

Biographical Listening: Intimacy, Madness
and the Music of Robert Schumann

By

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Abstract

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Evaluating music as psychological utterance and biographical confession emerged as a mode of music criticism during the early to mid-nineteenth century. Ever since, critics have characterized Robert Schumann as a composer whose works and life are bound together inextricably. The ramifications of these values in Schumann reception and scholarship form the subject of this dissertation.

The origins of this practice can be found in the late eighteenth century, when German writers began describing instrumental music as the most inward of artistic genres. Promoting the value of “unity” between life and works bestowed authenticity and aided canonization. It was, furthermore, a view of self that Schumann actively encouraged through his writings. Following an introduction on the concept of biographical listening, I use the frameworks of “intimacy” and “madness” to delineate how such listening has affected the popularization of Schumann’s music. More than mere style descriptors, “intimacy” and “madness” connect Schumann’s music and persona. They shape how and what listeners hear.

Conceptions of the music’s intimacy were rooted in reports of Robert’s struggle to marry the pianist Clara Wieck. In order to broach perceptions of Schumannian intimacy, I study the reception history of “*Träumerei*.” By the 1890s, “*Träumerei*” had become the most arranged and published piece by any composer in German-speaking lands, inspiring paintings, poems, short stories, popular songs and even novels. In my first chapter I argue that biographical interpretive methods underlay its popular success, as writers and publishers used perceptions of Schumann’s life to promote his music as inward.

In my second chapter, I study how changing conceptions of gender during the 1930s-1950s helped reshape biographical readings of “*Träumerei*.” The 1944 German film *Träumerei* and the 1947 Hollywood film *Song of Love* each prominently featured “*Träumerei*” in their retellings of the Robert-Clara love story. Juxtaposing German and American cinematic, scholarly, and fictional portrayals of Clara Schumann, I examine how “*Träumerei*” was used at this time to market both music appreciation and family values.

Besides the love story, a second Schumannian tale has gained notoriety: Robert’s early death in a mental institution. I devote two chapters to the relationships between his music, his biography, and his “madness.” First, I study the history of Schuman’s psychiatric diagnoses. In

addition to Schumann's letters, diaries and compositions, many factors have shaped the diagnoses he has been given. I demonstrate how particular social values, molding both psychiatric research and aesthetic evaluation, have shaped Schumann's complex twentieth-century diagnostic history.

My last chapter is a study of the recent compositional reception of "late" Schumann. Until the 1980s, the late music was often heard as representing an increasingly confused mind. Since then scholars have begun to reclaim these works as rational and music-theoretically lucid. Simultaneously, contemporary European composers have begun composing homages to the mentally-ill Schumann. Demonstrating "health" and romanticizing "pathology" not only show the tenacity of the biographical interpretive mode, they reveal how aesthetic evaluations of Schumann's music are affected by the stigma as well as the mystique of mental illness.

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Introduction

Intimacy, Madness and the Music of Robert Schumann

I do not love the men whose lives are not in harmony with their works.¹
– Florestan, 1833

It seems as if man stands somewhat in awe of the workshop of genius; just as Nature herself seems to exhibit a certain delicacy in covering her roots with earth. Therefore let the artist also lock the door upon himself and his griefs; we should gain too deep an insight if every work revealed to us the causes of its existence.²

– Robert Schumann, 1835

“Schumann is very broadly a piano composer,” reflected Roland Barthes in 1979. “Now the piano...has undergone...a historical evolution of which Schumann is the victim. The human subject has changed: interiority, intimacy, solitude have lost their value...yet Schumann is truly the musician of solitary intimacy, of the amorous and imprisoned soul that *speaks to itself*.”³ Barthes elegantly expresses ideals ubiquitous in Schumann criticism: the piano music as a vehicle for ruminations and an imagined personal connection with the composer. Revealingly, Barthes promotes two interpretive categories. To understand Schumann’s music, he insists, is to revel in its “intimacy” and its “madness.”⁴

The critical affirmation of intimacy and madness in Schumann’s music has a history reaching back to the last decades of the nineteenth century. Promoting the “unity” between life and works bestowed authenticity, fostered intrigue and aided canonization. Though interpreting music biographically became increasingly common during the second half of the nineteenth century, the practice’s ideological origins extend further back, to the last decades of the eighteenth century, as writers and philosophers increasingly promoted connections between art and life as a guarantor of expressive truth and complexity.⁵ By the *fin de siècle*, biographical-

¹ Robert Schumann, “From Master Raro’s, Florestan’s and Eusebius’ Journal of Poetry and Thought,” as quoted and translated in *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (New York: Pantheon, 1946), p. 39.

² From Schumann’s review of Berlioz, *Symphonie Fantastique*. Schumann, “Symphonie Fantastique,” *Ibid.*, 180.

³ Entitled “Loving Schumann,” the short essay was written in 1979 and contains Barthes’s thoughts on Marcel Beaufils, *La Musique pour Piano de Schumann* (Paris: Phébus, 1979). Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 293.

⁴ For example: “Intimacy is always a little egoistic; that is the price which must be paid if we want to renounce the arrogances of the universal. But Schumann’s music involves something radical, which makes it into an existential, rather than a social or moral experience. This radicality has some relation to madness, even if Schumann’s music is continuously ‘well-behaved’ insofar as it submits to the code of tonality and to the formal regularity of melismata [!]. Madness here is incipient in the vision, the economy of the world with which the subject, Schumann, entertains a relation which gradually destroys him, while the music itself seeks to construct itself.” *Ibid.*, 295.

⁵ The literary genre of the “confession,” for example, was widely popular at the time. For background on this genre, see *Approaches to Teaching Rousseau’s Confessions and Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, ed. John C. O’Neal and Ourida Mostefai (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2003); for a discussion of nineteenth-century French, Scottish, and English works entitled “Confessions,” see Susan M. Levin, *The Romantic Art of Confession: De Quincey, Musset, Sand, Lamb, Hogg, Frémy, Soulié, Janin* (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1998).

cum-psychological writing was prevalent in music criticism, in part popularized as a vehicle for understanding Beethoven's music.⁶ Valuing such (con)fusion between work and biography continues to inform musicological research.⁷ The ramifications of these values for Schumann reception and scholarship form the subject of this dissertation. In contemporary musicology Schumann exemplifies the artist whose works and life seem bound together inextricably, and it is through an historiographical investigation of his life and works that I study the incorporation of these values into popular and academic writing on Schumann.⁸

Schumann scholars often debate the extent to which biographical information can provide keys to a work's impetus and meanings.⁹ The first epigraph of this introduction is enriched and complicated by the second, a plea for privacy lest autobiographical revelation swamp musical meaning.¹⁰ Despite Schumann's occasional resistance to this fusion of life and work, it was an ideal and a view of self that he actively promoted through autobiographical, critical and epistolary writings. As Schumann wrote in an 1843 letter to Carl Koßmaly, "with some trepidation I send you a package of my old compositions... They are mostly reflections of my stormy early life; man and musician always seek to express themselves simultaneously with me, it is still the case now, even though I have learned to control myself better. How many joys and sorrows lie buried together in this little heap of notes."¹¹ Schumann's autobiographical writings span his life, from diaries kept during student days to the *Ehetagebuch* and the *Haushaltbücher*,

⁶ K.M. Knittel, for example, cites Czerny as having suggested, with reference to the piano sonatas, that in order to "penetrate Beethoven's spirit... [the] study of the score is absolutely necessary." K.M. Knittel, "The Construction of Beethoven," in *The Cambridge Companion to Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 145. For further examples, see Heike Stumpf, "...wollt mir jetzt durch die phantastisch verschlungenen Kreuzgänge Folgen!": *metaphorisches Sprechen in der Musikkritik der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), pp. 155-66; and Thomas Sipe, "Interpreting Beethoven: History, Aesthetics, and Critical Reception," PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1992, pp. 107, 129.

⁷ For a widely cited example, see "Schumann: Triumph and Failure of the Romantic Ideal" in Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge: Harvard University press, 1995), pp. 646-710. For a more recent example of such a reading, see Constantin Floros, "Autobiographisches in Schumanns früher Musik," in *Robert Schumann: Persönlichkeit, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. Helmut Loos (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder, 2011), pp. 25-37.

⁸ As John Daverio asserts, "art and life are perhaps more closely interwoven in Schumann's music than in that of any other composer in the nineteenth century. Nowhere is this phenomenon better represented than in his piano music of the middle and later 1830s." John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 131. This biographical interpretive tradition underlies the ongoing debate among Schumann scholars over whether Schumann in fact consciously quoted from Beethoven's *An die ferne Geliebte* in the op. 17 *Fantasie*. As David Ferris cogently concluded, "for the... scholars who believe that Schumann deliberately quoted from Beethoven's song, the proof is in the coherence of the biographical narrative that they have constructed. Although there is no documentary evidence for the musical quotation, the narrative fit is so perfect that it must be true." David Ferris, "The Fictional Lives of the Schumanns," in *Rethinking Schumann*, ed. Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 385.

⁹ See, for example, Daverio, 3-19.

¹⁰ The second epigraph is also a reminder for composers not to stifle a listener's imagination by disclosing causes. As Beate Perrey warns, Schumann's statements "may mislead some into rushing to the conclusion that Schumann's work represented a musical biography. Nothing could be further from the truth. If Schumann, more explicitly than any other composer, claims and thematizes a proximity to lived experience, the idea lies firmly within the act of 'poeticizing,' a moment of consciousness in which the workings of the Romantic mind are celebrated." Beate Perrey, *Schumann's Dichterliebe and Early Romantic Poetics: Fragmentation of Desire* (New York: Cambridge University press, 2002), p. 55.

¹¹ Letter dated May 5, 1843. As quoted and translated by David Ferris, "Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara Wieck's Concerts in Berlin," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003): 404.

which contain entries up until just four days before his attempted suicide.¹² These writings give detailed information on his reading habits and the philosophers and novelists whose work helped shape his aesthetics. As John Daverio suggests, even Schumann's earliest writings seem to exude a self-conscious literary style.¹³ This has led scholars to conclude that the marriage diaries in particular were written with posterity in mind.¹⁴

Schumann was, of course, deeply immersed in German literary and philosophical works from the turn of the nineteenth century that promoted the ideal of unity as well as the related concept of musical *Innigkeit*.¹⁵ Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder's Joseph Berglinger in *Confessions from the Heart of an Art-Loving Friar* (1797) and E.T.A. Hoffmann's Kapellmeister Kreisler provided influential expressions of the ideal bond between the inner life and musical meaning, of worlds in which lives and musical experiences dissolve into each other.¹⁶ Kreisler, a figure Hoffmann loosely modeled on himself, mused that "as far as difficulty is concerned, the proper performance of Beethoven's works demands nothing less than that one understand him, that one penetrate to his inner nature."¹⁷ Hoffmann broached the (ultimately impossible) necessity of delving into the composer's life as the way to attain ideal musical understanding. Developing interest in the composer's "inner life" was built upon Idealist notions of music as the "most introverted of all art forms."¹⁸ Understanding music as *innig* facilitated the emergence of biographical listening and lay as philosophical background for Schumann's attempts at musical self-modeling.

Today Schumann's piano works from the 1830s are among his most written about, recorded and praised. At the time of his death, however, most of these works were considered too "difficult"

¹² Daverio, 20-54. Robert Schumann, *Tagebücher I: 1827–1838*, ed. Georg Eismann (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik 1971, 2/1987); *Tagebücher II: 1836–1854*, ed. Gerd Nauhaus (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik 1987); *Haushaltbücher III: 1837–56*, ed. Gerd Nauhaus (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1982).

¹³ Daverio, 20-54.

¹⁴ Ferris, "The Fictional Lives of the Schumanns," 366-7.

¹⁵ The bibliography is vast. See for example: Edward A. Lippman, "Theory and Practice in Schumann's Aesthetics," *JAMS* 17 (1964): 310-45, Thomas Alan Brown, *The Aesthetics of Robert Schumann* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1968); Berthold Hoeckner, "Schumann and Romantic Distance," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50 (1997): 55-132; and Erika Reiman, *Schumann's Piano Cycles and the Novels of Jean Paul* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004).

¹⁶ For example, Berglinger, echoing Rousseau, hopes hyperbolically that "in some little corner of Germany...there may perhaps be someone...with such an intuitive understanding of my soul that he will sense in my melodies those very feelings which I had on composing." Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, *Outpourings of an Art-Loving Friar*, trans. Edward Mornin (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1975), p. 117. The figure of Berglinger would reappear in Wackenroder's and Tieck's *Fantasies on Art for Friends of Art* (1799) and was used as a model for Hoffmann's Kreisler. For background on these writers' work and values, see Mark Evan Bonds, "Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50 (1997): 387-420; and Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981).

¹⁷ E.T.A. Hoffmann, *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism*, ed. David Charlton, trans. Martyn Clarke (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 103.

¹⁸ Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, *Philosophy of Art*, as quoted by Perrey, 44. As Holly Watkins has demonstrated, the concept of musical *Innigkeit* is tied to the discourse on musical "depth" that was emerging at this time. She investigates the concept of depth in part through a discussion of Hoffmann's *Mines of Falun*. See "From the Mine to the Shrine: On the Critical Origins of Musical Depth," *19th-Century Music* 27 (2004): 179-207.

for public performance.¹⁹ Biographical interpretive methods, particularly those that promoted the values of intimacy and madness, facilitated their public acceptance and bestowed value on certain musical qualities now prized. Conceptions of the music's intimacy were primarily rooted in the tumultuous tale of Schumann's struggle to marry Clara Wieck. Interpreted as vessels of private thoughts, the pieces were found outwardly to contain Clara's melodies and ciphers, and inwardly Robert's thoughts and dreams.²⁰ The inward meanings were often described as penetrable by the solitary pianist, who thereby gained unique and privileged access to the work.²¹

Madness, the second interpretive category, is similarly rooted in late nineteenth-century biographically-oriented understanding. While critics often dismissed Schumann's late works as products of a disturbed mind, they began accounting for idiosyncrasies in the early works in part through reference to "inspired" madness. Barthes, for example, gave this a characteristic formulation when he wrote that the "pure pain without object," which he heard in Schumann's music, "is certainly a madman's pain... Here we touch on Schumann's singularity... that point of fusion at which his fate (madness), his thought, and his music converge... and yet Schumann's 'madness'... is not, obviously, a psychiatric diagnosis, which would horrify me in many respects."²² Safely discussing an early work (*Carnaval*), Barthes drew upon the ancient mystique of artistic-inspiration-as-madness to promote the music's "privacy." Though a poetic designation, "madness" gained impetus and legitimacy through its proximity to biographical perceptions.²³

One appeal of biographical reading is a kind of flattery it provides the reader. The ability to appreciate and plumb such "private" utterances, some critics assert, distinguishes the connoisseur. Daverio, author of one of the most authoritative studies of the composer, begins with praise for Barthes. "Like the French critic, I, too, must confess to loving Schumann... moreover, the Schumann I love is the whole Schumann—not the one known to most everyone, the dreamy composer of quirky piano pieces and gorgeous songs who met a tragic end—and this Schumann, like caviar, is something of an acquired taste."²⁴ As Barthes and Daverio intimate, the individual who loves Schumann stands apart from the crowd, "loving Schumann, doing so in a certain fashion *against* the age... can only be a responsible way of loving: it inevitably leads the subject... to posit himself in his time according to the injunctions of his desire and not according to those of his sociality."²⁵ Appealing to the individual who protests the "gregarious" values of the time and the connoisseur whose greater purview allows the taking of pleasure in the less popular, biographical hearing has variously promoted the elite status of those capable of "loving" Schumann.

The practice of interrelating this music's privacy with elite taste goes back to the time of its composition, encapsulated, for example, by an 1846 comment of Eduard Hanslick:

¹⁹ See for example Gerhard Dietel, "*Eine neue poetische Zeit:*" *Musikanschauung und stilistische Tendenzen im Klavierwerk Robert Schumanns* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989), pp. 296-316. On the early private performances of Schumann's music, see David Ferris, "Public Performance and Private Understanding," 351-408.

²⁰ Indeed, there is a long tradition of seeking out hidden Clara ciphers in Robert's music. Daverio outlines the lengths to which scholars have gone to uncover such "explicit" meanings in the *Davidsbündlertänze*. See Daverio, 158-9.

²¹ Barthes reflects that "Schumann's music goes much farther than the ear; it goes into the body... as if on each occasion the piece was written only for one person, the one who plays it; the true Schumannian pianist—*c'est moi*." Barthes, 295.

²² *Ibid.*, 296-7.

²³ *Ibid.*, 295, 297.

²⁴ Daverio, vii.

²⁵ Barthes, 298.

“Schumann’s music is not for the majority of listeners. It is for the select few. I myself would not want to play Schumann publicly.”²⁶ Beyond the *Kinderscenen* (op. 15, 1838), the early piano pieces did not sell well; with few exceptions, they were not performed in public. In fact, in an 1850 review of Schumann’s oeuvre, Franz Brendel asserted that the piano works from the 1830s had “disappeared without leaving a trace.”²⁷

Anthony Newcomb, in a study of Schumann’s piano works in relation to the mid-century German market for published music, attributes the lack of popular interest in these works to their technical difficulties and unconventional genres that posed challenges for listeners.²⁸ Though Clara performed Robert’s works privately during his lifetime, she did not publicly premiere most of them until the 1860s and 70s.²⁹ Her first public performance of *Papillons*, for example, dates from 1871; she first publicly performed pieces from *Carnaval* in 1856, *Kinderscenen* (incomplete) in 1868, *Kreisleriana* (excerpts) in 1859, and the *Fantasie* in 1866.³⁰ As is frequently noted, Clara’s promotion of these works helped facilitate their belated public approval.

It was precisely during these decades that biographies of Robert began to circulate. Beginning with Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski’s 1858 biography, a flood of literature ranging from the popular to more scholarly in scope fueled interest in the interconnections between Schumann’s music and persona, and offered consumers biographical access to his music.³¹ As early as 1868, La Mara drew in the readers of her biographical study with the promise that “Schumann put a piece of himself into each of his compositions. His music is therefore

²⁶ The remark comes from a published letter. I include the rich surrounding text not only to underscore the point, but also to make clear how quickly critics began to discuss certain piano works by Schumann in terms of intimacy and interiority: “Es war jüngst die Rede davon, warum man bei der jetzigen Vorliebe für das Piano doch nie etwas von Schumanns Klavierkompositionen in unseren Konzerten hört. ‘Sie sind zu schwierig,’ heißt die gewöhnliche Antwort. Man spielt aber noch weit Schwereres. Das ist’s nicht. Sch’s Kompositionen sind zu geistig, zu tief, zu räthselhaft, um von einem größeren Publikum verstanden zu werden; sie sind zu duster, zu deutsch, zu schwärmerisch, um es anzusprechen. Ich glaube. Sch’s. Klavierkompositionen sind zu gut für unsere Konzerte. Am Ende ist nichts verloren, Sch’s Musik ist nicht für den Einzelnen. Ich möchte selbst nichts von Sch. öffentlich spielen. Denke Dir nur, Flamin, im elegant verzierten Konzertsaal, glänzende Lustres, neugieriges Geschwätz, hundert Lorgnetten in Bewegung, und nun sich vor all den geputzten Damen und Herren an’s Piano setzen, in schwarzem Gallafrack und weißer Weste—um ihnen Florestans träumerische Weisen preiszugeben,—Nein! Aber spät Abends, wenn man allein ist im stillen, lauschigen Stübchen, allein mit seiner Qual und seiner Sehnsucht, und die Frühlingsdüfte warm und duftig durch’s offene Fenster hereinziehen,—dann nimmt man gerne Florestan’s Sonaten her, die “Kreisleriana” und die “Novelleten” und spielt bis einem die Brust so weit wird und das Herz so voll,—eine selige Sabbatruhe zieht ein in unsre Brust, und man wünscht sich nichts weiter herbei, nichts als den herrlichen Florestan, um ihm nach Herzenslust um den Hals zu fallen!” Eduard Hanslick, “Robert Schumann und seine Cantate ‘Das Paradies und die Peri, ein Brief an Flamin, den letzten Davidsbündler.” Letter from May 19, 1846, as reprinted in Eduard Hanslick, *Sämtliche Schriften Historisch-kritische Ausgabe Bd. 1: Aufsätze und Rezensionen 1844-1848*, ed. Dietmar Strauß (Wien: Böhlau, 1993), pp. 54-5.

²⁷ As quoted by Anthony Newcomb, “Schumann and the Marketplace: From Butterflies to *Hausmusik*,” in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. R. Larry Todd (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), pp. 268-9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 265-6.

²⁹ See Ferris, “Public Performance and Private Understanding.”

³⁰ Nancy B. Reich includes information on the public premieres of Robert’s published piano works. *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 259-60.

³¹ Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, a violinist who had served as concertmaster under Schumann in Düsseldorf first published his Schumann biography in 1858: *Robert Schumann: Eine Biographie* (Dresden: R. Kunze, 1858). The work was reissued in revised editions in 1869, 1877 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel), and 1880 (Bonn: E. Strauss). It was first translated into English as *Life of Robert Schumann* (Boston: O. Ditson, 1871) and (London: W. Reeves, 1878).

inextricable from his life, perhaps more inextricable than the life and work of any other master.”³²

Chapter One Biographical Listening and the Popularization of “Träumerei”

While late nineteenth-century music critics increasingly adopted “psychological” interpretative approaches, such methods also provided more accessible explications for the *Liebhaber*. Chapter one examines how knowledge regarding Robert’s and Clara’s protracted battle to marry and the aura surrounding their “storybook passion”³³ became a primary context for interpreting several of the now best-known works from the 1830s. This chapter focuses on the reception history of “Träumerei,” the seventh of thirteen short pieces constituting the *Kinderszenen*, op. 15. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, “Träumerei” had become the most arranged and published piece by Schumann. Furthermore, as statistics in the *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* suggest, the number of “Träumerei” publications far exceeded that for any work by Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, or Chopin.³⁴

The most relevant previous reception study of “Träumerei” is the eponymous 1981 article by Károly Csipák and Reinhard Kapp.³⁵ This article covers more than one hundred years of the piece’s reception history and provides a summary of many of the important sources and issues raised by the piece’s reception. However, the authors’ overt disdain for the often sentimentalized consumption of the work and for the people who consumed the work in this way, colors their analysis and limits the scope of their conclusions. Jeremy Barham’s 2011 reception study of “Träumerei” focuses on filmic uses of the piece dating from the silent film era to the twenty-first century. This study has little overlap with the material presented in chapter one, but provides important contextual information for the discussion of “Träumerei” reception presented in chapter two.³⁶ Finally, Matthias Wendt explores aspects of the reception history of “Träumerei” and the parallel popular understanding of Schumann as a “dreamer.” Wendt contrasts such notions about Schumann with evidence of Schumann’s discipline and strong work ethic.³⁷

³² La Mara was the pen name of the music critic Marie Lipsius (1827-1927). “In jeder einzelnen derselben hat Schumann ein Stück seines Selbst niedergelegt, darum ist auch sein Schaffen untrennbar von seinem Sein und Leben, untrennbarer vielleicht als dasjenige irgend eines Meisters.” La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe* (Leipzig: Weißbach, 1868), p. 168.

³³ Ernest J. Oldmeadow, *Schumann* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1905), p. 3.

³⁴ Friedrich Hofmeister et al., *Handbuch der Musikalischen Literatur*, Vol. 1-18 (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1817-1934).

³⁵ Károly Csipák and Reinhard Kapp, “Träumerei,” *Musica* 35 (1981): 438-43, which comes from a journal issue devoted to the *Kinderszenen*.

³⁶ Jeremy Barham, “Recurring Dreams and Moving Images: The Cinematic Appropriation of Schumann’s Op. 15, No. 7,” *19th-Century Music* 34 (2011): 271-301.

³⁷ Matthias Wendt, “Träumerei?—Fleiß?” in *Das Letzte der Kunst: Heinrich Heine und Robert Schumann zum 150. Todesjahr*, ed. Joseph A. Kruse (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2006), pp. 98-107. Other examinations of “Träumerei” include among others: Ekkehard Kreft, “Schumanns ‘Träumerei’—ein Schlüsselwerk zur Akkordlehre,” *Musik und Bildung* 7/8 (1977): 385-90, which discusses the work’s utility in teaching harmony; Andreas Taub, “Robert Schumanns Kinderszenen: Studien zu seiner frühen Klaviermusik,” PhD dissertation, Universität Bern, 1977, which provides formal analyses of each of the pieces in the *Kinderszenen*; Helmuth Hopf, “Robert Schumann: *Träumerei*,” in *Werkanalyse in Beispielen*, ed. Siegmund Helms and Helmuth Hopf (Regensburg: Bosse, 1986), pp. 151-6, an analysis of the piece; Werner Klüppelholz, “Reise um die Welt in 32 Takten. Zum 150. Geburts- und Todestag von

Through a reception history of “Träumerei,” I examine how and why it was this piece by Schumann that gained such immense and sustained popularity. During the late nineteenth century, for example, “Träumerei” was often published alongside Schumann’s “Abendlied,” op. 85 no. 12. “Abendlied” was the second most arranged and published piece by Schumann at this time, but its popularity did not prove to be as long lived as that of “Träumerei.”³⁸ A variety of reasons contributed to the commercial success of “Träumerei,” including its relative technical ease and several contextual factors. I examine how the context in which Schumann composed the *Kinderscenen*, as well as his later statements about them, lent the cycle an aura of inwardness that for many distanced them from the childhood-inspired works he composed in the following decade. As Schumann wrote in a widely republished letter, the *Kinderscenen* “are reminiscences written by an adult for adults, whereas the [*Album für die Jugend*] contains more anticipation, presentiment, [and] forward-looking perspectives for youthful players.”³⁹ Though both cycles thematized childhood and both could be tackled by the amateur, *Kinderscenen* was deemed appropriate for the adult and was marketed as an expression of Schumann’s interiority.

Chapter one also examines the German market in which “Träumerei” first gained widespread popularity and the piece’s relation, both in performance contexts and criticism, to the genre of *Salonmusik*. The most detailed and wide-ranging study of *Salonmusik* and the social contexts in which it was performed is the 1989 co-authored book by Andreas Ballstaedt and Tobias Widmaier.⁴⁰ This work’s immense bibliography served as the starting point for my study

Schumanns Träumerei,” in *Die Zeit* 19 February 1988, p. 41, a one-page précis of the reception of “Träumerei;” Joachim Draheim, “Schumanns *Kinderscenen* op. 15—Offene Fragen, neue Antworten, unbekanntes Materialien,” *Schumann Studien* 5 (1996): 55-64, a study of the genesis of the *Kinderscenen*; Udo Zilkens, *Robert Schumann: Die Kinderscenen* (Köln: P.J. Tonger, 1996), a book that includes the Schumanns’ correspondence about the *Kinderscenen*, the work’s publication history, and excerpts of well-known reviews of the work; and Michael Struck, “Träumerei und zahl-lose Probleme: Zur leidigen Tempofrage in Robert Schumanns *Kinderscenen*,” in *Schumanniana nova: Festschrift Gerd Nauhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Bernhard R. Appel, Ute Bär, and Matthias Wendt (Germany: Sinzig, 2002), pp. 698-738, which describes the history of the piece’s tempo indications and aspects of its performance practice.

³⁸ See example four in chapter one for a chart listing the number of publications of “Träumerei” and “Abendlied” for the years 1892-1903. Mathias Wendt also discusses the popularity of the “Abendlied” at this time. See Wendt, “Träumerei?—Fleiß?” 100.

³⁹ As translated in Bernhard R. Appel, “‘Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life’: Robert Schumann’s *Album für Jugend*,” trans. John Michael Cooper, in *Schumann and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 182. To Carl Reinecke, 6 October 1848: “Von den *Kinderscenen* unterscheiden sie sich durchaus. Diese sind Rückspiegelungen eines Ältere, während das Weihnachtsalbum mehr Vorspiegelungen, Ahnungen, zukünftige Zustände für Jüngere enthält.” Robert Schumann, *Robert Schumanns Briefe*, ed. J. Gustav Jansen (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1904), p. 290.

⁴⁰ See Andreas Ballstaedt and Tobias Widmaier, *Salonmusik: Zur Geschichte und Funktion einer Bürgerlichen Musikpraxis* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), p. 103. Other important examinations of *Salonmusik* that inform my analysis in chapter one include: Eva Egli, *Probleme der musikalischen Wertästhetik im 19. Jahrhundert: ein Versuch zur schlechten Musik* (Winterthur: P.G. Keller, 1965); Imogen Fellinger, “Die Begriffe *Salon* und *Salonmusik* in der Musikanschauung des 19. Jahrhunderts,” and Hans Christoph Worbs, “*Salonmusik*,” in *Studien zur Trivialmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1967); Irmgard Keldany-Mohr, “*Unterhaltungsmusik*” als soziokulturelles Phänomen des 19. Jahrhunderts: *Untersuchung über den Einfluß der musikalischen Öffentlichkeit auf die Herausbildung eines neuen Musiktypes* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1977); Jürgen Kesting, “*Salon*—Thesen zu einem gesellschaftlichen Ort der Musik im 19. Jahrhundert,” *Musik und Bildung* 7/8 (1977): 377-80; Sabine Schutte, “*Musik im Salon*,” in *Musik im 19. Jahrhundert: Aspekte bürgerlicher Musikkultur*, ed. Schutte and Johannes Hodek (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984); Peter Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik im geselligem Kreise: Geschmacksbildung, Gesprächsstoff und musikalische Unterhaltung in der bürgerliche Salongesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991).

of primary sources relating to late nineteenth-century piano instruction, home music making, and the growing consumer base that created demand for works such as “Träumerei.”

As the most frequently published work by a “serious” composer at the *fin de siècle*, “Träumerei” was drawn into contemporaneous discourse on *Trivialmusik*. This chapter next turns to the “problem” critics created out of works by canonical composers that enjoyed household popularity. During the early twentieth century, critics who identified themselves as cultivated struggled to define and defend a privileged relation to such a popular work. I draw upon Pierre Bourdieu’s argument that taste serves as a marker of class to contextualize the critical quarrels inspired by this “eminently singular” yet ubiquitous piece.⁴¹ Analyses of the musical quality of “Träumerei” in part functioned to create an authoritative language to describe the work and distance scholarly understandings from the perceived threat and reductive nature of more popular biographical approaches.

Chapter 2 “Träumerei” and Family Values

While chapter one examines how understandings of Robert Schumann’s biography helped shape the reception history of “Träumerei,”⁴² chapter two explores how the meanings heard in “Träumerei” helped shape perceptions of Clara Schumann’s biography and evaluations of her historical significance. This chapter focuses in particular on the portrayal of Clara Schumann in two mid twentieth-century cinematic adaptations of the Robert-Clara story, the 1944 German film *Träumerei* and the 1947 American film *Song of Love*. Both films use the music of “Träumerei” at several points in their narratives and include staged performances of Clara playing the piece.⁴³ Mid twentieth-century retellings of Clara’s life emphasized domesticity and motherhood, themes rarely elaborated upon in late nineteenth-century biographical writing. In this chapter I argue that distinctively mid twentieth-century gender values inflected “Träumerei” with new connotations and reshaped the meanings people understood the piece to express.

A rich body of scholarship on Clara Schumann historiography has helped shape my approach to this analysis. Beatrix Borchard studies how changing conceptions of gender have been refracted through Clara Schumann scholarship, with each passing generation remaking Clara such that her life seemed “plausible” within their system of contemporaneous values.⁴⁴ Borchard’s studies also examine portrayals of Clara Schumann in film, and her discussions have

⁴¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). “Ur-eigentümlichen der Melodie,” in Hans Pfitzner, *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. II (Augsburg: Benno Filser, 1926), p. 189.

⁴² For a discussion of how the meanings of “Träumerei” helped shape retellings of Robert Schumann’s biography, see Wendt, “Träumerei?—Fleiß?”

⁴³ For a detailed discussion of how the music of “Träumerei” is used in these films, see Barham, 292-4.

⁴⁴ She writes, “in wechselnden Zeiten werden einige Elemente stärker als andere herausgegriffen, betont, auch funktionalisiert, je nachdem, was gerade in den Zeithorizont past, demnach ‘plausibel’ scheint.” See Borchard, “Von Robert zu Clara und zurück?” *Schumann-Studien* 9 (2008): 81-96, quotation from p. 81. See also the related articles by Borchard: “Wie hingen alle Blicke an mir: Bilder und Projektionen—Clara Schumann zum 100. Todestag,” in *Ich fahre in mein liebes Wien, Clara Schumann: Fakten, Bilder, Projektionen*, ed. Elena Ostleitner and Ursula Simek (Vienna: Löcker, 1996), pp. 73-92; and Borchard, “Darf man das? Robert und Clara Schumann als Filmhelden,” in *Robert Schumann: Persönlichkeit, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. Helmut Loos (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder, 2011), pp. 483-94.

broadened and enriched my analysis of the two films I discuss.⁴⁵ Additionally, Stephanie Twiehaus examines popular and fictional twentieth-century portrayals of Clara Schumann's life, exploring how novels, biographies and plays have drawn in different ways from Berthold Litzmann's foundational early twentieth-century study.⁴⁶

This chapter first examines Clara Schumann historiography and the ideal of domesticity in Nazi Germany. In contrast to early twentieth-century writings on Clara, depictions of her life from the 1930s and 40s often highlighted her large family and motherly devotion. I contextualize this change in the valuation of her life by examining contemporaneous fears regarding Germany's birthrate, state enacted incentives to increase childbearing, and government efforts to raise the prestige of motherhood.⁴⁷ The domestic scenes and motherly work shown in *Träumerei* drew from contemporaneous depictions of Clara's life, casting Clara as a heroine whose playing of "Träumerei" encapsulated her family-oriented values.

Song of Love, the 1947 Hollywood interpretation of the Robert-Clara story, promotes domesticity and motherly work even more overtly. Furthermore, the film inspired a raft of didactic biographical fiction that prominently depicted the satisfaction and fulfillment Clara experienced in her roles as wife and mother. I discuss these postwar American portrayals of Clara Schumann within the context of changing American demographics, including women marrying at a younger age, having children earlier and spacing these children closer together.⁴⁸ Discussions of Clara's life took part in the broader contemporaneous discourse on women's and mother's work outside of the home, and I describe how Clara's biography and "Träumerei" were used to market music appreciation and family values simultaneously.

Chapter Three

Robert Schumann and Retrospective Psychiatric Diagnosis

Just as ubiquitous as hearing "musical love letters" in Schumann's music is hearing "madness."⁴⁹ It too derives from hearing biography, in this case Schumann's lifelong bouts of depression and death in a mental institution. Schumannian "madness" is double-edged, however: critics have used it to promote certain works and discredit others. Used in reference to early compositions it serves as one way of characterizing idiosyncratic qualities now highly valued. In reference to works from 1853-4, "madness" has helped rationalize the aesthetic disappointment some critics experience with the music. As with the endlessly repeated story of Robert's and Clara's romance,

⁴⁵ In addition to *Träumerei* and *Song of Love*, films that depict Clara Schumann's life include *Frühlingssinfonie* (1983), *Geliebte Clara* (2008), and *Robert Schumanns verlorene Träume* (2010). For a discussion that includes these other films see Borchard, "Darf man das? Robert und Clara Schumann als Filmhelden."

⁴⁶ Stephanie Twiehaus, "Zwischen Zeitbild und Fiktion: Zum Clara-Schumann-Bild in der deutschen Belletristik," in *Clara Schumann: Komponistin, Interpretin, Unternehmerin, Ikone*, ed. Peter Ackermann and Herbert Schneider (New York: Georg Olms, 1999), pp. 227-42; Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben, nach Tagebüchern und Briefen*, Vol. 1-3, (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902-8).

⁴⁷ For example, see the chapter "Women in the Third Reich," in Michael Burleigh, *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 242-66.

⁴⁸ See Susan Householder Van Horn, *Women, Work, and Fertility, 1900-1986* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), pp. 82-149.

⁴⁹ The first is the title of Daverio's chapter on the solo piano music. The second is the first section heading of the chapter devoted to Schumann's music in Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 646-710.

attributing “madness” to Robert’s works has humanized them, making his presence in the music palpable and providing a tragic and yet for many critics compelling analytical context.

Over the course of the twentieth century, musicologists have looked to Schumann’s psychiatric diagnoses for scientific validation of particular musical interpretations. Psychiatric work has enabled musicological discussions of madness to be grounded in the biographically real. Chapter three presents a social history of Schumann’s posthumous psychiatric diagnoses, examining physicians’ attempts to make sense of the copious yet fragmentary information on Schumann’s behaviors, medical treatments, and symptoms. This chapter expands on several previous studies of Schumann’s diagnoses. Bernhard Appel explores Schumann’s own characterizations of his illness, the diagnosis given by his Emden physician Franz Richarz, and the descriptions of Schumann’s illness in nineteenth-century biographies and concert reviews. He provides a rich cultural analysis of the sources he discusses, but his study does not extend into the twentieth century.⁵⁰ Christian Engel’s medical dissertation, on the other hand, looks at twentieth-century sources but provides only summaries of them, rather than social-contextual interpretations.⁵¹ An article by Reinhard Steinberg provides an overview of the major sources and some historical contextualization, but his article is quite short and half of it is devoted to recounting Schumann’s biography.⁵²

Bipolar disorder and schizophrenia were the most frequently proposed diagnoses for Schumann during the twentieth century. In addition to Schumann’s letters, diaries, and compositions, many factors shaped which diagnosis he was given. These ranged from the *fin-de-siècle* feminization of bipolar disorder and masculinization of schizophrenia, to the present-day romanticization of mania as an enabler of creativity, high productivity and the ability to function on little sleep, all values prized in contemporary corporate and academic cultures.⁵³ The psychiatric diagnosis of historical figures presupposes diagnostic stability, what the anthropologist Emily Martin calls “a mental state as a ‘thing,’” as though the biological were shielded from cultural influences.⁵⁴ As understandings of disease categories changed over the course of the century, so too did Schumann’s diagnoses and the kinds of musical readings his mental illness(es) inspired. Studying the history of Schumann’s diagnoses not only sheds light on a century’s worth of psychiatric preoccupations colored by nationalism, post-war recovery and commercial interests, among other aspects. It also provides an illustration of the epistemological uncertainties of retrospective psychiatric diagnosis and the diagnostic contingencies upon which a tradition of musical interpretation rests.

⁵⁰ Bernhard R. Appel, “Robert Schumanns Krankheit und Tod im öffentlichen Diskurs. Zur Konstituierung des Schumann-Bildes in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Robert Schumann und die Öffentlichkeit: Hans Joachim Köhler zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Helmut Loos (Leipzig: Schröder, 2007), pp. 275-312.

⁵¹ Christian Engel, “Ein unvollendetes Künstlerdasein: Die Krankengeschichte des Komponisten Robert Schumann (1810-1856),” Medical Dissertation, University of Göttingen, 1996.

⁵² Reinhard Steinberg, “Robert Schumann’s Illness in the Eyes of his Pathographers,” in *Knowledge and Power: Perspectives in the History of Psychiatry*, ed. Eric J. Engstrom, Matthias M. Weber, and Paul Hoff (Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 1999), pp. 65-78. The article had previously appeared in German. See Reinhard Steinberg, “Robert Schumann in der pathographischen Literatur,” *Psycho* 14/12 (1988): 937-49.

⁵³ Elizabeth Lunbeck, *The Psychiatric Persuasion: Knowledge, Gender, and Power in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1994) and Emily Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions: Mania and Depression in American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

⁵⁴ Martin, 202-12, 220-33.

Chapter 4

Reflections on the Life and Sound of Late Schumann by Killmayer, Rihm and Holliger

In my last chapter I examine the reception of Schumann's "late style" and understandings of his illness through the lens of several recently-composed works by Wilhelm Killmayer (b. 1927), Heinz Holliger (b. 1939) and Wolfgang Rihm (b. 1952). Studying contemporary compositions provides an illustration of how yet another group of individuals, in this case creative artists, has understood and exploited relationships perceived between biography and creativity. The musicological literature on "neo-Romanticism" has tended to focus on contemporary works that draw from Beethoven, Schubert and Mahler, though several overviews of late-twentieth century Schumann-inspired works have recently been published.⁵⁵ Rainer Nonnenmann, in his study of the recent compositional reception of Schumann, enumerates twelve reasons for Schumann's late twentieth-century appeal including Schumann's use of fragments, unique forms, unusual sound effects, and enigmatic titles. In particular, he studies the interpretation of Schumannian madness by Killmayer, Peter Ruzicka and Reinhard Febel, arguing that their use of Schumann enabled their "projection of personal and epochal crises, doubts and anxieties."⁵⁶ The musicologist Peter Andraschke similarly observes that many recent Schumann-inspired compositions thematize illness, the time spent in Endenich, and the late compositions. His study focuses in particular on the compositional reception of Schumann by Dieter Schnebel and Mauricio Kagel.⁵⁷ Laura Tunbridge explores how Schumann is frequently used to express "a sense of detachment from the...world." Looking at works by R. Murray Schafer, Rihm, and Francis Dhomont, among others, she explores the compositional reception of *Kinderscenen*.⁵⁸ Jörn Peter Hiekel surveys works by Rihm, Holliger, Kagel, Henri Pousseur, Luigi Nono and György Kurtág that were variously inspired by Schumann, examining these composers' understanding and incorporation of Schumannian concepts like poetic music, the miniature and madness.⁵⁹

My study of Killmayer, Rihm and Holliger highlights the salient differences in their biographical readings of Schumann, in the values they felt he expressed, and in the politics underlying their compositional decisions. Indeed, the works I examine, Killmayer's *Schumann in Endenich* (1972), Rihm's *Fremde Szenen* (1982-4), and Holliger's *Gesänge der Frühe* (1987) and *Romancendres* (2003) each sound strikingly different. Each work helps create a new image

⁵⁵ For a catalog of Schumann-inspired compositions see Wolf Frobenius, "Robert Schumann in fremden Werken: Von Clara Wieck-Schumann bis zur Neuen Musik," in *Schumann Handbuch*, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2006), pp. 532-50.

⁵⁶ "Das rätselhafte Geschick des Komponisten wurde zur Projektionsfläche für persönliche und allgemein epochale Krisen, Zweifel und Ängste vor Vereinsamung, Isolation, Verfall, Krankheit, Depression und Tod." Rainer Nonnenmann, "Endenich als Anfang...: Aspekte kompositorischer Schumann-Rezeption seit 1960 am Beispiel von Wilhelm Killmayer, Peter Ruzicka und Reinhard Febel," *Musiktheorie* 21 (2006): 246-68, quotation from p. 252.

⁵⁷ Peter Andraschke, "Robert Schumann in Kompositionen nach 1980," in *Robert Schumann: Persönlichkeit, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. Helmut Loos (Leipzig: Schröder, 2011), pp. 461-82.

⁵⁸ Laura Tunbridge, "Deserted Chambers of the Mind (Schumann Memories)," in *Rethinking Schumann*, ed. Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 395-410, quotation from p. 395.

⁵⁹ Jörn Peter Hiekel, "The Compositional Reception of Schumann's Music Since 1950," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, ed. Beate Perrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). See also Hiekel's article on Killmayer's *Schumann in Endenich*, which is discussed at length in chapter 4. Hiekel, "Reduktionismus und Perspektivenreichtum: Anmerkungen zu *Schumann in Endenich* von Wilhelm Killmayer," in *Wilhelm Killmayer*, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2009), pp. 88-98.

of the composer by privileging particular aspects of his biography and providing a medium to express varied interpretations of Schumann's personal philosophy and political leanings.

One of the earliest works to thematize Schumann's mental illness was Killmayer's *Schumann in Eendenich*. The work was formulated in part as a protest against prevailing modernist values that pressured composers to forgo the use of tonality, labeled ostinati as "musically primitive," and embraced the notion of musical progress as prominently espoused by Theodor Adorno.⁶⁰ Killmayer, in contrast, used his music and writing in part to contest the notion of musical progress. Not only does his music draw inspiration from musical pasts, his use of ostinati and moments of stasis help configure a sense of musical "timelessness." I situate Killmayer's writings on music and his composition *Schumann in Eendenich* within the framework of a loosely Schopenhauerian outlook that simultaneously offered an alternative to Adorno and validation of the presence of musical pasts in contemporary compositions.

In contrast, Rihm was positively influenced by Adorno's writings and would draw upon Adorno's conceptualization of late style to advocate for Schumann's late works. Schumann exemplified Rihm's notion of "musical freedom," a concept that encompassed freedom in the act of composing and freedom in the composition's content.⁶¹ Furthermore, Rihm understood mental illness to enable a novel freeing of the mind.⁶² *Fremde Szenen*, Rihm's Schumann inspired piano trio, would draw sustenance from Schumann's relatively late piano trios. Through *Fremde Szenen*, Rihm would simultaneously defend Schumann's late music and promote late Schumann as a figure who could teach twentieth-century composers new philosophical approaches to their craft.

Finally, Holliger's *Gesänge der Frühe* and *Romancendres* stand at a far remove from Rihm's ideal of "musical freedom." The facture of these works was shaped by Holliger's long-standing interest in expressionism and serial techniques and involved painstaking pre-compositional planning.⁶³ Yet Holliger did adopt certain Schumannian compositional tools, including the use of ciphers, and unlike Rihm or Killmayer he quotes from Schumann's music extensively.⁶⁴ These ciphers and quotations are used to portray aspects of the experience of Schumann's last years and to comment on his relationships with Clara and Brahms. I draw upon Svetlana Boym's theorizing of nostalgia to contextualize Holliger's use of compositional techniques developed in the name of progress to reflect longingly on the past.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ See Killmayer's 1990 conference paper "Das Ende der Moderne und die Situation der jüngeren Komponisten heute," which was published in *Der Komponist Wilhelm Killmayer*, ed. Siegfried Mauser (Mainz: Schott, 1992), p. 276.

⁶¹ See for example Alastair Williams, "Swaying with Schumann: Subjectivity and Tradition in Wolfgang Rihm's 'Fremde Szenen' I-III and Related Scores," *Music & Letters* 87 (2006): 387.

⁶² See Rihm's conversation with Luca Lombardi: "Rückkehr zur Unordnung? Gespräch mit Luca Lombardi (1979)," in *Ausgesprochen: Schriften und Gespräche, Vol. II*, ed. Ulrich Mosch (Basel: Amadeus, 1997), p. 61.

⁶³ Roman Brotbeck details the compositional planning that went into *Romancendres* in "Aschenmusik: Heinz Holligers Re-Dekonstruktion von Robert Schumanns Romanzen für Violoncello und Klavier," *Dissonanz/Dissonance* 103 (2008): 4-14.

⁶⁴ For a discussion of Holliger's quotations of Schumann in *Gesänge der Frühe*, see Klaus Lagaly, "Schumann ist der Komponist, der eigentlich fast immer im Zentrum war für mich": Anmerkungen zu Heinz Holligers *Gesänge der Frühe* nach Schumann und Hölderlin für Chor, Orchester und Tonband," in *Robert Schumann: Philologische, analytische, sozial- und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Aspekte*, ed. Wolf Frobenius et al. (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei, 1998), pp. 239-54.

⁶⁵ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (USA: Basic Books, 2001).

Studying the legacies of hearing Schumann's music biographically helps illuminate the process by which certain qualities in his music came to be valued by diverse consumers—concert audiences, academics, physicians, and composers, among many others. During the 1840s critics began to refer to Schumann's works through 1840 as “subjective,” and labeled his chamber music, symphonies, and orchestral music with chorus “objective.” At the time, Schumann strove for the “objective,” for public success in larger-scale forms.⁶⁶ Yet it is the “subjective” qualities people experience in his music that has proven so popular, a popularity that rests upon an interpretative practice now commonplace, and that Schumann's example helped propel into acceptance. Biographical modes of listening to music and criticism based on such values are ubiquitous, from writing on Beethoven to Chaikovsky and beyond. In studying examples of this interpretive practice as it relates to Schumann's oeuvre, my hope is that this dissertation will demonstrate some of the ramifications of biographical listening and delineate values this interpretive method draws upon and preserves.

⁶⁶ See Daverio, who refers in particular to the writing of Franz Brendel. Daverio, 12-3, 219-20, 316-7.

Chapter 1 Biographical Listening and the Popularization of “Träumerei”

Schumann wrote with his heart’s blood. Like Beethoven, Schumann, with his inward turning nature, composed nothing that he had not experienced and felt from the innermost part of his soul.¹

— Albert Tottmann, 1880

Within the *Hausmusik* literature, Schumann’s piano pieces occupy a prominent position. In these works he bequeathed to us an original diary, a book of his experiences.²

— Paul Donath, 1960

[On Schumann]: With no other composer—not even Beethoven and Mahler—is my hearing and love of the music so tied to my sense of the man who invented it. None other makes a statement so urgent, so person-to-person, so naked and vulnerable. How close his greatest, his most *innig* music comes to *literally* stopping breath and unsettling my heart... How amazed, how humbled I am by the command that allowed him to translate his own vibrations into music.³

—Michael Steinberg, 2006

Piano Roles, a three-hundred-year social history of the piano, opens with an anecdote. Noah Adams, the author of the book’s foreword, reflects on the experience of a joyfully planned piano performance.

When I was fifty-one I took the deepest breath of my life and bought a piano. I would set out to learn to play, and keep a journal. My Steinway upright arrived in January. When Christmas Eve came, I put on a tuxedo and lit a candle and surprised my wife by playing “Träumerei”—I’d been secretly practicing. That moment stays luminous in memory: Schumann’s transcendent melody, the trembling of my fingers as I searched for the chords, the snow falling outside the window, the wet release of our tears, and the piano’s gleam in the candlelight.⁴

Published at the end of the twentieth-century, Adams’s reminiscence falls into a more than century-long tradition of using “Träumerei” to articulate messages of intimacy and love. Myrtle Reed’s 1912 short story “Träumerei,” for example, tells of a bored music critic who suddenly sees a woman he had once loved. “Träumerei” serves as the musical and emotional backdrop to the scene.

¹ “Schumann... schrieb mit Herzblut. Wie Beethoven, so schuf auch er bei seiner in sich gekehrten Natur nichts, was er nicht im Innersten der Seele empfunden und durchlebt hatte.” Albert Tottmann, *Kurzgefaßter Abriss der Musikgeschichte von der ältesten Zeit bis auf die Gegenwart*, Vol. I (Leipzig: Otto Lenz, 1883), p. 156.

² “In der Hausmusik nehmen Schumanns Klavierwerke einen bevorzugten Platz ein. Er hinterließ uns in ihnen ein originelles Tagebuch, ein Buch seiner Erlebnisse.” Paul Donath, “Was bedeutet uns Robert Schumann für die Volk- und Hausmusik? (II)” *Volkskunst* 9 (9) (1960): 38.

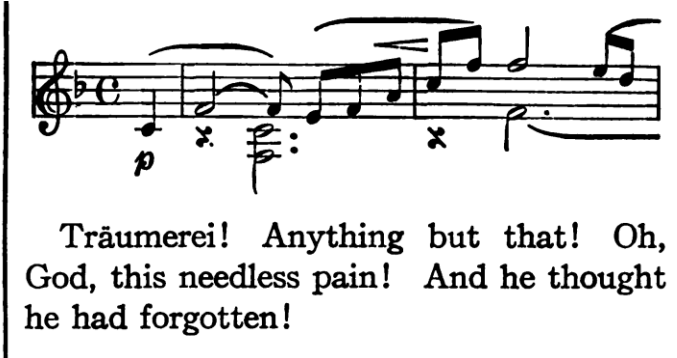
³ Michael Steinberg, *For the Love of Music: Invitations to Listening* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 31.

⁴ Noah Adams, “Foreword,” in *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano*, ed. James Parakilas (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. ix.

The critic...started and grew pale, as among the throng of fashionables he saw a face that he knew...He sat like one in a dream and did not know that the orchestra was about to play the next number till its opening measures woke him from his abstraction. Träumerei! Anything but that! Oh God, this needless pain! And he thought he had forgotten! He stood [transported]...in a little room which the autumn moonlight made as bright as day...and she, with his roses on her breast, sat before the piano and played dreamily, tenderly, yes, this same Träumerei that was now breaking his heart...[Back in the concert hall] he seized his opera-glass and a quick turn of the screw brought her again close to him. Yes, there were tears in her eyes...With a deeper throb of pain than any he yet had known, the buried love came back, strong and sweet. [He walked over to her.] With the last strain of that wordless love-sweet song, the dear old dream came back and, unrebuked, he put his arm about her. "Sweetheart," he said "I love you."⁵

To facilitate the reader's own entrance into this dream world, Reed interpolates lines of the piano score between paragraphs. [Figure 1.1] As the musicologist Ivan Raykoff describes it, Reed's story provides a kind of narrative for the musical unfolding of "Träumerei," aligning moments of emotional tension and resolution in the narrative with the piece's harmonic trajectory.⁶

Figure 1.1



Träumerei! Anything but that! Oh, God, this needless pain! And he thought he had forgotten!

Myrtle Reed, excerpt from "Träumerei," p. 170.

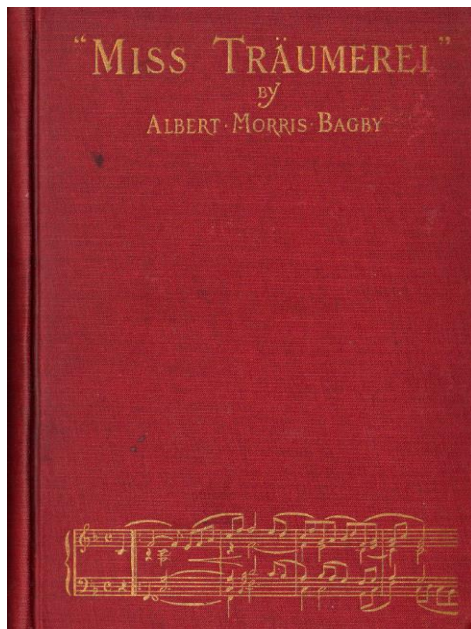
Reed's use of "Träumerei," including the interpolation of its score into a narrative plot, was far from unique. Reading romance-tinged emotional content into "Träumerei" was commonplace, as may be inferred not only from the numerous literary efforts that thematized the work, including novels, short stories and poetry, but also from the artwork on the covers of contemporaneous sheet music and descriptions of the work in music appreciation books and other publications

⁵ Myrtle Reed, "Träumerei," in *The White Shield* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 169-72. For a discussion of this short story in the context of melodramatic uses of Schumann's music, see Ivan Raykoff, "Schumann's Melodramatic Afterlife," in *Rethinking Schumann*, ed. Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 168-70.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 169-70.

aimed at non-specialist audiences.⁷ [Figure 1.2] Appendix C includes a sampling of “Träumerei”-inspired poetry and lyrics set to the music of “Träumerei” that date from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Figure 1.2a



Yielding to a delicious languor, Muriel closed her eyes to the scene without. Her thoughts were with Stanford, and soon she, too, was with him, by the Ilm, crossing the stone bridge and passing on through the Park. He did not seem to see her, but she lost sight of no fleeting change of expression as she glided by his side past the broad lawns before Goethe's cottage. The birds were singing, the flowers, the shrubs, the long grass and trees were nodding him welcome.

Front cover and page 250 from Albert Morris Bagby, 'Miss Träumerei: A Weimar Idyl. New York, 1903.

⁷ For additional examples of melodramatic uses of “Träumerei,” see example 2, which contains images from the novel by Albert Morris Bagby, *Miss Träumerei: A Weimar Idyl* (New York: Published by Author, 1903); see also Kurt Arnold Findeisen, *Robert Schumanns Kinderszenen auf heimatlichen Grund gelegt* (Dresden: Oscar Laube, 1922). For uses of “Träumerei” in short stories see, for example, M. von Radkersberg-Radnicki, *Kinderszenen: Schumannschen Melodien nachgedichtet* (Cologne: F.P. Bachem, 1902), and Charlotte Francke-Roesing, *Deutscher Frühling: Eine verbindende Dichtung zu Schumann's "Kinderszenen"* (Cologne: P.J. Tonger, 1916).

Figure 1.2b



Miss Träumerei, Lithograph by Ethel Reed, 1898.⁸

Tracing the compositional history of “Träumerei” and the work’s early reception helps bring to light the origins of this interpretive practice and the values that underpinned it. “Träumerei,” composed in 1838, was published the following year as the seventh of thirteen pieces in the cycle *Kinderscenen*, op. 15. The popularization of *Kinderscenen* and of “Träumerei” in particular is tied to the dissemination of knowledge about Robert Schumann’s life and especially the famous story of forbidden love between Robert Schumann and Clara Wieck, his teacher’s daughter. More generally, ascribing biographical contexts to Schumann’s early piano music helped facilitate popular reception of these works as intimate portrayals of a passionate love and helped foster a market for their publication and performance.

One valuable source for charting the rise of “Träumerei” in popularity is Hofmeister’s *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur*. This catalog reported the publication of music scores in German-speaking lands by more than one hundred different publishers. Begun in 1817, Hofmeister’s *Handbuch* continued to be published through the 1930s.⁹ Data drawn from the catalog demonstrate that by the *fin de siècle*, the number of separatum publications of “Träumerei” far exceeded that of any other work by Schumann. Most of these publications were for arrangements of the work for various instrumental and vocal groupings, such as the implied

⁸ Image taken from the New York Public Library Digital Library. Ethel Reed, *Miss Träumerei*. New York Public Library Digital Library, accessed 2 May 2013, <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?1259300>.

⁹ Friedrich Hofmeister et al., *Handbuch der Musikalischen Literatur*, Vol. 1-18 (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1817-1934). The first volume was published by Whistling. Beginning with volume 17 (1924-28), the catalog was titled *Hofmeisters Handbuch der Musikliteratur*. See Hans-Martin Plesske and Gunter Hempel, “Hofmeister, Friedrich,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 20 December 2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13177>.

orchestral arrangement of “Träumerei” in the short story by Reed.¹⁰ As illustrated by the number of editions being published, the purchase of “Träumerei” scores significantly increased during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. [Table 1.1] During the years 1892-1903, over one hundred editions of “Träumerei” were issued, over and above editions of *Kinderscenen* as a whole. This figure far exceeded the number of editions of any piece by Franz Schubert, Felix Mendelssohn, Frederic Chopin, or Ludwig van Beethoven. [Table 1.2] It also far exceeded the number of editions issued for the then most widely discussed pieces of *Salonmusik* by composers such as Thekla Badarzewska (1834-61), Richard Eilenberg (1848-1927), Gustav Lange (1830-1889), Louis Lefébure-Wély (1817-69), and Theodor Oesten (1813-1870). [Table 1.3]

Table 1.1

Years	Volume of Hofmeister’s <i>Handbuch</i>	Number of Separatum Editions of “Träumerei”
1844-51	4	0
1852-9	5	0
1860-7	6	1
1868-73	7	2
1874-9	8	7
1880-5	9	0
1886-91	10	30
1892-7	11	76
1898-1903	12	56
1904-8	13	25
1909-13	14	17
1914-18	15	13
1919-23	16	21
1924-28	17	18
1929-33	18	5

Publication statistics for Schumann’s “Träumerei” in German-speaking lands, 1844-1933.¹¹

¹⁰ Unfortunately, the catalog does not provide information on the number of copies published for each of these editions. The catalog does, however, include the price of each of the editions it lists. Matthias Wendt provides a list of the different arrangements of “Träumerei” that appeared in 1887, the year after Breitkopf & Härtel’s exclusive rights to the *Kinderscenen* expired. See Wendt, “Träumerei?—Fleiß?” in *Das Letzte der Kunst: Heinrich Heine und Robert Schumann zum 150. Todesjahr*, ed. Joseph A. Kruse (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2006), p. 99.

¹¹ Data taken from Hofmeister’s *Handbuch der Musikalischen Literatur*, Vol. 4-18 (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1844-1933).

Table 1.2

Composer	Work Title	Year of Composition	Number of Editions
Schumann	“Träumerei”, op. 15, No. 7	1838	132
Schumann	“Abendlied”, op. 85, No. 12 (12 vierhändige Clavierstücke für kleine und grosse Kinder)	1849	101
Mendelssohn	Wedding March from A <i>Midsummer Night’s Dream</i> , op. 61	1843	51
Mendelssohn	“Frühlingslied”, op. 62 (Lieder ohne Worte)	1842	40
Chopin	Nocturne, Op. 9 # 2 in Eb	1830-2	38
Chopin	“Trauermarsch” (movement 3) from Sonata in Bb minor, Op. 35	1837	36
Schubert	“Am Meer” (Das Meer erglänzte weit hinaus), D. 957, No. 12, <i>Schwanengesang</i>	1828	29
Beethoven	“Adelaide”, op. 46	1794-5	26
Beethoven	“Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur” Op. 48, No. 4 (Six songs)	1801-2	26
Schubert	“Erlkönig”, D. 328	1815	21

The two pieces appearing in the greatest number of editions between 1892-1903 in German-speaking countries by Beethoven, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Schubert and Schumann.¹²

¹² Data taken from Hofmeister’s *Handbuch der Musikalischen Literatur*, Vol. 11-12. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1900, 1906.

Table 1.3

Composer	Work Title	Number of Editions (1892-1903)
Schumann	“Träumerei”, op. 15, No. 7	132
Eilenberg	“Krönungsmarsch”, op. 34	23
Lefébure-Wély	“Les Cloches du Monastère”, op. 54	21
Badarzewska	“Das Gebet einer Jungfrau”, op. 4	17
Eilenberg	“Guten Morgen Vielliebchen”, op. 173	15
Oesten	“Alpenglühen”, op. 175	10
Lange	“Blumenlied”, op. 39	9

The number of editions of the most published pieces in German-speaking countries by Badarzewska, Eilenberg, Lange, Lefébure-Wély, Oesten and Schumann for the years 1892-1903.¹³

Biographical interpretative strategies made “Träumerei” more accessible to amateur players by enabling personal identification with the work’s supposed emotional content. Such interpretations also turned the piece into a vehicle through which the performer or listener could gain an imagined entrance into the life and thoughts of its composer. As Ernst Müller wrote in his 1950 book on Schumann, “‘Träumerei’—to feel and understand it means to get closer to Schumann... The piece’s unique virtue is its endowment with soul. Its notes lead softly but forcefully inward... The listener senses only that someone is touching his soul. This someone is Robert Schumann.”¹⁴ As the popularity of “Träumerei” came to be associated with biographical modes of interpretation, critics began to express unease with the nature of the work’s popular success. Often this resulted in criticisms of the contexts and manner in which people listened to, performed and otherwise used “Träumerei.”¹⁵ Some critics and musicologists felt the need to assert their different, privileged understanding of the work. Often, they sought to bolster the aesthetic credentials of “Träumerei” by using various types of analysis to “prove” the work’s aesthetic quality in contrast to other overwhelmingly popular pieces deemed worthy of dismissal.¹⁶ Such strategies enabled critics to bemoan public tastes and simultaneously label the

¹³ Data taken from Hofmeister’s *Handbuch der Musikalischen Literatur*, Vol. 11-12. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1900, 1906.

¹⁴ “Die ‘Träumerei’ empfinden und verstehen... heißt, Schumann näher kommen... Seine einzige Zierde heißt Beseelung. Diese Töne führen leise, aber zwingend nach innen... [Der Zuhörer] verspürt nur, daß jemand an seine Seele rührt. Dieser jemand ist Robert Schumann.” Ernst Müller, *Robert Schumann: Eine Bildnisstudie* (Olten: Otto Walter, 1950), pp. 14-5.

¹⁵ For a discussion of “Träumerei” reception that laments the piece’s popularity and “trivializing” reception, see Károly Csipák and Reinhard Kapp, “Träumerei,” *Musica* 35 (1981): 438-43.

¹⁶ This includes, among others, Alban Berg, “Die Musikalische Impotenz der ‘Neuen Ästhetik’ Hans Pfitzners,” *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2 (1920): 399-408; Heinrich Schenker, “Schumann, Kinderszenen, N. 9 [sic],” *Der Tonwille* 10 (1924), translated in *Der Tonwille: Pamphlets in Witness of the Immutable Laws of Music Offered to a New Generation of Youth*, Vol. 2, ed. William Drabkin, trans. Joseph Lubben (New York: Oxford University Press,

massive popularity of certain works by canonical composers as problematic. The reception history of “Träumerei” thus enables examination of the popularization of Schumann’s early piano music, the interpretive methods that supported this popularization, and the construction of “legitimate” critical approaches held to possess the authority to deride and dismiss more popular ones.

“Träumerei” and Family Dreams

Schumann’s earliest mention of *Kinderszenen* occurs in suggestive phrases jotted into his diary. On February 17, 1838, he noted “in the evening a pair of small, lovely *Kinderszenen*” were composed. One week later an entry states “the small thing ‘Träumerei’ composed.” The next day, “in the evening a *Kinderszene* in F major [‘Am Camin’]. It seems very pretty to me. By the way, my girl makes me so overjoyed that I stayed inside all day and hardly need to correspond anymore.” Several weeks later Robert lamented “still no letter from Clara. Oh, dutifully composing here and there and some good things—‘Glückes genug’ and a polonaise for *Novelletten*.”¹⁷ Over the course of a five-week period, Schumann composed approximately thirty short pieces from which he selected and ordered thirteen under the title *Kinderszenen*.¹⁸ The early months of 1838 were extremely productive for Schumann. Between January and May he drafted *Novelletten*, op. 21, *Kreisleriana*, op. 16 and *Kinderszenen*.

In addition to the diary entries, Schumann’s letters to Clara Wieck help illuminate the work’s conception and its personal meanings for Schumann. In a letter sent to Clara on March 19, 1838, Robert effused about the inspiration she had provided while he composed the *Kinderszenen*.

I’ve discovered that nothing spurs the imagination more than anticipation and longing for something or other; this was the case in these last days when I was just waiting for your letter and filled books with compositions...I often feel that I’m going to burst because of all the music in me...it was like a musical response to what you once wrote me, that I sometimes seemed like a child to you—in short, it was just as if I were wearing a dress with flared sleeves, I wrote about thirty droll little pieces, from which I’ve selected

2005), pp. 156-8; Ekkehard Kreft, “Schumanns ‘Träumerei’—ein Schlüsselwerk zur Akkordlehre,” *Musik und Bildung* 7/8 (1977): 385-90; Andreas Taub, “Robert Schumanns *Kinderszenen*: Studien zu seiner frühen Klaviermusik,” PhD dissertation, Universität Bern, 1977, pp. 46-55; Rudolph Réti, “Schumanns *Kinderszenen*: quasi Thema mit Variationen,” in *Robert Schumann II*, ed. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (München: Dieter Vollendorf, 1982); Helmuth Hopf, “Robert Schumann: *Träumerei*,” in *Werkanalyse in Beispielen*, ed. Siegmund Helms and Helmuth Hopf (Regensburg: Bosse, 1986), pp. 151-6.

¹⁷ 17 February 1838: “Abends ein Paar klein liebliche *Kinderszenen*.” 24 February 1838: “das kleine Ding ‘Träumerei’ komponiert.” 25 February 1838: “Abends wieder ‘*Kinderszene*’ in F Dur, die mir sehr hübsch vorkommt—Mein Mädchen macht mich übrigens so selig, daß ich[']s gar nicht mehr herzuschreiben brauche.” 11 March 1838: “Noch keinen Brief erhalten. Ach—hin u. her componirt u. manches Artige ‘Glückes genug’ u. Polonaise zu den *Novelletten*.” Robert Schumann, *Tagebücher*, ed. Gerd Nauhaus (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971), pp. 51-2. For further entries in the *Tagebuch* that refer to *Kinderszenen*, see Udo Zilkens, *Robert Schumann, Die Kinderszenen im Spiegel ihrer Interpretation seit Clara Schumann* (Cologne: Tonger, 1996), p. 9.

¹⁸ For information on the sketches of the pieces not chosen for inclusion in the *Kinderszenen*, some of which are closely related to pieces in the *Albumblätter*, op. 124 and *Arabeske*, op. 18, see Robert Polansky, “The Rejected *Kinderszenen* of Robert Schumann’s Opus 15,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31 (1978): 126-31.

twelve, and I've called them *Kinderszenen*. You will enjoy them, but, of course, you will have to forget that you are a virtuoso.¹⁹

During this period Clara was on a concert tour in Vienna, from which she would return in May.²⁰ Writing to her the following month, Robert rhapsodized over her presence in *Kreisleriana* and promised her that *Kinderszenen* would be complete by the time she returned to Leipzig.²¹ Later Robert importuned Clara to “play my *Kreisleriana* sometimes! There’s a very wild love in a few movements, and your life and mine and many of your looks. The *Kinderszenen* are the opposite, light and gentle and happy like our future.”²² The following year Robert asked Clara, “you have my *Kinderszenen* by now, don’t you? Dear heart, remember my future and our future when you play my op. 15, and give a kiss, the most fervent and most blissful one, to your Robert who loves you from the bottom of his heart.”²³ To which Clara replied,

I am truly delighted with the *Kinderszenen*...oh, how beautiful they are! I must enjoy them tomorrow at my leisure...oh, Robert, how happy, and yet unhappy I am! My longing for you affects my life, and when I can no longer bear it, I cry in Henriette’s arms...to whom have you dedicated your *Kinderszenen*? They belong only to the two of us, don’t they? And they are always on my mind; they are so simple, warm, so quite like you; I can’t wait till tomorrow when I can play them again.²⁴

Correspondence touching on the *Kinderszenen* would continue through the year preceding their marriage, tying mention of the pieces to a shared future, marital happiness and hopes for children.²⁵

While the *Kinderszenen* may have sonically encapsulated his dreams for the future, Schumann began to realize around this time that he needed to earn money from his compositions if he was to turn such dreams into reality. Friedrich Wieck demanded that Robert prove he had the means to support Clara as a precondition to marriage. Starting in the summer of 1837, Robert

¹⁹ Letter of March 19, 1838. Translation taken from *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann, Critical Edition, Volume I*, ed. Eva Weissweiler, trans. Hildegard Fritsch and Ronald L. Crawford (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), pp. 123-4. For the German, seemingly first published in 1885, see Robert Schumann, *Jugendbriefe von Robert Schumann*, ed. Clara Schumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1886), pp. 276-7.

²⁰ See Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 60.

²¹ See his letter from April 13, 1838, “Wann wirst Du denn neben mir stehen, wenn ich am Klavier sitze – ach, da werden wir beide weinen wie die Kinder – das weiß ich, das wird mich überwältigen...Die Kinderszenen werden wohl bis zu Deiner Ankunft fertig; ich habe sie sehr gern, mache viel Eindruck damit, wenn ich sie vorspiele, vorzüglich auf mich selbst.” Schumann, *Jugendbriefe*, 280-1.

²² The letter was dated August 3, 1838. This letter, unlike those quoted previously, was not included in the *Jugendbriefe*. It seems to have first become publicly available in 1902 with the publication of volume 1 of Berthold Litzmann’s *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben, nach Tagebüchern und Briefen*, reissued in 1906 and 1920 and translated into English in 1913. Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben, nach Tagebüchern und Briefen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1906), p. 224. After this publication, the letter was frequently quoted. See for example, Florence May, *The Girlhood of Clara Schumann* (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), p. 257. Quoted from *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann, Volume I*, 225.

²³ Letter dated March 11, 1839. Translation taken from *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann, Volume II*, ed. Eva Weissweiler, trans. Hildegard Fritsch and Ronald L. Crawford (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), p. 106.

²⁴ Letter dated March 21, 1839. *Ibid.*, 120, 123.

²⁵ For quotations of additional letters that refer to the *Kinderszenen*, see Zilkens, 11-3.

began meticulously documenting his expenditures.²⁶ In March 1838, Friedrich Wieck wrote in his diary that “[Robert] can maneuver, philosophize, enthuse, idealize as much as he likes; it is settled that Clara can never live in poverty and obscurity—but must have over 2,000 [thaler] a year to spend.”²⁷ As Schumann’s biographer John Worthen explains, Robert optimistically sketched out his future earnings in 1838 as 600 thaler per year from composition sales, 600 from Clara’s performance and teaching activities and another 600 from the interest on the money Clara had already earned from her concert tours (money held by Friedrich Wieck).²⁸

While Robert faced new pressures to earn money, his early piano music largely failed to achieve public appreciation, due in part to its technical difficulty, to its use of unconventional genres and to its often fleeting changes in mood and affect. In the words of Anthony Newcomb, Robert in the 1830s was a “generic renegade as far as the market for piano music... was concerned.”²⁹ One common route to creating public demand for scores was to popularize works through performances. As Clara ruefully wrote in her diary in September of 1839, “I would play [Robert’s compositions] gladly, but the public doesn’t understand them.” The previous spring she had asked Robert in a letter, “won’t you for once compose something brilliant, easily understandable, and something without titles, something that is a complete, coherent piece, not too long and not too short? I would so love to have something of yours to play in concerts, something written for an audience... See if you can—maybe variations?... Or a Rondo?”³⁰ In the midst of a newfound need to compose financially profitable works, Schumann created in *Kinderszenen* what Newcomb, in his study on the stylistic evolution of Schumann’s piano music, calls a “serendipitous accident.”³¹ Schumann seems not to have written the pieces with an eye to their marketability, yet the *Kinderszenen* became Schumann’s first commercial success. Breitkopf & Härtel purchased rights to the work in March of 1838 and the piece was published the following year.³² [Example 1.1] In October of 1839, Robert sent Clara a letter describing an inquiry to Härtel regarding the sales of his works.

I just remembered that you once told me about your father’s comment that nobody buys my compositions. I thought of that recently when I was at Härtel’s, and I asked them about it. They looked in their books where everything is recorded very carefully; I can tell you the following: 250-300 of both *Carnaval* and the *Fantasiestücke* have been sold, as well as 300-350 of the *Kinderszenen* which have only been out for six months. I told myself that wasn’t so bad and went my way quite pleased.³³

²⁶ John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a “New Poetic Age”* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 160-1.

²⁷ As quoted by Reich, 59-60.

²⁸ John Worthen, *Robert Schumann: Life and Death of a Musician* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 155-6.

²⁹ Anthony Newcomb, “Schumann and the Marketplace: From Butterflies to *Hausmusik*,” in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. R. Larry Todd (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), p. 265.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 266. For further contextualization of this letter and Clara’s performances of Robert’s works at this time, see David Ferris, “Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara Wieck’s Concerts in Berlin,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003): 351-408, for reference to this letter see pp. 381-2.

³¹ Newcomb, 267.

³² Zilkens, 9, 16; Worthen, 170-1.

³³ Letter dated October 27, 1839. Schumann, *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann, Vol. II*, 452. See also Newcomb, footnote 38, p. 367.

Example 1.1

11

TRÄUMEREI.

M.M. ♩ = 100.

Nº 7.

p
Ped.

ritardando.

ritard.
Ped.

Pedal.

p

Pedal.

6016

“Träumerei” as published in the first edition of *Kinderscenen*.
Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1839.

A small triumph for Schumann, the early popularity of *Kinderscenen* may have helped him realize how certain generic and stylistic features might appeal to broader audiences and increase

sales.³⁴ In its earliest publications and advertisements, the *Kinderscenen* were referred to as “leichte Stücke” [“easy pieces”]. [Figure 1.3] Their seeming simplicity and technical ease also helped align them with the values of *Hausmusik*, a genre that was described in a lengthy series of articles published in Schumann’s *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* between 1837 and 1840.³⁵ *Hausmusik* was a genre that Schumann later embraced in much of his piano music from 1848 onwards, works that would come to enjoy popular and financial success similar to that of *Kinderscenen*.³⁶

Figure 1.3



The earliest advertisement for the *Kinderscenen*.
Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 8 (1838): 124.³⁷

While *Kinderscenen* was a modest financial success in its early years, it was during the late nineteenth century that sales of the score, particularly of “Träumerei” excerpted from the larger work, tremendously increased. This increasing public demand paralleled the increasing dissemination of biographical information about the Schumanns. Knowledge of Robert’s

³⁴ As early as the 1850s, biographers were discussing *Kinderscenen* as a key work that helped establish Schumann’s public reputation. Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, in the first edition of his biography of Robert Schumann, writes that “Die *Kinderscenen*, welche durchaus der Liedform angehören, haben weiteste Verbreitung gefunden, und zählen zu denjenigen Werken Schumann’s, welche seinen Ruf als Componist zuerst in den großen musikalischen Kreisen begründeten. Sie sind in sich vollendete Musikstücke, —Musikstücke, in denen Form und Inhalt in vollkommenem Gleichgewicht steht.” Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, *Robert Schumann: Eine Biographie* (Dresden: Rudolf Kunze, 1858), p. 183.

³⁵ The earliest advertisement for the *Kinderscenen* seems to be from April 17, 1838, though the work was not published until 1839. Example 7 is taken from the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 8 (1838): 124. On *Hausmusik*, see Carl Ferdinand Becker, “Zur Geschichte der Hausmusik in früheren Jahrhunderten,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 7-12 (1837-40), and Newcomb, 267, 272-4.

³⁶ Nevertheless, in 1848 Härtel decided against publishing the op. 68 *Album für die Jugend*, ultimately one of Schumann’s most financially successful works, citing the substantial financial loss the firm had endured over the years from publishing Schumann’s works. See Newcomb, footnote 38, p. 307.

³⁷ Image from RIPM Online Archive of Music Periodicals, accessed 2 May 2013, <http://www.ripmfulltext.org/RIPM/Digitization/MainDialog.aspx?mode=2&type=2>.

devotion to Clara and their lengthy struggle to marry helped shape public perception of his early compositions. “Träumerei” appealed to consumers not only by dint of its lyricism and technical ease, but also from the narrative content listeners and performers imaginatively heard in its unfolding.

Early biographies rarely failed to tie Robert’s passion for Clara to his early piano music and his songs from 1840. In his 1865 Schumann biography, for example, August Reissmann wrote that “of the works composed in 1837 and 1838 the *Phantasiestücke*, the *Kinderscenen* and also the *Kreisleriana*, are particularly characteristic...The moods in which they originated are common to all men, [yet they possess]...genuinely Schumannian desire and dreaming.” The *Kinderscenen*, Reissmann felt, “[grant] us a glimpse of the secret workshop of [Robert’s] soul.”³⁸ Inward and private, the *Kinderscenen* granted access to a uniquely Schumannian world, a world consumed by thoughts of Clara.

Hitherto he had worked and written merely in the service of high art and of those ideas which had become the guiding principle of his life, not only regardless of material results, but often also at the cost of large pecuniary sacrifices. Now the serious import of life became fully apparent to him. He must bend all his efforts towards reaching what was now his highest aim, union with the beloved woman, by increasing industry and a new conception of his work, and he found himself ready for the task.³⁹

Reissmann made a point that would become ubiquitous in later writing on Schumann. Before needing to prove that his compositions could be financially profitable, Reissmann suggested, Schumann composed entirely for his own internal satisfaction, eschewing public taste and commercial prospects. Clara thus inspired Robert’s compositions in two different kinds of ways. Robert was inspired to compose out of his love for her and his need to provide support for her. Reissmann’s study seems to have achieved a wide distribution. It went through three German editions during the nineteenth century and had an 1878 English translation that went through four editions by 1908.⁴⁰

Reissmann echoed views expressed by Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski in his 1858 biography of Schumann. As Wasielewski wrote, Schumann’s piano music from the 1830s came forth from

a struggle calculated for the possession of his beloved,—a struggle calculated to stir the inmost depths of his nature, and to produce intense agony; but, as the storm-lashed, foaming, roaring sea tosses up from its depths wonderful treasures, so did the wild waves of contest bring to light rare pearls and jewels of art...If we consider that his deep and earnest relations with Clara Wieck afforded him a direct motive for composing for the piano, we shall understand the stability which marks the works of the first nine years.⁴¹

³⁸ August Reissmann, *Robert Schumann: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Berlin: I. Guttentag, 1865), pp. 69-70. English translation taken from Reissmann, *The Life and Works of Robert Schumann*, trans. Abby Langdon Alger (London: George Bell, 1886), pp. 76-7.

³⁹ Reissmann, 1865 edition, 76. Translation taken from Reissmann, trans. Langdon, 84.

⁴⁰ The book was first published in Berlin in 1865. It was reprinted by the same publisher in 1871 and 1879. The first English edition appeared in 1878 in London. This was reissued in 1886, 1900 and 1908.

⁴¹ Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, *Life of Robert Schumann*, trans. A.L. Alger (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1871), pp. 98-9, 120.

Like Reissmann's study, Wasielewski's biography became a foundational text for the study of Schumann's life. It was reprinted four times in revised German editions through 1906 and translated into English for publication in both England and the United States.⁴²

Gustav Jansen, another early and influential writer on Schumann, observed in 1883 that “up to this point, relatively few intimate letters from the anxious and unsettled period of the late 1830s have been made available. However, the contemporaneous compositions—the *Phantasiestücke*, *Davidsbündlertänze*, *Kreisleriana*, *Novelletten*, *Nachtstücke* and *Kinderscenen*—are moving portrayals of Schumann's changing spirits and because of this they allow us to peer into his soul.”⁴³ Only two years after this reflection, Breitkopf & Härtel issued the first edition of Schumann's *Jugendbriefe*, making many of the letters from his childhood through his marriage in 1840 publicly available.⁴⁴ The following year, not only were his *Jugendbriefe* reissued, but an edition of his later letters was also published. The *Jugendbriefe* were printed in English translation in 1888 and by 1910 had appeared in two additional revised German editions.⁴⁵ This collection, which included many love letters, added further intrigue to the fairytale-like outlines of the love story. Robert's side by side references to Clara and his compositions helped substantiate the perception of his early works as soulful meditations on longing and love.⁴⁶

Writings about the Schumanns in genres such as guides for amateurs and romantic biography began to proliferate during the last decades of the nineteenth century. They characteristically presented Schumann's music as an exemplification of *Innigkeit* and a vehicle for the disclosure of private dreams and desires. In a 1908 book on German composers for “music-loving youth,” for example, author A. Richard Scheumann wrote of the *Kinderscenen* that “the most beautiful among them are “Glückes genug” and “Träumerei.” In the latter piece Schumann's most inner soul is revealed. The piece is full of poetry and spirit. Whoever hears it will be deeply moved.” For this reason, he implied, “Träumerei” was “the best- and most widely-known of the Master's piano pieces.”⁴⁷ And in a 1910 article published in *The Fortnightly Review*, a general British magazine, author A. E. Keeton tied the emotion embodied in “Träumerei” expressly to Robert's love for Clara.

⁴² Dresden: R. Kunze, 1858, 1869; Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1871; London: R. Reeves, 1878; Bonn: E. Strauss, 1880; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906.

⁴³ “Zwar liegen bis jeßt nur wenig vertrauliche Briefe aus dieser unruhvollen Zeit vor [the late 1830s], aber die gleichzeitigen Tonschöpfungen—die *Phantasiestücke*, *Davidsbündlertänze*, *Kreisleriana*, *Novelletten*, *Nachtstücke* und *Kinderscenen*—sind ergreifende Schilderungen seiner wechselnden Stimmungen und lassen uns bis auf den Grund seiner Seele blicken.” Gustav Jansen, *Die Davidsbündler: Aus Robert Schumann's Sturm- und Drangperiode* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1883), p. 63.

⁴⁴ Some of these letters had been published in previous studies of Schumann such as the Wasielewski and Reissmann biographies.

⁴⁵ Publications of the *Jugendbriefe*: Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1885, 1886, 1910. The English translation was published in London by G. Bell in 1888.

⁴⁶ Furthermore, the first volume of Berthold Litzmann's biography of Clara Schumann, which contained a substantial number of her letters, was first published in 1902, and subsequently reissued in 1903 and 1906. By 1920 the work was in its seventh German edition and had been translated into English in 1913. Volume 2 first appeared in 1905 and Volume 3 in 1908.

⁴⁷ “Die schönsten Nummern daraus sind ‘Glückes genug’ und ‘Träumerei.’ Im letztgenannten Stück offenbart sich Schumanns innerste Seele; es ist voller Poesie und Stimmung. Wer es hört oder spielt, wird davon ergriffen. Es ist wohl das verbreitetste und bekannteste Klavierstück des Meisters und später für verschiedene Instrumente bearbeitet worden.” A. Richard Scheumann, *Die großen deutschen Tondichter: Lebenserzählungen in Bildern, Vol. II* (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1908), p. 82.

Schumann obtained in Clara Wieck the one intimate companion of heart and mind that he craved. He could live in the closest touch with this beloved wife and the children that she bore him. As a bright reflex of his family happiness, he has left such night thoughts and exquisite tokens as...the two miniatures, "Träumerei" and "Kind im Einschlummern," in the *Scenes of Childhood*. These...two pieces are gravely reticent, but most human and gracious glimpses of a lover's nascent passion. They were composed in the first flush of Schumann's love for Clara Wieck, and were inspired by his grateful and wondering enthusiasm for her comprehending interpretations of his meanings.⁴⁸

Biographical modes of interpretation "humanized" Schumann, making him and his music seem more approachable than other composers of similar renown. In an 1893 book, W.H. Hadow claimed that "hardly in the whole range of the Art have we such intimate household words as...*Warum*, and *Träumerei*, *Carnaval* and *Humoreske*...No composer is more companionable, more ready to respond to any word and sympathise with any emotion. There are times in which we feel that Bach is too remote, Beethoven too great, Chopin too pessimistic; but we can always turn to Schumann."⁴⁹

While Schumann's early piano works came to be heard as intimate records, his later piano compositions would inspire interpretations rooted in other aspects of his biography. The *Kinderszenen*, for example, came to be understood as fundamentally different from Schumann's piano works from the late 1840s that were also child-themed and accessible to amateurs. Schumann's own assessments of these works helped create this differential. In a letter dated October 6, 1848, he mentioned that "I wrote the first pieces for the *Album [für die Jugend]*, op. 68] specifically for the birthday of our oldest child, and then more pieces came to me one after another... These pieces are completely different from the *Kinderszenen*. The latter are reminiscences written by an adult for adults, whereas the [*Album für die Jugend*] contains more anticipation, presentiment, [and] forward-looking perspectives for youthful players."⁵⁰ The distinction Schumann made between the *Album* containing pieces for children with a didactic purpose and the *Kinderszenen*, portraying the recollections and inward reflections of an adult, was crucial to the subsequent reception of these works.

Discussions of the *Kinderszenen* often stressed how the work required an inwardness of expression only attainable by adults. In the 1910 manual *Stories of Standard Teaching Pieces*, Edward Baxter Perry asserted that

No composition by Schumann, large or small, has attained the same universal popularity with the musical and unmusical public of all lands as the *Träumerei*. It is...practically unusable for teaching purposes, being musically too subtle and abstruse to be understood, or felt, by children...It requires a certain degree of maturity both of poetic perception and

⁴⁸ A. E. Keeton, "The Night Thoughts of Robert Schumann," *The Fortnightly Review* 88 (1910): 700-1. The essay was also reprinted in the American journal *The Living Age* 49 (1910): 527.

⁴⁹ W.H. Hadow, *Studies in Modern Music: Hector Berlioz, Robert Schumann, Richard Wagner* (New York: Macmillan, 1893), p. 218.

⁵⁰ As translated in Bernhard R. Appel, "'Actually, Taken Directly from Family Life': Robert Schumann's *Album für Jugend*," trans. John Michael Cooper, in *Schumann and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 182, 200. The letter seems to have been first published in the 1858 biography of Schumann by Wasielewski, *Robert Schumann: Eine Biographie* (Dresden: Kunze, 1858), p. 247; the letter was subsequently quoted in the 1865 biography by Reissmann, p. 147 as well as the collection of letters edited by Hermann Erler, *Robert Schumann's Leben aus seinen Briefen geschildert* (Berlin: Ries & Erler, 1887), pp. 60-1. Several of the pieces that became part of the *Album für die Jugend* were given to Schumann's oldest daughter Marie for her seventh birthday on September 1, 1848. See Appel, 171-2.

musical insight, to appreciate or render it. I do not believe it can be well played by any child under fifteen...It recalls the mood of that wonderful mystical hour, when alone with the silent beauty and suggestive mystery of the summer night, we first dimly realized our own identity; our individual sentient existence, with its untried abilities for joy and suffering and achievement...The *Träumerei* perfectly embodies this mood...a mood too introspective for the real child mind, but universally *felt*, though perhaps not intelligently analyzed by older listeners.⁵¹

Such description furthered the work's mystique by attaching notions of expressive depth to its musical content.⁵² The author of a 1915 article on *Kinderscenen* that appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* noted that "the interpretation of Schumann's compositions demands a highly developed artistic sensibility and understanding. The artist must penetrate Schumann's spirit in order to follow his ideas. Not until doing so can an interpreter produce the kind of expression imagined by the Master."⁵³ Without entering into Schumann's *Geist*, the performer could not express the depth of meaning contained within Schumann's works. The fascination with intimate details of Schumann's life spilled into perceptions of his works while engagement with Schumann's works fueled an interest in his personal life. This synergy helped sustain the demand for editions and arrangements of "*Träumerei*" and can serve as a starting point for contextualizing the work's immense *fin-de-siècle* popularity.

"Träumerei" and the Bourgeois Family

During the late eighteenth century, writers began to associate growing demands for competency in music, and in particular the ability to play piano, with the desire for cultural ascendancy. As Christian Schubart remarked in 1787, "the piano has become one of the most important items in present-day upbringing."⁵⁴ One hundred years later such observations continued to be made, but

⁵¹ Edward Baxter Perry, *Stories of Standard Teaching Pieces* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1910), pp. 83-5. For a rebuttal to Perry, see the commentary by fourteen year old Robert Patterson, "Träumerei by Robert Schumann," *The Musician* 17 (1912): 52-3.

⁵² As a second example, in an 1892 article on the *Kinderscenen* and *Album für die Jugend* one writer stressed that "Das 'Jugendalbum' unterscheidet sich in seinem Gesamtcharakter wesentlich von den 'Kinderscenen.' Letztere sollen erinnerungsselige Rückblicke des Erwachsenen auf das Paradies der Kindheit sein. Daher ihr vorwiegender Ernst, ihre auffallende Bedeutsamkeit im Ausdruck. Das 'Jugendalbum' aber ist für Kinder bestimmt, vor denen das Glück der Gegenwart und der Zukunft sich gleich einem wolkenlosen Himmel ausbreitet." See M.H., "Schumanns 'Kinderscenen' und das 'Jugendalbum,'" *Neue Musik-Zeitung* 13 (1892): 175. The idea that the *Kinderscenen* was meant to be played by adults continued to be expressed late into the twentieth century. In a 1981 article, Alfred Brendel wrote that "what these miniatures need is affectionate care, loving detachment, an appearance of directness. The player should not turn himself into a child." See Brendel, "Testing the Grown-up Player: Schumann's 'Kinderszenen,'" *Music Sounded Out: Essays, Lectures, Interviews, Afterthoughts* (London: Robson, 1990), p. 142. A German version of this article appeared as "Der Interpret muß erwachsen sein: Zu Schumanns Kinderszenen," *Musica* 35 (1981): 429-33. See also Bálint Vázsonyi, "Solo Piano Music—II," in *Robert Schumann: The Man and His Music*, ed. Alan Walker (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1972), p. 89.

⁵³ "Weiter verlangt die Interpretation Schumannscher Kompositionen ein hochentwickeltes künstlerisches Empfinden. Der Künstler muß in Schumanns Geist eindringen, seine Ideenwege verfolgen; dann erst kann er das zum Ausdruck bringen, was unser Meister erdichtet hat." Tona Kietzer, "Robert Schumanns Eigenart in seinen Kinderszenen," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. 82 (1915): 244.

⁵⁴ "Ja das Clavier ist sogar einer der wichtigsten Artikel in der modernen Erziehung geworden." As quoted by Eva Egli, *Probleme der musikalischen Wertästhetik im 19. Jahrhundert: ein Versuch zur schlechten Musik* (Winterthur:

were often tinged with condescension at how music could be perceived as a vehicle for social climbing and a marker of social status. In an 1852 guide to women's education, for example, Rosa Fischer remarked that "above all, music is taught because it is fashionable. Essentially it is taught out of vanity, in order to shine in society. Here music serves neither to bring joy nor to edify, but rather to bring an entirely superficial appearance of cultivation."⁵⁵ Among music critics the sentiment was often similar. In reference to piano playing, Adolf Bernhard Marx remarked in 1855 that "one hardly asks anymore 'who is musical', but rather 'who isn't?'" In the so-called higher or cultivated classes music has long been considered an essential part of education. Every family seeks instruction in music for all family members if possible, without particular regard for talent or interest."⁵⁶

As scholars have observed, the increasing prominence of the piano in European and American households during the nineteenth century was closely tied to industrialization, a distribution system made possible by railroads, and a growing, affluent middle class that could serve as a consumer base. In the words of Arthur Loesser, "the pianoforte...in its day of fullest bloom, was a product straight from the loins of nineteenth-century industry and business, a direct issue of the technology, the transportation, and the finance of its time."⁵⁷ Data on the production of pianos during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries chart a remarkable growth in the industry. In 1870, for example, approximately 85,000 pianos were built in Germany, France, Britain, and the United States combined. By 1910, at the peak of early twentieth-century production, this figure had risen to nearly 600,000.⁵⁸ Indeed, the increase in the production of pianos during the late nineteenth century outpaced population growth during this period.⁵⁹ The rapid rise in piano ownership caused a concomitant surge in demand for sheet music and created

P.G. Keller, 1965), p. 43. For a discussion of the discourse surrounding early nineteenth-century music education (in this case, primarily instruction in singing), see David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 93-124.

⁵⁵ "Musik wird gelehrt, vor allen Dingen weil es Mode ist, dann aber hauptsächlich aus Eitelkeit, um in Gesellschaft damit zu glänzen. Hier dient sie weder zur Freude noch zur Erbauung, sondern nur dem alleräußerlichsten Schein...Häufiger noch als Gesang...hört man in Gesellschaft Klavier spielen und das mitunter in solcher Weise, daß die Bezeichnung Musik eine Blasphemie derselben wäre." Rosa Fischer, *Gedanken über weibliche Erziehung* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1852), p. 85.

⁵⁶ "Kaum darf man noch Fragen: wer ist musikalisch? Sondern: wer ist es nicht? In den sogenannten höhern oder gebildeteren Kreisen galt Musik längst als unerlässlicher Theil der Bildung; jede Familie fordert ihn, wo möglich für alle Angehörigen, ohne sonderliche Rücksicht auf Talent und Lust." As quoted by Andreas Ballstaedt in Ballstaedt and Tobias Widmaier, *Salonmusik: Zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), p. 137. The quote derives from A.B. Marx, *Die Musik des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts und ihre Pflege: Methode der Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1855), p. 131. Ballstaedt's and Widmaier's study on *Salonmusik* includes an extraordinarily rich bibliography, which provided me with leads on many of the *Salonmusik* related sources cited in this chapter.

⁵⁷ Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), p. 391. Richard Leppert similarly writes that "the history of piano design, manufacture, and distribution in the nineteenth century serves not only as a perfect metaphor of capitalist economic principles in operation but also as an agent of capitalism's political, economic, and ideological success, to the extent that these categories of success may be understood as part and parcel of domesticity." Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 153.

⁵⁸ For these statistics and others relating to the manufacture of pianos at this time, see Atsuko Hirai and James Parakilas, "1870s to 1920s: The World's the Limit" in *Piano Roles*, 283, and Irmgard Bontinck, "Jeder spielt Klavier, jeder lernt Klavier: Zum Stellenwert des Klaviers im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Ich fahre in mein liebes Wien: Clara Schumann, Fakten, Bilder, Projectionen*, ed. Elena Ostleitner and Ursula Simek (Vienna: Löcker, 1996), pp. 94-9.

⁵⁹ Loesser, 428-9.

the market that sustained the hundreds of “Träumerei” publications during these years. Increased publications were also facilitated by technological advancements in the 1860s such as the elimination of the need for the hand press, as well as copyright restrictions that generally lapsed thirty years after a composer’s death.⁶⁰ As the musicologist Matthias Wendt has noted, Breitkopf & Härtel held rights over the *Kinderscenen* through 1886 and despite knowing the work sold well, “nevertheless did not know how or did not want to exploit the mercantile possibilities of the piece’s popularity.”⁶¹ Beginning in 1887, other firms gained the right to publish their own editions and arrangements of “Träumerei,” which further helps account for the timing of the late nineteenth-century surge in “Träumerei” production.⁶²

The growing market for sheet music led to the proliferation of works written primarily for home performance, a genre generally referred to by contemporaries as *Salonmusik*. The term *Salonmusik* first occurred in German writing in the 1830s as a translation from the French (which itself was a translation from Italian), and initially referred to the music performed in the “rarefied social echelons” of the early nineteenth-century Parisian salons.⁶³ As the nineteenth century progressed, the term accrued less favorable connotations. Critics began to associate the genre with commercialism, superficiality (an ersatz *Hausmusik*), and virtuosity, all attributes conceived of as opposing the prized values of autonomy, expressive depth, and interiority.⁶⁴

Schumann was one of the earliest critics to write about the genre of *Salonmusik* and his characterizations would help establish the tone and evaluative strategies adopted by later critics. For Schumann, *Salonmusik* was a heterogeneous genre that included works of varying aesthetic quality. These different kinds of works had different performance contexts and audiences. In 1836 Schumann described a salon composition as “a piece for the salon, where every now and then a count might rub shoulders with a famous artist. Thus, not a tea circle where one puts on airs through conversation, but rather a place for the most cultivated circles that shows deference to artists who have earned it.”⁶⁵ In such spaces one could hear, for example, Chopin’s op. 42 Waltzes, praised by Schumann as “salon music of the noblest type.” Schumann would also write about the compositions of “salon virtuosos” like Sigismund Thalberg and Eduard Röckel and the “sentimental salon pieces” of Theodor Kullak. By 1843, however, Schumann remarked that the designation *Salonmusik* “always prompts artistic suspicion” and implied “a mix of sentimentality and virtuosic passages that is particularly cherished in salons.” The choice of the word salon in

⁶⁰ Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, 107-9, and Matthias Wendt, “Träumerei?—Fleiß?,” 98.

⁶¹ “Originalverleger der ‘Kinderszenen’ waren Breitkopf & Härtel, die zwar bekannte, dass dieses Opus sich bestens verkaufe, die aber dennoch die Popularität der Stücke merkantil nicht recht auszuschlachten wussten oder doch dies nicht um jeden Preis wollten.” Matthias Wendt, “Träumerei?—Fleiß?,” 99.

⁶² Ibid., 98-100, and Wendt, “Albtraum zwischen Trümmern: Der erste Schumannfilm *Träumerei* in Zwickau uraufgeführt, in Düsseldorf verboten,” in *Schumann im 20. Jahrhundert: Forschung, Interpretation, Rezeption*, ed. Ute Bär (Sinzig: Studio Verlag, 2008), pp. 297-8.

⁶³ See Imogen Fellinger, “Die Begriffe *Salon* und *Salonmusik* in der Musikanschauung des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Studien zur Trivialmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1967), p. 131, and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, 14-5, 28-34. The quotation comes from Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 349.

⁶⁴ Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, 20-2.

⁶⁵ “Ein Stück für einen Salon, wo hinter gräflichen Schultern hin und wieder der Kopf eines berühmten Künstlers hervortaut, also nicht für Teekränze, wo zur Konversation aufgespielt wird, sondern für gebildetste Zirkel, die dem Künstler die Achtung bezeigen, die sein Stand verdient.” Robert Schumann as quoted by Fellinger, 132-3. For further discussion of Schumann’s use of the term *Salonmusik* see also Jürgen Kesting, “Salon—Thesen zu einem gesellschaftlichen Ort der Musik im 19. Jahrhundert,” *Musik und Bildung* 7/8 (1977): 378, and Peter Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik im geselligem Kreise: Geschmacksbildung, Gesprächsstoff und musikalische Unterhaltung in der bürgerliche Salongesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991), pp. 252-3.

the title of a composition suggested to Schumann that the composer “eschews an interest in higher aesthetic values.”⁶⁶

While Schumann maintained that certain compositions for the salon were of the highest artistic value, he felt that the market was increasingly filled with lower quality pieces that were profitable and carried an easy appeal.⁶⁷ This perspective was echoed in the following decade by Friedrich Wieck who spoke of the “better *Salonmusik*” composed by Chopin, Heller, and Henselt, among others, that contrasted with the “bland, insipid, characterless salon music and finger exercises which cultured dilettantes do not find pleasing.”⁶⁸ The divide articulated by critics between sophisticated pieces for the salon and sentimental or virtuosic *Salonmusik* would later be taken up by critics discussing the proliferation of short piano works at the *fin de siècle*. This perspective would come to shape the critical reception of “Träumerei,” a piece popular among those who otherwise enjoyed “characterless,” “sentimental” salon compositions.

As the century progressed, criticisms of the aesthetic quality of *Salonmusik* tended to be colored by perceptions of the people most commonly thought to be playing the music. The often described “sentimentality” of *Salonmusik* aligned easily with the perception that these works were commonly written for and played by women. Much has written about why the piano was deemed an ideal instrument for women during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (in addition to the harp, glass harmonica, lute and guitar). In her classic study, Freia Hoffmann described how the piano enabled an upright sitting posture and relatively little bodily motion while playing. In contrast, string instruments entailed vigorous movement and the cello in particular required an indelicate separation of legs. Woodwind and brass instruments carried military connotations and required exertion of facial muscles.⁶⁹ As Hans Georg Nägeli asserted in his lectures on music from 1826, “violins are bad for [women] and flutes disfigure beautiful lips.”⁷⁰ These instruments also carried melodic lines and in many cases required accompaniment to be complete, accompaniment that could be provided appropriately by a female piano player. By the end of the century, such gendered roles in bourgeois homes had solidified. Indeed, one critic observed in 1900 that “all men have a duty to serve in the military and almost all daughters must play piano.”⁷¹

The solidification of such roles was supported by contemporary understandings of evolution and biology that depicted women’s naturally “emotional” and “passive” dispositions in contrast to the “rational,” “active” nature of men.⁷² Understandings of female passivity aligned well with the piano’s often accompanimental role in home music making. As one popular composer of salon compositions remarked in 1878,

The piano is the best instrument for young girls, whereas for boys...a stringed instrument would be preferred. The reason for this is so that later on there could be opportunities for

⁶⁶ “Ein Salonstück der nobelsten Art;” “Immer einen künstlerischen Verdacht...ein Gemisch von Sentimentalität und Klavierpassage, wie es namentlich in Salons geschätzt;” “auf Anerkenntnis höheren Kunstwertes Verzicht.” Schumann, as quoted by Fellingner, 134-5.

⁶⁷ Widmaier, 90, 102.

⁶⁸ “Fade, vage Salon- und Fingermusik...[an der] gebildete Dilettanten keinen Gefallen finden [konnte].” Friedrich Wieck as quoted by Fellingner, 135.

⁶⁹ Freia Hoffmann, *Instrument und Körper: Die musizierende Frau in der bürgerlichen Kultur* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1991), pp. 25-51.

⁷⁰ As quoted by Eggli, 44.

⁷¹ “Alle Männer sind militärpflichtig, und fast alle Töchter sind heutzutage klavierpflichtig.” C. Debussyère as quoted by Ballstaedt and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, 196.

⁷² Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, 202.

performing pieces from the rich domain of chamber music, which would not only bring more joy, but would also be of greater practical use for young men within family circles...In other words: where everyone plays piano, a violin or cello player is worth that much more.⁷³

Appendix A provides a chart listing 150 separate publications of “Träumerei.” Ninety of these publications were arrangements of the piece, with diverse instrumental groupings ranging from organ (ten arrangements), to four-hand piano (seven arrangements), string quartet (six arrangements), and voice and piano (four arrangements). Some of the most common arrangements, however, were for lyrical string or woodwind instruments with piano, including sixteen arrangements for violin and piano, twelve for cello and piano, and four for flute and piano.⁷⁴ Duet arrangements, with their implied gendered performance roles, could facilitate a kind of reenactment of meanings already commonly heard in “Träumerei.”

Indeed, contemporaneous literature depicts the salon as a notorious meeting place for young couples. Young women could demonstrate their “good upbringing” by performing for invited guests, providing entertainment and an opportunity to be observed.⁷⁵ Skills at the piano were generally acknowledged to make a woman more desirable for marriage, an important consideration during a period with a much-discussed *Frauenüberschuß*, an outnumbering of women to men in the population.⁷⁶ The *Salonmusik* literature was filled with works alluding to women dreaming of future romance, including titles like “Mädchentraum” (Carl Heins), “Douce Rêverie” (Thekla Badarzewska), “Elschen’s Sehnsucht” (Richard Eilenberg), “Herzblättchen” (Fritz Behr), “Ich denke dein” (Aloys Hennes), “Herzeleid” (Edmund Abesser), “Wenn zwei sich gefunden” (Gustav Lange), and most famously, “Das Gebet einer Jungfrau” (Badarzewska).⁷⁷ Covers to the scores of such salon pieces, including covers to publications of “Träumerei,” frequently carried illustrations that suggestively depicted dreams of romance. [Figures 1.4]

⁷³ “Jedenfalls ist aber das Klavier das geeignetste Instrument für junge Mädchen, während bei Knaben...ein Streichinstrument vorzuziehen wäre. Der Grund hierfür ist, weil die sich später anbietende Gelegenheit zu Productionen aus dem reichen Gebiete der Kammermusik nicht nur mehr Freude gewährt, sondern in Familienkreisen für jeden jungen Mann auch von größerem praktischen Nutzen werden kann...Mit andern Worten also: Wo Alles Klavier spielt, gilt ein Violin- oder Cellospieler so viel mehr.” Aloys Hennes, *Die Musik in der Familie und die musikalische Erziehung der Jugend* (Berlin: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1878), p. 5.

⁷⁴ Wendt argued that there were two broad types of “Träumerei” arrangements: “Den für die gehobene Hausmusik oder den Salon geschriebenen Bearbeitungen für klassische Ensembles wie Streichquartett, Solocello...Klavier etc. stehen regelrechte U-Musik-Arrangements gegenüber, Bearbeitungen für Zitherensembles aus dem Vergnügungsmilieu.” Wendt, “Träumerei?—Fleiß?,” 99-100.

⁷⁵ Widmaier, 223.

⁷⁶ See Alicia L. Carter, “Rezept zur Sittlichkeit: The Conduct Books of Henriette Davidis,” in *Challenging Separate Spheres: Female Bildung in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Germany*, ed. Marjanne E. Gozzé (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 267.

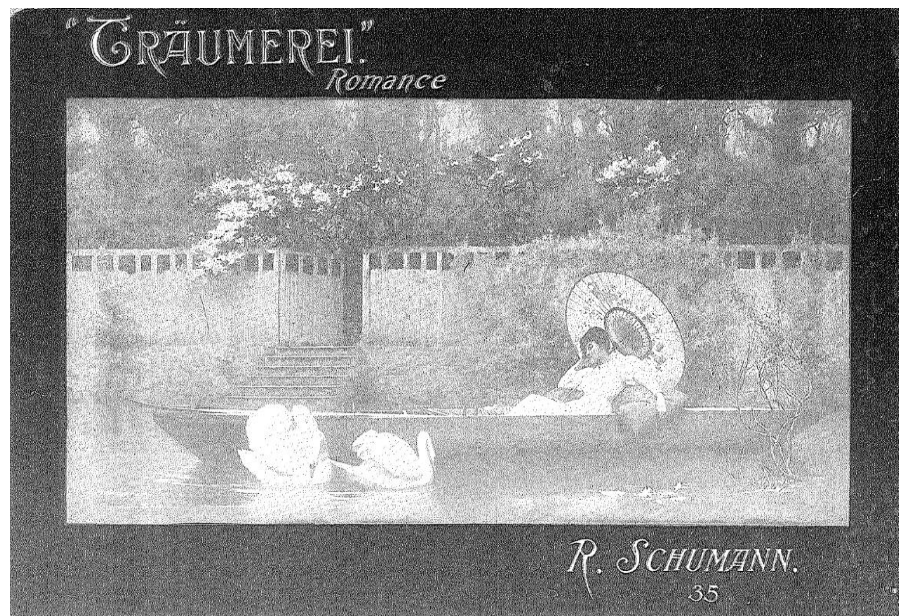
⁷⁷ See the work titles listed by Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, 219, 229-30.

Figure 1.4a



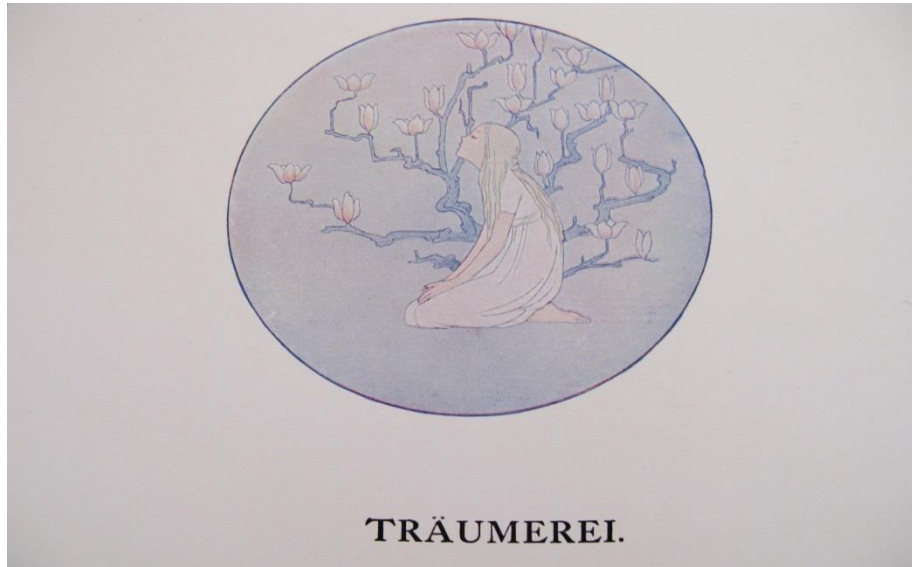
Score Cover. Schumann, "Träumerei" and "Romance."
New York: Edition de Luxe, early twentieth century.

Figure 1.4b



Score Cover. Schumann, "Träumerei" and "Romance."
New York: Edition de Luxe, early twentieth century.

Figure 1.4c



“Träumerei” from *Schumann Album of Children’s Pieces for Piano*.
Illustrations by H. Willebeek Le Mair. London: Augener, 1913.

Figures 1.4d and 1.4e



Figure 1.4d: Left: Postcard entitled “Träumerei.” Artwork by M. Loebell, c. 1908.
Figure 1.4e: Right: Postcard entitled “Träumerei.” Artwork by Wilhelm Menzler, 1895.

Within this context, aesthetic criticisms leveled at *Salonmusik* were often thinly veiled social criticisms.⁷⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, in *Distinction*, reflected on the social values that underlie different types of aesthetic valuation.

Everything takes place as if the “popular aesthetic” were based on the affirmation of continuity between art and life, which implies the subordination of form to function... The desire to enter into the game, identifying with the characters’ joys and sufferings, worrying about their fate, espousing their hopes and ideals, living their life, is based on a form of *investment*, a sort of deliberate “naivety,” ingenuousness, [and] good-natured credulity.⁷⁹

The biographical stories and associations woven around “Träumerei” made the work more accessible and appealing to a broad class of sheet-music consumers. Such interpretive strategies are suggestive of what Bourdieu characterized as the “popular aesthetic.” Interpretations of “Träumerei” found in short stories, novels, poems, paintings and music appreciation texts affirmed a “continuity between art and life,” not only the continuity between Schumann’s life and his artwork, but also the artwork’s emotional content and the life of the performer or listener.

For Bourdieu, the popular aesthetic was understood in part through its contrast with an aesthetic of autonomy and disinterestedness.

Detachment, disinterestedness, indifference—aesthetic theory has so often presented these as the only way to recognize the work of art for what it is, autonomous, *selbständig*, that one ends up forgetting that they really mean disinvestment, detachment, indifference, in other words, the refusal to invest oneself and take things seriously... there is nothing more naïve and vulgar than to invest too much passion in the things of the mind or to expect too much seriousness of them... the refusal of any sort of involvement, a “vulgar” surrender to easy seduction and collective enthusiasm... is, indirectly at least, the origin of the taste for formal complexity and objectless representations... Thus, nothing more rigorously distinguishes the different classes than the disposition objectively demanded by the legitimate consumption of legitimate works, the aptitude for taking a specifically aesthetic point of view on objects already constituted aesthetically.⁸⁰

Short stories of the kind by Myrtle Reed, which reprinted lines of “Träumerei” next to text expressing a character’s undying love, required a reader’s emotional “investment” and “vulgar surrender” to the music and story line. It was precisely such “naïve” and “passionate” investment that irked high-minded contemporaneous critics.

Thus, the ways people consumed music, both as listeners and performers, was a topic of contentious discussion at the *fin de siècle*. On one side were critics who encouraged biographical and other narrative approaches to finding meaning in musical works. These strategies were seen as a way of drawing in new audiences and making works more approachable. Felix Oberborbeck, in his pedagogical book *Deutsch und Musikunterricht*, argued that

⁷⁸ Referring in particular to scholarship by Eva Eggli and Carl Dahlhaus Widmaier reflected that “ästhetisches Urteil und moralische oder sozialen Verurteilung gehen ineinander über.” Widmaier, in *Salonmusik*, 7, 24.

⁷⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 32-3.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 34-40.

enjoyment of music quickly stirs interest in the great composers, their life and works... The teacher will first be tempted to give the student a scholarly study. One completely forgets that the point here is to give something that is less like an assignment and more like an inspiring lecture and entertainment... better the unscholarly book that is read than the scholarly study that remains on the bookshelf... In school libraries the so-called popular music literature should occupy a large place. By this I mean literature in the form of short stories, dramas, narratives and novels related to music, work that through its form or content is designed to awaken and increase interest in music. Here it is understood that anecdotes should hold a prominent place.⁸¹

More commonly, however, critics viewed biographical modes of listening and interpretation as a threat. Ardent detractors of such approaches often blamed the press and publishing industry for promoting a perceived “degeneration” in musical taste and understanding. Hermann Kretzschmar, for example, argued that “the music papers that carry the worst stories are the most widely read. One recently founded paper has made its specialty out of the short story and anecdote. The rallying cry is this: romantic at any price... according to this view the greatest compositions are all the results of the life catastrophes of their composers. No Moonlight sonata without a good love affair.”⁸² For Kretzschmar, sensationalistic stories helped sell performance tickets, scores and biographical texts, but did so at the cost of trivialization. The popular press promised access to works without the investment of time and thoughtful study he and many other critics felt was essential for appropriate engagement with “legitimate” works by the great composers of the past.

Publishers certainly capitalized on people’s insecurity over their musical understanding and taste, forms of social knowledge thought to be essential for entrance into and participation in certain social circles. Karl M. Weber’s 1908 guide *Wie wird man musikalisch? Eine Anleitung, sich musikalisches Verständnis anzueignen und über Musik richtig zu urteilen, ohne Musik studiert zu haben* [“How to Become Musical: A Guide to Acquiring Musical Understanding and Judgment without Having Studied Music”], addressed the fears of those who had lacked the opportunity for extensive contact with and instruction in music. [Figure 1.5] “Not everyone for whom it would have given pleasure is afforded the time and means to study music. But music constitutes the most important form of entertainment in our society... Being unmusical seems

⁸¹ “Freude an der Musik ruft bei der Jugend bald Interesse an den großen Tonmeistern, ihrem Leben und Wirken hervor... Der Lehrer wird in sich zunächst die Versuchung fühlen, dem Schüler ein wissenschaftliches Werk zu geben. Man vergißt dabei ganz, daß es diesem weniger um Arbeit, als um anregende Lektüre, um Unterhaltung zu tun ist und daß er ein wissenschaftliches Werk oft nach der Lektüre weniger Seiten wieder aus der Hand legt... lieber das Unwissenschaftliche, das gelesen wird, als das Wissenschaftliche, das doch im Bücherschrank stehen bleibt... In der Schülerbibliothek wird daher die sog. musikalische Populärliteratur einen breiten Raum einnehmen. Ich verstehe darunter jene Literatur, die in Form einer Novelle, eines Dramas, einer Erzählung, eines Romans Stoffe aus der Musik behandelt und durch Form oder Inhalt geeignet ist, das Interesse an der Tonkunst zu erwecken oder zu erhöhen. Daß hier die Anekdote einen breiten Raum einnehmen darf und soll, versteht sich.” Felix Oberborbeck, *Deutsch und Musikunterricht* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1929), pp. 65-6.

⁸² “Die Musikzeitungen, die den Notizenkram am ärgsten treiben, sind die gelesenen. Eine vor wenig Jahren erst gegründete machte das Novellen- und Anekdotengenre zu ihrer Spezialität. Die Parole ist hierbei: Romantisch um jeden Preis... Nach dieser Auffassung sind die großen Tonwerke alle die Resultate von Lebenskatastrophen ihrer Schöpfer; keine Mondscheinsonate ohne eine tüchtige Liebschaft.” Hermann Kretzschmar, “Allerhand Musikunfug,” in *Gesammelte Aufsätze über Musik und Anderes aus den Grenzboten* (Leipzig: F. W. Grunow, 1910), p. 148.

nearly as bad as being uneducated!”⁸³ Such guides provided shortcuts to aesthetic knowledge and fluency with musical practices, giving readers a chance to learn dispositions otherwise acquired during upbringing and not necessarily directly taught.⁸⁴

Figure 1.5



Front cover to Karl M. Weber, *Wie wird man musikalisch? Eine Anleitung, sich musikalisches Verständnis anzueignen und über Musik richtig zu urteilen, ohne Musik studiert zu haben*. Leipzig: Modern-Medizinischen Verlag, 1908.

⁸³ “Nicht jedem indessen, dem sie Vergnügen gewährt, erlauben Zeit und Verhältnisse dieses Studium. Die Musik bildet aber die wichtigsten Unterhaltung in der Gesellschaft... Unmusikalisch sein erscheint da nahezu so wie ungebildet!” Karl M. Weber, *Wie wird man musikalisch? Eine Anleitung, sich musikalisches Verständnis anzueignen und über Musik richtig zu urteilen, ohne Musik studiert zu haben* (Leipzig: Modern-Medizinischen Verlag, 1908), pp. 1-2.

⁸⁴ Bourdieu argued that “the rational teaching of art provides substitutes for direct experience, it offers short cuts on the long path of familiarization, it makes possible practices which are the product of concepts and rules instead of springing from the supposed spontaneity of taste, thereby offering a solution to those who hope to make up for lost time.” Bourdieu, 68.

As critics began to perceive musical knowledge as a commodity purchasable to give the appearance of sophisticated taste, they developed strategies to assert their understandings of works as “deeper” and “truer” than popular understandings. The most striking example of such criticism in relation to “Träumerei” was Hans Pfitzner’s 1920 discussion of the piece in his volume *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz* [The New Aesthetic of Musical Impotence]. “Träumerei” was exceedingly popular and subject to sentimental interpretations. Pfitzner’s task was to get at the inscrutable aspects that made the piece truly great.

Against a melody like that of “Träumerei” one floats entirely in the air. One can only perceive, not demonstrate its quality...Either one understands it through feeling its rapture or not...In what follows then, I speak only to a small group of people, namely those who still have and want to have an appreciation for the quality of a melody, an appreciation that we have been driving out for decades with increasing success.⁸⁵

Pfitzner acknowledged his love for an overwhelmingly popular composition. His intuition for the greatness of “Träumerei” not only affirmed the piece’s quality, but also betokened his unique “musicality” and insight. Bourdieu described claims of privileged, “intuitive” knowledge of art as the “ideology of natural taste.” For Bourdieu, the presumption of a direct understanding

owed its plausibility and its efficacy to the fact that, like all the ideological strategies generated in the everyday class struggle, it *naturalizes* real differences, converting differences in the mode of acquisition of culture into differences of nature; it only recognizes as legitimate the relation to culture (or language) which least bears the visible marks of its genesis, which has nothing “academic,” “scholastic,” “bookish,” “affected,” or “studied” about it, but manifests by its ease and naturalness that true culture is nature—a new mystery of immaculate conception.⁸⁶

Pfitzner’s rapturous praise of “Träumerei” was never technical. He made no attempt to account for the work’s greatness with harmonic or motivic analysis, which might have made his discussion seem “academic.” Such analyses enabled appreciation of the work’s harmony and form, but would miss the “deeply personal,” “eminently singular” nature of the work and the “German,” “tender” and “intimate” qualities of its melody.⁸⁷ Instead, Pfitzner’s descriptions enveloped the work in a mystique, penetrable only to the initiated. What “Träumerei” “pronounces,” Pfitzner marveled,

is so deep and so clear, so mystical and so self-evident as is truth...Each of the small pieces in the *Kinderscenen* is a musical entity of subtle charm, poetry, musicality, and above all the most personal character; but who, of those who understand the primordial language of music, has not recognized, that “Träumerei” uniquely outdoes the other

⁸⁵ “Dagegen bei so einer Melodie schwebt man ganz in der Luft. Ihre Qualität kann man nur erkennen, nicht demonstrieren...man versteht sich in dem durch sie empfundenen Entzücken oder nicht...Was sie ausspricht, ist so tief und so klar, so mystisch und so selbstverständlich wie die Wahrheit. Das Folgende also spreche ich nur zu einer kleinen Gruppe Menschen, nämlich solchen, die noch Sinn für die Qualität einer Melodie haben und haben wollen—ein Sinn, der uns seit Jahrzehnten mit stark zunehmendem Erfolge ausgetrieben wird.” Hans Pfitzner, *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. II (Augsburg: Benno Filser, 1926), p. 188.

⁸⁶ Bourdieu, 68.

⁸⁷ “Ich kann von dem Adel der Tonsprache reden, von dem absolut Vorbildlosen, Tief-persönlichen, Ur-eigentümlichen der Melodie, dem Deutschen, Zarten, Traulichen derselben.” Pfitzner, 189.

pieces through the quality of its melody. For those who do not understand this, it is a little piece in Lied form with tonic, dominant, subdominant and related harmonies—without any deviation from the usual...No harmonic novelty, no rhythmic finesse...But for us who know, what a wonder of inspiration!⁸⁸

Indeed, short analyses of “Träumerei” as an instrumental piece in Lied form were common, particularly in pedagogical guides and introductory texts on music analysis.⁸⁹ Such formulaic analyses, however, could not capture Pfitzner’s unique relationship to the piece which, to use his vocabulary, could only be “perceived,” not “demonstrated.” For Pfitzner, analysis merely described the piece’s outward features but failed to capture its essence.

While some of Pfitzner’s readers likely identified with his perspective and saw in themselves the musical cognoscenti he described, the discussion of “Träumerei” did provoke disagreement, most pointedly expressed by Alban Berg. In his article “The Musical Impotence of Hans Pfitzner’s ‘New Aesthetics,’” Berg attempted to find objective reasons for the work’s excellence through score analysis, thereby countering Pfitzner’s claim that the greatness of the work could not be demonstrated.⁹⁰ Berg declared that

to see such words written by a composer of Pfitzner’s stature was for me, as for many other musicians, a bitter disappointment... This was not a lay person standing perplexed before a composition, but rather someone who is musically educated, who possesses the ability to understand the work on a theoretical level, and yet he says that theoretical knowledge is of no benefit if one does not understand the primordial language of music... In an otherwise learned book by Pfitzner, the erudition that we expect from his background fails to be delivered. And this occurs in such a nonchalant, inadequate and false way, that... a lay reader could form the opinion that this book was written by a philosopher or a politician or an educated feuilleton writer, but not a composer of Pfitzner’s stature. How could a person such as Pfitzner shrug off the melody of “Träumerei” by saying it “ascends through the triad?” The beauty of this melody lies less in its great number of motivic ideas than in the three other characteristics of beautiful melodies: namely, the exemplary concision of the individual motives, their rich

⁸⁸ “Jedes der kleinen Stücke dieses Opus ist ein musikalisches Gebilde von feinem Reiz, Poesie, Musikalität und vor allem persönlichster Eigenart; aber wer, der die Ursprache der Musik versteht, erkannte nicht, daß diese *Träumerei* ganz einzig hervorragend durch die Qualität der Melodie. Wer sie nicht versteht, für den ist’s ein Stückchen in Liedform mit Tonika, Dominante, Unterdominante und den nächstliegenden Tonarten—ohne irgendwelche Abweichung vom Üblichen, soweit es in den Elementen liegt; keine harmonische Neuheit, keine rhythmische Finesse...Aber für uns Wissende, welch ein Wunder der Eingebung!” Ibid., 189.

⁸⁹ See for example the 1903 article by G. Münzer where he writes of “Träumerei,” “auch hier die einfache, klare Form des Liedes. Auch hier eine Liedperiode von acht Takten, welche den ersten Teil des Stückes bildet. Es folgt im zweiten Teile eine neue achttaktige Periode, und auf diese eine Wiederholung der ersten. Also ein Lied ist diese ‘Träumerei’, und zwar in einer Gestalt, wie wir es besonders oft finden mit der Wiederholung des Anfanges am Schluß.” Münzer, “Übungen im Musikhören: Das Lied auf Instrumenten,” *Der Kunstwart* 16 (1903): 400-3. See also the analysis of “Träumerei” in Carl Pieper, *Musikalische Analyse: Eine musikalische Formenlehre in der Form von Musteranalysen klassischer Tonstücke* (Cologne: P.J. Tonger, 1925), pp. 46-7; and the “Träumerei” analysis in August Gerstmeier, *Die Lieder Schumanns: Zur Musik des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982), pp. 51-61.

⁹⁰ Alban Berg, “Die Musikalische Impotenz der ‘Neuen Ästhetik’ Hans Pfitzners,” *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2 (1920): 399-408.

relationships with each other, and the complexity with which the motivic material is handled.⁹¹

Berg offered an analysis that he felt went beyond Pfitzner's "emotion-based" reading by locating reasons for the work's aesthetic quality in its score.⁹² He also ridiculed the assertion that Pfitzner's understanding of the work was only shared by an initiated few, noting the piece's immense popularity from Schumann's time onward. In contrast, Berg offered a way of understanding "Träumerei" that required a background in score analysis to follow and thus actually had a more limited audience. Ultimately, he found Pfitzner's approach to "Träumerei" unsatisfying because of its perceived anti-intellectual insistence that the work's quality could not be proven through study, but rather had to be accepted on faith.⁹³

Berg claimed to have found reasons for the emotional power of "Träumerei" through motivic analysis, analysis that could provide rationales for the piece's perceived aesthetic quality. Score analysis would become an important tool in critical discussions of "Träumerei," providing a means to distinguish its quality from similarly popular and commercially successful salon works. Such analyses would help maintain the divide between "superficial" salon pieces and art music. In a 1905 article on trivial music, for example, Richard Hohenemser proposed that

⁹¹ "Solche Worte von einem Komponisten vom Range Pfitzners geschrieben zu sehen, mag—so wie für mich—für viele Musiker eine arge Enttäuschung gewesen sein... Womit also nicht etwa den Laien, die ratlos vor so einer Komposition stehen, sondern den musikalisch Gebildeten, die die Fähigkeit besitzen, sie theoretisch zu erkennen, ein für allemal gesagt wird, daß ihnen das gar nichts nützt, wenn sie die Ursprache der Musik nicht verstehen... In dem sich sonst so gelehrt geberdenden Buch Pfitzners bleibt uns aber gerade die Gelehrsamkeit, die uns allein von seinen Ansichten überzeugen konnte, versagt. Und dort, wo er sich ihrer bedient und theoretisiert, geschieht das so nonchalant und in einer so unzulänglichen, ja falschen Weise, daß—ich muß das eingangs Gesagte wiederholen—ein ahnungsloser Leser der Meinung sein konnte, das Buch eines Philosophen oder Politikers oder sonst eines Feuilletons schreibenden Gelehrten, nie aber das eines Komponisten vom Range Pfitzners vor sich zu haben. Denn wie kann ein solcher die Melodie der "Träumerei" mit den Worten: "durch den Dreiklang aufsteigend" abtun? Eine Melodie, deren Schönheit zwar weniger in den großen Anzahl der motivischen Einfälle liegt, als in den drei andern charakteristischen Merkmalen schöner Melodien. Nämlich der hervorragenden Prägnanz der einzelnen Motive, ihrer reichlichen Beziehungen zueinander und der Vielgestaltigkeit in der Anwendung des also gegebenen motivischen Materials." Ibid., 399-403.

⁹² "Gefühlsmäßige Argumente," *ibid.*, 401.

⁹³ Since the exchange, many have weighed in on the issue, including Alma Mahler who wrote in a letter to Berg's wife that "all the quotations from Pfitzner [in Berg's article] prove that [Pfitzner] is right. Music is inexplicable, above all melody... Does Alban *really* believe anything can be explained in this way—anything at all?" As quoted in Mosco Carner, "Pfitzner v. Berg or Inspiration v. Analysis," *The Musical Times* 118 (1977): 380. Carner also agrees with Pfitzner's views, concluding his article with the claim that "to try to discover by analysis the beauty of an inspiration is like searching for the beauty of a rose by tearing off its petals. In the controversy about *Einfall* [inspiration] and technical analysis I thus take Pfitzner's side. There is no rational way to explain, as Berg seemed to think there was, one of the supreme aims of artistic creation: how to achieve significant beauty." Carner, 380. For a discussion that is more sympathetic to Berg and describes Berg's interest in Schumann more generally, see Albrecht Dümmling, "Alban Berg und Robert Schumann: Die versteckte Verwandtschaft," *Musik & Bildung: Zeitschrift für Musikerziehung* 17 (1985): 861-6. See also the discussion by John Williamson who writes that "Berg saw an opportunity to counter with a defence of the analytical the view that melodic inspiration was some irreducible and mystical unknown; his contribution gave the debate its dignity." Williamson, *The Music of Hans Pfitzner* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 26, and Manuel Gervink, "Analyse als Interpretation: Was man nicht mehr hören kann, Alban Bergs Erwiderung auf Hans Pfitzners Bemerkungen zu Robert Schumanns *Träumerei*," *Musiktheorie* 19 (2004): 291-6. Finally, Theodor Adorno commented on Berg's analysis in his study *Berg: Der Meister des kleinsten Übergangs*. The commentary is quoted in Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, "Zur analytischen Interpretation der Musik Robert Schumanns," in *Schumanns Werke: Text und Interpretation*, ed. Akio Mayeda and Niemöller (Düsseldorf: Schott, 1985), p. 153.

“every educated musician and lover of music who has truly grown up with the works of our great classical and romantic composers knows intuitively... what is meant by trivial or vulgar music.”⁹⁴ Like Pfitzner, Hohenemser draws on the “ideology of natural taste” to establish the superior taste for music that he and like-minded readers possessed. Hohenemser’s primary goal in his article was to characterize the features that made a melody and its harmonization trivial and to enumerate objective features in the score that betokened triviality. “Now let us consider a real musical idea whose triviality is beyond doubt and let us attempt to identify precisely where the triviality lies. I am thinking of the notorious passage from Millöcker’s ‘Beggar Student.’ One can see immediately that the impression of triviality above all inheres in the resting points of the melody.”⁹⁵ Of course, Hohenemser’s logic was circular. He first described typical features of trivial music and then chose a piece of “self-evidently” trivial music to further exemplify and expand on those features. By locating evidence of triviality in the score, though, he was able to point to objective reasons for the low aesthetic value of his examples.

Once aesthetic inferiority was established, the music could be blamed for corrupting the tastes and morals of those who enjoyed and played it (or conversely, as indicative of their already depraved state). As one writer lamented about popular salon pieces, “a large portion of these works are not only of scant worth, they also damage the taste and attitudes of those who perform and listen to them.”⁹⁶ Certain notoriously popular works such as “Das Gebet einer Jungfrau” and “Les Cloches du Monastère” became the frequent targets of critical mudslinging.⁹⁷ Such “brilliant” works enabled performers to give a show of musicality that could only really fool the unmusical.⁹⁸ Indeed, playing such music categorized the performer for many critics as lacking musicality and proper education. As one commentator asserted,

“Tell me what you play and I’ll tell you how you play!” When I pose this question to a student, he answers me with what he thinks is most likely to impress me. If he names pieces like “The Maiden’s Prayer” or “The Monastery Bells” or some opera potpourri,

⁹⁴ “Jeder gebildete Musiker und Musikfreund, etwa jeder, der im wesentlichen mit den Werken unserer klassischen und romantischen Meister gross geworden ist, weiss gefühlsmässig, wenn ich mich so ausdrücken darf, was unter trivialer oder gemeiner Musik zu verstehen ist.” Richard Hohenemser, “Über das Triviale in der Musik,” *Die Musik* 5 (1905): 393.

⁹⁵ “Betrachten wir nun einen wirklichen musikalischen Gedanken, dessen Trivialität wohl über jeden Zweifel erhaben ist, und versuchen wir aufzuzeigen, worin sie in diesem bestimmten Falle besteht. Ich denke an die nur zu bekannte Stelle aus Millöckers ‘Bettelstudent.’ Man sieht sofort, dass der Eindruck des Trivialen vor allem an den Ruhepunkten dieser Melodie haftet.” *Ibid.*, 398.

⁹⁶ “Aber ein grosser Theil dieser Produkte ist nicht nur nichts werth, sondern schädigt auch den Geschmack und die Gesinnung derjenigen, welche sich damit beschäftigen.” C. Witting, “Salon-Musik,” *Der Klavier-Lehrer* 12 (1889): 229.

⁹⁷ As the author of one guide for piano teachers lamented, “Leider sind die materiellem Verhältnisse vieler Lehrer derart, dass er in Kreisen, wo ‘les cloches du monastère’ und ‘das Gebet der Jungfrau’ das Wort führen, an wirklichen Schund anknüpfen muss. Trifft es sich so, dann lasse er von dem Oberflächlichen das relative Beste spielen, Sorge dafür, dass der sentimentale Ausdruck nicht überwiege, und dass die Passagen so hübsch schattirt und lebensvoll vorgetragen werden, als es des Schülers Geschick überhaupt erlaubt. Inzwischen bemühe er sich, die Technik zu steigern und gehe von der schlechten Salonmusik zur guten über.” Emil Breslaur, *Methodik des Klavier-Unterrichts in Einzelaufsätzen für Lehrer und Lernende* (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1886), p. 226.

⁹⁸ See for example Hermann Wetzel, “Die Aufgaben der Musiksalons,” *Der Musiksalon* 5 (1913): 203; M. Lubowski, “Etymologisches zur ‘Musiksalon’-Frage,” *Der Musiksalon* 5 (1913): 100; and Hans Christoph Worbs, “Salonmusik,” in *Studien zur Trivialmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1967), p. 126.

then I take from what he has said, without having even heard his playing, that he is among those for whom the money spent on piano lessons has been a waste.⁹⁹

In contrast to these works were the popular pieces by canonical composers regarded by critics as aesthetically worthy. After criticizing the state of dilettantism and home music making, critics commonly turned to recommendations for improving the public's musical taste. Acquisition of works by "approved" composers like Schubert, Chopin, Mendelssohn and Schumann were frequently suggested, and the accompanying lists of "quality" works would often include *Kinderscenen* and "Träumerei."¹⁰⁰

Well into the twentieth century, musicologists writing about late nineteenth-century popular piano literature and home music making perpetuated such aesthetic and moral distinctions. In an article on *Salonmusik* published in the 1967 collection on *Trivialmusik* edited by Carl Dahlhaus, Hans Christoph Wobbs sought to distinguish "quality" commercially successful works from their equally popular yet aesthetically inferior counterparts. "Belonging to this repertoire of piano pieces were also pearls of the 'classic' piano literature like Robert Schumann's 'Träumerei' or Mendelssohn's 'Spring Song' which even into our [twentieth] century were still included in salon albums. However, such albums primarily carried actual *Salonmusik*, by composers like Theodor Oesten, Alexander Gorias, Anton de Kontski, [Louis] Lefébure-Wély or Thekla Badarzewska, whose 'Maiden's Prayer' went through seven editions in 1864 alone."¹⁰¹ Though performed in the same contexts by the same people as *Salonmusik*, "Träumerei" and Mendelssohn's "Frühlingslied" were carefully kept separate from that genre, safeguarding them from the connotations carried by lesser works and composers.

Indeed, a common musicological strategy for tackling the popularity of a piece like "Träumerei" was to describe how the work was imitated by less successful (non-canonical) composers who ultimately only produced "degenerate" counterparts. In a 1959 article on musical kitsch published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Hans Hollander maintained that

the "atmospheric" oleograph with gilded plaster frame produced with philistine deliberation fails to hint at the "poetic." An inexhaustible selection of sentimental, elegant salon pieces from the nineteenth century connected pseudo-poetry with shallow, virtuosic brilliance. Such works neglected proper feeling and didactic edification. The degenerate offspring of an art form that had its masters in Schubert, Schumann, Chopin,

⁹⁹ "In dieser Beziehung paßt für das Klavierspiel mitunter ganz genau der Saß: "Sage mir, was du spielst, und ich werde dir sagen, wie du spielst!" –Stelle ich diese Frage an einen Klavierschüler, so wird er mir dasjenige nennen, was nach seinem Standpunkte ihm am meisten zu imponieren scheint. Nennt er mir Stücke wie z.B. "das Gebet der Jungfrau" oder "die Klosterglocken" oder ein Opernpotpourri, so erkenne ich hieraus, ohne sein Spiel gehört zu haben, daß er ohne Weiteres denen beigezählt werden kann, für welche das Klavierunterrichtsgeld zum Fenster hinaus geworfen wurde." Hennes, 25.

¹⁰⁰ See for example, Witting, 231, and Konstantin Böckheler, "Die deutsche Hausmusik in der Gegenwart," *Daheim* 15 (1879): 835.

¹⁰¹ "Jenem Repertoire an Klavierstücken gehörten auch Perlen 'klassischer' Klavierliteratur wie Robert Schumanns *Träumerei* oder Mendelssohns *Frühlingslied* an, die immer wieder in die bis in unser Jahrhundert hinein publizierten Salonalbum Aufnahme fanden. Der Hauptanteil jedoch wurde von eigentlicher Salonmusik bestritten, von den Kompositionen Theodor Oestens oder Alexander Gorias', Anton de Kontskis, Lefébure-Wély's oder Thekla Bardaczewskas, deren *Gebet einer Jungfrau* allein im Jahre 1864 in sieben neuen Ausgaben auf den Markt kam." Wobbs, 125. Also quoted in Sabine Schutte, "Musik im Salon," in *Musik im 19. Jahrhundert: Aspekte bürgerlicher Musikkultur*, ed. Schutte and Johannes Hodek (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984), pp. 22-4.

Mendelssohn, and Liszt, diluted the distinguished originals that were its models and flooded the market with products such as...“A Maiden’s Prayer” and similar works.¹⁰²

Indeed, Badarzewska’s “Das Gebet einer Jungfrau” came to represent a kind of musicological antithesis to “Träumerei,” providing fodder for high-minded critics. The 1970 *Oxford Companion to Music* noted that “in [Badarzewska’s] brief lifetime she accomplished, perhaps, more than any composer who ever lived, for she provided the piano of absolutely every tasteless sentimental person in the so-called civilized world with a piece of music which that person, however unaccomplished in a dull technical sense, could play.”¹⁰³ *Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* from 1978 similarly noted of “Das Gebet einer Jungfrau” that it “unaccountably seized the imagination not only of inhibited virgins, but of sentimental amateur pianists all over the world. More than 100 editions of this unique piece of salon pianism, dripping with maudlin arpeggios, were published in the 19th century, and the thing was still widely sold even in the 20th century.”¹⁰⁴

Musicological studies of “trivial” music often attempted to prove triviality through score analyses and “Das Gebet einer Jungfrau” was a commonly analyzed piece in this context.¹⁰⁵ Such analysis, however, involved the same kind of circular logic as Hohenemser’s a half century earlier. For Hans Eggebrecht, “functional” music like *Salonmusik*, when judged by the standards of “autonomous” works, would inevitably be found to be aesthetically inadequate.

One sees the objective criteria for good and bad music and asks by means of music analysis about the value of music...In comparison with autonomous music, the judgment of functional works can only bring out negative qualities: epigone, cliché-filled, empty, superficial, false, kitschy, trivial—bad music. Music analysis will here quickly tire itself and seem superfluous, since it always gives the same results: eight bar periods, simple formal schemes, one-dimensional expressivity (for example, melody with accompaniment), expressive and virtuosic formulas, etc.—bad music. Crassly expressed, one can say that good *Salonmusik* must, by the standards of autonomous music, be judged as bad music.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² “Der ‘stimmungsvolle’ Öldruck im vergoldeten Gipsrahmen stimmt in seiner philiströsen Bedachtsamkeit, nur ja nichts an ‘Poesie.’ Gefühl oder didaktischer Erbauung zu unterlassen, mit dem sentimental eleganten Salonstück des 19. Jahrhunderts überein, das in unerschöpflicher Auswahl Pseudopoesie mit seichter Virtuosenbrillanz verbindet. Entartete Ableger einer Kunst, die in Schubert, Schumann, Chopin, Mendelssohn und Liszt ihre Meister hatte, verwässern sie die distinguierte Originalität jener Vorbilder und überschwemmen so den Markt mit Erzeugnissen wie Glöckchenspiel, Äolusharfe, Elfenreigen, Champagnerperlen, Verlorenes Glück, Gebet einer Jungfrau und ähnlichem.” Hans Hollander, “Gedanken über den musikalischen Kitsch,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 120 (1959): 45.

¹⁰³ As quoted by Schutte, 16.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰⁵ See for example the analysis provided by Egli, 90-3 and the analysis in Irmgard Keldany-Mohr, “*Unterhaltungsmusik*” als soziokulturelles Phänomen des 19. Jahrhunderts: *Untersuchung über den Einfluß der musikalischen Öffentlichkeit auf die Herausbildung eines neuen Musiktypes* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1977), pp. 104-6.

¹⁰⁶ “Sieht man hier die objektiven Kriterien für gut und schlecht in der Musik selbst gelegen und fragt mittels musikalischer Analyse nach dem Kunstwert, dem Informationsreichtum solcher Stücke, so stellt sich von selbst der Vergleich mit der freien Musik her, und das Urteil kann nicht anders als negativ ausfallen: epigonal, klischeehaft, leer, oberflächlich, verlogen, kitschig, trivial—schlechte Musik. Musikalische Analyse wird hier bald ermüden und sich überflüssig vorkommen, da sie immer dem gleichen Ergebnis gelangt: Achttaktperiodik, einfache Formschemata, eindimensionale Sinnhaltigkeit (z.B. als Melodie mit Begleitung), Abbild- Ausdrucks- und Virtuosenformeln usw. —schlechte Musik...Kraß ausgedrückt, kann somit gesagt werden: gute Salonmusik muß—

To adjust for the unsatisfying results obtained from score analysis of “functional” music, musicologists described a need to shift from aesthetic to sociological inquiry. The assumption, of course, was that properly “disinterested” appreciation of autonomous works was free of sociological interest. As Carl Dahlhaus maintained,

it is uncertain whether, and if so to what extent, the surprisingly elusive qualities that determine a “hit” deserve to be called aesthetic at all. If the nature of the subject and the effect it has on us force us to switch from aesthetic to psychological criteria, this unavoidable change of methodology merely confirms that there is a categorical distinction between these two realms, a distinction that implies a difference of quality in every aesthetic judgment we make.¹⁰⁷

Dahlhaus justifies the dichotomy on the grounds that nineteenth-century critics perceived trivial and art music to exist as separate categories, thus making the distinction a “historical fact.” This historical fact then shaped compositional strategy, patterns of consumption and performance practices. Yet a work like “Träumerei” clearly muddled such a neat, categorical distinction. As musicologists felt forced to acknowledge within the constraints of their categories, “non-trivial” music could succumb to “trivializing” modes of appreciation. Critics accounted for this phenomenon by describing triviality as sometimes residing in a score, sometimes constituted by modes of reception, and sometimes a mix of both. The musicologist Eva Eggli felt that

it is worth stressing how music can be turned into kitsch by its environment. [Ludwig] Giesz refers to the “pretty” Mozart that “is felicitously performed by candlelight and flower bouquets.” Here one could also think of Schumann’s “Träumerei” or Debussy’s “Clair de Lune” performed in lounges or Mendelssohn’s “Spring Song” heard in a café: in certain environments these pieces can be enjoyed in a kitschy way.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, Eggebrecht’s distinction between autonomous and functional works began to show cracks when he broached the reception of certain supposedly autonomous works. In order to maintain the dichotomy as a theoretical construct, Eggebrecht had to concede that certain kinds of reception could “functionalize” otherwise autonomous music.

In salon albums one always finds pieces of autonomous music, for example works by Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schumann. It may be that such pieces have been functionalized through their reception: one perceives, plays and listens to such music as if it were *Salonmusik*. More obviously, the overlapping of these repertoires is a sign of an overlap in the purpose, needs, beliefs, and demands that lie behind both types of music and here as there ultimately are the same. Schumann’s “Träumerei,” even though it

vom Maßstab der freien Musik her geurteilt—schlechte Musik sein.” Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, “Gute und schlechte Musik,” in *Was ist Musik? Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft*, ed. Richard Schaal (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen’s Verlag, 1985), p. 83.

¹⁰⁷ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 312.

¹⁰⁸ “An dieser Stelle sei noch auf die Verkitschung der Musik durch ihre Umgebung hingewiesen. Giesz erwähnt den ‘schönen’ Mozart, ‘bei Kerzenlicht und entsprechender Blumendekoration, aus “sinnigem” Anlass vorgetragen.’ Man konnte hier auch an die Träumerei von Schumann oder Debussys Clair de lune in der Bar, an Mendelssohns Frühlingslied im Kaffeehaus denken: diese Musik kann in einer bestimmten Ambiance kitschig genossen werden.” Eggli, 22.

achieves artistically what none of the many similarly or identically titled salon pieces achieve, fulfills needs that are not neatly separable from needs fulfilled by these other pieces, so that the divide between pure autonomy and pure usefulness begins to falter bringing good and bad “factually” closer together.¹⁰⁹

While trivializing modes of reception might “functionalize” autonomous works, no amount of serious listening could transform *Salonmusik* into a work of autonomous art. It was only through sociological study (understood as distinct from aesthetic analysis) that pieces from these two realms could find common ground. Dahlhaus provided an example of this in his commentary on an 1880 painting by Gustave Léonard de Jonghe entitled *Une mélodie de Schubert*. As Dahlhaus remarked,

the young lady at the piano, no doubt playing Schubert’s *Ave Maria* as though it were Gounod’s, seems almost an illustration of the thesis that kitsch resides less in art itself than in the listener’s relation to art. Almost anything can be transformed into kitsch by a distorted mode of perception, by falling into sentimental self-absorption instead of focusing on the object at hand. Still, many works probably invite being treated as kitsch, or indeed would be meaningless otherwise.¹¹⁰

“Träumerei,” like Schubert’s “Ave Maria,” was not trivial but remained at risk of being consumed in a trivializing way. Furthermore, Dahlhaus’s disdain for “playing Schubert’s *Ave Maria* as though it were Gounod’s” had a more than century-long tradition within “Träumerei” reception. The perception of “Träumerei” as a portrayal of longing, the often sentimentalized biographical discourse surrounding Schumann, and the sheer technical demands of the piece all shaped its performance practice. In the 1839 first edition of *Kinderszenen*, the tempo of “Träumerei” was designated as $J = 100$.¹¹¹ [See Example 1.1] A strict performance at that tempo would be something of a technical feat, taking approximately 1 minute and 17 seconds. (Including the first repeat, “Träumerei” contains 128 quarter note beats). Beginning in the late 1870s, Clara Schumann served as editor of Robert’s complete works for a new Breitkopf & Härtel edition and also issued an “instructive edition” for the piano pieces which included

¹⁰⁹ “In den Salonalben finden sich immer wieder auch Stücke der freien Musik, z.B. Sätze von Mozart und Beethoven, Mendelssohn und Schumann. Mag sein, daß solche Musikstücke rezeptiv umfunktionalisiert wurden: man faßte sie auf, spielte und hörte sie wie Salonmusik. Näher aber liegt es, daß die Repertoire-Überschneidung ein Indiz ist für eine Überschneidung der Zwecke und Bedürfnisse, Vorstellungen und Ansprüche, die ihren Grund hat in den ‘Fakten,’ die hinter den beiden Musikarten stehen und hier wie dort letztlich die gleichen sind. Schumanns *Träumerei*, obgleich sie künstlerisch von keinem der zahlreichen ähnlich oder gleich betitelten Salonstücken erreicht wird, erfüllt Bedürfnisse, die nicht säuberlich in ein hier und dort zu trennen sind, so daß die reine Freiheit ebenso zu wanken beginnt wie die pure Zwecklichkeit und gut und schlecht ‘faktisch’ zusammenrücken.” Eggebrecht, 84.

¹¹⁰ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 313.

¹¹¹ Much discussion surrounds whether the tempo indication was actually authorized by Schumann. For background on the issues relating to the tempo markings in the different editions of *Kinderszenen* as well as tempo issues relating to the performance of “Träumerei,” see Michael Struck, “Träumerei und zahl-lose Probleme: Zur leidigen Tempofrage in Robert Schumanns *Kinderszenen*,” in *Schumanniana nova: Festschrift Gerd Nauhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Bernhard R. Appel, Ute Bär, and Matthias Wendt (Germany: Sinzig, 2002), pp. 698-738, as well as Struck, “Schumann spielen...: Anmerkungen zur Wiedergabe der *Kinderszenen* im neuen Licht alter Metronomzahlen und zum Spiel der *Gesänge der Frühe*,” in *Der späte Schumann*, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2006), pp. 87-103, and Janina Klassen, *Clara Schumann: Musik und Öffentlichkeit* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), pp. 430-3.

recommended tempi, fingerings and additional dynamic markings.¹¹² The instructive edition first appeared in 1886 and here Clara Schumann changed the tempo indication for “Träumerei” to $\text{♩} = 80$. At $\text{♩} = 80$, a performance of “Träumerei” would take approximately 1 minute and 36 seconds. Yet it seems that during the following decades even Clara Schumann’s reduced tempo may not have reflected common interpretive practices. A 1910 article in the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt* noted that “today in every musical house one learns and loves the *Kinderszenen*, the most popular of which is ‘Träumerei.’ Unfortunately, the protraction of its tempo typically transforms the piece into an excruciating dream.”¹¹³

An examination of tempo indications in scores of “Träumerei” indicates a wide range of recommended tempi and thus differing conceptions among editors and arrangers of how best to deliver the piece’s expressive content. [See Appendix A] In a sampling of 150 scores of the work, 40 republished the original tempo indication of $\text{♩} = 100$ and an additional 15 indicated a tempo of $\text{♩} = 100$ modified by often incongruous directives such as *lentamente*, *larghetto*, *tranquillo*, *moderato*, *ziemlich langsam* or $\text{♩} = 100 (80)$. The slowest tempo indicated is $\text{♩} = 58$. A strict performance at that speed including the repeat would take approximately 2 minutes 12 seconds. One of the scores with this indication was the *Carl Fischer Professional Pianists Collection for Motion Picture Theaters, Vaudeville Houses, Theatrical Programs and Dramatic Purposes*.¹¹⁴ “Träumerei” was placed under the heading “folk, parting and sentimental songs and melodies.” The slow tempo indicated here clearly served to elicit sentimental responses.¹¹⁵

An examination of fifty recordings of “Träumerei” demonstrates that performances at the original tempo indication of $\text{♩} = 100$ do not exist, nor are there any performances that adhere to Clara’s reduced tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 80$.¹¹⁶ [See Appendix B] As Alfred Brendel remarked in regards to his own interpretation of the work, “I am the last person to want this piece to reel in pink-and-purple affectation, or collapse under the weight of its own ‘depth.’ But even Clara’s $\text{♩} =$

¹¹² On the differences between the instructive edition and the complete works edition, see Claudia de Vries, *Die Pianistin Clara Wieck-Schumann: Interpretation im Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Individualität* (Mainz: Schott, 1996), pp. 279-303; Klassen, 411-6; and Reich, 245-7.

¹¹³ “Heute lernt und liebt man die Kinderszenen in jedem musikalischen Haus; an populärsten ist die Träumerei geworden, die nur leider durch Verschleppung des Tempos meist in ein quälendes Alpdrücken verwandelt wird.” James Simon, “Robert Schumann als Klavierkomponist,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, June 8, 1910.

¹¹⁴ Leo Smith, *Carl Fischer Professional Pianist’s Collection for Motion Picture Theatres, Vaudeville Houses, Theatrical Programs and Dramatic Purposes* (New York: Carl Fischer, 1913).

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of the use of “Träumerei” in silent film, see Barham, “Recurring Dreams and Moving Images: The Cinematic Appropriation of Schumann’s Op. 15,” *19th-Century Music* 34 (2011): 271-301.

¹¹⁶ “Träumerei” has been a popular work for study among those interested in the psychology of music and how “expressivity” is manifested through timing microstructures. See for example, Bruno H. Repp, “Diversity and Commonality in Music Performance: An Analysis of Timing Microstructure in Schumann’s ‘Träumerei,’” *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 92 (1992): 2546-68; Bruno H. Repp, “A Constraint on the Expressive Timing of a Melodic Gesture: Evidence from Performance and Aesthetic Judgment,” *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 10 (1992): 221-41; Bruno H. Repp, “On Determining the Basic Tempo of an Expressive Music Performance,” *Psychology of Music* 22 (1994): 157-67; Bruno H. Repp, “Quantitative Effects of Global Tempo on Expressive Timing in Music Performance: Some Perceptual Evidence,” *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 13 (1995): 39-57; Bruno H. Repp, “Pedal Timing and Tempo in Expressive Piano Performance: A Preliminary Investigation,” *Psychology of Music* 24 (1996): 199-221; Bruno H. Repp, “The Aesthetic Quality of a Quantitatively Average Music Performance: Two Preliminary Experiments,” *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 14 (1997): 419-44; Amandine Penel and Carolyn Drake, “Sources of Timing Variations in Music Performance: A Psychological Segmentation Model,” *Psychological Research* 61 (1998): 12-32; Dorottya Fabian, et al., “A Baroque Träumerei: The Performance and Perception of two Violin Renditions,” *Musicology Australia* 32 (2010): 27-44.

80 sounds hurried and superficial. The cycle's centrepiece and heart deserves better."¹¹⁷ Three of the sampled performances are by the Clara Schumann pupils Fanny Davies (1861-1934), Adelina de Lara (1872-1961), and Carl Friedberg (1872-1955). In her study of Clara Schumann's performance practices, Claudia de Vries provides a chart of the approximate tempi taken by Davies and de Lara for each of the pieces in the *Kinderscenen* and compares them to the tempi indicated in Clara Schumann's instructive edition.¹¹⁸ Of de Lara's 1951 recording of the *Kinderscenen*, de Vries writes that "[she] allows herself only one small indulgence of feeling. This occurs in "Träumerei," in which she considerably extended the tempo from what Clara had indicated."¹¹⁹ De Lara takes the first repeat and performs "Träumerei" in approximately 2 minutes 24 seconds. The second Clara Schumann pupil, Davies, made a 1929 commercial recording of the complete *Kinderscenen*. Omitting the first repeat (which makes the piece 96 beats long), she performed "Träumerei" in 1 minute 46 seconds.¹²⁰ This is a relatively fast performance compared to the others sampled here, but still substantially slower than Clara's suggested tempo.¹²¹ Seemingly the final pupil of Clara Schumann to have recorded the *Kinderscenen* was Friedberg, who made a 1953 recording of the work for the Zodiac label. He included the repeat and performed "Träumerei" in about 2 minutes and 41 seconds.¹²²

Though earlier performances tend to be faster, there is no consistent trend between tempo and year of recording, due in part to the extremely varied backgrounds of the performers, their differing performance values and differing intended audiences.¹²³ The second fastest tempo, for example, was from a recording released in 2010 by Christian Zacharias at 2 minutes and 12 seconds, and the very oldest recording, a 1920 performance featuring Pablo Casals in a cello and piano arrangement of the work, was among the slowest at approximately 3 minutes and 23 seconds. In general, recordings that featured an arranged version of "Träumerei" tended to be slower than solo piano performances of the work.

Writing in 1981, the musicologists Károly Csipák and Reinhard Kapp argued that

the typical performance of "Träumerei" transforms the *moderato* character into an *andante* (approximately quarter note = 60) or even into an *adagio* character (quarter note = 40). This shift imparts to the piece those qualities essential to its popularity. Through this drawing out, the musical significance (for example the ascending motive) is largely

¹¹⁷ Brendel, 152. Brendel's remark is also cited in Struck, "Träumerei und zahl-lose Probleme," pp. 698-9.

¹¹⁸ De Vries also compares the tempi in the instructive edition to those indicated in the first edition and finds Clara Schumann placed slower tempo markings on eight of the thirteen movements in *Kinderscenen*. De Vries, 289-91.

¹¹⁹ "Adelina de Lara erlaubt sich eine kleine 'Gefühlsschwelgerei' nur in einem Fall, in der *Träumerei*, indem sie das Tempo bedeutend unter Claras Angabe ansetzt." De Vries, 292.

¹²⁰ De Vries notes the difficulty in assigning an accurate numerical tempo to Davies' overall performance due to its pervasive fluctuations in tempo. *Ibid.*, 291. This is an issue in many performances of "Träumerei."

¹²¹ Both the Davies and de Lara performances were reissued in the 1986 9-LP set "Pupils of Clara Schumann" on the Pearl label. For an informative review of the set see Samuel Lipman, "The Pupils of Clara Schumann and the Uses of Tradition," in *Music and More: Essays 1975-1991* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), pp. 130-40.

¹²² The recording was released in 2003 on the Marston label. See the Marston Records website, accessed 13 March 2013, http://www.marstonrecords.com/friedberg/friedberg_tracks.htm.

¹²³ Bruno Repp's 1992 article examines the timing of 28 performances of "Träumerei." Some of the recordings he used overlap with those included in Appendix B. Of his own sample of recordings he notes that "apart from the fact that the three fastest performances are all old recordings, there does not seem to be any systematic relationship between tempo and the time at which the recording was made, nor with pianists' gender, age at the time of recording, or country of origin." Repp, "Diversity and Commonality in Music Performance," 2551-2.

lost, and exchanged for a diluted musical pleasure... Perceived in such a way, “Träumerei” becomes a prototype for the passive mindset of the musical laity.¹²⁴

Their show of condescension has multiple roots. Slower performances neglected the supposed intentions of the work’s composer, they made the work more technically accessible, and they more readily invited biographical modes of listening and other “extramusical” associations, marring the work’s autonomy. As Bourdieu postulated, “liking the same things differently, liking different things, less obviously marked out for admiration—these are some of the strategies for outflanking, overtaking and displacing.”¹²⁵ Against the vast popularity of “Träumerei,” mid to late twentieth century musicology found itself on the defensive, needing to uphold the piece’s aesthetic value and deplore its popular meanings. In part, the discomfort was with an aspect of Romantic hermeneutics itself. Music heard to be laden with personal, private meanings could speak uniquely to the individual and could offer listeners and performers their own privileged entrance into works, experiences not readily explicable by technical expertise or reducible to score analysis.

During the late twentieth century, Schumann’s oeuvre and particularly his compositions for solo piano have been described as representing an aesthetics of nostalgia. Drawing upon the reflections of Ludwig Wittgenstein, Leon Botstein argued that

the work of Robert Schumann has come to be thought of as emblematic of a past discontinuous with our own. Schumann’s music is understood to represent a critique of the twentieth-century present. An idealized and vanished culture whose qualities we wish we retained reappears to us in the music...[a] nostalgia for a preindustrial world of *Hausmusik* (obliterated by a late nineteenth century...)—for a civilized *Biedermeier*, bourgeois, domestic life of culture readily associated with Schumann, particularly his piano and vocal music.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ “Die übliche Darstellung des Stücks verändert den Moderato-Charakter in einen Andante- (also etwa Viertel = 60) oder sogar Adagio-Charakter (Viertel = 40). Diese Verschiebung verleiht dem Stück jene Eigenschaft, die zur Popularität erforderlich ist. Durch die Zerdehnung geht der musikalische Sinn (beispielsweise der Aufstiegsfiguren) weitgehend verloren, dafür entstehen die für einen unkonzentrierten Musikgenuß, eben für Träumen, erforderlichen Leerstellen im musikalischen Verlauf. Die so aufgefaßte ‘Träumerei’ ist der Prototyp für die passive Haltung des musikalischen Laien. Das langsame Tempo hat indessen nicht nur gefühls-, sondern auch spieltechnische Ursachen. Mag Clara Wieck sich ‘als Virtuosin vergessen’ müssen, so ist doch Virtuosität vorausgesetzt, unter den ‘Leichten Stücken’ ist ausgerechnet die ‘Träumerei’ technisch das schwierigste. Aus der Not der Laintchnik wird die Tugend des unterstellten Charakters.” Csipák and Kapp, 441-2. Similarly, in his study of the tempo indications in *Kinderszenen*, Michael Struck writes that “Verhängnisvoll ist, daß die Langsamkeit zum Normalfall, zum Maßstab wurde. Sie dominiert weltweit, bleibt nahezu unhinterfragt, bildet den common sense von Interpreteten, Hören und Kritikern und führt zu der Schein-Gewißheit darüber, wie die *Träumerei* beschaffen sei... beharrt nahezu jeder einzelnen Künstler, Klavierpädagoge, Hörer und Rezensent darauf, erst das retardierte Tempo erschließe die wahren Tiefenschichten der *Träumerei*, während ein bewegtes Tempo zu Verarmung und Entwertung führe... Auch die *Träumerei* ist kein philosophisch vertiefter Traum, der sich in heutiger Aufführungspraxis dem Tiefschlaf annähert.” Struck, “*Träumerei* und zahl-lose Probleme,” 724, 727. See also Rudolph Steglich, *Robert Schumanns Kinderszenen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949), p. 21.

¹²⁵ Bourdieu, 282.

¹²⁶ Leon Botstein, “History, Rhetoric, and the Self: Robert Schumann and Music Making in German-Speaking Europe, 1800-1860,” in *Schumann and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 3.

At first, these ideas seem suggestive. After all, Schumann's piano music was taken to represent the idiosyncratic individual. His piano works and lieder in particular were heard to be highly personal and readily personalized statements. Yet a problem emerges in the view Botstein described. The piano music most commonly discussed in scholarly formats, performed in the concert hall and recorded is Schumann's early piano music. Published in 1848, the *Album für die Jugend* certainly embraces ideals of *Hausmusik*. Yet it is not the *Album für die Jugend* that has come to be perceived as portraying interiority, but rather works like the *Fantasie*, *Kreisleriana* and *Kinderscenen*.¹²⁷ A "nostalgia for a preindustrial world of *Hausmusik*" in reference to Schumann's piano music implies the central position of the *Kinderscenen* in such a conceptualization of Schumann's compositions. However, it was precisely an industrialized past, a late nineteenth-century surge in music publication, the greater demand for and availability of pianos, the public dissemination of Schumann's letters and the popularization of a romanticized biography that helped foster ubiquitous identification with his early works, a personal identification with Schumann, and a widespread perception that his music spoke uniquely to the individual. "Träumerei" was massively popular, yet appealed to a mass audience through its intimacy, through reveling in individual experience.¹²⁸

One of the clearest expressions of a late twentieth-century nostalgia associated with Schumann's piano music is expressed by Roland Barthes in his 1979 essay *Loving Schumann*. As Barthes reflects,

Schumann is very broadly a piano composer. Now the piano, as a social instrument (and every musical instrument, from the lute to the saxophone, implies an ideology), has undergone for a century a historical evolution of which Schumann is the victim. The human subject has changed: interiority, intimacy, solitude have lost their value, the individual has become increasingly gregarious, he wants collective, massive, often paroxysmal music, the expression of *us* rather than of *me*; yet Schumann is truly the musician of solitary intimacy, of the amorous and imprisoned soul that *speaks to itself*... This piano music is intimate.¹²⁹

Barthes longs for an individual centered musical and political world, and finds in Schumann a kind of authenticity of expression that comes from the deeply personal, painful and private. In his ruminations, Barthes seamlessly weaves together the biographical and the musical. He hears the sounds of solitary intimacy, discovering meanings that may be substantiated through music analysis but that derive legitimacy from knowledge of Schumann's biography. Barthes longs for the "lost" values of intimacy, but study of the popularization and dissemination of "Träumerei" demonstrates that consumers nearly a century before Barthes wrote his essay had very similar desires. "Loving Schumann...is in a way to assume a philosophy of Nostalgia...Loving Schumann, doing so in a certain fashion *against* the age, can only be a responsible way of loving...according to the injunctions of [one's] desire and not according to those of [one's]

¹²⁷ Botstein does interestingly point out that in 1941 Theodor Adorno orchestrated pieces from the *Album für die Jugend*, op. 68 "in order to underscore the modernist essence beneath the surface of Schumann's most accessible music." *Ibid.*, 4.

¹²⁸ Botstein writes that "the emotional relationship to music exploited by the mass-produced, sentimental piano works that made up the popular domestic repertoire around the turn of the century was an authentic extension of a compositional intent characteristic of Schumann's work. Salon music adopted his strategies in the reciprocal association between music, emotion, images, and ideas." *Ibid.*, 7.

¹²⁹ Italics in original. Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 293-4.

sociality.”¹³⁰ Barthes uses Schumann’s piano music as a way of distinguishing his musical tastes from mass desire, as a way of forming and understanding his uniqueness, his identity. The publication history of “Träumerei” similarly records a desire to enter into the life of a celebrated romantic genius, a popularized nostalgia for his experiences made possible through personal identification. “Träumerei” beckoned consumers by its seeming promise of intimacy, making it possible for people on a mass scale to create their own experiences of musical *Innigkeit*.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 298.

Chapter 2 “Träumerei” and Family Values

The 1944 German film *Träumerei* and the 1947 American film *Song of Love* both rearticulated the love story of Robert Schumann and Clara Wieck for movie going audiences. Though the films were produced in vastly different social and political contexts, there are striking similarities in the way they retold their stories. Both films begin and end with “Träumerei,” exploiting its popularity and widely understood biographical connotations.¹ Additionally, both films are focused primarily on Clara Schumann and offer interpretations of her life that prominently affirmed her roles as devoted wife and mother.² Because of its prior reception history, its popularity in home music making and the romance-tinged meanings it was commonly heard to convey, “Träumerei” could be made to function as a sonic symbol of Clara’s devotion both to Robert and their children. It thus helped articulate a particular historiographic moment in Clara Schumann biography and shape new understandings of her historical significance.

As several scholars have discussed, the historiography of Clara Schumann illustrates changing attitudes toward gender roles, domesticity, and women’s careers outside of the home. Beatrix Borchard observed that “whether judged positively or negatively, Clara Schumann reception continues to be shaped by the fact that...her life and work...are examined from the perspective of whether femininity, women’s social roles, and creativity are compatible or not...Perhaps it was the multiplicity of roles Clara Schumann played that made her into a projection-figure [for varied social and political values].”³ During the 1940s and 50s in particular, “Träumerei” served as an apt symbol for Clara’s devotion to Robert, aligning her

¹ For an overview of filmic uses of “Träumerei,” see Jeremy Barham, “Recurring Dreams and Moving Images: The Cinematic Appropriation of Schumann’s Op. 15, No. 7,” *19th-Century Music* 34 (2011): 271-301.

² See the discussion of Clara Schumann in these two films by Beatrix Borchard, “Von Robert zu Clara und zurück?” *Schumann-Studien* 9 (2008): 88-92.

³ “Ob positiv oder negativ beurteilt—die Clara-Schumann-Rezeption ist bis heute dadurch geprägt, daß Clara Schumann nicht nur als eine historische Person unter vielen gesehen wird, sondern daß ihr Leben und ihr Werk unter dem Aspekt betrachtet werden und werden konnte, ob Weiblichkeit, sozialen Frauenrolle und eigenständige Kreativität miteinander vereinbar sind oder nicht, wobei inzwischen von vornherein festzustehen scheint, daß sie eben miteinander vereinbar sind. Vielleicht war es vor allem ihre Rollenvielfalt, die gerade Clara Schumann und nicht Musikerinnen wie Louise Adolpha le Beau (1850-1927) oder Johanna Kinkel (1810-1858) zu so einer geeigneten Projektionsfigur gemacht hat.” Beatrix Borchard, “Wie hingen alle Blicke an mir: Bilder und Projektionen—Clara Schumann zum 100. Todestag,” in *Ich fahre in mein liebes Wien, Clara Schumann: Fakten, Bilder, Projektionen*, ed. Elena Ostleitner and Ursula Simek (Vienna: Löcker, 1996), pp. 80-1. In addition to this article, several other studies of Clara Schumann historiography have shaped my thinking in this chapter. Stephanie Twiehaus studies how six twentieth-century works thematizing Clara drew in different ways from Berthold Litzmann’s classic study. Twiehaus concludes that “Clara Schumann erweist sich vielmehr als Projektionsphänomen, als geeignetes Medium für persönliche Ansichten, Wünsche und Vorstellungen, für politischen und weltanschauliche Gedanken.” See Twiehaus, “Zwischen Zeitbild und Fiktion: Zum Clara-Schumann-Bild in der deutschen Belletristik,” in *Clara Schumann: Komponistin, Interpretin, Unternehmerin, Ikone*, ed. Peter Ackermann and Herbert Schneider (New York: Georg Olms, 1999), pp. 227-42, quotation from p. 242. See also Borchard, “Darf man das? Robert und Clara Schumann als Filmhelden,” in *Robert Schumann: Persönlichkeit, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. Helmut Loos (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder, 2011), pp. 483-94; Monica Steegmann, “Clara Schumann—eine Replik auf Rollenklischees und Vorurteile,” in *Schumanniana Nova: Festschrift Gerd Nauhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Bernhard R. Appel, Ute Bär, and Matthias Wendt (Sinzig: Studio, 2002), pp. 679-97; Borchard, “Von Robert zu Clara und zurück?,” 81-96, and Janina Klassen, *Clara Schumann: Musik und Öffentlichkeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), pp. 480-95.

biography with contemporaneous values regarding women's work and motherhood, while simultaneously promoting such values as timeless and universal.

Mid-twentieth-century popular portrayals of Clara Schumann placed a larger emphasis on her motherhood than had turn-of-the-twentieth-century sources, and it was this transition in her characterization that enabled "Träumerei" to provide such a seemingly appropriate symbol for her life at this time. During the early twentieth century, one of the most salient aspects of Clara Schumann's biography consistently described in more popular formats was her role in inspiring and popularizing her husband's compositions. In his 1904 book *The Loves of Great Composers*, Gustav Kobbé wrote of the Schumanns that from their first encounter, Clara was the "musical fairy" who inspired Robert's musical thoughts. Later, she "lent him her fingers" to aid his composing, becoming "as much the mother of his music as of his children." After he died, Clara "[wore] a crown of laurels and thorns—the laurels of a famous pianist, the thorns of her widowhood. It was a widowhood consecrated, as much as her wifehood had been, to her husband's genius." Throughout the chapter, Kobbé emphasized Clara's role as Robert's supporter. Her presence inspired his songs, her hands made his musical ideas audible, and her performances brought his works fame. It was her life's quest to "see to it that the fame of him whose name she bore remained undimmed."⁴

The idea that Clara Schumann's greatest contribution was the popularization of her husband's works was commonplace in lay publications on her life at this time. According to the memoirs of Carmen Sylva, the Queen of Romania who briefly studied piano with Clara Schumann, "it was ever the one theme—always of *him* she spoke!...Evidently her own life had come to an end for her when her husband died. If she lived on at all it was simply in the idea of contributing to raise a monument to his fame." Clara's faithfulness and commitment to Robert inspired Sylva, representing for her an ideal of womanhood. "For even greater and nobler than the *artist* was the *woman* I learnt to know," Sylva reverently reminisced.⁵

Across diverse genres accessible to general audiences, idealized conceptions of womanhood guided the particular aspects of Clara Schumann's biography that authors selected for discussion. George P. Upton in his study *Woman in Music*, originally published in 1880, described at length the particular qualities women brought to the creation and interpretation of music. Viewing "woman" as "receptive rather than creative," Upton delved into "the influence of woman in encouraging the great composers to labor and inspiring them in the production of their finest works." Puzzling over why women, given their "emotional" nature, lacked success as

⁴ Gustav Kobbé, *The Loves of Great Composers* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1905), pp. 93-111.

⁵ Italics in original. Carmen Sylva, *From Memory's Shrine: The Reminiscences of Carmen Sylva*, trans. Edith Hopkirk (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott, 1911), pp. 23-4. The original was published in German under the title *Mein Penatenwinkel* in 1908. Carmen Sylva was the pen name of Elisabeth zu Wied (1843-1916), who married Karl Eitel Friedrich von Hohenzollern in 1869. In 1864 Wied was residing in St. Petersburg where she had the opportunity to study piano with Clara Schumann, who was there visiting for several months. According to Wied, they sometimes discussed Clara's performances, childhood, and marriage during these lessons. For further background information, see Natalie Stackelberg, *The Life of Carmen Sylva (Queen of Roumania)*, trans. Baroness Deichmann (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1890). For a further example of this type of characterization of Clara Schumann see the report by H. M. Walbrook, who wrote that "most of those who ever met Madame Schumann, or heard her play, caught something of the same feeling—a kind of reverential enthusiasm, in which admiration of her brilliant gifts as a pianist was blended with honour for the name she bore, and for the long devotion of which that name was the epitome...Thanks largely to her, the genius of Schumann, once recognized only by herself and a few others, is now acclaimed all the world over. That fact, I think, is her noblest monument." "Some Schumann Memories: A Conversation with Miss Fanny Davies," *The Pall Magazine* (1909/1910): 62-3, 66.

creators, he concluded that the “fierce struggles and overwhelming discouragements, such pitiless storms of fate and cruel assaults of poverty, in the pursuit of art, woman is not calculated to endure.” Turning to individual case studies, Upton concurred with other contemporaneous writers in feeling that

[Clara] shared in [Robert’s] triumphs while he was living, and, from the day of his sad and untimely death until now, she has revealed the beauty of his music to the world. If he were a creator by the divine right of genius, by the same divine right she has been the interpreter... His name, his fame, his memory, she has preserved, and made still more beautiful by her own genius, and by the force and influence of her noble womanhood. Clara Schumann has kept her husband’s laurels green, has placed wreaths of immortelles upon his grave, and has embalmed his name in an immortal love which had its birth in music, and which still knows no more beautiful or tender expression than in the revelation of that music to the world.⁶

Further highlighting the pervasive turn-of-the-century understanding of Clara’s significance in relation to the support she provided Robert, contemporaneous dictionaries and encyclopedias frequently placed the entry for “Robert Schumann” before the entry for “Clara Schumann,” even though such an ordering is not alphabetical. (A hyphenated last name for Clara, which is sometimes seen in more recent scholarship, was not common at this time and was not used in these works).⁷ Of ten turn-of-the-century dictionaries examined, seven listed the entry for Clara Schumann after Robert Schumann.⁸ As Clara’s accomplishments were evaluated in the context of their benefit to Robert, her biographical information served in part to elaborate on Robert’s and thus editors found it appropriate to place her information after his.

While turn-of-the-century sources particularly valued Clara’s roles as supportive wife and performer of her husband’s works, they rarely emphasized domesticity in terms of motherhood

⁶ George P. Upton, *Woman in Music* (London: Stanley Paul, 1909), pp. 15-6, 23-7, 125-6. Additionally, Twiehaus discusses the 1910 biography of Clara Schumann by Wilhelm Kleefeld, which refers to her as a “reproduzierende Künstlerin.” Twiehaus, 230.

⁷ Borchard discusses the many names that have been used to refer to Clara Schumann during her life and after, writing that “der Name Clara Schumann-Wieck ist...eine Konstruktion, ein künstlicher Autorename aus heutiger Sicht. Er kann hier als Ausdruck eines Konflikts stehen zwischen der Bereitschaft, die ihr von Schumann und der Gesellschaft zugewiesenen Frauenrollen zu leben, und eigenen, diesen Rollen zuwiderlaufenden Bedürfnissen.” Borchard, 90. Borchard is particularly interested in the many kinds of roles through which Clara’s life has been understood. A prefatory page following the table of contents in her biographical study of Clara includes the following list: “CLARA WIECK, Tochter, Schwester, Schülerin, Stieftochter, Wunderkind, Stiefschwester, Komponistin, Kollegin, Freundin, Virtuosin, Verlobte, Ehefrau, Pianistin, Mutter, Witwe, Interpretin, Geliebte, Lehrerin, Herausgeberin, Pianistin, CLARA SCHUMANN.” See Beatrix Borchard, *Clara Schumann: Ihr Leben* (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1991), n.p.

⁸ The three dictionaries that list Clara’s entry before Robert’s are: John Denison Champlin, *Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians, Vol. III* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1890), pp. 344-6; W.L. Hubbard, *Musical Biographies* (New York: Irving Squire, 1910), pp. 293-5; and Otto Ebel, *Handbook of Music* (New York: F.H. Chandler, 1902), pp.182-3. The following encyclopedias list Robert’s entry before Clara’s: Hermann Mendel, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexicon: Eine Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften* (Berlin: Robert Oppenheim, 1880), pp. 184-6; James D. Brown, *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (London: Alexander Gardner, 1886), pp. 552-3; Theodore Baker, *A Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1900), pp. 534-5; George Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. III* (London: Macmillan, 1883), pp. 420-4; Rupert Hughes, *Music Lovers’ Cyclopedia* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1912), pp. 726-31; Hugo Riemann, *Musik-Lexicon* (Leipzig: Bibliographischen Instituts, 1882), pp. 834-8; W.J. Baltzell, *Baltzell’s Dictionary of Musicians* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1917), n.p.

or her work in the home. By the 1940s, however, Clara's role as a mother would gain prominence in discussions of her life and this new focus on domesticity would make "Träumerei," with its connotations of marital happiness and future children, an appropriate symbol for her life. The increased mid-century interest in Clara as a maternal figure, which occurred in Germany and the United States for very different reasons, resulted in somewhat similar reshaping of her biography in both countries, aligning accounts of her life with then prevalent feminine ideals.

The 1944 film *Träumerei* offered German audiences an opportunity to reimagine the lives of Robert and Clara Schumann. As the subject of a major production film during the Nazi regime, the life of Robert Schumann might seem to be an odd choice. Robert, after all, had died of an illness that in the 1930s and 40s was thought most likely to have been schizophrenia or manic depressive disorder.⁹ Meanwhile the National Socialist government, obsessed with notions of "racial hygiene," asserted that hereditary mental illnesses were causing the genetic degeneration of German society. The 1933 Law for the Prevention of Progeny with Hereditary Diseases authorized the state to sterilize those diagnosed with schizophrenia, manic-depressive illness, and alcoholism, among other categories.¹⁰ While Robert's biography posed problems for Nazi propaganda, Clara could be assimilated more readily into a narrative aligned with Nazi ideals. Tellingly then, *Träumerei* is much more a film about Clara than Robert, an aspect of the film applauded by contemporary critics.¹¹ By 1944, with most able-bodied, non-exempt men serving on the war front, a majority of the intended audience for the film would have been women.¹² *Träumerei* offered audiences a Clara Schumann imbued with the feminine and maternal values the Nazi regime had been avidly promoting for over a decade. She was selflessly dedicated to her husband and children and brought pride to her country through her performances.¹³ Robert's mental illness as portrayed in the film became an opportunity for Clara to demonstrate her strength of resolve to provide for her children while bringing Robert's music to new audiences. She could also symbolically represent the many wives who had lost or would lose their husbands during the war.¹⁴ The portrayal of her strength could be didactic and inspirational, while her

⁹ For a detailed discussion of the history of Robert Schumann's psychiatric diagnoses, including his diagnoses during the Nazi era, see chapter 3. Guido Heldt, in his study of National Socialist films depicting composers, concludes that the "composer 'biopics' share one overarching characteristic: they show an inordinate interest in weakness and failure [of the male composers they depict]... Unusually for Nazi genius plots, the films not only have a weakness for failing men, but also for strong women." As will be discussed, *Träumerei* fits this characterization well. See Heldt, "Hardly Heroes: Composers as a Subject in National Socialist Cinema," in *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny, 1933-1945*, ed. Michael H. Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2003), pp. 122, 126.

¹⁰ Michael Burleigh, *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 136.

¹¹ "Es ist das unbestreitbare Verdienst des Ufa-Films 'Träumerei,' daß er uns die Gestalt Clara Schumanns in einem wohlgelungenen Porträt sichtbar macht." Karl Laux, "Die Strahlende: Zu Clara Schumanns 125. Geburtstag Nebst einigen Bemerkungen zum Schumann-Film," *Robert Schumann Blätter* 2 (1944): 15.

¹² On the makeup of film audiences during the later parts of WWII, see Angela Vaupel, *Frauen im NS-Film, Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Spielfilms* (Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2005), p. 89. *Träumerei*, however, seems not to have been widely shown due to bombings at the time of its premiere. See Matthias Wendt, "Albtraum zwischen Trümmern. Der erste Schumannfilm *Träumerei* in Zwickau uraufgeführt, in Düsseldorf verboten," in *Schumann im 20. Jahrhundert: Forschung, Interpretation, Rezeption*, ed. Ute Bär (Sinzig: Studio Verlag, 2008), p. 310.

¹³ Borchard, "Wie hingen alle Blicke an mir," 78.

¹⁴ Some four million German men died in battle. See Lisa Pine, *Hitler's "National Community": Society and Culture in Nazi Germany* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2007), p. 79.

characterization in the film could help to normalize and universalize National Socialist constructions of women and motherhood.

Clara Schumann gave birth to eight children (in addition to two seeming miscarriages) during the fourteen years of her marriage.¹⁵ She and Robert had expressed excitement during her first several pregnancies. After suspecting her fifth pregnancy, however, she confided her uncertainties in her diary.

What will become of my work? Yet Robert says “children are blessings” and he is right, because without children there is indeed no happiness, and so I have decided to face the difficult time that is coming as cheerfully as possible. Whether it will always be like this, I don’t know.¹⁶

As Clara Schumann’s biographer Nancy B. Reich has observed, Robert’s and Clara’s marriage diary conveyed a progression in tone regarding the discovery of new pregnancies, from “great blessing,” to “Clara’s new fear” and “frightening expectations.”¹⁷ After Robert’s admission to Eendenich, Clara’s concertizing caused her to rely heavily on boarding schools, relatives and nannies for the care of her children. Prior to the 1980s, however, the relative paucity of published primary sources relating to Clara Schumann made her life easily malleable for the retelling.¹⁸

As a devoted wife and mother to eight children, Clara Schumann became an appealing figure for use in Nazi propaganda. The Minister of Culture, Joseph Goebbels, proclaimed for example that “a woman’s primary, rightful, and appropriate place is in the family, and the most wonderful task that she can perform is to present her country and people with children.”¹⁹ Soon after the Nazi regime came to power, policies aimed at increasing Germany’s birth rate were enacted. Efforts to increase the prestige of motherhood included the establishment of Mother’s Day as a national holiday in 1934.²⁰ Beginning in 1939, the “Cross of Honor of the German Mother” was awarded to mothers of large families. Bronze crosses were given to mothers of four children, silver to those of six, and gold to those who had eight or more children. Hitler was named the godfather for the tenth child born to a “worthy” family.²¹ A system of financial incentives was also created to encourage childbearing. Begun in 1933, marriage loans were

¹⁵ Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. xxii-xxiii.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁸ Twiehaus discusses the availability of source material regarding Clara Schumann’s life. During the 1930s and 40s, the major study of her life available to the public was Litzmann’s three volume biography published between 1902-8. This publication contained excerpts from Clara’s letters and diaries. Twiehaus, 227. See also David Ferris, “The Fictional Lives of the Schumanns,” in *Rethinking Schumann*, ed. Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 359-60, and Klassen, 495.

¹⁹ As quoted by Burleigh, 242.

²⁰ This followed the United States, which had made Mother’s Day a national holiday in 1907. Celebrations of Mother’s Day began in Germany during the 1920s, helped by the efforts of the floral industry. Only in 1934 did the holiday gain governmental recognition. See Matthew Stibbe, *Women in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 41-2.

²¹ “Das Ehrenkreuz der deutschen Mutter.” For a description of the cross published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* in 1938, see “The Honor Cross of the German Mother” in George L. Mosse, *Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural and Social Life in the Third Reich*, trans. Salvator Attanasio (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), pp. 45-6. See also the information regarding the crosses along with an image of the cross available on the “German History in Documents and Images” website of the German Historical Institute, accessed 28 February 2013, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=2044.

offered to “Aryan” couples on the condition that the woman quit paid employment once married. After the birth of each child, 25% of the loan would be canceled.²²

Within a context that forcefully celebrated domesticity and motherhood, representations of Clara Schumann emerged that stressed her role in the home and the selfless sacrifices she made for her husband. In a 1936 article on Clara Schumann in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, musicologist Erich Valentin wrote that Clara “was a wife and a mother. That she was both is key to giving us insight into her artistic persona... It is not too much to speak of Clara Schumann as a heroine, who did not seek personal profit, indeed never spoke of it, but rather saw self-abnegation as her holy duty.”²³ Similarly, the author of a 1942 essay entitled “Klara Schumann als Mutter” that appeared in the magazine *Nationalsozialistische Mädchenerziehung*, marveled at Clara’s strength. “The path towards her marriage was a bitter ordeal. Had she not been a ‘strong girl,’ as Robert called her, she would not have succeeded in the end.”²⁴ Clara’s fighting spirit and determination to triumph over obstacles were evident from a young age. Furthermore, as a wife and mother, Clara enabled Robert to compose by shielding him from the mundane tasks that came with caring for children and a home.

She held the children back from her hard working husband, shielding him from the household racket and cries of children and from all of the small but exhausting difficulties that come with caring for and raising small ones, which she overcame alone... It is one of the great wonders of her motherhood... that she made the distant father [Robert] always seem present, since it was impossible to think of her without him. She lived in him and for him, she fought for him.²⁵

Clara cared for the “small” world of the home so that Robert could serve the bigger outside world and bring renown to his country. The language used to describe Clara’s roles in the home had been firmly established by the Nazi rhetoric of the preceding decade. As Adolph Hitler had expressed in a 1934 address to the National Socialist Women’s Organization,

²² Jill Stephenson, “Women, Motherhood and the Family in the Third Reich,” in *Confronting the Nazi Past: New Debates on Modern German History*, ed. Michael Burleigh (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), p. 173.

²³ “Sie war Frau und Mutter. Daß sie beides war, gibt uns den Schlüssel zur Erkenntnis ihrer künstlerischen Persönlichkeit... Es ist nicht zuviel gesagt, wenn wir von einem Heldentum dieser Frau sprechen, die aus ihrer Selbstaufgabe sich kein Verdienst machen wollte, nie davon sprach, sondern eben darin einzig ihre heilige Pflicht sah.” Erich Valentin, “Clara Schumann: Gedenkblatt zur 40. Wiederkehr ihres Todestages,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 103 (1936): 547. On Valentin’s National Socialist sympathies, see Ernst Klee, *Das Kulturlexicon zum Dritten Reich: wer war was vor und nach 1945* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 2007), p. 628, and Pamela Maxine Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler’s Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 48, 155.

²⁴ “Der Weg in ihre Ehe war ein bitterer Leidensweg. Wäre sie nicht ein ‘starkes Mädchen’ gewesen, wie der Verlobte sie nennt, sie wäre nicht an sein Ende gelangt.” Grete Sehlmeier, “Klara Schumann als Mutter,” *Nationalsozialistische Mädchenerziehung* 8 (1942): 180.

²⁵ “Sie hatte die Kinder von dem schwer arbeitenden Manne entfernt gehalten, hatte ihn vor Haushaltslärm und Kindergeschrei geschützt, alle die kleinen und doch so aufreibenden Schwierigkeiten bei der Pflege und Erziehung der Kleinen hatte sie ganz allein überwinden müssen... Es gehört zu den größten Wundern ihres Muttertums, es mutet immer wieder wie die Enthüllung eines Geheimnisses an, daß der ferne Vater immer gegenwärtig blieb. Denn die Mutter war ohne ihn nicht zu denken. Sie lebte in ihm und für ihn, sie kämpfte für ihn.” *Ibid.*, 180-1. For further analysis of Clara Schumann historiography during the Nazi period, see the discussions by Twiehaus and Klassen, both of which describe the 1939 Clara Schumann biography by Karla Höcker. Twiehaus, 230-3, Klassen, 489-91.

if we say that the world of the man is the state...his struggle on behalf of the community, we could then perhaps say that the world of the woman is a smaller world. For her world is her husband, her family, her children and her home. But where would the big world be if no one wanted to look after the small world? How could the big world continue to exist, if there was no one to make the task of caring for the small world the centre of their lives? No, the big world rests upon this small world! The big world cannot survive if the small world is not secure.²⁶

Not only were depictions of Clara Schumann that stressed domesticity disseminated through musicological and popular writings, biographical information included in scores from this time also helped promote Nazi gender roles. The 1940 *Hausmusik* publication “Im glücklichsten Stunden,” for example, was a collection of short piano works by Robert, largely derived from the *Album für die Jugend*, works that had “originated in the rare partnership with Clara Schumann and ought to serve in the enrichment and the internalization of home life.”²⁷ The preface goes on to quote from the Schumanns’ love letters, noting that “the life path of these two destined for each other was not strewn with roses. Rather, their struggle was difficult and hard...For Clara, marriage naturally increased her womanly duties. She bestowed her husband with a household and children, which absorbed much of her energy. Also, consideration for the creative work of her husband often required that she abstain from her own practicing.”²⁸ So described, Clara’s struggles and sacrifices were made relevant to consumers of *Hausmusik* in 1940. Clara’s life could be mapped onto the experiences of German women caring for home and family in the context of war.

The film *Träumerei* was publicly premiered to great fanfare in Robert’s birth city of Zwickau on May 3, 1944.²⁹ *Träumerei* simultaneously presented Clara as a “strong” woman able to fight through devastating hardship, a devoted wife, and a loving mother.³⁰ Nazi ideals regarding women were thus made to seem continuous with nineteenth-century ideals, to run seamlessly backwards as timeless and natural. The film opens with an image of Clara’s face framed by a floral border, while an orchestral arrangement of “Träumerei” is played. From the very start, the approximately nineteen year old Clara is shown placing love above a performance

²⁶ As quoted and translated in Tim Mason, “Women in Germany, 1925-1940: Family, Welfare, and Work,” *History Workshop Journal* 1 (1976): 74.

²⁷ “Sie sind entstanden in der seltenen Lebensgemeinschaft mit Clara Schumann und sollten der Bereicherung und Verinnerlichung des häuslichen Lebens dienen.” Robert Schumann, *In glücklichsten Stunden für das Klavier geschrieben*, ed. Otto v. Irmner (Cologne: Ernst Bisping, 1940), n.p.

²⁸ “Der Lebensweg dieser beiden, vom Schicksal füreinander bestimmten Menschen war nicht mit Rosen bestreut, sondern schwer und hart war der Kampf...Für Clara war natürlich der frauliche Pflichtenkreis mit der Ehe sehr vergrößert worden. Haushalt und Kinder, die sie ihrem Mann schenkte, nehmen einen großen Teil ihrer Kraft in Anspruch. Auch verlangte die Rücksicht auf die Schöpferfähigkeit ihres Mannes oft die Entsagung des eigenen Übens auf dem Klavier.” Robert Schumann, *In glücklichsten Stunden für das Klavier geschrieben*, n.p. Similarly, see the biography of Clara Schumann included in the 1939 anthology of German women by Lydia Ganzer-Gottschewski, *Das deutsche Frauenantlitz: Bildnisse aus allen Jahrhunderten deutschen Lebens* (Munich: J.F. Lehmann, 1939), p. 64.

²⁹ For a discussion of the premiere, see Wendt, “Albtraum zwischen Trümmern.”

³⁰ In her study of female film protagonists during the Nazi era, Antje Ascheid discusses the seeming tension between Nazi values regarding domesticity and the central roles and strong characters often played by women in Nazi films. Though she does not discuss *Träumerei* in particular, her analysis is useful for contextualizing the film. See Ascheid, *Hitler’s Heroines: Stardom and Womanhood in Nazi Cinema* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), pp. 1-41. On Clara’s portrayal as a “strong” and “courageous” woman in the film, see Klassen, 490-1.

career. When her father intones that she “must not think of anyone else, only of art,” her response is “and what of my heart?” Later Clara speaks with Robert.

Clara: Only my hands are traveling to Paris. My heart remains here with you.
Robert: I will be waiting for you. I composed something, a small piece. I wanted to give it to you as a present. But now that the time is here, it seems to me quite silly and perhaps it is really terrible.
Clara: Can I play it at my concerts in Paris?
Robert: For heaven’s sake!
Clara: Oh Robert! [she kisses him]³¹

The piece is entitled “Träumerei.” Throughout the film, Clara displays her “strength” in defending her decision to follow her “heart” rather than focus solely on a performance career. As she passionately explains to her father, “if it is God’s will that I become Robert Schumann’s wife, then that would bring me greater happiness than if I was Europe’s most celebrated performer. For women, love is more important than art. And I love Robert.”³² In fact, Clara is forced to justify her choice to marry and stay at home with her children several times during the film. After the birth of her fifth child, the composer Franz Liszt comes to visit Clara and attempts to convince her to return to the stage. Clara explains that it has been a long time since she has performed publicly.

Franz: Are you happy with things the way they are?
Clara: Yes, certainly.
Franz: Then you don’t want to play anymore?
Clara: I play every day for my husband and for my children.³³

Indefatigable, Franz continues his attempt to persuade Clara to return to the stage.

Clara: My dear friend. You know Clara Wieck, but Clara Schumann you do not know. She belongs to her husband.
Franz: Are we really helped by you staying inside all day and baking apple strudel?
Clara: Won’t you think of Robert?
Franz: I’m thinking about you. You must again embrace who you are, a great artist.³⁴

³¹ Friedrich Wieck: Du musst an niemand anderen denken, nur an die Kunst. Clara: Und das Herz?

Clara: Nur meine Hände reisen nach Paris. Mein Herz bleibt hier, bei dir. Robert: Ich warte auf dich...Ich habe etwas komponiert. Ein kleines Stück. Ich wollte es zu beschenken. Aber jetzt als es gegeben wird komme es mir ganz dumm und vielleicht...wenn ist es wirklich schlecht. Clara: Kann ich es in Paris auf meine Konzerte spielen? Robert: Um Gottes Willen. Clara: Ach Robert!” Dialogue from *Träumerei*, Screenplay by Herbert Witt and Harald Braun, directed by Harald Braun, Universum Film, 1944.

³² Clara: Wenn das Schicksal ist mir von Gott Robert Schumanns Frau zu werden so wäre das ein grösseres Glück für mich als wenn ich Europas erste Künstlerin. Für eine Frau bedeutet Liebe mehr als Kunst. Und ich liebe Robert. Dialogue from *Träumerei*.

³³ Franz: Sie sind glücklich? Clara: Ja, gewiss. Franz: Sie wollen nie mehr spielen? Clara: Ich spiele jeden Tag, für meinen Mann, für meine Kinder. Dialogue from *Träumerei*.

³⁴ Clara: Nein, liebe Freunde. Sie kennen Clara Wieck...aber Clara Schumann kennen Sie nicht. Sie gehört ihrem Mann. Franz: Helfen wir wirklich dadurch dass Sie darein sitzen und Apfelstrudel backen? Clara: Sie denken nicht an Robert? Franz: Ich denke an Sie. Sie müssen wieder werden was sie sind, eine grosse Künstlerin. Dialogue from

If presented primarily as a performing artist, Clara might have seemed removed from the concerns of the women who would have been watching her on the screen. Through scenes of her baking and caring for her children, she was shown to be, like them, a wife and a mother. As one critic wrote in a 1944 article on Clara's life occasioned by the film, "when the two lovers finally are able to belong to each other, Clara Schumann made the great womanly sacrifice that gifted women again and again must make, the sacrifice of stepping back to enable the mission of their husbands, to whom they have dedicated their life."³⁵ A second film reviewer marveled that

in Clara Schumann's character and actions we experience a reflection of the Schumannian spirit. This ideal, genial wife lives her life in the service of the great genius of her husband. This much celebrated artist sacrificed her own artistic happiness and fame for the sake of her husband's happiness. She carried his grief, renounced her own ambitions and finally became a priestess in the service of the art of her late husband.³⁶

The representation of Clara was one that would likely have seemed familiar after years of propaganda touting a home filled with children and the important nation building work of the wife and mother.

"Träumerei" is used three times during the film.³⁷ It is the piece Robert presents Clara as a love token, it is music Robert hallucinates about while in the mental asylum, and finally it is the piece performed at the end of the film and dedicated to Robert's memory by a grey-haired Clara Schumann. An orchestral version of "Träumerei" also accompanies the film's credits. Not only would most viewers have easily recognized the piece, likely many had themselves played it. After watching the film, playing through "Träumerei" could have conjured thoughts of Clara's story and images of her "heroism" and "strength." "Träumerei" was already laden with connotations of the Schumann love story. Domesticity and motherhood were qualities easily overlaid onto readings of the piece. Through the film and other contemporary portrayals of Clara, "Träumerei" was given subtly new meanings. It was a piece written for Clara that encapsulated her "destiny," her desire to marry, her happy family life surrounded by children, and her unflinching devotion to her husband following his death.³⁸

The meanings "Träumerei" accrued during World War II continued to be expressed in popular writings on the Schumanns published in post-war Germany. In his 1948 collection of

Träumerei. She ultimately returns to the stage but only from the need to help Robert and the family financially. See Borchard, "Von Robert zu Clara und zurück," 88.

³⁵ "Als die beiden Liebenden sich Endlich einander gehören durften, brachte Clara Schumann das große Frauenopfer, das begabte Frauen immer wieder bringen müssen, das Opfer des Zurücktretens vor der Sendung des Mannes, dem sie ihr Leben geschenkt haben." Laux, 13.

³⁶ "In Clara Schumanns Wesen und Handeln erleben wir die Widerspiegelung Schumannschen Geistes; diese ideale, genialische Frau lebt ihr Leben im Dienste des großen Genius ihres Mannes. Die Vielgefeierte verzichtet auf ihr Künstlerglück und auf ihren Ruhm, wenn es um das Glück ihres Robert geht. Sie trägt sein Leid mit, sie entsagt und wird schließlich ganz Priesterin im Dienste der Kunst des Verewigten." Kurt Reimann, "Großer Uraufführungserfolg der 'Träumerei': Schumannleben im Film," newspaper clipping held in the archives of the Robert Schumann Haus, Zwickau, catalog number 600 P 118 C2.

³⁷ The performances of "Träumerei" are abbreviated and arranged in various ways. For a discussion of the arrangements and cuts of the piece presented in the film see Barham, 293. According to Heldt, Nazi-era composer films often referred to the most popular works by the composer being depicted in the film's title. Heldt, 120.

³⁸ "Schicksal" is one of the key words used in the film to describe Clara's story. See Borchard, "Wie hingen alle Blicke an mir," 78.

short stories, Paul Liebert included a selection entitled “Träumerei.” The short story adhered closely to the love story portrayed in *Träumerei*:

Robert Schumann, the young musician, composed “Träumerei.” He took a blank piece of manuscript paper and wrote down what was in his heart, what under his hands echoed melodiously. Under the title he placed the words “for Clara”... “Yes,” she said, her voice restrained, “I am, Robert, your Clara, who from now on will remain by you, for now and ever!”... The sounds of “Träumerei” faded away, and turned into reality... Clara, lived for forty more years after Schumann’s death, remaining a true, caring life partner. Again in old age she gave a public concert dedicated to the works of her husband. At this concert, in memory of him and of the time they had had together, she played for the last time his “Träumerei.”³⁹

As in the film, here “Träumerei” is removed from the context of the *Kinderscenen* and presented as a self-contained utterance composed for Clara. “Träumerei” turns into the “reality” of the Schumanns’ life together, and in old age Clara reverently performs the piece which encapsulated her past and continued to provide consolation and a means to honor Robert’s memory during the years after his death.⁴⁰ Notions of gender prominently espoused during the 1930s and 40s aligned with new fictions regarding the work’s origins to reshape how people listened to “Träumerei” and the meanings it was heard to convey.

Song of Love, the 1947 Hollywood film starring Katharine Hepburn as Clara Schumann, offered an interpretation of “Träumerei” with remarkable parallels to that presented by the German film. As in *Träumerei*, *Song of Love* framed the story it presented with performances of the piece. “Träumerei” is first heard as an encore to an 1839 public performance by Clara in which she defies the wishes of her father and announces to her audience that she will play the “work of a new composer.”⁴¹ Later the piece is played by Robert in the mental asylum, who in his delirious

³⁹ “Robert Schumann, der junge Musiker, komponierte die ‘Träumerei.’ Er nahm leeren Notenblätter zur Hand und schrieb nieder, was ihm sein Herz eingab, was unter seinen Händen melodisch aufklang. Unter den Titel setzte er die Worte: ‘An Clara!’... ‘Ja...’ sagte sie mit verhaltener Stimme, ‘ich bins, Robert, Deine Clara, die von nun an bei Dir bleibt, jetzt und immer!’... Die Träumerei verklang, sie wurde... zur Wirklichkeit... Clara, die Schumann noch um vierzig Jahre überlebte, war ihm Zeit seines Lebens eine treue, fürsorgende Lebensgefährtin gewesen. Noch im hohen Alter gab sie ein öffentliches Konzert, das den Werken ihres Gatten gewidmet war. In diesem spielte sie dann auch in Erinnerung an ihm und die Zeit, in der sie sich für immer gefunden hätten, zum letzten Male seine ‘Träumerei.’” Paul Liebert, “Träumerei,” in *Den die Götter lieben: Episoden aus dem Leben berühmter Männer und Frauen* (Nuremberg: Ludwig Liebel, 1948), pp. 142-5.

⁴⁰ See also Irmgard Köster’s 1960 book for young adults, *Träumerei: Das Leben Robert und Clara Schumanns*, in which it is noted that “Robert Schumann hat [“Träumerei”] für seine Braut komponiert, für Clara Wieck, und sie zieht durch ihrer beider Lebensgemeinschaft, die ideal war und in der Musikgeschichte kaum ihresgleichen findet.” Köster, *Träumerei: Das Leben Robert und Clara Schumanns* (Stuttgart: Franckh’sche Verlagshandlung, 1960), inside jacket cover and see pp. 96-7 for a discussion of “Träumerei.”

⁴¹ In reality, music from *Kinderscenen* was first publicly performed by Clara Schumann on March 19, 1868 in London. (She omitted “Wichtige Begebenheit,” and “Fast zu ernst.”) Original programs of her public performances are held at the archive of the Robert Schumann Haus in Zwickau and indicate that she omitted these two pieces from most of her subsequent public performances of *Kinderscenen*. (She seems to have performed “Wichtige Begebenheit” on March 13, 1872 according to the printed program for this concert). In her correspondence Clara mentions playing music from the *Kinderscenen* at private gatherings from 1839 onwards. On these private performances, see David Ferris, “Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara Wieck’s Concerts in Berlin,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003): 378-9.

state believes he has just composed the piece for Clara. Finally, the film is brought to a close with a “Träumerei” performance by Clara at a concert that serves simultaneously as her farewell performance and as a memorial celebration for Robert.

The strikingly similar uses of “Träumerei” in the two films reflected, in part, similar conceptions of the significance of Clara Schumann’s life and similar valuations of the many roles she played.⁴² In particular, “Träumerei” helped conjure associations of domestic happiness and motherly fulfillment that were fundamental to her portrayal in both films, despite the radically different social contexts that helped give rise to these interpretations. Popular postwar American depictions of Clara Schumann, somewhat like those from Nazi Germany, particularly valued her as a devoted wife, happy and fulfilled by her domestic responsibilities. In the two decades following the release of *Song of Love*, several romance novels aimed at a young adult readership helped popularize the film’s vision of the Schumanns’ domestic life. As Hilda White noted in her 1959 book *Song without End: The Love Story of Clara and Robert Schumann*, Clara Schumann

lived up to her vow to shelter her husband from “all the prosaic things of domestic life” so that he might give to the world his exquisite songs... And because she made it the business of her life to live for him, she too is not forgotten. Through her labors and her endless devotion, she fulfilled her husband’s greatest dream—“...that posterity may regard us as one heart and one soul and may not know which is yours and which his mine.”⁴³

Such writings served a didactic purpose, not only instructing young audiences in music appreciation, but also in family values.

The idea of women’s return to a domestic sphere and embrace of motherhood in the United States following the end of World War II has long been a cliché of postwar American life. According to popular conceptions, during the war women entered the factory labor force in large numbers, memorably evoked by heroic images of “Rosy the Riveter.” Following the war women turned to domestic duties and motherhood, relinquishing jobs to make them available for men returning home from war. As many scholars have demonstrated, this view is an oversimplification of complex demographic changes that were occurring in patterns of marriage, fertility and women’s work outside of the home. The baby boom, which had already begun during World War II, was an approximately twenty-year “disruption” within a century of steadily declining birthrates. No comparable increase in birth rate occurred in the United States after World War I, nor was there a comparable increase in Europe following the end of World War II. Among the most important demographic changes occurring in the 1940s were women marrying at a younger age, having children earlier, and spacing their children closer together.⁴⁴ Many reasons have been proposed for the widespread desire for larger families at the time, including the “stability” a family provided in the context Cold War anxieties, increasing wealth and

⁴² Borchard writes of the two films that in both Clara Schumann uses her pianistic skills in the service of Robert’s works, that motherhood and artistry stand in an objective conflict with each other (forcing her at different points to choose one over the other), and that Clara represents a particular aesthetic of inwardness, sincerity, and truth, in contrast to the superficial brilliance of a performer like Franz Liszt. See Beatrix Borchard, “Von Robert zu Clara und zurück?” 91. See also Klassen, 491.

⁴³ Hilda White, *Song Without End: The Love Story of Clara and Robert Schumann* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1959), p. xiv.

⁴⁴ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), pp. 3-6; Susan Householder Van Horn, *Women, Work, and Fertility, 1900-1986* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), pp. 85-92.

accessibility of resources, nostalgia for the “traditional” family of previous generations, and strong identification of stratified gender roles.⁴⁵ As the historian Elaine Tyler May argued,

the rising birthrate...was not just a demographic phenomenon. It was the result of a fully articulated baby-boom ideology that found expression in Hollywood, in the political culture, in the prescriptive literature, and in the thoughts and aspirations of women and men at the time. Postwar Americans wholeheartedly endorsed this reproductive consensus. It fit their belief in abundance, progress, and productivity...Children provided tangible results of a successful marriage and family life; they gave evidence of responsibility, patriotism, and achievement...As [parents] moved into the expanding suburbs and settled in with their growing families, they put their best efforts into living out the postwar version of the American dream. This was the way of life that spread a beacon to the free world; this was the family ideal worth protecting against hostile outside forces.⁴⁶

Contrary to popular belief, women’s employment outside the home did not decrease following the end of the war, despite the renewed enthusiasm for domesticity.⁴⁷ Even during the war mothers of small children seldom worked outside the home. Increases in women’s employment were largely due to young women who had not yet had children and older women taking on paid work.⁴⁸ The number of women in paid employment steadily increased throughout the 1950s in part because both young unmarried women and women with older or grown children sought employment, a common pattern of motherhood framed by paid employment referred to as “serial dual” roles.⁴⁹

While women were an increasing presence in certain areas of the work force, it was still generally considered inappropriate for mothers of young children to work outside the home (though this varied by race and socioeconomic status). Popular writings of the time promoted the benefits to children and families of mothers who stayed at home, even making the notion of the working mother morally reprehensible.⁵⁰ Benjamin Spock’s immensely popular guide *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*, originally published in 1945 and reprinted in 1946, 1957, and 1968, depicted the potential moral consequences of a mother’s decision to work.

To work or not to work? Some mothers have to work to make a living. Usually their children turn out all right, because some reasonably good arrangement is made for their

⁴⁵ Susan M. Hartmann, “Women’s Employment and the Domestic Ideal in the Early Cold War Years,” in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), pp. 84-6, and Van Horn, 103-20.

⁴⁶ May, 152.

⁴⁷ Hartmann writes that “scholars have stressed the incongruence between dominant values and norms and the realities of women’s lives. In an era marked by the quiescence of organized feminism and the celebration of domesticity by public figures and popular culture, increasing numbers of women were seeking employment outside the home. A closer examination of this period suggests that it was one of transition rather than paradox.” Hartmann, 84.

⁴⁸ Susan Estabrook Kennedy, *If All We Did Was to Weep at Home: A History of White Working-Class Women in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), pp. 200-1.

⁴⁹ Van Horn, 141-9.

⁵⁰ Borchard discusses the frequency with which scholars pass moral judgments on Clara Schumann regarding decisions she made on work, marriage, and childcare. Such moral judgments are almost entirely absent in scholarly writing on Robert. See Borchard, “Von Robert zu Clara und zurück,” 86, 95 and Borchard, “Wie hingen alle Blicke,” 80.

care. But others grow up neglected and maladjusted. It would save money in the end if the government paid a comfortable allowance to all mothers of young children who would otherwise be compelled to work. You can think of it this way: useful, well-adjusted citizens are the most valuable possessions a country has, and good mother care during early childhood is the surest way to produce them. It doesn't make sense to let mothers go to work making dresses in a factory or tapping typewriters in an office, and have them pay other people to do a poorer job of bringing up their children...If a mother realizes clearly how vital...[motherly] care is to a small child, it may make it easier for her to decide that the extra money she might earn, or the satisfaction she might receive from an outside job, is not so important, after all.⁵¹

During the two decades following World War II, American popular portrayals of Clara Schumann used her to exemplify women's happiness and fulfillment in the domestic sphere, with her love story, her support for Robert and her devotion to her children being the most beautiful, significant and relevant aspects of her life. In so framing her life, such portrayals took part in contemporary discussions on women's roles in the home and workplace, advocating for and normalizing domesticity. "Träumerei" could sonically encapsulate the child-filled domestic bliss that postwar romance novels and filmic portrayals of the Schumanns actively promoted.

Of the Schumanns' depiction in the 1947 A-list release *Song of Love*, one advertisement proclaimed "on his fingertips, the Love of Music...and on her lingering lips, the Music of Love!"⁵² The cover to the VHS version of the film provides a similarly revealing synopsis of the film.

A woman truly ahead of her time, Clara lights up the stage with her beauty and talent...At the height of her brilliant career, Clara leaves the stage to marry composer Robert Schumann...and raise their children... Schumann eventually dies in a mental hospital and his now famous protégé [Brahms] re-appears to ask Clara to be his wife. But Clara is consumed by a mission which takes every bit of her passion and devotion—to return to the stage so the whole world will hear her husband's music. Love triumphs over tragedy in this gripping not-to-be-missed drama!⁵³

Perhaps Clara is "ahead of her time" because she belongs so well to a postwar American conception of womanhood. Domesticity saturates the movie, from Clara bathing her children to breastfeeding and bedtime scenes. Midway through the film, Clara becomes concerned about the household finances. She realizes that if she agrees to play one concert in Cologne she could earn 2000 thalers, money that could grant Robert financial peace of mind and enable him to compose undisturbed. In telling Robert of her thoughts about accepting the performance opportunity, she displays her selflessness and humility.

I couldn't stand it any longer watching you day after day, year after year struggling to make ends meet, working, grinding, killing yourself, for what?...I'm a performer nothing else. I have a kind of fleeting popularity which people are willing to pay for. What I do is

⁵¹ Benjamin Spock, *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (1957), as quoted in *Women's Liberation in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Mary C. Lynn (New York: John Wiley, 1975), p. 81.

⁵² As quoted in John C. Tibbetts, *Composers in the Movies: Studies in Musical Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 45.

⁵³ Cover to *Song of Love*, MGM/UA Home Video, 1991.

here today and forgotten tomorrow. But you create, Robert, the things you do will last forever... You must be free to write your music.⁵⁴

Clara takes Robert, the household nanny Bertha, and the newborn baby Felix with her to the concert.⁵⁵ Partway through performing *Carnaval*, Bertha indicates to Clara from the wings of the stage that Felix is hungry. Clara skillfully skips from “Aveu” to “Pause” to a heavily abbreviated “Marche des Davidsbündler contre les Philistins,” hurries through her bows, takes her unhappy baby and begins breastfeeding. Felix quickly calms down. Reflecting on this scene, Beatrix Borchard points out the irony in Clara skipping through music from the Davidsbündler March, while the scene so clearly portrays Robert and Clara in comfortably “philistine” gender roles.⁵⁶ Motherly concern and devotion are placed above artistic values and performance demands, showing Clara to be a woman who responsibly and cheerfully embraces her domestic duties.⁵⁷

The film opens with a performance of Franz Liszt’s piano concerto by the nineteen year-old Clara Wieck. Afterwards, Clara’s father wishes her to present “La Campanella” as an encore, but she insists on “Träumerei” to Robert’s evident astonishment and happiness. After finishing she explains to her father that “I did it for him, I did it for Robert, I did it because I love him.”⁵⁸ It is through her performance of “Träumerei” that Clara is able to declare her love for Robert to her father. From the movie’s start the piece is symbolic of Robert’s and Clara’s mutual attachment.

They are soon married and subsequent scenes depict happy, screaming, energetic children, while Clara busily works in the home. On the one hand *Song of Love* portrays her as an everywoman.⁵⁹ The qualities that make her extraordinary are qualities that any woman could aspire towards, qualities not relating to artistic talent. At the same time, the film glorifies her relationship to Robert as possessing an unrepeatable depth precisely because of the mutually beneficial musical genius they both possessed.

At one point, Clara, Robert, and Johannes Brahms attend a concert at which Franz Liszt performs his own arrangement of “Widmung.” Afterwards, Franz convinces Clara to play a piece for him and Clara begins to play “Widmung” in a much simpler piano arrangement. While playing she begins to muse on Franz’s performance.

⁵⁴ Dialogue from *Song of Love*. Screenplay by Ivan Tors, et al., directed by Clarence Brown. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1947.

⁵⁵ In reality, Felix was born on June 11, 1854, several months after Robert had been taken to the Eendenich asylum.

⁵⁶ “Für diejenigen, die wissen, welches Stück ‘Clara Schumann’ spielt, hat die Szene einen besonderen Reiz, spielt sie doch den Marsch der Davidsbündler gegen die Philister aus dem *Carnaval*, ein Verweis auf die Schumannsche Ehe als eine philiströsen Vorstellungen von ‘Normalität’ entgegengesetzte Künstlergemeinschaft. Auch ‘Schumann’ als ein, den tradierten Männlichkeitszuschreibungen entgegengesetzter ‘Held’ weiß in dieser Szene, wann sein Kind Hunger hat, und lächelt, statt ihr gehetztes Spiel als seinem Werk nicht angemessen zu kritisieren.” Borchard, “Darf man das? Robert und Clara Schumann als Filmhelden,” 488. For Borchard’s discussion of this scene, see *ibid.*, 487-8.

⁵⁷ Clara Schumann never performed *Carnaval* in its entirety, always choosing to omit sections such as “Estrella,” “Florestan,” and “Eusebius.” The first public performance she gave of *Carnaval* was in 1856, though she gave private performances of the work from 1837 onwards. See Reich, 259, 266. Furthermore, as was common for middle-class families in nineteenth-century Europe, Clara hired wet-nurses for her infant children. See Reich, 133, and Peter Ostwald, *Schumann: The Inner Voices of a Musical Genius* (USA: Northeastern University Press, 1985), p. 172

⁵⁸ Dialogue from *Song of Love*.

⁵⁹ Borchard speaks generally of a filmic tradition that celebrates Clara Schumann as a “Heldin des Alltags.” See Borchard, “Darf man das? Robert und Clara Schumann als Filmhelden,” 489.

You're a brilliant artist Franz. I envy you. I wish I had the power to translate the commonplace into such stupendous experience. Once in a while, though, a little moment comes along which seems to defy such translation. Do you know what I mean Franz? The littlest things, the wonder and the magic, two hearts that speak perhaps one to another, the unimportant things. Love, Franz, as it is. No illusions, no storms at sea, no guilt, no glitter, not the rustle of silk and the diamond garter Franz. Just love. Unadorned. Or do you know what I mean?⁶⁰

Yet the film finds its subject matter precisely in the glitter, glamour, and mystique of the Robert-Clara story. Clara's denial of the status of their story is a disingenuous attempt to render their story into the heavenly yet unexceptional. *Song of Love* portrays and promotes the attainability of Robert's and Clara's happiness by all families of women who make the selfless sacrifices that come naturally to Clara.

After Robert has been in the Eendenich asylum for several months Clara pays him a visit. "I'd like to play you something I've just written," Robert tells her. "I just finished it. I wrote it for you. I hope you like it." He sits down at the piano and the melody of "Träumerei" floats forth. "Do you like it?" Robert asks. "It's beautiful Robert," says Clara with tears in her eyes. He is not able to finish the piece though. A harsh dissonance is heard, and the camera moves to a portrait of Robert with a candle burning before it. Robert died while playing "Träumerei" for Clara.⁶¹

"Träumerei" is heard one last time at the end of the film. Here it illustrates Clara's devotion to Robert's memory and her determination to spend the rest of her life promoting his works. The movie ends as it began, with Clara at the piano performing with orchestra. This time, however, it is Clara's "farewell appearance," simultaneously billed as a memorial concert for Robert. Instead of playing Liszt's concerto, she performs Robert's. Afterwards, she announces that "my husband and I, we thank you" and proceeds to perform "Träumerei," the piece that "was his favorite I believe, until the day he died." Though Clara is now performing again before large audiences, the prominent placement of Robert's bust beside her piano keeps ever present the meaning and reasons behind her decision to work.

In 1950 Metro Goldwyn Mayer, in collaboration with the Music Educators National Conference, released a classroom adaptation of *Song of Love* entitled *The Schumann Story*. This version presented a rough outline of the feature film, including the performances of "Träumerei" that frame the film's start and end, the marriage and presentation of the wedding gift "Widmung," domestic scenes filled with exuberant children, and Clara's rushed public performance of *Carnaval*. While the film was intended to help introduce grade school students to

⁶⁰ Quoted from *Song of Love*. Borchard discusses this scene at length, comparing the portrayal of sincerity and truthfulness in Clara Schumann's rendition of "Widmung" to the obvious superficiality of Franz Liszt's interpretation. Borchard, "Von Robert zu Clara und zurück?" 89-91.

⁶¹ Of this scene Tibbetts mistakenly writes that "Schumann's playing of what he claims is a 'new' piece during Clara's visit to the asylum (but which is only the same 'Träumerei' he had written years before) speaks to several truths—that is, that Schumann did not compose any new music during his incarceration and that he had regressed to occasional childlike states." Tibbetts, 48, 55. In fact, Robert did continue to compose while living in the Eendenich asylum. While most of this work consisted of harmonizations and transcriptions, he also seems to have composed several fugues which are now lost. See chapter 4 for a discussion of Heinz Holliger's use of Robert's "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist" in Holliger's work *Gesänge der Frühe*. On Schumann's compositional activity while living at the Eendenich asylum, see John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age,"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 483-6, and Bernhard R. Appel, "Einleitung," in *Robert Schumann in Eendenich (1854/1856): Krankenakten, Briefzeugnisse und zeitgenössische Berichte*, ed. Akademie der Künste and the Robert Schumann Forschungsstelle (Mainz: Schott, 2006), p. 31.

several well-known figures from European music history, it also reinforced widely held family and gender values. In the teacher's guide to the Schumanns that accompanied the classroom film, the *Music Educators Journal* noted that "the sixteen years which intervened between their marriage and Robert's death were happy ones for the Schumanns. They became the parents of a large family, and they complemented, understood and loved each other completely. Instead of proving a detriment to the career of either one, their marriage brought fulfillment to both."⁶² One public school music teacher from Baltimore ecstatically wrote up her experiences using the film with 10-12 year olds in her classroom. Included in her article were comments she elicited from students on their impressions of the film and the lessons they drew from it. Tellingly, one young student reflected that "I never thought that those composers were real people. In the movie, though, I saw that they were just like us only they lived before we were born."⁶³

The influence of *Song of Love* can be felt in American popular writings on the Schumanns produced during the 1950s and 60s that similarly glorified Clara's commitment to motherhood and domestic values.⁶⁴ In the 1950 book *Dedication: The Love Story of Clara and Robert Schumann*, the author Sigmund Spaeth wrote that

this is the story of two geniuses, a boy and a girl, who fell in love with each other. They were somewhat different from the average young people of today...because they lived more than a hundred years ago...yet they both showed many traits surprisingly like those of modern young men and women. What they had in common was first of all music...but they also had in common some qualities that have been shared by many other young people, in the past and in the present. They were both very loyal, very courageous, full of enthusiasm, industrious, ambitious, energetic, interested in other people, unselfish, and, above all, devoted to one another with a mutual love that transcended their art...Their romance may seem a bit restrained and proper in these days of easy intimacy and casual "petting," but it was founded upon the firm rock of absolute congeniality and understanding.⁶⁵

Spaeth overtly crafted his two lead characters into figures young adults could emulate through shared values, dispositions, and behaviors. Though Spaeth does talk about *Kinderscenen* and "Träumerei" in his book, his primary aim is to describe the Robert-Clara relationship.⁶⁶ The sharply differentiated roles he ascribes to each added another voice to postwar discourse on women's role in the home and workplace, with Clara exemplifying the demographic trend of "serial duality" that came to typify women's work experiences during the postwar years.

and so they were married and lived happily, if not forever after, at least through enough years to establish their union as a model for the artists of all time...The Schumanns had eight children...[Robert and Clara] became within their lifetime the most famous musical

⁶² "Teacher's Guide to 'The Schumann Story,'" *Music Educators Journal* 36 (1950): 28.

⁶³ Comment from a child who viewed *The Schumann Story* as reprinted in Dorothy Wall, "Let's see a Movie!" *Music Educators Journal* 36 (1950): 26.

⁶⁴ See for example the 1950 book *Dedication* in which the author writes that "the title of this book was suggested by a young pianist, Menahem Pressler, who has recorded the Schumann song *Widmung (Dedication)*, which played such an important part in the motion picture, *Song of Love*...The word 'dedication' actually fits the love story of Clara and Robert Schumann perfectly, as it also suggests their entire lives in relation to art and to each other." Sigmund Spaeth, *Dedication: The Love Story of Clara and Robert Schumann* (New York: Henry Holt, 1950), p. x.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, ix-x.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 124-7.

couple in history, a living proof that marriage need not interfere with public careers and that the artistic temperament is no handicap to a domestic happiness founded upon true congeniality and mutual love...Clara's career, instead of being handicapped by marriage and the raising of a family, flowered into a new beauty, founded upon domestic serenity and satisfaction, supporting an almost unique combination of natural talent and honest work... [The Schumanns'] protégé, [Johannes Brahms], surpassed their own reputations and achievements in time, but even a Brahms cannot dim the glory of such a pair of musicians as the interpretive Clara and the creative Robert Schumann. Their dedication to each other became a dedication to the whole world, and they will be remembered as long as that world recognizes and appreciates the significance of the art of music.⁶⁷

The 1959 book *Song without End* and the 1968 book *Duet: The Story of Clara and Robert Schumann* promote similar conceptions of womanhood.⁶⁸ These works illustrated how the Schumanns' musical expressions of love and their mutually beneficial companionship grew forth from the naturalness of their union: Robert's creativity, Clara's reproductive work as a pianist and mother. As Clara illustrated through her performances of "Träumerei," "dedication" to her husband and family helped bring Robert's music to new audiences, instructing mid-century consumers in how a woman's selfless labor could change the world.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 165-6.

⁶⁸ White, *Song Without End: The Love Story of Clara and Robert Schumann*; Elisabeth Kyle, *Duet: The Story of Clara and Robert Schumann* (New York: Holt, 1968).

Chapter 3

Robert Schumann and Retrospective Psychiatric Diagnosis

Understandings of mental illness have helped shape both academic and popular interpretations of Schumann's music.¹ During the past two decades, for example, concerts featuring music by "manic-depressive" composers such as Schumann have flourished. The high profiles of several of the performing ensembles, which have included the Los Angeles Philharmonic and the National Symphony Orchestra, have brought the concept and music to large audiences.² Conversely, since the 1980s a host of musicological studies have attempted to reclaim Schumann's late works by arguing that they do not, in fact, bear traces of "pathology."³ And the thesis of John Worthen's recent biography of the composer is Schumann's fundamental "health." "It has been elevated into [a] popular belief," Worthen writes, "that Schumann was mentally unstable all his life, with bipolar disorder being most likely. (Such a belief has, in practice, often been no more firmly grounded than on the observation that he was sometimes cheerful and at other times sad)."⁴ Concerts that promise the experience of "bipolar disorder" in sound and studies that locate "health" in Schumann's scores not only refashion biography; they also influence habits of listening. Retrospective psychiatric diagnoses shape how people listen and what they hear.

Assertions of mental illness or health have helped promote a host of professional and political ends. The idea that Schumann had (or did not have) a particular disorder has served as the starting point for numerous studies, ranging from those that focus on biography to hermeneutical readings and analytical examinations of specific works. Over the course of the twentieth century critics have looked to psychiatrists for scientific permission to chart particular interpretative paths. Psychiatrists have enabled particular modes of listening to be grounded in the biographically "real." But psychiatrists venturing into the realm of aesthetics and historical diagnosis have similarly looked to music criticism for authoritative disclosure of musical meaning. Interwoven to support a body of diagnostic and aesthetic knowledge, music criticism and psychiatric discussion about Schumann have been mutually constitutive.

¹ An overview of this chapter was previously published as: Yael Braunschweig, "To Listen to Schumann, Bring a Couch," *The New York Times*, November 28, 2010, pp. AR 24, 28.

² Kay Jamison, Professor of Psychiatry at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, has written extensively on manic-depressive illness and creativity. In 1985 she first organized a concert with the Los Angeles Philharmonic featuring music by the "manic-depressive" composers Schumann, Berlioz and Wolf. Many others followed including eventually a PBS television broadcast of one of the concerts. See her autobiographical work *An Unquiet Mind: A Memoir of Moods and Madness* (New York: Vintage, 1996), p. 129. More recently, such performances have included the 2011 Baltimore Symphony presentation "Schumann's Beautiful Mind," which included a lecture by Richard Kogan, Professor of Psychiatry at Cornell University. See the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra website: http://www.bsomusic.org/main.taf?p=5,9,1,1&prid=20110513_1&type=event&season=1011. Accessed 1 April 2013.

³ See for example Michael Struck, "Die Werke aus Robert Schumanns Düsseldorfer Schaffensjahren," in *Zwischen Poesie und Musik: Robert Schumann—früh und spät*, ed. Ingrid Bodsch and Gerd Nauhaus (Köln: Stroemfeld, 2006); John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a 'New Poetic Age'* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Irmgard Knechtges, *Robert Schumann im Spiegel seiner späten Klavierwerke* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1985); Michael Struck, *Die umstrittenen späten Instrumentalwerke Schumanns: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung, Struktur und Rezeption* (Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984); and Reinhard Kapp, *Studien zum Spätwerk Robert Schumanns* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1984).

⁴ John Worthen, *Robert Schumann: Life and Death of a Musician* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 366. See my review of the book in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62 (2009): 726-36.

Over the course of the century and a half since Schumann's death, much of this discussion assumed psychiatric diagnostic categories to be fixed entities. It was not until the second half of the twentieth century, spurred in large by the theorizing of Michel Foucault, that scholars began to delve into the idea that seemingly objective disease classifications reflected and influenced prevailing cultural values.⁵ Drawing upon the work of Foucault, the anthropologist Emily Martin observed in relation to bipolar disorder that the meanings attached to mental illnesses, the behaviors thought to embody them, and the understandings of the typical patient profile are all socially constituted. "In my fieldwork," she writes, "I was often struck by how pharmaceutical development, marketing, and advertising strive to move mania and depression away from being thought of as context-dependent experiences and toward being thought of as stable and thing-like."⁶ Through studying bipolar disorder in American culture during the past twenty years, Martin examines how experiences of the disorder are geographically and temporally specific. In contrast, music critics and psychiatrists from the mid nineteenth century onwards have often taken psychiatric diagnostic categories to be trans-historical. This has allowed successive generations of those writing about Schumann to argue against each other over particular diagnoses.

Yet this is not the only epistemological problem encountered by those studying Schumann's medical history. During the course of the past century, bipolar disorder and schizophrenia were the diagnoses most frequently proposed for Schumann.⁷ Within German nosology at the *fin de siècle*, schizophrenia and manic-depressive illness differed fundamentally from a disease such as syphilis. Syphilis could be definitively diagnosed through a serological test developed during the first decade of the twentieth century. In contrast, the diagnosis of many psychiatric conditions has entailed different kinds of value judgments and considerable ambiguity.⁸

As scientific research and social-behavioral expectations changed over the course of the twentieth century, the characteristic behaviors and traits of those diagnosed with schizophrenia and bipolar disorder changed. At the *fin de siècle*, for example, psychiatric research helped substantiate discourses on degeneration and eugenics, with the two disorders reflecting and shaping ubiquitous notions of cultural decline, connotations the illnesses no longer carried seventy years later. As disease categories changed, so too did Schumann's diagnoses and the kinds of musical readings his mental illness(es) inspired.

⁵ See in particular Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Pantheon, 1965).

⁶ Emily Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions: Mania and Depression in American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 220, but see 197-233.

⁷ The 1980 edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-III) issued by the American Psychiatric Association used the designation "bipolar" disorder for what had previously been referred to as "manic-depressive" illness. Usage in current discourse is based on the preference of the speaker—the terms carry different connotations. Several prominent writers (who themselves have the disorder) prefer the older term manic-depressive illness. When discussing a writer's work I try to use the term she/he has used. Martin discusses connotations and usage practices. See Martin, 25-8.

⁸ See for example Elizabeth Lunbeck's discussion of turn-of-the-twentieth-century American psychiatric practices and the difficulties of translating the "symptom"—what Lunbeck described as "fragments of behavior," into a diagnosis. Elizabeth Lunbeck, *The Psychiatric Persuasion: Knowledge, Gender, and Power in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1994), pp. 142-3.

This chapter presents a social history of the attempts to make sense of the copious yet fragmentary information on Schumann's behaviors, medical treatments, and symptoms.⁹ Studying the history of Schumann's diagnoses not only sheds light on social values that influenced the psychiatric evaluation of Schumann's biography. It also enables study of the epistemological uncertainties inherent in retrospective psychiatric diagnosis and the contingency upon which a tradition of Schumann criticism rests.

The years surrounding 1906, the fiftieth anniversary of Robert Schumann's death and the tenth anniversary of the death of Clara Schumann, brought a host of new evaluations of their lives and works. One of the most influential and wide-ranging was the three-volume biography of Clara by Berthold Litzmann. In addition to documenting the rise of her fame, Litzmann published never before seen excerpts from her diaries and letters.¹⁰ The Litzmann volumes, so popular as to go through eight editions by 1925, would have tremendous influence over perceptions of Robert's life—both musicological and medical.

Litzmann's first two volumes fell into the hands of the Leipzig-based clinical psychiatrist and degenerationist Paul Julius Möbius (1853-1907). Möbius theorized prolifically on the intersections of gender, degeneration, and mental/neurological illness, work which tied closely to another of his favorite pastimes: retrospective diagnosis or *Pathographie*.¹¹ In 1906 he published the first psychiatric diagnosis of Schumann that impugned the assessments of Schumann's attending physician, Franz Richarz. Richarz had made a public diagnosis of *progressive Paralyse* wrought by overwork-induced exhaustion.¹² Möbius's reading of the biography and the private

⁹ Because this is a social-historical discussion rather than a survey study, there are several sources relating to Schumann's diagnosis that I do not discuss. For a survey with summaries of the major sources relating to Schumann's diagnoses see Christian Engel, "Ein unvollendetes Künstlerdasein: Die Krankengeschichte des Komponisten Robert Schumann (1810-1856)," Medical Dissertation, University of Göttingen, 1996.

¹⁰ Volume 1 first appeared in 1902, Volume 2 in 1905, and Volume 3 in 1910. In 1925 the book reached its eighth edition. An English translation of the fourth edition appeared in 1913. Reprintings of German and English editions have appeared in 1971, 1972, 1979, 2001, and 2007. Litzmann also edited an edition of letters between Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms.

¹¹ The writer Joyce Carol Oates has often been credited with first naming and characterizing the genre of pathography. In a *New York Times* review of a biography of Jean Stafford, Oates reflected that "though this has been an era of magisterial biographies it has also evolved a new subspecies of the genre to which the name 'pathography' might usefully be given: hagiography's diminished and often prurient twin...Pathography's motifs are dysfunction and disaster, illness and pratfalls, failed marriages and failed careers, alcoholism and breakdowns and outrageous conduct. Its scenes are sensational, wallowing in squalor and foolishness; its dominant images are physical and deflating...[Such works] so mercilessly expose their subjects, so relentlessly catalogue their most private, vulnerable and least illuminating moments, as to divest them of all mystery save the crucial and unexplained: How did a distinguished body of work emerge from so undistinguished a life?" Joyce Carol Oates, "Adventures in Abandonment," *The New York Times Book Review*, 28 August 1988. In response to discussions of Oates's *New York Times* article, Phyllis Grothkurth asserted that Sigmund Freud named the genre in his monograph on Leonardo da Vinci (1910): "Freud's Pathography," *New York Times* 18 December 1988. This attribution was also made by Oliver Sacks: *Awakenings* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1990), as well as by Anne Hunsaker Hawkins in *Reconstructing Illness: Studies in Pathography* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1999), p. 229. Möbius's first pathography was a study of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1899), and the psychiatrist-cum-Schumann enthusiast Peter Ostwald credits Möbius with "inaugurating" the field of pathography, citing a hagiography by Francis Schiller: *A Möbius Strip: Fin-de-Siècle Neuropsychiatry and Paul Möbius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). See Peter Ostwald, "Review Article," *Notes* 48 (1991): 139.

¹² It seems unlikely (though possible) that Richarz meant general paresis. A half century later *Paralyse* was one German term for GPI. Proposals connecting the symptoms of *Paralyse générale* to syphilis had been made by the

correspondence it contained piqued his interests in pathography. The volumes prompted him to read music-historical and analytical accounts of Schumann's compositions and to have a listen for himself.

Even though listening to Schumann's music instructs one that Schumann was an extremely nervous person, a nervous person can fall prey to paralysis just like anyone else...After all, anyone can contract paralysis who acquires its precondition. And as for the relationship between mental illness and genius, not much can be learned from a genius who becomes paralytic. In contrast it now seems evident that from youth onwards Schumann was mentally ill, and that this illness which brought about his untimely death, was as it were the counterbalance or counterpart to his talent. We have here a perfect example which allows us to see that great talent is paid for by sickness.¹³

Möbius was just one of many to feel that Schumann, his music and his biography would be far less "interesting" had he "merely" contracted syphilis. If syphilis accounted for all presumed symptoms, Schumann's case would not offer insight into the inscrutable workings of genius' minds (or at least not the kind of insight or conclusions Möbius sought). Placed in the context of Möbius's *oeuvre*, and in particular his theorizing on gender and degeneration, his pathography of Schumann became a vehicle for substantiating and extending a complex of values that shaped his understanding of human evolution and intellect. After fifty pages of analysis, Möbius concluded that from about the age of twenty onwards, symptoms of mental illness suffused Schumann's life and work.¹⁴ Schumann suffered from and ultimately died of dementia praecox, an illness renamed schizophrenia in 1911.¹⁵

Möbius's pathography quickly elicited both protest and praise from psychiatrists and music critics. One lengthy response from the year of its appearance was written by Hans Gruhle

mid-nineteenth century, but it is unclear whether Richarz knew of and agreed with them. Conclusive evidence tying GPI to syphilis was not discovered until the first decade of the twentieth century. In the mid nineteenth century, it was frequently proposed that paralysis had many causes, including exhaustion from overwork, which was the diagnosis Richarz published. Still, there are several reasons why Richarz might have obscured certain opinions. By the time Möbius published his pathography *Paralyse* was primarily associated with syphilis. For a discussion of Richarz's diagnosis, see Bernhard R. Appel, "Robert Schumanns Krankheit und Tod im öffentlichen Diskurs. Zur Konstituierung des Schumann-Bildes in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Robert Schumann und die Öffentlichkeit: Hans Joachim Köhler zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Helmut Loos (Leipzig: Schröder, 2007), pp. 281-9.¹³ "Zwar belehrt einen schon das Anhören Schumannscher Musikstücke darüber, dass der Componist ein sehr nervöser Mensch gewesen ist, aber schliesslich kann ein Nervöser ebensogut der Paralyse anheim fallen wie ein Anderer...An Paralyse kann bei uns schliesslich Jeder erkranken, der sich die Hauptbedingung erwirbt, und für die Beziehung zwischen Seelenkrankheit und genialer Anlage lässt sich aus der Thatsache, dass ein genialer Mensch paralytisch wird, nicht viel entnehmen. Dagegen zeigt es sich nun, dass Schumann von Jugend an seelenkrank war, und dass diese Krankheit, die ihn schliesslich vorzeitig ins Grab brachte, sozusagen das Gegenstück oder die Rückseite des Talenten war. Wir sehen an einem ausgezeichneten Beispiele, dass das grosse Talent mit der Krankheit bezahlt wird." Paul Julius Möbius, *Ueber Robert Schumanns Krankheit* (Halle: Carl Marhold, 1906), p. 1. There had been previous reporting on the "nervousness" of Schumann's music in German psychiatric literature. See for example the reference made to one of Richard von Kraft-Ebbing's patients in Max Nordau, *Degeneration*, anonymous translation (New York: D. Appleton 1895), p. 452 (in footnote).

¹⁴ Möbius, 42.

¹⁵ The Swiss psychiatrist Eugen Bleuler, in his 1911 textbook *Dementia Praecox oder Gruppe der Schizophrenien*, proposed the name "schizophrenia" in part to emphasize the idea of a split mind, but also in attempts to defuse the formidable stigma associated with dementia praecox. Bleuler actually mentions Schumann in passing in this famous psychiatric text. His information comes directly from Möbius. See Bleuler, *Dementia Praecox oder Gruppe der Schizophrenien* (Leipzig: Franz Deuticke, 1911), pp. 72-3.

(1880-1958), Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Heidelberg. In an open letter to Möbius published in the *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde und Psychiatrie* Gruhle began by tossing off a backhanded compliment to Möbius. “I was not able to re-examine the information you presented—that did not seem at all sensible—I stick solely to the passages and information you provided, in the belief that these were the essential and decisive pieces, and that they were chosen with care.”¹⁶ Gruhle, dismissing the need to do his own research, also gainsaid Möbius’s diagnosis: for Gruhle, Möbius’s facts pointed towards a diagnosis of manic-depressive illness (*manisch-depressives Irresein*) followed by *progressive Paralyse* (GPI) or some other type of neurosyphilitic condition.

Overviews of Schumann’s diagnostic history typically point to these two psychiatrists as presenting irreconcilable opinions. Yet in many ways their evaluations are strikingly similar—and not simply because Gruhle plundered Möbius’s biographical research. They share basic assumptions regarding the ways gender shaped disease susceptibility and the role of degeneration in the creation of genius.

Both Möbius and Gruhle deferred to the same authority in delimiting the parameters of their diagnostic categories, the eminent psychiatrist Emil Kraepelin (1856-1926). Kraepelin, who was based in Heidelberg and Munich, is typically credited with having created the dementia praecox / manic-depressive illness distinction.¹⁷ He rose to prominence in part through writing and then repeatedly revising and reissuing what became the leading textbook of clinical psychiatry of his day. The book underwent dramatic changes during its thirty-year gestation. First published in 1883 and totaling 384 pages, the textbook went through eight editions during Kraepelin’s lifetime, finally expanding to 3013 pages.¹⁸ The massive increase in size reflected rapidly changing conceptions of mental illness and diagnostic categories. Kraepelin created his categories to encompass a range of symptoms he had observed in patients at the several asylums in which he worked. His diagnostic divisions were attempts to correlate symptoms with disease outcome, creating categories that had predictive power.¹⁹ Outcome, in fact, was a key difference separating his conception of manic-depressive insanity and dementia praecox. Despite a significant overlap in symptoms between the two conditions, Kraepelin held out hope for recovery only for his manic-depressive patients. In fact, if the condition of a patient he diagnosed with dementia praecox substantially improved, he considered himself to have been mistaken in his original diagnosis. Dementia praecox, by definition, led to an inexorable decline that could result in a patient’s death.²⁰ But the “definition” of dementia praecox was far from stable.²¹ Thus,

¹⁶ “Ich vermochte nicht, das Material, das Ihnen vorlag, nachzuprüfen,—dies lag mir auch garnicht im Sinne—, ich hielt mich lediglich an die von Ihnen veröffentlichten Bruchstücke in dem Glauben, dass diese von Ihnen als wesentlich und ausschlaggebend mit Bedacht ausgewählt worden seien.” Hans Gruhle, “Brief über Robert Schumann’s Krankheit an P.J. Möbius,” *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde und Psychiatrie* 29 (1906): 805-6.

¹⁷ They both mention Kraepelin in their texts on Schumann. Gruhle was one of Kraepelin’s students. Kraepelin was well acquainted with Möbius’s work and credited Möbius with having theorized the endogenous/exogenous distinction for psychiatry, a concept Kraepelin then popularized.

¹⁸ Katharina Trede, Paola Salvatore, et al. “Manic-depressive Illness: Evolution in Kraepelin’s Textbook, 1883-1926,” *Harvard Review of Psychiatry* 13 (2005): 155-178.

¹⁹ Edward Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry: From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac* (New York: John Wiley, 1997), p. 106.

²⁰ See Emil Kraepelin, *Dementia Praecox and Paraphrenia*, ed. George M. Robertson, trans. R. Mary Barclay (Huntington, N.Y.: R.E. Krieger, 1971).

²¹ In the first edition of Kraepelin’s textbook, for example, there is no single disease entity that would approximate Möbius’s category. In the second (1887) and third (1889) editions, hallucinatory and catatonic types of depression fall under the category of *Verrücktheit*, and in the fourth (1893) edition, the first time the category dementia praecox

when Möbius diagnosed Schumann with dementia praecox, he was using a category that had only recently come into widespread use in German-speaking lands, a classification with contested boundaries and uncertain implications for clinical practice.

Perhaps the determining factor in Möbius's choice of diagnosis was the need to identify one disease entity that could account for all perceived symptoms in Schumann's adult life. Gruhle shared this concern but felt the evidence permitted the more complicated, two-disease diagnosis.²² Yet Möbius was aware that many of the traits he ascribed to Schumann fit contemporaneous characterizations of the typical manic-depressive. One of the most salient had to do with conceptions of gender. Möbius inferred, for example, that

as a father [Schumann] seemed to have been passive. To a high degree he possessed traits that one generally attributes to artists: the surrendering of oneself to sentiment, rapid transitions from tearfulness or despondency to cheerfulness and confidence, a certain frivolousness with everyday things, the absence of practicality—all, of course, feminine traits. Most artists have more woman in them than the typical man would; with Schumann, however, this is especially the case. Even his face, in particular his thoroughly feminine lower jaw, indicates this. “As a creator of song, what Schumann displays that is different from the other great composers is that noble, excessive sentimentality that one could describe as truly feminine.”²³

Möbius quotes from the 1880 edition of the biography by Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, the best-known source at the time for information on Schumann's life. To back up his intuitions with “irrefutable” evidence, Möbius sought out an independent graphological analysis of Schumann's handwriting. The results confirmed Möbius's character inferences.²⁴ Schumann's femininity could be heard in his music, seen in his relationship with Clara (who was thought to have been the dominant one), read into (and on) his letters, and intuited in his role as father.

Gruhle similarly found gendered speculation to be crucial for Schumann's case, as well as for the “artistic type” more generally. In responding to Möbius's evaluation of femininity,

appears, it is as a kind of “psychic degeneration” distinct from catatonia. In the fifth edition (1896), dementia praecox becomes a metabolic disorder, grouped with cretinism, which it no longer is in the sixth edition (1899), where it becomes its own large category encompassing catatonia, paranoia, and hebephrenia. This is maintained in the seventh edition (1903), from which both Möbius and Gruhle drew. In the final edition (1909-1913, 1920), dementia praecox becomes an endogenous psychosis. Manic-depressive insanity similarly underwent changes in classification, acquiring new subcategories, symptoms, and meanings as the years progressed. See the fascinating chart of the categories included in each edition in Trede, et al., 164-6.

²² “Ich bin mir wohl bewusst, dass nur im äussersten Falle die Diagnose einer kombinierten Psychose berechtigt erscheint, dass alle Mittel versucht werden müssen, alle Krankheitserscheinungen auf ein einziges Leiden zurückzuführen.” Gruhle, 809.

²³ “Als Vater scheint er mehr passiv gewesen zu sein. In hohem Grade besass er Eigenschaften, die man den Künstlern im Allgemeinen zuzuschreiben pflegt: Hingegebenheit an Stimmungen, rasche Uebergänge von Traurigkeit oder Muthlosigkeit zu Heiterkeit und Zuversicht, einen gewissen Leichtsinne dem Alltäglichen, dem sogenannten Practischen gegenüber und gewisse weibliche Züge. Die meisten Künstler haben mehr Weib in sich als der gewöhnliche Mann, bei Schumann aber war dies in hohem Grade der Fall. Schon das Aeussere, besonders der durchaus weibliche Unterkiefer deutet es an. Was Schumann als Liedersänger den anderen epochemachenden Meistern gegenüber ganz besonders auszeichnet, ist jene edle Gefühlsschwärmerei, die man als eine echt weibliche bezeichnen könnte.” Möbius, 14.

²⁴ Incidentally, the handwriting also “made a pronounced impression of blondeness and blue-eyedness.” See Möbius, 14.

Gruhle contended that the feminine, the artistic, and the cyclothymic²⁵ shared certain fundamental traits:

I do not really want to delve into the issue you raised, namely, to what extent artists possess typically feminine traits. I would just pose the following question: could it not be that these feminine traits are the same ones that characterize cyclothymic dispositions? ...if we just remind ourselves of the great excitability of cyclothymics...of their disposition to savor impressions deeply, of their ability to experience the highest of joys and the deepest of sorrows, their propensity for crying, their frequent, abrupt changes in mood...we are astonished to find that such traits so often serve to demarcate femininity. Perhaps...the artist type is best characterized not as feminine but as cyclothymic. Does this not work for Schumann?²⁶

Though Gruhle defended Schumann from Möbius's attribution of femininity, Gruhle did so in a curious way—neither by denying the behaviors nor their associations, but by proposing that the line between cyclothymia and femininity was blurry, and that the behaviors they each provoked might be indistinguishable. If psychiatrists could expect artists' "symptoms" to mimic typical female behavior, and if the illness thereby embodied was cyclothymia, manic-depressive insanity had a feminine coloration.²⁷

At the *fin de siècle* conceptualizing manic-depressive insanity as a peculiarly feminine and feminizing malady was common.²⁸ Kraepelin for example wrote that in his own clinical practice over 70% of patients he diagnosed with manic-depressive insanity were female, with their "greater emotional excitability."²⁹ Some of the character descriptions Kraepelin made for

²⁵ Cyclothymia refers to a milder form of bipolar disorder with episodes, for example, of hypomania.

²⁶ "Ich möchte hier nicht näher eingehen auf die auch von Ihnen nur gestreifte Frage, wie weit jeder Künstler die gemeinhin nur beim Weibe gefundenen Anlagen besitze, ich möchte nur die Frage aufwerfen: Könnten nicht diese als weiblich bezeichneten Eigenschaften dieselben sein, die die cyclothymisch veranlagten Individuen charakterisieren? Zum Beweise bedürfte es längerer Ausführungen, aber wenn wir uns nur an die grosse Reizbarkeit der Cyclothymischen erinnern, an ihre Fähigkeit, die feinsten Reize zu empfinden und zu beantworten, an das hieran geknüpfte leicht entstehende Misstrauen, an ihre Neigung Eindrücke bis zur grössten Tiefe auszukosten; an ihr Vermögen zum höchsten Jubel und tiefsten Schmerz, ihre Neigung zum Weinen; an den so häufigen jähen Stimmungswechsel, ihre Vorliebe endlich, alles nach Zu- und Abneigung zu beurteilen, so werden wir sicher überrascht sein, vieles zu finden, was als besonders weiblich bezeichnet zu werden pflegt. Und wir würden dem wohl nicht unrecht geben können, der die Art des Künstlers nicht als durch weibliche, vielmehr durch cyclothymische Veranlagung charakterisiert bezeichnete. — Traf dies bei Schumann nicht zu?" Gruhle, 806.

²⁷ Möbius strongly disagreed with Gruhle's speculations: "Die Vermuthung des Collegen endlich, die als weiblich bezeichneten Züge des Künstlers möchten in Wirklichkeit nur die cyclothymische Anlage ausdrücken, kann ich auch nicht billigen. Gewiss, die Dinge gehen manchmal in einander über, aber die Hauptsache beleibt doch, dass die Vermengung der secundären Geschlechtsmerkmale ein Zeichen der Entartung ist. Wenn wir bei Künstlern im Körperlichen die weibliche Form des Unterkiefers finden, im Geistigen dieselbe Unfähigkeit und Abneigung dem Exacten gegenüber, wie bei den Weibern, was hat das mit der Cyclothymie zu thun?" Paul Julius Möbius, *Kritische Bemerkungen über Pathographie* (Halle: Carl Marhold, 1907), p. 40.

²⁸ Elizabeth Lunbeck's discussion of gender in relation to diagnostic practices at an early twentieth-century Boston psychiatric hospital brought this issue to my attention. American psychiatrists at the time largely drew upon Kraepelinian nosology. See Lunbeck, 116-51.

²⁹ Just as a comparison, today diagnosis of manic-depressive illness is evenly split between men and women. See Emil Kraepelin, *Manic-Depressive Insanity and Paranoia*, trans. R. Mary Barclay (Edinburgh: E&S Livingstone, 1921), p. 174. This is a translation of the sections on manic-depressive insanity taken from the eighth edition of Kraepelin's textbook. Möbius, citing Kraepelin, also wrote about the disproportionate number of women diagnosed with manic-depressive insanity and proposed possible reasons why. See his essay "Geschlecht und Krankheit," in *Beiträge zur Lehre von den Geschlechts-Unterschieden* (Halle: Carl Marhold, 1903), p. 16.

manic-depressive insanity are reminiscent of those that had already surfaced in the Schumann literature: “not infrequently the emotional life is dominated by a *weak sentimentality* often with pronounced belletristic inclination and artistic ability...Softness, sensitiveness, dejection, lack of self-confidence.”³⁰ All quite general, these, but certainly characterizations that could be pointed to as evidence.

In *fin-de-siècle* psychiatry, choosing between dementia praecox and manic-depressive insanity was one of the most discussed, debated, and clinically challenging of differential diagnoses. Reflecting on gendered diagnostic patterns in which men disproportionately received diagnoses of dementia praecox and women manic-depressive insanity, Elizabeth Lunbeck suggests that

the gender difference was not just a matter of perception but was encoded into the very categories that ordered psychiatrists’ observations...In practice this encoding operated invisibly and efficiently, providing a criterion—so apparently natural that it occasioned little comment—by which psychiatrists might assess patients with symptoms that indicated either disorder...The men psychiatrists diagnosed as manic-depressive appeared to their relatives and friends, as well as to psychiatrists, much like women.³¹

One reason Schumann’s case presented a particular challenge to turn-of-the-century psychiatrists was that his feminine-cum-artistic nature lent itself so readily to a diagnosis of manic-depressive insanity, while the outcome of his disease was consistent with conceptions of dementia praecox. Gruhle, among others, speculated that Schumann could not possibly have had dementia praecox precisely because of the warmth of his character and music.³²

What Möbius and Gruhle did agree upon, however, was that feminizing/cyclothymic traits in men were markers of degeneration. Möbius had an elaborately worked out theory of male femininity embodied by those he referred to as “*weibische-Männer*.” By the time he theorized Schumann’s femininity he had not only authored twelve studies on gender difference (totaling over 500 pages),³³ he had also written the then (in)famous treatise *Über den physiologischen Schwachsinn des Weibes (On the Biologically-based Mental Deficiency of Women)*.³⁴ In this latter piece as well as in the essay “Geschlecht und Entartung” (“Gender and

³⁰ Kraepelin, *Manic-Depressive Insanity and Paranoia*, 121, 197-8. Italics in original.

³¹ Lunbeck, 148-9.

³² “Ich finde...die starken Aeusserungen einer äusserst zart und fein empfindenden Seele...Ja ich möchte bitten, die Frage aufwerfen zu dürfen, ob jemand bei einem Dementia praecox-Kranken jemals noch ein ‘reiches Seelenleben,’ ‘Gewissenhaftigkeit,’ ‘Herzengüte und unermüdlichen Fleiss.’” Gruhle, 806-7.

³³ Möbius, *Beiträge zur Lehre von den Geschlechts-Unterschieden*.

³⁴ The book was widely read. A posthumous edition was published in 1908—its ninth. The publisher decided to include reactions to the piece (both positive and negative) at the end of the work. These are included in small typeface and take up over 100 pages. Furthermore, in a review of the book *Über Geschlecht und Charakter* by Otto Weininger, Möbius accuses the author of plagiarizing from *Ueber den physiologischen Schwachsinn des Weibes*. Incidentally, the review gives a concise summary of the *Schwachsinn* treatise. See Paul Julius Möbius, *Geschlecht und Unbescheidenheit: Beurteilung des Buches von O. Weininger “Über Geschlecht und Charakter”* (Halle: Carl Marhold, 1907), p. 9. Schwachsinn is difficult to translate. In current usage it is a vulgar word roughly meaning bullshit. In this context it could also be translated as idiocy, imbecility, or feeble mindedness. Möbius described the difficulty he had in finding the proper vocabulary: “Großen Anstoß erweckt der Titel. Schwachsinn ist doch etwas krankhaftes, wie kann er sich unterstehen, von physiologischem Schwachsinn zu reden?...‘Geistige Schwäche’ sagt ja ungefähr dasselbe wie Schwachsinn, enthält aber nicht das Merkmal des Ursprünglichen, Gesetzmäßigen, sondern kann auf zufällig entstandene Schwächezustände bezogen werden und braucht doch einen Zusatz, wenn die krankhafte Schwäche ausdrücklich ausgeschlossen werden soll. Von ‘geistiger Inferiorität’ zu reden, ist

Degeneration”), he expanded upon instances where people of one gender took on characteristics of the other, a kind of “behavioral hermaphroditism.”³⁵ One characteristic of a healthy woman, he proposed, was her passivity. But when a man became passive he relinquished his masculinity: “a man, who is no longer a soldier or a hunter, whose work forces him to sit for long periods of time at home, must necessarily in many respects come to resemble a woman. He loses agility and brawniness and his skin becomes delicate, he becomes irritable, timorous, jumpy, soft.”³⁶ Möbius used this very vocabulary in discussing Schumann’s personality. Schumann, in other words, offered an exemplification of Möbius’s conception of degeneration—or to borrow a category coined by the literary scholar Barbara Spackman, “degenderation.”³⁷ Despite its “environmental” sources, degeneration for Möbius was largely hereditary, hence Möbius speculated at length on the possible mental illnesses of Schumann’s parents, siblings, and children.³⁸ Yet for Möbius degeneration was also an enabler: it took mental abnormalities to produce minds capable of great creation. Genius, he averred, was inherently degenerate.

Möbius’s contentions were in part an elaboration on those popularized during the preceding decades, most famously by the Italian Professor of Psychiatry and Criminal Anthropology, Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909). In his 1864 book *Genio e Follia (The Man of Genius)*, Lombroso argued that genius, especially as embodied by musicians, was hereditary. Correspondingly, mental illness frequently afflicted musicians. “Musical creation is the most subjective manifestation of thought, the one most intimately connected with the affective emotions...This...explains why so many morbid men of genius should be musicians: Mozart, Schumann, Beethoven, Donizetti.”³⁹ The paragraph Lombroso devotes to Schumann limns many

geschmacklos (Gelegentlich habe ich es selbst getan; wir sind allzumal Sünder), denn Inferiorität ist ein ganz häßliches Fremdwort und hat überdem einen verächtlichen Beiklag.” Paul Julius Möbius, *Ueber den physiologischen Schwachsinn des Weibes* (Halle: Carl Marhold, 1908), p. 33.

³⁵ At the *fin de siècle* this kind of categorization was frequently used to describe feminists and homosexuals, as Möbius does in his treatises. For a discussion of contemporaneous discourse on hermaphroditism see Alice Domurat Dreger, “Doubtful Sex,” in *Feminism and the Body*, ed. Londa Schiebinger (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 118-46. Möbius writes, for example, “Die Gehirnmenschen sind nervös, und ihre Nachkommenschaft ist erst recht nervös. Ein wesentliches Kennzeichen dieser Form der Entartung ist die Vermischung der Geschlechtscharaktere: weibische Männer und männliche Weiber. Je nervöser die Bevölkerung wird, um so häufiger werden die Mädchen mit Talenten und überhaupt männlichen Geistesigenschaften...Je gesünder der Mensch ist, um so entschiedener ist er Mann oder Weib.” Möbius, *Schwachsinn*, 16, 45.

³⁶ “Der Mann, der nicht mehr Krieger und Jäger ist, den sein Beruf zum dauernden Sitzen im Hause nöthigt, muss nothwendig in manchen Beziehungen dem Weibe ähnlich werden. Er verliert an Behendigkeit und Muskelkraft, seine Haut wird zarter, er wird reizbarer, oft furchtsam, schreckhaft, weich und weichlich.” Möbius, “Geschlecht und Entartung,” in *Beiträge zur Lehre von den Geschlechts-Unterschieden*, 7, 32-3.

³⁷ Barbara Spackman, *Decadent Genealogies: The Rhetoric of Sickness from Baudelaire to D’Annunzio* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 30.

³⁸ Theories of degeneration varied widely. Degenerationists also came from the entirety of the political spectrum—socialist, liberal, conservative. It was by no means a science that appealed most strongly to the far right. Some theorists, for example, held to a kind of neo-Lamarckism stressing that degeneration wrought by “environmental” factors could then be passed down biologically to children. Others, like Möbius, had a primarily biological notion of degeneration, as was fairly common in German-speaking lands (though he certainly discussed environmental ills, such as educating girls in the same manner as boys). See for example Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 81-91.

³⁹ The work was translated into English, German, and French, among other languages. Citing Francis Galton (the founder of eugenics), Lombroso remarks that “genius is often hereditary, especially in the musical art which furnishes so large a contingent to insanity.” Cesare Lombroso, *The Man of Genius*, anonymous translation (London: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1896), pp. 139, 208.

of the traits Möbius would go on to cite. Lombroso based his information on the 1858 edition of Wasielewski's biography, a source Möbius would similarly plumb.⁴⁰ Accordingly, although Möbius initiated the Schumannian pathographic tradition of detailed reflection and speculation, Schumann had already been brought into late nineteenth-century psychiatric discourses, and was made to instantiate the imbrication of genius-mental illness-degeneration.

This held true both for writers who affirmed Lombroso's claims as well as those vehemently opposed to them. William Hirsch in his 1894 study *Genie und Entartung* attempted to dismantle Lombroso's work, claiming that one could not draw from the fact that Schumann and Donizetti were "attacked by insanity" that all geniuses were so constituted.⁴¹ Meanwhile, J.F. Nisbet, author of *The Insanity of Genius* (1900), applauded and sought to expand upon Lombroso's vision: "pathologically speaking, music is [a] fatal... gift...the biographies of all the greatest musicians being a miserable chronicle of the ravages of nerve-disorder, extending...to the third and fourth generation." As in Hirsch's study, here Schumann is also the exemplification of the mad musician. "Schumann's insanity manifested itself in his youth...The heritage of nerve disorder in Schumann's case appears to have been exceptionally strong."⁴² Möbius knew all of these works.⁴³ He sought to distinguish his own writing through its detail—diagnosing specific illnesses in individuals based on extensive biographical research.

Möbius's pathography, and to a lesser extent Gruhle's diagnosis, were widely reported, meeting with approval in the German medical presses, and grudging acceptance, ambivalence, or outright contempt in musical publications. Before Möbius's pathography the health of Schumann's family line—parents, siblings, offspring had been a topic of little speculation. Writers had typically repeated Richarz's claim that Schumann suffered from overwork-induced mental strain. Heredity played no role. Yet within the newly ascendant nosology, dementia praecox was overwhelmingly "caused" by hereditary factors, as was manic-depressive insanity. During the first decade of the twentieth century, it was proven conclusively that most cases of what had been called *Paralyse* were caused by syphilis.⁴⁴ In addition, exhaustion as an explanation for mental illness was increasingly being ridiculed as "unscientific." Möbius's work inaugurated a new way of conceptualizing Schumann's health history, one based on heredity that implicated his family and brought much speculation upon his children. Such a biology-focused orientation was becoming an increasingly prominent preoccupation of German psychiatric research.

This helps account for the relatively easy acceptance of Möbius's proposal among psychiatrists. Among music critics it was a different story. For many it was a staggering assessment that saddled a hero with one of the very most stigmatized of illnesses. Images of dementia praecox often provoked outright fear. Writing in a commemorative 1906 issue of *Die*

⁴⁰ Ibid., 68

⁴¹ William Hirsch, *Genius and Degeneration: A Psychological Study*, anonymous translation (New York: D. Appleton, 1896), p. 113.

⁴² John Ferguson Nisbet, *The Insanity of Genius and the General Inequality of Human Faculty Generally Considered* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 163, 170.

⁴³ Möbius, for example, quotes from both Lombroso and Nisbet in his reply to Gruhle, "Kritische Bemerkungen über Pathographie," pp. 38-9.

⁴⁴ For a fascinating study of syphilis in early twentieth-century America that also discusses the German laboratory work which identified the disease's bacterial agent in 1905 and definitively connected syphilis with paresis, see Allen M. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States Since 1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 7-51.

Musik, the Strasbourg music critic Gustav Altmann⁴⁵ forcefully disagreed with the contentions that Schumann's mental illness was inherited and that symptoms could be witnessed spanning his life, while also rejecting the syphilis diagnosis.⁴⁶

Dementia praecox, Möbius's diagnosis, cannot be the source of a Schumann's outpouring of songs, which belong to the most crystalline of musical revelations...for musicians, who revere Schumann as one of the most loveable figures in all of music history, it would not be pleasing if his most mature works had to be regarded as bearing the imprint of developing dementia praecox, and not rather that of genius.⁴⁷

Altmann sought to shelter Schumann from opprobrious charges of mental illness on the one hand, and insinuations of sexual promiscuity on the other. Exhaustion—caused by an excess of *Fleiss* (sedulousness)—could be worn like a badge of honor. Yet during the two decades that followed, such arguments would become increasingly rare. Sheltering Schumann's biography from scandal came to seem overly partisan and naïve.⁴⁸ Stigma began to shift and to be borne increasingly by selected compositions—not only the late works, and not all of the late works.⁴⁹ More and more frequently in the years following 1906, writers publishing in medical journals as well as book-length biographical studies reported on Schumann's seemingly self-evident mental deficiency along with that of his parents, siblings, and children. In 1906 the *British Medical Journal* reported that

it is clear...Schumann was in a way degenerate, and of bad heredity. His parents were highly "nervous," but nothing is known of the health of his ancestors. His sister suffered from a severe form of dementia praecox, and his brothers died prematurely...the life

⁴⁵ Altmann was music critic of the *Strassburger Post*. See Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Vienna, Triumph and Disillusion, 1904-1907* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 194 footnote 156.

⁴⁶ "Wir erfahren aus der Broschüre zunächst über Schumanns Familie eine Anzahl Nachrichten, aus denen hervorgeht, dass der Vater früh starb, nach einem an Sorgen und Leiden aller Art reichen Dasein, seine Mutter ebenfalls ein Alter von kaum 40 Jahren erreichte und einen 'Hang zum Absonderlichen' besessen habe, dass auch die Geschwister, wiewohl sämtlich älter als Robert, vor ihm gestorben seien—alles Angaben, aus denen allerdings das Vorhandensein einer geringen körperlichen Widerstandsfähigkeit der Familie Schumann hervorgeht, die aber doch keine zwingenden Rückschlüsse auf eine ganz besonders schwächliche Naturbeanlage des Komponisten zulassen, mit der seine achtfache Vaterschaft wohl auch nicht so ganz im Einklang stehen dürfte!...Prüfen wir nun das Gutachten, das Möbius als Endprodukt seiner Ausführungen abgibt, auf Grund der von uns gemachten Einwände, so erscheint zunächst die erbliche Belastung keineswegs als unumstößliche Wahrheit." Gustav Altmann, "Über Robert Schumanns Krankheit," *Die Musik* 6 (1906): 130, 132.

⁴⁷ "Ein zerstörendes Jugendirresein, wie er den Zustand bezeichnet, kann nicht die Quelle eines Liederborns sein, der zu den krystallensten Offenbarungen der Musik gehört...Für den Musiker, der in Schumann einen der lebenswürdigsten Charaktere der Musikwelt überhaupt verehrt, wäre es wenig erfreulich, wenn er dessen reifste Musikwerke als Gebilde eines bereits mit 'beginnendem Hirnschwund,' mit 'Dementia praecox' behafteten Individuums anzusehen genötigt sein sollte, und nicht vielmehr als die eines Genius." *Ibid.*, 132-3.

⁴⁸ And certainly this was the case by the early 1930s. In 1931 Eugenie Schumann, the last surviving child of Clara and Robert would write a defense of her father, claiming him to have been fundamentally "healthy." Some took her statements seriously, but her evaluation was often dismissed as biased.

⁴⁹ The process by which the late works became overlaid with images of pathology is complex and involved many factors. The one most commonly discussed is the work Clara Schumann, Johannes Brahms, and Joseph Joachim did to keep certain works away from the public. For a discussion see Eduard Melkus, "Zur Revision unseres Schumann-Bildes," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 15 (1960): 182-90.

history of Robert Schumann presents us with a typical and clinical history of a case of the much-discussed dementia praecox.⁵⁰

And a 1907 article published in the *Neurologisches Centralblatt* stated as fact that “due to an inherited disposition, Robert Schumann was mentally ill.” The writer concluded with Möbius’s Lombrosian twist: “Schumann paid for his talent with his sickness.”⁵¹ Dispersed widely among those with the professional authority to judge, Möbius’s diagnosis succeeded in realigning Schumann’s suffering with *fin-de-siècle* conceptions of societal decline.

Schumann and the Politics of Eugenics

The presumed hereditary etiology of dementia praecox and manic-depressive insanity underlay their intense stigma. Patients living with one of these diagnoses cast suspicion upon their entire family. Fear of the threats such “degenerates” posed and the belief that nervous diseases were on the rise fueled a growing interest in eugenics.⁵² Such interest was wide-reaching and eugenics-inspired arguments were espoused by people coming from diverse political backgrounds. There was no coherent or unified eugenics “movement.” Eugenics, like degeneration, was science; it was accepted by so many due to its presumed objectivity and the “truth” it presented.⁵³

In the eugenic quest to “improve” the species through science, mental illness was a prime target. As one psychiatrist reflected in 1913 after a discussion advocating forced sterilization for those with manic-depressive illness,

the eugenicist naturally and laudably desires that only children sound and complete in mind and body should be brought forth. But he can afford to pause now and then and season his ambition with the reflection that had the generations gone produced only children of assured mental health and balance, the names of Socrates, Petrarch, Dostoevsky, Schumann...Schopenhauer, Goethe would be missing from the world’s hall of fame.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Anonymous, “Review: Robert Schumann,” *British Medical Journal* (August 1906): 255-6.

⁵¹ “Das Ergebnis ist also, daß Rob. Schumann auf Grund ererbter Anlage geisteskrank war, daß er sein Talent mit seiner Krankheit bezahlt hat.” H. Haenel, “Über Robert Schumanns Krankheit, von P.J. Möbius,” *Neurologisches Centralblatt* 26 (1907): 232.

⁵² In *Entartung (Degeneration)* which he dedicated to Lombroso, Max Nordau delves into the hereditary as well as the environmental factors that led to degeneration, which he defined as a “morbid deviation from an original type.” Large towns, for example, had a “destructive” influence that caused a “wearing out” of nervous tissue and could “precipitate” degeneration that would then be passed down to children. (Here Nordau invokes a neo-Lamarckian conception of evolution.) In this Nordau was ironically repeating views expressed by Wagner (against whom Nordau had directed his obloquy). See for example Wagner’s 1878 essay “Modern.” Richard Wagner, “Modern,” in *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works Vol. VI: Religion and Art*, trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan, 1897), pp. 43-9. Nordau, 16-39. For a discussion of Lamarck’s influence on theories of degeneration, see Eric J. Engstrom, “‘On the Question of Degeneration’ by Emil Kraepelin (1908),” *History of Psychiatry* 18 (2007): 389-404, and Frank Dikötter, “Race Culture: Recent Perspectives on the History of Eugenics,” *The American Historical Review* 103 (1998): 467-78.

⁵³ See for example Edward Ross Dickinson, “Biopolitics, Fascism, Democracy: Some Reflections on Our Discourse about ‘Modernity,’” *Central European History* 37 (2004): 1-48.

⁵⁴ Clarence B. Farrar, “The Manic-Depressive Psychoses and Their Treatment,” in *The Modern Treatment of Nervous and Mental Diseases by American and British Authors, Vol. 1*, ed. William A. White and Smith Ely Jelliffe (New York: Lea & Febiger, 1913), p. 587.

The “degenerate genius” presented challenges that were approached using a variety of strategies. Max Nordau, for example, argued that only certain artists and their works bore marks of degeneration that could corrupt audiences. Others, like Möbius, felt the best way to proceed would be through detailed biographical study of particular geniuses. A third approach was to study the inheritance of genius and specifically for the case of musicians, the inheritance of musical ability (*Begabung*). The scientific grail was to increase musical talent while decreasing the incidence of insanity. Such a narrowly biological understanding of musical ability was viewed as precise and modern; it offered a means to analyze evidence from the past and promised a perfected future. The literature on the inheritance of musical ability from the first three decades of the twentieth century is substantial. (It also informed an elitist view of musical ability espoused by some music critics that functioned to distance their understanding of music from more popular interpretations. See chapter one.) In Schumann’s case, studies of inherited musical ability that contained family trees and calculations of genetic inheritance were never distant from the question of pathological inheritance. Both types of studies, which were sometimes combined, shared basic assumptions about the primacy of “biology” over “environment.”

Such was the strategy of the 1910 publication by the Frankfurt-based physician Oswald Feis. Entitled *Studien über die Genealogie und Psychologie der Musiker* [Studies on the Genealogy and Psychology of Musicians], the work drew on the biographies of over 400 European musicians. Feis sought to probe the genetic transmission of musical ability and his findings were anything but surprising: musical ability was almost always inherited.⁵⁵ Following the text of his study Feis included appendices grouping into separate lists composers who inherited their talent from their father, from their mother and from other relatives. (He thereby “conclusively” demonstrated Möbius’s contention that musical talent was most often inherited from the father rather than the mother.) Schumann’s name crops up throughout the study, but the most extended discussions of him occur in relation to his health. Not only did Feis devote an entire page to discussion of the size and weight of Schumann’s brain,⁵⁶ he dilated upon the Möbius and Gruhle debate. In part Feis was extending Möbius’s original project of amassing information on individual geniuses beyond what Lombroso had provided. Yet Feis’s work blended this methodological aim with a more broadly encompassing biological determinism that could point to the parent responsible for a particular musician’s talent. Ultimately Feis hoped that pathographical work could answer pressing questions of scientific research; he looked forward to the day when “a great number of pathographies and biographies written with the cooperation of

⁵⁵ He writes, for example: “es mag wohl sein, dass hier ganz bestimmte physiologische Eigenschaften (bei Malern Struktureigentümlichkeiten des Auges, bei Musikern besonders feiner Bau des Gehörorgans und namentlich der nervösen Endapparate) übertragen werden; auf Grund neuerer Kenntnisse müssen wir diese besonderen anatomischen Merkmale d.h. eine besondere Entwicklung bestimmter Gehirnabschnitte, sogar voraussetzen.” Oswald Feis, *Studien über die Genealogie und Psychologie der Musiker* (Wiesbaden: J.F. Bergmann, 1910), p. 14.

⁵⁶ In 1880 Schumann’s body was disinterred and Hermann Schaaffhausen (1816-1893), Professor of Anatomy at the University of Bonn, examined the skull and approximated the weight of Schumann’s brain. He disagreed in part with data that Richarz had publicly disclosed, and this sparked ongoing discussion. See “Einige Reliquien berühmter Männer: Robert Schumanns Gehirn- und Gehörsorgane,” *Correspondenz-Blatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie* 16 (1885): 147-9. See also Werner Jänisch and Gerd Nauhaus, “Der Obduktionsbefund der Leiche des Komponisten Robert Schumann,” *Zentralblatt für allgemeine Pathologie und pathologische Anatomie* 132 (1986): 129-36.

psychiatrists would be available,” which would not only give the public scientifically accurate biography, but would also provide raw material for further psychiatric research.⁵⁷

His agenda was in part fulfilled by an excruciatingly detailed 1925 genealogical study of musical ability in the Schumann family.⁵⁸ In an article published by the journal *Induktive Abstammungs- und Vererbungslehre* (Inductive Study of Ancestry and Heredity), Valentin Haecker and Theodor Ziehen sought to delineate the hereditary laws of musical ability—of critical concern to the growing field of *Vererbungswissenschaft* (the scientific study of heredity).⁵⁹ Aided by Schumann’s living relatives as well as the newly founded Schumann Museum in Zwickau,⁶⁰ Haecker and Ziehen painstakingly investigated whether each of Schumann’s known relatives was “musikalisch,” or “nicht-musikalisch.” Over one hundred were included. Methodologically, their work rested upon the simplest of Mendelian genetics. [See Figure 3.1] They assumed two alleles for musical ability, one inherited from each parent. An allele was either for “musicality” (+) or “lack of musicality” (--). An individual with two identical alleles was homozygous for musical ability (++) or homozygous for no ability (--/--). Two different alleles indicated heterozygosity (+/--) or (--/+), where the symbol on the left referred to the allele inherited from the father and that on the right the allele inherited from the mother. Probability of inheritance was determined by a simple monohybrid cross.

Figure 3.1

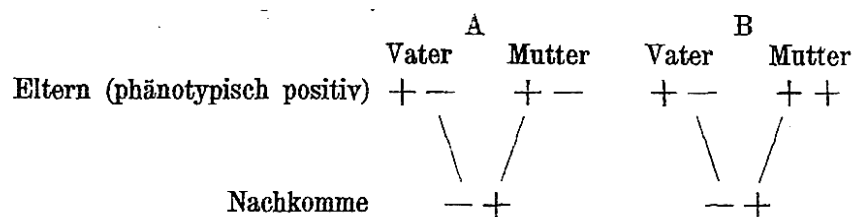


Figure from page 110 of Haecker and Ziehen, “Über die musikalische Vererbung in der Descendenz von Robert Schumann,” *Induktive Abstammungs- und Vererbungslehre* 38 (1925).

⁵⁷ “Wenn wir über eine genügend grosse Anzahl von Pathographien und Biographien, die unter Mitwirkung des Psychiaters geschrieben sind, verfügen.” *Ibid.*, 80.

⁵⁸ The first footnote of the study cites Feis’s 1910 work. See Valentin Haecker and Theodor Ziehen, “Über die musikalische Vererbung in der Descendenz von Robert Schumann,” *Induktive Abstammungs- und Vererbungslehre* 38 (1925): 97.

⁵⁹ See Anne Cottebrune, *Der planbare Mensch: Die deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft und die menschliche Vererbungswissenschaft, 1920-1970* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008), pp. 7-97. During this time period, the prefix “Erb-” (hereditary/inherited) was ubiquitous in many discourses, prominently including psychiatric ones. “Erb-” was attached to a wide variety of nouns: Erbforschung, Erbarzt, Erbgut, Erbgang, Erbuntüchtig, Erbwert, Erbanlagen, Erbgesund, Erbungesund, Erbpflege, and Erbgeisteskrankheiten are among those I encountered most frequently.

⁶⁰ The Robert-Schumann-Gesellschaft, Zwickau and the Schumann-Museum in Zwickau were founded in 1920 by the Schumann scholar Martin Kreisig.

A determination of homo- or heterozygosity, they asserted, could only be made by investigating the musical abilities of an individual's parents and children. And they lamented the high methodological obstacles they felt they faced: they had to rely on the reports of others in determining musicality.⁶¹ Another problem was that homozygosity and heterozygosity could endow an individual with the same amount of musical talent. Even reproduction based on eugenic principles, they felt, could not get higher than a 71% rate of guaranteed musicality.⁶² And then what to do with the observation that more men were musically endowed than women: perhaps a hormonal cause shaped such results? (They called upon Möbius at this point to give insight into gender difference).⁶³ Robert Schumann, they surmised, must have received his musical ability from his mother, making Robert either +/+ or --/+, since there was little record that Friedrich August Gottlob possessed musical talent. On the other hand, they speculated that Schumann's poetic talents derived from his father. They remarked at the end of their study that they had resisted delving into Schumann's mental illness. Perhaps they felt obliged to say this because their methodology could so easily be used for such an undertaking. Indeed, by providing paragraph descriptions of over one hundred of Schumann's relatives, they provided much of the data necessary for delineating the Schumann family's disposition towards mental illness.

Certainly Haecker's and Ziehen's preoccupation with conceptualizing Schumann biologically was widely shared during the decade. In 1930, for example, the Schumann *Gesellschaft* published a *Stammbaum* (family tree) of Robert Schumann going back to 1650 and ending with living descendants, with 136 relatives listed in total. [Figure 3.2] The work so interested an owner of the copy I examined, that additional names were written in at the bottom (signed 1935, see bottom left). In 1932, the Viennese music critic Elsa Bienenfeld, who trained in medicine and chemistry before becoming music critic for the *Neues Wiener Journal*,⁶⁴ published an article on the *Stammbaum* in the *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie*. "The Schumann Museum has recently issued Schumann's family tree. It will be as interesting for

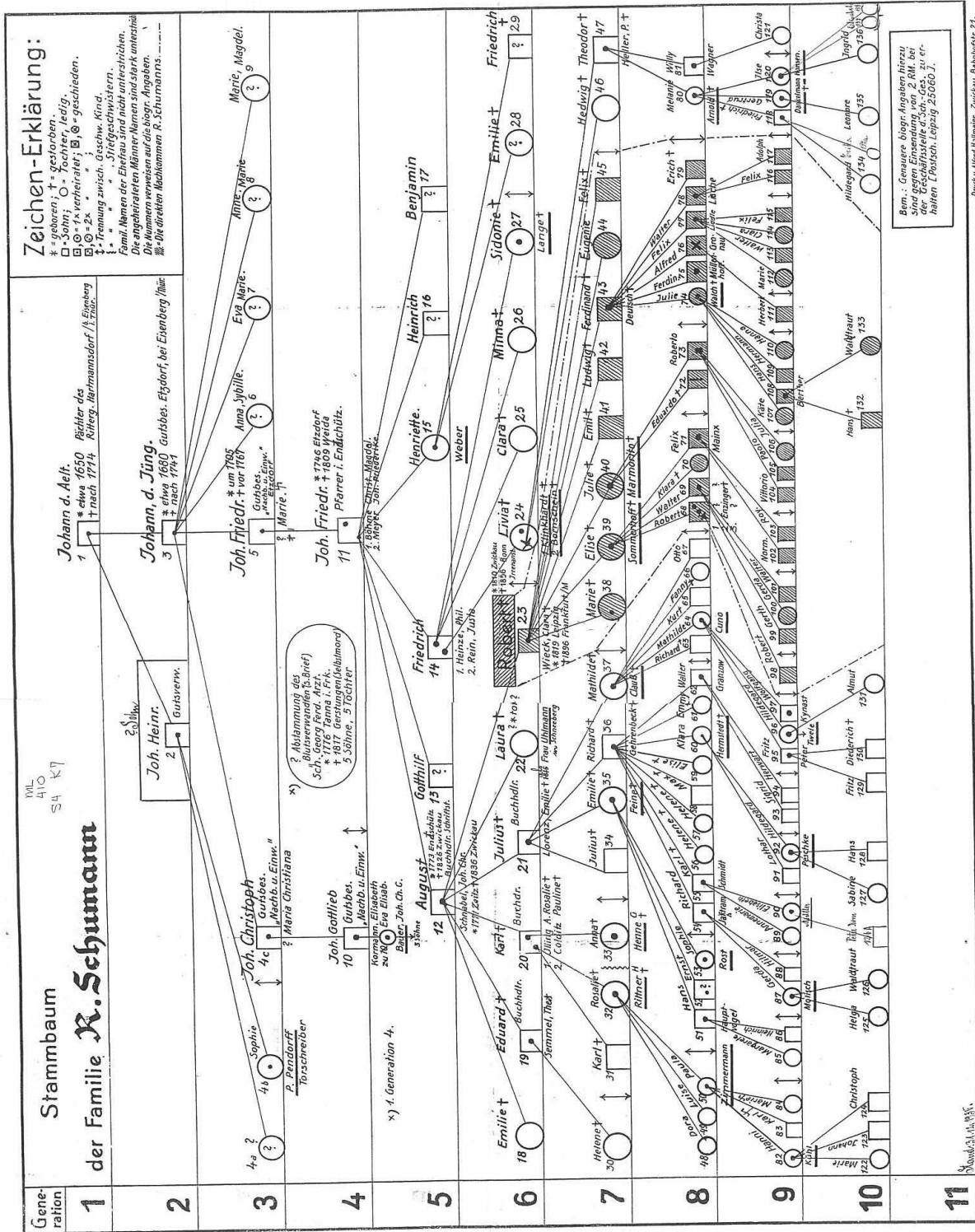
⁶¹ "Besondere Schwierigkeiten macht die Angabe 'unmusikalisch' in den Mitteilungen der Angehörigen. Wie wir aus vielen Beispielen ersehen haben, bedeutet unmusikalisch im Laienmund bald einen völligen Mangel musikalischer Begabung, bald nur eine Abwesenheit eines besonderen musikalischen Talent; erst recht gilt dies für den Ausdruck 'nicht musikalisch'...Denn wahrscheinlich bieten diese mehr Aussicht auf sichere Ergebnisse, weil gerade die Feststellung der musikalischen Begabung ohne persönliche Untersuchung besonders unsicher ist und eine persönliche Untersuchung bei weitem in den meisten Fällen nicht ausführbar ist." Haecker, Ziehen, 108-9, 122.

⁶² They theorized that heterozygosity resulted in a high degree of musicality 18% to 46% of the time. And in cases of positive homozygosity, 6% of males and 13% of females were still stuck with being "unmusikalisch." "Im günstigen Fall, lauter +++-Ehen vorausgesetzt, etwa 71% eine Maximalgrenze darstellen, die kaum überschritten werden kann, daß also doch der Eugenik bezüglich der Züchtung der musikalischen und vielleicht auch anderer Begabungen bestimmte Schranken gezogen wären." *Ibid.*, 120.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁶⁴ The *Neues Wiener Journal* was the Viennese newspaper with the highest circulation and Bienenfeld was a well-known critic. A strong defender of Mahler and Schoenberg and left-leaning politically, Bienenfeld offers one example of the diversity of backgrounds that embraced narrowly biological hereditary research during the 1920s and 30s. See Karen Painter and Bettina Varwig, "Gustav Mahler and the Vienna Court Opera," in *Mahler and His World*, ed. Karen Painter (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 273-4. Bienenfeld, who was Jewish, was murdered in 1942 at the Maly Trostinec Concentration Camp. See Kelsey Draper, "A Voice for Modernism in Elsa Bienenfeld's Music Reviews," Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2005, pp. 17-8.

Figure 3.2



Martin Kreisig, "Stammbaum der Familie R. Schumann." Zwickau: A. Hallmeier, 1930.

musicians as it will be for biological research.”⁶⁵ Genealogical data, Bienenfeld contended, offered insight into Schumann’s biography and talent otherwise unavailable. After learning from the *Stammbaum* that one of Schumann’s uncles had committed suicide at the age of forty-one, Bienenfeld drew a connection between this man’s death and Schumann’s jump into the Rhine: Schumann’s suicide attempt had a biological antecedent, which, she thought, offered the glimmerings of understanding into when and how so seemingly normal a bourgeois family had come to carry pathological biology. Schumann’s musical ability is likewise attributed to heredity:

Robert Schumann lived within a felicitous bourgeois environment and possessed creative and pathological traits of a special nature. Through his ancestry as well as his descendents, he offers proof that remarkable mental ability in parents is not carried forward directly or in an unvaried way by children, but rather that ability is an auspicious combination of many inherited elements that can come from ancestors going generations back. That the pathological disposition also has a genetic component is demonstrated quite clearly by Schumann’s children...A family history like this is so rarely at one’s disposal and has especial value for the study of human heredity.⁶⁶

The zeal to produce a scientifically accurate family tree may have also come from the need to discredit the “very serious parody of the *Memoires* [1925] of Eugenie Schumann” published in 1926 by “Titus Frazeni.”⁶⁷ Entitled *Johannes Brahms der Vater von Felix Schumann* [Johannes Brahms, the Father of Felix Schumann], the little book caused a sensation and provided a revised family tree indicating Brahms’s fatherhood of Clara Schumann’s youngest child. [Figure 3.3] The book’s authorship was never in doubt. It had been written by an embittered grandson, Alfred Schumann.⁶⁸ Enraged, Schumann’s daughters bought up as many copies as they could. Many of the rest were destroyed during the 1930s as the book was thought “sufficiently damaging to

⁶⁵ “Nun geht aus dem Schumannmuseum eine für den Musiker ebenso wie für den Biologen interessante Arbeit hervor, die den Stammbaum der Familie darstellt.” Elsa Bienenfeld, “Die Stammtafel der Familie Robert Schumanns: Ahnen und Nachkommen eines Genies,” *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie* 26 (1932): 57.

⁶⁶ “Robert Schumann, der inmitten der ihn umgebenden trefflichen Bürgerlichkeit schöpferischen und pathologischen Sondercharakter besaß, bietet sowohl in der Aszendenz wie in seiner Nachkommenschaft den Beweis, daß Begabung der Eltern sich nicht unmittelbar und unvariiert in den Kindern fortsetzt, daß vielmehr die Begabung hoher geistiger Anlagen eher durch eine singuläre günstige Kombination verschiedener Erbelemente älterer Vorfahren zustande kommt. Daß aber auch die krankhaften Anlagen weiter ‘medeln,’ zeigt sich ziemlich deutlich unter Robert Schumanns Kindern...Eine Familiengeschichte wie diese, die nur in seltenen Fällen zur Verfügung steht, hat für die menschliche Erblichkeitsforschung natürlich besonderen Wert.” *Ibid.*, 58-9.

⁶⁷ Titus Frazeni [Alfred Schumann], *Johannes Brahms der Vater von Felix Schumann: Das Mysterium einer Liebe* (Bielefeld: Manfred, 1926).

⁶⁸ For information on Alfred’s resentment at how Clara had treated his mother Antonie (who had married Ferdinand Schumann, Clara’s and Robert’s sixth child), see Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 152.

S t a m m b a u m
 der in diesem Buche vorkommenden Glieder der **Schumann** Familie Schumann. Zum besseren Verständnis!

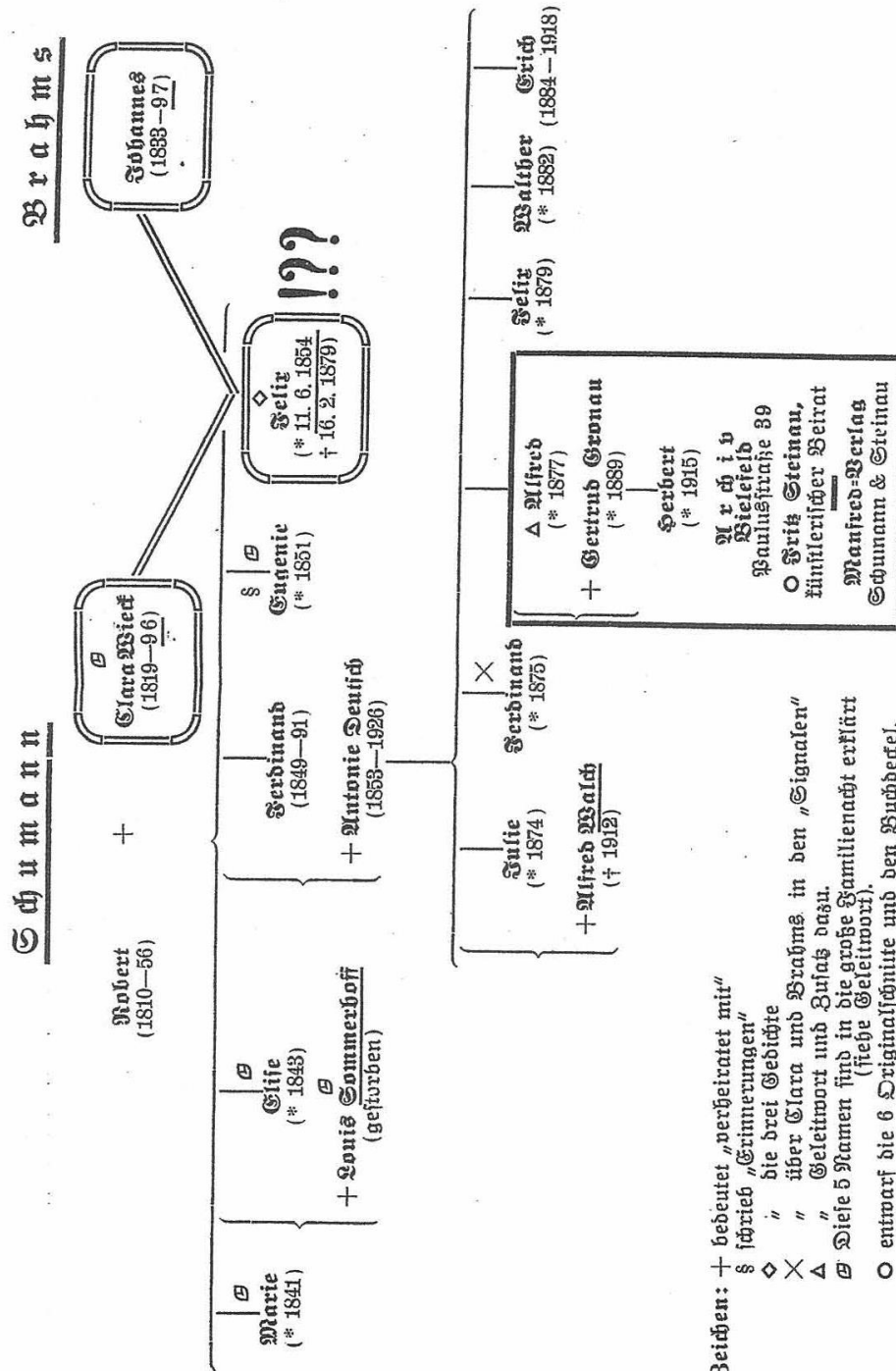


Figure 3.3

Family tree included in Titus Frazeni [Alfred Schumann],
Johannes Brahms der Vater von Felix Schumann: Das Mysterium einer Liebe.
 Bielefeld: Manfred, 1926.

German honor to warrant being burned.”⁶⁹ Most critics found the book’s thesis scurrilous. Some psychiatrists and musicologists have even gone to great lengths to “disprove” what seems to be such an obvious example of calumny.⁷⁰ Accordingly, the 1930 *Stammbaum* served dual purposes. It both countered gossip and provided raw material for *Vererbungswissenschaftler*.

Though international, the science of inheritance was recognized to be a particularly German preoccupation.⁷¹ Fielding Garrison, in a 1932 address on Schumann’s health to the Johns Hopkins Medical History Club affirmed that “the fate of [Schumann’s children] is of considerable interest, as a phase of the biological investigation of family histories (*Familienforschung*), which is now a going concern in Germany.”⁷² Citing the *Stammbaum*, Garrison embarked on a discussion of musical inheritance reminiscent of Haecker and Ziehen, but goes even further. While he assumed a Mendelian monohybrid cross for the transmission of musical ability (though Garrison did not think it worked in Schumann’s case), mental illness was also taken to be a “trait,” reducible to one allele, that was transmitted according to a straightforward Mendelian-based law of genetics:

Assuming that Schumann’s genius was the resultant of a favorable constellation of Mendelian factors and that Clara came by her pianistic talent through her father, one would expect a natural outcropping of musical ability in the children. As a matter of fact, none of the Schumann children had any particular musical gift...the working out of Mendelian principles in the little family is exhibited along quite different lines and in a significant and striking way...Of the four girls of the Schumann family, three (Marie, Else [sic], Eugenie) lived longer than their mother...Of the four boys, three (Emil, Ferdinand, Felix) died early of...intercurrent diseases...while Ludwig was singled out as the victim of vertical incidence of a Mendelian recessive (insanity). In respect of longevity, the girls

⁶⁹ Professor Max Flesch-Thebesius from the Schumann Gesellschaft in Frankfurt am Main as quoted by Peter Ostwald, *Schumann: The Inner Voices of a Musical Genius* (Massachusetts: Northeastern University Press, 1985), p. 264. In a novel on the Schumanns that attempts to blur the boundaries between madness and sanity in Robert’s everyday life, James David Landis fantasizes that “the idea that Brahms might have fathered Felix Schumann was not merely the idle speculation of Robert Schumann’s damaged imagination as he lay in bed in Endenich. His grandson Alfred Schumann wrote a little book called *Johannes Brahms: The Father of Felix Schumann*. Most copies were burned by the Nazis because such a notion as the book asserted was deemed to dishonor all Germans.” James David Landis, *Longing* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2000), p. 446.

⁷⁰ See for example the lengthy aside that seems to come out of nowhere in the work of the physician Franz Hermann Franken, *Die Krankheiten großer Komponisten* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 1986), pp. 267-70. See also the review article published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. F., “TITUS FRAZENI: ‘Das Mysterium einer Liebe,’” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 93 (1926): 428.

⁷¹ Many American and English physicians, however, were similarly invested in the “promise” of eugenics and operated within a narrowly biological understanding of severe mental illness. During the 1920s eugenics was gaining increasing prominence in Germany and the United States and England served as models for the establishment of Germany’s eugenics societies and journals. The chairman of the German Society for Race Hygiene in Berlin speculated that “the question of sterilization of the unfit, epileptics and other persons has for a considerable time been before the Parliament of some [regions], namely, Prussia and Saxony; and in this connection the experiences gained in America are constantly drawn upon.” See Otto Krohne, “Position of Eugenics in Germany,” *Eugenics Review* 17 (1925): 146. By 1933 twenty eight American states had forced sterilization laws. See Richard J. Evans, “Zwangsterilisierung, Krankenmord und Judenvernichtung im Nationalsozialismus: Ein Überblick,” in *Tödliche Medizin im Nationalsozialismus: Von der Rassenhygiene zum Massenmord*, ed. Klaus-Dietmar Henke (Weimar: Böhlau, 2008), p. 35.

⁷² Fielding H. Garrison, “The Medical History of Robert Schumann and His Family,” *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* (1934): 529.

were in the trend of the mother's biological fate and even outpaced it; the boys were, all of them, shorter lived than the father.⁷³

“Insanity” was now a sex-linked Mendelian recessive trait.

Richarz had remarked that Schumann's creativity was the flip side of his illness, and Möbius that Schumann paid for his creativity by his illness. The basic assumption still held, but the science underpinning it was rapidly changing. Scientists were seeking to remove the mystique behind both creativity and mental illness, formulating laws with predictive power that could disentangle what had before been thought of as mutually constitutive dispositions. Schumann had both in his background, manifested both in his life, and passed on separate predispositions to both to his children.

The loudest dissenting voice during the early 1930s was not that of a psychiatrist—they overwhelmingly repeated the schizophrenia / manic-depressive illness diagnoses. It was that of Schumann's last surviving child, Eugenie, whose 1925 *Memoires* had already precipitated Alfred's backlash. As she reflected in her 1931 book *Robert Schumann: Ein Lebensbild meines Vaters*, “I see my father as healthy. His life, his actions, and his works attest to his completely healthy spirit.”⁷⁴ But such an assertion, lacking scientific basis and “objectivity,” had little influence upon psychiatric discussion. Indeed, it had the opposite effect. Gustav Ernest, for example, thought it especially important to present a detailed report of the “ominous” signs foretelling Schumann's mental illness dating back to the 1830s because Eugenie “categorically” claimed her father to have been “completely healthy.”⁷⁵ Writing in the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* in 1935, he opined that “with Schumann there had always existed a predisposition towards nervous states.”⁷⁶ By this time Ernest's conclusion was commonplace. Yet the date is critical. His article would be one of the last for the decade to come to discuss so openly the hereditary “defects” of an emblematically German composer.

⁷³ It is not true that Robert lived longer than all of his sons. Ludwig Schumann (1848-1899), however, spent the last 31 years in an asylum. *Ibid.*, 529-31.

⁷⁴ “Ich sehe ihn gesund. Sein Leben, sein Wirken, und seine Werke sind Zeugen eines vollkommen gesunden Geistes.” Eugenie Schumann, *Robert Schumann: Ein Lebensbild meines Vaters* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1931), p. 11.

⁷⁵ “Wenn wir uns jetzt den Krankheitserscheinungen zuwenden, so möchte ich voraus bemerken, daß ich diesen Teil meiner Arbeit besonders ausführlich behandle, weil seine Tochter Eugenie, die Verfasserin eines der schönsten Erinnerungsbücher, die wir besitzen, kategorisch behauptet, Schumann sei ein kerngesunder Mensch gewesen. Ich glaube nicht, daß die Erbringung des Gegenbeweises schwer sein oder dem Andenken ihres großen Vaters im geringsten schaden kann.” Gustav Ernest, “Genie und Krankheit (II),” *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 62 (1935): 423. Gustav Ernest was *Dozent* for Musikwissenschaft at the Humboldt-Hochschule. A previous article of his on Schumann's mental health appeared in the medical journal *Die medizinische Welt*: “Der kranke Schumann,” *Die Medizinische Welt* 3 (1929): 1128-31.

⁷⁶ “Bei Schumann [ist] zwar immer eine Prädisposition zu nervösen Krankheitszuständen vorhanden.” Ernest, “Genie und Krankheit (II),” 422.

Schumann and National Socialist Psychiatry

Psychiatry in Germany did not undergo abrupt changes with the National Socialist assumption of power.⁷⁷ The system of values that underlay atrocities committed against the mentally ill—among them the forced sterilization and “euthanasia” of over a half million people—emerged in German psychiatric discourse during the decades preceding 1933. There is, for example, a clear fluidity between 1920s studies on musical ability and those produced after 1933.⁷⁸ In 1934, Jon Alfred Mjöen published the results of a large-scale study on the inheritance of musical ability.⁷⁹ The study’s presuppositions and orientation were almost identical to those of Haecker and Ziehen. Indeed, a 1926 study on the genetics of musical ability that came out of Mjöen’s laboratory was an expansion upon a previous project by Haecker and Ziehen.⁸⁰ Both studies took environment to be irrelevant. (Education only brought out latent ability).⁸¹ The difference between Mjöen’s study and that by Haecker and Ziehen was not so much content or methodology, but rather tone. Mjöen railed against those who thought that quality of schooling or poverty might influence the development of musical skills. And he mocked the refrain of those he perceived as favoring “environmental” factors: for them “school is everything. Blood counts for nothing.”⁸² Kin (*Sippe*) he felt was the determining factor in musical ability, and he cited Bach, Beethoven, Bizet, Brahms, Mozart, Johann Strauß Jr., Weber, and Rossini as proof. (Schumann was notably absent from this study). As with Haecker and Ziehen, Mjöen understood musicality to be a quantitative characteristic, and broke it down into fourteen evaluable categories. Through a study of 466 school children he concluded that “for musical talent, an

⁷⁷ See for example Michael Burleigh, “Saving Money, Spending Lives: Psychiatry, Society and the ‘Euthanasia’ Programme,” in *Confronting the Nazi Past: New Debates on Modern Germany History* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), pp. 98-111 and Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: “Euthanasia” in Germany c. 1900-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁷⁸ This is not to suggest a direct teleology, but rather to point out the vast quantity of extant scientific data that easily aligned with National Socialist conceptions of racial hygiene. Interest in eugenics in Germany had been extremely broad and diverse. During the 1920s there were large eugenics research centers in Berlin and Munich (in Kraepelin’s former laboratory, in fact). The Munich group tended towards the far right and had more members who openly espoused anti-Semitic viewpoints. This group favored the term *Rassenhygiene* (race hygiene), while the more moderate group in the North favored the term *Eugenik* (Eugenics). In the 1920s, the Berlin group had significantly more political clout. The two groups basically merged after 1933. See Karl Saller, *Die Rassenlehre des Nationalsozialismus in Wissenschaft und Propaganda* (Darmstadt: Progress, 1961), pp. 72-82; Sheila Faith Weiss, *Race Hygiene and National Efficiency: The Eugenics of Wilhelm Schallmayer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 1-37 and Dickinson, “Biopolitics, Fascism, Democracy,” 8-11.

⁷⁹ Jon Alfred Mjöen, *Die Vererbung der musikalischen Begabung*, Schriften zur Erblehre und Rassenhygiene, ed. Günther Just (Berlin: Alfred Meßner, 1934). See also Jon Alfred Mjöen, “Genius as a Biological Problem,” *Eugenics Review* 17 (1926): 242-57.

⁸⁰ Haecker died in 1927. Ziehen (1862-1950) retired in 1930 and moved to Wiesbaden where he remained with his family until his death. The 1926 study begins “Einen bedeutungsvollen Beitrag zur Vererbung geistiger Eigenschaften brachte Haecker und Ziehen mit ihrer Abhandlung ‘Zur Vererbung und Entwicklung der musikalischen Begabung.’ Hier wird auf Grund eines grösseren statistischen Materials, durch Fragebogen gewonnen, der Versuch gemacht die musikalische Begabung auf ihre Beziehungen zu den Vererbungsgesetzen zu untersuchen, ferner die Entwicklung, die Komponenten und die korrelativen Beziehungen der musikalischen Veranlagung festzustellen.” See Hans Koch and Fridtjof Mjöen, “Die Erbllichkeit der Musikalität,” *Zeitschrift für Psychologie* 99 (1926): 16.

⁸¹ “In Wirklichkeit hat der Pianist seine technische Fertigkeit nicht erworben, sondern sie aus der Latenz geweckt...Und so wie mit der Fingerfertigkeit, ist es auch mit allen andern Eigenschaften.” Mjöen, *Die Vererbung der musikalischen Begabung*, 46.

⁸² “Schule ist alles, das Blut nichts.” *Ibid.*, 7.

inherited disposition counts for everything and the influence from outside, nothing.”⁸³ Figure 3.4 illustrates Mj oen’s conception of musical inheritance, with dark circles representing “musical” individuals, and white circles standing for the “unmusical.” Three parental scenarios are shown. In contrast to Haecker and Ziehen, however, Mj oen used his data as the basis for proposed actions. With widespread pre-marital genetic counseling there could be a biological “renaissance.”

Figure 3.4

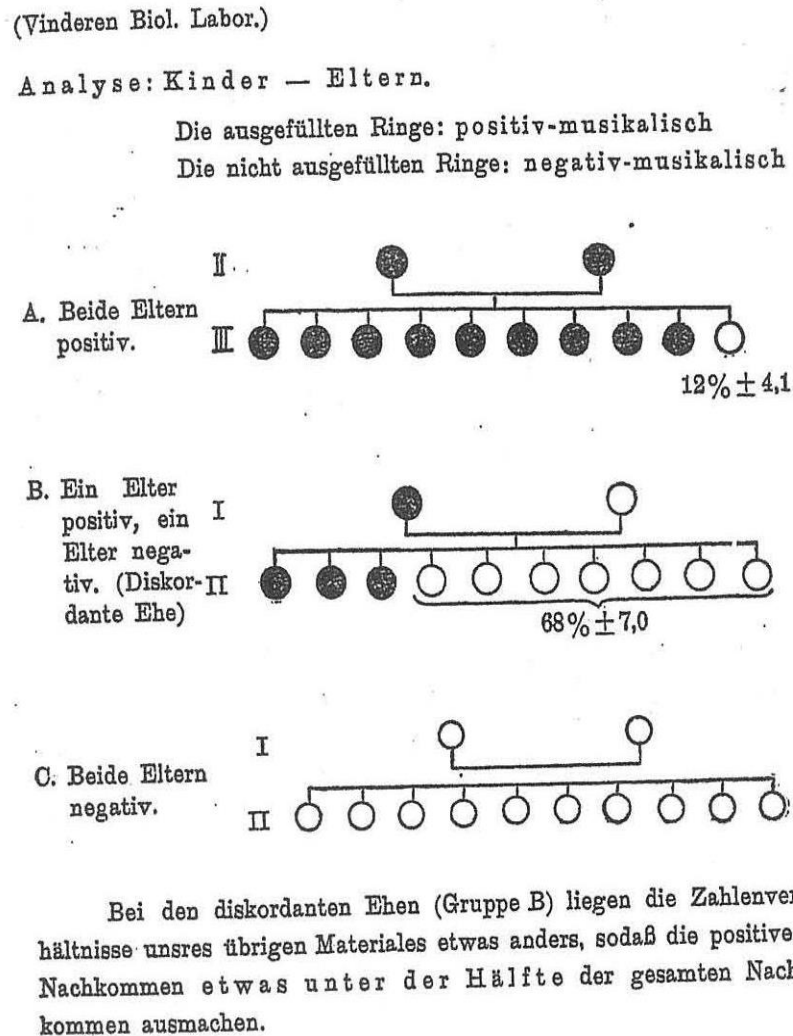


Figure from page 31 of Jon Alfred Mj oen, *Die Vererbung der musikalischen Begabung*, Schriften zur Erblehre und Rassenhygiene. Berlin: Alfred Me fner, 1934.

⁸³ “Die ererbte Anlage [bedeutet] bei dieser elementaren musikalischen Eigenschaft alle...und die Beeinflussung von au en nichts.” Ibid., 18.

*In reality it is a few, primary, constitutive clans that have created our culture and that account for our living society. And only through high generative ethics, solely through the cult of kinship can our Nordic germinative path be protected from downfall. These are the important ramifications of our study.*⁸⁴

Ninety percent of the biographies in Germany's public libraries were filled with false information on the importance of environmental factors for the development of talent, he felt. As long as the books did not contain other important information he suggested they be "burned, lest they lead the youth astray."⁸⁵ The science remained largely the same, but now the resulting data were given chilling meanings that served as an explicit impetus for action.⁸⁶

Similarly, general psychiatry textbooks such as the 1941 *Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene* (Manual of Racial Hygiene) by Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer, provided tables documenting the inheritance of musical ability very similar to those created by Mjöen.⁸⁷ Von Verschuer, Josef Mengele's *Doktorvater* and close collaborator, would come to have intimate knowledge of the fate of those living under the diagnosis of schizophrenia or manic-depressive illness.⁸⁸ It was shortly following the National Socialist assumption of power that the *Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses* (Law for the Prevention of Progeny with Hereditary Diseases) mandated sterilization for those diagnosed with those and other illnesses. By 1945 almost 400,000 such individuals had undergone forced sterilization. At least 70,000 had been murdered.⁸⁹ Murdering individuals with problems severe enough to make them incapable of labor was justified both as an economic necessity and as a "merciful" way to end a life "unworthy of life."⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Italics in original. "In Wirklichkeit sind die wenigen, aufbauenden, tragenden Sippen, die unsre Kultur geschaffen haben und die in Wahrheit unsre lebendige Kultur selbst ausmachen. Und nur durch eine hohe generative Moral, durch Sippenkult einzig und allein, kann unsre nordische Keimbahn vor dem Untergang geschützt werden. Das ist die wichtige Konsequenz unsrer Erbuntersuchungen." Ibid., 43.

⁸⁵ "90% aller Biographen berühmter Männer und Frauen, die unsere öffentlichen Bibliotheken füllen und die jede Art von Begabung innerhalb der großen Familien als Auswirkung von Umwelteinflüssen, Schule, Erziehen, Freundschaften, Meistern erklären, könnten—wenn sie nicht andre Data von Bedeutung enthielten—gern auf dem Scheiterhaufen verbrannt werden, da sie die lernende Jugend in ihren Begriffen irreführen." Ibid., 47-8.

⁸⁶ Mjöen praised the National Socialist assumption to power as the "letzte gigantische Kraftansternung, um die abendländische Kultur vor dem Untergang zu retten." As quoted in Magdalena Schweizer, *Die psychiatrische Eugenik in Deutschland und in der Schweiz zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), p. 27.

⁸⁷ After listing several composers whose lineage he felt was proof of inherited ability, he singles out Schumann as one composer for whom this is not the case. Here it seems like a strategy to move Schumann away from the realm of *Erbforschung*. See Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer, *Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene* (Leipzig: Georg Thieme, 1944), p. 82.

⁸⁸ Von Verschuer denied knowing about Mengele's activities as head "physician" at Auschwitz. He destroyed his wartime correspondence with Mengele after the war, and though investigators knew this he was never prosecuted. Following the war he held a prestigious post at the largest genetics research lab in Germany. Several scholars describe the trajectory of von Verschuer's career, his denials of complicity in torture despite overwhelming evidence against him, and his ability to resume work after the war with little difficulty, as typical. See for example Schweizer, 30-41.

⁸⁹ See for example Henry Friedlander, "Von der 'Euthanasie' zur 'Endlösung,'" in *Tödliche Medizin im Nationalsozialismus: Von der Rassenhygiene zum Massenmord*, ed. Klaus-Dietmar Henke (Weimar: Böhlau, 2008), pp. 185-202, Burleigh, 98, 106, 108, and Schweizer, 43, 84.

⁹⁰ In fact, proposals for "euthanasia" of the mentally ill on economic grounds had been made in Germany during the economic collapses of the 1920s. See Burleigh, 98-102.

These atrocities gave Robert Schumann's death in a mental asylum and his inability to function as a conductor during his time in Düsseldorf (his inability to perform productive labor) a new kind of significance. It was an awkward problem for National Socialist psychiatry and propaganda. Writers adopted a variety of strategies, many of them contradictory, to explain away the "problem."⁹¹ Some simply omitted mention of mental illness as well as time spent in an asylum. Georg Schünemann, in his 1940 *Geschichte der Klaviermusik*, wrote that Schumann had to stop working in 1854.⁹² An anonymous 1940 *Leipziger Tageszeitung* article on Schumann's biography makes no mention of circumstances surrounding his death. Schumann, however, had triumphed over the various struggles he had faced, and exemplified the unity of *Kämpfer und Träumer* (fighter and dreamer).⁹³ In a 1938 book celebrating great *Deutsche Männer* Eberhard Preussner related symptoms of mental illness to problems ubiquitous to the age of Romanticism—the spirit of the times was therefore in part to blame.⁹⁴ One article from 1940 discussed Schumann's mental problems as well as his suicide attempt: "Schumann was saved [in the Rhine] only to have to endure two and a half years in an asylum—to have his life fade until the death, which he sought in vain, came mercifully to him."⁹⁵ The passage chillingly recalls the language of National Socialist "euthanasia"—that of "merciful," "compassionate" killing to end a life unnecessarily suffering. Under National Socialism, the implication seems, Robert Schumann could have been spared his suffering.⁹⁶

By far the most detailed discussion of Schumann's health during this period was a 1943 medical dissertation by Heinrich Kleinebreil.⁹⁷ Kleinebreil argued that up until his work psychiatrists had never doubted that Schumann suffered from a mental illness—they simply could not agree upon which one he had.⁹⁸ After presenting arguments against (and "conclusively" disproving) the paresis, schizophrenia, and manic-depressive illness hypotheses,

⁹¹ Reinhard Steinberg has written an overview of the major sources (musicological and psychiatric) touching on Schumann's diagnoses. My thinking on Schumann's diagnoses during the 1930s and 40s is indebted to Steinberg's discussion of this time period. He describes the research of the musicologist Wolfgang Boetticher (1942) as well as biographies by Werner Korte (1937) and Ernst Bücken (1940) and a medical dissertation by Heinrich Kleinebreil (1943). (I touch on this last source only). See Reinhard Steinberg, "Robert Schumann's Illness in the Eyes of his Pathographers," in *Knowledge and Power: Perspectives in the History of Psychiatry* (Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 1999), pp. 71-2. The article had previously appeared in German. See Reinhard Steinberg, "Robert Schumann in der pathographischen Literatur," *Psycho* 14/12 (1988): 937-49, discussion of 1930s and 40s, pp. 943-4.

⁹² "Schumann mußte im Jahre 1854 jedes selbständige Arbeiten aufgeben." Schünemann was then director of the Musikabteilung of the preußische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Georg Schünemann, *Geschichte der Klaviermusik* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnfeld, 1940), p. 121.

⁹³ St., "Kämpfer und Träumer: Gedanken zu Robert Schumanns 130. Geburtstag," *Leipziger Tageszeitung*, 8 June 1940, p. 10.

⁹⁴ Eberhard Preussner, "Robert Schumann," in *Deutsche Männer: 200 Bildnisse und Lebensbeschreibungen* (Berlin: Ernst Steiniger, 1938), p. 294.

⁹⁵ "Am 27. Februar 1854 stürzte er sich in Gemütsverwirrung in den Rhein. Er wurde nur gerettet, um von da an sein Leben in einer Heilanstalt zu verdämmern, bis zweieinhalb Jahre später der Tod, den er vergeblich gesucht, mitleidig zu ihm trat." C.K., "Tragisches Ende eines glücklichen Lebens: Zu Robert Schumanns 130. Geburtstag," *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Chemnitz), June 7, 1940.

⁹⁶ There were some writers who reported Schumann's suicide and death in a mental institution much as it had been discussed in the 1920s. See for example Hans Fischer, *Wege zur deutschen Musik: Die Musik im Schaffen der großen Meister und im Leben des Volkes* (Berlin: Chr. Friedrich, 1939), p. 76.

⁹⁷ Medical dissertations are required in Germany for the additional title of "Dr. med." Medical school in Germany ends with state exams. Passing them confers the title of "Arzt/Ärztin."

⁹⁸ Heinrich Kleinebreil, "Der kranke Schumann: Untersuchungen über Krankheit und Todesursache Robert Schumanns," Medical Dissertation, Universität Jena, 1943, p. 14.

Kleinebreil argued for a diagnosis that had hitherto never been seriously entertained:⁹⁹ Schumann suffered from hypertension and perhaps ischemic nephropathy (damage to the kidneys caused by inadequate blood flow). “Arteriosclerotic insanity” had ended his life.¹⁰⁰ Kleinebreil agreed that Schumann’s health problems in part stemmed from hereditary factors. Schumann had inherited a predisposition for hypertension. His high blood pressure was worsened by lifestyle habits—Schumann’s love for cigars and his high alcohol consumption. (Though Kleinebreil carefully specified that Schumann was far from being an alcoholic—alcoholics, too, were undergoing forced sterilization).¹⁰¹

Kleinebreil’s work absolved Schumann and his family from the taint of hereditary mental illness. He was now *Erbgesund* (hereditarily healthy), and became a figure of pathos—despite tragic health problems Schumann had persevered to produce works of enduring greatness. In 1937 Schumann’s violin concerto was premiered to great propaganda and hailed as a work that rivaled (and could replace) Mendelssohn’s.¹⁰² But its premiere had been controversial. Eugenie had sought an injunction against the concerto’s publication and performance citing Clara Schumann’s, Brahms’s, and Joachim’s uneasiness over the work’s quality.¹⁰³ In Germany reactions to the work were unanimously positive; outside of Germany, they were mixed. Kleinebreil’s diagnosis could remove the lingering taint of hereditary mental illness from Schumann’s late works.

Kleinebreil’s thesis had a strong influence on physicians’ speculations during the post-war decades, particularly in German-speaking lands. The Swiss psychiatrist Hans Martin Sutermeister (1907-1977), in a 1959 address to the *Schweizerische Psychologische Gesellschaft*, reflected on how his discovery of Kleinebreil’s dissertation took his theorizing on Schumann’s health in an entirely new direction. Kleinebreil’s work had been based in part upon previously unused archival sources from Zwickau; Kleinebreil also had a previous Ph.D. For Sutermeister,

⁹⁹ In reference to Kleinebreil, Steinberg comments that “in accordance with the spirit of the age the old high blood pressure ailment regained prominence.” Yet it never actually had medical “prominence” before Kleinebreil. Schumann had been diagnosed as hypertensive during his life, but hypertension had never played a meaningful role in a pathography before the work of Kleinebreil. See Steinberg, 72.

¹⁰⁰ “arteriosklerotisches Irresein.” Kleinebreil, 25-7. Now typically referred to as “vascular dementia” (sometimes “arteriosclerotic dementia”). It refers to a loss of cognitive function resulting from problems with the vessels that supply blood to the brain, and is the second leading cause of dementia among the elderly behind Alzheimer’s disease. Kraepelin, for example, wrote that “the psychosis appears about the sixtieth year; yet some cases develop before fifty, but in the latter instance there is usually present a strong hereditary tendency to vascular disease. Alcoholism and syphilis may be regarded as etiological factors.” Emil Kraepelin, *Clinical Psychiatry: A Textbook for Students and Physicians*, 7th Edition, trans. A. Ross Diefendorf (New York: Macmillan, 1907), p. 334.

¹⁰¹ “Von den äusseren Faktoren spielten neben der Hypertonie besonders Alkohol und Nikotin eine grosse Rolle; beide huldigte Schumann mehr, als seiner Gesundheit dienlich war. Wir wissen, dass Schumann, wenn er auch kein Alkoholiker im eigentlichen Sinne war, doch einen starken Verbrauch an alkoholischen Getränken hatte; in der Jugend an Bier, und später an Wein und ‘Champagner.’ Wir wissen vor allem aber, dass er sein ganzes Leben von der Schulzeit an ein sehr starker Raucher war, und zwar liebte er ‘feine und starke Zigarren;’ Zeitgenossen kannten ihn fast nur rauchend, bis in die Endenicher Zeit hinein. Der Einfluss des Alkohols und besonders des Nikotins auf den erhöhten Blutdruck und die Arteriosklerose ist so sicher gestellt, dass darüber jede weitere Ausführung überflüssig ist.” Kleinebreil, 27.

¹⁰² See Michael Struck, *Schumann: Violinkonzert d-Moll, Meisterwerke der Musik, Heft 47* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1988), pp. 21-4.

¹⁰³ Newspapers such as the *Völkische Beobachter* blamed Joachim for the works “suppression.” See Hellmuth von Ulmann, *Die veruntreute Handschrift: Robert Schumanns Violinkonzert und seine Tragödie* (Heilbrom: Eugen Salzer, 1981), pp. 18-9.

these lent the work authority and prestige.¹⁰⁴ Sutermeister argued that Schumann suffered from involuntal depression (i.e. a “mid-life crisis”) in part caused by overwork (Richarz’s assessment) and in part by hypertension. Thus Sutermeister brilliantly succeeded in blending together the only two non-stigmatizing diagnoses Schumann had ever received. These two conditions, combined with Schumann’s inner emotional conflicts, brought on a condition of pre-senile vascular dementia [*präsenilen Hirnsklerose*]. While Kleinebreil had largely steered clear of discussing Schumann’s music, Sutermeister made explicit what Kleinebreil’s dissertation had only implied: schizophrenia was not etched into Schumann’s compositions; attempts to explicate his music in terms of schizophrenic pathology were misguided.¹⁰⁵

Despite little evidence in its favor, the hypertension thesis lingered on in psychiatric and musicological discourse until at least the mid-1980s. One of its most vocal supporters was the Mainz-based physician Dieter Kerner (b. 1921), author of the popular book *Krankheiten grosser Musiker* as well as numerous articles both in medical and musicological journals. It was crucial to Kerner that people realized Kleinebreil’s “fundamental” contribution. Schumann “must not be looked at as mentally ill.”¹⁰⁶ The fourth edition of *Krankheiten* appeared in 1986, reasserting arguments he had first advanced at least twenty-five years earlier.¹⁰⁷ The appearance of a

¹⁰⁴ Sutermeister mentions in particular the *Rechenbuch*. See Hans Martin Sutermeister, *Das Rätsel um Robert Schumanns Krankheit, Separatdruck aus der Praxis* (Bern: Schweizerische Rundschau für Medizin, 1959), p. 16.

¹⁰⁵ In particular Sutermeister was referring to the 1958 medical dissertation of the Swiss psychiatrist Miriam Linder. In 1959 the dissertation was published in the *Schweizer Archiv für Neurologie und Psychiatrie*. Linder diagnosed Schumann with schizophrenia and went into a detailed analysis of the schizophrenic characteristics of works composed after 1844. The Second Symphony came under particularly harsh criticism. In general Linder thought that Schumann’s later music had a “strange” feel to it and lacked the emotional warmth of his earlier “healthy” music. Though the level of detail in her musical discussion was unprecedented for a psychiatrist, her diagnosis as well as the conclusions she drew were not new. “Manche von Schumanns Spätwerken erscheinen als fremd und lassen den Hörer nicht teilnehmen, wenn er sich nicht näher mit ihnen befaßt. So wie wir im täglichen Verkehr mit verschrobenen Patienten in einer Klinik erfahren können, daß allerlei an ihren Aussagen verständlich wird, wenn wir uns nur lange genug mit ihnen abgeben, so können gerade Werke von Kranken, die primär fremd erscheinen, darum verständlich werden, weil sie fixiert sind und wir uns beliebig lang mit ihnen beschäftigen können. Bei Schumann fiel der mangelhafte affektive Rapport mit seiner Umgebung auf; die Werke der Spätzeit zeigen aber sehr deutlich, daß dieser der Umgebung auffallende Mangel an affektiven Äußerungen nicht auf einem Mangel an Affektivität schlechthin beruht; das Unheimliche der Spätwerke liegt vielmehr in einer enorm starken affektiven Spannung, in die wir uns nicht mehr ganz einfühlen können. Man könnte eine Art von affektiver Ekphoriestörung annehmen, denn die Werke zeigen, daß affektive Regungen sogar in großem Maß vorhanden sind; sie können aber offenbar nicht so in Erscheinung treten, daß die Umgebung sie wahrnehmen und verstehen kann.” Miriam Linder, *Die Psychose von Robert Schumann und ihr Einfluß auf seine musikalische Komposition* (Zürich: Art. Institut Orell Füssli, 1959), p. 48. Originally: Medical Dissertation, Universität Basel, 1958.

¹⁰⁶ “Seit dem Jahre 1943, als H. Kleinebreil erstmals in einer Dissertation auf die Möglichkeit hinwies, daß bei Robert Schumann sehr wahrscheinlich schon von 1837 an ein Bluthochdruck vorlag, hat sich eine grundlegende Wandlung in der ärztlichen Auffassung auch seiner letzten Krankheit, die ihn über zwei Jahre in die Heilanstalt verbannte, angebahnt...Robert Schumann dürfte demnach nicht als Geisteskranker anzusehen sein, sondern bei dem psycholabilen Patienten trat angesichts einer ungewöhnlich großen Zahl von Konfliktsituationen Anfang 1854 eine Psychose mit schizophrenen Zügen auf, die sich in der Heilanstalt sehr rasch zurückbildete.” Dieter Kerner, “Robert Schumanns Krankheit.” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 121 (1960): 189. See also Dieter Kerner, “Robert Schumanns Krankheit,” *Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 102 (1960): 1806-12.

¹⁰⁷ See Dieter Kerner, *Krankheiten großer Musiker* (Stuttgart: Schattauer, 1986): 194-7. In the sixth edition released in 2008, Kerner’s diagnoses are followed by commentary written by the book’s new editors. Following Kerner’s explication of the hypertension theory, the editors conclude that “die ausführlichen Enderischen Krankenakten belegen nämlich relative eindeutig, dass Schumann an den Folgen einer *Spätsyphilis des Zentralen Nervensystems* (ZNS) [Neurolues] starb.” See Dieter Kerner, *Kerners Krankheiten großer Musiker*, ed. Andreas Otte and Konrad

diagnosis by a medical authority in a book from the mid-1980s obscured the thesis's ideological origins. It became just one more scientifically-authorized possibility for solving Schumann's medical riddle—one that held great appeal by virtue of its ability to sanitize the stigmatized late works.

Indeed, in the mid-1980s Kerner was not alone in advocating the hypertension theory. The American physician Hubert S. Mickel, in a 1984 presentation at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Neurology, concluded that Schumann suffered damage to his nervous system from a combination of hypertension, a pheochromocytoma (a neuroendocrine tumor—Mickel felt this could also explain Schumann's hand problems) and neurofibromatosis (a hereditary disorder where tissue from the nervous system grows tumors).¹⁰⁸ Citing Kleinebreil and Kerner in approval, Mickel proposed that the disagreement over diagnoses had less to do with the clarity of sources, and more with authors' varying aesthetic preferences. Reminiscent of Sutermeister and Kerner, Mickel's exploration became a vehicle to cleanse the music of old prejudices.

It is not likely that one can approach...Schumann's illness without being influenced by what one thinks of his music. Hence, much of what has been stated about...Schumann's illness reflects much about each investigator and his or her views of aesthetics. It is important then that I present my own attitudes...towards Robert Schumann's music and illness directly. I believe (a) that Robert Schumann was an unusually creative composer, an innovator of the first order, (b) that his music suffers little of the effects commonly attributed to it, and (c) that his late compositions, both vocal and instrumental, do not show decline nor increasing eccentricity to indicate mental deterioration, but rather only an intensification of the same compositional techniques that he had used throughout his creative life.¹⁰⁹

Mickel's reflections and diagnosis served his aesthetics well. Ultimately, he believed medical science to have been complicit in the stigmatization of Schumann's music. His contribution was a call for change.

Rethorizing the Romantic Genius

The post-war tendency to move Schumann away from notions of mental illness exemplified in the work of Sutermeister and Kerner was in part a small reflection of a medical rethorizing of the concept of genius. In Germany during the 1930s and 40s, research by the German physician Adele Juda had "demonstrated" a weak connection between genius and certain types of mental illnesses, in particular schizophrenia and manic-depressive illness.¹¹⁰ First published in 1953, *Höchstbegabung: Ihre Erbverhältnisse sowie ihre Beziehungen zu psychischen Anomalien* [The

Wink (New York: Schattauer, 2008), pp. 250-1, 254. I extend my thanks to Sanna Pederson for making this source available to me.

¹⁰⁸ Hubert S. Mickel, "The Illness of Robert Schumann Reconsidered," (Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Neurology, Boston, May 1984), p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

¹¹⁰ Despite her last name she was Catholic. For biographical information on her life see Ute Wiedemann, "Die Höchstbegabtenstudie Adele Judas als Beispiel für die Erforschung des 'Genialenproblems,'" Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Medicine, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 2005, pp. 16-32.

Highest Mental Ability: Its Relationship to Heredity and Mental Abnormality] had occupied Juda from 1927 until 1943.¹¹¹ Juda's study was historical—she restricted herself to German-speaking subjects living between 1650 and 1900, whose descendants she sought out and interviewed. Ultimately her study drew upon the families of 113 artists and 181 scientists.¹¹²

Perhaps predictably, the political environment molded not only the motives for her study and the questions she posed, but also the way in which she interpreted her results. In her doctoral dissertation Juda had examined the inheritability of schizophrenia.¹¹³ The study of a possible connection between mental illness and genius was of great importance to her because she hoped eugenics-based laws could one day decrease the former while increasing the latter. It was “necessary” to disprove a connection between the two; only this could offer assurance that sterilization would not prevent the births of geniuses. Indeed, her work was part of the larger project of her laboratory, “empirische Erbprognose” (empirical study of hereditary prognoses).¹¹⁴ Juda's research allowed her to conclude publically (i.e. published during her lifetime) that the vast majority of geniuses had no mental “abnormalities.”

There is no definite relationship between highest mental capacity and psychic health or illness, and no evidence to support the assumption that the genesis of highest intellectual ability depends on psychic abnormalities. The high number of mentally healthy geniuses speaks against such a claim and repudiates the slogan “genius and insanity.” Psychoses, especially schizophrenia, proved to be detrimental to creative ability. Milder psychic abnormalities within the limits of psychoneurosis such as the combination of emotional instability and psychic tension exerted in some instances a stimulating influence.¹¹⁵

This 1949 conclusion is striking in part because it differs from the posthumously published assessment of her data's significance. In the 1953 German publication it was concluded that

¹¹¹ Adele Juda, *Höchstbegabung: Ihre Erbverhältnisse sowie ihre Beziehungen zu psychischen Anomalien* (München: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1953). A twelve-page abstract was published in English translation several years before the full study was published in German. See Juda, “The Relationship between Highest Mental Capacity and Psychic Abnormalities,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 106 (1949): 296-307. The study's publication history is complicated. Juda was unable to get it published before the end of WWII, and afterwards no publishers wanted anything to do with a study so steeped in concepts of racial hygiene. The difficulty she had in publishing her work was also in part due to Gruhle, whose authority was trusted after the war because he had been a strong critic of the National Socialists. Gruhle had reservations about Juda's work, its orientation and presuppositions. Juda died in 1949 and the study was eventually published on her behalf by a colleague in 1953. See Wiedemann, 122-37.

¹¹² For musicians, she limited herself to composers who were selected for her by German musicologists. She sent questionnaires asking for lists of the most important German-speaking composers living between 1650 and 1900. Those who were listed by at least a majority of the musicologists made it into her study. She ended up with 27 composers, of which Handel, Bach, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Wagner, Bruckner, Brahms, and Reger were nominated unanimously. In her study she did not disclose the names of her probands. In the 1950s, two British psychiatrists visited her old research institute, the Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie (Kraepelin's old laboratory), and were allowed to look at her notes and publish the names. See Eliot Slater and Alfred Meyer, “Contributions to a Pathography of the Musicians: 1. Robert Schumann,” *Confinia Psychiatrica* 2 (1959): 66-8. Initially, her large sample group of scientists and artists had twenty Jewish geniuses. After 1939 they (including Mendelssohn and Mahler) were taken out of the data prepared for publication. The 1953 published study does not include them. See Wiedemann, 81-4.

¹¹³ Dissertation: “Zum Problem der empirischen Erbprognosebestimmung: Über die Erkrankungsaussichten der Enkel Schizophrener,” *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie* 113 (1928).

¹¹⁴ Wiedemann, 34.

¹¹⁵ Juda, “The Relationship between Highest Mental Capacity and Psychic Abnormalities,” 306.

there was a higher than expected rate of mental illness.¹¹⁶ Of her 113 artists, 2.8% were schizophrenic (general population, .8%), none were manic-depressive (general population, .4%), and 27.3% were psychopaths (normal population 10-12%). [Figure 3.5] Her diagnostic categories, as well as the way she described the results of her study during her lifetime, are telling. Schizophrenia and manic-depressive illness were regarded as two of the most serious psychiatric diagnoses; eugenics-inspired laws were particularly directed at their eradication. For artists, the incidence of schizophrenia was still relatively low, and manic-depressive illness, non-existent. The various conditions grouped under the umbrella of “psychopathic” were far less debilitating. “High-strung,” “weak,” or “eccentric” individuals were not the primary targets of sterilization laws.

Writing in a dissertation on Juda, Ute Wiedemann reflected that

If Juda had been able to prove that “her geniuses” did not in any way exhibit a higher incidence of psychosis or psychopathic traits, assumptions of a correspondence between genius and mental illness would have been refuted. Even though the main questions guiding her study had been formulated before 1933, the expected—though not proven—results could have contributed to justify policies of forced sterilization under National Socialism.¹¹⁷

Figure 3.5

		PSYCHIC ABNORMALITIES OF 113 ARTISTS														
		Psychopaths							Psychoses							
	N	Normal	Schizoid eccentrics	Emotionally unstable	Weak characters	Excitable and high-strung	Hysterical	Others	Schiso- phrenia	Manic- depressive	General paralysis	Senile dementia	Cerebral athero- sclerosis	Un- determined	Alcoholism	Suicide
Architects	12	10	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Sculptors	18	13	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Painters	20	16	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
Musicians	26	16	2	1	2	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	..
Poets	37	17	2	4	2	1	2	6	2	..	1	..	1	1	1	1
Total	113	72	10	5	4	2	3	7	3	..	3	1	3	3	3	2
Percentage..	100.0	63.7	8.9	4.4	3.5	1.8	2.7	6.2	2.7	..	2.7	0.9	2.7	2.7	2.7	1.8

Figure from page 298 of Adele Juda, “The Relationship between Highest Mental Capacity and Psychic Abnormalities,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 106 (1949).

¹¹⁶ See Juda, *Höchstbegabung: Ihre Erbverhältnisse sowie ihre Beziehungen zu psychischen Anomalien*, 32-51, 93-4.

¹¹⁷ “Befürworten des ‘Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses’ wurde vorgeworfen, dass durch die Sterilisierung psychisch kranker Menschen die Geburt von Genies verhindert würde. Hätte Juda nun nachweisen können, dass ‘ihre Genies’ keineswegs eine höhere Inzidenz an Psychosen und Psychopathien aufweisen, so wäre o.g. Vermutung widerlegt worden. Auch wenn die Hauptfragestellung der Studie lange vor 1933 formuliert wurde, so hätte das erwartete—aber nicht erbrachte—Resultat dazu beitragen können, die Sterilisierungspraxis im Nationalsozialismus zu rechtfertigen.” Wiedemann, 135-6.

The discrepancy between her confident remarks published in English during her lifetime denying significant correlation, and the posthumous publication of her data showing a more complicated picture, illustrates how her research could be spun in different ways to demonstrate desired ends.

I have dealt with Juda's work at length because several well-known scientists discussing Schumann draw upon it without stopping to consider the aims it served and the values that underlie its parameters. Her work, with its charts, percentages, and quantitative data, has seemed politics-free; it has been taken as a model of objective, empirical research. What is more, the reception of Juda's work offers a telling instance of scholars using the data from a single study to support opposing conclusions. Just as Juda was able to spin her data to fit outside exigencies, those drawing upon her work have proceeded somewhat similarly. In a well-known 1959 pathography of Schumann, the British psychiatrists Eliot Slater and Alfred Meyer provided previously unavailable information on Juda's subjects that they had received during a research trip to examine her materials in Munich. Schumann, they learned, had been classified as psychotic.¹¹⁸ Juda's study, which was "systematic" and avoided "personal bias," allowed them to conclude that

there was...a little, but only a little, more psychosis in both groups [artists and scientists] than could have been expected if they had been members of the general population. But in both groups there was about double the normal expectation of psychopaths. This is a decisive counterdemonstration to the vulgar belief that men of genius are by and large mad or half-mad, and it shows that not only is normality of personality compatible with the highest achievement but also that the majority of men of the greatest achievement are normal. It still leaves open, however, as a problem requiring the closest study, the relationship of "genius" with abnormality of personality.¹¹⁹

Geniuses were perhaps a bit strange, then, but not prone to florid psychosis. Slater and Meyer, inspired by Juda's work and wishing to further it, proposed undertaking "impartial" studies of several composers. They would begin with Schumann, a figure known to have been "psychotic," as a first step in approaching their research "problem." After reevaluating familiar evidence, they settled on manic-depressive illness followed by syphilis. Schizophrenia, they reasoned, had to be ruled out since musicologists had convincingly demonstrated no decline in the quality of Schumann's compositions before 1852.¹²⁰ But one of their strongest pieces of evidence for a diagnosis of manic-depressive illness was the way Schumann's compositional productivity (as they defined it) matched up with his mood. For Slater and Meyer, "productivity" was equated with opus numbers. This provided a quantitative way to chart musical production vs. state of

¹¹⁸ Slater and Meyer mentioned that Juda had classified Schumann's illness as an "endogenous psychosis of unclear nature, with a final organic psychosis not to be excluded." Slater and Meyer, 69. The designation "endogenous" meant either schizophrenia or manic-depressive illness (as opposed to an "organic" disease such as syphilis). The terms endogenous and exogenous are now typically thought of as false oppositions and not frequently used in psychiatry. Möbius prominently helped introduce the terms into psychiatry.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 66-7.

¹²⁰ They credit Gerald Abraham with writing that "a certain element of heavy, sometimes bombastic, banality may have already appeared earlier. But such fairly late works as the Rhenish symphony (1850), the D minor violin sonata (1851) and the song 'Der Gärtner,' op. 107 (1851-2), show that the general decline must not be dated too early." They quote Joan Chissell as saying "only after [1851] is [Schumann's] spontaneous imagination smothered and destroyed." Ibid., 85.

discourse on Schumann's illness. In part it is reminiscent of Juda's zeal for quantification and her data charts. In part it recalls the mood charts Kraepelin used to present the episodes of his manic-depressive patients to the readers of his textbook.¹²³ [Figure 3.7] The bar graph moved Schumann's music away from the realm of the "interpretative;" it would enable scientists to use Schumann's "music" as data without musicological intermediaries. It could seemingly not be misinterpreted.¹²⁴ "Any impartial examination" Slater and Meyer averred, would "irresistibly" point to a diagnosis of cyclothymia. "Schumann was hypochondriacal, oppressed by irrational fears and bodily malaise, dependent and self-reproachful. The evidence of a manic-depressive constitution could hardly be more complete."¹²⁵

Largely drawing upon the work of Slater and Meyer (and their chart), Kay Jamison, Professor of Psychiatry at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, similarly felt that a manic-depressive diagnosis for Schumann was self-evident. For Jamison, Schumann was just one of a multitude of "exceptional" artists, both from centuries past and contemporary society, to suffer from the illness. Her 1993 book *Touched with Fire: Manic-Depressive Illness and the Artistic Temperament* is perhaps the best-known and most frequently cited study in any language today arguing for connections between this disorder and genius. The book is immensely readable and aimed in part at lay consumers. Curiously, Jamison also drew upon Juda's study to support her thesis—curious in part, because of Juda's 113 artists, not a single one was supposed to have had manic-depressive illness. Jamison reinterpreted the data, seemingly feeling that many among the 29% Juda classed as psychopaths in fact suffered from cyclothymia. Slater and Meyer had been impressed by the "normality" of Juda's majority. Jamison, however, emphasized that a higher rate of suicides, "insane," and "neurotic" individuals were found among Juda's artists

an article that was republished by *Scientific American* in 1997; Robert W. Weisberg, "Genius and Madness? A Quasi-Experimental Test of the Hypothesis that Manic-Depression Increases Creativity," *Psychological Science* 5(1994): 363; reprinted in Robert W. Weisberg, *Creativity: Understanding Innovation in Problem Solving, Science, Invention, and the Arts* (New Jersey: John Wiley, 2006), p. 365; Schumann's example inspired an identical graph for Emily Dickinson: Christopher H. Ramey and Robert W. Weisberg, "The 'Poetical Activity' of Emily Dickinson: A Further Test of the Hypothesis that Affective Disorders Foster Creativity," *Creativity Research Journal* 16 (2004): 177. The Schumann graph was also reproduced in Natalie Angier, "An Old Idea about Genius Wins New Scientific Support," *The New York Times* 12 October 1993, graph on p. C8; Roberta Conlan and J. Allan Hobson, *States of Mind: New Discoveries about How Our Brains Make Us who We Are* (New York: John Wiley, 1999), p. 63; Scott O. Lilienfeld, *Looking into Abnormal Psychology: Contemporary Readings* (USA: Brooks and Cole, 1998), p. 15; Francis Mark Mondimore, *Bipolar Disorder: A Guide for Patients and Families* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 212, and likely many other places.

¹²³ Kraepelin, *Manic-Depressive Insanity and Paranoia*, 140-8. Martin discusses Kraepelin's charts in relation to mood charts bipolar patients now often keep. See Martin, 177-88.

¹²⁴ As Slater and Meyer's graph purportedly demonstrated, periods of mania substantially increased Schumann's productivity. Accordingly, several psychologists began to wonder whether the quality of the work produced during manic episodes was any higher. Robert Weisberg, Professor of Psychology at Temple University, sought to answer the question just as objectively as Slater and Meyer had demonstrated productivity. He determined that a given work's "quality" could be quantitatively measured by the number of recordings for that work listed in the Schwann catalog. Bar graphs showing the number of recordings of works composed in a given year versus the year demonstrated that the proportion of higher-quality works produced during periods of mania was roughly the same as the proportion produced at other times. Conclusion: Bipolar disorder does not cause creativity and has no effect on the "quality" of works created. His study seems analogous to and in a way follows the logic of psychiatric studies that look only at heredity in discussing mental illness. The results of excluding the effects of everything social are stunningly reductive research questions, methodologies and conclusions. See Robert W. Weisberg, "Genius and Madness?" Disconcertingly, the study is frequently cited in psychology/psychiatry literature on creativity.

¹²⁵ Slater and Meyer, 88, 92.

Figure 3.7

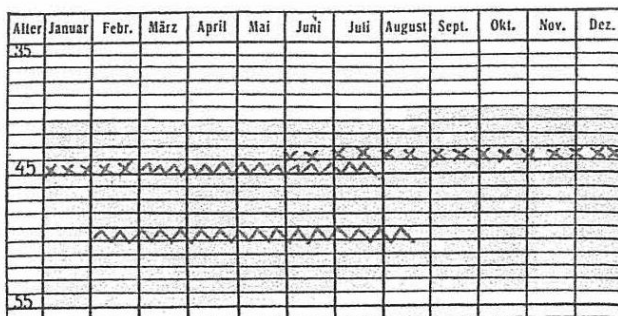


FIG. 26.—Chronic Depression (5).

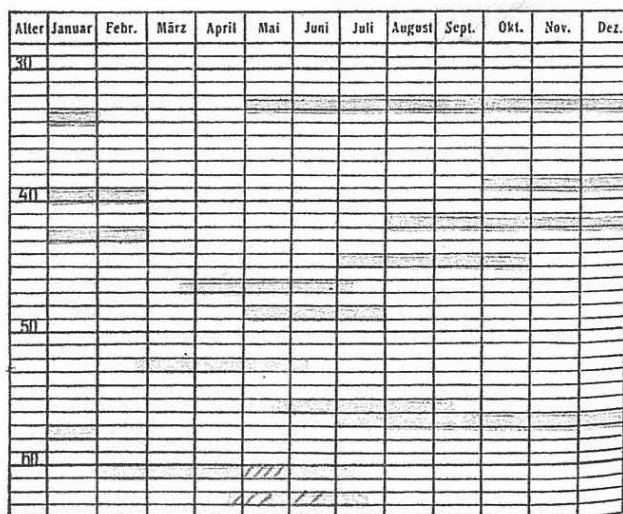


FIG. 27.—Periodic Mania (6).

Figure from page 142 of Emil Kraepelin, *Manic-Depressive Insanity and Paranoia*.
Translated by R. Mary Barclay. Edinburgh: E&S Livingstone, 1921.

than in the control group. Jamison never mentioned the 0% rate of manic-depressive illness, but she did offer that Juda’s work was “hampered by...inadequate diagnostic methods...(a common problem in psychiatric research prior to the development of standardized diagnostic criteria in the early 1970s).”¹²⁶ Yet the diagnostic confusion she cites is between manic-depressive illness and schizophrenia—certainly relevant but not straightforwardly so to Juda’s study, where only

¹²⁶ Jamison, *Touched with Fire*, 59-60. Jamison actually drew her data from Juda’s 1949 publication in the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, which had argued more straightforwardly for the normality of her probands. In fact, she cited Juda’s work as a “1949” study. Clearly the work was of sufficiently large a scope to have required a significant amount of time to complete. But perhaps acknowledging that would have opened up too many troubling questions.

2.8% of artists were given the diagnosis of schizophrenia. Jamison's insistence on modern diagnostic clarity opens up an epistemological problem when applied to historical figures:

Although some confusion still remains [with the differential diagnosis of manic-depressive illness and schizophrenia], it is much less of a problem than it used to be. Most clinicians are now aware that psychotic features such as flagrant paranoia, severe cognitive disorganization, delusions, and hallucinations—once thought by some psychiatrists to be more characteristic of schizophrenia—are in fact relatively common in manic-depressive illness. The latter can usually be distinguished from schizophrenia by a family history of depression, manic-depressive illness, or suicide, a lifetime course of manic and depressive episodes interspersed with long periods of normal thinking and behavior, and generally healthier personality and social functioning prior to the onset of illness. Bizarre behavior, once thought to be much more characteristic of schizophrenia, is now recognized as a frequent component of mania as well. Many artists and writers described by some earlier biographers a schizophrenic—for example... Schumann... would not be classified as such today.¹²⁷

Beyond the questionable logic of using a family member's diagnosis—which would have involved its own contingencies—to firm up a patient's diagnosis, her discussion points to the instability of her categories. Behaviors that once defined schizophrenia, Jamison asserts, are now constitutive of others diseases as well; the disease entities themselves were changing. The history of Schumann's diagnoses has been characterized by divarication—physicians arguing against previous assessments and struggling to make more “accurate” interpretations of available material. The project of “disproving” a previous diagnosis and positing a new one rests on the assumption that the diagnostic categories have themselves remained stable.¹²⁸ Indeed, Jamison's whole study rests upon that assumption. Yet as Jamison hints (without seeming to sense the implications), psychiatric classifications are anything but fixed.

Jamison's belief in the fixity of manic-depressive illness as well as her conviction that we have been progressively approaching its “truth” allowed her to place dozens of famous artists side by side as comrades in suffering. And it is here that she parted ways from Slater and Meyer—and the entirety of the Schumannian medical-pathographic tradition, really. She reoriented manic-depressive illness into an almost unalloyed good, something that she referred to many times as an “advantage.”¹²⁹ Certainly Jamison described the devastating pain manic-depressive illness often inflicts, commenting on the extraordinarily high suicide rate among manic-depressive patients, for example. But a comparison of adjectives frequently found in her work with those often drawn upon by the psychiatrist who most famously theorized the manic-depressive diagnostic category, reveals that the disease's connotations had undergone a dramatic shift.

Jamison: fiery, ebullient, euphoric, grandiose, self-confident, intrusive, intense, eccentric, melancholic, chameleon, temperamental, vulnerable, amphibious, mercurial, highly responsive, sensitive, distractible, irritable, energetic, visionary, volatile, stormy, exhausted, exuberant, indefatigable, paranoid, weary, enthusiastic, suicidal.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 59-60.

¹²⁸ Martin, 197-233.

¹²⁹ See, for example, Jamison, *Touched with Fire*, 3, 8.

Kraepelin: dull, retarded, tormented, cheery, distractible, peevish, insufferable, dissatisfied, irritable, disorderly, stupefied, confused, bewildered, gloomy, despondent, versatile, suicidal, pert, abrupt, agitated, restless, weary, anxious, lost, clever, apoplectic, fearful, delusional, unproductive, excited, dirty, unapproachable, despairing, capricious, repellant, nervous, merry, and sexually excitable.¹³⁰

Jamison's book is a celebration of the trans-historical "manic-depressive temperament;" in her hands mania became a great enabler, an "object of desire."¹³¹ And it was something only a select few were granted—Jamison stressed repeatedly that manic-depressive illness was a hereditary disorder. Largely uninterested in environmental factors, she worked within what is typically referred to as the "biomedical paradigm."¹³² Reducing the disease to genetics helped justify historical and geographic reductionism. And certainly that was no departure from how manic-depressive illness had been typically conceptualized during the preceding century. What had changed was not the approach to research but the meanings of mental illness.

Lionel Trilling once reflected that

The myth of the sick artist...has established itself because it is of advantage to the various groups who have one or another relation with art...By means of his belief in his own sickness, the artist may the more easily fulfill his chosen, and assigned, function of putting himself into connection with the forces of spirituality and morality; the artist sees as insane the "normal" and "healthy" ways of established society, while aberration and illness appear as spiritual and moral health if only because they controvert the ways of respectable society. Then too, the myth has its advantage for the philistine...By supposing that the artist has an interesting but not always reliable relation to reality, [the philistine] is able to contain (in the military sense) what the artist tells him...And in addition to its advantage to the artist and to the philistine, we must take into account the usefulness of the myth to a third group, the group of "sensitive" people, who, although not artists are not philistines either. These people form a group by virtue of their passive impatience with philistinism, and also by virtue of their awareness of their own emotional pain and uncertainty...they seek to approximate or acquire the character of the artist, sometimes by planning to work or even attempting to work as the artist does.¹³³

¹³⁰ There is nothing systematic about these lists, but I do believe them to be representative of the language both use. The adjectives are drawn from Jamison, *Touched with Fire*, and Kraepelin, *Manic-Depressive Insanity*.

¹³¹ Martin argues that "mania is the part of manic depression that...emerges onto the political economic stage as an object of desire." Martin, 9.

¹³² Work within the biomedical paradigm tends to take individuals as biological units of analysis, separable from historical, cultural and political contexts. Biomedical research tends to be positivist (i.e. with the goal of knowledge accumulation). Biomedical research favors the quantitative over the qualitative. Categories such as race, sexuality, and gender are typically understood as fixed properties of individuals rather than (or also) as forms of social relations (and thus connected to political, historical, and social processes). See for example, Leith Mullings and Amy J. Schulz, "Intersectionality and Health: An Introduction," Lynn Weber, "Reconstructing the Landscape of Health Disparities Research: Promoting Dialogue and Collaboration Between Feminist Intersectional and Biomedical Paradigms," and Jessie Daniels and Amy J. Schulz, "Constructing Whiteness in Health Disparities Research," in *Gender, Race, Class, & Health: Intersectional Approaches*, ed. Amy J. Schulz and Leith Mullings (San Francisco: John Wiley, 2006).

¹³³ Lionel Trilling, "Art and Neurosis," in *The Liberal Imagination* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2008), pp. 163-5. The book was originally published in 1950. Jamison argues about the connection manic-depressive temperaments have with "nature"/"spirituality." Her assertion, for example, that "a strong argument can be made that the periodicities of the natural world—as well as its great beholdenness to light, its chaos, perturbances, agitations, and violence, its fluctuations, shadows, edges and upheavals—that all of these find their analogue in the

Jamison's study prompts an additional category: the advantages the concept of the mentally-ill artist has for those living with the diagnosis of a mental illness.

In her memoir *An Unquiet Mind*, Jamison discusses her own diagnosis of manic-depressive illness.¹³⁴ Given the readable tone of *Touched with Fire*, the book's intended audience surely included those living with a diagnosis of manic-depressive illness. Seen from this perspective her focus on genetics has other advantages as well. Genetic research holds open the promise of biological markers for the illness and the possibility of definitive cures, what the sociologist Peter Conrad refers to as "genetic optimism."¹³⁵ Describing manic-depressive illness as a genetic disorder could remove notions of individual culpability from it, which could lessen the intolerance often leveled against patients.

Diagnostic stability helped make Jamison's historical figures heroines and heroes.¹³⁶ They embodied triumph over a devastating diagnosis, they inspired, they could help patients feel pride in a stigmatized illness. Emily Martin, drawing on her ethnographic work with bipolar disorder support groups, argued that during the 1970s cultural references to mania increased significantly—a symptom and cause of a process of redefining the concept.¹³⁷ "Mania or, more accurately, mania in mild hypomanic form, is extremely seductive, not least because it seems to offer capacities that lend themselves to success in the contemporary business and entertainment worlds: continuous wakefulness, boundless energy, high motivation, and productivity."¹³⁸ Concomitant with this reevaluation, she suggested, was a masculinization of mania. In other words, there had been a reversal from its gendered connotations at the *fin de siècle*. Jamison writes, for example, that "manic states...seem to be more the provenance of men: restless, fiery, aggressive, volatile, energetic, risk taking, grandiose and visionary, and impatient with the status quo."¹³⁹ Under Jamison, then, Schumann was being brought into conformity with contemporary corporate and academic cultures—his biography and health history were being reinterpreted in

periodicities and patterns intrinsic to the artistic and the manic-depressive temperaments...The artist, I believe, is closer to the fundamental pulse of life because his or her daily and yearly rhythms are more similar to those of the natural world." Jamison, *Touched by Fire*, 129. In the last sentence, artist and manic depressive get collapsed.

¹³⁴ Kay Jamison, *An Unquiet Mind: A Memoir of Moods and Madness*.

¹³⁵ Peter Conrad, "Genetic Optimism: Framing Genes and Mental Illness in the News," *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 25 (2001): 225-47.

¹³⁶ Of the seven chapters in *Touched with Fire*, one is devoted entirely to Byron. Chapter six ("Genealogies of these High Mortal Miseries: The Inheritance of Manic-Depressive Illness") included several case studies, discussing twelve men and three women. And in chapter three Jamison provided a detailed chart from her own research of "all major British and Irish poets born between 1705 and 1805." (Never mind for now the methodological problems presented by her categories "major" and "great.") These included thirty four men and one woman. Therefore, of the artists she discussed in some detail, women comprised only 7.8% (forty seven males and four females). Jamison did not remark upon this, which might suggest that she did not find it to be a methodological problem. Yet early on in her book she explained that "men and women are equally likely to have manic-depressive illness, in contrast to major depressive illness, which is more than twice as likely to affect women." The explanation for the low percentage of women in such an historical study is, of course, unsurprising. It was often assumed that women were very rarely represented among canonical artists due to biological difference that inhibited creativity, genius, and/or originality, among other "innate" factors. Jamison provided a biological explanation of genius removed from societal influences, different from, but in some ways reminiscent of the older ideas of biological superiority.

¹³⁷ Martin writes that "however intoxicating hypomanic states are, most people in support groups realize that not everyone will be able to ride mania to fame and fortune. By far the greatest majority of stories I heard about mania, hypomania, or depression were stories of pain, loss, and suffering." Martin, 210.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 210.

¹³⁹ As quoted by Martin, 211, but see 210-2.

their images. Schumann's productivity—his drafting of the Bb symphony in four days, for example—could serve as the impossible ideal. And not only for those living with a diagnosis of manic-depressive illness, but those envious of the romanticized conception of the illness as well.

Jamison's prolific writings have been widely read and are frequently cited in Anglo-American scholarship from the past fifteen years. She has also sought to disseminate her research and opinions among musicologists. In 1994 she moderated a panel at the annual Bard Music Festival entitled "The Inner World of Robert Schumann: Manic Depression and the Creative Process." It was reported to have been well attended and to have produced, as expected, considerable dissent. Still, according to James Oestreich writing for *The New York Times*, by the end of the panel discussion all participants agreed that Schumann had suffered from manic-depressive illness, and all kept open the possibility that he had died of syphilis.¹⁴⁰

Since her 1993 book, she has embarked on a wide variety of projects promoting Schumann along with other famous "mentally-ill" composers in attempts to broaden awareness of what these individuals overcame. In 1985, she collaborated with the executive director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic to put on a concert of music by the "manic-depressive" composers Schumann, Berlioz, and Wolf. A similar concert followed a few years later at the Kennedy Center with the National Symphony Orchestra.¹⁴¹ Entitled "Moods and Music," the concert program was later broadcast as a television show, which won the 1992 National Institute of Mental Health Media Award. Many subsequent "Moods and Music" concerts have ensued, including one as recently as 2006 again with the Los Angeles Philharmonic. In interviews she has discussed her work as a vehicle to change public perception of mental illness, a message she was also able to promote through her appearance on the PBS television show "Great Minds of Medicine" and her selection as a *Time* magazine "Hero of Medicine."¹⁴² Jamison has been the recipient of several prestigious awards, including a MacArthur Fellowship in 2001. And she continues to research in the area. In February 2009, for example, she chaired the symposium "Depression and Creativity" in honor of Mendelssohn (who, the symposium's website clarifies, "died after a severe depression following the death of his sister Fanny.")¹⁴³ Never mind the stroke.

Jamison is not the only doctor simultaneously attempting to bring Schumann a new following and manic-depressive patients more empathy. In 2001 the Harvard-educated psychiatrist and pianist Richard Kogan chaired a session at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association entitled "Schumann, Manic-Depressive Illness, and the Creative Process,"¹⁴⁴ and in 2004 produced the DVD "Music and the Mind: The Life and Works of Robert Schumann."¹⁴⁵ This video, a lecture/performance focusing on mental illness, is clearly indebted to Jamison's work. Kogan dilates upon Schumann's bipolar symptoms and explains to his viewers how they shaped selected works. "I'm convinced that [Carnaval] could not have been written by someone who did not suffer from bipolar disorder...the entire piece is a catalog of

¹⁴⁰ See James R. Oestreich, "Music Review: Diverse Musicians and Psychiatrists Take on Schumann," *The New York Times* 17 August 1994 and Jamie James, "Classical Music: Though This Were Madness, Was There yet Method in't?" *The New York Times* 7 August 1994.

¹⁴¹ Jamison, *An Unquiet Mind*, 129.

¹⁴² Kristin Leutwyler, "Coming through Madness: Profile, Kay Jamison," *Scientific American* (November 1995): 44-5.

¹⁴³ See <http://www.loc.gov/rr/perform/concert/0809-musicandthebrain.html>. Accessed 5 January 2009.

¹⁴⁴ Anonymous, "Report on Annual Meeting," *Psychiatric News* 37 (2002): 38.

¹⁴⁵ DVD: Richard Kogan, *Music and the Mind, Volume One: The Life and Works of Robert Schumann*, produced and directed by Barry Bittman (Yamaha Corporation of America, 2004).

bipolar symptomatology.” Eusebius represented Schumann’s “depressive side” while Florestan illustrated Schumann’s “manic self.” Flitting from idea to idea in Carnival, Kogan insists, was an exteriorization of the “disorganized” and “illogical” thought processes that typify manic episodes. Kogan gives a lesson here in musical listening. Linking his short excerpts to depressive and manic moods, he demonstrates how to hear “Schumann” within the piece. The explication is followed by a complete performance so that listeners can put into practice what they have just learned.

Kogan encourages his patients to experiment with musical expression so they too might experience the “outlet” that a “spiritual diary” in music can provide. Music becomes a vehicle for exteriorizing the “inner self.” Like Jamison, Kogan draws primarily from the realm of musical Romanticism and Romantic-era (inspired) reception. Kogan’s APA lectures have included talks on the mental health of Beethoven, Mozart and Chaikovsky. Tellingly, both Jamison and Kogan seem unaware that their definitions of creativity and the “artistic temperament” draw upon values that are far from universal, and that conveniently flourished during the times at which these artistic figures lived.¹⁴⁶

Schumann and Post-War Positivism

Yet medical scholars writing during the 1980s and 90s, particularly those working outside of the United States, did not typically adopt the bipolar disorder diagnosis. Despite Jamison’s prominence, her views remained one possibility among many within medical circles.¹⁴⁷ Changes in psychiatric diagnostic classifications help clarify what was perhaps the most common diagnosis Schumann was given at this time: a “mixed” psychosis (of which there were/are many). This category tended to be conceptualized as middle ground between manic-depressive illness and schizophrenia. In German lands as early as the late 1950s, a multitude of possibilities were proposed in attempts to refine the bipolar disorder and schizophrenia categories. In American psychiatry (and for different reasons), this began to occur prominently during the 1970s. Accordingly, there was a gradual loosening of the boundaries separating what had been thought of as discrete categories. Psychiatric research since this time has prompted debate as to whether the two are actually “different” disorders at all; many argue that it would be more beneficial to patients to consider the illnesses as existing at different ends of a multi-dimensional spectrum.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ In a level-headed review Louis A. Sass criticizes Jamison’s notions of the “artist” and “creativity” as temporally and geographically specific, viz. as steeped in Romantic values. In part the issue is critical to him because of his own work on connections between schizophrenic temperaments and modernism, particularly modern art— something for which Jamison’s work leaves little room. See Louis A. Sass, “Schizophrenia, Modernism and the ‘Creative Imagination’: On Creativity and Psychopathology,” *Creativity Research Journal* 13 (2000-2001): 55-74.

¹⁴⁷ A prominent exception to this is the physician Franz Hermann Franken, whose work I discuss in relation to the discovery of Schumann’s medical records.

¹⁴⁸ The literature on the topic is vast and debates are contentious. Furthermore, clear, “precise,” recognizable diagnoses have a strong appeal and serve many purposes in clinical practice (as well as in the practice of retrospective diagnosis)—a topic I explore in the conclusion. For a good survey of the issues from some of the most prestigious journals, see for example, Michael Alan Taylor, “Are Schizophrenia and Affective Disorders Related? A Selective Literature Review,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 149 (1992): 22-32; Deborah Blacker, et al. “Contested Boundaries of Bipolar Disorder and the Limits of Categorical Diagnosis in Psychiatry,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 149 (1992): 1473-83; E. Fuller Torrey, et al., “Are Schizophrenia and Bipolar Disorder One

In 1957 the East-German psychiatrist Karl Leonhard (1904-1988) published the textbook *Aufteilung der endogenen Psychosen* [English translation, 1979, *The Classification of Endogenous Psychoses*], in which he introduced the concept of “cycloid psychoses,” “unsystematic schizophrenias,” and “systematic schizophrenias,” in addition to affective psychoses.¹⁴⁹ Each had several subcategories. What emerged was a dense, difficult, but arguably more precise classificatory system that could situate the disconcertingly large number of patients whose symptoms fit neither the classic manic-depressive nor schizophrenic profiles. His 1988 book *Bedeutende Persönlichkeiten in ihren psychischen Krankheiten (Famous People and Their Mental Illnesses)* had a chapter that attempted to diagnose Schumann:

Schumann's illness oscillated between two poles...One cannot, however, entertain a diagnosis of manic-depressive illness due to Schumann's hallucinations. But there are also forms of schizophrenia in which patients' moods move between manic and depressive poles. Most frequently this refers to 'periodic catatonic schizophrenia,' ...Indeed there is hardly any other possible diagnosis that could explain his symptoms. Of the schizophrenic forms, only those that tend towards a bipolar course can be considered.¹⁵⁰

The unsystematic schizophrenias, of which periodic catatonic schizophrenia was only one, bore similarities to both cycloid and affective psychoses. In contrast to all of these, however, the unsystematic schizophrenias typically led to a progressive worsening of cognitive function.¹⁵¹ This helped solve a problem Gruhle and Möbius had faced while theorizing Schumann's illness(es): what they interpreted as manic-depressive symptoms (plus hallucination) combined with a worsening condition (which could only signal schizophrenia or a second illness). And Leonhard was not alone in proposing this diagnosis for Schumann. Also agreeing with him was the Viennese physician and Mozarteum graduate Anton Neumayr. In his 1989 book *Musik und Medizin am Beispiel der deutschen Romantik (Music and Medicine using the Example of German Romanticism)* Neumayr similarly opts for a diagnosis of periodic catatonic

Disease or Two? Introduction to the Symposium,” *Schizophrenia Research* 39 (1999): 93-4; Wolfgang Meier, et al., “Genetic Models of Schizophrenia and Bipolar Disorder: Overlapping Inheritance or Discrete Genotypes?” *European Archive of Psychiatry and Clinical Neuroscience* 255 (2005): 159-66; Nick Craddock, et al. “The Beginning of the End for the Kraepelinian Dichotomy,” *British Journal of Psychiatry* 186 (2005): 364-6; Heinz Häfner, et al. “Evidence for Separate Diseases? Stages of One Disease or Different Combinations of Symptom Dimensions?” *European Archive of Psychiatry and Clinical Neuroscience* 258 (2008): 85-96.

¹⁴⁹ Karl Leonhard was Professor of Psychiatry and director of the Nervenlinik des Bereichs Medizin (Charité) of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. His theorizing was indebted to a line of German psychiatrists who had disagreed with Kraepelin's subsumption of endogenous illnesses into the two discrete categories of schizophrenia and manic-depressive illness. See C. Perris, “Leonhard and the Cycloid Psychoses,” in *A History of Clinical Psychiatry: The Origin and History of Psychiatric Disorders*, ed. German E. Berrios and Roy Porter (New York: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 421-30. Karl Leonhard, *Classification of Endogenous Psychoses and their Differentiated Etiology*, ed. Helmut Beckmann (New York: Springer, 1999).

¹⁵⁰ “Zugleich ist aber zu beachten, daß die Krankheit Schumanns nach zwei Polen gerichtet war, da der Senkung in Stimmung und Aktivität eine Steigerung folgte. An eine manisch-depressive Psychose kann man nicht mehr denken; aber es gibt auch Schizophrenien, die zwischen zwei Polen verlaufen. Am meisten gilt das für die ‘periodische Katatonie’ mit ihren hyperkinetischen und akinetischen Schüben...Freilich, es bleibt kaum eine andere Möglichkeit, das Krankheitsbild zu erklären. Unter den schizophrenen Formen kommen nur diejenigen in Frage, die zu einem bipolaren Verlauf neigen.” Karl Leonhard, *Bedeutende Persönlichkeiten in ihren psychischen Krankheiten* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1988), pp. 231-2.

¹⁵¹ Leonhard, *Classification of Endogenous Psychoses*, 82.

schizophrenia.¹⁵² While the Kraepelinian dichotomy had been formative in shaping Schumann's psychiatric diagnoses from the *fin de siècle* onwards, by the 1960s (at least within a vocal school of psychiatric thought in German-speaking lands) an increasingly powerful resistance to the dichotomy was taking hold and once again remaking the conceptualization of Schumann's mental illness.¹⁵³

Ironically, precisely the opposite motive—a desire to re-embrace Kraepelin—was transforming contemporaneous American psychiatry, yet also resulted in psychiatrists diagnosing Schumann with “mixed” psychoses. This is not an aporia. For Anglo-American musicologists, one of the best known psychiatric investigations into Schumann's life was written by the UCSF Professor of Psychiatry Peter Ostwald (1928-1996): *Schumann: His Music and His Madness*. Ostwald's work on Schumann in many ways exemplifies shifting values in American psychiatry during the 1970s and 80s, a psychiatry grounded in psychoanalytical technique but moving towards a more biomedical approach. In work published within musicological as well as medical journals, Ostwald advocated a diagnosis that combined aspects from several traditionally separate disease categories.¹⁵⁴ Yet Ostwald's investigations had a psychoanalytic orientation that differed vastly from the work of his German psychiatrist colleagues (as opposed to the several German psychobiographies of Schumann written by non-physicians), and reflected in part the ubiquity of psychoanalysis within American psychiatric practice during the 1950s and 60s.¹⁵⁵ A

¹⁵² Born in 1920, Neumayr draws upon some of the vocabulary of blood lines and heredity that I have discussed in relation to scholarship from the 1920s through 40s. He writes for example that “Roberts Mutter Johann Christiana war eine entfernte Verwandte Gotthold Ephraim Lessings und hatte möglicherweise von diesem Familienzweig künstlerisches Blut geerbt.” Or “In Schumanns Familie lag eine erblich bedingte Veranlagung zu periodischen Depressionen vor.” Neumayr, however, forcefully argues against the arteriosclerotic psychosis hypothesis: “Diese von D. Kerner und R. Payk unterstützte These macht die ständige Überarbeitung, einen erhöhten Blutdruck und eine Herzmuskelschwache für frühzeitige Arteriosklerose verantwortlich, wengleich für eine solche Annahme jeder Beweis fehlt.” See Anton Neumayr, *Musik und Medizin, Vol. 2* (Wien: J & V Sachbuch, 1989), pp. 130-1, 207. In the 1995 edition of his book Neumayr maintained the diagnosis of periodic catatonic schizophrenia but added that Schumann died of syphilis.

¹⁵³ In addition to Leonhard and Neumayr, see also Gerhard Böhme who wrote that since Schumann had both schizophrenic and manic-depressive traits, he did not want to take a firm stance either way without more information. Gerhard Böhme, *Medizinische Porträts berühmter Komponisten Bd. 2: Johann Sebastian Bach, Joseph Haydn, Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, Bedrich Smetana, Alexander Borodin, Giacomo Puccini* (New York: G. Fischer, 1987), pp. 111-4. See also the well-known book by the Australian physician John O'shea who writes that “perhaps the best formulation of Schumann's illness is that he suffered from a schizo-affective disorder.” John O'shea, *Music & Medicine: Medical Profiles of the Great Composers* (London: J.M. Dent, 1990), pp. 133-7.

¹⁵⁴ See, for example, Peter Ostwald, “Genius, Madness, and Health,” in *The Pleasures and Perils of Genius: Mostly Mozart*, ed. Peter Ostwald and Leonard S. Zegans (Madison: International Universities Press, 1993); Ostwald, “Robert Schumann and His Doctors: A Case Study of Music and Medicine,” in *The Biology of Music Making: Proceedings of the 1984 Denver Conference* (St. Louis, MMB, 1988); Ostwald, *Schumann: Music and Madness* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1985); Ostwald, “Robert Schumann and his Doctors,” *American Journal of Social Psychiatry* 3 (1983): 5-14; Ostwald, “Florestan, Eusebius, Clara, and Schumann's Right Hand,” *19th-Century Music* 4 (1980): 17-31.

¹⁵⁵ The ascendance of psychoanalysis within American post-war psychiatry was closely connected to the (often forced) emigration of German/European psychoanalysts, many of whom were also Jewish. It is furthermore related to psychiatric attempts to treat soldiers traumatized by the war. Psychoanalytic work was uncommon in German psychiatry during the 30s and 40s. Following “denazification,” many German psychiatrists and researchers turned from eugenics-inspired thinking, with its emphasis on the hereditary transmission of traits, to research on genetics and genomics and a biology-focused clinical approach. The psychiatrist Franz Hermann Franken alludes to such differences between post-war German and American psychiatry when he mentions that “inzwischen haben sich die differentialdiagnostischen Überlegungen ausgeweitet, nachdem sich angelsächsische Psychiater, darunter besonders Ostwald, mit Schumanns Krankheit beschäftigen. Die amerikanische Psychiatrie ist nicht identisch mit den Lehren

detailed reading of Schumann's life through the lens of pathology provided the background Ostwald needed to make a multivalent diagnosis, analyzing mental, personality, and physical disorders. His approach proceeded from recommendations made in the third edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-III) of the American Psychiatric Association.¹⁵⁶ Ostwald's diagnosis of an affective disorder was only his starting point:

Schumann also had mood swings in the opposite direction [from depression], toward mania, which makes this a "bipolar" type of affective disorder...An obsessive-compulsive quality of worry and "nervousness" seems to have been part of some of Schumann's depressive episodes, while a bizarre, schizophrenic-like quality accompanied some of his manic episodes, especially the one leading up to his hospitalization. (The term "schizo-affective" disorder might be applicable here)...He had what seems to have been a severely divided self, with conflicts centering around dependency versus independence, attachment versus separation, and femininity versus masculinity...Today we would call this a "narcissistic" or "borderline" personality disorder.¹⁵⁷

In its guidelines DSM-III stated that "the diagnosis of Schizoaffective Disorder should be made whenever the clinician is unable to make a differential diagnosis between Schizophrenia and Affective Disorder."¹⁵⁸ This diagnostic catch-all was perfectly poised to solve Schumann's medical riddle.

der europäischen Psychiaterschulen, sondern hat ihre eigenen Interpretationen. Das ist dadurch bedingt, daß die Psychiatrie kein streng medizinisches Fachgebiet darstellt, sondern eine philologische Komponente hat, die verschiedenste Interpretationen zuläßt. So ist es zu verstehen, daß Ostwald überhaupt leugnen will, Schumann sei im eigentlichen Sinne geisteskrank gewesen. Man kann auf die noch bevorstehende Begründung dieser These gespannt sein." Franken, "Untersuchungen zur Krankengeschichte Robert Schumanns," in *Robert Schumann—ein romantisches Erbe in neuer Forschung*, ed. Robert Schumann Gesellschaft Düsseldorf (Mainz: Schott, 1984), p. 96.

¹⁵⁶ *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-III) (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 1980).

¹⁵⁷ Ostwald, *Schumann: Music and Madness*, 303-5. Ostwald reads "pathology" into many facets of Schumann's life not previously thought of as bearing traces of illness. This, which was connected with interpretive departures from more traditional readings of Schumann's letters, diary entries, and other writings, created considerable controversy within Anglo-American musicology. Schumann scholar Ronald Taylor, for example, referred to Ostwald's book as "self-destructive." "Fact dissolves into fiction, inquiry into speculation, and we find ourselves moving in a nebulous world of 'ifs' and 'may haves' and 'would have beens'... in the end the reader is reduced to a nervous state of irritation and incredulity at the sight of this strange, almost grotesque character the author has remorselessly conjured up...Yet...we have hardly come closer to the phenomenon that is Robert Schumann—if anything, the author's hypotheses and often arbitrary conjectures conspire to take us in the opposite direction. Is this really the man from whom this music came, we ask? Sadly, and with due reference to Dr. Ostwald's work, we cannot truly say that it is." See Ronald Taylor, "Review: *Schumann: Music and Madness* by Peter F. Ostwald," *Music & Letters* 67 (1986): 207, 209. See also Daverio's criticism of Ostwald in a discussion of Lawrence Kramer's article "Carnaval, Cross-Dressing, and the Woman in the Mirror," in "Review: Ruth Solie, ed. *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*," *Current Musicology* 56 (1994): 92-4. In contrast to Ostwald, German psychiatrists from the 1980s and 90s carefully reassured readers that exploring a composer's psychological history in no way compromised his musical works. My favorite disclaimer comes from Franken who writes that "a genius's work is independent of his physical condition, and a fly on the wall that bothers the genius has more influence on the creative work produced than a terminal illness." See Franken, *Die Krankheiten großer Komponisten*, 10.

¹⁵⁸ DSM-III, 187. By the 1987 publication of the revised third edition (DSM-III-R), the clinical criteria had become substantially more complicated: "If either a full depressive or manic syndrome is present at some time during the active phase [of a schizophrenic episode], Schizoaffective Disorder and a Mood Disorder with Psychotic Features must be ruled out. If the total duration of all episodes of a mood syndrome are *brief* relative to the duration of Schizophrenia (active and residual phases), then the mood disturbance is considered an associated feature of Schizophrenia, and no additional diagnosis need be made. If the total duration of the mood disturbance is *not brief*,

DSM-III helped effect profound changes in diagnostic options and patterns—the edition has received close scrutiny by scholars precisely because of its pronounced differences from DSM-II (1968). Described as a “radical transformation” of American psychiatry, it helped move practice away from psychoanalysis towards a research and symptom-based paradigm influenced by models from the other branches of medicine. (The struggle leading to the change was aptly termed by two scholars “Freud vs. Kraepelin.”)¹⁵⁹ In an attempt to capture patient symptoms and behavior at greater levels of precision, the number of possible diagnoses increased from 182 in DSM-II to 265 in DSM-III, which included more complicated schemas for the schizophrenic and affective psychoses.¹⁶⁰ The concept of the revisions and the disease categories themselves say much about contemporaneous American culture, clinical practices, and medical economics. Through the work of American psychiatrists, these values helped recast Robert Schumann’s health history, making his biography and music newly relevant for late-twentieth-century American consumers.

Eureka!

In 1994 Schumann’s long-sought medical records (*Krankenakten*) kept during his time in Endenich “surfaced” and were made available in heavily abridged form. Aribert Reimann (b. 1936), a Berlin-based composer whose grandfather’s sister had married a son of Dr. Richarz, was bequeathed the medical records under the condition that he keep them secret. Upset by the “slander” and “adventurous speculation” that in his opinion characterized some recent Schumann scholarship,¹⁶¹ however, Reimann felt compelled to disclose his source. He believed it to contain

then a diagnosis of Schizophrenia is not made, and Schizoaffective Disorder and Mood Disorder with Psychotic Features must be considered. If delusions or hallucinations (or catatonic symptoms in the case of a Manic Episode) occur exclusively during periods of mood disturbance, the diagnosis is Mood Disorder with Psychotic Features. However, if delusions or hallucinations are present for at least two weeks in the absence of mood symptoms, a diagnosis of Schizoaffective Disorder is made.” *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III)* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 1987), pp. 193-4. Italics in original.

¹⁵⁹ Rick Mayes and Allan V. Horwitz, “DSM-III and the Revolution in the Classification of Mental Illness,” *Journal of the History of Behavioral Sciences* 41 (2005): 250, 259. See also Rachel Cooper, “What is Wrong with the DSM?” *History of Psychiatry* 15 (2004): 5-25; Lloyd H. Rogler, “Making Sense of Historical Changes in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Illnesses*: Five Propositions,” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 38 (1997): 9-20; Mitchell Wilson, “DSM-III and the Transformation of American Psychiatry: A History,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 150 (1993): 399-410.

¹⁶⁰ See for example the chart included in Mayes and Horwitz, 251. Many reasons have been adduced for the DSM’s overhaul: psychoanalysis brought on competition with psychologists for intellectual territory and some psychiatrists did not feel the techniques required a medical degree; insurance companies wanted precise diagnostic labels that could be used to calculate physician reimbursements; and pharmaceutical companies pushed for more precise disease definitions, which could enable more targeted research and marketing. See Wilson and Cooper.

¹⁶¹ His implied target was Eva Weissweiler, whose biography of Clara Schumann had caused some outrage among scholars. Weissweiler had suggested that Robert’s placement in Endenich had been a means to make way for Clara’s and Brahms’s growing love, a love which had made Robert increasingly upset and agitated. Clara was portrayed as uncaring in regards to Robert’s wellbeing. One Schumann archive I visited listed the book under the category of “Belletristik,” i.e. fiction. Weissweiler writes, for example, that “auf dieser Rückfahrt muß es zu einer furchtbaren Auseinandersetzung gekommen sein—das Finale einer Ehe. Vielleicht hatte Clara behauptet, Joachim sei nur vornehm gewesen, auszusprechen, was ihm überdeutlich im Gesicht gestanden habe, daß nämlich das Violinkonzert Spuren des Irrsinns erkennen lasse und es für Robert Zeit sei, seinen Platz für Johannes Brahms freizumachen...Am 8. Juli war Roberts 45. Geburtstag. Kein Besuch, kein Geschenk, nicht einmal ein Brief...Robert Schumann starb am

information that could “rule out” such “insinuations.”¹⁶² Reimann offered the manuscript to the archive of the Berlin Akademie der Künste, making it accessible for scholarly research. Published alongside the short excerpts made available in 1994 was an analysis by the physician-cum-conductor Franz Hermann Franken.¹⁶³ Franken had begun speculating publicly on Schumann’s medical history as early as 1981, and in publications from 1984 and 1986 he wrote that he agreed with Gruhle’s assessment of bipolar disorder and neurosyphilis. Asked to examine the medical records, Franken analyzed the documents and felt they confirmed his earlier suppositions.

Robert Schumann’s fate is probably the greatest human tragedy of German Romanticism...this medical report is as informative and detailed as one could have wished and significantly contributes towards disposing once and for all the legends and rumors about Schumann’s illness, his stay in the Eendenich asylum, and Clara’s allegedly curious behavior. Do Richarz’s records clarify Schumann’s diagnosis? The answer is yes. What Richarz depicts is the characteristic course of an organic, neural-degenerative process, for which the evidence is conclusive that it was caused by syphilis. According to Schumann’s records from September 12th, 1855, Schumann said that in 1831 he had been infected with syphilis...the symptoms he experienced before 1850 were from a separate cause—manic and depressive mood swings, from which Schumann had suffered since his youth.¹⁶⁴

Provided along with his essay was a graph, lending scientific precision to Franken’s assessment. [Figure 3.8] Franken had previously spoken before the Robert-Schumann-Gesellschaft and had published discussions of Schumann’s health in musicological forums.¹⁶⁵ That his previous diagnosis was confirmed by what he found in the medical records, however, raises the question of how preconceived interpretations of Schumann’s health history might have helped shape his readings of newly available information.

Dienstag, den 29. Juli nachmittags um vier...[Clara] wußte es nur von Doktor Richarz, denn sie selbst war um diese Zeit noch nicht vom Mittagessen mit Johannes zurück. Nach Roberts Beerdigung, der sie, in der Kapelle des Alten Bonner Friedhofs versteckt, wie ein Zaungast zugesehen hatte, fuhr sie mit Johannes Brahms zum Wandern in die Schweiz. Sie preßte Blumen für ihn, als wolle sie ihr Liebesglück konservieren.” See Eva Weissweiler, *Clara Schumann: Eine Biographie* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1990), pp. 299, 312, 340-1.

¹⁶² See Aribert Reimann, “Zur Geschichte des Krankenberichts,” in *Robert Schumanns letzte Lebensjahre: Protokoll einer Krankheit* (Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, 1994), p. 6.

¹⁶³ Franken founded and conducted the Düsseldorfer Aerzte Orchester.

¹⁶⁴ “Robert Schumanns Schicksal ist wahrscheinlich die größte menschliche Tragödie der deutschen Romantik...dieser Bericht ist aufschlußreicher und ausführlicher, als man erwarten konnte und trägt wesentlich dazu bei, die Legenden und Gerüchte um Schumanns Krankheit, seinen Aufenthalt in der Eendenicher Irrenanstalt und das angeblich merkwürdige Verhalten von Clara Schumann aus der Welt zu schaffen...Klärt nun Richarz’ Verlaufsbericht die Diagnose von Schumanns Krankheit? Die Frage ist zu bejahen. Was Richarz schildert, ist der charakteristische Verlauf eines hirnorganischen Abbauprozesses, wobei die Indizien dafür, daß es sich um eine—syphilitisch bedingte—progressive Paralyse handelte, überzeugend sind...Nach Schumanns Aufzeichnungen vom 12. September 1855, die Richarz festhielt, hatte sich der Kranke 1831 syphilitisch infiziert und war deswegen, wie er meinte, mit Arsenik behandelt worden...[His symptoms experienced before 1850] ist von den manisch-depressiven Verstimmungszuständen mit vorwiegend melancholischen Phasen, an denen Schumann seit seiner Jugend litt, differentialdiagnostisch abzugrenzen.” See Franz Hermann Franken, “Robert Schumann in der Irrenanstalt Eendenich: Zum Verlaufsbericht seines behandelnden Arztes,” in *Robert Schumanns letzte Lebensjahre: Protokoll einer Krankheit* (Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, 1994), pp. 7-8, 14.

¹⁶⁵ See Franken, “Untersuchungen zur Krankengeschichte Robert Schumanns.” Franken thanks the well-known Schumann scholars Wolfgang Boetticher and Siegfried Kross.

The question becomes more urgent because of the way the initial extracts were published: very little of the document was made available in the publication and Franken remained the only medical authority to have written an evaluation until 2006 (when the medical records were published in their entirety). Scholars who agreed with Franken (and many musicologists did) were taking the diagnosis of syphilis on faith. It is, for example, a problem to believe straightforwardly Schumann's 1855 statement that he had once contracted syphilis. Was he lucid when he spoke? And even if he believed he had contracted syphilis that does not necessarily mean that he had. (Diagnostic tests did not yet exist). He may well have had syphilis—all I am suggesting is that Schumann's statement is neither sufficient nor "irrefutable" proof.¹⁶⁶ Physicians and scientist-scholars were split on the syphilis diagnosis. Jamison, for example, wrote in a 1995 article that Schumann may have committed suicide in Endenich. The suicide thesis stems from Ostwald and assumes Schumann had a certain volitional capacity in July of 1856, making end-stage paresis unlikely.¹⁶⁷ And in 1999, a heated debate ensued on the syphilis topic in the pages of the *Deutsches Ärzteblatt*. The physician Ulrich Skubella (seemingly nescient of all previous work advancing a syphilis diagnosis), proposed in a two-page article that Schumann died of syphilis.¹⁶⁸ He concluded by wondering idly if syphilis still had the power to "taint" the image of a beloved historical figure. Reactions came fast and furiously. The physician Vera Mehl criticized the journal for granting Skubella's diagnosis so much space, which she felt made it therefore appear to be true. "Even if some symptoms point to syphilis, can't one just leave a fantastic composer in peace, especially since it is no longer possible to know the cause of death with certainty? Must one now still search for a diagnosis that retrospectively and perhaps wrongly puts a label on him? Schumann's fate was bad enough! 'Keeping stigma away'? Yes!"¹⁶⁹ She goes on to propose various (less-stigmatizing) alternatives that could account for Schumann's most frequently discussed symptoms: tuberculosis encephalitis could have caused his death (many in Schumann's family seemed to have had tuberculosis), his unusually large pupils could have been caused by damage to the ocular motor nerve, and changes in mood could have been caused by pyroluria (a genetically-based hemoglobin disorder that precludes absorption of vitamin B6 and zinc).

¹⁶⁶ The Schumann biographer Eric Jensen shares my circumspection in this respect. "That Schumann thought he had syphilis is merely an indication of his belief, and not proof of his infection...Still, Schumann may have had syphilis—according to Richarz he believed he did." Eric Frederick Jensen, "Schumann at Endenich 2: Buried Alive," *Musical Times* 139 (1998): 19-20.

¹⁶⁷ Jamison, "Manic-Depressive Illness and Creativity," 66.

¹⁶⁸ Ulrich Skubella, "Die Krankheit Robert Schumanns: Eine anrühige Diagnose," *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 96 (October 1999): 61-2.

¹⁶⁹ "Selbst wenn einiges dafür spräche, könnte man im übrigen einen derart phantastischen Komponisten doch in Ruhe ruhen lassen, zumal sich nach so langer Zeit eine Todesursache mit letzter Sicherheit nicht mehr feststellen läßt. Muß man jetzt noch eine Diagnose finden, die ihn quasi nachträglich—und wohl zu *Unrecht*—abstempelt? Schumanns Schicksal war schlimm genug! 'Fernhalten eines Makels'? Ja!" Vera Mehl, "Fehldiagnose," *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 96 (November 1999): 8.

Figure 3.8

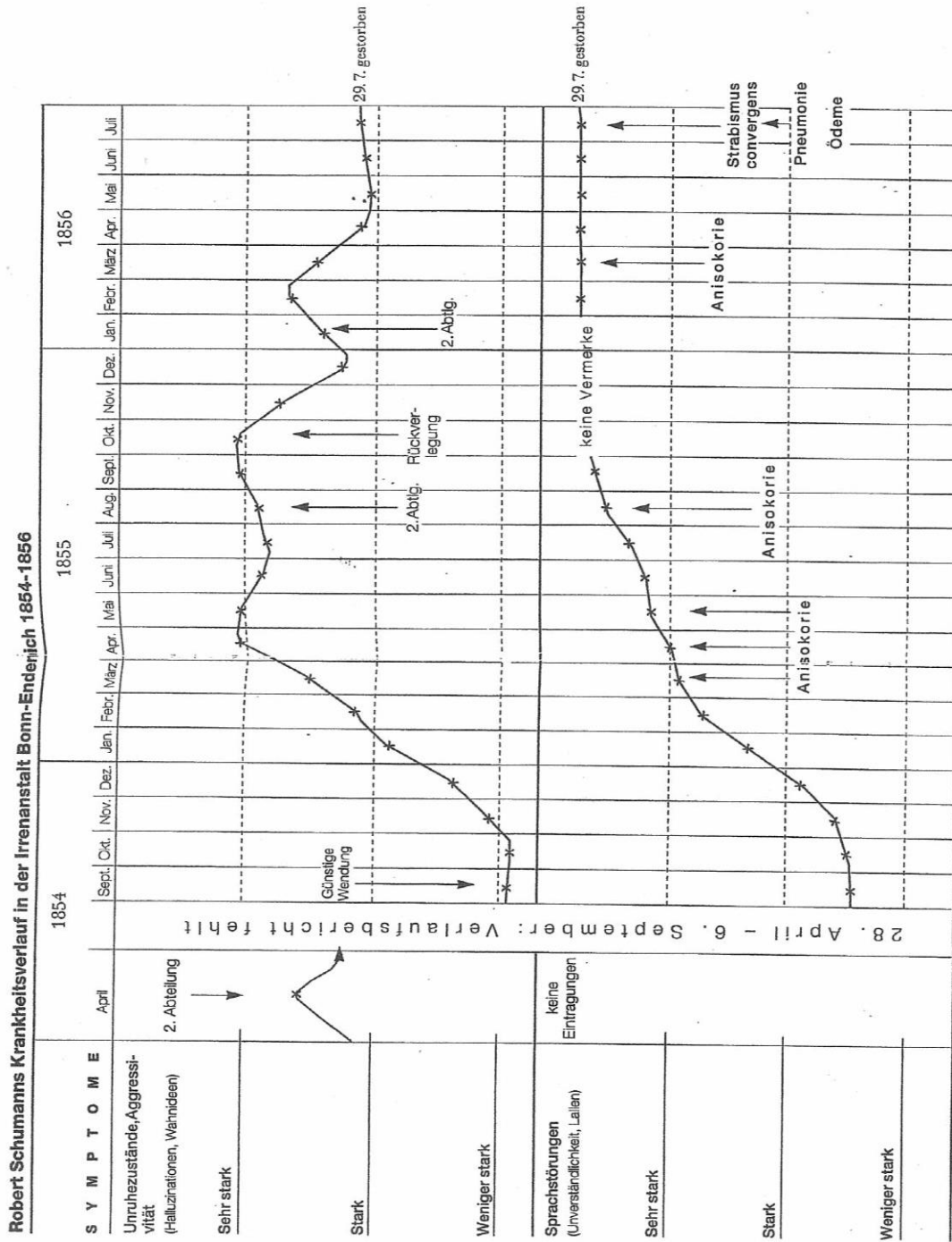


Figure from pages 12-13 of Franz Hermann Franken, "Robert Schumann in der Irrenanstalt Endenich: Zum Verlaufsbericht seines behandelnden Arztes." In *Robert Schumanns letzte Lebensjahre: Protokoll einer Krankheit*. Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Archiv Blätter 1 (1994).

Interestingly, in the past few months I have tested several patients for this condition. Most of them were conservatory-trained musicians and had symptoms similar to Schumann's (depression, psychomotor problems, headaches, increased irritability *and* tinnitus!) though the symptoms were admittedly milder. *All have pyroluria.*¹⁷⁰

Finally, Schumann's difficulties with speaking could have arisen from multiple sclerosis. (Pyroluria is common in patients with MS). Mehl's inventiveness saved her Schumann from multiple "taints." Franken, responding like an indulgent teacher setting a wayward student straight, made an apodictic diagnosis of neurosyphilis.¹⁷¹

While Franken used syphilis only to explain Schumann's health history from 1850 onwards, the historian Deborah Hayden argued that it could explain problems Schumann had during the 1830s and 40s as well.¹⁷² In her study *Pox: Genius, Madness, and the Mysteries of Syphilis*, she surveyed nineteenth- and twentieth-century composers, writers, and politicians whom she believed to have had syphilis.

Medical biographers have often fallen prey to the 'Great Imitator,' seeing only the diseases that syphilis mimics. A strong clue to syphilis is often in the number of posthumous diagnoses that specialists suggest, each in turn arguing against that of a predecessor, all ending with great head scratching and a pile of diagnostic loose ends that are adequately explained only by syphilis. Specialists focusing on one cluster of signs and symptoms when looking for evidence of their favored disease often do not step back to see the body, or the life, as a whole. If ever a disease required a holistic approach to detect and fathom, it is syphilis.¹⁷³

Hayden gives a long list of health complaints Schumann had prior to his move to Düsseldorf—dizziness, depression, colic, malaise, periods of sickness alternating with productivity, insomnia, anxiety, irritability, loss of appetite, weakness, hypochondriacal brooding, memory loss—all of which she argued could have been side effects of syphilis.¹⁷⁴

Hayden largely drew upon Franken's evaluation along with the published excerpts from the medical records for her authority, as had many others—physicians and musicologists alike.¹⁷⁵ Which is what makes the work of the physician Uwe Henrik Peters, published in *Robert Schumann in Eendenich* so thought-provoking. The volume, published in 2006 in honor of the 150th anniversary of Schumann's death, contained Schumann's medical records from Eendenich in their entirety.¹⁷⁶ The records (along with other contemporaneous reports) were followed by a reprint of Franken's 1994 assessment and Peters's discussion. Peters did not actually advocate

¹⁷⁰ "In den vergangenen Monaten habe ich interessehalber etliche, zumeist hochmusikalische Patienten mit ähnlicher, allerdings schwächerer Symptomatik (dabei auch Depressionen, psychomotorische Störungen, Kopfschmerzen, vermehrte cerebrale Erregbarkeit *und* Tinnitus!) auf diese Stoffwechselstörung hin untersuchen lassen: *alle haben eine Pyrrolurie.*" *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁷¹ Franken discussed his 1981, 1986, 1994 publications as well as the press conferences on Schumann's health history at which he spoke. Several other physicians also weighed in on the discussion. See Franken, "Robert Schumann: Ergänzung," *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 96 (November 1999): 6.

¹⁷² Deborah Hayden, *Pox: Genius, Madness, and the Mysteries of Syphilis* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), p. 106.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 61. Of Schumann's case she wrote that the list of his diagnoses reads like the table of contents of the *DSM*. See page 110.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 108-9.

¹⁷⁵ See for example Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age,"* 482-8.

¹⁷⁶ Excluding the periods between 4 March 1854 to 6 April 1854 and 28 April 1854 to 6 September 1854 however, which are said to have been destroyed during WWII.

any particular diagnosis, though he did dispute Franken's assessment of syphilis at length. The decision to place two conflicting readings side by side was part of a larger aim of unsettling notions that texts can relay easy historical truths. The editor of the volume Bernhard R. Appel cautioned his readers in the introduction that

whoever is searching for an historical truth within the following documents, her/his expectations will be frustrated. And whosoever believes in the objectivity of medical records or contemporary reports ignores the interpretive character inherent in the reporting of facts...The valuations made by the attending physician differ from reports made by visitors [also included in the volume]...and the decision over what is to be regarded as healthy or sick, normal or abnormal is created through collectively agreed upon and historically contingent norms, norms that are established by debate based on the current state of scientific knowledge. Every biographical study that is ready to make judgments and undertake valuations is subject to these terms.¹⁷⁷

Part of what makes Peters's discussion of Schumann's health so intriguing is that he did not provide a diagnostic label for Schumann's experiences within current classificatory schemas. Over the course of the 150 years following Schumann's death there have been many physicians who have remarked upon the difficulty, or even the impossibility of diagnosing Schumann conclusively, and then have gone ahead and offered a diagnosis. Yet Peters did something different. He situated Schumann's symptoms within early to mid-nineteenth-century psychiatric discourse and tried to get at what terms like *Melancholie*, *Depression*, *Halluzination*, and *Wahnsinn* might have meant. And he tried to determine under which contemporaneous diagnosis Schumann's treatment in Endenich was carried out.

In this essay the years Schumann spent in Endenich have not been placed in the context of his life up until that point. Neither has there been an attempt to give an interpretation of his illness within current medical views and categories. Rather the attempt has simply been made to give references and direction to readers, which might facilitate an understanding of the medical records.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ "Wer auf der Basis der vorliegenden Dokumentation nach der, d.h. einer historischen Wahrheit sucht, dessen Erwartungen werden allerdings enttäuscht werden. Und wer sich gläubig der Objektivität medizinischer Protokolle oder zeitgenössischer Berichte unterwirft, ignoriert den interpretatorischen Charakter, der bereits Faktenberichten anhaftet...Das Bewertungsverhalten des behandelnden Arztes unterscheidet sich von Besucherberichten...Und die Entscheidung darüber, was als gesund oder krank, normal oder anormal zu gelten hat, wird durch kollektiv vereinbarte und historisch sich wandelnde Normen geregelt, die sich argumentativ auf den gerade aktuellen Stand der Wissenschaft berufen. Jeder biographische Versuch, der sich anschickt, Urteile über Schumanns letzte Lebensjahre zu fällen und Wertungen vorzunehmen, unterliegt diesen Konventionen." Bernhard R. Appel, "Einleitung," in *Robert Schumann in Endenich (1854-1856): Krankenakten, Briefzeugnisse und zeitgenössische Berichte. Schumann-Forschungen 11*, ed. Akademie der Künste and the Robert Schumann Forschungsstelle (Mainz: Schott, 2006), pp. 21-2.

¹⁷⁸ "Schumanns letzter Lebensabschnitt, der in Endenich, ist in diesem Essay nicht in den Kontext seines Lebens gestellt werden. Auch ist nicht versucht worden, eine Deutung der Krankheit aus heutiger medizinischer Sicht zu geben. Vielmehr sind lediglich Hinweise gegeben worden, welche dem Leser das Verständnis des Krankenblattes aus seiner Zeit heraus erleichtern möchten." Ute Henrik Peters, "Erläuterungen zum Endenicher Krankenbericht Schumanns," in *Robert Schumann in Endenich (1854-1856): Krankenakten, Briefzeugnisse und zeitgenössische Berichte. Schumann-Forschungen 11*, ed. Akademie der Künste and the Robert Schumann Forschungsstelle (Mainz: Schott, 2006), p. 480.

Peters's reading is so stimulating not because of the accuracy of his interpretations (one could disagree with his arguments against a diagnosis of syphilis, for example) but because of how he interprets.¹⁷⁹ He did not assume psychiatric illnesses to be ahistorical and universal; he did not try to force an array of behaviors often taken to be markers of Schumann's pathology into the classificatory system he would use as a clinician. Instead, he tried to understand symptoms within a specific historical and geographic context; he tried to guide readers to help them form their own interpretations. As long as psychiatric categories continue to change, as long as people's motives for approaching Schumann's purported mental illness(es) differ, and as long as complicated texts continue to elicit diverse, even contradictory readings, there will be no consensus on what Schumann "really had;" perhaps it is time to ask different questions.

The Stakes of Retrospective Psychiatric Diagnosis

At the turn of the twentieth century neurosyphilis offered psychiatrists a model in which an illness of known organic etiology caused symptoms of mental illness. A patient could be tested for syphilis; in the coming decades treatments with increasing effectiveness were being developed. Scholars estimate that between twenty to fifty percent of patients admitted to asylums at the *fin de siècle* suffered from neurosyphilis.¹⁸⁰ The discovery of the *Treponema pallidum* bacterium and the subsequent observation of the bacterium in neural tissue from patients who had died of "paralysis" was a cause for great optimism within the field of psychiatry. It held open the promise that other mental illnesses might similarly stem from such relatively straightforward causes; it offered the possibility of conclusive cures. It also helped bring psychiatry more firmly within the fold of medicine.

Before the late eighteenth century it was not necessarily thought that the care of the mentally ill lay within the realm of medicine, that care was the responsibility of physicians. Kraepelin, for example, told his fellow psychiatrists that up until the nineteenth century

it was thought mental illnesses were at bottom a consequence of sin. The accumulation of debts incurred through sin poisoned both body and soul. Arguing against these and similar viewpoints were the "somaticists," who, with the greatest perspicacity fought using the weapons of research from the natural sciences...These scientists are to remain the victors. What for sixty to seventy years had to be fought over laboriously in order to be secured, is today the self-evident foundation of our science. No one dares to doubt any longer that mental illnesses are diseases and that doctors should treat them.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ A second article of his that discussed Schumann's life up until 1854 in the context of presumed symptoms of mental illness (also from 2006) is far less successful. At times its analyses seem to border on the simplistic: "An dieser Stelle lag mir nur daran darzustellen, dass bis fast hin zu den allerletzten Tagen in Düsseldorf so etwas wie eine Psychose Schumanns nicht festzustellen ist. Alles, was vom Ende im Irrenhaus aus gesehen so erscheint, ist nichts als die Reaction einer empfindsamen und verletzbaren Seele bei einem genialen, jedoch gleichwohl einseitig begabten Menschen. Offenbar benötigt man die Kenntnisse eines Psychiaters, um das Gesunde im scheinbar Krankhaften zu erkennen." See Uwe Henrik Peters, "Robert Schumann: Melancholische Gemütszustände und schöpferische Kraft," in *Zwischen Poesie und Musik: Robert Schumann—früh und spät*, ed. Ingrid Bodsch und Gerd Nauhaus (Köln: Stroemfeld, 2006), p. 119.

¹⁸⁰ See Shorter, 49-59.

¹⁸¹ "Nach diesen Anschauungen sollte die Geistesstörung wesentlich eine Folge der Sünde sein, welche durch eigene Verschuldung Gewalt über den Menschen gewinne und am Ende Leib und Seele verderbe. Gegen diese und

Syphilis had demonstrated that causes of mental illnesses were not necessarily different from those of diseases general practitioners might treat. And so syphilis not only helped legitimize the field of psychiatry, in the process it became an early and important research model for mental illnesses.¹⁸² Research, however, never located single biological agents for disorders such as schizophrenia and manic-depressive illness. Currently psychiatrists tend to assume a multifactorial etiology.

But understandings will change. One hundred and fifty years of theorizing Schumann's mental health provides an illustration of the contingency of psychiatric knowledge.¹⁸³ As recent studies have indicated, changing definitions of illnesses combine with cultural preconceptions and preoccupations to shape diagnostic frequency.¹⁸⁴ Such studies amply demonstrate the

ähnliche, mit grossem Scharfsinn ausgeklügelten Anschauungen kämpften mit den Waffen der naturwissenschaftlichen Forschung die 'Somatiker'...Ihnen ist es gelungen, Sieger zu bleiben. Was noch vor sechzig bis siebzig Jahren mühsam erstritten werden musste, ist heute die selbstverständliche Grundlage unserer Wissenschaft geworden. Niemand wagt es mehr, zu bezweifeln, dass Geistesstörungen Krankheiten sind, die der Arzt zu behandeln hat." Emil Kraepelin, *Psychiatrie: Ein Lehrbuch für Studierende und Aerzte* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), pp. 2-3. This is a reprint of the fifth edition, originally published in Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1896.

¹⁸² See for example, Lunbeck, 49-54 and 114-30 and Thomas Szasz, *Schizophrenia: The Sacred Symbol of Psychiatry* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), pp. 3-44.

¹⁸³ In one study published in the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, the diagnoses given to 252 patients under DSM-II guidelines were compared to those the patients received under the diagnostic criteria of DSM-III. Only 55% of those originally given a diagnosis of schizophrenia retained it, with the majority of the remaining 45% being re-diagnosed with schizoaffective disorder or some kind of mood disorder. Of those originally diagnosed with schizoaffective disorder only 13% retained the diagnosis under DSM-III. Manic-depressive illness was more stable, with 84% receiving a diagnosis of some kind of circular affective disorder. Marshall L. Silverstein, et al., "Changes in Diagnosis from DSM-II to the Research Diagnostic Criteria and DSM-III," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 139 (1982): 366-8. It does not take a revised manual, however, to produce such a high rate of diagnostic change—many factors can play a part. In a 1970 study on the frequency of diagnoses of schizophrenia versus manic-depressive disorder between 1944-1968 it was found that diagnoses of schizophrenia increased following the introduction of new drugs for schizophrenia (viz., reserpine and phenothiazine-related medications), with diagnoses of manic-depressive illness proportionately decreasing. Conversely, following the introduction of lithium treatment there was an increase in diagnosis of affective disorders and a related decrease in those for schizophrenia. See Ross J. Baldessarini, "Frequency of Diagnoses of Schizophrenia versus Affective Disorders from 1944 to 1968," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 127 (1970): 759-63. A second study found that after the adoption of DSM-III criteria, the proportion of schizophrenia diagnoses decreased while it increased for manic-depressive illness. DSM-III had narrowed the definition of schizophrenia while broadening definitions for affective disorders, the authors argued. Andrew L. Stoll, et al., "Shifts in Diagnostic Frequencies of Schizophrenia and Major Affective Disorders at Six North American Psychiatric Hospitals, 1972-1988," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 150 (1993): 1668-73.

¹⁸⁴ Many studies over the past three decades have documented ways in which gender and race help shape psychiatric diagnosis. African Americans, for example, are more likely to receive a diagnosis of schizophrenia even when they present symptoms that closely fit DSM criteria for affective disorders; they are less likely to be prescribed the most beneficial (and expensive) medications. See Emily Martin, "Moods and Representations of Social Inequality," in *Gender, Race, Class, & Health: Intersectional Approaches*, ed. Amy J. Schulz and Leith Mullings (San Francisco: John Wiley and Sons, 2006), pp. 60-1. Conversely, whites are more likely to receive diagnoses of bipolar disorder. Men are two to three times more likely to be diagnosed with schizophrenia than women. See for example, William G. Iacono, et al., "Are Males More Likely than Females to Develop Schizophrenia?" *American Journal of Psychiatry* 149 (1992): 1070-4; Stephen M. Stakowski, et al., "Racial Differences in the Diagnosis of Psychosis," *Schizophrenia Research* 21 (1996): 117-24; Laurel A. Copeland, et al. "Racial Disparity in the Use of Atypical Antipsychotic Medication among Veterans," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 160 (2003): 1817-22; Harold W. Neighbors, et al., "Racial Differences in DSM Diagnosis Using a Semi-Structured Instrument: The Importance of Clinical Judgment in the Diagnosis of African Americans," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 44 (2003): 237-

workings of unconscious prejudices in diagnostic decision making. Preconceptions relating to the character and behavior of artists as well as images of the composer listeners feel they receive from Schumann's music have similarly helped to inform, and continue to shape, which diagnoses he is given.

Increasingly, research from the past few decades has been moving away from notions of psychotic and affective disorders as discrete groups. Some psychiatrists suggest that multi-dimensional approaches to understanding these disorders could get closer to "reality."¹⁸⁵ But there is some hesitancy. This is in part because unambiguous diagnostic categories for mental illnesses serve many kinds of needs such as providing comfort and reassurance to patients and families, and helping to support a system of psychiatric knowledge from which psychiatrists derive authority.¹⁸⁶ Though removed from the urgent needs of living patients, psychiatric diagnoses of Schumann have similarly served a wide range of purposes. Films, novels, biographies, recordings, concerts, patient support groups, and pharmaceutical advertising, to name only a few areas, have all profited from images of Schumann's illness(es).¹⁸⁷ Psychiatric knowledge has influenced music criticism, shaping evaluations particularly of the late music, while musical interpretation has helped shape psychiatric theorizing of creativity and genius. Acknowledging the historical and geographic specificity of mental illnesses would alter the ways in which Schumann's biography is read and the questions that are asked while it is studied. Coming to grips with the "indeterminacy" of the past would mean letting go of the sense of control and satisfaction that comes from definitive answers.¹⁸⁸ It might also open up old sources to new conceptualizations and Schumann's music to new ways of listening.

56. Racial prejudice in diagnosis is not specific to psychiatry. See, for example, the widely-reported study by Kevin A. Schulman, et al., "The Effect of Race and Sex on Physicians' Recommendations for Cardiac Catheterization," *The New England Journal of Medicine* 340 (1999): 618-26.

¹⁸⁵ i.e., placing patients along schizophrenic and affective-disorder spectrums. See Judith Allardyce, et al. "Dimensions and the Psychosis Phenotype," and Helena Chmura Kraemer, "DSM Categories and Dimensions in Clinical and Research Contexts," in *Dimensional Approaches in Diagnostic Classification: Refining the Research Agenda for DSM-V*, ed. John E. Helzer, et al. (Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Association, 2008), pp. 53-64 and 5-17. The volume is a preparatory study for DSM-V.

¹⁸⁶ See Craddock, 365, and Laura Lee Hall, "What Patients and Families Look for in Psychiatric Diagnosis," in *Descriptions and Prescriptions: Values, Mental Disorders, and the DSMs*, ed. John Z. Sadler (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 210-6; G.E. Berrios, "Historiography of Mental Symptoms and Diseases," *History of Psychiatry* 5 (1995): 175-90.

¹⁸⁷ Schumann's story was appropriated, for example, to market the drug Depixol (Flupentixol), an antipsychotic used primarily to treat schizophrenia. See Stephen Little, "Insanity and Genius," *Psychiatric Bulletin* 7 (1983): 55. Mental illness is presented as an obsession that colors all aspects of Schumann's life in the novel by James David Landis, *Longing*.

¹⁸⁸ Ian Hacking writes "an indeterminacy in the past...means what it says, which is hard, because we think of the past as fixed, final, and determined." Ian Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 234.

Chapter Four
Reflections on the Life and Sound of Late Schumann
by Killmayer, Rihm and Holliger

Wilhelm Killmayer

In a paper presented at the 1990 conference “Contemporary Music Culture in West Germany,” the German composer Wilhelm Killmayer (b. 1927) outlined the philosophy of history that, he felt, underlay musical modernism.¹

The essential stimulus of modernist technological innovation is the overcoming of nature and the creation of a second, artificial nature. This artificial nature is then authoritatively realized in artworks. In concrete terms, this means material progress as the supreme measure of worth, the rejection of traditional means, the notion of an international style, and normative technical standards resulting in uniformity and conformity. In specific regards to music, these values result in the prohibition of tonality, the exclusion of ethnic or national styles, and the avoidance of rhythmic ostinati as musically primitive.²

These reflections might now seem banal, but in the just reunited Germany of the early 1990s they could still spark controversy. By then, however, Killmayer had been expressing such opinions in talks, essays, and compositions for roughly twenty years.

Killmayer’s 1972 composition *Schumann in Endenich*, for example, may be heard as one attempt to criticize modernist values musically. An accompanying inscription helps illuminate the novel inspiration Killmayer purported to have drawn from the story of Schumann’s final years. Interpreting Schumann’s 1854 request to be taken to an asylum as a refusal to conform to societal expectations, Killmayer wrote that

In his forty-fourth year Schumann voluntarily went to the Endenich mental asylum. He no longer took part in the struggle for existence. A child at heart, Schumann had increasingly become an outsider in a society that wanted him to behave as an adult. He suffered because of this. The keyboard offered him entrance to another world and provided a refuge. He could confide in the keyboard.³

¹ The conference “Musikkultur heute in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland” took place on May 23rd, 1990 in St. Petersburg (then Leningrad).

² “Der zentrale Impuls der technischen Moderne: Überwindung der Natur und Schaffung einer zweiten künstlichen Natur, wurde in den Künsten ästhetisiert und dogmatisiert. Dies bedeutete: Materialfortschritt als obersten Wertkategorie, Traditionsverwerfung, Einheitlichkeit, Internationalismus, technische Standards als Norm; das hieß für die Musik: Tonalitätsaussperrung, Ausklammerung ethnischer oder nationaler Idiome, Vermeidung rekurrenter rhythmischer Formeln als primitiv und anderes.” Wilhelm Killmayer, “Das Ende der Moderne und die Situation der jüngeren Komponisten heute,” in *Der Komponist Wilhelm Killmayer*, ed. Siegfried Mauser (Mainz: Schott, 1992), p. 276.

³ “Schumann begab sich in seinem vierundvierzigsten Lebensjahr freiwillig in die Heilanstalt von Endenich; er nahm am Lebenskampf nicht mehr teil. Dieser jünglingshafte Mensch war mehr und mehr ein ‘Fremder Mann’ in einer Umwelt geworden, die erwachsen ‘groß’ sein wollte. Daran litt er. Die Klaviertaste war für ihn die Nahtstelle zu einer Welt, in die er flüchten, der er sich anvertrauen konnte.” Wilhelm Killmayer, *Schumann in Endenich* (New York: Schott, 1974), n.p.

Killmayer interpreted Schumann's time in Endenich as an embrace of isolation that demonstrated personal fortitude while lodging a protest against a changing and increasingly alienating social world.

Killmayer's own protest against what he experienced as the reigning compositional values in Germany would become a central preoccupation of his work.⁴ His 1990 talk was entitled "The End of Modernism and the Position of Young Composers Today." In it he railed against many manifestations of modernist musical values, including the lack of interest in the responses of audiences, the stigma attached to the use of tonality and traditional forms, and the blind obeisance to the notion of progress in music. Killmayer not only sought to take on serialists, the "epigones" of Stockhausen and Boulez as he called them, but also the music critics and philosophers whose writings branded tonal pitch relations and the use of musical material drawn from the past as "conservative." Indeed, the talk can be understood as a denunciation of values prominently voiced by the philosopher Theodor Adorno.⁵ Participation in prestigious festivals, Killmayer lamented, required adherence to the ideal of innovation as an end in itself and concomitant restrictions on stylistic choice. "Those who brought us new cultural works also destroyed the possibility of other kinds of works being created. This was hardly remarked upon [during the 1950s and 60s]."⁶ Killmayer goes on to quote the well-known proclamation of Boulez, that "since the discoveries of the Viennese School, all non-serial composers are *useless*."⁷ For Killmayer, such thinking was "totalitarian," "authoritarian," and "antiquated," and he pitted such modes of thought against the "radical democracy" that he felt underlay post-modern philosophies of art and architecture.⁸ In looking for alternatives to Boulez's values, Killmayer turned to German Romanticism for inspiration and in particular to Robert Schumann's biography.⁹ His interpretation of Schumann's late biography facilitated his articulation of a vision for a post-modern music culture in which "progressive" music would be just one of many possibilities open to composers at Germany's most prestigious music festivals and conservatories.

⁴ The idea that Killmayer was an "outsider," a figure who protested compositional values that prevailed during the Cold War in West Germany, is frequently encountered in the scholarship on Killmayer. It is a common theme in the edited collection *Der Komponist Wilhelm Killmayer* (1992), and can also be found in the discussion of *Schumann in Endenich* by Rainer Nonnenmann. See Nonnenmann, "Endenich als Anfang... Aspekte kompositorischer Schumann-Rezeption seit 1960 am Beispiel von Wilhelm Killmayer, Peter Ruzicka und Reinhard Febel," *Musiktheorie* 21 (2006): 253-8.

⁵ David Drew writes in relation to "Das Ende der Moderne" that "it becomes clear towards the end that these 'more recent' composers (including, presumably, himself) are defined not so much by their age as by their rejection of Adornoist positions taken for granted in the cultural life of West Germany in the 1950s and 1960s." David Drew, "Killmayer Fragments (A Birthday Offering)," *Tempo* 221 (2002): 34-5.

⁶ "Daß Kulturbringer zugleich Kulturvernichter sein können, wurde damals kaum bemerkt." Killmayer, "Das Ende der Moderne," 277.

⁷ "Wir wollen keine Verteufelung betreiben, sondern nur den einfachsten Sinn für Realität sprechen lassen, wenn wir sagen, daß nach den Entdeckungen der Wiener Schule jeder Komponist unnütz ist, der sich außerhalb der seriellen Bestrebungen stellt." Killmayer, "Das Ende der Moderne," 277. Translation taken from Pierre Boulez, *Stocktakings from an Apprenticeship*, ed. Paul Thévenin, trans. Stephen Walsh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 214.

⁸ Killmayer, "Das Ende der Moderne," 277.

⁹ Nonnenmann points out that when Killmayer began work on *Schumann in Endenich* he was 44 years old. Schumann spent his 44th year in the Endenich asylum, creating another connection between Schumann's biography and Killmayer's life at the time of composition. Furthermore, Killmayer suffered from a mental crisis during the 1960s. Nonnenmann speculates that the experience might have helped Killmayer feel a closer kinship with Schumann. See Nonnenmann, 255.

In addition to Schumann's biography, Killmayer also drew upon the legacy of German Romantic philosophy in framing his opposition to the ideal of progress. While Adorno's conception of history drew prominently upon Hegel's idea of history as a progressive realization of human consciousness, Killmayer's views are indebted to one of Hegel's best-known detractors, Arthur Schopenhauer. In contrast to Hegel, Schopenhauer viewed the world as a fundamentally unchanging "will," and history as an essentially endless repetition of similar events. Killmayer would use a loosely Schopenhauerian outlook to articulate a non-progressive understanding of music history. This could at once do combat against Adorno and grant philosophical justification to the overt use of musical pasts in contemporary composition.

Born and raised in Bavaria, Killmayer began composing at the age of six.¹⁰ He described his first composition teacher as a follower of Richard Strauss, which likely helped shape Killmayer's ideal of writing music accessible to non-academic audiences. From early on he began to regard the process of composition as a "sublimation of one's life experiences," and to conceptualize music as an emotionally expressive medium.¹¹ During the 1940s he became interested in the music of Carl Orff. Killmayer felt Orff had achieved a rare success: the creation of works that sounded contemporary and yet achieved wide popularity with audiences, as exemplified in the success of *Carmina Burana*.¹² In 1951 Orff accepted Killmayer as a private composition student and Killmayer later joined Orff's master class at the Hochschule für Musik in Munich. At this time Killmayer also studied at the Universität München, majoring in musicology and minoring in German and Italian. During the 1950s, Killmayer began to achieve wider recognition for his work. He received an award from the Fromm Music Foundation in 1954, the *Kulturpreis* from the city of Munich in 1957, a fellowship from the Villa Massimo in 1958, and the *Förderpreis* from the city of Stuttgart in 1959, among several other major awards.¹³ In 1973, Killmayer became a professor of composition at the Hochschule für Musik in Munich where he remained until his retirement in 1992.

Despite his secure employment, Killmayer's study with Orff, his interest in Romanticism, and his opposition to the ideal of progress were factors that led him to view himself as an outsider in West German compositional life. *Schumann in Edenich* was just one of several works by Killmayer that turned to the German Romantic past in general and to Schumann in particular for inspiration. Indeed, Schumann suffuses many of Killmayer's works, and late Schumann above all.¹⁴ Killmayer's interest in Schumann's late biography was unusual for

¹⁰ Killmayer discusses his early start to composition in a video interview available at <http://www.classicaltv.com/v975/wilhelm-killmayer>. Accessed 12 June 2010.

¹¹ Killmayer used the phrase "sublimierte Lebensführung." See the video interview available at <http://www.classicaltv.com/v975/wilhelm-killmayer>. Accessed 12 June 2010.

¹² Killmayer came to know the score of *Carmina Burana* well. In 1956 his arrangement of the work, endorsed by Orff, for voices (chorus, children's chorus, and soloists), two pianos, and percussion, was published by Schott. The intention seems to have been to create a version that could be performed in schools and by smaller communities, thereby increasing the work's accessibility and furthering Orff's work in music pedagogy. Groups continue to perform Killmayer's arrangement. In 2009, for example, the arrangement was performed by the San Francisco Symphony Chorus, and in March 2012 it was performed by the San Francisco City Chorus.

¹³ See the "Stichworte zur Biographie," in *Der Komponist Wilhelm Killmayer*, 419-20, and Siegfried Mauser, "Killmayer, Wilhelm," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15005>. Accessed 13 June 2010.

¹⁴ Killmayer titled his 1988 romances for violin and piano *Vanitas Vanitatum*. The name, which comes from the book of Ecclesiastes, is also used by Schumann in the *Fünf Stücken im Volkston*, op. 102 (1849). In 1989, Killmayer

someone with musicological training at this time. *Schumann in Eendenich* was composed about a decade before German musicological advocacy of Schumann's late music began to gain momentum.¹⁵ During the 1980s several musicological studies of the late works were published. Scholars typically promoted technical features of Schumann's late style that they felt foreshadowed late nineteenth-century compositional "advances," a result stemming from the widespread equation of progress with value.¹⁶ For scholars who valued rational, technical innovation, however, Schumann's biography could cast doubt on the logic discovered through analysis of the music. Killmayer, in contrast, found inspiration precisely in what made scholars uncomfortable— notions of madness as genius and a belief in the unique expressive potential that could be accessed through the irrational.

Killmayer frequently referred to Schumann as a "fremder Mann" (outsider). For Killmayer, irrationality was one means by which Schumann protested normative, constraining values imposed by mid nineteenth-century society. In the 1974 essay "On Robert Schumann," for example, Killmayer offered an interpretation of Schumann's life course.

Schumann's life exemplifies the conflict between inner and outer worlds. He saved himself—but as a shattered and broken man. He strove courageously to cultivate the demeanor expected of adults; he attempted to dazzle, to be heroic; he desperately tried to create great works (operas, oratorios: *Faust*, *Manfred*; sketches: *Luther*, *Caesar*). Mendelssohn's brilliance and Liszt's worldly virtuosity amazed Schumann. Schumann longed for such qualities in himself. He wanted to comply with the demands to be someone different from who he truly was. The misery brought about by his failure in this is clear.¹⁷

published *Fünf Romanzen* for cello and piano, the fourth of which bears the title "Im Schumann-Ton." One of Schumann's last compositions was a set of five *Romanzen* for cello and piano. It is thought that Clara Schumann destroyed the manuscript several years before she died, believing the work could tarnish Robert's reputation. Like the often enigmatic titles Schumann gave certain works, this reference invites interpretation as a possible reflection on Schumann's lost composition. Killmayer would also go on to set many of the poems Schumann had set, including Eichendorff's "Mondnacht" and poems from Heine's *Buch der Lieder*, the poetic source for Schumann's *Dichterliebe*. Nonnenmann includes a list of compositions by Killmayer with titles or texts drawing upon German Romanticism, including several works not discussed here. See Nonnenmann, 253-4. Furthermore, Killmayer's interest in Germanistik led him to write an article analyzing the work of several poets Schumann had drawn upon for Lieder texts. Killmayer eventually published the piece in the journal Schumann had founded, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. See Killmayer, "Schumann und seine Dichter," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 142 (1981): 231-6.

¹⁵ Jörn Peter Hiekel, for example, notes that "*Schumann in Eendenich* ist... von Werken mit Schumann-Bezug wohl das historisch gesehen Erste, komponiert lange vor den großen musikwissenschaftlichen Studien zu Schumanns Spätwerk und lange, bevor die bis heute andauernden Diskussionen um den—tatsächlich oder vermeintlichen—Wahnsinn Hölderlins und auch Schumanns en vogue waren." Hiekel, "Reduktionismus und Perspektivenreichtum: Anmerkungen zu *Schumann in Eendenich* von Wilhelm Killmayer," in *Wilhelm Killmayer*, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2009), p. 97.

¹⁶ In reference to Schumann's *Gesänge der Frühe*, op. 133 (1853), John Daverio refers to late twentieth-century analysts who viewed the work as "prophetic." See Daverio, "Madness or Prophecy? Schumann's *Gesänge der Frühe*, Op. 133," in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music: Essays in Performance and Analysis*, ed. David Witten (New York: Garland, 1997), pp. 187-201.

¹⁷ "Schumann trug den Konflikt zwischen Innen- und Außenwelt exemplarisch aus. Er rettete sich—als ein Zerbrochener. Er hatte sich tapfer in dem Gebaren der 'Erwachsenen' geübt, heldisch, glanzvoll zu sein, er hatte sich verzweifelt um das Großartige bemüht (Opern, Oratorien: *Faust*, *Manfred*; Pläne: *Luther*, *Caesar*). Mendelssohns Brillanz, Liszts Weltmann-Virtuosität bewunderte er; er vermißte sie an sich. Er wollte der Forderung, ein anderer zu sein, als er war, nachkommen. Sein Scheitern brachte auch die äußere Misere. Er ging freiwillig in die Heilanstalt, die ihn auch äußerlich und fast symbolisch von der Umwelt trennte; es wurde nichts mehr an ihn

Large-scale works could bring prestige and social graces could earn admiration. Schumann failed at both, but according to Killmayer both were superficial aims. Yet the alienation that ensued destroyed Schumann. The musicologist Rainer Nonnenmann reflects that for Killmayer, Schumann was among those who “as early as the nineteenth century could already sense what would become the widespread alienation of people from themselves and their environment.”¹⁸ Thus, while scholars in the 1980s began to tout the prophetic nature of Schumann’s late music while avoiding its biographical contexts, Killmayer chose to celebrate the prophetic example provided by Schumann’s biography.

Perhaps the clearest illustration Killmayer provides of this interpretation comes from his sketches for a stage play entitled *Robert Schumann*. In this short work, Killmayer outlines a reading of Schumann’s life that highlights estrangement from a changing social world and the growing spiritual separation of Schumann from Clara and Brahms. Most of the play takes place in Eendenich, and the stage action juxtaposes images of Schumann, the lone individual, with Clara and Brahms who look on but seem unable to communicate with him or comprehend his actions. They occupy the social world from which Schumann has sought refuge. At one point Clara watches Schumann intently working with an atlas. She seems to cry, and it is Brahms who comforts her. Later Clara visits with her newborn child and Schumann gives the child one of the many slips of paper he has been ordering and reordering on the floor. In acknowledging the child Schumann briefly inhabits Clara’s world, yet he soon returns to the closed spaces of his own mind. At the end of the play Robert rearranges the slips of paper, each of which bears a letter of the alphabet. He works with the ordering until he is satisfied. The slips spell out “FREMDER MANN.”¹⁹

As Schumann contemplates the message, light fills the stage and Killmayer’s composition *Paradies* (1972) can be heard. Written for piano three or four hands, the work seems to portray the subsumption of the individual into a cosmic whole following death. Like many of Killmayer’s compositions, the entire fifteen minute piece is supported by a single rhythmic ostinato. Only the upper melodic lines change over time, lending the piece the kind of static serenity sometimes present in minimalist works. The work’s symbolism is enacted in part through Killmayer’s use of pitch. *Paradies* is built up from the pentatonic collection Eb, F, G, Bb, C; its entire first page never departs from this set of pitches. [Example 4.1]

herangetragen; er verbat sich die Nahrung. Sein Ende war vielleicht glücklich.” Killmayer, “Zu Robert Schumann (1974),” in *Der Komponist Wilhelm Killmayer*, 265.

¹⁸ “Für Killmayer ist Schumann neben Liszt, Hölderlin, Stifter und Kafka eine der ‘Schlüsselfiguren,’ die bereits im 19. Jahrhundert die später durch die Bilder- und Informationsflut der modernen Kommunikations- und Massenmedien grassierende Entfremdung des Menschen von sich und seiner Umwelt ‘vorgefühl’ hätten.” Nonnenmann, 254. Nonnenmann further argues that “in seinem Werkkommentar zu *Schumann in Eendenich* stilisiert Killmayer Schumann zu einer prophetischen Symbolgestalt der Trennung von Subjekt und Gesellschaft und dem daraus resultierenden allgemein Welt- und Ich-Verlust.” *Ibid.*, 255.

¹⁹ “Schumann tritt auf (Klaviermelodie) / Clara und Brahms lugen zum Fenster herein (beobachten ihn) / Er greift sich an den Kopf / Clara wirft sich Brahms (weinend?) in die Arme / Brahms greift einen Akkord auf dem Klavier vorm Fenster, blickt Clara heldisch an...Clara erscheint am Fenster mit dem Neugeborenen / Schumann gibt dem Kind einen Zettel mit bedeutsamen Gebaren...Schumann schreibt auf die Zettel Buchstaben / er ordnet sie zu folgenden Worten: FREMDER MANN.” Killmayer, “Entwurf eines Bühnenprojektes *Robert Schumann*,” in *Der Komponist Wilhelm Killmayer*, 392-3.

Example 4.1

Wilhelm Killmayer, *Paradies*, measures 1-15.²⁰

As foreign pitches are gradually introduced they initially stand out as dissonances. Eventually these foreign pitches are incorporated into the sound fabric such that they begin to sound as though they belong. The D in m. 22, for example, can be reinterpreted by the ear as the leading tone to Eb in m. 24, adding suggestions of tonality through the introduction of a half step, and the resolution of tension. [Example 4.2] As foreign notes begin to be added, a second melodic line is also introduced. The two melodic lines begin in counterpoint, but gradually merge to form homophonic textures as they move in parallel octaves. [Example 4.3]

²⁰ Wilhelm Killmayer, *Paradies* (Mainz: Schott, 1977).

Example 4.2

Musical score for Example 4.2, measures 21-5. The score is written for piano in a single system. It features a treble and bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The melody in the treble clef consists of quarter and eighth notes, while the bass clef provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes. A fermata is placed over the final measure of the excerpt.

Killmayer, *Paradies*, measures 21-5.

Example 4.3

Musical score for Example 4.3, measures 259-274. The score is written for piano in a single system. It features a treble and bass clef. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 259-263) shows a complex texture with dense chords in the treble and a rhythmic accompaniment in the bass. A dynamic marking of *f* (forte) is present. The second system (measures 264-268) continues the texture. The third system (measures 269-274) includes first and second endings for both the treble and bass staves, marked with *I* and *II* and *Sva* (Sustained). A dynamic marking of *f* is also present in the second system.

(8va)

8va bassa sempre

284 *ff possibile*

ff possibile

8va bassa

8va

289

8va bassa
* ganze Handfläche

Killmayer, *Paradies*, measures 259-94.

“*Paradies* is the counterpart to loneliness; it is togetherness,” Killmayer mused about his work.²¹ The music may be heard to enact a kind of trajectory, beginning with a broken, single melody that gains fluidity through the addition of pitches. This line is juxtaposed with a second melodic line, and the two ultimately merge to form a larger whole. Killmayer directs that *Paradies* be played near the end of the stage play, while Schumann remains still and very much alone. The music seems symbolic of a transfiguration that occurs at Schumann’s death, with the last line of the play reading “bright light.”²² In his short essay on Schumann, Killmayer muses

²¹ “‘Paradies’ ist das Gegenstück zur Verlassenheit, ist Zusammensein.” The collection *Der Komponist Wilhelm Killmayer* contains Killmayer’s program notes for each of his compositions. This one line is all he included for *Paradies*. Killmayer, “Paradies,” in *Der Komponist Wilhelm Killmayer*, 457.

²² “Viel Licht.” Killmayer, “Entwurf eines Bühnenprojektes *Robert Schumann*,” 394.

that perhaps Schumann's end "was a fortunate one."²³ For Killmayer, Schumann's death brought seeming relief from the loneliness of being a "fremder Mann." *Paradies* helped portray the utopian or cosmic "togetherness" Schumann was unable to attain in this world but found waiting for him just beyond death.

Valorization of living apart from society and its demands had an important precedent in early nineteenth-century music philosophy. Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), a contemporary of Schumann, championed such a lifestyle as a way of living freed from the demands of "will." For Schopenhauer, will was the fundamental substance from which the universe was constituted. Will was the "thing in itself" and made up "the kernel, of every particular thing and also the whole. It [appeared] in every blindly acting force of nature, and also in the deliberate conduct of man." Schopenhauer felt that will manifested itself in the behavior of living creatures as endless and purposeless striving. Will

always strives, because striving is its sole nature, to which no attained goal can put an end...nowhere is there a goal, nowhere a final satisfaction, nowhere a point of rest...We call [the will's] hindrance...*suffering*; its attainment of the goal...we call *satisfaction*, well-being, happiness...no satisfaction, however, is lasting; on the contrary, it is always merely the starting-point of a fresh striving...Thus...there is no ultimate aim of striving.²⁴

In moments of inspiration, composers could contemplate the will without being subject to the will's demands. Great artists could experience such freedom only during times of intense focus. For Schopenhauer, however, ascetics lived in such a state. By renouncing the will's demands (adequate nourishment and sexuality, among other things), the ascetic could gain an objective view of the world. In Schopenhauer's description, the ascetic

compels himself to refrain from doing all that he would like to do, and on the other hand to do all that he would not like to do...He gladly accepts [suffering] as the opportunity for giving himself the certainty that he no longer affirms the will...He nourishes [the body] sparingly, lest its vigorous flourishing and thriving should animate afresh and excite more strongly the will...thus he resorts to fasting...Finally, if death comes...it is most welcome, and is cheerfully accepted as a longed-for deliverance...He now looks back calmly and with a smile on the phantasmagoria of this world which was once able to move and agonize even his mind, but now stands before him as indifferently as chess-men at the end of a game...Life and its forms merely float before him as a fleeting phenomenon.²⁵

Like Killmayer's Schumann who "no longer took part in the struggle for existence," the ascetic "welcomed" death as the harbinger of ultimate truth. Refusing to acquiesce to the demands of will, the ascetic went without food. Killmayer's Schumann protested against society by rejecting nourishment. Both decided to forgo bodily care and social pleasures for the sake of access to objective knowledge.

²³ Killmayer writes, "[Schumann] ging freiwillig in die Heilanstalt, die ihn auch äußerlich und fast symbolisch von der Umwelt trennte; es wurde nichts mehr an ihn herangetragen; er verbat sich die Nahrung. Sein Ende war vielleicht glücklich." Wilhelm Killmayer, "Zu Robert Schumann (1974)," 265.

²⁴ Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation, Vol. I*, trans. E.F.J. Payne (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), pp. 110, 113, 308-9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 382, 390-1.

The ascetic was an outsider, and for Schopenhauer the very choices that made him an outsider also gave him access to the true structure of the world and the meaning of existence. This truth was will, and will was a fundamentally static phenomenon. Though the will remained in incessant conflict with itself, its essence never changed.²⁶ This viewpoint underlies Schopenhauer's "pessimism." Opposed to melioristic philosophy, Schopenhauer understood human lives to reiterate basic patterns of suffering with short, intermittent periods of relief. History was merely a magnification in length of this basic premise; this was one reason Schopenhauer tended to denigrate the study of history in favor of literature and the arts.

History shows us the life of nations and finds nothing to narrate but wars and tumult... In truth, the essence of human life, as of nature everywhere, exists complete in every present time, and therefore requires only depth of comprehension in order to be exhaustively known... History shows on every side only the same thing under different forms... The chapters of the history of nations are at bottom different only through the names and dates; the really essential content is everywhere the same.²⁷

People lacked the agency to make real change because they were irrevocably and for all time subject to the demands of will. Renunciation of will allowed the ascetic to move outside of the basic conditions of human existence and to observe these conditions objectively. This was the ascetic's major accomplishment.

Schopenhauer's conception of will and the essential suffering and solitude of the ascetic (and the artist) was in part framed in opposition to the false optimism of Hegelian thought. While Schopenhauer's notion of will was used to account for a chaotic, arbitrary, and often cruel world, Hegel's philosophy of history rested on the fundamental assumption of reason.

The sole thought which philosophy brings to the treatment of history is the simple concept of *Reason*: that Reason is the law of the world and that, therefore, in world history, things have come about rationally... [Reason] is the infinite *content* of all essence and truth... One ought to have the firm and invincible faith that there is Reason in history and to believe that the world of intelligence and of self-conscious willing is not abandoned to mere chance, but must manifest itself in the light of the rational Idea.²⁸

Schopenhauer, in his chapter "On History" from *The World as Will and Representation*, referred to Hegel's work as "pseudo-philosophy that is everywhere so pernicious and stupefying to the mind, the attempt, namely, to comprehend the history of the world as a planned whole, or, as they call it, 'to construct it organically.'" ²⁹ While Hegel envisioned a world that could progress towards greater "consciousness of freedom," for Schopenhauer will never changed. And just as there could be no historical "progress" in Schopenhauer's world, neither could art be thought to progress. Music from disparate time-periods or genres could all serve to elucidate different aspects of the will.

²⁶ Ibid., 146-9.

²⁷ Arthur Schopenhauer, "On the Suffering of the World," in *Essays and Aphorisms*, trans. R.J. Hollingdale (New York: Penguin, 1970), pp. 41-2, 48 and Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, Vol. II, trans. E.F.J. Payne (New York: Dover, 1958), pp. 441-3.

²⁸ G.W.F. Hegel, *Reason in History: A General Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, ed. Robert S. Hartman (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979), pp. 11-2.

²⁹ Schopenhauer, *World as Will and Representation*, Vol. II, 442.

By the time Killmayer completed his college studies, the importance of progress in compositional technique was taken for granted. Hegel's philosophy of history had become a premise of music history and historiography, helping to fuel the prestige of "progressive" music. According to Adorno, for example, in order for a work to be authentic it needed to "question" the forms and material that had preceded it. When art "critically reflected upon itself," it allowed for the "experience of freedom."³⁰ For Adorno, progress was allied to technical advances. "Progress means nothing more or less than always grasping the material at the most advanced stage of its historical dialectic."³¹ Such art, Adorno argued in reference to Schoenberg, had the potential to "change human consciousness."³²

Notoriously, Adorno interpreted Stravinsky's music as regressive, and pointed to Stravinsky's use of repetition and ostinati as evidence.

Stravinsky's regression...replaces progress with repetition...Stravinsky is distinguished from the subjective, dynamic principle of varying what has been unambiguously posited by a technique of ever-new beginnings that search futilely for what they in truth cannot reach and could not hold. His music knows nothing of memory and thus nothing of any temporal continuity of duration...This deficit obviates any breadth of form, any continuity of process, and ultimately any "life." The amorphous has nothing of freedom.³³

Not only would Killmayer write polemically against Adorno's philosophical values, much of his music makes use of the kind of repetition that had earned Adorno's scorn. Ostinati are a salient feature in the music of Killmayer's mentor Orff (whose music bears clear evidence of Stravinsky's influence). Whatever their route into Killmayer's music, ostinati would comprise one technique he used to establish a sense of stasis. "Static" music, in turn, suggests a means of protesting the Hegelian conception of history underlying contemporaneous music valuation.

During the late 1960s, Killmayer's music underwent a stylistic change from experimentation with serialism to compositions that were sparse and still. Some commentators have interpreted this shift as a flight inwards.³⁴ The change also represented a flight away from Darmstadt and its conformist pressures. It was at this point that Killmayer began incorporating historical and biographical references drawn from the world of German Romanticism into his music. In *Schumann in Eendenich*, such allusions provided a way both to suggest taboo ideals of expressivity and to protest notions of musical progress.

Innigkeit is evoked from the start of the work. *Schumann in Eendenich* opens with the sound of a lone pianist, though the work is scored for piano, percussion (requiring five players), and electronic organ. Not only is the piano unaccompanied at this point, its nine-measure, slow-moving melody comprises single notes played by themselves. [Example 4.4] Circling around the

³⁰ Max Paddison, *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 55, 112-3.

³¹ Theodor W. Adorno, "Reaction and Progress," in *Night Music: Essays on Music 1928-1962*, ed., Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Wieland Hoban (New York: Seagull, 2009), p. 219.

³² Adorno, "Against the New Tonality, (1931)" in *Night Music*, 355.

³³ Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music*, ed. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), pp. 122-3.

³⁴ Ulrich Dibelius, "Komponieren als ein Abenteuer der Fantasie: Zur Musik von Wilhelm Killmayer," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 143 (1982): 21, and Bernd Sikora, "Musik—Flucht aus der Wirklichkeit?" in *Wirklichkeit im Zeitalter ihres Verschwindens*, ed. Claus Urban and Joachim Engelhardt (Münster: LIT, 2000), pp. 87-9.

pitches D#, E, F, and G, the melodic line has no easily graspable hierarchy of pitches and no pattern of accentuation. A sense of timelessness and stasis is thus established. The ninth measure ends on E, the note with which the melody began, creating a kind of circle. Encompassed within this circle is a symmetrical pattern that folds in upon itself.³⁵ The midpoint of the nine measures is also an E (m. 5, beats 2 and 3). Moving from beat two of measure 5 backwards (towards the beginning of the piece) gives the same sequence of pitches as moving forward from the start of the piece.³⁶ Likewise, moving forward from beat 3 of measure 5 gives the same sequence of pitches as moving backwards from the end of measure nine. The piece thus suggests structurally a metaphor for the lone pianist immersed in his own world, turning inwards for comfort.

Example 4.4

Schumann in Endenich

Wilhelm Killmayer
(1972)

The score consists of five staves. Staves I and II are Bass Clef, Staves III and IV are Treble Clef, and Staff V is Bass Clef. The Piano part is on the top staff. The Percussion parts are on the bottom four staves. The score includes various dynamics and performance instructions such as 'pp', 'p', 'mf', 'ppoco', 'trem. mit Fingern (sehr dicht)', 'trem. mit Handflächen (sehr dicht)', 'gliss. trem.', 'singend', and 'Pauke'.

Killmayer, *Schumann in Endenich*, measures 1-13.³⁷

³⁵ Hiekel creates a graphic for the motion of pitches at the opening of *Schumann in Endenich* using a system of arrows, as well as plus, minus, and equal signs, to portray the mirror symmetry of the passage. He relates the “play” with notes at the opening of *Schumann in Endenich* to Helmut Lachenmann’s piano cycle *Ein Kinderspiel*, and the constrained interval of a fourth to a “Symbol einer gezwungenen Begrenztheit.” See Hiekel, 88-9.

³⁶ The exception is the last pitch in measure 2, the highest pitch.

³⁷ Wilhelm Killmayer, *Schumann in Endenich* (Mainz: Schott, 1974).

The melody moves by half-step, the interval which creates the possibilities for harmonic tension and resolution in tonal music. As exploited by nineteenth-century composers, it could be a particularly expressive interval (as, for example, the delayed tonic resolution in the first movement of Schumann's op. 17 *Fantasia* can demonstrate). Indeed, the first performance direction in Killmayer's score is "Mit Empfindung." Yet because the half steps here are almost entirely surrounded by other half steps, they never impart a sense of resolution. Eschewing the goal-oriented harmony that might be expected from a work that names Schumann and begins with a directive like "mit Empfindung," the piece instead imparts a sense of stillness and calm.³⁸

The opening performance direction seems tantalizingly inaudible. Would a performance of the first nine measures played "mit Empfindung" differ from one not played with such an expressive intent (but that nonetheless attempted to follow the pedal markings, fermatas, and dynamics)? *Schumann in Endenich* abounds with almost attainable performance directions. One such example is the performance direction "singend" (singing) that occurs at several points in the score, which the musicologist Jörn Peter Hiekel examines in his study of the work. "Singend" first appears as a directive for the marimbaphone playing an unmeasured tremolo, m. 29-30. [Example 4.5] Hiekel reflects that "such 'singing' is to a certain extent wrested from a piece whose basic character renounces the melodic and the singable, a piece that instead possesses a diffuse and mysterious quality. Is it even possible to make a kettledrum glissando 'sing'?"³⁹ He

Example 4.5

The musical score for Example 4.5 consists of four staves. The top staff is for Piano, starting at measure 26 with a 5/4 time signature and a tempo marking of 4. (♩ = ♩). The second staff is for Marimbaphon, marked 'singend' and 'weiche Schlägel trem.'. The third staff is for Pauken, marked 'sim.' and 'p möglichst klingend'. The bottom staff is for another instrument, possibly a second Marimbaphon or a different Percussion part, with notes and dynamic markings. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'sim.'.

Killmayer, *Schumann in Endenich*, measures 26-30.

³⁸ Hiekel points to the performerly problem or contradiction here: "die schlichten Tonbewegungen engen den Raum des 'mit Empfindung' zu Spielenden erkennbar ein, sie erlaubten keine großen Emotionen." Hiekel, 89.

³⁹ Hiekel writes, "denn diese Art des 'Singens' erscheint dem diffuse-rätselhaften, aufs Melodische und Singbare verzichtenden Grundzustand gewissermaßen abgerungen. Aber kann es überhaupt gelingen, mit einer glissandierenden Pauke zu 'singen'?" Ibid., 90.

relates the seemingly paradoxical performance directions to earlier works by Morton Feldman and the concept of “Losigkeit” in Feldman’s music developed by the scholar Martin Erdmann.⁴⁰

Hiekel connects the unheard performance directions to contemporary compositional practices, but such score indications also seem particularly Schumannian. Music as an expression of or yearning for the ineffable was a commonplace Romantic ideal. The score to *Schumann in Endenich* seems to indicate that the piece is as much about performerly experiences and intentions as it is an object to be heard. Other examples of seemingly inaudible directives include the *ff* unmeasured kettledrum tremolo marked *appassionato* (m. 39), the *leidenschaftlich* xylophone tremolo (mm. 40-3), and the marimbaphone tremolo descent marked *con passione* (mm. 51-55). [Example 4.6] Furthermore, the importance of unheard qualities in such directives

Example 4.6

The musical score for Example 4.6 consists of several staves. The top staff is for Piano, starting at measure 35 with a 4/4 time signature and the instruction "steigern". Below it are staves for Percussion I, III, IV, and V, each with a "Pauke (trem.)" instruction. These percussion parts feature dynamic markings: I (ff cresc. - appassionato), III (mp cresc. - molto - ff cresc. - appassionato), IV (pp - cresc. - molto - ff cresc. - appassionato), and V (mp - cresc. - molto - ff cresc. - appassionato). The Tutti (Voci) part starts at measure 39 with a "p" marking and the instruction "summen; allmählich beginnen", followed by a "f" marking. A note at the end of the Tutti part is marked with an asterisk: "* das folgende „b“ der kleinen Pauke noch mitdenken". The bottom staff is for Xylophon, starting at measure 40 with a tempo marking "molto f schlägel mit Lederbezug" and a dynamic marking "ff leidenschaftlich". The xylophone part includes a 3/4 time signature and a 4/4 time signature, with a "p" marking at the end.

Killmayer, *Schumann in Endenich*, measures 35-44.

⁴⁰ See Martin Erdmann, “Zusammenhang und Losigkeit: Zu Morton Feldman’s Kompositionen zwischen 1950 und 1956,” in *Musik-Konzepte 48/49: Morton Feldman*, ed. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (Munich: Text + Kritik, 1986), pp. 67-94.

seems accentuated by Killmayer’s use of three different expressive directions in two languages that have roughly synonymous meanings. Schumann approached a similar concept in his op. 20 *Humoreske* (1838-9). In this work for solo piano, a song-like line is interpolated between the treble- and bass-clef staves. Marked “innere Stimme” (inner voice), the line is to be experienced and sung inwardly by the performer rather than actually played.⁴¹ [Example 4.7]

Example 4.7

“Innere Stimme” from Schumann, *Humoresque*, op. 20.⁴²

⁴¹ In relation to the sphinxes in *Carnaval*, Clara Schumann offered the following reminder: “das spielt man natürlich nicht, ebenso wenig wie die ‘innere Stimme’ in der *Humoreske*.” Theodor Müller-Reuter, *Clara Schumann und ihre Zeit: Musikalische Erinnerungen und Aufsätze* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Hartung, 1919), p. 39.

⁴² Robert Schumann, *Humoresque*, op. 20, ed. Clara Schumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1887).

As Charles Rosen describes it,

The absolutely inaudible is rejected from music during the period of Viennese Classicism in which every musical line is potentially or imaginatively audible, but it makes a dramatic reappearance in the music of Schumann...[In] the *Humoresk*...there are three staves...[The] middle, which contains the melody, is not to be played...This melody...is embodied in the upper and lower parts as a kind of after-resonance—out of phase, delicate, and shadowy. What one hears is the echo of an unperformed melody, the accompaniment of a song. The middle part is marked *innere Stimme*, and it is both interior and inward...it has its being within the mind and its existence only through its echo.⁴³

In this way a pianist could inwardly articulate what remained outwardly unexpressed. Likewise, *Schumann in Edenich* provides an opportunity for performers to create inaudible and hidden personal meanings.

Unlike Schumann's depictions of musical longing, however, this work does not draw upon tonal relations as a means to create form or dramatic trajectory. *Schumann in Edenich* often seems to stand still. At several places there is no audible sequence of strong and weak beats to mark the passage of time. Unmeasured tremolos in the percussion last for unpredictable lengths of time (e.g. mm. 8-17). Frequent ostinati (e.g. mm. 27-33 and 59-64) similarly help create a sense of timelessness. [Example 4.8]

Despite the static temporal plane, however, attempts at a kind of drama do occur. The *fff* chord at m. 22, marked *heftig*, at first seems to spur the ensemble to action, but the reemergence of the piece's opening piano line causes the other parts to fade away, as though lost – “perdendosi” is written in the score. Several other instances of an idea being introduced only to falter and eventually “go” nowhere emerge during the work. The congas and bongo, for example, enter quietly at m. 45 only to die away four measures later. Just as abruptly, the glockenspiel, xylophone, and piano enter *ff* at m. 57, then break off two measures later, still at *ff*. Finally, near the end of the work the marimbaphone has a kind of cadenza (m.78). [Example 4.9] Classically, cadenzas created drama in part by being tied to an expected harmonic trajectory. In moving from the dominant to the tonic in an often improvised and virtuosic fashion, they brought a movement to a rousing close. Here the marimbaphone is asked to “improvise” on an unmeasured Eb tremolo for fifteen seconds. Marked “wild und fantastisch,” an echt-Schumannian inscription, the cadenza ends up going nowhere. The solo does lead into the end of the work, but no progress towards this end point has been made.

⁴³ Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 7-10.

Example 4.8

58 5/8 4/4 = 44

Piano: *molto f*, *sim.*, *ff*

(Gl. Sp.) * *gb.* *sim.*

I (Xyl.) *sf*, *sf*, *sf* harte Xyl.-Schl.

II (Xylophon)

III (Gl. Sp.) Marimbaphon Hartgummi *ff* Vibraphon

IV Conga tief *ff* Handfläche *fff*

V Fellinstrumente *ff* flach mit Trommelstöcken *fff*

1) alle verfügbaren Fellinstrumente; sehr starker, harter Schlag mit Holzstöcken (flach) ohne Nachklingen. 2) harter Schlag, sofort dämpfen.

62 4/4 4

Piano: *fff*

I *sf*, *sf*, *sf*, *sim.* *cresc.*

II

III Marimbaphon *ff*

IV Fellinstrum. *ff* Pauke Paukenschl. (trem.) *gliss.* *mp*

V Pauke Hartfilz *ff* Fellinstrum. *mp*

Killmayer, Schumann in Endenich, measures 58-64.

Example 4.9

78

Piano

ca. geöffnet lassen

wie außer Tempo; wild und fantastisch (15 Sekunden improvisieren)

III

f più

etc.

molto

Killmayer, *Schumann in Endenich*, measure 78.

Similarly, near the end of the piece 34 *ff* accented quarter-note chords are played by the piano. The notes of the chord, a C# octave plus A, B# and C natural, seem to imply another kind of longing after the impossible, a grasping at something lying between or beyond B# and C natural, a desire for pitches not available on a keyboard. The chords come to an abrupt end, as does the piece as a whole. With nothing resolved and nothing to resolve, the piece leaves a lingering sense of incompleteness. Even the last note seems to imply incongruous, impossible extremes: the electric organ plays a *ppp* Eb marked “lunghissima,” while the drum plays a *fff* accented quarter note with the German indication “äußerste Kraft.” It is a blending of languages and clichés of national styles, and suggests that the piece is an attempt to articulate a music existing beyond history or the narrow confines of teleological narratives. [Example 4.10]

In the essay “The Premises of My Work,” written the same year as *Schumann in Endenich*, Killmayer attempted to articulate what music meant to him.

Just as Schopenhauer viewed dance as continuously restrained falling, so is music a continuously inhibited dying away of sound. Both attempt to mask the laws of nature and to intensify the moment. Music is a kind of play with the fiction of time... Music is the least purposeful of all the arts. It is not in the service of anything else since it does not denote anything. Music does not exist in the world of so-called reality as language or pictures do, and unlike them music does not use images to establish its own validity. Music is the embodiment of freedom. In music, being and meaning coincide.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ “So wie der Tanz, um in Schopenhauers Bild zu bleiben, sozusagen im Übermaß gehemmt Fallend ist, so ist Gesang im Übermaß gehemmt Verklingend; beides versucht, die Schwerkraft nicht spürbar werden zu lassen, den Augenblick zu verdichten: ein Spiel mit der Fiktion der Zeit... Musik ist die zweckloseste aller Künste, sie dient nicht, da sie nicht bezeichnet und durch Bezeichnen fiktive Werte schafft. Sie ist von sich aus nicht vorhanden in der Welt der sogenannten Wirklichkeit wie Sprache oder Bild, die durch Abbilder herrschen, durch ihre Bindung an selbstgesetzte Gültigkeit. Sie ist der Inbegriff von Freiheit, da in ihr Sein und Bedeutung zusammenfallen.” Wilhelm Killmayer, “Die Voraussetzung meiner Arbeit (1972),” in *Der Komponist Wilhelm Killmayer*, 239-40.

Example 4.10

108 *cresc.* *ff*
 I Rührtrommel Trommelstücke
 III-IV Rührtrommeln Trommelstücke
 V *ff sempre*
 =96 (subito)
 114 *sempre ff*
 I Orgel (lunghissima)
 II Holzfaß äußerste Kraft
 III-IV Hyoshigi
 V *ff* lange Pause
 *Taste nur geringfügig niederdrücken; unhörbarer Einsatz.

Killmayer, *Schumann in Eendenich*, measures 108-19.

It is a richly allusive passage, steeped in the Kantian tradition of art's "Zweckmässigkeit ohne Zweck," its purposeless purposefulness.⁴⁵ In tracing the propagation of this concept through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, critics have discussed how notions of music's autonomy have been used by composers, critics, and scholars to shield musical works from connections with social and political environments important to their creation and reception. Richard Taruskin writes, for example, that turn of the twentieth-century notions of "'style criticism'—an activity that attended only to internal organization, never external connection—was a tacit confirmation of the Schopenhauerian position. It was a position resolutely oblivious to politics."⁴⁶ Killmayer's depiction of music as not existing "in the service of anything else" might at first seem to contradict the strongly partisan tone of his speeches and the oppositional stance of his

⁴⁵ Translation from Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 5 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 68.

⁴⁶ See for example, Richard Taruskin, "Speed Bumps," *19th-Century Music* 29 (2005): 188.

Schumann-inspired works. *Schumann in Eendenich* was published by Schott and was thus readily available to Killmayer's contemporaries. It certainly provided a means to engage with and protest the political and social realities of compositional life in West Germany. Yet crucially, Killmayer's outlook was at root a Romantic one. *Schumann in Eendenich* provides a striking illustration of how Romantic ideals could be used to combat the modernist legacies of Romantic values.

In *Schumann in Eendenich*, then, Killmayer created a work that simultaneously sustained and critiqued modernist values. Both opposition to the ideal of progress and belief in music's autonomy could be understood as Schopenhauerian principles. Killmayer's use of Schumann's biography not only illustrates the complexity of what a "Schopenhauerian position" could come to mean during the late twentieth-century; it also points towards the circular logic underlying such Romantic-inspired criticism of modernist values.

Wolfgang Rihm

“Wilhelm Killmayer represents genuine radicalism. His passionately private lifestyle exemplifies constant renewal. His roots are aerial roots, and they help build new crowns.”

“It is as if my music is for Adorno. If he had known my music, Adorno would have loved me.”

—Wolfgang Rihm⁴⁷

Killmayer became a mentor to several younger West-German composers who shared his interest in German Romanticism. One of the most prominent of these composers is Wolfgang Rihm (b. 1952). Ten years after Killmayer composed *Schumann in Eindhoven*, Rihm wrote a Schumann-inspired piano trio entitled *Fremde Szenen* (1982-4). Though these two works pay homage to the same person, Killmayer and Rihm would use Schumann's life story to articulate strikingly different philosophical visions. While Schumann helped Killmayer protest prevailing views on musical progress, for Rihm Schumann served as the ideal exemplification of “musical freedom.”

“Musikalische Freiheit” was the title of a 1983 essay by Rihm in which he responded to contemporary German debates on compositional technique and stylistic choice.⁴⁸ Not only a prolific composer, Rihm also produced voluminous prose reflections on present and past composers as well as the process and meaning of composition.⁴⁹ Near the start of the essay he listed the composers he believed embodied “musical freedom.”

There is a composer whose musical thinking was understood even by his contemporaries to be anarchic, and this quality ensures that his musical style continues to have influence. For me his works provide the best example, indeed epitomize, fantasy and imagination. And he attained this without creating great turmoil between his inner self and the outside world. This composer is Robert Schumann.⁵⁰

Rihm lauds several composers for the “freedom” they attained, including Beethoven, Debussy, Schoenberg, Varèse, and Wagner. Yet Schumann is shown the greatest deference.

⁴⁷ The first quotation is taken from Rihm's reflections on Killmayer published in 1992: Rihm, “Weiter: Für Wilhelm Killmayer,” in *Der Komponist Wilhelm Killmayer*, 28. “Wilhelm Killmayer verkörpert für mich genuine Radikalität. Auch in seiner leidenschaftlich privaten Lebensführung, die ständige Erneuerung vorlebt. Seine Wurzeln sind auch Luftwurzeln, die andere Kronen bilden können, als wir sie kennen.” The second quotation derives from an interview between Rihm and the musicologist Fuyuko Fukunaka that took place on July 25th, 2000. See Fukunaka, “Wolfgang Rihm: Interpretive Examination of His Creative Sources,” PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2003, p. 156.

⁴⁸ “Musikalische Freiheit” was first given as a talk for the 1983 Römerbad-Musiktage in Badenweiler, Germany, and was revised for publication in 1996. See Fukunaka, 19, 73-4.

⁴⁹ In 1997, for example, a two-volume collection of his writings and talks was published under the title *Ausgesprochen: Schriften und Gespräche*, ed. Ulrich Mosch (Basel: Amadeus, 1997). Subsequent publications include Reinhold Brinkmann, *Musik Nachdenken: Reinhold Brinkmann und Wolfgang Rihm im Gespräch* (Regensburg: ConBrio, 2001), and Rihm, *Offene Enden: Denkbewegungen um und durch Musik*, ed. Ulrich Mosch (München: Hauser, 2002); additionally, over a dozen essays and talks by Rihm have been published in article form during the past decade.

⁵⁰ “Dann gibt es einen Komponisten, dessen musikalisches Denken schon von den Zeitgenossen wohl als anarchisch erspürt worden ist und dessen musikalische Rede derart frei sich fortzeugt, daß sie mir als Idealfall und Ausprägung von Phantasie überhaupt erscheint, die ohne größere Strangulation von innen nach außen gelangen konnte; dieser Komponist ist Robert Schumann.” Wolfgang Rihm, “Musikalische Freiheit,” *Ausgesprochen I*, 23.

Rihm's list of composers is a curious one. Killmayer's contempt for the *Philosophy of New Music* and notions of technical progress helped provide context for his stylistic choices; his use of texts and subjects drawn from nineteenth-century Romanticism offered one way to protest an environment that shunned subjective expression and the use of tonality. The interests Rihm explored in his music and essays are more eclectic. He has frequently come to the defense of Schoenberg, for example, and like Adorno particularly privileged the period of "free atonality;" that is, Rihm admired the period before he felt Schoenberg became encumbered by the limitations of a system and its rules. Of Beethoven it was the late works and especially the late string quartets that attracted Rihm. Drawing heavily upon Adorno's theorizing of late style, Rihm couched his fascination with these works in terms of their freer forms, what he referred to as the display of "unhindered imagination."⁵¹

In contrast to Killmayer, then, Rihm was positively influenced by Adorno's work and would frequently draw upon Adornian ideas in his prose writings. While Killmayer framed himself and late Schumann as outsider and oppositional figures, Rihm would advocate change in part through promoting ideas that had already been made familiar by Adorno. In particular, Rihm would use Adorno's theory of late style to gain wider recognition for Schumann's late works. Rihm positioned his Adorno-inspired late Schumann as a figure who could teach contemporary composers how to relinquish certain modernist compositional techniques that inhibited their "freedom" of expression.

Rihm likened the impulse of artistic creativity to a "bolt of lightning," a "source of energy" that had to "flow unhindered."⁵² Schumann could provide an ideal example of a composer who (at times) transcribed ideas as they flowed in astonishing bursts of energy (as with the four days it took to draft the First Symphony).⁵³ According to Rihm, this kind of emotive freedom encompassed freedom from rigid compositional rules and preplanning that restricted the ultimate shapes of musical ideas. Indeed, freedom as Rihm described it was found in the "moment" of creation, in the moment of understanding what needed to come next.⁵⁴ Once written down, the idea was fixed, almost lifeless, and akin to Walter Benjamin's notion of the work as the death mask of its conception.⁵⁵ The composer then had to begin again in search of the musical idea that

⁵¹ Und wenn ich jetzt noch an die Fessellosigkeit der Imagination in Beethovens späten Quartetten erinnere...dann habe ich durch konkrete Musikansätze eine Ästhetik der Freiheit angedeutet." Ibid., 23.

⁵² "Der Imaginationsfluß muß ungehindert fließen können, aber die Entfesselung ist bereits *potenziertem* Imagination, zu der ich nie gelangen würde, wenn ich einfach den Gedanken 'freien Lauf' ließe...Gedankliche Bewegung wäre also im Kreislauf festgehalten, der freie Lauf aber bedarf des Katapults, einer Art Urknalls, jedenfalls des energetischen Schubes; und darin erkenne ich den eigentlichen imaginative Akt...Wenn also am Beginn von Erfindung ein alles überschattender Lichtblitz steht, ein strahlendes Dunkel, an dessen rückhaltlos angenommener Ungewißheit das Unbekannte während der Niederschrift ins Bewußtsein dringt...dann können es nicht Reglements, Regeln sein, aus deren Erfüllung und vorgegebener Ausbaufähigkeit Kunst entsteht. Ibid., 24-5.

⁵³ For Schumann's notes in his *Haushaltbücher* on the sketching of the First Symphony, see Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age,"* 229.

⁵⁴ "Die Verbindung von Kunst und Freiheit hat im kreativen Prozeß, also im Moment des Machens, ihren offensichtlichen Ort." Rihm, "Musikalische Freiheit," 25. Seth Brodsky has studied the idea of the "moment" in Rihm's philosophy and compositions. See Brodsky, "'Write the Moment': Two Ways of Dealing with Wolfgang Rihm," *The Musical Times* 145 (2004): 57-72; and "Utopian Strain: Ambivalent Absolutes in European Composition, 1968-2001," PhD Dissertation, University of Rochester, 2007.

⁵⁵ Rihm refers to Benjamin's concept. See Rihm, "Musikalische Freiheit," *Ausgesprochen I*, 30. In relation to Rihm's use of Benjamin, Nike Wagner reflects that "für den Schaffenden tut sich damit ein Dilemma auf: Entweder ist sein Werk lebendig, eine Wahrheit, zugleich aber unsichtbar, unhörbar, nicht nachvollziehbar für andere oder es

would bring a renewed experience of freedom. “The work can be understood as the search for the location of its imagination. I go even further and suggest: *the work is the search for the work*.”⁵⁶

Romanticism, then, provided Rihm not only with a philosophical outlook that privileged subjective experience and emotional disclosure, it also gave him a kind of working methodology. As the literary scholar Zachary Leader has studied, Romantic authors at the turn of the nineteenth century privileged “what comes naturally (as the leaves to a tree, says Keats), with a concomitant devaluing of secondary processes, including second thoughts.”⁵⁷ Or, as Friedrich Schlegel famously pronounced in 1798, “the Romantic kind of poetry is still in the state of becoming; that, in fact, is its real essence: that it should forever be becoming and not perfected.”⁵⁸ The process of composition for Rihm was akin to striving after something living and elusive that became fixed and final when written down, the mere shadow of a former vitality.

Privileging moments of inspiration provided philosophical justification for the emptiness of music created through extensive pre-compositional planning. Most notably for Rihm, this included serial music. Freedom of facture was just a prerequisite, however, and could not in itself ensure freedom of expression. Rihm characterized expressive freedom as “unalienated work,” and the facilitation of the “greatest possible human self-realization.”⁵⁹ Compositional acts as continual processes of self-realization: what could be more Schumannian?

Works composed freely, Rihm felt, left “visible” traces of the composer as “vulnerable” and therefore human.⁶⁰ What Rihm privileged in Schumann’s and Beethoven’s music seems to have been these traces of vulnerability—Schumann’s private musical disclosures, Beethoven’s emotional extremes in the late string quartets. Freedom was freedom “from appropriateness.”⁶¹ Expressive freedom meant stating the personal so strongly that conventions of form and affect could be broken as a consequence. In a conversation with the musicologist Reinhold Brinkmann, Rihm reflected on how the self becomes incorporated into such works.

Sound taken seriously as a living phenomenon; envisioning sound as a living entity for so long that it *must* be written down... Freedom in this case signifies a strong obligation from within me to that which is written down. I can no longer hold myself back. My

ist hörbare, sichtbar, der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich und wiederholbar, für seinen Schöpfer aber nur ein Gipsabguß, ein totes Stück, das einmal ihm gehörte und jetzt stures Faksimile seines bewegten schöpferischen Augenblicks ist. Aus diesem Dilemma entwickelt sich die Ästhetik Wolfgang Rihms.” See Nike Wagner, “‘Drin-Sein als Rettung vor dem In-Sein:’ Zu den Texten von Wolfgang Rihm,” in *Musik-Konzepte Sonderband Wolfgang Rihm*, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Richard Boorbag, 2004), p. 35.

⁵⁶ “So gesehen kann das Werk als Suche nach dem Ort seiner Imagination verstanden werden, ich gehe noch weiter und behaupte: *Das Werk ist die Suche nach dem Werk*.” Rihm, “Musikalische Freiheit,” *Ausgesprochen I*, 29.

⁵⁷ Zachary Leader, *Revision and Romantic Authorship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 1.

⁵⁸ As quoted by Leader, *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁹ “[Weil] Ungebundenheit in der handwerklichen Dimension von Kunst nicht allein genügt, Freiheit des Ausdrucks, der gesamten Haltung hervorzurufen... Der Wunsch, im Produkt nicht angreifbar zu sein, ist für einen Künstler jedoch nur zu verständlich, ist er doch im Kunstwerk, wenn überhaupt, dann dort, sichtbar und angreifbar als Lebender, erkennbar. Hinzu kommt die Qualität des Arbeitsvorgangs, seine Beschaffenheit. Diese ist am besten durch die Bezeichnung ‘unentfremdete Arbeit’ charakterisiert. Es handelt sich also um den Zustand größtmöglicher menschlicher Selbstverwirklichung. Gerade dieser Zustand einer *erreichten* Freiheit verpflichtet den Künstler auf dem Weg, also: im Arbeitsprozeß, zu einer *Freiheit* (—wieder einer nahezu moralisch geforderten Freiheit—) *des Metiers*.” Rihm, “Musikalische Freiheit,” *Ausgesprochen I*, 28.

⁶⁰ “Der Wunsch, im Produkt nicht angreifbar zu sein, ist für einen Künstler jedoch nur zu verständlich, ist er doch im Kunstwerk, wenn überhaupt, dann dort, sichtbar und angreifbar als Lebender, erkennbar.” *Ibid.*, 28.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

flesh, my skin, and my blood lie within the substance of what I write, the composition imparts a piece of my being... Without a doubt it is something extremely personal. You have to understand... that I formulated my conception [of musical freedom] at a time when in general a composer was not perceived as someone who made what he made, but primarily in terms of how he could be categorized. Did he belong to this group or that one? The individual was not seen at all.⁶²

Schumann, of course, was a composer in whose music people readily heard the individual rather than a group (though in the 1860s a “Schumann school” was said to have developed) or a political agenda (though political aims overtly shaped some of his works).⁶³

Scholars have typically discussed Schumann’s earlier music—the piano works from the 1830s and the Lieder from 1840 in particular—as displaying traces of Schumann the person. Such traces have typically been heard through unconventional uses of form, genre, titles, and harmony, as well as the presence of ciphers. His later works are also sometimes discussed in terms of personal disclosure, yet here the disclosure is often heard as inadvertent, denoting decline, illness, and encroaching mental collapse. Strikingly however, Rihm had an especially high regard for Schumann’s later works.

One set of late works dear to me is Schumann’s. I would like to know less of the malicious criticisms that fault finders drunken with stupidity find in these pieces. Such fault finding began with Clara and her Johannes, who were happy to tinker with things. Full of conventional taste, they thought they had to reprove the putative weaknesses in Schumann’s late music. This kind of thinking has continued up through today: the freedom in these late works is still shocking and unsavory for today’s apostles of righteous, upright opuses. The late *Gesänge der Frühe* remain for me pure music of the future. Late work as organ of the future—for this I wish to have ears, senses.⁶⁴

⁶² “Also den Ton als lebende Erscheinung ernst zu nehmen, ihn mir als lebendiges Wesen so lange vorzustellen, bis ich ihn setzen *muss*... Freiheit ist in diesem Fall: auch eine stärkere Verbindlichkeit zu erreichen, nämlich eine Verbindlichkeit von meiner Physis zum Geschriebenen, dass ich nicht mehr mich zurückziehen kann, sondern wirklich in dem, was ich schreibe, einen Teil meines Fleisches und meiner Haut und meines Blutes, meiner Substanz weitergebe... Es ist etwas sehr Persönliches, zweifellos. Aber du musst auch verstehen, dass ich diese Vorstellungen in einer Zeit formuliert habe, wo allgemein ein Komponist nicht als einer wahrgenommen wurde, der das macht, was er macht, sondern zuerst: in welche Richtung er einordenbar ist. Gehört er in diesen Club oder gehört er in jenen Club? Das Individuelle wurde gar nicht gesehen.” Wolfgang Rihm speaking to musicologist Reinhold Brinkmann as recorded in *Musik Nachdenken*, 106-7.

⁶³ The so-called “Schumann school” included composers such as Johannes Brahms, Josef Joachim, Theodor Kirchner and Woldemar Bargiel. The term was used by Adolf Schubring in a series of articles from 1862 published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. See John Daverio, *Crossing Paths: Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 156. For a discussion of Schumann’s political views and their overt expression in certain compositional works see John Daverio, “Einheit—Freiheit—Vaterland: Intimation of Utopia in Robert Schumann’s Late Choral Music,” in *Music and German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); and Celia Applegate, “Robert Schumann and the Culture of German Nationhood,” in *Rethinking Schumann*, ed. Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁶⁴ “Ein Spätwerk, das ich sehr liebe, will ich weniger der Häme dummheitstrunkener Besserwisser ausgesetzt wissen: Schumanns Spätwerk. Es fing damals schon an, als Clara und ihr bastelfroher Johannes voll Biedersinn das vermeintlich Schwächliche am späten Schumann tadeln zu müssen glaubten. Fortgesetzt hat es sich bis heute: Die Freiheit dieses Spätwerks ist immer noch anstößig für die Apostel rechtschaffener Werkelei. Die späten *Gesänge der Frühe* sind mir heute noch reinste Zukunftsmusik. Das Spätwerk als Zukunftsorgan—dafür wünsche ich Ohren, Sinne.” Rihm, “Zu: Spät,” *Ausgesprochen I*, 384.

These thoughts come from an essay entitled “Too Late” (1985), in which Rihm offered ruminations on the meanings of lateness. The strongest influence on his valuation of late style seems to have been Adorno’s reflections on the subject.⁶⁵ For Adorno as for Rihm, lateness connoted specific stylistic tendencies. Rihm proposed that

“Late” [Spät]—due to its drawn out A—has a deceased sound; at the same time a real late work is hectic, nervous, jittery, sharp, and salacious. One thing it is clearly not: detached. Smooth, gentle late works (such as *Parsifal*) are rare. Discursive and dialectic approaches prevail (Beethoven, Schoenberg)...A late work hardly ever displays orderly transitions, clear and closed form, but rather jerky leaps, sequences, suggestions, figures, and open endings...play and delight with quick changes in affect. Unity is almost always a sign of middle-period works. In such works there is a desire for synthesis and controlled power.⁶⁶

Adorno’s and Rihm’s musical conceptions of lateness share many qualities. In his essay “Beethoven’s Late Style,” for example, Adorno asserted that

the caesuras, that abrupt breaking off which characterizes Beethoven’s last works more than any other feature, are those moments of eruption; the work is silent when it is left, and turns its lacuna outwards. Only then does the next fragment follow, rooted to the spot by the command of erupting subjectivity...Objective is the brittle landscape, and subjective the light that alone can set it aglow. [Beethoven] does not bring about their harmonic synthesis. Acting as a force of dissociation, he tears them apart in time in order that they might, perhaps, be preserved for the realm of the eternal.⁶⁷

They both speak of discontinuities and the rapid alternations in affect that mark a late work’s “fractured” terrain. They both contrast later works with a middle-period style that manipulates rhythm, tension, and voices into an “intentional” whole.⁶⁸ Rihm heard evidence in Schumann’s late works of a freedom so powerfully expressed that it could be “shocking” and “unsavory” to “conventional taste.” For Adorno, late style displayed the “ruins of convention,” its “splinters” “disintegrated and abandoned.”⁶⁹

In her recent study on Schumann’s late style, Laura Tunbridge explored how Adorno’s writings on late style helped shape the valuation of Schumann’s late works.

⁶⁵ In particular these include Adorno’s essay on Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis* and the essay on Beethoven’s late style. For an examination of Adorno’s ideas concerning lateness, see Rose Rosengard Subotnik, “Adorno’s Diagnosis of Beethoven’s Late Style: Early Symptom of a Fatal Condition,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976): 242-75.

⁶⁶ “‘Spät’ hat—zumal mit gedehntem A—abgelebten Klang; dabei ist ein wirkliches Spätwerk hektisch, fahrig, flakkernd, scharf, auch geil und spitz. Klar ist es, nicht: abgeklärt. Breite und milde Spätwerke (wie zum Beispiel *Parsifal*) sind selten. Es überwiegen die diskursiven gesteigert dialektischen Ansätze (Beethoven, Schoenberg)...So zeigt ein Spätwerk kaum: Übergänge, Zielformen, Ausformungen, geschlossene Formung; dafür aber mehr: Sprünge, Reihung, Andeutungen, Gestalten, jähe Wechsel, offene Enden... mehr Spiel und Lust am Wechselhaften. Einheitlichkeit ist fast immer Zeichen mittlerer Lebenszeit. Dort liegen die Sehnsüchte nach Synthese und gebundener Kraft.” Rihm, “Zu: Spät,” *Ausgesprochen I*, 383.

⁶⁷ Adorno, “Beethoven’s Late Style,” in *Night Music*, 18.

⁶⁸ Adorno writes “Thus it was precisely in the works of his middle period that Beethoven drew the commonplace accompanying figures into the dynamic of subjectivity through the creation of latent inner parts, through their rhythms, their tension and whatever other methods, and transformed them according to his intention, or even—as in the first movement of the Fifth Symphony—developed them from the thematic substance itself, wresting them from convention by virtue of their uniqueness.” *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 15-6.

Is Schumann's late style not a progression or maturation of his compositional techniques, but in fact a regression? The problem perhaps lies not with Schumann as such, but with our notions of what a late style should consist of. According to [Adorno] "the maturity of the late works of important artists is not like the ripeness of fruit. As a rule, these works are not well rounded, but wrinkled, even fissured"... There is... a sense of controlled containment in the later piano pieces, something that again contradicts Adorno's image of fissured and wrinkled fruit. If anything, Schumann's produce becomes smoother with age, overripe and sweet—more classicist and regular. Often the late piano music is described as being abstract and detached.⁷⁰

Fascinatingly, Tunbridge mentioned precisely the quality that Rihm had declared absent in late works: "detached" [abgeklärt]. In the introduction to her book Tunbridge argued that Adorno's "writings on Beethoven's late style are fast becoming the model for an artist's final period... [Yet] Schumann's late style seems to have been conceived in almost entirely different terms."⁷¹ Writing twenty years after Rihm, Tunbridge was comfortable searching for alternative aesthetic paradigms for Schumannian lateness because she aimed neither to justify nor defend the works. Yet for Rihm writing in 1980s Germany, Adorno's examination of late style offered a language that could be used to affirm the value of late Schumann. Rihm could attempt to counter aesthetic criticisms leveled at Schumann's late works with ideas backed by Adorno's authority. Misapprehension of Schumann's later works, then, could be understood to have arisen not from a failing in the works themselves. Rather, the works were difficult, and Adorno's ideas on lateness could help articulate why.

The freedom Rihm prized in late works was often tied to what he interpreted as a novel form of freeing the mind: insanity. For the writers and composers Rihm drew upon, insanity was correlated with the late style, lasting however long, of that artist's career. Like Killmayer (and many others), Rihm was fascinated by Hölderlin's late poetry and fragments.⁷² Other poets with symptoms of psychiatric illness who inspired Rihm included Georg Trakl, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Adolf Wölfli. Additionally, for his 1975-6 song collection *Alexanderlieder*, Rihm collected his texts from a book by the Austrian psychiatrist Leo Navratil. Navratil had encouraged his patients to express themselves during psychotic episodes through artwork.⁷³ On the title page of

⁷⁰ Laura Tunbridge, *Schumann's Late Style* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 198-9.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷² Rihm's *Gesänge* op. 1, written between 1968-71, include a Hölderlin setting. Five years later Rihm would compose the *6 Hölderlin-Fragmente* (1976-77) originally for voice and piano. Throughout the 1980s, 90s, and first decade of the twenty-first century, Rihm would continue to set poetic texts by Hölderlin as well as texts Hölderlin translated into German. Most recently this has included the *Drei Hölderlin Gedichte* for soprano and piano (2004), *Zu singen* for soprano and clarinet (2006), and *Diptychon* for soprano and orchestra (2006/7). For additional information, see the doctoral dissertation by David Gabriel Blumberg, which investigates the use of Hölderlin's poetry by a number of contemporary European composers. In addition to Rihm, they include Britten, Henze, Holliger, Pousseur, Nono, Ligeti, and Kurtág. Blumberg, "'Singen möchte ich...': Hölderlin's Echo in New Music," PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1996.

⁷³ See footnote 15 in Dörte Schmidt, "Libretto frei nach G. Büchners 'Lenz': Zur Kammeroper *Jakob Lenz* von Wolfgang Rihm und Michael Fröhling," *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1997): 228.

Alexanderlieder, Rihm provided the source of the poetry he set: “Texts from Leo Navratil, *Schizophrenia and Speech*, Munich, 1966. Poems by patient ‘Alexander.’”⁷⁴

Rihm’s first composition that tied together the themes of insanity and Schumann was not *Fremde Szenen*, but rather the chamber opera *Jakob Lenz* (1977-8). The work narrates a two-month period during which Jakob Lenz (1751-1792) visited the clergyman Friedrich Oberlin in Switzerland, in search of comfort and healing following a mental collapse. Georg Büchner had written a play dealing with Lenz’s visit that, like *Woyzzek*, was left unfinished. Rihm collaborated with the librettist Michael Fröhling to create a libretto that combined selections from Büchner’s text with letters by Büchner, text by Lenz, as well as Fröhling’s own additions. The quotations taken from Büchner’s personal communication imply that *Jakob Lenz* was in part a reflection of Büchner’s own inner turmoil. “It is impossible for me to work. I feel as though everything is consuming me. If only I had a channel for that which fills my mind, but I have no scream for the pain, no cry of joy, no inner peace at blessed things.”⁷⁵ As the theater scholar Dörte Schmidt has argued, layered on top of Büchner’s identification with Lenz was what Rihm described as his own process of identification with the character. Rihm felt that “the process of composing *Jakob Lenz*—from December 1977 through June 1978—mirrored the progressive understanding of an existence like that led by Jakob Lenz.”⁷⁶ For Rihm, such identification was essential for musically expressing the emotions Lenz was to experience.

Commentators on the work have discussed the debt it owes to expressionist theater and in particular to *Erwartung*. Rihm borrows from the musical language of *Erwartung*, in particular the work’s prevalent fourth-based harmonies.⁷⁷ Yet the only direct quotation in the score comes neither from Schoenberg nor from musical expressionism. Rather, it is a quotation from Schumann’s *Kinderszenen*. During the seventh scene of the chamber opera, Lenz begins to hallucinate, his mind obsessively returning to Fredericke, the woman he loves and thinks is dead. Six voices begin to echo and distort Lenz’s thoughts. Eventually they begin speaking the name Fredericke and proclaim “she is lost” in dizzying repetition. [Example 4.11]

⁷⁴ “Texte aus: Leo Navratil *Schizophrenie und Sprache*, dtv 355, München, 1966. Gedichte des ‘Patienten’ Alexander.” For a discussion and list of further writers with mental illnesses whose texts Rihm set, see Alastair Williams, “Voices of the Other: Wolfgang Rihm’s Music Drama *Die Eroberung von Mexiko*,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 129 (2004): 240-271; and “Swaying with Schumann: Subjectivity and Tradition in Wolfgang Rihm’s ‘Fremde Szenen’ I-III and Related Scores,” *Music & Letters* 87 (2006): 379-97, especially p. 380. On Rihm’s avid interest in late Nietzsche and musical settings of Nietzschean fragments, see Josef Häusler, “Wolfgang Rihm – Grundzüge und Schaffensphasen,” in *Musik-Konzepte Sonderband Wolfgang Rihm*, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Richard Boorbag, 2004), pp. 12-3.

⁷⁵ “Arbeit ist mir unmöglich... Alles verzehrt sich in mir selbst, hätte ich einen Weg für mein Inneres, aber ich habe keinen Schrei für den Schmerz, kein Jauchzen für die Freude, keine Harmonie für die Seligkeit.” As quoted by Dörte Schmidt, *Lenz im Zeitgenössischen Musiktheater: Literaturoper als kompositorisches Projekt bei Bernd Alois Zimmermann, Friedrich Goldmann, Wolfgang Rihm und Michèle Reverdy* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1993), p. 166.

⁷⁶ “Der kompositorische Prozeß—Dezember 1977 bis Juni 1978—war identisch mit dem stufenweisen Verstehen einer Existenz wie der von Jakob Lenz.” As quoted by Schmidt, “Libretto frei nach G. Büchners *Lenz*,” 229.

⁷⁷ Schmidt, *Lenz im Zeitgenössischen Musiktheater*, 169-78.

Example 4.11

Example 4.11 is a complex musical score for a dramatic scene. It features a full orchestra and vocal soloists. The score is written in 3/4 time with a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 60$. The woodwind section includes Oboe (Ob.), Bassoon (Baßkl.), Clarinet (Kfg.), Trumpet (Trp.), and Trombone (Pos.). The string section consists of Violins (1., 2.), Violas (3., 4.), Cellos (5., 6.), and Double Basses (7., 8.). The vocal soloists are Lenz and a female voice (Soprano, Alto, Tenor). The piano part is for Cembalo (Cemb.). The score includes various dynamic markings such as *ppp*, *pp*, *p*, *f*, and *fff*, as well as performance instructions like *(non cresc.)*, *(von ganz fern)*, *(in leises Sprechen übergehen)*, and *(trous) sul pont.*. The vocal lines contain the lyrics: "Sie ist ver-lo-ren! Sie ist ver-lo-ren! Sie ist ver-lo-ren! Sie ist ver-lo-ren!" and "Nein! Ver-lo-ren?".

Rihm, *Jakob Lenz*, measures 121-7.⁷⁸

Lenz runs off stage screaming “save her!” An interlude begins in which the voices of two children are heard singing softly, punctuated by the end of Lenz’s last *fff* cry for help. The interlude bears the heading “Eine Art Traumbild,” (A kind of dream picture), and the cello lines quote from “Kind im Einschlummern,” (Child Falling Asleep), the twelfth piece in *Kinderscenen*.⁷⁹ [Example 4.12] Lest the melody pass by without its author being known, Rihm names his source prominently in the published score.⁸⁰ The quotation creates a surreal effect. Serenely unfolding tonal cello lines overlaid with artificial harmonics accompany the two children. Just preceding this moment of seeming calm was a violent *fff* outburst of despair. Is the tranquility merely another facet of Lenz’s hallucination? Is Lenz’s story all just a dream? Is Lenz a “dreamer” just as Schumann had been, and will this Lenz (who died twenty years before Schumann was born) share Schumann’s ultimate fate?

In a 1979 interview with Luca Lombardi, Rihm stated that: “recently I have drawn upon texts by schizophrenic writers and others who were not mentally sound, such as Artaud and Nietzsche. I find that there is something anarchic about these texts, something that allows the texts to be set to music, something that evokes music.”⁸¹ When asked directly what it was that continued to draw him to the poetry of schizophrenic authors, Rihm said that it had to do with

⁷⁸ Wolfgang Rihm, *Jakob Lenz*, *Kammeroper* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1978).

⁷⁹ Laura Tunbridge situates this musical passage within the context of several contemporary composers who have associated Schumann with the themes of childhood and insanity. She observes that these are “two filters routinely used by artists to see the everyday in new ways: children, or the memory of childhood, and the mentally ill.” Tunbridge, “Deserted Chambers of the Mind (Schumann Memories),” in *Rethinking Schumann*, ed. Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 395-410, quotation on p. 395.

⁸⁰ Rihm, *Jakob Lenz*, 181.

⁸¹ “In der letzten Zeit habe ich Texte von schizophrenen Autoren verwendet oder von nicht in einer eindeutigen Weise einordbaren Schriftstellern wie Artaud oder Nietzsche...Ich finde, daß in diesen Texten etwas Anarchisches steckt und etwas, das die Anwendung auf Musik gestattet, etwas, was Musik evoziert.” Rihm, “Rückkehr zur Unordnung? Gespräch mit Luca Lombardi (1979),” *Ausgesprochen II*, 61.

Example 4.12

Eine Art Traumbild rit. . . Langsam

156

Baßkl. *fff* *mf* *pp* nimmt Fagott

Kfg. *ff* *pp (post.)*

Pos. *ff* *pp* *ppp*

Schlagz. *f* *lv.* (-)

1. *(sehr leise)*
Im tief - sten Her - zen war ihm warm, jetzt ist es ihm so

2. *(sehr leise)*
Im tief - sten Her - zen war ihm warm, jetzt

Comb. *p*

Vcl. 1. *fff* *p* *pp*
sul pont. ord.

2. *fff* *p* *pp*
sul pont. ord. *non vibr.*

3. *fff* *p* *pp*
sul pont. ord.

[Zitat: Schumann: Kinderszenen op. 15, Nr. 12]

159 *ritardando*

Baßkl. *pp* *ppp*

Pos. *ppp*

1. *ppp*
eng, so arm! So arm! Er will ge - hen...

2. *ppp*
ist es ihm so eng, so arm! So arm! Er will ge - hen... *fff*

Lenz *(ganz in der Ferne!)*
Ret - ten!

Comb.

Vcl. 1. *ppp*

2. *ppp*

3. *ppp*

Hier (↓) können 2 Soprane plötzlich die Kinder abtönen.

Rihm, Jakob Lenz, measures 156-64.

the posture of the poetry. Poems written by authors with mental illnesses, Rihm felt, could prompt reflection on what constituted the poetic.

Sometimes it was the sound of their rhyming words, but just as the Romantics often wrote works that imitated folk pieces, it seemed to me that poems by schizophrenic authors were written *as though they were* poems. I see poems by schizophrenic writers as broken and fragmented. They are a type of poetry whose tone can be plainly observed, yet this tone can suddenly slip and with crass clarity the poem says something moving, but is then abruptly un-poetic, no longer poeticizing. They are texts in which the crass is revealed, a psychological necessity for the author, as in the poetry of Wölfli when he came to terms with the child molestation for which he was imprisoned. Disruption rather than compression emerges. Therefore I do not compose music for these poems. I do not heal them with music but rather my music goes in between the cracks illuminating them, if anything amplifying this impression, this condition.⁸²

What Rihm attributed to the work of mentally ill poets blends easily with his views on the qualities of late music. Psychological illness here enabled reflection on convention and the creation of poetry about poetry. Like the creators of poetry “im Volkston,” mentally ill poets could create works that almost passed for the real thing, and in so doing could expose conventions and clichés. Just as Adorno’s late Beethoven laid out convention baldly so that it could be observed and critiqued, Rihm’s mentally ill writers created “late” poems that could uncover the structure and meanings of poetic convention.⁸³

“Late” Schumann offered a unique opportunity for Rihm. In addition to providing ample music for study and reflection, it provided him with a cause. Rihm’s anger at the ubiquity of dismissive attitudes on Schumann’s later works runs through several essays and talks.

The negative valuation of Robert Schumann’s late works, especially by prominent observers, is overwrought. People gladly avenge themselves on Schumann because he had access to realms that are ordinarily inaccessible. This vengeance can take different forms: he is trivialized as a dreamer in a nightgown, or disqualified as a bumbler and dilettante in matters of form and orchestration, or demonized for his mental illness and final years in Endenich; this vengeance always has, however, only one cause: envy—

⁸² “Da war es der Ton der theilweise gereimten Gedichte; so wie die Romantiker oft Stücke ‘im Volkston’ schreiben, scheinen mir diese Stücke geschrieben, als *wären* sie Gedichte; ich sehe das ganz gebrochen, das sind Gedichte, die den Ton des Gedichtes vor Augen haben und plötzliche abrutschen und mit krasser Deutlichkeit das sagen, was den bewegt, der das gerade dichtet—der ist plötzliche un-dicht, der dichtet nicht mehr; es sind Texte, die das kraß offenlegen, eine seelische Not, beispielsweise bei Wölfli das Bewältigen der Kinderschändung, weswegen sie ihn eingesperrt hatten. Verletztheit, nicht ver-dichtet, sondern offen kraß zutage liegend. Und darüber mache ich jetzt keine Musik, ich heile das nicht mit Musik, sondern die Musik geht dazwischen und beleuchtet, eher verstärkt sie diesen Eindruck, diesen Zustand. Rihm, “Während der Arbeit an *Tutuguri*: Gespräch mit Hartmut Lück (1982),” *Ausgesprochen II*, 76.

⁸³ Adorno writes of Beethoven’s late style that “one finds sprinklings of conventional formulae and phrases...often the convention becomes visible in a stark, unconcealed, unaltered form...conventions become expression in the act of their own naked self-representation. Adorno, “Beethoven’s Late Style,” 14-6.

because that which must not be cannot be; because no music should be found moving that does not conform to what is officially allowed.⁸⁴

Rihm blamed Clara, Brahms, and Joachim for encouraging this interpretative tradition after Schumann's death. But Rihm felt that Schumann had also suffered during his own lifetime from such reproaches. This was for Rihm one reason why Schumann began to study counterpoint and fugue during the 1840s. Such compositional study demonstrated an attempt to conform to accepted norms of technique. But doing so forced Schumann into a kind of "cage;" it restricted the expression of his "different" voice.⁸⁵ In his 1984 talk "Alien Pages (on Robert Schumann)," Rihm argued that "Schumann is different, and different from just 'different.' He speaks music. Schumann exemplifies the poeticization of the creative process. Art as the process of creating art; he embodied this philosophy to an extreme."⁸⁶ And for Rihm, experiencing the moment of creation as the artwork was fundamental to the realization of musical freedom.

"What is *different* about Schumann's music?" Rihm went on to ask his audience. Schumann as "fremder Mann" had been a major theme in Killmayer's characterization of Schumann, and here Rihm offered a similar conceptualization.

We certainly perceive that something is different—different from the norm. The strain in this music is palpable: how much farther? How to proceed? This music lacks of a sense of place, not so much stylistically but rather as regards the music's unfolding. Such a quality makes Schumann's music, especially his late music, hard to bear for those with a(n already-)refined (and pre-determined) understanding of music. Their education leads them to expect and therefore find pre-determined problems such as a lack of form, circular form, deferred development, and mere hints rather than bold statements. The sum total of these traits *must* then be interpreted by such critics as failure.⁸⁷

Schumann's music seemed to lack a sense of place, what Rihm referred to as its *Ortlosigkeit*. The title Rihm gave his major Schumann-inspired work captures such a concept: *Fremde Szene*—scenes that are foreign, alien, strange. "'Fremd' is definable from two positions," Rihm mused. "Alien for those who hear and contemplate. And alien for that which finds itself being contemplated."⁸⁸ Creating the category of the alien was a reciprocal process, an interaction between subject and object. Listeners could create understandings of the alien through an

⁸⁴ "Die Unterschätzung von Robert Schumann, besonders durch prominente Einschätzer, halte ich für überschätzt. Man rächt sich gern an Schumann, weil er Zugang zu Bereichen hatte, die üblicherweise nicht betretbar sind. Die Rache hat verschiedene Formen: Er wird verniedlicht zum Träumer im Schlafrock oder disqualifiziert zum Stümper in Form und Klang oder dämonisiert zum Irren in Edenich; die Rache hat aber immer *ein* Gesicht: Neid—weil nicht sein kann, was nicht sein darf; weil nicht bewegen darf, was nicht nach offiziellen Maßregeln 'gekonnt' gemacht scheint." Rihm, "Fremde Blätter (über Robert Schumann)," *Ausgesprochen I*, 229.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 229.

⁸⁶ "Schumann ist anders, anders auch als 'anders.' Er spricht Musik. Die Poetisierung des Schaffensprozesses—der Herstellungsakt des Kunstwerks bereits als Kunstwerk, als Kunstwert—ist weit getrieben." *Ibid.*, 230.

⁸⁷ "Was ist *anders* an Schumann's Musik? "Daß etwas anders ist—anders als sonst—, spüren wir sicher... Musik, deren Anstrengung spürbar ist: Wie weiter? Wie geht es weiter?...Die Ortlosigkeit, nicht so sehr die stilistische als vielmehr die Ortlosigkeit des Verlaufs, macht Schumanns Musik, vor allem seine späte, schwer erträglich für den (vor-)gebildeten musikalischen (Vor-)verstand, der seiner Bildung Entsprechendes erwartet, dann aber Vor-Zuständen begegnet: Ungeformtem, kreisenden Formen, latenten Verläufen, Andeutung und Irrlicht, das zusammen er—der Vor-Gebildete—als Versagen auffassen *muß*." *Ibid.*, 230-1.

⁸⁸ "'Fremd' ist auch wieder von zwei Seiten bestimmbar. Fremd für den, der es betrachtet, der es hört. Fremd für den, der sich darin befindet." Rihm, "Auch über Robert Schumann," *Ausgesprochen I*, 235.

inability to fit what they heard into a pre-existing template.⁸⁹ The music's alien qualities were thus an active process, based on unfulfilled expectations of listeners, and as Rihm felt, the composer's refusal to conform to such expectations.⁹⁰ Thus, *Ortlosigkeit* encompassed both the work as a musical object and the history of the work's reception.

Rihm stressed how his way of hearing Schumann differed from that of most listeners, including most musicologists. An ability to appreciate Schumann as an "outsider" enabled an understanding of the music's "difference."

Late Schumann, which most people readily dismiss, is also dismissed by academics who continue to discount him as someone whose mind was already in disarray. The shortcomings that these people believe they have discerned ultimately boil down to aspects of expression and lack of form, to amorphous qualities... I do not really know, since I do not listen like *that*. But I hear Schumann as a composer who, whenever he writes music, writes *other* music. He writes music of an entirely different type, music that comes from the body that beats. Roland Barthes in an essay entitled "Rasch" accounted for this by the beat, the body, the movement of the body (including in an erotic sense), the tempo, and the pulse. Such qualities ground Schumann's music.⁹¹

Barthes' reading provided Rihm with an interpretation that eloquently substantiated his notion of Schumannian otherness.⁹² In part, the body stood for that which lay outside a perceived mainstream that privileged the eternal or metaphysical over an ephemeral physicality and sensuality. The image of the pulsing body was related to the unfolding of rhythm in Schumann's music, which was heard to contrast with a more dominating and conventionally prized Beethovenian style. For Barthes, "it is not a matter of beating fists against the door, in the presumed manner of fate. What is required is that *it beat* inside the body, against the temple, in the sex, in the belly, against the skin from inside, at the level of that whole sensuous emotivity which we call, both by metonymy and by antiphrasis, the 'heart.'" ⁹³ On the one hand the body was a kind of first person voice in the music: "here is how I hear Schumann's body (indeed, he

⁸⁹ This contrasts with categorizing music as alien or foreign due to the presence of familiar markers (stereotypes) that carry cultural connotations of foreignness.

⁹⁰ Williams writes more generally of Rihm's understanding of subjectivity that "when we interact with music we are asked to occupy a subject position, or, put more precisely, we are interpolated by a subject position to which we can respond by means of identification, dialogue, or rejection. With his Schumann pieces, Rihm seems to be invoking that process, showing himself to be interpolated as a composer, and answering that call of the other. His response is a dialogical one in which both he and Schumann are modified; and the process does not stop at his reactions because performers and listeners are also part of the dialogue, both bringing to bear their own somatic experiences on the swaying subjectivity of the music." See Williams, "Swaying with Schumann," 396-7.

⁹¹ "Der späte Schumann, der für die meisten leicht abtubar ist, auch von den Wissenschaftlern immer noch leicht abgetan wird als derjenige, der schon recht in der Verwirrung war. An dem die Mängel, die man sonst an ihm wahrzunehmen glaubte, endlich nun zum Ausbruch und Ausdruck gekommen seien und das Formlose, das Ungestaltete etc...ich weiß es nicht, ich kann darüber nicht *so* hören. Aber ich höre Schumann als einen Komponisten, der immer, wenn er Musik schreibt, *andere* Musik schreibt. Der eine Musik ganz anderer Art schreibt, die vom Körper kommt, vom Schlag. Roland Barthes hat es in einem Aufsatz, der den Titel 'Rasch' trägt...an Schumann ausgemacht: den Schlag, den Körper, die Bewegung des Körpers, auch in erotischem Sinn, das Tempo, den Puls, dieses als Schumannsche Grundierung." Rihm, "Auch über Robert Schumann," *Ausgesprochen I*, 235.

⁹² Alastair Williams argues in relation to Rihm's interest in Barthes that "what Rihm seems to hear in Schumann, what he calls other, is a somatic presence that exerts pressure on the musical style in which Schumann works." See Williams, "Swaying with Schumann," 395-6.

⁹³ Roland Barthes, "Rasch," in *The Responsibility of Forms*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 302.

had a body, and what a body! His body was *what he had most of all*).⁹⁴ Yet the body also belonged to the performer and the listener.

Interpretation is...merely the power to read the anagrams of the Schumannian text, to reveal the network of accents beneath the tonal, rhythmic, melodic rhetoric. The accent is the music's truth, in relation to which all interpretation declares itself. In Schumann (to my taste), the beats are played too timidly; the body which takes possession of them is almost always a mediocre body, trained, streamlined by years of Conservatory or career, or more simply by the interpreter's insignificance, his indifference: he plays the accent (the beat) like a simple rhetorical mark; what the virtuoso then displays is the platitude of his own body, incapable of "beating" (as is the case with Rubinstein). It is not a question of strength, but of rage: the body must pound—not the pianist (this has been glimpsed here and there by Nat and Horowitz).⁹⁵

Focusing on the body provided a way to discriminate between those who could enter into the music and understand it from those who remained exterior to the music's truths. In part, what differentiated the person who could hear or musically evoke the body in Schumann's music and one who could not, was where the person stood in relation to conventional taste and style. The ability to discern the body in Schumann's music or to evoke it at the piano marked the connoisseur. Those who could appreciate the "body that beats," like those who understood Schumann's late music, were a privileged few.

Rihm's Schumann-inspired *Fremde Szenen* was scored for piano trio. The choice of genre is telling for someone interested in the unknown Schumann because Schumann only composed "late" piano trios (two date from 1847, the third from 1851).⁹⁶ Though none of Schumann's three piano trios are well known or frequently performed, Rihm still had a need to assert his "different" relationship to this already "other" Schumann. "When I was asked to choose a composer who would complement my two piano trios, it was Schumann. And not the Schumann that everyone knows. Not the Schumann of the first piano trio or even the second—which many people know, but rather the third which practically no one knows—the third piano trio of late Schumann."⁹⁷

Fremde Szenen, like the "different" music that inspired it, would possess a physical presence. This work would embody people, places, and experiences, yet not as "extramusical" additions. Constituting the work's body, these references would be "doubly innermusical."⁹⁸ As a physical entity, the work was plastic, existing in three dimensions.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 299.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 303.

⁹⁶ The Trio no. 1 in d minor, op. 63 was composed in 1847 and published in 1848, and the Trio no. 2 in F major op. 80 was composed in 1847 and published in 1849. Schumann's Trio no. 3 in g minor op. 110 was composed in 1851 and published in 1852. See Daverio and Eric Sams, "Schumann, Robert," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 14 June 2011. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40704pg21>.

⁹⁷ "Und als ich geboten wurde, einen Komponisten zu wählen, den ich mir als Ergänzung zu meinen beiden Klaviertrios zu setzen wünsche, dann war es Schumann. Und nicht der, den wir alle kennen. Nicht das erste Klaviertrio und auch nicht das—was manche kennen—zweite Klaviertrio, sondern das, was vielleicht gar niemand kennt, das dritte Klaviertrio des späten Schumann." Rihm, "Auch über Robert Schumann," *Ausgesprochen I*, 234-5.

⁹⁸ "...weil alle Schumannsche Musik in irgendeiner Form, auch in der Kammermusik, *szenische* Musik ist. Es sprechen immer Zustände, Personen, Vorgänge. Niemals ist es nur ein abgebildetes Entsprechungsprotokoll von

If I write for piano trio, I fully realize that at this point in history the piano trio is like an anachronistic, already-inhabited armchair. I do not, however, think it bad that the stage presents itself already full of furniture. Things will clash...Just recently, as I attempted to clarify for myself *how* to proceed [with *Fremde Szenen*], the path was shown to me in the scenic nature of things. And if the scene were also to be an inner scene, then the music that followed would perhaps be the record of my inner activity.⁹⁹

Rihm's *Fremde Szenen* would inhabit the spaces or rooms of Schumann's third piano trio, but not like "a piece of furnishing."¹⁰⁰ He suggested that a work which functioned as furnishing would exist as a kind of relict. It would come from Schumann's time and statically remain there. In contrast, *Fremde Szenen* was to be endowed with the consciousness of deriving from a different era; Schumann and the third trio would be present as "others." Rihm's poetic description of these spaces and his music's consciousness served in part to forestall the criticisms that would be made for having drawn upon historical styles and sensibilities.¹⁰¹

A misunderstanding is possible. Some people could think that this piece (either unfortunately or at long last) looks backwards. However, that the "other" speaks here does not necessarily indicate a yearning to restore the past and anchor this past in the present. Since this has become clear, we have also known that to create a Schumannian tone does not mean to say "we're meeting at the Kaffeebaum! In historical costume!" (But musicians and audiences are slow to grasp this). Thus—this piece as other and scenic.¹⁰²

And

kombinatorischen Möglichkeiten, sondern es sind immer Vorgänge, die nicht außermusikalisch sind, sondern doppelt innermusikalisch." Ibid., 235.

⁹⁹ "Wenn ich heute für Klaviertrio schreibe, weiß ich sehr genau, daß das Klaviertrio ein anachronistischer Besetzungssessel ist. Deswegen finde ich das gar nicht schlecht, daß hier allein die Bühne sich schon so möbliert gibt. Daß die Dinge aufeinanderprallen, Sitze in Stilformen, denen sie als Konstruktionen nicht mehr angehören; die Lampen in anderen Stilformen, die Notenständer, auch der einsame Notenständer hier in der Ecke... All diese Dinge haben vorhin, als ich versuchte mir klarzuwerden, *wie* einzuführen sei, den Weg mir gezeigt in die allgemeinszenische Situation der Ereignisse. Und wenn die Szene auch eine innere Szene wäre, dann wäre die Musik, die jetzt folgt, vielleicht das Protokoll dieses inneren Ablaufes." Ibid., 235.

¹⁰⁰ In her book on Schumann's late works, Tunbridge discusses Rihm's interest in space as it relates to the idea of "forbidden places" in Schumann's late biography. See Tunbridge, *Schumann's Late Style*, 160.

¹⁰¹ Indeed, even in recent musicological writing scholars have felt the need to assure the reader that Rihm's music is not "conservative." In the opening of an article on *Fremde Szenen*, Alastair Williams writes that "Wolfgang Rihm's *Fremde Szenen*...deploys the fluidity of Schumann's musical style not only as a memory but also as an immediate presence. This layering of past and present creates a sense of instability, not assurance; thus the result is far from aesthetically conservative." Williams, "Swaying with Schumann," 379.

¹⁰² The Kaffeebaum was a favorite haunt of Schumann in Leipzig in the 1830s. "Am Anfang ist das mißverständlich, einige könnten meinen, es werde (leider oder endlich) rückwärts geblickt. Aber seit wir wissen, daß das andere Sprechen... nicht bedeutet, daß vergangene Zeiten herbeigesehnt werden und restaurativ im Jetzt verankert sein sollen—seit wir das wissen, wissen wir auch daß ein Schumann-Tonfall nicht heißt "Wir treffen uns im Kaffeebaum! Im Originalkostümen!" (Aber Musik[hör]er sind langsam.) Also—fremd und szenisch, Kammermusik ist das nicht erst, seit es keine Kammern mehr gibt. (Schumanns Plan: ein Klaviertrio 'Scena')." Rihm, "*Fremde Szenen I-III*, Versuche für Klaviertrio, erste Folge (1982-1984)," *Ausgesprochen II*, 333.

In the second movement of *Fremde Szenen* I attempted among other things to invent my personal portrait of Schumann and his musical style...Not a single measure is quoted, but his *tone* is present.¹⁰³

Fremde Szenen evokes many styles and composers, Schumann's "tone" being just one particularly privileged by the composer. In approaching this tone, however, little attempt was made to suggest tonal harmony. For Rihm, this avoidance would open up space and the experience of distance between his sound world and that of Schumann. Such space allowed for contemplation of Schumann's "other" voice, and its partial reflection, distortion, and reevaluation in contemporary music. In *Fremde Szenen*, Rihm would allude to Schumann's "tone" and in particular the third piano trio through varied means, including affect, texture, and melodic contour.

The violin melody that opens the first movement of Schumann's third trio, for example, bears the outline of a tritone. The last note of m. 3 (Eb) moves up a perfect fifth to Bb but then comes to rest on A natural. [Example 4.13] The A introduces a source of melodic tension that does not resolve until the G in m. 6, 2 bars later. The tension in this melodic shape is recast in different guises throughout the movement. At the opening of the development section, for example, the motif is transposed and its effect intensified through an ascending motion from C-C#-G-C#-D-C#-G-C# [Example 4.14]. All three *Fremde Szenen* are largely based on the intervals of the augmented and perfect fourth, a structure common in Rihm's works (and ubiquitous in early twentieth-century music). The second movement, which Rihm claimed was a "portrait" of Schumann, begins with piano, cello, and violin in unison on an Eb that moves directly to A natural, the two notes that comprise the kernel of tension within the opening melody of Schumann's op. 110. [Example 4.15]

¹⁰³ "Ich habe versucht, in der zweiten *Fremden Szene*—die erste hat in diesem Zusammenhang einleitenden Charakter—unter anderem mein persönliches Porträt Schumanns und seiner musikalischen 'Schrift' zu erfinden. Kein einziger Schumann-Takt ist zitiert, wohl aber sein *Ton* präsent." Rihm, "Fremde Blätter (über Robert Schumann)," *Ausgesprochen I*, 233. Additionally, Rihm writes in the essay "Ein Zeitgenosse späterer 'Zukünfte,'" "Direkte Übernahmen eines Textes gibt es bei mir nicht, immer tritt das Umfeld und die Erscheinung der Anspielung bereits als Kommentar, als Gegentext manchmal sogar, auf." This passage is quoted and discussed in Thomas Schäfer, "anwesend/abgekehrt: Notizen zu Wolfgang Rihms Komponieren der 1970er Jahre mit Blick auf Gustav Mahler," in *Musik-Konzepte Sonderband Wolfgang Rihm*, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Text + Kritik, 2004), p. 104.

Example 4.13

I. Componirt 1851.

Bewegt, doch nicht zu rasch. (♩ = 63.)

Violino.

Violoncello.

Pianoforte.

Robert Schumann, *Piano Trio No. 3*, op. 110, first movement, measures 1-20.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Robert Schumann, *Piano Trio No. 3*, op. 110, ed. Clara Schumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1880).

Example 4.14

Schumann, *Piano Trio No. 3*, op. 110, first movement, measures 81-92.

Example 4.15

Rihm, *Fremde-Szenen II*, measures 1-4.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ From Wolfgang Rihm, *Fremde-Szenen I-III* (Vienna: Universal, 1984).

Rihm seems never to quote Schumann's music literally. His references are allusive and fragmentary. Shortly into the second *Szene*, for example, Rihm makes a suggestively Schumannian harmonic gesture. Beginning in m. 26, Rihm embarks on a progression that sounds like ruins of the circle of fifths: Eb, Ab, Db, G, C#. And again in m. 78-9: Bb-Eb-Ab-Db-G (easily seen in the left hand of the piano). [Example 4.16] As many critics have noted, the circle of fifths was a harmonic sequence particularly dear to Schumann. Charles Rosen writes in particular reference to the seventh piece of *Kreisleriana* that

one of Schumann's favorite harmonic procedures [was] a movement through the diatonic circle of fifths... This [is] sometimes the occasion of a serious reproach to the composer: such commonplaces should have been beneath him... Schumann obviously loved the progression, luxuriated in it, and almost, one might say, wallowed in it... The sequence has a physical effect, a force of motion, as a composer and listener abandon themselves to it and allow themselves to be carried along by the energy."¹⁰⁶

Example 4.16

The image displays a musical score for Example 4.16, consisting of three systems of music. The first system (measures 24-26) features a treble clef staff with a triplet of eighth notes and a bass clef staff with a sixteenth-note accompaniment. Dynamics include *sffz*, *fff*, and *sempre non dim.*. The second system (measures 27-29) includes a grand staff with piano and bass clefs, featuring complex textures and dynamics like *ff*, *sffz*, and *(fff)*. The third system (measures 30-32) continues the grand staff with piano and bass clefs, including a triplet and dynamics like *sffz* and *p*. Performance instructions such as *(non rit.)*, *Ped.*, and *Vol.* are present throughout.

¹⁰⁶ Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 679.

Rihm, *Fremde-Szenen II*, measures 24-30 and 77-81.

Rosen's reflections on the physicality of the circle of fifths tie in well with Rihm's philosophy of freedom and Barthes' "body that beats." In Rihm's recasting of the sequence, the propulsive quality of the circle of fifths is attenuated by virtue of diminished intervals and copious dissonance. This, then, is perhaps one way in which Rihm could evoke Schumann's musical world without "looking backwards."

A third way in which the opening of the second *Szene* might suggest Schumann lies in the figuration of the piano line. A similar shape of movement occurs in the piano at the start of Schumann's third trio, and the two works also share a low sustained G in the piano's left hand. Schumann includes the directive "Bewegt, doch nicht zu rasch," while Rihm, atop his score and in dialogue with Schumann writes "Rasch [und schwankend]." More generally, the way Rihm makes use of the piano in the movement might be heard to allude to a virtuosic manner present in certain Schumann piano works. Schumann's admiration of Paganini, for example, spanned his life; its fruits included his op. 3 Etudes, the Paganini sketch in *Carnaval* op. 9, the op. 10 Etudes, and the piano accompaniments to Paganini's violin caprices composed in part during

Schumann's time in the Eendenich asylum, WoO 25. The second *Szene* presents several piano passages that provide an overt display of technical prowess. A thirty-second note chromatic run in mm. 96-97, for example, falls into dramatic leaps that span several octaves. [Example 4.17]

Example 4.17

Rihm, *Fremde-Szenen II*, measures 96-7.

This last connection was made by reflecting on Schumann's biography, career, and interests and reading them into particular musical gestures used by Rihm. It is a kind of interpretative strategy for creating meaning that Rihm invited. In his program notes on *Fremde Szenen* Rihm described the second movement as

incessant, rash, and unsteady. The foreign tongue speaks on its own. Not a note is quoted... What sounds like a piano trio here is:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| a weapon | a letter |
| a medical device | virtuosity (a battle) |
| an exchange (portrait) | a riot |
| a relationship | an operation. ¹⁰⁷ |

He provides "virtuosity," for example, as a spur to the listener to create connections between a Schumannian past and currently-unfolding, contemporary sounds. Each of these words has multiple meanings and multiple ways of being connected (or not) to Schumann. Each object can

¹⁰⁷ "Unablässig, rash und schwankend. Die fremde Zunge Eigenstes, kein Ton ist zitiert, in den 'Ton' wird gefallen, gestürzt. Was wie Klaviertrio klingt ist: Waffe, Brief, medizinisches Gerät, Virtuosität (eines Kampfes), Abtausch (Porträt), Ausschreitung, Beziehung, Operation." Rihm, "*Fremde Szenen I-III*," *Ausgesprochen II*, 333.

work like one of Schumann’s own titles—suggestions that might steer listening and interpretation, allowing listeners to relate them (or not) to the piece and Schumann’s biography.

With a parting, playful wink, it is the piano (Schumann’s instrument) that brings the movement to a close. The word *Humor* appears in the performance direction at the start of the last movement of Schumann’s third piano trio. Rihm speculated that “the appearance of the word ‘humor’ in the inscription to the fourth movement is really the nicest proof that there is no humor *in* the music at all. At the very least, there is no humor if the composer makes an especial attempt to name it, to enunciate it.”¹⁰⁸ Rihm here does the opposite. No mention of humor is made, but satirical whimsy is the movement’s final impression. After a page’s worth of individual sixteenth notes separated by different lengths of rests, the pianist arrives at an eight measure rest.

[Example 4.18]

Example 4.18

417 pizz. pp 1 1

422 pppp 1

426 so schnell wie möglich noch schneller pppp 1

7.4.1983

Rihm, *Fremde-Szenen II*, measures 417-35.

^{108c}“Daß das Wort Humor in der Inskription zum vierten Satz des Klaviertrio op. 110 vorkommt...ist eigentlich der schönste Beweis dafür, daß es Humor *in* der Musik so gar nicht gibt. Zumindest dann nicht, wenn der Komponist versucht ihn speziell zu benennen, ihn auszusprechen,” Rihm, “Auch über Robert Schumann,” *Ausgesprochen I*, 234.

The first five measures are marked “so schnell wie möglich” (as fast as possible), while the three that follow bear fermatas. The very last note, a sixteenth note marked *ppppp* is indicated to be played “noch schneller” (even faster).¹⁰⁹ The *ppppp* is the culmination of a decrescendo that began 18 measures earlier with a *pp*, followed two measures later by *ppp* and 5 measures after this by *pppp*. Though they pass by unheard, these inaudible fluctuations of tempo and volume create a playful retort to the (lack of) *Humor* in the last movement of Schumann’s op. 110.

Though Rihm singles out the second *Szene* as particularly Schumannian, the third also alludes suggestively to Schumann’s world. Of the piece Rihm wrote only two lines in his program notes: “In fact only haunted places, concentration and its loss.”¹¹⁰ “Verrufene Stelle” recalls the eponymous fourth piece of Schumann’s *Waldszenen* op. 82 (1848-9). *Fremde Szenen* is haunted by many voices from the musical past. Rihm’s third piece does create an eerie mood, with its first two pages comprised entirely of artificial harmonics in the strings, while the piano plays *pianississimi*. [Example 4.19] At m. 41 the description “Verrufene Stelle” appears in the score, and here a whiff of tonality floats past. Barely audible (*pppp*), the first five notes of an ascending B major scale appear in the piano bass line. [Example 4.20]

Example 4.19

The image displays a musical score for three instruments: Violin (Vl.), Viola (Vc.), and Piano (Pf.). The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows measures 1 through 5, with dynamic markings *ppp* for the strings and *ppp* for the piano. The second system shows measures 6 through 10, with dynamic markings *ppp - mf - ppp* for the strings and *ppp* for the piano. The piano part features a bass line with an ascending B major scale starting at measure 41.

¹⁰⁹ In the first movement of the op. 22 Sonata, Schumann uses the designations “so rasch wie möglich,” “schneller,” and “noch schneller.”

¹¹⁰ “Eigentlich nur verrufene Stellen. / Konzentration und deren Verlust.” Rihm, “*Fremde Szenen I-III*,” *Ausgesprochen II*, 333.

Rihm, *Fremde-Szenen III*, measures 1-19.

Example 4.20

Rihm, *Fremde-Szenen III*, measures 41-3.

In *Waldszenen*, Schumann's "Haunted Place" is prefaced with a poem by Friedrich Hebbel.

The flowers that grow so high
Are as pale as death;
Only one in the middle
stands there dark red.
It did not turn red from the sun:
Never did the flower encounter the sun's blaze;
The flower got it from the earth,
which had drunk human blood.¹¹¹

The themes of death and haunting present throughout *Fremde Szenen* take on an additional source of reference in m. 57 as a seeming allusion to the first movement of Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet, D. 810 is introduced. [Examples 4.21 and 4.22] The presence of musical pasts provides Rihm's work with nourishment and gives it distinctive coloring, akin to the red flower in Hebbel's poem that is nourished from its soil and the lives that preceded it.

There is no escaping musical pasts Rihm implied with these "other" scenes.¹¹² Musical freedom for Rihm lay not in abjuring the past, as had many of his older colleagues, but in acknowledging and meeting it as an othering presence in contemporary art. Through Schumann's "difference" and the misunderstood late style, Rihm created an ideal exemplification of such freedom. Many people listened to Schumann, but few appreciated the music's "other" qualities, and few experienced its freedom, Rihm implied. Thus Schumann served as a figure who could teach Rihm's contemporaries new philosophical approaches to both composition and listening. Ultimately, this "different" freedom could be approached from two vantage points: freedoms recognized in figures from the past and freedoms available to those living in the present. An embrace of the latter, Rihm implied, could only occur through grappling with and learning from the former.

¹¹¹ "Die Blumen, so hoch sie wachsen, / Sind blass hier, wie der Tod; / Nur eine in der Mitte / Steht da in dunkeln Roth. / Die hat es nicht von der Sonne: / Nie traf sie deren Gluth; / Sie hat es von der Erde, / Und die trank Menschenblut."

¹¹² Tunbridge compares "Rihm's deserted chambers" in *Fremde Szenen* to the work of painter Anselm Kiefer, particularly the 1973 series of paintings entitled *Parsifal*. She describes how "Kiefer literally writes history into this painting, from the titular reference to Wagner's famous opera, with all its historical and nationalist associations, to the tension between representational and abstract art, or between different generations of German heroes, from 'Hitler's ultimate cultural hero,' Wagner, to a terrorist cell that claimed to see little difference between the current capitalist establishment and the Nazi regime... In this context the room itself takes on new significance. Attics are usually the places where people store the things they do not use anymore but cannot bear to throw away. A receptacle of memories, you might say." See Tunbridge, "Deserted Chambers of the Mind (Schumann Memories)," 403.

Example 4.21

The image displays a musical score for Example 4.21, covering measures 56 through 61. The score is written for a piano and is organized into three systems. Each system contains three staves: a treble clef staff, a bass clef staff, and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The music is in 4/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth-note runs. Measure 56 begins with a treble clef staff containing a triplet of eighth notes, followed by a bass clef staff with a similar triplet. The grand staff below shows a complex harmonic structure with multiple voices. Measures 57 and 58 continue the rhythmic complexity with more triplets and sixteenth-note patterns. Measure 59 shows a continuation of the rhythmic motifs. Measure 60 is marked with a dynamic of *ff* and includes the instruction "ancora un poco più mosso" above the treble staff. The music becomes more intense, with a *ff* dynamic and a *molto vibr.* marking. Measure 61 concludes the passage with a *ff* dynamic and a *molto vibr.* marking. The score includes various performance instructions such as "sul pont.", "ff", "f", "sffz", "ppp", and "molto vibr.".

Rihm, *Fremde-Szenen III*, measures 56-61.

Example 4.22

Allegro.

Violino I. *ff* *pp*

Violino II. *ff* *pp*

Viola. *ff* *pp*

Violoncello. *ff* *pp*

10

20

p *fz* *fz* *fz* *fz* *fz* *fz cresc. fz*

p *cresc.*

p *cresc.*

f

Schubert, *String Quartet No. 14, D. 810*, first movement, measures 1-21.¹¹³

¹¹³ Franz Schubert, *String Quartet No. 14, D. 810* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).

Heinz Holliger

The “difference” heard in Schumann’s music and read into his biography helped shape Killmayer’s and Rihm’s artistic identity as standing somewhat apart from systems of institutional prestige and support. In contrast, the Swiss composer and oboist Heinz Holliger (b. 1939) does not approach Schumann as a vehicle to affirm an outsider status. While Killmayer’s *fremder Mann* served as a form of protest and Rihm sought to legitimize late Schumann through appeals to Adorno, Holliger neither promotes the “otherness” of Schumann nor privileges a perceived freedom of spirit or style in Schumann’s music. Holliger composed two works that overtly grapple with Schumann’s legacy, *Gesänge der Frühe* (1987) and *Romancendres* (2003). In both works, Holliger uses highly determined compositional approaches that are indebted to his interests in expressionist aesthetics, serial techniques, and symmetrical designs. Predictably enough, they involve intensive pre-compositional planning and recall the kinds of practices Rihm criticized through the Schumann-inspired concept of *musikalische Freiheit*.¹¹⁴ The musicologist Arnold Whittall, for example, writes that

what is most distinctive to Holliger...is an intensely engaged evocation of an early-20th-century musical style that most latter-day modernists would acknowledge as seminal...this is the essentially lyric expressionism found in Schoenberg, Berg, and, especially, Webern (from op. 3 onwards) in the years after 1908...[Holliger] keeps his distance from Nono, and even from Kurtág...by embracing rather than erasing [a] historic avant-garde, and high-modernist aura...For Holliger, the 20th-century project goes on.

In his Schumann works, Holliger offers austere reflections that juxtapose rigid, pre-determined schemata with a Romantic tradition that valued the perceived presence of the composer’s persona within the musical work. In doing so, he, more pointedly than Killmayer or Rihm, expresses nostalgia for lost works and lives. The literary scholar Svetlana Boym reflects that

nostalgic manifestations are side effects of the teleology of progress...What is crucial is that nostalgia [is] not merely an expression of local longing, but a result of a new understanding of time and space that [makes] the division of “local” and “universal” possible. The nostalgic creature has internalized this division, but instead of aspiring for the universal and the progressive he looks backwards and yearns for the particular.¹¹⁵

Holliger draws upon particular scenes and sounds from a Schumannian past which he intertwines with “universal” twentieth-century compositional techniques. His Schumann works end by fading away to a nothingness that explicitly evokes death and represent musical attempts to cloak the individuality of Schumann’s biographical story within “universal” experience and compositional practices.

¹¹⁴ Arnold Whittall, “Holliger at 60: Keeping the Faith,” *The Musical Times*, 140 (1999): 38, 48.

¹¹⁵ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (USA: Basic Books, 2001), pp. 10-11.

Gesänge der Frühe, composed for chorus, orchestra, and tape, begins with a soft haze of sound. All twelve pitch classes are sustained by strings playing *pppp*, *sempre non vibrato*. Sound begins to come into focus as the chorus enters with a D-major/b-minor melody sung in unison. The 4/4 meter soon established by the chorus brings further clarity, while the soft string backdrop of shifting chords, each scrupulously containing all twelve tones, lends blurry borders to the tonal melody. [Example 4.23] Like the haze and ill-defined edges surrounding figures in an old photograph, Holliger's atonal backdrop frames the melody, softening its edges and giving it a retrospective glow.

Example 4.23

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Example 4.23. It consists of several staves. At the top, there are four staves labeled 12.5, 12.A, 12.T, and 12.B, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is in 4/4 time. Below these are two more staves, one with a circled '1' and the text '8" - 12"', and another with a circled '2' and the text '(Kre. 52)'. The main part of the score is for a chorus, with the lyrics 'Die Sonne - wie kehrt sie wieder'. Below the chorus are staves for various instruments: 'sachharin', 'becken', 'Vi', 'VII', 'Vle', 'Vc', and 'Kb'. Each instrument part includes performance instructions such as 'pppp', 'div. a 3', 'pppp sempre non vibrato', and 'div. a 2'. At the bottom, there is a note: '* evtl. [] und [] oder [] mit auf Becken aufgelegtem Kettchen.' The score is written in black ink on white paper.

Holliger, *Gesänge der Frühe*, first movement, measures 1-9.¹¹⁶

The melody comes from the opening of Schumann's eponymous op. 133 piano cycle of 1853. Holliger casts the entire first movement of op. 133 practically note for note as the four-part chorus of his own first *Gesang der Frühe*. At later points, Holliger also quotes from the fifth movement of op. 133, as well as the Eb melody from the *Thema mit Variationen*, WoO 24 (1854), and an unpublished chorale setting of "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist" that Schumann harmonized while at the Endenich asylum.¹¹⁷ Holliger's *Gesänge der Frühe* then, unlike the musical meditations on late Schumann by Killmayer and Rihm, is a collage.

Holliger's *Gesänge der Frühe* was a relative latecomer to modernist experimentation with collage. Collage had enjoyed a surge in popularity during the 1960s. The musicologist David Metzger, for example, describes the excitement surrounding collage composition at this time within the context of "aesthetic and social 'utopian impulses,'" and "promise." "Quotation had much to offer composers... especially those who had abandoned serialism or, at least, rigid forms of it." As the 1970s progressed, composers including Rochberg, Berio, Stockhausen, Davies, Crumb, and Henze began to move away from the technique. One reason for this shift, Metzger surmises, was boredom with the possibilities it afforded. "The surprising juxtapositions soon made the 'unexpected' rather expected. With all sorts of combinations being made, it

¹¹⁶ Heinz Holliger, *Gesänge der Frühe* (Mainz: Schott, 1988).

¹¹⁷ These are only the most explicit references. For a discussion of further musical allusions to Schumann in Holliger's *Gesänge der Frühe*, see Klaus Lagaly, "Schumann ist der Komponist, der eigentlich fast immer im Zentrum war für mich:" Anmerkungen zu Heinz Holligers *Gesänge der Frühe* nach Schumann und Hölderlin für Chor, Orchester und Tonband," in *Robert Schumann: Philologische, analytische, sozial- und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Aspekte*, ed. Wolf Frobenius et al. (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei, 1998), pp. 248-53.

became harder to keep up the thrill of having Schütz wander into Mahler... What at first appeared to offer so much soon became limited, at times even hackneyed.”¹¹⁸

One context that could unite the texts Holliger places in *Gesänge der Frühe* is mental illness. And such a theme would at first seem to connect this work closely to several of the well-known, earlier collages Metzer describes. Indeed, the use of collage to depict various stages of mental breakdown was a common gambit in compositions from the late 1960s and 70s. The combination of voices from disparate pasts could provide an easy metaphor for minds that were confused, overwhelmed, and exhausted. As Metzer found,

the evocation of madness makes a blunt point: such excessive artistic and historical reminiscences are not “normal.” More than that, they are debilitating. Only the mad obsessively return to memories of operas and poems written centuries ago, fragments of which cram their thoughts and speech... These scenes of madness contrast strongly with works of Rochberg, Berio, and Stockhausen... which views [sic] the use of past materials as promising. [Works thematizing madness] suggest that there was an underside to that optimism, an anxiety that the constant recollection of the past came at a cost... In many ways, quotation is the apposite technique for such works. Besides channeling memories, it produces many other effects evocative of madness, including fragmentation, distortion, discontinuity, incoherence, and the use of multiple languages.¹¹⁹

Metzer’s characterization is a good fit for the works he goes on to analyze—Schoenberg’s *Erwartung*, Davies’s *Eight Songs for a Mad King*, Berio’s *Recital I*. Holliger’s work, however, offers a striking contrast to these more accustomed ways of articulating madness. Instead of presenting excess and incoherence, *Gesänge der Frühe* is remarkably restrained and austere.

All of the Schumann texts Holliger chooses derive from the period leading up to and following Schumann’s placement in the Endenich asylum. The *Gesänge der Frühe* op. 133 was the last piano cycle Schumann composed. Schumann made the final arrangements for the work’s publication while already living in Endenich.¹²⁰ The Eb melody that Holliger adapts has a well-known story attached to it. Schumann famously believed it had been dictated to him by the spirit of Schubert.¹²¹ Schumann would go on to write five variations on the theme, some before and some shortly following his suicide attempt, and the piece is now widely referred to as the *Geistervariationen*. Little is known about the chorale harmonization to “Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist” that Holliger also includes. Daverio suggests that the work stems from the winter of 1856 when Schumann made an “urgent” request for manuscript paper. It is one of only a few musical sketches that survives from Schumann’s years in the Endenich asylum.¹²²

In addition to works from Schumann’s last years, Holliger also incorporates several late texts by the German poet Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843). The chorale setting of op. 133 in the first movement of Holliger’s *Gesänge der Frühe*, for example, is set to words by Hölderlin. An

¹¹⁸ David Metzer, *Quotation and Cultural Meaning in Twentieth-Century Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 109, 157-8.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹²⁰ Michael Struck, *Die umstrittenen späten Instrumentalwerke Schumanns: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung, Struktur und Rezeption* (Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1984), pp. 472-5.

¹²¹ Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a “New Poetic Age,”* 457-8.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 483. A facsimile of the manuscript for “Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist” is available in Ronald Taylor, *Robert Schumann* (New York: Universe Books, 1982), unnumbered insert preceding p. 211. See also the works list in John Daverio and Eric Sams, “Schumann, Robert,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 19 July 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40704pg21>.

underlying assertion of Holliger's composition seems to be that similar biographical experiences leave similar kinds of aesthetic traces that unite the artistic sensibilities of artists like Schumann and Hölderlin.¹²³ Testimonies of several contemporaneous witnesses are also used to substantiate this blending of these two biographical and artistic personas. Near the end of his first movement, for example, Holliger includes a tape of two voices reading excerpts from two letters written roughly fifty years apart, both by Bettina von Arnim (1785-1859). The first contains reflections on mental illness from 1805, the year Hölderlin was brought to the Authenrieth clinic in Tübingen, while the second is from a letter written to Clara Schumann after having visited Robert in Endenich.¹²⁴ Additionally, in the second movement Holliger directs that a tape relay a simultaneous reading of the autopsy reports of both Schumann and Hölderlin.

While the biographical contexts of Holliger's texts refer to experiences of mental illness, there is nothing particularly "mad" about the form, content, or setting of the texts. And because Holliger seeks to demonstrate congruencies between Hölderlin and Schumann, he attempts to weave their works into a coherent whole. *Gesänge der Frühe* has an austere, at times almost static quality. In contrast to more typical representations of madness as an excess of emotions, voices, and ideas, Holliger's madness seems cold and distant. The result is a work that accentuates the gap between Holliger's world and that of Schumann-Hölderlin. Holliger uses collage to depict a nineteenth-century world that is irretrievably past, and now provides an opportunity to meditate, nostalgically, on human mortality and the passage of time.

Holliger was not alone in offering public reflections on the personal impact of Schumann's *Gesänge der Frühe*. Roland Barthes, writing roughly ten years before Holliger, apotheosizes the work in his ruminations on photography entitled *Camera Lucida*.¹²⁵ The context for Barthes was an encounter with a photograph of his mother as a young child, what he would call the Winter Garden Photograph. Shortly after his mother's death, Barthes had sought to "find" her through old photographs. As he related, "there I was, alone in the apartment where she had died, looking at these pictures of my mother, one by one, under the lamp, gradually moving back in time with her, looking for the truth of the face I had loved. And I found it."¹²⁶ Barthes searched for a photograph that could both memorialize particular loved features of her presence ("the distinctness of her face, the naïve attitude of her hands...her expression...the assertion of gentleness") and yet also reflect his suffering at her loss.¹²⁷ The photograph simultaneously

¹²³ Holliger's pairing is suggestively similar to recent musicological work by Joseph Straus regarding the concept of "late style." As Straus writes, "*late-style works are those that represent nonnormative mental and bodily states*. The disabilities of their composers are refracted into a general sense of nonnormative bodily or mental function and inscribed in their music." Straus asserts that musical similarities may be found in works by authors who were living through similar experiences of illness. Italics in original. Straus, "Disability and 'Late Style' in Music," *The Journal of Musicology* 12 (2008): 12.

¹²⁴ Holliger commented in an interview that "Bettina avait été la première à écrire sur le Hölderlin soi-disant 'malade', dans son roman *Günderode*, et cinquante ans après, elle a écrit cette lettre à Clara Schumann qui j'ai utilisée dans l'oeuvre...Je trouve qu'il y a beaucoup des choses en commun entre ces deux hommes." As quoted in *Heinz Holliger: Entretien, Textes, Écrits sur son Oeuvre*, ed. Philippe Albèra (Geneva: Éditions Contrechamps, 1996), p. 46.

¹²⁵ The book was originally published in French under the title *La Chambre Claire: Note sur la Photographie* (Paris: Cahiers du cinema, 1980).

¹²⁶ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), p. 67.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 69.

allowed him to recognize her demeanor and unique bearing, while its material presence emphatically stressed pastness and the permanence of her absence. “This Winter Garden Photograph was for me like the last music Schumann wrote before collapsing [sic], that first *Gesang der Frühe* which accords with both my mother’s being and my grief at her death; I could not express this accord except by an infinite series of adjectives, which I omit, convinced however that this photograph collected all the possible predicates from which my mother’s being was constituted.”¹²⁸ Schumann’s *Gesänge der Frühe* provided a kind of sonic encapsulation of the longing Barthes experienced to move backward in time. Like the Winter Garden Photograph, it opened up a space for meditating upon his mother’s life as well as her death, allowing for the experience of what Boym refers to as “reflective nostalgia,” nostalgia that “explores ways of inhabiting many places at once...[and that] delays the homecoming—wistfully, ironically, desperately.”¹²⁹

Barthes’s use of the first *Gesang der Frühe* and Winter Garden Photograph as representations of the “ghostly survival” of the beloved after death finds a close analogue in Holliger’s compositional approach to Schumann’s work.¹³⁰ Rather than the “madness as excess” present in collages described by Metzger, Holliger’s use of Schumann’s *Gesang* accords well with Barthes’s notion of the madness inherent in photography. As the literary scholars Eduardo Cadava and Paola Cortés-Rocca argue

It is this ghostly survival—as a metonym for all such survivals—that defines the madness of the photograph, since it is there, within the medium of photography, that we simultaneously experience the absence of the “observed subject” and the fact of its “having-been-there,” the relation between life and death, between testimony and its impossibility, between the self and an other, and among the past, the present, and the future...[the photograph as] a fragment that comes to us from the past and permits us to dream that the totality that produced it is still here and, moreover, still belongs to us.¹³¹

Barthes points to his mother’s image and Schumann’s music as bodily traces of two beloved individuals. For Barthes, as for Holliger, the *Gesänge der Frühe* simultaneously presented traces of Schumann as well as presentiments of Schumann’s death to come. Barthes acknowledges the way Schumann’s impending suicide attempt and eventual death shade the work’s meaning for him, becoming music both about Schumann and about the loss of Schumann.

The first piece in Schumann’s op. 133 may be heard to conjure associations of pastness musically. [Example 4.24] It opens with a melodic line doubled at the octave, leaping up a fifth. Unadorned, the parallel voices blend into one another creating a chant-like effect. Eight beats pass before harmonization is added that allows the listener to situate the work historically. And though the piece then easily sounds like a nineteenth-century composition, antiquating gestures abound. At m. 13, for example, modal coloring is introduced by the A natural within a B minor context. Furthermore, Daverio hears in the rhythmic dislocation between the melody and the lower voices the suggestion of “space, specifically, the immense space of a sonorous hall or cathedral whose reverberations might indeed alter the vertical dimension of the music for the

¹²⁸ Ibid., 70.

¹²⁹ Boym, xviii.

¹³⁰ “Ghostly survival” is a phrase used by Eduardo Cadava and Paola Cortés-Rocca, “Notes on Love and Photography,” in *Photography Degree Zero: Reflections on Roland Barthes’s Camera Lucida*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), p. 107.

¹³¹ Ibid., 107, 120.

listener far removed from the actual sounding source.” Such spatial effects combined with the prominent plagal cadences that bring the last three pieces of the cycle to a close help foster a “patina of religiosity” for Daverio.¹³²

Example 4.24

Im ruhigen Tempo. ♩ = 73.

PIANO.

pp

cresc.

dim.

ten.

zurückhaltend.

pp

First piece from Schumann, *Gesänge der Frühe*, op. 133.¹³³

¹³² John Daverio, “Madness or Prophecy? Schumann’s *Gesänge der Frühe*, Op. 133,” in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music: Essays in Performance and Analysis*, ed. David Witten (New York: Garland, 1997), pp. 190-1.

¹³³ Robert Schumann, *Gesänge der Frühe*, op. 133, ed. Clara Schumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1885).

Just as the Winter Garden Photograph presented the subject as both alive and lost to the past, Schumann's *Gesänge der Frühe*, and the first Gesang in particular may be accommodated into a mode of listening with a kind of bifocal temporality. As Barthes suggests, the piece might seem to connote Schumann's life as well as his future death, with the antiquating musical gestures shrouding the work in pastness.¹³⁴

Such gestures not only help create a sense of temporal remoteness, they also foster a sense of emotional distance. One prominent feature of Schumann's first Gesang is its restraint. Textures are sparse, much of the movement is homophonic, the lines are generally contained within narrow ranges, dynamic markings rise only to a *forte*, and the tempo is *ruhig*. Holliger would place this entire first piece into the first movement of his own *Gesänge der Frühe*, taking Schumann's clear delineation of lines as the basis for the vocal lines of the four-part chorus. The Hölderlin text Holliger sets to Schumann's Gesang helps reinforce the sense of emotional distance present in Schumann's music. Holliger selects "Der Frühling," one of several poems on spring that Hölderlin wrote during his later years.

The sun with new wonders dawns
And day appears, like a flower of gold
Nature's ornament in the mind takes hold,
Blooming again in voices and songs.

A new world arises from the valley floor,
And rain overtakes the spring morn,
That night dwells amidst the daylight's shine
Is known to those who watch the inner signs.¹³⁵

The opening lines evoke dawn, an image the poem shares with the title of Schumann's op. 133. The last two lines of the poem encapsulate the idea of an inevitable sunset and suggest the approach of death. The Hölderlin scholar David Blumberg reflected that

among the small number of poems written after 1837, two are entitled "Der Herbst," five "Der Sommer," six "Der Winter," and seven "Der Frühling." Written accounts describing the context of their inception accompany many of these poems which Hölderlin wrote at the request of...curious visitors...By providing only [a few] choices [of topics to his visitors], Hölderlin sets strict limits on the poem's thematic content. Significantly, the suggested themes are of an abstract, impersonal nature...the abstract themes help to

¹³⁴ In a fascinating set of reflections on *Gesänge der Frühe*, Scott Burnham writes of how his analysis of Schumann's pieces weaves in perceptions of biography and lateness. "There is an unassuming quality to the *Gesänge der Frühe*; as art, they do not seem directed toward posterity; they do not present sealed enigmas to be opened only by later generations. They do not presume to do such things. In fact I'm the one who has been doing all the presuming here, taking these disarming pieces and reading them as expressive of an achieved perspective on the end of things. My engagement with *Gesänge der Frühe* is an act of late styling." Scott Burnham, "Late Style," in *Rethinking Schumann*, ed. Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 428.

¹³⁵ English translation from <http://mhsteger.tumblr.com/page/81>. Accessed 21 July 2011. German text as used by Holliger: "Die Sonne kehrt zu neuen Freuden wieder, / Der Tag erscheint mit Strahlen, wie die Blüte, / Die Zierde der Natur erscheint sich dem Gemüte, / Als wie entstanden sind Gesang und Lieder. / Die neue Welt ist aus der Thale Grunde, / Und heiter ist des Frühlings Morgenstunde, / Aus Höhen glänzt der Tag, des Abends Leben / Ist der Betrachtung auch des inner Sinns gegeben." In addition to signing many of his later poems with fictitious names (this poem was signed "Scardanelli"), Hölderlin added dates to his poems that spanned 1648-1940. This particular poem was dated 20 Jan. 1785, considerably earlier than its actual date of composition. See Blumberg, 174.

preserve an emotional distance not only from those people around him, but also from the emotionally charged figures populating his early poetry.¹³⁶

Blumberg's analysis readily suggests a loose congruence between the serene repose of Schumann's op. 133 in relation to the often fiery, "emotionally charged" works from the 1830s, and the austerity of Hölderlin's very late poetry in relation to his earlier expressions of individual subjectivity.¹³⁷

Holliger certainly promotes the idea of such congruence by pairing these musical and poetic texts. Much speculation has dwelt on the perceived irony of the title *Gesänge der Frühe*, bestowed on a piece written only months before Schumann's suicide attempt and placement in the Endenich asylum. Some critics offer the work as evidence that Schumann remained optimistic about his future in the fall of 1853, in no way anticipating the onset of a terminal illness. Daverio reflects that

as a metaphor for renewal, ["morning" in the work's title] may...call to mind Schumann's turn, in the fall of 1853 to some of the concerns that had occupied him in the earlier phases of his career. After a hiatus extending for almost a decade, he appears for one last time in the role of critic (and prophet): "Neue Bahnen" holds out the promise of a new *Davidsbund*... And of course the renewed cultivation of the poetic cycle of keyboard miniatures in the *Gesänge der Frühe*...signals the return to the "morning" of Schumann's career.¹³⁸

Holliger, on the other hand, views Schumann's op. 133 as marking the start of an end, a dawning of illness and death. He remarked in an interview that "the *Gesänge der Frühe* are actually the songs of a setting sun, songs of nightfall."¹³⁹ "Morning" and "spring" become ironic metaphors for the fates that would soon befall Schumann and Hölderlin.¹⁴⁰ An irony similar, it seems, to the image of childhood fixed upon Barthes's Winter Garden Photograph, a photograph that captured something of Barthes's grief following his mother's death.

Musicologists have overwhelmingly avoided the kind of interpretation Holliger makes of the *Gesänge der Frühe*, worried that biographical associations of mental decline might negatively affect the work's aesthetic valuation.¹⁴¹ Holliger acknowledges that biographical narratives of decline can interact with modes of listening and analysis to facilitate narratives of aesthetic decline.¹⁴² Yet his *Gesänge der Frühe* becomes a platform for multiple perspectives on

¹³⁶ Ibid., 177-8.

¹³⁷ Tunbridge, for example, notes that Schumann's late piano music is often characterized as "abstract" and "detached." Tunbridge, *Schumann's Late Style*, 199.

¹³⁸ Daverio, "Madness or Prophecy," 199-200.

¹³⁹ "Les 'Chants de l'aube' sont en réalité des chants du soleil couchant, des chants de la nuit tombante." As quoted in Heinz Holliger: *Entretiens, Textes, Écrits sur son Oeuvre*, 47.

¹⁴⁰ Klaus Lagaly further contextualizes the congruence between op. 133 and Hölderlin's "Der Frühling" in terms of Schumann's many previous spring-inspired compositions as well as *Lieder* that depict or thematize the sun. See Lagaly, 248.

¹⁴¹ In her pairing of Hölderlin's aesthetics and Schumann's late chamber music, for example, Tunbridge carefully keeps her own interpretation of congruencies to the realm of shared artistic values. She introduces the similar biographical trajectories of the two artists in order to discuss their reception histories. See Tunbridge's chapter "On a Cracked Bell," in *Schumann's Late Style*, 135-187.

¹⁴² "Marqué par les stigmates d'une 'maladie mentale', Schumann a été, et est encore, plus que tout autre compositeur, l'objet de malentendus et de condamnations. Alors que, d'un côté, quelques oeuvres de sa première période créatrice ou de sa période central sont portées aux nues, d'un autre, ses dernières oeuvres, claires, économes

the interactions between aesthetics and lived experience, and the texts he chooses dwell on facets of mental illness and pathology.

Following the Hölderlin-Schumann *Gesang* that opens the first movement of Holliger's *Gesänge der Frühe*, for example, the voices of a young and old Bettina von Arnim are introduced. Schumann's *Gesang* and the Hölderlin text come to a close on a D-major chord supported by a twelve-note cluster held out in the strings. [Example 4.25] A decrescendo brings the dissonance close to imperceptibility, but before the sound cluster is fully extinguished von Arnim's "junge Stimme" enters, reading a letter from 1805. After completing a phrase, the "young voice" drops out and a second voice marked "alte Stimme" enters and presents a phrase from an 1855 letter by von Arnim. The voices continue in alternation, forming a kind of conversation.¹⁴³ Underneath the voices a quill pen can be heard scratching away, presumably inscribing the words being declaimed.

Example 4.25

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Example 4.25. It consists of several staves. At the top, there is a tempo marking 'rit' followed by a dashed line. The first staff is for the vocal line, with the lyrics 'Sinn' and 'ge - ge - ben'. Below this, there are two more staves for the vocal line, with the lyrics 'ge - ge - ben' and 'ge - ge - ben'. The piano accompaniment is shown in the lower staves, with a quill pen sound effect indicated by a bracket and the text '(quill)'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. At the bottom right, there is a section titled 'Bilder:' with two entries: 'a) Bettina an Gustavrode (1805) (junge Stimme)' and 'b) Bettina an Clara Schumann (1855) (alte Stimme)'. A note at the bottom right reads 'Schreibgerätliche (Fensterkl. auf rotem Papier)'. There is also a small note at the top right that says 'Apparatbew. bis Erreichte der Sprech. Aufnahme'.

et concentrées, sont pieusement couvertes de silence, presque même étouffées.” Holliger, “Schumann, un Nouveau Monde Musical,” in *Heinz Holliger: Entretiens, Textes, Écrits sur son Oeuvre*, 89.

¹⁴³ Lagaly discusses the dialogic nature of Holliger's use of the von Arnim texts. See Lagaly, 249.

Holliger, *Gesänge der Frühe*, first movement, measures 39-42.

Schumann ultimately dedicated his *Gesänge der Frühe* to von Arnim. Before he made this dedication, however, the work had borne the subtitle “An Diotima,” typically thought to refer to the ideal beloved who suffuses Hölderlin’s elegies.¹⁴⁴ Von Arnim visited the Schumanns’ Düsseldorf home during late October of 1853. Soon after the visit Schumann crossed out “An Diotima” and replaced it with the inscription “der hohen Dichterin Bettina zugeeignet” (“dedicated to the noble poet Bettina.”)¹⁴⁵

The text declaimed by von Arnim’s “junge Stimme” comes from an 1805 letter included in her epistolary novel *Die Gunderode* (1840), which relays a fictionalized account of the correspondence between her and the German poet Karoline von Günderode (1780-1806). (The spelling difference in Karoline’s last name is used to differentiate the literary persona from the historically real individual). Von Arnim writes to Gunderode:

Madness, I believe, is what one calls behavior which does not elicit an echo of understanding in the soul of another. But for me there is an echo, and I feel a sympathetic response reverberate in the deepest recesses of my spirit as pure perception. An echo rouses another in response. The echo reverberates in my soul as echoes resound off the Donner Mountain. Thus what is said by the insane always finds an echo in my soul.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ It is also conceivable that Schumann was alluding to the Diotima from Plato’s *Symposium*. Yet the possible Hölderlin connection has provoked more critical commentary because of the seemingly greater opportunities for hermeneutic exploration that it enables. (Hölderlin poems that invoke Diotima would be used by Holliger in the third and fourth movements of his *Gesänge der Frühe*.) For Hölderlin, the figure of Diotima seems to have been inspired by his real-life beloved Susette Gontard (1769-1802), in whose home Hölderlin worked as a tutor between 1796-8. For several of the different meanings Diotima embodied for Hölderlin, see Daverio, “Madness or Prophecy,” 198-9.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 197.

¹⁴⁶ “... Wahnsinn, merke ich, nennt man das, was keinen Widerhall hat, im Geist der andern, aber in mir hat dies alles Widerhall, und ich fühle in noch tieferen Tiefen des Geistes Antwort darauf hallen als bloß Begriff. Ist’s doch in meiner Seele wie im Donnergebirg, ein Widerhall wecket den andern, und so wird das Gesagte vom Wahnsinnigen ewig mir in der Seele widerhallen...” As quoted by Holliger in the preface to his *Gesänge der Frühe* (Mainz: Schott, 1987), n.p. See also Bettina von Arnim, *Die Gunderode* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1890), p. 247.

The excerpt is taken from a discussion of Hölderlin's condition and the special insight it was understood to afford him. Von Arnim reflects that "an individual like Hölderlin is passionately transported by labyrinthine searching, which we must also somehow pursue if we wish to face the numinous with something like his pure heroism. I find his pronouncements to be oracular, which he as priest proclaims in madness."¹⁴⁷ As an epistolary novel, *Die Günderode* presented art as biography, purposefully crafting artistic personae that blurred seamlessly into real life.¹⁴⁸ Von Arnim's "junge Stimme," then, not only provides a viewpoint that poeticizes madness, it also enacts the blending of lived experience and art that forms the philosophical basis of Holliger's Schumann-Hölderlin pairing.

Furthermore, von Arnim was among the few who visited Robert at the Endenich asylum. Her 1855 letter quoted by Holliger was written to Clara Schumann and contains von Arnim's reflections on Robert's condition.

It is obvious that his unexpected illness was merely a nervous attack which could have been cured more quickly if people had understood him better and realized what was going through his innermost mind. But Dr. Richarz, who is himself a hypochondriac, failed to do so, seeing in Schumann's nobility of spirit rather a symptom of his sickness.¹⁴⁹

The two excerpts, though ostensibly written fifty years apart, share a similar outlook. Von Arnim views mental illness as a kind of spiritual misunderstanding, and conveys confidence in her ability to connect with those labeled insane. She contrasts her own enlightened views with those of a society that fails to grasp seemingly fundamental truths. In so doing her analysis brings to mind Schumann's concept of the *Davidsbund*. Dr. Richarz becomes the hopeless philistine, joined by all those whose souls do not "echo" in "sympathetic response."¹⁵⁰ For Holliger, then, von Arnim usefully serves as an historical witness who both affirms the underlying affinities of Schumann and Hölderlin, and articulates the special and misunderstood insight their madness enables.

The gap between Romantic poeticization and philistine pathologization of madness is further explored in the second movement of Holliger's *Gesänge der Frühe*. Though Schumann

¹⁴⁷ "Ach einem solchen wie Hölderlin, der im labyrinthischen Suchen leidenschaftlich hingerissene ist, dem müssen wir irgendwie begegnen, wenn auch wir das Göttliche verfolgen mit so reinem Heroismus wie er. Mir find seine Sprüche wie Orakelsprüche, die er als der Priester des Gottes im Wahnsinn ausruft, und gewiß ist alles Weltleben ihm gegenüber wahnsinnig, denn es begreift ihn nicht." Von Arnim, *Die Günderode*, 247.

¹⁴⁸ For an exploration of the interplay between biographical fact and fiction, see Patricia Anne Simpson, "Letters in Sufferance and Deliverance: The Correspondence of Bettina Brentano-von Arnim and Karoline von Günderode," in *Bettina Brentano-von Arnim: Gender and Politics*, ed. Elke P. Frederiksen and Katherine R. Goodman (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), pp. 247-72.

¹⁴⁹ Translation taken from Taylor, 323. Text quoted by Holliger: "...Man erkennt deutlich, daß sein überraschendes Übel nur ein nervöser Anfall war, der sich schneller hätte beenden lassen, hätte man ihn besser verstanden oder auch nur geahnt, was sein Inneres berührt; allein dies ist bei Herrn Richarz nicht der Fall, er ist ein Hypochonder...der Herr Schumanns Seelenadel nicht so wohl versteht, als ihn für ein Zeichen seiner Krankheit annimmt..." Holliger, *Gesänge der Frühe*, n.p. (preface).

¹⁵⁰ As the historian Roland Schiffter discusses, von Arnim remained skeptical of contemporary medical practitioners, whom she referred to as "philistine" [philisterhafte] doctors. She was drawn to the somewhat alternative practices of the time such as animal magnetism and homeopathy. See Schiffter, "...*ich habe immer klüger gehandelt...als die philisterhaften Ärzte...*": *Romantische Medizin im Alltag der Bettina von Arnim—und Anderswo* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2006), pp. 9-46.

seems not to have been quoted in the movement, Holliger does use the Hölderlin poem “An Elysium” as a choral text. Hölderlin’s text depicts reunion with Diotima, the ideal beloved, in death.

Elysium

There indeed I find
To you, gods of death
There Diotima
heroes.

I have to sing of you
But only tears
And in the night in which I wander I lose sight of your
Clear eye!
heavenly spirit.¹⁵¹

Forming a clear contrast with Hölderlin’s poem are the voices of two contemporary witnesses introduced near the movement’s end. These witnesses are physicians, and their texts are the autopsy reports of Schumann and Hölderlin. Unlike von Arnim’s characterizations of madness, these descriptions are unsentimental, written with cold, clinical precision. While Hölderlin idealizes death as an opportunity for reunion with a lost beloved, the physicians depict death as physiological failure and physical fact.

Autopsy performed by Dr. Rapp (Tübingen, 11 June 1843) (1794-1868 Professor of Anatomy and Zoology)

Hölderlin died without having complained of anything apart from difficulty breathing. The cranial bones were quite thick, with little spongy bone structure; the cranial cavities were ample in size and particularly wide; the depressions on the skull’s inner surface were very pronounced. The meninges was in normal condition; no contusions on the surface of the brain; the consistency of the brain was firm; the blood vessels were filled with blood; the grey and white matter of the brain were clearly distinguishable.

The lateral cavities of the brain contained approximately one teaspoon of clear liquid. Corpus striatum, thalamus, optic nerve. The commissures were in a healthy condition. The pineal gland had a normal size and color...¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Dort find ich ja / Zu euch, ihr Todesgötter / Dort Diotima Heroen / Singen möcht ich von dir / Aber nur Tränen. / Und in der Nacht, in der ich wandle, erlöscht mir dein Klares Auge! / himmlischer Geist. Translation by Paul Griffiths, accessed 25 May 2012, <http://www.barbican.org.uk/media/events/4236ades3-4-07.web.pdf>.

¹⁵² German text used by Holliger: “Sektionsbericht von Dr. Rapp (Tübingen, 11.6.1843) (1794-1868, Professor der Anatomie und Zoologie) *Hoelderlin* starb, ohne daß er etwas geklagt hätte, mit Ausnahme einer schweren Respiration. Die Schädelknochen waren ziemlich dick, wenig Diploe; die Schädelhöhle geräumig, besonders breit; die *impressiones digitatae* auf der *basis cranii* waren sehr stark. Die Hirnhäute in unverändertem Zustande; kein Erguß an der Oberfläche des Gehirns; die Consistenz des Gehirns ziemlich fest; die Venen mit Blut gefüllt; die beiden Substanzen des Gehirns waren deutlich zu unterscheiden. Die seitlichen Hirnhöhlen enthielten etwa einen Kaffelöffel voll helle Flüssigkeit. *corpus striatum, thalam, nervi optic.* Die Commissuren waren im natürl. Zustande. Die *glandula pinealis* hatte ihre gewöhnliche Größe u. Farbe, an derselben ein kleines Häufchen Hirnsand...” As included in the preface to Holliger, *Gesänge der Frühe*, n.p.

Dr. Richarz of Endenich, near Bonn, concerning Robert Schumann's illness and death

I gladly consent, at your request, to tell what I know of Robert Schumann's illness and death.

I shall begin with the results of the post-mortem examination as a fixed, objective basis; give a brief account of the chief symptoms of his last illness, and an explanation of its character and course. I shall speak of no abnormalities but those of the brain; all others being unimportant, and irrelevant to your purpose. It may be interesting to know that the transverse folds marking the edge of the fourth cavity of the brain (the roots of the auditory nerves) were numerous, and finely fashioned. The following abnormalities were revealed, in an ascending scale of importance according to their genetic consequence:

1. Distended blood-vessels, especially at the base of the brain.
2. Ossification of the base of the brain, and abnormal development of the normal projections, as a new formation of irregular masses of bone, which partially pierced the external (hard) covering of the brain with their sharp points.
3. Concretion and degeneration of the two inner (soft) coverings of the brain.¹⁵³

The difference in perspective between Hölderlin's poetry and the doctors' assessments is reminiscent of von Arnim's previously quoted criticism of Dr. Richarz. These texts help further illustrate the conflict between the poetic and the scientific or the *Davidsbund* and the philistines.

Holliger's presentation of the doctors' voices injects disorder into the logical and systematic findings they discuss. Unlike the first movement in which the von Arnim voices spoke in alternation, here the two reports are spoken simultaneously. [Example 4.26] And unlike the constructive pairings of Schumann's music with Hölderlin's poetry from the previous movement, here the two texts impede one another, each obscuring the other's content and meaning. The jabbering voices both bind Schumann and Hölderlin more closely in their shared fate, and suggest the inability of philistine perspectives to get at the true meaning of it.

Holliger's work thus offers snapshots of contrasting philosophical perspectives, and it is in the selection and presentation of sources that Holliger's own values emerge. In the third movement, the doctors' words are replaced by a return to Schumann's music and Hölderlin's poetry. The first *Gesang* of Schumann's op. 133, which had previously served as a choral melody, is now presented in its entirety on a gently out-of-tune piano. Simultaneously, the chorus sings an atonal setting of the Hölderlin poem "An Diotima." [Example 4.27] This movement proceeds like a photographic negative of Holliger's first movement. Whereas in the

¹⁵³ Translation taken from Wilhelm Josef von Wasielewski, trans. A. L. Alger, *Life of Robert Schumann, With Letters, 1833-52* (London: William Reeves, 1878), p. 275. German text used by Holliger: "Mittheilungen des Geh. Sanitätsrath Dr. Richarz in Endenich bei Bonn über Robert Schumann's Krankheitsverlauf und Tod. Recht gerne entspreche ich ihrem Wunsche, über das Wesen der Krankheit und die Todesart Robert Schumann's von mir einige Mittheilungen zu erhalten. Am zweckmäßigsten werde ich dabei von dem Befunde bei Obduction der Leiche ausgehen. Die Hauptergebnisse der Untersuchung bot natürlich, und wie mit Sicherheit zu erwarten stand, das Gehirn dar. Es wird nicht uninteressant sein, wenn ich hier die Bemerkung vorausschicke, daß sich die transversalen Markstreifen am Boden der 4^{ten} Hirnhöhle (die Wurzeln der Gehörnerven) zahlreich und fein gebildet fanden. Von Abnormitäten zeigten sich dann, nach steigender Wichtigkeit, wie nach ihrer genetischen Wichtigkeit geordnet, folgende: 1. Überfüllung aller Blutgefäße, vorzüglich an der Basis des Gehirns. 2. Knochenwucherung an der Basis des Schädels, und zwar sowohl abnorm starke Entwicklung normaler Hervorragungen, als Neubildung anomaler Knochenmassen, die zum Theil mit ihrem spitzigen Ende die äußerste (die harte) Hirnhaut durchdrangen. 3. Verdickung und Entartung..." As included in the preface to Holliger, *Gesänge der Frühe*, n.p.

first movement twelve-tone clusters formed a soft halo around the Schumann-Hölderlin Gesang, here the Gesang is performed at a barely audible *pppp*, while the atonal choral setting gains prominence. The pianissississimo volume gives the Gesang an ethereal, ghostly quality. Furthermore, pitches are slightly warped by the piano's mistuning and recall the kinds of pitch fluctuation that occur in old recordings. These qualities are overlaid upon a piece that already possesses antiquating gestures, offering multiple means of connoting pastness that are then framed by an atonality of the present. For the critic Roman Brotbeck, the mistuned piano "[recalls] the square piano in Hölderlin's Tübingen asylum, and the piano is in turn heard to play Schumann, causing time and associations inextricably to intertwine."¹⁵⁴ Schumann, too, possessed a square piano at the Eendenich asylum (it was the same piano used by Liszt in 1845 to commemorate the dedication of Bonn's Beethoven monument). Schumann would use this square piano to compose his setting of "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist," which is quoted in the last movement of Holliger's work.¹⁵⁵ Thus, the out-of-tune sounds may also allude to Schumann, alone at the piano and struggling to create music, to the "heartbreaking sight" and "unbearable" sounds Josef von Wasielewski described after visiting Schumann in Eendenich.¹⁵⁶ Holliger suggests that these various Schumann and Hölderlin images may all really be the same, that of the artist grasping towards music in his final years.

Holliger creates retrospective sounds, collecting and presenting fragments from the past so they may be re-experienced in the present. Boym reflects that "a cinematic image of nostalgia is a double exposure, or a superimposition of two images—of home and abroad, past and present, dream and everyday life."¹⁵⁷ While Holliger's first movement was centered on quotes from the past, the third movement begins to shift this balance towards the present, as Holliger's own voice takes a more prominent role. Hölderlin's text is set to Holliger's music, which is layered upon Schumann's Gesang. Holliger's own persona thus interweaves itself between Hölderlin's and Schumann's. As Brotbeck writes, "for Holliger...[the] magnificent union of Hölderlin and Schumann is only a point of departure that he deconstructs as the piece progresses, drowning out the impressive opening quotation with his own musical commentary. We increasingly feel Holliger's presence as a 'mediator.'"¹⁵⁸ Here, the atonal chorus often overpowers the lone piano, making intermittent sections of the op. 133 quotation inaudible. At times the quotation almost seems lost to the past before its lines can again be distinguished. After the chorus completes the Hölderlin poem, the out-of-tune piano continues to wend its way through the op. 133 movement, ultimately persisting to complete the entire Gesang.

¹⁵⁴ Roman Brotbeck, "Heinz Holliger and the Year 1853," in CD liner notes to *Romancendres*, ECM Records, 2009, p. 17.

¹⁵⁵ Taylor, 323-4.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 323. Wasielewski had been a violinist for Schumann in Düsseldorf, as well as a personal assistant and family friend. The first edition of Wasielewski's Schumann biography was published in 1858. See George Grove and David Charlton, "Wasielewski, Wilhelm von," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 8 June 2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29936>.

¹⁵⁷ Boym, xiii-xiv.

¹⁵⁸ Brotbeck, "Heinz Holliger and the Year 1853," 16-7.

Example 4.26

Handwritten musical score for an orchestra, including vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) and various instruments (Violins I & II, Violas, Cellos, Double Basses, Woodwinds, Percussion). The score is heavily annotated with handwritten notes and markings.

Handwritten Annotations:

- Top Left:** S, A, T, B vocal parts. "pppp sempre" (written twice).
- Top Center:** "Nesse: e" and "(Alt: 9-12 Ten: 9-12 Bariton auf C)".
- Top Right:** "(pppp sempre)".
- Section 1 (Circled):** "Die Hauptorgane der Verdauung hat natürlich das Gehirn der Es wird nicht unterlassen auf, was ich hier die Bezeichnung veranschaulicht, dass sich die transversalen Markstrahlen von Dorsal der Hirnrinne (folliculi) der Dorsal und zahlreich und fein ausgebildet fanden. An Abnormitäten zeigten sich dann nach steigender Wichtigkeit folgende..."
- Section 2 (Circled):** "Strukturausricht von der Kapp... Hier ist ein sehr... dass es etwas gekrümmt hätte, mit Ausnahme einer schweren Respiration. Die sonstigen Knochen waren ziemlich alle wenig... die Schärfe der Gelenke, besonders die, die Impressionen und... die Basis cranii war sehr stark. Die Hirnhäute in unverändertem Zustand, kein Ergu..."
- Section 3 (Circled):** "Professoren der Anatomie und Zoologie in Tübingen: (288) (221) (400)"
- Section 4 (Circled):** "75" and "VII-12" with a circled "5".
- Section 5 (Circled):** "pppp sempre" and "ppp sul tasto".
- Section 6 (Circled):** "pppp sempre" and "ppp".
- Section 7 (Circled):** "ppp" and "sul pont.".

Instrumental Markings:

- Violins: "ppp", "ppp (5:4)", "poco a poco oval.", "ppp sempre", "75", "VII-12", "dual", "4:5".
- Violas: "ppp (tasto)", "poco a poco oval.", "7:8", "Vc-1-3", "5:6".
- Cellos/Double Basses: "ppp", "ppp sul tasto", "5:6", "Kb 7", "3/8", "ppp", "sul pont.", "ppp".

Other Markings:

- Tempo: "Tempo giusto", "Tempo moderato".
- Articulation: "acc.", "pizz.", "sul pont.", "ppp", "pp", "ppp sempre".
- Measure numbers: "31", "46508".

Holliger, *Gesänge der Frühe*, excerpt from movement II.

Example 4.27

III. [Jac 63] (p)

Schönes Le- ben! du lebst, wie die zar- ten Blü- then im Win- ter, in der ge-
 schönes Le- ben! du lebst, wie die zarten Blü- then im Win- ter, in der ge-
 Schönes Le- ben! du lebst, wie die zarten Blü- then im Win- ter, in der ge-
 Schönes Le- ben! du lebst, wie die zarten Blü- then im Win- ter, in der ge-

(rit.)
 a) - Embell. (Sung)
 b) - Harmonien
 c) - Harmonien

pppp rit. al niente

rit.
 pppp rit. al niente

rit.
 pppp rit. al niente

Holliger, *Gesänge der Frühe*, third movement, measures 1-6.

In contrast to the intimacy of expression achieved by the solo piano in the third movement, the fourth and last movement makes a monumental statement. Three choruses are used, each of which conveys a different Schumannian fragment, accompanied by two different late Hölderlin texts. It is an apotheosis of Holliger's Schumann-Hölderlin persona. Over a *pppp* backdrop, excerpts from Schumann's *Haushalt Buch* from 1853 are read aloud. The first of the three choruses enters at a *pppp*, singing music from the fifth movement of Schumann's *Gesänge der Frühe*. [Example 4.28] The chorus's text is taken from the first two stanzas of Hölderlin's late ode "Geh unter, schöne Sonne," while the last two stanzas of the poem are sung by a second chorus to the Eb melody Schumann composed on the eve of his suicide attempt. Holliger now offers a text that explicitly depicts the setting sun he claimed to hear in Schumann's op. 133.

Go down, lovely sun, for how little
They thought of you,
nor knew your worth, holy one,
For without effort you rose and traveled
Quietly over those who struggle.

To me, light, you rise and set like a friend!
And my eyes recognize you, Master!
For I learned a godly and noble silence
When Diotima healed my senses.

Heavenly messenger, how I listened to you!
You, Diotima, love! How I looked up
With glistening and thankful eyes
At the golden day you showed me.

Once more the streams rushed to life
And on me earth's dark blossoms
Breathed their scent and over the silver clouds
The Upper Air bowed down to bless me.¹⁵⁹

A third chorus is eventually added to the increasingly dense texture, singing Schumann's setting of "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist," a meditation on death.

If the hour of my death is at hand
And I must travel on my way
Accompany me, Lord Jesus Christ,
With your help do not abandon me:
At my final end my spirit
I entrust, Lord, in your hands;
You will preserve it well.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Translation taken from Friedrich Hölderlin, *Selected Poems of Friedrich Hölderlin*, trans. Maxine Chernoff and Paul Hoover (Richmond, CA: Omnidawn, 2008), p. 103. "Geh unter, schöne Sonne, sie achteten / Nur wenig dein, sie kannten dich, Heilge, nicht, / Denn mühelos und stille bist du / Über den mühsamen aufgegangen. / Mir gehst du freundlich unter und auf, o Licht! / Und wohl erkennt mein Auge dich, herrliches! / Denn göttlich stille ehren lernt' ich / Da Diotima den Sinn mir heilte. / O du des Himmels Botin! wie lauscht ich dir! / Dir, Diotima! Liebe! wie sah von dir / Zum goldnen Tage dieses Auge / Glänzend und dankend empor. Da rauschten. / Lebendiger die Quellen, es athmeten / Der dunkeln Erde Blüten mich liebend an, / Und lächelnd über Silberwolken / Neigte sich segnend herab der Aether."

¹⁶⁰ Translation by Francis Browne, accessed 4 June 2012, <http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Texts/Chorale040-Eng3.htm>. "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist, / aus dieser Welt zu scheiden / so hilf du mir, Herr Jesu Christ, / in meinen letzten Leiden. / Herr, meine Seel' an meinem End'! / befehl' ich dir in deine Händ', / du wirst sie wohl bewahren."

(s)

we - nig (s)

we - nig dein, sie kann - ten dich, Heil - ge, nicht, Denn mü - he

we - nig dein, sie kann - ten dich, Heil - ge, nicht, Denn mü - he

ten nur we - nig dein

Bo - tin! wie lauscht ich dir! Dir, Di - o - ti - ma! Dir, Di - o - ti - ma

Ba - tin! wie lauscht ich dir, Dir, Di - o - ti - ma

Bo - tin! wie lauscht ich dir, Dir, Di - o - ti - ma

Hr.

(s)

Holliger, *Gesänge der Frühe*, fourth movement, measures 4-12.

Like the two physicians' reports that were spoken simultaneously, each obscuring the other's semantic meaning, here the choruses sing over each other, obscuring all of their texts. Each chorus is set to tonal music, but each sings in a different key, and the instrumental lines that do not double vocal parts are atonal. Tonality brings odd, fleeting moments of consonance, which are quickly enveloped by conflicting keys that create a surreal, out-of-tune effect. This sense is heightened by the generally slow tempo, which keeps Holliger's monumental forces from devolving into chaos. On its way towards a *ffff* climax, cryptic messages from Hölderlin are placed in the chorus: "Light of love, you also gleam in death," "His light was death," "Life is death and death is also life."¹⁶¹ [Example 4.29] Following a rise to deafening intensity, the force of sound drops to a mere whisper on a *ppp* lone cello line. The piece comes to a close with a line of text taken from a letter Schumann wrote to Joachim in February 1854, shortly before the suicide attempt: "Now I sign off. It is getting dark."¹⁶²

The movement has all the clichéd trappings of performed madness (multiple texts, multiple voices, multiple tonalities and atonality, even multiple languages ushered in through a quotation from the requiem mass), yet it maintains the aura of calculated control present in previous movements. In part this comes from the relatively slow tempo, as well as the painstakingly soft dynamics and lone voice that frame the movement's beginning and end. While this frame gestures at *Innigkeit*, Holliger's memorial to Schumann-Hölderlin is an attempt at the monumental. His peroration turns Schumann's *Gesänge der Frühe* for solo piano into a communal utterance. Quotations of music and text are easily heard to allude to the deaths of their authors, and this death becomes a rapturous event and a vehicle for communal celebration.

As Holliger reflected, "the chorus is the soul of the community, of society. The end thus has a kind of religious character, but this is an exterior layer."¹⁶³ Exterior, because Holliger felt the work also disclosed an aspect of his own interiority. As he recounted in an interview,

Holliger: I never wanted to further develop Schumann's music. That was never my goal. I wanted to create a kind of analysis of my subconscious with regards to Schumann's music, which is intimately connected to my own. I have the impression of having in this way reached psychological realms that I had never succeeded in revealing before.

Interviewer: So this piece is a kind of psychoanalysis of yourself?

Holliger: Yes, through Schumann.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ As quoted by Holliger: "Licht der Liebe, scheinst du denn auch Todten," "Sein Licht war Tod," and "Leben ist Tod und Tod ist auch ein Leben."

¹⁶² "...Nun will ich schließen. Es dunkelt schon."

¹⁶³ "Le chœur...est l'âme de la communauté, de la société. La fin a donc un caractère quasi religieux; mais c'est une couche extérieure." Holliger, "Entretien avec Heinz Holliger," 47.

¹⁶⁴ "Je ne voulais pas non plus développer la musique de Schumann: ce n'était pas mon but. J'ai voulu faire une sorte d'analyse de mon subconscient par rapport à cette musique qui est intimement mêlée à la mienne. J'ai l'impression d'avoir ainsi mis à jour des territoires psychiques que je n'avais jamais réussi à dévoiler auparavant. Interviewer: C'est donc une sorte d'auto-analyse? Holliger: Oui, à travers Schumann..." Ibid., 46.

Example 4.29

Handwritten musical score for Example 4.29, featuring vocal lines and an orchestra. The score is written on a grand staff with multiple systems.

Vocal Lines:

- Top system (Soprano/Alto): *ma! male! In! dem!*
- Second system (Tenor/Bass): *abe!*
- Third system: *ma!*
- Fourth system: *b. Licht*
- Fifth system: *Tod, und*
- Sixth system: *Licht war*
- Seventh system: *Lc. dem*
- Eighth system: *Tod war Licht*
- Ninth system: *Lic abe!*
- Tenth system: *Lux*
- Eleventh system: *Lc. Lu. AT*
- Twelfth system: *Licht Tod Lc. dem*
- Thirteenth system: *Lc. be!*

Orchestration:

- Woodwinds:** Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon.
- Metallics:** Trumpet, Trombone, Tuba, Euphonium.
- Strings:** Violin I & II, Viola, Cello, Double Bass.
- Percussion:** Timpani, Snare, Cymbals, Triangle, Tom-toms.
- Other:** Harp, Piano, Organ, Celesta.

Dynamic Markings:

- Vocals:** *fff*, *ff*, *f*, *mf*, *p*, *pp*.
- Orchestra:** *cresc.*, *fff*, *ff*, *f*, *mf*, *p*, *pp*, *ppp*.

Performance Indications:

- (ca 7ⁿ)*
- (ped. solo)*
- avr. al fine*
- ped - sim. al fine*
- (1/4)*, *(3/4)*

Rehearsal Markers: 45, 45

Holliger, *Gesänge der Frühe*, ending of movement IV.

Boym suggests that “nostalgia is about the relationship between individual biography and the biography of groups or nations, between personal and collective memory.”¹⁶⁵ Holliger’s work oscillates between expressions of community and of *Innigkeit*. He attempts to memorialize Schumann-Hölderlin, both at the level of the collective and the very personal. Through a backwards gaze towards the early nineteenth-century Romanticism that provides his inspiration, he enables himself and his listeners to experience in the present the pastness of self-revelatory art.

Sixteen years after composing *Gesänge der Frühe*, Holliger returned to the subject of Schumann’s late music and biography. In his 2003 composition *Romancendres*, Holliger would delve into the relationships between Robert, Clara, and Johannes Brahms, using the work to weave stories about their connected lives and music. *Romancendres* is written for cello and piano, and through the use of extended techniques it is not always possible to differentiate between the two aurally.¹⁶⁶ As timbres blend into and then separate from each other, the sense of a dynamic narrative is evoked.

¹⁶⁵ Boym, xvi.

¹⁶⁶ Brotbeck writes in the CD liner notes to a recently issued recording of *Romancendres*, that “the timbral incineration produces a blending of piano and cello that is unique in music history—and thus a new form of duo.

Holliger actually enacts several narratives about the Robert-Clara-Brahms trio in *Romancendres*. The first relates to the history of a late Schumann composition. In November of 1853, Schumann composed a set of *Romanzen* for cello and piano. They were performed for friends and family and the manuscript was sent to Josef Joachim who gave them a positive review.¹⁶⁷ But the pieces were never published. The whereabouts of the manuscript remained unknown until the 1971 publication of Richard Heuberger's diary and correspondence with Brahms, which hinted at a likely fate.

Pity that the masters did not eliminate more of their weak pieces! Granted, the publishing and collecting craze that began in the 1850s was not very great back then. Schumann left behind all sorts of things that were hardly worth publishing. Pieces from his earliest years and others from his last. Only a few weeks ago Mme. Schumann burned a volume of his cello pieces, fearing that they might be published after her death. That left me very impressed.¹⁶⁸

The story of burning Robert's manuscript has prompted much speculation about the pieces and Clara's motives. In an essay on *Romancendres*, Brotbeck poses several questions to his readers: "what did this music contain that caused Clara, in her dotage, to consign a relatively harmless genre like cello romances to the flames?...Did Schumann, a man well-versed in ciphers, insert secret messages into the music, perhaps allusions to the love between Brahms and Clara, that had to be withheld from posterity? We will never know."¹⁶⁹ As improbable as Brotbeck's conjectures might seem, they do offer insight into Holliger's work (if not Schumann's). *Romancendres* is in part a recreation of the lost *Romanzen* as well as a reenactment of their destruction. Its title combines the French words for "novel" and "ashes," and encapsulates the idea of creating narratives from things long since destroyed.¹⁷⁰

But the fate of Schumann's *Romanzen* is not the only story from which *Romancendres* is constructed. The work also enacts Holliger's understanding of Robert's late biography, and the shifting relationships between Robert, Brahms, and Clara. It is here that Brotbeck's speculation about Schumann's *Romanzen* is illuminating. While there is no evidence to suggest the use of ciphers in Schumann's work, Holliger uses ciphers extensively in *Romancendres* as a means to inscribe narrative meanings into the music. Ciphers are used to signify words including "Feuer," "Flammen," "Aschen," "Klang," "Liebe," and "Brand."¹⁷¹ [Example 4.30] Additionally, he used two different pitch "alphabets," and assigned specific meanings to particular patterns of duration

Often it is impossible, without the score, to distinguish between the two instruments." Brotbeck, "Heinz Holliger and the Year 1853," 16.

¹⁶⁷ Joachim writes, "Sehr haben uns auch die Romanzen erlabt, und die 3^{te} davon mit der tiefsinnigen Melodie und dem contrastirenden, lebhaft schalkischen Trillersatze mußten wir unwillkürlich noch einmal spielen, wie den feierlichen A dur-Satz der letzten, und überhaupt Alles mehrere Male." The German quotation is taken from Struck, *Die umstrittenen späten Instrumentalwerke Schumanns*, 558.

¹⁶⁸ Translated by J. Bradford Robinson, as included in Brotbeck, "Heinz Holliger and the Year 1853," 14. The original quotation derives from Richard Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms*, ed. Kurt Hofmann (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1971), p. 60.

¹⁶⁹ Brotbeck, "Heinz Holliger and the Year 1853," 15.

¹⁷⁰ Holliger considered several titles before settling on *Romancendres*. For a discussion of his thought process and the meanings of the titles Holliger chose for the individual movements and the work as a whole, see Roman Brotbeck, "Aschenmusik: Heinz Holligers Re-Dekonstruktion von Robert Schumanns Romanzen für Violoncello und Klavier," *Dissonanz/Dissonance* 103 (2008): 13.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 11-2.

meant to signify, among other referents, “Schumann,” “Robert,” and “Endenich.” Brotbeck, drawing from analysis of the work’s sketches, explains that

all of the motives and rhythms in *Romancendres* are words translated into music, especially in the two *Kondukte* that frame the four romances like static funeral marches. These two movements, which occur at the beginning and at the end, convey birth and death dates as well as other significant dates and years. The metronome markings in large part derive from the geographic distances between Robert, Clara, and Johannes Brahms.¹⁷²

Romancendres is painstakingly calculated. Practically every note and duration was chosen by recourse to a schema that assigned particular meanings to fixed patterns. The work thus presents an opposite extreme from Rihm’s Schumann-inspired notion of “musikalische Freiheit.” And yet it is clear that Holliger’s use of ciphers was inspired by Schumann’s practice of inscribing names and places into musical works. Holliger thus sought to bridge his background in expressionist and serial techniques with Schumannian practices.

While Schumann’s ciphers were to some extent audible, Holliger’s require study of the sketches and score to discern. Similarly, *Romancendres* includes several quotations from works by Schumann, but they are more readily discovered through score analysis than by listening. A passage from Schumann’s first *Gesang der Frühe*, for example, is placed in the first movement of *Romancendres*, played by the piano’s left hand. With lengthened note durations, the allusion can easily slip by unheard.¹⁷³ [Example 4.31] Unlike Holliger’s *Gesänge der Frühe* that made overt presentations of quoted material, *Romancendres* is secretive. According to Brotbeck, Holliger wanted the most important cipher [Hauptverschlüsselungen] to remain unknown, in keeping with the “enigmatic” nature of the work.¹⁷⁴ Furthering the sense of hidden meanings, Holliger offers only tantalizing hints about narrative content in the score’s preface:

The music itself has been developed out of a number of allusions, incorporating for example, the initials of Clara and Robert Schumann C and S... Rhythms have been developed from Robert and Clara Schumann’s dates of death and that of Johannes Brahms... The final motif quotes the notes made up from Schumann’s place of death, EnDEniCH... as “enden—ich.”¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² “So sind alle Motive und Rhythmen in den *Romancendres* in Musik übersetzte Wörter oder—vor allem in den beiden Kondukten, welche die vier Romanzen wie statische Trauermärsche umrahmen—am Anfang und am Schluss auch in Musik übertragene Geburts- und Todesdaten oder andere wichtige Daten und Jahreszahlen. Die Metronomzahlen lassen sich grösstenteils aus den Lebensdistanzen zwischen den drei Menschen ableiten.” Ibid., 11.

¹⁷³ Brotbeck points out other, less readily evident quotations/reminiscences of Schumann’s music. Ibid., 7-8.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 7.

¹⁷⁵ Holliger, *Romancendres: für Violoncello und Klavier* (Mainz: Schott, 2003), preface.

Additionally, Holliger gives each movement a title, which combined with the information presented in the score's preface both shapes and limits interpretation. It is a familiar Schumannian ploy refashioned here with twentieth-century compositional tools.

It is in the realm of sound quality that *Romancendres* would seem to offer listeners the most audible allusions to the work's program. The opening "Kondukt I," for example, maintains a stark, hollowed-out quality. The cello incessantly reiterates a low C to a rhythmic pattern that repeats with the start of each new measure. Above floats a *pp* line of harmonics on the cello often moving by the interval of an augmented fourth. [Example 4.32] The harmonics create a ghostly sound world of music not fully corporealized that yet moves steadily forward from the pulse imparted by the cello's rhythmic pattern. The ethereal melody seems to provide only the bare outlines of sound, as though life had been filtered out leaving only insubstantial traces behind. The translucent cello melody might allude to the ashes that remained after Clara's destruction of the score, or the idea of bringing lost music back to life, or the ghostly musical resurrection of the figures of Robert and Clara. Holliger's initial idea for the piece was seemingly the creation of a kind of "cinder" music, music that was "already dead."¹⁷⁸ While *Gesänge der Frühe* was a work about illness and untimely death, *Romancendres* was an attempt to embody death musically. Throughout the latter work, Holliger makes copious use of extended techniques that provide an otherworldly ambience. In the first Kondukt, for example, the pianist is directed at several points to place the palm of the hand or fingertips on the piano's strings, while at the end the cellist is directed to bow over the bridge. The movement closes with *ppp* whispers that are allowed to linger until engulfed by silence.

Brotbeck, in his analysis of *Romancendres*, creates a long list of what he interprets the work to signify.

It is made up of reconstructions of Schumann's *Romances*, in which we re-encounter his friends, companions and loves—in short, the *Davidsbund* of his youth...it almost programmatically mirrors Clara Schumann's cremation of the Cello Romances...it is a song of vengeance toward this act of destruction and toward the man who gave it his approval—Johannes Brahms...we hear radio messages from Holliger himself in multiple levels of allegorical encryption...it is a belated reconciliation between that diabolically entangled threesome—Robert Schumann, Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms.¹⁷⁹

These are all among the pasts Holliger attempts to resurrect through the work, in addition to a resurrection of expressionist language and an at times Webernian sparseness of texture. Holliger brings the *Romanzen* and Schumann's late biography a new ghostly existence that also contains within it ghosts of early and mid-twentieth century European compositional history. In contrast to the more overtly politicized statements of Killmayer and Rihm that used Schumann to distance themselves from recent compositional history, Holliger's Schumann-inspired works look to the recent compositional past for sustenance. Not interested in relinquishing these connections, Holliger provides illustrations of what Boym calls "reflective nostalgia," nostalgia "oriented toward an individual narrative that savors details and memorial signs...[that] cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space...Reflective nostalgia is a form of deep mourning

¹⁷⁸ Brotbeck, "Aschenmusik," 10.

¹⁷⁹ Brotbeck, "Heinz Holliger and the Year 1853," 15.

Example 4.32

Kondukt I (C.S. - R.S.)

Violoncello (♩ ca 77)
Daumen (L.H.) schlägt auf leere Saite (l.v.)
dolce e sonoro (quasi timpani)

arco
pp sempre tenuto (legato)

Klavier (♩ ca 46)
Fingerkuppe auf Saite (zw. Steg und Dämpfer)
pp
(ped. tenuto)

*) r.H. Flageolets
zw. Dämpfer und Steg (1)
zw. Dämpfer und Saitendrittel (3)

hinter Dämpfer (Daumen) vor D. 2. Finger

freie Wahl der Obertöne, vor allem 3 → 7 (8 9 10 11)
ad lib: sehr langsame Wellenbewegungen

(3) (9) bei jedem Anschlag verschiedener Obertöne (hinter D.) (vor Dämpfer)

(♩ ca 77)

ord. (Tasten)
dynamisch mit Vc. ausgeglichen
ppp
Ober-tone 3-11 ad. libitum z.B.:
*) *ped. sempre*

Holliger, *Romancendres: für Violoncello und Klavier*, Kondukt I, measures 1-4.

that performs a labor of grief both through pondering pain and through play that points to the future.”¹⁸⁰ Holliger certainly savors and plays with fragments of information from the past. The “rascally trills” Joachim mentioned in a letter describing the *Romanzen*, for example, inspired Holliger’s incorporation of trills in the fourth of the *Romancendres*.¹⁸¹ [Example 4.33] And in the *Gesänge der Frühe* Holliger prominently incorporates the high A Schumann heard while hallucinating into the first movement.¹⁸² Both works are filled with such Schumannian artifacts. Both also seem made to perform the work of mourning. Permeated with the specter of death, both works serve as memorials to Schumann and his late compositions. Boym refers to “nostalgic manifestations” as the “side effects of the teleology of progress.” Holliger’s works, drawing upon twentieth-century styles developed in the name of progress, are memorials that look back with longing, even as they embrace a view of history’s forward march.

¹⁸⁰ Boym, 49, 55.

¹⁸¹ Brotbeck, “Aschenmusik,” 13.

¹⁸² Lagaly, 248.

Example 4.33

The image displays a musical score for measures 1-6 of the fourth movement of Holliger's *Romances* for Violoncello and Piano. The score is written for three staves: Violoncello (top), Piano (middle), and a lower staff (bottom). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo and dynamics are indicated as *poco f* *leggero, ma poco marcato*. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and fingerings. The lower staff contains the German text "immer nahe am Steg dämpfen" and is marked with a dynamic of *mf*. The score is annotated with performance instructions such as "(ord.)", "ord. ged.", and "ord. ged.".

Holliger, *Romances: für Violoncello und Klavier*, fourth movement, measures 1-6.

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Appendix A

**150 Separatum Publications of “Träumerei”
Ordered by year of publication**

	Publication Year	Arrangement	Tempo Indication	Arranger/Editor	Publisher
1	1839	Piano	100	-----	Breitkopf & Härtel, First Edition
2	1881	Piano	100	E. Pauer	Augener
3	1883	Piano	80	Agnes Zimmermann	Novello & Ewer
4	1887	Piano	100	Not Listed	C.A. Klemm
5	1887	Piano	58	Alexis Hallaender	Schlesinger'sche Buch- u. Musikhandlung
6	1889	Piano	100	Alfred Dörffel	Peters
7	1889	Voice and Piano	Lento	None Listed	G. Schirmer
8	1890	Piano	80	Heinrich Germer	Gebrüder Hug
9	1890	Piano	80	Clara Schumann	Breitkopf & Härtel
10	1890	Violin and Piano	100	Ferdinand Hüllweck	Breitkopf & Härtel
11	1890	4 Violins	None	Edwin Schultz	Luckhardt
12	1893	Violins and Organ	Andante	Robert Linnarz	F.E.C. Leuckart
13	1893	Piano and either violin or viola	100	Emil Kross	Schotts Söhne
14	1893	Tenor Horn, Cornet a Piston, Bass Posaunen, Althorn	Moderato, andante, lento	Müller	Zimmermann
15	1894	Cello and Piano	100	Emil Kross	Schotts Söhne
16	1894	Violin, Cello and Piano	Larghetto, 100	Otto Wellmann and Julius G. Stern	Carl Simon
17	1898	Flute	100	W. Barge	Breitkopf & Härtel
18	Turn of the 20 th century	String Quartet	84	Grässner	C.F. Vieweg
19	Turn of the 20 th century	Harp	Andante	Karl Weigel	Zimmermann
20	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin and Piano	Ruhig gehend	Robert Schwalm	Steingraber
21	Turn of the 20 th century	4-Hand Piano	Andante	Albert Ulrich	Kaun and Bluemel
22	Turn of the 20 th century	Harmonium or Cottage Organ	Adagio	Stehle	Gebrüder Hug

23	Turn of the 20 th century	Harmonium and Piano	Ziemlich Langsam	Richard Lange	Henry Litolff
24	Turn of the 20 th century	Organ	Andante (Mit sehr zarten, streichenden Stimmen)	Karl Becker	C.F.W. Siegel
25	Turn of the 20 th century	Cello and Piano	Adagio	Gustav Zanger	Georg Bratfisch
26	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin and Piano	Andante Mosso	Gustav Lange	Robert Forberg
27	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin and Organ	Adagio	G. Zanger	Henry Litolff
28	Turn of the 20 th century	2 Violins	Adagio	Ad. Grünwald	Henry Litolff
29	Turn of the 20 th century	String Quartet	80	Jacob Gruber	Wilh. Dietrich
30	Turn of the 20 th century	Voice and Piano	80	Heinrich Hoffmann	Trautwein'schen Buchhandlung
31	Turn of the 20 th century	Organ	Ziemlich langsam	Richard Lange	W. Benicke
32	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin and Piano	Adagio	Ad. Grünwald	Henry Litolff
33	Turn of the 20 th century	8-Hand Piano	Andante	Max Schultze	Henry Litolff
34	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	Ziemlich langsam	Camillo Morena	Globus
35	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin and Piano	Andante	None Listed	Gebrüder Hug
36	Turn of the 20 th century	Cello and Piano	Andante	Friedrich Grützmaker	Breitkopf & Härtel
37	Turn of the 20 th century	4-Hand Piano	Andante sostenuto	Jos. Erney	Universal-Edition
38	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	100	Th. Kullak	Augener
39	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	100	S. Jadassohn	Breitkopf & Härtel
40	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin and Piano	Andante	None Listed	Gebrüder Hug
41	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	100	J.P. Gotthard	Universal-Edition
42	Turn of the 20 th century	String Quartet	100	Carl Schröder	Breitkopf & Härtel
43	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	Langsam	Richard Eilenberg	Schlesinger'sche Buch- u. Musikhandlung
44	Turn of the 20 th century	Two to Nine Part String Ensemble (4 Violins, 2 Violas, 2 Cellos, Bass) with Piano or Harmonium	Adagio	Fidelio Finke	Henry Litolff
45	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	100 (84)	Clemens Schultze	Henry Litolff
46	Turn of the 20 th century	Flute and Piano	Andante	Wilhelm Popp	Gebrüder Hug

47	Turn of the 20 th century	Cello and Piano	100	Norbert Salter	Hermann Seemann
48	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin (or Cello or Flute) and Piano	84	Vogel & W. Lenz	Henry Litolff
49	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano (for small hands)	Andante	W. Lenz	Henry Litolff
50	Turn of the 20 th century	Cello and Piano	Ruhig gehend	Robert Schwalm	Steingräber
51	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	Langsam und ausdrucksvoll	None Listed	P.J. Tonger
52	Turn of the 20 th century	Cello and Piano	Andante	Joseph Press	Schlesinger'sche Buch- und Musikhandlung
53	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano 4 Hands	Andante	W. Lenz	Henry Litolff
54	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano 4 Hands	100	None Listed	Breitkopf & Härtel
55	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	100	None Listed	P. Jurgenson
56	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	100 (84)	Conrad Kühner	Henry Litolff
57	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	Ziemlich Langsam (76)	Otto Neitzel	Carl Rühle
58	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	100	E. Pauer	Augener
59	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	80	Clara Schumann	Breitkopf & Härtel
60	Turn of the 20 th century	String Quartet	100	G. Andreoli	G. Ricordi
61	Turn of the 20 th century	Cello and Piano	None	Georg Goltermann	Bosworth
62	Turn of the 20 th century	Cello and Piano	None	Carl Davidoff	Johann Andre
63	Turn of the 20 th century	String Quartet	None	R. Jockisch	Fr. Kistner
64	Turn of the 20 th century	Harmonium and Piano	100	Josef Soyka	Breitkopf & Härtel
65	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	None	Scharwenka	Schweers & Haake
66	Turn of the 20 th century	4-Hand Piano	100	None Listed	Breitkopf & Härtel
67	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin and Piano	100	J.G. Stern	Schlesinger'sche Buch- u. Musikhandlung
68	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin and Piano	100	Marcello Rossi	Johann Andre
69	Turn of the 20 th century	Harmonium or Organ	Andante	L. Brodersen	Festenberg-Pakisch
70	Turn of the 20 th century	2 Zithers	None	W. Wobersin	Zimmermann
71	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin and Piano	100	Marcello Rossi	Johann Andre
72	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	100 (80)	None Listed	Steingräber

73	Turn of the 20 th century	Violin and Piano	Adagio	Ad. Grünwald	Henry Litolff
74	Turn of the 20 th century	Harmonium and Violin	100	Karl Kämpf	Paul Keoppen
75	Turn of the 20 th century	Mandolin	None	Reinhold Vorpahl	Jonasson-Echermann
76	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	Sehr ruhig	Albert Ulrich	Richard Kaun
77	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	100	E. Pauer	Breitkopf & Härtel Volksausgabe
78	Turn of the 20 th century	Piano	100	Gustav Hecht	Vieweg
79	Turn of the 20 th century	Cello and Piano	None	Louis Lübeck	C.A. Challier
80	1900	Piano	None	Hermann Hirzel	Alfred Michow
81	1901	Flute and Piano	Lento	Popp	Bosworth
82	1901	Mandolin and Piano	Lento	Hans Sitt; Emil Kross	Bosworth
83	1902	Trombone	Adagio	Robert Müller	Jul. Heinr. Zimmermann
84	1903	Voice and Piano	Andante sostenuto e molto tranquillo	Benjamin Godard	J. Hamelle
85	1905	Piano	100 (80)	Willy and Louis Thern	Bosworth
86	1906	Violin and Piano	Lento	R. Hofmann	Bosworth
87	1907	Organ	Andante (84)	Karg-Elert	Not Specified
88	1907	Piano	Lentamente (100)	Paolo Gallico	Stern
89	1908	Piano	100 (84)	Hans Semper	B.F. Wood
90	1908	Harmonium	Mit sehr zarten Stimmen	H. Scholz	Carl Rühle
91	1908	Organ	Ziemlich langsam	Richard Lange	C.F. Kahnt
92	1908	Organ	Andante religioso	Jos. Callaerts	Schott
93	1909	String Quartet	100	Carl Schröder	Edition Europa
94	1909	4-Hand Piano	Andante (58)	None Listed	Theodore Presser
95	1909	Cello and Organ	Andante	B. Fr. Richter	Breitkopf & Härtel
96	1909	Reed Organ	Andante	None Listed	John Church
97	1911	Violin and Piano	Langsam	Fritz Schnitt	Adolf Kunz
98	1912	Piano	100	Kullak	Schotts Söhne
99	1912	Piano	Sehr ruhig und ausdrucksvoll	Bruno M. Klee	H.R. Krentzlin
100	1912	Organ or Harmonium	100 (84)	Wilh. Schlichting	Wilh. Schlichting
101	1912	Piano	100	Kullak	Schotts Söhne
102	1913	Guitar	Andante	A. Nemerowski	Zimmermann

103	1913	Piano	58	Geo. Smith	Carl Fischer
104	1913	Piano	Moderato 100 (84)	Hans Semper	B.F. Wood
105	1914	Harp	Moderato	Alberti	Carl Fischer
106	1914	Organ	Andante	James H. Rogers	Ditson
107	1916	Three Violins and Piano	Andante	M. Greenwald	Presser
108	1917	Piano	100	Alfred Dörffel	Schotts Söhne
109	1917	Voice and Piano	80	Irene Redlich	Breitkopf & Härtel
110	1920	Piano	100	Alexander Winterberger	J. Schubert
111	1922	Piano	60	Carl Friedberg	Georg Bratfisch
112	1922	Flute or Violin, Clarinet or Trumpet, Cello, Piano or Harmonium	100	Oskar Fischer	Robert Forberg
113	1923	2 Mandolins, Mandola and Guitar	Langsam	Jean Eberlein	Cosmopoliten Verlag
114	1923	Violin and piano	Sehr gehalten und mit Wärme; lento	Riedel	Louis Oertel
115	1924	Piano	Seelenvoll, unter besonderer Betonung der Linienführung	Gerhard Preitz	P.J. Tonger
116	1925	4 Violins, Piano	Lento	Julius Weiss	Julius Weiss
117	1925	Piano	100	None Listed	Anton J. Benjamin
118	1925	Violin and Piano	Lirica, molto express., armonioso	Mario Corti	A.G. Carisch
119	1925	2 violins, Bass, Cello, Harmonium, Flute, Clarinet, Trumpet	Sehr gehalten und mit Wärme, Langsam	C. Riedel	Louis Oertel
120	1926	Piano	Ci sembra superflua la metronomizzazio ne di questa poetica rêverie che deve essere parlata e sospirata con grande liberta di espressione e di sentimento ritmico.	Renzo Lorenzoni	Ricordi
121	1927	Saxophone and piano; or Saxophone and	Langsam	None Listed	Otto Junne

		Violin; or Saxophone and Cello; or Saxophone and Bass			
122	1928	Piano	Lento	None Listed	Walther Reissbrodt
123	1938	String Orchestra and Harp	Tranquillo	Riccardo Zandonai	Edizioni Ricordi
124	1941	2 Violins, Guitar and Accordion	100	Alois Maresch	Cranz
125	1941	Piano	100	Willy Klassen	Universal Edition
126	1942	Accordion Quartet	Tranquillo, 100	Luigi Oreste Anzaghi	Carisch
127	1944	Voice and Piano	Andante tranquillo, 100	Hans Bussmann	Hans C. Sikorski
128	1947	Piano	84	None Listed	Kasperek
129	1947	Piano	100	None Listed	Dresdner Verlag
130	1947	Piano	Langsam	Erich Hanschmann	Gabriel
131	1947	Piano	Langsam	Kurt Grabau	Berliner Musikverlag
132	1948	Piano	80	Wilhelm Kempff	Breitkopf & Härtel
133	1948	Cello and Piano	Ausdrucksvoll und sehr gehalten	Walter Schulz	Richard Kaun
134	1948	Piano	Mäßig, 100	None Listed	Herbert Moeschke
135	1949	Piano	100	Rudolph Steglich	Bärenreiter
136	1950	Piano with one of the following: Flute, Oboe, 2 Clarinets, 2 Saxophones, Vibraphone, Accordion, 2 Violins, Cello and Bass	Sehr ruhig	Bruno Hartmann	Harth
137	1951	Piano	100 (72)	Emil von Sauer	C.F. Peters
138	1953	Piano	100	Otto von Irmer	G. Henle
139	1954	Piano	100	None Listed	C.F. Peters
140	1955	Piano	80	Clara Schumann	B&H
141	1957	piano	100 (72)	Emil von Sauer	C.F. Peters
142	1957	Violin and Piano	None	Fritz Spindler	F.M. Geidel
143	1958	4-Hand Piano	None	Theodor Kirchner	C.F. Peters
144	1959	Piano	80, Langsam und getragen	Walter Frickert	Haerth Musik
145	1960	Piano	100	Max Pauer	Schotts Söhne
146	1964	Piano	100 (80)	Franzpeter Goebels	Schotts Söhne

147	1975	Piano	100	H.J. Köhler	Peters
148	1979	Piano	80	Clara Schumann/ Wilhelm Kempff	Breitkopf & Härtel
149	1982	Flute and Piano	None	Hans Walter Slembeck	Bärenreiter
150	1988	Piano	100	Joachim Draheim	Breitkopf & Härtel

Appendix B

Performance Lengths of Fifty Sample Recordings of “Träumerei” With repeats the piece contains 128 quarter note beats; without repeat, 96 beats.

	Performer	Year Released	Label	Arrangement	Complete Op. 15?	Playing Time (in minutes: seconds)
1	Benno Moiseiwitsch	[1930 prf] 2001	Naxos	Piano	Yes	2:05
2	Christian Zacharias	2010	EMI	Piano	Yes	2:12
3	Fanny Davies	[1929 prf] 1986	[English Columbia] Pearl	Piano	Yes	1:46*
4	Jose Eymard, Waldir Silva, Geraldo Vianna, Clovis Aguiar, Bill Lucas	2009	Movieplay	Saxophone, cavaquinho, Guitar, piano, percussion	No	2:21
5	The Rembrandt Trio	1995	Dorian Sono Luminus	Piano Trio	No	2:22
6	Adelina de Lara	[1951 prf] 1986	Pearl	Piano	Yes	2:24
7	Wilhelm Kempff	1973	Deutsche Grammophon	Piano	Yes	2:26
8	Budapest Clarinet Quintet	1995	Naxos	5 Clarinets	No	2:28
9	Cris Lobo	2004	Urtext	Guitar	No	2:32
10	Yves Nat	[1930 prf] 2002	Andante	Piano	Yes	1:57*
11	Fenwick Smith, Sally Pinkas	2006	Naxos	Flute, Piano	No	2:33
12	Alfred Cortot	1935	EMI	Piano	Yes	2:33
13	Barbara Nissman	2005	Pierian	Piano	No	2:34
14	Karl Engel	1971	Valois	Piano	Yes	2:35
15	Avis Romm	2011	Opening Day	Piano	No	2:35
16	Barbara Shearer	1986	Alba	Piano	Yes	2:37
17	Clara Haskil	1955	Philips	Piano	Yes	2:39
18	Carl Friedberg	[1953 prf] 2003	Marston	Piano	Yes	2:41

19	Arthur Schnabel	[1947 prf] 2001	Naxos	Piano	Yes	2:44
20	John O'Connor	1979	Denon	Piano	No	2:46
21	Walter Gieseking	[1938 prf] 2001	Classica d'Oro	Piano	No	2:46
22	Vladimir Horowitz	1978	RCA	Piano	Yes	2:46
23	Walter Gieseking	1952	Columbia	Piano	Yes	2:49
24	Ottavia Maria Maceratini	2011	Aldilà Records	Piano	No	2:50
25	Cyprien Katsaris	1986	Teldec	Piano	Yes	2:51
26	Inger Sodergren	2011	Phaia Music	Piano	Yes	2:52
27	Ernst von Dohnanyi	1951	Remington	Piano	Yes	2:53
28	Raymond Jackson	1980	Cespico	Piano	Yes	2:53
29	Andreas Pistorius	1996	ART	Piano	No	2:53
30	Thomas Lorango	1991	Newport	Piano	No	2:54
31	Si-Qing Lu, Robert Koenig	1997	Marco Polo	Violin and Piano	No	2:54
32	Tokyo Trombone Quartet	1999	Meister Music	Trombone Quartet	No	2:54
33	Martha Argerich	1984	Deutsche Grammoph on	Solo piano	Yes	2:55
34	Karin Schaupp	2004	ABC Classics	Guitar	No	2:55
35	Mischa Elman, Joseph Seiger	1960	Vanguard Classics	Violin, Piano	No	2:55
36	Mari Fujiwara Alain Planès	1983	Denon	Cello, Piano	No	2:59
37	Janos Starker, Shuku Iwasaki	1978	Denon	Cello, Piano	No	3:01
38	Sandra Brune	2011	Rondeau Production	Piano	No	3:03
39	Antonin Kubalek	1989	Dorian Sono Luminus	Piano	Yes	3:07
40	Roland Pöntinen	1985	BIS	Piano	No	3:08
41	Cologne Salon Orchestra	2003	EMI	Salon Orchestra	No	3:08
42	Katsuki Tochio, Yuji Takahashi	2010	Meister Music	Baritone Saxophone, Piano	No	3:09
43	Vadim Gluzman Angela Yoffe	2008	BIS	Violin, Piano	No	3:10
44	Gordon Turk	1999	Dorian Sono Luminus	Organ	No	3:14
45	Aaron Rosand, Eileen Fissler	1990	Vox	Violin, Piano	No	3:15

46	Daniel Levy	1989	Nimbus	Piano	Yes	3:19
47	Pablo Casals, Walter Golde	[1920 prf] 2005	Naxos	Cello, Piano	No	3:23
48	Albert Spalding, A. Benoist	1936	RCA Victor	Violin, Piano	No	3:25
49	Adelaide Symphony Orchestra	1995	ABC Classics	Orchestra	No	3:29
50	Julian Lloyd Weber/English Chamber Orch.	1993	Philips	Cello, Orchestra	No	3:31

*These recordings omit the repeat of the first eight bars.

Appendix C

Poetry inspired by “Träumerei”

Träumerei (1877)

Mutter, sieh’ die liebe Sonne,
Wie sie in ihr Bettchen sinket
Und mit ihrem rothen Schleier
Noch den gold’nen Sternlein winket.

Weißt du schon, die Engel bringen
Uns den hellen Sternenschein;
An dem Abendhimmel singen
Sie die müde Erde ein.

Friederike Wedem, “Robert Schumann’s Kinderszenen,” Newspaper unknown, 1877. Copy held in the Robert Schumann Forschungsstelle, Düsseldorf.

Träumerei (1887)

In den goldenen Locken
Spielt schmeichelnd der Abendwind
Und schüttelt Blütenflocken
Auf das träumende Kind.

Wache halten die Sterne
Schon über dem kleinen Haus –
In unendliche Ferne
Dehnt das Gärtchen sich aus.

Duftige Blumen sprießen
Buntfarbig im lichten Grün
Sanft anschwellender Wiesen,
Flammende Wolken glüh'n.

Ueberirdische Klänge
Leise die Lüfte durchzieh'n,
Hehrer Jubelgesänge
Himmlische Melodie'n.

Und in schimmerndem Glanze,
Wallend das weiße Gewand,
Reihen zum Ringeltanze
Engel sich Hand in Hand.

Hoch vom Himmel her schreitet,
Hinschwebend durch das Gefild,
Sehnend die Arme breitet
Der lieben Mutter Bild.

Ewigen Friedens Segen
Umwehet sie mild und lind,
Mächtig treibt sie's entgegen
Ihrem verlassenem Kind.

Das kleine Herz will klopfen
Voll Freude und doch erschreckt –
Bis daß ein heißer Tropfen
Plötzlich das Kind erweckt.

Wehmüthig hat es lange
Der Vater schon angeschau't,
Des Mannes bleiche Wange
Ist von Thränen bethaut.

Albert Träger, *Robert Schumann's Kinderscenen: Dreizehn Musikstücke für das Pianoforte*
(Leipzig: Adolf Titze, 1887), p. 43.

“Golden Dreams” (1889) [Words set to vocal arrangement of “Träumerei”]

When come to us those golden dreams
Which dark’ning night and silence round us sweetly chasten?
My soul a flight to take then seems
And to the azure sky above doth hasten.

Soon gently I close my eyes
And listen, as it were, to a voice far above me;
An angel’s from out the skies
Which tells me softly, sweetheart, though dost love me.

Our dreams lead us oft astray
This message sweet, I hear it but while dreaming.
I tremble and feel dismay
That bliss may not be real, though fair seeming,

When to us come those golden dreams
Which dark’ning night and silence round us sweetly chasten?
My soul a flight to take then seems
And to the azure sky above it doth hasten.

Anonymous, “‘Golden Dreams’ Song Arranged from ‘Träumerei’ by R. Schumann” (New York: G. Schirmer, 1889).

The Träumerei (1894)

The soul of Schumann, wandering in a maze
Of dreamful melody, made music so
Express emotions deep which all may know,
When memory leads the mind through devious
ways
Of joy or grief, and scenes of other days,
Strange, varied pictures of the long ago,
Glide into view, now rapidly, now slow,
While each a separate influence conveys.
This was my thought when first my listening soul
Heard with delight the “Träumerei’s” tender
strain,
And still its wondrous melodies remain,
Holding a sure, unchangeable control.
The Träumerei! tone picture of a dream
Drawn with a skill that glorifies the theme!

Benjamin L. Evans, “The Träumerei,” *The Magazine of Poetry* 6 (1894): 48.

Zur "Träumerei" von Schumann (1898)

Ich träumte süß: -- am Meeresstrande
Aus Lorbeern stieg ein Säulenbau,
Die Welle ging auf weissem Sande,
Ein Segel blitzte fern im Blau.

Ich träumte süß: -- im Pinienhaine
Ein göttlich Weib schritt hin mit mir,
Im Haare glänzten Edelsteine,
Im Auge glänzten Thränen ihr.

Ich träumte süß: -- mit gold'nem Scheine
stieg auf der Wünsche kühner Bau:
Mein war das Schloss, -- mein rings die Haine,
Und mein die Thräne dieser Frau.

Anonymous, "Zur 'Träumerei' von Schumann," *Der Klavier-Lehrer: Musik-paedagogische Zeitschrift* (1898): 294.

“Träumerei” (1900) [Words set to vocal arrangement of “Träumerei”]

The ev’ning breezes whisper low,
On the fragrant flowers soft their kisses they bestow,
The woods in silence profound
Entranced are list’ning
To the booklet’s murm’ring sound.

And sweetly calls the nightingale,
While the western air
To tree and bush repeats the tale.
The moon and stars from Heav’ns domain
Their silv’ry light are sending Down upon the plain.

O love, how sweet to linger here
In this dreamy woodland bower, Nought to fear.
It is a dreamy paradise,
Where no list’ner comes,
Nor chance our love espies,

Nor heaven, nor the starry main,
Nor the nightingale, our story
Will repeat again,
The brooklet and the zephyrs light,
Will never say
How dear to us this happy night, this happy night.

George L. Osgood, Text to four-part vocal arrangement to “Träumerei” (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1900).

“Träumerei” (Turn of the 20th Century) [Words set to vocal arrangement of “Träumerei”]

Sag', Mond, der du so lieblich scheinst,
ob du manchmal in der Stille eine Thräne weinst?
Du dünkst mich oft so bleich und blass,
und morgens find' ich Gras und Blumen feucht und nass.

Sag', Mond: Die Sternlein ohne Zahl
ob sie wohl mit dir geplaudert manches Mal?
Und ob du sie nur lustig neckst,
wenn du hinter Wolken scheu dein Antlitz steckst?

Sag', weisst du, wer im Himmel wohnt?
Wenn du's weisst, dann gib mir Antwort, ehrlich Antwort Mond!
Du gehst so still und stumm vorbei,
und all mein Fragen, all mein Fragen, all mein Sinnen, lieber Mond, bleibt Träumerei.

Lorenz Fels, *Robert Schumann's Kinderscenen* (Berlin: T.Trautwein'schen Buchhandlung, n.d.).

“Träumerei” (1910)

Wer sitzt dort, in den Sessel still gebeugt,
Wer ist's, die für das Kind in Liebe waltet?
Euch allen hat sich dieses holde Bild gezeigt –
Ihr kennt das Mutterherz, das nimmermehr erkaltet.

Du spielst so friedlich, spiele weiter nur –
So träumt ihr ahnungsvolles Sinnen –
Ach wie gar bald läßt du der Kindheit Spur,
Wie bald gehst in die Zukunft du von hinnen.

Wird das allmächtige Geschick dir günstig sein,
Wirst du dein kindlich stilles Glück behalten?
Dann wartet meine Liebe nicht mehr dein,
Dann kann für dich die Mutter nicht mehr walten.

Und doch, so heiter, voller Lebenslust
Gehst du, mein Kind, der großen Welt entgegen –
Du kannst allein in meine Mutterbrust
Der Hoffnung süßen Samen legen.

Georg Hirschfeld, “‘Träumerei,’ from ‘Kinderszenen von Robert Schumann,’” *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung* 8 (1910): 199.

Robert Schumanns Träumerei (1912)

Großmütterlein im Schaukelstuhle still
träumt lächelnd vor sich hin,
von Bildern längst erlebter Zeiten will
nicht trenne sich ihr Sinn...

Im tiefen, tiefen Wald es rauscht und klingt,
daß süß das Echo tönt,
wenn von vergangnen, selgen Zeiten singt
das Märchen, stergekrönt.

Das sehnt und hofft, das schluchzt, das jubelt hell
mit goldnen Stimmlein fein,
und des Erinnerns reiner Freundenquell
erquickt Großmütterlein.

Wilhelm Benignus, "Robert Schumanns Träumerei," *Lieder eines Pilgers* (New York: Max Schmetterling, 1912), p. 44.

“Träumerei” (1913)

Spinnerein bei Rad und Rocken
Hat so hurtig sich gemüht,
Bis auf ihren seidnen Locken
Leßtes Sonnengold verglüht.

Langsam ward des Rädchens Schwingen,
Müde ruhen Hand und Fuß,
Fern her tönt ein sanft Verklingen,
Abendglöckleins Scheidegruß.

Was die Spinnerin gesonnen,
Was das junge Herz bewegt,
In das Fädchen wards gesponnen,
Das sich um die Spule legt:

Frühlingsglück im weißen Flieder,
Rosenmond und Erntekranz,
Bunte Märchen, Wiegenlieder,
Tannengrün und Lichterglanz,

Freude die im Herzen hämmert,
Sehnsucht aus der Seele Schrein,
Zukunftswunsch, der zaghaft dämmert,
Alles, alles span sie ein. – –

Sorglich reihen Feenhände
Auf die Spule, was sie spinnt,
Daß der Faden einst am Ende
Ihrer Tage rückwärts rinnt.

Zierliche Gespinnste gleiten
Dann dem matten Blick vorbei,
Und sie denkt geblaßter Zeiten,
Süßer Jugend Träumerei. –

Felix Josky, “Träumerei,” *Gedichte von Felix Josky zu den Kinderscenen Robert Schumanns*
(Berlin: Eduard Bloch, 1913), pp. 16-7.

Träumerei at Ostendorff's (1914)

I ate at Ostendorff's, and saw a dame
 With eager golden eyes, paired with a red,
Bald, chilled, old man. Piercing the clatter came
 Keen *Träumerei*. On the sound he bowed his head,
 Covered his eyes, and looked on things long sped.
Her white fierce fingers strained, but could not stir
His close-locked hands, nor bring him back to her.

Let him alone, bright lady; for he clips
 A fairer lass than you, with all your fire:
Let him alone; he touches sweeter lips
 Than yours he hired, as others yet shall hire:
 Leave him the quickening pang of clean desire,
Even though vain: nor taint those spring winds blown
From banks of perished bloom: let him alone.

Bitter-sweet melody, that call'st to tryst
 Love from the hostile dark, would God thy breath
Might break upon him now through thickening mist,
 The trumpet-summons of imperial Death;
 That now, with fire-clean lips where quivereth
Atoning sorrow, he shall seek the eyes
Long turned towards earth from fields of paradise.

William Laird, "Träumerei at Ostendorff's," *Poetry* 4 (1914): 219.

“Träumerei” (1917) [Words set to vocal arrangement of “Träumerei”]

Ich träum’ von deiner Augen Pracht,
wieder Wand’rer von der Heimat träumt in dunkler Nacht...
Ich träum’ von deiner weißen Hand,
so schaut der Beter fromm im Traum der Sel’gen Land...

Du siehst mich an und alle Not
meines Herzens weicht wie Finsternis dem Morgen rot...
Du legst auf’s Haupt mir deine Hand
und wie des Heilands Hand der einst dem Sturme gebot,

so schweigt beseligt all mein Sein,
alles Leid in Lust zerfließend sänftigt sich
und deine Nähe hüllt mich ein,
wie ein Mantel weit so warm und wonniglich!...

Ein Tönen füllt den weiten Raum,
mild wie Engelssang, verklärt wie Aeols harfenklang...
O bleib’ bei mir du holder Traum,
Der meiner Seele wilde Unrast süß und bang zur Ruhe sang...

Irene Redlich, *Lieder nach Werken berühmter Meister* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917).

“Träumerei” (1921)

Preface to poem: “This poem is intended for reading or recitation to the accompaniment of Schumann’s well-known music. The violin should be muted and the piano accompaniment played very softly. To give it proper effect the words and music should be given in exact unison. To do this well requires practice, so that the pauses, ritards, accelerandos, etc., necessary to bring out the best expression of the reader’s conception, may be carefully arranged.”

I.

The soul of the violin,
 Ever throbbing,
 Dreaming, sobbing
As for hidden sin,

Seeketh something never found;
 Is it laughter?
 Nay, for laughter’s
Nothing but a sound.

Is it a song of spring,
 Vernal showers,
 Springtime flowers,
Bluebirds on wing?

Or is it summer’s call,
 That discloses
 Full blown roses,
Languor o’er all?

Or autumn’s golden voice,
 Nut brown maiden,
 Trophy laden,
Singing, “Rejoice!”

Or is it winter’s rages,
 Rocks rent asunder,
 Horrible thunder,
Heard through the ages?

Or song of our native land,
 Noble, enthralling,
 Patriots calling
Faithful to stand?

The soul of the violin,
 What is it feeling?
 Is it revealing
Man’s soul within?

II.

When life’s at spring, a song of hope,
Of rainbow gleams and power to cope

With giants near and giants far,
A song of blossom, bud and star.

Life’s summer time, a chant of love,
Of wedding bells and cooing dove.

At autumn time, a hymn of praise
From thankful hearts for bounteous days.

In winter let the church bells toll
For dying year and dying soul.

III.

A crash: the soul of the violin,
 Ever throbbing,
 Shrieking, sobbing,
As for hidden sin.

Singeth to me of love.
 Youth and maiden,
 Laughter laden
Beneath the stars above.

The maiden, dear heart, is you,

Form entrancing,
Bright eyes dancing,
Eyes of heavenly blue.

And that youth with flashing eye?
'Tis past all seeming,
I sit here dreaming
Musing on Träumerei!

You sleep in the church yard cold—
The wind is sighing,
The year is dying,
And I am alone—and old.

But the violin's faint breath
Sings through my dreaming;
Silver hope gleaming
In triumph over death.

I will see you again, be brave!
In realms supernal,
Our love eternal
Shall live, beyond the grave.

Stilled is the doubt and the din.
Its music crying
Of love undying,
That's the soul of the violin!

Walter Ben Hare, *Readings and Monologues À La Mode* (Chicago: T.S. Dennison & Co., 1921),
pp. 37-40.

Further examples of “Träumerei” poetry (under copyright):

Ellen Glines, “Fourth Floor Back,” *Poetry* 32 (1928): 204.

Karl Valerius Herberger, “Schumanns Träumerei,” *Neue Zwickauer Zeitung*, September 25, 1940.

Gottfried Benn, “Schumann,” in *Primäre Tage* (Wiesbaden: 1958), cited in Károly Csipák and Reinhard Kapp, “Träumerei,” *Musica* 35 (1981): 440.

C. Friedrich Bruckner, “‘Die Nacht ist voller Sternenglanz’ (nach der Musik Träumerei von R. Schumann),” Unpublished manuscript dated February 14, 1975. Located in the archive of the Robert Schumann Forschungsstelle, Düsseldorf.

Karl Krolow, “Träumerei,” in *Gesammelte Gedichte 3* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1985).

Bruno Seidler Winkler, arr. “Träumerei,” *Comedian Harmonists: Das Original 4* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse, 2001), pp. 27-9.

Linda Bierds, “Träumerei,” *New Yorker* 66 (1991): 36.

Republished in Linda Bierds, “Träumerei” in *Flight: New and Selected Poems* (New York: Penguin, 2008), pp. 50-2.