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A POLITICAL INTERPRETATION OF C.F.D. SCHUBART'S POEM DIE FORELLE
AND THE MUSICAL SETTINGS OF THE SAME TITLE BY SCHUBART AND
FRANZ SCHUBERT

by

Daniel Chu Brown

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Musical Arts

Major: Music

The University of Memphis

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Abstract

Brown, Daniel Chu. D.M.A. The University of Memphis. December, 2015. A Political Interpretation of C.F.D Schubart's Poem *Die Forelle* and the Musical Settings of the Same Title by Schubart and Franz Schubert. Major Professor: Randall Rushing, D.M.A.

Franz Schubert's setting of *Die Forelle* is perhaps the most well-known and widely-performed example of the large body of song literature composed by Schubert. Although this is the case, the origins of this song are not as well-known. Over the years, new interpretations of this piece have been suggested, but little supporting evidence has been provided to support their validity.

This document explores both the literary and musical origins of *Die Forelle* in order to support the assertion that both original pieces could have been political in nature, describing the political regime of the day and its practices. Without this foundation, assigning meaningful interpretations to the later musical setting by Schubert proves difficult, at best. Information about the original composer of the poem *Die Forelle*, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, is provided along with the circumstances surrounding its literary and musical birth. Evidence is presented that suggest that both works were political statements made by a very politically-minded writer and composer.

Further evidence will be provided that demonstrates that Schubert was most likely aware of Schubart, to an extent that suggests he may have known of the political implications of the original *Die Forelle*. Additional research will show that Schubert was politically motivated to compose his own setting of *Die Forelle* with the same political intentions included in the original works. Finally, the two musical settings of *Die Forelle* will be reviewed to demonstrate that Schubert

quoted Schubart musically, which supports the assertion that Schubert's *Die Forelle* indeed carries with it subversive political sentiments.

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INTRODUCTION

The concept of using various forms of art to push an agenda is no new thing. Music and literature have always been powerful motivators, often successfully stirring within their audiences the emotional responses intended by the composer or author and even new responses not intended or even considered. Both forms of art have the power to illicit joy, sadness, regret, fear, pride, patriotism, discontent and endless other emotions through the use of myriad musical and non-musical topics. They also have the ability to covertly express meanings in subtle ways such and only informed receivers would be able to grasp and understand the intent.

Both the person and the compositions of Franz Schubert (1797-1828) have been the topic of much debate, ranging from his sexual preference to “what might have been” had he not died so young. His songs are a veritable treasure trove for those interested in reception history, and no shortage of modern interpretations exists for a good portion of his song literature. Schubert’s musically simple *Die Forelle* is a good example of a composition that has many modern interpretations projected upon it.

As set by Schubert in the surviving versions, the story revolves around the fish, angler, and viewer/narrator. Schubert omits one stanza of the text, a stanza that warns young women to be vigilant in order to avoid losing their virginity. The latter interpretation is now widely accepted as the meaning of the song. However, an investigation into the history of the author of the text reveals that much more may be at play than double entendres and sexual innuendo.

Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739-1791) lived in a time of much political upheaval, oppression, and unrest. He was not a man prone to silence or timidity, choosing to voice his opinions and criticisms of the then-reigning Duke of Württemberg, Karl Eugen, in a rather public venue: his own political publication entitled *Deutsche Chronik*. However courageous his opposition to various injustices may have been, it ultimately led to his ten-year incarceration at Hohenasperg, the state prison of Württemberg. It was five years into this incarceration that the poem *Die Forelle* was conceived—an unlikely time and place to compose a poem so unrelated to his then-current circumstances.

The political environment and the effects thereof on the general public in Schubart's time were strikingly similar to that seen in Schubert's. These two men were subjected to a common oppression at the hands of similar antagonists, which were the systems of government as represented by Karl Eugen and Klemens von Metternich, respectively. Both men also voiced their discontent through art.

This document explores the possibility that the poem *Die Forelle* is rooted in political sentiment and that the musical settings, both by Schubart himself and the later setting of Franz Schubert, reflect that sentiment. By bringing to light similarities in Schubert's musical setting of *Die Forelle* with that of its original composer, I will also attempt to show how both composers may have expressed those hidden sentiments musically. Evidence shows that Schubert was both politically-minded and oppressed, which makes it plausible that he might have composed a politically-charged song based on a previous work by Schubart.

CHAPTER ONE

CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH DANIEL SCHUBART

Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739-1791) was a composer, poet, musician, journalist, a voice for the middle and lower classes and, perhaps most importantly, a fierce lover of freedom. His adult life is a discouraging tale of searching for a place to reside in which he would be free to speak and print his mind about the many topics that interested, confounded, and infuriated him. Banishments and other methods were employed to pressure him into leaving places where his opinions made him more enemies than friends. In the end, incarceration and deprivation would, to a great extent, silence his once strong voice of opposition.

The scope of this document is far too narrow to extensively discuss the entirety of Christian Schubart's life and works. However, it is necessary to delve deeply enough into his life to understand his motivations for his works, most notably his controversial poems and his ground-breaking journalistic endeavor, the *Deutsche Chronik*, within which many of his original and controversial works were published.

Schubart's Character

Schubart was a man of great passion who was given to fulfilling his own desires and voicing his grandiose and often ill-advised opinions, unconcerned about potential consequences.

Of Schubart's character as a man, this record of his life leaves but a mean impression. Unstable in his goings, without principle or plan, he flickered

through existence like an *ignis-fatuus*;¹ now shooting into momentary gleams of happiness and generosity, now quenched in the mephitic marshes over which his zig-zag path conducted him. He had many amiable qualities, but scarcely any moral worth. From first to last his circumstances were against him; his education was unfortunate, its fluctuating aimless wanderings enhanced its ill effects. The thrall of the passing moment, he had no will; the fine endowments of his heart were left to riot in chaotic turbulence, and their forces canceled one another. With better models and advisers, with more rigid habits, and a happier fortune, he might have been an admirable man: as it is, he is far from admirable.²

While Schubart held lofty ideals regarding the behavior of society, culture, and government, he somehow considered himself exempt from those same ideals. In regard to Schubart's lack of moral compass, F. H. Eickhoff states that "this super talented person had for half of a human's life misused his gifts and talents given to him by God in the service of sin through his unbridled, sensual, and most slovenly life and [in so doing] insulted God and man."³ For all his apparent personal failings, however, Schubart's personality allowed him to remain quite popular among the people with whom he felt most at home, for whom he composed his songs,⁴ for whom his voice was most often put forth, and for whom his *Deutsche Chronik* was written: the middle and lower classes.⁵

¹ A phosphorescent light that hovers or flits over swampy ground at night, possibly caused by spontaneous combustion of gases emitted by rotting organic matter. Also called *fiar's lantern*, *jack-o'-lantern*, *will-o'-the-wisp*, and *wisp*, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/>, accessed June 13, 2013.

² Thomas Carlyle, *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, vol. 25, *The Life of Friedrich Schiller, Comprehending an Examination of his Works* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899), 300.

³ F. H. Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger's* (Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1851), 130. This biography was translated at the author's request by Mrs. Christa Smith, Emeritus Professor of Language and Literature, Wayland Baptist University.

⁴ Hartmut Schick, *Daniel Schubart (1739-1791), Sämtliche Lieder*, *Denkmäler der Musik in Baden-Württemberg* 8 (Munich: Strube, 2000), XXIV.

In addition to possessing a likable personality, Schubart was apparently an accomplished musician, as he impressed Charles Burney with his facility on the harpsichord and clavichord during their meeting in August of 1772 to the point of Burney calling him “the first real great harpsichord player [he] had hitherto met with in Germany.”⁶

Schubart’s personality, education, musical ability, and empathy for the plight of the middle and lower class all contributed to how his life ultimately played out. His staunch defiance of authority and his ability to write stirring and brazen (if intelligently subversive) passages coupled with access to a means of disseminating his views via his own publication resulted in the perfect storm of Schubart’s own creation from which he ultimately could not escape.

The Political Environment of Southwestern Germany during the Late Eighteenth Century

In order to understand Schubart, one must understand the political environment in which he lived and worked. The late eighteenth century was a time of much political and social unrest in Europe. The map of political boundaries looked much different than it does today. During this time, there was no Germany as it currently exists. Rather, it was a series of geographically-related states ruled by local monarchs along with several free-cities and free

⁵ Michael Myers, *German Life and Civilization*, vol. 6, *Für den Bürger: The Role of Christian Schubart’s Deutsche Chronik in the Development of a Political Public Sphere* (New York: Lang, 1990), 127.

⁶ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, (London: T. Becket; J. Robson; and G. Robinson, 1775), 1:105-8.

knights, all under the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Empire.⁷ The level of enlightenment, liberalism, and overall freedom varied greatly from place to place, depending upon the ruler and his philosophy toward governing. However, all areas of the region were under the same general governing style of Absolutism.⁸

Schubart's native southwest Germany, consisting of Swabia, Württemberg, and Baden, was one of the least enlightened regions of Germany during the late eighteenth century. While all of these areas had suffered greatly as a result of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), it was Württemberg, Schubart's home, that suffered most severely and whose recovery progressed most slowly. Population loss, a predominately agrarian economy which resulted in a very poor tax base, and exceedingly oppressive political rule administered by Karl Eugen (1728-1794) made Württemberg one of the poorest, most uneducated, and politically oppressed areas of Germany during the late eighteenth century.⁹

The plight of the lower and middle classes in Württemberg during the late eighteenth century was discouraging at best. The Industrial Revolution, so prevalent in other, more enlightened areas of Europe, most notably England, had

⁷ Thomas P. Saine, "The World Goethe Lived in: Germany and Europe, 1750-1830," in *The Cambridge Companion to Goethe*, ed. Lesley Sharpe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 6-22.

⁸ Political doctrine and practice of unlimited, centralized authority and absolute sovereignty, especially as vested in a monarch. Its essence is that the ruling power is not subject to regular challenge or check by any judicial, legislative, religious, economic, or electoral agency. Though it has been used throughout history, the form that developed in early modern Europe (sixteenth–eighteenth century) became the prototype. Merriam-Webster Dictionary, Online Edition, s.v. "Absolutism," accessed August 16, 2014, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/absolutism>; Myers, "Für den Bürger," 1.

⁹ Myers, "Für den Bürger," 2.

seemingly not taken root. The prospect of advancement for these classes was virtually nonexistent, as 70% of their income went toward acquiring food.¹⁰

Many historical developments, the geographical scope of which far exceeded Württemberg itself, helped to shape conditions in Württemberg during Schubart's lifetime. However, true as that may have been, Schubart directly blamed Karl Eugen for the deplorable conditions of the place and was very willing to publicly display Eugen's culpability, as is seen in many entries in his *Deutsche Chronik*.

Karl Eugen

Despotic rulers in Germany in the late eighteenth century were numerous and varied greatly in their approaches to governing. When compared to Charles Augustus of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, Karl Eugen "led a life of profligacy and licentiousness in defiance of protests by the estates of the duchy."¹¹ Myers writes:

Baden, one of the more liberal and tolerant lands of southern Germany under the enlightened reign of Karl Theodor, stood in stark contrast to the repressive government of Württemberg, whose monarch, Karl Eugen, exemplified the worst abuses of power and harshest manner of governing during the entire era of the absolute despotism.¹²

Thomas Carlyle agrees with Myers: "Schubart himself is a sad *Olla Podrida* (hodge-podge) of flabby nonsense; but Karl [Eugen] the *Tyrann* appears

¹⁰ Myers, "Für den Bürger," 2.

¹¹ Encyclopedia Britannica, Online Edition, s.v. "Germany," accessed September 10, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/231186/Germany/58175/Enlightened-reform-and-benevolent-despotism#ref297436>.

¹² Myers, "Für den Bürger," 2.

very diabolic[al] in the background.”¹³ Carlyle reached this opinion after having read a biography of Schubart entitled *Schubarts Leben in seinen Briefen* (1848). This bibliography was written by David Frederick Strauss (1808-1874), who is best known for his *Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* (*The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined*), which labeled all Biblical accounts as myths.¹⁴ Strauss’ connection with Schubart, though indirect, was significant. Strauss studied the works of George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) intently. Hegel was an influential German philosopher and was the son of an official in Eugen’s government. Among many other works, Hegel wrote political essays expressing negative views of the state of affairs in Württemberg, and was a friend of the poet Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843), who knew Schubart personally, having met him after his incarceration. Hegel is known as a German Liberal who supported German unification, much as Schubart did.¹⁵

An effective method of acquiring a better understanding of Karl Eugen is to compare him to one of his contemporaries, Frederick II (The Great) of Prussia who ruled from 1740-1786. Ellis Barker describes Frederick as “the most gifted and the most successful Prussian Monarch.”¹⁶ In his 1777 *Essay on the Forms of*

¹³ “The Carlyle Letters Online,” accessed September 10, 2013, <http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org>.

¹⁴ John Francis Waller, ed. *The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography* (Glasgow: William McKenzie, 1863), 3:813.

¹⁵ Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, s.v. “Hegel: Social and Political Thought,” by David A. Duquette, Section 3, “The Jena Writings,” accessed June 28, 2015, <http://www.iep.utm.edu/hegelsoc/#H3>; Norman Levine, *Marx’s Discourse with Hegel* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 60-72.

¹⁶ J. Ellis Barker, *The Foundations of Germany*, 2nd ed. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1918), 20.

Government and the Duties of Sovereigns, the Prussian king describes the duties of a ruler:

Rulers should always remind themselves that they are men like the least of their subjects. The sovereign is the foremost judge, general, financier, and minister of his country, not merely for the sake of his prestige. Therefore, he should perform with care the duties connected with these offices. He is merely the principal servant of the State. Hence, he must act with honesty, wisdom, and complete disinterestedness in such a way that he can render an account of his stewardship to the citizens at any moment. Consequently, he is guilty if he wastes the money of the people, the taxes which they have paid, in luxury, pomp, and debauchery. He who should improve the morals of the people, be the guardian of the law, and improve their education should not pervert them by his bad example.

Princes, sovereigns, and kings have not been given supreme authority in order to live in luxurious self-indulgence and debauchery... The bad administration which may be found in monarchies springs from many different causes, but their principal cause lies in the character of the sovereign.¹⁷

It should not be taken from the entry above that Frederick did not live luxuriously, as the life of a monarch was indeed luxurious. Rather, he implies that a certain level of consideration should be levied when making decisions.

Eickhoff's depiction of the excesses and abuses of Karl Eugen reflects a complete contradiction to the philosophy of Frederick II and paints a dire picture of the commoner's state of existence under his rule:

The whole land and individuals were burdened with unbearable taxes, just to satisfy the limitless desires of the insatiable prince. The small court at Stuttgart was one of the most glittering in Europe. The extravagance of costly liveries, in imported horses, talented and expensive musicians, singers, and dancers, operas and concerts, hunts and fireworks, were immense. With paid-for prostitutes the Duke did not satisfy himself; many an honorable daughter of his subjects was forced to bring her virginity as a sacrifice, and the parents had to remain silent for fear of the Duke's revenge. And, instead of putting before the eyes of the subjects the

¹⁷ Barker, *The Foundations of Germany*, 21-22.

loathsomeness of the sin of incontinence, making it despicable, the example of immorality at the court caused imitation of this lifestyle to be attempted.¹⁸

Based on the statement above, Eugen was indeed a diabolical tyrant whose abuses of power included gross mismanagement of governmental funds and wasteful spending, which would have been severely damaging for even a state of great wealth. For Württemberg, whose tax base was exceedingly poor, there can be little doubt that this extreme fiscal mismanagement was devastating.

Eugen's debauchery spilled over into moral and personal avenues by virtue of rampant prostitution in the court, disregard for the legislature (which still had some political control in Württemberg, most notably financial), and random incarceration of those who in some way opposed or denied him, regardless of the nature of the opposition.¹⁹ Abuse of every kind clearly ruled the day in the court of Karl Eugen.

Schubart greatly esteemed Frederick the Great, as is evidenced in several of his entries in the *Deutsche Chronik*.²⁰ The esteem given to Frederick in these entries would seem to indicate that Schubart did not oppose the ruling style of Absolutism *per se*. Rather, he opposed the abuse of that absolute power. If Karl Eugen had shared even some of Frederick the Great's ideals and philosophies toward ruling, perhaps Schubart would not have ended up in prison (at least not

¹⁸ Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger's*, 117.

¹⁹ Myers, "Für den Bürger," 1-12.

²⁰ G. S. Ford, "Two German Publicists on the American Revolution," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 8 (1909):167.

in the time and place and for the duration that it occurred). There would have been no need to confront the abuses of power committed by Eugen. As it was, Eugen stood as the antithesis to Frederick II and Schubart simply could not remain silent on the issue.

Deutsche Chronik

It seems almost impossible, under present conditions in Germany, to edit a good political periodical. Whenever a bold thought rises in the journalist's mind he must cast a weather eye at public warnings, then he becomes timid and indifferent. That explains the monotonous tone of many a newspaper man who is now rocking politicians to sleep in grandfather's armchair.²¹

This entry in the *Deutsche Chronik* was printed on July 2, 1774, only three months after Schubart began writing and editing the journal. Here, he makes clear several matters of personal contention and sets the tone for what would follow in subsequent issues. There was a distinct lack of appropriate journalism in southwest Germany, and Schubart intended to correct that with his *Chronik*. Myers writes that "this journal, unique at the time on German soil, represents the first example of journalism which offered clear and overt criticism of the state and editorial commentary on the struggles of the middle and lower classes to achieve identity."²² Clearly, Schubart was breaking new ground in publishing this type of journal.

Schubart wrote and edited the *Deutsche Chronik* from March 1774 to January 1777, only stopping due to his incarceration by Eugen. Despite Schubart's condemnation of other journalists for allowing their work to be

²¹ Schubart, *Deutsche Chronik*, July 2, 1774, quoted in "Two German Publicists," 167.

²² Myers, "Für den Bürger," 21.

adulterated by the influence of despotic rulers, he was not always accurate in his own writings. Schubart himself often filled his *Chronik* with “speculation, conjecture, and predications.”²³ David Pickus states that “all of what Schubart reported as news is also what we would call an editorial: it was designed to express his goals, especially his desire for power to be exercised with humanity. Hence, the *Chronik* dedicated itself to telling power how to behave.”²⁴

“Telling power how to behave” would prove to be a central problem for Schubart. Being obviously cognizant of the abuses of Karl Eugen, his options were to remain silent and allow such abuses to continue unchallenged or to bring such abuses to light in the hope that, in some manner and by some method, change could be affected. Schubart chose the latter.

Eickhoff states that Schubart “misused his gifts and talents ... in the service of sin.”²⁵ However, specifically regarding the *Chronik*, Eickhoff noted that “the major work of his sin became the reason for his punishment. In the *Deutsche Chronik*, a then much read paper published in Ulm, he had insulted the Duke Karl von Württemberg in several of his poems.”²⁶ Given the possibility of Schubart’s publication having such an effect on the lower and middle classes that it could ultimately lead to political upheaval and even uprising, there can be little doubt that Eugen would have sought to snuff it out.

²³ Myers, “Für den Bürger,” 47.

²⁴ David Pickus, *Dying with an Enlightening Fall: Poland in the Eyes of German Intellectuals, 1764-1800* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2001), 74.

²⁵ Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger’s*, 130.

²⁶ Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger’s*, 130.

Whether Schubart's endeavor of challenging Karl Eugen had at its root some patriotic heroism or was simply a result of his brazen personality coupled with arrogance (and perhaps lack of better judgment) is unclear. Regardless of its germ, the result of this endeavor would be a ten-year incarceration in the Hohenasperg.

Incarceration and "Reformation"

The reason for Schubart's arrest and incarceration is not completely clear. Myers proposes that three causes seem most plausible based simply on the premise that they have been the most commonly mentioned in writings about Schubart.

1) Schubart had incurred the wrath of Karl Eugen with a sarcastic epigram in which he referred to Karl as a "Schulmeisterlein"; 2) Schubart had offended Austrian minister and ambassador Ried; 3) Jesuits were finally able to exact a fitting revenge on Schubart.²⁷

While the exact reason(s) may be unclear, the man directly responsible for it is not in question. Karl Eugen orchestrated Schubart's arrest and personally saw to the details of his incarceration. Upon his arrest, "Schubart was brought to the fortress Hohenasperg with consideration for the personality of the commander there."²⁸ The man responsible for directly overseeing Schubart's stay in prison, Philipp Friedrich Rieger, had himself been an inmate in the same prison. The implications of this fact were clearly not lost on Eugen.

Prior to his arrest, Rieger had been a close confidant of Karl Eugen for many years. However, due to a conspiracy based on false allegations made by

²⁷ Myers, "Für den Bürger," 248.

²⁸ Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger's*, 130.

Minister Count von Montmartin, Rieger was incarcerated at Hohenasperg for 1,460 days (four years) beginning on November 28, 1762. During this time he endured much the same punishments as he would later inflict upon Schubart. Eugen had witnessed the apparent success of his terrible methods of “rehabilitation” imposed on Rieger, as the two were eventually reconciled and Rieger was reinstated to his previous positions. Eugen now would have Rieger in charge of administering that same rehabilitation (or as Eickhoff calls it, “cure”) to Schubart.²⁹

According to Eickhoff, Eugen’s role in Schubart’s punishment included being present when Schubart was brought to Hohenasperg and choosing the cell in which he would serve his sentence.³⁰

It was a grey, dark hole in the rock. In the bare wall an iron ring to which, upon orders of the Duke, he was to be chained when he was to be served [food]. The people who were to bring his sparse food had strong orders not to utter a single word to him. No book, no ink, quill, pencil or paper were allowed him. Everything around him was to be as silent as the grave. He was to experience the torture from which he had fled as if it were death: to be alone with himself. His earlier stubbornness was followed in a few days by a softer mood, tears, sighs to God, attempts to pray, to protect him from the despair to which he was so close. In keeping with his nature, soon all other emotions were swallowed by boredom, just as, earlier, amusement had been the highest goal of his life. Loneliness weighed on him with terrible force until he could stand it no longer, and pleaded more diligently to receive from heaven what earth had denied him.³¹

²⁹ Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger’s*, 120-30.

³⁰ Gail K. Hart, “Doing Time in Schiller’s Eighteenth Century: C. F. D. Schubart as Political Prisoner, or the Man in the Hole,” *Pacific Coast Philology* 36 (2001): 1-9, accessed February 10, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3595466>; Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger’s*, 130.

³¹ Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger’s*, 130-31.

Clearly, the conditions of his incarceration took a toll on Schubart, even during its early stages. To glimpse the negative effects that longer-term incarceration would undoubtedly have had on Schubart, one simply needs to review the account of Rieger himself being visited for the first time, after sixteen months of his own incarceration:

Horror struck the preacher when he stepped into the murder pit. His eyes were looking for a human being—and a horror-awakening monster crawled toward him from a corner that looked more like the den of a wild animal than the abode of a human being. A pale, deathlike skeleton, all color of life was gone from his face, in which pain and despair had marked deep furrows, and beard and nails through long neglect had grown to the most disgusting [state]; from prolonged use his clothing was half-rotten, and because of a total lack of cleaning the air was totally polluted...³²

Given Eugen's possible intent to have Schubart's experience in prison mirror that of Rieger's, and that Rieger himself facilitated that experience, there can be little doubt that Schubart's condition, before being moved to more "comfortable" accommodations after thirteen months of isolation, would have been similar to that described above. Doubtless, the conditions Schubart experienced, especially in his initial thirteen months of isolation, would have resulted in some type of psychological reaction. The type and extent of reaction elicited, however, is not clear, nor is it clear that he underwent a true reformation.³³

Hart believes that "the mind of Schubart yielded and the rebellious journalist ultimately [underwent] ... a fully effective theft of spirit, a lasting revision

³² Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger's*, 120-30.

³³ Hart, *Doing Time in Schiller's Eighteenth Century*, 4.

of his personal narrative.”³⁴ Perhaps the most meaningful indication of the plausibility of this assertion is that Eugen, upon releasing Schubart, permitted him to publish his *Chronik* again (under a different title) with no restriction from the censor, even while increasing pressure from the censor on other members of the press.”³⁵ According to Hart, “Karl Eugen was a very astute defiance detector and, clearly, in his learned and authoritative opinion, censorship was no longer necessary.”³⁶

Yet, despite Eugen’s apparent belief in Schubart’s reformation, there is evidence that it indeed may not have been complete, or at least not until late in his incarceration. According to Eickhoff:

Hard treatment, which Schubart mentions casually, suggests reversions into his previous bad behavior. If one had thought him intrinsically and lastingly healed, one would certainly have given him back his freedom. The great strictness with which Rieger constantly denied him everything that could have entertained him, from the keyboard to the pencil to underline Bible verses, shows how little one trusted his inner resistance against old ways, how much one had to fear that use and abuse, with him, were still one.³⁷

One side of the argument stands on the idea that the severity of the conditions and the intense nature of the correction experienced by Schubart at the hands of Rieger would have been enough to change him at some intrinsic level, and that the evidence of this change can be found in Schubart’s own words

³⁴ Hart, *Doing Time in Schiller’s Eighteenth Century*, 8.

³⁵ Myers, “Für den Bürger,” 269-72.

³⁶ Hart, “Doing Time in Schiller’s Eighteenth Century,” 8.

³⁷ Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger’s*, 137.

recorded while incarcerated.³⁸ However, the opposing argument is that given the severity of the conditions and the intense nature of the correction experienced by Schubart at the hands of Rieger, he had no choice but to *give the impression* that the “cure” being administered to him was having the desired effect or risk extending his sentence and perhaps intensifying the level of rehabilitation (cure) he was receiving.

Die Fürstengruft (The Grave of Princes) supports the latter view. This poem, composed during Schubart’s incarceration and detailing the stark contrast between the lavish lifestyles of princes while alive and their putrid remains after death, was published in 1781 in a German periodical without Schubart’s knowledge.³⁹ Given the subject matter of the poem, it is not difficult to understand why Schubart would not have wanted this poem circulated. The poem denounces princes or other nobility who abuse their power or benefit in some way by the work or mistreatment of their subjects.⁴⁰ Ultimately, Eugen discovered the poem and recognized that it was he who was implicated. As punishment, he extended Schubart’s incarceration to ten years.⁴¹ Schubart’s

³⁸ The subject of these writings will be visited in chapter 2.

³⁹ Julie D. Prandi, *The Poetry of the Self-Taught: An Eighteenth-Century Phenomenon* (New York: Peter Land Publishing, 2008), 154.

⁴⁰ Prandi, *The Poetry of the Self-Taught*, 158.

⁴¹ Prandi, *The Poetry of the Self-Taught*, 154; Hart, *Doing Time in Schiller’s Eighteenth Century*, 8.

son, Ludwig, confirms that “this circumstance has, I know for sure, strongly contributed to the extension of his [C. F. D. Schubart’s] sentence.”⁴²

The significance of this occurrence is two-fold. First, it strongly indicates that perhaps as late as 1781 (three years or more into his incarceration) Schubart still held to his previous habits of condemning the abuses of power, just as he had before his incarceration. Hart asserts that:

Such strong statements almost seem to have been written by a “free” and defiant prisoner... However, Schubart apologized profusely when the poem was discovered, claiming that it only referred to bad monarchs and not his sovereign, Karl Eugen. Then he “freely” added four more stanzas to soften the impression of the original.⁴³

While Hart argues that Schubart’s adjustment of adding four additional stanzas to his original poem indicates “a fully effective theft of spirit,” it may actually indicate something altogether different.

Schubart was obviously aware of the ramifications of Eugen discovering *Die Fürstengruft*. This is evidenced in the fact that he did not intend it to be published and, until it was published, neither Eugen nor Rieger apparently knew of its existence, presumably due to Schubart keeping it hidden. Further, when confronted with the knowledge that Eugen was aware of the poem, Schubart did not simply beg forgiveness. Rather, he employed a method of adding ambiguity to his work not unrelated to those he previously used in writing entries for his *Chronik*. He added stanzas so as to obscure the real meaning and, therefore,

⁴² Ludwig Schubart, *Schubart’s Karakter von seinem Sohne* (Erlangen, 1798) quoted in Kurt Honolka, *Schubart: Dichter und Musiker, Journalist und Rebel* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt GmbH, 1985), 215.

⁴³ Hart, “Doing Time in Schiller’s Eighteenth Century,” 8.

the target of the poem. This attempt apparently proved unsuccessful, as Eugen extended Schubart's sentence to ten years. However, this is likely due to the fact that the ambiguity created by the added stanzas was added *after* the song was discovered. By that point, the damage had been done. This occurrence may have served as a learning experience for Schubart, however, as it is possible he pre-emptively used this method in a later poem composed in 1782, five years into his incarceration: *Die Forelle*.

CHAPTER TWO

THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SCHUBART'S *DIE FORELLE*

Before delving into the intent of the two musical settings of *Die Forelle* by Schubart and Schubert, I will assert the possibility that *Die Forelle*, the poem, was constructed as a subversive political “jab” targeting either the oppressive and ruthless policies and practices of Karl Eugen or the man chosen to, in some cases, carry out many of those practices, Philipp Friedrich Rieger.

The Subject Matter of Schubart's *Die Forelle*

In a clear brooklet,
in lively haste,
the wayward trout
flashed arrow-like by.
Standing on the bank,
contentedly I watched
the jolly little fish
swimming the clear brook.

An angler, with rod,
stood on the bank,
cold-bloodedly noting
the fish's twists and turns.
As long as the water
remains so clear, I thought,
he'll never take the trout
with his rod.

But at last the thief
tired of waiting. Artfully
he muddied the brooklet,
and the next moment,
a flick of the rod,
and there writhed the fish;
and I, with blood boiling,
looked at the deceived one.

You who linger at
the golden fountain of youth,
consider the trout,
if danger is recognized, flee!

Maidens, do not lack
prudence when you see
seducers with rod and line!
Otherwise, you may bleed too late!¹

First published in 1783 in the *Swäbischer Musenalmanach*, Schubart's poem *Die Forelle* is, at face value, a story of young women being warned to avoid the loss of their virginity at the hands of unsavory gentlemen.² This interpretation begs a very important question: would a man five years into his incarceration, enduring deplorable conditions and treatment, compose a poem that apparently in no way related to or reflected his current circumstances and his state of mind?

Schubart's writings completed during his incarceration were varied, ranging from his own memoirs to the widely known *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (both published posthumously). Many were poems or other writings showing strong religious influence or expressing despair and/or repentance. Hart writes:

Letters and other documents from his imprisonment do, I think, show the chilling success of Karl Eugen's carceral project [and] how brutal conditions caused Schubart to embrace Karl's program of docile subjection to one's monarch. In the first letter he was allowed to send to his wife, four years after his arrival at Asperg [1781], Schubart wrote: "O

¹ Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *The Fischer-Dieskau Book of Lieder* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1984), 170. The translation of the first three stanzas of the poem was taken from the source cited. The last stanza was translated by the author.

² Hans-Wolf Jäger, "Von Ruten: Über Schubarts Gedicht Die Forelle," in *Gedichte und Interpretation*, vol. 2, *Aufklärung und Sturm und Drang*, ed. Karl Richter (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun. GmbH & Co., 1983), 373. Translated by Christa Smith.

how happy I am that God has brought me to this state of self-recognition. How I kiss the floor of my jail that has swallowed so many of my penitent tears.”³

Another example of Schubart’s frame of mind while incarcerated can be found in a work composed during the same year as *Die Forelle*, his poem *Der Gefangene* (1782):

Imprisoned man, a poor man
Through the black iron bars
I stare at the far away sky
and cry and sigh bitterly.

The sun, other times so bright and round
looks down on me sadly;
and when the brown evening hour comes
it sinks down bloodily.

How yellow appears the moon to me, how pale!
It wallows in the widow’s veil;
the stars are like torches
at a funeral celebration.

I may not see the flowers bloom,
not feel the Spring’s winds;
Oh! Rather I would love to see rosemary,
stand in the fragrance of the graves.

In vain the evening breeze waves
for me the golden grain;
I may only in my rock hole
hear the raging storms.

What do dew and sunshine help me
in the bosom of a rose?
For nothing is mine, oh! Nothing is mine
in the lap of mother earth.

Can never on the spouse’s breast,
or on the children’s cheeks
with the husband’s pleasure, father’s desire
hang in heaven’s tears.

³ Hart, “Doing Time in Schiller’s Eighteenth Century,” 4.

Imprisoned man, poor man!
Far from loved ones all
Must I life's thorny road
wander in terrible nights?

Loneliness is yawning at me,
I turn around on nettles;
And oh! My prayer is desecrated
by the clinging of the fetters.

With my song, dungeon dust is rising
up to God's heights;
The lip is quivering like linden leaves,
the heart is filled with the agonies of death.

I am urged by the call of high freedom;
I feel it, that God only for slaves
and for the devil created the chain
in order to punish with it.

What, brothers, did I do to you?
Come, look at me, poor one!
Imprisoned man! A poor man!
Oh! Have mercy on me!⁴

The striking difference between the tone of the two examples given and *Die Forelle* is readily apparent. To what can this contrast be attributed? Of course, it is within the realm of possibility that when *Die Forelle* was composed, Schubart simply felt uncharacteristically content, perhaps due to being given an extra crust of bread to eat. It is much more likely, however, that the answer is more complex and found in the fact that Schubart, while a bombastic, egotistical loud-mouth, was no fool. There can be little doubt that Rieger and possibly even Eugen himself would have read the letter Schubart penned to his wife in the fourth year of his incarceration before allowing it to be sent and, having knowledge of this, Schubart would have been clever enough to make sure the

⁴ Translated by Christa Smith.

letter read as Eugen would have liked. Additionally, *Der Gefangene* may well have been a direct plea for release or reprieve to his captors and, if so, that would explain the tone of the poem. The first and last lines of the final stanza are undoubtedly specifically directed at Eugen and Rieger.

It can be reasonably assumed that Schubart learned a valuable lesson regarding the consequences he experienced when his *Die Fürstengruft* was discovered by Eugen. It can also be reasonably assumed that given this “education,” he did not intend, nor could he have likely afforded, to make the same mistake twice. His approach to achieving this avoidance of consequences, however, was not to simply avoid composing poems which damned his captors, but to hide his dangerous statements so that they went unrecognized.

Possible interpretations of Schubart’s *Die Forelle*

Before exploring the two main interpretations of *Die Forelle* that will be set forth in this document, it is important to establish a precedent for Schubart’s willingness and ability to use allegory to disguise his intentions, meanings, and targets, as he did in *Die Forelle*. Myers writes:

In addition to the fictitious dialogs and the anonymous letters, Schubart also employed fables and allegories to thinly veil his messages. In an anecdote from 1775, Schubart ... recounts the tale of a Sultan, who upon the death of his horse, orders a burial ceremony with all the splendor afforded most potentates. Soon thereafter, one of his peasant servants dies, whereupon the Sultan orders the body of the peasant to be unceremoniously cast into the river. This fable reveals several aspects of Schubart’s writing. Always aware of the censor, although often allowing his fervor and spontaneity [to] override his better judgment, he has cleverly criticized the arbitrary and callous ways of the court, and by having the story take place in the far-away middle-east, he effectively did what Schiller accomplished by changing the time-frame of *Die Räuber*

from the present to the past;⁵ he successfully avoided the immediate appearance of a direct critique on contemporary Germany (or for that matter, in both cases, Karl Eugen).⁶

Schubart's efforts to evade the censor as he continued to publish his *Chronik* were based in a simple desire to avoid consequences for actions from which he was not willing to abstain. While the consequence of losing publication rights was no doubt severe in his mind at the time, that result certainly paled in comparison to the consequences of an inflammatory composition being discovered by Eugen in the midst of his incarceration. To that end, Schubart gives neither specific time nor place and gives the characters such ambiguity (by making one character a fish and another present only in "voice") that it would have been difficult to connect the lines of comparison between this poem, its characters, and meaning to their real-life counterparts. That is, unless the final stanza were omitted.

In the final stanza of *Die Forelle*, Schubart rather clearly reveals what he intends the meaning of the poem, or moral of the story (and, hence, the story

⁵ Both Schiller and Schubart are known as fierce lovers of freedom and their respective writings reflect that. Friedrich Schiller experienced Karl Eugen and his oppression in much the same way as Schubart. So much so that Schiller had to flee the area to escape a fate similar to that suffered by Schubart. In response to the knowledge that Eugen would inflict severe punishment on those who defied him (in any way), Schiller employed tactics similar to those used by Schubart in order for his views to go unnoticed and, therefore, unpunished. According to Jeffrey L. High, "the exiled Ludwigsburg publisher and pro-American poet and editor of the newspaper *Teutsche Chronik*, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739-91), the father of Schiller's classmate Ludwig Schubart, served as a role model for Schiller." High, "Introduction: Why is This Schiller [Still] in the United States?" in *Who is This Schiller Now? Essays on His Reception and Significance*, ed. Jeffrey L. High, Nicholas Martin, and Norbert Oellers (Rochester: Camden House, 2011), 2-3.

⁶ Myers, "Für den Bürger," 246, 58. This allegorical story appeared in Schubart's *Deutsche Chronik* 75, on September 18, 1775.

itself), to be. In doing so, he actually leaves no real room for alternative interpretations, which would seem to close the case, so to speak, on the meaning of the poem. Susan Youens believes that the interpretive die has been cast by Schubart. She states that “the reference to ‘bleeding too late’ is sufficiently explicit that none but the naïve could mistake its drift.”⁷ However, responses of this nature to his poem may have been exactly what Schubart intended and, in the case of Eugen, hoped for.

Given the circumstances surrounding the discovery of *Die Fürstengruft*, it would not be a stretch to imagine that Schubart purposely left no room for interpretation in the cause of self-preservation. This last stanza could have been included by Schubart to purposely shift attention away from the intended meaning of the poem and, therefore, its target. While, without the final stanza, many possible interpretations may be within reach, the two interpretations that will be discussed in this document can be traced to actual events in Schubart’s life and revolve around the two main antagonistic characters in Schubart’s story: Karl Eugen and Philipp Rieger.

The interpretation that deals with Eugen is an autobiographical account of Schubart himself.⁸ That autobiographical account is that Schubart was ensnared using dubious methods and wrongfully imprisoned at the hands of Karl Eugen.

⁷ Susan Youens, *Hugo Wolf and his Mörike Songs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 105.

⁸ Hans-Wolf Jäger, “Von Ruten. Über Schubarts Gedicht Die Forelle,” 377-83; Hartmut Flechsig, “Die Forelle Von Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart und Franz Schubert,” accessed October 13, 2013, <https://schulmusik-online.de/anlagen/fuga/forelle.pdf>; Hartmut Schick, “Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart: Der Dichter-Musiker, Nördlingen und Wallerstein,” in *Rosetti-Forum* 8, (2007): 15-26, accessed September 16, 2015, <https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/17380/1/17380.pdf>.

Viewing the poem from this angle, it is readily apparent that the fish is Schubart himself and the angler is Eugen. This interpretation is plausible enough, given the relationship between Schubart and Eugen, specifically Eugen's capturing, or "catching," of Schubart.

Clearly, if Schubart had intended this poem to be about his, in his mind, wrongful and unwarranted arrest and incarceration, he would not have wanted Eugen to be aware of it. In order to make sure that Eugen would not understand his own implication in the poem, Schubart may have added the fourth stanza to veil his intent. In some ways, this fourth verse acted as a method of self-preservation for Schubart.⁹

This statement does not imply the belief that the addition of the fourth stanza occurred at some later time as it did with *Die Fürstengruft* upon its discovery, but that Schubart recognized the need for the fourth stanza at inception (based on his experience with *Die Fürstengruft*) and pre-emptively added it to disguise the meaning of the poem.

The idea of *Die Forelle* being about Schubart's undoing at the hand of Eugen is probably the most readily apparent and most easily acceptable interpretation that extends beyond both the text given by Schubart (loss of virginity, unscrupulous men) and the seemingly benign interpretation that results from Franz Schubert's omission of the final stanza in his setting (fish, fishermen). There is, however, another interpretation that has, to the knowledge of the

⁹ Hartmut Flechsig, "Die Forelle Von Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart und Franz Schubert," 22; Jäger, "Von Ruten. Über Schubarts Gedicht Die Forelle," 383.

author, heretofore not been entirely presented. It is an interpretation that centers on Philipp Friedrich Rieger.

Rieger was the man charged by Eugen with carrying out Schubart's "rehabilitation" in the Hohenasperg due to his temperament and the fact that he had endured the same treatment himself during his own incarceration in the same prison. Rieger's impact on Schubart, however, predates their time together in the Hohenasperg.

Among the many social injustices that both incensed Schubart and that he pointed out via his various writings in the *Chronik* was Eugen's practice of selling German soldiers to fight in foreign wars.¹⁰ It would be an easy supposition that the target of Schubart's fury concerning the selling of his countrymen as mercenaries would be Karl Eugen, as it occurred at his order. However, there is another who was directly responsible for carrying out these heinous acts. Myers writes:

When Karl Eugen could provide but a third of the 6000 troops he had promised to France during the 7 Years' War, he enlisted the help of Major Philipp Friedrich Rieger. Circumventing the control of the legislature, Rieger immediately embarked upon a cruel plan of conscription whereby he instituted unethical and even barbaric forms of enlisting the required number of soldiers, ranging from blackmail to physical violence and kidnapping, and deserters were treated even more harshly.¹¹

¹⁰ Supporting documentation surrounding both the practice and Schubart's disagreement therewith includes: Peter H. Wilson, *War, State and Society in Württemberg, 1677-1793* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 200-207; Myers, "Für den Bürger;" Prandi, *The Poetry of the Self-Taught*; Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger's*.

¹¹ Myers, "Für den Bürger," 196.

Rieger's methods of obtaining the required number of soldiers are described in greater detail by Eickhoff:

When the Duke in the year 1757 gave six thousand men to France, in order to send them against Friedrich the Great into battle, Rieger took care of the conscription with such harshness that he robbed the widow of her son, her only support; he had the young men overpowered in their houses and even in churches, tore them from the plow, and those who resisted were put in chains and led to the casernes.¹²

As opposed as Schubart was to the premise of selling German mercenaries, the methods used by Rieger to carry out such a practice would have certainly met even more intense dissatisfaction. Schubart was extremely patriotic, strongly supporting America's contemporaneous struggle for freedom from the British, as it represented to him a foreign version of his own plight and that of his countrymen. However, the mistreatment of the mercenaries, both in acquisition and thereafter, sent by Rieger to fight against the colonists caused Schubart such concern that he eventually altered his stance on the American Revolution as a whole.¹³

The descriptions of the methods employed by Rieger to acquire mercenaries not only shed light on the personality of the man in charge of Schubart's rehabilitation in the Hohenasperg, but they also begin to bring into focus a new interpretation of *Die Forelle*. Prandi brings the interpretation to near maturation by adding the following statement:

A number of Schubart's most anthologized poems include direct pleas on behalf of the victims of society. *Die Forelle* makes an analogy between the trout caught by the wily predatory fisher and young people who are

¹² Eickhoff, *Leben Philipp Friedrich Rieger's*, 116.

¹³ Myers, "Für den Bürger," 187-98.

victimized. In addition to the seduction of a young woman, this plight also affects the sons of the land, who are often faced with the menace of army recruiters out on fishing trips.¹⁴

The phrase “fishing trips” was used not only by Prandi, but by Schubart himself to describe the practice of acquiring would-be mercenaries against their will. “In Helmstädt¹⁵ war kürzlich Aufruhr gegen die Waldeckischen Werber, die manchen braven Handwerkerspursch *wegfischen*, um ihn nach Amerika zu schleppen.”¹⁶ Translated, this passage reads “In Helmstädt recently there was a revolt against the Waldeck¹⁷ recruiters who *fished away* some honest hand-worker/craftsman in order to drag him off to America.”

The exact identity of these “Waldeck recruiters” is not known, though Rieger himself may have been one of them. If Rieger was not among them, the person behind the methods employed by him was definitely Rieger. There is no known literature which reflects Eugen giving specific direction to Rieger regarding how to go about carrying out his orders of gathering soldiers for sale. This leaves the potential conclusion that the methods used were likely Rieger’s own creation.

The lines of comparison in Schubart’s *Die Forelle* are now clear. Rieger is the fisherman who “muddies the water” in order to catch his prey. The young men of the region would never have volunteered to become mercenaries. Had

¹⁴ Prandi, *The Poetry of the Self-Taught*, 119.

¹⁵ Modern Helmstedt, a town in Lower Saxony.

¹⁶ Schubart, *Deutsche Chronik*, June 10, 1776, quoted in “Für den Bürger,” 196-197. Translated by the author.

¹⁷ Waldeck was a geographical area in Germany and a county in Hesse. It is unclear which is referenced.

only non-violent measures been employed to collect willing men, those who were unwilling could have easily avoided the outcome. This is represented by the entry “as long as the water remains so clear, he’ll never take the trout.” However, Rieger, the “thief, tired of waiting [and] artfully he muddied the brooklet” which allowed him to take the men against their will.

The final piece of the present interpretation is found in the date of the poem’s composition, 1782, for it was in this same year (May 15, 1782) that Philipp Rieger met his end. As there is no specific date of composition given for *Die Forelle* beyond the year, neither for the poem nor the song, it is impossible to state with any certainty that the poem was composed after Rieger’s death. However, both Schubart and Friedrich Schiller were enlisted to compose poems honoring Rieger’s upon his death in 1782.¹⁸ Given the nature of the poem and the true meaning thereof, it is certain that Schubart would not have submitted *Die Forelle* to Eugen as a commemorative poem for Rieger. However, it would not have been out of character for Schubart to have composed *Die Forelle* in addition to the poems officially submitted for the occasion. This alignment of years adds to the theory that Rieger is the antagonist in *Die Forelle* rather than Eugen, as, though motivation certainly existed for Eugen to be portrayed in the poem, there is a lack of explanation as to why Schubart would have waited five years into his incarceration to have done so.

Additionally, the narrator presents a problem for the autobiographical interpretation in that nowhere in the poem is it stated or even alluded to that the

¹⁸ Hart, “Doing Time in Schiller’s Eighteenth Century,” 6.

narrator is in any way responsible for the paths of the trout and the angler having crossed. Based on text alone, the narrator plays no active role outside of emotional observer and one who relays information. This issue, however, is not a problem in the Rieger interpretation as the narrator in the Rieger interpretation is Schubart himself, which explains why the narrator experiences such strong, negative emotions upon witnessing the capturing of the “fish.”

Sufficient evidence exists to conclude that Schubart’s poem *Die Forelle* was intended to be political in nature. Whether the intent was to implicate Eugen for treacherous methods of arrest and wrongful imprisonment or Rieger for unethical and barbaric methods of acquiring soldiers for sale, it is certainly feasible that this poem offers much more than a “smug” moral wrapped feebly in sentimental verses.¹⁹

¹⁹ John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1997), 160.

CHAPTER THREE

THE INFLUENCE OF C. F. D. SCHUBART AND HIS WORKS ON EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY VIENNA

As with everyone, a myriad of factors (experiences, people, and various other contributors) undoubtedly motivated Christian Schubart throughout his life. One of those motivating factors must have been the desire to make an impact and to influence others. This can easily be seen in his journalistic endeavors and while his writings apparently did not incite the type of resistance to oppression he may have hoped for, they did at least carry the potential to influence, specifically during his own lifetime. This is demonstrated by the fact that Eugen rendered Schubart unable to continue eliciting discontent among the common people by incarcerating him.¹ Influential as he and his works may have been during his lifetime, however, what evidence exists that his influence extended beyond his own time and country?

While there are no known letters from Schubert or other documents concerning him that specifically mention Schubart, there is circumstantial evidence that would strongly indicate that Schubert would have at least been aware of Schubart's works and that they may have influenced him. He also may have been aware of Schubart's wrongful arrest and imprisonment.

Schubart Poems Set by Schubert

The most direct and obvious evidence of Schubert's awareness of Schubart and his work comes in the form of the four Schubart poems Schubert

¹ Myers, "Für den Bürger," 272.

set to music. Those four poems, including *Die Forelle*, are included in Table 1 along with the date of composition, original key of each song, and Schubart's description of the corresponding key as listed in his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*.

Table 1. The four Schubart poems set by Schubert

Song title	Year	Key	Description of key by Schubart
An den Tod	1817	B major	Strongly colored, announcing wild passions, composed from the most glaring colors. Anger, rage, jealousy, fury, despair and every burden of the heart lies in its sphere.
An mein Klavier	1816	A major	This key includes declarations of innocent love, satisfaction with one's state of affairs; hope of seeing one's beloved again when parting; youthful cheerfulness and trust in God.
Grablied auf einen Soldaten	1816	C minor	Declaration of love and at the same time the lament of unhappy love. – All languishing, longing, sighing of the love-sick soul lies in this key.
Die Forelle	1817	D-flat major	A leering key, degenerating into grief and rapture. It cannot laugh, but it can smile; it cannot howl, but it can at least grimace its crying. – Consequently only unusual characters and feelings can be brought out in this key

Source: Translations of Schubart's descriptions are taken from Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 121-24.

All four songs were composed in 1816 and 1817, but they were not published together. The exact significance of this chronological proximity is not clear, but one might presume some unifying factor in composing all four songs

within this time-frame, if nothing more than this being when Schubert became aware of Schubart's poems and, perhaps, other works by him.

There is close correlation between the characteristics of the keys chosen for three of the four songs (according to Schubart) and the mood of the poem. *Die Forelle* is a notable exception. A deeper examination of the significance of the key chosen for *Die Forelle* will occur in chapter five.

Schubert's contemporaries were aware of Schubart's most influential work, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, and Schubert himself likely employed the same work when composing *Die Schöne Müllerin*.² Schubert may also have known Schubart's musical setting of *Die Forelle*, as there are striking similarities between the two settings. Chapter five is devoted to this comparison.

The Impact of *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* on Franz Schubert's Contemporaries in Vienna

Perhaps the single most influential work of C. F. D. Schubart was his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*. Written around 1784 while he was incarcerated at the Hohenasperg, it was dictated through a hole in his cell wall to another inmate and was published in 1789. The contents of this large and varied work range from a popular history of music to Schubart's own opinions of contemporary composers, descriptions of various instruments, instructions on

² Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 121.

musical style, and a list of what he considered to be the innate characteristics of all of the major and minor keys.³

Though other musicians developed their own list of key characterizations, Schubart's list became the most influential.⁴ Schubart assigned to each key what he believed to be the most accurate description of the mood elicited by it. The foundation of Schubart's general belief about these key characteristics is shown in his statement included in the 1806 Viennese edition of the *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*: "Every key is either colored or uncolored. One expresses innocence and simplicity with uncolored keys. Gentle, melancholic feelings [are expressed] with flat keys; wild and strong passions with sharp keys."⁵

Schubart's *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* enjoyed a high level of influence beyond his immediate time. A later edition of *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, edited by Ludwig Schubart, was published in 1839, indicating that interest in the work had not waned. Even as late as 1847, Schubart's work influenced other writers in their own listing of key characteristics.⁶

³ Ted Alan DuBois, "Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*: An Annotated Translation" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1983), 1-33.

⁴ Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 121.

⁵ Dubois, "Schubart's *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*," 433; Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 121. Both sources translate the passage almost identically. The author employs a combination of the two.

⁶ Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 208.

Beethoven's small library included Schubart's *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*.⁷ According to Schindler, Beethoven "applaud[ed] loudly the learned Schubart for his observations on the characteristics of the various keys, even though he was not always in full agreement."⁸ He "held Schubart's book in such high regard that he recommended its careful study to those already far advanced in their musical training."⁹

Robert Schumann was also apparently influenced by *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, as is evidenced by the fact that, at thirteen years of age (1823), he included excerpts from it in his *Blätter und Blümchen aus der Goldenen Aue*.¹⁰ However, Schumann later refuted Schubart's ideas about assigning specific characteristics to keys. In his essay *Charakteristik der Tonleitern*, Schumann says that "the analysis [of this issue] was already begun in the previous century. In particular it was the poet C. D. Schubart who professed to have found certain expressive properties in certain keys." But, he says, "it is

⁷ Anton Felix Schindler, *Beethoven As I Knew Him*, ed. Donald MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; London: Faber and Faber, 1966; reprint, General Publishing Company, Ltd., 1996) 366.

⁸ Schindler, *Beethoven As I Knew Him*, 366.

⁹ Schindler, *Beethoven As I Knew Him*, 366.

¹⁰ John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 23; Martin Geck, *Robert Schumann: The Life and Work of a Romantic Composer*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 10. This 1823 work by young Schumann was a literary collection of various works that he found important. Among those included were poems by himself and his parents, anecdotes, biographies of composers, reviews of musical performances and, as noted, excerpts from *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, etc. See Eric Frederick Jensen, *Schumann* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 10.

as inadmissible to say that this or that feeling, in order to be expressed correctly, must be set by just this or that key.”¹¹

The question of whether or not certain emotions are innately tied to certain keys has long been debated and still survives to this day. Ultimately, the answer to that question is of little value here, but the comments here establish that Schubart’s *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, published in Vienna in 1806, had made its way securely into the minds of Franz Schubert’s contemporaries, including Beethoven and Schumann, and likely others as well. While this does not prove that Schubert himself knew the work, it would be a reasonable assumption that if Beethoven and Schumann knew about it, Schubert also would have at least been aware of it and most likely read it.

Steblin undoubtedly shares this opinion, as she states that “even those composers who did not express their views on the matter [of key characteristics] might nevertheless be presumed to represent established tradition in their creative work.”¹² Likewise, Vivian S. Ramalingam, states that “in view of Schubert’s training and social contacts, it seems exceedingly likely that he had come into contact with Schubart’s ideas.”¹³ She also adds that “in Vienna ... the elder Schubart’s views of the affective qualities of the twenty-four keys were

¹¹ Robert Schumann, “Charakteristik der Tonleitern” in *Damenkonversationslexicon* (1834), quoted in Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 172.

¹² Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 190.

¹³ Vivian S. Ramalingam, “Schubart, Tonality, and *Die Schöne Müllerin*,” in *Studies in the History of Music*, vol. 3: *The Creative Process* (New York: Broude Brothers Ltd., 1993), 209.

taken up by the musical intelligentsia, in particular the circle that included Ignaz Franz von Mosel and, later, Franz Schubert.”¹⁴

The Tonal Architecture of *Die Schöne Müllerin*

It is thought that Schubert utilized Schubart’s “Charakteristik der Töne” (the portion *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* that specifically deals with the characteristics of the keys) when he selected the keys for the individual songs of *Die Schöne Müllerin*.¹⁵ A comparison of the keys chosen by Schubart and the characteristics proposed by Schubert readily reveals a strong correlation. Table 2 shows how Schubert’s key choice for each song aligns with Schubart’s characteristic of that key.

Table 2. Schubert’s choice of key for each song of *Die Schöne Müllerin* and the corresponding key characteristics as set forth by Schubart in *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*

Song title	Key	Key characteristics according to Schubart
<i>Das Wandern</i>	B ♭ major	Cheerful love, clear conscience, hope, aspiration for a better world
<i>Wohin?</i>	G major	Everything rustic, idyllic and lyrical, every calm and satisfied passion, every tender gratitude for true friendship and faithful love. - In a word, every gentle and peaceful emotion of the heart is correctly expressed by this key
<i>Halt!</i>	C major	Completely pure. Its character is innocence, simplicity, naivety, children’s talk
<i>Danksagung an den Bach</i>	G major	Everything rustic, idyllic and lyrical, every calm and satisfied passion, every tender gratitude for true friendship and faithful love, - in a word, every gentle and peaceful emotion of the heart is correctly expressed by this key
<i>Am Feierabend</i>	A minor	Pious womanliness and tenderness of character

¹⁴ Ramalingam, “Schubart, Tonality, and *Die Schöne Müllerin*,” 206.

¹⁵ Ramalingam, “Schubart, Tonality, and *Die Schöne Müllerin*,” 206.

Song title	Key	Key characteristics according to Schubart
<i>Der Neugierige</i>	B major	Strongly colored, announcing wild passions, composed from the most glaring colors. Anger, rage, jealousy, fury, despair and every burden of the heart lies in its sphere
<i>Ungeduld</i>	A major	This key includes declarations of innocent love, satisfaction with one's state of affairs; hope of seeing one's beloved again when parting; youthful cheerfulness and trust in God
<i>Morgengruss</i>	C major	Completely pure. Its character is innocence, simplicity, naivety, children's talk
<i>Des Müllers Blumen</i>	A major	This key includes declarations of innocent love, satisfaction with one's state of affairs; hope of seeing one's beloved again when parting; youthful cheerfulness and trust in God
<i>Thränenregen</i>	A major/minor	This key includes declarations of innocent love, satisfaction with one's state of affairs; hope of seeing one's beloved again when parting; youthful cheerfulness and trust in God
<i>Mein</i>	D major	The key of triumph, of Hallelujahs, or war-cries, of victory-rejoicing. Thus, the inviting symphonies, the marches, holiday songs and heaven-rejoicing choruses are set in this key
<i>Pause</i>	B ♭ major	Cheerful love, clear conscience, hope, aspiration for a better world
<i>Mit dem grünen Lautenbände</i>	B ♭ major	Cheerful love, clear conscience, hope, aspiration for a better world
<i>Der Jäger</i>	C minor	Declaration of love and at the same time the lament of unhappy love. –All languishing, longing, sighing of the love-sick soul lies in this key
<i>Eifersucht und Stolz</i>	G major/minor	Everything rustic, idyllic and lyrical, every calm and satisfied passion, every tender gratitude for true friendship and faithful love, - in a word, every gentle and peaceful emotion of the heart is correctly expressed by this key/ Discontent, uneasiness, worry about a failed scheme; bad-tempered gnashing of teeth; in a word: resentment and dislike
<i>Die liebe Farbe</i>	B minor	This is as it were the key of patience, of calm awaiting one's fate and of submission to sublime dispensation. For that reason its lament is so mild, without ever breaking out into offensive murmuring or whimpering

Song title	Key	Key characteristics according to Schubart
<i>Die böse Farbe</i>	B major	Strongly colored, announcing wild passions, composed from the most glaring colors. Anger, rage, jealousy, fury, despair and every burden of the heart lies in its sphere
<i>Trock'ne Blumen</i>	E minor/major	Naïve, womanly, innocent declaration of love, lament without grumbling; sighs accompanied by few tears; this key speaks of the imminent hope of resolving in the pure happiness of C major. Since by nature it has only one color, it can be compared to a maiden, dressed in white, with a rose-red bow at her breast. From this key one steps with inexpressible charm back again to the fundamental key of C major, where heart and ear find the most complete satisfaction/Noisy shouts of joy, laughing pleasure and not yet complete, full delight lies in E major
<i>Der Müller und der Bach</i>	G minor/major	Discontent, uneasiness, worry about a failed scheme; bad-tempered gnashing of teeth; in a word: resentment and dislike/Everything rustic, idyllic and lyrical, every calm and satisfied passion, every tender gratitude for true friendship and faithful love, - in a word, every gentle and peaceful emotion of the heart is correctly expressed by this key
<i>Des Baches Wiegenlied</i>	E major	Noisy shouts of joy, laughing pleasure and not yet complete, full delight lies in E major

Translations of Schubart's descriptions are taken from Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 121-24.

Those intimately familiar with Schubert's song cycle will recognize the correlation between the mood of the songs and the description of the chosen keys. However, five examples of such correlations follow for those less familiar:¹⁶

¹⁶ Vivian Ramalingam agrees with the assertion that Schubert referenced Schubart's key characteristics when composing *Die Schöne Müllerin*. Although her descriptions are similar to those given above, they are not cited as the above descriptions were created prior to and independent of the review of Ramalingam's material.

Das Wandern (B-flat major)

The mood of the Miller in this song is absolutely one of a “clear conscience”, of “hope, aspiration for a better world” and, as will be seen later in the cycle, naivety. The Miller’s heart is pure at the onset of his journey with no fear of disaster, as that concept is simply foreign to his mind.

Wohin? (G major)

Set in the calm wood, the Miller is totally satisfied to follow his new “friend”, the brook, to whatever fate may lie ahead even though he is unsure of exactly what it is that is influencing him to do so. According to Schubart’s description, the key of G major fits the setting of this song, the deep woods, and the mindset of the Miller very well.

Des Müllers Blumen (A major)

This is indeed a “declaration of innocent love”. The Miller is so overcome with emotion that he must have small blue flowers speak on his behalf while the maid sleeps imparting her not to forget him. The Miller has been completely engulfed by his love, bordering on obsession. Interestingly, Schubart includes the phrase “trust in God” in his description of A major. However, it is not a heavenly God in whom the Miller places his trust. It is the brook, who is slowly becoming his god.

Mein (D major)

The key of triumph, indeed! The Miller now believes he has gained his prize and his exuberance is clearly defined in the key of D major. This moment

in the cycle is arguably the high point of both the Miller's strength and clarity of mind, albeit relatively short-lived.

***Trock'ne Blumen* (E minor/major)**

Given what awaits the Miller in the final song of this cycle, Schubart's key description matches the mood of this song and the mindset of the Miller more closely than in perhaps any other song in this cycle. Though Schubart describes E minor as "from this key one steps with inexpressible charm back again to the fundamental key of C major, where heart and ear find the most complete satisfaction," it is interesting to note that C major is not the final stop for the Miller.

Ramalingam notes that "so striking is the correspondence between Schubert's handling of tonalities in *Die Schöne Müllerin* and Schubart's ideas that there seems good reason to believe that Schubert must have known and applied these theories in the composition of this cycle."¹⁷

In addition to the aforementioned works of Schubart that were known in Schubert's time, Schubart's autobiography was available. *Schubart's Leben und Gesinnungen* was written while imprisoned and was later published in 1793, two years after his death. In it, he depicts the circumstances surrounding his arrest and imprisonment.¹⁸ It is known that Schubert and his contemporaries were aware of Schubart and his other works and, as such, one may assume that this

¹⁷ Ramalingam, "Schubart, Tonality, and *Die Schöne Müllerin*," 209, 215-16.

¹⁸ Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Schubart's Leben und Gesinnungen* (Stuttgart: Gebrüden Mäutler, 1793), 137-45.

work was also known. If that is the case, Schubert would have been aware, not only of Schubart and his works, but his wrongful arrest and imprisonment as well.

CHAPTER FOUR

SCHUBERT: POLITICALLY MOTIVATED?

Schubert was certainly aware of Schubart, his poems, and the *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*. Both experienced social and political oppression. Schubart's reaction to this oppression was more overt, and his political resistance might have won Schubert's sympathy.

Political Upheaval during Schubert's Early Years

Schubert spent his entire life within a very volatile time, politically.¹ By the time of Schubert's birth, Europe was squarely entrenched in the French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1801). After a brief period of peace, war erupted again as the Napoleonic Wars, which lasted from 1802 to 1814. Of this constant state of war, Raymond Erickson comments that "these wars were the single most present fact of life for Vienna and, thus, also for the young Schubert."² The constancy of the reality of death and loss certainly changed the mindset of those affected by it, and may have left them with emotional responses that ranged from revenge to forgiveness, depression, acceptance, or a sense of seeking social justice.³

¹ Waltraud Heindl, "People, Class Structure, and Society," in *Schubert's Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 36.

² Raymond Erickson, "Politics and Social Life," in *Schubert's Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 8.

³ Heindl, "People, Class Structure, and Society," 37; Sarah Richardson, "The Domestic Impact of the Napoleonic Wars," University of Warwick, accessed May 2, 2015, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/students/modules/hi145a/lectures/the_domestic_impact_of_the_napoleonic_wars.ppt; Derek Summerfield, "Effects of War: Moral knowledge, revenge, reconciliation, and medicalised concepts of 'recovery'," U.S.

The years of Schubert's life marked by constant war are also the years he spent in the Stadtkonvikt. It is not known what effect this combination had on Schubert, but it is highly likely that the Stadtkonvikt would have provided an environment within which Schubert's larger views of war and the politics driving it, as well as his emotional responses to both, would have developed.

Congress of Vienna

At the completion of the Napoleonic Wars, the Congress of Vienna convened in September 1814, continuing until June 1815. Its purpose was to set the future political boundaries within the European continent, establish a new balance of power to maintain peace among the great powers of Europe, and to restore a status quo ante bellum (as it was before the war) to return as much as possible to the political conditions of 1793, which included preventing future political revolutions.⁴ This peace conference was hosted by Austria's Klemens, Prince von Metternich (1773-1859), who wanted to ensure that all forms of revolution were snuffed out at inception and future efforts were prevented.

Political Oppression in Vienna in Schubert's Time

The last thirteen years of Schubert's life were marked by the dread words *police*, *secret police*, and *ensorship*. The new era into which Schubert

National Library of Medicine, accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1124587/>.

⁴ Sources regarding the Congress of Vienna include: Enno Krahe, "The Congress of Vienna," in *Schubert's Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 55; "HS-102 Readings," accessed February 6, 2015, <http://www2.sunysuffolk.edu/westn/congvienna.html>; Marjie Bloy, "The Victorian Web," National University of Singapore, accessed February 6, 2015, <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/forpol/vienna.html>; Alice M. Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 35; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed February 6, 2015, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/628086/Congress-of-Vienna>.

was born was shaped [in part] by ... the measures of the authoritarian Austrian state against all revolutionary movements, and even against cultural change itself.⁵

Political oppression in Vienna in the early nineteenth century can best be embodied by the terms *secret police* and *censorship*. The intent of both was to reveal anything that could be construed as a threat to the monarchy and prevent such from reaching the public. To the mind of Metternich, anti-government ideas and themes had the potential to unite the common *Bürger* against the monarchy and could ultimately lead to revolution. Actual validity of perceived threats mattered little.

The secret police, whose origins can be traced as far back as 1753 when Maria Theresia established the so-called Chastity Commission, were focused on revealing any form of subversive political movement and punishing those responsible. In so doing, they preserved the existing state of governmental order and discouraged future uprisings.⁶ The scrutiny of the secret police was focused primarily on the *Bürger*, as it was believed that, due to this group suffering the highest level of political oppression, the highest potential for uprising also lay with them.⁷

⁵ Heindl, "People, Class Structure, and Society," 37.

⁶ Donald Eugene Emerson, *Metternich and the Political Police: Security and Subversion in the Hapsburg Monarchy, 1815-1830* (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), 4; Hsi-Huey Liang, *The Rise of Modern Police and the European State System from Metternich to the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 18-20.

⁷ Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 40.

One of the most effective tools employed by Metternich for not allowing anti-government ideas and sentiments to reach the general public was censorship. Not only were publications watched closely, but the arts as well. In the theater,

political allusions, either visual or verbal, were inspected closely. The words “constitution,” “liberty,” and “country” were forbidden, and the costumes or symbols of the Austrian army or any other contemporary political group were not allowed to appear on stage.⁸

Composers were also heavily watched as useful methods of disseminating problematic ideas were believed to be song texts and opera libretti.

Schubert was not immune to the hindrance of the censor. The libretto for *Der Graf von Gleichen*, by Baurfeld, was rejected because of inflammatory subject matter regarding a “bigamous Count” and *Die Verschworenen*, by Castelli was renamed *Der Häusliche Krieg* for fear that the title would be linked with conspiracy or revolution.⁹

Incidents involving censorship and the secret police potentially included much more severe consequences than altered texts and banned works as “past trouble with the police theoretically could have prevented a musician from gaining employment in any of the imperial musical institutions or from being allowed to travel or publish abroad.”¹⁰ For any composer, avoiding problems with the censor was paramount for conducting a successful career. If a composer

⁸ Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 42.

⁹ Richard Douglas Bruce, “Schubert’s Mature Operas: An Analytical Study” (PhD diss., Durham University, 2003), Durham E-Theses Online, accessed March 23, 2013, <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/4050/>, 7.

¹⁰ Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 56.

intended to communicate a subversive message, it would have required a high level of subtlety to have any chance of escaping the censor.

Schubert's Early Political Influences

Ernst Hilmar writes that Schubert's interest in political matters was, understandably, non-existent as a child and not birthed until Schubert entered the *Imperial Stadtkonvikt* (theological seminary) in 1808 at the age of twelve. It was here that Schubert came into contact with the political interests of fellow students.¹¹ These students would ultimately have five years to influence Schubert until he left the seminary in 1813 at the age of seventeen when, due to his musical pursuits taking such precedence that his academic studies suffered, he chose to withdraw from the Stadtkonvikt.¹²

While many young men certainly shared Schubert's company during his years at the Stadtkonvikt, one in particular, Johann Senn, is notable for political involvement:

In the year 1814 or 1815, having made himself conspicuous as a ringleader in an émeute,¹³ which broke out in the school, in revenge for an imprisonment inflicted on one of his comrades, he [Senn] forfeited his place as a foundation member. Of an obstinate, unyielding disposition, and satisfied of the injustice of the punishment, he preferred dismissal from the school rather than do penance for his fault.¹⁴

¹¹ Ernst Hilmar, *Franz Schubert in His Time*, trans. Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1988), 13-17.

¹² Brian Newbould, *Schubert: The Music and the Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 26.

¹³ Uprising.

¹⁴ Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, trans. Arthur Duke Coleridge (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1869), 1:16-17.

This event took place at least a year after Schubert had left the Stadtkonvikt. Even so, it would be difficult to assume that this example of Senn's character was an anomaly. While it is unknown to what extent the political views of fellow students, including Senn, may have shaped Schubert's own, it is doubtless that this exposure to the ideas and interest of these other students had some level of impact.

Burschenschaften

Hilmar notes that "it may surprise some to know that Schubert did not live in a world of his own, far removed from political reality as is often purported. After 1815, his patriotism developed into political awareness".¹⁵ This "political awareness" was due in large part to the aforementioned Congress of Vienna (1815) and the political oppression of Metternich.¹⁶

The period leading up to the German Revolution of 1848, known as *Vormärz* (pre-March), is generally accepted as spanning the years 1830-1848. However, some historians believe the *Vormärz* began as early as 1815 with the development of student organizations called *Burschenschaften*.¹⁷ Though these groups had flourished in Germany for much of the eighteenth century, their

¹⁵ Hilmar, *Franz Schubert in His Time*, 21.

¹⁶ The Schiller Institute, Stephan Marienfeld, "On His 200th Birthday—Franz Schubert: Striving for the Highest in Art," *Fidelio* 6, no. 2 (Summer 1997), accessed April 27, 2013, http://schillerinstitute.org/fidelio_archive/1997/fidv06n02-1997Su/fidv06n02-1997Su_053-on_the_200th_birthday_of_franz_s.pdf.

¹⁷ "The German 1848 Revolution: A German Perspective," accessed June 9, 2013, <http://doctorgrayson.com/genealogy/Mandelbaum/German%20History%20Revolution/The%20German%201848%20Revolution.doc>.

development in Austria came much later and drew specific attention from Metternich soon after the Congress of Vienna.¹⁸

Burschenschaften were groups of liberal-minded young men, many of whom were students, who shared a discontent with the political oppression of their time and promoted the idea of nationalism that was becoming prevalent in post-Napoleonic Europe.¹⁹ They were very much motivated by the freedoms gained through the revolutions that had previously occurred in England, France, and the United States.

A Defiant Schubert

While it is not certain whether Schubert was an actual member of a Burschenschaft, many of his friends were. In 1820, five years after the Congress of Vienna, Schubert, along with several of his friends, all of whom were members of the same Burschenschaft, was arrested by the secret police due to an anonymous tip exposing their purported unlawful activities.²⁰ Accounts of this incident abound, but the most useful one comes from one of those present, Franz Bruchmann:

Senn, who was acquainted with Schubert from the theological seminary, participated with the rest of the friends on January 20, 1820 in a farewell meeting, which they were giving for the Tyrolian student Alois Fischer (1796-1883) on the day of his departure to Landeck, to where his mother had called him after the death of his stepfather. But the police had a watchful eye; a spy slipped in, was recognized and escaped. Fischer

¹⁸ David Schroeder, *Our Schubert: His Enduring Legacy* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009), 74; Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 53.

¹⁹ Encyclopædia Britannica, Online Edition, s.v. "Burshenschaft," accessed June 9, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/85859/Burschenschaft>.

²⁰ Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 55.

happily left on his trip, but in Salzburg a warrant for his arrest was waiting. At the Viennese friends' house, the police gave search and confiscated papers and notes. It was discovered that one of the students considered Senn the only one who would be capable of dying for an idea. That smelled of conspiracy. During interrogation, Senn's behavior was "stubborn and insulting," whereby he was also supported by his friends, Schubert, the schoolmaster's assistant from Rossau, and the lawyer Streinsburg, as well as one Zeheter from Cilly, and Bruchmann. They were warned and their behavior was reported to their parents. For Senn the situation developed not so gently. He was held for a year in detention pending trial and gave, forced through hunger, ninety-two pages of his philosophical-political confession, to protocol.²¹

In a later entry in his memoirs, Bruchmann details further the incident as reported by the police:

Report of the Polizeioberkommissär Coars v. Ferstl about the stubborn and insulting behavior, which Johann Senn, born in Pfunds in Tirol, participating in the Burschenschaft student group in his residence, put forth at the properly ordered search of his writings and the confiscation of his papers, and where he, among others, made use of the expressions "he did not have to be worried about the police", and "the government would be too stupid to be able to penetrate his secrets." Also, the friends at his place, the teaching assistant from Rossau, Schubert, the lawyer Steinsberg, then the students joining in the end, the Privatist Zechenter from Cilly, and the son of businessman Bruchmann, jurist in the fourth year, joined in the same tone and let loose with verbal injuries and insults against the official behavior of the officers.²²

Hanson adds to these accounts by stating that during the aforementioned search, "the police did find remnants of Burschenschaft-type regalia including some songs and a shillelagh²³ with the carved letters E(hre) F(reiheit)

²¹ Franz v. Bruchmann, *Franz v. Bruchmann der Freund J. Chr. Senns und des Grafen Aug. v. Platen* (Innsbruck: Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1930), 129. Translated by Christa Smith.

²² Bruchmann, *Franz v. Bruchmann*, 285.

²³ Also known as a "cudgel," or short, heavy club.

V(aterland), or Honor, Freedom, Fatherland, and below, a symbol of crossed swords and names of students.”²⁴

No indication is given regarding what songs were found or who composed them. There is also no mention of whose names appeared on the shillelagh, though it can be assumed that none of the above directly implicated Schubert, or his punishment would have included more than a strong reprimand. However, Schubert was probably, at the very least, aware that many of his friends held beliefs represented by the items found at Senn’s apartment. It is much more likely, given Schubert’s own experiences with oppression under the Metternich regime, that he was sympathetic to the underground movements meant as resistance to the current state of political affairs. His actions toward the arresting officers, outlined in both the police report and Bruchmann’s own account, strongly indicate indignation that most likely was not an anomalous reaction to the situation at hand, but a result of ongoing frustration.

The account of Schubert’s involvement in the events leading up to Senn’s arrest is not the only instance of defiance exhibited by Schubert. The censor influenced the libretti of Schubert’s operas *Fierabras*, *Die Verschworenen*, and *Graf von Gleichen* by text deletions, renaming, and by being altogether banned, respectively. Knowing that these libretti were likely to be adjusted or banned completely, choosing to utilize those them at all perhaps indicates that Schubert willfully disregarded the censor. However, Schubert went so far as to compose

²⁴ Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 35, 55.

much of the music for *Fierabras* before the libretto was even reviewed by the censor, indicating a much clearer form of rebellion.²⁵

According to David Schroeder, another opera, *Alfonso und Estrella*, which was a joint venture by Schubert and his friend Franz Schober (1796-1882), represents an even larger-scale act of defiance by Schubert. As Schubert and Schober lived together at the time, Schubert was undoubtedly involved in the creation of the libretto. The libretto contained many topics that both men would have known were considered not acceptable and even inflammatory to the censor.²⁶

In addition to the previous examples, Schubert was also involved with the *Unsinnsgesellschaft*, or Nonsense Society. Clear dates of Schubert's activity are not known, though the group came into existence in April 1817 and no longer operated by 1821. The Nonsense Society was a group of young men of various backgrounds and careers within Vienna, many of whom were artists, poets, musicians, etc. As the name of the group implies, much of the known activity of the group apparently revolved around silliness and creating caricatures of one another.²⁷ In her latest contribution to this topic, Steblin explains that Schubert

²⁵ Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 46.

²⁶ Schroeder, *Our Schubert: His Enduring Legacy*, 101. Schroeder states that "by setting the story in eighth-century Spain they perhaps thought that the distance of 1,000 years from the present would be sufficient to discourage the censors from making connections with current political figures or Kaiser Franz." Schubert also used this method of setting his works in far-off times in order to obscure the intended meaning of a work.

²⁷ Rita Steblin, "Schubert: The Nonsense Society Revisited," in *Franz Schubert and His World*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs and Morten Solvik (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1.

was a central member, as well as the types of activities common to the group. However, she provides little insight into the actual implications of Schubert's membership.

There is no record of Nonsense Society involvement in any political activities. There is no hint of any activity at all that could have been construed as dangerous by the authorities. However, it is possible that the apparent absolute absence of such material is itself a form of defiance. In other words, "the absence of politics itself becomes political."²⁸ Schroeder believes that this and other such groups were forms of police baiting that those involved actually enjoyed. While the threat of the secret police remained, as long as no evidence could be found linking the club or its members to any type of criminal activity, they were relatively safe from prosecution.²⁹

Direct evidence that Schubert held subversive political views is not known. However, it would have been irresponsible of Schubert to openly notate such thoughts and opinions in letters and other documents that could have easily been discovered and seized by the secret police. If the secret police would rifle through the fireplace ashes and mail of foreign dignitaries, they would not hesitate to search a member of a nonsense society and Burschenschaft

²⁸ Schroeder, *Our Schubert*, 92.

²⁹ Schroeder, *Our Schubert*, 96.

associate and his belongings.³⁰ Under Metternich, if physical proof could be found implicating a person of political dissent, punishment would be swift and harsh.

It would have been difficult to the point of practically impossible for anyone who lived during such a tumultuous and oppressive political period marked by constant war not to have held some type of strong views, almost certainly negative, regarding the circumstances and personages responsible for the then-current state of social and political affairs. David Schroeder contends that “Schubert lived in what amounted to a police state ... and he reacted against that in both his behavior and his works.”³¹ Schroeder makes this statement in regard to the political implications he believes are contained within Schubert’s *Der Tod und das Mädchen* which, interestingly, was composed in 1817, the same year as *Die Forelle*.

Hartmut Schick, one of the leading modern researchers of C. F. D. Schubart, holds the opinion that Schubert was absolutely aware of the political implications of Schubart’s poem *Die Forelle* concerning oppression of the common man.³² Given what is now known about Schubert, his involvement in various methods and levels of defiance toward the Metternich regime coupled with his formidable musical genius, it is plausible to theorize that C. F. D

³⁰ Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 35, 51.

³¹ David Schroeder, "Dorfman, Schubert, and Death and the Maiden," *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 9.1 (2007), accessed June 13, 2013, <http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1030>.

³² Hartmut Schick, "Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart," 20. Schick provides no further details here.

Schubart's poem and musical setting of *Die Forelle* may well have presented Schubert with the opportunity to create a useful vehicle to deliver a politically subversive message. That message was possibly one of sympathy toward Schubart's struggle against political oppression as well as highlighting the similar oppression occurring in Schubert's time.

CHAPTER FIVE

A COMPARISON OF THE TWO MUSICAL SETTINGS OF *DIE FORELLE* BY SCHUBART AND SCHUBERT

Some of [Vienna's] artists, writers and intellectuals had given up in frustration, sending themselves into self-imposed exile, but others simply could not imagine living elsewhere, and developed a subtlety in dealing with their oppressors, outwitting them with such finesse that few have comprehended their strategies.¹

Perhaps the most important evidence supporting the assertion that Schubert may have been sympathetic to Schubart's political views can be found in comparing the musical settings of *Die Forelle*. This chapter explores the similarities of these pieces in key, form, meter, and thematic/motivic relationship. Schubart's setting is presented below in both its original form (fig. 1) and a modern transcription (fig. 2).

¹ Schroeder, *Our Schubert*, 94.



Figure 1. Autograph of *Die Forelle* by C.F.D. Schubert, 1782.
Source: Hartmut Schick, *Daniel Schubart (1739-1791), Sämtliche Lieder, Denkmäler der Musik in Baden-Württemberg 8* (Munich: Strube, 2000), XXIV.

Die Forelle

Naif

Christian Friederich Daniel Schubart

In ei - nem Bäch - lein hel - le, da schoss in fro - her Eil die
lau - ni - sche Fo - rel - le vor - ü - ber wie ein Pfeil, vor -
ü - ber wie ein Pfeil. Ich stand an dem Ge - sta - de und
sah in sü - ßer Ruh des mun - tern Fi - sches
Ba - de im kla - ren Bäch - lein zu.

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Figure 2. Modern transcription of Schubart's Die Forelle.
Source: Private transcription at author's request by Dr. Gary Belshaw, Professor of Composition, Wayland Baptist University, retired, 2015. Copyrighted to author.

FORM

In 1782, the same year he wrote the poem *Die Forelle*, Schubart set it to music. Whether or not significant time passed between the work's literary birth and its musical one is not known, as both are merely dated 1782. It is also not known whether the poem was written and then set to music, or if the music was composed and words were later added.² Schubart's *Die Forelle* is in a simple strophic form. Schubert sets the poem in a modified strophic form within which the homogeneity of the piece is interrupted by a B section, of sorts, at the pickup to measure 55 before returning, not to a complete A section, but to only the concluding portion thereof in measure 68.

During Schubert's time, the most common form utilized in song composition was strophic.³ Schubert had previously composed many strophic songs and he experimented with numerous hybrids of both kinds of songs (short, lyrical songs and lengthy, dramatic Gesänge) until around 1816 when he created a synthesis combining the two.⁴

² Hartmut Schick, "Forschungsprojekte zur Musikgeschichte Baden-Württembergs und Grundprobleme der Liededition am Beispiel Schubarts," *Niedersachsen in der Musikgeschichte* (Augsburg: Wißner, 2000), 111, accessed September 16, 2015, <https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/17305/1/17305.pdf>; Hartmut Schick, "Mehr Naturschrey als Kunst – Zum Liedschaffen von Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart," *Musik in Baden-Württemberg*, Jahrbuch 2002, Band 9 (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler), 13, accessed September 16, 2015, <https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/17258/1/17258.pdf>. According to Schick, Schubart composed about half of his lieder music-first (many times originally conceived as piano music), and half text-first. Both methods caused issues for Schubart regarding the quality of the resulting song as, if the music was composed first, the text had to be forced into existing music or, if the text was completed first, the music had to be generic enough to handle variances in the text.

³ Marie Agnes Dittrich, "The Lieder of Schubert," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 91.

⁴ Dittrich, "The Lieder of Schubert," 91.

Schubert's setting omits the final stanza of Schubart's poem. It is, of course, possible that he did so because he simply did not care for the subject matter, or perhaps because he felt it a risk concerning the censor.⁵ The modified strophic setting confirms that the final stanza was not part of Schubert's conception. Flechsig states that "The form of [Schubert's] reprise cuts the 3rd stanza and makes it impossible to add another one."⁶ He argues that Schubert purposely left off the last stanza as a musical "nod" to the intent of the original poem and the statement against political oppression that it contained. By "closing" *Die Forelle* rather effectively with a return to the concluding portion of the A section after a brief and somewhat dramatic interlude, it appears that Schubert may have chosen to exclude the final verse as a way to recognize the issues of oppression and unfairness presented in the poem. In short, Schubart's *inclusion* of the final stanza may have obscured the intended meaning of the poem, while Schubert's *exclusion* of it may have been to return the poem to the more overt political statement regarding the oppression of the lower and middle class by the government.

What links these two treatments of the final stanza is that, in both cases, only "informed" listeners would have recognized these allusions. For Schubart, these informed listeners were Eugen and Rieger. In Schubert's case, while the

⁵ Given what is known of Schubert and his frequency of irreverent behavior, it is highly unlikely that the subject matter of the fourth stanza met with his disapproval. It is more likely that, if the reason was not tied to Schubart, avoiding the censor was the motivation. Susan Youens, *Schubert: Die Schöne Müllerin*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 12.

⁶ Flechsig, "Die Forelle von Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart und Franz Schubert," 8.

general public may not have been aware of the reference, some of his friends most certainly would have been. Leo Black, explaining his stance that *Die Forelle* was not necessarily political in nature, writes that “at least some of Schubert’s friends (for example Senn) would have known [of Schubart’s incarceration by the political regime of his day], but the connection with his music is the more tenuous since the warning comes in a final verse which he [Schubert] didn’t even set.”⁷ However, given the perspective offered in this document, Schubert’s omission of the final verse may actually strengthen the tie between him and Schubart rather than weaken it.

Meter

The meter of both the Schubart and Schubert settings of *Die Forelle* is 2/4, and this results in some similarities in settings. In the first four measures of both compositions, striking visual similarities are readily apparent that, had the pieces been in different meters, would not have been so. Figure 3 shows Schubart’s setting. Figure 4 shows the relationship between the two settings. Figure 5 shows Schubert’s setting.

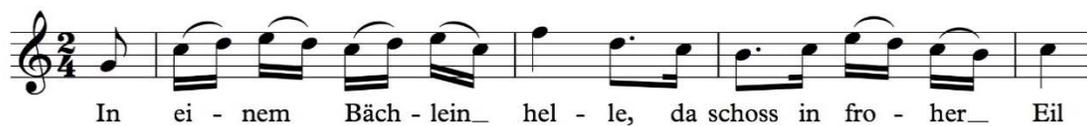


Figure 3. Schubart’s *Die Forelle*, mm. 1-4.

⁷ Leo Black, *Franz Schubert: Music and Belief* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 16.



Figure 4. Schematic showing the relationship between the first four measures of Schubert’s setting and Schubart’s.



Figure 5. Schubert’s *Die Forelle*, mm. 1-4.

The similarities are clear, especially when viewed together as in figure 4. Parenthesis reflect notes as composed by Schubart. Schubart’s notes are left out in measure three as they differed only due to chordal differences.

The rising 4th of the initial upbeat, two-bar phrases, and long note followed by a descent on the word “helle” are common figures in song literature. However, though common, these figures still carry significance, due to their perfect alignment. Myriad other, similarly common, figures were available to Schubert, yet he chose these. Those similar figures coupled with the descending four-note figure on “froher” and the dotted rhythm of “schoss in” result in these four measures being so similar that coincidence is an unlikely conclusion. Had Schubert chosen the much simpler harmonic pattern used by Schubart and moved to the sub-dominant by measure two, the four measures above would be almost identical. Schubert, however, viewing a larger harmonic structure, carried on in the tonic throughout measure four, resulting in a necessary difference. Schubert obviously would not have wished to copy Schubart’s entire work, but

may have wanted a strong enough correlation early on to solidify the relationship before moving on to his much more melodically and harmonically mature overall composition.

This borrowing of musical material would have been very unlike Schubert. In many cases, Schubert did not even borrow his own musical ideas this closely when resetting a poem. Schubert is known to have approached the re-working of a poem in two ways. He either completely reset the poem, which resulted in a truly new composition when compared to the original, or he revised an existing piece, retaining musical “residue” from the original setting.⁸ Such revision is the case in Schubert's *Harpe Songs*. The first iteration of *Wer sich der Einsamkeit ergibt* (D. 325), commonly named for the first line of text, was composed in November 1815. The second setting (D. 478, September 1816) retains the overall mood of the piece along with hints of previous musical material, such as the A minor tonality and melodic shape, including “descending fifth motion with prominent 6th upper-neighbour.”⁹ However, though these musical remnants exist, which allows Schubert's approach to be a revision rather than a resetting, the second version is developed in a much different way than the first.¹⁰ It's as though Schubert was not satisfied that he had expelled all of the potential from the text in his first effort and tried again.

⁸ Sterling Lambert, *Re-Reading Poetry: Schubert's Multiple Settings of Goethe* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), foreword.

⁹ Lambert, *Re-Reading Poetry*, 168.

¹⁰ Lambert, *Re-Reading Poetry*, 168.

Contrasted with the level of musical similarity between Schubert's and Schubart's *Die Forelle*, it becomes more plausible that these similarities were purposeful. Schubert did not simply retain musical hints or remnants used by Schubart. Rather, he utilized almost exact duplication in some areas, most notably the first four measures. Even in revising his own songs, Schubert did not copy musical material as closely as he did Schubart's in *Die Forelle*.

In addition, Schubert's five revisions of *Die Forelle*, that differ only by way of adding a piano introduction (two variants), very slight note length changes, the use of slurs, and *crescendo* placement, indicate that Schubert intended his *Forelle* to remain, by in large, just as he initially composed it.¹¹ Walther Dürr, editor of the New Schubert Lied Edition (2012) states that "[these small variations] are notational variants affecting the appearance of the lied but not necessarily its rendition in performance."¹² Much as C. F. D. Schubart's performances of his own songs were improvised versions of the songs as they existed on paper, Dürr believes that the different versions of Schubert's *Die Forelle* "reveal the limits within which a performer may proceed with his or her interpretation."¹³ In conjunction with Schubert's trends regarding resetting and revising previous songs, this may indicate that Schubert purposely intended his

¹¹ Franz Schubert, *Die Forelle: die fünf Fassungen für hohe Stimme und Klavier, D 550, op. 32*, ed. by Walter Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993), Preface.

¹² Franz Schubert, *Die Forelle: die fünf Fassungen*, Preface.

¹³ Franz Schubert, *Die Forelle: die fünf Fassungen*, Preface.

setting to resemble Schubart's in order to bring Schubart and his setting to mind for those aware of the connection.

Key

As the creator of *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, one would assume that Schubart would follow his own advice regarding key choice for his own compositions. His *Die Forelle* is set in the key of C major, for which he offers the simple description "completely pure. Its character is innocence, naivety, children's talk."

Should the composition be taken as the text suggests at face value, this key would be justifiable for the earlier portions of the song. However, during the final moments of struggle and ultimate defeat and capture of the fish (third stanza), the sense of anger felt by the narrator, and the young ladies' great loss so warned by the final verse, the chosen key is simply not consistent with Schubart's own descriptions. These apparent lapses of connection between text and key could be a result of Schubart simply being a lesser composer. However, given the apparent depth of his opinion regarding key characteristics, it seems unlikely he would simply abandon what he considered to be such an important aspect of composing upon creating his *Die Forelle* even if his compositional skills were lacking.¹⁴

¹⁴ Schick finds an additional problem in the third verse. Schubart's *enjambment* (the continuation of a sentence beyond the end of a line of poetry) doesn't allow for a free-flowing musical interpretation of the text. He states that Schubart "runs into a wall" with his setting of the passage "Doch endlich war dem Diebe/Die Zeit zu lang. Er macht/Das klare Bächlein trübe..." Schubert solves this problem by interrupting the form and setting the third stanza in a different key area, to new music. Hartmut Schick, "Mehr Naturschrey als Kunst," 19.

If, however, Schubart truly believed that each key held some innate character and elicited specific emotional responses, it would not be a stretch to consider that his key choice may have been purposeful, as C major was the “purest” available. This would have served two important purposes for Schubart. First, to Schubart, the chosen key would not have stirred in Eugen’s mind an emotional response that might trigger his awareness of Schubart’s true meaning of *Die Forelle* as, perhaps, G minor may have done - “Discontent, uneasiness, worry about a failed scheme; bad-tempered gnashing of teeth; in a word: resentment and dislike.” Second, the chosen key may have helped to frame Schubart in Eugen’s mind with the characteristics of the key itself, namely innocence and purity. If it is assumed that Schubart’s *Die Forelle* was a statement against either Eugen or Rieger, that Schubart did not wish to allow either party to make that discovery, and that Schubart believed that keys actually did evoke specific emotional responses, it becomes evident that C major would have been his best, and most ironic, choice of key in order to achieve his goals.

The key chosen by Schubert for his setting of *Die Forelle*, D-flat major, is more curious. Schubert set just six songs in the key of D-flat major, and none before 1816: *Am Bach im Frühling* (1816), *Jägers Abendlied* (1816), *Die Forelle* (1817), *Memnon* (1817), *Die Sternennächte* (1819), and *Ellens Gesang I* (1825). John Reed assessed the number of songs Schubert set in each major and minor

key and table 3 utilizes Reed's numbers for major keys, organized by descending frequency of utilization:¹⁵

Table 3. Keys chosen by Schubert and the frequency of usage

Key	Number of songs
B major	56
G major	53
B-flat major	48
F major	48
A major	47
C major	43
A-flat major	37
E major	36
E-flat major	33
D major	25
G-flat major	7
D-flat major	6

Source: John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1997), 483-94.

D-flat is Schubert's least used major key. The reason for this apparent reluctance to use D-flat major is unknown. Reed states that "the emotional tone of D-flat seems to be contemplative and introspective, but no very consistent thread can be detected in the few songs Schubert wrote in this key."¹⁶

However, if Schubert was referencing Schubart's descriptions of key characteristics, the motivation and, therefore, "consistent thread" may be found within those descriptions. According to Schubart, D-flat major is "a leering key, degenerating into grief and rapture. It cannot laugh, but it can smile; it cannot howl, but it can at least grimace its crying. Consequently only unusual characters

¹⁵ Reed's list of keys omits songs "with no obvious tonal unity."

¹⁶ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 494.

and feelings can be brought out in this key.” It is possible that this key, according to Schubart, is unable (perhaps unwilling) to effectively express its true meaning. Rather, this key, as does the poem *Die Forelle*, hints or points in the general direction of its true emotion or meaning, but holds back the complete truth thereof.

Upon comparing this description with Graham Johnson’s of *Am Bach im Frühling*, an apparent link begins to take shape. “The song’s beautiful melody and seasonal radiance are initially in the major key, but like that other great spring song *Im Frühling* the smile in the music is heard through a gentle veil of tears. The vernal glories of nature only serve to emphasize the lover’s pain.”¹⁷ Clearly, a conflict of intent or meaning is occurring within *Am Bach im Frühling*. According to the text, while the overall scene in which the character finds himself is one of hope and new beginnings, he is unable to free himself from the pain of the past. Rather than crying or expressing his pain, he simply carries it inside, unable to express it clearly. The song is at once about the joys of spring and the pain of one whose heart remains in winter. Reed calls it “the contrast between vibrant nature and blighted youth.”¹⁸

Memnon exhibits a similar irony:

Inured to eternal silence and sorrow
only once during the day may I speak,
at the moment when Aurora’s lovely purple beams
break through the night-born walls of mist.

¹⁷ Graham Johnson, “Recording Notes,” Hyperion Records, 1988, accessed January 19, 2015, <http://www.hyperion-records.co.uk/tw.asp?w=W2388>.

¹⁸ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 15.

To the ears of men it is music.
Because I voice my lament in melody,
and in the fervor of composition refine its harshness,
they suppose my blossoming joyful.

Me- clutched at by the arms of death,
snakes writhing in the depths of my heart,
nourished by the anguish of my thoughts;
and almost maddened with restless desire.¹⁹

Concerning *Memnon*, Reed writes that “for Mayrhofer the legend symbolizes the unhappy situation of the poet in an unsympathetic world, whose longing to be translated to a better world of love and liberty is turned into songs of enchantment.”²⁰ Fischer-Dieskau, discussing the actual legend upon which the poem is based, goes further by saying that “the tragedy arises from man’s *failure to comprehend* the depths of feeling contained in the note with which the statue greets the morning.”²¹ The juxtaposition of true meaning versus interpretation is quite clear in this piece and highlights what may be a perfect use of D-flat, according to Schubart’s description. In short, Memnon is unable to voice her longing in a way that men can understand. What are lamenting wails to her are heard as beautiful music to the listeners, which leaves the listeners totally unaware of what is really taking place.

In *Die Sternennächte*, the struggle between what appears to be and the state of truth is slightly muted, though very much present. In the poem, the narrator describes how the stars receive so much of man’s pain yet continue to

¹⁹ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 333.

²⁰ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 333.

²¹ Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Schubert’s Songs*, trans. Kenneth S. Whitton (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 95.

shine on cheerfully: “with them, too, hearts bleed, and pain torments, but they shine serenely on.”²² He then explains how the earth, though full of “dissonance and deceit,” appears just as the stars do to anyone equally far removed. Thus, anyone who might see the earth from such a distance would be completely ignorant of the actual sad state of affairs that exists beyond the viewer’s knowledge. Again, the contrast between the message sent and the message received, though not blatant, remains undeniable. Graham Johnson describes *Die Sternennächte* “in the key of D-flat ... as bathed in a type of seraphic moonlight which emanates from a special and separate jewel box [D-flat major] in the Schubertian treasure trove. It is as if we are hearing, in that gentle 6/8 pulse, the music of the spheres.”²³

Jägers Abendlied presents a clear juxtaposition between the hunter and his love. The hunter’s comparison of himself to his love sheds light on his view of himself. The hunter describes himself in the first stanza as “slink[ing], quiet and fierce.” However, his choice of descriptors for his love is “wandering, quiet and gentle.” He describes the image of his lady that floats before him simply as “sweet”, which contrasts to his “ill-humoured and peevish” image of himself that his love sees. The unpleasant longs for the pleasant, while it is hoped the pleasant longs for the unpleasant.

Matt Cartmill claims that some German Romantics viewed hunting and the hunter by stating that “some Romantics, especially in Germany, celebrated the

²² Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 198.

²³ Graham Johnson, “Recording Notes.”

hunter as a noble half-savage, a sort of Romantic poet with a gun who roams the forest communing with nature and brimming over with bittersweet longings.”²⁴ He notes that *Jägers Abendlied* is one such example of this “celebration.” While this romantic view of hunters may hold true in general, in this piece it is clear that the hunter does not celebrate himself. To the contrary, he projects a sense of self-loathing, certain that his love must share his opinions. Rather than resulting in a blurring of intent, this creates a form of irony between the typical interpretation of a hunter compared with the hunter’s view of himself.

Schubert originally set *Jägers Abendlied* in the key of F major, which, according to Schubart’s descriptions of key characteristics, only fits the last stanza rather than the overall mood of the song. In 1816, he reworked the piece and set it in D-flat. While it is unknown what prompted his reworking of this piece, the relatively close chronological proximity of versions could indicate the period of time within which Schubert adopted Schubart’s key characteristics.

Sir Walter Scott’s *The Lady of the Lake* centers, in large part, on deception. King James V disguises himself as a nobleman and vies for Ellen’s affection. Ellen, who is the daughter of one of the king’s enemies, loves another, however. The king mortally wounds Ellen’s father and upon Ellen’s begging for pardon from the king, the king’s true identity is revealed. All resolves well (except for the death of Ellen’s already-mortally wounded father) and Ellen is allowed to marry her true love. At the point that *Ellens Gesang I* occurs in the story, Ellen has just met the disguised king and her entire interaction with him

²⁴ Matt Cartmill, *A View to a Death in the Morning: Hunting and Nature through History* (United States of America: Matt Cartmill, 1996), 120.

(until he reveals himself), including this song, is conducted under false pretenses. As she sings this song to what she believes is an exhausted nobleman-hunter, she has no idea who is actually in her presence.²⁵ The use of D-flat describes well a situation in which what is known to one is not known to others. However, the interesting aspect of its use in this piece is that the chosen key is intended neither for the text of the song nor for the main character. It is applied because of the recipient of the song and the intentional obscuring of his identity. Given Schubart's description of D-flat, it is a most appropriate choice for this song as King James V could "smile, but he could not laugh." In other words, he could only reveal a small part of his true identity and self.

Regarding D-flat, Reed's comment that "no very consistent thread can be detected in the few songs Schubert wrote in this key" is perhaps not as final as first thought. The thread that indeed connects these songs may be found in Schubart's description of the key — a holding back, a blurring of intent, a distance between appearance and actuality, or, to state it bluntly, an ignorance of the truth is what connects these pieces. When viewed in this light, *Die Forelle* fits well within this small group of compositions and this may explain why the key chosen does not agree with the text of the song as do the other Schubart poems set by Schubert as mentioned in chapter three.

A Borrowed Song

Schick states that the songs of Schubert that have been saved are only outlines of what the songs actually sounded like when Schubert himself

²⁵ Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 90-91; Fullbooks.com, "The Lady of the Lake by Sir Walter Scott," accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.fullbooks.com/The-Lady-of-the-Lake1.html>.

performed them. As a result, no one edition or version will capture the essence of the songs as each performance differed based on the circumstances surrounding the performance, such as the energy of the audience.²⁶

Schubert's original setting of *Die Forelle* is quite difficult to locate. So it may be reasonably assumed that the vast majority of those familiar with Schubert's setting have not reviewed Schubert's. It would likely come as a surprise to most to learn just how similar the two settings are. Only an initial review is necessary to identify clearly matching areas, specifically the initial few measures. It is as if Schubert purposely began his composition with a "nod" to Schubert's own setting. From there, Schubert clearly develops his setting far beyond the capabilities of Schubert, though continues to reference it throughout the entire composition.

Perhaps the most well-known aspect of Schubert's *Die Forelle* is its depiction of the playful trout by utilizing the motive in figure 6.



Figure 6. Schubert's "trout" theme, m. 1.

Schubert utilized many variations of this theme throughout his composition, as seen in figure 7, though all variations retained the familiar, overall shape.

²⁶ Schick, "Forschungsprojekte zur Musikgeschichte Baden-Württembergs," 114.



Figure 7. A variation of Schubert's "trout" theme, m. 39.

However, this was not an original musical idea, as Schubart employs the following in his *Die Forelle*, as seen in figure 8.



Figure 8. Schubart's *Die Forelle*, m. 6.

Though Schubart did not use the bass figure above as his "trout" theme, it appears Schubert may have used it as the germ of his. At first glance, the relationship between this motive and Schubert's "trout" theme is already apparent. However, a simple shift of the last four notes from bass clef to treble clef reveals more clearly the similarity as seen in figure 9.



Figure 9. An adjusted version of Schubart's *Die Forelle*, m. 6.

By this shift, we view the pitches not as separate groupings (right and left hand), but as one set of pitches.

A second adjustment, compressing the notes slightly into a sextuplet figure with an initial sixteenth rest, shows the full connection between Schubart's original motive and Schubert's version (fig. 10).

The figure consists of three musical staves. The top staff is a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) in 2/4 time, showing a melody starting with a sixteenth rest followed by a sextuplet of six notes (F#, G, A, B, C, D) and a final note (E#). The middle staff is a single treble clef staff in 2/4 time, showing a melody starting with a sixteenth rest followed by a sextuplet of six notes (F, G, A, B, C, D) and a final note (E), marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The bottom staff is a single treble clef staff in 2/4 time, showing a melody starting with a sixteenth rest followed by a sextuplet of six notes (F, G, A, B, C, D) and a final note (E), marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic and an accent (>).

Figure 10. Schubart's original theme m. 6, top, adjusted to show the similarities between Schubert's "trout" theme as shown in m. 1, middle, and m. 39, bottom.

A similar example can be found by comparing mm. 8 (fig. 11) and 16 (fig. 12) of the Schubart's composition with mm. 66-67 (fig. 13) of Schubert's "B" section:



Figure 11. Schubart's *Die Forelle*, m. 8.

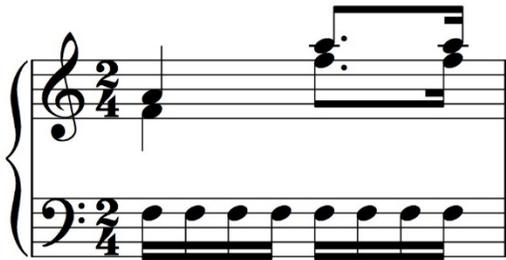


Figure 12. Schubart's *Die Forelle*, m. 16.



Figure 13. Schubert's *Die Forelle*, mm. 66-7.

These are the only three examples included in either piece within which the accompaniment, specifically the left hand, repeats notes in this manner.

Although Schubert's treatment of the motive is clearly more developed than Schubart's, one can see where inspiration for the latter may have sprung from the former. The examples immediately above are not so striking when viewed independent of the larger works within which they are found, as repetition of sixteenth notes is fairly common. However, when they are viewed as part of the

whole, all three are melodically rigid anomalies within the overwhelming amount of fluid, water-like entries that serve in both pieces to text-paint the stream and the trout.

Another example of clear musical quoting can be found in mm. 12-14 (fig. 14) of Schubart's composition as compared to mm. 33-34 (fig. 15) of the Schubert setting:



Figure 14. Schubart's *Die Forelle*, mm. 12-14.



Figure 15. Schubert's *Die Forelle*, mm. 33-34.

Schubert's excerpt matches Schubart's almost exactly, not only in the simple five-note descending scale, but in the use of the initial dotted rhythm, the use of sixteenth notes, and syllabic placement, all of which are exact matches. A notable difference is that Schubart descends from 4 to 7 while Schubert descends from 5 to 1.

It is within the realm of possibility that the musical similarities between these two pieces are purely coincidental as there is no known date of publication for Schubart's musical setting of *Die Forelle*. However, given the number of similarities between the two settings and the obvious nature thereof, this appears

highly unlikely. There can be little doubt that Schubert was aware of Schubart and his work at the time he composed *Die Forelle*. As such, and because Schubert is not known for borrowing musical material from other composers, it would be a plausible assertion that Schubert had seen Schubart's musical setting of *Die Forelle* and that he purposefully used portions of it to strengthen the connection between the two compositions. His reasoning for this may have been to assert the political meaning hidden within the original poem and musical setting and to restate it subversively in his own composition.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The three manifestations of the work *Die Forelle* are linked by the possible common intent behind their respective creations. This one poem may well have served two different composers as a vehicle for expressing their respective distastes for two separate, yet similar, oppressive political regimes.

The poem *Die Forelle* was composed in the center of what was unquestionably the lowest period of Schubart's life — his ten-year incarceration at the Hohenasperg. Some researchers believe that Schubart's will was broken during his imprisonment, and offer other works written during that time as evidence. *Die Forelle*, however, challenges that notion. When compared to other works written by Schubart during this period, *Forelle* stands out as clearly different in content and mood. For this, there is no reasonable explanation other than the poem was not what it seemed.

Schubart's real-life connection to the two interpretations presented in this document, combined with his track record of hiding intent in a similar fashion to the presentation of *Die Forelle*, leaves the distinct possibility that this poem voiced a strong denouncement of one of the two antagonists in Schubart's life: Karl Eugen and Philipp Rieger. While the autobiographical interpretation of *Die Forelle* is the more obvious of the two, the problem of the narrator is difficult to overlook. The "Rieger" interpretation, however, has no such problem, and lines up more cleanly with the experiences of Schubart's life, including Rieger's death.

Schubart had been clever enough to avoid consequences for years by publishing inflammatory material in ambiguous ways. He was known to use, among other things, allegory in order to hide his intentions, and he had successfully employed it on multiple occasions in his *Deutsche Chronik* as a way to hide the targets of his criticism. The only time he was held accountable specifically for something he had written was when the poem *Die Fürstengruft* was published without his knowledge and made its way into Eugen's hand. As he did not intend this poem to be released, he made no effort to hide the meaning of it. That occurrence may well have been what extended his sentence to ten years. However, rather than allow that consequence to snuff out his rebellious spirit, he learned from it. As a result, the final stanza of *Die Forelle* may have been added at its creation as a preemptive protection intended to veil the attack against Eugen or Rieger in order to keep them from understanding the intent of the poem.

Schubart may have used a pre-existing tune to set the text, or he may have created the music to fit the text. Whichever occurred, there would be no reason to think that Schubart's intention for his musical setting of *Die Forelle* differed from that of his poem. Most likely, the music simply served as a vehicle to carry the message of the text, and to further hide its true meaning by setting the piece in C major. Including the final stanza and choosing an effective key proved sufficient, as neither Eugen nor Rieger grasped the true intent of the piece, as is evidence by the fact that no harm came to Schubart upon its publication in 1783.

Schubart made no effort to hide his political agendas and voiced his opinions clearly, if subversively, in various ways. Conversely, Franz Schubert was much more private in his political stances, only allowing those in his close circle to be aware of his opinions. However, Schubert had close ties with members of Burschenschaften, and was also involved in other organizations that were likely, though secretly, politically active, such as the Nonsense Society. He was also known to disregard the censor, and displayed belligerent behavior toward the police during his arrest. All this points to a frustration with the political regime of his day, and the resulting unfairness and oppression suffered by the *Bürger*. There can be little doubt that Schubert held strong opinions regarding the Metternich regime. Rather than brazenly oppose Metternich, however, which would have led to serious consequences, as he had witnessed with Senn, he chose to sometimes voice his frustration through his music, much more subtly, and with a greatly reduced risk of consequences.

Franz Schubert was aware of Schubart and came into contact with many of his works. Schubart's most important works, including his autobiography and *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* were published, and it is likely that Schubert had access to them, as his contemporaries certainly did. The influence of *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* was far-reaching, influencing composers and other lists of key characteristics well into the mid-eighteenth century. Schubert himself apparently followed it closely in composing his cycle *Die Schöne Müllerin*. There also is a link of hidden intent between all of the songs that Schubert set in the key of D-flat major, including *Die Forelle*, which supports

the assertion that he indeed followed Schubart's key characteristics when composing his lied. Schubart's autobiography was likely also available, thus informing Schubert both of Schubart's ideas on music and, more importantly, his wrongful arrest and imprisonment.

Schubert's political views, potential knowledge of Schubart's fate, combined with obviously having access to Schubart's poem *Die Forelle*, would have given Schubert the opportunity to set the poem to music as a method of restating Schubart's original message against oppression and unfairness found in the text of *Die Forelle*. Schubert did not set the final stanza of *Die Forelle*, perhaps as a nod to Schubart's original intent. In other words, Schubert set Schubart's poem in its true, accusatory form, rather than the muddied version created by adding the final stanza. By leaving off the final stanza, the correlation to events in Schubart's life (whether autobiographical or related to Rieger) is much more easily identified.

While it cannot be proven that Schubert knew Schubart's setting of *Die Forelle*, the similarities between the two pieces suggest that he did. Further, the level of similarity, especially within the first four measures, add weight to the argument that Schubert purposely composed his setting in such a way that gave musical acknowledgement to Schubart and his struggles. After this initial acknowledgement, Schubert makes the piece his own and develops it far beyond Schubart's compositional ability. Schubert does, however, harken back to Schubart's setting throughout the piece to re-emphasize the relationship.

As it would have been against Schubert's tendencies to allow one of his compositions to resemble that of another composer, the similarities between his composition and that of Schubart may indicate that Schubert allowed this resemblance to occur for a purpose. That purpose is restating and, in so doing, supporting the stance against the oppression that results from the abuse of absolute power.

One of Schubert's most endearing and popular songs is thus shown in a new light. No longer is *Die Forelle* simply about a fish and fisherman, nor does it center on the frivolity of youth, warning young women to avoid unscrupulous and predatory men. *Die Forelle* now reflects the struggle of common men and women against the un-checked power of authority and the unfairness and oppression that results. Though this struggle was experienced by people of different generations and geographical areas, it is reflected similarly in the musical settings of a single poem.

Though Schubert's *Die Forelle* has often been explored, there remains a large amount of uncertainty surrounding it that remains to be definitively explained. This document serves as a starting point for uncovering the relationship between Schubart and Schubert and how Schubert may have utilized Schubart to safely express his similar political views through his setting of *Die Forelle*. Further research into the similarities of the two composers' compositions is warranted. Inspection of the other Schubart poems set by Schubert may reveal similarly hidden meanings, perhaps also political in nature. The link between Schubart, Schiller, and Schubert is an important one that also

warrants a deeper review. In addition, the idea that *Die Forelle* has as its musical germ Schubert's setting of Kosegarten's poem *Die Erscheinung* should be reviewed in light of the information contained in this document.

As the subject of this document is a piece for voice and keyboard, the alternative interpretations provided have implications for vocal study as well. This new view of *Die Forelle* could be explored as a method of developing a student's range of interpretation. It may lead to variances in performance such as vocal delivery, as well as providing room to explore the accompaniment with a fresh perspective. In many ways, this song takes on an entirely new character and tone when viewed in this new light, which affords a rich opportunity for new discoveries to those who study and perform it.

In performance, Schubart's musical setting of his own poem could be programmed with Schubert's in order to add perspective to the listener's reception of the latter composition. This would likely be welcomed for a piece performed so frequently, and would allow the initial setting, previously virtually unheard, to be introduced to the musical world. This approach would be served well in a lecture-recital setting, as the links between the two songs that are not represented musically could be explained.

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Appendix 1

Original German Versions of the Poems *Die Forelle* and *Der Gefangene*

Page 20-21

Die Forelle

In einem Bächlein helle,
Da schoß in froher Eil
Die launische Forelle
Vorüber wie ein Pfeil.
Ich stand an dem Gestade
Und sah in süßer Ruh
Des muntern Fisches Bade
Im klaren Bächlein zu.

Ein Fischer mit der Ruthe
Wohl an dem Ufer stand,
Und sah mit kaltem Blute,
Wie sich das Fischlein wand.
So lang dem Wasser Helle,
So dacht ich nicht gebricht,
So fängt er die Forelle
Mit seinem Angel nicht.

Doch endlich ward dem Diebe
Die Zeit zu lang er macht
Das klare Bächlein trübe,
Und eh ich es gedacht,
So zuckte seine Ruthe,
Das Fischlein zappelt dran,
Und ich mit regem Blute
Sah die Betrogene an

Die ihr am goldenen Quelle
Der sicheren Unschuld weilt,
O denkt an die Forelle,
Seht ihr Gefahr so eilt!
Meist fehlt ihr nur aus Mangel
Der Klugheit, Mädchen seht
Verführer mit der Angel.
Sonst reut es euch zu spät!

Der Gefangene

Gefangner Mann, ein armer Mann!
Durchs schwarze Eisengitter
Starr ich den fernen Himmel an
Und wein und seufze bitter.

Die Sonne, sonst so hell und rund,
Schaut trüb auf mich herunter;
Und kömmt die braune Abendstund,
So geht sie blutig unter.

Mir ist der Mond so gelb, so bleich,
Er wallt im Witwenschleier;
Die Sterne mir - sind Fackeln gleich
Bei einer Totenfeier.

Mag sehen nicht die Blümlein blühn,
Nicht fühlen Lenzeswehen;
Ach! lieber säh ich Rosmarin
Im Duft der Gräber stehen.

Vergebens wiegt der Abendhauch
Für mich die goldnen Ähren;
Möcht nur in meinem Felsenbauch
Die Stürme brausen hören.

Was hilft mir Tau und Sonnenschein
Im Busen einer Rose;
Denn nichts ist mein, ach! nichts ist mein,
Im Muttererdenschoße.

Kann nimmer an der Gattin Brust,
Nicht an der Kinder Wangen
Mit Gattenwonne, Vaterlust
In Himmelstränen hangen.

Gefangner Mann, ein armer Mann!
Fern von den Lieben allen,
Muß ich des Lebens Dornenbahn
In Schauernächten wallen.

Es gähnt mich an die Einsamkeit,
Ich wälze mich auf Nesseln;

Und selbst mein Beten wird entweiht
Vom Klirren meiner Fesseln.

Mich drängt der hohen Freiheit Ruf;
Ich füh'l's, daß Gott nur Sklaven
Und Teufel für die Ketten schuf,
Um sie damit zu strafen.

Was hab ich, Brüder! euch getan?
Kommt doch und seht mich Armen!
Gefangner Mann! ein armer Mann!
Ach! habt mit mir Erbarmen!

Appendix 2

Original German Versions of Translated Passages

Page 4, footnote 3

Dieser reichbegabte Mensch hatte über ein halbes Menschenleben hindurch seine ihm von Gott gegebenen Gaben und Fähigkeiten im Dienst der Sünde mißbraucht und durch ein zügelloses, wollüstiges, höchst liederliches Leben Gott und Menschen beleidigt.

Pages 9-10, footnote 18

. . . das ganze Land und Einzelne wurden mit unerträglichen Lasten beladen; um die zügellosen Lüste des unersättlichen Fürsten zu befriedigen. Der kleine Hof in Stuttgart war einer der glänzendsten in Europa. Unter dem zahlreichen Adel, den diese Prachtliebe angelockt hatte, befanden sich gegen zwanzig Fürsten und Reichsgrafen. Da gab es Marschälle, Kammerherrn, Kammer- und Jagunker, Lakaien, Heiducken, Mohren, Läufer und Köche ohne Zahl. Die Verschwendung an kostbaren Livreen, an ausländischen Pferden, geschickten und theuren Musikern, Sängern und Tänzern, Opern und Konzerten, Jagden und Feuerwerken war ungeheuer. Da mußten Wasserreiche auf die Berge und blühende Gärten in den Winter gezaubert werden. Dazu kamen auch noch sehr kostspielige Bauten. Mit bezahlten Buhldirnen begnügte sich der Herzog nicht; manche ehrenhafte Tochter seiner Unterthanen mußte ihm gezwungen ihre Unschuld zum Opfer bringen, und die Eltern mußten sich aus Furcht vor der Rache des Fürsten schweigend verhalten. Und anstatt den Unterthanen die Sünde der Unzucht in ihrer ganzen Abscheulichkeit vor Augen zu stellen und verhaßt zu machen, wirkte das an Hofe gegebene Beispiel der Sittenlosigkeit bei ihnen vielmehr dahin, daß sie das üppige Leben nachzuahmen suchten.

Pages 12, footnote 26

Das Hauptwerkzeug seiner Sünde wurde auch die Veranlassung seiner Strafe. In der von ihm in Ulm herausgegebenen "deutschen Chronik," einer damals vielgelesenen Zeitschrift, hatte er in einigen Gedichten auch den Herzog Karl von Württemberg beleidigt.

Pages 13, footnote 28

Schubart wurde auf die Festung Hohenasperg gebracht, mit Rücksicht auf die Persönlichkeit des dortigen Commandanten.

Pages 14, footnote 31

Es war ein graues, düsteres Felsenloch, in der öde Wand ein eiserner Ring, um ihn nach dem Befehle des Fürsten daran zu ketten, wenn er etwas versehen sollte. Die Menschen, welche ihm seine kärgliche Nahrung brachten, hatten

den strengsten Befehl, nicht ein Wort mit ihm zu sprechen. Kein Buch, nicht Tinte, Feder, Bleistift und Papier durfte ihm verabreicht werden. Alles um ihn herum stumm wie das Grab. Er sollte die Qual empfinden, die er bisher wie den Tod geflohen, mit sich selbst allein zu sein. Der anfänglichen Verstocktheit folgte nach einigen Tagen eine weichere Stimmung; Thränen, Seufzer zu Gott, Versuche zu beten, bewahrten ihn vor der Verzweiflung, der er nahe war. Aber Gott war ihm noch so sehr ein ferner Gott, daß er in den Gesang: "Allein doch nicht ganz allein," noch nicht einstimmen konnte. Seiner Natur gemäß wurden bald alle anderen Empfindungen von der Langeweile verschlungen, so wie früher Kurzweile das höchste Ziel seines Lebens gewesen war. So sinnreich er in Erfindung der Mittel war, seine innere Leere auszufüllen, so wollte doch keines auf die Dauer ausreichen. Die Einsamkeit lastete auf ihm mit fürchterlicher Gewalt, bis er es endlich nicht mehr aushalten konnte, und nun eifriger vom Himmel herabflehte, was ihm die Erde versagte.

Page 15, footnote 32

Entsetzen ergriff den Geistlichen, da er in die Mordgrube hineintrat. Seine Augen suchten einen Menschen -- und ein Grauen erweckendes Scheusal kroch aus einem Winkel ihm entgegen, der mehr dem Lager eines wilden Thieres, als dem Wohnort eines menschlichen Geschöpfes glich. Ein blasses, todenähnliches Gerippe, all Farben des Lebens aus seinem erdfahlen Angesicht verschwunden, in welches Gram und Verzweiflung tiefe Furchen gerissen hatten, Bart und Nägel durch eine so lange Vernachlässigung bis zum Scheußlichen gewachsen, vom langen Gebrauche die Kleidung halb vermodert, und aus gänzlichem Mangel der Reinigung die Luft um ihn verpestet.

Page 16, footnote 37

Harte Behandlungen, deren Schubart beiläufig erwähnt, lassen auf Rückfälle in seine alte Unart schließen. Hätte man ihn für gründlich und dauernd geheilt gehalten, so würde man ihm gewiß die Freiheit zurück gegeben haben. Die große Strenge, mit der Rieger ihm fortwährend alles versagte, was ihn zerstreuen konnte, vom Klavier bis zum Bleistift, die Sprüche der Bibel zu unterstreichen, zeigt, wie wenig man noch seiner inneren Widerstandskraft gegen die Zerstreuung vertraute, wie sehr man zu fürchten hatte, daß Gebrauch und Mißbrauch bei ihm noch eins seien.

Page 29, footnote 12

Als der Herzog im Jahre 1757 sechstausend Mann an Frankreich abgab, um sie gegen Friedrich den Großen ins Feld zu schicken, besorgte Rieger die Aushebung mit solcher Strenge, daß er der Witwe ihren Sohn raubte, ihrer

einzigem Stütze; er ließ die jungen Leute in Häusern und sogar in Kirchen überfallen, riß sie vom Pfluge hinweg und ließ die Widerstrebenden in Ketten in die Kasernen abführen.

Page 51-52, footnote 21

Senn, der mit Schubert vom Konvikt her bekannt war, nahm nun mit den übrigen Freunden am 20. Jänner 1820 an einem Abschiedskommers teil, den man dem Tiroler Studenten Alois Fischer (1796-1883) am Tag vor seiner Abreise nach Landeck gab, wohin ihn die Mutter nach dem Tode seines Stiefvaters gerufen hatte. Aber die Polizei hatte ein wachsames Auge, ein Spitzel schlich sich ein, wurde erkannt und zur Türe hinausbefördert. Fischer reiste noch glücklich ab, doch in Salzburg erwartete ihn ein Steckbrief. Bei den Wiener Freunden aber gab es Hausdurchsuchungen und Konfiskation von Papieren und Aufzeichnungen. Bei einem Studenten fand man nun die Notiz, daß er Senn für den Einzigen halte, der fähig sei, für eine Idee zu sterben. Das noch nach Verschwörung. Beim Verhör benahm sich Senn „störrisch und insultant“, wobei er von seinen Freunden, dem Schulgehilfen aus der Rossau, Schubert und dem Juristen Streinsberg, sowie dem Hinzukommenden Zehetner aus Cilly und Bruchmann noch unterstützt wurde. Sie wurden verwarnt, ihr Benehmen den Eltern angezeigt. Für Senn verlief die Sache nicht so glimpflich. Er wurde über ein Jahr in Untersuchungshaft gehalten und gab, durch Hunger gezwungen, 92 Bogen, sein ganzes philosophisch-politisches Glaubensbekenntnis, zu Protokoll.

Page 52, footnote 22

Rapport des Pol. Ob. Coars [*Polizeioberkommissärs*] v. Ferstl über das störrische und insultante Benehmen, welches der in dem burschenschaftlichen Studentenvereine mitbefangene Johann Senn, aus Pfunds in Tyrol gebürtig, bey der angeordnetemassen in seiner Wohnung vorgenommenen Schriften Visitation, und Beschlag nahme seiner Papiere an den Tag legte, und wobey er sich unter andern der Ausdrücke bediente, „er habe sich um die Polizey nicht zu bekümmern,“ dann, die Regierung sey zu dumm, um in seine Geheimnisse eindringen zu können. Dabey sollen seine bey ihm befindlichen Freunde, der Schulgehilfe aus der Rossau Schubert,) und der Jurist Steinsberg,) dann die am Ende herzugekommenen Studenten der Privatist Zechenter) aus Cilly, und der Sohn des Handelsmanns Bruchmann Jurist im 4. Jahre in gleichem Tone eingestimmt, und gegen den amthandelnden Beamten mit Verbalinjurien und Beschimpfungen losgezogen seyn.