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CARL LOEWE'S 'NORDIC TONE'

THE SCOTTISH, ENGLISH & NORDIC BALLADS

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In the early 19th Century, Germany was gripped by a fascination with the 'North' that influenced writers and philosophers like Herder, Goethe, Uhland and Fontane as well as music. Countless compositions emerged, which were either inspired by works of important writers like Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, and Macpherson or by the gloomy atmosphere of the Northern landscapes in general. While this 'Nordic tone' in music was of fundamental importance for 19th Century musical aesthetics, scholars seem to have a very vague understanding of what the 'Nordic tone' should evoke and an even vaguer idea of how exactly this was to be achieved. This confusion is partly due to ambiguity in the terminology: just as Herder and his contemporaries had made no distinction between Gaelic, Celtic, and Germanic heritages, mid 19th Century German critics did not distinguish between, for instance, an 'Ossianic manner', an overall 'Nordic character' or a 'Scottish style'. Sharing Mendelssohn's enthusiasm, the composer Carl Loewe (1796-1869) wrote a number of ballads dealing with Scottish, English and Nordic themes. However, an important question to be addressed is: can one really *analytically* detect a 'Nordic' tone in Loewe's ballads, however programmatic a composition's ballad title may sound, particularly given the vagueness of the discussion about the 'Nordic tone'? Secondly, given the terminological ambiguity, did Loewe differentiate between an English, Scottish and Scandinavian tone or did he adopt an all-inclusive 'Nordic tone'? This dissertation revisits the question of the 'Nordic tone' in Loewe's English, Scottish and Nordic ballads. How does Loewe's approach towards these nations differ, considering that he visited England and Norway, but never Scotland? It will be demonstrated how Loewe's image of the Northern cultures was formed, to what extent he differentiated between England, Scotland and Scandinavia, and whether he adopted an all inclusive 'Nordic' tone.

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1. CARL LOEWE'S 'NORDIC TONE'

Loewe appears to be cosmopolitan because of his excellent education, his works and the inspiration he drew from the idea of world-literature, such as expressed by Goethe in the *West-Eastern Divan*. It is very fitting that one should call Loewe the 'Herder of music': his numerous songs and ballads represent a virtual 'orbis pictus in sounds'. Yet, Loewe is a true German personage and, being a German artist, is first and foremost rooted in German Romanticism. Thus, he is particularly interested in the German saga and history.¹

This quote by August Wellmer from 1886 captures the transition which the ballad had been undergoing as a genre between cosmopolitanism and nationalism during the 19th Century. Among the forerunners of this newly transformed genre was Carl Loewe (1796-1869), composer of around 400 ballads, whose compositions had a considerable influence on the ballad's development.² Throughout his life, Loewe was fascinated with poetry which either consisted of translations from foreign languages or dealt with stories set in foreign lands. He set poems to music dealing with French, Spanish, Polish, Scottish, English, Scandinavian, Oriental and Hebrew topics. The multiplicity of nations represented in Loewe's ballads led scholars to perceive Loewe as the 'Herder of music', attributing the same Cosmopolitan spirit to Loewe that had inspired Johann Gottfried Herder to his collections of *Volkslieder* (Popular songs, 1778-1779) and *Die Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (The Voices Of The World In Song, 1813). This perception was shared by Maximilian Runze³ and can still be found in an article by Günther

¹ Original quote in August Wellmer, *Karl Loewe: Ein deutscher Tonsetzer* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 20-1: 'So universell nämlich uns Loewe vermöge seiner universellen Geistesbildung auch in seiner Kunst erscheint, dergestalt, daß man ihn mit Recht den Herder der Musiklitteratur nennen könnte, so genial er sich auch die von diesem großen Dichter angeregte Idee der Weltlitteratur, der dann Goethe in seinem Westöstlichen Divan beredten und hochpoetischen Ausdruck gab, im musikalischen Sinne zu eigen machte, also daß seine fast zahllosen Gesänge und Balladen einen wahren 'orbis pictus' in Tönen darstellen, so ist es dennoch ein echt deutscher Charakterkopf, den uns der Meister der Ballade zeigt. [...] [Loewe] wurzelt [...] als deutscher Künstler doch vor allem in der deutschen Romantik und wendet sich daher mit besonderer Liebe der deutschen Sage und Geschichte zu.'

² View for a first introduction Peter Tenhaef, 'Article: Loewe, Carl', in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil xi, (2nd edn; Kassel, 2004), pp. 388-98.

³ Maximilian Runze, *Biographie Carl Loewes* (Stuttgart, 1905), p. 102: 'Mit Anlehnung an Herder leitet sich die Reihe von Geniewürfen ein, um dann sogleich auf Altmeister Goethe, Loewes ebenbürtigen Mitschöpfer auf dem Balladengebiet, überzugehen. Bei Herder dann ausgiebiger mit Liebe verweilend, gewinnt ihn eine Zeitlang ganz der jüngere damals völlig modernde Balladenmeister, der dabei die Goethesche Kunstballade, sie im Geist der alten Volksballade schattierend, weiter zu pflegen trachtete: Uhland. Schiller und Byron, Körner, W. Alexis, Talvj, v. Zedlitz ergänzten diesen Blütenkranz hehrer Dichtergrößen.'

Massenkeil from 1976.⁴ Moreover, this versatility inspired Wellmer to describe Loewe's oeuvre as an 'orbis pictus in sounds' – a way of depicting the world through music.

Both comparisons are, however, misleading: unlike Herder, Loewe was never really concerned with the original version or context of the ballads, but happily embraced translations or new poems in the guise of national folklore. Moreover, the link between the extra-musical catalyst and the actual music is not always as evident as the comparison with an 'orbis pictus' suggests, and in many cases, national qualities have been misattributed to 19th Century works. A famous example is Felix Mendelssohn's *Scottish Symphony*, which scholars widely believed to be inspired by Mendelssohn's journey to Scotland in 1829.⁵ Ever since, this symphony has generally been seen as a programmatic work and the result of the deep impression the journey to Scotland made on Mendelssohn.⁶ Closer analyses of the manuscripts have however revealed that Mendelssohn had already begun to compose the symphony a year before actually travelling to Scotland.⁷ Moreover, Mendelssohn himself never employed the title 'Scottish' for his symphony. The title had been given to the work by critics several years after Mendelssohn's death.⁸

Despite these misconceptions, Wellmer's quote is highly symptomatic for the reception of Loewe's ballads during the early 19th Century. While Herder's collection of poems was one of the main factors in the revival of the ballad in Germany in the late 18th Century, the approach to the genre was changing significantly during the first half of the 19th Century. Herder and his contemporaries believed in Cosmopolitanism and in the ballad as a means of expressing the

⁴ Günther Massenkeil, 'Karl Loewe als Balladenkomponist: Einführung in ein Konzert', in Günther Massenkeil and Bernhard Stasiewski (eds.), *Deutsche Musik im Osten* (Cologne, Vienna, 1976), pp. 20–3, pp. 20–1: 'Den spezifischen Platz Loewes in der Musikgeschichte und in der Geschichte des Sololieds sieht man aber erst dann richtig, wenn man erkennt, daß er sozusagen im geistigen Gefolge Johann Gottfried Herders steht. [...] Aber wir können auch beobachten, daß die Beziehungen Loewes zu Herder tiefer reichen, in die Substanz selbst seiner Musik. Zu den auffallendsten und unmittelbar erfaßbaren Merkmalen der Loeweschen Tonsprache gehört nämlich, was nicht generell für das Sololied des 19. Jahrhunderts gilt, die Gesanglichkeit, der melodischen Linien, und es gehört dazu der einfache formale Aufbau, durch den die einzelnen Liedstrophen meist auch dann klar in Erscheinung treten, wenn es sich nicht um ein simples sogenanntes Strophenlied handelt [...] Wenn man berücksichtigt, daß im Bewußtsein des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts solche symmetrische Formung des musikalischen Ablaufs – der ja mit der Proportion 1 : 2 ein überaus einfaches Zahlenverhältnis zugrundeliegt – als ‚einfach‘, ‚natürlich‘, auch ‚allgemeinverständlich‘ galt, so könnte die Loewesche Vorliebe dafür in Beziehung gebracht werden mit den Vorstellungen Herders von der ursprünglichen und natürlichen Ordnung der Musik. Loewes charakteristische Formgebung berührt sich freilich auch in vielleicht überraschender Weise mit manchen musikalischen Auffassungen Jean-Jacques Rousseaus, von dem ja bereits Herder beeinflusst ist.'

⁵ Original quote: Felix Mendelssohn in Sebastian Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn 1729-1847: Band 1* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 225: '[...] wo Königen Maria gelebt und geliebt hat [...] Ich glaube ich habe heut da den Anfang meiner Schottischen Symphonie gefunden.'

⁶ Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'Just how Scottish is the "Scottish" symphony? Thoughts on poetic content and form in Mendelssohn's opus 56', in John Michael Cooper and Julie D. Prandi (eds.), *The Mendelssohns: Their music in history* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 147–65.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

'voice of the world'. The turn of the century gave way, however, to a rising nationalism.⁹ This shift is mirrored in Wellmer's quote, describing Loewe as a 'cosmopolitan', yet first and foremost 'true German personage' who 'cares especially for the German saga and history'. Ballads with Nordic topics became especially popular at this time and Loewe's English, Scottish and Scandinavian ballads stand in line with hundreds of compositions in a 'Nordic tone' driven by the new enthusiasm for the North. These compositions were either inspired by works of famous writers, such as Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott or Macpherson's Ossian, or by the enigmatic and gloomy atmosphere of the Northern landscapes in general. As the discussion about Mendelssohn's *Scottish Symphony* has made clear, the 'Nordic tone' is, however, difficult to define and relies heavily on extra-musical features. Siegfried Oechsle even describes the essence of the 'Nordic tone' as 'little substance, much reception'.¹⁰

The specific popularity of 'Nordic' topics is due to two main reasons: Herder and his contemporaries had made no distinction between the English, Scottish and Scandinavian cultures, referring to them by the more general term 'Nordic' or even 'Ossianic'. Most importantly in nationalist terms, they believed them to share a common Nordic and thus Germanic heritage. In their eyes, all these cultures were therefore essentially German and depicted a mythical German past.¹¹ In the early 19th Century, this idea of a common German past nourished the desire to strengthen the German people in their national awareness – an idea, which seemed extremely promising given the political situation of *kleinstaaterei* and the French occupation.¹² Moreover, the ballad, as introduced by Herder, was perceived as a means of reminding people of their cultural heritage, due to its roots in folk poetry.¹³ Thus, the Nordic ballad unites the idea of a shared Germanic heritage with the idea of folk poetry as a means of raising national and cultural awareness.

This dissertation will discuss Loewe's Scottish, English and Scandinavian ballads, with special attention to the development of the ballad from a cosmopolitan to a more patriotic genre. It will examine the implications of the term 'Nordic' in general and 'Nordic tone' in particular during the first half of the 19th Century, taking into consideration the romance of travelling and the

⁹ Adolf Nowak, 'Vom "Trieb nach Vaterländischem": Die Idee des Nationalen in der Musikästhetik des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts', in Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler (eds.), *Deutsche Meister – böse Geister? Nationale Selbstfindung in der Musik* (Schliengen, 2001), pp. 151–65, pp. 155–6.

¹⁰ Original quote in Siegfried Oechsle, 'Der „nordische Ton“ als zentrales musikgeschichtliches Phänomen', *Die Tonkunst* iv/ 2 (2010), pp. 240–8, p. 240: 'wenig Substanz, viel Rezeption'.

¹¹ Christa Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century: Herder's Theory of Naturpoesie', *The Journal of Popular Culture* vi/ 4 (1973), pp. 836–48, p. 841.

¹² Nowak, 'Vom "Trieb nach Vaterländischem"', pp. 155–6.

¹³ William A. Wilson, 'Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism', *The Journal of Popular Culture* vi/ 4 (1973), pp. 819–35, pp. 826–7.

developments in literature as artistic catalysts. Keeping in mind the discussion around Mendelssohn's '*Scottish Symphony*', a first question arises: however programmatic the title may sound, can one really *analytically* detect a 'Nordic' tone in Loewe's ballads or is there really more 'reception' than 'substance' to the 'Nordic tone' in Loewe's ballads? Moreover, just as Herder and his contemporaries had made no distinction between the Gaelic, Celtic, and Germanic heritage,¹⁴ mid-19th Century German composers and critics did not distinguish between an 'Ossianic manner', an overall 'Nordic character' or even a 'Scottish style'. Given this terminological ambiguity, did Loewe differentiate between an English, Scottish and Scandinavian tone or did he adopt an all-inclusive 'Nordic' tone?

The connection between the 'Nordic' and the 'Patriotic' runs like a thread through Loewe-scholarship. Alongside Loewe's autobiography, published posthumously in 1870, three major publications¹⁵ have shaped the image of Loewe in the late 19th Century: August Wellmer's monograph *Karl Loewe. Ein deutscher Tonsetzer* (1886), Heinrich Bulthaupt's essay *Carl Loewe. Deutschlands Balladenkomponist* (1898), Maximilian Runze's collection of essays *Loewe redivivus*. These scholars perceived Loewe not only as a thoroughly German composer, but especially as a genuine 'Nordic' composer. Runze writes: 'But may one deny Loewe, who was rooted northbound on rocks, the compliment of being a giant?'¹⁶ Runze thus perceived Loewe as a Nordic composer to the core. Runze's 'indigestive Loewe-panegyric'¹⁷ is critically perceived in recent publications as it is marked by highly subjective descriptions serving political and cultural arguments: in early 19th Century, 'Nordic' meant more than just Scandinavia. It stood for a common Germanic heritage, shared by England, Scotland, Scandinavia and Germany, as will be discussed later. By emphasising Loewe's 'Nordic' roots, Runze thus actually emphasises Loewe's German origins. The discussion around the 'Nordic tone' is therefore always closely linked to political debates and the rising national awareness.

¹⁴ Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century', p. 843.

¹⁵ Another major publication on the subject is Philipp Spitta, 'Ballade', in *Musikgeschichtliche Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 405–61. Especially on pages 432–53, Spitta stresses Loewe's importance for the ballad as a genre. As the essay doesn't focus as much on Loewe's patriotism and him being a 'Nordic' composer, it shall not be discussed in more detail.

¹⁶ Original quote in Max Runze, 'Carl Loewe, eine ästhetische Beurtheilung', *Sammlung musikalischer Vorträge v* (1884), pp. 330–56, p. 344: 'Aber darf man dem nordwärts auf Felsen gewurzelten Loewe es vorenthalten, ihm zu sagen, er sein ein Gigant?'

¹⁷ Original quote in Matthias Walz, 'Kompositionsproblem Ballade – Formstrategien Loewes', in Konstanze Musketa and Götz Traxdorf (eds.), *Carl Loewe, 1796-1869: Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz anlässlich seines 200. Geburtstages vom 26. bis 28. September 1996 im Händel-Haus Halle* (Kassel, 1997), pp. 138–53, p. 138: 'schwer verdauliche Loewe-Panegyrik'

In the early 20th Century, the various attempts to establish Loewe as *the* national and thus 'Nordic' composer in German music history culminated in the claim that Loewe was Wagner's predecessor in both aesthetics and composition techniques, such as the *leitmotif*.¹⁸ This suggestion, as forced and inapplicable as it may appear, can be understood as the logical consequence of the reception of Loewe against the background of rising nationalism.¹⁹ Leopold Hirschberg wrote: 'But Carl Loewe's ballads were full of Wagnerian spirit. This is because these subjects belong mainly to the world of myths and sagas, which Wagner used as cornerstones for his own work'.²⁰ According to Hirschberg, only external influences, such as health, financial and personal situation had prevented Loewe from achieving equal glory and success:

Loewe had not been blessed with the same strong stamina as Wagner; he could not abandon the burdens of his profession as confidently as his great contemporary, because he had to take care of his family. But secretly, deep inside him, he will have hailed Wagner, who was separated from him by many hundred miles! He saw all the chivalric characters, all the ghosts and wonders of his ballads come to life in Wagner's works!²¹

Hirschberg's reasoning is even more problematic if one considers that Wagner, just like Loewe, was also bound by personal and professional duties and was therefore not independent and unburdened either. It was not until 1864, when King Ludwig II offered his patronage, that Wagner's financial and professional situation became easier.²²

In 1996, the 200th anniversary of the composer's birthday inspired a short-lived 'Loewe Renaissance'. A themed conference in Halle resulted in a series of significant publications: essays collected in the *Schriften des Händel-Hauses Halle*²³ and the *Greifswalder Beiträge zur*

¹⁸ Craig Timberlake, 'Loewe's life and legacy', *Journal of Singing: The official journal of the National Association of Teachers of Singing* liii/ 4 (1997), pp. 35–8, pp. 35–6.

¹⁹ Clemens Risi, 'Wagner als 'Erbe' Loewes? ...zum ewigen Ruhme Loewe's, nicht zum Schaden Wagner's': Die 'dialogische' Ballade als Vorbild für den musikdramatischen Dialog', in Egon Voss; Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Kristina Pfarr (eds.), *Richard Wagner und seine 'Lehrmeister': Bericht der Tagung am Musikwissenschaftlichen Institut der Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 6./7. Juni 1997* (Mainz, 1999), pp. 249–62; Wolfgang Suppan, 'Die romantische Ballade als Abbild des Wagnerschen Musikdramas', in Wolfgang Suppan (ed.), *Werk und Wirkung: Musikwissenschaft als Menschen- und Kulturgüterforschung* (Tutzing, 2000), pp. 659–63.

²⁰ Original quote in Leopold Hirschberg, *Reitmotive: Ein Kapitel vorwagnerischer Charakterisierungskunst. Nebst Bemerkungen über das künstlerische Verhältnis Richard Wagners zu Carl Loewe und Notation sämtlicher Reitmotive* (Langensalza, 1911), p. 2: 'Aber Wagnerscher Geist [...] weht in den Balladenschöpfungen Carl Loewes. Denn diese Stoffe gehören zum großen Teil der Welt des Mythos und der Sage an, die Wagner als den Grundpfeiler seines eigenen Werkes hinstellt.'

²¹ Original quote in *Ibid.*, p. 5: 'Ihm [Loewe] hatte die Natur nicht die zähe Widerstandskraft Wagners verliehen; er konnte nicht, da er für eine Familie zu sorgen hatte, die Bürden seines Amtes so souverän abwerfen, wie sein großer Zeitgenosse. Aber im Stillen, im Innern, da mag er dem durch hundert Meilen von ihm Getrennten zugejubelt haben! Traten doch alle die Reckengestalten, all die Geister und Wunder seiner Balladen ihm in den Schöpfungen des andern leibhaftig entgegen!'

²² Ronald Taylor, *Richard Wagner: His Life, Art and Thought* (London, 1979), pp. 161–200.

²³ Henry Joachim Kühn, *Johann Gottfried Carl Loewe (1796-1869): Ein Lesebuch und eine Materialsammlung zu seiner Biographie* (Halle an der Saale, 1996) and Konstanze Musketa; Götz Traxdorf, *Carl Loewe, 1796-1869: Bericht über*

*Musikwissenschaft*²⁴ revived the discussion about Loewe, took a critical approach to the composer's biography and its sources. It examined specific works and how they related to the works of other composers such as Schumann and Schubert. An important contribution has been made by Ekkehard Ochs²⁵ and Henry Joachim Kühn,²⁶ who have revisited Loewe's image as a patriot, arguing that his reputation is mostly a result of his stage-management of his autobiography. In the same way, Clemens Risi revisited in 1999 the established image of Loewe as Wagner's predecessor.²⁷

It is striking that research on Loewe's image as Wagner's predecessor and Loewe's patriotism, including its political and aesthetic aspects, has not taken into account Loewe's 'Nordic' works. The only scholar to date to have discussed the 'Nordic tone' in Loewe's works is Lutz Winkler. In his 2002 essay, he describes it as having four characteristics: the literary source usually rooted in Scandinavian mythology; a declamatory ductus; the major triad as a symbol for nature; and the frequent changes between major and minor. Winkler's essay thus lays the foundation for the discussion about a 'Nordic tone' in Loewe's work. Yet, because Winkler understands the 'Nordic' to be entirely Scandinavian,²⁸ he does not consider the English and Scottish ballads. As will be elaborated later in more detail, the term 'Nordic' in early 19th Century embodied a Scottish, English, Scandinavian or just Ossianic style. By not analysing the English and Scottish Ballads, Winkler bypasses the problem of differentiation between these terms. In analysing all of Loewe's English, Scottish and Nordic ballads, this dissertation will take a more exhaustive and representative look at his image of the North, his understanding of the 'Nordic tone' and the 'Nordic' and thus 'Germanic' cultures.

die wissenschaftliche Konferenz anlässlich seines 200. Geburtstages vom 26. bis 28. September 1996 im Händel-Haus Halle (Kassel, 1997).

²⁴ Ekkehard Ochs; Lutz Winkler, *Carl Loewe (1796-1869): Beiträge zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung* (Frankfurt am Main, New York, 1998).

²⁵ Ekkehard Ochs, "...ich möchte nichts Anders sein und werden als Preusse": Gedanken zum "Hohenzollernkomponisten" Carl Loewe', in Konstanze Musketa and Götz Traxdorf (eds.), *Carl Loewe, 1796-1869: Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz anlässlich seines 200. Geburtstages vom 26. bis 28. September 1996 im Händel-Haus Halle* (Kassel, 1997), pp. 291-306.

²⁶ Henry Joachim Kühn, *Der "politische Loewe": Die "Selbstbiographie" und der Lauf der Geschichte* (Löbejün, 2002).

²⁷ Risi, 'Wagner als 'Erbe' Loewes? ...zum ewigen Ruhme Loewes, nicht zum Schaden Wagner's'.

²⁸ Lutz Winkler, 'Nordischer Ton in den Balladen von Carl Loewe?', in Ekkehard Ochs (ed.), *Lied und Liedidee im Ostseeraum zwischen 1750 und 1900* (Frankfurt am Main, New York, 2002), pp. 73-90, p. 83: 'Insgesamt zählen die hier aufgeführten kompositorischen Gestaltungsmittel [Naturzauber in Form des Durdreiklangs, häufige Wechsel von Dur nach Moll, Klavier-Tremoli, jagende Triolen- und gebrochene Akkordketten, deklamatorischer Duktus] zu Loewes Personalstil, genauer gesagt zu seinem Balladenstil, der für Loewe selbst wiederum das 'Nordische' impliziert. So stehen die dargestellten Gestaltungsmittel in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der jeweiligen literarischen Vorlage erst recht in einem direkten Bezug zum Nordischen im Sinne Loewes – ob zum nordischen Ton, sei dahingestellt.'

2. LOEWE'S NATIONAL BALLADS

2.1. An 'Orbis Pictus' in Sounds

Like August Wellmer, Otto Gumprecht praised the variety of the topics featured in Loewe's ballads, comparing them to an 'orbis pictus in sounds':

Fairytales of the most different times and people have served as an inspiration to the composer's work. [...] What an infinite surging of colours and characters, bemusing the senses! We watch passing by cheerful Greek gods, biblical scenes, Christian saints and martyrs, poetic stories living deeply within the a people's memory of its heathen prehistoric time, all characteristic types of the Middle Ages, Brahmins, Turks, Moors, exotic fellows of all kind [...] Loewe's works represent a true 'orbis pictus' in sounds. His fantasy is at home in all these zones. It races with wind and weather over the Nordic moorlands and indulges in the blistering colourfulness of the South.²⁹

This comparison, drawn by Wellmer and Gumprecht, is a reference to the textbook *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (The Visible World In Pictures), an encyclopaedia for children written by the Czech educator Comenius and published in 1658 in Latin and German in Nuremberg.³⁰ Just as Comenius's textbook depicted the world in pictures, Wellmer and Gumprecht believed Loewe's ballads to depict the world in notes. In 1884, Maximilian Runze attempted a first classification of this 'orbis pictus',³¹ which strongly differs from the classification he later applied in the *Collected Ballads*. Runze names three different categories: 'Geisterballaden' (ghost ballads), 'Historische Balladen' (historical ballads), 'Nationale Balladen' (national ballads). Curiously, almost all the ballads, which are later to be classified as 'Nordic ballads' (*Der Mutter Geist, Elvershöh, Herr Oluf, Harald*) are here classified as 'ghost ballads'. It is worth noting that Runze uses the term 'Nordic' as a synonym for 'Scandinavian'. Thus, while the general term 'Nordic tone' can refer to English, Scottish and Scandinavian ballads, the term 'Nordic' as used by Runze only refers to

²⁹ Original quote in Otto Gumprecht, *Neue musikalische Charakterbilder* (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 116–7: 'Die Mären der verschiedensten Zeiten und Völker haben dem Componisten stoff zu seinen Schöpfungen geliefert [...] Welch endloses, sinnverwirrendes Gewoge der Farben und Gestalten! In Sang und Klang ziehen vorüber heitere Griechengötter, biblische Scenen, christliche Heilige und Märtyrer, die im tiefsten Gemüthe des Volkes fortlebenden poetischen Ueberlieferungen aus seiner heidnischen Vorzeit, alle charakteristischen Typen des Mittelalters, Brahmanen, Türken, Mohren, exotische Gesellen jeglichen Schlages. [...] Einen wahren Orbis pictus in Tönen stellen die Arbeiten Löwe's dar. Heimisch ist seine Phantasie in allen Zonen. Sie jagt um die Wette mit Wind und Wolken über die nordische Haide und schwelgt trunken in der glühenden Farbenpracht des Südens.'

³⁰ John Sadler, *Comenius* (London, 1969), p. 13.

³¹ Runze, 'Carl Loewe, eine ästhetische Beurtheilung'.

the Scandinavian ballads. In order to respect Runze's nomenclature, the term 'Nordic' will be used to describe the Scandinavian ballads.

It is striking that the Nordic ballads set by Loewe deal mainly with the encounter with the supernatural, while the English and Scottish ballads mainly tell stories about realistic and historical events – a difference which has a significant impact on the music, as will be discussed. Runze was not satisfied with the edition made by the publishing house *Schlesinger Verlagshandlung*:

Maybe they had better to have classified the ballads according to a different principle, – for example paying more attention to the range of the voice [...], or classifying them according to their contents.³²

A few years later Loewe realised this idea of an edition following a thematic rather than a chronological order by creating his own edition of Loewe's *Collected Ballads* in seventeen volumes³³ (*Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1899-1904). This edition significantly strengthened the comparison with the 'orbis pictus' by giving the impression of an almost encyclopaedic approach in Loewe's compositions: in order to provide a method for categorising the various ballads, the editor, Maximilian Runze, opted for a neat division according to national criteria by compiling different volumes, such as *Scottish, English and Nordic ballads* (volume 3), *French Spanish and Oriental ballads* (volume 6) or *Polish ballads* (volume 7). Yet, the original catalogue of works reveals, that Loewe's *Scottish, English and Nordic ballads* were originally not composed as one group but created throughout Loewe's career as parts of different collections.³⁴ The classification therefore seems to be the editor's choice and is not evidence of a systematic or encyclopaedic approach in the way of Comenius's 'orbis pictus'. Runze's strict classification in seventeen volumes³⁵ corresponds to Wellmer's understanding of Loewe's ballads as an 'orbis pictus in sounds' (for the original version see Appendix 1):

³² Original quote in Max Runze, *Loewe redivivus* (Berlin, 1888), p. 301: 'Vielleicht hätte die Schlesinger Verlagshandlung die einzelnen gesammelten Balladen und Gesänge vortheilhaft nach einem etwas anderen Prinzip ordnen können, – etwa die Höhe, oder Mittellage, oder Tiefe, der Stimme noch mehr berücksichtigend [...], oder sie nach der Zusammengehörigkeit ihres Inhalts gruppierend.'

³³ Carl Loewes Werke. Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge, edited by Max Runze (Leipzig, 1899-1904).

³⁴ Bruno Scheithauer, *Verzeichniss sämtlicher gedruckten Werke Doktor Carl Loewe's: I. Nach Opuszahlen geordnet mit beigefügten Textanfängen, Namen der Dichter, Preisen, Einzelausgaben und Firmen der Verleger ; II. In alphabetischer Reihenfolge sämtlicher Ueberschriften, Gesamttitel und Textanfänge der Lieder, der Chöre und einzelnen Nummern der grösseren Gesangswerke* (Unveränderte Neuauflage der Ausgabe 1886; Berlin, 1981).

³⁵ For the Original German version see Appendix 1.

- 1 Songs from adolescence and nursery rhymes
- 2 Previously unpublished and forgotten Songs, Romances and Ballads
- 3 Scottish, English and Nordic Ballads
- 4 The German Emperor Ballads
- 5 Hohenzollern Ballads and Songs
- 6 French, Spanish and Oriental Ballads
- 7 The Polish Ballads
- 8 Ghost Ballads and Stories; Images of Death and Graveyards
- 9 Sagas, Fairytales, Fables from the world of animals and flowers
- 10 Romantic ballads from the courtly and bourgeois life; Images of Land and Sea
- 11 Goethe and Loewe – Ballads and Songs
- 12 Goethe settings
- 13 Legends: Part I
- 14 Legends: Part II
- 15 Lyrical Fantasies, Allegories, Hymns and Songs; Hebrew Songs
- 16 Loewe's Songs
- 17 Song cycles

Runze's strict classification and Wellmer's and Gumprecht's comparison with the 'orbis pictus' are both based on the idea that the various people and nations differ strongly from each other and that their characteristics can be depicted musically. This understanding was rooted in the rising exoticism in 19th Century Europe – a highly diverse phenomenon, which presents scholars with countless challenges of terminology and sub-category. Therefore, only the briefest summary can be given here.³⁶ Exoticism sought to create the aesthetic illusion of a foreign country, creating an idealised, romantic and stereotyped image of the culture it is trying to depict.³⁷ While exoticism reached its culmination in the 19th Century, first examples can already be found in 18th Century opera: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's operas *Le Nozze di Figaro* (K492, 1786), *Don Giovanni* (K527, 1787) and *Così fan Tutte* (K588, 1790) are set in Spain and evoke a Spanish atmosphere, by using a certain *couleur locale*,³⁸ recalling national characteristics. A specific example is the use of the Fandango, a Spanish dance, in the finale of

³⁶ For a deeper study of exoticism, see especially Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge, 2009) and Jonathan Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston, 1998).

³⁷ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music: English translation by J. Bradford Robinson* (Berkeley, 1989), p. 305.

³⁸ For a deeper study of the *couleur locale* in 19th Century opera see Heinz Becker, *Die couleur locale in der Oper des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg, 1976).

the third act in *Le Nozze di Figaro*. Besides Spain, Turkey had become a popular subject. It was mainly expressed through the *alla turca*, which had already become an established cliché in Western Europe: passages in unisono, repetition of notes, rhythmical ostinati, third- and fifth- parallels and a dominant percussion part.³⁹ This can be well observed in Mozart's *Rondo alla Turca* and his opera *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (K384, 1782). The opera is mainly set in Turkey and the orchestra illustrates this by featuring instruments typical of Janissary music, such as drums, cymbals, triangles, tambourines and Turkish crescents.⁴⁰ Other important works dealing with oriental topics are Carl Maria von Weber's *Turandot* (J75, 1809) and *Abu Hassan* (J106, 1811), and Peter Cornelius' *Der Barbier von Bagdad* (1858).⁴¹ Louis Spohr's opera *Jessonda* (1822) features India. The concept of the *bajadere*, a legendary Indian temple dancer, was widely popular and is found for example in Schumann's *Das Paradies und die Peri* (op. 50, 1843). Oriental topics were also very popular in France, following a tradition reaching back as far as the Ancien Régime. It found its expression especially in opera and ballet. A prominent example is André Grétry's *La Caravane du Caire* (1783).⁴² There are, however, also operas dealing with Nordic or Eastern topics, as for example Luigi Cherubini's opera *Lodoiska* (1791), which is set in Poland.⁴³

When Runze started to edit the *Collected Ballads* according to their national principles, he therefore responded to the audience's idea of national characteristics which could be depicted through music. A review in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* of the third volume, containing the *English, Scottish and Nordic ballads*, praises the volume not only for assembling some of Loewe's finest ballads, but also for providing interesting information about the ballad's backgrounds, notably *Archibald Douglas*:

Runze's excellent edition of Loewe's works continues with this volume. Amongst the Scottish and English ballads, it contains Loewe's highly important Opus 1, the nightmarishly wonderful *Edward*. Moreover, we find two of the composer's most frequently performed ballads, *Archibald Douglas* and *Tom der Reimer*. Most of the Nordic ballads are less well-known, apart from *Herr Oluf* and *Harald*. And still, the others contain so much true and noble ballad music, that one can only regret how little they are known. One hopes, this excellent and affordable edition will change this. Again, the introduction written by Runze is praiseworthy. With tireless effort and visible love for his subject, Runze has accumulated everything, which is relevant for the correct way of

³⁹ Michael Stegemann; Thomas Betzwieser, 'Article: Exotismus', in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil iii (2nd edn; Kassel, 1995), pp. 226–43, p. 234.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁴³ While Luigi Cherubini was of Italian origin, he lived most of his life in France and even adopted the French version of his name.

reading the notes, the text and the history of the ballads. Especially his remarks about *Archibald Douglas* are worth reading.⁴⁴

However favourable contemporary reviews may have been, Runze's classification has been highly criticised by scholars. Engel describes it as 'inconsequent, arbitrary and dilettante'⁴⁵, and claims that the editor had approached his task 'with too little knowledge and skill, without any critical view, without plan and at times crankily.'⁴⁶ Volume 16 *Das Loewesche Lied* contains for instance a section called 'Rachegesänge'. Yet, this section consists of but a single song (*Cerivaglia's Revenge* 'Dank, grausender Dank sei dir gebracht' from the opera *Rudolf, der deutsche Herr* by Loewe and Vocke, without opus number, 1824) – only one of many examples to illustrate the occasional absurdity of Runze's classification. What makes Runze's edition so problematic is not only the very subjective approach of classifying works by determining its main topic, but his tendency to break up song cycles and ballad groups in order to allocate them to different thematic areas. In Volume 8, for instance, three ballads based on poems by Lord Byron can be found (*Belsazar's Gesicht, Hebräische Ballade*, op. 13 no. 2; *Saul und Samuel, Hebräische Ballade*, op. 14 no. 1 *Eliphass Gesicht, Hebräische Ballade nach Hiob*, op. 14 no. 2), that turn out to belong to the song-cycle based on poems by Lord Byron. This song-cycle appears in Volume 15 in an incomplete form, missing these three songs.

Given the evidence that Runze was not concerned with the original context of the ballads, one has to be very careful in examining them, as their original publication may have been quite different from what Runze's edition suggests. The detailed classification as attempted in Maximilian Runze's edition of Loewe's ballads, legends and songs, which can be found in Appendix 2, illustrates this by showing in bold letters the names of the works that originally appeared in the same compilation in which Runze edited them. Examining the original

⁴⁴ Original quote in Ernst Günther, 'Kritischer Anzeiger – Karl Löwes Werke. Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden u.s.w. herausgegeben von Dr. Max Runze: Band III. Schottische, englische und nordische Balladen', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* xcvi/ 2 (1901), p. 402, p. 402: 'Die ganz vortreffliche Löwe-Ausgabe Runze's wird mit diesem Bande fortgesetzt. An schottischen und englischen Balladen enthält sie das hochbedeutende Opus 1 Löwe's, den schauerlich-großartigen *Edward*, ferner zwei der meistgesungenen und bekanntesten Balladen des Componisten, *Archibald Douglas* und *Tom der Reimer*. Von den nordischen Balladen sind die meisten wenig gekannt, man kann höchstens *Herrn Oluf* und *Harald* ausnehmen. Und doch enthalten die anderen soviel echte und edle Balladenmusik (z.B. *König Sifrid*), daß man ihre geringe Verbreitung nur beklagen kann. Hoffentlich wird's anders, da uns nun diese vorzügliche und billige Ausgabe vorliegt. Die Einleitung, die Runze geliefert hat, ist wieder höchster Anerkennung werth. Mit unermüdlichem Fleiße und sichtlicher Verliebtheit in seinen Gegenstand hat Runze alles zusammengetragen, was für die richtige Notenlesart, den Text und die Geschichte der Balladen von Interesse ist. Namentlich sind die Bemerkungen über *Archibald Douglas* höchst lesenswerth.'

⁴⁵ Original quote in Hans Engel, 'Carl Loewe: Überblick und Würdigung seines Schaffens', *Musik in Pommern* iii (1934), pp. 85–141, pp. 107–8: 'inconsequent, willkürlich und dilettantisch'.

⁴⁶ Original quote in *Ibid.*, p. 86: 'mit zuwenig Wissen und Können und ohne jeden kritischen Blick an seinen Stoff heranging, zudem ohne Plan und zuweilen schrullig.'

classification of the ballads, it is striking that the ballads classified as Scottish, English and Nordic, as well as – apart from a few exceptions – the German, French and Spanish ones seem not to have been planned as a group. In contrast, the ballads referring to the Oriental, Hebrew, Polish and Serbian cultures are genuine song cycles. Moreover, a closer look at the poetic drafts reveals that the Scottish, English and Nordic ballads (apart from Fontane's *Archibald Douglas*) are mostly directly or freely translated from English, Scottish or Nordic poems. However, the French and Spanish ballads are mainly based on German poems dealing with French or Spanish subjects and can therefore not be considered as examples of national idiom in the same way the English, Scottish and Nordic are. The English, Scottish and Nordic ballads find themselves thus in the peculiar position of being based on original documents, yet randomly scattered over Loewe's work. The ballads classified as 'English, Scottish and Nordic' ballads appear in Volume 3 which was published in 1901. Nevertheless, there are a number of ballads inspired by English, Scottish and Nordic topics, that are classified differently: *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green* (no opus number, Volume 2), *Der Nöck* (op. 129 no. 2, Volume 9), Loewe's only Ossian setting *Alpin's Klage um Morar* (op. 94/95, Volume 12), *Der Lappländer* (op. 63 no. 2, Volume 15), and *Gutmann und Gutweib* (op. 9 no. 5, Volume 11). There is also the Finnish ballad *Jungfräulein Annika* (op. 78 no. 1, Volume 9), which I will leave unconsidered, as it is composed in an almost entirely strophic way (A, A, A') and follows thus a different aesthetic principle.

In addition to these ballads, there are a few songs dealing with Nordic topics: *Gesang der Königin Maria Stuart auf den Tod Franz' II* (after Le Roux de Lincy, no opus number, Volume 2), *Wenn du wärst mein eigen* (Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten, after the anonymous Scottish ballad *An thou were my ain thing*, op. 9 no. 1, Volume 15), *Findlay* (Ferdinand von Freiligrath after Robert Burns, no opus number, Volume 2), *Nordisches Seelied* (Johannes Daniel Falk, no opus number, Volume 1). As my emphasis lies on the genre of the ballad, with its own historical and aesthetical problems, greatly differing from those of the songs, I will not study these songs in more detail.⁴⁷ For that same reason, I will not consider the song *Lied der Königin Elisabeth* (Herder nach William Shenstone, op. 119, Volume 3).

Besides vocal music, Loewe also wrote one instrumental piece inspired by Scottish scenery: the *Schottische Bilder* op. 112 (Scottish Images) for clarinet and piano. He dedicated the composition to his son-in-law Arthur von Bothwell, who had distant connections to the old Scottish royal family of Bothwell. These connections also inspired the dedication of *Gesang der Königin Maria*

⁴⁷ Ballads and songs were perceived as different genres by contemporary listeners. This is why Runze dedicated a special volume of the *Collected Ballads* to Loewe's songs (Volume 16).

Stuart to his daughter Julie, Arthur von Bothwell's wife. The three pieces' titles give a fascinating insight into Loewe's idea of Scotland, as they combine different aspects that marked 19th Century Germans' image of Scotland, including Sir Walter Scott's iconic poem *The Lady of the Lake* (Nr. 1 *Die Jungfrau vom See*), Arthur von Bothwell's connection to the Bothwell family, (Nr. 2 *Der Wanderer auf Bothwell-Castle*) and the enthusiastic idea of a primitive yet noble Highland warrior, as introduced by James Macpherson's *Ossian* (Nr. 3 *Der Schottenclan*). These compositions will however not be studied in this context, as they present scholars with musical and aesthetical problems differing from those of the ballads. It is worth noting however, that Loewe's interest in Nordic topics was not restricted to the genre of the ballad, but influenced his songs and instrumental works as well.

The following table gives an overview of the ballads which will be examined in this dissertation in order to study the 'Nordic tone'. It also gives an overview of the poetic origins of each ballad. Wherever a ballad appearing in Francis James Child's collection of *The English and Scottish popular ballads* is concerned, the ballad's number according to Child's classification will be given and the page-number according to the New York edition of 1965.⁴⁸ Johann Gottfried von Herder's collection *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* is cited after the Vienna edition of 1813.⁴⁹ The German translations appear in several sources. The table shows the editions Runze mentions in the foreword to the respective volumes in the *Collected Ballads*.

From Volume 3: Schottische und englische Balladen	Opus-number, year of composition / publication	German version of the lyrics	English, Scottish or Scandinavian poem the translation is based on
Edward	op. 1 no. 1, 1818 / 1824	Herder, <i>Stimmen der Völker in Liedern</i> , p. 309	<i>Edward</i> , <i>Edward</i> , Scottish ballad, in: Child, <i>English and Scottish Popular ballads</i> , vol. 1, p. 167 (no. 13)
Der Mutter Geist	op. 8 no. 2, 1824	Talvj, unpublished	freely based on the Danish ballad <i>Moderen under Molde</i> , in: Svend Gundtvig: <i>Danmarks gamle Folksviser</i> , Copenhagen 1856, p. 470 (no. 89)

⁴⁸ Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (New York, 1965).

⁴⁹ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (Vienna, 1813).

Das nussbraune Mädchen	op. 43 no. 3, 1835	Herder, <i>Stimmen der Völker in Liedern</i> , p. 294	<i>The not-browne mayd</i> , Scottish ballad, in: Percy, <i>Reliques of Ancient English Poetry</i> , Edinburgh 1858, p. 21 (no. 6)
Archibald Douglas	op. 128, 1857 / 1858	Fontane, in: <i>Argo. Album für Kunst und Dichtung</i> , Breslau 1857, p. 14f	
Thomas der Reimer (Fontane)	op. 135, 1860 / 1867	Fontane, <i>Jenseits des Tweed</i> , Berlin 1860, p. 332	<i>Tom the Rhymer</i> , Scottish ballad, in: Child, <i>English and Scottish Popular ballads</i> , vol. 1, p. 317 (no. 37)
From Volume 3: Nordische Balladen			
Herr Oluf (Herder)	op. 2 no. 2 1821 / 1824	Herder, <i>Stimmen der Völker in Liedern</i> , p. 468	<i>Elveskud</i> , Danish ballad, in: Svend Gundtvig: <i>Danmarks gamle Folksviser</i> , Copenhagen 1856, p. 109 (no. 47)
Elvershøj (Herder)	op. 3 no. 2 1820	Herder, <i>Stimmen der Völker in Liedern</i> , p. 461	<i>Elvehøj</i> , Danish ballad, in: Svend Gundtvig: <i>Danmarks gamle Folksviser</i> , Copenhagen 1856, p. 105 (no. 46)
Die drei Lieder (Uhland)	op. 3 no. 3 1825	Uhland, <i>Gedichte</i> , Stuttgart 1898, vol. 1, p. 165	
Harald (Uhland)	op. 45 no. 1 1835	Uhland, <i>Gedichte</i> , Stuttgart 1898, vol. 1, p. 234	
Odins Meeres-Ritt (Al. Schreiber)	op. 118 1851 / 1854	Aloys Schreiber, in: <i>Gedichte</i> , Tübingen 1817, p. 14. (more a renarration, than a translation)	A Norwegian tale transmitted in the saga <i>Inga Bárðasonar</i> , in: Snorra Sturlusyni, Gerhard Schøning, (eds.): <i>Saga Sverris, Hákonar Sverrissonar, Guttorms Sigurdarsonar ok Inga Bárðarsonar, Noregs Konungar</i> (1780), edition by Skuli Theodor Thorlacius and Børge Thorlacius, 1829, pp. 341-381.

Der kleine Schiffer (L. v. Plönnies)	op. 127 1857	Luise von Plönnies, in: <i>Neue Gedichte</i> , Darmstadt 1851, p. 23 (very free translation)	<i>Den lille badsmannen</i> , Swedish ballad, printed in: Geijer & Afzelius (eds.): <i>Svenska Folkvisor</i> , Stockholm 1880, vol. 3, p. 60 (no. 31)
Agnete (L. v. Plönnies)	op. 134 approx. 1850s	Luise von Plönnies, in: <i>Neue Gedichte</i> , Darmstadt 1851, p. 35 (very free translation)	<i>Agnete og Havmanden</i> , Danish ballad, in: Svend Gundtvig: <i>Danmarks gamle Folkviser</i> , Copenhagen 1856, p. 48 (no. 38)
Ballads that are published in other volumes of the <i>Collected Ballads</i>			
Der Nöck (vol. 9, no. 3)	op. 129 no. 2, 1859 / 1860-61	August Kopisch, in: <i>Gedichte</i> , Berlin, 1836, p. 199	Swedish ballad, printed in: Geijer & Afzelius (edd.): <i>Svenska Folkvisor</i> , Stockholm 1880, vol. 2, p. 301
Alpin's Klage um Morar (vol. 12, no. 5)	op. 95 (94), 1844	Goethe, in: <i>Die Leiden des jungen Werthers</i> , Leipzig 1774, pp. 197-201	James Macpherson, <i>Songs of Selma</i> , in: <i>Poems of Ossian</i> , vol. 1, London 1773, pp. 203-216
Der Lappländer (vol. 15, no. 13)	op. 63 no. 2, 1837 / 1838	Rudolf Marggraf, in: <i>Gedichte von Rudolf und Hermann Marggraf</i> , Zerbst 1830, p. 34	
Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green (vol. 2)	No opus number 1834	Carl von Mecklenburg- Strelitz, unpublished	<i>The Beggar's Daughter of Bednall Green</i> , in: Percy: <i>Reliques of Ancient English Poetry</i> , Edinburgh 1858, vol. 2, p. 130 (no. 10)
Gutmann und Gutweib (vol. 11, no. 32)	op. 9, volume 8 no. 5, 1833	Goethe, <i>Gesammelte Werke</i> , Weimar 1887, vol. 4, p. 336	<i>Get up and bar the door</i> , Scottish ballad, in: Child, <i>English and Scottish Popular Ballads</i> , vol. 5, p. 96 (no. 275)

It must be noted that the ballad *Der Mutter Geist*, published among the English and Scottish ballads, is in fact based on a Danish ballad, as can be seen in the table above. Runze chose to

classify it as Scottish, because Loewe himself referred to it mistakenly as 'from the Old Scottish by Talvj'.⁵⁰ Its Danish origins can not be doubted, as Runze explains convincingly in the preface to volume 3.⁵¹ Therefore, it will be treated in this dissertation as a Nordic ballad.

While all other Nordic ballads can be linked to a specific Scandinavian saga mentioned in the volumes' prefaces, it is not clear why Runze chose to classify *Die drei Lieder* as Nordic. Foss names four factors that create a link to Nordic culture: firstly, Uhland chose the name Sifrid to evoke a Nordic feeling, without however meaning a specific king or mythological character.⁵² Secondly, the description of the king's hall and the scene of the singer's first appearance are very similar to the *Frithjof-saga*.⁵³ Thirdly, the topic of blood vengeance is typical of Nordic and Germanic stories and can be found in a similar way for example in the *Song of the Nibelungs*, when Siegfried avenges his father and Kriemhild avenges Siegfried.⁵⁴ Finally, Foss also argues that the guards do not intervene in the duel: they have the duty to protect their ruler in battle, but not during an honest duel. According to Foss, this represents a fundamental difference from the way Homeric heroes would have behaved.⁵⁵

2.2. From Herder to Loewe

Besides the idea of the 'orbis pictus', Wellmer's quote perfectly captures the transition which the ballad had been undergoing as a genre between Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism during the 19th Century. While Loewe's interest in various cultures suggests a Cosmopolitanism which made Wellmer call him the 'Herder of Music',⁵⁶ there are fundamental differences between Loewe's and Herder's approach. Loewe was not concerned with the poems' original shape. More important, his approach to the 'orbis pictus' strongly differed from Herder's. Herder, as will be demonstrated in more detail, understood ballads to be the 'voices of the world', and he believed Cosmopolitanism and 'world spirit'⁵⁷ to be highly significant. After Napoleon's invasion and the fall of the Holy Roman Empire, the German people felt humiliated by the French occupation,

⁵⁰ Loewe, Carl, *Schottische, englische und nordische Balladen*, edited by Max Runze (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1899), p. 10.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

⁵² R. Foss, 'Erklärung Uhlandischer Gedichte', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* xv/ 28 (1860), pp. 187–208, p. 205.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁵⁶ Wellmer, *Karl Loewe*, pp. 20–1.

⁵⁷ See Chapter 'World History' in Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right: Translated by H.B. Nisbet* (Cambridge, 1991).

and a strong desire to express nationhood arose.⁵⁸ Thus, more patriotic feelings developed, taking the place of the 18th Century Cosmopolitan ideas. This shift is expressed in Wellmer's quote on Loewe's ballads: while Wellmer praises the variety of topics, he stresses, that Loewe was first of all a 'true German personage', who was as a 'German artist' mainly rooted in 'German Romanticism' and consequently 'particularly interested in the German saga and history'.⁵⁹ This patriotism is also mirrored in Runze's edition, which dedicates two volumes to specific patriotic topics, such as *The German Emperor Ballads* (volume 4) and the *Hohenzollern Ballads* (volume 5).

The question, to what extent Loewe's patriotism and his political ideas were developed, and how they influenced his music, is one of the most controversial in the debate concerning Loewe's National ballads. According to Runze, Loewe's love for his country was mirrored in his compositions, just as the experience of the different wars – the Wars of Liberation, the Leipziger Völkerschlacht⁶⁰ – had shaped his patriotic awareness:

The battles on the streets in Halle, the battlefield of Leipzig, stayed carved into his soul for as long as he lived. No other composer has been able to describe battle and war in as captivating a way as Loewe, for example in his masterpiece *Die Heldenbraut* [...] Loewe himself had helped to build earth walls to defend the town. As a result, he developed an especially strong patriotic awareness. If people praise him these days as a 'composer of the Hohenzollern', it is because his merits in this area are due to his experiences during these years.⁶¹

Close reading of the autobiography and contemporary sources in recent publications, notably by Ekkehard Ochs⁶² and Henry Joachim Kühn,⁶³ have however led to a different perception of Loewe's patriotism. Ochs believes Loewe's image as a patriot is the result of his carefully crafted

⁵⁸ Nowak, 'Vom "Trieb nach Vaterländischem"', pp. 155-6.

⁵⁹ Original quote in Wellmer, *Karl Loewe*, pp. 20-1: '[...] so ist es dennoch ein echt deutscher Charakterkopf, den uns der Meister der Ballade zeigt. [...] [Loewe] wurzelt [...] als deutscher Künstler doch vor allem in der deutschen Romantik und wendet sich daher mit besonderer Liebe der deutschen Sage und Geschichte zu. Ja hier ist der ebenso vaterländisch als religiös gesinnte Meister so recht in seinem Element [...]'

⁶⁰ The *Leipziger Völkerschlacht* was a battle that was fought in Leipzig between the 16th and the 19th of October 1813. It was the battle of decision in the Wars of Liberation, where Napoleon was defeated.

⁶¹ Original quote in Runze, *Biographie Carl Loewes*, p. 18: 'Die Straßenkämpfe in Halle, das Leipziger Schlachtfeld haften zeitlebens in seiner Seele. Niemandem aber dürfte es als Komponisten gelungen sein, Schlacht und Schlachtgewühl so packend, so lebenswahr zu schildern, wie Loewe z. B. in seinem Meisterwerk *Die Heldenbraut* [...] Vor allem aber ward ihm, der selber zur Verteidigung der Stadt an Herstellung der Erdwälle mit gearbeitet hatte, sein patriotisches Bewußtsein mächtig gehoben. Wenn er mit Recht als der eigentliche *Hohenzollernkomponist* gepriesen ist, so liegt die Vorbedingung zu dem, was er auf diesem Gebiete Großes geleistet hat, in den Erfahrungen jener Jahre.'

⁶² Ochs, "...ich möchte nichts Anders sein und werden als Preusse".

⁶³ Kühn, *Der "politische Loewe"*.

autobiography,⁶⁴ which was posthumously published in 1870 by Carl Heinrich Bitter. To his ten-year-old self, Loewe attributes a ‘love for his fatherland [...] that was nurtured from early adolescence on and lived in the German boy’s soul.’⁶⁵ The boy reacted with great distress to the French occupation in Löbejün in the year 1806, after the battle at Jena. Reflecting on his close connections to the Berlin court he writes about the ‘feeling of bitterness and anger is enhanced when the sovereign stands before his people, unhappy, aggrieved and devastated.’⁶⁶ In the same way, Runze describes Loewe as a ‘true German master and noble singer of the Hohenzollern’,⁶⁷ referring to his apparently close connections to the House of Hohenzollern, a royal dynasty in Prussia. Runze assembled a number of ballads in Volume 5 of the *Collected Ballads* and called them *Hohenzollern-Balladen*, as they seemed to be driven by a distinct Prussian and patriotic motivation.⁶⁸ According to Ochs, the image of Loewe as a ‘Hohenzollern singer’ was also created by Loewe’s autobiography, raising expectations which Loewe’s admirers found fulfilled in the *Hohenzollern-Balladen*. Indeed, Loewe’s biographers emphasise Loewe’s patriotic instincts. Hirschberg wrote:

Nothing is lost in an artist’s life. What the 17year old boy experienced can still be heard in the works of the mature man. It can be said, without exaggeration, that no other composer surpasses the number of patriotic compositions written by Loewe. Maximilian Runze’s edition shows the richness of this particular group of ballads.⁶⁹

Likewise, Wellmer claims a direct link between Loewe’s experience of the war as a young man and his compositions:

Already as a young man, Loewe got to know the oppression of war [...]. It goes without saying, that experiences and events of such manner did nourish a burning, patriotic spirit within Loewe’s soul. Thus, he did not only always stay faithful to his king and his

⁶⁴ Carl Loewe, *Selbstbiographie* (Berlin, 1870).

⁶⁵ Original quote quoted in Ochs, “...ich möchte nichts Anders sein und werden als Preusse”, p. 293: ‘Liebe zum Vaterlande [...] die von Jugend auf in uns gepflegt in der Seele des deutschen Knaben lebte.’

⁶⁶ Original quote quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 293: ‘das Gefühl der Bitterkeit und des Zornes wird aber gesteigert, wenn der Landesherr unglücklich, gedrückt, niedergeschmettert vor seinem Volke steht.’

⁶⁷ Original quote in Runze, *Loewe redivivus*, p. XI: ‘dieses echt deutschen Meisters und edlen Hohenzollernsängers.’

⁶⁸ Ochs, “...ich möchte nichts Anders sein und werden als Preusse”, pp. 294-5.

⁶⁹ Original quote in Leopold Hirschberg, *Die Kriegsmusik der deutschen Klassiker und Romantiker: Aufsätze zur vaterländischen Musikgeschichte als Zeitbild* (Berlin, 1919), p. 92: ‘Nichts geht im Leben eines Künstlers verloren. Was der Siebzehnjährige erlebte, klingt in den Werken des gereiften Mannes mit gleicher Kraft nach. Und wir können ohne Übertreibung sagen, daß die Zahl der patriotischen Kompositionen Loewes von keinem anderen Klassiker auch nur annähernd erreicht wird. Die von Maximilian Runze veranstaltete Gesamtausgabe der Loeweschen Werke gibt ein anschauliches Bild von dem Reichtum gerade dieser Gruppe.’

fatherland; he also dedicated most of his compositions to the history and the sagas of his country.⁷⁰

Yet, there seems to be a contradiction between the established image of Loewe as a patriot and his actions. He claimed, for instance, to have been bitterly disappointed when he had been rejected to military service in 1813 due to his delicate physical constitution. In later years, however, he rejoiced in the fact that Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia released him from any military duties so that he could pursue his career as a musician. Moreover, Loewe left the students' fraternity he had joined in Halle because the members were too concerned with politics.⁷¹ Martin Ruhnke argues that only 19 of Loewe's 577 ballads deal with genuine Hohenzollern topics and that the classification stems from Runze and not the composer himself. Once *Prinz Eugen* (op. 92) and *Zumalacarregui* (no opus number), a Spanish romance, are deleted from the list, the overall body of genuine Hohenzollern songs amounts to a mere 17, too small a number for Ruhnke to be taken into consideration.

While Loewe was inspired by Herder's collections, as the choice of poems proves, his actual position between Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism is extraordinarily hard to define. As already mentioned in the introduction, English, Scottish and Nordic ballads held a special importance in the 19th Century: they were believed to share a common Germanic and, by the same token, German heritage. A close reading of the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads will not only examine Loewe's 'Nordic tone', but will also help to shed new light on Loewe's position in the dialectic tension between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, which was characteristic of the turn of the century.

⁷⁰ Original quote in Wellmer, *Karl Loewe*, pp. 8-9: 'Schon in zarter Jugend lernte Loewe die Drangsale des Krieges kennen. [...] Daß dergleichen Eindrücke und Erlebnisse in Loewes Seele von Jugend auf eine glühende patriotische Gesinnung nährten, liegt auf der Hand, wie er denn nicht bloß persönlich stets treu zum Könige und zum Vaterlande stand, sondern sich auch in seinen Kompositionen mit besonderer Liebe der Geschichte und Sage des Vaterlandes zuwandte.'

⁷¹ Ochs, "..."ich möchte nichts Anders sein und werden als Preusse", p. 296.

3. THE ROMANCE OF TRAVELLING

3.1. In Search of a Mystic Land

Since the late 18th Century, an increasing enthusiasm for the Northern countries had arisen in Continental Europe, especially for Scotland. Travelling North was regarded as an exciting alternative to the well-established Grand Tour to Italy, which had become an essential part of middle-class education and was propagated through the published diaries of famous travellers such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Stendhal. The new fondness for the North was rooted in the thrill of the unknown: few had ever been beyond the Tweed, those who returned were welcomed with the 'the aura of a modern Himalayan explorer'⁷². This lack of knowledge increased the fascination and left wide space for romantic projections, provided mainly by the writings of Ossian, Robert Burns and – since the 19th Century – Sir Walter Scott. Burns gained sudden popularity with his *Poems Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (Kilmarnock, 1786). Ever since, he was seen as the incarnation of the ideal of the *Heaven-taught ploughman*, the 'Original-Genie' (original genius).⁷³ Scott's greatest contributions to the rising interest in Scottish folklore are *The Lady of the Lake* (Edinburgh, 1810) – its setting, Loch Katrine, soon becoming a popular attraction for tourists – and his twenty-seven historic novels, which he had published under the title *The Waverley Novels* (Edinburgh, 1814-1831).⁷⁴ The novels, plays and poems gave birth to a romantic exaltation, affecting literature and eventually music: Hector Berlioz and Felix Mendelssohn wrote overtures based on works by Sir Walter Scott, while Gioachino Rossini, Gaetano Donizetti, Heinrich Marschner and François-Adrien Boieldieu wrote at least six 'Scottish' operas during Sir Walter's lifetime. Some, like *La Dame Blanche* (Boieldieu 1825; based mainly on *Guy Mannering*, the second of the *Waverley Novels*), even include Scottish folk tunes.⁷⁵ Franz Schubert set to music a selection of Ellen's songs from *The Lady of the Lake*, as for example the famous 'Ave Maria, Jungfrau mild!' (Ellens Gesang III, D839, 1825).⁷⁶

Driven by curiosity and a romantic longing a number of well known composers, writers and artists visited Scotland during the early 19th Century: Mendelssohn and Carl Klingemann

⁷² Roger Fiske, 'Brahms and Scotland', *The musical times* cix/ 1510 (1968), pp. 1106–1111, p. 1107.

⁷³ Andrea Marxen, 'Max Bruch und die musikalische Schottland-Romantik', in Peter Larsen (ed.), *Max Bruch in Sondershausen (1867-1870): Musikwissenschaftliches Symposium am 14./15. Juni 2001 in Sondershausen anlässlich des Ersten Max Bruch Festes* (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 123–34, pp. 125–6.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁷⁵ Fiske, 'Brahms and Scotland', p. 1107.

⁷⁶ Jon W. Finson, 'At the Interstice between "Popular" and "Classical": Schumann's Poems of Queen Mary Stuart and European Sentimentality at Midcentury', in Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (eds.), *Rethinking Schumann* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 69–87, p. 70.

(1829), Ludwig Achim von Arnim (1803), Washington Irving (1817), Ignaz Moscheles (1828) and William Turner (1831, 1834).⁷⁷ Johannes Brahms, who was himself strongly attracted to the mysteries of the North, never visited Scotland though, as he was afraid of sea travel.⁷⁸ Another interesting character travelling to Scotland in 1844 was the German musician Johann Rupprecht Dürner. According to Barbara Eichner, Dürner is a perfect example of the symbiotic relationship between Scottish and German musical life in 19th Century Edinburgh. In the Scottish capital 'foreign musicians found a competitive yet stimulating atmosphere and a warm welcome [...], but they also found ways to repay the hospitality and the companionable spirit they experienced.'⁷⁹ Dürner became a member of the Edinburgh Musical Association and even interim conductor, despite some initial reservations on the society's part about admitting an 'outsider'.⁸⁰ By and by, he became not only a vital part of the musical life in Edinburgh but also an ambassador between Scotland, the rest of Britain and Germany: he found inspiration in local and national traditions, arranged them and made them accessible to a wider circle of recipients. By doing so, he hoped to make Scottish music appreciated in Germany, just as the Scots had embraced German music.⁸¹

One iconic character, influencing both 19th Century literature and music, was Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, prominently featured in Scott's novel *The Abbot* (1820, tenth of the *Waverley Novels*): 'Her face, her form, have been so deeply impressed upon the imagination, that, even at the distance of nearly three centuries, it is unnecessary to remind the most ignorant and uninformed reader of the striking traits which characterize that remarkable countenance, which seems at once to combine our ideas of the majestic, the pleasing, and the brilliant, leaving us to doubt whether they express most happily the queen, her beauty, or the accomplished woman.'⁸² In Germany, the tragic story had already become famous in 1800 through Friedrich Schiller's play *Maria Stuart* (Premiere on June 14th 1800 in the Weimarer Hoftheater).⁸³ In 1852, Robert Schumann set to music a selection of poems by Maria Stuart (in a translation by Gisbert

⁷⁷ Larry R. Todd, 'Mendelssohn's Ossianic Manner with a new Source – On Lena's Gloomy Heath', in Jon W. Finson and R. Larry Todd (eds.), *Mendelssohn and Schumann: Essays on their music and its context* (Durham, North Carolina, 1984), pp. 137-60, p. 140.

⁷⁸ Fiske, 'Brahms and Scotland', p. 1111.

⁷⁹ Barbara Eichner, 'Singing the Songs of Scotland: The German Musician Johann Rupprecht Dürner and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Edinburgh', in Peter Horton and Bennett Zon (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies iii* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 171-91, p. 191.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁸² Walter Scott, *The Abbot* (Edinburgh, 2001), p. 187.

⁸³ Hans-Joachim Zimmermann, 'Die Gedichte der Königin Maria Stuart: Gisbert Vincke, Robert Schumann und eine sentimentale Tradition', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* cxxix/ 214 (1977), pp. 294-324, p. 297.

Vincke). The enigmatic queen is also – in a more indirect way – at the heart of Mendelssohn's Symphony No. 3, op. 56, also known as the *Schottische Symphonie* (Scottish Symphony): during his journey through Scotland, Mendelssohn wrote a famous letter (July 30th 1829) in which he first mentioned the idea of a Scottish Symphony.⁸⁴ After having visited the castle 'where Queen Mary lived and loved', Mendelssohn recalls having been overwhelmed by the presence of history in the ancient building: 'I believe I found the beginning of my 'Scottish' Symphony there today'.⁸⁵ Eversince, commentators have perceived the symphony as an important programmatic work and result of the deep impression the journey to Scotland made on Mendelssohn. Schmidt-Beste however believes this view to be based on a retrospective and, by the same token, biased perspective.⁸⁶ He argues that Mendelssohn himself never employed the title 'Scottish' for his Symphony and that the work was only referred to by critics as 'Scottish' several years after Mendelssohn's death. According to Schmidt-Beste, the Symphony should thus rather be seen as an example of the artistic relationship between musical and extra-musical content which is characteristic of Mendelssohn's mature style.⁸⁷ His trip to Mary Stuart's castle must therefore not be seen as initial inspiration but as a catalyst.⁸⁸ Mendelssohn was drawn to Scotland not so much by historical buildings, but mainly by virtue of the country having both mountains and the sea, two paradigmatic icons of the sublime since the 18th Century.⁸⁹ Another important facet was the mist: while the sea increases the sublime of the landscape, the mist enables its romanticisation.⁹⁰ It figured as a mystic veil that shields the romantic perception against the disruptions of modern life; a 'bastion of the romantic world against its disenchantment and expulsion'⁹¹. Mendelssohn wrote about the Scottish landscape: 'Everything looks so solemn and forceful here, and is half covered by scent, smoke or mist.'⁹²

⁸⁴ Peter Mercer-Taylor, 'Mendelssohn's "Scottish" Symphony and the Music of German Memory', *19th-Century Music* xix/ 1 (1995), pp. 68–82, p. 69.

⁸⁵ Original quote: Felix Mendelssohn in Sebastian Hensel, *Die Familie Mendelssohn 1729-1847: i* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 225: 'wo Königen Maria gelebt und geliebt hat [...] Ich glaube ich habe heut da den Anfang meiner Schottischen Symphonie gefunden.'

⁸⁶ Schmidt-Beste, 'Just how Scottish is the "Scottish" symphony?'

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann, 'Zur musikalischen Poetik zweier (Ideen-)Landschaften: Mendelssohn in der Schweiz und in Schottland', in Laurenz Lütteken (ed.), *Mendelssohns Welten: Zürcher Festspiel-Symposium 2009* (Kassel, New York, 2010), pp. 126–61, p. 138.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 138–9.

⁹¹ Original quote in Fritz Wefelmeyer, 'Bei den money-makern am Themsefluß: Theodor Fontanes Reise in die moderne Kultur im Jahre 1852', in Heinz Ludwig Arnold (ed.), *Theodor Fontane* (Munich, 1989), pp. 55–70, p. 64: 'eine Bastion der romantisch märchenhaften Welt gegen deren Entzauberung und Vertreibung'.

⁹² Original quote in: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe: 1816 bis Juni 1830. i* (Kassel, 2008), pp. 345–6: 'Es sieht alles so ernsthaft und kräftig hier aus, und liegt alles halb im Duft, oder Rauch, oder Nebel.'

The gap between expectation and reality was a crucial point. Mendelssohn's travel diary reveals his awareness of the discrepancy: his inspiration rested on the fusion of his perception of the Scottish scenery experienced during his journey and its idealisation through literature.⁹³ He describes his impressions of Scotland not in a naïve, but in a slightly ironic tone. Indeed, works like Moscheles' *Fantaisie sur des Airs des Bardes écossais* (Fantasy on the Airs of the Scottish Bards, op. 80, 1828) dedicated to Walter Scott) or by Niels Gade's Overture *Efterklange af Ossian* (Echoes of Ossian, op. 1, 1841) were only rarely inspired by a romantic imagination animated through real encounters with the actual landscapes, but rather by one inspired through literature.⁹⁴

Even if Scotland occasionally failed to meet the traveller's romantic expectations, it still came much closer to the images promised by novels and poems than England ever did. Johann Gottfried von Herder and his contemporaries had made no real distinction between England, Scotland and Scandinavia. They referred to all these cultures as 'Nordic', 'Germanic' or 'Ossianic'.⁹⁵ Even if this perception had become slightly more distinct in the 19th Century, England and Scotland were still seen as opposite poles of the same romantic promise. This is clearly illustrated in Theodor Fontane's three books *Ein Sommer in London* (A Summer In London, Dessau, 1854), *Aus England* (From England, Stuttgart, 1860) and *Jenseits des Tweed* (Beyond The Tweed, Berlin, 1860), where he describes his experiences of Great Britain in a romantic, yet ironic way.⁹⁶ Fontane travelled several times to England: on leave from his military service in 1844; in 1852 for five months; and for over three years from 1855-1859.⁹⁷ His image of England was formed by his extensive reading of English literature, ranging from Shakespeare to the Robin Hood ballads. He wandered through London, aiming to connect history and literature to the present time. London, however, did not offer many opportunities for such a connection, apart from a few historic places, like the Tower of London or Hampton Court Palace.⁹⁸ During his stay in 1852, Fontane watched a performance given by clowns in the streets. He had read about such performances in old Robin Hood ballads, but the real performance did not meet his expectations and made him wish back the London of the old books.⁹⁹ Fontane was

⁹³ Wald-Fuhrmann, 'Zur musikalischen Poetik zweier (Ideen-)Landschaften', p. 143.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁹⁵ Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century', p. 841.

⁹⁶ Cord Beintmann, *Theodor Fontane* (Munich, 1998), pp. 58-9.

⁹⁷ John S. Cornell, "'Dann weg mit's Milletär' und wieder ein civiler Civilist": Theodor Fontane and the Wars of German Unification', in Walter Pape (ed.), *1870/71-1989/1990: German unifications and the change of literary discourse* (Berlin, 1993), pp. 79-103, p. 84.

⁹⁸ Wefelmeyer, 'Bei den money-makern am Themsefluß', p. 64.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

deeply disappointed by London, as it had failed to fulfil the promise made in literature by not giving equally sublime impressions in real life.¹⁰⁰

In 1858, he travelled to Scotland, together with his friend Bernhard von Lepel. In just 14 days, they covered a distance of over 800 miles, by boat, train and by foot. Fontane searched for a Scotland already prefigured in his mind: a romantic, pre-modern country, in opposition to the hectic metropolis London, and above all, the country of Sir Walter Scott. He found no pleasure in the railway and the steamboats in Edinburgh; he travelled mainly to the places of the Scottish romantic period and, of course, to Abbotsford, the home of Scott, who in Fontane's eyes was the epitome of true Romanticism.¹⁰¹ He believed Scotland to be mostly left untouched by industrialisation. It therefore succeeded in fulfilling its romantic promise as it permitted a convincing connection between literature and history and the genuine landscape and cities. The reality matched the pictures the romantic stories had inspired.¹⁰²

3.2. Loewe as a Traveller

During the early days of Scottish tourism in the first decades of the 19th Century, Loewe was a pupil in Köthen, and later a student in Halle, where he became a student of Daniel Gottlieb Türk and an acquaintance of Friedrich Reichardt. His first impressions of foreign nations were formed by the presence of Cossacks, French soldiers and their allies in Köthen and Halle during the wars in 1806 and 1813. In Halle, Loewe learnt French and Italian.¹⁰³ The plan for an extensive educational journey to Italy during his youth had to be cancelled due to the outbreak of the War of Liberation in 1813.¹⁰⁴ In 1820 he became organist and church music scholar at St. Jacobi in Stettin, a position Carl Friedrich Zelter had placed him in and which he held until 1866, three years before his death. His duties towards the church and his family did not permit him long journeys. From 1835 on, he nevertheless embarked on several concert tours.¹⁰⁵ But these tours only rarely led him far from Stettin. Among the few journeys outside Germany, the most important ones were his trip to Vienna and Prague (1844), London (1847), Norway (1851)

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁰¹ Beintmann, *Theodor Fontane*, pp. 58–9.

¹⁰² Wefelmeyer, 'Bei den money-makern am Themsefluß', p. 64.

¹⁰³ Runze, *Loewe redivivus*, pp. 15–6.

¹⁰⁴ Wellmer, *Karl Loewe*, pp. 10–1.

¹⁰⁵ 1835: Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Mainz, Frankfurt a. M., Jena; 1837: Greifswald, Stralsund, Hamburg, Lübeck, Münster, Elberfeld, Düsseldorf, Mainz, Weimar; 1838: Königsberg, Marienburg, Danzig; 1839: Frankfurt a.O., Liegnitz, Breslau, Schweidnitz, Glatz, Reinerz; 1845: Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Hannover; 1846: Gross-Wickerstädt, Jena, Erfurt, Eisenach, Liebenstein, Coburg, Rudolstadt. See biography provided in Musketa; Traxdorf, *Carl Loewe, 1796-1869*, pp. 499–500.

and France (1857).¹⁰⁶ While the trips to Vienna and London were concert tours, the journeys to Norway and France resulted from a personal, touristic interest. In Vienna, Loewe was struck by the cosmopolitan mix of the population: 'The streets of Vienna are filled with a milling mass of different people. One can see large numbers of Greeks, Armenians, Italians, Hungarians and Bohemians.'¹⁰⁷ It is interesting, though, that his list only mentions people of the south east. Maybe, Loewe did not perceive people of the North as especially exotic, as they shared a Germanic cultural stock – an idea which was first developed by Herder and will be elaborated in chapter 4.3.2.

In 1847, Loewe travelled to London to give concerts. In letters to his wife, found in the appendix to his autobiography, he describes the wonderful sensation of suddenly 'finding oneself on English ground; transported to London as if by magic'.¹⁰⁸ He was especially impressed with historical places, such as Buckingham Palace, Marlborough House, and Westminster Abbey. In Westminster Abbey, he was impressed with the monuments to Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth the First¹⁰⁹ – two queens, also immortalised by Friedrich Schiller, and acknowledged by Loewe in two songs: *Gesang der Königin Maria Stuart* and *Elisabeths Trauer im Gefängniß*. He was in search of locations where England's past could be experienced, such as the throne room in Windsor Castle:

The Royal family had left for a race and the castle was empty. We entered without permission and without anyone stopping us and climbed up the stair to the great Dining Hall. On the walls, there were pictures of European Monarchs, among them also our ruler. We entered the Throne Room and I sat down on Old England's throne.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 499–500.

¹⁰⁷ Original quote in Runze, *Biographie Carl Loewes*, p. 52: 'Dazu kam das bunte Gewimmel verschiedenster Nationalitäten auf den Straßen Wiens, man sieht hier Griechen, Armenier, Italiener, Ungarn, Böhmen in großer Menge.'

¹⁰⁸ Original quote in Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 409: 'Es ist ein eigenthümliches Gefühl, sich auf englischem Boden, und wie mit einem märchenhaften Zauberschlage in London zu sehen.' (Letter to his wife, London, 10th of May 1847)

¹⁰⁹ View the letter from the 21st of May 1847 in *Ibid.*, pp. 427–8: 'Nachdem ich einige Geschäftsgänge nach dem Buckingham-Palace und Marlborough-Haus beendet hatte, schlenderte ich nach Westminster [...] Darauf besah ich noch für einen Six Pence das Hochchor mit dem Denkmal der Königinnen Maria Stuart und Elisabeth. Das Ganze ist so schön in Bau und Anordnung, dass ich einen schöneren Baustyl noch nicht gesehen zu haben glaube. Die Marmorfiguren liegen meist in Lebensgrösse mit gefalteten Händen auf den Sarkophagen und harren so stumm der Auferstehung.'

¹¹⁰ Original quote in *Ibid.*, pp. 435–6: 'Da die königlichen Herrschaften auf das Rennen gefahren waren, so war das Schloss leer, wir drangen ohne Erlaubnis und ohne angehalten zu werden die Schlosstreppe hinauf, und kamen in den famosen Speisesaal [...]. An den Wänden Europa's Monarchen, auch der unsrige. Wir drangen weiter in den Thronsaal ein, ich setzte mich auf den Thron Alt-Englands.' (Letter from the 31st of May 1847).

Like Fontane, Loewe was in search of a place, where a fusion between imagination and reality would be possible. He found this fusion in historical places where he could actually re-enact the mythical past, as he did in the throne room.

While the notes from his journey to England describe historical events, his journey to Norway in 1851 later seems to have provided him with the romantic impressions he was craving. This resembles the contrast between the impressions gained by Fontane during his travels to England and Scotland. Loewe travelled to Norway together with his friend, municipal councillor August Moritz. Impressions of that journey are to be found in Moritz' *Illustriertes Tagebuch der Reisen in Norwegen* (Illustrated Diary Of The Travels Through Norway; Stettin And Leipzig, 1860).¹¹¹ Loewe's observations of Norwegian nature and culture as depicted by Moritz are very similar to those made by early tourists in Scotland: it is the idea of the Sublime, of an unspoiled, romantic, mystical culture that sets the aesthetic benchmarks. This is what Loewe tells about a hike to the Fos Waterfall:

After we had reached the first waterfall, we continued to climb another thousand feet over rocks and stony paths, next to terribly deep chasms, further into the rocks and woods, until we saw steam arising, announcing the Fos. As we approached, nature itself made the most sublime impression: smaller and bigger falls cause the greatest shivers of emotion and admiration. [...] On a rock face, we saw the Mary-baulk, a dangerous rocky path. Legend tells that a maiden used to come to meet her lover by crossing this path. He would come from the opposite (invisible) side, and thus, they met and embraced under a single pine tree (on a very small plateau), safe from the eyes of the people.¹¹²

Again, it is the force of nature represented by water that inspires a sensation of the Sublime. By connecting the waterfall to a romantic legend, the actual spot becomes a romanticised and idealised object of poetic projection. It is no surprise that such legendary scenery inspired a ballad, *Odins Meeresritt*. Moritz writes:

We were fortunate travellers in the hospitable country of Norway. In the woods of Tellermarken, we had seen dancing Erl-King and fireflies, had listened to the birds' song, just as Henry the Fowler, we had been joint in spirit with Sir Oluf, without having been

¹¹¹ August Moritz, *Tagebuch der Reisen in Norwegen in den Jahren 1847 und 1851: Vollständige Anweisung zur Bereisung dieses Landes nebst Gesellschafts-Reiseplan, Reiserouten, 17 Illustrationen und einer correcten Reisekarte* (Stettin, Leipzig, 1853).

¹¹² Original quote in Runze, *Biographie Carl Loewes*, pp. 58-9: 'Von diesem Wasserfalle kletterten wir noch etwa eintausend Fuß über Felsen und Steinwege neben schauerlich tiefen Abgründen weiter in die Felsen- und Waldhöhe, bis uns der Qualm den Fos ankündigte. Näher tretend, bereitet die Natur selbst das Großartigste vor, indem kleinere und größere Fälle schon die Bewunderung und die großartigsten Schauer des Gefühls in Anspruch nehmen. [...] Auf der Felswand geht Maria-Steg, eine gefährliche Felsenpartie, von welcher die Legende sagt, daß ein verliebtes Mägdelein dem Geliebten entgegengegangen sein. Er ist von der anderen (unsichtbaren) Seite gekommen, und so haben sie sich bei einer einzelnen Tanne (auf einem ganz kleinen Plateau) getroffen und geherzt, sicher vor den Augen der Menschen.'

forced to the same dance. Of course, the creator of all these ingenious compositions performed them at these occasions – how could he have done otherwise! It was even at this very place, where he first spoke about adding *Odin's Ride Over The Sea* to these compositions as a souvenir of our journey. Later, as we stood on the very rock in the sea, where Odin had left with his twelve eagles – today this place is called Helgoland – this decision was confirmed.¹¹³

Loewe's biographer Gumprecht places emphasis on the fact that Loewe was both attached to his rather provincial and sedate lifestyle and yet in need of a stimulating cultural environment to be found elsewhere: 'However much he appreciated the limited, peaceful musical life of a provincial town, Loewe was not completely free of the desire to refresh his spirits occasionally by enjoying all sorts of artistic and cultural elements, which he was deprived of at home.'¹¹⁴

Stettin was clearly not the most stimulating place for an ambitious artist. According to Gumprecht, Loewe felt isolated and secluded from the artistic life and striving of his time. Gumprecht quotes a letter by Loewe where the composer, reflecting on the careers of contemporary composers such as Mendelssohn, summarises his own situation with some resignation: 'If only I could give up teaching and could see the world, it would all work out; an artist has to travel, if he wants to become famous. Paris would be the place, but one cannot have everything!'¹¹⁵ Gumprecht even believes this isolation to have influenced Loewe's music. Especially in the oratorios, he detects 'something petty bourgeois and provincially hemmed' and even a 'certain pedagogical aftertaste'.¹¹⁶ However problematic Gumprecht's aesthetic judgement may be, it is interesting to consider the extent to which Loewe's personal and professional circumstances actually influenced his ballads: how does his approach to the different nations differ, considering that Loewe visited England and Norway, but never Scotland? Is there a difference between the romantic imagination inspired by literature and the one inspired by the

¹¹³ Original quote in *Ibid.*, p. 61: 'Wir waren ja glückliche Reisende im gastlichen Norwegen, wir hatten in Tellemarkens Wäldern sowohl den Erbkönig, als das Glühwürmchen tanzen sehen, hatten dem Vogelgesange gelauscht, gleich Heinrich dem Vogler, und waren im Geiste mit Herrn Oluf gewesen, ohne zu gleichem Tanze gezwungen zu sein, wie konnte es denn anders sein, als daß der Meister aller dieser genialen Tondichtungen sie nicht hier, wo die Gelegenheit sich bot, zum besten gegeben hätte. Ja noch mehr, hier wurde zuerst davon gesprochen, Odins Meeresfahrt jenen Tondichtungen zur Erinnerung an diese Reise anzureihen, und als wir später auf dem Felsen im Meere, wo er mit seinen 12 Adlern abfuhr, standen, den man heute Helgoland nennt, da ward dieser Entschluss gekräftigt.'

¹¹⁴ Original quote in Gumprecht, *Neue musikalische Charakterbilder*, p. 146: 'Wie sehr seinen Neigungen auch das enge, friedselige Musikleben einer Provinzialstadt zusagte, ganz konnte er sich doch nicht dem Bedürfnis entziehen, gelegentlich sein Wesen durch die Berührung mit allerlei künstlerischen Elementen zu erfrischen, die ihm daheim abgingen.'

¹¹⁵ Original quote in *Ibid.*, p. 114: 'Ich möchte nur das Schulmeistern aufgeben können und die Welt sehen, da würde sich's bald machen; ein Künstler muß vagabondieren, wenn er berühmt werden will. Paris, das wäre der Ort, Alles kann man aber nicht!'

¹¹⁶ Original quote in *Ibid.*, p. 114: 'etwas Kleinbürgerliches, provinziell Eingeengtes [...] gewissen pädagogischen Beigeschmack'.

concrete perception of nature? And how important was the influence of the sublime as a natural and therefore non national phenomenon in contrast with national folklore and poetry?

Loewe's own notes give no evidence of his being aware of a gap between expectation and reality in the way that Mendelssohn's and Fontane's journals do. However, the question whether the ballads 'match' their respective topics has been widely discussed. His contemporary audience expected to be 'transported' into the national atmosphere that they fondly anticipated in any particular ballad. Adolph Bernhard Marx wrote about Loewe's Hebrew Ballads, set to poems by Lord Byron: 'Even If one can't praise all of the Hebrew songs of fulfilling their aim – which is to portray the character of these strange people – they are still all of generally appealing musical contents.'¹¹⁷ Moreover, there seems to have been a strong desire to experience with one's own senses what before had been mere imagination: Loewe 'sat on the throne of Old England', he stood 'on the very rock in the sea' where Odin had crossed the sea with his twelve eagles. Runze carried this idea even further by travelling to the locations featured in the ballads:

For years, such a perception has made me study the whereabouts of this master, as well as the locations featured in some of his ballads, in order to examine, to what extent Loewe has chosen the right tone to characterise the respective situation at the respective place – if this is something I can judge. I believe that detailed studies in this area would lead to astonishing results, proving the ingenious power and art of Loewe's objectivity. Thus, I intoned the ballad *Zu Aachen in seiner Kaiserpracht, im altherthümlichen Saale* [*In Aachen In Its Imperial Glory, In The Ancient Hall*] in the coronation hall of Aachen's town hall and was proved right by the striking effect. [...] Augsburg with the Emperor Maximilian ballads, the Harz and Quedlinburg with Emperor Heinrich and Otto [...] Scandinavia with the ballads *Oluf, Harald, the Nöck, Odin* and the *Lappländer*, Denmark with *Elvershöh*, [...] – they all have given me evidence of Loewe's unusual gift. The faithful and exact way in which he musically described the overall atmosphere is even more striking in those ballads which are set in Eastern Europe, because Loewe has never been there. The ballads set in the Harz make audible how he embraces in his composition the sounds of local area and nature.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Original quote in Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Über Tondichter und Tonkunst – Aufsätze von Adolph Bernhard Marx: Erster Band: Tondichter. 3. Abteilung (Spohr, Weber, Marschner, Loewe, Mendelssohn, Hoffmann)* (Hildburghausen, 1922), p. 70: 'Will man auch nicht allen hier vorliegenden [Hebräischen Gesängen, Op. 4] eine so vollkommene Erreichung ihres Zweckes, den Gemüthszustand dieses merkwürdigen Volkes zu malen, zugestehen, so bieten sie doch sämmtlich einen allgemein ansprechenden, musikalischen Inhalt.'

¹¹⁸ Original quote in Runze, *Loewe redivivus*, pp. 10-2: 'Solche Wahrnehmung hat mich seit Jahren gereizt, die Stätten des Aufenthaltes dieses Meisters zu durchforschen, imgleichen auch die Orte, an denen die einzelnen seiner Balladen spielen, darauf hin zu prüfen, in wie weit der Ton, den Loewe als musikalisches Motiv zur Charakterisierung der betreffenden Situation, des betreffenden Ortes in einzelnen seiner Balladen angeschlagen, von ihm als der richtige – so weit man solches überhaupt zu beurtheilen vermag, – getroffen sei. Ich glaube, daß genaue Forschungen auf diesem Gebiet zu erstaunlichen Resultaten, welche die geradezu genial zu nennende Kraft und Kunst der Objektivität Loewe's beweisen, führen werden. Solchermaßen, um nur einiges zu erwähnen, intonirte ich z.B. zu Aachen im Krönungssaal des Rathauses Loewe's Balladen-Thema *Zu Aachen in seiner Kaiserpracht, im altherthümlichen Saale* und fand die überraschende Wirkung dieser Probe bestätigt. [...] Augsburg und das Lechfeld in Ansehung der Kaiser-Max-Balladen, der Harz und Quedlinburg mit Kaiser Heinrich und Otto, [...] Skandinavien mit Bezug auf die Balladen *Oluf, Harald, den Nöck, Odin* und den *Lappländer*, Dänemark

Just as Fontane searched for a connection between history, literature and the present reality whilst wandering through London and Scotland, Runze visits an astonishingly vast number of spots in search of such a fusion. While Loewe's ballads can not be seen as an 'orbis pictus in sounds', they nevertheless are testimony to the romance of travelling, a powerful catalyst in 19th Century music and literature.

mit Hinblick auf *Elvershöfchen*, [...] – sie alle haben mir den Beweis für diese eigenthümliche Begabung Loewe's geliefert. Wie treu auch hat der Meister das allgemeine Colorit jedesmal wiederzugeben vermocht, was umso bewundernswerther in Anbetracht der in Ost-Europa spielenden Balladen ist, da Loewe dort nie gewesen; aber z.B. aus den Harz-Balladen kann man deutlich heraushören, wie er sich an die dort lautbar gewordenen Natur-Klänge für seine Dichtung anschmiegt.'

4. THE 19th CENTURY NORDIC BALLAD – A GENRE AT A TURNING POINT

4.1. From a Strophic to a Through-Composed Approach

At the turn of the century, two different approaches to the art ballad co-existed for some time: the Second Berlin school and the Swabian school. The Second Berlin school was a circle of composers, among them Wilhelm Taubert; Ludwig Berger; Carl Friedrich Zelter and Johann Friedrich Reichardt, following the aesthetical principles 'Einfachheit', 'Sangbarkeit' and 'Popularität' (Simplicity, Singability and Popularity).¹¹⁹ They rejected the ballad's epic character, favouring a more lyrical approach: in their eyes, the ballad was a song and should thus be sung like a folksong.¹²⁰ 'Popularität' describes the composition's suitability to be performed by amateurs in the setting of domestic chamber music.¹²¹ The Swabian school in contrast, grouped around Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart and Christoph Rheineck, believed this approach to be unsatisfactory, as it was unable to provide for the changing content and dramatic development of the ballad. Instead, they created a colourful, descriptive style. Unlike the composers of the Berlin school, who aimed to capture the poem's general mood, Zumsteeg and his fellow composers tried to characterise its details.¹²² Zumsteeg's popularity as a composer of ballads began with his compositions after 1795, for instance *Der Zauberlehrling* (after Goethe, published in 1805, from the collection *Kleine Balladen und Lieder*, Volume VII, no. 20). Zumsteeg was one of the first composers to abandon the strophic approach and to create through-composed ballads, a form that would become virtually authoritative for all future ballads.¹²³

When talking about the Berlin school and the Swabian school, it is essential to bear one major difference in mind: in contrast with the Berlin school, the Swabian school can not be characterised by a common style. Therefore, the term 'school' must be applied with strong reservations, as the composers did not follow common musical and aesthetical principles in the

¹¹⁹ See for an extensive study of the Second Berlin School Robert Lienau Musikverlag, *Einblicke, Ausblicke: Gedanken, Erinnerungen, Deutungen zu musikalischen Phänomenen* (Berlin, 1985).

¹²⁰ Günter Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', in Konstanze Musketa and Götz Traxdorf (eds.), *Carl Loewe, 1796-1869: Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz anlässlich seines 200. Geburtstages vom 26. bis 28. September 1996 im Händel-Haus Halle* (Kassel, 1997), pp. 154-97, p. 164.

¹²¹ The term 'amateur' was used in a positive way in the early 19th century, describing a musician, who played music not as a profession but for his own pleasure.

¹²² Hsiao-Yun Kung, *Carl Loewes Goethe-Vertonungen: Eine Analyse ausgewählter Lieder im Vergleich mit der Berliner Liederschule und Franz Schubert* (Marburg, 2003), p. 26.

¹²³ Jörg Martin, 'Article: Zumsteeg, Johann Rudolph', in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil xvii (2nd edn; Kassel, 2007), pp. 1585-6.

same way as the Berlin composers did. The Swabian composers set to music mainly poems by North German poets like Bürger and Claudius, but also home poets like Schiller.¹²⁴ While Schubart and Rheineck drew inspiration from folksongs, Zumsteeg was influenced by Italian stage music: many of his through-composed ballads recall features of 18 Century solo cantatas, changing between recitative and arioso parts.¹²⁵ Haering and Maier claim that the composers of the Swabian school had only their Swabian origins in common and could therefore not be recognised as a proper school.¹²⁶ An analytical approach based on common aesthetic values, as attempted with the Berlin school, is therefore impossible when studying composers belonging to the Swabian school.

Two settings of 'Colma' (a song from *Ossian*), one by Reichardt (*Kolma*, published in 1793, from *Lieder der Liebe und der Einsamkeit*, vol. II), the other by Zumsteeg (*Colma, Ein Gesang Ossians*, Leipzig, 1798) demonstrate how differently the Berlin school and Zumsteeg approached the genre of the ballad.¹²⁷ Colma's poem is part of the *Songs of Selma*.¹²⁸ It tells the story of a young girl who is in love with her brother's enemy. She decides to elope with her lover. After waiting for him in vain on a remote hill, she eventually discovers the bodies of her brother and her lover, who have killed each other during a duel in the heather.

Zumsteeg set a much larger part of the text, including the narrator's announcement of the singer Minona, who is going to sing about Colma's fate: 'Listen to Colma's voice, as she is sitting on the hill, abandoned'¹²⁹ (bb. 169-172). Likewise, the ballad ends with the narrator's conclusion: 'Thus was your song, O Minona, Tormann's blushing daughter. We were shedding tears for Colma, and our souls were dreary'¹³⁰ (bb. 508-510). In Zumsteeg's setting, Colma's song is therefore embedded in a frame story. In Reichardt's setting, it stands on its own – a reduction, which is typical of the Berlin school: by using structures that corresponded to the folksong, reducing the action to short occurrences and leaving out detailed descriptions the Berlin school attempted to re-establish the ballad's 'Einfachheit', as a reminder of the genre's origins in folklore.¹³¹ Zumsteeg's setting uses alternating recitatives and arioso elements (see Appendix 3

¹²⁴ Kung, *Carl Loewes Goethe-Vertonungen*, p. 26.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹²⁶ Kurt Haering, *Fünf schwäbische Liederkomponisten des 18. Jahrhundert: Abeille, Dieter, Eidenbenz, Schwegler und Christmann*. Dissertation (Tübingen, 1925), pp. 1-4; Günter Maier, *Die Lieder Johann Rudolf Zumsteegs und ihr Verhältnis zu Schubert* (Göppingen, 1971), pp. 8-9.

¹²⁷ Other German settings of Colma are for instance written by Carl Friedrich Zelter, Ferdinand Hiller, Friedrich Wilhelm Rust, Peter von Winter.

¹²⁸ James Macpherson, *Poems of Ossian: Volume 1* (London, 1773), pp. 203-16.

¹²⁹ Original quote 'Höret Colmas Stimme da sie auf dem Hügel allein sass'.

¹³⁰ Original quote 'Das war dein Gesang, o Minona / Tormanns sanfte erröthende Tochter / Unsere Thränen flossen um Colma / und unsere Seele ward düster.'

¹³¹ Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', p. 164.

for the texts of both versions), a typical feature of his compositions.¹³² While one might expect, that the frame story would have been set as a recitative and Colma's song as an aria, Zumsteeg uses both forms, alternating throughout the whole aria. After a few general remarks, my comparison will only take into consideration the setting of the text composed by both composers (Reichardt: 'Rund um mich Nacht' (b. 1) / Zumsteeg: 'Es ist Nacht' (b. 174)).

In setting *Colma* to music, composers found themselves facing a number of challenges. As the text was written in prose, rather than in verses, it was unsuitable for a strophic setting. However, Reichardt's and Zumsteeg's settings are not based on the same translation. While Zumsteeg used Goethe's translation from *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (The Sorrows Of Young Werther, Leipzig, 1774) which imitates Macpherson's rhythmical prose,¹³³ Reichardt's setting, like Schubert's, was based on a translation adapted to verses by an unknown author.¹³⁴ Reichardt's choice of a translation in verses is closely connected to 'Sangbarkeit', one of the Berlin school's main principles.¹³⁵

The Berlin composers defined 'Sangbarkeit' as closeness between words and music¹³⁶ which was to be obtained through a partnership (Sozietät)¹³⁷ between the composer and the poet: as the text usually precedes the melody, the composer had to find the melody, which the poet may have imagined while writing the poem. Moreover, he had to faithfully translate the natural declamation and ductus of speech into music. The poets in return took care to make their poems 'sangbar' (singable), to create rhythms and forms which composers could transform into music.¹³⁸ August Bürger, the creator of the famous poem *Lenore*, explains this aesthetic in a letter from 1773:

I endeavour to write the poem in a way that it is suitable to be set to music. It will be my greatest reward, if it could be composed in a balladesque and simple way and eventually be sung again in a spinning chamber.¹³⁹

In the early 19th Century, this implied in most cases inevitably a strophic or a varied strophic approach.¹⁴⁰ According to Reichardt, this approach was 'the simple musical expression of a

¹³² Martin, *Article: Zumsteeg, Johann Rudolph*, p. 1586.

¹³³ Matthias Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung in der musikalischen Komposition* (Laaber, 1994), p. 87.

¹³⁴ Franz Schubert set a song *Kolmas Klage* (D. 217) to the same anonymous translation. See: John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester, 1997), p. 297.

¹³⁵ Heinrich Wilhelm Schwab, *Sangbarkeit, Popularität und Kunstlied: Studien zu Lied und Liedästhetik der mittleren Goethezeit 1770 – 1814* (Regensburg, 1965), p. 19.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹³⁹ Original quote in A. Strodthmann, *Briefe von und an Bürger*. i (Berlin, 1874), p. 115: 'Ich gebe mir Mühe, das Stück zur Composition zu dichten. Es sollte meine größte Belohnung seyn, wenn es recht balladenmäßig und simpel componirt, und dann wieder in den Spinnstuben gesungen werden könnte.'

certain emotion [...] perfect and complete as a whole [...] its actual value being the unity of the chant.’¹⁴¹ In order to obtain this perfection and unity, it was essential that a song was set not only according to its first verse, but to create a fundamental emotion, which dominated the entire song.¹⁴²

Following these principles, Reichardt’s setting of *Colma* consists of three parts: A (bb. 1-18), B (bb. 19-33) and C (bb. 34-65). Each part consists of three identically set verses. Despite the ballad’s construction as a triptych, Reichardt’s approach towards the composition can be interpreted as a strophic one. It is interesting that the song’s division into three parts is highly unusual for the Berlin school. But the poem’s three parts are written in different metres, making an entirely strophic setting impossible. The song’s construction as a triptych can therefore be understood as Reichardt’s attempt to find a compromise between the Berlin school’s aesthetics and the complexity of the poem.

Zumsteeg, in contrast, believed that the strophic approach led to repetitions, which became especially problematic in settings of poems exceeding six to eight verses.¹⁴³ Consequently, he applied a through-composed approach to his setting of *Colma*, using also recitatives and arioso parts. The through-composed approach made the question of ‘Sangbarkeit’ redundant: It made it possible to compose poems which were not ‘sangbar’ and therefore not suitable for a strophic approach and a unity of affects, even if they were of lyrical character.¹⁴⁴ By choosing the through-composed approach, almost every poem could be set, no matter whether it was lyrical, epic, dramatic or abstract.¹⁴⁵ Thus, the rhythmical prose of *Colma* was no obstacle for Zumsteeg and he saw no need to change it for a version in verse. Moreover, he crossed the bars of a through-composed song by adding recitatives. According to Matthias Wessel, the enthusiasm of late 18th and early 19th Century composers for the *Ossian*-texts and their prose forms strongly encouraged the development of the recitative’s inclusion in song, as found from 1780 onwards.¹⁴⁶ The Berlin composers opposed strongly the through composed approach. In their eyes, it destroyed the unity of affect, which they believed to be a song’s major aim, and falsified

¹⁴⁰ Schwab, *Sangbarkeit, Popularität und Kunstlied*, p. 51.

¹⁴¹ Original quote in Udo Bernbach; Hans Rudolf Vaget; Yvonne Nilges, *Getauft auf Musik: Festschrift für Dieter Borchmeyer* (Würzburg, 2006), p. 248: ‘der einfache musikalische Ausdruck einer bestimmten Empfindung [...], ein korrektes vollendetes Ganzes [...] dessen eigentlicher Werth in der Einheit des Gesanges besteht.’

¹⁴² Schwab, *Sangbarkeit, Popularität und Kunstlied*, p. 52.

¹⁴³ However, *Lenore* with her 29 verses was still set in a strophic way by Georg Wilhelm Gruber (1780), Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1780), and Georg Friedrich Wolf (1781). See *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 56–7.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 64–5.

¹⁴⁶ Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung in der musikalischen Komposition*, p. 95; *Ibid.*, p. 99.

the lyrical character by emphasising details. According to Schwab, their respect for the purity of the genre held a higher value than any artistic progress.¹⁴⁷

Reichardt's statement is evidence of another major feature of the Second Berlin school: *Sprachskepsis* (scepticism of speech), a philosophy inspired by Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte and August Schelling. According to this philosophy, the medium of speech was ambiguous and incapable of exact communication. Thus, it was believed that only music was able to express the poetic idea in a clear way, while words were of mere ornamental value.¹⁴⁸ The aim of the Berlin composers was therefore not to interpret single words, but to capture the overall fundamental emotion of a song, a certain emotion, in order to obtain something that was 'perfect and complete as a whole', as Reichardt claims. This understanding of speech as inferior to music determined their leading principles of composition: a melody which followed the natural ductus of speech, a rhythm that was determined by natural declamation and – most importantly – the avoidance of tone painting.¹⁴⁹

All these features are very prominent in Reichardt's setting of *Kolma*: syllables which are upbeats in the poem are also set as upbeats in the ballad (Ex. 1: bb. 11-13: mich schützt kein Dach vor Regen).

Ex. 1: Reichardt: *Kolma*, bb. 11-13

The principle of respecting the natural ductus of speech could, however, occasionally be abandoned in order to emphasise important words which are important for the overall emotion. An example can be found in bar 2-3 (ich irr' a-llein), where the word 'allein' (alone) is stressed against its natural ductus in order to provide it with a more prominent melodic line.

¹⁴⁷ Schwab, *Sangbarkeit, Popularität und Kunstlied*, p. 54.

¹⁴⁸ Gerhard Vom Hofe, 'Goethes Gedanke einer 'Art Symbolik fürs Ohr' und seine Begründung im musikästhetischen Dialog mit Zelter: Versuch einer Deutung', in Hermann Jung (ed.), *Eine Art Symbolik fürs Ohr: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Lyrik und Musik* (Frankfurt am Main, New York, 2002), pp. 19–42, pp. 26–7.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26–7.

Langsam.

Singstimme.

Rund um mich Nacht! ich

irr' al - lein, ver - lo - ren am

Pianoforte.

Ex. 2: Zumsteeg: Colma, bb. 1-5

Unlike the first three verses, which are written in a more irregular metre, the second part follows a clear iambic trimetre. The melody captures this rhythm by attributing crochets (or two quavers) to the stressed syllables and quavers to the unstressed ones (Ex.: bar 19-24).

Etwas lebhaft.

Doch sieh der Mond er - scheint, der Hü - gel Haupt er -

hel - let, die Flut im Tha - le glänzt, ein

Ex. 3: Reichardt: *Kolma*, bb. 19-24

Zumsteeg did not share the Berlin school's philosophy of *Sprachskepsis* (scepticism of speech), on the contrary: he believed that the through-composed approach allowed a higher artistic task. As

the composer did not endeavour to only set the overall atmosphere, he could take care of small details in the text and create a whole scale of different expressions.¹⁵⁰ In the recitatives especially, Zumsteeg allows a free declamation, ‘without beat’ (‘ganz taktlos’), resembling the melodrama, mostly supported by short or unchanging broken chords.¹⁵¹

Ganz taktlos.

Voice
Der Strom und der Sturm sausst, ich hö-re nicht die Stim-me

Piano

Ex. 4: Zumsteeg: *Colma*, bb. 245-248

Another way of stressing the importance of the text was through tone painting, a major stylistic feature of Zumsteeg’s ballads. In his setting of *Colma* tone painting is mainly used to illustrate movement. In bar 194, a descending row of semiquavers imitates the river, which streams down the rock:

bürg, der Strom heult den Fel-sen hin-ab.

Ex. 5: Zumsteeg, *Colma*, bb. 190-195

In contrast, Reichardt’s version ignores words that might invite tone painting, as the strophic approach makes it impossible: had he illustrated the expression ‘the river streams down from the rock’ (‘der Stroh[m] [...] die Felsen hinab’) in bar 12, this would have provided the words ‘where my lover rests in peace’ (‘wo mein Geliebter ruht’) in verse 2 as well as ‘here is the tree, here the rock’ (‘hier ist der Baum, hier der Fels’) in verse 3 with an inappropriate musical expression.

¹⁵⁰ Schwab, *Sangbarkeit, Popularität und Kunstlied*, p. 58.

¹⁵¹ Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung in der musikalischen Komposition*, p. 101.

Voice

Sturm braust vom Ge - birg, der Stroh die Fel - sen her ab.

Piano

Ex. 6: Reichardt, *Kolma*, bb. 10-12

Besides tone painting, Zumsteeg interpreted the details of the poem through the characterisation of different parts by different keys.¹⁵² Up to bar 174 ('Es ist Nacht') Zumsteeg changes the key signatures five times: to Eb major (1-77), C major (78-107), F major (108-128), Ab major (129-146) and F major (147-172). From bar 173 on, he changes the accidentals another six times: to Eb major (173-272), d minor (273-300), C major (301-323), Ab major (324-407), e minor (408-441), Ab major (442-516). Besides these obvious changes, there are countless modulations. Zumsteeg's setting does not return to its original key, nor are the different keys connected to each other by an overall harmonic plan. This detached harmonic construction demonstrates how Zumsteeg gave up the stylistic unity of the composition in favour of a more intense characterisation of its different parts. Reichardt's version, in contrast, uses one key for each part: Eb Major (Part A), C major (Part B), f minor (Part C). Had Reichardt not composed *Colma* as a triptych, he would certainly not have used more than one key.

While the use of recurring motifs and themes is in general seen as a major feature of Zumsteeg's style,¹⁵³ this is not the case in *Colma*.¹⁵⁴ This lack of stylistic consistency may be one of the reasons which led Fiske to claim that 'Zumsteeg quite failed to conjure up atmosphere'.¹⁵⁵

Another feature of the Berlin school which is closely linked to scepticism of speech is their idea of harmony: as their approach was primarily melodic, harmony as a transmitter of musical expression was of much less importance than with Schubert or Schumann.¹⁵⁶ The accompaniment was discrete and supported the vocal part harmonically but never contradicted it. The aim was not the personal interpretation or the characterisation of the lyrical person, but

¹⁵² Martin, *Article: Zumsteeg, Johann Rudolph*, p. 1586.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 1586.

¹⁵⁴ Roger Fiske, *Scotland in music: A European enthusiasm* (Cambridge, New York, 1983), p. 84.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁵⁶ Vom Hofe, 'Goethes Gedanke einer 'Art Symbolik fürs Ohr' und seine Begründung im musikästhetischen Dialog mit Zelter', pp. 26-7.

the presentation of a universal feeling and the poet's voice.¹⁵⁷ The piano as an equal partner of the voice had not been discovered yet. Reichardt's accompaniment, a gently flowing row of broken chords in semiquavers, adopting simple and regular harmonic developments, is therefore typical for the Berlin school:

Pianoforte.

Eb: I	V	vi	vii ^{o65} / ii
Eb	Bb	cm	e ^{o65}

ii ⁶	ii	V	vii ^{o7} / vi	vi	V/vi
f ⁶	f	Bb	b ^{o7}	c	G ⁷

Ex. 7: Reichardt: *Colma*, bb. 1-5

Zumsteeg, in contrast, crossed the boundaries of the Berlin school harmonically, as his use of different keys and the countless modulations have demonstrated.

4.2. Loewe, the Creator of the New Art Ballad

Loewe's style as a composer of ballads emerged between these clashing aesthetics. By uniting the strophic and the through-composed approach he eventually created a new style that became characteristic of the 19th Century art ballad.¹⁵⁸ Like the songs and ballads of the Berlin school, Loewe aimed at 'Popularität', a performance of his ballads in the private setting of chamber music. Unlike the romantic song which was first and foremost seen as a soliloquy, independent of the actual audience, the ballad was built upon the idea of a narrator and an audience. Thus, it was not unusual for a composer to perform his ballads himself, as Loewe did on his various

¹⁵⁷ Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', pp. 163-4.

¹⁵⁸ Kung, *Carl Loewes Goethe-Vertonungen*, p. 20.

concert tours.¹⁵⁹ In many cases, Loewe also had a certain singer in mind while composing: the ballads *Schwanenjungfrau* and *Agnete* were especially designated for the coloratura-soprano of his daughter Anna.¹⁶⁰ During his studies, Loewe performed a great number of Zumsteeg's ballads and studied their musical character in detail:

I was deeply moved by the music of this old, wrongly neglected master. Its motifs are characteristic and full of wit, they follow the poem faithfully. Of course, they are mainly of aphoristic nature. I thought to myself, the music should be more dramatic and be formed according to finally devised motifs – in about the manner that I try to set my ballads.¹⁶¹

Loewe set *Alpin's Klage um Morar* as a sequel to *Colma*. According to Runze, this is a direct reference to Zumsteeg's setting: whenever someone wished to study Loewe's ballads, he pointed them first towards Zumsteeg's ballads. He made his daughters Julie and Adele study Zumsteeg's *Colma*. This inspired him to attempt his very own *Ossian* setting *Alpin's Klage um Morar*.¹⁶² This shows best the way in which Loewe's aesthetic differs from the Swabian: like Zumsteeg's, Loewe's musical rhetoric illustrates single moments in the narrative in a sensual way.¹⁶³ However, in contrast with the Swabian school, Loewe keeps in mind the form of the ballad as a whole. Alfred Einstein claims that Loewe never forgot the strophic origins of the ballad and respected them in his settings.¹⁶⁴ Instead of applying a completely through-composed approach, he develops a characteristic melody or theme which returns throughout the ballad in the voice part and accompaniment in a varied or transformed shape – all while leaving unharmed the structural and stylistic unity of the ballad.¹⁶⁵ This is clear in his setting of *Archibald Douglas*, where recurring motifs illustrate the character's different moods and points of views. One especially prominent motif is the 'memory' motif. It is first introduced when Archibald reminds the King of the happy days they spent together at Linlithgow during the King's childhood.

¹⁵⁹ Florian Sauer, 'Article: Vokalballade nach 1700', in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil I, (2nd edn; Kassel, 1994), pp. 1143–52, p. 1145.

¹⁶⁰ Gerhard Schroth, 'Die späten Balladen Carl Loewes: Eine erste Bestandsaufnahme', in Ekkehard Ochs and Lutz Winkler (eds.), *Carl Loewe (1796-1869): Beiträge zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung* (Frankfurt am Main, New York, 1998), pp. 211–31, p. 222.

¹⁶¹ Original quote in Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 70–1: 'Tief ergriff mich die Musik diese alten, mit Unrecht zurückgestellten Meisters. Ihre Motif sind charakteristisch und geistreich, sie folgen dem Gedicht mit vollkommener Treu. Freilich waren sie meist sehr aphoristischer Natur. Ich dachte mir, die Musik müsste dramatischer sein und unter ausgearbeiteten Motifn gestaltet werden, etwa so, wie ich meine Balladen zu setzen versucht habe.'

¹⁶² Loewe, Carl, *Goethe und Loewe: II. Abteilung: Gesänge im grossen Stil und Oden; Grosslegenden und Grossballaden*, edited by Max Runze (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901), p. VII.

¹⁶³ Schroth, 'Die späten Balladen Carl Loewes', p. 224.

¹⁶⁴ Alfred Einstein, *Music in the Romantic Era* (New York, 1947), p. 190.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

Moderato, flebile.

an-gethan, es war nicht mei-ne Schuld. Denk' nicht an den al-ten

Andante con moto.

Adagio. *logato*

piano dolce

dolce

Douglasneid, der trotzig dich be-kriegt, denk' lie-ber an dei-ne

V. A. 1803. *Red.* *

Ex. 8: Loewe: *Archibald Douglas*, bb. 102-110

This motif is resumed in a mirrored version in the King's answer, illustrating the happy memories the King feels, despite his anger. The motif in its original version can be found in the accompaniment.

leise *cresc.* *3* *dim.*

hör' deine Stimme nicht, – mir ist, als ob ein Rauschen im Wald von

p *pp una corda* *3* *3* *3*

Red. *

p *cresc.* *3* *rit.*

al-ten Zei-ten spricht. Mir klingt das Rauschen süß – und – traut, ich

3 *3* *3* *rit.*

V. A. 1803.

Ex. 9: Loewe: *Archibald Douglas*, bb. 147-154

The motif eventually appears again after the King has forgiven Archibald. They decide to return to Linlithgow together and to resume their former harmonious life:

Ex. 10: Loewe: *Archibald Douglas*, bb. 257-260

When talking about motifs, one has to be careful and highly aware of the term's problematic implications. As already mentioned in the introduction, scholars like Runze and Hirschberg have claimed to identify Wagnerian *leitmotifs* in Loewe's music.¹⁶⁶ These attempts are rooted in the late 19th Century idea of the Romantic ballad as a 'drama en miniature', which links the ballad to the musical drama and thereby to Wagner and his aesthetics.¹⁶⁷ The expression 'drama en miniature' was first introduced by the composer of ballads Martin Plüddemann, a great admirer of Loewe and Wagner: 'Wagner ranks highest above all, he is beyond comparison! Yet, not everyone can go on a pilgrimage to Bayreuth and our own theatres are still not very good. Therefore we need the ballad as *Drama en miniature* to fill a crucial gap.'¹⁶⁸ In Plüddemann's statement, Loewe appears as a 'Wagner for the domestic use', who follows the same aesthetical principles, but in a smaller dimension. Runze carries this idea one step further by claiming that Loewe had inspired Wagner to some of his motifs, such as the 'Fafner motif', Siegfried's 'Heroic motif' and the 'Gral's motif'.¹⁶⁹

The comparison with Wagner suggested by Plüddemann and Runze has its roots in political and ideological ideas of the time: as demonstrated in chapter 4.3., the ballad in general and the Nordic ballad in particular had become a means of expressing patriotism and an appeal for national awareness by recalling a mythical Germanic past – topics which are also omnipresent in

¹⁶⁶ Risi, 'Wagner als 'Erbe' Loewes? ...zum ewigen Ruhme Loewe's, nicht zum Schaden Wagner's', Suppan, 'Die romantische Ballade als Abbild des Wagnerschen Musikdramas'.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Plüddemann, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 663: 'Das Höchste aber bleibt stets und immer Wagner, er ist unvergleichlich schlechthin! Da aber nicht alle Leute nach Bayreuth pilgern können, und es mit unsern Theatern nach wie vor Nichts ist, brauchen wir sogar sehr notwendig die Ballade als *Drama en miniature* zur Ergänzung einer fühlbaren Lücke.'

¹⁶⁹ Max Runze, *Ludwig Giesebrecht und Carl Loewe: Zur 350 jährigen Gedenkfeier des Stettiner Marienstiftsgymnasiums* (Berlin, 1894), p. 23.

Wagner's operas. Moreover, as demonstrated in chapter 4.2., Loewe created a synthesis between the strophic approach of the Berlin school and the Zumsteeg's through-composed ballads. One way of doing so was by using recurring motifs which have a musical function within the ballad's structure, but are, at times, also semantically charged. According to Brown, Loewe's reshaping of certain motifs does not depict changing psychological aspects of an individual but applies to a variety of situations. Therefore, it differs strongly from the Wagnerian *leitmotif*.¹⁷⁰ Maurice Brown claims that Loewe's motifs 'do duty for any situation of the narrative and serve merely to bring about the variety-in-unity of the ballad as a whole'.¹⁷¹ While Brown is correct in claiming a fundamental difference between Loewe's use of motifs and the Wagnerian approach, one has to keep in mind, that an exact definition of the *leitmotif* is virtually non-existent. This difficulty is apparent in the article on the *leitmotif* in the *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (volume 5), where Veit explicitly avoids a definition of the term. Instead, he suggests an extensive description of the term's history and its different implications.¹⁷² This ambiguous terminology benefitted scholars who were determined to detect similarities between Loewe's and Wagner's motif techniques. Wörner's analysis of Wagnerian motifs in Loewe's ballads for instance is built upon a much wider idea of the *leitmotif* than the idea elaborated by Dahlhaus¹⁷³ and leads to a different conclusion – an argument which can not be discussed here in more detail.¹⁷⁴ Risi argues that Loewe's ballads are in any case too short to develop *leitmotifs* in the Wagnerian sense. Even if Loewe uses recurring motifs, they are not woven into each other in the Wagnerian way.¹⁷⁵ Instead of seeing a similarity in the use of motifs, Risi suggests the interest in the musical depiction of dialogues and declamation as a common interest.¹⁷⁶

Brown and Risi are correct in objecting to any attempts to link the Wagnerian technique of *leitmotifs* to Loewe's ballads. However, Loewe does at times use a motif to create a psychological link, as for example the 'memory motif' in *Archibald Douglas*, which recalls Wagner's idea of 'Erinnerungsmotivik' (motifs of memory).¹⁷⁷ Still, one has to be very careful with the use of the term 'motif' in order to avoid any distorted perception. Recurring motifs were also widely used by other composers at the time and a semantic function was not always the primary aim of such

¹⁷⁰ Maurice J. E. Brown, 'Carl Loewe, 1796-1869', *The musical times* cx/ 1514 (1969), pp. 357-9, p. 358.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

¹⁷² Joachim Veit, 'Article Leitmotiv', in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil v (2nd edn; Kassel, 1996), pp. 1078-1095.

¹⁷³ see for example Carl Dahlhaus, *Das Drama Richard Wagners als musikalisches Kunstwerk* (Regensburg, 1970).

¹⁷⁴ Karl Wörner, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Leitmotivs in der Oper', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* xiv (1931/32), pp. 151-72.

¹⁷⁵ Risi, 'Wagner als 'Erbe' Loewes? ...zum ewigen Ruhme Loewe's, nicht zum Schaden Wagner's', p. 259.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

¹⁷⁷ Veit, *Article Leitmotiv*, p. 1085.

a use.¹⁷⁸ Whenever the term 'motif' is used in this dissertation, the meaning is first and foremost rooted in the idea of creating a musical coherence within the ballad, and only in the second instance linked to dramatic developments.

According to Robert Hanzlik, this 'memory' motif is inspired by one of Loewe's very own memories: a song which his mother used to sing.¹⁷⁹ Even if this claim cannot be proven, it is very likely to be true, as Loewe was fascinated with folksongs. Just as he kept in mind the strophic origins of the ballad, he respected its roots in folklore. He was fascinated with 'the mysterious, the fantastic and the uncontrollable, in the dark regions that were not illuminated by the clear light of intellect', as Einstein describes the essence of Loewe's ballads.¹⁸⁰ Runze believes the folksong to be one of the two major influences to Loewe's style: 'He loved the solemn; but he also loved the popular. The choral and the folksong provided, as he said himself, the foundation for his entire musical style.'¹⁸¹

Besides the use of recurring motifs to characterise certain events or moods, Gerhard Schroth believes that Loewe applies a symbolism relating to the keys: according to Schroth, Eb major means chivalric or kinglike, a minor introverted, e minor menacing, and F major idyllic.¹⁸² In the same way, Schroth claims similar features can be detected in the harmony Loewe applies: the harmony is often epic and extensive, nevertheless staying simple, remaining in related keys and avoiding dramatic extremes.¹⁸³ I will consider these issues in further detail when analysing Loewe's Nordic ballads.

By using keys and motifs as a kind of musical symbolism, while still respecting the ballad's unity, Loewe remains intensely loyal towards the text, trying to translate the intention of the text in a very precise, objective way. According to Loewe, music does not transform words into an isolated work of art that is only loosely connected to the text – music interprets the words: 'Chant exists because of speech [...] it is essentially a means of transfiguration and facilitation of the poetic idea.'¹⁸⁴ Loewe's style scarcely developed over the years: all the typical features were

¹⁷⁸ Ludwig Misch, 'Ein Lieblingsmotiv Schuberts', in Beethoven-Haus Bonn (ed.), *Neue Beethoven-Studien und andere Themen* (Munich, Duisburg, 1967), pp. 164–72.

¹⁷⁹ Robert Hanzlik, *Carl Loewe: Balladenschule: Carl Loewes Sing- und Vortragslehre* (Löbejün, 2007), p. 21.

¹⁸⁰ Einstein, *Music in the Romantic Era*, p. 190.

¹⁸¹ Original quote in Runze, 'Carl Loewe, eine ästhetische Beurtheilung', p. 338: 'Sein Gemüth liebte den Ernst; ebenso aber liebte er auch das Volksgemäße. Der Choral und das Volkslied gaben, wie er das selbst aussagt, die beiden Grundlagen für seine ganze Kompositionsweise her.'

¹⁸² Schroth, 'Die späten Balladen Carl Loewes', p. 224. Schroth however does not give any examples, referring to the amount of work such an intense examination would imply, as it would obviously take into account all ballads and songs.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

¹⁸⁴ Original quote: Loewe in Christoph Wingertzahn, 'Loewes unheimliche Balladen', in Konstanze Musketa and Götz Traxdorf (eds.), *Carl Loewe, 1796-1869: Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz anlässlich seines 200. Geburtstages vom 26. bis 28. September 1996 im Händel-Haus Halle* (Kassel, 1997), pp. 275–90, pp. 277–8: 'Gesang

already present in *Edward*, his Opus 1. According to Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, Loewe had therefore already reached the apex of his career as a balladeer with his first contribution to the genre.¹⁸⁵ Sauer believes this to be the result of Loewe's isolated position: in Stettin, he rarely had the chance to take part in the musical life of his time.¹⁸⁶ Thus, he continued to 'compose in a carefree way'¹⁸⁷, unaware of contemporary musical developments – a circumstance which nourished the accusations of triviality levelled at him, as will be demonstrated later.

4.3. The Rediscovery of a Germanic Mythical Age

4.3.1. *The English and Scottish Roots: James Macpherson and Bishop Percy*

In setting German adaptations of originally English or Scottish ballads to music, Loewe followed a romantic enthusiasm for the Nordic cultures which had gripped Germany in the second half of the 18th Century. At its heart was the publication of James Macpherson's *Ossian*. Since 1760, Macpherson had been publishing poems which he claimed to be relics from an ancient Celtic period. Whilst suggesting he was merely the translator of these poems, Macpherson was in truth in most cases the author. His fraud remained undiscovered for many years.¹⁸⁸ *Ossian* captivated readers all over Europe, among them Napoleon Bonaparte and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.¹⁸⁹ The poems excited their continental readers with exceptional descriptions of nature, differing strongly from the established classical antique scenery and marking the romantic image of Scottish nature: sinister, misty mountains, the wild sea, lonely moorlands, ancient ruins and bridges, apparitions of the dead.¹⁹⁰ *Ossian's* road to success had been prepared by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who believed that the primitive man was pure and good and that true virtue was therefore to be found in primitivism.¹⁹¹ This idea of the 'noble savage' is mirrored in Macpherson's embellished Celtic mythology, introducing characters both 'warlike and

ist der Sprache wegen da [...] ist im Wesentlichen Mittel der Verklärung, Erleichterung des poetischen Gedankens.'

¹⁸⁵ Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, 'Kraftvoll und dämonisch: Carl Loewe – Meister der Ballade', in Robert Lienau Musikverlag (ed.), *Einblicke, Ausblicke: Gedanken, Erinnerungen, Deutungen zu musikalischen Phänomenen* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 5-9, pp. 5-6 .

¹⁸⁶ Sauer, *Article: Vokalballade nach 1700*, p. 1146.

¹⁸⁷ Original quote in *Ibid.*, p. 1146: 'die Unbekümmertheit seines Komponierens'

¹⁸⁸ Fiona Stafford, 'Primitivism and the 'Primitive' Poet: A cultural Context for Macpherson's *Ossian*', in Terence Brown (ed.), *Celticism* (Amsterdam, Atlanta, 1996), pp. 79-96, pp. 92-3.

¹⁸⁹ Marxen, 'Max Bruch und die musikalische Schottland-Romantik', pp. 123-4.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-4.

¹⁹¹ Fiske, *Scotland in music*, p. 39.

courteous, generous and fierce, protective of innocents and merciful to the defeated.¹⁹² Thus, Macpherson's idealised image of the archaic and wild Celtic culture was ideal for 'non Highland readers who could thrill to sublime scenes safe in the belief that any lingering Jacobitism – or even mere barbarism – had been brought within the bounds of civilization.'¹⁹³ A good example of the warm reception of *Ossian* in Germany is Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, where *Ossian* is mentioned several times. One important aspect demonstrated in *Werther*, is the idea of *Ossian* as an alternative to Western classical tradition.¹⁹⁴ Just as Scotland as a travel destination represented an exciting alternative to the conventional Grand Tour, *Ossian* and his aesthetics were seen as an opposite pole to Greek mythology and especially to Homer.¹⁹⁵ In his letter from the 12th of October, *Werther* writes: 'Ossian has displaced Homer in my heart. What a world it is into which the glorious one leads me!'¹⁹⁶ Many notable authors, among them Goethe, Klopstock, Schiller and Lessing, were convinced that *Ossian* was at least Homer's equal, if not his superior.¹⁹⁷

Another author who was highly impressed with *Ossian* and had at the same time a strong influence on *Werther* was Klopstock, whose idea of enthusiastic and religiously exalted love lies at the heart of *Werther*. *Werther* reads a passage from *Ossian* to his beloved Lotte.¹⁹⁸ Overwhelmed by the powerful words of loneliness and despair, he declares his love to Lotte in such an ardent way, that she has no choice but to dismiss him.¹⁹⁹ Two of the passages read by *Werther* have already been discussed in the context of this dissertation: Zumsteeg's setting of *Colma*, and Loewe's setting of *Alpins Klage um Morar*. While a discussion of Klopstock's influence on *Werther* in all its complexity can not be offered here,²⁰⁰ it is worth noting, that Klopstock himself was strongly influenced by *Ossian*: he eventually started to replace references to Greek mythology with Ossianic ones and to use poetic forms he believed to be Ossianic, as dithyrambs, for instance.²⁰¹ Significantly, dithyrambs were mostly associated with Ancient Greek

¹⁹² Stafford, 'Primitivism and the 'Primitive' Poet', pp. 92-3.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-3.

¹⁹⁴ Wilson, 'Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism', p. 827.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 827.

¹⁹⁶ Original quote in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (Leipzig, 1774), p. 151: 'Ossian hat in meinem Herzen den Homer verdrängt. Welch eine Welt, in die der Herrliche mich führt!'

¹⁹⁷ Fiske, *Scotland in music*, p. 33.

¹⁹⁸ Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, pp. 193-205.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-8.

²⁰⁰ For a more detailed study of Klopstock's influence on *Werther* and his concept of love, see Hans-Edwin Friedrich, "Ewig lieben", zugleich aber "menschlich lieben"? Zur Reflexion der empfindsamen Liebeskonzeption von Gellert und Klopstock bis Goethe und Jacobi', *Aufklärung* xiii (2001), pp. 148-89.

²⁰¹ Todd, 'Mendelssohn's Ossianic Manner with a new Source – On Lena's Gloomy Heath', p. 138.

poetry, with Homer, and especially with the Pindaric Odes.²⁰² Romantic readers understood poets like Homer and Pindar as the first story tellers and therefore predecessors of the bards. When the philosopher and novelist William Godwin (who worked as an editor under the name of Edward Baldwin) edited Charles Lamb's *The Adventures of Ulysses* in 1808, he advised the author to emphasise the special importance of Homer:

The Preface ought I think to tell what Homer was – the Father of poetry, the eldest of historians, the collector & recorder of all that was then known, the parent of continuous narration, of imagery, of dramatic character, of dramatic dialogue, of a whole having beginning, middle & end.²⁰³

It was thus a logical consequence for 19th Century readers to create a direct link between Homer, the first of all bards, and Ossian, the Celtic bard, who provided Western culture with an unexpected and new alternative model. Fiske even claims that Herder's and Goethe's care for ancient poetry can be seen as a 'left-wing movement', as *Ossian* showed that primitive races had an art that was able to compete with the art of the Francophile aristocrats. This division was later manifested in the culture versus civilisation dichotomy: while culture included art, religion, philosophy, ideas and ideals and virtues, civilisation included the social institutions, such as government, science, technology and politics. Thus, culture was understood as the realm of ends, while civilisation was seen as the realm of means. Civilisation was seen inferior to culture and could, in the best case, serve it, and, in case of conflict, yield to it.²⁰⁴ German Romantics perceived Germany, the land of 'Dichter und Denker' (poets and thinkers) as the country of culture, the 'land of creativity, creation and building'.²⁰⁵ The West was, in contrast, the seat of civilisation, 'the land of commerce, barter, haggling'.²⁰⁶ Especially France was seen as representative of this concept of civilisation, its commercialism as inferior to 'German dignity'.²⁰⁷ *Ossian* was thus not only full of innovative topics, but also rich with stylistic ideas, such as lines of varying lengths, unusual rhythm and rhyming. In a time during which people believed that poetry had reached its culmination and could therefore only be changed for the worse, *Ossian* was a 'Newfoundland of originality'.²⁰⁸

²⁰² Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (2nd edn; Oxford, 1962), pp. 20–31.

²⁰³ William Godwin, quoted in Timothy Webb, 'Homer and the Romantics', in Robert Fowler (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Homer* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 287–310.

²⁰⁴ Kurt H. Wolff, 'On the landscape of the Relation between Hannah Arendt and Martin Heidegger', *The American Sociologist* xxviii/ 1 (1997), pp. 126–36, p. 130.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

²⁰⁸ Fiske, *Scotland in music*, p. 39.

Besides *Ossian*, the collection *Reliques Of Ancient English Poetry* (London, 1765) by Bishop Thomas Percy served German poets (and eventually composers) as an important source of inspiration.²⁰⁹ Percy would not have taken an interest in old poems, had it not been for *Ossian* and the common interest in poetry that his collection had inspired. He asked his friends to send him ancient or 'primitive' ballads which he published in 1765 in a collection named *Reliques Of Ancient English poetry*. Despite the title, Percy's collection not only contains English ballads, but also a considerable number of ballads belonging to the type of 16th and 17th Century Anglo-Scottish border ballads, amongst them *The Battle of Otterbourne*, *Gilderoy*, *Sir Patrick Spens* and *Edward*.²¹⁰ The timing of publication could not have been more perfect, as people had just begun to reclaim naturalness in poetry and to oppose the mere intellectual understanding of poetry. This is why Percy's collection gained popularity, not only in England but also beyond the channel.²¹¹ The *Reliques* became almost as popular as *Ossian* and were an important source for Herder's *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (Voices of the World in song, Vienna, 1813).²¹² Percy felt that the ballad tradition was dead and therefore needed to be revived; he held Scottish and English folk ballads in high esteem but, like many other collectors, felt the need to adjust his material slightly by leaving out bawdy passages and editing metrical irregularities. Like many early collectors, Percy did not believe in oral transmission and relied heavily on manuscripts. As he was not aware of the difference between oral and literary tradition, he made numerous alterations to make the verses sound more poetic or even more archaic.²¹³ This process is clear when considering different versions of *Edward*: in the second edition of his collection (London, 1767), Percy replaced the sounds 'wh' with 'quh' and 'y' with 'z' in order to give the poem a more archaic flavour. However, the fourth edition revealed that *Edward* had never actually been taken down 'from the recitation of an old woman', as Percy had claimed. Instead, the ballad had been sent to Percy by Sir David Dalrymple, who in 1766 was raised to the Scottish bench and became Lord Hailes.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ Otto E. Albrecht, 'English pre-Romantic poetry in settings by German composers', in Howard Chandler Robbins Landon and Roger Chapman (eds.), *Studies in eighteenth-century music: A tribute to Karl Geiringer on his seventieth birthday* (London, 1970), pp. 23–36, p. 23.

²¹⁰ Sheila Margaret Douglas, 'The history of Scottish folksong research', in Conrad Laforte (ed.), *Ballades et chansons folkloriques: Actes de la 18e session de la Commission pour l'étude de la poésie de tradition orale (Kommission für Volksdichtung) de la S.I.E.F. (Société internationale d'ethnologie et de folklore)* (Québec, 1989), pp. 67–76, p. 69.

²¹¹ Hans Kleemann, *Beiträge zur Ästhetik und Geschichte der Loeweschen Ballade* (Halle an der Saale, 1913), pp. 2–3.

²¹² Fiske, 'Brahms and Scotland', p. 1106.

²¹³ Douglas, 'The history of Scottish folksong research', p. 69.

²¹⁴ Fiske, *Scotland in music*, pp. 42–3.

4.3.2. *The German Adoption: Herder's Voices of the World in Song*

While the *Ossian* poems and the collections by Bishop Percy were highly popular in England in Scotland, it can be assumed that Loewe, just as the German composers of the Swabian and Berlin circles, was in most cases not familiar with these works in their original version. Instead, early 19th Century German composers drew their inspiration from translations made by Herder or his followers, among them Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, August Bürger, Ferdinand von Freiligrath and Emanuel Geibel.²¹⁵ It is therefore fitting that Yoshida calls Herder the 'forerunner of the modern musicological interest in folksong.'²¹⁶ Herder was first inspired to study folksongs during his stay in Riga (1764-1769), when his teacher Johann Georg Hamann encouraged him to examine traditional Latvian songs. Eventually, he began to collect more songs from people whom he believed to have been left unharmed by civilisation and education. He translated these songs and prepared a first edition. Between 1778 and 1779, this rich collection was published under the title *Volklieder*.²¹⁷ It included German, English, Serb, Latvian, Lituathian, Lapp and songs from Greenland and from the Native Americans. Since 1807, the *Volklieder* were published as *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (Voices Of The World In Song) and gained worldwide popularity. They provided the initiative to examine, collect and review folksongs in Germany.²¹⁸

Why was Herder's work so crucial for the development of both German literature and music, and how is it relevant to Loewe's ballads?

Besides collecting ballads, Herder developed several aesthetical and poetical ideas in his writings that had a considerable impact on the understanding of national cultures: the poetic concept of

²¹⁵ Albrecht, 'English pre-Romantic poetry in settings by German composers', p. 24.

²¹⁶ Hiroshi Yoshida, 'J. G. Herder's conception of Volkslied and an invention of the universal taste', in Yoshio Tozawa (ed.), *Musicology and globalization: Proceedings of the international congress in Shizuoka 2002* (Tokyo, 2004), pp. 215-8, p. 215.

²¹⁷ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Volklieder* (Leipzig, 1778-1779).

²¹⁸ Heike Müns, 'Carl Loewe im Umfeld seiner Zeitgenossen: Balladendichtung als nationale Aufgabe', in Ekkehard Ochs and Lutz Winkler (eds.), *Carl Loewe (1796-1869): Beiträge zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung* (Frankfurt am Main, New York, 1998), pp. 288-9. A mere imitation of traditional poetry was never Herder's intention. He despised the modern bards as anachronistic imitators. Herder's collection, however, not only contains translations but also works by well known German Baroque poets like Simon Dach and Paul Fleming, poems by Shakespeare and even by Herder himself. Although Herder was quite careless when it came to original versus imitation works, he was acutely concerned about the difference between original and translated works. He studied numerous languages in order to read the poems in the original as the true spirit of a poem could only be captured by studying it in its original language. Herder was not much concerned with loyalty to oral tradition. Even if his works are full of enthusiastic comments about the oral tradition and about songs he had heard performed around him, he always preferred printed documents as sources for his own collection rather than recording them by word of mouth, just as Bishop Percy had done before him. The problematic way in which 19th Century collectors approached oral transmission of poetry or stories, a prominent example being the Brothers Grimm, is a typical phenomenon of the time and has been widely studied. See for example Christa Kamenetsky, *The Brothers Grimm and their Critics: Folktales and the quest for Meaning* (Athens, Ohio, 1992).

Naturpoesie (nature poetry), folk poetry as a means of raising national awareness, the merits of the English and Scottish collectors and – most importantly – the idea of Germany, England, Scotland and Scandinavia bound together by a common Nordic cultural heritage.

Herder's idea of 'Volkslied' was marked by Michel de Montaigne's expression 'poésie populaire', a poetic form that aimed to be entirely natural and naive. Montaigne believed this poetry to be found among oral und 'uneducated' people – a concept, that would be at the heart of Herder's own understanding of poetry.²¹⁹ Based on his collections, he developed the poetic concept of *Naturpoesie*,²²⁰ which he elaborated in the *Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Literatur* (Fragments On Recent German Literature, Riga, 1767) and in his *Kritische Wälder* (Critical Forests, Riga, 1769).²²¹ In contrast to art-poetry, which relied too much on constructed emotions and artificial effects, *Naturpoesie*, as found in folksongs and myths should be vivid and accessible to everyone, 'song, not canvas, its characteristics an 'ongoing, narrating, vivid scene' and a poetic structure full of 'daring turns'.²²² For Herder, *Naturpoesie* was the only true form of human expression, for it had been left unharmed by civilisation. It therefore held certain values that were no longer accessible to modern poets: the idealisation of a simple life, untouched nature and a golden and mythical past. Reviving folk poetry meant reviving these values, which, as Herder hoped, would not only revive German Art Poetry but eventually German national awareness itself.²²³ Comparing the songs and myths of other countries with those of his own people, Herder realised, with increasing concern, that Germany made no effort to cultivate and preserve her own tradition. In *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* (Of German Character and Art, Hamburg, 1773), Herder claims:

In more than one province, I am familiar with a number of folksongs, provincial songs, and peasants' songs. The liveliness, rhythm, naivety and power of their language is equal in quality to the language of many of the Scottish romances. But who collects them and

²¹⁹ Wolfgang Braungart, "Aus denen Kehlen der ältesten Müttergens": Über Kitsch und Trivialität, populäre Kultur und Elitekultur, Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit der Volksballade, besonders bei Herder und Goethe', *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* xli (1996), pp. 11–32, p. 15.

²²⁰ Kamenetsky claims that *Naturpoesie* can not be translated by *nature poetry*. According to her, it refers on the one hand 'what we may consider folklore proper, namely, the oral tradition of the common folk as it reveals itself in folksongs, folktales, myths, and legends. On the other hand, it also includes the works of the great *folk geniuses*, such as Homer's epics, the dramas of Sophocles and Shakespeare, ancient Sanskrit literature, Ossian and the Bible.' Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century', p. 837. Thus, in this dissertation, the German term *Naturpoesie* will be used.

²²¹ Kleemann, *Ästhetik und Geschichte der Loeweschen Ballade*, pp. 2–3.

²²² Herder quoted in Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', pp. 160–1: 'Gesang, nicht Gemälde [...] eine fortgehende, handelnde lebendige Szene [...] kühne Sprünge und Wendungen.'

²²³ Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century' p. 838.

who cares for them? Who cares for the songs of the people? In the streets and alleys and fish markets? In the peasantry's uneducated roundelay?²²⁴

Moreover, according to Herder, contemporary German poets were not rooted in the tradition of their own culture, but preferred to follow foreign idols. He believed that the Germans had abandoned their own language in favour of French culture, copying the court life of Versailles, and were as a result suffering from 'Gallicomanie' or 'French Disease', the imitation of French culture.²²⁵ Herder insisted that Germany must return to her own foundation and cherish her own native traditions.²²⁶ This was to be achieved by reviving folk poetry, as folk poetry united the nation not only by providing common myths and stories, but also by preserving the national language and awakening national awareness.²²⁷ It becomes thus evident that Loewe's image of a patriot has its roots in Herder's understanding of the ballad as a means to raise national awareness – even if, after the Turn of the Century, Herder's cosmopolitanism had already given way to a rising nationalism, as demonstrated in chapter 2.2. While Herder was collecting songs from all over the world, he was especially impressed with English poetry.²²⁸ Herder however meant English as a language, not a nation, as the following quote from *Von Ähnlichkeit der mittlern englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst* (On the Resemblance of Medieval English and German Poetry, 1777 in *Deutsches Museum*) shows, which mentions also Irish and Scottish poets. Herder stresses his belief that English poetry is constant and faithful to her countries' tradition in contrast with German poetry: 'The English – with how much passion have they collected their old songs and melodies, printed them over and over again, used and read them!' ²²⁹ He admired Shakespeare who, in his eyes, was a genuine folk poet as he used the language of the common man in a poetic sense and drew on the cultural heritage of his country.²³⁰ Herder encouraged his compatriots to follow the English example and to collect German folksongs which were, as he believed, still breathing 'a spark of German patriotism, if only under ash and

²²⁴ Herder quoted in Bhikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (Hampshire, London, 2000), p. 322: 'In mehr als einer Provinz sind mir Volkslieder, Provinziallieder, Bauerlieder bekannt, die an Lebhaftigkeit und Rhythmus, und Naivetät und Stärke der Sprache vielen derselben [schottischen Romanzen] gewiß nichts nachgeben würden; nur wer ist der sie sammle? Der sich um sie bekümmre? Sich um Lieder des Volks bekümmre? Auf Straßen, und Gassen und Fischmärkten? Im ungelehrten Rundgesange des Landvolks?'

²²⁵ Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century', p. 842.

²²⁶ Similar developments can be observed in other Nordic countries, such as Denmark, during the 19th Century. See for a more detailed study Hans Kuhn, 'Folkeviser og Dänentum: Die Re-Popularisierung der dänischen Volksballade im 19. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* xliii (1998), pp. 79–92.

²²⁷ Wilson, 'Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism', pp. 826–7.

²²⁸ Müns, 'Carl Loewe im Umfeld seiner Zeitgenossen', p. 288.

²²⁹ Herder quote quoted in Yoshida, 'J. G. Herder's conception of Volkslied and an invention of the universal taste', p. 216: 'Die Engländer – mit welcher Begierde haben sie ihre alten Gesänge und Melodien gesammelt, gedruckt und wieder gedruckt, genutzt und gelesen!'

²³⁰ Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century', p. 842.

mouldiness'.²³¹ Besides England, Scotland with its *Ossian* collections also served as a role model. In *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*, Herder praises the *Ossian* songs for being faithful to the unspoiled spirit of the culture they emerged from:

Do you know that, the wilder, the more alive and the freer a nation is, the wilder, the more alive, the freer, the more sensual and the more lyrically narrated are its songs, if they have any. The less influenced a nation is by scientific thinking, language and writing, the less their songs must be written for paper and the less their dead words must be verses.²³²

Even if Herder, according to Howard Gaskill, soon came to doubt the authenticity of *Ossian*,²³³ the work itself still held a highly symbolic meaning for him, proving that primitive races had an art that was the equal of the art of the Francophile aristocrats.²³⁴

But Herder praised and admired Shakespeare's, Percy's and *Ossian's* works for yet another reason: he believed them to be 'Nordic' poets, just as he believed England and Scotland to be Nordic countries. Therefore, they were profoundly related to Germany in culture and tradition, as Germany was also a Nordic country, due to her climate and location.²³⁵ This perception of England, Scotland, Scandinavia and Germany as bound together by the same Nordic cultural roots lies at the heart of the understanding of German culture in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and is also crucial for the understanding and popularity of the 'Nordic tone'. According to Fischer, there was no consensus as to whether the Germans were actually a proper 'Volk' in the first place: could they be defined as an individual nation, by distinguishing them from the Scots or the Scandinavians? Or were all Nordic people German; with German being a synonym for Germanic, or even Celtic?²³⁶ Kamenetsky claims that 'neither Herder nor his contemporaries made a clear distinction between the Gaelic, Celtic, and Germanic heritage'²³⁷ – a claim which can be strongly supported by studying his own writings. Herder explicitly uses the term 'deutsch' (German) for all countries that are part of the Roman Empire: 'all German

²³¹ Herder quoted in Müns, 'Carl Loewe im Umfeld seiner Zeitgenossen', pp. 288–9: 'ein Fünkeln deutschen Vaterlandsgeistes, wemngleich unter Asch und Moder'.

²³² Herder quoted in Yoshida, 'J. G. Herder's conception of Volkslied and an invention of the universal taste', p. 217: 'Wissen Sie also, daß je wilder, d.i. je lebendiger, je freiwirkender ein Volk ist, (denn mehr heißt dies Wort doch nicht!) desto wilder, d.i. desto lebendiger, freier, sinnlicher, lyrisch handelnder müssen auch, wenn es Lieder hat, seine Lieder sein! Je entfernter von künstlicher, wissenschaftlicher Denkart, Sprache und Letternart das Volk ist: desto weniger müssen auch seine Lieder fürs Papier gemacht, und tote Lettern Verse sein.'

²³³ Howard Gaskill, 'Ossian, Herder, and the Idea of Folk Song', in David Hill (ed.), *Literature of the Sturm und Drang* (Rochester, New York, 2003), pp. 95–116.

²³⁴ Fiske, 'Brahms and Scotland', p. 1107.

²³⁵ Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century', p. 841, for an extensive analysis of Herder's Nordic studies, see Wilhelm Grohmann, *Herders nordische Studien* (Berlin, 1899).

²³⁶ Bernd Fischer, *Das Eigene und das Eigentliche: Klopstock, Herder, Fichte, Kleist: Episoden aus der Konstruktionsgeschichte nationaler Intentionalitäten* (Berlin, 1995), p. 208.

²³⁷ Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century', p. 843.

nations sharing the Roman Empire'.²³⁸ As a logical consequence, he also claims a strong relationship between all respective dialects:

Of course, the dialects of the German language are very different according to their people, time and region and one can not generalise the Goths at the Black Sea, in Italy and Spain, the Vandals in Pomerania and Africa, and the Angles during the time of Hengst and William the Conqueror. Still, in all that we know about their languages, the Nordic raiment is unmistakable. This is because the German language loves monosyllabic sounds, especially in bleak regions. The sound is pronounced loudly and harshly, to enable the speaker to say as much as possible at the same time.²³⁹

Given this background, it seems only logical that Herder – because so few genuine German folksongs had been preserved – started to examine songs that he believed to be ethnically and culturally bound to German culture. He eventually subsumed everything he felt to be Germanic under the umbrella category 'German', because German was, at least in numbers, the most important language.²⁴⁰ Even if the passage quoted above mentions a number of different cultures, Herder believed that German culture had most in common with the Scottish and Scandinavian culture. This view mainly originated from the reception of *Ossian*: the discovery of *Ossian* seemed to prove Herder right in believing the Gaelic, Celtic and Germanic people to be bound to each other by a common cultural heritage. Like the majority of German readers, he enthusiastically embraced the 'ancient' Gaelic fragments, on the grounds that they were, in his terms, Germanic.²⁴¹

Besides *Ossian*, Herder found traces of his German ancestors in Norse mythology. This mythology was brought to Germany especially through the book of *Edda*, the most extensive collection of Norse mythology.²⁴² In *Zutritt der nordischen Mythologie zur neueren Dichtkunst* (From *Früchte aus den sogenannten goldenen Zeiten des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1801-1803) he explains the close connection between German and Scandinavian culture. According to Herder, this connection is also rooted in common local and climatic conditions:

²³⁸ Original quote in Johann Gottfried Herder, *Geist der Völker* (Jena, 1935), p. 43: 'alle deutschen Nationen, die das römische Reich unter sich teilen'.

²³⁹ Original quote in *Ibid.*, p. 44: 'Wie verschieden nämlich die Mundarten der deutschen Sprache nach den verschiedenen Volksstämmen, Zeiten und Gegenden waren, dergestalt, daß man die Goten am Schwarzen Meer, in Italien und Spanien, die Vandalen in Pommern und Afrika, die Angeln zu Hengst und zu Wilhelm des Eroberers Zeiten nicht für eins nehmen darf: so ist doch in allem, was wir von ihren Sprachen wissen, ihr nordisches Gewand unverkennbar. Die deutsche Sprache nämlich, zumal in rauhen Gegenden, liebt einsilbige Töne. Hart wird der Schall angestoßen, stark angeklungen, damit soviel möglich alles auf einmal gesagt werden kann.'

²⁴⁰ Fischer, *Das Eigene und das Eigentliche*, p. 208.

²⁴¹ Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century', p. 843.

²⁴² George K. Anderson, *The Saga of the Völsungs: Together with Excerpts from the Nornagestháttur and Three Chapters from the Prose Edda* (Newark, 1982), pp. 22–3.

What do we have in common with the muses of Greece, who know neither our ice, nor our northern lights, nor the ice flowers of our snow? According to space and time, the Greek Apollo and the Indian Rama would be complete strangers to some subjects, while Braga, Freia, Odin, Thor and Locke would do them good. Norse mythology is mostly marked by local and climatic conditions. We feel a hereditary blood relationship; we feel, that we belong with them, that we do not belong to a tenderer fairy-land and we shiver.²⁴³

Herder believed that the myths of the North still played a vital role in many German provinces, as could be seen in local customs, superstitions and traditions. Even if he tried to scientifically link the *Edda* as an ‘old sister-tongue’²⁴⁴ to German culture, Kamenetsky claims, that ‘what Herder had in mind here was not so much a linguistic theory but an emotional perception of a certain identity in tone and feeling.[...]’²⁴⁵ Herder’s ideas proved to be extremely fruitful and inspired countless followers, among them Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. His poems *Heidenröslein*, *Im Nebelgeriesel*, *Der König in Thule* and *Erlikönig* are strongly influenced by Herder.²⁴⁶ This poetic movement eventually reached its zenith in the ‘Balladenjahr’²⁴⁷ (year of ballads) of 1797, when Goethe and Schiller created a large number of what are today their most famous ballads,²⁴⁸ such as *Der Zauberlehrling* (Goethe), *Die Braut von Korinth* (Goethe), *Der Gott und Bajadere* (Goethe), *Der Taucher* (Schiller), *Der Handschuh* (Schiller) and *Die Kraniche des Ibykus* (Schiller).²⁴⁹ Considering the impact of Herder’s ideas, Yoshida concludes that his conception of folksong was ‘closely intertwined with the development of modern cultural nationalism in the German speaking countries.’²⁵⁰ With his concepts of *Naturpoesie* and folk poetry as a means to raise national awareness as well as his understanding of the bond between the Nordic people, Herder laid the foundation for the 19th Century Nordic ballad as a patriotic statement and thus for the genre as understood by Loewe.

²⁴³ Original quote in Johann Gottfried Herder, *Früchte aus den sogenannten goldenen Zeiten des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts: Zutritt der nordischen Mythologie zur neueren Dichtkunst* (Tübingen, 1809), p. 453: ‘Was hatten mit diesen die Musen Griechenlandes zu schaffen, die weder unser Eis, noch unsere Nordlichter, noch die Winterblume des Schnees kannten? Nach Ort und Zeit wäre manchen Gegenständen der griechische Apollo so fremde als der Indische Rama, dagegen Braga und Freia, Thor, Odin, Locke ihnen wohlthun. Wo die nordische Mythologie auf’s innigste local und klimatisch wird [...] da schaudert uns eine fast angebohrne Mitgenossenschaft dieser Bilder an, wir fühlen daß wir hieher in kein andres zarteres Märchenland gehören; wir frieren.’

²⁴⁴ Herder quoted in Kamenetsky, ‘The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century’, p. 844: ‘alte Schwesternsprache’

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 844.

²⁴⁶ Hartung, ‘Loewes literarische Vorlagen’, pp. 160–1.

²⁴⁷ Horst Dieter Schlosser, *dtv-Atlas zur deutschen Literatur: Tafeln und Texte* (3rd edn; Munich, 1987), p. 167.

²⁴⁸ Kühn, *Johann Gottfried Carl Loewe*, p. 131.

²⁴⁹ Several of these ballads, as for example *Die Kraniche des Ibykus*, *Die Bürgschaft* and *Die Braut von Korinth* are however not inspired by Germanic or Nordic images, but rather situated in classical Antiquity. See also Schlosser, *dtv-Atlas zur deutschen Literatur*, p. 167.

²⁵⁰ Yoshida, ‘J. G. Herder’s conception of Volkslied and an invention of the universal taste’, p. 215.

4.4. Loewe's Poets

For his ballads and songs, Loewe used texts by more than 80 different poets, both more and less well known ones. Most poets are only represented by a single poem, as are Mathias Claudius, Friedrich Matthison, Ludwig Gotthard Kosegarten, Ludwig Tieck, Johann Heinrich Voss and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.²⁵¹ While these poets vary greatly in style, background and ideas, there are still some common qualities, which inspired Loewe's interest in their work. Hisao-Yun Kung has provided a table listing the poets that Loewe preferred and the number of the respective settings. The numbers in bold letters refer to texts that appear in a German translation from the author's original work.²⁵²

Lifetime	Poet	Number of Songs	Number of Ballads	Sum
1749-1832	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	24	15	39
1788-1824	Lord Byron	23	0	23
1788-1866	Friedrich Rückert	18	3	21
1802-1866	Johann Nepomuk Vogl	1	16	17
1792-1873	Ludwig Giesebrecht	13	2	15
1787-1862	Ludwig Uhland	3	12	15
1801-1849	Heinrich Stieglitz	12	0	12
1781-1838	Adalbert von Chamisso	9	1	10
1797-1856	Heinrich Heine	8	1	9
1816-1894	Dilia Helena	9	0	9
1797-1870	Talvj (Therese Amalie Luise von Jakob)	6 + 1	1	8
1810-1876	Ferdinand Freiligrath	0	8	8
1737-1823	Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg	8	0	8
1798-1871	Adam Mickiewicz	0	7	7
1744-1803	Johann Gottfried von Herder	1	5	6
1798-1871	Willibald Alexis	0	4	4
1808-1876	Anastasius Grün	0	6	6
1836-1868	Carl Siebel	4	1	5
1715-1769	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	3	0	3
1804-1876	Otto Friedrich Gruppe	3	0	3
1799-1853	August Kopisch	0	3	3
1739-1791	Daniel Schubart	2	0	2
1759-1805	Friedrich Schiller	0	2	2
1772-1801	Novalis (Gottfried von Hardenberg)	2	0	2
1791-1813	Theodor Körner	0	2	2

²⁵¹ Kung, *Carl Loewes Goethe-Vertonungen*, p. 28.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Although Kung's list shows a number of important poets, the list can not be seen as representative of the time. German poets between 1806 and 1830 belonged to two different generations: while the poetic circle around Jena and Weimar, represented especially by Goethe and Schiller, was still influential,²⁵³ the *Göttinger Hainbund* represented another important poetic circle. It was grouped around August Bürger, Ludwig Hölty, Mathias Claudius, Johann Heinrich Voß and the Counts Christian and Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg. The poets of the *Göttinger Hainbund* found their ideal in the poems of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock and were marked by love of nature and a strong influence by the *Sturm und Drang*.²⁵⁴ August Bürger was, if not a member, a close friend of the Göttinger poets. With his gothic ballad *Lenore*, he created an iconic model for the new art ballad, which was strongly influenced by folk poetry.²⁵⁵

Around 1800, a new generation of poets emerged, its most famous representatives being August Wilhelm Schlegel, Ludwig Tieck and Novalis. Today, these poems are often classified as representatives of the *Jenaer Frühromantik* (Jena early Romantics), as they are unified by common philosophies of art and nature.²⁵⁶ At around the same time, Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano inspired countless composers²⁵⁷ with their anthology *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*²⁵⁸ (The Youth's Magic Horn). Just as Arnim and Clemens Brentano, Joseph von Eichendorff believed folk poetry and song to be at the heart of poetic works. Therefore, the structure of his poems is often very close to that of a folksong, as Eichendorff wrote some of his poetry after the manner of the oral tradition.²⁵⁹

Another important group was the Swabian poetic circle, its most prominent members being Ludwig Uhland, Eduard Mörike and Justinus Kerner.²⁶⁰ The Swabian circle was characterised by a combination of romantic topics (nature, folksongs, and medievalism) and more prosaic

²⁵³ Gerhard Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur zwischen Französischer Revolution und Restauration: Zweiter Teil: Das Zeitalter der Napoleonischen Kriege und der Restauration 1806–1830* (Munich, 1989a), p. 715.

²⁵⁴ Gerhard Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur zwischen Französischer Revolution und Restauration: Erster Teil: Das Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution 1789–1806* (2nd edn; Munich, 2000b), p. 573.

²⁵⁵ Sauer, Article: *Vokalballade nach 1700*, p. 1143.

²⁵⁶ Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur zwischen Französischer Revolution und Restauration II*, p. 614.

²⁵⁷ For example Heinrich von Herzogenberg, Wilhelm Taubert, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Eduard Lassen, Karl Reinecke, Johannes Brahms.

²⁵⁸ I am aware of the importance of Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano and their collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, published from 1808 to 1808. Yet, Loewe set only a single poem from the collection (*Der Kuckuk*, op. 64 no. 2). Therefore, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* will not be discussed in more detail in this dissertation. For further studies on the subject see Braungart, "Aus denen Kehlen der ältesten Müttergens" and Ernst Schade, 'Volkslied: Editionen zwischen Transkription, Manipulation, Rekonstruktion und Dokumentation', *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*/ 35 (1990), pp. 44–63, p. 47.

²⁵⁹ Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur zwischen Französischer Revolution und Restauration I*, p. 770.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 716.

pragmatism and pride in their native Württemberg.²⁶¹ Annette von Droste-Hülshoff had already begun to write poems in the 1820s, but did not publish any collections until 1838.²⁶² A special case is Friedrich Hölderlin, whose merits were only fully acknowledged after his death in 1843.²⁶³

Like Uhland, Friedrich Rückert was impressed with medievalism, especially the German Middle Ages. He wrote poems about Cologne Cathedral, Roland den Riesen and Emperor Friedrich I. In addition, Rückert's poetry became characteristic of a generation of Germans, who had hoped for a unified Germany, and who were disillusioned after the battle in Leipzig in 1813 (Leipziger Völkerschlacht), when the structure of *kleinstaaterei* remained unaltered. An excellent example of this reaction is Rückert's poem *Trost der Deutschen* (Consolation of the Germans).²⁶⁴

Heinrich Heine experienced the transition from the *Biedermeier* to the *Vormärz* like no other author of his time. He was called the 'German Byron', after the writer Lord Byron to whom he strongly related. His modern approach against the *Biedermeier* was marked by hatred of the civil war. World weariness and inner conflict became a mask which enabled him to comment ironically on the regressive and reactionary tendencies of his time. For this reason, the French writer Nerval called him a 'romantique défroqué' – a Romantic, who had gone astray.²⁶⁵

Over the years, the poets' approach to the ballad had changed. While Goethe and Schiller had used the ballad as a means of educating the nation in an aesthetical way, the ballads of Brentano, Heine, Uhland, Kerner or Eichendorff expressed their views on the world and their attitude in the same way their lyrical poems did. Major topics were, depending on the poet, the feeling of being at home in pleasant nature; being isolated in an uncomprehending society; and melancholy arising out of the irreconcilable differences between reality and beauty.²⁶⁶

This overview gives a brief summary of what was a far more complex structure, with blurred boundaries between the different circles and genres. With this background in mind, it is interesting, that Loewe hardly acknowledged well-loved poets: even if Goethe, Rückert, Vogl, Giesebrecht and Uhland rank highest amongst Loewe's poets, authors like Stolberg, Hölty and Klopstock are missing.²⁶⁷ It is even more striking that he set only a single poem (*Der Kukuk*, op. 64 no. 2) from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. It is very likely that personal reasons influenced Loewe's

²⁶¹ Helge Nielsen, 'Die Restaurationszeit: Biedermeier und Vormärz', in Bengt Algot Sorensen (ed.), *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur: Vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1997), pp. 13-61, p. 32.

²⁶² Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur zwischen Französischer Revolution und Restauration I*, p. 716.

²⁶³ Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur zwischen Französischer Revolution und Restauration II*, p. 646.

²⁶⁴ Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur zwischen Französischer Revolution und Restauration I*, p. 134.

²⁶⁵ Nielsen, 'Die Restaurationszeit', pp. 46-7.

²⁶⁶ Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur zwischen Französischer Revolution und Restauration I*, p. 710.

²⁶⁷ Kung, *Carl Loewes Goethe-Vertonungen*, p. 30.

decision in choosing a text: Loewe was well acquainted with Wilhelm von Giesebrecht and Friedrich Rückert; he appreciated them both professionally and personally.²⁶⁸ Therese Albertine Louise von Jakob-Robinson, later known under her pseudonym Talvj, was the sister of his first wife Julie Jakob and provided Loewe with translations of Old English Ballads.²⁶⁹

Kung's list also reveals a great variety in terms of quality. Many of the poets he chose wrote work which Kung classifies as mediocre. However, the choice of poetry that was not of the highest artistic standards does not necessarily imply that the composer lacked literary education, as is clear when studying the poems chosen by Franz Schubert. While Schubert occasionally picked a poem that failed to convince as an independent work of art, this does not mean that he was unconcerned with poetry: on the contrary, he and his friends met on a regular basis to read and discuss literature.²⁷⁰ It was during these discussions with other enthusiastic readers, who were mostly not musicians, that he found most of his poems.²⁷¹ He also enjoyed reading the almanacs and collections of poems which were highly fashionable at the time.²⁷² When Schubert chose a poem, he paid not only attention to its absolute poetic quality, he also looked at the overall poetic situation it evoked, its themes, tones, motifs, moods and metres.²⁷³ Thus, a composer's choice of a certain poem does not necessarily imply a judgement concerning the absolute poetic value, but must be understood in relation to the music the composer intended to write.²⁷⁴

Kung suggests two explanations for Loewe's tendency to set mediocre poetry: Loewe's ballads were intended for the entertainment of the bourgeoisie and were therefore often slight.²⁷⁵ Indeed the 19th Century bourgeoisie did not judge ballads according to the elitist character of their literature, but according to their popularity.²⁷⁶ August Bürger believed strongly that the ballad was a popular genre, which had its roots in folk poetry and could be appreciated by everybody. Comparing the ballad to the muses, who had been removed from the eyes of the common people to the Olympus, he asked rhetorically: 'Should they not descend and walk on earth, like Apollo walked once upon a time amongst the Askanian shepherds? [...] Should they

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁶⁹ Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', pp. 170–1.

²⁷⁰ Walter Gerstenberg, 'Schubert und seine Dichter', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (20. 06. 1971), pp. 49–50, p. 49.

²⁷¹ Hans Joachim Kreutzer, 'Dichtkunst und Liedkunst: Franz Schubert und die Dichter', in Dietrich Berke; Walther Dürr; Walburga Litschauer and Christiane Schumann (eds.), *Bericht über den Internationalen Schubert-Kongreß Duisburg 1997: Franz Schubert – Werk und Rezeption* (Duisburg, 1999), pp. 3–21, p. 6.

²⁷² Gerstenberg, 'Schubert und seine Dichter', p. 49.

²⁷³ Kreutzer, 'Dichtkunst und Liedkunst', p. 6.

²⁷⁴ Gerstenberg, 'Schubert und seine Dichter', p. 49.

²⁷⁵ Kung, *Carl Loewes Goethe-Vertonungen*, p. 30.

²⁷⁶ Winfried Freund, *Die deutsche Ballade: Theorie, Analsen, Didaktik* (Paderborn, 1978), p. 12.

not forgather with the children of manhood in palaces and in cottages?²⁷⁷ Moreover, Loewe preferred texts of a narrative character. Their descriptive and specific contents often suppressed their poetic character.²⁷⁸

Another explanation is suggested by Günther Hartung: he argues that, with the literary genre of the ballad, Loewe was primarily composing for a genre that had already passed its zenith and found itself in constant decline.²⁷⁹ According to Hartung, the ballad held less and less importance from 1815 onwards. Apart from a few latecomers from the Classical period, only self-styled classicists and dilettantes wrote ballads in an ancient style, unappreciated by literary critics. When Loewe published *Edward*, his Opus 1, in 1824, this decline had already started. In 1835, Gustav Schilling claimed no significant compositions of ballads had been written for some years.²⁸⁰ Living in relative isolation in Stettin it was almost impossible for Loewe to discover new and fresh poetry, which might have served as an alternative. Hartung suggests that Loewe may have been completely unaware of this development. In any case, the literary decline did inevitably influence his work, which was in part responsive for accusations of triviality being levelled at Loewe.²⁸¹ Hartung claims that Loewe's ongoing interest in the declining literary genre 'helped these imitators to lead a fake life, which brought forward the weaker sides of his talent: the lack of discipline, the salon like and gentile and superficial tone painting.'²⁸² Among the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads, Hartung accuses especially *Tom der Reimer* and *Der Nöck* of these faults,²⁸³ as will be considered later. From 1850 onwards the interest in the piano accompanied ballad had vanished almost completely. Thus, especially Loewe's later compositions were seen as outdated.²⁸⁴ This shift in aesthetics in taste has not yet been fully examined. Studying contemporary comments on the ballad a few observations may, however, be made: the lack of interest in the ballad seems to be closely bound to a rising desire to establish a modern and enlightened taste after the end of the *Biedermeier*. Martin Plüddemann wrote in 1892 that 'the ballad hardly suits our modern taste, which is more attracted by the light of day, by the distinct and the clear, by the wish vividly to express all thoughts rather than to make

²⁷⁷ Original quote in Gottfried August Bürger, *Prosaische Aufsätze* (Stuttgart, 1885), p. 198: 'Sollten sie nicht herunterkommen und auf Erden wandeln, wie Apoll vorzeiten unter den Hirten Askaniens that? [...] Unter den Menschenkindern sowohl in Palästen als Hütten ein- und ausgehen?'

²⁷⁸ Kung, *Carl Loewes Goethe-Vertonungen*, p. 30.

²⁷⁹ Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', p. 160.

²⁸⁰ Sauer, *Article: Vokalballade nach 1700*, p. 1148.

²⁸¹ Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', p. 154.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

²⁸⁴ Sauer, *Article: Vokalballade nach 1700*, p. 1148.

them known through conjecture or suggestion'²⁸⁵. In a similar way, Rudolf Louis argued in 1909: 'We in our extremely subjective times have little understanding of, or liking for, the ballad with epic-objectivity as its principle feature'²⁸⁶.

While Herder's poems are not largely represented in numbers, his ideas are omnipresent in Loewe's work: many of the poets chosen by Loewe were deeply impressed with Herder and followed his example in collecting or translating folk poetry. But they followed a different, more literary approach. While Herder's main concern (even if he had also included art poetry in his collection) was still the folksong in its natural shape, the Romantics used it more as a basis and inspiration for their own poetic works.²⁸⁷ This approach was strongly influenced by the idea that art could serve as a second nature – one of the essential paradigms of Idealist aesthetics. Friedrich Schlegel believed that Idealism 'beholds nature like a work of art, like a poem. In the same way, man verses the world, without however being aware of this.'²⁸⁸ Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling carried this idea further with his idea of the *Weltseele* (the soul of the world). In this concept, the antagonism between nature and history, material and spirit are abolished; nature and art are regarded as two analogous phenomena.²⁸⁹

Moreover, as already noted, the approach to the ballad as 'voice of the world' changed with rising nationalism: while 18th Century aesthetics as found in Herder's collections featured the cosmopolitan and the 'world spirit'²⁹⁰ as the greatest good, the turn of the century gave way to more patriotic sentiments. After Napoleon's invasion and the eventual fall of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, Germany's nation state had been reduced to a mere collection of *kleinstaaten* (small states), and it was not unlikely that subjects of one *kleinstaat* would be forced by their rulers to fight against members of another *kleinstaat*, or even be sold to another ruler.²⁹¹ Even if Napoleon created some larger units, as for instance the Kingdoms of Bavaria and Westphalia, the country was divided into 1800 territories, which made unity in commerce, industry and religion very difficult.²⁹² Thus, a desire to express nationhood and nationalism²⁹³ emerged.

²⁸⁵ Martin Plüddemann, quoted in Edward F. Kravitt, 'The Ballad as Conceived by Germanic Composers of the Late Romantic Period', *Studies in Romanticism* xii/ 2 (1973), pp. 499-515, pp. 513-4, translation of the original German quote by Kravitt.

²⁸⁶ Rudolf Louis, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 513, translation of the original German quote by Kravitt.

²⁸⁷ Gabriella Schubert, 'Talvj: Deutsche und Südslawen', in Gabriella Schubert and Friedhilde Krause (eds.), *Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob-Robinson (1797-1870): Aus Liebe zu Goethe: Mittlerin der Balkanslawen* (Weimar, 2001), pp. 14-20, p. 15.

²⁸⁸ Original quote in Monika Schmitz-Emans, *Einführung in die Literatur der Romantik* (Darmstadt, 2004), p. 30: 'Der Idealismus betrachtet die Natur wie ein Kunstwerk, wie ein Gedicht. Der Mensch dichtet gleichsam die Welt, nur weiß er es nicht gleich.'

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-2.

²⁹⁰ See chapter 'World History' in Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*.

²⁹¹ Nowak, 'Vom "Trieb nach Vaterländischem"', pp. 155-6.

²⁹² Wilson, 'Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism'.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte carried the idea of a national spirit further with his *Addresses to the German Nation* in Berlin during winter 1807/8: a call to form a collective cultural identity despite all regional and cultural differences. These endeavours culminated in Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's claim that the 'world spirit'²⁹⁴ had passed from Revolutionary France to Restoration Prussia.²⁹⁵ With the Wars of Liberation in 1812 and 1813, certain nations, especially France, were deprecated as representatives of the Non-German. Ideas of national unification and a common cultural heritage to strengthen the national bonds seemed promising. This development was also mirrored in music: the years of 1814 and 1815 especially gave birth to a number of patriotic songs and ballads.²⁹⁶ Step by step, the Nordic ballad as introduced by Herder became established as a genre of highly symbolical patriotic meaning.²⁹⁷

The phenomenon of rising nationalism, linked to Herder's idea of a common cultural bond between all 'Nordic' nations, and a mythical golden age, are characteristic of many of Loewe's poets. One prominent example is Ludwig Uhland, who ranks in third place (after Goethe and Vogl) amongst the poets who Loewe chose for his ballads. According to Hartung, Uhland's poems mark the last climax and turning point in the history of the ballad.²⁹⁸ Uhland's favourite topics were stories from an undetermined, legendary prehistoric time; the European Middle Ages; but also contemporary daily life.²⁹⁹ Uhland was a student, when Arnim and Brentano published *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. He was very interested in folk balladry and also familiar with Herder's *Voices of the World in Song* and Percy's *Reliques*.³⁰⁰ He published several essays about German mythology: *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie im Mittelalter* (The History Of German Poetry During The Middle Ages, 1830) and *Sagengeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker* (The History Of The Sagas Of The Germanic And Romanic People, 1831–32).

Uhland was also strongly impressed with *Ossian* – to the extent that he renamed the idyllic Käsebachtal near Tübingen as 'Ossiantal'. He mentions *Ossian* several times in his works: in the poem *An einen Freund*; and in his essay about the *Song of the Nibelungs* where he sees the fallen heroes 'wie ein ossianisches Geisterreich riesenhaft in den Wolken' (like a giant, ossianic spirit-

²⁹³ The idea of nationalism in 19th Century German music has been studied by many researchers. A good overview of the different positions and their problems is given in Celia Applegate, 'How German is it? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century', *19th-Century Music* xxi/ 3 (1998), pp. 274–96.

²⁹⁴ See chapter 'World History' in Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*.

²⁹⁵ Mercer-Taylor, 'Mendelssohn's "Scottish" Symphony and the Music of German Memory', p. 77.

²⁹⁶ Examples: Louis Spohr's cantata *Das befreite Deutschland* (1815), Carl Maria von Weber's *Songs after Theodor Körner's collection Leyer und Schwert* (1814), Carl Maria von Weber's cantata *Kampf und Sieg*.

²⁹⁷ Nowak, 'Vom "Trieb nach Vaterländischem"', pp. 155–6.

²⁹⁸ Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', p. 165.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

³⁰⁰ Maicke Oergel, *The return of King Arthur and the Nibelungen: National myth in nineteenth-century English and German literature* (New York, 1998), pp. 131–2.

world in the clouds)³⁰¹ and in his diary.³⁰² Like Goethe, he experienced *Ossian* as an alternative to classical poetry:

What classical poetry [...] could not give me, because it was too complete, too clear, what I missed when reading new poetry with all its rhetorical ornaments – here, I found it: original images and characters with a background which stimulated my imagination.³⁰³

Heinrich Heine called Uhland the ‘Ossian of Medievalism’, his poetry an enchanting but hardly realistic potpourri of ‘knights, Nordic heroes, and Minnesingers’.³⁰⁴ According to Daverio, Uhland’s poems show clearly the close connection between the idea of Medievalism and *Ossian* in the 19th Century: in both cases, the heroes are characterised by ‘chivalry, nobility, magnanimity of spirit and a hunger for adventure.’³⁰⁵ Like Herder, Uhland believed in a strong cultural bond between all Nordic countries. He placed the emphasis on the relationship to the Scandinavian cultures, which he felt to be especially closely connected to the German culture, due to similarities in language and mythology.³⁰⁶

If we search additional information about German sagas, we need to take into account the people, who have proved themselves as a member of the great Germanic tribe, due to the relatedness of their languages. We can, for example, detect a common mythology among all people of the Scandinavian north, [...] a common heroic saga, as well as, even where the branches derive, common roots.³⁰⁷

As he believed the bond between German and Scandinavian culture to be especially strong, he soon started to undertake studies in Scandinavian languages, mythology and history.³⁰⁸ In the summer of 1805 he purchased at an auction a version of the *Heldenbuch* – a collection of medieval epic heroic tales – from Herder’s bequest and studied the tales of *Ortnit* and

³⁰¹ Hartmut Froeschle, *Ludwig Uhland und die Romantik* (Cologne, Vienna, 1973), p. 169.

³⁰² On the 4th of January 1815, Uhland notes: ‘Ossian. Museum, Minerva, worin Fouqués Belagerung von Antona. Abends Französische Lieder von Findh.’ In: Ludwig Uhland, *Tagebuch 1810–1820: Aus des Dichters handschriftlichem Nachlass* (2nd edn; Stuttgart, 1898), p. 152.

³⁰³ Original quote in Emilie Uhland, *Ludwig Uhlands Leben: Aus dessen Nachlaß und aus eigener Erinnerung zusammengestellt von seiner Witwe* (Stuttgart, 1874), p. 20: ‘Was die klassischen Dichtwerke [...] mir nicht geben konnten, weil sie mir zu klar, zu fertig dastunden, was ich an der neueren Poesie mit all ihrem rhetorischen Schmucke vermißte, das fand ich hier: frische Bilder und Gestalten mit einem tiefen Hintergrunde, der die Phantasie beschäftigte und Ansprach.’

³⁰⁴ John Daverio, ‘Schumann’s Ossianic Manner’, *19th-Century Music* xxi/ 3 (1998), pp. 247–73, p. 261.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

³⁰⁶ Oergel, *The return of King Arthur and the Nibelungen*, p. 133.

³⁰⁷ Original quote in Ludwig Uhland, *Sagengeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1892), p. 189: ‘Suchen wir Ergänzung und Aufklärung [Über deutsche Sagen], so müssen wir unseren Gesichtskreis auf diejenigen Völker erweitern, die sich uns durch Sprachverwandtschaft als Glieder des großen germanischen Gesamtstammes bewähren. So nun zeigt sich uns vorzüglich bei den Völkern des skandinavischen Nordens eine gemeinsame Götterlehre, [...] eine gemeinsame Heldensage und auch, wo die Sagenäste sich scheiden, der gemeinsame Ursprung.’

³⁰⁸ For more details about Uhland’s Nordic studies see Wilhelm Moestue, *Uhlands nordische Studien* (Berlin, 1902).

Wolfdietrich.³⁰⁹ In 1811, he got to know Wilhelm Grimms' *Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen* (Heidelberg, 1811) and Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen's Old Norse songs published in the *Pantheon*.³¹⁰ Another important influence was Saxo Grammaticus's epic history of Denmark (ca. 1185), which was strongly influenced by sagas and myths. Uhland planned an epic in three parts *Helgo und die Starkather*. When he eventually started to give lectures on the Sagas of the Germanic people in 1831, he frequently referred to Saxo Grammaticus.³¹¹

Another poet representing Herder's ideas in Loewe's ballads was Talvj (Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob Robinson). Born on the 26th of January 1797 in Halle, she spent a major part of her childhood in Russia, as her father Heinrich von Jakob lectured at the universities of St. Petersburg and Charkov. After the family's return to Halle in 1816, where her father continued his career as a professor, Talvj associated with several literary circles. She began to write novels and reviews.³¹² Talvj became known in German literary circles through her translation of Walter Scott's *Ernst Bertold* as well as her poems and short stories. She studied Serbian folk literature and the Serbian language, as well as various peoples' history and folk literature and the poems of Ossian.³¹³ In 1825 and 1826, Talvj published the *Volkslieder der Serben* (Serbian Folksongs) in Halle.³¹⁴ She dedicated the collection to Goethe, which gave rise to a regular correspondence between the two poets. Goethe became one of Talvj's major supporters.³¹⁵ She was mainly interested in ethnic groups that were detached from modern Western industrial society: the ancient Teutonic, Scandinavian and Scottish tribes, and groups upon whom the influence of modern society had been enforced, such as the indigenous peoples of North America. She was anxious for them to maintain their own traditions in order to keep alive the spirit of their people – one of the ideas that she shared with Herder.³¹⁶ Already from 1817 onwards, she translated Old English ballads and poems by Lord Byron for Loewe.³¹⁷ Like Herder, she believed in an ethnic bond between the German, Scottish, English and Scandinavian peoples, which she classified as all Germanic, divided into three groups: the Germans, the Scandinavians and the

³⁰⁹ Froeschle, *Ludwig Uhland und die Romantik*, p. 156.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

³¹² Jovan Delic; Novi Sad, 'Therese von Jakob-Robinson (Talgj) gesehen in interkulturellen Prozessen der Epoche', in Gabriella Schubert and Friedhilde Krause (eds.), *Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob-Robinson (1797-1870): Aus Liebe zu Goethe: Mittlerin der Balkanslawen* (Weimar, 2001), pp. 49–67, p. 57.

³¹³ Talvj, *Versuch einer geschichtlichen Charakterisierung der Volkslieder germanischer Nationen mit einer Uebersicht der Lieder außereuropäischer Völkerschaften* (Leipzig, 1840); Talvj, *Die Unächtheit der Lieder Ossian's und der Macpherson'schen Ossian's insbesondere* (Leipzig, 1840).

³¹⁴ Schubert, 'Talgj', p. 18.

³¹⁵ Miloš Okuka, *Deutsch-serbische Kulturbeziehungen im Spiegel des Volksliedes: Talvj-Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob (1797-1870)* (Hamburg, 2003), p. 32.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³¹⁷ Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', pp. 170–1.

British. The British were divided into the English and Scottish, the German into German and Dutch, the Scandinavian into Icelandic, Faröish, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish.³¹⁸ Without doubt, Talvj had a strong influence on Loewe's developing interest in the Nordic ballad and his image of the Northern cultures.³¹⁹

The poet Luise von Plönnies also shared Loewe's great interest in Herder's collections of folksongs: in keeping with the new romantic enthusiasm for the rediscovered Nordic heritage, von Plönnies had translated many poems from English.³²⁰ She cultivated a close connection with the English publisher, writer and Byron expert Thomas Medwin³²¹ and was supported and encouraged by Ferdinand von Freiligrath, another poet, whom Loewe held in high regard.³²² Loewe set several of von Plönnies' poems, and she is a specific example of his preference for poets neglected by other composers. Only five composers set poems by von Plönnies, and none of them used more than one poem.³²³ Yet, Loewe set not only her complete song cycle *Agnete*, but also the ballad *Der kleine Schiffer*. It is very likely that her interest in the North was one of the major factors that made Loewe choose her works.

Loewe owes two of his most famous ballads, *Archibald Douglas* and *Tom der Reimer* to Theodor Fontane. Like Herder, Uhland and Talvj, Fontane's vision of the North not only included the North of Germany and Denmark, but also England and Scotland and an undefined historic dimension, going back to the earliest sagas.³²⁴ Fontane was fascinated with Anglo-Scottish ballads which he had studied since 1848 through the collections of Percy and Scott.³²⁵ He translated numerous Scottish, English and Nordic ballads, some were published posthumously, among them *Tom der Reimer* and his own translation of *Edward* – an alternative to Herder's famous version of the ballad.³²⁶ While Fontane's original goal was to surpass Herder as a translator, he later acknowledged not having been able to live up to Herder's beautiful simplistic tone. Fontane's and Herder's approaches were however quite different: Fontane did not seek to

³¹⁸ Irma Elizabeth Voigt, *The Life and Works of Mrs. Therese Robinson (Talgj)* (Illinois, 1913), p. 85.

³¹⁹ Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', pp. 170–1.

³²⁰ Examples: *Britannia. Eine Auswahl englischer Dichtungen alter und neuer Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1843); *Englische Lyriker des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1863).

³²¹ Gabriele Käfer-Dittmar, *Luise von Ploennies 1803-1872: Annäherung an eine vergessene Dichterin* (Darmstadt, 1999), pp. 23–4.

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³²³ Carl Hirsch *An das Meer* op. 75; Adolf Jensen *An die Nacht*, op. 61 no 6, based on the poem *To the night* by Percy Bysshe Shelley; Franz Wilhelm Abt *In der Sterne sanftem Scheine* op. 54 no 6; Carl Ludwig Amand Mangold *In der Sterne sanftem Scheine (Sternenschein)* op. 12 no 3; Carl Friedrich Johann Girschner *Ist es Wonne, ist es Schmerz* op. 43 no 2.

³²⁴ Dieter Bänsch, 'Preußens und Dreysens Gloria: Zu Fontanes Kriegsbüchern', in Heinz Ludwig Arnold (ed.), *Theodor Fontane* (Munich, 1989), pp. 30–54, pp. 45–6.

³²⁵ Helmut Nürnberger, *Der frühe Fontane: Politik Poesie Geschichte. 1840 bis 1860* (Hamburg, 1967), pp. 206–7.

³²⁶ W.D Williams, 'Archibald Douglas', in Rupert Hirschenauer and Albrecht Weber (eds.), *Wege zum Gedicht ii: Interpretationen von Balladen* (Munich, Zurich, 1964), pp. 367–76, p. 368.

translate and to revive old ballads but to create modern poems in the guise of national folklore, as famously featured in *Archibald Douglas*.

According to Bänisch, the first half of the 19th Century gave way to yet another shift in the perception of the symbolic meaning of the North – a development which is mirrored in Fontane's works. The idea of the North as the North of Ossian and the Germanic Renaissance, as discovered during the 18th Century, was changing in character and ambition. It was still featuring the desire for an unspoiled nature and dreams of liberty featured, as inspired by the rising nationalism, but with less drastic political implications. Revolutionary fervour gave way to more emphasis to loyalty to the state. According to Bänisch, *Archibald Douglas* demonstrates this development: the apostate servant begs the King for forgiveness, and professes that his highest ideal is to serve his King and live a quiet life at home in his fatherland.³²⁷

The study of Anglo-Scottish ballads were of profound importance for Fontane's development as a composer of ballads³²⁸ and also influenced his novels: according to Bänisch, Fontane's use of certain recurring patterns, such as 'the chivalric, knights on their horses, the saviour, the hero in general in all his poetic glory'³²⁹ can be found in his ballads as well as his prose works.³³⁰ Fontane uses direct allusions to important representatives of the ballad as a genre: the cast of *Vor dem Sturm* (Before The Storm, Berlin, 1878) features admirers of Herder and Percy as well as a young balladeer, Hansen-Grell, who dies in a 'ballad-like skirmish.'³³¹ In an even more curious way, Fontane also alludes to Loewe in his novel *Effi Briest* (Effi Briest, Berlin, 1896). During an evening party, the singer Marietta Trippelli is asked by the pharmacist Gieshübler to perform a ballad. As she goes through the available sheet music, she comments on the different compositions. Coming across Loewe's ballads, she mocks them for being slightly outdated and not very subtle:

'Erl-King' ... ah, bah; 'Mill-stream, peace to your babbling' ... but Gieshübler, I ask you, you're a marmot, you've been asleep for seven years ... And Löwe's ballads; not exactly the latest thing either. 'The Bells of Speyer' ... Oh, all that ding, dong, ding, really it's just cheap sensationalism, it's tasteless and passé. Ah, but here we have 'Sir Olaf'³³² ... now that's all right.³³³

³²⁷ Bänisch, 'Preußens und Dreysens Gloria', pp. 45-6.

³²⁸ Nürnberger, *Der frühe Fontane*, pp. 206-7.

³²⁹ Original quote in Bänisch, 'Preußens und Dreysens Gloria', p. 43: 'das Ritterhafte, Recken zu Pferd, der Retter, überhaupt der Held und die Helden in poetischer Glorie'

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³³¹ Richard Humphrey, 'The Napoleonic Wars in the Historical Fiction of the *Gründerjahre*: Fontane and his Contemporaries in European Perspective', in Gisela Brude-Firnau and Karin Jutta MacHardy (eds.), *Fact and fiction: German history and literature, 1848-1924* (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 111-22, p. 120.

³³² It can be assumed, that *Sir Olaf* stands for *Herr Oluf*, Loewe's setting of Herder's poem.

³³³ Theodor Fontane, *Effi Briest: Translated from the German by Hugh Robinson and Helen Chambers* (London, 2000), p. 67, original quote in Theodor Fontane, *Effi Briest* (Berlin, 1896), pp. 154-5: 'Erlkönig...ah, bah; Bächlein, laß

It is not clear if Fontane shared his character's opinion that Loewe's ballads were outdated. However, what is abundantly clear is that the Nordic ballad is of considerable importance in Fontane's own work.

In considering Loewe's choice of poets, especially with regard to his Nordic ballads, one can detect a clear profile: Loewe chose poets who were either especially strong in the genre of the ballad (as Fontane and Uhland) or supporting the ideas of Herder (as Talvj and von Plönnies). In making these poetic choices, Loewe acknowledges the highly symbolical meaning of the 19th Century Nordic ballad, which had become much more than a simple piece of music: it was a call for national and historical awareness, while at the same time it was also a nostalgic reference to a mythical, golden age.

dein Rauschen sein... Aber Gieshübler, ich bitte Sie, Sie sind ein Murmeltier, Sie haben sieben Jahre lang geschlafen... Und hier Loewesche Balladen; auch nicht gerade des Neueste. Glocken von Speyer... Ach, dies ewige Bimbam, das beinah einer Kulissenreißerei gleichkommt, ist geschmacklos und abgestanden. Aber hier Ritter Olaf... nun das geht.' Und sie stand auf, und während der Pastor begleitete, sang sie den Olaf mit großer Sicherheit und Bravour und erntete allgemeinen Beifall.'

5. THE 'NORDIC TONE': CRITERIA AND STYLISTIC MODELS

Loewe's Nordic ballads stand in the tradition of countless compositions inspired by the burgeoning enthusiasm for the North. These compositions were either based directly on works by famous writers (Robert Burns, Ossian or Sir Walter Scott) or captured an overall mythical, Nordic atmosphere. Just as Johann Gottfried von Herder and his contemporaries had made no distinction between the Gaelic, Celtic, and Germanic heritage,³³⁴ mid-19th Century German critics did not distinguish between an 'Ossianic manner', an overall 'Nordic character', or a 'Scottish style' emulating themes from Scottish folk music.³³⁵ Matthew Gelbart draws attention to the fact, that, besides *Ossian*, Richard Wagner played an important part in the discussion about the 'Nordic tone'.³³⁶ This can also be well observed in the various attempts to establish the image of Loewe as Wagner's predecessor, as discussed in chapter 4.1. Considering the flamboyant mix of Ossianic, medieval and warlike topics, one is faced with a highly ambiguous terminology making the 'Nordic tone' even more difficult to define. In order to analyse Loewe's 'Nordic tone', it is however essential to determine analytical criteria. This will be attempted in two different ways: by looking at contemporary reviews describing the 'Nordic tone', and by consulting paradigmatic Nordic works which Loewe must have been familiar with and which are therefore likely to have influenced his own style. While the 'Nordic tone' in Loewe's ballads has not been examined in great detail, scholars have studied his musical description of the Gothic – a concept which in 19th Century understanding, was closely linked to the concept of the Nordic. In this chapter, the features of the Loewe's Gothic style and those of paradigmatic Nordic works will be examined for similarities.

The question of whether a 'Nordic tone' exists dates back nearly 200 years.³³⁷ When studying academic opinion regarding the 'Nordic tone', it is striking that there seems to be a very vague understanding of what the 'Nordic tone' should evoke, and an even less clear idea of how exactly this was to be achieved. Friedhelm Krummacher believes these diffuse outlines to be a characteristic of the 'Nordic tone', because the 'Uncertain of the Nordic [...] would melt away, if

³³⁴ Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century', p. 843.

³³⁵ Daverio, 'Schumann's Ossianic Manner', pp. 252–3.

³³⁶ Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge, 2007).

³³⁷ Jan Ling, 'Gibt es einen "nordischen" Ton?', in Peter Andraschke and Edelgard Spaude (eds.), *Welttheater: Die Künste im 19. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1992), pp. 49–57, p. 49.

one could pin it down'.³³⁸ Ling identifies three major ways of identifying the 'Nordic tone': through its reception, through analysis and through sociology and dialectics.³³⁹ The latter is for example pursued by Siegfried Oechsle. He stresses that it is crucial to examine the 'Nordic tone' by considering external sociological factors as well as the history of ideas.³⁴⁰ He argues that the term 'Nordic tone' needs to be written in quotation marks (as applied in this dissertation) in order to mark it as a 'metalinguistic phenomenon'.³⁴¹ Krummacher places special emphasis on the 'Nordic tone' as a 'national' phenomenon.³⁴² Picking up on the term 'national', Oechsle elaborates on its problematic ideological implications in a post-Nazi context³⁴³ which need not be discussed in more detail here, as it is not relevant. However, the terms 'national' and 'nationalism' were not without their own difficulties in the 19th Century, as is clear from the discussion of the political situation. Referring to the 19th Century idea of the Scottish, English and Scandinavian cultures bound to the German people through a common cultural heritage, John Daverio suggests that German listeners recognised a familiar tone in compositions dealing with Nordic topics, without being able to describe it. Therefore, 'descriptions of a Nordic character in music should be taken as early attempts to cope with what undoubtedly struck German listeners as an unusual but not completely foreign musical tongue.'³⁴⁴ Heinrich Wilhelm Schwab has made an important contribution to the academic debate about the 'Nordic tone' by studying how its representative works were received.³⁴⁵ His work elaborates on one major reason why the 'Nordic tone' is so difficult to define: its justification through extra-musical features, such as titles, programmes or even the composer's origins.

³³⁸ Original quote in Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Gattung und Werk: Zu Streichquartetten von Gade und Berwald', in Friedhelm Krummacher and Heinrich Wilhelm Schwab (eds.), *Gattung und Werk in der Musikgeschichte Norddeutschlands und Skandinaviens: Referate der Kieler Tagung 1980* (Kassel, 1982), pp. 154–76, p. 164: 'das Ungewisse des Nordischen [...] müsse dann zerrinnen, wenn es sich dingfest machen ließe.'

³³⁹ Ling, 'Gibt es einen "nordischen" Ton?', p. 57.

³⁴⁰ Siegfried Oechsle, *Symphonik nach Beethoven: Studien zu Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn und Gade* (Kassel, 1992), p. 59.

³⁴¹ Oechsle, 'Der „nordische Ton“ als zentrales musikgeschichtliches Phänomen', p. 240.

³⁴² Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Thesen zum "Nationalen" in der Musikgeschichte', in Siegfried Oechsle; Heinrich Wilhelm Schwab; Bernd Sponheuer and Helmut Well (eds.), *Musik im Norden: Abhandlungen zur skandinavischen und norddeutschen Musikgeschichte* (Kassel, 1996), pp. 75–84.

³⁴³ Oechsle, 'Der „nordische Ton“ als zentrales musikgeschichtliches Phänomen', p. 240.

³⁴⁴ Daverio, 'Schumann's Ossianic Manner', p. 253.

³⁴⁵ Heinrich Wilhelm Schwab, 'Das Lyrische Klavierstück und der nordische Ton', in Friedhelm Krummacher and Heinrich Wilhelm Schwab (eds.), *Gattung und Werk in der Musikgeschichte Norddeutschlands und Skandinaviens: Referate der Kieler Tagung 1980* (Kassel, 1982), pp. 136–53, Heinrich Wilhelm Schwab, 'Der 'nordische' Ton in der Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Bernd Henningsen (ed.), *Wahlverwandtschaft: Skandinavien und Deutschland 1800 bis 1914* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 228–31.

Extra-musical Factors

The anonymous critic of an article on Swedish composer Jacob Axel Josephson writes: 'This composer is a Norseman. Therefore, it is natural that his melodies should show a Nordic character.'³⁴⁶ However, the 'Nordic tone' was not exclusive to Scandinavian composers. A review discussing Robert Schumann's *Volksliedchen* (op. 68 no. 9) comments: 'This little, moving melody is apparently of Norwegian character.'³⁴⁷ By studying contemporary reviews, Schwab identifies some features that he believes to be typical of the 'Nordic tone' in the 19th Century: archaic harmonic and melodic turns, rhythms of dances rooted in Nordic cultures, the absence of leading tones and frequent changes between major and minor.³⁴⁸ Critics however believe the Nordic tone to be mere fiction, arguing that the features in question are not exclusive to the Nordic character, but represent a popular stylistic attribute throughout 19th Century music.³⁴⁹ Carl Dahlhaus argues that 19th Century national tones are first and foremost a question of 'perception and agreement of the method of reception'.³⁵⁰ Thus, incidental factors, such as evocative language in the title, pictures or the mere use of the minor key could be sufficient to evoke a Nordic atmosphere.³⁵¹ Considering these problems and keeping in mind the discussion about Mendelssohn's *Scottish Symphony*, it is reasonable for Oechsle to summarise the essence of the 'Nordic tone' as 'little substance, much reception'.³⁵²

The Minor Key

The idea of the melancholic bard, embedded in gloomy scenery, had a strong influence on contemporary critics' view of programmatic compositions: a review from 1846 praised Gade as a 'Nordic bard' with 'preference for gloomy, melancholic minor keys' together with an 'especially tender [...] treatment of the major harmonies'.³⁵³ These characteristics became the embodiment

³⁴⁶ Anonymous critic, 'Jacob Axel Josephson', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* xxvi/ 1 (1847): 'Der Componist ist ein Nordländer, und so finden wir es natürlich, wenn seine Melodien einen nordischen Charakter an sich tragen.'

³⁴⁷ Anonymous critic quoted in Schwab, 'Das Lyrische Klavierstück und der nordische Ton', p. 139: 'Diese kleine ergreifende Melodie trägt offenbar norwegischen Charakter.'

³⁴⁸ Schwab, 'Der 'nordische' Ton in der Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts', p. 228.

³⁴⁹ Schwab, 'Das Lyrische Klavierstück und der nordische Ton', p. 143.

³⁵⁰ Original quote in Carl Dahlhaus, *Zwischen Romantik und Moderne: Vier Studien zur Musikgeschichte des späteren 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1974), p. 80: 'Auffassung und Übereinkunft: der Rezeptionsweise'

³⁵¹ Schwab, 'Das Lyrische Klavierstück und der nordische Ton', p. 145.

³⁵² Original quote in Oechsle, 'Der „nordische Ton“ als zentrales musikgeschichtliches Phänomen', p. 240: 'wenig Substanz, viel Rezeption'

³⁵³ Original quote in anonymous, 'Review *Comala*', *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* xxxviii (1846), p. 805: 'nordischer Barde', 'Vorliebe für die düsteren, melancholischen Molltonarten', 'eigenthümlichen weichen und sinnigen Behandlung der Durharmonien'

of the 'Nordic tone'.³⁵⁴ This understanding has its roots not only in the grey, misty and rough landscapes of the North which seemed like an interesting alternative to the sunny and lovely images of Italy, but also in Ossian's concept of 'joy of grief'.³⁵⁵ Ossian indulges in mourning the long gone past. When thinking about the tragedies of the past, 'memory awake[s] grief',³⁵⁶ but with the indulgence also a feeling of paradoxical joy. According to Moulton, it was especially this appeal to historical consciousness, which 'struck a resonating chord'³⁵⁷ in Macpherson's contemporaries. Besides the longing for the past, loneliness and isolation are recurring topics in *Ossian*, nourishing 'the Romantic indulgence in melancholy'.³⁵⁸ This is evident in the songs of Selma, where Colma waits in vain for her lover, alone on the stormy hill.

Closely linked to the 'gloomy minor key' is a flat-sharp dichotomy which had become a convention by the late 18th Century and prevailed still during the early 19th Century.³⁵⁹ Only a few examples of what is a far more complex phenomenon will be given: already in 1768, Rousseau discussed the different keys in the article *Ton* in his *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768). He describes F major and all the flat major keys as majestic and solemn, the flat minor keys as tender. In contrast, he characterises A major, D major and the sharp major keys as brilliant and gay.³⁶⁰ The most complete and most influential list of key characteristics was written by Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart in 1784 (published posthumously in 1806).³⁶¹ In his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, he describes flat keys such as Ab major, f minor and Bb major as particularly suitable for the setting of a Requiem, because they evoke a soft, dying and hollow feeling, which corresponds to death's condition.³⁶² The keys A major, E major and B major were, in contrast, much too bright for such a setting.³⁶³ In 1823, Johann Jacob Wagner, professor of philosophy at Würzburg University, characterised the different keys in an article in the *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.³⁶⁴ He believed the flat major keys Bb, Eb and Ab to be dignified and solemn, while the sharp majors were associated with more earthly pleasure: D major symbolised the hunt, A major wine-drinking, E major feasting.³⁶⁵ Wilhelm Christian

³⁵⁴ Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung in der musikalischen Komposition*, p. 122.

³⁵⁵ James Macpherson, *The poems of Ossian and related works* (Edinburgh, 1996), p. 61, *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15, *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁵⁷ Paul F. Moulton, *Of Bards and Harps: The influence of Ossian on musical style* (unpublished, 2005), p. 32.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³⁵⁹ Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (2nd edn; Rochester, New York, 2002), pp. 190-1.

³⁶⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768), p. 517.

³⁶¹ Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zur Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna, 1806).

³⁶² Apart from Bb major, these keys were, however, only rarely used for requiems.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-5.

³⁶⁴ Johann Jacob Wagner, 'Ideen über Musik', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitschrift* xxv (1823), pp. 713-21.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 713-6.

Müller argued in 1830 in his *Versuch einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*³⁶⁶ that keys like Ab, Eb, Bb and F had muffled sounds and were suitable for gentle, solemn and dreamy feelings. Likewise, they were more suitable for Andantes and Adagios. In contrast, he described G major, D major and A major as bright and hard and suitable for Allegros, Prestos and cheerful dances, as they were loud, jolly and of the common man.³⁶⁷ Thus, the flat minor keys were seen as the most solemn and gloomy keys of all, with d-minor being especially 'melancholic and horrible'³⁶⁸. Schubert frequently uses the flat minor keys for songs involving the supernatural and death. Especially d minor is often used for the shift from life to death (*Der Tod und das Mädchen* D531, *Freiwilliges Versinken* D700, *Fahrt zum Hades* D526) and c minor for the appearance of the supernatural (*Die Krähe* D911 no. 15, *Gruppe aus dem Tartarus* D583).³⁶⁹ These key characteristics have their origins mainly in opera, as for example Mozart's *Idomeneo* K. 366 and *Don Giovanni* K. 527 or Gluck's ballet *Don Juan* (1761).³⁷⁰ They also play an important role in Wagner's music dramas, for example in *Der Ring des Nibelungen* and *Parsifal*.³⁷¹

Like most key connotations, this connotation was mostly marked by certain influential works, especially operas. J. A. Schrader wrote in 1827 in his *Kleines Taschenwörterbuch der Musik* about d minor:

It proclaims gloomy lament, deep suffering. (*Idomeneo*: 'All eure Martern fühl' ich') It depicts melancholy feelings. (Mozart's *Requiem*: 'Friede den Entschlafenen.') A sense of pious prayer (The same work: 'Großer Mittler, uns alle.'). Also, that which is frightening and deeply moving (The same work: 'Erden wanken, Welten beben', and above all *Don Giovanni*: 'Nun Don Juan, Du hast gebeten.').³⁷²

The different keys thus also symbolise the transition between the human world and the supernatural. Schubert had previously used meandering harmonic schemes in order to depict psychological changes³⁷³ and to create a dramatic illusion.³⁷⁴ Moreover, metaphysical states are

³⁶⁶ Wilhelm Christian Müller, *Versuch einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Leipzig, 1830).

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

³⁶⁸ J. A. Schrader, *Kleines Taschenwörterbuch der Musik* (Helmstädt, 1827), pp. 152–7: 'schwermüthig und schaurig'

³⁶⁹ Clive McClelland, 'Death and the Composer: The Context of Schubert's Supernatural Lieder', in Brian Newbould (ed.), *Schubert the Progressive: History, Performance Practice, Analysis* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 21–35, p. 34.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁷¹ Jonathan Christian Petty, *Wagner's lexical tonality* (Lewiston, New York, 2005).

³⁷² Schrader, *Kleines Taschenwörterbuch der Musik*, pp. 152–7: 'Sie verkündet düstre Klage, tiefes Leiden; (*Idomeneo*: All' eure Martern fühl' ich') schildert wehmütige Empfindungen; (*Mozart, Requiem*: Frieden den Entschlafenen) frommen betenden Sinn; (daselbst: *Großer Mittler, uns alle*) auch das Furchtbare und Fiebergreifende. (Daselbst: *Erden wanken, Welten beben, - und vorzüglich noch Don Giovanni: Nun Don Juan, Du hast gebeten u.s.w.*) [...].

³⁷³ Majorie Wing Hirsch, *Schubert's dramatic Lieder* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 137.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

often represented by a sudden loss of the true bass.³⁷⁵ These key characteristics are, however, highly controversial:³⁷⁶ advocates of key characteristics endeavoured to find physical causes to explain the different affects, such as the temperament of keyboard instruments; open versus stopped strings on string instruments; and the construction of wind instruments. In fact, the main reason for key characteristics was psychological and rooted within opera conventions.³⁷⁷

The imitation of specific 'Nordic' features

Closely linked to the 'joy of grief' is the depiction of the bard himself, through the use of the harp, the bardic instrument and Ossian's favourite instrument. By prominently featuring the harp, the concert overture *Echoes of Ossian* by Niels Gade creates a direct link to the bard himself.³⁷⁸ The same approach can be found in Max Bruch's *Scottish Fantasy* in Eb major (1880, op. 46) where the use of the harp alludes to the bard.³⁷⁹ Moreover, pedal-points and open fifths in the bass imitate bagpipes.

Ex. 11: Bruch: *Schottische Fantasie*, 2nd movement, bb. 17-20

³⁷⁵ Kristina Muxfeldt, 'Schubert's songs', in Christopher H. Gibbs (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 121–37, p. 127.

³⁷⁶ Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, p. 187.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 189–90.

³⁷⁸ Anna Harwell Celenza, *The Early Works of Niels W. Gade: In search of the poetic* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 133.

³⁷⁹ Marxen, 'Max Bruch und die musikalische Schottland-Romantik', pp. 131–2.

The bardic harp as *the* bardic instrument lies thus at the heart of various orchestral compositions in a 'Nordic tone'. Its use in ballads or songs is, however, much rarer. While the harp and the guitar had been popular accompanying instruments at the end of the 18th Century, much less music for voice and plucked instruments was written after the turn of the century.³⁸⁰ Schumann's *Drei Gesänge aus Lord Byrons 'Hebräischen Gesängen'* op. 95, based on Lord Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (London 1815, also set to music by Loewe), represent an exception: they had originally been written for voice and harp. Later Schumann considered writing an alternative accompaniment for piano, possibly to increase the chances of publication. In the end, he opted for an alternative performance of the accompaniment 'for harp or piano'.³⁸¹ Significantly, the poetry chosen already suggests the use of a harp: in the *Hebrew Melodies'* second poem, *The Harp the Monarch Minstrel Swept*, King David and his harp are mentioned. While Schumann did not set this particular poem, he nevertheless included it in his anthology *Dichtergarten für Musik*.³⁸² According to Jost, Schumann perceived the harp as a symbol for Israel's destiny and thus as an appropriate instrument for a setting of the *Hebrew Melodies*.³⁸³ Another exception is Johannes Brahms' *Vier Gesänge für Frauenchor, zwei Hörner und Harfe* op. 17 (Four Songs For Women's Choir, Two Horns And Harp).³⁸⁴ Just as with Schumann, the use of the harp is suggested through some of the songs' lyrics: the first song is called *Es tönt ein voller Harfenschall* (We Hear The Sound Of A Harp, after Friedrich Ruperti), the fourth song is an *Ossian* setting, *Gesang aus Fingal* (Song From Fingal).

Even if the harp was less important as accompanying instrument, it still held a high symbolic importance, reminiscent of the Aeolian harp or Ossian. Daniel Beller-McKenna identifies two main ideas the harp was expected to evoke in 19th Century music: remembrance and disembodiment.³⁸⁵ By comparing a number of songs by Schumann and Brahms as well as studying poems by poets like Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Ludwig Tieck, Wilhelms Heinrich Wackenroder, Emanuel Geibel and E. T. A. Hoffmann, he proposes that the harp was in general associated with the idea of the requiem. According to Beller-McKenna, the harp was

³⁸⁰ Walter Salmen, 'Lieder zur Harfe im Zeitalter Goethes', *Harpa: Internationales Harfen-Journal* v (1992), pp. 44–9.

³⁸¹ Peter Jost, 'Schumanns 'Drei Gesänge aus Lord Byrons Hebräischen Gesängen' op. 95', in Thomas Synofzik and Hans-Günter Ottenberg (eds.), *Schumann und Dresden: Bericht über das Symposium 'Robert und Clara Schumann in Dresden: Biographische, kompositionsgeschichtliche und soziokulturelle Aspekte' in Dresden vom 15. bis 18. Mai 2008* (Cologne, 2010), pp. 149–66, p. 150.

³⁸² Robert Schumann, *Dichtergarten für Musik: Eine Anthologie für Freunde der Literatur und Musik* (Frankfurt am Main, Basel, 2007), pp. 332–4.

³⁸³ Jost, 'Schumanns 'Drei Gesänge aus Lord Byrons Hebräischen Gesängen' op. 95', p. 157.

³⁸⁴ For a more detailed study see Mary Breden, 'Classic beauty and Romantic flair in Brahms' *Vier Gesänge für Frauenchor, zwei Hörner und Harfe*', *Choral journal* xxxi/ 5 (1990), pp. 35–43.

³⁸⁵ Daniel Beller-McKenna, 'Distance and Disembodiment: Harps, Horns, and the Requiem Idea in Schumann and Brahms', *The Journal of Musicology* xxii/ 1 (2005), pp. 47–89.

often depicted as 'a mediator between heavenly and wordly realms'³⁸⁶ or even as 'a mediator between the worlds of the dead and the living'³⁸⁷. The composers did, however, not always use actual harps. A prime example is Schumann's song *Requiem* op. 90 no. 7. In the third stanza, the harp is mentioned as an instrument of Heaven: 'Do you hear? A joyous song resounds with festive tones, in which the beautiful angel's harp sings out'³⁸⁸. Rather than using a real harp, Schumann depicts the harp through arpeggiated chords in the piano accompaniment and even indicates that the piano part should be played 'as the sound of a harp' ('wie Harfenton').³⁸⁹

Thus, even if a composition did not use actual harps, it could still imitate the sound in order to create certain connotations. Ludwig van Beethoven had previously captured the registral sound of the Aeolian harp in his piano music, by using the pedalling in a specific way and by using triplets and sextuplets, as in the *Moonlight Sonata* op. 27 no. 2, or the second movement in the Piano Concerto no. 5, op. 73.³⁹⁰ A similar approach can be found in the opening bars of Franz Schubert's Impromptu in Gb major, op. 90 no. 3.³⁹¹ Moreover, the imitation of a harp or a guitar is typical of the barcarole, with an ostinato figure in the bass and the swaying movement.³⁹² The barcarole is associated mostly with Venetian topics and therefore differs strongly from the aesthetic implications of the 'Nordic tone'. Thus, the topic will not be discussed in more detail. It should merely be noted that the imitation of a harp or a guitar in the sense of a barcarole can be found in a number of Loewe's songs, among them ballads dealing with French, Spanish and Polish topics, such as *Sanct Helena* (op. 126, published by Runze among the *French Ballads*), *Hueska* (op. 108 no. 2, published among the *Spanish Ballads*), *Das Switsemädchen* (op. 51 no. 1, published among the *Polish Ballads*) and *Gesang der Geister über den Wassern* (op. 88, published among the compilation *Loewe and Goethe*).

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³⁸⁸ Original quote: 'Hörst Du? Jubelsang erklingt, Feiertöne darein die schöne Engelsharfe singt.'

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54–6.

³⁹⁰ Hans-Werner Kütchen, 'Ein verlorener Registerklang: Beethovens Imitation der Aeolsharfe', *Musik & Ästhetik* ix/ 34 (2005), pp. 83–92, pp. 89–90.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³⁹² Magdalena Chrenkoff, 'Idiom barkaroli w liryce wokalne XIX wieku', in Mieczysław Tomaszewski (ed.), *Pieśni europejska między romantyzmem a modernizmem / The European song between Romanticism and modernism* (Krakow, 2000), pp. 97–110.

Tonality

As well as the imitation of typical Celtic instruments, the 'Nordic tone' in music was mainly evoked through harmonic features. Already in 1818, Haeffner claimed that the old Nordic songs had their own scale – the 'Nordic scale' – which differed from the church modes as well as from the modern keys.³⁹³ Other features, besides the 'Nordic scale', are the Phrygian cadence,³⁹⁴ pure major and minor triads which remain undisguised by non-harmonic tones and progressions, making them sound modal and archaic.³⁹⁵ Moreover, unusual harmonic features were used to create a primitive and uncultured atmosphere. In the concert overture *Die Hebriden* (The Hebrides, 1830, op. 26) Mendelssohn uses, for example, sequential bare fifths,³⁹⁶ probably in imitation of drones, and a progression of parallel fifths, which are forbidden in traditional counterpoint.³⁹⁷ In order to make the harmonic development more visible, a version for piano will be shown:



Ex. 12: Mendelssohn: *Die Hebriden*, bb. 1-9

However, Oechsle stresses that these harmonic features can be found in various historical and regional places and are therefore mostly interchangeable.³⁹⁸ Once more, the term 'Nordic' gives the impression of a local determination while relying on musical elements which are not exclusive to the phenomenon they are expected to define.

³⁹³ Oechsle, *Symphonik nach Beethoven*, p. 74.

³⁹⁴ Schwab, 'Das Lyrische Klavierstück und der nordische Ton', p. 153.

³⁹⁵ Jonathan Bellman, 'Aus alten Märcen: The Chivalric Style of Schumann and Brahms', *Journal of Musicology* xiii/ 1 (1995), pp. 117-35, p. 119.

³⁹⁶ Todd, 'Mendelssohn's Ossianic Manner with a new Source – On Lena's Gloomy Heath', p. 152.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

³⁹⁸ Oechsle, 'Der „nordische Ton“ als zentrales musikgeschichtliches Phänomen', p. 240.

A Melting Pot of Ideas

Another problem, which also has its roots in extra-musical factors, is the fact that the ideas of the Nordic, Celtic, Medieval and Mythical seem to be closely intertwined, which causes a difficulty in nomenclature. Jonathan Bellman tries to obviate this by suggesting a more general term summarising the ideas of ‘Ossianic manner’, ‘Nordic tone’ and ‘Scottish Style’: examining the different styles, he detects in them as a major similarity ‘a heroic, noble mood in a specifically medieval context’.³⁹⁹ After having previously used the term ‘Epic Style’ as an overall description, he eventually abandons this expression in favour of the term ‘Chivalric style’.⁴⁰⁰ According to Bellman, the Chivalric style ‘produces an immediate effect: two or three archaic gestures immediately call to mind a distant and idyllic time when moral issues were not complex, when good and evil were clear cut, and when innate human nobility prevailed.’⁴⁰¹

Another important concept in 19th Century understanding of the ‘Nordic tone’ is the musical depiction of battle scenes. Peter Mercer-Taylor expands on the choral motif in the *Scottish Symphony* by linking it to the instruction ‘Guerriero’: according to Mercer-Taylor, Mendelssohn has us ‘assemble an army in our minds, one who could sing when the battle was won’⁴⁰².

Martial imagery can also be found in Gade’s *Echoes of Ossian*, where racing string passages describe a battle scene.

The image shows a musical score for five string instruments: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double bass. The score is for measures 78-80 of Gade's *Nachklänge von Ossian*. Each instrument part is marked with a forte dynamic (*ff*) and the instruction *con fuoco* (with fire). Above the Violin I and II staves, the instruction *senza Sordino* (without mutes) is written. The music consists of rapid, rhythmic passages with many accents and slurs, characteristic of a battle scene. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 2/4.

Ex. 13: Gade: *Nachklänge von Ossian*, bb. 78-80

³⁹⁹ Bellman, ‘Aus alten Märcen’, p. 118.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 119–20.

⁴⁰² Mercer-Taylor, ‘Mendelssohn’s “Scottish” Symphony and the Music of German Memory’, p. 70.

Bellman links the martial profile of the 'Chivalric' style to a wider group of musical symbols that are associated with music describing 'outdoor'⁴⁰³ events, such as riding and hunting. By studying Schumann's *Eichendorff Liederkreis* op. 39 (with special attention to *Auf einer Burg* no. 7 and *Im Walde* no. 11)⁴⁰⁴ and Brahms' *Magelone Romanca* op. 33,⁴⁰⁵ he identifies common stylistic features for this 'outdoor' music: fanfare figures, horn fifths, trumpet-call repeated notes, clarion melodic lines that stress chord tones in a triumphant, heraldic manner, a galloping 6/8 meter, continuous triplets in a brisk common time, suggestive of hoof beats and characteristic themes, such as riding motifs.⁴⁰⁶ Therefore, several distinctive features of the Chivalric style can also be found in songs suggesting hunt themes, as for example in Schubert's *Jägers Liebeslied* D909.⁴⁰⁷ Similar phenomena are encountered in the opening song of Brahms' *Magelone* romance, with horn-fifths and a fanfare-type melody featured, followed by a galloping rhythm.

The image shows a musical score for Brahms' 'Keinen hat es noch gereut', Op. 33, no. 1, bb. 1-17. The score is in 3/4 time, marked 'Allegro'. It features a vocal line (Singstimme) and a piano accompaniment (Pianoforte). The lyrics are: 'Kei - nen hat es noch ge - reut, der das Roß - be - stie - gen,'. The piano part includes a galloping rhythm in the bass line and a fanfare-like melody in the treble line.

Ex. 14: Brahms: *Keinen hat es noch gereut*, Op. 33, no. 1, bb. 1-17

The problem of nomenclature becomes once more evident, with ideas of Chivalry, Ossianism, Medievalism and the Nordic overlapping: while neither Schubert's *Jägers Liebeslied* nor Brahms' *Magelone* deal with Nordic topics, they still represent ideas of chivalry and 'outdoor' adventures and rely therefore on a similar musical vocabulary. Thus, the idea of the hunter and the knight seem to be closely linked to each other. Four different types of 'chivalric motifs' can thus be identified: motifs evoking images of riders by simply suggesting the sound of hoof-beats; motifs

⁴⁰³ Bellman, 'Aus alten Märcen', pp. 126-7.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-7.

evoking a majestic feeling; motifs suggesting a battle or showing a warlike character; and motifs recalling images of hunting parties.

While no scholar has so far examined the Heroic in Loewe's music or offered an analysis of the hunting motifs, the riding motifs have been looked at in more detail: in 1911, Leopold Hirschberg studied Loewe's riding motifs by analysing extensively 30 different ballads.⁴⁰⁸ He presented a classification according to the animals or objects that are ridden: a witch's broom, horses, centaurs, reindeers, stags or mules.⁴⁰⁹ It is striking that, considering his detailed approach, he explicitly excludes all rides which are linked to the hunt, such as *Der Edelfalk*, *Der Graf von Habsburg*, *Die Reigerbeize*, *Der Schützling* and *Archibald Douglas*. He justifies this omission by arguing that riding motifs and hunting motifs are so interwoven in these ballads that they can not be properly classified.⁴¹⁰ This approach is, however, problematic. In *Archibald Douglas*, as will be shown in chapter 6.1.1., the imitation of sounds relating to riding and hunting are for example closely intertwined in one motif, which makes it a prime example for Bellman's theory of the Chivalric style. By omitting this ballad in his study, Hirschberg misses a fundamental example of the idea of riding in 19th Century music.

Neither does he take into account the riding motifs in *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green*, *Der Feldherr*, *Heinrich der Vogler* and *Melek am Quell*, because he considers them to be of secondary interest in the ballads' context.⁴¹¹ These two compromises are highly problematic: keeping in mind Bellman's theory of a 'Chivalric' style combining riding motifs, hunting motifs or majestic motifs, with undefined boundaries between these characteristics, omitting ballads featuring the theme of the hunt leads to limited consideration of Loewe's riding motifs.

The most substantial problem with Hirschberg's theory is, however, that his understanding of riding motifs is too broad. He acknowledges a general difference between the human world and the supernatural: a natural ride in the human world requires effort and is musically depicted by dotted quavers or semiquavers and a staccato. A supernatural ride, in contrast, is made effortless by magic and is more comparable with a flight. Therefore, it frequently relies on triads or triplets⁴¹² – a method which is closely linked to Kleemann's theory of the 'nature motif' and will be discussed later. Hirschberg differentiates between two rhythms imitating the sound of hoof beats: a triple metre, consisting of a dotted quaver with a semiquaver, followed by a quaver, as applied in Wagner's *Ritt der Walküren*; and a duple metre consisting of a dotted quaver with

⁴⁰⁸ Hirschberg, *Reitmotive*.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70.

semiquaver, as seen in Kundry's ride in Wagner's *Parsifal*.⁴¹³ The second example is, however, not convincing, as the duple metre does not correspond to the actual galloping of a horse. To summarise: Hirschberg generally attempts to define all musical features accompanying the idea of riding in the lyrics as riding motifs. His approach appears rather forced and biased: instead of considering different motivations for the use of a certain rhythm or a certain melody, he always links it to the idea of riding, thus creating a distorted perception.

Folksongs and Male Voice Choirs

Apart from battles and the Chivalric, the evocation of a folksong-like tone was also a means of evoking a Nordic impression. It was mainly achieved through the imitation of a folksong's form and stylistic unity.⁴¹⁴ This understanding of the folksong was influenced by Herder's and Rousseau's ideas, and resulted in a preference for simple stylistic devices: a rhythmical and metrical symmetry and conventional harmonics.⁴¹⁵ In addition, composers even based their compositions on actual Nordic folksongs.⁴¹⁶ A prominent example is Niels Gade's *Echoes of Ossian* which is strongly influenced by Mendelssohn's *Hebrides*.⁴¹⁷ The opening theme consists of an adaptation of the Danish folksong *Ramund var sig en bedre mand*⁴¹⁸ which Gade drew from the anthology *Udvalgte danske Viser fra Middelalderen*.⁴¹⁹

Another example of the use of existing folksongs is Gade's Symphony no. 1 in c minor, op. 5 (1841-42), which is based on excerpts from a number of Danish folk ballads:⁴²⁰ *Turneringen* (The tournament, one of Denmark's oldest and most well-known ballads), *Elveskud* (Elf-shot, telling the story of Herr Olaf's encounter with Erl-King's daughter), *Jeg gik mig ud en Somerdag at hore* (I Went Out One Summer Day To Hear, originally named *Den danske Kjaempevis*, The Danish Battle Song) and *Kong Valdemars Jagt* (King Valdemar's Hunt).⁴²¹ Like Gade, Bruch bases his composition on actual folksongs: *Auld Rob Morris*, *The Dusty Miller*, *I'm Down For Lack Of Johnnie* and *Scots Wha Hae*.⁴²²

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

⁴¹⁴ Oechsle, *Symphonik nach Beethoven*, pp. 65-71.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-147.

⁴¹⁷ Celenza, *The Early Works of Niels W. Gade*, p. 126. A more detailed comparison can be found in Todd, 'Mendelssohn's Ossianic Manner with a new Source – On Lena's Gloomy Heath', p. 149.

⁴¹⁸ Celenza, *The Early Works of Niels W. Gade*, p. 128.

⁴¹⁹ Abrahamson, *Udvalgte danske Viser fra Middelalderen* (Copenhagen, 1812-14).

⁴²⁰ Celenza, *The Early Works of Niels W. Gade*, p. 153.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-7.

⁴²² Christopher Fifield, *Max Bruch: His Life and Works* (London, 1988), pp. 166-7.

In addition to the folksong in general, the male voice choir in particular was perceived as particularly suitable for the 'Nordic tone'. One reason for this is possibly the emergence of a strong tradition of male voice choirs in Denmark, Norway and Finland during the 19th Century.⁴²³ The mid-18th Century Masonic movement had also made male voice singing popular in Germany.⁴²⁴ This development was encouraged by the traumatic impact of the Napoleonic Wars on Germany: male chorus singing societies were established, whose meetings 'fostered rambunctious conviviality, drinking, and greater national identity through patriotic and nationalistic songs.'⁴²⁵ A connection to the tradition of choirs of warriors is also possible. The last movement of Mendelssohn's *Scottish Symphony* (Finale maestoso) is based on interplay between two groups of instruments (flute, oboe, clarinet and bassoon on the one side, cornet, trombone and timpani on the other). This interplay resembles the tradition of precentor and responding choir, which, according to Wald-Fuhrmann, can be found in folk music.⁴²⁶ This feature is however not exclusive to folksong and even less to the North – again, the problem presented is that of lack of exclusivity. Mendelssohn himself mentioned the idea of imitating a choir: in a letter to the conductor Ferdinand David (12th of March 1842), Mendelssohn suggested revisions in the orchestration in order to make the music sound 'properly clear and strong as a male chorus'.⁴²⁷ This evocation of a choir, more specifically a male voice choir, is reinforced through the use of four-part harmony, near-homorhythm and a restricted upper range, imitating the tessitura of a tenor voice.⁴²⁸

⁴²³ Ling, 'Gibt es einen "nordischen" Ton?', p. 49. A similar development can be observed in 19th Century Wales, where a strong Male Voice Choir movement emerged from the conception of Nonconformist Choral music. See for example Gareth Williams, *Valleys of Song: Music and Society in Wales* (Cardiff, 1998).

⁴²⁴ Richard Trame, 'The Male Chorus, Medium of Art and Entertainment: Its History and Literature', in William Wells Belan (ed.), *Choral essays: A tribute to Roger Wagner* (San Carlos, California, 1993), pp. 19–29, p. 20.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴²⁶ Wald-Fuhrmann, 'Zur musikalischen Poetik zweier (Ideen-)Landschaften', p. 152.

⁴²⁷ Original quote in the letter of 12 March 1842, quoted in Mercer-Taylor, 'Mendelssohn's "Scottish" Symphony and the Music of German Memory', p. 70: 'ordentlich deutlich und stark wie ein Männerchor'

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Allegro maestoso assai
marcato assai la melodia

Cl. a 2

Bsn. *mf* *sf*

Hn. *mf* *sf*
in A-La
marcato assai la melodia

Timp. *pp*

Vla. *mf* *sf*

Vc. *mf*

Cb. *mf*

Cl. a 2

Bsn. *sf* *cresc.*

Hn. *sf* *cresc.*

Timp. *cresc.*

Vla. *sf* *cresc.*

Vc. *cresc.*

Cb. *cresc.*

Ex. 15: Mendelssohn: *Scottish Symphony*, bb. 396-407

Having consulted contemporary reviews and musical examples of specifically 'Nordic' compositions, two conclusions may be drawn: first, the 'Nordic tone' is a phenomenon which can not be clearly defined, as it overlaps with a number of similar phenomena and shows few exclusive features. It draws its justification just as much from extra-musical features such as titles and programmes as from actual musical characteristics. Secondly, the selected musical examples demonstrate that there are some phenomena which were regarded as reminiscent of the 'Nordic

tone' and which can be discerned through analysis: the minor key; the imitation of specific Celtic features such as drones, pipes, harps and lutes; archaic harmonic features; characteristic themes, such as riding motifs, evoking a chivalric or warlike sensation; the evocation of a folksong-like tone through form and stylistic unity, and the imitation of a male voice choir.

The musical depiction of the 'Gothic'

Although Lutz Winkler is the only scholar who has examined Loewe's 'Nordic tone'⁴²⁹ (his contributions will be studied in more detail in chapter 6.1.), various scholars have examined Loewe's musical language for the Gothic. Again, one faces an ambiguity of terminology: the ballad is seen as a genre expressing especially the numinous, the confrontation of the world of men with the Fantastic, the Heroic and the Nordic, with no clear boundaries between these characteristics.⁴³⁰ According to Runze, the Gothic, as for example in the shape of a ghost, plays a fundamental part in each ballad, as it provides the story's essential turning point:

The essence of a true ballad can be found in every true drama: the inner dramatic art, and the unity of the basic construction. An essential feature is an event which causes a twist in the ballad's inner or outer situation. In the original ballads, this twist was very often caused by the world of spirits.⁴³¹

Runze sees the Gothic as something which is inherent to the genre of the ballad. Therefore, a closer examination of how the Gothic is conveyed is prudent. In 1913, Hans Kleemann argued that Loewe had invented his own way of expressing the Gothic, due to a fascination which was closely linked to Loewe's fascination with the Catholic liturgy⁴³² and its mystical elements. The characteristic features which Kleemann enumerates are similar to those of the 'Nordic tone': minor keys; a melody mostly remaining on one note; and the 'Naturmotiv' (nature motif), an ascending, constantly repeated triad. The nature motif is first introduced in the *Erlkönig* (1817, op. 1 no. 3), where it characterises the Erlking as a nature spirit, whose obsession is described by

⁴²⁹ Winkler, 'Nordischer Ton in den Balladen von Carl Loewe?'

⁴³⁰ Walz, 'Kompositionsproblem Ballade - Formstrategien Loewes', p. 141.

⁴³¹ Original quote in Runze, 'Carl Loewe, eine ästhetische Beurteilung', p. 348: 'Das eigentlich Charakteristische der echten Ballade können wir aus jedem echten Drama entnehmen, es ist die innere Dramatik und, naturgemäß dazu gefordert, die Einheitlichkeit der Grundanlage; ein den Umschwung in der äußeren oder inneren Situation der Ballade herbeiführendes Moment gehört außerdem unbedingt dazu. In den ursprünglichen Balladen wird dieser Umschwung sehr häufig durch die Geisterwelt hervorgerufen.'

⁴³² Loewe nevertheless also drew fundamental inspiration from protestant church music, such as the choral: 'I can say that I am deeply indebted to the simple beauty of this old music [the protestant choral], just as every musical talent will blossom on the fundament of the choral.' Original quote in Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 6: 'Wohl kann ich sagen, daß ich der einfachen Schönheit dieser alten Musik] gar vieles verdanke, wie auf dem Fundament des Choral überhaupt sich jedes wirklich musikalische Talent glücklich entfalten wird.'

the triad's constant repetition. Kleemann also mentions the quotation of ancient church music, which, according to his analysis, evokes a religious mood and an archaic colour.⁴³³

Kleemann also stresses that Loewe frequently uses a melody remaining on one note to imitate the speech of a supernatural being or to announce its appearance.⁴³⁴ This technique dates back to the oracle concept of 18th Century opera seria, a speech belonging to the technical repertory of Greek tragedy.⁴³⁵ It is also called *ombra* style⁴³⁶ and is used to either begin or conclude a dramatic climax. When the gods predict fate, which in tragedy usually results in death, the voice of the oracle pronounces the sentence in tone similar to liturgical recitation: a solemn, psalmodic pitch repetition, a low registered accompaniment usually implying or imitating trombones, a regulated rhythmic declamation and cadential formulas, usually preceded by an *accompagnato* recitative, often in tremolo style.⁴³⁷ It was widely used in opera, for example Gluck's *Alceste*, when the oracle announces that the king will die unless another dies for him.⁴³⁸ It is also featured in Mozart's *Idomeneo* and in the cemetery scene in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* when the statue of the Commendatore begins to speak.

Adagio

Voice

Di ri - der fi - ni rai pria dell' au - ro - ra.

Piano

p

Ex. 16: Mozart: *Don Giovanni*, no. 24, bb. 1-4

The cemetery scene was widely famous and had a huge impact on 19th Century musical language,⁴³⁹ as will be further demonstrated when discussing Loewe's symbolism of keys. Thus, it can be assumed that this scene was highly significant in Loewe's perception of oracle speech or the *ombra* style.

⁴³³ Kleemann, *Ästhetik und Geschichte der Loeweschen Ballade*, p. 6.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁴³⁵ Christoph Wolff, 'Schubert's Der Tod und das Mädchen: Analytical and explanatory notes on the song D531 and the quartet D810', in Eva Badura-Skoda and Peter Branscombe (eds.), *Schubert studies: Problems of style and chronology* (Cambridge, New York, 1982), pp. 143–71, pp. 156–8.

⁴³⁶ McClelland, 'Death and the Composer', pp. 22–3.

⁴³⁷ Wolff, 'Schubert's Der Tod und das Mädchen', pp. 156–8.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

Just as the 'Nordic tone', the Gothic in music is closely linked to the idea of unspoiled folk music. Alfred Einstein argued that Loewe's love for the Gothic was closely linked to his love for the folksong. Therefore, the Gothic also influenced the musical form of the ballad, as it led Loewe to compose in a way which still relied upon elements of the folksong:

Loewe never forgot that the ballad had its roots in folk soil and its ultimate source in the mysterious, the fantastic and the uncontrollable, in the dark regions unilluminated by the clear light of intellect. This is indeed a realm of Romantic music. And, in genuine Romantic style, he had at once a simple and refined means of linking a folk quality with modern musicianship by varying the melodic incidence of the strophe in the voice part and accompaniment while preserving unity between the most extreme opposites.⁴⁴⁰

In 1997, Christoph Wingertzahn examined Loewe's 'Gothic' ('unheimlich') ballads, drawing conclusions which once again recall the discussion about the 'Nordic tone'.⁴⁴¹ According to Wingertzahn, Loewe's ballads are characterised by the omnipresence of a spirit world which is fundamental to Loewe's aesthetics.⁴⁴² His perception is however strongly influenced by Loewe's autobiography, where he describes the deep impression the experience of the Gothic had on his childhood:

And so, I wandered bravely around the garden, the pits of the miners, the church spire and the roof of the church. All around me, I felt the power of the spirits of nature. At night, I was often afraid of ghosts. During the day, the church's attic stimulated my fantasy. Roaming around there in solitude was a particular nightmarish thrill to me.⁴⁴³

In a more specific way, Loewe also explains how the enigmatic world of the miners inspired him to his song-cycle *Der Bergmann* (The miner, op. 39):

The peculiar life of these people stimulated my childish imagination strongly. Very often, I stood at the edge of the pit when the men descended; but when one of them offered to take me with him, I was too reluctant to descend to this dark world. I imagined how nightmarish it must be down there. My imagination worked hard enough to provide me with a colourful image of the underground events, which were so closely linked to the world of spirits. All this was deeply engraved in my soul, and when I later composed Ludwig Giesebrecht's *Bergmann*, all these impressions came again to life.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁰ Einstein, *Music in the Romantic Era*, p. 190.

⁴⁴¹ Wingertzahn, 'Loewes unheimliche Balladen'.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 276–7.

⁴⁴³ Original quote in Loewe, *Selbstbiographie*: 'So trieb ich mich denn wacker im Garten, bei den Gruben und Schachten der Bergleute [...] auf dem Kirchenturm und unter dem Kirchendach umher. Überall fühlte ich um mich her das Wirken und Weben der Naturkräfte. Nachts litt ich oft an Gespensterfurcht. Am Tage regten die weiten Räume des Kirchenbodens meine Phantasie lebhaft an. Es hatte eine eigenen schauerlichen Reiz für mich, dort allein zu sein oder sonst herumzustreifen.'

⁴⁴⁴ Original quote in *Ibid.*, p. 2: 'Das eigenthümliche Leben dieser Leute beschäftigte meine kindliche Phantasie lebhaft. Ich stand oft oben am Schacht, wenn die Männer hinunterfuhren; aber wenn einer von ihnen mir anbot, mich mit hinunter nehmen zu wollen, so hatte ich keine besondere Neigung, in diese dunkle Welt

Following Loewe's own statements, Wingertzahn builds his arguments on the idea of a dangerous, uncontrollable world of spirits which is omnipresent in Loewe's ballads. In order to illustrate this latent threat, Loewe applies a repetitive musical language: accelerandos, rapid passages, changes from major to minor, restless accompaniment, and intervallic leaps.⁴⁴⁵ Once more, the Gothic tone and the 'Nordic tone' overlap: rapid passages and accelerandos can also be found in the martial character, and the frequent change between major and minor is described as one of the major features of the 'Nordic tone'. According to Wingertzahn, Loewe composes the Romantic, Gothic and Fantastic – which are apparently regarded as one – in a highly artistic manner. The poetic material offers a convenient structure with its dramatic turning points and contrasting moods. In order to obtain the illusion of something fantastic, the story has to cross the borders of the known world, forming a 'fracture in reality'.⁴⁴⁶

The depiction of nature is another point of intersection between the idea of the 'Nordic' and the 'Gothic'. Most pieces of a 'Nordic style' were either inspired by works of important writers, such as Burns, Scott or Ossian, or just captured the atmosphere of the Nordic landscape in general. This landscape fascinated by its remoteness, gloominess and the mist, serving as a veil between the romanticised, mythical impression of a landscape and the reality. It is therefore no surprise that many of Loewe's ballads deal with the encounter with the supernatural in nature: in *Harald*, *Herr Oluf*, *Tom der Reimer* and *Elvershöh*, fairies are encountered in the forest. In *Agnete* the mysterious underwater world is explored. In *Odins Meeresritt*, the world of gods meets the world of men. Lutz Winkler believes the mystical element of nature to be represented through the major triad.⁴⁴⁷ Kleemann, in contrast, argues that the appearance of nature spirits and element spirits is underlined by the 'Naturmotiv', a constantly repeated ascending triad.⁴⁴⁸ As a prime example he names the *Erlkönig*, where the constant repetition of the triad in the vocal part illustrates the Erlking's obsession. The motif is introduced when Erlking first speaks to the child, with the instruction 'heimlich flüsternd und lockend' (secretly whispering and alluring):

hinabzusteigen. Malte mir doch meine lebhaftige Vorstellungsgabe ganz deutlich vor, wie schauerlich es dort unter aussehen mußte. Meine Phantasie arbeitete hinreichend, um mir ein lebhaftes Bild jenes unterirdischen, mit der Geisterwelt so nahe in Berührung tretenden Treibens vorzuführen; sie prägte mir dies tief in die Seele ein, und als ich in späteren Jahren den Bergmann von [Ludwig] Giesebrecht componirte, belebten sich alle Eindrücke von Neuem in mir und traten lebendig vor mich hin.'

⁴⁴⁵ Wingertzahn, 'Loewes unheimliche Balladen', p. 280.

⁴⁴⁶ Callois, quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 276–7: 'Im Phantastischen ... offenbart sich das Übernatürliche wie ein Riß in dem universellen Zusammenhang.'

⁴⁴⁷ Winkler, 'Nordischer Ton in den Balladen von Carl Loewe?', p. 83: 'Naturzauber in Form des Durdreiklangs'.

⁴⁴⁸ Kleemann, *Ästhetik und Geschichte der Loeweschen Ballade*, pp. 67–8.

heimlich flüsternd und lockend

tremolo
Komm liebes Kind, komm, geh' mit mir! gar
pianissimo
Pedale col una corda.

schöne Spiele spiel ich mit dir; manch bunte Blumen sind an dem Strand, meine

Detailed description: This musical score consists of two systems. The first system features a vocal line in G major with a 6/8 time signature and a piano accompaniment. The piano part includes a tremolo effect and is marked 'pianissimo'. A performance instruction 'Pedale col una corda.' is written below the piano part. The second system continues the vocal and piano parts with the same accompaniment style.

Ex. 17: Loewe: *Der Erbkönig*, bb. 26-36

The motif is then repeated every time Erlking speaks (bb. 49-51, 51-53, 53-55, 55-58, bb. 71-73, 73-75). Thus, the harmless sound of a simple G major chord is transformed into something sinister. The otherworldliness of the 'Naturmotiv' can even be enhanced by leaving out the third, which creates an emptier, more weightless and pending sound, as can be seen in *Wallhaide* (1817, op. 6).

pp
„Mein Gewand ist so fein, das mag's wohl sein,
sempre pp
mein Gewand ist wie Nebel so duf.tig und luf.tig!“

ff
trem.
ad.

Detailed description: This musical score consists of two systems. The first system features a vocal line in G major with a 6/8 time signature and a piano accompaniment. The piano part is marked 'sempre pp'. The second system continues the vocal and piano parts. The piano part ends with a fortissimo (*ff*) tremolo effect, indicated by a wavy line and the text 'trem.' and 'ad.'.

Ex. 18: Loewe: *Wallhaide*, bb. 507-516

According to Kleemann, this 'nature motif' can be similarly found in Wagner's compositions. Wagner also uses triads and fifths to express the presence of nature spirits, for example the 'Urmotiv' evolving around the Eb major chord in *Das Rheingold* (view example no. 50).⁴⁴⁹ Again, Loewe uses musical concepts that were familiar to mid-19th Century audiences.

The dramatic and sinister qualities of the ballads thus overlap with the characteristics of the 'Nordic tone'. In addition to the above mentioned criteria – the minor key; the imitation of drones, pipes, harps and lutes; archaic harmonic features; riding motifs, the evocation of a folksong-like tone through, and the imitation of a male voice choir – it is essential also to pay attention to the the description of different voices and moods, the fracture in reality, the perception of the supernatural, the use of *ombra* style, the 'nature motive' and the use of the major triad.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67–8.

6. LOEWE'S NORDIC BALLADS

6.1. Of Gods and Men

The 'Nordic tone' challenges scholars with its ambiguous terminology and the problem of identifying actual analytical parameters that are exclusive to its 'Nordic' character. These problems are also encountered in academic attempts to examine Loewe's musical language in general and his 'Nordic tone' in particular. According to Winkler, the main evidence for the 'Nordic tone' in Loewe's ballads can not be found in the musical shape of the ballads, but in the poems they are based on. However, Winkler left unexamined the Scottish and English ballads. All his observations therefore concern only the ballads classified by Runze as 'Nordic': *Herr Oluf*, *Elvershöh*, *Die drei Lieder*, *Harald*, *Odins Meeres-Ritt*, *Der kleine Schiffer* and *Agnete*. He also examines briefly the *Erllkönig*. According to Winkler, the ballad as a literary genre is already marked by the 'Mysterious, Nordic and Heroic'.⁴⁵⁰ He also stresses that the ballads picked by Loewe have their roots in Scottish and Nordic folk poetry. Consequently, they are closer in character to the medieval minstrels' ballads than to the ballads and romances of the Provençal troubadours.⁴⁵¹ Winkler suggests that the ballad has always been understood as a more epic and Nordic genre, dealing with gothic and supernatural topics, whereas the romance has been perceived as a more lyrical and southern sibling. Therefore, in setting poems belonging to the genre of the ballad to music, Loewe earns the title of a 'Nordic composer'.⁴⁵² In addition, Winkler identifies a number of musical features characterising Loewe's 'Nordic tone', partly overlapping with the features which are characteristic for the 'Nordic tone' in 19th Century German music in general and have been identified in chapter 5: a declamatory ductus, tone-painting, the major triad as a symbol for nature, piano tremolos, triplets or broken chords to enhance the Gothic atmosphere and the constant changing between major and minor. According to Winkler, these features are omnipresent in Loewe's ballads, but especially prominent in his Nordic ballads.⁴⁵³ Winkler believes that Loewe's affinity to the Nordic was deeply rooted in his idea of a world, which was still following the great ethical values:

While these values did not exist anymore in his reality and had already vanished, one could still find them uplifting and delighting. With these ideas he could express and

⁴⁵⁰ Original quote in Winkler, 'Nordischer Ton in den Balladen von Carl Loewe?', p. 79: 'ins Mysteriöse, ins Nordische und Heldische'

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴⁵³ See *Ibid.*, pp. 80–3.

project himself as a composer in an effective way and could fuse the Nordic elements with his personal musical language.⁴⁵⁴

Whether this affinity with the 'Nordic' genre of the ballad actually sheds light on Loewe's approach to the 'Nordic tone' is a question which Winkler leaves unanswered.⁴⁵⁵ This is problematic as it leaves unconsidered the idea that the 'Nordic' was not restricted to Scandinavia, but included several broader themes, such as the Heroism, Medievalism, Ossianism, and the idea of a common Germanic past and a golden mythical age. While Winkler's arguments successfully create a link between the ballad as a 'Nordic' genre and Loewe's approach to these poems, it does not provide a deeper insight into his image of the North as a greater idea nor into his overall understanding of the 'Nordic tone'.

When comparing Loewe's English, Scottish and Nordic ballads, one major observation can be made: while there are features that can be found in all ballads, there are also some features which occur mainly in the English and Scottish ballads or in the Nordic ballads. As already noted, Loewe's ballad style creates a synthesis between the Berlin school's simple, strophic approach and Zumsteeg's through-composed style. Some of his stylistic devices have already been mentioned: the use of recurring motifs in order to illustrate single moments, while respecting the form of the ballad as a whole and keeping in mind its strophic origins;⁴⁵⁶ a symbolic use of the different keys, a harmony which avoids dramatic extremes;⁴⁵⁷ the musical translation of the text in a very precise, objective way.⁴⁵⁸

A comparative analysis of the ballads reveals some additional features, which can be found throughout the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads: like most composers of his time, Loewe respects the structure of the poem in order to preserve its poetic unity. He even prepares climaxes and turning points carefully, without breaking the overall conception, as will be demonstrated in *Archibald Douglas*. Loewe also frequently repeats the last line of a verse, while otherwise leaving untouched the verse's original structure. Doing so, he follows the aesthetics of the Berlin school, as demonstrated in chapter 4.1. Besides the influence of this earlier aesthetics,

⁴⁵⁴ Original quote in *Ibid.*, p. 82: 'Loewes Vorstellung von einer noch an ethisch großen Werten orientierten Welt, die zwar in seiner Realität nicht mehr existierte, bereits abhanden gekommen war, an der man sich aber aufrichten und geistig erbauen sollte. Damit konnte er sich sowohl als Sänger und Pianist als auch als Komponist [...] wirkungsvoll entfalten, sich „inszenieren“ und die nordischen Elemente in seine persönliche Tonsprache einschmelzen.'

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83: 'So stehen die dargestellten Gestaltungsmittel in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der jeweiligen literarischen Vorlage erst recht in einem direkten Bezug zum Nordischen im Sinne Loewes – ob zum nordischen Ton, sei dahingestellt.'

⁴⁵⁶ Einstein, *Music in the Romantic Era*, p. 190.

⁴⁵⁷ Schroth, 'Die späten Balladen Carl Loewes', p. 224.

⁴⁵⁸ Wingertzahn, 'Loewes unheimliche Balladen', pp. 277–8.

it is also possible that Loewe uses these repetitions in order to create a folksong-like tone by giving the impression of a chorus or refrain. This is especially clear in *Der Lappländer*. Yet, this is not to say that Loewe thoroughly tries to imitate the form and substance of a folksong. On the contrary, he opts for a declamatory ductus which occasionally breaks the melodic line, especially in the Nordic ballads.⁴⁵⁹ Yet, he always maintains a connection between the different parts of the ballads, by using recurring motifs, as will be demonstrated in *Archibald Douglas*. Tone painting and the illustration of single words, on the contrary, are relatively rare. Moreover, the left hand of the accompaniment is frequently imitating the melody, as for example in *Edward*, and also written in octaves. This is probably due to the fact that most pianofortes had only a weak bass register. The doubling in octaves thus allowed a better balance between the left and the right hand, as can be observed in *Edward*:

The image displays a musical score for Carl Loewe's piece 'Edward', specifically measures 9-16. It is written in G minor (three flats) and 2/4 time. The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains the vocal line and piano accompaniment for the lyrics: "Ich hab geschlagen meinen Gey-er todt, Mut - ter!". The second system contains the vocal line and piano accompaniment for the lyrics: "Mut - ter, ich hab geschlagen meinen Gey-er todt, und das, das geht mir". The piano accompaniment is characterized by a strong octavo accompaniment in the left hand. Performance markings include "ritenuto" above the vocal line, "p" (piano) above the vocal line and below the piano part, and "cresc." (crescendo) above the piano part.

Ex. 19: Loewe: *Edward*, bb. 9-16

These features are however much too unspecific to give a satisfactory insight into Loewe's understanding of the 'Nordic tone'. Moreover, even the characteristics which scholars describe as typical for the 'Nordic tone', such as the changes between major and minor, seem to be rather due to the text than to the intention of creating a specific 'Nordic' colour: in *Das nussbraune Mädchen* the changes between major and minor occur with extraordinary frequency. This harmonic restlessness, however, is not necessarily a characteristic of the 'Nordic tone', but

⁴⁵⁹ Winkler, 'Nordischer Ton in den Balladen von Carl Loewe?', p. 81.

mainly illustrates the constant dialogue between a man and a woman. While his parts talk about the hopeless and dangerous and are set in a minor, her ever-optimistic answers mark a contrast in A major.

These general features can therefore be classified as typical of Loewe's general style as a composer of ballads and need not be considered in more detail. Following Oechsle's idea of periphery and centre, which states that the phenomenon of a regional tone is always identified by its deviance from the norm,⁴⁶⁰ the next step will be to examine the poetic and musical characteristics which have been seen as characteristic for the 'Nordic tone'. Doing so, one has to keep in mind that there are certain characteristics of the 'Nordic tone' which the ballad, due to the restrictions of its genre, can not provide, or only to a limited extent. Unless the piano accompaniment of a ballad is set in the strict form of a choral movement, it is virtually impossible for a ballad to imitate the sound of a male voice choir, as ballads usually feature only voice and piano. For the same reason, the use of a harp to create a link to Ossian is not possible – unlike in orchestral works, such as Gade's *Echoes of Ossian* or Bruch's *Scottish Fantasy*. However, Loewe occasionally designs the piano part in a harp idiom, as will be demonstrated later.

Also, the use of drones in songs or ballads is in general highly unusual as it leads to static harmonic and melodic structures, where the ballad is hindered in its development. Songs, where drones are prominently featured, such as Schubert's *Leiermann* D911 no. 24, have usually a specific dramatic function. In the *Leiermann*, the use of drones represents quite literally the drone of the hurdy-gurdy. Moreover, in the *Winterreise* D911, the *Leiermann* stands at the cycle's very end and symbolises the wanderer's inevitable fate. The feeling of consolidation that it creates fulfils therefore a specific poetic function which works within the cycle. It is however impossible to imagine a cycle where drones occur in every song, as this stands in disproportion to 19th Century song aesthetic. Schubert's *Leiermann* is certainly an extreme example, as it features drones throughout the entire song. Still, Loewe uses drones only once in the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads: to illustrate the sound of the harp in *Der Nöck*. The ballad opens with a broken ascending and descending demisemiquaver chord, imitating the sound of the Merman's harp. Apart from bar 2, drones can be found throughout the opening bars of the left hand:

⁴⁶⁰ Oechsle, 'Der „nordische Ton“ als zentrales musikgeschichtliches Phänomen', p. 241.

Op. 129 Nr. 2.
Componirt vermuthlich 1859, erschienen 1860 bis 61.

Nr. 3. *Andante maestoso.*

Es
tönt des Nöcken Harfen schall: da

Ex. 20: Loewe: *Der Nöck*, bb. 1-4

Moreover, it can be observed that several ballads use pedal points at times. In *Edward* the first verses are marked by an *agitato* melody with minor second steps and a homophonic accompaniment in the shape of a choral movement doubling the melody and rhythm. In the first part of each verse, the left hand plays e-flat as a pedal point, evoking an insistent character.

Nr. 1. *Agitato.* Carl Loewe, Op. 1 Nr. 1.
Componirt 1816, erschienen 1824.

Singstimme.
Dein Schwert, wie ist's von Blut so roth, Ed. ward! Ed. ward, dein
Schwert, wie ist's von Blut so roth, und gehst so trau. rig da? O!

Pianoforte.

Ex. 21: Loewe: *Edward*, bb. 1-8

Despite these restrictions, ballads have also a clear feature that could like to a specific 'Nordic tone': their lyrics. Unlike orchestral works, they are based on poems with fixed titles and lyrics. As discussed, the classification of Mendelssohn's *Scottish Symphony* as 'Scottish' is especially problematic because Mendelssohn himself never referred to it as 'Scottish' and it was only given this title much later. Ballads in contrast are composed right from the beginning with a specific text. While we can not be sure that the composers were in every case aware of a poem's Nordic origin, in most cases the source is indicated and some poems were highly popular and well known, especially through Herder's collections. Thus, the extra-musical qualities of a ballad are much clearer than those of an orchestral work. Therefore, they provide us with a good starting point in the search for Loewe's 'Nordic tone'.

When studying the various ballads' poetic inspiration, one main difference becomes evident: the English and Scottish ballads mainly deal with heroic, historical or realistic topics, while the Nordic ones almost entirely tell stories about the encounter with the supernatural. This is also typical of early 19th Century English, Scottish and Nordic tales. While stories from all three cultures were roughly similarly widespread in Germany, the major part of fairy tales and mythical stories was drawn from Nordic stories. The Brothers Grimm especially were inspired by Norse mythology. Together, they translated *The Elder Edda* from the Icelandic, which remained unpublished.⁴⁶¹ Wilhelm Grimm identified the origins of most German folktales in Norse mythology, which he believed contained the vital and expressive language which, according to Herder, was one of folktales' main characteristics.⁴⁶² In 1835, Jacob Grimm summarised the discovery of these similarities systematically in his *Deutsche Mythologie* (German Mythology).⁴⁶³ A major topic characteristic of most of these Nordic tales was the battle between the powers of dark and the powers of light and thus the battle between Good and Evil.⁴⁶⁴ This is also apparent in Loewe's ballads: in all Nordic ballads (apart from *Der Nöck*, *Der Lappländer*, *Die drei Lieder* and *Der kleine Schiffer*) the protagonist encounters the Supernatural in a fatal way. The Supernatural is mostly represented by the elves (*Herr Oluf*, *Harald*, *Elvershöh*). In Norse mythology, the black elves – called Alfs – belong to the power of the Dark and would die if touched by the rays of the sun.⁴⁶⁵

Tom der Reimer represents an exception in two ways: not only is it the only ballad among the English and Scottish ballads where the Supernatural is encountered, it is also the only case

⁴⁶¹ Kamenetsky, *The Brothers Grimm*, p. 27.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 71-2.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

among all the analysed ballads where the encounter with an elf is told in a positive way, leading to a happy ending. The story of the rhymer Thomas, who falls in love with the Elfin Queen and follows her into the woods to live happily ever after, has inspired some cynical comments among scholars. Reinhold Sietz's criticism is that the 'joy of singing in *Tom der Reimer* takes a turn for the trivial, even if it is musically painted in a skilful way.'⁴⁶⁶ Schroth argues that this naive instrumental painting has damaged Loewe's reputation.⁴⁶⁷ More harshly, Hartung argues that 'nobody, who aims for a justified artistic judgement and who makes the effort to examine the poetic and the musical form individually as well as in relation to each other' can deny certain deficits, especially in the most popular pieces such as *Tom der Reimer* and *Der Nöck*: a lack of quality of some musical elements, a poorness in harmonic developments and worn out motifs in melody and accompaniment.⁴⁶⁸ Gerd Rienäcker's interpretation sees the rhymer's fairy-tale in a different light: Rienäcker argues that the encounter with the Supernatural, the 'Other' is typical for prose and poetry of the Romantic Era. These encounters, which the protagonists experience as an escape from the banality of their everyday life, result inevitably in a dependency, where the protagonist is bond to serve the supernatural being, or at least stay with it. Prominent examples are E. T. A. Hoffmann's novella *Nußknacker und Mäusekönig* (The Nutcracker And The King Of Mice, Berlin 1816), where a prince in the guise of a nutcracker takes little Marie with him to a magical land. In Schumann's song *Waldesgespräch* op. 39 no. 3 a similar scene occurs: a man meets the witch Loreley and she tells him that he will never more leave the woods.⁴⁶⁹ All these scenes are also featured in *Tom der Reimer*. However, according to Rienäcker, a major difference occurs in the ending of the story: instead of a frightening ride into the unknown, Tom and the Elfin Queen seem to 'settle down cosily'.⁴⁷⁰ The fact that Tom is not transported into the world on the 'Other' finds its explanation in Tom's lifestyle. He is portrayed as a carefree and happy poet. Therefore, the 'Other' does not deny his established life but confirms him in his reverie.⁴⁷¹ The encounter with the Elfin Queen is therefore more the encounter with a soulmate than a frightening but alluring menace.

⁴⁶⁶ Original quote in Reinhold Sietz, *Carl Loewe: Ein Gedenkbuch zum 150. Geburtstag* (Cologne, 1948), p. 37: 'In *Tom der Reimer* stößt die Sangesfreude allerdings empfindlich an die Grenzen des Trivialen, so geschickt auch alles gemalt ist.'

⁴⁶⁷ Original quote in Schroth, 'Die späten Balladen Carl Loewes', p. 230.

⁴⁶⁸ Original quote in Hartung, 'Loewes literarische Vorlagen', p. 154: 'wird keiner leugnen wollen, dem es um ein begründetes Kunsturteil geht und der die Mühe aufbringt, dichterische und musikalische Gestaltung gesondert und in ihrem Verhältnis zueinander zu betrachten.'

⁴⁶⁹ Gerd Rienäcker, 'Aufbruch ins selbstverklärende Beharren? Marginalien zur Ballade *Tom der Reimer* von Carl Loewe', in Ekkehard Ochs and Lutz Winkler (eds.), *Carl Loewe (1796-1869): Beiträge zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung* (Frankfurt am Main, New York, 1998), pp. 259-65, p. 260.

⁴⁷⁰ Original quote in *Ibid.*, p. 260: 'vom behaglichen sich Einrichten'

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

When Fontane noted the first verses of this poem during his visit in Abbotsford, he was not experiencing the idyll of a mythical paradise. The visit to Sir Walter Scott's estate was disappointing, as the writer was just about to leave to travel and was short of time. After having written down the verses, Fontane comments ironically:

That is how the graceful verses run, but we, being understandably anxious to avoid such enforced and prolonged service to the Fairy Queen, turn our backs to the seductive spot. Shortly after this, however, we pass a toll-gate where, as on our roads at home, a yellow piece of paper is handed to us to show that we have done our civic duty, whereupon we suddenly feel as though we had escaped from the reach of all fairies and spirits, as though the boom across the road were a protective wall between ourselves and them.⁴⁷²

Mühe argues, that, by applying an excessive musical language, Loewe responds to Fontane's ironic tone.⁴⁷³ Wingertzahn, in contrast, believes that Loewe has completely missed the irony of Fontane's work.⁴⁷⁴

A more detailed analysis of *Archibald Douglas* (Scottish) and *Odins Meeresritt* (Norwegian) will make clear the contrasting approaches between ballads dealing with 'realistic' topics and ballads dealing with the supernatural. The main aim of these analyses will be to illustrate, how Loewe realises the structural and dramatic development of the ballad. A short summary of the poetic and historical background of each ballad will be given. Subsequently, it will be demonstrated how these features are related to the dramatic development of the action, with special attention to the identified 'Nordic' elements.

6.1.1. *A Scottish Patriot: Archibald Douglas*

Archibald Douglas tells the story of Count Douglas, who was cast out by his master, King James, because of Archibald's brothers' fraud. After having lived in exile for many years, he cannot bear to be separated from his fatherland anymore and begs the King for forgiveness, reminding him of the happy times they spent together living in Linlithgow Castle. The King, touched by

⁴⁷² Theodor Fontane, *Beyond the Tweed: A tour of Scotland in 1858*. Translated by Brian Battershaw (London, 1998), p. 216, Original quote in Theodor Fontane, *Jenseits des Tweed: Bilder und Briefe aus Schottland* (Berlin, 1860), p. 333: 'So klingen auch die zierlichen Verschen. Wir aber, in begreiflicher Furcht vor einem ähnlichen, mehrjährigen Engagement von seiten der Feenkönigin, wenden dem verführerischen Platze den Rücken zu, und gleich darauf ein Zollhaus passierend, wo uns, wie auf vaterländischen Chausseen, ein gelbes Zettelchen als Quittung bürgerlicher Pflichterfüllung eingehändigt wird, fühlen uns plötzlich aus dem Bereich aller Feen und Geister wieder heraus, als läge der Schlagbaum wie eine schützende Grenzmauer zwischen uns und ihnen.'

⁴⁷³ Hansgeorg Mühe, *Balladen und Lieder von Carl Loewe: Gedanken zu Loewes kompositorischem Schaffen anhand einiger ausgewählter Werke* (Hamburg, 2002), pp. 60-1.

⁴⁷⁴ Wingertzahn, 'Loewes unheimliche Balladen', p. 288.

Douglas's love for his country, and his fidelity, decides to forgive him and allows him to be his servant again. Together, they ride back to the Linlithgow. The dramatic development goes through different moods: longing and sadness in the beginning, determination, growing despair, nostalgia and eventually reconciliation and joy. Fontane was inspired to write this ballad when he read the introduction a German translation of Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (Edinburgh 1802).⁴⁷⁵ There it says that King James never reconciled with the Douglas family. The happy ending in Fontane's ballad was inspired by a remark of Henry VIII, who told his nephew James 'A king's face should give grace'.⁴⁷⁶ In *Beyond the Tweed*, Fontane dedicates a whole chapter to the historical Archibald Douglas.⁴⁷⁷ The story of Archibald Douglas was widely popular at the time and is a good example of the reception of Scottish tales in 19th Century Germany. With the story embodying both typical elements of the ballad and references to the Scottish history culture, it serves as a prime example to examine Loewe's 'Nordic' tone.

The full text of the poem as written by Theodor Fontane is provided in Appendix 4, the score in Appendix 8. As demonstrated in the table found in Appendix 5, Loewe does not modify the original structure of the poem, apart from a few repetitions to enhance the poetic message, as for example in verse 8 ('was meine Brüder dir angetan') or verse 24 ('als wie in alter Zeit'). He makes only small changes to the text, with one notable exception in verse 11: Loewe changes Archibald's exclamation 'Ich hab es *gebüßet* sieben Jahr, dass ich ein Douglas bin' (I have *atoned* for seven years for being a Douglas) to 'Ich hab es *getragen* sieben Jahr, dass ich ein Douglas bin' (I have *suffered* it for seven years that I am a Douglas). Loewe thus creates a link to the first verse of the poem, which gives the poem a more symmetrical shape. The ballad can be divided into seven narrative parts:

Part 1	Verses 1 – 5	Archibald, mourning his banning
Part 2	Verses 5 – 7	the King appears, and there is the first confrontation
Part 3	Verse 8 to 12	Archibald begs the King for forgiveness, reminding him of the happy days they spent together in Linlithgow Castle
Part 4	Verse 13 to 15	the King refuses forgiveness
Part 5	Verse 16 to 21	the King attempts to escape Archibald and rides away, but Archibald pursues him with growing despair.
Part 6	Verse 22	King unsheathes his sword, but decides at the last moment to spare Archibald
Part 7	Verse 23 and 24	the King grants forgiveness and takes Archibald in as his servant again

⁴⁷⁵ Williams, 'Archibald Douglas', p. 368.

⁴⁷⁶ Walter Scott, *Tales of a grandfather* (Boston, 1828), p. 255.

⁴⁷⁷ Fontane, *Jenseits des Tweed*, pp. 79–84.

This structure of seven parts is mirrored in the structure of the musical setting: like in the poem, seven parts can be identified, which differ strongly from one another. In order to preserve the ballads unity, despite the contrasting parts, Loewe uses recurring motifs and cadences. A good example is found in the opening bars, featuring three crotchets in octaves moving in a descending tritone and then a rising forth. While they reappear several times on their own, they also build the cornerstones of a characteristic cadence (bb. 40-41). While this cadence is used in the beginning to underline Archibald's grief, it reappears several times in different contexts: when Archibald falls asleep (bb. 39-41); at the end of Archibald's first pleading (bb.133-135); when the King denies forgiveness (bb. 167-168); and when he eventually grants it (bb. 143-145, bb. 148-150).

Ex. 22a: Loewe: Archibald Douglas, bb. 1-4

Ex. 22b: Loewe, Archibald Douglas, bb. 40-41

The motif does not belong to one character or one situation exclusively. Instead, it unites phrases that are originally very different, by providing them with a similar ending. This is typical of Loewe's approach to the ballad: he appreciated Zumstegg's through-composed approach, because it allowed the music to thoroughly follow the text. Yet, he was anxious to preserve the composition's stylistic unity – a conflict which could be resolved by using recurring motifs, creating a synthesis which made Loewe's ballads stand out among his contemporaries.⁴⁷⁸

While these crotchets around the tritone do not seem to be bound to a specific psychological phenomenon or extra-musical incident, the 'memory motif' introduced in the fourth section

⁴⁷⁸ Mühe, *Balladen und Lieder von Carl Loewe*, p. 17.

does (first appearance: bb. 105-109): In contrast with the tritone-cadence, it is used by both characters (as demonstrated in chapter 4.2.), showing how they thoroughly treasure the same memories and eventually succeed in reconciling with each other. With its strong semantic function, the 'memory motif' represents an exception among Loewe's English, Scottish and Nordic ballads. While there are motifs depicting different characters, as the analyses of *Odins Meeresritt* will show, the 'memory motif' is singular in its function of representing the transfer of a feeling from one character to another. As it is such a singular phenomenon, it does not support an argument in favour of Loewe's affinity towards the Wagnerian *leitmotif*. Besides illustrating the characters' emotional developments, the 'memory motif' also evokes a folk-song like tone, with its simple, almost childlike melody. As mentioned, it is very possible that the 'memory motif' is actually drawn from a folksong.⁴⁷⁹ With the 'memory motif', Loewe is of course not using folk tunes in the way Gade does in *Echoes of Ossian* or his *Symphony no. 1*. Still, by choosing a folksong-like melody to evoke a distant and idyllic past, Loewe follows the ideas of Herder, which have been crucial for 19th Century German perception of the 'Nordic'.

Loewe uses tone painting to illustrate and imitate different events and sounds. The technique of applying tone painting in ballads had mainly been practised by Zumsteeg, who was significantly influenced by 18th Century Italian stage music, as noted in chapter 4.1. Loewe uses tone painting in two ways: to illustrate contrasting moods or objects mentioned in the text or to imitate extra-musical sound. A striking contrast, which is also illustrated by the music, can be seen in the first confrontation between Archibald and the King. Tone painting is used to describe the difference between the King's and Archibald's behaviour: the King's arrival on his high horse is underlined by dotted quavers with semiquavers in octaves, evoking a triumphant feeling (bb. 84-85). The tone becomes more solemn in bar 86 and 87 ('König Jakob saß auf hohem Ross'), when the melody is accompanied homophonic style. In contrast, a descending and more polyphonic melody illustrates Archibald's bow in front of his ruler (bb. 87-89).

V. A. 1803.

Ex. 23: Loewe: Archibald Douglas, bb. 85-88

⁴⁷⁹ Hanzlik, *Balladenschule*, p. 21.

In a similar way, the music illustrates Archibald's ambivalent appearance, consisting of heavy armour (bb. 47-48) but also a pilgrim's gown (bb. 49-51): on the word 'Pilgerkleid' (bb. 49-51, pilgrim's gown), the former crescendo gives way to a piano. The triplets in the vocal part appear now also in the accompaniment, which creates a more gentle impression. Moreover, the melody modulates briefly to D major, which brings a very sudden brightening in the overall tonic F major. Another tone painting is offered in bb. 69-80, when ascending semiquavers illustrate the whirling dust. Another major example is the stabbing of the sword: The King, having unsheathed his sword, hesitates to kill his former servant. The melody progresses chromatically from bb' to b' (bb. 232-233) and drops an augmented octave to bb (b. 235). The accompaniment supports the melody by playing the same notes in octaves. This harmonic transition corresponds to the surprise, that the King drops his sword. A short tremolo section illustrates the uncertainty of Archibald's fate and leads to an impression of sudden cessation: the listener holds his breath, wondering what the King's verdict will be (bb. 237-238). The music then suddenly relaxes, resuming the gently flowing triplets and eventually the cadence around the tritone (bb. 239-253).

The most striking example for the use of tone painting in *Archibald Douglas* is the arrival of the King (b. 52). This example is at the same time a prime example for the use of riding motifs – a stylistic device which contemporary listeners strongly associated with 'Nordic' topics. The rhythm is imitating a galloping metre, consisting of a dotted quaver with semiquaver, followed by a quaver. Rising fourths and fifths in a dotted rhythm imitate the cornets of the hunting party. The use of the pedal stresses the sound of the empty fifths in the accompaniment (bb. 52ff), imitating the natural horn and creating the connotations of the hunt.

V. A. 4803.

Ex. 24: Loewe: *Archibald Douglas*, bb. 58-71

Overall, it becomes evident that *Archibald Douglas* is a ballad which deals first and foremost with very human topics: it is entirely set within the real world. There is no threat of the unknown, no fracture of reality, no deceit. The depicted emotions are realistic and simple, evolving around a basic conflict. The solution to this conflict is even simpler and fundamental in its simplicity: whoever loves his country above all will be rewarded ('Der ist in tiefster Seele treu, wer die Heimat liebt wie du' – Who loves his country as much as you do, is a thoroughly loyal person) – a phrase, which, more than any other, has earned Fontane the image of a patriotic writer and has become one of German ballads' most quoted phrases.⁴⁸⁰ Given the rising nationalism, it must have been very appealing to contemporary listeners. Loewe translates these main characteristics by using a musical language, which is strongly marked by extra-musical features, such as precise declamatory instructions and a great care for the imitation of realistic sounds through tone painting. In particular the prominent imitation of the natural horn, the galloping

⁴⁸⁰ Theodor Pelster, *Theodor Fontane* (Stuttgart, 1997), p. 28.

metre, fanfares and trumpets create a very realistic and 'human' atmosphere, evoking many features of the 'Chivalric style' as characterised by Bellman. The tonality is simple, containing little surprise, apart from a few exceptions. But even during the short uncertainty after the king unsheathes his sword, the listener does not really fear for Archibald's life: the 'memory motif' has already been carved into one's memory; the listener subconsciously anticipates the happy ending.

The ballad presents thus not only features that are typical of Loewe's approach, such as the creation of unity through the use of recurring motifs, but also stylistic devices that contemporary listeners explicitly associated with 'Nordic' topics, such as the riding motifs, tone-painting, the overall association with 'outdoor adventures', and the imitation of the folksong.

6.1.2. A Nordic God: Odin's Ride over the Sea

Loewe composed *Odins Meeresritt* after his journey to Norway in 1851 and dedicated it to his travel companion August Moritz: 'Seinem Freunde August Moritz in freudiger Erinnerung an die gemeinschaftliche Reise nach Norwegen gewidmet' ('dedicated to his friend August Moritz in happy memory of their journey to Norway').⁴⁸¹ The ballad is based on the poem *Meister Oluf* (1817) by Aloys Schreiber (1863-1841), who drew his inspiration from the Norwegian saga *Inga Bárðarsonar*. The saga tells the tale of Odin, who fulfils three main functions in Norse mythology: ruler of the land of the dead; god of battle; and god of inspiration, magic and wisdom. He has great power over the battlefield and is able to lead which ever side he chooses to victory and thus supports a number of great kings.⁴⁸²

In this particular story, Odin stops at a blacksmith's shop in Helgoland and asks for a horseshoe for his horse. At first, the horseshoe does not fit, but then it magically expands. Odin mounts his horse and flies over the sea air to join the battle in Norway. Schreiber chose Helgoland as a setting, because the heathen Friesians had worshipped the God Forsite on this island.⁴⁸³ The saga can also be found in Ludwig Uhland's studies: 'In Norway, a king's saga, set in the mid 13th Century, tells that Odin had shown himself to a blacksmith, shortly before the peace agreement between Philipp and Inge in the year 1208. [...] The scribe of the saga adds: The Blacksmith has told this King Philipp during the same winter, and every one, who hear the

⁴⁸¹ Loewe, *Loewe 1899 – Schottische*, p. 85.

⁴⁸² Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The lost beliefs of Northern Europe* (London, New York, 1993), p. 76.

⁴⁸³ Loewe, *Loewe 1899 – Schottische*, p. XXIII.

story, passed it on to the next one.⁴⁸⁴ With its roots in Scandinavian legends and a story dealing with the encounter with the Supernatural *Odins Meeresritt* is a typical example of Loewe's 'Nordic' ballads and serves thus as a good starting point in the examination of Loewe's 'Nordic ballads'. The full text is found in Appendix 6, a table giving an overview of the composition's structure and tonality in Appendix 7, the score in Appendix 9. The ballad begins without any prelude, with the narrator telling how the blacksmith Oluf finishes his work at midnight. It starts with a simple melody evolving around a broken e minor chord, which is, according to Winkler, characteristic of Loewe's Nordic ballads.⁴⁸⁵ This understated opening makes the eventual dramatic events stand out even more. The accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and descending crochets in the left hand, which are doubled in octaves. As already mentioned, this was a common stylistic technique to balance the pianoforte's less strong bass register. It is interesting to note, that this stylistic device is used more often in *Odins Meeresritt* than in any other ballad – possibly to create an especially sombre atmosphere or even illustrate the god's power through the reinforcement of the bass.

Even more than in *Archibald Douglas*, the depiction of different voices and the technique of musical declamation hold high importance. When Odin speaks for the first time, his call 'Heraus!' (bb. 8-9 'Come outside!') is marked by a rising fourth, also called 'Rufquart' ('calling fourth'). This specific interval is often used by Loewe to mark powerful exclamations, as can also be observed in *Elvershöh* ('hör an', several times, for example bb. 60-75) and *Alpin's Klage um Morar* ('Alpin! Trefflicher Sänger!', bb. 96-99). Odin calls two more times: the first time, the 'Rufquart' is repeated, this time from e' to a' (bb. 9-10), followed by an exclamation marked by a rising fifth as an enhancement (b. 10). The melody leads to a cadence marked by a falling octave and a rising fourth (bb. 12-13). Then a conversation develops between Oluf and Odin. This is of particular interest because it shows Loewe's very specific ways of depicting dialogue: the dialogue in *Odins Meeresritt* is markedly different from that in *Archibald Douglas*. Loewe was especially interested in ballads in dialogue form:

The best ballads are those which do not narrate anything, but provide action instead of narration, by confiding the dramatic thread to the speaking and acting characters; in a way that allows the reader to find everything out by himself. By doing so, they become entirely part of a higher dramatic art. A good example is Herder's *Edward*.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁴ Original quote quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. XXIII-IV: 'Aus Norwegen meldet eine Königs-Sage, die in die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts gesetzt wird, kurz vor dem Friedensschlusse zwischen Philipp und Inge (im Jahr 1208) habe sich Odin in Gestalt eines Reiters einem Schmiede gezeigt [...]. Der Saga-Schreiber fügt hinzu: Der Schmied hat dieses denselben Winter dem Könige Philipp erzählt und einer, der es mit anhörte, hat es wieder erzählt.'

⁴⁸⁵ Winkler, 'Nordischer Ton in den Balladen von Carl Loewe?', p. 88.

⁴⁸⁶ Loewe quoted in Loewe, *Loewe 1899 – Schottische*, pp. VI-VII: 'Die besten Balladen sind die, welche die Erzählungen ganz ausschließen, und dafür den redend-handelnden Personen den dramatischen Faden gleichsam

For the same reason, Loewe praised Goethe's *Erlkönig* as the best German ballad, because it introduced all characters through their speeches.⁴⁸⁷ In the example of *Edward*, a ballad written completely in dialogue, Risi identifies a construction consisting of two alternating motifs to illustrate the dialogue between Edward and his mother.⁴⁸⁸ While in *Archibald Douglas* neither of the characters has a motif belonging exclusively to him, Edward's and his mother's parts are both characterised by two different motifs, which are repeated throughout the ballad: in the first four verses, the mother is characterised by an *agitato* melody in a 6/8 metre, marked by minor second steps, a homophonic accompaniment in the shape of a choral movement doubling the melody and rhythm. The left hand plays constantly e-flat as a pedal point, evoking an insistent character (bb. 1-9). Both her verses end with a cantabile rising phrase on a half cadence, underlining her question. Edward's answer is, in contrast, *ritenuto* and in a 2/4 metre. His melody rises in sequences and is tripled in the accompaniment. The sparing harmonic material and the octave parallels give the melody a trait of simplicity but also gravity. Edward's melody eventually ends in a whole cadence, answering the mother's question (bb. 9-17).

Singstimme.
Dein Schwert, wie ist's von Blut so roth, Ed-ward! Ed-ward, dein
Pianoforte.

Schwert, wie ist's von Blut so roth, und gehst so trau-ri-g da? O!

ritenuto
Ich hab geschlagen meinen Gey-er todt, Mut-ter!

Ex. 25: Loewe: *Edward*, bb. 1-12

so in den Mund legen, daß ihn der Leser sich von selbst schon denken kann, und statt der Erzählung Handlung geben, und dadurch völlig in das Gebiet der höhern dramatischen Kunst überstreifen; z.B. Herders *Edward*.'

⁴⁸⁷ Risi, 'Wagner als 'Erbe' Loewes? ...zum ewigen Ruhme Loewe's, nicht zum Schaden Wagner's', p. 257.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

The same approach can be observed in *Odins Meeresritt*: the words ‘da pocht es an seiner Tür mit Macht’ (bb. 6-8) are accompanied by a melody evolving around an ascending and then descending melody, based on an e-minor cadence. This motif reappears several times with slight alterations when Odin speaks: when he says that he still has a long journey ahead of him (bb. 11-13); that he has come all the way from Norderney (bb. 33-35) and has to be in Norway before sunrise (bb. 36-38); that his horse runs as quick as the wind (bb. 40-42) and finally, when he announces that he is leaving to join the battle in Norway (bb. 81-83).



Ex. 26: Loewe: *Odins Meeresritt*, bb. 11-13

The use of the motif is especially striking between bar 29 and 42, as it appears in constant alternation with another motif, used by Oluf: three descending notes of a scale and a rising fifth, rhythmically and melodically supported and imitated in the accompaniment (bb. 29-32). It appears twice, the first time in major (bb. 29-30) the second time in minor (bb. 31-32), which stresses Oluf's amazement and increasing discomfort.



Ex. 27: Loewe: *Odins Meeresritt*, bb. 29-32

Oluf's motif is repeated when he expresses his doubts that Odin will reach his destination in time (bb. 39-40). While the two motifs are very clearly connected to the two characters during the dialogue, the connection is more ambiguous in the beginning. Odin's motif appears twice more underlining the words of the narrator: ‘ein stattlicher Reiter steht vor ihm da’ (‘a grand rider stands before him’, bb. 15-17), [sein Rappel] ‘stampft mit Ungeduld in die Erd’ (‘his horse is stamping impatiently with its hoofs on the ground’, bb. 24-26).

Even if the motif is used in both cases to describe the God or his horse, it has its justification more in the musical construction than in its semantic context: both lines are the last lines of their respective verses. The use of a cadence is therefore not unusual, especially considering Loewe's preference for certain motifs throughout a ballad in order to create stylistic unity. One can therefore not speak of an 'Odin motif' and an 'Oluf motif', but rather of a vivid way of illustrating a dialogue consisting of two completely differing characters: a god and a man. As in *Archibald Douglas*, tone painting plays an important part in *Odins Meeresritt*. In bar 5 the howling of the wind is illustrated: the calm and steady accompaniment of the first four bars gives way to short interjections, consisting of a chromatic tremolo in semiquavers, around changing notes. Suddenly, Oluf hears a knocking on the door. Again, this knocking is described by patterns in the accompaniment: pairs of quaver chords, separated by a semiquaver pause and reinforced through a staccato, imitate the forceful knocks of what turns out to be Odin, who is waiting outside the door (bb. 7-8). When Odin finally mounts his horse to ride to Norway, this is illustrated by an ascending, broken e minor chord (bb. 69-70).

The most striking tone painting, the expansion of the horseshoe, has two functions. It creates suspense and prepares the ballad's turning point: as Wingertszahn has already argued, the 'fracture in reality' lies at the heart of most ballads, as it provides the crucial dramatic twist. In *Odins Meeresritt*, this 'fracture in reality' occurs when the horseshoe magically expands. Before, Oluf had not recognised Odin, but suddenly, he realises that the rider has magical powers and is thus potentially dangerous. In order to illustrate Oluf's dawning horror, the music slowly builds up tension, featuring several characteristics of the 'Gothic' in music: Loewe virtually celebrates the horseshoe's expansion by using various musical devices: the melody rises chromatically from a# to e" (bb. 56-63), all the while gaining volume through a constant crescendo. At the same time, the rhythm stays in calm dotted crochets, while the accompaniment becomes increasingly animated, being at the verge of a tremolo. The musical language used by Loewe is very close to oracle speech and also very similar to a scene in *Der Mutter Geist*, where the mother leaves the grave and returns for her children (*Der Mutter Geist*, bb. 70-81).

In bar 86, Odin's ride begins and the metre changes to a 6/8 metre. The description of the ride in the text is musically accompanied by animated rising broken major triads in the shape of triplets.

V. A. 1803.

Ex. 28: Loewe: *Odins Meeresritt*, bb. 85-90

Hirschberg believes these triplets to imitate the sound of hoof beats.⁴⁸⁹ Yet, no riding motif in the narrow sense of the galloping rhythm (as seen in *Archibald Douglas*) can be found. It is therefore more likely that the triplets illustrate the haste of the powerful supernatural ride, rather than the sound of actual hoof beats. This theory is even more convincing considering that broken chords in the shape of triplets are used in *Archibald Douglas* for the same purpose: in the sixth section (bb. 172-238) the King tries to escape and Archibald pursues him with growing despair. Just as in *Odins Meeresritt*, animated broken triplets in the accompaniment are used to illustrate the haste of the scene rather than actual hoof beats (bb. 172-201).

Ex. 29: Loewe: *Archibald Douglas*, bb. 172-175

Besides evoking a feeling of haste, the triplets in the shape of rising broken major triads recall also the phenomenon that Kleemann describes as 'nature motif' (bb. 86-93). It also emphasises

⁴⁸⁹ Hirschberg, *Reitmotive*, pp. 21-2.

the major chord, which Winkler, as already argued, believes to be an indicator for the supernatural. Whether this terminology is appropriate and to what extent it poses problems will be discussed later. From bar 94 on, the 'nature motif' gives way to a less dense accompaniment: while the right hand's part still consists of broken chords in triplets (ascending and descending now), the left hand consists of four different chords, stressing the first, third, fourth and sixth time of each bar. This contrast possibly illustrates the eagles that fly in the air, detached from the earth. The impression of detachment is especially remarkable in bb. 98-100, where the accompaniment consists of a single bow of semiquavers without any foundation in the bass.

When comparing *Archibald Douglas* and *Odins Meeresritt*, it is striking how differently they realise the idea of the ride: while *Archibald Douglas* features a genuine galloping rhythm, *Odins Meeresritt* uses animated triplets, which illustrate the powerful impression of the ride rather than the sound of actual hoofbeats. *Archibald Douglas* also features the imitation of trumpets, fanfares and the natural horn. *Odins Meeresritt* in contrast is completely missing these human elements and relies entirely on the mysterious triplets. Besides, the use of the different motifs in *Odins Meeresritt* differs in general significantly from the one applied in *Archibald Douglas*: in the latter, the different motifs are used to characterise different moods rather than different people. It is thus possible to use a motif with different characters and to even depict an emotional rapprochement between two people. In *Odins Meeresritt*, the different motifs are strictly related to either Odin or Oluf, at least in the dialogue. An affiliation between these characters through music is therefore not possible, nor could it be, given the fact that there is a clear barrier between the human world and that of the gods, which is not crossed in *Odins Meeresritt*. Had Odin taken Oluf with him on his ride – a popular device, appearing for example in Bürger's *Lenore* – the man would eventually have been entitled to the God's motif. But Oluf is left behind, witnessing no more than a brief encounter of Odin with the human world.

While *Archibald Douglas* features stylistic devices which contemporary listeners associated with the 'Nordic', such riding and hunting motifs, *Odins Meeresritt* is marked by musical elements associated with the Gothic. As demonstrated the 'Nordic' and the Gothic do however overlap to a considerable extent. With *Archibald Douglas* evoking images of Chivalrism and Heroism and *Odins Meeresritt* dealing with Norse Mythology and the Gothic, the two ballads are thus a prime example for the melting pot of ideas the term 'Nordic tone' presents us with.

6.2. Specific 'Nordic' Stylistic Devices

6.2.1. *Of Riders, Hunters and Warriors*

Riding motifs and the 'Chivalric' Style

While *Archibald Douglas* is a typical example of a riding motif using the characteristic galloping rhythm in a triple time, it represents also an exception: as Hirschberg's study reveals, Loewe seldom uses riding motifs in the narrow sense of the galloping rhythm. Among the 30 ballads mentioning riding, a galloping rhythm can only be found in *Hochzeitlied*, *Der große Christoph*, *Erlkönig*, *Treuröschen*, *Wallhaide* and *Archibald Douglas*. With only one appearance among the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads, it becomes evident that the galloping rhythm is neither exclusive to the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads, nor characteristic of the 'Nordic tone'.

The second rhythmical pattern identified by Hirschberg, the dotted quaver with semiquaver, is just as seldom used in ballads mentioning riding: Hirschberg detects it in *Harald*, *Tom der Reimer*, *Die Drei Budrisse* (classified as Polish) and *Der Sturm von Alhama* (classified as Spanish). A first look at this selection reveals that again, this rhythmical pattern is neither exclusive, nor – due to its infrequent appearance – characteristic of the 'Nordic tone'. Moreover, it can be found in a Scottish and a Scandinavian ballad and is therefore neither typical for the one nor for the other group.

Keeping in mind Bellman's broader idea of the Chivalric style and the function of the term 'Nordic' as a melting pot of different ideas, it is prudent to adopt a more inclusive approach than the one ventured by Hirschberg; taking into consideration all four musical characteristics given by Bellman regardless of the mention of the word 'riding' in the text: the imitation of the sound of hoof beats; motifs evoking a majestic feeling; warlike motifs and motifs recalling hunting parties. Ballads having the theme of riding in the text will be revisited in order to gain a more convincing sense of Loewe's musical approach. The English and Scottish ballads include *Archibald Douglas* and *Tom der Reimer*. Among the Nordic ballads, riding themes are found in *Herr Oluf*, *Harald* and *Odins Meeresritt*. These features will also be traced in other ballads in order to detect the additional ideas they can evoke besides the actual riding. In order to do so, three separate different stylistic devices will be examined: the rhythmical patterns identified, clarion melodic lines stressing chords in a triumphant manner and repeated notes imitating trumpet calls.

In *Tom der Reimer*, riding is first mentioned near the end (bb. 94-101) when the rhymer and the Elfin Queen blissfully ride away through the woods on her white horse: 'Sie ritten durch den grünen Wald / wie glücklich da der Reimer war' (They rode through the green forest / how happy was the Rhymer). The metre changes back from a 12/8 metre to a 4/4 metre, the former gentle *Allegretto lusingando* gives way to a distinctive *Allegretto*. The accompaniment turns suddenly into a chordal style, supporting the vocal part's rhythm and melody. Thus, besides its distinctive dotted rhythm, the section draws its striking characteristics especially from the sudden contrast with the ballad's overall gentle and lyrical tone.

The image shows a musical score for Carl Loewe's 'Tom der Reimer', measures 90-95. It consists of two systems of music. The first system shows the piano accompaniment with a dotted rhythm and a chordal style. The second system shows the vocal line with the lyrics: 'Sie rit. ten durch den grünen Wald, wie glücklich da der Reimer war,'. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto'.

Ex. 30: Loewe: *Tom der Reimer*, bb. 90-95

Rather than actual galloping, this rhythm may also imitate the sound of fanfares and thus evoke a triumphant feeling: the victory of love and the lovers' confidence in a happy future.

Herr Oluf poses an interesting contrast with *Tom der Reimer*: while he, too, meets the Elfin Queen (or Erl king's daughter) in the forest, the encounter leads not to a happy ending, but to disaster: Oluf refuses to surrender to the seductive elf, as he is to be married in the morning. As a punishment, she curses him and he dies shortly afterwards. The ballad opens with a description of Oluf's ride through the woods, a place which is haunted by the elves: 'Herr Oluf reitet spät und weit / zu bieten auf seine Hochzeitsleit' / Da tanzen die Elfen auf grünem Strand / Erlikönigs Tochter reicht ihm die Hand' (Sir Oluf rides a long way late at night / / There, the elves are dancing on green shores / Erl king's daughter offers him her hand). Agile semiquavers, ascending in a broken e minor chord, in the right hand illustrate the elves' scurrying movements. In the left hand, a motif consisting of a dotted crochet and quavers

anticipates the vocal part: 'Herr Oluf reitet spät und weit' (Sir Oluf rides a long way late at night).

Nr. 7. **Allegro.** Componirt 1821, erschienen 1824.

Ex. 31: Loewe: *Herr Oluf*, bb. 1-10

While the word 'ride' is mentioned, no actual riding motif can be found. Instead, the melody in the bass evokes a sombre atmosphere. This observation is symptomatic of Loewe's compositional approach: as has already been mentioned in chapter 4.2., Loewe often abandons tone painting or the exact imitation of sounds in favour of the overall atmosphere. This phenomenon can also be observed with other aspects of the 'Nordic tone', as for example with the depiction of the Bardic harp (see chapter 6.2.3.).

The fatal encounter with the elves is also the story featured in the ballad *Harald*. Harald and his army are riding through the forest. Suddenly, the elves appear and beguile the soldiers, luring them away into their world. Harald, deserted, continues his ride alone. He takes a rest at a rock to drink some water from a well. Suddenly, he falls asleep on the stone, never to wake again – the elves' curse captured him after all. The ballad begins with the hero Harald leading his army: 'Vor seinem Heergefolge ritt der kühne Held Harald' (The brave hero Harald was riding in front of his army). Just as in *Tom der Reimer*, a dotted rhythm in a 4/4 metre is applied. While it is not completely homophonic, the main rhythm is still supported by the left hand. Rather than a galloping rhythm, the music imitates thus a march – a connotation, which is also found in the

instruction 'alla Marcia'. In addition, a crescendo is applied, which is often used to create the impression of an approaching group of people.

Op. 46 Nr.1.
Componirt u. erschienen 1886.

Alla Marcia, maestoso. *cresc.*

Nr. 10.

Vor seinem Heergefolge ritt der
küh-ne Held Harald; sie zo-gen in des Mon-des Schein durch ei-nen wil-den

Ex. 32: Loewe: *Harald*, bb. 1-6

It is evident from these examples, that the mention of riding does not necessarily imply the use of the galloping metre. Only *Archibald Douglas* imitates actual hoofbeats by the galloping rhythm in triple time. Most of the other ballads, in contrast, use a dotted 4/4 metre. Rather than hoofbeats, they imitate fanfares or marches and create thus a more triumphant atmosphere or imitate the sound of a march. These rhythmical patterns are however not exclusive to the ballads where the word 'riding' is mentioned. Among the English and Scottish ballads alone, these musical characteristics can be found in *Das nussbraune Mädchen*, *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green* and *Alpin's Klage um Morar*. Among the Nordic ballads, these motifs can be found in *Die drei Lieder* and the last song of the song cycle *Agnete*. They express a variety of emotions and are usually linked to imitations of trumpets, fanfares or clarions – another indicator of the close relationship between the different elements of the melting pot that is the 'Nordic tone'.

In the ballad *Das nussbraune Mädchen*, a young man tells his beloved that he is condemned to death and must therefore run away to hide in the woods. She decides to elope with him. When he confesses that he has a new sweetheart waiting for him in the forest, she is still determined to stay with him and to be a faithful servant to his new mistress. In the very end he reveals to her that he had invented the whole tale to test her virtue: he is a neither a condemned man, nor in

love with someone else, but is a Count. He praises her fidelity and she answers that he is such a good man that whatever his social status may be, whoever is his partner will always be a queen. This change of situation from calm resignation in the light of her lover's new sweetheart, to triumphant relief (bb. 224-257) opens with a new rhythmical pattern, appearing here for the first time in the whole ballad: dotted quavers in octaves in the right hand, chords in the left. With the entry of the vocal part (224), the harmonic goes back to A major, which symbolises the woman's confidence (see chapter 6.2.2.). The dotted rhythm continues in melody and accompaniment, the tempo changes to *allegro vivace*. In five bars, this rhythm gets interrupted by broken chords in triplets (b. 228, 232, 240, 244, 256) recalling clarions. There are also two bars where the repeated empty octaves in the right hand appear on their own in a short interlude recalling trumpets (b. 236, 252).

The musical score for measures 224-228 of Carl Loewe's *Das nussbraune Mädchen* is presented in two systems. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked *Allegro vivace.* and the dynamics include *f* and *stringendo*. The lyrics are: "O Lieb - ste mein, kein Flit - terschein, kein Wandel ist in dir! Von". The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment, with the lyrics: "Flit - terschein, kein Wandel ist in dir! Von".

Ex. 33: Loewe: *Das nussbraune Mädchen*, bb. 224-228

The musical score for measures 233-236 of Carl Loewe's *Das nussbraune Mädchen* is presented in two systems. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "frei und froh, es ist nicht so, ich bin nicht fort.ge - bannt!". The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment.

Ex. 34: Loewe: *Das nussbraune Mädchen*, bb. 233-236

In *Das nussbraune Mädchen*, chords in dotted rhythm are used not to illustrate riding, but to evoke a triumphant feeling, underlining female virtue's triumph over male doubts. Moreover, it represents the new social status the couple acquires given the fact that the man turns out to be a Count.

In a similar way, chords in a dotted rhythm appear in *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green*. This ballad tells a long and complex story which is divided into two sections. A beggar has a beautiful daughter, Bessee. Being a beggar's daughter she struggles to find a suitor and therefore decides to leave home. In Rumford she finds accommodation at a rich family's house and becomes acquainted with the high society. Quickly, she finds herself admired by several men. In order to find out who loves her the most, she asks them to meet her father, the beggar. Repulsed by her poverty, all suitors reject her, apart from the noble knight. The beggar however, surprisingly turns out to be a rich man. Bessee marries the knight. In the second section, the glorious wedding is described, where all the noble people have assembled. The beggar appears and sings a song, telling his story: it is revealed that he was the son of Sir Simon who had been killed during the famous battle at Evesham. As his father had lost the battle, he had been forced to live incognito ever since but is still a rich man. Everyone is delighted that Bessee comes from a noble family and she and her knight live happily ever after. Triumphant motifs can be found in both sections. In the first sections, Bessee's arrival in the wealthy city of Rumford is illustrated by a sudden musical change: while the beginning is marked by a slow and simple soft melody (*Andante con moto, piano*) in a minor, the key changes to a bright C major in bar 77. The melody moves in dotted quavers with semiquavers, stressing especially the chord's fifth (g). The rhythm is supported by the accompaniment, which is also set in the shape of a choral movement. Moreover, the grand atmosphere is enhanced by small interjection consisting of repeated notes imitating trumpet calls (bb. 81-82):

Rumford war's, das vor ihr lag, als wieder graut der junge Tag. Im Haus zum
 Schild, - so schön war sie, - ward auf-ge-nommen gleich Bes-see-.

Cresc. *p* *f*

* Ped. * Ped. *

Ex. 35: Loewe: *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green. Erste Abtheilung*, bb. 72-84

The second section is framed by two melodically identical sections containing triumphant and grand motifs. The first part is marked by a bright A major (in contrast to the former a minor) and the musical instructions *Alla Marcia* and *pomposo* (bb. 1-34). Like a triumphal march, dotted quavers with semiquavers, with trills as ornaments, anticipate the vocal part's melody (bb. 1-8). With the beginning of the vocal part (b. 9), an accompaniment very similar to the prelude illustrates the arrival of the widely admired bride, the opulence of the feast and the walk to the church. The postlude also features dotted repeated chords, imitating trumpet calls (bb. 17-21).

Die Hoch-zeit fest-lich zu be-
Und durch ganz Eng-land hin er-
gehn, wählt man ein Schloss gar reich und schön, und schmückt's mit
schallt der Ruf des Fe-stes, und es wallt gar man-cher
selt-nen Din-gen ganz; der Braut zur Ehr' ward all der Glanz.
ed-le Lord-da-her, und al-les nur-Bes-see zur Ehr'.

Ped. **Ped.* **Ped.* *
Ped. **Ped.* **Ped.* *
Ad. *
Ped. **Ped.* **Ped.* **Ped.* **Ped.* *

Ex. 36: Loewe: *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green. Zweite Abtheilung*, bb. 8-21

The final part of the second section (bb. 169-202) is musically almost identical to the one above: after the beggar has revealed his secret, everyone celebrates Bessee's aristocratic origins. She and

her noble knight live happily ever after. Just as *Das nussbraune Mädchen, Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green* uses chords in a dotted rhythm to evoke a triumphant feeling, which is enhanced by the musical imitation of fanfares and trumpets. As with *Tom der Reimer, Harald* and *Das nussbraune Mädchen*, this example demonstrates that a triumphant and grand tone and the imitation of related instruments such as fanfares and trumpets play an important part in Loewe's English, Scottish and Nordic ballads. Yet they are not exclusive to these ballads and can also be found in 'Non Nordic' ballads, as in *Der Edelfalk*, for instance. Triplets in octaves stress a chord tone in a triumphant way and underline the pomp of the royal hunting party:

Componirt u. erschienen 1839.

Nr. 15.

Die Fürstin zog zu Wal - de mit Jägern und Mar - schalk;

da sah sie rei - ten bal - de ein jun - ger E - del -

Ex. 37: Loewe: *Der Edelfalk*, bb. 1-9

Thus, while these features are without doubt characteristic of 'outdoor' adventures and the Chivalric, they are not exclusive to the 'Nordic tone'. *Alpin's Klage um Morar*, Loewe's only setting of a text from *Ossian*, is a lament for the fallen warrior Morar. It is a highly complex poem as well as a highly diverse composition, full of recitatives, tone painting and contrasting sections, and displays a great affinity with Zumsteeg's setting of *Colma*. The major part of the text describes Morar, who is depicted as martial, brave and fierce but also tender and gentle⁴⁹⁰ -

⁴⁹⁰ 'Du warst schnell, o Morar, wie ein Reh auf dem Hügel, schrecklich wie die Nachtfeuer am Himmel. Dein Grimm war ein Sturm, dein Schwert in der Schlacht wie Wetterleuchten über der Heide, deine Stimme gleicht dem Waldstrome nach dem Regen, dem Donner auf fernen Hügeln! Manche fielen von deinem Arm, die Flamme deines Grimmes verzehrte sie. Aber wenn du wiederkehrtest vom Kriege, wie friedlich war deine

the epitome of the 'noble savage', an idea dating back to the Age of Enlightenment (see Chapter 4.3.1.). Morar's heroism is several times underlined in the accompaniment, by a motif consisting of chords in a dotted rhythm (starting with a semiquaver offbeat, followed by chords consisting of dotted quavers with semiquavers), mostly ascending. While the actual chords vary each time, the rhythmical pattern stays virtually the same and represents each time a strong contrast with the surrounding accompaniment. The motif is first introduced in b. 19, when the actual word 'Held' (hero) is mentioned: 'Sie klagten Morar's Fall, des ersten der Helden' (They mourned the death of Morar, the first of all heroes).

trau - rig. Sie klag - ten Mo - rar's Fall, des er - sten der Hel - den.

Allegro.

Ex. 38: Loewe: *Alpíns Klage um Morar*, bb. 17-19

It reappears in bar 24, when Morar is compared to the great heroes of the past: his soul is like Fingal's soul, his sword like Oscar's sword:

sein Schwert wie das Schwert

Os - kar's; a - ber er fiel, und sein Va - ter jam - mer - te, und sei - ner

piano

Ex. 39: Loewe: *Alpíns Klage um Morar*, bb. 23-27

Stimme! Dein Angesicht war gleich der Sonne nach dem Gewitter, gleich dem Monde in schweigender Nacht, ruhig deine Brust, wie der See, wenn sich des Windes Brausen gelegt hat.'

In the same way, the motif is used to describe Morar's sword in bar 283, when Alpin sings: 'nimmer der düstere Wald leuchten vom Glanze deines Stahls' (nevermore will your steel shine through the dark forest).

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system covers measures 280-282, and the second system covers measures 283-285. The vocal line is in a soprano or alto register. The piano accompaniment features a prominent dotted duple rhythm in the right hand, often with chords. Dynamics are marked as *cresc.*, *f*, *dim.*, *forte*, and *piano*. A small asterisk is placed below the piano part in measure 285.

Ex. 40: Loewe: *Alpins Klage um Morar*, bb. 280-285

In *Alpins Klage um Morar*, the dotted rhythm is thus used to evoke a heroic feeling in contrast with the overall gentle and solemn mood of the lament.

It has become evident that riding motifs in the narrow sense of the galloping metre are rarely used: they can only be found in *Archibald Douglas*. However, the topic of riding is often accompanied by a dotted duple metre, imitating fanfares or marches rather than actual hoof beats, as seen in *Tom der Reimer* and *Harald*. The comparative analyses have shown that neither of these features is restricted to the ballads where actual riding is mentioned. In particular the chords in a dotted rhythm are often used to evoke triumphant, grand or heroic feeling, as seen in *Die drei Lieder*, *Das nussbraune Mädchen*, *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green* and *Alpins Klage um Morar*. Bellman's theory describes the 'Chivalric' style as a combination of riding motifs, hunting motifs and majestic features. All of these features are closely intertwined in Loewe's ballads: the topic of riding is accompanied by the actual galloping rhythm just as by a marching rhythm or the imitation of fanfares. These features may also stand alone to express a general triumphant feeling in ballads where riding is not mentioned. With this approach, no difference between the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads can be detected. While these features are thus not necessarily a characteristic of the 'Nordic tone', it can still be concluded that the Chivalric,

Majestic, Heroic and Triumphant, as well as the themes of riding and hunting lie at the heart of Loewe's English, Scottish and Nordic ballads, even if they are not exclusive to them.

Warriors and Battles

The musical depiction of battles or the evoking of a general warlike character is closely related to the above noted problem of riding motifs and the 'chivalric' in a broader sense. While it is almost impossible to separate the general warlike character from the features discussed in the 'chivalric style', the depiction of battles is more concrete, especially when a ballad actually describes a battle, as in *Alpins Klage um Morar* and *Die drei Lieder*.

In *Die drei Lieder* the fight between the king and the harpist is illustrated through racing ascending and descending semiquaver lines, only interrupted by arpeggio chords marked by a powerful *sforzando*.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for Carl Loewe's *Die drei Lieder*. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The lyrics are: "lehnt er die Harfe wohl an den Tisch, und sie zogen beide die Schwerter frisch und fochten lange mit wil dem Schalle,". The piano accompaniment is characterized by rapid, racing semiquaver lines, both ascending and descending, which are frequently interrupted by arpeggio chords. These arpeggios are marked with a powerful *sforzando* (*sf*) dynamic. The overall texture is dense and rhythmic, effectively conveying a sense of battle and movement.

Ex. 41: Loewe: *Die drei Lieder*, bb. 64-72

In contrast with the duel in *Die drei Lieder*, the battle in *Alpins Klage um Morar* is long past and only remembered by the singer. While the whole ballad is marked by heroic motifs, there are several sections where actual battles are mentioned. Alpin remembers how great a warrior Morar was (bb. 154-161): 'Dein Grimm war wie ein Sturm, dein Schwert in der Schlacht wie Wetterleuchten über der Heide' (Your wrath was like a storm, your sword in the battle like sheet lightning over the heather). The words are framed by racing ascending and descending semiquaver lines, with simple bass notes in octaves in the left hand. The vocal part is accompanied by a continuously repeated broken chord in semiquavers which almost sounds like a tremolo. Alpin also remembers how Morar's enemies were killed by Morar's sword (bb. 176-181): 'Manche fielen vor deinem Arm, die Flamme deines Grimmes verzehrte sie' (Some were killed by your arm; the flame of your wrath consumed them): the vocal part moves in seconds in a dotted rhythm, which is supported by the right hand. The left hand plays a tremolo-like line of semiquavers. The battle is mentioned one more time, when Morar's father appears (bb. 249-256). The recitative-like vocal part is accompanied with tremolo chords in both hands, only interrupted by a version of the 'heroic motif' (b. 248) and racing lines of ascending and descending semiquavers (bb. 250, 252, 254, 256). As noted, martial imagery is often evoked through fanfares and racing string passages, as can be observed in *Echoes of Ossian*. In *Die drei Lieder* and *Alpins Klage um Morar* the stylistic devices to depict battle scenes are thus very similar to each other and to *Echoes of Ossian*: racing lines of ascending and descending semiquavers and tremolos and single, prominent chords, enforced by sforzatos, arpeggios or a dotted rhythm. Moreover, Wingertzahn mentions accelerandos, rapid passages and a restless accompaniment as typical for Loewe's musical language for the Gothic.⁴⁹¹ Indeed, these features can be detected in many of Loewe's ballads describing a dangerous encounter with the Supernatural, as will be elaborated in chapter 6.2.5. Moreover, considering the use of the dotted 'heroic motif' in *Alpins Klage um Morar*, the close relationship between the warlike, the heroic, the chivalric and the Gothic becomes once more evident. Given this resemblance, it is evident that one can not really speak of a 'warlike' musical language within Loewe's ballads. Rather than opting for a martial profile, Loewe adopted an all-inclusive language for danger and threat. As with the riding motifs, Loewe does not always musically translate warlike actions in the poem in order to preserve the unity of the ballad. Once more it is evident that the overall atmosphere is paramount for Loewe, and its depiction more crucial than a detailed depiction of a battle full of tone painting.

⁴⁹¹ Wingertzahn, 'Loewes unheimliche Balladen', p. 280.

6.2.2. *Symbolism of Keys*

Key characteristics played an important role in music theory from the 18th to the early 19th Century and were also crucial for the understanding of the 'Nordic tone'. Gerhard Schroth claimed that Loewe used certain keys in a recurring, semantically defined way, with Eb Major meaning chivalric or kinglike, a minor introverted, e minor menacing and F major idyllic.⁴⁹² This hypothesis is highly problematic and difficult to prove, as it would require comparative analyses of Loewe's entire oeuvre. While such a survey can not be given here, a first analysis of the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads nevertheless sheds some light on Loewe's idea of key characteristics with regard to the 'Nordic tone'. Loewe's approach to tonality follows contemporary convention: as his ballads are not strictly strophic, they seldom stay in one key, but travel through many different keys, following the various parts and moods of the poem, eventually returning to their original key or, in a few cases, to a closely related key. Observing the harmonic start and ending of each ballad, the following observations can be made: eleven ballads start in the minor key; of these, five end in a major key, usually the tonic major. It must be noted, that this table only represents the harmonic disposition of the first and the last bars of each ballad and therefore does not give an impression of the ballad's harmonic variety in general. Yet, if a ballad is starting with or framed by a minor tonic, the minor key will, regardless of the following development, still be crucial for the first harmonic impression.

Studying the ballads' text it becomes obvious that the change from minor to an ending in major always supports a breakthrough in the ballad's plot: in *Das nussbraune Mädchen*, the tonality changes to A major for good when the young man reveals that he is a Count and not banished, and that she is still the only one for him. In *Die drei Lieder*, f# minor gives way to f# major when the harpist rejoices in his triumph over the king. In the first ballad of *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green*, Bessee finds fortune and a husband and a glorious wedding awaits her – a minor gives way to A major. In *Der kleine Schiffer*, the beginning is marked by the princess's triumph in the game, underlined by F major. When her luck is turning, her resignation and despair are marked by f minor (b. 114-159). In *Der Nöck* a similar contrast can be found between the description of the Merman's sadness (e minor, bb. 63-89) and the children's efforts to cheer him up (E major, bb. 97-131). In *Elvershöh* the music suddenly turns from E major to e minor when the elves get angry and start to threaten the protagonist (b. 100). In all of these ballads, two contrasting moods are thus symbolised by a *parallel* major / minor pair (both major and minor modes are used, but the tonic remains unchanged), a popular stylistic approach among

⁴⁹² Schroth, 'Die späten Balladen Carl Loewes', p. 224 .

Romantic composers,⁴⁹³ which fulfilled a number of functions, such as adding variety and colouristic changes. Most importantly, it allows illustration of a poetic shift without having to change the overall tonic.⁴⁹⁴ Parallel major / minor pairs were widely used by composers of songs and ballads. Schubert uses the shift from E major to E minor in *Der Lindenbaum* (D911 no. 5, from *Winterreise*) to illustrate the contrast between the protagonist's happy memories and the unhappy present.⁴⁹⁵ In *Der Feierabend* (D. 795 no. 5, from *Die schöne Müllerin*), the shift from a minor to A major underlines the shift from the protagonist's constant worries about whether he will be able to win his beloved to his recurring hopes for a happy ending.⁴⁹⁶ By extensively using the parallel major / minor pair, Loewe thus follows a convention of his time.

Apart from these changes, which are usually introduced at the beginning of a new section, the ballads are generally marked by a harmonic restlessness. The most prominent example is *Alpins Klage um Morar*: due to its rhapsodic and recitative-like character, consisting of alternating recitatives and arias, covering a variety of situations and moods, it not only displays a variety of metres and instructions but also keys. Nine greater different tonal areas can be detected, many of which contain modulations and evasions (the f minor section in bb. 239-274, for instance, contains a prominent evasion to c minor): C major (bb. 1-46), Eb major (bb. 47-116), C major (bb. 117-134), a minor (bb. 135-192), A major (bb. 193-207), f# minor (bb. 208-224), a minor (bb. 225-238), f minor (bb. 239-274), Eb major (bb. 275-292). The harmonic development consists mainly of third-relationships – a popular way of creating musical relations in Romantic music.⁴⁹⁷ Just as in the ballads mentioned above, Loewe uses parallel major / minor pairs which are linked to the development of the story. In bb. 135-192, Morar is depicted as a terrible, dangerous and cruel warrior (a minor). In bb. 193-207, he is described as peaceful and mild after the battle (A major).

Loewe depicts the appearance of the supernatural through changes in tonality as well as in rhythmical and melodic developments, as can be observed in *Harald* and *Tom der Reimer*. In *Harald*, the music suddenly changes in bar 11 with the appearance of the elves: the metre changes to a swaying 6/8 metre, the chordal style in the accompaniment gives way to semiquaver lines similar to those found in the opening bars of *Herr Oluf*. The tonality changes from the opening Ab major to Db major. In *Tom der Reimer*, Tom perceives the Elfin Queen and says: 'Du

⁴⁹³ Deborah Stein; Robert Spillman, *Poetry into Song: Performance and Analysis of Lieder* (New York, Oxford, 1996), p. 118.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

bist die Himmelskönigin / du bist von dieser Erde nicht' (You are the Queen of Heaven / you are not from this world). On these words, the harmonic shifts from Bb major to D major (b. 43). For the Romantics with their preference for third relationships, D major was not such a distant key in Bb major. Still, keeping in mind the flat-sharp dichotomy, the shift from a flat key to a sharp key created a harmonic brightening, illustrating the detachment from reality.

The use of d minor, at the time often understood as the key of suffering, death, and the supernatural can indeed also be found in some of Loewe's ballads. *Der Mutter Geist*, for instance, is almost entirely set in d minor, which corresponds to the overall topic of death. Significantly, d minor is also the key of Schubert's *Der Tod und das Mädchen*. The idea of the supernatural in the context of these works will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6.2.5. Still, the question of key characteristics or a symbolism of keys remains problematic; particularly when taking into consideration that ballads, unlike many instrumental works, are often transposed to oblige certain singers. Many ballads even exist in editions for high, middle and low voice. Any characteristic linked to an absolute key would be lost in such a transposition.

Apart from the symbolic aspect, many other factors govern the choice of keys. The overall tonal plan has to be taken into consideration, especially in a multi-movement work.⁴⁹⁸ While this does not apply to the genre of the ballad in general, it is crucial for the ballad *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green*, which consists of two parts, and the song-cycle *Agnete*. In *Agnete*, a strong link can be detected between the endings and beginnings of the four ballads: the first song ends in E major; the second begins with a melody in the variant of the tonic e minor, with the key signatures of c minor. It also ends in c minor. The third song begins with a melody in G major with the key signatures of C major, the variant of the tonic. The last song begins in C major and ends in the relative minor a. Given this tonal relationship, it is more reasonable to examine tonal developments within the ballads and tone painting, than to interpret the key characteristic of the different tonic keys. In *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green*, Loewe uses the described parallel major / minor pair. The keys can therefore not be interpreted as independent phenomena but have to be considered within their contexts. Nevertheless, a general sharp-flat-dichotomy appears in Loewe's ballads. Considering the special aesthetics of the North, with its gloomy and rough landscapes and Ossian's 'joy of grief', it is probable that this dichotomy also affected the choice of keys for compositions characterised by the 'Nordic tone'. Examining the keys Loewe used for his ballads, the following observations can be made: eleven ballads begin in a minor key (among of them only one in a flat minor key), five in a flat major key, three in a

⁴⁹⁸ Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, pp. 190-1

sharp major key and two in C major. Given the fact that the minor keys and the flat majors were, in contemporary aesthetics, both seen as belonging to a softer and more solemn tone, the six remaining major keys stand out: *Elvershöh* (G major), *Agnete III* (G major), *Agnete IV* (C major), *Der Nöck* (C major) and *Des Bettlers Tochter von Bednall Green II* (A major).

When and why did Loewe abandon the minor keys and the major flats in favour of sharp major keys? In *Elvershöh*, a young man falls asleep on the hill Elvershöh. The ballad begins in G major. When the supernatural maidens appear (b. 11) the music suddenly changes to E major. When the maidens start talking to the young man, the music changes to e minor (b. 60), going back to E major when they start to dance (b. 86). Failing to seduce the young man, the maidens get angry and the music turns back to e minor (b. 99). Finally, he awakens from his dream, relieved that he has escaped the vicious maidens. The music changes back to the opening tonic G major, indicating the return to reality (b. 111). There can thus be detected a clear symbolism of keys in the ballad: G major as a framing tonic represents the story's realistic layer, with the young man falling asleep and waking again. All that happens in the dream evolves around the harmonic centre of E major: the gentle side of the maidens is characterised by E major, their eventually angry clamouring by the variant of the tonic e minor. The symbolism of keys in this ballad works mostly through the relation between the different keys rather than through the different keys themselves. A similar observation can be made when studying *Der Nöck*. The ballad opens in C major: the Merman is singing happily standing under a rainbow near a waterfall, admired by the nightingale. Children appear (b. 29), telling him that he is singing in vain as he will never be allowed into heaven. The music changes to E major. The Merman is sad and stops singing and the music changes to e minor (b. 50). The children regret their words and try to console the Merman, saying that, with a divine voice like his, he surely will come into heaven (b. 97). This is underlined by a change back to E major. The Merman, happy and confident again, resumes his singing and the music changes back to C major (b. 138). Like *Elvershöh*, *Der Nöck* is framed by a tonic underlining the similarities between the initial situation and the ending: the Merman sings happily. In between, several things happen that are marked by a new tonic and its variant: the children's mocking (E major), the Merman's sad reaction (e minor) and the children's attempts to console him (E major). In both ballads a symbolism of keys undoubtedly works because the juxtaposing of major and minor keys corresponds to developments in the text. The choice of C major for the glorious and triumphant singing of the Merman is surely no coincidence, given that C major was regarded as one of the brightest keys: it was associated with trumpets and drums, instruments which suggest festivity. Moreover, Rita Steblin argues that

there is a centuries-long tradition of 'dancing and rejoicing in C',⁴⁹⁹ which is rooted in associations made with the Ionian mode.⁵⁰⁰

To summarise, Loewe's ballads are rich with key symbolism, especially sudden changes to the tonic's parallel or variant in order to illustrate changes of mood. This symbolism, however, only works through the relation between the different keys. It is also apparent that Loewe used particularly the minor keys or the major flat keys. In this respect, no differences between the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads can be detected. To what extent Loewe was familiar with 18th and 19th Century studies of key connotations presented in chapter 5 is not clear. It is even likely that he had not read these works at all, but merely followed a contemporary tradition. It can be assumed that Loewe was aware of some key connotations, as for example the glory of C major or the sombre colour of d minor. An extensive analysis of his entire oeuvre, his sketches and contemporary publications on the subject might shed some light on this so far little studied aspect of Loewe's works and thus on his understanding of the 'Nordic tone'.

6.2.3. *The Bardic Harp*

In imitating harps in the piano part, Loewe follows a Romantic convention: there are several ballads where broken chords occur in a manner that suggests the sound of a harp. These broken chords are however too unspecific a feature to be classified clearly as harp-sounds. To avoid speculation, a reasonable starting point might be the ballads where the instrument itself is actually mentioned. As the harp is so closely linked to Nordic topics in 19th Century reception, it is hardly surprising that it is featured almost exclusively in the Scottish, English and Nordic ballads. One of the few exceptions is the ballad *Der Sänger* (op. 59 no. 2) based on a poem by Goethe. When the singer starts to sing and play the harp ('Der Sänger drückt die Augen ein und schlug in vollen Tönen'), the sound of the harp is imitated by arpeggiated semiquaver chords.

The image shows a musical score for the ballad 'Der Sänger' by Carl Loewe. It consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line in G major, with lyrics: 'Sän - ger drückt die Au - gen ein und schlug in vol - len Tö - nen; die'. The middle staff is the right hand of the piano accompaniment, featuring arpeggiated semiquaver chords. The bottom staff is the left hand, with sustained chords. The score is marked 'V. A. 1811.' and includes performance instructions like 'Red.' and asterisks.

Ex. 42: Loewe: *Der Sänger*, bb. 35-38

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

In the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads, harps are featured in the texts of *Alpins Klage um Morar*, *Die drei Lieder* and *Der Nöck*. In all three ballads, the harp is used as an instrument to accompany a singer. In *Alpins Klage um Morar*, Ullin takes the harp and plays Alpin's lament for Morar, which is first sung by Ryno, then by Alpin: 'Ullin trat auf mit der Harfe, und gab uns Alpins Gesang' (Ullin appeared with his harp and gave us Alpin's song). The recitative is full of arpeggiated chords (b. 2, 7, 10, 11, 13, 26, 28-31, 46), depicting the strumming of a harp. The actual singing starts in bar 47, when the narrator announces: 'Ich schlug die Harfe mit Ullin zum Gesange des Jammers' (I strummed the harp with Ullin to the song of mourning). The former C major key changes to Eb major. The left hand of the accompaniment plays ascending and descending quavers in the shape of a broken Eb major chord, supported by the pedal. The right hand provides gentle interjections consisting of descending quavers. The singing, a simple, folksong-like melody, starts in bar 50.

The image displays a musical score for Carl Loewe's *Alpins Klage um Morar*, measures 47-54. The score is in Eb major and 3/4 time, marked 'Allegretto.' The first system shows the piano accompaniment with a 'sempre Pedale' instruction and a vocal line for 'Ryno.' The second system shows the piano accompaniment and a vocal line with the lyrics 'bei sind Wind und Re - gen, der'. The piano part features a continuous pattern of arpeggiated chords in the left hand and descending quavers in the right hand.

Ex. 43: Loewe: *Alpins Klage um Morar*, bb. 47-54

The first song ends in bar 116 with a rising broken chord of the harp, imitated by the combination of staccato points and slur.

fer - - nen Ge - sta - de?"

piano

diminuendo pp

Ex. 44: Loewe: *Alpins Klage um Morar*, bb. 112-116

In *Die drei Lieder* the harpist plays the harp and sings his three fateful songs. Instead of arpeggios, the harpist's song is accompanied by tremolos and lines of quavers and semiquavers.

gessen schon lang: Meinen Bru - - der

crescendo

ff

Ped.

hast du meuch.lings er - stochen, und a - -

ber, hast ihn meuch.lings er - stochen!

ff

ff

ff

ff

Ex. 45: Loewe: *Die drei Lieder*, bb. 27-38

Instead of imitating the sound of a harp, the accompaniment is portraying the singer's rage. The accompaniment is similar in the second song, where the singer challenges the King to a duel.

The third song differs from the first two: the accompaniment consists of animated semiquavers in the right hand, rising in octave leaps. The left hand consists of chords supporting the vocal part's rhythm. Rather than the sound of a harp, the music expresses the singer's excitement in the light of his triumph over the King.

Ex. 46: Loewe: *Die drei Lieder*, bb. 87-89

It is striking that the only time arpeggio chords occur, is when the singer puts his instrument away and the duel starts: 'Da lehnt er die Harfe wohl an den Tisch, und sie zogen beide die Schwerter frisch' (Then, he leaned his harp against the table and both unsheathed their swords). Rather than imitate the strumming of the harp, the accompaniment underlines the agitation of the scene: the broken crochet chords, enforced by a *sforzando*, create a rhythmic break within the lines of quavers and semiquavers and add thus to the dramatic enhancement.

Ex. 47: Loewe: *Die drei Lieder*, bb. 65-70

In *Der Nöck*, the Merman is playing the harp while singing blissfully, admired by the nightingale. The example has already been studied when discussing the use of drones in Loewe's works (see example no. 20). Comparing these three examples, it becomes evident, that Loewe imitates the sound of a harp through broken chords, appoggiaturas and drones, as can be seen in *Der Nöck* and *Alpins Klage um Morar*. Considering this very illustrative musical language, it is even more striking that Loewe chose not to depict the harp musically in *Die drei Lieder*, although it plays a prominent part within the text. To understand why Loewe made this compromise, one has to take into account the possibilities of expression of these three stylistic devices. Just as drones lead to a static form, broken chords that are repeated continuously leave little room for following sudden dramatic developments. In *Der Nöck* and in *Alpins Klage um Morar*, the poetic situation is static: *Der Nöck* opens with the Merman standing under a rainbow, playing the harp. The idyllic scenery presents itself like a canvas, without any dynamic development. This leaves room in the music to imitate the sound of a harp, as no dramatic or forward moving changes are required. A similar situation presents itself in *Alpins Klage um Morar*: Ryno is singing Alpin's song, a lament for the fallen warrior Morar. Apart from Ryno's singing, nothing is actually happening at the time. Again, the poetic situation is static and the static musical devices of the harp's imitation can therefore be unfolded without hindering the dramatic development. *Die drei Lieder* however, presents a highly dynamic situation. Thus, the musical mimicry can be abandoned in favour of a more effective depiction of the overall atmosphere.

Even if the imitation of the harp is, due to its musical construction, better suited to the continuous narration of a story, it can also create a sudden, unexpected effect. In *Tom der Reimer* a harp motif is used when Tom perceives the beautiful woman, whom he believes to be the Queen of Heaven. The gently flowing semiquavers in the right hand of the piano part give way to ascending crochets in the shape of a broken F7 chord; similar to the 'pizzicato-chord' used in *Alpins Klage um Morar*. The little grace notes before every note enhance the sensation of a harp, announcing the apparition of the heavenly woman (b. 20-21).

Ex. 48: Loewe: *Tom der Reimer*, bb. 17-23

By announcing the supernatural creature with a harp, a link is created to Ossian's idea of the harp as a link between the world of man and the world of spirits⁵⁰¹, but also to the late 18th Century idea of the harp as mediator between worldly and heavenly realms⁵⁰² – after all, Tom mistakes the Elfin Queen for the Queen of Heaven. In a similar way, the sound of a harp is imitated in the third song of the song-cycle *Agnete*: a merman keeps Agnete as his prisoner underwater. She begs him to grant her a single journey on land. He consents, asking her to be back by nightfall. She ascends from the deep waters. The left hand's accompaniment evolves around an ascending broken chord around G without the third. This melody consisting of fourths and fifths evokes the sensation of someone strumming a harp's open strings.

Ex. 49: Loewe: *Agnete* 'Sie ist herauf gestiegen', bb. 1-10

⁵⁰¹ Wessel, *Die Ossian-Dichtung in der musikalischen Komposition*, p. 121.

⁵⁰² Beller-McKenna, 'Distance and Disembodiment', p. 56.

Apart from the imitation of a harp, it also bears a striking similarity to Richard Wagner's Prelude to *Das Rheingold*, composed in 1854: the opera opens with the double basses and the bassoons playing an empty Eb major chord. In bar 17, the cornets come in, playing an ascending broken Eb major chord without the third. One after another, the other cornets come in with the same motif, creating a dense structure, based entirely upon the single triad Eb major.

The image shows a page of musical notation for Wagner's *Das Rheingold*, Prelude, measures 17-23. The score is for 8 Horns in E-flat major (8 HORNER, in Es.), 6 Flutes (6 Fl.), 7 Clarinets (7 Cl.), 8 Bassoons (8 Fag.), and 8 Contrabassoons (8 Cr.Bs.). The music features a dense texture of chords and melodic lines, characteristic of Wagner's orchestration.

Ex. 50: Wagner: *Das Rheingold*, Prelude, bb. 17-23

Loewe composed *Agnete* in the late 1850s. It is therefore possible, that he drew inspiration from *Das Rheingold*.

As stressed by Beller-McKenna, the harp was used by late 18th and 19th Century composers to allude to the bard as well as to create a general feeling of disembodiment. This approach can also be observed in Loewe's ballads: first, the harp can create the illusion of the protagonist being accompanied by a harp, as in *Alpins Klage um Morar* or *Der Nöck*. In these instances, the harp is usually mentioned in the text, the imitating passages are extensive and not much else is happening in music and lyrics. The harp's sound can also be used to underline the 'fracture in reality'. With a sudden, short appearance – a simple broken chord may suffice – a surprising musical twist is created, evoking an immediate sensation of something supernatural. This function is used in *Tom der Reimer* and the beginning of the third *Agnete* song. So far, Loewe follows a convention of his time, as is also found in compositions by Schumann and Brahms. But there are also ballads where the harp is not depicted musically, as in *Die drei Lieder*. Instead, the accompaniment captures the situation's general mood. A similar phenomenon has already been discussed with regard to riding motifs and the depiction of battles. Once more, Loewe's

position between the Berlin school and Zumsteeg's ballads become evident: he endeavours to closely follow the text, without, however, giving up the integrity and unity of the ballad as a whole.

6.2.4. *The 'Naturmotiv' and the Major Triad*

Kleemann and Winkler both claim that Loewe uses specific musical features to describe the encounter with the Supernatural in nature. Both these features – the 'Naturmotiv' and the major triad – have in common that they are very unspecific and can be encountered in countless musical contexts. They are arbitrary and do not work as a symbol for mystical nature per se. Yet, if Loewe constantly applied these motifs when talking about enchanted nature, they could be semantically charged. Thus, even if they do not work as an independent, distinctive characteristic, they could still work as a symbol in the different ballads. Instead of looking at all major triads and repeated ascending triads in all ballads, these features will only be considered if they coincide with the description of nature or the supernatural within nature. A good example is the allure of Erlking's daughter in *Sir Oluf*, where the 'Naturmotiv' is encountered in almost the same way as in *Der Erbkönig*. Erlking's daughter speaks to Sir Oluf, asking him to dance with her. Her elegant allure is illustrated by a dancingly ascending broken E minor triad, ending on the major sept in the vocal part. This characteristic melody is repeated every time the seductive fairy speaks (bb. 25-29, 36-40, 54-58).

sotto voce
 kom - men, Herr O - luf, komm tan - zen mit mir, zwei göl - de - ne Spo - ren
 schen - ke ich dir.' „Ich darf nicht tan - zen, nicht tan - zen ich mag, denn

Ex. 51: Loewe: *Herr Oluf*, bb. 26-31

It is striking that a lot of the ballads, where the supernatural is encountered, consist of major chords. *Tom der Reimer*, *Elvershöh*, the first and the third song of the song-cycle *Agnete*, *Der Nöck* and *Harald* are almost entirely set in major. An interesting twist can be observed in *Odins Meeresritt*: the ballad starts in e minor and stays for most of the time in minor. When the ride over the sea begins in bar 86, the tonality changes suddenly to major and ascending major triads appear in the form of triplets in the accompaniment. A use of the ascending major triad, where it is so explicitly linked to a sudden, supernatural event, is rare. Ascending broken triads can be found in the third *Agnete* song, in the opening motif, where it imitates a harp and recalls the prelude of Wagner's *Das Rheingold*. It is, however, just as likely that the broken triads are merely used to create a continuum within a slow tempo. In the first *Agnete* song, ascending broken major triads appear when Agnete is sitting in the underwater world, imprisoned by the Merman. The ascending broken chords in semiquavers might illustrate the magical atmosphere of the strange underwater world (bb. 23-35). It is just as likely that they illustrate the swaying of the waves. Unlike in *Odins Meeresritt*, no sudden contrast can be detected, which makes it even more problematic to link the triads to the 'Naturmotiv':

Andante tranquillo.

Sie sitzt in kla - ren
Hal - len, auf gol - di - gem Bern - stein - thron und

Ad. *

Ex. 52: Loewe: *Agnete* 'Es schaute in die Wogen', bb. 23-28

Unlike the examples from the first and the third *Agnete* song, the use of the ascending major triad in the last *Agnete* song is less ambiguous. Agnete tries to hide from the Merman in a church. He finds her and tries to force her to come with him. She dismisses him and tells him that she will never follow him again. The Merman leaves the church furiously and jumps into

the wild waves of the sea. The scene builds up slowly: in a cantabile passage, full of melismas in the vocal part and swaying semiquavers in the accompaniment, Agnete tells how empty and unloving her life with the Merman is and that she finds love and life only ashore (bb. 39-45). With sudden resolution, she proclaims that she will leave the Merman. The strength of her decision is underlined by a declamatory ductus – another typical feature of the 'Nordic tone' – and the interaction of accompaniment and vocal part in unisono (bb. 45-49). The Merman's furious reaction is introduced by the sudden use of ascending broken chords (49-56):

The image shows a musical score for Carl Loewe's 'Agnete' (bb. 47-51). It consists of two systems of music. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has lyrics: 'mehr, ich folge dir nim - mer - mehr!' and 'Sei - ne'. The piano accompaniment includes a 'flegato' marking and features ascending repeated triads in the right hand and swaying semiquavers in the left hand. The second system continues the vocal line with lyrics: 'Au - gen wie Blit - ze leuch - ten, wild' and the piano accompaniment with similar rhythmic patterns.

Ex. 53: Loewe: *Agnete* 'Und heller und heller quollen', bb. 47-51

The use of the ascending repeated triad in the vocal part, as found in the *Erlkönig*, can be found in a similarly explicit way only in *Herr Oluf*. The repeated ascending major triad in the accompaniment is found more often, as in the *Agnete* cycle, for instance. It is, however, difficult to link it directly to the meaning of the supernatural, as it can have various semantic functions. The use of the 'Naturmotiv' in the *Erlkönig* is important as a symbol of the spirit's obsessive attempts to entice. However, the constant repetition of the triad is just as important as the triad itself. While the 'Naturmotiv' in the narrow sense of a repeated ascending triad is rarely found, there are more examples of a constantly repeated motif, evoking an entrancing atmosphere. This can be observed in *Elvershöh*. Two contrasting motifs are used to describe the world of the supernatural. When the elves first appear (b.10), the key changes from G major to E major and the accompaniment becomes denser. A melody is introduced, evolving round an ascending

E major scale, ending with a descending broken B major triad, in a swaying 6/8 metre. This motif is then repeated nine times between b. 10 and b. 56, with only minor variations.

The image shows a musical score for Carl Loewe's 'Elvershöh', measures 9-20. The score is in E major and 6/8 time, marked 'Allegro.' It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'Da ka-men ge-gan-gen zwei Jung-fraun schön, die thä-ten mir lieb-lich win-ken. Die ei-ne, die strich mein wei-sses Kinn, die an-de-re lis-pelt ins Ohr mir: „Steh'". The piano part includes markings 'pp', 'sempre pianissimo', and 'sempre con Pedale'.

Ex. 54: Loewe: *Elvershöh*, bb. 9-20

The constant repetition of the motif creates a hypnotising, entrancing atmosphere, as if the elves were rocking the young man to sleep.

In bar 61, the elves begin to speak and a new motif is introduced: the metre changes from the swaying 6/8 metre to a 4/8 metre, the melody becomes more declamatory. The accompaniment consists of quaver chords, constantly repeated and played staccato. This motif is then repeated five times between bar 61 and 85, each time a second higher and with slight alterations.

„Hör' an, du muntre Jüng - ling, hör' an, hör' an, hör' an! Willst

du hier bei uns blei - ben? Hör' an, hör' an, hör' an! Wir wollen dich lehren das

sempre staccato

Ex. 55: Loewe: *Elvershöh*, bb. 61-70

The change from the previous gently alluring motif to the insistent declamatory motif suggests that the elves are by no means as harmless as they seem. Their insisting culminates in bar 100, when their true nature is revealed: if the young man refuses to give himself to them, they will tear his heart out in revenge (bb. 100-108).

The use of the 'Naturmotiv' as an unambiguous, independent motif is thus difficult to define in Loewe's ballads. He applies the method of constant repetition as a stylistic device to illustrate the art of entrancement, as seen in *Elvershöh* and *Erlkönig*. In some ballads, these repetitive features also appear in the shape of a broken triad, for example in *Herr Oluf*. Most of all, Loewe uses contrast to mark the appearance of the supernatural and the 'fracture in reality'. Very often, this contrast is achieved through a change in metre, key and accompaniment, as seen in *Odins Meeresritt* and *Harald*. The predominant use of the major key may be due to the fact that the supernatural creatures usually appear appealing and alluring at first, before they reveal their true, menacing nature. This sudden change is often illustrated by a change to the minor key, as seen for example in *Elvershöh*. The use of the supernatural as a poetic device has therefore a considerable influence on Loewe's musical language and he has found many different ways to illustrate it. The Nordic ballads deal mainly with supernatural themes, while the English and Scottish ones are more dedicated to historical and realistic topics. It is therefore a natural consequence that the musical language of the Nordic ballads differs strongly from the tone used in the English and Scottish ones.

6.2.5. *The Language of Spirits*

The apparition of the supernatural is a crucial point in the musical language of the Gothic. Very often, it provides the ‘fracture in reality’ and a turning point in the ballad’s plot, which is usually mirrored in the musical development. As Kleemann argues, Loewe frequently uses a melody remaining on one note to imitate the speech of a supernatural being or to announce its appearance.⁵⁰³ Given that most of Loewe’s Nordic ballads deal with supernatural stories, it is hardly surprising that oracle speech features most prominently in three ballads based on Scandinavian poetry: *Der Mutter Geist*, *Harald* and *Die drei Lieder*. While this stylistic device is frequently used to characterise the supernatural, it is not always used to predict fate. A prominent example is Schubert’s *Der Tod und das Mädchen* D531, where the device characterises the voice of Death.

Das erste Zeitmaß.
(Der Tod.)

rühre mich nicht an. Gib dei-ne Hand, du schön und zart Ge-bild! bin

Freund und kommen nicht zu stra - fen. Sei gutes Muts! ich bin nicht wild, sollst sanft in

Ex. 56: Schubert: *Der Tod und das Mädchen*, bb. 16-32

This song, composed in 1817, was certainly known to Loewe. The last section of *Harald* (bb. 123-145) shows a striking similarity to Schubert’s song. It is described how Harald, who is sleeping forever, has been slumbering on the same rock for hundreds of years. Oracle speech expresses at the same time Harald’s fate and his general inactivity: the vocal part stays on eb’ throughout the entire remaining bars, apart from the penultimate note, where the change to fb’ and back to eb creates a chromatic progression, evoking a mystical feeling. While the right hand supports the vocal part’s rhythm, the left hand changes as the text develops: simple dotted

⁵⁰³ Kleemann, *Ästhetik und Geschichte der Loeweschen Ballade*, p. 67.

quavers in octaves give way to a tremolo-like pattern (b. 132) anticipating and eventually underlining the mention of the thunderstorms in the vocal part (b. 135).

Wann Blit - ze zu - cken,
 Don - ner rollt, wann Sturm erbraust im Wald, dann greift er träu - mend
 nach dem Schwert, der al - te Held Ha - rald.

Ex. 57: Loewe: *Harald*, bb. 123-145

Der Mutter Geist tells the story of love being stronger than death: after his wife's death, Herr Dýring marries a woman who turns out to be a cold and ferocious stepmother. She treats his children badly, denying them food, a cosy bed, even a candle. The children's loud weeping is even heard by their real mother in her grave. Furious, she rises from the dead and rushes home to look after the children. She then curses her husband and his new wife and asks the dog to watch over the parents' behaviour. From now on, whenever the dog growls, the parents are terrified and make haste to care for the children. The 'fracture in reality' occurs, when the mother hears her children's weeping and implores God to let her leave the grave to take care of them: (bb. 69-80): 'Und als es vernahm unter der Erde die Frau: "Ich muss gehen und nach meinen Kindern schau!" Und stöhnte zum Herrn mit brünstigem Flehn: "Lass, Herr, mich zu meinen Kindlein gehn!"' (And when the woman heard this under the earth, she said: 'I have to

go and look after my children!' She fervently spoke to the Lord: 'Let me go to my children!'). The accompaniment moves becomes highly agitated, with ascending and descending semiquaver lines in the left hand and constantly repeated chords in semiquavers in the right hand. The vocal part, in contrast, stays for three bars on d' (bb. 70-72) and then for eight bars on f' (bb. 73-80), while the melodic pattern in the accompaniment descends chromatically. This increases the tension between vocal part and accompaniment and makes the speech sound even more haunting.

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Ex. 58: Loewe: *Der Mutter Geist*, bb. 69-79

In *Die drei Lieder*, the melody on one note is not used to describe the supernatural, but to underline the grandeur of the Royal Hall: chords moving in a slow rhythm consisting of dotted crochets with quavers, followed by minims, with the melody remaining on one note create a majestic tone, evoking the feeling of a solemn recitation:

Allegro assai. Op. 3 Nr. 3.
Componirt 1825.

In der ho-hen Hall' sass Kō-nig Si-frid: „Ihr Harf-ner, wer'

Ex. 59: Loewe: *Die drei Lieder*, bb. 1-6

When the harpist sings his third song, rejoicing in his triumph over King Sifrid, the melody again remains on one note (bb. 87-107): 'Nun sing' ich das dritte und schönste Lied / das werd' ich nimmer zu singen müd: König Sifrid liegt in seinem rothen Blute.' (Now, I will sing the third and most beautiful song which I never tire of singing: King Sifrid is lying in his own red blood). When the song begins in bar 94 ('König Sifrid liegt in seinem rothen Blute') the melody stays on *f*, apart from a few changes to *g*' or *G*. The accompaniment develops from animated semiquavers moving in octaves in the left hand and in growing intervals in the right hand (bb. 94-97) to an actual tremolo (98-105).

liegt in seinem rothen Blute, und

a-ber,

Ex. 60: Loewe: *Die drei Lieder*, bb. 92-97

In *Die drei Lieder*, the melody on one note is thus used to create a solemn, powerful and triumphant feeling. The same phenomenon can be observed in the last song of the song cycle *Agnete*. *Agnete* is in her church with her mother, praying to God that the Merman will

eventually release her. Suddenly, the Merman appears in the church. All the angels and seraphim are repulsed by him and turn away from him. While there is neither chordal form nor a dotted rhythm in the accompaniment, the vocal part shows features similar to those found in *Harald*: the vocal part remains on one note, like a recitation, the dotted rhythm underlines the grandeur of the holy place. The accompaniment, however, underlines the shock that the Merman's sudden appearance causes.

The image shows a musical score for Carl Loewe's 'Agnete' (Und heller und heller quollen), measures 22-31. It consists of three systems of music. Each system has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is characterized by a single note held for a long duration, creating a recitative effect. The piano accompaniment features a constant, agitated tremolo-like pattern. The lyrics are: 'tritt in die heilige Halle, die Engel und Seraphim, die Heiligenbilder alle, wenden sich ab von'.

Ex. 61: Loewe: *Agnete* 'Und heller und heller quollen', bb. 22-31

With the contrast between a calm vocal part, remaining on one note, and agitated, tremolo-like accompaniment, this section bears similarities with oracle speech, without, however, predicting fate.

While this stylistic is especially prominent in the Nordic ballads, it can also be found in other ballads, as in *Die Heinzelmännchen* (op. 83, after Kopisch). When the Heinzelmännchen disappear in the end, and the citizens have to go back to do their daily labour themselves, the vocal part adopts a solemn, declamatory tone, resembling a simple choral, anticipated by the accompaniment:

The image shows a musical score for Carl Loewe's 'Die Heinzelmännchen', measures 273-286. It consists of three systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line includes the lyrics: 'ver.schwinden', 'weh! nun sind sie al - le fort, und kei - nes ist mehr hier am Ort! Man kann nicht mehr wie son.sten ruh'n, man muss nun al - les sel - ber thun, ein'. The piano accompaniment includes dynamic markings like 'p', 'pp', and 'all.', and a 'Ced.' marking. There are asterisks in the piano part at measures 275 and 281.

Ex. 62: Loewe: *Die Heinzelmännchen*, bb. 273-286

Two observations may be made. First, Loewe uses the melody on one note in different ways: in *Der Mutter Geist* it embodies both the narrator's words, describing the supernatural event of the dead woman hearing her children's crying and her response. In *Die drei Lieder*, it expresses the singer's triumph. In *Harald* – just as in *Die Heinzelmännchen* – it is used to emphasise an amazing, unforeseen turn in the story. Thus, in all three ballads it is used to evoke dramatic twists. Apart from *Die drei Lieder*, all these twists are related to supernatural events. Secondly, the stylistic device is not exclusive to the Nordic ballads, as its use in *Die Heinzelmännchen* shows. It is more often associated with the Gothic.

As well as a melody remaining on one note, Loewe frequently uses chromatic rises to illustrate supernatural apparitions or events. This can be seen in *Der Mutter Geist*, when the mother curses her husband (bb. 175-196). The dramatic potential here is much stronger than in the first 'fracture in reality' (view example no. 54) and is further enhanced by the use of tremolo in the right hand. Moreover, the vocal part is rising chromatically: the melody starts on a' (b. 176) and rises very slowly chromatically up via bb' to b' (b. 195) only interrupted by a few exclamatory jumps to c'. It has similarities with the scene where the horseshoe expands in *Odins Meeresritt* (bb. 53-65).

do - - - - - f pp cre 19
 Kind - lein liegen auf nack - ter Streu! Ich liess ei - ne Menge grosser
 do - - - - - f pp cre
 Wachslicht dir, meine Kindlein lie - gen im Fin - stern hier! So oft ich keh - re zu
 scen do - - - - - f ff cre
 dir zu - rü - ck, sei Sorg und Angst und Fluch dein Geschick! Und du, o Hündlein,
 crescendo scendo ff ancora crescendo
 scendo ff ancora crescendo

Ex. 63: Loewe: *Der Mutter Geist*, bb. 183-193

The use of chromatic rises is, however, a common stylistic device to enhance tension, and can be found in several of Loewe's ballads dealing with supernatural events, as *Die Geister der Wüste* (op. 10 vol. 1 no. 1), *Wallhaide* (op. 6), *Der späte Gast* (op. 7 no. 2), *Der Zauberlehrling* (op. 20 no. 2) and *Der Fischer* (op. 43 no. 1), for instance. It is also a popular device in opera, as for example in

Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz* op. 77, where it is used in Ännchen's Romanze 'Einst träumte meiner seel'gen Base'. Ännchen tells Agathe that a ghost appeared to her cousin one night. Terrified, the cousin called for help. When the room was searched, the 'ghost' turned out to be the family dog. The contrast between the chromatically rising melody and the tonality modulating back to G major creates a comical effect, when the 'ghost's' true identity is revealed.

The image shows a musical score for Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz*, no. 13: Romanze 'Einst träumte meiner selgen Base', bb. 33-43. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a vocal line (A) and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line has lyrics: "Licht, und denke nur... und... erschrick mir nurnicht! und... graust mir doch!" and "und... der Geist war: Ne-ro, der Ket-tenhund!". The piano accompaniment includes dynamics like *pp*, *cresc.*, *stringendo*, *f*, *ff*, and *Andante. a piacere*. The score also includes performance instructions like "Recit." and "(Agathe wendet sich unwillig ab.)".

Ex. 64: Weber: *Der Freischütz*, no. 13: Romanze 'Einst träumte meiner selgen Base', bb. 33-43

Even if the use of a chromatically ascending melodic line is common practice, Kleemann draws attention to the fact that Weber and Loewe were well acquainted and shared the same fascination with Romantic and Gothic descriptions of nature, and the forming of melody.⁵⁰⁴

It has become clear that Loewe used a musical vocabulary for the Gothic, which is particularly present in his Nordic ballads (not though exclusively) but absent from his English and Scottish ballads. Considering the poetic dichotomy (supernatural – realistic), it seems that Loewe differentiated between a 'Nordic' and a 'Gothic' tone, rather than between an English, Scottish and Scandinavian one.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

7. LOEWE'S 'NORDIC TONE' – 'LITTLE SUBSTANCE, MUCH RECEPTION'?

Throughout this dissertation, it has become evident that the 'Nordic tone' in vocal music challenges scholars with its own problems, which are different from those in programmatic instrumental music. In contrast with instrumental music, the programmatic aspect of a ballad seems to be less ambiguous due to its title and lyrics. While programmatic titles can be misattributed to instrumental works – as in the case of Mendelssohn's *Scottish Symphony* – the extra-musical factor is much clearer in ballads dealing with English, Scottish or Nordic topics. This does not mean, however, that the 'Nordic tone' would be easier to define in vocal music. On the contrary, while several elements of the 'Nordic tone' can be detected in Loewe's ballads, it is not clear whether they are primarily used to evoke a 'Nordic' atmosphere or whether they are a mere consequence of the ballads' lyrics. While these questions can not be answered with absolute certainty, the following arguments can be made: Loewe's oeuvre contains about 400 ballads, but only a few of them deal with Nordic stories. While the ballad was his preferred genre, he was not overly concerned with the poems' origins or their original version. More importantly, while he wrote specific song cycles featuring Polish, Oriental and Serb stories, he did not group the English, Scottish and Nordic songs in the same way.

Keeping in mind this more moderate interest in the North, the various attempts to establish Loewe as *the* Nordic composer seem problematic. By studying contemporary reviews, biographies and editions, this dissertation has identified two powerful extra-musical features which previous scholarship has left unconsidered. A close reading of the classification of Maximilian Runze's edition and the patriotic implications of the term 'Nordic' has revealed, that Loewe's image as a composer 'rooted northbound on rocks'⁵⁰⁵ is in fact the result of a stage-management, carefully crafted by his editor, biographers and admirers. It would, however, be just as wrong to conclude that Loewe's 'Nordic tone' was nothing more than wishful thinking. Loewe was not left untouched by the common enthusiasm for the North, as his letters from England and Norway and his travel-companion's diary reveal. Moreover, it is evident from his choice of poets that he felt an affinity for those who were enthusiastic about Northern topics or supportive of Herder's ideas in general. Runze claims that Loewe's 'exploratory mind [...] was diving into the poetic

⁵⁰⁵ Original quote in Runze, 'Carl Loewe, eine ästhetische Beurtheilung', p. 344: 'Aber darf man dem nordwärts auf Felsen gewurzelten Loewe es vorenthalten, ihm zu sagen, er sein ein Gigant?'

depth of the Scottish, Scandinavian and German North.⁵⁰⁶ While Runze's statement is an exaggeration, it can nevertheless be concluded that Loewe had an interest in the Nordic cultures and took part in the burgeoning enthusiasm for the North, but to a lesser extent than contemporary reviews and Runze's edition suggest.

Is there – to paraphrase Oechsle – apart from this 'reception', analytical 'substance' to the 'Nordic tone' in Loewe's ballads? Previous studies attempting to answer this question, such as Winkler's, have always limited the term 'Nordic' to the Scandinavian ballads. Studying 19th Century Germany's perception of the Northern cultures has however revealed that Herder and his contemporaries had made no distinction between the English, Scottish and Scandinavian cultures. Instead, the term 'Nordic' was linked to a melting pot of ideas, embodying Ossianism, Medievalism, Folklorism, images of riders, heroes, warriors and hunters. By analysing all of Loewe's English, Scottish and Nordic ballads, this dissertation is thus the first attempt to study Loewe's 'Nordic tone' without the misleading limitation to the Scandinavian ballads. This endeavour has proven to be extremely fruitful as it reveals how differently Loewe perceived the three cultures. When comparing the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads, it is worth noting that hardly any differences can be detected between the English and Scottish ballads, in terms of lyrics as well as music. A comparison of the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads results therefore more in a division into two greater ideas than in a comparison of all three cultures. Studying Loewe's letters, his autobiography and August von Lepel's diary, similarities with Fontane can be detected. Just as Fontane found a fusion between imagination and reality in Scotland, Loewe saw Norse mythology come to life in Norway. England, on the other hand, made a less romantic and more realistic impression on both Loewe and Fontane, apart from a few historical places, where a fusion between a romanticised image and reality was still possible. This division between the idea of the Scandinavian ballads on the one hand and the English and Scottish on the other is also mirrored in Loewe's ballads. As already noted, one major difference between the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads lies in the poems they are based on. While the English and Scottish ballads describe mostly realistic events, the Nordic ballads deal mostly with supernatural events. It is not clear whether Loewe chose these poems because they embody the image he had of the different nations, or whether he just responded to the prevailing themes in 19th Century poetry. However, there can be no doubt that this distinction

⁵⁰⁶ Original quote in Runze, *Biographie Carl Loewes*, p. 103: 'Überhaupt war sein forschender Geist [...] eingetaucht in die dichterische Tiefe des schottischen, skandinavischen, deutschen Nordens.'

lies at the heart of the musical differences between the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads. The English and Scottish ballads contain predominantly features connected with the human world, such as riding motifs, royal motifs and the imitation of fanfares and trumpets. The Nordic ballads in contrast are rich with oracle speech; intervals evolving around broken chords; the 'nature motif' or repeated and entrancing speech; as well as sudden changes from major to minor to underline the 'fracture in reality' or a dramatic twist. Instead of distinguishing between a specific English, Scottish and Scandinavian *couleur locale*, Loewe seems to have distinguished between a 'Chivalric' and a 'Gothic' tone.

The 'Nordic tone' is thus a phenomenon whose outlines appear to be clear cut at first glance but are, in fact, far more layered. Studying it does not only give insight into the composer's and his contemporaries' perception of the respective culture, it also sheds light on the specifics and limitations of the composition's genre. Loewe, as a composer of ballads, was highly interested in the ballad's origin in folklore, which implies a fascination with folktales, epics, myths, and gothic stories. Due to the impact of Herder's collections, a considerable part of these stories known to early 19th Century German composers was based on English, Scottish or Nordic tales. Loewe was fascinated with the English, Scottish and Nordic cultures and depicted them by embedding characteristic traits in his music, as the analyses have shown. However, these stylistic devices are not exclusively featured in the English, Scottish and Nordic ballads and Loewe did not intend to make them an identifying feature of his 'Nordic tone'. Thus, it can be concluded that Loewe never used the 'Nordic tone' as an end in itself. His primary aim was not the creation of music in a 'Nordic tone' but the faithful transformation of the story into music and bringing to life its protagonists – whether they were heroes, riders, or spirits.

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8.3.4. *Index of Musical Examples*

All examples (except stated otherwise) refer to *Carl Loewes Werke. Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge für eine Singstimme, im Auftrage der Loeweschen Familie, herausgegeben von Dr. Max Runze* (Leipzig, 1899–1904).

The Examples 4-6, 11, 13, 15-16 were entered manually in Sibelius by the author of this dissertation.

Ex. 1: Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Lieder der Liebe und der Einsamkeit, zur Harfe und zum Clavier zu singen*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1804, p. 38.

Ex. 2: Reichardt, p. 37.

Ex. 3: Reichardt, p. 39.

Ex. 7: Reichardt, p. 37, without vocal part.

Ex. 8: Carl Loewe, vol. 3, Leipzig 1899, p. 42.

Ex. 9: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 44.

Ex. 10: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 50.

Ex. 12: Felix Mendelssohn, *Die Hebriden*, unknown piano score, p.1., found on www.imslp.org (15th of September 2012)

Ex. 14: Johannes Brahms, *Brahms gesammelte Werke*, vol. 23, Leipzig 1927, p. 107.

Ex. 17: Loewe, vol. 11, Leipzig 1901, p. 87.

Ex. 18: Loewe, vol. 8, Leipzig 1900, p. 43.

Ex. 19: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 2.

Ex. 20: Loewe, vol. 9, Leipzig 1900, p. 20.

Ex. 21: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 2.

Ex. 22a: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 37.

Ex. 22b: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 39.

Ex. 23: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 41.

Ex. 24: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 40.

Ex. 25: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 2.

Ex. 26: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 85.

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Ex. 28: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 89.

Ex. 29: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 45.

Ex. 30: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 56.

Ex. 31: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 58.

Ex. 32: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 78.

Ex. 33: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 30.

Ex. 34: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 30.

Ex. 35: Loewe, vol 2, Leipzig 1899, pp. 154-155.

Ex. 36: Loewe, vol. 2, p. 171.

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Ex. 38: Loewe, vol. 12, Leipzig 1901, p. 63.

Ex. 39: Loewe, vol. 12, p. 63-64.

Ex. 40: Loewe, vol. 12, p. 79.

Ex. 41: Loewe, vol. 2, p. 75.

Ex. 42: Loewe, vol. 11, p. 169.

Ex. 43: Loewe, vol. 12, p. 65.

Ex. 44: Loewe, vol. 12, p. 68.

Ex. 45: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 73.

- Ex. 46: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 76.
Ex. 47: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 75.
Ex. 48: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 52.
Ex. 49: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 110.
Ex. 50: Richard Wagner, *Das Rheingold*, Mainz 1873, p. 1.
Ex. 51: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 59.
Ex. 52: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 106.
Ex. 53: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 119.
Ex. 54: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 66.
Ex. 55: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 69.
Ex. 56: Franz Schubert, *Schubert-Album. Sammlung der Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Pianoforte Begleitung*, vol. 1, edited by Max Friedländer. Leipzig [n.d., ca. 1899], p. 221.
Ex. 57: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 84.
Ex. 58: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 13.
Ex. 59: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 72.
Ex. 60: Loewe, vol. 3, pp. 76-77.
Ex. 61: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 117.
Ex. 62: Loewe, vol. 9, p. 66.
Ex. 63: Loewe, vol. 3, p. 19.
Ex. 64: Carl Maria von Weber, *Der Freischütz*, vocal score, edited by Emil Vogel, Leipzig 1892, p. 97.

9. APPENDIX

9.1. The Classification of the Collected Ballads

- 1 Lieder aus der Jugendzeit und Kinderlieder
- 2 Bisher unveröffentlichte und vergessene Lieder, Gesänge, Romanzen und Balladen
- 3 Schottische, englische und nordische Balladen
- 4 Die deutschen Kaiserballaden
- 5 Hohenzollernballaden und -lieder
- 6 Französische, spanische und orientalische Balladen
- 7 Die Polnischen Balladen
- 8 Geisterballaden und Geschichten, Todes- und Kirchhofs-Bilder
- 9 Sagen, Märchen, Fabeln aus Thier- und Blumenwelt
- 10 Romantische Balladen aus dem höfischen wie bürgerlichen Leben, Bilder aus Land und See
- 11 Goethe und Loewe - Lieder und Balladen
- 12 Goethe-Vertonungen
- 13 Legenden I. Abteilung
- 14 Legenden II. Abteilung
- 15 Lyrische Fantasien, Allegorien, Hymnen und Gesänge. Hebräische Gesänge
- 16 Das Loewesche Lied
- 17 Liederkreise

9.2. Overview of all the National Ballads (Volumes 3 to 7)

➤ Band 3: Balladen nationalen Gepräges. Schottische, Englische und Nordische Balladen.

A. Schottische und Englische Balladen

1. Edward (Herder), Op. 1/1
2. Der Mutter Geist (Talvj), Op. 8/2
3. Das nussbraune Mädchen (Herder), Op. 43/3
4. Lied der Königen Elisabeth (Herder), Op. 119
5. Archibald Douglas (Fontane), Op. 128
6. Thomas der Reimer (Fontane), Op. 135

B. Nordische Balladen

1. Herr Oluf (Herder), Op. 2/2
2. Elvershöh (Herder), Op. 3/2
3. Die drei Lieder (Uhland) Op. 3/3
4. Harald (Uhland), Op. 45/1
5. Odins Meeres-Ritt oder Der Schmied auf Helgoland (Albert Schreiber), Op. 118
6. Der kleine Schiffer (von Plönnies), Op. 127
7. Agnete (von Plönnies), Op. 134

➤ Band 4: Balladen nationalen Gepräges. C. Die Deutschen Kaiserballaden.

a) Karolingerzeit

1. Karl der Grosse und Wittekind (Vogl), Op. 65/3

b) Die sächsischen Kaiser

1. Heinrich der Vogler (Vogl), Op. 56/1
2. Kaiser Otto's Weihnachtsfeier (v. Mühler), Op. 121/1
3. Graf Eberstein (Uhland), Op. 9, Heft VI/5

c) Die salischen Kaiser

1. Die Glocken zu Speier (Oër), Op. 67/2
2. Kaiser Heinrich's Waffenweihe (Schwab), Op. 122

d) Die früheren Habsburger

1. Der Graf von Habsburg (Schiller), Op. 98
2. Der Mönch zu Pisa (Vogl), Op. 114

e) Die Habsburger im Reformationszeitalter

1. Die Regierblaise (Grün), Op. 106
2. **Der letzte Ritter. Drei historische Balladen (Grün)**
 1. Max in Augsburg, Op. 124/1
 2. Max und Dürer, Op. 124/2
 3. Max' Abschied von Augsburg, Op. 124/3
3. **Kaiser Karl V. Vier historische Balladen**
 1. Das Wiegenfest zu Gent (Grün), Op. 99/1
 2. Kaiser Karl V. in Wittenberg (Hohlfeld), Op. 99/2
 3. Der Pilgrim vor St. Just (von Platen), Op. 99/3
 4. Die Leiche zu St. Just (Grün), Op. 99/4
4. Landgraf Philipp der Grossmüthige (Kopisch), Op. 125/1

f) Aus Habsburgs neuerer Zeit

1. Die Kaiserjagd im Wienerwald (Vogl), Op. 108/1

➤ **Band 5: Balladen nationalen Gepräges. D. Hohenzollern-Balladen und -Lieder.**

1. Der grosse Kurfürst und die Spreejungfrau (Die Spree-Norne), (F. v. Kurowski-Eichen, Op. 7/1
2. Prinz Eugen, der edle Ritter (Freiligrath), Op. 92
3. Der alte Dessauer (Fitzau), Op. 141
4. **General Schwerin (Alexis), Op. 61/2**
5. **Fridericus Rex (Alexis), Op. 61/1**
6. König Wilhelm (Emsmann), Op. 139
7. *Salvum fac regem* (bisher unveröffentlicht)
8. Preussentreue (bisher unveröffentlicht)
9. Preussisches Hurrahlid (Angeblich von König Friedrich Wilhelm IV) (bisher unveröffentlicht)
10. Die Heldenbraut (Kurowski-Eichen) (bisher unveröffentlicht)
11. Ein Preussenlied (bisher unveröffentlicht)
12. Deutsche Flotte (Budy) (bisher unveröffentlicht)
13. Preussisches Marinelied (Randow und Loewe) (bisher unveröffentlicht)
14. Des Königs Zuversicht (W. Telchow), Op. 118
15. Gelobt sei Gott! (anonym, bisher unveröffentlicht)
16. Dem Herrscher (Bartholdy) (bisher unveröffentlicht)
17. Dem Könige (Hildebrandt) (bisher unveröffentlicht)
18. Zumalacarregui, Spanische Romanze (Schleifer) (bisher unveröffentlicht)
19. Bitte zu Gott um Frieden, Geistliches Lied (Telschow) (bisher unveröffentlicht)

➤ **Band 6: Balladen nationalen Gepräges. Französische, Spanische und Orientalische Balladen.**

E: Französische Balladen

5 Napoleon-Balladen

1. Der Feldherr, Historische Ballade (Gruppe), Op. 67/1
2. Sankt Helena, (Kahlert), Op. 126
3. Der fünfte Mai (bisher unveröffentlicht)
4. Die nächtliche Heerschau (Freiherr von Zedlitz), Op. 23
5. Der Papagei, (Rückert), Op. 111

F: Spanische Balladen

1. Die Gruft der Liebenden (v. Puttkamer), Op. 21
2. Der Sturm von Alhama, Ballade nach dem Arabischen (Aimé Huber), Op. 54
3. Hueska (Vogel), Op. 108/2

G: Orientalische Balladen und Gesänge

1. Der Mohrenfürst, Ballade (Freiligrath), Op. 97/1
2. Die Mohrenfürstin, Ballade (Freiligrath), Op. 97/2
3. Der Mohrenfürst auf der Messe, Ballade (Freiligrath), Op. 97/3
4. Der Asra, Ballade (Heinrich Heine), Op. 133

Bilder des Orients

I. Kranz: Wanderbilder aus Arabien

1. **Melek und Maisuna, Arabischer Liederkreis**
 1. Die Geister der Wüste (Stieglitz), Op. 10-I/1
 2. Der verschmachtende Pilger (Stieglitz), Op. 10-I/2
 3. Die Oasis (Stieglitz), Op. 10-I/4
 4. Lied eines Vögleins in der Oasis (Stieglitz), Op. 10-I/5
 5. Melek am Quell (Stieglitz), Op. 10-I/6
 6. Maisuna am Brunnen (Stieglitz), Op. 10-II/1

II. Kranz: Bilder der Heimath aus Persien

1. **Ali und Fatme (Stieglitz), Op. 10-II/2**
 1. Ali im Garten
 2. Fatme vom Balkone
2. **Assad und Gulhinde, Persischer Liederkreis**
 1. Assad mit dem Selam (Stieglitz), Op. 10-II/3
 2. Taubenpost (Stieglitz), Op. 10-II/4
 3. Gulhinde am Putztische (Stieglitz), Op. 10-II/5
 4. Abendgesang (Stieglitz), Op. 10-II/6

➤ **Band 7: Balladen nationalen Gepräges. H. Die Polnischen Balladen.**

- a) Sieben Balladen von Adam Mickiewicz

Der polnischen Balladen Heft I

1. Der Woywode, Ukrainische Ballade Op. 49/1
2. Die Schlüsselblume, Op. 49/2
3. Die drei Budrisse, Litauische Ballade, Op. 49/3

Der polnischen Balladen Heft II

1. Wilia und das Mädchen, Op. 50/1
2. Der junge Herr und das Mädchen, Op. 50/2

Der polnischen Balladen Heft III

1. Das Switesmädchen, Op. 51/1
2. Frau Twardowska, Op. 51/2

b.) Esther, Ein Liederkreis in Balladenform von Ludwig Giesebrecht, Op. 25

1. "Wie früh das enge Pfortchen knarre"
2. "Der König auf dem gold'nen Stuhle"
3. "Nun auf dem fremden Boden"
4. "Spielt, Mägdlein, unter eurer Weide!"
5. "Wie wohnst du in des Reiches Städten"

9.3. Colma by Reichardt and Zumsteeg

The italics in the texts mark the parts which are composed as recitatives.

Reichardt

Zumsteeg

Stern der dämmernden Nacht,
Schön funkelst du im Westen,
hebst dein strahlend Haupt aus deiner Wolke
wandelst stattlich deinen Hügel hin.
Wornach blickst du auf die Haide?
Die stürmenden Winde haben sich gelegt.
Von ferne kommt des Giessbachs Murmeln.
Rauschende Wellen spielen um Felsen ferne.
Das Gesumme der Abendfliegen schwärmet
übers Feld.
Wonach siehst du, schönes Licht?
Aber du lächelst, du lächelst und gehst,
freudig umgeben dich die Wellen und baden
dein liebliches Haar,
freudig umgeben dich die Wellen und baden
dein liebliches Haar.
Lebe wohl ruhiger Strahl, lebe wohl, lebe wohl
ruhiger Strahl!
Erscheine du, herrliches Licht von Ossians Seele!
Und es erscheint in seiner Kraft

*Ich sehe meine geschiedene Freunde, sie sammeln
sich auf Mora, wie in den Tagen die vorüber sind.
Fingal kommt wie eine feuchte Nebelsäule;
Um ihn sind seine Helden.
Und sieh sie Barden des Gesangs! grauer Ullin!
stattlicher Ryno! Alpin, lieblicher Sanger! Und du,
sanft klagende Minona!
Wie verandert seyd ihr, meine Freunde seit den
festlichen Tagen auf Selma!
Da wir buhlten um die Ehre des Gesangs, wie
Fruhlingslufte den Hugel hin wechselnd beugen das
schwach lispelnde Gras.
Da trat Minona hervor in ihrer Schonheit, mit
niedergeschlagenem Blick und th[r]anen
vollem Auge
Ihr Haar floss schwer im unstaten Winde, der
von dem Hugel herstiess.
Duster wards in der Seele der Helden, als sie
die liebe Stimme erhob; denn oft hatten
sie das Grab Salgars gesehen oft die finstere
Wohnung der weisen Colma.
Colma verlassen auf den Hugel mit allder
harmonischen Stimme, Colma verlassen!
Verlassen auf dem Hugel!
Salgar versprach zu kommen, aber ringsum zog sich
die Nacht. Horet Colmas Stimme da sie auf dem
Hugel allein sass.*

Rund um mich Nacht, ich irr' allein,
verloren am sturmigen Hugel!
der Sturm braust vorn Gebirg,
der Stroh die Felsen herab,
Mich schutzt kein Dach vor Regen,
verloren am sturmigen Hugel,
irr' ich allein.

Erschein', o Mond, dring' durch's Gewolk,
Erscheinet ihr nachtlichen Sterne,
Geleitet freundlich mich,
Wo mein Geliebter ruht!
Mit ihm flieh' ich den Vater,
Mit ihm meinen herrischen Bruder,
Erschein', o Mond!

Es ist Nacht; ich bin allein,
verloren auf dem sturmischen Hugel.
Der Wind saust im Geburg,
der Strom heult den Felsen hinab.
Keine Hutte schutzt mich vor den Regen,
verlassen, verlassen,
verlassen auf dem sturmischen Hugel.

Tritt, o Mond,
aus deinen Wolken,
erscheinet Sterne der Nacht!
Leite mich irgend ein Strahl zu dem Orte,
wo meine Liebe ruht von den Beschwerden
der Jagd,
sein Bogen neben ihm abgspannt,
seine Hunde schnobend um ihn!

Aber hier muss ich sitzen allein!
Allein auf dem Felsen des verwachsenen
Stroms.
Der Strom und der Sturm sausst, ich hore
nicht die Stimme meines Geliebten.

Ihr Stürme schweig, o schweig, Stroh,
Mich höre mein liebender Wanderer!
Salgar! ich bin's, die ruft,
Hier ist der Baum, hier der Fels,
Warum verweilst du länger!
Wie hör' ich den Ruf seiner Stimme!
Ihr Stürme, schweig!

Doch sieh, der Mond erscheint,
der Hügel Haupt erhellet,
die Flut im Thale glänzt,
ein Mondlicht wallt die Haide.
Ihn seh ich nicht im Thale,
ihn nicht am hellen Hügel,
kein Laut verkündet ihn,
Ich wandle einsam hier.

Doch wer sind jene dort,
Gestreckt auf dürrer Haide?
Ist's mein Geliebter, Er!
Und neben ihm mein Bruder!
Ach, beid' in ihrem Blute,
Gezuckt die wilden Schwerdter!
Warum erschlugst du ihn?
Und du, Salgar! warum?

Du warst der Schönste mir,
Und er im Kampfe schrecklich.
Wie liebt' ich beide Euch,
Ihr Söhne meiner Liebe!
Ach sprecht noch holde Worte!
Ach höret meine Klagen!
Doch ewig schweig ihr Mund!
Eiskalt ist ihre Brust!

Warum zaudert mein Salgar? Hat er sein Wort
vergessen?

Da ist der Fels, und da der Baum, und hier
der rauschende Strom.

Mit der Nacht versprachst du hier zu seyn,
Ach wohin, wohin hat sich mein Salgar
verirrt?

*Mit dir wollt ich fliehen, verlassen Vater und
Bruder! Die Stolzen!*

*Lange sind unsere Geschlechter Feinde, aber wir,
wir sind keine Feinde, o Salgar.*

Schweige eine Weile, o Wind,
still eine kleine Weile, o Strom,
dass meine Stimme klinge durchs Thal,
dass mein Wanderer mich höre.

Salgar! ich bin's, die ruft.

Hier ist der Baum und der Fels.

Salgar, mein Lieber, hier bin ich.

Warum zauderst du zu kommen?

Sieh, der Mond erscheint!

Die Flut glänzt im Thale

Die Felsen stehn grau den Hügel hinauf

Aber ich seh ihn nicht auf der Höhe, ich seh
ihn nicht, ich seh ihn nicht! aber ich seh ihn
nicht.

Seine Hunde vor ihm her verkündigen nicht
seine Ankunft.

Hier muss ich sitzen, hier allein, hier muss ich
sitzen, hier allein.

Aber wer sind,

die dort unten liegen auf der Haide?

*Mein Geliebter? mein Bruder? redet, o meine
Freunde! Sie antworten nicht! Wie geängstigt ist
meine Seele. Ach sie sind todt*

Ihre Schwerter roth vom Gefecht.

*O mein Bruder, mein Bruder, warum hast du
meinen Salgar erschlagen?*

*O mein Salgar, warum hast du meinen Bruder
erschlagen!*

Ihr ward mir beyde so lieb.

Antwortet mir!

hört meine Stimme,

meine Geliebten.

Aber ach sie sind stumm stumm auf ewig.

Kalt wie die Erde ist ihr Busen.

Geister meiner Todten,
sprecht vom Felsenhügel,
von des Berges Gipfel,
nimmer schreckt ihr mich!
Wo giengt ihr zur Ruhe!
Ach, in welcher Höhle
soll ich euch nun finden.
doch es tönt kein Hauch.

Hier in tiefem Grame
Wein' ich bis am Morgen,
Baut das Grab ihr Freunde,
Schliesst's nicht ohne mich.
Wie sollt' ich hier weilen!
An des Bergstrohms Ufer
Mit den lieben Freunden
Will ich ewig ruhn.

Deckt die Nacht den Hügel,
Schüttelt Wind die Haide,
Klagt mein Geist im Winde
Meiner Freunde Tod.
Einsam hört's der Jäger,
Liebt und scheut die Stimme,
Süss die Freunde klagend,
Beide liebt ich sie!

O vom dem Felsen des Hügels,
von dem Gipfel des stürmenden Berges,
redet Geister der Todten redet!
mir soll es nicht grausen!
*Wohin seyd ihr zur Ruhe gegangen
In welcher Gruft des Gebirges soll man euch finden!
Keine schwache Stimme vernehm ich im Wind,
keine wehende Antwort im Sturme des Hügels.*

Ich sitze in meinem Jammer, ich harre auf den
Morgen in meinen Thränen
Wühlet das Grab, ihr Freunde der Todten
Aber schliesst es nicht, schliesst es nicht,
bis ich komme.
Mein Leben schwindet wie ein Traum, wie
sollt ich zurücke bleiben.
Hier will ich wohnen mit meinen Freunden
an dem Strome des klingenden Felsen.

Wenns Nacht wird auf dem Hügel,
und der Wind kommt über die Haide,
soll mein Geist im Winde stehn,
und trauern den Tod meiner Freunde.
Der Jäger hört mich auf seiner Laube,
fürchtet meine Stimme und liebt sie,
dann süß soll meine Stimme seyn um meine
Freunde, sie waren mir beyde so lieb.

*Das war dein Gesang, o Minona
Tormanns sanfte erröthende Tochter.
Unsere Thränen flossen um Colma,
und unsere Seele ward düster.*

9.4. Text of *Archibald Douglas* as written by Theodor Fontane

'Ich hab' es getragen sieben Jahr,
Und ich kann es nicht tragen mehr,
Wo immer die Welt am schönsten war,
Da war sie öd' und leer.

Ich will hintreten vor sein Gesicht
In dieser Knechtsgestalt,
Er kann meine Bitte versagen nicht,
Ich bin ja worden alt.

Und trüg' er noch den alten Groll
Frisch wie am ersten Tag,
So komme was da kommen soll,
Und komme was da mag!'

Graf Douglas spricht's; am Weg ein Stein
Lud ihn zu harter Ruh'.
Er sah in Wald und Feld hinein,
Die Augen fielen ihm zu.

Er trug einen Harnisch rostig und schwer,
Darüber ein Pilgerkleid.
Da horch vom Waldrand scholl es her,
Wie von Hörnern und Jagdgeleit,

Und Kies und Staub aufwirbelte dicht,
Her jagte Meut' und Mann,
Und ehe der Graf sich aufgericht',
Waren Roß und Reiter heran.

König Jakob saß auf hohem Roß,
Graf Douglas grüßte tief,
Dem König das Blut in die Wangen schoß,
Der Douglas aber rief:

'König Jakob, schau mich gnädig an
Und höre mich in Geduld,
Was meine Brüder dir angetan,
Es war nicht meine Schuld.

Denk' nicht an den alten Douglasneid,
Der trotz dich bekriegt,
Denk' lieber an deine Kinderzeit,
Wo ich dich auf Knieen gewiegt,

Denk' lieber zurück an Stirlings Schloß,
Wo ich Spielzeug dir geschnitzt,
Dich gehoben auf deines Vaters Roß
Und Pfeile dir zugespitzt.

Denk' lieber zurück an Linlithgow,
An den See und den Vogelherd,
Wo ich dich fischen und jagen froh
Und schwimmen und springen gelehrt.

Und denk' an alles, was einstens war,
Und sänftige deinen Sinn,
Ich hab' es gebüßet sieben Jahr,
Daß ich ein Douglas bin!'

'Ich seh' dich nicht, Graf Archibald,
Ich hör' deine Stimme nicht,
Mir ist, als ob ein Rauschen im Wald
Von alten Zeiten spricht.

Mir klingt das Rauschen süß und traut,
Ich lausch' ihm immer noch,
Dazwischen aber klingt es laut:
Er ist ein Douglas doch!

Ich seh' dich nicht, ich höre dich nicht,
Das ist alles was ich kann,
Ein Douglas vor meinem Angesicht
Wär' ein verlornen Mann!

König Jakob gab seinem Roß den Sporn,
Bergan ging jetzt sein Ritt.
Graf Douglas faßte den Zügel vorn
Und hielt mit dem Könige Schritt.

Der Weg war steil, und die Sonne stach,
Sein Panzerhemd war schwer,
Doch ob er schier zusammenbrach,
Er lief doch nebenher.

'König Jakob, ich war dein Seneschall,
Ich will es nicht fürder sein,
Ich will nur tränken dein Roß im Stall,
Und ihm schütten die Körner ein,

Und will ihm selber machen die Streu
Und es tränken mit eigener Hand,
Nur laß mich atmen wieder aufs neu'
Die Luft im Vaterland.

Und willst du nicht, so hab' einen Mut,
Und ich will es danken dir,
Und zieh' dein Schwert, und triff mich gut,
Und laß mich sterben hier!'

König Jakob sprang herab vom Pferd,
Hell leuchtete sein Gesicht,
Aus der Scheide zog er sein breites Schwert,
Aber fallen ließ er nicht:

'Nimm's hin, nimm's hin und trag' es aufs neu'
Und bewache mir meine Ruh';
Der ist in tiefster Seele treu,
Wer die Heimat so liebt wie du!

Zu Roß, wir reiten nach Linlithgow,
Und du reitest an meiner Seit';
Da wollen wir fischen und jagen froh,
Als wie in alter Zeit.'

9.5. Tables: Archibald Douglas

Verse	Bars	Tonality
	1-4	c minor
1: 'Ich hab' es getragen sieben Jahr, und ich kann es nicht tragen mehr, wo immer die Welt am schönsten war, da war sie öd' und leer.	4-12	c minor, then Eb major, ending in G major
2: Ich will hintreten vor sein Gesicht in dieser Knechtsgestalt, er kann meine Bitte versagen nicht, ich bin ja worden so alt.	14-22	c minor, then Eb major, ending in G major
3: Und trüg' er noch den alten Groll frisch wie am ersten Tag, so komme was da kommen soll, und komme was da mag!	24-32	As in verse 1, but evolving around a tritone motif
4: Graf Douglas spricht's; am Weg ein Stein lud ihn zu harter Ruh'. Er sah in Wald und Feld hinein, die Augen fielen ihm zu.	32-35 35-47	F major
5: Er trug einen Harnisch rostig und schwer, darüber ein Pilgerkleid.	47-51	d minor to D major
Da horch, da horch, da horch, vom Waldrand scholl es her, wie von Hörnern und Jagdgeleit,	51-60 60-69	G major G major
6: und Kies und Staub aufwirbelte dicht, her jagte Meute und Mann,	69-80	V ^{o7} (virtually D major), leading to G major, then both chords repeated again
und ehe der Graf sich aufgericht', waren Ross und Reiter heran.	80-84	e minor – B major ⁷ , e minor, modulating to D

7: König Jakob saß auf hohem Ross, Graf Douglas grüsste tief,	85-93	Eb major (with accidentals of G major)
dem König das Blut in die Wangen schoss, der Douglas aber rief:		c minor (with accidentals of G major), modulating to D
8: 'König Jakob, schau mich gnädig an und höre mich in Geduld, was meine Brüder dir angethan, was meine Brüder dir angethan, es war nicht meine Schuld.	94-104	G major
9: Denk' nicht an den alten Douglasneid, der trotzig dich bekriegt, denk' lieber an deine Kinderzeit, wo ich dich auf Knien gewiegt,	105-113	G major
10: denk' lieber zurück an Stirlings Schloss, wo ich Spielzeug dir geschnitzt, dich gehoben auf deines Vaters Ross und Pfeile dir zugespitzt	113-121	G major
11: Denk' lieber zurück an Linlithgow, an den See und den Vogelherd, wo ich dich fischen und jagen froh und schwimmen und springen gelehrt	121-129	G major
12: Und denk' an alles, was einstens war, und sänftige deinen Sinn,	129-133	G major
Ich hab' es getragen sieben Jahr, dass ich ein Douglas bin!	133-139	G major
13: 'Ich seh' dich nicht, Graf Archibald, ich hör' deine Stimme nicht, mir ist, als ob ein Rauschen im Wald von alten Zeiten spricht.	144-152	c minor 2nd phrase: G major
14: Mir klingt das Rauschen süß und traut, ich lausch' ihm immer noch,	152-156	G major

Dazwischen aber klingt es laut: Er ist ein Douglas doch, er ist ein Douglas doch!	156-162	c minor, ending in G major
15: Ich seh' dich nicht, ich hör' dich nicht, das ist alles was ich kann, ein Douglas vor meinem Angesicht wär' ein verlornen Mann!	163-171	c minor
16: König Jakob gab seinem Roß den Sporn, bergan jetzt ging sein Ritt. Graf Douglas fasste den Zügel vorn und hielt mit dem Könige Schritt.	172-180	g minor
18: Der Weg war steil, und die Sonne stach, sein Panzerhemd war schwer, doch ob er schier zusammenbrach, er lief doch nebenher.	181-188	g# minor
19: 'König Jakob, ich war dein Seneschall, ich will es nicht fürder sein,	188-192	a minor
ich will nur tränken dein Ross im Stall, und ihm schütten die Körner ein,	192-196	bb minor
20: und will ihm selber machen die Streu und es tränken mit eigener Hand,	196-201	c minor
nur lass mich athmen wieder aufs neu' die Luft im Vaterland, die Luft im Vaterland.	201-212	Eb major
21: Und willst du nicht, so hab' einen Muth, und ich will es danken dir, und zieh' dein Schwert, und triff mich gut, und lass mich sterben hier!	212-221	Stabbing of the sword illustrated by a V ^{o7} in Bb, followed by Bb7, followed by Eb7
22: König Jakob sprang herab vom Pferd, hell leuchtete sein Gesicht, aus der Scheide zog er sein breites Schwert Aber fallen liess er es nicht:	222-232 232-235	c minor Transition between bb-b-bb

23: 'Nimm's hin, nimm's hin und trag' es aufs neu' und bewache mir meine Ruh';	238-242	G major
der ist in tiefster Seele treu, wer die Heimat so liebt wie du, der ist in tiefster Seele treu, wer die Heimat so liebt wie du!	243-253	G major
24: Zu Ross, wir reiten nach Linlithgow, und du reitest an meiner Seit'; da wollen wir fischen und jagen froh, da wollen wir fischen und jagen froh, als wie in alter Zeit, als wie in alter Zeit, als wie in alter Zeit.'	253-274	G major

9.6. Text: Odins Meeresritt as written by Aloys Schreiber

Meister Oluf, der Schmied auf Helgoland,
Verläßt den Amboß um Mitternacht.
Es heulet der Wind am Meeresstrand,
Da pocht es an seiner Türe mit Macht:

'Heraus, heraus, beschlag' mir mein Roß,
Ich muß noch weit, und der der Tag ist nah!
Meister Oluf öffnet der Türe Schloß,
Und ein stattlicher Reiter steht vor ihm da.

Schwarz ist sein Panzer, sein Helm und Schild;
An der Hüfte hängt ihm ein breites Schwert.
Sein Rappe schüttelt die Mähne gar wild
Und stampft mit Ungeduld die Erd'!

'Woher so spät? Wohin so schnell?'
'In Norderney kehrt' ich gestern ein.
Mein Pferd ist rasch, die Nacht is hell,
Vor der Sonne muß ich in Norwegen sein!'

'Hättet Ihr Flügel, so glaubt' ich's gern!
'Mein Rappe, der läuft wohl mit dem Wind.
Doch bleichet schon da und dort ein Stern,
Drum her mit dem Eisen und mach' geschwind!'

Meister Oluf nimmt das Eisen zur Hand,
Es ist zu klein, da dehnt es sich aus.
Und wie es wächst um des Hufes Rand,
Da ergreifen den Meister Bang' und Graus.

Der Reiter sitzt auf, es klirrt sein Schwert:
 'Nun, Meister Oluf, gute Nacht!
 Wohl hast du beschlagen Odin's Pferd';
 Ich eile hinüber zur blutigen Schlacht."

Der Rappe schießt fort über Land und Meer,
 Um Odin's Haupt erglänzet ein Licht.
 Zwölf Adler fliegen hinter ihm her;
 Sie fliegen schnell, und erreichen ihn nicht.

9.7. Table: Odins Meeresritt

Vers	Bars	Tonality
Meister Oluf, der Schmied auf Helgoland, Verläßt den Amboß um Mitternacht. Es heulet der Wind am Meeresstrand, Da pocht es an seiner Türe mit Macht:	1-9	e minor
'Heraus, heraus, beschlag' mir mein Roß, Ich muß noch weit, und der der Tag ist nah! Meister Oluf öffnet der Türe Schloß, Und ein stattlicher Reiter steht vor ihm da.	9-17	a minor, then cadence to e minor
Schwarz ist sein Panzer, sein Helm und Schild; An der Hüfte hängt ihm ein breites Schwert. Sein Rappe schüttelt die Mähne gar wild Und stampft mit Ungeduld die Erd'!	18-26	Short evasion to E major
'Woher so spät? Wohin so schnell?' 'In Norderney kehrt' ich gestern ein. Mein Pferd ist rasch, die Nacht ist hell, Vor der Sonne muß ich in Norwegen sein!'	27-28 29-38	Cadence to e minor G major, then c minor, Odin's answer: cadence to e minor
'Hättet Ihr Flügel, so glaubt' ich's gern! 'Mein Rappe, der läuft wohl mit dem Wind.	39-42	G major, then c minor, Odin's answer: cadence to e minor
Doch bleichet schon da und dort ein Stern,	42-46	Short evasion to C major
Drum her mit dem Eisen und mach' geschwind!'	46-48	Cadence to e minor
Meister Oluf nimmt das Eisen zur Hand, Es ist zu klein, da dehnt es sich aus Und wie es wächst um des Hufes Rand, Da ergreifen den Meister Bang' und Graus.	49-56 58-66 66-69	Chromatical development from d minor to B7 Development continues from B7, ending in the dominant B Stays in the dominant B

Der Reiter sitzt auf, es klirrt sein Schwert: 'Nun, Meister Oluf, gute Nacht! Wohl hast du beschlagen Odin's Pferd; Ich eile hinüber zur blutigen Schlacht.'	69-85	Back to e minor
Der Rappe schießt fort über Land und Meer, Um Odin's Haupt erglänzet ein Licht. Zwölf Adler fliegen hinter ihm her; Sie fliegen schnell, und erreichen ihn nicht.	85-101	C major, then modulation back to e minor
	101-105	e minor

9.8. Score: Archibald Douglas

Archibald Douglas.
Ballade von Th. Fontane. Op. 128.
„Componirt 1867.“

1 **Grave.** Tiefe Stimme. 5

Nr. 5. *p* *cresc.*

„Ich hab' es ge-tra-gen sie-ben
Jahr, und ich kann es nicht tra-gen mehr, wo
im-mer die Welt am schönsten war, da-war sie öd' und
leer. *cresc.* *sf* *cresc.* *sf* *p* Ich will

V. A. 1803.

38

15

hin-treten vor sein Ge - sicht in - die - - ser Knechtsge - -

stalt, er kann meine Bit - te ver - sa - - gen nicht, ich -

bin ja wor - den so alt.

20

Und trüg' er noch den al - ten Groll

25

frisch wie am er - - sten Tag, so kom - me was da

V. A. 1808.

30 kom men soll, und kom me was da mag!¹⁴

35 *mezza voce*
Graf

diminuendo *riten.* *p*

Douglasspricht's; am Weg ein Stein lud ihn zu har ter Ruh'. – Er

[a tempo] *p*

40 sah in Wald und Feld hin ein, die Au gen fie len ihm

45 *cresc.*
zu. Er

rit. * *rit.* * *rit.* * *rit.* *

V. A. 1803.

40

trug einen Harznisch rostig und schwer, da - rüber ein Pil-gèr - kleid.

cresc. *p*

Allegretto, non troppo presto. 55

una corda *pp* *sempre con Pedale*

Da horch, - da horch, - da

p

un poco crescendo la voce 65 *cresc.*

horch, vom Wald - rand scholl es her, wie von Hör - nern und

tutte corde, ma piano *cresc.*

70 *f*

Jagd - ge - leit, und Kies und

più crescendo *f*

V. A. 1803.

Staub aufwirbelte dicht,

forte

75 her jagte Meute und Mann,

80 *un pochettino ritenuto*
oroso.

und e. he der Graf sich

dim. *più dim.* *p riten.*

stringendo *a tempo*

aufge-richt't, waren Ross und Reiter heran

stringendo *a tempo*

cresc. *f cresc.*

85 *dim. rit.*

König Jakob sass auf hohem Ross, Graf Douglas grüßte

dim. rit.

V. A. 1803.

42

a tempo *cresc.* 90 *f* *p* *rit.*

tief, dem Kö-nig das Blut in die Wangenschoss, der Douglas a-ber

a tempo *cresc. assai* *f* *p rit.*

Andante. *con molta devozione* *portando la voce*

rief: „König Ja-kob, schau mich gnädig an und hö-re mich in Ge-

espress. *sf* *f* *dim.* *p*

cresc. 100 *più cresc.*

duld, was mei-ne Brü-der dir an-gethan, was mei-ne Brü-der dir

cresc. *più cresc.*

105 *Moderato, flebile.*

an-gethan, es war nicht mei-ne Schuld. Denk' nicht an den al-ten

Adagio. *Andante con moto.* *legato*

piano dolce

dolce 110 *p*

Douglasneid, der trotzig dich be-kriegt, denk' lie-ber an dei-ne

p

V. A. 1803.

Kin - der. zeit, wo ich dich auf Knieenge. wiewt, denk' lie. ber zurück an

115 Stir. lings. Schloss, wo ich Spielzeug dir ge. schnitzt, dich ge. ho. ben auf dei. nes

120 *dim.* Va. ters Ross und Pfei. le dir zu. ge. spitzt. Denk' lie. ber zurück an

125 Lin. lithgow, an den See und den Vo. gel. herd, wo. ich dich. fischen und

dim. ja. gen froh und schwimmen und springen gelehrt. Und denk' an. al. les, was *mit Hingebung*

V. A. 1803.

44

ein . stens war, und sänftige dei . nen Sinn, ich hab' es ge . tra . gen sie . ben

135 *dim.* *rit.* *tremando la voce* 140
 Jahr, dass ich ein Douglas bin, dass ich ein Dou - glas bin!“

*Ed. ** *a tempo* mit unterdrücktem Zorn; abgestossen *forte* 145
 „Ich seh' dich nicht, Graf Archibald, ich

leise *cresc.* 150 *dim.*
 hör' deine Stimme nicht, — mir ist, als ob ein Rauschen im Wald von

p *cresc.* *s* *rit.*
 al . ten Zei . ten spricht. Mir klingt das Rauschen süß und — traut, ich

V. A. 1803.

155 *a tempo* *wie vorher* *cresc.*
 lausch' ihm im-mer noch, -- da- zwischen a- ber klingt es laut: er

160 *wie vorher* *stacc.* *forte*
 ist ein Douglas doch, er ist ein Douglas doch! Ich seh' dich nicht, -- ich

165 *trem.* *f*
 hör'dich nicht, -- das ist alles -- was ich kann, ein Dou- glas vor mei - nem

170 *un poco stringendo* *forte*
 An- gesicht wär' ein verlor- ner Mann!"" König

175 *più forte*
 Ja- kob gab seinem Ross den Sporn, berg an jetzt ging sein Ritt. Graf

V. A. 1803.

46

Dou-glas fass - te den Zü - gel vorn und hielt mit dem Kö - ni-ge

180
Schritt. Der Weg war steil, und die Son-ne stach, sein

185
Pan-zer-hemd war schwer, doch ob er schier zu-sammen-brach, er

lief doch ne - ben - her. „König Ja - kob, ich war dein

190 *sf* ein wenig nachgebend *a tempo* *cresc.*
Se - ne-schall, ich will es nicht für - der sein, ich will nur trän - ken dein

dim. *cresc.* *f*

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195 47

nachgebend *a tempo*

Ross im Stall, und ihm schüt - ten die Kör - ner ein, *a tempo* und

sf *dim.* *cresc.*

1 2 3 1 2 5

cresc.

will ihm sel - ber machendie Streu und es trän - ken mit eig - ner

200 *ritenuto* *a tempo, ma piano*

Hand, nur lass mich ath - men *a tempo*

ritenuto *dim.* *p*

205

wie - der aufs neu' die Luft im Va - ter -

210 *ritenuto* *portando la voce*

land, die Luft im Va - - - - - ter.

ritenuto

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a tempo *f* 215 *dim.*
 land. *a tempo* *sf* *più cresc.* *stacc.* *dim.*
 Und willst dunicht, so hab' einen Muth, und ich

riten. *lento*
 will es dan-ken dir, und zieh' dein Schwert, und triff mich gut, und lass mich

220 *a tempo* *f*
 ster-ben hier! König Ja - kob sprang her.

sf 225 *sf*
 ab vom Pferd, hell leuchte. te sein Ge - sicht, 8

cresc. *ritard.* *sf* 230 *riten.*
 aus der Schei-de zog er sein brei-tes Schwert, *a tempo* *riten.*

cresc. ritard. *f* *ff*
 *Ped. *Ped. *Ped. *Ped. *Ped. *Ped. *

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235

f *ff* *diminuendo* *piano dim.*

Ped. * *Ped.** 3 3 3 *Ad.* *

a - ber fal - len liess er es nicht:

Allegro con maestà.

240

trem. *Ad.* *

»Nimm's hin, nimm's hin und trag' es aufs neu' und be.

cresc.

wa - che mir mei - ne Ruh'; der ist in tief - ster See - le

245

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

treu, wer die Hei - math so liebt wie du, der ist in

250

p *colla parte* *p colla parte* *Adagio.*

tief - ster See - le treu, wer die Hei - math liebt wie

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50

a tempo *cresc.* 255

du! Zu Ross, wir rei - ten nach Lin - lith - gow, und du rei - test an mei - ner

Seit'; da - wol - len wir fi - schen und ja - gen froh, da - wol - len wir fischen und

ja - gen froh, als wie in al - ter Zeit, als wie in

265 al - ter - Zeit, als wie in al - ter

270 Zeit."

V. A. 1803.

9.9. Score: Odins Meeresritt

85

Odin's Meeres-Ritt oder Der Schmied auf Helgoland.

Ballade von Aloys Schreiber.

Seinem Freunde AUGUST MORITZ in freudiger Erinnerung
an die gemeinschaftliche Reise nach Norwegen gewidmet.

Op. 118.
Componirt 1851.

Nr. 11. *Andante maestoso.*

Meister O - luf, der Schmied auf Hel - go - land, ver - lässt den Amboss um
Mit - ter - nacht... Es heu - let der Wind am Mee - resstrand, da pocht es an
sei - ner Thü - re mit Macht: „Her - aus! Her - aus, heraus, be -
schlag' mir mein Ross, ich muss noch weit, und der Tag ist nah!“ Meister

V. A. 1803.

86 15 *cresc.*

O - luf öff - net der Thü - re Schloss, und ein statt - li - cher Rei - ter steht

p *cresc.*

rit. *a tempo, moderato* 20

vor ihm da. Schwarz ist sein Panzer, sein Helm und Schild; an der Hüf - te hängt ihm ein

rit. *a tempo, moderato*

tenuto *a tempo* *f* *sf* *sf* *sf*

brei - tes Schwert. - Sein Rap - peschüttelt die Mäh - ne gar wild und

tenuto *a tempo*

cresc.

25 *sf* *sf* *sf* *sf*

stampft mit Un - ge - duld die Erd! -

sf *cresc.* *f* *f*

p 30 *pp rit.* *mf a tempo*

„Woher so spät? Wohin so schnell?“ - „In Nor - der - ney kehrt ich

rit. *rit.* *più rit.* *a tempo*

p *dim.* *pp* *mf*

V. A. 1803.

87

ge - stern ein. Mein Pferd ist rasch, die Nacht ist hell, vor der Son - ne muss ich in -

Nor - we - gen sein!“ „Hät - tet Ihr Flü - gel, so glaubt' ich's gern!“ „Mein

Rap - pe, der läuft wohl mit dem Wind. Doch bleichet schon da und

dort ein Stern, drum her mit dem Ei - sen und

mach' geschwind!“ Meister O - luf nimmt das Ei - sen zur Hand,

V. A. 1803.

88 *rit.* *p* 55 *Lento.* *cresc.* *p*

es ist zuklein, ... da dehnt es sich aus. ... Und

rit. *rit.* *Lento.* *cresc.* *f*

animato *cresc.* 60 *più cresc.*

wie es wächst um des Hu - fes Rand, da er -

vivace *p* *cresc.* *più cresc.*

gri - fen den Mei - ster Bang' und

f *dim.*

Graus. Der

p *sf* *sf* *dim.* *p*

70 *Allegro risoluto.*

Reiter sitzt auf, es klirrt sein Schwert: „Nun Meister O. luf,

mf *ff* *mf* *stacc.*

con Ped. *

V. A. 1803.

75 89

gu - te Nacht! Wohl hast du beschla - gen

O - din's Pferd; ich

ei - le hinü - ber zur blu - ti - gen Schlacht!

85 Der Rap - pe schießt fort über Land und Meer,

90 um O - din's Haupt er -

con Ped. *ff* *mf* *ff* *mf* *ff* *mezzoforte*

V. A. 1803.

90

glän. zet ein Licht. Zwölf

cresc. *cresc.*

Ad - ler flie - gen hin - ter ihm her;

sie flie - gen

Strenge im Tempo.

ff

schnell, und er - rei - chen ihn nicht.

105

V. A. 1803.