the last two lines of the verse. Here Schubert slightly changes Mayrhofer's text. While essentially expressing the same content, Schubert applies a reference that is more directed to the afflicted people and draws attention to their direct loss: those of whom war has taken the dearest greet the returning soldiers with a painful welcome. Musically Schubert also brings out the pain that springs from the war strongly. The accompaniment is reminiscent of a broken funeral march for the most part<sup>72</sup> and the sad and monotone style of the voice reinforces this impression.

**Sehr langsam**

321 Recit.

„Gib mir die Fül - le der Düs-ter-heit.“\*)

326

Da lie - gen sie im Blu - te hin - ge - streut, die Lip - pe starr, das Au - ge wild ge -

Figure 33: 'Einsamkeit', D 620; bars 321-328.

This and the more personal note he lends to the poetic text are important for the understanding of the counter verse, where the gloomy outlook reaches an even higher level and where the reference to the current time comes out more clearly.

<sup>72</sup> Seidel, 'Die Erde ist gewaltig schön', 267

In the counter verse everything circles around the fact that the guardian of the fatherland dishonours the noble good of freedom and thus the blood of his brothers who have fought for it. This act of treason represents a striking parallel to the Liberation Wars. In hindsight, the previous verse in which Schubert endeavours to bring out the direct loss of the people can be seen as a build-up in this direction. It is thus not surprising that the composer's musical interpretation for the fifth counter verse focuses on bringing out the full rage of the youth about this deed in its first half.

340 **Geschwind**  
 So däucht ihn des Va-ter-landes Wächter ein ergrimmt-er Brü-der - schlächter,  
 345 der der Frei-heit e - de! Gut düngt mit ro-tem Men-schen - blut;  
 350 **Etwas langsam**  
 und er flucht dem to-t-ten Ruhm und tauscht lär - men-des Ge -  
 355 wühl mit dem For - ste grün und kühl, mit dem Sied - ler - le - ben um, tauscht  
 360 lär - men-des Ge - wühl mit dem For - ste grün und kühl, mit dem Sied-ler-le-ben

Figure 34: 'Einsamkeit', D 620; bars 340-364.

The music here presents a recitative that displays the anger of the speaker to a maximum. There is no doubt that it is directed at the guard of the fatherland, who

mocks the high ideal of freedom with the blood of his brothers. The piano part exhibits a motif, which leaves no room for other sentiments apart from rage. The frequent piano insertions that interrupt the declamation of the voice fuel the impression of the protagonist's anger even more; and also the voice, which brings out the text very clearly in angry declamation, attributes to the enraged mood of the youth. His personal involvement appears so strong at this point, that a personal experience may well lie at the heart of it.

The second half of the counter verse could not be more different in character. As a result of his rage and deep disappointment about the events in his home country, the youth decides to leave the loud hustle behind and turns to the green and cool forest to lead the life of a settler. Schubert creates the second half of the counter verse as a simple, light, melodic and airy counterweight to the furious and unpredictable recitative imitation of the first half. As the harmony practically moves from an unsettled array of different flat keys in the recitative part to B major, this contrast is brought out even more. By lifting the mood of this second counter verse half onto a completely different level, Schubert portrays the forest and the lifestyle of a settler as a contrasting opposite to the unjust happenings in the homeland. His music indicates that the youth can only find salvation in this lifestyle.

This type of seclusion also suggests that the youth is ultimately helpless and unable to change or revolt against the gross injustice he experiences. The harmonic four-bar tension that resolves on the word 'Siedlerleben' (life of a settler) in bar 358 (and bar 364 in the repetition) indicates that the only way for the youth to find peace is to seek refuge in solitary forest life. Schubert's emphasis on the curative power of this refuge place with his light and airy interpretation indeed conveys the impression that the solitude of the forest life provides a place of refuge for the youth. The musical interpretation therefore supports the time specific interpretation. Like the youth, the disappointed supporters for more freedom had to resign after the war, due to sudden hostility from the side of state officials, who turned against the ideal of freedom they had once promised the people. Retreat and the attainment or fight for freedom on a smaller level were now pursued by many contemporaries in their own way and present an association of the freedom and fulfilment the youth ultimately finds on a smaller scale.

The sixth and last set of verses depicts the youth's life in the forest. With its similar opening phrase, it forms a connection to the beginning of the poem and at the

same time closes the cycle. This time, however, the youth no longer asks for the fulfilment of solitude, as his initial wish has finally been granted to him at this point. The lonely life in the forest has given him what he had initially set out to find. The blissful description of the forest idyll appears trivial and purely naturalistic at first sight: the glimpse of the sun through the darkness of the firs, the call of the cuckoo, the pecking of the woodpecker and the bold stream of the 'Gießbach' are mentioned.

The counter verse concludes the long poem by clarifying that the youth has found all he ever wanted and loved in this idyll, and that the solitude he has been yearning for as a young man is now granted to the old man: his harsh and steep life has led to blissfulness in the end. This blissfulness might also relate to a heavenly and ideal life after death – as already mentioned, the ideal fatherland was projected by many of Schubert's friends as a heavenly life in another world. In addition, Schubert substitutes the personal pronoun 'sein' (his) for the all-embracing 'ein' (a) here, stating that 'a life harsh and steep can nevertheless lead to blissfulness'. With this small change the composer creates a general statement, which reaches out to the listener and can therefore exemplarily be read as an outreach of hope and courage that is also valid in the contemporary context. Overall, the solitude in the forest with its provision of an idyllic blissfulness strongly reflects fulfilment. That this fulfilment can be brought into connection with freedom is not only indicated by the forest being part of the well-known hunting imagery with its symbolic significance. The bold stream of the 'Gießbach' is another metaphor associated with freedom. It is the meaning of this stream which decodes the underlying importance of the forest idyll.

As has been put forward in the discussion of Mayrhofer's 'Am Strome', streams in general represented a very popular metaphor in revolutionary poetry. It is further peculiar that a specific stream, the 'Gießbach', is mentioned within the more general description of the forest. In fact, nothing in the whole poem, be it the cathedral, the city, the feast, or the battle, is mentioned by its specific name. Only the 'Gießbach' is specified, which draws attention to the meaning of this particular stream. Situated in Switzerland, it is a mountain stream with an impressive water fall. This circumstance increases the loose and wild, and thus also the free impression of the stream. It also does not seem coincidental that Mayrhofer picked a mountain stream, and thus also a forest in Switzerland for his poem. Mountain ranges tended to

be associated with an anti-absolutistic and ideal society<sup>73</sup> and Switzerland in particular was held high by many contemporaries as a land associated with freedom.<sup>74</sup>

Friedrich Schiller used the Swiss landscape as the location for his drama 'Wilhelm Tell' (1804), which is often seen as a literary reaction to the French Revolution, to express a political ideal that was directed to his own country. Up to 1870/1871, the drama was regarded as the fictional anticipation of the building of a German nation.<sup>75</sup> That the connotation of Switzerland with freedom was known to Schubert is proven by an entry in the notes of the 'Unsinnsgesellschaft' (of which Schubert was demonstrably a member in 1817 and 1818)<sup>76</sup> from 16 July 1818.<sup>77</sup> Here the Swiss landscape is used as a symbol of freedom. In a satirical way the inadequacies and insolence of state authority towards the majesty of natural justice are portrayed in a grotesque picture. Veiled in naturalistic metaphors, the limitation of public freedom is presented as an absurdity from the viewpoint of the natural order. In this context the Swiss mountain range is highlighted as the ideal landscape of freedom.<sup>78</sup> Due to the underlying yet prominent symbolic meaning in the last set of verses, the contentment that is reached here can therefore be associated with the fulfilment of freedom.

Again Schubert's musical interpretation underpins the impressions that have been gained from a likely symbolic uncovering of Mayrhofer's poetry. Schubert decides for the G major key to portray the forest idyll in a programmatic way. When the poetic text turns to the glimpses of the sun peaking through the darkness of the fir trees, Schubert briefly brightens the harmonic colouring with an A major seventh chord. The light and playful interpretations of the two birds are presented in the more naturalistic sounding key of B-flat major. Both, the calling motif of the cuckoo and the pecking motif of the woodpecker communicate deep ease and contentment. All in

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<sup>73</sup> Hans-Wolf Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik im Jakobismus und im Vormärz* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971), 87

<sup>74</sup> Gerhard Schulz, *Deutsche Literatur zwischen französischer Revolution und Restauration; Erster Teil: Das Zeitalter Der Französischen Revolution: 1789-1806*, series: Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, ed. Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald, vol. 7, no. 1, 2nd edn (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1983, 2000), 24

<sup>75</sup> Stefan Neuhaus, *Literatur und nationale Einheit in Deutschland* (Tübingen and Basel: A. Francke, 2002), 103

<sup>76</sup> Rita Steblin, *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft. Franz Schubert, Leopold Kupelwieser und ihr Freundeskreis* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 37

<sup>77</sup> For the complete text of this entry: *ibid.*, 329-330

<sup>78</sup> Kohlhaüfl, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 264



all, the atmosphere Schubert creates expresses the ease and inner freedom the youth has finally found.

380  
Guk - gukrust aus Zweig - ge - flecht, an grau - er Rin - de

383  
pickt der Specht; und

385  
don - nernd ü - ber Klip - penhem - mung er - geht des Gieß - bachs

388  
küh - ne Strö - mung.

391  
Was er wünsch - te, was er lieb - te, ihn er - freu - te,

simile

cresc.

simile

decresc.

pp

Figure 35: 'Einsamkeit', D 620; bars 280-393.

The underlying association of the forest life with freedom that has been read into the poetic text thus gains credibility with the musical interpretation of this verse. Schubert's roaring interpretation of the 'Gießbach' underpins the assumed revolutionary understanding of this stream. From the pastoral B-flat major ease of the

bird imitations, the composer modulates to G minor and employs a tremolo movement and a repetitive motif of strong chords to focus on the roaring power of the stream. By emphasizing the forceful, loose and almost menacing side of the 'Gießbach', Schubert upholds the perception of the 'Gießbach' as a revolutionary symbol of freedom.

After the depiction of the 'Gießbach', the music leads almost seamlessly into the counter verse (bar 391 onwards), where the docile accompaniment from the beginning of the verse returns. The harmonic change in mode from G minor to G major that takes place here does not interrupt the flow of the musical transition. Therefore, the impressions the listener has gained about the idyllic forest life are maintained and the final statement of the song, where Schubert substitutes Mayrhofer's 'sein' (his) for 'ein' (a) with regard to the harsh and steep life that ultimately turns to blissfulness, is connected to the forest idyll. The integration of this now general statement into the forest idyll encourages its link to the present time, in the context of which it would communicate courage and hope during repressive hardship. The contended and freely flowing music of the end, as well as Schubert's repetition of the last four words of the poem 'führte doch zur Seligkeit' (nevertheless led to blissfulness) bring across the message that all the hardship one has to endure pays off in the end. The contended 'harmonic arrival' in the G major key in the last verse set – the song started in B-flat major and passed a variety of different, not very closely related keys – communicates harmonically that the youth has arrived at the destination of his desires, which he could not find before.<sup>79</sup>

In summary, the music of the last set of verses conveys a feeling of freedom and liberation. It appears as if the youth has freed himself from his outer chains and finally found his inner freedom. The outer chains described in each verse set can similarly be understood as a phenomenon of the Biedermeier era, as can the search for freedom and fulfilment. The last set of verses with its meaningful yet veiled political metaphors represents in a way the key for the political understanding of 'Einsamkeit', as it reinforces the political understanding of the previous verses and hence the piece as a whole. The contentment the youth reaches in the forest, amidst the mountain idyll in Switzerland with the boldly flowing stream of the 'Gießbach', seems completely irrelevant at first sight. Yet once its possible political metaphors have been laid bare, it is hard to fully negate an underlying political significance of this verse set, and, in

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<sup>79</sup> Harald Krebs, 'Tonart und Text in Schuberts Liedern mit abweichenden Schlüssen' in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 47, no. 4 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 269

fact, the hidden political orientation of 'Einsamkeit' in its completeness. Schubert's musical interpretation underlines the importance of these metaphors and their reference to the Biedermeier era.

Another small detail evokes the reference of 'Einsamkeit' to the current time and thus an underlying critical stance of the piece. It is the usage of a youth as the protagonist of the poem. The German word 'Jüngling' had a patriotic meaning within the Schubert circle. The journal that was issued by members of the Schubert circle, *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge* has the word 'youth' in its title. As presented earlier, it was essentially a concept of patriotic education, which looked back at the Wars of Liberation as a great achievement.<sup>80</sup> The purpose of the journal was to educate young men through deeds and works (Taten und Werke) of the great men of history, which were to enhance their love for the fatherland.<sup>81</sup> The enthusiastic appeal at the end of the last volume testifies this: 'Deutsche Jünglinge, o liebt euer Vaterland!' (German youths, oh love your Fatherland!).

The journal aimed to achieve a selfless patriotic service from young men.<sup>82</sup> This patriotic appeal for the love of the fatherland bears deeper political implications, such as the longing for political participation and a more liberal configuration of the governmental rule. In addition, the meaning of the word 'Jüngling' has a liberal implication in general. This is probably most clearly indicated by a student fraternity (Burschenschaft) called 'Jünglingsbund' (Union of Young Men), a secret organization, which was known for its revolutionary tendencies.<sup>83</sup> As a member of the Schubert circle who was strongly involved in the journal, as well as a former student fraternity member, Mayrhofer was surely aware of the secondary meaning of the word 'Jüngling'. Considering the allusions on current events in the poem, Mayrhofer's choice of protagonist is probably no coincidence, but a conscious one he made in order to strengthen the subtext of the poem for those who were aware of it.

Mayrhofer's 'Einsamkeit' does not immediately articulate a reference to the current time, as the single verse sets of the poem only appear as loosely connected images at first sight, which, in the end, reach the goal that was craved for at the beginning. However, a relation to the current time can be drawn up for each set of

<sup>80</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 190-191

<sup>81</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, 'Zu Schuberts Literaturästhetik: Entwickelt anhand seiner zu Lebzeiten veröffentlichten Vokalwerke' in *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 14 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1995), 28

<sup>82</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 199, 153

<sup>83</sup> Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts*, 104

verses and the poem in its entirety, with the last set in particular underlining the poem's veiled political orientation. The political allusions, which are continuously interspersed throughout the poem, strengthen the likelihood of a veiled criticism and furthermore establish the single pictures of the poem as a unity.

With the progression of the poem, its criticism on current events becomes clearer. 'Einsamkeit' is yet another piece in which Mayrhofer voices what is regarded as unspeakable during a time of strict political censorship and repression. It is not surprising that Schubert did not publish his take on 'Einsamkeit', of which he thought so highly, during his lifetime; the critical potential of the poem comes across in his setting. Schubert was very much captured by the idealistic outlook of Mayrhofer and the Linz Circle at the time of composition, and probably strove to bring their ideals across in his music. 'Einsamkeit' is remarkable from a purely musical perspective, as its novel musical form indeed appears to herald the upcoming genre of the song cycle. At the same time, this lengthy piece appears to communicate a political statement, into which the listener is drawn by the poetic text and Schubert's musical interpretation.

### 5.3 An outlook to Schubert's Antique Settings by Mayrhofer

Mayrhofer's antique settings are certainly a special case.<sup>84</sup> They often seem to be charged with veiled political criticism. Their discussion, however, would prove out of scope for this thesis. A brief outlook, however, will give an impression of their relevance from a political viewpoint. Schubert composed a vast number of antique settings and settings with antique allusions by Mayrhofer and other poets alike. During the Biedermeier era, it was mainly through art and with reference to different surroundings, in this case the often used bygone times, in which criticism against suppression, or idealism promoting freedom, could flourish. Greek antiquity served for many scholars as a model of a republican society.<sup>85</sup> After 1815, a look into the past could disclose a future that was blocked by the restorative political system of the present.<sup>86</sup> The turn to Antiquity, the adoption of its principles, forms and images was

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<sup>84</sup> In the introduction of volume 11 of the new complete edition, Walther Dürr gives an overview on Schubert's antique settings. Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft and Dürr, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe*, vol. 11, XVII f.

<sup>85</sup> Jürgen Schröder, *Deutschland als Gedicht: Über berühmte und berüchtigte Gedichte aus fünf Jahrhunderten in fünfzehn Lektionen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2000), 141

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 187

used for the encouragement of a progressive political style, as well as a critique on the current system.<sup>87</sup> Critical statements could be expressed relatively openly with the voice of antique mythology. In addition, the Middle Ages and ancient times in general could be used as an inspiration or as guised criticism. In Vienna, people were familiar with the antique subject matter through opera, which frequently fell back on antique contents and themes.<sup>88</sup>

Most of Schubert's antique settings use texts by Mayrhofer<sup>89</sup> and were composed between 1816 and 1817.<sup>90</sup> His strong friendship with Mayrhofer in these years is an obvious motivation for the emergence of so many antique settings after the poet. Yet also the connection to the Linz Circle of his friends, who made ample use of the antique theme in their 1817 journal, *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, must have fuelled Schubert's interest in the subject matter. David Gramit states that the Schubert circle was preoccupied with classical antiquity.<sup>91</sup> The idealistic Linz Circle promoted its values of 'Freedom, Fatherland, Friendship' through role models from German and Greek antiquity.<sup>92</sup> The members of the Schubert circle were familiar with antique subject matters from their school time<sup>93</sup> and often referred to antiquity as a means that allowed them to voice criticism on the present times. Their journal *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge*, a collaboration of many Schubert friends from the Linz Circle, including Mayrhofer, gives further evidence of this practice.

Here, pictures of the past are often transferred to the present in a propagandistic way.<sup>94</sup> History is named as a great teacher, mediating 'manly and civic virtue' (männliche, bürgerliche Tugend).<sup>95</sup> Historical themes in the widest sense, such as translations from classic works, fictitious dialogues from the Middle Ages and Antiquity and broad historical presentations constituted a large proportion of the journal. Sometimes they present a historic masquerade, which offered the opportunity

<sup>87</sup> Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik*, 52

<sup>88</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 180

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 162

<sup>90</sup> Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft and Dürr, *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe*, vol. 11, XVI

<sup>91</sup> David Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle: Their Development and their Influence on his Music*, Ph.D., Musicology (Duke University, 1987), 106

<sup>92</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 22

<sup>93</sup> Hans Joachim Kreutzer, 'Schubert und die literarische Situation seiner Zeit' in *Franz Schubert und die Jahre der Krise 1818-1823*, ed. Werner Aderhold (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985), 32

<sup>94</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, 'Von den lachenden Fluren des Ideenreichs' oder: 'Die schlafenden Jünglinge' Schuberts oberösterreichische Dichter-Freunde' in *Schubert und seine Freunde*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda, Gerold W. Gruber, Walburga Litschauer, and Carmen Ottner (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 123

<sup>95</sup> *Beyträge zur Bildung für Jünglinge* quoted by Walther Dürr, 'Thatenfluten' und 'bessere Welten': Zu Schuberts Freundeskreisen' in *Schuberts Lieder nach seinem literarischen Freundeskreis*, ed. Walther Dürr (Frankfurt am Main, Vienna: Lang, 1999), 26-27

to voice critical topics in a disguised form.<sup>96</sup> Explosive questions of the time were indirectly addressed through Antiquity; a democratic constitution for example was discussed using the ideal example of Greek Antiquity. Historical references, especially those concerning Antiquity, were thus read in their relation to the present.<sup>97</sup> Criticism veiled as historical exposition was a familiar tool for Schubert and his friends.

Mayrhofer in particular veiled many of his poems' topical references beneath the guise of Antiquity.<sup>98</sup> Susan Youens suggests that 'Mayrhofer found in Antiquity an escape from the despised present and the 'Urquelle' (fountainhead) of his own ideals and obsessions'.<sup>99</sup> It is not surprising that Mayrhofer was attracted to antique subject matters, which indeed represented ideals that were contrary to the present time. The values of Greek Antiquity with its earliest form of democracy must have been intriguing for the liberal poet and his strong belief in freedom. The depiction of great deeds of ancient heroes was, furthermore, a way to proclaim activity and energy during an age in which political activity and the advocacy of liberal ideals had, on compulsion, come to a deadlock. Bygone times, and Antiquity in particular, offered a guise in which many ideas could be expressed relatively openly and which, due to the familiarity with the subject in educated circles, could serve as a medium of communication. The study of the past could reflect the dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs for Austrian scholars.<sup>100</sup> As a censor Mayrhofer seems to have valued the antique guise highly: he knew how to employ the antique theme in a relatively safe way. His sophisticated, often abstruse and murky poetical style was an ideal cover in connection with the reference to Antiquity.

In Mayrhofer's 'Iphegenia' (D 573), for example, which was set by Schubert in July 1817, the yearning for the homeland is uttered plainly by the protagonist. Schubert's distinct horn fifths at the very end of this piece indicate that this yearning could encompass more than just the yearning of an antique figure.<sup>101</sup> Mayrhofer's 'Abendlied der Fürstin' (The princess's evening song, D 495), which Schubert set in

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 27

<sup>97</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 200-201

<sup>98</sup> Marie-Agnes Dittrich, 'The Lieder of Schubert' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 97

<sup>99</sup> Susan Youens, *Schubert's Poets and the Making of Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 181

<sup>100</sup> Paula Suttner Fichtner, 'History, Religion, and Politics in the Austrian Vormärz' in *History and Theory*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Wesleyan: University Press, 1971), 34

<sup>101</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 164

November 1816, allows a heart to dream free of sorrow in a natural idyll, until the huntsman, to whom this heart belongs, is suddenly woken up by thunder and lightening. In the figurative sense reality seems to break in: gentle Hesperus, the evening star in Greek mythology, has left him and thus every pleasure turns to grief and distress. Again Schubert's musical interpretation arouses the suspicion that the songs might similarly reflect a longing that is directed to the present: thunder and lightening suddenly distort the natural idyll that has been set up beforehand, and the idyllic mood returns out of the blue towards the end of the song, when the huntsman longs for the return of Hesperus.

Another example of a Mayrhofer setting by the composer that might hold political criticism is 'Memnon' (D 541, composed in March 1817). It was published in 1821 as the first song of *Liederheft* op. 6, together with another antique setting by Mayrhofer, 'Antigone und Oedip' (Antigone and Oedipus, D 542, also composed in March 1817) and a song by the poet Matthias Claudius, 'Am Grabe Anselmos' (At Anselmo's grave, D 504, composed in November 1816). The song depicts the lamenting Memnon, whose grieving sounds like sweet melodies to men's ears, as he proclaims it through the medium of song. Yet serpents writhe deep in his heart and he is nourished by painful feelings. As the *Schubert Handbuch* states, this song portrays the 'Einkleidung in ein gefälliges Äußeres' (adoption of a pleasing appearance).<sup>102</sup>

Also Mayrhofer's use of the antique figure of Memnon could be of importance for the understanding of this poem. Ilija Dürhammer mentions that Memnon was the son of the goddess of dawn.<sup>103</sup> The symbol of dawn was used by the Jacobins and the Young German movement (Jungdeutsche) as a symbol for the beginning of a new era of freedom. The use of this antique figure itself can thus be associated with freedom. For Michael Kohlhäufel the anticipation of a heavenly salvation is voiced in this poem.<sup>104</sup> Indeed the last verse of the poem clarifies that Memnon strives away from the vain bustle surrounding him and toward the spheres of noble freedom and pure love. Collectively, all of these hints increase the likelihood of an inherent political level: the grieving about the current state and the yearning for freedom are implicit in this rich poem. Schubert may have decided not to set the sequel to this poem, 'Aurora', for the reason that a criticism of the current time would have been too

<sup>102</sup> Marie-Agnes Dittrich, 'Für Menschenohren sind es Harmonien': Die Lieder' in *Schubert Handbuch*, ed. Dürr, Walther, and Andreas Krause (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Weimar: Metzler, 1997), 168

<sup>103</sup> Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 73

<sup>104</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 163

obvious. Mayrhofer's 'Aurora', titled after the goddess of dawn, follows 'Memnon' in the 1824 collection of his poems, and, read with reference to the current time, increases the impression of the desperate state of the present. In his *Liederheft* op. 6, Schubert continues with another lamenting antique setting, 'Antigone and Oedip', where a better past is remembered and which thus refers to the shortcomings of the present time from yet a different perspective.

These three examples of Schubert's antique settings by Mayrhofer have indicated that Schubert's antique settings have the potential for a political substance. Whereas some songs with an antique theme hold an indirect but determined urge for action to change things, others portray fury about the circumstances, and many, typical for the Biedermeier era as such, reflect disappointment and resentment. Above all, the yearning for a better, faraway world shines through again and again. Although this dreamy and wishful thinking appears to be free of any political substance, it has to be understood as an indication of political dissatisfaction behind the background of its time.



## **6. Further Political Voices**

After a discussion of different Schubert settings after Mayrhofer, this chapter concentrates on a selection of Schubert settings by other poets. It aims to show that texts by poets other than Mayrhofer can convey a political message. Interestingly, even works of poets who did not intend to express politically motivated feelings can – through re-interpretation – call forth political associations. In such a case, the musical interpretation decidedly influences the way in which the work is perceived. Two songs will be discussed as illustrative examples: Schubert's interpretation of Goethe's 'Prometheus', in the context of which the setting of Schiller's 'Die Götter Griechenlands' will be briefly viewed, and Schober's 'Viola'. The setting of 'Prometheus' has been chosen to demonstrate that even a song with a poetic text that is not intended to be a political one by its author can be viewed from a political angle; especially if the musical interpretation responds to this. 'Prometheus' has also been chosen for the reason that this song picks up on the political relevance of the antique subject matter that has been discussed in the previous chapter. 'Die Götter Griechenlands' is connected to this setting through its composition date and content. As an antique setting with a different political voice, the discussion of both settings strengthens their political impact. A song setting by Franz von Schober, 'Viola', has been chosen for the final song discussion to present yet another type of a potential delusive cover. The close Schubert friend Franz von Schober is often regarded as an opposite pole to Johann Mayrhofer and his 'Viola' indicates that political criticism can also hide under the cover of a beautiful and melodious tone.

### **6.1 Goethe's Rebellious 'Prometheus' and Schiller's Longing for a Lost World**

'Prometheus' (D 674), composed in October 1819) is one of Schubert's antique settings by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The versatility of the antique subject matter has been discussed at the end of the previous chapter. On the basis of this versatility, it is not surprising that a political statement can be read into the present poetic text, despite the fact that Goethe himself was a poet who stayed away from any progressive or rebellious political attitudes. On the contrary, Goethe can be described as rather conservative in his political outlook. The political perception of his 'Prometheus' is only possible because of the variability of myth; mythology from the eighteenth century onwards was used as material

freely available for personal imagination.<sup>1</sup> Greek myth in general is known for the ease with which it can be transported to new and different texts and contexts, and the Promethean myth in particular is an extraordinarily flexible one.<sup>2</sup>

In essence, the well-known Prometheus myth narrates the story of how Prometheus forms men out of clay and provides them with different properties, such as intelligence and diligence. When the Gods became aware of the humans, they demanded offerings and worship from them. Prometheus, however, outwitted Zeus when he demanded his offering: he convinced him to choose one out of two covered piles. The great God naturally chose the bigger one, which only contained the bones of the slaughtered sacrificial animal, which left the smaller pile with all the meat for the humans. Infuriated by the deception Zeus denied men the precious good of fire, which Prometheus, in a bold venture, recaptured for the humans. In the second part of the myth Zeus punishes both, the humans and Prometheus, for Prometheus' renewed trickery. The humans he sent illnesses and sorrow to earth through a false present (Pandora's box); Prometheus was caught and tied up to a rock at the Caucasus, where an eagle tore apart his daily renewing liver every night until he was finally rescued by Hercules. Prometheus has often been regarded as the bringer of culture: his act of empowering men with fire has frequently been interpreted as an act of enlightenment. As with every myth, the Promethean one is subject to selective and partial retelling over the centuries.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, each of its many themes can be emphasized and transmit a different facet of the myth, which is therefore known in varying versions.

Goethe's 'Prometheus' poem was written between 1773 and 1774 in the context of his dramatic fragment 'Prometheus'. With some revisions, it was published in the poet's complete works of eight volumes between 1787 and 1790.<sup>4</sup> The poem focuses on one scene of the myth: Prometheus' rebellious challenging of Zeus. That the anti-revolutionary Goethe wanted to express a political message with his poem is unlikely. Hans-Wolf Jäger states that even in 1820 Goethe was afraid of a re-print of his pantheistic 'Prometheus', because he realized how young revolutionists could make use of its message.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, it cannot be dismissed that the poem is governed by the rebellious element of the myth, leaving its other aspects aside. Goethe's Prometheus poem is a role poem, which is written from the

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<sup>1</sup> Horst Thomé, 'Tätigkeit und Reflexion in Goethes 'Prometheus': Unrisse einer Interpretation' in *Gedichte und Interpretationen 2: Aufklärung und Sturm und Drang*, ed. Karl Richter (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 2006), 434

<sup>2</sup> Carol Dougherty, *Prometheus* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 3

<sup>3</sup> Dougherty, *Prometheus*, 10

<sup>4</sup> Thomé, 'Tätigkeit und Reflexion', 426-427

<sup>5</sup> Hans-Wolf Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik im Jakobismus und im Vormärz* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971), 92

perspective of its antique protagonist. Throughout the poem Prometheus addresses Zeus directly and without any respect, even confidently using the informal 'Du' (you) for his rebellious speech.

With a bold opening statement Prometheus announces his defiance, which develops into a personal battle with the father of the Gods. In the first verse Prometheus points to the possessions of his hearth and home, which he built by himself, without the help of the great God. In the second verse Prometheus' rebellious tone intensifies; it starts with an insult of the Gods: 'Ich kenne nichts Ärmers unter der Sonne als euch Götter' (I know nothing more wretched beneath the sun than you Gods) and in the fourth verse Prometheus ascribes his success and his achievement to find his way out of all evils to himself. He consequently opens the fifth verse with the defiant question to Zeus: 'Ich dich ehren? Wofür?' (Me honour you, what for?). In the last verse of the poem the well-known picture of Prometheus forming men after his own image is presented. Like Prometheus, they are not to respect Zeus. Prometheus' rebellious and challenging attitude towards Zeus is the hallmark of the poem. It is not difficult to imagine why this poem attracted and inspired liberal minds of the Biedermeier era, who admired Prometheus' rebellious attitude towards the ruling and almighty power from above.

Prometheus <sup>6</sup>	Prometheus
Bedecke deinen Himmel Zevs Mit Wolckendunst! Und übe Knabengleich Der Disteln köpft, An Eichen dich und Bergeshöhn! Musst mir meine Erde Doch lassen stehn	Cover your heaven, Zeus, With the haze of clouds! And practise, like a boy Who beheads thistles, On oak trees and mountain peaks! Yet you have to leave My world standing
Und meine Hütte Die du nicht gebaut, Und meinen Heerd Um dessen Glute Du mich beneidest.	And my hut Which you have not build And my hearth Of whose glow You envy me.
Ich kenn nichts ärmeres Unter der Sonne als euch Götter, Ihr nähret kümmerlich Von Opfersteuern und Gebetshauch Eure Majestät, und darbet wären Nicht Kinder und Bettler Hoffnungsvolle Tohren.	I know nothing more wretched Beneath the sun than you Gods! You nourish meagrely From offerings and adoration Your majesty, and would starve Children and beggars were not Hopeful fools.
Als ich ein Kind war Nicht wusste wo aus wo ein Kehrt mein verirrt Aug Zur Sonne als wenn drüber wär	When I was a child Not knowing a thing My strayed eye turned To the sun, as of if beyond it were

<sup>6</sup> Earliest version of the poem. Thomé, 'Tätigkeit und Reflexion', 425-426

Ein Ohr zu hören meine Klage Ein Herz wie meins Sich des bedrängten zu erbarmen.	An ear to listen to my lament A heart like mine That would pity the troubled one.
Wer half mir wider Der Titaten Übermuth Wer rettete vom Todte mich Von Sklaverey? Hast du's nicht alles selbst vollendet Heilig glühend Herz? Und glühtest iung und gut, Betrogen, Rettungsdanck Dem Schlafenden dadoben.	Who helped me against The high spirit of the Titans Who saved me from death From slavery? Did you not accomplish everything yourself Sacred ardent heart? And glow'd young and good, Deceived, thanks for the rescue To the sleeper up above.
Ich dich ehren? Wofür? Hast du die Schmerzen gelindert Je des Beladenen Hast du die Tränen gestillt Je des Geängstigten. Hat nicht zum Manne geschmiedet Die allmächtige Zeit Und das ewige Schicksaal Meiße Herrn wie deine.	Me honour you, what for? Have you ever eased the suffering Of the burdened one Have you ever dried the tears Of the worried one. Has not forged to a man The almighty time And the eternal fate My masters as yours.
Wähntest etwa Ich sollt das Leben hassen In Wüsten fliehn Weil nicht alle Knabenmorgen Blüenträume reiffen.	Did you perhaps imagine I should hate life Flee to deserts Because not all blossoming dreams Of the youth bore fruit?
Hier sitz ich forme Menschen Nach meinem Bilde Ein Geschlecht das mir gleich sey Zu leiden weinen Geniessen und zu freuen sich Und dein nicht zu achten Wie ich.	Here I sit, forming men After my own image A race that is to be similar to me To suffer, weep Enjoy and to rejoice And to not honour you Like me.

Schubert brings out the rebellious element of Goethe's poem to its full extent. His musical interpretation is full of unrest and energy. Schubert divides his song into seven different parts that interpret the poem in a detailed manner. This division corresponds almost exactly with Goethe's layout of the poem into seven uneven verses in the early version of this work. Already the very beginning of Schubert's song interpretation defines Prometheus' rebellious attitude musically.

## 29. Prometheus

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe  
D 674

Oktober 1819

<sup>\*)</sup>

5 Recit. Be - de - cke dei - nen Him - mel, Zevs<sup>\*\*)</sup>

8 mit Wol - ken - dunst, und ü - be, dem Kna - ben

12 gleich, der Di - steln köpft, mit<sup>\*\*\*)</sup> Ei - chen dich

<sup>\*)</sup> Tempobezeichnung in den zeitgenössischen Abschriften „Kräftig“, in der Erstausgabe „Allegro“; vgl. *Quellen und Lesarten*.

<sup>\*\*) Takt 7-8, Singstimme: So bei Schubert und Goethe für „Zeus“.</sup>

<sup>\*\*\*)</sup> Takt 14, Singstimme: Bei Goethe „an“ statt „mit“.

Figure 36: 'Prometheus', D 674; bars 1-15.

The forceful forte introduction of a motif of dotted octaves followed by rhythmically repeated chords and its sequence reflects the challenging attitude of the protagonist. The accompaniment into which the rousing introduction leads keeps up the angry and threatening character with a continuous tremolo movement and the sporadically occurring dotted octave motif from the beginning. The voice, notated in the bass clef, is of a furious character too. In a powerful recitative style it accuses Zeus in a confident and menacing tone. The second and

slightly slower part of the song (bars 29-41) Schubert furnishes with a sad tone. Here he brings out Prometheus' disappointment about the activity of the Gods, who unscrupulously exploit mankind. A change in key from B-flat major to F major (bar 42) announces the thoughtful third part, which portrays the effects the Gods' attitude had on Prometheus himself.

Hereafter, the defiant and provocative tone returns with the fourth part in bar 54.

Figure 37: 'Prometheus', D 674; bars 51-56.

After an awakening double forte chord the recitative style is taken up again. Prometheus challenges Zeus once more by questioning what the great God has done for him and coming to the conclusion that the Gods contributed nothing towards his achievements. Forceful chords in the accompaniment and the angry recitative style in the voice with its many tone repetitions characterize this part, which, however, adopts a thoughtful character when Prometheus realizes that his heart has been betrayed by the almighty God. Part five starts in bar 65. It is faster again and broadcasts Prometheus' anger over the fact that Zeus demands to be honoured by him, despite the fact that he has never done anything for him. The accusing 'Ich dich ehren, wofür?' (Me honour you, what for?) is provided with double forte dynamics and equals an outcry of defiance. During this part the recitative voice sounds both, angry and pain stricken. A repetitive accompaniment figure dominates this part and conveys an urgent and at the same time angry mood. At the end of this part the accompaniment changes to double forte chords of crochets, which run through many different harmonies but show little – mostly none or chromatic – movement between its single voices. This results in a very

forceful, but at the same time embittered tone, which underlines Prometheus' realization that time and fate created Zeus as well as him. Consequently, Prometheus questions the superiority of the great God.

**Geschwinder**

66 Ich dich eh-ren, wo - für? Hast du die Schmer-zen ge-

70 lin-dert je des Be-la-de-nen? Ich dich eh-ren, wo - für?

74 Hast du die Trä-nen ge-stü-let je des Ge-ang-ste-ten?

78 Hat nicht mich zum Man-ne ge-schmie-det die all-mäch-ti-ge Zeit und das e-wi-ge Schicksal, mei-ne

**Etwas langsamer**

82 Herrn und dei-ne? Wahn-test du et-wa, ich soll-te das Le-ben has-sen, in

85 Wü-sten flie-hen, weit nicht al-le Blu-ten-träu-me reit-ten?

Figure 38: 'Prometheus', D 674; bars 65-87.

In contrast, the short sixth part (bar 83 onwards) communicates a strong melancholy. The slower tempo, double piano dynamics, long chords proceeding in a descending line, and a

tentative bass of isolated quaver octaves convey this inward mood. Here Prometheus asks Zeus whether he wanted him to hate life and flee to the deserts for the reason that not all of his dreams have been fulfilled. However, it is the seventh and last part of the song, starting in bar 88, which forms the strongest contrast.

**Kräftig**  
88

Hier sitz ich, for-me

93

Men-schen nach mei-nem Bil-de, ein Ge-schlecht, das mir gleich sei, zu lei-den, zu

98

wei-nen, zu ge-nie-ßen und zu freu-en sich, und dein nicht zu ach-ten,

103

wie ich, dein nicht zu ach-ten, wie ich.

Figure 39: 'Prometheus', D 674; bars 88-109.

The C major key that has been prepared in the previous part now takes effect in a forceful manner. The repeatedly occurring motif of rising chords contrasts the previous melancholy, but also the furious attitude of the protagonist from the beginning. This motif permeates a



confident and satisfied mood and thus suggests that Prometheus has found his way. Prometheus defies Zeus even more by forming men after his own example; they share his human sentiments and, most importantly, after the example of their creator, they defy Zeus. Schubert's repetition of the final declaration 'dein nicht zu achten, wie ich' (to not honour you – like me) prominently underlines the rebellious element. The repetition of 'wie ich' (like me) gains extra importance by the final cadence in the voice and the following two forte chords that emphasize the defiant statement and close the song on a confident note.

Schubert's song version very much focuses on the rebellious attitude of the protagonist. At the same time, however, it brings out his human side: the strong feeling of being hurt, the worldly troubles and hardship Prometheus faces, and the final satisfaction he finds in the end, which, at the same time, embodies an effective way to defy the great God. Despite focusing on the rebellious element, the music equally succeeds to paint the human and vulnerable side of the protagonist. He thus comes across as an honest and likeable character that is easy to identify with. Schubert's musical interpretation of Prometheus reinforces the attractiveness of the poem to a liberal audience. The composer's musical interpretation facilitates a personal identification with the rebel, whose cause can be related to the circumstances of the current time. Like Prometheus, liberal contemporaries had to fight against a great power from above which did all it could to subdue them: the state. To rebel against this authority and find a way to defy it was an idle wish of many Biedermeier contemporaries. And many of them saw in Prometheus a shining example. The Promethean myth was a great inspiration for artists that had to endure the empty promises and the disappointments of the French Revolution.<sup>7</sup>

It is known for certain that the Promethean spirit was central within the Schubert circle: Schubert's friends used 'Prometheus' as a symbol for freedom and autonomy, which was also directed against the authorities. Furthermore, Schubert's friend Johann Senn was increasingly associated with the figure of Prometheus after his imprisonment for revolutionary activities.<sup>8</sup> Schubert's first commissioned work was a cantata with the title 'Prometheus' for the jurist Heinrich Josef Watteroth in 1817, who was also a professor of history at the University of Vienna and a member of the Masonic True Harmony Lodge.<sup>9</sup> Watteroth, in whose lodgings the Schubert friends Spaun and Mayrhofer lived temporarily at different periods of time, was known as a freethinker and progressive spirit. A student with the name of

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<sup>7</sup> Dougherty, *Prometheus*, 91

<sup>8</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 316-317, 112, 318

<sup>9</sup> R. William Weissberger, *Speculative Freemasonry and the Enlightenment: A Study of the Craft in London, Paris, Prague, and Vienna* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 138

Draexler had written the text of Schubert's cantata, with which he evidently alluded to the defiant attitude the respected teacher kept towards the intimidations of the Metternich regime.<sup>10</sup> It is thus evident that Schubert understood the myth as a rebellious message against tyranny and a fervent call for freedom. His composition of Goethe's 'Prometheus' in October 1819, one month after the notorious Carlsbad Decrees had been issued, underpins this view. These repressive laws considerably tightened up the already existing censorship regulations and infuriated many contemporaries. The now unbearable state control made it hard to defy its rules. The figure of Prometheus and its symbolic force of expression obviously had a great appeal for contemporaries after the proclamation of this repressive decree. Schubert's composition of 'Prometheus' at the time can be understood as a political statement. The fact that his song was published neither in 1819 nor during his lifetime, but in the year of the March Revolution of 1848, further speaks for the political resonance of this song.

### *Schiller's longing verse epic*

It is interesting to note that Schubert's song 'Die Götter Griechenlands' (D 677, The Gods of Greece), which interprets a verse of the similarly named poem by Schiller, also came into being in October 1819. This long poem by Schiller was fiercely criticised when it was published in its first version of 25 verses in 1788, as critics saw in it a cheerless portrayal of Christianity next to an idealised world of the Greek Gods.<sup>11</sup> The poem's revised second version from 1793 has 16 verses and is more concentrated in its content.<sup>12</sup> It first presents the visionary ideal of the ancient Greek world before lamenting its loss. Schubert chose the twelfth verse of Schiller's poem for his setting.

Schöne Welt, wo bist du? Kehre wieder,  
Holdes Blütenalter der Natur!  
Ach, nur in dem Feenland der Lieder  
Lebt noch deine fabelhafte Spur.  
Ausgestorben trauert das Gefilde,  
Keine Gottheit zeigt sich meinem Blick,  
Ach, von jenem lebenwarmen Bilde  
Blieb der Schatten nur zurück.

Fair world, where are you? Return again  
Sweet flowering age of nature!  
Oh, only in the fairy land of song  
There still lives your fabled charisma.  
Died out the landscape mourns,  
No God shows himself to me,  
Oh, of the warm and living image  
Only a shadow has remained.

<sup>10</sup> Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1962), 117

<sup>11</sup> Rainer Kleinertz, 'Die 'schöne Welt' im 'Feenland der Lieder': Schuberts Vertonung einer Strophe aus Schillers Die Götter Griechenlandes' in *Schubert Jahrbuch 2003-2005: Dichtungen Friedrich Schillers im Werk Franz Schuberts*, Bericht über das Schubert-Symposium Weimar 2005, ed. Michael Kube (Duisburg: Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft, 2007), 101

<sup>12</sup> Sybille Demmer, 'Von der Kunst über Religion zur Kunst-Religion: Zu Schillers Gedicht 'Die Götter Griechenlands'' in *Gedichte und Interpretationen 3: Klassik und Romantik*, ed. Wulf Segebrecht (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 2007), 37

This verse marks the turning point of the poem; here the narrator realizes that the fair world only lives on in the fairy land of song and at the same time longs for this fairy land and its return. Its longing and at the same time accusing opening question ‘Schöne Welt, wo bist du?’ (Fair world where are you?) is strongly emphasized by Schubert.

The composer provides it with a longing phrase in the voice that resembles a resigned call and emphasizes its significance by setting it apart from the rest of the song: it is presented in A minor, despite the following turn of the song to A major.

30a. Strophe aus „Die Götter Griechenlands“  
 Friedrich von Schiller  
 D 677  
 Erste Fassung  
 November 1819

Schöne Welt, wo bist du? Keh-re

wie - der, hol - des Blü - ten - al - ter der Na - tur, keh - re

wie - der, hol - des Blü - ten - al - ter der Na - tur. Ach, nur

Figure 40: 'Die Götter Griechenlands', D 677; bars 1-14.

The strong longing for the 'fair world' runs through the whole song. Schubert achieves this by deriving a distinct motif from the longing melody of the opening call, which acts as a brief introduction to the actual song part and also characterizes its opening request: 'Kehre wieder' (return again). This motif, which is naturally associated with the call for the lost fair world from the beginning, thus expresses the imploring wish for its return. It can be found

throughout the whole song, and particularly occurs in the accompaniment between the voice entries. Schubert thus establishes the wish for the return of the fair lost world as the persistent motto of the song. This motto with its longing element is further enhanced by Schubert's independent text repetitions of Schiller's lines. Apart from the striking opening phrase, it is the request for the return of the lost world that is repeated the most. Both phrases mark the beginning and the end of the three-part song, which closes with the call for the lost world in the minor mode.



Figure 41: 'Die Götter Griechenlands', D 677; bars 47-53.

Many liberal minds celebrated Schiller as a freedom proclaiming poet. Members of the 'Unsinnsgesellschaft' (Nonsense Society) of which Schubert was a member for some time used Schiller as a target for their ironic barbs, but at the same time admired him for his advocacy of freedom. Schiller was often used as a symbol of freedom and national consciousness.<sup>13</sup> His works were generally treated with careful distrust by state officials before and after the Liberation Wars, as the liberal tone of his works was deemed as dangerous to the state interests of keeping the liberal proliferation in check. Up to 1808, Viennese censorship prohibited the print of Schiller's works almost completely.<sup>14</sup> The longing in his 'Die Götter Griechenlands' holds overtones of a political subtext. Reinterpreted as a statement referring to the current time, the longing for the fair world can also signify a longing for a better world of political freedom, which, around and shortly after the issuing of the Carlsbad Decrees, was of great importance and an immediate concern. With the restrictive Carlsbad Decrees, the utopian hope for a better and ideal political reality had finally come to

<sup>13</sup> George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, 3rd edn (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 87. Dürhammer, *Schuberts literarische Heimat*, 61, 82, 277, 330. Rita Steblin, *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft. Franz Schubert, Leopold Kupelwieser und ihr Freundeskreis* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 30

<sup>14</sup> Dieter Martin, 'Wie kommt Schillers Lyrik zu Schubert? Zu Schuberts Textauswahl und ihren Voraussetzungen' in *Schubert Jahrbuch 2003-2005: Dichtungen Friedrich Schillers im Werk Franz Schuberts, Bericht über das Schubert-Symposium Weimar 2005*, ed. Michael Kube (Duisburg: Internationale Schubert Gesellschaft, 2007), 7

an end. As Kenneth Stuart Whitton summarizes: Schiller's 'Die Götter Griechenlands' turned into the most ardent wish for young Viennese to escape the hated world, which was governed by Metternich, his oppressing censorship body and his controlling police.<sup>15</sup>

Contrary to 'Prometheus', the composer's setting of Schiller's verse focuses on a strong longing, rather than on rebellion. However, both songs present two sides of the same coin, as their respective sentiments are called forth by the decisive political turn into repression. Their composition in October 1819, shortly after the announcement of the Carlsbad Decrees further reinforces their political perception. Interestingly, like 'Prometheus', 'Die Götter Griechenlands' was published in 1848, the year of the March Revolution.

## 6.2 'Viola' – The Deception of the Beautiful

Schubert's 'Viola' (D 786) is set after a poem by his close friend Franz von Schober. The following short portrait of Franz von Schober tries to show that the widespread picture of him as a 'bon vivant', predominant among scholars, needs to be supplemented. Closer scrutiny shows that Schober shared some of the higher ideals of the other Schubert friends and definitely suffered from the restrictions of the Biedermeier period.

The little information that is available on Schober as a person does not suggest a deep political involvement or orientation. Franz von Schober is often seen as a 'man of the world', whose hedonism, extravagant tastes and rather unrestrained and bohemian lifestyle<sup>16</sup> do not personify a man who followed any political ideals. Already during the time Schober was closer connected to the idealistic Linz Circle of Schubert friends (roughly until 1818), its members pointed out Schober's worrying softness of character and his similarity to Werther, who was the protagonist of his favourite novel and whose character tended towards too much softness, enthusiasm and passion. Compared to the high ideals many Schubert friends shared, Schober has been placed in the periphery ever since.<sup>17</sup> Many Schubert friends saw in Schober a seducer who had a bad influence on Schubert. Some even indicated that it was Schober who was responsible for the composer's syphilis infection.<sup>18</sup> In his book *Geheime Botschaften*.

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<sup>15</sup> Kenneth Stuart Whitton, 'Schubert als Leser' in *Schubert Jahrbuch 1996*, Bericht von der Tagung 'Schubert – Aspekte', Xanten, 2. und 3. März 1995, ed. Klaus-Gotthard Fischer and Christiane Schumann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), 88

<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 52, 60, 124-25

<sup>17</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, *Geheime Botschaften: Homoerotische Subkulturen im Schubert-Kreis, bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Thomas Bernhard* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), 22-29

<sup>18</sup> Steblin, *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft*, 43. Reinhard Göttl, *Franz Schubert und Moritz von Schwind: Freundschaft im Biedermeier* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1989), 44

*Homoerotische Subkulturen im Schubert-Kreis, bei Hugo von Hofmannstal und Thomas Bernhard*, Ilijah Dürhammer speculates about sexual excesses of members of the Schubert circle and Franz von Schober in particular. Elisabeth Norman McKay illustrates in her Schubert biography that during the time when the friendship of Schubert and Schober was closest, Schubert's behaviour deteriorated to an extent that he even insulted many of his old and loyal friends.<sup>19</sup> Schober was furthermore suspected to have taken full advantage of Schubert in order to extricate himself from financial embarrassments and to defray the expenditure he had incurred.<sup>20</sup> Overall, a rather negative picture of Schober predominates, especially concerning his influence on Schubert.

However, a few positive voices on Franz von Schober exist. The early Schubert scholar Dr. Heinrich Kreißle von Hellborn states that Schober took up an important place in Schubert's life. Both men developed a close friendship and, apart from short interruptions, maintained it up to the death of the composer. Kreißle also states that after leaving his father's house, Schubert, except for the years that Schober was away from Vienna, either lived in the Schober household, or that at least had a room made available for him there.<sup>21</sup> From these observations it can be deduced that Schober, in his own way, supported Schubert. Especially in the early days of his compositional career, where Schubert tried to break loose from his school teaching activities, Schober must have been a great aid to Schubert, as he helped him to reach his longed for independence. Schober's often criticised extrovert side similarly had a positive impact on Schubert, who tended towards being an introvert and to be full of melancholy at times. Schober's positive take on things gave Schubert confidence and optimism and also strengthened his creative power.<sup>22</sup> Schober also introduced Schubert to Johann Michael Vogl (1768-1840), the distinguished opera singer who was to perform many Schubert songs and who decidedly contributed to their circulation and popularity.<sup>23</sup> From 1822 onwards, Schober also organized a reading society (Lesegesellschaft), in which the newest literature was discussed<sup>24</sup> and which probably also inspired Schubert from a literary

<sup>19</sup> Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert*, 100, 116, 122-124

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 124

<sup>21</sup> Heinrich Kreißle von Hellborn, *Franz Schubert* (Vienna: Carl Gerolds Sohn, 1865), 110

<sup>22</sup> Siegfried Schmalzriedt, 'Meiner Seele Saiten streift': Franz Schobers Lyrik in Franz Schuberts Vertonungen' in *Schuberts Lieder nach seinem literarischen Freundeskreis*, ed. Walther Dürr (Frankfurt am Main, Vienna: Lang, 1999), 69

<sup>23</sup> Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert*, 70

<sup>24</sup> Ilijah Dürhammer, 'Zu Schuberts Literaturästhetik: Entwickelt anhand seiner zu Lebzeiten veröffentlichten Vokalwerke' in *Schubert durch die Brille*, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut, Mitteilungen 14 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1995), 171

perspective. In addition, his considerable output of poetry in a variety of genres<sup>25</sup> shows that he was seriously interested in literature and poetry. Many of his poems were published in contemporary journals and a whole volume of his works was published by Cotta in Stuttgart in 1842.<sup>26</sup> Schober thus also had a positive effect on Schubert and, despite his assumed foppish behaviour, a more serious and productive side.

The two Schubert friends, the serious Johann Mayrhofer, whose poems have served as the basis for Schubert's political song interpretations, and the positive-minded Franz von Schober are usually seen as two opposite poles. However, it is not unlikely that Schober, despite never strictly following the more serious and idealistic goals of most Schubert friends, shared some of their ideals. To seek refuge from the current time from an immersion in art was certainly one of them, as Mayrhofer's dedication of his 'Heliopolis' cycle to Schober suggests. Schober thus seems to have been similarly dissatisfied and disappointed with the political system of repression at the time. David Gramit states that Schober's unpublished poems show political disillusionment and powerlessness to act.<sup>27</sup> That Schober's poems do not predominantly come across as a strong lament about the political situation might also be due to the fact that he had the strong tendency to sweeten the pain he expressed,<sup>28</sup> and thus mainly produced a lament that was overshadowed by its melodious tone. In addition, the creation of an artistic world of beauty does not necessarily imply superficiality. The cult of beauty could serve as an aesthetic ideal that was used to supersede the repugnant present during the Biedermeier period.<sup>29</sup> Schmalzriedt has observed that the Schober poems Schubert chose for his settings often show a protagonist who is homeless, travelling continuously, or situated between spheres of life. His longing is usually expressed through the naturalistic metaphors of landscapes, animals, trees or flowers. These themes are metaphors and thus more a part of Schubert's and Schober's life than one might expect at first sight and are, in the end, not removed from reality at all. On the one hand they represent the bleak reality both Schubert and Schober were a part of. At the same time, they constitute a kind of cryptic language that is caused by repressive censorship.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> David Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle: Their Development and their Influence on his Music*, Ph.D., Musicology (Duke University, 1987), 144

<sup>26</sup> Franz von Schober, *Gedichte* (Stuttgart; Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1842)

<sup>27</sup> Gramit, *The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets*, 269

<sup>28</sup> Schmalzriedt, 'Meiner Seele Saiten streift', 61

<sup>29</sup> Hans-Georg Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts in Deutschland von 1815 bis 1840* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969), 177

<sup>30</sup> Schmalzriedt, 'Meiner Seele Saiten streift', 60-61, 68

Schober's political voice is even clearer than that. The highly patriotic 'Lied eines Kriegers' for example might, as Harry Goldschmidt presumes, be written by Schober.<sup>31</sup> A look through Schober's published volume of poems from 1842 confirms that his political, critical and questioning voice does not only come through in a longing expressed through metaphors, but is more prevalent than maybe expected. A vast number of Schober's poems indeed hide its critical potential behind their lyrical conception and metaphorical language. However, some poems bring across critical accusation and political longing. To many readers it may come as a surprise that Schober pays tribute to one of the most radical and sophisticated voices against suppression: Heinrich Heine (1797-1856). Heine was a master in outwitting the imposed censorship and was feared by Metternich's advisor Gentz, who had to admit that no censorship rules could reach him and thus decided that the only way to silence him was a complete prohibition of his works.<sup>32</sup> The following lines, which are the last three verses of Schober's poem 'Heine 1830',<sup>33</sup> from the 1842 volume of his poems, reflect on and admire Heine's critical voice:

<p>Du klärst die Luft, wer dürfte dich verdammen?          Und wenn es auch von Schwefel etwas riecht,          Uns schreckt der Beigeschmack von Teufel nicht.          Wir wissen, daß von Gott die Blitze stammen.</p> <p>'Der kleine Jude! Naselt das Gespötte?'          Was Jud, was klein! Der Geist schreibt die Gesetze.          Verstand und Witz sind deine blanken Waffen</p> <p>Sie überdauern alle Bajonette;          Gefühl und Phantasie sind deine Schätze,          Rothschild vermag nicht reichere zu schaffen.</p>	<p>You clear the air, who would be allowed to condemn you?          And even if it slightly smells of sulphur,          The overtones of the devil do not daunt us.          We know that the flashes stem from God.</p> <p>'The tiny Jew! Nose the mocking ones?'          What Jew, what small! The spirit writes the laws.          Intellect and wit are his shiny weapons.</p> <p>They outlive all bayonets,          Feeling and imagination are your treasures,          Rothschild<sup>34</sup> is not able to create more valuable ones.</p>
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To write a poem on the infamous freethinker Heine, and especially one that upholds the critical voice of the contemporary poet, constitutes a bold statement during the Biedermeier period and can be seen as bearing political undertones.

One of Schober's most critical poems is 'Der Sumpf' (The Swamp).<sup>35</sup> Here, Schober uses the picture of the swamp with its residents to express the inadequacies of life on earth, which is experienced as a vale of tears. Schober, amongst other things, points out the existence of noisy philosophers who, like a 'deceptive ghost light dance', lead the ones who

<sup>31</sup> Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert*, 201

<sup>32</sup> Frieder Reininghaus, *Schubert und das Wirtshaus: Musik unter Metternich* (Berlin: Oberbaum, 1980), 135

<sup>33</sup> Schober, *Gedichte*, 201

<sup>34</sup> The Rothschilds were a family of Jewish decent. With their headquarters in Frankfurt, its members strongly influenced the banking sector in the nineteenth century. The bank and its successive institutes still exist today.

<sup>35</sup> Schober, *Gedichte*, 92



listen to them into disaster with a borrowed shine of truth. Despite mentioning the dangers of his boldness, Schober even dares to attack the Church in this poem, whose dominant role and connection to the state have already been mentioned. The aristocracy and the social class of the rich are similarly criticised by Schober in the following verses:

Der faule Stamm – was dem entspricht, Ist fast gefährlich auszudrücken: Es ist der Kirche hohles Licht, Die mit Mombast, auf Wunderkrücken Den Wächter spielt, sich bläht und wimmert. Und wenn es finster wird, nur schimmert.  Die Störche endlich, sind bequem Den grossen Herren zu vergleichen. So spreizt sich und stolziert die Creme Des lieben Adels und die Reichen Sie gehn auf Stelzen, klappern, wandern Und speisen nebenbei die Andern.	The foul stem – what corresponds to it, Is almost dangerous to reveal: It is the hollow light of the Church, Which with bombast, on wonder crutches Plays the guard, puffs itself up and whimpers And when it gets dark, only glimmers.  The storks, at last, are conveniently Compared to the great men. Like them the crème de la crème of the dear aristocracy And the rich ones puff themselves up and struts. They stilt, chatter, wander And en passant they dine the others.
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Hereafter, Schober laments in his lyrical fashion on how sweetly glorified life on earth could be and comes to the conclusion that everything could potentially flourish in the blessing of freedom. In the last verse of the poem he raises the longing question of when freedom is to redeem the inactive time.

O Freiheit! Liebesseligkeit! Urquell des Guten und des Schönen, Wann werdet ihr die träge Zeit Mit Rosen der Vollendung krönen? Was zögert ihr die Nacht zu schmelzen? Vom düstren Grab den Stein zu wälzen?	O Freedom! Bliss of love! Primary source of everything good and beautiful, When will you crown the inactive time With the roses of perfection? Why do you hesitate to melt the night? To heave away the stone from the sombre grave?
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Despite its lyrical transfiguration, the language of this poem bears a distinct message. The perception of the earth as a vale of tears, the warning of influential but deceptive voices, the criticism of the Church and the upper classes as well as the call for freedom in an inactive time very much suggest a reference to the Biedermeier era and thus ultimately a criticism of it. It is noteworthy that Schober dared to publish a poem that expresses such criticism. That his volume of poems was published with Cotta in Stuttgart in 1842 and not in Vienna was probably no coincidence.

Another poem that bears witness of Schober's idealistic orientation is 'Des Lebens Hort' (The Stronghold of Life).<sup>36</sup> This poem starts with the realization that every good man strives after ideals, a Colchis,<sup>37</sup> or a wonderland, where doubts and anguish cease and wishes are fulfilled. Deep within him his soul yearns for such a place, while he metaphorically 'pushes his bosom sore on the rough reefs of the earth', on which he does not feel at home. In the following verse Schober proclaims that 'our purest and deepest longing also has a fatherland'. This land, associated with good and beautiful things, all the better ones would recognize. Whether they would call it virtue, love, or blissfulness would be irrelevant. Towards this island of a better world – a blissful island is also the dream destination of the speaker in the political Senn setting 'Selige Welt' (op. 23,2) – everybody would head. Already at this point the reader can draw multiple references to the circumstances of the Biedermeier period with its bleak reality.

This impression intensifies with the following lines. Here the picture of a 'Jüngling' (young man) who, inspired by the 'Freiheitsschlacht' (battle for freedom) and moved by a holy urge, sets foot onto the waves of life. A political significance of the word 'Jüngling' has been presented as part of the interpretation of 'Einsamkeit'. Its occurrence together with the word 'Freiheitsschlacht' (battle of freedom) is a pointer towards the political and time-referenced statement of the poem. As in Mayrhofer's 'Zum Punsche', Schober then uses the picture of a bold swimmer who, amidst the waves of life, heads towards this island. Yet the clouds that surround him do not show him his destination in the evening glow. He thus foolishly imagines being close to his longed for destination, seeing all the wishes he had confided in already realized in his spirit. However, a storm brings the realization: reality has cheated on him, so that the young man deems his ideal stolen in the end and asks his restless life to give up all fortune and hope. In the final verse the young man comes to the conclusion that it is only friendship, the support of like-minded friends, which can navigate him securely through life. The metaphorical referral to the disappointed hopes of the Liberation Wars seems to be inherent in Schober's lines, and does not require explanation. As already discussed in various contexts, the resulting steering towards circles of friends was a last stronghold and the only place of refuge in a harsh and hostile world. With 'Des Lebens Hort' Schober thus not only takes an active interest in the events of his time. The poem also

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<sup>36</sup> Schober, *Gedichte*, 107

<sup>37</sup> Colchis was an antique landscape between the Caucasian Mountains and the east coast of the Black Sea. At the same time it is the term for an antique Kingdom, which had its centre in this landscape. Schober probably uses it as an embodiment of an ideal antique place.

suggests that Schober, who is so often reduced to a 'bon vivant', similarly suffered from the timely restrictions and insufficiencies and even dared to criticize them in writing.

As a last example of Schobers more serious and critical voice serves his libretto to the opera 'Alfonso und Estrella'. The opera was a collaborative project of Schober and Schubert. The two friends went on a holiday to St. Pölten in September 1821, where they worked simultaneously on the opera: Schober wrote the libretto while Schubert set the music to it bit by bit, without knowing the work as a whole.<sup>38</sup> 'Alfonso und Estrella' ultimately shows the vision of a kingdom of bliss. Schober only uses the historical facts from the Spanish Early Middle Ages as a template, on which he builds his libretto. It depicts the events in the small Spanish Kingdom of Leon-Asturien. The old king Froila had been dethroned by his enemy Mauregato and his general Adolfo, to whom Mauregato's daughter Estrella was promised. Froila plans to recapture his kingdom for his son, Alfonso, who lives unhappily with him in an isolated valley and knows nothing of his royal descent. When Estrella gets lost after a hunt she meets Alfonso and they fall in love. Finally, the two kings are reconciled and Alfonso becomes the new king. The new kingdom, whose foundation is made possible through the love of Alfonso and Estrella, encapsulates the vision of a kingdom of bliss. According to Kohlhäufel it thus also has a political significance, as the plot shows analogies to the current time. However, while the Congress of Vienna had answered the true legitimacy of reign with the principle of restoration, Schober and Schubert emphasize the human side of the action.<sup>39</sup>

One aria from the opera is particularly interesting: 'Das Lied des Wolkenmädchens' (The Song of the Girl in the Clouds), which Froila sings on request to his son Alfonso in the second act of the opera. The words of this song match almost completely with Schober's poem 'Die Wolkenbraut' (The Bride of the Clouds) that was also published in the 1842 volume of his poems.<sup>40</sup> Read from a political angle, this poem metaphorically subsumes the betrayal of the Liberation Wars. It opens with the picture of a hunter who rests in thought in between the green of the meadows. In the twilight the most beautiful virgin appears in front of him and tempts him with flattery and promises: the highest luck had appeared in front of him, should he decide to be her friend and servant. She tells him of her golden castle on the hill, hovering high up in the air. There he would be welcomed by the stars, the storms would be subordinate to him and the agony of the earth would be underneath him. The hunter follows the call of her voice and climbs up the rugged path, while she lightly dances in front of him

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<sup>38</sup> Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert*, 117-118

<sup>39</sup> Michael Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland: Dichtung und politisches Denken im Freundeskreis Franz Schuberts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 241

<sup>40</sup> Schober, *Gedichte*, 57

over rocks and deep gorges. When they reach the top, the palace shows itself in all its glory and the servants bow respectfully to him. However, when he wants to embrace all of this, he suffers a bad surprise: the fogs dissolve and the castle is blown away in blue air. Dizziness circles round his senses and his head is wrapped up with dark night. He staggers off the pinnacle and shatters in the battle of death.

The metaphorical significance of the hunter as a freedom fighter and the promising but misleading call of a beautiful virgin, who symbolizes freedom, suggest a political reference. The golden castle on a hill high up in the clouds stands for the wishes the hunter connects with freedom. When the clear view of reality destroys this wishful picture, it becomes obvious that the ideal castle had always been out of reach: high up in the clouds and not built on solid ground it dissolves, like the empty promises that had been made by the ruling classes at the time of the Liberation Wars. This poem not only expresses the disappointment experienced after the Liberation Wars; it also voices the alluring and ultimately empty promises from above. Its insertion into the opera libretto strengthens the liberal character of poem and opera alike and thus confirms the critical side of Schober, and, as a look into the musical setting would most likely reveal, also Schubert.

Schober's poem 'Viola' is the fifth poem of a cycle of six flower ballads. Schubert set four of the poems of Schober's cycle, which the poet called 'Frühlingslieder' (Songs of Spring): 'Am Bache' (By the Brook), which Schubert renamed 'Am Bach im Frühling' (By the Brook in Spring), 'Trost' (Solace), 'Frühlingsgesang' (Spring Song), 'Frühlingsmorgen' (Spring Morning), 'Viola' (Violet) and 'Vergißmeinnicht' (Forget-me-not). The last two poems of Schober's cycle, 'Viola' and 'Vergissmeinnicht', Schubert set in the spring of 1823. Both of them are similar in length and poetic style as well as in their poetic content: the portrayal of disappointment. It is particularly striking that both poems share the same protagonists of flower and spring and present themes that can be regarded as political metaphors. A politically oriented interpretation that comprises both songs, or even all of the songs from Schober's cycle, would be an interesting undertaking, but proves too extensive at this point.

In essence, the 19 verses of 'Viola' depict the early awakening of the violet and its decay. It is the early forebodings of spring and its delay that are responsible for the fate of 'Viola'. Spring is metaphorically named as the groom, with 'Viola' as his bridal flower. 'Viola' is the botanic name for violets, and can similarly be used as a female name, a circumstance which already hints at the second layer of the poem, as it forms a connection from a flower to a human being. As the central themes of 'Viola' (and 'Vergissmeinnicht')

Michael Kohlhäufel defines the bridal motif, faithfulness and disappointed expectation. According to him, the symbol of the bride becomes a code for the contemporary historical and aesthetic process of disillusionment. Schober's selection of motives would form a symbolic and narrative structure: all hope for a new life is lost, as spring (her groom) does not appear. This results in a fateful absence of a naturally promised fulfilment. With this disappointed anticipation, the belief in a fulfilled life dies.<sup>41</sup> Schober's apparently innocent flower poem therefore possesses a suggesting parallel to the current time.

It is not only the symbolic significance of spring that was commonly used in political context during the Biedermeier period. According to Kohlhäufel, the bride and faithfulness motif was also a common one in the literature of the Liberation Wars, one the generation of Schubert friends was familiar with.<sup>42</sup> Theodor Körner for example makes frequent use of this motif. He also uses it in his patriotic 'Schwertlied' (Sword Song), which was set by Schubert in 1815. In this song the sword is presented as the guardian of freedom and is also entitled 'bride'. Factoring in Schober's more serious and political orientation, the assumed political message that accompanies his lyrical flower tragedy appears likely. This likelihood is increased by the fact that during the Biedermeier period, probably even more so than today, flower symbolism was widespread.<sup>43</sup> Violets are often seen as a symbol of innocence, virginity, hope and faithfulness. All of these attributes are true for the violet in the song and emphasize the tragedy of the late appearance of spring. The widespread flower symbolism during the Biedermeier period, in which people were far more used to encrypted messages, suggests that contemporaries were looking for a second meaning in a poem or a song depicting flowers. They were thus more inclined to identify the accompanying political meaning of 'Viola'.


To elucidate Schubert's possible political understanding with musical details is difficult for this song. It is rather the overall musical impression of 'Viola' that mediates its political understanding. The first noteworthy indicator for a political understanding is the fact that Schubert set the complete poem of his friend, all 19 verses. The content of 'Viola' as a whole must thus have been of importance to him. The musical interpretation is very dramatic, with its wide range of keys and constant change of tempo. Overall, the strong and expansive depiction of the disappointed expectation and the resultant pain and decay comes through very prominently. At the beginning of the song Schubert musically emphasizes the phrase where

<sup>41</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 310-311

<sup>42</sup> Kohlhäufel, *Poetisches Vaterland*, 312

<sup>43</sup> Peter Csendes, ed., *Oesterreich 1780 – 1848: Kriege gegen Frankreich / Wiener Kongreß, Ära Metternich, Zeit des Biedermeier / Revolution von 1848* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 1987), 233

spring is described as somebody who 'kommt mit Sieg vom Winterstreit, dem er seine Eiswehr nahm' (returns with victory from the battle with winter, from whom he wrested his icy weapon), which reaches from bar 26 to bar 29. The rhythmical motif that Schubert gives

to this phrase, , suggests a martial character and therefore encourages its political reading: spring is perceived as somebody who brings freedom from the suppression of winter in a contemporary understanding. The longing expectation of the flower for spring and his ultimate absence are therefore immediately perceivable as the disappointed longing for freedom.

Overall, the melodious tone that Schmalzriedt has observed for Schubert's settings of Schober's poems is also true for 'Viola'. However, the strong characterization of the pain experienced by Viola, and also by her groom when he realizes that his favourite flower had to wither, prevents a submergence into this melodious mood. It could also rightly be questioned whether such a strong depiction of pain leaves the image of a delicate flower far behind, and, as a matter of fact, reflects personal pain about a disappointed expectation, which, once more, brings the context of the current time into play. This last example of a Schubert setting with a possible political significance has shown once more that it can be crucial for the understanding of a song to obtain some information on its poet, as this can potentially help to unfold the possible political metaphors in a poetic text. Furthermore, 'Viola' indicates that the melodious overtones in music and poetry alike, whether they are only incipiently or are passing through the whole work, can be misleading in so far as they do not necessarily present the sole or main purpose of a song. The chapter as a whole has widened the range of themes that can hide covert political criticism and indicated that Schubert songs by poets other than Mayrhofer can hide a political message.

## 7. Conclusion

This thesis has shown how crucial it is to consider the historical, cultural and political context of composers and their works. As in the case of Franz Schubert, an artist – like any other contemporary – is always a child of his time. The circumstances of life decidedly influence him and his works. The political and social upheavals of the Biedermeier era directly affected every contemporary, Schubert included, and people had to take a stance on them in one way or another. Schubert, like many liberal minds of his time, opposed the repressive Metternich system, which made his life and that of his friends miserable. The backward turn to the old system of power was hard to bear for liberal individuals full of hope for a freer future after the Liberation Wars. The repressive censorship measures and ruthless persecution of anybody the state suspected of a liberal orientation led critical minds to utter their criticism in a disguised form.

It is not unusual for Biedermeier artists to hide their criticism towards the circumstances of their time behind metaphors, naturalistic ones in particular. Today, where almost two hundred years cloud an understanding of the era, it is all too easy to fall for the simplistic façade and the ostensible simplicity of Biedermeier artworks. This thesis corrects that widespread view and identifies that the lightheartedness of many Biedermeier works often is a flight from the harsh reality into a better world, and thus commonly embodies an indirect political criticism. Further, it provides analytical evidence that lighthearted or apparently trivial artworks can also hide a deeper meaning, which usually constitutes a form of direct political criticism. Today, Schubert's songs are not expected to hold political criticism. Reasons for this are the uncritical image of the composer and his era, the prevalent 'hit list' of his songs that shape a sentimental view of the composer, and the fact that metaphors within many of his song texts are not readily recognized as such in popular reception. However, as this work exemplifies, Schubert had a critical edge that is expressed in a number of his songs. Due to the repressive circumstances of his time, songs with an obvious political statement are accumulated around the time of the Congress of Vienna. Thereafter, and even more so after the Carlsbad Decrees, Schubert seems to express his political criticism through metaphors.

Schubert's Mayrhofer settings have proven to be very fruitful in the search for political messages. Thanks to his profession as a censor, the poetry of the great liberal Mayrhofer is full of critical messages that are cleverly disguised. Apart from presenting different shades of political criticism, the discussion of two *Liederhefte* has demonstrated that the political message of each *Liederheft* was of great importance to Schubert, who selected and then placed his songs in an order that points to the political theme. Together with the discussion of further Mayrhofer settings, it appears likely that Schubert not only understood the political message of Mayrhofer's poems, but strove to present it to the listener through his musical interpretation. In addition, the discussion of different Mayrhofer settings has given an impression of how varied political criticism can be. Longing, dissatisfaction, ironic indirectness and the call for activity can all adopt political expressiveness. Each of these different facets of political expression can be detected in Schubert's Mayrhofer settings, where the amalgamation of poetry and music clarifies the political understanding. The case of Schubert's Mayrhofer songs shows that as well as knowledge about the composer and his time, knowledge of the poet's circumstances can be crucial for the understanding of a song. After all, a known liberal and opponent of the Metternich system like Johann Mayrhofer is likely to deliver a political model Schubert could respond to.

The two settings discussed in the chapter 'Further Political Voices' have widened the field of political interpretation within Schubert's song oeuvre. In particular, it has been suggested that a poem does not necessarily have to be laid out politically to be understood as a political statement. A reinterpretation of suitable poetry can similarly convey a political message, even more so in song, where the musical interpretation can assist a political understanding. Schubert settings by poets other than Mayrhofer can express a political message and even an innocent story line can be understood from a political perspective. This thesis thus indicates that the political voice in Schubert's song oeuvre is anchored deeper than expected.

The existence of a political voice within Schubert's song oeuvre is unfamiliar for many English-speaking readers. In the German-speaking literature Schubert's political side is more frequently addressed, the most extensive and recent political account on Schubert and his works being Michael Kohlhäufel's literary investigation Poetisches



Vaterland. However, many political accounts that exist on Schubert are confined to cultural, social and literary investigations. The novel approach of this thesis is that it sets Schubert into his historical, cultural, social and political background to define his political orientation and then uses this information on the composer to relate it directly, extensively and analytically to his music.

The presented analysis thus follows an interdisciplinary approach, which takes into account the historical and political context of the composer. By embedding Schubert in his time, it reveals a political facet of the composer that is then related to his songs. It therefore opens up a fresh view on him as an individual, as well as a new understanding of his songs. An interdisciplinary approach can decidedly enrich musical analysis, and a different set of disciplines may uncover further new aspects about Schubert and his work. In addition, the interdisciplinary approach taken in this thesis can serve as a model for a more comprehensive interpretation of other composers and their works and possibly lead to a reevaluation of many stationary and common perceptions. The works of many Biedermeier composers and artists in particular offer an interesting field for further research from a political perspective. Like Schubert, many of them belonged to the suppressed liberal minds of a generation where criticism and longing wishes for an ideal future demanded for an art of disguise.

To conclude, the main outcome of this thesis in a nutshell is its discovery of a probable political voice within Schubert's song oeuvre. The potential political criticism found in his songs reevaluates the understanding of the composer and his work and encourages musically interested people to view and listen to Schubert's songs with a more critical and alert attitude. Many of his songs are possibly still waiting to be valued for what they are – critical political statements presented in a most artful form.

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