

Music and War: Imperial Propaganda and German Patriotism  
in Wartime Secular Vocal Works of Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber

By

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## Abstract

Music has always been influenced by politics. Political ideas become especially prominent in musical compositions during periods of turmoil, particularly in times of war. Around 1800, Central Europe suffered from extensive warfare, most importantly the Austro-Turkish War (1788–91) and the prolonged wars between Austria and revolutionary and imperial France (1792–1815), and these conflicts also produced large amounts of political music. These wars are sometimes viewed as the incentive for the emergence of modern political music and important political ideologies, especially nationalism. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Carl Maria von Weber created secular vocal works that reflect political events and ideologies of the time. The first chapter investigates how the Austrian Emperor Joseph II is depicted in Mozart's vocal works "Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein" ("I would like to be the Emperor"), K. 539, and "Lied beim Auszug in das Feld" ("Song at the Departure for the Field"), K. 552. The second chapter analyzes Beethoven's cantata *Der glorreiche Augenblick* ("The glorious Moment"), written for the Congress of Vienna in 1814, that incorporates ideas regarding the concept of unity, the figure of Emperor Francis, and God. The third chapter explores how Carl Maria von Weber's cantata *Kampf und Sieg* ("Battle and Victory") differs from Mozart's and Beethoven's works by incorporating pro-German elements. The fourth chapter shows how the pro-German patriotism in Weber's work was perceived after its premiere and in the time before the unification of Germany in 1871.

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## Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter 1	5
Chapter 1 Music Examples	27
Chapter 2	35
Chapter 2 Music Examples	58
Chapter 3	80
Chapter 3 Music Examples	100
Chapter 4	122
Chapter 4 Music Examples	140
Conclusion	145
Bibliography	147

## Introduction

From Ludwig van Beethoven's *Trauer-Kantate auf den Tod Kaiser Josephs des Zweiten* ("Cantata on the Death of Emperor Joseph II"), which honors the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II (1765–90), to the hit song "My Money" (2016) by the Russian girl group Serebro, which depicts the then president-elect Donald Trump as an individual who likes to party, music has always been influenced by politics. Political ideas become particularly prominent in musical compositions during periods of turmoil, especially in times of war. It is therefore not surprising that the extensive warfare in Europe in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries produced large amounts of intensely political music. In Central Europe, the most important conflicts during this period were the Austro-Turkish War (1788–91) and the prolonged wars between imperial France and its enemies (1792–1815). These wars are sometimes viewed as the incentive for the emergence of modern political music and important political ideologies, especially nationalism.

My thesis explores how several secular vocal works by three composers from this era reflected political events and ideologies of the time. The first chapter investigates how the Austrian Emperor Joseph II is depicted in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's lesser-known vocal works "Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein" ("I would like to be the Emperor"), K. 539, and "Lied beim Auszug in das Feld" ("Song at the Departure for the Field"), K. 552. The chapter also discusses how these compositions by Mozart reflect imperial propaganda during the Austro-Turkish War (1788–91). The second chapter analyzes Ludwig van Beethoven's cantata *Der glorreiche Augenblick* ("The Glorious Moment"), written for the Congress of Vienna in 1814. The chapter shows that the cantata creates political meanings by emphasizing links between the concept of unity, the figure of Emperor Francis (the successor of Joseph II, who ruled between 1792 and 1835), and God. The third chapter explores Carl Maria von Weber's cantata *Kampf und Sieg* ("Battle and Victory"),

which celebrates the defeat of Napoleon. I focus on the musical and textual techniques through which Weber and his librettist incorporate what I call pro-German elements, concepts that celebrate the German contribution to the defeat of Napoleon but that are distinct from later political nationalism. This chapter also points out how the treatment of patriotic messages within *Kampf und Sieg* differs from patriotic elements in Mozart's and Beethoven's works. The fourth, and final, chapter investigates how Weber's cantata was perceived after its premiere and in the time before the unification of Germany in 1871. The chapter shows that whereas the original cantata was imbued with a patriotism related to the imperial politics of the period of the French wars, later adaptations and performances of the work incorporated explicit references to the ideology of exclusively German nationalism.

Although there is no shortage of information on Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber; little has been written on "Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein," "Lied beim Auszug in das Feld," *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, and *Kampf und Sieg*. The reason why these compositions have been dismissed or ignored may in part be that these works do not fit in the traditional narratives that have been propagated about these composers. These works, furthermore, connect the three composers to ideologies that later generations considered unavowable. The Mozartian myth typically depicts the composer as a child, rebel, playboy, a victim of poverty, and an outsider within the social elites of Josephine Vienna.<sup>1</sup> "Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein" and "Lied beim Auszug in das Feld" contradict these views, and the two works demonstrate that Mozart actively participated in military campaigns of the Austrian Empire and created compositions that glorify Emperor

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<sup>1</sup> Cliff Eisen and Stanley Sadie, "Mozart, (Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-6002278233>.

Joseph. Beethoven is usually portrayed as a struggling, forward-thinking artist, as highlighted in the first paragraph of the Beethoven article in the *Grove Music Online*, where the composer is presented as defined by his struggle with deafness and social isolation.<sup>2</sup> Unlike “Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein” and “Lied beim Auszug in das Feld,” a lot of studies have been written about *Der glorreiche Augenblick*; however, Beethoven’s cantata is often dismissed as it does not fit into the Beethoven myth.<sup>3</sup> Only recently has Beethoven’s political thought been discussed in connection to his music, especially in Nicholas Mathew’s book *Political Beethoven* (2013). It is one of the few survey’s that discusses *Der glorreiche Augenblick* in depth, and my exploration expands on Mathew’s findings.

Although “Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein,” “Lied beim Auszug in das Feld,” and *Der glorreiche Augenblick* have a complicated relationship with contemporaneous politics, their focus on absolutist monarchs is not as controversial as Weber’s focus on specifically German ideologies in *Kampf und Sieg*. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Weimar, and Nazis eras, German nationalism took a turn towards xenophobia and militant ethnocentrism. During these periods, German critics and musicologists, especially Richard Wagner, attempted to reinforce the notion that Weber was not a cosmopolitan but a national and even nationalist composer.<sup>4</sup> Since WWII, *Kampf und Sieg* has been rarely performed and few scholars have discussed the cantata, although Weber’s other works remained in the repertoire and received scholarly and critical

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<sup>2</sup> Douglas Johnson, Scott G. Burnham, William Drabkin, Joseph Kerman, and Alan Tyson, “Beethoven, Ludwig van,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001 (accessed September 4, 2019), [www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040026](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040026).

<sup>3</sup> Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 672. See also Johnson et al. “Beethoven, Ludwig van.”

<sup>4</sup> Joseph E. Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber: Oberon and Cosmopolitanism in the Early German Romantic* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 282.

attention. What appears to be the only extant recording of *Kampf und Sieg* is from 1951, by the Chorus and Orchestra of Radio Leipzig, under the baton of Herbert Kegel.<sup>5</sup> The recording is incomplete, and important political elements, such as the section featuring the anthem “God Save the King,” are missing. The authors who have discussed cantata have not presented thorough analyses.<sup>6</sup> In most cases, they simply highlight the controversial nature of the composition, without explaining the history of this controversy. Investigations of the work treat the political aspects of the text cursorily and focus on the music, which is praised as progressive and revolutionary. Only recently have scholars begun to analyze the political aspects of *Kampf und Sieg* (this is the case of Sabrina Kollenz’s master’s thesis).<sup>7</sup> My chapter focuses on the overlooked political history of the cantata.

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<sup>5</sup> Joseph E. Morgan is not aware of any other recording. See *Experiencing Carl Maria von Weber: A Listener’s Companion* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 185. Weber, Carl Maria von. *Kampf und Sieg*. Conducted by Herbert Kegel. Recorded with Chorus and Orchestra of Radio Leipzig. Urania Record Corp., [1951]. LP.

<sup>6</sup> For examples, see Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber*; Morgan, *Experiencing Carl Maria von Weber*; William Saunders, *Weber* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1940); Lucy and Richard Poate Stebbins, *Enchanted Wanderer: The Life of Carl Maria von Weber* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1940); Michael C. Tusa, *Euryanthe and Carl Maria von Weber’s Dramaturgy of German Opera* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and John Warrack, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

<sup>7</sup> Sabrina Kollenz, “Carl Maria von Webers Anspielungen auf eigene Opern und patriotisch konnotierte Werke in der Kantate “Kampf und Sieg” (Op. 44),” (Master’s thesis, University of Vienna, 2017).

## Chapter 1

### The Portrayal of Joseph II in Mozart's Turkish War Compositions

Numerous earlier studies have analyzed how the larger and better-known vocal works (especially the operas) of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–91) reflect social and political concepts. Much less has been written, however, about the composer's lesser-known vocal works, specifically his songs "Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein" ("I would like to be the Emperor"), K. 539, also known as "Ein deutsches Kriegslied für Baß und Orchester" ("A German War Song for Bass and Orchestra"), and "Lied beim Auszug in das Feld" ("Song at the Departure for the Field"), K. 552, also known as "Lied für eine Singstimme mit Klavierbegleitung" ("Song for a singing voice with piano accompaniment"), K. 552. The composition of the two songs is connected to the contemporaneous conflicts between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires, more specifically, the Austro-Turkish War, which occurred between February 1788 and August 1791. The war originally began as a Russo-Turkish conflict (1787–92) when the Ottoman Empire invaded Russia to regain lands lost in an earlier Russo-Turkish War (1768–74). Austria was pulled into the war because in 1781 Russian Empress Catherine the Great (1729–96) and Austrian Emperor Joseph II (1741–90) created an alliance stipulating that if the Turks attacked either monarchy, the other would have to supply troops to the war effort. When the conflict started, however, both monarchies were unprepared.

The surprise attack of the Turks on Russia was met with mixed reactions in the Habsburg empire. Joseph wanted to avoid war, or at least delay the initial campaign, as he had numerous other problems to deal with, such as the political unrest in Belgium and the 1787 Prussian invasion of Holland. Joseph's reforms, which extended into Belgium, were not unanimously accepted

throughout his realms.<sup>8</sup> According to Beales, the governors of Belgium were so discontented with the Emperor's policies by early 1787 that Joseph's orders were suspended, and the governors were celebrated as heroes.<sup>9</sup>

When Austria's involvement in the Russian-Ottoman conflict became imminent, Joseph II's administration initiated a propaganda campaign to promote the war efforts. During 1787, numerous commentators and artists boosted the support for the upcoming war by writing explicitly patriotic works. This is exemplified in two pamphlets published in 1787, believed to be written by the same individual, titled *Abdul Erzerum's neue persische Briefe* ("Abdul Erzerum's New Persian Letters") and *Dya-Na-Sore, oder Die Wanderer* ("Dya-Na-Sore, or The Wanderers").<sup>10</sup> As Beales points out, authors of these works argued that the citizens of the monarchy were becoming too weak and the war was needed to make them tough and patriotic.<sup>11</sup> Throughout the war, compositions would be published to celebrate victories or to further encourage audiences to support Emperor Joseph's efforts, such as Emanuel Schikaneder's popular aria, "Ein Weib ist das herrlichste Ding auf der Welt" ("A Woman is the Best Thing on Earth") from the two-act comic opera, *Die verdeckten Sachen, oder der dumme Gärtner aus dem Gebürge, zweiter Theil* ("The

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<sup>8</sup> For a full of reforms that Joseph implemented in Belgium, see Derek Beales, *Joseph II, vol. 2, Against the World, 1780-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 502–3.

<sup>9</sup> Beales, *Joseph II*, 512–3. Although the rebellion in Belgium can be interpreted as escaping an oppressive and authoritarian leadership, the Belgians were regressive as they wanted the constitution to be restored to how it was in 1587 and thus revive medieval organizations of rural and city government, and special privileges (those held by guilds, abbeys, or Catholics); see Beales, *Joseph II*, 514. Ironically, the Belgians made Joseph appear to be progressive, as he wanted the death penalty and torture to be eradicated, have judges to be properly compensated, and restrict the privileges that the nobility and others had. See Beales, *Joseph II*, 515.

<sup>10</sup> Derek Beales, "Court, Government and Society in Mozart's Vienna," in *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on his Life and His Music*, ed. Stanley Sadie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 14.

<sup>11</sup> Beales, "Court, Government and Society in Mozart's Vienna," 14.

Hidden Things, or The Dumb Gardener from the Mountains, Part Two”). The last two strophes mention General Gideon Ernst Freiherr von Laudon (1717–90) and Prinz Josias von Coburg (1737–1815). Laudon became Joseph’s highest-ranking general after capturing Belgrade from the Turks in 1789. Prince Josias was another general, who helped Laudon during the Siege of Belgrade (15 September–8 October 1789).

Mozart famously wrote a set of variations on Schikaneder’s aria (K. 613), though it is unclear whether the composition was in any way connected to the war. Mozart’s name is also attached, as a subscriber, to two books published in Vienna in 1788 promoting the war and patriotism: Gottlieb Leon’s *Gedichte* (“Poetry”) and Anton Stein’s *Österreichische und türkische Kriegslieder* (“Austrian and Turkish War Songs”).<sup>12</sup> These publications incorporate stories about the conflicts between the East and West. According to the preface of *Gedichte*, the crusades of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries were particularly fascinating to the author of the ensuing poems.<sup>13</sup> Stein’s publication, by contrast, features stories related directly to the conflicts between the Austrians and Turks, and clearly promotes the Austrian cause. Some of the essays are written from the Turkish point of view, but even these celebrate the Austrian side. Although the incorporation of Mozart’s name into these volumes confirms that the composer might have been aware of these discussions, they do not necessarily mean that he approved of the monarch’s actions against the Turks.

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<sup>12</sup> Gottlieb Leon, *Gedichte* (Vienna: Rudolph Gräffer und Compagnie, 1788), X. Cited in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), 309. Anton Stein, *Osterreichische und türkische Kriegslieder* (Vienna: Joseph Hraschanky, 1788).

<sup>13</sup> Leon, xiv.



“Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein” and “Lied beim Auszug in das Feld” represent Mozart’s most direct contributions to the Austro-Turkish Campaign. The following chapter demonstrates that Mozart’s works explicitly support the Austrian campaign and function as political propaganda for Emperor Joseph before and during the conflict. The compositions depict the head of the Empire as a powerful yet just ruler and God’s representative on earth. More specifically, the two songs (K. 539 and K. 552), as well as the orchestral Contradance in C Major, *La Bataille* (“The Battle”), K. 535, demonstrate support for the invasion of Ottoman territories, whereas a later orchestral Contradance in C Major, “Der Sieg vom Helden Koburg” (“The Victory of the hero Koburg”), K. 587, celebrates a victory during the war.

### **The Turks and Vienna**

The Viennese fascination with the Turks was not new when Mozart published his works related to the Austro-Turkish War. In 1764, Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–87) premiered the Middle Eastern *opéra comique*, *La rencontre imprévue, ou Les pèlerins de la Mecque* (“The Unexpected Encounter, or The Pilgrims to Mecca”), in the Imperial Court Theatre in Vienna.<sup>14</sup> Mozart’s *Singspiel Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (“The Abduction from the Seraglio”), which the composer was influenced by Gluck’s opera, would premiere in 1782 in the same location. Nedbal summarizes the plot of Gluck’s opera:

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<sup>14</sup> The work would later transform into the *Singspiel Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft, oder Die Pilgrime von Mecca* (“The unexpected Meeting, or The Pilgrims of Mecca”), an opera on which Mozart would base his *Singspiel Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. Table 1.1 on p. 22 of Martin Nedbal’s *Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven* (London: Routledge, 2017) outlines the process of Gluck’s opera transforming from French to German. The German *Singspiel* version is based on the French *opéra comique*, but with significant changes, which aimed at removing suggestive content.

Prince Ali is in search of his beloved Princess Rezia, who was captured by pirates and sold into the harem of the sultan of Cairo. At the beginning of the opera, Rezia finds out that Ali has arrived in Cairo and tests his fidelity by sending three different female slaves (Dardane, Amine, and Balkis) to tempt him. When Ali withstands the seduction attempts, Rezia decides to flee with Ali. The lovers' plans are betrayed by a mendicant dervish (called Calender), and the furious sultan wants to torture and execute them. Moved by the lovers' devotion to one another, the sultan eventually changes his mind, grants mercy to them, and decides to punish the dervish for his treachery. The lovers then plead for the dervish, and the sultan grants clemency to him as well amidst general rejoicing.<sup>15</sup>

The plot of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* mimics Gluck's opera. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* is an opera that takes place in the house and harem of Pasha Selim (sometimes known also as Bassa Selim), somewhere within the Ottoman Empire. Belmonte, a Spanish nobleman, is searching for Konstanze, his fiancée, who has been captured, together with her English maid Blonde, by pirates and sold to the Pasha. Belmonte stumbles across Selim's country house and attempts to gain access. Osmin, the Pasha's servant, refuses him entry. Belmonte meets with Pedrillo, his servant who was captured alongside with the two women, and the two come up with a plan to rescue Konstanze and Blonde. Pedrillo drinks with Osmin, who falls asleep. The plan fails when Osmin awakes and discovers that the two women are gone and awakes the whole palace. The four Westerners are captured and brought in front of Pasha Selim. The Pasha finds out that Belmonte is the son of his enemy but exhibits generosity when he decides to free the lovers and let them go.

Within the opera, it is not clear if Pasha Selim represents a Western character or is an "Other." On the one hand he is depicted as a barbaric non-Westerner, someone who purchases people from pirates. On the other hand, we know that he is actually a renegade and has noble qualities that prompt him to allow the four characters to leave unharmed. Matthew Head points out that during this era, the Turks were felt to be similar to Europeans: "The German

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<sup>15</sup> Nedbal, 21.

Enlightenment did produce a form of racial ‘theory.’ Ottoman Turks were classified by Kant and by Blumenbach in the same racial group as Europeans (that is, Caucasian), while Africans, Mongolians and American Indians constituted three primary categories of Otherness.”<sup>16</sup> However, Head also points out that “the fundamentally similar treatment of Osmin, a Turk, and Monostatos, a Moor in *Die Zauberflöte*, in terms of lack of emotional and sexual self-control indicates that the categories of Enlightenment racial theory were not maintained in any thorough-going way in opera.”<sup>17</sup> The complexity of Selim is therefore not an exception in this era. An analogous figure is Sarastro, the absolute ruler in *Die Zauberflöte*. He is supposed to be an enlightened ruler, and yet he owns slaves, including Monostatos, whom he has violently punished in the opera. In the north German libretto *Belmont und Constanze, oder Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (“Belmont and Constanze, or The Abduction from the Seraglio”) created by Christoph Friedrich Bretzner (1748–1807), which served as the basis for Mozart’s *Singspiel*, Belmonte is Selim’s long-lost son.<sup>18</sup> Gottlieb Stephanie (1741–1800), the librettist of Mozart’s version replaces this story with one in which Selim, a native Spaniard, had to vacate the country due to evildoings of Belmonte’s father.<sup>19</sup> Selim, who could easily punish Belmonte for his father’s actions, controls his emotions, does not kill the Spanish nobleman, and lets the four western characters return home, demonstrating his refinement.

Just like Mozart’s *The Abduction* and Gluck’s *La rencontre*, K. 539 relies on the *alla turca* style to signal “Turkishness.” Locke defines this style as “a complex of generally noisy sonic

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<sup>16</sup> Matthew Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart’s Turkish Music* (London: Royal Musical Association, 2000), 57.

<sup>17</sup> Head, 57.

<sup>18</sup> Nedbal, 52.

<sup>19</sup> Nedbal, 52.

materials derived, in large part, from the military music of Janissary troops (see Fig. 6.1) or, rather, from Western impressions and distant memories thereof.”<sup>20</sup> Head describes the *alla turca* style as a “musical shock” designed to startle the audiences:

*Türkische Musik* involved a sonic *frisson*, a shock, as noisiness of a regulated kind made its entrance into the sound world of late eighteenth-century Viennese music. This element of aesthetic shock (intensified by a connotation of physical and moral danger) was exploited through alternation of passages of Turkish music with other passages with reduced scoring and dynamics.<sup>21</sup>

In Mozart’s *The Abduction*, the style is especially prevalent in the Overture, the first-act chorus “Singt dem großen Bassa Lieder” (“Sing songs to the great Bassa”), the third-act chorus “Bassa Selim lebe lange” (“Bassa Selim live long”) and Osmin’s aria “Solche hergelauf’ne Laffen” (“Stupid dandies always coming”).<sup>22</sup> The *alla turca* is apparent in the opening of the Overture; mm. 9–14 and 23–6 exemplify this (mm. 1–26, see Example 1.1). The work begins in C major and is in *alla breve*. The piccolo and the assortment of percussion help to reinforce the “exotic” aspect of the opera. The music is not difficult, incorporating repeating notes, octave doubling, and mostly stepwise movement. The opening of the Overture also includes sudden dynamic changes, *forte* to *piano* and vice versa, that “shocks” the listener. Unlike the Overture, where there are instances where the *alla turca* is not present, in the first-act chorus, “Singt dem großen Bassa Lieder,” and the third-act chorus, “Bassa Selim lebe lange,” is from beginning to end in the style with the piccolo and percussion clearly heard. These same *alla turca* characteristics can be found in Mozart’s K. 535 and K. 539. The Turkish style also appears in other Mozart’s instrumental works such as the Violin Concerto No. 5 in A major, K. 219 (1775), the keyboard Sonata in A minor, K.

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<sup>20</sup> Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 114.

<sup>21</sup> Head, 63.

<sup>22</sup> Osmin’s aria will be discussed in further detail in the K. 552 section.

310 (1778), the keyboard Sonata in A major, K. 331 (1783), Serenade No. 10 for winds in B-flat major, K. 361 (1783–84), the keyboard variations on “Les hommes pieusement” (“The men piously”) from Gluck’s *La rencontre imprévue* (“The unexpected meeting”), K. 455 (1784), and the keyboard Sonata in C major, K. 545 (1788).<sup>23</sup>

### **K. 535**

The Contradance K. 535, “La Bataille,” is one of the first works by Mozart to incorporate themes, ideas, and styles used in earlier works, such as *The Abduction* or K. 219, in relation to the Austro-Turkish War.<sup>24</sup> The work predates the start of the war, because Mozart composed it on 23 January 1788, and Joseph did not begin his campaign until February of 1788. Otto Erich Deutsch’s *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, shows that “La Bataille” was advertised, alongside *Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein*, as “Die Belagerung Belgrads” (“The Siege of Belgrade”) in the 19 March 1788 edition of the *Wiener Zeitung*.<sup>25</sup> When Mozart wrote the work, Belgrade was part of the Ottoman empire. The Siege of Belgrade in the Austro-Turkish War did not begin until 15 October 1789 and the piece therefore cannot be a reference of this particular event. “The Siege of Belgrade” therefore initially must have represented one of the previous sieges of the Serbian city (1688, 1690, 1717, and 1739). The addition of the title “The Siege of Belgrade” after the start of the war demonstrates how an existing composition could be adapted to support the war effort.

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<sup>23</sup> Head’s *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart’s Turkish Music* is a great resource for information about *alla turca* style in Mozart’s works.

<sup>24</sup> The autograph is in private hands in Switzerland. See Marius Flothuis, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Kritische Berichte* Serie IV, Werkgruppe 13, Abteilung 1, Band 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), b/29.

<sup>25</sup> Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 311.

Head points out that it was presumed that Belgrade would be quickly captured; however, the city would not be in Austrian hands before October of 1789, following the campaign led by the Austrian general field marshal von Laudon.<sup>26</sup> While changing the title of Mozart's composition may or may not have helped increase support for the war, marketing the work as "Die Belagerung Belgrads" may have made it more appealing to the target audience concerned about current political events. The advertisement of K. 535 with the new title also demonstrates that the *alla turca* style in Mozart's works could acquire clearly political overtones.

The work, being a contradance and thus without any text, relies on musical characteristics of the *alla turca* style to create extra-musical meanings. Because of the title "Die Belagerung Belgrads" and the Turkish style, the audiences of Vienna might have associated the work and similar compositions with war propaganda. The *alla turca* characteristics of K. 535 do not differ from other similar works of this era and are reconfirmed in measure 65 with the subtitle of "Marcia turca" ("Turkish march"). The work incorporates the instruments that one would expect in a work with an Oriental flair: piccolo, percussion, brass, and the *col legno* of the strings, where one would strike the strings with the wood of the bow. The key (C Major), time signature (2/4), the repetitious style (repeating sections and notes), quick stepwise melodic motion, unison and octave doubling, and simple phrase structure and form, would be expected of a work incorporating the Turkish style. The key of C major, duple meter, and repetitious style are also typical of contradances in general, but *alla turca* characteristics are less common.<sup>27</sup> K. 535 in fact seems to incorporate a more specific

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<sup>26</sup> Head, 87. Vienna would not be aware of the capture of Belgrade until General Kleebeck arrived with the news in Vienna on 12 October 1789.

<sup>27</sup> Mozart's *Kontretanz in B* ("Contradance in Bb"), K. 123, *Sechs Kontretänze* ("Six Contradances"), K. 462, the *Kontretanz* "Das Donnerwetter" ("Contradance 'The Thunder Weather'"), K. 534, *Fünf Kontretänze* ("Five Contradances"), K. 609, and the *Kontretanz* "Les filles malicieuses" ("Contradance 'The malicious girls'"), K. 610, incorporate these characteristics.

extra-musical narrative. The work opens with a pastoral passage (mm. 1–15), but in m. 16 the music becomes more militaristic, aided by the percussion and Mozart’s dynamic change from *piano* to *forte* (mm. 1–20, see Example 1.2). This shift in style could be seen as a representation of the frightening Turks marching in. The work ends in the *alla turca* style (mm. 64–86). This could be interpreted either as that the Turks have overpowered the Austrians or the Austrian triumph over the Turks. The final section, marked “*Marcia turca*,” makes the *alla turca* style even more prominent with *forte* winds and strings, square rhythm, simplistic, percussive texture, and a sudden onset of melodic ornaments (see Example 1.3). Depicting the Turks as victorious may appear to be counterproductive; however, the image of the enemy’s triumph might have prompted some audience members to support the war efforts. The two titles of the work—“La Bataille” and “The Siege of Belgrade”—help guide the interpretation of the work and point listeners’ imagination to specific, politicized understandings.

### K. 539

*Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein* K. 539, is a composition created for a large audience that textually and aurally points out similarities between Joseph II and ancient Greek and Roman emperors. Mozart was not the first composer to set the poem, originally titled as “Meine Wünsche. An unsern deutschgesinnten grossen Kaiser” (“My wishes. To our German-Minded, Great Emperor”) written by the German poet Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719–1803) and published in 1776, to music.<sup>28</sup> Johann Holzer (1753–1818) set the text to piano accompaniment, titled “Der

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<sup>28</sup> Gleim was a German poet who was active in the Enlightenment era. One of his notable works is the *Preussische Kriegslieder von einem Grenadier* (“Prussian war songs from a grenadier, ”1758), which was influenced by the Prussian King Frederick II’s (1712–86) involvement in the Seven Years’ War (1756–63).

Kaiser” (“The Emperor”), in his 1779 publication *Lieder mit Begleitung des Fortepiano von Holzer* (“Songs accompanied by the Fortepiano by Holzer”).<sup>29</sup> The keyboard composition is short, consisting of eleven measures. The work is folksy and simple. The left hand is primarily playing repeating octaves and the right hand incorporates thirds or sixths. The rustic aspects help to make the song lighthearted. The use of keyboard accompaniment suggests that this work was intended for private performances, possibly in middle-class homes and for small, private concerts. The work was printed in Leipzig, which was not part of the Austrian Empire. Since Holzer’s work does not coincide with any ongoing conflict, it does not contain the elements of political propaganda associated with Austrian foreign policy, unlike K. 539. Most likely, when audiences heard this particular work, they did not hear a “Turkish” work, but a “folk” composition.

Mozart’s interpretation of Gleim’s poem came into existence, according to the composer’s *Verzeichniüss aller meiner Werke* (“Directory of all my works”), on 5 March 1788 and was composed for Friedrich Baumann, actor of the Leopoldstadt theater, with an orchestral accompaniment.<sup>30</sup> The Austro-Turkish War created interest in the poem, as the text references not only Emperor Joseph, but also the conflicts between the Habsburgs and Ottomans.<sup>31</sup> This also demonstrates how preexisting texts that had no connection to the war effort, or to the monarchy, were recycled to help promote Joseph’s campaigns. The text relies on descriptions of Joseph II as a powerful ruler, so mighty that his foes shake with terror. In the first stanza, the narrator describes

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<sup>29</sup> Johann Holzer, *Lieder mit Begleitung des Fortepiano von Holzer* (Leipzig: Schwickertschen Verlage, 1779), 12.

<sup>30</sup> The extant autograph of K. 539 is in Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków (Jagiellonian Library Kraków). The work was previously housed in the Preußische Staatsbibliothek Berlin (Prussian State Library Berlin). Baumann was a well-known comedian for the Theater; later he was a court opera singer, whose wife, Terese, was the daughter of Dominik Jautz, the first Bassa Selim in *Die Entführung*. See Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (1996), 311.

<sup>31</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (1996), 311.



how Constantinople, at this time the capital of the Ottoman Empire, needs to be recaptured. The second stanza elaborates how Athens and Sparta, also part of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century, should be like Rome, which is the “Queen” of the earth, and that their ancient, pre-Ottoman glory should be renewed. Recapturing these cities and lands would allow the Austrian Empire to become one of the great civilizations, like the Roman and Greek Empires. The author therefore sees Emperor Joseph as the successor to Alexander the Great and Caesar. The narrator proclaims that after the conquest of Constantinople the Austrian emperor will be honored by the best writers singing praises to him and other Austrian heroes. Creating tales that incorporate Joseph, and his soldiers into this noble pantheon made him seem extremely powerful in the eyes of his subjects. The text of K. 539 also depicts Joseph as a “terrifying” Emperor who, along with his army, would invade with such a force that the Muslim men would tremble with fear.

This portrayal of Joseph II as a threat to the Turks might be the reason why Mozart incorporated the *alla turca* style into the music.<sup>32</sup> According to Ralph Locke, one of the characteristics of the *alla turca* style is the preference for the keys of A major, A minor, C major, B-flat major, G major, or G minor; K. 539 is in A Major. The harmonic aspects are limited and simple reinforcing a trait of the style. The work is in a duple meter, *alla breve*, another quality of the style. The vocal lines are doubled by various instruments, resulting in a unison-like texture that limits the harmonic language. Locke also describes quick melodic decorations as characteristic of the *alla turca* style; there are quick melodic runs throughout K. 539. The repetitive, strophic form of the work contributes to its *alla turca* simplicity. Finally, loud dynamics in the entire orchestra and the inclusion of percussion instruments reinforces the *alla turca* style as well. Mozart

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<sup>32</sup> For a summary on the *alla turca* style, see Locke, 118–21.

reinforces the *alla turca* style by having the entire orchestra play in the *forte* sections and select instruments in the *piano* sections (mm. 1–6, see Example 1.4). Locke states that in the eighteenth century, cymbals and drums, and other characteristics of the Turkish style were incorporated into European military music. Thus, the *alla turca* style in the song does not necessarily have to signal only the Ottoman foes but might be also be viewed as depicting Joseph as a strong military leader—Locke calls this an “endotic” meaning of the *alla turca* style.<sup>33</sup> Contemporaneous audiences, who might have been aware of the *alla turca*’s endotic connotations, could have understood the music of K. 539 as alluding to an image of Joseph as a powerful ruler who would be successful in the Turkish campaign.

Applying *alla turca* characteristics to Joseph in K. 539 also reinforces the Emperor’s status as an absolute ruler. Similar portrayals of absolutism with references to exotic subjects can be found in other contemporaneous works, including two of Mozart’s operas. In *Die Entführung*, the depiction of Selim “honoring” the Westerners who violated the rules and thus breaking the laws of his own realm creates a symbolic representations of absolute power.<sup>34</sup> According to Nedbal, the operas *Die Entführung*, *Da ist nicht gut zu rathen* (“It is not good to guess”), and *Das Irrlicht, oder Endlich fand er sie* (“The wisp of light, or at last he found her”)—the librettos also written by Stephanie—incorporate examples where a ruler uses his power to encourage moralistic attitudes and exhibit absolute power.<sup>35</sup> Whereas Bretzner’s libretto *Belmont und Constanze, oder Die*

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<sup>33</sup> Locke, 122.

<sup>34</sup> Nedbal states that the depiction of Selim in *Die Entführung* mimics the monarchy of Austria. See p. 62; Jörg Krämer, *Deutschsprachiges Musiktheater im späten 18. Jahrhundert: Typologie, Dramaturgie und Anthropologie einer populären Gattung* (Stuttgart: Niemeyer, 1998), 424–5 ; Thomas Betzwieser, “Die Europäer in der Fremde: Die Figurenkonstellation der *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* und ihre Tradition,” in *Mozarts Opernfiguren: Grosse Herren, rasende Weiber, gefährliche Liebschaften*, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer (Vienna: Haupt, 1992), 47–8.

<sup>35</sup> Nedbal, 62.

*Entführung aus dem Serail* was used by commercial theater companies and therefore aimed at middle-class audiences who were mainly interested in nostalgic and emotional plots, Stephanie's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* was adapted for the imperial theater.<sup>36</sup> Thus, in Stephanie's creation, the power of absolute rulers is demonstrated in the third-act finale where Selim ignores the traditions of his land and decides to pardon those (the European characters) who broke his rules.<sup>37</sup> This is also observable in *Da ist nicht gut zu rathen*, where a Chinese benevolent ruler acts in favor for a pair of sweethearts whose relationship is terrorized by a dishonorable priest and a lewd man.

Of the three operas, the empathetic absolute ruler is the most apparent in *Das Irrlicht, oder Endlich fand er sie*. Stephanie revised Bretzner's 1779 *Der Irrwisch, oder Endlich fand er sie* to align with the expectations of the Viennese audience. The main character, Alwin, is sovereign of a mythical island who suffers from malediction and therefore transforms into an atmospheric ghost light—also known as a will-o'-the-wisp or *ignis fatuus*—every night. The sovereign encounters Blanka, the daughter of Alvin's advisor Fabrizz who was raised by Berthold and Rosa, and hopes to marry her to break the spell. Alvin requests Blanka's presence. Rosa intercepts this message and shows up in Alvin's court proclaiming she is Blanka. In the North German libretto, Alvin states that he will only pardon Berthold and Rosa if they bring him Blanka. In the Viennese version, he allows the couple to leave without any repercussions and disregarding the objections of the members of his own court. According to Nedbal, the moralistic messages about absolutist figures that are presented in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Die Entführung*, *Da ist nicht gut zu rathen*,

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<sup>36</sup> Nedbal, 62.

<sup>37</sup> Nedbal states that the depiction of Selim illustrates both the power of absolute monarchs and presents proper modes of behavior. The author also mentions how the differences between Bretzner's and Stephanie's versions reflected the different attitudes that the North Germans and Austrians had. See Nedbal, 62.

and *Das Irrlicht, oder Endlich fand er sie* symbolized that the Habsburg emperors were progressive, forward thinking, and possessed of absolute political powers.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, these operas demonstrate how the monarch used theater in the attempt to shape the views of their people.<sup>39</sup>

## K. 552

The text of *Lied beim Auszug in das Feld* still focuses on topics related to the Austro-Turkish War; however, the work is musically different from K. 535 and K. 539 as it is written for a smaller, more sophisticated audience. K. 552 can be found in the fourth volume of *Angenehme und lehrreiche Beschäftigung für Kinder in ihren Freistunden* (“Enjoyable and Educational Activities for Children in their Leisure Time”), a publication designed for youths from middle-class families.<sup>40</sup> The vocal work is accompanied by piano with no hint of the *alla turca* style. To a certain degree, the work appears to be a precursor to the romantic Lied, which Franz Schubert popularized. The pomposity and flamboyance of K. 539 is replaced in K. 552 with a refined and noble elegance, despite the fact that the two works share the same key and time signature. The tempo marking of the work, *mit Würde* (with dignity), gives the work a noble feel. Furthermore, the dotted pattern–long short, long short–is prevalent (especially in mm 1–3, see Example 1.5),

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<sup>38</sup> Nedbal, 64.

<sup>39</sup> The Burgtheater was the theater for the court. During the reign of Joseph II, it is apparent that it began to cater to the lower classes and not just the aristocrats. The 1779 renovations to the theater increased non-aristocrat seating from 630 to 770. After the creation of the National Theater ticket prices decreased. Nedbal suggests that the mixture of different classes allowed the upper classes to reconfirm their moral superiority while at the same time teaching the lower classes how to behave properly. See Nedbal, 64.

<sup>40</sup> The text of K. 552 can be found on pages 97–100 of *Angenehme und lehrreiche Beschäftigung für Kinder in ihren Freistunden*, Vol. 4. The music is printed on an insert before p. 97.

which also helps in the reinforcement of nobility.<sup>41</sup> The orchestra and percussion, which assists in portraying the “barbaric” Turks in K. 539, is replaced by piano accompaniment in K. 552 that gives the work a more graceful feel. Mozart’s exclusion of dynamics avoids the sudden dynamic changes which makes the work appear to be more graceful. While the autograph of the composition has long been lost—Constanze, Mozart’s wife, contacted the publisher Breitkopf & Härtel on 15 June and 8 July 1799 and claimed that while she was aware of its existence, she did not know where it was—Mozart’s composition diary has a date of 11 August 1788 attached to it.<sup>42</sup>

*Angenehme und lehrreiche Beschäftigung für Kinder in ihren Freistunden* appeared in four volumes between 1787 and 1788 and not only incorporates texts that are designed to drum up positive support for the war but also contains a variety of didactic essays designed to give moralistic instructions about topics such as world history, housekeeping, and tips urging modesty.<sup>43</sup> Mozart’s name can be found in all four volumes, suggesting that the composer actively participated in war propaganda and in the moralistic education of the youth. Whereas volumes 2 and 3 mention Mozart as a subscriber to the series, the first volume contains the text and music of Mozart’s “Die kleine Spinnerin” (“The little Spinner”), K. 531.<sup>44</sup> The work, dated 11 December 1787, is a short, comical vocal composition with piano accompaniment and is didactic in nature. The composition describes an interaction between a young girl spinning and the neighbor boy, Fritz, who asks her to join in a game. The spinner replies that she will not fall for the boy’s schemes since she is aware how men like to flirt with and joke around women. She tells Fritz to try his luck

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<sup>41</sup> These characteristics are present in Joseph Haydn’s anthem *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser*, which will be discussed later.

<sup>42</sup> Ernst August Ballin, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Kritische Berichte* Serie III, Werkgruppe 8, ed. Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964), 157.

<sup>43</sup> This suggests that the work was geared towards both sexes.

<sup>44</sup> Text is on pages 178–9. The music is printed on an insert, prior to page 178.

with another girl, as she will stay at home and do her work. The moral of this short playful work is that young women should ward off the advances of young men and can focus on their household duties. Although the poem alludes to seduction, there is a clear sexual rejection that reinforces the educational aspect of the composition. This is different from “Heidenröslein” (“Rose on the Health”), a famous poem by Goethe that Franz Schubert (1797–1828) set to music in 1815. Here, the poem describes how a boy saw and seduced a girl, represented by a rose. The piano accompaniment of “Die kleine Spinnerin” is light and airy as the tempo is marked *Lebhaft* (loving) and the eighth notes are marked *staccato*. The didactic music makes the serious message easier to digest for the listener. Apparently, the subscribers of the quarterly print enjoyed K. 531. In the preface of the second volume, the publisher acknowledges the praise K. 531 supposedly received and also apologizes for the printing errors.<sup>45</sup>

The third volume of the series incorporates another Turkish war composition, *Morgenlied, als ein Gebeth im Türkenkriege* (“Morning Song, as a prayer in the Turkish War”), with an anonymous text and music for two voices and piano accompaniment by Franz Wolf.<sup>46</sup> The text of this work is similar in style to Mozart’s *Lied beim Auszug in das Feld*, found in the fourth volume.<sup>47</sup> Both compositions are found in the same series, implying that the two works were created for the same audience. The piano accompaniment and the two voices suggest that the work was meant for a smaller and intimate location. While some features of the *alla turca* style are present in K. 552–

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<sup>45</sup> *Angenehme und lehrreiche Beschäftigung*, vol 2, 3.

<sup>46</sup> *Angenehme und lehrreiche Beschäftigung*, vol 3, 92–4. The publication does not identify who the author of the text is.

<sup>47</sup> *Angenehme und lehrreiche Beschäftigung*, vol 4, 97–100. The music is added as an insert before p. 97.

the work is in cut time, C major, notes are repeated, and thirds are common—the composition does not have the exotic flair that is observable in K. 539.

The text of *Lied beim Auszug in das Feld*, K. 552 focuses on topics related to the Austro-Turkish War. Yet, the work is musically distinct from K. 539, because it contains only keyboard accompaniment and does not include the *alla turca* style. The text confirms the enlightened political morality, such as the refined and cultured characteristics of the upper classes (one example is the control of emotions) that is prominent in German operas of the time. Unlike K. 539, which focuses on arousing the audience to support the war and depicting the Austrian emperor as a powerful ruler who makes the enemy tremble with fear, K. 552 attempts to give diplomatic reasons why one should support the campaign by depicting Joseph as a loving and caring father figure.

The text of K. 552 focuses on Joseph, the soldiers, and the struggle between good and evil. The composition draws parallels between Joseph and God, going as far as to state that the ruler is like a god on earth reinforcing the views of this era in which absolute rulers were depicted to represent a link between earth and heaven.<sup>48</sup> Joseph is mentioned in the opening of the work, where the narrator describes how the emperor calls for his armies and how they will be loyal to him since they crave victory and honor. To reinforce the illusion that Joseph is on the “right” side of the conflict, it is proclaimed that God, himself, is in command of the troops in battle. The distinction between God and Joseph vanishes as the storyteller proclaims that the Habsburg ruler is like God because he protects the Turks and Jews and makes sure that there is peace for everyone. However, the narrator states that one country is attempting to undermine the peaceful nature of Joseph’s

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<sup>48</sup> Political and religious authoritarianism in the context of music is described in Mathew, *Political Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 102–35.

activities. Although the nation is not named, it can be assumed that the recounter describes the Ottoman Empire. The text also details the struggle between good and evil and the need to eradicate the “evil.” The “good” in this work is attached to Joseph and those on his side (Christians and those who agree with his actions) while “evil” is applied to the Turks and those who hinder and disapprove of Joseph’s ideas. The Christian God is described as someone who accepts everyone, regardless if they are Christian, Jew, Turk, or heathen, as they are all his children. This is why, as the narrator points out, everyone receives enough rain regardless of their beliefs. The author claims that the Turks know no justice besides their own fists, and are bound on murdering others. The text also warns that the Turks are attempting to manipulate others by claiming that they are the “real” victims in this conflict and Joseph is the perpetrator.

References to soldiers in the text reinforce the adulation of the Emperor and his mission. The narrator describes the soldier’s roles as fathers to their families, primarily to make sure that their children are never in harm’s way. The text also states that wherever they appear, the (Austrian) soldiers are rewarded with plenty of food and drink. The text also reminds the readers that whoever supports Joseph, and, even better, whoever sacrifices one’s life for the Emperor will be remembered, honored, and immortalized by God and their own children. This depiction of the emperor as a father figure in a publication for youth suggests that the work was meant to prepare young boys to become future soldiers and fathers in Joseph’s Empire.

The distinctions between the Turks and the emperor and his subjects in K. 552 are typical of compositions of this era. Typically, European characters were depicted as noble, refined, educated, respectful of others, and in control of their emotions. This distinction appears, for example, in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, as one can see from a comparison between Belmonte’s



“noble” aria “Hier soll ich dich den sehen” (“Here should I see you”) of Act 1 and Osmin’s “barbaric” aria “Solche hergelauf’ne Laffen,” of Act 2. Belmonte, a Spanish nobleman, enters the stage looking for Konstanze, his fiancée, who has been captured by pirates and sold a slave to Pasha Selim. Throughout his aria he declares his love for Konstanze: his longing to see her, his grief, and his agony. He also declares that he hopes that when Konstanze sees him here, it will bring joy to her. Osmin, in his aria complains about people who appear suddenly and want to ogle women. The text and music are “barbaric” to reinforce his “otherness.” This is reinforced later in the overseer’s aria, where Osmin describes to Perdrillo, a Westerner, how he will be beheaded, hung, impaled, burnt, and mangled. The musical accompaniment integrates *alla turca* characteristics—key signature (A minor), simple harmonic and melodic structure, repetitive notes, unison and double melodic lines, and the loud and full instrumentation that incorporates percussion and brass are attributes observable in similar stylistic works—enhancing Osmin’s barbaric and terrifying portrayal. The role of the overseer is also written for the bass, which helps give the character a larger and more powerful, as opposed to refined, presence on the stage.

### **K. 587**

“Der Sieg vom Helden Koburg,” K. 587, is similar to K. 552 in that it is connected to the Austro-Turkish War but does not incorporate the *alla turca* style.<sup>49</sup> The title is what gives this work its connection to the War effort. K. 587 is a Contradance, and thus belongs to the same genre as K. 535, and is dated December 1789. Through its programmatic title, the work commemorates

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<sup>49</sup> The location of the Autograph is unknown.

General Friedrich Josias von Sachsen-Coburg-Saalfeld's victory over the Ottoman troops on 22 September 1789 at the Battle of Mărtinești.<sup>50</sup> The work incorporates characteristics associated with both the *alla turca* style and contradances: it is in C major, is in 2/4 and encompasses straightforward melodies and harmonies. K. 587 has an airy, light, and pastoral feel from the violins, flutes, and bassoons playing *piano* and *staccato* eight-note passages in mm. 1–16 (see Example 1.6). K. 539 and K. 552 proclaim that those who support the Emperor will be remembered and celebrated, and K. 587 is a work of one such glorifying remembrance. Being an orchestral work, there is no text and like K. 535 the title is what gives the work a specific programmatic meaning and connects it to the war effort.

## Conclusion

The vocal works K. 539 and K. 552, as well as the Contradances K. 535 and K. 587, channel Mozart's support for the Austro-Turkish War. *Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein* and *Lied beim Auszug in das Feld*, for the most part, idolize Emperor Joseph and reinforce the power that absolute rulers had. K. 539 takes this one step further by incorporating the "barbaric" *alla turca* style to strengthen the notion that Joseph is so powerful that even the Turks tremble with fear. Although K. 552 depicts Joseph as an absolute monarch, this work also illustrates Joseph as a cultured, educated, father-like figure who knows what is best for the people and the empire. The musical depiction of Joseph as a powerful and absolute ruler makes use of the *alla turca* style, which helps illustrate his divine qualities, his strength and therefore his abilities to lead the empire to a

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<sup>50</sup> Mărtinești is located in west-central Romania.

successful resolution of the conflict.<sup>51</sup> The image of absolute monarchs as powerful is further emphasized, as has been noted in connection to K. 552, by associating negative characteristics with the Emperor's enemies.

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<sup>51</sup> The Austro-Turkish War of 1788–91 ended inconclusive, resulting in the Treaty of Sistova.

## Chapter 1 Music Examples

## Example 1.1 (mm. 1–26)

W. A. Mozart  
(1756-1791)

Presto 5

Flauto piccolo

Oboi

Clarineti in  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} C \\ Do \end{array} \right]$

Fagotti

Corni in  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} C \\ Do \end{array} \right]$

Trombe in  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} C \\ Do \end{array} \right]$

Timpani in  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} C \ G \\ Do \ Sol \end{array} \right]$

Triangolo

Gran Cassa

Piatti

Presto

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabasso

5

## Example 1.1 (mm. 1–26: continued)

Fl. picc. *f*

Ob. *f*

Cl. *f*

Fg. *f*

Cor. *f*

Tr. *f*

Timp. *f*

Trgl. *f*

Gr.C. *f*

Ptti. *f*

VI. I *f*

VI. II *f*

Vla. *f*

Vlc. e Cb. *f*

10

Cl. *p*

VI. I *p*

VI. II *p*

Vla. *p*

Vlc. e Cb. *p*

15

20

## Example 1.1 (mm. 1-26: continued)

Musical score for Example 1.1 (mm. 1-26: continued). The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with the following parts:

- Fl. picc.
- Ob.
- Cl.
- Fg.
- Cor.
- Tr.
- Timp.
- Trgl.
- Gr. C.
- Ptti.
- Vi. I
- Vi. II
- Vla.
- Vlc. e Cb.

The score is written in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The dynamics range from *f* (forte) to *p* (piano). The woodwinds (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon) play a melodic line with triplets and accents. The strings (Violins, Viola, Violoncello and Double Bass) provide a rhythmic accompaniment. The percussion (Timpani, Triangle, Gong, Cymbals) and woodwinds (Flute Piccolo, Oboe, Clarinet) play a rhythmic pattern. The score is marked with a page number of 25 at the bottom center.

## Example 1.2 (mm. 1–20)

Flauto piccolo. *Parte I.*

Clarineti in C.

Fagotto.

Clarino.

Trommel.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Basso.

*Parte II.*

## Example 1.3 (mm. 64–86)

Marcia turca.

64

mit dem Bogen schlagen

76



## Example 1.4 (mm. 1-6)

Allegro. Componirt in Wien am 3. März 1788.

The score consists of the following parts:

- Flauto piccolo.** Treble clef, 3/4 time, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a triplet of eighth notes.
- Oboi.** Treble clef, 3/4 time, playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- Fagotti.** Bass clef, 3/4 time, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a *az.* (accrescendo) marking.
- Corni in A.** Treble clef, 3/4 time, playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- Piatti.** Treble clef, 3/4 time, playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- Tamburo grande.** Bass clef, 3/4 time, playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- Violino I.** Treble clef, 3/4 time, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a triplet of eighth notes.
- Violino II.** Treble clef, 3/4 time, playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- Viola.** Bass clef, 3/4 time, playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- Basso.** Bass clef, 3/4 time, with lyrics: "Ich möch . te wohl der Kai . ser sein, der  
Ich möch . te wohl der Kai . ser sein, der  
Ich möch . te wohl der Kai . ser sein, der  
Ich möch . te wohl der Kai . ser sein, der"
- Violoncello e Contrabasso.** Bass clef, 3/4 time, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

The score is divided into two systems by a vertical bar line. Dynamics range from *f* (forte) to *p* (piano). The tempo is marked *Allegro*.

Example 1.5 (mm. 1-3)

Mit Würde Lied beim Auszug in das feld. Von W.A. Mozart.  
Singstimme Dem hohen Kaiser =  
Clavicembalo



The first system of the musical score features a vocal line and a keyboard accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a soprano clef with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The keyboard accompaniment is written in a grand staff with a treble and bass clef, also in the key of one sharp and common time. The lyrics 'Mit Würde Lied beim Auszug in das feld.' are written above the vocal line, and 'Dem hohen Kaiser =' is written below it. The system is divided into three measures, numbered 1, 2, and 3.

Worte frei, rief Joseph seinen Heeren: Sie eilten flügel Schnell herbei, voll Durst nach Sieg und



The second system continues the musical score. The vocal line has the lyrics 'Worte frei, rief Joseph seinen Heeren: Sie eilten flügel Schnell herbei, voll Durst nach Sieg und'. The keyboard accompaniment includes a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand, marked with a '3' above it. The system is divided into three measures, numbered 1, 2, and 3.

Ehren, Gern zieht man ja dem Vater nach, der Seine Kinder liebet, und sorgt, das sie kein



The third system continues the musical score. The vocal line has the lyrics 'Ehren, Gern zieht man ja dem Vater nach, der Seine Kinder liebet, und sorgt, das sie kein'. The keyboard accompaniment continues with a steady accompaniment. The system is divided into three measures, numbered 1, 2, and 3.

Ungemach, Selbst nicht Gefahr betrü -- bet



The fourth system concludes the musical score. The vocal line has the lyrics 'Ungemach, Selbst nicht Gefahr betrü -- bet'. The keyboard accompaniment ends with a final cadence. The system is divided into three measures, numbered 1, 2, and 3.

## Example 1.6 (mm. 1-16)

Allegretto.

Flauto.

Oboe.

Fagotto.

Clarino in C.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Basso.

1

Musical score for Example 1.6 (mm. 1-16). The score is in 2/4 time and marked Allegretto. It features seven staves: Flauto (Flute), Oboe, Fagotto (Bassoon), Clarino in C (Clarinet in C), Violino I (Violin I), Violino II (Violin II), and Basso (Cello/Double Bass). The Flute part begins with a piano (p) dynamic and a series of sixteenth-note runs. The Bassoon part also starts with a piano dynamic and has a similar rhythmic pattern. The strings (Violins I and II, and Cello/Double Bass) provide a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes. A first ending bracket is shown under the Violino I and II staves. The page number 1 is centered below the score.

## Example 1.6 (mm. 1-16: continued)

10

Continuation of the musical score for Example 1.6 (mm. 1-16). This page shows measures 10 through 16. The Flute part continues with its sixteenth-note runs. The Bassoon part has a similar pattern. The strings continue their accompaniment. A first ending bracket is shown under the Violino I and II staves. The page number 10 is centered below the score.

## Chapter 2

### Beethoven and Monarchy

Beethoven's *Der glorreiche Augenblick* ("The Glorious Moment") is an explicitly programmatic, celebratory cantata that focuses on and glorifies three overall themes: unity of the people of monarchies, the Emperor, and God. During the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars Europe was in turmoil. To establish a long-term peace, monarchs partook in the Congress of Vienna.<sup>52</sup> Numerous European empires and kingdoms justified their territorial expansion by promoting the concepts of unity, inclusion, and cosmopolitanism. These ideas are also represented in Beethoven's cantata. The monarchical system established by the Congress was dependent on the need for obedience from the various royal and imperial subjects. Obedience is one of the focal points of *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, where the royal and imperial subjects are depicted as an anonymous group who adulate and support the emperors, particularly the Austrian Emperor. The cantata strengthens the notion of a repressive and conservative political system of absolute monarchy, reestablished in Austria and other European countries after the defeat of Napoleon. Beethoven's cantata celebrates this political system by glorifying the European monarchs who attended the Vienna Congress of 1814–5 and the city where it took place. Absolute rulers were treated and thought to be the earthly equivalents of the Christian God in heaven or Zeus on Mount Olympus. Throughout the composition, Beethoven uses a number of traditional musical techniques to deify the Austrian Emperor.

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<sup>52</sup> Although France lost its recent territorial gains, other monarchies expanded. Prussia incorporated some German states, Swedish Pomerania (an area along the Baltic coast that is part of present-day Germany and Poland), and the Kingdom of Saxony. The Austrian Empire grew to include Venice and other parts of northern Italy.

Because of the conservative political viewpoints it promotes, the cantata is often criticized and dismissed. These critical evaluations are in part the result of the “Beethoven myth,” which depicts Beethoven as a struggling, progressive artist. A sentence in the opening paragraph of the Beethoven article in the *Grove Music Online* illustrates this mythologizing: “As personal affliction—deafness, and the inability to enter into happy personal relationships—loomed larger, he began to compose in an increasingly individual musical style, and at the end of his life he wrote his most sublime and profound works.”<sup>53</sup> As Richard Taruskin has pointed out, however, Beethoven’s “Congress” works, such as *Wellingtons Sieg oder die Schlacht bei Vittoria* (“Wellington’s Victory, or, the Battle of Vitoria”), Op. 91, do not fit into the “myth.”<sup>54</sup> The fifteen-minute-long *Wellingtons Sieg* celebrates the Duke of Wellington’s triumph over Joseph Bonaparte (Napoleon’s older brother) at the Battle of Vitoria—the city is located in north-central Spain, close to the present-day border of France—on 21 June 1813.<sup>55</sup> According to the *Grove Music Online*, *Wellingtons Sieg* and *Der glorreiche Augenblick* are “routinely denigrated as hack-work, their politics all too obvious.”<sup>56</sup>

Regarding *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, numerous scholars have also noticed that the composer treated the Congress of Vienna as a spectacle and have concluded that the flamboyant nature of the work is the result of the work’s attempt to worship authoritarian politics. In his recent book on Beethoven and politics, Nicholas Mathew summarizes these views:

For most Beethoven scholarship, at least since the twentieth century, the sublime of *Der glorreiche Augenblick* is of a debased kind, marking a point at which the sublime becomes bombast – an example of the radical coarsening of register that

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<sup>53</sup> Johnson et al., “Beethoven, Ludwig van.”

<sup>54</sup> Taruskin, *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 672. *Wellingtons Sieg* is also discussed in the following chapter.

<sup>55</sup> Taruskin, 672. See also Johnson et al. “Beethoven, Ludwig van.”

<sup>56</sup> Johnson et al. “Beethoven, Ludwig van.”

aestheticians from Burke to Johann Georg Sulzer have long recognized as a danger inherent in attempts to create sublime art. That Beethoven's sublime in this instance openly serves an authoritarian politics is usually blamed: "words and music in this work have been subordinated to the political adoration of authority," writes Kinderman. The aesthetic register that, as Sulzer put it, "works on us with hammer blows" leaves many critics feeling battered rather than edified.<sup>57</sup>

Lewis Lockwood harshly proclaims that *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, along with *Wellingtons Sieg*, are "artistically insignificant works written to make money or to restore and build his broad public reputation."<sup>58</sup> Lockwood also states that "[Beethoven] shamelessly cultivated [the musical hero of the Congress] role by hurriedly composing the bombastic cantata *Der glorreiche Augenblick* ("The Glorious Moment") for the assembled heads of state."<sup>59</sup> As one would expect, the image of Beethoven capitalizing on the popular demand of his works which depict the monarchy in a positive light does not fit the narrative of the "struggling" Beethoven.

### **Emperor's Francis Anthem**

In *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, Beethoven reinforces the same political ideas that were observable in Mozart's "Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein" and "Ein deutsches Kriegslied für Baß und Orchester." Between Mozart and Beethoven, other Austrian composers (e.g., Joseph Haydn) created works that reflected the political interests of the imperial family. On 21 January 1794 at the Kleiner Redoutensaal, which is located in the Redoute Wing of the Hofburg imperial palace in Vienna, the blind Austrian composer Maria Theresa von Paradis's (1759–1824) funeral cantata for

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<sup>57</sup> Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 118. Also see William Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 198; and Johann Georg Sulzer, "Johann Georg Sulzer," in *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. James Day and Peter le Huray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 138–9.

<sup>58</sup> Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003), 337.

<sup>59</sup> Lockwood, 335.

Louis XVI (1754–93), the French monarch who met his fate at the guillotine, was performed. A month later, Franz Xaver Süssmayr (1766–1803), a student of Mozart who finished his teacher’s *Requiem* at Constanze Mozart’s request, presented a cantata celebrating Emperor Francis birthday in Prague.<sup>60</sup> After the turn of the century on 25 and 28 March 1809 at the Burgtheater Joseph Weigl’s (1766–1846) *Österreich über alles* (“Austria over All”) was performed.<sup>61</sup> The title traces back to the 1684 mercantilist treatise *Österreich über alles, wenn es nur will* (“Austria over all, if it wants”) by the cameralist reformer Philip Wilhelm von Hörnigk (1640–1714).<sup>62</sup> Cameralism, or *Kameralismus*, was an economic theory of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that favored wealth acquisition to increase the state’s power. The text of *Österreich über alles* is from Heinrich Joseph von Collin’s (1771–1811) *Lieder Österreichischer Wehrmänner* (“Songs of Austrian Soldiers,” 1809). Although the proclamation of “Praise Austria” (“Hoch Österreich!”) at the end of every stanza and stating “Austria over everything” may seem nationalistic today, in 1809 this would have been interpreted to an expression of monarchist patriotism. Walter Langsam acknowledges that although the works of Collin are patriotic, they appear to be devoid of “German nationalism.”<sup>63</sup>

In this poem, “Austria” means the Austrian Empire that Emperor Francis reigns over. In the fourth stanza, the anonymous narrator announces that Austria wants the alliance that (Emperor)

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<sup>60</sup> Linda Tyler, Caryl Clark, and Hilary Donaldson, “Süssmayr [Süssmayer], Franz Xaver,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027151>.

<sup>61</sup> Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1989), 354–5.

<sup>62</sup> Stephen Rumph, *Beethoven After Napoleon: Political Romanticism in the Late Works* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 94.

<sup>63</sup> Walter Consuelo Langsam, *The Napoleonic Wars and German Nationalism in Austria* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 73.

Francis has established. Two stanzas later, the narrator states that Rudolph shouts from the Heavens down to Francis “it will exist, because Austria wants it, praise Austria!” It is not exactly clear who Rudolf is; however, the narrator may be describing Rudolf I (1218–91). Rudolf I was the Count of Habsburg (1240–91) and the King of Germany (1273–91) who acquired the Duchy of Austria and the Duchy of Styria from the Přemyslid King Ottokar II of Bohemia (1233–78), whom Rudolf defeated at the Battle on the Marchfeld (26 August 1278). Weigl would set works from Collin’s collection to music in his *Lieder mit Melodien für die Österreichische Landwehre* (“Songs with Melodies for the Austrian Army,” 1809). Beethoven appears to have tried to set *Österreich über alles* to music, but never finished it.<sup>64</sup> David Wyn Jones suspects this may have been due to the popularity of Weigl’s interpretation of Collin’s poem, although it was eventually surpassed by Joseph Haydn’s “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser” (“God protect Francis the Emperor”).<sup>65</sup>

One of the most well-known political works of this era is Joseph Haydn’s “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser,” which was premiered on Emperor Francis’s birthday on 12 February 1797. Since the song’s inception, numerous individuals and organizations have used it or were inspired by it; two notable examples are the national anthems of Austria-Hungary and Germany.<sup>66</sup> Francis

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<sup>64</sup> Rumph, 94.

<sup>65</sup> David Wyn Jones, *Music in Vienna: 1700, 1800, 1900* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2016), 135.

<sup>66</sup> The national anthem for Austria-Hungary was “Gott erhalte, Gott beschütze” (“God receive, God protect”) and for Germany is called “Deutschlandlied” (“Song of Germany”). Haydn’s musical setting can be found in other classical works, hymns, and alma maters. Antonio Salieri quotes the hymn in his 1799 patriotic cantata *Der Tyroler Landsturm* (“The Tyrolese Home Guard”). The work can also be found in Rossini’s 1825 opera *Il viaggio a Reims* (“The Journey to Rheims”) and Paganini’s 1828 variations for violin and orchestra, *Maestosa Sonata Sentimentale*. In 1876, Tchaikovsky was about to incorporate Haydn’s hymn into his *1812 Overture*; however, he then replaced it with the Russian national anthem “God save the Tsar!” See Andrew Barker, “Setting the Tone: Austria’s National Anthems from Haydn to Haider,” *Austrian Studies*, 17 (2009), 16.



(1768–1835) was the emperor of the Habsburg Empire who led Austria in the French Revolutionary Wars of 1792–1802. In 1804 he established the Austrian Empire, and in 1806 he was forced by Napoleon to accept the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. “Gott erhalte,” which lauds the monarch, has been critically dismissed in ways comparable to *Der glorreiche Augenblick* and other political works of Beethoven. Mathew suggests that this is the result of the application of the “Beethovenian reading” where “questionable” works (i.e. compositions with explicit political meanings) are proclaimed to be “occasional works.”<sup>67</sup> “Gott erhalte” is also ignored as it is interpreted as an outlier to Haydn’s compositional output. Similar to how the works of Beethoven have been interpreted based on how “Beethovenian” they are, compositions by Haydn have been analyzed for their “Haydnian” characteristics. The “Haydnian reading,” Mathew claims, has critiqued the composer’s works to be friendly, cheerful, and welcoming.<sup>68</sup> In other words, Haydn’s works that promote the Emperor, authoritarianism, absolute monarchism, and the like have been interpreted to be outliers in his compositional output.<sup>69</sup>

The origin of “Gott erhalte” is not clear. During his two London trips (1791–2 and 1794–5) Haydn heard “God Save the King” sung by crowds.<sup>70</sup> Once back in Vienna, the composer composed “Gott erhalte.” According to Andrew Barker, Haydn wanted to create a work that mimicked the British anthem but would commemorate the Austrian Emperor and encourages support for Francis and the Habsburg dynasty.<sup>71</sup> Anton Schmid, too, claims that “Gott erhalte” was

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<sup>67</sup> Mathew also states that, ironically, Beethoven scholars were more interested in these works than Haydn scholars. See Nicholas Mathew, “Heroic Haydn, the Occasional Work and ‘Modern’ Political Music,” *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 4/1 (2007), 7.

<sup>68</sup> Mathew, “Heroic Haydn,” 7.

<sup>69</sup> The suppression of the “political Haydn” is ironic as for most of the composer’s life, he worked for the Esterházy family.

<sup>70</sup> Barker, 13.

<sup>71</sup> Barker, 13. Barker also mentions another source; see Heinrich Eduard Jacob, *Joseph Haydn. His Art, Times and Glory*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (London: Rinehart, 1950), 246.

Haydn's idea. According to Schmid, the Dutch-born Austrian ambassador and librarian Baron van Swieten (1733–1803) forwarded the composer's plan for the song to the Austrian politician Franz Joseph Graf Saurau (1760–1832), the Governor of Lower Austria and a member of Emperor Francis's inner circle.<sup>72</sup> Saurau later wrote, that it was he who chose the Austrian poet and author Lorenz Leopold Haschka (1749–1827) to create an Austrian equivalent to "God Save the King."<sup>73</sup> Pieter Judson assumes that the idea for the anthem was Saurau's, and that it was he who asked Haschka to create a patriotic text.<sup>74</sup> Although the *Grove* confirms the notion that Saurau helped inspire the hymn, the authors point out that a later report suggests that Swieten had a say in the conception of the song as well.<sup>75</sup>

Regardless of its exact origin, Haydn's and Haschka's "Gott erhalte" praises and hails Francis to such an extent that modern audiences may find it superficial, pompous, and blustering. Esteban Buch points out, nevertheless, that Haydn's work differs from modern anthems as the focus is not on the nation but Francis—the king and emperor of Austria, Hungary, and the Holy German Roman Empire—who was not associated with and in fact opposed nationalistic movements.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Anton Schmid, "Etwas über die österreichischen Volkshymne von Joseph Haydn," *Allgemeine Wiener Musikzeitung*, 2 (1842), 510–1; Anton Schmid, "Die Entstehung der österreichischen Volks-Hymne "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser,"" *Caecilia*, 22 (1843), 152–64. Besides being the patron of Haydn, Swieten also patronized Mozart and Beethoven.

<sup>73</sup> Franz Grasberger, *Die Hymnen Österreichs* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1968), 13–4. See Karl Hafner, "Franz Joseph Graf von Saurau," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, 7 (1909), 24–94.

<sup>74</sup> Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 92.

<sup>75</sup> Georg Feder and James Webster, "Haydn, (Franz) Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/0-mo-9781561592630-e-0000044593>.

<sup>76</sup> Esteban Buch, *Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History*, trans. Richard Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 56.

The opening stanza immediately refers to the divine protection of the emperor: “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser, Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!” (“God keep Francis the emperor, our good Emperor Francis!”) This sentence also acts as a refrain and is found at the end of each of the four stanzas. The opening stanza also compares the Habsburg Empire to other great historical empires, such as the Greek and Roman empires, which were also observed in Mozart’s K. 539. In this instance, the narrator refers to some unspecified imperial conquests of the Habsburg empire by stating that wherever Francis travels “Ihm erblühen Lorbeerreiser, Wo er geht, zum Ehrenkranz!” (“Laurels blossom wherever he goes into the honorary wreath!”). Laurels, or the laurel wreath, has its origins in Greek mythology. The “Austrian Empire”—also referred to as the Habsburg Empire, Austrian Monarchy, and Danube Monarchy—was perceived to be the continuation of the Ancient Greek and Roman Empires.<sup>77</sup>

Stanzas two and three depict Francis as an absolute ruler, an individual who is a god on earth. The second stanza illustrates Francis as an enlightened ruler who promotes justice: “Laß in seinem Rate Sitzen / Weisheit, Klugheit, Redlichkeit; / Und mit Seiner Hoheit Blitzen / Schalten nur Gerechtigkeit!” (“Let in his council sit / Wisdom, intelligence, honesty; / And with his highness flashing, / May justice triumph!”). In the third stanza the narrator reinforces the notion of Francis as a powerful figurehead whose every intention should be the law: “Dein Gesetz sei stets sein Wille, / Dieser uns Gesetzen gleich.” (“Thy law be always his will, / And be laws to us.”)

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<sup>77</sup> The idea that the Habsburg monarchy represents a continuation of Greek and Roman empires incorporates the position that Mathew has called “Phoenix philosophy.” Although great empires fall (the death of the Phoenix), they are rebuilt from ruins (birth of the Phoenix from its ashes). The play *Die Ruinen von Athen* (*The Ruins of Athens*), for which Beethoven wrote incidental music to (Op. 113), embodies this belief. For more information about the connection between the old, the present, and the future see Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 30–42.

The second stanza also connected to current events, specifically the ongoing French wars. The opening of the second stanza appears to promote general praise for Francis: “Laß von seiner Fahne Spitzen, Strahlen Sieg und Fruchtbarkeit!” (“Let from the tips of his flags victory and fertility radiate!”). However, at the time of the anthem’s creation, the Habsburg monarchy, as well as other European powers and the French First Republic were in the middle of the War of the First Coalition (1792–7). Therefore, this praise for Francis is likely celebrating the emperor in his campaigns against the French.<sup>78</sup>

Haydn’s musical accompaniment to Haschka’s text is conventional and at the same time effectively supports the political message. The rhythms are simple; the most complex figure would be the dotted quarter and eighth note that also helps to reinforce a sense of nobility within the composition by introducing the idiom of a noble march. The texture is homorhythmic. The form is a simple AABC, with the C section being repeated and acting like a refrain. The music’s simplicity alludes to other musical genres that promote political and religious ideas, such as hymns, folk songs, and anthems.<sup>79</sup> A hymn is a work that allows a whole congregation to worship and celebrate God, and the song’s hymnic qualities are therefore effective in depicting the earthly equivalent of a divine ruler.<sup>80</sup> Haydn’s use of “folk-like” characteristics was clearly intentional, since he called the song a *Volkslied*.<sup>81</sup> Both anthems and folk songs have a similar goal, which is to create and foster communal bonds. These communal bonds are what Heinrich Jacob sees as one

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<sup>78</sup> Barker suggests that there is a wartime connection. See Barker, 13.

<sup>79</sup> Mathew comes to these same conclusions. See Mathew, “Heroic Haydn,” 9.

<sup>80</sup> Typically, hymns are associated with religion while folk songs are with the secular world. In a work like “Gott erhalte,” this distinction may not be so clear. On the one hand, the deification of a mortal ruler or state may be perceived to be blasphemous. On the other hand, a hymn is effective in promoting an absolute ruler as an “all powerful being.” Therefore “Gott erhalte” can be viewed as a work that takes a non-religious subject and makes it sacred.

<sup>81</sup> Judson, 92.

of the reasons why Haydn created this work.<sup>82</sup> Whether or not “Gott, erhalte” was successful in promoting dedication to Francis among his subjects, in the short run, that dedication was not sufficient to help the Habsburg monarchy in the fight against France in the War of the First Coalition, and the Habsburg emperor was forced to signed the disadvantageous treaty of Campo Formio in October 1797.

### **Beethoven and Monarchs**

*Der glorreiche Augenblick* is not the first work Beethoven created to glorify a Habsburg monarch. In 1790, when Beethoven still lived in Bonn, the composer completed the *Trauer-Kantate auf den Tod Kaiser Josephs des Zweiten* (“Mourning-Cantata on the death of Emperor Joseph the Second”), WoO 87. Eulogius Schneider, a member of the Bonn’s cultivated *Lesegesellschaft* (reading club) requested that Beethoven should set the German author Severin Anton Averdonk’s text to music.<sup>83</sup> Maynard Solomon connects Beethoven’s cantata to the tradition of composing commemorative works—such as cantatas, hymns, and marches—to celebrate fallen heroes during the French Revolution.<sup>84</sup> The Joseph Cantata was supposed to premiere at a *Lesegesellschaft* meeting on 19 March 1790; however, the performance was cancelled.<sup>85</sup> Apparently, the next year the Cantata was supposed to be premiered again but the performance was cancelled once more because of dismal rehearsals.<sup>86</sup> Beethoven would also create a cantata for the accession of Emperor Leopold II, WoO 88. In the D major Maestoso, the chorus honors

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<sup>82</sup> Jacob, 246. Also see Barker, 13.

<sup>83</sup> Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 49. See Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1998), 68.

<sup>84</sup> Solomon, 71.

<sup>85</sup> Solomon, 68.

<sup>86</sup> Solomon, 68.

Leopold II in a totalitarian elevation: “Heil! Stürzet nieder, Millionen, / An dem rauchenden Altar! / Blicket auf zum Herrn der Thronen” (“Hail! Fall low, millions, / On the smoking altar! / Glance at the Lord of the Thrones”). Mathew claims that this reinforces the “authoritative sublime” that is present within the work.<sup>87</sup> Like WoO 87, WoO 88 was neither published nor performed during the composer’s life. As the two cantatas were written for very specific occasions, it probably made little sense to perform and publish them.<sup>88</sup>

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the heroization of individuals, mythical and historical, became a prominent cultural trend. Most likely, as Mathew points out, the pinnacle event of that era that demonstrated and reinforced the focus on heroes was the Congress of Vienna.<sup>89</sup> After the turn of the century, published and printed material in the German and Austrian lands focused on immortalizing individuals of importance: two such examples are *Vaterländische Blätter*, which incorporates representations of Austrian heroes in 1808 and 1809, and Josef von Hormayr’s large anthology of Austrian heroes titled *Österreichischer Plutarch*.<sup>90</sup> It is in this context that Beethoven, in 1811, wrote incidental music for August Ferdinand von Kotzebue’s patriotic plays *Die Ruinen von Athen* (“The Ruins of Athens”), Op. 113, and *König Stephan* (“King Stephan”), Op. 117. These two works were part of the formal commencement of Pest’s Imperial Theatre, on Emperor Franz’s name day (12 February 1812).<sup>91</sup>

Besides fusing the old, ancient Greece, and new, the Habsburgs, together, Op. 113 also immortalizes Francis. Even though Francis was not dead at this point, he was petrified into a statue

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<sup>87</sup> Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 126.

<sup>88</sup> Solomon agrees with the theory. See p. 68.

<sup>89</sup> Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 30.

<sup>90</sup> Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 30.

<sup>91</sup> Pest is a city in Hungary, which is now part of Budapest.

in *Die Ruinen von Athen*. The plot of the play describes how Minerva awakes from a two-thousand-year-long sleep and finds her native home, Athens, in total disorder and occupied by barbaric heathens.<sup>92</sup> Minerva then travels around to see if she can discover any remnants of her ancient civilization. Her journey leads her to Pest, where she finds the remains of the great civilization flourishing. The play can be interpreted as glorifying Pest and its Habsburg rulers. In the final scene of the play, Minerva observes how a priest and citizens are decorating two altars. The priest prays for a third altar bearing the image of Pest's guardian angel. Minerva overhears the priest and informs Zeus to grant the priest's request. At this moment a third altar appears with the image of Francis. The play then concludes with a choir proclaiming their allegiance to Francis and Hungary: "Heil unserm König! Heil / Vernimm uns Gott! / Dankend schwören wir auf's neue / Alte ungarische Treue / Bis in den Tod!" ("Hail our King! Hail! / Hear us God! / With thanks we swear once again / To uphold the old Hungarian fidelity / To death!") Although depictions of great civilizations of previous epochs have been observed in the beforementioned works of Mozart and Haydn, Beethoven's and Kotzebue's work glorifies these empires by focusing on them to a much larger extent.

*König Stephan* is similar to *Die Ruinen von Athen*, as it also worships heroes, historic and modern, and references contemporaneous monarchs. The title refers to Stephen I, also known as Saint Stephen, who reigned over Hungary from circa 1000 to 1038 and whom the Hungarians consider the founder of the Hungarian nation. The play honors and stages several moments of the ruler's life. The play begins with people roaming the dark forest; their aimless wandering is

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<sup>92</sup> For a more extensive summary of the play, see Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 31–3. Although the play uses the name Minerva, the character could be Athena. Minerva was the Roman goddess of arts, trade, strategy, warfare, and wisdom; however, the Romans also identified her as the Greek goddess Athena. Mathew also points this out; see p. 212, fn. 76.

interrupted by a ray of light, and the chorus sings about their savior, King Stephen. The Hungarian warriors acknowledge King Stephen by placing their weapons at his feet. Stephen finds a bride, Gisela, and the choir sings praises to her beauty. As King Stephen gives a speech to the elders, the city of Pest is revealed in the background. The play ends with a procession of Roman Elders who bring a crown to Stephen, who then thanks his people and announces that he will make sure that they remain free. In the final chorus, “Heil! Heil unsern Enkeln” (“Hail! Hail to our descendents”), the chorus glorifies the future Habsburg leaders: “Wohltaten spendend, täglich neue, / Vergilt der König in ferner Zeit / Die unwandelbare Treue, / Die sein Volk ihm dankbar weiht!” (“Administering blessings, new daily, / The King will repay in the future / The steadfast loyalty, / His people have shown to him gratefully!”). Mathew points out that the chorus is specifically celebrating Francis.<sup>93</sup>

After the defeat of Napoleon in 1814, the German librettist Georg Friedrich Treitschke (1776–1842) created the patriotic opera *Die gute Nachricht* (“The Good News”), for which Beethoven composed the song “Germania.” The opera is about Bruno, a landlord, who has offered his daughter, Hannchen, to any man who brings “the good news” about the surrender of Paris. To Hannchen’s delight, it is her true love Robert who delivers the message, using the landlord’s white dove. In the final scene, as the dove arrives with the message, the villagers begin to sing Beethoven’s “Germania.” The text praises the monarchs who have fought against Napoleon, specifically Alexander of Russia, Frederick William III of Prussia (1770–1840), and Francis I of Austria (1768–1835). The contribution of Emperor Francis is emphasized in the conclusion where he is presented as the leader of the fight:

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<sup>93</sup> Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 31.



Germania! Germania!  
 Wie stehst du ewig dauernd da!  
 Was Sehnsucht einzeln still gedacht,  
 Wer hat's zu einem Ziel gebracht?  
 Franz, Kaiser Franz – Viktoria!  
 Preis ihm, Heil dir, Germania!

Germania! Germania!  
 How you stand forever and ever there!  
 What longingly was dreamt about,  
 Who has brought that goal to us?  
 Francis, Emperor Francis – Victory!  
 Praise him, hail him, Germania!

### **Allegorical Characters**

Beethoven's cantata *Der glorreiche Augenblick* synthesizes these earlier musical attempts at heroization and celebration of monarchs and the monarchical system. To depict the Congress of Vienna as an important historical event, Beethoven and his librettist Weißenbach incorporate commentaries from various allegorical characters. Vienna, the emperor's seat, has an active role in the work, as do Vienna's Guardian Angel, a Prophetess, the Leader of the People, and choruses of various subjects of the Emperor—"Chor der Kinder" (Chorus of the Children), "Chor der Frauen" (Chorus of the Women), "Chor der Männer" (Chorus of the Men). These commentators stress the importance of the events as they unfurl in front of their eyes and reinforce the work's focus on the monarch and God. The personification of Vienna seems to represent a disembodied extension of Francis and possess the same attributes as the emperor (for example, welcoming and progressive). Vienna's Guardian Angel assists with the mythologization of the sovereign, as can be observed in the second movement, where the Emperor's coat of arms is described. The character of the Prophetess imbues the work with religious symbolism. This religious element connects to the widespread belief among Francis's subjects that monarchs received their power from God and therefore monarchs are only responsible to God. At the start of the fifth movement, the Prophetess states that those who unite during a storm will be able to build a new world. The image of the storm can be interpreted to reflect the apocalypse or the great flood that God released to eradicate the sinful and immoral behavior plaguing the earth and build something new. This vision can also

allude to the Vienna Congress and its mission to form a federation of monarchs under the supervision of the Austrian Emperor. The cantata therefore promotes the belief that a new world system can be built on the basis of traditional political ideals after the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars that disrupted Europe during the preceding decades. The generalized quality of the various choruses—the most identifiable characteristics attached to these groups are women, men, children—allows them to be perceived as anonymous masses that are subjugated to the monarch, which reinforces the inclusive and harmonious cosmopolitan aspect of the Austrian Empire.

The cantata consists of six clearly divided movements that freely mix full choir, soloists, and small ensembles. Each section brings out the political message of the work in a different way:

1. Chor: “Europa steht!”
2. Rezitativ und Chor: “O seht sie nah und näher treten!”
3. Rezitativ und Arie mit Chor: “O Himmel, Welch' Entzücken!”
4. Rezitativ und Kavatine mit Chor: “Das Auge schaut, in dessen Wimpergleise”
5. Rezitativ und Quartett: “Der den Bund im Sturme festgehalten”
6. Chor: “Es treten hervor”

1. Choir: “Europe Stands!”
2. Recitative and Choir: “Oh see them approach nearer and nearer!”
3. Recitative and Aria with Choir: “O heavens, what delight!”
4. Recitative and Cavatina with Choir: “The eye looks through its brow”
5. Recitative and Quartet: “That who held the union in the storms”

## 6. Choir: “It steps forth”

In the first movement, the choir describes the unity of Europe. This is followed by the adulation of the Austrian monarchy and Emperor Franz by the Leader of the People, Vienna’s Guardian Angel, and the choir. In the third movement, Vienna and the choir proclaim that the capital of the Austrian Empire has been transformed into the metropolis of Europe and that Vienna’s importance even exceeds that of ancient Rome. In the following movement the Prophetess gives an allegorical speech that connects God and Emperor Francis. Movement five synthesizes the previous sections as the characters come together to form a quartet in which the Prophetess presents religious and political metaphors. Vienna claims that Europe’s new order is being established within her walls, Vienna’s Guardian Angel proclaims that the old, happier times will return, and the Leader of the People announces that God is by Franz’s side. In the final movement the choirs of women, children, and men come together to praise Vienna and announce that the Congress of Vienna is “a great moment for the world.” (“Vindobona! Dir und Glück, / Welt! dein großer Augenblick.”)

### **Unity in Support of Francis**

One of the main concepts embraced in *Der glorreiche Augenblick* is that of a political and social unity among nations and their monarchs. The first line of the first movement, “Europa steht!” (“Europe stands”), is sung by a full homorhythmic chorus and accompanied by a bombastic orchestra that emphasizes the word “steht” with *fortissimo* tonic and subdominant chords, which are each stationary for two measures (see Example 2.1, mm. 1–11).<sup>94</sup> The focus on “Europa steht”

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<sup>94</sup> Mathew draw the same conclusions. See Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 72.

immediately confirms the importance of cosmopolitan unity among European monarchies that the entire work embodies. The loud, climatic start of the first movement, and consequently of the entire work, reinforces the idea that the monarchies of Europe stand together.<sup>95</sup> The opening therefore depicts the unity of Europe in which people are not divided by national identity but are bonded by their allegiance to the monarchical system. The sense of amalgamation appears to also be applicable for the past, the present, and the future.

Europa steht!  
Und die Zeiten,  
die ewig schreiten,  
der Völker-Chor,  
und die alten Jahrhundert,  
sie schauen verwundert empor!

Europe stands!  
And the times,  
that progress forever,  
the choir of the people,  
and the old century,  
they gaze forward with amazement!

The choir reinforces pro-monarchical views, where people of the kingdoms across Europe are coming together to celebrate restoration of the old political systems. The depiction of the Congress at the beginning of the first movement reflects the ideas present at this event. The monarchs of Europe wanted to return the continent to how it had been before the Napoleonic era to bring stability and prevent another ruler like Napoleon ascending to the throne.

The French Revolution and the campaigns of Napoleon weakened and disrupted the reigns of Europe's absolute rulers, and the boundaries between kingdoms and empires shifted. One of the goals the monarchs had for the Congress was to reinforce the borders that existed prior to the French Revolution.<sup>96</sup> In the third movement, the personification of Vienna reinforces the idea of

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<sup>95</sup> Mathew explains that throughout the cantata the text constantly encourages the audiences of the Congress to view and enjoy the great spectacles of Vienna and the visiting nobility. See Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 79.

<sup>96</sup> The unification aspect of the Congress of the Vienna relates to the interests of the monarchs and not necessarily their people.

European unification under a renewed monarchical system by incorporating the “international,” or pan-European, aspects of the Congress, where monarchs of the continent assembled together:

Der Heros,<sup>97</sup> der den Fuß  
aufsetzt auf den Wolkenschemmel,  
den alten Kaukasus!  
und von dem Eismeer bis zur Memel  
ausbreitet seine Segenshand.  
Der Herrscher<sup>98</sup> an der Spree Strand,  
der, als sein Land verloren,  
sein Reich geboren.  
Der König,<sup>99</sup> der am fernen Belt  
das Vaterhaus und Szepter halt.  
Der Wittelsbacher,<sup>100</sup> dessen Land und Schild  
ein Bild der Kraft sind und der Güte.  
Und der Gekrönte<sup>101</sup> auch, der mit der Kraft  
der Babenberger<sup>102</sup> wirkt und schafft  
in Deutschlands Paradiese!  
Alle die Herrscher darf ich grüßen,  
alle die Völker freundlich küssen!

The Heros, who sets his foot  
upon the cloud stool,  
of the old Caucasus!  
and from the Ice Sea to the Memel  
extends his blessing hand.  
The Ruler at the banks of the Spree River,  
who, when his land was lost,  
acquired his Kingdom.  
The King, who holds at the faraway Belt  
the father's house and scepter.  
The Wittelsbach, whose country and shield are  
an image of strength and kindness.  
And the crowned one also, the one who operates  
with the strength of the Babenbergers and is  
creating a paradise in Germany!  
All the sovereigns may I greet,  
all the people I friendly kiss!

In this section, Vienna describes the monarchs of Europe who attended the Congress: Tsar Alexander, King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, King Frederic of Denmark, King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria, and Emperor Francis.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, associating different European regions with their specific rulers reinforce this era's absolute power structure. The audience members who attended the first performance of the work and who had some geographical knowledge would have likely recognized the kingdoms described in the passage. The description also presents a hierarchy of the European rulers and focuses on the Austrian monarch. Esteban Buch claims in fact that in

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<sup>97</sup> Tsar Alexander of Russia

<sup>98</sup> King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia

<sup>99</sup> King Frederick VI of Denmark and Norway

<sup>100</sup> King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria

<sup>101</sup> Emperor Franz I of Austria

<sup>102</sup> Medieval Austrian noble dynasty

<sup>103</sup> Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 81.

this passage Francis becomes the *primus inter pares*.<sup>104</sup> *Primus inter pares* is a Latin phrase that means “first among equals” and is usually used in context where one individual, usually by tradition, is “more important” than his peers.

The diplomatic events, concerts, and other festive activities associated with the Congress attracted people from all over Europe to Vienna, which became a cosmopolitan center during this period. Most of the city’s visitors were unified by the common goal of finding and preserving peace in Europe with the help of a reinstated monarchical system. In the sixth and final movement of Beethoven’s cantata, the idea of a cosmopolitan support for a traditional political system is further demonstrated by the unification of the three choirs (“Chor der Kinder,” “Chor der Frauen,” and “Chor der Männer”) in a single chorus for the final refrain: “Vindobona, Heil und Glück, / Welt! dein großer Augenblick.” (Vindobona, Hail and Happiness, / World! Your great moment.) These final two verses are reinforced as they are repeated for about 110 measures (mm. 120–234), often in fugue-like imitation.

## **Vienna**

Cities, especially those that house the seats of monarchies and empires, can be associated with and stand for the power of the monarchs and emperors themselves. Beethoven’s cantata, especially in the third movement, portrays Vienna as a symbol of Francis’s power and victory. Furthermore, the pan-European aspect of the Congress of Vienna imbued the city with the status of a world superpower, which also became a subject of Beethoven’s cantata. This glorification of Vienna in the cantata is reinforced in the third movement, when the personification of Vienna

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<sup>104</sup> Buch, 82.

shows modesty and joy about the opportunity to host the Congress and how the city represents Europe:

O Himmel! welch Entzücken!	Oh heavens! What a delight!
welch Schauspiel zeigt sich meinen Blicken!	What a spectacle that shows itself to my eyes!
Was nur die Erde hoch and hehres hat,	What the earth only great and noble has,
in meinen Mauern hat es sich versammelt!	In my walls has it assembled!
Der Busen pocht, die Zunge stammelt!	The breast throbs, the tongue stammers!
Europa bin ich, nicht mehr eine Stadt.	I am Europe, not only just a city.

The musical accompaniment to the text the personification of Vienna sings in mm. 1–17, mimics that of a recitative (see Example 2.2). When Vienna presents her lines, in a hurried fashion, the strings are quiet and only enter when the singer pauses. The dynamic marking is *pianissimo*, except in mm. 12–3, where the orchestra strikes a *fortepiano* dominant seventh chord on the tonic (B flat), as Vienna states “in my walls,” which emphasizes that the pan-European Congress is occurring *within* the city. When Vienna proclaims “I am Europe, not only just a city,” the entire orchestra repeatedly strike a *fortissimo* C major chord for four measures (mm. 19–22).

In the middle section of the third movement, the Choir praises Vienna and informs Rome – the Latin spelling, Roma, is used – to step back in two separate locations: “Heil, Vienna, dir und Glück! / Stolze Roma, trete zurück!” (“Hail, Vienna, you and luck! / Proud Rome, step back!”). In the first statement, mm. 106–24, the choir and orchestra are moving homophonically, mimicking the style of a communal hymn (see Example 2.3). The first line, “Heil, Vienna, dir und Glück!” is *piano*, while the second line, “Stolze Roma, trete zurück!,” is *forte*. The difference in dynamic marking enforces Vienna’s superiority over Rome, an aggressive repudiation of Rome that Beethoven repeats several times.

The statements about Vienna’s superiority over Rome are further emphasized toward the conclusion of the third movement, mm. 189–224. This time an additional line is added that

references the city's glorious moment: "Heil, Vienna, dir und Glück! / Feire den glorreichen Augenblick! / Stolze Roma, trete zurück!" ("Hail, Vienna, you and luck! / Celebrate the glorious moment! / Proud Rome, step back!"); see Example 2.4). The choirs and a section of the orchestra present a fugue-like pattern that turns homophonic in m. 211. Unlike the previous section, Beethoven here presents the choir and the orchestra *forte* and reinforces the last "Augenblick" (m. 222) with a *fortissimo*. The same text returns at the very end of the piece, in mm. 251–78, but this time the setting is purely homophonic and therefore monumental. When the "step back, Rome" phrase is stated, a rhythmic pattern of dotted eighth and sixteenth notes sounds, giving the music a noble yet aggressive, militaristic feel (mm. 274–8, see Example 2.5).

Before the conclusion of the third movement (mm. 240–51), the personification of Vienna announces that it is on her destroyed walls that Europe is being rebuilt: "Und auf meinem gesprengten Wall, / baut sich Europa wieder auf." ("And on my blasted apart wall, / Europe rebuilds," see Example 2.6). A virtuoso solo violin accompanies Vienna. Beethoven sets Vienna's text *piano* but uses melismatic melodies on "blast apart," which emphasizes the notion that Vienna and the all of Europe has suffered during the Napoleonic wars. The choir proclaims, by contrast, "Europe rebuilds," syllabically. The illustration of destruction and rebuilding is historically appropriate, since the city fell to Napoleon in 1805 and again in 1809. The first invasion of the Austrian city was bloodless, but during the second siege, on 10 through 13 May 1809, the city was bombarded by the French.

The focus on Vienna is also present in movement five of the cantata where the personification of the city and the city's Guardian Angel proclaim together how the defense of Europe was initiated in Vienna: "So ist auf meinem Mauerbogen / Europas Hauptwacht aufgezogen." ("So on my archway / Europe's main guard was raised."). Beethoven emphasizes



the idea that Vienna and her Emperor represent the main defensive power in Europe through textual repetition with varied musical means. From mm. 59–66, the personification of Vienna and Vienna’s Guardian Angel move homophonically. When the text repeats a second time, mm. 67–74, the two voices are in canon. In both sections, moreover, the voices are accompanied by the woodwinds and strings in *piano*, but on the phrase “Europe’s main guard” the accompaniment turns to *forte* (see Example 2.7).

### **Emperor Francis**

As mentioned earlier, although various monarchs are discussed in the Cantata, Emperor Francis receives the greatest emphasis. Individual movements describe Francis in great detail. In movement two, the Leader of the People describes the Emperor’s flamboyant attire, and then Vienna’s Guardian Angel details the Habsburg coat of arms. What makes Francis appear particularly prominent and significant is that for the most part his name is not mentioned—this makes him appear god-like. Those present at the festivities of the Congress, moreover, would have been well aware who Francis and the Habsburgs were. In the fifth movement, in which Francis is named, moreover, connects him to God: “Und diesen Glanz, / und diesen Gloriebogen / hat Gott in unserm Franz / um eine ganze Welt gezogen” (“And this radiance, / And this glorious arch / God has in our Francis / Drawn around the whole world”). Beethoven clearly wanted the music to stress this connection. At the start of this section (mm. 174–199, see Example 2.8), the choir enters quietly, in imitation, with sparse accompaniment. The choir then performs a *crescendo* and turns to homophony precisely on the phrase “God has in our Francis” (mm. 186–8). In those measures, woodwinds and brass enter with *fortissimo* sixteenth and two thirty-second note chords while the strings have thirty-second-note arpeggios. But this counterpoint eventually also turns into

homophony, as the strings appropriate the pattern of the woodwinds. The movement ends with the winds and the strings playing a homophonic variation of this pattern.

## Conclusion

Beethoven's celebration of the Austrian Emperor Francis I in *Der glorreiche Augenblick* resembles the ways in which Francis's predecessor Joseph was portrayed in Mozart's composition *Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein*.<sup>105</sup> Beethoven continues the tradition of comparing the Habsburg Empire to the Greek and Roman civilizations. The fusion of God with an absolute ruler is also not unusual, as this idea is present in Mozart's *Lied beim Auszug in das Feld*, where the emperor is the connection between the Earth and the Heavens, and Haydn's "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser," where God is supposed to watch over the Emperor Francis. Where *Der glorreiche Augenblick* differs from Mozart's and Haydn's compositions is in the way that Beethoven continues to reinforce the unity of the imperial subjects, the Emperor, and God. At the opening of the cantata, the homorhythmic chorus reinforces that Europe stands together. The Austrian capital's role in the Congress and in Europe is emphasized by the choir and orchestra, especially in movement three where the orchestra is *forte* when the text calls for Rome to step back for Vienna. When Francis is mentioned, Beethoven musically emphasizes the ruler, such as the connection between the Emperor and God in the fifth movement where the polyphonic choir becomes homophonic.

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<sup>105</sup> See previous chapter.

## Chapter 2 Music Examples

## Example 2.1 (mm. 1–11)

*Allegro, ma non troppo.*

This musical score is for a full orchestra and a vocal ensemble. It is written in the key of D major and 4/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Allegro, ma non troppo.' The score includes parts for Flauti, Oboi, Clarinetti in A, Fagotti, Corni in A, Trombe in D, Timpani in D.A., Tromboni Alto e Tenore, Trombone Basso, Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Soprano, Alto, Tenore, Basso, and Violoncello e Basso. The vocal parts are for a Coro (Chorus) and feature the lyrics 'Eu-ro-pa steht!' repeated twice. The orchestration is dense, with many instruments playing sustained chords and moving lines. Dynamics range from piano (p) to fortissimo (fff). The score is divided into two systems, with the vocal parts and some instruments continuing across the systems.

Flauti.

Oboi.

Clarinetti in A.

Fagotti.

Corni in A.

Trombe in D.

Timpani in D.A.

Tromboni  
Alto e Tenore.

Trombone Basso.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Soprano.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Violoncello e  
Basso.

*Coro.*

Eu-ro-pa steht! Eu-ro-pa steht!

Eu-ro-pa steht! Eu-ro-pa steht!

Eu-ro-pa steht! Eu-ro-pa steht!

Eu-ro-pa steht! Eu-ro-pa steht!

Eu-ro-pa steht! Eu-ro-pa steht!

Eu-ro-pa steht! Eu-ro-pa steht!

*f sf ff f sf ff*

## Example 2.2 (mm. 1–23)

Allegro. Recitativ.

Flauti.

Oboi.

Clarinetti in B.

Fagotti.

Corni in C.

Trombe in C.

Timpani in C.G.

Tromboni Alto e Tenore.

Trombone Basso.

Violino Solo.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Vienna.

Violoncello e Basso.

## Example 2.2 (mm. 1–23: continued)

Musical score for Example 2.2 (mm. 1–23: continued). The score is in G major, 4/4 time, and includes piano accompaniment and a vocal line. The piano part features a prominent bass line with a trill in the right hand. The vocal line is in the bass clef and includes the lyrics: "Was nur die Erde hoch und hehres hat, in meinen Mauern hat es sich versammelt! Der Busen pocht!"

11

Musical score for Example 2.2 (mm. 1–23: continued). The score is in G major, 4/4 time, and includes orchestral accompaniment and a vocal line. The orchestral part features a prominent bass line with a trill in the right hand. The vocal line is in the bass clef and includes the lyrics: "die Zunge stammelt! Eu-ro-pa bin ich nicht mehr eine". The tempo is marked "Allegro, ma non troppo." and the dynamics range from *pp* to *ff*.

16

Example 2.3 (mm. 106–124)  
(in 4/4)

Fl.  
Ob.  
Cl.  
Fag.  
C. in B basso.  
Tr. in B.  
Timp. in B.F.

Soprano. *p* grüß-sen, *p* al - le die Völ - - ker freund-lich küs-sen, *f*

Alto. *p* Heil Vi en - na dir und Glück! *f* Stol-ze

Tenore. *p* Heil Vi en - na dir und Glück! *f* Stol-ze

Basso. *p* Heil Vi en - na dir und Glück! *f* Stol-ze

*f* arco

## Example 2.3 (mm. 106–124: continued)

37

C. in Es.  
 C. in B basso.  
 Tr. Alto e Ten.  
 Tr. B.

*p cresc.*  
*p*  
*cresc.*  
*p*  
*sp*  
*cresc.*  
*p*  
*p cresc.*  
*pizz.*  
*arco*  
*p*  
*pizz.*  
*p*

al - - le die Herr - scher darf ich grüssen,  
 Ro - ma, tre - te zu - rü - ck! tre - te zu - rü - ck! tre - te zu - rü - ck!  
 Ro - ma, tre - te zu - rü - ck! tre - te zu - rü - ck! tre - te zu - rü - ck!  
 Ro - ma, tre - te zu - rü - ck! tre - te zu - rü - ck! tre - te zu - rü - ck!  
 Ro - ma, tre - te zu - rü - ck! tre - te zu - rü - ck! tre - te zu - rü - ck!  
 Heil Vi -  
 Heil Vi -  
 Heil Vi -  
 Heil Vi -  
 Heil Vi -



Example 2.3 (mm. 106–124: continued)

38

al - le die Völ - ker freundlich küssen!  
en - na dir und Glück! Stol - ze Ro - ma, tre - te zu - rück! tre - te zu - rück! tre - te zu -  
en - na dir und Glück! Stol - ze Ro - ma, tre - te zu - rück! tre - te zu - rück! tre - te zu -  
en - na dir und Glück! Stol - ze Ro - ma, tre - te zu - rück! tre - te zu - rück! tre - te zu -  
en - na dir und Glück! Stol - ze Ro - ma, tre - te zu - rück! tre - te zu - rück! tre - te zu -

117

B. 208.

rück!  
rück!  
rück!  
rück!  
rück!

124



Example 2.4 (mm. 189–224)  
(in 4/4)

The musical score is written in 4/4 time and consists of 14 staves. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The first 10 staves are instrumental, with dynamics ranging from piano (p) to forte (f). The 11th staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "auf. Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - reden". The 12th staff continues the vocal line. The 13th and 14th staves are instrumental accompaniment.

## Example 2.4 (mm. 189–224: continued)

45

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Fag.

Clu Es.

Clu B basso.

Tr.

Timp.

Tr. Alto e Ten.

Tr. B.

en - na dir und Glück, l. fei - re den glor - reichen, glorreichen Augenblick, Heil! Vi - en - na dir und glorreichen, glorreichen Augenblick, Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück, dir und Glück! Heil Vi - en - na dir und Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen, glorreichen

Example 2.4 (mm. 189–224: continued)

46

Glück! Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den  
Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - rei - chen  
Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen, glor - reichen Augen - blick den glor - reichen Augenblick, den glor - rei - chen  
Augenblick, den glor - rei - chen Augen - blick, Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück, und

## Example 2.4 (mm. 189–224: continued)

47

glor - reichen, glor - reichen Augenblick! fei - re den glor - reichen Augenblick! Heil Vi -  
 Augenblick! Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! Heil Vi - en - na  
 Augenblick! fei - re den glor - reichen Augenblick, den glor - reichen Augenblick!  
 Glück, fei - re den glor - reichen Augenblick, fei - re den glor - reichen Au - gen - blick! Heil Vi - en - na dir und

## Example 2.4 (mm. 189–224: continued)

48

en - - na dir und Glück! Heil Vi - en - na dir und  
 dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen Augenblick!  
 Heil Vi - - en - na dir und Glück! dir und Glück! fei - re den  
 Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen, glor - rei - chen Augenblick, denglor - reichen Augenblick!



## Example 2.4 (mm. 189–224: continued)

49

Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen Au - gen - blick, fei - - re den glor - reichen Au-genblick, den  
 Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - - re den glor - reichen Au-genblick, den  
 glor - reichen, fei - re den glor - reichen Au - gen - blick, Heil Vi -  
 fei - re den glor-reichen, glor - reichen Au - gen - blick, fei - - re den glor - rei-chen Augenblick, den

## Example 2.4 (mm. 189–224: continued)

50

glor - reichen, glor - reichen Augenblick! Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen  
 glor - reichen, glor - reichen Augenblick! Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen  
 en - na, fei - re den Augenblick! Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen  
 glor - reichen, glor - rei - chen Augenblick! Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen

## Example 2.4 (mm. 189–224: continued)

51

Au - gen - blick, den glor - - rei - chen, glor - - rei - chen Au - - genblick!  
 Au - gen - blick, den glor - - rei - chen, glor - - rei - chen Au - - genblick!  
 Au - gen - blick, den glor - - rei - chen, glor - - rei - chen Au - - genblick!  
 Au - gen - blick, den glor - - rei - chen, glor - - rei - chen Au - - genblick!



Example 2.5 (mm. 274–8)  
(in 4/4)

57

ri - tar - dan - do Cadenza

*pizz.* *p* *pizz.* *p* *arco* *sf* *arco* *sf* *arco* *sf*

Glück! Glück! Glück! Glück!

*pizz.* *p* *pizz.* *p* *arco* *sf* *arco* *sf* *arco* *sf*

*persc.* *sf* *sf* *sf*

Stolze Roma, trete zu-rück, tre-te zu-rück, tre-te zu-rück!

*persc.* *sf* *sf* *sf*

Stolze Roma, trete zu-rück, tre-te zu-rück, tre-te zu-rück!

*persc.* *sf* *sf* *sf*

Stolze Roma, trete zu-rück, tre-te zu-rück, tre-te zu-rück!

*persc.* *sf* *sf* *sf*

Stolze Roma, trete zu-rück, tre-te zu-rück, tre-te zu-rück!

*pizz.* *p* *arco* *sf*

Example 2.6 (mm. 240–251)  
(in 4/4)

Musical score for Example 2.6 (mm. 240–251) in 4/4 time. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system (mm. 240–251) features a vocal line with lyrics: "e - wi - gen Ring - zu flech - ten. Und auf". The vocal line is accompanied by a piano (pp) and a string section. The piano part includes a prominent arpeggiated figure in the right hand, marked with *f* and *p*. The string section consists of two violins and two violas, with the first violin part marked *arco* and *f*. The second system (mm. 241–251) continues the vocal line with lyrics: "mei - nengespreng - ten Wall, auf mei - nem gespreng -". The piano part continues with the arpeggiated figure, and the string section continues with the *arco* texture. The score includes dynamic markings such as *pp*, *f*, and *p*, and performance instructions like *arco*.

Musical score for Example 2.6 (mm. 241–251) in 4/4 time. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system (mm. 241–251) features a vocal line with lyrics: "mei - nengespreng - ten Wall, auf mei - nem gespreng -". The vocal line is accompanied by a piano (pp) and a string section. The piano part includes a prominent arpeggiated figure in the right hand, marked with *f* and *p*. The string section consists of two violins and two violas, with the first violin part marked *arco* and *f*. The second system (mm. 241–251) continues the vocal line with lyrics: "mei - nengespreng - ten Wall, auf mei - nem gespreng -". The piano part continues with the arpeggiated figure, and the string section continues with the *arco* texture. The score includes dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*, and performance instructions like *arco*.

Example 2.6 (mm. 240–251: continued)

54 Cl.

Fug.

C. in B basso.

*cresc.*

*sp*

ten Wall, baut sich Eu - ro - pa, Eu - ro - pa, Eu - ro - pa wie - der

246

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.

Fug.

C. in B basso.

Tr.

Timp.

Viol. Solo.

auf.

Und auf mei - nem ge - sprengten Wall, auf mei - - nem ge -

Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen Au - gen - blick!

Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen Au - gen - blick!

Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen Au - gen - blick!

Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen Au - gen - blick!

Heil Vi - en - na dir und Glück! fei - re den glor - reichen Au - gen - blick!

*p*

B. 208.

Example 2.7 (mm. 59–74)  
(in 3/8)

So ist auf mei - nem Mau - er - bo - gen Eu - ro - pas Hauptwach auf - ge - zo - gen,  
So ist auf mei - nem Mau - er - bo - gen Eu - ro - pas Hauptwach auf - ge - zo - gen,  
So ist auf mei - nem Mau - er - bo - gen Eu - ro - pas Hauptwach auf - ge - zo - gen,  
So ist auf mei - nem Mau - er - bo - gen Eu - ro - pas Hauptwach auf - ge - zo - gen,

*cresc.* *f* *p* *p cresc.*

B. 208.

59

so ist auf mei - nem Mau - er - bo - gen Eu - ro - pas Hauptwach auf - ge -  
zo - gen.  
zo - gen.  
zo - gen.

*p cresc.*

67

74

Example 2.8 (mm. 174–99)  
(in 3/8)

80 174 *cresc.*

Fl.  
Cl.  
Fag.  
C. in A.  
C. in D.  
pizz.

80 174 *cresc.*

Und die - senGlanz, und die - senGlo - - rie -

bo - gen, und diesen Glanz, und Glo - - rie - bo - gen, und diesen Glanz, und diesen Glo - rie -

Und die - senGlanz, und diesen Glo - rie - bo - gen, und diesen Glorie -

Und die - senGlanz, und diesen Glo - rie - bo - gen und diesen Glanz, und diesen Glorie - bo - -

Und die - senGlanz, und Glo - - rie - bo - gen, und diesen

B. 208. *arco* *sempre pp*

172

179



## Example 2.8 (mm. 174–99: continued)

Fl. *pp* *cresc.* *f* *sf*

Ob. *f* *sf*

Cl. *pp* *cresc.* *f* *sf*

Fag. *pp* *f* *sf*

C. in A. *f* *sf*

C. in D. *pp* *f* *sf*

Tr. *pp* *cresc.* *f* *sf*

Timp. *f* *sf*

*cresc.* *f* *sf*

*cresc.* *f* *sf*

*cresc.* *f* *sf*

bo - - gen hat Gott in un - - sern Franz -

bo - - gen hat Gott in un - - sern Franz -

- - gen hat Gott in un - - sern Franz -

Glo-rie-bo-gen hat Gott in un - - sern Franz -

*cresc.* *f* *sf*

## Example 2.8 (mm. 174–99: continued)

um ei-ne gan - - ze Welt ge - - zogen, ja, um ei-ne gan - - ze

um ei-ne gan - - ze Welt ge - - zogen, ja, um ei-ne gan - - ze

um ei-ne gan - - ze Welt ge - - zo - gen, ja, um ei-ne ganze

um ei-ne gan - - ze Welt ge - - zo - gen,

Bassi.

*p*

## Example 2.8 (mm. 174–99: continued)

Musical score for Example 2.8 (mm. 174–99: continued). The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a piano introduction with a *cresc.* marking, followed by vocal entries for three voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) and a Bass line. The lyrics are "Welt ge - zo - gen." and "ja, um ei - ne ganze Welt ge - zo - gen."

The score includes the following lyrics:

Welt ge - zo - gen.  
 Welt ge - zo - gen.  
 Welt ge - zo - gen.  
 ja, um ei - ne ganze Welt ge - zo - gen.  
 Bussl.

The score also includes dynamic markings such as *cresc.* and *f*.



### Chapter 3

#### German Patriotism in Weber's *Kampf und Sieg*

On 18 June 1815, the day Napoleon Bonaparte was defeated at the Battle of Waterloo, Carl Maria von Weber arrived in Munich from Prague.<sup>106</sup> Once the Bavarian capital received news of the victory, Munich was engulfed in celebrations, and in the course of these celebrations, Weber crossed paths with the actor Johann Gottfried Wohlbrück, who would later provide what would become the libretto to the cantata *Kampf und Sieg*.<sup>107</sup> The composition premiered in Prague on 22 December 1815. The Prague audience members who were present would have recognized the cantata's connection to the Battle of Waterloo and the defeat of Napoleon. At first, Weber's *Kampf und Sieg* appears to have been understood similarly to Beethoven's *Der glorreiche Augenblick*. That is, as a commemorative cantata with a pro-monarchical political content and cosmopolitan viewpoints. At the same time, the composer and his librettist also incorporated segments that were later interpreted to promote a specifically German patriotic message. The pro-German elements within the original work are in particular associated with quotations of patriotic poems by Theodor Körner (1791–1813). The premiere of this German patriotic work in Prague is not too surprising considering the German character of the city in the early nineteenth century. The composition was not immediately successful as the Christmas festivities and the cold weather kept the potential audience members away.<sup>108</sup> Because the work's political message is ambiguous, I chose not to use the term “nationalistic” in reference to the original meanings of Weber's cantata. To differentiate early nineteenth-century political aspects of Weber's work from German cultural and political

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<sup>106</sup> Warrack, 166.

<sup>107</sup> Warrack, 166–7.

<sup>108</sup> Warrack, 170.

views of later decades of the nineteenth century, I use the terms “pro-German” and “German patriotism.”

### **Cosmopolitanism**

Throughout *Kampf und Sieg*, Weber and Wohlbrück, similar to Beethoven, incorporated elements of cosmopolitanism, such as characters personifying universal values. The two choirs represent the “Völker Chor” (“Choir of the people”) and the “Krieger Chor” (“Choir of the warriors”). The soloists personify “der Glaube” (“faith”), “die Hoffnung” (“hope”), and “die Liebe” (“love”). Whereas Beethoven uses the city of Vienna, thus clearly referencing the center of power of the Habsburgs, Weber references personified virtues, which makes the work seem more universal. In Weber’s time, any individual could associate with ideals such as faith, hope, and love, but less with “Vienna” and “Vienna’s Guardian Angel.” In *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, only the Viennese may have been able to connect to the message of the work, whereas Weber’s composition would have likely affected more geographically diverse audiences.

The cosmopolitan tendencies of the libretto are supplemented by Weber’s musical borrowing that depicts groups distinct from German speakers: *Ça Ira*, representing the French, and “God Save the King,” the English. The first clash between the French and the Prussians occurs in the seventh movement and Weber illustrates this musically by juxtaposing statements by German warriors (die Krieger) with *Ça Ira* (mm. 148–245), the symbolic song of the French Revolution (see Example 3.1). The Prussian army is no match for the French and Weber emphasizes the French victory by setting *Ça Ira* in fortissimo. The eighth movement depicts how the Prussians reorganize for the second portion of the battle, and in the ninth movement *Ça Ira* returns (mm. 35–73) and depicts the fight between the French and Prussians (see Example 3.2). This movement also makes

use of “God Save the King,” which is reinforced by the winds, to illustrate the arrival of the English to support the Prussians. The English anthem is an almost exact quotation of the original tune with a few ornaments and surging scalar passages in the strings (mm. 199–217) (see Example 3.3). The embellishments portray the English as the war’s great heroes, reinforcing the cosmopolitan, not specifically Germano-centric aspect of the cantata. The multinational characteristics are especially emphasized in the last section of the work, as John Warrack points out: “No. 11 is a brief number praising unity; No. 12 rams the message home by pointing out that only in unity was victory won; and the cantata ends with a large Chorus of all Nations [i.e., the “Voelker Chor”] (No. 13) begging for peace.”<sup>109</sup>

The injection of cosmopolitanism into Weber’s militaristic composition marks other contemporaneous works, most prominently Beethoven’s *Wellingtons Sieg oder die Schlacht bei Vittoria* (“Wellington’s Victory or The Battle of Victoria,” Op. 91). Beethoven’s brief orchestral work celebrates the Duke of Wellington’s triumph over Joseph Bonaparte (1768–1844), the elder brother of Napoleon Bonaparte, on 21 June 1813 at Vitoria, Spain. The clash was between the British, Portuguese, Spaniards on one side and the French on the other. Beethoven reinforced the cosmopolitan aspects of the work by dedicating it to the Englishman George Augustus Frederick (1762–1830), Prince Regent of the United Kingdom up until the death of his father in 1820, when he became King George IV. The one patriotic aspect of the composition is the fact that the work’s premiere served as a benefit concert for wounded Austrian and Bavarian servicemen. However,

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<sup>109</sup> Warrack, 170. Warrack’s view that the piece ends with a nod to the idea cosmopolitan unity of nations has been accepted by other researchers, such as Morgan. See Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 60.

these soldiers would have been under the control of Francis II or Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria who were both absolutist, not national rulers.

Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg* is explicitly programmatic and incorporates a number of musical topics to depict the clash between the English and the French. The composition is divided into two sections. In the first, the wind instruments are separated into two groups, and these are supposed to be placed on opposite sides of the concert hall. The English presence is announced with the British patriotic song, "Rule, Britannia," to which the French respond with the folk song "Marlborough s'en va-t-en guerre" ("Marlborough Has Left for the War"). This leads to the "battle" section that is interspersed with cannon fire, which is indicated in the score, and musket fire, represented by the sounds of ratchets. The English eventually prevail, heard in the brass, and the defeat of the French is portrayed by the fading of French cannon fire and a disintegrating version of "Marlborough." The second part of the work celebrates the English victory and incorporates "God Save the King."

### **Pro-German Elements in *Kampf und Sieg***

In spite of its cosmopolitan leanings similar to those found in *Der glorreiche Augenblick* and *Wellingtons Sieg*, Weber's cantata features German patriotism – an attitude that points to a unification not by an absolute monarch but by people of a similar nationality/ethnicity. Such attitudes are not obvious in Beethoven's compositions. These patriotic elements are connected not only to the text itself, with its references to the Battle of Waterloo and quotations of Theodor Körner, but also to the music. Although Beethoven's *Der glorreiche Augenblick* does incorporate symbols that may seem to be German as they are attached to Vienna and the Habsburg monarch, the items do not focus on a specific ethnicity, the Germans, unlike in Weber's composition. Three

features reinforce a sense of the cantata's patriotic leanings: emphasis on German militarism, the incorporation of the term "Welschland," and the quotation of works associated with contemporaneous German patriotic sentiments.

The text of *Kampf und Sieg* includes numerous militaristic elements, connected to pro-German sentiments that later came to be viewed as emblems of German nationalism. The accounts of the events are in fact often not unlike other militaristic works of the era. The opening of the fifth section depicts the clash of the French and the Germans. Although the movement does not explicitly identify the French or the Germans, in m. 24 the *Österreichischer Grenadier Marsch* (Austrian Grenadier March) is heard, which clearly points to the presence of an anti-French, Germanic force.<sup>110</sup> The March is strengthened by the incorporation of the piccolo and drum, two instruments that can be found in military marches. The ensuing proclamation "Horch! Das ist Freundes Jubelklang!" ("Listen! That is the sound of friendly jubilation!") in mm. 29–31 suggests that the chorus represents a German viewpoint and emphasizes the unity between the Germans and the Austrians (see Example 3.4). In mm. 76–85, the presumably German soldiers shout "Wohlauf! Wohlan! Das Schwerdt gezückt! Fest Mann an Mann geschlossen! Die Hyder in den Staub gedrückt, von wanen sie entsprossen." ("Arise! Well, all right! The sword unsheathed! Firmly man on man closed position! Push the Hydra in the dust, from whence they sprouted") (see Example 3.5). Throughout these measures, voices and orchestra are moving in unison and octaves and can be interpreted to depict the closed position of the German troops. These lines of text repeat the opening stanza (mm. 1–11), implying that the German soldiers were already present at the

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<sup>110</sup>Grenadiers were soldiers who specialized in throwing grenades and would occasionally partake in assault campaigns. By the time of the Napoleonic Wars, the position still existed; however, instead of throwing grenades, these individuals would guide the other soldiers in battle raids.

beginning of the movement (see Example 3.6). After the choir sings of pushing the Hydra into the dust, the orchestra paints this by a downward scale (mm. 11–2).

Works about battles usually contained details about weaponry, preparations for fighting, and various means of dehumanizing the enemy. For example, the conclusion of the first section of Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg* (mm. 346–62) depicts the retreating French as if they were limping away through the gradually decelerating repetition of “Marlborough” and the incorporation of a pattern of eighth notes followed by sixteenth-note rests (see Example 3.7). Yet, Beethoven's militaristic elements are not as straightforward as Weber's. With Beethoven's composition, the listener needs to be aware of *Wellingtons Sieg*'s programmatic content. *Kampf und Sieg* includes a text, which is a more direct channel of communication, and even if the audience members are not familiar with the composition, its text will give them a general idea of the plot. As a result, Weber's cantata can be quite graphic in celebrating the enemy slaughter. In mm. 24–35 of the ninth movement, for instance, the chorus (of what seem to be the German and English soldiers) sing: “Treffft ihn wie Hagelschlag glühende Ballen. Heut sey sein letzter Tag! Heut muß er fallen!” (“Strike him like a hailstorm of glowing cannonballs. Today must be his last day! Today he must fall!”) (see Example 3.8).<sup>111</sup> As the chorus sings about “glowing cannonballs,” the heavily accented orchestral arpeggios can be interpreted as the cannonballs arching across the battlefield.

Although it would be expected that *Kampf und Sieg*, a cantata describing the Battle of Waterloo, would mention the French to a great extent, the French are in fact not identified in a large portion of the composition. Whenever the cantata alludes to the French—they are not even

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<sup>111</sup> At the Battle of Waterloo, the English and the Germans would have been together at this portion. The text does not identify who is on the battlefield at this moment; however, Weber aurally depicts the Germans in movement eight and the English in movement nine.

mentioned by name—they are described in dehumanizing terms as “Hydra,” “the enemy,” and inhabitants of “Welschland.” At the opening of the fifth movement (mm. 8–24)—corresponding to the first part of the battle—the French are referred to as “Hydra,” the many-headed serpentine water monster popularized by Greek and Roman mythology: “Die Hyder in den Staub gedrückt, von wanen sie entsprossen!” (“Push the Hydra in the dust, where it sprung up from!”) (see Example 3.9). After the choral proclamation, the orchestra plays sixteenth-note descending scales (mm. 11–2, 15–6), that emphasize the image of the French being pushed to the ground. In the same section (mm. 51–5), the French are referred to as “der Feind” (“The enemy”) who are driven by their emotions and therefore uninformed about their opponents: “Es naht der Feind mit wilder Wuth, wähnt uns noch nicht gerüstet. (“The enemy approaches with savage rage, thinking we are not ready.”) (see Example 3.10). The music reflects the text by a descending sixteenth-note crescendo into m. 52, where the orchestra is in a low register and plays *fortissimo*, which reinforces the “frightening” aspects of the enemy. In the seventh movement (mm. 161–6), “der Feind” is used to describe the French, when the German soldiers proclaim their defeat: “Des Feindes Spott! O Höllengraun!” (“The enemy’s mockery! The horror of hell!”) (see Example 3.11). At this moment, the orchestra plays *Ça ira* and thus associates the French tune with hellish horrors. The battle resumes in the ninth movement (mm. 13–20), dehumanizing the French again as they are described as “der Feind:” “den Kampf erneut gegen den Feind wie er auch dräut wir sind vereint!” (“the fight resumes against the enemy like him too we are united!”; see Example 3.12). The music is *fortissimo* and halts on “the enemy.”

The usage of “Welschland” to describe non-Germanic people in the fifth movement reinforces the German patriotic overtones the most. “Welschland” is used in the meaning of “foreign land” (mm. 29–40): “Horch! Das ist Freundes Jubelklang! Wohl über Berg und Thal

entlang, aus Welschland tönet Siegesgesang!” (“Listen! Those are friendly cheers! Over the mountains and valleys along, their songs of victory sound out of Welschland!”; see Example 3.13)

The piccolo and drums assist in depicting reinforcement. The drum has an ostinato pattern in this section, giving these measures a militaristic feel. Nineteenth-century German intellectuals used “Welschland” to describe “the land of foreigners,” especially those who spoke Romance languages (for instance the Italians and the French). The 1813 German patriotic song “Des Deutschen Vaterland,” also known as “Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland,” by Ernst Moritz Arndt incorporates “welschen” in verse eight to describe the “foreign junk” in Germany, as well as stating that the French are the enemy:

Das ist des Deutschen Vaterland,	That is the German fatherland,
Wo Zorn vertilgt den welschen Tand,	Where wrath exterminates the foreign junk,
Wo jeder Franzmann heißet Feind,	Where every Frenchman is called enemy,
Wo jeder Deutsche heißet Freund.	Where every German is called friend.
Das soll es sein! das soll es sein!	That should be it! That should be it!
Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!	The whole Germany should be it!

Throughout *Kampf und Sieg* the term is never associated with the English (they are not even depicted as present until the ninth section). The differing attitudes to the English reflect not only the fact that they were a German ally against the French in the war, but also that they were perceived to be Germanic, as their descendants were Anglo-Saxons, people of the German lands who migrated to the British islands in the fifth century. In this instance, the libretto has a tendency to “attack” not just Napoleon or the French army but the French and Romance language speakers in general.



## Weber and Theodor Körner

In the fourth and sixth movements of *Kampf und Sieg*, Weber incorporates materials from two of his earlier works, the songs “Gebet” and “Lützows wilde Jagd.” The texts of these works were written by the German patriot Theodor Körner. Weber later set the two texts for male choir. The incorporation of these materials further reinforces the German patriotic aspects of the work. German intellectuals would have recognized the quotations from Körner’s poems and Weber’s songs for male choir in the cantata. Körner was one of the German heroes from the late-Napoleonic era, who also wrote numerous patriotic poems. He was born in Dresden and studied in Freiberg, Leipzig, and Berlin before he settled in Vienna. While in the Austrian capital, he wrote numerous dramas, light comedies, opera librettos, and poems, resulting in his appointment as the court poet for the Imperial Court Theater (Burgtheater). During the Napoleonic Wars, Körner joined the *Lützowsches Freikorps* (Lützow Free Corps), a volunteer branch of the Prussian army, commanded by Ludwig Adolf Wilhelm Freiherr von Lützow (1782–1834). During an army campaign with the Freikorps, he was killed in action on 26 August 1813. Before his death, he composed numerous celebratory songs and poems.<sup>112</sup>

After Körner’s death, German artists immortalized the poet to further nationalistic causes. In 1814, his aunt, the portraitist Dora Stock (1760–1832), created one of Körner’s best-known portraits that depicts her nephew in his Lützow uniform.<sup>113</sup> In this same year, Körner’s poems from the battlefield were published by his father as *Leyer und Schwerdt* (“Lyre and Sword”) in Berlin.

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<sup>112</sup> Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 34.

<sup>113</sup> Stock is also known for her 1787 portrait of the German poet and philosopher Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) and probably her most famous work, the 1789 portrait of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. When Mozart was giving concerts in Berlin in 1789, he stopped by the Körner household and Stock took this opportunity to sketch him.

The poems of *Leyer und Schwerdt* are mostly patriotic, anti-French, and focus on the fatherland and the German people rather than on monarchs. This national focus on the Germans was initially encouraged even by the monarchical governments as a means to increase moral support within the German-speaking population of Central Europe in the fight against Napoleon. In 1815, the German painter Georg Friedrich Kersting (1785–1847) created two works, *Auf Vorposten* (“On Sentry Duty”) and *Die Kanzwinderin* (“The Wreath Maiden”), that depict and honor not only Theodor Körner but also two of his comrades: Friedrich Friesen and Heinrich Hartmann. In the first painting, the three soldiers are standing guard at an outpost in a German forest, decorated in black, gold, and red uniforms that prominently display the Iron Cross. In the background of the painting are oak trees that, according to Joseph E. Morgan, long have been used to symbolize the power of the German folk.<sup>114</sup> In *Die Kanzwinderin*, a young German maiden can be observed sitting on a rock, surrounded by oak trees, making wreaths. The three soldiers’ names can be found in the trees behind the young woman, confirming that the three patriots are now dead. These works therefore do not focus on monarchs as the representatives of the forces fighting the French, but on the common people who are connected by their use of the German language and their participation in and understanding of German folklore and symbolism.

Körner’s “Gebet” and “Lützows wilde Jagd” were published both in his posthumous collection *Leyer und Schwerdt* and in other collections. “Lützows wilde Jagd” appeared in 1813 in Leipzig in the collection *Zwölf freie deutsche Gedichte* (“Twelve Free German Poems”).<sup>115</sup> The two poems can be also found in the compilation *Theodor Körners Nachlaß oder dessen Gefühle*

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<sup>114</sup> Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 34.

<sup>115</sup> Theodor Körner, *Zwölf freie deutsche Gedichte* (Leipzig: 1813). See also Susan Youens, *Schubert’s Poets and the Making of Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 338 fn.

*im poetischen Ausdruck, bei Gelegenheit des ausgebrochenen deutschen Freiheitskrieges. Aus dem Portefeuille des Geliebten* (“Theodor Körner’s Estate or Whose Sensation in Poetic Expression, on Occasion of the Eruption of the German Freedom War. From the Portfolio of the Beloved”), published by Countess Elise von der Reck and Herr von Freymann in 1814.<sup>116</sup> Weber became acquainted with Körner’s posthumous collection *Leyer und Schwerdt* when he visited Berlin in 1814. He purchased a copy and began to set poems from this collection to music, which would turn into *Leyer und Schwerdt*, Op. 42, a collection of pieces for male chorus.<sup>117</sup> “Lützows wilde Jagd” and “Gebet” are accompanied in Op. 42 by “Reiterlied,” “Männer und Buben,” “Trinklied vor der Schlacht,” and “Schwertlied.”

Male choirs (TTBB), also known as Männerchöre, are uniquely German musical ensembles that became prominent in the early nineteenth century. Song in general was perceived to be important in the German speaking lands. Compositions from this era would sometimes emphasize the importance of singing, as demonstrated in Ludwig van Beethoven’s 1808 Choral Fantasy (Op. 80) and Ernst Moritz Arndt’s 1813 “Des Deutschen Vaterland.”<sup>118</sup> The two approach singing in different ways: Beethoven, in the finale of the Choral Fantasy, connects singing to blossoming flowers: “Großes, das ins Herz gedrungen, / blüht dann neu und schön empor, / hat ein Geist sich aufgeschwungen, / hallt ihm stets ein Geisterchor” (“Greatness fills the heart, / then blooms upward, new and beautiful, / a spirit has soared, / a choir of spirits reverberates for him”), whereas

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<sup>116</sup> Countess Elise von der Reck and Herr von Freymann, *Theodor Körners Nachlaß oder dessen Gefühle im poetischen Ausdruck, bei Gelegenheit des ausgebrochenen deutschen Freiheitskrieges. Aus dem Portefeuille des Geliebten* (Leipzig: Braumgärtner, 1814).

<sup>117</sup> Morgan, *Experiencing Carl Maria von Weber*, 73. Weber would also set songs from Körner’s *Leyer und Schwerdt* to voice and piano accompaniment: *Leyer und Schwerdt*, Op. 41. The works “Gebet während der Schlacht,” “Abschied vom Leben,” “Trost,” and “Mein Vaterland” are found in Op. 41.

<sup>118</sup> Ryan Minor, *Choral Fantasies: Music, Festivity, and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 11.

Arndt, in the sixth stanza of “Des Deutschen Vaterland,” proclaims that Germany is where German sounds in a more explicitly pro-German approach “Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland? / So nenne endlich mir das Land! / So weit die deutsche Zunge klingt / Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt: / Das soll es sein! Das soll es sein! / Das, wackrer Deutscher, nenne dein!” (“What is the German fatherland? / Name the land to me! / As far as the German tongue sounds / and God in heaven sings songs: / That should be it! / That should be it! / That, goodly German, you call yours!”). Although Beethoven’s Choral Fantasy appears to lack an explicit political message whereas Arndt’s “Des Deutschen Vaterland” is saturated with it, both works highlight the same idea about singing: it is productive, it is an everyday activity, and should be a communal act.<sup>119</sup>

Although the underlying messages of the Choral Fantasy and “Des Deutschen Vaterland” are different, the unifying factor between the two is communal singing. The two compositions point to an entity larger than just the singers that perform them. Ryan Minor highlights that during this era, Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836) was proposing that a body of singers could also be interpreted as the *Volk* (the people).<sup>120</sup> In his song, Arndt is explicit that the *Volk* consists of German speakers—in Beethoven’s composition it is not clear who the *Volk* are and what association, if any, there is to pro-German ideas or to the monarch. This promotes the notion that collective singing was used to foster pro-German patriotism. Minor also writes that before the unification of Germany, those who supported the creation of a German nation depended on

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<sup>119</sup> Minor comes to the same conclusions. See p. 11.

<sup>120</sup> Minor also states that Gustav Schilling (1805–80) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) had this concept as well. See p. 17.

cooperative engagement (e.g., choral societies) to demonstrate that the German people could be an independent, self-governing entity that could contribute to the world.<sup>121</sup>

To help foster pro-German collectivism, composers took interest in folk and popular works. They were also curious in untaught, non-professional choirs as they thought that such choirs represented the most “authentic” sound of the people.<sup>122</sup> The union of voices came to represent, as Minor points out, the birth of a nation.<sup>123</sup> On the one hand, the choir could represent the nation, where its people, *Volk*, are joining to further a common goal; on the other hand, the choir also has an intimate, community aspect where members of a small, local community would interact with one another.<sup>124</sup> Coincidentally, the idea of *Heimat*—a term that has no direct English equivalent and would be best translated as “one’s home” or “one’s homeland”—was gaining popularity. The Napoleonic wars, as well as Napoleon’s expansion, left a wake of destruction that destabilized political framework of the German kingdoms and states that helped create a desire for a nation, one’s homeland.<sup>125</sup> The choral societies, whose popularity exploded in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, reinforced, as Minor states elegantly, “the symbolic bonds between self, *Volk*, and nation, and it expressed them through sheer sonic force.”<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> The author also claims that although the collective participation in the German-speaking lands helped to promote current pro-German patriotic ideas, these groups, organizations, and societies helped to create the German identity. See Minor, 9.

<sup>122</sup> Minor, 22.

<sup>123</sup> Minor, 22.

<sup>124</sup> Minor, 22.

<sup>125</sup> According to Minor, Arndt’s idea of Germany, depicted in “Des Deutschen Vaterland,” was encouraged by the Napoleonic wars. See Minor, 22.

<sup>126</sup> Minor, 22. For additional sources that discuss choral societies, see Dietmar Klenke, “Der Gesangverein,” in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, ed. Etienne François and Hagen Schulze (Munich: Beck, 2003), vol. III, 392–407 and Cecelia Hopkins Porter, “The New Public and the Reordering of the Musical Establishment: The Lower Rhine Music Festivals, 1818–67,” *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 3/3 (1980): 211–24.

These choral societies, which could be found at the Wartburg Festival in 1817 and other national events, would incorporate the TTBB voice division.<sup>127</sup> The patriotic subjects of Weber's songs are appropriate for German Männerchöre.<sup>128</sup> "Gebet," and "Lützows wilde Jagd" are strophic, with simple melodies and harmonies that incorporate repetitive notes and octave doubling. The audiences, especially the young German listeners, would have likely enjoyed these compositions, which in turn brought fame to the composer in these circles.<sup>129</sup> Some of the other compositions in Weber's *Leyer und Schwerdt* in fact incorporate explicit German patriotism, such as "Männer und Buben" that highlights that "Germanness"—such as a German girl kissing you and enjoying German songs and drink—comes after fighting:

Bist doch ein ehrlos erbärmlicher Wicht;	You are a dishonorably pitiful scoundrel;
Ein deutsches Mädchen küßt dich nicht,	A German girl does not kiss you,
Ein deutsches Lied erfreut dich nicht,	A German song does not please,
Und deutscher Wein erquickt dich nicht.	And German wine does not refresh,
Stoßt mit an,	Toast to,
Mann für Mann,	Man for man,
Wer den Flamberg schwingen kann!	Who can swing the Flame-bladed sword!

Explicit German patriotism is also present in the solo song cycle version of *Leyer und Schwerdt*, Op. 41. The second stanza of "Mein Vaterland" identifies the German land with the narrator's fatherland:

Wie heißt des Sängers Vaterland?	What is the name of the singer's fatherland?
Jetzt über seiner Söhne Leichen,	Now [it weeps] over his sons' corpses
Jetzt weint es unter fremden Streichen,	Now it weeps under foreign strikes,
Sonst hieß es nur das Land der Eichen,	But, otherwise it would be called only the land of the oaks,
Das freie Land, das deutsche Land!	The free land, the German Land!

<sup>127</sup> Karen Ahquist, "Männerchor," in *Grove Music Online*, 2010  
<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002088074>

<sup>128</sup> Ahquist, "Männerchor."

<sup>129</sup> Tatjana Marković, "How much is opera inter/national?" *Muzikoloski Zbornik; Ljubljana* 48, no. 1 (2012): 103.

So hieß mein Vaterland!

That is what my fatherland was called!

“Mein Vaterland” demonstrates how Weber also participated in the promotion of patriotism in small, intimate settings—similar to Mozart’s “Lied beim Auszug in das Feld”—alongside creating works for large, public venues.

The significance of Körner’s “Gebet,” and “Lützows wilde Jagd” for Weber’s compositions is that the poet intended the texts to be sung, which made it easier for Weber to set them to music. Susan Youens suggests that there are several reasons why Körner’s texts were attractive for composers: they depict patriotic heroes’ deaths, include visual symbolism, their meter structure mimics a battalion’s drummer cadence, and the *contrafactum* aspect of his poems.<sup>130</sup> Other composers, besides Weber, used Körner’s texts patriotic compositions. Franz Schubert, for example, used the author’s poems “Gebet während der Schlacht” (“Prayer during the Battle”) D. 171 (1815), “Jägerlied” (“Hunter Song”) D. 204 (1815), and “Lützows wilde Jagd” D. 205 (1815).

Theodor Körner’s “Gebet,” (“Prayer”) or “Hör' uns, Allmächtiger!” (“Hear us, all mighty one!”) is one of the poems that is found in Körner’s posthumous collection *Leyer und Schwerdt* and that was also paraphrased in *Kampf und Sieg*. This poem is not obviously patriotic, but instead combines an explicitly religious message with a patriotic subtext. Religious statements appear

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<sup>130</sup> Youens, 53. There are numerous poems in Körner *Leyer und Schwerdt* that “borrow” tunes. According to the author, Körner informs the reader which preexisting works his songs can be sung to: “Lied der schwarzen Jäger” can use the melody of “Am Rhein, am Rhein;” “Reiterlied,” “Es gibt nichts Lust’gers auf der Welt;” “Gebet,” O sanctissima;” “Unsere Zuversicht,” “Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten;” “Männer und Buben,” “Brüder, mir ist alles gleich;” “Letzter Trost,” “Es heult der Sturm, es braust das Meer;” “Zueignung,” “Ich will von meiner Missetat;” “Jägerlied,” “Auf, auf, ihr Brüder und seid stark;” and “Trinklied vor der Schlacht,” “Feinde ringsum.” The *contrafactum* component would have allowed the readers to easily and quickly learn the Körner’s works.

throughout the work: in the first stanza “Vater, dich preisen wir” (“Father, we praise you”), in the second stanza “Führ uns, dreiein’ger Gott” (“Lead us, triune God”), and in the refrain of the third stanza “Führ uns, Allmächtiger!–Amen” (Lead us, all mighty one!–Amen”). The bound collection of poems states that the prayer should be sung in the style of the Roman Catholic hymn “O sanctissima”: “Nach der Weise: O sanctissima etc.” (“In the manner of: O most holy”).<sup>131</sup> The spiritual nature of the poem is complemented by generic militaristic sentiment: in the first stanza, “Himmlischer Führer der Schlachten!” (“Heavenly leader of the slaughter!”) and in the second, “Führ’ uns zur Schlacht, und zum Siege!” (“Lead us to battle, and to victory!”). Within the first stanza, there is an impression that the narrator(s) has/have escaped their oppressors and thank(s) God: “Vater, wir danken Dir, Daß wir zur Freiheit erwachten!” (“Father, we thank you, that we awoke to Freedom!”). Although the text does not identify who is narrating and who the enemy is, the language of the poem suggests that the narrator is probably a German man while the foes are the French.

The other Körner poem to be found in *Kampf und Sieg* is “Lützows wilde Jagd” (“Lützow’s wild Hunt”), a popular patriotic poem also published in Körner’s posthumous *Leyer und Schwerdt*. German patriotism is explicit and continuously reinforced throughout the poem in two ways. The poem praises the actions of the Lützowsches Freikorps and are accompanied by specific symbolic images. The first stanza introduces the idea of the German forest, which was also prominent in Kersting’s paintings of Körner. That idea continues to be referenced throughout the rest of the work. The third stanza then focuses on the Rhine river. In the early nineteenth century, the time of emerging German nationalism and romanticism, the river became an important patriotic symbol.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Theodor Körner, *Leyer und Schwerdt* (Berlin: Nicolaischen Buchhandlung, 1814), 69.

<sup>132</sup> Between 1848 to 1874, Richard Wagner (1813–83) would create the four-trilogy opera *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (The Ring of the Nibelung), where the plot of the opera revolves heavily



Those reading Körner's poem would have understood the reference to the Rhine as a symbol of German-speaking lands, because in the early nineteenth century the river figured prominently in German mythology, especially in connection to Lorelei, the rocky outcrop where sailors were lured to their deaths by water fairies. In 1801, the German author Clemens Brentano (1778–1842) published his poem "Zu Bacharach am Rheine" ("To Bacharach at the Rhine") within the second volume of his *Godwi oder das steinerne Bild der Mutter: Ein verwildeter Roman* ("Godwi or the stone image of the mother: A wild novel") which incorporated and popularized this mythological woman.<sup>133</sup> These images of the Rhine and forests would have appealed to German speakers who were subjects of various kings, dukes, and emperors within politically fragmented Germany, and therefore would resonate with an identity based on common culture and language as opposed to allegiances to certain rulers.

Besides the incorporation of German symbolism, "Lützows wilde Jagd" also connects to the ideology of German militarism through the refrain sung at the end of each of the seven stanzas: "Das ist Lützows wilde, verwegene Jagd" ("That was Lützows wild and daring Hunt"). The refrain does not so much refer to an actual hunt as to the military brigade of the Prussian general Lützow. In 1811, Ludwig Lützow obtained consent from the German general Gerhard Scharnhorst (1755–1813) to create a volunteer army, which came to be known by numerous nicknames, such as *Lützower Jäger* (Lützow hunters), *Lützower Reiter* (Lütow Riders), and *Schwarze Jäger* (Black Hunters). The poem is further saturated with elements of a new kind of German patriotism. The text, for example, celebrates "black hunters." Since the German volunteers were not presented with

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around the river. For more information regarding the depiction of the Rhine in German music, see Cecelia Hopkins Porter, *The Rhine as Musical Metaphor: Cultural Identity in German Romantic Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996).

<sup>133</sup> Clemens Brentano, *Godwi oder das steinerne Bild der Mutter: Ein verwildeter Roman*, vol. 2 (Bremen: Friedrich Witmans, 1801), 507–10.

official uniforms, they took old uniforms or those from enemy soldiers and dyed them black. The poem celebrates the black hunters as individuals who died to make sure that the fatherland is protected so that the future generations can grow up free. The last stanza is most forcefully patriotic as it depicts the *Lützow Freikorps* activities in the war as a “German hunt.” In this instance, the enemy appears to be dehumanized as a forest animal that a hunter would track down: “Die wilde Jagd und die deutsche Jagd / Auf Henkersblut und Tyrannen!” (“The wild hunt and the German hunt / on executioners’ blood and tyrants!”). Specific references to Germans also appear in other poems from the collection, such as in “Lied der Schwarzen Jäger” (“Song of the Black Hunters”) and “Bundeslied vor der Schlacht” (“Federal Song before the Battle”).

The paraphrases of “Gebet” and “Lützows wilde Jagd” in *Kampf und Sieg* enhance the cantata’s German patriotic leaning. The second stanza of “Gebet” is quoted in the sixth movement of the cantata (mm. 38–74), though Weber set the text to new music (see Example 3.14). The narrators of this movement are the “Krieger Chor.” At first, it appears that these soldiers are the enemy as the “Feindlicher Marsch” (“The Enemy March”) sounds in mm. 7–37. But in m. 31, a note in the score says “Während dieses Marsches singen die Krieger aus Theodor Körners Gebet” (“During this march the soldiers sing from Theodor Körners Gebet”). As the choir starts to sing “Gebet” in m. 38, the orchestra continues to play the “Enemy’s March.” In this movement, it appears that the orchestra represents the French and the choir the Germans. The incorporation of Körners “Gebet” can be interpreted to represent the arrival of the allied forces to the battlefield. In movement six, it is not clear who is on the side of the Allies; however, the actions within the fifth movement suggests that the presence of the Austrians and Prussians, since the previous movement incorporated the march of the Austrian grenadiers (“Oestereichischer Grenadier Marsch,” in mm. 24–40) (see Example 3.15). Moreover, during the grenadier march, the choir of the soldiers

proclaim that they can “hear friendly sounds” (“Horch! Das ist Freundes Jubelklang!,” in mm 29–31), which can be interpreted as a reference to the North-German soldiers.<sup>134</sup>

As Sabrina Kollenz has noted in the eighth movement, Weber integrates musical quotations from “Lützows wilde Jagd” into the music, along with new text.<sup>135</sup> The text of the cantata in mm. 30–8 (see Example 3.16), “O! Himmels Lust im Todes drang / das ist Freundes muthiger Schlachtengesang!” (“Oh! Heavens lust in the thirst for death / that is the courageous battle song of friends!”) is set to the same music as “Und wenn ihr die schwarzen Gesellen fragt: / Das ist Lützows wilde, verwegene Jagd!” (“And when the black journeyman asks you: / That is Lützows wild, daring hunt!”; mm. 12–22) from Weber’s *Leyer und Schwerdt* Op. 42, No. 2 (see Example 3.17). At this moment in the cantata, the orchestra is absent, with the voices singing a cappella, which appears to strengthen the association to Weber’s *Leyer und Schwerdt*, Theodor Körner, and German choral societies.

## Conclusion

Throughout *Kampf und Sieg*, cosmopolitan viewpoints can be found, especially the English involvement in the Battle of Waterloo. Pro-monarchical political content that was observed in Beethoven’s *Der glorreiche Augenblick* and Mozart’s vocal works K. 539 and K. 552 is absent in Weber’s composition. Even though Beethoven composed a battle composition, *Wellingtons Sieg oder die Schlacht bei Vittoria*, it differs from *Kampf und Sieg* as there was no German presence at the Battle of Vittoria. Regardless of whether it was intentional or not, the incorporation of patriotic

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<sup>134</sup> See also Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 58.

<sup>135</sup> See Kollenz, 163–4.

poems by Theodor Körner, an individual heroized by the German patriots, and describing the battle from the viewpoint of the German side, attaches a pro-German patriotic message to *Kampf und Sieg*.

## Chapter 3 Music Examples

## Example 3.1 (mm. 148–245)

2<sup>a</sup> *Allegro*  
*Vivace, assai* *ff*

148

*Die Krieger.*  
 Des Feindes Spott *8va* o Höl - len -  
*Loco.*

157

- graun. Ver - läßt du Gott! die dir vertraun?

166

Example 3.1 (mm. 148–245: continued)

des Feindes Spott! o Höl - - len - graun!

This system contains measures 148 through 175. It features a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The piano part includes dynamic markings such as *fz* and *f*.

176

eres - cen - du.

This system contains measures 176 through 184. It features a piano accompaniment with a dynamic marking of *fz*.

185

8<sup>a</sup> loco 8<sup>va</sup>

This system contains measures 185 through 192. It features a piano accompaniment with dynamic markings of *ff* and *fz*.

193

This system contains measures 193 through 202. It features a piano accompaniment with dynamic markings of *fz*.

203

Example 3.1 (mm. 148–245: continued)

50 *loco.*

213

Ver - läßt du Gott! *8<sup>va</sup>* die dir ver - traun! *loco.*

222

226

*Violoncelli* *morendo.* Pause.

235

Example 3.2 (mm. 32–74)  
(in 2/4)

32

Heut muß er fal - len! Treffft ihn wie Hagelschlag

Heut muß er fal - len! Treffft ihn wie Hagelschlag

mezzo *f* mezzo *f*

216

54

Heut sey sein letzter Tag! Heut muß er fal - len, treffft ihn wie Hagelschlag ihr

Heut sey sein letzter Tag Heut - sey sein letzter Tag Heut muß er fallen, treffft wie Hagelschlag ihr

44

glühenden Bal - len heut sey sein letzter Tag heut muß er fallen

glühenden Bal - len heut sey sein letzter Tag heut muß er fallen

*pp* *ff* *p*

53

216



Example 3.2 (mm. 35–74: continued)

55

Musical score for measures 55-61. It features a vocal line with German lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "wir sind vereint gegen den Feind wie er auch dräut den Kampf er-". The piano part includes dynamic markings such as *ff*, *p*, and *sf*.

62

Musical score for measures 62-70. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: "neut. gegen den Feind. wie er auch dräut. wir sind vereint. Grimmig wie". The piano accompaniment features a *pp* marking. There are double bar lines in the vocal line at measures 63, 64, and 65.

71

74

215

### Example 3.3 (mm. 199–217)

Da es ausser den Gränzen eines Klavier Auszuges lag, die in allen Blase Instrumenten liegende Melodie des erhabenen, God save the King mit denen die Schlacht fürtrahenden Violin und Bässe Figuren zu verbinden, so hat der Componist etwas im Effect ähnliches dem Piano Forte gegeben, und obige Figuren bloss als Notiz für den Kunstfreund zu gefügt.

Andante. Violini.

flicht Bassi.

God save the King.

8<sup>va</sup>

Senpre. ff

199

203

Example 3.3 (mm. 199–217: continued)

208

212

loco.

P

PP

PP

Lange Pause.

Anmerkung für den Director.

Dieses letzte Andante darf im Tempo- und Tactgefühl des Zuhörers, gar nicht von dem vorhergehenden Prestissimo verschieden scheinen, daher ein 4<sup>tel</sup> im Andante dasselbe Gewicht bekommt, das vorher ein Tact hatte, und die 32<sup>tel</sup> Noten sich eben so, wie vorher die Achtel bewegen.

Example 3.4 (mm. 29–31)  
(in 4/4)

drückt in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt

Horch! das ist

drückt in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt

Horch! das ist

Pizzicati

Oestereichischer Grenadier-Marsch.

Trommel

22

29

**Example 3.4 (mm. 29–31: continued)**

16

Freundes Ju - bel - klang! wohl über Berg und Thal ent - lang, aus Welschland tö - net

Freundes Ju - bel - klang! wohl über Berg und Thal ent - lang. aus Welschland tö - net

30

**Example 3.5 (mm. 76–85)**

(in 4/4)

auf! wohlan! das Schwert gezückt. Fest Mann an Mann geschlo - sen, die Hyder in den Staub ge -

auf! wohlan! das Schwert gezückt. Fest Mann an Mann geschlo - sen, die Hyder in den Staub ge -

73

76

Example 3.5 (mm. 76–85: continued)

drückt! in den Staub, die Hyder gedrückt, in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt in den Staub.

drückt in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt in den Staub.

ff

fz

ff

fz

Pause

79

Example 3.6 (mm. 1–11)

N. 5. *f* KRIEGER CHOR.

Wohlauf! wohlan das Schwertgezückt! Fest Mann an Mann geschlossen!

1 Wohlauf! wohlan das Schwertgezückt! Fest Mann an Mann geschlossen!

All. Maestoso e molto energico.

Fest Mann an Mann geschlossen! die Hyder in den Staub gedrückt die Hyder

Fest Mann an Mann geschlossen! die Hyder in den Staub gedrückt die Hyder

ff

7

219

11

Example 3.7 (mm. 346–62)  
 (mm. 340–5 in 2/2, mm. 346–62 in 6/8)

● ●                      Andante.                      ●                      ●                      ●

The musical score is presented on 12 staves. The first five staves (1-5) contain the vocal line, with dynamics *pp* and *p*. The next four staves (6-9) are for a piano accompaniment, with dynamics *pp* and *p*. The final three staves (10-12) show a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and eighth notes, also marked with *pp* and *p*. The tempo is marked 'Andante.' and the time signature changes from 2/2 to 6/8 at measure 346.

340

346



Example 3.7 (mm. 346–62: continued)

This musical score is a page from a manuscript, containing measures 346 through 362. It features a complex arrangement of staves. The top section consists of five staves: the first two are treble clefs, and the last three are bass clefs. The bottom section consists of five staves: the first two are treble clefs, and the last three are bass clefs. The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings. Notable markings include 'pp' (pianissimo) in the lower staves, 'a 2.' (second ending) in the upper staves, and 'Vel.' (ritardando) in the bottom right. The word 'Basso.' is written at the bottom right of the page. There are two black dots at the top of the page, one above the second measure and one above the fourth measure.

## Example 3.7 (mm. 346–62: continued)

This musical score is a page from a manuscript, labeled 'Example 3.7 (mm. 346–62: continued)'. It features a complex arrangement of staves. At the top, there are five black dots. The score begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff contains a melodic line with dynamics ranging from *p* to *ppp*. The second staff is a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a bass line that also has dynamics from *p* to *ppp*. The third staff is a grand staff with a bass line. The fourth and fifth staves are grand staves with treble and bass clefs, respectively, and are mostly empty. The sixth and seventh staves are grand staves with treble and bass clefs, respectively, and are also mostly empty. The eighth and ninth staves are grand staves with treble and bass clefs, respectively, and contain rhythmic accompaniment with dynamics from *p* to *pp*. The tenth and eleventh staves are grand staves with treble and bass clefs, respectively, and contain rhythmic accompaniment with dynamics from *p* to *pp*. The twelfth and thirteenth staves are grand staves with treble and bass clefs, respectively, and contain rhythmic accompaniment with dynamics from *p* to *pp*. The score concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.



Example 3.8 (mm. 24–35)  
(in 2/4)

Treffft ihn wie Hagelschlag glü - hende Ballen. Heut sey sein letz - ter Tag! Heut.

Treffft ihn wie Hagelschlag glü - hende Ballen. Heut sey sein letz - ter Tag! Heut.

23

24

Heut muß er fal - len! Treffft ihn wie Hagelschlag

Heut muß er fal - len! Treffft ihn wie Hagelschlag

32

35

Example 3.9 (mm. 8–24)

*KRIEGER CHOR.*

Nr. 5. *f* Wohlauf! wohlan das Schwertgezückt! Fest Mann an Mann geschlossen!

1 Wohlauf! wohlan das Schwertgezückt! Fest Mann an Mann geschlossen!

All.*Maestoso*  
*e molto*  
*energico.* *ff*

Fest Mann an Mann geschlossen! die Hyder in den Staub gedrückt die Hyder

Fest Mann an Mann geschlossen! die Hyder in den Staub gedrückt die Hyder

*ff*

7 8 215

Example 3.9 (mm. 8-24: continued)

in den Staub gedrückt, von wäßen sie entsprossen in den Staub die Hyder ge -  
 in den Staub gedrückt, von wäßen sie entsprossen in' den Staub die Hyder ge -  
 drückt in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt Horch! das ist  
 drückt in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt Horch! das ist

*ff*  
*Piccili*  
*Oestereichischer Grenadier Marsch.*  
*P Trommel*

14  
 22  
 24

Example 3.10 (mm. 51-5)  
 (in 4/4)

*f*  
 Es naht der Feind mit wilder Wuth, wähnt - uns noch nicht gerüstet.  
 Es naht der Feind mit wil - der Wuth, wähnt - uns noch nicht gerüstet.

*f*  
*ff*  
*ff*

51  
 215

**Example 3.11 (161-6)**  
(in 2/4)

Die Krieger.

Des Feindes Spott

Höl - len -

157 161

- graun.

Ver - läßt du Gott! die dir vertraun?

166

**Example 3.12 (mm. 13-20)**  
(in 2/4)

den Kampferneut gegen den Feind wie er auch dräut wir sind ver-eint!

den Kampferneut gegen den Feind wie er auch dräut wir sind ver-eint!

13 215

Example 3.13 (mm. 29-40)  
(in 4/4)

drückt in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt Horch! das ist

drückt in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt Horch! das ist

Oesterreichischer Grenadier-Marsch.

Piccoli

Trommel

22 24

Example 3.13 (mm. 29-40: continued)

Freundes Ju - bel - klang! wohl über Berg und Thal ent - lang, aus Welschland tö - net

Freundes Ju - bel - klang! wohl über Berg und Thal ent - lang. aus Welschland tö - net

Siegs - gesang. aus Welschland tö - net, aus Welschland tönet Siegs - ge - sang.

Siegs - gesang. aus Welschland tö - net, aus Welschlan tönet Siegs - ge - sang.

Stromenti. P

30 36 40

Example 3.14 (mm. 7-74)

N<sup>o</sup> 6. *Moto, Vivace. Feindlicher Marsch.*

**KRIEGER**  
**CHOR.**

1 *pp* *Timpani.* *Pausc.* *P. >* *Trommel.* 7

11

20

21

29 31

38

Wie auch die Höl - le brauft! Gott! dei - ne star - ke Faust

Wie auch die Höl - le brauft! Gott! dei - ne star - ke Faust

Während dieses Marsches singen die Krieger aus Theodor Körners Gebet.



## Example 3.14 (mm. 7-74: continued)

stürzt das Gebäude der Lü - ge! Führ uns Herr

stürzt das Gebäude der Lü - ge! Führ uns Herr

48

Ze - baoth! führ uns dreiein' - ger Gott! führ uns zur Schlacht und zum Sie -

Ze - baoth! führ uns zur Schlacht und zum Sie -

59

ge zum Sie - - - ge!

ge zum Sie - - - ge!

70

74

Example 3.15 (mm. 24-40)  
(in 4/4)

drückt in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt Horchdas ist

drückt in den Staub die Hyder gedrückt Horchdas ist

*Parlando*

*Piccini*

*P* Oestereichischer Grenadier-Marsch.

*P* Trommel

Freundes Ju - bel - klang! wohl über Berg und Thal ent - lang, aus Welschland tö - net

Freundes Ju - bel - klang! wohl über Berg und Thal ent - lang. aus Welschland tö - net

*cres*

*cres*

Siegs - gesang, aus Welschland tö - net, aus Welschland tönet Siegs - ge - sang.

Siegs - gesang, aus Welschland tö - net, aus Welschlan tönet Siegs - ge - sang.

*f*

*Strumenti. P*

36

40



Example 3.16 (mm. 30–8)  
(in 6/8)

52

*ff*

Nº 9

schallen o! Himmels Lust im Todes drang das ist Freundes muthiger Schlachtenge - - sang!

schallen o! Himmels Lust im Todes drang Das ist das ist Freundes muthiger Schlachtenge - - sang!

*f*

Allº Feroce!

29 38

Example 3.17 (mm. 12-21)

*p. parlando - cresc. f. pp*

Was glänzt dort vom Walde im Sonnenchein! hörs näher und näher brausen, es zieht sich herunter in

1

*cresc. parlando*

düsteren Reihn, und gellende Hörner schallen darein, erfüllen die Seele mit Grausen. Und wenn ihr die schwarzen Ge-

7 12

*ff*

2

selten fragt: das ist Lützow's wilde verwegene Jagd.

15

Lützow's wilde Jagd

All. Molto.

1

Gebet. Adagio non troppo.

9 12

## Chapter 4

### German Nationalism and the Reception of *Kampf und Sieg*

Although *Der glorreiche Augenblick* has been criticized as a banal work designed to please monarchs and promote Beethoven's career, it did not suffer from the controversies connected to ideologies beyond the political ideals associated with the Vienna Congress.<sup>136</sup> Although certain aspects of Beethoven's cantata are, as Nicholas Mathew has shown, clearly complicit in promoting the oppressive political system in Europe following the end of the Napoleonic wars, the composer's composition has not been plagued with as many controversies as Weber's *Kampf und Sieg*. The contentious aspects of Weber's work, by contrast, have been a subject of numerous commentaries. In his 1940 book on Weber, for example, William Saunders points out that European monarchs were wary of the political connotations of Weber's composition as early as in the spring of 1816. Saunders claims that the reason why only three monarchs recognized *Kampf und Sieg* by August of that year although the composer sent out fourteen copies of the work to rulers across Europe had to do with politics.<sup>137</sup> Saunders hypothesizes that the Napoleonic wars impacted the stability of monarchs throughout Europe, that some of them were afraid of rising nationalistic sentiments, and therefore did not want to acknowledge *Kampf und Sieg*.<sup>138</sup> At the beginning of the twenty-first century, commentators on Weber's work continue to avoid or even

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<sup>136</sup> See Glenn Stanley, "Beethoven at work: musical activist and thinker," in *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*, ed. Glenn Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 28; Barry Cooper, *Beethoven* (New York, Oxford University Press: 2000), 233; and Barry Cooper, "Choral music, vocal music with orchestra, cannons," *The Beethoven Compendium: A Guide to Beethoven's Life and Music*, ed. Barry Cooper (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 257.

<sup>137</sup> Saunders, 94.

<sup>138</sup> Saunders, 216. Similar conclusions are expressed in Stebbins, 130.

suppress the pro-German aspects of the work by focusing on its innovative harmonic progressions.<sup>139</sup>

The clear cosmopolitan and monarchical message of Beethoven's cantata makes the work difficult to modify to fit later political agendas. This is not the case with Weber's work where the political meaning is not as clear. The setting of *Der glorreiche Augenblick* is explicit in location and time. Although Beethoven's composition can be performed anytime, the composition may seem out of place separated from the specific event for which it was written. Although Weber's composition was created to honor the end of the Napoleonic era, specifically the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, there are aspects of the cantata that make it more generally applicable to later conflicts and sentiments. As the previous chapter has shown, the cantata is a compilation of cosmopolitan and pro-German patriotic ideas that allow for multiple interpretations. Although the premiere of the cantata was not perceived to be problematic as the political climate of the German kingdoms changed, the work came to be viewed as more or less nationalistic. This may help explain the controversies surrounding *Kampf und Sieg* and the reasons behind the repeated revisions of the work.

### **Controversies during Weber's Life**

*Kampf und Sieg*'s association with both Weber's and Körner's *Leyer und Schwerdt* raises the most questions about the cantata's nationalistic aspects. "Schwertlied" ("Sword song")—a poem from Körner's posthumous *Leyer und Schwerdt* set by Weber in his Op. 42 for male chorus—

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<sup>139</sup> See Morgan, *Experiencing Carl Maria von Weber*, 80; Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 57; and Tusa, 160.

was one of the composer's most popular works and would be performed alongside *Kampf und Sieg*. As discussed in the Chapter 3, Weber's compositions "Gebet" and "Lützows wilde Jagd" are also quoted within the cantata itself.<sup>140</sup> "Schwertlied," "Gebet," and "Lützows wilde Jagd" were originally premiered in Prague on 6 January 1815.<sup>141</sup> On 18 June 1816, at a concert in Berlin, "Schwertlied" was performed alongside *Kampf und Sieg* and "Lützows wilde Jagd."<sup>142</sup> Several years later on 31 July 1810, Weber was invited to a concert at the University of Halle where students honored the composer by singing "Schwertlied" and "Lützows wilde Jagd."<sup>143</sup> Those who were familiar with *Kampf und Sieg* or Weber would very likely have been acquainted with "Schwertlied" and the pro-German qualities of both works. As a result, the support of Weber, or the acknowledgment of *Kampf und Sieg*, may have been problematic for those who wanted to distance themselves or have no association with nationalism, such as royal and imperial administrations and those who supported the traditional political system.

As the story goes, Körner wrote "Schwertlied" hours before he was mortally wounded on the battlefield.<sup>144</sup> The poem incorporates ideas of a new kind of German patriotism. The work consists of sixteen stanzas that illustrate the alliance between a soldier and his sword, as if the blade were his fiancée who seeks blood, before he proceeds into battle.<sup>145</sup> As the warrior draws

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<sup>140</sup> "Schwertlied" is incorporated in Körner's *Zwölf freie deutsche Gedichte* and Reck's *Theodor Körners Nachlaß oder dessen Gefühle im poetischen Ausdruck, bei Gelegenheit des ausgebrochenen deutschen Freiheitskrieges. Aus dem Portefeuille des Gebliebenen*.

<sup>141</sup> See *Allgemeines Intelligenzblatt zur K. K. privilegierten Prager Zeitung*, Jg. 2, Nr. 4 (4. Januar 1815) 12. Accessed via Carl-Maria-von-Weber-Gesamtausgabe. Digitale Edition, <http://weber-gesamtausgabe.de/A030790> (Version 3.3.1 vom 24. August 2018).

<sup>142</sup> See *Kaiserlich Königlich privilegierte Prager Zeitung*, Jg. 3, Nr. 191 (9. Juli 1816) 759. Accessed via Carl-Maria-von-Weber-Gesamtausgabe. Digitale Edition, <http://weber-gesamtausgabe.de/A030978> (Version 3.3.1 vom 24. August 2018). Also see Kollenz, 64.

<sup>143</sup> Kollenz, 157.

<sup>144</sup> Morgan, *Experiencing Carl Maria von Weber*, 72–3.

<sup>145</sup> While "Schwertlied," "Lützows wilde Jagd," and "Gebet" are incorporated in Weber's musical setting *Leyer und Schwerdt*, "Schwertlied" is not included in *Kampf und Sieg*.

the blade from the sheath in the conclusion of the poem, the “union,” the marriage, between the soldier and his blood-thirsty bride is legalized in front of God. While the verses focus mostly on the relationship between the two and reinforce generic patriotism, such as getting ready for the fight, verse thirteen is explicitly patriotic. In it, German cavalymen are urged to wake up and take their “brides” in their arms: “Wohlauf, ihr kecken Streiter, / Wohlauf, ihr deutschen Reiter! / Wird euch das Herz nicht warm? / Nehmt’s Liebchen in den Arm! / Hurra!” (“Arise, you perky fighters, / Arise, you German cavalymen! / Does your heart not become warm? / Take you sweetheart in your arms! / Hurrah!”). Besides this explicit address to German soldiers, early nineteenth-century audiences would likely interpret other portions of the poem as patriotic. In verse sixteen, the term “Eisenbraut” is incorporated: “Nun laßt das Liebchen singen, Daß helle Funken springen, Der Hochzeitsmorgen graut / Hurrah, du Eisenbraut! Hurrah!” (“Now let the darling sing, that bright sparks fly, the wedding morning dawn / Horray, the iron bride! Horray!”). Morgan interprets the meaning of “Eisenbraut” as an encouragement to German men of age to enlist in the army.<sup>146</sup> Similar to *Kampf und Sieg* and “Lützows wilde Jagd,” there is no reference to a king or emperor.

After the premiere of *Kampf und Sieg*, Weber at first received compliments from Central European monarchs and aristocrats. In Prague, after the premiere of the cantata, General Nostitz congratulated the composer.<sup>147</sup> As Weber passed through Dresden in 1816, on his way to Berlin, Saxon king Friedrich August sent Count Heinrich Vitzthum to present the composer a snuff-box on his behalf to recognize receiving a copy of the cantata.<sup>148</sup> At a concert in Berlin in 1816, the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III enjoyed the performance of *Kampf und Sieg* to the point

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<sup>146</sup> Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 37.

<sup>147</sup> Warrack, 170.

<sup>148</sup> Warrack, 171.

where he sent someone on his behalf to congratulate Weber personally.<sup>149</sup> This initially positive recognition by the ruling classes reflects the fact that during the Napoleonic era, Central European monarchs to some extent subscribed to pro-German patriotic viewpoints as a measure of resistance to Napoleonic expansion or to celebrate the defeat of the French monarch. This can be seen with the composer Ludwig van Beethoven's song "Germania," created to commemorate the defeat of Napoleon in 1814.<sup>150</sup> These individuals, most likely, also viewed *Kampf und Sieg* as related to works such as *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, works that celebrated the end of the Napoleonic era and the return of the *ancien régime*.

Soon after its premiere, however, the cantata also received criticism once the Central European elites realized the dangers of German patriotism for the *ancien régime* they were trying to reestablish in the wake of Napoleon's defeat. Once the members of the ruling classes (e.g., Emperor Francis I) realized that the promotion of nations as opposed to monarchies threatened their power, they began to distance themselves from *Kampf und Sieg*. In Francis eyes, forward-looking ideologies could disturb the delicate balance of society, resulting in civil unrest that might result in revolution such as had occurred in France.<sup>151</sup> According to Lucy and Richard Poate Stebbins, Wilhelm III changed his views of the work and stopped supporting Weber in 1816, possibly because he thought that the celebration of the Landwehr, the Prussian National Guard, put into doubt the legitimacy and importance of his own royal army:

The King of Prussia was proud of his splendid regulars and aggrieved because the men of the humbler Landwehr behaved as if they, unaided, had won the war. And the Landwehr grew to be associated with Weber's name because the veterans went

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<sup>149</sup> Morgan, *Experiencing Carl Maria von Weber*, 82.

<sup>150</sup> For a more extensive look at "Germania," see Chapter 2.

<sup>151</sup> Judson, 105.

about shouting Körner's words to his musical settings. For such reasons Frederick William III refused to exert himself in Weber's interests.<sup>152</sup>

Similarly, Saxon king Friedrich August, though initially appreciative of the cantata, came to disapprove of Weber's compositions *Leyer und Schwert* and *Kampf und Sieg*, partially because he was a supporter of Napoleon during the French Emperor's European campaigns, and the pro-Prussian messages of Weber's works conflicted with his support of the French monarch.<sup>153</sup> Also, the increased interest in Weber's and Körner's works by the German patriots and nationalists would not have pleased the German rulers who saw these individuals as a threat to their power.<sup>154</sup>

Once Weber became aware of the royal disapproval for the composition, he attempted to distance himself from the work's political aspects by emphasizing its purely musical elements. In a letter to Johann Friedrich Rochlitz dated 26 January 1816, he emphasized the progressive harmonic framework of the composition.<sup>155</sup> John Warrack's suggests that the letter was also distributed to numerous journals and acquaintances to help defend the composer, along with his work, against political criticism.<sup>156</sup> Throughout the Congress of Vienna era, the composer incorporated nontraditional modulatory procedures into his other works; however, in *Kampf und Sieg*, these are particularly prominent. The overall formal structure roughly mimics that of a cantata and the opening and closing keys of the work—D minor at the beginning and D major at the end—are not out of the ordinary. However, the thirteen independent sections are modally progressive and quite original (see figure 1.23). The reason for the unique key structure is that the movements

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<sup>152</sup> Stebbins, 130. Morgan confirms how the Landwehr adopted *Leyer und Schwert*. See Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 38.

<sup>153</sup> Stebbins, 130.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Carl Maria von Weber, *Carl Maria von Weber: Writings on Music*, ed. John Warrack, trans. Martin Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 159–63.

<sup>156</sup> Weber, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 159.



are supposed to represent the different emotions that the participants of the battle might have experienced. When there is a general and predictable change in the plot, the tonal center moves down a fifth. However, if the next section brings about a radical change in the plot, the tonal center moves down by a third.<sup>157</sup> This “smooth” progression can be observed in the shift from the fourth movement, where Love, Hope and Faith summon the soldiers for the battle in G major, to the fifth movement which depicts the arrival of the Austrians, represented musically by the “Austrian grenadier march,” in C major. In the sixth movement, the French, identified by the “Enemy’s March” and *Ça ira*, suddenly appear on the battlefield, and this more radical plot development corresponds to a shift from C major to A major. Weber’s disclosures, to an extent, demonstrate how the composer was experimenting when creating the cantata.

(Figure 1.23) Harmonic organization of *Kampf und Sieg*

	Key	Final Harmony
1.	D minor	V7
2.	D minor	I
3.	Bb major	III7
4.	G major	I
5.	C major	I
6.	A major	I
7.	D minor to D major	I
8.	Bb major	I
9.	Eb major to E major	I
10.	C major	I
11.	F major	I
12.	D minor	V
13.	D major	I

Although the bulk of Weber’s letter to Rochlitz emphasizes the harmonic progressivism of the work, the composer also presents the general reasons why he and Wohlbrück created the cantata. Weber’s arguments do not necessarily reduce the overtones of German patriotism but

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<sup>157</sup> Morgan also observes this pattern. See *Experiencing Carl Maria von Weber*, 80.

seem to represent an attempt to distract readers from the work's political stance. The composer explained that he did not want to create a typical celebratory work, such as those by Beethoven, Haydn, and Salieri, but instead desired to suppress the overabundance of dull commemoration. Weber suggests that these traditional celebratory compositions were artificial and claims that he did not “want to involve [himself] with an occasional poem shrieking praise and glory, with ‘Vivat Blücher,’ ‘Vivat Wellington’ etc. every minute” (letter of 27 August 1815).<sup>158</sup> Weber's argument is somewhat contradicted in the last movement of the cantata, the longest of all thirteen movements which continuously thanks God for the victory. The composer also admitted that he and Wohlbrück were overcome by excitement about the end of the war, when they worked on the composition:

It was during the last days of July 1815, in Munich, that Wohlbrück and I decided to write the above cantata. We were both in a state of enthusiasm, excited by the recent great events, and believed that we could recreate for future listeners that strange, shifting series of emotions which must surely dominate any future perspective of our times, and give as it were a bird's-eye view of this period.<sup>159</sup>

Weber's revelations do not necessarily diminish the impression of German patriotism attached to his work and, if anything, individuals could use the letter as evidence that the composer incorporated political ideas into the cantata. After the work received criticism, Weber returned to more cosmopolitan, pro-monarchical subjects in his works: “God Save the King,” (1818) arranged for male chorus (J. 247); *Euryanthe* (1823) (J. 291); 10 Scottish Folksongs (1825)(J. 295ff); *Oberon* (1826)(J. 306); and his well-known opera *Der Freischütz* (1821) (J. 277).

*Euryanthe* and *Oberon* incorporate mythical, fairytale-like plots that focus on noble characters. *Euryanthe* is based on the thirteenth-century French romance *L'Histoire du très-noble et chevalereux prince Gérard, comte de Nevers et la très-virtueuse et très chaste princesse Euriant*

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<sup>158</sup> Weber, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 159.

<sup>159</sup> Weber, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 159–60.

*de Savoye* (“The Story of the Very Noble and Chivalrous Prince Gerard, Count of Nevers, and the Very Virtuous and Very Chaste Princess Euriant de Savoye”) and premiered in the Kärntnertortheater (Carinthian Gate Theatre), in Vienna, on 25 October 1823. *Oberon, or The Elf King’s Oath* is an opera in English and premiered at the Royal Opera House Covent Garden in London on 12 April 1826. Weber’s *Oberon* is based on the German Christoph Martin Wieland’s (1733–1813) poem *Oberon* (1780). Wieland drew inspiration for his epic from the thirteenth-century French romance *Huon de Bordeaux*.

Weber appears to avoid pro-German political commentary in *Der Freischütz*, which translates to either “The Marksman” or “The Freeshooter.” The opera premiered at the Schauspielhaus Berlin (Playhouse Berlin) on 18 June 1821. The work incorporates horror, myth, fairytale, and cosmopolitanism. The plot is based on the German myth of the *Freischütz*, a freeshooter who has made a deal with the devil to obtain six *Freikugeln* (free bullets or magic bullets) that are under the will of the marksman. However, the seventh, and final, bullet is under the control of the devil. Weber’s version is set in the Kingdom of Bohemia (Czech Republic) at the end of the Thirty Years’ War. *Der Freischütz*’s association to German nationalism comes from Wagner’s attempt to depict Weber as a German nationalist. Weber died in England on 5 June 1826 and Wagner heavily campaigned to have the composer’s remains reburied in Dresden, for which Wagner wrote the ceremonial work *An Webers Grabe* (“At Weber’s grave,” 1844).<sup>160</sup>

Regardless of what Weber’s intent and reasons were in creating these works, their focus on trials to prove one’s faithfulness, excursions to faraway lands, or the incorporation of monarchs

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<sup>160</sup> Barry Millington, John Deathridge, Robert Bailey, Elizabeth Forbes, Peter P. Pachl, and Paul Sheren, “Wagner family (opera),” *Grove Music Online*, 2002, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000905605>.

circumvent topics that could be interpreted as political or nationalistic. The test of one's faithfulness in *Euryanthe* draws parallels to Mozart's *Così fan tutte, ossia La scuola degli amanti* ("All Women Do It, or The School for Lovers"). The inclusion of mythical creatures (elves) and far-away lands in *Oberon* appears to mimic Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* ("The Magic Flute").<sup>161</sup> The presence of a ruler in *Der Freischütz* can be viewed to be like Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* or Beethoven's *Fidelio*. These operas do not have the association to an actual event or to Pro-German patriots, such as Theodor Körner. The lack of patriotic content and the incorporations of monarchs suggest that Weber wanted to avoid creating compositions that the ruling classes of Europe might interpret as problematic, such as with *Kampf und Sieg*. The inclusion of monarchs in a favorable light in *Euryanthe*, *Oberon*, and *Der Freischütz* would also allow the composer to avoid future controversies with monarchs, who would see fewer problems acknowledging works that supported the monarchical system.

### **Controversies after Weber's Death**

In the latter half of the nineteenth century and during the Weimar and Nazi eras, German nationalism took a turn towards xenophobia and militant ethnocentrism, which also affected Weber's *Kampf und Sieg*, and Theodor Körner's poetry. In September 1850, the article "Das Judenthum in der Musik" ("Jewry in music") by K. Freigedank (K. Free-thought)—a pseudonym for Richard Wagner as it later turned out—was published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and proclaimed that Jews, biologically, could not add to the German musical canon but only weaken it. Richard Taruskin asserts that it is around this time when "inclusive" nationalism of the first half

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<sup>161</sup> Some may argue that the excursions to far away Muslim countries in *Oberon* may mimic Mozart's other singspiel, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* ("The Abduction from the Seraglio").

of the nineteenth century became exclusive.<sup>162</sup> There was a renewed interest in Weber and Körner, especially in association to German patriotism, and in 1844, Richard Wagner—a composer who is synonymous with German nationalism—had the remains of the dead composer brought from England to Dresden, where Wagner attempted to reinforce that Weber was not a cosmopolitan but a national composer.<sup>163</sup> In 1848, the Hungarian composer Liszt created a piano arrangement that incorporated “Lützows wilde Jagd,” “Gebet,” and “Schwertlied” from Weber’s *Leyer und Schwerdt* (S. 452/ LW. A151).<sup>164</sup> Liszt, like Wagner, was a great admirer of German composers and did his part in promoting Weber’s works.<sup>165</sup> During this era, the fascination with Körner continued, as artists created novels, plays, and works for young readers that incorporated the poet as a German martyr.<sup>166</sup>

During the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1), a piano reduction of Weber’s cantata was printed in Berlin in 1870 to help gather support for the chauvinist campaign against the French. In that same year, an orchestral edition of *Kampf und Sieg*—with a new text by Professor Ferdinand Sieber and music arranged by Wilhelm Wieprecht—was published for the Prussian Militär-

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<sup>162</sup> Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 178.

<sup>163</sup> Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 282.

<sup>164</sup> See Péter Bozó, “Liszt’s Plan for a German Année de pèlerinage ‘Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?’,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47, no. 1 (March, 2006): 24–5.

<sup>165</sup> Maria Eckhardt, Rena Charnin Mueller, and Alan Walker, “Liszt, Franz,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.www2.lib.ku.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000048265>.

<sup>166</sup> Novels: Christian Ludwig Zander, *Die Lützower*, 3 vols. (Berlin: L. Schlesinger, 1847); Heribert Rau, *Theodor Körner* (Leipzig: Thomas, 1863). Plays: Gustav Putlitz, “Theodor Körners Anwerbung durch Frau von Lützow” (1863); George Zimmermann, “Theodor Körner,” ed. Johann Conrad Herber (Darmstadt: Diehl, 1863); Wilhelm Schröder “Studenten und Lützower” (Hanover: Pockwitz, 1863). Adolescent books: Heinrich Smidt, *Theodor Körner. Ein Dichter- und Heldenleben* (Neuruppin: Alfred Oehingke, 1866).

Musikhör and incorporated changes that reflect the transformations of German national ideology in the late nineteenth century.<sup>167</sup> The revised edition, for example, suggests a replacement of “Völker” (“People”) with “Deutsche” (“German”) in m. 4 of the third section (mm. 1-10, see Example 4.1). In this measure the music becomes stationary, the orchestra is playing *piano* whole notes, allowing the focus to be on *Deutsche* (or *Völker*). These minor modifications transform the meaning of other portions of the cantata, as now the “brüderlich” (“brotherly”) bond presented in the opening of the fourth section, mm. 1–2, no longer suggests a general bond, but specifically the assimilation of the German people (mm. 1-10, see Example 4.2).<sup>168</sup> The voices are moving homophonically with the orchestra. In the fifth section (m. 32), the editor offers the option to replace “Oestreichischer Grenadiermarsch” (“Austrian Grenadier March”) with “Süddeutscher Grenadiermarsch” (“South German March”). The Austro-Prussian war occurred in 1866, and the Prussian victory assisted with the creation of *Kleindeutschland* (Lesser Germany) that did not include Austria.<sup>169</sup> The replacement of “Oestreichischer” with “Süddeutscher” would have helped to further the German nationalistic message as now the defeat of the French appears to have been the result of the “strong German army” that needed no assistance from other countries. Although Weber’s choruses seem to be sung from the German point of view, the Germans are never directly

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<sup>167</sup> “Kampf und Sieg,” *Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, ed. John Denison Champlin Jr. and William Foster Apthorp (New York: Charles Scribner, 1899), vol. 2, 351.

<sup>168</sup> Morgan, *Experiencing Carl Maria von Weber*, 185. The author is not clear whether the 1870 or 1871 versions has these modifications (see p. 184). The orchestral score Carl Maria von Weber, *Kampf und Sieg. Cantate zur Feier der Vernichtung des Feindes im Juni 1815 bei Belle-Alliance und Waterloo*, ed. Robert Emil Lienau (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1870) incorporates these replacements. However, the 1870 Schlesinger text does not incorporate the suggestion that “God Save the King” can be replaced with “Deutschland über alles” as Morgan states on p. 185.

<sup>169</sup> The term *Großdeutschland* (Greater Germany) is typically used in discussions when Austria is included.

identified and labeled in the text of the 1815 edition of the score.<sup>170</sup> It appears that authors are interpreting the original work from a late nineteenth-century point of view. This may help explain why the authors avoid, or minimize, the patriotic aspects of the work.

These alternatives continue in the eighth section where “Freundes” (m. 37) can be exchanged for “Preussens” in the phrase “das ist Freundes muthiger Schlachtengesang,” (“that is the courageous battle singing of friends”) (mm. 28–38, see Example 4.3). The choir is *fortissimo* and moves homophonically and the orchestra is absent, allowing greater focus on what is being sung. In the tenth movement, when “Heilig Vollandete, die ihr das Leben im feurigen Strebendem Glück der Menschheit dahin gegeben” (“Holy perfected, who gave their life in the fiery aspiring happiness of humanity”) is stated, the editor provides the option that “Vaterlande” can replace “Glück der Menschheit” (mm. 28–9) (mm. 20–36, see Example 4.4). At this moment, the orchestral tremolos both *crescendos* and *decrescendos*. In the twelfth movement, when “Das ist der Tag, den Gott gemacht, das ist den schönen Bundes Schlacht!” is proclaimed, it is also suggested that “schönen” can be replaced with “deutschen” in m. 24 (mm. 22–31, see Example 4.5). Throughout mm. 22–5, dotted eighth note and sixteenth note and dotted quarter note and eighth note patterns are prevalent, which gives this phrase a noble feel.

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<sup>170</sup> The libretto Carl Maria von Weber and Wohlbrück’s *Kampf und Sieg: Cantate* (Munich: ca. 1820) and the scores Carl Maria von Weber, *Kampf und Sieg. Cantate zur Feyer der Vernichtung des Feindes im Juny 1815 bei Belle-Alliance und Waterloo* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1815) and Carl Maria von Weber, *Kampf und Sieg. Cantate zur Feyer der Vernichtung des Feindes im Juny 1815 bei Belle-Alliance und Waterloo* (Handwritten, ca. 1816) do not state “North-Germans” and “South-Germans” in the text. The sources Morgan, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 81; Warrack, 169; and LP: Herbert Kegel Chorus and Orchestra of Radio Leipzig, *Kampf und Sieg*, Urania Record Corp., 1951 identify the German as “North-Germans” and “South-Germans.”

Instead of the union between the German and English armies that results in the defeat of Napoleon which the original *Kampf und Sieg* illustrates, the 1870 orchestral edition reinforces the notion that the English had no part in defeating the French emperor. This edition incorporates modifications for “God Save the King” that results in a complex and contradictory set of meanings. In this version, the British anthem is labeled as “Volkshymne” (“Folk hymn”) and is printed with the words “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” (“Hail to You in the Victor’s Wreath”) (mm. 199–200). This text was written by the German Protestant pastor Heinrich Harries (1762–1802) in 1790 for Christian VII of Denmark (1749–1808) and was set to the music of “God Save the King.” The Prussian Kingdom started to use this song in 1795 as the anthem for the monarch.<sup>171</sup> “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” would later be revised by Balthasar Gerhard Schumacher to suit the needs of the German Empire and the work would be used from 1871 to 1918 as the informal anthem.<sup>172</sup> The borrowing of the music from “God Save the King” is not unique for “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” as numerous other German hymns, anthems, and patriotic compositions used the tune: such as the popular German patriotic anthem “Die Wacht am Rhein” (“The Watch on the Rhine”); the official anthem of the Kingdom of Bavaria “Bayerische Königshymne” (“Bavarian King’s hymn”), also known as “Heil unserm König, Heil!” (“Hail our King, Hail!”); and hymn of the Kingdom of Hanover “Heil dir, Hannover” (Hail to thee, Hanover).<sup>173</sup> Although some Germans in the north did recognize “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” as the unofficial German anthem, the work remained problematic for German nationalists for several reasons. First, the lyrics promote the monarchical

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<sup>171</sup> Nils Grosch, “Heil Dir im Siegerkranz!” in *Reichsgründung 1871: Ereignis, Beschreibung, Inszenierung*, ed. Michael Fischer, Christian Senkel and Klaus Tanner (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2010), 91.

<sup>172</sup> Grosch, 90.

<sup>173</sup> The American minister and author Samuel Francis Smith wrote his own text to “God Save the King” melody as well in 1831, known as “My Country, ‘Tis of Thee” – this is the familiar patriotic song “America.”



system: although the lyrics underwent several revisions, they continued to emphasize the support for an absolute ruler. The original line “Heil, Christian, dir!” (“Hail, Christian, you!”) in Harries version was revised by Schumacher in 1793 to “Heil, König, dir!” (“Hail, King, you!”). After the creation of the German Empire, this was updated to “Heil, Kaiser, dir!” (“Hail, Emperor, you!”). Using an existing melody would have allowed easy learning and dissemination of the new text. Also, as different German kingdoms had their own versions of what used to be the “God Save the King” melody, “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” would have promoted a sense of German unification, even though the South German Kingdoms Bavaria and Württemberg never acknowledged the work.<sup>174</sup> Furthermore, considering that the song uses the “God Save the King” melody, it would have been easy to incorporate the new text as there would be no need for extensive revisions of the cantata. The inclusion of the music of “God Save the King” can be interpreted as undermining the “Germanness” of the composition as people would be well aware of the connection to the British Empire. However, those who were aware of German kingdoms usage of the melody may have interpreted it as promoting pro-German patriotism.

In the fifth section, the 1870 editor offers the option to substitute the word “Welschland” with “Rhein” in mm. 37–48 (mm. 32–54, see Example 4.6):

Original	1870 option
Horch! Das war Freundes Jubelklang, Wohl über Berg und Tahl entlang, Aus Welschland tonet Siegesgesang.	Horch, das ist Freundes Jubelklang! Wohl über Berg und Thal entlang, Am Rheine tönt ihr Kriegsgesang
Listen! That was the sound of friendly cheers, Well over mountain and valley, Sounds of victory songs out of Welshland.	Listen! That was the sound of friendly cheers, Well over mountain and valley, Sounds of war songs from the Rhine.

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<sup>174</sup> Elisabeth Fehrenbach, *Politischer Umbruch und gesellschaftliche Bewegung: ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Geschichte Frankreichs und Deutschlands im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenburg, 1997), 312.

Throughout this section, piccolo and percussion can be heard, reinforcing that assistance is arriving. The incorporation of “Rhein” may denote the German national border at the Rhine River and reinforce the size of nation at the start of the Franco-Prussian War.

Replacing “Welschland” with “Rhein” is also imbued with contradictory significance. On the one hand, introducing “Rhein” connects well to the political situation of the early 1870s. On the other, the term “Welschland” acquired striking nationalistic overtones in the late nineteenth century. Perhaps the most notable instance of the use of the controversial term “Welschland” in that period can be found in the third-act finale of Richard Wagner’s *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (*The Mastersingers of Nurnberg*), which premiered at the Königliches Hof- und National-Theater (known today as the National Theatre) in Munich on 21 June 1868. The character Walther von Stolzing wins a singing competition in mid-sixteenth-century Nuremberg and is proclaimed a mastersinger. As the character rejects the offer, the mastersinger Hans Sachs informs him that even revolutionary art needs to acknowledge cultural tradition. In his speech, Sachs informs Walther that there is an “evil force” attempting to destroy German culture:

Habt acht! Uns dräuen üble Streich: zerfällt erst deutsches Volk und Reich, in falscher wälscher Maje stat kein Fürst bald mehr sein Volk versteht, und wälschen Dunst mit wälschem Tand sie pflanzen uns in deutsches Land; was deutsch und echt, wüßt keiner mehr, lebt’s nicht in deutscher Meister Ehr!

Be warned! Evil tricks threaten us: if the German folk and empire should crumble, under a counterfeit, foreign sovereignty, shortly no leader would understand their people, and foreign haze with foreign knickknacks they deposit in our German land; what is German and real, no one would know more, if it did not love the glory of the German masters!<sup>175</sup>

Sachs then urges Walther to honor the German masters and proclaims that should the Holy Roman Empire ever fall, German art will still be around:

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<sup>175</sup> Richard Wagner, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, ed. Felix Mottel (Leipzig: C.F. Peters ca. 1910) 807–8.

Drum sag ich Euch: ehrt Eure deutschen Meister! Dann bannt Ihr gute Geister; und gebt Ihr ihrem Wirken Gunst, zerging in Dunst das heil'ge römische Reich: uns bliebe gleich die heil'ge deutsche Kunst!

That is why I am telling you: honor your German masters! Then evoke your good spirits; and indulge on their acts, if the holy Roman Empire should ever dissolve into a haze: the holy German art would remain for us!<sup>176</sup>

The chorus repeats this text, along with Sachs. According to Nedbal, this message appears to morph from being a stage dialog to a generalized address to the audience that embodies the “German Spirit.”<sup>177</sup> This may also be a warning to audiences what may happen if individuals from these foreign/romance countries (“Welschland”) infiltrate the German empire, just as the German troops were preparing for the war with France. One reason why the 1870 editor might have thought “Welschland” was no longer needed in the text of the cantata might have been connected with the fact that the defeated France no longer posed a threat.

## Conclusion

Regardless of whether or not Weber intended to incorporate pro-German patriotism into *Kampf und Sieg*, in the following decades German artists and intellectuals have interpreted the work to be strongly nationalistic. At first, the work was not perceived to be problematic and was understood as celebrating the defeat of Napoleon and the closure to the Napoleonic era. Soon after the work’s premiere, however, Central European monarchs, who wanted to preserve their political power and felt threatened by nationalism, started to distance themselves from the composition. Ironically, later in the century, when German nationalism entered mainstream politics, *Kampf und Sieg* was considered wanting in its sense of nationalism. After World War II, and to an extent until

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<sup>176</sup> Wagner, 808–13.

<sup>177</sup> Nedbal, 226.

the present, German nationalism has been perceived negatively. To avoid controversy, commentators and scholars do not discuss the work's political aspects and focus on its innovative musical features. This debate is far from over and political shifts within Germany may revive interest in this work and its political and nationalistic meanings.

## Chapter 4 Music Examples

## Example 4.1 (mm. 1-10)

Moderato. Recit.

Clarineti in B.

Fagotti.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Der Glaube.

Bassi.

Völker! verzaget nicht, zweifelt und klaget nicht!  
(Deutsche!)

1

## Example 4.2 (mm. 1-10)

Andante con moto.

Flauti.

Clarineti in B.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Die Liebe.

Die Hoffnung.

Der Glaube.

Violoncello.

Basso.

Brüderlich, Hand in Hand, von edlem Zorn entbrannt, walten die Fürsten der Erde. Er - de!  
(schützet die heil - mi - sche Er - de!)

Brüderlich, Hand in Hand, von edlem Zorn entbrannt, walten die Fürsten der Erde. Er - de!  
(schützet die heil - mi - sche Er - de!)

Brüderlich, Hand in Hand, von edlem Zorn entbrannt, walten die Fürsten der Erde. Er - de!  
(schützet die heil - mi - sche Er - de!)

1







Example 4.5 (mm. 22-31)  
(in 4/4)

*Maestoso.*

*mf*

*mf*

*mf*

*f*

Das ist der Tug, den Gott gemacht, das ist des schönen Bundes Schlacht! Preist, Völ-ker! preist Got-tes Na-men!

*mf*

*ff*

*attaca*

22 24 S. 5002

22

24

Example 4.6 (mm. 32-54)  
(in 4/4)

(Süddeutscher)  
Oestreichischer Grenadiermarsch.  
Pizzoli.

*pp*

Tamb.

*pp*

*p*

drückt.

drückt.

*Parlando*

Horch! das ist Freundes Ju-bel-klang! Wohl über

Horch! das ist Freundes Ju-bel-klang! Wohl über

S. 5002

32

37



Example 4.6 (mm. 32-54: continued)

18 *Picc.*  
*Tomb.*

*cresc.*  
Berg und Thal ent - lang aus Welsch - land tö - net Sieg's ge - sang, aus Welsch - land tö - net, aus Welschland tönet  
(am Rhei - ne tönt ihr Krieg - ge - sang, am Rhei - ne tö - net, am Rhei - ne tö - net

40 *cresc.*  
Berg und Thal ent - lang aus Welsch - land tö - net Sieg's ge - sang, aus Welsch - land tö - net, aus Welschland tönet  
(am Rhei - ne tönt ihr Krieg - ge - sang, am Rhei - ne tö - net, am Rhei - ne tö - net

*Fl.*  
*Fag.*  
*Cor.*  
*pp*  
*pp*  
*pp*  
Sieg's ge - sang,  
(Krieg - ge - sang.)  
Sieg's ge - sang,  
(Krieg - ge - sang.)  
*pp*

## Conclusion

Weber's *Kampf und Sieg* was based on a set of musical procedures and political ideas similar to those in Mozart's "Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein" and "Lied beim Auszug in das Feld" and Beethoven's *Der glorreiche Augenblick*. However, the cantata also incorporates pro-German elements. During times of war, political ideas can become prominent in musical compositions, as demonstrated in these four works. Mozart's songs focused on the Austrian Emperor Joseph II and illustrate how the composer participated in imperial propaganda during the Austro-Turkish War (1788–91). *Der glorreiche Augenblick* demonstrates that Beethoven's political music also focused on the monarch (Emperor Francis), though in the context of the Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna. Although Weber's *Kampf und Sieg* is often viewed as a nationalistic composition, it has been shown here that it to some extent grows out of foundations similar to those in Mozart's wartime songs and Beethoven's cantata: an emphasis on a generic patriotism in face of a threatening enemy. However, Weber's cantata also engages elements that are more explicitly pro-German and were later viewed as nationalistic. Weber's cantata therefore represents a unique work that demonstrates the transformation of general political patriotism into nineteenth-century nationalism.

"Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein," "Lied beim Auszug in das Feld," *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, and *Kampf und Sieg* are all compositions infused with political concepts and ideas that have been viewed as problematic. However, the controversies surrounding these works differ. In Mozart's compositions, the primary focus is on the absolute ruler Joseph II and the Habsburg monarchy. Beethoven continues the promotion of Habsburg monarchy (Francis replaces Joseph II). Yet the cantata medium makes *Der glorreiche Augenblick* appear to be more bombastic and pompous than in "Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein" and "Lied beim Auszug in das Feld" (Mozart's

two songs are significantly shorter than Beethoven's work). Although *Kampf und Sieg* does promote monarchical elements and glorifies political events where absolute rulers dominated, the incorporation of pro-German components differentiates Weber's work from Beethoven and Mozart's works. The pro-German elements, which are associated with a certain language and cultural community, not a ruler or empire, allowed later German political systems to easily adapt the work to promote the idea of ethnic nationalism. Even though *Kampf und Sieg* was created decades before Germanness became infused with exclusionary, ethnic, and racist ideals, it was later abused for those ideals and as such is seen inherently nationalistic.

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