

NOBLE SIMPLICITY AND QUIET GRANDEUR:
FRANZ SCHUBERT'S SETTINGS OF
JOHANN MAYRHOFER'S NEOCLASSICAL POEMS

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ABSTRACT

RYAN SCOTT EBRIGHT: Noble Simplicity and Quiet Grandeur: Franz Schubert's Settings of Johann Mayrhofer's Neoclassical Poems
(under the direction of Mark Katz)

Historians, artists, architects, linguists, and politicians in nineteenth-century Germany and Austria were fascinated with Greco-Roman antiquity. The neoclassical movement in German and Austrian art, which was largely inspired by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, found its way into music through poetry. Franz Peter Schubert, the preeminent Austrian art song composer of the early nineteenth-century, composed several Lieder that illustrate the prominent place that Greek classicism had in the arts during his lifetime. Of Schubert's many neoclassical settings, those based on poems by Johann Baptist Mayrhofer, taken collectively, most closely embody the spirit of Greek classicism as it was understood at the time. Following an examination of the neoclassical movement within Germany and the life of Mayrhofer, I discuss four of Schubert's songs that demonstrate, in varying degrees, the classical Greek ideal developed by Winckelmann: "Memnon," "Philoktet," "Iphigenia," and "Der zürnenden Diana."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapters	
I. THE RESURRECTION OF ANTIQUITY: WINKELMANN AND THE GERMAN NEOCLASSICAL MOVEMENT	3
Winckelmann, Noble Simplicity and Quiet Grandeur	4
Neoclassicism and the Rise of Mythology	7
Early Romanticism and the “New Mythology”	13
II. SCHUBERT AND MAYRHOFER: <i>ZWILLINGSSTERNE</i>	17
Johann Mayrhofer: A Poetic <i>Laocoon</i>	18
Schubert and Classicism	24
III. NOBLE SIMPLICITY AND QUIET GRANDEUR: SCHUBERT’S MAYRHOFER SETTINGS	32
“Memnon”	33
“Philoktet”	42
“Iphigenia”	49
“Der zürnenden Diana”	54
CONCLUSION	60
BIBLIOGRAPHY	62

LIST OF TABLES

1. Schubert, “Prometheus” (D.674), text by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, final stanza	9
2. Schubert, “Gruppe aus dem Tartarus” (D.583), text by Friedrich von Schiller, second stanza	10
3. Schubert, “Die Götter Griechenlands” (D.677), text by Friedrich von Schiller	11
4. Schubert, “Zur Namensfeier meines Vaters” (D.80), text by Franz Schubert, lines 1–4.....	24
5. Schubert, “Memnon” (D.541), text by Johann Mayrhofer	35
6. Schubert, “Philoktet” (D.540), text by Johann Mayrhofer	43
7. Schubert, “Iphigenia” (D.573), text by Johann Mayrhofer.....	49
8. Mayrhofer, “Iphigenia,” first stanza	50
9. Schubert, “Der zürnenden Diana” (D.707), text by Johann Mayrhofer.....	55

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

1. Schubert, “Memnon” (D.541), mm. 1–7.....	38
2. Schubert, “Memnon” (D.541), mm. 30–33.....	39
3. Schubert, “Memnon” (D.541), mm. 50–54.....	41
4. Schubert, “Philoktet” (D.540), mm. 1–9.....	46
5. Schubert, “Philoktet” (D.540), mm. 27–34.....	46
6. Schubert, “Philoktet” (D.540), mm. 53–61.....	47
7. Schubert, “Iphigenia” (D.573), mm. 1–6.....	52
8. Schubert, “Iphigenia” (D.573), mm. 10–12.....	52
9. Schubert, “Iphigenia” (D.573), mm. 21–25.....	53
10. Schubert, “Der zürnenden Diana” (D.707), mm. 10–14.....	57
11. Schubert, “Der zürnenden Diana” (D.707), mm. 134–45.....	58

INTRODUCTION

As humankind seeks to understand its place in the world, it frequently looks to the great civilizations of the past, hoping to learn from their mistakes and build on their achievements. In Western civilizations, the Greco-Roman period of dominance has long fascinated people from all walks of life—historians, artists, architects, linguists, politicians—the list is seemingly endless. The Greeks and Romans, through their art, literature, and architecture, left a legacy that stretches to the present. This fascination with Greco-Roman antiquity also inspired musicians throughout history; although composers and performers of the past had no sound examples on which to imitate music from the Hellenic period, they were nevertheless inspired by the ideals and attitudes surrounding “classical” art.

Franz Peter Schubert (1797-1828), the preeminent Austrian art song composer of the early nineteenth-century, composed several Lieder that illustrate the important place that Greek classicism had in the arts during his lifetime. Given the lack of Greek and Roman musical examples available to composers and historians of the time, Greek classicism in nineteenth-century Germany and Austria most often found its way into music through poetry. While occasionally imitating actual Greek poetry through rhythm, meter, and other poetic devices, poets more often sought to emulate the attitudes and principles of Greek classicism as they were understood through the writings of prominent historians, such as Johann Winckelmann. Greek myths, often serving as embodiments of these ideals, became popular poetic subjects as poets sought to reinterpret classical mythology.

Schubert set a number of classically-themed poems by a variety of poets, but the most significant of these poets was Johann Mayrhofer, judging by the quantity and quality of his poems that Schubert set. Schubert and Mayrhofer—friends, flatmates, and perhaps even lovers—both possessed a keen interest in the neoclassical movement in Germany, which preceded them by several decades and arguably outlived them as well.¹

Of Schubert's many neoclassical settings, those of Johann Mayrhofer, taken collectively, most closely embody the spirit of Greek classicism as it was understood at the time. In this paper, I first examine the nature and course of the neoclassical movement in German and Austrian art, which was largely inspired by Johann Winckelmann. Following a brief overview of Mayrhofer's life, I argue that his poetry, unlike the neoclassical poetry of other poets, allowed Schubert to capture the ideal "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" of Greek classicism as it was perceived in Germany. Finally, I examine four of Schubert's songs that demonstrate, in varying degrees, the classical Greek ideal developed by Winckelmann: "Memnon," "Philoktet," "Iphigenia," and "Der zürnenden Diana."

¹ Although much ink has spilled concerning a possible romantic relationship between the two, this issue is outside the scope of this paper. Maynard Solomon has argued that both poet and composer were homosexual, Susan Youens suggests that Mayrhofer most likely was (but Schubert was not), and Rita Steblin forcefully criticizes both views. Maynard Solomon, "Franz Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini," *19th Century Music* 12 (1989): 193–206. Maynard Solomon, "Schubert: Some Consequences of Nostalgia," *19th Century Music* 17 (1993): 34–46. Rita Steblin, "Schubert's 'Nina' and the True Peacocks," *The Musical Times* 138 (1997): 13–19. Rita Steblin, "Schubert's Problematic Relationship with Johann Mayrhofer: New Documentary Evidence," in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Hagg (Paris: Minerve, 2001), 465–95. Susan Youens, *Schubert's Poets and the Making of Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). For the purposes of this paper, all designations such as "classical," "neoclassical," and "romantic" refer not to musical trends, but to movements in literature and the visual arts.

CHAPTER ONE

THE RESURRECTION OF ANTIQUITY: WINKELMANN AND THE GERMAN NEOCLASSICAL MOVEMENT

Beginning in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, Italy began to explore its Greek and Roman heritage: Latin was resurrected, classical art forms such as sculpture were revived, and special attention was given to the republican ideals of Athens and Rome. By the fifteenth century the Italian Renaissance spread north into France, and from there reached the remainder of Europe by the end of the sixteenth century. Europe was, by and large, beginning to awaken to its past.

In Germany, however, the Protestant Reformation forced the Renaissance down a different path. While humanists in Italy and elsewhere vigorously took up Latin and Greek studies, the printing press and the Reformation, both German-born, encouraged Germans to disseminate and study their own language. Under the influence of the Protestant Reformation, the subject matter of German and Northern European art tended to revolve around Christianity, rather than the themes of classical mythology that were widespread elsewhere.

Largely as a result of Pietism and Rationalism, Greek studies at the turn of the eighteenth century in Germany were at an all-time low.² Pietism was a reform movement in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German Lutheran churches that emphasized personal faith-driven devotion over doctrine and creed. Its emphasis on New Testament studies in

² Gilbert Bagnani, "Winckelmann and the Second Renaissance, 1755-1955," *American Journal of Archaeology* 59 (1955): 114.

particular was disastrous to Greek scholarship; due to differences between the Greek of the New Testament Gospels and the Greek of the Attic orators (the great Greek philosophers and writers), German religious leaders presumed that the Greek of the orators must have been inferior, and therefore not worthy of study.³ Greek scholarship also suffered under the weight of Rationalism, which emphasized reason above all else and saw a need to study only what was modern and perceived as immediately useful to society. Consequently, Rationalists discouraged Greek studies.

Around 1730, however, the situation began to change. Johann Matthias Gesner, one of the earliest Germans to devote himself to the study of classical authors, was appointed the rector of the Thomasschule in Leipzig, where Johann Sebastian Bach worked. This appointment signified the beginnings of a reaction against Pietism and Rationalism that had been building in Germany for nearly a century.⁴ The thunderclap that announced the arrival of the torrential backlash, however, did not come until 1755, with the publication of Johann Winckelmann's *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture).

Winckelmann, Noble Simplicity and Quiet Grandeur

Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) originally pursued studies in theology at the University of Halle, one of the German hotbeds of Pietism. He lost interest in theology, however, and began pursuing studies in Greek art and literature, and his writings on these topics would later form the foundation of neoclassicism and play a large part in the

³ Ibid., 109. It was certainly unreasonable for religious leaders to presume that the divinely-inspired Gospels were written poorly in Greek. In reality, this was the case.

⁴ Ibid., 115.

development of German romanticism. In 1748 he found a home near Dresden, working as the librarian for Count Henry von Bünau, who boasted an impressive collection of artifacts from the Holy Roman Empire. The sculptures and other artwork of the Dresden art galleries made a deep impression on Winckelmann, and in 1755, before heading south to Rome to pursue his classical studies (eventually becoming a curator for the Vatican), he published his first major contribution to the study of Greek classicism, the aforementioned *Gedanken*.⁵

In his opening paragraph of section four of *Gedanken*, Winckelmann sets forth what may be his most famous statement concerning Greek art, and what would eventually become one of the rallying cries of neoclassicism:⁶

The general and most distinctive characteristics of the Greek masterpieces are, finally, a *noble simplicity* and *quiet grandeur*, both in posture and expression. Just as the depths of the sea always remain calm however much the surface may rage, so does the expression of the figures of the Greeks reveal a great and composed soul even in the midst of passion.⁷

Winckelmann goes on to discuss the *Laocoon*, a sculpture from the second century B.C. that depicts a father and his two sons who have become entangled in the coils of two giant sea-serpents.⁸ He continues his theory on Greek masterpieces:

Such a soul is reflected in the face of Laocoon—and not in the face alone—despite his violent suffering. The pain is revealed in all the muscles and sinews of his body,

⁵ Winckelmann was so committed to his pursuit of Greek studies that he abandoned Lutheranism for Catholicism, in order to increase his chance of securing a position working in Rome.

⁶ William Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 3.

⁷ Italics mine. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, trans. Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1987), 33.

⁸ Discovered in 1605 in the Golden House of Nero and subsequently housed at the Vatican, the *Laocoon* has been the subject of much study and writing. Both Goethe and Winckelmann wrote about it, artists from Raphael and Andrea del Sarto onwards have sketched it, and the German neoclassicists praised it for its stoicism. David Irwin, *Winckelmann: Writings on Art* (London: Phaidon, 1972), 14–15. In Greek mythology, Laocoon was a priest of Poseidon at Troy who attempted to warn the Trojans against accepting the wooden horse from the Greeks (whence the phrase, “Beware of Greeks bearing gifts”). As a result of his interference, the gods allegedly sent to sea-serpents to strangle Laocoon and his two sons. Thomas Bulfinch, *Bulfinch’s Mythology: The Age of Fable* (New York: Meridian Books, 1995), 269–70.

and we ourselves can almost feel it as we observe the painful contraction of the abdomen along without regarding the face and other parts of the body. This pain, however, expresses itself with no sign of rage in his face or in his entire bearing. He emits no terrible screams such as Virgil's Laocoon, for the opening of his mouth does not permit it; it is rather an anxious and troubled sighing as described by Sadoletto. The physical pain and the nobility of soul are distributed with equal strength over the entire body and are, as it were, held in balance with one another. Laocoon suffers, but he suffers like Sophocles' Philoctetes; his pain touches our very souls, but we wish that we could bear misery like this great man.⁹

Winckelmann's interpretation of the *Laocoon* centers largely on the concept of suffering; in his eyes, it seems, the purest expression of nobility and grandeur is found in the quiet, Stoic-like suffering of an individual. If adversity defines one's character, then suffering defines one's soul. At the heart of Winckelmann's writings, he attempts to show that Greek art, originally inspired by the ideal qualities of the Greek character, must be imitated in order to rediscover the lost virtues of his own age. In addition, although the study of art traditionally began with a study of nature, Winckelmann passionately argued that the Greeks, having unified themselves with nature, had surpassed it in their art. As such, no direct study of nature is needed, but simply a study of Greek art.¹⁰

Winckelmann's writings on Greek art and its significance to aesthetic theory seemed to ignite the artistic world of Europe. Despite sometimes questionable artistic suppositions and scholarly practices¹¹ (Winckelmann never actually set foot in Greece), the elegance and fervor of Winckelmann's prose was undeniable. Several reactions to his first work sprang up in the following years, including Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's (1729-81) *Laokoon*, which in 1766 criticized Winckelmann's aesthetic theory of Greek classicism and helped to set the

⁹ Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works*, 33–35.

¹⁰ Bagnini, "Winckelmann and the Second Renaissance," 116.

¹¹ Vaghaun, *German Romantic Painting*, 26. Vaughan notes that it seems debatable as to how much restraint can really be seen in the face of Laocoon, and points out that some of Winckelmann's contemporaries were critical of his ideas, noting that the *Laocoon* is not from the classical period of Greek art.

standard for the eighteenth-century German discussion of aesthetic and literary theoretical principles. Winckelmann's impact spread far afield; the weight of his interpretation of the *Laocoon* even found its way into Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, in which Byron clearly displays a Winckelmann-influenced view of the statue.¹²

On the home front, Winckelmann's life and accomplishments were the subject of an 1805 essay by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) entitled *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* (Winckelmann and his Age), in which Goethe praised Winckelmann as the "reincarnation of ancient man."¹³ Dresden-born painter Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-78), a contemporary of Winckelmann who worked closely with him, is said to have exemplified Winckelmann's motto of "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" in his 1761 ceiling fresco *Parnassus*, which depicts Apollo, Mnemosyne, and their daughters, the nine Muses, on the slopes of the mountain of the Greek gods. Other painters, including Angelica Kauffmann, Johann Füssli, and Asmus Carstens, took Winckelmann's ideas and began what is now considered the neoclassical movement in German painting. In literature, Goethe marked the end the *Sturm und Drang* period in 1786 with a trip to Italy and subsequently began the literary neoclassical period, into which Schubert was born.

Neoclassicism and the Rise of Mythology

Neoclassicism in Germany lasted only a few brief decades in the latter part of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth, and it is easily overlooked in light of the Romantic movement that would follow. Yet neoclassicism's effects were profound and long-

¹² This description is found in Byron's Canto IV, stanza 160. George Gordon Byron, *Lord Byron: The Major Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 194.

¹³ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Essays on art and literature*, ed. John Gearey, trans. Ellen von Nardroff and Ernest H. von Nardroff (New York: Suhrkamp, 1986), 101.

lasting; neoclassical trends continued well into the nineteenth century in the works of poets such as Friedrich Hölderlin. Following Winckelmann's suggestion, neoclassical painters, poets, and writers studied Greek art and sought to imitate it. As a result of this imitation, references to Greek mythology in the German arts and poetry became particularly prominent, even in movements outside of neoclassicism.

As one of the leading cultural centers of Europe, Vienna, home to both Schubert and Mayrhofer, could not help but be influenced by Winckelmann's writings. In the late 1760s Winckelmann was very much in fashion in Vienna, where the first complete edition of his works was published. Neoclassicism had a profound effect on artistic life in Vienna, especially in architecture and sculpture, the two subjects about which Winckelmann was most passionate.

Winckelmann's concept of "noble simplicity" managed to find a way into Viennese architecture late eighteenth-century; the ornamentation and grandeur of baroque design was replaced with a new, simplified style. Architecture under Emperor Joseph II became associated with this neoclassical trait of simplicity; the Palais Fries, the chapel of the *Allgemeines Krankenhaus* (General Hospital), and the Theseon (modeled after an ancient temple in Athens) in the Vienna *Volksgarten* stand as some of the foremost examples of this style in Vienna.

In sculpture, perhaps the most obvious example of neoclassicism came in 1783 with the completion of Antonio Canova's sculpture *Theseus and the Minotaur*, which was placed in the Palais Fries. Canova was perhaps the most important neoclassical sculptor in Vienna in his lifetime; another important sculpture of his that celebrated classical values was his *Theseus Fighting the Centaur*, which, like the former work, can be said to represent the

triumph of reason and order (Theseus) over unreason and disorder (represented by a half-man, half-beast creature). That the latter work was unveiled in 1819 attests to the longevity of neoclassicism's influence in Vienna.¹⁴

On the German literary front, Goethe and Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) dominated the neoclassical movement. Both had previously been leaders of the *Sturm und Drang* movement, which developed as a reaction against the rationalist, rococo, and pietist literary traditions that preceded it. *Sturm und Drang* writing and poetry was brutally forceful in its personal subjectivity, and often exhibited a sense of renewed appreciation for nature and rebellion against tradition. Goethe's poem "Prometheus" is representative of the *Sturm und Drang* period, owing largely to its impassioned narration and clear-cut rebellion against authority. In it, the Titan shakes his metaphorical fist at the gods and shouts his defiance, and famously declares to the gods in the last stanza:

Table 1: Schubert, "Prometheus" (D.674), text by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, final stanza.

Hier sitz' ich, forme Menschen
Nach meinem Bilde,
Ein Geschlecht, das mir gleich sei,
Zu leiden, zu weinen,
Zu geniessen und zu freuen sich
Und dein nicht zu achten,
Wie ich!¹⁵

Here I will sit, forming men
In my own image,
A race that will be like me,
who suffer, who weep,
who enjoy and who rejoice,
and who pay no attention to you,
Like me!

¹⁴ The predominance of neoclassical doctrines in Vienna was precisely what A.W. Schlegel sought to tear down in his famous lecture on drama in 1808 at the University of Vienna; Schlegel felt that the classical ideals had been carried to a "most pernicious extent." Leon Plantinga, "'Classic' and 'Romantic,' Beethoven and Schubert," in *Schubert's Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 83.

¹⁵ Stanza 7 of 7, Richard Wigmore, *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts* (New York: Schirmer, 1988), 301.

Schiller's "Gruppe aus dem Tartarus" ("Group from Tartarus") of 1784 is no less impassioned, and his descriptions of the souls on their journey to the underworld are a far cry from the "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" that Winckelmann preached:

Table 2: Schubert, "Gruppe aus dem Tartarus" (D.583), text by Friedrich von Schiller, second stanza.

Schmerz verzerret	Pain distorts
Ihr Gesicht — Verzweiflung sperret	their faces, despair fills
Ihren Rachen fluchend auf.	their throats with curses.
Hohl sind ihre Augen — ihre Blicke	Their eyes are hollow, their gaze
Spähen bang nach des Cocytus Brücke,	rests anxiously on Cocytus' bridge,
Folgen tränend seinem Trauerlauf. ¹⁶	they follow his sad course with tears.

The *Sturm und Drang* poetry of Schiller, Goethe, and others would eventually catch Schubert's eye; Schubert eventually set both "Prometheus" and "Gruppe" quite successfully. The impassioned nature of this poetry arguably inspired Schubert to greatness; one of the earliest and perhaps the most successful of his songs during his lifetime, "Erlkönig" (D.328) is another fine example of Goethe's *Sturm und Drang* poetry.

Goethe and Schiller eventually turned away from *Sturm und Drang*, Goethe in 1775 and Schiller over a decade later in 1787. Both became disgusted with the excess of subjectivity and emotion that they saw creeping into German poetry, and sought a way to moderate the passions of the *Sturm und Drang* movement. They found their answer in the ideals of Greek classicism, as expounded by Winckelmann. Schiller's poem "Die Götter Griechenlands" ("The Gods of Greece"), written only four years after "Gruppe," is of a wholly different tone than the earlier poem, and is one of the finest representations of this literary shift into neoclassicism. While the entire poem is ultimately a criticism of

¹⁶ Stanza 2 of 3, *ibid.*, 226.

Christianity's monotheism and the resulting decline of classical mythology, it presents an idealized view of ancient Greek society in much the same way that Winckelmann had:

Table 3: Schubert, “Die Götter Griechenlands” (D.677), text by Friedrich von Schiller.

Schöne Welt, wo bist du? Kehre wieder, Holdes Blütenalter der Natur! Ach, nur in dem Feenland der Lieder Lebt noch deine fabelhafte Spur. Ausgestorben trauert das Gefilde, Keine Gottheit zeigt sich meinem Blick. Ach, von jenem lebenwarmen Bilde Blieb der Schatten nur zurück. ¹⁷	Beautiful world, where are you? Return again, sweet blossom-age of nature! Alas, only in the fairyland of song still lives your fabulous trace. The deserted mourn the fields, no god appears before my eyes. Alas, of that life-warm image only its shadow remains.
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In addition to their poetry, Schiller and Goethe both contributed large works to the German neoclassical cannon. Schiller translated Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and Goethe's two-year journey to Italy in 1786 inspired him to write the play *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (which was modeled on Euripides' version of the Iphigenia myth) and his *Römische Elegien* (Roman Elegies). Neoclassicism would later attract both Mayrhofer and Schubert—Mayrhofer to neoclassicism's glorification of stoic acceptance in the midst of suffering, and Schubert to the powerful poetry that was born of its ideals.

The Greek mythology that found its way into literature also made similar inroads into painting. Asmus Jacob Carstens (1754-98), who would later inspire many of the young Romantic painters, was a leading neoclassicist painter in Germany. Most of his important works came in the latter part of his life while he lived in Rome. Deeply influenced by the writings of Schiller and the Greek art in Rome, Carstens sought to imbue the classical ideal in painting with a new intensity in the same way that Schiller, Herder, and Goethe had in

¹⁷ Ibid., 155. This verse, which is the twelfth of sixteen strophes in the original poem, was set to music by Franz Schubert as *Die Götter Griechenlands* in 1819.

literature.¹⁸ Two of his most famous later works, both drawn in 1795, take as their subjects scenes and characters from the early Greek poem *Theogeny* by Hesiod, including *Battle between the Titans and Gods* and *Night with her Children Sleep and Death*. The result is, according to William Vaughan, a “combination of powerful sentiment with the purest classical form.”¹⁹ Many of the paintings of the neoclassical period sought to emulate this combination of intensity of expression (often carried over from *Sturm und Drang* passions) with classical forms and ideals, including *Thor Battering the Midgard Serpent* (1790), the most famous painting by Swiss painter Johann Heinrich Füssli (1741-1825).²⁰

Füssli’s choice of Nordic myth for his subject matter is significant. Even while neoclassicism and the atmosphere of Greek artistic superiority hung over Germany, the German national consciousness was beginning to awaken. Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), a German philosopher who greatly influenced Goethe and Schiller, was one of the first philosophers to argue for a German state and people. Based on his theories of language and anthropology, Herder looked to other cultures that had already unified as nations around a common language, and began pushing the idea of German nation-state. Herder believed that Nordic mythology, not Greek, was most appropriate to the German spirit and that it should be the basis of the “mode of thought” of the modern poet, but that the “rules of Greek taste in art and poetry” should still be respected.²¹ This view concerning mythology would eventually come to the forefront in romanticism, the successor of *Sturm und Drang* and neoclassicism.

¹⁸ Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting*, 33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 35–37.

²⁰ In addition to his paintings, Füssli (also known as Fuseli) translated Winckelmann’s *Gedanken* into English while he lived in London.

²¹ Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting*, 29.

Early Romanticism and the “New Mythology”

Early Romantic artists maintained a great appreciation and respect for Greek art, so much so that early romanticism was considered by some to be an expression of the “tyranny of Greece over the German mind.”²² The two most important philosophical figures in early romanticism, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829) and his brother August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767-1845), devised their literary theories in relation to Greek classicism and its effect on German literature. While the Schlegels were most important as literary theorists and critics, they also achieved some recognition as poets; Schubert would set nine poems by A.W. Schlegel and sixteen by Friedrich Schlegel. The latter, who moved to Vienna in 1808, would strongly influence many of the writers and philosophers within Schubert’s circle (presumably even Mayrhofer), as well as Schubert himself, although there is no evidence that the two ever met.²³

Friedrich Schlegel began his study of literature and poetry in classical Greece, where he thought poetry to be “native.”²⁴ By building a history of Greek literature and aesthetics, he hoped to articulate his own theories on the two subjects. A.W. Schlegel pursued a similar course, arguing that Greek culture and art formed “a perfect, natural education,” Greek religion represented the “worship of natural forces and of earthly life,” and the Greek form of

²² Eliza M. Butler, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany. A Study of the Influence Exercised by Greek Art and Poetry over the Great German Writers of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1935); as quoted in Ernst Behler, *German Romantic Literary Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 3.

²³ John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester: Mandolin, 1997), 476–77.

²⁴ Behler, *German Romantic Literary Theory*, 37.

beauty was that of a “purified, ennobled sensuality.”²⁵ Despite the idealized views of Greek culture that they seemed to share with Winckelmann, they disagreed with him as to its role in modern German art and poetry.²⁶

Although most German writers and artists conceded the importance of Greek art, they differed in their opinions as to its function. Romantic artists, both visual and literary, had opposed Winckelmann’s suggestion that (Greek) imitation is the key to art,²⁷ and wanted to let their imagination take free reign in expression. Both Schlegel brothers were caught up in this debate concerning modern and ancient art, and their study of Greek poetry eventually led them to an investigation of the nature of mythology in literature.

Mythology was an essential aspect of A.W. Schlegel’s literary theory. In *The Philosophical Doctrine of Art* of 1798, he wrote that “Myth, like language, is a general, a necessary product of the human poetic power, an arche-poetry of humanity”²⁸ Schlegel believed that mythology is greater than the poetry of any individual, it is *the* poetry of all humankind, which allows humanity to construct a coherent view of the world in a “communal medium of universal understanding operating through images, metaphors, and allegories.”²⁹ In A.W. Schlegel’s view, mythology, like language, formed an essential component of the human mind in both past and present, and the mythologizing tendency of

²⁵ August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Eduard Böcking (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1846), 5:12–13; as quoted in Behler, 108.

²⁶ A.W. Schlegel would argue that although Winckelmann excelled in his study of ancient art, he completely misjudged almost all modern works of art, including the paintings of Raphael, according to Behler, 27.

²⁷ David Irwin, *Winckelmann: Writings on Art*, (London: Phaidon, 1972), 24.

²⁸ August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen*, eds. Ernst Behler with the collaboration of Frank Jolles (Paderborn: Schöningh 1989-), 1:49; as quoted in Behler, *German Romantic Literary Theory*, 158.

²⁹ Behler, 161.

the human mind is a basic aspect of human nature.³⁰ These theories arose from his observation that a great number of modern paintings and poetry (springing from the neoclassical movement) were based on arbitrary recreations of Greek and Roman mythologies.

Despite the prominence of Greek myth in German art of the eighteenth century, the Schlegel brothers questioned the relevance of ancient Greek myth for the modern German artist.³¹ Friedrich Schlegel, in his *Speech on Mythology* of 1800, said “I will come straight to the point. Our poetry, I maintain, lacks a focal point, such as mythology was for the ancients. One could summarize all the essentials in which modern poetry is inferior to the ancient in these words: We have no mythology.”³² Despite the vast amount of Greek myths available to German artists and poets, the Schlegels felt, along with the other Romantic artists, that an artist must be guided by “his own instincts and feelings, rather than an inherited set of motifs.”³³ Until they could do so, German artists and poets would remain subject to the ‘tyranny of Greece,’ and contemporary works of art would remain unable to effectively address the present. The mythology of ancient literature was not wholly useless, and Friedrich Schlegel saw that these myths could be transformed and revived through modern interpretation. A prime example of such modern interpretation is found in the poetry of

³⁰ Ibid., 158–59.

³¹ Ironically, Winckelmann’s conviction was that climate and geographical characteristics ultimately determined a nation’s development, and therefore its art. One might question, then, the relevance of imitating Greek art and poetry. Irwin, *Winckelmann: Writings on Art*, 51.

³² Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich Schlegel Ausgabe*, ed. Ernst Behler with the collaboration of Jean-Jacques Anstett, Hans Eichner, and other specialists (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1958-), 23:97; as quoted in Behler, *German Romantic Literary Theory*, 160.

³³ Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting*, 25.

Johann Mayrhofer, which often takes Greek mythological figures as subjects while finding a balance between neoclassical ideals and Romantic subjectivity.

CHAPTER TWO

SCHUBERT AND MAYRHOFER: *ZWILLINGSSTERNE*

Josef von Spaun, a member of Schubert's circle and one of the most important sources for details regarding the composer and his life, once wrote that Johann Mayrhofer's poetry "inspired Schubert to glorious songs, which are probably among his most beautiful works. Mayrhofer often maintained that he only liked and valued his poems after Schubert had set them to music."³⁴ Judging from Spaun's statement, Mayrhofer must have had some sense of the transforming power that Schubert's song had on poetry. While many of his poems certainly possess their own intrinsic value, Mayrhofer never made a lasting mark on the literary world; today he is remembered primarily in relation to Schubert.

Franz Schubert and Johann Mayrhofer met in December 1814, when the two were introduced by Spaun, their mutual friend. The catalyst for, or perhaps product of, this meeting (sources are unclear concerning which came first) was Schubert's setting of Mayrhofer's "Am See" (By the Lake, D.124), which he composed on the seventh of December. The relationship that developed between the two would eventually result in Schubert setting some 47 of Mayrhofer's poems, in addition to a German *Singspiel* and an incomplete opera.

³⁴ Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, trans. Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), 130.

Johann Mayrhofer: A Poetic *Laocoon*

Johann Baptist Mayrhofer was born in the autumn of 1787 in Steyr of Upper Austria, the third of four children.³⁵ Details of Mayrhofer's early life are scant; most information comes from the reminiscences of Joseph von Spaun. Mayrhofer and Spaun's brother Anton were classmates at the Lyceum, where Mayrhofer excelled at Latin and Greek.³⁶ In 1806 he entered the monastery of St. Florian's at his father's behest, where he trained for the priesthood. His desire to be a poet, however, incited him to leave the monastery, and in the fall of 1810 he moved to Vienna to study law and history. Mayrhofer showed great interest in classical studies, especially the writings of Herodotus, Horace, and the Stoics, whose pantheistic philosophies would find their way into his poetry.

After giving up his legal studies, Mayrhofer became a censor for the Metternich regime in 1816.³⁷ Spaun suggests that only Mayrhofer's need to make a living (like Schubert, he had found teaching unsuited to his character) could have pushed Mayrhofer to enter such a profession; Spaun describes Mayrhofer as "extraordinarily liberal, indeed democratic in his views . . . passionate about freedom of press."³⁸ However distasteful he viewed his profession as being, Mayrhofer set aside his personal convictions for his job; he was exacting in his censorship of all printed matter, as all governmental censors were – their livelihoods depended on it.

³⁵ There is some confusion about the actual date of Mayrhofer's birth. Mayrhofer's first biographer, Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben, cites November 3, while a later biographer, Joseph Bindtner, lists the date as November 3. Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 153.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 153.

³⁷ Youens places the date of Mayrhofer's entry into civil service at 1816; both Deutsch and Reed place it nearer to 1820. If Reed and Deutsch are correct, then there may be some credibility to his suggestion that Mayrhofer's acceptance of a post in the Censorship Office may have led to the eventual dissolution of his friendship with Schubert. Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 470.

³⁸ Carl Glossy, "Aus den Lebenserrinerungen des Joseph Freiherrn von Spaun," in *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft* (Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1898), 8:293–98; as quoted in Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 154.

Mayrhofer's struggle to survive in a world that forced him to become what he despised was just one blow among many to an already darkened soul. One of his contemporaries describes him thus:

Mayrhofer was always ailing, of sickly complexion, quite bony, but with an abnormal nervous system, totally without elasticity; rigid, icy-cold. Thus also his poetic spirit: elegiac, misanthropic, rancorous, scolding, sarcastic, symbolically inclined; in moments of clarity, even energetic ... he could thunder and give off sparks ... His existence and works were a perpetual frenzied struggle of matter with soul; he was consumed by this tragic fluctuation. A natural prey to fixed notions, in strife over his situation in life, [he was] strict and parsimonious ... His inner world, which was nearly always clouded and gloomy, nonetheless produced many sweet blossoms, especially in song, which inspired the ardent Schubert, who understood how to complete and illuminate the poems in music.³⁹

Elsewhere, Mayrhofer was described as “a gloomy man but one who is up to every humorous jest and prank.”⁴⁰ Despite his “dark anxiety about life,”⁴¹ though, it seems that Mayrhofer possessed a powerful and attractive personality. Adam Haller, a municipal physician in Linz, wrote in 1858 that Mayrhofer, “through his genius . . . made such a deep impression on my nature that, being young in those days and gifted with a vivid imagination, I was disturbed to the very core of my being, and his appealing spirit, his genuine poetic gift, his wholly individual and in the highest degree poetic output on life almost took me away from medicine”⁴² By all accounts, Mayrhofer had an equally powerful effect on Schubert, second only to the influence of Johann Michael Vogl, an operatic baritone who

³⁹ Franz Gräffer, *Kleiner Wiener Memoiren und Wiener Dosenstücke* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1928), 1:199–200; as quoted in Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 152.

⁴⁰ Franz von Schober's memoirs of Schubert evince a bitterness toward Mayrhofer; later in the memoirs, he accuses Mayrhofer's poems of being of “poor lyric worth.” Deutsch suggests that Schober's attitude stems from jealousy of Schubert and Mayrhofer's one-time close friendship. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, 265–66. Steblin notes that there was no love lost between the two poets. Mayrhofer, a high-minded moralist, blamed Schober for leading an impressionable Schubert down the wrong paths that would eventually lead to his illness and death. Rita Steblin, “Schubert's Problematic Relationship with Johann Mayrhofer,” 484.

⁴¹ Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 153.

⁴² Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, 55.

would come to champion his music.⁴³ Whatever the initial impression Mayrhofer made on Schubert, the Viennese poet quickly recognized in Schubert a genuine artist; by Spaun's account, "when Mayrhofer had heard some of Schubert's songs, he reproached me for having been much too modest in my praise of Schubert's talent. Mayrhofer sang and whistled Schubert's melodies the whole day long, and poet and composer were soon the best of friends."⁴⁴

After composing "Am See," Schubert set only one more poem ("Liane," D.298) by Mayrhofer until 1816, when Schubert's Mayrhofer output began to blossom, beginning with "Fragment aus dem Aeschylus" (D.450). Schubert set eight other Mayrhofer poems in 1816 and nineteen more the following year, and perhaps it was their continuing collaboration and friendship that would prompt them to become roommates for a brief time, beginning in November 1818.

Although Spaun reports that the years that Mayrhofer and Schubert lived together were favorable to both, all other accounts point toward tensions between the two that lay beneath a great mutual artistic respect.⁴⁵ Mayrhofer, a depressive hypochondriac, could hardly have made an ideal roommate, and the end of 1820 marked the cessation of their time

⁴³ Ibid., 60.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 130.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 21. Mayrhofer wrote of their time spent living together in Schubert's obituary: "While we lived together our idiosyncrasies could not but show ourselves; we were both richly endowed in that respect, and the consequences could not fail to appear. We teased each other in many different ways and turned our sharp edges on each other to our mutual amusement and pleasure. His gladsome and comfortable sensuousness and my introspective nature were thus thrown into higher relief and gave rise to names we called each other accordingly, as though we were playing parts assigned to us. Unfortunately I played my very own!" Deutsch notes that "an example of the way in which Schubert and Mayrhofer teased each other, while they were living together, has been handed down in the story that Mayrhofer would sometimes make for Schubert with a stick, crying 'What keeps me [from knocking you down], you little rascal?' whereupon Schubert would bring him to a standstill with the magic formula: 'Waldl, Waldl, thou savage author!'" Youens suggests that "Waldl" is a south German name for a dog. Rita Steblin, however, suggests that Mayrhofer's nickname was derived from his poem "An die Freunde" (To My Friends); Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, 14–15; Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 157; Steblin, "Schubert's Problematic Relationship with Johann Mayrhofer," 477.

as flatmates and the beginnings of a rupture in their friendship.⁴⁶ Mayrhofer is noticeably absent from the social gatherings of Schubert's circle after 1820, and although there are no details suggesting the reason for their separation, according to Anton Holzapfel, a friend of Schubert's from grammar school, both may have been to blame for their estrangement:

It was not to be wondered at if their continued living together foundered on their day-to-day relations, perhaps on small differences of opinion regarding money matters, in which Sch. may well have often been to blame. Certainly the cleavage between Mayrhofer's inclination and his position in life, for he was compelled to act as a respectable Imperial book censor whereas he was an enthusiastic admirer of intellectual freedom, gave rise to the malady in his extremely sensitive soul and to the difficulty of living with such a character.⁴⁷

The breach in Mayrhofer's and Schubert's friendship became particularly apparent in the early part of 1824; when Mayrhofer's poems were published in Vienna on a subscription basis, Schubert's name was conspicuously missing from the list of subscribers. March 1824 also marks Schubert's last four Mayrhofer settings: "Der Sieg" (The Victory, D.805), "Abendstern" (Evening Star, D.806), "Auflösung" (Dissolution, D.807), and "Gondelfahrer" (Barcarolle, D.808). The separation was likely painful for both; Otto Erich Deutsch and other scholars have suggested that Schubert's note-book entry from March 17, 1824 may be connected with the estrangement between poet and composer: "There is no one who

⁴⁶ Even before Schubert moved in with Mayrhofer, he was well aware of Mayrhofer's tendency toward ailment. He wrote to Mayrhofer on September 8, 1818, shortly before they became roommates, telling him to "cease ailing, or at least dabbling in medicines, and the rest will come of itself." Otto Erich Deutsch, *The Schubert Reader: A Life of Franz Schubert in Letters and Documents*, trans. Eric Blom (New York: W.W. Norton, 1947), 100.

⁴⁷ Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, 63. Steblin makes a convincing argument that the growing divide between the moral uprightness of Mayrhofer's character and Schubert's increasingly indiscriminate sensual escapades led to the flatmates' separation, and also points out that Schubert's turn towards the more Romantic poets of Novalis and Shlegel coincide with the split. One final interesting speculation is that Mayrhofer's increasing paranoia about disease led him to avoid contact with Schubert after 1823, when news of Schubert's syphilis became public. Steblin, "Schubert's Problematic Relationship with Johann Mayrhofer," 479–83.

understands the pain or the joy of others! We always imagine we are coming together, and we always merely go side by side. Oh, what torture for those who recognize this!”⁴⁸

Mayrhofer was profoundly affected by Schubert’s death in 1828, and his output thereafter dwindled.⁴⁹ The following years were filled with ever more extensive periods of sickness and depression; in 1831, distraught over the fall of Warsaw (which he viewed as a blow to the struggle against tyranny), Mayrhofer jumped into the Danube, but was rescued by a fisherman. He attempted suicide a second time in 1835. A year later, an outbreak of cholera struck Vienna; the news was too much for the hypochondriacal poet, and on February 5, 1836, he threw himself from the third floor of his office building and died shortly thereafter.

If Mayrhofer’s personality and philosophies are not immediately forthcoming in the accounts of his life, his poetry provides an apt view of the poet’s beliefs and his often tormented soul.⁵⁰ Susan Youens suggests that the pantheistic elements derived from Heraclitus’ fragments are particularly present in Mayrhofer’s poetry; in a universe that is conceived of as a living organism, “Mayrhofer’s passionate attachment to Nature constitutes an idiosyncratic appropriation of a pantheism in which Zeus, God, Nature, Providence, Fate, Necessity, Law, and Soul are among many names for the same force.”⁵¹ But as much as Mayrhofer may have admired the Stoic philosophy that stressed a mastery of one’s passions

⁴⁸ Deutsch, *The Schubert Reader*, 336. Youens points out that while there is no direct evidence that this is the case, the timing of the final Mayrhofer settings and Schubert’s note-book entry at least support the possibility of this.

⁴⁹ Adam Haller wrote that “After Schubert’s death Mayrhofer was quite changed; Feuchtersleben used to often say to me: ‘Mayrhofer’s genius is drying up, for the harmony of his life faded out with Schubert’s death.’ A deep melancholy, a bitterness against the wickedness of life, now filled Mayrhofer’s being, and I found that the perceptive poet had become a misanthrope, for he inveighed against everything to an abnormal degree and mankind he found base and wicked.” Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, 56.

⁵⁰ For a much more detailed examination of Mayrhofer’s poetry and his character, see the chapter entitled “Chromatic Melancholy: Johann Mayrhofer and Franz Schubert,” in Youens, *Schubert’s Poets*, 151–227.

⁵¹ Youens, *Schubert’s Poets*, 154.

and emotions and communion with Nature, he was unable to overcome the discord of the external world and find the inner peace that Stoicism propounded. Mayrhofer, instead, was bound to suffer in life, both physically and psychologically. Unhappy in his life and with the world, Mayrhofer's poetry often evinces a strong sense of yearning for an unattainable homeland that may only be reached through death, the transcendental and transformative power of art, or sublime unity with Nature.

Mayrhofer was undoubtedly aware of and influenced by the neoclassical movement, which had reigned in Vienna for some time. Purportedly, Mayrhofer fully espoused neoclassicism's emphasis on objectivity in art; he wrote that the poet should "depict passions, hate, love, all lands, all times, in an artist's dispassionate manner, observing, not participating, in the storminess of life and love."⁵² Mayrhofer's ability to adhere to his own exhortations, however, is left wanting, for his personality seems to find its way into nearly all of his poems, participating fully in the emotions and passions of the poetry.⁵³ This is especially true of his classically-themed poems, which often take the form of monologues by Greek mythological figures that give voice to their laments and provide character-defining portraits. But while Mayrhofer's protagonists may have different names and tribulations, they all seem to serve as masks that hide Mayrhofer's tormented soul; little imagination is required to see hints of Mayrhofer in his mythological personae. In addition to the poetic value of Mayrhofer's output, the nature of his neoclassical poems—miniature character studies—may have been what caught Schubert's eye; Schubert's interest in drama is well-

⁵² Johann Mayrhofer, *Neue Sammlung* (Vienna: Ignaz Klang, 1843): 37; as quoted in Youens, *Schubert's Poets*, 175.

⁵³ Given the subjectivity of his neoclassical poetry, one could easily accuse Mayrhofer of showing traces of early romanticism.

known, and the opportunity to lend these characters a musical voice and subtext may have been too fine to pass up.

Schubert and Classicism

Relatively little is known about Schubert's early exposure to Greek and Roman classicism, but it is known that he received a good dose of Latin as a student (and soprano chorister) at the Imperial Royal City Seminary. *Latin Language and Style* was a part of Schubert's school curriculum beginning with his First Grammar Class for the school-year 1809, and in 1812 (his fourth year) he began studying Greek.⁵⁴ His studies in both continued at the University Preparatory School in 1813, after which moved to the *Normal Hauptschule*, which would train him for his brief stint as an assistant schoolmaster. Graham Johnson suggests that Schubert may have taken to Latin, in light of the classically-inspired poem which he wrote and set to music in honor of his father's name-day in September 1813:⁵⁵

Table 4: Schubert, “Zur Namensfeier meines Vaters” (D.80), text by Franz Schubert, lines 1–4.

Ertöne Leyer	Resound, my lyre,
Zur Festesfeyer!	In festive celebration!
Apollo steig hernieder	Apollo, come, descend,
Begeistre unsre Lieder!	Inspire our songs! ⁵⁶

Schubert's first venture into the setting of a classically-inspired poem was Theodor Körner's “Amphiaros” (D.166), dated March 1, 1815. Schubert continued his interest in classically-themed poems with settings of Schiller in 1815 and 1816 (as well as one

⁵⁴ Deutsch, *The Schubert Reader*, 13–36.

⁵⁵ Graham Johnson, *The Hyperion Schubert Edition: Complete Songs*, CD liner notes (London: Hyperion, 1992), 14:3. Schubert set his ‘Cantata’ for three male voices (presumably his brothers) and guitar accompaniment. Deutsch, 38–39.

⁵⁶ Text and translation taken from Johnson, *The Hyperion Schubert Edition*, 3.

Mayrhofer setting in 1816), but his true outburst of classically-inspired songs did not come until 1817.

In terms of quantity, the year 1817 also finds Schubert at the peak of his output of Mayrhofer settings, with well over one-third of his 47 Mayrhofer Lieder written at this time. Schubert was certainly at the height of his neoclassical enthusiasm; of the thirteen Mayrhofer songs with explicitly Greek mythological themes, nine were written in this year.⁵⁷ In addition, he set Goethe's "Ganymed" (D.544) in March of 1817 and composed a second version of Schiller's "Gruppe aus dem Tartarus" (D.583) and its companion piece "Elysium" (D.584) in September of 1817; all three are important works on classical themes. Prior to 1817, Schubert had set only one mythologically-themed poem by Mayrhofer, "Fragment aus dem Aeschylus" (D.450), which is simply a translation in free verse by Mayrhofer of a passage for Chorus from the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus. Schubert composed ten Mayrhofer songs on non-classical themes prior to 1817, so poet and composer were likely growing ever more accustomed to each other's artistry, and the seeds of their collaborative efforts would thereafter bear some of their finest fruits.

Although Schubert set a large number of classically-themed poems, some borrow more heavily from Greek mythology than others. Of the major poets that Schubert set (at least in terms of quantitative output), it is useful to look to the poems of Goethe and Schiller to gain perspective on the uniqueness of his Mayrhofer settings. All three poets—Goethe, Schiller, and Mayrhofer—approach their classical poetry in a different fashion.

⁵⁷ Although many of Mayrhofer's poems contains hints of mythology, the 13 Mayrhofer songs under consideration are, in ascending D number order, "Fragment aus dem Aeschylus," "Fahrt zum Hades," "Philoktet," "Memnon," "Antigone und Oedip," "Orest auf Tauris," "Uraniens Flucht," "Iphigenia," "Atys," "Der entsühnte Orest," "Freiwilliges Versinken," "Der zürnenden Diana," and "Lied eines Schiffers an die Dioskuren."

Of these poets, Goethe is perhaps the most peculiar. Jane K. Brown points out that “apart from the Pindaric hymns [“Prometheus,” “Ganymed,” and “An Schwager Kronos” (D.369)], Schubert simply does not set Goethe’s poems on classical themes,”⁵⁸ particularly those written in classical meter, most likely because of the difficulty involved in setting them. But given that Goethe wrote also poems on classical themes not in classical meter, it seems odd that Schubert would have ignored the other neoclassical ballads and songs. Brown suggests that Schubert’s avoidance of Goethe’s poems was both for thematic and narrative reasons. Unlike the poems of Mayrhofer, Schiller, and others, Goethe’s narrative voice is distanced from the action of the poems, while thematically, his poems do not espouse lost or hoped-for ideals. Instead they focus on present, sensual beauty, fulfillment in love, and the presence of the ideal in objects and images of antiquity; in Brown’s words, Goethe’s classicism is “unrealistic, even naïve.”⁵⁹

Of the three classical Goethe poems that Schubert did set, “Ganymed” and “Prometheus” are the most famous. “Ganymed,” which Goethe penned in free verse in 1774, ranks highly as one of Goethe’s finest nature poems, and it is unabashedly pantheistic in its view of nature. In Greek myth, Ganymede, a beautiful Phrygian youth, was carried up to heaven by an eagle at Zeus’ command to serve as cup-bearer to the gods. Goethe uses this myth as a vehicle to express his belief in benevolent Nature’s power to draw man into unity with itself. Although classically-themed, Schubert’s “Ganymed,” composed in 1817, is markedly different from the poems of Mayrhofer that Schubert set concurrently. Goethe’s poem contains no sense of the nobility and reserve of Greek character in which Winckelmann

⁵⁸ Jane K. Brown, “The Poetry of Schubert’s Songs,” in *Schubert’s Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 190.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 191.

so firmly believed. Instead, Ganymede is animated both inwardly and externally; his hymn is pure exaltation of sensuous delights and divine enrapturement.

“Prometheus,” perhaps, lies nearer to the “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur” of Winckelmann’s vision of ancient Greek character, but not by much. As a member of the race of Titans (the forerunners of the gods), Prometheus is the embodiment of grandeur, but in Goethe’s poem lacks stoic restraint. According to mythology, Prometheus and his brother Epimetheus, were responsible for the creation of mankind. In addition, they were given charge over dispensing gifts to the animals that would aid them in their survival; some received claws, others feathers, and so on. Man was the last to be awarded, and when the time came it was found that no gifts remained to be given. Prometheus, unwilling for his creation to perish, stole up to the heavens and, against the will of the gods, brought fire from the sun to humankind. In punishment for his sin, Prometheus was chained to a rock on Mount Caucasus, where a vulture constantly preyed upon his liver, which was renewed as soon as it was eaten. Prometheus could have been spared his fate at any time if he was willing to accept the dominance of the gods and reveal to them a secret that would ensure their reign over humanity. For this reason, Prometheus has long been seen as a friend to human civilization and a symbol of defiance against tyranny in the face of unending suffering. Goethe’s poem of 1774 is opposite of “Ganymed” in its view of the gods; rather than adoration, “Prometheus” is all contempt.

The story of Prometheus’ defiance is ideal neoclassical material—a titan fated to suffer eternally, yet forever standing in mute defiance of the gods. In Goethe’s poem, however, there is no sense of suffering or anguish, whether physical or psychological. While there is no doubt of the nobility and grandeur of such a character, it is, at the same time,

impossible to relate on any level with such a person. If, in accordance with Winckelmann's goal, society was to learn from the Greeks and model themselves on the character of the ancients, then more empathic mythical figures are needed. In keeping with Friedrich Schlegel's vision for mythology, Goethe reinterprets Prometheus as a model for the modern artist and creator, an individual who is free to turn away from the weight of the gods and stand on his own. Written in free verse like "Ganymed," "Prometheus" appears unrestrained and unordered, lacking the balance and poise of true classicism.

Unlike the mythologically-themed works of both Goethe and Mayrhofer, the two best-known classically-themed poems of Schiller, "Gruppe aus dem Tartarus" and "Die Götter Griechenlands," do not take as their subjects specific mythological figures, but instead present a scene inspired by Greek myth or, as in the case of the latter, a meditation on ancient gods and ancient culture. Schiller's poems on the whole are more abstract, and Reed suggests that Schubert had difficulty setting his poems, causing him to return to rework them proportionately more than any other poet's.⁶⁰

"Gruppe aus dem Tartarus" depicts a group of condemned souls in Tartarus, the part of the underworld, even darker than Hades, where criminals are sent and the Titans were condemned. In "Gruppe," Schiller has set the group from Tartarus on the banks of the Cocytus River (in Greek mythology, the river of wailing), implying, perhaps, that they are among those fated to wander the underworld, unable to cross the river into Hades. The three-stanza poem, which contains no consistent meter, is graphic in its description of suffering, and promises no hope for the souls condemned by Fate for eternity. Anachronistically, Schiller's poem falls in his *Sturm und Drang* phase; its style and subject certainly are more suggestive of that period. Aside from its mythological subject matter, there is little about

⁶⁰ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 475.

“Gruppe” that is neoclassical, particularly when viewed through the lense of Winckelmann’s ethos.

Formally, “Die Götter Griechenlands” is perhaps the most neoclassical of the Goethe and Schiller poems. Each of the sixteen strophes consists of eight lines. With its *ababcdcd* rhyme scheme and consistent meter (six lines in pentameter followed by two in tetrameter), Schiller’s poem is balanced and elegant. What it lacks, however, is a true sense of character. With its wistful mood of longing for the days of ancient Greece, the poem moves briefly from one subject or place to another, never giving a clear picture of a figure radiating “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur.”

These Goethe and Schiller Lieder are all recognized masterpieces of German song, and their subject matter places them in the neoclassical subgenre of Schubert’s song oeuvre. Yet poetically, they each lack a truly convincing presence of Winckelmann’s ideal of “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur,” which, although arguably a Germanized conception of ancient Greek culture and character, was largely responsible nonetheless for inspiring the German neoclassical movement.

Schubert’s settings adhere closely to the poetry, and “Ganymed,” in particular, responds beautifully to the tone of Goethe’s poem. Set in A-flat major (which Reed calls the key of secret happiness and private joy, as well as secure and reciprocated love),⁶¹ the song ascends through a number of keys (A-flat major, G-flat major, E major, and finally ending in F major), mirroring the ascent of Ganymede into the heavens and his ultimate transfiguration through union with nature. The song is as effusive as the poetry, and while refreshing in its zest, it lacks classical restraint, as evidenced by the plethora of keys and musical motives.

⁶¹ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 492.

Like “Ganymed,” “Prometheus” begins and ends in a different key. Harmonically, it is characterized by intense chromaticism,⁶² and the ensuing vocal line is often either jagged or declamatory, and, in following with the poem’s lack of lyricism, never settles into a sustained lyrical melody (Schubert sets several sections as recitative). The continual shift of tonality, dynamics, meter, tempo and harmony, while adding to the dramatic thrust and power of the song, comes close to hindering its overall unity.

Schubert’s Schiller settings also lack a convincing presence of Winckelmann’s ethos. He made two attempts to set Schiller’s “Gruppe aus dem Tartarus.” In the first version of March 1816, Schubert set only the first five lines of the poem before, perhaps, thinking better of the attempt. More than a year later, in September 1817 (after he had found his way with Mayrhofer’s neoclassical poems and set the similarly themed “Fahrt zum Hades,” D.526), Schubert returned to the poem, and succeeded in creating a truly masterful setting.

“Gruppe aus dem Tartarus” is arguably Schubert’s most successful Schiller setting. He succeeds in capturing the tortured agony of the underworld souls through a number of means; the slow, measured rising of the bass-line by half-steps, the merciless tremolandi in the piano, and the larger harmonic progressions of a tritone (E-flat to A) all add to the hellish atmosphere of the setting. As in his settings of Goethe’s poems, however, there is no quiet repose, no patient acceptance of suffering.

Schubert set “Die Götter Griechenlands” in November 1819, only a month after his setting of “Prometheus.” By this time, Schubert had passed the peak of his neoclassical output, yet he was drawn nonetheless to the poem. Perhaps the sense of nostalgia and longing

⁶² Reed goes so far as to suggest that portions of the middle sections border on atonality, while Fischer-Dieskau suggests that “not until Wagner’s *Tristan* do we meet another composition with such daring harmonies and fascinating progressions.” Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 358. Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Schubert’s Songs: A Biographical Study*, trans. Kenneth S. Whitton (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 131.

for the past drew Schubert to the poem; he sets the fragment of Schiller's larger poem in A minor, which Reed notes is associated with disenchantment, alienation, and derangement (it is the key of "Der Zwerg" (D.771), "Der Leiermann" (D.911, no. 24), all of the Harper's songs and many of Mignon's).⁶³ The play between A major and A minor is particularly poignant in this song; the call for the ancient world's return is set in A major, while the wistful questioning and tragedy of the present is relegated to A minor. Schubert chooses to repeat the first four lines at the end of the poem, but there is no answer and no resolution; he ends the song as he began it: "Schöne Welt, wo bist du?" ("Beautiful world, where are you?") Of the four Goethe and Schiller settings, "Die Götter Griechenlands" comes to closest to rivaling the Mayrhofer settings in its neoclassicism. The elegant ABA' form and simple, unforced lyricism of the setting lend themselves to the meditative nature of the poem. What it lacks musically, however, is a certain grandeur that lies beneath the surface of many of the Mayrhofer settings, a characteristic of the music which perhaps was a result of Schubert's acquaintance with Mayrhofer and his ability to glimpse Mayrhofer's noble suffering and quiet grandeur in his poetry.

⁶³ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 489.

CHAPTER THREE

NOBLE SIMPLICITY AND QUIET GRANDEUR: SCHUBERT'S MAYRHOFFER SETTINGS

In contrast to Schubert's settings of neoclassically-themed poems by Goethe and Schiller, his Mayrhofer songs do seem to capture Winckelmann's "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur." Viewed as a group, these songs demonstrate the breadth of Schubert's compositional style, from the aria-like "Der zürnenden Diana" to the extended cantata "Uraniens Flucht" to the unabashed simplicity of "Lied eines Schiffers an die Dioskuren." John Reed, among others, has pointed out that many of these songs act as arias or miniature arias,⁶⁴ perhaps owing to the influence of Vogl or the dramatic, narrative nature of the poems. In them, the boundary between Lied and aria is often blurred; perhaps Schubert's personal acquaintance with Mayrhofer gave him freedom to explore various compositional possibilities, and his interpretations of the poems were colored by his own firsthand knowledge of the poet's personality.

The most telling aspect of the thirteen Mayrhofer settings is Schubert's choice of key. Although in the entirety of his Lieder he displayed a slight preference for major keys, in these mythological songs, ten of the thirteen are either set in a major key throughout (such as "Antigone und Oedip" and "Der entsühnte Orest"), or begin in a minor key and end in a major key (often illustrating a concluding hopefulness or a character's transformation, as in

⁶⁴ Ibid., 142, 284, 351. The influence of Vogl and Schubert's fascination with opera will be briefly touched upon later.

“Orest auf Tauris” and “Fahrt zum Hades”).⁶⁵ The major tonalities of the settings, combined with the mood and thematic content of the poetry (many of which are laments), help to lend these songs a “noble simplicity and quite grandeur.”

In addition to his choice of tonality, Schubert’s ability to musically portray the characters of the various protagonists while still serving the underlying themes of the poems is notable; perhaps Mayrhofer deserves credit for creating neoclassical poems that lend themselves to such flexible settings. Whatever inspired Schubert, it is safe to say that the neoclassical Mayrhofer settings are extremely varied; of the thirteen, “Memnon,” “Philoktet,” “Iphigenia,” and “Der zürnenden Diana” represent not only the varied compositional techniques that Schubert uses to give life to the subjects, but also reveal his varying effectiveness in creating Lieder embodying the “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur” of the neoclassical movement. Like the majority of the neoclassical Mayrhofer Lieder, each takes as its protagonist a mythological character. An analysis of these four songs will help to demonstrate the unique nature of Mayrhofer’s neoclassical poetry and Schubert’s ability to capture Winckelmann’s ethos.

“Memnon”

Perhaps no song better reveals Winckelmann’s ideal than “Memnon” (D.541). Composed in March of 1817, “Memnon” is commonly recognized as one of Schubert’s best Mayrhofer settings. Schubert set five other classical Mayrhofer poems in the same month (perhaps in anticipation of a meeting with Vogl, which will be discussed later), four of which

⁶⁵ The three exceptions are “Philoktet,” “Atys,” and “Freiwilliges Versinken.”

also bear mythological themes: “Philoktet” (D.540), “Antigone und Oedip” (D.542), “Orest auf Tauris” (D.548), and “Der entsühnte Orest” (D.699).⁶⁶

According to legend, Memnon was the son of Aurora, goddess of the dawn, and Tithonus, King of Egypt and Ethiopia. Slain by Achilles in the battle against the Greeks, at his mother’s behest he was brought back to life once a day by Zeus. As his mother’s morning rays would caress him, he would respond with a despondent wail. In time this legend became connected with the Colossi of Memnon, giant sandstone twin statues of the Pharaoh Amenofic III, which originally stood as sentinels of his burial temple near Thebes (modern-day Luxor). According to first- and second-century historians Strabo, Pausanias, Tacitus, and Philostratus, the statue was known to make a prolonged sound at dawn; various poets of the time noted that it sounded like mournful singing, a bell-like tone, or plucked strings, depending on the account. Whatever the actual sound, it mostly likely it was caused by the vibration of the air within the cracks of the statue (the statue was damaged in 27BC by an earthquake); these vibrations, in turn, seem to have been brought about by the extreme shift in temperature at dawn during the Egyptian summers.⁶⁷

Although there is nothing in mythology to suggest anything particularly noble about Memnon’s suffering, Mayrhofer seems to instill his protagonist with Winckelmann’s ideal of ancient Greek character. Of Mayrhofer’s many works, “Memnon” is perhaps one of his most classical, most Greek; poetically, is it perfectly balanced. Penned in classic iambic pentameter, Mayrhofer creates four quatrains of four lines, each with an *abba* rhyme scheme.

⁶⁶ The dating of “Der entsühnte Orest” is uncertain due to the loss of the autograph, although it is commonly dated at March 1817, owing mainly to its companion piece, “Orest auf Tauris.” Deutsch, however, catalogs the former as D.699, with the latter as D548. Johnson seems to agree with Deutsch, dating “Der entsühnte Orest” in September 1820, the same month in which Schubert composed “Freiwilliges Versinken.” Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 97.

⁶⁷ Johnson, *The Hyperion Schubert Edition*, 19. The Roman emperor Septimus Severus, seeking to repair the statues in 199 AD, unintentionally silenced them forever.

The protagonist is a paragon of nobility and quiet acceptance, showing only the briefest glimpse of any emotion near the end of the third strophe, but regaining his stature with the thought of celestial transcendence.

Table 5: Schubert, “Memnon” (D.541), text by Johann Mayrhofer.

<p>Den Tag hindurch nur einmal mag ich sprechen, Gewohnt zu schweigen immer und zu trauern: Wenn durch die nachtgebor’nen Nebelmauern Aurorens Purpurstrahlen liebend brechen.</p>	<p>Throughout the day I may speak only once, Accustomed to always being silent and mourning: When through the night-born walls of mist Aurora’s purple rays lovingly break.</p>
<p>Für Menschenohren sind es Harmonien. Weil ich die Klage selbst melodisch künde Und durch der Dichtung Glut das Rauhe ründe, Vermuten sie in mir ein selig Blühen.</p>	<p>For human ears this is harmony. Because I intone my lament so melodically And through the fire of poetry round off all roughness, They assume in me a blissful blooming.</p>
<p>In mir, nach dem des Todes Arme langen, In dessen tiefstem Herzen Schlangen wühlen; Genährt von meinen schmerzlichen Gefühlen Fast wütend durch ein ungestillt Verlangen:</p>	<p>In me, for whom the arms of Death reach, In the depths of whose heart serpents burrow, Nourished by my painful emotions, Almost frantic with an unsatisfied longing:</p>
<p>Mit dir, des Morgens Göttin, mich zu einen, Und weit von diesem nichtigen Getriebe, Aus Sphären edler Freiheit, aus Sphären reiner Liebe, Ein stiller, bleicher Stern herab zu scheinen.⁶⁸</p>	<p>To unite myself with you, goddess of morning, And, far from this futile bustle, From spheres of noble freedom and of pure love, To shine down as a silent, pale star.</p>

As an unwilling censorship official in Metternich’s government, the story of “Memnon” likely resounded with Mayrhofer—an individual misunderstood and trapped by fate. Forced to make a living from a job that stood for everything to which he was opposed, as a poet and a human being he must have felt repressed and silenced by his government and his job. His poetry gained little recognition in his lifetime, although had he lived longer, he may well have gained some of the prominence due to him.⁶⁹ Since the world offered

⁶⁸ Wigmore, *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts*, 283–84.

⁶⁹ Youens writes that “tragically, Mayrhofer was just beginning to win outside recognition for his poetic gifts when he killed himself,” *Schubert’s Poets*, 174.

Mayrhofer little sense of fulfillment or hope (beyond nature and art), the best that he could hope for was transcendence to a higher plane of being, which is Memnon's ultimate wish as well.⁷⁰ John Reed confirms this aspect of Mayrhofer's poetry, noting that it reinforced Schubert's "natural propensity for transcendental modes of thought, to enable him to find characteristic musical expressions for *Sehnsucht*, the Romantic yearning for the world beyond the world."⁷¹

The poetic elegance and balance of Mayrhofer's poem is mirrored in Schubert's setting, and the coupling of poem and music lend themselves to Winckelmann's ideal. Schubert creates a distinct section of the song for each quatrain, and these sections are unified using a stately triplet motive that gives "Memnon" a noble steadiness, while the vocal line and harmonic movement give definition to Memnon's character.

"Memnon" begins softly in D-flat major, a relatively rare key among Schubert's *Lieder*.⁷² Marked as *sehr langsam* and *schwärmerisch* (very slow and impassioned), the song's opening D-flat chord (without its fifth) is followed by the staccato triplet eighth-note and half-note motive (here on A-flat) that is the song's defining feature. Like a distant fanfare, the repetition of the motive within the opening measures, coupled with the slow tempo, suggests at once a proud, regal melancholy and an expectation of the coming dawn. Whereas in many songs the triplet figure merely serves an accompanying rhythmic gesture, in "Memnon" the triplet is a critical means of expressing the character of the song.

⁷⁰ The image of transcendent stars also appears in the closing lines of "Uraniens Flucht."

⁷¹ John Reed, *Schubert* (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 53.

⁷² Of the 597 songs accounted for by Ernest Porter, only seven of them appear in D-flat major. Reed, however, counts only six songs in D-flat major. He also suggests that D-flat is an "emotional" tone, and although no consistent thematic thread runs through the six songs, the key could possibly be one of contemplation and introspection. Ernest Porter, *Schubert's Song Technique* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1961), 37; Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 494.

Schubert anticipates the entrance of the vocal line by dropping the triplet eighth-note motive down to F, and the piano accompaniment suddenly becomes chordal as Memnon utters his recitative-like awakening line over an unapologetically melancholic harmonic structure (Example 1). The vocal line is limited initially to the span of a minor third, and placement of the word “und” on the downbeat of m. 9 suggests a sort of stiffness on the part of the speaker, as though he, having been silent for some time, was unaccustomed to speech and was only gradually regaining his voice. The return of the triplet motive suggests a new-found warmth; passing through C major, the piano chords fill out harmonically and the vocal line begins to climb in anticipation of the purple rays of dawn. The vocal line climaxes with “liebend” (lovingly); Aurora seems to have broken above the horizon, and Memnon’s life is fully restored to him in the *forte-piano* of a first-inversion B diminished seventh chord, which Schubert uses to pivot into A-flat major, here the key signature of the dawn. A transition into F major marks the beginning of the second section of the song; with music suggestive of pastoral elegance Memnon laments that his melodious groans are mistaken by human ears as the sounds of blissful awakening.

In m. 30 the tempo becomes a little quicker (*etwas geschwinder werdend*), as if to signify that Memnon’s brief return to life is rapidly coming to a close. At the same time, the piano finally settles decisively into a triple meter, as though the dawn that was hinted at in the opening triplet motive was now overpowering and underscoring all activity (Example 2). That the dawn should signify both Memnon’s short return to life and his impending lapse back into death is telling in the triplet eighth-notes, which elsewhere in Schubert’s Lieder are associated with doom. The triplet motive is further transformed into an urgent pulsing in the bass line, and as Memnon sees Death’s arms stretching out towards him (“In mir, nach dem

des Todes Arme langen”), the sextuplet broken chords of the right hand and rising bass line drive the song through a chromatically intense harmonic progression that climaxes with Memnon’s anguished cry in m. 36, marking the most impassioned moment of the song.

Example 1: Schubert, “Memnon” (D.541), mm. 1–7.

The image shows a musical score for Schubert's "Memnon" (D.541), measures 1-7. The score is in D-flat major and 3/4 time. It features a piano introduction with a sextuplet of broken chords in the right hand and a rising bass line. The vocal line begins in measure 5 with the lyrics "Den Tag hin-durch nur ein-mal mag ich sprech-en, ge-".

In a rather sudden shift back into D-flat, Memnon regains his noble countenance and expresses his one wish: to be united with his mother in a world above and beyond the futility of the everyday world. The final lines of the song are among the most beautiful in any of Schubert’s Lieder, and perfectly capture the *Sehnsucht* of Mayrhofer’s words. The brief postlude counterbalances the opening bars, yet rather than the bare, octave triplet eighth-note of the original motive, the triplets are filled in to provide harmonic completion (Example 1.3). Perhaps for the protagonist, the rich harmonies signify emotional fulfillment at the thought of transcendence to a nobler world as he drifts back into the waiting arms of death. Schubert closes the song in the opening key, as is called for by the context, yet there is a

sense of fulfillment and nobility in the dream of celestial transformation that transcends the unending suffering of Memnon.

Example 2: Schubert, “Memnon” (D.541), mm. 30–33.

30 In mir, nach dem des
cre - - - - - scen - - - - - do

32 To - des Ar - - - - me lan - gen, in des - sen

“Memnon” was published as the first song in Schubert’s Opus 6, which included another Mayrhofer setting, “Antigone und Oedip,” as well as “Am Grabe Anselmos” (D.504). It may have also played a part in attracting Johann Michael Vogl, the operatic baritone who would eventually become a strong public proponent of Schubert’s Lieder, so much so that Mayrhofer, in his obituary notice for Schubert, called him Schubert’s “second father.”⁷³ According to Joseph von Spaun’s account of the first meeting between Schubert

⁷³ Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, 132. Marjorie Hirsch suggests that some of Schubert’s *Antikenlieder* may have been composed to attract Vogl’s attention. Marjorie Hirsch, “Mayrhofer, Schubert, and the myth of ‘Vocal Memnon,’” in *The Unknown Schubert*, ed. Barbara M. Reul and Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 13.

and Vogl (in the same month that “Memnon” was composed), “Memnon” was one of the first Schubert songs that Vogl briefly sang through:

He made his acquaintance at Schober’s at the appointed hour, quite majestically, and when the small, insignificant Schubert made a somewhat awkward bow and, in his embarrassment, stammered some incoherent words about the honour of the acquaintance, Vogl turned up his nose rather contemptuously and the beginning of the acquaintance seemed to us to portend disaster. Finally Vogl said, “Let’s see what you have got there; accompany me,” and thereupon he took up the nearest sheet of music, containing Mayrhofer’s poem, “Augenlied,” a pretty, very melodious, but not important song. Vogl hummed rather than sang, and then said coldly, “Not bad.” When, after that, “Memnon,” “Ganymed,” and other songs were accompanied for him, all of which, however, he only sang mezza-voce, he became more and more friendly

. . . The impression the songs made on him was an overwhelming one and he now approached our circle again of his own accord, invited Schubert into his home, rehearsed songs with him and when he realised the tremendous, overwhelming impression his performance made on us, on Schubert himself and on every kind of audience he grew so enthusiastic about the songs that he himself now became Schubert most ardent admirer⁷⁴

Vogl was not alone in his appreciation for “Memnon,” which became the most popular of Schubert’s neoclassical Mayrhofer settings. A review in the Vienna *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of January 19, 1822 praised the latest book of Schubert songs to be published, which included “Memnon” and “Antigone und Oedip.” The review finds both the poems and their settings to be praiseworthy, finding fault only in Schubert’s adjustment of the final line of “Antigone und Oedip,” which injured the poetic meter while having no conceivable benefit to the setting of the text.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Ibid., 132.

⁷⁵ Deutsch, *The Schubert Reader*, 206–8. Steblin notes that this review may have been arranged for by Mayrhofer, who must have provided the original poems to the reviewer, and suggests that this may have been Mayrhofer’s attempt at a reconciliation with Schubert. Steblin, “Schubert’s Problematic Relationship with Johann Mayrhofer,” 481–82. Johannes Brahms presumably recognized Memnon’s mastery as well, and composed an orchestral version of the song in 1862 for his friend Julius Stockhausen, a famous baritone at the time. Fischer-Dieskau, *Schubert’s Songs*, 294–95.

Example 3: Schubert, “Memnon” (D.541), mm. 50–54.

50
schei - nen ein stil - ler blei - cher

52
Stern he - rab zu schei - nen.

It is, perhaps, significant that Vogl was known around Vienna as a man with an extensive knowledge of the classics, both Greek and Roman.⁷⁶ Graham Johnson, in his musings about Schubert’s extensive classical output in March of 1817, goes so far as to suggest that Schubert, knowing of Vogl’s predilection for classical subjects, composed some of the songs (“Ganymed” in particular) specifically for that first meeting with Vogl, and that Mayrhofer may have even written the poems to be set to music for this occasion.⁷⁷ If they were not created specifically for that meeting, though, it seems likely that some were at least composed with Vogl’s voice in mind. Eduard von Bauernfeld, in his 1841 biography of Vogl,

⁷⁶ In his letter to Ferdinand Luib (the first person to be successful in collecting material for a Schubert biography), Anton Holzapfel wrote that Vogl “had at his command a considerable store of knowledge of ancient Greece and Rome as well as an extensive knowledge of languages, so that these associations [Vogl’s and Mayrhofer’s] certainly had a formative influence on Franz Schubert’s mind, receptive as it was to all that was fine.” Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, 60. Anton Steinüchel von Rheinwall, a close friend of Vogl’s, wrote in 1858 that “one could easily surprise Vogl reading a Greek tragic poet in the original tongue, with the highly gifted Flaxman’s or someone else’s illustrations of ancient statues and reliefs at his side, observing the immortal ancients in word and picture,” *ibid.*, 160.

⁷⁷ Johnson, *The Hyperion Schubert Edition*, 5.

claimed that “‘Memnon,’ ‘Philoktet,’ ‘Der zürnenden Diana,’ the ‘Wanderer,’ ‘Ganymed,’ ‘An Schwager Kronos,’ the *Müllerlieder* and so forth were little music masterpieces and might have been created for Vogl’s style and manner of performance.”⁷⁸ Schubert’s ventures into larger dramatic works seem not to have been entirely self-motivated; Albert Stadler recounted that “at Vogl’s instigation and so not without motive, he [Schubert] writes operettas, operas, and other big things for performance.”⁷⁹ Schubert purportedly aspired to write an *opera seria* on a classical theme; this may have been largely at the insistence of Vogl.⁸⁰

“Philoktet”

“Philoktet” is useful as a comparison to “Memnon.” It is remarkably different on several levels, and its ability in capturing Winckelmann’s ideal is debatable. Composed in the same month as “Memnon,” it takes as its protagonist Philoctetes, the son of a shepherd and the bearer of Hercules’ quiver, bow, and arrows. After the Greek hero Achilles was slain near the end of the Trojan War, a seer prophesied that Troy would only fall with the help of Hercules’ bow and arrows. The Greek king Ulysses (well-known for his craftiness in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*) was sent to the island of Lemnos to take the weapon from Philoctetes, which he managed to do through trickery.

⁷⁸ Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, 226.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁸⁰ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 356. *Adrast*, an uncompleted opera with a libretto by Mayrhofer, may be the opera to which Reed repeatedly refers. It seems questionable, however—the chronology of the songs and *Adrast* does not match up. “Philoktet” was composed in 1817, yet modern scholarship places *Adrast* in 1819.

Table 6: Schubert, “Philoktet” (D.540) , text by Johann Mayrhofer.

Da sitz ich ohne Bogen und starre in den Sand. Was tat ich dir Ulysses? dass du sie mir entwandt Die Waffe, die den Trojern des Todes Bote war, Die auf der wüsten Insel mir Unterhalt gebar.	Here I sit without my bow and stare into the sand. What did I do to you, Ulysses? that you would steal from me The weapon that was the messenger of death to the Trojans, That provided my sustenance on this desolate island.
Es rauschen Vogelschwärme mir über'm greisen Haupt; Ich greife nach dem Bogen, umsonst, er ist geraubt! Aus dichtem Busche raschelt der braune Hirsch hervor: Ich strecke leere Arme zur Nemesis empor.	Flocks of birds rustle above my grey head; I reach for the bow, but in vain – it has been stolen! From thick, crackling bushes rushes the brown stag; I stretch my empty arms up toward Nemesis.
Du schlauer König, scheue der Göttin Rächerblick! Erbarme dich und stelle den Bogen mir zurück. ⁸¹	You sly king, beware the goddess' vengeful gaze! Have mercy on me and give me back my bow.

Several authors have written that “Philoktet” is highly operatic; Reed goes so far as to call it a “fragment from Schubert’s *opera seria* on a classical theme.”⁸² Indeed, many of Schubert’s neoclassical songs are highly dramatic, and border on theatrical at times (Goethe’s “Prometheus,” Mayrhofer’s “Der zürnenden Diana”). Although Mayrhofer and Schubert hoped to compose such an opera, presumably with Vogl in a leading role, the project never came to fruition.⁸³

The poetic tone of “Philoktet” is somewhat different than that of “Memnon” and many of Mayrhofer’s other neoclassical poems. The loss of Philoctetes’ bow, and a consequent loss of identity, may have a parallel in Mayrhofer’s life. Perhaps Mayrhofer,

⁸¹ Wigmore, *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts*, 248. Schubert makes only a few minor adjustments to the poem, but quite noticeably substitutes the phrase “dem Feinde” (to the enemy) in favor of “den Trojern,” thus adding a more direct impetus and context for the weapon’s significance. The question mark in stanza 1 has been given its original placement. Beaumont Glass, *Schubert’s Complete Song Texts* (New York: Leyerle Publications, 1996), 2:779.

⁸² Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 356.

⁸³ Johnson, *The Hyperion Schubert Edition*, 33.

robbed of his freedom of speech by the government's censorship, is analogous with Philoctetes. In the end, however, there is nothing that either Mayrhofer or Philoctetes can do; Philoctetes must simply sit and wait for his bow to be returned to him (which it was), while Mayrhofer seems to ultimately perish without his poetic identity.⁸⁴ Although the *aabb* rhyming of the first two stanzas is clear, the poem lacks an internal fluidity and grace. The lines are made up of two trimeters separated by a caesura, with the first trimeter penned iambically and the second inverted into a trochaic meter. Even the final couplet, in which Philoctetes makes his most impassioned cry for revenge, is awkward, with Mayrhofer's rhyming of "blick" and "zurück."

Although the character of the protagonist in Mayrhofer's poem is open to interpretation, Schubert seems to take a rather unimpressed view of the hero. The setting of "Philoktet" begins and ends without any true sense of the character's evolution, which, in fairness to Schubert, is also lacking in the poem. The mournful grace and confident hopefulness of "Memnon" are nowhere to be found. Instead, Philoctetes must simply wait and complain, uttering empty cries of revenge against Ulysses. Perhaps the poem's weak conclusion prompted Schubert to create an equally unimpressive character, or perhaps Schubert felt that a shepherd would not possess the nobility inherent in the other Mayrhofer settings. In contrast, many of the other protagonists are mythological personae of noble blood and stature, and the settings of their poems all seem more suggestive of the neoclassical ideal.

In comparison to the lush thematic, melodic, and harmonic content of "Memnon," "Philoktet" seems sparing in its accompaniment, with few vertical layers. Set in B minor, the song is marked *Unruhig* and *schnell* (unrestful and fast). It is one of the few neoclassical

⁸⁴ Susan Youens points out that "suicide, after all, is the ultimate censorship," *Schubert's Poets*, 155.

Mayrhofer poems set by Schubert that begins and ends in a minor key. Despite the song's economy, a few of its features are striking. The most noticeable is the five-bar introduction, which begins with a soft staccato three eighth-note pickup of alternating chords that lie far from the home key of B minor. The gradual crescendo of this repetitive figure over the opening bars into the dominant seven chord in m. 5 is suggestive, perhaps, of Philoctetes' obsessive reminiscence of a creeping Ulysses, with the shock of the *forte-piano* F-sharp seven chord signifying his sudden surprise and dismay at the disappearance of his bow and arrows (Example 4).

The establishment of B minor in m. 6 finds Philoctetes sitting on the beach, staring into the sand. John Reed points out that the bold vocal theme contains "Schubert's favorite tonal image of fate/death, plunging down from B minor to the dominant F-sharp major."⁸⁵ Apart from some minor imitation between the voice and piano in mm. 8–11, in which the piano imitates the vocal lament in octaves, the accompaniment is spare, providing little more than harmonic support and metrical punctuation as Schubert moves the song in the direction of D major. This emptiness in the accompaniment is telling of Philoctetes' character, who sits empty-handed, robbed of his bow, his only means of support. The two cadences of mm. 27 and 29 stand out, with the first leading the song back into B minor and the second heading directly back into D major. The measures of complete rest following each are even more perplexing, and suggest an unstable harmonic structure to compliment Philoctetes' unstable mind, in addition to giving even more emphasis to the song's economy.

⁸⁵ Reed, *Schubert Song Companion*, 356.

Example 4: Schubert, “Philoktet” (D.540), mm. 1–9.

1

1

p

5

5

Da sitz ich oh - ne Bo - gen und

fp >

f

Example 5: Schubert, “Philoktet” (D.540), mm. 27–34.

28

28

p

Es

The shift into E-flat minor in m. 31 is perhaps the most shocking moment of the song, as B-flat pedal octaves resound in the bass. The arpeggiated B-flat seven and first-inversion E-flat minor chords in the piano are suggestive of the rustling of the birds that fly above Philoctetes’ head (Example 5). With a cadential sigh of acceptance in mm. 43–44, he declares the bow stolen. In a sly shift to G-flat major, Schubert illustrates Philoctetes’ stubborn hope for revenge as he cries out to Nemesis, the goddess of retribution: “ich strecke

leere Arme zur Nemesis empor.” As Graham Johnson points out, however, this invoking of Nemesis “lacks total conviction,” landing on a diminished-seventh chord.⁸⁶

Example 6: Schubert, “Philoktet” (D.540), mm. 53–61.

54
stre - cke lee - re Ar - me zur — Ne - me - sis em - por, zur —

54
fz >

58
Ne - me - sis em - por.

58
p

As abruptly as E-flat minor arrived, Schubert leaves G-flat major even more quickly with the return of the opening measures in B minor, using the mediant of G-flat major to transition back into the opening as the fifth scale degree of D-sharp major (Example 6). Apart from the different text in the vocal line, this final section is a nearly identical recapitulation of the first section, abbreviated and changed only to accommodate the textural imbalance of the poem, which consists of two quatrains and a rhymed couplet. Thus, the song takes on the classical form of ABA', a modified da capo aria.

⁸⁶ Johnson, *The Hyperion Schubert Edition*, 23.

Like many of Schubert's songs on classical themes from 1817, "Philoktet" was not published until after his death, which may indicate that he did not view the song as highly as "Memnon," "Antigone und Oedip," and others that were published. Perhaps he felt that he had not fully captured the noble suffering that characterized the other, more successful songs of a mythological nature. Still, the interpretation was his, and the economy of texture and passion of the lament lend the song a simplicity and grandeur, if not a convincing nobility.

"Iphigenia"

"Iphigenia," composed just three months after "Memnon" and "Philoktet" in July of 1817, is more convincing than "Philoktet." The song is the lament of Iphigenia, daughter of King Agamemnon of Mycenae and brother of Orestes. When the Greek ships were stuck at Aulis for lack of wind and unable to set sail for Troy, Agamemnon was ordered to sacrifice his daughter in return for favorable winds. Iphigenia was spirited away, however, by Diana and taken to Tauris, where she became a priestess in a temple to Diana.

Originally a play by Euripedes (*Iphigenia in Tauris*), both Gluck and Goethe created works of the same name based on the story (Gluck an opera and Goethe a five-act play in 1787), and Schubert was most certainly familiar with Gluck's opera, in which Vogl had played the role of Orestes. Joseph von Spaun, in his obituary notice of 1829, goes so far as to suggest that Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* was the first opera to make a truly deep impression upon Schubert:

Iphigénie's lamentations moistened the eyes of the good-natured composer with tears of emotion and the agonies of the unhappy Orestes shook him to the depths of his being. The impression made by that evening was for him a never-to-be-forgotten one; its outcome was the keenest study of all Gluck's scores which, for years, quite enraptured Schubert. . . . To the great impression made on Schubert by Gluck's

“Iphigénie,” the masterly playing and glorious singing of the Court Opera singer Vogl made an outstanding contribution.⁸⁷

Table 7: Schubert, “Iphigenia” (D.573), text by Johann Mayrhofer.

Blüht denn hier an Tauris Strande, Aus dem teuren Vaterlande keine Blume, Weht kein Hauch Aus den seligen Gefilden, Wo Geschwister mit mir spielten? Ach, mein Leben ist ein Rauch!	Here on the Tauris’ shore, Does no flower from my dear fatherland bloom? Does no breeze blow From those blessed fields Where my siblings once played with me? Ah, my life is smoke!
Trauernd wank’ ich in dem Haine – Keine Hoffnung nähr’ ich – keine, Meine Heimat zu erseh’n, Und die See mit hohen Wellen, Die an Klippen sich zerschellen, Übertäubt mein leises Fleh’n.	Mournfully I stagger about in the grove – No hope do I nourish – none, Of ever seeing my homeland again; And the sea, with high waves That shatter themselves against the rocks, Downs out my soft pleas.
Göttin, die du mich gerettet, An die Wildnis angekettet, – Rette mich zum zweiten Mal; Gnädig lasse mich den Meinen, Lass’, o Göttin! mich erscheinen in des grossen Königs Saal! ⁸⁸	Goddess, you who rescued me And chained me to this wilderness, Rescue me a second time; Graciously allow me, before my loved ones, Allow me, O goddess! To appear In the hall of the great king!

“Iphigenia” stands out as being one of the few poems Mayrhofer wrote from the perspective of a female character.⁸⁹ Regardless of gender, the longed-for homeland of the poem has had some scholars propose that “Iphigenia” is Mayrhofer’s equivalent of Goethe’s Mignon poems. Unhappy in this world, it is often suggested that Mayrhofer felt a longing for

⁸⁷ Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, 21. In a recollection (1858) of his association with Schubert, Spaun reaffirmed his earlier notes: “He always left the theatre full of enthusiasm for what he had enjoyed, but it was “Iphigénie en Tauride” which affected him most of all. He was quite beside himself over the effect of this magnificent music and asserted that there could be nothing more beautiful in the world. He said that Milder’s voice pierced his heart and that Iphigénie’s aria in the second act, with the women’s chorus entering in, would be the most beautiful thing he had ever heard, were everything else in the opera not equally beautiful. He regretted not knowing Vogl so that he might fall at his feet for his performance of Oreste,” *ibid.*, 129.

⁸⁸ Wigmore, *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts*, 248.

⁸⁹ Youens, Solomon, and Steblin all seem to agree that Mayrhofer was, to some extent, a misogynist, although they differ as to the degree. Steblin, “Schubert’s Problematic Relationship with Johann Mayrhofer,” 477–79.

a different world, a “homeland beyond his reach,”⁹⁰ and to read Mayrhofer’s personality into the poem would certainly support this.

At first glance, “Iphigenia” appears poetically awkward in many sections. Schubert, however, dramatically altered the poem (he takes increasing liberties in many of his later Mayrhofer settings), so that relatively few lines remain untouched. The largest alteration appears in the second line of the poem, affecting what would otherwise be an elegant *aabccb* rhyme scheme for the stanza, as well as the trochaic tetrameter of each line. The opening stanza of the original poem reads:

Table 8: Mayrhofer, “Iphigenia,” first stanza

Blüht denn hier an Tauris Strande	Here on the Tauris’ shore,
Keine Blum’ aus Hellas Lande?	Does no flower from Greece bloom?
Weht kein milder Segenshauch	Does no mild blessing breeze blow
Aus den lieblichen Gefilden,	From those delightful fields
Wo Geschwister mit mir spielten?	Where my siblings once played with me?
Ach, mein Leben ist ein Rauch! ⁹¹	Ah, my life is smoke!

Three versions of “Iphigenia” exist, in G-flat major (the manuscript), E-flat major (a copy), and F major (published by Diabelli in 1829 as Op.98, No.3). Apart from the differing keys and occasionally minor differences in dynamic and expression markings, piano voicing, and articulations, all three versions are essentially identical. Both the first and third versions are marked *Nicht zu langsam* (not too slow), and for the purpose of this paper the G-flat major version (Schubert’s original key) will be examined.

As in “Memnon,” Schubert chooses to set this lament in a major key, pointing to the underlying regality of the character. Schubert begins the song in G-flat major with a one-bar

⁹⁰ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 52.

⁹¹ Changes derived from Glass, *Schubert’s Complete Song Texts*, 609–10.

introduction; the voice at first appears to imitate the opening melody, but departs on the word “Tauris” with a triplet melismatic figure. Schubert uses a similar device in the vocal line of “Memnon” to suggest the blooming (“ein selig Blühen”) of Memnon’s poetry, and perhaps in “Iphigenia” this melisma on “Tauris” serves as a metaphorical unfolding or flowering, suggestive of the lush greenery of Iphigenia’s lost homeland. In the fourth measure, Schubert foreshadows the upcoming transition into A-flat minor with an E-flat and F-flat minor second on the word “Vaterlande” (Example 7). Schubert draws upon this appoggiatura and its harmonic underpinnings (G-diminished and A-flat minor) in the beginning of the second stanza in m. 10, in which he recalls the longing for the fatherland by placing the E-flat and F-flat as single sounding tones that ring out, alone and piercing, while the harmonic accompaniment underneath alternates between A-flat minor and a G-diminished seventh-chord (Example 8).

In addition to the harmonic “fatherland” motive, Schubert introduces a rhythmic motive in m. 6 that provides the impetus for the latter parts of the song. The dotted figures of mm. 6–8, marked by accents, are perhaps reminiscent of the double-dotted rhythms of a majestic French overture, and suggest the quiet royalty that underlies Iphigenia’s lament. The dotted rhythms are conspicuous in several of the other Mayrhofer settings, including “Uraniens Flucht,” “Lied eines Schiffers an die Dioskuren,” and the closing section of “Der entsühnte Orest.”⁹² Like the triplet motive of “Memnon,” these dotted rhythms are a critical means of expressing the character of the songs.

⁹² As Schubert sets the stanza describing the dance of the gods in “Uraniens Flucht,” he goes so far as write out double-dotted rhythms.

Example 7: Schubert, “Iphigenia” (D.573), mm. 1–6.

Blüht — denn hier, an Tau - ris Stran - de, aus dem teu - ren Va - ter - lan - de kei - ne Blu - me, weht kein Hauch aus den se - li - gen Ge - fil - den, wo Ge -

Example 8: Schubert, “Iphigenia” (D.573), mm. 10–12.

Rauch. Trau - ernd wank ich in dem Hai - ne,

In the second stanza, the delayed sixteenth-note groupings of the first section take on a more urgent character as Schubert shifts them to the downbeat of the first and third beats. These groupings take on added intensity with the transition to E-flat major in m. 16 as the thirty-second notes in the left hand in the piano suggest the swelling currents. This progression climaxes in mm. 21–22; Schubert incorporates the dotted rhythmic motive of Iphigenia’s regality in a descending D-flat major scale, perhaps illustrating the crashing of

waves upon the rocks of a barren shore. The music finally comes to rest in F major, which, with a simple mediant progression, allows Schubert to begin the third section of the song in D-flat major (Example 9).

Example 9: Schubert, “Iphigenia” (D.573), mm. 21–25.

The image shows a musical score for Schubert's "Iphigenia" (D.573), measures 21-25. The score is in D-flat major and 3/4 time. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. Measure 21 is marked "Flehn." and measure 23 is marked "Göt - tin, die du mich ge - ret - tet, an die Wild - nis an - ge - ket - tet". The piano part includes a "decresc." marking and a "p" dynamic marking.

With a dignified harmonic poise, the final stanza is firmly rooted in D-flat major, which lends the conclusion a triumphant, royal air. Iphigenia’s lament here takes on an almost demanding quality; Schubert emphasizes her request to be rescued by repeating the third line of the last stanza: “Rette, rette mich zum zweiten Mal, rette mich zum zweiten Mal” (“Rescue, rescue me a second time, rescue me a second time”). Iphigenia’s regal demand is undergirded in the final measures by the dotted rhythmic motive from earlier in the song; Reed writes that the final bars are notable for their “simplicity” and “nobility.”⁹³

⁹³ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 284.

“Der zürnenden Diana”

Following the composition of “Atys” in September of 1817, Schubert composed no more Mayrhofer songs on neoclassical themes until September of 1820, when he composed “Freiwilliges Versinken” (Voluntary Oblivion).⁹⁴ A few months later in December, he composed “Der zürnenden Diana” (To Angry Diana), which was followed only by “Lied eines Schiffers an die Dioskuren” in 1822 (Song of the Sailors to the Dioskuri).

Like “Uraniens Flucht” (The Flight of Urania), “Der zürnenden Diana” is one of the lengthiest settings of the group. Both settings are highly dramatic, but whereas “Uraniens Flucht” seems comprised of recitative and arioso, “Der zürnenden Diana” is all aria. Operatic to its core (and quite popular in Schubert’s lifetime), what the song lacks in character-defining detail is made up for with unrestrained passion that mirrors the mood of the poem.

According to legend, one day the huntsman Actaeon (a grandson of Apollo) chanced upon Diana, virgin goddess of the hunt, as she was bathing in the woods with her nymphs, and he became entranced by her beauty.⁹⁵ When she discovered him gazing on her nakedness, however, she transformed Actaeon into a stag, at which point he became chased by his own hunting party and devoured by his hounds.

At first glance, the poem seems lacking in visual space; the odd thirteen lines are packed into a single stanza, perhaps suggesting the dying hunter’s rush to breathe his final words as quickly as possible. Mayrhofer’s first six lines, all in iambic pentameter with weak endings, begin with a rhyming couplet (*aa*), followed by four lines with a *bccb* rhyme pattern. Mayrhofer’s use of enjambment is particularly noticeable in these lines, giving it the

⁹⁴ This presumes that “Der entstühnte Orest” was composed in March 1817.

⁹⁵ Reed mistakenly identifies the protagonist of this poem as Endymion. Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 142.

visual appearance, perhaps, of unevenness corresponding to the ragged breathing of the dying Actaeon. Schubert makes only a couple of minor adjustments here, substituting “zürnenden” (angry) for “zornigen” (angry) and “blühenden” (blossoming) for “buschigen” (bushy), thereby lending the first six lines a stronger sense of internal rhyme.

Table 9: Schubert, “Der zürnenden Diana” (D.707), text by Johann Mayrhofer.

<p>Ja, spanne nur den Bogen, mich zu töten, Du himmlisch Weib! im zürnenden Erröten Noch reizender. Ich werd’ es nie bereuen, Dass ich dich sah am blühenden Gestade Die Nymphen überragen in dem Bade, Der Schönheit Funken in die Wildnis streuen. Den Sterbenden wird doch dein Bild erfreuen. Er atmet reiner, er atmet freier, Wem du gestrahlet ohne Schleier. Dein Pfeil, er traf, doch linde rinnen Die warmen Wellen aus der Wunde; Noch zittert vor den matten Sinnen Des Schauens süsse letzte Stunde.⁹⁶</p>	<p>Yes, draw your bow to slay me, You divine lady! In a flush of anger, you are Even more bewitching. I will never regret it, That I saw you on the blossoming bank, Outshining the nymphs in their bath, Radiating sparks of beauty in the wilderness. Your image will still delight this dying man. He breathes more purely, more freely, He upon whom shone unveiled. Your arrow, it struck – but gently flow The warm waves from the wound; My fading senses still tremble At seeing you in this last sweet moment.</p>
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The poem becomes even more interesting with the remaining seven lines. The seventh line is connected to the first six, in both rhyme and meter. The following six lines take up a *ddeffe* rhyme scheme that recall the scheme of the first six lines, but the poem abruptly shifts into iambic tetrameter, perhaps suggesting a physical shortness of breath on the part of the speaker that belies the emotional bliss that accompanies the mortal wound. Schubert’s only poetic alteration in this stanza is minor, but significant; the addition of “er” (he) before “atmet freier” disrupts Mayrhofer’s meter.

As with his other poems, it is easy to read much of Mayrhofer’s character in the poem. In “Der zürnenden Diana,” the dying man welcomes death (an admirably Greek attitude, at least in Winckelmann’s interpretation) simply for the chance of seeing perfect

⁹⁶ Wigmore, *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts*, 137.

beauty, as embodied by the virgin goddess. His choice of the Actaeon story is, perhaps significant; as the huntress queen of the woods, Diana is strongly associated with nature in Greek mythology. In Bulfinch's rendering of the myth, the setting is "a cave [set in a valley], not adorned with art, but nature had counterfeited art in its construction, for she [Diana] had turned the arch of the its roof with stones as delicately fitted as if by the hand of man."⁹⁷ According to Mayrhofer's philosophies, beauty and nature were often intertwined, so one almost expects that the goddess of the woods should be the embodiment of beauty. The poet's decision to reshape the myth, thereby leaving out the hounds and changing the manner of his death, also suggests that Mayrhofer specifically wanted Diana, and no other goddess as the object of beauty, as there are certainly no lack of myths in which goddesses strike down mortal men. The removal of the hounds elevates the scene to a less physical plane, allowing Actaeon to suffer a dignified death.

As both a poem and a song, "Der zürnenden Diana" is a lament of a different sort. Unlike "Memnon" and "Iphigenia," there seems to be no self-pity or self-awareness. Instead, all semblance of self-recognition is overwhelming in the glory of true beauty, and little or no character development can be seen over the course of the song. Of Schubert's songs on neoclassical themes, "Der zürnenden Diana" is the most overtly operatic; Schubert stretches the poem's 13 lines into 172 measures of music, making it one of Schubert's lengthiest songs. In contrast to the compactness of the poem, Schubert's expansion suggests, perhaps, a temporal slowing for the protagonist, allowing Actaeon to experience an eternity of enrapturement in his last dying moments. Schubert creates this length by repeating every line of the poem, oftentimes more than once. This repetition allows Schubert to build long and expressive phrases in the voice over a repetitive accompaniment.

⁹⁷ Bulfinch, *Bulfinch's Mythology*, 65–66.

Example 10: Schubert, “Der zürnenden Diana” (D.707), mm. 10–14.

10

Ja, span - ne nur den Bo - gen, mich zu tö - - - ten, du

10

Marked *risoluto* (resolute) in the published second version and *feurig* (fiery) in the autograph, “Der zürnenden Diana” is set in A-flat major in cut time. “Der zürnenden Diana” opens with nine bars of introduction, and the opening rhythmic motive remains nearly constant for the first 70 bars (Example 10),⁹⁸ pausing only for the declaration “Ich werd es nie bereuen” in mm. 35–38 and 51–54. The texture changes slightly in m. 70 as Schubert begins the transition into C major and the second stanza of the poem. Schubert seems to gloss over the odd seventh line of the poem, connecting it instead with the second and third lines of the second stanza, allowing the song to continue uninterrupted. While the bass line continues the motive established in the beginning of the song, the right hand triplets are transformed into slightly calmer, sparkling sixteenth notes, in place of the driving, excited triplets of the opening, which in turn become the triplets and quarter notes of “reizender” when the arrow hits its mark following m. 110. Although the text proclaims a sense of exalted, blissful agony, the accompaniment does not reach a true legato until m. 133. With the legato in the

⁹⁸ Another exception to this rhythm occurs in mm. 19, 29, and 33, on the word “reizender,” which suggests the Schubert was quite intentional about it. For just an instant, the accompaniment seems to stumble as the movement that constantly pushes to the third beat is cut in half.

piano, one can begin to hear the sighs of Actaeon in the vocal line as his senses begin to fade (Example 11).

Example 11: Schubert, “Der zürnenden Diana” (D.707), mm. 134–45.

134
noch zit - - - tert vor - - - den - - - mat - - - ten

134
Sin - - - nen des Schau - - - ens sii - - - Be - - - letz - - - te

138
Stun - - - de. Dein

142
f(stark)

142
accelerando *cresc.*

Harmonically, this song is a prime example of Schubert’s use of the mediant. Much of the melismatic vocal line is built on thirds, and the two primary keys, A-flat and C, as well as many of the harmonic progressions within the piece, display this compositional tendency. These key areas help to give the song a sort of ternary form defined by the keys A-flat—C—

A-flat, which strengthens the suggestion that the song functions much like an aria. Reed writes, however, that “to compare the impassioned flow of “Der zürnenden Diana” with the classical poise of “Iphigenia” (1817) is to realize that the influence of theatre on Schubert’s style in the intervening years had not been entirely beneficial.”⁹⁹ While not as refined as “Memnon” or as dignified as “Iphigenia,” “Der zürnenden Diana” is nevertheless simple in its focus, grand in its scope, and noble in its welcoming of death.

⁹⁹ Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 142.

CONCLUSION

“Memnon”, “Philoktet”, “Iphigenia,” and “Der zürnenden Diana” all vary in the degree to which they reveal Winkelmann’s neoclassical ideal of “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur.” The protagonists of the poems seem to embody this ethos (perhaps some more than others), and when read in light of Mayrhofer’s life, these attributes of his poems become more pronounced. Schubert certainly had his own interpretations of the poems (as is most clearly revealed in “Philoktet”), but by and large, they seem to strengthen the ideals already present in the poetry. Some settings, like “Memnon” and “Iphigenia,” fully convey the classical ideal through beauty and balance of form, simplicity of line, and rhythmic expression of the proud, noble nature of the suffering protagonists. Others, such as “Philoktet” and “Der zürnenden Diana,” are less suggestive of Winckelmann’s ideal, whether through a lack of regality in the case of the former or a lack of restraint in the case of the latter.

What truly sets these Mayrhofer Lieder apart from Schubert’s other neoclassical songs is the poetry. The Goethe and Schiller neoclassical songs are masterpieces in their own right; Schubert responds to, interprets, and illuminates what is already in the poem. But the poetry itself does not suggest the German neoclassical ideal, and consequently neither do the settings. In the case of the Mayrhofer neoclassical songs, many of the poems already contain this ethos, and Schubert, most likely influenced to some degree by his relationship with the

poet, set the poems in ways that most often reinforce their “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur” through musical expression of the poetic characters.

To the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German-speaking world, perhaps no one person was more influential in reviving classical interest than Johann Winckelmann, and the ensuing neoclassical movement and its reaction, Romanticism, shaped the course of German art and philosophy for generations. In the realm of music, these movements would directly affect composers such as Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, and those who came after, yet Winckelmann’s neoclassical ideals would find their purest musical expression in Schubert’s settings of Mayrhofer’s mythologically-themed poems. Winckelmann’s ultimate goal in emulating what he took to be the Greek ideal of “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur” was to create a model of modern character. While it is debatable that he succeeded, these lofty principles are exemplified by the protagonists of Johann Mayrhofer’s neoclassical poetry. These characters, in turn, and Mayrhofer himself, inspired Schubert to compose songs of beauty that lent themselves to this neoclassical ideal, and gave voice to a poet that may have otherwise, like Memnon, been fated to an eternity of silence.

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