

Staging Singing in the Theater of War (Berlin, 1805)

KATHERINE HAMBRIDGE

Picture the scene. The theater was fuller than it had been for a long time: soldiers of all ranks and regiments—infantrymen, hussars, sergeants, gendarmes—mixed with the coiffed and rouged women and dandified men. The audience was hot and restive, having already sat through the first work of the evening; many were paying little attention to the stage. But the second play was now coming to an end:

The “Reiterlied” [cavalry song] was sung; deep tension on all faces, an anxious silence in the crowded house. Then Kaselitz, in the costume of a Piccolomini dragoon, stepped forward and distributed among his comrades a printed song in praise of war. The Pappenheimer troops, the Pandurs, [Field Marshal] Illo’s Croats [characters on stage], all turned out to know how to read German. The orchestra began, and, to the melody of Schulz’s “Am Rhein, am Rhein,” a song was sung that, we are assured by surviving contemporaries, wrought an effect like a Tyrtæan war song. The public stood up. They stretched their arms toward the stage in order to receive the text and sing along; the barriers around the orchestra fell. But printed flyers were already raining down from the amphitheater. The parterre joined in: it was uncertain which was greater, exultation or emotion. The ladies in the loges waved their scarves; serious men, from whose furrowed faces one would have sworn they had never cried, stood with tears in their eyes.

The last stanza had to be repeated. “What a poem!”—“What a song!”—“A poet!”—From mouth to mouth his name went round, whispered: “It is Major von Knesebeck!” Then cried one to another, “Gracious me, Knesebeck a poet!”¹

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1. Alexis, *Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht*, 258: “Das Reiterlied war gesungen; tiefe Spannung auf allen Gesichtern, ein banges Schweigen in dem gedrängt vollen Hause. Da trat Kaselitz als Dragoner von Piccolomini vor, und vertheilte ein gedrucktes Lied zum Lobe des Krieges unter seine Cameraden. Die Pappenheimer, die Panduren, Illos Kroaten, alle verstanden Deutsch zu lesen, das Orchester hub an, und nach der Schulzeschen Melodie: ‘Am Rhein, am Rhein!’ ward ein Lied gesungen, von dem überlebende Zeitgenossen uns versichern, daß es gewirkt wie ein Tyrtäischer Kriegsgesang. Das Publicum erhob sich. Man streckte die Arme nach der Bühne, um den Text zum Mitsingen zu erhalten, die Schranken des Orchesters fielen. Da aber regnete es schon von gedruckten Blättern aus dem Amphitheater. Das Parterre stimmte ein, Jubel oder

Although taken from Willibald Alexis's 1852 novel *Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht*, this passage is no mere fantasy of patriotic singing. The narrative is set in 1805 and 1806, and Alexis describes here a well-documented night at the Berlin Nationaltheater, that of October 16, 1805. In the course of the three chapters dedicated to the episode, which culminates in the singing of a Prussian "anthem," "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" (Hail to thee in victor's crown), Alexis tells us that he has drawn not only on the accounts of surviving eyewitnesses, but also on newspaper coverage that has "passed into the history books."² Such claims are typical of nineteenth-century historical novelists, of course, but Alexis's have some vindication: barring one obvious inconsistency—Major von dem Knesebeck's poem was sung to a new setting (now lost) by the musical director of the theater, Bernhard Anselm Weber, rather than to a melody by Schulz—his reimagining of the occasion, particularly in the passage above, largely accords with contemporary descriptions both in detail and in the atmosphere evoked.³

There would certainly have been no shortage of newspapers for Alexis to consult. The evening caused a sensation in the local press and was reported as far afield as Stuttgart and Munich.⁴ Little attention was paid either to the first play of the evening, Joseph Marius Babo's *Der Puls*, or to the second, Friedrich Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager* (Wallenstein's Camp), which ends

Rührung, es war zweifelhaft, was größer war. Die Damen in den Logen wehten mit den Tüchern; ernsten Männern, bei deren gefurchtem Gesicht man einen Eid hätte ablegen mögen, daß sie nie geweint, standen Tränen im Auge.

"Die letzte Strophe mußte wiederholt werden. 'Das ist ein Lied!'—'Das ein Gesang!'—'Ein Dichter!'—Von Mund zu Munde ging sein Name geflüstert hin: 'Es sind der Herr Major von Knesebeck!' Dort schrie Einer dem Andern zu: 'Donner und Wetter, der Knesebeck ein Dichter!'" All translations are mine unless stated otherwise. The original spellings of all primary sources have been retained.

2. *Ibid.*, 265: "Was bis hier geschehen, davon finden wir die Hauptzüge wenigstens in den öffentlich gewordenen Berichten. Die Zeitungen gedenken des denkwürdigen Abends; aus ihnen sind jene Züge schon in die Geschichtsbücher übergegangen." At this point, "Heil dir im Siegerkranz," sung to the tune of "God Save the King," occupied an ambiguous position as a semi-official monarchical anthem. I shall return to the genesis of "Heil dir" shortly.

3. Indeed, this "error" also derives from contemporary sources: both the *Vossische Zeitung*, October 19, 1805, and the *Kaiserlich- und Kurpfälzbairisch privilegierte allgemeine Zeitung*, November 10, 1805, 1239–40, describe Weber's melody as similar to Schulz's "Am Rhein." The scenes preceding and following this extract cannot be verified by newspaper reports in the same way; Alexis's account also includes episodes involving the main (fictional) characters of the novel.

4. In Berlin, in addition to the *Vossische Zeitung* (see note 3 above), it was reported in the journals *Der Freimüthige*, October 19, 1805, the *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* 85 (1805): 337–38, the *Haude und Spencersche Zeitung*, October 19, 1805, and the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, November 2, 1805, 1055. The *Kaiserlich- und Kurpfälzbairisch privilegierte allgemeine Zeitung* (see again note 3 above) was published in Tübingen and Stuttgart; the report in *Der Freimüthige* was reprinted in the *Kurpfälzbaierische Staats-Zeitung von München*, November 2, 1805, 1060; a description of the incident also appeared in the *Leipziger Fama, oder Jahrbuch der merkwürdigsten Weltbegebenheiten*, October 25, 1805, 680.

with the “Reiterlied.”⁵ As Alexis implies, on this night the plays seem to have functioned as a prelude to the main event, the communal singing of a new “Kriegslied” (war song), Knesebeck’s “Lob des Krieges” (In Praise of War).⁶ The report of the evening in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* began pointedly “after the end of the performance of *Wallensteins Lager*,” skipping straight to the participation of the public in “Lob des Krieges” followed by the more familiar “Heil dir im Siegerkranz.”⁷ It was the singing of the new war song that caused the stir, in other words: a theatrical premiere, but not of the usual kind.⁸

For readers of Alexis’s account in 1852, public communal singing had long been established as a political act, and one particularly associated with the German national politics of the student societies (*Burschenschaften*), the male-voice choirs, the *Rheinlieder* of 1840, and the violent protests across German lands in 1848. In 1805, however, the extensive newspaper coverage suggests that this apparent display of patriotic enthusiasm via musical participation was both an unusual and a significant occurrence. Indeed, it was in these early years of the nineteenth century that ideas of popular political participation, and the role of music in engendering patriotic sentiment and action, were moving to the forefront of discourse, in response to the Revolutionary and Republican Wars with France.

In this article I shall explore the nature of this particular event and its interpretation in the press in order to examine the establishment of public singing as a political act in Prussia and other German-speaking lands, as well as the ambiguity of the precise “patriotic” politics on display. To do so inevitably leads to an intersection with the more familiar, later nineteenth-century tradition of choral singing that would play such an important part in German musical culture and the cultivation of national sentiment, and that has recently been subjected to renewed musicological scrutiny in the monographs of James Garratt and Ryan Minor.⁹ This moment around 1805, I would argue, forms an earlier part of the larger story, but also diverges from it: I bring to light ideas about and repertoires of popular song that are often at odds with the *Bildung*-orientated choral movement, being more directly influenced by new practices of musical participation in revolutionary France.

5. Neither work was new to the Berlin stage. *Wallensteins Lager* had been in the repertory of the Berlin Nationaltheater since 1803, Babo’s *Der Puls* since 1802.

6. In translating “Kriegslied” as “war song” rather than the more familiar “battle hymn” I hope to render more precisely the meaning of the German term, which is not specific to combat but rather refers more generally to a state of war.

7. *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, November 2, 1805, 1055: “Nach Beendigung der Aufführung von *Wallensteins Lager*.”

8. Audiences singing songs and anthems had long been a feature of theatrical life in England, symptomatic of the very different public sphere operating there. Russell’s *Theatres of War* presents many English parallels to the types of behaviors and discourses covered in this article.

9. See Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, and Minor, *Choral Fantasies*.

In terms of repertory, then, my work has more in common with that of historians of popular song in the Napoleonic Wars, and with Nicholas Mathew's recent discussion of patriotic songs and anthems in Vienna during the "Aufruf" (the call for volunteer soldiers) of 1797.¹⁰ In contrast to the focus in existing scholarship on musical, literary, and theoretical texts, however, my account is grounded in particular performances—part reception-study, part thick description—in order to capture something of the specificity of communal singing's meanings and effects.

The turn to performance within the humanities is by now well established, but it can suggest some particular lines of inquiry here.¹¹ Dealing with both events and the discourses surrounding them—as well as with successive performances and reviews, as we shall see—allows their mutually constructive, mutually intensifying relationship to emerge: not just a Butlerian performativity of discourse, but the inflection of discourse by performance.¹² The setting of these performances is also notable: it seems of more than metaphorical significance that the communal singing took place in the theater, a place to be seen. Even though the communal singing of war songs was not formally framed as a performance, there was, I argue, an element of self-consciousness on the part of the audience that warrants an analysis of its participation as such, in particular when performance is understood according to Richard Schechner's classic definition as "behavior heightened, if ever so slightly, and publicly displayed."¹³ Such an approach informs the way I hold in tension contrasting interpretations of this communal act as performed and displayed on the one hand, and as a spontaneous expression of political enthusiasm on the other. The pursuit of such tensions—regardless of whether they can be entirely resolved—illuminates broader issues surrounding music's use as a modern tool of political persuasion, expression, containment, and display, as well as the historically specific, still controversial topic of the development of political agency and participation in Prussia in this period.

Staging and Upstaging

While the events of October 16, 1805, can certainly serve as a lens through which to examine broader musical and political developments, they also

10. Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 136–75.

11. Peter Burke has summarized this "turn," its advantages and its problems, in "Performing History." As he points out, the turn includes both a focus on performances of works and the contingency of their meaning on different occasions, and the treatment of behaviors as performance.

12. In *Bodies That Matter*, for example, Judith Butler describes performativity as "that power of discourse to produce effects through reiteration," which "'works' to the extent that *it draws on and covers over* the constitutive conventions by which it is mobilized" (20, 227). Diana Taylor has recently argued that the field of performance is "separate from, though always embroiled with, the discursive one so privileged by Western logocentricism"; see Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 6.

13. See Schechner, *Future of Ritual*, 1.

seem to have been singularly momentous, in ways that are worth laying out in some detail. The theater atmosphere in late 1805 was already combustible. Defeated and forced to settle with France at the 1795 Peace of Basel, the Prussians had watched for ten years as Napoleon's conquests accumulated, each victory an implicit threat, despite their official neutrality. Prussia's reentry into the Napoleonic Wars was much debated, and by some at least eagerly anticipated; the troops stationed in Berlin were awaiting orders to march, and many had been brought to the theater by their officers.¹⁴ Nevertheless, both the amount of press attention given to the singing that evening and the terms of its description suggest that the unfolding of the event was exceptional, whatever the potential for exaggeration. One journal called it a patriotic "Feyer," a celebration or ceremony, another, "ein feierlicher Tag," a festive or solemn day, descriptions that raise it above mere rowdy enthusiasm.¹⁵ Moreover, the evening appears to have turned *Wallensteins Lager* into a special site for the singing of war songs. Two months later, for example, on the night before the departure of the second half of the garrison, the play was performed at the request of the public.¹⁶ This time the "Reiterlied" was followed by a new song from the forthcoming production of Giuseppe Carpani and Joseph Weigl's Singpiel *Die Uniform*, described in the *Vossische Zeitung* as being suited to the "victory-accustomed Prussians." Once again, this war song was apparently sung "almost unanimously with the public," and was succeeded by "Heil dir im Siegerkranz," with ever more cheering.¹⁷

A similar scenario played out in the press the following year, in September 1806. In August, Napoleon had breached the north German neutrality zone under Prussian charge by offering to return Hanover to Britain in secret negotiations—a clear signal of contempt. On September 2, the king received a memorandum criticizing his hesitation in declaring war on Napoleon, signed by two of his brothers and Prince Louis Ferdinand, nephew of

14. King Friedrich Wilhelm III's decision to go to war was a drawn-out affair, while Queen Luise headed up a pro-war lobby that gained much popular support. For accounts of this famous episode, see Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 284–311, and Simms, *Impact of Napoleon*, 285–303.

15. See *Leipziger Fama, oder Jahrbuch der merkwürdigsten Weltbegebenheiten*, October 25, 1805, 680, and *Vossische Zeitung*, October 19, 1805.

16. As Matthias Röder has noted, at the end of the night audiences at the Berlin Nationaltheater were given the opportunity to request repertory; see Röder, "Music, Politics, and the Public Sphere," 238.

17. *Vossische Zeitung*, December 7, 1805: "Nach dem Stücke sang man, fast mit dem Publikum einstimmig, ein auf die Sieggewohnten Preußen verfertigtes Lied, u. das beliebte Volkslied: Heil dir im Siegerkranz, mit immer steigendem Jubel." The evening is reported in similar vein in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, December 28, 1805, 1247. The song is identified as being from *Die Uniform* in the *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, December 7, 1805; its description in the *Vossische Zeitung* perhaps suggests that it was the short chorus and march from act 2, scene 13, which begins "Viktoria! Viktoria! Die Feinde fliehen ferne!"

Frederick the Great; a declaration was eventually made on September 26. In this heightened atmosphere, *Wallensteins Lager* was given by popular demand on September 19, in response to the “honored foreigners” marching through the city. Remarking that the play, a “lively picture of military life,” would not appeal to those outside the military as much as to those involved in it, the *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung* reviewer remained convinced that the “Reiterlied” nevertheless continued to address “everyone.” Singing yet again took center stage, particularly when a new war song, “Die Trommel ruft! Die Fahne weht!” (The drum summons! The flag waves!), was performed after the “Reiterlied”—and received so much applause that it had to be repeated.¹⁸

In this way another war song was premiered in *Wallensteins Lager*. Unlike that of “Lob des Krieges,” the authorship of the text appears not to have been widely known, although the words had been printed with the musical score (again by Bernhard Anselm Weber) on September 2 in the patriotic journal *Der Freimüthige*, and were reproduced in the *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung* review cited above.¹⁹ Like that of “Lob des Krieges,” however, the singing of “Die Trommel ruft!” caused a journalistic stir: even the Leipzig music journal the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* commented on the rapture it had caused.²⁰ Schiller’s play, on the other hand, had begun to weary critics and audiences alike.²¹ Dissatisfaction with the exclusively military subject matter developed into downright exasperation at its continued presentation in October, two further reviews in the *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*—both of them by Julius von Voss, on whom more later—calling for respite from the work. Admitting that the songs (the “Reiterlied,” the war song, and “Heil dir im Siegerkranz”) continued to be greeted with

18. *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, September 23, 1806: “Dies lebendige Gemälde des Kriegerlebens kann freilich, für das nicht-militairische Publikum den Reiz nicht haben, den das militairische darin findet: aber das genialische Reuterlied [*sic*], womit das Stück schließt, spricht alles an.”

19. The *Kriegslied* is attributed in one journal to Karl Mächler, a member of the Prussian war cabinet and a prolific poet, whose output certainly included war songs. “Die Trommel ruft!” however, is the first work in an 1813 collection of war songs by Isaak von Sinclair (1775–1815), where it is described as having been written in Berlin in 1805 and sung frequently around the time of Prussia’s reentry into the Napoleonic Wars. Sinclair, a diplomat and writer in the service of Friedrich V of Hessen-Homburg, visited Berlin on a diplomatic mission toward the end of 1805; he is known to have mixed with pro-war circles, including those of Prince Louis Ferdinand. See Sinclair, *Kriegslieder*, and Brauer, *Isaac von Sinclair*.

20. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, October 8, 1806, 32.

21. Because the play was performed on demand, it is hard to establish how often *Wallensteins Lager* was being given at this point. An account of Berlin “before the invasion” that appeared in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* in 1807 described *Wallensteins Lager* as “daily fare,” popular on account of the opportunity it offered to sing the famous war song “Die Trommel ruft! Die Fahne weht!”; see “Berlin kurz vor dem Einmarsch der Sieger,” *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, April 3, 1807, 425–26.

enthusiasm, Voss suggested that *Wallensteins Lager* should be jettisoned and the “Reiterlied” extracted as an intermezzo:

The unsuitability of this small work for the significance that is given it is now so universally felt that the actors perform with reluctance, and the public listens with impatience, and appears to crave the “Reiterlied.” . . . Why aren’t the desired songs demanded and given at the end of the Singspiel, when the necessary singers are gathered on the stage?²²

Relief of the most unwelcome kind was close at hand. On October 14 Prussian forces were overwhelmingly defeated at both Jena and Auerstedt, and on October 17 the famous announcement by Berlin’s governor Graf von der Schulenburg (from which Alexis’s novel takes its title) was distributed: “The king has lost a battle. The foremost duty of citizens is now [to remain] calm” (“Der König hat eine Bataille verlohren. Jetzt ist Ruhe die erste Bürgerpflicht”). Schulenburg left Berlin with the remaining troops of veterans and invalids on October 19; eight days later, Napoleon marched in triumphantly. The city would be occupied by the French until December 1808, with the royal family exiled in East Prussia for another year beyond that; Prussia as a whole would remain under French control until the Wars of Liberation in 1813. During this occupation, not so much as a whistle was permitted at the Nationaltheater, let alone any collective singing.²³

This could have put an end to the patriotic significance of *Wallensteins Lager*. The play was not performed during the occupation, and the exhilaration of the communal singing associated with it might soon have been forgotten. But there is evidence to suggest the much wider significance of these moments in the Berlin Nationaltheater. As the tide of the Napoleonic Wars was turning, on the day that Friedrich Wilhelm III declared war on France for the second time—March 17, 1813—the work requested in order to capture the atmosphere in Berlin and honor General von Yorck’s troops, then passing through the city, was *Wallensteins Lager*.²⁴ In any case, the absence from the theater of Schiller’s play and its associated war songs in the

22. *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, October 7, 1806: “Das Unpassende dieses kleinen Stückes für die Beziehung die man ihm giebt, wird jetzt so allgemein gefühlt, daß die Schauspieler mit Unlust zu spielen, und das Publikum mit Ungeduld zuzuhören, und dem Reiterlied entgegen zu schmähen scheint. . . . Warum fordert und giebt man nicht die gewöhnlichsten Gesänge am Ende des Singspiels, das die dazu nöthigen Sänger auf der Bühne versammelt?” See also the issue for September 25, 1806.

23. For a general account of the progress of the Napoleonic Wars, see Broers, *Europe under Napoleon*. The French notice forbidding whistling in the theater, identified by Sharpe in *National Repertoire*, 252, is held at the Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv, Rep. 30 Berlin A, Nr. 440/1.

24. See *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, March 20, 1813. General von Yorck was celebrated for his initiative in deserting the French cause at the end of 1812; it was not until the Treaty of Kalisch in February 1813 that Prussia formally realigned itself once more with Russia against France.

intervening years had not meant their absence from Berlin. The words of the various songs were published not only in newspapers but in song collections such as that shown in Figure 1, which contains “Die Trommel ruft!” and, preceding it, a version of the “Reiterlied.”²⁵ The music of the “Reiterlied,” “Lob des Krieges,” and “Die Trommel ruft!” all appears to have been published in piano arrangements by Werckmeister, suggesting that a market existed for their domestic performance.²⁶ The songs passed into popular and military performance traditions too: the Werckmeister score of the “Reiterlied,” shown in Figure 2, notes that it was used as a military march;²⁷ the “Reiterlied” seems to have been sung by troops outside the French embassy in Berlin the night before the Battle of Jena (October 13, 1806), as they sharpened their sabers on the cobbles;²⁸ and Lieutenant Johann von Borcke described it being sung by “a thousand throats” and providing comfort against hunger and cold among troops camped outside Jena, waiting for battle.²⁹ Garlieb Merkel, in his memoirs of 1839, reported hearing a stanza of “Die Trommel ruft!” sung outside his window during that same month by a group of street urchins as he awaited confirmation of Prussian defeat.³⁰

In addition to the dissemination of these repertoires outside of the theater in Berlin, the practice of performing war songs at the end of *Wallensteins Lager* spread to other cities: Ernst August Hagen reports that “Die Trommel ruft!” was sung after the play when the royal family were in attendance at the Königsberg theater in the winter of 1806, during their exile in the city; the play itself, with its “Reiterlied” ending, also seems to have acquired particular patriotic and military significance in Breslau, Leipzig,

25. The text of “Lob des Krieges” was included in a set of three new *Kriegslieder* published in 1805 in *Der alte Korbflechter*, 13.

26. An advert for the Berlin publishers Werckmeister in 1806 lists music for both the “Reiterlied” from *Wallensteins Lager* and Bernhard Anselm Weber’s war song “Die Trommel ruft!”: *Vossische Zeitung*, October 14, 1806. A Werckmeister edition of “Lob des Krieges” appears to have been one of many “Kriegsverluste” (war losses) at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

27. The rest of the Berlin music for *Wallensteins Lager* has been lost, and despite mention of a “Reiterlied” by Weber in reviews of the Berlin performances of 1805 and 1806, and in later nineteenth-century references to Weber, I have found no trace of the music, only a trail of misattributions, both contemporary and in recent scholarship. The likelihood of the melody in Figure 2 being that performed at the Nationaltheater in 1805–6 is high given its publication in Berlin around this time (with the subtitle “als Marsch des Preussischen Leib-Husaren Regiments”) and its use in the Berlin parody of *Wallensteins Lager*, *Das preußische Feldlager*, in 1814. In the context of *Das preußische Feldlager* this tune is attributed to Christian Jacob Zahn by numerous sources, and was probably also that originally used in Weimar performances of the play. Zahn was a member of the editorial committee for Schiller’s journal *Die Horen* and is known to have set the “Reiterlied” to music; see Schön, “Zahn, Christian Jacob.” This corrects Albert Schäfer’s conclusion that the tune was by Franz Destouches and later arranged by Zahn: Schäfer, *Historisches und systematisches Verzeichnis*, 29–39.

28. See Grawe, “*Wer wagt es, Knappersmann oder Ritt?*,” 252.

29. Borcke, *Kriegerleben*, 25–26: “Schillers Reiterlied ertönte aus tausend Kehlen.”

30. Cited in Glatzer, *Berliner Leben*, 30–31.



Figure 1 A version of the “Reiterlied” (no. 3) and “Die Trommel ruft!” (no. 4) as “military songs” in a collection of popular lyrics. “Militairische Lieder,” *Sammlung einiger Volkslieder* (Berlin: Littfas, 1810), no. 43. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Abteilung Historische Drucke, Yd 7904-1: R. Used by permission. This figure appears in color in the on-line version of the Journal.

REITERLIED
zu SCHILLERS Wallenstein.
als Marsch des Preussischen Leib-Husaren Regiments.

Marsch. Berlin, bei Rudolph Werckmeister. Preis 4 gr.

Wohl auf, Ka-mera—den aufs Pferd aufs Pferd! Ins Feld, in die Freiheit ge—ro—geal! Im Fel—de, da ist der
Mann noch was werth, da wird das Herz noch ge—wo—gen. Da tritt kein an—de—rer für ihn ein, auf sich sel—ber steht er da
ganz al—lein. Da tritt kein an—de—rer für ihn ein, auf sich sel—ber steht er da ganz al—lein.

Figure 2 “Reiterlied” (Berlin: Werckmeister, 1806/7). The estimated publication date is based on the publisher’s plate number. This copy comes from a collection of miscellaneous printed music held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Erk 83. Used by permission. This figure appears in color in the online version of the *Journal*.

and Hamburg.³¹ Hagen’s account—from 1854—demonstrates the importance of these occasions in later histories of the period, just as Alexis’s presentation of the original night as symbolic of the time and setting of his novel suggests its powerful and specific resonances for Berliners as late as the 1850s.³²

In more recent scholarship, however, a shift has taken place: thanks to the canonical status of *Wallensteins Lager*, those nights at the Berlin National-theater in 1805 and 1806 have instead become a peripheral part of Schiller

31. Hagen, *Geschichte des Theaters*, 665. Sharpe notes the patriotic use of *Wallensteins Lager* in this period in Breslau and Leipzig: Sharpe, *National Repertoire*, 233. Steffan Davies records its performance on March 21, 1813, in Hamburg, three days after the arrival in the city of Colonel von Tettenborn and 1,500 Cossack troops: Davies, *Wallenstein Figure*, 92.

32. The sketch of Berlin prior to Prussia’s defeat included in Baron Alfred-Auguste Ernouf’s 1872 history *Les Français en Prusse (1807–1808)*, 9–10, recalls the popularity of *Wallensteins Lager* and “Die Trommel ruft!” at the Nationaltheater; it seems to be based (almost word for word) on the account of Berlin “before the invasion” published in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* (see note 21 above). These nights of singing war songs at the Berlin Nationaltheater also passed into the “history books” more immediately. See, for example, Bredow, *Chronik des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1024.

reception history. That the singing overshadowed the play has tended to disappear from view.³³ As we are about to see, the particular choice of play as a patriotic statement is by no means irrelevant; although Schiller's play was not the only theatrical work at which people sang during this peak of public enthusiasm—in October 1806, for example, *Der politische Zinngießer* was interrupted by a rendition of “Heil dir im Siegerkranz”—*Wallensteins Lager* seems to have been the first and the most regularly employed for the purpose of singing war songs.³⁴ But my principal focus will remain on the fact that such a play prompted a sung response in the first place. What was it about this piece that encouraged such outbursts from the audience, and how might the work have shaped the political affiliation apparently expressed? Indeed, why had this work been chosen for the premiere of Major von dem Knesebeck's war song in the first place? Despite the fact that *Wallensteins Lager* had begun to bore critics and audiences by the second half of 1806, the play remains central to understanding the singing of war songs that followed it—and itself highlights the political ambiguity of what reviewers termed “patriotic” sentiment in early nineteenth-century Berlin.³⁵

Why Wallenstein?

Wallensteins Lager is the opening installment of Schiller's trilogy about Albrecht von Wallenstein, a general in the Habsburg Imperial Army during the Thirty Years War (1618–48). By using episodes from German history, Schiller contributed to the ongoing myth-building process surrounding Wallenstein and the “national” past, just as he had with his three-part essay on the “Geschichte des dreißigjährigen Kriegs” for the *Historische Calender für Damen* (1791–93).³⁶ Analyzing the *Wallenstein* trilogy in 1800, Johann

33. Davies overlooks the fact that at least three new war songs were introduced, and treats “Die Trommel ruft!” as the text of Knesebeck's “Lob des Krieges”: Davies, *Wallenstein Figure*, 91–92. Similarly, Klaus Gerlach confuses the war songs in his otherwise helpful account of historical dramas on the Berlin stage: Gerlach, “Geschichtsdramen,” 117–18.

34. See *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, October 7, 1806, and *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, April 3, 1807, 425–26. *Der politische Zinngießer* was a vaudeville adapted from Ludwig Holberg's *Der politische Kannengießer* by Georg Friedrich Treitschke, and had been performed at the Berlin Nationaltheater since 1803.

35. There have been several attempts in the last decade or so to capture the variety and complexity of political affiliations in late eighteenth-century German-speaking lands, when “patria” or “Vaterland” could refer to a region, a state, the German linguistic and cultural nation, or indeed the Holy Roman Empire. See, for example, Weichlein, “Cosmopolitanism, Patriotism, Nationalism,” and Dann, Hroch, and Koll, *Patriotismus und Nationsbildung*.

36. Schiller, *Geschichte des dreißigjährigen Kriegs*. Sharpe has noted the continuities in approach between Schiller's history of the Thirty Years War and his *Wallenstein* trilogy, both exploring events from the point of view of personalities and their motivations: Sharpe, *Schiller and the Historical Character*, 57–71, 79–80. Schiller's portrayal of the various causes and personalities in his historical and dramatic writing is the subject of Davies's chapter “Schiller's *Wallenstein*: Playing with

Wilhelm Süvern recognized the patriotic appeal of a narrative from “the most important part of history, the golden age of the Germans”;³⁷ for Madame de Staël, who admittedly had an agenda to present German literature in a positive light, it was “the most national tragedy that has ever been represented on the German stage.”³⁸ Equally important for the identification of *Wallenstein* as a national work was the recognition of Schiller as a national poet and his works as part of an emerging national canon, an assessment that gained even greater momentum after his death in May 1805: one obituary celebrated him as the property of the German “nation,” not just of Weimar, while to the Berlin-born political theorist and philosopher Adam Müller he was “monumental and German.”³⁹

While Schiller and his works were becoming “German” property, they were viewed with particular affection by Berliners. His plays enjoyed huge success at the Nationaltheater, with an average of thirty-three performances per work during the directorship of August Iffland (1796–1814), compared with fourteen or fifteen for those by Schiller’s main rival, August von Kotzebue.⁴⁰ Schiller’s death was marked in Berlin by a solemn memorial ceremony in April 1806, and his works—many of them in musical settings—would remain a constant presence in concert programs as well as on stage at the Nationaltheater.⁴¹ Whatever the plot, then, and no matter how inattentive the theater audience, the *Wallenstein* trilogy would have carried political and cultural weight.

In other ways, though, the trilogy does not seem an obvious candidate for patriotic appropriation. The Thirty Years War was one of many slow-burning consequences of the Reformation a century earlier, and Schiller’s play showed Catholic and Protestant, south and north German forces, and many non-German-speakers pitted against each other. The main character,

Ambivalence,” in *Wallenstein Figure*, 26–57. On Schiller’s approaches to history in general, see Dann, Oellers, and Osterkamp, *Schiller als Historiker*.

37. Süvern, *Über Schillers Wallenstein*, 341, quoted in Davies, *Wallenstein Figure*, 90: “der Patriotismus der Deutschen wird doch angeregt, durch die Gestalt, welche der Kräftiger Stoff aus der wichtigsten Periode [ihrer] Geschichte, womit das goldne Zeitalter der Deutschheit ganz und gar seine Endschaft erreichte.” The use of the term “German” at this time tends to refer to German-speaking lands.

38. Staël, *Germany*, 2:51. John Claiborne Isbell has interpreted the distortions and inaccuracies of Staël’s *De l’Allemagne* as a deliberate attempt to make German culture appealing to the French: Isbell, *Birth of European Romanticism*.

39. Both the obituary, from the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* in 1805, and the extract from Adam Müller’s *Vorlesungen über die deutsche Wissenschaft und Literatur* (1806)—“gewaltig und deutsch”—can be found in Oellers, *Schiller: Zeitgenosse aller Epochen*, 199–200 and 144 respectively. Quoted in Davies, *Wallenstein Figure*, 89.

40. Sharpe, *National Repertoire*, 244. Sharpe bases her calculations on Fetting’s “Das Repertoire des Berliner Königlichen Nationaltheaters.” Overall, Kotzebue was performed more frequently, his total output being eighty-six works compared with Schiller’s thirteen.

41. “Schillers Todtenfeier in Berlin,” *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, April 12, 1806, 360. See also Sharpe, *National Repertoire*, 249.

Wallenstein, was Bohemian, fighting for—and then rebelling against—the Habsburg emperor Ferdinand II. After the scene-setting of *Wallensteins Lager* (1798), in which the unpopularity of the emperor's despotic leadership is established by conversations among the soldiers of Wallenstein's army, the second play of the trilogy, *Die Piccolomini* (1799), sees Wallenstein's loyalties shifting, accompanied by political and personal intrigue. In the third installment, *Wallensteins Tod* (1799), these intrigues come to a head, with Wallenstein's open declaration of rebellion against the emperor and eventual assassination.

To be sure, the broad themes of political and military power struggles in the trilogy would have had great pertinence for audiences in this period: Schiller's prologue to *Wallensteins Lager* referred to the "battle of powerful natures" at the century's "most solemn end," explicitly drawing a parallel between contemporary and historical struggles—and between the real world and that of the stage.⁴² These sentiments seem to have been recognized in Berlin; an article on Schiller in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* in 1805 reported that he had frequently claimed to have had the atrocities of the French wars before his eyes when writing the trilogy.⁴³ Furthermore, Wallenstein's eventual rebellion against the tyrant afforded obvious patriotic appropriation by those eager to reengage with the battle against the despotic emperor Napoleon. But even Staël admitted her amazement that Schiller had overcome the divisions operating in German-speaking lands with a trilogy that chronicled those same divisions: "The German nation is so divided, that it is never known whether the exploits of the one half are a misfortune or a glory for the other; nevertheless, the Walstein [*sic*] of Schiller has excited an equal enthusiasm in all."⁴⁴ The trilogy may have inspired pan-German cultural patriotism via its importance for the national canon, but it emphasized the weaknesses and violent dysfunctionality of the Holy Roman Empire—an unlikely vehicle for pan-German *Reichspatriotismus*.⁴⁵

The trilogy was also an unlikely vehicle for state-orientated—or indeed, dynasty-orientated—Prussian patriotism: soldiers from Brandenburg-Prussia did not even appear on stage, the state having been peripheral to the conflict. A sense of regional or territorial identity was similarly ill served by the

42. Schiller, *Wallsteins Lager*, 5: "Und jetzt an des Jahrhunderts ernstem Ende, . . . Wo wir den Kampf gewaltiger Naturen / Um ein bedeutend Ziel vor Augen sehn." For further discussion of the prologue, see Sharpe, *National Repertoire*, 174–81; and on Schiller's conception of the relationship between art and reality, see Davies, *Wallenstein Figure*, 43–45.

43. *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, August 17, 1805, 789.

44. Staël, *Germany*, 2:52.

45. On *Reichspatriotismus*, see Waldmann, "Reichspatriotismus." Indeed, the Revolutionary and Republican Wars had revealed continuing tensions between Austria and Prussia (for example, in the second partition of Poland by Prussia and Russia in 1793, from which Austria was excluded). Nonetheless, Joachim Whaley has disputed the idea that the dissolution of the Reich on August 6, 1806, was a foregone conclusion: Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, 2:565–650.

portrayal in *Wallensteins Lager* of mercenaries from across Europe (Bohemia, Croatia, Wallonia), united only by their enthusiasm for their general and for military life.⁴⁶ Moreover, *Wallensteins Lager* itself appears initially to have been the least popular of the trilogy, judging by the first journalistic responses in Berlin and the paltry number of early performances.⁴⁷ While Schiller had conceived of it as a “Vorspiel,” describing the play in 1798 as “a tableau of Wallenstein’s army . . . intended to sketch the basis on which Wallenstein’s venture proceeds,”⁴⁸ the Berlin theater journal *Eunomia* suggested it amounted to no more than an “arbitrary, unconnected series of scenes” that all say “the same thing only in a different way.”⁴⁹ In 1803 *Der Freimüthige* reported yawns from the audience at only the fourth performance in the city.⁵⁰

So what *was* the patriotic appeal of the play? That Alexis considered the same question when writing his novel fifty years later is suggested by his making a group of his fictional audience members criticize it for being “neither patriotically Prussian nor German,” but only “martial.”⁵¹ The remarks echo those of a puzzled reviewer of December 1805, to whom the appeal of *Wallensteins Lager* appeared limited to its “external character” and remarks about “military life in general.”⁵² And indeed, whatever the complicated political and religious alignments of the characters on stage—and of the audiences—the play was inescapably martial. While one critic of the 1806 performances observed that this would make it more appealing to the military than to civilians, the play’s military content may have resonated with Berliners over and above other Prussians and Germans.⁵³ Berlin was, after all, a garrison city, and over 25,000 of its 170,000 inhabitants were soldiers.⁵⁴ Army maneuvers were one of the local spectacles, and visitors and locals alike commented on the military atmosphere of the city.⁵⁵ One anonymous

46. “Wallonia” refers to the French-speaking part of present-day Belgium.

47. See Gerlach, “Datenbank Berliner Nationaltheater.”

48. Schiller to Iffland, October 15, 1798, in Teichmann, *Literarischer Nachlaß*, 200: “Es ist ein Gemälde der Wallensteinschen Armee, . . . und ist bestimmt, den Grund zu zeichnen, auf welchem die Wallensteinische Unternehmung vorgeht.”

49. “Kritische Bemerkungen über Schillers Wallenstein,” *Eunomia* 1 (1801): 24–25: “der Dichter müßte dann in einer willkürlichen unzusammenhängenden Reihe von Szenen den Enthusiasmus . . . zeigen wollen. . . . Jede Scene sagt dasselbe nur auf eine andere Art.”

50. *Der Freimüthige*, December 6, 1803.

51. Alexis, *Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht*, 242: “‘Es ist weder preußisch noch deutsch-patriotisch.’ ‘Aber militairisch,’ antwortete ein Dritter.”

52. *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, December 5, 1805: “Nur das äußere Gepräge, nur einige Aussprüche über das kriegerische Leben im Allgemeinen, bewirken das.” The reviewer argued that a play showing “Brandenburgers at Fehrbellin, or scenes from the Seven Years War”—specifically Prussian sites of self-mythologization—would be preferable.

53. See note 18 above.

54. Motschmann, “Die Stadt Berlin um 1800.”

55. “Berlinische Briefe. Sechster Brief,” *Jahrbücher der preußischen Monarchie*, 1800, no. 2: 539.

“traveling lady” remarked in letters published in Berlin in 1798 that the “old Prussian military spirit is being fanned by a breath from above once more, is being stoked up once again into bright flames.”⁵⁶ Moreover, it was to military prowess that Prussians tended to attribute the state’s extraordinary rise to prominence in the eighteenth century, a history often personified in the figure of Frederick the Great—and a history evoked by *Wallensteins Lager*. The reviewer in *Der Freimüthige* was prompted by the performance on October 16, 1805, to remark that “on the battlefield was the greatness of the Prussian state founded; on the battlefield its everlasting fame was won”,⁵⁷ while the *Vossische Zeitung*, two months later, found that “the whole piece awakened and fostered feelings of courage and confidence, recalled Prussia’s immortal Friedrich, and showed us, at the forefront of the present, Friedrich’s protégé and replacement, Friedrich Wilhelm III.”⁵⁸ *Wallensteins Lager* could, after all, incite Prussian dynastic patriotism through the military figure of Frederick the Great.

The strong resonances of *Wallensteins Lager* within Berlin’s military atmosphere was in fact the reason why the local premiere of *Wallensteins Lager* had been delayed until 1803. Iffland had written to Schiller immediately after the Weimar premiere in 1798 to make arrangements for a Berlin performance. Manuscripts had been sent, payment negotiated, and scenery and costumes discussed, when in February 1799 Iffland sent another letter to call off the performance:

It appears to me questionable, and has appeared to several significant men likewise, whether a play in which such pertinent things as the nature and order of a great stationary army are discussed in such thrilling language should be put on in a military state. It can be dangerous, or at least easily misunderstood, when the possibility of an army deliberating en masse whether it should be sent here or there is vividly portrayed.⁵⁹

56. “Über Berlin. Aus den Briefen einer reisenden Dame,” *Jahrbücher der preussischen Monarchie*, 1798, no. 2: 287: “Es hat den vollen Aufschein, daß der alte preussische Militairgeist außs neue durch den Hauch von oben her angefacht, wieder in helle Flammen aufschlagen werde.”

57. *Der Freimüthige*, October 19, 1805: “Allgemein ist die Stimmung für den Krieg. Auf Schlachtfeldern ward die Größe des Preussischen Staates gegründet, auf Schlachtfeldern sein unvergänglicher Ruhm gewonnen.” In 1810 Madame de Staël would characterize Prussia as Janus-like, with two faces, “the one military, the other philosophical”: Staël, *Germany*, 1:158.

58. *Vossische Zeitung*, December 7, 1805: “Das ganze Stück erweckte und nährte Gefühle des Muths und der Zuversicht, erinnerte an Preußens unsterblichen Friedrich, und zeigte an der Spitze der Gegenwart, Friedrichs uns hinterlassenen Zögling und Stellvertreter, Friedrich Wilhelm den Dritten.”

59. Iffland to Schiller, February 10, 1799, in Teichmann, *Literarischer Nachlaß*, 206: “Es scheint mir und schien mehreren bedeutenden Männern ebenfalls bedenklich, in einem militärischen Staate, ein Stück zu geben, wo über die Art und Folgen eines großen stehenden Heeres, so treffende Dinge, in so hinreißender Sprache gesagt werden. Es kann gefährlich sein, oder doch leicht gemißdeutet werden, wenn die Möglichkeit, daß eine Armee in Maße

Iffland's guarded language refers to the perceived lack of strong leadership from Friedrich Wilhelm III, and the danger of too close a relationship between onstage and offstage narratives in 1798. By 1805, two years after the Berlin premiere, the work's relevance was still greater, as the garrisons prepared to march out of the city, and frustration at the king's delay in declaring hostilities was openly expressed.⁶⁰ These parallels between on- and offstage situations were clearly recognized by audiences. Staël, for example, remarked,

It seemed as if we had been in the midst of an army, and of an army of partizans [*sic*] much more ardent and much worse disciplined than regular troops. . . . The impression it produces is so warlike, that when it was performed on the stage at Berlin, before the officers who were about to depart for the army, shouts of enthusiasm were heard on every side.⁶¹

According to the *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, by October 16, 1805, members of the military had already been demanding the play for some time (it was performed at least three times in September 1805) and on that night it was again given by request; the presence of so many soldiers in the theater, in the parterre and in the loges of the first tier, was attributed partly to their supervisors, partly to the theater directors, and partly to their own impulse.⁶² Other newspapers reported that the repertory had been chosen in honor of the departing soldiers, to whom free tickets had been distributed, the

deliberiert, ob sie sich da oder dorthin schicken lassen soll und will, anschaulich dargestellt wird." Sharpe also quotes this passage: Sharpe, *National Repertoire*, 190.

60. The *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* report from 1807 suggests that, even in the summer of 1806, Berliners feared that the king would come to another treaty with Napoleon without military engagement: "Berlin kurz vor dem Einmarsch der Sieger," *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, April 3, 1807, 426. The Englishman Henry Reeve reported hearing Prussian gentlemen at a dinner party in 1805 criticize the continued alliance with France, apparently an object of general ridicule: Reeve, *Journal of a Residence*, 166–67. The report in the Stuttgart and Tübingen paper the *Kaiserlich- und Kurpfälzbairisch privilegierte allgemeine Zeitung*, November 10, 1805, 1239, also pointed out the aptness of the play for a garrison city awaiting a decision about going to war.

61. Staël, *Germany*, 2:52–53. It is difficult to ascertain whether Staël herself attended a performance of *Wallensteins Lager* in Berlin: none of the recorded performances falls within her stay in the city (early March to mid-April 1804). For her letters during this visit, see Götze, *Ein fremder Gast*, 107–57; for a database of Nationaltheater performances, see Gerlach, "Datenbank Berliner Nationaltheater."

62. *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, October 19, 1805: "Schon vor einiger Zeit hatten verschiedene Glieder des Militärs im Theater *Wallensteins Lager* gefordert, vermuthlich weil der Anblick des kriegerischen Getümmels ihnen bei des bevorstehenden Conjunkuren mehr Vergnügen als sonst gewährte. Das Begehren war auf heute wiederholt worden, und man sah ungewöhnlicher Weise, auch von den unteren Graden, eine sehr beträchtliche Anzahl Krieger versammelt, besonders aber von dem Regiment Gensdarmens (bekanntlich eines der vorzüglichsten Cavalleriecorps in Europa.) Sowohl im Parterre als in den Logen zeigten sich fast überall Soldaten. Man darf annehmen, daß dies theils auf Veranlassung ihrer Obern, theils der Theaterdirektion, theils auch aus eigenem Antriebe geschah."

Berlinische musikalische Zeitung further remarking that Weber had composed and rehearsed the musical setting of “Lob des Krieges” only on the day of the performance.⁶³ This detail would suggest degrees of both forward planning and spontaneity on the part of the theater direction, and also some cooperation with the military—with Knesebeck, whose poem appears to have been unpublished at this stage (although he wrote it in the 1790s), and perhaps with the officers who brought their men to the theater, as their presence seems to have been expected.

Whatever the exact sequence of events, *Wallensteins Lager* appears to have been produced to reflect and heighten a military and patriotic atmosphere in the city and the theater. Far from idealizing the soldier, however, it portrays the troops as lascivious, drunken, and greedy: mercenaries who plunder the land when they are not fighting. This depiction is strangely at odds with the new vision of the patriotic “national” citizen-soldier emerging in German lands as a response to the French volunteers whose actions had proved so devastating. Yet as both Steffan Davies and Lesley Sharpe have argued, the significance of the play derived in part from its particular representation of individuals of low rank participating in history. Schiller has used sixteenth-century *Knittelvers* (rhyming doggerel) to set a colloquial, often inelegant tone, even though what is discussed is what the prologue calls “the great topics of humanity.”⁶⁴ That those participating are not idealized seems significant: they are portrayed in all their (sometimes unpleasant) individuality as historical actors. As with the central character, Wallenstein, Schiller was exploring “how human personality interacts with the world outside itself and how human action is part of a complex causal chain.”⁶⁵ It was precisely the individuality and agency given by Schiller to the soldiers in *Wallensteins Lager* that Iffland had considered so dangerously empowering in 1799.

Moreover, the collaboration of diverse individuals on stage provided an allegory not just for the cooperation between Prussia and its allies during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, but for that of the different groups within Prussia itself. This was something of a topical issue. Even in its years of neutrality after the Peace of Basel Prussia’s precarious position in Napoleonic Europe had led to a perceived need to define and communicate the state’s identity. Prussia, like the Habsburg Empire, encompassed widely differing ethnic, religious, and linguistic communities, which were also geographically disparate. In an increasingly Herderian climate, this

63. *Der Freimüthige*, October 19, 1805; *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* 85 (1805): 337–38.

64. Schiller, *Wallsteins Lager*, 5: “der Menschheit große Gegenstände.” See Davies, *Wallenstein Figure*, 90, and Sharpe, *National Repertoire*, 180–83.

65. According to Sharpe, however, Schiller was not glorifying individual agency, but rather showing “how little the individual can control history, being rather controlled by it and locked in its causality”: Sharpe, *Schiller and the Historical Character*, 72, 69.

posed the problem summarized so succinctly by the writer Friedrich Rambach in the *Jahrbücher der preußischen Monarchie* in 1798, in a series of articles dedicated to the “nurturing of patriotism”: “The vaster the state, the more fragmented in minor parts and provinces . . . the harder it is to bring this [patriotism] about.” Rambach’s solution was to build a legally defined Prussian community via a three-pronged approach based on geography, history, and politics: from learned (imaginary) acquaintance with the whole of Prussian terrain; from collective awareness of the history of Prussia; and from knowledge of the laws that bound the state, cultivated by teaching the constitution rather than the catechism in schools. The patriot would learn to “identify himself as citizen, to forget his individuality, and to regard himself only as a member of a great whole, of which he, at the same time, must be an active part.”⁶⁶

Nowhere in *Wallensteins Lager* is the absorption of the individual into the collective, and of different ethnic and linguistic groups into a “great whole,” more powerfully modeled than in the “Reiterlied” at the end of the play, the text of which is given below.⁶⁷ Soldiers of different ranks, regiments, and nationalities join together in an exhortation to action and in the glorification of military life. It takes the form of a *Rundgesang*, in which individual soldiers alternate in singing the stanzas, and everyone joins in with the refrains. The stage directions also describe the visual symbolism of the “soldiers from the back ground” coming forward to participate in the chorus, and later, of all on stage linking hands to form a large semicircle.

ZWEITER KÜRASSIER (*singt*)

Wohl auf, Kameraden, auf's Pferd,
auf's Pferd!
In's Feld, in die Freyheit gezogen!

Im Felde, da ist der Mann noch was
werth,

Da wird das Herz noch gewogen.

Da tritt kein Anderer für ihn ein,

SECOND CUIRASSIER (*sings*)

Arouse ye, my comrades, to horse! to
horse!

To the field and to freedom we
guide!

For there a man feels the pride of his
force,

And there is the heart of him tried.

No help to him there by another is
shown,

66. Rambach, “Von der Erziehung zum Patriotismus,” 408–9: “Die Erziehung zum Patriotismus wird daher vorzüglich dahin gehen, daß sie den Bürger lehre sich als Bürger zu erkennen, seine Einzelheit zu vergessen, und sich nur als Mitglied eines großen Ganzen zu betrachten, dessen thätiger Theil er gleichfalls seyn muß. Je ausgedehnter der Staat ist, je zerstückelter in kleinere Theile und Provinzen, . . . um so schwieriger ist dies zu bewirken.”

67. Schiller, *Wallensteins Lager*, 57–60. The translation here, which attempts to capture the tone of the German idiom, is from Schiller, *Dramatic Works*, 38–40.

Auf sich selber steht er da ganz
allein.

*(Die Soldaten aus dem Hintergrunde
haben sich während des Gesangs
herbey gezogen und machen den
Chor.)*

CHOR

Da tritt kein Anderer für ihn ein,

Auf sich selber steht er da ganz
allein.

DRAGONER

Aus der Welt die Freyheit
verschwunden ist,
Man sieht nur Herrn und
Knechte;
Die Falschheit herrschet, die
Hinterlist
Bey dem feigen
Menschengeschlechte.
Der dem Tod in's Angesicht schauen
kann,
Der Soldat allein ist der freye
Mann.

CHOR

Der dem Tod in's Angesicht schauen
kann,
Der Soldat allein ist der freye
Mann.

ERSTER JÄGER

Des Lebens Aengsten, er wirft
sie weg,
Hat nicht mehr zu fürchten, zu
sorgen;
Er reitet dem Schicksal entgegen
keck,
Triff's heute nicht, trifft es doch
morgen.
Und trifft es morgen, so lasset
uns heut

He stands for himself and himself
alone.

*(The soldiers from the back ground
have come forward during the
singing of this verse, and form the
chorus.)*

CHORUS

No help to him there by another is
shown,

He stands for himself and himself
alone.

DRAGOON

Now freedom hath fled from the
world, we find
But lords and their bondsmen
vile:
And nothing holds sway in the breast
of mankind
Save falsehood and cowardly guile.

Who looks in death's face with a
fearless brow,
The soldier, alone, is the freeman
now.

CHORUS

Who looks in death's face with a
fearless brow,
The soldier, alone, is the freeman
now.

FIRST Yager⁶⁸

With the troubles of life he ne'er
bothers his pate,
And feels neither fear nor
sorrow;
But boldly rides onward to meet with
his fate—
He may meet it to-day, or to-
morrow!
And, if to-morrow 'twill come, then,
I say,

68. A soldier of the light infantry, armed with a rifle.

Noch schlürfen die Neige der
köstlichen Zeit.

CHOR

Und trifft es morgen, so lasset uns
heut
Noch schlürfen die Neige der
köstlichen Zeit.

*(Die Gläser sind aufs Neue gefüllt
worden, sie stoßen an und trinken.)*

WACHTMEISTER

Von dem Himmel fällt ihm sein lustig
Loos,
Braucht's nicht mit Müh' zu
erstreben;
Der Fröhner, der sucht in der Erde
Schoß,
Da meynt er den Schatz zu
erheben.
Er gräbt und schaufelt, so lang
er lebt,
Und gräbt, bis er endlich sein Grab
sich gräbt.

CHOR

Er gräbt und schaufelt, so lang
er lebt,
Und gräbt, bis er endlich sein Grab
sich gräbt.

ERSTER JÄGER

Der Reiter und sein geschwindes
Roß,
Sie sind gefürchtete Gäste;
Es flimmern die Lampen im
Hochzeitschloß;
Ungeladen kommt er zum Feste.
Er wirbt nicht lange, er zeigt nicht
Gold:
Im Sturm erringt er den
Minnesold.

Drain we the cup of life's joy
to-day!

CHORUS

And, if to-morrow 'twill come, then,
I say,
Drain we the cup of life's joy
to-day!

*(The glasses are here refilled, and all
drink)*

SERGEANT

'Tis from heaven his jovial lot
has birth;
Nor needs he to strive or toil.

The peasant may grope in the bowels
of earth,
And for treasure may greedily
moil:

He digs and he delves through life for
the pelf,
And digs till he grubs out a grave for
himself.⁶⁹

CHORUS

He digs and he delves through life for
the pelf,
And digs till he grubs out a grave for
himself.

FIRST YAGER

The rider and lightning steed—a
pair
Of terrible guests. I ween!
From the bridal-hall as the torches
glare,
Unbidden they join the scene:
Nor gold, nor wooing, his passion
prove;
By storm he carries the prize
of love.

69. "Moil" and "pelf" are Middle English terms, meaning to work (or toil) and money respectively.

CHOR

Er wirbt nicht lange, er zeigt nicht
Gold:
Im Sturm erringt er den Minnesold.

ZWEITER KÜRASSIER

Warum weint die Dirn' und
zergrämet sich schier?
Laß fahren dahin, laß fahren!
Er hat auf Erden kein bleibend
Quartier,
Kann treue Lieb' nicht
bewahren.
Das rasche Schicksal, es treibt ihn
fort;
Seine Ruh' läßt er an keinem Ort.

CHOR

Das rasche Schicksal, es treibt ihn
fort;
Seine Ruh' läßt er an keinem Ort.

ERSTER Jäger (*faßt die zwei nächsten
an der Hand; die übrigen abmen
es nach; Alle, welche gesprochen,
bilden einen großen Halbkreis.*)

Drum frisch, Kameraden, den
Rappen gezäumt!
Die Brust im Gefechte gelüftet!
Die Jugend brauset, das Leben
schäumt:
Frisch auf! eh' der Geist noch
verdüftet.
Und setzet ihr nicht das Leben
ein,
Nie wird euch das Leben gewonnen
seyn.

CHOR

Und setzet ihr nicht das Leben ein,

Nie wird euch das Leben gewonnen
seyn.

(*Der Vorhang fällt, ehe der Chor
ganz ausgesungen.*)

CHORUS

Nor gold, nor wooing, his passion
prove;
By storm he carries the prize of love.

SECOND CUIRASSIER

Why mourns the wench with so
sorrowful face?
Away, girl, the soldier must go!
No spot on the earth is his
resting-place;
And your *true* love he never can
know.
Still onward driven by fate's rude
wind,
He nowhere may leave his peace
behind.

CHORUS

Still onward driven by fate's rude
wind,
He nowhere may leave his peace
behind.

FIRST YAGER (*He takes the two next to
him by the hand—the others do the
same—and form a large semi-
circle.*)

Then rouse ye, my comrades—to
horse! to horse!
In battle the breast doth swell!
Youth boils—the life-cup foams in its
force—
Up! ere time can dew dispel!

And deep be the stake, as the prize is
high—
Who life would win, he must dare to
die!

CHORUS

And deep be the stake, as the prize is
high—
Who life would win, he must dare to
die!

(*The curtain falls before the chorus has
finished.*)

The words of the “Reiterlied” do not themselves promote unity: the first stanza and refrain in particular celebrate the individual. In fact, to see the text on the page distracts from the main point: it was crucial to *Wallensteins Lager*’s appeal (and, by 1806, more or less its only redeeming feature) that this text was collectively sung. The absorption of the individual into the collective was realized musically, that is, and via a medium increasingly understood not merely to represent unity, but actively to create it. While Rambach had written of generating Prussian collective identity via imagination and indoctrination, the benefits of embodied as opposed to imagined experiences of community were also being extolled: and among joint activities that brought about physical proximity, the benefits of communal singing were often singled out.⁷⁰ Another article in the *Jahrbücher der preußischen Monarchie* in 1799, by a doctor of philosophy named Hoche, presented folksong as a vital political tool in uniting the disparate Prussian community that Rambach had described a year earlier. Hoche evokes music’s power to underpin song texts emotionally as a way of improving national character and naturalizing as instincts “feelings of honor, of gratitude,” and, significantly, of patriotism, the “first civic virtue.”⁷¹ As well as promoting singing as a didactic process, a means of establishing ways of thinking and affiliations via repetition, Hoche locates the power of song in its visceral qualities:

What makes our political festivals—and the few folk festivals—so tedious and powerless? The lack of good folksongs, through which true patriotic fire, enthusiasm for fatherland and the fatherland’s constitution, would be enflamed in hearts. Speakers and poets have an astonishingly great effect, when outside circumstances bring feeling into a certain activity, and that’s what music does. Every stanza of a song, sung communally, contains new life; joyful feelings are awakened through the consonance, through the pleasing measure [meter?] of the syllables, and through the rhythm.⁷²

70. In a recent article on commemorations of Robert Burns in the middle of the nineteenth century, Ann Rigney has challenged the “assumption that the emergence of large-scale, imagined communities reliant on media . . . somehow made all forms of embodied community redundant”: Rigney, “Embodied Communities,” 78. There is, of course, no opposition between embodied and imagined communities, the former often standing in for the latter.

71. Hoche, “Über den Werth der Volkslieder,” 9: “Eben so ist es mit dem Patriotismus, den ich zu den ersten bürgerlichen Tugenden rechne. Ehre, Dankbarkeit, Liebe, Patriotismus machen Helden und Weise, die mit ihrem Leben den Mitbürgern ein noch zu geringes Opfer zu bringen glauben. . . . Gute Volkslieder können diese Empfindungen wecken, beleben, und leiten, und erhalten dadurch einen entschiedenen Einfluß auf den National-Charakter.” Hoche’s call for folksong was not new, of course, and appears to build on the work of Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, and Johann Friedrich Reichardt; see Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 63–92. Here, however, his concern is not so much for the musical health of the nation as for its political—and ultimately military—strength.

72. Hoche, “Über den Werth der Volkslieder,” 5–6: “Was macht unsere politischen und auch die wenigen Volksfeste so öde und kraftlos? Der Mangel an guten Volksliedern, wodurch das wahre patriotische Feuer, der Enthusiasmus für Vaterland und vaterländische Verfassung in den Herzen entflammt würde. Redner und Dichter wirken erstaunlich viel, wenn äußere

As the language of the last sentence suggests, the experience of aural/oral consonance—of being in time with other people—was thought to bind singers together powerfully, to create communities: later in the text, Hoche refers to community spirit—“der Gemeingeist”—as an electric spark that induces a “wholesome convulsion of the limbs,” a metaphor in common use for the effects of music more generally.⁷³ Hoche’s formulation of singing’s power thus suggests that the singing of the “Reiterlied” on stage would have signified in ways that resonated well beyond the text and choreography.

The apparently irresistible association of *Wallensteins Lager* with communal singing begins to come into view. Not only did Schiller’s status as a national poet and local treasure make his plays a focus for German patriotic sentiment, but Berliners in particular could recognize themselves on stage. The play appealed to Berliners’ nostalgia for Prussia’s military past and their idolization of Frederick the Great as a great military leader, and to the particular military atmosphere of Berlin as a garrison town about to embark on a war—in a theater full of soldiers. *Wallensteins Lager* could thus be interpreted as a direct celebration of Prussianness, and of Berlin. But beyond that the play also presented a further symbolic relationship, that between the (lowly) individual and the collective, and in showing the loyalty of the different soldiers to their commander suggested the potential unity of different individuals within a single state. Moreover, the “Reiterlied” enacted the absorption of the individual into a whole via a medium (communal song) that was thought to achieve just that: the performance of the “Reiterlied” represented community while also representing the formation of that community—above all, within the interpretative frame encouraged by the situation in Berlin in 1805, that of the Prussian community. After the play’s presentation of individuals joining together and participating on stage in communal singing, the audience’s own participation off stage seems almost inevitable.

This sense of the inevitability—and paradoxically the spontaneity—of the audience reaction to the “Reiterlied” of *Wallensteins Lager* was of course precisely what the reviewers and Alexis intended to convey—an interpretation

Gegenstände das Gefühl in eine gewisse Thätigkeit bringen, und das thut die Musik. Jede Strophe eines Liedes, gemeinschaftlich gesungen, erhält neues Leben, frohe Empfindungen werden geweckt durch die Harmonie, durch das gefällige Sylbenmaaß und durch den Takt.”

73. Ibid, 14: “[Der Gemeingeist] ist ein elektrischer Funken, der durch alle Glieder fährt und sie heilsam erschüttert.” The use of electricity as a musical metaphor can be traced at least back to the French Revolution. Both the Prussian nobleman-turned-revolutionary-orator Anacharsis Cloots and the French writer Louis-Sébastien Mercier described the effect of communal song in terms of electricity; see Delon, preface to *Chansonnier révolutionnaire*, 11–12. For Jean-Sylvain Bailly, the first revolutionary mayor of Paris (1789–91), all collective experience in the theater was dangerous because of the capacity of audiences to “mutually electrify each other”; see Maslan, *Revolutionary Acts*, 37–38. A recent article by Céline Frigau Manning charts the later development of this trope as applied to solo singers as well as audiences: Frigau Manning, “Singer-Machines,” 247–48.

I shall seek to contextualize and complicate further in the next section. First, though, one final thread connects *Wallensteins Lager* as text to its extraordinary performances and reception in Berlin. As Mathew has pointed out in his discussion of the premiere of Haydn's "Gott erhalte Franz, den Kaiser," the *opera buffa* finale had already set up a tradition of characters coming together on stage at the end of the piece as "an endorsement of the social contract that consequently emphasizes the collective over the individual." It is at this point that the fourth wall often breaks down, where "the characters on stage often not only seem to become aware that they are singing in celebration, but almost elicit the audience's participation too" by addressing them directly.⁷⁴ Such a frame of reference is doubly powerful in the case of Schiller's "Reiterlied," which is not actually a conclusion but the beginning of the action, indeed an incitement to action ("Arouse ye, my comrades, to horse!"), as befits *Wallensteins Lager's* role as a "Vorspiel." The public's participation in a new war song after the challenge of the "Reiterlied" could thus be understood not just as a further prompt to political action and unity, or an experience of collectivity, but itself as a form of political action.

Political Singing

What kind of political action was this communal singing intended to be, and how was it interpreted? Singing was variously construed as a political act—and co-opted for varied political agendas—in nineteenth-century German-speaking lands. I have already suggested that war songs should be seen as related to but distinct from the early nineteenth-century choral movement, which in Garratt's and Minor's studies is represented by the Swiss pedagogue and choir director Hans Georg Nägeli, the conductor of the Berlin Singakademie Carl Zelter, and (in Minor's) Beethoven's Choral Fantasy (1808). The distinction is not merely chronological—Nägeli's theories were published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* only in 1809, and the Singakademie, though founded in 1791, was for many years an isolated phenomenon—but also has to do with the target audience for such discourse and repertoires, and their desired effect. As Garratt has shown, Zelter's Singakademie was open only to those who "possess the required level of moral and artistic cultivation," and although rhetorically directed toward the good of the Prussian nation, provided a musical outlet for existing upper-middle-class sociability—the sort of choral society that might have

74. Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 155–56. This permeability of the fourth wall had been characteristic of French revolutionary theater, and of onstage representations of the military in England in the eighteenth century (for example, in Sheridan's *The Camp*, 1778). Russell, however, links the English tendency to an older tradition of viewing war (like theater) as an aristocratic pastime, which became untenable after the French Revolution: Russell, *Theatres of War*, 26–51, esp. 49.

performed the Choral Fantasy.⁷⁵ It was not till the 1840s that equivalent organizations—and the male-voice choirs that emerged in the 1820s—were open to workers.⁷⁶ War songs, on the other hand, were explicitly aimed at a broader section of the population, and implicitly at the lower social classes. They were not beneath the consideration of professional musicians and music journals (Zelter himself would contribute to a volume of *Kriegslieder* in 1813), but the terms of the discussion were quite different. Thus Friedrich Guthmann, writing in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1807, argued that all military music, including war songs, must be popular for the simple reason that “it is intended for men, the majority of whom are unmusical and only have a healthy ear—for men to whom all *art without effect* is nothing. The common soldier must understand it at the first hearing and become fond of it, be interested in it” (my italics).⁷⁷

In discussion of war songs relatively little weight was given to the idea of aesthetic cultivation, formulated so influentially by Schiller and later crystallized in the predominantly middle-class idea of *Bildung*. This distinguishes ideas about war song not only from the rhetoric of choral societies and choirs, but from much folksong and *Volksbildung* discourse too.⁷⁸ Both David Gramit and Matthew Gelbart have shown the contempt of figures such as Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, composer of three volumes of folksongs published in Berlin in the 1780s and 1790s, and Herder himself for the “Pöbel” (rabble) as opposed to the “Volk,” and the consequent distinction between street songs (*Gassenbauer*) and “pure” folksongs.⁷⁹ Theories of folksong, however much they emphasized simplicity and popularity, often had in common with those of art song a belief in music’s power to embed a text emotionally in its singer, to educate (*erziehen*) and to ennoble (*veredeln*).⁸⁰ By contrast, there seems to have been little expectation that

75. Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, 36.

76. Garratt’s monograph considers the social makeup of choral organizations in some detail, his final chapter focusing on the workers’ choirs that emerged later in the century: *ibid.*, 197–215. Dietmar Klenke’s history of male-voice choirs also engages with this issue: Klenke, *Der singende “deutsche Mann,”* 4, 10–12.

77. Guthmann, “Forderungen an die militärische Musik,” 392: “Sie ist für Männer bestimmt, deren größter Theil unmusikalisch ist und nur ein gesundes Ohr hat—für den alle Kunst ohne Effekt nichts ist.”

78. At the same time, there is often no clear distinction between what is labeled a folksong and what is labeled a war song (or, for that matter, an anthem): “Volkslied” could simply refer to repertoires that were known by the “people.”

79. Herder stated that “‘People’ does not mean the rabble [*Pöbel*] on the streets, who never sing and create, but rather scream and mutilate”; quoted and translated in Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 75.

80. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, for example, saw folksong as a valuable part of a musical education; see *ibid.*, 74–75. Gelbart charts how this approach to folk music changes across the nineteenth century: Gelbart, *Invention of “Folk Music,”* 266–71. In his *Geschichte des Begriffes Volkslied*, Julian von Pulikowski has included among his categories of folksong proponents “die Erzieher,” together with “die Aufklärer,” “die Menschenfreunde,” “die Romantiker,” etc.

war songs would aid the education, elevation, or aesthetic cultivation of the singing subject, nor does the familiar distinction between pure and degraded forms of the popular typically operate.⁸¹ The issue of textual and musical register was sometimes a cause for debate, but mainly because war songs needed above all to be rabble-rousing.⁸²

Of the two effects of folksong that Hoche presents as meriting its political instrumentalization, it is immediate visceral power rather than a capacity to embed moral sentiment that comes to the fore in discussion of war songs.⁸³ Even among professional musicians this function of music was sometimes acknowledged: Guthmann's suggestion that "art without effect" was worthless in a military scenario implies as much. Fifteen years earlier, when Schulz argued in his *Gedanken über den Einfluß der Musik auf die Bildung eines Volks* that music can affect the most "excitable," sensual part of a person, his telling example was the war song, where the sensual appears to bear all the weight of the repertory's efficacy:

The soldier instructed about the glory of dying for the fatherland may perhaps on that account go into battle no less disheartened; to the sound of powerful battle music, by contrast, even without such instruction, he will go courageously into the face of death. . . . Encouragement to sing is the most effective means of allowing soldiers not to feel the difficulty of a forced march.⁸⁴

Taking Hoche's claim for music's physical effects a step further, Schulz here appears to emphasize music's capacity to *bypass* rational considerations and processes.⁸⁵ Whereas many of the ennobling, intellectual effects of music-as-*Bildung* were to be attributed as much to listening as to

81. Nägeli too made this distinction, advocating in 1811 music of "noble popularity" for music festivals, in order to appeal to everyone: Nägeli, "Nägeli's Anrede," 691; see also the discussion in Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, 87.

82. The need for war songs to be rabble-rousing—and their general unsuitability for refined circles—emerges in an advertisement for an outdoor concert of military music and war songs to coincide with the military revues in Berlin in 1800. Apparently the war songs had won the approval of the king and queen on the basis that the sentiments were nobler and more humane than the usual repertory, but no less effective for inspiring courage ("muthentflammend"); see *Vossische Zeitung*, May 15, 1800.

83. Hoche's text reveals multiple tendencies in his understanding of what music does: Pulikowski, for example, classified him as one of the "Erziehers," together with Nägeli and Forkel: Pulikowski, *Geschichte des Begriffes Volkslied*, 427.

84. Schulz, *Gedanken über den Einfluß der Musik*, 4: "Der Soldat, der von der Ehre, fürs Vaterland zu sterben, unterrichtet ist, geht darum vielleicht nicht weniger versagt in die Schlacht; bey dem Schalle einer lauten Kriegsmusik hingegen geht er, auch ohne diesen Unterricht, dem Tode beherzt entgegen . . . die Ermunterung zum Singen [ist] das wirksamste Hülfsmittel . . . dem Soldaten die Beschwerlichkeit eines forcirten Marsches nicht empfinden zu lassen." Translated in Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 70.

85. For Schulz, sensual excitation was the first part of the process of musical *Bildung*. Elsewhere in the same text, he also promotes music as a longer-term ennobling and cultivating force.

performing, war songs had to be sung, and sung communally, according to Hoche, in order to make the most of their visceral power.

To be sure, the increasing emphasis on interiority in music culture may have had some influence on war-song rhetoric.⁸⁶ Mathew, for example, has suggested that the emergence of a popular musical register around this period allowed people to participate even as they listened, on account of the immediate recognizability of the idiom: the result, he argues, was an “inner public,” who are passively enlisted, “aesthetically and militarily.”⁸⁷ There are hints of this in the newspaper review of the performance of “Die Trommel ruft!” after *Wallensteins Lager* in 1806, which concludes that the applause and demands for its repetition were “proof that it echoed in everyone’s hearts.”⁸⁸ Proof was required, however: particularly during a time of war, audience participation remained an important measure of perceived political participation, as attested by the extraordinary press response to the audience’s joining in at the Berlin Nationaltheater. This was particularly so in the case of communal singing, because it was thought to create political community and political engagement in the moment, via the shared rhythmic impulse, the electrical spark, via the immediate “effect.”⁸⁹

In other words, war songs appear to have been one of the few genres in the nineteenth century where the physical effects and sensory excitation of music could be admitted and utilized freely.⁹⁰ It was not an inner spiritual process that was sought, but an instantaneous, sensuous outcome. These

86. For a summary of the development of ideas of interiority and metaphors of depth in nineteenth-century musical culture, see Watkins, “From the Mine to the Shrine.”

87. Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 156.

88. *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, September 23, 1806: “Dieser patriotische Gesang war so glücklich den Beifall des Publikums so sehr zu erlangen, daß der Vorhang wieder aufgezogen, und er noch einmal wiederholt werden mußte: ein Beweis, daß er in allen Herzen wiederklang.”

89. The relative merits of active versus passive participation continued to surface in discourse across the nineteenth century, reflecting both how attitudes toward political agency intersected with ideals of *Bildung*, and how comfortable the writer was with working-class political agency itself. Garratt suggests that advocates of male-voice choirs in the 1840s were reacting against the tendency of the working classes to be the object of passive socialization via exposure to church music (the form of *Volksbildung* favored by Zelter): Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, 34–37, 117–22.

90. As Celia Applegate has noted, even Nägeli decried the susceptibility of the musically uneducated to “sensual excitation”: Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 160–61. Where an aesthetic, moral, and educational role for music was sought, the sensual could generally only be the first step, if it was acknowledged at all. This was the case for popular political song too. Friedrich Hecker, in his preface to an 1848 collection of songs for “das deutsche Volk,” described the process of an uneducated man singing as “the rapture or fervour of the moment” followed by later reflection: “That which he acquired mechanically or through sensory attraction then gains a core, a form and an enduring existence: the song becomes his guiding light and he becomes a political animal [*Politiker*].” Quoted in Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, 142.

different understandings of choral singing and war-song singing also emerge from the vocabulary and political metaphors applied to them. Nägeli and Zelter, for example, were proponents of choral music in parts (in Nägeli's system singers *progressed* from unison singing to harmony), sometimes referred to as "mehrstimmiger Gesang," with its own potential allegories of cooperation and diversity, of individuals within the collective.⁹¹ Indeed, Herder, in his defense of music in *Kalligone* in 1800, saw the multivoiced nature of choral music as one of its most praiseworthy attributes:

[The voices] are one and not one; they leave, search, follow, contradict, fight, strengthen, destroy each other, and awaken and animate and console and flatter and hug each other again, until they finally give way [*ersterben*] to one tone. There is no sweeter image of searching and finding, of amicable dispute and reconciliation, of loss and yearning, of doubting and full recognition, at long last of utterly sweet unification and mergence as these two- and multiple-voiced tone-movements [*Tongänge*], tone-battles, with or without words.⁹²

Such an image of choral music retains space for the autonomy of individual voices—and of individuals. War songs, by contrast, were expected to be sung in unison, and the interpretation of the war-song singing in 1805 was distinctive.⁹³ While some reviews simply emphasized the element of audience participation (*Teilnahme*) in renditions of "Lob des Krieges" and "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" (in itself politically charged), a recurring feature of descriptions of the first night of communal singing at the Nationaltheater (October 16, 1805) is the prevalence of the verb "einstimmen," and its variants "einstimmig" and "Einstimmung." For the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* in 1805, "Lob des Krieges" was sung with the "Einstimmung" of several spectators, after which "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" followed, quite "einstimmig";

91. Nägeli, Zelter, and the Viennese Kapellmeister Peter von Winter are mentioned as proponents of the social benefits of singing in the 1810 article "Mehrstimmiger Gesang," *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, March 26, 1810, 486–87.

92. Quoted and translated in Minor, *Choral Fantasies*, 20 (translation of the final sentence modified). Minor, Mathew, and Garratt have all used such abstract "choral fantasies" to read levels of democratic participation or mass subjection into musical works. This has often produced interesting results, but the danger of dealing with texts rather than the contingency of meaning in musical performance is demonstrated by the potential for contrasting interpretations. Referring to the echoing by the chorus of the soloist's material in Beethoven's Choral Fantasy, Minor has read the work as a representation of political enslavement: Minor, *Choral Fantasies*, 10–17. Mathew, on the other hand, regards the Fantasy as the apogee of the "paratactic compositional scheme, used to create a sense of increasing participation"—that is, as an example of "joining in": Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 159–63.

93. Harmony was considered unsuitable for the "unmusical" man and for mass singing, and also for the speedy memorization of a song. Thus an 1815 review of Gottfried Weber's settings of Körner's "Morgenlied der Freyen" notes approvingly that it is not only "like a chorale, but all in unison, and written in massive notes for the masses" ("Körners *Morgenlied der Freyen*, ist nicht nur choralmässig, sondern ganz unison, in grossen Noten für grossen Massen geschrieben"): *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, November 8, 1815, 754.

the shouts of “Long live the king!” were all the more pleasing for being so “einstimmig.” The reviews in the *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung*, *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, and *Vossische Zeitung* described how the whole house “einstimmte” with “Lob des Krieges,” the last of these reporting that “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” was sung on December 4, 1805, “fast einstimmig” with the audience.⁹⁴ Alexis was presumably picking up on this language when he described how the parterre “einstimmte” with “Lob des Krieges.”

As a verb, “einstimmen” can mean to join in, to add one’s voice to something preexisting, and it is in this sense that Hoche also uses the word once, to indicate the irresistibility of group singing: “Let ten people sing a song of virtue, and a hundred will join in.”⁹⁵ But both Johann Adelung’s *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch* of 1811 and the Grimm brothers’ *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (the volume in question from 1862) stress the figurative meanings of “einstimmen”—namely, to agree (“concordare”), to be of one opinion with others. In Adelung’s dictionary, “einstimmig” could mean literally one-voiced, in the sense of an aria or unison, but it could again be used figuratively, to mean of one opinion; in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* only the latter meaning is given, while “Einstimmigkeit” and “Einstimmung” are defined as “consensus.”⁹⁶ The use of this vocabulary suggests that, to commentators at the time, the communal singing of the diverse theater public (soldiers, bourgeois, and aristocrats) represented the unity of individuals in a common—political—cause, just like the soldiers on stage in *Wallensteins Lager*. For such a representation the “unisonality” of the singing, to use Benedict Anderson’s term, was crucial:⁹⁷ in the “einstimmig” participation of the public and audience, the war song was not so much a process of “dispute and reconciliation” as a spontaneous (electrical) induction of political consensus.

Singing to the Enemy’s Tune

If the rhetoric surrounding the communal singing of theatergoing Berliners departs in significant ways from that of the burgeoning German choral

94. The *Leipziger Fama, oder Jahrbuch der merkwürdigsten Weltbegebenheiten* reports that “Lob des Krieges” was sung “by the whole house” and “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” with “still more universal participation [*Teilnahme*]”; the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, reporting on the December performance, suggests that after the play “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” was sung with no less participation: see notes 4 and 17 above for references.

95. Hoche, “Über den Werth der Volkslieder,” 11: “Laßt zehn ein Lied der Tugend singen, so stimmen hundert mit ein.”

96. Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch*, Grimm and Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

97. The variant “anstimmen” is used in the reviews in the *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* and the *Leipziger Fama, oder Jahrbuch der merkwürdigsten Weltbegebenheiten*, meaning to intone, or to start up (with a tune): see note 4 above for references. For Anderson’s use of the term, see his *Imagined Communities*, 145, a use taken up by Philip Bohlman in *Music of European Nationalism*, 35.

movement, the journalistic fascination with the participation of the audience, the “Einstimmung” of diverse people, and the atmosphere at the Berlin Nationaltheater suggests a French-influenced emphasis on occasion and political display. The now well-documented path from “Ça ira” on the streets of Paris to the massed singing of Gossec’s “Hymne à l’Être Suprême” at national festivals under Robespierre, for example, reveals the significance attached to unison singing as a political metaphor in France.⁹⁸ Jacques-Louis David’s plan for the Fête de l’Être Suprême in June 1794 (at which Gossec’s “Hymne” was sung) even specified unisonality, proposing that “all of the French will mingle their emotions in a fraternal embrace: they will have but *one voice* [my italics], whose common call of *Vive la République* will rise up to the divinity.”⁹⁹ Accounts of such practices of communal singing would have been read by Prussians with curiosity and anxiety in the newspapers and in the numerous books published in German describing and reflecting on the momentous events in France.¹⁰⁰ Both revolutionary and republican anthems and songs were also disseminated in Prussia by music and literary publishers.¹⁰¹ Each “Stück” of Peter Poel and Johann Friedrich Reichardt’s collection of accounts of France between 1795 and 1798, published in Berlin between 1795 and 1805, ended with a score of a French song, many even commenting on the tendency of French audiences to sing these popular political songs in the theater: introducing Pierre Gaveau’s “Le réveil du peuple,” one writer recalled that, after a performance of Amélie-Julie Candeille’s opera *La bayadère* at the Théâtre de la République, sheets containing stanzas of Gaveau’s song were thrown onto the stage by the audience, who demanded a rendition of it in place of the intended “Nachspiel”; subsequently, he concludes, “Le réveil du peuple” became a “popular folksong” for the whole of France.¹⁰²

98. See Mason, *Singing the French Revolution*; Buch, *Beethoven’s Ninth*, 26–44; and Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, 116–36. Likewise, as Paul Friedland has shown, participatory spectator behavior at the Paris Palais Royal during the revolutionary years was interpreted as a metaphor for public participation in politics: Friedland, *Political Actors*, 267.

99. Quoted in Buch, *Beethoven’s Ninth*, 38. In time, orchestrated demonstrations of unisonality, which were associated with Robespierre’s terror, were criticized for their emphasis on uniformity, predetermination, and discipline (even coercion) in “celebrations”; see *ibid.*, 41–42.

100. Christoph Girtanner’s suggestive description of the singing of “Ça ira” by massed workers of all social stations preparing for the July 4 Festival in 1790, for example, appeared in “Zubereitungen der Pariser Bürger zu dem großen Nationalfeste im Julius des Jahres 1790” in the *Deutsche Monatschrift* in 1791, and later in the third volume of his *Historische Nachrichten und politische Betrachtungen über die französische Revolution* (1792), 458.

101. A “Hymne” by Gossec, for example, was listed by J. F. C. Rellstab in an advertisement of his available publications that appeared, somewhat ironically, at the back of a score of a “Deutsches Lied” written in celebration of King Friedrich Wilhelm’s birthday in 1798. A copy is held at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (KHM2291).

102. “Anecdote, das Lied le reveil [*sic*] du peuple betreffend,” 190–91: “Seitdem ist das Erwachen des Volks ein allgemeines Volkslied in ganz Frankreich geworden.”

Berliners thus had plenty of evidence for the political power of song. The English anthem “God Save the King” (1745) had for years been an object of envy, with adaptations appearing on the continent from the 1760s onward, and in the 1790s calls for “German” national songs intensified, in the wake of the popularity of the “Marseillaise” both within and outside France. While the Austrians gained their own anthem in Haydn’s “Gott erhalte Franz, den Kaiser,” commissioned by the chief of police in 1798, the most prominent Prussian anthem to emerge was the German reworking of “God Save the King” that was sung on October 16, 1805, “Heil dir im Siegerkranz.”¹⁰³ The adaptation of the English anthem hardly satisfied the growing calls for a repertory of national songs, however. Hoche’s 1799 text still includes a plea for the composition of “Nationallieder” on the model of the English “folksong” “God Save the King.”¹⁰⁴

Of course, behind such discussions of national song and patriotism was the need not only to create a unified Prussian community but to inspire Prussians to fight on its behalf; even Hoche, in flowery language, refers to the necessity of convincing citizens to “believe that with their lives they bring to their fellow citizens an offering yet too small.”¹⁰⁵ Music had united the French in rebellion and war, as well as in displays of loyalty: it was precisely the strength of the French military threat, for which their songs were held partly responsible, that gave such an anxious edge to Prussian appeals not just for national songs, or national anthems, but for war songs. Many of the French songs were explicitly martial and antagonistic, a prime example being the “Marseillaise,” with its calls “Aux armes!” and reference to foreign enemies. Indeed, German belief in the efficacy of the “Marseillaise” led to the widespread attempt to harness the tune to other causes, the Berlin journal *Zeit und Geschmack* publishing a “Lied für Preußens Patrioten (Nach der Melodie der marseiller Hymne zu singen)” in 1798.¹⁰⁶ Borrowing melodies from the French must nevertheless have been even more humiliating than doing so from the English. In the “Letters of a Traveling Lady” mentioned above, the writer complained specifically of the

103. These words were an adaptation of an earlier text written for the king of Denmark and Norway, Christian VII, by Heinrich Harries, “Heil dir, dem liebenden.” Published in 1793 in the *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, and first performed at the Nationaltheater for Friedrich Wilhelm II’s birthday in 1795, the anthem celebrated the recent—if fleeting—victory of the Prussians in the early stages of the War of the First Coalition. There was thus something of a precedent for singing “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” in the theater at least. The anthem occupied a slightly ambiguous, unofficial status, until it was formally adopted in recognition of its widespread popularity among the volunteer corps in the Wars of Liberation; see Buch, *Beethoven’s Ninth*, 23. For further discussion of the continental versions of “God Save the King,” see Hansen, *Heil dir im Siegerkranz*, esp. 5–13.

104. Hoche, “Über den Werth der Volkslieder,” 11.

105. *Ibid.*, 9: “Ehre, Dankbarkeit, Liebe, Patriotismus machen Helden und Weise, die mit ihrem Leben den Mitbürgern ein noch zu geringes Opfer zu bringen glauben.”

106. “Lied für Preußens Patrioten,” *Zeit und Geschmack*, March 1798, 284–86; another version appeared as the “Kriegslied der Deutschen,” *Schleswigisches ehemals Braunschweigisches Journal* 1 (1793): 379–82.

lack of military songs in Berlin and the disappearance of historic Prussian marches from the Seven Years War of 1756–63 (presumably the famous collection by Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim), arguing that the heroic deeds of former generations should not be forgotten.¹⁰⁷

With military action once more on the horizon in 1805, the need for effective war songs became pressing, and the announcement in the papers of publications of inspiring verse and songs was a frequent occurrence. The *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* reported in November 1805 that the publisher Schmidt had printed two war songs, one by Herr von Held and the other by Karl Müchler, which he had distributed to the troops for no charge; they were described as having “a good effect on the common man, since [the troops] sang both songs bravely on the march.”¹⁰⁸ Discussion of war songs appears to have been prevalent enough for Julius von Voss to include in his *Gemälde von Berlin im Winter 1806/7* (Berlin Scenes from the Winter of 1806–7) a “Colloquium über die Kriegslieder.” It is set in a coffeehouse in October 1806—after the king’s declaration of war but before Prussia’s defeat—and opens with a discussion of singing in the theater:

HERR VERSHOLD: Were you at the theater this evening?

HERR GRAD: Oh God—yes!

HERR VERSHOLD: And how did you like the splendid, powerful war song? The universal exultation, with which the public sang together [*ein stimmte*]?

HERR GRAD: Hmm—Hmm . . .¹⁰⁹

Voss continues with a complex discussion of war songs to which I shall return shortly: as his “Hmm” suggests, Grad does not share Vershold’s straightforward enthusiasm. But Voss’s choice of subject matter as being typical of Berlin conversation in this period indicates the significance of the issue for Berliners, and reveals the theater as the primary location for war-song performances at this point.¹¹⁰ In a later passage Voss shows how important the French paradigm was for Berliners, as Grad reveals his model for the “wonderful heroic effect of poetry in war”:

107. “Über Berlin. Aus den Briefen einer reisenden Dame,” *Jahrbücher der preussischen Monarchie*, 1798, no. 2: 293–94. In fact, by 1813 Gleim’s war songs were being published across the German lands, in a gesture that could be attributed to an urge to “invent a tradition”; see Weber, *Lyrik der Befreiungskriege*, 119–44. On “invented traditions,” see Hobsbawm, introduction to *Invention of Tradition*, 1–14.

108. *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, November 2, 1805, 1055: “Bei dem gemeinen Mann hat es eine gute Wirkung verursacht, denn sie haben beide Lieder auf dem Marsch tapfer gesungen.”

109. [Voss], “Colloquium über die Kriegslieder,” 216–17: “HERR VERSHOLD: Waren sie diesen Abend im Schauspiel? / HERR GRAD: Ach Gott—ja! / HERR VERSHOLD: Und wie gefiel ihnen das kräftige trefliche Kriegslied? Der allgemeine Jubel, mit welchem das Publikum ein stimmte? / HERR GRAD: Hm—hm.”

110. Other scenes include conversations between soldiers who are about to leave for war, or between farmers and financiers about agricultural production.

If one doesn't want to look as far back as the national battle songs of the Greeks, or if one relegates the Ossianic bards to the realm of fable, then the "Marseillaise" hymn stands as eloquent proof, and Klopstock's words to Rouget de Lille [*sic*] "You slew fifty thousand!" capture it powerfully.¹¹¹

Voss's text demonstrates one of the causes of the excitement with which a war song was greeted at the Berlin Nationaltheater, both among those present that first night and in the press. For years the power of music to bring people together, and the necessity of developing repertoires of songs, war songs, and cultures of singing, had been presented in theory and in practice by the French.¹¹² And then, finally, on October 16, 1805, people sang a war song together in public in Berlin. Mingled with the celebration of the singing and its symbolic meanings was a sense of relief that Prussia, too, could have songs and singing like the French.¹¹³

The terms in which the war songs themselves were evaluated by the press appear to support my claim that they were treated as a genre distinct from other forms of communal singing—that is, as a direct political tool, like the French repertoires. Very few of the theater reviews engaged with the war songs as musical or literary texts. Among those that did, the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* described Weber's setting of Kneesebeck's "Lob des Krieges" as "not unpleasant," although not comparable to the beautiful melody of Schiller's "Reiterlied"; the text of the new war song, however, was considered conspicuously bad beside Schiller's poetry, containing "dull, cockeyed thoughts and no spark of inspiration."¹¹⁴ The *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* merely described the melody as "easily graspable," before commenting at much greater length on the last-minute nature of Weber's composition.¹¹⁵ Instead, it was the efficacy of the war song in inviting

111. [Voss], "Colloquium über die Kriegslieder," 219: "Allerdings überzeuge ich mich von der Möglichkeit, einer wundervollen heroischen Wirkung der Poesie im Kriege. Will man schon nicht nach den nationalen Kampfliedern der Griechen zurückblicken, auch die Ossianschen Barden ins Gebiet der Fabel verweisen, so steht der marseiller Hymnus als ein redender Beweis da, und Klopstocks Wort zu Rouget de Lille: sie erschlugen Funfzigtausend! ergreift mächtig."

112. There were skeptical voices among German commentators too. In his "Bruchstücke einer Reise durch Frankreich im Frühling und Sommer 1799" Ernst Moritz Arndt remarked that the republican policy of interspersing acts (at the theater) with hymns and marches would soon cease to have any effect; see Stamman and Eberle, *Deutschland und die französische Revolution*, 487.

113. The report in the *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, October 19, 1805, begins with an even more general sense of relief that north Germans have finally shown themselves capable of "enthusiasm."

114. *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, November 2, 1805, 1055: "Die Musik davon war nicht übel, ob sie gleich gegen die herrliche Melodie des Schillerschen Reiterliedes von Reichardt abstach, die Poesie dieses Liedes aber, gegen Schillers Gedicht, auffallend schlecht. Es enthält matte, schielende Gedanken und es ist kein Funke Begeisterung darin." Here the setting is also misattributed to Reichardt.

115. Kneesebeck's text was written in the 1790s, according to his memoirs: Kneesebeck, *Bruchstücke*, 89. He apparently intended it to be sung to the drinking song "Bekränzt mit Laub

participation and stirring up patriotic atmosphere that tended to form the parameters of its evaluation—along the lines of the praise of Schmidt’s two war songs as having a good effect on the “common man.” The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, a journal from which one might expect some interest in musical substance and compositional choices, focused on the audience’s reaction to the war songs and the patriotic atmosphere in 1806,¹¹⁶ the reviewer merely remarking on the effect that the drum accompaniment had had on the audience, stating that nothing could be so “zweckmässig”—so appropriate (literally, so measured-for-purpose)—and that a line from the last stanza of the text, “Your [i.e., Prussia’s] Avenger is awakened,” had caused a particular stir.¹¹⁷

If there was scant aesthetic evaluation of the war songs at the time, an attempt now at retrospective reading reveals little more than compliance with the expected features of a military genre primarily defined by the ease with which it could be learnt.¹¹⁸ While no music for “Lob des Krieges” appears to have survived, the text is distinguished by its occasional obscurity of reference and its extreme glorification of war outside any particular political context, with “War is good!” and “Long live war!” stated four times each, a fitting partner to the “Reiterlied” that preceded its premiere.¹¹⁹ (The full text and a translation are given in Appendix A.) Weber’s setting of “Die Trommel ruft!” for voice and piano, however, exists both in the journal *Der Freimüthige* and in a sheet publication from the Berlin firm Werckmeister. (The first stanza is given in Example 1; the full text and a translation may be read in Appendix B.) Like the “Reiterlied” (see Fig. 2), the music of “Die Trommel ruft!” makes the clear references to the march topos that one might expect from a war song: an opening upbeat, a profusion of fanfare-like open

den lieben vollen Becher,” not Schulz’s “Am Rhein”; see *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* 85 (1805): 337.

116. Later the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* did show an interest in Weber’s political music, but it was a “mehrstimmiger Gesang” (his “Siegelied der Deutschen”), which was sent to E. T. A. Hoffmann for reviewing. Hoffmann dismissed the work and two others, writing that they were “so utterly insignificant that even the smallest space devoted to their advertisement in the [*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*] would have been a waste”: Hoffmann, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, 451–52.

117. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, October 8, 1806, 32: “allgemein entzückte das neue Kriegslied: Die Trommel ruft, die Fahne weht . . . das Hr. Eunike (ein Holkischer reitender Jäger) zweymal mit dem lautesten Beyfall (besonders bey der Stelle: Dein Rächter ist erwacht!) sang.” Perhaps predictably, as the only poem to have been written at the time (1805), “Die Trommel ruft!” reflects the contemporary situation, its war-like sentiment not just pro Prussia (also addressed as the “fatherland”) but contra Napoleon.

118. Mathew has discussed the problem of close readings of propaganda music, suggesting that such repertoires often turn out to be a “generic shell”: Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, 7–8.

119. I have found a melody entitled “Lob des Krieges” in a *Recueil d’ariettes et romances arrangés pour une flûte* (Mainz, ca. 1805) at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, DMS.0.37811. The music is unattributed, but Knesebeck’s text would fit the melodic structure if the second line of each stanza were repeated.

Example 1 Bernhard Anselm Weber's "Die Trommel ruft!" The printed music for this war song (published in Berlin by R. Werckmeister) is held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Erk 84.

Mässig

Die Trom - mel ruft! Die Fah - ne weht! Es gilt fürs Va - ter - land! Der

Mässig
mf

5 *f*
Schlach - ten - ruf er - geht! Held Fried - rich Wil - helms Hel - den glühn und bre - chen glü - hend

ff

10 **Chor**
auf, und ziehn zum Kampf fürs Va - ter - land. Die Trom - mel ruft! Die

14
Fah - ne weht! Es gilt fürs Va - ter - land! Hi -

Example 1 continued

17

-nan zur Schlacht fürs Va - ter - land!

intervals, a diatonic melody, the trumpet-friendly key of C major, and in “Die Trommel ruft!” an evocation of drums in the piano, illustrating the “Trommel” of the text. The music is certainly simple enough for communal singing—and considerably simpler than that of the “Marseillaise”—but one might further speak of it as affording a military and in turn a patriotic and topical interpretation, in a way that the music of “Heil dir im Siegerkranz” (“God Save the King”) does not. Similarly, like the repetition built into the chorus’s role in the “Reiterlied,” the structure of “Die Trommel ruft!” lends itself to the spontaneous participation of the masses, in that they could imitate the soloist and pick up the words and tune as the song proceeds.¹²⁰ The musical and textual objects, one might argue, were “zweckmässig.”

Like the anxious discussion of war songs prior to their performance, the reception of these songs—and even perhaps their simplicity and clichéd musical language—reflects the growing and increasingly explicit political instrumentalization of communal singing in the service of war. One final, telling indication that the French were the primary model for this Prussian development is provided by an intriguing feature of that first occasion in 1805. The words of “Lob des Krieges” had been distributed in leaflet format at the ticket office before the performance, and the actors and musicians had been rehearsed: the singing of the war song was planned by the Nationaltheater company. The raining down of song texts onto the parterre from the stalls thus appears to have been a self-conscious enactment of the reported enthusiasm and spontaneity of French audiences, who threw such texts on stage in order to demand a rendition of them.¹²¹

120. It might nonetheless be suggestive that the verb “einstimmen” was not used in 1806 for “Die Trommel ruft!” but only in 1805 for “Lob des Krieges” and “Heil dir im Siegerkranz,” the songs that are unison throughout.

121. Calling to mind the anecdote about “Le réveil du peuple,” a police report from 1793 suggests that actors were generally at the mercy of the audience in this respect: “People have found a means to prolong theatrical performances. The last piece has scarcely been played before couplets rain down on the stage from all sides, which the actors are obliged to sing.” Quoted and translated in Mason, *Singing the French Revolution*, 107.

This detail most clearly draws attention to the element of performance in the audience's behavior in the theater that night, where "performance" is defined, as I suggested earlier, as behavior "publicly displayed" or "heightened": or, in an alternative formulation by Schechner that seems particularly applicable here, "twice-behaved behavior" or "restored behavior"—that is, behavior that has been separated from its causal system and reinvented.¹²² The war songs were performed not merely in a public forum, but in a theater, where the audience/singers were on display.¹²³ But they were also performed with an awareness of the potential significance or potential interpretations of the act: the behavior had been observed elsewhere (indeed, in theaters elsewhere), codified, and discussed extensively across the public sphere. Communal singing, though the tool of the enemy, was considered a powerful tool, and a measure of the patriotic commitment—and thus military potential—of the state. It is also in this sense that the audience's singing could be considered inevitable, not just as an outpouring of patriotic enthusiasm in response to the parallels between onstage narratives and offstage anxieties, but as behavior considered appropriate and desirable in order to display political commitment.¹²⁴ The singing of war songs at the Berlin National-theater, then, might indeed be considered "twice-behaved." Such an expression should not indicate a reproduction or representation of an "original" behavior, however. In performing this behavior for the "second to the *n*th" time, Berliners reconfigured and reinvented political singing:¹²⁵ the performance was itself reported, interpreted, and performed in Berlin for the next year in an intensifying circle of discourse and practice.

The Power of Song

Thus far I have claimed that the significance of these theatrical war-song premieres lay in the contemporary belief that communal singing could do

122. See Schechner, *Future of Ritual*, 1, and *Between Theater and Anthropology*, 36.

123. As Minor notes, Rousseau had remarked in his 1758 *Lettre a M d'Alembert sur les spectacles* on the importance of people being able to see each other at festivals, thus "collapsing the distinction between spectator and actor"; if people sing and see each other singing they would "in the process simultaneously form and submit to a collective will": Minor, *Choral Fantasies*, 25–26.

124. Like Henning Grunwald, I do not see any contradiction between analyzing something as a "performance" and allowing for human agency. Grunwald cites Jürgen Martschukat's description of "a history inspired by performance theory" as one that "strives to describe historically specific cultural configurations that make certain thoughts, intentions, and actions possible and appear logical, positive, self-evident—and others illogical and false. To put it differently, these configurations form the conditions of possibility for human actions and intentions." See Grunwald, *Courtroom to Revolutionary Stage*, 175–76, and Martschukat, "Nineteenth-Century Executions as Performances," 50.

125. Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology*, 36–37.

certain things, and in the perceived need in Berlin for communal singing to do those things—unify the Prussians, inspire them with patriotic sentiment, and fill them with military enthusiasm. The harder historical question is, of course, what music actually did on those occasions—or indeed whether it did anything at all. What changed as a result of people singing together in the theater? Some contemporary accounts were keen to expose such events as mere displays of political enthusiasm, as superficial as they were short-lived. In 1807 the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* contrasted the Berliners' demonstrations of patriotism in the theater with their inadequate contributions to the fund for soldiers' coats, and their reluctance to join in with guarding the city; according to this source, the newspapers had simply been exaggerating in their reports of patriotic fervor, as part of a propaganda war with France.¹²⁶ Also in 1807, a parody of the "Reiterlied" in the *Neue Feuerbrände* presented a cruel contrast between the Prussians' theatrical enthusiasms and their dedication on the battlefield, poking fun at the "cowardice" of the Prussian cavalry at Jena and Auerstedt.¹²⁷

One of the most extensive critiques of the phenomenon comes from the abovementioned *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung* critic Voss, a consistently cynical voice in Berlin discourse.¹²⁸ In his 1811 book *Neu-Berlin* he went so far as to (obliquely) diagnose the Berliners with pseudo-patriotism, guilty of mere words and obsequiousness ("Höfelei").¹²⁹ But it is in his 1807 "Colloquium über die Kriegslieder" that Voss, through "Herr Grad" (a plausible alter ego, given Voss's other writings and opinions), explains his position on communal singing in most detail. As the equivocal "Hm" in my earlier quotation suggests, Grad (unlike Vershold) remains skeptical of bellicose singing at the theater, and Voss uses the skeptical stance to probe what is required of a war song.¹³⁰ It is not that he doubts the possible effects of singing: what preoccupies Grad, like others before and after him, is how to find

126. *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, April 3, 1807, 425–26.

127. "Relationen aus Berlin, vom 16ten Juny 1807," *Neue Feuerbrände* 3, no. 8 (1807): 46. In his fictional version of October 16, 1805, Alexis explores the idea that singing was actually a replacement for genuine political action. In his account, the rendition of "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" that followed the "Reiterlied" and "Lob des Krieges" functioned as an emotional outlet for the excited audience, diverting their military enthusiasm into more singing: Alexis, *Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht*, 449.

128. For more on Voss, particularly on his own "Theaterstücke," see Wiedemann, "Julius von Voß."

129. By including a section on "Pseudopatriotismus" in his *Neu-Berlin, oder Vaterländische Ideen über Wiedergedeihen und Emporblühn dieser Hauptstadt*, Voss implies that this is a problem to be combated, and remarks that neither the ancient Romans and Greeks nor the French and the English are troubled by it (25–26); the absence of the Prussians here is notable.

130. The surnames are playfully suggestive, as they are in other "Scenes" in this collection, including "Amtmann Sperrnicht" (Civil Servant Save-Not) and "Junker Pflug" (Junker Plough). Here "Vershold" joins together "Vers" (verse) and "hold" (pure); "Grad" is a little ambiguous, but was perhaps meant as "rank," indicating the military sympathies of the persona.

words and deeds that will inspire the common soldier.¹³¹ Grad is critical of the war songs that had appeared the previous year (1805), songs that speak in an elevated tone of the “usual” laurels, trophies, and blood enemies. He questions whether “they come from the heart and go to the heart”: “Produced on the sofa and read on the sofa, approved by critics in the tone of the *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, and ridiculed by others from Jena—that is the fate of these objects, and others like them.”¹³² Both Held and Müchler (the Berlin authors of the two songs published by Schmidt) are specifically dismissed on these grounds.¹³³ As an example of a common soldier’s sentiments and manner of expression, Grad recites instead an eighteenth-century war song full of rhythmic irregularities and inelegant expressions.¹³⁴ Even the words of an old field marshal who had served under Frederick the Great—surely a reference to Major von dem Knesebeck—would not do: for Grad, “all art, all poetic tradition, is here in the wrong place; no soldier sings like that unless moved by money or brandy.”¹³⁵ Grad ends by prophesying a desperate defeat for the Prussians if they rely on such poets for courage and inspiration. In Voss’s view, at least as represented by Grad, such songs are an educated civilian’s substitute for the military, and thus not only a superficial symbol of political community but redundant as a tool for the enlistment and inspiration of the common man. Both insincere and ineffective, they are a shallow imitation of the French: nothing but an act.

Grad’s cynicism may seem salutary after the delirious tone of much of the discussion of the war songs at the Berlin Nationaltheater, but in his rejection of contemporary war songs he could be just as prejudiced as the overenthusiastic Herr Vershold. It is nevertheless useful to pursue Voss’s interpretation of these events: his idea of the singing as an inauthentic imposition from above has strong resonances with Hans-Ulrich Wehler’s concept of “defensive modernization.” In his *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte* Wehler explains many of the Prussian reforms from around this time—the changes to citizenship laws and economy, the promises of political representation—as a reaction of those in power to the Napoleonic

131. For reasons of space and relevance, I do not discuss all of this complex text, which has strong French sympathies and appears to question Prussia’s motivations in going to war.

132. [Voss], “Colloquium über die Kriegslieder,” 226–27: “Kommen sie aber vom Herzen und gehn zum Herzen? Am Sopha verfertigt, am Sopha gelesen, vom Kritiker im Ton der berlinischen Monatsschrift gebilligt, von dem aus Jena verspottet—da ist das Geschick dieser Sachen, und anderer der Art.”

133. Voss may also have been targeting those who sought to include war songs in a civilizing project; see note 82 above.

134. It seems doubtful that Schiller’s *Knittelvers* fulfilled Voss’s criteria, even though it was intended to capture a more colloquial mode of expression.

135. [Voss], “Colloquium über die Kriegslieder,” 227: “Alle Kunst, alle poetische Tradition ist hier am unrechten Platze, kein Soldat singt so was, er müßte denn durch Trinkgelder, oder Brantwein dazu bewogen werden.”

challenge.¹³⁶ When it became clear that a “rigid policy of perseverance” was not going to work, the reforms were set in motion, “some radical, some merely punctual”; the resulting political strategy was fundamentally “defensive in nature, since as far as possible the supporting pillars of the old order were to be preserved by reform from above against revolution from below.”¹³⁷

Wehler’s concept has been taken up by scholars working on social and economic changes in Prussia during this period, but it has not been applied to the sphere of cultural politics, despite its explanatory power. The emergence of what is often called “modern cultural politics” and linked to the rise of nationalism might rather be seen as an official instrumentalization of cultural practices—often influenced by developments in France—directed toward both maintaining public opinion and popular support for the monarchy and state and avoiding revolution from below. The encouragement of patriotic sentiment was, after all, vital to the survival of the kingdom, in terms of both ensuring victory against Napoleon and avoiding internal revolution. This was precisely the impulse behind Rambach’s strategy for “developing” patriotism in Prussia via processes of education, a strategy that, while recalling the “imagined community” of twentieth-century theoretical approaches to the rise of nationalism in this period, in fact differs from it strikingly: what Anderson saw as developing out of a literary public sphere, Rambach planned to impose from above.¹³⁸

The attempt to introduce a culture of public war-song singing in Berlin could thus be understood as defensive modernization, a new means to old ends. The introduction of songs written by members of the establishment (such as Knesebeck) in the royal theater was a defensive adoption of revolutionary techniques in order to inspire loyalty and patriotism toward Prussia and its monarchy. It is notable, for example, that the fatherland of “Die Trommel ruft!” is specified as Prussia, not Germany, with Friedrich Wilhelm III at its head. Similarly, certain measures “encouraging” the sung participation of the audience support this idea of the performances as an imposition from above: not only was “Die Trommel ruft!” premiered to drumming in the theater, as noted by the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, but the

136. Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 343–546. Wehler’s concept is part of his advocacy of Germany’s *Sonderweg*, on which more below.

137. *Ibid.*, 345: “Diesem ‘Challenge’ versuchten die entscheidungsfähigen Machteliten, welche in den meisten, wenn auch nicht in allen Staaten durch Kriegsniederlage, französischen Druck und die unabweisbare Aufgabe einer inneren Neuordnung über die Aussichtslosigkeit einer starren Beharrungspolitik belehrt wurden, durch vielfältige Maßnahmen einer teils radikalen, teils nur punktuellen Modernisierung zu begegnen. In ihrem Grundcharakter blieb diese politische Strategie defensiver Natur, da nach Möglichkeit wichtige Stützpfiler der alten Ordnung durch die Reform von oben gegen die Revolution von unten erhalten werden sollten.”

138. Anderson’s theory is so well known as to need no introduction: see his *Imagined Communities*.

audience's rendition of "Lob des Krieges" one year earlier had been led by the actors on stage and twelve to fourteen trumpets divided between orchestra and stage, creating a wall of sound that suggests not so much the irresistibility of joining in as aural compulsion.¹³⁹ The instrumentalization of war songs by those in power would become yet more official in the Wars of Liberation, when they were commissioned by Freiherr vom und zum Stein from Ernst Moritz Arndt in order to encourage patriotic sentiment.¹⁴⁰

Analyzing these occasions as instances of defensive modernization need not, however, negate their efficacy. Although Voss's critique would suggest that the language of the war songs was unable to offer any experience of social consensus, let alone a common voice for military and civilians, these pieces were adopted by the "common man." As shown above, there is evidence of considerable and varied afterlives for "Die Trommel ruft!" and the "Reiterlied," not only in publications for home performance, or in books of song texts, but as sung by soldiers on the battlefield and by children in the street. Whatever their origins among the Prussian elite, they seem to have been widely adopted as a meaningful form of political and emotional expression, even as expressions of solidarity. The Prussians—in the theater, and on the street—were to some extent prepared to adopt the sentiments attributed to them.

Perhaps we should not ignore the fact that the negative interpretations of the Berliners' singing come some time after the event—after, that is, the catastrophic defeat at Jena and Auerstedt, when the political instrumentalization of music appeared to have failed. One further critical voice, this time from 1805 itself, might reveal the shallowness of later rejections of the songs' power, as well as the limitations of Voss's more thoughtful critique. While most writers commented in positive terms on the powerful, unifying force of the music, the reviewer for the *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* was not just amazed at the effect of "Lob des Krieges" and "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" but alarmed:

War is good! [a line from "Lob des Krieges"] Oh, who of us not sworn to a banner would have been able to join in singing, had not the general enthusiasm taken us with it! We are Prussians, all of us, all! Our wish is that the war be good! Our wish is soon to be singing, "Hail to thee in crown of peace [*Heil dir im Friedenskranz*], father of the fatherland!"¹⁴¹

139. See *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* 85 (1805): 337–38. For the first performance of *Wallensteins Lager* after French occupation, in 1813, the "Reiterlied" was similarly led by drums and trumpets on the stage; see *Haude und Spenersche Zeitung*, March 20, 1813.

140. See Simpson, *Erotics of War*, 171–72. Arndt's famous "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" dates from this time, appearing in the collection of *Deutsche Wehrlieder für das Königliche Preussische Frey-Corps* (Berlin, 1813) coordinated by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn; both Zelter and Reichardt contributed musical settings. A copy is held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, SA1733.

141. *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* 85 (1805): 337–38: "Der Krieg ist gut! Ach! wer von uns, der nicht zum Panier geschworen hatte, hätte das mitsingen können, hätte uns nicht

According to this critic, the act of sung consensus militarized the civilians, even if only temporarily; and he was reporting something he did not wish to see. But whereas he was worried by the development, the experience of unity and act of solidarity with the military via song was reenacted, at the request of the public, over the course of the following year on occasions when troops were passing through the city, and again in 1813. Even if the performance of sung consensus in the theater was to some extent staged, the audience was complicit in the staging. Thus the act of communal singing, of Prussian community, was not “mere” display in the derogatory sense suggested by Voss and the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*. For Schechner, while in “aesthetic theater and dance the symbolic alone exists,” performances that are not formally framed as such—in his case study, ritual performances and rites of passage—conflate the symbolic and the actual: the audience singing could be considered an act of “transformance,” which both “symbolized and actualized” the desired object of Prussian community and political consensus. Unlike the play on stage, which by virtue of its theatrical framing would have been recognized as a metaphor, the offstage ceremony in which the audience participated was experienced as “real” even as it was also recognized as symbolic.¹⁴²

The significance of the location of these powerful experiences in the theater extends beyond the public and formal nature of the setting: the theater would have been one of the few venues that brought together large groups of people from relatively diverse classes and professions. On the night in question this was particularly true, in that while seats were usually reserved for high-ranking military, the presence of lowly foot soldiers was unusual. Thus the act of singing together, of forming and performing community, was especially significant. If the onstage “Reiterlied” bridged the gap between the military themes of the play and civilians, the singing of the audience as a whole might have bridged that between civilian and military public, a gap that was particularly pronounced in Prussia. Staël was critical of this characteristic of “old” Prussia, where “military habits have rather injured than assisted the warlike spirit of the Prussians,” separating “the army from the body of the nation.”¹⁴³ By singing a war song together after *Wallensteins Lager* the audience was bound both to the military content of the play and to the contemporary army with whom they sang, overcoming this traditional division and perhaps even momentarily suspending other divisions of class. In such moments, Prussian militarism, via past associations as well as the instant of singing, was

der allgemeine Enthusiasmus mit dahin gerissen! Wir sind Preussen, wir alle, alle! Unser Wunsch ist: der Krieg sei gut! Unser Wunsch ist, bald zu singen: Heil dir im Friedenskranz, Vater des Vaterlands!”

142. Schechner, *Performance Theory*, 118.

143. Staël, *Germany*, 1:170.

embedded in a broader experience of state and citizenship—and ultimately of nation.¹⁴⁴

Singing and the *Sonderweg* Revisited

That such individual moments were of broader significance is suggested by the ways in which singing at performances of *Wallensteins Lager* continued to act as a kind of *lieu de mémoire* for the city and became a point of reference elsewhere in German lands. Over and above all the examples mentioned so far, this is demonstrated most forcefully by the restaging of singing at the Berlin Nationaltheater on April 10, 1814, at the premiere of *Das preußische Feldlager*, a parody of *Wallensteins Lager*. Berlin was experiencing another wave of patriotic sentiment, but this time perhaps with more justification: in October 1813 the combined armies of Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Sweden had roundly defeated Napoleon's forces at the "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig, and by April 1814 the allies had entered Paris. *Wallensteins Lager* was first adapted by Heinrich Schmidt as *Das österreichische Feldlager*, and subsequently altered for Berlin. In both Austrian and Prussian versions Schiller's play became a "militarische Gemähde mit Gesang" (military tableau with song): with nine songs in total, it was transformed into a performance of sung collectivity.

While retaining some key elements, both parodies freely rewrite Schiller's original. There are, for example, two *Rundgesänge* (songs seven and nine), enacting the absorption of the individual into the collective.¹⁴⁵ The ninth and final song of *Das österreichische Feldlager* is none other than Schiller's "Reiterlied"; in the Prussian version it has been rewritten as "Auf, auf! zum Kampfe für's Vaterland" (Get up, get up! Into battle for the fatherland), but it maintains the structure of the "Reiterlied" and, notably, retains the tune used in the Berlin performances of 1805–6, shown in Figure 2.¹⁴⁶ In both versions the dialogue and the song texts have been updated and made more specific to their audiences: not only are the regiments and soldiers changed, but the play is

144. The association between civilian vocal participation and military action was enduring: after the Karlsruhe premiere of his *Triumphlied* in 1872 Brahms wrote to his friend Theodor Billroth, "Everyone sang and played as if the entirety depended on him alone . . . The people really did it like our soldiers in France, where thousands managed to do their best, as if there were hundreds of thousands"; quoted in Minor, *Choral Fantasies*, 128.

145. The seventh song is a parody of "Es leben die Soldaten," originally composed by Goethe and Schiller for the Weimar premiere of *Wallensteins Lager* but subsequently omitted. See Schmidt, *Arien und Gesänge*, 9.

146. The score for *Das preußischer Feldlager* is held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus.ms.20082. The Berlin composer Georg Abraham Schneider appears to have collated the music, sometimes substituting new settings for those in the Austrian version by Graf Moritz von Dietrichstein and Ignaz von Seyfried.

peppered with references to kaiser and king, “Preußen,” “Österreich,” and “Russland.” Moreover, *Das preußische Feldlager* was made more distinctly Prussian, just as *Das österreichische Feldlager* was more distinctly Austrian. The latter already included Prussians in the cast list, in a departure from Schiller’s play, but for Berlin a Prussian speaking role was added, and references in the Austrian version to Austria and the kaiser are replaced by references to Prussia and the king. The rewritten “Reiterlied,” as well as celebrating fatherland and duty rather than war, celebrates the Prussian king, “that most noble German man.”¹⁴⁷ These versions thus addressed the ambivalent patriotic content of Schiller’s original. Even the exclusively military character of the play, another aspect criticized in 1805 and 1806, was ameliorated: both Austrian and Prussian parodies foreground civilians to a greater extent (including songs for the bride left behind) and add to the cast the figure of the volunteer.¹⁴⁸

These two parodies of *Wallensteins Lager* illustrate a number of points. Both might be considered a staged recognition of the role that performances of Schiller’s work had played in 1805–6, in Berlin and across German-speaking lands (the parody originated in Vienna, after all). The singing of war songs, which had dominated the play’s reception in the early years, became central to the text of the 1814 parodies.¹⁴⁹ The interpretation of stage events as reality in 1805–6 became a staging of reality in 1814, with the alliance of the German and Russian powers in the Wars of Liberation played out in various acts of homage to the “Reiterlied.”¹⁵⁰ Whereas in 1805–6 *Wallensteins Lager* and the war songs might be said to have militarized civilians, *Das preußischer Feldlager* not only shows civilians (including a woman) inflamed by military sentiment, but also sets the soldiers within their fatherland(s), with civilian and political affiliations rather than a love of war and an admiration for a general. The repertoires of popular political song and practices of public communal singing of the Wars of Liberation (1813–15), the moment at which this genre is generally supposed to have been established, are thus grounded in the experience and reportage of singing in 1805–6, and, somewhat surprisingly, in experiences inside the theater rather than on the battlefield.

The chronological and geographical locus of these formative experiences is significant for the broader arguments to be drawn out of these moments.

147. Schmidt, *Arien und Gesänge*, 14: “Der König, der edelste deutsche Mann.”

148. The volunteer movement was of greater symbolic than military significance in Prussia, and came to prominence there later (1813) than in other European nations: the king had been anxious to avoid the revolutionary implications of both the *levée en masse* and the call for volunteers.

149. The opening song, “Brüder, Brüder, sammelt euch zur Freude!,” however, is labeled “Mehrstimmiger Gesang.” It is a rewritten version of the drinking song sung by the military camp at the beginning of act 2 of *Die Uniform*. See Schmidt, *Arien und Gesänge*, 3.

150. The eighth song, the “Bundeslied,” adapts the *Rundgesang* structure for this pan-national scale, beginning (in the Prussian version) with a stanza by the Prussian soldiers (“Ja, zum großen Völkerbunde”), which is then repeated by the Russians and Austrians before all singers join together to proclaim, “One in mind, courage and deed . . . for national honor.” See Schmidt, *Arien und Gesänge*, 11.

Accounts of the emergence of a modern political song culture in German lands often begin with the Wars of Liberation in 1813, locating a tradition of popular song in voluntary military service, new patriotic fervor, and political agency, however short-lived and restricted these phenomena were.¹⁵¹ Such accounts persist, despite the demystification of the figure of the volunteer in studies of German nationalism in this period. Even though the influence of French practices is acknowledged, the idea that official, top-down implementation might have been responsible for the establishment of a culture of communal singing, and for the growth of the volunteer movement, has received little consideration. Here Schechner's notion of performance can be brought directly into dialogue with Wehler's concept of defensive modernization. For Schechner, performance restores behaviors

independent of the causal systems (social, psychological, technological) that brought them into existence. They have a life of their own. The original "truth" or "source" of the behavior may be lost, ignored, or contradicted—even while this truth or source is apparently being honored and observed.¹⁵²

In France, the centrality of popular song to political culture in the 1790s arose from the actual participation of the working classes in political events, even if this agency was short-lived and the culture of popular song was subsequently sustained by official channels. In Prussia, the widespread use of popular political song appears to have been introduced to a population with very little political power, still subject to absolute monarchy, even though singing was interpreted (or "honored and observed") as a sign of political participation. The throwing down of song sheets in the Berlin Nationaltheater, the song in question having already been programmed by the theatrical administration, could appear a poor substitute for the actual disruptive agency of French theater audiences in Paris in the years immediately after the Revolution.

Such a reading appears to pull my argument in the direction of the German *Sonderweg* thesis, of which Wehler's concept of defensive modernization forms a part. This theory, which gained prominence in Germany in the wake of the Second World War, assumes that the partial modernization, both political and economic, of the Napoleonic era contributed to Germany's "backwardness"—that within the limited political reforms the Prussian middle classes remained comparatively politically inactive and susceptible to authoritarian rule (the monarchy, for example, remained central to

151. James Brophy's chapter "Singing" in *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800–1850* begins with a section on "Napoleon and the Wars of Liberation" (54–104). Klenke's account of singing societies and German national consciousness "from Napoleon to Hitler" begins with Napoleon's last battles: Klenke, *Der singende "deutsche Mann."* Karen Hagemann's fascinating discussion of tropes of masculinity in Prussian political and military song focuses, like the work of Ernst Weber, on the years 1813–15; see Hagemann, "Männlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre," 135–43, and Weber, *Lyrik der Befreiungskriege*.

152. Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology*, 35.

governance in Germany far longer than in most other Western European nations). This theory, which connects the transformations of the Napoleonic era, or lack thereof, to the rise of the Third Reich, would appear to receive support from aspects of my argument here, in particular from my interpretation of the implementation of political singing to inspire dynastic loyalty—namely, that these behaviors and repertoires were adopted as experiences of political agency in an absolutist monarchy in which most people had none.

The *Sonderweg* thesis has, however, been largely discredited in recent years, and even retracted by some of its proponents, on account of its exaggeration of Germany's backwardness and its reliance on a "normative" model of modernization, among many other critiques.¹⁵³ In a recent reexamination of the post-Napoleonic period Matthew Levinger has suggested that while the idea of defensive modernization and "revolution from above" might "accurately describe the initial intentions of the Prussian reformers," the consequences of their actions were not controllable: "what began as a narrowly circumscribed 'revolution from above' escalated into a profound and irrevocable transformation of Prussian political culture."¹⁵⁴ Following Levinger, I would suggest that once communal singing had been established as a political medium of persuasion and display it could not be entirely controlled. Singing could be used to enforce the status quo but also to resist it: it had a life of its own.

The performance of political singing in Berlin in 1805 should, in sum, be understood not as a poor substitute for more radical French practices but as a reinvention and reconfiguration of those behaviors within the political concerns of Berliners. Certainly, the sung politics of *Das preußische Feldlager* (like the performances of war songs after *Wallensteins Lager*) is in many ways still resolutely dynastic, celebrating as it does the alliances of the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian states. But the piece also celebrates political participation and agency, not least in the figure of the volunteer. Performances, or rather transformations, of patriotic singing at the Berlin Nationaltheater, I would suggest, did allow people to experience a kind of political community and agency, however little it was reflected in their official political status: such singing contributed to the emergence of the volunteer movement, rather than merely the other way round. But as well as binding this experience of political agency to a dynastic affiliation and to the status quo, such nights at the theater contained the seeds of radical democratic, oppositional, and national political movements to come.¹⁵⁵

153. Levinger gives a more detailed summary of the many strands and stages of this thesis, and the fallacies on which it relies, in *Enlightened Nationalism*, 4–9. The *Sonderweg* thesis has been thoroughly critiqued in Blackbourn and Eley, *Peculiarities of German History*.

154. Levinger, *Enlightened Nationalism*, 4–5.

155. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the father of the patriotic gymnastic movement in Germany, was a founding member of the volunteer corps of Major von Lützow, a corps whose patriotism had a radical edge, which included dismantling the power of the nobility. The day after the corps

In fact, political song culture in the years following the Wars of Liberation is thought to have been largely oppositional. Once it became apparent that the promises of constitutional reform and political representation made by the king at the height of the Napoleonic crisis were not going to be fulfilled, considerable disillusionment set in among those who had felt politically empowered by the Napoleonic Wars. This was only exacerbated by the repressive measures of the Karlsbad Decrees of 1819, which banned student fraternities and increased censorship. Dietmar Klenke has argued that communal singing became the outlet par excellence for political aspirations that could not be openly articulated, referring to the male-voice choir movement that began in the years following the Wars of Liberation and gained real momentum from the 1820s onward.¹⁵⁶ These male-voice choirs excluded large sections of the population, their twin aspirations for German nationhood and political representation reflecting the concerns of the educated bourgeois;¹⁵⁷ accordingly their musical aspirations diverged considerably from the direct political instrumentalization of singing that applied to war songs. What is more, much of their activity, apart from large singing festivals, took place in private.¹⁵⁸ Nonetheless, the formation of the male-voice choirs, like that of the volunteer regiments before them, marks the spread of German national aspirations beyond literary culture, a development that was nurtured and sustained by experiences of political singing, however “official” and dynastic in the early years.

Singing was not only oppositional after the Wars of Liberation, of course. Particularly at times of national crisis the Prussian monarch—among others—appears to have resorted to the power of song to rally and unite the population. At the height of the Rhine crisis of 1840, for example, when military confrontation with France looked possible, Nikolaus Becker’s nationalistic sensation “Der deutsche Rhein” was sung at the birthday celebrations of Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, in an attempt to align the monarch with the popular, anti-French chauvinism to which Becker’s Lied had contributed.¹⁵⁹ But because of singing’s

was formed (in February 1813) Jahn established a choir, and a few months later he published a new song book of “deutsche Wehrlieder”; see Weber, *Lyrick der Befreiungskriege*, 174–80.

156. Klenke, *Der singende “deutsche Mann,”* 4, 25–26. According to Klenke, the choral movement takes a conservative turn following unification.

157. Richie has highlighted the disappointment of reformers such as Stein at the widespread apathy of the Prussians after Waterloo: Richie, *Faust’s Metropolis*, 114.

158. As suggested above (see note 90), in a bourgeois context political song also became linked to ideals of *Bildung*. There remained, however, an element of top-down instrumentalization: song was considered by liberal politicians such as Friedrich Hecker to be one of the main means of recruiting the working classes—on whose support their claim for popular mandate depended—to the national cause.

159. See Vanchena, “Rhine Crisis,” 244. As Vanchena shows, some liberal commentators thought the anti-French sentiment unleashed by the Rhine crisis unworthy of and a distraction from their higher political goal of German unification.

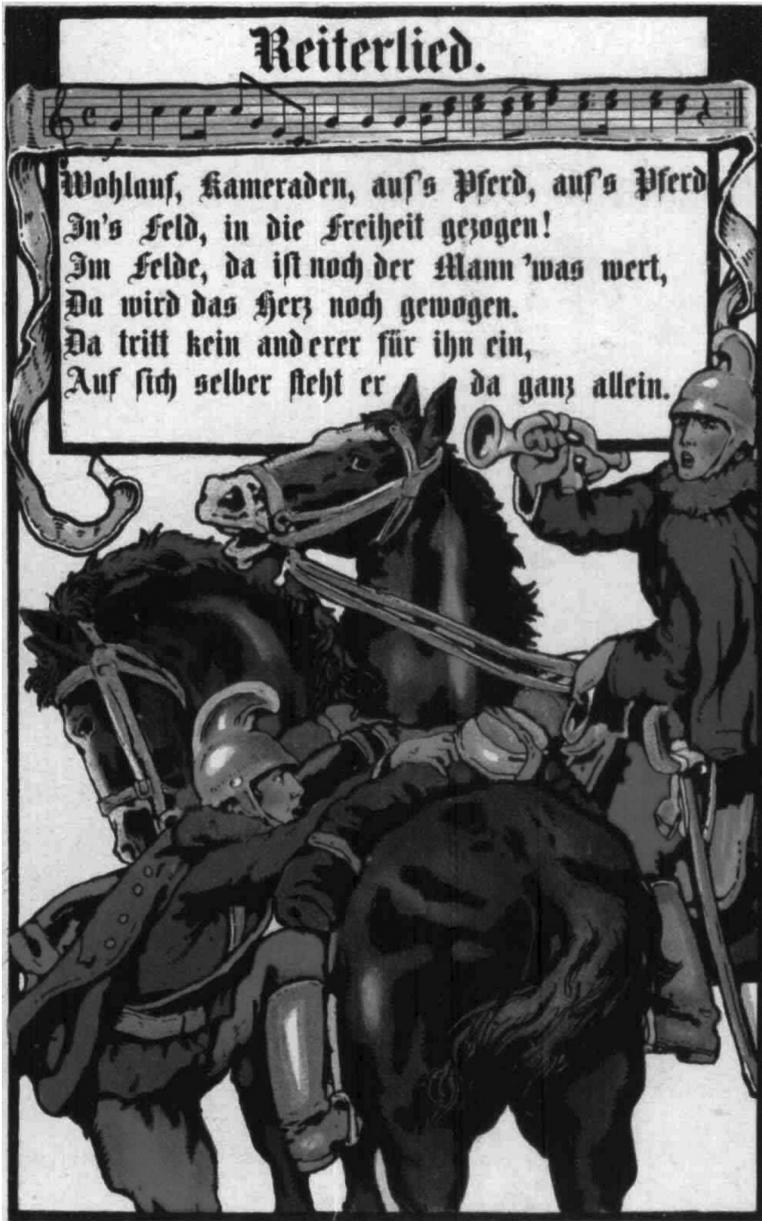


Figure 3 This postcard, which sets the first stanza of Schiller's "Reiterlied" to the melody shown in Figure 2, was produced by the Prague publisher M. Schulz in 1914. It is held at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, KS 16321718. Used by permission. This figure appears in color in the online version of the *Journal*.

associations with political participation and agency, the monarchy remained deeply suspicious of it.¹⁶⁰ Song books were censored, and merely whistling the “Tschech-Lied,” a song ridiculing an assassination attempt on Friedrich Wilhelm IV, could earn the perpetrator two years in prison during the 1840s.¹⁶¹ As James Brophy has put it, “Of all the media that invited people to think about politics, endorse partisan positions, and criticize governments, song proved by far the most difficult to constrain and discipline.”¹⁶²

The continuity between these instances of political song—the mass singing of war songs in the theater, the sung national aspirations of the male-voice choirs, and the whistled “Tschech-Lied”—can even be seen on the level of repertory. As Klenke and Garratt have pointed out, many of the popular songs of the Wars of Liberation were reappropriated by the male-voice choirs shortly afterward, acquiring “an oppositional resonance distinct from their original function.”¹⁶³ The same goes for the war songs of 1805 and 1806. If “Die Trommel ruft!” and “Lob des Krieges,” like so many political repertories, failed to outlive their time, the “Reiterlied” seems to have retained its association with popular sentiment and political expression, perhaps precisely because of its celebration of individual freedom. Schiller’s version continued to be sung throughout the Wars of Liberation, its melody being one of those most often specified in song books from this period.¹⁶⁴ The tune was also applied to the words of Philipp Jakob Siebenpfeiffer’s song “Der Deutschen Mai” at the Hambach festival in 1832, one of the largest political gatherings in the years leading up to the 1848 revolutions; at the same occasion, the text was parodied as “Hinaus, Patrioten, zum Schloß, zum Schloß!” (Go forth, patriots, to the castle!).¹⁶⁵ Schiller’s words, meanwhile, continued to be sung to that same melody for over a century, retaining something of their political potency of 1805 through vastly differing circumstances, as attested by their presence on a postcard from 1914 (see Fig. 3). Far from being a footnote to accounts of the reception of *Wallensteins Lager*, then, the singing of war songs at the play’s Berlin performances forms a key stage in the history of both political singing and national sentiment, marking as it does the establishment of communal song as a modern political tool in German lands.

160. Male-voice choirs were prohibited in Austria until 1843; see Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, 118.

161. Brophy, *Popular Culture*, 54.

162. *Ibid.*, 55.

163. Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, 118; see also Klenke, *Der singende “deutsche Mann,”* 26.

164. Weber makes various references to the popularity of the “Reiterlied”; see, for example, *Lyrik der Befreiungskriege*, 269n143.

165. On “Der Deutschen Mai,” see Brophy, *Popular Culture*, 82. The song parallels the Polish pursuit of freedom with the German pursuit of nationhood. On “Hinaus, Patrioten,” see Davies, *Wallenstein Figure*, 92.

Appendix A

Text of “Lob des Krieges” by Carl Friedrich von dem Knesebeck (ca. 1792)¹⁶⁶

Es leb' der Krieg—im wilden Kriegerleben Da stählet sich der Mut! Frei kann die Kraft im Kriege nur sich heben, Der Krieg, der Krieg ist gut.	Long live war!—in the wild life of a soldier One steels oneself! Only in war can strength be freely developed, War, war is good.
Den falschen Freund, der listig Treue heuchelt, Krieg macht ihn offenbar. In offner Schlacht das blanke Schwert nicht schmeichelt, Und jeder Hieb spricht wahr.	The false friend, who feigns loyalty cunningly, War makes him obvious. In open battle the naked sword does not flatter, And every blow speaks true.
Der Krieg ist gut! Er weckt die Kraft der Jugend Und zieht in seinem Schoß So manchen Sinn für hohe, wahre Tugend Zu schönen Taten groß.	War is good! It wakes the strength of youth And nurtures in its bosom Such a strong desire for high, true virtue [And] for fine beautiful deeds.
Der Krieg ist gut! Er ruft aus feigem Schlummer Den trägen Weichling auf, Er lohnt Verdienst, und schafft er manchen Kummer, Löst er auch manchen auf.	War is good! It calls out of cowardly sleep The sluggish milksop, It rewards merit, and though it creates many a sorrow, It also relieves many.
Der Krieg ist gut! Im Reiben seiner Kräfte Ist für die Welt Gewinn. Der Krieg macht froh, im Wechsel der Geschäfte Nimmt er die Grillen hin.	War is good! The grinding of its forces Makes profit for the world. War brings joy, in the affairs of life It puts up with whims.
Er lehrt die Kunst, das Leben zu verachten, Wenn es die Pflicht gebeut, Und immer nur es als ein Gut betrachten, Das man der Tugend weiht.	It teaches the art of scorning life When duty demands it, And always to consider it only as a commodity That one dedicates to virtue.

166. Knesebeck, *Bruchstücke*, 90.

Er lehret uns entbehren und genießen, Er würzt auch schwarzes Brot— Und wenn durch ihn auch manche Tränen fließen, Er gibt den schönsten Tod.	It teaches us to do without and to enjoy, It even flavours black bread— And even if it causes some tears to flow, It grants the most beautiful death.
Es leb' der Krieg! Wo hohe Kraft nur siegert, Nicht Trägheit Lorbeern flieht, Es leb' der Krieg! Unsterblichkeit erflieget, Wer durch ihn Palmen bricht.	Long live war! Where only high strength conquers, Where indolence weaves no laurels, Long live war! He reaches immortality Who is victorious in war! [literally: breaks palms]
Es leb' der Krieg! Nur dem geb' er Verderben, Der frech den Frieden bricht. Zur Schlacht, zur Schlacht! Wir alle lernten sterben Für Vaterland und Pflicht.	Long live war! It gives ruin only to those Who brashly break the peace. To battle, to battle! We all learned to die For fatherland and duty

Appendix B

Text of “Die Trommel ruft!” by Isaak von Sinclair (1805)¹⁶⁷

EINE STIMME

Die Trommel ruft! Die Fahne
weht!
Es gilt für's Vaterland!
Der Schlachtenruf ergeht!
Held Friedrich Wilhelms Helden
glühn,
Und brechen glühend auf und
ziehn
Zum Kampf für's Vaterland!

CHOR

Die Trommel ruft! Die Fahne
weht!
Es gilt für's Vaterland!

ONE VOICE

The drum summons! The flag
waves!
It is for the fatherland!
The call to battle is issued!
The heroes of the hero Friedrich
Wilhelm shine
And sally forth, shining, and leave
For battle for the fatherland!

CHORUS

The drum summons! The flag
waves!
It is for the fatherland!

167. *Der Freimüthige*, September 1, 1806.

Hinan zur Schlacht für's
Vaterland!

EINE STIMME

Auf, Jüngling, auf! Und Greis
und Mann!
Kühn unserm Recht vertraut!
Zu Kampf und Sieg heran!
Für Preußens Thron und alten
Ruhm!
Für Weib und Kind und
Eigenthum!
Der Bräut'gam für die Braut!

CHOR

Die Trommel ruft! Die Fahne
weht! etc.

EINE STIMME

Schon bricht sie auf aus allen
Gau'n,
Die niebesiegte Macht!
Voll Freude, voll
Vertrau'n!
Und Friedrich Wilhelm zieht
voran,
Und Preußens Edle, Mann
vor Mann,
Sind Helden, geht's zur
Schlacht!

CHOR

Die Trommel ruft! Die Fahne
weht! etc.

EINE STIMME

Und zwanzig Völker
regen sich,
Und sehn uns Retter, an!

Und rüsten kraftvoll
sich!
Wem Teutsches Blut zum
Herzen wallt:
Der Ruf des Vaterlands
erschallt!
Hinan zur Schlacht,
hinan!

Onward to battle for the
fatherland!

ONE VOICE

Get up, lad, get up! And dotard and
man!
Boldly trusting in our right!
Onward to battle and victory!
For Prussia's throne and ancient
glory!
For woman and child and
property!
The bridegroom for the bride!

CHORUS

The drum summons! The flag waves!
etc.

ONE VOICE

Already from all regions
breaks out
The never-conquered force!
Full of joy, full of
confidence!
And Friedrich Wilhelm goes ahead,

And Prussia's nobles, man
for man,
Are heroes, onward to battle!

CHORUS

The drum summons! The flag
waves! etc.

ONE VOICE

And twenty peoples stir
themselves,
And behold in us their
saviour!
And prepare themselves
forcefully!
To those in whom German blood
flows to the heart
The call of the fatherland
resounds!
Onward to battle, onward!

CHOR

Die Trommel ruft! Die Fahne
weht! etc.

EINE STIMME

Du Land des Ruhms! Du Land
der Macht!
O heilig Vaterland!
Dein Rächer ist erwacht!
Dem Bastard Tod am eignen
Heerd,
Des feiger Sinn sein Volk
entehrt,
Nicht glüht für's Vaterland.

CHOR

Die Trommel ruft! Die Fahne
weht!
Es gilt für's Vaterland!
Hinan zur Schlacht für's
Vaterland!

CHORUS

The drum summons! The flag
waves! etc.

ONE VOICE

You, land of Glory! You, land of
power!
O holy fatherland!
Your Avenger is awakened!
Death to the Bastard on his own
hearth,
Whose cowardly nature dishonors his
people,
[And] who is not enflamed for his
fatherland.

CHORUS

The drum summons! The flag
waves!
It is for the fatherland!
Onward to battle for the
fatherland!

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Zeit und Geschmack

Zeitung für die elegante Welt

Abstract

Almost fifty years after the original event, Willibald Alexis’s historical novel *Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht* (1852) commemorated a musical performance that had taken place on October 16, 1805, at Berlin’s Nationaltheater. According to both Alexis’s reimagining and contemporary reports, after the closing “Reiterlied” of Schiller’s *Wallensteins Lager* a new war song was sung by audience and actors. The sensation this caused—in a city awaiting its troops’ departure for war against Napoleon—established Schiller’s play as a privileged site for political singing in Berlin and across German lands for the next decade. In this article, I account for this first occasion, its unusual press reception, and its influence by contextualizing it within a growing early nineteenth-century discourse on public communal singing, arguing that Berliners were self-consciously enacting French patriotic behaviors. As well as indicating longer-term continuities, I distinguish the political role attributed to war songs in this period from the more familiar *Bildung*-orientated discourse on choral singing and folk song. In contrast to established accounts that locate the emergence of popular political song in the volunteer movements of the Wars of Liberation and

the national politics of the *Burschenschaften* and male-voice choirs, I suggest that these early performances show the official imposition of public political singing—as a kind of “defensive modernization”—in response to the Napoleonic threat. I thus revise our understanding of the establishment of singing as a modern political tool in German lands, and of the role of singing in the development of political agency and national sentiment more broadly.

Keywords: war song, Schiller, Berlin, performance, communal singing

