



Figure 1: Portrait of Georg von Frundsberg, *Vater der Landsknechte*, after Christoph Amberger (Gemäldegalerie Berlin)

In numerous historical sources, Frundsberg is praised for his military tactics and his loyalty to his masters. Many of his campaigns in the first decades of the sixteenth century in the service of the Habsburg Emperors were intended to assert their supremacy in the northern part of Italy, against the claims of the pope and the French king. Frundsberg gained his greatest military success in the battle of Pavia on February 24, 1525, in which Francis I of France was captured and papal influence curtailed. This success would receive its expression in a popular motto, “Viel Feind’, viel Ehr’” [many enemies, much honor], referring to Frundsberg’s numerous victories over hostile armies which often far outnumbered his own *Landsknechte*.

Soon afterwards, his final campaign in Italy would lead to his downfall, when his own troops revolted after not having been paid for months. Since Charles V was not willing to help out, Frundsberg was forced to pawn his own family fortune, but to no avail. In March 1527 in Bologna, the discontent of the soldiers turned into open rebellion, leading to the famous Sack of Rome later that year (by which the term *Landsknecht* received a very pejorative connotation). Physically and mentally weakened, Frundsberg suffered a stroke and died in his castle in Mindelheim on August 20, 1528. His final conclusion on life in military service was negative:

*Drey ding sollen einen jeden vom Krieg abschrecken. 1. Die verderbung vnd vndertruckung der armen vnschuldigen Leut. 2. Das vnordentlich sträfflich Leben der Kriegsl euth. 3. Vnd die Vndanckbarkeit der Fürsten bey denen die Vntrewen hoch kommen vnd Reich werden vnd die Wolverdiente vnbelohnet bleiben.*⁶

[Three things should deter anyone from war: first the ruin and suppression of poor, innocent people, second the unruly and irresponsible life of the soldiers and third the ungratefulness of the monarchs who promote and enrich the disloyal, whereas the deserved ones remain unrewarded.]

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⁶ Quoted in Julius Wilhelm Zingref: *Teutsche Apophthegmata das ist Der Teutschen scharfsinnige kluge Sprüche*. Vol. 1. (Leiden 1644, originally 1626–31), 163.

Wie Georg von Frundsberg von sich selber
sang (*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*)⁷

How Georg von Frundsberg sang of himself⁸

Mein Fleiß und Müh ich nie hab gespart
Und allzeit gewahrt dem Herren mein;
Zum Besten sein schickt ich mich drein,
Gnad, Gunst verhofft, doch's Gemüth
zu Hof Verkehrt sich oft.

My diligence and toil I have never spared,
and always minded my lord;
for his good I submitted myself to him,
hoping grace and favor, but the mind at
court often changes.

Wer sich zukaufft, der lauft weit vor
Und kömmt empor, doch wer lang Zeit
Nach Ehren streit, muß dannen weit,
Das sehr mich kränkt, mein treuer Dienst
Bleibt unerkent.

He who knows to sell himself runs far ahead
and raises himself up, yet he who fights long
for honor must go far away,
that grieves me much, my loyal service
remains unrecognized.

Kein Dank noch Lohn davon ich bring,
Man wiegt gring und hat mein gar
Vergessen zwar, groß Noth, Gefahr
Ich bestanden han, was Freude soll
Ich haben dran?

No thanks nor reward from it I bring,
they count me little, and have quite
forgotten me indeed; great grief, danger
I have undergone. What joy shall
I have from it?

In a rather pathetic way, and full of self-pity, Frundsberg denounces the unfairness at court, where the superiors promote the flatterers and those who know how to praise themselves, but forget about those who remain loyal to their masters and to their ideals. This song is handed down in numerous pamphlets from the sixteenth century. The editors of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* most likely based their version of the song on its reproduction in *Ander Teil des Adelspiegels. Was Adel mache, befördere, ziere, vermehre, und erhalte [...]* [Other part of the mirror of nobility: what constitutes, promotes, embellishes, augments and preserves nobility] by the German theologian and historian Cyriacus Spangenberg (1528–1604). In this work from 1594, Spangenberg praises Frundsberg for his loyalty, his military genius and his compassion for common people, but also mentions the opposition at court, which was the immediate cause for this “*plaintive song about ingratitude.*”⁹

7 *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, 536 (edition used by Schönberg, see fn. 4). Apart from choosing the name Frundsberg instead of Fronsberg, the text of Schönberg's song differs from his original source in only one place: in the first line Schönberg changes the word order “ich nie hab” into “hab ich nie.”

8 Translation by Philip L. Miller in Arnold Schönberg: *Lieder*. Ellen Faull, Helen Vanni, Donald Gramm, Cornelis Ophof, Glenn Gould (Sony Classical SM2K 52 667, 1995), 46 (translation revised by this author).

9 Cyriacus Spangenberg: *Ander Teil des Adelspiegels: Was Adel mache, befördere, ziere, vermehre, und erhalte [...]* (Schmalkalden 1594), 231r. In his *Teutsche Apophthegmata*, see fn. 6, 163. Zingref mentions the circumstances in which the song was written and the way it was performed: “*Er ist endlich elend vnd in*

It is this feeling of disillusionment which may have caused Schönberg, at the end of his first stay in Berlin, to turn to Georg von Frundsberg for his first musical setting of a poem from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. We are even directly informed about Schönberg's identification with Frundsberg by his pupil Egon Wellesz. In his monograph on his former teacher, Wellesz refers to the final verses "Zwar groß Not, Gefahr ich bestanden han, was Freude soll ich haben dran?" of Frundsberg's song as a "Selbstbekenntnis des Autors," that is as a "self-confession of the composer".¹⁰ Apart from his aristocratic sense of self-worth, Schönberg may have been attracted to Frundsberg's song by still another sentiment: his highly developed sense of irony (as already mentioned). He must have been fully aware of the perennial nature of Frundsberg's plaint (*nihil novi sub sole*) with which his self-pity takes on a somewhat banal, commonplace character, especially when it is expressed with such comic-pathetic emphasis. As will be made clear by the analysis of this song, it was this strange mixture of sincerity, banality and irony which seems to have sparked Schönberg's musical imagination.

II.

As one of his "minor" works, Schönberg's Frundsberg song has so far received little analytical attention. In agreement with the only recent and detailed analysis of *Wie Georg von Frundsberg von sich selber sang* by Ethan Haimo, the form of this song can be interpreted as ABA', corresponding to the three stanzas of the poem (see Table 2).¹¹

Table 2: Formal overview of *Wie Georg von Frundsberg von sich selber sang*

mm. 1–4	piano prelude	
mm. 4–14	stanza 1	A
mm. 14–24	stanza 2	B
mm. 24–27	transition	
mm. 27–39	stanza 3	A'
mm. 39–43	piano postlude	

Armuth gestorben, also daß alle seine Güter den Kauffleuten versetzt gewesen, dieweil er nie keine Ergetzlichkeit für seine trewe Dienst bey seinen Lebenszeiten gesehen [...]. Derenhalben er nach der Pavier Schlacht dieses Liedlein gemacht, vnnd ihm offft mit vier Stimmen Singen, oder mit Instrumenten vorspielen lassen. [He finally died in misery and poverty, with all his possessions divided

up by merchants; all his life he has never received any gratification for his loyal service. [...] This is why he made this little song after the battle of Pavia and often had it sung to him with four voices or played with instruments.]

¹⁰ Egon Wellesz: *Arnold Schönberg*. Neuausgabe mit einem Nachwort von Carl Dahlhaus (Wilhelmshaven 1985), 73; English translation by W. H. Kerridge (New York 1925, Reprint New York 1969), 63–64.

¹¹ Ethan Haimo: *Schoenberg's Transformation of Musical Language* (Cambridge 2006), 98–106.

As indicated by Haimo, the A' section offers no literal repetition of the A section, but there are enough resemblances between both sections to accentuate their relationship: not only do mm. 9–13 of the A section return as mm. 27–31 of the A' section, but the A' section is also marked by a clear return to D \flat major, the tonal center of this song.¹² This tonal center is absent in the contrasting middle section, which instead concentrates on the static harmony of a half-diminished seventh chord on B \flat in its first part (mm. 14–18), and on a free harmonic sequence in its second part (mm. 19–24).

Example 1: Arnold Schönberg: *Wie Georg von Frundsberg von sich selber sang*, op. 3, no. 1, piano prelude, mm. 1–4

As in many of Schönberg's songs from this period, all main motivic material is presented in the first few measures. Haimo identifies three main motives x, y and z in the piano prelude, which subsequently permeate the work in all possible transformations and developments (Example 1).¹³ The opening motive x in particular is analyzed by Haimo in terms of a linear, stepwise moving line of four notes, presented in its descending version in the upper voice and in its ascending version in the bass of mm. 1–2. This line then reappears in several guises with different orders in the succession of whole and half steps. Although the linear definition of motive x is supported by the first entrance of the voice in mm. 4–5 (see

Example 3) and by the frequent return of this motive in the vocal part in the remainder of the song, Haimo's interpretation neglects the chordal structure which has this linear motive as a component in most of its appearances in the piano accompaniment. This chordal structure, presented as the most salient gesture of the opening measures, is reminiscent of a typical harmonic formula discussed in any harmony textbook. Even though the formula never appears in its textbook guise in the song, there are enough of its elements present in the chord progression of motive x (mm. 1–2) for it to form a clear, audible reference to this specific historical model.

This chord progression has its origin in the prolongation of the dominant harmony by means of a secondary dominant (the dominant of the dominant) inserted between two chords with dominant function. Example 2 offers an

12 Ibidem, 99.

13 Ibidem, 100.

Figure 2: Source documents for *Eyn doppelt Spiegel und Schlüssel-Kanon* in the *Sämtliche Werke*

Document type	Classification	Reproduced in	Content
A: Sketches	Recto (3497) Verso (3498)	[Example 4] [Example 6]	Sketches A1 to A11 <i>Agnus Dei II</i> from Josquin's <i>Missa L'homme armé</i> and Bach's riddle canon (BWV 1073)
B: Fair copy	N. A.	[Example 1]	<i>Eyn doppelt Spiegel und Schlüssel-Kanon</i>

The verso of the sheet (3498) is puzzling (Example 6). This page includes a partial resolution of a riddle canon by Johann Sebastian Bach (BWV 1073), and four canonic sketches based on the melody of *Agnus Dei II* from *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* by Josquin Des Prez. Schönberg himself wrote “*Agnus Dei von Josquin*” in the top-left margin, and “*Bach*” and “*Josquin*” in the left margin. As described in the *Sämtliche Werke*, Josquin’s melody appears in four pages of sketches for Schönberg’s *Variations for Orchestra*, op. 31 (1636 to 1639): the melody is combined with the inversions of the Variations’ twelve-tone row, although these sketches were eventually not used in the final version of the work.¹⁶ For example, Schönberg’s quotation of Josquin’s melody found in the sketches for op. 31 (1638) is combined with the inversion of the basic row transposed to a minor third lower (Example 7a and 7b).

A series of questions now arises: why does the verso of this sheet (3498) include the sketches associated with op. 31? Did Schönberg write the sketches for the mirror canon on the recto of the sheet (3497) in February 1922, and return to the verso four years later when he started to compose op. 31? Or did he sketch Josquin’s melody in 1922, independently from op. 31, and later attempt to use it in the *Variations for Orchestra*?

An investigation on the *Notenbeispiele zu Kontrapunkt, Formenlehre, Instrumentation u. Zusammenhang* [musical examples for counterpoint, instruction in form, instrumentation, and coherence] offers help with these questions.¹⁷ These *Notenbeispiele* were originally designed to provide musical examples for Schönberg’s project entitled *Zusammenhang, Kontrapunkt, Instrumentation, Formenlehre* (ZKIF hereafter).¹⁸ This project includes two notebooks, both of which were dated April 1917.¹⁹ The *Notenbeispiele* themselves were undated,

16 Ibidem, 60.

17 Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien (T37.18) (ASSV 2.3.3.)

18 *Zusammenhang, Kontrapunkt, Instrumentation Formenlehre* (1917)

(ASSV 2.3.3.); for descriptions of these documents, see *Coherence, Counterpoint, Instrumentation, Instruction in Form by Arnold Schoenberg*. Translated by Charlotte M. Cross and Severine Neff. Edited and with an introduction by Severine Neff (Lincoln, London 1994), xxvi–xxviii.

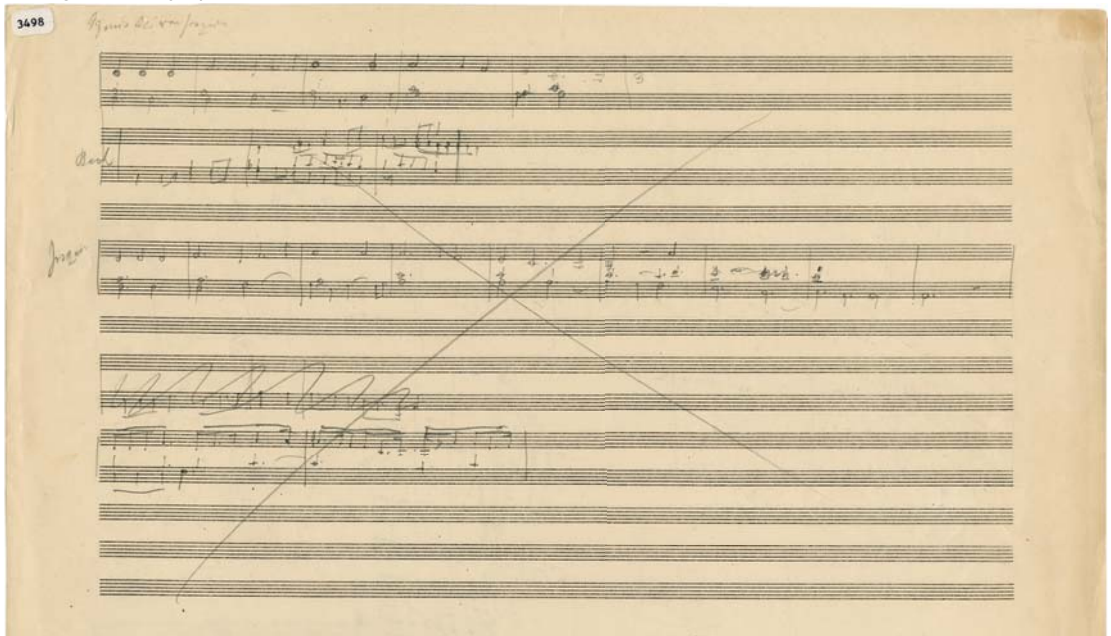
19 Part 1 (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien [T37.17]) is dated between April 11 and 23, 1917, and part 2 (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien [T37.19]) between April 18 and 21, 1917.

"Agnus Dei von Josquin"

"Bach"

"Josquin"

A proportion canon
based on the above
melody



Example 6: Sketches on 3498 (verso of 3497) (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien [MS 68])



Example 7a: Schönberg's sketches for op. 31 (1638) which include his quotation of *Agnus Dei II* from Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien [MS 31])

Josquin's melody



U^{-3} of the twelve-tone row in op. 31*



* U^{-3} = Inversion of the basic twelve-tone row transposed at a minor third lower

Example 7b: Transcription of 1638, staves 1-2, mm. 1-3