

**Songs for the Greeks:
Philhellenism and the Musical Settings of Müller in the
German Confederation**

Nathan Juriansz

6980252

Supervisor: Dr Rebekah Ahrendt

Second Reader: Prof. Roderick Beaton

RMA Thesis (Musicology)

August 2021

Abstract

The Greek War of Independence inspired a wide range of artistic responses across Europe, as artists from the domains of literature, the visual arts, and music paid attention to unfolding events on the Peloponnese. Much research has examined French musical responses to the Greek independence movement, largely due to the influence of the French Revolution on the Greek uprising against the Ottoman Empire. Equally significant are responses from German-speaking regions which, like the French, supported the Greek cause both financially and artistically. The musical responses from German-speaking regions, however, are yet to receive sustained scholarly attention.

This thesis demonstrates that the German-speaking world maintained an active interest in the Greek cause through their musical activities. A deep appreciation for Greek culture was widespread across Europe by the early-nineteenth century, and this thesis builds on prior scholarship which argues that philhellenism takes on a political dimension from the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821. Support for the Greek cause appeared from the German literary world through the most outspoken German philhellene Wilhelm Müller (1794–1827), whose series of philhellenic poetry, the “Griechenlieder,” inspired many musical responses. By closely examining selected musical settings inspired by Müller within the socio-political context of the Greece War of Independence, this thesis sheds new light on philhellenism in the German-speaking musical world.

First, a historical overview of the Greek War of Independence and the philhellenic context across the German Confederation will be provided, establishing the context in which Müller and his musical contemporaries created their works. Two benefit concerts will be contrasted as examples of this musical support and situated within this broader political context. The second chapter examines three musical settings of Müller’s philhellenic works. An analysis of Lieder by Berlin-based composers, Ludwig Berger (1777–1839) and Bernhard Klein (1793–1832) demonstrates a contrasting philhellenic musical style to that of the Bavarian Joseph Demharter (1793–). A dedication to the Greeks on the front cover of Klein’s collection of songs also indicates that he participated in a culture of benefit publications. The final chapter examines the social and political context surrounding another work inspired by Müller, albeit in an Austrian context. Given the philhellenism exhibited by Schubert and his circle, the composer’s choice of Müller during the Greek War is arguably a political one and warrants a political reading of *Winterreise* as a sentiment of philhellenic support. My reading seeks not to negate existing interpretations of a canonic work but, rather, to complement them by considering the extraordinary political circumstances from which the work arose in addition to the political convictions held by the work’s co-creators.

The events of the Greek War evoked many musical responses from philhellenes even beyond the shores of Europe, all of which form part of the story of how Greece gained its independence. This thesis demonstrates that the German-speaking musical world maintained significant interest in the political circumstances of the Greeks through the textual choice of Müller. The creation of musical publications and the participation in musical events dedicated to the Greek cause is indicative of the strong support exhibited by German-speaking territories. Philhellenism in the musical world deserves ongoing attention and is certainly timely, given the recent passing of the 200th anniversary of the beginning of the Greek War of Independence which ultimately led to the international recognition of Greece as an independent state in 1830.

Acknowledgements

The huge amount of support I have received throughout this project has been humbling. I would first like to dedicate this thesis to my grandparents, Efstathia and George.

I am incredibly grateful for the inspiration and support provided by my supervisor and mentor, Dr. Rebekah Ahrendt, to whom I would like to express my sincere gratitude. The enthusiastic guidance and ongoing support during this challenging time has made the process all the more rewarding and fun. I would also like to express my thanks to all the instructors at Utrecht University for being a part of my journey.

A sincere thank you goes to Prof. Roderick Beaton, who has so kindly agreed to be the second reader for this thesis. I would also like to thank Ingrid Lennon-Pressey from Yale University, who has so kindly provided me with the materials I needed to complete this study.

I am grateful to have received an incredible amount of support in Melbourne, Australia. I would like to extend a special thanks to Associate Prof. Michael Christoforidis and Dr. Elizabeth Kertesz, whose generosity, support, and inspiration gave me the strength to get to the finish line. I would also like to thank Dr. Sarah Kirby, for her continued support and guidance throughout my musicological adventures on both sides of the globe.

A special thanks goes to my study group in Utrecht. To Kristel, Madelynn, and Delaney, I am so grateful to have shared this experience with you. Your support means the world to me, and I look forward to the day we can be reunited. I could not have done this without you.

To my support crew from across the world, I thank you for your patience and love. To Alex, Helen, Maddy, Melody, Billy, Anna, Hayden, Belinda, Jennifer, Miranda, Stuart, Sarah, Vivian, Chris, Estelita, Michelle, Bec, Bianca, Felicité, and Erin (to name a few), your support throughout this process has been extraordinary. Thank you for believing in me and for being there for me.

Finally, I would like to express a thank you to my parents for their unconditional love and support.

Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements.....	2
List of Examples	4
List of Tables	5
Introduction.....	6
Literature Review	8
Chapter 1 – The Greek War of Independence: The Great Powers, the Greek Diaspora, and Benefit Concerts	15
Greek Diaspora, Vienna, and the “Greek” Enlightenment	16
From Antiquity to Contemporary Greece: One Continuous Culture?	19
Rigas Feraios, the Greek Marseillaise and Philhellenic Activity in Vienna before 1821.....	22
The German Confederation and the Greek Question.....	26
Benefit Concerts as International Support	32
Conclusion	36
Chapter 2 – Musical Müller.....	38
Müller: Philhellene, Poet, and Translator.....	39
Settings of Müller from Berlin.....	42
From Berlin to Bavaria.....	58
Conclusion	64
Chapter 3 – Philhellenism, the Schubert circle, and the choice of <i>Die Winterreise</i>	65
The Political Climate in Vienna.....	66
Schubert’s Political Engagement	70
Bildung: Influences on Schubert and his Circle	71
Philhellenism within Schubert’s Circle: An Examination.....	74
Winterreise — An Expression of Schubert’s Philhellenism?.....	78
Final Thoughts	85
Conclusion.....	87
Bibliography	90
Appendix – Texts and Translations	95
Appendix A – Der Phanariot, Wilhem Müller.....	95
Appendix B – Alexander Ypsilanti aus Munkacs, Wilhelm Müller	96
Appendix C – Die Klage der Mutter, Claude Fauriel, translated Wilhelm Müller	97

List of Examples

Example 2.1: Bernhard Klein, <i>Neugriechische Volkslieder: für eine Singstimme mit Klavier-Begleitung zum Besten der Greise, Wittwen und Waisen der nothleidenden Griechen herausgegeben</i> , title page.....	44
Example 2.2: Franz Schubert, <i>Winterreise</i> , “Rückblick,” mm. 33–5.....	49
Example 2.3: Bernhard Klein, “Die Klage der Mutter,” mm. 8b–18.....	50
Example 2.4: Bernhard Klein, “Die Klage der Mutter,” mm. 111–128.....	53
Example 2.5: Ludwig Berger, <i>Zwölf Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i> , title page..	55
Example 2.6: Ludwig Berger, “Der Phanariot.”	57
Example 2.7: Joseph Demharter, “Alexander Ypsilanti auf Munkacs,” title page.....	59
Example 2.8: Joseph Demharter, “Alexander Ypsilanti auf Munkacs,” opening (mm. 1–14)	61
Example 2.9: Joseph Demharter, “Alexander Ypsilanti auf Munkacs,” mm. 76–88.....	63
Example 3.1: Franz Schubert, <i>Winterreise</i> , “Rückblick,” mm. 20–3.....	83
Example 3.2: Franz Schubert, <i>Winterreise</i> , “Rückblick,” mm. 33–5.....	83

List of Tables

Table 1:	Overview of Lieder in <i>Neugriechische Volkslieder</i> , Bernhard Klein.....	47
Table 2:	Structural Analysis of “Die Klage der Mutter,” Bernhard Klein.....	52
Table 3:	<i>Griechenland</i> , Anton Ottenwalt.....	75

Introduction

The Greek War of Independence, sparked by revolution in March 1821, inspired a wide range of artistic expressions in Europe in the domains of literature, visual arts, and music, as artists sympathetic to Greek cause responded to unfolding events on the Peloponnese. Philhellenism, however, predates the events of the 1820s. The origins of this cultural movement in the German-speaking lands can be traced to the discipline of art history and the contributions of its founder Johann Winckelmann (1717–1768), who revered Classical Greek sculpture. His published texts resulted in the widespread appreciation of Greek culture, supporting the notion that the modern Greeks were the descendants of their Classical forebearers.

Upon the outbreak of the Greek revolution, there was an immense outpouring of sympathy for the Greeks from those who possessed a deep affinity for Classical Greek culture. This cultural philhellenism thereon assumed a political dimension, manifesting in widespread support for the Greek cause. A series of poems written in response to the Greek War of Independence by outspoken philhellene Wilhelm Müller (1794–1827) — best known through the musical settings of Franz Schubert (1797–1828) — are among the most influential philhellenic works produced after the outbreak of the Greek War. Müller's poems, collectively referred to as the “Griechenlieder,” circulated widely across the German-speaking world and fueled the philhellenic movement further. Artistic expressions of support also came from musical communities across the German Confederation, and Müller appears to have been particularly influential also in the world of music. Bolstered by far-reaching international support, which took a variety of forms, Greece ultimately attained its status as an independent nation following international recognition through treaty in 1830.

This thesis demonstrates that support for the Greek cause from the musical community within the German Confederation is deeper than previously thought. It examines philhellenic musical works which adopted Müller's texts, demonstrating his influence in the musical as well the literary sphere. Given his well-known philhellenism the motivation of musicians who used Müller as their textual choice, arguably, transcends the aesthetic — especially during the Greek War of Independence — and could be viewed as a political choice motivated by a composer's own philhellenism.

These musical expressions of philhellenism vary stylistically depending on their cultural and political contexts, reflecting the diversity of the political climate within the German Confederation — exemplified by the degree of variation in censorship and its enforcement. Musical works based on Müller's texts also form part of a broader culture of benefit concerts and publications to raise funds and provide financial support for the Greek cause. The body of music inspired by the events of the Greek War of Independence forms part of the political and cultural history of Europe and deserves

continuing scholarly attention, particularly on the passing of the 200th anniversary of the beginning of the Greek War of Independence.

Methodology and Chapter Outline

This thesis accounts for the cultural and political circumstances surrounding selected philhellenic musical works. It adopts a historical and political approach, based on the scholarly accounts of the period surrounding the Greek War, and is shaped by historiographical debates from a variety of fields including studies on philhellenism, the political situation in Europe following the Congress of Vienna, and censorship during the period. It also provides musical analyses of these philhellenic works based on Müller's texts. By situating them in the broader context of the philhellenic movement in the German Confederation, it demonstrates how their musical styles are influenced by the broader cultural and the political contexts.

Chapter one provides the historical context in which Müller and his musical contemporaries created their works. It describes the international interest in the “Greek question” and examines the role of the Greek diaspora in fueling the philhellenic movement across Europe. It examines the role of diaspora Greeks in Vienna, the most significant Greek diaspora community in the German-speaking world, particularly highlighting their role in pre-revolutionary activity. The chapter also establishes the broader musical context of benefit concerts which are known to have taken place across Europe. Two concerts which took place in 1826 — one in Paris, the other in Breslau (today Wrocław, Poland) — are contrasted as two different examples of musical support for the Greek cause.

The second chapter examines three musical settings of Müller's philhellenic works from two regions of the German Confederation. Two settings, by Ludwig Berger (1777–1839) and Joseph Demharter (c. 1793–), use texts from his patriotic songs, the “Griechenlieder.” The other by Bernhard Klein (1793–1832) is based on Müller's translation of a seminal philhellenic work originating from France. These works demonstrate two contrasting philhellenic musical styles. The Bavarian Demharter evokes heroic images in a grandiose, expressive style in a large-scale structure; however, the Berlin-based Berger and Klein adopt a more modest approach, which emphasises the role of the text over heightened musical expression. The significance of Klein's dedication “to the needy Greeks” on the title page of his collection of songs demonstrates his participation in the culture of benefit publications. These three examples highlight the extent of support possible in regions where censorship laws allowed for the publication of philhellenic material.

The final chapter examines a case study within the Austrian Empire, a territory of the German Confederation where stricter censorship laws impeded the ability of philhellenes to openly support the

Greek cause. It argues that Schubert's choice of Müller is a reflection of his own philhellenism and that his setting of the poetic cycle *Die Winterreise* could therefore be viewed as a proxy for the "Griechenlieder," given the strict censorship he faced. Following an overview of the political climate in the Austrian Empire, particularly the stringent censorship regime overseen by Klemenz von Metternich (1773–1859), the chapter then examines the political leanings and philhellenism exhibited by Schubert and his circle. Given Schubert's philhellenism and the cultural and political circumstance in which *Die Winterreise* was created, a political interpretation of the work is warranted. The natural imagery and thinly veiled political references could therefore be reinterpreted in the context of the Greek War of Independence, and the philhellenism of Müller could certainly resonate with liberal Viennese audiences as a proxy for philhellenism. This reading does not seek to negate existing interpretations of the genesis of this canonic work but rather to complement them by considering the extraordinary cultural political circumstances from which the work arose. Whilst not an analysis of Schubert's setting, it presents preliminary findings as to why there are no known settings of Müller's "Griechenlieder" from the Austrian Empire.

Other Notes

Unless otherwise indicated, translations that appear in this thesis are my own. There is no standardised system to represent Greek letters using a Latin alphabet; however, every effort has been made to ensure consistent spellings are used throughout this thesis. It should be noted that multiple variations of spelling for historical figures with Greek names are present in English-language scholarship.

Literature Review

Musical manuscripts constitute the main primary source materials in this thesis. I have been fortunate to have received scanned copies of the musical works from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, and I would like to thank Ingrid Lennon-Pressey for her assistance on this matter. Online access to journals and periodicals made possible by ANNO (*AustriaN Newspaper Online*) has provided valuable insights, particularly the benefit concert taking place in Breslau and the news of the Greek Revolution in newspapers from Vienna.¹ A wide variety of secondary literature has been consulted for this thesis, including literature from musicology (primarily on Schubert) as well as historical and literary studies (philhellenism, censorship, and the Greek War of Independence). It

¹ "ANNO Historische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften," Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, accessed August 12, 2021, <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>.

should be noted that there were limitations on this study by not being able to undertake extensive in situ primary source study, as this thesis was completed in Melbourne, Australia, in light of the pandemic. It is hoped that deeper insights could be obtained in future studies when circumstances allow it. An overview of the most influential secondary literature consulted relating to the broad themes contained within this thesis follows.

Philhellenism and Music in the German-speaking World

The cultural phenomenon of philhellenism has received much scholarly attention. Musical responses, if mentioned at all, are at best tangentially acknowledged; however, there are some notable exceptions of studies into musical philhellenism. Benjamin Walton's chapter, "1826. 'Les Grecs sont français': Musical Philhellenism in Paris," is perhaps the best known study of this variety.² It provides extensive background into the benefit concert taking place in Paris, highlighting in particular the musical contributions of Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868) to this event. Walton provides a musical analysis of the works performed and demonstrates how philhellenism manifested in the musical world of France during the height of the philhellenic movement in the 1820s. Katerina Levidou's 2021 chapter "Sounding the Greek Revolution: Music and the Greek War of Independence" provides an outstanding overview of musical responses to the Greek War.³ She establishes the philhellenic context in which these responses were shaped, explaining how "widespread European Philhellenism associated with the Enlightenment's interest in Greek antiquity ... made it easy for other European nations to sympathise with the revolt of the people considered to be the true descendants of the ancient Greeks."⁴ She emphasises that a great number of works inspired by the struggle for Greek Independence were published in France, and also lists many responses of Italian origin. One work by a German composer is mentioned in this study, *Hymne auf den Tod des Marcos Botzaris* (1843) by Johanna Kinkel (1810–1858), which does not appear to have been influenced by Müller. This work is, however, significant as one of the few known philhellenic works composed by a German-speaking woman.

There are seminal texts on philhellenism that provide a necessary overview of the historical background and issues relating to this cultural phenomenon. Susan Marchand provides an outstanding overview of the origins of German philhellenism in *Down From Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1900*, detailing its trajectory from the Enlightenment through to the twentieth century.⁵ She provides comprehensive descriptions of the contributions of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–

² Benjamin Walton, "1826. 'Les Grecs sont français': Musical Philhellenism in Paris," in *Rossini in Restoration Paris: The Sound of Modern Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 108–53.

³ Katerina Levidou, "Sounding the Greek Revolution: Music and the Greek War of Independence," in *The Greek Revolution: A Critical Dictionary*, eds. Paschalides Kitromilides and Constantinos Tsoukalas (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021).

⁴ Levidou, "Sounding," 659.

⁵ Suzanne Marchand, *Down From Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

1768) and Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) to the German philhellenic movement. Marchand's chapter, "What the Greek model can, and cannot, do for the modern state: the German perspective," provides clarity on the influence of ancient Greek models on the German philhellenic mindset.⁶ Another significant volume in the extensive literature of philhellenism is *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War for Independence* edited by William St. Clair with a forward by Roderick Beaton.⁷ It briefly mentions the phenomenon of benefit concerts which took place around France and the fact that Beethoven's *The Ruins of Athens* is considered a philhellenic work. Interestingly the phrase "sold for the benefit of the Greeks" appeared on title pages of many kinds of publications in a French setting, but the authors do not mention musical publications specifically.⁸

The recent volume *Concepts and Functions of Philhellenism: Aspects of a Transcultural Movement* provides a thorough introduction to philhellenism.⁹ It contains a notable study on the relationship between Lord Byron and Müller by Marco Hillemann, who makes one reference to Western art music whilst discussing Müller's poetic cycle, *Die Winterreise*:

However, the German philhellene seems to have been more than familiar with the Byronic mood and its underlying *Weltschmerz*. Probably the most striking proof of this affinity is his poem cycle *Die Winterreise* (The Winter Journey) which was subsequently set to music by Franz Schubert and became thus one of the most famous song cycles ever written.¹⁰

The focus therefore remains on Müller's philhellenism, and there is no further discussion in relation to Schubert's setting. This volume, whilst highly detailed and broad in scope, does not include any study on Western art music.

Constanze Güthenke examines how the philhellenic movement developed alongside changes in the perception of Greece in the early nineteenth century. Whilst philhellenism was initially a term denoting an affinity for Greek culture, both in antiquity and contemporary contexts, Güthenke argues that by 1821 it connoted a "positive attitude towards the political aspirations of the contemporary Greeks."¹¹ This study also acknowledges the impact of the Humboldt reforms on the education system in Prussia, with flow on effects across the German Confederation, whereby the study of ancient Greece and

⁶ Suzanne Marchand, "What the Greek Model Can, and Cannot, Do for the Modern State: the German Perspective," in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, & the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)*, eds. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2009).

⁷ William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (Cambridge: Open Book, 2008.)

⁸ St. Clair, *Philhellenes*, 270.

⁹ *Concepts and Functions of Philhellenism: Aspects of a Transcultural Movement*, eds. Martin Vöhler, Stella Alekou, and Miltos Pechlivanos (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021).

¹⁰ Marco Hillemann, "Could Leo Become Leonidas Again? The German Philhellene Wilhelm Müller and his Ambivalent Reception of Lord Byron," in *Concepts and Functions of Philhellenism: Aspects of a Transcultural Movement*, eds. Martin Vöhler, Stella Alekou, and Miltos Pechlivanos (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 148.

¹¹ Constanze Güthenke, *Placing Modern Greece: The Dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 99.

scholarship became a part of the school curriculum.¹² Speaking on the role and importance of education, Humboldt himself claimed that “nothing is so important in a high-level official of the state as the complete conception he has of mankind and as the degree of intellectual clarity with which he ponders these questions and responds to them emotionally... There is nothing so important as his interpretation of the idea of *Bildung*.¹³ David Gramit describes the importance of the *Bildung* as an “intellectual, spiritual and emotional cultivation as a lifelong pursuit,” emphasising its centrality for the administrative and cultural elite.¹⁴

Schubert and *Die Winterreise*

Schubert’s *Winterreise* has received much recent scholarly attention, some of which has been published as this thesis was written. The recent multi-authored study dedicated purely to the work, *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert’s Winterreise*, provides extensive historical background to the work’s conception, its performance and reception history, deep analytical studies, and even psychological and ecological perspectives.¹⁵ Kristina Muxfeldt’s chapter, “Wilhelm Müller’s Odyssey,” provides an overview of Müller’s early life. She briefly includes his Greek revolutionary activities as part of his early years and the impact of Lord Byron on Müller’s work, describes Byron as a “kindred spirit.”¹⁶ A political perspective is also provided in this volume by George Williamson, who suggests that *Winterreise* could be viewed as a political allegory through the thinly veiled political references throughout. While Williamson mentions the Greek uprising in relation to Müller’s philhellenic poetry, he does not situate the work within this context.¹⁷ Charles Grair’s study into the “Griechenlieder” is perhaps the most comprehensive examination of Müller’s philhellenic works available, placing them within the context of the German Confederation and outlining many of the difficulties faced with censorship. He emphasises their significance in the German philhellenic movement and also provides a brief analysis of selected poems by Müller. Grair indicates that the poems have been the subject of very little scholarly research, but ultimately claims they “reflect the social, political and aesthetic conflicts of the Biedermeier period and thus represent an important document in the social history of the nation.”¹⁸

¹² Güthenke, *Hellenism*, 94.

¹³ David Gramit, “‘The Passion for Friendship’: Music, Cultivation, and Identity in Schubert’s Circle,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 58.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Marjorie Wing Hirsch and Lisa Fuerzeig, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert’s Winterreise* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

¹⁶ Kristina Muxfeldt, “Wilhelm Müller’s Odyssey,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Winterreise*, eds. Marjorie W. Hirsch and Lisa Fuerzeig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 68.

¹⁷ George S. Williamson, “On the Move: Outcasts, Wanderers, and the Political Landscape of *Die Winterreise*,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert’s Winterreise*, eds. Marjorie Wing Hirsch and Lisa Fuerzeig (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 129-43.

¹⁸ Charles A. Grair, “The Poetics of National Liberation: Wilhelm Müller’s *Lieder Der Griechen*,” *Goethe Yearbook* 11, no. 1 (2002): 308.

Susan Youens' seminal study *Retracing a Winter's Journey: Schubert's "Winterreise"* is perhaps the best-known study into the song cycle by Schubert.¹⁹ Youens gives an overview of Müller's early life, including his education, his interests — which included medieval German literature, folk poetry, Homeric studies and contemporary poetry — and argues that his education in Berlin was key to the formation of his liberal ideas.²⁰ Her study analyses *Winterreise* in depth, examining the work's origins, its texts, its music and ultimately provides an analysis of all twenty-four songs. She balances analysis of the music and the text, and views *Winterreise* as a response to Müller's poetry, claiming that “song begins with a composer's response to a poet's words.”²¹ A more recent study by Natasha Loges provides an overview of the work's performance history throughout the nineteenth century, demonstrating that the songs of this cycle were not typically performed as a sequence but formed part of larger concert programs (it was only in the twentieth century that this became the norm).²² Loges also points out the huge amount of attention the *Winterreise* has received, and also provides an outline of the publishing history of the work.

The significance of Schubert's circle is recognised in the literature by authors such as David Gramit, who argues that “Schubert cannot be detached from his circle of friends.”²³ Anke Theresa Caton's thesis provides an excellent overview of the role and function of this circle, arguing that such friendship circles were typical of the time and were regarded as strongholds against suppression as well as support networks.²⁴ According to Caton, the circle “followed the late eighteenth-century ideals of ‘Bildung,’ [which she describes as] a term probably translated best as self-improvement and education, and held high the virtues of freedom, fatherland and friendship with the help of role models from German and Greek history and philosophy.”²⁵ This study also demonstrates that Schubert responded musically to political aspects in Johann Mayrhofer's (1787–1836) poems, using a collection of published songs, *Liederheft* op. 8, as a case study. Caton provides a thorough textual and musical analysis of op. 8, no. 2, ‘Sehnsucht’ (D. 516, ‘longing’), examining the harmonic and melodic features of the song.²⁶

Censorship

Technical details on the nature of Austrian censorship have been obtained through a range of dedicated studies. Norbert Bachleitner's *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848* is particularly

¹⁹ Susan Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey: Schubert's "Winterreise"* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

²⁰ Youens, *Retracing*, 9.

²¹ Ibid., 3.

²² Natasha Loges, “Detours on a Winter's Journey: Schubert's Winterreise in Nineteenth-Century Concerts,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 74, no. 1 (2021): 1–42.

²³ David Gramit, “Schubert and the Biedermeier: The Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer's ‘Heliopolis,’” *Music and Letters* 74, no. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993): 355.

²⁴ Anke Theresa Caton, “Disenchantment during the Biedermeier Period - Political Subtexts in Schubert's Songs” (PhD diss., Cardiff University, 2011), 32.

²⁵ Caton, “Disenchantment,” 33.

²⁶ Ibid., 68–78.

comprehensive, providing a thorough historical background and extensive data breakdowns across the broad range of censored materials, including the many authors, languages and types of works that were subject to censorship.²⁷ It should be noted that a database provided by the University of Vienna, also cited in Bachleitner's study, contains records of books banned in Austria between 1750 and 1848: "Verpönt, Verdrängt – Vergessen? Eine Datenbank zur Erfassung der in Österreich zwischen 1750 und 1848 verbotenen Bücher."²⁸ Lothar Höbelt's chapter on censorship in the Austrian Empire during the nineteenth century provides a thorough historical background to the highly bureaucratic system.²⁹ He emphasises the implications of censorship for the literary and theatrical worlds, mentioning as a tangential aside that in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* theatre censors changed the line "freedom lives" to "jollity lives"(further details are not provided).³⁰ Tamara Kamatović's study complements Höbelt's, emphasising the role of Metternich's censors, who "played an essential role in the curbing of a great deal of literature from the market, but they did so as subjective agents, and they made deliberations and justifications for why and how they delivered their decisions."³¹ These studies all emphasise the severity and far reaching nature of Austrian censorship, Bachleitner's study provides comprehensive detail on the works and methods of suppression. Höbelt describes the banned list of the Austrian Empire as the "catalogue of European masterpieces of literature."³²

The Carlsbad decrees are discussed across Schubert scholarship as well as in publications from other scholarly disciplines, such as media and literary studies. Williamson emphasises Metternich's role in enacting the Carlsbad decrees across the German Confederation when providing the political context from which *Winterreise* arose.³³ Kristina Muxfeldt also illustrates the impact the decrees had on Schubert's circle, particularly on Johann Senn (1795–1857), describing their political leanings as "oppositional nationalism."³⁴ Youens also discusses the issues Müller faced with the censors, contextualising his "Griechenlieder" more broadly within the Prussian context: "Criticism of governmental oppression could not be directed openly at the Prussian government without incurring official punishment. Consequently, German calls to rekindle the flames of Greek democracy were often veiled gestures of domestic political protest as well, gestures that aroused the censor's wrath."³⁵ When discussing *Winterreise* the discussion largely focuses on Müller's difficulties with publishing his volumes.

²⁷ Norbert Bachleitner, *Die Literarische Zensur in Österreich Von 1751 Bis 1848* (Wien: Böhlau, 2017).

²⁸ "Verpönt, Verdrängt – Vergessen? Eine Datenbank zur Erfassung der in Österreich zwischen 1750 und 1848 verbotenen Bücher," accessed June 1, 2021, <http://univie.ac.at/zensur>.

²⁹ Lothar Höbelt, "The Austrian Empire," in *War for the Public Mind: Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Robert Goldstein (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000).

³⁰ Höbelt, "Austrian," 228.

³¹ Tamara Kamatović, "Metternichs Censors at Work: Philosophy and Practices of Censorship in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Romanic Review* 109, nos. 1–4 (2019): 124.

³² Höbelt, "Austrian," 218.

³³ Williamson, "Outcasts," 139.

³⁴ Kristina Muxfeldt, "Schubert's Freedom of Song, if not Speech," in *Schubert and his World*, eds Christopher Howard Gibbs and Morten Solvik Olsen (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 204.

³⁵ Youens, *Retracing*, 10.

Greek Diaspora and the War of Independence

Roderick Beaton illustrates where the Greek diaspora could be found, even providing a map of what he describes as the “Orthodox Commonwealth” in *Greece: Biography of a Modern Nation*.³⁶ He indicates that one of the most significant diaspora communities in the German-speaking lands was indeed found in Vienna. The role of the diaspora in the formation of revolutionary societies is also clearly illustrated in this study. *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries*, a volume edited by Herbert Kröll, provides insights into the historical, political, artistic and economic relations between Greece and Austria.³⁷ The studies here highlight Vienna, Odessa and Trieste as the three most significant centres for the Greek diaspora. This volume includes a broad range of studies, including the revolutionary activity that took place in Vienna and the contributions of Rigas Feraios. It also includes a study of prominent Greek musicians active in the city, mostly from the 1850s onwards. Constantine Carambelas-Sgourdas broadly generalises the philhellenic tendencies of composers living and working in Vienna: “Practically all of the great composers who lived in Vienna during the 18th and 19th centuries admired the Greek civilization and studied works by Greek authors.”³⁸ This generalisation, however, is only supported through a brief discussion of Beethoven.

³⁶ Roderick Beaton, *Greece: Biography of a Modern Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), xxi.

³⁷ *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries*, ed. Herbert Kröll (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2007).

³⁸ Constantine Carambelas-Sgourdas, “The Greek Presence in the Musical Life of Vienna during the 19th and 20th Centuries,” in *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries*, ed. Herbert Kröll (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2007), 191.

Chapter 1 – The Greek War of Independence: The Great Powers, the Greek Diaspora, and Benefit Concerts

Greece achieved its status as an independent nation state following a revolution beginning in 1821, sparking a war that would last to the end of the decade. This chapter provides the context for philhellenism in the German-speaking world in which artists crafted artistic responses to the events taking place in Ottoman Greece. It will trace developments in the lead-up to the Greek War of Independence, highlighting the immense international interest and involvements of the Great Powers, who ultimately sanctioned the appointment of a Bavarian, King Otto I, as the Greece's reigning monarch in 1832. The intersection of international politics, philhellenism, and the events of the Greek War of Independence is a complex affair whose impact on the philhellenic mindset was profound. The literary works of Wilhelm Müller (1794–1827) inspired many musical settings from across the German Confederation, and he will be situated within this philhellenic context.

The German-speaking world, especially the Austrian Empire, occupies a specific space within the cultural phenomenon of the philhellenic movement. Given the influence of Austrian statesman Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859) across the German Confederation, following its creation at the Congress of Vienna (1814–5), a particular emphasis on the activities taking place in Vienna will be provided. The city was not only an important political centre in Europe, it was also home to the largest number of diaspora Greeks in the German-speaking lands who were responsible for pre-revolutionary activity across Europe through the formation of secret societies and the printing of revolutionary material. This chapter also establishes that the setting for one of the sites of revolutionary activity, the salon, would later become the place where music written in response to Revolution would be performed.

Despite the wide presence of modern Greeks across Europe, a romanticised image of the Greeks informed by Classical literature prevailed in the minds of European philhellenes. The philhellenic movement was underpinned by the notion that modern Greeks were the descendants of the ancient Greeks. The fact that very few European philhellenes from German-speaking territories travelled to Ottoman Greece meant that this image remained largely unchallenged by the reality facing modern Greeks in the Ottoman Empire. Europeans who possessed knowledge of Classical Greek culture, especially those from German-speaking territories, hence, saw themselves as culturally indebted to the Greeks and were compelled to support them as news of the Revolution made its way around the continent. This formed the ideological basis for much of the international support from across Europe.

The Greeks would ultimately benefit from this *imagined* Greece which resulted in wide-reaching support from across Europe, which often came from unexpected sources. Support for the Greeks manifested musically, and the phenomenon of benefit concerts will be situated within this broader historical and political context as an example of international involvement for the Greek cause from the musical world. Whilst a concert taking place in Paris is well-known, another staged in Breslau, Prussia (today Wrocław, Poland) will be contrasted, given the lack of attention it has hitherto received. The Breslau concert demonstrates that support from the musical community in the German Confederation is wider than previously thought. The presence of the Greek diaspora in both these cities contributed to the phenomenon of these concerts which raised significant funds for the cause. These benefit concerts demonstrate that despite initial reluctance from the Great Powers to officially offer their support, ordinary Europeans were deeply sympathetic to the Greek cause. They sought to offer their support through various musical activities to raise funds for the modern Greeks, who they considered descendants of the ancients.

International support from the Great Powers would not take place until the latter half of the 1820s.¹ Their motivation for this was arguably not with the best interests of the Greeks in mind, but proved to be a self-serving act. Once they chose to intervene, the “Greek Question” became a subject of international diplomacy and negotiation. The installation of a Bavarian king, however, would not see the Greeks as truly autonomous and the Great Powers would have a say in their political affairs for decades to come. The international interest in the Greeks and their cause had a surprising impact on the musical world, not only through benefit concerts, but also through musical responses and settings inspired by these events, which will be examined in the following chapter.

Greek Diaspora, Vienna, and the “Greek” Enlightenment

By the nineteenth century many Greek diaspora communities had firmly established themselves across Europe and Russia. Their presence beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire increased local awareness of their political situation, while in turn, encounters between Greeks and local residents exposed the diaspora to political ideas from Western Europe. These communities were mostly found in significant trading centres such as Vienna, Trieste, Livorno, Marseille, Paris, Odessa, Amsterdam, and the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (both of which form part of present day Romania, at the time under Ottoman rule). Not only were they drawn to these centres for economic reasons but they also pursued further education in these locales. The universities situated in Venice and Padua were of long-standing importance for the Greek diaspora as important centres of learning,

¹ In the context of the Greek War of Independence the Great Powers are France, Britain, Russia, the Austrian Empire, and Prussia.

attracting numerous students from Greek-speaking territories.² Whilst Vienna was home to a significant Greek community, Greeks are known to have settled in other German-speaking cities such as Breslau from 1743 and in Leipzig from 1753.³ It was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that an increasing number of Greek students began studying in other German-speaking cities such as Berlin, Munich, and Halle. Significant Greek communities could also be found in Russia, as the Russian state encouraged an estimated quarter of a million Orthodox Christians to resettle there by the nineteenth century.⁴ Although Greek diaspora communities were scattered, they would later play a significant role in preparing for the uprising which would lead to establishment of the Greek nation state.

Enlightenment ideology, which fueled the French Revolution, significantly contributed to the Greek uprising of 1821. The ideas which emerged from the Enlightenment, including an increased emphasis on science, freedom of the individual, equality before the law, abolition of class differences, and separation of Church and state, would play a central role in the early nineteenth century and drastically alter Europe's political landscape. Whilst the centre of the Enlightenment was Northwestern Europe, its ideas and values were gradually received across South-Eastern Europe through translations, eventually finding their way to Greek diaspora communities.

A “Greek” Enlightenment is often discussed in scholarship; however, it did not make original contributions to the movement across the continent.⁵ Vienna was home to the most significant Greek community in the German-speaking world, and this community actively participated and contributed to the “Greek” Enlightenment. Greeks had a long history with this city, having been recorded as living in Vienna from the twelfth century. By the mid-eighteenth century, a significant number of Greek merchants had established themselves in Vienna.⁶ The city was home to numerous Greek scholars, merchants, artists and thinkers, many of whom would go on to play important roles in the Greek Revolution. The Greek intelligentsia founded journals in their native language, reflecting growing intellectual desires and the established status of this Greek community. *Efimeris* (1791–97), the first Greek news-journal in Vienna published by the Pouliou brothers, was advertised with slogans imbued with patriotism and inspired by Enlightenment thinking such as “Love of learning implants in people wide learning, which makes them happy and prosperous,” and “Let us return to the thinking of the forefathers, when this lived by freedom [...] was governed by independence.”⁷ Whilst the lifespan of

² The University of Padua attracted many Greek students from territories such as Chios, Crete, Cyprus and the Ionian Islands. The institution championed classical studies, philosophy, and scientific research.

³ Emanuel Turczynski, “Anmerkungen zu den wechselseitigen Kulturbeziehungen,” in *Die Entwicklung Griechenlands und die deutsch-griechischen Beziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Bernhard Hänsel (Munich: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 1990), 11.

⁴ Roderick Beaton, *Greece: Biography of a Modern Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 18.

⁵ Beaton, *Biography*, 22.

⁶ Constantine Carambelas-Sgourdas, “The Greek Presence in the Musical Life of Vienna during the 19th and 20th Centuries,” in *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries*, ed. Herbert Kröll (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2007), 191.

⁷ Vasso Penna, “Vienna and Enlightenment: The Case of Rigas Velestines,” in *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries*, ed. Herbert Kröll (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2007), 141.

this journal was somewhat brief, another philological journal was founded just over a decade later.

Logios Ermis (1811–21) featured political news from across Europe, including translations and original contributions. This journal assisted in the formation of a Greek liberal culture in Vienna, publishing on a wide variety of issues, including what sort of Greek language should be used in differing spoken or written contexts.⁸ The publication of these periodicals aspired to align the Greek diaspora community of Vienna with similar intellectual movements across Europe.

The increased publication output of Greek translations of Enlightenment discourse from the late eighteenth century is indicative of a growing political awareness in the Greek diaspora. Between 1780 and 1830 more than 500 books were translated into Greek and published in Vienna, the city overtaking Venice as the main centre for Greek publishing houses, with many of these texts distributed to Greek speakers further afield.⁹ The 1790s in particular saw a new wave of translations of seminal Enlightenment texts published in the city as the French Revolution unfolded, including a translation of Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (Vienna, 1794). Translations of seminal Enlightenment texts were similarly published elsewhere and circulated throughout these Greek-speaking communities. These include translations of works such as: Montesquieu's *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness and Decline of the Romans* (Leipzig, 1795); John Locke's *Essay on Government* (translated from an Italian edition of John Wynne, Venice, 1796); and A. E. X. Poisson de La Chabeaussière's *Catéchisme républicain* (Venice, 1797), which has been attributed to spreading French revolutionary ideas across Europe in the 1790s.¹⁰ These translations played a pivotal role in the transmission of political ideas, and served as models for the Greeks to build on as they published their own writings. Although these works were published and circulated mainly in the diaspora, many Greeks educated in Western Europe also played an important role in the dissemination of enlightenment ideology in Ottoman Greece through their teaching.¹¹ The significance and impact of these authors of the Enlightenment is recognised in scholarship, though it is often questioned how “enlightened” they truly were. A full problematisation is out of the scope of this thesis; however, it should be acknowledged that many authors associated with the Enlightenment contributed to the perpetuation of race-based ideologies, whilst some still claimed that the sun revolved around the Earth.¹²

⁸ Penna, “Rigas,” 182. *Logios Ermis* was published twice monthly from 1811–1821.

⁹ Walter Puchner, “The Reception of Austria in Modern Greek Literature and Theatre,” in *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries*, ed. Herbert Kröll (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2007), 181.

¹⁰ Paschalides Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece* (USA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 199.

¹¹ Greeks are known to have been teaching ideas from the Enlightenment both in Ottoman Greece and beyond well before the Greek Revolution. Evgenios Voulgaris (1716–1806), born in Corfu, taught throughout the Greek-speaking world in centres such as Constantinople, the Danubian principalities, and later in Prussia. Methodios Anthrakitis (1660–ca. 1749) taught philosophy and mathematics in Ioannina and Kastoria, espousing the ideas of Descartes and Malebranche whilst another teacher on the island of Zakynthos, Italian-educated Antonios Katiphoros (1685–1763) promoted the sciences, and separated learning from religion.

¹² Beaton, *Biography*, 21.

The impact of Enlightenment thinking is demonstrated in original works by preeminent Greek thinkers who published in the diaspora. Having become familiar with the concept of the “nation,” Greeks began to refer to themselves as a people who shared language and customs, which was facilitated by translations of Enlightenment texts and ideas. A prime example of this is demonstrated through the publication of *Modern Geography* in 1791 by Daniel Philippidis (c. 1750–1832) and Grigorios Konstantas (1753–1844). This publication featured an extensive “chronology and history of the transformations of Hellas from ancient to modern time,” as well as an account of the topology of the southern Balkan peninsula and the Aegean islands.¹³ These texts provided further models to reconcile the Greeks’ political circumstances as well as create ambitious plans for a future nation. Nikiphoros Theotokis (1731–1800) provides his perspective of Ottoman Greece in his 1774 treatise *Stoicheia Geographias* (published in Vienna in 1804) based on political philosopher Montesquieu’s classification system of governments as despotic, monarchical, aristocratic, democratic, or mixed, classifying the Ottomans as despotic.¹⁴ Whilst many promoted the values these Enlightenment texts championed, they also had their critics, and conservative texts were also published in Vienna in the Greek language.¹⁵ As knowledge and ideas of the Enlightenment circulated amongst Greek-speaking communities both in and outside of Ottoman Greece, so did their awareness of European political developments, especially of European models of governance. This served as the intellectual basis from which the Greek uprising took place.

From Antiquity to Contemporary Greece: One Continuous Culture?

Can modern Greeks claim cultural continuity with their ancient ancestors? For German-speaking philhellenes, this idea proved to be powerful, particularly for those with a liberal and nationalist outlook. The idea that the Greeks were united by language and culture resonated with philhellenes, and the Greek cause would become a liberal cause — and also a proxy for their own nationalist agendas. For the Greeks, a growing self-awareness of a people who shared the same geographical space with their ancient ancestors, and spoke the same language, eventuated following the “Greek” Enlightenment. The idea of cultural continuity, itself a political one, gave legitimacy to the political aspirations of the Greeks and those who sympathised with them.

Whilst many Greeks and non-Greeks held this conviction, for others the connection with ancient ancestors was not possible, as it was so far in the distant past. The modern Greeks practiced Christianity and found themselves in a drastically different religious and political context. Their culture

¹³ Beaton, *Biography*, 23.

¹⁴ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment*, 97.

¹⁵ Iosipos Moisiodax (1730–1800), educated in Venice and Padua, conducted research in Vienna and was a notable critic of radical trends of the Enlightenment criticizing Spinoza and castigating Rousseau, Voltaire, and Helvetius.

and customs were so different that modern and ancient Greece could be seen as two distinct nations, not the result of one civilisation's cultural evolution over several millennia. Whilst the modern Greeks certainly had varying degrees of awareness of their classical past, it was not as ideologically defined as that of an educated minority who perpetuated a romanticised image of the Classical Greek in the West. For the intellectual elite, “[t]his sense of continuity [...] gradually became a critical dimension in the formation of the Neohellenic consciousness.”¹⁶ The perception of continuity from outside Ottoman Greece proved to be crucial and would later manifest as support for the Greek cause.

The prevailing view from Europe supported the notion that modern Greeks held their roots in antiquity. So powerful was this idea that it ultimately contributed to the growing political ambition that Greece would once again regain the prestige associated with its classical past. This view was largely driven by nostalgia, and consequently cast the present state of Ottoman Greece in a melancholic light. This nostalgia for classical antiquity formed the basis of the philhellenic movement, with many writers demonstrating high praise for classical literature and ancient Greek ideals. In the German-speaking world, “the Hellas that most [...] intellectuals cared about [...] was the ancient one, the imaginarily unified one of Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Phidias, and Pericles.”¹⁷ The reality of contemporary Greece was largely irrelevant to philhellenes who promoted and spread this ideology. Indeed, the vast majority of them had not travelled to Ottoman Greece themselves, and this romanticised image of Greece was shaped by the literary sources they revered. Had they travelled there (and many eventually did, including Lord Byron, 1788–1824), their expectations would have been met with disappointment. Nonetheless, the sympathies they held for its people were genuine, and the Greeks ultimately benefited from this support.

Two conflicting images of the Greeks were therefore perpetuated. The Western European outsider's perspective was based on ideas and imagery founded in European Classical scholarship, with this discipline nurturing a cultural affinity for an *imagined* Greece. This is especially true for writers from German-speaking territories, with authors such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), Georg Hegel (1770–1831), Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) drawing inspiration from this corpus of literature. The other image is a more introspective self-portrait of a modern Greek reflecting the contemporary experience of being a Greek through the more recent Byzantine and Ottoman eras. Whilst the attitudes of the educated elite are well-documented, it is difficult to evaluate the awareness of the mostly illiterate rural population of their Classical ancestry. It is likely that rural Greeks may have had a general awareness of their Classical

¹⁶ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment*, 71.

¹⁷ Susan Marchand, “What the Greek Model Can, and Cannot, Do for the Modern State: The German Perspective,” in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, & the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)*, eds. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2009), 33.

past, whilst others have argued that they may have held little or no knowledge at all.¹⁸ Access to education proved to be a determining factor in this awareness, as during the Ottoman Era, “only the learned who of necessity left Constantinople and Thessaloniki and went to Italy and Western Europe spoke of the ancient Greeks and of ancient Greece.”¹⁹ The “peasantry” exhibited by the majority of the Greek-speaking population was incompatible with the images of grandeur associated with Classical Greece. The more recent history of the modern Greeks forms part of the contemporary Greek identity and cannot be ignored; however, it was not as accessible to modern Europeans as the romanticised image which circulated widely across Europe through Classical literature.

This discrepancy between the imagined and the real, modern Greece created a sense of tension, particularly for Greeks in diaspora. How should they live up to the expectation of their classical forebears, if they were indeed their descendants? Was it their responsibility to explain that the “imagined” Greece of their European supporters was a romantic construction? Would foreigners insist on the images based in antiquity as the price for their sympathy and support in order to achieve a shared political goal? It should be noted that Greeks also participated in perpetuating this ideology. The best example of this was through language, which unified the Greeks all over the continent. The Greek language arguably links modern Greeks from pagan Ancient Greece through to present day Orthodoxy (via Christian Byzantium), spanning a period of over three thousand years.²⁰ It was considered the most tangible evidence of the continuity of the Greek people, albeit in a form that had evolved since antiquity. There were numerous attempts to demonstrate this connection, in a similar vein to that of *Modern Geography*. A biographical dictionary, *Virliotheikis Ellinikis Virilia Dyo* (Venice, 1807) by scholar and politician and later editor of *Logios Hermes* Anthimos Gazis (1758–1828), sequenced authors adopting the Greek language from antiquity to the end of the Byzantine empire in 1453 to demonstrate cultural continuity.²¹ Although Greeks and non-Greek sympathisers made the case for cultural continuity in different ways, they shared cultural and political ambitions for the Greek people.

The romanticised image ultimately prevailed and the idea of continuity ultimately justified the international support the Greeks would later receive. Philhellenes would see their sympathy transformed through political, cultural, artistic and financial means in order to achieve the political goal of Greece as a nation state. The notion that Europe was culturally indebted to Greece was perpetuated by philhellenic authors, which further justified the notion of continuity. For many philhellenes, the *idea* of Greece had been central to the *idea* of Europe, and many studies suggest that these two ideas are

¹⁸ Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, rev. ed. (New York: Berghahn, 2020), 13.

¹⁹ Herzfeld, *Ours*, 13.

²⁰ In the year 330 the city of Byzantium was renamed to Constantinople, which formed part of a Christian empire until the city became the capital of the Ottoman empire in 1453. The term “Byzantine” is typically adopted when referring to this period although it is often viewed as problematic, given “Byzantine Greeks” never referred to themselves accordingly.

²¹ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment*, 77.

inseparable in an eighteenth-century context.²² Anthropologist Michael Herzfeld argues that “‘Europe,’ like ‘Hellas,’ was a generali[s]ed ideal, a symbol of cultural superiority that could and did survive innumerable changes in the moral and political order. It was to this European ideal, moreover, that Hellas was considered ancestral. Such is the malleable material of which ideologies are made.”²³

Rigas Feraios, the Greek Marseillaise and Philhellenic Activity in Vienna before 1821

Vienna was teeming with Greek revolutionary activity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Writer, translator and political thinker Rigas Feraios (1757/1758–98) was particularly active in the city and is today acknowledged as a pioneer of Greek Independence.²⁴ He was ultimately arrested by Austrian authorities and executed by Ottoman forces, and his perceived martyrdom inspired a generation of Greek revolutionaries who would later go on to participate in the Greek War. Feraios received a formal education (and had formidable skills in Turkish, German, French and Italian). He formed part of the Greek-educated elite of Bucharest, then capital of Wallachia, and also moved in similar circles of Constantinople. Following his involvement in the Russo-Ottoman war of 1787–1792 and his witnessing the French Revolution, although not directly, he believed that similar events could take place in the Balkans and based future hopes of an independent Greece on the French model.²⁵ His choice of Vienna over other centres of Greek diaspora is perhaps indicative of the revolutionary political climate amongst the Greeks in this city. He was warmly received by this community during his extended stays and is known to have frequented the mercantile quarter of Fleischmarkt, where the Greek Orthodox Church and the coffee shops frequented by Greek locals could be found.²⁶ His activities in Vienna were central to his ambitions that, although never realised in his lifetime, laid much of the ideological foundation for the Greek Revolution.

Feraios visited Vienna twice in the 1790s, during which he published extensively, but also concocted an elaborate set of plans to begin a Greek revolt. On his first visit he was primarily engaged as an interpreter and secretary for Christodoulos Kirlianios, a high official of Wallachia (who was later conferred the title of Baron de Langenfeld). As part of his duties Feraios attended meetings and receptions with nobles, petitioned state services, and also met with the Greek intelligentsia of the city.

²² Beaton, *Biography*, 31.

²³ Herzfeld, *Ours*, 3.

²⁴ He is often referred to simply as “Rigas” in scholarly literature; however, this thesis will refer to him as Rigas Feraios. Coming from the Greek-educated elite social class, surnames were not used. He was born in Velestino, Thessaly, and used the name Velestinis; however, he is often referred to as Feraios (or Pheraios) in reference to the ancient place name of his birth region. Although baptised Antonios, he also chose the name “Rigas,” (an affectionate term for king) in his adult life.

²⁵ Scholar Adamantios Korais (1748–1833) observed the French Revolution as a resident of Paris in the 1790s and is known for his correspondence with US president Thomas Jefferson — who he met in Paris in 1823 — and his promotion of the Greek cause in international philhellenic circles. He also published a series of revolutionary poems in Vienna, which inspired revolutionary pamphlets to circulate.

²⁶ Penna, “Rigas,” 140.

He was primarily occupied with the publishing of his *Maps* during his second visit 1796–97. Printed in twelve folios this publication included a topological map of Greece, the area south of the Danube, the Aegean Islands and the western part of Asia Minor as well as places with significance to Classical Greece, including Olympia, Sparta, and Athens. Advertisements of this publication appeared in the Greek journal *Efimeris*.²⁷ During this second visit, Feraios met with Greek students and literati, and he also published revolutionary material. This is when his revolutionary plans were most likely coming to fruition.

Yet Feraios's vision would not be realised, and he was arrested for subversive activities by Austrian authorities alongside his supporters in Trieste in December 1797, following a tip-off from a local Greek merchant. Their interrogations, first in Trieste and then in Vienna, revealed that they had plans to begin a revolt in the southern Peloponnese, spreading the revolt through collaboration with mountain warriors with the aspiration of introducing a government drawing on the French republican model. The fact that these interrogations were conducted covertly is perhaps reflective of the fear held by Austrian authorities of the general public learning of this revolutionary activity. News of these arrests and interrogations did not make their way to the press, and the transcripts were only discovered a century later. There was deep fear of French expansionism and any revolutionary activity on Austrian territory was deemed a threat to peace, considering diplomatic relations had just been restored in light of the French Revolution.

Following the interrogations, it became evident that Feraios had occupied himself publishing revolutionary material in Vienna. He and his men held in their possession multiple copies of a revolutionary document that illustrated their vision of a Hellenic republic built on democracy, inspired by recent developments in France. It contained a revolutionary proclamation, a bill of human rights modelled on the opening of the 1793 French Constitution, a constitutional proposal, and also a martial anthem. This Greek translation of the original 1793 *Constitution* was more encompassing (and inclusive) in scope, as demonstrated by its new title, *New Political Government for the Inhabitants of Roumeli, Asia Minor, the Mediterranean Islands and Wallachia-Moldavia*. It was subject to condemnation from conservative critics, and was deemed to be “full of rottenness,” according to patriarch Gregory V (1746–1821) who warned that “with its turbid ideas it ran counter to the doctrines of Orthodox faith.”²⁸ The interrogations also revealed that Feraios was responsible for the production of another radical political pamphlet. Also printed in Vienna in 1797, this second pamphlet depicted a portrait of Alexander the Great and his generals, and featured explanatory text in French and Greek demonstrating the link

²⁷ Penna, “Rigas,” 143.

²⁸ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment*, 292.

between modern Greeks with their past.²⁹ These documents served as the necessary evidence to justify legal action for the accused, and eight of these men—including Feraios—were passed from Austrian into Ottoman custody. In June 1798 they were executed in a Belgrade prison, their bodies thrown in the Danube.

One of Feraios's legacies was musical, through his association with the so-called “Greek Marseillaise.” This was an adaptation of the original melody originating from French Revolutionary activity, but used an original Greek text to serve a Greek political agenda.³⁰ It circulated amongst Greek diaspora communities across Europe, including Greek rebel circles in Vienna.³¹ The exact date of its composition is unknown, presumably 1796 or just before, and the authenticity of the work is highly disputed. It is unlikely that Feraios is the author of the text; however, the fact that his name was associated with it contributed to its wide dissemination across Greek-speaking centres.³² Feraios did, however, compose a “Battle Hymn” which was included in his 1797 manifesto and also distributed widely (this may have contributed to the confusion surrounding the authorship of the ‘Greek Marseillaise’). The “Greek Marseillaise” was translated into French, German and Russian and in the years prior to the 1821 revolution it is known to have been sung widely in taverns in Ottoman lands, including Constantinople and Thessaloniki.³³ The English author and philhellene Lord Byron heard it during his first trip to Greece in 1809. He too mistakenly attributed the work to Feraios and he later produced an English translation of the work, “Sons of the Greeks, arise!”³⁴ The “Greek Marseillaise” evidently contributed to the spreading of news of Feraios’s activities. He ultimately laid the ideological groundwork for a generation of Greeks who would later build on the revolutionary momentum he established.

The beginnings of a Greek revolutionary society, the *Philiki Etaireia* (Society of Friends), took place in the diaspora, with many Greeks based in Vienna actively contributing to its activities. The editors of the Vienna-based *Logios Hermes* were known to have been members of the *Etaireia*, although they certainly could not have published revolutionary material openly. Many authors who were published in the journal later became intellectual leaders of the Greek cause.³⁵ Though membership of the organisation was limited in the early years, by 1821 its membership grew to 1093 with approximately three quarters

²⁹ A copy is on display at the National Historical Museum of Greece. Two further copies can be found at the National Library of Vienna and in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest.

³⁰ See Apostolos Dascalakis, “The Greek Marseillaise of Rhigas Velestinlis,” *Balkan Studies* 7, no. 2 (1 January 1966): 273-96.

³¹ Dascalakis, “Marseillaise,” 274.

³² Beaton, *Biography*, 67.

³³ Kostas Kardamis, “Odes, Anthems and Battle Songs: Creating Citizens through Music in Greece during the Long Nineteenth Century” in *Music, Language, and Identity in Greece: Defining a National Art Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* eds. Polina Tambakaki, Panos Vlagopoulos, Katerina Levidou and Roderick Beaton (New York: Routledge, 2019), 66.

³⁴ Roderick Beaton, *Byron’s War: Romantic Rebellion, Greek Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 9.

³⁵ Beaton, *Biography*, 69.

recruited from abroad.³⁶ Whilst not a mass movement, the organisation's goal was to achieve self-determination for Greece. Founded by three merchants in Odessa and based on Masonic principles, the society's membership largely consisted of merchants (53.7%), but also included men of educated classes (13.1%), and even clergymen (9.5%).³⁷ The ability of merchants to trade with Greece was severely impacted as a result of the recession following the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars. Discontent with their economic situation, as well as the perceived martyrdom of Feraios, contributed to their revolutionary and ideological outlook.

Following his appointment as Russian foreign minister, Count Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776–1831) was approached in 1817 to be the leader of the *Philiki Etaireia*, but he refused. As one of two foreign ministers, sharing responsibility with joint minister Karl Robert Nesselrode, he wielded a huge amount of political power and influence. He previously served Tsar Alexander of Russia in a variety of diplomatic roles before rising to the foreign ministry in 1816. He would later become the Governor of Greece (1827–31), elected prior to international recognition, and is considered one of the architects of the modern nation state of Greece. His refusal to accept the role is not an indication of where his sympathies truly were, but more of the difficult position he was placed in by his role. The attempt to secure diplomatic support from Russia therefore failed, the organisation receiving this response from Kapodistrias:

You must be out of your senses, Sir, to dream of such a project. No one could dare communicate such a thing to me in this house, where I have the honour to serve a great and powerful sovereign, except a young man like you, straight from the rocks of Ithaka, and carried away by some sort of blind passion. I can no longer continue this discussion of the objects of your mission, and I assure you that I shall never take note of your papers. The only advice I can give to you to is to tell nobody about them, to return immediately where you have come from, and to tell those who sent you that unless they want to destroy themselves and their innocent and unhappy nation with them, they must abandon their revolutionary course and continue to live as before under their present government until Providence decrees otherwise.³⁸

Although disappointed by this outcome, the organisation continued to plan the revolution, raising funds, and promoting the cause widely. Members “roamed widely in the Greek world and, appealing alike to venerable millenarian hopes or to new national sentiments, cultivated the climate of revolutionary expectancy that agitated Greek society.”³⁹ The organisation then approached Alexander Ypsilantis (1792–1828), a senior officer in the Imperial Russian Army during the Napoleonic Wars,

³⁶ Elaine Thomopoulos, *The History of Greece* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, 2012), 54.

³⁷ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment*, 310-11.

³⁸ David Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence* (London: Overlook Duckworth, 2011), 31-32.

³⁹ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment*, 311.

who accepted this position as the leader of the *Philiki Etaireia*. Ypsilantis would go on to lead the revolts which would spark the Greek War, the organisation serving as a catalyst for the Greek Revolution.

Kapodistrias was, however, associated with another Viennese society whose political aims were not overtly expressed. The Philomuse Society of Vienna was co-founded with Anthimos Gazis in 1814, following the founding of the Athens branch in 1813. Its goals included the promotion of philhellenism and the spreading of education and “enlightenment” amongst the Greeks. Austrian foreign minister (later Chancellor) Klemens von Metternich suspected that the cultural aims of the organisation were a cover for a political agenda, insisting that “this society pursues much less the dissemination of the arts and sciences in Greece—obviously only used as a mere front—than secret political goals, which however neither comport with our own direct interests, nor in other respects can they be appropriate for Austria’s relations with the Ottoman Porte.”⁴⁰ The appeal of this society was far-reaching. Not only was Lord Byron’s former tutor of modern Greek a member of this society, German classical scholar Friedrich Thiersch (1784–1860) met Kapodistrias and also joined the Philomuses during his visit to Vienna.⁴¹

Viennese salons also contributed to building support and momentum for the Greek cause. The most notable example is arguably the salon of the Stourdza family, an aristocratic family of Romanian origin. The Stourdzas played a vital role in promoting philhellenism, and their salon functioned as a hub for political discussions. Alexandru Stourdza (1791–1854) acted as Kapodistrias’s secretary during the Congress of Vienna, and his sister Roxandra (1786–1844) was also instrumental in promoting the Greek cause in their salon. Future pioneers and powerbrokers of Greece and the pan-European philhellenic movement were also present in Vienna whilst the Congress of Vienna took place, including Swiss banker and future financial supporter of the Greek Revolution, Jean-Gabriel Eynard (1775–1863). The salon of the Stourdzas has been likened to a Greek “propaganda center,” and it was particularly active during the Congress of Vienna, with Kapodistrias and Roxandra rallying support for the Greeks during the event.⁴² The conversations in Viennese salons would have travelled across the salon networks of Europe, driving the philhellenic movement further.

The German Confederation and the Greek Question

The question of whether Greece should be an independent nation state was of great international interest, in particular to the German-speaking world. Russia had taken an early interest in Greece, and Greeks had sought Russian support as their cause gathered momentum. The series of Russian military

⁴⁰ Vick, *Congress*, 226–7.

⁴¹ Ibid., 227.

⁴² Ibid.

successes over the Ottoman Empire in the latter half of the eighteenth century became of increasing concern to the other Great Powers, as the rise of Russia was viewed as a threat to the status quo. The Ottomans were first defeated at the Russo-Ottoman war of 1736–1739, and the victory of Catherine the Great in the Russo-Ottoman war of 1768–1774 delivered another crushing defeat for the Ottomans. An additional uprising, the Orlov Revolt of 1770, also took place during the Russo-Ottoman war of 1768–1774. This revolt was the manifestation of Catherine's interest in Greece and formed part of her “Greek Project.” Her vision was to restore Constantinople as an Orthodox Christian capital, a plan she described meticulously in a letter to Emperor Joseph II of the Holy Roman Empire.⁴³ This revolt raised hopes of independence through Russian intervention; however, it ultimately devastated the Peloponnese and thousands of Greeks were killed, with many forced into exile. Although this revolt was unsuccessful, from the Greek perspective at least, it is considered a major precursor to the Greek War of Independence which would occur approximately half a century later.

By the time the Congress of Vienna took place, other powers of Europe had developed an interest in the “Greek Question.” Chaired by Metternich, the “Concert of Europe” comprising of Austria, Prussia, Russia and Britain heralded a new era of restoration. It was decided that the German Confederation, consisting of thirty-nine German-speaking territories, would succeed the Confederation of the Rhine, following the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. Another noteworthy outcome of the Congress was that the four Great Powers (later five, with the readmission of France in 1818) could take counter-revolutionary measures to suppress uprisings that were deemed to undermine legitimate regimes. These powers were put into effect prior to the Greek uprising, when the Holy Alliance—the coalition consisting of the Austrian Empire, Prussia, and Russia—collectively agreed to suppress the revolts in Naples and Piedmont (1820–21), with Metternich “denying the existence of Italy as anything more than ‘geographical expression.’”⁴⁴ Although the Ottoman Empire was not represented at the Congress, the principle that European borders should remain unaltered extended to Ottoman lands.

Kapodistrias's presence and progressive voice at the Congress served to counterbalance the views put forth by Metternich, who considered him an idealist. Metternich said of Kapodistrias that he is “not a bad man, but honestly speaking he is a complete and thorough fool, a perfect miracle of wrong-headedness... He lives in a world to which our minds are often transported by a bad nightmare.”⁴⁵

⁴³ For more on the “Greek Project” see Andrei Zorin, Marcus C. Levitt, Nicole Monnier, and Daniel Schlaffy, “Russians as Greeks: Catherine II’s “Greek Project” and the Russian Ode of the 1760s–70s,” in *By Fables Alone: Literature and State Ideology in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Russia*, 24–60 (Brighton, MA, USA: Academic Studies Press, 2014).

⁴⁴ Beaton, *Biography*, 68.

⁴⁵ Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, “Capodistrias and a ‘New Order’ for Restoration Europe: The ‘Liberal Ideas’ of a Russian Foreign Minister, 1814–1822,” *Journal of Modern History* 40, no. 2 (1968): 166.

Given Kapodistrias's role as foreign minister to the Great Power of most concern to him (as well as his sympathy towards the Greeks), it is not surprising that he was not viewed favourably in the eyes of the Austrian foreign minister. Kapodistrias always maintained an interest in the cause of his native Greece, although at times he may not have been able to fully express his views openly as he was required to uphold the official policy positions as foreign minister to Tsar Alexander. When the Tsar refused to support the Greek revolt following the events of 1821, Kapodistrias took extended leave and settled in Geneva the following year. This new-found distance from Russia and the Tsar allowed him to support the cause somewhat more freely.

Despite tensions between Prussia and the Austrian Empire, the policies they both adhered to following the Congress would later have significant implications for those wanting to support the Greek cause from these territories. Both governments were indeed fearful of any sign of revolution, and most of the members of the German Confederation simply followed the agenda set by the Austrian Empire and Prussia.⁴⁶ Largely driven by a fear of Russian expansionism following their military successes, the Austrian Empire in particular viewed the Ottoman Empire as essential for maintaining peace and the balance of power of Europe, and “[a]lthough the Ottoman Empire lay culturally outside Europe, politically it could not be excluded because it formed an important barrier against the nationalism of Balkan nations and Russian imperialism.”⁴⁷ Both German-speaking powers actively sought to maintain the newly established peace, given the reorganisation both territories underwent following the Napoleonic Wars and having fought alongside each other against Napoléon.⁴⁸ The Austrians in particular (but also the British) went to great lengths to actively discourage campaigns which supported the Greeks (or indeed any other “nationalist” cause) in achieving their aim of self-determination.

The key tool of suppression that was implemented was censorship, which was enacted across the German Confederation through Metternich’s influence.⁴⁹ The introduction of the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819 “established one of nineteenth-century Europe’s most far-reaching systems of literary

⁴⁶ William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Open Book, 2008), 61.

⁴⁷ Michael Šedivý, *Metternich and the Eastern Question* (Pilsen: University of West Bohemia, 2013), 33.

⁴⁸ Following the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the borders and geopolitical blocks of the German-speaking lands went through a period of reorganisation. The Habsburg Monarchy was proclaimed to be the Austrian Empire in 1804, the shift from monarchy to empire motivated by Napoleon’s self-proclamation as the Emperor of France, the newly-formed empire acting as a significant power to rival France. Additionally, The Holy Roman Empire would dissolve with the abdication of Emperor Francis II in 1806 and was succeeded by the Confederation of the Rhine, a collection of sixteen German states under French hegemony. Vienna remained the capital of the Austrian Empire; however, the seat of the Confederation was chosen to be in Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁹ It should be noted that there was a culture of censorship prior to the Carlsbad decrees. This will be examined in greater detail in the third chapter.

censorship.”⁵⁰ Triggered by the assassination of conservative playwright August von Kotzebue (1761–1819), an agreement between Metternich and Prussian Prime Minister Karl Hardenberg (1750–1822) was reached on August 1, 1819, and the decrees were endorsed later that month in Carlsbad. Further amendments were drafted and passed in July 1820. Their impact on the German Confederation has been described by historian James Sheehan as “a kind of counterrevolutionary holding company through which Metternich could co-ordinate governmental action against his political enemies.”⁵¹ With the endorsement of Prussia and the Austrian Empire, the intention was that the censorship systems would be standardised across the Confederation, although this proved not to be the case. On the outbreak of the Greek War, the precedent of censorship had been established and Metternich brought forth closure of the Greek periodical *Logios Ermis* and fraternities who sympathised with the Greek cause. Metternich’s far-reaching censorship would significantly impact the extent of support that could be offered by sympathisers (i.e. philhellenes) of the Greek cause.

March 1821 marked the beginning of a war lasting approximately a decade that would eventuate in the establishment of the Greek state. Alexander Ypsilantis led the initial revolts as leader of the *Philiki Etaireia*, sparking war on the Peloponnese. They made plans in Kishinev, intending to begin the initial stages of the revolution on the Peloponnese and in the Danubian principalities simultaneously. After Ypsilantis’s arrival in the Danubian principalities, however, intelligence regarding these plans had made its way to the Ottoman authorities and the revolt there ultimately failed. The *Philiki Etaireia* had decided on March 25, 1821 as the day for these uprisings to take place (at least in the Julian calendar, it is April 6 in the Gregorian calendar). This date is now celebrated as Greece’s national day, although these revolts most likely began in the immediate days preceding. Despite this initial setback, revolts did begin to take place on the Peloponnese following the news of Ypsilantis’s arrival in the Danubian principalities. The rebels brought large parts of the Peloponnese and central Greece under their control, liberating the city of Kalamata first, before spreading to the Aegean islands and regions such as Thessaly, Epirus, and Thrace. The war was well and truly underway by April 1821.

News of the war made its way around Europe despite the varying degrees of censorship throughout the continent. Although wide-reaching censorship laws in the Austrian Empire limited press freedom, it appears that early in the Greek War limited reporting was permitted. Reports on the Greek revolution in the Austrian press are nonetheless sporadic. The following excerpt appears from the *Österreichisches Beobachter* on January 11, 1822:

⁵⁰ Robin Lenman, “Germany,” in *War for the Public Mind: Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Robert Goldstein (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000), 35.

⁵¹ Lenman, “Germany,” 41.

All things considered, a Greek revolution is a good thing; the overthrow, even of the Ottoman throne, is always better than none at all. If this overthrow succeeds, at least one sceptre is snatched from a royal hand. And whether they would like a single gem from the crown of a Christian monarch, which we do not doubt, the extermination of a barbaric dynasty gives [the Greeks] some consolation. There is a breach being made, and perhaps it will widen sufficiently to allow the stream of riches to enter. In any case, the cause will be furthered.⁵²

The *Wiener Zeitung* also reported in the very early stages of the Revolution on March 29, 1821, on Ypsilantis's failed uprising in the Danubian principalities. Unlike the above excerpt, it paints the revolution in a negative light and emphasises the violence inflicted on behalf of Ypsilantis. It reports: "His Majesty The Kaiser absolutely disapproves of [Yspilantis's] undertaking, and that he will never have to count on any case from Russia." It goes on, describing how:

the Turks in Jassy [Iași, modern day Romania] (about 30 in number) were disarmed and apparently killed. It is certain that already three days before the arrival of Prince Ypsilanti there had been a bloody uprising in Galacz [Galăți, Romania]. All the Turks there who were unable to escape were murdered, and the city itself was almost completely reduced to ashes.⁵³

The uprising in Greece would have certainly been of interest to those in the Austrian Empire, provoking strong reactions from both progressives and conservatives.

A year into the war, Greek regional representatives met in the Peloponnesian town of Epidauros and drafted a constitution highly influenced by the French, containing the separation of powers and aimed at forming a centralised representative government. The *Provisional Constitution of Greece*, approved by the First National Assembly at Epidauros on January 1, 1822, and the Greek Declaration of Independence that accompanied it, "were clearly informed by the aspirations of the Enlightenment for liberal political institutions and a republican system of government."⁵⁴ Perhaps the favourable view of the Greek revolt appearing in the *Österreichisches Beobachter* was written in light of these events, the report published only ten days after the approval of the *Provisional Constitution*. This constitution, however, was short-lived, and another council was summoned in 1823 to draft a new version. Factionalism and tension between

⁵² "Osmanisches Reich" *Österreichisches Beobachter*, January 11, 1822, 42. Original appears: "Eine griechische Revolution ist daher, so weit sie reicht, eine gute Sache; der Umsturz, selbst des osmanischen Thrones, immer besser als gar keiner. Gelingt dieser Umsturz, so ist wenigstens ein Scepter mehr aus einer königlichen Hand gerissen. Und ob ihnen gleich, wir zweifeln nicht daran, wenn sie die Wahl hätten, ein einziger Edelstein aus der Krone eines christlichen Monarchen lieber wäre, so gereicht ihnen doch die Ausrottung einer barbarischen Dynastie schon zu einigem Troste. Es entsteht eine Bresche, und vielleicht erweitert sie sich genugsam, um dem Strom des Vederbens Eingang zu gestatten. In jedem Falle wird die Sache befördert."

⁵³ *Wiener Zeitung*, March 29, 1821, 289. Original appears: "Noch am nähmliche Abend wurden die in Jassy befindlichen Türken (ungefähr 30 an der Zahl) entwaffnet, und allem Anschein nach umgebracht. Sicher ist, daß bereits drey Tage vor der Ankunft des Fürsten Ypsilanti ein blutiger Aufstand in Galacz erfolgt war, wobey sämmtliche dort befindliche Türken, die sich nicht mit der Flucht retten konnten, ermordet wurden, und die Stadt selbst beynahe ganzlich eingeäschert ward."

⁵⁴ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment*, 316.

two preeminent figures of the council, General Theodoros Kolokotronis (1770–1843) and President of the Provisional Administration of Greece Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1791–1865), set the precedent for civil war which took place from 1823–4. Despite this initial success from the Greeks on the Peloponnese, the War over the next few years would be “characterized on the Greek side by ill-preparedness, heavy fragmentation, civil war, and geopolitical maneuverings.”⁵⁵

Overwhelmingly, the early stages of the war were not guided by diplomacy or systematic organisation but were, rather, characterised by violence appearing from both sides. Both the Greeks and the Ottomans were guilty of atrocities including murders of prisoners and hostages, public beheadings, humiliation and much suffering inflicted on many innocent victims. It should be noted that Turkish historians refer to a “Greek rebellion,” whereas scholars from Western institutions typically refer to the “Greek War of Independence” or “Greek Revolution.”⁵⁶ In an effort to avoid going into further gruesome details, this apt description of the war will suffice: “It was, quite simply, a bloodbath.”⁵⁷

The suffering of the Greeks, however, appealed to European sympathies moreso than that of the Ottomans. The massacre of the local population on the island of Chios between April and June 1822 famously inspiring French painter Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) to produce *The Massacre of Chios* (1824), depicting the Greeks at the mercy of the Ottomans. Following this massacre, tens of thousands of women and children from the island were sold to slave-markets.⁵⁸ News of the events on Chios travelled across Europe, inciting outrage from philhellenes and eliciting their support through active participation or financial contributions. Many German-speaking philhellenes did eventually make their way to Greece; however, their ability to travel there depended on the territory of the German Confederation in which they found themselves. While an estimated 3,541 Bavarian volunteer peace-keepers travelled to Ottoman Greece, only 186 Prussians and 135 Austrians were able to do the same, which Susan Marchand attributes to the “repression” of Metternich within the German Confederation.⁵⁹ Lord Byron famously travelled to Greece, dying in Missolonghi in April 1824, whilst volunteers from as far as the United States also volunteered for the cause.⁶⁰ Whilst philhellenes who were personally moved by unfolding events travelled to offer their support, it would take much longer for the Great Powers to become involved.

⁵⁵ Christopher Kinley, “Imagining a Nation: Society, Regionalism, and National Identity in the Greek War of Independence,” *Madison Historical Review* 13 (2016): 54.

⁵⁶ Kinley, “Imagining,” 52.

⁵⁷ Beaton, *Biography*, 74.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁵⁹ Marchand, “Greek,” 35.

⁶⁰ Beaton, *Biography*, 94.

Benefit Concerts as International Support

The musical world also felt compelled to support the cause and provided far-reaching support for the Greeks through the staging of benefit concerts across Europe. These concerts are a representative example of the variety of musical activities which took place in support of the Greek cause. While there were many of these concerts, two such examples taking place in 1826 (both following the death of Lord Byron) illustrate the contrast by which support for the Greeks was expressed musically. Benjamin Walton describes the best-known concert of this variety, taking place in Paris on April 28, 1826 at the Grande Salle de Vauxhall, rehearsed by Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868) and organised by the Duchesse de Dalberg. This event's status was curious as it could not contradict French government policy of non-intervention, but nonetheless performed the function of a benefit concert. The political nature of the event did not go unnoticed; Rossini was not permitted to conduct the concert and government employees were not permitted to attend. The concert largely featured excerpts from works by the Italian composer such as *La pietra del paragone* (1812), *L'italiana in Algeri* (1813), *Mosè* (1818), *Ricciardo e Zoraide* (1818), *Zelmira* (1822), and *Il viaggio a Reims* (1825). Many of these works contain explicitly Greek themes or characters, such as *Il viaggio a Reims*, which features a young travelling Greek girl. Given its setting on the Greek island of Lesbos, the inclusion of arias from *Zelmira*, which had previously been performed in Vienna in 1822 following its Naples première earlier that year, supports the event's purpose and reflects the composer's own philhellenistic tendencies. Both of these works were premiered following the outbreak of the Greek War.

In addition to Rossini's operatic arias, one work was especially composed for this event by French composer and violist Hippolyte Chelard (1789–1861). Adopting text written by Philarète Chasles (1798–1873), *Chant grec* explicitly demonstrates support for the Greek cause from its very opening, “Levez-vous, armez-vous, vengez-vous fiers hellènes” (“Rise up, arm yourselves, avenge yourselves proud Hellenes”), encapsulating the revolutionary rhetoric of other revolutionary anthems, such as the *Marseillaise*. Concerts were not the only means of fundraising for the Greeks by Parisians, and organisations such as the *Société philanthropique en faveur des Grecs* raised funds for the Greek cause. The *Société* supported Greek refugees who fled to France, particularly the children of the leaders of the cause who then received a French education.⁶¹ The Vauxhall concert in Paris appears to have been well-attended, raising in excess of 30,000 francs in support of the Greek cause, with Walton considering it a key moment in French philhellenism.⁶²

⁶¹ Benjamin Walton, “1826. ‘Les Grecs sont français’: Musical Philhellenism in Paris,” in *Rossini in Restoration Paris: The Sound of Modern Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 123.

⁶² Eleni Georgiou, “Reflections of the Philhellenic Spirit in the Italian Music Theatre of the 19th Century and the Particular Case of Rossini,” in *Opera and the Greek World during the 19th Century*, eds. Konstantinos Kardamis, Eleni Kokkinomilioti,

Benefit concerts also appear to have taken place in German-speaking lands, despite the influence of Metternich and the presence of censorship regulations. The fact that they took place is a reflection of the wide-held philhellenism within German Confederation's musical community. Seven months following the concert in Paris, a fundraising concert was held in Breslau, although it may have taken place at a similar time to the Vauxhall Paris concert had it not been delayed several months. Censorship across Prussia was by and large less stringent than within the Austrian Empire, with many centres such as Leipzig, Berlin, and Dessau known for being more liberal in outlook. This concert is an example of censorship laws being inconsistently enforced within the German Confederation, as such an event would certainly not have been permitted in Vienna.

The presence of the Greek diaspora in the city clearly contributed to the sympathies of the local Breslau population. This concert appears to have been organised by the Greek society who came up with the idea, although whether they had knowledge of the concert held a few months prior in Paris remains unclear. The concert was a significant event in the musical calendar requiring huge forces, featuring 560 performers (360 singers and 200 players). A lengthy review of the concert appears in the *Berliner Musikalische Zeitung*:

Today, the 17th of November [1826], the performance of great church music for the benefit of the needy Greeks finally took place having been announced almost half a year ago and therefore long-awaited, with much written about it and discussed about ten times as much by the public. Fortunately, one can say: "good things come to those who wait." The whole thing was a musical performance the likes of which had not been seen in Breslau, or indeed in all of Silesia, for many years.⁶³

The two main works featured in the program were *Das Vater unser* of Johann Gottlieb Naumann (1741–1801) and the "Utrecht" *Te Deum* HWV 278 by G.F. Händel. An unnamed organist, a student of pedagogue and organist of St Elisabeth, Breslau, Friedrich Wilhelm Berner (1780–1827), performed two fugues: One by the Viennese Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736–1809) and another of J.S. Bach, the latter being hailed as a better programmatic choice. Unlike the concert in Paris, none of the works on the program contained any explicit Greek themes. It appears the choice of repertoire and the reason for staging the concert in the first place was attributed to the deplorable situation in which the Greeks

Kourmpana Stella, Avra Xepapadakou, Konstantina D. Karakosta, and Stamatia Gerothanasi (Corfu: Corfu Philharmonic Society and Ionian University, Music Department, Hellenic Music Research Lab, 2019), 62.

⁶³ *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Dec 13, 1826, 406. Original appears: "Nämlich heute, den 17. Novbr., fand die vor fast einem halben Jahre bereits angekündigte und darum längsterwartete Aufführung einer grossen Kirchenmusik zum Besten der nothleidenden Griechen endlich Statt, nachdem darüber viel schon hin und hergeschrieben, im Publikum aber noch zehn-mal mehr darüber hin und her geredet worden war. Zum Glück kann man sagen: „was lange währt wird gut. Das Ganze war eine Musikaufführung, wie in Breslau, ja man kann sagen, in ganz Schlesien seit vielen Jahren keine Statt gehabt.“"

found themselves, as they were in the midst of an ongoing war fighting for their independence from the Ottomans. The idea of the “imagined” Greek therefore took precedence. The review reads:

After so much has been said about Greek music, about the old Greek keys and of the late descendants of this ancient people and their misery, their hardship had to be the reason for us to hear proper church music for once. But that is the way it is, and it does art no little credit that it possesses the power to draw people to do good.⁶⁴

The altruism of Breslau’s “Friends of Music” appears to be, at least in part, contingent on the fact that the people in need, the modern Greeks, were the descendants of an ancient civilisation whose values and culture they themselves also drew upon. The sense of obligation can also be attributed to their own state of relative prosperity, as people were willing to pay a half Thaler to attend the concert to alleviate the perceived “misery” and “hardship” in which the Greeks found themselves. Interestingly, the reviewer demonstrates knowledge and awareness of music theory from antiquity (“the old Greek keys”), but not of the modern Greeks or their music. This comment connects them to their classical ancestors in an attempt to elicit sympathy. Given this review is published in a Berlin-based journal, the ideology behind this notion also serves to align the Breslauers with liberal-minded Berlin audiences.

The purpose of the Breslau concert is also supported through repertoire choices. The review suggests that the selection of liturgical music is implicitly linked to its power to “do good.” The choice of Händel’s *Te Deum*, however, could also be viewed as politically-motivated, given the work’s history. The first piece of music by Händel adopting English text, the *Te Deum* celebrated the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and was performed on July 13, 1713, to commemorate the event. The Treaty ended the War of Spanish Succession, bringing an end to a conflict that had lasted thirteen years. The selection of such a work associated with the bringing of peace, most likely performed in German and in the name of the Greek cause, is indicative of the hopes of the Breslauers that a peaceful outcome would ultimately be achieved in favour of the Greeks.⁶⁵ The well-attended event raised 1,000 Thaler, suggesting that the call for a collective social response was of great significance to the people of Breslau.⁶⁶ Much like in France, committees were formed across German-speaking territories offering financial assistance, volunteer soldiers, supplies, and even arms.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Dec 13, 1826, 407. Original appears: “Nachdem so viel über griechische Musik, über die alten griechischen Tonarten hin und her gefabt worden ist, so mussten die späten Nachkommen dieses alten Volks und noch dazu ihr Elend, ihre Noth, die Veranlassung erst hergeben, dass wir ein Mal eine ordentliche grosse Kirchenmusik zu hören bekommen. Doch es ist nun einmal so und es gereicht der Kunst nicht wenig zur Ehre, dass sie die Kraft besitzt, die Menschen zum Wohlthun herbei zu ziehen.”

⁶⁵ Alexander Ypsilanti caused a *Te Deum* to be sung in a church in Cozia, just prior to his arrest by Austrian authorities, although this is unlikely to be the reason for the repertoire choice.

⁶⁶ For a sense of comparison of the amount raised, Wilhelm Müller’s job as a teacher at a grammar school in Dessau paid 300 thalers a year.

⁶⁷ Charles A. Grair, “The Poetics of National Liberation: Wilhelm Müller’s Lieder Der Griechen,” *Goethe Yearbook* 11, no. 1 (2002): 309.

Greece and the Great Powers: Independent At Last?

Greek hopes of international intervention were eventually realised and a sequence of events were set into motion that would lead to the creation of the Greek nation state. They had long sought the assistance of foreign powers (most strikingly, Russia). Given the pro-Russian faction of Greeks and suspicions of each other's political motivations (again, mostly of Russia), France and Britain took a more proactive role in the Greek question. Their involvement in the battle of Navarino of October 1827 was a turning point in the Greek War, and it was this battle that ultimately determined the outcome of the Greek Revolution. It was a great success for the Greeks through a trilateral alliance of these three great powers. They sent naval forces to the Mediterranean in a battle against the Ottomans, who had the support of Egypt. Notably, no Greeks were present at this battle, and the involvement of these powers has even been viewed as the first armed intervention on humanitarian grounds.⁶⁸ The notable absence of Metternich, and indeed the Austrian Empire, was a conscious choice. Following the Battle of Navarino, Metternich “easily accepted [Greece’s] existence because, first, he preferred its independence to autonomy for pragmatic reasons and, second, he wanted above all an end to this protracted affair that significantly undermined his position in European politics.”⁶⁹ Commenting on the negotiations between the three invested powers, he appears to express indifference to the outcome, despite its political implications: “come what may, we will not object to it.”⁷⁰ Whilst the international involvement of the Great Powers would help the Greeks achieve their political ambitions, there was indeed a price.

A series of diplomatic exchanges and political negotiations of these powers would determine the fate of the Greeks and the Greek state. The Great Powers ultimately installed a Bavarian King, King Otto I of Greece, who could be seen as a compromise and the result of diplomatic relations at the highest level. The London Protocol of 1830 declared that “Greece will form an independent State, and will enjoy all those rights – political, administrative, and commercial – to complete independence,” but further treaties and the installation of a non-Greek monarch would later prove otherwise.⁷¹ Following the assassination of Kapodistrias in 1831, who was still Governor of Greece at the time of the 1830 London Protocol, the Great Powers reconvened. The opportunity to serve their own interests and have direct influence over Greek affairs by installing a self-selected monarch had presented itself. They did

⁶⁸ Alexis Heraclides and Ada Dialla, *Humanitarian Intervention in the Long Nineteenth Century: Setting the Precedent* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 105.

⁶⁹ Šedivý, *Eastern*, 315.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 322.

⁷¹ Beaton, *Biography*, 104.

so without the consultation of the Greeks, and the Treaty of London of 1832 officially affirmed the Bavarian King as Greece's reigning monarch.

Whilst the Greeks achieved emancipation from the Ottomans, they could not make major political decisions without the approval of the Great Powers who sanctioned their independence. Michael Herzfeld aptly describes the role of the Great Powers during these many diplomatic exchanges and political negotiations: “While the European Powers played no small part in the eventual consolidation of the Greek nation-state, their intention was to form an entity in their own image and upon their own terms.”⁷² Philhellenes wanted to build the Greek nation state on the Classical values they themselves upheld in their own nations, and they considered it upon themselves to rebuild Greece following the War. The monarchy itself was modelled on that of the French restoration, and the administrative, judicial and educational structures were also based on European models (and to some extent remain in place to this day). Greece’s fate ultimately rested in the powers of others. Was this the independence Greeks had envisaged? It was certainly far from the vision Feraios once held.

Conclusion

This chapter established the political and historical context for philhellenism in the German-speaking world. The Greek diaspora played a significant role in the Greek War of Independence through their revolutionary activity across Europe and Russia, particularly in Vienna. The capital of the Austrian Empire was not only a cultural and artistic centre of Europe, but also a political and revolutionary one. The activities of Rigas Feraios in Vienna especially helped spread revolutionary ideas throughout the diaspora, including through the false attribution of his name to the “Greek Marseillaise.” The formation of societies, plotting of conspiracies, and extensive networking through salons in restoration Europe helped nurture the seed of revolution, eliciting support from Greeks and non-Greeks. Despite efforts to suppress revolutionary activity following the Congress of Vienna, the Concert of Europe were unable to do so. The fate of the revolution was ultimately determined by the Great Powers, not by the Greeks themselves; however, the diaspora, especially the *Philiki Etaireia*, did play a significant role in sparking the initial revolts on the Peloponnese, functioning as the catalyst that would ultimately lead to the establishment of the Greek nation state.

The historical context in which philhellenic artists created artistic responses to the events taking place in Ottoman Greece was established in this chapter. The significant international interest that was generated as news of the Greek Revolution spread across Europe eventuated in support from the

⁷² Herzfeld, *Ours*, 12.

artistic world. The musical community responded through the staging of benefit concerts, which could be viewed as a consequence of the international involvement in the Greek cause. The Breslau concert raised significant funds for the Greek cause, indicative that sympathy for the Greek cause was indeed present within the musical world of the German Confederation. The presence of the Greek diaspora in Breslau certainly contributed to the staging of these concerts; however, the support from Breslau's musical community appears to be ideologically supported by the idea of Greek cultural continuity from antiquity. The idea that the modern Greeks were the descendants of the ancients proved to be extremely influential in nurturing philhellenism across German-speaking territories, despite the fact that the modern Greeks were arguably the products of their more recent past. This romanticised image informed by Classical literature proved to be powerful and led to widespread international support and musical responses to the Greek War. The modern Greeks benefited from the idea of cultural continuity, whether their self-perception matched this notion or not.

This international interest in the Greeks and their cause impacted the musical world, not only through benefit concerts, but also through musical responses and settings created in response to these events. The most influential philhellene from German-speaking lands, Wilhelm Müller, inspired musical responses through the publishing of his own poetry and translations of modern Greek folk poetry. A selection of these musical settings based on Müller's works will be examined closely in the following chapter.

Chapter 2 – Musical Müller

Wilhelm Müller (1794–1827) is best known in the literary sphere for his poetic cycles *Die schöne Müllerin* (1820) and *Die Winterreise* (1823/4), thanks to the musical settings by Franz Schubert (1797–1828). During his lifetime he was well-known for his philhellenic activities, engaging with the Greek cause through his work as a translator and writing poetry in response to the events of the Greek War of Independence. His collection of philhellenic poetry, the “Griechenlieder” (1821–1826), is considered by literary scholars such as Charles Grair and Ulrich Hartung to be among the most significant contributions to Germanic philhellenic prose—next to Hölderlin’s *Hyperion* (two volumes, 1797 and 1799)—for the way it reflects the political and social situation of the German-speaking lands.¹ Müller’s influence in the musical world goes well beyond Schubert, and this chapter will demonstrate how support for the Greek cause and Müller’s influence extended across the musical communities of the German Confederation. In a similar manner to the French music written in this vein (which has previously received much scholarly attention), a culture of musical works inspired by and created in response to the Greek situation was prevalent in German-speaking territories, and the publication of music dedicated to the Greeks further contributed to fundraising efforts for their cause.

This chapter will examine three musical settings from two territories of the German Confederation based on Müller’s philhellenic works. Following a brief background on the origins and development of Müller’s philhellenism—emphasising the impact of his education and radicalisation in Vienna on his later published works—three Lieder based on Müller’s texts by Ludwig Berger (1777–1839), Bernhard Klein (1793–1832), and Joseph Demharter (c. 1793–) will be analysed in detail. These works are yet to receive any serious scholarly attention. Whilst the two musical settings by Berlin-based composers Berger and Klein demonstrate an understated, modest, “folk-like” style, the setting of Augsburg-based organist Demharter is an overt, passionate, and extroverted expression of musical philhellenism. The close examination and analysis of these settings reveals drastically different philhellenic musical styles. The contrast between the two Lieder from Prussia and the other from Bavaria is reflective of the political climate in which they were created. The political and artistic contexts within different parts of the German Confederation evidently influence their respective musical responses to the events of the Greek Revolution.

¹ Charles A. Grair, “The Poetics of National Liberation: Wilhelm Müller’s Lieder Der Griechen,” *Goethe Yearbook* 11, no. 1 (2002): 308.

Müller: Philhellene, Poet, and Translator

The seeds of Müller's philhellenism were planted during his student years, well before the Greek War of Independence. Upon leaving his hometown of Dessau in 1812, Müller pursued studies in philology, history, and English at the newly established University of Berlin (today, Humboldt University). The institution had only been founded two years prior by the linguist and educational reformer Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835). Throughout his studies, Müller was exposed to Classical literature, including the works of Homer, and was particularly influenced by his instructor Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824), a classicist who is today considered the founder of modern philology.² Wolf has been attributed to developing Müller's "identification of the ancient spirit with Modern Greek folk poetry," as well as imparting him with masonic values.³ During his student years, Müller developed a deep cultural appreciation for Greek culture, while the romanticised image of Greece informed by Classical literature was nurtured during this period. This would later impact his publishing activities through his own philhellenic writings and his translations of modern Greek poetry.

Müller's years away from his native Dessau would prove to be a particularly formative period for the poet. After taking part in the Wars of Liberation from 1813–1814, Müller stopped in Vienna on route to an extensive study trip to Italy.⁴ On Wolf's recommendation, Chamberlain Baron Albert von Sack (1757–1824) invited Müller to accompany him on this study trip in 1817. The pair intended to travel as far as Greece and Egypt with hopes of deciphering and cataloguing ancient inscriptions. Following the stop in Vienna, the pair had planned to travel on to Constantinople before continuing their journey; however, they instead travelled to Rome, very likely due to a plague outbreak occurring in the Ottoman Empire's capital.⁵ Despite not reaching their intended destinations, a travelogue entitled *Rom, Römer und Römerinnen* (*Rome, Roman men, and Roman women*) detailing their travels in Italy did eventuate, becoming an integral part of Müller's philhellenic imagining of Greece, despite the subject matter being of a Mediterranean neighbour.⁶ Müller returned to Dessau prematurely in December 1818 and resumed his role as a teacher of Classics at the city's Gelehrteneschule the following year. Although he was based in Dessau until his death at the age of thirty-two in 1827, dying from a heart attack, he would frequently

² Literary scholar Marco Hillemann attributes Wolf's widely disseminated theory that Homer's *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are both descended from oral poetry traditions as contributing to his strong identification with modern Greek folk poetry.

³ Marco Hillemann, "Could Leo Become Leonidas Again? The German Philhellene Wilhelm Müller and his Ambivalent Reception of Lord Byron," in *Concepts and Functions of Philhellenism: Aspects of a Transcultural Movement*, eds. Martin Vöhler, Stella Alekou, and Miltos Pechlivanos (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 143–4.

⁴ Müller fought in the battles of Lützen, Bautzen, Haynau, and Kulm and was also a lieutenant in Prague during Leipzig's "Battle of the Nations." Details of Müller's departure from military service remain obscure and are a continued subject of scholarly research.

⁵ Hillemann, "Müller," 144.

⁶ Ibid.

travel to other significant cultural centres such as Berlin, Leipzig, and Dresden throughout his life to meet with publishers, particularly the Leipzig-based Brockhaus.

It was in Vienna that Müller's philhellenism took on a political as well as a cultural dimension, due to the presence of the Greek diaspora in the city. Although he never visited Greece, Müller did encounter modern Greeks in diaspora during his two-month stay in the Austrian capital. He sought out Greek language instruction in the city and became acquainted with the revolutionary editors of the philological journal *Logios Ermes*, which circulated throughout the sizeable Greek-speaking community. During Müller's stay, the journal's editors were Anthimos Gazis (1758–1828) and Theoklitos Farmakidis (1784–1860), both members of the revolutionary society *Philiki Etaireia*. Although it is unclear whether Müller met both these editors; however, given his encounters with these Greek revolutionaries Müller would no doubt have gained an insight into their revolutionary mindset. He appears to have been sympathetic to the aspirations of this masonic society, whose values he shared due to the influence of Wolf. Müller maintained a lifelong interest in the *Philiki Etaireia*.

Not only did Müller's interest in the political cause of the Greeks develop during his stay in Vienna, it appears to have sown the seeds of his own philhellenic publishing.⁷ Müller's series of revolutionary poetry openly supporting the Greek cause, the so-called "Griechenlieder," ultimately earned him the epithet of "Griechen-Müller" ("Greek Müller"). Written following the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, the first volume of ten poems entitled *Lieder der Griechen* (*Songs of the Greeks*) was published in Dessau in October that year. It sold well and was distributed amongst his own circle, including fellow poet and mason and poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) as well as Greek-speaking communities in German-speaking lands.⁸ Further volumes followed after the critical success of the first including *Neue Lieder der Griechen* (1823, published by Brockhaus in Leipzig) and *Neueste Lieder der Griechen* (1824 by Ackermann in Dessau); he did, however, face difficulties with censorship with these later volumes.⁹ Müller also appears to have been inspired by the works of Lord Byron and published extensively on his works, including reviews and encyclopedic entries in collaboration with the Brockhaus publishing house.¹⁰ Byron's romanticised poetry of Greece shaped philhellenic impressions of Greece across Europe. Müller's "Griechenlieder" were written in the same vein, appealing to a liberal-minded German-speaking audience.

The "Griechenlieder" do not focus on the unfolding of specific events of the war, nor on victory over the Ottomans. Instead, they focus on the cause of freedom and conjure poetic images of Greek

⁷ A detailed study of Müller's stay in Vienna has not yet come to fruition and would certainly illustrate the Greek-German networks more clearly.

⁸ Hartung, "Müller," 94.

⁹ Ibid., 94-5.

¹⁰ Hillemann, "Müller," 145.

revolutionaries. Müller also brings a personal perspective to these poems by also depicting stories of ordinary Greeks and their experiences, but nonetheless positions himself as an outsider. In writing for his liberal-leaning German-speaking audience, he elicits broad appeal through a folk-like tone, as well as outlining the cultural and political self-determination of the Greeks. They are an artistic response to rapidly changing political circumstances, revealing Müller's own liberal ideology, and can be viewed as a proxy for his own political aspirations for a united Germany. Many philhellenes were attracted to the idea that a “regeneration” of the glory days of ancient Greece was possible and that contemporary Greece could be “rehellenised” following centuries of Ottoman rule.¹¹ Literary scholar Charles Grair considers Müller's *Lieder der Griechen* as “the finest and most influential examples of philhellenic verse in Germany,” and the collection is widely acclaimed as contributing significantly to the German philhellenic movement.¹²

Müller's translation of a collection of modern Greek folk songs, *Neugriechische Volkslieder* (1825), is also one of his most influential published works. This translation is based on Claude Fauriel's *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne* (1824–1825, two volumes). Fauriel's collection was published in Paris and is today considered a seminal work of modern Greek poetry and an expression of French philhellenism. He presents the original Greek accompanied by a French translation, followed by further commentary also in French. The collection circulated widely throughout Europe raising awareness of the Greek cause, and translations of the work later circulated in St. Petersburg, London and Leipzig.¹³ Müller's German translation of the work was published in Leipzig as the *Neugriechische Volkslieder* in 1825. In a letter addressed to biographer and diplomat Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, dated September 14, 1824, Müller appears to have already been working on the translation.¹⁴ He appears to have been drawn to the folk-like characters captured in the collection, writing in the forward of his translation that “[i]n these songs we receive only sketches, but sharply drawn sketches with powerful strokes of colour in which the light and shade of the Greek earth and sun are reflected.”¹⁵ Müller's identification with Greek folk culture, imparted by the liberal education he received in Berlin, may also explain Müller's interest in Fauriel's collection and why he chose to translate them.

The natural settings represented in Fauriel's collections of songs appear to represent a more accurate depiction of contemporary Greece and of the daily lives and experiences of its people, as opposed to the romantic imagery based in antiquity which tended to dominate the imagination of German philhellenes. Although the title suggests a musical component, Fauriel considered himself unqualified to

¹¹ Grair, “Poetics,” 308.

¹² Ibid., 310.

¹³ Stavros Deligiorgis, “Fauriel and Modern Greek Poetry,” *PMLA* 84, no. 1 (Jan 1969): 9.

¹⁴ James Taft Hatfield, “Unpublished Letters of Wilhelm Müller,” *American Journal of Philology* 24, no. 2 (1903): 139.

¹⁵ Claude Fauriel and Wilhelm Müller, *Neugriechische Volkslieder* 2 vols. (Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1825), LXII.

provide musical accompaniment for his collection.¹⁶ Benjamin Walton attributes this to the lack of Greek musical models, as “[t]here was no reproducible image of Greek music, ancient or modern, no musical equivalent to tantalising fragments of Corinthian capitals and carved inscriptions jutting out from dusty fields, and no imagined soundtrack to accompany the modern Greek warriors in flamboyant costume.”¹⁷ Whilst there was certainly wide-reaching support for the Greeks across Europe, contact between the modern Greeks and philhellenes was in reality extremely limited.

Settings of Müller from Berlin

The musical world often drew on literary sources based on Greek themes, and Müller’s translations and original works resonated in this artistic sphere. A selection of Müller’s *Neugriechische Volkslieder* was set to music by the Berlin-based composer Bernhard Klein and published in 1828. A contemporary of Felix Mendelssohn and Ludwig Berger, Klein studied at the Paris Conservatoire before accepting a scholarship from the Prussian government in 1818 to undertake further studies in Berlin. He stayed there for the rest of his life and earned himself the title “the Palestrina of Berlin,” composing over 100 Lieder as a resident of the city. During his lifetime he was particularly well-known and praised for his opera *Dido* (1823). He also is known to have visited Italy, which may have contributed to his philhellenic tendencies in the same way as Müller had been affected by his visit to Greece’s Mediterranean neighbour:

Bernhard Klein, a native of Cologne, is a man of rare spirit and fire, rich in the most solid knowledge who has attracted a high degree of attention of all connoisseurs through his opera *Dido*. He recently returned from a journey to Italy one and a half years ago, enriched with the musical treasures he found there as well as with artistic experiences. We now await the fruits that leisure has brought to full maturity in him.¹⁸

The two artists were well-acquainted and Müller appears to have been the composer’s favourite poet.¹⁹ In a letter addressed to Klein, dated December 15, 1822, Müller indicates that much of his own poetry was intended to be sung: “In truth, my songs lead only half a life, a paper life, black on white … until

¹⁶ Benjamin Walton, “1826. ‘Les Grecs sont français’: Musical Philhellenism in Paris,” in *Rossini in Restoration Paris: The Sound of Modern Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 124.

¹⁷ Ibid., 123.

¹⁸ *Cäcilia, eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt*, 1826, 84. Original appears: “Dann Bernhard Klein, aus Cöln gebürtig, ein Mann von seltenem Geist und Feuer, reich an den gediegensten Kenntnissen, der durch seine Oper *Dido* die Aufmerksamkeit aller Kenner im hohen Grade erregt hat. Von einer Reise, die er vor anderthalb Jahren nach Italien unternommen, ist er, bereichert mit dort aufgefundenen musikalischen Schätzen, so wie mit künstlerischen Erfahrungen, kürzlich heimgekehrt, und wir harren nun den Früchten, die die Musse in ihm zur völligen Reife gebracht hat, entgegen.”

¹⁹ Richard D Green, “Klein, Bernhard,” in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 29 Apr. 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.15120>.

music imparts to them the breath of life, or calls it forth and awakens it, if it is already dormant in them.”²⁰ Klein appears to have set other poems of Müller to music, including “Lied auf der Landstrasse,” “Der Neugierige” (from *Die schöne Müllerin*), “Die Arche Noah” and *Trinklieder*.

The title page of Klein’s *Neugriechische Volkslieder* is quite ornate and indicative of the purpose and the life such a collection of songs would have had (for title page see example 2.1). It reads: Neugriechische Volkslieder, | nach | C Fauriel’s Herausgabe | übersetzt | von | Wilhelm Müller | für eine Singstimme mit Klavier Begleitung | in Musik gesetzt | von | Bernhard Klein | Zum Besten der Greise, Wittwen und Waisen der | nothleidenden GRIECHEN herausgegeben | Berlin | bei Georg Reimer | Preise 1/2 Rthlr.²¹ The importance of each element of the elaborate title page, in the eyes of publisher Georg Reimer at least, is signified by the size and various typefaces incorporated. Reimer’s publishing house was typically associated with authors and intellectuals of German Romanticism, such as Novalis (1772–1801), Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853), the Brothers Grimm, and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835). He had actively promoted liberal and patriotic values, and in 1819 even had his house searched and material seized by authorities as part of the political persecutions which followed the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819, the Demagogenverfolgung.²² In 1825 Reimer also joined the Berliner Liedertafel founded and directed by Carl Friedrich Zelter. Despite not known as a publishing house for music, Klein’s *Neugriechische Volkslieder* was published three years after joining the Liedertafel.

²⁰ H. P. Clive, *Schubert and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 139.

²¹ It translates as: Contemporary Greek Folk Songs after C. Fauriel’s Publication, translated by Wilhelm Müller, for one voice and piano accompaniment, set to music by Bernhard Klein, Published for the good of the elderly, widows, and orphans of the needy Greeks. Berlin by Georg Reimer, price 1/2 Reichsthaler.

²² Hans-Christof Kraus, “Reimer, Georg Andreas,” *Deutsche Biographie*, accessed May 1, 2021, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz34518.html#ndbcontent>.

Neugriechische Volkslieder

nach
C. Säwicks Übersetzung
überarbeitet

Wilhelmine Müller

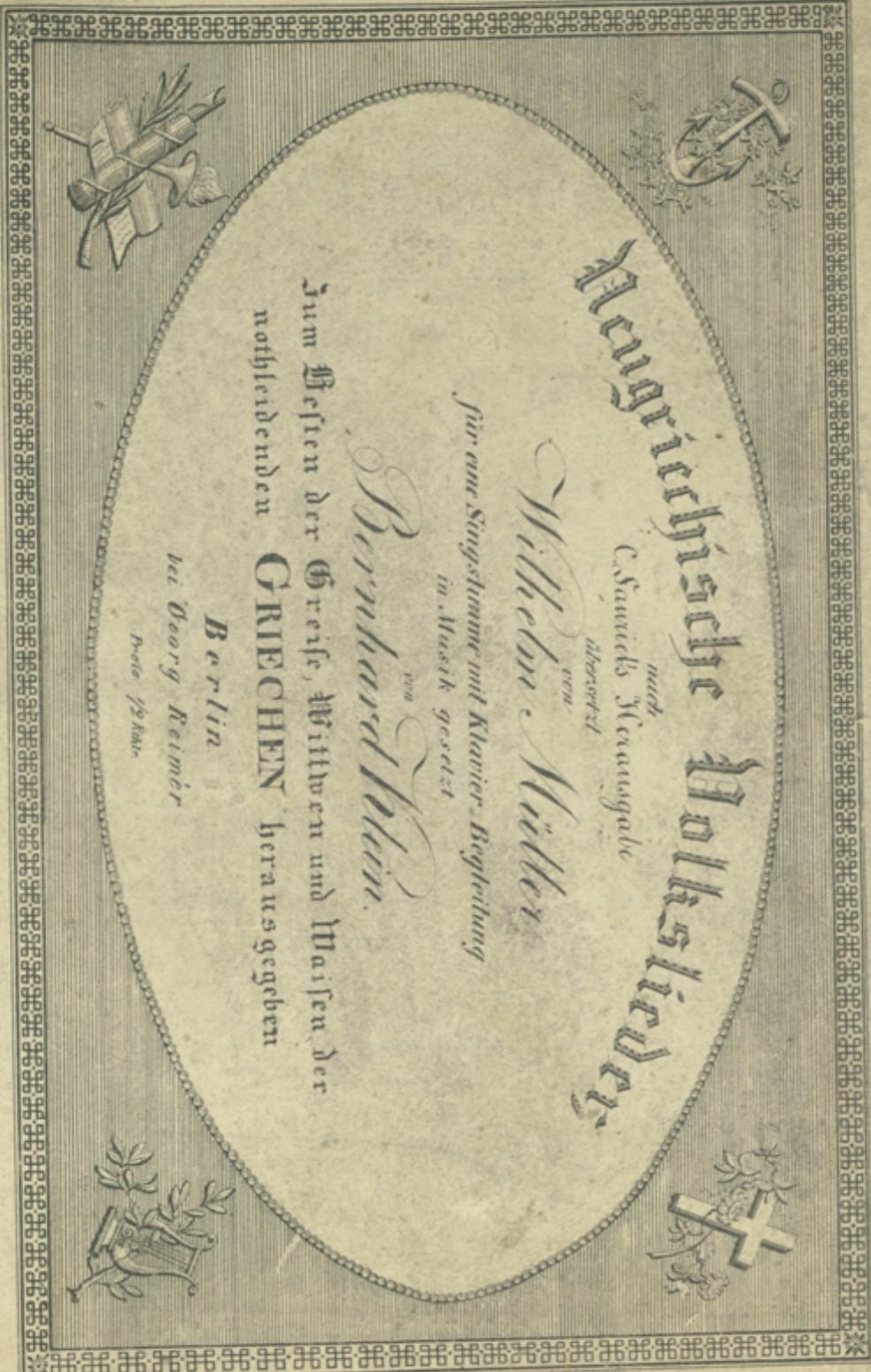
für eine Singstimme mit Klavier-Begleitung
in Musik gesetzt

von Bernhard Klein

Zum Besten der Greise, Witwen und Waisen der
notleidenden GRECHEN herausgegeben

Berlin
bei Georg Reimer

Preis 72 Krt.



Example 2.1: Bernhard Klein, *Neugriechische Volkslieder: für eine Singstimme mit Klavier-Begleitung zum Besten der Greise, Witwen und Waisen der notleidenden Griechen herausgegeben*, title page. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Speck Music K46 n826. With thanks to Ingrid Lennon-Pressey for providing copies of these sources throughout this chapter.

The largest text is reserved for the title of the collection, positioned at the top in an arch shape matching the curvature of the oval which contains it. The title is printed in a fraktur typeface; however, the names of the composer and the translator are printed in a cursive typeface. Klein and Müller's names appear slightly smaller than the title but in the same size as each other, indicative of their perceived equal importance. The acknowledgment of Fauriel's collection, however, is printed in a smaller and less elaborate cursive font, despite being the original source material. Printed in landscape orientation, the ornate rectangular border consists of a stencil border frame containing a repeating pattern of looped squares, separated by an interpunct, with an eight-pointed symbol resembling a flower placed in each corner. Four intricately decorated ornaments are positioned within the border frame. An anchor, symbolising hope and associated with religious use as a symbol of hope, is positioned in the top-left corner whilst another religious symbol, the cross, is placed on the top right corner. Two musical symbols are placed on the bottom corners of the page: A cornucopia containing a flower, symbolising peace and prosperity appears on the left, and a lyre in the bottom right, representing wisdom. The text of the title page is contained by an oval with a border of pearls. Whilst the text contains no background, the space between the oval and the decorative border consists of thin parallel horizontal lines which are placed extremely close together, producing a rather dazzling effect. The title page also reveals that these Lieder were published in the same city in which the composer lived and worked.

The volume's dedication is particularly significant, translating as: "Published for the good of the elderly, widows, and orphans of the needy Greeks." Adopting a roman typeface, the word "GRIECHEN" printed in capital letters stands out, and is also provided its own typeface (it is the only word not printed in a fraktur, italic or a cursive font). The dedication itself reveals that a portion of the proceeds of this publication, selling at the price of 1/2 Reichsthaler, would have gone to supporting the Greek cause. The use of the word "nothleidenden" ("needy") is indicative of an awareness in the German-speaking lands of the events unfolding in Greece, painting a picture of helplessness. The use of religious imagery on the title page also supports the notion that the Greeks, being Orthodox Christians, are worthy of support from fellow Christians. Walton suggests that the Greek War provided Catholics with the "fantasy of a new crusade to rescue religious brothers from the infidel, and ultimately raising the prospect of the return of Constantinople to the Christian empire," also the aspiration of Catherine the Great of Russia.²³

Klein's dedication to the "needy Greeks" may have been influenced by the many philhellenic works published in France, many of which also featured dedications specifying this exact purpose.²⁴ Given his

²³ Walton, "Rossini," 118.

²⁴ For a list of works, see Amandry Angélique, "Le Philhellénisme en France: Partitions de Musique," *Gleaner*, 17 (1981): 25-45. This article lists 82 works of French origin written in response to the Greek War of Independence, held by the

awareness of Fauriel's collection and his studies at the Paris Conservatoire, it is likely that Klein would have been acquainted with many French philhellenic composers and their works. This includes: *La Jeune Grecque* of G. Onslow, *La Quête* by Beauvarlet-Charpentier (which states that "this production is intended by the author of the music to support the Greeks"), *Navarin* by "C.V." and *Le Départ pour la Grèce* by Roux-Martinall. Some of these works were also performed at benefit concerts, including Chélard's *Chant grec*, premiered at the Paris benefit concert of 1826.²⁵ The titles pages of these compositions reveal that these works were "sold for the profit [or benefit] of the Greeks," their publication hence contributing further to the fundraising efforts on behalf of the Greek cause. Whilst the full extent to which this culture took place in German-speaking lands remains unclear, Klein evidently offered his support for the Greek cause through the publication of his *Neugriechische Volkslieder*.

Klein was part of the Second Berlin School, and alongside his colleagues Ludwig Berger, Gustav Reichardt, and teacher Carl Zelter, he was among the earliest adopters of the Lied. Zelter was highly influential as pedagogue in Berlin, and he later taught Felix Mendelssohn, Giacomo Meyerbeer and Otto Nicolai. The aesthetic of the Second Berlin School is characterised by simple, singable melodies, modesty, sparse accompaniment, and their *Volkstümlichkeit* ("folksiness"). Their songs typically adopt a strophic structure and place priority on enunciation and comprehension of the text instead of the music. The accompaniment style is simple so that "the melody could exist without it."²⁶ Zelter exemplified *Volkstümlichkeit* and composed over 200 Lieder in this manner, for which he earned the admiration of Goethe, who expressed his preference for this modest style (as opposed to other musically complicated styles which he believed detracted from the words sung). In a letter to Zelter in 1809, Goethe expressed his sympathies for musical applications of poetry, illustrating that when

Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 70 of these can be dated for certain and were written during the war period. Angélique's study also features a selection of lithographs, including the title page of Chelard's *Chant grec*.

²⁵ Original appears: En choeurs et strophes à une deux et trois voix seules (avec accompagnement de Piano). Exécuté à grand orchestre au Concert donné par les Amateurs, au Vauxhall, le 28 avril 1826, au bénéfice des Grecs. Paroles de Chasle. Musique de Chelard. Propriété de l'Auteur. Prix 5f. Chez Henry Lemoine Editeur M de Musique. It translates as: In choruses and stanzas for one two and three voices alone (with piano accompaniment). Performed with full orchestra at the Concert given by the Amateurs, at the Vauxhall, on 28 April 1826, to the benefit of the Greeks. Words by Chasle. Music by Chelard. Property of the Author. Price 5f. From Henry Lemoine, Music Editor.

It also includes the opening line of the work transliterated into Greek letters, "ΑΕΦΕΖ ΦΟΥΖ, ΑΠΜΕΖ ΦΟΥΖ, ΦΕΝΤΕΖ ΦΟΥΖ, ΦΙΕΡΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ." The original appears "Levez-vous, armez-vous, vengez-vous fiers hellènes." The only word directly translated is "hellènes," being of Greek origin. The letters "V" and "G" do not exist in the Greek alphabet, and a choice has been made to substitute them with alternatives, even borrowing from other alphabets. The soft "V" appearing in the French "vous" has been replaced by the letter "F" from the Latin alphabet; however, the letter "B" from the Greek alphabet would have, arguably, represented the soft "V" better given its IPA pronunciation (v) is identical to the letter V in the word "vous." The "g" in "vengez" ([ʒ]) has been replaced with "gamma" (Γ) from the Greek for phonetic reasons, as this exact sound does not exist in the Greek language.

²⁶ Hans-Günter Ottenberg, "Berliner Liederschule," in *MGG Online*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken, accessed May 13, 2021, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/49732>.

beautiful words are beautifully set and sung, “we think and feel at once, and are enraptured.”²⁷ Seventy-five musical works of Zelter feature text by Goethe, and Klein also set many of his poems to music in this style, including *9 Lieder von Goethe* op. 15, *4 Gedichte von Goethe* op. 41, and *3 Gesänge*.

The *Neugriechische Volkslieder* exemplify *Volkstümlichkeit*, which is quite appropriate, given that they are based on a collection of modern Greek folk songs. The melodies of these six Lieder move mostly in step-wise motion, with only small leaps (mostly thirds and no larger than a sixth, usually as upbeats), their range encompassing approximately one octave and adopt clear, balanced phrasing. The melodies are syllabic, the rhythms avoid syncopations and apply diatonic harmonies throughout. With one notable exception, they are short Lieder of no more than thirty-seven bars which capture one mood and do not modulate. An overview of the general characteristics appears in Table 1.

Table 1: Overview of Lieder in *Neugriechische Volkslieder*, Bernhard Klein:

Title	Key	Metre	Tempo Indication	Length (bars)	Range
Gyptakis	G minor	Common	Allegro	18	D4-E-flat5 (m9)
Tsavellina	B-flat major	Common	Moderato	22	A4-F5 (m6)
Stergios	C minor	6/8	Allegro	31	F4-E5 (M7)
Das Grab des Dimos	C major	Common	Moderato	30	C4-C5 (P8)
Die Klage der Mutter	B minor - D major - B minor	Common - 3/4 - Common	Allegro	128	E4-D5 (m7)
Despo's Tod	A minor	Common	Allegro	37	E4-E5 (P8)

²⁷ Richard Taruskin, “Chapter 3: Volkstümlichkeit,” in vol. 3, *Oxford History of Western Music*, accessed May 25, 2021, <https://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume3/actrade-9780195384833-chapter-003.xml>.

“Die Klage der Mutter” (“The Cry of the Mother”) is a particularly noteworthy inclusion as the longest Lied in the collection by over 90 bars. This song is centred on the grief of a mother, who is resigned to the fact she will never see her son again due to the war. This is the only song sourced from the second volume of Fauriel’s collection, with the other five in Klein’s collection sourced from the first (see Appendix C). The poem consists of twenty-six lines written in heptameter, each line being set in two four bar phrases. The stanzas are irregularly grouped in lines of two or three and do not rhyme. The top voice of the piano accompaniment often doubles the voice part, providing harmonic and rhythmic support for the vocal line, the sparse piano accompaniment ensuring that the vocal line and its text are prioritised.

The melancholic mood of “Die Klage der Mutter” is established by the descending melodic line in stepwise motion in B minor, marked piano in the voice and piano parts (see example 2.2). The opening statement of eight bars consists of two four-bar phrases, the first ending on the dominant and the second returning to the tonic. Each phrase begins with the piano and voice in unison before the piano reverts to simple chordal accompaniment supporting the metric vocal line (example 2.2, mm. 1 and 5). This textural contrast emphasises the declamatory nature of the beginning of each poetic line. The opening phrase finishes with a three-note motive featuring a neighbour note above the fifth scale degree, F#-G-F#, which becomes a unifying feature of the lied (see example 2.2, m. 4). The motive appears inverted at the end of the second phrase (example 2.2, m. 8). The opening of “Die Klage der Mutter” appears below:

Allegro

The musical score consists of two staves of music. The top staff is for the voice (soprano) and the bottom staff is for the piano. The key signature is A major (two sharps). The tempo is Allegro. The vocal line begins with a piano dynamic, followed by a melodic line consisting of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics are: "Wer Jam - mer-kla-gen hö - ren will und fin-stre Trau-er - lie - der,". The piano accompaniment features chords and eighth-note patterns. The vocal line continues with a descending line of three notes. The lyrics for the second stanza are: "Geh' in die Mor - e - o - ten-städt', an ih - re Stra - sen - eck - en,". The piano accompaniment continues with its rhythmic pattern.

Example 2.2: Bernhard Klein, “Die Klage der Mutter,” mm. 1–8a.

At this point the subject of the poem is yet to be introduced, which Fauriel describes as typical for songs whose subject is a melancholy one.²⁸ The context of the Morea region (the medieval name for what is today known as the Peloponnese peninsula) is introduced first, where one can hear sombre songs of mourning being sung on its street corners. Preceded by an anticipation in the piano, the next phrase introduces new melodic material consisting of a descending line of three notes, as the narrator describes how a mother “cries for her child, the child for its mother” (example 2.3, bars 8b–12). Fauriel describes how he had encountered this specific line in an extensive piece on the taking of Constantinople composed at the time of the event (he believes it may have been used in earlier songs).²⁹ Although the first stanza of three lines has now been sung, the musical statement remains unbalanced; hence, the structure of the music does not directly correlate to Müller’s translation of the poem. Another four-bar phrase balances the preceding musical phrase, with Klein setting the first line of the next stanza to achieve this balance (example 2.3, bars 13–16). Ending on the dominant, this phrase portrays how the protagonist of this poem “sits at her window and looks towards the shore” and is

²⁸ Claude Fauriel, *Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*, 2 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1824), 185.

²⁹ Fauriel, *Chants*, 186.

followed by a brief postlude by the piano, the only instance where the piano is of greater importance than the vocal line, albeit marked pianissimo. Klein's minimal use of dynamics throughout the collection is striking. This Lied features four crescendi (two appear in example 2.3, m. 13 and m. 18), and very infrequent dynamic markings in both the piano and vocal parts, no louder than piano.

Example 2.3: Bernhard Klein, “Die Klage der Mutter,” mm. 8b–18.

The postlude plays a crucial role as a unifying device in “Die Klage der Mutter” and also demarcates the modified strophic form of the opening section of the Lied. It serves to emphasise the meaning within the text, appearing after references to sight and serves to convey the sense of longing felt by the mother. Imitating the final muttering of the word “Ufer” (“shore”) on the three-note motive, the postlude is based on the dominant harmony and around the fifth scale degree (F#), before descending on a B minor arpeggio concluding on the same scale degree an octave lower (example 2.3, bars 16–18). In the postlude’s first appearance—marking the conclusion of the A section—the narrator describes

how the mother sits at her window and looks out towards the shore. In the following two instances the mother *looks* out at the ships based upon variations of previous melodic material, (see table 2, a') and appears once again after asking the ships whether they have *seen* her son, John (see table 2, a"). The piano therefore plays a crucial role in the Lied's thematic development and in its structural unity. The following table (Table 2) illustrates the large scale structural features of "Die Klage der Mutter", illustrating the ternary form of the Lied and showing the phrase structure of each section.

Table 2: Structural Analysis of "Die Klage der Mutter," Bernhard Klein

Section	Phrase	Number of bars per phrase (excluding piano postludes)	Number of poetic lines	Postlude
A	a	16	4	Y
	a'	12	3	Y
	a"	8	2	Y
	a'''	8	2	N
B	b	8	2	N
	b'	4	1	Y
A'	a	16	4	Y
	a'	8	2	N
	a"	16	4	N
	a'''	9	2	N
Coda		4	0	—

The inclusion of a contrasting "B" section written in 3/4 and in the relative major, the only static modulation in Klein's collection, provides an optimistic reprieve from the sombre mood of the rest of the Lied. The notable omission of the postlude preceding it serves to emphasise the striking mood contrast. In this section the protagonist provides a descriptive reflection of her son. Marked 'piu moto,' she describes how her son "was as tall, as slender, as straight as the cypress, he had a beautiful ring on his little finger. But more beautiful than the ring itself, his finger shone." The piano accompaniment emphasises the 3/4 metre, building a sense of forward momentum in this section. It begins in the relative major, D, the second phrase modulating to G major through a common chord modulation. The final phrase adopts a common-tone modulation through the tone "B" to return to the tonic of B

minor, anticipating the return of the A' section. This is followed by a variation of the piano postlude facilitating a return to the original time signature (common time). The A and A' sections adopt a modified strophic form, the melodic material varied slightly on each appearance. A consistent phrase length of four bars is maintained, despite the variation of melodic material.

The final stanza of the poem depicts imagery of insistent weeping (“weinet” or “weinen”) using the three-note motive of the beginning, the chromatic neighbour tone serving to emphasise the pain. The boy, who will never see his loved ones again, writes three letters, “one to my mother, the other to my sister, [t]he third and last letter to my beloved.” The uttering of the word “weinen” features a single accent, the only articulation marking of its kind to appear in the entire *Neugriechische Volkslieder*, which indicates that this action is of great significance to Klein (see example 2.4, m. 115). The final three lines of the poem depicts the repetitive action of all three women reading their letters and weeping. This insistence and repetition is supported through the three-note “weinen” motive. Not only do the mother, the sister of the narrator, and the beloved weep, their grief is shared by the world. The final phrase, marked pianissimo, is sung and played in unison on the words “und alle Welt muss weinen,” (“and all the world must weep”), the textural and rhythmic contrast emphasising the fact that the grief caused by the loss of this boy belongs to everyone, not just the mother (example 2.4, mm. 122–3). The pianissimo marking is indicative that this weeping, according to Klein, is not a calamitous, dramatic outburst, rather an introspective and profound sadness. The coda consists of a fragmentation of the piano postlude interspersed with silence, the final descending figure concluding on a single pianissimo “B” (example 2.4, mm. 125–128).

111

Die Mut-ter liest den ih - ri - gen und mei - ne Schwe-ster wei - net, die

116

Schwe-ster liest den ih - ri - gen, und mei - ne Lieb - ste wei - net die

120 ***pp***

Lieb - ste liest den ih - ri-gen und al - le Welt muss wei - nen.

125

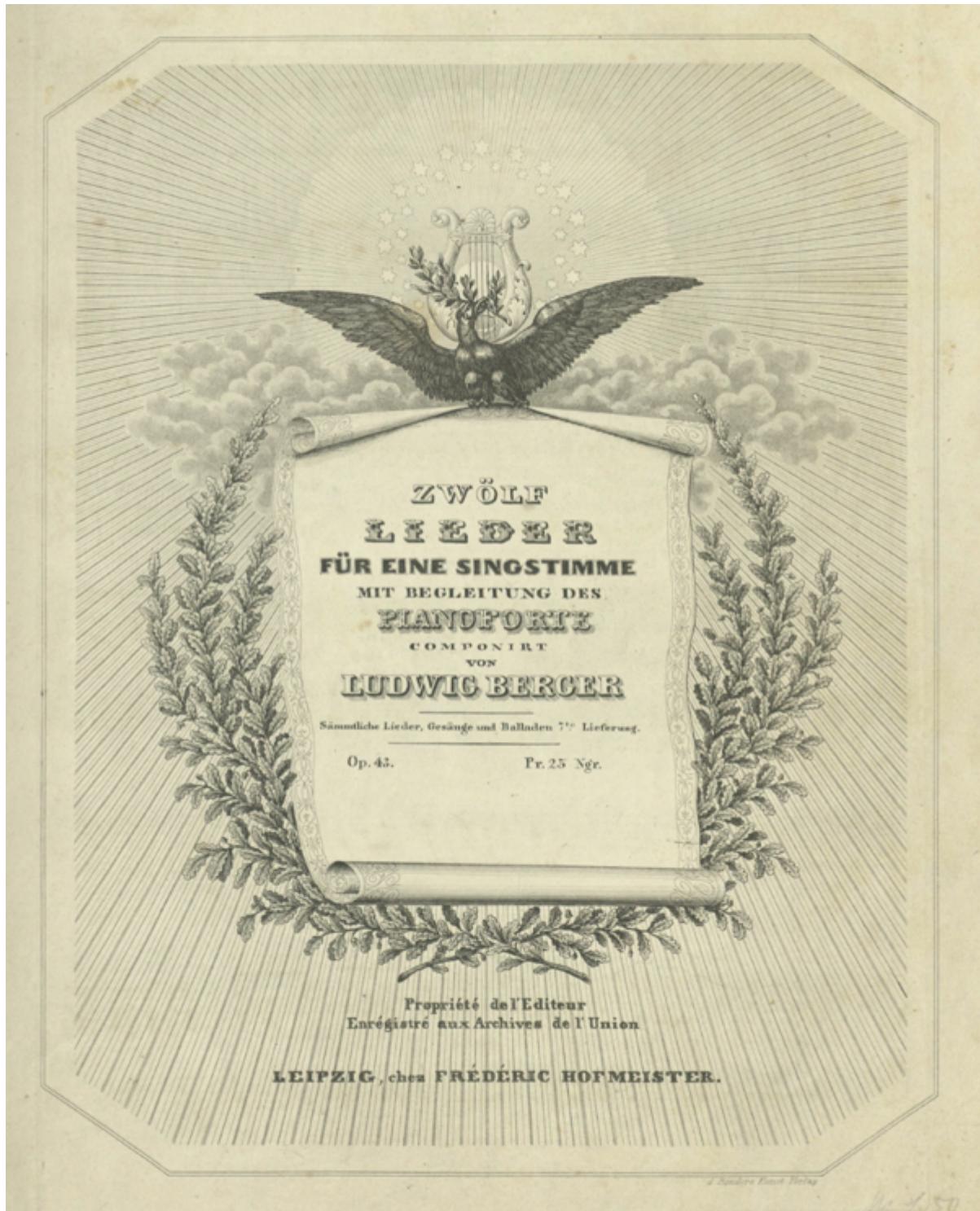
Example 2.4: Bernhard Klein, “Die Klage der Mutter,” mm. 111–128.

Müller's "Griechenlieder" also resonated within the musical world, inspiring musical responses from his contemporaries.³⁰ Another Berlin-based composer, Ludwig Berger, is known to have collaborated with Müller as early as 1816. Together they set the first poems of his poetic cycle *Die schöne Müllerin* and spent time in Berlin's literary salons, usually the home of Friedrich August von Stägemann (1763–1840).³¹ The two could often be found in the same social settings and contributed to Berlin's cultural life. The two even shared the same love interests, as they both vied for the heart of Luise Hensel, whose brother Wilhelm married Fanny Mendelssohn. Both men were unsuccessful, and Luise remained true to her vow of celibacy. Berger also knew Bernhard Klein, and together with Reichardt and Ludwig Rellstab they cofounded a rival Liedertafel in the city in 1819, in protest to the exclusiveness of Carl Zelter's ensemble.

Berger's setting of "Der Phanariot" from *Lieder der Griechen* appears in a collection of twelve songs by the composer entitled *Zwölf Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 43 (*Twelve songs for one voice with piano accompaniment*). The collection's title page features a highly detailed lithograph (see example 2.5). The details of the title's collection, composer, opus number and the price are printed on a piece of parchment with a decorated border, which is held by the talons of an eagle. The parchment is surrounded by an olive wreath and the eagle, sitting on a bed of clouds, is also holding an olive branch, a symbol for peace. A lyre surrounded by six-pointed stars is positioned behind the eagle, with the sun in the background radiating outwards represented by thinly etched lines. Published in 1844 posthumously in Leipzig by Frédéric Hofmeister, the twelve songs encompass a variety of themes and subjects featuring titles such as "Romance," "Night song," and "Memories." A contemporary of Klein, Berger's musical settings are also written in the style of the Second Berlin School, featuring simple accompaniment giving precedence to the text over the music. Apart from Müller, the collection features poems by authors such as Ludwig Rellstab (1799–1860), Johann Friedrich Kind (1768–1843), Julius Mosen (1803–1867), and Gottfried August Bürger (1747–1794).

³⁰ See Richard P. Koepke, "Wilhelm Müllers Dichtung und ihre musikalische Komposition" (Diss. Northwestern Univ, 1924). There are over at least 530 known compositions by 241 composers.

³¹ Kristina Muxfeldt, "Wilhelm Müller's Odyssey," in *The Cambridge Companion to Winterreise*, eds. Marjorie W. Hirsch and Lisa Fuerzeig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 63.



Example 2.5: Ludwig Berger, *Zwölf Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, title page. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Speck Music B37 43.

Müller aims to bring a personal perspective to the war, depicting the experiences of ordinary Greeks and their lives under the Ottomans. In his poem “Der Phanariot,” the second poem in Müller’s first volume, the speaker is a youth from Asia Minor recounting the barbarism of the Turks and the instance of his sister being sold into slavery. Phanariots were primarily aristocratic families of Greek origin living

in the Greek quarter of Constantinople, Phanar. They typically held a Western education and held high positions in the Ottoman empire and the Eastern Orthodox Church. Despite their privileged status they were fully aware of their Hellenic heritage. The most notable example of a Phanariot family is the Ypsilanti family, whose involvement with the *Philiki Etaireia* and the Greek War of Independence demonstrates the political aspirations held by such families. Müller's "Der Phanariot" describes some of the atrocities from the perspective of one (unidentified) Phanariot, whereby the protagonist is primarily occupied with the fate of his family and also outlines his aspirations for a free Greece (see Appendix A).

Berger has constructed a strophic Lied of four verses, and whilst it appears relatively simple it conveys the subject matter directly and effectively. The opening, marked piano, agitato, and *sotto voce*, is indicative of the tense and uncomfortable subject matter contained within the text. The Lied is entirely syllabic, the simple piano accompaniment supporting the 2/4 metre, featuring a second inversion G minor chord resolving to the tonic (see example 2.6, mm. 1-2). Resembling a lament, this insistent tension and release creates a sense of urgency and forward momentum. The limited range of the vocal melody in the first eight bars further conveys intensity, encompassing only a minor third (D, E and F-natural, see example 2.6, mm. 1-8). A descending dotted motive is introduced in the third bar, completing the opening statement before being imitated in the right hand of the piano one octave higher. This four-bar phrase is then repeated, remaining identical to the first. The second section of the Lied increases in intensity through its use of dynamics and textural contrasts. Whilst the range of the melodic line expands by ascending the D minor scale, now encompassing an octave, the piano accompaniment shifts from chordal accompaniment and now doubles the voice across three octaves. A crescendo further supports this ascent up the scale featuring portato markings in the piano accompaniment, the only instance of this articulation in the entire Lied (example 2.6, mm. 9-10). This sudden monophonic textural contrast serves to further emphasise the melodic line and convey the drama within the narrative.

Agitato

Sotto voce

Musical score for "Der Phanariot" by Ludwig Berger. The score consists of three staves of music for voice and piano. The vocal line is in soprano C-clef, the piano accompaniment in bass F-clef, and the piano right hand in treble G-clef. The music is in 2/4 time.

Agitato
Sotto voce

Mei-nen Va - ter, mei - ne Mut - ter ha - ben sie in's Meer er - säuft, ha - ben
ih - re heil' - gen Lei - chen durch die Stras - sen hin - ge-schleift; mei - ne
schö - ne Schwe-ster ha - ben aus der Kam - mer sie ge - jagt, ha - ben frei in
auf dem frei - en Mark-te sie ver - kauft als ei - ne Magd. frei - en Grie-chen - land!
mei-nem Schna-bel trü - ge nach dem

1.2.3.
rit. *Zum Schluss*
rit.

p

cresc.

cresc.

pesante

rit. e cresc.

rit.

Example 2.6: Ludwig Berger, "Der Phanariot." The first verse appears in its entirety. The poem's last line included in the final phrase to demonstrate the Lied's ending on the final repetition.

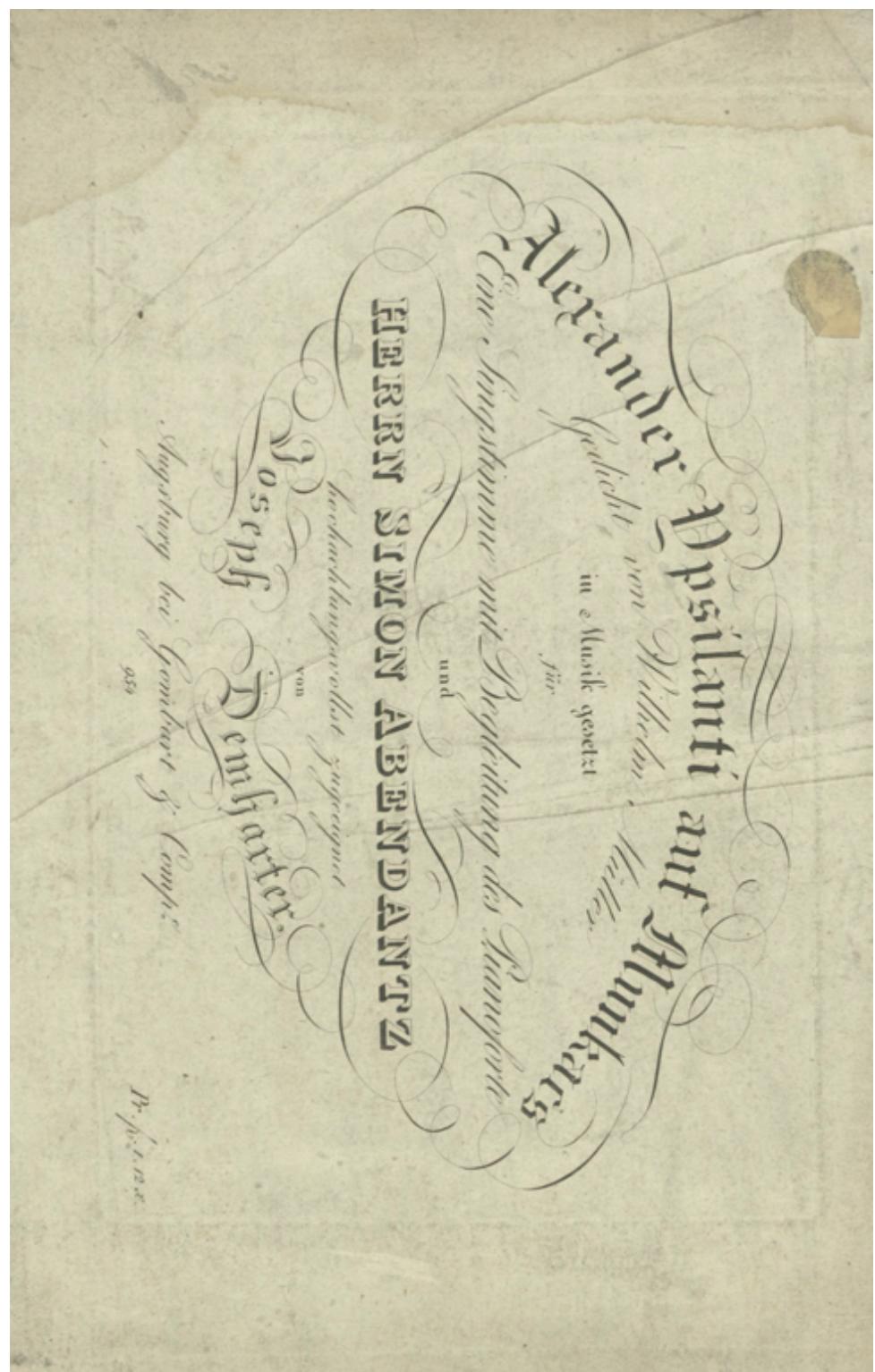
The final phrase adopts the dotted motive introduced at the beginning, repeated incessantly until the end of the verse. Here, the *pesante* marking creates a sense of gravitas in each verse, matching the serious subject matter (example 2.6, m. 13). On the first instance Berger indicates this marking when the protagonist recounts the selling of his sister into slavery. It then appears on the call to free her from her enslavement, followed by the call for vengeance, and finally underscores freedom in the beak of an eagle flying towards a free Greece. The imperfect cadence at the end of each phrase reverts to chordal accompaniment, also concluding the poetic verse.

The final word of the phrase, preceded by a *rit.* and a crescendo, represents a further increase in tension and emphasises the dramatic imagery. For the first three verses, the words “Magd,” “ruht,” and “frei” (“Maid,” “rest,” and “free”) are held under a fermata. The rise and fall of the final four bars of this phrase (example 2.6, mm. 12–16) perhaps represents the doubts of the Phanariot who lacks the confidence that a “free Greece” is attainable. Despite the passion of the youth, there is a tension throughout as they struggle to find the means to truly express themselves. The final verse features an alternate chordal accompaniment, F major to A major, the final words “freien Griechenland” (“free Greece”) emphasised with accents and sustained, the political ambition of the protagonist finally exclaimed after a dramatic outpouring for his enslaved sister. Notably, the Lied does not end on the tonic chord of D minor, the imperfect cadence perhaps a reflection of the ongoing conflict and the fact that the proclaimed goal of a free Greece in the final bar had not yet been reached at the time of writing (although the collection was published following the War’s conclusion).

From Berlin to Bavaria

Whilst little is known about Bavarian organist Joseph Demharter (born c. 1793), he provides a representative example of a philhellenic musical response written in a more expressive musical style. Demharter’s setting of “Alexander Ypsilanti auf Munkacs” (see Appendix B) is more operatic in scope, drastically different from the *Volkstümlichkeit* exemplified by the Second Berlin School and created in a markedly different political setting. This Lied is far more lyrical, incorporating a broad range of expressive devices, including word-painting, and featuring dramatic mood contrasts within a recitativo-aria structure. There is a great deal of precision in this setting with detailed articulation markings, broken arpeggiated chords, tempo indications, dynamics, tremolo effects, key changes, and expression markings throughout. The title page (see example 2.7) reveals it was published in Augsburg, Bavaria by Gombart (date unknown), and appears to be dedicated to wine merchant Simon Abendantz (1715–1796). Sourced from the second volume of *Lieder der Griechen*, Müller took advantage of the momentum

created by the success of the first, writing to his publisher that the poems flew from his pen, as he was guided by his “Griechenmuse” (“Greek muse”).³²



Example 2.7: Joseph Demharter, “ Alexander Ypsilanti auf Munkacs,” title page. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Speck Music D39 1.

³² Grair, “Poetics,” 311.

The Lied's opening in F minor, marked 'andante,' features the solo piano imitating a tremolo effect, establishing the harrowing atmosphere of the Muncáks prison (today the Palanok castle in western Ukraine) in which Alexander Ypsilanti, leader of the *Philiki Etaireia*, was detained by Austrian forces between 1821 and 1823 (see example 2.8, mm. 1–2).³³ The voice part, written in the treble clef, enters tentatively and unaccompanied, narrating how Ypsilanti sat alone in a lofty prison tower (example 2.8, m. 4). There is a degree of freedom given to the voice throughout the recitativo, as much of it is unaccompanied, whilst in the aria the accompaniment consists of regular rhythmic patterns throughout, giving it a sense of momentum.

Unlike the settings from Berlin, the voice and the piano parts are of equal importance in Demharter's setting. At times the piano takes a passive role and accompanies the voice with sparse figuration, such as the broken arpeggiated chords; however, at times it is more involved and features rapid scalic passages and martial-like rhythms, interjecting between the phrases of the voice part. The piano part therefore plays a crucial role in establishing mood and atmosphere. Demharter's use of word painting is clear, the rattling of the prison's rotten window represented by an ascending arpeggiated figure built on a B-flat minor chord in first inversion (example 2.8, m. 11). A dramatic depiction of a storm shortly follows (example 2.8, mm. 13–14), featuring rapid ascending chromatic figures encompassing a tritone. As Ypsilanti looks out his window, the depiction of crows swarming in the lowlands accompanied by a single eagle paints a bleak picture, although the lone eagle can be seen to represent hope.

³³ Ypsilanti was transferred to the Theresienstadt Fortress in 1823 on the request of his mother. He was released after almost seven years of confinement in 1827 upon the request of Tsar Nicholas I of Russia, only to die the following year in Vienna.

Andante

A-le-

xan - der Yp - si - lan - ti saß in Mun-kacs ho - hem Thurm,

An den

mor - schen Fen - ster - git - tern rüt - tel - te der wil - de

Sturm,

Example 2.8: Joseph Demharter, “Alexander Ypsilanti auf Munkacs,” opening (mm. 1–14)

Demharter's modulation to F major marks a dramatic mood shift, indicating the beginning of the aria. Whilst the first half of Müller's poem depicts the destitute situation of Ypsilanti who yearns for news from his fatherland, the second half of the poem is more optimistic, encapsulating the ecstatic realisation of a free Greece. Opening with a triumphant martial triplet rhythm introduction by the piano (see example 2.9, mm. 76–8) marked ‘allegro maestoso,’ it establishes a heroic and triumphant tone for the protagonist of the poem, compared to the vulnerability of his prison cell. Following a rapid scalic descent and ascent in octaves separated by a trill, four arpeggiated chords prepare the dominant harmony, C major, before the entrance of the hero of this aria (see example 2.9, 79–82).

The voice entry opens with a grand self-affirmation: “Alexander Ypsilanti, hail and take courage!” (see example 2.9, mm. 83–8). The heroic mood has been firmly established following the piano introduction. The voice outlines an F major arpeggio, affirming the tonal centre of F and supported by tremolo piano accompaniment. The harmonic progression I-IV-V-I (see example 2.9, mm. 84–7) further affirms the key and the heroism of Ypsilanti. This tone is sustained throughout the Lied: Müller adopts further heroic imagery in this half of the poem, including the “three hundred brave Spartans” and later proclaims that “the holy land of Hellas will be free!” The poem concludes with the metaphor of freedom represented by an eagle (in this instance a King Eagle, “Königsadler”), the oppressive presence of the crows from the recitativo now notably absent. The eagle then spreads its wings and flies into the moonbeams and towards the skies through an ascending figure, returning to the tonic of F major (the homeland).³⁴

Demharter's setting demonstrates how musical expressions of philhellenism varied across the German Confederation. It is unclear whether this setting was written during or after the Greek War of Independence, which leaves the possibility that it was composed following the beginning of King Otto I's reign as King of Greece. Given the huge number of volunteer forces that travelled from Bavaria to Greece, a precedent of open support was established in this territory. The opposite was true for much of Prussia (although some centres such as Berlin did allow some degree of freedom), which may explain why the settings of Klein and Berger are more understated and modest in style. The texts selected by the Berliners do not glorify the protagonists of the Greek War themselves, although Berger's setting does proclaim a hope of a “free Greece.” Certainly in Prussia (and the Austrian Empire) the overt philhellenism of Demharter may have been met with some opposition from authorities. Demharter's response could be seen as an extension of the idea of the *imagined* Greece, conveying the philhellenic mindset of Müller musically. It should be noted that although the source material of Klein's settings in

³⁴ Whilst a scan of the work has been obtained in challenging circumstances, the final page is unfortunately missing from this copy of the work.

Neugriechische Volkslieder are folk songs, he did not have a personal experience of contemporary Greek life; Fauriel's collection could be seen as the “creation of the author's Gallic imagination.”³⁵

76 **Allegro Maestoso**

A - le - xan - der Ip - si-

lan - ti, sei ge - grüßt und fas - se Muth!

Example 2.9: Joseph Demharter, “Alexander Ypsilanti auf Munkacs,” mm. 76–88.

³⁵ Herzfeld, *Ours*, 31.

Conclusion

These musical responses form part of the broader context of philhellenism in the German Confederation and deserve not only to be studied, but also heard. The Lieder examined here, all inspired by Müller's works, tell stories of the Greek situation from very different perspectives: The profound grief experienced by a mother longing for her son's return from a war; another from a young Phanariot whose sister was sold into slavery; another from Alexander Ypsilanti, one of the leaders of the Greek Independence movement and leader of the *Philiki Etaireia*. The musical displays across the German Confederation were also drastically different, the Demharter setting examined here offers an example of musical philhellenism from Bavaria, in contrast to the settings by his northern neighbours. The musical language used by these composers reflects the political, social, and aesthetic values of the time when German philhellenism reached its apex during the crucial years of the War.

Although Müller was radicalised in Vienna, it was not possible to openly support the Greek cause given Metternich viewed an independent Greece as a threat to the Austria Empire and the peace established by the Concert of Europe. These Lieder therefore demonstrate the extent of philhellenic support in territories when censorship was not as strictly enforced. The next chapter will consider a setting of Müller from the Austrian Empire's capital, illustrating the impact of censorship in a very different political and cultural environment within the German Confederation.

Chapter 3 – Philhellenism, the Schubert circle, and the choice of *Die Winterreise*

“Schubert cannot be detached from his circle of friends.”¹

Franz Schubert’s short lifetime (1797–1828) encompassed some of the most significant political events of early nineteenth-century Europe including the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), the Congress of Vienna (1814–5), and a significant part of the Greek Revolution. Schubert completed two of his most well-known works, *Die schöne Müllerin* (1823) and *Winterreise* (1827), using the texts by prominent philhellene Wilhelm Müller (1794–1827) as the Greek War of Independence was ongoing.² What motivated Schubert to set Müller? Is his choice of Müller a demonstration of the philhellenism also exhibited by other composers elsewhere in the German Confederation? Given the Austrian Empire considered the Greek cause a threat to the order established by the Congress of Vienna, the political climate made the open expression of pro-Greek sentiment virtually impossible. In these circumstances the setting of overtly philhellenic texts such as Müller’s “Griechenlieder,” especially within the Austrian Empire, would certainly be met with opposition from authorities.

This chapter argues that Schubert’s decision to set texts by Müller goes beyond these poems’ aesthetic appeal, but was rather a political choice, reflecting Schubert’s own philhellenism. Müller’s *Die Winterreise* presents a compelling set of contextual circumstances in light of the events of the Greek War of Independence. This cycle is not an anthem to the Greek War of Independence in the same vein as musical settings of Müller’s “Griechenlieder;” however, it could be read as a political allegory within the context of the ongoing events on the Greek peninsula. This chapter will first examine the extent of Austrian censorship overseen by Klemenz von Metternich (1773–1859) and Police Chief Count Josef von Sedlnitzky (1778–1855), particularly following the Carlsbad decrees of 1819. It will then illuminate the political activities and philhellenism of Schubert and the members of his circle, which in turn offers an insight into Schubert’s own values. Despite political repression and censorship across the German Confederation, particularly in the Austrian Empire, support for the Greek cause was nonetheless widespread across Europe, and it held “special appeal for German [and Austrian] liberals, since supporting the Greeks was a way to challenge the conservative politics of Metternich and like-minded officials in Prussia.”³ Although Schubert is not known to have openly supported the cause, he and his

¹ David Gramit, “Schubert and the Biedermeier: The Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer’s ‘Heliopolis,’” *Music and Letters* 74, no. 3 (August 1993), 355.

² Schubert omits the definite pronoun in his setting, opting for, simply, *Winterreise*.

³ George S. Williamson, “On the Move: Outcasts, Wanderers, and the Political Landscape of *Die Winterreise*,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert’s Winterreise*, eds. Marjorie Wing Hirsch and Lisa Fuerzeig (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 140.

circle demonstrate their philhellenism through their works and correspondence. The chapter finally offers a political reading of *Die Winterreise* through a close examination of the work vis-à-vis Müller's "Griechenlieder." The use of imagery derived from nature was commonly associated with political settings in poetry from the late eighteenth century, and references to these could have evaded censorship, many of which appear in *Die Winterreise*.⁴ This reading seeks not to negate previous interpretations but, rather, to consider an alternative but nonetheless relevant political context to a multifaceted work which continues to engage scholars, performers and audiences.

The Political Climate in Vienna

Following the Congress of Vienna, the perceived threat of nationalist movements abroad, including the Greek cause, was systematically targeted through censorship and police activity. At this time, the Great Powers viewed nationalist and separatist movements as threats to the peace achieved by the Congress. For Metternich, the Ottoman Empire formed part of the balance of power across Europe (particularly against Russia, in light of their expansionist activities). Any perceived threat to the Ottoman Empire was by extension a threat to the Austrian Empire, a view which held significant implications for philhellenes and the Greek-speaking community of Vienna. Foreshadowing the far-reaching censorship that would be imposed in the years preceding the Greek Revolution, a pamphlet produced by Erlangen University professor Alexander Lips (1779–1838), *Der Wiener Kongress*, was placed under interdiction in October 1814 whilst the Congress took place "in part because it contained inflammatory references to the Ottoman Empire and for that reason had supposedly been purchased in large numbers by Vienna's Greeks."⁵ Meetings of the Concert of Europe following the Congress of Vienna took place to ensure this balance was maintained. Following the suppression of the Italian uprising in 1820, the Congress of Verona in 1822 authorised the French intervention to oust the liberal government in Spain during the *Trienio Liberal*, which they viewed similarly as a threat to the status quo. Metternich's direct involvement in this Congress and the action it facilitated dashed the aspirations of Spanish liberals for a War of Independence in the same vein as the Greeks.

Freedom of political expression therefore proved difficult following the Congress of Vienna, which also marked the introduction of even more stringent censorship regulations. Whilst the Carlsbad decrees of 1819 instigated a period of extensive systems of censorship and control, a set of regulations put in place in 1810 lay the foundation for these harsher regulations to be instated.⁶ Written after the

⁴ Anke Theresa Caton, "Disenchantment during the Biedermeier Period – Political Subtexts in Schubert's Songs" (PhD diss., Cardiff University, 2011), 73.

⁵ Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics After Napoleon* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 228.

⁶ Tamara Kamatović, "Metternichs Censors at Work: Philosophy and Practices of Censorship in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Romanic Review* 109, nos. 1-4 (2019): 107.

withdrawal of French troops in 1809 and serving as a legal basis upon which court decrees could be issued, the 1810 laws allowed censors to take disciplinary action against authors whilst simultaneously allowing some scholarly freedom (although the nature of scholarly work proved to be difficult to define).⁷

The 1810 regulations begin “No ray of light, from whatever source shall henceforth remain unacknowledged or be deprived of its potential usefulness.”⁸ This opening statement could be interpreted in a multitude of ways from a contemporary perspective and continues to be quoted in scholarship. Such a statement serves “as an instruction to the censors reminding them of their contractual obligation to pay each manuscript printed within the Monarchy or smuggled over its border with unabating scrutiny.”⁹ It is usually quoted in regards to the penetrating gaze of the censorship office into the activities of its subjects and the publications with which they were associated. The statement appears to reflect the efficiency and highly bureaucratic nature of the system, and that only knowledge that serves the interest of the state should be distributed.

With the introduction of the 1819 decrees, Metternich intended to centralise the censorship powers of the German Confederation. The system was in fact not *truly* standardised, as other states in the Confederation were known to have had more relaxed approaches to censorship. This discrepancy was clearly known by the Austrian censors, who were aware of Austrian “print refugees” printing their works in cities such as Leipzig and Stuttgart where regulations were not as stringent.¹⁰ The true extent of Metternich’s role in Austrian censorship continues to be debated in light of the fact that he was an administrator whose primary responsibilities lay in foreign affairs. Perhaps this was indeed true until 1819, given he was responsible for the more punitive censorship and association laws triggered by the assassination of conservative author August von Kotzebue (1761–1819) in March of that year.

In addition to stricter censorship laws, the decrees expanded the supervision of the activities of universities by authorities, facilitating the dismissal of university professors and the imprisonment of radical students. Seizing on the opportunity to enact a new censorship regime following the Congress of Vienna, “Metternich saw [the] murder of Kotzebue as a godsend. In July 1819 he rushed to Teplitz [today part of the Czech Republic] where Frederick William [III of Prussia] was on holiday and repeated his insistence that a representative constitution was merely the first step on the road to revolution.”¹¹ Metternich also appeared to view academia and the press as hindrances, once posing the

⁷ Lothar Höbelt, “The Austrian Empire,” in *War for the Public Mind: Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Robert Goldstein (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000), 217–18.

⁸ Kamatović, “Censors,” 115.

⁹ Ibid., 116.

¹⁰ Ibid., 106.

¹¹ James John Sheehan, *German History, 1770–1866* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 423–24.

hypothetical: “If only we could have knowledge without scholars.”¹² He considered the press as the “most urgent evil” and as “a party antagonistic to all existing governments,” indicating the low esteem in which he held this institution.¹³ It is not surprising that he sought to seize further control over its activities and his position as foreign minister gave him ample opportunities to do so.

The role of the censors in this censorship regime was far-reaching with a broad range of works placed under intense scrutiny. Examining over 10,000 works a year, literary works were placed in one of five categories ranging from “Admittur” (unrestricted works which could be advertised openly) to “Damnatur” (restricted for all). Books and periodicals were not the only materials subject to censorship, but also paintings, illustrations, theatrical performances, songs, musical programs, lectures, sermons, posters, funeral notices, advertisements, maps, badges, tobacco boxes, cufflinks[,] and graveyard inscriptions, making the regime “the most comprehensive that one could imagine.”¹⁴ The censorship office was supervised by the Police Chief Count Josef von Sedlnitzky from 1815 to 1848. Eduard Bauernfeld (1802–1890), dramatist and friend of Franz Schubert, characterised Sedlnitzky as “a blinkered intellect obsessed with routine, possessing no literary education and a certain bourgeois-Austrian sense of legal uprightness.”¹⁵ Under Sedlnitzky’s authority, censorship powers were also transferred to the police, meaning that the private lives of citizens and secret societies were increasingly intercepted. Metternich also sought the intelligence of spies and informants who monitored the activities of artists, visitors to Vienna, and the travels of Habsburg subjects (particularly those travelling to more liberal centres such as Leipzig). Visitors to the city sometimes made comparisons between Vienna and other despotic regimes including Czarist Russia, with French poet Gérard de Nerval (1808–1855) calling Austria Empire the “China of Europe.”¹⁶

One of Schubert’s closest friends, Johann Mayrhofer (1787–1836), worked as a censor, which provided Schubert an insider perspective of the extensive censorship system. Although this profession seems incompatible with his liberal values, in alignment with the rest of the circle, Mayrhofer was sympathetic to liberal ideas, exemplified by his patriotic poetry and his friendship with patriotic liberal poet Theodor Körner (1791–1813). His close friend Joseph von Spaun (1788–1865), also a friend of Schubert’s, described him as an “extraordinarily liberal, indeed democratic in his views [...] and passionate about the freedom of the press.”¹⁷ Mayhofer’s work at the censorship office was driven from necessity and from the desire for financial stability, not to serve the political interests of the Austrian Empire. He first joined the censorship office (‘Revisionsamt’) in 1813 as a trainee, before being appointed to the

¹² Höbelt, “Austrian,” 220.

¹³ Ibid.,

¹⁴ Julius Marx, *Die Österreichische Zensur Im Vormärz* (München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019), 106.

¹⁵ Kamatović, “Censors,” 106.

¹⁶ Ibid., 106-7.

¹⁷ Caton, “Disenchantment,” 62.

position of ‘dritter Bucherrevisor’ (third censor for books) the following year. In this role he examined literature from outside the empire and revised music, as well as private works. Through his work he gained insider knowledge of the Austrian censorship regime. He was therefore aware of the limits of expression within the system which he could use to his advantage, including his own volume of poetry, *Gedichten* (1824), and this knowledge is likely to have been passed on to Schubert and their circle of friends. Mayrhofer’s eventual suicide in 1836 resulted in Bauernfeld’s description of him as “a victim of the Austrian system.”¹⁸

Despite having an insider perspective informed by Mayrhofer, Schubert experienced censorship of his operatic settings, due to the political nature of his librettos. *Fierabras*, composed to a libretto by Joseph Kupelwieser (1791–1866), was only approved in 1823 after all references to Spain and France had been erased. Another opera, *Der Graf von Gleichen* with a libretto by Bauernfeld, did not pass censorship regulations and the work was never completed. Bauernfeld also had his own encounters with Austrian police and censorship, provoking the ire of censors on numerous occasions (most notably through his politically themed *Die Republik der Tiere* [*The Animal Republic*], a critique of the Metternich regime through the allegory of animals). Given Bauernfeld’s aforementioned characterisation of Sedlnitzky and his close artistic collaboration with Schubert, it is highly likely that Schubert was similarly critical of the censorship regulations he faced. Schubert’s success as a composer suggests he knew how to navigate the highly bureaucratic and stringent censorship laws in order to live as a composer, which he first experienced with his setting of Friedrich Schiller’s (1759–1805) “Der Kampf” (“The Battle”), written in 1817 but published posthumously in 1829. He was not the only Viennese composer to face difficulties from the censors, Beethoven was also particularly critical of the stringent regulations faced by artists, exclaiming how “they are discussing a law about how high a bird can fly and how quickly hares may run.”¹⁹ Beethoven’s conversation books indicate his ongoing awareness of censorship, particularly in reference to a late 1822 performance of *The Ruins of Athens*. It was pointed out to the composer that any reworking of the libretto by Kotzebue and Karl Meisl (1775–1853) which refers to the ongoing political situation of the Greeks would be banned by the censors.²⁰ While composers in Vienna were politically engaged, they were forced to navigate bureaucratic censorship laws in order to survive.

Literary support for the Greek cause within the Austrian Empire proved to be difficult, as works associated with philhellenic authors were also censored. Wilhelm Müller’s *Lieder der Griechen* and his subsequent volumes received the highest “Damnatur” status from the censors, when they were published by the Dessau-based firm Ackermann. As the Greek War progressed Müller built on the

¹⁸ Caton, “Disenchantment,” 61.

¹⁹ Höbelt, “Austrian,” 218.

²⁰ Michael Christoforidis and Peter Tregear, “Beethoven, Viena, y el Trieno Liberal” in *Un Beethoven Ibérico: Dos Siglos de Transferencia Cultural*, ed. Teresa Cascudo García-Villaraco (Granada: Comares Música, 2011), 25.

relationship he had established with Leipzig-based publishers Brockhaus and Voß and published his later volumes with them instead. Müller, however, was not the only philhellenic author censored. Lord Byron was the tenth most banned author in the period 1821–1848 with a total of 38 banned works, his works first appearing on the banned list in October 1819 following the introduction of the Carlsbad decrees.²¹ Byron was of great interest to Austrian censors, not because of the nature of his works but, rather, due to his political activities associated with both the Italian and Greek causes (including his active participation in the Greek War of Independence).²² Müller also published reviews and articles on the life and works of Byron through Brockhaus. The 1822 edition of the Brockhaus journal *Urania* was censored, containing a piece by Müller on the literary characteristics of Lord Byron's works, which arguably justified the ban of this particular publication further.²³ It is not surprising that the liberal-leaning Brockhaus, based in Leipzig, was the most banned publishing house between the years 1792 and 1848. 563 of their publications were banned during this period, mostly consisting of periodicals but also including individual publications.

Publications in other languages were also subject to censorship, and from the 1810 to 1818, twelve publications in Greek were placed on the “Damnatur” list.²⁴ A further eighteen publications in the Greek language were censored during the period of the Greek War of Independence.²⁵ The Greek journal *Logios Ermis* was shut down in 1821 by Austrian authorities in light of their perceived revolutionary activities following the arrest of then editor Konstantinos Kokkinakis (1775/1781–1831). The Greek community was not the only diaspora community to be targeted by these measures, as works written in French, Spanish, Hebrew, Yiddish, Hungarian, Serbian, Portuguese, Ukrainian, Russian, Slovenian, Slovakian, Croatian, and Romanian were also placed under interdiction through this censorship regime.

Schubert's Political Engagement

Despite the fact that many of Schubert's musical settings reflect his ongoing political engagement, he is not often considered a composer with strong political convictions. Given the political events he experienced throughout his working life, it is prudent to consider the political circumstances in which he lived. His musical responses at times demonstrate an awareness of Europe's politics, including “Auf den Sieg der Deutschen” (“The Victory of the Germans,” D81) and “Die Befreier Europas in Paris” (“Europe's Liberators in Paris,” D104), both composed following the Congress of Vienna.²⁶ He is also

²¹ Norbert Bachleitner, *Die Literarische Zensur in Österreich Von 1751 Bis 1848* (Wien: Böhlau, 2017), 166.

²² Wilfred S. Dowden, “Byron and the Austrian Censorship,” *Keats-Shelley Journal* 4 (Winter, 1955): 74.

²³ Susan Youens, *Retracing a Winter's Journey: Schubert's “Winterreise”* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 11.

²⁴ Bachleitner, *Zensur*, 151-2.

²⁵ Ibid., 164.

²⁶ There are three versions of “Die Befreier Europas in Paris,” which indicated the work was of significance to Schubert.

known to have composed numerous other patriotic settings, including many by Theodor Körner (1791–1813), which were also not published during his lifetime.²⁷

Schubert experienced a confrontation with Austrian authorities on at least one occasion. He and Johann Chrysostomus Senn (1795–1857) were both pupils at the Kaiserlich-königliches Stadtkonvikt (Imperial and Royal City College) in Vienna. As Schubert's circle of friends began to form, it became clear that Senn was one of the most politically radical of the group, losing his scholarship at the Stadtkonvikt after trying to free a fellow student detained by Austrian authorities. After the Carlsbad Decrees were introduced, members of the circle were spied upon, and Senn's place of residence was searched by the police. On the discovery of revolutionary badges with the words "honour," "freedom," and "fatherland" inscribed on them, there were sufficient grounds to warrant his arrest. He was arrested for "membership of an illegal student fraternity participation in a forbidden assembly and emulation of German student life," after assuming a leadership role.²⁸ Schubert and fellow composer Franz von Bruchmann (1798–1867) were present at the arrest and supposedly "went off against the officer with verbal abuse and insults."²⁹

The arrest of their close friend ensured that Schubert and members of his circle were conscious of how and with whom they expressed their liberal political beliefs. The methods used by the state against Senn were commonplace for those perceived as enemies or as a threat to its security, even before the Carlsbad decrees. Following two years in custody without a trial, Senn was exiled to Tyrol, western Austria, where he spent the rest of his life. Schubert's op. 23, a collection of four songs, contains two settings by Senn: *Selige Welt*, D. 743 and *Schwanengesang*, D. 744, and was probably intended to be dedicated to him, but certainly would not have been permitted given his political activities.

Bildung: Influences on Schubert and his Circle

The origins of German philhellenism are widely attributed to Johann Joachin Winckelmann (1717–1768) who as founder of the discipline of art history demonstrated his zeal for Greek sculpture with the publication of *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (1755).³⁰ Suzanne Marchand argues that one of the primary appeals of Hellenic culture to the German man was the perception that "ancient Greeks had achieved the pinnacle of artistic beauty and scientific genius."³¹

²⁷ For an overview of Schubert's patriotic settings, see Anke Theresa Caton, "Disenchantment during the Biedermeier Period – Political Subtexts in Schubert's Songs" (PhD diss., Cardiff University, 2011), 54–55. It includes works such as "Trinklied vor der Schlacht" D 169, "Schwertlied" D 170, and "Gebet während der Schlacht" D171.

²⁸ Walther Dürr et al, "Schubert (Wien)," in *MGG Online*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken, accessed May 27, 2021, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/371402>.

²⁹ Dürr et al, "Schubert."

³⁰ For an overview of Winckelmann's contribution to German philhellenism, see Suzanne Marchand, *Down From Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 7–16.

³¹ Marchand, *Olympus*, 7.

The romanticisation of the humanistic achievements of the ancient Greeks partially accounts for the “phil-” in philhellenism (from the Greek φίλος “philos,” meaning “friend, lover”).³² The literary world sought inspiration from Grecian art with authors including Friedrich Schiller, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1748–1832), and Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) drawing on Greek models for inspiration in their writings.

Schubert’s circle consisted of liberal-leaning artists who practiced the late eighteenth-century values of *Bildung*, which encouraged continuous education and was informed by Germanic and Greek models of history, philosophy and aesthetics. According to Senn, Schubert moved in a “magnificent convivial circle of young literati, poets, artists and educated people,” espousing values of freedom, friendship, honour, and fatherland.³³ It was at the Stadtkonvikt that many of Schubert’s most influential and long-lasting friendships would form, including Senn. Schubert received a scholarship for his exceptional musical abilities, after previously studying at the school where his father, Franz Theodor Florian Schubert (1763–1830), was parish schoolmaster. Many of Schubert’s friends at the Stadtkonvikt came from wealthy backgrounds, and many would later go on to become highly influential in areas such as science, art, poetry, politics, and, of course, music. The education they received was only accessible to the privileged classes; Caton has rightfully pointed out that “it is commonly overlooked that Schubert and his friends belonged to the academically educated middle classes and lower aristocracy, and hence the social classes that were most disappointed by the results of Europe’s reorganisation and most traumatised by the politics of the era.”³⁴ The circle served as a support mechanism during this period of political change. They experienced the impact of the Napoleonic Wars first-hand, which acted as a catalyst for the formation of this group of politically like-minded artists. Vienna’s occupation by Napoleon in 1809 affected Schubert early in his life, as the Stadtkonvikt was subject to Napoleon’s bombardment whilst he was still a student there.³⁵ According to Senn, Napoleon’s defeat at Waterloo “left behind a significant spiritual uplift in Austria.”³⁶

One way in which the circle demonstrated *Bildung* was through the literary reading evenings they hosted, which served as a platform for the discussion of liberal political ideas.³⁷ An appreciation of Classics and German literature was an essential formation of the *Bildung* in the circle, the study of these

³² The word “philhellene” is of Greek origin; hence, its different formation to other -phil words in English such as “anglophile,” “Francophile,” and “Germanophile.” The earliest known usage word “Philhellene” is noted in Herodotus in the fifth century BC. For more on the linguistic anomalies and historical usage of these terms, see Richard Jenkyns, “Hellenism and Philhellenism in British Experience,” in *Concepts and Functions of Philhellenism: Aspects of a Transcultural Movement*, eds. Martin Vöhler Stella Alekou, and Miltos Pechlivanos (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 125–7.

³³ Dürr et al, “Schubert.”

³⁴ Caton, “Disenchantment,” 34.

³⁵ Maurice J.E. Brown, Eric Sams, and Robert Winter, “Schubert, Franz,” in *Grove Music Online*, accessed Mar 28, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25109>.

³⁶ Dürr et al, “Schubert.”

³⁷ Ibid., 39.

“great men” and their ideas of the past being considered essential to their development. Members of Schubert’s circle were born on the cusp of the Romantic era, and were clearly influenced by Enlightenment thinking informed by the texts they studied and discussed.³⁸ The music of Schubert was also celebrated in this setting through the many Schubertiades held in private settings across the city of Vienna, the first taking place on January 26, 1821—just prior to the Greek uprising. Schubert reported in December 1822 that “[The circle] hold readings [...] three times a week as well as a Schubertiad, at which Bruchmann too makes an appearance.”³⁹ Senn emphasises that it was indeed “in this circle Franz Schubert wrote his songs,” his prolific output of lieder and chamber music frequently performed for an audience of highly intellectual, artistically flared, and politically motivated Viennese men.⁴⁰

Schubert and his circle of friends were directly influenced by the educational reforms instigated by Friedrich Wolf (1759–1824) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), which played a pivotal role in cultivating philhellenism in pupils across the German-speaking territories. As a result of these reforms, the study of Hellenic peoples, their language, culture, and the values of the ancient Greeks (i.e. Hellenism) became a core feature of the curriculum of schools and universities from the early nineteenth century. The curriculum in the Gymnasium provided comprehensive training in Greek and Latin classics, while the Austrian curriculum was arguably more conservative than that of their northern German-speaking counterparts.⁴¹ The inclusion of classical literature, such as Homer and Plutarch, was intended to cultivate “virtue by imitating the example of great men.”⁴²

When Schubert enrolled at the Stadtkonvikt in 1808, there was a strong emphasis on German language and culture, with Schiller, Goethe, and Herder placed foremost within the curriculum. These canonic German-speaking authors were themselves well-versed in the Classics and often wrote poetry on classical themes, which proved influential for Schubert and his circle. Herder was instrumental in championing reforms in the Austrian context, and viewed the study of Greek culture as an essential part of education: “And how did the Greeks come to all this? Only through one means: through human feeling, through simplicity of thought, and through a lively study of the truest, most complete pleasures, in short, through a culture of humanity. In this we must all become Greeks, or we remain barbarians.”⁴³ Such a sentiment would have certainly resonated with members of Schubert’s circle, the emphasis on

³⁸ Caton, “Disenchantment,” 36.

³⁹ David Edward Gramit, “The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert’s Circle” (PhD diss., Duke University, 1987), 162.

⁴⁰ Dürr et al, “Schubert.”

⁴¹ Gramit, “Intellectual,” 26.

⁴² Ibid., 45.

⁴³ Gramit, “Intellectual,” 48. Original appears: “Und wodurch kamen die Griechen zu diesem allen? Nur durch ein Mittel: durch Menschengefühl, durch Einfalt der Gedanken und durch ein lebhaftes Studium des wahrsten, völligsten Genusses, kurz, durch Kultur der Menschheit. Hierin müssen wir alle Griechen werden oder wir bleiben Barbaren.” Translation by Gramit.

feeling exemplified through the strong friendships they maintained throughout their lifetimes.⁴⁴

Regardless of the language in which they studied (Greek, Latin, or German), exposure to themes with roots in antiquity were prominent within the curriculum.

Philhellenism within Schubert's Circle: An Examination

Members of Schubert's circle were philhellenes, which Schubert also demonstrates through his settings of Mayrhofer. Mayrhofer was one of the most influential figures in Schubert's artistic and personal life having met in 1814 through their mutual friend Joseph von Spaun. He represents the second-most set poet by Schubert with forty-seven settings, after Goethe.⁴⁵ Spaun recalls Mayrhofer's brilliance as a student whose "command of Latin, Greek, and the classics set him apart from his fellow students," best demonstrated through his translations of Petrarch and Aeschylus.⁴⁶ A significant portion of Mayrhofer's German poetry focuses on mythological settings, drawing upon characters such as Orestes, Atys, Antigone, Iphigenia, Oedipus, and Memnon.

Schubert was also drawn to settings with mythological content, perhaps due to Mayrhofer's influence, and set forty-five songs with themes based in antiquity (collectively referred to as "Antikenlieder"). Nineteen of these songs are based on Mayrhofer texts. Schubert's earliest Antikenlied, *Am See* D124, is a setting of a Mayrhofer text, composed in 1814 before they had been introduced.⁴⁷ Not only was the collaborative artistic output between them high, they also shared an apartment together in Vienna from 1818 to 1820/1821. This period, although brief, represents the peak of their artistic collaboration, as Schubert set only seven of Mayrhofer's texts after they had parted ways.⁴⁸ Whilst the exact reason why they stopped living together remains a subject of ongoing speculation, including a suspected relationship between the two, Mayrhofer proclaims that "the cross currents of circumstances and society, of illnesses and changed views of life [...] kept us apart later."⁴⁹ His profession as a censor may have been a contributing factor to the tension between the two. Many of Mayrhofer's other poems are characterised by their melancholic settings, or "Weltschmerz" ("world weariness"), and he was later described by Johannes Brahms as the "ernsthaftest" ("the most serious") of the Schubert circle.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Ibid., 48.

⁴⁵ The four most frequently set authors by Schubert are Goethe (70 settings), Mayrhofer (47) Schiller (45) and Müller (44). For further insights on these figures, see Morten Solvik, "Schubert's Kosegarten Settings of 1815: A Forgotten *Liederspiel*," in *Schubert and his World*, eds Christopher Howard Gibbs and Morten Solvik Olsen (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 116.

⁴⁶ Michael Shaw, "Schubert's Mythological Mayrhofer-Lieder: Historical, Philosophical, and Psychological Contexts" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014), 16.

⁴⁷ For a list of Schubert's Antikenlieder see Shaw, "Mayrhofer-Lieder," 219.

⁴⁸ David Gramit, "Schubert and the Biedermeier: The Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer's 'Heliopolis,'" *Music and Letters* 74 no. 3 (August 1993): 358.

⁴⁹ Caton, "Disenchantment," 61.

⁵⁰ Susan Youens, "Schubert and his Poets: Issues and Conundrums," in *The Schubert Companion to Music*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 108.

Schubert and his close friend, writer Anton Ottenwalt (1789–1845), demonstrate the impact of their education through their own philhellenic works. Schiller's poem *Die Götter Griechenlands* (*The gods of Greece*) appears to have resonated with both artists. A stanza from this work opening “Schöne Welt, wo bist du?” (“Beautiful world, where are you?”) was set by Schubert in 1819, *Die Götter Griechenlands* D677. This same stanza is also quoted by Ottenwalt in the second stanza of his poem *Griechenland* (*Greece*, date unknown), exclaiming “Ach, wo bist du?” (“Alas, where are you?”). The nostalgia for ancient Greece appears to have resonated strongly with both artists. Ottenwalt's poem also contains overt political references to the Greek situation under the Ottomans. He labels them barbarians, expressing admiration for Greek culture whilst lamenting the predicament in which it currently found itself under Ottoman rule (see Table 3).

Table 3: *Griechenland*, Anton Ottenwalt⁵¹

Helles, heiliges Land, Wiege der Grazien, Hoher Tempel der Kunst, edlerer Menschheit	Bright, holy land, cradle of the Graces, high temple of art, mother of more noble humanity
Und der ernsteren Weisheit	and the higher wisdom
Platons Mutter und Socrates!	of Plato and Socrates!
Ach, wo bist du? Gestürzt liegen die Tempel Und die Hallen in Schutt! über der Freiheit Land Herrschend rohe Barbaren Nimmer röhrt sie der Schönheit Spur!	Alas, where are you? The temple and the hall lie fallen in ruins! Crude barbarians rule over the land of freedom; the vestiges of beauty never move them!

Schubert's music was often performed in Ottenwalt's apartment, where he and his close friends frequently gathered.⁵² The composer also set his *Der Knabe in der Wiege* D579 in 1819, demonstrating the close artistic relationship between the two.

Schubert's friends from his Stadtkonvikt days demonstrate the deep impression made by the classical education they received through their writings. Senn evokes comparisons between freedoms and godliness through a reference to Mount Olympus in an introduction to a projected poetry volume. He exclaims: “Freedom unshackles the soul to be spirit and makes the human being into a god—Olympus settles down upon every place in which free men assemble” [Senn's emphasis].⁵³ It was not uncommon for the circle of friends to invoke classical references or to encourage each other to consult classical texts. In a letter dated May 16, 1813 Ottenwalt urged poet Franz von Schober (1796–1882), also a

⁵¹ Gramit, “Intellectual,” 52. Translation by Gramit.

⁵² “Ottenwalt, Anton von,” Oesterreichisches Music Lexicon Online, accessed June 1, 2021, https://musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_O/Ottenwald_Anton.xml.

⁵³ Gramit, “Intellectual,” 44.

friend of Schubert's from the Stadtkonvikt, to read Plutarch.⁵⁴ In the same letter he also tells Schober how he heard a reading of two treatises on Greek history and Greek statesmen and orators, expressing his enthusiasm for the political orator Demosthenes. Attraction to mythical aspects of antiquity is particularly strong within the circle and many members drew inspiration from the Greek gods.⁵⁵

Bruchmann also appears to have engaged deeply with Greek literature and revered Greek mythology. In a letter dated June 20, 1823 to poet August von Platen (1796–1835), he describes how he read and explained Homer to his friends during the winter of that year (whilst the Greek War of Independence was taking place). The willingness to share his passion with his friends demonstrates the deep affinity he held for Classical literature. Bruchmann expresses his zeal for the Greek gods, musing on beauty and faith whilst also providing a critique of Christianity:

There is no evil, there is only the beautiful and the ugly in the world. Consequently everything beautiful is good, and everything ugly is evil. Morality and philosophy are accordingly chimeras, as is religion—especially, as one can easily imagine, the Christian religion. Only the faith of the Greeks is true, because it is beautiful, and it is they alone whom we must imitate.⁵⁶

He later prepared a manifesto in which he argues that Germans should follow Homeric models in order to mould “the Germans into perfected Greeks,” thereby abandoning Christianity. The comparisons of the Greek gods and the freedoms enjoyed by the peoples who worshipped them is nonetheless striking and appears to have had an influence on the consciousness of members of the circle.

Schubert met one of his earliest friends, composer Benedict Randhartinger (1802–1893), after replacing him in the Wiener Hofkapelle in 1812. Randhartinger was intimately acquainted with Greek culture, and is known to have formed friendships with Greeks in Vienna, and was therefore almost certainly exposed to revolutionary Greek ideas. He also set Greek poetry to music and through his connections to the local Greek community offered “his valuable knowledge to the Greek society living in Vienna [...] and was inspired by the Hellenic world.”⁵⁷ His works are known to have entered the catalogue of King Otto II of Greece, including his Ὅμινος (Hymn) op. 110 (date unknown), a four-part choral work

⁵⁴ Ibid., 368-9.

⁵⁵ Gramit, “Intellectual,” 44.

⁵⁶ John M. Gingerich, “Those of us Who Found our Life in Art: The Second-Generation Romanticism of the Schubert-Schober Circle, 1820–1825,” in *Franz Schubert and his World*, eds. Christopher Howard Gibbs and Morten Solvik Olsen (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 95-6.

⁵⁷ Constantine Carambelas-Sgourdas, “The Greek Presence in the Musical Life of Vienna during the 19th and 20th Centuries,” in *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries*, ed. Herbert Kröll (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2007), 191.

with text in Greek dedicated to the monarch.⁵⁸ The extent to which Randhartinger influenced Schubert's philhellenism is unclear, and research into Randhartinger's works and life is ongoing.

Many of Schubert's friends are known to have possessed skills in the Greek language. In addition to Randhartinger and Mayrhofer, Bruchmann and Bauernfeld also possessed a high command of the Greek language. Bauernfeld is known to have studied the New Testament in the original Greek in 1823–1824.⁵⁹ The composer's well-documented collaboration with the prominent Austrian baritone Johann Michael Vogl (1768–1840) arguably began through their common interest in antiquity and Greek mythology—with Vogl also possessing skills in the Greek language.⁶⁰ Vogl even received the nickname of “der griechische Vogel” (“the Greek bird”) from the circle, a play on words on his surname. Schubert used this epithet in an 1818 letter addressed to seven members of the circle.⁶¹

Following this examination of Schubert's immediate social and political environment, it is clear he and his friends demonstrated a high level of political awareness and admiration for Greek culture. Schubert was, arguably, a philhellene. The rigorous education in Classical literature received by Schubert and his closest friends imparted a deep appreciation of Greek antiquity, best exemplified through Mayrhofer, which nurtured their philhellenism. Given the philhellenism and political involvement of the circle, it is almost certain that Schubert would have had an awareness of the Greek War of Independence, as one of the most significant political developments in Europe in the early nineteenth century. Literary scholar Constanze Güthenke argues that from the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, philhellenism takes on a political dimension as well as a cultural one.⁶² The very nature of identification with the philhellenic movement therefore suggests implicit support of the political aspirations of the Greeks, that is, the establishment of an independent nation state. It is unlikely that Schubert and his circle did not also hold these political aspirations.

⁵⁸ See Δημήτρης Θέμελης, “Η μουσική συλλογή από την ιδιωτική βιβλιοθήκη του Όθωνα της Ελλάδας,” *Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών* 31 (1979): 453–81.

⁵⁹ Gingerich, “Circle,” 92.

⁶⁰ Marjorie Hirsch, “Mayrhofer, Schubert, and the Myth of ‘Vocal Memnon,’” in *Unknown Schubert*, eds. Barbara M Reul and Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2008), 3–23. Schubert's was enamoured by Vogel's portrayal of Orestes in Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* in 1813, and it has been argued that their common interest in Greek antiquity begin their collaborative relationship when they met in 1817.

⁶¹ Gingerich, “Circle,” 95; “Brief vom 08.09.1818 an Schober, Spaun, Mayrhofer, Senn, Streinsberg, Wayß, Weidlich,” Schubert Online, accessed May 26, 2021, https://schubert-online.at/aktivpage/briefe_einzelansicht.php?briefe_id=1&herkunft=volltextsuche.

⁶² Constanze Güthenke, *Placing Modern Greece: The Dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 99.

Winterreise — An Expression of Schubert's Philhellenism?

Schubert's attraction to Müller is arguably motivated by their shared philhellenism. The importance of the Greek cause to Müller was widely known (certainly to Schubert and his circle) as news of the uprising made its way around Europe. Schubert's ability to express his philhellenism as a resident of Vienna, however, was severely limited due to extensive censorship which was more strongly enforced in the Austrian Empire than in other territories in the German Confederation. The fact that Schubert composed two song cycles based on Müller's works during the Greek War of Independence is therefore significant. *Die schöne Müllerin* and *Die Winterreise* could both be situated within this political context; however, *Die schöne Müllerin* could be viewed as a reflection of romantic disenfranchisement, or indeed of a failed uprising. Whilst a recontextualisation of both works is indeed possible (and would be fruitful), this study will only consider *Die Winterreise* due to the thematic similarities and the more immediate relationship to the overtly philhellenic "Griechenlieder." By situating *Winterreise* within the broader political context of the German Confederation and the Greek War, the possibility arises for interpreting the concealed political references and symbolism in a new light.

Schubert's choice to base two of his song cycles on texts written by a banned author, who happened to be the most outspoken and best-known German philhellene, was arguably political. Musical settings of the "Griechenlieder" would not have been possible within the Austrian Empire given their "damnatur" status following the publication of the first volume in 1821.⁶³ Subsequent volumes of the "Griechenlieder," including *Neue Lieder der Griechen*, also received this same classification. Given the political leanings of the Austrian Empire this is unsurprising, as these poetic volumes are explicit in terms of their political agenda. Interestingly, Schubert's textual sources containing Müller's *Die Winterreise* also received this "damnatur" censorship, despite not being overtly political in nature. Schubert obtained a copy of the 1823 edition of *Urania* in late 1826 or early 1827, which contained the first twelve poems of the poetic cycle under the title *Wanderlieder von Wilhelm Müller. Die Winterreise. In 12 Liedern* (*Wandering Songs of Wilhelm Müller. The Winter's Journey. In 12 Songs*). A Brockhaus publication, *Urania* was placed under interdiction in 1821 (most likely due to a footnote by the publisher critiquing Metternich's regime), making Schubert's future source material a banned publication.⁶⁴ An additional ten poems of the cycle later appeared in the *Deutsche Blätter für Poesie, Litteratur, Kunst und Theater* in Breslau in March 1823.⁶⁵

⁶³ The database "Verpönt, Verdrängt – Vergessen? Eine Datenbank zur Erfassung der in Österreich zwischen 1750 und 1848 verbotenen Bücher" provided by the University of Vienna contains records of books banned in Austria between 1750 and 1848. Müller's works are listed here alongside their "damnatur" status. See <http://univie.ac.at/zensur>.

⁶⁴ Youens, *Retracing*, 10.

⁶⁵ The accompanying footnote printed in *Deutsche Blätter für Poesie, Litteratur, Kunst und Theater* indicates these ten songs belonged to the same cycle as the twelve printed in *Urania*, bringing the total to 22 poems in the cycle. The ten poems were printed across two issues: five appeared on March 13 1823, and the remainder printed on the following day.

Müller wrote most of the “Griechenlieder” and *Die Winterreise* concurrently between 1821 and 1823, following the Greek uprising. In 1821 the first twelve poems of *Die Winterreise* were written, with *Lieder der Griechen* also published that same year. By the end of 1823 Müller had published twenty-five “Griechenlieder” and the first twenty-two poems of *Die Winterreise*. Whilst the intention of the “Griechenlieder” is clear as a response to a developing political event, the motivations for *Die Winterreise* are perhaps more ambiguous. Although both works adopt drastically different tones, the historical context of their creation could result in both works being viewed as “two sides of the same psychological coin.”⁶⁶ Schubert obtained the volume containing all twenty-four poems in 1827, including the remaining two previously unpublished poems. Published by Ackermann, it is known to have circulated throughout the German Confederation; An advertisement for *Gedichte aus den hinterlassenen Papieren eines reisenden Waldhornisten II: Lieder des Lebens und der Liebe*, appears in the Leipzig-based *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* in November 1824.⁶⁷ It was, however, banned by Viennese censors in May 1825, not to be discovered by Schubert for another two years.⁶⁸ This brief window of availability suggests that copies of the volume may have made their way to Vienna prior to its ban.

Despite broad-reaching censorship, there was a market for banned materials in Vienna. Journalist Charles Sealsfield writes in his 1828 report as a visitor to the city that “in the circles of the nobility, and the wealthier class of bankers, that you will find a certain degree of political freedom and liberty of speech, newspapers, and as they are called, “Verbotene Bücher,” (prohibited books) in every tongue.”⁶⁹ It was these classes that adapted to the political circumstances shaped by Metternich, and meant this literature was accessible primarily to the privileged.⁷⁰ Musical and social events in the Metternich era also acted as a guise for these noble classes to circulate these banned materials. It remains unclear as to the exact methods in which Schubert obtained his sources, perhaps through these networks of the privileged classes, but their banned status and his willingness to set them to music is indicative of his political will and his strong affinity for Müller.

Given the contextual circumstances and similarities between these two works of Müller, the possibility arises that Schubert’s setting of *Die Winterreise* was a proxy for the “Griechenlieder.” Ulrich Hartung has

⁶⁶ Ulrich Hartung, “Wilhelm Müller’s *Lieder der Griechen* as an Impulse of the Sentiment Expressed in *Die Winterreise*,” in *Wilhelm Müller und der Philhellenismus*, eds. Marco Hillemann and Tobias Roth (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2015), 92.

⁶⁷ *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, November 23, 1824, 8.

⁶⁸ Marjorie Wing Hirsch and Lisa Feurzeig, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert’s Winterreise* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021), xxiii; See <http://univie.ac.at/zensur> for details on the censorship status of Müller’s publications.

⁶⁹ Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, “Music and Culture in Schubert’s Vienna” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert’s Winterreise*, eds. Marjorie Wing Hirsch and Lisa Feurzeig (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 22.

⁷⁰ Ibid. Sealsfield describes the process in which the noble classes circumvented the surveillance of the Metternich regime further: “There are no political saloons of liberals, as there are in Paris, except [in] the very highest families of the nobility; where, however, none but the most intimate and confidential friends are admitted: but during a dancing, a dining, or whisky party, some couples of gentlemen will lose themselves from the tables, and step just occasionally into the next room; or a letter received from Paris or London – of course not through the post – will glide from hand to hand, in that imperceptible way which Metternich has taught them.”

pointed out that the metre of the first poem of *Die Winterreise*, “Gute Nacht,” is identical to the first song of *Lieder der Griechen* (they are both written in heptameter). The structural similarities between these works reflects the creative state of mind in which Müller found himself at this time, which was informed by the political situation of the Greek uprising. He also points out another seemingly obvious connection between the two works, the use of hope as a theme which appears in the titles across both works: “Letzte Hoffnung” (“Last Hope”) in *Die Winterreise*, and the final poem of *Lieder der Griechen*, “Griechenlands Hoffnung” (“Greece’s Hope”). This is certainly a clear indication that hope was of great significance to Müller during this period, perhaps reflecting his political aspirations for the Greeks. Hartung suggests the leaf symbolising false hope described in “Letzte Hoffnung” “could have derived from the false hope placed in the British Empire to come to the rescue of the Greeks” of the Griechenlied in question.⁷¹ Given *Die Winterreise* does not refer to a specific event, adopts an introspective tone, and differs in thematic scope to the “Griechenlieder,” a closer examination is necessary to establish a relationship between Müller’s cycle and Schubert’s setting.

Müller’s choice of a wanderer as protagonist in *Die Winterreise* represents a popular *topos* of the German romantic, and has resulted in numerous interpretations from literary and musicological fields.⁷² The trope can be associated with cultural philhellenes (from Winckelmann to Müller) as well as political philhellenes, such as those who joined the brigades. Susans Youens claims that ‘*Die Winterreise* is [Müller’s] most original treatment of a favorite *topos* of the time: wanderers on quests of many kinds, impelled by a curse or spell, by longings for redemption or a homeland, by the search for experience, vocation, or love,’ and comes to view his work as a *Bildungsbiographie* and a product of the Romantic, albeit not a typical one.⁷³ An alternative reading is given by literary scholar Andreas Dorschel who argues that *Die Winterreise* is, rather, a work of the Enlightenment; he views its final song as “the destruction of the Romantic art-as-religion.”⁷⁴ If one were to consider the wanderer of Schubert’s cycle as a Greek, perhaps a refugee fleeing the war, Youens argument for the work as an atypical Romantic one take on a new (Greek) dimension, of a wanderer who longs for his homeland.

Müller’s poems on the surface seem apolitical, and the majority of interpretations have been associated with the thematic developments within the poetic cycle, including the longing for his beloved and evaluating the significance behind the hurdy-gurdy man, who appears in the final poem of the cycle.

⁷¹ Hartung, “Wilhelm,” 95.

⁷² Wandering as a literary theme can be found in literature even in antiquity, with Homer’s Odysseus as a prime example of a wanderer. For a historical overview of wanderers as a theme in German literature and in other Schubert settings, see Lisa Fuerzeig, “Precursors to Winterreise: Songs of Winter and Wandering, the Early Song Cycle,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert’s Winterreise*, eds. Marjorie Wing Hirsch and Lisa Fuerzeig (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 47-52.

⁷³ Youens, *Retracing*, 19.

⁷⁴ Andreas Dorschel, “‘Die Winterreise’ und die Erlösungsversprechen der Romantik,” *German Quarterly* 66, no. 4 (Autumn 1993): 473.

Political interpretations of the work are therefore rare, but certainly invaluable. Literary scholar Marco Hillemann considers the political circumstances surrounding Müller in his reading of the poetic cycle, attributing the inherent *Weltschmerz* of *Die Winterreise* to the author's participation in the Napoleonic Wars.⁷⁵ Readings of Schubert's setting of the cycle are often informed by these interpretations and typically account for the composer's own depressive state of mind, given the difficult final years of his life.⁷⁶ The *Weltschmerz* and overall melancholy within Schubert's setting has been identified by scholars such as Jürgen Hillesheim and Reinhold Brinkmann.⁷⁷ Despite the introspective characteristics of Schubert's setting, political perspectives and readings can nonetheless be drawn and reveal the multifaceted nature of a work which continues to be of interest to scholars, performers and audiences.

In contextualising the work in the post-Napoleonic war era, Williamson describes how the phrase "The girl spoke of love, / Her mother even of marriage" in the opening poem, "Gute Nacht," draws a parallel between the false promises of Friedrich Wilhelm III, who did not instate a parliament and constitution in Prussia following the Napoleonic wars.⁷⁸ Brinkmann too views Schubert's *Winterreise* as an allegory of the socio-political situation of the post-Napoleonic period. He considers the "aimless" journey of the wanderer as a journey in search of freedom and epiphany within the oppressive Metternich regime, represented by the wintery landscape. Schubert's psychological state at the time of writing is also taken into account, but he ultimately claims that "there are no concrete indications that this creative effort had political motives."⁷⁹

Given *Winterreise* is not overtly political in nature, few readings relating to Schubert's immediate political environment have been made. The work is characterised by the wanderer negotiating a cold, wintery landscape, beginning with a girl who spoke of love ("Gute Nacht") and ultimately leads to the only encounter with another human character in the cycle, a man playing a hurdy-gurdy ("Der Leiermann"). A recent reading by George Williamson "treats [*Winterreise*'s] central narratives of betrayal and exile as a kind of political allegory."⁸⁰ In this way Schubert is able to evade the penetrating gaze of the Austrian censors whilst expressing his liberal political beliefs as a critic of Metternich. Given the first audience

⁷⁵ Marco Hillemann, "Could Leo Become Leonidas Again? The German Philhellene Wilhelm Müller and his Ambivalent Reception of Lord Byron," in *Concepts and Functions of Philhellenism: Aspects of a Transcultural Movement*, eds. Martin Vöhler, Stella Alekou, and Miltos Pechlivanos (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 148.

⁷⁶ Schubert wrote the cycle between late 1826/early 1827 and October 1827 while he was suffering from the late stages of syphilis, correcting proofs to the second part of the work on his deathbed.

⁷⁷ Jürgen Hillesheim, *Die Wanderung ins "nunc stans": Wilhelm Müllers und Franz Schuberts Die Winterreise* (Freiburg: Rombach, 2017), 38; Reinhold Brinkmann, "Musikalische Lyrik, politische Allegorie und die 'heil'ge Kunst': Zur Landschaft von Schuberts Winterreise," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 62, no. 2 (2005): 75–97.

⁷⁸ Williamson, "Outcasts," 141.

⁷⁹ Brinkmann, "Musikalische," 87. Original appears: "als plausible These zumindest, da keine konkreten Hinweise darauf überliefert sind, dass gerade diese schöpferische Anstrengung politische Beweggründe hatte."

⁸⁰ Williamson, "Outcasts," 140.

for much of Schubert's music was his circle, who shared his views as fellow critics of Metternich's regime, it is highly likely they could have interpreted the work from a political angle.

The use of imagery from nature as political metaphor in poetry was commonplace by the end of the eighteenth century, and was also employed by members of Schubert's circle (most notably, Mayrhofer).⁸¹ For example, spring was associated with renewal and in a political context is typically viewed as the embrace of freedom and the transition to democracy, following the end of the oppressive regime.⁸² The metaphor of spring in the cycle thereby takes on a metaphorical meaning in the song "Frühlingstraum" ("Dream of Spring"). The harsh wintery environment in which the protagonist finds himself throughout the majority of the cycle could therefore be viewed as a symbol for the despotism of the Ottomans which he has fled, embarking on a journey that is ultimately unresolved. Whilst the allegory of the cold is applicable to a regime such as Metternich's it could also apply to a Greek context, the work functioning as a critique of the Ottoman Empire. Given Müller's acute awareness of the Greek War of Independence, such a reading aligns with the creative origins of the work, reflecting the temporal proximity in which *Die Winterreise* and *Lieder der Griechen* were conceived.

Müller's use of bird imagery and its associated political meaning is also supported through Schubert's musical treatment. In poetry of the late eighteenth century the lark is associated with the passing of winter and the annunciation of spring; hence, it is also associated with freedom.⁸³ The lark is not the only bird to appear in *Winterreise*, the nightingale, crow, rooster and the raven are also mentioned, their musical treatment differing throughout the cycle. Three birds are mentioned in "Rückblick" ("A Look Backward"). The first avian appearance is a murder of crows who are antagonising the wanderer. In this opening section of the song, the piano accompaniment consists of rapid semiquavers in moto perpetuo alternating between both hands in a G minor tonality (see example 3.1). Their dramatic declamation is emphasised through the placement of accents on "die Kräh-en" ("the crows").

⁸¹ Caton, "Disenchantment," 73. For a political readings of Schubert's *Liederhefte* op. 8 and op. 21 (based on Mayrhofer texts), see Caton, "Disenchantment," 59-129.

⁸² Caton, "Disenchantment," 73.

⁸³ Ibid., 73.

The vocal line starts with an anacrusis of two eighth notes. The first measure contains three eighth notes: the first is accented, followed by two regular eighth notes. The second measure begins with a piano dynamic 'p'. The vocal line continues with eighth and sixteenth note patterns.

Example 3.1: Franz Schubert, *Winterreise*, “Rückblick,” mm. 20–3.

The accent is placed on an E-flat in the vocal line, forming part of an F-sharp diminished seventh chord (featuring a G pedal tone), which is also accented. This E-flat appears a semitone above the anacrusis, further heightening the tension within this phrase, which largely consists of alternating leaps based around the G-minor triad (see example 3.1, m. 21). The drama of the assault of the crows is further illustrated through the agogic accent placed on the word “Bäll,” depicting balls of snow being thrown at the protagonist, and emphasises the hemiola effect (see example 3.1, m. 21). The contrasting B section which follows features a modulation to the tonic major, G, establishing a serene and calming atmosphere. Featuring a legato melody in stepwise motion harmonised by the piano left hand, the lark and the nightingale sing together, approaching a perfect cadence (see example 3.2). Interestingly, the birds are depicted “im Streit,” (“in conflict”) but nonetheless achieve a peaceful resolution at the cadence, suggesting a metaphor for the end of a conflict (of the Greek War, for instance). The wanderer is now immersed in an environment of blooming trees and flowing streams, the peaceful outcome achieved by the lark and nightingale now stands in stark opposition to the adversity faced by the crows.

The vocal line consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a melodic line primarily in the treble clef staff. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support with sustained chords and melodic bass lines.

Example 3.2: Franz Schubert, *Winterreise*, “Rückblick,” mm. 33–5.

Further metaphors and political references associated with nature also appear within the cycle, which could be situated within the context of the Greek War. The use of the colour green was often associated with national unity and freedom, and is therefore suited as a metaphor with regards to the change of season from winter to spring.⁸⁴ In the opening of “Frühlingstraum” the wanderer dreams of green meadows and the “merry” bird calls, depicted by Schubert through the use of mordents in the opening A major theme. Although the species of the birds are not mentioned, Youens argues the dreamy mood captured is reminiscent of the lark and nightingale appearing earlier in “Rückblick.”⁸⁵ The penultimate line of the song further emphasises this longing for the green naturalistic landscape, or freedom, asking “when will you leaves on the window turn green?”

The use of the green leaf as a symbol also appears in “Letzte Hoffnung” (“Last hope”), in which there are some coloured leaves to be seen “here and there on the trees.” Whilst the colour is not stated, the colour of these leaves upon which the wanderer places his hopes would arguably be green. In this song he hopes that the wind merely “plays” with his leaf and remains attached to the tree, not falling to the ground and thereby dissipating any hopes of freedom and unity placed upon it. The use of wind also appears in the second song of the cycle, “Die Wetterfahne” (“The Weathervane”), which mocks the “poor refugee” or “poor fugitive” (“armen Flüchtling”) from the top of the house. It is unclear from exactly where the wanderer fled in order to be labelled as “Flüchtling,” and Williamson argues that the term “Flüchtling” here could certainly refer to those escaping war or persecution.⁸⁶ This could easily apply to the context of the Greek War, as many Greeks fled Ottoman Greece throughout the 1820s. The use of wind in both these songs seems to reflect the adversity faced by the wanderer, affecting his morale and hindering his hopes for freedom.

Perhaps the most overt philhellenic reference in the entire cycle is the evocation of a single and controversial plural—Götter (gods). Kristina Muxfeldt points out that the final stanza of “Mut!” (“Courage!”) contains a blasphemous declamation: “If there’s no God upon the earth, / Then we ourselves are Gods!” (Will kein Gott auf Erden sein, / Sind wir selber Götter!).⁸⁷ This is not the first instance of Schubert setting a text evoking “Götter,” having set a single stanza setting of Schiller’s *Die Götter Griechenlands* (*The Gods of Greece*). Its critics viewed the poem as a promotion of paganism and evoked criticism from Christian writers following its 1788 publication.⁸⁸ The poem was also viewed to

⁸⁴ Caton, “Disenchantment,” 167.

⁸⁵ Youens, *Retracing*, 210. There was even a light infantry called “Die Grünen” (the Greens). Caton discusses the use of the colour green in the poetry of Austrian poet Anastasius Grün (1806-1876), who uses the colour green in association with spring. The final line of his poem “Sieg der Freiheit” (“Victory of Freedom”), winter and spring are diametrically opposed with spring proclaiming victory in the final line: “And your freedom shall equal the most beautiful day of spring!”

⁸⁶ Williamson, “Outcasts,” 141.

⁸⁷ Kristina Muxfeldt, “Wilhelm Müller’s Odyssey” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert’s Winterreise*, eds. Marjorie Wing Hirsch and Lisa Fuerzeig (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 70.

⁸⁸ E. S. Gerhard, “Schiller’s ‘Die Götter Griechenlands,’” *German Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (March 1942): 90.

have a political undertone, with Schiller's praise for the Greek gods even linked to the outbreak of the French Revolution.⁸⁹ The poem proved to be controversial and appears to be discussed in journals well into the 1820s; a detailed discussion of the poem appears in the *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen* on November 28, 1822, as the Greek War of Independence was taking place.⁹⁰ The fact that Schubert set a poem that used the word “Götter” in light of the continued controversy surrounding Schiller’s *Die Götter Griechenlands* implies a great self-awareness of his textual choices.

Schubert’s familiarity with Schiller’s *Die Götter Griechenlands* also illustrates his philhellenism before the war. The use of this philhellenic “Götter” in *Winterreise* in a song entitled “Courage!” evidently adds a political dimension to Schubert’s setting. After the final self-affirmation of God-like status, Muxfeldt rightly asks: who is this “we”? In a song cycle based around a single wanderer, it remains unclear to whom this pronoun actually refers. It also begs the question: *which* gods are they? Certainly not a Christian God. Are the gods “upon on Earth” the Greek gods? Müller’s strong philhellenism certainly suggests this. Such a sentiment may have been apparent to Schubert and members of his circle, particularly Bruchmann who advocated for the German people to abandon Christianity and follow Homeric models of polytheistic worship.

Final Thoughts

As a politically active liberal-leaning circle, it is extremely likely that Schubert and his friends also supported the Greek War of Independence, not only as critics of Metternich but as sympathetic supporters and lovers of Greece, its people, and its culture. This chapter illustrated the philhellenism exhibited by Schubert and his circle, largely nurtured by the education in classics they received and through their mutual encouragement to engage with Classical literature. The knowledge of Greek culture and language in the circle was widespread, and circle’s creative outputs drew inspiration from themes based in antiquity. The intimacy of the relationship with Mayrhofer and the numerous “Antikenlieder” Schubert produced is perhaps some of the strongest evidence for the composer’s philhellenism.

Why Müller? Schubert’s choice of a prominently outspoken philhellene during the Greek War of Independence in the climate of Metternich’s Vienna can be viewed as politically motivated and a reflection of his own philhellenism. The severity of the regime of Austrian censorship in regards to the Greek situation made it impossible to express any pro-Greek sentiment openly. Yet Schubert went to great lengths to access Müller’s banned publications—in itself a political act—demonstrating the composer’s strong affinity for the poet. The significant overlap between the creation and publication of

⁸⁹ Marchand, *Olympus*, 3.

⁹⁰ *Allgemeine Anzeiger der Deutschen*, November 28, 1822, 3517-3526.

the “Griechenlieder” and *Die Winterreise* also suggests a connection between the two works. These contextual circumstances warrant the interpretation of Schubert’s *Winterreise* as a political allegory for the Greek War of Independence. Whilst not a patriotic ode to freedom, like Müller’s *Lieder der Griechen*, Schubert’s setting is a more understated and introspective work. It exhibits numerous political traits through its use of natural phenomena as political metaphors, including the changing of seasons and birds. These metaphors may have been apparent to politically aware audiences, including members of his own circle.

Neither Müller nor Schubert lived to see Greece attain its independence, and the open-ended nature of *Die Winterreise*’s conclusion reflects the fact the Greek War of Independence was unresolved at the time it was composed. It is neither a triumphant victory, nor a crushing defeat, and does not offer the release of death. The cycle ends not with a statement but a question: “will the wanderer go with the hurdy-gurdy man? Will he in turn accompany his songs?” Which “songs” does the wanderer refer to? Could this be a textual reference by Müller to his own songs, the “Griechenlieder”? These questions have long been examined and continue to perplex scholars, performers and audiences. It is hoped that the consideration of these contextual circumstance of the work in relation to Schubert’s philhellenism contributes to a long-standing culture of appreciation of a work that continues to inspire and provoke all those who encounter it.

Conclusion

This thesis demonstrates that the German-speaking world maintained an active interest in the Greek War of Independence through their musical activities. To show their support for the Greek cause, musicians from across the German Confederation participated in a broader culture of benefit concerts and publications which raised funds for the Greeks. The fact that German-speaking composers chose Müller's texts as source material for their musical settings is a reflection of the extent of his philhellenic influence across the German Confederation, which was in alignment with German nationalist and liberal sentiments. Müller's influence is therefore more widespread than previously thought, extending also to the musical world.

The first chapter provided an outline of the Greek War of Independence and established the political context in which Müller created his philhellenic works, which in turn were set to music by composers from across the German Confederation. It also established that the Greek diaspora in Vienna played a significant role in the developments leading up to the revolution, particularly through the revolutionary society the *Philiki Etaireia* and the publication and distribution of periodicals and revolutionary pamphlets. Following the onset of the Greek revolts, support for the Greeks emanated from across Europe — including the musical world. One form in which this support manifested was the staging of benefit concerts to raise funds for the Greeks. Two examples of benefit concerts taking place in 1826 were presented and contrasted; the Breslau concert had hitherto not received any scholarly attention.

The second chapter shed light on three musical settings of Müller's texts: two were based on his “Griechenlieder,” and the other on his translation of a French edition of Greek folk songs. It also illustrated Müller's ties to Vienna, where he was ultimately radicalised through his contact with Greek revolutionaries living there. His “Griechenlieder” emerged from these revolutionary roots and elicited musical responses from composers of like mind, including Bernhard Klein, Ludwig Berger, and Joseph Demharter. Klein's dedication to the Greeks on the title page of his *Neugriechische Volkslieder* is also noteworthy, demonstrating that he too participated in a culture of benefit publications which raised funds for the Greek cause. Two contrasting philhellenic styles were illustrated through an analysis of these musical settings. Demharter's overt philhellenism take on a heroic tone, adopting larger scale structures and expressive devices, given he was based in Bavaria where the political climate allowed for more open support for the Greek cause. The settings of Klein and Berger are more understated in approach, using simple accompaniments and more folk-like melodies. This reflects the political climate of the Prussian Empire where it was comparatively more difficult to express philhellenic sentiments of support.

The third chapter considered an alternative context within the German Confederation in which open support for the Greek cause was not possible, due to a political climate of censorship and suppression of revolutionary activity. This chapter examined the censorship regime within the Austrian Empire, overseen by Metternich. It was followed by an examination of the philhellenism within Schubert's circle, cultivated through their rigorous education in the Classics, and argued that the composer's own philhellenism motivated his choice of Müller. An examination of the political references and metaphors contained within *Die Winterreise* was situated with the context of the Greek War of Independence.

Given Schubert would not have been able to set the "Griechenlieder" to music in this political climate, the composer's setting of *Die Winterreise* could therefore be viewed as a proxy for his philhellenic support.

Future avenues for research include an examination of the many benefit concerts which were held in support for the Greek cause. Concerts are known to have taken place in the United States, France, Sweden, and England. It is highly likely others also took place in the German-speaking lands. A comprehensive study into these concerts and their impact would illustrate the extent of philhellenism in the musical world more accurately (even across the Atlantic). Furthermore, the money raised from benefit concerts and publications, such as Klein's *Neugriechische Volkslieder*, deserves scrutiny to reveal the full extent of the financial support provided by the musical world. There are many more musical settings with texts by Müller, particularly those based on the "Griechenlieder," as well as works by other composers who published musical works with the express purpose of benefitting the Greek cause — these are all deserving of more scholarly attention. An examination of additional philhellenic musical settings from German-speaking territories would illustrate the dissemination of philhellenism amongst these musical circles more accurately, as well as the extent of the dialogue between the literary and musical worlds. A critical edition of the works presented in this thesis was beyond the scope of this study, given the final page of one work was missing and another known setting could not be obtained in the present circumstances. It is hoped that in future a volume of songs inspired by the Greek War of Independence will eventuate in light of the passing of the bicentenary of the Greek uprising.

Vienna's role as a site of Romantic music formation appears to be deeply intertwined with the philhellenic movement. An analysis of *Die Winterreise* alongside *Die schöne Müllerin* in terms of their political subtexts would be fruitful, as well as a deeper examination of Schubert's musical treatment of these texts by Müller. The presence of Greek musicians in German-speaking territories throughout the nineteenth century would have certainly contributed to the philhellenic imagination.¹ A deeper examination of the reception history of works with covert political subtexts performed in the Austrian

¹ See Constantine Carambelas-Sgourdas, "The Greek Presence in the Musical Life of Vienna during the 19th and 20th Centuries," in *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries*, ed. Herbert Kröll (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2007), 192.

capital, including those with the philhellenic cause in mind, would perhaps better illustrate how these ideas influenced the German-speaking musical world. Censorship and covert expressions of liberalism and philhellenism arguably contributed to the rise of Romantic music, and new readings which take this phenomenon into account would be revealing. Further research supported by primary sources would also add nuance to the discussions surrounding censorship in particular. A deeper understanding of musical philhellenism would also provide new perspectives on incidental music, particularly with the revival of ancient Greek tragedy during the early nineteenth century.

Much of the music that was composed following the Greek War was arguably shaped by the political and artistic ideas from the 1820s which circulated throughout the German-speaking lands. Richard Wagner (1813–1883) writes in his memoirs how the events of the Greek War of Independence impacted him during his early childhood years:

My love for Greece, which later turned enthusiastically to the mythology and history of ancient Hellas, thus proceeded from enthusiastic and painful participation in events of the immediate present. I remember that later, in the struggle of the Hellenes against the Persians, I always felt the impressions of this latest Greek uprising against the Turks.²

Whilst the accuracy of the memoirs are refuted, the fact that the composer specifically reflects on the Greek War of Independence over forty years after it began is significant, demonstrating its influence on the imagination of one the most influential composers of the Romantic period. The study of philhellenism in the German-speaking lands has the potential for broader implications in the study of Romantic music, which deserves a more nuanced understanding which takes into account the politics and philhellenism in the early years of its genesis.

² Richard Wagner, *Mein Leben* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1911), 11.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Fauriel, Claude. *Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*, 2 vols. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1824.

Fauriel, Claude and Wilhelm Müller. *Neugriechische Volkslieder*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1825.

Müller, Wilhelm. *Wilhelm Müller: Gedichte*. Berlin: Holzinger, 2014.

Musical Scores

Berger, Ludwig. *Zwölf Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 43. Leipzig: Frédéric Hofmeister, 1844.

Demharter, Joseph. *Alexander Ypsilanti auf Munkacs*. Augsburg: Gombart. [Date unknown].

Klein, Bernhard. *Neugriechische Volkslieder: für eine Singstimme mit Klavier-Begleitung zum Besten der Greise, Wittwen und Waisen der nothleidenden Griechen herausgegeben*. Berlin: Georg Reimer, c. 1828.

Schubert, Franz. *Winterreise*. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1979.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Allgemeine Anzeiger der Deutschen, 1822.

Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, 1826.

Cäcilia, eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt, 1826.

Österreichisches Beobachter, 1822.

Wiener Zeitung, 1821.

Zeitung für die elegante Welt, 1824.

Secondary Sources

Angélique, Amandry. “Le Philhellénisme en France: Partitions de Musique.” *Gleaner* 17 (1981): 25-45.

Bachleitner, Norbert. *Die Literarische Zensur in Österreich Von 1751 Bis 1848*. Wien: Böhlau, 2017.

Beaton, Roderick. *Byron's War: Romantic Rebellion, Greek Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

---. *Greece: Biography of a Modern Nation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.

- Beaton, Roderick, and David Ricks, eds. *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, & the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)*. Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2009.
- Brewer, David. *The Greek War of Independence*. London: Overlook Duckworth, 2011.
- Brinkmann, Reinhold. "Musikalische Lyrik, politische Allegorie und die 'heil'ge Kunst': Zur Landschaft von Schuberts Winterreise." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 62, no. 2 (2005): 75–97.
- Brown, Maurice J.E., Eric Sams, and Robert Winter. "Schubert, Franz." *Grove Music Online*. Accessed Mar 28, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25109>.
- Caton, Anke Therese. "Disenchantment during the Biedermeier Period – Political Subtexts in Schubert's Songs." PhD diss., Cardiff University, 2011.
- Christoforidis, Michael and Peter Tregear. "Beethoven, Viena, y el Trieno Liberal." In *Un Beethoven Ibérico: Dos Siglos de Transferencia Cultural*, edited by Teresa Cascudo García-Villaraco, 17-30. Granada: Comares Música, 2011.
- Clive, H. P. *Schubert and His World: A Biographical Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Dascalakis, Apostolos. "The Greek Marseillaise of Rhigas Velestinlis." *Balkan Studies* 7, no. 2 (January 1966): 273-296.
- Deligiorgis, Stavros. "Fauriel and Modern Greek Poetry." *PMLA* 84, no. 1 (1969): 9–13.
- Dorschel, Andreas. "Die Winterreise und die Erlösungsversprechen der Romantik." *German Quarterly* 66, no. 4 (Autumn 1993): 467-76.
- Dowden, Wilfred S. "Byron and the Austrian Censorship." *Keats-Shelley Journal* 4 (1955): 67–75.
- Dürr, Walther and Michael Kube. "Schubert (Wien)." *MGG Online*. Accessed June 1, 2021. <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/371402>.
- Gerhard, E.S. "Schiller's 'Die Götter Griechenlands.'" *German Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (March 1942): 86-92.
- Gibbs, Christopher Howard, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Gibbs, Christopher Howard, and Morten Solvik Olsen, eds. *Franz Schubert and His World*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Goldstein, Robert Justin. *The War for the Public Mind: Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000.
- Grair, Charles A. "The Poetics of National Liberation: Wilhelm Müller's Lieder Der Griechen." *Goethe Yearbook* 11, no. 1 (2002): 307–26.
- Gramit, David. "The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle." PhD diss., Duke University, 1987.

---. “Schubert and the Biedermeier: The Aesthetics of Johann Mayrhofer’s ‘Heliopolis’.” *Music and Letters* 74, no. 3 (1993): 355–82.

Green, Richard D. “Klein, Bernhard.” *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 29 Apr. 2021.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.15120>.

Grimsted, Patricia Kennedy. “Capodistrias and a ‘New Order’ for Restoration Europe: The ‘Liberal Ideas’ of a Russian Foreign Minister, 1814–1822.” *The Journal of Modern History* 40, no. 2 (1968): 166–92.

Güthenke, Constanze. *Placing Modern Greece: The Dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770–1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Hänsel Bernhard, ed. *Die Entwicklung Griechenlands Und Die Deutsch-Griechischen Beziehungen Im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert*. Munich: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 1990.

Hatfield, James Taft. “Unpublished Letters of Wilhelm Muller.” *The American Journal of Philology* 24, no. 2 (1903): 121–48.

Heraclides, Alexis, and Ada Dialla. *Humanitarian Intervention in the Long Nineteenth Century: Setting the Precedent*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.

Herzfeld, Michael. *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, rev. ed. New York: Berghahn, 2020.

Hillemann, Marco and Tobias Roth, eds. *Wilhelm Müller und der Philhellenismus*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2015.

Hillesheim, Jürgen. *Die Wanderung ins “nunc stans”: Wilhelm Müllers und Franz Schuberts Die Winterreise*. Freiburg: Rombach, 2017.

Hirsch, Marjorie W and Lisa Feurzeig eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Winterreise*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Kamatović, Tamara. “Metternich’s Censors at Work: Philosophy and Practices of Censorship in the Early Nineteenth Century.” *Romanic Review* 109, no. 1–4 (2019): 103–26.

Kardamis, Konstantinos, Eleni Kokkinomilioti, Kourmpana Stella, Avra Xepapadakou, Konstantina D. Karakosta, and Stamatia Gerothanasi, eds. *Opera and the Greek World during the 19th Century*. Corfu: Corfu Philharmonic Society and Ionian University, Music Department, Hellenic Music Research Lab, 2019.

Kinley, Christopher. “Imagining a Nation: Society, Regionalism, and National Identity in the Greek War of Independence.” *Madison Historical Review* 13 (2016): 51–79.

Kitromilides, Paschalis. *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Koepke, Richard P. “Wilhelm Müllers Dichtung und ihre musikalische Komposition.” Diss. Northwestern Univ, 1924.

- Kraus, Hans-Christof. "Reimer, Georg Andreas." Deutsche Biographie. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz34518.html#ndbcontent>.
- Kröll, Herbert, ed. *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries*. Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2007.
- Loges, Natasha. "Detours on a Winter's Journey: Schubert's Winterreise in Nineteenth-Century Concerts." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 74, no. 1 (2021): 1–42.
- Marchand, Suzanne. *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Marx, Julius. *Die Österreichische Zensur Im Vormärz*. Munchen: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019.
- Oesterreichisches Music Lexicon Online. "Ottenwalt, Anton von." Accessed June 1, 2021. https://musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_O/Ottenwald_Anton.xml.
- Ottenberg, Hans-Günter. "Berliner Liederschule." *MGG Online*. Accessed May 13, 2021. <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/49732>.
- Reul, Barbara M, and Lorraine Byrne Bodley, eds. *Unknown Schubert*. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2008.
- Šedivý, Miroslav. *Metternich, the Great Powers and the Eastern Question*. Pilsen: University of West Bohemia, 2013.
- Shaw, Michael. "Schubert's Mythological Mayrhofer-Lieder: Historical, Philosophical, and Psychological Contexts." PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014.
- Sheehan, James John. *German History, 1770–1866*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Schubert Online. "Brief vom 08.09.1818 an Schober, Spaun, Mayrhofer, Senn, Streinsberg, Wayß, Weidlich." Accessed May 26, 2021. https://schubert-online.at/activpage/briefe_einzelansicht.php?briefe_id=1&herkunft=volltextsuche.
- St. Clair, William. *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*. Cambridge: Open Book, 2008.
- Tambakaki, Polina, Panos Vlagopoulos, Ekaterini Levidou, and Roderick Beaton, eds. *Music, Language and Identity in Greece: Defining a National Art Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. New York: Routledge, 2019.
- Taruskin, Richard. "Chapter 3: Volkstümlichkeit." In Volume 3, *Oxford History of Western Music*. Accessed May 25, 2021. <https://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume3/actrade-9780195384833-chapter-003.xml>.
- Thomopoulos, Elaine. *The History of Greece*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, 2012.
- Vick, Brian E. *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics After Napoleon*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Vöhler Martin, Stella Alekou, and Miltos Pechlivanos, eds. *Concepts and Functions of Philhellenism: Aspects of a Transcultural Movement*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021.

Walton, Benjamin. *Rossini in Restoration Paris: The Sound of Modern Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Youens, Susan. *Retracing a Winter's Journey: Schubert's "Winterreise."* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Zorin, Andrei, and Marcus C Levitt. *By Fables Alone: Literature and State Ideology in Late-Eighteenth - Early-Nineteenth-Century Russia*. Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2017.

Appendix – Texts and Translations

Appendix A – Der Phanariot, Wilhem Müller¹

Der Phanariot

Meinen Vater, meine Mutter haben sie in's Meer ersäuft,
Haben ihre heil'gen Leichen durch die Strassen hingeschleift;
Meine schöne Schwester haben aus der Kammer sie gejagt,
Haben auf dem freien Markte sie verkauft als eine Magd.
Hör ich eine Woge rauschen, ist es mir, als ob's mich ruft,
Ja, mich rufen meine Eltern aus der tiefen, weiten Gruft,
Rufen Rache – und ich schleudre Türkenköpfe in die Fluth,
Bis gesättigt ist die Rache, bis die wilde Woge ruht.
Aber wenn die Abendlüfte kühl um meine Schläfe wehn,
Ach, sie seufzen in die Ohren mir wie leises, banges Flehn.
Ach, es sind der Schwester Seufzer in der Schmach der Sklaverei:
Bruder, mache deine Schwester aus den schnöden Banden frei!
Ach, dass ich ein Adler wäre, könnte schweben in den Höhn,
Und mit schnellen, scharfen Blicken durch die Städ' und Lande
spähn,
Bis ich meine Schwester fände, und sie aus der Feinde Hand
Frei in meinem Schnabel trüge nach dem freien Griechenland!

The Phanariot

They drowned my father and mother in the sea,
They dragged their holy corpses through the streets;
They chased my fair sister from her chamber,
And sold her in the open market as a maid.
When I hear a wave roar, I feel as if it were calling me,
Yes, my parents call me from the deep, wide tomb,
Calling for vengeance — as I hurl the heads of Turks into the flood,
Till revenge is sated, till the wild surge is at rest.
But when the evening breezes blow cool around my temples,
Ah, they sigh in my ears like soft, anxious pleas.
Ah, they are the sighs of the sister in the shame of slavery:
Brother, free your sister from the foul bonds!
Oh that I were an eagle, that I could soar in the heights,
And with swift, keen eyes peep through the towns and
countryside,
Until I found my sister, and carry her from the enemy's hand,
in my beak to free Greece!

¹ Wilhelm Müller, *Wilhelm Müller: Gedichte* (Berlin: Holzinger, 2014), 226.

Appendix B – Alexander Ypsilanti aus Munkacs, Wilhelm Müller²

Alexander Ypsilanti aus Munkacs

Alexander Ypsilanti saß in Munkacs hohem Thurm,
An den morschen Fenstergittern rüttelte der wilde Sturm,
Schwarze Wolkenzüge flogen über Mond und Sterne hin –
Und der Griechenfürst erseufzte: Ach, daß ich gefangen bin!
An des Mittags Horizonte hing sein Auge unverwandt:
Läg' ich doch in deiner Erde, mein geliebtes Vaterland!
Und er öffnete das Fenster, sah in's öde Land hinein;
Krähen schwärmteten in den Gründen, Adler um das Felsgestein.
Wieder fing er an zu seufzen: Bringt mir Keiner Botschaft her
Aus dem Lande meiner Väter? – Und die Wimper ward ihm schwer
–
War's von Thränen? war's von Schlummer? und sein Haupt sank in
die Hand.
Seht, sein Antlitz wird so helle – Träumt er von dem Vaterland?
Also saß er, und zum Schläfer trat ein schlichter Heldenmann,
Sah mit freudig ernstem Blicke lange den Betrübten an:
Alexander Ypsilanti, sei gegrüßt und fasse Muth!
In dem engen Felsenpasse, wo geflossen ist mein Blut,
Wo in einem Grab die Asche von dreihundert Spartern liegt,
Haben über die Barbaren freie Griechen heut' gesiegt
Diese Botschaft dir zu bringen ward mein Geist herabgesandt.
Alexander Ypsilanti, frei wird Hellas heil'ges Land!
Da erwacht der Fürst vom Schlummer, ruft entzückt: Leonidas!
Und er fühlt, von Freudentränen sind ihm Aug' und Wange naß.
Horch, es rauscht ob seinem Haupte, und ein Königsadler fliegt
Aus dem Fenster, und die Schwingen in dem Mondenstrahl er wiegt!

Alexander Ypsilanti from Munkács

Alexander Ypsilanti sat in the high tower of Munkács,
The wild storm shook the rotten window bars,
Black clouds flew over moon and stars -
And the Greek prince sighed: Alas, for I am trapped!
On the horizon of noon his eyes hung unblinking:
Would that I were in your earth, my beloved fatherland!
And he opened the window and looked into the barren land;
Crows were swarming in the valleys, eagles around the rocks.
Again he began to sigh: "Will no one bring me news from the
land of my fathers?" – And his eyelash grew heavy –
Was it from tears? was it from slumber? and his head sank into
his hand.
Behold, his countenance grows so bright - Does he dream of the
fatherland?
So he sat, and to the sleeper stepped a simple heroic man,
With a joyful, earnest look at the afflicted for a long time:
Alexander Ypsilanti, greetings and courage!
In the narrow rocky pass where my blood has flowed,
Where in a grave lie the ashes of three hundred Spartans,
Today free Greeks have triumphed over the barbarians.
My spirit was sent down to bring you this message.
Alexander Ypsilanti, the holy land of Hellas will be free!
Then the prince awakes from slumber, cries with delight:
Leonidas!
And he feels his eyes and cheeks wet with tears of joy.
Hark, there is a rustling above his head, and a royal eagle flies
Out of the window, and he cradles his wings in the moonbeam.

² Wilhelm Müller, *Wilhelm Müller: Gedichte* (Berlin: Holzinger, 2014), 232.

Appendix C – Die Klage der Mutter, Claude Fauriel, translated Wilhelm Müller³

Die Klage der Mutter

Wer Jammerklagen hören will und finstre Trauerlieder,
Geh' in die Moreotenstädt', an ihre Strassenecken,
Da weint die Mutter um ihr Kind, das Kind um seine Mutter.
An ihrem Fenster sitzen sie und schauen nach dem Ufer,
Wie's Rebhuhn hängen sie den Kopf, entfiedert, wie die Ente,
Und tragen Kleider, die sind schwarz, wie eines Raben Flügel.
Sie sehn, wie Barken segeln aus, sie sehn, wie Schiffe kommen:
Ihr Schiffe, ihr Schaluppen ihr, und ihr, ihr kleinen Barken,
Habt ihr den Jannes nicht gesehn, nich meinen Sohn, den Jannes?
Und sah' ich in und traf ich ihn, woran wollt' ich ihn kennen?
Doch gieb mir seine Zeichen an, vielleicht, dass ich ihn kenne.
Er war so hoch, er war so schlank, so strack wie die Zypresse,
Er hatte einen schönen Ring an seinem kleinen Finger.
Doch schöner als derselbe Ring erglänzte noch sein Finger.
Den sahn wir in der Barbarei, im Sande, gestern Abend,
Die weissen Vögel speisten ihn, die schwarzen ihn umkreisten:
Ein Vöglein nur, ein Vöglein schön, das wollt' allein nicht essen.
Und jener zu dem Vöglein sprach mit seinen trocknen Lippen:
Iss, Vöglein, schönes Vöglein du, iss von des Tapfern Schultern,
Dass ellendick dein Flügel werd' und spannendick die Klaue.
Auf deinen Flüglein will ich dann drei schwarze Briefe schreiben,
Den einen an die Mutter mein, den andern meiner Schwester,
Den dritten und den letzten Brief an meine Heissersehnte.
Die Mutter liest den ihrigen, und meine Schwester weinet,
Die Schwester liest den ihrigen, und meine Liebste weinet,
Die Liebste liest den ihrigen, und alle Welt muss weinen.

The Cry of the Mother

Whoever wants to hear lamentations and gloomy songs of
mourning,
Go to the cities of the Morea, to their street corners,
There the mother cries for her child, the child for its mother.
At their window they sit and look towards the shore,
Like a partridge they hang their head, feathered like a duck,
And wear clothes that are black, like a raven's wings.
They look out like boats sailing, they look out like ships coming:
You ships, you sloops, and you, you little boats,
Have you not seen John, not my son, John?
And if I saw him and met him, how would I know him?
But give me his signs, perhaps I know him.
He was so tall, he was so slim, so straight as the cypress,
He had a beautiful ring on his little finger.
But more beautiful than the same ring was his finger.
We saw him in the barbarity, in the sand, last night,
The white birds fed him, the black ones circled him:
A birdie only, a birdie fair, that alone would not eat.
And he said to the little bird with his dry lips:
Eat, little bird, beautiful little bird, eat from the brave's shoulders,
So that your wing may be as thick as an oak and your claw as thick
as a hammer.
On your wings I will write three black letters,
One to my mother, the other to my sister,
The third and the last letter to my beloved.
The mother reads hers, and my sister weeps,
The sister reads hers, and my beloved weeps,
The beloved reads hers, and all the world must weep.

³ Claude Fauriel and Wilhelm Müller, *Neugriechische Volkslieder, zweiter Theil* (Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1825), 47.